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TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|---|---------|
| ROEL KONIJNENDIJK | |
| <i>Who Wrote Kromayer's Survey of Greek Warfare?</i> | 1–17 |
| ARNALDO MARCONE | |
| <i>Tra attualizzazione e 'pentitismo': Sallustio secondo Concetto Marchesi</i> | 19–29 |
| IMMACOLATA ERAMO | |
| <i>The Discovery of Aelian's Tactica Theoria in Italian Humanism</i> | 31–54 |
| ORAZIO PORTUESE | |
| <i>Una lettera inedita di Augusto Campana per la tradizione di Cic. Scaur. 4 ed Epigr. Bob. 63</i> | 55–67 |
| VITTORIO SALDUTTI | |
| <i>Alle origini di Demokratie und Klassenkampf im Altertum Il dibattito tra Arthur Rosenberg, Otto Jenssen ed Ettore Ciccotti sulla democrazia ateniese</i> | 69–104 |
| RAMSAY MACMULLEN | |
| <i>Top Scholars in Classical and Late Antiquity</i> | 105–114 |
| STANLEY M. BURSTEIN | |
| <i>"The Essence of Classical Culture": Werner Jaeger's First Public Address in the United States</i> | 115–130 |
| OSWYN MURRAY | |
| <i>The Reception of Vernant in the English-Speaking World</i> | 131–157 |
| DAVID S. WIESEN [†] (edited by STANLEY M. BURSTEIN) | |
| <i>Cicero's Image in America and the Discovery of De Republica</i> | 159–179 |
| NATHAN PILKINGTON | |
| <i>How and Why I Count(ed). A Response to Ramsay MacMullen</i> | 181–191 |
| SIMONE RENDINA AND SASCHA SCHÄFER | |
| <i>The Artist and the Historian. Thomas Mann's Letters to Otto Seeck</i> | 193–221 |
| ROWLAND SMITH | |
| <i>The Apostate in Albion: Evocations of the Emperor Julian in English Disputation and Satire, ca.1600 to ca.1750</i> | 223–285 |
| ALESSANDRA COPPOLA | |
| <i>Un'iscrizione greca inedita di Melchiorre Cesarotti al palazzo del Catajo</i> | 287–295 |

WHO WROTE KROMAYER'S SURVEY OF GREEK WARFARE?¹

— ROEL KONIJNENDIJK —

ABSTRACT

Johannes Kromayer and Georg Veith's handbook on Greek and Roman warfare (1928) has long been regarded as the epitome of older German scholarship on ancient military history. However, Kromayer's contribution on Greek warfare borrows extensively from Adolf Bauer's earlier edition, written for the same series (1893). Modern scholars still cite and praise Kromayer's text, unaware that nearly half of it is not his. This article offers a guide to Kromayer's handbook, showing which parts can be considered contemporary original work, and which reflect scholarship that was already 35 years old at the time.

KEYWORDS

Greek warfare, Johannes Kromayer, Adolf Bauer, handbooks, plagiarism

On his field expedition to the ancient battlefields of Italy and North Africa in 1907–1908, the Prussian classicist Johannes Kromayer (1859–1934) was accompanied by Georg Veith (1875–1925), an Austrian artillery officer with a keen interest in ancient military history.² The pair joined forces and worked together until Veith was murdered on the site of the battle of Zela.³ With Veith's help, Kromayer completed his monumental topographical and tactical study *Antike Schlachtfelder* (1903–1931) as well as the five volumes of the *Schlachten-Atlas zur antiken Kriegsgeschichte* (1922–1929). These and other works cemented the status of Kromayer and Veith as the leading experts on ancient warfare in the German-speaking world and beyond. Small wonder, then,

¹ This article is part of an ERC Horizon2020-funded MSCA-IF project at Leiden University, titled 'The Prussian Fathers of Greek Military History' (PFoGMH). I am grateful to Herman Paul and the anonymous reviewers of *HCS* for their comments. Any remaining errors are my own.

² Kromayer and Veith 1912, vii. For general biographical information about the two authors, see the *Deutsche biographische Enzyklopädie* (2nd ed. 2005–2008), 6.81 (Kromayer) and 10.229 (Veith), as well as Kromayer's entry in the *NDB* (Rieckenberg 1982) and Veith's biography in Happ and Mildner 2003.

³ Veith's tragic fate was noted by several reviewers of the handbook discussed here: see Grosse 1929, 225; Lammert 1930, 593; Enßlin 1931, 328; Oldfather 1932, 13.

that Walter Otto invited them to contribute a study of military matters to the all-encompassing *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft (HdA)* after he became its editor-in-chief in 1920. The result of their collaborative effort was published in 1928 as *Heerwesen und Kriegführung der Griechen und Römer (HdA IV.3.2)*.

This book was intended as an update to the *HdA*'s existing surveys of Greek and Roman military antiquities by Adolf Bauer and Hermann Schiller, which had been commissioned by Iwan Müller and last revised for respective second editions in 1893.⁴ Reviewers welcomed the initiative. They considered the works of Bauer and Schiller too short to cover their subject in full, and found them obsolete after 35 years of intense scholarly activity.⁵ With both original authors already deceased, they thought no one more suitable to provide a comprehensive new overview than Kromayer and Veith.⁶ They also approved of the decision to treat Greek and Roman warfare together in a single volume.⁷

The new handbook easily met the demand for more detail. At 649 pages, it was nearly three times the size of Bauer and Schiller's surveys put together. Veith's long treatment on the army of the Roman Republic and the chapters of subject experts like E. von Nischer (on the Roman standing army), A. Köster (on naval warfare) and E. Schramm (on siege warfare) went well beyond the material of the handbook's predecessors.

Among these contributions, Kromayer's section on Greek warfare stands out for being shorter than Bauer's second edition.⁸ More remarkably, it stands out for reusing large swathes of the earlier handbook with little to no alteration. Kromayer copied so much of Bauer's text — including the introduction, conclusion, bibliographical sections, and practically all of Bauer's treatment of Archaic and Classical Greece — that the resulting survey has limited value as a reflection of the state of the art at the time of its publication. Despite the addition of some new sections based on Kromayer's own research, his edition should not be regarded too easily as an up-to-date study by a leading expert.

⁴ Bauer 1887; 1893; Schiller 1887; 1893. Müller was knighted in 1889 and published the second editions as Iwan von Müller.

⁵ Couissin 1929, 198; Grosse 1929, 224–225; Syme 1929, 266; Oldfather 1932, 13.

⁶ Grosse 1929, 225; Enßlin 1931, 328; Oldfather 1932, 14.

⁷ Syme 1929, 266; Enßlin 1931, 328.

⁸ Kromayer offers 155 pages (9–162 and 246–247) against Bauer's 200 (269–469). Admittedly, parts of Bauer's remit were taken up by Köster and Schramm. If we add their chapters to Kromayer's, the full survey of Greek and Hellenistic warfare is a modest 38 pages longer than Bauer's handbook — as against a tenfold increase in length for the part on Rome.

The fact that Kromayer reused Bauer's work is neither surprising nor alarming in itself. The *HdA* regularly publishes updated versions of its themed volumes. Under Otto's stewardship, new authors were not asked to rewrite the volumes from scratch; they were sent the manuscripts of older editions with the request to make adjustments in line with the latest scholarship. Kromayer may not have felt that he was under any obligation to write a wholly original survey. He delivered what he had been asked to deliver.

Other contributors to the series, however, usually made their debt to their predecessors explicit. For example, Ernst Hohl acknowledged Benedictus Niese's work on the first four editions of the *Grundriss der Römischen Geschichte* in Hohl's preface to the fifth (*HdA* III.5, 1923). Manu Leumann's revised *Lateinische Grammatik* (*HdA* II.2, 1926–1928) is subtitled 'auf der Grundlage des Werkes von Friedrich Stolz und Joseph Hermann Schmalz'. Such attributions were in line with long-established principles of authorship.⁹ By contrast, Kromayer and Veith made no mention of Bauer's manuscript anywhere in their preface or introduction, nor did they refer to his edition in their remarks on other scholarship. It takes careful reading to find any acknowledgement of its existence. Bauer 1893 appears only in a few footnotes (sometimes identified as '2. Auflage dieses Werkes'), usually in places where Kromayer disagreed with its claims.¹⁰

Kromayer's decision not to credit Bauer created a false impression that the whole treatment of Greek warfare in the new edition of the handbook was his original work. Those who realised how much of it was taken from the earlier text were not happy when they learned the truth. In his review for *Gnomon*, Friedrich Lammert spoke for all readers who were disappointed to recognise Bauer's words:

Schon der Titel kündigt eine Abkehr von dem mehr antiquarischen Vorgehen Bauers und Schillers an, was im Vorwort stark unterstrichen

⁹ Modern scholars regard the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century as the key period in the establishment of copyright and its associated principles of authorship and intellectual property: see for example Jackson 2003, 127; Maurel-Indart 2007, 19–24; Mazzeo 2007, 10–12; Terry 2010, 25. The notion of plagiarism is more complex, featuring several kinds of demands on authors and changing significantly over time (MacFarlane 2007; Mazzeo 2007, 5–10). That said, Terry (2010, 3, 19–23) dates the emergence of a relevant conception ('a concealment of debt', 8) to the second half of the eighteenth century.

¹⁰ See for example 26 nn. 2 and 3, 36 n. 6, 105 n. 9, 109 n. 6, 142 n. 1. Kromayer's tendency to cite Bauer only polemically was noted by Lammert (1930, 593–594) and Oldfather (1932, 14). The sole exception is 35 n. 2, where Kromayer agreed with Bauer's reading of a passage in Xenophon.

wird. Der kundige Leser, der infolgedessen eine völlig neue Arbeit erwartet, fühlt sich dagegen im ersten Teile bald an bekannte Auffassungen und Wendungen erinnert und muß feststellen, daß der Text auf weite Strecken wörtlich aus der früheren Auflage des Handbuchs wiedergegeben ist.¹¹

Similarly, William Oldfather's review for *Classical Weekly* frankly expresses his frustration when he realised what Kromayer had done:

This somewhat oldfashioned appearance of the bibliographical matter was, I confess, a mystery to me until I compared the corresponding sections in Bauer's monograph [...]; then it was immediately clear. Professor Kromayer has followed Bauer at times very closely. [...] A scholar so original and competent as Professor Kromayer has shown himself to be in his many works [...] certainly need not have thus carelessly used older work; he could so easily have done very much better on the basis of his own knowledge and judgment.¹²

These scholars stopped short of accusing Kromayer of plagiarism. They seem to have accepted that authors of new editions in a series like the *HdA* might reuse parts of their predecessors' work. No doubt the matter would have been different if Kromayer had also borrowed from Hans Droysen's contemporaneous handbook or Hans Delbrück's survey of Greek warfare published seven years later.¹³ Even so, they clearly felt cheated. Kromayer had not only failed to produce a full survey of the calibre of which they thought him capable, but also tried to make it appear as though he had.

It is fair to say that his attempt was highly successful. Most readers never found out. The short notices in *JHS*¹⁴ and *JRS*¹⁵ make no mention of Bauer, and even the detailed reviews in *Revue de Philologie*, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* and *Historische Zeitschrift* only acknowledge him as

¹¹ Lammert 1930, 593.

¹² Oldfather 1932, 13–14.

¹³ Droysen 1889; Delbrück 1900.

¹⁴ The author of this review, identified only as 'M.C.', is most likely Max Cary, who is listed as a member of the Acting Editorial Committee in *JHS* 49 (1929), clxiv. I cite the review below as Cary 1929.

¹⁵ The author 'R.S.' can be plausibly identified as Ronald Syme, frequently listed as the author of book notices for *JRS* in this period. The lack of explicit reference to him in this issue may explain the absence of the review from the bibliography of Syme compiled by E. Badian (Syme 1979). I cite it here as Syme 1929.

the author of one of the work's now dated predecessors.¹⁶ Couissin's review for the first of these journals only noted that the figures from the earlier edition had been reprinted.¹⁷ The observations of Lammert and Oldfather seem to have done nothing to diminish the reputation of a celebrated standard work that was already known simply as 'Kromayer–Veith' by the time Oldfather wrote his review.¹⁸ The reviewer for *JHS* declared that 'it should remain standard for many years to come',¹⁹ and so it did: Kromayer and Veith's volume was reprinted for the *HdA* in 1963 and continues to be cited and discussed. Several modern authorities on Greek warfare have singled it out for special praise as a uniquely useful and insightful older survey of the subject.²⁰ Meanwhile, they have forgotten Adolf Bauer. Even scholars listing early German works on Greek warfare in historiographical surveys do not cite him.²¹ To my knowledge, no published scholarly work on Greek warfare has remarked on Bauer's presence in Kromayer's handbook.²²

It will be worthwhile, therefore, to take stock. How exactly did Kromayer construct his new edition out of Bauer's original text? To what extent (and on which subjects) can we trust the handbook to reflect Kromayer's own insight and the state of contemporary scholarship?

These questions are partly answered by a closer look at the handbook's structure. Kromayer's elaborated table of contents obscures his dependence on Bauer: new section headings give the impression that the subject has been fundamentally rethought and rearranged. A comparison of the organisation of Bauer's text with the page numbers of corresponding sections in Kromayer's handbook gives a better sense of the structural similarity between the two works (table 1). Aside from a few inserted sections and chapters, there is no room for deviation from Bauer's template. The related sections form a nearly continuous sequence.

¹⁶ Couissin 1929; Grosse 1929; Enßlin 1931.

¹⁷ Couissin 1929, 201 — although, as Lammert pointed out (1930, 595), some new ones were added. Oldfather (1932, 13) noted their low quality.

¹⁸ Oldfather 1932, 13.

¹⁹ Cary 1929, 108; see also Couissin 1929, 203; Enßlin 1931, 332.

²⁰ Garlan 1975, 189; Hanson 1989, 22.

²¹ Hanson 1989, 22–23; 2007, 7–8; Wheeler 2007, xxvi–xxvii; Kagan and Viggiano 2013, 23. Hanson once included Bauer's name in such a list, but without a reference to his work (1999, 379). In my own earlier research into the scholarly tradition, I only belatedly learned of Bauer's handbook and was not able to give it due attention (Konijnendijk 2018, 7 n. 3 and 5).

²² I am indebted to the anonymous reviewer for the observation that at least two doctoral dissertations have done or will do so (Wheeler 1977; Schellenberg, forthcoming).

| Subject order (Bauer) | Pages (Bauer) | Pages (Kromayer) | Additional subjects (Kromayer) |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|---|
| Sources and scholarship | 272–290 | 9–17 | |
| Early Greek warfare | 290–301 | 18–27 | |
| Sparta and the Peloponnese | 301–340 | 28–44, 63 | |
| Athens and its allies | 340–405 | 44–62 | |
| Thebes and the Boiotian League | 405–412 | 63–67 | |
| Sicily | 412–421 | 67–74 | |
| | | 74–76 | Mercenaries |
| | | 76–78 | Supply and pay |
| | | 79–95 | Tactics |
| Macedon | 423–431 | 95–120 | |
| Alexander the Great | 431–441 | | |
| Hellenistic period | 441–468 | 120–146 | |
| | | 147–162 | Strategy |

Table 1. Structural overlap

The main difference lies in the treatment of tactics and strategy. Kromayer signalled in the preface that these subjects would be his primary focus.²³ Bauer included comments on tactics and strategy under several regional or chronological headings, but Kromayer concentrated their discussion in dedicated chapters. He did this to some extent simply by moving sections of Bauer's text: as Lammert slyly remarked in his summary of the chapter on tactics, 'die große Wandlung in der griechischen Schlachtentaktik, die sich an den Namen des Epameinondas knüpft, wird zumeist mit Bauer's Worten knapp und treffend skizziert'.²⁴ The brief new section on mercenaries also includes parts of Bauer lifted from their original context. But Kromayer added the rest of these new thematic treatments in his own words, often discarding large amounts of relevant material from Bauer.²⁵ The chapters on tactics and strategy contain the most significant stretches of new work.

²³ Kromayer and Veith 1928, vi.

²⁴ Lammert 1930, 595; indeed, Kromayer 93–95 reproduces Bauer 408–411 nearly verbatim.

²⁵ For instance, Bauer's extensive descriptions of hoplite warfare (320–333), Athenian tactical reforms (396–401) and Hellenistic battle tactics (453–455) have left no trace in the new edition. Similarly, even though Bauer already framed some discussion of Greek and Hellenistic strategy in terms of Hans Delbrück's controversial new concept of 'Niederwerfungsstrategie' (411–412, 421–423), Kromayer replaced these remarks with a detailed discussion of Delbrück's terminology applied to the ancient world (147–162).

Naturally, the decision to consolidate thematic material also applied to the subjects of naval and siege warfare. Since Kromayer knew that his colleagues Köster and Schramm would expand on these subjects in separate chapters, he excised most (but not all) of Bauer's discussion from each chronological section. Schramm used the discarded material to compile the historical introduction to his contribution on siege warfare, which, like Kromayer's text, contains whole pages of Bauer.²⁶

The remainder of the handbook follows Bauer's structure. This does not mean, however, that the text was simply reproduced. While Kromayer reused many sections in their entirety, he replaced many others with discussions of his own. The resulting patchwork is outlined below (table 2). In this table, it should be assumed that any section with a direct parallel in Bauer 1893 contains little to no original input from Kromayer. The page numbers listed under '= Bauer' refer to the sections of Bauer's handbook that Kromayer copied, apparently regarding them as an adequate treatment of their subject. Some of these sections were abridged or rearranged, but the majority were reprinted without notable changes.

| Pages | Subject | = Bauer | Remarks |
|--------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------|--|
| 9–17 | Sources and scholarship | 272–290 | Severely abridged. Brief discussion of major new works added |
| 18–27 | Mycenaean/Homeric warfare | | Original work (some sentences from Bauer) |
| 28–30 | Sparta: introduction | 301–304 | |
| 30–40 | Sparta: kingship, army organisation | | Original work |
| 41–44 | Sparta: navy, allies | 319–320, 335–339 | |
| 44–62 | Athens | 340–387, 391–396 | Severely abridged |
| 63 | Argos | 339 | |
| 63–67 | Thebes | 405–408 | |
| 67–74 | Sicily | 412–421 | |
| 74–75 | Mercenaries: Sparta | 333–334 | |
| 75–76 | Mercenaries: other Greeks | | Original work |
| 76–78 | Supply and pay | | Original work |
| 79–93 | Archaic and Classical tactics | | Original work |
| 93–95 | Tactics: Epameinondas | 408–411 | |

²⁶ Specifically, Schramm 213–220 contains elements of Bauer 332–333, 387–391, 428–431 and 455–458.

| | | | |
|---------|--|---------|--|
| 95–98 | Philip and Alexander | 421–428 | Significant chunks moved or deleted |
| 98–120 | Macedonian army and tactics | | Original work (paragraphs from Bauer on fleet, infantry and cavalry equipment) |
| 121–122 | Successors: introduction | 441–443 | |
| 122–130 | Successors: army numbers, organisation, muster | | Original work |
| 130–132 | Greek states in the Hellenistic period | 466–468 | |
| 132–135 | Macedonian phalanx | 443–448 | Abridged, rearranged, some new paragraphs |
| 135–136 | Phalangite tactics | | Original work |
| 137–141 | Light troops, cavalry, chariots, elephants | 448–453 | |
| 141–146 | Hellenistic tactics | | Original work |
| 147–162 | Strategy | | Original work |
| 246–247 | Concluding remarks | 468–469 | |

Table 2. Origin of Kromayer's text

Table 2 suggests that even the reviewers who spotted Kromayer's debt to Bauer were not fully aware of its scale. Oldfather admits no more than that Kromayer 'frequently takes over from him entire sentences, or even paragraphs'.²⁷ In Lammert's analysis, Kromayer largely worked independently after the first few chapters, only gradually coming to lean more heavily on Bauer as he reached the Hellenistic period.²⁸ In fact, nearly half of the work consists of reprinted material. The introduction is an abridged copy; the chapters on Archaic and Classical Greece contain almost nothing new. Reused material is found throughout, even within (or bracketing) new sections written by Kromayer. The two-page summary that Kromayer placed after the chapters by Köster and Schramm is a reproduction of Bauer's final pages with minor alterations.

Unsurprisingly, the bulk of Kromayer's original material addresses his own research interests. His analyses of tactics have their origin in the detailed studies of battles he wrote for the *Antike Schlachtfelder* and the *Schlachten-Atlas*; he also cites the preliminary study he delivered on the subject before his first field expedition.²⁹ His discussion of Spartan army

²⁷ Oldfather 1932, 14.

²⁸ Lammert 1930, 594–595. My reading suggests the opposite: there is much more of Kromayer in the sections on Alexander and Hellenistic warfare.

²⁹ Kromayer 1900.

organisation draws on his contribution to the debate on the mustering strength of Greek states.³⁰ His chapter on strategy rests on his polemic with Hans Delbrück just a few years earlier.³¹ The exception is the section on Mycenaean and Homeric warfare, for which Kromayer reused only a few sentences from Bauer,³² even though he had not published on the topic before. He may have found Bauer's largely descriptive account too antiquarian; his own section relies more on grand developmental models in the mould of Meyer's *Geschichte des Altertums*. In any case, for each of these topics Kromayer was happy to throw out Bauer's work and replace it with his own. His tendency to focus his creative efforts on more familiar subjects lends a sad irony to Couissin's remark that his writing was livelier and more engaging when he discussed strategy than when he described arms and armour.³³ The sections Couissin characterised as 'si froid, parfois si ennuyeux' were written by Bauer.

When we turn to the parts where Kromayer did use Bauer's text, such stylistic differences can be a useful guide. They allow us to recognise where Kromayer replaced some of the pre-existing material or added words of his own. Where he did the latter, it is usually in the form of a few short paragraphs, sometimes no more than a sentence long, touching on topics not covered by Bauer or referring to major works of scholarship that had appeared since the second edition was published.³⁴ One of the most remarkable of these interjections occurs in the introduction, where Kromayer replaced two paragraphs on late and indirect literary evidence with a single sentence stating that papyri are a useful source.³⁵ Meanwhile, the longer the paragraph, the greater the odds that Bauer wrote it.

A few further hallmarks of Kromayer's editing hand should be mentioned. The first is his tendency to remove the names of other scholars from the main text.³⁶ While he did not mind reusing some of Bauer's

³⁰ Kromayer 1903, specifically the second part (173–212) on Lakonia. Surprisingly, the sections of this article on Athens and Boiotia did not stop him from copying Bauer on those states. He does appear to have kept up with the debate for some years afterwards; his bibliography for this section mentions Beloch 1905; 1906; Niese 1907.

³¹ Kromayer 147 n. 1 refers the reader to Kromayer '1924' (= Kromayer 1925); see also Delbrück 1925 (with a reply by Kromayer).

³² For example, parts of Bauer's description of the chariot (298–299) appear in separate places in Kromayer (19–20, 26). Lammert (1930, 594) noted some of these instances.

³³ Couissin 1929, 202.

³⁴ For example, Kromayer 16–17, 30, 247.

³⁵ Compare Bauer 280–281; Kromayer 14.

³⁶ One case of this was identified by Lammert (1930, 593–594).

criticism of Rüstow and Köchly's standard work,³⁷ he suppressed their names elsewhere. He anonymised or deleted Bauer's repeated engagement with the work of Edmund Lammert and excised praise for Delbrück and Droysen.³⁸ In a paragraph on the length of the Macedonian *sarisa*, he replaced the names of Johann Gustav Droysen and A. Krause with the anodyne 'ältere Forscher'.³⁹ He also subtly altered some instances where Bauer himself intruded on the text. One particular interpretation of Polybios, Bauer asserted, 'halte ich nicht für zutreffend'; in Kromayer's version the same interpretation 'ist nicht mit Sicherheit zu erweisen'.⁴⁰ The passive voice obscures whose opinion this was.

Perhaps such changes were only a matter of style — a decision to give the main text an air of confident authority and contain controversy in the footnotes. But the convenient result is a work that cannot be as easily dated by the scholarship discussed in the main text. Removing most of the names allowed Kromayer to leave such discussion largely intact without revealing his reliance on a much older work. Readers of his handbook are unlikely to realise that when it deems earlier standard works insufficient 'da das archäologische Material noch lange nicht so reich war wie heute', the 'heute' originally referred to the early 1890s.⁴¹

Kromayer's second, more objectionable tendency was to abbreviate the bibliographical sections that Bauer included for each chapter. Re-using some of these sections at all was a bold move; as noted above, it was the outdated bibliographical material that brought Oldfather to the realisation that Kromayer had borrowed from Bauer. Several reviewers remarked on the absence of key recent works.⁴² But Bauer had been thorough in his compilation of these sections, and it seems Kromayer was not prepared to set aside as much space for them as his predecessor had. For example, the general bibliography that follows Bauer's introductory chapter takes up four packed pages in small print; Kromayer condensed

³⁷ Bauer 284, 409; Kromayer 16, 94. In the first of these passages, Kromayer helpfully corrected Bauer's idiosyncratic use of commas. The reference is to Rüstow and Köchly 1852.

³⁸ Compare Bauer 280, 282–283, 285–286, 442–443, 447; Kromayer 14, 16–17, 121–122, 134–135. The last two authors produced monographs on Greek warfare in the period between Bauer's first and second edition (Droysen 1889; Delbrück 1887, 1890), all of which Bauer held in extremely high regard. Bauer also heavily cited Droysen's earlier monograph on the warfare of Alexander (1885).

³⁹ Compare Bauer 446; Kromayer 134.

⁴⁰ Bauer 280; Kromayer 14.

⁴¹ Bauer 284; Kromayer 16.

⁴² Couissin 1929, 200; Grosse 1929, 228; Syme 1929, 267; Lammert 1930, 594, 596.

this to less than a page.⁴³ He added just two entries that post-dated 1893: the first volume of Delbrück's *Geschichte der Kriegskunst*⁴⁴ and his own *Antike Schlachtfelder*. Another four pages of scholarship on Athens were deleted altogether, as were several shorter subject bibliographies.⁴⁵ Predictably, the brief bibliographies for the chapters Kromayer wrote or revised are much more up to date, citing works as recent as 1926.⁴⁶

These literature sections are just one prominent sign of the strange dual nature of the handbook. In Kromayer's chapters, we find clearly written original research, engagement with contemporary scholarship, and even an unusually conciliatory and constructive attitude to Kromayer's academic nemesis Delbrück. These are exemplary chapters for an introductory work of this kind. Where Kromayer reused the older text, on the other hand, his edition is actually *worse* than Bauer's — offering what amounts to an abridged version of a dated manuscript with a much less comprehensive overview of relevant nineteenth-century scholarship. Some of his attempts to streamline the received text actively diminish its usefulness: in the introduction, Kromayer trimmed down or removed numerous paragraphs on scope, approach and methodology, leaving him without even Bauer's account of what the handbook was trying to achieve.⁴⁷

Modern readers should therefore consult Kromayer's handbook with caution, keeping a close eye on the origin of each section. I hope that this survey and table 2 may serve as a guide. If Kromayer deliberately obscured his dependence on Bauer, it would have reflected badly on him, as two of his contemporary reviewers pointed out; but even if he believed that he was acting in accordance with the terms of his assignment, it remains important for us to acknowledge Bauer's scholarship, as well as his share in the genesis of one of the most widely read handbooks on Greek warfare.

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⁴³ Bauer 287–290; Kromayer 17.

⁴⁴ He was already able to refer to its third edition (Delbrück 1920).

⁴⁵ Bauer 339–340, 401–405, 441, 466.

⁴⁶ Kromayer 18, 28, 79, 95. The author retired from his chair in Leipzig in 1927.

⁴⁷ Bauer 272–273, 284–287.

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APPENDIX

A comparison of Bauer (1893, 319) and Kromayer (1928, 41) on the Spartan navy shows how the latter copied the former's text verbatim, intervening only to replace the occasional double s with β . I am grateful to Sue Willetts of the Institute of Classical Studies Library, University of London, for her help in scanning these pages.

2. Sparta und der Peloponnes. (§ 26.)

319

und nachts wurde auch in der Nähe, von den Skiriten, zu Xenophons Zeit von Söldnern eine Eskorte beigegeben. Im Lager mussten alle mit dem Speer bewaffnet umhergehen, bei den körperlichen Übungen, die veranstaltet wurden, durfte niemand den seiner Mora zugewiesenen Raum verlassen, um von seinen Waffen nicht zu weit entfernt zu sein. Das Lager war also von den Soldaten in der Weise belegt, dass die zusammengehörigen Truppenabteilungen auch zusammen blieben (vgl. Polyän. II 3, 11).

26. Seemacht. Die Spartaner sind mit einer überaus geringen Seemacht, fast ganz auf ihre Bundesgenossen angewiesen, in den peloponnesischen Krieg gegangen (Th. I 74, 4; 121, 2); sie selbst waren im Seewesen wenig erfahren, flüchtige Samier fanden als Steuerleute gerne bei ihnen Aufnahme (Th. IV 75, 2). In den spartanischen Flotten erscheinen daher Korinth, Megara, Sikyon, Pellene, Elis, die Amprakioten und Leukadier (Th. II 9, 2) am stärksten vertreten. Diese Bundesgenossen hatten, je nach der Grösse ihrer Seemacht, eine bestimmte Zahl von Schiffen zu stellen.¹⁾ Noch im Jahre 413 besaßen die Spartaner nur fünfundzwanzig eigene Schiffe (Th. VIII 3, 3), erst die Flotte vor Pylos bestand aus drei- und vierzig Schiffen (Th. IV 11, 1 vgl. II 80, 2). Sparta hatte ferner nur einen Kriegshafen,²⁾ in Gytheion.

Für den Oberbefehl der bundesgenössischen Flotte, die gegen Athen aufgestellt werden musste, war in der Nauarchie ein besonderes Amt geschaffen (Th. II 66; 80, 2), das auch Periöken bekleiden konnten (Th. VIII 22, 2). Es bestand das Gesetz, dass derselbe Mann nicht zweimal Nauarch sein dürfe (Xen. Hell. II 1, 7). Wie eine verhältnismässig geringe Zahl eigentlicher Spartiaten im Aufgebot der Hopliten, eine noch kleinere in den Heeren des Bundesaufgebotes hinreichte, um ein Kriegsunternehmen als spartanisches erscheinen zu lassen, so genügten für die grossen überseeischen Unternehmen sogar der Nauarch und Epistoleus³⁾ mit seinem Stabe,⁴⁾ um denselben Zweck zu erreichen. Der weitreichende Einfluss des Adels erstreckte sich auch auf den nichtköniglichen Flottenbefehlshaber, denn die Mitglieder seines Stabes, die euphemistisch „Ratgeber“ genannt wurden, konnten, wenn es ihnen nötig schien, selbst das Kommando übernehmen. Hatte ein Nauarch sich etwas zu Schulden kommen lassen, so wurde eine Kommission zur Untersuchung abgeschickt (Th. VIII 39, 2).

Die einzelnen Schiffe wurden von Trierarchen befehligt.⁵⁾ Die Ruderemannschaft bestand aus Heloten und Söldnern.⁶⁾ Die Epibaten, die Marineinfanterie, waren vermutlich teils Periöken, teils Söldner,⁷⁾ sie waren wahrscheinlich zahlreicher als auf den Kriegsschiffen Athens, denn es wird von den Peloponnesiern noch während des peloponnesischen Krieges berichtet, dass sie durch Entern und den Kampf der Besatzung an Bord den Seekrieg wie zu Lande geführt hätten (Th. I 49, 1 II 84, 1). Wollte man in der

¹⁾ Th. II 7, 2 vgl. III 16, 3.

²⁾ Th. I 108, 3 Xen. Hell. VI 5, 32.

³⁾ Xen. Hell. I 1, 23 II 1, 7. Er heisst auch Epistoliaphoros (Hell. VI 2, 25), gemeint ist derselbe bei Thuk. VIII 61, 2, wo statt *ἐπιβάτης* wohl *ἐπιστολεύς* zu lesen ist.

⁴⁾ *σύμβουλοι* Th. II 85, 1; 86, 4 vgl. III 79, 2.

⁵⁾ Th. IV 11, 3 Xen. Hell. II 1, 12.

⁶⁾ Th. VI 91 VIII 45, 2. Xen. Hell. II 1, 12 V 1, 13 ff. VII 1, 12.

⁷⁾ Xen. Hell. V 1, 11 VII 1, 12.

II. Organisation und Taktik. Die griechischen Freistaaten

41

3. Die Seemacht

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Die direkte Teilnahme des spartanischen Staates am Kriege zur See war somit auf die Kommandoführung durch den jährlich wechselnden Nauarchen und dessen Stellvertreter, den Epistoleus, beschränkt, Spartiaten sind außer in deren Stab auf der Flotte kaum vertreten. Haben die Spartaner selbst nur ganz wenige Schiffe besessen, so sind auch die Flotten ihrer Bundesgenossen, die unter verschiedenen Nauarchen an dem Peloponnesischen

¹ Thuk. II 7, 2; vgl. III 16, 3.

² Thuk. I 108, 3; Xen. Hell. VI 5, 32.

³ Xen. Hell. I 1, 23; II 1, 7. Er heißt auch Epistoliaphoros (Hell. VI 2, 25), gemeint ist derselbe bei Thuk. VIII 61, 2, wo statt ἐπιβάτης wohl ἐπιστολεύς zu lesen ist.

⁴ σύμβουλοι Thuk. II 85, 1. 86, 4; vgl. III 79, 2.

⁵ Thuk. IV 11, 3; Xen. Hell. II 1, 12.

⁶ Thuk. VI 91; VIII 45, 2; Xen. Hell. II 1, 12; V 1, 13 ff.; VII 1, 12.

⁷ Xen. Hell. V 1, 11; VII 1, 12.

TRA ATTUALIZZAZIONE E ‘PENTITISMO’: SALLUSTIO SECONDO CONCETTO MARCHESI*

— ARNALDO MARCONE —

ABSTRACT

Concetto Marchesi ha discusso in pagine molto partecipate della sua Letteratura Latina dei Gracchi e della loro azione riformatrice. Esse risentono in modo originale dell’attualizzazione con cui le loro figure erano state trattate nella Storia romana di Mommsen. In particolare, Gaio Gracco torna per analogia in scritti successivi di Marchesi su Togliatti. Da considerare, inoltre, la categoria di ‘pentitismo’, che il latinista applica alla scelta di Sallustio di dedicarsi alla storiografia, anche a fronte di una sua valutazione, non priva di elementi contraddittori, della figura di Catone.

Concetto Marchesi discussed the Gracchi and their reform agenda in some deeply engaged pages of his Letteratura latina, which clearly betray the influence of Mommsen’s History of Rome and its modernising approach to those great figures. The analogy with Gaius Gracchus also features in several pieces that Marchesi later wrote about Palmiro Togliatti. The category of pentitismo (a neologism that may roughly be translated as ‘repentitism’) is worthy of especially close consideration: Marchesi deployed it in his discussion of Sallust’s choice to devote himself to historiography, not least in light of his — partly contradictory — assessment of Cato the Younger and his character.

KEYWORDS

Sallust, Concetto Marchesi, Marxism, modernising approaches, pentitismo

L’attualizzazione storica pone notoriamente problemi rilevanti, di varia natura.¹ Essa si ripropone al lettore del libro di Luciano Canfora su Concetto Marchesi, anche alla luce della ricostruzione del nesso, peculiarmente inscindibile, tra vita politica attiva e attività di

* Nel caro ricordo di mia mamma, che leggeva spesso la sera, a me ragazzino, pagine della *Letteratura latina* di Concetto Marchesi.

¹ Sono giudicate attualmente ‘fuori moda’ da Andrea Giardina, che ricorda di appartenere a una generazione che ha combattuto contro le visioni modernizzanti della storia antica. Si veda: *La storia economica e il «moderno nell’antico»*, in *Fare la storia antica. In ricordo di Domenico Musti*, Atti dei Convegni Lincei 284, Roma, Scienze e Lettere 2014, pp. 19–43.

ricerca propria di quel grande studioso.² In proposito, conviene riprendere quanto scrisse Alessandro Natta nella sua prefazione alla seconda edizione di una raccolta di scritti politici di Marchesi, *Umanesimo e comunismo*:³

Quando i tempi lo consentiranno, accadrà così che nel suo di Marchesi aperto discorso politico i richiami ad eventi ed uomini dell'antichità resteranno memorabili: la difesa di Catilina, costretto ad insorgere, di fronte alla prevaricazione da parte di Cicerone, contro le norme elettorali di Roma, nel dibattito in parlamento sulla legge elettorale del 1953; la difesa di Tiberio di fronte al suo storico Tacito per difendere Stalin di fronte a Chruščëv all'VIII Congresso del PCI — accadrà che quei richiami non obbediscano mai alla civetteria della citazione o al gusto didascalico dell'*exemplum*, ma siano il segno di una concezione, di una *forma mentis*, per cui il patrimonio della storia diventa cosa viva e stimolante a intendere e ad agire nel presente.⁴

Natta, la cui ortodossia rispetto alla linea del partito e, in particolare, di Togliatti, è fuori discussione, pone con queste considerazioni una questione che ogni lettore di Marchesi deve in qualche modo affrontare. Come Canfora ricorda, e dimostra con riferimenti puntuali, Marchesi fu un attento lettore di Mommsen, in particolare della sua *Storia romana*, tuttora di piacevole lettura proprio per la sua dichiarata e intenzionale carica attualizzante.⁵ In Mommsen, come in Marchesi, l'attualizzazione più evidente riguarda la crisi della Repubblica romana, il periodo che va dai Gracchi all'assassinio di Cesare.

Va tenuto presente che è in particolare sul ritratto plutarceo, ben più che sul giudizio di Sallustio o di Appiano, che si andò costituendo il mito dei Gracchi nel pensiero radical- democratico a partire dal Settecento in poi. Si tratta di un mito che può considerarsi giunto a conclusione in alcuni esponenti della storiografia sovietica, dove «l'agiografia ebbe per

² L. Canfora, *Il sovversivo. Concetto Marchesi e il comunismo italiano*, Bari–Roma, Laterza 2019 (citato d'ora in poi solo come Canfora: uno studio imprescindibile per la stesura di quest'articolo).

³ C. Marchesi, *Umanesimo e comunismo*, a cura di Maria Todaro-Faranda, Roma, Editori Riuniti 1974².

⁴ P. 13. Natta si riferisce al discorso di Concetto Marchesi all'VIII Congresso del PCI, in cui ebbe a dire, tra l'altro: «Tiberio, uno dei più grandi e infamati imperatori di Roma trovò il suo implacabile accusatore in Cornelio Tacito. A Stalin, meno fortunato, è toccato Nikita Chruščëv» (*Umanesimo e comunismo*, p. 114). Nello stesso discorso Marchesi difese con veemenza l'intervento sovietico in Ungheria.

⁵ Canfora, pp. 285–293.

lo più la meglio sugli scrupoli di indagine scientifica». ⁶ In buon sostanza, il Mommsen storico sentiva la necessità nella storia di Roma di quel tempo della monarchia, esattamente come il Mommsen politico, il rivoluzionario liberale del 1848, aveva auspicato in seguito che il Kaiser, alleandosi con gli altri ceti e gruppi sociali, ponesse fine allo strapotere degli Junker. Questa monarchia salutare sarà realizzata solo dal genio di Cesare. Un'occasione si presentò con il tentativo riformatore di Tiberio Gracco, ma in realtà anch'egli fallì, avendo fatto del proletariato urbano di Roma un fattore politico: ciò costituì un ulteriore elemento di instabilità. Tiberio Gracco abbozza un regime monarchico, esattamente come, dopo di lui, farà Silla. Ma ambedue falliscono e non riescono ad instaurare una monarchia, la cui necessità era imposta dalla logica dello sviluppo storico. Nella peculiare interpretazione di Mommsen, a seguito dell'azione dei Gracchi si venne ad accentuare il fenomeno socio-politico, per cui i *cives* liberi erano esposti alla concorrenza della plebe, la cui mobilitazione clientelare era una delle ragioni della corruzione dell'etica pubblica. Da qui la rappresentazione di Gaio Gracco, collocato in qualche modo a metà tra proletariato e monarchia. ⁷

La *Römische Geschichte* di Mommsen si conclude significativamente con la battaglia di Tapso del 46 a.C., quando Cesare sconfisse i Pompeiani e non con le idi di marzo del 44 a.C., data della sua morte. Mommsen vuole dunque presentarci Cesare al culmine della sua potenza e, nello stesso tempo, come *telos* a cui tendeva la storia repubblicana. Poiché era più un uomo di stato che un generale, era quindi l'uomo giusto nel momento in cui il senato si rivelava incapace di controllare un impero così vasto. Essendo egli stato acclamato dalle truppe, la sua monarchia

⁶ Cfr. F. Santangelo, *Fra dramma e politica: aspetti della fortuna moderna dei Gracchi*, *Politica Antica* 7 (2017), pp. 163–188, part. p. 164. Santangelo ricorda come F. Guizzi (*Il principato tra "res publica" e potere assoluto*, Napoli 1974, pp. 15–17, n. 1) abbia dimostrato l'inconsistenza della presunta affinità fra utopie comuniste e progetti gracciani; cfr. inoltre M. Raskolnikoff, *La Recherche soviétique et l'histoire économique et sociale du monde hellénistique et romain*, Strasbourg, AECR 1975, pp. 66–70.

⁷ Scrive Marchesi nella sua *Letteratura latina* (1925–1927), p. 151: Gaio «aveva l'indole di un imperatore [...]: questo mancò alla sua fortuna: un esercito». Secondo Marchesi Gaio «oltre che essere il più grande uomo di Stato fu il massimo oratore del suo tempo e uno dei massimi dell'Antichità». G. Borghello, *Factio miserorum: note e divagazioni intorno a Concetto Marchesi (e a Giangiacomo Feltrinelli)*, in Id., *Sequenze. Percorsi, problemi e scorci di storia della letteratura italiana*, Venezia, Marsilio 2019, segnala come le pagine di Marchesi avessero meritato l'interesse di G. Feltrinelli (*Senior Service*, Milano, Feltrinelli 1999, p. 55). Borghello (p. 198), così come Canfora (p. 312), segnala la recensione alla *Letteratura* di Marchesi di Manara Valgimigli, che prontamente riconobbe l'importanza del tema (la recensione apparve in realtà anonima su *Leonardo*: ottobre 1927, p. 254).

racchiudeva il principio democratico, esattamente come quella dell'età arcaica. Per questo Mommsen lo definisce, con un deliberato ossimoro, *Demokratenkönig*, «re democratico» e la sua riflessione sembra risentire delle teorizzazioni del *Contrat social* di Jean-Jacques Rousseau.⁸ Questa idea di sovranità popolare percorrerebbe la storia di Roma come un filo rosso fino a Cesare.

La monarchia cesariana, «democratica» era dunque anche «necessaria», in quanto «logicamente» imposta da un'organizzazione politica fondata sulla schiavitù e sfociata nell'assolutismo oligarchico; onde la 'previsione' dettata dall'analogia di situazioni storiche pur tanto lontane nel tempo e nello spazio.

Non sembra casuale che qui non ci sia, da parte di Marchesi, nessun riconoscimento per il mito antitirannico di Bruto o per quello di Catone.⁹ Sembra piuttosto plausibile ritenere che la sua lettura del mondo romano tragga ispirazione da quella rivoluzionaria comunista (e prima risorgimentale e socialista).¹⁰ È caratteristico come proprio il riferimento a Gaio Gracco sia da lui evocato — in modo invero alquanto paradossale — in un elogio di Palmiro Togliatti pubblicato su *Rinascita*:

Anche la sua oratoria è classica: per una struttura non retorica, ma dialettica; nella sua eloquenza gli elementi dell'ethos prevalgono su quelli del pathos; si può dire di essa ciò che si è detto dell'eloquenza di Caio Gracco, che ha il pallore, non il rossore dello sdegno.¹¹

Direi che rientri nella categoria, politicamente sempre assai delicata, dell'attualizzazione anche uno scritto di genere completamente diverso, vale a dire il testo latino, alquanto «sconclusionato»,¹² dell'iscrizione incisa sul gonfalone dell'Università di Padova, donato a quella di Trieste in occasione della sua solenne inaugurazione, l'11 novembre 1940. Concetto Marchesi lo chiude con parole che riecheggiano un passo del *Bellum Catilinae* di Sallustio (53, 4): *vexillum dedit quod Tergestinae*

⁸ Canfora ha scelto l'appellativo di «dittatore democratico» per il suo libro su Cesare: *Giulio Cesare. Il dittatore democratico*, Roma–Bari, Laterza 1999.

⁹ I riferimenti a Catone nell'opera di Marchesi sono numerosi e, in parte, contraddittori. Cfr. Canfora p. 327 e, soprattutto, p. 359.

¹⁰ Canfora, p. 204.

¹¹ C. Marchesi, *Umanesimo e comunismo*, p. 356. L'immagine del pallore di Gaio Gracco si ritrova anche in un articolo, sempre dedicato a Togliatti, del 1948 (vd. *infra*, n. 21), nonché in *Letteratura Latina*, Milano–Messina, Principato, 1953⁸, p. 175.

¹² Così lo definisce Canfora, p. 263; vd. pp. 262–271 per una dettagliata ricostruzione della complessa vicenda di questo testo.

*iuventuti Romanae sit fortitudinis signum qua divitias paupertas multitudinem paucitas superavit.*¹³

La fondamentale adesione alla monarchia cesariana può spiegare la lettura di Marchesi di Sallustio come figura emblematica del pentitismo politico,¹⁴ categoria sempre invero di ardua connotazione, per quanto oggi relativamente in voga. Marchesi nella prima edizione della sua *Letteratura latina* del 1925 si sforza di capire il meccanismo mentale che portò Sallustio a un ripensamento globale a seguito dell'insuccesso della propria opzione politica.¹⁵ Parla di «travolgimento totale di tutta la sua coscienza» arrivando a questo singolare commento — che appare invero solo giustificativo della sua interpretazione: «A quell'età (oltre 40 anni) e in quelle circostanze i pentimenti di rado sono sinceri». ¹⁶ In particolare, è nel confronto tra Cesare e Catone che emergerebbe il 'pentitismo' di Sallustio, di fatto catoniano alla morte di Cesare, pur conservando ammirazione nei confronti del dittatore assassinato (*Bellum Catilinae* 53–54).¹⁷ La *synkrisis* è stata in verità oggetto di svariate esegesi, con esiti anche molto divergenti. In esse ha certamente pesato a lungo il pregiudizio della presunta tendenziosità di Sallustio che ha avuto in Eduard

¹³ Canfora, p. 269, osserva giustamente che si tratta di parole che nel novembre del 1940, a guerra appena iniziata, suonavano davvero attuali a fronte della conclamata contrapposizione tra «nazioni proletarie contro nazioni plutocratiche». Non è questa, in verità, la sola iscrizione di Marchesi di contenuto fascisteggiante. Non ve n'è traccia, peraltro, nell'appendice 14, *Concetto Marchesi epigrafista*, del libro di E. Franceschini, *Concetto Marchesi. Linee per l'interpretazione di un uomo inquieto*, Padova, Antenore 1978, pp. 352–366. Il commento al *Bellum Catilinae* di Sallustio di Marchesi risale al 1939 (Milano–Messina, Principato). Nel 1935 era uscito a Firenze da Le Monnier un commento alla *Guerra di Catilina* di Luigi Pareti.

¹⁴ Un tema ampiamente valorizzato in Canfora, pp. 319–337.

¹⁵ Messina, Principato 1925, pp. 305–306; Canfora dà conto delle modifiche del testo, non prive di rilevanza, nelle edizioni successive (se ne ebbero otto fino al 1953). Gli interventi di Marchesi sui suoi testi che ristampava erano non di rado profondi. Si veda in proposito Franceschini, *op. cit.*, p. 91, secondo cui i ripensamenti e le correzioni da parte di Marchesi «mostrano il tormento e l'amore dell'artista mai contento pienamente della sua opera»; vd. anche L. Canfora, *La lettera di Catilina: Norden, Marchesi, Syme, History of Classical Scholarship* 1 (2019), pp. 128–134, part. p. 132.

¹⁶ Secondo Canfora (p. 323): «Nessun altro interprete di Sallustio ha capito così in profondità come Marchesi il tracollo interiore di lui», perché sentiva vicino a sé quel travolgimento.

¹⁷ *Ac mihi multa agitanti constabat paucorum civium egregiam virtutem cuncta patravisse, eoque factum uti divitias paupertas, multitudinem paucitas superaret.* «E a me che molto meditavo appariva chiaro che tutto aveva adempiuto la virtù singolare di pochi cittadini, e ch'era accaduto per questo che la povertà vincesse sulla ricchezza, l'esiguo numero sulla moltitudine».

Schwartz il suo più illustre rappresentante.¹⁸ Canfora, che avverte come la premessa sopprimere iper-elitistica che si legge in Sallustio («Roma opera di pochi») non dovesse dispiacerli, dedica alcune pagine alla ricostruzione di Marchesi del pentitismo politico dello storico romano.¹⁹ Invero è proprio la scelta di dedicarsi alla storiografia, rinunciando alle contese pubbliche, che comportava, direi per necessità, che Sallustio cercasse «non la fazione da difendere ma gli individui».

Convieni altresì ricordare come le complesse problematiche di ordine ideologico dibattute in quegli anni possano giustificare letture personalizzate anche di storici antichi. Si sottolineava, tra l'altro, a Liberazione appena realizzata, il diverso significato dell'aver aderito al Partito Comunista e l'essere marxista, fra «un impegno morale, maturato moralmente» e qualcosa che riguardava invece «la mente».²⁰ Ancora in un articolo, *Trent'anni*, pubblicato su *Società*, nel 1947, probabilmente scritto da Giuseppe Berti, si legge in riferimento alla Rivoluzione d'Ottobre:

La Rivoluzione di cui noi oggi ricordiamo l'anniversario per i principi che l'hanno mossa, per gli ideali che l'hanno animata, non è più un fatto esteriore a noi, ma piuttosto un fatto interiore, un fatto nostro, più nostro di quanto fossero i principi del 1789 e quel giacobinismo che li portò alle loro conseguenze estreme.²¹

Merita in proposito ricordare le parole con cui Marchesi riprese il *Manifesto*, pubblicato il 26 maggio 1945, nell'assumere il ruolo di Commissario per l'Università di Padova, dopo avere rivestito il Rettorato,

¹⁸ Si veda la nitida messa a punto di A. La Penna, *Sallustio e la "rivoluzione" romana*, ristampa Milano, Bruno Mondadori 2018 (ed. or. Milano, Feltrinelli 1968), p. 138. Oltre a quello di Schwartz, si deve fare almeno il nome di Gaetano De Sanctis, che accusava Sallustio di spirito libellistico (*Problemi di Storia Antica*, Bari, Laterza 1932, pp. 187–214). Marchesi nella premessa al suo commento, sostenendo che Sallustio nella sua presentazione di Catilina «si abbandona a manifesta esagerazione», si chiede perché, un anno dopo l'uccisione di Cesare, risusciti la figura di Catilina (p. IX). Ci sono buoni motivi per ritenere che il pregiudizio di tendenziosità attribuito all'opera di Sallustio sia ormai superato.

¹⁹ Pp. 332–334. Sul colpo di mano di Catilina e sulla sua azione politica si veda ora G. Urso, *Catilina. Le faux populiste*, Bordeaux, Ausonius 2019.

²⁰ *Società*, Nuova serie, 1947, n. 1. Luisa Mangoni (vd. nota seguente) sottolinea, a buon diritto, la complessità di questo editoriale.

²¹ *Società*, Nuova serie, 1947, n. 4, pp. 439–440. Cfr. L. Mangoni, «*Società*»: storia e storiografia nel secondo dopoguerra, Italia contemporanea 145 (1981), p. 50.

notoriamente controverso, durante il Governo Badoglio e, quindi, per un breve periodo, nei primi mesi della Repubblica Sociale:²²

Universitari padovani! Nel riprendere la direzione del vostro Ateneo il nostro primo pensiero è rivolto a quelli che nella suprema battaglia di liberazione si offrirono alla Patria con l'eroico sacrificio. I loro nomi resteranno nella perpetuità della memoria. L'Università di Padova, che nel novembre del 1943 iniziava il nuovo Risorgimento italiano e, prima fra tutte, sosteneva sino alla fine la lotta con la più vile e feroce delle oppressioni, comincerà col nome dei suoi Caduti, i forti della sua gloria rinnovata.

Studenti d'Italia! Troppi vi hanno tradito perché dobbiate abbandonarvi tra le braccia che da ogni parte si tendono verso di voi. Diffidate dei vostri innumerevoli amici, ma non diffidate di quelli che portano i segni delle vecchie battaglie, di quelli che continuarono a lottare perché erano certi di voi, che non eravate ancora. Essi furono i giganti della gioventù italiana: altrimenti sarebbe stato folle la lotta e suicidio il sacrificio.

Non giudicateli per quello che vorreste che fosse e non è. Nell'oggi sono tutti i germi del domani; ma sono anche i fermenti e i residui di un passato che dovrà scomparire. La lotta per la rigenerazione civile non deve stagnare negli accomodamenti e nelle dimenticanze. Il popolo italiano non può umiliare ed annullare, nell'ignavia di una concordia bugiarda e infeconda, il suo pentimento. Quanti hanno gettato l'Italia nell'abisso, quanti ne hanno impoverito la terra e isteriliti gli intelletti, oggi si fanno attorno all'enorme rovina per gridare che bisogna a qualunque costo salvare la Patria, ma salvatori della Patria saranno gli uccisi, i perseguitati, i maledetti. Quelli che furono chimati pazzi, traditori e venduti; salvatori della Patria saranno i lavoratori e i gloriosi partigiani e patrioti: sarete voi, giovani d'Italia.

Voi restituirate agli italiani il senso lieto della vita e la coscienza, quella libertà che è la gioia di espandere il proprio pensiero e il proprio volere: restituirate la serenità dello spirito e delle opere a questo popolo nostro che nei tempi luminosi ha donato al mondo miracoli di arte e di civiltà. La nuova Italia risorgerà con il lavoro che non si interrompe e

²² Marchesi fu nominato Rettore dal Ministro dell'Istruzione del Governo Badoglio Leonardo Severi al posto di Carlo Anti. Si insediò il 7 settembre 1943. Il ministro della RSI Carlo Alberto Biggini, suo amico personale, respinse le sue dimissioni e lo convinse a restare in carica. La situazione però precipitò rapidamente e Marchesi presentò le sue dimissioni definitive a Biggini alla fine di novembre, dandosi contestualmente alla fuga. Si veda l'ampia documentazione raccolta e discussa da Canfora (parte IX: *Da Rettore a rifugiato politico*, pp. 505-647).

con la fede che non vacilla: sorgerà dal lungo travaglio, calma e sicura come tutti i grandi edifici destinati a vivere nei secoli.

Studenti! Guardate al mondo del lavoro, al gran porto da cui si parte e a cui si arriva in ogni sorgere dell'intelletto alla ricerca della verità. Al di là della classe lavoratrice tutti i problemi restano insoluti, da quelli sociali dell'economia a quelli individuali dello spirito: e soltanto la classe lavoratrice potrà realizzare quella pace nazionale ed economica tra le genti senza la quale vana e fragilissima cosa sarebbe la pace politica e diplomatica fra gli Stati.

Il destino ha voluto fecondare dinanzi a voi tutti i germi del male. Quest'albero attossicato alla terra lo conoscete voi nati e cresciuti alla sua ombra. Reciderete i rami, ma non dimenticate la radice. Questa bisogna estirpare e distruggere. È profonda ma è visibile: la rintraccerete se non avrete dimenticato il dolore della terra. E finché ci basti la vita noi maestri vi saremo compagni nel vostro cammino.²³

Si deve altresì ricordare la radicale presa di posizione, al limite dell'implausibilità, di Elio Vittorini che, sul *Politecnico* del 5 gennaio 1946, scrisse un articolo, *Fascisti i giovani*, con cui creava la singolare categoria del «fascismo antifascista». Sostiene Vittorini:

Fino all'ultimo i giovani hanno potuto credere che il fascismo fosse in lotta contro ogni sorta di reazionari per l'attuazione di un programma socialmente rivoluzionario. Posso esprimermi con un paradosso? *È stato un modo antifascista il loro modo di essere 'fascisti'* (corsivo dell'Autore).²⁴

Giuseppe Berti, uno specialista di storia del pensiero sociale e dei movimenti democratici del XIX secolo, che ebbe un ruolo di primo piano nella rivista *Società* (oltre che nelle epurazioni degli esuli comunisti in URSS sospettati di deviazionismo ideologico) nei suoi primi anni scrive:

È possibile questo? Disgraziatamente è un fatto che noi marxisti ci troviamo oggi, in Italia, in una particolare situazione. Da una parte c'è la schiera numerosa e spregevole di quelli che hanno l'abitudine di porre la vela come spira il vento [...] Il loro «spirito» che da destra s'era spostato verso sinistra tre anni fa di nuovo tende a spostarsi a destra: miserabile pendolo! Dall'altra ci sono uomini di più elevata struttura intellettuale e morale [...] a cui tuttavia, questa situazione fa comodo perché permette loro di svolgere con maggiore efficacia alcuni elementi

²³ Cito da *Il Contemporaneo* a. IV del 23 febbraio 1957, p. 6.

²⁴ Cfr. S. Guerriero, *La generazione di Mussolini, Belfagor* 67 (2012), pp. 283–284.

tradizionali del loro pensiero [...] Non c'è da stupirsi, quindi, se questa avvelenata atmosfera [...] turba non diciamo la serenità nostra [...] ma la serenità degli studi, il loro coordinamento, il loro vigore, trasportando nel campo di quella che dovrebbe essere la disinteressata ricerca del vero considerazioni ed elementi di tutt'altro genere.

Il sostegno che Togliatti riservò costantemente a Concetto Marchesi propiziò il ruolo di primo piano a lui riservato all'interno del Partito, almeno come referente per la politica culturale.²⁵ A questo stretto rapporto si deve probabilmente anche il mancato provvedimento disciplinare che, secondo Luigi Longo, il partito aveva pensato di prendere nei suoi confronti dopo la scelta di assumere l'incarico di Rettore a Padova sotto il regime di Salò (sono anni in cui, almeno al suo interno, il PCI era assai meno monolitico di quanto non apparisse).²⁶ D'altra parte, né Longo, né Secchia potevano avere per la cultura la considerazione che viceversa aveva Palmiro Togliatti.²⁷ Non sono solo parole di circostanza quelle che si leggono nella sua commemorazione dell'illustre latinista:

Concetto Marchesi è stato un grande intellettuale non solo per la sua sapienza filologica, per l'acutezza critica, per la vastità dei suoi orizzonti culturali, ma perché è stato per varie generazioni di italiani l'esempio di un intellettuale moderno, che aveva cancellato per sempre dal suo spirito le tare tradizionali della nostra cultura: l'accademismo, il provincialismo, lo scarso impegno umano e civile, il compromesso e la cortigianeria verso il potere costituito [...].

Non sappiamo quanto la sua critica possa definirsi marxista: ma certo è giusto il riaccostamento che è stato fatto della sua *Storia della letteratura latina* alla famosa *Storia* di Francesco De Sanctis, a un tipo cioè di critica militante e appassionata che — come scriveva Gramsci — è il tipo più vicino a una critica autenticamente marxista [...].

²⁵ Si veda l'articolo di Marchesi pubblicato su *Rinascita* nel 1948, *Togliatti uomo di cultura e oratore*, all'indomani del suo ferimento da parte di Antonio Pallante (poi in *Scritti politici*, pp. 337–341). Si veda anche *Un profilo e un augurio*, *Rinascita*, marzo 1953 (= *Umanesimo e comunismo*, pp. 87–88).

²⁶ Cfr. P. Spriano, *Storia del Partito comunista italiano*, vol. V, Torino, Einaudi 1977, p. 201. Tra Marchesi e Longo c'era stato un duro scontro (Canfora, p. 524 e pp. 607–614: *Il secondo strappo con il partito*).

²⁷ Nel corso del V congresso nazionale del PCI (Roma, 29 dicembre 1945 – 5 gennaio 1946), Antonio Banfi aveva perorato l'apertura alla conoscenza delle grandi correnti di cultura scientifica e tecnica che attraversavano il mondo, ma era stato contrastato duramente proprio da Concetto Marchesi, che difese a oltranza la cultura umanistica classica: cfr. N. Ajello, *Intellettuali e PCI (1944–1958)*, Roma–Bari, Laterza 1997², pp. 63–64.

E Marchesi, certamente non era un marxista dogmatico.²⁸ [...] La figura di Marchesi ci si presenta così, nella sua complessità e genialità di studioso, di creatore, di educatore, di combattente per le cause della libertà e del socialismo.²⁹

È peraltro incontestabile, mi sembra, che si debba riconoscere in Marchesi un'adesione acritica ai principi-cardine del regime stalinista vigente nell'URSS nella fiducia nel socialismo realizzato in quel Paese.³⁰ Marxista certamente non dogmatico, fu però succubo di uno dei più sinistri miti del suo tempo, un cedimento che può forse essere riportato a quella peculiare forma di assimilazione della Storia romana a quella contemporanea che era caratteristica della storiografia sovietica. Si direbbe che era il suo modo di rispondere all'*aestus civilis*, «quando l'onda politica ci travolge, e ci confondiamo con la folla che minaccia od esulta; quando un impeto di fede o di riscatto ci trascina all'azione, allora noi compiamo la poesia della nostra vita e siamo noi i poeti della nostra giornata».³¹ Di qui, forse, anche la sua peculiare lettura di Sallustio e del suo presunto pentitismo.

²⁸ In proposito La Penna (*Concetto Marchesi. La critica letteraria come scoperta dell'uomo*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia 1980, p. 87), con riferimento a due passi noti di Marchesi che figurano in *La persona umana nel comunismo* (ora in *Umanesimo e comunismo*, pp. 41–49 e in *Scritti politici*, a cura di Maria Todaro-Faranda, Roma, Editori Riuniti 1958, pp. 23–31) e in *Perché sono comunista* (ora in *Umanesimo e comunismo*, pp. 29–40 e in *Scritti politici*, pp. 11–22), parla di una «dicotomia della vita non filosoficamente argomentata, piuttosto nebulosa, ma una dicotomia decisa che sembra avviare verso le mete della trascendenza». Va tenuto presente che questo secondo scritto fu letto il 15 aprile 1945 e che Marchesi doveva aver presente l'articolo 2 dello statuto del partito che era stato visto da molti intellettuali come una via per esercitare gli strumenti critici del marxismo. Scrive tra l'altro Marchesi (*Perché sono comunista*, cit. p. 45): «Il marxismo non è una dogmatica, è una scienza che progredisce mediante una continua elaborazione di esperienze e una continua indagine dei fatti: è la scienza del movimento proletario, per la costruzione della società socialista: e perciò appunto perché scienza fondata sulla indagine e sulla esperienza, va soggetta senza tregua ad arricchimenti, a perfezionamenti e a correzioni».

²⁹ Necrologio non firmato e, quindi, con ogni probabilità risalente al direttore del periodico, Palmiro Togliatti, pubblicato su *Rinascita* 14 (1957) subito dopo la morte avvenuta a Roma il 12 febbraio 1957. Nel libro di Franceschini si può trovare una fotografia (tav. IV) in cui si vede Togliatti, con la moglie e la figlia e il fratello di Marchesi accanto al feretro del latinista. In altre fotografie dell'epoca si vedono, tra gli altri, accanto al feretro, due futuri presidenti della Repubblica, Giovanni Leone e Sandro Pertini.

³⁰ La Penna (*Concetto Marchesi*, p. 87) ha sottolineato come Marchesi rimanesse inamovibile nell'esaltazione di Stalin.

³¹ *Storia e poesia, Nuova Antologia*, febbraio 1946, p. 189 (cfr. Canfora, p. 10).

