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Yours sincerely,
Ronald Syme

Select Correspondence of Ronald Syme, 1927–1939

Edited by Anthony R. Birley

HCS

History of Classical Scholarship

Supplementary Volume 1

History of Classical Scholarship

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History of Classical Scholarship

Edited by

Lorenzo Calvelli and Federico Santangelo



SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUMES

1. *Select Correspondence of Ronald Syme, 1927–1939*

Edited by Anthony R. Birley

(2020)

Informal queries and new proposals may be sent to
lorenzoc@unive.it or federico.santangelo@ncl.ac.uk.

Each submission will be independently assessed by two referees.

Last year, when we launched *HCS*, we decided not to set any limits to the length of contributions to be published in the journal. Size is of relative importance when it comes to digital publications. Yet some of the submissions we received were far off the scale for the brief of any journal, even an online one. We have thus come to the conclusion that it was worth establishing an Open Access book series to host larger-scale projects: the *HCS Supplementary Volumes*. Their scope includes — but is not necessarily limited to — the publication of large sets of documents (such as letters and other archival sources), the edition of unpublished manuscripts of scholarly significance, the reprints of classic works that have long been out of circulation and deserve renewed attention, and edited collections on aspects of the history of classical scholarship.

We are delighted to inaugurate the new series with the edition of a selection of Ronald Syme's correspondence, mostly dating between 1927 and 1939: it includes letters from, among others, Friedrich Münzer, Matthias Gelzer, Arthur Stein, Attilio Degrassi, Andreas Alföldi, and Eugénie Strong. The volume has been edited by Anthony R. Birley, a distinguished historian of the Roman world, and a pupil and friend of Syme, who was also the editor of five volumes of his *Roman Papers* and of a considerable part of his *Nachlass*. Most of the material published in this volume is drawn from the papers of Sir Ronald Syme currently on deposit at the Bodleian Library from Wolfson College, Oxford. Birley's work was crucially supported by Syme's literary executor, the late Sir Fergus Millar, whose recent death has been a huge loss to our discipline.

We are very grateful to Thilo Rising, our copy-editor, for the professional expertise and the support he has been bringing to this project since its inception. We are planning the publication of more *HCS Supplementary Volumes* over the coming months, and we trust to be able to bring them to completion in spite of the extremely trying circumstances we are all facing.

quae iacerent in tenebris omnia nisi litterarum lumen accederet
(Cic. Arch. 14)

Lorenzo Calvelli
Federico Santangelo

Venice — Newcastle upon Tyne, April 2020

CONTENTS

Introduction	1–22
Acknowledgements	23–25
Some Corrections	27–28
Special Abbreviations	29
Select Bibliography	31–32
The Letters	33–169
Postscripts	171–178
Appendix I: Syme Interviewed in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, October 1962	179–184
Endpiece	185–186
Appendix II: Syme’s Notes for Retrospective Talks	187–202
List of Individuals Named in Appendix II	203–208
List of Letters Included	209–211

INTRODUCTION

Soon after Ronald Syme's death on 4th September 1989, his Literary Executor Fergus Millar suggested that I might edit and publish some of the letters found among his papers. He referred in particular to those from fellow scholars, mainly from overseas, written during the 1930s. The initial plan was that they might be included in a volume together with some of his unpublished articles. I had already edited Syme's *Roman Papers* III (1984) (and composed an Index of Ancient Personal Names for that volume and for *Roman Papers* I–II, which lacked one), as well as *Roman Papers* IV–V (1988) and VI–VII (not published until 1991 but approved by Syme before this death). These volumes are abbreviated *RP*. Fergus Millar also asked me to see what other unpublished material deserved publication. Priority was given to a substantial manuscript, the almost complete monograph composed at Istanbul while Syme was Professor there from 1942 to 1945: *Anatolica. Studies in Strabo*. This required a good deal of editorial work before it was published in 1995; it is abbreviated here as *Anat*. There remained a considerable quantity of other material, notably the incomplete study, *The Provincial at Rome*, started at Oxford in the mid-1930s but laid aside when Syme turned, instead, to writing what became *The Roman Revolution*, here abbreviated *RR*. After the addition of annotation, *The Provincial at Rome* appeared in 1999, in a volume with five unpublished papers composed in the 1930s; it is abbreviated here as *PatR*. Thereafter the time did not seem ripe, either to the Oxford University Press or to this editor, for an eighth volume of *RP*, which might have included at least twenty unpublished articles, as well as selected letters. Hence the project was shelved, until a happy chance, in 2012, led to a new editor appearing, Federico Santangelo of Newcastle University. He produced, with Fergus Millar's blessing, *Approaching the Roman Revolution. Papers in Republican History* (2016), abbreviated here *ARR*, with copious addenda and bibliography.¹

Meanwhile a Spanish research student, Gustavo García Vivas, of the University of La Laguna, had begun work on a dissertation devoted to Syme's life and work, especially all his publications up to the appearance of *RR*. Through Fergus Millar he was advised to contact me and over the

¹ In *ARR*, at the start of the section headed 'The Background to this Volume', Santangelo provides at p. 2 a helpful summary of the 'sizeable body of academic papers ... found in his rooms at Wolfson College, Oxford.' Cf. also my own 'Editor's Introduction' to *PatR*, xi–xx.

next three years we conducted a regular correspondence by email. This culminated in the completion of the dissertation and its acceptance by the university after a ‘Tribunal’ at which I was asked to preside in July 2015. The result was published in Barcelona in 2017 as *Ronald Syme. El camino hasta La Revolución Romana (1928–1939)*; it is abbreviated here by the author’s name, García.²

Both Federico Santangelo and Gustavo García urged me to resume the editing of the Selected Letters and Fergus Millar once again expressed his support, when Gustavo and I met him in Oxford in 2016. Initial transcription had been made in the early 1990s of some of the letters then still in the library of Wolfson College. Short visits to the Bodleian Library in 2013 with Federico Santangelo, in 2016 with Gustavo García, and finally in July 2019 gave me the opportunity to consult many of the letters again, now housed in an archive of the Special Collections.³ Fergus Millar had suggested joining me for coffee on 2nd July, and I greatly looked forward to discussing my final preparations for publication. But a few days before this he had to go to hospital and sent a message that he could not manage to meet me. Less than two weeks later, on 15th July, he passed away, leaving an immense gap in Ancient History; and for myself a matter of personal sadness for the loss of a colleague I had known for over fifty years, not least because he did not live to see this project completed.



The contents of the Syme Archive include hundreds of letters, a great many simply to congratulate Syme on his honours, his knighthood in 1959 and the award of the Order of Merit in 1976. Syme also kept a good many private letters from relatives and friends, photographs, press-cuttings and reports from his time in the Belgrade Embassy and at Istanbul University. Besides this, the Archive contains a considerable quantity of notes for lecture-courses and guest-lectures, lists of various kinds, and slips with references to be included in planned articles. The selection here concentrates for the most part on academic correspondence from the years before the outbreak of the Second World War on 3rd

² It should be noted that this scholar has now altered the order of his surnames and publishes his work as Gustavo Vivas García.

³ The Archive is called ‘Additional papers of Sir Ronald Syme 1830s–1990s’. The full range of shelfmarks is MSS. 11378/1–67. See the list at the end of this study registering the shelfmarks of the letters. <https://archives.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/repositories/2/resources/2807>.

September 1939, followed four days later by the publication of *The Roman Revolution*. One of Syme's post-war correspondents, who had been at Syme's old college, Oriel, a few years before him, referred to 'Phelps' thesis that a man's character is to be estimated by the letters he receives rather than those he writes'.⁴ Phelps was the legendary Revd. Dr. L.R. Phelps, long-serving Provost of Oriel, still in office in Syme's time there. Phelps could well have been thinking of the many letters he received from old Oriel men during the Great War.⁵ Contrast Mommsen: 'In a codicil to his will Mommsen made the memorable provision that he did not wish the letters he had received ever to be published, and instructed his heirs not to hand over any papers to potential biographers.'⁶ Syme never made any such provision, though he kept the letters, one imagines, as mementos, both of his own earlier years, of his family and friends, and of the views of colleagues. A great many of those from overseas correspondents were in response to Syme having sent them offprints. Only a few of Syme's own letters could be included here.⁷

Although the material reproduced and annotated here is for the greater part devoted to academic matters, one personal item may be mentioned. Eighteen months after his arrival at Oxford, Syme had become engaged to be married. He kept among his papers a cutting from a

⁴ Letter of 31.10.58 from Eoin Pelly Donaldson (1896–1966). After military service in World War I he entered Oriel College in 1922. He had a distinguished career, in the Inland Revenue and the India and Burma offices up till 1940; later posts included Asst. Sec. (Civil) to the War Cabinet 1940–1943 and Asst. Sec. Ministry of Defence 1947–1953; CMG 1943.

⁵ Lancelot Ridley Phelps (1863–1936), Fellow of Oriel College from 1877, Provost of the College 1914–1930. Cf. *A Provost's War: The Great War Correspondence of Lancelot Ridley Phelps*, eds J. Stevenson & R. Petre (2018). Syme kept a letter from Phelps of 1.6.26 congratulating him on winning the Chancellor's Prize.

⁶ F. Santangelo, 'Writing Mommsen', on M. Buonocore, ed., *Lettere di Theodor Mommsen agli Italiani* (2017), *Anabases* 28 (2018) 301–306, at 301.

⁷ The letters written by Syme that are included may be listed here. There are two to Ernst Fabricius, one undated, but clearly from summer 1928, the second being dated 28.3.30. Further, there is the postcard to Fabricius signed by Syme and others from the Pilgrimage of Hadrian's Wall, dated 3.7.30. All three items are from the Fabricius Archive at the University of Freiburg-im-Breisgau. There is also a short note to Last, 12.5.30, kept in Syme's own papers; and one to Momigliano of 24.4.39, from Momigliano's Archive at Pisa. Finally, in December 2019 a letter from Syme to Eugénie Strong of 27.7.39 in the Strong Archive at Girton College, Cambridge was located (GCPP Strong 2/1/38) [misdated as having been written in 1937]). It may be noted that Syme's own letters were mostly rather brief and that he almost never added the year to the date. My father, Eric Birley, kept a number of Syme's letters from the last years of Syme's life; and I have some from him myself. But these are not enough to make a publication and in any case are not from the years here represented.

New Zealand newspaper of September 1926,⁸ with an announcement headed ‘A New Zealand Engagement’ with photographs of ‘Mr. Ronald Syme and Dr. Vera Reader’. (Syme was still clean-shaven.) The text reads:

A Press Association cable message from London on Monday announced the engagement of Mr. Ronald Syme (of Oriel College, Oxford, formerly a well-known student of Victoria University College, Wellington, and later assistant-lecturer at Auckland University College), and Dr. Vera Reader, who is at present engaged in research work in the Rockefeller Laboratory at Oxford. Dr. Reader, who is a native of Masterton, took her M.Sc. degree at Victoria College, and was awarded a Sarah Ann Rhodes Home Science Research Scholarship in 1922. She studied in London under Professor Drummond, taking a Ph.D. degree of London University. Mr. Syme, who is the son of Mr. D. Syme, barrister, of Eltham, in June last won the prize competitions in both Greek and Latin at the annual *encomia* [sic] at Oxford University — a unique distinction.⁹

But the marriage never took place. Whether the engagement was broken off by Syme or by Vera Reader or by mutual agreement will probably never be known.¹⁰ Syme graduated nine months later and was soon actively involved in travel and research.

⁸ In the Box catalogued as MS. 11378/64. Misdated by Bowersock 544–545 to June 1926 and by Birley, *PA* 6 (2016) 157 n. 28 to September 1927. See Edmond 116–117 for the correct date, which, as he told me in an email of 13.12.2017, was based on consultation of New Zealand newspapers: ‘You had alerted to me to a possible error in the date of the Reader engagement so I went into the matter in some detail. There were multiple announcements in the NZ press and they were all from the latter part of 1926.’ See also the short list of further Corrections at the end of this Introduction. The newspaper cutting is in the Box now catalogued as MS. 11378/64.

⁹ See further B. Hughes and S. Ahern, *Redbrick and Bluestockings: Women at Victoria, 1899–1993* (1992) 48, and *An Encyclopedia of New Zealand* (1966), under ‘Expatriates-Biography’, section 7, ‘Medicine and Dentistry’, on Walker (née Reader), Vera Birdie, giving her date of birth as 21 July 1901. Edmond 117 adds that ‘Her particular interest was in allergies; she became a distinguished, internationally renowned specialist in allergic diseases. By 1941 she was working at the Radcliffe Infirmary in Oxford and was married to a man named Walker. They raised a family, spent time in Brazil; Vera Walker continued working right up until her death in 1989 — the same year Syme died.’

¹⁰ Cf. Edmond 117: ‘Why then did they not marry? It has been suggested [by myself, in an unpublished hand-out for a lecture on the letters, A.R.B.] that the offer to Syme of a fellowship at Trinity College was the cause: *The Fellow, if appointed, would reside in the College: he would vacate his fellowship by marriage, if he married within 7 years of election.* But that offer was not made until 1929, more than three years after the engagement notice was published.’ For the record, the gap between September



The first group of letters, from the late 1920s and very early 1930s, sheds light on Syme's first steps towards establishing himself as an academic. The second letter in this selection, of 23.11.27 from J.G.C. Anderson, the Camden Professor, replying to an enquiry by Syme, includes a significant remark: 'German, I presume, you know? Without it at least (& French) you could not make any progress.' Syme certainly did know German and would before long be steeped in German academic publications. Fergus Millar commented perceptively in 1981:

As his earliest article shows, he was already deeply imbued with the German scholarship represented in *CIL*, Dessau's *ILS*, Pauly-Wissowa and the school of *Limesforschung*. What stands out here is a love of detail and of what some might call antiquarian scholarship — but one in which acute observation of the content of documents was informed by a sense of geography, reinforced in the 1930s by many journeys, sometimes on foot, through central and eastern Europe.¹¹

As shown by Anderson's letter, Syme shortly after graduation had considered writing a monograph on Domitian. He soon went to Paris to meet the author of the still standard work on that emperor, Stéphane Gsell (see postcard from Gsell of 12.1.28). No doubt in the light of Domitian's perceived role in establishing the Upper German *Limes*, he then decided to spend time in Germany. His Ancient History tutor Marcus Niebuhr Tod¹² was able to give him an introduction to the Professor of Ancient History at Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Walther Kolbe, whom Tod had got to know in Greece and Turkey before the World War. But clearly Syme was particularly eager to meet Kolbe's predecessor, Ernst Fabricius, Emeritus since 1926, who had been *Leiter* of the *Reichs-Limes-Kommission* since 1902. He kept the postcard from Fabricius, dated 5 June 1928, proposing that they meet at the railway station, from which to take a train to

1926, and the offer of a Fellowship on 9th February was hardly 'more than three years'; rather, it was slightly less than two and a half years. But the question remains unanswerable.

¹¹ F. Millar, 'Style abides', *JRS* 71 (1981) 145 [reprinted in *Rome, the Greek World, and the East. Vol. 2: Government, Society & Culture in the Roman Empire* (2004) 399–416, at 402]. For Syme's first article see n. 16.

¹² Eight letters from Tod are included in this selection: 21.6.27, 23.11.27, 18.12.27, 15.3.28, 13.5.28, 19.1.29, 19.5.29, 12.1.30.

Müllheim. From there they could visit the famous Roman baths at nearby Badenweiler. Syme remained in touch with Fabricius until at least 1936.¹³

Fabricius probably recommended to Syme that he should stay at the Römisch-Germanische Kommission (RGK) in Frankfurt am Main. From there he not only got to know the adjacent parts of the *Limes*, notably the heavily reconstructed fort at the Saalburg outside Bad Homburg. He also met, and obviously benefited from discussion with, the Erster Direktor of the RGK, Friedrich Drexel, and a scholar resident there at the time, Ernst Stein, soon to be very well known for his work on Byzantine history.¹⁴ Stein had been commissioned to edit for publication the unfinished projects of Emil Ritterling (1861–1928), author of the massive article ‘Legio’ in Pauly-Wissowa, or P-W, as the *Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* has generally been abbreviated in English language works; continental scholars generally refer to it as *RE* and the latter is used in the notes here.¹⁵

Hugh Last, Fellow of St John’s College and a member of the Editorial committee of the Roman Society, was clearly eager to guide Syme’s path, as shown by three of his letters from 1928 and another from 1929. In January 1928 Last wrote: ‘The next thing is for us to find out something more about your proposals for a subject for a research and for a place of residence abroad, both of which have to be approved by the Craven Committee.’ By September Syme had sent Last his first article. His detailed analysis of legions on Rhine and Danube had clearly benefited from discussions with Ernst Stein. Last commented ‘I’ve been through

¹³ See also Syme’s letters to Fabricius from summer 1928 and 28.3.30, the postcard to Fabricius of 3.7.30 and Fabricius’ letters of 18.12.34 and 2.1.36, with notes.

¹⁴ See below for Drexel’s letter of 14.2.29, E. Stein’s of 19.2.29 and Syme’s to Fabricius of 28.3.30.

¹⁵ Ritterling had been Direktor of the Landesmuseum in Wiesbaden 1899–1911 and 1915–1923 and of the RGK 1911–1914. His article ‘Legio’, *RE* 12.1 (1924) 1211–1328 and 12.2 (1925) 1329–1819 is still an important work of reference. His posthumously published work: *Fasti des römischen Deutschland unter dem Prinzipat* (ed. E. Stein, 1932); *Die kaiserlichen Beamten und Truppenkörper im römischen Deutschland unter dem Prinzipat*. Mit Benutzung von E. Ritterlings Nachlass dargestellt von Ernst Stein (1932). The two volumes were reviewed by Syme, *JRS* 23 (1933) 94–98. It may be added here that Fabricius had just completed the massive article in *RE* on the ‘Limes’, 13.1 (1926) 572–671. In the Fabricius Archive at the University of Freiburg-im-Breisgau there is a considerable number of letters to Fabricius from British colleagues, as well as those from Syme quoted below, including Haverfield, R.G. Collingwood, Sir G. Macdonald, F.G. Simpson, E. Birley.

this — it's pretty stiff reading — and so has Stuart Jones. We both want it for *JRS*; so I hope that you will get it ship-shape as soon as possible.'¹⁶

The visit to the RGK in 1928 was to be the first of many. There he got to know several scholars whose letters are included here, of whom Andreas Alföldi, Professor at Budapest, was perhaps the most important. Six letters from Alföldi written between 1934 and 1939 are in this selection — and it may be noted that more of Alföldi's works than those of any other scholar appear in the 'List of Works Referred to' at the end of *RR*. The latest letters, in particular those from the years 1936–1938, when he was writing *RR*, are valuable for what they have to say about the situation of several of Syme's correspondents, who were affected adversely by the drastic anti-Jewish measures taken in Germany, notably Friedrich Münzer, Arthur Stein and Hermann Strasburger.

In addition to the letters, the present study has two Appendices, the first reproducing an Interview with Syme from the local weekly newspaper in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, where Syme had given a lecture on 4th October 1962. As he never wrote memoirs, this is an interesting fragment of autobiography. More informative still is the content of Appendix II, Syme's four sets of 'Notes' for his Retrospective Talks, abbreviated *RT*. I have done my best to annotate both Appendices, but in some cases have failed to decipher a few words or names in *RT* — or have been unable to explain the relevance.¹⁷ Some especially significant items in the *RT* are highlighted below, because they help to understand Syme's path to his first published book. A reviewer of *ARR* wrote as follows: 'Syme was a private, indeed secretive person who saw no reason to explain himself.'¹⁸ This view was repeated later in the same year by a reviewer of García, who asked whether contemporary events had caused Syme to make the rise of Octavian the theme of his book: '¿Fueron los acontecimientos contemporáneos lo que llevó a Syme a elegir la ascensión y política de Octaviano como tema de su libro? Probablemente nadie puede contestar estas preguntas?' — and the statement in the review of *ARR* was repeated.¹⁹ Such claims are perhaps misplaced. See, for example, the brief remarks in the Preface to the Italian edition (1989) of *CE*, of which the English original is printed in *RP* VI, ix–xiv, at x–xi. But an

¹⁶ Letters of 13.1. and 19.9.28, see below. The first article was 'Rhine and Danube legions under Domitian', *JRS* 18 (1928 [1929]) 41–55.

¹⁷ It must be confessed that the annotation throughout this study is to some extent repetitive. This seems preferable to excessive cross-referencing.

¹⁸ W.V. Harris, 'Governing class', *TLS* August 11, 2017, 32.

¹⁹ J. Arce, *BMCR* 2017.10.70.

important reference to *RT* was in the public domain at latest from 2009. As reported by Mark Toher:

As immediate stimuli to his thinking, Syme cited the ‘fraud and non-sense’ he saw coming in 1937 with the celebration of the bimillenary of Augustus’ birth. In addition, there was the publication of the Soviet constitution in 1936, a document that Syme was surprised to see was accepted as credible by people who should have known better and which lent new perspective on the nature of the constitution of Augustus.²⁰

As well as the reference to the Soviet Constitution, one may draw attention to other remarks by Syme signalled by his Notes for *RT*, as follows: I.2, ‘Influence of contemporary Europe, rise of Fasc. & Nat. Soc.’; I.3, ‘Germany Führertum, morality, spiritual regeneration ... Weber on Hitler’; IV.2, ‘IMPACT OF CONTEMPORARY EVENTS Yes, but Germany NAT. SOC. meant what it said ? religion Italy: histrionic, traditional, fraudulent The Civil War in Spain. ?“Fascism”’; *RT* IV.3, repeating I.3, ‘Italy, of course. Germany Führertum & morality & spiritual regeneration.’

Comments have several times been made about Syme’s ‘apparent blindness to archaeological evidence’.²¹ It is true, of course, that Syme turned down the directorship of the BSR in 1936 because ‘he did not consider that his “taste for archaeology or administration will bear the test”’.²² Yet apart from recalling his chapters in *CAH* X and XI, which do

²⁰ M. Toher, ‘Tacitus’ Syme’, in A.J. Woodman, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Tacitus* (2009) 317–329, at 324, referring to the ‘Notes’ here reproduced as Appendix II. The point was already made by F. Millar, *JRS* 71 (1981) 146, who was followed by G. Alföldy, *Athenaeum* 81 (1983) 103. See *RT* I.3, II.1 and IV.2 on the Soviet Constitution, ‘believed in by A.D. Lindsay’; also the List of Individuals at the end of Appendix II, under Lindsay; and the letter from Strong of 7.11.38, with note.

²¹ C.J. Smith, ‘A hundred years of ancient history. Historiography and intellectual culture’, *PBSR* 80 (2012) 295–323, at 308; likewise Harris, *TLS* (n. 17 above): ‘as Andrew Wallace-Hadrill has shown, by choosing to ignore archaeology of all kinds, Syme effectively opposed the alliance between ancient history and archaeology that already existed in Britain when he was young and is now an essential part of ancient historical practice’; Syme ‘was largely indifferent to the archaeological evidence’. Harris clearly referred to A. Wallace-Hadrill, ‘*The Roman Revolution* and material culture’, in A. Giovannini, ed., *La Révolution Romaine après Ronald Syme* (Entretiens Hardt XLVI, 1999) 283–313, with discussion 314–321.

²² García 13 n. 32, citing information supplied by C.J. Smith from the BSR Box 370.9 March 1936.

indicate awareness of archaeological evidence, one may note his attendance on the Pilgrimage on Hadrian's Wall in 1930 (see postcard to Fabricius of 3.7.30) and further, his participation in the discussion on 'Roman Britain as a Subject of Teaching', held on January 12th, 1937, reported in *JRS* 27 (1937) 251–253. It was chaired by R.G. Collingwood and the other participants were R.H. Barrow, E. Birley, A.R. Burn, P. Corder, R.W. Moore, I.A. Richmond and C.E. Stevens. Syme took a very positive attitude: 'Mr. Syme urged the study of the subject, not because it concerned the history of our own country but because it formed a study based on first-hand evidence both literary and archaeological, and because the teaching of it ran less easily to facile generalisations, laid down without any discussion of the evidence on which they were based, of which young pupils were suspicious.' It is also worth drawing attention to the reports in the New Zealand press from 1934 when Syme returned to his home country for a visit:

Syme, who was said to have been engaged in research on Crete, was interviewed on his arrival and spoke at length on recent archaeological finds in Samaria and elsewhere ... Syme's suggestion was that the actual house [sc. 'the ivory house' of Ahab, mentioned in the First Book of Kings 22.39] had now been rediscovered in Palestine. On the doors were plaques of ivory, decorated in Egyptian style. He went on to discuss other recent finds in Crete, at Ras Shamra in Syria, the necropolis unearthed by Bulgarian soldiers at Trebenista in Macedonia. He was keen to point out the interconnectedness, and the complexity of the ancient world. Gold from Romania and jade from Turkestan had been found in Egypt and in Crete.²³

This at least indicates interest in archaeology. Do his critics simply mean that he does not directly use archaeological evidence in his own writings? The chapter in *CAH* XI on 'Flavian Wars and Frontiers' surely contradicts this, with frequent mention of camps and forts, frontiers and roads.²⁴ For that matter, in one of his earliest articles, 'The *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus' he uses archaeological evidence to help to date when the poet began writing the work.²⁵

²³ Edmond 124–125.

²⁴ There is hardly any point in giving chapter and verse, but note *CAH* XI 151: 'What is lacking in Tacitus can be supplied, up to a point, by the results of archaeological research [sc. in Scotland].'

²⁵ *CQ* 23 (1929) 129–137, at 130: 'a clue that has hitherto escaped notice, a mention of something neither familiar nor traditional, but surprising in its novelty — the arms

It is certainly true that in *RR* archaeology was scarcely used. But whereas Tonio Hölscher, in one of the volumes in which *RR* was discussed fifty years after its publication, stated that the book's concept was 'ganz wesentlich' based on written sources and all visual phenomena were 'weitgehend ausgeklammert', he noted that there are nonetheless some short passages which show that Syme was 'nicht ganz blind' to the archaeological evidence.²⁶ He does not cite these passages but surely one of them is where Augustus 'was acclaimed in form and language once used of Alexander', with a note on the 'symbolic decoration of the cuirass on Augustus' statue from Prima Porta', referring to A. Alföldi.²⁷ Elsewhere Syme wrote that '[c]eremonial observances become more complicated: more ornate and visibly monarchic the garb and attire of the Princes of the Roman State', and in his note²⁸ he highlighted the very studies of which Hölscher writes, 'Erst die Arbeiten von Andreas Alföldi über Zeremoniell, Tracht und Insignien brachten die Bildwerke als historische Zeugnisse zur Geltung — aber das war damals noch brandneu, ganz isoliert, und darüber hinaus dürfte Alföldis verklärtes Augustus-Bild Syme verständlicherweise nicht sehr angezogen haben'.²⁹ On the contrary, Syme was fully aware of and attracted by the work of his friend Alföldi.³⁰ He must have chosen not to overload what was already a lengthy book. A pertinent remark by Hartmut Galsterer may be quoted, who commented in 1990, in another retrospective work discussing *RR*, that he did not intend 'to imitate those bad reviewers that tell the author what kind of book he should have written'.³¹

and tactics of the Sarmatians'. He goes on to cite Rostovtzeff on a wall-painting in southern Russia and even a rock-carving in China.

²⁶ T. Hölscher, in the discussion following his own paper, 'Augustus und die Macht der Archäologie', 237–273, in the *Entretiens Hardt* volume, op. cit, in n. 21, above, at 276.

²⁷ *RR* 305 n. 2, citing A. Alföldi, *RM* LII (1937) 48–63.

²⁸ *RR* 385 n. 3: 'Compare, above all, the penetrating studies of A. Alföldi, *RM* XLIX (1934) 1ff.; L (1935) 1 ff.'

²⁹ Hölscher, op.cit, 276–277.

³⁰ As already mentioned above, more of Alföldi's publications feature in the LIST OF WORKS REFERRED TO at the end of *RR* than those of any other scholar.

³¹ 'A man, a book, and a method: Sir Ronald Syme's *Roman Revolution* after fifty years', in K.A. Raaflaub & M. Toher, eds, *Between Republic and Empire: Interpretations of Augustus and his Principate* (1990) 1–20, at 20, with n. 76: adding in a note: 'There are many subjects not dealt with in the book, and their enumeration was started already in 1940 by Momigliano [in his review of *RR*, *JRS* 30 (1940) 75–80 = *Secondo Contributo alla storia degli studi classici*, 1960, 407–416]: foreign policy, religion and belief, the lower classes, the economy and many more. But ... Syme simply



After his months in Germany,³² supported by his tenure of the post-graduate position at Magdalen College, as a Senior Demy,³³ Syme went to Rome, where he stayed at the British School. The artist Alan Sorrell, Rome Scholar in Painting from 1928 to 1929, wrote a *roman-à-clef*, called *Barbarians in Rome*, in which Syme features as ‘Clarence Sims’:

He was more like a bird — a hungry young robin, always skipping about, perky and cheeky; and then his talk had a sort of glitter about it, and by accentuating unexpected words, and sonorously mouthing and repeating phrases he could turn the dulllest conversation into something fantastically ‘Simian’. He was very slight and thin, with a rounded back and a chest so flat it seemed positively to cave in, and his head was narrow, and his hair sleekly black, and his close set brown eyes forever twinkling.

As Glen Bowersock, who quotes this passage in his *Memoir*, comments, ‘Ronald Syme was, by all accounts, very thin at this period, if perhaps not quite so cadaverous as Clarence Sims, and his eyes were green, not brown. But they were probably forever twinkling. The sleek hair, black and later white, was a consistent feature of Syme’s public image. And his love of words, however trivial, stayed with him to the end.’³⁴ Further down the same page Sorrell adds: ‘George Elphinstone Johnstone was Sims’ great friend, but so comically different that a rude stranger had murmured “Weary Willie and Tired Tim” on seeing them together. Johnstone was bland, broad, and stout and slow moving’ — in contrast to ‘Clarence Sims’. The man here referred to was based on Ian Archibald Richmond,³⁵ who was to become Director of the School from 1930 to 1932.³⁶ Another friend

did not want to write the comprehensive monograph on Augustus, the new “Gardthausen” now long overdue.’ These remarks are quoted by Birley, *PA* 6 (2016) 152 and n. 7.

³² See his letter to Fabricius from summer 1928, in which he shows his mastery of German, his gratitude to Fabricius and his appreciation of German scholarship: ‘der deutschen Wissenschaft und seinen Vertretern bin ich unendlich schuldig.’

³³ See the letters from Sir H. Warren, 9.1. and 26.5.28.

³⁴ Bowersock, *Memoir* 546, quoting Alan Sorrell, ‘Barbarians in Rome’ (unpublished MS) p. 76.

³⁵ The identification, along with others, by Peter Wiseman, was given to Julia and Mark Sorrell, who kindly passed it on to the Editor, along with a selection of the pages from their father’s novel which featured ‘Clarence Sims’.

³⁶ See on Richmond below, in the List after the postcard to Fabricius written at Chesterholm on 3.7.30 during the Pilgrimage of Hadrian’s Wall and note to the letter of 4.12.34 from Eric Birley; also in the List at the end of Appendix II.

that Syme saw at the BSR then was Colin Hardie, called ‘Graham’ in Sorrell’s novel.³⁷ Also to be noted here are Syme’s contacts with young scholars at the other foreign schools: for example, at the American Academy at the time was a future correspondent, J.H. Oliver.³⁸

The only person in the novel not given a pseudonym was, as Julia Sorrell informs me, ‘Capt Scott-Moncrieff, who purchased the drawing /copy my father did of the Tower of Babel by Benozzo Gozzoli in the Camposanto’. Syme kept three letters from Charles Scott Moncrieff (3.3., 12.9. and 27.11.29). He had met him at a BSR party and had handed over to him a ring which he had evidently been asked to take to Rome. The first letter contains a joking and obscene translation of a poem by Catullus, the second a parody, also obscene, of another Catullus poem. Scott Moncrieff, best known as the translator of Marcel Proust’s great novel, *À la recherche du temps perdu*, was also a poet and — as recently revealed in a biography by his great-great-niece Jean Findlay — a spy, who worked for British Intelligence. He had not been living in Rome for long, and was to die the following year, aged only 41. These three letters, interesting and amusing in themselves, lead one to speculate that Syme may have discussed Proust with the translator. Syme had after all studied French as well as Latin at university in New Zealand, before moving to Oxford in 1925 to read Literae Humaniores, and he certainly showed great familiarity with Proust later in life. Among his unpublished manuscripts was an essay, ‘Tacite et Proust’, which one may call a *jeu d’esprit*. It was probably composed in the early 1960s and was edited and published by Federico Santangelo in 2013.³⁹

Mention of Proust prompts one to cite Lawrence Stone, in his chapter on ‘Prosopography’ in a work published in 1971: ‘It was Namier’s work on mid-eighteenth-century English politics which first drew the attention of historians to the potentialities of family arrangements and kinship links as political bonds. It is perhaps not too far-fetched to see a parallel between the preoccupation with such linkages of the elitist school of

³⁷ See Hardie’s letter of 3.7.29. The identification with ‘Graham’ was by Peter Wiseman, cf. n. 35 above.

³⁸ James Henry Oliver (1905–1981), Professor of Classics at Johns Hopkins University 1946–1970, had been at the American Academy in Rome 1928–1930 (see J.W. Poultney in Briggs, *Biog.* 461–463). In a letter of 12.2.49 Oliver wrote: ‘When I read “The Roman Revolution” I remembered that there was a man named something like Ronald Syme at the British School in Rome in my time, but it seemed unlikely that the young man whom I remembered as a professed admirer of the works of a Renaissance master named Fra Poco could be the author of the most important political and social history of Rome since Mommsen.’

³⁹ F. Santangelo, ed., Ronald Syme, ‘Tacite et Proust’, *Histos* 7 (2013) 128–145.

historians and similar preoccupations in contemporary fiction, notably Proust's *À la recherche du temps perdu* and Anthony Powell's more recent *Music of Time*.⁴⁰ Stone had previously commented that 'Syme was indebted to two German historians, M. Gelzer and F. Münzer'.⁴¹ As it happens, in his retrospective talk at Cambridge in June 1964, Syme had contradicted this: 'Groag & Stein rather than Gelzer & Münzer.' (RT I.3).

As for Proust, apart from the aforementioned essay, there is a passage in an article by Syme:

History in the view of the Romans was closely allied to poetry. If Tiberius disheartens the historians, the dramatist might afford guidance, or the novelist, and serve as a substitute. Stendhal on the court of Parma could help the understanding, or even Proust, though he cites Tacitus only once, when adducing him for parallel to the cryptic language of Françoise. His Palamède de Charlus is a kind of Tiberius. Not only insane and anachronistic pride, a keen sense of style, and ferocious sarcasm.⁴²

Fergus Millar noted that 'Stendhal is the only modern author whose name appears in the text [of *RR*] (p. 485)'⁴³, where he is compared to Asinius Pollio.

While Syme was abroad he heard from Tod (letter of 19.1.29) about the possibility of a Fellowship at Trinity College, which duly materialised: the President of Trinity, H.E.D. Blakiston, wrote offering the post in a letter of 27.2.29. Syme was to be very happy at Trinity. Christopher Pelling has given an amusing snapshot of his time there in the 1930s: 'He was one of a group of young Trinity fellows, mainly bachelors — four of the thirteen were statutorily required to be unmarried — who clearly got on well: they often went out to the pictures together after dinner. They

⁴⁰ L. Stone, 'Prosopography', in F. Gilbert and S.R. Graubard, *Historical Studies Today* (1971) 107–140, at 117–118. Stone 134 n. 1 writes: 'The word prosopography has a long history; its first known use is in 1743', citing C. Nicolet, *Annales* 3 (1970) n. 3. See now K.-P. Johné, 'Hermann Dessau und die Anfänge der prosopographischen Forschung', in M.G. Schmidt, ed., *Hermann Dessau (1856–1931) Zum 150. Geburtstag des Berliner Althistorikers und Epigraphikers* (2009) 31–46, at 33–34, pointing out that the earliest use of the term was in fact by Jacques Godefroy or Jacobus Gothofredus, on the cover of his edition of the *Codex Theodosianus*, posthumously published in 1665, describing the index of names as *Prosopographia seu index personarum omnium*.

⁴¹ Stone, op. cit., 112.

⁴² 'History or biography: the case of Tiberius Caesar', *Historia* 23 (1974) 481–496, repr. in *RP* III 937–952, at 496=952.

⁴³ F. Millar, *JRS* 71 (1981) 146.

liked subversive humour, especially at the expense of the senior fellows: snippets of mischievous verse circulated among them, many still in the Trinity archive, and Syme's own traceable taste for impish parody fitted in well.'⁴⁴

During the first half of the 1930s he was writing his two lengthy contributions to *CAH* X and XI, half a dozen articles on aspects of the Augustan principate and over a dozen reviews. In 1934 he began to write *PatR*, which he laid aside unfinished, when he began what became *RR*. Christopher Pelling recently revealed that *RR* had originally had a different title: he had consulted the original manuscript in the Bodleian of what Syme initially called "Augustus: Leader and Party." The title "The Roman Revolution" was apparently suggested to him by OUP, and he liked the alliteration. The comparison with the final version is fascinating. It is handwritten, and in a more legible hand than his later letters.'⁴⁵ In 1958, Syme received a letter from someone who had

vastly enjoyed your *Tacitus*, not only because it unites erudition with understanding, which, as Heraclitus warns, do not necessarily go together, but also because it brings back agreeable memories of certain lectures delivered over twenty years ago, entitled Augustus, Leader and Party. True, the personalities are different — Decidius Saxa makes but a fleeting appearance — but there is the same alchemy transmuting arid items of information into rich and strange evidence of what was going on.⁴⁶

One may well suggest, as has Gustavo García Vivas, that Syme's reading of the book by Mario Attilio Levi, *Ottaviano capoparte* (1933), which he reviewed in 1934 for *CR*, influenced his original title for *RR*.⁴⁷ As for the final choice, *The Roman Revolution*, Géza Alföldy recalled that Syme's "concept of revolution" was frequently criticised, above all by German scholars. I was once told by Sir Ronald that he had never had a "concept of revolution"; the title of his famous book was proposed by his publisher

⁴⁴ C. Pelling, *Syllecta Classica* 26 (2015) 208.

⁴⁵ Pelling, *op. cit.* 212.

⁴⁶ The writer was A. MacC. Armstrong, in a letter dated 17.7.58.

⁴⁷ The review, headed 'From Octavian to Augustus', *CR* 48 (1934) 76–78, was reprinted as the first item in *RP* VI, 1–4. See García 115–118 and, further, in detail, his article, under the name of G. Vivas García, 'El *Ottaviano Capoparte* de Mario Attilio Levi y su influencia en *The Roman Revolution* de Ronald Syme', *Gerión* 35 (2017) 279–297.

as an attractive one, which the author liked “because of the alliteration” (Ronald, Roman, Revolution).⁴⁸

Throughout the 1930s Syme travelled extensively. According to records published in the annual *Berichte* of the RGK he stayed there every year at least from 1931 to 1935 — after that year the *Berichte* do not list names of foreign visitors; but he was certainly in Frankfurt again in late August 1939 (cf. *RT* IV.2, with note). The *Berichte* also report that he joined the 5th *Studienfahrt* of German and Danubian *Bodenforscher* from Aquincum to Turnu Severin (21.9.–1.10.33) and the 6th one to Slovenia and Croatia (21.9.35). His stays at the RGK and participation in these study trips — it is striking that they took him to Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia — of course meant that he could meet more continental colleagues. One such was the Russian archaeologist from Sarajevo, Dimitrije Sergejevski, from whom Syme kept two letters (30.8.38 and 15.3.39; and more from after the war, not included here, 4.5.56, 21.8.60, 3.1.61).

It was perhaps principally through the exchange of offprints that Syme extended his contacts. In a long letter of 20.10.34 Ernst Kornemann, then 70 years old and nearing retirement from his Chair at Breslau, thanked Syme for offprints and in return sent him the dissertation by his pupil Johannes Klose, which Syme duly reviewed. (It is worth noting that three other Breslau dissertations are cited in *RR*.⁴⁹) Kornemann also told him about his own latest publication, which Syme likewise reviewed.⁵⁰ He added: ‘Haben Sie das ganz neue ausgezeichnete Buch von Ed. Norden — Berlin, Alt-Germanien, schon gelesen? Etwas für Feinschmecker was Methode betrifft!’. Syme reviewed Norden the next year.⁵¹ One of Syme’s major reviews was of E. Swoboda, *Oktavian und Illyricum* (1932), signalling a growing interest in the Danube–Balkan region.⁵² This review came out in 1933, the same year as his study of ‘M. Vinicius (cos. 19 B.C.)’,⁵³ which led to contacts with Groag, Egger and

⁴⁸ Pelling, op. cit. cites Alföldy, *Athenaeum* 81 (1993) 107. My quotation gives a fuller version, from a later article by Alföldy, posthumously published in Richardson & Santangelo (2015) 207 (see Bibliography below).

⁴⁹ A. Gwosdz, *Der Begriff des römischen Princeps* (1933); H. Kloesel, *Libertas* (1935); H. Wegehaupt, *Die Bedeutung und Anwendung von Dignitas* (1932).

⁵⁰ J. Klose, *Roms Klientel-Randstaaten am Rhein und an der Donau* (1934) and E. Kornemann, *Staaten, Völker, Männer* (1934), reviewed by Syme, *JRS* 25 (1935) 95–99 (repr. in *DP* 145–150, with Addendum 150–151) and 104–105.

⁵¹ *JRS* 26 (1936) 75–80 (repr. in *RP* VI 9–17). He sent the author an offprint, for which Norden thanked him in a letter from Berlin of 8.8.36.

⁵² *JRS* 23 (1933) 66–71 (repr. in *DP* 135–142, with Addendum 143–144).

⁵³ *CQ* 27 (1933) 142–148 (repr. in *DP* 26–34, with Addendum 34–39).

von Premierstein.⁵⁴ Syme would receive one more letter from von Premierstein (28.12.34), then in hospital and soon to pass away. His posthumously published work, *Vom Werden und Wesen des Prinzipats* (1937), received a special mention in the Preface to *RR*: ‘My opinions about the oath of allegiance of 32 B.C. and about the position of the Princeps owe much <to>, but do not derive entirely, from this illuminating work — in an earlier form they were the substance of lectures delivered in the summer of 1937.’

Not long before this Syme received the first of six pre-war letters from Arthur Stein (21.10.34), all in English and all typed. Stein thanked Syme for ‘Your excellent article above [about] Augustus’ war in Spain! On this occasion it is a pleasure to me to thank You also for the amiable review of our *PIR*².’⁵⁵ By ‘our’ Stein meant his and Edmund Groag’s work. This first volume of the new edition (1933) covered persons whose names began with A and B. The article on the Spanish war of Augustus,⁵⁶ a bye-product of his work in *CAH* X, resulted, initially before it was published, in a series of three letters from a younger colleague at Oxford, Isobel Munro, shortly afterwards Isobel Henderson, Fellow of Somerville (undated, but clearly 1933, 20.5 and 19.10.34), who had written a prize essay on the Romanisation of Spain.

A second volume of *PIR*², covering the very numerous Romans whose names began with C, came out in 1936 and was reviewed by Syme the same year.⁵⁷ In Stein’s next letter, of 28.10.38, he was clearly concerned about what was soon to come: following the Anschluss in March 1938, by which Austria was absorbed into the Reich, the ‘Munich agreement’ of 30 September resulted in the German takeover of the Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia. A month later Stein wrote ‘The unquietness of the last weeks, was not favourable to the progress of our Prosopographia and of my other works, but I shall hope that soon it will come alright.’ But things got worse. The letters that followed, all from 1939, show the grim development. On 27th January 1939 he wrote:

I thank you so much indeed for your vivid participation in the future of the *PIR* and in mine. I personally feel well concerning my health. But the continuation of the Prosopography (at least by Groag and myself)

⁵⁴ Groag (23.11.33), Egger (19.12.33), v. Premierstein (21.12.33).

⁵⁵ *JRS* 24 (1934) 80–81.

⁵⁶ *AJP* 55 (1934) 293–317.

⁵⁷ *JRS* 26 (1936) 286–287.

has become problematical, although at the moment I am not yet allowed to tell the reasons.⁵⁸ My friend Groag is perhaps in a still more difficult situation than I am; your supposition ... that he is ‘unbehelligt’, has unfortunately not proved true. Not only his professional career is finished, but he is also forbidden to go to any library.⁵⁹

And as regards me, I am affected by the circumstance, that the German University of Prague is to become a University of the Reich. The term of activity in the professorship is now the 65th year of life (instead of the 70th). As long as from the June of the past year I did not go up into a lecturer’s chair. It is beyond bearing for me — besides the reduction of my emoluments — to stay unoccupied.

The following three letters (20.2.39, 5.3.39, 19.3.39) track Stein’s unavailing hopes to gain support to live and work in England. Syme had evidently tried to help, but without success — by contrast, Arnaldo Momigliano, who was backed by Hugh Last, had successfully applied for support and arrived in England in spring 1939.⁶⁰

The same ‘unquietness’, particularly the ‘Anschluss’ of Austria into the Third Reich on 12 March 1938, as well as the Nazi anti-Jewish measures, had already made Alföldi, who was partly Jewish, nervous about the growing influence of pro-Nazis in Hungary. Fearing that he might lose his Chair, he asked Syme in confidence (23.4.38) about the possibilities of obtaining a post in the UK or the US. In his case, the Munich agreement of late September 1938 was welcome and as a conservative Hungarian nationalist he was delighted at a bye-product — the Hungarian takeover of formerly Hungarian parts of Slovakia (letters of 8.10.34 and 15.11.38).

⁵⁸ The third volume of *PIR*², covering names beginning with D, E and F, was to be completed by the two friends in 1941, but before it appeared, in 1943, they had been debarred from further work for the Prussian Academy. Hence the names of Stein and Groag were omitted from the title page. All the same, in the ‘Praefatio’ the second sentence reads: ‘Idem viri docti ARTURUS STEIN et EDMUNDUS GROAG, qui duo priora volumina alterius editionis diligentissime elaboraverunt, huius tertiae partis auctores fuerunt’. See the succinct account by S. Rebenich, ‘Zwischen Anpassung und Widerstand? ...’ (2001) 219–221; more detail in K. Wachtel, ‘Arthur Stein (1871–1950) und Edmund Groag (1893–1945) (2012)’ 149–160, and now especially W. Eck, in Eck & Heil, eds, *Prosopographie des Römischen Kaiserreichs* (2017) 18–37.

⁵⁹ As an Austrian, Groag had now become a subject of the Reich, which resulted in his losing his job and suffering other disadvantages like other victims of the Nazi anti-Jewish legislation. He was not deported, as Münzer and Stein were, and he and his wife managed to survive in his apartment in Vienna; but he died soon after the war ended. See the articles by Rebenich, Wachtel and Eck (2017) cited in the previous note. Syme kept two letters and a postcard from Groag, of 23.11.33, 5.1.35, and 19.1.37, all three in German and handwritten; but they concern purely academic matters.

⁶⁰ See note to his letter from Syme, 24.4.39.

By now Syme was making contact with two German scholars who were directly affected by the Nazi repression. Friedrich Münzer, the veteran specialist in the prosopography of the Roman Republic, whose articles in the *RE* as well as his monograph, *RA*, were repeatedly cited by Syme in the emerging *RR*, wrote the first of eight letters to Syme on 19.8.37. This letter and the one that followed, on 16.2.38, were purely academic, responding to what Syme had written. But in the third letter, 12.12.38, Münzer could no longer keep silent about his ever worsening position:

Es ist mir nicht angenehm, Ihnen einen Einblick in meine persönliche Lage zu eröffnen, aber ich kann es kaum umgehen: In einem Leben von 70 Jahren habe ich nichts Anderes gekannt und erstrebt, als mich immer als guter Deutscher zu fühlen und zu bewähren. Das Recht dazu wird mir jetzt bestritten, und gerade die letzten Wochen haben mich innerlich tief niedergebracht, wenn ich auch äusserlich, allein schon um meines Alters willen, vor zahllosen Anderen sehr begünstigt bin.⁶¹ In dieser Andeutung können Sie, geehrter Herr Kollege, zugleich eine Erklärung dafür finden, dass ich in der augenblicklichen Stimmung Ihnen so kurz danke, und dafür, dass eine solche Anerkennung meiner wissenschaftlichen Arbeit, wie Sie sie mir unbekannterweise und freiwillig entgegengebracht haben, mich gerade jetzt mit höherer Freude und Dankbarkeit erfüllt, als Sie selbst ahnten.

Meine Arbeit ist jetzt zu Ende, lediglich infolge der angedeuteten Verhältnisse. Sogar meine druckfertig vorliegenden Artikel für die *Realencyclopädie* werden vielleicht nicht mehr veröffentlicht werden, und weitere wissenschaftliche Tätigkeit wird mir, schon durch die Aussetzung von den Hilfsmitteln, nicht mehr möglich sein.

The five letters that followed were concerned mainly with Münzer's comments on the proofs of *RR* and with an article which Münzer was prevented from publishing and which Syme had offered to translate into English and to publish in *JRS*. This was not to be: Münzer was finally transported to Theresienstadt in late July 1942 and died there on 20th October that year.

⁶¹ The words from 'Es ist mir nicht angenehm ...' to 'sehr begünstigt bin' are translated by Thérèse Ridley (in Münzer (1999) xlviii) as follows: 'It is not pleasant for me to give you an insight into my personal situation, but I can hardly avoid it. In seventy years of life I have known and striven for nothing other than always to feel and keep myself a good German. My right to do this is now challenged and the last weeks in particular have deeply depressed me, even though outwardly, merely because of my age, I am better off than countless others.'

A much younger German scholar was Hermann Strasburger, whom Syme had probably met at the RGK, and whose work on Caesar had attracted his attention. In his case Syme offered to arrange for a monograph on Caesar by Strasburger to be published in English. Unlike Münzer, who was of Jewish family, although a devout Protestant, Strasburger had been barred from an academic career through failure to prove 'Aryan' descent.⁶² It is worth noting that Syme was able to show Strasburger an advance copy of *RR* when he stopped in Frankfurt on 23 August 1939, on his way back from Yugoslavia to England (see the brief mention in *RT* IV.2). Happily Strasburger survived the war and in due course succeeded his former teacher Matthias Gelzer as Professor of Ancient History in Frankfurt in 1955; he then held the Chair of Ancient History at Freiburg-im-Breisgau from 1963 to 1977.