Ripropongo un estratto dell'articolo da lui scritto per *Rinascita* nel 1953, *Stalin liberatore*, subito dopo la morte del dittatore sovietico:³²

Giuseppe Stalin ha costruito per tutte le genti. [...] L'opera di Stalin è opera liberatrice da qualunque oppressione; da quella che fa l'uomo schiavo della fame e della fatica a quella che lo fa strumento e oggetto di rovina. [...] L'universalità di Colui che oggi è scomparso per non morire più nella memoria e nell'azione degli uomini è in questo prodigioso amplesso che comprende tutto il mondo del lavoro, della civiltà, della fraternità: in queste braccia protese verso tutti i popoli. E le classi privilegiate della terra, e quanti vivono di sfruttamento e di servitù e di rapina sono rimasti percossi, anche loro, dall'annuncio inatteso e le loro parole hanno pure avuto fremiti di commozione e di turbamento.

Finalmente una verace parola ha illuminato i due mondi.³³

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³² *Umanesimo e comunismo*, pp. 258–59.

³³ Cito per esteso un passo dello scritto di Marchesi segnalato in una nota di Canfora (p. 295 n. 33) e menzionato anche altrove (p. 313). Lo studioso ha osservato (p. 548) che «Marchesi fu maestro dell'oratoria polisemica: risorsa insostituibile quando si abbia a che fare con un potere dispotico»: questa affermazione è in relazione al discorso pronunciato da Marchesi come Rettore dell'Università di Padova ad inaugurazione dell'anno accademico il 9 novembre 1943. Temo che nei confronti di Stalin la sua prosa non possa essere considerata «polisemica».

THE DISCOVERY OF AELIAN'S *TACTICA THEORIA* IN ITALIAN HUMANISM

— IMMACOLATA ERAMO —

ABSTRACT

Aelian's Tactica theoria was the most highly regarded Greek military manual in Italian Humanism. This paper aims to investigate the reasons for its success, comparing it to other writings on the same topics, and the key elements and figures that ensured the work's survival: Theodorus Gaza and his Latin translation, the vernacular translation by Ludovico Carbone, the diagrams in Niccolò Machiavelli's Arte della guerra, the editions by Lelio Carani and Francesco Ferrosi, and the studies of Andrea Palladio.

KEYWORDS

Aelian the Tactician, Tactica theoria, Niccolò Machiavelli, Andrea Palladio, Ludovico Carbone, Theodorus Gaza

1. Introduction

Anna Komnene writes that during the campaign against the Seljuk Turks in 1116, her father Alexios I Komnenos put into practice (ἐν ἀληθείᾳ) some tactics which he himself had devised in the battlefield on the Dorylaeum plain. He made some sketches of his tactics: indeed, 'he was not inexperienced in Aelian's "Tactics"' (ἦν γὰρ οὐδὲ τῆς Αἰλιανοῦ Τακτικῆς ἀδαής).¹

Anna refers to Aelian the Tactician,² who in the age of Trajan wrote a

¹ Anna Comn., *Alex.* XV,3.6. On this passage see Loreto 1995, pp. 564–565.

² The tendency to confuse Aelian the Tactician with Claudius Aelian goes back to Suid. αἰ 178 (Αἰλιανός, ἀπὸ Πραίνεστοῦ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ σοφιστής, ὁ χρηματίσας Κλαύδιος· ὃς ἐπεκλήθη μελίγλωσσος ἢ μελίφθογγος· καὶ ἐσοφίστευσεν ἐν Ῥώμῃ αὐτῇ ἐπὶ τῶν μετὰ Ἀδριανὸν χρόνων), and the editors of the *Tactica theoria* were also guilty of this, so much so that Konrad Gesner included the Latin translation of Aelian's manual by Theodorus Gaza and Francesco Robortello in the edition of the works of Claudius Aelian (Αἰλιανοῦ τὰ εὐρισκόμενα ἅπαντα. *Claudii Aeliani Praenestini pontificis et sophistae, qui Romae sub Imperatore Antonino Pio vixit, Meliglossus aut Meliphthongus ab orationis suavitate cognominatus, opera, quae exstant, omnia, Graece Latineque e regione [...]* cura et opera Conradi Gesneri Tigurini, Zürich 1556; see here the *praefatio*, pp. without no.), and indeed Johannes Arcerius explicitly attributed the *Tactica theoria* to Claudius Aelianus in the title page (*Cl. Aeliani et Leonis Imp. Tactica*

Tactica theoria: a manual on cavalry and infantry tactics.³ The subject of this treatise — the tactics of the Macedonian phalanx —, its structure and the organization of the subject matter⁴ demonstrate that Aelian follows the common source of two other manuals: Asklepiodotus' *Tactics* and Arrian's *Techne taktike*.⁵ Unlike those works, the *Tactica theoria* had an important impact in the ages which followed, from the sixth century to the tactical reforms of William Louis of Nassau-Dillenburg (1560–1620).⁶

The *Fortleben* of Aelian's work is also testified by revivals, uses, references, and citations — the so-called 'interpolated recension', Maurice's *Strategicon*, Syrianus' *De re strategica* and, through these, Leo the Wise's *Tactica*, the *Sylloge tacticorum*, Nicephoros Ouranos' *Tactica*, and other works — in the Byzantine age and also by both the great number of surviving manuscripts and those we know once existed.⁷ Even a brief analysis of all the stages of this process would be too long to carry out

sive De instruendis aciebus, Graece et Latine, quorum hic Graece primum opera Iohannis Meursii, ille ex Sixti Arcerii nova interpretatione Latina [...], Leiden 1613).

³ Τακτικὴ θεωρία is in the *subscriptio* of the *Laurentianus* 55.4 (f. 159^r), which is the most ancient and important manuscript of the Greek tactical manuals and also the archetype of the so-called *recensio authentica* for Aelian's text (cf. Devine 1989, pp. 34–35; a general description of this manuscript, with bibliography, is in Eramo 2018, pp. 43–45), whereas the *inscriptio* of the same codex (f. 146^r) has Τακτικά, which is the *titulatio* also present in the codices of the so-called 'interpolated recension' (see Köchly–Rüstow 1855, pp. 472–473; Dain 1930, p. 229). It is plausible that the title of this work was actually Τακτικὴ θεωρία, since this title is present both at the beginning of the κεφάλαια (C1: περὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις τακτικῆς θεωρίας) and in the preface (pr. 1: τὴν παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι τακτικὴν θεωρίαν ἀπὸ τῶν Ὀμήρου χρόνων κτλ.) and in ch. 1 (1.1: πρῶτος μὲν ὧν ἴσμεν δοκεῖ τὴν τακτικὴν θεωρίαν), referring to the manuals on tactics.

⁴ The manual is divided into 42 chapters. After the preface, where the author presents the work and its criteria, ch. 1, which contains a list of predecessors in the field of tactical literature, and ch. 2, where he explains the difference between land war and naval war, the other chapters deal with troops (ch. 2.6–2.11), the organization of the army (ch. 3–10), formations (ch. 11–23), movements (ch. 24–35), marches (ch. 36–39), and commands (ch. 40–42): see Devine 1989, pp. 31–32.

⁵ The common source of the three manuals has been identified in a work by the Stoic philosopher Panaetius (among other scholars, Dain 1946, pp. 26–40 and Dain–de Foucault 1967, p. 329, who hypothesized an intermediate source for Aelian and Arrian; Wheeler 1977, pp. 338–350; Stadter 1978, pp. 117–119; Devine 1993, pp. 333–334), but also in Polybius' lost manual on tactics (Devine 1989, p. 33 and 1995): see Rance 2016, pp. 17–19.

⁶ Lyd. I,47.1.

⁷ Hale 1988, p. 290; Rance 2016, pp. 33–35 and 2016a, pp. 226–237. See the *stemma codicum* in Dain 1946, s.n.

here. I will instead concentrate on Aelian's reception in Italian Humanism and will argue that this period was a pivotal moment in the making of the knowledge on Greek military literature in Western Europe.⁸

2. Aelian's aims

Why was *Tactica theoria* read, cited, used, and copied, whereas the other two manuals were not? This question is worthy of preliminary attention. In my opinion, one of the keys to Aelian's success can be found in the words which the author himself uses in the preface to his work. Indeed, he explains the content of his *Tactica theoria* addressing the emperor Trajan with these words:⁹ 'since the age of Homer many authors have written on tactical theory, also those who did not share his same experience in the field of theoretical subjects' (πολλοὶ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν συνέγραψαν οὐκ ἔχοντες, ἦν ἡμεῖς ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασι πιστεύθημεν ἕξω ἔχειν). For this reason, Aelian decided to begin from these authors, although he rightly knew that posterity would prefer his treaty to theirs. His initial doubts about writing a manual of this type — due to the fact that he did not have a good knowledge of the practical experience acquired by the Romans in this field — were overcome thanks to Frontinus, who was an expert in military matters (ἀπενεγκαμένω περὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἐμπειρίαν) and interested in the theoretical knowledge of the Greeks (οὐκ ἐλάττονα σπουδὴν ἔχοντα εἰς τὴν παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι τεθεωρημένην μάθησιν). Thanks to Frontinus' encouragement, Aelian decided to continue with a work which he had only just begun and to publish it, in order to replace the ancient Greek writings for all those interested in this theory (τοῖς ἐσπουδακόσι περὶ ταύτην τὴν θεωρίαν παραγκωνίσασθαι δυναμένην τὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων Ἑλλήνων συντάγματα). Future readers of his work might find all the topics related to these subjects presented better than the ancients had done previously, since each topic is dealt with in a systematic way.

Aelian knew well that these topics might be considered too basic by those who, like the emperor, had an in-depth knowledge and above all experience of these matters. However, he believed that his work would be

⁸ The introduction to Matthew's new translation of the *Tactica theoria* (2012) has only few remarks on this period.

⁹ The name of the dedicatee Ἀδριανέ in the manuscript tradition (pr. 1) should be considered a corruption of Τραϊανέ, on the basis of the references in pr. 3, where the author cites the father of the dedicatee, Nerva (ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πατρός σου Νέρονας; see Köchly 1851, p. 22 and Dain 1946, pp. 19–20) and Frontinus (τῷ ἐπισήμῳ ὑπατικῷ), whom Aelian visited at his villa in Formia. This man was Sextus Julius Frontinus, the author of the *Strategemata* and the *De aqueductu Urbis Romae*, who lived during Trajan's principate (cf. Devine 1989, p. 31).

of value in any case, if considered as a ‘Greek tactical theory’ (ὡς Ἑλληνικὴν θεωρίαν), in which the principles applied by Alexander the Great to land tactics are exposed. A reader with little spare time — someone like the emperor, for example — would be able to consult the index of subjects which the author placed at the beginning, so he could quickly locate what was of interest to him.

In the preface to his work, Aelian clearly describes its characteristics: the *Tactica theoria* aims to be a clear, well-structured and user-friendly manual, but above all a theoretical handbook, which does not have a direct relationship with the present, and for this reason is always ‘up-to-date’. This aim, which is already evident from the author’s choice of words (note the frequency of the word *θεωρία*¹⁰ and its derivations), is clear when Aelian states that he had doubts about whether to write the manual, since he was not an expert of Roman military theory and practice, and therefore was afraid that Greek doctrine was out of fashion. However, thanks to Frontinus, Aelian understood that Greek military theory was in fact not inferior to Roman military experience, and thus still of value. This statement alone might in itself justify the current relevance of a work like the *Tactica theoria*, which exposed, as did the manuals by Asclepiodotus and Arrian, the principles of the Macedonian phalanx, but, unlike those earlier works, aimed to develop a tactical ‘theory’.¹¹

The other feature, which certainly ensured the success of the *Tactica theoria* over the following centuries, can be seen in ch. 1, where Aelian admits to experiencing difficulty when reading his predecessors, whose works were aimed at a readership that was already well-versed in the topic, and who failed to provide effective accounts of basic concepts. For this reason, wishing to make sure that his readers would not encounter the same difficulties, Aelian decided to use some drawings (ἐπίκουρον παραλήψομαι ἐπὶ καταγραφῆς τὴν τῶν σχημάτων διατύπωσιν), to provide visual support to aid understanding (ἵνα τὴν ὄψιν τῆ νοήσει συλλήπτορα παράσχῳ), whenever his exposition is not sufficient to clearly explain the theoretical concepts being dealt with.

The manuscript tradition has preserved only traces of the drawings that certainly originally accompanied the text. Nevertheless, as we will

¹⁰ Τὴν παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι τακτικὴν θεωρίαν [...] ταύτην συντάξαι τὴν θεωρίαν [...] περὶ ταύτην τὴν θεωρίαν παραγκωνίσασθαι [...] ὡς Ἑλληνικὴν θεωρίαν [...] τὴν ἐν ταῖς παρατάξεσιν ἐπιβολὴν θεωρήσεις.

¹¹ See Formisano 2009, p. 230: «Teoria dunque, trattazione astratta ed esemplare, basata su una conoscenza tanto ampia quanto perfetta della tradizione letteraria greco-romana, priva di qualsiasi riferimento storico, dettaglio concreto o descrizione di un fatto o luogo particolare». See also Loreto 1995, pp. 573–574, 586–589. I am currently working on a study of the Roman features of the handbooks of Aelian and Arrian.

see, this visual aid steered the choices of reading material in the Humanist age and in the Renaissance, and contributed to deciding the destiny of the text.

3. The Latin translation by Theodorus Gaza

Naples and the Aragon court of Alfonso V were the main hub for the reception of Aelian in Italy and the West.¹² Indeed, the Italian humanist Giovanni Aurispa sold Alfonso a collection of 12 Greek military writings, which included the *Tactica theoria*.¹³ The King evidently asked Aurispa to translate these writings, since in his letter written from Rome on 6 May 1444 Aurispa asks Antonio Panormita, the King's advisor and the most important member of his cultural circle, to tell the monarch that, as soon as he found a place to live, he would deal with the translation, which Alfonso had asked him to produce:¹⁴

Primum omnium regi, quem deum principum appellare soleo, me commendabis eumque certiolem reddes me, quamprimum collocatus fuero, nam adhuc domum mihi idoneam non inveni et difficile est qualem velim Romae invenire, Disciplinam illam militarem ex graeco in latinum, ut mihi iussit, traducturum.

Aurispa finished the translation of Aelian before the summer of the same year, and communicated this to the King in his letter written in July–August 1444 (the text is problematic, and it is worth printing a brief critical apparatus in this instance):¹⁵

Iniunxisti mihi ut opus codicem quoddam graecum De re militari transferrem in latinum; in eo codice volumina diversorum auctorum

¹² On the cultural activity which Alfonso V promoted in his court and the creation of his library see Bentley 1987; Ryder 1990, pp. 306–357; Bianca 1994, with bibl.; see also Delle Donne 2015, pp. 26–59; Caridi 2019.

¹³ Sabbadini 1927, pp. 83–84 and 1931, pp. xxi–xxii; Franceschini 1976, p. 48.

¹⁴ «First of all, you will recommend me to the King, whom I usually call a god, and inform him that, as soon as I find a house — since I have not found a suitable house for me and it is difficult to find what I want in Rome — I will translate that 'military discipline' from Greek to Latin, as he ordered me to do». Sabbadini 1931, pp. 103–105, no. lxxxiv. Sabbadini believes that *disciplinam illam militarem* refers only to Aelian's manual (p. 104 n. 2), but it is very likely that the King was referring to the whole codex, without being aware of its content.

¹⁵ «You ordered me to translate into Latin a Greek codex on military subjects; in that codex there are works of different authors. I have already translated the first: the 'De ordine acierum in pugna'». See Sabbadini 1931, pp. 108–110, no. lxxxviii.

sunt; transtuli iam primum, cuius tractatus est De ordine acierum in pugna.

[ut opus codicem quoddam graecum De re militari *Ottobon. lat. 1153, f. 41^r Vat. lat. 3370, f. 28^v* ut opus, in codice quodam, graecum, De re militari *Sabbadini*]

It is evident that in this letter Aurispa wishes to stress that Aelian is not the only author included in this codex.¹⁶ Therefore, he recalls a previous letter by the King, where a ‘codex graecus de re militari’ was cited very generally.¹⁷ However, in the same letter, Aurispa expressed doubts on the work commissioned to him, which he did not consider to be worthy of the King; furthermore, he did not believe that his translation would make any useful addition to the King’s education:

Quae res nec tanta maiestate digna esse mihi videtur et hic labor meus parvum aut nullum fructum hominibus pariet. sed in eo volumine excellentia tua, quae eius rei magistra est, animadvertere possit quid ille auctor scripserit, quid tu aut aliquis copiarum imperator sentiat. et puto equidem id in ea re futurum, quod Hannibal cuidam de re militari coram eo disserenti dixit: stultum enim senem illum appellavit qui in eius praesentia de re militari dicere et docere auderet, qui tanto tempore cum populo Romano de totius orbis regno certasset, adversus quem saepe multas magnasque victorias habuisset. id, ut opinor, maiestas tua cum hunc auctorem, quem, de acierum ordine transtuli, viderit, dicet quod Hannibal.¹⁸

¹⁶ This is the meaning which we should give to *volumina*. See Rizzo 1973, pp. 6–7, but also E. Forcellini, *Lexicon totius Latinitatis, s.v.: dicimus libros, h. e. partes, in quas opus aliquod dividitur, saepius volumina appellantur*; F. Gaffiot, *Dictionnaire latin-français, s.v.*; A. Blaise, *s.v.*; *DMLBS, s.v.*

¹⁷ See *supra*. Sabbadini’s conjecture (1931, p. 109, but already id. 1890, p. 94) seems not only unnecessary, but indeed worse than the transmitted text. Actually, *opus* here has the meaning of *codex* (see Rizzo 1973, pp. 5–6 and 46; see also E. Forcellini, *Lexicon totius Latinitatis, s.v.*; Lewis–Short, *Latin Dictionary, s.v.*), as it does in the letter of January 1449: *opus illud regium [...] habet multos variosque auctores* (on which *infra*; see Fiaschi 2014, pp. 139–140) and, more clearly, in his letter to Traversari of May 1425: *opus grande non est, sed solum quinterniones tres* (Sabbadini 1931, p. 27). Therefore, *codicem* could be a gloss subsequently included in the text of the *Ottobonanius lat. 1153*, and from this to its apograph (see Fiaschi 2014, pp. 139–140). Furthermore, it seems clear that using *de re militari* Aurispa refers to the whole collection, regarding military subjects, not only to Aelian’s manual, which is identified with the proper title ‘De ordine acierum in pugna’.

¹⁸ «This thing does not seem to me worthy of your majesty and my work will offer you little or no benefit. However, in that volume your excellence, who is the master on

In his view, it would be both more useful and enjoyable for the King to read a translation into Latin of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*:

Neque hoc dico quod laborem fugere velim, sed menti habeo, si iusseris, Xenophontem De institutione regis Cyri et de omni eius vita scribentem in linguam nostram vertere; in quo opere magnam, ut spero, voluptatem legentibus feram et maiestati regiae, si quid illi gloriae addi potest, gloriam faciam. Habeo iam opus in manu et id pertracto.¹⁹

In 1451 the codex was taken to Venice by an embassy consisting of Flavio Biondo, Ludovico Puig and Antonio Panormita, and was lent to Francesco Barbaro. In his letter of 7 June 1451, with which Barbaro gives the codex of the Greek military texts back to Antonio Panormita, there is a further piece of information that helps us to understand the structure of this collection:

Helianus de re militari. Onosander ad Q. Veranium de re imperatoria. Mauricius de re imperatoria. Athineus de machinis et instrumentis bellicis cum pictura expressis. Hiero de iaculis que cum manu proiciuntur. Apollodorus de urbibus obsidendis. Philo ad Aristonem, Iulius Africanus de cestis. Digressiones de imperatoriis institutis. Qualem oportet esse ducem exercitus. Epitoma Cyri Nicophori regis. Epitoma Leonis imperatoris de re militari.²⁰

this subject, might find what its author writes, and what you and other generals know. I believe that the same thing that Hannibal said will happen, when he met a man who discussed military subjects in his presence. Hannibal called this old man stupid, because he attempted to talk about military questions and teach a man who for a long time competed with the Romans for the dominium of the world and who had defeated them with many and great victories. I believe that your majesty might say the same thing when reading this work on tactics which I have translated».

¹⁹ «I do not want to say that I wish to avoid this work, but I intend to translate Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* into our language. I hope that with this work I will give the reader pleasure and glory to your majesty, if it is possible to add further glory to you. I have this work in my hand and I am studying it». See Bianca 1994, pp. 191–192 n. 53. It is no. 527 (f. 10^r) of Inventory 1459: *Item Pedia Senofontis, grecus, in membranis, pulcherimus, cum albis de ligno cohoptis corio rubeo stampato et quator azulis* (in Franceschini 1976, p. 158).

²⁰ Sabbadini 1931, p. 168, app. VIII; Bianca 1994, pp. 190–191, nn. 49–50; Barbaro 1999, pp. 723–725. The index is published also in Branca 1964, pp. 213–215 (with some inaccuracies regarding the identification of the texts) and Commare 2002–2003, p. 80; Eramo 2006, pp. 171–172.

Some extra-textual clues lead us to believe that Aurispa's codex (which was then used by Nicolaos Sekoundinos and Theodorus Gaza for their translations: see *infra*) was the *Vaticanus* gr. 1164.²¹ Nevertheless, this question is difficult to resolve, when we consider that most of Aelian's text present in this codex is now lost. Indeed, of the original three quaternions, the first and two leaves of the second are missing; the other two are mistakenly joined to the end of the codex, so that only ten leaves contain the *Tactica theoria*.²² The structure of the collection demonstrates that the codex was one of the witnesses to the 'interpolated recension'²³ and belonged to the branch of tradition which included tactical writings ordered according to what Alphonse Dain called «Recueil de Tactique A».²⁴

Aurispa never finished the translation commissioned to him by Alfonso, although from his letter to Panormita of January 1449 it seems that he had already translated some texts:

Opus illud regium quod transferendum iussit, habet multos variosque auctores, quorum nonnulli docti et eloquentes sunt, alii vero parum eruditi; ex bonis illis quosdam in latinum verti.²⁵

However, no trace of this remains. Moreover, as Remigio Sabbadini ironically remarked, recalling a judgement of Francesco Filelfo: «l'Aurispa non fu molto studioso dei suoi codici [...] era invece tutto inteso a mercanteggiarli».²⁶ The fact of the matter is that a few years later this collection

²¹ Commare 2002–2003 (an essay which offers the most complete treatment on this codex: history, content, codicological aspects), pp. 77–79. On the identification of the codex see also Eramo 2006, pp. 171–174, with bibl. cited; Fiaschi 2014, p. 147.

²² *Vaticanus* gr. 1164, ff. 1–10^v: from *αἱ διπλάσιον* of the ch. 18.6 to *ἔμβολον* of 19.5; from *ὀρθία δέ* of the ch. 30.1 to *ἐκπερισπασμός* of 32.9; from *ὄπλον καί* of 35.3 to the end (see Devine 1989, pp. 36–37; Commare 2002–2003, p. 94).

²³ Generally, the 'interpolated recension' differs from the 'authentic recension' because of the inclusion of a chapter *Περὶ πορειῶν*, which substitutes ch. 30–37 of the authentic recension, the addition of a text entitled *Σύνταξις ὀπλιτῶν τετραγώνος* at the end of the manual, with a diagram (*παράταξις τετραγώνος*), accompanied by a legend, scholia, alterations and omissions, and above all with the inclusion of diagrams with explicative legends for each symbol (see Dain 1946, pp. 61–115). The two recensions of Aelian's treatise will be discussed in a separate study.

²⁴ Dain 1930, pp. 15–18.

²⁵ «That royal work, which the King commissioned me, has a lot and various authors. Among these, some are wise and eloquent, others not too erudite. I translated some of the good works into Latin». See Sabbadini 1931, pp. 122–123, n. ci. Regarding this letter, see also Commare 2002–2003, p. 79 n. 11; Fiaschi 2014, pp. 139–140.

²⁶ Sabbadini 1905, p. 47. Francesco Filelfo's judgement can be found in his letter to Aurispa of 8 July 1440: *Totus es in librorum mercatura, sed in lectura malle[m] [...] declarabis per litteras qui libri tibi et quales sunt vaenales* (Sabbadini 1931, p. 97

was given to other scholars belonging to Alfonso's circle, so that the works included could be translated into Latin: Nicolaos Sekoundinos translated Onasander's *Strategicus*, Theodorus Gaza the *Tactica theoria*.²⁷

Between 1455 and 1458 Theodorus Gaza was in Naples at the court of Alfonso,²⁸ where he worked at this translation between 1455 and 1456, so as to indulge the King's wishes. Alfonso, in fact, wished to complete his military and cultural formation by reading Greek manuals translated into Latin. Indeed, besides Aelian, Theodorus took on the translation of Maurice's *Strategicon* (the second writing of this collection), of which we only have few clues. He probably finished his work, or at least prepared a first version, which he submitted to Alfonso. Theodorus himself cited this circumstance in the epistle addressed to Alfonso, which is the preface to his translation of John Chrysostom's *De incomprehensibili Dei natura*:

Quamobrem post Mauricii illos de re militari libros, quos anno superiori obtuli tibi ut iudici peritissimo eorum quae imperator ille et gessit et scripsit, has de incomprehensibilis dei natura Orationes quinque Ioannis Antiochensis [...] converti.²⁹

In the same way, a translation of the *Strategicon* by Theodorus Gaza is cited in the section of the *De viris illustribus liber* dedicated to Bartolomeo Facio:

n. lxxviii). See also Fabbri 1996, p. 196 n. 5. According to Fiaschi 2014, p. 140, Aurispa again refers to this work in his letter to Panormita of 2 July 1453 from Rome (*sum verax omnibus nihilque mihi in lingua es quod pectori non insederit*), but, as the same scholar admits, the reference is too generic. Moreover, Aurispa presented himself as a trustworthy man, and above all grateful to the King; see for example in his letter to Panormita of 1449 (on which *supra*), where he claims to have translated some texts of the collection: *tu me rei oro excuses, nam non cesso eius voluntatem adimplere; nec solum promissa faciam sed aliquid plus, quod sibi erit ut spero gratissimum*.

²⁷ Eramo 2006, pp. 164–165, with bibl.; Ilari 2002, pp. 288–289; Fiaschi 2014, pp. 145–146. On Theodorus Gaza see above all Bianca 1999.

²⁸ We know from Antonio Panormita's letter to Giovanni Aurispa of November 1455 that Theodorus Gaza had moved to Naples (*Theodorum tuum, quem mihi tantopere commendas, scito apud Alphonsum regem magnifice collocatum*: Sabbadini 1931, p. 139). He then went to Calabria, where he remained briefly, before moving to Rome after the death of Alfonso (27 June 1458); see Leone 1987, pp. 421–422; Leone 1987a, pp. 431–432.

²⁹ «Therefore, after translating Maurice's books which I offered you last year as you are an expert judge of what that emperor did and wrote, I translated these five discourses on the unintelligible nature of God by John Chrysostom». Valencia, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Històrica BH Ms. 732, f. 5^v; this letter is published in Legrand 1885, pp. xlv–xlvi.

Eiusdem est traductio Mauritius de re militari in duodecim libros distinctus ad Alphonsum Regem, a quo receptus annuo salario honestatus est.³⁰

Likewise, in the *Barberinianus* gr. 263 (16th cent.), containing Polyaeus' *Strategemata*, the following note can be read: *Theodorus vertisse dicitur Urbicium ad Alphonsum*.³¹ However, the translation of Maurice is not mentioned in the list of the «Opere ha fatto tradurre i' re Alfonso» placed by Vespasiano da Bisticci at the end of his biography of Alfonso.³² Although we do not know the details of the background of the translation of the *Tactica theoria*,³³ which Theodorus called *De instruendis aciebus*, the preface to this work provides us with a significant insight into the aims of his author, and indeed into his relationship with the translated text.

Theodorus addresses Antonio Panormita (not by chance, as he had introduced Aurispa to King Alfonso) as the *eloquentissimus et praestantissimus* preceptor of the King, who had already brought to completion his *De dictis et factis Alphonsi regis* and was finishing a *De re militari*, which he probably never achieved; at any rate, nothing of that work has survived. Along with the usual praise to the emperor and the addressee, Theodorus emphasizes the usefulness of his work for the emperor and his preceptor, who in some parts of the text identify with each other:³⁴ the author offers the emperor a useful read for his cultural and military formation, and Antonio Panormita provides materials to write his work.

³⁰ «He (i.e. Theodorus Gaza) translated Maurice's work in twelve books offering them to King Alfonso, who rewarded him with an annual salary». *Bartholomaei Facii De viris illustribus liber*, nunc primum ex ms. cod. in lucem erutus, recensuit, praefationem vitamque auctoris addidit L. Mehus, Florentiae 1745. See already Eramo 2006, p. 170 n. 65; and later Fiaschi 2014, p. 146.

³¹ F. 130^r (see Schindler 1973, pp. 123–124). The confusion between Urbicium and Mauritius goes back to the title Οὐρβικίου τακτικὰ στρατηγικά of the *Laurentianus* 55.4 (f. 5r): see Dain–de Foucault 1968.

³² *La vita di Alfonso re di Napoli*: Greco 1970, pp. 115–117.

³³ See Fiaschi 2014, pp. 144–147.

³⁴ *Certat porro eloquentia tua cum regis virtute; et quanquam neutram vinci ab altera dixerim, tamen nimirum illud et licet et decet affirmare coeteris regem virtute omnibus praestare principibus, te coeteris doctis esse omnibus eloquentiorem et nomen iam idem mereri: quod Xenophontem: qui digna illa memoratu de Socrate suo preceptore litteris tradidit* (text in De Marinis 1947, II, pp. 3–5; see also the commentary in Id. 1952, I, p. 7; Fiaschi 2014, p. 148). On Theodorus' dedication to Panormita see also Bentley 1987, pp. 92–93 and 149–150.

At the place where he specifically presents the text which he has translated,³⁵ Theodorus uses the preface to the *Tactica theoria* as a guide and a source of inspiration, setting out the reasons which make the translation of Aelian a useful and valuable work also for his times: Theodorus states that Aelian explains tactics so clearly that it is difficult to believe that such a short work could contain so much light and doctrine (*docet hanc³⁶ rationem acierum instruendarum tam dilucide, ut vixi credi possit in tam brevi opera tantum lucis doctrinaeque contineri posse*). Many ancient authors therefore wrote about the same subject, although we can say that Aelian was without doubt the best of these, since he explained better that part of military knowledge called 'tactics' (*plerique de hac eadem re opera edidere, sed hoc ceteris omnibus adeo utilius est, ut ne ipsum quidem auctorem hominem modestissimum puduerit omnibus illis anteposendum audere affirmare*). In short, anyone wishing to learn of ancient military tactics should read Aelian's *Tactica theoria* (*cum itaque plures sint partes rei militaris, hanc de instruendis aciebus, quae Graeci tactica nominant, ab Aeliano melius discimus*), which is of great use not only to the study of Greek tactics, but of Roman ones too, since there is no Latin author of tactics from whom it is possible to obtain the theory and practice of this subject (*nec solum ad Graecum instruendi morem, sed etiam ad Romanum, quod tu subtilius videris, accomodatius erudimur, quando nullum — quod equidem sciam — Romani auctoris opus de acierum instructione extat, unde quis rationem universae rei possit accipere et artem*). It is not difficult to perceive here Theodorus' trust in Aelian's view that his *Tactica theoria* was the best work on tactics ever produced and the only one in Roman military practice. In addition, by referring to Aelian with the adjective '*philosophus*',³⁷ Theodorus clearly understands the theoretical character of the work, which Aelian himself had pointed out in the preface to his work.

³⁵ Theodorus Gaza stresses that he used Francesco Griffolini's translation for Homerus' verses in the *Tactica theoria*. This translation was probably commissioned for this occasion by Gaza himself, and was based not on Aelian's but Homerus' text.

³⁶ I prefer here the reading *hanc* of the *Vaticanus* lat. 3414 instead of the *hoc* of the other manuscripts. The text of the letter is in Fiaschi 2014, pp. 147–150.

³⁷ Theodorus did not in any way confuse Aelian the Tactician with Claudius Aelian (Fiaschi's hypothesis, 2014, p. 145), also because in doing this he would have made the mistake of dating Claudius Aelian to the age of Hadrian.

4. The vernacular translation by Ludovico Carbone

Like the original text, the preface to the Latin translation of the *Tactica theoria* enjoyed great success.³⁸ First of all, it was published by Giovanni Antonio Sulpizio da Veroli for the publisher Silber in 1487;³⁹ subsequently it was included in the printed collection of ‘veteres scriptores de re militari’ again for Silber in 1494. This collection contained Vegetius’ *Epitoma rei militaris*, Frontinus’ *Strategemata*, Ps.-Modestus’ *De vocabulis rei militaris*, and the Latin translation of Onasander’s *Strategicus* by Nicolaos Sekoundinos.⁴⁰

Theodorus Gaza’s translation was also used by one of his pupils, Ludovico Carbone from Ferrara, who produced the first Italian vernacular translation of the *Tactica theoria*.⁴¹ Today only the dedication to Ercole d’Este and the initial chapters of this work survive, because of the loss of the leaves at the beginning of the autograph manuscript.⁴² Ludovico Carbone lived at the house of Este, firstly under the protection of Leonello, then of Borso and Ercole, and held the Chair of Rhetoric and *Humanae Litterae*.⁴³ In order to please Ercole, who was very fond of war, hunting and fishing, but also of Greek and Roman history, Ludovico Carbone translated (or rather ‘vulgarized’) Onasander’s *Strategicus* and Aelian’s *Tactica theoria* together, not directly from the Greek, but through the Latin translation by Nicolaos Sekoundinos and Theodorus Gaza.⁴⁴

Carbone himself informs us how he carried out this work in the *praefatio* to his translation of Sallust’s *Bellum Catilinae*, addressed to Alberto d’Este:

Legetti vi priego benignamente l’operetta mia, la qual se m’accorgerò che vi vada per la mente abbracciarò anche de l’altre magiore, benché

³⁸ See the list of manuscripts and editions in Fiaschi 2014, pp. 150–153; on editions and translations see also Hahlweg 1941, pp. 302–307. However, in the printed editions there is no trace of the letter addressed to Panormita: see De Marinis 1952, I, p. 32 n. 84; Id. 1947, II, p. 3; Fabbri 1996, pp. 196–197; Cortesi–Fiaschi 2008, p. 3.

³⁹ Cortesi–Fiaschi 2008, p. 3.

⁴⁰ Cortesi–Fiaschi 2008, p. 3; Fiaschi 2014, p. 135.

⁴¹ On the years of Theodorus Gaza’s teaching in Ferrara see Monfasani 1994.

⁴² *Perusinus* H-6, ff. 181^r–190^v. The translation ends at ch. 2.13 («quegli che Tarentini»). On this manuscript, which is certainly an autograph, see Eramo 2006, p. 161 and nn. 40–42, with bibl. cited.

⁴³ On the life and literary activity of Ludovico Carbone see Eramo 2006, pp. 153–156, with bibl. cited.

⁴⁴ On the characteristics of Ludovico Carbone’s vulgarisation see Eramo 2006, pp. 164–169.

adesso sia occupato in tradure doe opere pellegrine composte da dui greci, l'una come debba esser fatto il buon capitano, l'altra de tutte le forme e modi di ordinare le schiere in campo, e di queste doe ne faccio presente al vostro amantissimo e dolcissimo fratello misser Hercule.⁴⁵

and in the preface to his *Facezie*:

E se più vi piacerà le cosse grave e severe, discorreriti un poco il mio vulgarizzato Sallustio mandato al vostro misser Alberto, o quell'altra traductione de l'arte militare iscritta al mio misser Ercule.⁴⁶

Carbone probably took care of this work between 1456 (after finishing his translation of the *Bellum Catilinae*)⁴⁷ and 1471, when Borso, to whom the *Facezie* are dedicated, died. In the preface to this book, Carbone explains what led him to undertake this work of vernacular translation and its characteristics. He did not wish to perform a philological task, emending the text, but meant instead to produce a 'work of dissemination', or rather, he wanted to make the precepts of both Greek manuals immediately available and useful to readers fond of history and war, such as Ercole. Carbone himself would have preferred to write a manual "del perfecto capitano" to give to his lord, which would have been a supplement to the manual on tactics of Aelian that he translated, if he had not had at his disposal Onasander's *Strategicus*:

Vero è, magnanimo signor mio, quel che dice il nostro Tullio, che ogni buona disciplina da gli Greci ebbe principio e compita perfectione. A creder questo novamente mi son confermato, perché havendo proposto ne l'animo mio di componere un certo tractatello de l'officio del buon capitano, che fosse un supplemento a quel'altro de l'arte militare e del muodo de ordinar le schiere, m'è venuta ne le mane una operetta di un altro greco, che per un compendioso summario in tal materia non si potria migliorare.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Perus. H-6, f. 3^v.

⁴⁶ Perus. H-6, f. 134^r: see Carbone 1989, p. 4. I believe that, with the term "arte militare", he is referring to both works.

⁴⁷ *Terminus post quem* is 1463, the year of Bertoldo d'Este's funeral, where Carbone gave the funeral oration. In the preface to his translation of the *Bellum Catilinae*, he cites this episode as a past event: «Io adoncha che sempre ve ho portato e continuamente porto singulare affectione maxime dopo che ritornassemo da Este dove dal nostro sapientissimo Duca fosti mandato e io insieme cum vui [...] e io fece quella oration funebre»: *Perusinus* H-6, f. 2^{r-v}; see Eramo 2006, p. 163 and n. 50.

⁴⁸ Ms. *Perusinus* H-6, f. 81^r. The text is published in Eramo 2006, p. 177.

5. The role of the diagrams

If the tradition of Aelian's text in the Byzantine age conditioned its success in the West, where it continued to be copied,⁴⁹ the Latin and Italian translations testify to a spread of interest. In this regard, we should not underestimate the role of the diagrams of the *Tactica theoria* and their relationship with the text, created by the same author. Indeed, Aelian cites the presence of the drawings not only in his preface, but elsewhere in the text too.⁵⁰

The manuscripts of the *Tactica theoria* contain these diagrams in varying degrees, accompanied by captions, where soldiers are represented with letters of the Greek alphabet.⁵¹ For these diagrams, the manuscripts and the printed editions of the translation by Theodorus Gaza used simple and stylised forms, which John Hale defined as 'Bologna style' in his essay of 1988 — an essential read if one is to understand this aspect of the military culture of Humanistic Italy.⁵² The 'Bologna style' uses letters of the Latin alphabet (apart from the *lambda* for cavalry and squares for the central part of the array in the triplex conversion) and captions. In this style, there is evidently a process of simplification of the symbols appearing in Latin manuscripts, which in turn attempted to reproduce the symbols of the Greek manuscripts of the *Tactica theoria*. For example, in Greek manuscripts of the *Tactica theoria* the infantryman is drawn with a small circle with a little bar over the top. This symbol becomes a more stylised form in the Latin translation in the *Ambrosianus* L 95 sup. and then the letter 'd' in the edition of 1487: this letter was clearly the typeface which best resembled the freehand drawing of the manuscript.

6. The diagrams of Lelio Carani, Niccolò Machiavelli, Francesco Ferrosi, and Andrea Palladio

The 'Bologna style' is also present in the Italian translation of the *Tactica theoria* by Francesco Ferrosi, published in Venice in 1551 (*Eliano. Del modo di mettere in ordinanza*), and in that by Lelio Carani (*Eliano. De'*

⁴⁹ See Dain 1946, pp. 301–377.

⁵⁰ 1.5, on which see *supra*. See also 18.1: οὐδείς δέ, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, σαφῶς ἡμῖν παρέδωκε τὸ βούλημα, διόπερ ἡμεῖς καὶ ἐπὶ καταγραφῆς τὰ σχήματα τάξομεν, ὅπως εὐσύννοπτα γένηται and 20.1: νῦν δὲ χάριν ὑπογραφῆς ὀπίσω τῶν ψιλῶν ἐτάχθησαν. On these texts see Dain 1946, pp. 48–52 and Eramo 2012, pp. 47–49.

⁵¹ See *supra* and Eramo 2012, p. 42.

⁵² Hale 1988, pp. 282–283 on the 'Bologna style'.

Nomi et de gli ordini militari, Firenze 1552).⁵³ However, in the latter translation we find a novelty. Carani includes some Greek letters in the diagram representing the transverse battle. He gives the appropriate explanation of these letters at the end of the drawing (p. 94):

Questi sono i segni, che io ho fatto, acciocche si possano conoscere gli archieri, et i pedoni da gli altri: il che non si può fare se non con le figure descritte. Il capo di squadra ha questo segno Φ, l'armato H, il pedone dalla picca Ψ, l'arciere alla leggiera Θ, quegli dalla rotella o dalla fromba Γ, il pedone con l'adiutore o come dalla rotella K. Quegli dalla lancia a cavallo B, l'arciere a cavallo Ω, il capitano della banda Δ.

Ultimately, Carani feels that he must explain his choice, which might surprise and disorientate the reader used to Latin letters of the 'Bologna style'. However, this choice also means a return to the origins of Aelian's text, which Carani, as opposed to Carbone, translated directly from the Greek.⁵⁴ Moreover, it is very likely that the diagrams of a Greek manuscript impressed Niccolò Machiavelli, who included in his *Arte della guerra* (Florence 1521) diagrams of tactics which present the same characteristics of the drawings in the codices of the 'interpolated recension' of the *Tactica theoria*: Greek letters or symbols which identify each type of soldier accompanied by one general descriptive legend. In the case of the «figura V» of the *Arte della Guerra* («la forma d'uno esercito quadrato»), the similarity with Aelian's παράταξις τετράγωνος is also graphic and regards the symbols used to identify the infantryman or pikeman.⁵⁵

The translations by Ferrosi and Carani, but also the drawings included by Machiavelli in his *Arte della guerra*, recalled the spirit of Aelian's work: to clarify the tactical concepts through illustrations. This was also Francesco Robortello's aim (1516–1567), who in 1552 published for the Spinelli publishers (Venice) both the Latin translation of the *Tactica theoria*⁵⁶ and the *editio princeps* of the Greek text. Robortello included

⁵³ On Francesco Ferrosi see Cosenza 1962², p. 1392. On Lelio Carani see De Palma 1976.

⁵⁴ Ludovico Carbone surely translated from the Latin, not from the Greek: see Eramo 2006, pp. 165–169.

⁵⁵ See Eramo 2012, pp. 45, 56–57. On the influence of Aelian's *Tactica theoria* (through the Latin translation by Theodorus Gaza) on Machiavelli's *Arte della guerra* see also Pedullà 2015, pp. 71–89.

⁵⁶ *Aeliani De militaribus ordinibus instituendis more Graecorum liber, a Francisco Robortello Utinensi in Latinum sermonem uersus, et ab eodem picturis quamplurimis illustratus*, Venetiis 1552. At the end of his translation, Robortello adds the translation by Theodorus Gaza, introducing it with these words: *Idem opus a Theodoro Thessalonicensi Latinum factum et Antonio Panormitae Alphonsi regis praeceptoris dicatum*;

some drawings in the Greek edition and in Latin translation, taken from the *Marcianus* gr. 516,⁵⁷ the Greek manuscript which he used for his edition, but, above all, he gave a didactic value to these drawings, following the aim of Aelian. He already underlined this aspect of his work in the title-page of his edition: *Αἰλιανοῦ περὶ στρατηγικῶν τάξεων ἑλληνικῶν. Aeliani de militaribus ordinibus instituendis more Graecorum liber a Francisco Robortello Utinensi, nunc primum Graece editus, multisque imaginibus et picturis ab eodem illustratus*, and above all in his preface. Here Robortello explained that he would not have carried out a work worthy of praise by lovers of military literature if he had published the texts as they were in the manuscripts. Indeed, Robortello decided, on his own initiative, to include many drawings in his work and to locate them in various positions in the text, in order to encourage the reader to read on, or rather, literally “to force the reader to read”. Any text encompassing knowledge that needs descriptions and illustrations becomes difficult to understand and rather obscure if these descriptions are missing.

Antequam Patavium irem, aestivo hoc tempore pomeridianas horas, dum se calor frangeret, omnes consumpsi in Aeliani libelli hoc legendo, emendando, atque figuris additis, quibus omnia exprimerentur, illustrando [...]. Sed si uti sese habebat descriptus in vetustis exemplaribus fuisset a me editus, non putabam me satis eorum gratiam posse promereri. Dedi igitur opera, ut meo ingenio multas figurationes, et

see Cortesi–Fiaschi 2008, p. 4–5. On Robortello and his work on Aelian see Carlini 1967, pp. 15–16; Fiaschi 2014, pp. 155–160, with full bibliography.

⁵⁷ The *Marcianus* gr. 516 is a large composite manuscript (divided into three parts: geography, tactics, mechanics), which dates to the first half of the 14th century, and later became the property of Cardinal Bessarion and thus of the Marciana Library (see Dain 1942, pp. 26–28; 1946, pp. 303–318; Devine 1989, p. 37; on the codex see Mioni 1981, pp. 381–383; Zorzi 1987, p. 118; Burri 2013, pp. 446–48 and Lovino 2016, with full bibliography). Actually, in the *praefatio* Robortello speaks of a manuscript of *Tactica theoria* that he possessed. This manuscript is unidentified and was probably a personal copy of the *Marcianus* gr. 516 itself. He also mentions two manuscripts in the Marciana (*quod percommode accidit, cum enim praeter illum meum manuscriptum, quem, iam diu habebam, hic quoque in bibliotheca Divi Marci duo alia essem nactus satis vetusta exemplaria*), one of which is certainly the *Marcianus* gr. 516. The other remains unidentified; Dain attempted to reconstruct it (Dain 1937; 1946, pp. 318–319), identifying it as a manuscript in Strasbourg, which was destroyed in the fire of 1870 during the Franco-Prussian War, but later doubting its real existence (in Dain 1946, pp. 318–319) on the basis of the examination of its variants. Carlini prefers to regard it as a twin codex of the *Marcianus* gr. 516, trusting in the words of Robortello (1967, pp. 15–16). Likewise, Stolpe identified this second manuscript belonging to the Marciana Library in the *Marcianus* gr. 522 (15th cent.), but which he did not believe to have been used by Robortello (1968, pp. 54–72).

distributiones suis locis collocarem, quae vel nolentes ad legendum invitare, ac trahere possunt, quod statim intueantur, quali sint illa, quae ab Aeliano traduntur; est enim omne scriptorum genus, quod descriptionibus, et figurationibus artem aliquam egentem tradit, per se difficile, et obscurum, si descriptiones non apponantur.⁵⁸

In order to further underline his choice, and possibly to give more value to the editorial enterprise which he performed, Robortello added a short appendix to the preface to his volume. It was addressed to the reader and explained that he or she would find his name beside the drawings which he himself had designed, inserted and positioned in the text. However, the other drawings had been faithfully and accurately copied from the Greek manuscripts of the work, but included anthropoid symbols in his edition.⁵⁹ In this way, his work would be useful to those who read works of history, which could also contain notions of land tactics and military orders:

Ubi ascriptum vides Francisci Robortelli nomen, eas scito imagines, ac distributiones omnes ab ipso effectas fuisse, quo facilius omnia intelligerentur. Reliquas imagines habebant manuscripti libri notis quibusdam descriptas, quibus et funditores, et equites, et hastati pedites significabantur, sed omnes pingendas curavit Robortellus ad normam, et exemplar propriarum figurarum, ut quivis statim rem ipsam perspicere posset. Magnam utilitatem afferet hic liber legentibus

⁵⁸ «Before going to Padua, in the summer I spent every afternoon, when the heat became unbearable, reading and correcting this work by Aelian, and illustrating it with some drawings, which can explain everything. If I had published this work as it was in old manuscripts, I would not have deserved, I believe, thanks. I dedicated myself to including in this edition many drawings of my choice, and positioning them in the appropriate places in the text, so that they might invite, or rather force the unwilling reader to read the work, and so that the reader might understand what Aelian wishes to say. In fact, every type of writing which needs descriptions and illustrations is difficult and obscure in itself, if it lacks these descriptions» (pp. i–ii). Niccolò Mutoni gives credit to Robortello in his letter to Giovanni Iacopo de' Medici, published as a preface to his translation of Polyaeus' *Strategemata*: «Dell'arte della guerra, et de i fatti et delle persone illustri hanno scritto molti, degni d'esser letti et seguiti, come tra i Greci Tucidide [...] Heliano anchora, novellamente ridotto all'antico suo splendore con le vive et miracolose figure dal raro et dottissimo nell'una e l'altra lingua il S. Francesco Robortello» (*Stratagemi dell'Arte della guerra, di Polieno Macedonico, dalla Greca alla volgar lingua italiana tradotti da M. Nicolo Mutoni, Venice 1551, s.n.*).

⁵⁹ See Hale 1988, p. 290.

historicos, si quando inciderint in loca, ubi de acie instructa, et ordinibus militaribus loquuntur.⁶⁰

Robortello addresses the preface of his edition to Mario Savorgnan (1511–1574).⁶¹ A military engineer, but also a scholar of literature, being disciple of Giano Lascaris for Latin and Greek, Savorgnan was the dedicatee of some translations from Greek: along with Sophocles' tragedies by Giovanni Battista Gabia (Venice, 1543), also the fragments of Polybius edited by Pompilio Amaseo and Raffaele Cillenio.⁶² Savorgnan himself engaged in a work on military matters, entitled *Arte militare terrestre e marittima*, posthumously published by Cesare Campana in 1599. This work also contained 23 drawings.⁶³

⁶⁰ «Where you read the name Francesco Robortello, you know that the drawings and all their distribution are by him, in order to make the text easy to understand. The manuscripts contain other drawings completed by notes, with which the cavalry and the light and heavy infantry are identified. However, Robortello ensured that all these drawings be painted on the basis of those illustrations, so that everyone would be able to know the same thing. This book would be very useful to those who read historical accounts, when they encounter passages that deal with tactics and military array».

⁶¹ On Mario Savorgnan see Casella 2003, pp. 156–171. On the contrary, the preface to Robortello's Latin translation is addressed to an Istrian cavalry captain called Antonio Sergio. Here Robortello lingers on the importance of ancient military knowledge for men of arms, also underlining on this occasion the presence of diagrams: *multis figuris meo ingenio excogitatis, et ad ea, quae ab authore traduntur, accomodatis auctum, et illustratum, ni fallor, quam maxime fieri potuit* (p. 1 s.no.). On this text see also Hale 1983, pp. 438–439.

⁶² *Fragmenta duo e Secto Polybii Historiarum libro De diversis rerum publicarum formis, deque Romanae praestantia*, Pompilius Amaseus vertit, Bologna, Ioannes Baptista Phaellus 1543. *Polybius. Quinque fragmenta decerpta ex ejus historiarum libris quadraginta*, Raphael Cyllenius vertebat, Venice 1549. Beltramini correctly states that «la dedica non sembra frutto di una generica *captatio benevolentiae*, ma di una politica editoriale, se pensiamo che allo stesso Savorgnan era stata dedicata tre anni prima una selezione di frammenti "militari" delle Storie di Polibio» (2009, p. 56).

⁶³ *Arte militare terrestre e marittima, secondo la ragione e l'uso de' più valorosi capitani antichi e moderni, già descritta, et divisa in quattro Libri dall'illustrissimo signor Mario Savorgnano conte di Belgrado [...], hora ridotta alla sua integrità et politezza da Cesare Campana [...]*, Venice 1599. See Hale 1983, pp. 438–439; Verrier 1997, pp. 62–63. In the preface to this work, Savorgnan also stressed the importance of the drawings in order to understand the text: «e perché gli scritti non sono per sé medesimi atti e possenti a far impressione tale negli animi nostri, che vi lasciano fermi e quasi scolpiti gli avvertimenti e le cose che si ascoltano, non sia, spero, né ingrato né inutile il porle anche sotto il senso dell'occhio, per mezzo de' segni e delle pitture, le quali perdendo quasi in compagnia a sentimenti del corpo, le mandino via con maggior forza all'animo e all'intelletto». See Beltramini 2009, p. 60.

Savorgnan was a distant cousin and friend of Giangiorgio Trissino. Both frequented the same intellectual circles to which Robortello and the young Andrea Palladio also belonged.⁶⁴ Everything adds up, then. In Venice, Trissino saw the *Marcianus* gr. 516,⁶⁵ which, as already seen, was used by Robortello for his edition, but he also knew Aelian's work through the Latin translation by Robortello himself, so that he took some descriptions from this translation and placed them in his *Italia liberata dai Goti*.⁶⁶

Regarding Andrea Palladio, thanks to the teaching of Trissino he dedicated himself to the study of Greek and Roman battles from his youth. In the 1540s, Palladio traced a diagram on the lower left margin of the map of the Colosseum which he had drawn, representing a rhombus of lambdas and which seems to be modelled on the diagram of the codices of Aelian's text, where the diagram represented a rhombus.⁶⁷ He probably had the opportunity to read the *Marcianus* gr. 516 or one of the manuscripts consulted by his teacher or where his teacher had put his notes. However, Palladio maintained an interest in Aelian throughout his life. The first drawing of his Polybius represented the disposition of cavalymen in rank and file.⁶⁸ Here, Palladio did not use stylized symbols for the soldiers, but figures of cavalymen inspired by the drawings of the *editio princeps* of Robortello's *Tactica theoria*.

On the whole, knowledge of the ancient military authors was useful to his work as an architect-scenographer. In the preface to his edition of

⁶⁴ Burns 1975, p. 44; Hale 1977, pp. 244–245 and 1983, pp. 443–444; Ilari 2002, pp. 319–321; Beltramini 2009, p. 60.

⁶⁵ According to Hale 1977, p. 244, Trissino drew a tactical diagram reproducing the symbols of the *Marcianus* gr. 516.

⁶⁶ Beltramini 2009, p. 56; see also, in the same book XII, always referring to the *φάλαγξ ἀμφίστομος* (Ael. 37): «Dite ei, che faccia due falangi d'essi, / che volgan contro se tutte le fronti: / E'l spazio che farà tra l'una e l'altra / sia largo nel principio, e stretto al fine, / in guisa d'una forbice da sarto; acciò che noi possiamo uccider tutti quei cavalier, / che son ridotti in rombo».

⁶⁷ See Hale 1977, p. 244; Beltramini 2009, pp. 14–18, 54–67.

⁶⁸ The project of an illustrated edition of Polybius, conceived immediately after publishing Caesar's *Commentarii* (1575), was interrupted by Palladio's death (1580). Only one edition survives, published in Venice in 1564 and entitled *Polibio historico greco. Dell'Imprese de' Greci, de gli Asiatici, de' Romani, et d'altri*. Two copies of this edition have been identified: one at the British Library, the other was sold to a private collector by the Gonnelli bookshop in Florence in 1986. See Beltramini 2009, pp. 25–54.

Caesar's *Commentarii* (1575),⁶⁹ Palladio recounts how, being in the presence of some gentlemen familiar with questions of war:

Feci fare (per compiacere loro) a certi galeotti et guastadori ch'erano quivi, tutti quei movimenti et essercitii militari che siano possibili a farsi, senza mai commettere disordine o confusione alcuna, si che con minor difficoltà di quella che molti pensano si potrebbero indurre ne gli esserciti nostri gli ordini et le regole degli Antichi.⁷⁰

The audience was evidently impressed. Among them was Francesco Patrizi (1529–1597), who recalled this episode in his *Paralleli militari* (1594):

E Andrea Palladio Vicentino Architetto di professione, e Valerio Chiericato, non da guerra veduta a nostri giorni nessuna, ma da libri di Eliano, e di Leone, e di Cesare, seponno fare istupire, chi vide a quegli votare, con ordine meraviglioso di ciurma, e di soldati una galea. E a questi far fare a 500 fanti con grande ordine, e facilità tutti i moti militari di Eliano. Ed era io uno de spettatori. E pure questi né alla guerra erano mai stati né di gran lettere erano forniti.⁷¹

The distance between the *Tactica theoria* and the arrangement of troops devised by William Louis of Nassau-Dillenburg and Maurice of Nassau Prince of Orange is evidently shorter than one might believe at first.⁷²

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⁶⁹ *I commentarii di Caio Giulio Cesare, con le figure in rame de gli alloggiamenti, de' fatti d'arme, delle circonvallationi delle città, et di molte altre cose notabili descritti in essi, fatte da Andrea Palladio per facilitare a chi legge, la cognition dell'istoria*, Venice, De Franceschi 1575.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 1–2. See Beltramini 2009, pp. 70–71.

⁷¹ *Paralleli militari di Francesco Patrizi, ne' quali si fa paragone delle Milizie antiche, in tutte le parti loro, con le moderne*, Rome 1594, p. 440. See Hale 1977, pp. 243–245; Verrier 1997, p. 97; Perifano 2002, pp. 243–244 hypothesizes that this anecdote could be an answer to that referred to by Matteo Bandello (*Novelle*, first part, preface to the *Novella XL*), on the inability of the 'theorist' Machiavelli to array soldiers (see Eramo 2012, p. 41 n. 21; Pedullà 2015, pp. 84–87).

⁷² The influence of Aelian's work to the so-called European countermarch goes beyond the remit of this article; for an overall discussion see Parker 1996², pp. 18–20.

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UNA LETTERA INEDITA DI AUGUSTO CAMPANA
PER LA TRADIZIONE DI CIC. SCAUR. 4 ED EPIGR. BOB. 63

— ORAZIO PORTUESE —

ABSTRACT

The papers of Augusto Campana at the Biblioteca Civica Gambalunga in Rimini include a thus far unpublished correspondence with Scevola Mariotti on Epigr. Bob. 63. In 1963, Campana published a major study on that poem, in which he did not develop some of the insights that he had privately shared with Mariotti. This paper includes an edition of the earliest letter by Campana (Rome, 1 July 1958), in which he made some important remarks on the transmission of Cic. Scaur. 4 and its relationship with Epigr. Bob. 63, with a special focus on the name of its protagonist, Theombrotus. These comments are of special significance to the reconstruction of the codex deperditus that contained the Bobbio collection.

Tra le carte di Augusto Campana custodite presso la Biblioteca Civica Gambalunga di Rimini si conserva un inedito scambio epistolare con Scevola Mariotti riguardante Epigr. Bob. 63. Su questo carme Campana pubblicò, nel 1958, un contributo decisivo, nel quale non confluirono tuttavia alcune delle felici intuizioni condivise privatamente con Mariotti. Dell'ignoto epistolario si pubblica qui la prima lettera di Campana (Roma, 1 luglio 1958), ove sono formulate significative considerazioni sulla tradizione di Cic. Scaur. 4 in rapporto ad Epigr. Bob. 63 per l'identificazione del protagonista Theombrotus, che sono di estremo interesse per la ricostruzione del codex deperditus contenente la silloge bobbiese.

KEYWORDS

*Amedeo Peyron, Augusto Campana, Scevola Mariotti,
Cleombrotus, Bobiensis deperditus*

Notoriamente esigua è la tradizione della *pro Scauro* di Cicerone. Ad una fonte indiretta, costituita dall'*enarratio* di Asconio del I sec. d.C., si aggiungono due *rescripti* bobbiesi del V sec. d.C.¹: il

¹ Un quadro sintetico della tradizione è delineato da R.H. Rouse, M.D. Reeve, Cicero, *Speeches*, in L.D. Reynolds (ed.), *Texts and Transmission. A Survey of the Latin Classics*, Oxford 1983, p. 56 sg. e da E. Olechowska nella *praefatio* all'*editio Teubneriana* dell'orazione (*Pro M. Aemilio Scauro oratio* [M. Tulli Ciceronis *Scripta quae manserunt omnia*, fasc. 25a], Leipzig 1984, pp. V–XII).

Mediol. S.P. 11.66 dell'Ambrosiana (*olim* R. 57 sup.), rinvenuto e pubblicato da Angelo Mai², e il *Taur.* a.II.2* (*olim* D.IV.22; CLA IV, nr. 442), scoperto ed edito da Amedeo Peyron³.

Fra i passi dell'orazione trasmessi dal solo palinsesto torinese vi è *Scaur.* 4, così pubblicato dal Peyron:

at Graeculi quidem multa fingunt; apud quos etiam Cleombrorum Ambraciotam ferunt se ex altissimo praecipitasse muro, non quod acerbitatis accepisset aliquid, sed ut video scriptum apud Graecos, cum summi philosophi Platonis graviter et ornate scriptum librum de morte leigisset⁴, in quo, ut opinor, Socrates illo ipso die, quo erat ei

² M. Tullii Ciceronis trium orationum Pro Scauro Pro Tullio Pro Flacco partes ineditae, cum antiquo scholiaste item inedito ad orationem Pro Scauro, invenit recensuit notis illustravit A. Maius, Mediolani 1814, pp. 3–19.

³ M. Tulli Ciceronis orationum Pro Scauro, Pro Tullio, Pro Flacco et In Clodium et duarum Epistolarum fragmenta, in M. Tulli Ciceronis orationum Pro Scauro, Pro Tullio, et In Clodium fragmenta inedita, Pro Cluentio, Pro Caelio, Pro Caecina etc. variantes lectiones orationem Pro T.A. Milone a lacunis restitutam ex membranis palimpsestis Bibliothecae R. Taurinensis Athenaei edidit et cum Ambrosianis parium orationum fragmentis composuit Amedeus Peyron, Stuttgartiae et Tubingae 1824, pp. 74–85; una seconda edizione curò A. Mai, in *Classicorum auctorum e Vaticanis codicibus editorum*, II, Romae 1828, pp. 281–325, unificando i frammenti da lui scoperti con quelli ritrovati da A. Peyron. Il *Taur.* a.II.2* è andato perduto nell'incendio della Biblioteca Universitaria di Torino del 1904; ne rimangono la trascrizione del Peyron (con la sezione della *pro Scauro* alle pp. 13–35) e riproduzioni di alcuni fogli in C. Cipolla, *Codici bobbiesi della Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino*, Milano 1907, tavv. II.2, III, IV, V.2 (con le relative descrizioni alle pp. 36–45), anche se probabilmente non tutti i fogli provengono dallo stesso codice (così M.D. Reeve, *The Turin Palimpsest of Cicero*, «Aevum» 66, 1992, pp. 87–94: 94 e F. Lo Monaco, *Cicerone palinsesto*, in P. De Paolis [a c. di], *Manoscritti e lettori di Cicerone tra Medioevo e Umanesimo*, Atti del III Simposio Ciceroniano (Arpino, 7 maggio 2010), Cassino 2012, pp. 1–20: 20 n. 46). Ricordo qui che Amedeo Peyron, sacerdote, papirologo, filologo classico e orientista (Torino 1785 – ivi 1870), fu professore di lingue orientali presso l'Università di Torino (1815), tesoriere dell'Accademia delle scienze di Torino dal 1826, promotore del Museo egizio, rettore dell'Ateneo torinese (1826–1829), membro del Consiglio superiore dell'Istruzione pubblica e della Giunta di antichità e belle arti (1848) e senatore del Parlamento subalpino. Per un profilo bibliografico del dotto e poliedrico studioso — incaricato dal governo sabauda di ricomporre, a partire dal 1820, il fondo dei manoscritti appartenuti al monastero di Bobbio — rinvio a G.F. Gianotti, *Amedeo Peyron*, in R. Allio (a c. di), *Maestri dell'Ateneo torinese dal Settecento al Novecento*, Torino 2004, pp. 145–171 (disponibile online, all'indirizzo <https://www.omeka.unito.it/omeka/files/original/ee5f1a0b5479b288dd7c90bb43ec5364.pdf>) e Id., *Peyron, Amedeo Angelo Maria*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 82, Roma 2015, pp. 814–817.

⁴ Peyron conserva *leigisset* del *Taur.* a.II.2* (vd. la sua trascrizione in M. Tulli Ciceronis orationum, cit., p. 13). Tale forma fu dubitativamente ricondotta da

moriundum, per multa disputat, hanc esse mortem, quam nos vitam putaremus, quom corpori animus tamquam carcere saeptus teneretur, vitam autem esse eam, quum idem animus vinclis corporis liberatus in eum se locum, unde esset ortus, retulisset.

Il contesto è di grande importanza, perché costituisce la prima attestazione latina dell'aneddoto di 'Cleombroto' di Ambracia, personaggio di non sicura autenticità storica, spinto al suicidio dalla lettura del *Fedone* di Platone (*cum summi philosophi Platonis graviter et ornate scriptum librum de morte leigisset*) e dalla suggestione per la teoria socratica dell'immortalità dell'anima ivi difesa. Quanto al nome del personaggio, tra le *adnotationes* al frammento (p. 124) Peyron precisa di avere corretto in *Cleombrotum* il trådito *Theombrotum*, sulla scorta di alcuni passi latini (Cic. *Tusc.* 1, 84, Lact. *inst.* 3, 18, 10, Aug. *civ.* 1, 22)⁵ e di Callim. 23 Pf.² (= AP 7, 471; Callim. LIII Gow–Page), fonte di primaria importanza dell'aneddoto, ove al v. 1 si legge Κ λ ε ό μ β ρ ο τ ο ς ώ μ β ρ α κ ι ώ τ η ς⁶.

Il testo costituito dal Peyron si impose nelle successive edizioni di Cicerone, con la sola eccezione della *Teubneriana* di Schoell, che optò per la conservazione di *Theombrotum*⁷. Una scelta isolata cui fece seguito,

F. Schoell (*Pro Scauro* [M. Tulli Ciceronis Scripta quae manserunt omnia, VII], Lipsiae 1919, p. LXVII) ad un errore di trascrizione: un copista avrebbe corretto un originario *ligisset* apponendo *-e- supra lineam*; successivamente la *-e-* sarebbe scivolata all'interno della parola. La forma è comunque imputabile ad un vocalismo *ei = ē / ī*, tipico del latino volgare (H. Schuchardt, *Der Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins*, Leipzig 1866, p. 465 e W. Deecke, *De reduplicato Latinae linguae praeterito*, Diss., Lipsiae 1869, p. 45) e non estraneo alla tradizione manoscritta di altri testi: vd. per esempio l'occorrenza di *ligirit* in luogo di *legerit* in Greg. Tur. *Franc. 1 praef.* p. 3, 14, segnalato anche in *ThL VII*, 2.2, 1123, 15 sg.

⁵ Il Peyron rinvia anche ad Ov. *Ib.* 491 sg., ove si coglie, però, non più che un'allusione al personaggio: *Vel de praecipiti venias in Tartara saxo, / ut qui Socraticum de nece legit opus.*

⁶ Sulla diffusione dell'aneddoto a partire dall'epigramma di Callimaco vd. A.S.F. Gow, D.L. Page (eds.), *The Greek Anthology. Hellenistic Epigrams*, II, Cambridge 1965, p. 204 sg.; S.A. White, *Callimachus on Plato and Cleombrotus*, «TAPhA» 124, 1994, pp. 135–161: 136 sg.; L. Spina, *Cleombroto, la fortuna di un suicidio (Callimaco, ep. 23)*, «Vichiana» 18, 1989, pp. 12–39 (poi in Id., *La forma breve del dolore. Ricerche sugli epigrammi funerari greci*, Amsterdam 2000, pp. 7–30; *Appendice*, pp. 31–35); A. Carlini, *Cleombroto nell'epigramma 23 di Callimaco e nell'epigramma bobbiese 63*, in B. Gentili, A. Grilli, F. Perusino (a c. di), *Per Carlo Corbato. Scritti di filologia greca e latina offerti da amici e allievi*, Pisa 1999, pp. 47–60 e *Nota sulla fortuna dell'epigramma 23 di Callimaco nella tradizione occidentale*, «AAntHung» 39, 1999, pp. 73–79; V. Garulli, *Cleombroto di Ambracia e il 'lector in fabula' in Callimaco (Call. 'epigr.' 23 Pf.)*, «Lexis» 25, 2007, pp. 325–336: 326 n. 5.

⁷ *Pro Scauro*, rec. Schoell, cit., p. 546.

nel 1958, un decisivo contributo di Augusto Campana su *Epigr. Bob. 63*⁸, componimento tardoantico dal titolo ‘*De Theombroto*’, incluso nella nota silloge degli ‘*Epigrammata Bobiensia*’ (V sec. in.), trasmessa dal *codex unicus Vat. lat. 2836* (XVI sec. in.)⁹. Ne riporto il testo secondo l’edizione

⁸ A. Campana, in A. Campana, E. Campanile, S. Mariotti, S. Timpanaro, M. Zicàri, *Contributi agli “Epigrammata Bobiensia”*, «ASNSP» s. II, 27, 1958, pp. 121–125: 121 sg., poi in Augusto Campana, *Scritti*, I.1. *Ricerche medievali e umanistiche*, a c. di R. Avesani, M. Feo, E. Pruccoli, Roma 2008, pp. 527–529. Importanti considerazioni sulla questione furono poi formulate anche da S. Lundström, *Falsche Eigennamen in den Tuskulanen*, «Eranos» 58, 1960, pp. 66–79. Augusto Campana (Santarcangelo di Romagna 1906 – ivi 1995) è tra le più rappresentative figure di studioso e di maestro dell’Università italiana del Novecento. Filologo, paleografo ed erudito, fu *scriptor Latinus* presso la Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, professore di Paleografia e Diplomatica a Urbino (dal 1959), di Letteratura umanistica (1965–1974) e di Filologia medievale e umanistica (1974–1976) a Roma, oltre che fondatore e presidente della «Società di Studi Romagnoli» (per alcuni anni) e socio corrispondente dei Lincei (1987). Non è questa la sede per enumerare i molteplici scritti sulla sua vita e i toccanti ricordi di amici e allievi, ma rinvio almeno a R. Avesani (a c. di), *Testimonianze per un maestro. Ricordo di Augusto Campana, Roma, 15–16 dicembre 1995*, Roma 1997; M. Feo, *Augusto Campana*, in Id., *Persone. Da Nausicaa a Adriano Sofri*, II. *Maestri e compagni*, Santa Croce sull’Arno 2012, pp. 447–472; la voce su Campana di E. Francioni, disponibile in rete nel *Dizionario bio-bibliografico dei bibliotecari italiani del XX secolo*, a c. di S. Buttò e A. Petrucciani (<https://www.aib.it/aib/editoria/dbbi20/campana.htm>) e R. Avesani, *Per doverosa memoria. Campana, Battelli, Billanovich, Kristeller e altri amici*, Macerata 2015, pp. 9–84 (con un accurato excursus bibliografico alle pp. 9–11). Nel corso di questi ultimi anni, gli *Scritti* di Campana sono stati raccolti e ristampati per le «Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura» a c. di R. Avesani, M. Feo ed E. Pruccoli: il già citato volume I, *Ricerche medievali e umanistiche* (tomo I, Roma 2008; tomo II, Roma 2012); il volume III, *Storia, civiltà, erudizione romagnola* (Roma 2014); il volume II, *Biblioteche, codici, epigrafi* (Roma 2017). A questi *Scritti* si aggiunga il diario che Campana tenne nei primi otto mesi del 1944 come responsabile della Biblioteca e dei musei comunali di Rimini, ora edito a c. di G. Campana, *Pietre di Rimini. Diario archeologico e artistico riminese dell’anno 1944*, postfazione di R. Copioli, Roma 2012.

⁹ Il *Vat. Lat. 2836* è una miscellanea umanistica appartenuta ad Angelo Colocci (Jesi 1474 – Roma 1549), nei cui ff. 268r–278v lo stesso Campana identificò, nel 1950, la silloge bobbiese, fra testi per lo più umanistici. Per una descrizione codicologica del manoscritto (consultabile, in formato digitale, all’indirizzo https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.2836) e per un quadro complessivo della tradizione della silloge vd. ora il mio *Per la storia della tradizione degli Epigrammata Bobiensia. Con una disamina delle Carte Campana e un testimone inedito*, Roma 2017, pp. 67–101 e 121–209; sulla biblioteca del Colocci vd. R. Bianchi, *Per la Biblioteca di Angelo Colocci*, «Rinascimento» 30, 1990, pp. 271–282 e *Nella biblioteca di Angelo Colocci: libri già noti e nuove identificazioni*, «Studi medievali e umanistici» 13, 2015, pp. 157–196; C. Bologna, *La biblioteca di Angelo Colocci*, in C. Bologna, M. Bernardi (a c. di), *Angelo Colocci e gli studi romanzi*, Città del Vaticano 2008, pp. 1–20; e i numerosi contributi di M. Bernardi: *Per la ricostruzione della biblioteca colocciana: lo stato dei lavori*, in Bologna, Bernardi, *Angelo Colocci*, cit., pp. 21–83; *Intorno allo zibaldone colocciano*

di Speyer, limitando l'apparato critico al *titulus* e al v. 1 e omettendo qualche indicazione secondaria¹⁰:

De Theombroto

«Sol, salveque valeque!» Theombrotus Ambraciotes
 dixit et aeternas desilit in tenebras,
 nil leto dignum sibi conscius, illa Platonis
 quae de anima scivit sic celeranda ratus.

[f. 278r] *tit.* Theombroto **Bob.** defendit Campana, *ASNSP* 27, 1958, 121 sq.
 Cleombroto *Mu.* || 1 theombrotus **Bob.** Cleombrotus *Mu.*

L'epigramma è una traduzione di Callim. 23 Pf.² (= *AP* 7, 471; Callim. LIII Gow–Page), ma il nome del personaggio ivi indicato ('*Theombrotus*' sia nel *titulus* che al v. 1) non coincide con quello del modello (1 Κλεόμβροτος).

Nel suo contributo del 1958 Campana difese brillantemente la *lectio* tràdita sia nel *titulus* (*De Theombroto*) sia al v. 1 (*theombrotus*), osservando che, se non esisteva una variante Θεόμβροτος nella tradizione greca (ove è attestato solo Κλεόμβροτος), era invece irrefutabile il *consensus* su *Theombrotus* del carne bobbiese non solo con Cic. *Scaur.* 4 sopra riportato, ma anche con tutti gli altri testi latini in cui è menzionato lo stesso personaggio, ivi compresi i passi citati a suo tempo dal Peyron a sostegno della correzione *Cleombrotum*: Cic. *Tusc.* 1, 84, Lact. *inst.* 3, 18, 10, Hier. *epist.* 39, 3, 5 (= *CSEL* 54, p. 300), Ps. Hier. *epist.* 6, 8 (= *PL* 30, 87B [1846]; 90A [1865]; Max. Taur. *epist.* 2, 7 = *PL* 57, 943C) e Aug. *civ.* 1, 22¹¹. In queste fonti, infatti, l'originale *Theombrotus* era stato fino ad

Vat. lat. 4831, *ibidem*, pp. 123–167; *Lo zibaldone colocciano* Vat. Lat. 4831. *Edizione e commento*, Città del Vaticano 2008; *Gli elenchi bibliografici di Angelo Colocci: la lista a e l'Inventario Primo* (Arch. Bibl. 15, pt. A), «Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae» 20, 2014, pp. 89–153; *La lista C o Inventario Secondo (1558) dei libri di Angelo Colocci* (Vat. lat. 3958, ff. 184r–196r), «Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae» 22, 2016, pp. 7–111.

¹⁰ *Epigrammata Bobiensia*, ed. W. Speyer, Lipsiae 1963, p. 77. Nell'apparato **Bob.** indica il Vat. lat. 2836, *Mu.* l'editio princeps dei *Bobiensia* a c. di F. Munari (Roma 1955). Di recente il testo di Speyer è stato accolto da É. Wolff, *Epigrammata Bobiensia. Épigrammes de Bobbio. Éditées, traduites et annotées*, Dijon 2020, p. 130 sg., che vi affianca una traduzione in francese.

¹¹ La tradizione di *Epigr. Bob.* 63 concorda con quella di Cic. *Scaur.* 4 e *Tusc.* 1, 84 senza dipenderne; Ps. Hier. *epist.* 6, 8 dipende da Cic. *Scaur.* 4; Aug. *civ.* 1, 22 da Cic. *Tusc.* 1, 84 e forse da Lact. *inst.* 3, 18, 10; da Cicerone dipendono probabilmente Hier. *epist.* 39, 3, 5 e lo stesso Lattanzio: vd. Campana, *Contributi*, cit., p. 122.

allora obliterato dai rispettivi editori, adusi alla sua correzione in *Cleombrotus* sulla base dell'epigramma di Callimaco¹².

Ne derivò la giusta osservazione di Campana che «l'accordo delle tradizioni manoscritte dei due passi di Cicerone (*scil. Scaur. 4 e Tusc. 1, 84*) con quella dell'epigr. 63 dimostra senza possibilità di dubbio che il traduttore di questo, al pari di Cicerone, leggeva nel proprio testo greco *Θεόμβροτος* e che pertanto *Theombrotus* è da conservare nell'edizione» (p. 122). Una difesa inoppugnabile di *Theombrotus*, che si rivelò persuasiva non solo per *Epigr. Bob. 63*, ma per tutte le fonti latine sopra citate¹³.

Non sarei tornato su questo argomento¹⁴, se non fossero emerse ulteriori osservazioni di Campana da un'inedita corrispondenza con Scevola Mariotti¹⁵, con il quale lo studioso condivise proficuamente l'elaborazione dell'articolo dedicato ad *Epigr. Bob. 63*. Come ho già ricordato

¹² Così anche Munari nella sua edizione dei *Bobiensia* (p. 123).

¹³ Dopo lo studio di Campana, '*Cleombrotus*' sparì ben presto dalle edizioni delle fonti latine sopra indicate, se si eccettuano *Hier. epist. 39, 3, 5* e *Ps. Hier. epist. 6, 8*. Facendo una rapida ricerca fra le citazioni di *Cic. Scaur. 4* ho riscontrato occorrenze di *Cleombrotus* soltanto in N.K. Petrochilos, *Roman Attitudes to the Greeks*, Athens 1974, p. 50 e White, *Callimachus*, cit., p. 139. La correzione proposta da Campana è debitamente segnalata da A. Ghiselli, in M. Tulli Ciceronis *Pro. M. Scauro Oratio*, Milano 1975, *adp. ad loc.*

¹⁴ Nulla di nuovo sull'epigramma in F.R. Nocchi, *Commento agli Epigrammata Bobiensia*, Berlin–Boston 2016, pp. 369–375, che da un lato corregge l'erroneo '*Theomboto*' (in luogo di '*Theombroto*') contenuto nell'apparato critico della sua precedente *editio minor* della raccolta (*Epigrammata Bobiensia*, a c. di L. Canali, F.R. Nocchi, Soveria Mannelli 2011, p. 54), opportunamente segnalato da R.M. D'Angelo, *In margine ad un recente volume sugli Epigrammata Bobiensia*, «BStudLat» 43, 2013, pp. 184–190: 186 sg. n. 9; dall'altro introduce la fuorviante indicazione '*Theombrotus*' (con *T-* iniziale maiuscola) nell'apparato critico al v. 1, quale *lectio* del *Vat. lat. 2836*, ove il nome del personaggio è scritto, in realtà, con iniziale minuscola; ai limiti qui indicati si aggiungano le riserve di R.M. D'Angelo, *rec. a Nocchi, Commento*, cit., «ExClass» 21, 2017, pp. 405–413 e di M. Massaro, *rec. a Nocchi, Commento*, cit., «RFIC» 147, 2019, pp. 504–517.

¹⁵ Figura di grande spessore negli studi classici, Scevola Mariotti (Pesaro 1920 – Roma 2000) fu professore di Letteratura latina all'Università di Urbino (1949–1963) e di Filologia classica all'Università di Roma "La Sapienza" (dal 1963), direttore della «Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica» (dal 1980) e socio nazionale dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei (dal 1992): vd. P. Parroni, *Mariotti, Scevola*, in *Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani*, V Appendice, Roma 1993, p. 342 sg. Il suo magistero — 'aperto' al dialogo con gli studenti e innovativo per l'Università italiana degli anni '60 (M. De Nonno, L. Gamberale, *Premessa a S. Mariotti, Scritti di filologia classica*, Roma 2000, pp. VII–IX: VIII) — e i suoi studi, improntati ad una rara *doctrina*, hanno profondamente segnato la storia della filologia classica ed umanistica. Tra i ricordi di amici e allievi segnalò, in particolare, quelli di L. Canfora, A. Carlini, P. Parroni e M.D. Reeve, *Scevola Mariotti Remembered — Per ricordare Scevola Mariotti*, «RPL» n.s. 3, 2000, pp. 13–38; E. Vogt, *Scevola Mariotti: 24.4.1920 – 6.1.2000*, «Bayerische Akademie

in altra sede¹⁶, le Carte Campana sugli *Epigrammata Bobiensia* si conservano nelle buste 1–12 della cassetta 79 presso la Biblioteca Civica Gambalunga di Rimini¹⁷. Lo scambio epistolare con Mariotti sul carne bobbiese 63 — frammisto al materiale preparatorio e alle bozze del contributo del 1958, a lettere ricevute da altri studiosi, minute autografe e copie carbone di altre lettere spedite¹⁸ — si trova nella busta 9. È costituito dai seguenti documenti, che qui riordino cronologicamente:

der Wissenschaften: Jahrbuch 2000», München 2001, pp. 316–318; L. Gamberale, *Scevola Mariotti*, «Studi romani» 48, 2000, pp. 134–139; A.M. Milazzo, *Scevola Mariotti (24-4-1920 / 6-1-2000)*, «Cassiodorus» 6–7, 2000–2001, pp. 442–445; S. Rizzo, *Scevola Mariotti professore di Filologia classica alla «Sapienza»*, «RFIC» 129, 2001, pp. 367–383 e M. De Nonno, *Scevola Mariotti †*, «Gnomon» 73, 2002, pp. 279–285. Prima ancora dei citati *Scritti di filologia classica*, erano stati già raccolti gli *Scritti medievali e umanistici* (Roma 1976), ora ripubblicati a c. di S. Rizzo (*Terza edizione accresciuta e corretta*, Roma 2010): raccolte in cui non confluirono né gli scritti enniani (già ristampati in appendice alla seconda edizione delle *Lezioni su Ennio*, Urbino 1991), né la vasta 'bibliografia indiretta', cioè l'insieme di quei contributi testuali spesso generosamente dati da Mariotti ad amici e colleghi e confluiti in lavori altrui (analoga la sorte di tanti contributi 'latenti' di Campana, su cui vd. M. Feo, *L'opera di Augusto Campana*, in *Testimonianze*, cit., pp. 145–234).

¹⁶ Portuese, *Per la storia*, cit., p. x.

¹⁷ Vi ho avuto accesso, per la prima volta, nel dicembre 2014, grazie alla disponibilità della dott.ssa Paola Delbianco, responsabile delle sezioni Fondi antichi e Manoscritti e del Gabinetto dei disegni e delle stampe della Biblioteca Civica Gambalunga di Rimini.

¹⁸ Vi si trovano per esempio anche la fotocopia di una cartolina postale ricevuta da Sebastiano Timpanaro (Pisa, 4.8.1958) e le minute autografe di due missive di Campana a Timpanaro (rispettivamente datate da Roma il 2.8.1958 e il 5.8.1958). Tutte trattano della laboriosa pubblicazione dei *Contributi agli "Epigrammata Bobiensia"* e sono ora pubblicate da M. Feo (a c. di), *Il carteggio tra Augusto Campana e Sebastiano Timpanaro. Terza edizione riveduta e ampliata*, s.d., pp. 1–64: 28–30, disponibile online sul sito personale dello studioso (<https://independent.academia.edu/FeoMichele>). Il lavoro costituisce un importante aggiornamento di una sua precedente edizione: *Il carteggio tra Augusto Campana e Sebastiano Timpanaro. Nuova edizione accresciuta*, «Campi immaginabili» 52–53, 2015, pp. 368–452. Per un profilo bio-bibliografico di Sebastiano Timpanaro (Parma 1923 – Firenze 2000), filologo classico e critico letterario, mi limito a segnalare i ricordi di A. Traina (*Ricordo di Sebastiano Timpanaro*, «Eikasmós» 11, 2000, p. 363); P. Parroni (*Sebastiano Timpanaro [1923–2000]*, «RPL» n.s. 4, 2001, pp. 195–198); A. Perutelli (*Sebastiano Timpanaro†*, «Gnomon» 74, 2002, pp. 649–656) e G. Orlandi (*Sebastiano Timpanaro*, «Maia» 54, 2002, pp. 129–152), nonché l'esaustivo contributo di M. Feo, *L'opera di Sebastiano Timpanaro (1923–2000)*, in R. Di Donato (a c. di), *Il filologo materialista. Studi per Sebastiano Timpanaro*, Pisa 2003, pp. 191–293 e la recentissima voce di G. Piras, *Timpanaro, Sebastiano*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 95, 2019, pp. 688–692. Sulle strategie stilistiche e argomentative adottate da Timpanaro nella sua produzione scientifica vd. F. Santangelo, «Voler "capire tutto"»: appunti sullo stile di Sebastiano Timpanaro, «Anabases» 20, 2014, pp. 49–67.

- due copie carbone di missive dattiloscritte di Campana a Mariotti, datate una da Roma l'1.7.1958, l'altra (senza città) il 10.7.1958;
- due missive autografe di Mariotti a Campana datate da L'Aquila il 12.7.1958 e il 21.7.1958 (entrambe su carta intestata del Liceo Ginnasio Statale «D. Cotugno»);
- due minute autografe di lettere inviate da Campana a Mariotti e datate da Roma una il 24.7.1958, l'altra il 2.8.1958;
- una cartolina postale autografa di Mariotti a Campana, datata da Pesaro il 4.8.1958;
- una minuta autografa di una lettera inviata da Campana a Mariotti e datata da Roma il 5.8.1958 (nel margine superiore, a sinistra, si legge: «Mariotti, Pesaro»).

Uno scambio intenso e dotto, di cui mi sembra utile pubblicare la prima missiva di Campana¹⁹, corredandone il testo di alcune note esplicative:

CAMPANA A MARIOTTI

Roma, 1° luglio 1958

CCR 79, 9: Copia carbone dell'originale. Dattiloscritto.

Roma, 1 VII 58

Carissimo,

lieto dell'incontro pesarese-sarsinate, che spero si rinnovi almeno in settembre, ringrazio te e Italo²⁰ della vostra compagnia e

¹⁹ Devo l'autorizzazione all'amicizia di Rino Avesani e della moglie Giovanna Campana, cui mi lega un profondo affetto. È fra i miei progetti l'edizione integrale dell'epistolario fra Campana e Mariotti, dal quale mi è parso opportuno estrapolare la lettera sopra riportata perché se ne possono ricavare osservazioni più generali sulla tradizione dei *Bobiensia*, oggetto delle mie attuali ricerche.

²⁰ Campana non fornisce dettagli su questo «incontro pesarese-sarsinate», ma riterrei che risalga, con buona certezza, al giugno del 1958, quando a Sarsina — su suggerimento dello stesso Campana — fu conferita la cittadinanza onoraria ad Eduard Fraenkel. Di questa circostanza — che offrì a Campana l'occasione di incontrare i fratelli Scevola e Italo Mariotti, don Giuseppe De Luca e lo stesso Fraenkel — ha lasciato una fugace testimonianza I. Mariotti nel suo ricordo *Per Eduard Fraenkel* («Belfagor» 25, 1970, pp. 690–694: 691) e nella sua *Premessa* al II volume delle *Lecturae Plautinae Sarsinates* dedicato all'*Asinaria* (Sarsina, 12 settembre 1998), a c. di R. Raffaelli, A. Tontini (Urbino 1999, pp. 9–11: 9). Se nella lettera sopra riportata Campana si riferisce a questa occasione, è probabile anche che il viaggio «nel Sud» di cui egli parla sia il viaggio di ritorno da Sarsina a Roma fatto da Fraenkel insieme a don

gentilezze. Ho rivisto Fraenkel, che ora viaggia nel Sud con De Luca, e ho anche riparlato della Festschrift per Jachmann con lui e avutene altre notizie: è una sola²¹.

Fatta la piccola ricerca per epigr. Bob. 63, ho ritrovato l'articolo di cui ti avevo parlato: P. Courcelle, *Un nouveau traité d'Eutrope prêtre aquitain vers l'an 400*, *Rev. des ét. anc.* 56 (1954), 377–390. C. dimostra che la lettera VI di S. Girolamo è invece di questo Eutropio²², come già era stato dimostrato per le lettere II e XIX e per il *De similitudine carnis*

Giuseppe De Luca. Italo Mariotti (Pesaro 1928 – ivi 2014), filologo classico, insegnò nelle Università di Urbino, Friburgo (Svizzera) e Bologna; per un profilo biobibliografico vd. la *Presentazione* a c. di M. Scaffai del volume degli *Scritti minori* di I. Mariotti (Bologna 2006, pp. XI–XVI) e il ricordo di A. Traina, *Per Italo Mariotti*, «Eikasmós» 25, 2014, p. 455 sg. Eduard Fraenkel (Berlino 1888 – Oxford 1970), filologo classico tedesco, insegnò a Kiel (1923), Gottinga (1928), Friburgo in Brisgovia (1931) e Oxford (1935–1953); oltre che nel già citato scritto di I. Mariotti apparso su «Belfagor», ricordi commossi della vita dello studioso e lucidi riesami delle sue ricerche si trovano in S. Mariotti, *Ricordo di Eduard Fraenkel*, «La Nazione del lunedì», 25.5.1970, p. 3 (poi in Id., *Scritti*, cit., pp. 612–614); V. Di Benedetto, *Ricordo di Eduard Fraenkel*, «ASNSP» s. IV, 5, 2000, pp. 1–20; A. Carlini, *Appunti sui seminari pisani di Eduard Fraenkel*, «Eikasmós» 22, 2011, pp. 435–452 e C. Stray, *Eduard Fraenkel: An Exploration*, «SyllClass» 25, 2014, pp. 113–172. Don Giuseppe De Luca (Sasso di Castalda 1898 – Roma 1962), sacerdote, erudito e letterato, fondò le «Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura» e fu legato da una profonda amicizia sia a Campana, sia a Fraenkel: sulla sua vita e sulla sua intensa attività di studioso ed editore vd. M. Picchi (a c. di), *Don Giuseppe De Luca. Ricordi e testimonianze*, Brescia 1963 (rist. anast. Roma 1998); L. Mangoni, *In partibus infidelium. Don Giuseppe De Luca: il mondo cattolico e la cultura italiana del Novecento*, Torino 1989; G. De Rosa, *De Luca, Giuseppe*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 38, Roma 1990, pp. 353–359; R. Guarnieri, *Don Giuseppe De Luca tra cronaca e storia*, Cinisello Balsamo 1991; P. Vian (a c. di), *Don Giuseppe De Luca e la cultura italiana del Novecento, Atti del convegno nel centenario della nascita, Roma, 22–24 ottobre 1998*, Roma 2001; S. Rizzo, *Eduard Fraenkel, Alfredo Rizzo e le «Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura»*, «Seminari Romani di Cultura Greca» 6, 2003, pp. 119–142 e D. Rotundo, *Due persone speciali*, pubblicato negli *Atti del Convegno De Luca editore*, «Rassegna storica lucana» 29, gennaio-dicembre 2009, nr. 49–50, pp. 239–248.

²¹ Il volume per Jachmann di cui parla Campana fu pubblicato un anno dopo la missiva: H. Dahlmann, R. Merkelbach (hrsg.), *Studien zur Textgeschichte und Textkritik*, Köln-Opladen 1959. Günther Jachmann (Gumbinnen, Prussia Or., 1887 – Colonia 1979), filologo classico tedesco, fu professore nelle Università di Gottinga, Greifswald, Basilea, Colonia (1925–1957) e socio straniero dei Lincei dal 1969; per un suo profilo vd. S. Prete, *Pagine amare di storia della filologia classica. Dalla corrispondenza di Edoardo Fraenkel con Günther Jachmann*, Sassoferrato 1987 e Id., *Lettere di Edoardo Fraenkel a Günther Jachmann, I (1910–1916)*, a c. di P. Gatti, Fano 1996.

²² Presbitero aquitano, vissuto fra il IV e il V sec. d.C. La lettera è considerata anonima da G. Gharib, E.M. Toniolo, L. Gambero, G. Di Nola (a c. di), *Testi mariani del primo millennio*, 3. *Padri e altri autori latini*, Roma 1990, p. 206.

peccati scoperto da Morin e da lui prima attribuito a Paciano di Barcellona²³. A p. 383 n. 6 riporta il passo VI 8 (Migne, PL, XXX, 87 = ed. 1865, 89 sg.) inserendo nel testo del Migne un piccolo apparato:

Quid tale Cleombrotus (Teonbronius *BM*, Teombrotus *P*) Ambraciota in Platonis libro (Socrate *add. BMP*) disputante didicerat, qui homicida sui (sibi *BMP*) esse non timuit, ac se altissimo praecipitavit e muro, dum et nullum post mortem autumaret esse (autumat restare *BMP*) iudicium...

egli poi raccoglie un dossier di testimonianze che in parte fanno al caso tuo²⁴: la fonte è Cicerone, pro Scauro, framm. conservato da Asconio (Cleombrotum); seguono Tusc. I 34, 84 'Callimachi quidem epigramma in Ambraciotam Theombrotum est'..., Lattanzio, Inst. III 18 (solo Ambraciotas)²⁵, August., de civ. Dei I 22 (Theobrotus).

Come vedi, è un buon materiale, che si potrà accrescere andando a caccia negli apparati. A proposito, è una svista di Courcelle che il passo di Cic., pro Sc. 4 sia un frammento conservato da Asconio: è invece nel palinsesto Torinese, che presenta, come le Tusc., Theombrotum, corretto in Cleombrotum da Peyron e credo dagli editori seguenti fino a Clark, ma conservato da F. Schoell nella Teubn. VII, p. 546. Il passo dello ps. Girolamo = Eutropio è utile, come Agostino,²⁶ perchè [*sic*] coevo ai Bobiensia (s. V. in., in ogni caso posteriore al 397, morte di S. Ambrogio: Courcelle, 387–9); ma non mi meraviglierei se in tutta la tradizione latina a cominciare da Cicerone si dovesse ripristinare la forma Theombrotus. E naturalmente anche nei Bobiensia.

²³ G. Morin, *Un traité inédit du IV^e siècle. Le De similitudine carnis peccati de l'évêque S. Pacien de Barcelone*, «Revue Bénédictine» 29, 1912, pp. 1–28, poi in Id., *Études, textes, découvertes. Contributions à la littérature et à l'histoire des douze premiers siècles*, I, Paris 1913, pp. 81–150 (ove Morin aggiunge l'edizione critica del *De similitudine carnis peccati*).

²⁴ Che Campana condividesse con Mariotti la paternità dello studio che egli andava svolgendo su *Epigr. Bob.* 63 si evince dallo scambio epistolare con Timpanaro: nella lettera del 2 agosto 1958 (citata *supra*, alla n. 18), Campana esordisce: «Carissimo Timp., eravamo rimasti alla ricerca comune di Mariotti e mia su *Theombrotus*»; nella cartolina postale del 4 agosto 1958 (vd. *supra*, n. 18) così scrive Timpanaro: «Carissimo Campana, mille grazie della lettera e degli estratti. Splendida la noterella su *Theombrotus/Cleombrotus* (la quale effettivamente appartiene assai più a te che a Mariotti)» (vd. Feo, *Il carteggio*, cit., p. 28 sg.).

²⁵ Come Campana preciserà nella redazione definitiva dell'articolo (p. 122), il nome non è assente in Lattanzio, ma è soltanto riportato più avanti (3, 18, 10): *quodsi scisset Plato atque docuisset a quo et quomodo et quibus et quae ob facta et quo tempore immortalitas tribuatur, nec Theombrotum inpegisset in mortem voluntariam nec Catonem, sed eos ad vitam et iustitiam potius erudisset.*

²⁶ Dopo la virgola si legge «è utile», depennato dallo stesso Campana.

Questa sera attendo Timpanaro²⁷, che è a Roma di passaggio.

Tuo C(ampana)

Due gli aspetti significativi (e complementari) che emergono dalla lettera: 1) la segnalazione della «svista» di Courcelle circa la fonte di Cic. *Scaur.* 4, erroneamente ricondotto ad Asconio anziché al palinsesto torinese (*Taur.* a.II.2*), forse per un'affrettata consultazione dell'edizione di Baiter e Halm da lui adottata²⁸: segno di una generale disattenzione per l'autorevole vetustà del palinsesto; 2) l'importanza conferita alla comune datazione al IV–V sec. d.C. di alcune fonti di *Theombrotus* (il presbitero Eutropio, Agostino ed *Epigr. Bob.* 63, nella forma trasmessa dal suo unico testimone, *Vat. lat.* 2836).

Entrambe le osservazioni — non confluite nell'articolo di Campana del 1958 con lo stesso rilievo che invece hanno nello scambio privato con Mariotti — giovane, a mio avviso, allo studio di una delle più dibattute questioni degli *Epigrammata Bobiensia*: la ricostruzione del perduto codice della silloge, a lungo custodito presso la biblioteca del monastero di Bobbio, unitamente all'identificazione della sua fonte²⁹. È stato ipotizzato in modo convincente che il *Bobiensis deperditus* fosse un codice in minuscola del VII–VIII sec., sulla base degli errori di trascrizione compiuti dall'anonimo copista che nel XVI sec. ne ricavò un apografo (il già ricordato *Vat. Lat.* 2836, ff. 268r–278v, *testis unicus* della silloge)³⁰. Quanto all'antigrafo del *deperditus* di VII–VIII sec., l'ipotesi più verosimile è che si sia trattato di un codice tardoantico, molto probabilmente

²⁷ Su Sebastiano Timpanaro vd. *supra*, n. 18.

²⁸ M. Tullii Ciceronis *Libri qui ad philosophiam et ad rem publicam spectant*. Ex libris manu scriptis partim primum partim iterum excussis emendaverunt I.G. Baiterus et Car. Halmius, Turici 1862, p. 956.

²⁹ Studio mai realizzato da Campana, ora da me avviato con *Per la storia*, cit.

³⁰ Così S. Mariotti, *Epigrammata Bobiensia*, *RE, Suppl.* IX, 1962, coll. 37–64: 39, poi in Id., *Scritti*, cit., pp. 216–245: 217 sg. e n. 5, che seguo nel mio *Per la storia*, cit., p. 84 sg., proponendo un'identificazione del *Bobiensis deperditus* degli *Epigrammata* con un codice di Ausonio, anch'esso perduto, indicato al nr. 610 dell'inventario del X sec. della biblioteca del monastero di Bobbio (pp. 44–61). Nella stessa sede ho sostenuto (pp. 84–92) che da tale *deperditus* possano essere stati tratti due apografi indipendenti: la perduta copia 'milanese' realizzata da Giorgio Galbiate (amanuense di Giorgio Merula) e il fascicolo del *Vat. lat.* 2836, ff. 268–278, forse allestito per conto del Parrasio. Per una possibile conferma di questa mia ipotesi vd. ora R.M. D'Angelo, *La tradizione di Epigr. Bob. 42 e l'ordinamento del Bobiensis deperditus*, in *Studi in onore di Arturo De Vivo*, Napoli 2020, c.d.s.

in capitale rustica (o libraria) o in onciale, migrato da Roma a Milano³¹, e da Milano a Bobbio, insieme a molti altri manoscritti che costituirono il primo nucleo della biblioteca del monastero³². Dunque, da un archetipo romano tardoantico (V–VI sec.) sarebbe derivato un subarchetipo bobbiese, allestito fra il VII e l’VIII sec. Una ricostruzione che mi sembra adesso arricchirsi di due ulteriori tasselli grazie alle osservazioni inedite di Campana:

- 1) il perduto archetipo tardoantico dei *Bobiensia* recava molto probabilmente la *lectio Theombroto / -us* (*Epigr. Bob. 63 tit. e 1*)³³, anche perché — come osserva Campana nella lettera a Mariotti del 10.7.1958 (indicata *supra*, nell’elenco a p. 62) — non è «pensabile che in cinque diversi testi un eventuale *Cl.* si sia corrotto in *Th.*»³⁴;
- 2) tale *lectio* era condivisa con il *Taur. a.II.2** di Cicerone, codice in capitale rustica del V sec. (*scriptio inferior*)³⁵: un *consensus* significativo fra due *codices vetustissimi*, probabilmente coevi e appartenuti alla stessa biblioteca.

³¹ Sugli scambi culturali fra i circoli romani e quelli transpadani vd. A. Calderini, *Milano durante il basso impero*, in *Storia di Milano, I. Le origini e l’età romana*, Milano 1953, pp. 301–390; L. Cracco Ruggini, *De morte persecutorum e polemica antibarbarica nella storiografia pagana e cristiana. A proposito della disgrazia di Stilicone*, «Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa» 4, 1968, pp. 433–447 e Portuese, *Per la storia*, cit., p. 65 sg.

³² Vd. G. Mercati, *M. Tulli Ciceronis De re publica libri e codice rescripto Vaticano Latino 5757 phototypice expressi. Prolegomena de fatis bibliothecae monasterii s. Columbani Bobiensis et de codice ipso Vat. Lat. 5757*, Città del Vaticano 1934, p. 19 e G. Billanovich, M. Ferrari, *La trasmissione dei testi nell’Italia nord-occidentale*, I: M. Ferrari, *Centri di trasmissione: Monza, Pavia, Milano, Bobbio*, in AA.VV., *La cultura antica nell’Occidente latino dal VII all’XI secolo. 18–24 aprile 1974*, I, Spoleto 1975, pp. 303–320: 319 sg.

³³ Nell’articolo del 1958 Campana si limita ad attribuire all’*auctor* di *Epigr. Bob. 63* l’uso di un antigrafo greco in cui si leggeva *Θεόμβροτος*. Nella lettera a Mariotti qui edita, invece, lo studioso, nel sottolineare che la raccolta bobbiese fu allestita all’inizio del V sec. d.C. («Il passo dello ps. Girolamo = Eutropio è utile, come Agostino, perchè [sic] coevo ai *Bobiensia* [s. V. in....]»), riconduce implicitamente la forma *Theombroto / -us* al *codex* tardoantico della silloge.

³⁴ I cinque testi cui Campana si riferisce in questa lettera a Mariotti del 10.7.1958 sono le fonti latine indicate *supra*, p. 59, con l’esclusione di *Lact. inst.* 3, 18, 10, su cui lo studioso espresse inizialmente qualche perplessità (vd. *supra*, n. 25).

³⁵ Rinvio a Reeve, *The Turin*, cit., per una descrizione esaustiva del codice, rubricato al nr. 19 dell’inventario dei manoscritti di Bobbio del 1461 (vd. Peyron, M. Tulli *Ciceronis orationum*, cit., p. 5 della sezione dedicata all’inventario).

Difficile stabilire se entrambi giunsero a Bobbio nello stesso periodo. Sicuro, invece, il loro destino: *rescriptus* il *Taur.* a.II.2* (con la sovrapposizione della *Collatio cum Maximino* e dei *Contra Maximinum libri II* di Agostino in semionciale del VII sec.)³⁶; *deperditus* l'archetipo dei *Bobiensia* (con l'allestimento del nuovo apografo in minuscola precarolina).

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³⁶ Seppure relativamente ad un solo foglio di restauro, occorre segnalare anche la presenza del *De opere et eleemosynis* di Cipriano: vd. Lo Monaco, *Cicerone palinsesto*, cit., pp. 6 e 20.

ALLE ORIGINI DI
DEMOKRATIE UND KLASSENKAMPF IM ALTERTUM
IL DIBATTITO TRA ARTHUR ROSENBERG, OTTO JENSSEN ED
ETTORE CICCOTTI SULLA DEMOCRAZIA ATENIESE

— VITTORIO SALDUTTI —

ABSTRACT

*Negli anni che seguirono la presa del potere dei bolscevichi in Russia il movimento socialista internazionale fu agitato da un duro scontro sulla natura della democrazia sovietica che influenzò la riflessione di Arthur Rosenberg. Nell'ottobre del 1919 lo studioso tedesco pubblicò un lavoro su una rivista dei socialdemocratici indipendenti, in cui la democrazia ateniese veniva paragonata al moderno regime dei Consigli. L'articolo scatenò la reazione di Otto Jenssen, che aprì un dibattito, nel quale venne in un secondo momento coinvolto Ettore Ciccotti, sulla natura economica, sociale e politica dell'antico regime ateniese. La querelle ebbe un notevole impatto sulla successiva produzione di Ciccotti e sull'elaborazione di *Demokratie und Klassenkampf im Altertum*, il lavoro più importante di Rosenberg come antichista.*

*In the years following the Bolsheviks' seizure of power in Russia the international Socialist movement was divided by a harsh debate on the nature of Soviet democracy, which had a major influence on Arthur Rosenberg's thought. In October 1919, he published an article in the journal of the Independent Social Democratic Party in which he compared Athenian democracy with contemporary workers' councils. The piece prompted the reaction of Otto Jenssen, who opened a controversy on the economic, social and political character of the ancient Athenian polity that came to involve also Ettore Ciccotti. The exchange had a considerable impact on the later works of Ciccotti and on the writing of *Demokratie und Klassenkampf im Altertum*, Rosenberg's most important contribution to classical scholarship.*

KEYWORDS

*Arthur Rosenberg, Ettore Ciccotti, Athenian democracy, *Demokratie und Klassenkampf im Altertum*, historical comparativism*

Le opposte traiettorie scientifiche e politiche di Arthur Rosenberg (1889–1943) ed Ettore Ciccotti (1863–1939) si incrociarono nella primavera del 1920, quando lo studioso italiano fu chiamato a dirimere una controversia sulla democrazia antica che aveva visto contrapposti nei mesi precedenti Rosenberg e il meno noto Otto Jenssen. La

disputa è stata successivamente dimenticata¹, nonostante abbia avuto un notevole impatto sulla riflessione dei due principali protagonisti, consentendo allo studioso tedesco di precisare alcuni elementi del suo pensiero sulla democrazia antica che sarebbero stati alla base di *Demokratie und Klassenkampf im Altertum* (1921), uno dei suoi lavori più importanti; e a Ciccotti di mettere a fuoco alcuni problemi metodologici sollevati dall'impiego del metodo comparativo nell'indagine storica.

1. Il confronto tra Kautsky e Lenin su democrazia e dittatura del proletariato

Dall'estate del 1918 il movimento socialdemocratico e comunista fu agitato da un duro confronto sui concetti di democrazia e dittatura. Karl Kautsky, principale teorico e dirigente di punta del Partito Socialdemocratico Indipendente di Germania (*Unabhängige Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands* – USPD), sollecitato dall'amico menscevico Pavel Aksel'ród e deluso dalla scelta dei bolscevichi di sciogliere in maniera coatta l'Assemblea costituente appena eletta, diede vita a un'aspra polemica contro Lenin e il suo partito, ormai saldamente al potere in Russia². In *Die Diktatur des Proletariats*, il primo di una lunga serie di pamphlet su questo tema³, Kautsky evidenzia che gli avvenimenti russi e l'instaurazione della repubblica sovietica avevano imposto al movimento socialista internazionale una riflessione sulla democrazia, una forma di governo

¹ I due articoli di Rosenberg sono assenti nelle bibliografie dei suoi scritti che completano i recenti lavori a lui dedicati di Lorenzo Riberi (*Arthur Rosenberg. Democrazia e socialismo tra storia e politica*, Milano 2001) e Mario Keßler (*Arthur Rosenberg. Ein Historiker im Zeitalter der Katastrophen, 1889–1943*, Köln 2003). Solo parzialmente diverso il destino dell'intervento di Ciccotti, la cui successiva pubblicazione in italiano, con alcune lievi modifiche, nella *Nuova Rivista Storica* (n. 5, 1920, pp. 514–519), è menzionata nell'elenco dei suoi lavori presente nella biografia curata da Giuseppe Pascarella e Giuseppe Campanelli (*Ettore Ciccotti. Sud e politica tra realismo e utopia*, Potenza 2016), dove, tuttavia, non è ricordata la precedente edizione in tedesco. Il testo italiano fu poi incluso nella raccolta *Confronti Storici* (Milano–Genova–Roma–Napoli 1929, pp. 181–188). Tutti gli interventi sono riproposti nell'appendice del presente lavoro.

² La genesi del dibattito e i suoi aspetti salienti sono ricostruiti da I. Getzler, *Ottobre 1917: il dibattito marxista sulla rivoluzione in Russia*, in *Storia del marxismo, III. Il marxismo nell'età della Terza Internazionale 1. Dalla rivoluzione d'Ottobre alla crisi del '29*, Torino 1980, pp. 21–47.

³ Dopo questo saggio, pubblicato a Vienna, seguirono *Demokratie oder Diktatur*, Berlin 1918; *Terrorismus und Kommunismus*, Berlin 1920; e *Von der Demokratie zur Staatsklaverei. Eine Auseinandersetzung mit Trotski*, Berlin 1921.

antitetica alla dittatura del proletariato per come la intendevano i bolscevichi (pp. 3–4). L'esistenza di un sistema parlamentare (in questo si risolve ai suoi occhi la democrazia) costituisce un prerequisito indispensabile per la costruzione del socialismo, che passa attraverso la conquista della maggioranza da parte dei partiti operai in libere elezioni (pp. 13–19). Ogni altro tentativo di imporre un regime socialista attraverso organi differenti, come stava avvenendo con i Soviet in Russia, è destinato al fallimento (pp. 26–39).

L'attacco scatenò la violenta reazione di Lenin che, in *Die Diktatur des Proletariats und der Renegat K. Kautsky*⁴, osservò come secondo una prospettiva marxista non possa esistere una vera democrazia senza l'uguaglianza di tutti i cittadini, irrealizzabile in una società divisa in classi (pp. 17–24). Disquisire su una astratta democrazia è del tutto inutile e occorre, dunque, indicare la natura di classe dei vari regimi che si intendono analizzare e verificare se siano governi della borghesia o del proletariato. Compito dei rivoluzionari è sostituire gli strumenti della dittatura della borghesia, parlamento e Assemblea costituente, con quelli propri della dittatura del proletariato, i consigli operai, organi in cui si rispecchiano ed esprimono gli stati d'animo e i mutamenti di idee dei lavoratori (pp. 31–38). Il regime sovietico era, in altre parole, un tipo superiore di democrazia, non la sua antitesi.

L'ala sinistra dell'USPD, che si organizzava nella Lega di Spartaco, assunse inizialmente una posizione di compromesso. Rosa Luxemburg, per sfuggire alla contrapposizione democrazia-dittatura, affermò in un primo momento che i Soviet e l'Assemblea costituente dovessero convivere, non elidersi⁵. Un'idea che, però, abbandonò quando la Germania si trovò in un fermento rivoluzionario che ripropose la dicotomia in termini molto simili alla Russia del '17. Dopo l'abbattimento del regime guglielmino nel novembre del '18, il Partito Socialdemocratico di Germania (*Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands* — SPD) attivò una poderosa campagna per l'elezione di un'Assemblea costituente che sostituisse il potere dei Consigli, nel frattempo sorti numerosi in tutto il paese⁶. Nei

⁴ Il testo venne pubblicato a Lipsia nel 1919, ma fu preceduto da una sintesi con il medesimo titolo apparsa sulla *Pravda* nr. 219 dell'11 ottobre 1918.

⁵ Queste considerazioni vennero sviluppate nel testo *Die russische Revolution*, scritto in prigione nel 1918 ma pubblicato da Paul Levi, in forma incompleta, solo alla fine del 1921 come ritorsione contro i bolscevichi che lo avevano da poco espulso dal Partito Comunista. Sulla storia e i contenuti dell'articolo vd. L. Basso (a cura di), Rosa Luxemburg, *Scritti politici*, Roma 1967, pp. 555–562.

⁶ Gli avvenimenti di quel convulso periodo sono ricostruiti in dettaglio da P. Broué, *Rivoluzione in Germania 1917–1923*, Torino 1977², pp. 128–247.

loro ultimi giorni di vita, Rosa Luxemburg e Karl Liebknecht ingaggiarono una dura battaglia contro la parola d'ordine dell'Assemblea nazionale, organo della falsa e formale democrazia borghese, a favore dei Consigli, strumenti della vera democrazia⁷.

È alla luce di questo dibattito che occorre leggere i lavori sulla democrazia antica di Arthur Rosenberg, che li elaborò e pubblicò per gli stessi giornali e lettori ai quali si erano rivolti i più autorevoli capi del movimento operaio internazionale nei mesi precedenti.

2. La formazione politica e intellettuale di Arthur Rosenberg

Berlinese di nascita e di formazione, Rosenberg frequentò con particolare interesse i corsi di Eduard Meyer, che lo avviarono agli studi sullo stato e sulle forme organizzative che esso può assumere⁸. Mosse i suoi primi passi nella ricerca antichistica con il sostegno di Otto Hirschfeld, relatore della dissertazione di laurea *Untersuchungen zur römischen Zenturienverfassung* del 1911. Due anni dopo discusse la tesi di abilitazione su *Der Staat der alten Italiker*, in cui confermò il suo interesse per la storia costituzionale antica che gli valse, oltre alla libera docenza, la possibilità di redigere alcune voci per la Pauly-Wissowa⁹. In particolare nel lemma *Res publica* Rosenberg avviò un'indagine sulle diverse forme di autogoverno del popolo — fenomeno tipico degli stati antichi — che divenne centrale nella sua successiva produzione. A distinguere questa dalle altre voci scritte per la prestigiosa enciclopedia è la scelta di istituire un confronto tra le realtà istituzionali antiche e moderne, prive, queste

⁷ La svolta emerge in maniera lampante nell'articolo *Nationalversammlung oder Räteregierung?*, firmato dalla Luxemburg per *Die rote Fahne*, nr. 32 del 17 dicembre 1918, e nel discorso, pronunciato da Liebknecht alla Hasenheide di Berlino il 23 dicembre dello stesso anno, *Was will der Spartakusbund?*, ripubblicato in *Ausgewählte Reden und Aufsätze*, Berlin 1952, pp. 505–520.

⁸ Il percorso umano e scientifico di Rosenberg è stato ricostruito in maniera dettagliata da Riberi, op. cit., pp. 25–211, e Keßler, op. cit. Più sintetico F. Senatore, *La vita e le opere di Arthur Rosenberg*, in L. Cappelletti, F. Senatore (a cura di), *Arthur Rosenberg. Lo Stato degli antichi Italici*, Roma 2011, pp. 177–230. Particolarmente attento all'evoluzione del pensiero politico è L. Canfora, *Il comunista senza partito*, Palermo 1984.

⁹ Si tratta delle voci *Imperator* (IX 1, 1139–1154); *Imperium* (IX 2, 1201–1211); *Ramnes*, *Ravenna*, *Regia*, *Regifugium* *Res publica*, *Rex*, *Rex sacrorum*, *Romulia*, *Romulus* (I A, 1137–1139; 300–305; 465–469; 469–472; 633–674; 702–721; 721–726; 1074; 1074–1104).

ultime, di qualsiasi forma di partecipazione popolare diretta all'esercizio del potere¹⁰.

A questi temi di ricerca si affiancò, nel 1915, lo studio della democrazia ateniese, soprattutto nei suoi aspetti politici. Il primo intervento su tale argomento, *Perikles und die Parteien in Athen* (*NJbb* 18, 1915, pp. 205–223), si iscrive pienamente nel solco della tradizione di studi già avviati dal maestro Eduard Meyer e da Karl Julius Beloch (che a Meyer era legato¹¹) per l'uso di un lessico modernizzante — in base al quale la democrazia post-efialtea è descritta come un oppressivo dominio del proletariato (p. 208: *drückende Proletarierherrschaft*), interrotto dall'intervento del dittatore Pericle (*Diktator*) — e la lettura del dibattito ateniese come confronto tra due partiti contrapposti¹².

L'immagine di un leader politico che domina l'organizzazione statale e pone un freno alle intemperanze del popolo lascia intravedere un'adesione all'ideologia statalista e bismarckiana allora in voga fra tanti intellettuali tedeschi¹³. Questo il pensiero politico di Rosenberg quando, nel 1916, venne chiamato alle armi. Il suo elevato grado di istruzione gli permise di essere arruolato nell'ufficio stampa di guerra, il *Kriegspresseamt*, messo in piedi dal generale Ludendorff per diffondere la propaganda dello stato maggiore tedesco¹⁴. In questo contesto matura la scelta di aderire al partito della patria (*Deutsche Vaterlandspartei* — DVLP), organizzazione reazionaria la cui nascita fu caldeggiata da Ludendorff in persona e fu promossa sul piano culturale, tra gli altri, da Eduard Meyer¹⁵.

¹⁰ La voce è costruita sul costante confronto tra le forme istituzionali greche, in particolare di Atene, e romane. Nell'analizzare i passi polibiani relativi alle diverse costituzioni egli osserva: «Die Form, in der sich diese Selbstregierung des Volkes vollzieht, macht den prinzipiellen Unterschied zwischen den antiken und den modernen Verfassungsstaaten aus» (col. 637). Sull'importanza di questo lavoro nell'evoluzione del pensiero di Rosenberg, vd. Riberi, op. cit., pp. 36–38.

¹¹ L. Polverini, *Amicizia e storiografia nel carteggio Beloch–Meyer*, in C. Bonnet, V. Krings (éds.) *S'écrire et écrire sur l'Antiquité. L'apport des correspondances à l'histoire des travaux scientifiques*, Grenoble 2008, pp. 105–119.

¹² Rosenberg si richiama esplicitamente all'autorità di Beloch, di cui ripercorre la tesi generale formulata in *Die attische Politik seit Perikles*, su cui vd. V. Saldutti, *Atene dopo la morte di Pericle nella riflessione di Karl Julius Beloch*, *IncidAntico* 16, 2018, pp. 233–248.

¹³ Riberi, op. cit., pp. 46–48.

¹⁴ Canfora, op. cit., pp. 24–31 ha ricostruito i suoi compiti in questo ufficio, per il quale si occupò prevalentemente di politica estera.

¹⁵ La scarsità di fonti documentarie ha reso difficile individuare le singole scelte di Rosenberg in questi anni, ma la sua adesione alla DVLP pare assodata (F.L. Carsten, *Arthur Rosenberg: Ancient Historian into Leading Communist*, in W. Laqueur, G.L.

Il secondo articolo dedicato ai partiti politici del V secolo a.C., *Die Parteistellung des Themistokles*, costituisce una tappa importante nell'evoluzione del pensiero di Rosenberg sulla democrazia ateniese. Il lavoro, apparso su *Hermes* nel 1918 ed elaborato con ogni probabilità l'anno precedente, contesta la ricostruzione della vita politica dell'Atene di inizio secolo avanzata da Beloch nella *Griechische Geschichte* (Strassburg 1916)¹⁶. Due gli elementi di novità nella riflessione di Rosenberg, che saranno ripresi in seguito. Per la prima volta egli scandisce le diverse tappe della democrazia ateniese non in base ai progressi di ordine istituzionale, ma sociale. Individua, infatti, una prima fase della democrazia, quella postclistenica, caratterizzata dal dominio della borghesia, ossia dell'insieme di tutti i ceti possidenti, espresso attraverso il controllo del Consiglio. In questo periodo i teti, che prevalgono in un'assemblea ancora ininfluente, sono marginali. Sarà solo in età periclea che entrambi gli organi, *boulé* ed *ekklesia*, si baseranno sullo stesso segmento sociale, vale a dire i nullatenenti. Il secondo elemento di novità dello scritto è il confronto con i contemporanei avvenimenti russi. Rosenberg osserva che in Russia le varie formazioni socialiste e i cadetti si fregiavano della definizione di democratici, così come avevano fatto le diverse componenti della società ateniese quasi duemilacinquecento anni prima. Sulle vicende dell'ex impero zarista egli non formula alcun giudizio¹⁷, ma è comunque degno di nota che già vi guardasse con interesse come termine di paragone per l'indagine sull'autogoverno antico¹⁸.

Rosenberg visse a Berlino gli ultimi mesi di guerra, condividendo con la popolazione della capitale tedesca le privazioni e i razionamenti di ogni

Mosse (eds.), *Historians in Politics*, London–Beverly Hills 1974, pp. 315–327, in particolare p. 316; e Canfora, op. cit., pp. 22–23). Insostenibile è, al contrario, l'idea di un Rosenberg vicino al marxismo già in questo periodo, se non prima, sostenuta da H. Schachenmeyer, *Arthur Rosenberg als Vertreter des Historischen Materialismus*, Wiesbaden 1961, p. 15 e *passim*.

¹⁶ Il confronto è condotto nel modo più garbato possibile, come testimoniano gli elogi, posti in premessa al lavoro (p. 308), verso l'opera dell'illustre collega.

¹⁷ Un atteggiamento “morfologicamente agnostico” lo definisce Canfora, op. cit., p. 53. Riberi, op. cit., pp. 51–53 nota come sia difficile collocare il saggio, che esprime un crescente interesse di Rosenberg per la democrazia, nei mesi in cui aderì al meno democratico dei partiti presenti sulla scena politica tedesca. L'anomalia è corroborata dalla constatazione che nella sua prefazione alla *Geschichte Alexanders des Großen* di Johann Gustav Droysen, pubblicata a Berlino nel 1917, si possono leggere diversi riferimenti encomiastici a Bismarck e Guglielmo I (Riberi, op. cit., p. 48; Keßler op. cit., p. 38).

¹⁸ Beloch replicò, brevemente, due anni dopo sulla stessa rivista (*Hipparkos und Themistokles*, *Hermes* 55, 1920, pp. 311–318), ridimensionando le divergenze con Rosenberg.

bene, soprattutto quelli alimentari, che la crisi del Reich portava con sé¹⁹. Il sorgere, nel novembre del '18, di consigli operai in tutto il territorio nazionale e le istanze di una rinnovata democrazia sotto il controllo dei lavoratori esercitarono su di lui un'attrazione tale da spingerlo a iscriversi immediatamente all'USPD, il partito che più sembrava incarnare lo spirito di quei giorni. Una "conversione", come è stata definita la sua decisione, che affonda le radici nell'esperienza concreta della guerra, ma anche negli studi sulle diverse forme di potere popolare²⁰. È probabilmente da attribuire a questo interesse l'adesione, da lui ricordata solo in seguito, alle posizioni espresse da Lenin sul potere sovietico e la democrazia diretta in Russia, una vicinanza di idee che lo spingeva immediatamente verso la sinistra del partito²¹. Questa scelta di campo lo immerse nei grandi movimenti che allora attraversavano la Germania, ma allo stesso tempo lo emarginò dall'accademia tedesca e dal suo ambiente di formazione, quello dei cultori dell'*Altertumswissenschaft*, schierati all'unanimità nel campo dell'ordine e della conservazione²². Si trovò isolato tra due mondi, unico antichista nel campo socialdemocratico, unico socialdemocratico di sinistra tra gli studiosi dell'antichità. Una collocazione che avrebbe pagato, nell'accademia, con un duraturo ostracismo e l'esigenza di virare verso altre discipline; nel movimento operaio, con la necessità di impegnarsi in una battaglia controcorrente che lo porterà a essere un "senza partito"²³.

¹⁹ Lo mette in evidenza Keßler, op. cit., p. 41.

²⁰ L'espressione è di E. Ragionieri, *Introduzione*, in Arthur Rosenberg, *Storia del bolscevismo*, Firenze 1969, p. XI, ed è ripresa da Riberi, op. cit., p. 57, che la integra con le osservazioni di Canfora, op. cit., pp. 32-34, sulla continuità dei nuovi orientamenti di Rosenberg con la sua precedente critica alle democrazie capitalistiche occidentali.

²¹ Riberi, op. cit., pp. 56-57 sottolinea la dipendenza della riflessione di Rosenberg da quella leninista di *Stato e Rivoluzione* e del rinnegato Kautsky, dipendenza che emergerà ripetutamente nella sua produzione scientifica e politica.

²² Rosenberg fu vittima di un'autentica persecuzione all'interno dell'università berlinese, come documenta, riferendo alcuni specifici episodi, Keßler, op. cit., pp. 54-57. Il suo isolamento scientifico nell'ambito degli studiosi di storia greca è analizzato da B. Näf, *Deutungen und Interpretationen der griechischen Geschichte in den zwanziger Jahren*, in H. Flashar (hrsg. von), *Altertumswissenschaft in den 20er Jahren. Neue Frage und Impulse*, Stuttgart 1995, pp. 275-302, in particolare p. 282.

²³ Riprendo l'espressione da Canfora, op. cit.

3. Atene repubblica dei proletari: la polemica tra Rosenberg e Jenssen

Quando, nel gennaio del '19, l'ala più radicale del partito decise di dare vita a una formazione dichiaratamente comunista (*Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands* — KPD), Rosenberg preferì rimanere nelle file dei socialdemocratici indipendenti, con i quali, tuttavia, maturarono nel corso dell'anno significative divergenze, che trovarono espressione in alcuni interventi non direttamente collegati alle questioni politiche di maggiore attualità, ma incentrati su temi secondari e di natura teorica.

In questo periodo dedicò numerosi articoli a una serrata critica della riforma scolastica, varata dal ministro della SPD Konrad Haenisch, che, a suo giudizio, non modificava l'impianto classista dell'istruzione secondaria del paese, limitandosi a ridimensionare il peso delle materie umanistiche in alcuni indirizzi di studio. Ebbe così modo di riflettere sull'insegnamento della storia, in particolare nei percorsi di istruzione dei lavoratori. La sua attenzione a questi temi — che ha anche il sapore di una difesa della disciplina in ambienti che tendevano a considerarla alfiere del pensiero conservatore, se non reazionario — ebbe come ricaduta pratica la scelta di impegnarsi in prima persona nella *Volkshochschule* di Berlino, una scuola popolare di secondo grado. Nello stesso anno dedicò il corso accademico di storia antica al tema della democrazia, approfondendo l'analisi dell'evoluzione del regime popolare ad Atene²⁴.

Frutto dell'impegno nella divulgazione e dell'interesse per la democrazia ateniese è l'articolo, dal titolo provocatorio e innovativo *Die älteste proletarier-Republik der Welt*, apparso nell'ottobre '19 sulla rivista *Die Freie Welt* (nr. 26/1919, 29 ottobre, pp. 4–5), un settimanale illustrato di approfondimento culturale, allegato ai quotidiani dei socialdemocratici indipendenti. Sin dalle prime parole viene dichiarato il duplice intento del lavoro: contrastare la riduzione della storia antica nei programmi delle *Hochschulen* e contestare la concezione classicistica che faceva degli antichi greci l'incarnazione di tutte le virtù prussiane (*die Griechen die Verkörperung aller preußischen Tugenden gewesen seien*), nascondendo il protagonismo delle masse oppresse e la reale importanza politica di personalità come quella di Pericle. Si trattava, in altre parole, di sottrarre la storia antica all'egemonia reazionaria e trasformarla in uno strumento di emancipazione per i lavoratori.

Da questa esigenza deriva la scelta di un lessico modernizzante e di confronti con la realtà contemporanea, immediatamente comprensibili

²⁴ Vd. A. Demandt, *Alte Geschichte in Berlin 1810–1960*, in R. Hansen, W. Ribbe (hrsg. von), *Geschichtswissenschaft in Berlin im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. Persönlichkeit und Institutionen*, Berlin–New York 1992, p. 192.

per i lavoratori. Il territorio di Atene è paragonato, per descriverne l'estensione, ai piccoli *Länder* come la Turingia; l'*asty* con il centro cittadino di Francoforte sull'Oder; gli antagonismi sociali interni alla *polis* vengono descritti in termini di conflitti tra proletari e sfruttatori (*Gegensatz [...] der Ausbeuter und der Proletarier*); la separazione tra proletari e schiavi ricorda quella dei lavoratori nei confronti di neri e cinesi negli Stati Uniti. Rosenberg, allo stesso tempo, mette in guardia da un eccessivo appiattimento della realtà antica su quella contemporanea, sottolineando, in particolare, l'assenza di una grande industria nell'Atene di età classica, dove la produzione non superava le dimensioni della media impresa artigianale²⁵.

Per dimostrare la tesi dell'esistenza di una repubblica proletaria nel V secolo a.C., lo storico berlinese descrive la strutturazione della società ateniese in termini fortemente innovativi rispetto alla consolidata interpretazione marxista del mondo antico. Il principale bersaglio polemico è la centralità attribuita al lavoro schiavile nell'economia precapitalistica. Rosenberg ne ridimensiona il peso e l'importanza, sostenendo che gli schiavi rappresentavano appena un quarto della popolazione complessiva ed erano impiegati per lo più nel lavoro domestico. La produzione era pertanto nelle mani di uomini liberi salariati, i proletari del mondo antico. Il conflitto di classe li contrapponeva alla borghesia cittadina, costituita da commercianti e proprietari di botteghe artigiane.