Münzer's unhappy end might have been shared by Arthur Stein, who was likewise deported to Theresienstadt, along with his wife, on 6th July 1942. But both Stein, who even gave lectures to his fellow prisoners, and his wife survived. They were liberated by the Red Army on 9th May 1945, although they had to wait until August before being able to return to Prague. But that same month Edmund Groag died. He had, remarkably, remained undetected during the war in his apartment in Vienna (cf. n. 59 above). Syme wrote to Stein in 1946 and he replied at length in German on 29.10.46, the first of five letters, up till 1950, the year of his death.

In the Preface to *RR*, Syme lists his debts:

It will at once be evident how much the conception of the nature of Roman politics here expounded owes to the supreme example and guidance of Münzer: but for his work on Republican family-history, this book could hardly have existed. In detail my principal debts are to the numerous prosopographical studies of Münzer, Groag and Stein.

He also mentions 'Tarn's writings about Antonius and Cleopatra (from which I have learned so much, though compelled to dissent in one matter of cardinal importance)' and Anton von Premerstein's book, on which his comment is quoted earlier. At the end of the Preface he adds the following:

I gladly take this opportunity to acknowledge the constant encouragement and generous help that I have received from Mr. Last, the Camden Professor of Ancient History ... — the more so, because there is so much in the present volume that will make him raise his eyebrows.

⁶² See his letters of 10.6.38, 11.11.38, 23.11.38, 20.1.39 and 27.4.39.

Years later he briefly recorded his impression of that scholar: ‘Last, his prestige: aloof, cf. Tod anecdote’ (*RT* IV.1 — alas, the Tod anecdote is not recoverable). It should be registered that in his Preface to *RR* he does not mention Gelzer, often supposed to have influenced him a great deal. On the contrary, as already mentioned, his Notes for one of his retrospective talks indicate that in 1979 he said that ‘Groag & Stein rather than Gelzer & Münzer’ had been important to him (*RT* I.3).

As a tailpiece, some brief remarks may be added about some letters in Syme’s Archive not included in this selection, several from W.M. Calder and eight from Sir William Ramsay (19.1.34; 22.10.34; 21.11.34; 20.12.34; 10.1.35; 31.3.37; 1.2.38; 11.2.38). In 1934 Syme had sent Calder an off-print of his article ‘Galatia and Pamphylia under Augustus: the governorships of Piso, Quirinius and Silvanus’.⁶³ Calder, in a letter of 21.10.34, wrote: ‘I have never read a clearer bit of demolition’. Calder was editor of *CR* from 1923 to 1935 and had published five reviews by Syme between 1931 and 1935.⁶⁴ So he knew Syme and his work well. When in 1938 he was editing the *Festschrift* for W.H. Buckler,⁶⁵ he was having difficulties with one contributor, the now very elderly Sir William Ramsay.⁶⁶ Ramsay was refusing to reduce the length of his paper, and Calder appealed to Syme for help (29.10.38):

nobody can appreciate as well as you the full density of this smoke-screen, or suggest harmless ways of blowing it away ... Only if I raise such points he will double the length of the article arguing against me. Will you tell me the bare minimum of necessary change on which an Editor ought to insist. And Mum’s the word.

A few days later (3.11.38) Calder suggested that Syme, Last and Anderson

⁶³ *Klio* 27 (1934) 122–148.

⁶⁴ William Moir Calder (1881–1960), Professor of Greek, Manchester 1913–1930, Edinburgh 1930–1951; Editor of *CR* 1923–1935. Knighted 1955. He had worked on inscriptions in Asia Minor with Ramsay and Buckler; and he and Buckler had edited *Anatolian Studies Presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay* (1923). Cf. obituary of Calder in *Anatolian Studies* 11 (1961) 29–37. It is worth mentioning that years later he added at the end of a letter to Syme of 26.1.53 ‘I didn’t know you had been in Turkey in 1925.’

⁶⁵ It came out as *Anatolian Studies Presented to William Hepburn Buckler*, eds W.M. Calder & J. Keil (1939), with a distinguished list of contributors.

⁶⁶ William Mitchell Ramsay (1851–1939), Professor of Humanity, Aberdeen 1886–1911. Knighted 1906. Cf. *Anat.* xix, quoting Syme’s tribute to Ramsay in a Lecture to his Istanbul students.

put your heads together, and go over the paper as you would an article for *JRS*; tell me the minimum of change I must insist on to make the paper worthy of an objective and scholarly book. If in consequence the paper is withheld the world will be none the poorer. I will of course tell R. that I am backed by the advice of experts, but let the whole business be confidential. I was a fool to ask R. to contribute. I very nearly didn't.

Ramsay had since 1934 been sending letters to Syme, expressing disagreement over Galatia under Augustus and the *titulus Tiburtinus*. Syme and others clearly had a little success: Ramsay's article was in fact published, somewhat abbreviated.⁶⁷ Syme's own paper in the volume was 'Observations on the province of Cilicia', about which Münzer offered some comments.⁶⁸ Another correspondent who had been sent the off-print, wrote that 'you are the first to have tackled the definition of Cilicia properly'. He added that he was looking forward 'to reading your "Roman Revolution", which I am reserving for the vacation. Your output of first-class work is enormous, not to say alarming.'⁶⁹

Apart from a paper in a *Festschrift* for a continental colleague,⁷⁰ Syme's 'enormous output' was shortly to be curtailed by his service during the war. Of course, the appearance of *RR* would in normal circumstances have further contributed to this admiring reaction. As it was, academic reviews were limited and the single lengthy one, in *JRS*, by A. Momigliano has tended to dominate the evaluation of the great book, not least on the Continent.⁷¹ Among other criticisms, Momigliano rebuked Syme for excessive prosopography. Many years later a corrective was supplied by

⁶⁷ 'Early history of province Galatia', 201–225. In a note on the first page, 201 n. 1, he wrote: 'I began on too large a scale, trying to make the article worthy of the scholar whom we write to honour; and have now excluded several illustrative inscriptions and proofs of disputed points. These are printed in my *Social Basis of Roman Power in Asia Minor*, to which I must refer [published posthumously, 1941]. I regret that after careful study I got little help from an article in *Klio*, 1934, p. 129f. Mr. Syme's method of reasoning differs from mine; I quote him where he seems to me to be right.'

⁶⁸ *Buckler Studies* 299–332, repr. *RP* I 120–148. See Münzer's letter of 15.7.39: he disagreed about the identity of Q. Philippus (p. 318=155–6), 'Aber sonst haben Sie mich ganz und gar überzeugt.'

⁶⁹ Letter of 16.6.39 from Max Cary [formerly Max Otto Bismarck Caspari] (1881–1958), who was Reader 1908–1937, then Professor of Ancient History 1937–1946 at London University. See Todd 157–158 (H.W. Benario).

⁷⁰ 'Roman senators from Dalmatia', *Serta Hoffilleriana* (1940) 225–242, repr. in *DP* 110–119, with Addendum 119–121. Viktor Hoffiller (1877–1954), Professor of Classical Archaeology at Zagreb since 1924, had recently published, with B. Saria, *Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslawien* I (1938).

⁷¹ *JRS* 30 (1940) 75–80, repr. in id., *Secondo contributo alla storia di studi classici* (1960) 407–416. I may refer to my comments in *PA* 6 (2016): 'In my own opinion, the

Fergus Millar, in his review article on *RP* I–II.⁷² Early in the review he comments: ‘Most unfortunately, the method of selection has operated to reinforce the familiar conception of Syme as the master of political prosopography, and to obscure the fundamental importance of Latin literature for the whole of his work, and of military history in the earlier part of it.’ It is impossible to summarise the rest of this very detailed assessment of Syme’s work, the best that there is, in my view — not forgetting that it was written when Syme had nearly a further decade before him, in which he published several more books and a great many articles.

review is an example of a reviewer’s cardinal sin: to devote a great deal of space to criticising a book for what the author does not discuss. It is striking that the “omissions” highlighted by Momigliano include client-rulers. Had Syme devoted more space to them he would presumably have needed to cite Momigliano’s own works (nowhere referred to in *RR*, whereas the monograph *Ottaviano capoparte* (1933) by Momigliano’s rival M.A. Levi is cited nine times).’

⁷² ‘Style abides’, *JRS* 71 (1981) 144–152. See also F. Millar, ‘Sir Ronald Syme’, *ODNB* vol. 53, 579–581.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Above all I need to express my gratitude to the late Sir Fergus Millar, who initially suggested making this selection, and as Syme's Literary Executor gave me permission to read and to publish material in Syme's papers. This was first in the 1990s when the papers were still at Wolfson College, and more recently since they have been housed in the Bodleian Library's Special Collections. Federico Santangelo has repeatedly urged me to carry out the editing of these letters and has proposed publishing them online as a Supplementary Volume of the new journal *History of Classical Scholarship*, which he has launched jointly with Lorenzo Calvelli. I was already indebted to him for numerous conversations and exchanges of view about Ronald Syme in the past seven years, in the course of which he has edited, with Introduction and notes, previously unpublished articles by Syme, *Approaching the Roman Revolution. Papers on Republican History* (2016). I have also benefited from frequent exchanges of views over several years with Gustavo Vivas García, who successfully defended his doctoral dissertation, 'Ronald Syme, Una biografía intelectual: 1928–1939', at the Universidad de La Laguna, Tenerife, in July 2015; published (under the name of Gustavo García Vivas) as *Ronald Syme. El camino hasta La Revolución Romana (1928–1939)* (2017). Glen Bowersock, whose 'Memoir' is still the best introduction to Syme's life and work, a friend for over fifty years, has generously answered questions mostly put to him by email.

Help from others is here gratefully acknowledged. Professor Peter Eich of Freiburg-im-Breisgau originally helped me in 2011 to consult the Fabricius Archive there (when I was seeking correspondence with R.G. Collingwood). This supplied photocopies of letters to Fabricius from several British colleagues, including the two from Syme, written in summer 1928 and on 28.3.30. The postcard which Syme and others, my father Eric Birley among them, signed and sent to Fabricius on 3.7.30, was photocopied for me in the 1990s by a colleague at Düsseldorf who came across it by chance while working in the archives at Freiburg. Through the good offices of Professor Riccardo Di Donato, Syme's letter to Momigliano of 24.4.39 in the Momigliano Archive at the Scuola Normale Superiore in Pisa, was made available to me. Julia Sorrell provided a copy of several pages from the unpublished novel by her father Alan Sorrell. I should like to thank Giuseppe Degrassi for kindly granting permission to publish the letters of his grandfather Attilio; Georges and Jean Durry for authorising the edition of the postcards from their father Marcel; and Nicholas and Antony Hardie for permission to reproduce the

letter from their father Colin Hardie. I am grateful to Christopher Pelling, who sent me the draft text of his Syme lecture ‘The Rhetoric of *The Roman Revolution*’, now published in *Syllecta Classica* (2015); he also corrected me on some details. Martin Edmond, a fellow-countryman of Syme, kindly sent me the draft text of his biographical essay on Syme. Edmond’s use of material from New Zealand is particularly illuminating. On three occasions I gave talks about these letters, at the BSR, Newcastle University and Edinburgh University, and helpful comments were offered in the discussion. Thanks are due to several other friends and colleagues who have corrected errors or supplied bibliography and background information: Timothy Barnes, Keith Bradley, Corey Brennan, Lorenzo Calvelli, Duncan Campbell, James Connelly, Robin Darwall-Smith, Werner Eck, Peter Kovács, Barbara Levick, Oliver House, Ronald Ridley, Marjeta Šašel-Kos, Hans Michael Schellenberg, the late Walter Schmitt-henner, Christopher Smith, Martha Stewart, Richard Talbert, Roger Tomlin, Konrad Vössing, Klaus Wachtel, Hannah Westall, John Wilkes, Peter Wiseman, and Tony (A.J.) Woodman. Needless to say, remaining errors and omissions are my own responsibility.

In an age when university libraries have mostly banished back numbers of periodicals to the ‘cyberworld’, it has been very welcome to this ‘cybernetically challenged’ person to have been able to consult a very wide range of journals on the shelves of the RGK library. I have to confess aversion or indeed incompetence when it comes to consulting works of reference online but must gratefully confess to benefiting from the free online Wikipedia, when needing to check basic biographical data. Given Syme’s close contacts with German colleagues, it was natural for me to turn to the pioneering work by Karl Christ (see Special Abbreviations, under Christ) for informative discussion of many of the scholars whom Syme met or who were referred to in the letters. It has to be added, however, that one can be somewhat overwhelmed by the ever increasing number of contributions to German *Wissenschaftsgeschichte*.¹ A final debt should be mentioned: I had the good fortune to have known Syme from my early years, as he was a friend of my father Eric Birley (from whom two letters, of 4.12.34 and 30.3.35, are printed below; many more from the post-war years are in the Archive) and several times stayed at

¹ As well as the work by Christ, articles from which I have particularly benefited are those cited in the Select Bibliography by V. Losemann (a pupil of Christ), S. Rebenich and K. Wachtel. A recent example is M. Sommer & T. Schmitt, eds, *Von Hannibal zu Hitler. ‘Rom und Karthago’ 1943* [ed. by J. Vogt] *und die deutsche Altertumswissenschaft im Nationalsozialismus* (2019). Only one of the nine authors in that work of 1943, M. Gelzer, features in my own study. Gelzer’s chapter receives an analysis of more than 70 pages (105–178) by Tassilo Schmitt in the new book.

our house, Chesterholm, and later at 24 North Bailey, Durham. From 1960 to 1965 I was supervised by him for my dissertation. Later I saw a good deal of him on visits to Wolfson College in the 1980s when I was editing *RP* III, IV–V and VI–VII; and also at *Historia-Augusta-Colloquia*, for the first time in 1966, for the final time in May 1989.

SOME CORRECTIONS

One particular confusion is pointed out above, at n. 8, on the date of Syme's short-lived engagement to Dr. Vera Reader, where Edmond corrected both Bowersock and myself.

Bowersock and I both committed a further error, in limiting the number of Syme's doctoral pupils to W. Schmitthenner, E. Badian, F.G.B. Millar, G.W. Bowersock, M. Griffin, A.R. Birley, T.D. Barnes: Bowersock 556–557, followed by Birley, *PA* 6 (2016) 152 n. 8. We both omitted Dr. Barbara Levick, whose dissertation, supervised by Syme (with further supervision by Eric Gray and C.H.V. Sutherland), led to her *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor* (1967). As Dr. Levick kindly confirmed in an email of 7 February 2019,

I was Syme's doctoral student. I remember the cigar smoke. He chose my subject. Roman colonies in southern Asia Minor was an offshoot of his interests in Turkey (see his post mortem publications). But, although I began with him in 1954, I don't know how long I went on because he was so often away: notoriously. It was intermittent. So I had other supervisors: C.H.V. Sutherland for the coins, and Eric Gray for the Asia Minor stuff. I was lucky to have had three such distinguished supervisors.

Dr. Levick, elected a Fellow of St. Hilda's College, Oxford in 1959, is the author of another ten books on Roman History and numerous important articles.

A few minor errors in Bowersock's *Memoir*, several of them kindly supplied or verified by Bowersock himself, were noted in my article in *PA* 6 (2016) 157 n. 28: The 'delicious verses' about Syme's old tutor Marcus Niebuhr Tod, preserved in Syme's papers, were evidently not, as assumed by Bowersock, who quotes them *in extenso*, pp. 542–544, composed by Syme himself. They were in fact by C.M. Bowra, as Bowersock pointed out to me, and are printed in Bowra's *New Bats in Old Belfries: or Some Loose Tiles*, eds H. Hardy & J. Holmes (2005) 3–5. One may note here that Syme alluded to this at the end of his 1979 Retrospective Talk: 'Tod Bowra on Tod' (*RT* I.4.)

'Syme's first published scholarly article' was not that in *JRS* for 1930 (as Bowersock 547): this was preceded by his articles in *JRS* 1928 and *CQ*

1929. Finally, the Camden Professor J.G.C. Anderson was not dead in 1936 (as Bowersock 548), when H.M. Last succeeded him. Anderson in fact retired in 1936 and died on 31 March 1952, aged 82.)

Another mistake was committed by myself in the obituary for Syme which I wrote in the *Independent* newspaper of 7th September 1989: ‘Only careful readers of his many reviews, for examples of Levi’s *Ottaviano capoparte* (1935) ...’ — Levi’s book was actually published in 1933. To compound the error, when editing *RP* VI, in which the review of Levi was reprinted at 1–4, I referred in the Preface (p. v) to the original publication, *CR* 48 (1934) 76–78, as being ‘from 1936’.

Edmond 119: ‘Groag, Münzer and Stein were all Jewish, and Syme later became involved in attempts to rescue them from the Nazi catastrophe.’ In fact, only for Stein do the letters show any ‘attempt to rescue’ him. Nothing is recorded in Groag’s case and Syme’s efforts on Münzer’s behalf were simply to help him to publish an article in *JRS*, after he was barred from publishing in the Reich.

Edmond 133: Quoting Syme, ‘*One uses what one can*’, he said, ‘*and there is work to be done*,’ has a tiny slip: it should be ‘One uses what one has’. Syme wrote this in ‘People in Pliny’, *JRS* 58 (1968) 135–151, at 46=*RP* II 694–723, at 711.

Edmond 319, in his ‘Notes on Sources’, attributes ‘the Scott-Moncrieff anecdote’, among other items, to Bowersock. In fact, the excerpt from the Scott Moncrieff letter of 3.3.29 which he quotes at his p. 120 was not in Bowersock. It was in the handout which I had prepared for my lecture about these Letters, and made available to Edmond.

SPECIAL ABBREVIATIONS

- Anat.* = Ronald Syme, *Anatolica. Studies in Strabo*, ed. A. Birley (1999).
ARR = Ronald Syme, *Approaching the Roman Revolution. Papers on Republican History*, ed. F. Santangelo (2016).
Aug. Arist. = Ronald Syme, *The Augustan Aristocracy* (1986).
Bowersock = G.W. Bowersock, 'Ronald Syme 1903–1989', *PBA* 84 (1994) 530–563.
Briggs, *Biog.* = W.W. Briggs Jr., ed., *Biographical Dictionary of North American Classicists* (1994).
Briggs & Calder = W.W. Briggs Jr. & W.M. Calder III, eds, *Classical Scholarship: A Biographical Encyclopedia* (1990)
BSR = The British School at Rome.
CAH = *Cambridge Ancient History* (1st edition).
CE = Ronald Syme, *Colonial Elites. Rome, Spain and the Americas* (1958).
Christ = K. Christ, *Römische Geschichte und deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft* (1982).
DNP = *Der Neue Pauly*, eds H. Cancik & H. Schneider (1996–2003).
DP = Ronald Syme, *Danubian Papers* (1971).
Edmond = M. Edmond, 'The Provincial at Rome', in id., *The Expatriates* (Wellington NZ 2017) 104–179.
García = G. García Vivas, *Ronald Syme. El camino hasta La Revolución Romana (1928–1939)* (2016).
ODNB = *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: In Association with the British Academy: From the Earliest Times to the Year 2000*, eds H.C.G. Matthew & B. Harrison (2004).
PatR = Ronald Syme, *The Provincial at Rome and Rome and the Balkans 80 BC–AD 14*, ed. A. Birley (1999).
RA = *Römische Adelsparteien und Adelsfamilien*, cf. F. Münzer in *Select Bibliography*.
RGK = Die Römisch-Germanische Kommission, Frankfurt-am-Main.
RP = Ronald Syme, *Roman Papers* I–II, ed. E. Badian (1974), III (1984), IV–V (1988), VI–VII (1991), ed. A.R. Birley.
RR = Ronald Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (1939 and reprints).
RT = Syme's Notes for Retrospective Talks, printed with some annotation as Appendix II, below.
Schmitthenner = W. Schmitthenner, 'Zur Geschichte des althistorischen Seminars der Universität Freiburg anlässlich seines hundertjährigen Bestehens', *Freiburger Universitätsblätter* 111 (1991) 83–95.
Tac. = Ronald Syme, *Tacitus* (1958).
Todd = R.B. Todd, ed., *Dictionary of British Classicists 1500–1960* (3 vols, 2004).

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- F. Millar, 'Style abides' (review of *RP* I–II), *JRS* 71 (1981) 144–152.
- A. Momigliano, review of *RR*, *JRS* 30 (1940) 75–80; repr. in id., *Secondo contributo alla storia degli studi classici* (1960) 107–116.
- F. Münzer, *Römische Adelsparteien und Adelsfamilien* (1920), translated by T. Ridley as *Roman Aristocratic Parties and Families* (1999).
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- C.J. Smith, 'A hundred years of Roman history: historiography and intellectual culture', *PBSR* 80 (2012) 295–323.
- L. Stone, 'Prosopography', in F. Gilbert & R. Graubard, eds, *Historical Studies Today* (1972) 107–140.
- K. Wachtel, 'Arthur Stein (1871–1950) und Edmund Groag (1893–1945). Zwei jüdische Gelehrtschicksale in Wien und Prag', in K. Hruza, ed., *Österreichische Historiker. Lebensläufe und Karrieren 1900–1945* (2012) II 129–167.

THE LETTERS*

* Every effort has been made by the series editors and myself to contact the family of correspondents who died less than 70 years ago, in order to obtain permission for publication. In many cases the effort was without success; see the Acknowledgements for more details. It has not seemed necessary to modify the language of the correspondents A. Alföldi and A. Stein, whose letters were in English, as their meaning was always clear.

From M.N. Tod¹

Oriel College,
Oxford.
21st June, 1927.

My dear Syme,

From my silence today you will have inferred that the great and glad news had not reached me yet. I am more than delighted, & Mrs. Tod and I unite in offering to you our most heartfelt congratulations upon this addition to your remarkable record of achievements.²

Ever yours

Marcus N. Tod

¹ Marcus Niebuhr Tod (1878–1974), Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford 1905–1947, was Syme's Ancient History tutor: his published work was principally in the field of Greek epigraphy. Through his mother he was a great-grandson of the Danish–German ancient historian Barthold Georg Niebuhr (1776–1831). See *ODNB* vol. 54, 866–867 (by M.H. Crawford); also Todd 975–978 (by David W.J. Gill).

² The 'glad news' must refer to Syme's First Class degree. Syme was congratulated and informed of his marks in the various papers by his philosophy tutor W.D. Ross (on whom see further below, note to letter of 13.5.28 from Tod). The note from Ross was dated '30 July 27'. The 'remarkable record' clearly refers to Syme's winning of 'a series of major classical prizes', cf. Bowersock 544.

From J.G.C. Anderson³

Nov. 23, 1927

Dear Syme,

I understand that the Clarendon Press has nothing in view with regard to Domitian. So there is no impediment so far as that goes, but of course one cannot assume that they would be willing to publish such a work as you have in mind. You might ultimately have to be content with the publication of studies of particular questions in, say, the 'Journal of Roman Studies' or some such periodical. However, one cannot forecast what might happen, and if you make it your aim to study questions thoroughly & so to make some real contributions to knowledge — as opposed to mere expository compilation — there should be no difficulty about publication. German, I presume, you know? Without it at least (& French) you could not make any progress.

Yours sincerely,

J.G.C. Anderson

³ John George Clark Anderson (1870–1952) was Camden Professor of Ancient History at Oxford 1927–1936. Syme kept two further letters from Anderson, both relating to Galatia and Phrygia, dated 7.10.1932 and 25.1.33, not included in this Selection. Syme clearly intended to write a book about Domitian and had written to Anderson for advice. A few months later he went to Paris to meet Stéphane Gsell, author of the then standard work on Domitian, see Gsell's card of 12.1.28, below; and later that year to Freiburg, to meet Ernst Fabricius, the leading authority on the Limes, the creation of which was then attributed to Domitian, see note to Fabricius' card of 5.6.28. Todd 13–14 (by H.W. Benario). (This letter was printed from the transcript by A.R.B. in García 197.)

From M.N. Tod

19, Norham Road,
Oxford.
23. 11. 27

My dear Syme,

Many thanks for your letter. I am glad that you have come into touch with Professor Anderson. I have written to the President of Magdalen recommending you very cordially to him. If I were you, I should certainly ask Dr. Henderson for a testimonial: such an act would be perfectly regular. But I should not, I think, ask for a testimonial from Mr. Holroyd — one Examiner is enough.

Need I assure you that you have my warmest wishes for your success?

Ever yours,

Marcus N. Tod

P.S. Though I do not recommend you to ask Mr. Holroyd for a testimonial, I suggest that Mr. Stevenson might well be approached. I am sure that he will gladly support you unless he has a University [i.e. University College] candidate to whom he is pledged.⁴

19, Norham Road,
Oxford.

18th December, 1927.

My dear Syme,

I congratulate you very heartily upon the fresh distinction & the new opportunity you have secured by your election as Senior Demy of Magdalen. It will, of course, allow you to carry out the research on which you have set your heart & so to place the whole world of scholarship & of history consciously in your debt.

⁴ Syme had applied for a 'Senior Demyship' (a postgraduate research award) at Magdalen College. Those mentioned by Tod as potential referees are Bernard William Henderson (1872–1929), Fellow of Merton College 1894–1901, and of Exeter College 1901–1929; author of several books on Roman imperial history, Michael Holroyd (1892–1953), Fellow of Brasenose College 1919–1953 (see further the List at the end of App. II), and George Hope Stevenson (1880–1952), Fellow of University College 1906–1949, author of several works on Roman history. Syme was duly elected, cf. the following letter from Tod and those from Sir Herbert Warren, below.

I am so sorry that such a heavy cold which I developed last Sunday made me feel it unwise to call on you on Monday, while Tuesday, as I told you, had to be spent in London. I do trust that by this time you are entirely free from your influenza & that even its after-effects are rapidly disappearing.

With renewed congratulations and with heartiest good wishes for the approaching Christmastide I am

Very sincerely yours

Marcus N. Tod

From Sir Herbert Warren⁵

Ronald Symes Esq.,
 Oriel College
 Oxford

MAGDALEN COLLEGE
 OXFORD
 January 9, 1928

My dear Mr Symes,

You may have been surprised you have not heard from me before but I was exceedingly busy at the time of your Election with an accumulation of business which there always is at the end of the Michaelmas Term and then came Christmas and the New Year and I have only just been able to write, moreover, I thought it probable that you, yourself might be away.

First of all let me say how much pleasure and hope I feel in our having elected you. I could not but be impressed by your Oxford record. I was very sorry indeed to hear of your ill-fortune in regard to the Ireland.⁶ Something of the same kind, though not quite similar, happened in my own time, to my friend, Lord Milner,⁷ but I think yours was more pure misfortune. I am only very partially consoled by hearing that you have been elected (though it has not been announced) to the Derby Scholarship. I am very much interested as I suppose that will work in with your intention of doing Research work on the History of Domitian. I hope you will let me know later somewhat more about your plans.

If you are going to be in Oxford at all soon, I hope you will come and see me.

I am having a paper printed, giving some information and instructions about the two Senior Demies, and will send you a copy shortly. The old paper embodying the regulations under the Old Statutes is no longer entirely suitable. In the meantime will you let me know when you are likely to be here and what you are proposing to do next term.

Yours sincerely
 Herbert Warren

I am sorry that my typist has pluralised your name.
 She has got it right on the Envelope. It's more distinguished
 in the singular

⁵ Sir Thomas Herbert Warren (1853–1930) was President of Magdalen College, Oxford 1885–1928. *ODNB*, vol. 57, 481–482 (by C. Bailey).

⁶ The Ireland Prize.

⁷ Alfred, Viscount Milner (1854–1925); he and Warren were contemporaries as undergraduates at Balliol College 1872–1876.

From S. Gsell⁸ (postcard)

Paris, le 12 janvier 1927 [presumably in fact 1928]⁹

Cher Monsieur,

Excusez-moi d'avoir un peu tardé à répondre à votre lettre. Elle vient seulement de me parvenir, ayant été adressée à la Sorbonne (je suis professeur au Collège de France, non à la Sorbonne). Comme vous partez le 16 et que presque tout mon temps est pris ces jours-ci, je vous propose de venir me voir vendredi à 4 heures à l'Institut. Vous demanderez au concierge (sur le quai) où est la Salle des séances à gauche du dôme quand on vient de la Seine de l'Académie des Inscriptions. Une fois parvenu dans cette Salle, vous me ferez demander par l'employé qui se tient à une table, dans la salle, à droite de l'entrée. Et nous pourrons ainsi causer. Je serai fort heureux de faire votre connaissance.

Veuillez agréer, cher Monsieur, l'expression des mes sentiments les meilleurs et les plus dévoués

S. Gsell

⁸ Stéphane Gsell (1864–1932) was the author of *Essai sur le règne de l'empereur Domitien* (1893), still the standard work on the subject in 1927 (and for many years after that). This was clearly what attracted Syme to visit him (although Gsell had been for many years mainly involved in the ancient history of North Africa).

⁹ 12 January 1927 was a Wednesday, in 1928 a Thursday; hence 'vendredi' must be Friday 13th January 1928. (This letter was printed from the transcript by A.R.B. in García 198.)

From H.M. Last¹⁰

St. John's College,
Oxford.

13.i. '28

Dear Mr. Syme,

Now that the Derby election¹¹ has at last got into the papers, let me send my congratulations. The competition this year was strong enough to make them by no means out of place.

The next thing is for us to find out something more about your proposals for a subject for a research and for a place of residence abroad, both of which have to be approved by the Craven Committee. It would save much correspondence if we met. Could you dine with me here in C.R. at 7.15 p.m. on either Sunday or Monday next — 15 or 16 Jan.?¹²

Yours sincerely,
Hugh Last

¹⁰ Hugh Macilwain Last (1894–1957), Fellow of St John's College from 1919; Camden Professor of Ancient History 1936–1948; resigned to become Principal of Brasenose College. An early mentor of Syme, who was to succeed him as Camden Professor in 1949; but they had by then become estranged, cf. Bowersock 551–554. Last, as Principal of Brasenose College *ex officio* an Elector, evidently tried to block Syme's election, although he was the only candidate: see A.R. Birley, *Politica Antica* 6 (2016) 154 n. 14, reporting a personal communication from Timothy Barnes. The entry on Last in Todd 504–505, by A.M. Devine, is very negative. For a more positive and much more detailed assessment see P.A. Brunt, 'Hugh Macilwain Last', *Athenaeum* 100 (2012) 435–445 (originally given as a seminar paper at Oxford on 1 March 1994, edited by M.H. Crawford). Full biographical details in *ODNB* vol. 32, 604–605 (by P.M. Fraser). Cf. also C.J. Smith, 'A hundred years of ancient history. Historiography and intellectual culture', *PBSR* 80 (2012) 295–323, esp. 306–316 (with some critical remarks about Syme, cf. Introduction). Further letters from Last, dated 19.9.28, 27.11.28, 9.2.29, 30.4.37, 11.5.38, are included below.

¹¹ Cf. the letter of 9.1.28 from Warren.

¹² To judge from Gsell's card, above, which refers to Syme intending to leave Paris on 16th January, he must have been unable to accept Last's invitation to dine in the Common Room at St John's on 15th or 16th January.

Last's letters from 1928 and 1929 show that he actively encouraged Syme's first publications.

From M.N. Tod

19, Norham Road,
Oxford

Oriel College
15. 3. 28

My dear Syme,

Many thanks for your letter. The best of luck with you on your travels! Freiburg will win your heart, but Oxford will still retain her hold.

I enclose a note of introduction to Professor Kolbe. I cannot read his address, but you can learn it at the University. He is a fine man — unless he has much changed since the days in Athens when I came into frequent contact with him.¹³

Aufwiedersehen!

Ever yours
Marcus N. Tod

Oriel College,
Oxford.
13th May, 1928

My dear Syme,

I trust that your other Oxford correspondents have treated you better than I & have kept you posted on such news as there is to tell. I do not know that I can add anything to what you have already learned from them, but I must at least send you a few words of acknowledgement of your two letters & tell you how glad I am to learn something about your experiences at Freiburg and to be assured that you are enjoying your time there. I do hope that Kolbe, whom I have not seen since 1904 or 1905, has not, despite war strain & more recent illness, lost wholly his old

¹³ Walther Kolbe (1876–1943) was the successor of Ernst Fabricius in the Chair of Ancient History at Freiburg. He was mainly a specialist in Greek history and had met Tod in Greece before the First World War. Clearly Syme was really interested in meeting Fabricius rather than Kolbe at Freiburg, because of his interest in Domitian and in the creation of the Limes, with which Fabricius was so closely involved. But Kolbe also covered Roman history and Syme is quite likely to have attended his lectures; in *RR* (313 n. 1 and 412 n. 2) he cited with approval a paper by Kolbe, 'Von der Republik zur Monarchie', in *Aus Roms Zeitwende. Von Wesen und Wirken des Augusteischen Geistes* (*Das Erbe der Alten*, 2. Reihe, Heft XX, 1931) 27–65, at 37–65, 51. On Fabricius see further below and note to Fabricius' postcard of 5.6.28. (This letter was printed from the transcript by A.R.B. in García 199.)

vigour, alertness & decisiveness. Tell him, if you care to do so, that I am delighted with his recent paper on the Decree of Kallias.¹⁴

The Mods list was very satisfactory — 4 firsts, seven seconds & two thirds: of the 13 men concerned only 8 are proceeding to Greats — Stuart is taking Law, Knight French, Usherwood History, Meade & Bell Modern Greats. Of the juniors Todd has gone over to Pass Mods. We have the prospect of an even greater number of Classics next October than we have ever had in the last two years.

Parker's book on the Roman legions has at length appeared, but I have not yet looked into it: Parker himself is, I understand, to be appointed shortly a University Lecturer in Roman History.¹⁵

Last Tuesday saw the long awaited struggle in Congregation over the future of the Bodleian. The two rival schemes, A & B, were hotly debated. A was voted on & rejected by a very large majority: then B was thrown out by some 20 votes! Result — a deadlock.

Jacob,¹⁶ you will have heard, has decided to settle at Columbia & not return to Oriel. Ross¹⁷ is in full work again. All goes well, I hope. Warmest wishes for a very pleasant & profitable sojourn abroad.

Ever yours

Marcus N. Tod

¹⁴ Presumably Kolbe's 'Studien über das Kalliasdekret. Bausteine zu einer Geschichte des Schatzes der Athena', *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Jahrgang* (1929) 273–289.

¹⁵ Henry Michael Denne Parker (1894–1971), Tutor and Dean, Keble College, Oxford 1921–1926; Fellow and Tutor, Magdalen College 1926–1945; University Lecturer in Roman History 1928–1933; author of *The Roman Legions* (1928); *A History of the Roman World from AD 138–337* (1935); seconded to Civil Service 1941–1945, thereafter full time civil servant; as Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Labour awarded CBE in 1950, CB in 1954. Cf. below, notes to letters from Last of 19.9.28 and Birley of 4.12.34 for comments on Parker's *Legions* book.

¹⁶ Albert Charles Jacobs [not Jacob] (1900–1976), Rhodes Scholar at Oriel 1921, from University of Michigan; took B.C.L. 1924; joined Columbia Law Faculty 1927. Later Chancellor, University of Denver 1949–1953, then President of Hartford College, Connecticut 1953–1968.

¹⁷ William David Ross (1877–1971; knighted 1938, known as Sir David Ross), Fellow of Oriel from 1902, Provost of the College 1929–1947; publications included monographs on Aristotle (1923), Plato (1951) and Kant (1954), *The Right and the Good* (1930) and *The Foundations of Ethics* (1939). He was Syme's philosophy tutor and sent him a handwritten note, 30.7.27, expressing 'Hearty congratulations on your First' and listing Syme's marks in all his papers.

From Sir H. Warren

MAGDALEN COLLEGE
OXFORD
26th May 1928

Dear Syme,

I was very glad to get your letter of May 8th., with the Report enclosed.

I understand that you are not likely to return to Oxford before the middle of June at the earliest. Could you send me a line to say more exactly when you will be here?

I agree with you about the Ballads, and also about the desirability of the Germans reading their Classics themselves more, and not writing so much about them. I think my former pupil, Professor Housman,¹⁸ would entirely endorse what you have said. Of course, that is still more true of the Americans, who in this matter have followed the Germans too much.

Yours sincerely,
Herbert Warren

Ronald Syme Esq.,
c/o Frau Dr. Hammar,
Maltererstrasse 20,
Freiburg im Breisgau,
Germany

¹⁸ Alfred Edward Housman (1859–1936), best known to many as a poet, was the outstanding Latinist of his time; he went up to St John's College, Oxford in 1877, the year when Warren became a Fellow of Balliol, so presumably could have been taught by Warren. Professor of Latin, Cambridge, 1911–1936. Todd 477–480 (by M.E. Irwin).

From E. Fabricius¹⁹ (postcard)

Freiburg, den 5. Juni 28

Sehr geehrter Herr Syme!

Wenn Sie mir also das Vergnügen machen wollen, mit mir noch einmal nach Badenweiler²⁰ zu gehen, so bitte ich Sie, am Donnerstag mich zu dem Zuge, der um 13. 06 nach Müllheim abfährt (also etwa 5 Minuten vor 1 Uhr) in der Vorhalle des Bahnhofs zu treffen.

Mit besten Grüßen

Ihr ergebener

Fabricius

¹⁹ Ernst Fabricius (1857–1942) was Professor of Ancient History at Freiburg from 1888 until his retirement in 1926; from 1902 until 1937 he was Vorsitzender of the Reichs-Limes-Kommission, in the research for which he was himself actively involved; he had written the article, 'Limes', in the *RE* 13.1 (1926) 572–671. In 1928 he was awarded an honorary doctorate by Durham University and was taken to see Hadrian's Wall and the Antonine Wall: cf. R.G. Collingwood, R.C. Bosanquet and F.G. Simpson, 'Professor Fabricius' visit', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne*, 4th series, 3 (1928) 280–286. See (briefly) Christ 119–120, citing the obituary by M. Gelzer, *Gnomon* 18 (1942) 238–240, reprinted in Gelzer, *Kleine Schriften* III (1964) 332–335; Walter Schmitthenner's lecture of 1989 marking the centenary of the founding of the Freiburg ancient history seminar is mainly devoted to Fabricius (Schmitthenner). Schmitthenner (1916–1997), who completed a second doctorate as a pupil of Syme at Oxford after the war, was himself Professor at Freiburg 1967–1984; cf. the obituary by J. Malitz, *Gnomon* 71 (1999) 174–180.

²⁰ On these baths see the convenient summary in P. Filzinger, D. Planck & B. Cämmerer, eds, *Die Römer in Baden-Württemberg* (1976) 223–226; a full account was published by H. Mylius, *Die römischen Heilthermen von Badenweiler* (1936). Eric Birley was told by Fabricius the following year that on arrival at the celebrated remains Syme had for half an hour recited from memory all the passages in ancient literature referring to baths and bathing. Note that Schmitthenner 91–92 was mistaken in writing that it was through Eric Birley that Syme found his way to Freiburg and that Syme was first there in summer 1929. Eric Birley, who had met Fabricius when he visited Hadrian's Wall in 1928, first went to Freiburg the next year. (This card was printed from the transcript by A.R.B. in García 200.)

From Syme to Fabricius²¹*(undated, but clearly summer 1928, after Syme's stay in Freiburg)*

12 Palmengartenstrasse

Frankfurt a. M.

Sehr Geehrter Geheimrat Fabricius!²²

Endlich fasse ich den Mut deutsch an Sie zu schreiben. Was für mich eine bisher unerhörte Erwägung²³ bedeutet. Besser aber ist es dass ich in Ihrer eignen Sprache meine Dankbarkeit auszudrücken versuche — weil ich es der Mühe wert halte. Dank Ihrer Empfehlung bin ich überall sehr freundlich aufgenommen — sie hat buchstäblich als Kreditbrief gegolten! In Karlsruhe habe ich die Abgüsse gesehen — wäre es nur um zu bestätigen dass sie ausgezeichnet gemacht worden sind und wohl einen Platz an der Sonne verdienen — die unterirdische Kammer wirkt geheimnisvoll.

Herr Direktor Drexel²⁴ ist mir sehr sympathisch — ich hatte mich ihn früher als ein ganz bejahrten Mann, etwa den Zeitgenossen des Georg Wolffs,²⁵ vorgestellt. So war seine Erscheinung eine Überraschung. Mit Herrn Stein²⁶ habe ich schon öfters geplaudert — hauptsächlich über die Distribution [besser gesagt Ausbreitung?] der Legionsziegeln. Sein Buch finde ich, wenn man so sagen darf, tiefbohrend. Inzwischen habe ich genau²⁷ zu tun — die Bibliothek ist ausgezeichnet. Die Lage des Instituts braucht man nicht zu loben, so ruhig und wie waldumgeben ist sie.

²¹ From the Fabricius Archiv at Freiburg University.

²² Syme was careful to give Fabricius his title *Geheimrat*, 'Privy Councillor'. He was one of the last to have this title, conferred of course before the abolition of the monarchy; Freiburg was in the Grand Duchy of Baden.

²³ *Sic*: Erwägung is correct.

²⁴ Professor Friedrich Drexel (1885–1930), Erster Direktor of the RGK 1925–1930. See below for Drexel's letter to Syme of 14.2.29 and for Syme's letter of 28.3.30 to Fabricius about Drexel's death.

²⁵ Georg Wolff (1845–1929), by profession a schoolmaster in a Gymnasium, was also a highly regarded archaeologist, who was actively involved in research on the Roman Limes for many years. Syme refers in *JRS* 18 (1928) 42 n. 5 to 'the fundamental and indispensable conclusions of Georg Wolff'.

²⁶ Ernst Stein, who wrote to him the next year from Berlin, see letter of 19.2.29 below.

²⁷ *Sic*: a slip of the pen for 'genug'.

Den Taunus habe ich unverständlicherweise noch nicht besucht. Aber morgen die Bibliothekerin²⁸ und ich machen einen Ausflug auf die Saalburg. Später kann ich weiteres annehmen.

Noch einmal muss ich Ihnen danken — nicht nur persönlich, sondern der deutschen Wissenschaft und seinen Vertretern bin ich unendlich schuldig.

Bitte empfehlen Sie mich bestens an Ihre Frau und an Ihre Tochter — deren beiden die Gastfreundlichkeit und Schlechtersprechensgeduldigkeit²⁹ wird nicht vergessen.

Mit ergebenem Gruss
Ihr
Ronald Syme³⁰

²⁸ *Sic*: this should be ‘Bibliothekarin’. The librarian was Maria Goltermann, who married Dr. Gerhard Bersu, then Zweiter Direktor, on 22 December 1928. Bersu (1889–1964) was Erster Direktor of the RGK 1931–1935, when he was dismissed because of his Jewish origin; after emigration to England then to Ireland, he was reinstated 1950–1956. See the biography by W. Krämer, *Bericht der RGK* 82 (2001) 5–101.

²⁹ This word was evidently Syme’s own joking coinage, to mean ‘patience with poor pronunciation’.

³⁰ (This letter was printed from the transcript by A.R.B. in García 201.)

From H.M. Last

St John's College
Oxford

19. ix. '28.

My dear Syme,

I've been through this³¹ — it's pretty stiff reading — and so has Stuart Jones.³² We both want it for *JRS*; so I hope that you will get it ship-shape as soon as possible. You have my congratulations on a fine beginning.

After that, forgive me if I become somewhat avuncular. But it's the duty of editors to save expenditure on corrections in proof so far as possible. Please underline for italics legionary names and also the titles of books and articles — and also the abbreviations of Latin — *e.g.*, *s.v.* etc. I'm also inclined to think that the title of legions had better be written out in full the first time that each is mentioned: after that they can be shortened — but consistently.

Neither Stuart Jones nor I object to the polemics. But, though the errors of P.³³ must be indicated, the more gently it is done the better in the long

³¹ Syme had submitted to the Editorial Committee of *JRS* the article published as 'Rhine and Danube legions under Domitian', *JRS* 18 (1928) [published in 1929] 41–55 (this was his 'first published scholarly article' — not, as Bowersock 547, 'The imperial finances under Domitian, Nerva and Trajan', *JRS* 20 (1930) 55–70 [repr. in *RP* I 1–17]). The opportunity to talk to Ernst Stein at the RGK (see above, note to Syme's letter to Fabricius, summer 1928 and Stein's letter of 19.2.29), who had the task of preparing the *Nachlass* of Emil Ritterling for publication and later a fascicle of *CIL* XIII including tile-stamps as well (see below and n. 47), clearly gave Syme additional impetus for this article; his interest in Domitian was of course a major motive, and one may also note the repeated correction in the article of statements in Parker's *Roman Legions* (see note below).

³² Henry Stuart Jones (1867–1939) had been Camden Professor of Ancient History 1919–1927 and was on the Editorial Committee of *JRS*; he became Principal of University College, Aberystwyth in 1927 and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Wales 1929–1931. He was knighted in 1933. Todd 524–525 (by David Gill). See also List at end of Appendix II.

³³ H.M.D. Parker, whose book on *The Roman Legions* had just been published, see note to letter from Tod of 13.5.28.

term. However, I say this without implying that there is any single passage which I think ought to be changed. Anyhow I trust your judgement.

Again my applause, and my prayers that there may be more like this.

Yours ever

Hugh Last

I hope you won't mind this being published before Fuscus. But it's more important, and it is — so to speak — topical.³⁴

St. John's College,
Oxford.

27. xi. 28

My dear Syme,

Yes. I approve of the title. The A. of. V.F.³⁵

Again, yes. The C. O. Prize³⁶ is a good idea. The Germania needs no comment as a subject.³⁷ But about the Sarmatians I would say that I think you would do well to live up to your title — The S. in Ancient Literature. I mean that perhaps the examiners might not enthuse over a dissertation on punt poles and nothing else.³⁸

If you do decide to go in for this, let me know definitely. You have to get your subjects approved by the two Professors of Greek and Latin; and I might be of help in rumbling them without trouble.

Yours ever

Hugh Last

³⁴ The article on the legions was 'topical' because of the recent appearance of Parker's book. 'Fuscus' presumably refers to Syme's article, 'The colony of Cornelius Fuscus: an episode in the *Bellum Neronis*', eventually published in *AJP* 58 (1937) 7–18, reprinted in *DP* 73–81, with an Addendum at 82–83 (where, by mishap in the 'two items ... which puzzled Dessau [in *ILS* 9107]' and should have been reproduced as B.ACI and B.ACIL, the B for *b(eneficiarius)* has been omitted in both cases).

³⁵ 'The *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus', *CQ* 23 (1929) 129–137.

³⁶ The Charles Oldham Prize.

³⁷ Syme won the Charles Oldham Prize with an essay on Tacitus, *Germania*, never published; the text, 72 handwritten pages, is in the Syme Archive (in the Box catalogued as MS. 11378/21): see on this M. Toher, 'Tacitus' Syme', in A.J. Woodman, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Tacitus* (Cambridge 2009) 317–329, at 318–319.

³⁸ In Syme's Archive is a handwritten paper entitled 'Contus and Κοντός', never published (in the Box catalogued as MS. 11378/36).

From M.N. Tod

Confidential

Oriel College,
Oxford.
19. 1. 1929.

My dear Syme,

I have reason to know that the President & Fellows of Trinity are very seriously considering the creation of an Official Fellowship in Ancient History. They have not yet absolutely decided & nothing has been made public, but I understand privately that the Fellow, if appointed, would be expected to take the Ancient History tuition of an average of 6 men a year i.e. (say) 12–15 in two terms & 50% more in the Summer Term: he would be responsible for tuition on both sides, but would not necessarily lecture on both Greek & Roman History.

No terms have yet been fixed; but I have reason to know that when a Philosopher was appointed by Trinity, he started with (a) a Fellowship of minimum £200, rising pretty rapidly, (b) a minimum of £300 from the Tuition Fund, & (c) room & dinner allowance.

The Fellow, if appointed, would reside in College: he would vacate his Fellowship by marriage, if he married within 7 years of election, though he would be capable of being re-elected under certain conditions.³⁹

The question arises whether you would care for such a post, if created & if the President & Fellows were inclined to offer it to you. I cannot, naturally, commit them to anything; but I imagine they would not fail to consider seriously one who has such a brilliant record as you have established. And if the matter should mature rapidly, I think it would be well if I could take certain steps on your behalf.

So would you send me a short note, — marked 'confidential', but such as I could show to the President if occasion should arise, — saying what your attitude would be in the event of such a Fellowship being either advertised or offered to you without such public advertisement.

Very sincerely yours
Marcus N. Tod

³⁹ Syme's engagement to Dr. Vera Reader, a fellow New Zealander, had been announced in a New Zealand newspaper in September 1926. Syme kept a cutting announcing 'A New Zealand Engagement' with photographs of himself (clean-shaven) and his fiancée. But the engagement may well have been broken off before Syme was informed of the conditions attached to the Fellowship. At any rate, the marriage never took place. See further Introduction, at notes 8–9.

From H.M. Last

St. John's College,
Oxford.
9.ii. 29

My dear Syme,

Many thanks for your paper, which I've read with much satisfaction.⁴⁰ We can talk about that, and also about V. Flaccus — now happily complete, when you are in Oxford.⁴¹ Meanwhile, because I think it important that today's announcement should get into print as soon as possible, I'm sending it at once to Stuart Jones for approval.

Come and see me when you arrive. I shd. like a word with you about the situation in Trinity, if possible, before you dine there. I very much hope it comes off.⁴²

If you need any more money, let me know.

Yours ever,
Hugh Last

⁴⁰ Presumably 'The imperial finances under Domitian, Nerva and Trajan', *JRS* 20 (1930) 55–70 [repr. in *RP* I 1–17], cf. notes to Last's letter of 27.11.28 above and to Drexel's letter of 14.2.29 below.

⁴¹ 'The *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus', *CQ* 23 (1929) 129–137. Syme was still in Rome at this time, cf. next three letters.

⁴² On 27.2.29 H.E.D. Blakiston (1862–1942) President of Trinity, wrote to Syme offering the Fellowship.

From F. Drexel⁴³

Archäologisches Institut
des Deutschen Reiches
Römisch-Germanische Kommission

Frankfurt a.M. den 14. Februar 1929
Palmengartenstrasse 12

Tgd.-Nr.
651/29D

Mr. Ronald Syme
The British School at Rome
Valle Giulia
Roma (51)

Lieber Herr Syme,

Besten Dank für Jhren freundlichen Brief vom 7.d.M. Jch hatte im Drange der Geschäfte garnicht daran gedacht, dass Sie ja den Winter in Rom verbringen wollten, da wäre eine Reise nach Berlin zum Jubiläum natürlich etwas umständlich.⁴⁴ Es freut mich, dass Sie sich in Rom so wohl befinden und namentlich, dass Sie in unserem dortigen Institut so gut arbeiten können. Eine Bibliothek von diesem ehrwürdigen Alter ist natürlich schwer von jüngeren Bibliotheken einzuholen, wo hingegen sie inbezug auf die Literatur der letzten 15 Jahre wohl einigermaßen lückenhaft ist. Aber dafür haben Sie dann die Bibliothek der Britischen Schule.