Dopo la cacciata dei Pisistratidi era stata instaurata ad Atene una repubblica borghese, ma con il tempo il proletariato si era organizzato in un partito di lotta (*proletarische Kampfpartei*). Il processo rivoluzionario attraverso il quale questa formazione aveva preso il potere anticipa gli avvenimenti della storia più recente. Come nella grande Rivoluzione francese e nella contemporanea Rivoluzione tedesca, a pagare con la vita l'ascesa delle masse era stato il loro capo, Efialte, precursore di Marat e Karl Liebknecht (*Vorläufer von Marat und Karl Liebknecht*). Il delitto non era riuscito a impedire l'instaurazione, grazie all'autorità di Pericle, della dittatura del proletariato (*Diktatur des Proletariats*), che garantiva l'autogoverno diretto delle masse proletarie (*eine direkte Selbstregierung der proletarischen Masse*) tramite il sistema del sorteggio per il Consiglio

²⁵ Questa concezione riprende quella sviluppata da Meyer e Beloch nella polemica contro Bücher sulla natura dell'economia antica. In particolare, il secondo riteneva che ad Atene, a differenza di altre *poleis* come Corinto, la crescente articolazione della produzione artigianale non avesse raggiunto le dimensioni proprie della grande industria. Sulla controversia fra i tre studiosi vd. M. Mazza, *Meyer vs Bücher: il dibattito sull'economia antica nella storiografia tedesca tra Otto e Novecento*, *Società e Storia* 8, 1985, pp. 507–546 (= *Economia antica e storiografia moderna*, Roma 2013, pp. 53–92).

e la retribuzione delle cariche. Il limitato sviluppo dei mezzi di produzione impediva una loro completa socializzazione, e dunque i ricchi rimasero proprietari dei loro beni, ma il nuovo regime permise una più equa distribuzione delle risorse e un processo di acculturazione dei salariati senza eguali nella storia. La politica estera imperialistica costituiva l'unico neo del regime democratico, che, se avesse esteso la sua influenza sulle altre *poleis* anziché sfruttarle, sarebbe durato più a lungo dei 140 anni di vita che Rosenberg gli attribuisce, fino, cioè, alla guerra lamiaca.

Il ricorso al concetto di dittatura del proletariato e il richiamo a Karl Liebknecht, fondatore della KPD, alludevano chiaramente al dibattito in corso tra Lenin e Kautsky, lasciando trasparire il sostegno dell'autore per le tesi del rivoluzionario russo. Nonostante il taglio storico dell'articolo, Rosenberg prendeva posizione nella *querelle* sulla centralità dei consigli di fabbrica nella futura rivoluzione che stava dilaniando l'USPD e si schierava al fianco della sinistra del partito. Non stupisce, dunque, che un lavoro sulla democrazia ateniese scatenasse un dibattito che proseguì sulla pagina culturale della ben più diffusa e autorevole *Leipziger Volkszeitung*, quotidiano vicino alla linea di Kautsky.

La replica fu affidata a Otto Jenssen — prolifico pubblicista sulle pagine dei giornali di partito e insegnante nella scuola di formazione dell'unione sindacale di Lipsia²⁶ — il quale pubblicò nel dicembre dello stesso anno *Die "Proletarierrepublik" Athen, eine Geschichtslegende* (nr. 272/1919, 3 dicembre, p. 7), una breve nota di analisi del precedente testo di Rosenberg. La critica allo strano materialismo storico (*eigenartiger historischer Materialismus*) del professore berlinese viene condotta esclusivamente sul piano dell'ortodossia marxista e dell'incomparabile alterità tra passato e presente (*Unterschied des Einst und Jetzt*). In una citazione in esergo e diffusamente nel testo Jenssen si rifà a Franz Mehring, di cui riprende lunghi brani tratti dal capitolo dedicato alla guerra del Peloponneso di *Eine Geschichte der Kriegskunst* (Stuttgart 1908). In questo saggio Mehring aveva contestato ad Hans Delbrück la scarsa attenzione prestata all'impatto delle dinamiche sociali ed economiche su quelle militari nella sua *Geschichte der Kriegskunst im Rahmen der politischen Geschichte* (Berlin 1900–1920). La scelta di utilizzare gli scritti di Mehring non è casuale. I suoi lavori, infatti, avevano suscitato l'interesse di Rosenberg già ai tempi degli studi universitari e rimasero

²⁶ Una sintetica biografia di Jenssen è stata ricostruita da D. Bauke e G. Hauthal (*Ein blinder Seher: Otto Jenssen*, in M. Hesselbarth, E. Schulz, M. Weissbecker (hrsg. von), *Gelebte Ideen. Sozialisten in Thüringen. Biographische Skizzen*, Jena 2006, 243–251).

un punto di riferimento nella sua riflessione successiva²⁷. Rifarsi ai suoi testi rappresentava, quindi, una sorta di richiamo a principi che si ritenevano condivisi all'interno dei circoli intellettuali della socialdemocrazia tedesca e dai quali Rosenberg, con il suo articolo, si era allontanato.

L'aspetto più fragile e in contrasto con la dottrina marxista della ricostruzione di Rosenberg era, secondo Jenssen, la sottovalutazione del nesso tra politica interna e politica estera. L'autorità di Mehring viene evocata per dimostrare come lo sviluppo economico di Atene si fondasse sull'impero navale, che le consentiva di drenare enormi risorse dagli alleati. La conseguente accumulazione di ingenti ricchezze aveva innescato un circolo vizioso: l'espandersi del latifondo, in cui venivano impiegati prevalentemente schiavi, aveva provocato una crescente proletarizzazione delle masse, che spingevano per esercitare una maggiore pressione sugli alleati con l'obiettivo di aumentare ulteriormente le entrate e migliorare le proprie condizioni economiche.

Il secondo aspetto problematico del lavoro di Rosenberg era la sottovalutazione dell'elemento schiavile nella ricostruzione della storia ateniese. Il nodo del contendere riguardava i soggetti della lotta di classe nell'antica Atene, che Friedrich Engels (richiamato esplicitamente da Jenssen) aveva individuato, in *Der Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigentums und des Staats* (Hottingen-Zürich 1884), nelle opposte classi sociali degli schiavi e dei liberi, diversamente da Rosenberg, che si era concentrato sulla contrapposizione tra nullatenenti e ceti possidenti.

La controreplica di Rosenberg non si fece attendere e fu particolarmente dura. Nell'articolo *Nochmals die Proletarier-Republik Athen* (nr. 12/1920, 16 gennaio, p. 8), egli scelse di non seguire Jenssen sul terreno della teoria marxista, ma di portare il confronto su quello a lui più congeniale della storia antica. Dopo avere giustificato Mehring — che, nonostante la vasta cultura, non aveva la possibilità di entrare nei dettagli di tutte le discipline con cui si confrontava — Rosenberg passa a contestare la concezione in base alla quale gli Ateniesi poveri non avrebbero avuto bisogno di lavorare, dal momento che la produzione sarebbe gravata sugli schiavi. Secondo un passo di Ateneo relativo a un censimento che si era tenuto ad Atene negli anni finali del IV secolo (VI 272c), gli schiavi nella regione sarebbero stati 400.000, un numero dieci volte superiore al resto della popolazione. Engels si era rifatto a tale tradizione

²⁷ Keßler, op. cit., p. 63. Riberi, op. cit., pp. 53–54 ipotizza anche una frequentazione personale tra i due, che è, però, difficile da dimostrare. Il debito intellettuale di Rosenberg nei confronti di Mehring emerge nella voce da lui redatta per l'*Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* sul teorico marxista (New York 1933, pp. 301–302).

per stabilire le dimensioni della schiavitù in Attica²⁸, ma — fa notare Rosenberg — i recenti studi di demografia del mondo antico, condotti in particolare da Beloch, avevano dimostrato che il numero di abitanti complessivo di Atene non poteva superare le 170.000 unità, di cui meno di un terzo erano schiavi²⁹. A dimostrazione del coinvolgimento dei cittadini nella produzione, Rosenberg ricorda poi l'elogio dell'attivismo ateniese contenuto nell'epitaffio per i morti nel primo anno della guerra del Peloponneso (Thuc. II 40) e la descrizione plutarchea della vivace economia dell'Atene periclea (*Per.* 12). Sulla base di questo dinamismo si imposero i più importanti leader politici degli ultimi anni del V secolo, di estrazione borghese, ma autentici difensori dei poveri (*wirklichen Vorkämpfer des armen Volkes*).

In maniera più sintetica Rosenberg ribatte alle osservazioni, che pure avevano occupato gran parte dell'articolo di Jenssen, sull'aggressiva politica estera ateniese. Egli nota come l'economia cittadina non aveva subito particolari danni dalla perdita dell'impero alla fine della guerra contro Sparta, e ciò, lascia intendere lo studioso, testimonia che la crescita ateniese dipendeva in misura limitata dall'egemonia politica e militare nell'Egeo. L'aspetto più interessante della democrazia ateniese, prosegue Rosenberg, è la particolare forma assunta dall'autogoverno proletario, che aveva anticipato le successive esperienze della grande Rivoluzione francese, della Comune di Parigi e dei Soviet russi del 1905, ed era paragonabile al sistema dei Consigli sviluppatosi in quegli anni in Germania.

L'articolo si conclude con una reprimenda nei confronti del metodo impiegato da Jenssen per contestare il suo precedente lavoro: il richiamo all'autorità di Mehring è solo un espediente per non entrare nel merito delle questioni che lui aveva sollevato sulla scorta dello studio delle fonti. È, invece, sul terreno dell'analisi rigorosa dei dati disponibili che occorre confrontarsi. Questa la sfida di Rosenberg.

²⁸ Engels basa la sua ricostruzione, contenuta nell'*Ursprung der Familie* (*Marx-Engels Werke* vol. XXI, Berlin 1975, p. 116) sull'interpretazione del passo di Ateneo fornita da August Böckh (W. Nippel, *Marx, Weber, and Classical Slavery*, *ClIre* 12, 2005, pp. 39-40).

²⁹ Rosenberg riprende i calcoli effettuati da K.J. Beloch, *Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt*, Leipzig 1886, pp. 99-110, e confermati nuovamente nella *Griechische Geschichte*, III 2, Berlin-Leipzig 1923², pp. 410-418.

4. La risposta di Ciccotti

Per una seconda replica la scelta della redazione della *Leipziger Volkszeitung* cadde su Ettore Ciccotti, e non certo perché questi aveva da poco pubblicato in Germania una *Griechische Geschichte* (Gotha 1920), come dichiara nelle prime righe della sua risposta. Altre e più significative erano le motivazioni alla base della decisione, che si possono rintracciare nella sua passata esperienza intellettuale e politica³⁰.

Nato nel 1863, Ettore Ciccotti si formò politicamente e culturalmente in ambienti imbevuti di istanze risorgimentali, prima nella sua città d'origine, Potenza, e successivamente a Napoli. Qui frequentò l'università e si avvicinò allo studio del mondo antico, aprendosi a una metodologia di indagine storica in cui l'attenzione al dato filologico veniva combinata con l'uso di concetti sviluppati dalle scienze sociali, giuridiche ed economiche. Ciò si tradusse, sin dai primi scritti, in un utilizzo costante di categorie analitiche mutuata da altre discipline, a cui si aggiungeva una spiccata propensione al comparativismo storico tra epoche diverse³¹. Perfezionò i suoi studi a Roma, dove entrò in contatto con il pensiero marxista, che grazie all'impegno di Antonio Labriola, docente nell'ateneo della capitale, muoveva i primi passi in Italia. Divenuto professore straordinario di Storia antica presso l'Accademia scientifico-letteraria di Milano, proprio nel capoluogo lombardo prese a frequentare i circoli socialisti. Negli anni finali del secolo il suo orientamento politico e intellettuale si precisò. L'adesione al neonato partito socialista gli valse da un lato una crescente fama, dall'altro l'espulsione dall'università milanese e, poi, da quella di Pavia. Il coinvolgimento nei moti scoppiati nel 1899 gli impose di fuggire in Svizzera, dove entrò in contatto con

³⁰ Due sono le monografie dedicate alla ricostruzione della biografia di Ciccotti: G. Manganaro Favaretto, *Ettore Ciccotti (1863–1939). Il difficile connubio tra storia e politica*, Trieste 1989 e quella già citata di Pascarella e Campanelli, entrambe attente più alla vicenda politica che al percorso culturale del professore lucano. Più sintetici, ma ancora estremamente utili per comprendere tale aspetto, sono i tre lavori di P. Treves a lui dedicati (*L'idea di Roma e la cultura italiana del secolo XIX*, Milano–Napoli 1962, pp. 221–260; *A commemorazione di Ettore Ciccotti*, *Athenaeum* 41, 1963, pp. 356–383; *Ettore Ciccotti*, in *DBI* vol. 25, 1981, pp. 368–375).

³¹ Già nel suo primo lavoro, la *Costituzione cosiddetta di Licurgo* (Napoli 1886), vengono impiegati nella ricostruzione storica l'etnologia, l'antropologia e il confronto con diverse organizzazioni sociali per colmare i vuoti della documentazione antica e fornire utili modelli interpretativi delle realtà indagate. Questo metodo di lavoro sarà caratteristico degli studi di Ciccotti e costituisce il suo più importante contributo all'evoluzione dell'antichistica italiana (E. Lepore, *Economia antica e storiografia moderna (appunti per un bilancio di generazioni)*, in L. De Rosa (a cura di), *Ricerche storiche ed economiche in memoria di Corrado Barbagallo*, vol. I, 1970, p. 12 e passim).

alcuni dei più importanti teorici del pensiero marxista del tempo, come August Bebel e Georgij Plechanov. Questi furono anche anni di febbrile attività culturale, che videro la pubblicazione dei suoi più importanti lavori di storia antica, *Il tramonto della schiavitù nel mondo antico* (Torino 1899) e *La guerra e la pace nel mondo antico* (Torino 1901), e l'inizio di alcune imprese editoriali di grande importanza per il rinnovamento della cultura italiana, come la *Biblioteca di Storia Economica*, in collaborazione con Vilfredo Pareto, e la traduzione presso l'editore milanese Mongini delle opere di Marx, Engels, Lassalle e Mehring, con prefazioni di Karl Kautsky.

Rientrato in Italia, Ciccotti ottenne nel 1901 la cattedra di Storia antica nel periferico ateneo di Messina, segno di un'emarginazione all'interno dell'accademia italiana che sarebbe durata per tutta la sua carriera. La marginalità accademica fu però compensata da una sempre maggiore fama politica, che lo portò in parlamento nel 1900, quando venne eletto nelle file socialiste in ben due collegi, uno milanese e uno napoletano, per il quale optò. Ricoprì l'incarico di parlamentare fino al 1904 e, nonostante una rottura con il partito, lo riconquistò come indipendente, dopo la pausa di una legislatura, per altri due mandati, dal 1909 al 1919. Negli anni della Grande Guerra il suo progressivo distacco dalle posizioni del partito lo avvicinarono al campo degli interventisti³². Fu lui a prendere la parola in parlamento il 20 maggio del '15 a nome dei socialisti interventisti. Questa decisione allineò Ciccotti, almeno in via di principio, ai più importanti partiti socialdemocratici europei, innanzitutto quello tedesco, alle cui figure dirigenti, Kautsky e Bebel, era, come abbiamo visto, personalmente e culturalmente legato, ma segnò anche l'inizio di un percorso che lo condurrà negli anni seguenti a posizioni sempre più ostili verso il movimento operaio italiano e le sue organizzazioni.

Nonostante il progressivo allontanamento dalla socialdemocrazia, la produzione scientifica di Ciccotti era molto apprezzata negli ambienti intellettuali di sinistra e lo rendeva uno dei più riconosciuti studiosi marxisti del continente. Lo stesso Kautsky aveva dimostrato interesse per il suo lavoro, recensendo, in termini molto positivi, la traduzione tedesca della monografia sulla schiavitù antica (*Sklaverei und Kapitalismus*, *Die Neue Zeit* 29, 1910–11, II 47, pp. 713–725) pubblicata dalla casa editrice

³² L'evoluzione delle sue posizioni politiche in questi anni è descritta in dettaglio da F. Santangelo, *Ettore Ciccotti: l'interventismo di un «solitario»?», in E. Migliario e L. Polverini (a cura di), *Gli antichisti italiani e la Grande Guerra*, Firenze 2017, pp. 35–56.*

del *Vorwärts* (Berlino 1910)³³. Anche nelle questioni di demografia antica le posizioni del professore lucano erano in linea con quelle sostenute dai maggiori teorici di quel campo politico. Nel quarto volume della *Biblioteca di Storia Economica* (Milano 1908) egli aveva infatti aspramente criticato i metodi e i risultati delle ricerche di Beloch in questo ambito, eccessivamente legati all'uso degli strumenti statistici³⁴. Il profilo di Ciccotti, formatosi nel milieu culturale della Seconda Internazionale³⁵, era pertanto ideale per 'riequilibrare' le distorsioni di Rosenberg nella lettura di questi fenomeni. Fu Ciccotti stesso a confermarlo alla redazione della *Leipziger Volkszeitung* quando, contattato per verificare la sua disponibilità a intervenire nel dibattito, si dichiarò più vicino al parere espresso da Janssen³⁶.

Il lavoro di Ciccotti, apparso in tre successivi numeri nel mese di maggio (*Athen eine "Proletarierrepublik"?*, nr. 87/1920, 20 maggio, p. 8; nr. 88/1920, 21 maggio, p. 8; nr. 90/1920, 25 maggio, p. 8), si apre con alcune considerazioni metodologiche relative alla comparazione storica tra periodi differenti. Egli ritiene, in contrasto con una tendenza diffusa nell'accademia del tempo, che il lessico utilizzato per descrivere le realtà antiche debba rispettarne le categorie interpretative: l'antagonismo tra ricchi e poveri, ad esempio, non può essere trasposto in termini di conflitto tra proletari e capitalisti. Più avanti nel testo sottolinea, inoltre, come sia storicamente ingiustificato il confronto tra personalità molto distanti le une dalle altre, come Marat, Karl Liebknecht ed Efialte.

L'articolo passa poi ad affrontare il problema del numero degli schiavi e dell'articolazione sociale dei liberi ateniesi. Quantificare la popolazione servile è, secondo Ciccotti, impresa pressoché impossibile, data la scarsità di fonti e la necessità di operare congetture arbitrarie. Inoltre, non si può pensare che i teti fossero in larga parte proletari: l'estrema parcellizzazione della terra in alcune zone della regione è il segno evidente dell'esistenza di un ampio strato di piccoli proprietari, registrati in gran

³³ Ciccotti diede grande importanza alle considerazioni, anche critiche, mossegli da Kautsky, a cui rispose in una lunga nota alla premessa della seconda edizione del *Tramonto della schiavitù*, pubblicata nel 1940 (pp. 37–39 dell'edizione del 1977).

³⁴ Vd. L. Gallo, *La «Biblioteca di Storia Economica» e le indagini demografiche sul mondo greco*, QS 50, 1999, pp. 23–46.

³⁵ Vd., al riguardo, le acute osservazioni di M. Mazza, *Marxismo e storia antica. Note sulla storiografia marxista in Italia*, StudStor 17, 1976, pp. 102–103; id., *Introduzione*, in Ettore Ciccotti, *Il tramonto della schiavitù nel mondo antico*, Roma–Bari 1977, pp. V–LXX, part. pp. XI–XIX (= *Economia antica e storiografia moderna*, pp. 197–250, part. pp. 202–208).

³⁶ È Ciccotti ad affermarlo nella nota premessa alla ripubblicazione dell'articolo sulla *Nuova Rivista Storica* (vd. *supra*, n. 1).

numero nella classe censitaria più bassa. Questo ceto sociale, assieme ai piccoli artigiani, costituisce il nerbo di ogni democrazia (*Kern jener Demokratie*). Ciccotti prosegue mettendo in evidenza come i dati relativi all'esercito restituiscano un'immagine affatto diversa di Atene da quella presentata da Rosenberg. Nel periodo di apogeo della democrazia, tra la seconda metà del V e la prima metà del IV secolo a.C., la maggior parte dei cittadini rientrava nei ranghi oplitici, a riprova di una condizione di relativo benessere che si addice più al ceto medio che a quelli inferiori. Nel momento di massima polarizzazione sociale, ossia negli anni della guerra del Peloponneso, i settori più poveri della popolazione, che pure continuarono ad affidarsi politicamente ad aristocratici e piccoli proprietari, si configuravano piuttosto come il "popolo minuto" delle città medievali italiane che come il moderno proletariato. Né vale a provare l'autonomia politica dei ceti meno abbienti l'esistenza delle indennità, che potevano favorire la partecipazione alla vita politica anche della popolazione rurale, non solo di quella cittadina; e, comunque, non assunsero mai dimensioni tali da determinare una dittatura del proletariato.

Nell'ultima parte dell'articolo viene analizzato il legame tra regime democratico e imperialismo. L'insufficiente sviluppo delle forze produttive rendeva necessaria la guerra come strumento di accumulazione di ricchezze e simultaneamente esercitava una pressione sulla parte più povera della popolazione che, per migliorare le proprie condizioni di vita, sosteneva una politica estera aggressiva. Se nel IV secolo a.C., nonostante la riduzione delle entrate fiscali, Atene riuscì a mantenere il suo tenore di vita, ciò fu possibile grazie allo sviluppo raggiunto in passato dall'aggressivo expansionismo degli anni di egemonia navale.

Ciccotti termina contestando l'uso del concetto di dittatura del proletariato in riferimento alla democrazia ateniese. Egli osserva che il sistema del sorteggio, basandosi sulla casualità e sul controllo costante dei magistrati, era l'antitesi della dittatura, che gli antichi intendevano come potere esclusivo, detenuto per autorità (*Diktatur ist ihrer Natur nach unumschränkter Macht, die durch Autorität aufrechterhalten wird; und die Auslosung, bei der die Macht in die Hand des Zufalls gelegt wird, ist geradezu das Gegenteil der Diktatur*). Dunque, conclude lo studioso, Atene né conobbe la dittatura del proletariato, né fu una repubblica di proletari.

5. Conclusioni

La versione italiana dell'articolo fu ripubblicata da Ciccotti, nel 1929, nella raccolta di saggi *Confronti Storici*, con la quale egli intendeva dare sistemazione teorica a un metodo di lavoro che aveva perfezionato

nell'arco di una vita. Nella premessa al volume, al termine di una lunga riflessione storiografica, conclude che il comparativismo rende possibile la comprensione reciproca di momenti storici diversi, «nelle loro analogie come nelle differenze più caratteristiche» (p. XXIX). Il suo impiego è, però, lecito solo per alcuni aspetti della storia. Occorre distinguere «ciò che poteva essere opera dell'individuo, e quindi contingente, e ciò che poteva essere opera della società, [...] un organismo comparabile a un organismo naturale» (p. XXIII); solo questo si presta a un'analisi comparativa. Il rifiuto di creare parallelismi tra diverse personalità della storia (Efialte, Marat, Liebknecht), la distinzione terminologica tra poveri e proletari, ma allo stesso tempo la precisazione che i teti ateniesi di età classica erano paragonabili al "popolo minuto" italiano di età medievale, testimoniano come questa metodologia fosse stata rigorosamente applicata anche nella polemica con Rosenberg, che probabilmente aveva contribuito a chiarirla e a suggerire a Ciccotti la necessità di tornare su questi problemi in maniera sistematica³⁷.

Più complesso il discorso per Rosenberg. Le riflessioni sul regime ateniese confluirono nel volume, pensato come testo scolastico per le *Volkshochschulen*³⁸, *Demokratie und Klassenkampf im Altertum* (Bielefeld–Leipzig 1921). L'opera rappresenta il culmine della sua elaborazione sull'argomento e tiene conto delle osservazioni che gli erano state mosse da Jenssen e Ciccotti, mettendo a fuoco alcuni concetti precedentemente appena abbozzati.

Lo storico berlinese dichiara di condividere, in linea generale, la successione delle formazioni socioeconomiche marxiane — da cui discende che la lotta di classe nel mondo antico vide contrapposti schiavi e liberi — ma aggiunge che altri contrasti di classe furono ancora più determinanti in quel periodo (p. 5: *andere Klassegegensätze hatten noch größere Bedeutung*). Ribadisce inoltre che il proletariato costituiva la gran parte della popolazione, ma spiega che con questo termine egli intende descrivere i più poveri, non quanti vendevano la propria forza lavoro (p. 3: *im Altertum machte einfach die Besitzlosigkeit den Proletarier; heute versteht man unter Proletarier denjenigen, der seine eigene Arbeitskraft verkaufen muß, um so seinen Lebensunterhalt zu gewinnen*). Lo sviluppo imperiale permise ad Atene di avere materie prime e generi alimentari a basso prezzo, ma soprattutto le garantì un mercato per i propri prodotti (pp. 27–28), presupposto indispensabile

³⁷ Ciccotti allude esplicitamente (p. XX) agli studi sullo stato degli antichi Italici di Rosenberg.

³⁸ Il lavoro fu pubblicato in una collana espressamente dedicata all'insegnamento nelle scuole popolari dell'editore Velhagen & Klasig. L'intento didattico del saggio è evidente: ogni capitolo termina con domande di verifica dell'apprendimento.

per l'espansione dell'industria. L'assassinio di Efialte non trova più alcun confronto con simili vicende moderne, mentre viene ripreso il paragone tra la "rivoluzione del 461" (p. 36), la Comune di Parigi del 1871 e il contemporaneo sistema dei Consigli in Russia, tre regimi fondati sul principio dell'autogoverno della popolazione povera e lavoratrice (pp. 37–38: *Selbstregierung der ärmeren, arbeitenden Bevölkerung*). Per descrivere la *demokratia* ateniese viene tuttavia abbandonata la definizione "dittatura del proletariato" che — premette l'autore — indicava il potere di un singolo sullo stato, non di una classe. Quando nell'antichità il proletariato detenne il potere, il regime si chiamò "democrazia" (p. 4: *Wenn im Altertum in einem Staat das Proletariat die Herrschaft hatte — also, um modern zu reden, die „Diktatur“ ausübte —, dann nannte man einen solchen Zustand — Demokratie*).

Questo nucleo di riflessioni, rimasto sostanzialmente invariato anche quando il suo interesse virò sull'analisi delle vicende contemporanee³⁹, rappresenta il contributo più significativo di Rosenberg allo studio della storia antica. Non è questa la sede per verificare in dettaglio quanto le sue intuizioni hanno trovato riscontro nella successiva ricerca sulla storia di Atene democratica, ma si può almeno fare giustizia di una considerazione, piuttosto unilaterale, di Lorenzo Riberi, secondo cui «se quello di Rosenberg è il primo tentativo da parte di un antichista tedesco di unire in modo conseguente la politica antica e il materialismo storico, è indubbio che si tratti di un tentativo fallito»⁴⁰.

Gli studi di demografia più recenti hanno prodotto risultati sostanzialmente in linea con quelli posti da Rosenberg alla base della sua interpretazione della realtà ateniese, soprattutto per quel che riguarda il rapporto tra liberi e schiavi, che non raggiunse probabilmente mai i numeri tramandati dalle fonti antiche⁴¹. Allo stesso modo, il dibattito sull'economia ateniese ha oramai superato l'ortodossia imposta nei decenni passati da Moses Finley, che descriveva la realtà produttiva e commerciale greca in termini di staticità e assenza di innovazione⁴². Gli studi più aggiornati hanno, al contrario, messo in luce come l'impero, oltre ad avere consentito un costante drenaggio di risorse, costituisse un vasto mercato per le merci prodotte in tutto il Mediterraneo e soprattutto

³⁹ Canfora, op. cit., pp. 66–70.

⁴⁰ Riberi, op. cit., p. 78.

⁴¹ B. Akrigg, *Population and Economy in Classical Athens*, Cambridge 2019, pp. 38–138.

⁴² Si pensi, e.g., al recente lavoro di A. Bresson, *The Making of Ancient Greek Economy. Institutions, Markets, and Growth in the City-States*, Princeton–Oxford 2016 e ai contributi raccolti in E.M. Harris, D.M. Lewis, M. Woolmer (eds.), *The Ancient Greek Economy. Markets, Households, and City-States*, Cambridge 2016.

ad Atene⁴³. In questa cornice si rafforzò il *demos* e, a partire dalle riforme di Efialte, la democrazia come sua espressione politica⁴⁴. Nei decenni finali del V secolo si impose alla guida della città una generazione di politici fortemente legati all'espansione economica della *polis*, che, pur provenendo dagli strati più elevati dei settori impegnati nella produzione artigianale e nel commercio, basarono il proprio successo sul consolidamento dell'egemonia politica della popolazione urbana⁴⁵. La ricostruzione storica di Rosenberg ha, dunque, anticipato le conclusioni sui processi e sui nessi fondamentali dello sviluppo economico e politico di Atene in età classica che si sono imposte solo molti anni dopo.

Per quel che riguarda gli aspetti teorici della sua elaborazione, è proprio dal confronto con il "marxismo volgare"⁴⁶ di Jentsen e Ciccotti che si può comprendere come il suo antidogmatismo gli abbia consentito di padroneggiare meglio il metodo dialettico e pervenire a risultati molto simili a quelli a cui sono giunti gli studiosi marxisti negli ultimi decenni. Per lungo tempo gli storici di questo orientamento hanno bollato l'economia antica come irrimediabilmente statica e ferma al solo autoconsumo, ma nel secondo dopoguerra una più approfondita conoscenza dei testi di Marx sulle forme economiche precapitalistiche⁴⁷ e un impianto analitico meno rigido hanno permesso, all'interno di un quadro che non nega affatto la centralità del modo di produzione schiavistico, di individuarne gli elementi di dinamismo e di definire i processi che, seppur in zone e periodi limitati, hanno presentato caratteristiche dif-

⁴³ Vd. B. O'Halloran, *The Political Economy of Classical Athens. A Naval Perspective*, Leiden 2018.

⁴⁴ K.A. Raaflaub, *The Breakthrough of Dēmocratia in Mid-Fifth-Century Athens*, in K.A. Raaflaub, J. Ober, R.W. Wallace (eds.), *Origins of Democracy in Ancient Greece*, Berkeley–Los Angeles–London 2007, pp. 105–153, enfatizza il 461 come momento di transizione verso la *demokratia*.

⁴⁵ Vd. V. Saldutti, *Euclate, Lisicle e Agnone*, *AncSoc* 43, 2013, 75–100.

⁴⁶ Riprendo il concetto da E.J. Hobsbawm, *Il contributo di Marx alla storiografia*, in Mario Spinella (a cura di), *Marx vivo. La presenza di Karl Marx nel pensiero contemporaneo. Vol. I Filosofia e metodologia*, Milano 1969, pp. 373–394, che attraverso questo termine analizza in dettaglio l'interpretazione semplicistica e banalizzante del materialismo storico in voga negli ambienti della Seconda Internazionale.

⁴⁷ Gli studi sull'economia e la società del mondo antico hanno tratto enorme profitto dalla pubblicazione, avvenuta per la prima volta nel 1939–41, dei *Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Oekonomie*, e in particolare dei quaderni dedicati alle forme economiche precapitalistiche, in cui Marx segnala alcuni elementi di dinamismo della città antica e la non linearità dello sviluppo economico dalla tribù primitiva al moderno capitalismo (E.J. Hobsbawm, *Prefazione*, in Karl Marx, *Forme economiche precapitalistiche*, Roma 1970³, p. 39).

ferenti, anticipatrici dei successivi sviluppi dell'economia feudale e mercantile⁴⁸. La ricerca, in altre parole, anziché limitarsi a ripetere quel (poco) che il padre del socialismo scientifico aveva detto sul mondo antico, ha provato a colmare i vuoti e i silenzi della sua analisi incrociandone le teorie economiche, politiche e di filosofia della storia con i sempre più numerosi materiali a disposizione per lo studio del mondo antico. Ammettere oggi, per chi si rifà a una lettura marxista del passato, che la lotta di classe nell'antichità coinvolse gruppi sociali stratificati e legati da differenti rapporti di produzione e non fu circoscritta al solo contrasto tra liberi e schiavi appare quasi banale⁴⁹, ma lo era molto meno ai tempi di Rosenberg. Se egli riuscì ad anticipare queste conclusioni, ciò avvenne perché a guidarlo fu quello spiccato senso di autonomia intellettuale, che politicamente e umanamente pagò a caro prezzo negli anni seguenti.

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⁴⁸ G.E.M. de Ste. Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World from the Archaic Age to the Arab Conquests*, Ithaca–New York 1981, pp. 283–300 ed E. Flores, *Il sistema non riformabile. La pseudosenofontea Costituzione degli Ateniesi e l'Atene periclea*, Napoli 1982 arrivano, pur con notevoli differenze, a questa conclusione.

⁴⁹ Una sintesi critica del dibattito sulla società ateniese dal punto di vista marxista è fornita da M. Nafissi, *Class, Embeddedness, and the Modernity of Ancient Athens*, *CSSH* 46, 2004, pp. 378–410.

APPENDICE

Vengono qui riproposti i lavori che hanno alimentato il dibattito sulla democrazia ateniese così come furono pubblicati su *Die Freie Welt* e sulla *Leipziger Volkszeitung*. Per quel che riguarda l'articolo di Ciccotti, mi sono limitato a segnalare in nota le variazioni rispetto alla successiva edizione italiana apparsa sulla *Nuova Rivista Storica* e in *Confronti Storici*.

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Die älteste Proletarier-Republik der Welt Von Dr. Arthur Rosenberg

Durch diesen Aufsatz sollen den Proletariern Berlins alte Kampfgenossen vorgestellt werden, von denen sie bisher wohl nur wenig gewußt haben. Die Asche dieser Kämpfer ist zwar schon vor 2300 Jahren zu Grabe getragen worden, aber ihre Taten leben noch heute und bieten ein Vorbild für alle Zeiten. Es handelt sich um die Proletarier des alten Griechenlands, besonders des alten Athen. Dem Andenken der alten Athener ist ja dadurch schwerer Schaden zugefügt worden, daß ihre Geschichte zum Lehrstoff an unseren sogenannten „höheren“ Schulen herabgewürdigt worden ist. Militärfromme Oberlehrer reden dort ihren Zöglingen ein, daß die Griechen die Verkörperung aller preussischen Tugenden gewesen seien. Daß in der Tat der Athener Perikles, das Ideal der Gymnasialdirektoren, Führer des unterdrückten Volkes gewesen ist — darüber schweigen sich unsere Schulmänner freilich aus.

Das alte Griechenland zerfiel vor etwa 2400 Jahren in eine Menge von Kleinstaaten ungefähr wie heute Thüringen oder die Schweiz. Einer dieser Kleinstaaten war die Republik Athen mit $\frac{1}{4}$ Million Einwohnern. Der Staat Athen bestand aus der gleichnamigen Hauptstadt und einer Anzahl Dörfer. Athen war damals die größte Stadt Griechenlands, und doch war es nicht größer als heute Frankfurt an der Oder. So bescheiden waren die Verhältnisse in jener fernen Zeit! Es versteht sich von selbst, daß in Athen noch keine Großindustrie existierte, sondern es gab nur kleinere Betriebe und Werkstätten, die höchstens ein paar Dutzend Leute beschäftigten. Aber daneben hatte Athen viel Schifffahrt, einen lebhaften Handel und außerhalb der Stadt auch Landwirtschaft. Und in allen diesen Berufen gab es damals wie heute den Gegensatz der Armen und Reichen, der Ausbeuter und der Proletarier.

Viele, auch geschichtskundige Leute, machen sich ein falsches Bild von den Verhältnissen im alten Griechenland, weil sie die damalige *Sklaverei* unrichtig auffassen. Man denkt sich die Lage vielfach so, daß damals alle schwere Arbeit von Sklaven geleistet worden sei, während die freien Bürger nur eine kleine Oberschicht von Müßiggängern bildeten. Aber weit gefehlt! Es gab zwar im alten Athen Sklaven, aber sie waren nur eine kleine *Minderheit* der Bevölkerung, vielleicht $\frac{1}{4}$ der Gesamtbevölkerung. Sie waren beschäftigt als Diener

und Mägde in den Häusern der Besitzenden, daneben freilich auch im Handwerk und in der Industrie. Aber die Hauptmasse der produktiven Arbeit hat auch damals der freie Lohnarbeiter geleistet. Das Solidaritätsgefühl zwischen dem freien Arbeiter und dem Sklavenarbeiter war gering, und zwar aus folgendem Grunde: die alten Griechen waren gebildete Menschen; die Sklaven dagegen entstammten meistens fremden, wilden Völkern. Sie waren durch den Sklavenhandel nach Griechenland gekommen und schieden sich von den eigentlichen Griechen im Denken und Fühlen aufs schärfste. So stand damals der Sklave neben der allein in Frage kommenden politischen Bewegung der freien Arbeiter ungefähr ebenso *teilnahmslos*, wie heute in Amerika der Neger und Chinese neben der Bewegung der weißen Proletarier steht.

In Athen bestand um das Jahr 500 vor Christus eine *bürgerliche Republik*; das heißt, es herrschten die Kaufleute, Fabrikanten, Handwerksmeister, Schiffbesitzer, Landwirte usw. Aber die arme Bevölkerung sah allmählich ein, daß die Regierung des Bürgertums ihren Interessen nicht diene, und so bildete sich in Athen eine *proletarische Kampfpartei*; sie umfaßte die Seeleute, Hafen- und Transportarbeiter, Gesellen, Industrie- und Landarbeiter. Um das Jahr 460 gelang es nun dem Proletariat, die politische Macht in Athen zu erobern. Die Bourgeoisie rächte sich, indem sie das Haupt der Proletarierpartei, Ephialtes, ermorden ließ. Ephialtes fiel — ein Vorläufer von Marat und Karl Liebknecht — aber die feige Tat nützte ihren Anstiftern nichts. Die Führung der Partei übernahm nun *Perikles*, und das Proletariat hat seitdem, mit geringen Unterbrechungen, 140 Jahre in Athen die Herrschaft behauptet.

Athen hat in dieser Zeit der Diktatur des Proletariats eine Verfassung gehabt, die im wesentlichen den Grundgedanken des Rätessystems entsprach. Die oberste Gewalt hatte ein Rat von 500 Mitgliedern. Jeder Stadtbezirk und jedes Dorf im Staat Athen schickte in diesen Rat einige Vertreter, gemäß seiner Bevölkerungszahl. Aber diese Vertreter wurden nicht etwa *gewählt*, sondern aus sämtlichen erwachsenen Männern des Bezirks gelost. Wer nicht in den Rat wollte, brauchte sich dazu nicht lösen zu lassen; und wenn einmal ein offenkundig unwürdiger Mensch in den Rat gelost wurde, konnte er durch einen Spruch des Volksgerichts wieder ausgestoßen werden. Da es nun erheblich mehr Arme als Besitzende in Athen gab, mußte das Los stets eine *sichere proletarische Mehrheit* in den Rat der 500 bringen. Damit aber auch jeder Proletarier imstande war, im Rat zu sitzen, wurde ihm für jeden Tag, den er im Rat zubrachte, der volle Arbeitslohn ausgezahlt. Die Mitgliedschaft im Rat dauerte nur ein Jahr; dann erfolgte eine neue Losung. Aus dem großen Rat der 500 wurde ein *Vollzugsrat* von 50 Mitgliedern gebildet, die die laufenden Regierungsgeschäfte erledigten. Auch sonst waren alle Aufgaben von Verwaltung und Rechtspflege in der Hand *proletarischer Kommissionen*. Die Republik Athen hatte also eine direkte Selbstregierung der proletarischen Masse: das Proletariat bestellte Vertreter aus seiner Mitte auf kurze Zeit, die zugleich beratende und ausführende Gewalt hatten. Und es ist bekannt, daß niemals und nirgends *Kultur und Bildung* auf einer höheren Stufe gestanden haben als in den 140 Jahren der Proletarierrepublik Athen.

Die volle politische Herrschaft des Proletariats in Athen hatte auch ihren schwerwiegenden Einfluß auf das Wirtschaftsleben. Eine Sozialisierung im modernen Sinn lag zwar außerhalb des Gesichtskreises der athenischen Politik; einfach schon deshalb, weil es im Altertum keine Großbetriebe gab. Aber sämtliche *Steuern* und *Abgaben* wurden auf die *Besitzenden* gelegt, und Tausende von Proletariern wurden alljährlich im Staatsdienst beschäftigt, als Geschworene, Ratsmitglieder, Kommissare usw. Es war so eingerichtet, daß jeder dafür *geeignete* Proletarier einen erheblichen Teil seines Lebens statt in der Lohnarbeit im leichteren öffentlichen Dienst verbringen konnte.

Jede Tätigkeit für den Staat brachte aber Tagegelder ein, die dem normalen Arbeitslohn entsprachen. Die Summen, die dafür nötig waren, mußte die besitzende Klasse direkt oder indirekt aufbringen. Nur mit einem Wort sei auch noch darauf hingewiesen, daß in Athen dem Proletarier alle *Theater-* und alle musikalischen Aufführungen, sportlichen Veranstaltungen usw., völlig *unentgeltlich* zugänglich waren.

Leider hat Athen die Grundsätze, nach denen es sich selbst regierte, in der *äußeren Politik* nicht zur Geltung gebracht. Nach außen trieb Athen eine rein *imperialistische* Politik; es machte eine Menge griechischer Kleinstaaten von sich abhängig und beutete sie rücksichtslos aus. Hätte Athen seine Machtstellung dazu benutzt, um überall die Grundsätze proletarischer Gerechtigkeit zu verbreiten, dann hätte sich die Proletarierrepublik Athen länger halten können. So aber machten sich die Athener im übrigen Griechenland nur Feinde, bei den Besitzenden so gut wie bei den Armen, und an den Folgen dieser verkehrten Außenpolitik ist die Republik Athen schließlich zusammengebrochen.

Uns Menschen von heute gibt die Geschichte Athens die Lehre, daß ein vom Proletariat beherrschtes Gemeinwesen durchaus lebensfähig und zur Erzeugung der höchsten Kultur geeignet ist. Und der Gefahr des Imperialismus, der das athenische Proletariat zum Opfer fiel, werden wir entgehen, wenn wir dem internationalen Gedanken getreulich dienen, wie es den Grundsätzen der modernen Sozialdemokratie entspricht.

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Die „Proletarierrepublik“ Athen, eine Geschichtslegende.

Jedoch die ökonomische Sachkritik hat dasselbe Recht wie die militärische Sachkritik, und heute ist unser ökonomischer Blick geschärft genug, um mit einiger Sicherheit sagen zu können, wie es in einer Handelsrepublik aussehen

musste, die mit dem einen Fuße auf den Tributen unterjochter Gemeinden und mit dem anderen Fuße auf der Sklavenwirtschaft stand.

F. Mehring⁵⁰

Die Materialistische Geschichtsauffassung lässt uns vieles in der Vergangenheit nicht nur mit neuen Augen sehen, sie zerstöre auch die Werturteile und Einschätzungen der Kultur, die mehr als ein Jahrhundert des Denken der geschichtlich Gebildeten beherrschten, Anschauungen, die fast zu Dogmen erstarrt sind.

Wir zerstören Geschichtslegenden und messen alles an der neuen Erkenntnis, aber wir haben nicht alle durch neue Legenden zu ersetzen, wir haben uns zu hüten vor einer Heldenverehrung des Proletariats. Wir haben, fußend auf der ökonomischen Untersuchung, die Unterschiede, die Fehler und die Tugenden der unterdrückten Klassen der Vergangenheit zu erkennen, um am Vergleich den Fortgang der proletarischen Bewegung, den Wechsel der gesamten wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse gerade dem Bewusstsein des Arbeiters einzuprägen. Es ist wichtig, dabei den Unterschied des Einst und Jetzt zu betonen, da oberflächliche Ähnlichkeiten, die sich aus dem Ausbeutungscharakter jeder Bisherigen Gesellschaft seit Entstehung der Klassen ergeben, nur zu leicht zu jenen schließen geschichtlichen Parallelen verleiten, die gerade in der patriotischen Geschichtsschreibung zur Verherrlichung der jeweiligen Regierung eine so große Rolle spielen.

Auf die Gefahr einer solchen proletarischen Geschichtslegende muss man hinweisen, wenn man den Aufsatz liest: Die älteste Proletarierrepublik der Welt, vom Genossen Dr. Artur Rosenberg, Privatdozent für alte Geschichte an der Universität Berlin (Nr. 26 der Freien Welt).

Die Proletarier Athens werden hier den Berliner Genossen als „alte Kampfgenossen“ vorgestellt, als Kämpfer, die sogar das Rätssystem eingeführt und ihren „Vollzugsrat“ als oberste Behörde besessen hätten. Der Artikel wimmelt von ähnlichen Analogien, die sich sehr glatt lesen, die die Anschaulichkeit und Leichtverständlichkeit des Aufsatzes erhöhen, aber mit der historischen Wahrheit in Widerspruch stehen oder, wenn dies nicht der Fall, doch durch die Betonung äußerlicher Übereinstimmungen den tiefen Abstand vergessen lassen, der die „Proletarierrepublik“ Athen von den heutigen Republiken trennt.

Nach Rosenberg soll die Sklavenwirtschaft in Athen nicht die Bedeutung gehabt haben, wie allgemein angenommen, sondern die Sklaven betrogen vielleicht ein Viertel der Gesamtbevölkerung, während die Hauptmasse der produktiven Arbeit von freien Arbeitern geleistet wurde, jenen Arbeitern, die sich im Klassenkampf mit dem Bürgertum die Herrschaft erkämpften und jenes Kulturzeitalter herausführten, das wir noch heute bewundern: Zum Schluss kommen dann einige Zeilen über den Leider-Imperialismus der athenischen

⁵⁰ La citazione, come quelle seguenti, è tratta dal capitolo dedicato alla guerra del Peloponneso nel saggio *Eine Geschichte der Kriegskunst (Die Neue Zeit Ergänzungsheft Nr. 4, 16. Oktober 1908)*. Ora in *Gesammelte Schriften*. Vol. 8, Berlin 1973, pp. 134–200.

Proletarier, die die Grundsätze der inneren Politik „leider“ in der auswärtigen Politik nicht anwendeten. Dann folgt der Stoßseufzer:

Hätte Athen seine Machtstellung dazu benutzt, um überall die Grundsätze proletarischer Gerechtigkeit zu verbreiten, dann hätte sich Die Proletari-
errepublik Athen länger halten können. So aber machten sich die Athener im
übrigen Griechenland nur Feinde, bei den Besitzenden so gut wie bei den
Armen, und an den Folgen dieser verkehrten Außenpolitik ist die Republik
Athen schließlich zusammengebrochen.

Es ist ein eigenartiger historischer Materialismus, von einer „verkehrten Au-
ßenpolitik“ zu sprechen, da doch innere und äußere Politik eng zusammen-
hängen und der Imperialismus der Athener sich notwendig aus der Verfassung
der Gesellschaft des athenischen Staates ergab.

Friedrich Engels hat in seinem „Ursprung der Familie“ die Entstehung
dieses Staates meisterhaft geschildert, und Franz Mehring gibt in seiner Kritik
des Historikers Delbrück („Eine Geschichte der Kriegskunst“, Ergänzungsheft
zur Neuen Zeit, Nr. 4) eine Fortsetzung und Ergänzung der Engelsschen
Darstellung. Die durch neuere Forschungen in ihren Grundzügen nicht er-
schüttert ist, selbst wenn die Sklaverei einen geringeren Umfang besaß, als
bisher angenommen wurde.

Wie vollzog sich nun die soziale Entwicklung in der angeblichen Prole-
tarierepublik Athen? Durch den Seesieg der Athener bei Salamis wurde nicht
nur die Persergefahr gebannt, sondern die zahlreichen griechischen Inseln und
Kleinasiatischen griechischen Kolonien schlossen sich Athen an, zunächst als
Bund Gleichberechtigter, der sich aber zu einer Herrschaft Athens über tri-
butpflichtige Vasallen entwickelte. Hören wir Mehring:

Wie sich diese Entwicklung im einzelnen vollzog, wie, um mit Grote zu
sprechen, „ein aus freier Wahl der einzelnen Glieder entstandener Bund von
einer selbständigen, wohlbewehrten Kriegerschar unter Athens Leitung zu
einer Verbindung waffen- und tatloser, durch Athens Kriegsmacht beschütz-
ter Tributpflichtiger herabsank, von freien Bundesgenossen, die zu Delos
gleichberechtigt berieten, zu vereinzelt Untertanen, die ihren Tribut nach
Athen sandten und von Athen ihre Befehle empfangen“, das lässt sich nach
den vorhandenen Quellen nicht im Einzelnen verfolgen. Aber aus dem
Übergewicht Athens über die einzelnen Bundesgenossen lässt es sich leicht
genug erklären, gerade auch durch die Ausnahmen von der Regel; einige der
größten Inseln, Chios, Lesbos und Samos, blieben freie und bewaffnete
Bundesgenossen Athens. Die Herrschaft Athens über den Rest nennt Perikles
selbst einfach und treffend eine „Tyrannis“; auf den Tributen der Bündner,
die sich jährlich auf 600 Talente beliefen — nach unserem Gelde 2 bis 3
Millionen Mark —, beruhte der Glanz des Zeitalters, das sich nach Perikles
nennt.

Nach allen Grundsätzen der Sachkritik musste dieser mächtige Auf-
schwung Athens auch einen mächtigen Rückschlag auf die innere Entwick-
lung der athenischen Gesellschaft und des athenischen Staates haben. Das

„Schiffsvolk“ überwog immer mehr das „Landvolk“; die Demokratie, die ihre ökonomische Wurzel von Anbeginn im Handel und in der Seefahrt Athens gehabt hatte, verdrängte mit dem immer stärkeren Anwachsen von Handel und Seefahrt die Oligarchie, die Handvoll alter Geschlechter, die, gestützt auf die bäuerliche Bevölkerung, bisher die Leitung des Staates besessen hatten. Die Tradition, die in allen politischen Umwälzungen immer eine große Macht bewahrt, ließ die handel- und gewerbetreibende Masse noch nicht unmittelbar ans Ruder kommen; auch Perikles gehörte den alten Geschlechtern an, aber er herrschte nur als Vertrauensmann der Demokratie.

Und weiter:

In dem Maße, wie immer größere Reichtümer in Athen zusammenströmten, wurde die Masse der freien Bürger immer mehr proletarisiert, zersetzte die Geldwirtschaft die alte Bauernwirtschaft, an deren Stelle Latifundien traten, die von Sklaven bearbeitet wurden, entvölkerte sich das flache Land, drängte sich die Menge in die Hauptstadt zusammen, häufte sich neben den immer reicher werdenden Reichen eine immer wachsende Masse von Lumpenproletariat ...

Solange nun die Sklavenwirtschaft die Arbeit des freien Bürgers ächtete, so lange blieb nur übrig, den freien Bürger aus den immer schärfer angespannten Tributen der Bündner zu unterhalten und über sein Elend hinwegzutäuschen, wodurch dann freilich die Herrschaft über die Bündner um so unerträglicher wurde und die athenische Seemacht in ihrem tiefsten Grunde erschütterte ...

Die ökonomischen Lebensbedingungen der athenischen Demokratie, wie wir sie flüchtig skizziert haben, machten sie auf der einen Seite immer kriegslustiger und steigerten auf der anderen Seite ihre moralische Ver lumpung. Man kann diesen doppelten Prozess an ihren Führern studieren, erst an dem noch nicht so sehr großen Abstand zwischen Perikles und Kleon, dann aber an dem schon klaffenden Abgrund zwischen Kleon und Alkibiades, dem eigentlichen Urheber der sizilischen Expedition; er war ein Lieblingsschüler des Sokrates, aber der größte Gesinnungslump seiner Zeit ...

Natürlich sind die Führer der athenischen Demokratie nicht verantwortlich für deren Schicksal, aber für ihre Könige sind die Völker verantwortlich, und insoweit kann man von einer Partei sagen: Zeige mir deine Führer, und ich werde dir sagen, wer du bist.

Athen ist nicht an der athenischen Demokratie untergegangen, sondern die athenische Demokratie ist untergegangen an der unfreien Arbeit, wie die antike Kultur überhaupt, und wie die moderne Kultur untergehen wird an der freien Arbeit, es sei denn, dass diese aus einem trügerischen Schlagwort zu einer weltgeschichtlichen Tatsache wird.

Im Kampfe um die Schaffung dieser „weltgeschichtlichen Tatsache“ wollen wir uns nicht durch „proletarische Geschichtslegenden“ anfeuern lassen. Wir brauchen keine Totenbeschwörung und keine Berufung auf athenischen Armen. Wir müssen, um das heute und seine Aufgaben klar zu erkennen, die Kräfte untersuchen, die den Kapitalismus schufen. Wir müssen jenen grundlegenden Unterschied zwischen antiker und moderner Kultur immer wieder hervorheben, um falscher Geschichtsbetrachtung vorzubeugen. Wir wollen eine Kultur schaffen ohne Klassengegensätze, ohne Ausbeutung von Staat zu Staat, eine Kultur, die nicht Vorbilder in der Vergangenheit hat. Wir moderner Proletarier können Legenden entbehren, und nichts wäre der Wissenschaftlichkeit unseres Forschens und der Klarheit unseres Handelns gefährlicher, als eine proletarische Geschichtslegende, die Zukunftshoffnungen in die Vergangenheit zurückverlegt.

O. Jenssen

* * *

Nochmals die Proletarier-Republik Athen Von Dr. Artur Rosenberg

Mein geschätzter Gegner Genosse O. Jenssen hat den ehrfurcht-erweckenden Schatten von Franz Mehring heraufbeschworen, um die angebliche legende von der Proletarierrepublik Athen zu zerstören. Aber tatsächlich unterstützt in diesem Fall Jenssen die „Legende“, und nicht ich. Die „Legende“ von den alten Griechen ist die, dass damals die freien Bürger überhaupt nicht gearbeitet, sondern diese unwürdige Beschäftigung den Sklavenmassen überlassen hätten. Die freien Bürger hatten sich statt dessen nur mit Kunst, Wissenschaft und Politik besaßt. Unter dieser Voraussetzung wäre dann der freie Grieche entweder ein reicher Nichtstuer, oder ein vom Staate ausgehaltener Lump gewesen. Diese grundfalsche Auffassung des Altertums hat die ältere Forschung beherrscht, und von ihr ist leider auch Mehring in den oben abgedruckten Sätzen abhängig. Mehrings staunenswertes Wissen und sein glänzender historischer Sinn stehen über allem Zweifel erhaben. Aber sein Lebenswerk ließ ihm nicht die Zeit, um auch über das Altertum selbständige kritische Forschungen anzustellen. So war er auf diesem Gebiet von den Meinungen anderer abhängig, die — falsch meinten. Ein einziges Beispiel mag hier den Unterschied zwischen der älteren und neueren Auffassung von Athen veranschaulichen. Früher glaubte man, auf Grund einer missverstandenen Äußerung des griechischen Schriftstellers Athenaios, dass im Staat Athen um das Jahr 350 vor Christus 400 000 Sklaven und 120 000 Freie gelebt hätten. Das ist der „Sklavenstaat Athen“, wie er in den Köpfen Unkundiger noch heute herumspukt. Demgegenüber hat die neuere Forschung die 400 000 Sklaven Athens als Phantasie erwiesen. Es ergab sich, dass um das Jahr 350 überhaupt nicht mehr als 170 000 Menschen in Athen gelebt haben können; davon waren

120 000 Freie, also 50 000 Sklaven. Bei diesem Zahlverhältnis ist es ohne weiteres klar, dass in Athen die produktive Arbeit vorwiegend von Freien gemacht werden musste. — Übrigens war in der Zeit des Perikles die Bevölkerung Athens um $\frac{1}{3}$ größer: der Rückgang erklärt sich aus einer furchterlichen Pest, die Athen im Jahre 430 durchzumachen hatte.

Von den Sätzen Mehrings über Athen, die Jenssen anführt, ist so ziemlich jeder einzelne unhaltbar: aber der Raum reicht nicht aus, um dies hier Punkt für Punkt zu beweisen. Nur einige wenige Tatsachen seien hier angeführt. Mehring behauptete, dass in Athen „die Sklavenwirtschaft die Arbeit des freien Bürgers ächtete“. Wie anders haben die alten Athener selbst gedacht! Arm zu sein und zu arbeiten, war bei ihnen nie eine Schande; eine Schande war nur der Müßiggang. Wer dies nicht glaubt, lese die Betrachtungen des großen Atheners Thukydides in seinem Geschichtswerk Buch 2, Kapitel 40, nach. Wer weiteres über die arbeitenden Bürger Athens erfahren will, schlage das Leben des Perikles von Plutarch, Kapitel 12, auf. Plutarch folgt hier einer ausgezeichneten zeitgenössischen Quelle. Er schildert, wie alle Welt in Athen an den Bauten des Perikles verdient:

„Da waren Zimmerleute, Bildhauer, Steinmetzen, Erzgießer, Färber, Gelbgießer, Elfenbeinarbeiter, Maler, Sticker, Gravüre; ferner alle die, welche mit der Beschaffung des Baumaterials zu tun hatten, zur See Kaufleute, Schiffer und Steuerleute, zu Land Wagenbauer, Fuhrleute, Kutscher, Seiler, Leinweber, Lederarbeiter, Wegebauer. Jedes dieser Gewerbe hatte wieder, wie ein Feldherr sein Heer, die Massen der Tagelöhner und Handlanger als ausführendes Werkzeug in seinen Diensten und so erhielt jedes Alter und jeder Beruf seinen Anteil an der Arbeit und am Wohlstand.“

Wir wissen auch aus einer Urkunde jener Zeit, wieviel Tagelohn ein gelernter Maurer damals in Athen bekam. Es war 1. Drachme = 80 Pfg.! Das Leben war eben damals so billig, dass man mit 80 Pfg. im Tag besser existieren konnte als heute mit 20 Pf. Mehring spricht weiter von der „moralischen Ver lumpung“ der armer Athener. Tatsächlich kann man sich seine ergreifendere Aufopferung denken, als die, welche das athenische Proletariat in den Jahren 412 bis 404, im Kampf gegen eine Welt von Feinden, gezeigt hat. Mehring bezeichnet die Führer der armen Athener als besondere Lumpen. Er hat zwar darin recht, dass Alkibiades ein Lump war.

Aber dieser Mann war ein politischer Abenteurer und strebte eine Art Militärdiktatur an: ein Führer des athenischen Proletariats war er jeder nicht. Die wirklichen Vorkämpfer des armen Volkes sind gerade in den kritischen Zeiten an Ende des 5. Jahrhunderts einer nach dem anderen von der Bourgeoisie umgebracht worden: Hyperbolos, Androkles, Kleophon. Der letztgenannte Kleophon war ein armer Musikinstrumentenmacher. Seine persönlich Ehrenkräftigkeit ist selbst von seinen ärgsten politischen Feinden anerkannt worden: es ist seltsam, dass aus Unkenntnis moderne Sozialisten ihn und seine Gesinnungsgenossen schmähen.

Auch die Meinung Jenssens ist unrichtig, dass der Imperialismus der Athener sich „notwendig aus der Verfassung der Gesellschaft des athenischen Staates“ ergaben habe. Die Republik Athen hat z.B. in der Zeit von 400 bis 370 ganz gut ohne Ausbeutung fremder Gemeinden bestanden, und ebenso nachher von 340–320. Der Etat der Proletarier-Republik Athen war auch ohne die Abgaben der abhängigen Gemeinden aufrechterhalten. Die Tribute dieser Untertanen hat Athen größtenteils für seine Kriege verbraucht und daneben für einige, durchaus entbehrliche Luxusbauten.

Für das moderne revolutionäre Proletariat ist es außerordentlich wichtig, alle diejenigen Fälle aus der Geschichte kennen zu lernen, in denen bereits einmal die arme Bevölkerung die Herrschaft im Staate erobert hatte. Man sieht dabei, dass sich jedesmal gewisse Formen proletarischer Selbstregierung entwickelten, die in den Grundgedanken dem heutigen Rätesystem entsprechen. Von dem Rat der 500 des alten Athen führt die Linie an den Sektionen der großen Pariser Revolution, der Staatsform der kommune von 1871 und den russischen Sowjets von 1905. Je mehr die Arbeiter von dieser Linie wissen, um so leichter wird es ihnen werden, die Herabsetzungen des Rätesystem zu bekämpfen wie sie von feindlicher Seite kommen.

Schließlich, noch ein Wort persönlicher Natur: Ich habe meinem ersten Aufgab in der Freien Welt eine Anzahl bestimmter geschichtlicher Tatsachen begebracht. Genosse Jenssen hat keine dieser Tatsachen zu widerlagen gesucht, sondern nur eine längere Betrachtung wiedergegeben, die einmal Mehring über den Gegenstand angestellt hat. Ich ersuche künftige Gegner, an denen es wohl nicht fehlen wird, meine Tatsachen, Zahlen usw. anzufechten. Mit solchen Kritiken will ich mich gern jederzeit auseinandersetzen. Aber das Anführen von Autoritäten, mögen es bürgerliche oder sozialistische sein, hat in einem wissenschaftlichen Streit gar keinen Zweck.

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Athen eine “Proletarierrepublik”? Von Professor Ettore Ciccotti

In Nr. 26 der Freien Welt (1919) war ein Artikel des Genossen Dr. Rosenberg über dieses Thema erschienen, gegen den sich am 3. Dezember Genosse Jenssen in der L. V. wandte. Um 16. Januar brachten wir eine Entgegnung Rosenbergs und baten dann den italienischen Historiker Ciccotti, als den berufensten Fachmann, seinerseits in einigen Artikeln zu der Frage Stellung zu nehmen.

I.

Nachdem Herr Dr. Artur Rosenberg in seiner Erwiderung die Ausführungen seines Gegners O. Jenssen den Wunsch ausgesprochen hat, mit Ziffern und

Tatsachen und nicht unter Berufung auf Autoritäten, bürgerliche oder sozialistische, seine Ausführungen, in denen er die athenische Demokratie als eine „Proletarier-Republik“ darstellt, erörtert zu sehen, hat die Redaktion der Leipziger Volkszeitung freundlicherweise auch mich aufgefordert, als Verfasser einer neuen „griechische Geschichte“, in dieser Frage das Wort zu ergreifen. Und sie hat darauf bestanden, obwohl ich erklärt habe, dass ich nicht der offiziellen sozialistischen Partei Italiens angehöre, sondern im Gegenteil in mehreren Fällen ihr Gegner war.

Ich werde mich darauf beschränken, objektiv zu untersuchen, was man aus den Tatsachen und Ziffern, auf die sich Herr Dr. Rosenberg beruft, für Schlüsse ziehen kann oder muss.

Vergleiche zwischen zwei geschichtlichen Epochen können sehr lehrreich und verführerisch sein. Aber sie können auch sehr irreführend und gefährlich werden. Dies gilt besonders fürs Altertum, für das es nicht an Analogien fehlt, das aber andererseits soviel unterscheidende Merkmale aufweist, dass es genügt, irgendeine Tatsache zu übersehen oder irgendeine andre nicht zu verstehen oder zu übertreiben, um das Angesicht einer Periode oder eines Volkes gänzlich zu entstellen und doch scheinbar streng bei den Tatsachen zu bleiben. So kann es vorkommen, dass das Verhältnis von „Reichen und Armen“, das typisch ist fürs Altertum, verwechselt wird mit dem von „Proletariern und Kapitalisten“, das unsrer Zeit eigentümlich ist. Das hat schon Rodbertus festgestellt und später auch Marx, der in diesem Punkte seinem geringeren als Theodor Mommsen den Vorwurf macht, in diesen Fehler verfallen zu sein.

Ich bezweifle, dass wir, was Zahlen anbetrifft, soweit vorgedrungen sind in der Kenntnis Athens, dass wir mit Sicherheit seine Zustände zahlenmäßig bestimmen könnten. So oft der Versuch gemacht worden ist, in Zahlen die demographischen Beziehungen des Altertums festzulegen, ist man mit Leichtigkeit zu den allerverschiedensten Meinungen gekommen. Hume sowohl wie Pöhlmann haben deshalb auf zahlenmäßige Bestimmungen verzichtet; und in einer Veröffentlichung⁵¹, die unter anderen auch die Beistimmung deutscher Gelehrter wie Wilamowitz, Nissen und Niese gefunden hat, habe ich versucht zu zeigen, wie irrtümlich bei dem Stande unsrer Kenntnisse diese Methode sein kann, und wie leicht sie vom Wege abführt.

So kann mitunter der Versuch, quantitativ die spezifische Zusammensetzung der Bevölkerung im Altertum zu bestimmen, vollkommen illusorisch sein.

Die einzige genaue Zahlenangabe, die von Ktesikles und Atheneus überliefert ist, und die Zahl der Sklaven in Athen auf 400 000 schätzt ist, obgleich schon Böckh und noch heute ein Gelehrter vom Range Seeck dafür eintraten, durch unanfechtbare Gründe widerlegt; aber jede Korrektur, die man daran anbringen wollte, würde nur auf Vermutung und Willkür beruhen.

⁵¹ *Indirizzi e metodi negli studi di demografia antica*, Milano 1908 (*Wege und Methoden zur Erforschung der antiken Demographie*, Mailand 1908).

Dass die freie Arbeit ihren Anteil, und einen nicht unbeträchtlichen Anteil hatte neben der Sklavenarbeit, wird heute zum Unterschied von frühen allgemein anerkannt. Ich selbst habe darüber in einer Schrift von 1898, die auch ins Deutsche übersetzt worden ist (*Der Untergang der Sklaverei im Altertum*. Berlin 1910), berichtet und versucht, auf Grund weniger positiver Daten, besonders erhaltener Inschriften, die Beziehungen zwischen freier Arbeit und Sklavenarbeit und ihre gegenseitige Konkurrenz zu untersuchen. Aber es wäre ziemlich kühn zu behaupten, dass jene freien Arbeiter ausschließlich oder doch vorwiegend Proletarier waren, Proletarier im modernen Sinne des Wortes. In der interessanten Stelle Plutarchs, die auch Dr. Rosenberg zitiert, schildert der griechische Geschichtsschreiber die ganze Arbeiterbewegung, die ihren Anstoß in der Epoche des Perikles erhalten hatte, und spricht dabei von der Arbeit, die die „Theten“ leisteten. Von diesen „Theten“ kann man nur eine negative Definition geben, als von Leuten, die nicht genügend Grund befassen für eine jährliche Ernte von 200 Medimnen (jeder Medimnus betrug ungefähr 52 Liter) an festen Produkten oder 200 Metreten (jede Metrete betrug ungefähr 39 Liter) an flüssigen Produkten. Darunter konnten also sein — und sicherlich waren dies auch in großer Anzahl — Besitzlose, aber darunter konnten auch sein und waren kleine und schließlich auch mittlere Grundbesitzer. Im Übrigen lässt sich aus den sonstigen nicht gerade reichlichen Angaben auf Inschriften und bei Schriftstellern, die ich größtenteils in dem erwähnten Buch angeführt habe, schließen, dass, wenn in Attika eine relative Konzentration an Grundbesitz in der umschriebenen Zone der Ebene bestand, andererseits in den übrigen Gebieten ein zerstreuter Grundbesitz vorhanden war, der die Zahl der Grundbesitzer, wenn auch mit geringem Ertrag, vervielfältigte. Alle diese, wie die Handwerker und Ladenbesitzer und andre mehr, die nicht unter die Proletarier im eigentlichen Sinne zu rechnen sind, und die vermutlich ziemlich zahlreich waren auf Grund der allgemeinen Zustände in Athen, und die gerade den Kern jener Demokratie ausmachten, müssen ein beträchtliches Kontingent für die freie Arbeiterschaft gestellt haben. Ferner kann man aus den positiven Angaben, z.B. aus dem Katalog der Hopliten d.h. der Schwerebewaffneten, die zu den drei ersten Klassen der Bevölkerung gehörten, schließen, dass die Zahl der Wohlhabenden gleich oder sogar grösser war, als die der Besitzlosen, wenigstens während der Dauer der demokratischen Staatsform⁵².

II.

In einer ökonomischen Umgebung, wie sie hier in allgemeinsten Zügen dargestellt wurde, entwickelte sich die athenische Demokratie, die nach keiner positiven Angabe schematisch als „Proletarier-Republik“ bezeichnet werden kann, mag man die — uns unbekannt — Menge der Besitzlosen betrachten und diese mit den heutigen Proletariern identifizieren, oder mag man ihre ausschließliche oder doch überwiegende politische Macht im Auge haben und die Art einer ihnen eigentümlichen und unabhängigen Politik.

⁵² L'ultimo periodo è assente nel testo pubblicato sulla *Nuova Rivista Storica*.

In der athenischen Republik vollzieht sich besonders im fünften Jahrhundert eine fortschreitende und beständige Entwicklung zur politischen und bürgerlichen Gleichheit der Bewohner, aber immer im Rahmen antiker Demokratien, wie wir sie kennen, und politischer und juristischer Staatsordnungen. Ephialtes gab jener Bewegung einen Anstoß, und später wurde sie von Perikles fortgeführt und zur vollen Entwicklung gebracht. Sein Werk war besonders (462/1 v. Chr.) die Niederwerfung der politischen Macht des Areopags, in dem sich die Macht der Oligarchie konzentrierte, und die er durch hartnäckige Angriffe auf die Institutionen und Personen erreichte. Aber weder nach den Ideen, noch nach den persönlichen Charakteren, die wir in der Hauptsache gar nicht kennen, können wir die Gleichsetzung historisch gerechtfertigt finden, die hier mit Marat und Karl Liebknecht aufgestellt worden ist. Übrigens scheint mir der letztere, soweit ich ihn kennengelernt habe, nicht einmal seinerseits allzu viel Berührungspunkte mit Marat gehabt zu haben.

Die Einführung der Entlohnung öffentlicher Ämter, im großen und ganzen die nun folgende Entwicklung lässt sich folgendermaßen zusammenfassen: Nach der „Verfassung Athens“ von Aristoteles wurde zunächst die Entlohnung der Richter auf Bemühen des Perikles eingeführt; dann brachte der Demagoge Kleophon, ein Leierfabrikant, die Diobolie⁵³ zur Annahme, die auf Beruhen des Kallikrates Paianeus ersetzt wurde durch die Verfügung einen dritten Obolus den zweien zuzufügen. Und schließlich wurde die Entschädigung für die Teilnahme an der Volksversammlung eingeführt; diese wurde zuerst nach Vorschlag des Agyrrios auf einen Obolus festgesetzt, dann durch Herakleides von Klazomenai auf zwei Obolen, und schließlich durch denselben Agyrrios auf drei erhöht. Zu der Zeit, da Aristoteles die „Verfassung Athens“ schrieb, war die Entschädigung der Richter bis drei Obolen stehen geblieben. Jene rein politische dagegen war auf neun Obolen für die Hauptversammlung und auf eine Drachme für die übrigen gestiegen. Von der Diobolie ist höchstwahrscheinlich anzunehmen, dass sie später in Form des Rechts zum Theaterbesuch ausgeschüttet wurde.

Es ist hier nicht möglich, diesen Punkt eingehender zu behandeln, den ich in einer heiligenden Denkschrift näher dargelegt habe, über die seinerzeit auch einige deutsche Zeitungen berichtet haben⁵⁴; zusammenfassend habe ich darüber in der vorhin erwähnten Schrift (Untergang, S. 58 ff.) berichtet, wo auch auf die Zeugnisse der Schriftsteller Bezug genommen wird.

Um zu erläutern, was das hier zu bedeuten hat, mag der Hinweis genügen, dass jene Entschädigungen einen beträchtlichen politischen Wert besaßen, was besonders aus den Kontrasten hervorgeht, die sie hervorriesen und die auch eine allgemeinere kulturelle Bedeutung haben konnten. Rein finanziell betrachten, und verglichen mit der Entlohnung der Arbeiter, hatten sie trotz

⁵³ Entschädigung in Höhe von 2 Obolen (Anm. v. Übers.).

⁵⁴ *La retribuzione delle funzioni pubbliche civili nell'antica Athene [sic] e le sue conseguenze*, 1897 (*Die Entlohnung der öffentlichen politischen Ämter im alten Athen und ihre Folgen*). Questa frase è assente nel testo in lingua italiana.

manchem tendenziösen Zeitspruch nur einen begrenzten Wert. Eine Drachme entspricht 79 Pfennigen und ein Obolus dem sechsten Teil davon, also ungefähr 13 Pfennigen, während die niedrigste Arbeit anscheinend mit 3 Obolen bezahlt wurde⁵⁵. Die Entlohnung musste den Zustrom des städtischen Elements zur Versammlung gegenüber der verstreuten Landbevölkerung fördern, aber sie konnte mitunter auch dieser das Einschreiten erleichtern. Jeden falls konnte sie den ganzen Charakter der athenischen Republik nicht umstürzen; den gaben ihr ihre historischen, demographischen und sozialen Zustände die unmöglich aus Athen eine „Proletarier-Republik“ machen, geschweige denn dort eine „Diktatur des Proletariats“ einrichten konnten.

Um auf die herkömmlichen Zahlenangaben zurückzukommen die wie gesagt durchaus nicht über jeden Zweifel erhaben sind, deren man sich aber bedienen muss, um Zahlenverhältnisse aufzustellen, so ergibt sich aus ihnen, dass zur Zeit der höchsten Blüte der athenischen Republik die Zahl der Hopliten 13 000 Felddienstfähige und 16 000 Garnisondienstfähige betrug und außerdem 1000 Reiter, die der ersten Klasse angehörten. Das gilt für das Jahr 431 v. Chr., für das die volle Zahl der Bewohner — der männlichen selbstverständlich — auf 35 000 gewöhnlich berechnet wird. Wenn man nun nach Beloch annimmt, dass unter die felddienstfähigen Hopliten 1500 und vielleicht sogar 2000 oder 3000 Leute aus der 4. Klasse (Theten) eingerechnet werden konnten, die demnach nicht unbedingt Proletarier waren, und dass die garnisondienstfähigen Hopliten sich auf eine Zahl von 7000 beschränken mussten, und dass von diesen 3000 Fremde (metoikoi) waren, so kann die Zahl der Besitzenden selbst bei ungünstiger Schätzung als beträchtlich höher als die der Besitzlosen angesehen werden.

Im Jahre 411, als die Bevölkerung infolge der Pest und der 20 Kriegsjahre beträchtlich zusammengeschmolzen war, und infolge der oligarchischen Revolution die aktiven politischen Rechte nur von den 5000 Reichsten ausgeübt wurden, waren es immer noch 9000, die sich aus eigenen Mitteln als Hopliten ausrüsten konnten. Und endlich ungefähr ein Jahrhundert später, als Athen auf dem Wege zum Verfall war zwischen 322 und 309 v. Chr., waren unter 21 000 Bürgern noch 9000, die auf über 2000 Drachmen geschätzt wurden.

Die Besitzlosen, das geht hieraus hervor, müssen also als eine Minderheit, deren Beträchtlichkeit wir nicht kennen, in der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts betrachtet werden. Aber auch abgesehen hiervon, hätten sie aus anderen Gründen niemals ihren Stempel der Republik aufdrücken können, wie auch sonst aus anderen Ursachen sie dies nicht konnten, als sie bei dem fortschreitenden Verfall Athens allmählich eine Majorität wurden.

⁵⁵ Nel testo italiano il confronto è con la lira: «una *drachme* corrisponde a meno d'una lira e un obolo alla sesta parte, quindi a 17 centesimi circa».

III.

Will man ganz allgemein und in großen Zügen die attische Politik in der 2. Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts auf ökonomische Formeln bringen, so kann man sagen, dass sie sich entwickelte zwischen den zwei entgegengesetzten Tendenzen des Grundbesitzes, der im Innern eine mehr oder weniger gemäßigte Politik und nach außen hin eine Friedenspolitik betrieb, und des Handels, der eine Expansionspolitik, „imperialistisch“ würden wir heute sagen, mit mehr fortschrittlichen Tendenzen trieb.

Es war diese zweite Politik, die den Sieg davontrug; und wenn sie in ihrem letzten Abschnitt Athen Kämpfe und Misserfolge eintrug, so war es doch sie — und nicht die angebliche proletarische Republik —, die Athen die Möglichkeit gab, für einige Zeit eine außerordentlich hohe Blüte zu erreichen und vor allem in gewissen Formen der Kunst, unter Mitwirkung gewisser Imponderabilien, einen Zustand überragender Kultur zu verwirklichen.

Die unzureichende Entwicklung der Produktionsmittel im Altertum, infolge deren sich Formen eines überragenden Kulturlebens nur durch Anhäufung riesiger Reichtümer erhalten konnten, machte den Krieg häufiger und sogar bis zu einem gewissen Grade notwendig. Vom Standpunkt der marxistischen Voraussetzung aus, die letzten Endes auf die Entwicklung der Produktionsmittel die sozialen Gebilde eines längerem Zeitraums zurückführt, habe ich — wenn mir erlaubt ist, mich auf meine längere Schrift zu berufen — das Problem des Krieges und Friedens zunächst für Athen und dann für die ganze antike Welt behandelt. (*La pace e la guerra nell'antica Athene*, Roma 1897; *La pace e la guerra nel mondo antico*, Torino 1901.⁵⁶)

In diesem Kampf setzte die Partei der wenig Begüterten, die für sich allein bei den Zuständen in jenem Staate eine selbständige Wirksamkeit nicht hätte entfalten können, ihre Kraft auf Seiten der Expansionspartei ein und empfing dafür eine Erweiterung ihrer politischen Rechte, Landlose außerhalb Attikas (Kleruchien), die Amtsentlohnungen und alle die Vorteile eines Zustands, der Athen zum Führer des attisch-delischen Bundes, zum Zentrum des griechischen Handels und zum Herrscher des ägäischen Meeres machte. „So kam es — sagt Aristoteles —, dass von den Steuern und Abgaben der Verbündeten 20 000 Personen lebten.“

Alles dieses war nicht völlig gerecht; und doch vollzog es sich mit einer mitunter beklagenswerten Unerbittlichkeit. Aber es kann bei seiner Wichtigkeit keinesfalls als eine zufällige Episode betrachtet werden, die man übergehen kann, ohne dass sich alles Übrige verändert. Gerade das war die Substanz der athenischen Geschichte, wie sie in Wirklichkeit war, nicht wie wir sie uns wünschen können oder einbilden.

Ähnlich hat über die Sklaverei, über deren moralische Bedeutung das Urteil nicht zweifelhaft sein kann, Fr. Engels geschrieben: „Die Sklaverei wurde bald die herrschende Form der Produktion bei allen über das alte Gemeinwesen

⁵⁶ *Krieg und Frieden im alten Athen*, Rom 1897; *Krieg und Frieden in der alten Welt*, Turin 1901.

hinaus sich entwickelnden Völkern, schließlich aber auch eine der Hauptursachen ihres Verfalls. Erst die Sklaverei machte die Teilung der Arbeit zwischen Ackerbau und Industrie auf größerem Maßstabe möglich, und damit die Blüte der alten Welt, das Griechentum. Ohne Sklaverei kein griechischer Staat, keine griechische Kunst und Wissenschaft, ohne Sklaverei kein Römerreich. Ohne die Grundlage des Griechentums und des Römerreichs aber auch kein modernes Europa. Wir sollten nie vergessen, dass unsere ganze ökonomische, politische und intellektuelle Entwicklung einen Zustand zur Voraussetzung hat, in dem die Sklaverei ebenso notwendig wie allgemein [anerkannt] war. In diesem Sinne sind wir berechtigt zu sagen: ohne antike Sklaverei kein moderner Sozialismus.“

Das Athen später im 4. Jahrhundert auf die Einkünfte sich beschränken konnte, die es im 5. Jahrhundert erworben hatte, ist kein gutes Argument. Vor allem ist das 4. Jahrhundert dem des Perikles nicht gleichwertig. Und dann bediente sich das 4. Jahrhundert all dessen, was erreicht, aufgebaut, durchgesetzt und verwirklicht worden war im 5. Jahrhundert im Handel, in der Landwirtschaft, ganz allgemein auf dem Gebiete der Zivilisation. Und bei der Geschichtsforschung handelt es sich nicht darum, zu verherrlichen oder zu verdammen, sondern aufzuklären⁵⁷.

So geriet die Klasse der wenig Begüterten und der Besitzlosen in Bewegung und kämpfte in den Grenzen der bestehenden politischen und juristischen Institutionen. Entwürfe von idealistischem Kommunismus kennen wir nur in Form der Utopie oder der Karikatur von Platon und von Aristophanes. Versuche, die in einigen griechischen Städten während jener allgemeinen Umwälzung von Sitten und moralischen Anschauungen, die Thukydides als einen der Hauptzüge des peloponnesischen Krieges bezeichnet, gemacht werden konnten, hatten nur ein Eintagsdasein und den ausgesprochenen Charakter von Episoden und Jacquerien⁵⁸. In Athen, dessen Befreiung von den agrarischen Machenschaften in einer reichbewegten Periode Aristoteles schildert, wird in den folgenden Zeiten, in denen der Grundbesitz besser verteilt werden musste, keine Bewegung erwähnt, die dazu angetan gewesen wäre, diese herkömmliche Ordnung von Grund aus zu ändern.

Verschmolzen zu einer einzigen oder vereinigten Partei, hatten die verschiedenen Stände der Demokratie durch lange Zeit in Perikles, einem geborenen Aristokraten, ein Haupt, von dem man sagen kann, dass er die Waffe führte, statt sich von ihr führen zu lassen. Die Ereignisse des langen peloponnesischen Krieges, die durch den Tod auf dem Schlachtfeld besonders die Klassen dezimierten, aus denen die Hopliten stammten, und die Leidenschaften entfachten und Ehrgeiz erregten, gaben für kurze Perioden, die immer wieder von Reaktionen unterbrochen waren, ein gewisses Übergewicht nicht

⁵⁷ L'intero capoverso è assente nel testo italiano.

⁵⁸ "Jacqueries" = französischer Ausdruck für die Bauernaufstände des Mittelalters und der beginnenden Neuzeit. (Anm. d. Übers.).

dem Proletariat, sondern vielmehr dem, was man mit einem Wort des italienischen Mittelalters bezeichnen könnte mit „popolo minuto“⁵⁹. Und seine Führer waren, soweit es sich nicht um Aristokraten handelte, wie Alkibiades, Ladenbesitzer oder Besitzer kleiner Fabriken wie Kleon, der Eigentümer einer Färberei, Kleophon, ein Zitherfabrikant, Agyrrios und andere.

Aber es würde ein Irrtum sein, deswegen von einer „Diktatur des Proletariats“ zu reden. Dieselbe Auslosung die man als Argument zugunsten dieser Ansicht hat anführen wollen, führt auch zu entgegengesetzten Schlüssen. Und nicht nur, weil das Proletariat, wie sich gezeigt hat, durchaus nicht in der Majorität war. Der Auslosung waren entzogen vor allem die Finanzämter, und zwar die wichtigsten, wie das des Schatzmeisters für das Heer und das Theater. Die militärischen Ämter waren eine Mischung von Auslosung und Wahl, wie Aristoteles sagt, mit einer beständigen Kontrolle, die den Beschluss auf Abberufung fassen konnte. Aber die Diktatur ist ihrer Natur nach unumschränkter Macht, die durch Autorität aufrechterhalten wird; und die Auslosung, bei der die Macht in die Hand des Zufalls gelegt wird, ist geradezu das Gegenteil der Diktatur. Infolgedessen beschränkten sich, während in der Hand des Perikles und anderer Häupter der Demokratie der Kern der Macht lag, nicht nur an Beeinflussung und Leitung der Masse, sondern auch an der tatsächlichen Verwaltung der Finanzen und der Heeresmacht, die Demagogen — mit Ausnahme vielleicht von Kleon, der für kurze Zeit ein Kommando innehatte — gewöhnlich auf die Führung in der Volksversammlung. Und da das Heer sich zusammensetzte aus Hopliten, d.h. aus Bürgern der ersten Klassen, war sein Kommando, das Macht und Ansehen gab, gewöhnlich den Händen der Demagogen entrückt.

Ein derartiger Zustand lässt folglich die Bezeichnung „Diktatur des Proletariats“ keinesfalls zu, ebenso wie der ganze Komplex an sonstigen Tatsachen und Zuständen für die Republik Athen die Definition als „Proletarier-Republik“ ausschließt.

(Übersetzt von Fritz Popitz)

⁵⁹ Wörtlich „geringeres Volk“, entspricht etwa dem deutschen „gemeines Volk“ (Anm. d. Übers.).

TOP SCHOLARS IN CLASSICAL AND LATE ANTIQUITY

— RAMSAY MACMULLEN —

ABSTRACT

This article takes off from a recent attempt by Walter Scheidel to “collect and analyze bibliometric evidence for the impact of published research in the field of Ancient History”; this, criticized by Nathan Pilkington; and Scheidel, answering with revisions. The contributions of the two are here accepted in their metrics and in their focus on “impact”; but criticisms are advanced against their choices of focus and method. The aim here is to suggest the qualities of work that have earned frequent citation across a wider selection of the exemplary — much wider than the two quoted scholars attempt.

KEYWORDS

citations, impact, scholarship, History, Ancient History

Recently online are several articles by Walter Scheidel and Nathan Pilkington (their names abbreviated in my text to their initials, adding dates of publication for the several items by Scheidel). They offer ranking of scholars in Ancient History.¹ Their results will need discussion later, but at the outset, they are agreed on their mission: it is, as Scheidel says, to measure scholars’ “impact” (WS 2013, 2; 2019, 1, and elsewhere); and with this focus, Pilkington agrees (NP 2013, unpaginated, on the opening page).

By “impact” I understand whatever shapes people’s ideas, values, and behavior — one would hope, beneficially. It is apparently what Scheidel and Pilkington intend, applied to the particular population of ancient historians. Within it, they pick out those who are most admired, exemplars. Pilkington (NP 2013) in his opening three pages explains his focus

¹ Walter Scheidel, using as his vehicle the *Princeton/Stanford Working Papers in Classics*, “Citation scores for ancient historians in the United States, Version 1”, February 2008; “Updated citation scores for ancient historians in the United States”, September 2011; “Measuring Finley’s impact”, April 2013 (see also the version published in D. Jew, R. Osborne, and M. Scott, eds., *Moses Finley. An Ancient Historian and his Impact*, Cambridge 2016, 288–297); and “Citation scores for Greco-Roman historians in North America, 2019”, September 2019; Nathan Pilkington, “Google Scholar and the Web of Knowledge: Citation scores for Ancient Historians”, 2013, https://www.academia.edu/3420110/Google_Scholar_and_the_Web_of_Knowledge_Citation_Scores_for_Ancient_Historians, last accessed 21.05.20.

on “ranking ... [through] measurement of citation at the elite level of journal article and book ... [W]e can measure the impact of a scholar adjusted for career length ... It illustrates the totality of a scholar’s penetration into the field ... Citations scores ... represent an important metric of a scholar’s impact.” He does not need to add that penetration is, so to speak, by permission, through peer review of both books and articles. But we must also bear in mind “scholarly development [into] their strongest works, with consequent attention from younger scholars”. These latter are in fact the principal concern of the present article.

For his part as well, Scheidel (WS 2019, 1, as in his articles of 2008 and 2011) measures “impact” by “citation scores” (WS 2013, 3), which constitute “a powerful marker of prestige”; he recognizes the “luminaries” (WS 2018, 7, at n. 23, naming Brown, Momigliano, and Finley), the “top” historians (WS 2019, 2 and elsewhere); yet it is important (WS 2019, 1) to measure scholars also against each other; for “what matters is not the absolute number of citations but the relative ranking of scholars”. Beyond this, however, a further level of understanding must depend on “how we define ‘impact’ on peers’ thinking and writing, on the academic job market, on the perceptions of the general public” (WS 2013, 1). In these matters only “extraordinary effort ... to measure” can avail; but such an effort neither Scheidel nor Pilkington will undertake.

Both Scheidel and Pilkington, as also the creators of the several databases they rely on, recognize the need to define the population impacted. These are not the general public, amateurs, the casually curious, nor even students at the undergraduate level. They are rather the professionals, scholars talking to each other. Just where is their conversation reported? An obvious data source is the bibliographic journal of Antiquity, *Année philologique*, 91 years old, in its more recent years since 1975. That latter year serves as baseline for Pilkington (NP, 2nd paragraph) and Scheidel (WS 2019, 3, n. 13). The number of scholars publishing since 1975 can then be seen and counted conveniently at three intervals: about 7,400 in 1975; half-way on to the present, about 30,730 in 1997; and 45,900 in 2016 (publication date in 2018, the latest issue available). The growth rate shown in these three totals invites conjectural explanations — which cannot be tested: Was it, for example, an increasing diligence in data-gathering that explains the growth, as indicated by increasing numbers of editors sharing the work of polling? But the number of journals themselves, in which the editors have gone trawling for their data, does not seem to support that conjecture (about 850 journals in 1975; about 985, in 1997; the same in 2016). Further, these citation-numbers show us only individuals who in one of those three chosen years happened to get

something into print but who in another year might have done better. How many were they? There is no saying.

However, there is no reason to doubt that these three years are representative of publish-or-perish at full steam over all forty-odd years to the present. They show an output in pages indeed too many to be digested. Such is an impression among librarians of my university, that works by authors of only one monograph are, half of them, never taken off the shelf. My own impression, for what it is worth, is that the same disregard is shown to a good half of journal articles, excluding their first page or abstract.

It is thus forgivable that, in listing the most-cited scholars, Scheidel and Pilkington should focus only on the very top, only on a fraction of one per cent of the whole publishing population, “because”, as Scheidel says, “distances between scores greatly shrink as one moves down the scale, increasing the likelihood of accidental omissions. The reliability of tabulation diminishes close to the bottom of the list” (WS 2019, 2). He himself prefers to list no more than the top 30 names, or 40 (WS 2011, 1 n. 3 and Tables 1 and 2; 2019, 2; cf. NP’s listing of 101 top scholars). His preliminary Tables underlie Table 4 (WS 2019, 2) and then Table 5, which “amalgamates [the number of citations of] active and retired scholars’ scores for the overall top 15” in North America. These leaders he nominates “with confidence”. Let this be the last word on the most widely respected scholars in ancient historical studies, as identified in the most recent rankings.

Figure 1

Fifteen foremost Ancient Historians alive in North America
(with relative number of citations of their works, Scheidel 2019, 7, Table 5)

| | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| Peter Brown (20,229) | Roger Bagnall (6,459) |
| Ian Morris (10,098) | Brent Shaw (6,108) |
| Ramsay MacMullen (8,036) | Walter Scheidel (5,883) |
| Glen Bowersock (7,682) | Sarah Pomeroy (5,582) |
| Josiah Ober (7,348) | Kurt Raaflaub (5,326) |
| William Harris (6,846) | Victor Hanson (4,873) |
| Erich Gruen (6,831) | Christopher Jones (4,560) |
| Richard Saller (6,622) | |

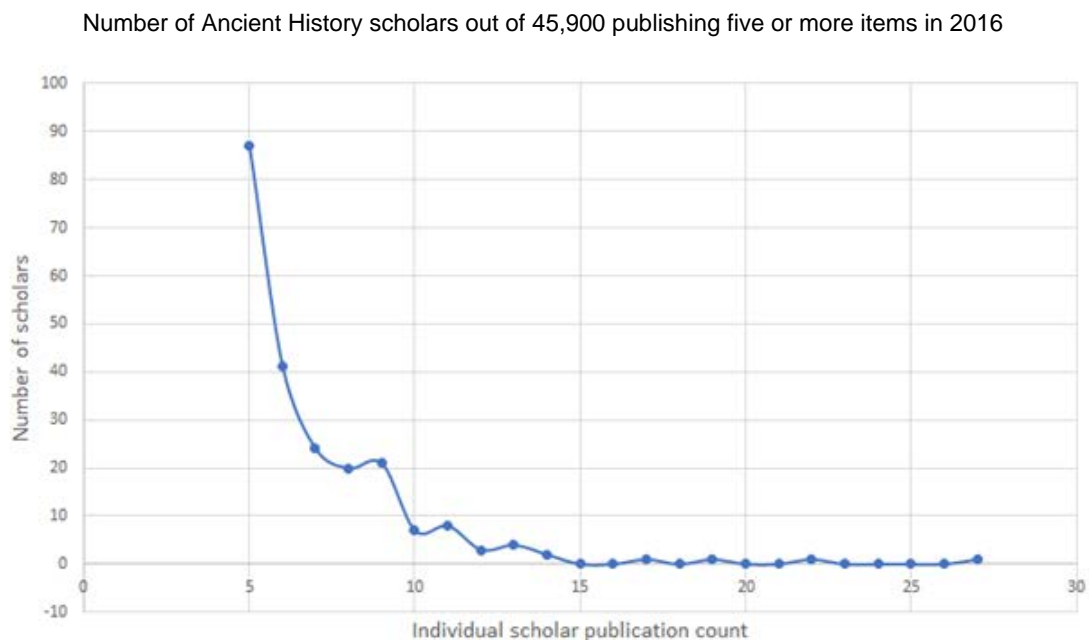
In *Année philologique*, my count indeed confirms the good sense of looking only at a tiny fraction of any one year’s whole product. In the most recent issue, two great fat volumes in small print devoted to 2016, publications by some 50,000 scholars are listed. For the vast majority, how-

ever, only one single publication is reported.² A far smaller number managed two publications in the given year; far fewer scholars still, those who published three and four titles which were taken into consideration in the *Année* (two such active scholars appear in Scheidel's and Pilkington's lists). At this point, we have considered the vast majority indicated in my line-graph below by a blank column to the far left.

More than four, a tiny handful: a mere 87 scholars who published five items in that single year. They constitute less than two ten-thousandths of one per cent of listed ancient historians; these may fairly be called "leaders", with whom my own count begins, before the count goes on to still fewer.

Figure II

Rate of scholarly production in 2016 (*Année philologique*)



What may at first seem most striking about my figures for this research community is its total size. This, I would explain by the interest natural to our species. We want to know and understand those nearest us, and then those somewhat removed, elders and ancestors as individuals or as a ghostly population in the past, since that past is still seen as one's own, one's very self, where one is at home, so to speak. What anthropologists

² Edited by Pedro Pablo Fuentes González, *Année philologique* 87 (Turnhout 2018), see the 85-page Index of modern names, where I count about 45,900, and would suppose that 2016 was a blank year for at least 1% of the research community. Thus, the research community total would top 50,000.

discover in preliterate societies is no different from what we are all more or less familiar with, if we reflect on what we mean by a cultural and narrative “heritage”. That one same Western Antiquity was cradle equally to dozens of ethnicities and to their scattered descent, from Turkey to Ireland and across the oceans east and west.

Subgroups are similarly to be explained by devotion to their heritage and identity. Such subgroups are the religious, or ideological, composed of members of the three monotheisms, within and by which research energies are generated, focused, and eagerly published. All three subgroups are served by many particular periodicals and address very large audiences. In the study of Judaism, most naturally, many well-known scholars bridge the centuries both before and after “Classical” Antiquity, for example, Shaye Cohen or Jacob Neusner; in Christianity, Peter Brown. As to Islam, it has been brought into the flow of “Late” Antiquity by Fergus Millar looking forward in time, or Glen Bowersock, and by Dimitri Gutas looking back into the roots of Greco-Arabic thought and science. All these named scholars are among the very most productive, though Neusner’s hundreds of monographs tower above the rest.

Most recently, Scheidel (2019, 2, Table 1) in using Google Scholar proposes to “exclude those [scholars] with a primary affiliation in Religious Studies”. Yet he includes both Susanna Elm, mostly known for Christian-history studies, and Hagith Sivan, much of whose work focuses on ancient Judaism. Perhaps his suggestion arose from the likelihood of ideological bias in citing an apparently relevant work, or in choosing not to cite it. It was a decidedly top scholar who in a friendly letter years ago introduced me to the German term *Totschweigen*, “Death sentence by silence”, which he could complain of, while another friend choosing to entitle one of his books *Jesus the Magician* (Morton Smith), must surely have expected its partial suppression.

Citation may be ideologically exclusive, serving a sub-sub-group. A two-volume work meant to be authoritative by Mary Beard, John North, and Simon Price, has recently defined the very word “religion” in a way that nicely fits Anglo-Catholicism, but only that one faith alone. Non-Christians had no religion at all; neither did those who thought they were Christians, like Donatists, if triumphant rivals judged them heretical.³ And for our present times I should mention the risk of skewing citation scores, whether works should be favored for mention or disfavored, out

³ MacMullen (2017): 121 and notes 28f., referring to Éric Rebillard and to Beard, North, and Price (1998): 1.42f., 49, 216 — Beard being (WS 2019, 9) “foremost globally among women in Ancient History studies”; and in the understanding of the word “religion”, concurrence by Éric Rebillard (himself, in NP Table 9, a select list of 30 top scholars globally).

of gender or ethnicity bias (WS 2019, 5–8, at some length on the presence of women among professional scholars).

Neusner's unique scholarly productivity invites a further comment: that the editing of short texts on which he most often worked presents the scholar with a supply of ready targets, needing no discovery or originality, however much learning; and the same may be said of other prodigiously productive scholars applying their technical skills: the prosopographer Friedrich Münzer long ago (d. 1942, #87 in NP, Table 10), with few books but innumerable entries in the *Realencyclopädie*, and famous for many reasons, not least his impact on Ronald Syme's work; or Louis Robert (d. 1985), author of very few monographs but, in Greek epigraphy, uniquely authoritative in a hundred articles; more recently, active in Latin and Greek epigraphy, Werner Eck and Angelos Chaniotis. The last-named, with a score of 22 items (!) in 2016, is counted by Scheidel, but not Eck in Germany. Scheidel's count is limited to North America.

When one compares the top part of rankings, Pilkington against Scheidel (WS 2011, Table 1), and if one counts only persons currently employed in a US institution of higher learning (as in NP, last page, Table 1), Google Scholar as a database can be seen as importing its own preferences. For example, in Scheidel (WS 2011, Table 1), Roger Bagnall had stood first, whereas in Pilkington's Table 11, this name drops to sixth place; John Matthews rises from seventeenth in Scheidel of 2011, to seventh in Pilkington; and so on. But Scheidel (WS 2019, 2), while later accepting Pilkington's choice of database, judges the resulting differences to be only "minor".

What lies behind much of my criticisms even of Pilkington's choice of databases (better than Scheidel's choice pre-2019, as he concedes) which Pilkington found in "Google Scholar's citation Index processed through the Publish or Perish Software", is its deliberate limitations. Measurement of rank is sought "only in English language journals" (as later in WS 2019, 2, an "Anglo-only survey"). Yet no more than the 6% or so of the 980 periodicals pillaged by *Année philologique* are Anglophone (and additionally but also ignored by Scheidel, most European journals, such as *Historia* or *Epigraphica*, welcome English items along with other languages, beyond that of their own).

In discerning impact, moreover, the fact of scholars' work being received outside their homeland should surely be given weight, as for instance the UK's Mary Beard in Pilkington (NP, Table 10, ranked #31). She figures in none of Scheidel's lists, only an honorable mention in his concluding paragraph (WS 2019, 9); or Paul Zanker likewise, credited for his English-translated monographs. But almost all of Zanker's scores of books were first published in Italian or German. Only for that reason,

perhaps, he does not appear among the select seven “leading ancient historians” nominated by Scheidel (WS 2013, Table 1, p. 6), along with Arnaldo Momigliano, Moses Finley, Peter Brown, Ronald Syme, Theodor Mommsen, A. H. M. Jones, and Michael Rostovtzeff. Paul Veyne’s works have been much translated into English; his name appears in one of Pilkington’s Tables (#1 in the list of 101 in NP, eighth page), which look out world-wide, among deceased as well as the active; but not in Scheidel, through his decision to count only North Americans. Similarly omitted, Henk Versnel, Christof Marksches, and others. Scheidel’s inclusion of Rostovtzeff in one count (WS 2013, using “Web of Knowledge” on a STEM model) but exclusion from the other (WS 2019, 2–3, in his Table 2) seems to miss the quality of the Russian scholar, devoted to archeology quite as much as Zanker, who is counted in NP, second page, and Tables 9 and 11.

* * *

There is perhaps no need to multiply illustrations of the unsatisfactory nature of Pilkington’s and especially Scheidel’s findings. Both analysts seem to have lost their declared focus, that is, some good reason for measuring citations in the first place. Instead, exclusions and dubitations have taken over; usefulness has been lost among refinements in ranking and “annualization” to measure average output per annum across time. To return instead to the underlying justification for any measuring of rank, that is, in a word, “impact”, in any community, it is, at least by implication, to be sought among the most respected members of the research community, the most approved for their methods and conclusions. What they say and how they think is, almost by definition, an example to all. So Scheidel and Pilkington agree, calling them “luminaries”, “elite”, “the top”.

Certainly that is true. But it is equally certain that leaders, for instance Scheidel’s top 15, or any others as they have been defined, shape their own work by reading the work of many others. They will most certainly have sought their material in a wider census than the crippled ones of the rankings. Their practice can be checked by a glance at their footnotes. They will refer to a book in French, let us say, and a further glance may show the profit there that will be ignored by strictly Anglophone scholars.⁴ It thus defies good sense to exclude the work of scholars of this wider community — the more international, the better.

⁴ A recent instance of such a loss in MacMullen (2019): 14f. (Françoise Dunand’s works).

And both citation scholars know better! “Ancient history is a global field”, Pilkington declares in his opening page. Even while teaching in English, “scholars regularly move between departments in the UK, US, Netherlands, Germany, Australia and New Zealand” (to be added, Canada); and as Scheidel had pointed out (WS 2008, 4; 2019, 9) about half of US ancient historians “received their final degree outside the US”, though ordinarily in England. Pilkington takes account of the fact, too, that “graduate students regularly learn two modern languages just to deal with the scholarship in their field”; and he adds that “translations of original editions further demonstrate a scholar’s degree of penetration into academic debates globally”, as was illustrated above. Thus restriction to English is a problem acknowledged, but not compensated for.

The profusion of print, styled “indigestible” earlier, has become ever more daunting, all the more so in any attempt to widen one’s reading beyond the top scholars of one’s own language and academic neighborhood. To make a good choice for imitation or inspiration, no one should make a count, as I have done for myself, of the names of scholars publishing five, six, and more items in a given year; for there is almost no correspondence between them, and the total population in all the lists of Scheidel and Pilkington.⁵ Perhaps the best trick in the search for the best, is in the footnotes of prolific authors where the reader can hope to see what names were judged valuable enough to cite (quite as interesting a selection as can be found in most recent handbooks, companions, and encyclopedias). But take note (above) of *Totschweigen*.

And there is a clue in the object sought: “impact”. Sometimes it is expressly recognized. Many of such publications fit into one or another of two categories: negative and positive. The negative attempts to displace a received view of some factoid or idea, to be gradually forgotten in favor of a novel one. The job may well be extended into a decade or more of further discussion. Pompeii offers a good illustration in the interpretation of its most famous paintings, which give their name to an entire beautiful dwelling: the Villa of Mysteries. They show the rites celebrating a bride’s wedding-day and night. The better reading of the panels is Paul Veyne’s, challenging a century of scholars set on seeing here an initiation into

⁵ Among those especially active publishers of 2016, listed in WS and NP are C. Ando, M. Beard, A. Chaniotis, and C. P. Jones — four out of more than 200, so no more than 2%. These 2% do not include P. Brown, P. Zanker, R. Bagnall, Averil Cameron, M. Crawford, E. Gruen, W. V. Harris, F. Millar, and Greg Woolf, who are indeed named by WS and NP, but none of whom published as many as five items in 2016.

pagan secrets — a delightful vision of clandestine orgies.⁶ Veyne would displace it, offering a better sense of the purpose served by the room's location within the home, so decorated, and an appeal to far more natural, relevant evidence across a wide range of the arts.

As to positive impact, again looking at Pompeii: a recent scholar, Lisa Nevett, makes use in her work of “a tool for studying social relationships in Roman households ... In a landmark paper first published in 1988, Andrew Wallace-Hadrill was one of the first to recognize that ancient houses could be viewed as occupied spaces rather than simply as architectural complexes.”⁷ Wallace-Hadrill indeed appears quite high in the big list of Pilkington (NP Table 10, #28 out of 101) and as a productive scholar in *Année philologique*, averaging above one publication per year for 35 years. However, only once does his output (six in 2012) rise above my baseline for the topmost scholars, publishing at least five items in one year. From Nevett's comment, my take-away is that scholars even more productive than Wallace-Hadrill do not necessarily have the most interesting ideas, thus to enjoy an impact on others. As someone said long ago, not everything that counts can be counted.

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⁶ Veyne (2016). Cited as “the most notable” alternative to the traditional views in Wikipedia, “Villa of the Mysteries — Veyne”. But as I discovered some years ago, the tour guides on the spot are unshakably traditionalist.

⁷ Wallace-Hadrill (1988), cited by Lisa C. Nevett (2010): 90.

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“THE ESSENCE OF CLASSICAL CULTURE”:
WERNER JAEGER’S FIRST PUBLIC ADDRESS IN THE
UNITED STATES*

— STANLEY M. BURSTEIN —

ABSTRACT

This paper publishes the text of “The Essence of Greek Culture,” the first public address delivered by Werner Jaeger after his immigration to the United States in 1936. It was part of the program of a symposium sponsored by the Trustees of the University of Chicago in May, 1937 and provides important evidence indicating that Jaeger had begun to adapt ideas he had long supported in Germany to conditions in the United States. The text of the paper is preserved in the Archives of the University of Chicago and is published with its permission.

KEYWORDS

Werner Jaeger, University of Chicago, Greek culture, education, cosmopolitanism

Werner Jaeger was easily the most prominent classicist to come to the United States in the 1930s. As Professor of Greek at the University of Berlin since 1921 and the author of fundamental works on Aristotle, he was probably the most famous Greek scholar in Europe and the Americas. After initially trying in 1933 with the encouragement of the Nazi minister of education, the classicist Bernhard Rust, to influence National Socialist educational policy,¹ Jaeger became dis-

* I would like to thank The Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library and the grandchildren of Werner Jaeger for permission to publish this paper. I also would like to thank Dr Christopher Stray for reading and commenting on an earlier version of this paper.

¹ With Rust’s encouragement he published in 1933 the article “Die Erziehung des politischen Menschen und die Antike” in the Nazi education-themed journal *Volk im Werden* edited by the educational philosopher Ernst Kriek. Numerous such articles intended to establish the relevance of their discipline in Nazi Germany were published by classicists during the 1930s. Best documented is the case of the University of Heidelberg (cf. Chaniotis and Thaler 2006, 412–415). For a detailed account of Jaeger’s attempts to influence Nazi education policy, see Rösler 2017, 51–82.

illusioned with developments in Germany, particularly in the universities,² and, more important, he feared for the safety of his “non-Aryan”³ wife and their infant daughter.⁴ After extended negotiations with the University of Chicago in late 1935 and early 1936, he accepted appointment as Professor of Greek, arriving in the United States in the summer of 1936, officially to serve as the representative of the University of Berlin at the tercentenary of Harvard University but, in fact, to assume his new position at the University of Chicago.⁵

Jaeger was not typical of the refugee classicists who immigrated to the United States from Germany in the 1930s. First, as an “Aryan” professor of exceptional prominence and of well-known conservative political and social views, albeit one married to a “non-Aryan” wife, he was not in immediate danger of losing his professorship when he decided to immigrate.⁶ Second, while most of the nineteen other identified German classicists who immigrated to the United States virtually had to begin their careers over again, often taking entry-level appointments at institutions with poor libraries,⁷ this was not the case with Jaeger. He, instead, immediately obtained positions comparable to the one he left in Germany, first as Professor of Greek at the University of Chicago and then, beginning in 1939, as University Professor at Harvard University, with freedom to choose the courses he taught, an institute specially created for him, and extensive research support,⁸ a position he held until his death in 1961.

Nevertheless, his life in the United States was significantly different from what it had been in Germany, or so Jaeger believed. In Germany he

² Burstein 2019a, 323–325.

³ I use the term “Aryan” in this paper in the sense of German as defined by Nazi race policy. Jaeger’s second wife, therefore, was classed as “non-Aryan” because, although she was herself Protestant, her father was Jewish. Under the terms of the 1935 citizenship law she ceased to be a German citizen, as did their infant daughter Therese.

⁴ Burstein 2019a, 323.

⁵ For the details of Jaeger’s immigration to the United States, see Burstein 2019a, 319–328. For his Harvard tercentenary talk, see Jaeger 1937, 240–250.

⁶ Jaeger’s situation was similar to that of the philosopher Karl Jaspers, whose prominence protected him at the University of Heidelberg until 1937, when he was fired under the section of the German Civil Servants Law barring “Aryan” professors and other civil servants from public service if their spouses were “non-Aryans” (Remy 2002, 80–81).

⁷ For the list see Calder 1984, 35; the ancient historian Richard Laqueur has to be added to it (Epstein 1991, 120). For the experiences of most immigrant classicists and historians in America see Epstein 1991, 116–135; and Obermayer 2014.

⁸ The Institute for Classical Studies. The details of the offer he received from Harvard are contained in a letter he wrote to Richard McKeon on February 18, 1939 which is preserved in the McKeon Papers at the University of Chicago.

had not only been a prominent professor but also a significant public intellectual throughout the 1920s. Besides directing numerous PhDs, founding the journals *Die Antike* and *Gnomon*, and being the leading proponent of the so-called Third Humanism, which aimed to create a politically relevant humanism for contemporary Germany, he also was one of the foremost conservative spokesmen against the educational reforms of the Weimar Republic, particularly the reduction of the dominant role traditionally played by the classical gymnasia in German education that was mandated in the 1924 education law. That Jaeger could not occupy the same prominent place in the public life of the United States as he had in Germany was obvious. So, in a letter written on April 20, 1942 to his friend, the distinguished Mexican intellectual Alfonso Reyes, he remarked that since coming to the United States his “relation to political reality has become increasingly and passionately Platonic,”⁹ that is, he had become an advisor from the sidelines.

The reality was different. Throughout his American career Jaeger was, in fact, a significant public intellectual, speaking and writing frequently as he had done in Germany on the important contribution classics could make to a society in which professional and vocational concerns were increasingly central to education at both the secondary and college levels.¹⁰ His career as an American public intellectual began in the spring of 1937, a few months after his return from Scotland, where he had delivered his Gifford Lectures on *The Theology of the Early Greek Philosophers*.¹¹ The occasion was a symposium consisting of three public lectures sponsored by the Trustees of the University of Chicago and chaired by Harold H. Swift, the President of the Board of Trustees, that was held on the evening of May 18, 1937 at the Goodman Theater in downtown Chicago.¹² The lectures were delivered by three of the university’s most distinguished professors: Richard P. McKeon, Dean of Humanities and Professor of Greek, Hayward Keniston, Professor of the

⁹ Jaeger to Reyes, April 20, 1942 (Quintana 2009, 103). For Jaeger’s friendship with Alfonso Reyes, see Burstein 2019b.

¹⁰ Cf., for example, his Aquinas Lecture, *Humanism and Theology*, delivered at Marquette University in Milwaukee, Wisconsin on March 7, 1942 (Jaeger 1943), and his talks on “The Future of Tradition” (Jaeger 1947a) and *The Greeks and the Education of Man* (Jaeger 1953).

¹¹ Jaeger 1947b.

¹² The evidence for this event is contained in an announcement of the symposium in the minutes of the Board of Trustees for May 13, 1937 (*Minutes of the Board of Trustees* 27, p. 105, University of Chicago Archives) and two newspaper articles, one in the University of Chicago newspaper, *The Daily Maroon*, May 18, 1937; and the other in *The Chicago Tribune*, May 18, 1937.

Spanish Language, and Jaeger. The theme was “What Our Civilization Owes to Greece and Rome.”¹³

It is clear from the titles of the papers that the intent of the symposium was to provide the audience with an overview of the classical tradition and its significance in western history. The program opened with McKeon’s talk on “The Contribution of Antiquity to Later Civilizations,” which traced the transmission of classical literature from antiquity to the present, and closed with Keniston’s talk on “The Survival of Classical Culture in Contemporary Life.” The highlight of the night, however, clearly was the talk on “The Nature of Classical Culture” by Jaeger,¹⁴ who was described in the announcement of the symposium in the *Daily Maroon*, the university newspaper, as “the world’s foremost living classicist.” As Jaeger’s first major public address after arriving in America — an audience of seven hundred was anticipated — the talk is important evidence for how he sought to adapt his ideas to his new home.

Since it was a brief public lecture delivered less than a year after Jaeger left Germany, it is not surprising that “The Essence of Classical Culture” is a pastiche of ideas drawn both from his previous work and his ongoing projects. So, for example, the discussion of “culture” is essentially a paraphrase of the similar discussion in the introduction to the first volume of *Paideia*,¹⁵ while the surprisingly extensive analysis of Greek medicine as a form of *paideia*, with its emphasis on the importance of dietetics, clearly reflects the book on Diokles of Karystos that he was writing at the same time as the lecture.¹⁶ It is the emphases and not the content, of the lecture, therefore, that are original and that reveal Jaeger’s attempt to adapt long held ideas to the new American environment in which he and his family were now living. Two such changes of emphasis are particularly noteworthy: the idea that the Classics belong to all western peoples, including Americans, and the redefinition of the nature and relevance of Greek education.

¹³ Interest in such themes was considerable at this time since Ancient History was a required subject in the college preparatory curriculum in both public and private schools. Illustrative of that interest was one of the largest projects in American Classics of the period, a series of 52 volumes edited by G. D. Hadzsits and D. M. Robinson and written by leading scholars that was published between 1922 and 1940, first by Marshall Jones Co. (1922–1928) and then by Longmans, Green & Co. (1928–1940) under the overall title *Our Debt to Greece and Rome*.

¹⁴ Changed to “The Essence of Classical Culture” in the text of the talk.

¹⁵ Jaeger 1936, 1: 6–8.

¹⁶ Jaeger 1938.

The first of these themes is particularly prominent, occurring repeatedly in the talk. So, in the introductory section, Jaeger describes the significance of the ancient legacy for Western Civilization as follows:

Even since the downfall of the Roman Empire the nations which had begun their historical careers as parts of that Empire have been bound together by the common heritage of Greco-Roman culture, in which their descendants in the New World now likewise participate.

A little later, after discussing the significance of “culture” in the context of civilization, he becomes more specific with regard to the contemporary significance of Greek culture for western people:

History knows only one system that is really dominated and illuminated by the conscious ideal of culture. This is the community of nations in which we are living. Thus, so far as culture is concerned, we are living in a hellenocentric system.

Finally, he returns to the subject in the concluding section on education, noting that western education including American education is a legacy from the Greeks:

We have inherited this form of education from the Greeks and since there is no civilized nation in the Western World which has not adopted their system, we all participate in their achievements even if we do not know their language.

By telling his Chicago audience that as a western people Americans could lay a claim towards Greek culture even if they did not understand ancient Greek, Jaeger significantly moderated the German nationalism that was an important part of his educational views in the 1920s and early 1930s.¹⁷ By so doing, he also repudiated one of the pillars of Nazi classicism, namely, that the ancient Greeks were “Nordics” like the Germans and that, therefore, Greek culture was literally German culture: a view that he had explicitly denounced a few months earlier in his first professional

¹⁷ As late as the second edition of *Paideia* Jaeger (1935, 1: 4) had maintained the existence of both cultural and racial kinship between Greeks and Germans: hence its appearance in the English translation of the first volume of *Paideia* (Jaeger 1939, 1: xv), which was based on the second German edition. For Jaeger’s nationalist views see Ringer 1969, 289–294; Chapoutot 2016, 106–110; and Kim 2018, 224–225.

paper in the United States, “Classical Philology and Humanism,”¹⁸ which began with a clear reference to “the disruption of Western Civilization which we are witnessing, with the rise of the doctrine that culture and knowledge are nationalistic possessions.” To Nazi educators like Bernhard Rust¹⁹ and Hans Drexler,²⁰ Jaeger’s belief in the unity of Western Civilization and its share in the legacy of Greek culture was “cosmopolitanism,” and it was one of the principal charges leveled at him in particular and at Third Humanism in general.

Jaeger’s appreciation of the need to adapt his ideas to his American audience is likewise evident in the discussion of Greek education that closes his talk. The ringing declaration that “the Greek idea of education is opposed to all professionalism” that opens the discussion echoes ideas that he had espoused for years in Germany,²¹ most recently in his 1933 *Volk im Werden* article, and that he continued to support in America, asserting, for example, at Bard College in 1953 that “the objective of education is not *business* but *man*.”²² His hostility to professional education also would have probably made Jaeger sympathetic to President Robert Hutchins in the contentious argument over the nature and purpose of undergraduate education at the University of Chicago that flared up following the publication in 1936 of Hutchins’ book, *The Higher Learning in America*.²³ Nevertheless, there is a significant change of emphasis in the talk. In his *Volk im Werden* article,²⁴ Jaeger had claimed that a Greek philosophy-based education was political because it would foster the development of a ruling elite just as he believed such an education did in

¹⁸ Jaeger 1936, 363–374. He delivered the paper at the 1936 meeting of the American Philological Association held in Chicago.

¹⁹ Cf. the conclusion added by Bernhard Rust to the 1933 statement of educational goals drafted by the *Deutschen Altphilologen-Verband* on which Jaeger had worked: “This German humanistic Education is in the proper sense a German concern and different from all foreign forms of the same name. It has nothing to do with cosmopolitanism and renewed paganism. It strives to awaken the best forces of German man and to augment them through its relationship with the closely related peoples of antiquity and through it to secure its own Volk-mindedness” (my translation. For the text of the goals, see Fritsch 1989, 155–159). Cf. Chapoutot 2016, 51–97; Kim 2018, 213–215; and Roche 2018, 241–243, for the supposedly “Nordic” character of the Greeks.

²⁰ Drexler 1942, 59–69.

²¹ Ringer 1969, 110–111.

²² Jaeger 1953, 8, a point he had already made in his 1937 talk (see below, p. 13).

²³ Hutchins 1936. Cf. Dzuback 1991, 125–135; and Boyer 2015, 242–252. As Jaeger was on leave during the 1936/1937 academic year, however, he was not directly involved in the controversy.

²⁴ Jaeger 1933, 47–48.

England. In the lecture, however, while he still maintained that Greek education was political but now it was so only in the broader sense that it encouraged “civic virtue,” that is, good citizenship.²⁵

It is also probably not a coincidence that in the lecture he characterized Greek education as “general education,” a term that recalls Isocrates’ *enkyklios paideia*, and reflected Jaeger’s long-standing belief that in the United States, where Greek was little taught, the best curriculum was one that had the classical tradition at its core, but could reach a broad segment of the general university student population.²⁶ It is not surprising, therefore, that a little over a decade later, in 1948, he would recommend to his longtime friend, the educator Eduard Spranger,²⁷ as the best model for post-World War II German education, not the pre-1933 classical curriculum, but the Harvard model of General Education that had been adopted in 1945 and would dominate American university curricula for almost half a century.²⁸ Jaeger certainly never surrendered his pride in being a representative of the great German philological tradition, but as “The Essence of Classical Culture” indicates, within less than a year after his arrival in the United States he had also begun his transformation into an American educator.

Two copies of the talk survive and are preserved in the Archives of the University of Chicago, specifically in Box 37 of the Office of Vice President Records. One is the text of the talk as delivered by Jaeger on May 18 and the other, which is published in this paper, is the final polished version he submitted to the university administration. Both bear a title slightly different from that announced in the newspapers: “The Essence of Classical Culture.”

²⁵ Cf. Jaeger 1953, 9.

²⁶ Cf. Jaeger 1953, 17–19. Jaeger’s course on “Greek Political Thinkers,” which he taught as Sather Professor at Berkeley in 1934, was intended to be accessible to “philosophy students who did not know Greek (letter of Jaeger to I. Linforth, May 4, 1934 [Univ. of California, Berkeley Classics Department files]).” At Harvard Jaeger regularly taught a year-long course on Greek culture in the university’s General Education program until his retirement (Park 1983, 381).

²⁷ The letter is preserved in the Jaeger papers at Harvard University and was published by Manfred Overesch (1982, 116–121).

²⁸ The reference is to *General Education in a Free Society: Report of the Harvard Committee*, commonly known as the Red Book. Although Jaeger was not on the committee that developed the document, its principal author was his colleague and close friend, the committee secretary John Finley.

Text of the Lecture

The Essence of Classical Culture²⁹

by Werner W. Jaeger, Ph.D., Litt. D.

Professor of Greek, the University of Chicago

The Classics were handed down to us from the end of the ancient period to the present time by a continuous historical movement which has preserved in varying forms the abiding content of this spiritual possession.³⁰ It was in the first place a process of conscious tradition which was almost uninterrupted through two thousand years. It has been interrupted by some special high points of inner contact with ancient culture which we call renaissances or revivals and which coincided with the high points of cultural life in the history of the medieval and modern nations. Standing at the end of this historical curve and viewing its uniform rhythm we may ask for the cause of this amazing phenomenon of continuity and vitality. It goes without saying that this cause is to be found only in the inner structure of ancient civilization itself. At the same time a second question arises: what is or ought to be the position of classics in contemporary culture?³¹

A thousand answers have been given to both questions, each of them stressing a particular feature of this many-sided problem. But since we cannot discuss them in this limited account, I shall try to reduce them to one single answer which covers both questions. For the position of the classics in our present time must be based necessarily on the same quality which was the cause of their triumph in history. To define this quality, it would not be enough to enumerate all the individual inventions of the Greek genius in art and literature, science and philosophy, moral thought and political ideology. However highly we may esteem each of these achievements, one thing stands out above them all and

²⁹ At this point Jaeger inserted the following footnote: "An address delivered at the Goodman Theater May 18th, 1937, as part of a symposium on "What Our Civilization Owes to Greece and Rome."

³⁰ While Jaeger's English in this talk is remarkably fluent overall, his punctuation, which is reproduced here, is uneven, particularly his use of commas. Underlining reproduces Jaeger's emphases in the text.

³¹ In the delivered text the above paragraph replaced the original introductory paragraph: "The first speaker [sc. Richard McKeon] has presented a sketch of the historical movement by which the Classics were handed down to us from the end of the ancient period to the present time. Standing at the end of this curve and viewing its uniform rhythm we may ask the cause for this amazing phenomenon of continuity and vitality. It goes without saying that this cause is to be found only in the inner structure of ancient civilization itself. At the same time a second question arises: what is or ought to be the position of the Classics in contemporary culture?"

makes us understand them as a spiritual unity: this is the ideal scope which they were aimed at more and more consciously as Greek culture progressed. The Greeks referred all their creative work to one highest task: the formation of man. So they became the creators of a new form of living and thinking which we call culture. This concept since has become the distinctive mark and common link of all those nations which share in the Greek heritage. We call this Greek idea by a Latin word, because the Romans brought both the thing and the word for it to the Occidental world when they imposed their domination on the other nations and unified them in a tradition based on Greek civilization. Even [sic] since the downfall of the Roman Empire the nations which had begun their historical careers as parts of that Empire have been bound together by the common heritage of Greco-Roman culture, in which their descendants in the New World now likewise participate. All higher norms of human thought and action which modern nations have in common derive either from Christian religion or from Classical culture. To abandon this basis would mean for them to relapse into external isolation and barbarous primitivism; it would mean inner disruption and the complete loss of mutual understanding.

But is this thesis of the uniqueness of Classical culture compatible at all with the historical conception of the Ancient world which modern research has opened during the last hundred years? The discovery of the monumental civilizations of Egypt and Asia has aroused our admiration for the august age and the achievements of those nations compared with which the Greeks themselves felt like children. But this discovery itself discloses even more clearly the fact that none of these other nations produced a conscious ideal of culture in our Hellenic sense of the term. Even the word and with it the concept as such is missing in their languages. The intellectual and moral structure of their own systems of life is essentially different. We are able to recognize this more easily when we ask ourselves how the principles of their own civilizations differed from our cultural ideals. Either their systems were fundamentally religious in character e.g. the Law and the Prophets of the Jews or the Dharma of the Indians,³² or they were exclusively moral like the Confucianism which shaped the lives of the Chinese for many centuries, or exclusively militaristic or juridical like the Persian or Roman systems. None of these nations developed a literature or art, a science or philosophy in our sense of the term with the exception of the Romans who were the authors of the first Renaissance of Greek literature and culture. If nonetheless the abstract language of our modern Social Science uses the word “culture” unhesitatingly in the plural as a

³² At this point Jaeger deleted the following sentence: “These were the forms in which these nations propagated their civilizations.”

merely descriptive concept and speaks of the Persian or Indian or Egyptian cultures and even of the culture of primitive tribes, we shall be able to avoid rendering one of our highest concepts of value relative and almost meaningless only if we are aware that such a juxtaposition has no foundation in history. It is much the same as when e.g. some ancient Greeks speak of the Mosaic Genesis and Decalogue as the “philosophy of the Hebrews.” History knows only one system that is really dominated and illuminated by the conscious ideal of culture. This is the community of nations in which we are living. Thus, as far as culture is concerned, we are living in a hellenocentric system.

But what does it mean to say that the Greeks were the creators of culture? Our definition of Greek culture as a conscious ideal involves the danger of taking it as something abstract, whereas what I mean is a tendency which pervades all the creations of the Greek mind and determines their form. But let us take as an example Greek literature and views which the Greeks themselves held of poetry and spiritual creation. To them the work of art was never a mere object of esthetic pleasure as it to us. It was at the same time the bearer of an ethos, a feeling or intention of the artist which has sought expression and found it. It was true to life, not realistic in the narrow sense of mere verisimilitude, but true in the perfection or excellence of the object represented. The subject of their art is always man in all the essential relations of his existence to life, to nature, to the divine, and to destiny. Where poetry ceases and the contents of thought calls for prose — oratory, history, philosophy — the same rule holds. The literature of the Greeks offers thus a splendid spectacle: the striving of the human spirit for the abiding expression of its ideals, the molding of human excellence from the heroic stage of the epic to the later phase of the tragic, the political, the philosophical man. Homer is the herald of heroic virtue embodied in the chorus of national heroes fighting against Troy. His follower, Hesiod, set up in his epic *Works and Days* a parallel codification of the virtues of the working man. The poets Tyrtaeus and Solon become the great political teachers of their countrymen: the first of them by his praise of the Spartan ideal of valor with which he tries to inspire a whole community during a fatal war; the other, one of the Classical law-givers of history and a poetical representative of the spirit of democracy, deifies the ideal of an organic social order based on justice, lawfulness, and free self-responsibility. The lyric poets show for the first time the awakening of a free individuality conscious of the objective norms underlying its subjective feeling and expression. Tragedy deepens the inborn heroism of the Greek soul to the religious consciousness of the tragic character of life. It discovers the sources of tragic complications and models the immortal figures of suffering hu-

manity: Prometheus, Oedipus, Antigone. Comedy castigates the weaknesses of human nature. Historiography reveals the eternal struggle of right and might as the essence of political life. In the same ways Greek literature and poetry show all stages of human existence and its immanent laws and make the poet the very prophet and teacher of his nation, early Greek philosophy seeks the abiding laws of nature, and Greek art discovers for the first time the hidden plastic norms of the body, the general laws of anatomy, proportion, ponderation, motion, and perspective.