Auf Jhre Arbeit über die Legionen bin ich gespannt, nachdem ich sie in Entstehen teilweise habe verfolgen können.⁴⁵ Jhre Sendung an Herrn Stein ist nicht durch meine Hände gegangen, sondern ihm wahrscheinlich von der Post direkt nach Berlin nachgeschickt worden.

Jhre neueste Arbeit, von der Sie schreiben, geht also andere Wege als Carcopino im ersten Bande der Dacia, der noch die Meinung vertritt,

⁴³ On Drexel see note to Syme's letter to Fabricius, summer 1928. The transcript here retains the J where I would be normal, in 'Jch', 'Jhnen', 'Jhr'.

⁴⁴ This refers to the celebrations in Berlin for the Centenary of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, held on 21 April 1929, see further note to letter from E. Stein of 19.2.29.

⁴⁵ 'Rhine and Danube legions under Domitian', *JRS* 18 (1928) [published in 1929] 41–55, cf. above, note to letter from Last of 27.11.28 and below, notes to letter from E. Stein of 19.2.29.

dass Domitian ein sehr schlechter Finanzmann gewesen sei.⁴⁶ Aber ich glaube, wir sprachen über Carcopinos Aufsatz mündlich.

Warum schreiben Sie aber nicht englisch? Dann würde ich wahrscheinlich öfters etwas von Ihnen hören.

Mit besten Grüßen,

Jhr

Drexel

⁴⁶ A reference to the article which appeared as ‘The imperial finances under Domitian, Nerva and Trajan’, *JRS* 20 (1930) 55–70 [repr. in *RP* I 1–17]. Syme argued against Jérôme Carcopino, ‘Les richesses des Daces et le redressement de l’empire romain’, *Dacia* 1 (1924) 28–34.

From E. Stein⁴⁷

Berlin-Steglitz, Birkbuschgarten 10,
am 19.II.29.

Sehr geehrter Herr Syme!

Da es sicher ist, dass Sie besser Deutsch können als ich Englisch und da es mir keinerlei Schwierigkeiten bereitet, einen englischen Brief zu verstehen, so darf ich annehmen, dass Sie mit Leichtigkeit deutsche Briefe verstehen; ich schlage deshalb vor, dass wir in unserer Korrespondenz unserer Muttersprachen bedienen, und mache damit hier den Anfang.

Vielen Dank für Ihren freundlichen Brief vom 7.d.M. und die Korrektur Ihres Artikels,⁴⁸ den ich mit grossem Vergnügen gelesen habe; ich habe keine Schwäche in Ihrer Argumentation entdecken können und glaube daher, dass Sie Ritterlings Ergebnisse so gut ergänzen, wie es bei der Lückenhaftigkeit der Ueberlieferung möglich ist; dass einiges hypothetisch bleibt, heben Sie selbst mit Recht hervor, aber das Bild, das wir uns zu machen haben, erfährt durch Sie doch eine erfreuliche

⁴⁷ Ernst Edward Aurel Stein (1891–1945), a nephew of Sir Aurel Stein, specialised in Byzantine history; his Vienna dissertation (1914) was on late Roman and Byzantine Ravenna, his Habilitations-Schrift was *Studien zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Reiches* (Stuttgart 1919); he subsequently composed a history of the later Roman Empire. Vol. I, *Geschichte des spätrömischen Reiches: Vom römischen zum byzantinischen Staate (284–476 n. Chr.)* (1928), was reviewed very favourably and at length by N.H. Baynes in *JRS* 18 (1928) [1929] 217–225. In exile because of his Jewish origin (he had left Germany in 1932), he completed the great work in French, published posthumously: *Histoire du Bas-Empire: De la disparition de l'Empire d'Occident à la mort de Justinien (476–565 n. Chr.)*, ed. J.-R. Palanque (Brussels and Paris 1949). Syme met Stein when the latter held a research post at the RGK 1927–1928, his task there was to prepare for publication the *Nachlass* of Emil Ritterling (1861–1928), who wrote the main part of the article 'Legio', covering the empire before Diocletian, in *RE* 12.1 (1924) 1211–1328 and 12.2 (1925) 1329–1829; Stein's *Die kaiserlichen Beamten und Truppenkörper im römischen Deutschland unter dem Prinzipat* and Ritterling's *Fasti des römischen Deutschland unter dem Prinzipat*, ed. Stein (1932) were reviewed by Syme in *JRS* 23 (1933) 94–98. The *Signacula laterculis publice impressa* from the Gallic and German provinces, ed. Stein, came out as *CIL* XIII 6 (Berlin 1933). The legionary tile-stamps are a major source for the distribution of the legions, which Syme discussed with Stein and referred to repeatedly in his first article, 'Rhine and Danube legions under Domitian', *JRS* 18 (1928) [1929] 41–55. In his letter to Fabricius in summer 1928, quoted above, Syme wrote: 'Mit Herrn Stein habe ich schon öfters geplaudert — hauptsächlich über die Distribution [besser gesagt Ausbreitung?] der Legionsziegel. Sein Buch finde ich, wenn man so sagen darf, tiefbohend.'

⁴⁸ Syme on the legions, *JRS* 18 (1928) [1929] 41–55, cf. above, note to letter from Last of 19.9.28.

Abrundung. Da ich erst in einem Vierteljahr meine Besprechung von Parker⁴⁹ schreiben werde, brauche ich Ihren Aufsatz nicht sofort, und da die eine oder die andere der von mir angebrachten Korrekturen Ihnen entgangen sein könnte, so schicke ich den Bürstenabzug (les épreuves) an Sie zurück.

Ihre Arbeit über die Staatsfinanzen unter Domitian behandelt einen sehr wichtigen Gegenstand;⁵⁰ ich sehe ihr mit grossem Interesse entgegen.

Eine Probeveröffentlichung aus meiner Ziegelstempeledition erscheint im Frühjahr in den Berichten der Röm.-Germ. Kommission; einen Sonderabdruck werde ich Ihnen schicken.

Dass es Ihnen in Rom so gut gefällt, auch in unserem dortigen Institut, ist mir angenehm zu hören. Aber sehr bedaure ich Ihre Absicht, zu den Palilien nicht nach Berlin zu kommen.⁵¹ Es wäre eine gute Gelegenheit, alle möglichen interessanten Leute kennen zu lernen. Vielleicht überlegen Sie es sich noch. Jedenfalls aber darf ich wohl annehmen, dass Sie den Kontinent nicht verlassen werden, ohne sich auch nach Berlin angesehen zu haben; in diesem Falle werde ich mich sehr freuen, Sie hier zu begrüßen. Was ich hier mache, haben Sie wahrscheinlich schon im “Archäologischen Anzeiger” oder in der “Philol. Wochenschrift” gelesen.

Mit bestem Gruss

Ihr

Ernst Stein

⁴⁹ Stein’s review of Parker, if actually written, remains to be located; he did refer briefly to Parker’s book in an article written after he had left Germany, ‘*Ordinarii et campidoctores*’, *Byzantion* 8 (1933) 379–387, at 380, nn. 1 and 5.

⁵⁰ ‘The imperial finances under Domitian, Nerva and Trajan’, *JRS* 20 (1930) 55–70 [repr. in *RP* I 1–17]).

⁵¹ The ‘Palilia’ or ‘Parilia’ was the ancient Roman festival celebrating the foundation of Rome, held on 21 April every year; the date was chosen for the celebration in 1929 of the centenary of the founding of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. It was held in Berlin, with numerous guests from other countries attending, including Sir George Macdonald (on whom cf. below, note after postcard to Fabricius of 3.7.30 and to letter from Birley of 30.3.35) and R.G. Collingwood (on whom cf. below, note after postcard to Fabricius of 3.7.30 and notes to letter from Birley of 30.3.35 and to letter from Fabricius of 2.1.36).

From C.K. Scott Moncrieff⁵²

67 via della Croce Sunday morning, 3.3.29

Dear Syme, After the boundless hospitality of the British school, and seeing various ladies home, and coming back here and “doing” the chapter I ought to have been doing when you called, I went to bed about 5 a.m. and dreamed this version of Catullus lviii. It is a bit free, but I think even the Director will agree it is a better version than the Vice-Provost of Eton’s.⁵³

The great-hearted grandsons of Remers
Are seldom, if ever, wet-dreamers;
For my Lesbia’s delight
Is to stay out at night
And milk their exuberant femurs.

I need not tell an excavist⁵⁴ of your experience that Remers is a perfectly good Etruscan form; and I hope that you will not waste 25 centesimi upon writing to remind me that the classical plural of femur is femora.

You might emulate Macan by producing an edition of Catullus anglice redditum in Limerick and other appropriate metres.⁵⁵ I once began

The boat you see to-day before you, gentlemen,
Maintains it used to be about the nippiest...⁵⁶

but I am doubtful whether you can be a short syllable, or the main- of maintains: “asserts”, perhaps. No more, as I am just sitting down, at 1:40

⁵² Charles Kenneth Scott Moncrieff (1889–1930) is best known as the translator of Marcel Proust’s multi-volume novel, which he called *Remembrance of Things Past*. He was also a poet and author and translator of other works; and was working for British Intelligence in Italy at this time. See *Chasing Lost Time: the Life of C K Scott Moncrieff, Soldier, Spy and Translator* by his great-great-niece Jean Findlay, published in 2014. The chapter was presumably from the Proust novel. See further below, notes on his two later letters to Syme, written on 12.9.29 and 27.11.29.

⁵³ Francis Warre-Cornish (1839–1916), Vice-Provost of Eton 1893–1916, published a translation of Catullus in 1904, included in the Loeb Classical Library 1912 (and many reprints). (The first part of this letter was printed from the transcript by A.R.B. in García 202.)

⁵⁴ This word seems to be a coinage by Scott Moncrieff, intended perhaps to mean excavator, i.e. archaeologist?

⁵⁵ Reginald Walter Macan (1848–1941), classical scholar and Master of University College, Oxford. Todd 602–604 (by Mortimer Chambers). (The reference to limericks cannot be explained.)

⁵⁶ Catullus 4, begins *phaselus ille, quem videtis, hospites, ait fuisse navium celerrimus*.

a.m. to my nightly chapter, and have about a dozen people coming to lunch in less than twelve hours.

I hope you'll hear soon from Oxford.⁵⁷ The ring has grown so tight, or else I am, that I shall have to have it stretched in some way; but for certain very intimate reasons I am very glad to have it again and eternally grateful to you for bringing it.⁵⁸

Ever yours

Charles Scott Moncrieff

Monday 00.30. This should have gone out yesterday; I am sorry.

⁵⁷ Syme was awaiting news from Trinity College, see letter from Tod of 19.1.29, and from Last of 9.2.29, above and from Tod of 19.5.29 and Warren of 25.6.29, below.

⁵⁸ Rings are mentioned by Findlay twice: at Bray-sur-Somme in 1915 French officers gave Scott Moncrieff one of the rings ('one of the best') made by French soldiers out of aluminium fuses from German shells (p. 106); he wore the signet of his older brother John (who had died in 1920, p. 180) and planned to give it to John's son David when he left school (p. 259). Presumably Syme had been asked to bring the ring to Rome.

From M.N. Tod

Oriel College,
Oxford.
19th May, 1929.

My dear Syme,

Still I have seen nothing in print & learned nothing about your future, but I have the best reasons for believing that Trinity has offered you a fellowship & the warmest expectation that you have accepted. So I shall not await the public announcement but send you at once my most hearty congratulations & my sincerest good wishes. You will, I am convinced, be happy at Trinity, & you are in a College which has a splendid tradition of scholarship, so you will find pupils worthy of your tuition. And you will be able to make a very valuable contribution to the teaching & study of Ancient History in this University. You & Longden will see to it that the interest of Oxford in the Roman Empire does not flag & will keep alive the best tradition of Pelham & Haverfield.⁵⁹

Meanwhile I hope that you are combining pleasure & profit. Your first hand knowledge of the Roman capital & of the frontierlands will not only give you a store of pleasant memories but will inspire & vivify your teaching.

Here all goes on as usual; there are no changes & but few events to record, & of these you will doubtless have heard from others who treat you less ungenerously than I. Qui s'excuse, s'accuse — yet I must say that I have seldom been busier than last vacation & this term.

Ever yours sincerely
Marcus N. Tod

⁵⁹ Robert Paton Longden (1904–1940), taught ancient history at Christ Church 1928–1937; Headmaster of Wellington College 1937–1940; Henry Francis Pelham (1846–1907), Camden Professor of Ancient History 1889–1907, succeeded by Francis John Haverfield (1860–1919), who held the chair until his death.

From Sir H. Warren

74 Woodstock Road
Oxford

June 25th 1929

My dear Syme,

I have been intending from day to day to write and congratulate you on your recent success in winning the Charles Oldham Prize. But tho' retired I have a lot of things to attend to and more writing often than I can get thro' in the day.

Now your crowning success & recognition, your Election at Trinity gives me the opportunity of congratulating you on your whole most notable career at Oxford and, so far as you have told me about it, before that, and of telling you what rare and keen pleasure this last success gives me, as being that culmination, at this stage.

I have watched your progress with increasing satisfaction. I think your successes rest on very solid grounds. I think you have now the opportunity, and you are a wonderful user of opportunities, of contributing not a little, perhaps a good deal in quality, the first thing, & in quantity to the intellectual life and riches of Oxford and of the Empire and the learned world. I do not say England because it is a special gratification to us that you like your colleague Hall⁶⁰ should come from Australasia, he from Queensland, you from New Zealand, which must be a very remarkable home of talent and genius.

Trinity offers I think a peculiarly good opportunity. It has a tradition of its own, some of which you may know and more of which you will learn. I hope that you will be very happy & prosperous there.

Come and see us some time & let us talk about it all — we shall be here all July.

Yours very sincerely
Herbert Warren

I should like to read the definitive edition of Suetonius.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Robert Lowe Hall (1901–1988) was a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford in 1923, and later a prominent economist; he was given a Life Peerage in 1969 and took the title Lord Roberthall; Principal of Hertford College, Oxford 1964–1967.

⁶¹ Warren perhaps expected that this would arise from Syme's research on Domitian. (This letter is printed from the transcript by A.R.B. in García 203.)

From C.G. Hardie⁶²

6 Upper Coltbridge Terrace
Edinburgh
3rd July 1929

Dear Ronald,

Your card of 'antient Mistras' came to roost here yesterday, and I was not a little pleased to know that you had seen that astonishing place, and were not overcome by the heat but actually going out of your way to hot and sandy Pylos.⁶³ You are a great & tough man, & I look forward to your Erzählungen of your adventures with the tougher Greek.

Meanwhile I am at last again on my native soil at home, after long ambages knocking about the continent & finally some admirable days in Oxford and three days on the way north by car, at Shrewsbury and at Keswick for the nights. Where you are now on these faery seas forlorn I can't imagine: whether beyond the rushing Dardanelles or blowing music on the Golden Horn or painting the Black Sea red or or setting the Blue Danube on fire (it appears blue only when you dive under it: but don't do this at the Würbel or the Strüdel). You will soon long for a pied à terre although you are a confirmed cosmopolitan.

Oxford was distinctly good & I looked at it with new eyes, which with Italian practice begin to see a little more. I saw⁶⁴ many chaps but forgot to look up Mr Roberts of John's,⁶⁵ ach leider.

I waited on for the Encaenia, a good show, with the Chancellor in his black and gold & with his magnificent nose beneath the gold tassels of his mortar-board. The degrees were not very exciting & the Pub. Orator bleated some atrocious & some good jokes.⁶⁶ The prize comp[osition]s

⁶² Colin Graham Hardie (1906–1998). Hardie was a Junior Research Fellow of Balliol College 1928–1929; elected Fellow and Tutor in Classics 1930, leaving to be Director of the BSR, 1933–1936. He was then Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford 1936–1973, but away on war service 1941–1945.

⁶³ Mistras or Mystras was a fortified town built in 1249 on the slopes of Mt Taygetos a few miles west of Sparta by William II, the Frankish ruler of the Achaean Principality; its well preserved ruins are very attractive. Pylos, regularly called 'sandy' (ἡμαθόεις) in epic poetry, in Messenia, north of Navarino Bay, was the seat of Nestor.

⁶⁴ He seems to have written 'was'.

⁶⁵ Colin Henderson Roberts (1909–1990), classical scholar and papyrologist, Fellow of St John's College 1934–1976.

⁶⁶ The Encaenia is the annual celebration at Oxford at which honorary degrees are awarded. The Chancellor was Viscount Grey of Fallodon (1862–1933), as Sir Edward

were badly read except Mr John Sparrow's on Vallum Hadriani.⁶⁷ I wish I had heard you, since I was fated never to do it myself! On the same day came the garden party in Worcester, to which I went under the wing of Dr Carlyle.⁶⁸ There was a feast of colour, as they say; a brilliant day in Worcester gardens, a band playing Blue Danube or Gilbert & Sullivan, admirable cuisine, and all the big bugs in their gowns, chancellor & doctors, heads of colleges two a penny: I think I was the only B.A. there in humble beidge (*sic?*) rabbit. This followed by the O.U.D.S. performance of the Knight of the Burning Pestle in Magdalen Grove, a very good show indeed.⁶⁹ That is one day, not quite representative, but it shows you how gay we have been.

Did I tell you that I am to go to Rome again next winter? There is said to be no room in college,⁷⁰ & only Pass Mods men to teach & a very spare year of Hon. Mods people. I think Rome is the place & I shall try to do Sicily too, & perhaps Valentano to that conchal lake⁷¹ on muleback.

Soon must I begin to tackle Suetonius.⁷²

May good luck attend you,

Yours ever

C.G. Hardie

Grey Foreign Secretary 1905–1916; Chancellor of the University 1928–1933. The Public Orator delivered the speech in Latin for those receiving honorary degrees. Colin Hardie himself held this position 1967–1973.

⁶⁷ John Hanbury Angus Sparrow (1906–1992). His Gaisford Prize Latin poem *Vallum Hadriani. Ecloga*, was recited in the Sheldonian Theatre on 26 June (*a.d.vi Kal. Iul.*) 1929. Elected Prize Fellow of All Souls in 1929, Warden 1952–1977. Cf. John Lowe, *The Warden: a Portrait of John Sparrow* (1998).

⁶⁸ Revd Dr Alexander James Carlyle (1861–1943), Chaplain of University College Oxford and Lecturer in Economics and Political Philosophy.

⁶⁹ O.U.D.S. was the Oxford University Dramatic Society. The play was a five act comedy by Shakespeare's contemporaries Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, first performed in 1607.

⁷⁰ Balliol, where he was then a Junior Fellow, cf. above.

⁷¹ Valentano on the Lago di Bolsena, the ancient *Lacus Volsiniensis*, a 'conchal' lake, formed in a volcanic caldera.

⁷² Hardie told the editor of these letters in 1994 that he was probably referring to Suetonius, *De poetis*, because of the *vita* in that work of Vergil, whose work was no doubt already his great passion, as it was to remain (along with Dante).

From C.K. Scott Moncrieff

67 via della Croce, ROME (8)

September 12, 1929

Dear Syme, Yours this morning, and I reply in haste to suggest that if you can't get into your rooms at once my sister-in-law⁷³ might be glad to take you until her regular boarders turn up — who are mostly young men and maidens from foreign parts. She is going to Sedbergh presently to start her boy at school, but will have to be back almost at once, and then if you like the idea you might call on her, at 3 Park Terrace (back to back with the Dragon School) and ask if she can put you up. You will feed in College, I suppose. I shall say no more, partly because I am not at all well and pounding this machine induces a high fever, partly because I have been planning to write to you after the festa at the British School when Ham. Smith⁷⁴ is to be welcomed by a chorus of men and maidens and Mrs. Hutton reciting by turns:

~~Θ Hamme, Hamme, mollior //~~

[illegible word, also crossed out]

Senior student: Cinaede Hamme, mollior

Parker, H. cuniculi capillo

The cook vel anseris medullula

Mrs. H.S. vel imula oricilla

Mrs. Hutton (with feeling) vel pene languido senis

Librarian situque araneoso

OMNES IDEMQUE, HAMME, TURBIDA RAPACIOR &c.⁷⁵

⁷³ Anna Wood Scott Moncrieff, widow of John Scott Moncrieff, lived rent free in the north Oxford house that had belonged to her father-in-law (who died in January 1927). It now belonged to CKSM, who also otherwise financially supported her (Findlay (cit. n. 52) pp. 258, 259–260).

⁷⁴ Arthur Hamilton Smith (1860–1941). Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum 1909–1925, Acting Director of the BSR 1928–1930 and again in 1932.

⁷⁵ The chorus is a parody based on the first four lines of Catullus 25, with 'Hamme' substituted for 'Thalle': Translation: '[Senior student:] You catamite, Hammus, softer / [Parker H.:] than a rabbit's fur, / [The cook:] or a goose's liver, / [Mrs. H.S.:] or the tip of an earlobe, / [Mrs. Hutton (with feeling):] or an old man's penis, limp / [Librarian:] and decrepit with cobwebs, / [All:] AND AT THE SAME TIME, HAMMUS, MORE RAPACIOUS THAN A STRONG etc.' (the omitted last word of line 4, PROCELLA, means GALE). In the rest of the poem, lines 5–13, Catullus accused Thallus of having stolen his cloak, napkin and Bithynian writing-tablets, and treating them as his own family heirlooms; he ordered him to hand them back or be lashed on his effeminate backside and hands. Parker H. might be H.M.D. Parker (cf. above note

Miss Lunn and Roberts are scattered about my study, he reading *Dialogvs: Roberti atque Jucundi*⁷⁶ and she trying to master Catullus, and both send greetings. Good-night and bless you.

Charles Scott Moncrieff

Greetings to Ronnie Knox⁷⁷

as from

12 v. Gregoriana

Rome (6)

27. Nov. 1929

O Deuteroronne Trinitatis⁷⁸ — Before I thank you for your letter, which I may or may not do overleaf, let me beg of you to warn your common room steward not to understamp ~~foreign~~ letters for abroad. I have just written the same advice to M. Parker⁷⁹ — because the letters come to my house. I have been absent for over a month. The porter's wife either pays the fee and pockets the letter, or rejects the letter altogether — and even if I am staying in the house I may not get the letter unless I happen to converge with the woman — and as at present situated Miss Lunn has to wander about Rome with odd lire in her pocket. I ~~only~~ mention this only because letters from Oxford are always understamped.

I am so glad you saw my sister in law. She is a good creature — very hard working and patient — and on the whole she sees very few people and is always overjoyed to meet my friends. The boy is simply wonderful. I have just had a letter from him — I hope he will persevere at Sedbergh and

to letter of 13.5.28 from Tod). Mrs Hutton was the BSR Secretary, Mrs H.S. presumably the Director's wife.

⁷⁶ Lucy Lunn was Scott Moncrieff's secretary (Findlay pp. 8, 275–6, 280, 291, 296). Roberts and the *Dialogus* are unidentified.

⁷⁷ Ronald Arbuthnott Knox (1888–1957), Fellow of Trinity College as Classics Tutor from 1910, ordained in the Church of England and College Chaplain 1912; resigned Fellowship 1917 on conversion to Catholicism; later Catholic chaplain at Oxford 1926–1939; Monsignor 1936. Scott Moncrieff was converted to Catholicism in 1915 and had been in correspondence with Knox before then (Findlay pp. 100–102). Knox 'often visited Charles when he was in hospital' in 1917 after being wounded in action (Findlay p. 139).

⁷⁸ Meaning 'second Ronnie of Trinity', Ronald Knox being the first, cf. previous note.

⁷⁹ Probably Michael Parker 'another likely secret service man', described as 'an expert on Roman antiquities', with whom CKSM had visited the Colosseum by moonlight in 1927 (Findlay p. 261), on a visit to Rome before he had moved there.

come to one of your Colleges with a scholarship — I cannot send him up without one I'm afraid even if I am still alive in 1934. Cummings has been twice to see me — Mrs Hands doesn't think Margaret ought to visit me in a bedroom — but they thought of leaving cards (!) Nothing very much at the School except that lectures have started again — and they hope to see you at Christmas.⁸⁰ I am just beginning to put on flesh again. That ring which you brought out last winter, I had to get enlarged before it would go on my smaller little finger. A month ago it tumbled off each little finger in turn. Now it will just remain on the larger of the two. Altogether I lost over 3 stone — half of it before coming to these Blue Sisters --No more now, as Miss Lunn has come now and is waiting to read proofs with me. She sends polite respects. Awkward about Connel.

Yours

Charles Scott Moncrieff⁸¹

⁸⁰ As indicated by the following letter, from Tod, Syme did go to the School that Christmas.

⁸¹ The identity of Cummings (his doctor?), Mrs Hands, Margaret and Connel cannot be established. The proofs were presumably of his Proust translation. The Blue Sisters are a Catholic nursing order. Scott Moncrieff died of cancer in the Calvary Hospital, Rome on 28 February 1930. The last part of his Proust translation was completed by another hand.

From M.N. Tod

19, Norham Road,
Oxford.
12.i. 1930

My dear Syme,

Your welcome letter from Rome gave me great pleasure. Please accept my warmest thanks for it & all the good wishes I read in — & between — its lines & for the kind thoughtfulness which led you to decorate the envelope with a rainbow of stamps — to the great delight & profit of a nephew of mine who is an ardent collector. Only one word in your letter I should have liked to see omitted: those who are colleagues may well dispense with the 'Mr.' in addressing each other.

Is it too late for me to express to you my best wishes — late in finding utterance, though not in feeling — for the New Year, already no longer quite new? I hope not.

I am so glad that you had an opportunity this vacation of re-visiting Rome & that you so greatly enjoyed it. We were all away for a fortnight making up a family-party at the home of my wife's parents, not far from Manchester — a happy time despite incessant rain & constant gales. Three of us returned a few days ago: since Tuesday I have been in the thick of Scholarship Examinations, which will carry on to the eve of term. It has been a busy vacation — but I grieve to say that I have found very little leisure for making progress with the new Hicks & Hill.⁸²

Warmest regards from Mrs Tod & myself

Yours ever sincerely

Marcus N. Tod

⁸² E.L. Hicks & G.F. Hill, *A Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (1901): in due course Tod published *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, 2 vols, 1933 and 1948.

From Syme to E. Fabricius⁸³

Trinity College
Oxford
28.3.30

Dear Professor Fabricius,

I was very much grieved to hear of Professor Drexel's death.⁸⁴ He had been so very friendly and helpful to me, as I am sure he must have been to many others as well. The R.-G. Kommission has suffered an irreparable loss. I had looked forward very much to seeing him next summer, for I shall probably be going to Germany then — and, in any case, I thought that it could not be long before he followed your example⁸⁵ and visited England. Many people would have been glad to see him.

I must apologise to you very deeply for not having written sooner: the very fact that I had delayed so long made it more and more difficult. I have been both very lazy and very busy — I should not like anyone to think that I am ungrateful to Germany and to my German friends: I shall always be glad to testify how great my debt is.

I was very lucky last summer to have the opportunity of travelling widely — after Italy, Greece,⁸⁶ the Aegean, Samos, Ephesus, Rumania (I went to Adam-Klissi). It was a delightful experience, and I felt myself better able to understand Ancient Greece from having seen some of the Modern — not geography alone. Which is all for the best, for here in Oxford I have to act as tutor at Trinity College in Greek History as well as in Roman. So, during this my first year I now have plenty to occupy me and have not had the time to do much other work.

⁸³ Letter in the Fabricius Archiv at Freiburg University. (This letter was printed from the transcript by A.R.B. in García 204.)

⁸⁴ See letter from Drexel of 14.2.29, above. Drexel went missing on 8th February 1930, when he did not return from his evening walk; his body was only found in the River Main near Höchst on 16th March. He was aged 44 and had been Erster Direktor of the RGK since 1925.

⁸⁵ Fabricius was awarded an honorary doctorate at Durham in 1928 and visited both Hadrian's Wall and the Antonine Wall; see E. Birley, *Research on Hadrian's Wall* (1961) 36–37 and Tony (A.R.) Birley, 'Collingwood as archaeologist and historian', in D. Boucher & T. Smith, eds, R.G. Collingwood, *Autobiography and Other Writings, with Essays on Collingwood's Life and Work* (2013) 271–304, at 280–282.

⁸⁶ Colin Hardie in his letter to Syme of 3.7.29, cf. above, mentions receiving a postcard that Syme had sent from Greece: he had visited Mistra and Pylos.

I do not suppose there is any way in which I could be of service to you, but if there is, please let me know. I was sorry not to have been in Oxford when your man Kurt Stade⁸⁷ was here.

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Ronald Syme

⁸⁷ Kurt Stade (1899–1971) was an Assistent with the Reichs-Limes-Kommission in 1928, then, after Habilitation, Dozent at Freiburg 1929; in that year he was sent by Fabricius to join the excavation at Birdoswald on Hadrian's Wall; 1931–1937 worked for the Reichs-Limes-Kommission; Professor of Ancient History at Giessen 1937–1941, then at Königsberg from 1941, position ended by the war, during which he had to serve in the Wehrmacht and after which he was a POW in the Soviet Union; after release in 1950 appointed to an associate professorship, later a full Chair, at Münster University, held until retirement in 1965. Wrote to Syme after release from USSR in 1950 and thereafter.

From Syme to H.M. Last

Trinity College,
Oxford

12. 5. 30

Dear Last,

Many thanks for the loan of Gudeman, herewith returned. I shall procure a copy, tho' it does not provide so very much more than the German edition of 1916. The work is marred by so many inadequacies and inaccuracies — & I don't think that he has got ahead of any of my conclusions.⁸⁸ A cursory glance at the commentary on the *Agricola* suggested to me that he must be more of a Philolog than Historiker: but I doubted that when I saw (c. 4) studium philosophiae acrius ultraque quam concessum Romano [ac senatori] hausisse. *Agricola*, he explains, was not yet a senator.

And in *Germania* 2, *Germaniae vocabulum recens et nuper additum*, he rejects additum ('added to what?', he says!) and reads auditum. Of course no change is needed, but if you are going to change (c'est le métier), why not have the nice poetical word inditum?

Yrs ever,

Ronald Syme

⁸⁸ A. Gudeman, *Tacitus de Vita Iulii Agricolae and de Germania* (Boston 1928). Syme had presumably used the original German edition when composing his Charles Oldham prizewinning essay on the *Germania*, cf. note to letter from Last of 27.11.28.

**Postcard to E. Fabricius from the Pilgrimage of
Hadrian's Wall 3 July 1930⁸⁹**

Herrn
Geheimrat Fabricius
Goethestrasse 44
Freiburg i.B.
Germany

(postmarked: Carlisle 4? July 1930)

Aus Chesterholm, im Anblick des Mons

Fabricius sendet ergeb. Grüße

Ihr dankbarer Behrens

I.A. Richmond

Eric Birley W.C. Soden-Bird

R. Syme [illegible]

C.E. Stevens

E.R. Newbiggin G.R.B. Spain Lieut. Colonel

R.G. Collingwood Geo. Macdonald

T. Wake James Curle

Notes: 'Mons Fabricius' is the small hill between turret 38b and Milecastle 39 of the Wall. It was given this name in honour of Fabricius during his visit in 1928.

Behrens: Professor Gustav Behrens (1884–1955), from 1927 Erster Direktor of the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum in Mainz, joined the Pilgrimage as special delegate of the Reichs-Limeskommission.

I.A. Richmond: Ian Archibald Richmond (1902–1965), excavated extensively on Hadrian's Wall; Lecturer at Queen's University, Belfast 1926–1930; appointed in 1930 to the Directorship of the BSR, which he had to give up in 1932; became Lecturer at Newcastle (Armstrong College, renamed King's College), then part of Durham University in 1935, Reader from 1943, Professor 1950–1956; Professor of the Archaeology of the Roman Empire, Oxford, 1956–1965; knighted 1964. See also note to letter from Birley of 4.12.34 and biographical list at the end of Appendix II.

Eric Birley (1906–1995) first met Syme in 1929 and they remained friends until Syme's death in 1989. He had bought the farm which included the fort of Vindolanda in 1929 and with it the cottage called Chesterholm, which he extended. He had already taken part in or directed excavations on Hadrian's Wall. He began excavating Vindolanda in 1930 and addressed

⁸⁹ Syme joined the Sixth Decennial Pilgrimage of Hadrian's Wall in 1930, travelling in the side-car of C.E. Stevens' motor-cycle. This postcard is in the Fabricius Archiv at Freiburg University. (Text printed from transcript by A.R.B. in García 205.)

the pilgrims there in July that year; he was already living at Chesterholm when this postcard was written. He had met Fabricius in 1928 when the latter visited Hadrian's Wall and visited him in Germany in 1929 and later. Birley and Stevens 'had the privilege of sharing in the greater part of [Collingwood's] survey' of the Cumberland coastal signal-stations in July 1928, E. Birley, *Research on Hadrian's Wall* (1961) 127. Birley was Lecturer in Archaeology at Armstrong College, Newcastle in the University of Durham, 1931–1935, from 1935 in the Durham Colleges; Reader from 1943; Professor of Roman-British History and Archaeology 1956–1961. See also below, notes to letters from Birley of 4.12.34 and 30.3.35 and biographical list at the end of Appendix II.

C.E. Stevens (1905–1976): Courtenay Edward Stevens, ancient historian; Fellow of Magdalen College 1955–1972; almost universally known by his nickname 'Tom Brown', see also below, note to letter of 19.10.34 from M.I. Henderson. He was a close friend of Birley and participated in excavations and research on Hadrian's Wall, cf. his *The Building of Hadrian's Wall* (2nd ed. 1963).

R.G. Collingwood (1889–1943): Robin George Collingwood was a unique figure in British scholarship: his primary position was as a philosopher, Fellow and Tutor at Pembroke College, Oxford in that subject; and eventually Professor of Metaphysical Philosophy at Oxford. But he was also an archaeologist and the leading figure in the study of Roman Britain and in particular of Hadrian's Wall after the death of his mentor Francis Haverfield in 1919. He wrote the 1930 *Book of the Pilgrimage*. See the revised edition of his *Autobiography*, first published in 1939, edited with essays on Collingwood's life and work by David Boucher and Teresa Smith (Collingwood's daughter) (2013), esp. Tony (A.R.) Birley, 'Collingwood as Archaeologist and Historian', *ibid.* 271–304. See also note to letter of 2.1.36 from Fabricius.

Sir George Macdonald (1868–1940; KCB 1927) best known as author of *The Roman Wall in Scotland* (1911, revised ed. 1934); moved from an academic career to join the Scottish Education Directorate, highly regarded as a numismatist and archaeologist; see also below, note to letter of 30.3.35 from Birley. *ODNB*, vol. 35, 234–235 (by A.O. Curle).

James Curle (1862–1944), author of *A Roman frontier post and its people: the fort of Newstead in the Parish of Melrose* (1911), for its time a remarkably advanced research report.

The other signatories were leading members of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne.

From I. Munro⁹⁰

Wednesday

SOMERVILLE COLLEGE, TERM, 1933
 OXFORD undated, presumably first half of 1933

Dear Mr Syme,

I think you are right about that change of north-western frontier taking place in A.D. 9 in Spain. There is a large stone* dedicated to Augustus in that year at Gijon (just inside the Villaviçiosa boundary) which can't be well accounted for otherwise, as the place had no town & was savage in the extreme. It is not indeed an official boundary stone, for it is a religious dedication of some sort, but there may have been some such erection as the arch of Janus which was built to mark the other change of frontier at Osligi.⁹¹ *CIL II 2708

Would it be too much trouble to you to send me a note — as short as it can be made — stating roughly the change of legions elsewhere which determined the number which was left in Spain? This is not only so that I can say I am indebted to Mr. R. Syme for, etc., but so as to clarify the minds of people who believe HMDP.⁹² I can't state shortly & convincingly the grounds for it, because I prefer to pick, with acknowledgement, other people's brains rather than get up the subject of imperial legions myself, which you will admit is a large one.

I'm afraid this is not all. The controversy as to legions in the early years of Vespasian bothers me considerably. I have only borrowed — with no particular view of my own — something like the following situation:-

⁹⁰ (Mary) Isobel Munro (1906–1967) was the daughter of the classical scholar J.A.R. Munro, Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford 1919–1944. She was a Fellow and Tutor at Somerville College from 1933 until her death, and Vice-Principal 1960–1967. In June 1933 she married Charles Gordon Henderson, Fellow and Tutor in Modern History at Corpus Christi College, Oxford since 1929; together they visited Italy in August that year, but he was taken ill at Monte Sant'Angelo in Apulia and died in Rome on 24 September. She published regularly as M.I. Henderson; see below for her later letters to Syme, of 30.5.34 and 19.10. 34, signed Isobel Henderson. Her research on Roman Spain, the subject of all three of her letters, had led to her gaining the Arnold prize at Oxford in 1933 with the essay *The Romanisation of Spain*. As James Connelly kindly informs the editor, in 1930 she had met R.G. Collingwood (her former Philosophy tutor) and his wife Ethel at Burgos, having been in Spain for some time, and accompanied them for the next two weeks. The undated letter, clearly sent through the university post, was at any rate earlier than June 1933. See further the memoir by Sally Humphreys, *Somerville Record* (1967) 28–31, preceded by a brief notice signed J.V.

⁹¹ One might have expected here Astigi, the nearby *colonia*; but the Arch of Janus Augustus was not at Astigi itself, and Munro clearly wrote Osligi.

⁹² H.M.D. Parker, *The Roman Legions* (1928), mentioned several times in these letters: see e.g. notes to letters from Tod of 13.5.28, E. Stein 19.2.29, Birley 30.3.35.

- Middle of 70: VI & I(?) — afterwards X from Baetica, removed.
 71: XV Apoll. comes to Carnuntum, & perhaps releases VII Gem. for return to Spain.
 74: VII Gem. certainly in Germany Sup.
 79: VII Gem. first attested in Spain.
 88: VII Gem. goes to Germany, to return of course after the war.

If you could throw any light on the matter of I Adiutrix I should be most grateful. Unless one juggles with Tacitus' text, I suppose one must admit that it was removed in 70. But I don't know any evidence which helps to decide whether it, or VII Gem., or indeed any other legion, was in Spain from that time to 79. There must of course have been at least an intermittent legionary garrison, but I don't know enough to decide whether Spain may have been left without one in 74.⁹³

This is a shameless encroachment on your time. I wonder whether, rather than write, you would prefer to discuss it over bad sherry tonight or tomorrow. Please do whichever is least burdensome; a phone message to the portress will do. I should leave you the third alternative of doing neither, but that goes without saying.

Yours sincerely

Isobel Munro

⁹³ On VI Victrix and I Adiutrix see G. Alföldy, *Fasti Hispanienses* (1969) 114–116; Cf. also brief remarks by Syme, 'The conquest of north-west Spain', *Legio VII Gemina* (1970) 83–107, repr. in *RP* II 825–854, at 106=851–2. More detail in R.F.J. Jones, 'The Roman military occupation of North-West Spain', *JRS* 66 (1976) 45–66. See further A. Morillo & J. Aurrecoechea, eds, *The Roman Army in Hispania* (2006), with a vast bibliography compiled by E. Martín Hernández, 383–449.

From E. Groag⁹⁴

Wien 23.XI.33

Sehr geehrter Herr Professor!

besten Dank für die freundliche Übersendung Ihrer Artikel, von denen ich die früheren selbstverständlich bereits kannte; neu war mir der wichtige und mich sehr interessierende Artikel über M. Vinicius, über den auch Premierstein eine neue Untersuchung verfasst hat, die demnächst erscheinen wird.⁹⁵ Meine Vermutung, daß sich das Fragment Dessau 8965 auf Quirinius beziehe, war ein flüchtiger Einfall, den ich nicht mehr aufrecht halte. Ihre Annahme, daß Pamphylien (und Galatien?) zur Zeit des Augustus ein selbständiges Heereskommando gebildet haben ist höchstwahrscheinlich richtig (wie erhält es sich mit Cornutus Aquila?)⁹⁶. Bezüglich der einzelnen in Betracht kommenden Persönlichkeiten sehe ich mit großem Interesse Ihre Ausführungen in der *Klio* entgegen.⁹⁷ Im Übrigen gilt ja für jede wissenschaftliche Kontroverse der von Florus zitierte Ausspruch *scis, quae historiae fides debeatur, proinde si quid in historiis meis legis aliter ac velis, rogo ignoscas*.⁹⁸

Mit besten Empfehlungen

zeichnet Ihr

ganz ergebener

Groag

⁹⁴ Edmund Groag (1873–1945) was responsible, with his close friend and colleague Arthur Stein, for the second edition of *PIR* and, like Stein, had for many years contributed extensively to prosopographic entries in the *RE*. On him see further above, in the Introduction. Below are a second letter from Groag, 5.1.35, and a postcard, 19.1.37. Groag was a senior Librarian and holder of a personal Chair at Vienna University from 1925, dismissed after the Anschluß: both he and Stein were Jewish. Syme received more letters from Stein, see below for the first, 21.10.34, with some annotation.

⁹⁵ See the notes to the letter from v. Premierstein of 28.12.33.

⁹⁶ *PIR*² C 1510, and A 1137, both by Groag: legate of Galatia in 6 BC. Thought to be an Arruntius, cf. Syme, *Anat.* 282; on his activity in the province *ibid.* 225, 227, 229, 282. See also next note.

⁹⁷ 'Galatia and Pamphylia under Augustus: the governorships of Piso, Quirinius and Silvanus', *Klio* 27 (1934) 122–148. Syme discussed the career of Quirinius in many places, cf. the indices to *RR*, *RP*, *Anat.*, *Aug. Arist.*

⁹⁸ This is quoted by Pliny, *Ep.* 9.19 as having been said by Cluvius Rufus to Verginius Rufus. There is no trace of it in Florus, so one assumes that Groag's memory was at fault.

From R. Egger⁹⁹

Sehr geehrter Herr Kollege, wenn ich Ihnen erst heute für Ihren schönen Aufsatz über das Elogium von Tuskulum danke, so wollen Sie mir das als Vielbeschäftigtem nicht übel nehmen.¹⁰⁰ Im Wesentlichen stimme ich Ihnen bei. Wie ich die Sache wieder überlegte, schienen mir fast alle bisherigen Ergänzungen fraglich. Vor allem muss man in Betracht ziehen, dass gegen die im 2. Abschnitt genannten Völker, nicht Krieg geführt sein muss, da kann auch stehen, dass sie auf diplomatischen Wege zu Freunden des Reichs gemacht worden sind. In der letzten Zeile kann ganz gut eine neue Position vorhanden sein, wieder kaiserlicher Legat. Nochmals Dank und viele Grüsse von Ihrem

R. Egger

Wien

19

33

xii

⁹⁹ Rudolf Egger (1882–1969) was Professor of Ancient History at Vienna University from 1929 until 1946, when (because of too active involvement with the NS regime) he was relieved of his position and in 1947 was compulsorily retired. However, he continued to work in archaeology and excavated on the Magdalensberg in Carinthia from 1948 until shortly before his death. See *DNP* Suppl. 6, 349f.

¹⁰⁰ On the Tuskulum Elogium see the notes to v. Premierstein's letter of 28.12.33.

From A. von Premierstein¹⁰¹

Marburg/Lahn, den 28. Dezb. 1933

Sehr geehrter Mr. Syme!

Entschuldigen Sie, wenn ich Ihnen erst heute meinen aufrichtigen Dank für den mich lebhaft interessierenden Aufsatz über M. Vinicius zum Ausdruck bringen kann.¹⁰² Ich schliesse daran wärmste Danksagung auch für die vorangehenden wertvollen Zusendungen, vor allem aus dem Gebiet der Geschichte und des Heerwesens der frühen Kaiserzeit. Es ist ein eigenartiger Zufall, dass auch ich mich vor 1 ½ Jahren wieder mit den Fragen der Vinicius-Inschrift von Tusculum beschäftigt habe in einem ausführlichen Aufsatz, der bereits für die Jahreshefte des Oesterr. Archäolog. Instituts in Druck gelegt ist, bei dem langsamen Erscheinen dieser Zeitschrift aber wohl erst in einiger Zeit herauskommen wird. In dieser Untersuchung glaube ich doch das Jahr 14 v.Chr. für den Feldzug des Vinicius jenseits der Donau nach wie vor vertreten zu können; die Lage der damaligen Okkupation von Illyricum scheint mir nicht ein ausreichendes Argument gegen diesen Ansatz. Wenn ich darin in Widerspruch zu Ihnen mich befinde, freut es mich umso mehr, hinsichtlich der Inschrift von Cales mich ganz in Uebereinstimmung mit Ihnen zu befinden; meine Beweisgründe dafür, dass es um den jüngeren M. Vinicius, Konsul im Jahre 30 und 45 handelt, sind fast genau die gleichen, wie Sie in überzeugender Weise vorbringen. Das bei Ihnen noch bestehende Bedenken wegen der Lesung L·Pron ist durch eine Revision

¹⁰¹ Anton Ritter von Premierstein (1869–1935), Austrian by birth, was a noted epigraphist, active in the Balkans, Greece and Asia Minor; he held a Chair first in Prague, 1912–1916, and then from 1916 until his death at Marburg in Hessen. His posthumously published work, *Vom Werden und Wesen des Prinzipats*, ed. H. Volkmann (1937) was praised by Syme in the Preface to *The Roman Revolution*, p. viii: 'My opinions about the oath of allegiance of 32 B.C. and about the position of the Princeps as party-leader naturally owe much <to>, but do not derive entirely, from this illuminating work'; cf. Introduction, above. See also below, letter of 21.12.34 from v. Premierstein.

¹⁰² 'M. Vinicius (cos. 19 B.C.)', CQ 27 (1933) 142–148, reprinted in Syme's DP 26–34, with Addendum, 34–39. Von Premierstein had first discussed M. Vinicius in his article, 'Ein Elogium des M. Vinicius, Cos. 19 v. Chr.', *Jahrbuch des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts* 7 (1904) 215–239. His new article, 'Der Daker- und Germanensieger M. Vinicius (Cos. 19 v. Chr.) und sein Enkel (Cos. 30 und 45 n. Chr.)', appeared *ibid.* 28 (1933) 140–163 and 29 (1935) 60–81.

des Steines selbst beseitigt, der deutlich P·Pron darbietet. Wenn der Aufsatz erscheint, ist, wie gesagt, noch nicht abzusehen; aber ich freue mich sehr unserer Uebereinstimmung. –

Mit verbindlichen Grüßen und besten Wünschen zu den Festtagen

Ihr aufrichtig ergebener

A. von Premenstein

From M.I. Henderson

20: v: 34

SOMERVILLE COLLEGE
OXFORD

Dear Mr Syme,

Many thanks for letting me read this: it gives me much pleasure and lots of information. I had no time to digest it until this morning, or I should have answered before. Would you spare me an off-print to save my having to dig it out of the *Am. J. of Phil.* when it appears?¹⁰³ I should much appreciate it.

I'm afraid I have forgotten the title of Guerra y Orbe's work, but I can find it out for you if you like. I have read it & found it valueless, as well as out of date. I should not include it in a Bibliography except for swank.¹⁰⁴

There is no accent on Pajares: it is pronounced regularly Pajáres.

I'm ashamed to say that I can find nothing wrong with your article — at least, I'm ashamed unless it means that there is nothing wrong. As far as the main subject goes I had always adopted the *défaitiste* attitude & given up the strategy in despair. You have thrown as much light as can be thrown on it, & incidentally confirmed a good many points of topography. Your identifications are sound when anything can be ascertained. The Spanish sheet of the *Carte au Millionième*, which I had to vet, held some other view about Brigaecium, but I put it back to Benavente. Blasquez is usually reliable:¹⁰⁵ unfortunately the map was made by Coello, & was so bad I had to reject it altogether.

Mons Medullius is certainly not Sta. Tecla at the Miño mouth, & I don't think it represents a citania at all: the size implied is far too great. Any Alesia-like ridge would do, & there are many on a larger or smaller scale in the provinces of Lugo & Leon. I don't see any reason for going off the Miño onto the Sil, or really onto the Cabrera, as Magie does.

I was particularly pleased with your list of governors, as it agrees with or improves upon the one I had arranged in my essay.

About the division of Ulterior, I don't defend 27 B.C., chiefly because the argument that Augustus was moving his forces north in view of the Cantabrian war is chronologically invalid. One gathers (would you agree?) that the proximate cause of the war was a particular aggression on the part of the Cantabri, which certainly had not occurred before the

¹⁰³ R. Syme, 'The Spanish war of Augustus (26–25 B.C.)', *AJP* 55 (1934) 293–317.

¹⁰⁴ Aureliano Fernández-Guerra y Orbe (1816–1894) was a prolific author; it is not clear which work of his was meant.

¹⁰⁵ Antonio Blázquez y Delgado-Aguilera (1859–1950), cited by Syme as A. Blásquez, *AJP* 55 (1934) n. 13.

end of 28 when Augustus must have made up his speech for Jan. 1st 27. But the early history of Merida (cf. esp. Richmond, *Arch. Journ.*)¹⁰⁶ indicates to me 19 B.C. for the creation of Lusitania, not a later date. Hostilities appeared for the moment to have stopped, & one of Agrippa's jobs was probably to inaugurate the new province & lay the foundation stone of the theatre at the capital. However, that is beside your point.

I needn't say that you are welcome to use CIL II 2703 for any purposes you like, especially as I have adopted with acknowledgements your military argument for the change of frontier in A.D. 9. But it is only relevant to your incidental remark about consular & praetorian governors: if A.D. 9 be accepted, Paullus Fabius Maximus is a clear case in point. And evidently, while there were two consular armies of two legions each, no distinction of rank was necessary. Nor would Augustus have wasted two legions in Portugal, as he must have done if the frontier was changed before A.D. 9. I used to feel a little surprised that anybody who like Augustus (or Wellington) had watched two armies trying to meet round the NE corner of Portugal should have waited so long before he attached Galicia to Leon instead of to Traz os Montes (whose name speaks for itself: there is still no railway from Orense to Zamora, & the bus takes 3 days!). But perhaps both Oman¹⁰⁷ & your article have made it clear that in war two armies are necessary to deal with the north-west, though in time of peace the province should not be so divided. If that is so, then A.D. 9 is the obvious occasion of the change.¹⁰⁸

That again is beside your main point. Indeed, I'm afraid I have been able to add nothing to your article except my compliments. I do think it is very good.