On this background we understand how the Greeks were able to formulate also the problem of education in an entirely new way. Education is common to all human races from the beginnings of civilization. It is based on the necessity of transferring to every new generation the standards of human life, which so far have been attained by the continuous struggle for existence and the maintenance of a long tradition. Men are brought up in the arts of peace and war and are taught to honor the gods and their parents. The Greeks set up a higher idea of education. The nation of artists and thinkers conceived the process of conscious formation of the living man. Nothing is equal to the philosophical earnestness and the creative power with which they approached this task. Simonides, the ancient poet, says:³³ “It is hard to become a man of perfect virtue constructed four-square with hands and feet and mind without blemish.” Indeed the Greek spirit faces this problem as a sort of architectonic task. Like the Greek artist or poet, the educator asks for the ideal laws and norms of human nature in order to express them in the individual. The earliest stage of Greek education, which we can trace back to Homer, was a combination of gymnastic and music. The harmony of body and soul is one of its basic features. Music means the arts of the Muses; it includes poetry and dance as well as vocal and instrumental music. We can understand from what has been said about the specific character of Greek poetry, why it is given so high a place in education. Poetry becomes in the Greek scheme the representative interpreter of life. In its higher forms it is far beyond the limits of any mere individual emotion or expression to which modern artists usually confine. The Greeks found in Homer and Sophocles not only entertainment and inspiration, but an expression of obligation. More and more the word culture or education (the Greeks say *paideia*) included the works of literature and thought in which the highest spiritual and moral ideas of the nation were embodied. The content of the word was enlarged again when, in connection with the educational problem, the Greeks became the investigators and discoverers of the

³³ Simonides Frag. 542 (Campbell).

typical forms of human thought, voice, speech, and action. They discovered the laws of musical harmony and the grammatical structure of human language. They taught how to distinguish force and shade of meaning of every word and how to adapt the various types of style which they brought into a rhetorical system, to the various parts of discourses and to the changing situations of life. They disclosed the laws of argumentation and logic as well as arithmetic, geometry, and stereometry, and referred the epoch-making knowledge of all these formal principles of the human mind to the task of the intellectual formation of men. We have inherited this form of education from the Greeks and since there is no civilized nation in the Western World which has not adopted their system, we all participate in their achievements even when we do not know their language.

The discovery of the disciplines just mentioned led to an immense extension of the intellectual part of education, to the new idea of a gymnastic training of the mind. It is interesting to see that at about the same time Greek medicine entered the circle of disciplines which contributed to the objective of human culture and accomplished a parallel enlargement of the somatic part of education. This also is an instructive example of what I called the educational attitude of the Greek genius. Although Greek medicine was already highly specialized and had its own special literature in the time of Hippocrates and his medical school, physicians of all schools endeavored to state their theories in a form intelligible to the public and to bridge the gap between specialists and laymen. The Greek physician turns from the sick to the healthy man and becomes his educator. He teaches him how to live, how to avoid the dangerous influence of the various seasons, the menace of epidemic diseases, the bad consequence of false diet, and how to find out by experience, conjecture, and tact the right mean of symmetry. The literature on diet increases rapidly and shows an incredible refinement. This new discipline is based on the assumption that nature itself is the greatest physician. The task of medicine is only to understand and to assist nature. Medicine must combine a tactful diplomacy, which is aware of the nature of the individual and his constitutional needs, with a tendency toward nature in the sense of the general norm and its measure. The whole life must be controlled by medical intelligence and is described in all its daily details. This literature gives an admirable picture of physical culture in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. and of the unifying influence which the cultural ideal exercised at that time on all branches of Greek life. This medical theory of diet is, as it were, the ethics of the body. Plato and Aristotle are full of praise of the medical art and imitate in their ethics the example of medical method. On the other hand medicine stands in close contact with philosophy. Comparing it with the beginnings of medical experience in Egypt, we may say

that Greek medicine developed its scientific character because of its close contact with the philosophical thought of the Greeks.

The Greek idea of education is opposed to all professionalism. The objective of education is not business but man, that is to say true education must develop man's nature and faculties as a whole and not merely make him fit for a technical job. Thus Greek education is general education, but this does not mean a mere formal training of man's mental and physical forces. The stress which is laid on the arts, i.e. on grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, and the mathematical disciplines, might give the opposite impressions, but this stage of the educational process is by no means final. According to Plato and Aristotle, it is only preparatory in character. Even among the Sophists who were the inventors of that formal training, there was a Protagoras who was aware of the fact that an education that was based chiefly on the formal arts would be too technical and would not make a man fit for a life within a community. To the Greeks a general education means a political education, if we take this word in its highest sense. Socrates' objection to the Sophists was that they did not attain this objective in making a young man a good public speaker by their formal training. But even Protagoras who initiated his pupils in the abstract theories of the recently invented Social Science did not satisfy the philosophical critics of the Socratic school. To the great philosophers of the fourth century, Plato and Aristotle, true civic virtue is based on the knowledge of the highest norms of human life moral and political. Such norms and ideals, as we have seen, had been heralded by the great poets who embodied them in their works and thus had become the spiritual law-givers of the Greek nation. But after the breakdown of all religious and moral traditions in public and private life during the Peloponnesian War, philosophy had to take over the educational mission from poetry. Turning from the lonely contemplation of the cosmos to the social problem of the present time, the philosophical mind tried to reestablish a system of life on a rational basis. In the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle Greek culture attains its most universal form and in this universal form it was able to conquer the world. On the other hand these architectonic systems are far from being empty constructions. Their so-called rational character is something very complicated. All sorts of empirical research, historical tradition and natural science have given to this philosophy its substantial foundation and received from it the most vigorous impulses for their own development. Plato's and Aristotle's philosophical solutions of the practical problems of human life presuppose a theoretical knowledge which comprises the totality of being. This was the hour of birth of the University in which the theoretical totality of knowledge is displayed under the practical scope of educating man and organizing human life. In the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle the development of

Greek education comes to its height. Education is no longer a training of youth. It claims the whole life of man and becomes the highest symbol of the metaphysical sense of human existence and striving. In schools and works of philosophy the Greek ideal of culture finds its last and highest manifestation. In this form which includes the earlier stages it has continued vital more than two thousand years beyond the political and national life of its authors.

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THE RECEPTION OF VERNANT IN THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING WORLD*

— OSWYN MURRAY —

ABSTRACT

Six Anglophone colleagues of Jean-Pierre Vernant (1914–2007) in Britain and the USA recall his influence on their lives and research: his importance for the history of mentalities and for the theory of alterity and structuralism are discussed, together with the influence of Ignace Meyerson's theory of psychologie historique. The article ends with personal reminiscences of friendship, and Oswyn Murray's obituary from The Independent newspaper, highlighting his career in the Resistance.

KEYWORDS

Jean-Pierre Vernant, Pierre Vidal-Naquet, altérité, mentalité, structuralism, l'imaginaire, Marxism, French Resistance, Greek rationality, Greek religion

Introduction

This article was originally written shortly after the death of Jean-Pierre Vernant in 2007, and completed by 2010 for a volume that finally appeared in French translation almost a decade later in *Relire Vernant*, eds. S. Geourgoudi and F. de Polignac (Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 2018) 291–316. It was intended, not as a definitive assessment of the impact of Vernant on Anglophone scholarship (which in truth was and is in general slight), but as the record of his personal influence on those scholars who were most closely associated with him and his 'École'. I therefore solicited the direct participation of all those known to me who had been at one time or another members of the group, and their contributions are clearly indicated.

In the meantime, in an effort supported by my collaborators, we struggled to find a place for our record to be available in English, and were grateful to our Croatian colleagues for a first publication in *Annales in*

* I am deeply grateful to those friends and colleagues who responded to my original request for enlightenment on their relations with Jipé: these were Richard Buxton, Page Dubois, Simon Goldhill, Geoffrey Lloyd, and Froma Zeitlin; as a consequence this is a truly collaborative attempt on the part of those who knew him to understand the importance of his work; and I am little more than an editor of our thoughts.

Perspective: Designs and Accomplishments, vol. 1, eds. D. Roksandić, F. and N. Šimetin Šegvić (Zagreb, 2019) 97–108. Now we are delighted that with the agreement of all concerned the article will finally be made widely available in *HCS*.

Two expert readers have objected to aspects of my characterisation in this historic document, firstly to my description of British and French scholarship around 1960, when I was a graduate student working in Oxford and London. But I can assure my readers that I do not exaggerate the dire state of Classical Studies in Britain and France during that distant period when many new ‘white tile’ universities (Essex, Sussex, Warwick, York) had decided not to include Classical Studies in their programmes because it was a dead subject. I may one day expand on the situation in Britain; for that in France I simply refer to a long forgotten article by myself on ‘André Aymard’, *Rivista Storica Italiana* 85 (1973) 217–21, and to the devastating chapters by François Dosse, ‘Un regard renouvelé sur la Grèce antique’, in *Pierre Vidal-Naquet: une vie* (La Découverte, 2020) chs. 10–15. The world has indeed changed since then, thanks not least to the efforts of my generation of ‘soixante-huitards’ on both sides of the Channel. The history of the Centre Gernet is also explored in the online publication by its successor, the group ANHIMA, which contains my formal ‘rapport’ for the EHESS written in 1997 on the retirement of Pierre Vidal-Naquet.¹

The second lack in the original article is the absence of one of the heroes of that generation, John Gould, who died in 2001 and therefore could not be invited to contribute. As Nick Fisher shows in his magnificent British Academy obituary (*Biographical Memoirs of Fellows of the British Academy*, XI, 239–63), John was perhaps throughout his life the most perceptive and influential protagonist of Vernant’s ideas in Britain.

Perhaps I may be allowed also to record my personal regret at one failed opportunity. Although I was of course aware of Vernant’s distinguished wartime career in the Resistance as Colonel Berthier,² I never discussed this with him, which was a pity since we had a close connection:

¹ ‘The External Rapport on the Centre Gernet 1996’, in François de Polignac (ed.) *Qu’est-ce que faire une école? Regards sur ‘L’école de Paris’*, *Cahiers mondes anciens* 13 (2020) (https://doi.org/10.4000/mondes_anciens.2654, last accessed 03.07.20).

² See J.-P. Vernant, *La traversée des frontières* (Paris, Le Seuil, 2004); Michel Goubet, Paul Debauges, *Histoire de la Résistance dans la Haute-Garonne* (Toulouse, Éditions Milan, 1986); Laurent Douzou, ‘Jean-Pierre Vernant résistant’, *Le Genre humain* 45–6 (2006) 13–17 (<https://www.cairn.info/revue-le-genre-humain-2006-1-page-13.htm>); and the websites: <https://www.ordredelaliberation.fr/fr/compagnons/jean-pierre-vernant>; <http://museedelaresistanceenligne.org/media1295-Jean-Pierre-Vernant>

my father Patrick Murray had been the civil servant in charge of Special Operations Executive (SOE), which was responsible for liaison with the Resistance and for providing them with military supplies. What conversations we might have had! So in honour of a great man, I have added to this article the obituary that I wrote for *The Independent* of 11th January 2007.

Finally it has been suggested to me that the article has a message for the present generation; this was not its primary intent, but I am happy if that is so.

*

The antediluvian state of classical studies in the Anglophone world of the early sixties was not so different from that in France. Scholarship was dominated by the absolute separation of ancient literature, history and philosophy into three unconnected disciplines. 'Literature' concerned itself with prose and verse composition between the ancient and modern languages and with textual criticism in the traditional sense — the discovery of the original *ipsissima verba* of a text assumed to have been written down by the author himself and corrupted over the centuries by careless copyists. The practice of literary criticism had been abandoned in the early twentieth century as a sentimental Victorian aberration; there remained only the notion of a literary tradition, based on the idea of a written text that had evolved in the private study of the writer without contact with any external world, but simply through consideration of his predecessors. 'Ancient history' was confined to the study of classical Greece and Rome of the late Republic and early Empire. History itself was deemed to consist of facts and dates, and to be concerned primarily with battles, political events and institutions, together with a form of practical agrarian economic history, originally designed to assist future British administrators in governing the Indian empire. There was always one and only one truth: the only uncertainties permitted were caused by the paucity of sources, and the generally agreed unreliability of our surviving historical texts, which it was the duty of the ancient historian to correct according to the demands of a modernising rational historical consensus. 'Ancient philosophy' dealt with the eternal validity (or alternatively the demonstrable incorrectness) of the views expressed in Plato's *Republic* and Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, without any reference to their other writings or to the world that they inhabited. The influence of German Jewish refugees from 1933 onwards had merely reinforced these various forms of philological positivism which were already endemic, and derived from nineteenth century admiration of German *Altertumswissenschaft*.

Since the situation in France was little better, it scarcely mattered that we were completely ignorant of French scholarship (though unlike the modern generation we could still speak and read the French language).³

For us younger scholars, who were the first generation to engage in organised doctoral research, three figures of the older generation stood out, all of them in one sense or another outsiders. In Oxford the Irishman E.R. Dodds in his revolutionary book, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (1951), and in his earlier commentary on Euripides *Bacchae* (first edition 1944), had suggested the relevance of psychology and anthropology to the study of ancient literature. The Italian refugee Arnaldo Momigliano, Professor at University College London, showed us how we could liberate ourselves from the straitjacket of positivism by studying the classical and continental tradition of the history of ideas. And in Cambridge the former Marxist Moses Finley, exiled from the United States by Senator McCarthy, revealed how economic history lay at the basis of any true understanding of the ancient world.

It was Finley (and later Momigliano) who first introduced us to the ideas and personalities of the 'École de Paris'; although neither of our mentors was particularly close in historical method to the preoccupations of Vernant and Vidal-Naquet. Finley may perhaps have been initially attracted to them by the fact that both of them had been and still were active in the left wing politics that he missed in contemporary Britain. But the author of *The World of Odysseus* (1954) also saw that the first book of Vernant, *Les Origines de la pensée grecque* (1962) was inspired by the same need that he had seen, to rethink the history of early Greece as a result of Michael Ventris' decipherment of Linear B. Both Vernant and Finley saw immediately the problem that the decipherment posed for the historian: how could this centralised Mycenaean palace economy, now proved to be Greek, relate to the archaic and classical world of the polis? Finley had sought a positivist economic solution in an interpretation of Homeric society as a product of the Dark Age, which was at this time only beginning to be studied by archaeologists. With this insight he inspired a generation of British archaeologists to move on from 'Homeric archaeology' as a form of antiquarian commentary on literary texts to the great achievements of the excavating age from Vincent Desborough to Mervyn Popham, John Boardman, Nicholas Coldstream, Anthony Snodgrass, and most recently Irene Lemos.

³ There were of course certain exceptions to my negative picture already beginning to emerge, notably R.P. Winnington-Ingram, Bernard Knox, John Sullivan, John Gould, and Peter Green; but these had hardly yet had time to produce much impact.

Vernant's answer was couched in terms of a change of mentality, and has in fact dominated the study of the ancient Greek world ever since. The problem as he saw it was not so much one of the different economies of the two systems, their land-tenure or their social structures. It was rather the development from a hierarchic and perhaps theocratic world to the rationality inherent in the principles of Greek thought; and the answer to the problem in his opinion lay in the creation of the public institutions of the Greek city-state, and in the development of a style of rational political argument. Almost everything that has been written since on the political history and the intellectual development of Greek thought still starts consciously or unconsciously from the questions that Vernant posed in 1962. This aspect of the influence of Vernant in the English-speaking world was well understood from the start, although its inherent contradiction with his emphasis on *alterité*, the difference between antiquity and the present, has never been fully recognised.

The name of Vernant was already well known in Britain by 1965, when (surely at the suggestion of Moses Finley) he was invited, together with Walter Burkert, to address the Triennial Conference of the classical societies of Britain at Oxford: the occasion was engraved on his memory as on mine. I was a young research student, and I was given the task of guiding him in the pronunciation of English. He had chosen to speak on a recently discovered fragment of an Alcman commentary, which made reference to the image of the 'seiche'.⁴ The word 'seiche' was completely new to me; I searched in the dictionary and offered him the translation 'cuttlefish'. But the word 'cuttlefish' at that time was equally unknown in English (except among fishmongers selling exotic fish); and in the delivery of his lecture the combination of this unfamiliar word, completely out of context as far as philologists were concerned, uttered in a heavy French accent, created in the lecture room (which was circular) an echo which ran continuously round the room — 'ze cootlefeesh, cootlefeesh, cootlefeesh,' — until the point that the audience themselves began to resemble a net full of cuttlefish, staring at the lecturer with open mouths. To begin with he thought that they were transfixed by his argument, but after a few minutes he realised that their amazement was due to the fact that they could not understand a word of what he was saying, and he was nevertheless forced to continue with his paper for another forty minutes. It is a moment in his professional career which he often recalled to me, and

⁴ See J.-P. Vernant, 'Thétis et le poème cosmogonique d'Alcman', in *Hommages à Marie Delcourt* (Brussels, Latomus, 1970) 38–69; revised in M. Detienne and J.-P. Vernant (eds.) *Les Ruses de l'intelligence. La mètis des Grecs* (Paris, Flammarion, 1974) 134–64.

because of which he remained resolutely Francophone for thirty years, until a visit to the monoglot United States with young French colleagues who were able to offer him better protection than I was. Late in his life, after the death of his wife, he began to experiment with English in Cambridge, translated by Valérie Huet. In 1999 his second visit to Oxford took place; I was instrumental in causing the University of Oxford to present Jipé with an honorary degree at the annual feast of Encaenia: in reply to my speech of welcome before the Faculty, he spoke long and eloquently, but of course in French.



Vernant in Oxford, chez les Murray, 1999

© Oswyn Murray

It is difficult to separate the influence of Vernant outside *Les Origines* from that of his colleague and collaborator Pierre Vidal-Naquet, although Pierre's relation to England was very different. His connection went back to his childhood: in his *Mémoires*⁵ he writes of his young governess, Miss

⁵ *Mémoires 1, La brisure et l'attente 1930–1955* (Paris, Seuil, 1995); *Mémoires 2, Le trouble et la lumière 1955–1998* (Paris, Le Seuil, 1998). These can now be supplemented by F. Dosse, *Pierre Vidal-Naquet, une vie* (Paris, La Découverte, 2020).

Mac, who introduced him to the famously chauvinist children's book on the history of England, *Our Island Story*, which begins with Queen Boadicea, courageous rebel against the Romans (prototype of Astérix), and King Alfred who burned the cakes, and continues with William the Conqueror, who managed to correct the fault of his French birth by his conquest of England, and finishes with Queen Victoria, empress of an empire on which the sun never sets. It seems that Pierre was so enamoured of England that there was talk of sending him to the most prestigious of all English schools, Eton. One wonders how his natural radicalism might have been affected by such early contacts with the English aristocracy — although Eton was of course also the school of the most famous of our left-wing writers, George Orwell. At any rate, since his wartime childhood Pierre was a passionate Anglophile who spoke English fluently and who knew the works of Shakespeare almost by heart. He was particularly proud of the honorary doctorate given to him by the University of Bristol in 1998, at the instigation of his English admirer, Richard Buxton. Pierre always felt at home in England: he loved to contrast the silence that followed the presentation of his ideas on the Black Hunter at the Société des Études Grecques in Paris in 1966 with the animated discussion among the anthropologists and historians of Cambridge, when he spoke there a year later. But in fact from an English perspective, Pierre too remained more French than he realised: the reception of his ideas in the Anglo-Saxon world always moved slowly and encountered fierce resistance.⁶

The first aspect of the thought of the 'École de Paris' that was important for the English was their conception of 'altérité'. But the alterities of Vernant and Vidal-Naquet were different from each other and were a good deal more subtle than the English realised. For Vidal-Naquet it was not an alterity that separates us from the Greeks: according to him it was necessary to see the problem as one that existed for the Greeks themselves. In his historical work Vidal-Naquet was always fascinated by those at the margins, those who were excluded from the status of citizens, wholly or in part; his research therefore concentrated on the mental world of groups such as artisans, adolescents, women and slaves. But in contrast to his contemporaries (at least in England) what interested him primarily was not their characteristic of being oppressed victims of the dominant culture. It is in fact the opinions of these outsiders which most closely resemble that view from the outside which is our own; it is they who can reveal to us the secrets of a society to which they also in some sense belong: they can serve as intermediaries between the dominant culture and ourselves.

⁶ See John Ma, 'Black Hunter Variations', *PCPS* 40 (1994) 49–80.

For Vernant alterity seemed to be something yet more internal. It consisted in the necessity of recognising the difference between ourselves and the Greeks, the need to ‘regarder la lune avec les yeux des Grecs’. One might say that, whereas Vidal-Naquet saw ancient society as a world in internal conflict, Vernant saw it as a unity opposed to the view from the exterior.

Initially it seemed to the English that Vernant and Vidal-Naquet were structuralists. In the preface to their first collection *Mythe et Tragédie*, they admitted that ‘la plupart des études réunies dans ce livre relèvent de ce qu’il est convenu d’appeler l’analyse structurale’, but what mattered to them was not a form of decoding, a decipherment of the myths to reveal an underlying binary structure, but what they called ‘la sociologie de la littérature et ce qu’on pourrait appeler une anthropologie historique’. What tragedy presents is not a myth, but the reflection of a myth in a social context — at the same time a reflection on myth and a communication through myth.

One of the earliest English disciples of the French school, Richard Gordon, tried to capture the essence of what he saw as this structuralist approach in a selection of translated essays by Marcel Detienne, Louis Gernet, Vernant and Vidal-Naquet, entitled *Myth, Religion and Society: Structuralist Essays* (Cambridge, 1981). These were some of the earliest translations from the French of the ‘École de Paris’ to appear; but they had little impact in comparison with the far more radical structuralist approach which was being presented in the discipline of anthropology by translators of Claude Lévi-Strauss.

In what follows I shall confine myself to those younger contemporaries of Vernant who had close contact with him, and formally acknowledged his influence. In Britain these include Geoffrey Lloyd, who was the centre of his influence in Cambridge and introduced Simon Goldhill to him, myself at Oxford, Simon Pembroke in London, Richard Buxton in Bristol, and in the USA James Redfield (Chicago), Charles Segal, Froma Zeitlin (Princeton) and Page duBois (San Diego).

For Britain it was individuals in the Cambridge Faculty of Classics who were the most important in the reception of French ideas; they perhaps saw the connection between an earlier Cambridge ‘school’ of ritualists, with Jane Harrison, James Frazer and F.M. Cornford; certainly they were much encouraged by the leading Cambridge anthropologist, Edmund Leach. Moses Finley sent a number of his pupils to study in Paris, notably Richard Gordon, Richard Winton and Richard Buxton — ‘les trois Richards’, as Vidal-Naquet christened them; although Finley himself did not always approve of the results. The influence on Richard

Buxton especially of his contact with the *École de Paris* has dominated his choice of research themes ever since.

Geoffrey Lloyd had already pursued a philosophical form of structuralism influenced by Durkheim and Lévi-Strauss in his first book, *Polarity and Analogy*, which was completed in 1957 but not published until 1966; at that time he was ignorant of the work of Vernant and Vidal-Naquet. He first met both of them in the house of Moses Finley during their visit to Cambridge in 1966; after that he was influential in introducing young Cambridge scholars to the ideas and to the institution of the Centre Gernet. His wife Janet (Ji) is in herself one of the most important sources of Vernant's Anglo-Saxon influence; for she has been responsible for a series of outstanding translations of works by Detienne, Vernant and Vidal-Naquet, from *The Gardens of Adonis* (1977), *Cunning Intelligence* (1978) to *Myth and Society* (1980), *Myth and Tragedy* (1981), and *Politics Ancient and Modern* (1985). But although Lloyd was perhaps inspired by Vernant's comparative approach (as by Joseph Needham) in his later work on wider traditions such as India and especially China, he has been led to offer radical criticisms of the classical French tradition of *mentalité* from Lucien Lévy-Bruhl to Marcel Granet and Jacques Le Goff, in his polemical work, *Demystifying Mentalities* (Cambridge, 1990). Although in two chapters (chs. 2 and 4) he seeks to distinguish Vernant's insistence on the causal relationship between political institutions, science, and tragedy in the Greek world from this approach, it is hard not to see Vernant as influenced by the unifying tendency in French social anthropology, in the terms that Lloyd (following Peter Burke) cites — '(1) the focus on the ideas or beliefs of collectivities rather than on those of individuals, (2) the inclusion, as important data, of unconscious as well as conscious assumptions, and (3) the focus on the structure of beliefs and their interrelations, as opposed to individual beliefs taken in isolation' (p. 4). This was surely a major part of the tradition of Durkheim and Louis Gernet that Vernant inherited.

In a later Cambridge generation, Simon Goldhill, who (as mentioned above) was introduced as an undergraduate to both Vernant's and Vidal-Naquet's work by Geoffrey Lloyd, regards Vernant's most important contribution as his

work on tragic language first and foremost; the work on *le moment tragique* secondly; then the whole apparatus of myth and 'pensée'. His openness and intellectual verve were of crucial importance, of course, but mostly what had an instant and lasting impact was a linguistics that went beyond the Victorian philology still dominating the field (I was

reading lots of linguistics in those days), and, secondly, a politics of theatre that went to the heart of tragedy as a civic event.

Vernant's general contribution is to be seen

partly in tragedy: everyone is post-Vernant now except for a few self-appointed hyper-conservative loons: we will never go back to naïve positive linguistics or the belief that tragedy has no contact with a world of politics and city life (I hope). There are now dozens of close readings of tragedies based on Vernant's insights. But his 'structuralist' analyses of myth are just as important in the general field of classics: the tri-partite systematization of man–beast–god; sacrifice as a system; food as signifying system; divinity as a network not as multiple monotheisms — these are all crucial and still being worked out — and taken for granted by everyone who works on ancient religion.

My own debt to Vernant is difficult to disentangle from my debt to Pierre Vidal-Naquet⁷ and more generally to the *équipe* of the Centre Louis Gernet, of which I regard myself as an honorary member. My closest academic friends have been the members of the Centre, and I spent three long periods in Paris as *professeur attaché*, two in rue Monsieur-le-Prince and the last in rue Vivienne; I am proud that my website of the *Bibliotheca Academica Translationum* (<http://bat.ehess.fr>) continues to be hosted by the Centre and its successor ANHIMA. When Pierre Vidal-Naquet retired, at a time when the Centre Gernet seemed to be threatened with closure, I was asked in June 1996 to write an official assessment for the EHESS of its international importance; my conclusion was:

The Centre may not compare in terms of facilities with the Institute of Advanced Study at Princeton, the Center for Hellenic Studies at Washington, All Souls College Oxford or the Wissenschaftskolleg in Berlin, but in terms of productivity and intellectual excitement it is superior to all of these. I have enjoyed my duties enormously, and I know where I would rather work, despite all the frustrations of French academic life.

I am told that my intervention on this occasion was indeed significant.⁸

⁷ See my obituary in *The Independent*, Friday 4 August 2006; and my chapter in *Pierre Vidal-Naquet, un historien dans la cite*, eds. François Hartog, Pauline Schmitt, Alain Schnapp (Paris, La Découverte, 1998) ch. 10.

⁸ See 'The External Rapport on the Centre Gernet 1996', in François de Polignac (ed.) *Qu'est-ce que faire une école? Regards sur 'L'école de Paris'*, *Cahiers mondes*

Certainly I was deeply influenced by reading *Les Origines*, as can be seen from the argument of my article ‘Cities of Reason’ (1987, 1990), which seeks to explain the problem of the difference and identity of Greek political thought in relation to the modern world.⁹ Beyond that I responded to the combination of history and philosophy that I recognised in both Vernant and Vidal-Naquet. My approach to the Greek symposium not only reflects a close collaboration with Pauline Schmitt Pantel and François Lissarrague; it also rests on the belief (learned at least in part from Vernant) that social rituals have a significance in the investigation of mental attitudes or *l’imaginaire*, and that the Greek experience should be viewed as a whole in art, philosophy, literature and history. The only aspect of Vernant’s thought that I have found difficult to assimilate is the idea that religion has an especially privileged position as an explanatory tool for understanding the Greeks; but in that I recognise that I am very much in a minority. If I were to try to characterise my personal approach to history, I would see it as acquired almost equally from Arnaldo Momigliano and from Vernant.

The move across the Atlantic was some ten years later than the start of the influence of Vernant on British culture, and is largely due to two individuals in the United States. Froma Zeitlin has described the importance of the influence of Vernant in her introduction to the translation of Vernant’s *Collected Essays*, two thirds of which were brilliantly translated by herself for the first time;¹⁰ more personally (see above, n. 1) she says:

Vernant was instrumental in my intellectual development from the moment that I discovered his work. My own involvement with Greek tragedy profited enormously from his structuralist approach: tragedy, more than any other genre, because of its tight organization and closed circuit, as it were, of language and event, lent itself to the construction of binaries and oppositions as a key to understanding the workings of drama. Jipé’s further insistence on the relations between tragedy and the society from which it arose and in which it remained embedded remained again a continuing source of enlightenment. A second strand of influence for me was his work on the image, a topic that engaged him for many years, was the subject of a number of his inquiries at the

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⁹ ‘Cities of Reason’, *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander*, eds. Oswyn Murray and Simon Price (Oxford, OUP, 1990) 1–25.

¹⁰ J.-P. Vernant, *Mortals and Immortals: Collected Essays*, ed. Froma Zeitlin (Princeton, Princeton UP, 1991) 3–24.

Collège and after. Starting already with Homer and focusing on the changes from the archaic to the classical period and the decisive intervention of Plato regarding the issues of mimesis, the mirror, the question of copy and model, and the gradual secularization of the image, he produced seminal work, whether on the *kolossos* or the eye of the Gorgon, and so much more. A final word on his engagement with matters of religion (his chair was in Comparative Religion), whether the nature of the gods (his piece on the body of the gods, for example, remains exemplary), the uses of ritual and cult, and his treatment of sacrifice in particular all contributed to the development of my own ideas. At the same time, the work he did with Detienne on *métis* in their collaborative volume on the nature of cunning intelligence stands for me as one of the finest pieces of scholarship I know, the source of endless ramification beyond the limits of that study.

Page duBois has also described the importance of Vernant for classical studies in her article for *Mètis*;¹¹ today she offers a different perspective from that of Froma Zeitlin:

For people in literary studies, I think Jipé was more influential than Pierre, who always seemed more of a historian than someone interested in what we call literary questions, although for Jipé they were not literary but cultural questions.

I see Jipé more within the context of Marxism than perhaps others do. His early work on Marx on the Greeks, on class struggle, was very important to me in reconciling 60's radicalism and anti-war activism with academic study of ancient Greece. He was always very engaged politically, although Pierre was better-known perhaps for contemporary interventions on questions of Algeria, torture, holocaust denial, etc. I think Jipé retained some elements of Marxist historicism in his approach, although he became estranged from official Stalinist politics. In the essays on Oedipus, I see the traces of a struggle between a rigorous historicism, in which the ideas of a particular historical moment are specific to that time, that place, and a desire to comment on the human condition in a more general sense. I actually found his collaboration with Marcel Detienne, the early encounter with Lévi-Straussian structuralism, to be fascinating, but problematic. The brilliance of Detienne's *Adonis* book seemed revelatory but shocking. Jipé's earlier work was so historically specific, and the book on *métis* left behind that specificity to range very far, from Homer into late sources. I found that disappointing at the time, and I think he continued to struggle with a

¹¹ 'Inscription, the Law and the Comic Body', *Mètis* 3 (1988) 69–84.

sense of a strongly rooted historical psychology, so influenced by Meyerson, and the temptations of a wider-ranging description of antiquity as an epoch.

I do agree that he created the scholarly world of many progressive classicists — undoing boundaries between sub-fields for many of us. But there were and continue to be real obstacles between those working on ancient culture in a broader sense, and those who do ‘literary studies’, philosophy, epigraphy. I think for some classicists the Parisian school seemed very radical at first; then it was domesticated and defanged in the U.S., to some degree. Like the work of Derrida and others, Jipé’s work on a few literary texts became exemplary, read in isolation from the rest of his work, and much of the radical purchase of his method, which was much more broadly cultural, was lost.

Behind all these different responses lies a general recognition of the importance of Vernant’s methodology, as much as of the positive results from his researches: it is his methods and style of approach that have had more importance than any particular theories or discoveries. One of the most important aspects of Vernant’s approach is that expressed in the title of his last work *La traversée des frontières* (Paris, 2004). For whether or not the present generation realises it, classical studies in the Anglophone world live in a post-Vernant age, in the sense that we cannot escape from the influence of his work — just as in other respects we are all post-Freudian, post-Marxist and post-structuralist, so we now inhabit a world that Vernant created, which results from his work on Greek myth and its use for reconstructing the history of the Greek mentality. It was his insistence that myth was *pensée*, that ideas were history, that texts were expressions of the mental world of a real and contemporary society which was in no way identical with our own, that the sphere of the *imaginaire* is the reality of history, that created the scholarly world we now all inhabit — a world where performance is a historical event, where tragedy is a public art, where poetry is created for an occasion, and where there are no longer any barriers between Greek literature, Greek philosophy and Greek history. Vernant’s achievement, not just in France, but throughout the world of classical scholarship, is indeed this unification of classical studies. And in that sense his gift to us is not so much in the conclusions of the articles and books that he wrote, but in presenting us with a new and unified method of research. So internalised, problematised, with all its uncertainties, the history of mentalities finally taught the English-speaking world that positivism must be abandoned.

In contrast to Pierre Vidal-Naquet, who has had more influence on historical studies, it is in literary studies that the impact of Vernant has been greatest, as Page duBois emphasised in her programmatic article for

Métis. And the work of Miriam Leonard seeks to continue this tradition for a new generation.¹² But more widely the old traditions die hard, and the present generation seems to be turning its back on the achievements of the ‘École de Paris’. It seems that the Anglo-Saxon classical world is once more fragmenting into a series of technical disciplines.

Only perhaps in one respect is the approach of Vernant still being actively pursued: as Froma Zeitlin observes, in his later work he became interested in the problems of perception and the image. In collaboration with Françoise Frontisi-Ducroux, and in parallel with the interest in iconography of other members of the Centre Gernet, he explored the changing modes of vision. He saw that in the archaic world the image was not representation but a double with independent power to act; it was Plato who created the modern conception of imitation. In modern Anglo-Saxon scholarship, whether consciously or not, this has found expression in a proliferation of studies on the body and the gaze.¹³

This leads me to reflect that we have never yet taken seriously the ideas that underlie the central insight of Vernant. The unifying theory beneath all the work of Vernant on comparatism, *mentalité, l’imaginaire*, was his belief in the importance of the ideas of his old comrade in the Resistance, Ignace Meyerson.¹⁴ As conceived by Meyerson, human psychology was both universal and historically determined: it embodied the response to basic human functions, perceptions and activities, such as space, time, work, the gaze. This theory, as Vernant saw, validated the comparative approach and the search for distinctive *mentalités* in different periods; it allowed for the historical development of psychological processes, while maintaining a materialistic framework. It made possible the search for *l’imaginaire*. And it especially established the importance of Greek literature and Greek myth in reconstructing how to ‘see the moon with the eyes of the Greeks’. A generation in which an epigraphic study of ancient Greek emotions, without reference to ancient philosophy or literature, can be awarded millions of pounds of public money reveals both how little the influence of Vernant has penetrated into the modern consciousness, and how essential it is that we return to his insights. For epigraphy is primarily concerned with words, whereas Vernant saw that

¹² Miriam Leonard, ‘Tragic Will and the Subject of Politics’, *Phoenix* 59 (2005) 133–42; *Athens in Paris* (Oxford, OUP, 2005).

¹³ For the English reader this is well highlighted by the selection of essays translated by Zeitlin and entitled ‘Image’ in part 3 of *Mortals and Immortals*.

¹⁴ On this important aspect of Vernant see the collection of his essays, *Passé et Présent. Contributions à une psychologie historique réunies par Riccardo Di Donato*, 2 vols. (Rome, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1995); and the section ‘Psychologie et anthropologie historiques’, in *Entre Mythe et Politique* (Paris, Le Seuil, 1996).

what was important was their changing meanings: ‘In this sense the psychologist can make his own the famous remark of Marx, that the whole of history is nothing more than the continuous transformation of human nature.’¹⁵

II

In collecting these various responses to the intellectual challenge posed by the work of Vernant it is obvious to me that the most important aspect of his legacy is the impact that his personality and his extraordinary gift for friendship had on those who met him, among Anglophone as among French-speaking colleagues. It is only possible fully to understand the significance of his influence from this point of view. So I end with some personal reminiscences offered by colleagues in Britain and the United States:

Geoffrey Lloyd

Ji and I first met both JPV and PVN at a dinner party given by Moses and Mary Finley at 9 Adams Road. That was in 1966; PVN refers to that dinner party or at least to the relevant visit to Cambridge in his *Mémoires*, where he speaks very warmly of his encounter with Simon Pembroke. Two little anecdotes: I gabbled on in my excitement and Moses at the other end of the table said ‘Geoffrey, you really ought to speak more slowly’. To which my reply was: ‘But Moses, I think it is OK. I am speaking French’. Then at the end of the evening, when we had left the house and were getting into our car, JPV came rushing out and said he was terribly sorry he had not realised who I was. Of course I was immensely touched.

Now as to *Polarity and Analogy*, the thesis on which it was based was written in 1957, though after several mishaps with CUP it only got to be published in 1966. But although I used a lot of Lévi-Strauss and quite a bit of more recherché anthropology (courtesy of Leach and Rodney Needham) I did not (to my undying shame) refer to either JPV or PVN. I was rightly chided for this in a (favourable) review of the book written by Jacques Brunschwig (PVN’s cousin). I don’t know whether Geoffrey Kirk, who was my titular supervisor (though I only saw him three or four times in three years) knew their work: but he never mentioned them, and he

¹⁵ ‘En ce sens, le psychologue peut faire sienne la formule célèbre de Marx selon laquelle l’histoire tout entière n’est qu’une transformation continue de la nature humaine.’ From ‘Histoire et psychologie’, in *Religions, histoires, raisons* (Paris, Maspero, 1979) 73, translated as ch. 15 in Zeitlin (ed.) 261–68.

was worried enough at that stage about my using Lévi-Strauss, suggesting it could get me turned down (eventually of course he made heavy use of him in his *Mythology* book, even asking me, in a nice volte-face, for advice on the subject). So JPV and PVN did not influence that first book of mine at all, though later of course I cited them profusely, particularly in ch. 4 of *Magic Reason and Experience* (1979), 'Greek science and Greek society'. The materials of that book were given as lectures in Paris in 1978, which was I think the first of many invitations I had, from JPV, PVN and later Nicole Loraux, to lecture at the Centre or at the Maison. From the beginning, JPV's *Origins* impressed me even more than PVN's *Cleisthenes*, but science as the child of the polis was the principal lesson I got from both.

Now let Ji talk about translating JPV:

I loved translating Jipé's books, not only because I learned so much from them and they were written so lucidly and elegantly, but also because, when I submitted my translations for his approval, he always responded so kindly and so helpfully. That has certainly not been my experience with everyone I have translated! I loved his books — and we both loved him.

As regards a wider interest in Cambridge, Moses spread the word. I think it was he who won Kirk round, but Leach was enthusiastic about the work at the Centre (writing a rave review of Ji's translation of *The Gardens of Adonis*) and John Dunn and Quentin Skinner got the message from Moses. Then of course there were the three Richards sent by Moses to the Centre. But there were of course plenty of stick-in-the-muds — as indeed there still are.

Richard Buxton

I first came across anything to do with French anthropology/mythology in my second year as an undergraduate at King's, when Geoffrey Lloyd was my tutor (1969–70). He recommended (I think in connection with an essay on the Presocratics — polarities etc.) *La pensée sauvage*. I was very taken with it, but didn't have much context for it, and much of it went over my head. Apart from Geoffrey, no one in Cambridge Classics that I then knew — I hadn't then been taught by Moses — had any interest whatever in this angle. But that certainly wasn't the case with King's *anthropologists*. Presumably under that influence I took a coach to Oxford to hear Lévi-Strauss lecture. As Eliot put it, I had the experience

but missed the meaning: fatally, L-S spoke in impossible English ('The Releshun-sheep beetween the Meet and the Reet ...').

As a postgraduate I asked to be supervised by Moses. In my second year (1972–73) he suggested I went to Paris. He fixed it with Henri van Effenterre (the director) that I could stay in the Maison des Provinces de France instead of the Maison Franco-Britannique; that was a great idea and decisive for my French.

My first and best point of contact was Pierre, meeting whom I found a life-changing experience. He was my de facto supervisor that year (during which time I had almost no contact with Moses). He took a great interest, was personally warm and tremendously exciting both intellectually and as a great, morally uplifting human being.

I went to seminar courses taught by Pierre, Marcel Detienne and JPV. Pierre was doing *Ajax* and *OC*, Detienne the 19/20th century historiography of myth, and JPV Hesiod. In those days of course there was no *Centre*: Pierre's seminars were in the rue de Varenne (nice room but smoky — Nicole Loraux got through a packet of 20 each seminar, it seemed), Detienne's in the Sorbonne and rue des Feuillantines (concrete floor; lots of ants in the spring); JPV in the Sorbonne only. Pierre's lecturing style was the least obviously gripping: a bit staccato, with pauses that weren't always dramatic. But the democratic feel of the seminars was a fabulous medium for learning: there I met F. Frontisi-Ducroux, Laurence Kahn, Pauline Schmitt Pantel, Alain and Annie Schnapp. Detienne was a brilliant speaker, but more of a showman; in him I found none of Pierre's genuine wish to involve the audience. JPV was the best speaker of all: glorious French, effortlessly riveting, yet with nothing whatever of the prima donna about him. The only occasion I ever saw him below par was after (it was said) he had just learned of his then failure to be elected to the Collège de France. I was in awe of him; I don't recall making a single intervention. In Detienne's seminars I was referred to as 'un de Finley's boys', and in a sense I performed this appointed role, which was, when I did pipe up, to counter the affirmation of synchronic structuralism by affirming the importance of the changing socio-historical context.

When I got back from Paris I gave Moses a piece on *OC* which I had written for Pierre. Pierre had praised it, but Moses rubbished it. In essence he said I had to unlearn at least half of what I had — from my perspective — gained in Paris. This was when I asked for a change of supervisor. Pat Easterling took over the job, which for me was perfect. The thesis eventually became *Persuasion in Greek Tragedy*, alias *Peitho*. Looking back, I can now see how the argument of the book grew out of my time in Paris. The general section on *peitho/dolos/bia* was a kind of structural background, followed by detailed analyses of the plays. I did

the same kind of thing in a 1980 *JHS* article on blindness: first the structure of the myths, then the detail on the plays. I was trying to reflect the approach of what I found the amazing *Mythe et tragédie* (not yet *Mythe et tragédie un*): to look for structures, but not to forget the individual contributions of dramatists. In *M et T* Pierre on *Philoctetes* and JPV on *OT* did that wonderfully.

In the years since 1973 I had regular contact with Pierre, very occasional but friendly contact with JPV, and no contact with MD. Along with John Gould — definitely another to add to the Anglo Reception list — I successfully proposed JPV for an honorary doctorate at Bristol in 1987. (I was delighted to hear JPV stress the fact that Bristol had honoured him *first*, in his acceptance speech when, many years later, Oxford gave him an honorary degree! Cambridge: never). In 1998 Pierre duly got *his* honorary doctorate at Bristol; it was certainly the proudest day of my academic life when I gave the oration. But I enormously respected JPV too.

Generalia:

1. Fundamental to understanding the influence of JPV is the notion of the *équipe*. His wartime record, and the related mutual admiration between him and Pierre, created a formidable bond which rubbed off on the next generation of scholars. It was tied in also with active political engagement; one of the lesser-known of Pierre's works is the massive collection of documents about the 'events' of 1968, edited by him and Alain Schnapp. There is clearly some degree of relationship between the Anglo reception of JPV/Pierre and politics: it was evident enough with Moses, and antithetically with Hugh Lloyd-Jones — the latter once used extremely fruity negative language to me about JPV, then visiting Oxford, and the reason was politics.

The downside of the *équipe* is the sense of separation between it and others. It's such a pity there was so little interaction between JPV and Burkert (all that potential for debate about sacrifice), and virtually none at all between JPV and Martin West.

2. Self-evidently, *structure* was at the heart of what JPV contributed: structure of the pantheon (Hermes/Hestia); structure of modes of thought (*Metis*). The focus on structure fed into the preoccupation with margins and liminality (JPV on Artemis) — an interface here with the approach, in Bremmer and others, which stressed initiation and other rites of passage, picking up on Pierre on *Philoctetes* also. The structure of the landscape too: I have tried to do something with this idea.

3. Equally self-evidently, the importance of *la cité* was crucial. The mantra of *Mythe et Tr.* is: tragedy is heroic myth viewed from the perspective of the city. This has been a long-lasting influence, notably in Simon Goldhill's work.
4. Again deriving from *M et Tr.*: the inherent *ambiguity* of tragedy. One can see this in lots of Anglo work of course: John Gould, Simon Goldhill, me.
5. Closely related: the *tensions* in the city. There are surely connections with Geoffrey Lloyd's work on competitive contexts, though Geoffrey takes the question in wholly fresh directions.
6. Among US scholars, Froma of course is important in *inter alia* developing matters of gender which neither Pierre nor JPV fully worked through. Note also though Charles Segal — a lot of his work was influenced by Paris.
7. To my knowledge the admiration for Simon Pembroke was Pierre's, and very strong it was. I'm not aware of JPV having a similar view, though I may be wrong.
8. The biggest facilitators of the Anglo reception of JPV and Pierre were undoubtedly Moses and Geoffrey — *and Ji*: one absolutely mustn't underestimate the significance of her series of translations.

Froma Zeitlin

Jipé entered my life in a strange roundabout way. I had discovered *Mythe et pensée* myself in the Columbia library in 1970, when I was finished my doctoral dissertation on Ritual in Greek Tragedy and was looking for something new to read. I was mesmerized from the first by the new concepts and brilliant analyses of both familiar and unfamiliar texts and ideas. I later discovered that the person I had thought was Jean-Pierre Vernant was the same as Jipé, the husband of Lida, the cousin on her mother's side of my very best friend from elementary school days, to whom she often referred. Lida Vernant came from the same émigré background as did my friend, Mathilde Naiditch (Klein), whose family fled Russia to France after the Revolution. While the Naiditchs again fled France for the US in 1940, Lida remained in France and, already married to Jipé, eventually spent the war in hiding, while Jipé became a hero of the Resistance. After the war, the two families again picked up their relationship with the same intimacy on both sides of the Atlantic. After making my astonishing discovery, I had the opportunity to meet Jipé when he visited my friend in New York. Needless to say, I leapt at the chance, despite my then impoverished French (from high school). That was the beginning — already anticipated, as it seems, by Jipé's discovery

of one of the first essays I ever published (“The Motif of the Corrupted Sacrifice in the *Oresteia*”), a copy of which he found in my friend’s house and seized upon in turn for Pierre Vidal-Naquet, who was working on a similar topic. A small world indeed. But my real relationship with Jipé began in the fall of 1975 when I went to Paris for several months on an NEH fellowship. It was the time of Jipé’s inauguration into the Collège de France, which I had the good fortune to attend, and I then met all the rest of the *équipe* — Marcel Detienne, Pierre Vidal-Naquet, Nicole Loraux (who had just become a *maître assistant* at the *École des Hautes Etudes*), François Hartog, Alain Schnapp (archaeology), Jesper Svenbro, and other visitors like myself. I recall being astonished at the collaborative venture in which they engaged: they attended one another’s seminars; they planned programs with foreign visitors; and they were full of ideas. Nicole Loraux especially impressed me, with her combination of literary and historical acumen, even at the time when she had newly returned to Paris from Strasbourg to take up a brilliant career that was tragically foreshortened many years later when she had a stroke at the age of 51 from which she never really recovered. I cannot recall now whether I met the iconologues at this time or at a later visit (François Lissarrague, Françoise Frontisi-Ducroux, Jean-Pierre Darmon [Roman mosaics], along with Alain Schnapp), but they too belonged to the ‘family’ as it were, into which I was included as a life-long member. Some years later, I served as *Directeur d’Études Associé* in the Collège de France (1981–82) under Jipé, at which time I gave a series of lectures (in French). I also subsequently edited (with an introduction) a series of essays by Jipé (*Mortals and Immortals*), published by Princeton University Press in 1991, but Jipé had already made several trips to Princeton where he lectured, as I recall, on Eros, on the Gorgon, and finally, on Odysseus. We solved the Anglophone problem by translating and distributing his paper to the audience, which left Jipé, with his wonderful Gallic expressiveness, to make his listeners feel that they actually understood French.

My relationship with him deepened still further when his beloved Lida was stricken with Alzheimer’s (at the time, much less known than now), and I spent numerous hours with the two of them and later with him alone at his house in Sèvres that was piled high with books and papers. His other life, his political one, especially as a hero of the Resistance (he was awarded the coveted title of *Compagnon de la Libération*), and his numerous friendships with an entire coterie of admirers and comrades supplied a seemingly endless series of stories, told with humor and verve, in the style for which he became famous. I was privileged to share these private moments with him at home (or in his office later at the Collège, when he was served faithfully by Françoise Frontisi

(his assistant) and François Lissarrague, both of whom looked after him, especially after his retirement from the Collège. His had not been an easy life: his father died soon after he was born; his mother died when he was 8. He and his brother Jacques were raised by his father's aunt (and his mother's grandparents), and yet, he never dwelled on these losses. Rather, I and many others marveled at his equanimity of temperament and generosity towards others (even his detractors), his ability to rise above petty issues, but fierce in his defense of his own ideals, and, perhaps, above all, his willingness to listen, no matter to what and to whom (*Jipé écoute*, we always said). In a sense, it is impossible to separate the man from what he accomplished in virtually every endeavor he undertook. He was a master of tact and possessed a quite remarkable sensibility, when it came to human interaction. I will recount just one small example. In my introduction to the volume, *Mortals and Immortals*, I had made ample use of the metaphor of the mirror, as a way of situating him in his French milieu, milking it for its extension to reflection as to the very idea of an image. I took my cue from his own work on Greek ideas of the mirror, which I had included in the collection. I sent the introduction to him and received in return a telegram (only Jipé continued to use the old-fashioned telegram), and it said 'au miroir parfait de ton texte, je suis beaucoup plus beau que nature'. *Le mot juste* on the one hand (he understood exactly what I had meant), and a characteristic modesty, on the other.

Page duBois

As to my personal relations with Jipé: I attended his lectures at the Collège de France, and after one of them went up and introduced myself, because I had translated one of his Oedipus essays, commissioned by the American Marxist Fredric Jameson, for *New Literary History*. We became friends and he invited me to lecture at the Collège. I learned so much from him, admired him so much, and saw him as a political model, since classicists in the US seemed to me at the time methodologically unconscious and very conservative both in their intellectual work and in their engagement with US imperialism, etc. He always seemed sympathetic to the left in America, although deeply contemptuous that the US government had denied him a visa to enter the country because of his previous membership in the French Communist party.

He came to speak at UCSD when for some reason the Lacanian Daniel Sibony was visiting, Sibony questioned him sharply about the Freudian Oedipus and Jipé refused to be drawn, making it quite clear that his

conviction concerning historicism, in the sense I alluded to above, extended to 'the Oedipus', and that he was not in the least interested in a psychoanalytic interpretation of the mask, his topic of the day.

On another visit (?), he coincided with Jacques Derrida, who was teaching or lecturing at UCSD. We organized a joint party, with the devotees of both great men. I brought Jipé to the party. Derrida was already there, and there was a bit of tension as they sighted one another across the crowded room. They knew each other, of course, from Paris, and Derrida had used Jipé's work on the *φάρμακός* extensively in his essay 'La pharmacie de Platon'. There was a moment of hesitation, and I could see that Derrida was waiting. Jipé, with characteristic generosity, modesty and good will, walked over to him and shook his hand, and Derrida received him. Very like Jipé not to insist on his seniority and superiority, in my view.

I loved visiting him and Lida in Sèvres; he would arrive at the train station in a battered Deux Chevaux and we would have a beautiful Sunday lunch and walk in the garden. After she so sadly died, he took me to lunch at Balzar on the Boulevard Saint-Germain and we reminisced. He very much enjoyed that nostalgic atmosphere. And I saw him at Froma's and George's apartment in New York, where he seemed exhilarated by the city, and was protected most kindly, gently and almost surreptitiously by François Lissarrague and Françoise Frontisi-Ducroux.

For me, the idea that influenced me most was the notion of totality, in a Marxist sense; that the thinking of a society is the ideas of a historically specific moment, that material practices, cultural poetics, exist within a horizon. He rejected a developmental, Hegelian, Engelsian 'myth to reason' sort of model eventually, but retained this sense of a historical whole, a structuralist version of correspondence and internal relations within and between autonomous domains of society.

I agree that methods and approach have been more influential than particular discoveries. I don't really know Meyerson's work, except as an influence on Jipé; when I introduced him at UCSD, once, and mentioned M., he seemed pleased and touched to be associated with his old comrade.

As for his personal impact of him on me, I adored him. He was a benign and generous patron, always kind and encouraging. He would correct me gently if he thought I was going off track — once I said that I had been shocked at what seemed to me a strange anti-Semitism in the work of Simone Weil, and he said: 'Mais elle était quand-même une personne assez remarquable'.

I do think many classicists in the US never really took account of how important politics and Marxism were to him. The work of Marx, even Althusser, continues to influence my understanding of his theoretical

position. And I think many classicists thought the Parisian school was dangerous, sloppy, too ambitious and insufficiently positivist and returned gratefully to the previous division of labor in the discipline.

Oswyn Murray
*Obituary of Jean-Pierre Vernant*¹⁶

Towards the end of his long life Jean-Pierre Vernant was asked whether he saw any connection between his wartime exploits and his work as a scholar. Surprised by the question, he reflected briefly, and replied that perhaps his later obsession with the figure of Achilles and the concept of the youthful heroic death (*la belle mort*) did indeed reflect the experiences of himself and his friends in the Resistance.

Vernant was born in 1914, the son of a father who was killed in the First War; in 1937 he passed out top in the *agrégation* in philosophy for the whole of France, shortly after his brother had achieved the same distinction. Discharged from the army after the fall of France, the two found themselves in Narbonne in August 1940 at the height of the anti-British feeling caused by the destruction of the French fleet at Mers-el-Kebir with the loss of 1300 French sailors; their first known act of defiance was to paste the walls of the city with the slogan, *Vive l'Angleterre pour que vive la France* (long live England that France may live).

In 1940 at the age of 26 Vernant was appointed philosophy teacher at the main boys' school in Toulouse; his pupils did not guess the other life of their young professor. He helped form the *Armée Secrète* in 1942, and by the end of the war, as Colonel Berthier of the *Forces Françaises de l'Intérieur*, was commander of the entire Resistance movement in Haute-Garonne, organising the liberation of Toulouse on 19–20 August 1944. His ability to unify the many independent groups made Toulouse a centre of the Resistance and one of the most active theatres of clandestine warfare in France. Assisted by sympathisers in the railways, the police, the factories and local government, from among the refugees from Fascist Italy and the Spanish civil war and French Jewish refugees from the north, with the help of military supplies spirited away from the army at the fall of France or dropped by the British SOE, their operations included disrupting railway and road supplies, sabotaging factory production, executing collaborators and organising the main escape route to Spain for allied pilots who escaped or were shot down. A potentially disastrous

¹⁶ First published in *The Independent* on 11th January 2007.

police raid on their headquarters in October 1943 led to the capture of five members and the movement's records. A message was sent to the prefect of police, that if any of these records were transmitted to the Germans he would personally be executed on the orders of London: the records disappeared. Three agents were sprung with the help of a technique subsequently used often again, involving the fabrication of orders for their immediate release written on genuine official paper, and sent by official courier precisely at the last moment on Saturday before the closure of all offices for the weekend, when no telephone message could be sent to query the order. A forged official confirmation arrived on Monday; and the operation was repeated for the other two people arrested. So successful was this method that after the war the French government refused the title of member of the resistance to one of Vernant's team, because his record showed that he had been officially declared to be a collaborator.



Le Résistant au grand jour de la Libération: J.-P.Vernant
(Goubet, Debauges, *Histoire de la Résistance dans la Haute-Garonne*, 31)

Vernant himself escaped arrest partly because (as he later discovered) his government dossier had become inextricably confused with that of his brother: when finally in spring 1944 he was about to be 'dismissed' by the Vichy education authorities and handed over to the French fascist organisation known as the Milice, he received two anonymous letters (both misspelling his name in different ways) warning him not to trust the headmaster or the school inspector, and went into hiding. After the war he was surprised to find that there was no record of any decision to dismiss (or reinstate) him in the archives, and finally concluded that, though a decision had indeed been taken, it had not been recorded because the authorities had postponed action over the holidays, being unwilling to commit themselves to anything at this stage of the war. Instead when the war was over, he received promotion and a letter of commendation for his 'professional qualities and civic courage' signed by the very same inspector whom he suspected of denouncing him. Otherwise he was given little recognition, since in their efforts to re-establish conservative control of France, the Allies, de Gaulle and the French establishment united in refusing to recognise the populist Resistance movements, which were dominated by the left. Vernant himself was a member of the Communist Party from 1932 intermittently until 1970; but his independence from the party line dates from the Hitler–Stalin pact of 1939, and he was often publicly critical of the party, regarding himself as a Marxist rather than a party member.

His experiences in Vichy France taught Vernant that official history and official records were a worthless farrago of falsehoods; and the memory of his fellow fighters in the hour of victory was scarcely more reliable. The success of the Resistance had been due to the fact that it had created an alternative structure of 'reality' that ran alongside the structures of the Vichy regime; the only truth was the psychological experience of the group, as Tolstoy had understood it — *mes copains*, Vernant called them. Returning to academic life he began a thesis on the notion of work in Plato, and pursued a form of research into Greek civilisation inspired by the social psychology of his colleague in the Resistance, Ignace Meyerson: he sought to understand the specifically Greek conceptions of those general ideas common to all human experience, like labour, value, time, space, memory, the will and the person, imagination and sacrifice, or the difference between us and them, Greeks and barbarians (*altérité*). Between 1948 and 1962 he followed the seminars of Louis Gernet, veteran sociologist and pupil of Durkheim. From these two influences he developed one of the first and most successful approaches in the *histoire des mentalités*. He was always open to new ideas, being editorial secretary for

the *Journal de Psychologie* in the Fifties, and later embracing anthropology and structuralism without becoming imprisoned by them. Never a man to waste words, his first book of 130 pages, *Les Origines de la Pensée Grecque* (1962), changed the history of Greek studies: in the wake of the decipherment of Linear B it asked the simple questions, what is the relationship between the newly discovered Mycenaean world of palace bureaucracies and the invention of rationality by the Greeks, and how does Greek rationality relate to modern ideas; to him the answers lay in the democratic political experience of archaic Greece, and the forms of verbal exchange developed in relation to civic duties. In this book he posed the fundamental questions which have been the starting-point for all studies of ancient Greece for the last sixty years. His later work concentrated on the place of religion in Greek society and the evidence of literature and art for Greek social forms.

In 1948 Vernant entered the CNRS and in 1958 joined the group around Fernand Braudel in the *VIe section* of the *École Pratique des Hautes Etudes* (later the *EHESS*), in 1964 he established his own research centre in the house of Auguste Comte, devoted to ‘comparative research on ancient societies’: initially the group included experts not only on ancient Greece and Rome but also on Assyria, Egypt, India, China and Africa, and a number of anthropologists. Religion was treated as a central aspect of all societies, which must be studied for their unifying principles. The Centre became the focus of intellectual activity in comparative history throughout Europe and the United States: everyone would make the pilgrimage to the cramped collection of rooms in rue Monsieur-le-Prince. Slowly, and to the regret of Vernant himself, the pressures of academic life and the interests of enthusiastic young researchers pushed the focus of the Centre towards the classical world, until by the time he handed over its direction to his friend and collaborator Pierre Vidal-Naquet (obituary: *The Independent*, 4 August 2006), it had emerged as the centre for a new type of Greek and Roman history. Once again, as during the war, he had created an alternative structure of subversion alongside the official academic cursus: when the events of 1968 arrived, it was members of the Centre who took over control of classical studies in the universities, and the Centre Louis Gernet became the most important institution in the world for the study of Greek civilization. He was proud of having established what an outsider called the ‘École de Paris’: ‘neither my work nor my life nor my personality can be separated from the team: ... may the Centre continue. A living research team is an institution and a sort of family, with all its tensions.’ Although he always remained closely connected to the Centre, from 1975 to 1984 Vernant was Professor at the

Collège de France in the comparative history of ancient religions, where his lectures were famous for the clarity and elegance of their French style.

The charisma of Jipé (as he was called by all his disciples) rested on the warmth of his personality: he always used the ‘tu’ form and recognised you as a fellow worker whatever your age; in seminars he had an uncanny ability to understand what the speaker really meant (*Jipé écoute*), and to formulate it afterwards to the speaker privately. As an orphan he had built his life on friendship: it was easy to understand how people could have risked their lives for him. Once he told the story of how he came to acquire a holiday house on the exclusive island of Belle-Ile. For many years he and his adored wife Lida (the daughter of Russian émigrés, whom he had met in 1932 when she was 14, and married in 1939) had rented the house for holidays; one day the owner came to him to say that he had to sell. Regretfully Jipé said that he could not possibly afford to buy it. ‘You don’t understand’, the owner said, ‘I want to sell it to you. Tell me the price (*dîtes-moi le prix*).’

Jipé was a very private person, who refused to write his memoirs, and accepted the honours heaped on him simply as the gifts of friends. He retained his mental and physical powers until the end, and was a champion swimmer able to outpace all rivals even in his late eighties. He nursed his wife until her death from Alzheimer’s in their idyllic Russian-style house at Sèvres outside Paris; their only daughter died soon after. But he continued to retain his positive attitude to life, looked after by his son-in-law and surrounded by disciples and friends, the most loved and revered classical scholar of his age.

Jean-Pierre Vernant, Resistance leader and classical scholar: born Provins 4 Jan 1914, died Sèvres 9 Jan 2007; Directeur d’Études, École Pratique des Hautes Études 1958–75; Directeur, Centre de recherches comparées sur les sociétés anciennes 1964–75; Professeur, Collège de France 1975–84; married Lida Nahimovitch/Josefson 1939 (died 1992); one daughter. Compagnon de la Libération; Commandeur de la Légion d’Honneur; honorary doctor of the Universities of Bristol, Brno, Chicago, Crete, Naples, and Oxford.

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CICERO'S IMAGE IN AMERICA AND THE DISCOVERY OF *DE REPUBLICA*

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edited by Stanley M. Burstein

ABSTRACT

The discovery by Cardinal Angelo Mai in 1819 of extensive portions of Cicero's De Republica aroused great interest in the United States. Within a decade Americans had published an edition of the Latin text and the first English translation of the new work as well as numerous articles about its contemporary relevance. This paper analyzes how conservative intellectuals found in De Republica support for their critique of democratic trends in American politics connected with the popularity of Andrew Jackson, whom they viewed as a potential military dictator like Julius Caesar. Also highlighted in the article is the tension between this traditional approach to the reading of a Ciceronian text and the historicizing tendencies of the new German philological scholarship that was beginning to make itself felt in the United States in the 1820s.

KEYWORDS

*Cicero, De Republica, John Quincy Adams,
Andrew Jackson, Mixed Constitution, Conservatism*

The paper is the last work of David Wiesen (May 27, 1936 – August 16, 1982), and is published here with the permission of his family. David was educated at Harvard University, receiving his Ph.D. in Classics in 1961. He taught at Swarthmore, Brandeis University and was at the time of his death Professor of Classics and Dean of Humanities at the University of Southern California. David was best known for his work on Latin satire, particularly on Juvenal, and his edition of Books 8–11 of St. Augustine's *City of God* in the Loeb Classical Library (1965) and his important monograph, *St. Jerome as Satirist* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1964). This paper, however, belongs to a different strand of his scholarship, the study of the Classical Tradition in Early America. Like many American classicists, David's interest in this subject was inspired by the bicentennial of the American Revolution. What distinguished his studies on the classical tradition in the United States was his interest in how Americans used classical texts to discuss fundamental issues in American intellectual history including:

the place of Ancient History in education,¹ racial thought,² and slavery.³ In this paper — which survives as a typescript of 23 pages of text and 11 of notes — he uses the reaction of American intellectuals to the discovery of Cicero's *De Republica* to trace changes in how Classical texts were read in the United States between the late eighteenth and the mid-nineteenth century.

David's work belongs to the beginnings of serious scholarship on the Classical Tradition in the early United States. Scholarship has expanded significantly since this paper was written, so a full bibliography would be impossible. For persons wishing to follow up the themes discussed in this paper, however, the following studies would be useful. Still fundamental is the pioneering work of Meyer Reinhold, *Classica Americana: The Greek and Roman Heritage in the United States* (Detroit, 1984). For the classics in eighteenth century America in general, see Carl J. Richard, *The Founders and the Classics: Greece, Rome, and the American Enlightenment* (Cambridge, Mass., 1994). The fullest treatment of the Classics in early nineteenth century America is Carl J. Richard, *The Golden Age of the Classics in America: Greece, Rome, and the Antebellum United States* (Cambridge, Mass., 2009). The Classics in nineteenth century American education is treated in Caroline Winterer, *The Culture of Classicism: Ancient Greece and Rome in American Intellectual Life 1780–1910* (Baltimore, 2002) and *The Mirror of Antiquity: American Women and the Classical Tradition, 1750–1900* (Ithaca, 2007). Important studies of Rome in American popular culture are Margaret Malamud, *Ancient Rome and Modern America* (Chichester, 2009), Eran Shalev, *Rome Reborn on Western Shores: Historical Imagination and the Creation of the American Republic* (Charlotte, 2009), and Maria Wyke, *Caesar in the USA* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2012). Margaret Malamud also has provided a lucid analysis of the role the Classics played in the abolition controversy, *African Americans and the Classics: Antiquity, Abolition and Activism* (London, 2019).

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¹ David S. Wiesen, "Ancient History and Early American Education," in Susan Ford Wiltshire (ed.), *The Usefulness of Classical Learning in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1977), 53–69.

² David S. Wiesen, "The Contribution of Antiquity to American Racial Thought," in John W. Eadie (ed.), *Classical Traditions in Early America* (Ann Arbor, 1976), 191–212.

³ David S. Wiesen, "Herodotus and the Modern Debate over Race and Slavery," *The Ancient World*, 3 (1980), 3–16.



CICERO'S IMAGE IN AMERICA AND THE DISCOVERY OF *DE REPUBLICA*

“**T**he traffic between Rome and those who would use her has been very heavy for a long time,” a noted critic has written, “carrying freight of many directions at many levels of purpose.”⁴ To political theorists, for instance, from the revival of learning until the nineteenth century, Rome was the great magazine whose ample stores supplied the ideas, the vocabulary, and the models of virtue and vice that clarified and enriched discussions of the art of government. The pages of Livy provided the Renaissance with the raw material from which political theory was spun. The early eighteenth century found in Tacitus a strong ally against arbitrary government. Cicero's works, however, were so varied and rich that each period found in either the orator, or the practical statesman, or the theorist of government valuable sources of information and inspiration — rhetorical, stylistic, philosophical, and historical. For each age there was a different Cicero. The purpose of the present work is to contrast the Cicero familiar to Americans of the revolutionary era with the Cicero of a half-century later, at the time when the newly discovered text of *De Republica* reached the shores of America. We will be able to see, in the reactions of Americans to this long sought work, how intimately bound up classical reading was with contemporary issues, and how the uses to which Cicero's texts were put provide a valuable guide to changing views of the debt owed by the present to the past. We will also be able to understand better the process by which familiarity with the classics ceased to be a concern of literate men in general in early nineteenth century America and became the possession of an elite with a special outlook on their times.

Among British libertarian political writers of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, those classical republicans and Radical Whigs whose works were to shape decisively the ideology of the American Revolution, no individual model from history was more thoroughly admired than Cicero. An early Commonwealthman, Henry Neville, in 1659 publicly declared a preference for reading Cicero over the Bible, for which irreverence he was nearly expelled from Parliament.⁵ In the

⁴ Robert Adams, *The Roman Stamp* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and New York, 1974), p. 24.

⁵ *Two English Republican Tracts*, ed. by Caroline Robbins (Cambridge, 1969), p. 9.

preface to his *Discourse on Government* Algernon Sidney named Cicero as a primary “assertor of liberty.” The pages of Trenchard and Gordon’s *Independent Whig* and *Cato’s Letters*, those treasuries of libertarian ideas, celebrated Cicero as the paradigmatic opponent of arbitrary government.⁶ The Abbé de Vertot, whose account of *The Revolutions that Happened in the Roman Republic* was one of the favorite history texts of the eighteenth century Englishmen, called Rome the “nurse of freedom” and Cicero its intrepid defender.⁷ The advocates of civil freedom, in their efforts to promote a system of government whose sanctions were not drawn from revelation, had recourse to three secular bases of authority: nature, reason, and experience — the political experience of mankind as embodied in history’s record. To support and illustrate these principles, classical literature in general provided an incomparable repository of fact and theory. But of all individual writers, Cicero was the most useful.⁸ In *De Legibus*, Cicero had passed on to European thought the Stoic doctrine of the law of nature above that of any government, the law upon which the rights of mankind were founded.⁹ Secondly, Cicero had managed in his own life to combine an active career of political leadership with philosophic studies that brought the force of reason to bear on moral and political issues. As for experience, had any political leader faced more varied dangers, from corrupt aristocrats, unruly mobs, and power-mad tyrants?

The British libertarian tradition was very rapidly transmitted to America and widely appreciated there from the Hanoverian succession until the Revolution, and a revolutionary Cicero was part of the import.¹⁰

⁶ *The English Libertarian Heritage*, ed. by David L. Jacobson (Indianapolis, New York, and Kansas City, 1965), pp. 72, 206, 258; Caroline Robbins, *The Eighteenth Century Commonwealthmen* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), pp. 19, 291–92; Zera Fink, *The Classical Republicans* (Evanston, Ill., 1945), pp. 5–8, 26, 193. Fink seems unaware that *De Republica* was not available in the seventeenth century.

⁷ On the adaptation of ancient history by the Radical Whigs, see H. Trevor Colbourn, *The Lamp of Experience* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1965).

⁸ For the influence of Cicero on modern thought, see Tadeusz Zieliński, *Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte* (3rd ed., Leipzig and Berlin, 1912); Bruno Weil, *2000 Jahre Cicero* (Zurich and Stuttgart, 1962); Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), pp. 23–26. The subject has never been fully treated.

⁹ See Benjamin F. Wright, *American Interpretations of Natural Law* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), p. 5 ff. The natural law tradition was mediated chiefly through Grotius, Pufendorf, and Burlamaqui. See M. Reinhold, “Eighteenth Century American Political Thought,” in Robert R. Bolgar, *Classical Influences on Western Thought, AD 1650–1870* (Cambridge, 1978), pp. 226–27.

¹⁰ Bailyn, *op. cit.*, pp. 43–44.

Thus while school boys in the colonies continued to study Tully's *Offices* and *Ends*, among the wider literate public the image of Cicero, defender of Liberty, took shape, made up of the following pieces: the great public speeches of denunciation, i.e., the *Catilinarians* and *Philippics*, certain key passages of *De Legibus*, and Plutarch's *Life* — all of which material was passed through the shaping hands of Whig interpreters, the most important of whom was probably Conyers Middleton, a Cambridge trained classicist with close ties to the circle of radical Whigs. Middleton's panegyric biography of Cicero published in 1741 did much to create the picture of Cicero as the exemplar of "all those generous principles that tend to exalt and perfect human nature; the love of virtue, liberty and all mankind."¹¹

Among the enemies of British oppression in America, reverence sometimes approached apotheosis, as in the speech of the eloquent Boston clergyman Jonathan Mayhew, a leading opponent of the Stamp Act. "Though Cicero," he declared in 1763,

did not fall at last as a martyr directly for true religion; yet he fell as one of the most glorious advocates of liberty that the world ever saw. An honor next to that of suffering martyrdom for religion, comprising within it the love of liberty, and of one's country; and the hatred of tyranny and oppression.¹²

Like Mayhew himself, Cicero was, or could be portrayed as, a respectable revolutionary, a man of the Establishment who yet fought against oppressive government for good ends, not to subvert the constitution, but to restore its authentic form. He was thus worthy to be added to the eighteenth century's canonical list of civil libertarians — a list that bound an ill-matching assortment of ancient writers to modern republicans:

¹¹ Middleton, *op. cit.*, Preface, pp. xxxi–xxxii. See Meyer Reinhold, *The Classical Pages* (University Park, Pa., 1975), pp. 199, and 49–62; Caroline Robbins, *Commonwealthmen*, pp. 291–92; John Schutz and Douglass Adair, *Spur of Fame* (San Marino, Ca., 1966), p. 44 (J. Adams on Middleton); Charles F. Mullet, "Classical Influences on the American Revolution," *Classical Journal*, vol. XXXV (1939), pp. 96–97. For characteristic references to Cicero in patriots of the revolutionary age, see *Some Political Writings of James Otis*, collected by Charles F. Mullet, *University of Missouri Studies*, vol. IV (1929), pp. 32, 53; James Wilson, *Works*, ed. by Robert G. McCloskey (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), vol. I, pp. 145 and 239. C. Stephen Botein, "Cicero as a Role Model for Early American Lawyers," *Classical Journal*, vol. LXXIII (1978), pp. 313–21.

¹² Charles W. Akers, *Called unto Liberty. A Life of Jonathan Mayhew* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), p. 133. For the Enlightenment, classics was secularized religion.

Plato, Demosthenes, Cicero, Milton, Sidney, Locke, and Hoadley.¹³ How completely Cicero had been drawn into the orbit of ideological founders of American liberty is revealed by Thomas Jefferson. Writing in 1814 and looking back to the age in which the philosophy of revolution took shape, Jefferson denied that the Declaration of Independence had been plagiarized from Locke and stated that its authority rested in “the harmonizing sentiments of the day, whether expressed in conversation, in letters, printed essays, or *in the elementary books of public right*, as Aristotle, Cicero, Locke, Sidney, etc.”¹⁴ Jefferson’s tribute to Cicero as a representative of the complex of Enlightenment ideas from which sprang assertions of political independence and of human rights brings to a climax the concept of Cicero as champion of liberty.

After the winning of independence, the minds of American statesmen turned, naturally, to problems of building the new government, and here Cicero had little to contribute. The concept of the mixed polity — in which the elements of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy were so commingled as to check and balance one another — was so widely known to the eighteenth century as to be a commonplace, familiar both through classical writers, Polybius above all, and through the many theorists, e.g. Machiavelli and Montesquieu, who had praised it as the ideal of permanence and stability.¹⁵ The fact was known and applauded that Cicero had also written a work idealizing the mixed state, as embodied in the Roman constitution of the mid second century B.C., a dialogue put into the mouths of the most cultivated people figures of those times; but this work, *De Republica*, was lost, except for the final section, “The Dream of

¹³ See Mayhew, *The Snare Broken* (2nd ed., Boston, 1766), p. 43. The canon varied somewhat. Thus Adams added Livy and Harrington, but did not include Demosthenes or Milton. See *Novanglus*, in *Works*, vol. IV, p. 15.

¹⁴ *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, Memorial Edition (Washington, D.C., 1905) vol. XVI, pp. 118–19; cf. Morton White, *The Philosophy of the American Revolution* (New York, 1978), pp. 62–63; Garry Wills, *Inventing America, Jefferson’s Declaration of Independence* (Garden City, N.Y., 1978), p. 172. Which work of Cicero could be called an “elementary work of public right” is debatable, but if Jefferson had any one treatise in mind, it is probably *De Legibus* in which the concept of natural law is set forth more fully than in any other Ciceronian work known to Jefferson.

¹⁵ Bailyn, *Ideological Origins*, pp. 71 ff.; Gordon S. Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787* (New York, 1969), pp. 152 and 197–255; Gilbert Chinard, “Polybius and the American Constitution,” *Journal of the History of the Ideas*, vol. I (1940), pp. 38–58; Edwin Miles, “The Young American Nation and the Classical World,” *Ibid.* vol. XXXV (1974), pp. 260–61; Stanley Pargelis, “The Theory of Balanced Government,” in *The Constitution Reconsidered*, ed. by Conyers Read (New York, 1938), pp. 37–49; William B. Gwyn, *The Meaning of the Separation of Powers* (Tulane Studies in Political Science IX, New Orleans, 1965).

Scipio,” a vision of the afterlife of the virtuous statesman. Only fragments of the rest, buried as quotations in the work of later writers, survived for those who wished to consult Cicero on the design of the new government. One such consultant was that tireless ransacker of classical texts, John Adams, whose plea on behalf of a mixed polity in the first volume of his *Defence of the Constitutions* was published in 1787 and was much circulated at the Constitutional Convention. In this work, Adams went to the trouble of quoting some of the larger fragments of *De Republica*, extracted from the pages of the grammarian Nonius and from St. Augustine.

“Cicero asserts,” writes Adams,

statuo esse optime constitutam rempublicam, quae ex tribus generibus illis, regali, optimo, et populari, modice confusa, in such peremptory terms the superiority of such a government (sic)... that the loss of his book upon the republic is much to be regretted.... His decided opinion in favor of three branches is founded on a reason that is unchangeable; the law... can be of sure protection, for any course of time, in no other form of government.¹⁶

In Adams' appeal to Cicero, we can already see how the image of the Roman statesman is beginning to acquire a conservative cast, because one of the purposes of the balanced polity is to hold democratic forces in check and because a mixed constitution seems to presuppose the existence of a special class of the wise, rich, and good for whom a prominent place in the state must be found. Adams had intended his *Defence* as a solution to the problem of how to fit the elite class into a republican constitution in such a way that it would not hinder the operation of government. But the work was widely interpreted as an apology for aristocracy and even monarchy — not surprisingly, since the very notion of a permanent and classical political system carries with it a hatred of the mutability associated with the democratic element in the state.¹⁷

¹⁶ Adams, *Works*, vol. IV, pp. 294–95. Adams quotes from *De Rep.* II. 23. 41 found in Nonius, pp. 342, 39. Other passages cited are from Augustine, *City of God* II. 21 (*De Rep.* II. 42. 69 and Proem to Book III) and Letter 138. 10 (*De Rep.* I. 25. 39). It is likely that Adams did not hunt these down himself, but took them from a collection of fragments, such as that of Carlo Sigonio, published in 1559. In a letter to Jefferson in 1813, Adams suggested that *De Rep.* was worth all the other works of Cicero, and the following year he expressed regret at the loss of the work. See Lester J. Cappon, *The Adams–Jefferson Letters* (New York, 1959), pp. 351 and 438. Adams had always been an ardent champion of mixed government.

¹⁷ See Richard Buel, Jr., *Securing the Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1972), p. 24; G. Wood, *Creation of the American Republic*, pp. 580–92. When John Taylor of Carolina wrote his refutation of Adams' *Defence*, published in 1814, he took particular

Indeed, that colony in which radical and “leveling” ideas of the revolutionary era found fullest expression, namely Pennsylvania, opted to reject the mixed consultation by establishing in 1776 a unicameral legislature, on the ground that in America there was no rank above freeman whose special needs had to be consulted.¹⁸

But the fathers of the Constitution were, for the most part, deeply suspicious of unlimited democracy, and they built into the document that finally emerged from their hands a far more elaborate system of checks and balances than the theorists of the mixed government could have foreseen.¹⁹ The federal Senate, “an anchor against popular fluctuations,” as Madison called it, was the chief contribution of the theory of mixed government.²⁰ Yet it was understandable that with the increased trend toward the democratization of American society and government, particularly with the ouster of the Federalist party from the presidency in 1801, men of liberal persuasion would come to regard the classical ideas of balance, order, and stability as reactionary — a misguided attempt to force immutability on a society that was constantly and naturally in flux. For conservatives, on the other hand, mixed government remained a grand, nostalgic principle, to which they could look back longingly as they perceived with horror the rise of men without family, breeding, or education, who threatened to overthrow the old ideals of a government run by gentlemen of wealth, wisdom, and goodness.

It was of course Federalists chiefly who viewed with dismay the retreat of a deferential society before Jeffersonian egalitarianism.²¹ Often using their knowledge of antiquity, they prophesied in the darkest tones the coming reign of King Mob. Thus, Fisher Ames, the epitome of the extreme Federalist, looked back to antiquity for his political lessons. The Federalists were for him the modern analogues of the upholders of the

aim at the notion of the mixed constitution, wherein aristocracy was an inevitable part: *An Inquiry into the Principles and Policy of the Government of the U.S.* (New Haven, 1950), pp. 35–93.

¹⁸ G. Wood, *Creation of the Am. Rep.*, pp. 226–37.

¹⁹ See Roy N. Lokken, “The Concept of Democracy in Colonial Political Thought,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series 3 (vol. XVI, 1959), pp. 568–80. G. Wood, *Creation of the Am. Rep.*, pp. 222–26.

²⁰ *Federalist Papers* 62 and 63; G. Wood, *Creation of the Am. Rep.*, pp. 206–14.

²¹ On the attitudes and behavior of the Federalists under Jefferson, see David H. Fisher, *The Revolution of American Conservatism* (New York, 1965) and Linda Kerber, *Federalists in Dissent* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1970).

Republic in Cicero's day.²² The Jeffersonian faction were the Caesarians appealing to the mob, but aiming at a tyranny of Virginians over all. "The orations of Cicero," Ames wrote, "proved feeble against the arms of Mark Antony," and so the upholders of the republic were likely to go down before demagogues, operating upon the passion of the lowest element.²³ When the people of Rome "chose the *most able* and *eminent* men, who were patricians..." their liberties flourished. The tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus began the rule of violence, "and even the shadow of liberty was lost."²⁴

Ames is the paradigm of the classically educated patrician who would in an earlier age have used his knowledge to defend liberty, but who now found in his erudition useful weapons against the forces of change. Rome connoted no longer freedom, but order. A revised image of antiquity emerges in the contrasting attitudes of this arch-Federalist and of Thomas Jefferson. Just at the time when opponents of democracy began to look back to the ancient concept of balanced government and to exalt classical education, Jefferson, whose classical credentials were unimpeachable, lost confidence in his long held view that antiquity had much to teach America.²⁵ This double shift was only part of a very large and complex question about the role of elitism, tradition, stability, and humanistic education in a rapidly expanding republic, and the implications of these issues were bound to be felt long after the Federalists had disappeared as a political party.²⁶ A man's attitude toward the concept of "classical" was not a bad guide to where he stood of contemporary questions. A love of the past, faith in its political warnings, fear of vanishing standards, were marks of the man at odds with his age and fearful of the direction that America was taking.

Naturally, then, it was conservative circles above all that were immediately excited by the discovery in 1819 of large portions of *De*

²² On Ames, see Vernon Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought* (New York, 1927), vol. II, pp. 271–80 and Winfred Bernhard, *Fischer Ames* (Chapel Hill, 1965).

²³ *Works of Fischer Ames*, ed. by Seth Ames (New York, 1854, repr. 1971) vol. II, p. 383.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 249.

²⁵ "But so different was the style of society then among the Romans... from what is now and with us, that I think little edification can be obtained from their writings on the subject of government." *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. XV, pp. 65–66.

²⁶ See L. Kerber, *Federalists in Dissent*, esp. chap. 4, "Salvaging the Classical Tradition"; Louis P. Simpson, "Federalism and the Crisis of the Literary Order," *American Literature*, vol. XXXII (1960), pp. 253–66; Meyer Reinhold, "The Silver Age of Classical Studies in America, 1790–1830," in *Ancient and Modern: Essays in Honor of Gerald F. Else* (Ann Arbor, 1977), pp. 181–213.

Republica, the long-lost work celebrating the virtues of balance in government and society. Cardinal Angelo Mai, the Vatican librarian, had found the dialogue on a palimpsest, imperfectly erased beneath a text of St. Augustine's *Commentary on the Psalms*. Two years before he published his discovery, news of it reached America and was announced, somewhat incorrectly, in the literary journal *Port Folio*:

It is said that the whole of Cicero's treatise *De Republica* of which we have only a few fragments, has been lately discovered in the Ambrosian library at Milan, by the celebrated D'Angelo Majo.²⁷

The character of the journal that carried this notice is significant. Founded by the extreme Federalist, and admirer of the classics, Joseph Dennie, to combat revolutionary doctrines, *Port Folio* was the spokesman of the conservative, intellectual elite of the Northeast.²⁸ The magazine had very close ties to the family of John Adams, who himself had written for it, one of whose sons, Thomas Boylston, had been its business manager, and another, John Quincy, the journal's chief contributor.²⁹ To complete the circle of associations, both John and John Quincy Adams were lovers of the classics, who tended to look to antiquity for personal models, and particularly to Cicero. To their ambitious youth, Cicero symbolized the brilliant actor upon the political stage, while to their later years he was the great statesman whose gifts and patriotism, like theirs, had been poorly rewarded.³⁰

To see the significance *De Republica* carried for the Adamses and other cultured Americans of the early 1820's, we must briefly sketch the relevant political background. The death of the Federalist Party about 1815 had of course not meant the end of political conservatism or cultural

²⁷ *Port Folio*, vol. XXXIV, 4th series (1820), p. 261. The error in locating the discovery in Milan was natural, since Cardinal Mai had until recently been in charge of the Ambrosian Library.

²⁸ On Dennie's upholding of classical models as the final authority for American writers, see Randolph C. Randall, "Joseph Dennie's Literary Attitudes in the *Port Folio*, 1810–1812," in *Essays Mostly on Periodical Publishing in America*, ed. James Woodress (Durham, 1973), pp. 66, 88.

²⁹ See Walter John Morris, "Politics and Literature: The Adams Family and the *Port Folio*," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series 3, vol. XXIII (1966), pp. 450–86.

³⁰ On John Adams and Cicero, see Schutz and Adair, *Spur of Fame*, pp. 5, 44, and 139; Stephen Botein, "Cicero as a Role Model", pp. 316–18. On John Q. Adams and Cicero, see his *Memoirs*, ed. Charles F. Adams (Philadelphia, 1876), vol. VIII, p. 243; Samuel F. Bemis, *J. Q. Adams and the Union* (New York, 1965), pp. 193–94. John Quincy Adams delivered an ardent panegyric of Cicero in his *Lectures on Rhetoric and Oratory* (Cambridge, Mass., 1810), vol. I, pp. 132–38.

elitism.³¹ Many New Englanders who had been absorbed into the Republican Party during the “Era of Good Feeling” remained “cultural Federalists” in public life when Jefferson’s party began to break up into factions as the election of 1824 approached. Two of the leading contenders for the presidency were men who in background, experience, and personality represented the opposite extremes of American life, Secretary of State John Quincy Adams and General Andrew Jackson, Senator for Tennessee. Though Adams had been virtually expelled from the ranks of Federalists in 1808 by his Massachusetts constituents when he favored the Louisiana Purchase, he was the very model of the cultural Federalist. Of Puritan descent, born to a prominent family, educated in classics at Harvard, widely travelled and familiar with the royal courts of Europe, a renowned expert on classical rhetoric who had been the first holder of the Boylston Professorship of Rhetoric and Oratory at Harvard, a man of unusually formal and old-fashioned manners, Adams was the embodiment of Boston culture.³² To that world, General Jackson summarized the crudity and violence of the New West. Jackson seemed to many to have the makings of a demagogue; and what was perhaps worse, he was believed, at least by those who did not know him, to be no gentleman.³³ Many thought what Adams was to state explicitly when invited to attend a ceremony at Harvard conferring an honorary degree on Jackson. “As an affectionate child of our alma mater,” he told Josiah Quincy, “I would not be present to witness her disgrace in conferring her highest literary honors upon a barbarian who could not write a sentence of grammar and hardly spell his own name.”³⁴

³¹ On the fate of the Federalist Party, see Shaw Livermore, Jr., *The Twilight of Federalism* (Princeton, 1962).

³² On Adams and the Federalists in 1824, see Livermore, *op. cit.*, pp. 270–72. If anyone cared to examine Adams’ political principles, they would discover that in the anonymous *Letters of Publicola*, published in 1791, he had attacked Paine’s *Rights of Man* and the democracy of revolutionary France. He always projected an image of undemocratic aloofness, and was widely held to be a hater of democracy.

³³ Livermore, *op. cit.*, p. 156; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Jackson* (Boston, 1946), p. 38.

³⁴ John Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, vol. VIII, p. 546. President Quincy agreed but did not think Harvard could snub Jackson when they had given a degree to Monroe. Jackson was thought, perhaps correctly, never to have read any secular book completely except the *Vicar of Wakefield* and a story was circulated that he did not believe the earth was round. See Edward Pessen, *Jacksonian America* (Homewood, Ill., 1969), p. 191. The Bostonian belief that Jackson was a western wild man did not die easily. See Arthur B. Darling, *Political Change in Massachusetts 1824–48* (Cos Cob, Conn., 1925), p. 67.

While many Federalists saw in Jackson's popularity a way of their returning to political power, cultivated New Englanders who still treasured the old values of an ordered social system in which the people would play their part by electing their betters to office, could hardly accept the tendencies that Old Hickory represented.³⁵ To them the newly discovered work of Cicero seemed like a tract for the times. The rapid appearance of an edition of *De Republica*, proudly proclaiming itself *Editio Prima Americana* scarcely a year after Cardinal Mai's first publication, suggests that interest in the work was more than merely academic.³⁶ Even a casual reader could find, in the dialogue, a marked dislike for democracy and a terror of the ochlocracy and tyranny into which it must inevitably decline. In Book I, Cicero, speaking in his own voice, mentions as an argument adduced by some philosophers against the wise man's participation in politics "the mad, uncontrollable attacks of the rabble."³⁷ Later in Book I, adopting the persona of Scipio Africanus the Younger, Cicero designates democracy as the least desirable form of unmixed polity, since equality is wicked in raising to office the good and bad without distinction.³⁸ This is so even in an ideal democracy when the people are still responsible and controlled. But when the people turn into a lustful mob — and every democracy has this tendency, the mob can no more be checked than the raging sea or flames.³⁹ Cicero continues with a paraphrase of Plato's terrifying description of extreme democracy in his *Republic*.⁴⁰ There is no limit to freedom; magistrates flattering the mob, abolish all privilege and distinctions; the father fears his son and the son scorns his father; teachers fear and flatter their pupils; the young pretend to the gravity of age, while the aged descend to playing the games of the young so as not to seem hateful, etc. Such is the license to which every democracy is prone when not checked by monarchical and aristocratic forces. At length, there arises from the monstrous populace a champion to lead them against their former rulers; he curries favor with the people and ultimately enslaves them.⁴¹ One practical way to prevent this catastrophe is to favor

³⁵ On Federalists' attitudes towards Jackson, see Lee Benson, *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy. New York as a Test Case* (Princeton, 1961), pp. 4–9; Livermore, *op. cit.*, pp. 156–60.

³⁶ The edition was in reality a reprinting of Mai's work without the learned introduction.

³⁷ *De Rep.* I. 5.9. The translations from Cicero are my own, from the text of Konrad Ziegler (Leipzig, 1958).

³⁸ *Ibid.*, I. 26. 52. Cf. I. 27. 43; I. 34. 53.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, I. 42. 65.

⁴⁰ Plato, *Republic* 562C ff.; Cicero, *De Rep.* I. 43. 66 ff.

⁴¹ *De Rep.*, I. 44. 68.

the election of the better element by maintaining a property qualification for suffrage, as under the Servian constitution, of which Scipio clearly approves.⁴² Under this, while no one was deprived of the franchise, the greatest weight was attached to the votes of those propertied persons who had the greatest stake in the community.⁴³

Admiration of Rome's ideally balanced constitution was natural for America's educated elite when the horrors of the French Revolution resembling Cicero's description of society gone mad always loomed before the conservative mind as the ultimate symbol of democracy. As the election of 1824 approached, when all but six states allowed popular choice of presidential electors and almost all had dropped property qualifications for voting, it seemed important to reassert the old principles of order and deference.⁴⁴ This is clearly the intention of the first American reviewer of *De Republica*, writing anonymously in *Port Folio* for 1823.⁴⁵ "*De Republica*," he asserts, "ought to be received with gratitude, both as a precious boon in hand, and a happy omen of what hereafter may be expected from similar sources." These fragments seemed to him,

to have emerged at the present juncture almost providentially to admonish all parties of those first principles of policy: that as, on the one hand, legitimate power can not long be retained without wise concessions to the will and judgement of the people... so, on the other hand, the popular will and judgement, if they be not moderated and directed by the councils of those whose station in life, intellectual attainments, and virtues, entitle them to the name of "principles" can be productive only of confusion and misery.⁴⁶

⁴² *Ibid.*, II. 22.39–40.

⁴³ *Ibid.* On Cicero's political philosophy in *De Rep.*, see Friedrich Solmsen, "Die Theorie der Staatsformen bei Cicero," *Philologus*, vol. LXXXVIII (1933), pp. 326–41, reprinted in *Das Staatsdenken der Römer*, ed. Richard Klein (Darmstadt, 1966), pp. 315–31 and Karl Buchner, "Die beste Verfassung", in *Studien zur römischen Literatur*, vol. II (Wiesbaden, 1962), pp. 25–115, with bibliography on p. 36. Also, Richard Heinze, "Ciceros 'Staat' als politische Tendenzschrift," *Philologus* vol. LIX (1924), pp. 73 ff.

⁴⁴ On the attempt of the New York Federalists to prevent the transformation of a Republic into a Democracy by elimination of the property qualification for suffrage, see Marvin Meyers, *The Jacksonian Persuasion* (Stanford, 1957), pp. 181 ff. The chief opponent of democracy was Chancellor Kent, classicist and lover of Cicero. See John T. Horton, *James Kent. A Study in Conservatism* (New York and London, 1939).

⁴⁵ Vol. XV, pp. 510–16.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 516.

To emphasize the point, the reviewer translates and quotes the passages that he finds most interesting. The greater number of these contain an anti-democratic element. For instance, he cites a brief passage on the decline of kingship into tyranny, with a much longer warning against the extreme democracy's reign of terror (*De Republica* I. 42). Cicero's version of Plato's ridiculing attack on ochlocracy is cited with approval. The reviewer's conclusion is a reaffirmation of the principle of mixed government and a warning against giving more weight to the people than to their natural leaders. These principles, he asserts, are known to all. "But it is one thing to know this, and another to hear Cicero starting up in the Vatican from a sleep of near two thousand years, and proclaiming it afresh to the world."⁴⁷ It would have been deemed vulgar to apply these thoughts directly to the political contests of the day, but any contemporary readily could have seen the figures of Mr. Adams and General Jackson in the pages of this commentary on Cicero.

If it seems surprising that the reviewer neglects all other aspects of *De Republica* — overlooking even the work's favorable view of monarchy — we must remember that in the 1820's, classical texts were just beginning to be regarded in America as objects of scholarly inquiry and not merely as sources of edification.⁴⁸ The older method was to take what was pleasing and to leave the rest; only gradually did attention focus on a work itself, as a product inseparable from a particular intellectual milieu. We can see these two attitudes in tension if we read a second review of *De Republica* published in 1823, in *North American Review*, the other elite journal, with a circulation confined mainly to New England.⁴⁹ The reviewer is familiar with the new scholarship on early Roman history then being done in Germany by the great Niebuhr, and he devotes much of his article to the question of the reliability of Cicero's account of the regal period. But the reviewer's own political views manifest themselves beneath the scholarship, and they are particularly interesting because of his identity and connections. The writer was Alexander Everett, a young and brilliant classical scholar, the brother of the Harvard classicist and distinguished orator Edward Everett.⁵⁰ Alexander was a close associate of John Quincy

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ On the emergence of American scholarship under German influence, see Carl Diehl, *Americans and German Scholarship 1770–1870* (New Haven and London, 1978).

⁴⁹ Vol. XVII, pp. 33–69. The review is ostensibly of the editions of Mai and Villemain, but is really a review of the work itself.

⁵⁰ Everett graduated first and youngest in his Harvard class. See *Dictionary of American Biography*, s. v. The review was published anonymously but its authorship is revealed in the index to *N. Am. Rev.*

Adams, having been his private secretary in 1809–1811, and was soon to be appointed by him minister to Spain. Yet Everett gave evidence of his later political defection to the Democratic Party by being a luke-warm admirer of mixed government. Under the influence of *De Republica*, he had composed in 1821 a curious dialogue set in Elysium between Benjamin Franklin and Montesquieu on the ideal state in which the shade of the Founding father raised serious doubts about the necessity of the three classical elements in government and denounced the idea that an aristocracy promotes stability.⁵¹ The same misgivings are sometimes reflected in Everett's essay on Cicero. After some remarks on the timely discovery of a work that addresses contemporary issues so directly, he continues:

If a compound form of government be better than any of the simple ones, merely as a compound, it must be because it is supposed to combine the advantages of all three. But for the same reason it must also be supposed to combine their disadvantages and thus the argument would make out the form to be at the same time the best and worst of all.⁵²

If such doubts about the necessity of political balance mark Everett as the embryonic traitor to the conservative cause, other elements in the review are more characteristic of the Boston patrician. In an interesting digression, Everett compares the composition of the Roman Senate and American Congress. Because American officials tended to be continuously re-elected, their long terms are comparable to those of Roman senators, an admirable source of stability in the state. The American Senate would be further strengthened, he believes, if ex-presidents would consent to serve in that body, like ex-consuls at Rome.⁵³

Another Ciceronian passage in which Everett takes particular interest is the attribution of the origin of society to a natural instinct in man and not to a social contract, a doctrine of Epicurean origin that reeked of Rousseau and the French Revolution.⁵⁴ Sure of his readers' learning,

⁵¹ *N. Am. Rev.* vol. XII (1821), pp. 346–65.

⁵² *N. Am. Rev.* vol. XVII (1823). Everett seems to have been hoping for a stronger justification of the mixed constitution than Cicero supplies. In his book *America or a General Survey* (Philadelphia, 1827), p. 80, Everett declares mixed government to be inferior to America's representative democracy.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 66–67.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 53. On the attitude of American conservatives to Rousseau's *Social Contract*, see Paul M. Spurlin, *Rousseau in America 1760–1809* (University of Alabama, 1969), p. 69.

Everett inserts long Latin quotations, including one (*De Republica* I. 17) extolling the importance of liberal learning in the public man — an idea that is in essence aristocratic. Everett's shifting between such elitism and more democratic views reveals the wavering and ambivalence that later led Adams to characterize him as a "reed in the wind."⁵⁵

The election of Adams to the presidency in 1825 was not entirely reassuring to New England conservatives, since Jackson had received the largest number of votes, though not a majority, and Adams had been elected in the House of Representatives with the help of Henry Clay, the candidate who had come in fourth. The fury of Jackson's supporters at this outcome meant that Adams' whole administration was a preparation for the next campaign, the most scurrilous in American history up to that time. While Adams saw himself in the role of Cicero, the President's friends began to regard Jackson as Caesar aiming at tyranny.⁵⁶ Clay, in explaining his support of Adams, made use of a Roman comparison that was to be a trademark of Whig oratory. He could not, said Clay, support a military chieftain and thus "give the strongest guarantee that the Republic will march in the fatal road which has conducted every republic to ruin."⁵⁷

Some of the tensions of the campaign of 1828 are reflected in a translation of *De Republica* that appeared the following year, by one G. W. Featherstonehaugh. The translation is inaccurate and clumsy, but the "critical and historical" introduction blends ancient history and current politics in an illuminating fashion. The nostalgia of Cicero, who glorifies the constitution of the previous century, is matched by the nostalgia of the American who mistrusts the new democracy. With nice ambiguity, Featherstonehaugh expresses the hope that his labor on Cicero has succeeded in pointing out the immediate causes of the ruin of the noble republic.⁵⁸ His discussion of *De Republica* wanders far from the subjects and focuses chiefly on the conflict between Cicero and Caesar. The military commander emerges from the author's pen as a violent and

⁵⁵ *Memoirs*, vol. IX, p. 39. Cf. A. Schlesinger, Jr., *Age of Jackson*, p. 174.

⁵⁶ In the years after he left the presidency, John Quincy Adams seems to have become obsessed with Cicero. See his *Memoirs*, vol. VIII, pp. 243 ff. While the enemies of Jackson saw the General as Caesar, his friends surrounded Old Hickory with recollections of Cincinnatus, the idealized Roman farmer-soldier. See John W. Ward, *Andrew Jackson, Symbol for an Age* (New York, 1955), pp. 42–44.

⁵⁷ John S. Bassett, *The Life of Andrew Jackson* (1911; repr. Archon Books, 1967), p. 352. See Edwin A. Miles, "The Whig Party and the Menace of Caesar," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, vol. XXVII (1968), pp. 361–79.

⁵⁸ *The Republic of Cicero trans. from the Latin with a Critical and Historical Introduction* by George W. Featherstonehaugh (New York, 1829), pp. 6–7.

godless perjurer, a man eager for unlimited power, with a wife who was not above suspicion of moral corruption.⁵⁹ Could a reader in 1829 have failed to apply this description to their own General, whose violence of temperament were the constant object of unfavorable publicity and whose wife had been widely slandered as adultress during the recent campaign?⁶⁰ “It is most painful,” cries Featherstonehaugh about the fall of the Roman Republic, “to look back upon... the degradation of such a people; corrupted and ruined by the blind admiration of that falsest of all idols, military glory.”⁶¹ Against such evil forces stood Cicero, leading the respectable elements of Rome “with but little other support than the satisfaction of being engaged in the noblest of causes, the maintenance of regular government.”⁶² If John Quincy Adams ever saw this work, he must have taken pleasure in the implied comparison. Featherstonehaugh points out another passage which he claims to be particularly relevant to his own times: Cicero’s discussion in Book I whether the wise man should brave the violence of the vulgar to enter politics. The present large-scale experiment in popular government, he claims, raises this precise issue, and he leans toward Cicero’s view that in bad times above all, the good and noble must come forth to help the state.⁶³

Though Featherstonehaugh’s work was favorably reviewed in the *Christian Examiner* for 1829, it was much less well received in another quarter. The 1829 edition of *Southern Review*, Charleston’s answer to the elite Northern literary periodicals, carried an article on *De Republica* written by one of the country’s most learned classicists, Hugh Swinton Legaré, a distinguished lawyer and authority on civil law, who was later to serve as United States Attorney General.⁶⁴ After sharply condemning Featherstonehaugh’s work as confused and totally devoid of merit, Legaré sets off on a lengthy and erudite essay on Cicero that is worthy of attention from several points of view. The work shows the high ambition of an American scholar to rival the accomplishments of contemporary European learning without his being able, however, to put aside the notion that classical texts are timeless repositories of moral and political truth.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 10–13.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 11. On the charges against Mrs Jackson in the campaign, see J. S. Bassett, *op. cit.*, p. 394.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 21–22.

⁶⁴ Reprinted in *Writings of H. S. Legaré*, vol. II (Charleston, 1845), pp. 216–53. There is an interesting appreciation of Legaré by Joseph Story, a great admirer of Cicero, who celebrates Legaré’s virtues in words taken from Cicero’s *Brutus*. See *Life and Letters of Joseph Story*, ed. by William Story (London, 1851), vol. II, pp. 452–77.

Legaré dilates upon palimpsests and upon the hopes of finding new classical works by their decipherments. There follows a learned discussion of the accuracy of archaic Roman history, with reference to the researches of Niebuhr, and an elegant and accurate sketch of the Roman state at the time when *De Republica* was written. Impressive as is this learning, more striking still is the identification that Legaré feels for the world of the second century B.C., when Rome exhibited “the happiest instance that is found in the annals of any nation, of a union of unsurpassed military glory with the stern morals of a primitive, and the graces of a polished age.”⁶⁵ Cicero’s interlocutors are above all gentlemen of the highest principles and philosophic dignity, the very kind that were growing rarer in Legaré’s own society.⁶⁶ When Legaré comes to treating this mixed constitution, he delivers the expected attack on extreme democracy, adorned with copious references to the horrors of the French Revolution. Yet he is realistic enough to see that traditional aristocracy would have excluded professional men like himself.⁶⁷ Again, the reading of *De Republica* had provoked an American with high social pretensions to ask the question, what is an American elite and how does it fit into the structure of a republic? Legaré had an eminently American answer: the balance wheel of the polity is to be “the soundest and healthiest part of every community... the great middle class of moral, substantial people, below ambition, above a bribe, too virtuous to do wrong wilfully, too wise to be easily imposed upon.”⁶⁸ Legaré is thinking of course not of tradesmen or shrewd investors, but of lawyers like himself with scholarly interests and public ambitions, the closest replica of Cicero and of Cicero’s interlocutors that America could produce.

As a man of lofty social pretensions, a classicist, a disliker of democracy, Legaré was of course an anti-Jacksonian (he was later to be a Whig), gripped by the same nostalgia for an orderly, deferential society felt by northern conservatives who found *De Republica* attractive and useful.⁶⁹ Legaré was a perfect example of a southern cultural Federalist. For men like him who felt themselves born too late, forced by the times to compete against the pushy, clever, commercial sort who was on the rise in the Jacksonian age, the classical world was a glowing ideal, and classical

⁶⁵ Legaré, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

⁶⁶ See the assessment of Legaré in William R. Taylor, *Cavalier and Yankee* (New York, 1961), pp. 53–60.

⁶⁷ Legaré, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

⁶⁹ See Linda Rhea, *H. S. Legaré* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1934), pp. 188, 193; cf. W. R. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 146. On antidemocracy and the Whigs, see Louis Herz, *The Liberal Tradition in America* (New York, 1955), pp. 189–213.

studies an escape into a fortress where few could follow. Men of this stripe continued to show an interest in *De Republica* long after the initial excitement of its discovery had waned.

As long as fifteen years after the *North American Review* had published its first discussion, that journal found occasion to return once again to the Roman notion of an ideal state in a review of *De Republica* and other works of Cicero newly edited for America. The author was a certain H. R. Cleveland.⁷⁰ Much of this review is an extended panegyric of Cicero as the ideal orator and statesman, inspired by patriotism and free from all sordid motives, the kind of leader, the author implies, that America could badly use. Of all ancient writers, Cicero is most closely connected to the present. Were he to come to life today, he would appear “the perfect gentleman though suddenly placed in a scene so new, so trying, so full of wonders.”⁷¹ Cleveland seems to be the only American commentator to note the presence in Cicero's state of an idealized ruler called the *moderator* or *rector rei publicae*, a kind of philosopher king whose political role is difficult for the modern reader to reconcile with the ideal of a mixed constitution.⁷² Cleveland sees the problem, but affirms that rotting institutions could never be rescued by a single man, but only by a return to a polity of balanced social order, which concept stirs him to a spirited attack on democracy.

There was nothing in [Cicero] of that vague, dreamy, boyish notion of equality of conditions, and popular infallibility, which is so ridiculous and disgusting in the radicals... at the present day. He never so much as says fine things about liberty, and the death of tyrants, and the people's rights; he never declaims in this school-boy style, learned from the imaginative historian of the Gracchi, the Brutuses, and Cassiuses, and repeated with school-boy patriotism, by the blundering, self-named patriots of the present day. Even by the word republic, he does not mean a democracy, but he uses it throughout the treatise as simply signifying an organized state.⁷³

⁷⁰ *N. Am. Rev.*, vol. XLVI (1838), pp. 20–55. An appreciation of the life and work of H. R. Cleveland, a teacher, Latinist, and gentleman-scholar, appears in *N. Am. Rev.* vol. LXIX, pp. 128–42. Van Wyck Brooks, *The Flowering of New England* (New York, 1936), p. 165, states that Cleveland undertook the editing of Sallust. There is no evidence that he ever completed such a task.

⁷¹ Cleveland, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

⁷² See the edition and translation of *De Rep.* by George H. Sabine and S. S. Smith (Columbus, Ohio, 1929), pp. 93–97.

⁷³ Cleveland, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

Here we can observe how completely the associations that gathered about Cicero in pre-revolutionary days have been reversed. The old Enlightenment iconography that joined Cicero to the Gracchi, Brutus, and Cassius as symbols of freedom and the people's rights is now explicitly rejected. A new Cicero stands forth for America: the enemy of popular licence and "Utopian visions of perfect equality, in condition, wealth, and power," the upholder of an ideal of changeless order, the symbol of frustrated reaction against the ideals of Jacksonian democracy as misperceived by those who felt threatened by those ideals.

On the other hand, perhaps Cicero had not really changed his symbolic value at all. In the eighteenth century, principles of balance and moderation were liberal appeals against arbitrary government, but in the nineteenth, they were conservative appeals against the rising democracy. In one sense, Cicero had ceased to be a liberal hero and had become a conservative one. In another sense, Cicero had not moved at all. Everything else had moved around him. The revolutionaries used him to represent of their desire for change; and so did their sons and grandsons.

At the end of Jackson's presidency an article appeared in the *American Quarterly Review* which purported to be an account of the President's Farewell Address, but was in reality an unrestrained attack on democracy.⁷⁴ Parts of the attack are cast in terms of analogies between antiquity and the present. Polybius had foretold that the Republic would fall when checks and balances were forgotten and the people came to know their power; when the mixed state of the American Constitution was replaced by democracy, ruin was inevitable. Had not Cicero stated the timeless principle the author asks, in *De Republica*, when he said: "*Moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque.*"⁷⁵ Though anti-democracy was politically dead by the 1830's, it lived on in the elite literary journals and in southern manor houses, an attitude cultivated by men devoted to the classics, who found in ancient literature, Cicero above all, nourishment for their sentimental pessimism and a model against which to compare the declining present. We would easily mock these reactionary visionaries for their bookish lack of realism; yet they were asking serious questions about America's future. In an age of swift social change when Americans were ever more absorbed in money-making and material things, what future was there for an older ethic of honor, tradition, gentility, service to the state?⁷⁶ If an elite alone could safeguard the spiritual and intellectual heritage on which the nation was founded, who

⁷⁴ *American Quarterly Review*, vol. XXII (1837), pp. 53–57.

⁷⁵ *De Rep.*, Book V. 1. Cicero is quoting the poet Ennius.

⁷⁶ Cf. W. R. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

would safeguard that elite? Cicero's *De Republica* was discovered just in time to show those who were trained to look to antiquity for lessons, the model of an orderly state, wisely governed by men of breeding, philosophic interests, and untainted patriotic zeal.

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HOW AND WHY I COUNT(ED) A RESPONSE TO RAMSAY MACMULLEN

— NATHAN PILKINGTON —

ABSTRACT

In a recent publication in this journal, Professor Ramsay MacMullen failed to correctly represent thoughts I had posted online, though not yet published in a peer-reviewed journal. I thus establish here my positions on the value of citation scores, both how to calculate them and why one would want to do so.

KEYWORDS

*citation scores, Google Scholar, Web of Science,
performance-based research funding systems, ancient historians*

Due to a proliferation of performance-based funding systems over the last three decades, particularly in Europe, citation scores, in 2013, when I first began to address them, were becoming an increasingly important measure of scholarly productivity.¹ At that time, Professor Walter Scheidel had already started the process of ranking United States-based ancient historians via the Web of Knowledge.² The Web of Knowledge has since morphed into the Web of Science and remains the dominant method by which citation scores are calculated. In an initial reply to Scheidel, I argued that the Web of Science, due to its focus on English language journals, provided a restrictive measurement

¹ For general discussion, see: Aagard, K. et al. “Impacts of Performance-Based Research Funding Systems: The Case of the Norwegian Publication Indicator.” *Research Evaluation* 24 (2015), 106–117; Sile, L. and R. Vanderstraeten. “Measuring Changes in Publication Patterns in a Context of Performance-Based Research Funding Systems: the Case of Educational Research in the University of Gothenburg.” *Scientometrics* 118 (2019), 71–91.

² Scheidel, W. “Citation Scores for Ancient Historians in the United States.” Version 1.0. Princeton-Stanford Working Papers in Classics. February 2008. Updated in September 2011 and posted as “Updated Citation Scores for Ancient Historians in the United States.” <http://www.princeton.edu/~pswpc/pdfs/scheidel/091102.pdf>, last accessed 28.09.20. Scheidel has also applied the same method to Moses Finley’s career. “Measuring Finley’s Impact.” <http://www.princeton.edu/~pswpc/pdfs/scheidel/041302.pdf>, last accessed 28.09.20. Scheidel has since published his study of Finley in D. Jew, R. Osborne, and M. Scott, eds., *Moses Finley. An Ancient Historian and his Impact* (Cambridge, 2016), 288–297.

of citation scores.³ Instead, I proposed the use of Google Scholar in order to capture a wider spectrum of published works and languages other than English. More recently, Professor Ramsay MacMullen, in this journal, has argued that citation scoring, generally, is an inadequate measure of a scholar's impact and proposed the use of *L'Année philologique*, a method that measures the frequency of publication rather than citation scores.⁴ In making his argument, Professor MacMullen failed to both correctly represent my argument for the use of Google Scholar as well as my views on citation scores and their value generally.

My interest in citation scores is twofold. First, scholars should understand how they are being counted. Second, scholars may want to understand how to adapt their publication strategy in order use citation scoring methods to their own advantage.⁵ It is for these reasons that in my initial writing, as cited by MacMullen, I considered the development of scholarly careers over time, in order to demonstrate the relatively slow accretion of citations in the Humanities.⁶ In a second writing, uncited by MacMullen, I considered the distribution of Classical Studies scholars throughout departments at several universities in the United States and at two distinguished English institutions (Cambridge and Oxford). I argued, at that time, that an integrated Classics department, in which all subfields are included, offered the best chance to demonstrate a high rate of citation, be it total or annualized.⁷ In sum, I am not interested in rankings per se, rather the tools with which we are ranked and the ways those tools can, and in certain geographies already do, influence decisions about scholarly careers and departmental structures.⁸

³ For discussion of the Web of Science and the limitations of its index, see: Kulczycki, E. et al. "Publication Patterns in the Social Sciences and Humanities: Evidence from Eight European Countries." *Scientometrics* 116 (2018), 463–486.

⁴ MacMullen, R. "Top Scholars in Classical and Late Antiquity." *History of Classical Scholarship* 2 (2020), 105–114.

⁵ For discussion of scholars' responses to performance-based research funding systems, see: Hammarfelt, B. and G. Haddow. "Conflicting Measures and Values: How Humanities Scholars in Australia and Sweden Use and React to Bibliometric Indicators." *Journal of the Association for Information Science and Technology* 69 (2018), 924–935.

⁶ Pilkington, N. "Google Scholar and the Web of Knowledge: Citation Scores for Ancient Historians." https://www.academia.edu/3420110/Google_Scholar_and_the_Web_of_Knowledge_Citation_Scores_for_Ancient_Historians, last accessed 28.09.20.

⁷ Pilkington, N. "Ancient Historians and Departmental Affiliations: The Value of Citation Scores?" https://www.academia.edu/3524452/Ancient_Historians_and_Departmental_Affiliations_The_Value_of_Citation_Scores, last accessed 28.09.20.

⁸ Hammarfelt and Haddow (2018).

How I Count(ed)

In a reply, posted in 2013, to Scheidel's initial ranking of US-based ancient historians, I argued that Google Scholar, as processed through the Publish or Perish software, offered a less restrictive measure of impact compared to the Web of Science.⁹ In brief, at that time, the Web of Science did not index every journal in a field. The Arts and Humanities Index did not cover publications before 1975, inhibiting full access to many current scholars' careers. Finally, the database was heavily biased towards English language journal publications.

By contrast, at that time, Google Scholar indexed journals, books, dissertations, master's thesis, conference proceedings, and a whole host of other forms of scholarly communication. It provided a more comprehensive view of a scholar's penetration into the field, at the peer reviewed level of journal article and book, in addition to the humbler levels of graduate school work. It also included publications dating as far back as the 19th century. Finally, when searches were properly constructed using the Publish or Perish software, it was possible to access a scholar's citations in foreign language publications. Moreover, the software took account of translations of original editions, further demonstrating a scholar's degree of impact. To demonstrate the difference in method, I engaged with Scheidel's initial ranking of scholars. In 2013, the searches yielded what I felt was a substantial variance for certain scholars.

Table 1. Percentage Difference in Citation Scores (2013)

| Scholar | Saller | Hall | Morris | Scheidel | Bagnall | Champlin | Matthews |
|---------------------------------|--------|------|--------|----------|---------|----------|----------|
| % Difference GS/ WoS | 76% | 71% | 70% | 67% | 53% | 52% | 27% |

Over the past seven years, both methods of citation scoring have improved. Scheidel, in a more recently posted paper in 2019, has shown

⁹ Harzing, A.W. (2007) Publish or Perish, available from: <https://harzing.com/resources/publish-or-perish>, last accessed 28.09.20. Harzing developed the software for the following reason, "The Social sciences, Arts and Humanities, and engineering in particular seem to benefit from Google Scholar's better coverage of (citations in) books, conference proceedings and a wider range of journals." I should note that I have often calculated my own annualized citation scores. Though the software is capable of doing this internally and provides this metric as part of its scoring system, reprints and new editions reset the date of publication for an individual work, somewhat skewing its citation per year count.

the utility of both in revising his rankings.¹⁰ Scholars interested in the current state of both methods of counting should thus consult Scheidel's work. He concludes, "What matters is not the absolute number of citations but the relative ranking of scholars: in this regard, discrepancies between the two databases are fairly minor." A point to which I would now assent, though I continue to believe Google Scholar's broader coverage is superior for reasons discussed below.

Problematically, the capabilities of Google Scholar and thus my approach to citation scoring were incorrectly represented by MacMullen in this journal. He comments,

What lies behind much of my criticisms even of Pilkington's choice of databases (better than Scheidel's choice pre-2019, as he concedes) which Pilkington found in "Google Scholar's citation Index processed through the Publish or Perish Software", is its deliberate limitations. Measurement of rank is sought "only in English language journals" (as later in Walter Scheidel 2019, 2, an "Anglo-only survey"). Yet no more than the 6% or so of the 980 periodicals pillaged by *Année philologique* are Anglophone (and additionally but also ignored by Scheidel, most European journals, such as *Historia* or *Epigraphica*, welcome English items along with other languages, beyond that of their own.¹¹

I never sought publications in English language journals only, as noted above. Further, both *Historia* and *Epigraphica* are indexed by Google Scholar, and thus were accessed through the Publish or Perish software in my initial writings. Of all articles ever published in *Historia*, MacMullen's 1980 contribution "Women in Public in the Roman Empire" is the fifth most cited. Moreover, Google Scholar reveals citations of this particular article in English, German, Italian, French, Spanish, Turkish, Dutch and Polish language publications. For *Epigraphica*, the most cited article in Google Scholar's index is M. Burzachechi, "Oggetti parlanti nelle epigrafi greche" from 1962, again cited by publications in multiple languages.

In response to Professor MacMullen's attempt to import frequency of publication into the discussion via *L'Année philologique*, I would argue that the proliferation of a particular scholar's writing has unclear utility. Multiple studies have shown that undifferentiated metrics focused only on the frequency of publication lead to a proliferation of publications in

¹⁰ Scheidel, W. "Citation Scores for Greco-Roman Historians in North America, 2019." https://www.academia.edu/40416928/Citation_Scores_for_Greco_Roman_Historians_in_North_America_2019, last accessed 28.09.20.

¹¹ MacMullen (2020), 110.

lower-tier journals.¹² Further, many scholars counted in both my and Scheidel's lists have published articles that produce no record of citation in either the Web of Science or Google Scholar. Finally, certain sub-fields of Classics offer more opportunities for regular publication, most notably epigraphy, papyrology and archaeology, as MacMullen notes. *L'Année philologique* suffers also from many of the same problems as the Web of Science. It indexes journals and edited collections. It thus represents a more restrictive level of publication, typically requiring peer review and editorial scrutiny, and captures less of a scholar's impact compared to Google Scholar.

Why I Count(ed)

MacMullen presented my definition of impact as follows, "By 'impact' I understand whatever shapes people's ideas, values, and behavior — one would hope, beneficially. It is apparently what Scheidel and Pilkington intend, applied to the particular population of ancient historians." I would demur from such lofty notions. I view impact as nothing more than a stand-in word for citation, be it positive or negative.

Further, I believe that the Classics need to argue for the widest definition of impact possible. The Web of Science is likely an effective measurement of scientific and social scientific output, where journal articles are the dominant form of communication.¹³ Because reproducibility matters in scientific studies, the more a publication is cited by journal publications, the more likely that publication has a strong effect on the present state of its field. Studies that fail to produce a significant result are unlikely to be cited in further publications. Science is by definition additive. It is also quick.¹⁴ Consequently, the Web of Science would seem a useful tool for departments and administrators when making tenure decisions in these fields.

By contrast, citation in the Classics is not constructed additively or quickly, but diachronically. Thoughts are presented, become orthodoxy,

¹² Aagard et al. (2015).

¹³ Verleysen, F. and T. Engels. "How Arbitrary are the Weights Assigned to Books in Performance-Based Research Funding? An Empirical Assessment of the Weight and Size of Monographs in Flanders." *Aslib Journal of Information Management* 70 (2018), 660–672 for discussion.

¹⁴ To give one example, a paper published on 30 April 2020 related to Coronavirus has amassed 6,901 citations on Google Scholar as of 4 August 2020: Wuan, G.-J. et al. "Clinical Characteristics of Coronavirus Disease 2019 in China." *New England Journal of Medicine* 382 (2020), 1708–1720. Citation score accessed via Publish or Perish on 5 August 2020.

then are challenged, and finally become part of a literature review once discarded or modified. In my initial writing on the subject, I studied scholars whose careers were less than 28 years from the date of first publication indexed by Google Scholar. I demonstrated that it takes time for citation scores to mature in ancient history. In sum, scholars with under 28 years of experience, in the main, fall within an order determined by years of activity.¹⁵

In the two tables below, I revisit the scholars with the fewest number of years active in my initial 2013 list in order to further demonstrate that citation scores accrete over time.

Table 2: 2013 Citation Scores

| Author | Total Citation Score | Highest Publication Score | Years Active |
|---------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|
| S. Forsdyke | 134 | 61 | 15 |
| J. Ma | 98 | 31 | 15 |
| C. Kelly | 96 | 57 | 17 |
| C. Noreña | 83 | 52 | 13 |
| B. Holmes | 45 | 16 | 9 |
| W. Riess | 40 | 15 | 14 |
| G. Ruffini | 38 | 14 | 10 |

Table 3: 2020 Citation Scores

| Author | Total Citation Score | Highest Publication Score | Years Active |
|---------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|
| S. Forsdyke | 960 | 358 | 22 |
| J. Ma | 1,808 | 587 | 22 |
| C. Kelly | 827 | 325 | 24 |
| C. Noreña | 737 | 227 | 20 |
| B. Holmes | 826 | 241 | 16 |
| W. Riess | 389 | 87 | 21 |
| G. Ruffini | 559 | 102 | 17 |

¹⁵ Pilkington, "Google Scholar".

Additionally, I argued that most scholars who achieve high citation scores tend to benefit, with reference to total number of citations, from a well-cited monograph, the first or second for the majority of scholars.

Table 4: Most Cited Work Overall versus Annualized Most Cited Work (2013)

| Author | Top Ind Pub Score | Book # (Name) | Year of Career | Highest annual cite rate (2013) | Cites/year |
|-----------------|-------------------|----------------|----------------|---------------------------------|------------|
| Richard Saller | 404 | 1 (Pers Pat) | 2 | Same | 13.03 |
| Ian Morris | 368 | 1 (Bur Anc) | 2 | Why the West | 27.25 |
| Victor Hanson | 365 | 2 (West Way) | 9 | Carnage Culture | 17.75 |
| Ronald Syme | 1,317 | 1 (Rom Rev) | 11 | Same | 17.79 |
| Josiah Ober | 742 | 2 (Mass Elite) | 11 | Same | 29.68 |
| Walter Scheidel | 71 | 4 (Death Nile) | 11 | Same | 5.46 |
| Keith Hopkins | 526 | 1 (Conq Sla) | 15 | Same | 14.61 |
| Fergus Millar | 627 | 3 (Emp RW) | 15 | Roman Near East | 18.33 |
| Moses Finley | 1,123 | 8 (Anc Econ) | 22 | Same | 28.07 |
| William Harris | 832 | 3 (Anc Lit) | 24 | Same | 34.6 |
| Peter Brunt | 775 | 1 (It Man) | 24 | Same | 18.02 |
| Roger Bagnall | 342 | 17 (Egy Lat) | 25 | Same | 19 |
| Peter Brown | 1,571 | 7 (Body Soc) | 27 | Same | 60.42 |
| A.H.M. Jones | 1,201 | 8 (Lat Rom) | 36 | Same | 42.89 |
| Russell Meiggs | 654 | 2 (Ath Emp) | 42 | Same | 15.57 |

The same pattern would hold true for the scholars listed in Tables 2 and 3. Changes in citation scores over the past seven years are primarily driven by the first monograph. If these monographs were judged in 2013, when they were less than a decade old, the citation scores would have appeared paltry, as would the overall citation score for the scholar.

In sum, classical scholars benefit from time and monographic publications. If citation scores were to affect tenure decisions, classicists would need to be cognizant of the relatively slow rate of accumulation. Because most first books are published near to tenure review, citation scores, at least in the short term, have little predictive value with reference to the impact of a particular monograph over the long term.

An additional concern is the present state of Classics departments. In a second writing, posted also in 2013, I studied various departmental structures, ranging from the fully integrated Classics department (languages, literature, history, art, archaeology and philosophy) to the

Classics department with exclusively scholars of literature and language.¹⁶ I wanted to understand how the inclusion or exclusion of ancient historians, archaeologists and other sub fields affected the citation scores of various departments. I focused on full professors only, due to that fact that these scholars had sufficient time for their citation scores to mature. In an initial ranking, I considered Classics departments as they existed at the time. I produced a set of rankings based on average number of citations and average annual citation rate.

Table 5: Comparative Ranking of Classics Departments (2013)

| School | # of Full Profs | Total # of Citations | Avg. # of Citations | Avg. # of Years | School | Avg. Annual Cit. Rates |
|------------|-----------------|----------------------|---------------------|-----------------|------------|------------------------|
| Cambridge | 16 | 28,598 | 1,787 | 38 | Stanford | 47.20 |
| Stanford | 12 | 16,991 | 1,416 | 30 | Cambridge | 47.03 |
| Oxford | 23 | 19,736 | 858 | 29 | Oxford | 29.59 |
| Cornell | 12 | 9,914 | 826 | 32 | Cornell | 25.81 |
| Harvard | 11 | 7,911 | 719 | 28 | Harvard | 25.68 |
| Brown | 9 | 6,449 | 717 | 30 | Brown | 23.90 |
| UC-Berk | 11 | 7,835 | 712 | 34 | Princeton | 21.28 |
| Chicago | 8 | 5,016 | 627 | 31 | UC-Berk | 20.94 |
| Princeton | 11 | 6,787 | 617 | 29 | Chicago | 20.23 |
| Yale | 10 | 5,489 | 549 | 31 | Yale | 17.71 |
| Penn State | 7 | 3,724 | 532 | 33 | Penn State | 16.12 |
| UCLA | 10 | 4,883 | 488 | 32 | Penn | 15.36 |
| Michigan | 14 | 6,682 | 477 | 32 | UCLA | 15.25 |
| NYU | 9 | 4,172 | 464 | 33 | Michigan | 14.91 |
| Penn | 7 | 3,009 | 430 | 28 | NYU | 14.06 |
| Duke | 6 | 2,388 | 398 | 30 | Duke | 13.27 |
| Columbia | 6 | 2,087 | 347 | 30 | Columbia | 11.57 |
| UNC | 6 | 1,950 | 325 | 31 | UNC | 10.48 |

¹⁶ Pilkington, N. "Ancient Historians and Departmental Affiliations: The Value of Citation Scores?" https://www.academia.edu/3524452/Ancient_Historians_and_Departmental_Affiliations_The_Value_of_Citation_Scores, last accessed 28.09.20.

I then integrated ancient historians, archaeologists and any other scholars of the Classics housed outside of Classics departments into their Classics departments. To give an example, Columbia University Classics was integrated with scholars of antiquity housed at that time in the departments of History, Philosophy, and Art and Archaeology. Departments already integrated have the same citation score as in Table 5.