Yours sincerely

Isobel Henderson.

¹⁰⁶ I.A. Richmond, 'The first years of Emerita Augusta', *Arch. Journ.* 87 (1930) 98–116.

¹⁰⁷ Charles William Chadwick Oman (1860–1946), Chichele Professor of Modern History at Oxford from 1905; knighted 1920; published his *History of the Peninsular War* in seven volumes (1902).

¹⁰⁸ Syme devoted a chapter in *Aug. Arist.*, 403–420, to this man; note 407–408 on his Spanish command, where the change of frontiers, following a reduction of the garrison, is no longer assigned to AD 9, but 'to the period 16–13 BC when the Princes again visited Spain'.

SOMERVILLE COLLEGE
OXFORD

19: X: '34
~~TERM, 193~~

Dear Mr. Syme,

Many thanks for your finished product, which I shall value very much.

I'm afraid I haven't got Blazquez' address, but if, as I hope, you are sending a copy to Schulten (Erlangen, Ratsbergerstrasse 22)¹⁰⁹ he would certainly tell you the address. I dined with him a month ago and told him of your article.

The following people would be glad of copies, but only the first is really necessary:-

Florentino Cuevillas, Calle Luis Espada 27, Orense.

Gomez Moreno, Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, Madrid (a good man)

Bosch Gimpera, Editor de "Nos", Santiago de Compostela

Alvarez Osori, Museo Arqueologico, Madrid (the Director)

There are no real Romanists in Spain: of these, the first three are excellent ancient Spanish historians who would appreciate the favour, & the other two would see that the copy was accessible to researchers.

I have a plan that I'd like to put before you some day, about a "circus" of lectures on the W. provinces by ostensible experts —e.g. Tom Brown on Gaul¹¹⁰, R.G.C. on Britain,¹¹¹ G. Chilver on Cisalpine,¹¹² me on Spain, you (if you would) on the Rhine & Danube and Umgebung — & possibly RPL¹¹³ could do Africa. What do you think? I don't like to hurt Steve's feelings, but it seems a pity that Greats people should go on being fed on 30 years-old stuff now that people are beginning to know something

¹⁰⁹ Ernst Adolf Schulten (1870–1960), Professor at Erlangen 1909–1935, specialised in Spanish prehistory and archaeology, best known for his *Geschichte von Numantia* (1933).

¹¹⁰ C.E. Stevens, Fellow of Magdalen College, on whom see above, note after postcard to Fabricius, 3.7.30; almost universally known by his nickname Tom Brown. He had been carrying out research in France, published as *Sidonius Apollinaris and his Age* (1934).

¹¹¹ R.G. Collingwood: see note after postcard to Fabricius of 3.7.30.

¹¹² Guy Edward Farquhar Chilver (1910–1982), Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford 1934–1963; Professor of Classics, University of Kent 1964–1976. His research on northern Italy was published as *Cisalpine Gaul* (Oxford 1941).

¹¹³ R.P. Longden, see note to letter from Tod of 19.5.29.

about the provinces. Perhaps Steve¹¹⁴ might be asked to do Sardinia (vile *damnum*¹¹⁵) by way of conciliation. No — I really don't want to hurt him.

Yours sincerely

Isobel Henderson¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ G.H. Stevenson, see note to letter from Tod of 23.11.27.

¹¹⁵ A reference to Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.85.4: 4,000 *libertini generis* adherents of Egyptian and Jewish *sacra*, were banished to Sardinia to curb banditry there — should they perish because of the climate, it would be a cheap loss.

¹¹⁶ Isobel Henderson's suggested 'circus' on the provinces seems to have been implemented four years later, although without her own contribution. This information comes from an entry in the Magdalen College Archives, the notebooks of a man who registered what lectures he attended:

MC:P390/MS5/15

Michaelmas Term 1938

Notebook kept by David Leslie Couper for a series of lectures on 'The Romanization of the West', in which C. E. Stevens spoke on Roman Britain, Chilver on Cisalpine Gaul, Stevens again on Gaul, Sherwin-White on Africa, Syme on Dalmatia, and Sutherland on Spain. Couper's notes, however, stop at the end of Syme's lecture. Handouts for Chilver's and Syme's lecture, and possibly for Stevens's, may be found at MC:P390/MS5/16–18.

(The two not annotated in the notes to Henderson's letter are: Adrian Nicholas Sherwin-White (1911–1993), Fellow of St. John's College 1936–1979, and Carol Humphrey Vivian Sutherland (1908–1986), Assistant Keeper of Coins, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1932–1952, University Lecturer in Numismatics 1939–1975, later Keeper of the Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1957–1975.)

From A. Stein¹¹⁷

Prague, 21. Oct. 1934

Dear Sir,

Let me thank You for the kindly presenting me with Your excellent article above [about] Augustus' war in Spain!¹¹⁸ On this occasion it is a pleasure to me to thank You also for the amiable review of our *PIR*².¹¹⁹

Yours truly

A. Stein

¹¹⁷ Arthur Stein (1871–1950) was Professor at the German University in Prague from 1922 until removed from his Chair after the German invasion of Czechoslovakia. This is the earliest of the six letters from Stein in Syme's Archive that were written before the war, all in English; for the others see 28.10.38, 27.1.39, 20.2.39, 5.3.39, 15.4.39. See further Introduction for Syme's tribute to Stein in the Preface to *RR*. After the war, which Stein survived, in spite of internment in Theresienstadt (Terezín), contact was resumed and Syme kept a further five letters, the first from 29.10.46, the last from 8.2.50, all in German.

¹¹⁸ 'The Spanish War of Augustus (26–25 B.C.)', *AJP* 55 (1934) 293–317.

¹¹⁹ 'our' refers to himself and his friend and colleague Edmund Groag (1873–1945). Syme reviewed the first instalment of the revised edition of the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* (1933) in *JRS* 24 (1934) 80–81. On *PIR*² see Eck in Eck & Heil (2017). See below for further letters from Stein, 28.10.38, 27.1., 20.2. and 19.3.39 and letters and a card from Groag, 23.11.33, 5.1.35 and 15.11.36; further, the Introduction above for Syme's acknowledgement of his debt to Groag and Stein. (This letter is printed from the transcript by A.R.B. in García 2006).

From E. Kornemann¹²⁰

(evidently sent from Warsaw)

28.10.1934

Sehr geehrter Herr Kollege!

Ich empfang Ihren frdl. [=freundlichen] Brief vom 25.10 und die wissenschaftlichen Gaben und danke Ihnen verbindlichst dafür.

Ihre Bitten erfülle ich gerne. Ich habe Ihnen bis jetzt geschickt:

1. Einen Auszug aus meinem Warschauer Vortrag in den "Forschungen und Fortschritt" vom Nov. 1933.
2. Die Dissertation meines Schülers Johannes Klose "Roms Klientelstaaten am Rhein u. an der Donau" = Histor. Unters. der Seminare in Breslau Heft 14 (1934).¹²¹

Der volle Text meines Warschauer Vortrages steht in einem soeben erschienenen Buch:

"Staaten, Völker, Männer aus der Geschichte des Altertums" Leipzig Dieterich 1934 = Das Erbe der Alten hrsg. von O. Immisch Neue Reihe Heft 24.¹²² Davon besitze ich kein Exemplar mehr. Das letzte sandte ich an Ihren Oxforder Kollegen Balsdon Exeter College.¹²³ Vielleicht ist der Herr so gut und leiht Ihnen sein Exemplar einmal.

Im übrigen wäre ich Ihnen sehr verbunden, wenn Sie dieses mein neuestes Buch (schon wegen des Warschauer Vortrages: etwa durch eine Anzeige in einer vielgelesenen englischen Zeitschrift) in England etwas bekannt machen. Ich hoffe für die dort angeschnittenen Probleme auf Verständnis bei englischen Forschern. Wenn Sie eine Rezension schreiben wollen, kann ich Ihnen ein Rezensionsexemplar durch den Verlag zugehen lassen.

Zur Zeit sitze ich an einer ganz großen Sache: nämlich die Fertigstellung der Alexander-Geschichte des Königs Ptolemaios I. von Aegypten (darüber auch im Vortrag in dem erwähnten Buch). Kein Grieche hat Alexander verstanden; nur Ptolemaios I. ist ihm gerecht

¹²⁰ Ernst Kornemann (1864–1947) gained his first Chair at Tübingen in 1902 and was then from 1918 until his retirement in 1936 Professor at Breslau. For an account of his extensive and wide-ranging publications, beginning in the 1890s and continuing until the end of his life, far too numerous to detail here, see Christ 133–144.

¹²¹ Syme reviewed this book in *JRS* 25 (1935) 95–99, reprinted in his *DP* 145–150, with an Addendum, 150–151.

¹²² Syme reviewed this book in *JRS* 25 (1935) 104–105.

¹²³ J.P.V. Dacre Balsdon (1901–1977), Fellow of Exeter College 1927–1969, best known for his monograph on *The Emperor Gaius* (1934) and for numerous articles and reviews on Roman history. See Todd 44–45 (by A.A. Barrett).

geworden. Ohne sein Buch wäre der große König für uns historisch nicht mehr erfassbar. Daher bemühe ich mich seit 10 Jahren um diese Sache.¹²⁴ Vielleicht interessiert Sie das auch. Wenn ja, stelle ich Ihnen gern nach Erscheinen dieses Buches ein Exemplar zur Verfügung.

Darnach kommt das Buch “Bauern-Rom” (580 = Gründung der urbs Roma — 280), das lang schon geplante Werk über das archaische Rom, in welchem für diese Volkes Grösse das Fundament gelegt worden ist. Ich komme soeben von Budapest, wo ich Ehrendoktor der dortigen Universität geworden bin, u. habe vor ungarischen Studenten über die verwickelten Probleme dieser Epoche gesprochen, vor allem über die Chronologie, die Franz Altheim¹²⁵ — Frankfurt a./M. in dem soeben erschienenen Buch “Epochen der altröm. Gesch.” vollkommen vernachlässigt hat (besser in Chronologie ist Wilhelm Hoffmann, Rom u. die Griech. Welt im 4. Jahrh. = Philologus Supp. Nr. XXVIII Heft 1).¹²⁶

NB.: Haben Sie das ganz neue ausgezeichnete Buch von Ed. Norden — Berlin, *Alt-Germanien*, schon gelesen? Etwas für Feinschmecker was Methode betrifft!¹²⁷

Verzeihen Sie, dass der Brief so lang geworden ist. Aber in Warschau habe ich infolge meiner Erkrankung so wenig Fühlung mit den Herren Kollegen nehmen können, was mir so bitter leid getan hat. Gerade mit den Herren aus England wollte ich mich so gern ein wenig mehr unterhalten.

Ergebenste Grüße von Ihrem

E. Kornemann¹²⁸

¹²⁴ E. Kornemann, *Die Alexandergeschichte des Königs Ptolemaios I. von Ägypten* (1935).

¹²⁵ Franz Altheim (1898–1976). See Christ 246–254 and below for Altheim’s postcard to Syme of 17.7.39.

¹²⁶ Wilhelm Hoffmann (1909–1969): the work referred to by Kornemann was Hoffmann’s Leipzig dissertation.

¹²⁷ Syme reviewed Norden’s *Alt-Germanien* in *JRS* 26 (1936) 75–80, and sent him an offprint, for which Norden thanked him in a letter from Berlin of 8.8.36.

¹²⁸ (This letter is printed from the transcript by A.R.B. in García 207–208).

From A. Alföldi¹²⁹

Budapest, the 3. XII. 1934
IV., Ferenc Jozsef rakpart 25.

My dear Colleague Syme,

Many thanks for your very important chapters from the C.A.H. X;¹³⁰ I will study them more closely next time, but the first superficial reading convinced me already from the high level and the real importance of Your work. — I can now send in return, only in 2–3 months will be printed my paper on ‘die Insignien des Kaisertums’.¹³¹

I hope, you will forgive me my weak English. With the best salutation from

Your sincerely

A. Alföldi¹³²

¹²⁹ András, Andrew or Andreas Alföldi (1895–1981), Professor at Debrecen 1923–1930, Budapest 1930–1947, Bern 1948–1952, Basel 1952–1956, Institute of Advanced Study, Princeton 1981–1986. During his long life Alföldi’s research covered the entire history of Rome, not only from the archaic Roman state until late antiquity, but beyond that at either end, treating ‘the structure of the pre-Etruscan Roman state’ and the *Völkerwanderung*. He and Syme had no doubt met at the RGK in Frankfurt, where both were frequent visitors from the late 1920s to the late 1930s. Syme cited Alföldi’s work more than that of any other scholar in *RR*. After the war they resumed contact and Alföldi recruited Syme for the *Historia Augusta Colloquia* which he and Johannes Straub inaugurated. See *DNP Suppl.* 6, 15–16 (by F. Kolb) and for detailed discussion of this scholar’s life and work, J.H. Richardson & F. Santangelo, eds, *Andreas Alföldi in the Twenty-First Century* (2015).

¹³⁰ ‘The northern frontiers under Augustus’, *CAH X* (1934) 340–381; ‘The northern frontiers from Tiberius to Nero (part)’, *ibid.* 781–790, 803–807.

¹³¹ ‘Insignien und Tracht der römischen Kaiser’, *MDAI(R)* 50 (1935) 3–158; repr. 1970 as *Die monarchische Repräsentation* 121–276.

¹³² (This letter is printed from the transcript by A.R.B. in García 209).

From E. Birley¹³³

University of Durham

DURHAM UNIVERSITY EXCAVATION COMMITTEE ARMSTRONG COLLEGE
ERIC BIRLEY, F.S.A., Director NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE

CHESTERHOLM

4th December 1934

My dear Ronald,

Thank you for your letter: it is good to hear from you — and it gives me an opportunity of congratulating you on your contributions to a volume¹³⁴ that is otherwise rather disappointing to the student of Roman military history; for I have found it so, especially in the case of Stevenson;¹³⁵ and though Duce¹³⁶ is clear, and has some useful observations, I don't think that he understands the military situation at or after the invasion. But so far I've not had time to do more than read through it quickly; later I must give it careful attention.

On ILS 2032¹³⁷: I think that Bohn has said all that can be said profitably on that, in his *Wissenschaftliche Beilage zum Programm des Friedrich-Real-Gymnasiums, Ostern 1883*, "Ueber die Heimat der Praetorianer", of which I am fortunate enough to possess a copy. He points out (p. 6) that Heraclea Sentica "noch zu Plinius Zeit (h.n. 4,35) einfach makedonische Landstadt war, nicht einmal die Libertaet, geschweige das

¹³³ Eric Birley (1906–1995) had been a friend of Syme since they met in 1929. Except during the war years, Syme was a frequent guest at Chesterholm and later, from 1950 to 1953, in Durham. See above, notes after postcard to Fabricius of 3.7.30 and list at the end of Appendix II for more detail on Birley's career.

¹³⁴ *CAH X* (1934), see note to letter from Alföldi of 3.12.34.

¹³⁵ On G.H. Stevenson, Fellow of University College, see above, note to letter from Tod of 27.11.27, also the letter from Henderson of 19.10.34. He contributed 'The Imperial Administration', *CAH X* 182–217 and 'The Army and Navy', *ibid.* 218–238; he later published *Roman Provincial Administration* (1939).

¹³⁶ This refers to the chapter by R.G. Collingwood in the section 'The Northern Frontiers from Tiberius to Nero. III. The Romans and Britain. IV. The Conquest of Britain', *CAH X* 790–802. 'Duce' was the name by which Eric Birley always called Collingwood, meaning 'Leader' — of Roman-British studies — and perhaps reflecting Collingwood's close connection with Italian philosophy. It certainly did not in any way suggest sympathy with Italian fascism. On Collingwood see further above, notes after postcard to Fabricius of 3.7.30 and below notes to Fabricius' letter of 2.1.36.

¹³⁷ A tombstone from Rome of a man who had served in the Praetorian Guard, C. Iul(ius) Montanus, son of Zoilus, enrolled in the *tribus* Fabia, his home town Heraclea in Macedonia.

roemische Buergerrecht besass, das Patronymikon des Mannes aber kaum die Annahme gestattet, dass der Vater bereits civis Romanus war, so moechten wir vermuten, dass der Herakleot erst bei seinem Eintritt in das Pr. die Civitaet erhielt. Dann fuehren aber praenomen und nomen ganz natuerlich auf Kaiser Gaius als den Verleiher dieses doppelten Privilegiums” — since (as he has pointed out on p. 5) Mommsen was clearly right in assuming that the increase in the number of praetorian cohorts must have been mentioned in the missing part of the Annals, between 37 and 47.

Bohn’s paper is a useful one in other respects too; in section III (p. 8 f.), for example, he suggests that some of the praetorians from towns that were neither colonies nor municipia came from families that had acquired the citizenship through their heads holding magistracies (he quotes a number of certain instances of younger sons of municipal magistrates entering the Guard). And in section VI (. 12 f.) he shows that after Severus the recruiting of the Guard reverted to some extent to the old system.

By the way, have you seen what von Gobble (or some such name) has to say of HMDP’s legions in Bursian?¹³⁸ It is brief and to the point.

This passing term has been excessively busy for me; I have had more work to do than could be done, and I have been feeling the strain rather. However, I hope that the result will be that I have less to do in future — before long there should be news of a new arrangement to impart.¹³⁹

¹³⁸ It seems that Birley misremembered where he had seen this. No review of the book by ‘HMDP’, i.e. Parker, *The Roman Legions* (1928) (on which see e.g. notes to letters from Tod of 13.5.28 and from Last of 19.9.28), appeared in *Bursians Jahresbericht der Altertumswissenschaft* until that in 248 (1935), which was by C. Blümlein, ‘Bericht über die Literatur zu den römischen Kriegsaltertümern in den Jahren 1928–1933’, 148–199, at 192. This was indeed ‘brief and to the point’, but Birley surely could not have seen the issue of 1935 at the time of his letter of early December 1934; and in any case the author’s name was nothing like ‘von Gobble’. (Thanks are due to Konrad Vössing, Hans Michael Schellenberg and Lorenzo Calvelli for searching.)

¹³⁹ The ‘new arrangement’ was the appointment of Ian Richmond (1902–1965), unemployed since having to give up the Directorship of the BSR in 1932, to be Lecturer at Armstrong College (later named King’s College), Newcastle, then part of Durham University. Eric Birley had been Lecturer at Newcastle since January 1931 and later had also been teaching in Durham itself. Richmond’s appointment, which Birley had urged on the Rector of Armstrong College, released Birley from teaching in Newcastle; thereafter he taught only in Durham (apart from absence on war service 1939–1946), made Reader 1943, Professor from 1956 until retiring in 1971. Richmond stayed in Newcastle, Professor there 1950–1956; Professor of the Archaeology of the Roman Empire, Oxford, 1956–1965; knighted 1964.

I have been paying some attention to the question of commands in general and equestrian military employment especially, and some day I hope that I shall have a chance of putting my ideas on paper. It seems to me that people have tended to neglect the frequent instances at all periods of men whose military service in equestrian appointments was confined to the military tribunates or a series of tribunates. Another thing that is worrying me is that group of Thracians in German legions under Severus Alexander, who weren't even citizens; frightful!¹⁴⁰

I observe that Stevenson falsely alleges (as Sir George did before him) that the centurions and decurions of auxiliary regiments were citizens; and to judge by the general use of the term in the CAH, he thinks that each praetorian cohort had an ala of equites attached to it. But these be toys.

We hope that you will have an enjoyable time in Germany at Christmas; give our salutations to all our friends over there; and tell them that we hope to come again, some time. But I don't think that we shall be able to get there (or to Oxford) for a good time to come: for the prospect of a family to look after in the near future implies less travelling, until the family is old enough to travel too. So we must hope to attract you up here to see us, as frequently as possible; here you will always be one of the family, if you will — and we shall be the more pleased, the more you come and stay with us, whether to talk of Empires or of other things.

A parting word: TDP and EB on the First Roman Occupation of Scotland should be ready for submitting to the Rom. Soc. by the end of this month.¹⁴¹ We have one specimen from Scotland; fifty or so from the Stanegate line; perhaps five hundred from England and Wales as a whole — so that the statement of the figured Samian evidence appears to have some weight. For the most part we have to confine our Inventory to published material; but we have seen all the Scottish material, unpublished as well.

Peggy sends greetings no less than mine;
you made a great impression on her — as I
was sure you would — but Absit Jalousie!¹⁴²
Ever thine,

Eric Birley

¹⁴⁰ See e.g. *CIL* XIII 1856, 8067 (I Minervia); 7292=11941, 6716, 6740, 7213 (XXII Primigenia); XIII 6607, 1891 (XXX Ulpia Victrix).

¹⁴¹ T. Davies Pryce and E. Birley, 'The First Roman Occupation of Scotland', *JRS* 25 (1935) 59–80. See further below and note to Birley's letter of 30.3.35.

¹⁴² For Eric Birley's marriage to Peggy Goodlet cf. n. 145 below.

From E. Fabricius

Freiburg i. Br.

Goethestraße 44, den 18. Dezember 1934

Lieber Freund Syme!

es ist nun schon fast ein halbes Jahr vergangen, seit Sie mir vom Dampfer aus near Panama einen so liebenswürdigen Brief geschrieben haben. Hätte ich Ihre Adresse in New Zealand gewusst, so würde ich Ihnen gleich dafür gedankt haben.¹⁴³ Nun, Sie werden jetzt wieder nach Oxford zurückgekehrt sein und längst wieder Ihr Lehramt dort versehen. So will ich die Weihnachtszeit benutzen, um Ihnen endlich zu antworten und auszusprechen, dass mir Ihr Brief sehr wohlgetan hat und grosse Freude bereitet hat. Ich erblicke in Ihren freundlichen Worten ein willkommenes Zeichen freundschaftlicher Gesinnung, die ich aus vollem Herzen erwidere. Haben Sie vielen Dank dafür!

Hoffentlich ist Ihre große Reise gut verlaufen und haben Sie Ihre Angehörigen wohl vorgefunden und schöne Ferien dort verbracht.

Der Brand unserer Universität hat keinen Schaden verursacht, der nicht wiederherstellbar wäre. Eigentlich ist nur der Dachdeckel und ist die Aula zerstört worden, alle anderen Räume haben nur wenig gelitten, und unsere Seminare sind gänzlich unberührt geblieben. Man konnte schon am zweiten Tage nach dem Brand den Unterricht wiederaufnehmen. Unsere Studenten haben sich bei allem sehr gut verhalten.

Persönlich geht es mir soweit ganz befriedigend. Mit 77 Jahren kann man nicht verlangen, noch so leistungsfähig wie vor 30 oder 40 Jahren zu sein, und man darf sich freuen, wenn man noch ein wenig arbeiten kann. Ich habe gerade wieder eine Lieferung des Limeswerkes, die 51., vollendet und für zwei oder drei weitere liegen die Manuskripte und Zeichnungen druckfertig vor. Überhaupt hoffe ich, wenn ich einigermaßen gesund bleibe, in zwei bis drei Jahren das ganze Werk zu vollenden. In diesen Tagen habe ich den Abschnitt über die Geschichte der Domitianischen Limesbauten im Taunus und in der Wetterau geschrieben. Dabei war mir Ihre Abhandlung aus dem *Journal of Rom. Studies* sehr nützlich.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ For some details on Syme's visit to New Zealand in 1934 see Edmond 124–127.

¹⁴⁴ Fabricius was responsible for the series *Der obergermanisch-raetische Limes des Roemerreiches. Im Auftrag der Reichs-Limeskommission* (1894–1938). The 'Abschnitt' referred to is no doubt what was published as *Strecke 3* (1935) and 3–4 (1936). Syme's article in *JRS* which Fabricius found helpful was presumably that in vol. 18 (1928), cf. above, note to letter from Last of 27.11.28.

Im Herbst war E. Birley mit seiner jungen Frau einmal hier in Freiburg.¹⁴⁵ Wir haben uns über seinen Besuch sehr gefreut. Er war so vergnügt und glücklich. Meine Frau und Sophie, unsere Tochter, erwidern mit bestem Dank Ihre freundlichen Grüße. Unsere Tochter wohnt mit ihrem Mann und ihrem kleinen Sohn hier bei uns im Hause, und wir Eltern haben davon viel Freude. Drei Enkel, einen Buben und zwei Mädels, haben wir 1934 bekommen, und allen geht es gut.

Mit den besten Wünschen zum Christfest und zum Neuen Jahre

Ihr freundschaftlich ergebener

Ernst Fabricius¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵ Eric Birley married Margaret Isabel (Peggy) Goodlet in April 1934. They visited Freiburg on a delayed honeymoon in late summer of that year. Eric Birley had met Fabricius when the latter came to Durham to receive an honorary doctorate in 1928 and was then taken to Hadrian's Wall; and Birley visited Fabricius in Freiburg in 1929 and several times later.

¹⁴⁶ (This letter is printed from the transcript by A.R.B. in García 210–211).

From A. von Premierstein

Marburg, den 21.12. 1934

Sehr geehrter Kollege Mr. Syme!

Haben Sie wärmsten Dank für den ergebnisreichen, mich lebhaft interessierenden Abschnitt aus der Cambridge A.H.,¹⁴⁷ den ich mit grösster Aufmerksamkeit studierte und Ihren freundlichen Brief aus Oxford 19./12. Ich bin seit 30. Nov. krank auf der hiesigen St. Elisabeths-Klinik wegen Behandlung meines etwas angegriffenen Herzens. Es täte mir aber ausserordentlich leid Ihren als möglich angekündigten Besuch in Marburg durch meine Krankheit zu verfehlen; und so würde es mir eine große Freude sein, wenn Sie mich in diesem Fall entweder zwischen 11 und 12 Uhr od. zwischen 4 ½ bis 6 Uhr aufsuchen könnten. —

Anscheinend wird der 2. Teil meines Vinicius-Aufsatzes im nächsten Haft der Jahreshefte in absehbarer Zeit erscheinen, der wieder den Versuch macht u. a. den Feldzug des Lentulus auf das Jahr 11 n. Chr. zu datieren.¹⁴⁸ Der sonstige Inhalt dürfte Ihnen schon bekannt sein.

Mit besten Grüßen und Weihnachtswünschen

Ihr ergebener

A.von Premierstein

Die Klinik in der Nähe des Bahnhofs etwas unterhalb der Lahnbrücke.

¹⁴⁷ See note to letter from Alföldi of 3.12.34.

¹⁴⁸ See above, note to v. Premierstein's letter of 28.12.33. Syme discussed Lentulus' activity in Illyricum on several occasions, the latest being 'Lentulus on the Danube (without benefit from Epigraphy)', *RP* VI 435–440, a paper delivered in German at the 9th Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy at Sofia in 1987.

From E. Groag

Wien 5.I.35

Hochgeehrter Herr Kollege,

vielen Dank für die freundliche Übersendung Ihres Beitrags zu CAH.¹⁴⁹ Es ist Ihnen gelungen, in knappem Rahmen ein lebendiges und politisch scharf erfasstes Bild der Nordpolitik der Caesaren aus dem julisch-claudischen Haus zu geben. Wer sich mit diesen Fragen abgegeben hat, erkennt auch, wie viel wissenschaftlich fundierte Gedanken jedem einzelnen Ihrer Sätze enthalten ist.

Die Verantwortung für die Ernennung des Varus schreiben Sie (p. 374) Augustus zu: ob sie nicht eher auf Tiberius liegt, dem ehemaligen Kollegen des Varus, der ein vitales Interesse daran hatte, die Armeekommandos in den Händen ihm ganz ergebener Männer zu wirken? (vgl. P. Sulpicius Quirinius).¹⁵⁰

Die Begründung, die Sie für den Zug des Ahenobarbaus geben (S. 365 f.), ist von allen, die ich kenne, die erste, die mir vollkommen einleuchtet.

Was den titulus Tiburtinus anlangt,¹⁵¹ es wäre gewiß auch die Beziehung auf L. Piso pontifex möglich; wir wissen noch nichts von Beziehungen des Piso zu Tibur: dieses Moment war es ja, der mich dazu veranlasste, das Denkmal dem Plautius Silvanus zuzuschreiben. Die Anordnung muss ebensowenig als in der Inschrift des [M.Vin]icius (die Beziehung von Dessau 8965¹⁵² auf diesen scheint mir nun doch höchst wahrscheinlich) streng chronologisch gewesen sein, die Bezeichnung iterum könnte sich auf eine uns unbekannte (macedonische?) Legation beziehen. Hoffen wir, daß uns Neufunde größere Gewißheit geben.

Haben Sie eine Vermutung darüber, auf wen sich Dessau 9483 (die Favonius Inschrift) beziehen könnte? Ich dachte an M. Aemilius Lepidus, aber es kämen vielleicht auch andere in Betracht. Vielleicht bringen die von Mancini gefundenen Consulfasten der Jahre 48 v. — 3 (?) n. Chr. Aufklärung, von denen ich allerdings nur von Hörensagen unbestimmte Kunde habe.

¹⁴⁹ See note to letter from Alföldi of 3.12.34.

¹⁵⁰ His closeness to Tiberius is referred to repeatedly by Syme, e.g. *RR* 309, 429f.; *AA* 55, 62, 86 etc. (his 'attachment to Tiberius').

¹⁵¹ *CIL* XIV 3613. Discussed several times by Syme, e.g. *RR* 398f.; 'The Titulus Tiburtinus', *Akten des VI. Int. Kongr. für Gr. und Lat. Epigraphik* (1972) 585–601=*RP* III 860–884; *AA* 338–341, favouring L. Calpurnius Piso the Pontifex (*cos.* 15 BC) as the honorand.

¹⁵² On Vinicius see above, letter from von Premerstein of 28.12.33, with note.

Meine Arbeit gilt jetzt ganz der Prosopographie, deren zweiten Band ich in Bezug auf die Senatoren vollendet habe.¹⁵³

Mit besten Empfehlungen zeichnet
in vorzüglicher Hochachtung

Groag

¹⁵³ *PIR*² II, published in 1936, covering names beginning with C, reviewed by Syme in *JRS* 26 (1936) 286–287.

From E. Birley

CHESTERHOLM: BARDON MILL: NORTHUMBERLAND 30/3/35

My dear Ronald,

I have been looking into the Cannstatt question, with the following results. (1) Knorr¹⁵⁴ bases his suggested date A.D. 90 approx. on a comparison between the samian from a number of sites, of which Rottweil and Newstead, with initial occupation certainly datable to within a year or two on other grounds, are obviously the most important. They give an idea of the changes that the supply of samian was undergoing; and, if one leaves out of account a few obvious survivals in each case, it is possible to get a reasonably accurate schedule of samian of 74+ and 80+ respectively. Cannstatt is a good deal further on; the pieces of 29 discarded as survivals (they are few enough in all conscience), the earliest Cannstatt pieces compare closely with the pieces of South Gaulish samian from Newstead that are typologically latest in that collection; and the later South Gaulish material from Cannstatt has no parallels at Newstead. Therefore, Knorr argues, Newstead cannot have been occupied very long after Agricola left Britain, and Cannstatt begins (and so, I add, does Chesterholm, which has not yet produced the 29 survivals, but otherwise agrees extraordinarily closely with Cannstatt, which it parallels type for type) at about the time that Newstead leaves off. Now if you want to start Cannstatt four years earlier — I say, four years is not a very long period, and it is difficult to prove that you are wrong; but if you start Cannstatt earlier, then by rights you should stop Newstead earlier: and there are one or two pieces at Newstead that can hardly be earlier than 90 (notably the one in the style of Libertus). There is another point, for what it is worth: I can't find, in the report on Cannstatt, any suggestion that the early fort (of which admittedly they were not able to get a very complete picture) had more than one period of occupation; and one could imagine that if it had been occupied before 88/9 it might have been involved in the destruction that overtook forts further north.

Davies Pryce has been receiving some very saucy letters from Margery Venables, bless her; it appears that Sir George is trying to beat a strategic

¹⁵⁴ Robert Knorr (1865–1957), a great expert on terra sigillata or Samian ware, published, with P. Goessler, *Cannstatt zur Römerzeit* (1921). '29' refers to the Drangendorff type, characteristic of South Gaulish terra sigillata.

retreat from his JRS IX view, and MVT¹⁵⁵ seems to be abetting him, attempting to eliminate from our JRS paper such passages as emphasize exactly what he said (and other people have since been assuming to be the case). But we can't stand nonsense of that kind; and Wheeler¹⁵⁶ has promised to print the paper in full in the *Archaeological Journal* if we are not allowed our way.¹⁵⁷ So all is lovely in the garden.

Talking of gardens reminds me that there have been several radical changes in the garden at Chesterholm since you were here just two years ago; when are you going to pay another visit, to see all the improvements that the new order has brought with it?¹⁵⁸

Your most Obedient
Most Humble Servant,
E. Birley

¹⁵⁵ 'Margery Venables' and 'MVT' refer to Margery Venables Taylor (1881–1963), Secretary of the Roman Society and Editor of *JRS*. Sir George Macdonald's earlier paper was 'The Agricolan occupation of North Britain', *JRS* 9 (1919) 111–138.

¹⁵⁶ Robert Eric Mortimer Wheeler (1890–1976; knighted as Sir Mortimer Wheeler 1952). Eric Birley had got to know Wheeler in 1928 when the latter was Keeper of the London Museum and Birley had a temporary post 'watching excavations' in the city of London.

¹⁵⁷ The paper by T. Davies Pryce and E. Birley, 'The first Roman occupation of Scotland', was published in *JRS* 25 (1935) 59–80. Davies Pryce and Birley there criticised the views of Sir George Macdonald (1862–1940), the leading authority on Roman Scotland, who responded with an article in the same number of *JRS*: 'The dating value of Samian ware', *JRS* 25 (1935) 187–200, followed up by 'Britannia statim omissa', *JRS* 27 (1937) 93–98; Davies Pryce and Birley were then to criticise Macdonald's views with 'The fate of Agricola's northern conquests', *JRS* 28 (1938) 141–152; and Sir George replied the following year, 'Verbum non amplius addam', *JRS* 29 (1939) 5–27. Birley's call up for military service in September 1939 and Macdonald's death in 1940 brought this controversy to an end.

¹⁵⁸ The 'new order' refers to Eric Birley having married (in April 1934). See note to letter from Fabricius of 18.12.34. Syme's next visit to Chesterholm was not until 1937, when he stayed 6–12 April.

From L.R. Taylor¹⁵⁹

AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME
PORTA S. PANCRAZIO, ROME (29), ITALY

April 15, 1935

Dear Mr Syme,

I am very grateful for the excellent suggestions for changing the title of my paper and for separating the more conjectural part of my work by sub-headings.¹⁶⁰ I apologize for having submitted it without knowledge of Corbishley's article.¹⁶¹ Somehow in my travels last year I missed a whole number of the journal which I usually depend on reading in my own copy. I have waited to answer your letter until I could get the J.R.S. back from the binder, and then I had to reread Josephus. I do not think that the ingenious suggestion for the transposition in the course of events is capable of proof, but it is certainly possible that Titius went to Syria as early as the time of Agrippa's departure and that he was as you call him an "Ersatz-Agrippa". I gather from what Corbishley says here and from his announced article in *Klio* that he is going to restore the elogium [*CIL* XIV 3613] to Quirinius.

As soon as I come back from Sicily I will rewrite the paper, perhaps under the title "M. Titius and the Syrian Command" and I shall probably use with acknowledgements some of your suggestions for parallels in the careers of Nerva and Vinicius. I will also make it clearer that I recognize the hypothetical character of my suggestions for the elogium, and of the reconstruction of what happened in 20–19. I know very well how dangerous the restoration of inscriptions is. I once made a reconstruction of an inscription from Luna which I considered absolutely sure, and then the other piece of it was found and I was completely wrong. And if the Cilician inscription means that Piso was legate to Syria, as it very well may, your attribution of the elogium to him is also possible.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁹ Lily Ross Taylor (1886–1969), Professor of Latin at Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania 1927–1952. Her monographs included *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (1931) and *Party Politics in the Age of Caesar* (1949). See Briggs & Calder 454–461 (by T.R.S. Broughton).

¹⁶⁰ Published as 'M. Titius and the Syrian Command', *JRS* 26 (1936) 161–173.

¹⁶¹ T. Corbishley, 'A Note on the Date of the Syrian Governorship of M. Titius', *JRS* 24 (1934) 43–49.

¹⁶² [Lorenzo Calvelli suggests that the Luna inscription might be *CIL* XI 1335.] On Piso, see note to letter from Groag of 5.1.35.

I gather from your letter that I will not be too late if I send you the paper in a month or two. Rome is not conducive to concentrated work. There are too many interruptions and too many excursions. When one comes back from a walk over Monte Gennaro down to the “Sabine Farm” it is hard to settle down to work which one could do in the seclusion of a library at home.

With many thanks to you and Mr. Last.¹⁶³

Sincerely yours,

Lily Ross Taylor

¹⁶³ Syme and Last were both members of the Editorial Committee of *JRS*.

From E. Fabricius

Freiburg i. Br., den 2. Januar 1935 [*sic*: it should be 1936]
Goethestr. 44

Lieber Freund Syme!

Ueber Ihren freundlichen Brief vom 20. Dezember habe ich mich sehr gefreut, und ich danke Ihnen um so mehr dafür, als nicht Sie, sondern ich in Ihrer Schuld gewesen bin, denn ich glaube, ich habe Ihren freundlichen Brief vom 10. März letzten Jahres nicht beantwortet und ich habe Ihnen auch noch nicht gedankt für Ihre Bearbeitung der Kapitel 12 und 23 über "The Northern Frontiers" aus "The Cambridge Ancient History", die Sie mir freundlichst geschickt haben. Das ganze vergangene Jahr hindurch war ich durch mein Befinden sehr gehindert und die Zeit, die mir für die Arbeit übrig blieb, musste ich ganz auf die Fortsetzung des Limeswerkes verwenden. So habe ich manchen Brief von guten Freunden zu meinem grossen Bedauern unbeantwortet lassen müssen und mich nicht dankbar erweisen können für alle die freundlichen Gaben, die sie mir geschickt haben. Wenn man einmal 78 Jahre ist, soll man sich ewig schonen, hat viele Hemmungen zu überwinden, und die Zeit wird immer knapper.

Es tut mir aber sehr leid, zu hören, dass Sie an Arthritis erkrankt waren und mehr als 3 Monate verloren haben. Hoffentlich sind Sie nun wieder vollständig hergestellt und haben Sie das neue Jahr in bester Gesundheit angetreten. Ihre guten Wünsche erwidere ich auf das herzlichste.

Es freut mich sehr, zu hören, dass Sie auch für CAH XI einen wichtigen Beitrag geliefert haben.¹⁶⁴ Wenn dabei auch die Frontinstelle [*Strategemata* 1.3.10] in der Weise von Ihnen behandelt worden ist, wie Sie schreiben, so tut es mir leid, dass wir nicht vorher uns darüber miteinander haben aussprechen können, denn ich glaube nicht, dass Ihre Interpretation möglich ist. Der Ausdruck "limitem agere" kann wohl einmal die Bedeutung haben "eine Strasse in das feindliche Gebiet hinein treiben", aber er ist doch so allgemein, dass diese Bedeutung nur dann angenommen werden kann, wenn der übrige Zusammenhang es erfordert. Limitem oder limites agere ist doch der ganz gewöhnliche Ausdruck, den die Agrimensoren anwenden für die Anlage der regelrechten Feldwege (Schriften der röm. Feldmesser II p. 500). Aus diesem Ausdruck allein lässt sich also nicht schliessen, ob bei Frontin die Anlage strahlenförmiger Bahnen in das feindliche Gebiet gemeint sind, oder

¹⁶⁴ 'Flavian wars and frontiers', *CAH* XI (1936) 131–187.

Grenzlimites. Das erstere habe ich früher selbst angenommen (Realencyclopädie XIII Sp. 573, 56 ff.),¹⁶⁵ aber ich habe mich davon überzeugt, dass diese Interpretation grammatisch und sachlich falsch ist. Limitibus per CXX m.p. actis kann sich nach lateinischem Sprachgebrauch nur auf eine zusammenhängende Strecke beziehen. Ich glaube nicht, dass Sie eine Stelle finden werden, weder bei Frontin noch in den Geographischen Büchern des Plinius, an welcher eine Summe verschiedener Entfernungen mit per und der betreffenden Zahl bezeichnet wird. Es kommt hinzu, dass refugia nudare nicht abhängig sein kann von limitibus actis, sondern eine davon getrennte besondere Kriegshandlung bedeuten muss. Frontin würde sonst gesagt haben: "Limitibus ... actis eorum refugia nudavit" etc. Ganz unmöglich scheint mir aber die Annahme, dass die Zahl von CXX m.p. sich auf eine andere Strecke z.B. Koblenz — Hanau beziehen soll und nicht auf die Gesamtstrecke der limites. Denn das ist doch der Sinn der Stelle, dass Domitian durch den kolossalen Limesbau die Kriegslage verändert habe.

Dazu kommen die sachlichen Gründe. Die Anlage einzelner vom Rheintal oder von der Mainebene aus in das Gebirge vorgetriebene limites war technisch unmöglich. Das wurde mir klar, als ich wiederholt das Rheingaugebirge und den Taunus besucht hatte. Ausserdem hat man nie eine Spur solcher limites gefunden, dagegen viele Strassen aus der vorrömischen Zeit, die über das Gebirge hinweg in das Lahntal geführt haben und noch heute führen. Durch den Bau strahlenförmiger limites konnte auch nie das statum belli verändert werden. Das war nur möglich, wenn das ganze Waldgebirge gegen das Land der Germanen abgeschlossen wurde, wie es eben durch den grossen Limesbau des Domitian tatsächlich geschehen ist.

Dieser gewaltige Limesbau kann nur durch grosse Truppenmassen, also durch die Legionen ausgeführt worden sein, wie der Hadrianswall und der Antonine wall in Britannien durch die Legionen erbaut worden sind. Es ist mir jetzt auch klar geworden, was ich bei der Abfassung der Taunusstrecke noch nicht wusste, dass wir noch zwei grosse camps aus der Zeit des Limesbaus, das 32 acres grosse Erdlager von Heldenbergen und das 34,6 acres grosse Kastell von Kesselstadt besitzen.¹⁶⁶ Solche grossen Truppenlager hat es voraussichtlich noch an anderen Stellen gegeben, sie sind aber bisher noch nicht gefunden worden.

¹⁶⁵ In his *CAH* chapter, at 162 f. Syme relied on Fabricius' original interpretation of the Frontinus passage in his article 'Limes', *RE* 13.1 (1926) 572–671, at 573–574 (cf. 586–587), about which, as Fabricius explains in this letter, he had changed his mind.

¹⁶⁶ On these two forts see e.g. D. Baatz & F.-R. Herrmann, eds, *Die Römer in Hessen* (1982) 450–455, 334–337.

Die Entstehungsgeschichte ist also hier wie folgende: Erst hat Domitian die Germanen aus ihre Refugien verjagen lassen, dann wurde durch die Legionen der Limes über die Nordabhänge des Taunus und rings um die Wetterau herum bis Hanau gebaut zu dem ausschliesslichen kriegerischen Zweck, die Germanen von dem ganzen okkupierten Gebiet auszuschliessen und alle Kommunikationen zu unterbrechen. Während des Krieges muss der Limes von sehr starken Truppen verteidigt gewesen sein. Nach dem Friedensschluss war das nicht mehr nötig, und so hat man sich dann nach Ausweis der Funde mit kleinen Erdkastellen (1 1/2 acres) begnügt, die von dem im Hinterland liegenden praesidiis aus mit detachierten Abteilungen besetzt wurden. Erst viel später (unter Traian und Hadrian) wurden dann die praesidia an den Limes selbst vorgeschoben, bei der Saalburg z.B. erst 25–30 Jahre später.

Die Entwicklung südlich des Mains, von der Tacitus, *Germania* 29 spricht, lässt sich aus den Funden nicht ebenso sicher erkennen, aber aus der Wortstellung: *mox limite acto promotisque praesidiis* schliesse ich, dass auch hier der Limes zuerst durch die Legionen ausgeführt worden ist und erst dann die Präsidien (*auxil.*) von der Rheinebene aus weiter nach Osten vorgeschoben worden sind.

Es würde mir eine besondere Freude bereiten, wenn ich zusammen mit Ihnen, lieber Freund Syme, einmal den Limes im Taunus ein grösseres Stück begehen und die Refugia auf dem Altkönig und bei der Goldgrube besuchen könnte. Ich glaube, Sie würden sich dann von meiner Auffassung der Sache an Ort und Stelle überzeugen. Aber leider muss ich meines Alters wegen solche schönen Pläne aufgeben; wir haben ja leider noch keine Autostrasse, die an unserem Limes entlang führt.

Wie geht es denn unserem gemeinsamen Freund Collingwood?¹⁶⁷ Auch ihm gegenüber habe ich ein sehr schlechtes Gewissen. Er hat mir im Februar 1935 einen sehr liebenswürdigen und ausführlichen Brief geschrieben über die aus Nordbritannien stammenden brooches, die bei uns in Germanien gefunden worden sind, und ich bin noch immer nicht dazu gekommen, ihm zu antworten, wenn ich auch seine Angaben in dem letzten Limesheft dankbar verwendet habe (p. 136). Wenn Sie Collingwood sehen sollten, so bitte ich, ihm freundliche Grüsse von mir zu bestellen. Es freut mich sehr, wenn Sie schreiben, dass Sie sich in Ihrer Gesinnung gegen Deutschland durch die unfreundliche Presse in Ihrem

¹⁶⁷ On Collingwood see above, notes following postcard to Fabricius of 3.7.30. Collingwood had published an article on 'Romano-Celtic art in Northumbria', *Archaeologia* 80 (1930), mainly devoted to brooches, and had evidently drawn attention in the letter referred to by Fabricius to similarities in the brooches found in the so-called *numerus*-Kastelle on the Upper German Limes garrisoned by *Brittones* to those from northern England and southern Scotland.

Lande nicht beirren lassen. Mit der Zeit wird die öffentliche Meinung auch in England ihr ungünstiges Urteil über die politischen Zustände in Deutschland korrigieren. Wir, in unserem Lande selbst, können das ruhig abwarten.

Mit den besten Grüßen
getreulich Ihr

Ernst Fabricius¹⁶⁸

Auch über das, was Sie von Thukydides schreiben, habe ich mich sehr gefreut. Er war ein großartiger Geist. Auch aus lib. I cap. 91, 7 sollten die Leute in Genf und anderwärts etwas lernen.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁸ (This letter is printed from the transcript by A.R.B. in García 212–214).

¹⁶⁹ It is not clear what passage of Thucydides Syme himself had quoted. Thuc. 1.91.7 relates how Themistocles, as an ambassador at Sparta, justified Athens' rebuilding of its walls, which Sparta had tried to prevent: this made it possible for the Athenians to defend themselves. In 1935 Hitler had infringed a provision of the Treaty of Versailles by reintroducing conscription and increasing the size of German armed forces fivefold. Fabricius, as an old fashioned conservative and nationalist, manifestly approved, and 'the people in Geneva', i.e. at the League of Nations, and elsewhere, he wrote, should learn from this: Germany had the right to self-defence.

From E. Norden¹⁷⁰

Berlin Lichtenfelde 9.8.36

Sehr verehrter Herr Kollege:

Die Zeilen sollen Ihnen nur einen vorläufigen Dank für die Zusendung Ihrer Rezension aussprechen.¹⁷¹ Ich muß die Lektüre auf einige Zeit verschieben. In einigen Wochen fahre ich zu den Feierlichkeiten nach Harvard und muss mich auf einen Vortrag, den ich dort zu halten habe, vorbereiten.¹⁷² Er führt mich "Vagabunden" wieder einmal in ganze andere Regionen (ich werde über das Carmen arvale¹⁷³ sprechen). Da muss ich mich ganz concentrieren. Ich hoffe, von Ihnen viel lernen zu können. Plautus, der grosse Freund von Prof. E. Fraenkel¹⁷⁴ und der kleine von mir selbst, hat sehr recht, wenn er seinen Truculentus mit dem Vers beginnt: non omnis aetas ad perdiscendum sat est.¹⁷⁵ Einsweilen verbleibe ich mit wiederholtem Dank.

Ihr sehr ergebener
E. Norden

¹⁷⁰ Eduard Norden (1868–1941), classical scholar, probably in his day the outstanding Latinist on the continent, Professor at Greifswald 1893, Breslau 1899 and Berlin 1906, Rektor there in 1928. His best known books are *Die Antike Kunstprosa* (1898), *P. Vergilius Maro, Aeneis Buch VI* (1903) and *Die germanische Urgeschichte in Tacitus Germania* (1921). Belatedly responding to the Nazi antisemitic legislation he left Germany for Zürich early in 1939 and died there in 1941. See W.A. Schröder, *Der Altertumswissenschaftler Eduard Norden (1886–1941). Das Schicksal eines deutschen Gelehrten jüdischer Abkunft* (1999): reviewed in detail by A.R. Dyck, *BMCR* 2000.01.03; Briggs & Calder 341–345 (by B.P.P. Kytzler).

¹⁷¹ This was Syme's review of his *Alt-Germanien* (1934), *JRS* 26 (1936) 75–80, reprinted in *RP* VI 9–17.

¹⁷² Norden had been invited to give a lecture at the Tercentenary celebrations of Harvard University.

¹⁷³ The text, known from an inscription dated AD 218 (*CIL* VI 2104), of a chant by the Arval Brethren, an ancient priesthood revived by Augustus, is in very archaic Latin, probably hardly intelligible by the third century AD; see e.g. L.R. Palmer, *The Latin Language* (1954, repr. 2001) 62–64.

¹⁷⁴ Eduard Fraenkel (1888–1970), distinguished classical scholar; Professor at Kiel 1923, Göttingen 1928, Freiburg 1931; dismissed because of his Jewish origin; emigrated to England in 1933 and was elected Professor of Latin at Oxford; he held the Corpus Chair 1935–1953. Norden was clearly thinking of Fraenkel's *Plautinisches im Plautus* (1922). On Fraenkel see *ODNB* vol. 20, 717–718 (by H. Lloyd-Jones); Todd 334–337 (by M. Deufert).

¹⁷⁵ Plautus, *Truculentus*, 24: 'Even the whole of life is not sufficient for thorough learning'.

From A. Mayer¹⁷⁶

15.11.36

Sehr geehrter Herr Professor!

Da Ihr Brief spät in meine Hände gelangte, so bitte ich die Verspätung zu entschuldigen. Sehr gerne entspreche ich Ihrer Bitte und übersende an Sonderabzügen, was ich habe: 1) meinen großen Glotta-Absatz, 2) Mursa, 3) Iasi u. 4) Brskovo; von früheren Arbeiten besitze ich leider keine Abzüge mehr. Demnächst übersende ich Ihnen Abzüge von im Druck befindlichen Abhandlungen: 1) O fons Bandusiae...(Glotta), 2) Beiträge zur Kenntnis der röm. Straßen in Dalmatien (Vjesnik in Split-Spalato), 3) Damastion (Numismatika). Unangenehm berührt bin ich durch die lange Verzögerung des Erscheinens bes. des zweiten Aufsatzes, da die von mir durch sprachliche Analyse erschlossene Lokalisierung von Diluntum inzwischen durch eine neu gefundene Inschrift bestätigt erscheint. Aber dies macht der ewige Geldmangel, der hier alles drosselt: die Kosten für einen Jahrgang einer Zeitschrift werden in mehreren Budgetjahren aufgebracht, zu Forschungszwecken ist überhaupt kein Geld vorhanden!

In vorzüglicher Hochachtung
ergebenst

Prof. Dr. Anton Mayer

Zagreb – Bosanka 15 A.

Jugoslawien

Den 15. 11. 1936

¹⁷⁶ Anton Mayer (1883–1957), Professor of Classical Philology and Indo-European Linguistics at Zagreb University. In September 1945 he wrote again to Syme asking for his support: after the war ended he had been dismissed from his Chair on political grounds and threatened with the loss of his pension.

From E. Groag

(Picture postcard of the Ritterburg of Schlaining in Burgenland; on the address side, Abs. Dr. Edmund Groag, Wien XIII, Feldmühlgasse 15.)

Wien 19.I.37

Hochgeehrter Herr Kollege!

ich gestatte mir, Ihnen meinen besten Dank zu sagen für die freundliche Übersendung Ihrer meisterhaften Darstellung der flavischen Außenpolitik in der Cambridge Ancient History sowie für Ihre scharfsinnigen Ausführungen über die Heimatgemeinde des Cornelius Fuscus¹⁷⁷ und für den Artikel über Larcius Priscus;¹⁷⁸ es freut mich, daß wir betreffs der Stellung des Priscus in Syrien zu ähnlichen Schlüssen gelangt sind. Unsere so lückenhafte Kenntnis der Geschichte der Kaiserzeit ist durch Ihre Arbeiten schon vielfach und in hohem Maße erhellt worden.

Mit besten Empfehlungen zeichnet

Ihr ganz ergebener

Groag

¹⁷⁷ 'The colony of Cornelius Fuscus: an episode in the *Bellum Neronis*', *AJP* 58 (1937) 7–18; repr. in *DP* 73–91, with Addendum 82–83.

¹⁷⁸ 'A governor of Syria under Nerva', *Philologus* 91 (1936) 238–245.

From H. Last

Brasenose College, Oxford

30.iv.37

Dear Syme,

Very sad indeed about Tring, more particularly as there is a chance that Tarn may be there.¹⁷⁹

Divi f. No: you weren't obscure at all. We just disagree because in my humble opinion the people who were the most conscious of Julius' 'badness' were those to whom the 'divus' part of the business meant least and who, if they were reminded of J. by whatever name or phrase, would just think of the human being that many of them had seen or even known — dictator and all. I know what you are after, and Pompeius has a point; and the bit that produced that exclamation was rather too much in the style of argument one associates with learned colleagues of ours in London for my enthusiasm.¹⁸⁰

Yours ever

H.M.L.

¹⁷⁹ This clearly refers to the annual meeting of ancient historians, started by N.H. Baynes, held either at Tring or Wellingborough, as Lorenzo Calvelli kindly points out: cf. C. Stray, *JRS* 100 (2010) 7. Syme had evidently told Last that he would be unable to attend. William Woodthorpe Tarn, an independent scholar (1869–1957; knighted 1952) was in his day regarded as the leading anglophone authority on Alexander the Great and the Hellenistic world; he contributed to four volumes of *CAH*; cf. Introduction for Syme's view of his work in *CAH* X.

¹⁸⁰ It is hard to be sure what Last refers to here, apart from reactions to the use of the filiation 'divi filius'. 'Pompeius has a point' no doubt refers to Sextus Pompeius, as Ronald Ridley writes to me, but remains obscure, likewise which 'learned colleagues of ours in London' are meant.

From F. Münzer¹⁸¹

Münster Westf. d. 19. 8. 37
Heisstr. 1.

Sehr geehrter Herr Kollege!

Für die freundliche Zusendung Ihrer drei Aufsätze sage ich Ihnen meinen verbindlichen Dank.¹⁸² Ich habe sie alle mit Interesse gelesen und freue mich, sie zu besitzen. Sie hatten nicht nötig, den über Decidius Saxa an mich ‘trepidanter’ zu richten, denn ich gebe Ihnen recht. Mein Artikel über den Mann ist 1901 erschienen,¹⁸³ und ich hoffe, dass ich seitdem manches gelernt habe, darunter besseres Verständnis des Tones römischer Invektiven, ihrer Übertreibungen und Entstellungen, und besseres Verständnis der fortgesetzten Umbildung der römischen Gesellschaft. Es sind ganz gewiss immer die den führenden Kreisen am nächsten stehenden tieferen Schichten gewesen, aus denen sich jene ergänzten, und es ist die schonungslose und karikierende Bosheit des politischen Gegners, die den römischen Bürger aus Gallien und Spanien, den Abkömmling von dorthin vor langer Zeit ausgewanderten Kolonisten, mit den barbarischen Eingeborenen auf eine Stufe stellt. Sie hätten als einen Vorgänger des Decidius den Volkstribunen von 90 v. Chr. Q. Varius aus Sucro nennen können (Val. Max. III 7,8. Quintilian VI 12,10). Ein gutes Gegenstück, das Sie angeführt haben (S. 131), ist Titius; in meinem schon längst gedruckten Artikel habe ich fast in allen Einzelheiten die Darlegungen von Cichorius *Röm. Studien* 250ff. angenommen, und es ist eigentlich erfreulich zu sehen, dass derselbe Cicero, der diese Art von Senatoren von Caesars Gnaden so heftig schmäht, ihnen auch wieder unter Umständen mit seiner milden Humanität begegnet. Auch über Nucula habe ich einen schon längst gedruckten Artikel verfasst, in dem ich vermute, dass er ein Numisius ist.¹⁸⁴ Von Ventidius und anderen Leuten dieser Art liesse sich noch manches sagen. Es stellen ganz gewiss gerade diese Leute, die in militärischem Dienst zwischen den Tribunen

¹⁸¹ Friedrich Münzer (1868–1942): see Introduction, above, on Syme’s admiration for and indebtedness to Münzer; cf. also in *RT*, Appendix II, with the Biographical Notes at the end.

¹⁸² As Münzer’s comments show, two of the three offprints were clearly ‘The imperial finances under Domitian, Nerva and Trajan’, *JRS* 20 (1930) 55–70 (reprinted *RP I* 1–17), and ‘Who was Decidius Saxa?’, *JRS* 27 (1937) 127–37 (reprinted *RP I* 31–41). The remaining one cannot be identified: for the list of Syme’s articles published up to 1937 see *RP II* 855–6.

¹⁸³ *RE* 4.2 (1901), art. Decidius 4) L. Decidius Saxa, 2271–2272.

¹⁸⁴ Although Münzer describes it as ‘einen schon längst gedruckten Artikel’, it seems only to have appeared in the previous year: *RE* 17.1 (1936), art. Nucula, Sp. 1238–1239.

und den Centurionen stehen und den unscheinbaren Titel praefectus führen (sociorum, fabrum, castrorum) auch ihrer Herkunft und ihrer bürgerlichen Stellung nach ein Mittelglied zwischen dem ersten Stande (oder den zwei ersten Ständen) und dem niederen Volke dar; Leute wie Mamurra, Vitruv, Lepta und andere gehören in diese Kategorie. In allen solchen Fällen bestätigt sich mir immer wieder die Erkenntnis, dass wir mit der scharfen Unterscheidung der Stände nicht auskommen, sondern dass es immer Übergänge gibt. Darauf kommen Sie ja auch hinaus. Parallelen drängen sich leicht auf; aber das tiefere Eindringen in die römischen Verhältnisse verschafft uns allein schon die gewünschte Klarheit.

Sie sehen also, dass ich Ihnen vollkommen zustimme; ich freue mich, wenn andere Fachgenossen unabhängig an ähnlichen Anschauungen gelangen wie ich.

Als bescheidene Gegengabe schicke ich Ihnen etwas von den letzten Artikeln der Realencyclopädie und eine Sie vermutlich interessierende Anzeige von CAH XI; wenn Sie in dieser Ihren Namen nur beiläufig genannt finden, so bitte ich die Entschuldigung dafür dem vorhergehenden Satze zu entnehmen.¹⁸⁵

Übrigens noch eine Frage wegen der Finanzen unter Domitian: Sind vielleicht die Zahlungen an die Daker nicht nur als eine Schande, sondern auch als eine unerhörte Belastung besonders schwer empfunden worden? (s. Plin. paneg. 12,1).

Mit besten Empfehlungen

Ihr sehr ergebener

F. Münzer¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁵ CAH X was published in 1936. Syme's contribution was 'Flavian Wars and Frontiers', 131–187. Münzer's review appeared in the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 40 (1937) 278–281.

¹⁸⁶ (This letter is printed from the transcript by A.R.B. in García 215–216.)

From E. Hohl¹⁸⁷

Seestadt Rostock, den 23. Dezember 1937.

Sehr verehrter Herr Kollege,

haben Sie herzlichsten Dank für Ihre freundlichen Zeilen vom 20. des Mts, sowie für die mich sehr interessierende Beilage. Die schwache Arbeit Grafs¹⁸⁸ habe ich für die DLZ besprochen, wo die Rezension demnächst erscheinen wird,

Gerne gehe ich auf Ihre Frage betreffend das Datum der Verschwörung des L. Aemilius Paullus ein. A b s o l u t ausgeschlossen ist das J. 8 n. Chr. Mein Ansatz in das J. 1 n. Chr. ist ja nur eine Vermutung. Im J. 8 n. Chr. wurde Julia d. J. 'adulterii convicta' verbannt (Tac., ann. 4,71). Daraus könnte man schließen, daß sie um jene Zeit noch verheiratet, nicht seit Jahren verwitwet war. Aber nach Dig. 50,16,101 (Modestinus) gebraucht die lex Iulia de adulteriis das Wort 'adulterium' auch für das 'stuprum in viduam'. Tac., ann. 3,24 redet von 'inpudicitia [sic] ... neptis' (Augusti).¹⁸⁹ Die Milde, mit der Augustus gegen D. (Iunius) Silanus, den Liebhaber der Julia d.J., scheint mir gegen einen eigentlichen Ehebruch zu sprechen. Augustus begnügte sich ja damit dem 'in nepte adulter' die Freundschaft aufzukündigen (vgl. Münzer, RE X, Sp. 1091). Vermutlich war Silanus weniger ein Verführer, als ein Verführter. Wäre es nicht ein seltsamer Zufall, wenn das J. 8 n. Chr. sowohl den Hochverrat des Aemilius Paullus als auch den Ehebruch der Gattin des Hochverrätters gebracht hätte? Suet., Claud, 26,1 scheint sich nur auf eine Teilnahme der Julia d.J. an den politischen Umtreiben ihres Gatten zu beziehen. Auch die Tatsache, daß ein Sohn des Hochverrätters bis zum J. 14 [n.] Chr. frater Arvalis war und daß die Tochter um das J. 13 n. Chr. sich mit M. Iunius Silanus verheiraten konnte, verstehe ich besser, wenn

¹⁸⁷ Ernst Hohl (1886–1957) was a pupil of Kornemann at Tübingen, his doctoral dissertation (published in *Klio* 11 (1911)) being on the *Historia Augusta*, a subject on which he became a (if not the) leading expert; taught at Rostock 1919–1950, at Berlin 1950–1953. His call to succeed Kornemann at Breslau was blocked by the Nazi *Dozentenbund* (Christ 146 n. 172, citing M. Gelzer, *Gnomon* 29 (1957) 399). See on Hohl e.g. Christ 145–148; *DNP*, Suppl. 6, 532–533 (by U. Walter); and J. Straub, 'Vorwort' to Hohl's posthumously published translation (composed 1942–1944) of the *Historia Augusta* (2 vols, 1976) v–xlvii. More detail in M. Sehlmeier & U. Walter, *Unberührt von jedem Umbruch? Der Althistoriker Ernst Hohl zwischen Kaiserreich und früherer DDR* (Frankfurt 2005) [*non vidi*].

¹⁸⁸ No doubt this refers to H.R. Graf, *Kaiser Vespasian* (1937), reviewed by Syme, *CR* 51 (1937) 195–196, rather than to A. Graf, *Übersicht der antiken Geographie von Pannonien* (1936), also reviewed by Syme, *JRS* 27 (1937) 294–296.

¹⁸⁹ *Sic*: the text of *Ann.* 3.24 has 'impudicitiam filiae ac neptis'.

das Verbrechen des Vaters zeitlich weit zurücklag. Und ist es bloßer Zufall, daß wir nach dem Konsulat des Aemilius Lepidus, des progener des Augustus, überhaupt nichts mehr von ihm hören? M.E. ist also das J. 8 n. Chr., als das Jahr der Katastrophe des Aemilius Paullus zwar nicht absolut ausgeschlossen, aber auch nicht besonders wahrscheinlich.

Ihr Mißtrauen gegen den Juvenalscholiasten verstehe ich durchaus. Das “in Sicilia” (statt Planasia bzw. Sorrent) ist ja auf jeden Fall verkehrt. Man könnte sich daran denken, die erste Relegation der Julia zu streichen und ihre Mitschuld am Hochverrat des Gatten im mutmaßlichen Jahr 1 n. Chr. zu leugnen, wenn nicht Suet., Claud. 26,1 (‘parentes’) für ihre Mitschuld spräche. Sie sehen, ich habe mich die Sache noch einmal durch den Kopf gehen lassen. Aber ich sehe noch keinen schlagenden Einwand gegen meine Mutmaßung.¹⁹⁰

With many thanks and all good wishes for Christmas and 1938.

Ihr ganz ergebener

E. Hohl¹⁹¹

¹⁹⁰ The present letter came with an offprint of his article in which the conspiracy of L. Aemilius Paulus was discussed, *Klio* 30 (1937) 323–342, at 337–342, cited in *RR* 430 n. 3, 432 n. 4, cf. 438 n. 4 and 439 n. 1: ‘cf. the acute and convincing demonstration of E. Hohl, *Hermes* 70 (1935) 350ff.’ on Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.6. However, while remaining non-committal in *RR*, Syme later took a different view about the date of Paullus’ conspiracy, preferring AD 8, see e.g. ‘The crisis of 2 B.C.’, *Sitzber. Bayr. Akad.* (1974) 3–34, at 33=*RP* III 935 with n. 99; and, for his death, argued for AD 14 — see *History in Ovid* (1978) 208–211; and at length *Aug. Arist.* ch. IX, ‘The End of L. Aemilius Paullus’, 115–127; esp. 121, citing Suet. *D. Claud.* 36.1 [sic: it should be 26.1], with the comment at n. 31: ‘Not adduced by the author of *Rom. Rev.*, or by some others’; and at 122–125 he shows that the Arval Brother Paullus who died in AD 14 was the conspirator himself, not his young son, and that Paullus [was] ‘not executed but sent away to confinement’, citing Pliny, *NH* 18.6 for the information that ‘only death can deprive an *arvalis* of his status, even if he be an exile’ (in *Hist. in Ovid* 211 n. 7 he already cites this chapter as ‘in *The Augustan Aristocracy* (forthcoming). The chapter, among the earliest, was composed in 1972’. (By inadvertence, reviewing R. Seager, *Tiberius* (1972) in ‘History or biography: the case of Tiberius Caesar’, *Historia* 23 (1974) 481–496, at 494=*RP* III 949, Syme wrote that ‘Paullus came to a bad and mysterious end, being put to death for an alleged conspiracy in A.D. 8.’)

¹⁹¹ See the Postscript, below, for Hohl’s letters of 3.2.50, in which he writes of his great pleasure in at last being able to read Syme’s *RR*, and of 27.4.56, in which he recalls having at last met Syme, in Copenhagen on 23.8.54.

From F. Münzer

Münster (Westf.) d. 16.2.38
Heisstr. 1.

Sehr geehrter Herr Kollege!

Mit dem besten Dank für Ihren Aufsatz über die Herkunft des Cornelius Gallus¹⁹² verbinde ich den freilich sehr verspäteten Dank für Ihren freundlichen Brief vom 14.9.37. Die Bemerkungen über Cornelius Gallus scheinen mir im allgemeinen ebenso überzeugend wie die über Decidius Saxa; gerade Ihre allgemeinen Anschauungen über solche Punkte, wie den Vorwurf der niedrigen Geburt oder die Überschätzung der Masse von Senatoren unfreier Abstammung sind Beherzigung wert. Die Beweise im Einzelnen bleiben leider bisweilen unvollständig, weil unser Material nicht weit genug reicht. Z.B. haben Sie den Praetorier Corn. Gallus (bei Val. Max. und Plin.) gar nicht erwähnt, obgleich er gewiss mit dem Praef. Aegypti zusammenhängt; aber wir haben eben wirklich nichts als die Gleichheit des Namens und der ungefähren Zeit.¹⁹³ Jedenfalls freue ich mich aufrichtig, wie eifrig und erfolgreich Sie dieses ganze Problem der Umbildung der römischen Gesellschaft anpacken, und wünsche Ihnen weiter guten Erfolg. In den letzten Wochen habe ich (als Recensent) ein neues Buch durchgearbeitet, das sich ähnliche Ziele steckt (Doer, *Die römische Namengebung*¹⁹⁴), bin aber von der Flüchtigkeit des Verfassers in hohem Grade unbefriedigt; er hat sich Aufgaben gestellt, die weit über seine Kräfte gehen, während bei Ihnen die Beschränkung und die Gründlichkeit der Arbeit stets den allerbesten Eindruck macht und ihr Ziel erreicht. Mit besten Grüßen und Wünschen

Ihr sehr ergebener

F. Münzer¹⁹⁵

¹⁹² 'The origin of Cornelius Gallus', *CQ* 32 (1938) 39–44 (reprinted *RP* I 47–54).

¹⁹³ Cf. Münzer, 'Cornelius 163', *RE* 4.1 (1900) 1342, citing Val. Max. 9.12.8 and Plin. *NH* 7.184 for this man.

¹⁹⁴ Bruno Doer, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Namengebung* (1937). Münzer's review, if in fact published, has not been traced.

¹⁹⁵ (This letter is printed from the transcript by A.R.B. in García 218.)

From A. Alföldi

Budapest, 16/2/38

Dear Syme,

I am very glad, to have a contribution of Yours in the *Laureae Aquincenses*. “The first garrison of Dacia” will be a very welcome paper to us.¹⁹⁶

I write You very likely the wanted particulars upon the new document of 88 A.D. This is one half of a military diploma, found on the Bulgarian frontier of the Danube. It is made for Gorio, Stibi f., Dacus, who came — I am convinced — with the *plura quam centum milia ex numero Transdanuvianorum ad praestanda tributa cum coniugibus ac liberis et principibus et regibus suis*, transplanted from Plautius Silvanus to the southern shore of the river. — The man served in the *cohors Musulami-orum* in Syria sub P. Valerio Patruino. The consules *suffecti* are named: M. Otacilius Crassus and Sex. Julius Sparsus. The list of Syrian *alae* and *cohortes* I have not yet studied, but they will yield surely some new observations.¹⁹⁷

Concerning the Calpurnius on the new inscription of Aquincum there remains much room for combinations, because the cognomen of him is missing.¹⁹⁸

With the best salutations from Yours

Andrew Alföldi¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁶ Syme’s paper was ‘The first garrison of Trajan’s Dacia’, *Laureae Aquincenses. Memoriae Valentini Kuzsinsky dicatae* I (1938) 267–286 (repr. in *DP* 84–104, with Addendum, 104–109).

¹⁹⁷ The diploma was published by Alföldi, *JRS* 29 (1939) 28–31. For the governor of Syria cf. now *PIR*² V 161; on Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus transplanting people from north of the Danube, see his inscription at Tibur, *CIL* XIV 3608=*ILS* 986.

¹⁹⁸ This fragment found in 1937 was thought to refer to a Calp[urnius], and to be Tiberian in date. Two further fragments found in 1981 revealed that the man was a governor under Vespasian: *C. Calp[etano Rantio Quirinale] Valerio Festo leg(ato)*. See *AE* 1986.590, *Tituli Aquincenses* I.1 (information kindly supplied by Dr. P. Kovács). This man, best known by his last names (his original ones) as Valerius Festus, as in Tacitus and the younger Pliny, was *cos. suff.* in 71: full references in *PIR*² V 73.

¹⁹⁹ (This letter is printed from the transcript by A.R.B. in García 217.)

Budapest, the 23. April, 1938

My dear Syme,²⁰⁰

I write You a very intimate letter and I beg You to treat the following with the utmost discretion.

The “Anschluss” produced effects, which are not yet known in western Europe. Among those is the fact, that the nazism, pleaded by a group of very low-standing men till now, gained in our country the public. It is no wonder: the youth cannot find employment, the paysants starve, the economic situation is miserable in general since the dismemberment of the monarchy, — so the masses believe it very likely, that all evils can be cured through nazist methods. — It is announced, that the revolution will happen in June, but I believe, it will broke through only in the autumn, — so far one can judge about such things.

Now, You know, that I am keen nationalist and made all possible for my fatherland.

So I determined myself — not without much hesitations — to write You and beg You to give me answer to the following questions. I beg You to write quite openly, without an optimistic retouch.

1) In the case I would lose my cathedra, Would You think, I could find a modestly paid employment in England or in the United States?

2) How much time would it be necessary — on the average — to obtain such a post?

It is not necessary, to give the answer soon. I beg You only, to think over these problems. — Perhaps it can help, that I worked as archeologist as well as a historian, epigraphist, numismatist, etc. —

I was in the last weeks in Belgium, where I held lectures in Gand and Brussels. I adapted the text of my review of Parker’s book for an [one] of the lectures (it will appear in the *Antiquité classique*)²⁰¹ and so my wish, that my comments shall published in full text, is also fulfilled.

²⁰⁰ This letter and those from Alföldi dated 8.10.38, 5.11.38 and 19.4.39, below, were first published by A.R. Birley, ‘Reflections on the third century crisis’, in L. Borhy, ed., *Von der Entstehung Roms bis zur Auflösung des Römerreiches. Konferenz zum Gedenken des hundertsten Geburtstages von Andreas Alföldi* (1999) 20–25, at 23–25 and again (in part) by id., ‘Andreas Alföldi and the *Historia Augusta*’, in J.H. Richardson & F. Santangelo, eds, *Andreas Alföldi in the Twenty-First Century* (2015) 219–241, at 239–240 (also, from transcripts supplied by A.R. Birley, by García 219, 221, 224, 240, without annotation). See further on Alföldi and the background Introduction, above.

²⁰¹ On Parker, *The Roman Legions*, cf. note to Tod’s letter of 13.5.28 and elsewhere. No review of this book by Alföldi can be traced.

I hope, You are well! And I beg You to forgive me for the molestation.
With the best salutations from Yours very sincerely

Andrew Alföldi

From H. Last

Brasenose College, Oxford

11.V.1938

Dear Syme,

Time is too scarce to allow of too much for this fellow. If you think that the enclosed is too cold — and particularly if you think that the reference to Varro's views about the gradus aetatis (which is not meant to be over kind) is positively offensive — let me know. I would then try to do better. But W.O. is not a man for whom my enthusiasm is unlimited.

Please take care that you don't send on this note with the dossier.²⁰²

Yours ever
HML

²⁰² This is an example of Last and Syme as members of the Editorial Committee of *JRS*. It is not clear who W.O. was. Varro on the *gradus aetatis* is quoted by Censorinus, *De die natali* 14.

From H. Strasburger²⁰³

Noerdwijk den 10. Juni 1938

Hochverehrter Herr Syme!

Durch Ihr so freundliches Eingehen auf meine Arbeiten²⁰⁴ und die reiche Sendung von Sonderdrucken haben Sie mir eine große Freude bereitet, und ich bitte Sie, für Beides meinen wärmsten Dank entgegenzunehmen. Von diesen Arbeiten waren mir gerade die beiden wichtigen aus dem *JRS*,²⁰⁵ wie ich zu meiner Schande gestehen muß, bisher unbekannt gewesen, und ich habe sie in der Feierwoche an der holländischen See voller Genuß und mit großer Bewunderung gelesen. Diese unbestechliche Art, aus der Überlieferung stets auch das herauszuhören, was sie zu übertönen sucht, ist mir natürlich, bei meinen eigenen Zielsetzungen, besonders interessant und sympatisch.

Zur Stützung Ihrer These von der mittelitalischen Herkunft des Decidius Saxa könnte man noch jenen älteren Klienten Caesars: den Samniten Decidius (Tac. dial. 21, vgl. Cic. Cluent. 161) anführen. Sollte vielleicht — wegen der Beziehung Beider zu Caesar — Decidius Saxa ein Verwandter von diesem, oder gar sein Sohn sein? Letzteres ist vielleicht wegen des spanischen Heimatortes zu gewagt. Aber der Name Decidius ist wohl nicht so häufig, als daß man nicht irgend eine Beziehung vermuten dürfte.²⁰⁶

Auf Ihre Untersuchung ‘Caesar, the senate and Italy’ hatte mich schon Herr Werner²⁰⁷ sehr neugierig gemacht, dem Sie etwas davon erzählt

²⁰³ Hermann Strasburger (1909–1985) studied at Frankfurt (taught there by Gelzer), Innsbruck and Munich; after a doctorate with a thesis on Cicero began teaching at Freiburg in 1932, but was dismissed because of his part-Jewish origin in 1934; resumed his career after the war, with Habilitation at Heidelberg 1946; Professor of Ancient History at Frankfurt (as successor of Gelzer) 1955–1963; Freiburg 1963–1977. See Schmitthenner 93–94; *DNP* Suppl. Bd. 6, 1197–1198.

²⁰⁴ Probably Strasburger’s *Concordia Ordinum* (1931, his doctoral thesis) and *Caesars Eintritt in die Geschichte* (1938), both cited in *RR*; the latter led to Syme’s proposal that Strasburger should write a monograph on Caesar, to be translated into English, see letters of 11. and 23.11.38 and 20.1. and 27.4.39, below.

²⁰⁵ For the first see next note. The other was ‘The allegiance of Labienus’, *JRS* 28 (1938) 113–125 (repr. in *RP* I 62–75).

²⁰⁶ This refers to Syme’s paper ‘Who was Decidius Saxa?’, *JRS* 27 (1937) 127–137 (repr. in *RP* I 31–41). In ‘Caesar, the senate and Italy’, *PBSR* 14 (1938) 1–31 (repr. in *RP* I 88–119) at 14 n. (=102 n. 3). Syme added a reference to the proscribed Samnite leader Cn. Decidius, cf. also *RR* 80 n. 1.

²⁰⁷ On the article see previous note. ‘Herr Werner’: perhaps the prehistorian Joachim Werner (1909–1994), later Professor at Munich 1948–1974; Syme could well have met him at the RGK. The reference to Labienus in the next sentence may mean that Strasburger hadn’t yet fully digested Syme’s article in *JRS* 1938 or that he

hatten. Nun bin ich freilich auch gespannt, wie Sie dem Labienus beikommen werden.

Vor meiner Reise habe ich gerade noch den Artikel ‘Optimates’ für die *RE* abgeschlossen; ich hoffe, darin die Vorstellung von den römischen Parteien endgültig widerlegt zu haben.²⁰⁸ Nun lese ich hier ein wenig in den Quellen zur sullanischen Zeit, aber, ob etwas dabei herauskommt, kann ich noch nicht sagen. Bei meiner Existenz in Deutschland ist wirkliche Ruhe zum Arbeiten leider mehr Ausnahme als Regel.

Mit nochmaligem Dank und den besten Empfehlungen bin ich

Ihr ganz ergebener

Hermann Strasburger²⁰⁹

wondered how Labienus would be treated in the forthcoming *PBSR* paper (hardly mentioned at all, in fact; cf. index in *RP* III 1503).

²⁰⁸ His article ‘Optimates’ was published in *RE* 18.1 (1939) 773–798. At *RR* 11 n. 3 Syme cited Strasburger on ‘Novus homo’, *RE* 17.1 (1936) 1223–1228.

²⁰⁹ (This letter is printed from the transcript by A.R.B. in García 220.)

From A. Degrassi²¹⁰

UNIONE ACCADEMICA NAZIONALE

PALAZZO DELLA FARNESINA — LUNGOTEVERE FARNESINA, 10 — ROMA

(handwritten)

Roma, 23 luglio 1938

Via Dandolo, 24

Illustre Professore,

La ringrazio assai del favorevole giudizio ch'Ella ebbe la cortesia di esprimere sul mio fascicolo d'iscrizioni dell'Istria settentrionale.²¹¹ Il giudizio mi è doppiamente gradito perchè da persona che gode meritamente un'alta reputazione tra gli studiosi. Grazie vivissime anche dell'interessante estratto.²¹²

Le mando insieme un mio articolo uscito in questi giorni

Distinti saluti,

Attilio Degrassi

²¹⁰ Attilio Degrassi (1887–1969), born in Trieste, then ruled by Austria, took his doctorate in Vienna in 1911; was an independent scholar as well as a schoolteacher for many years; undertook two volumes of the series *Inscriptiones Italiae*; 1934 joined the Soprintendenza alle Antichità di Roma e Lazio; published extensively but did not gain a Chair until 1950, at Padua; called to Rome in 1956 and taught for one year only, retiring at age 70. See *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 36 (1988) 195–198 (by D. Manacorda).

²¹¹ Syme reviewed Degrassi's *Inscriptiones Italiae* X 2–4 (1934, 1936) and XIV 1 (1936) in *JRS* 27 (1937) 290–291.

²¹² Probably this was 'Who was Decidius Saxa?', *JRS* 27 (1937) 127–137; repr. in *RP* I 31–41.

From J. Szilágyi²¹³

Aquincumi Muzeum
Budapest III

19.VIII 1938.

Sehr geehrter Herr Professor!

Im Auftrage des H. Prof. Alföldi teile ich Ihnen mit, dass ich während meiner Studienfahrt in Siebenbürgen im J. 1935 in zwei Museen gestempelte Ziegel von der Legio IIII. Flavia gefunden hatte. Im Museum zu Temesvár (heute: Timisoara) zeichnete ich 3 Stücke, deren Fundort Pojejena (2 Stücke, Komitat Krasso) und Jidovin (1Stück, " ") wäre. Im Museum von Gyulafehérvár (heute: Alba Julia, Apulum) fand ich einziges Stück (ganz anderen Typus!), dessen angeblicher Fundort Apulum wäre.

Ich muss es betonen, dass mein gesammeltes Material sehr mangelhaft ist, weil einige Museen vor mir gesperrt wurden.

Mit vorzüglicher Hochachtung

Ihr ergebener

dr. János Szilágyi

Assistent

²¹³ János Szilágyi (1907–1988) specialised in the archaeology of the Roman provinces, especially Pannonia. Syme reviewed his *Inscriptiones tegularum Pannonicarum* (1933) in *JRS* 24 (1934) 91–92, welcoming the work as much needed. In Syme's paper, 'The first garrison of Trajan's Dacia', in *Laureae Aquincenses* I (1938) 267–286, reprinted, *DP* 84–104. with an Addendum 104–109, the information in this letter is recorded with thanks. See also letter from Alföldi of 8.10.38, below: 'Szilágyi is glad, that his informations had some use for You.' He spent his entire career at the Aquincum Museum, of which he became Director in 1947.

From D. Sergejevski²¹⁴

Sarajevo 30. VIII. 38

Dear Sir,

Soeben bin ich aus einer Reise in Ost-Bosnien (zwischen Tuzla und Kladanj) zurückgekommen. Die Reise dauerte zwei Wochen, und doch habe ich absolut kein archäologisches Material — ich meine antikes — gefunden. Wenig prähistorischen, viel Mittelalterlichen Altertümer, — und keine Spur von Römern! Und doch habe ich den ganzen Lauf des Flüsschens Gostilja, 50 km lang, durchforscht. Unser Museum hat auch keine Funde aus dieser Gegend. Es ist eine interessante Tatsache dass Ost-Bosnien, die ganze Gegend zwischen den Flüssen Drina und Bosna, die Thäler der genannten Flüsse und der Sava ausgenommen, äusserst arm an antiken Funden ist. War es Urwald?

Wie geht es Ihnen? Sie werden oder sind schon auf Reisen in Europa? Nehmen Sie Teil am epigraphischen Kongress in Amsterdam? Ich habe leider keine Möglichkeit diese Reise vorzunehmen.

Ich wollte Sie eines Buches wegen — Brown G.B., *Eccles. Architecture in England*²¹⁵ — fragen. Doch wird es wohl leichter sein darüber eine englische Buchhandlung anzufragen. So habe ich eine grosse Bitte an Sie: vielleicht würden Sie so liebenswürdig sein und mir die Adresse einer Buchhandlung — am besten wäre es eine Buchhandl. und Antiquariat zusammen — mitzuteilen, falls es Ihnen nicht schwer ist. Wir haben leider keine Beziehungen mit englischen Buchhandlungen. Für die genannte Adresse würde ich Ihnen sehr dankbar sein.

Ich erlaube mir Sie an Ihre Vespreehung und die Publikation der Severus(?)-Inschrift aus Domavia in unserem Glasnik zu besorgen, zu erinnern.²¹⁶ Wir möchten Ihre Handschrift im Anfang Oktober haben.

²¹⁴ Dimitrije Sergejevski was born at St Petersburg in 1886 and came as a refugee from the Bolsheviks to the country that was to be known as Yugoslavia, then a monarchy. He worked as a curator in the Archaeological Museum of Sarajevo for many years. As he told the editor of this study in 1962, after his adopted country had become a republic with a communist government, he was unwilling to become a refugee again and stayed at Sarajevo, where he died in 1965.

²¹⁵ G. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England II: Ecclesiastical Architecture in England from the Conversion of the Saxons to the Norman Conquest* (1903).

²¹⁶ See note to Sergejevski's letter of 15.3.39.

Jetzt arbeite ich auf der Karte von Bosniens — es gibt ziemlich viel Arbeit damit.

Es wünscht Ihnen alles beste und sendet seinen herzlichen Gruß

Ihr Dem. Sergejevski

From A. Alföldi²¹⁷

Budapest, the 8th Oct. 1938

My dear Syme,

Many thanks for Your kind letter. The review of Weber's book is excellent.²¹⁸ I am so glad, that Your general views on aims of historical research agree with my conviction. And I am sure, this common line of us both — an organical growth of the advance in science of the past century — represents the true and sole way of progress.

I await Your proofs and shall send You a revise; the 50 offprints are secured. I appreciate very highly Your collaboration: as I wrote, Your contribution is extremely useful, welcome and well made.

Szilagyi is glad, that his informations had some use for You. He would be very anxious to know Your opinions upon the inscription of Tiberius from Aquincum. — You will be interested also with the paper of Saria upon the leg. XV. Apoll. in Emona in the IIInd vol. of the *Laureae*, in which You will find papers of Your own, of Egger, Eichler, Betz, Praschniker, Fremersdorf, Lambrechts, A. Stein, of myself too.

We have no easy days there. The innerpolitical crisis, enhanced through the success and the help of the totalitarian states is acute. Beside this, the new frontiers, not drawn on the principle of historical right, but after ethnographical & racial repartition, will suffocate our ideal: the peaceful state of several nations under the crown of St. Stephen. Your Prime

²¹⁷ See above, notes to Alföldi's letters of 3.12.34, 16.2.38, 23.4.38, and Introduction.

²¹⁸ Syme reviewed W. Weber, *Rom: Herrschertum und Reich im zweiten Jahrhundert* (1937) in *Historische Zeitschrift* 108 (1938) 554–561; an English version was printed in *RP* I 55–61. This review is referred to in several other letters: from Stein 28.10.38, Kornemann 4.11.38, Strasburger of 25.11.38, Hohl of 14.6.39, Norden of 27.6.39. (Syme reviewed the book again, briefly, in *CR* 53 (1939) 79–80.) Wilhelm Weber (1882–1948) was a pupil of Alfred von Domaszewski at Heidelberg, Professor at Groningen 1911–1916, then at various German universities, 1931–1945 at Berlin, where he became an enthusiastic devotee of the National Socialists and an influential arbiter of the careers of many younger historians. See further *RT* I.3, II.1 and list of individuals at the end of *RT*.

Minister worked — in spite of all difficulties — a wonder: God shall help his efforts in saving human worth and culture!

With the best wishes

Yours ever

Andrew Alföldi

P.S. I was delighted with Your chapter from Your new work and I await eagerly the whole.²¹⁹

²¹⁹ Presumably Syme had sent Alföldi a chapter from *RR*, which he had completed in August or September that year; the work's title had perhaps not yet been settled as *RR* then, cf. Introduction.

From A. Stein

Prague, 28. X. 38

Dear Colleague,

Very many thanks for your kind remember in your letter of the 3rd of May and in sending me your precious review of Weber's book! Your criticism is just in every regard, and it must be acknowledged that you are using the greatest possible politeness in saying that the whole is not at all satisfying.²²⁰

However I will not deny, that though I disgust deeply Weber's manner to consider the simplest facts as some mystic thing, I am appreciating many of his studies and far looking thoughts, and still more the suggestive stimulation emanating from his teaching, as is proved by his scholars like Ehrenberg, Taeger, Vogt.²²¹

Although I was hindered from visiting the Epigraphical Congress in Amsterdam, I find some consolation in the fact, that I did not omit a meeting with you, since nor did you come to the Congress.

The unquietness of the last weeks was not favourable to the progress of our *Prosopographia*²²² and of my other works, but I shall hope that soon it will come alright.²²³

²²⁰ See above, note to Alföldi's letter of 8.10.38.

²²¹ On Weber and his pupils see Christ 210–244. Victor Leopold Ehrenberg (1891–1976) was Professor of Ancient History at the German University in Prague (and thus a colleague of Stein) until obliged to emigrate (to England) because of the Nazi antisemitic legislation which was shortly to deprive Stein of his Chair, cf. his letter of 27.1.39. On Ehrenberg see Todd 274–278 (by S. Rebenich); *DNP* Suppl. 6, 350–353 (by H. Schneider). Ehrenberg was principally known as a historian of Greece, as was Fritz Taeger (1894–1960), Professor of Ancient History at Gießen 1930–1935, then at Marburg as successor of von Premerstein, see Christ 225–231. Taeger's massive *Das Altertum* (2 vols, 1939), aimed at a general readership, was dedicated 'in Verehrung und Dankbarkeit' to Fabricius, by whom he had been 'habilitiert' in 1925 with a study on Thucydides, and in the Foreword he thanks, 'allen voran Wilhelm Weber, den nicht seine Schüler allein als den kühnsten Bahnbrecher unter den deutschen Altertumswissenschaftlern der Gegenwart verehren'. Joseph Vogt (1895–1986) held several professorships, at Tübingen 1926–1929 and again 1946–1962; and had numerous successful pupils including Karl Christ, who wrote about him at length, Christ 231–241.

²²² By 'our *Prosopographia*' he meant his and Groag's authorship of *PIR*² pars III, which was indeed to be impeded, see below, note to letter from Stein of 27.1.39.

²²³ The 'unquietness' refers to the German occupation of the Sudetenland which began on 1 October 1938, following the Munich agreement of 29 September. Stein's hope that 'soon it will come alright' was not to be fulfilled, cf. his letters of 27.1., 20.2., 5. and 19.3.39, below. Contrast the attitude of H. Zeiss, in his letter of 27.11.38, below:

Tell me soon how you are and how you have spent all this time.

With best wishes,

Yours as ever

A. Stein²²⁴

the day the Munich agreement was signed ‘war hier wirklich eine Art Volksfeiertag’ and he was delighted by what he heard about the German take over of the Sudetenland.

²²⁴ (This letter is printed from the transcript by A.R.B. in García 222.)

From E. Kornemann (postcard)²²⁵

München 15 Bavaria

Ring 15 *o.t.* 4/XI/1938

Hochverehrter Herr Kollege Syme!

Ich danke Ihnen herzlichst für Ihren schönen Gallus-Aufsatz²²⁶ (er interessiert mich wie alles, was Sie Schreiben) und die beigegefügtten freundl[ichen] Zeilen. Mit gleicher Post geht als "Drucksache" ein Päckchen Aufsätze ab, darunter die gewünschten Rezensionen Weber, v. Premierstein²²⁷ (*beinhalten* nicht alles was ich zu sagen habe. Aber im Alter wird man zu geschwätzig, so dass nicht alles mehr gedruckt werden kann. Gleichzeitig habe ich den I. Band einer Römischen Geschichte veröffentlicht, die eben in verschiedenen Sprachen übersetzt wird, wohl kaum ins Englische; da hat man ja Besseres. Falls Sie Sich für die R.G. interessieren (nur bis 60 v.Chr.; von 59 mit Caesar beginnt die neue Zeit), schicke ich Ihnen auch ein Exemplar zu. Sie haben vielleicht die grosse | [continued on back] --- Gelegenheit in einer englischen Zeitschrift auf die --- in Erscheinung aufmerksam zu machen. Das Werk fasst vornehmlich die Aussenpolitik Roms in ---, was in England vielleicht interessieren wird.

Mit herzl(ichem) kollegialem

Gruss Ihr sehr ergebener

E. Kornemann

Verzeihen Sie die Schrift: ich habe mit von der Reise (Rom) eine Dermatitis an beiden Händen mit gebracht.

[Written at the side of the front of the card and above the address]

Ich --- aber *über* dem II Bd der R.G. Caesar --- --- mehr Schwierigkeit als --- -- Tiberius meine alten Freunde.²²⁸

²²⁵ See on Kornemann the notes to his letter of 28.10.34. The handwriting on this card is very cramped and in places indecipherable. Words or letters that could not be deciphered are either indicated by --- or are italicised. Syme referred to four works by Kornemann in *RR*, but not to the *Römische Geschichte*.

²²⁶ 'The origin of Cornelius Gallus', *CQ* 32 (1938) 39–44 (repr. in *RP* I 47–54).

²²⁷ The review of von Premierstein was no doubt of the posthumously published *Vom Werden und Wesen des Principats*, ed. H. Volkmann (1937), on which see Introduction and note to letter from Premierstein of 28.12.33. The review of Weber was either of his *Princeps* I (1936) or of *Rom, Herrschertum und Reich im zweiten Jahrhundert* (1937), which Syme himself reviewed twice and which is mentioned unfavourably in several letters, cf. letters from Alföldi of 8.10.38 and A. Stein of 28.10.38.

²²⁸ It proved impossible to make sense of these final words. But 'II Bd der RG' means Kornemann's *Römische Geschichte* in 2 vols, published in 1938 and 1939.

From E. Strong²²⁹

35 VIA BALBO

tel. 42.411

Nov. 7. 38

Dear Mr Syme,

Your letter of Oct. 14 with your sane remarks on the Oxford City Contest²³⁰ was delightful — I was amused at your observing that they might ‘bother’ me. For I was thinking of little else outside that election. No one rejoiced more than I did when the result came through to Rome a week ago last Saturday. Though it was “town” not “gown” so many of the voters belonged to the university that the Q. Hogg victory was a good rejoinder to those who believe that Oxford & Cambridge are both in the hands of “Non-Aryans” & Communists.²³¹ I hope Gilbert Murray & his followers feel utterly discomfited.²³² Forgive these belated comments.

Yes I believe you are right about the the Welschbillig herms at Trier:²³³ among them are probably portraits of Emperors — or else they reflect the Imperial features. I must try to identify Titus. If you have any

²²⁹ Eugénie Strong, née Sellers (1860–1943; widowed in 1904), was Assistant Director of the British School at Rome 1909–1925; author of among other publications monographs on Greek Sculpture (1895), Roman sculpture (1907), *Apotheosis and After Life; Three Lectures on Certain Phases in Art and Religion in the Roman Empire* (1915) and *Art in Ancient Rome* (1929). She continued living in Rome after her post at the British School ended and, as the last sentence of this letter emphasises, was an admirer of the Fascist regime. See further S.L. Dyson, *Eugénie Sellers Strong: Portrait of an Archaeologist* (2003).

²³⁰ At the Oxford City bye-election the Conservative or National Government candidate Quintin Hogg (1907–2001) was opposed by an anti-appeasement candidate, A.D. Lindsay, cf. below.

²³¹ These two labels, the first referring to Jewish people, clearly show Strong’s support for the Nazi and Fascist policies.

²³² (George) Gilbert Aimé Murray (1866–1957) had been Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford 1908–1936. Murray was active in public life, not least with the League of Nations Society from 1916, then as Chairman of the League of Nations Union from 1923. It may be recalled that Germany and Japan had left the League in 1933, as Italy did in 1937; the USSR was expelled in 1939. Todd 688–694 (by R.B. Todd); *ODNB*, vol. 39, 912–918 (by C. Stray).

²³³ It’s not clear what Syme had written about these herms, a remarkable set of over 100 portrait heads found in the ruins of a late fourth-century luxury villa or palace, perhaps an imperial residence, at Welschbillig on the road from Trier to Cologne. On the herms see H. Wrede, *Die spätantike Hermengalerie von Welschbillig: Untersuchung zur Kunsttradition im 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr. und zur allgemeinen Bedeutung des antiken Hermenmals. Römisch-germanische Forschungen* 32 (1972).

student keen on both history and archaeology (after the Mostra Augustea it will be difficult to separate them) send him or her to Rome to work up the influence of the portrait of the reigning Emperor on the contemporary effigies of the Gods (Mr Brendel²³⁴ has shown the way).

By the way a charming girl — Miss Barbara Chapman of Somerville²³⁵ — has just arrived in Rome, who tells me she is a friend of yours. She strikes me as amazingly clever and well-prepared. Do come back to Rome soon yourself — to this peaceful and well-governed country.²³⁶ Yrs sincerely,
Eugénie Strong

²³⁴ Probably Otto J. Brendel (1901–1973); in 1932 he had been Assistant to Ludwig Curtius, Direktor of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome but was dismissed by the Nazi regime in 1936 because of his marriage to a ‘Non-Aryan’, i.e. Jewish, wife, Maria Weigert, and emigrated in 1938 to the USA. Curtius himself (1874–1954) was dismissed by the Nazis in 1938. Strong’s citing of Brendel is interesting, considering her remarks about ‘Non-Aryans’ a few lines earlier.

²³⁵ Barbara Chapman (1915–2005), after gaining First Class honours in Literae Humaniores, held the Craven Fellowship and undertook archaeological research in Sicily. She married in 1942 James Craig, whom she had met at the British School in 1938, when he was Librarian there. She was Principal of Somerville College from 1967 to 1980.

²³⁶ Syme’s reaction to the Oxford bye-election, won by the Conservative Q. Hogg, was clearly because of his antipathy to the independent anti-appeasement candidate, A.D. Lindsay (1879–1952), Master of Balliol, 1924–1949; Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, 1935–1938; elevated to the peerage in 1945. Lindsay’s approval of the Soviet Constitution of 1936 had disgusted Syme. Cf. Introduction, above and *RT*, I.3, II.1, IV.3 and list at the end of *RT*. There is no reason to believe that Syme shared Strong’s view of Mussolini.

From H. Strasburger²³⁷

Frankfurt am Main den 11. Nov. 38

Hochverehrter Herr Syme!

Mit dem Dank für Ihre gütigen Zeilen hoffe ich zugleich eine Antwort zu Ihrem im Erscheinen befindlichen Aufsatz verbinden zu können, dessen Zusendung Sie mir so freundlich in Aussicht gestellt hatten. Doch möchte ich nun nicht gern noch länger zögern. Ich darf Ihnen vielleicht bekennen, wie sehr es mich erfreut, daß meine letzten Arbeiten vor einem englischen Urteil, und gerade dem Ihrigen, bestehen konnten, wiewohl ich mir andererseits ihrer Mängel, über die Sie in liebenswürdiger Weise hinweg sehen, bewußt bin.

Auf Ihre Frage zu bell. Gall. 8,52, möchte ich nun erwidern, was mir dazu eingefallen ist; es ist freilich nicht viel. Ich kann nur ein Problem an dieser Stelle erkennen: nämlich, ob von der Consulatskandidatur Caesars oder einer solchen des Labienus die Rede ist, und ich hoffe, daß es diese Fragestellung ist, die Sie im Auge haben. Mir scheint es sicher, daß von einer geplanten Kandidatur des Labienus die Rede ist, obwohl es bei jenem Zeitpunkt so nahe liegt, an Caesars eigene Absichten zu denken, und von Labienus' Ämterlaufbahn so wenig bekannt ist. Für die sprachliche Beurteilung der Stelle genügt mir die Feststellung daß, wie der Text auch immer zu lesen sei, keinesfalls eine Wendung dagestanden hat, die nur die Rückbeziehung auf Caesar erlaubt. Der Text läßt wohl in jeder Form eine Beziehung auf beide Personen zu. Dann entscheidet aber der sachliche Zusammenhang für Labienus. Der Autor schreibt unter dem Eindruck des von Labienus vollzogenen Verrates (s. § 3) und will diesen durch die Erwähnung der beneficia Caesaris in schärfere Beleuchtung setzen. Auch ohne das würde ein Anhänger Caesars schwerlich besonders erwähnt haben, daß Caesar, um sich einer persönlichen Wahlsieg zu sichern, solche Methoden nötig hatte. Der Ausdruck „commendatio“ würde auch schlecht auf einen Mann passen, der bereits ein Consulat hinter sich hatte. Freilich, welche tieferen Absichten Caesar mit einer Candidatur des Labienus verfolgte, dazu kann ich mich nicht äußern, weil ich nicht über die Kenntnisse vom politischen Werdegang des Labienus verfüge, die Sie in Ihrem Aufsatz zu klären gedenken. Übrigens bildet bell. Gall. 8,52,3 ja eine günstige Brücke von der bekannten späteren Haltung des Labienus zu Ihrer Aussicht von seiner früheren Stellung. Ich bin wirklich sehr gespannt auf das Einzelne.

²³⁷ See above, notes to Strasburger's letter of 10.6.38.

Hoffentlich ist der Sonderdruck von „Caesar, the Senate and Italy“ nicht auf der Post verloren gegangen.

Mit verbindlichen Grüßen

Ihr ganz ergebener

Hermann Strasburger²³⁸

²³⁸ (Printed from transcript by A.R.B. in García 223.)

From A. Alföldi

Budapest, the 15th Nov., 1938

My dear Syme,

I did not send you till now the copy of my paper on persecutions destined for You, awaiting the offprints of another article from "Berytus" IV.²³⁹ You will receive both soon with the book of my pupil Radnóti on the Roman bronze vessels from Pannonia.²⁴⁰

I hope to have very soon the CAH XII chapters. — I fear, You will be disappointed: it is a very imperfect first attempt to realize the historical development of the period 249–270 A.D. and this in a given frame.²⁴¹ In any case, the first copy belongs Yourself!

We had excited weeks behind us. As Germany wants to constrain Hungary to become a common custom-district with itself, it not only fosters the Hungarian nazist development, but tries to separate the Slovaks from us so far as possible and to make impossible the creation of a common Hungarian-Polish frontier, which would allow us to communicate with Europe without touching German territory. — I know it from a statesman, who was present in Vienna (and I beg You in interest of this man to hold discretion), that the Slovaks were deeply convinced, that Ribbentrop²⁴² shall protect them from serious concessions to us and as they were informed about the treaty, they wished not to subscribe the treaty and Tiso²⁴³ did not shake hand with Ribbentrop. On the other

²³⁹ 'Zu den Christenverfolgungen in der Mitte des 3. Jahrhunderts', *Klio* 31 (1938) 323–348 (repr. in his *Studien* 285–311); 'Die Hauptereignisse der Jahre 253–261 n. Chr. im Orient im Spiegel der Münzprägung', *Berytus* 4 (1937) 41–68 (repr. in his *Studien* 123–154).

²⁴⁰ Aladár Radnóti, *Die römischen Bronzegefäße von Pannonien* (1938). Radnóti (1913–1972), after being an Assistant of Alföldi, worked at the Hungarian National Museum and conducted numerous excavations; he left Hungary as a refugee in 1957; 1959–1962 Konservator at the Maximiliansmuseum in Augsburg; 1962–1972 Professor of Provincial Roman Archaeology at Frankfurt am Main.

²⁴¹ 'The Invasions of Peoples from the Rhine to the Black Sea', *CAH XII* (1939) 138–164 (repr. in German in *Studien* 312–341); 'The Crisis of the Empire (A.D. 249–270)', *ibid.* 165–231 (= *Studien* 342–426).

²⁴² Joachim von Ribbentrop (1893–1946), German Foreign Minister 1938–1945. Convicted at Nuremberg and executed in 1946.

²⁴³ Jozef Tiso (1887–1947), a Catholic priest and nationalist Slovak politician who was to govern the puppet state of Slovakia in the interests of the Third Reich. As prime minister from October 1938 of the Slovak autonomous region he initially refused to sign the protocol to the Vienna Award of November that year which awarded territory to Hungary. But before long Tiso became prime minister and then president of the

hand, Ciano forced an Italian-Hungarian-Polish-Swedish corridor between Russia and Germany.²⁴⁴ If such an alliance could be called in existence backed by England, we could be perhaps saved!

You can imagine the anxieties we experienced: the growing signs of inner revolution, destructing the efforts of the government against the Czechs (announced each day carefully in Hungarian through the Czech broadcasting stations) and the diplomatic warfare in the same time!

In any case, we had some marvellous hours listening the broad-casts from the solemn and lucky reception of our troops in old northern Hungarian towns!

With the best wishes and salutation

Yours ever

Andrew Alföldi²⁴⁵

Slovakian Republic created by Germany, and was active in the deportation of Jews; he remained in this post until the Soviet invasion in April 1945. He was sentenced to death for treason, betrayal of the antifascist partisan insurrection and collaboration with Nazism, and executed in 1947.

²⁴⁴ Ciano 'forced', presumably meant 'Ciano pressed strongly for such an outcome'. Count Galeazzo Ciano (1903–1944) was Mussolini's son-in-law and 1936–1943 Italian Foreign Minister.

²⁴⁵ (Printed from transcript by A.R.B. in García 224.)

From H. Strasburger

Frankfurt den 23. Nov. 1938

Hochverehrter Herr Syme!

Noch einmal möchte ich Ihnen heute meinen aufrichtigen Dank für Ihre freundliche Zusendung zum Ausdruck bringen. Ich las eben „Caesar, the Senate and Italy“,²⁴⁶ und wenn mir auch die Detailkenntnis zur wirklichen Beurteilung einer so großzügigen Untersuchung nicht unmittelbar zu Gebote steht, so zweifle ich doch keinen Augenblick daran, daß hier für ein lebendiges und konkretes Verständnis nicht nur Caesars, sondern der späten Republik überhaupt ganz entscheidene Arbeit geleistet ist. Daß mir persönlich auch hier so manches grundsätzliche Wort über Caesar aus dem Herzen gesprochen ist, werden Sie sich darüber denken können, und die unabhängige Übereinstimmung unserer Ansichten bis in viele Einzelheiten hinein bereit[et] mir natürlich die größte Freude.

Nachdem inzwischen noch Ihre Karte eintraf, möchte ich noch einmal nachdrücklich bemerken, daß ich, über das ganz wenige hinaus, was ich Ihnen in die Korrekturbögen eingetragen habe, keine „Irrtümer“ in dem Labienus-Aufsatz entdecken konnte, obwohl ich ihn mit konzentrierter Aufmerksamkeit las und die Mehrzahl der Zitate nachgeschlagen habe.²⁴⁷ Wenn ich recht sehe, so bestehen einzelne Ihrer Schlüsse nur per analogiam, aber ich kann darin keinen Nachteil erkennen, da der zentrale Beweisgang dadurch fast nie berührt wird und das Thema ja schließlich nicht zu den sekuren Aufgaben der Großväterzeit gehört, die erdrückende materielle „Beweise“ zuließen. Hier muß man sich mit „Evidenz“ begnügen, und die haben Sie nach meinem Urteil in ungekünstelter Weise erbracht. — Die Diskussion um bell. Gall. 8,52,2 war mir übrigens ganz unbekannt, sodaß Sie mein Votum als das eines „unverbildeten Laien“ werten können. Nachdem ich nun doch den Zusammenhang in Ihrem Aufsatz gesehen habe, bin ich von Ihrer Deutung der Stelle vollends ganz überzeugt.

Über Webers Buch kann ich nicht mitreden, da ich es noch nicht gelesen habe. Ob mir das Buch wohl ebenso viel Vergnügen bereiten würde, wie die Lektüre Ihrer Rezension darüber?²⁴⁸

²⁴⁶ *PBSR* 14 (1938) 1–31, repr. in *RP I* 88–119

²⁴⁷ ‘The allegiance of Labienus’, *JRS* 28 (1938) 113–125, repr. in *RP I* 62–75,

²⁴⁸ See above, letters from Alföldi, 8.10.38, A. Stein, 28.10.38, above and below, from Hohl, 14.6.39 and Norden, 27.6.39.

Mit nochmaligem Dank für Alles und bester Empfehlung
Ihr ganz ergebener
Hermann Strasburger²⁴⁹

²⁴⁹ (Printed from transcript by A.R.B. in García 225.)

From H. Zeiss²⁵⁰

Institut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte
der Universität

München 2 M. den 27.11.38
Neuhauserstr. 51/111 Fernsprecher 11424

Mein lieber Syme,

Ich habe mich sehr gefreut, durch Ihren Brief vom 8.10. wieder einmal ein Lebenszeichen zu erhalten, und ich habe damals sogleich die kleine Sache bei Oldenbourg erledigt; den Brief habe ich aber immer wieder verschoben weil an jedem Sonntag etwas anderes dazwischen kam.

Es ist schade, dass Sie Ende September nicht hier waren. Damals hatte man wirklich den Eindruck, Geschichte mitzuerleben. Ich war Anfang September noch im Anschluss an den Kongress in Zürich (ein etwas dürftiger Vortragsauszug anbei!) in der Westschweiz, damals staunte ich über die vielen Nachrichten von Mobilisierung in Frankreich, nahm die Sache aber nicht ernst. In München fand ich Mitte September alles ruhig vor; andere Einberufungen als solche, die seit Monaten für Herbstübungen ausgegangen waren, erfolgten nicht, und so hielt ich die Lage bis zum 27.9. nicht für kritisch. Dann allerdings rechnete ich einen Tag lang sehr lebhaft mit der *ultima ratio regis*; aber die Einladung zur Münchener Besprechung erhob auch diesen Kummer. Der 29.9. war hier wirklich eine Art Volksfeiertag, und von den Freunden, die die ersten Tage der Besetzung in Sudetendeutschland mitmachten, habe ich sehr begeisterte Berichte bekommen. Nun folgt den hochgestimmten Feier die Kleinarbeit, die dieses offenbar nach Wirtschaft und Volksgesundheit sehr mitgenommene Gebiet auf die Höhe bringen soll.

Sie sind also mit Caesar und Augustus samt Zeitgenossen befasst, wohl als Mitarbeiter an eine grösseren Reihe. Meine derzeitigen Klienten sind anonym, im Gegensatz zu Ihren weltgeschichtlichen Personen — es sind

²⁵⁰ Hans Zeiss (1895–1944) served as an officer in the First World War; he specialised first in medieval history, later in archaeology; Assistant at the RGK from April 1929, Zweiter Direktor under Bersu in 1931. Syme had clearly got to know him at the RGK. In January 1935 he was elected to the new chair of Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Munich. Although a Nazi (SA member in 1933, party member in 1937), he dug with Bersu in 1935, the year when Bersu was removed from the directorship of the RGK. See in great detail H. Fehr, 'Hans Zeiss, Joachim Werner und die archäologischen Forschungen zur Merowingerzeit', in H. Steuer, ed., *Eine hervorragend nationale Wissenschaft. Deutsche Prähistoriker zwischen 1900 und 1995. Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, Band 29 (2001) 311–416. Zeiss died of wounds in Romania in 1944, after being called up a second time; he was serving as Hauptmann.

die Handwerker im Burgund des frühen Mittelalters, auf welche man ein berühmtes Wort anwenden könnte: they knew bad Latin and no Greek. Immerhin ergibt sich aus diesem bescheidenen Stoff allerhand von kulturgeschichtlichen Interesse. Am 10.12. werde ich einen Vortrag in der Akademie darüber halten.

Es ist in der Tat lange her, dass Sie hier waren, insbesondere war es schade, dass Sie die Studienfahrt 1937 nicht mitgemacht haben, die so nett verlief. 1939 ist in erster Linie an Rumänien gedacht; wir müssen uns nach Weihnachten einmal erkundigen, wie die dortigen Kollegen nunmehr darüber denken.

Meine kleine Familie würde sich auch sehr freuen, Sie wieder einmal zu sehen. Arnold ist nun zehn Jahre und wird an Ostern, wohl nicht mit Englisch, sondern mit Latein, anfangen; sollten Sie übrigens einmal einige Briefmarken aus Neuseeland für ihn haben, so wäre er wohl begeistert, da er unterdessen zum Sammler übergegangen ist. Im übrigen zünden wir heute als erste Vorbereitung auf Weihnachten die Adventskerzen an — und auf die kurzen Weihnachtsferien freut man sich auch schon.

Mit herzlichen Wünschen von uns allen und
vielen Grüßen

Ihr
Hans Zeiss

From T. Frank²⁵¹

Dec. 5 [probably 1938]

Dear Syme,

We've been visiting at Cambridge for a few days — hence your kind note here was neglected.

Since Bormann, Groag, Dessau and other good epigraphists had pronounced on Calvisius, I supposed that they had seen the inscription.²⁵² It ought not be difficult to tell the relative dates of inscriptions of that period since Augustan script generally came in about 20 BC. However I'm not sure from the reports that any of them did actually see it, though it is difficult to see how such men would fail to look it up. Perhaps you could induce some one at the Rome school to get you a snapshot. That might well settle the matter.²⁵³ What seemed to tell for the later date was the fact that the stone was marble, for in that region the native²⁵⁴ freestone was mainly used up to about our era.

If the inscription is correctly reported — I refer to the length of lines with insets — there is no room anywhere for IMP.

I don't see how PIETATI can help. One can imagine a dozen circumstances to which that would fit. And the Antonian who cleared Aetolia for Caesar in 48²⁵⁵ was a bit too important, it would seem to me, to be spoken

²⁵¹ Tenney Frank (1876–1939) died on 3 April 1939 in Oxford, where he had been giving the Eastman lectures (a series founded in 1929) for 1937–1938. Frank was Professor of Latin at Bryn Mawr 1904–1919 and at Johns Hopkins from 1919; best known for his *Roman Imperialism* (1914) and as editor of *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* (5 vols, 1933–1940). Cf. Briggs & Calder 68–76 (by T.R.S. Broughton) and *DNP* Suppl. 6, 417–419 (by M. Barth). This letter can be dated to 1937 or 1938. See below for the letter to Syme from Frank's widow Grace, 6.8.39.

²⁵² *CIL* XI 4772=*ILS* 925, from Spoleto.

²⁵³ See above, note to letter from Deggrasi of 22.7.38. See *RR* 221, confidently ascribing the stone to the consul of 39 BC. Syme had been sent a photograph by Deggrasi. Later he inspected the stone himself in 1948, which confirmed his view, see his review of Broughton's *MRR*, *CP* 50 (1955) 134, as accepted in the second edition of *MRR*. See also his paper 'Sabinus the muleteer', *Latomus* 17 (1958) 73–80, repr. in *RP* I 393–399. Frank's observations below were therefore, as he himself admitted, 'not much help'. See also Syme's article 'Spoletium and the Via Flaminia', *Dialoghi di Archeologia* 4–5 (1970–1971 [1972]) 422–430, repr. in *RP* III 885–891, at 428–430=890–891, and, further, a great deal in the posthumously published 'Rome and Umbria', in *ARR*, chapters 7 and 8, 314–338, with bibliographical addenda by the editor, F. Santangelo, 381–382.

²⁵⁴ The reading of this word is uncertain.

²⁵⁵ Caesar, *BC* 3.34.2, 35.1.

of in the way Cicero does in his letter to Trebonius.²⁵⁶ Anyway, wasn't he already praetor by the time this was written?

I still see no reason to question Bücheler's Ventidius.²⁵⁷ After all a contractor had a far way to go to a curule chair and Ventidius was a miracle. As for Cat. 10, I take it that his occupancy might be a prophecy, like the Nonius 'Struma' of Catullus.²⁵⁸ In that case the statue might be placed on the old tribunal which stood north of the old Castor front before the mob burned it down. The skit might then be considered a joke on one of Antony's men like the Cimber poem.²⁵⁹

Well I fear this isn't much help. If the Ashmolean room were open I'd give some more time to it.

Sincerely yours
Tenney Frank

²⁵⁶ Cic. *Fam.* 15.20.1.

²⁵⁷ A reference to F. Bücheler, 'Catalepton', *RhM* 38 (1893) 507–525, esp. 518f. Cf. Frank, 'Virgil's apprenticeship', *CP* 15 (1920) 103–119, esp. 116f.

²⁵⁸ Catullus 52.

²⁵⁹ Presumably a reference to *Catalepton* 2, aimed at T. Annii Cimber: Quintilian, *Inst.* 8.3.27–29, etc., cf. *RE* 1.2 (1894) 2264–2265. Frank had recently written a short piece about the word *tau* in this poem, *AJP* 56 (1935) 254–256.

From M. Gelzer²⁶⁰

Frankfurt a.M., den 9. Dezember 1938

Sehr geehrter Herr Syme,

den angekündigten Band I der Papers of the British School at Rome habe ich noch nicht erhalten, aber ich glaube, dass der Gnomon nach seinen Grundsätzen eine neue Serie einer Zeitschrift schon anzeigen kann.

Ich habe Ihnen nun vor allem zu danken für Ihren mich sehr interessierenden Aufsatz über Caesar, den Senat und Italien.²⁶¹ Ich möchte Ihnen durchaus zustimmen. Wichtig ist ja wohl, dass im Bürgerkrieg ein großer Teil der Nobilität unterging. Die Aufzählung Cic. Phil. 13,29 ist erschütternd.²⁶² Unter Augustus gab es im Verhältnis zu der großen Zeit nur noch einige *rari nantes*. Der Gegensatz des alten Caesars zur Nobilität, weniger zu den Personen als zum ganzen System, war im Laufe der Zeit unversöhnlich geworden. Da half alle *clementia* nichts, er konnte die richtigen *nobiles* nie befriedigen. Eine *res publica*, wie sie Cicero anpries, konnte er nicht schaffen, wenn er sich nicht selbst aufgeben wollte. Als die Mehrheit der Nobilität untergegangen war, hatte es Augustus leichter.

Sehr schön haben Sie den Weber besprochen. Ich gehöre zu denen, die

²⁶⁰ Matthias Gelzer (1886–1974), Swiss by origin, gained his doctorate at Leipzig in 1909; became well known with his Habilitation-Schrift *Die Nobilität der römischen Republik* (1912), translated as *The Nobility of the Roman Republic* (1969). See Christ 113–116; *DNP* Suppl. 6, 450–451 (by E. Baltrusch). Syme reviewed Gelzer's *Caesar der Politiker und Staatsmann* (1941) in *JRS* 34 (1944) 92–103 (repr. in *RP* I 149–171).

²⁶¹ *PBSR* 14, n.s. 1 (1938) 1–31 (repr. in *RP* I 88–119). In *Gnomon* 15 (1939) 384–5 Gelzer reviewed the volume in which Syme's article appeared.

²⁶² This passage lists ten consular senators who lost their lives in the Civil War, and concludes with the judgement *certe iis consularibus non esset Pompeianus despiciendus senatus*, 'Certainly with those consulars a Pompeian senate could not have been despised'. But cf. Syme's comment on the passage, *RR* 45 n. 1: 'not veracious, however, for two of the alleged Pompeian consulars ('quos civis, quos viros!') ... took no active part ... The laudatory epithets here attached by Cicero to the other consulars will not mislead: too much is known about these people.'

es “nicht schätzen” — und soll ihn im Gnomon behandeln, habe aber noch immer keine Worte gefunden.²⁶³

Mit besten Grüßen

Ihr

M. Gelzer²⁶⁴

²⁶³ This refers to Syme’s review in German of W. Weber, *Röm. Herrschertum und Reich im zweiten Jahrhundert* (1937), *Historische Zeitschrift* 108 (1938) 554–561; an English translation was published in *RP* I 55–62. (Syme also wrote a shorter English review in *CR* 53 [1939] 79–80.) Gelzer himself seems never to have reviewed Weber after all. On Syme’s review see letters from Alföldi, 8.10.38, A. Stein, 28.10.38, above and below from Hohl, 14.6.39 and Norden 27.6.39.

²⁶⁴ Printed from transcript by A.R.B. in García 226. See also Gelzer’s letter of 2.2.47, under Postscripts, below.

From F. Münzer

Münster (Westf.) d. 12. 12. 38
Heisstr. 1.

Sehr geehrter Herr Kollege!

Nicht nur seit dem Empfang Ihres so liebenswürdigen Briefes vom 27.10, sondern auch nach dem des wertvollen Aufsatzes 'Caesar, der Senat und Italien'²⁶⁵ ist so lange Zeit vergangen, dass ich mich entschuldigen muss, wenn ich Ihnen erst heute meinen aufrichtigen Dank abstatte und wenn ich es kürzer tue, als es Ihre grosse Freundlichkeit verdient. Die schöne Abhandlung über Caesars Senat hat mir sowohl durch die Ergebnisse einen ausgezeichneten Eindruck gemacht und lässt mich Ihren weiteren umfassenden Arbeiten über die Zeiten des Caesar und des Augustus mit grossen Erwartungen entgegensetzen. Ich werde mich sehr freuen, wenn Sie Fragen, die unser gemeinsames wissenschaftliches Arbeitsgebiet betreffen, an mich richten wollen, und werde sie gern so rasch und so gut, wie ich kann, beantworten.+

Es ist mir nicht angenehm, Ihnen einen Einblick in meine persönliche Lage zu eröffnen, aber ich kann es kaum umgehen: In einem Leben von 70 Jahren habe ich nichts Anderes gekannt und erstrebt, als mich immer als guter Deutscher zu fühlen und zu bewähren. Das Recht dazu wird mir jetzt bestritten, und gerade die letzten Wochen haben mich innerlich tief niedergebracht, wenn ich auch äusserlich, allein schon um meines Alters willen, vor zahllosen Anderen sehr begünstigt bin.²⁶⁶ In dieser Andeutung können Sie, geehrter Herr Kollege, zugleich eine Erklärung dafür finden, dass ich in der augenblicklichen Stimmung Ihnen so kurz danke, und dafür, dass eine solche Anerkennung meiner wissenschaftlichen Arbeit, wie Sie sie mir unbekannterweise und freiwillig entgegengebracht haben, mich gerade jetzt mit höherer Freude und Dankbarkeit erfüllt, als Sie selbst ahnten.

Meine Arbeit ist jetzt zu Ende, lediglich infolge der angedeuteten Verhältnisse. Sogar meine druckfertig vorliegenden Artikel für die Realencyclopädie werden vielleicht nicht mehr veröffentlicht werden, und weitere wissenschaftliche Tätigkeit wird mir, schon durch die Aussetzung von den Hilfsmitteln, nicht mehr möglich sein.

Aber einen kleinen Aufsatz — 10 Seiten Manuskript — habe ich vor vollen drei Monaten an eine italienische Zeitschrift geschickt, und ich habe seit der Absendung (*raccomandata!*) und auch auf eine Anfrage

²⁶⁵ See above, note to letter of 10.6.38 from Strasburger.

²⁶⁶ The words from 'Es ist mir nicht angenehm ...' to 'sehr begünstigt bin' are translated by Thérèse Ridley in Münzer (1999) xlviii: see p. 18 n. 61, above, where the translation is quoted.

nicht die geringste Antwort erhalten, sodass ich die Hoffnung aufgeben muss, den Aufsatz dort publiziert zu sehen. Wenn ich nun die sehr ehrenvolle Aufforderung Ihres Briefes vom 29.10, an den *Journal of Roman studies* mitzuarbeiten, für diese Arbeit, die ich als meine letzte überhaupt ansehen muss, annehmen dürfte, es würde mir das eine Auszeichnung sein und mich zu Dank verpflichten. Der Aufsatz behandelt die Affäre des A. Postumius Albinus CIL I² 804 (= Dessau 4019) und Bull. comm. LXI 163ff. (= *Revue archéol.* VI^{me} série IV 263. VI 228 u.a.), deren Zeit ich auf 175 v.Chr. bestimme.

Mit schwerem Herzen habe ich Ihnen die ganze Sachlage offen dargelegt, damit ich jedem Vorwurf, irgendwelcher Art von irgendeiner Seite begegnen kann, und ich bitte Sie, diesen Brief freundlich und verständnisvoll aufzunehmen und mir den Empfang — angesichts der erwähnten Erfahrung mit Italien — kurz zu bestätigen.

Gleichzeitig schicke ich Ihnen die Artikel Opimius und Oppius aus der *Realencyclopädie*, da der Caesarianer C. Oppius auch für Sie eine interessante Persönlichkeit sein dürfte.²⁶⁷

Mit den besten Empfehlungen

Ihr hochachtungsvoll ergebener

F. Münzer²⁶⁸

+) Zu S. 12 des Aufsatzes: Landsknechte (danach französisch: lansgnet) sind nicht agricultural labourers, sondern mercenaries, soldiers.

Münster (Westf.) d. 29. 12. 38

Heisstr. 1.

Sehr geehrter Herr Kollege!

Für Ihren freundlichen Brief vom 22. d. Mts. bin ich Ihnen ganz besonders dankbar. Einerseits hat schon die Schnelligkeit Ihrer Antwort mir wohlgetan, andererseits die Liebenswürdigkeit, mit der Sie meine Äusserungen verschiedener Art aufnahmen und darauf eingingen. Zunächst möchte ich nun die Versicherung wiederholen, dass ich mich freuen würde, wenn ich Ihnen bei Ihren Arbeiten über die Zeiten nach 60 v. Chr. irgendwie helfen könnte. Ich würde die Zusendung von Druckbögen als einen Beweis grossen Vertrauens begrüßen und mich stets mit der Durchsicht nach Möglichkeit beeilen. Sie müssten mir die Güte haben, mir anzugeben, in welchen Punkten Sie vor allem mein Urteil zu wissen wünschen, — soweit das nicht ohnehin klar ist. Sodann muss ich

²⁶⁷ *RE* 17.1 (1939) 672–681 and 736–748.

²⁶⁸ (Printed from transcript by A.R.B. in García 227–228.)

auf meinen eigenen Aufsatz über A. Postumius Albinus zurückkommen, und das ist mir etwas peinlich. Nachdem ich nämlich, wie ich Ihnen schrieb, von Anfang September bis Mitte December nicht ein Wort über mein nach Italien geschicktes Manuskript gehört hatte und es als verloren ansah, erhielt ich ganz überraschend am Weihnachtstage eine Druckkorrektur! Auch jetzt fehlte jedes erklärende Wort; nichts als der kaum zu lesende Stempel einer Druckerei liess mich erfahren, wohin ich die Korrektur zurückzusenden hätte.²⁶⁹ Aber jedenfalls wird also der kleine Aufsatz gedruckt und kommt für das JRS nicht mehr in Frage.

Immer aber bleibe ich Ihnen, sehr geehrter Herr Kollege, zu tiefem Dank verpflichtet, dass Sie mich an der Mitarbeit an dem JRS aufforderten, und ich möchte mich recht bald der Ehre, die Sie mir dadurch erwiesen, würdig zeigen. Die Beschäftigung mit den Inschriften eines A. Postumius Albinus hat mich schon vor einem halben Jahre weitergeführt, und ich glaube auch über den gleichnamigen Mann, der allgemein als der letzte griechisch schreibende Annalist gilt (cos. 151 v. Chr.), manches sagen zu können, was die communis opinio über ihn berichtet. Von Anfang an hatte ich den Gedanken, dies in einem kleinen Aufsatz zusammenzufassen, und ich hätte es schon getan, wenn ich die innere Ruhe dazu und die äussere Hoffnung auf Annahme in einer Zeitschrift gehabt hätte.

Vielleicht darf ich Ihnen im Laufe der nächsten Wochen diesen Aufsatz einreichen, sobald er die geeignete Formulierung erhalten hat und mich selbst befriedigt. Es ist selbstverständlich, dass ich mich auch dann durchaus der Entscheidung Ihres Editorial Committee unterwerfe. Persönlich ist mir zwar von dessen Mitgliedern niemand bekannt, aber die Liebenswürdigkeit, mit der mir z.B. Herr F. E. Adcock²⁷⁰ in vielen Jahren bei gelegentlichem Briefwechsel begegnet ist, lässt mich auch von seiner Seite auf wohlwollende Aufnahme etwaiger Einsendungen an das JRS hoffen. Allerdings bitte ich von vornherein um die Erlaubnis, in deutscher Sprache schreiben zu dürfen. Eine englische Übersetzung herstellen zu lassen, wäre mir hier nicht geradezu unmöglich, wenn ich mich freundschaftlicher Hilfe bedienen wollte; aber wer mir hier helfen könnte, wird doch weder ein Fachgenosse sein noch mit dem Englischen so vertraut wie ein geborener Engländer.

Mit nochmaligem Dank für jedes Entgegenkommen wünsche ich Ihnen ein glückliches Neujahr und grüsse Sie bestens.

²⁶⁹ The article appeared as 'Le are di Aulo Postumio Albino', *BCAR* 67 (1939) 27–30.

²⁷⁰ Frank Ezra Adcock (1886–1968; knighted 1954); Professor of Ancient History at Cambridge 1925–1951; co-editor of the *Cambridge Ancient History*; President of the Roman Society 1929–1931. See also list at end of *RT* in Appendix II.

Ihr hochachtungsvoll ergebener
F. Münzer²⁷¹

Münster (Westf.) d. 12.1.39
Heisstr. 1.

Sehr geehrter Herr Kollege!

Beiliegend erlaube ich mir, Ihnen den in meinem letzten Briefe angekündigten Aufsatz einzusenden, mit der Bitte, ihn zu prüfen und den anderen Herren Herausgebern des *Journal of Roman Studies* zur Prüfung vorzulegen. Ich enthalte mich jeder weiteren Bemerkung; eine wissenschaftliche Arbeit muss für sich selbst sprechen. Natürlich rechne ich damit, dass bis zu der Entscheidung längere Zeit vergehen wird, und erst recht, im Falle der Annahme, bis zum Druck; aber für jede Mitteilung werde ich dankbar sein. Indem ich Sie bitte, auch Ihren Herren Mitherausgebern meine besten Empfehlungen zu bestellen, bin ich mit hochachtungsvollem Gruss

Ihr sehr ergebener
F. Münzer²⁷²

Münster (Westf.) d. 20.1.39
Heisstr. 1.

Sehr geehrter Herr Kollege!

Ihre schnelle und liebenswürdige Antwort hat mich sehr erfreut. Ich bin aufrichtig dankbar für die Bereitwilligkeit, meinen Aufsatz in das so angesehene JRS aufzunehmen, und bin Ihnen persönlich ganz besonders verpflichtet, dass Sie sich die Mühe der Übersetzung ins Englische machen wollen. Es ist ja im allgemeinen leichter, aus der fremden in die eigene Sprache zu übersetzen, als umgekehrt; dass es sich dabei, wie Sie schreiben, manchmal mehr um Paraphrase als um Übersetzung handelt, dass oft kurze englische Sätze an Stelle längerer deutscher Konstruktionen treten werden, ist selbstverständlich. Nur darf der Sinn dadurch nicht geändert werden, und gerade das scheint mir, wie ich offen von vornherein gestehen will, die Gefahr bei der von Ihnen vorgeschlagenen Fassung des Titels: *Roman Polybius*. Denn Albinus ist nach meinen

²⁷¹ (Printed from transcript by A.R.B. in García 229–230.)

²⁷² (Printed from transcript by A.R.B. in García 231.)

Ausführungen eben kein Polybius. Ich habe lange über den Titel nachgedacht — stundenlang auf einsamen Spaziergängen — und habe schliesslich den Ausdruck "Gegenspieler" gewählt. "Gegner" schien mir nicht passend, weil es schon nahe an "Feind" herankommt; bei "Gegenspieler" denken wir Deutschen zunächst an die Bühne, dann an den Sport. So würde ich selbst, da es einen "counteractor" nicht gibt, an etwas wie "counterpart" gedacht haben, aber das scheint mir nur in der Musik gebraucht zu werden; daher ist doch wohl ein Ausdruck wie "adversary" der richtige, oder etwa "antagonist"? Nach meinem Sprachgefühl, das freilich durch das Lateinische mehr beeinflusst wird als durch moderne Sprachen, ist "adversary" schwächer als deutsch "Gegner", und daher vielleicht geeignet. Bitte, entschuldigen Sie freundlichst, dass ich gleich über diesen Punkt so lang und breit rede; aber ein Titel ist doch etwas für Leser und Autor Wichtiges, und ich habe immer darauf Wert gelegt, dass auch wissenschaftliche Arbeiten nicht nur im Inhalt, sondern auch in der Form befriedigen sollen, weil wir Deutschen darin hinter anderen Nachbarn leicht zurückblieben.

Sonst hoffe ich, dass sich keine Schwierigkeiten bei der Übersetzung ergeben werden. Sollte ich sie vor dem Druck durchsehen können und dürfen, so würde ich hier wohl Helfer finden, die mit dem Englischen besser vertraut sind als ich, der es leider nur aus Büchern kennt.

Empfangen Sie einstweilen nochmals die Versicherung meiner herzlichen Dankbarkeit und die meiner steten Bereitschaft, auch Ihre Druckbögen mit Aufmerksamkeit zu prüfen.

Mit den besten Empfehlungen und Grüßen

Ihr sehr ergebener

F. Münzer²⁷³

²⁷³ (Printed from transcript by A.R.B. in García 232.)

From H. Strasburger

Frankfurt den 20. Januar 1939

Hochverehrter Herr Syme!

Mit Freude ersehe ich aus Ihrem Brief, daß alles auf bestem Wege ist. Zu der Frage der deutschen Ausgabe genügt es mir einstweilen vollkommen, die Bereitwilligkeit der Clarendon Press zu sehen; das Genauere darüber dürfte eine sehr viel spätere Sorge sein. Ebenso bin ich ganz wie Sie der Meinung, daß es mit der Suche nach einem Übersetzer Zeit hat, bis das Buch überhaupt erst geschrieben ist. Ich hoffe, bald an die Arbeit gehen zu können.

Mit herzlichen Dank für Ihre freundliche Nachricht

Ihr ganz ergebener

Hermann Strasburger²⁷⁴

²⁷⁴ (Printed from transcript by A.R.B. in García 233.)

From Arthur Stein

Prague, 27.I.39

My dear Colleague,

When I expressed you my best wishes for your health and happiness in the new year, I promised to resume the subject of your kind letter and to give you an account of the present situation.

In the meantime you had the amiability to present me the offprints of your excellent papers, above all your valuable 'Caesar, the senate and Italy', which show all the best known qualities of your disquisitions and discussions, principally those of some social character.²⁷⁵ And I remember well that I had already in Oxford the pleasure of hearing the main thoughts of this research from your own mouth.

I thank you so much indeed for your vivid participation in the future of the PIR and in mine. I personally feel well concerning my health. But the continuation of the Prosopography (at least by Groag and myself) has become problematical, although at the moment I am not yet allowed to tell the reasons. My friend Groag is perhaps in a still more difficult situation than I am; your supposition, „that he is unbehelligt“, has unfortunately not proved true. Not only his professional career is finished, but he is also forbidden to go to any library.

And as regards me, I am affected by the circumstance, that the German University of Prague is to become a University of the Reich. The term of activity in the professorship is now the 65th year of life (instead of the 70th). As long as from the June of the past year I did not go up into a lecturer's chair. It is beyond bearing for me — besides the reduction of my emoluments — to stay unoccupied.²⁷⁶

But perhaps you will think, the better then I can devote myself the more to my scientific works. All right, if they would not be called in question. Under these circumstances I would be very glad, if there were any possibility of delivering academic lectures in foreign countries, since Germany (and that means practically more than the whole Central Europe) is closed for me. I beg to ask you (but in the supposition that you will answer me frankly and unflattering), if you think it possible for me to give courses at English universities (eventually as a visiting professor), and in case of affirmation, to whom one should appeal to get further particulars.

²⁷⁵ See above, letters from Strasburger of 10.6.38 and 23.11.38 and from Gelzer of 9.12.38.

²⁷⁶ On the change in circumstances for Stein and Groag see Introduction.

All troubles and disturbances of the last months were not able to hinder me in my work or to diminish my power of work and devotion to it; but in case of being taken away to me the possibilities of labour I am mightless.

I am very glad to hear that you intend in this year to come to Central Europe. It would be delightful to see you again and to meet with you.

With all good wishes

Yours ever sincerely

A. Stein²⁷⁷

²⁷⁷ (Printed from transcript by A.R.B. in García 234–235.)

From A. Degrassi

Roma, 30 gennaio 1939 XVII

CONSIGLIO NAZIONALE DELLE ACCADEMIE

Caro Professore,

Vi ringrazio molto cordialmente di avermi comunicato la Vostra ipotesi sul padre di Galus Sulpicius, console del 4 a. C. La Vostra identificazione di C. Calvisius Sabinus nominato nell'iscrizione spoletina C.I.L. XI. 4772 = I.L.S. 925 pare anche a me molto probabile. Purtroppo io non ho visto l'iscrizione che ora si trova nel museo di Spoleto. Il dott. C. Pietrangeli, che la conosce bene, mi dice che per i caratteri paleografici potrebbe appartenere piuttosto al console del 26 d. C. che a quello del 4 d. C.²⁷⁸ Ma mi pare che lo stesso — si sa quanto sono fallaci i criteri paleografici — la Vostra identificazione sia plausibile. Voglio sperare che mi sia possibile di procurarmi una fotografia della pietra e di mandarVela.

Non voglio escludere che l'erasione nei Fasti dei vicomagistri del nome di Caninius Galus, console nel 37 a.C., sia avvenuta nel 2 a.C., quando Iullus Antonius fu giustiziato. Ma è strano che non siano stati erasi i nomi di C. Antonio, censore nel 42 a. C., L. Antonius, console nel 41 a.C., M. Antonio, console nel 34 a.C.

Vi ringrazio sin da ora del Vostro cortese pensiero di donarmi una copia della Vostra importante opera. Se verrete questo aprile a Roma, sarò molto lieto di fare la Vostra conoscenza personale.

Molti saluti cordiali

Attilio Degrassi

²⁷⁸ *Sic*: Degrassi should have written 'a. C.' as in the first sentence of his letter.

From F. Münzer

Münster (Westf.) d. 6.2. 38 [*sic*: but it must have been 1939]

Heisstr. 1.

Sehr geehrter Herr Kollege!

Gleichzeitig mit dieser Karte schicke ich Ihnen als ‘Drucksache’ Ihre Druckbögen zurück. Ich habe sie mit lebhaftem Interesse gelesen und mich dabei, wie Sie sehen, nach Möglichkeit beeilt. Freilich ist der Druck schon so weit fortgeschritten, dass ich bezweifle, ob Sie meine Bemerkungen — mit Bleistift geschrieben und öfter durch ‘?’ als blosser Anregungen zu nochmaliger Erwägung bezeichnet — überhaupt noch berücksichtigen können. Wiederholt habe ich Verweisungen auf frühere Stellen hinzugefügt; bei der Fülle der Einzelheiten möchte ich glauben, dass dem Durchschnitt der Leser so etwas angenehm sein wird, ebenso gelegentlich eine kurze Erinnerung an eine schon erwähnte Kleinigkeit, die ihm leicht entfallen kann, z.B. dass L. Piso der Schwiegervater Caesars ist. Der Hinweis auf Herzogs Behandlung der Tessera des C. Octavius auf der letzten Seite (p. 112 n.1) ist für mich gleichsam eine persönliche Angelegenheit.²⁷⁹ — Für Ihren vorhergegangenen Brief vom 24.1. besten Dank! Mit dem Titel ‘Polybius’ Roman Adversary’ bin ich durchaus einverstanden, und ich mache mir sonst durchaus keine Sorge, dass Sie nicht die Übersetzung auf das beste vollenden werden. — Zu weiterer Hilfe gern bereit grüsst Sie vielmals

Ihr ergebener

F. Münzer²⁸⁰

²⁷⁹ In the LIST OF WORKS REFERRED TO in *RR*, Syme duly cited Münzer, ‘Aus dem Verwandtenkreise Caesars und Octavians’, *Hermes* 71 (1936) 222–230, as at 112 n. 1.

²⁸⁰ (Printed from transcript by A.R.B. in García 236.)

From A. Stein

Prague, 20.II.39

Dear Colleague,

Many thanks for your kind letter! I am glad to hear, that your illness which was fortunately only slight is now fully past.

With regard to the matter in question, I beg to inform you, that I had written to the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning,²⁸¹ and received the answer, they would do their best to try to help me. But they seem to presume that I am in communication already with my personal contacts in your country. I therefore think it very useful, if you would be so particularly kind — I beg your pardon if my request is somewhat immodest — to support my petition at the Society. They want to have, I suppose, the assurance, that I can use the hospitality of some academic centre, where facilities may be offered.

I understood from your communication, that a professorship is not to be got. But under the momentaneous circumstances I would be already content to get the opportunity of staying at least one year in England, in order to prosecute my researches undisturbed. The grant authorized by the Society (L250 p.a.) is not much, it is true, and still less because I would come with my wife. But it is not my only subsistence; a pension is assured to me in our country, although not being allowed to carry it abroad.

Nevertheless I would feel it nearly a releasement from the present condition here, if I could spend some time in England. I am indeed precluded now partly from books and libraries, and perhaps that will be soon wholly. Making use of the aid you offered me, I would owe you a deep debt of gratitude, if you could effect at the Society to decide the grant and to procure me the permit of the Home Office for me and my wife, and I would be the more grateful, because I would then have the pleasure of seeing you again.

With best compliments

Yours ever truly

A. Stein²⁸²

²⁸¹ The Society (SPSL) began in 1933. It was founded by William Beveridge as the Academic Assistance Council, to assist academics forced to flee by the Nazi regime; consolidated and renamed as the SPSL in 1936 (and renamed again in 1999 as The Council for At-Risk Academics). An ancient historian who was assisted by the Society was Arnaldo Momigliano, cf. below, note to Syme's letter of 24.4.39 to him. But Stein failed to gain the Society's support and not long afterwards was to be sent to Theresienstadt, cf. Introduction.

²⁸² (Printed from transcript by A.R.B. in García 237.)

Prague, 5.III.39

Dear Colleague,

It was extraordinarily kind of you to write on my behalf to the Society. But they insist upon the agreement of the university, and so I hope that now they will not further make difficulties concerning the grant. They seem to suppose, that he who receives this subsidy must be working at an English university; if there is no chance to deliver lectures, it will be, I think, sufficient to accomplish my own task at a library like e.g. the Bodleiana or the British Museum.

In every case I feel most obliged to you for the very kind support in this matter, may your efforts have or not the hoped success. -

I read with great interest your excellent paper on the First Garrison of Trajan's Dacia in the *Laureae Aquincenses*, where I am your neighbour. But, as friend Alföldi wrote me, we must be patient in expecting the off-prints. —

My colleague Ehrenberg transmitted me your friendly greetings which delighted me much.

Yours very truly
A. Stein²⁸³

²⁸³ (Printed from transcript by A.R.B. in García 238.)

From D. Sergejevski

Sarajevo, 15. III 1939

Dear Sir,

Es tut mir leid, dass ich Ihnen nicht englisch schreiben kann, Sie erinnern sich wahrscheinlich, dass vor einem Jahre unser Museum den Vorschlag gemacht hatte die Kaiser-Inschrift aus Domavia, die Sie interessierte und dessen Photographie wir Ihnen geschickt haben, in unserem "Glasnik" zu publizieren. Da das Jahr 1938 vorbei und der "Glasnik" in diesen Tagen ohne Ihrer Publikation erscheinen wird, bat mich Herr Direktor Sie zu fragen, wie Ihre Absichten mit der Inschrift sind? Ob Sie den Wunsch haben im "Glasnik" Jahrgang 1939 zu publizieren? In diesem Falle würden Sie so liebenswürdig sein die Handschrift Ihres Artikels bis zum 1. VI einzusenden. Auch bat mir der H. Direktor Ihnen mitzuteilen, dass nach den neuen Anordnungen des Finanz-Ministeriumns die Uebersendung von Geld ins Ausland so beschwert ist, dass es dem Museum unmöglich wurde das Honorar den ausländischen Mitarbeitern des "Glasnik" zu senden.

Höchstens was das Museum machen könnte, Ihnen mehrere Separata Ihres Artikels zu senden. Dieses musste ich Ihnen leider mitteilen.

Wir bitten Sie so freundlich zu sein und uns Ihre Entscheidung mitzuteilen. Ich erlaube mir auch meinerseits Ihnen mitzuteilen, dass es sehr wünschenswert wäre, dass die Publikation der Inschrift noch dieses Jahr erscheint: zur Zeit beende ich meinen Teil des Corpus der Jugosl. Inschriften, d.h. Bosnien, und deshalb ist eine Publikation sehr wünschenswert: in gegengesetzten Falle werde ich genötigt sein die Inschrift in den Corpus, so wie sie ist, einzufügen. Selbstverständlich möchte ich, dass die Inschrift früher von Ihnen publiziert würde.²⁸⁴

Wie geht es Ihnen, Herr Professor? Ich hoffe gut. Ich hoffe auch, dass Ihre Arbeit erfolgreich fortschreitet. Was mich angeht, habe ich viel zu tun; besonders die Beendigung des Corpus der Inschr. Auch sind die Zeiten so trübe geworden, dass man zu zweifeln anfängt, ob es überhaupt einen Sinn hat wissenschaftlich zu arbeiten.

²⁸⁴ Clearly Syme never managed to follow up this request. The inscription, found at Gradina (Srebenica) and moved to the Sarajevo Museum in 1894, was published by Sergejevski himself in *Spomenik* 93 (1940), at 144 n. 12. It is included in A. Šašel & J. Šašel, eds, *Inscr. Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt* (Situla 25, Ljubljana) 1521: *Imp. Caes. [- - -] | Par(thicus) Brit(annicus) G[ermanicus etc.] | co(n)s(ul) IIIII (sic) t[rib(unicia) pot(estate) [- - -] | c[- - -] | curante C[- - -]*. As the editors point out, the emperor must be Caracalla, although the figure for his consulships should be IIII.

Ich wünsche Ihnen alles beste und bitte Sie meinen herzlichen
Gruss zu empfangen.

Ihr ergebenster
Dimitrije Sergejevski

From A. Stein

Prague, 19th March 1939

My Dear Colleague,

Supposing that the letter of the „Society“ will interest you, I enclose it hereby. I understand from this letter, that you really had the extraordinary kindness to support my petition, and I repeat my warmest thanks for your friendly efforts. But you see, that the society is not yet satisfied, and I would ask you, what way is to be done in order to answer their terms. You can easily imagine how difficult it has now become to fulfil my work, and that it would be my luck to make my studies for some time in your country. You could be sure of my deepest gratitude, if you could once more be helping in this matter.

I would be very glad to know, that your health is now quite satisfying. What are you working? I hope, you will soon surprise us with a new excellent book, perhaps about the Danubian provinces, which are, I think, the special subject of your researches. I myself have composed a monograph concerning the provinces of the two Moesiae on behalf of the Vienna Academy, but I fear that this book (that ought to be an analogy to my Thracia²⁸⁵) will not be published.²⁸⁶ In the next days I hope the print of the III. volume of PIR will begin, the last one that will bear our name.²⁸⁷

All good wishes from

Yours ever sincerely

A. Stein²⁸⁸

²⁸⁵ A. Stein, *Römische Reichsbeamte der Provinz Thracia* (1920).

²⁸⁶ In fact it appeared the next year: A. Stein, *Die Legaten von Moesien* (1940), reviewed by Syme in *JRS* 35 (1945) 108–115.

²⁸⁷ *PIR*² III, covering names beginning with D, E and F, appeared in 1943, but the names of Stein and Groag were omitted from the title page. All the same, in the ‘Praefatio’ the second sentence reads: ‘Idem viri docti ARTURUS STEIN et EDMUNDUS GROAG, qui duo priora voluminis alterius editionis diligentissime elaboraverunt, huius tertiae partis auctores fuerunt’. Cf. Introduction, above.

²⁸⁸ (Printed from transcript by A.R.B. in García 239.)

From A. Alföldi

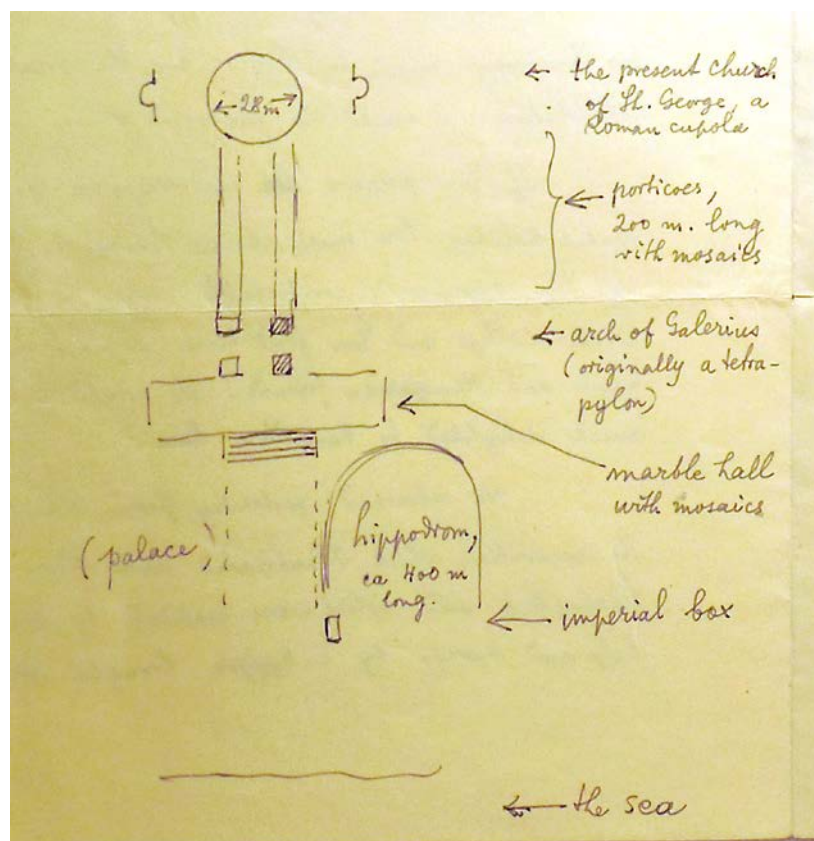
19/4/39

My dear Syme,

We sent You today the offprints.²⁸⁹ I beg You very much to forgive me the great retardation: I urged the press in vain.

If You prepare next times a continental holiday, You must choice Budapest. We can You procure a comfortable room in the Eötvös-college and You find there Roman monuments and Hungarian friends! We would be very much delighted to have You here.

We returned yesterday from Greece. The excavations which I initiated with H. v. Schoenebeck and which were realised by Danish help and money from E. Dyggve, brought splendid results.²⁹⁰ We found an immense complexus of imperial buildings, planned and completed under (or by) Galerius:



²⁸⁹ Clearly of Syme's article 'The first garrison of Trajan's Dacia', in *Laureae Aquincenses* I (1938) 267–286, reprinted, DP 84–104, with an Addendum 104–109.

²⁹⁰ The excavations were at Thessaloniki. Ejnar Dyggve (1887–1961) was a Danish architect and archaeologist, best known for his work at Salona; he returned to excavate at Thessaloniki in 1953. Hans-Ulrich von Schoenebeck (1904–1944) was a German classical archaeologist; he published *Beiträge zur Religionspolitik des Maxentius und Constantin* (1939).

If the circumstances would allow the continuation in the next years, the character of the Illyrian government would surely be much cl[arifi]ed. The colossal proportions and the homogeneous planning are very impressive. What an enormous contrast the modest "house of Livia" on the Palatine! Certainly, Augustus appears not smaller through this comparison, but the proportions in which those Illyrian peasants built and thought, are not unworthy [of] Roman greatness.

Concerning the new developments towards the world war we are here very much embittered. Our government is constrained to subject itself to the "axis" of Berlin and Rome, very much *contre coeur*. The Hungarian middle class and a great deal of the masses are anti-German and pro-English. But it is a pity that France, who created that ominous "little-entente" against ourselves, awakened very late to grasp our hand. We will submerge in the waves of the German inundation, so far I see. In any case, my feelings are for England. My ideal of life is that of Yours.

All good wishes

Yours ever

Andrew Alföldi

P.S. I was invited through a printed card to the celebration of the completion of the CAH. That means, vol. XII must have been appeared.²⁹¹ But I did not see a bit of it.

²⁹¹ Alföldi contributed two chapters to CAH XII (1939): 'The Invasions of Peoples from the Rhine to the Black Sea', 138–164; 'The Crisis of the Empire (A.D. 249–270)', 165–223; 'Notes 1–2', 721–774. They were reprinted in German in Alföldi, *Studien zur Geschichte der Weltkrise des 3. Jhts. n. Chr.* (1967) 312–341, 342–426, 436–440.

From Syme to A. Momigliano²⁹²

Trinity College,
Oxford.
Monday, 24th
April.

Dear Colleague,

It is very pleasant to have your letter; recently returned from abroad, I only heard from Last last night that you were here.²⁹³

It is an honour — but a little terrifying — that you should desire to come to my lectures. We must all do our best to encourage and help you in your spoken English — for the written, so I observe, goes very well already.

I should be glad if you would come very soon and dine with me in College — perhaps Monday or Tuesday of next week? But, in the meantime, I should like to see you soon. I am quite free tomorrow morning from 11 to 12 or Wednesday afternoon at 2 p.m.

Yours sincerely,

Ronald Syme

²⁹² The letter is in the Momigliano Archive at the Scuola Normale in Pisa. It was made available through the good offices of Professor Riccardo Di Donato and authorised for publication by Sir Fergus Millar.

²⁹³ Arnaldo Dante Momigliano (1908–1987) had been obliged to leave Italy after the Fascist government's introduction of anti-Jewish measures in September 1938; he arrived in Britain on 30 March 1939. He had contributed to vol. 10 of the *Cambridge Ancient History* and had been Professor of Roman History at Turin since 1936. For Hugh Last, here mentioned, see above, note to his letter to Syme of 13.1.28 and *ODNB* vol. 32, 604–605 (by P.M. Fraser). Momigliano was supported by 'a research stipend provided by the Rockefeller Foundation through the Academic Assistance Council [since 1936 renamed the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning]', P. Brown, *PBA* 74 (1988) 405–442 (a very full memoir), at 412. Last had certainly played an important part in gaining this support, cf. Brown 410: Last was 'his host' and 413, he was 'fostered' by Last. See also Briggs & Calder 277–284 (by K. Christ); *ODNB* vol. 38, 566–568 (by O. Murray); Tod 660–666 (by S. Rebenich).

From H. Strasburger

Frankfurt den 27. April 1939

Hochverehrter Herr Syme!

Schon längst hätten Sie wieder von mir hören sollen, aber es ist natürlich noch sehr wenig, was ich bisher von der Arbeit über Caesar berichten kann. Wenigstens wird mir selbst immer klarer in welcher Art ich das Buch schreiben möchte, doch übersehe ich noch keineswegs, ob mir die Quellen dafür den nötigen Stoff hergeben werden. Denn so übersichtlich uns die antiken Autoren und Caesar selbst über seine 'res gestae' unterrichten, so mangelhaft sind eigentlich die Aufschlüsse über seine Persönlichkeit: seinen geistigen Organismus und die Herkunft und Eigenart seiner Impulse. Und dieses müßte doch einmal eigentlicher Gegenstand der Darstellung sein, nicht als Anfangs- oder Schlußcharakteristik oder als Essay auf Grund der allgemein bekannten Testimonien zusammengestellt, sondern mit derselben Unvoreingenommenheit und Akribie geprüft, die man immer den res gestae widmet.

Auch im Politischen, glaube ich, muß die Grundlage der Betrachtung einmal eine andere sein, als gemeinhin. Man pflegt vorauszusetzen, daß die Monarchie für Rom ein so großes Glück war, daß sie mit keinem Preis zu teuer bezahlt war, und fällt das Urteil über Caesar und seine Gegner unter diesem Aspekt. Aber an erster Stelle müßten die Stimmen der Zeitgenossen gehört werden; was sie über und gegen Caesar zu sagen wußten, ihr Widerstand und ihr Leiden darf von dem Historiker nicht so leicht genommen werden. In diesem Sinne müßte man den Bürgerkrieg bringen: den geistigen Kampf an Stelle des militärischen deutlicher sichtbar werden lassen.

So schreiben Sie über Ihr kommende Buch „The Roman Revolution“, es werde im Ton republikanisch sein.²⁹⁴ Das bestärkt mich sehr in meiner Anschauung der caesarischen Zeit und umsomehr bin ich auf das Erscheinen Ihres Buches gespannt. An allem, was sie von Ihren Arbeiten schreiben, nehme ich lebhaften Anteil und wünsche ihnen ein erfreuliches Fortschreiten.

Noch habe ich Ihnen nicht für Ihr letzte freundliche Unterstützung bei

²⁹⁴ Syme was able to show Strasburger an advance copy of *RR* when he stopped in Frankfurt en route from Yugoslavia to England in August 1939, cf. *RT* IV.2 in Appendix II, below, and Introduction, above.

der Clarendon Press gedankt, die eine so angenehme und befriedigende
Regelung der verlagstechnischen Fragen herbeiführte!

Mit verbindlichen Grüßen

Ihr ganz ergebener

Hermann Strasburger²⁹⁵

²⁹⁵ (Printed from transcript by A.R.B. in García 241.)

From M. Durry²⁹⁶ (postcard)

Durry, 40 rue Guillaume, Caen.

21/5/39.

Monsieur et éminent collègue,

merci pour votre aimable lettre de 4/5 et pour la peine que vous avez prise d'écrire un c-r. des Cohortes prétoriennes pour le Gnomon. Je ne saurais vous dire combien je serais heureux que ce c-r. paraisse, car votre avis m'importe beaucoup. Si vous avez l'occasion d'écrire au directeur du Gnomon, ne manquez pas de lui demander la publication de votre article. Vous êtes Anglais et je suis Français; mon livre parle des S.A. et S.S. de Rome! que de raisons de retarder votre article! Mais espérons que l'esprit scientifique l'emportera au Gnomon!²⁹⁷

Tout vôtre, M. Durry²⁹⁸

²⁹⁶ Marcel Durry (1895–1978) was a classical philologist and epigraphist, former pupil of the École normale supérieure and member of the École française de Rome; taught at the universities of Grenoble and Caen; appointed to a Chair at the Sorbonne in 1942 but dismissed in 1943 for opposition to the Vichy regime; joined the resistance in Algiers; became professor of Latin at the Sorbonne in 1945; Directeur de l'Institut d'Études Latines; Doyen of the Sorbonne 1964–1968; held leading positions in French classical societies; President of the Fédération Internationale des Associations d'Études Classiques 1969–1974; see tribute by J. Heurgon, in the *Bull. G. Budé* 1978.

²⁹⁷ Durry's *Les Cohortes prétoriennes* (1938) was to have been reviewed by Syme for *Gnomon*, but due to the outbreak of war his review was published instead in *JRS* 29 (1939) 242–248 (repr. in *RP* VI 25–34).

²⁹⁸ Durry wrote another card to Syme on 26.5.40, cf. below, thanking him for this review, and note to the letter of 17.7.39 from Eugénie Strong, on Syme's review of Durry on Pliny, *Panegyric*. (Printed from transcript by A.R.B. in García 242.)

From A. Degrassi

CONSIGLIO NAZIONALE DELLE ACCADEMIE

PALAZZO DELLA FARNESINA — LUNGOTEVERE FARNESINA 10 — ROMA

(handwritten)

Roma, 12 giugno 1939 XVII

Caro Professor Syme,

Vi sono molto grato della pronta risposta e del cortese suggerimento. Avevo pensato anche io in un primo momento a L. Valerius Catullus Messallinus, ma poi ho lasciato cadere la cosa per questo ragionamento. Siccome dinanzi a Mess. è conservato una R, bisognerebbe ammettere che nei Fasti Ostiensi egli fosse designato con un terzo cognome ignoto e che fosse omesso il cognome Catullus. È impossibile che la R appartenga al gentilizio Valerius, non solo perchè nei Fasti Ostienses i gentilizi non vengono mai abbreviati, ma soprattutto perchè c'era spazio sufficiente per scrivere il gentilizio intero. Si aggiunge che nei libri dei fasti il secondo console ordinario dell'85 è designato con Furvo o Fulvo.²⁹⁹

Ad ogni modo molte grazie e saluti cordiali

Attilio Degrassi

²⁹⁹ In his review of Degrassi, *I fasti consolari dell' Impero Romano dal 30 a.C. al 613 d.C.* (1952), *JRS* 43 (1953) 148–161 at 155=RP I 231–255 (with Appendix 255–259), at 155=243–244, Syme proposed that T. Aurelius Fulvus was Domitian's colleague in 85 and that Messallinus was suffect. This was approved by E. Vidman, *Fasti Ostienses*² (1982) 44, 79, who sets out the first four months of that year as follows: [Domitianus XI, T. Aurelius Ful]vos II | [k.Mart. C. Rutilius Gallic(us) II, L. Vale]r(ius) Mess(alinus) II.

From E. Hohl³⁰⁰

Seestadt Rostock, den 14. Juni 1939

Sehr verehrter Herr College,

haben Sie verbindlichen Dank für die freundliche Zusendung, mit der Sie mich sehr erfreut haben. Alles hat mich lebhaft interessiert. Es hat mich aufrichtig gefreut, daß Sie die unerträgliche Manier W. Webers beim rechten Namen nennen, diesmal noch deutlicher als in der "Historischen Zeitschrift".³⁰¹ Vermutlich wollte Weber mit diesem "Reißer" den Verlag für den "Princeps I", der kein Erfolg war, schadlos halten.³⁰² Sehr anregend und einleuchtend finde ich Ihre Labienus-Studie.³⁰³ Von der Abhängigkeit des Tacitus in der Galba-Rede von Plinius' Panegyricus bin ich nach wie vor überzeugt.³⁰⁴ Bei der engen Freundschaft der beiden kann ich nur an bewußte und gewollte Anlehnung im Sinne des "Komplimentzitates" denken. Haben Sie mir die Negation von Caesars Tribunengewalt geglaubt?³⁰⁵ Ich fürchte, daß das von mir bekämpfte Vorurteil noch recht tief und fest sitzt.

Mit wiederholten Dank und besten Grüßen und Wünschen

Ihr ergebenster

E. Hohl³⁰⁶

³⁰⁰ See annotation to Hohl's letter of 23.12.37.

³⁰¹ For Syme's review of Wilhelm Weber, *Rom. Herrschertum und Reich im zweiten Jahrhundert* (1937) see above, note to letter from Alföldi of 8.10.38, with further references. In a letter of 27.4.56 (see Postscript) Hohl wrote that 'Es sind fast 20 Jahre gegangen, seit Sie mir Ihre mir besonders wertvolle Zustimmung zu meiner Kritik des "ineptissimus Textor" zu erkennen gaben'. Hohl's Latin label for Weber means 'very silly weaver', 'Weber' being the German word for 'weaver'. No doubt Hohl had sent Syme his own review of Weber's *Princeps I*: see next note.

³⁰² Weber's *Princeps I* (1936); the promised second volume never appeared. Cf. on this work Christ 217–218. Hohl reviewed it in the *Philologische Wochenschrift* (1937) 574–585.

³⁰³ 'The allegiance of Labienus', *JRS* 28 (1938) 113–125 (reprinted *RP I* 62–75). Cf. above, notes to letter from Strasburger of 10.6.38.

³⁰⁴ Syme had clearly sent Hohl an offprint of his long review of M. Durry, *Pline le Jeune: Panégyrique de Trajan* (1938), *JRS* 28 (1938) 217–224 (repr. in *RP I* 76–87). Cf. Syme's non-committal comments at 219 (=80) on the similarity between Tacitus, *Hist.* 1.15–17 and Pliny, *Pan.* 7 f.; later, in *Tacitus* (1958) 207 n. 1, where he cites Hohl's article on the subject, 'Tacitus und der jüngere Plinius', *RhM* 78 (1913) 461–464, he wrote that '[t]he parallels (being indeed commonplaces) do not amount to much.'

³⁰⁵ E. Hohl, 'Besass Caesar Tribunengewalt?', *Klio* 32 (1939) 61–75.

³⁰⁶ (Printed from transcript by A.R.B. in García 243.)

From E. Norden

Berlin Lichtenfelde 27.6.39

Sehr verehrter Herr Kollege!

Für die freundliche Übersendung Ihrer opuscula möchte ich vorläufig danken; zu genauer Lektüre werde ich erst in meinem neuen domicilium kommen.³⁰⁷ Einstweilen las ich nur Ihre Rezension von dem Buche 'Rom'.³⁰⁸ Ja, so ist dieser Verfasser: profundes Wissen, aber Neigung zur Mystik und exzentrisch bis zur Ekstase. Aus seinem *Princeps*-Buch habe ich manches für die politische Sprache der caesarisch-augusteischen Epoche gelernt.³⁰⁹ Neulich hatte ich den Besuch von Nock.³¹⁰

Mit besten Grüßen

Ihr sehr ergebener

Eduard Norden

³⁰⁷ Norden finally realised he had to leave Germany, as a result of the latest repressive anti-Jewish measures following 'Crystal Night' on 9.11.38. He applied for permission to leave the Reich for Switzerland on 30.11.38, having been forced to sell part of his library. He sold his house in Berlin in January 1939 and left Germany for Switzerland on 5.7.39.

³⁰⁸ Cf. notes to letters from Alföldi of 8.10.38, A. Stein 28.10.38, Strasburger 23.11.38, Hohl 14.6.39.

³⁰⁹ On Weber's *Princeps*, cf. above, note to letter from Hohl of 14.6.39.

³¹⁰ Arthur Darby Nock (1902–1963), Professor of the History of Religion at Harvard from 1930. See obituary in *JRS* 53 (1963) 168–169; Todd 717–719 (by W.M. Calder III).

From F. Münzer

Münster (Westf.) d. 15.7.39

Heisstr. 1.

Sehr geehrter Herr Kollege!

Nachdem unser Austausch von Briefen und Druckbögen im Anfang des Jahres so lebhaft gewesen war, habe ich mich allerdings gewundert und es mir nicht erklären können, warum er plötzlich vollkommen abgebrochen war. Mehr als einmal habe ich seitdem überlegt, ob ich an Sie schreiben sollte; aber ich wollte nicht aufdringlich erscheinen. Nun bin ich erfreut und dankbar, dass Ihr liebenswürdiger Brief mir die Aufklärung und eine Art von Beruhigung gibt; ich hoffe, dass Sie von Ihrer italienischen Reise befriedigt und von Ihrem Unwohlsein wiederhergestellt sind. Für die beiden Aufsätze danke ich Ihnen bestens.

Über den Labienus-Aufsatz habe ich mich ja schon nach der Lektüre der Korrektur geäußert.³¹¹ In dem anderen³¹² steht die Frage der Statthalterschaft des Q. Philippus im Mittelpunkt, und diese ist von Ihnen so gründlich und besonnen von allen Seiten her angefasst worden, dass sie mit der Antwort: 'Cilicia 47/6 v. Chr.' endgültig gelöst scheint. Dass die von Cicero ausgehenden Gelehrten sich über Antipater von Derbe so wenig unterrichtet haben, ist etwas beschämend; ich nehme mich selbst nicht aus. Im J. 47 müsste man wegen der Termine von Caesars Anordnungen in Kleinasien und von Ciceros Wiedereinrichtung in Rom und in gewohnte Lebensbedingungen mit den Briefen bis gegen das Ende des Jahres hinabgehen, vielleicht noch besser bis in den Anfang 46. Nicht folgen kann ich Ihnen in einem untergeordneten Punkte, in der Identifikation des Q. Philippus (S. 318). Erstens glaube ich nicht, dass Cicero an den Sohn eines alten Genossen geschrieben hätte: pro vetere necessitudine. Zweitens glaube ich nicht, dass er ihn pro consule nennen würde, wenn er quaestor pro consule gewesen wäre. Ein Quaestor mit Imperium ist der Regel nach pro praetore; selbst der junge Lentulus Spinther im J. 43 nennt sich nur proq. propr. (fam. XII 15), und Mommsen (St.-R. II 651,1) führt nur einen einzigen q. pro cos., aus dem Gefolge des Antonius, an. So meine ich, dass Q. Philippus ein älterer Praetorier gewesen sein wird. Aber sonst haben Sie mich ganz und gar überzeugt.

³¹¹ 'The allegiance of Labienus', *JRS* 28 (1938) 113–125 (reprinted *RP I* 62–75).

³¹² 'Observations on the province of Cilicia', *Anatolian Studies Presented to William Hepburn Buckler* (1939) 299–332 (reprinted *RP I* 120–148). Cf. on this paper, Introduction, above.

Dass zu den S. 307 erwähnten Inschriften des Servilius Isauricus noch zwei weitere aus Pergamon und aus Mitylene hinzugekommen sind, habe ich seinerzeit bei der Durchsicht Ihrer Korrekturbögen angemerkt.³¹³

Nachdem der Druck Ihres Bogens vor einigen Monaten in so unaufhalt-samer Eile vor sich gegangen ist, ist es schade, dass nun die Publikation bis zum Herbst hinausgeschoben wird. Denn es ist ebenso unbefriedi-gend, wenn man allerlei Nachträge hinzufügt.

Mit dem Aufschub des Erscheinens meines 'Postumius' muss ich mich abfinden, wie mit vielem Andern.³¹⁴ Meine Gesundheit, nach der Sie sich freundlich erkundigen, ist für mein Alter noch gut; von anderen Dingen schweigt man lieber. Sie schreiben von der Möglichkeit eines Besuches in Deutschland in diesem Jahre; wollen Sie an dem Archäologenkongress in Berlin teilnehmen? Nicht unerwähnt möchte ich lassen, dass Ihr Brief wegen der Devisenüberwachung auf dem Zollamt geöffnet wurde, was jetzt auch sonst geschehen soll.

Mit bestem Dank und Gruss

Ihr sehr ergebener

F. Münzer³¹⁵

³¹³ In his article of 1939 Syme had at p. 307 cited Münzer, *RE* 2A.2 (1923) 1798–1802 for the 'no fewer than fourteen inscriptions' attesting the activities of Servilius Isauricus as proconsul.

³¹⁴ Whatever caused the delay, the outbreak of war ten weeks later prevented publication. Münzer's handwritten text, 'Ein römischer Gegenspieler des Polybius', 22 pages and a further 8 pages with 41 notes, has been found among the papers of Ernst Badian. It was sent to him by Syme in 1969, together with a single draft page of Syme's English version, called 'Postumius Albinus and Polybius' (information kindly supplied by Badian's literary executor, Prof. Corey Brennan).

³¹⁵ (Printed from transcript by A.R.B. in García 244–245.)

From E. Strong

35 VIA BALBO³¹⁶

TEL. 42.411

July 17th. 1939.

Dear Mr. Syme,

I have been reading with great interest your remarks on Vedjovis in your review of Koch's "Der Roemische Juppiter" in the last J.R.S. Unless someone has sent it to you, do go to the Ashmolean and ask Miss Taylor³¹⁷ to show you the cuttings I sent her describing the discovery of his temple under the Tabularium — also a statue, unfortunately headless. It is one of the greatest discoveries of the year and has of course been known for some time. I also send you a German cutting from the "Weekly News", a rag of a paper published in Rome in four languages. You of course remember that there was a cast of the altar from Bovillae at the Mostra Augustea. I am making a point of this in my retrospective notes of the Exhibition for J.R.S.³¹⁸ You held out hopes of returning to Rome in the autumn, when you will see the temple.* Meanwhile I am planning to come to England early in August before going to Berlin.³¹⁹ Shall I find you in Oxford?*** There is so much I should like to talk over with you.

How good most of the reviews in J.R.S. usually are, but there is surprisingly little about Italian books or anything Italian; we must talk this over if possible.

By the way, you historians are never content. I believe I have already upbraided you for speaking in J.R.S. (1938, p. 234) of "... leaders of state and society in a dead season, the blessed age of the Antonines".³²⁰ And now here is Mr. Mattingly following suit and disparagingly (?) writing: "The golden age of the good Antoninus was conspicuous for the

³¹⁶ The letter was of course sent from Rome.

³¹⁷ Margery Venables Taylor, secretary of the Roman Society and editor of *JRS*, on whom see note to letter from Birley of 30.3.35.

³¹⁸ 'Romanità throughout the ages', *JRS* 29 (1939) 137–166.

³¹⁹ Presumably to attend the International Congress of Classical Archaeology held there 21–26 August.

³²⁰ This is the last sentence in Syme's review of M. Durry, *Pline le Jeune: Panégyrique de Trajan* (1938), *JRS* 28 (1938) 217–234 (repr. in *RP* I 76–87). Cf. above for Durry's postcard of 21.5.39 on learning that Syme was to review his *Les Cohortes Prétoriennes* (1939) for *Gnomon*; because of the war the review was published in *JRS* 29 (1939) 242–248 (repr. in *RP* VI 25–34); and see below, Postscript, for Durry's reaction to the review in a postcard of 26.5.40, in which he wrote that he had already thanked Syme for 'votre si riche compte-rendu de mon édition du *Panégyrique*'.

absence of stirring events” (J.R.S. 1939, p. 120).³²¹ The peaceful reign of Antoninus, one would imagine, should be the pattern for the peace-making policy of England and other countries, but historians, though they may hate wars in the present, need plenty of wars in the past in order to make history more dramatic.

I see that you have written a new book about Rome to upset everyone else’s views. I saw it announced, but am not even sure if it is out. I shall not have time to read it before I come to England but shall try to get a glimpse of it either at the American Academy or the German Institute where they are very much up to date as to new books.

Yours very sincerely,

Eugénie Strong

[in ink, partly illegible] Heat & ...(?) are both(?) terrific just now.

* [in ink, in margin] Radford must have known of it in the spring, so perhaps you did see it.³²²

**[in ink, in margin] Do not trouble to send me more than a card in answer to this.

³²¹ Review of Paul L. Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts. Teil iii. Die Reichsprägung zur Zeit des Antoninus Pius* (1937) by Harold Mattingly, *JRS* 29 (1939) 119–120. Mattingly (1884–1964) worked at the British Museum Dept of Coins and Medals 1912–1948; edited *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, 6 vols (1923–1962) and, with E.A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, 10 vols (1923–1994).

³²² Syme had evidently stayed at the BSR in the Easter vacation. Courtenay Arthur Ralegh Radford (1900–1998) was Director of the School as successor to Colin Hardie (after others, one of whom was Syme, had declined the post, cf. Introduction, n. 22) from 1936 to 1945. His tenure was interrupted by the war, during which he served, among other posts, in the Dept of Psychological Warfare; he was briefly back in Rome in 1944 but resigned in 1945; from 1948 he was an independent scholar, known for research at Tintagel and Glastonbury; C. Thomas, *Medieval Archaeology* 42 (1998) 104–106; A. Wallace-Hadrill, *The BSR. One Hundred Years* (2001) 91–96; R. Gilchrist, *Biographical Memoirs of Fellows of the British Academy* 12 (2013) 341–358.

From F. Altheim³²³ (postcard)

Halle/S., 17.7.39

Lieber, sehr verehrter Herr Syme, haben Sie herzlichen Dank für die Zusendung Ihrer Separata: Sie wissen, wie begierig ich darauf bin. Außer der Koch-Rezension³²⁴ kannte ich sie alle schon, aber nun bin ich glücklich, sie zu besitzen. Man sieht wie Sie mit Riesenschritten auf Ihr Buch zueilen, und ich meine, es wird eine sehr wichtige Neuerscheinung geben. Vor allem die Geschichte des Bundesgenossenkriegs³²⁵ wird sich sehr ändern, meine ich. Wann kommt das Buch heraus? Ich habe eine sehr dringende Bitte: könnte ich ein Exemplar des Buches bekommen? Es dauert sehr lange mit der Erledigung von Bestellungen auf dem Buchhändler-Weg, und ich bin bereit, Ihnen irgend ein deutsches Werk, fremdes oder eigenes, dafür zukommen zu lassen. Sagen Sie bitte, was Sie interessiert! Verzeihen Sie mir diesen Vorschlag, der aus den besonderen Umständen und dem großem Interesse an Ihr Buch entsprungen ist. Mit nochmaligem Dank und besten Grüßen bin ich Ihr sehr ergebener

Franz Altheim

³²³ Franz Altheim (1898–1976), *habilitiert* by W.F. Otto at Frankfurt in 1928 with *Griechische Götter im alten Rom*, published 1930, *Privatdozent* there until 1935, at first focused on ancient religion: e.g. *Römische Religionsgeschichte*, 3 vols (1931–1933); translated by H. Mattingly as *A History of Roman Religion* (1938), cited in *RR* 448 n. 4; there followed *Epochen der Römischen Geschichte*, 2 vols (1934–1935). Altheim was a member of SA 1934–1936, *Außerplanmäßiger* (Associate) Professor of Classical Philology at Halle 1937–1943; worked with the *SS Ahnenerbe* which financed his very extensive travels and furthered his career; full Professor at Halle 1943–1948 (briefly dismissed 1945); Professor of Ancient History there 1948–1950, at Free University of Berlin 1950–1964. Published over three dozen monographs on themes too diverse to summarise here. See Losemann (1977) 123–138, 234–240; Christ 246–254; Rebenich (2005) 49 labels him (along with two other opportunists) a ‘Konjunkturritter’.

³²⁴ See note to letter from E. Strong written the same day, above.

³²⁵ For Altheim’s mistaken impression that *RR* dealt with the Social War, cf. the surprise expressed by Ulrich Kahrstedt (1888–1962), as he revealed in a letter to Syme of 14.4.47, after seeing the book for the first time; he had imagined that that it would cover the period from Ti. Gracchus to Pompeius.

From Syme to E. Strong

TRINITY COLLEGE,
OXFORD.
27/7/39

Dear Mrs. Strong,

You will have been wondering what has happened to me — and no reply to your letter.³²⁶ I have been in the North of England for a week and am now on the eve of departure abroad, to Dalmatia.

It is cheerful news that you are coming to England. Will this be after the Archaeology Congress? If so, and if it is in September, early, I shall be back again in Oxford and eager to see you. The discoveries about Vediovis are indeed exciting — how good of you to let me know about them!

Your information is correct — I have written a rather shocking book (568 pp.) about the history of Rome in the period 60 B.C. — A.D. 14. Nobody will like it. Date of publication 31/8/39, so I suspect that you will receive a copy at the very beginning of September.³²⁷

And now I must cease, to gather some clothes, for I go by air to Frankfurt tomorrow morning.

With all good wishes,
Ronald Syme

³²⁶ See above for Strong's letter of 17.7.39.

³²⁷ As it turned out, *RR* was not published until 7 September.

From G. Frank³²⁸

110 Elmhurst Road
Roland Park
Baltimore, Maryland

August 6, 1939

Dear Mr. Syme,

It was good to hear from you, and I am glad you liked the Bibliography.³²⁹ I sent it, but put no address on the envelope, so that you need feel no obligation to reply. That makes it all the pleasanter to have you care to write. Your little note brings back all sorts of good memories — of our delightful luncheon with you, of the random encounter near the Bodleian, of the evening you spent at Eastman House, of our short visit before we went on to Mrs Collingwood's³³⁰ — all a promise and prelude to what I had hoped would be many more meetings.

Your name has been often mentioned to me on this side, however, and I read with interest your contribution to the Buckler volume.³³¹ I have actually been asked whether I thought you could be lured to America. The inquiry was very informal — yet I did not know the answer. The dearth of first-rate classical scholars over here has made several of our institutions look longingly across the Atlantic. Perhaps just because ours is the happier side of that ocean — or, perhaps I should say, the less troubled side — there might be a temptation to carry on one's researches over here. But of course I know that is not the only issue — nor can any one speak for another when so many problems are involved.

But I do hope we shall soon meet again — on one side or the

³²⁸ Grace Edith Frank 1886–1978 was the widow of Tenney Frank (1876–1939), whom she married in 1907; a founding member of the Medieval Academy of America in 1925, from 1926 she taught at Bryn Mawr College, latterly as Non-Resident Professor of French. See also above, note to Tenney Frank's letter of 5.12.38.

³²⁹ Presumably the Bibliography of Tenney Frank's writings, *AJP* 60 (1939) 273–287.

³³⁰ Ethel Collingwood was the wife of R.G. Collingwood, on whom cf. notes after postcard to Fabricius of 3.7.30 and note to letter from Fabricius of 2.1.36. Collingwood had contributed a chapter to vol. 3 of Frank's *Economic Survey* (1937).

³³¹ 'Observations on the province of Cilicia', *Anatolian Studies Presented to W.H. Buckler* (1939) 299–332 (repr. in *RP* I 120–148).

other — and in days less filled with the strain of crises. With all good wishes to you and my warm gratitude for your note, believe me,

Yours sincerely,
Grace Frank

POSTSCRIPTS

From M. Durry 1940 (postcard)

Lieutenant Durry, 40 rue Guillaume le Conquérant, Caen.

26 mai 40.

Monsieur le Professeur,

après votre si riche compte-rendu de mon édition du Panégyrique, dont je vous ai remercié en son temps, m'arrive votre beau compte-rendu des mes Prétoriens. J'ai été très touché de vos éloges et très intéressé par vos suggestions. J'ai essayé de faire un livre qui eut un plan et constituait une synthèse, avec sur certains points (effectif des cohortes, carrière des prétoriens, diplômes, etc...) des théories discutables sans doute, mais neuves. Vous aurez su que depuis lors j'ai été pillé et démarqué par un Italien pressé de finir sa thèse.³³² — Depuis le 2 sept. j'ai repris mon uniforme d'officier quitté en 1918. Nos angoisses sont les mêmes, nos espoirs aussi. J'aime moins nos Romains depuis que l'Allemagne me les fait mieux comprendre. Bien des points de vue seront à revider, si jamais nous pouvons retourner à nos chères études.

Merci encore au grand historien que vous êtes d'avoir signalé avec autorité et bienveillance (plus pour les Prétoriens que pour le Panégyrique!) nos deux livres. Recevez mes compliments respectueux et unissons nos vœux pour nos chères patries,

M. Durry

³³² He refers to A. Passerini, *Le Coorti Pretorie* (1939). In the Bibliographie to his article, 'Praetoriae cohortes', *RE* 22.2 (1954) 1607–1634, at 1663, Durry cites his own work and Passerini, with the comment 'die letzere (sc. Monographie) dankt der ersten vieles; einen Vergleich gibt De Laet Rev. belge philol. 1944, 498'.

From A. Rüstow³³³ 1943 (extract)

30.10.43

Ich lese gerade Ihre Roman Revolution, und möchte Ihnen doch gleich sagen, daß ich begeistert bin! Eine solche Vereinigung von minutiöser Gelehrsamkeit und geistvoller Lebendigkeit ist mir schon lange nicht mehr vorgekommen. Da kann man Sie und uns nur beglückwünschen.

Cf. Rüstow's review, « Die Römische Revolution und Kaiser Augustus », *Revue de la Faculté des sciences économiques de l'Université d'Istanbul*, vol. 5, avril–juillet 1944, no. 3–4, pp. 224–252.

³³³ Alexander Rüstow (1885–1963), Professor in Istanbul 1933–1949; cf. *Anat.* xx.

From M. Gelzer 1947

Frankfurt a.M., d. 2.2.47

Sehr verehrter Herr Syme,

Durch die freundliche Vermittlung von Herrn Dr. Weinstock³³⁴ ist mir schon im Oktober vorigen Jahres Ihr Buch *The Roman Revolution* übersandt worden, und ich muß Sie vielmals um Entschuldigung bitten, daß ich Ihnen noch nicht persönlich dafür gedankt habe. Das rührte davon her, daß ich zunächst Herrn Weinstock um Ihre Adresse bat. Er war inzwischen nach England zurückgekehrt, und so verzögerte sich meine Antwort. Andererseits hoffte ich, zunächst Ihr Buch gründlich lesen zu können. Dazu bin leider noch immer nicht gekommen, weil mich Lehrtätigkeit und vielerlei Verwaltungsgeschäfte nötigten, mich mit anderen Gegenständen zu befassen. Aber neulich fand ich doch Gelegenheit, in Ruhe einige Kapitel zu lesen und mir vom Ganzen einen Überblick zu verschaffen, und da möchte ich nun nicht länger säumen, Ihnen zu sagen, welch imponierenden Eindruck ich von Ihrem Werk empfangen habe. Ich halte es für eine bahnbrechende Leistung für das Verständnis des augusteischen Zeitalters. Die Quellen werden in einen durchaus originellen und neuen Zusammenhang gestellt. Mit einem bemerkenswerten Spürsinn dringen Sie in die *arcana imperii* ein, und Ihre Arbeit erregen meine beständige Freude. Ihre Darstellung ist so klar und plastisch, alles ergibt sich so natürlich aus den Quellen, die Sie mit einer erstaunlichen Vielseitigkeit des Interesses zu verwerten wissen. So bin ich glücklich, dieses grundlegende Werk zu besitzen. Ich selbst habe unmittelbar vor Kriegsende noch ein Buch über Pompeius geschrieben, leider aber, ohne ihr Buch benutzen zu können. Leider befinden sich die Exemplare in Wien und können noch nicht nach Deutschland gebracht werden, sodaß sie auch nicht in den Buchhandel kommen. Inzwischen habe ich mich mehr der griechischen Geschichte zugewandt, habe aber zur Zeit noch nichts größeres in Arbeit.

³³⁴ Stefan Weinstock (1901–1971) specialised in ancient religion; his massive *Divus Julius* (1971) appeared after his death. Born in a Hungarian town which became Rumanian in 1920 (Nagyvárad/Oradea); studied at Prague, Innsbruck and Breslau; lost his position as a scholar in Germany following Nazi anti-Jewish legislation and moved to Rome in 1937, then to London in 1939 and Oxford 1940; worked for the US army in occupied Germany 1945–1946; later Lecturer and Senior Lecturer at Oxford and Fellow of Exeter College. See the obituary by P.J. Parsons, *Gnomon* 46 (1974) 217–220.

Indem ich Ihnen nochmals aufs herzlichste für Ihre große
Freundlichkeit danke, bin ich mit den besten Grüßen

stets Ihr aufrichtig ergebener

M. Gelzer

From E. Hohl 1950

(1) Bln. -C2, Humboldt-Univ., Institut für Altertumskunde, Unter den Linden 6

3.2. 1950

Sehr verehrter Herr Kollege,

haben Sie verbindlichsten Dank für die freundliche Zusendung, mit der Sie mich sehr erfreut haben. Hier in Berlin ist es mir endlich geglückt, Ihr von mir so sehr vermißtes, vor über einem Jahrzehnt — und was für einen Jahrzehnt — erschienenenes Buch über die ‘Roman Revolution’ in die Hand zu bekommen; ich lese es zur Zeit und fühle ich mich aufs lebhafteste angesprochen durch diese bewundernswerte Leistung. Sie beherrschen die Kunst der Vergegenwärtigung der Vergangenheit; es gibt keine tote Zeile in diesem faszinierendem Werk. Ich hoffe, daß Sie das Jahr 1950 in bester Gesundheit angetreten haben und verbleibe mit wiederholtem Dank und den besten Grüßen

Ihr sehr ergebener E. Hohl

From E. Hohl 1956

Berlin - Niederschöneweide, 27.4.56

Britzer Str. 19

Sehr verehrter Herr Kollege,

mit Ihrem markigen Beitrag zu dem mir anlässlich meines 70. Geburtstages überreichten album gratulatorium haben Sie mir eine große und nachhaltige Freude bereitet, für die ich Ihnen von Herzen danke. Es sind fast 20 Jahre gegangen, seit Sie mir Ihre mir besonders wertvolle Zustimmung zu meiner Kritik des 'ineptissimus Textor' [=W. Weber] zu erkennen gaben. Wie viel habe ich seitdem von Ihnen gelernt; und als es mir endlich in Kopenhagen am 23. August 1954 vergönnt war, im gastlichen Hause Barh(?) mit Ihnen zusammen zu sein, da war es nicht wie ein erstes Sichkennenlernen, sondern wie das Wiedersehen alter Freunde. Wenigstens habe ich es so empfunden. So hat sich das Wort des Sallust, das er leider dem Catilina und nicht dem Cato in den Mund gelegt hat, als wahr erwiesen: idem velle atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est.³³⁵ Ich darf Ihnen bei dieser Gelegenheit auch noch für die willkommene Zusendung, die ich Ende Januar erhalten habe, meinen verspäteten Dank sagen. Ich hoffe, mich im Lauf des Jahres revanchieren zu können. Die Gefühle, die mich mein Eintritt in das achte Jahrzehnt bewegen, hat Salvius Julianus würdig ausgedrückt (Digesten XXXX 5, 20).³³⁶

Mit herzlichen Grüßen

Ihr ganz ergebener

Ernst Hohl

³³⁵ Sallust, *Cat.* 20.3.

³³⁶ *Digest* 40.5.20: 'Nam ego discendi cupiditate, quam solam vivendi rationem optimam in octavum et septuagesimum annum aetatis duxi, memor sum eius sententiae, qui dixisse fertur: καὶ τὸν ἕτερον πόδα ἐν τῇ σορῶ ἔχω, προσμαθεῖν τι βουλομένην.'

From J. Amery³³⁷

25th June, 1959

My dear Ronald,

I am terribly glad. In an otherwise crashingly dull Honours List, your news³³⁸ has given me immense pleasure. The Roman Revolution remains one of the great modern political text-books — though from the point of view of the stability of our society I trust it will never be too widely read in political circles!

Many many congratulations.

Yours ever,
Julian

Amery wrote again on 12th April 1976 to congratulate Syme on the O.M., adding the following:

I hope all goes well with you. I often recall our journey in the Fruška Gora and owe more, politically, to The Roman Revolution than I can well say.

Yours ever,
Julian

The Fruška Gora is a mountain in northern Serbia, not far west of Belgrade, of interest to Syme not least because of his various discussions of the Bellum Pannonicum of 13–9 BC, which is when he believed the Romans first advanced that far along the valley of the River Sava towards the Danube at Belgrade. To judge from the career of Amery it would presumably have been during 1940, before he joined the RAF, that he and Syme made this trip.

³³⁷ Julian Amery (1919–1996) was a war correspondent in the Spanish Civil War and later an Attaché at the British Embassy in Belgrade, where Syme was Press Attaché. He joined the RAF as a sergeant in 1940, was commissioned and transferred to the army in 1941, reaching the rank of Captain. He spent 1941–1942 in the eastern Mediterranean (the Middle East, Malta, Yugoslavia), and was Liaison Officer to the Albanian Resistance Movement 1943–1944; then served in China under General Carton de Wiart. He was later an MP, first elected in 1950, the year he married a daughter of Harold Macmillan. He held various ministerial posts and was made a Life Peer in 1992.

³³⁸ Of Syme's knighthood.

From P. Veyne³³⁹

Aix 7.1.67

Paul Veyne
15 avenue des Belges

Monsieur,

Pardonnez une manifestation d'enthousiasme très française: je relis la Roman revolution, que je n'ai jamais cessé de consulter, mais que je n'avais pas lue d'affilée depuis huit ans; et je ne peux m'empêcher de vous dire l'admiration, le plaisir et la violente sympathie que me donne, encore une fois, cet admirable livre. Puisque j'ai la chance d'être connu de vous, j'en profite pour vous l'écrire — en y joignant mes vœux pour 1967.

Respectueusement vôtre,

P. Veyne

³³⁹ Paul Veyne, born in 1930; professor at Aix-en-Provence from 1957; 1975–1999 at the Collège de France in Paris; author of numerous monographs, perhaps best known for *Comment on écrit l'histoire: essai d'épistémologie* (1970) and *Le pain et le cirque* (1976); a more recent work is *L'Empire gréco-romain* (2005), a massive collection of previously published studies, extensively revised. M. Veyne kindly agreed to the publication of this letter, in an email of 4.5.2017.

APPENDIX I

SYME INTERVIEWED IN
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA
OCTOBER 1962

A Talk with Sir Ronald Syme*

Sir Ronald Syme, one of the world's leading ancient historians, is Camden Professor of Ancient History at Oxford University. Last week he was the guest in Chapel Hill of UNC Kenan Professor Ullman and delivered a lecture on the Greeks under Roman rule.¹

by J.A.C. Dunn

Sir Ronald Syme's mind can travel from the need for more education in ancient history to the national characteristics of the Turks to the personality of Stalin in three easy steps, without ever appearing to have broken its chain of thought. Sir Ronald is a merry man with kind eyes and a sort of free-form moustache which he may have trimmed too closely on the right or not trimmed enough on the left, it is not certain which. His conversation consists of a chain of small essays, reminiscences, or observations at the climax of which he clasps his hands, as if right were shaking hands with left, in a "so the upshot of it all is" sort of way.

He is an exception to an Oscar Wilde axiom in that he is an Englishman² who has language in common with Americans. This is probably the result partly of having taught at Harvard, partly of wide travels elsewhere.

"I don't really have much contact with students", he said, "so I don't think I can tell you much about student life in Oxford. The system at Oxford is very complicated ..."

He was right.

"But this chair that I hold is very interesting. It's the oldest history chair in Europe. There were others, at Vienna and at the Sorbonne, but they were abolished because history was considered a very dangerous

* Taken from the Chapel Hill newspaper, an article headed 'A Talk with Sir Ronald Syme'. (The newspaper cutting is in the Box catalogued as MS. 11378/64.) The *News & Observer* (Raleigh, North Carolina), which took over the *Chapel Hill Weekly*, has kindly granted permission to reproduce 'A Talk with Sir Ronald Syme' provided the article is not used for commercial purpose.

¹ The lecture was given on 4th October 1962. Berthold Louis Ullman (1882–1965) was Kenan Professor of Latin at UNC, Chapel Hill 1944–1959 (see R.L. Den Adel in Briggs, *Biog.* 659–661). Syme had given a lecture with the same title at the December 1960 meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, published in their *Proceedings* lxxii (1957–1960) [1963] 3–20; reprinted in *RP* II 566–581. Thanking Syme for an offprint of this article James H. Oliver (cf. Introduction n. 38) wrote on 5.8.63: 'Your article on The Greeks under Roman Rule is excellent. You are a real historian, the best contemporary historian of the Romans. It is astonishing how good you are despite the time you spend traveling.'

² The reporter evidently failed to realise that Syme was a New Zealander. Oscar Wilde's axiom was: 'we have really everything in common with America nowadays, except, of course, language'.

subject. In 1622 some money was left to support the teaching of Greek and Roman history. The man who left it made it very clear that it was not to be for church history.

“For me the chair means more time to study and to write. Under the tutorial system, each student is given individual attention, or in groups of two. That takes a lot of time for the tutor. The Fellows tend to complain about the teaching load, but then they don’t take into account the long vacation, from the end of June to the end of October. Sixteen weeks. And then every seven years, seventeen weeks. It doesn’t mean that I get paid so much more than anybody else, but it does give me more time.

“I was closer to the students from 1929 to 1939. At that time student life was very attractive. The colleges weren’t so large. Oxford has about doubled since the war, and a lot of people have to live quite far out. But it used to be a rule that everybody had to live within two and a half miles of the center of Oxford. The center is Carfax Tower and the High Street. I was there between two periods, just after the immediate post-World War period, which was the equivalent of the American depression. All the students were discontented and tended to go toward the left. They were discontented with foreign relations. They read Karl Marx. But I didn’t really have time to get mixed up in communism.

“As a matter of fact, I started to write a book in 1936, and got it finished in 1938.³ It was published just before the war started, just in time.⁴ It almost killed me. It was about 500 pages — Roman history — and if the war had started any sooner I wouldn’t have been able to finish it.

“From 1939 to 1946 I was away from Oxford — in fact I don’t think I would have come back if my books had been destroyed. I was conscripted and sent to Yugoslavia, to Belgrade, as the press attaché there.⁵ That was

³ In the Preface to the Italian Edition of *Colonial Élités* Syme specified that he began work on *The Roman Revolution* ‘in the early summer of 1936’ and it ‘was completed in September of 1938 (under urgency and not without defects). The book saw the light of day in the first week of the following September, opening a turbid epoch.’ Quoted from the English version of this Preface, printed as a Prologue to *RP VI* ix–xiv, at x.

⁴ *The Roman Revolution* was actually published on 7 September, four days after the UK declared war on Germany.

⁵ Bowersock 549 writes that Syme’s ‘studies of the Roman frontier in the Balkans led in 1940 to an appointment in Belgrade as Press Attaché to the British Legation, and he remained in that post for about a year.’ Keith Bradley kindly passed on the following information, derived from material in the Syme Archive now in the Bodleian Library: ‘In 1939 Syme was a member of a governmental committee, the International Propaganda and Broadcasting Enquiry, which, as the possibility of war with Germany loomed, met frequently in the spring and summer at 38 Belgrave Square in London (SW1). The Enquiry’s function was to prepare material for international dissemination, its

very interesting, because Yugoslavia was such a sort of centrifugal country. It faced different directions ... Serbia ... Croatia ... Austria ... Greece ... the southern Slavs. Just before the war the commercial secretary and I were told that <if> anything happened, we would not be needed — though I noticed that the embassy chaplain was kept there. I took a train to Greece and woke up in my hotel room the morning of April 5 when a friend of mine walked into my room, a man I hadn't seen in many years, and we started talking, and he said, 'I don't know if you know the Germans are in Belgrade this morning.'⁶

"I went from there to Egypt on a Polish refugee ship. It wasn't too bad. Perfect weather. We were in a convoy, with some tankers, and there was plenty to eat. Nothing to drink though. I had a bottle of champagne, and we nursed it all across the Mediterranean. There were some tankers in the convoy, and three small Greek submarines, an old Greek battleship with four funnels which the Greeks had bought from the Russians, and some other ships. We were never really attacked. Near Crete one plane did throw one bomb, but it landed about a thousand yards away. I don't mean to make myself sound very brave, but it didn't concern me a great deal. I was in Egypt, Port Said, and I was hoping I would go to the United

various members severally charged with making recommendations for the distribution of British propaganda to specific countries. Their guidelines were issued on April 11, 1939, marked as all the Enquiry's documents "secret". Syme was the author of a four-page (typed) report on measures to be taken, immediately or in the event of the outbreak of war, in what in 1939 was called Yugoslavia (Memo. No. 226, dated May 15, 1939). It proposed intensifying the work of the British Council through the promotion of cultural and sporting activities; the establishment on a lavish scale of a British Institute in Belgrade, with a director and staff, and something comparable but more modest in Ljubljana and Zagreb. In Belgrade the key figure was to be a Publicity Agent, who was to prepare a propaganda machine or organisation: "he will make arrangements," the report said, "for the composition and translation of propaganda on the spot, and for its distribution". A suitable budget was included in the report.' It seems likely that Syme started his war service in 1939 in the Ministry of Information (cf. n. 11 below) before being sent to Belgrade in 1940.

⁶ It seems that either Syme's memory or the accuracy of the journalist was slightly out here: the German invasion is generally dated to 6th April. See also the letter from Marjorie Simpson, quoted below. Bowersock 550 writes that 'documents now at Wolfson College reveal that in 1940 he left Belgrade for a trip lasting two months that took him to Capetown, Durban, Cairo, Adana, Ankara, and Istanbul. In the following year he reported to the Foreign Division that he had seen to the dissolution of the Press Office in Belgrade and the systematic destruction of its files after the coup of 27 March ... [which] removed Prince Paul ... who had just signed a pact with the Axis powers, and replaced him with King Peter, who was favourable to the Allies. On 2 April, just four days before Hitler began his devastating three-day blitz of the Yugoslav capital, Syme left Belgrade for a trip that took him to Athens, Cairo, Jerusalem, Adana, and Ankara.'

States, but I was sent to Turkey. I was in Ankara for the whole war.⁷ Of course Turkey was neutral. I was living in the Palace Hotel, and I remember the morning of the twenty-second of June I came down to breakfast and there was a little group of people standing round and talking excitedly, and they said Germany had just invaded Russia. There was a sort of signal this was coming. A few days before, the Turks had signed a trade agreement with Germany, with the full knowledge of the British. The British couldn't do anything about it. They put as good a face on it as they could. As a matter of fact I was able to announce this to the foreign correspondents fairly quickly, before the Germans did, actually.

"I like the Turks. They're reserved and dignified, and they didn't want a tip all the time, like the Greeks. There are some people who don't like the Turks. I think Americans like the Greeks better. They're more colorful. But the Turks have the reserve of a people who once had a great empire — like the English, yes. They're very good fighters. I think the Germans knew that, though I have wondered what would have happened if the Germans had sent tanks in against them. I think one of two things would have happened. Either the Turks would have charged the tanks, or they would have fled in animal panic."

Sir Ronald discussed the disintegration of the Turkish empire, his disinterest in Armenians, his interest in southern Slavs, the appearance of Sofia, Bulgaria ("The Bulgarians are very good gardeners"),⁸ the extent

⁷ Evidently the interviewer misunderstood something: Syme was in Turkey for the whole war, but in Ankara as Press Attaché only from 1941 to 1942; from 1942 to 1945 he was Professor of Classical Philology at the University of Istanbul.

⁸ Syme must have been in Bulgaria in 1940 or 1941 (but doubtless already knew the country from his travels before the war). In my obituary of Syme (*The Independent* 7 September 1989) I recalled how, 'arriving in Sofia for a conference [of Classical Studies of the Socialist Peoples' Republics, Plovdiv, April 1962], he [Syme] was asked to fill in an entry form. To the first question (in French): "Have you visited the People's Republic of Bulgaria before?" he decided that a negative answer was required. "The last time I was here it was a kingdom, and I called on the Regent and Prime Minister, Professor Bogdan Filow. They shot him after," he explained to a pupil [myself, A.R.B.].' Filow had gained his doctorate at Freiburg with a dissertation supervised by Ernst Fabricius on 'Die Legionen der Provinz Moesia von Augustus bis auf Diocletian' (1906). Given Syme's friendship with Fabricius, which began in 1928, and Filow's dissertation subject, that may have been a bond. The British ambassador or the British government may have thought Syme could establish useful contact. At any rate, Syme's visit to Sofia and meeting with Filow presumably took place after Filow became Prime Minister on 15th February 1940 and before he signed the Tripartite Pact (between Germany, Italy and Japan), on 1st March 1941. Filow's government declared war on the U.S.A. and the U.K. on 13th December 1941. It was only later, after the death of Tsar Boris III, on 28th August 1943, that he joined the Regency Council, on 9th September 1943, having been replaced as Prime Minister by the more pro-German Dobri Boschilow. On 1st February

of the Turkish empire (“You can go as far as the Great Wall of China on the Turkish words for food and drink”), all interlaced with historical references. Then he arrived in the United States.

“The first time I saw an American super highway I was amazed. The bridges are all simple and functional and the roads are so intelligently engineered ... I like the size of the industrial section in New Jersey on the New Jersey turnpike — the scale of it. It wasn’t like the outskirts of Sheffield or anything. The Southeast part of Chicago is pretty grim, but it’s so big. It’s quite a distance down here from Boston, but you can do it so easily. Air fares are less than in Europe, you know. Boston to here is much the same as London to Rome, and that’s not an everyday thing over there.

“I haven’t seen enough of Chapel Hill to be able to say whether it’s changed. I was last here for a day and a half in 1958. The lovely houses, and everybody has a bit of woodland, that struck me. But I couldn’t make any observations. I feel rather like the little girl in school who was asked what she thought King Alfred would have thought of certain advances in Britain. She said that if King Alfred could see them he would be so old that his opinion would probably be of little value.”

1945 Filow was executed by firing squad, having been sentenced to death by a ‘People’s Tribunal’, along with more than 90 others, for having caused Bulgaria to join the war. (Information from various articles in Wikipedia, accessed 6th April 2014.)

ENDPIECE

This letter from Marjorie Simpson⁹ sheds a little more light on the end of Syme's service in Yugoslavia.

10th April 1976

From: (Mrs.) H.W. Simpson,
Faithfull House
Cheltenham GL50 2DU

Dear Sir Ronald,

Warmest and very sincere congratulations: I was delighted to learn that Her Majesty has conferred on you the Order of Merit.

I am sure you meet so many people that it would not be surprising if you do not remember me.

So may I recall myself to you first of all by saying that it was probably due to you that I did not end up in a German prisoner of war camp (as did Sir Thomas Rapp — who you may recall was H.M. Consul General in Zagreb — now retired and living in Folkestone.)

You and Desmond Clark<e> had come to Šibenik for the opening of the new British Council premises there, and when the radio which had been presented, was turned on, we had the news of the signing by Prince Paul of the pact with Hitler.¹⁰ So you felt Šibenik was no place for me to stay on alone, and took me with you and Desmond to Split.¹¹

Some years later I had the pleasure of your company in the flat I then had in Madrid. I always smile when I recall that later in your note to me you wrote "I have never been so cold in my life as in the bathroom of Don Antonio" — (who you may know died a few years ago — but his widow, Marjorie, opens the Pastor Institute on rare occasions).

Without any intention of flattery — since you are not there! — I always say that you are the lecturer I most admire, for you are brief (how Unamuno would have approved!) and end when one is longing for you to go on. I believe I will never forget your lecture in Split on Illyria in 1941

⁹ Attempts to find relatives of Mrs Simpson from whom permission to print this letter might be sought proved unavailing.

¹⁰ This took place on 25th March 1941, followed two days later by the coup which removed Paul as Regent: cf. Bowersock, quoted in n. 6 above.

¹¹ Syme must have returned from Split to Belgrade in order to destroy the Press files at the British Legation on 27th March before leaving for Athens on 2nd April, cf. Bowersock, quoted in n. 6 above.

— it was a wonderful way of getting across what was likely to happen in Yugoslavia — and did.

Finally I like to recall that we have a friend in common — Enid McLeod¹² — who you may have seen has just added *The Order of the Rose* (about Christine de Pizan) to the list of books she has published. Our friendship is now some 47 years old and very treasured.

Be assured that Her Majesty's conferment has given deep pleasure to

Yours sincerely,

Marjorie Simpson

¹² The internet cites an advertisement for a second-hand copy of Enid McLeod's memoirs, *Living Twice* (1982) as follows: 'Enid McLeod worked for men such as Gilbert Murray and Bertrand Russell before moving (during WW2) into the Ministry of Information and heading up the French Section.' Perhaps Syme met her there in 1939.

APPENDIX II

SYME'S NOTES FOR RETROSPECTIVE TALKS¹

¹ These 'notes for "speeches of reminiscence"' are catalogued with the Shelfmark MS 11378/4. The numbers at the top right, as here 1), reproduce Syme's own numbering of his sheets of Notes, which he actually wrote at the bottom left of each sheet. See Introduction for some comments on these Notes for his Retrospective Talks, abbreviated *RT*. Further, at the end of this set of Notes there is a concise list of persons named, with some basic biographical details (for those not annotated), with a reference to *RT* I, II, III and IV, and Syme's page number.

I: The first, given at Cambridge**CAMBRIDGE****1)****14/6/64**

I The Subject: ?pretentious knowledge
 Explain & deride a title & a text
 deprecatio 'unobtrusive highmindedness'
 This person, visiting in Feb. 1926
 „ „ a classical scholar Oxford Oct. 1925 Not Mods.
 his tasks
 The epoch of CAH IV (late 26)
 CAH V (27)
 schools 27
 The chance to evoke legendary or historic names in those Vols.
 IV Adcock E.M. Walker
 Munro 3 chapters (Marathon)
 V Walker & Adcock
 Tod, Ec. background
 Stories about / other orators Baynes
Gk History Warfare & battles. ? More Oxford than Camb.
 Grundy < Stories about
Roman Warfare. Oxford
 B.W. Henderson <
 army, frontiers, R. Britain, inscr. < Anderson Last
 hence appeal of Empire >< Rep.

II CAMBRIDGE 1930 or 31 Chapters for CAH X Adcock, Kings

Interests of author. Oxford, Greats, but
 earlier 1) Balkan War of 1912
 2) Great War geog. & scepticism²
 The MAIN THEME. Roads & geopolitics
 [N.Z.

CAMBRIDGE ? '32 Chapter for XI, finished in 1934

Reluctant. Why?

Other interests novi homines

a) Italian

b) Spain & Narbonensis

< MSS monograph in XVII short chapters.³² This word is not quite certain.³ This refers to the unfinished study, 'The Provincial at Rome', published after Syme's death, ed. A. Birley together with five of Syme's previously unpublished papers

2)

III The Cambridge Histories

Collaboration

Acton's pronouncement in 1896⁴

a graver charge It prevents men from writing books themselves. Adcock on Caesar

W.⁵ Marxists — the Ind. Revolution
 Subdivision of labour
 the factory system

Bosses & labour force

Differences. Work done e.g. by Adcock. But Acton inhibited.

Higher education as industry or business

cf. Veblen (1899)⁶
 the 'Higher Learning'

Higher education recent repercussions

The editors,

For XI Adcock

Charlesworth

Baynes among them Baynes

his oratory

liking for German

religion, Constantine, Baptists

on 'Rome and the Balkans 80 BC–AD 14', abbreviated *PatR*. Cf. 'Editorial Note' there, xxi–xxii, on the varying statements in Syme's other works about the number of chapters (in the published version there are only 13); the study 'was composed in 1934, as Syme several times explicitly stated. He presumably continued working on it into 1935 (or even 1936).'

⁴ Probably a reference to the report that Lord Acton (1834–1902) submitted to the Press about the project of a *Cambridge Modern History*: 'It is a unique opportunity of recording, in the way most useful to the greatest number, the fullness of the knowledge which the nineteenth century is about to bequeath ... By the judicious division of labour we should be able to do it, and to bring home to every man the last document, and the ripest conclusions of international research. Ultimate history we cannot have in this generation; but we can dispose of conventional history, and show the point we have reached on the road from one to the other, now that all information is within reach, and every problem has become capable of solution' (*Lectures on Modern History* (London 1906) 318).

⁵ This word or letter is not quite certain. If it's just W., it's not clear what it abbreviates, perhaps W(estern).

⁶ This refers to *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (1899), the best-known work by the American economist and sociologist, Thorstein Bunde Veblen (1857–1929).

[illegible]

Why? Theme not familiar in Oxford & Cambridge
cf. VIII, IX or X

Comp. of gov. class

< Nor was the manner & the style

Influence of contemporary Europe, rise of Fasc. & Nat. Soc.
Yes, but one can be
more precise, because of 1936. Strong negative reasons

3)

VI⁷ A 1937 Aug. bimillenary

dreadful things in prospect

& typical

England

Buchan. The good headmaster

France

Carcopino. cf. his Caesar

Italy

Germany

Führertum, morality, spiritual regeneration

W. Weber. *Princeps* I (1936)

(I had already begun, to be sure: I knew he'd do it!)

Res Gestae. Galatian high priests.

Enthusiast & a mystic. 'Der Prophet und sein Gott'

Emperor worship: Kenneth Scott!

Weber on Hadrian

Weber on Hitler in '33

Why chosen for CAH XI?

Who translated pref. of CAH XI?

B. Soviet Constitution in 1936

believed in!

Lindsay.

What is constitutional law?

C. Inspiration & context. Not the ruler but the governing class.

'Ohne Namier nicht denkbar' Gnomon 1961.⁸

XVIII Century & Rome congenial

Whigs & Tories.

No time. S. Simon.⁹Instead. *Vorstudien* a straight line forward from the wars of Aug. & the generals
to composition of the gov. class

Articles & reviews

between 1933 & 1935.

Groag & Stein rather than Gelzer & Münzer.

Hence a warning against 'Geistesgesch.'

<cf. Paratore

⁷ Sic: should have been V.⁸ A. Momigliano reviewed Syme, *Tacitus* in *Gnomon* 33 (1961) 55–58, where he made this observation about Namier's supposed influence on Syme; cf. Introduction.⁹ The reference is clearly to Claude Henri de Saint Simon (1760–1825), the prolific author of works on political and economic theory. One can only guess what Syme had in mind here, but perhaps he said that he read Saint Simon rather than Namier in the 1930s.

4)

Not in reviews

VI. RR Shortcomings

(Time available!

Point of inception

Ch. XXII Princeps

cf. Gibbon 'where error is irretrievable, repentance is useless'¹⁰

VII Conclusion How and where to end. Also a problem

'What would you more of your guest & sometime friend?'¹¹

In view of obs. about CAH ...

in [illegible]

Helpful advice

e.g. topics for research of contemporary appeal¹²

e.g. Socio-legal motives in Tibullus

Urban development in western Corsica

The condition of the agr. labourers in Lusitania

The Human Rights Question at Carthage

or a light ending inspiration from Burgon on Wilberforce¹³

e.g. superficial obs. on differences between Oxford & Cambridge

or 'ring-composition' as with the ancients

Tod

Bowra on Tod¹⁴

¹⁰ From the first of 'several substantial marginalia' added by Gibbon, probably in the winter of 1790/1, to a printed text of his own work. It is quoted by, among others, P. Cartledge, 'Gibbon and Tacitus', in A.J. Woodman, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Tacitus* (2009) 269–279, at 272.

¹¹ A slight misquotation from the poem by Henry Newbolt, 'He Fell among Thieves', line 3: 'What will ye more of your guest and sometime friend?'

¹² It is hardly necessary to comment that these topics were meant as a joke.

¹³ John William Burgon wrote a paper on Samuel Wilberforce in the *Quarterly Review* 149 (1980), which was also published separately; and later included a chapter on Wilberforce in his book *Twelve Good Men* (1888). But it's not clear exactly what Syme referred to or meant here.

¹⁴ This refers to the poem about Tod quoted by Bowersock 543–544, which Bowersock assumed was composed by Syme himself; but it turned out that the author was Bowra: see C.M. Bowra, *New Bats in Old Belfries or: Some Loose Tiles*, eds H. Hardy & J. Holmes (2005) 3–5.

II: The second, given in 1979**1)****FORTY YEARS ON¹⁵**

I Anniversaries. Benevolent, or fraudulent

Sept. 7, 1939

Late September, 1938

Inception, summer 1936

II A Incentives. Next year, bimillenary of Caesar Augustus.

Fraud or nonsense to be foreseen, in Italy, & elsewhere.

John Buchan. Augustus the good headmaster. 'Auctoritas'.

! Carcopino b) W. Weber, *Principes I* (1936). [Did I have time to read it?
NB St. SimonW. Weber on *Res Gestae*. Recited by Galatian high-priests.
Worship & adulation.<W. Weber, 1) as later ascertained, hailed H. as
German *Volkskönig* entering Berlin.¹⁶2) Employed for *CAH XI* (1936), already.

III 1936. Negative Incentives.

The Kremlin publishes a constitution

Welcomed by A.D. Lindsay.

Civil War in Spain

Partisan spirit.

Ignorance of geography and history.

<Hence sympathy for M. Antonius
L. Piso (cos. 58)

¹⁵ Several items among these Notes are cited by M. Toher, 'Tacitus' Syme', in A.J. Woodman, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Tacitus* (2009) 317–329, at 324 and 326.

¹⁶ See S. Rebenich (2005) 46: 'Weber, 1931 mit 49 Jahren auf den Berliner Lehrstuhl für Alte Geschichte berufen, hatte schon im Frühjahr 1933 pathetisch "Erwartungen und Forderungen des Professors" an den "germanischen Volkskönig" Adolf Hitler formuliert, der "siegreich durch das Brandenburger Tor seinen Einzug" gehalten habe.'

2)B/ IV 'Vorstudien'Desirable, cf. Baynes?¹⁷

Augustan wars

" generals

CAH XI

" novi homines

& Flavio-Trajanic

hence interest in social history

Italian & provincial

rise of provincials...

<study begun in 1934

V Procedure & emphasis

Not biography of Aug.

But Caesarian party, in the first instance new men.

then aristocratic partisans

" the oligarchy

^ Prosopography

VI Point of Inception, always the problem.

Not 49

But 60, Pollio's date

Inadequacy. Back to 78 'Where error is irretrievable, repentance is useless.'¹⁸

Periodization? " " 91

VII Structure

Narrative to 23 BC. ?a good idea. Crisis, and a change in definition of the power.

Errors VIII

Emphasis and the order. A mistake, following tradition.

Ch. XXI. dux factual

Ch. XXII. princeps. Brings in a) constitution

b) theory

Discussion of the Principate. This should have been postponed.

¹⁷ Syme several times recalled hearing N.H. Baynes (whose voice he used to imitate), while the latter was leafing through the book by F.W. Walbank, *The Decline of the Roman Empire in the West* (1946), among the recent acquisitions in the Joint Library of the Hellenic and Roman Societies, muttering: 'One would have expected some *Vorarbeiten!*'

¹⁸ See n. 10 above.

3)

IX The Error 27 B.C., i.e. Jan. 13 or 16

No, 28 & 27

cf. RG 34better Ann. III. 28

The return of 'normal government' in 28 B.C.

annual consuls return. No suffecti.

by a visible sign, the consulship is normal,

the fascēs passing in rotation

Dio LIII

<Structure of Livy

X The Better Procedure

To jettison the literary evidence

which includes RG

& construct the history after 33 B.C. from inscr. & coins. This gives the central gov't.

That is, eclipse of the Triumvir M. Antonius

no title for Caesar's heir, but

continuous consulates.

Provincial gov't. No more armed proconsuls, exc. 3

legati Aug. in main zones

< Egypt.

That is, facts before theory: the Roman way.

III: The third, given in 1983 (a single page of notes)

Notes for remarks at 1983 event held at Wolfson College

President Judicious, 'Splendida arbitria'¹⁹

Gratitude a) Fergus & Erik²⁰

b) W(olfson) in general

1970²¹ Whither? Medit(erranean) Mountain Halley 1910
NZ

California

NZ good fortune free society prosperous (+ phil...²²) literate family

Influence of infancy childhood The parent Baynes

Experiences early 1908 1912 1919
social history oil lamp gas electricity
change — impermanence

Vicarious experience Ox. in twenties
Men who came up in '60, '70, '80
Grundy (Berlin + Mrs B.) his book
Walker (Franks)

¹⁹ A reference to Horace, *Odes* 4.7.21–22 (to Torquatus): *quum semel occideris et de te splendida Minos/ fecerit arbitria*. The President of Wolfson College in 1983, Sir Henry Fisher, was a retired judge.

²⁰ Fergus Millar and Erich Segal (whose first name was written 'Erik' by Syme) had organised the event to coincide with Syme's 80th birthday, 11th March 1983, a set of lectures by various scholars at Wolfson College, which they edited in a volume entitled *Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects*, published in 1984.

²¹ When Syme retired from the Camden Chair in 1970 and had to vacate his rooms in Brasenose College, he evidently weighed up various places to which he might move. The 'Mountain' is Mt Egmont, a prominent feature close to Syme's birthplace in New Zealand, Eltham. Bowersock 540f. writes that '[b]y his own admission his earliest memories were the imposing sight of Mount Egmont virtually from birth and "the great sword of Halley's Comet in 1910"'.

²² This word is not fully legible.

Phelps ← Rogers
 Cox sermon Parks story²³
 80 birthday²⁴

XIX c. earlier 150 ann.²⁵

Keble

?

Pusey Jowett

BURGON His Book

S. Wilberforce²⁶ + Debate with Huxley²⁷

?what survives

His poems A. Acland?²⁸

Petra²⁹

²³ It's not obvious what 'Parks' refers to; nor whether Cox is C.W.M. Cox and what the sermon might have been.

²⁴ Probably Syme made some reference to his own 80th birthday, cf. above.

²⁵ The 150th anniversary might be a reference to the beginning of Pusey's active involvement with the Oxford Movement, with a publication in 1833.

²⁶ It may be noted that Keble, Pusey, Burgon and Wilberforce were all as undergraduates at Oriel, Syme's old college.

²⁷ The 1860 Oxford evolution debate took place on June 30 1860, seven months after the publication of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*: the most notable exchange was between Wilberforce and T.H. Huxley.

²⁸ Perhaps Arthur Herbert Dyke Acland (1847–1926), 13th Baronet from 1919, Liberal politician; *ODNB*, vol. 1 (2004) 148–151 (by A. Ockwell), but if so it is not obvious why Syme mentioned him.

²⁹ Some lines from *Petra* by John William Burgon:

It seems no work of Man's creative hand,
 by labour wrought as wavering fancy planned;
 But from the rock as if by magic grown,
 eternal, silent, beautiful, alone!
 Not virgin-white like that old Doric shrine,
 where erst Athena held her rites divine;
 Not saintly-grey, like many a minster fane,
 that crowns the hill and consecrates the plain;
 But rose-red as if the blush of dawn,
 that first beheld them were not yet withdrawn;
 The hues of youth upon a brow of woe,

Quo Vadis

quote (2)

Traditional Verse rhythms

Words, love of

another banquet

Bogus Newdigate

CAPTAIN COOK³⁰

which Man deemed old two thousand years ago,
 Match me such marvel save in Eastern clime,
 a rose-red city half as old as time.

This poem won Burgon Oxford University's Newdigate Prize for Poetry in 1845. The last line has become one of the most famous in English poetry, although Burgon had never seen Petra.

³⁰ No elucidation can be offered for the final items, from Quo Vadis to CAPTAIN COOK.

IV. The fourth, given in 1986 to the Oxford Philological Society³¹

1)

Rom. Hist. 50 & 60 years ago

EXORDIUM Amicable invitation or pressure. Large congregation.

As something will be said about geography,

TEXT [or Anecdote Fraenkel³²

PHIL. SOC. 1926 PRESENT Stevenson Parker S-Jones

Grundy, Holroyd, Hignett. A heroic collection. Solid shapes, and reassuring.

Not much fantasy or imagination. cf. Holroyd on S-J.³³

Ancient Historians at Oxford treated as sources of facts, not in & for themselves.

No lectures on Tac. Sall. Livy.³⁴ > Barber

ABSENT Henderson, his books, known to me.

Anderson, shy & retiring, unmistakable

by his moustaches (JRS 1952). BNC anecdote.

Last, his prestige: aloof, cf. Tod anecdote

LECTURES

Tod

Peace of Callias <cf. Chiron 1981³⁵

Legends? Not invented

Walker

<Personal debt to Tod — & to Ross. The Politics

Otherwise, most to Anderson's lectures

ROMAN EMPIRE

R. Britain

Late Rep.

Why? for a young man in this season

e.g. Richmond & Birley

too well known

too much

a) biography

b) constitutional history

< The R. constitution

³¹ The talk was evidently attended by Christopher Pelling, cf. his article 'The rhetoric of *The Roman Revolution*', *Syllecta Classica* (2015) 207–247, at 211–212, although he appears to date it to 1988 ('about a year before he died').

³² It is not entirely clear whether 'Fraenkel' was crossed out here.

³³ This is probably a reference to Michael Holroyd, 'The Jugurthine War: was Marius or Metellus the real victor?', *JRS* 18 (1928) 1–20, in other words, reflecting on Holroyd's use of Sallust, *Jugurthine War* (rather than, as I at first assumed, Holroyd's view of Stuart Jones, who is mentioned as 'S-Jones' just before this).

³⁴ These two sentences are cited by M. Toher, 'Tacitus' Syme', in A.J. Woodman, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Tacitus* (2009) 317–329, at 318, with n. 5.

³⁵ Syme must have had in mind J. Walsh, 'The authenticity and the dates of the Peace of Callias and the Congress Decree', *Chiron* 11 (1981) 31–63.

Cicero

Tac. the appeal, esp. Hist.³⁶

Tac.: what is not in Tac.: the inscriptions

Danube

HOW?

BOOKS.

English

Henderson 27

French

Boissier,

Cagnat, Gsell — especially. Still good.

³⁶ Also cited by Toher, cf. n. 34.

2)

a leap to 1931 or 1932.

Phil. Soc. Illyricum. A. Evans present.

CAH X (1934). Northern Frontiers. Straight history,
carried its meaning on the surface. Not of much interest to
students of HISTORIOGRAPHY, an industry ~~now~~ since then in high favour.

MILITARY HISTORY

Why?

OXFORD in the twenties

influence of Grundy

Greek battles

Roman, not so much, despite Holmes, Henderson

His defects! Yet appeal to manuals. Harmless?

No, appeal of roads, distances, GEOPOLITIK. Cf. Illyricum.

Result of travel?

Not necessary, cf. A. France 'quote'³⁷

SPAIN in CAH X: an accident. How achieved?

FURTHER BACK 1914–18 — 1912!

Novi Bazar or Dobrudja.

CAH XI next stage, logical, but perhaps not

Finished by 1934, summer NZ (Anderson anecdote

Published 1936

Next, and in fact quite soon RR September 7, 1939

Begun, summer of 1936

Finished September 1938: in Aug.

an advance copy, going to Yugoslavia. Return, Frankfurt,

Aug. 23, Strasburger (Caesars Eintritt, & a project)

RR Defects not noted by critics. Problems of

structure and of time.

91 BC

CH. XXII. PRINCEPS. Facts first. ?Not till

17 or 13 BC.

IMPACT OF CONTEMPORARY EVENTS Yes, but

Germany NAT. SOC. meant what it said ?religion

Italy: histrionic, traditional, fraudulent

The Civil War in Spain.

?‘Fascism’

³⁷ It hasn't been possible to identify the quotation from Anatole France which Syme used here.

3)

AN INCENTIVE in '36, double < cf. premonitions in reviews in '34 & '35

1. BIMILLENARIO of Augustus cf. pre[illegible], Virgil
Carcopino
Some nonsense would emerge in '37.

Italy, of course.

Germany Führertum & morality & spiritual regeneration

France Carcopino, cf. Durry

England Buchan

2. THE SOVIET CONSTITUTION Comfort for the credulous. Leaders of opinion.
The future Lord Lindsay of Balliol, approbation.
SCHOLARLY INFLUENCES. Gelzer Münzer
Prosopography — more a little later

A GAP. PHIL. SOC. 1947 Text of Strabo
But Tac. in the offing. Papers in 1949. Why written?
1951, PARATORE. Diffuse & defective. a) History. Agricola.
b) geography. Milestone to 'mare rubrum'? seen by Tac. (p. 628) c) literary Aen. VIII. A
campaign of Antonius against the Nabataeans!
NO: 1947 or 1948.³⁸ Lecture 'capax imperii' Oxford Triennial
Tacitus 1958. Finished in Sept. 1956: 9 years. <?Paratore. '61
Back to PROSOPOGRAPHY. NAMIER. 'ohne N. nicht zu denken'.
XVIII century congenial. No time in 1936–8
SAINT-SIMON. Suet.
Tac. austere & subversive, but human
& grace (?) Mx Ix Salxxx³⁹
DOCUMENTATION Groag & Stein
Generals of Augustus & of Trajan.
nobiles, Italians — esp. provincials
NARBONENSIS
Papers in 1933 & 1934 & review 1934 of PIR

EXIT. 'Nox ruit Aenea, nos fando ducimus horas'
flendo!⁴⁰ A warning.

³⁸ In Syme's paper 'Marcus Lepidus, *capax imperii*', *JRS* 45 (1955) 22–33, reprinted in his *Ten Studies in Tacitus* (1970) 30–49, at 31 n. 1, he notes that '[t]he present paper was composed in 1948'. Its title echoes the lecture he referred to.

³⁹ These words and lettering are illegible.

⁴⁰ *Aen.* VI 539 (where Syme substituted *fando* for *flendo*).

LIST OF INDIVIDUALS NAMED IN SYME'S RETROSPECTIVE NOTES, WITH CONCISE BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS

- Acton: John Dahlberg Emerich Edward Acton (1834–1902); MP for an Irish seat 1859–1865; given peerage as Lord Acton 1869; Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge University from 1895 until his death. Planned the *Cambridge Modern History*. *ODNB*, vol. 1, 171–176 (by J.L. Altholz). *RT* I.2.
- Adcock: Frank Ezra Adcock (1886–1968; knighted 1954); Professor of Ancient History at Cambridge 1925–1951; co-editor of the *Cambridge Ancient History*; President of the Roman Society 1929–1931. Todd 6–7 (by A.J. Graham). *RT* I.1, I.2.
- Anderson: John George Clark Anderson (1870–1952), Camden Professor of Ancient History at Oxford 1927–1936. See his letter of 23.11.27. Todd 13–14 (by H.W. Benario). *RT* I.1, IV.1.
- Barber: Eric Arthur Barber (1858–1965), classical scholar; lectured on Tacitus, *Histories* until elected Rector of Exeter College, Oxford in 1943, serving until 1956. The course on Tac. *Hist.* was ‘one of the “fully prepared” books of the Mods. syllabus’, which was taken over by C.O. Brink in 1942–1943 (H.D. Jocelyn, obituary of Brink, *PBA* 94 (1997) 330). *RT* IV.1.
- Baynes: Norman Hepburn Baynes (1877–1961). From 1919 Lecturer, later Reader in the History of the Roman Empire, London University; 1931–1942 Professor of Byzantine History, University College London. See J.M. Hussey, *PBA* 49 (1963) 365–373; *ODNB*, vol. 4, 476–477 (by J.M. Hussey). *RT* I.1, I.2, III.
- Berlin: Isaiah Berlin (1909–1997), political theorist, Chichele Professor of Social and Political Theory, Oxford 1957–1967; founding President of Wolfson College Oxford 1965–1975; knighted 1957, O.M 1971. Married 1956 Alice Halban, née de Gunzburg (1915–2014). *RT* III.
- Birley: Eric Birley (1906–1995), Lecturer in Archaeology at Armstrong College, Newcastle in the University of Durham, 1931–1935, from 1935 in the Durham Colleges; Reader from 1943; Master of Hatfield College 1949–1956; Professor of Roman-British History and Archaeology 1956–1961; founded Congresses of Roman Frontier Studies in 1949. See B. Dobson, ‘Eric Barff Birley’, *PBA* 97 (1998) 215–232; Todd 81–83 (by B. Dobson). *RT* I.
- Boissier: Gaston Boissier (1823–1908), professor of Latin oratory at the Collège de France from 1861; Syme valued Boissier’s *L’Opposition sous les Césars* (1875) and *Tacite* (1903). *RT* IV.1.
- Bowra: Cecil Maurice Bowra (1898–1971). Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford from 1922, Warden 1936–1970. Knighted 1951. Prolific author. Todd 100–102 (by W.M. Calder III). *RT* I.4.
- Buchan: John Buchan (1875–1840), an extremely prolific author, both of novels, essays and historical works, including eleven biographies, the last being *Augustus* (1937). He was involved in politics at various stages in his

- life; created Viscount Tweedsmuir and Governor-General of Canada in 1935, dying there in 1940. *ODNB*, vol. 8, 449–456 (by H.C.G. Matthew). *RT* I.3, IV.3.
- Cagnat: René Cagnat (1852–1937), Professor at the Collège de France from 1895; founded *L'Année épigraphique*; best known for his *Cours d'épigraphie latine* (4th ed. 1914) and *L'Armée romaine d'Afrique* (1892).
- Carcopino: Jérôme Carcopino (1881–1970). Taught at Algiers and was Inspector of Antiquities from 1912. Professor at the Sorbonne from 1920, 1937 Director of the French School in Rome, 1941–1942 Minister of Education in Vichy Government. Author of numerous monographs, mainly on Roman history. *RT* I.3, IV.3.
- Charlesworth: Martin Percival Charlesworth (1895–1950), Fellow of St John's College Cambridge 1923–1931; Reader in Classics from 1931; co-editor of and contributor to the *Cambridge Ancient History* vols 9–11. Publications include *Trade-Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire* (1926), *The Virtues of a Roman Emperor* (1937), *The Lost Province or the Worth of Britain* (1948). Todd 172–174 (by J.A. Crook). *RT* I.2.
- Cox: Christopher William Machell Cox (1899–1962), Fellow and Tutor in ancient history, New College, Oxford from 1923, published inscriptions from Asia Minor, co-editor of several volumes of *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*; changed career in the late 1930s to work as Educational Adviser to Colonial Office, Chief Adviser 1940–1970; KCMG 1950, GCMG 1970. *ODNB*, vol. 13, 835–836 (by C. Whitehead).
- Durry: Marcel Durry (1895–1978), classical philologist, taught at the universities of Grenoble and Caen; appointed to Chair at the Sorbonne 1942 but dismissed 1943 for opposition to the Vichy regime; joined resistance in Algiers; Professor of Latin at the Sorbonne from 1945. Durry's *Les Cohortes prétoriennes* (1938) was to have been reviewed by Syme for *Gnomon*, but due to the outbreak of war the review was published in *JRS* 29 (1939) 242–248 (repr. in *RP* VI 25–34). See his postcards to Syme of 21.5.39 and 26.5.40. *RT* IV.3.
- Evans: Arthur John Evans (1851–1941); travelled extensively in the Balkans in the 1870s, wrote for the Manchester Guardian; Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford 1884–1908; best known for his excavations at the palace of Knossos in Crete and discovery of the Minoan civilisation, 1900–1905; knighted 1911. *ODNB*, vol. 18, 663–666 (by J.N.L. Myres, rev. A.M. Snodgrass). *RT* IV.2.
- Fraenkel: Eduard David Mortier Fraenkel (1880–1970), Professor of Classical Philology Kiel University 1923–1928, Göttingen 1928–1933; deprived of his Chair following Nazi anti-Jewish legislation, migrated to UK and in 1934 elected Professor of Latin and Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford; works include *Plautinisches in Plautus* (1922); edition with translation and commentary of Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* (3 vols, 1950); *Horace* (1957). Todd 324–337 (by M. Deufert); *ODNB* vol. 20, 717–718 (by H. Lloyd-Jones). *RT* IV.1.

- Franks: Oliver Franks (1905–1992), Provost of Queen's College, Oxford 1946–1948 and of Worcester College 1962–1976; before and after this had a distinguished career in public service; knighted 1946; made Life Peer 1977; O.M. 1977. Chairman of the Trustees of Wolfson College from 1973. *RT* III.
- Gelzer: Matthias Gelzer (1886–1974), Swiss by origin, gained his doctorate at Leipzig in 1909; became well known with his Habilitation-Schrift *Die Nobilität der römischen Republik* (1912), translated as *The Nobility of the Roman Republic* (1969). See Christ 113–116. Syme reviewed Gelzer's *Caesar der Politiker und Staatsmann* (1941) in *JRS* 34 (1944) 92–103 (repr. in *RP* I 149–171). See his Letters of 9.12.38 and 2.2.47. *RT* I.3, IV.3.
- Groag: Edmund Groag (1873–1945), was responsible, with his close friend and colleague Arthur Stein, for the second edition of *PIR* and, like Stein, had for many years contributed extensively to prosopographic entries in Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*. See his letters of 23.11.33 and 5.1.35, and postcard of 19.1.37. Groag was a senior Librarian and holder of a personal Chair at Vienna University from 1925, dismissed after the Anschluß: both he and Stein were Jewish. *RT* I.3, IV.3. See Introduction, and articles by Wachtel (2012) and Eck (2017).
- Grundy: George Beardoe Grundy (1861–1948), did not begin his degree at Brasenose College until aged 27, having had to save money by working as an army tutor; eventually became Fellow and Tutor of Corpus Christi College 1903–1931. His major books were *The Great Persian War* (1901) and *Thucydides and the History of his Age* (1911). Todd 403–404 (by M.H. Chambers). Cf. also Grundy's *Fifty years at Oxford: An Unconventional Autobiography* (1945). *RT* I.1, III, IV.1, IV.2.
- Gsell: Stéphane Gsell (1864–1932), taught in Algiers and from 1900 Inspector of Antiquities in Algeria; Professor at the Collège de France from 1912. His first book was the *Essai sur le règne de l'empereur Domitien* (1893), his major work the multi-volume *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* (1913–1929). See his postcard to Syme of 12.1.28. *RT* IV.1.
- Henderson: Bernard William Henderson (1872–1929), Fellow of Exeter College and author of a number of books on Greek and Roman history, including several on Roman imperial history: *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Nero* (1903), *Civil War and Rebellion in the Roman Empire* (1908), *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian* (1923), *Five Roman Emperors ... A.D. 69–117* (1927). *RT* I.1, IV.2, IV.3.
- Hignett: Charles Hignett (1896–1966), Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford 1924–1959; contributed to *CAH* IX, ch. 13, on the conquest of Gaul; author of *A History of the Athenian Constitution* (1952). Todd 458–459 (by M.H. Chambers). *RT* IV.1.
- Holmes: Thomas Rice Edward Holmes (1855–1933), schoolmaster (a pupil of his at St Paul's school was H.M. Last) and scholar. Published a number of articles and books, mainly on Roman history, as T. Rice-Holmes, notably *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul, Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar* (1907) and *The Roman Republic and the Founder of the Empire* (1928). Todd 471–472 (by H.W. Benario). *RT* IV.2.

- Holroyd: Michael Holroyd (1892–1953), Fellow of Brasenose College 1919–1953, elected after military service that had begun 1914. Highly regarded as a teacher but his sole major publication on ancient history was evidently his article on the Jugurthine war in *JRS* 18 (1928) 1–20, on which cf. n. 32 above. *RT* IV.1. See obituary by E. Birley, *Trans. Cumberland & Westmorland Ant. & Arch. Soc.* 53 (1953) 255.
- Jowett: Benjamin Jowett (1817–1893), eminent classical scholar; Fellow of Balliol College from 1838, Master of the College from 1870; Regius Professor of Greek from 1855. *ODNB*, vol. 30, 756–762 (by P. Hinchliff & J. Prest).
- Last: Hugh McIlwain Last (1894–1957), Fellow of St John's College from 1919–1936; Camden Professor of Ancient History 1936–1948; resigned to become Principal of Brasenose College. An early mentor of Syme, who was to succeed him as Camden Professor in 1949. Todd 504–505 (by A.M. Devine); *ODNB* vol. 32, 604–605 (by P.M. Fraser). See further note to Last's letter of 13.1.28, and other letters from him in this selection. *RT* I.1, IV.1.
- Lindsay: Alexander Dunlop Lindsay (1879–1952), Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow University 1922–1924, Master of Balliol College, 1924–1949; Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, 1935–1938; elevated to the peerage in 1945; 1949 founding Principal of University College of North Staffordshire (later Keele University). Lindsay's approval of the Soviet Constitution of 1936 had disgusted Syme. It is not clear what form this 'approval' took, but whatever it was, it explains Syme's attitude to the result of the famous Oxford bye-election, at which Lindsay, as the anti-appeasement candidate, was defeated, cf. note to letter from Strong of 3.11.38. In *The American Scholar* 26 (1939) 32 the following is cited: 'Dr. Lindsay was also able to reassure voters that, contrary to reports, he had not received a message from Stalin endorsing his candidacy'. *ODNB*, vol. 33, 846–850 (by G. McCulloch). *RT* I.3, II.1, IV.3.
- Münzer: Friedrich Münzer (1868–1942), Professor at Basel 1902, Königsberg 1912, Münster from 1921 until compulsorily retired 1935 as the result of Nazi anti-Jewish measures. His monograph, *Römische Adelsparteien und Adelsfamilien* (1920), *RA*, summed up much from his numerous contributions to *RE*, which continued uninterrupted for many years. In July 1942 he was deported to Theresienstadt (Terezín), where he died on 20 October. *RA* was translated by Thérèse Ridley as *Roman Aristocratic Parties and Families* (1999); see her essay, 'The Fate of a Historian', xxxix–lvii, and Ronald T. Ridley's assessment of the book, xix–xxxviii. See also Christ 164–165; M. Haake & A.-C. Harders, eds, Friedrich Münzer, *Kleine Schriften*, with an introduction by K.-J. Hölkeskamp (2012); and with the same editors, *Politische Kultur und soziale Struktur der Römischen Republik: Bilanzen und Perspektiven Akten der internationalen Tagung anlässlich des 70. Todes-tages von Friedrich Münzer* (Münster, 18.–20. Oktober 2012) (2017). For Münzer's importance to Syme, cf. Introduction. *RT* I.3, IV.3.
- Munro: John Arthur Ruskin Munro (1864–1944), ancient historian; wrote on the Persian Wars; contributed to *CAH*; Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford 1919–1944. *RT* I.1.

- Namier: Lewis Bernstein Namier (1888–1960), historian, best known for *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III* (1929) and *England in the Age of the American Revolution* (1930), innovative works wrongly supposed to have influenced Syme, cf. Introduction; after various activities in public life Professor of Modern History at Manchester University 1931–1953; knighted 1952.
- Paratore: Ettore Paratore (1907–2000), Latinist, taught at Catania and from 1947 at Rome; his numerous publications included *Tacito* (1951). *RT* I.3, IV.3.
- Parker: Henry Michael Denne Parker (1894–1971), Tutor and Dean, Keble College, Oxford 1921–1926; Fellow and Tutor, Magdalen College 1926–1945; University Lecturer in Roman History 1928–1933; author of *The Roman Legions* (1928) (often criticised by Syme); *A History of the Roman World from AD 138–337* (1935); seconded to Civil Service 1941–1945, thereafter full time civil servant; as Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Labour awarded CBE 1950, CB in 1954. *RT* IV.1.
- Phelps: Lancelot Ridley Phelps (1863–1936), Fellow of Oriel College from 1877, Provost of the college 1924–1929. Congratulated Syme on winning the Chancellor's Prize in letter of 1.6.26. See Bowersock 344 on Syme's invented anecdote about Phelps from his undergraduate days, and the version of it in Homeric hexameters. *RT* III.
- Pusey: the Revd. Edward Bouverie Pusey (1800–1882), Regius Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, from 1828 until his death; the leading figure in the Oxford Movement or Anglo-Catholicism from 1845.
- Richmond: Ian Archibald Richmond (1902–1965; knighted 1954), excavated extensively on Hadrian's Wall; signed postcard to Fabricius 3.7.30; Lecturer at Queen's University, Belfast 1926–1930; and appointed in 1930 to the Directorship of the BSR, which he had to give up in 1932; Lecturer at Newcastle (Armstrong College, renamed King's College), then part of Durham University in 1935, Reader from 1943, Professor 1950–1956; Professor of the Archaeology of the Roman Empire, Oxford, 1956–1965. See E. Birley, 'Sir Ian Archibald Richmond', *PBA* 52 (1967) 293–302; Todd 815–817 (by D. Gill); also note to letter from Birley of 4.12.34. *RT* IV.1.
- Rogers: presumably the architect Harold S. Rogers, a graduate of Oriel College. In a letter of 31.10.58 (cited at n. 4 in the Introduction), Syme's correspondent Eoin Donaldson referred to 'the idea of a Memoir, or a series of chapters or articles, perhaps to be published in the [Oriel] Record, or a collection of anecdotes /Phelpiana to follow those of H.S. Rogers'. *RT* III.
- Ross: William David Ross (1877–1971; knighted 1938, known as Sir David Ross), Fellow of Oriel from 1902, Provost of the college 1929–1947; publications included monographs on Aristotle (1923), Plato (1951) and Kant (1954), *The Right and the Good* (1930) and *The Foundations of Ethics* (1939). He was Syme's philosophy tutor. Todd 839–841.
- Scott: Kenneth Scott (1900–1993), classical scholar, Professor at Western Reserve University 1929–1942; published large number of articles, mainly on Roman history; his monograph, *The Imperial Cult under the Flavians*

- (1936), was reviewed by Syme, *CR* 51 (1937) 32–33. In later years Scott turned to modern history. *RT* IV.3.
- Stein: Arthur Stein (1871–1950) was Professor at the German University in Prague from 1922 until removed from his Chair after the German invasion of Czechoslovakia. There are six letters from Stein, all in English, 21.10.34, 28.10.38, 27.1.39, 20.2.39, 5.3.39, 15.4.39, printed above. See Introduction for Syme's tribute to Stein in the Preface to *RR*. After the war, which Stein survived, in spite of internment in Theresienstadt (Terezín), contact was resumed and Syme kept the resultant five letters, the first from 29.10.46, the last from 8.2.50. See Wachtel (2012) and Eck (2017). *RT* I.3, IV.3.
- Stevenson: George Hope Stevenson (1880–1952), Fellow of University College 1906–1949, author of several works on Roman history and contributor to *CAH*. *RT* IV.1.
- Strasburger: Hermann Strasburger (1909–1985) studied at Frankfurt (taught there by Gelzer), Innsbruck and Munich; after a doctorate with a thesis on Cicero began teaching at Freiburg in 1932, but was dismissed because of his part-Jewish origin in 1934; resumed his career after the war, with Habilitation at Heidelberg 1946; Professor of Ancient History at Frankfurt (as successor of Gelzer) 1955–1963; Freiburg 1963–1977. Five of his letters are included here. See Schmitthenner 93–94; *DNP* Suppl. Bd. 6, 1197–1198 and Introduction. *RT* IV.2.
- Stuart Jones: Henry Stuart Jones (1867–1939), Camden Professor of Ancient History 1919–1927 and on the editorial committee of the *JRS*; revised the *Greek–English Lexicon* of Liddell & Scott, 9th edition (1925), thenceforward known as Liddell–Scott–Jones or LSJ; though not a Welshman (he later learned the language) became Principal of University College, Aberystwyth 1927–1934 and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Wales 1929–1931. Knighted in 1933. Todd 524–525 (by David Gill). *RT* IV.1.
- Tod: Marcus Niebuhr Tod (1878–1974), Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford 1905–1947, was Syme's Ancient History tutor: his published work was principally in the field of Greek epigraphy. Through his mother he was a great-grandson of the Danish–German ancient historian Barthold Georg Niebuhr (1776–1831). Eight letters from him are included here. Todd 975–978 (by David Gill); *ODNB* vol. 54, 866–867 (by M.H. Crawford). *RT* I.1, I.4, IV.1.
- Walker: Revd. Edward Mewburn Walker (1857–1941), Fellow of The Queen's College, Oxford, Provost of the College 1930–1933. Contributed ch. 6 and jointly with J.A.R. Munro ch. 8 to *CAH* IV, and chs 2–4 to *CAH* V. *RT* I.1, III, IV.1.
- Weber: Wilhelm Weber was a pupil of Alfred von Domaszewski at Heidelberg, Professor at Groningen 1911–1916, then at various German universities, 1931–1945 at Berlin, where he became an enthusiastic devotee of the National Socialists and an influential arbiter of the careers of many younger historians. On Weber and his pupils see Christ 210–244; Rebenich, 'Nationalsozialismus und Alte Geschichte' (2005) 45–48. Cf. also *RT* I.3, 2.1.

LIST OF LETTERS INCLUDED

Letters	Archive reference
21.6.27 Tod.....	MS. 11378/63
23.11.27 Anderson.....	MS. 11378/60
23.11.27 Tod	MS. 11378/63
18.12.27 Tod	MS. 11378/63
9.1.28 Warren	MS. 11378/63
12.1.28 Gsell	MS. 11378/61
13.1.28 Last	MS. 11378/62
15.3.28 Tod.....	MS. 11378/63
13.5.28 Tod.....	MS. 11378/63
26.5.28 Warren	MS. 11378/63
5.6.28 Fabricius	MS. 11378/61
summer 28 undated Syme to Fabricius	Fabricius Archive, Freiburg
19.9.28 Last.....	MS. 11378/62
27.11.28 Last	MS. 11378/62
19.1.29 Tod	MS. 11378/63
9.2.29 Last.....	MS. 11378/62
14.2.29 Drexel	MS. 11378/61
19.2.29 E. Stein	MS. 11378/63
3.3.29 Scott Moncrieff (catalogued under Moncrieff).....	MS. 11378/62
19.5.29 Tod.....	MS. 11378/63
25.6.29 Warren	MS. 11378/63
3.7.29 Hardie	MS. 11378/61
12.9.29 Scott Moncrieff (catalogued under Moncrieff)	MS. 11378/62
27.11.29 Scott Moncrieff (catalogued under Moncrieff)	MS. 11378/62
12.1.30 Tod.....	MS. 11378/63
28.3.30 Syme to Fabricius.....	Fabricius Archive, Freiburg
12.5.30 Syme to Last	MS. 11378/62*
3.7.30 Postcard to Fabricius	Fabricius Archive, Freiburg
undated 1930 before mid-June Munro (later Henderson)	MS. 11378/62
23.11.33 Groag.....	MS. 11378/61
19.1.33 Egger	MS. 11378/61
28.12.33 v. Premerstein	MS. 11378/62
20.5.34 Henderson	MS. 11378/61
19.10.34 Henderson	MS. 11378/61
21.10.34 A. Stein	MS. 11378/63
28.10.34 Kornemann	MS. 11378/62
3.12.34 Alföldi	MS. 11378/60
4.12.34 E. Birley.....	MS. 11378/60

* Catalogued with Last.

18.12.34 Fabricius	MS. 11378/61
21.12.34 v.Premenstein	MS. 11378/62
5.1.35 Groag	MS. 11378/61
30.3.35 E. Birley	MS. 11378/60
15.4.35 Taylor.....	MS. 11378/62
2.1.36 Fabricius.....	MS. 11378/61
9.8.36 Norden.....	MS. 11378/62
15.11.36 Mayer.....	MS. 11378/62
19.1.37 Groag.....	MS. 11378/61
30.4.37 Last.....	MS. 11378/62
19.8.37 Münzer	MS. 11378/62
23.12.37 Hohl	MS. 11378/61
16.2.38 Münzer	MS. 11378/62
16.2.38 Alföldi.....	MS. 11378/60
23.4.38 Alföldi	MS. 11378/60
1.5.38 Last	MS. 11378/62
10.6.38 Strasburger	MS. 11378/63
23.7.38 Degrassi	MS. 11378/61
19.8.38 Szilágyi	MS. 11378/63
30.8.38 Sergejevski.....	MS. 11378/63
8.10.38 Alföldi.....	MS. 11378/60
28.10.38 A. Stein.....	MS. 11378/63
4.11.38 Kornemann.....	MS. 11378/62
7.11.38 Strong.....	MS. 11378/63
11.11.38 Strasburger	MS. 11378/63
15.11.38 Alföldi.....	MS. 11378/60
23.11.38 Strasburger	MS. 11378/63
27.11.38 Zeiss	MS. 11378/61 [†]
5.12.38 T. Frank.....	MS. 11378/61
9.12.38 Gelzer	MS. 11378/61
12.12.38 Münzer.....	MS. 11378/62
29.12.38 Münzer	MS. 11378/62
12.1.39 Münzer.....	MS. 11378/62
20.1.39 Münzer	MS. 11378/62
20.1.39 Strasburger	MS. 11378/63
27.1.39 A. Stein	MS. 11378/63
30.1.39 Degrassi.....	MS. 11378/61
6.2.39 Münzer.....	MS. 11378/62
20.2.39 A. Stein	MS. 11378/63
5.3.39 A. Stein.....	MS. 11378/63
15.3.39 Sergejevski.....	MS. 11378/63
19.3.39 A. Stein	MS. 11378/63
19.4.39 Alföldi.....	MS. 11378/60

[†] Mistakenly catalogued as Feiss.

27.4.39 Strasburger	MS. 11378/63
24.4.39 Syme to Momigliano.....	Pisa, Scuola Normale: Momigliano Archive
21.5.39 Durry	MS. 11378/61
12.6.39 Degrassi.....	MS. 11378/61
14.6.39 Hohl.....	MS. 11378/61
27.6.39 Norden	MS. 11378/62
15.7.39 Münzer.....	MS. 11378/62
17.7.39 Strong	MS. 11378/63
17.7.39 Altheim	MS. 11378/60
27.7.39 Syme to Strong	Girton College, Cambridge: GCPP Strong 2/1/38
6.8.39 G. Frank.....	MS. 11378/61

Postscripts

26.5.40 Durry.....	MS. 11378/61
30.10.43 Rüstow	MS. 11378/63
2.2.47 Gelzer	MS. 11378/61
3.2.50 Hohl	MS. 11378/61
27.4.56 Hohl.....	MS. 11378/61
7.1.67 Veyne	MS. 11378/63

Other letters quoted

25.6.59 J. Amery	MS. 11378/60 App.I
17.7.58 A. MacC. Armstrong	MS. 11378/60 Introduction
21.10.34, 29.10.38, 3.11.38, 26.1.53 W.M. Calder ..	MS. 11378/61 Introduction
16.6.39 M. Cary	MS. 11378/61 Introduction
31.10.58 E.P. Donaldson.....	MS. 11378/61 Introduction
12.2.49, J.H. Oliver	MS. 11378/62 Introduction
5.8.63 J.H. Oliver.....	MS. 11378/62 App. I
10.4.76 M. Simpson	MS. 11378/63 App. I