Table 6: Integrated Classics Departments (2013)

| School | # of Full Profs | Total # of Citations | Avg. # of Citations | Avg. # of Years |
|---------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Cambridge | 16 | 28,598 | 1,787 | 38 |
| Stanford | 12 | 16,991 | 1,416 | 30 |
| Oxford | 23 | 19,736 | 858 | 29 |
| Cornell | 12 | 9,914 | 826 | 32 |
| Harvard | 12 | 8,734 | 728 | 29 |
| Penn | 9 | 6,470 | 719 | 32 |
| Brown | 9 | 6,449 | 717 | 30 |
| UC-Berk | 11 | 7,835 | 712 | 34 |
| Chicago | 12 | 7,688 | 639 | 29 |
| Princeton | 12 | 6,910 | 576 | 29 |
| NYU | 12 | 6,636 | 553 | 33 |
| Yale | 10 | 5,489 | 549 | 31 |
| Penn State | 7 | 3,724 | 532 | 33 |
| UCLA | 11 | 5,242 | 477 | 34 |
| Columbia | 12 | 5,601 | 467 | 28 |
| Michigan | 16 | 7,363 | 460 | 33 |
| UNC | 10 | 4,054 | 405 | 34 |
| Duke | 6 | 2,388 | 398 | 30 |

| Integrated School | Rank | Actual School | School | Annualized Cit. Rates |
|--------------------------|-------------|----------------------|---------------|------------------------------|
| Cambridge | 1 | Cambridge | Stanford | 47.20 |
| Stanford | 2 | Stanford | Cambridge | 47.03 |
| Oxford | 3 | Oxford | Oxford | 29.59 |
| Cornell | 4 | Cornell | Cornell | 25.81 |
| Harvard | 5 | Harvard | Harvard | 25.10 |
| Penn | 6 | Brown | Brown | 23.90 |
| Brown | 7 | UC-Berk | Penn | 22.47 |
| UC-Berk | 8 | Chicago | Chicago | 22.03 |
| Chicago | 9 | Princeton | UC-Berk | 20.94 |
| Princeton | 10 | Yale | Princeton | 19.86 |
| NYU | 11 | Penn State | Yale | 17.71 |
| Yale | 12 | UCLA | NYU | 16.76 |
| Penn State | 13 | Michigan | Columbia | 16.68 |
| UCLA | 14 | NYU | Penn State | 16.12 |
| Columbia | 15 | Penn | UCLA | 14.03 |
| Michigan | 16 | Duke | Michigan | 13.94 |
| UNC | 17 | Columbia | Duke | 13.27 |
| Duke | 18 | UNC | UNC | 11.91 |

As the data indicated at the time, integration was important. Ancient historians and archaeologists have on average higher citation scores compared to other disciplines within Classical Studies. Such a finding suggests that Classics departments, especially if counted by citation scores, would benefit from additional scholars within the most cited fields.

Table 7: Average Number of Citations by Discipline (2013)

| Field | # of Scholars | Total # of Citations | Avg. # of Citations |
|--------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Archaeology | 25 | 26,297 | 1,052 |
| History | 57 | 58,981 | 1,034 |
| Philosophy | 25 | 18,795 | 752 |
| Literature | 85 | 49,788 | 586 |
| Art | 11 | 3,145 | 286 |
| Language | 10 | 2,755 | 275 |

To conclude, I continue to believe that citation scores will increase in their importance over the next decade. As Classics departments are already under pressure, it behooves the field to make positive arguments about the value of the Classics. Citation scores can be part of that positive argument, but only if classicists understand fully how and why they are counted.

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THE ARTIST AND THE HISTORIAN.
THOMAS MANN'S LETTERS TO OTTO SEECK

— SIMONE RENDINA AND SASCHA SCHÄFER* —

ABSTRACT

*Thomas Mann and the historian of the Late Empire Otto Seeck corresponded from 1911 until at least 1917. While all of Seeck's letters to Mann appear to have been lost, there are five surviving letters from Mann to Seeck, four of which are being published here for the first time. Between 1911 and 1917, Mann generally professed conservative political ideas, and during the First World War he enthusiastically supported his country's war efforts. A similar conservative and nationalistic trait can be found in Seeck's popularising works at the time. Thus, before Mann turned to a republican allegiance, he had had an affinity with Seeck, and mentioned the writing of his conservative essay *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen* in two letters to him. On 24 January 1911, Mann thanked Seeck for his hospitality on a visit to Münster and sent an autograph for one of Seeck's daughters. In a letter dated 9 April 1916, Mann outlined the qualities and weaknesses of his own essay on *Frederick the Great*, mentioned its reception among scholars and the wider public, and gave his opinion on historical fiction. On 16 February 1917, he thanked Seeck for sending him one of his essays, and, just over a month later (24 March 1917), for sending him a new essay, and mentioned his own forthcoming book, *Aufzeichnungen eines Unpolitischen* (not yet entitled *Betrachtungen*).*

KEYWORDS

Otto Seeck, Thomas Mann, correspondence, Conservatism, First World War

* The letters were ordered and transcribed by Sascha Schäfer. The introduction and commentary on the letters were written by Simone Rendina. We would like to thank S. Fischer Verlag for allowing us to publish Thomas Mann's letters and the anonymous reviewers of this paper for their advice. Simone Rendina would like to thank Irene Dänzer-Vanotti for giving him permission to publish letters 1, 3, and 5 (NB: letter 3 turned out to have already been published in MANN 1962, 126–7; MANN 2004, 135–6; cf. MANN 1963, 176–7); the staff of the Archive of the University of Münster for giving him permission to publish letters 2 and 4; Sascha Schäfer for reconstructing and transcribing the letters, and for giving him some very timely advice regarding the introduction and commentary; and Prof. Dr. Johannes Hahn for acquainting him with the holdings of the Archive of the University of Münster, especially on Otto Seeck.

I. Mann and Seeck: Some Affinities

The German historian Otto Seeck (1850–1921) is best known for his work *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, in six volumes (Stuttgart–Berlin 1895–1920).¹ He was one of the leading, and indeed pioneering, German scholars of the late Roman Empire in modern times. However, some of his ideas (such as the *Ausrottung der Besten*, i.e. the extinction of the best individuals during the late Roman Empire, which he asserted in *Geschichte*) and his style of argumentation have often been criticised.² Seeck also commented on contemporary German culture and politics, as some of his publications demonstrate, e.g. *Die Entwicklung der antiken Geschichtschreibung und andere populäre Schriften* (Berlin 1898),³ *Katechismus des Weltkrieges. 39 zeitgemäße Fragen nach bestem Wissen und Gewissen beantwortet* (Münster 1917); *Russen und Balten. Drei Vorträge* (Bielefeld–Leipzig 1917).

An overlooked aspect of Seeck's biography is that he corresponded with the great writer Thomas Mann (1875–1955). One of Mann's letters to Seeck has already been published;⁴ four other letters are published in this article for the first time. Copies of the letters numbered 2 and 4 are at the Archive of the University of Münster; letters 1, 3, and 5 belong to Irene Dänzer-Vanotti, Otto Seeck's great-granddaughter. Unfortunately, Seeck's letters to Mann have not been located. It is unlikely that they will

¹ On Otto Seeck, see the following articles and books. Obituaries: MÜNZER 1922; RADERMACHER 1926. Research on his life and works: HOLTZMANN 1949; FURLANI 1953; GONZÁLEZ BLANCO 1988 (a partial bibliography of Seeck's works); LEPPIN 1998; REBENICH 1998; REBENICH 2000a; REBENICH 2000b; BUONOCORE 2005; LORENZ 2006; BRANDT 2010; SCHULLER 2010; SIRKS 2010; LEPPIN 2012; TRAINA 2013; REBENICH forthcoming. Studies of modern classical scholarship with occasional references to Seeck: GELZER 1927, 173–4; MAZZARINO 1951, 9–10, 26; MAZZARINO 1954, 44–6; MARROU 1964, 50–1; MAZZA 1973, 57–71; MOMIGLIANO 1978, 441–2; CHRIST 1979, 258; CANFORA 1980, 41; CHRIST 1982, 69, 144, 188; DEMANDT 1984, 375–6; CROKE 1990, 169–70; BROWN 1997, 7; REBENICH 2002, 159–60, 162–3; LEPPIN 2004, 205–7; MAZZARINO 2008, 123–38; DEMANDT 2008, XVI; MARCONE 2012, 46–7; PELLIZZARI 2014, 220–31; RODA 2014, 287–8.

² He often came into conflict with his mentor, Theodor Mommsen, because of their scientific disagreements: see SEECK 1904; BUONOCORE 2005. MOMIGLIANO 1955, 159 deemed Seeck's *Geschichte* to be «altrettanto dotta e preziosa, quanto sconnessa»; MOMIGLIANO 1960, 106, 113 considered Seeck a «great but erratic scholar» who «never believed anything to be authentic if he could help it».

³ Especially the final section of the book, called *Zeitphrasen* (on pages 243–331). See also GONZÁLEZ BLANCO 1988, 12; REBENICH 1998, 601–3.

⁴ In MANN 1962, 126–7; MANN 2004, 135–6. Italian translation in MANN 1963, 176–7. This letter is not republished in this article, but only summarised (No. 3). A few additions have been made to the commentary on it that can be read in the *Große kommentierte Frankfurter Ausgabe* (hereafter *GKFA*).

ever be found, for five reasons. 1) Generally speaking, a large part of Mann's papers and materials were lost. This happened both because of the many moves the Mann family was compelled to make after Hitler's *Machtergreifung* in 1933 and during the Second World War, and because Mann destroyed the papers that he was no longer interested in, or that he deemed to be dangerous for his image.⁵ 2) Irene Dänzer-Vanotti does not own any copies of Seeck's letters to Mann, as Seeck generally did not keep copies of his own letters. 3) The Archive of the University of Münster, i.e. the university where Seeck taught while he corresponded with Mann, has no copies of Seeck's letters to Mann, although it does have that of a letter sent by Seeck to a colleague.⁶ 4) The database of the Thomas Mann Archives in Zurich contains no trace of them. This digital resource shows a clear pattern: the number of letters sent by Mann to the individuals represented in the Archives is far higher than that of the surviving letters sent to Mann by those very individuals. This suggests that many of the letters that Mann received were lost or destroyed during his lifetime or later, and that the letters sent to him by individuals such as Seeck, who was never a celebrity, were not deemed especially important. 5) Letters sent by or to Mann have been collected and archived in the Thomas Mann Archives since 1956: it does not seem likely that other letters by Seeck are still in the hands of individuals or institutions.⁷

Mann wrote a vast number of letters and notes during his lifetime, but not all of them have survived. He wrote an average of three to four letters a day, sometimes even ten, and left almost no letter unanswered.⁸ He was generally very kind to his correspondents. His tone, however, was largely formal and distant, especially when he wrote letters to his more

⁵ See KURZKE 2009, 78–9 for the material that was lost or destroyed by Mann, or disappeared during the Second World War. KURZKE 2001, 76, 116: as Mann left Munich in 1933, many of his papers disappeared, including several letters; only about 70 of his letters remain from the years 1894 to 1901. KURZKE 2009, 58: only a small part of his library has survived. The story of his personal notes (*Tagebücher*) is complex. KURZKE 2001, 21: in 1896, he burnt all of his previous notes. KURZKE 2001, 179, 270, 399; KURZKE 2009, 9, 79: he kept his notes from September 1918 to December 1921, but he burnt the notes of the years 1904/05 and of the period of the First World War, when he was in California. KURZKE 2001, 396–8: in April 1933, Mann lost track of a case containing personal papers, such as the *Tagebücher* 1896–1933, most of which he destroyed some years after he recovered them. KURZKE 2001, 592: he kept his notes from 1933 to 1951.

⁶ <https://www.uni-muenster.de/Archiv.Findbuecher/Bestand007>

⁷ <http://www.online.tma.ethz.ch/home/#/content/fa056eee2c5946e795cc25e1ae079568>

⁸ KURZKE 2001, 185.

occasional correspondents.⁹ It would make sense to include Seeck among the latter, if we consider that we only have five letters from Mann to Seeck, and Mann is generally neutral towards him, except for letter 4, in which he jokingly comments on Seeck's new style of beard.

However, the relationship between Mann and Seeck was deeper and more complex than the ones Mann had with most of his other correspondents. It lasted for about six years, from 1911 until at least 1917. As the commentary by T. Sprecher, H.R. Vaget and C. Bernini shows, they first met in January 1911 in Münster, where Seeck had taught Ancient History since 1907. The occasion of Mann's visit to Münster was a *Lesereise*. On the morning of 21 January 1911, Mann and Seeck took a walk together through Münster; later on the same day, Mann was a guest at Seeck's home in Gertrudenstraße 43.¹⁰ After Seeck's death (29 June 1921), Mann sent Seeck's widow a letter of condolence on 22 July 1921, in which he assured her that her husband would not be forgotten in the world of scholarship, to which Seeck had made so many distinguished contributions, as well as by those who had known him personally.¹¹

It appears that Seeck and Mann shared several ideas: ideologically they were both conservative.¹² Mann's *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen* (written between autumn 1915 and early 1918, and published at the end of September 1918, about one month before the end of the Great War)

⁹ KURZKE 2001, 151, 185: few of his letters deal with intimate aspects; «Briefe, das war seine Art, die Menschen aus der Ferne zu lieben, aus der Einsamkeit auszubrechen und sich doch vor Zudringlichkeit zu schützen».

¹⁰ See Thomas Mann's letter to his brother Heinrich in MANN 2002b, 472–3 (26 January 1911) and HEINE, SCHOMMER 2004, 58: «20. Januar: Münster. Im Saal des Städtischen Realgymnasiums liest TM, eingeladen von der Literarischen Gesellschaft, aus *Königliche Hoheit* und *Schwere Stunde*. Er logiert im Hotel König von England. Eine Besprechung der Lesung kritisiert, dass die gelesenen Stücke nicht gleichmäßig glücklich und fein ausgewählt gewesen seien. Die Ballepisode aus *Königliche Hoheit* hätte, trotz aller aufgebotenen komischen Mittel, keinen echten Humor gezeigt und keine humorvoll angeregte Stimmung zu wecken vermocht. Mit der Novelle *Schwere Stunde* habe der Dichter ein ergreifendes, wiedererlebtes Bild gebracht (*Auf Roter Erde*, Heimatbeilage der *Westfälische Nachrichten*, 7.11.1989). 21. Januar: Münster. In Begleitung von Prof. Otto Seeck, Ordinarius für Alte Geschichte an der Universität Münster, macht TM einen Vormittagsspaziergang durch Münster und ist in seinem Hause, Gertrudenstraße 43 zu Gast (An Otto Seeck, R 11/3)». A novel describes Mann and Seeck's encounter and the former's visit to Münster: ENGELS 2010.

¹¹ Referenced in MANN 1976, *Reg.* 26/121 (mistakenly under the year 1926); MANN 2004, 630. There is a scan of this letter in the Thomas-Mann-Archiv (henceforth TMA: B-I-SEEC-1).

¹² Mann's political stance can be defined as "conservative", at least for the years of his correspondence with Seeck. See *infra*.

is a complex, apparently unbridled statement of his political creed.¹³ The book condemned literature along with democracy, which Mann equated with politics as a whole.¹⁴ According to Mann, Germany had no vocation towards politics and democracy; on the other hand, the “democratic” countries were hostile to Germany’s assertion of its own identity.¹⁵

In his essay *Friedrich und die große Koalition. Ein Abriß für den Tag und die Stunde* (1915), which will be discussed later in this paper, Mann also criticised democracy, which at the time he considered to be the opposite of bourgeoisie, humanity, and freedom. However, in a preface to a new edition of this essay in 1953, he criticised himself for not having understood the value of democracy as he was writing the essay.¹⁶ While writing his *Betrachtungen* and *Friedrich*, Mann frequently changed his mind about democracy. In a passage of his *Betrachtungen*, he claimed that he was not hostile to it, a few lines after defining himself as an anti-democratic.¹⁷ He seems to have finally abandoned his previous conservative stance by early 1922, and made his change of mind public through his speech *Von deutscher Republik* (October 1922).¹⁸ However, as H. Kurzke has demonstrated, the idea of Mann’s full conversion to the republican cause in 1922 is a simplification.¹⁹ After the First World War, Mann made many statements that he would later contradict. He anxiously searched for his own political identity, by experimenting with monarchy, social democracy, the *Räterepublik*, communism, and radical conservative positions.²⁰ Ultimately, in 1922 he thought that finding a middle ground among conservatives, liberals, and social democrats was the only solution to the political crisis originating from the First World War.²¹

¹³ For the dates of composition and publication of *Betrachtungen*, see MARIANELLI 1997, 20–1; KURZKE 2001, 236; MANN 2004, 13; MANN 2009, 12; KURZKE 2009, 9, 43, 55; ALESSIATO 2011, 23. Its earliest sections were written at the beginning of the war, while the most recent ones between late 1917 and early 1918.

¹⁴ MANN 2009, 32–3; KURZKE 2001, 265. MANN 2009, 286: “Conservative” is also considered to be the same thing as “national”, while “democratic” is seen as the same thing as “international”. MANN 2009, 388: democracy equals politics, civilisation and Europeanism. MANN 2009, 290–3, 295–6: Mann is also hostile to universal suffrage, although in the end he admits that it must be accepted.

¹⁵ MANN 2009, 33–4, 286–7.

¹⁶ CARLI 1986, X; MANN 1986, 3.

¹⁷ MANN 2009, 357, 359; KURZKE 2009, 14. KURZKE 2001, 190: in 1910 Mann said that he was not a democrat.

¹⁸ KURZKE 2001, 346; KURZKE 2009, 106.

¹⁹ KURZKE 2001, 272; KURZKE 2009, 101.

²⁰ KURZKE 2001, 273; KURZKE 2009, 102.

²¹ MANN 2009, 106–7.

When Mann wrote his *Betrachtungen, Friedrich*, and the letters to Seeck, he still behaved as a conservative. As he argued in his *Betrachtungen*, conservatism did not indicate the will to maintain everything as it was, as conservatives were also ready to accept reforms. Being conservative meant wanting Germany to stay German.²² In one passage of his *Betrachtungen*, Mann also declared that he was not a conservative, as this kind of political position was far from his nature, although he did have conservative inclinations.²³ On 22 June 1920, Mann affirmed that he was a conservative, without endorsing any conservative party.²⁴ According to a critic (Kurt Hiller, 1925), Mann had always been a conservative.²⁵ In *Von deutscher Republik* (1922), Mann claimed that he was not a fervent republican, but rather a conservative.²⁶

H. Kurzke has shown that Mann was never fully convinced of his own conservative ideology, and that he was never intimately a conservative: «Was die konkreten Handlungen und Ereignisse betrifft, so zeigt sowohl die Entstehungs- als auch die Wirkungsgeschichte des Kriegsbuches, dass Thomas Mann mit der rechten oder gar rechtsradikalen Bewegung nichts zu schaffen hat».²⁷ His political opinions at the time of the First World War were not distinct or realistic.²⁸ Although Mann placed himself in a tradition of conservative thought, he was not very familiar with the classic texts of conservatism.²⁹ His *Betrachtungen*, although nationalist and

²² MANN 2009, 286.

²³ MANN 2009, 635–6; KURZKE 2001, 255; KURZKE 2009, 16.

²⁴ KURZKE 2009, 111–12.

²⁵ KURZKE 2009, 115.

²⁶ KURZKE 2009, 122.

²⁷ KURZKE 2009, 683. His opposition to radical rightwing positions became clear during Hitler's rise to power: Mann «scelse al momento giusto di non seguire la strada della collaborazione fra conservatori e nazisti» (JESI 2011, 41); in 1921, he began to fight against fascism with great consistency (KURZKE 2001, 354).

²⁸ KURZKE 2001, 274; KURZKE 2009, 103. KURZKE 2001, 97–8: he was not sincerely national conservative. KURZKE 2009, 103–4: as for his actual political choices, on 12 January 1919 he voted for the *Nationalliberale Deutsche Volkspartei*, and he did not vote in the election of the *Reichstag* of 6 June 1920. KURZKE 2009, 105–6: he quickly changed his mind regarding the *Bayerische Räterepublik*. For a certain amount of time, he was a supporter of monarchy. See KURZKE 2001, 95–6, 190, 255: *Königliche Hoheit* (1909) was not an exaltation of democracy, but rather a book supporting the idea of monarchy; at the time of the First World War, Mann was a monarchist, as demonstrated by MANN 2009, 285. KURZKE 2001, 96: until 1914, his support for the monarchy prevailed over his interest in liberalism, communism and social democracy. From 1895 to 1896, Mann worked for a national conservative journal. KURZKE 2001, 356: by ca. 1930, he was certainly a social democrat.

²⁹ KURZKE 2009, 69.

conservative in the views they put forward, were internationalist, democratic, intellectualist, and *zivilisationsliterarisch* in their form and style.³⁰ Ultimately, his conservative attitude was only a way to provoke and defy his brother and rival Heinrich.³¹ Despite all his political fantasies, ranging from national conservatism to Bolshevik ideology, immediately after the end of the war he became a loyal republican.³² However, in light of the numerous conservative views that Mann expressed at the time of the First World War, it is clear that he chose to publicly present himself as a conservative in those years, and it is likely that in his relations to individuals with whom he was not intimate, such as Seeck, he showed that outward image of himself.

Otto Seeck, for his part, expressed his conservative beliefs on several occasions, especially in *Katechismus des Weltkrieges* and *Russen und Balten*.³³ He was a conservative member of the German bourgeoisie, with a veneration for Bismarck, to whom he paid a visit with his own family around 1891.³⁴ In addition to these two pamphlets, there are Seeck's comments on the political thought and activity of Theodor Mommsen, who had been his *Meister*. While praising Mommsen's greatness as a scholar of Roman history, Seeck considered him a failed politician. His liberal opposition to Bismarck had been pointless, and he had not understood the times he lived in. This was due to the fact that his political ideas had remained firmly rooted in 1848 («... der schon Gealterte [besaß] nicht mehr die Biagsamkeit [...], daß er hätte aufhören können, ein Achtundvierziger zu sein»).³⁵

Mann also subtly criticised his correspondent's liberal mentor — Theodor Mommsen — in his *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*. In 1875, Mommsen had expressed his opposition to the possibility that Germany

³⁰ KURZKE 2001, 255; KURZKE 2009, 139.

³¹ KURZKE 2001, 116.

³² KURZKE 2001, 348.

³³ Significantly, CANFORA 1980, 41 mentions the works written by Mann during the Great War and Seeck's *Katechismus des Weltkrieges*. Both works are samples of the «guerra degli spiriti» that took place during the First World War. Seeck's pamphlet is presented as one of the most uncompromising essays of those years («testi sconcertanti»); Mann's writings are described as almost fanatical («i testi più allarmanti»).

³⁴ This fact is attested by an unpublished text: the memoirs of Lilli, Otto's eldest daughter, written by herself in 1920 on her father's 70th birthday. This text belongs to Irene Dänzer-Vanotti, who kindly granted us access to it.

³⁵ Comments on Mommsen as a politician are contained in the obituary Seeck wrote for Mommsen (1817–1903): SEECK 1904, 102–4. The quotation is from page 104. See REBENICH 1997, 235–6 n. 89. See also an earlier essay, SEECK 1898, 305–6: although Mommsen is an outstanding scholar, he has committed many mistakes as a politician. Criticising Bismarck was one of these mistakes.

would be involved in any unnecessary wars. In his view, Germany should avoid any war, if possible, and should not shed the blood of its own young citizens.³⁶ This stance was a far cry from Mann's militant position during the First World War. In another passage of his *Betrachtungen*, Mann voices disapproval of Mommsen's denunciation of German imperialism (which was heavily criticised in a letter written by Mommsen in 1898). Mommsen (here defined as a *Zivilisationsliterat*), as Mann stresses, while attacking Germany's bellicosity, neglected to condemn Italian, French, and English imperialism.³⁷

Another more controversial intellectual figure that connects Seeck and Mann, though more indirectly than Mommsen, was Oswald Spengler, the author of *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* (two volumes, 1918 and 1922). As far as the title of his masterpiece was concerned, Spengler was inspired by the title of Seeck's *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*.³⁸ However, it is doubtful that Spengler actually read Seeck's *Geschichte*.³⁹ As far as we know, Spengler only saw one of Seeck's volumes in a bookshop window in 1912, which was the moment when he decided on the title of his work.⁴⁰ On the other hand, Spengler exerted a strong influence on Mann after the first volume of *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* appeared. Mann read it in June–July 1919. In December 1919, he enthusiastically read Spengler's *Preußentum und Sozialismus*. However, in 1922, Mann negatively re-evaluated Spengler and his main work.⁴¹

³⁶ MANN 2009, 372–3. The speech quoted by Mann is Theodor Mommsen's *Rede zur Gedächtnisfeier der Universität am 3. August 1875 (Reden und Aufsätze, Berlin 1905, 29–30)*.

³⁷ MANN 2009, 386–8. On Mommsen's political views, see, in addition to SEECK 1904, 102–4, HARTMANN 1908, 112–131; WICKERT 1959–80; REBENICH 2002, 14, 68, 157, 165–93; DEMANDT, GOLTZ, SCHLANGE-SCHÖNINGEN 2005; WIESEHÖFER 2005.

³⁸ For the relations between Spengler and Seeck, see REBENICH forthcoming.

³⁹ According to KOKTANEK 1968, 141, «Merkwürdigerweise bezieht sich Spengler nirgends auf Seeck».

⁴⁰ The testimony to Spengler being inspired by the title of Seeck's work came from Spengler's sister. See KOKTANEK 1968, 140. Another document relating this moment is referenced by BOTERMAN 1992, 26 n. 95. This is an interview with Spengler, from *Leipziger neueste Nachrichten* of 22 October 1922 (*non vidi*). As for Seeck's knowledge of Spengler's work, we only have a very thin piece of evidence. GONZÁLEZ BLANCO 1988, 13, mentions a work by Seeck titled *Oswald Spengler und der Geist der Geschichte*, dated to 1920. However, it is not specified where it was published — thus, we can assume it was a conference. Unfortunately, it is not possible to gather more information on *Oswald Spengler und der Geist der Geschichte* and its content. In any case, Seeck died in 1921, thus may have read the first volume of *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* (1918).

⁴¹ MARIANELLI 1997, 599–600; KURZKE 2001, 273, 286, 358; HEINE, SCHOMMER 2004, 93, 96, 270; KURZKE 2009, 103, 113. See also HELLMANN 1968, 336–7 for Mann's

A shared interest of both Seeck and Mann was Russia. In his treatise *Russen und Balten* (1917), Seeck analysed the history of Russia and various problems regarding contemporary Russia in three chapters: *Die Entwicklung des russischen Volkscharakters*, *Die Russen unter dem Einfluß des Westens*, and *Die Deutschen im russischen Reiche*. Seeck's judgement on the Russians was far from positive. Their national character had been conditioned negatively by centuries of servitude, as Seeck insists in chapter one.⁴² Servitude had made Russians fatalist and dependent on their despots. The exact month of publication of *Russen und Balten* is unknown. It was certainly published before the October Revolution, but Seeck was clearly informed about the preparations for the revolution. A more precise *terminus ante quem* for the publication is 24 March 1917, the date on which Mann wrote to Seeck (letter No. 5 in this edition) mentioning that he had received a copy of the book from the publishing house.

In contrast, Mann held the Russians in high esteem. He expressed his respect for them in the *Betrachtungen*, where Germans and Russians are presented as two peoples joined by the same fate. Both were enemies of Western *Zivilisation*, and of France in particular. In addition, Mann showed his admiration for Russian literature.⁴³ Mann finished composing his *Betrachtungen* on the day when negotiations were announced for the armistice between Germany and Russia. From then on, Germany's war would continue only against the West, the *trois pays libres*, *Zivilisation*, *Literatur*, *Politik*, and *der rhetorische Bourgeois*.⁴⁴ For some time, Mann even showed sympathy for communism.⁴⁵ After he perceived the dangers of fascism, it was fascism, not communism, that became the real enemy

eventual opposition to Spengler and his fatalism. For his part, Spengler read Mann's *Betrachtungen*: see KURZKE 2009, 127–8. For Spengler's opinion of Mann, see HEINE, SCHOMMER 2004, 68.

⁴² SEECK 1917b, 1–31. The biological process that made this situation possible was a *verkehrte Auslese*, i.e. an “inverted selection”, as Seeck maintains on pages 16–7 and 79. This is what Seeck defines as *Ausrottung der Besten* in his *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*. This was, in his view, the main cause of the end of the ancient world. However, modern Germany was not involved in this negative process. See SEECK 1898, 254–64.

⁴³ MANN 2009, 325–7, 476–80, 638, cf. 53. See MARIANELLI 1997, 23–4; KURZKE 2001, 280–5. Cf. ALESSIATO 2011, 70.

⁴⁴ MANN 2009, 638. KURZKE 2001, 282: «Der Verstörung durch die Revolution zum Trotz ist der Schluß des Buches wieder russophil»; 284: Germany and Russia were destined to walk into the future hand in hand.

⁴⁵ KURZKE 2001, 283: in his notes, on 22 March 1919, Mann claimed that he appreciated everything healthy, human, national, hostile to the *Entente*, and anti-political in *Spartacismus*, communism, and Bolshevism.

of society for him.⁴⁶ He also maintained relations with Russia during the Second World War and during the Cold War.⁴⁷

An important aspect of Mann's letters to Seeck is that four out of five of them were sent during the Great War, more precisely in 1916/17.⁴⁸ They do not mention the War directly; however, both Mann and Seeck reflected on it intensively during those years. In these letters, Mann discussed twice his essay *Friedrich und die große Koalition. Ein Abriß für den Tag und die Stunde* (1915), which presented Frederick II of Prussia as a model of tenacity for the Germans in the Great War.⁴⁹ Seeck, for his part, expressed his appreciation for Mann's essay on Frederick II⁵⁰ — which, however, generally produced negative reactions among scholars and experts on the history of Prussia.⁵¹ Mann had always been fascinated by Frederick, about whom he had planned to write a novel in around 1906; however, the novel was never written.⁵² The composition of the essay on Frederick, on the other hand, was prompted by the current war, as Mann related in his *Betrachtungen*.⁵³ In letter No. 2, Mann confirms this idea: «Der Aufsatz ist eine Improvisation, zu der die Zeitereignisse und das bei aller Erschütterung fast erheiternde historische Wiedererkennen mich mächtig aufforderten». In his *Betrachtungen*, he also explained that the essay on Frederick dealt with the relations between defensive and offensive military strategies, and mentioned the negative reception it received

⁴⁶ KURZKE 2001, 285.

⁴⁷ KURZKE 2001, 481–7. During his stay in the USA, he was suspected of being a communist by the FBI: see KURZKE 2001, 481.

⁴⁸ Letters 2 to 5 were sent in 1916/17. See the study of these letters in the second part of this article. The years in which these letters were sent were not exciting times for Mann. See KURZKE 2001, 260: «er verarmte sogar ein kleines bißchen und errang von 1914 bis 1918 weder öffentliche Ehrungen noch literarische Erfolge. Es waren die schwersten Jahre seines Lebens».

⁴⁹ *Friedrich* was written in September–December 1914 and was published in «Der Neue Merkur» of January–February 1915, pp. 353–99. It was later published as a separate booklet in Berlin in 1915. See CARLI 1986, XI; MARIANELLI 1997, 18 n. 2; ALESSIATO 2011, 20 n. 3. For the general aspects of this essay, see HELLMANN 1968; WILLIAMS 1969; KURZKE 2001, 180–1, 244–7. The reference edition is MANN 2002a, 55–122.

⁵⁰ See Mann's letters 2 and 3, where the author reacts to Seeck's approval of his writing.

⁵¹ WILLIAMS 1969, 151; CARLI 1986, XII. See also the case of Professor Otto Hintze in letter 2.

⁵² KURZKE 2001, 180–1.

⁵³ MANN 2009, 83.

in some German circles.⁵⁴ There he also explained the connection between the essay on Frederick and the historical situation in which it was written.⁵⁵ This connection, however, had already been made clear in the pages of *Friedrich*: the First World War was just a repetition or a continuation («Wiederholung oder Fortsetzung») of the Seven Years' War. The invasion of neutral Saxony by Frederick II recalled (and justified) the invasion of neutral Belgium by the Germans in the First World War.⁵⁶

In addition, in two letters to Seeck, Mann mentioned that he was writing the essay that would eventually become *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen* — in which the ongoing war featured as one of the primary themes.⁵⁷ Mann also devoted other minor essays to the First World War (in addition to *Friedrich* and *Betrachtungen*).⁵⁸ Seeck, on the other hand, published his *Katechismus des Weltkrieges* in 1917, in the same period as the correspondence.⁵⁹

In Mann's and Seeck's essays on the First World War, they both show a favourable attitude towards the conflict, and fully justify the motives for which Germans were fighting in it. Later, they had to deal with Germany's

⁵⁴ MANN 2009, 205–7. See KURZKE 2009, 310–4.

⁵⁵ MANN 2009, 221–3.

⁵⁶ MANN 2002a, 55, 100–1. For Mann's idea that the First World War was a repetition or a continuation of the Seven Years' War, and for the similarity of the invasion of Belgium to that of Saxony, see also HELLMANN 1968, 324, 327, 329, 339–40: the First World War represented an attempt by the European powers to eliminate Germany from the political and military arena; however, Mann claimed that Germany would win the war again, as it did under Frederick — therefore, Mann's essay was «Kriegs- und Durchhaltepropaganda». The propaganda value of the essay, especially with regards to the invasion of neutral Belgium, is also stressed by WILLIAMS 1969, 150–1; CARLI 1986, XI; KURZKE 2001, 246. For the meaning of this essay see also JESI 2018, 267–8, 271, focusing on Frederick's vocation to war, which was imposed upon him by a higher will. According to HELLMANN 1968, 342, Mann's *Friedrich* represented the ideology of the German conservative bourgeoisie of the end of the Wilhelmine era. Cf. Seeck's defence of the German invasion of Belgium in SEECK 1917a, 108–11.

⁵⁷ Letters 3 and 5.

⁵⁸ These essays are *Gute Feldpost* (published in October 1914); *Gedanken im Kriege* (November 1914); a letter to «Svenska Dagbladet» (published in a German translation in June 1915); *Gedanken zum Kriege* (published in the «Frankfurter Zeitung» on 1 August 1915); and *An die Armeezeitung A.O.K. 10* (early 1916). See WILLIAMS 1969, 147; CARLI 1986, XI–XII; KURZKE 2001, 236; KURZKE 2009, 9; MANN 2009, 51–2, 176–8; ALESSIATO 2011, 20 n. 3. See also KURZKE 2009, 113 n. 70 for the reception of these works.

⁵⁹ In that same year, he also published *Russen und Balten*, which, however, does not primarily deal with the First World War.

defeat. Mann distanced himself from conservative and pro-war movements in the following decades.⁶⁰ However, he never totally rejected his own *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*. Mann thought that his works did not show any major break with his conservative past. He did not regret writing his *Betrachtungen*. In a letter to Ida Boy-Ed of 5 December 1922, he wrote: «Ich verleugne nichts. Dieser Aufsatz (*scil. Von deutscher Republik*) ist die gerade Fortsetzung der wesentlichen Linie der *Betrachtungen*».⁶¹ He confirmed his political views in his own notes: «Ich bereue kein Wort» (16 September 1918). However, he also willingly accepted corrections on the *Betrachtungen* (1 December 1921).⁶² In 1927, he wrote that his *Betrachtungen*, «ästhetisch, als Dichtung genommen» were more valid and important than «jene väterliche Ermunterung zur Republik (*scil. Von deutscher Republik*)».⁶³ Although he distanced himself from the ideal of the *Unpolitisch* in the following years,⁶⁴ as M. Marianelli stressed, he never disavowed *Betrachtungen*, even in the final years of his life: «Mann [...] poco prima di morire, aveva considerato l'ipotesi di ripresentare l'opera nella stesura originale, preceduta da una sua rimediazione. Con l'edizione del 1956, la prima di tutta una serie, Erika Mann realizzò quel progetto».⁶⁵

Seeck lost his son Fritz in the Great War, in 1914,⁶⁶ and dedicated the sixth and last volume of his *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt* (Stuttgart 1920) to him.⁶⁷ Some of Seeck's colleagues also died in the First World War, including, amongst others, Kurt Fitzler, who was writing the entry on Augustus for the *Pauly–Wissowa* encyclopedia of classical antiquity before he lost his life in battle (1914). Fitzler had gathered material on Augustus, which Seeck later used to complete this work. At the end of the entry, Seeck acknowledged Fitzler's scientific contribution and celebrated his *Heldentod*.⁶⁸ These two deaths were depicted by Seeck

⁶⁰ See above.

⁶¹ MANN 2004, 454–5; KURZKE 2009, 122.

⁶² KURZKE 2001, 272–3.

⁶³ KURZKE 2009, 122–3.

⁶⁴ KURZKE 2009, 122–4.

⁶⁵ MARIANELLI 1997, 24–5. See also JESI 2018, 268, who argues that there was no clear-cut discontinuity in Mann's mindset from 1914 to 1940.

⁶⁶ We owe this piece of information (Fritz's exact year of death) to Irene Dänzer-Vanotti.

⁶⁷ SEECK 1920, dedication (no page number): «Meinem Sohne Fritz, der zur Rettung des überfallenen Deutschlands vergebens sein junges, freudenreiches Leben hingepflegt hat, zum dauernden Gedächtnis».

⁶⁸ FITZLER, SEECK 1918, 381. The word *Heldentod* is also used in reference to the Germans who died in the First World War in SEECK 1917a, 36.

as heroic sacrifices. It is possible that Seeck was thinking about his personal loss: in *Katechismus des Weltkrieges* (1917), he claimed that the Germans who had lost their relatives in the war were proud of their sacrifice.⁶⁹

The last surviving letter that Mann sent to Seeck is dated 24 March 1917 (No. 5). Unless some later letters were lost, we may suppose that the urgency of their mutual exchange of opinions was exhausted after that date. However, we cannot be sure that Mann had decided to interrupt their correspondence forever. We cannot know whether Mann's dismissal of his own earlier conservative ideas and his turn to republicanism (made public by his *Republikrede* in October 1922) might have impacted on Mann and Seeck's relations. It is likely that Mann and Seeck were still on good terms when the latter died on 29 June 1921, and that it was not political or cultural disagreements that led to their correspondence being discontinued. In fact, as we have seen, Mann sent Seeck's widow a letter of condolence (albeit admittedly just a conventional text). In addition, the absence of letters from 24 March 1917 to 29 June 1921 (four years) is not striking, since five years had also passed from letter No. 1 (24 January 1911) to No. 2 (9 April 1916).⁷⁰

In letter No. 3, Mann promised Seeck to read the already published volumes of Seeck's *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt* as soon as he could. We do not know whether this ever happened. To the best of our knowledge, Seeck and Mann never discussed Roman history in their correspondence. Indeed, as the first two chapters of Mann's *Betrachtungen (Der Protest and Das unliterarische Land)* show, Mann had somewhat of an aversion against ancient Rome, which he considered as the archetype of *Zivilisation*. He knew Latin only at an adequate level, and had no Greek.⁷¹ In his teenage years he wrote a lost *Romanze* on a Roman character, Arria, the wife of Aulus Caecina Paetus, who famously committed suicide with her husband under the rule of emperor Claudius.⁷² Leo Naphta, a character of his *Der Zauberberg* (1924), polemically presents Virgil as a symbol of the western classical, medieval

⁶⁹ SEECK 1917a, 35: «Wie anders die Mütter und Väter, die Frauen und Bräute, die ihr Liebstes verloren haben und in der Größe ihres Vaterlandes Trost zu finden wissen, ja stolz darauf sind, daß Gott sie gewürdigt hat, ein so großes Opfer, wenn auch mit bitterem Schmerz, für Deutschlands Rettung darzubringen».

⁷⁰ In his second letter to Seeck, Mann refers to their encounter in Münster. This suggests that there had been no other, recent or noteworthy encounter between them. Had they been corresponding continuously, it would have been peculiar to refer to this five-year-old event.

⁷¹ KURZKE 2001, 38.

⁷² KURZKE 2001, 58.

and Christian heritage, but one must bear in mind that the opinions of Naphta do not necessarily correspond to those of Mann.⁷³ In the novel, Naphta is a Jewish and communist Jesuit, while his antagonist, Settembrini, is a *Zivilisationsliterat*.⁷⁴ Did Mann fully agree with Settembrini, who, on the other hand, admired Virgil? In 1934, Mann expressed his own opinion that «das Christentum, diese Blüte des Judentums, bleibt einer der beiden Grundpfeiler, auf denen die abendländische Gesittung ruht und von denen der andere die mediterrane Antike ist».⁷⁵ However, this change of Mann's opinion took place many years after he corresponded with Seeck and the latter's death. What united Seeck and Mann for some years was their common interest in contemporary issues, literature, and historical theory, in addition to their conservative views on these matters.

II. The Letters

All letters are handwritten. The total number of letters and the page sequence within the letters had to be reconstructed before transcription from a series of unsorted pages. The transcriptions faithfully reproduce the original texts; line breaks are kept, as well as indentations and underlining; page breaks are indicated. The letters appear in chronological order.

1) 24 January 1911 (Property of Irene Dänzer-Vanotti). Referenced in Mann 1976, *Reg.* 11/3.⁷⁶

On his return to Munich from Münster, Mann sends Seeck some autograph lines from his own play *Fiorenza*, as a gift for one of Seeck's daughters. Mann also thanks Seeck for the great kindness and care that he showed him in Münster and for a pleasant morning walk they had in that city.

⁷³ CANFORA 2017, 4–5. See *Der Zauberberg*, ch. 6, *Als Soldat und brav*.

⁷⁴ KURZKE 2001, 329, 518.

⁷⁵ KURZKE 2001, 442.

⁷⁶ There is a scan of this letter in the TMA (B-I-SEECK-1). A section of this letter is quoted in MANN 2004, 630.

München, den 24. Jan. 1911
Mauerkircherstr. 13.

Sehr verehrter Herr Geheimrat:

In den heimatlichen Hafem
wieder eingelaufen, erinnere
ich mich vor Allem (*sic!*) mei-
nes Versprechens ein „Auto-
gramm“ für Ihr Fräulein
Tochter betreffend. Hoffentlich
ist ihr mit dem Beifolgen-
den gedient. Es sind ein
paar mir liebe und wichtige

— *page break* —

Zeilen aus „Fiorenza“.

Diese Gelegenheit, Ihnen
nochmals für die große Güte
und Aufmerksamkeit zu
danken, mit der Sie sich
in Münster meiner annah-
men, lasse ich mir nicht
entgehen. Ich werde den
schönen Vormittagsgang unter
Ihrer kundigen Führung stets
in dankbarer Erinnerung
bewahren.

Mit den verbindlichsten

— *page break* —

Grüßen und Empfehlungen bin
ich, sehr verehrter Herr Pr.
Geheimrat,

Ihr ergebener
Thomas Mann.

Fiore Ich will nur einem Helden gehören, Piero de' Medici.

Piero Einem Helden? Ich bin ein Held. Italien weiß es.

Fiore Du bist kein Held; du bist nur stark. Und du langweilst mich.

Piero Nur stark? Nur stark? Ist denn, wer stark ist, kein Held?

Fiore Nein. Sondern wer schwach ist, aber so

— *page break* —

glühenden Geistes, daß er sich dennoch den Kranz gewinnt, — der ist ein Held.

(„Fiorenza“ II. Akt)
Thomas Mann

München, den 24. Jan. 1911] Sent from Munich shortly after Mann and Seeck's first encounter, which took place in Münster on 21 January 1911 (see above). Mann's letter is probably his initiative, as he does not mention any letter sent by Seeck between their encounter and 24 January 1911.

Mauerkircherstr. 13] Mann lived in Mauerkircherstraße 13 with his family from 1 October 1910 to 5 January 1914, when he moved to Poschingerstraße 1. See Kurzke 2001, 176; Heine, Schommer 2004, 56, 68.

Geheimrat] Honorific title for high-ranking German officials, including professors.

Ihr Fräulein Tochter] Seeck had three daughters: Lilli (Louise Ottilie), Mali (Amalie), and Hedda (Hedwig). Lilli, the eldest daughter, was born in 1885 and had been married to the classical philologist Ludwig Radermacher since 1904. Mali, born in 1891, got married on 25 September 1911; Hedda, born in 1894, got married in 1920. Thus, the *Fräulein* mentioned by Mann on 24 January 1911 was either Mali or Hedda.⁷⁷

Fiorenza] A play by Thomas Mann, first published in 1905, set in Florence in 1492. The main characters of the play are Lorenzo de' Medici, Girolamo Savonarola, and the courtesan Fiore, who is the object of amorous attention by both Lorenzo and Girolamo. Its main theme is the relationship between

⁷⁷ We owe part of this information to Irene Dänzer-Vanotti. Details on Seeck's children can be found in Lilli's unpublished memoirs (see above, n. 34). Some information on Lilli can be found in SCHWABL 2003. For Mali, see <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd1169405150.html>.

spirit, art, and life. See Mann 2009, 101–5, 415–6; see also Kurzke 2001, 89, 118–20, 176–80; Jesi 2018, 105–6. Why Mann chose to send these very lines to Seeck's daughter is not quite clear. He was probably fond of them; alternatively, we may suppose that he had discussed his play *Fiorenza* with Seeck's daughter while at Seeck's home.

Ihrer kundigen Führung] This presumably refers to Seeck's knowledge of the features of Münster. Seeck had lived in Münster since 1907. In that year, he left the University of Greifswald and moved to the recently established University of Münster. For Seeck and Mann's encounter in Münster, see Heine, Schommer 2004, 58 (already quoted above, n. 10).

2) 9 April 1916 (Copy in the Universitätsarchiv Münster, Bestand 7, Nummer 48).

Mann thanks Seeck for a letter he has received from him. This letter (now lost) contained Seeck's congratulations to Mann for his essay *Friedrich und die große Koalition*. Mann, on the other hand, admits that this was nothing more than a "historical bungling" («historische Pfuscherei»), in which enthusiasm prevailed over the knowledge of the facts; in fact, the historian Otto Hintze had been very dismissive of the book. Mann, however, did not think very highly of Hintze. After recalling his own visit to Münster, during which he first met Seeck, Mann confesses that the essay on Frederick is only a "sketch" (*Abriß*), and expresses his own hopes of putting his full strength to the test once more by tackling that theme again and developing it further. The essay on Frederick is presented as an improvisation, prompted by the similarity of the current events of the First World War to those of the Seven Years' War. Mann, however, praises the literary quality of his own essay, which won him praise and success, in spite of some criticism "from Cologne": 25,000 copies of the booklet were already circulating.

Mann agrees with Seeck with regards on the idea (that Seeck had expressed in his now lost letter) that the "Ulenspiegel" by Charles De Coster was not history, but rather folk literature, lyrically transformed history, and mythologised history. All modern historical fiction, according to Mann, was turning into such a mythologised history. The more ancient literary genre of the "historical novel", on the other hand, was neither art nor science, but rather a bourgeois compromise, or, as Nietzsche would say, a form of cultural philistinism.

Bad Tölz den 9.IV.16

Sehr verehrter Herr Professor:

Für Ihren überaus liebenswürdigen und geistvollen Brief nehmen Sie meinen allerherzlichsten Dank. Er hat mich hoch erfreut, gerührt und beschämt; denn ich habe mir nie träumen lassen, daß ich mit meiner historischen Puscherei, bei der Begeisterung ordentliches Wissen ersetzen mußte, einem Manne wie Ihnen würde Genüge thun können, — besonders, da man mir erzählte, daß Ihr Kollege Hinze (*sic!*) in Berlin sich

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höchst wegwerfend über das Schriftchen geäußert habe. Freilich halte ich ihn aus guten Gründen für kein großes Licht.

Wie gut ich mich an unsere Unterhaltung in Münster erinnere, — dem schönen, mir unvergeßlichen Münster! Nein, dieses Friedrich-Portrait soll wirklich nichts weiter sein, als ein „Abriß für den Tag und die Stunde“, und ich gebe die Hoffnung nicht auf, noch einmal meine volle Kraft — sei sie nun zureichend oder nicht — an dem herrlichen Gegenstand zu erproben. Der Aufsatz ist

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eine Improvisation, zu der die Zeitereignisse und das bei aller Erschütterung fast erheiternde historische Wiedererkennen mich mächtig aufforderten. Daß ich von langer Hand her gut vorbereitet war,

hat der kleinen Arbeit, die mir hurtiger von der Hand ging, als jede frühere, freie⁷⁸ Leichtigkeit und innere Luftigkeit⁷⁹ gegeben, die ihr wohl hauptsächlich die Sympathien gewinnt. Wollen Sie glauben, daß sie schon in 25000 Exemplaren verbreitet ist? Und selbst die Kritiken sind nicht durchweg im Geiste der „kölnischen“ gehalten.

Sie haben vollkommen recht: Der

— *page break* —

Ulenspiegel ist nicht Geschichte, er ist volkstümlich — dichterisch verarbeitete Geschichte, mythisierte Geschichte, und als ich de Coster vorbildlich nannte, wollte ich nur ausdrücken, daß meiner Meinung nach alle moderne geschichtliche Dichtung in diesen Bahnen wandelt, d.h. den historischen Stoff und die historische Gestalt mythisch machen müßte, — ja, daß auf dem Gebiete historisierender Kunst das Dichterische mit dem Mythischen fast zusammenfällt. Der ältere „historische Roman“ war weder Kunst noch Wissenschaft, sondern ein recht bürgerliches Mittelding oder, wie Nietzsche sagen würde, Bildungsphilisterei.

⁷⁸ The word most likely reads “freie”. The last two letters are clearly legible, whereas the beginning of the word is obscured by some additional lines, which are most likely the result of an overwritten mistake in writing.

⁷⁹ Also possible: “Lustigkeit”. Mann’s handwriting is a form of *Kurrent* and distinguishes different forms of the small letter “s”. One of these forms, the so called “long s”, is not always distinguishable from lowercase “f” in Mann’s handwriting. While in most cases a distinction can be made based on the context, the word in question could plausibly read “Luftigkeit” or “Lustigkeit”. A decision in favour of “Luftigkeit” was made because the word meaning corresponds to the preceding noun “Leichtigkeit”.

Nochmals verehrter Herr Professor,
 Ihr Brief hat mich sehr stolz gemacht.
 Ich wiederhole meinen Dank und be-
 grüße Sie herzlich als
 Ihr sehr ergebener
 Thomas Mann.

Bad Tölz] Spa town in Bavaria, where the Mann family owned a summer house from 1908 to 1917, when they were forced to sell it due to the economic difficulties caused by the war. See Kurzke 2001, 176, 236.

mit meiner historischen Pfuscherer] *Friedrich und die große Koalition* (1915).

Ihr Kollege Hinze (sic!)] Otto Hintze (1861–1940), German professor of History at the University of Berlin. He was an expert on Brandenburg and Prussia.

höchst wegwerfend über das Schriftchen geäußert habe] Mann often mentions the reception of his own works in his letters. See Mann 2002b, 862. In this letter he seems especially enthusiastic about the praise he received from a professional historian, Seeck, with regards to his *Friedrich*. Seeck's approval seems to reassure Mann about the high quality of his essay, which had been questioned by Hintze.

Friedrich- Portrait] The essay *Friedrich und die große Koalition*, which dealt with Frederick II of Prussia.

„Abriß für den Tag und die Stunde“] Subtitle of Mann's essay on Frederick II.

herrlichen Gegenstand] Frederick II's life.

im Geiste der „kölnischen“] Not perspicuous. Maybe Hintze published a negative review of *Friedrich und die große Koalition* in a journal or newspaper from Cologne, such as the “Kölnische Zeitung” or the “Kölnische Volkszeitung”. However, there is no mention of such a review in the bibliography of Hintze's works published in Hintze 1970, 567–84.

Ulenspiegel] Reference to the novel *La Légende et les Aventures héroïques, joyeuses et glorieuses d'Ulenspiegel et de Lamme Goedzak au pays de Flandres*, published in 1867 by the Belgian author Charles De Coster.

wie Nietzsche sagen würde, Bildungsphilisterei] *Bildungsphilister* is an epithet used by Nietzsche to attack David Strauß (theologian and philosopher, 1808–74) in *David Strauß, der Bekenner und der Schriftsteller* (1873). This essay is the first of his *Unzeitgemäße Betrachtungen*. Mann, who often uses the epithet *Philister* in *Betrachtungen*, defines the *Philister* as the opposite of the bourgeois: while the German bourgeoisie is Romantic, the *Philister* is essentially anti-Romantic. See Mann 2009, 148–51.

3) 27 April 1916 (Property of Irene Dänzer-Vanotti).

From Bad Tölz. Letter referenced in Mann 1976, *Reg.* 16/37 and already published and commented upon in Mann 1962, 126–7 (text) and 471 (commentary); Mann 2004, 135–6 (text) and 630 (commentary). Italian translation in Mann 1963, 176–7.⁸⁰

In this letter, Thomas Mann thanks Otto Seeck for sending him a letter and a booklet.⁸¹ Mann expresses his appreciation of Seeck's treatise, especially in terms of its style. He also promises that he will read Seeck's *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt* as soon as possible.⁸²

Mann also discusses the theme of literary "suspense" (*Spannung*), as Seeck asked for his opinion on it. However, Mann admits he has never given it deep reflection. He suggests that if his own *Friedrich und die große Koalition* is compelling, it is just because the theme it analyses (Frederick II's life) is interesting.⁸³ On the other hand, Mann asks himself how suspense can be created around historical events everyone knows about.

Mann closes this letter abruptly but gently, saying that he is very busy writing — inspired by current events — an essay on "art and spirit, art and politics" («Kunst und Geist, Kunst und Politik»). Although he has not yet decided on the final title, Mann is referring to his *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ There is a scan of this letter in the TMA (B-I-SEECK-2).

⁸¹ The authors of the commentary in the *GKFA* do not suggest identifying this booklet with any work by Seeck. However, given the common interests of Mann and Seeck in contemporary issues, and since *Katechismus des Weltkrieges* (Münster 1917) and *Russen und Balten* (Bielefeld–Leipzig 1917) were published just a year after this letter, Seeck may have sent Mann a preliminary version of either of these two pamphlets. In addition, since Mann talks of a *Vortrag*, it may well be one of the *drei Vorträge* that make up Seeck's *Russen und Balten*. Mann, who was very fond of Russia (see the Introduction to this paper) may have found this text very interesting.

⁸² Referenced in the letter as *Ihr Hauptwerk*. By 1916, the first five of the planned six volumes of the *Geschichte* had been published.

⁸³ Mann only refers to this as *mein historischer Versuch*, but it is obviously *Friedrich und die große Koalition*, as Erika Mann (in MANN 1962, 471) and, later, the authors of the commentary in the *GKFA* rightly noted (MANN 2004, 630).

⁸⁴ See KURZKE 2009, 48.

4) 16 February 1917 (Copy in the Universitätsarchiv Münster, Bestand 7, Nummer 48). Referenced in Mann 1976, *Reg.* 17/9.⁸⁵

Mann thanks Seeck for sending him one of his essays and for the photograph of Seeck attached to it, where Seeck sports a new style of beard.

München den 16.II.17

Hochgeehrter Herr Geheimrat!

für Ihre bedeutende Gabe sage
ich Ihnen vielen Dank. Der
Aufsatz ist mir eine außerordentlich
wertvolle Ergänzung und Erläuterung
gewisser Briefstellen, die mir erst
durch ihn vollkommen zugänglich
werden.

Das Portrait ist eine will-
kommene Beigabe — allen Lesern,
gewiß. Aber tragen Sie den Bart

— *page break* —

nicht bedeutend kürzer, als früher?
Mein Gedächtnis (*sic!*) müßte mich sehr
trügen, wenn es nicht ein veri-
tabletler Rauschebart war, und fast
möchte ich sein Abhandenkommen
bedauern.

Mit den besten Empfehlungen
Ihr sehr ergebener
Thomas Mann

*Der Aufsatz ist mir eine außerordentlich wertvolle Ergänzung und Erläute-
rung gewisser Briefstellen]* Unfortunately, this article by Seeck cannot be
identified with certainty. Since this letter is dated to 1917, it may be one of
the three lectures from *Russen und Balten*, or *Katechismus des Weltkrieges*
(or their proofs). However, as far as we know from the surviving letters,

⁸⁵ There is a scan of this letter in the TMA (B-I-SEECK-3).

Mann and Seeck only discuss modern and contemporary issues and literature, and Mann defines this article as a «supplement and explanation of certain passages of your letters to me, which have now become fully clear to me». We can thus rule out that Seeck sent Mann one of his studies on ancient history. *Russen und Balten* is less probable than *Katechismus*, as Mann writes to Seeck that he has received the former in the following letter (No. 5). Of course, Seeck might have sent Mann the proofs of *Russen und Balten* before Mann sent him letter 4.

5) 24 March 1917 (Property of Irene Dänzer-Vanotti).

Mann thanks Seeck for sending him a copy of his book *Russen und Balten* through the publishing house Velhagen & Klasing, and says that he found the reading exciting and instructive. Mann, on the other hand, is still busy composing his *Aufzeichnungen eines Unpolitischen* (*sic!*), a book that, in his opinion, will appear strange to readers and is proving almost impossible to write, and yet he feels obliged to write due to the current historical situation. According to Mann, this book will be fruitless and full of honest doubts. It will also cause distress to its author.

München den 24.III.17.

Sehr verehrter Herr Geheimrat:

Von der Firma Velhagen & Klasing
bekam ich Ihr Buch „Russen und Balten“
zugesandt, mit dem Vermerk, daß
dies in Ihrem Auftrage geschah. So
bin ich Ihnen abermals für eine
überaus anregende und lehrreiche
Lektüre zu Dank verpflichtet, — den
ich hiermit ergebenst abstatte.

Ich schreibe noch immer an meinen
„Aufzeichnungen eines Unpolitischen“,
einem wunderlichen und vielleicht unmöglichen

— *page break* —

Buch, das abzufassen die Zeit mir auf-
erlegte. Es ist ein Buch ohne Resultate,
ein Buch des Zweifels, aber eines
anständigen Zweifels, wie mir scheint.
Ich werde mich damit zwischen zwei
Stühle setzen, — hoffentlich auf leidlich
anmutige Weise.

Ihr sehr ergebener
Thomas Mann.

Velhagen & Klasing] This publishing house, based in Bielefeld and Leipzig, had already published Seeck's book *Kaiser Augustus* in 1902: see González Blanco 1988, 13.

noch immer an meinen „Aufzeichnungen eines Unpolitischen“] This is not yet the final title of the book (*Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*). However, Mann's information is more complete here than in letter No. 3 (27 April 1916).⁸⁶

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⁸⁶ See KURZKE 2009, 48 for the evolution of the title of this work, which shows that the final title had already appeared in a letter to Ernst Bertram dated 8 June 1916 (published in MANN 2004, 138–40, see esp. 139).

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**THE APOSTATE IN ALBION:
EVOCATIONS OF THE EMPEROR JULIAN IN
ENGLISH DISPUTATION AND SATIRE, ca.1600 TO ca.1750***

— ROWLAND SMITH —

ABSTRACT

The survival of a body of writings by the Emperor Julian, and the intellectual allegiances and aspirations that underpinned his anti-Christian politics, set parameters of sorts for his posthumous reception as a renegade ‘Apostate’. This paper discusses a particular aspect of Julian’s post-Classical afterlife: it attends to a sequence of learned evocations of his career and person in English works of disputation and satire published over the period ca.1600–ca.1750. Within that time-frame, the focus is restricted to deal only with cases that had a significant political edge, and to privilege evocations that disclose direct engagement by the authors with Julian’s own writings. As a preliminary, a brief outline of the early editorial tradition of Julian’s own writings is offered, with an eye to the bearing of Continental scholarship on the reading and reception of Julian in England in the selected time-frame. The paper then passes to close discussion of Julian’s reception by six selected English authors, and explicates the lines of influence or reaction that connect the English texts and authors at issue. It emerges that certain items and passages in Julian’s literary repertoire were repeatedly deployed and ‘flipped’ as tools of argument, particularly in volatile political contexts.

KEYWORDS

Apostate, persecution, toleration, Roman Catholic, Nonconformist, satire, Whig

CONTENT SUMMARY

1. **Introductory Contexts:**
The antique depictions of Julian and the parameters of his *post-Classical* reception; the focus of the paper; summary of the early modern editorial tradition of Julian’s works
2. **The Evocations:**
 - 2.1 **Perfidious Apostate:** Julian in the disputation of Bellarmine and James I, 1607/8
 - 2.2 **‘The subtlest enemy’:** Julian’s Education edict in Milton’s *Areopagitica*, 1644

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- 2.3 Republican regicide: a motto from Julian's *Misopogon* in *Eikon Basilike*, 1649
- 2.4 Tolerant tyrants: Julian and his *Caesars* in Marvell's *Rehearsal Transpros'd*, 1672/73
- 2.5 An Apostate's Exclusion Crisis: Julian as Whig in 'Philaretus Anthropopolita', 1681
- 3. Concluding Coda. From London to Elysium: 'Mr. Julian the Apostate' in Fielding's *Journey from this World to the Next*, 1743



On a osé flétrir Julien de l'infâme nom d'*intolérant* et de *persécuteur*, lui qui voulait extirper la persécution et l'intolérance. Relisez sa lettre cinquante-deuxième, et respectez sa mémoire.

Voltaire, *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie* (1774) vol. 1, s.v. 'Apostat'

In his way, Voltaire was a bigot, an intolerant bigot.

Gibbon, *DF* ch. 67 n. 13 (ed. Womersley, 1994: vol. 3, 916)

1. Introductory Contexts

The abundance of the extant antique testimonies relating to the Emperor Julian (not least, the survival of a substantial body of writings from Julian's own hand) would by itself suffice to give his case a special historical interest. But in the nature of the case, there has always been a broader ground of appeal — as the familiar soubriquet 'the Apostate' immediately discloses. Perhaps any attempt by a mid-fourth century ruler to reverse the Christianizing policies initiated by Constantine half a century earlier would have held some wider interest; but in Julian's case the ruler was a renegade pagan convert from within the Constantinian family nexus — and a highly cultivated intellectual convert, to boot. He was the best-educated Roman emperor since Marcus Aurelius — and like Marcus he had a deep personal interest in philosophy, and aimed to apply the lessons he took from it to his politics as well as his private life. The briefest biographical outline, as follows here for prefatory context,¹ will suffice to show that Julian's intellectual allegiances and aspirations gave his politics a distinctive colour, and would set a basic

¹ A compression of Smith 1995: 1–9 (life), 23–34 (education), 180–89 ('conversion'), 207–16 (anti-Christian activism). Rosen 2006 is now the outstanding modern biography.

parameter for his posthumous reception: no informed critic could plausibly deny his cleverness and learning; and all would agree that in his case the heart of the matter was his religion.

Julian was born in 331 at Constantinople, a year after its formal inauguration as the Empire's new Eastern capital. His parentage placed him on the fringe of the empire's first Christian dynasty — his father was Constantine's half-brother — and his early life was traumatized on that account: when Constantine died in 337, one of his sons (Constantius II) devised a putsch to eliminate potential rivals in the extended family, and Julian's father was among those murdered. Julian himself was spared, as a child — but he remained a suspect person in Constantius' eyes, and for six years in his teens he was kept confined on a remote imperial estate in Cappadocia. He received a sound education in Greek literature and Scripture there, under the direction of a Christian bishop, and impressed his teachers as a precocious pupil: his first encounter with Greek philosophic writings perhaps occurred at that time. In any event, philosophy and literature became abiding passions for him, Homer and Plato serving as his lodestars (his own writings are suffused with quotations from them and allusions to them). When he was nineteen, in 351, he was permitted to pursue his philosophic studies at a Neoplatonic school at Pergamum, with a dramatic consequence; it was a milieu in which an intellectualized form of pagan ritualism had persisted, and Julian was inspired by one of his teachers to undergo initiation into a pagan mystery cult. This conversion away from his dynasty's Christian affiliation was decisive, but for a decade it remained a secret disclosed only to a few intimates.² In the interim Julian's public profile was massively enhanced when Constantius decided in 355 to elevate him as a Caesar (junior emperor). He went on to win brilliant success in Gaul as a military commander — and then finally turned to challenge his cousin. A civil war was in prospect, but Constantius then fortuitously died, and in December 361 Julian entered Constantinople as sole emperor, engaging openly now in pagan rituals, and issuing a declaration of religious toleration: his rule, he avowed to friends, would be grounded in philosophic principles. In the brief (eighteen month) reign that followed, he energetically pursued a two-track policy: at home, an undoing of the Christianizing programme of his immediate predecessors, with a restoration across the empire of the pagan cults they had suppressed; and abroad, a grand invasion of Persia. In preparation for the campaign, he moved his court in summer 362 to

² I here differ from Rosen 2006: 99–101, 229–23, who argues for separate philosophic and pagan 'conversions', and postpones the latter by ten years, until after Constantius' death in late 361.

Syrian Antioch, and resided there till the spring of 363. During his stay there Julian's relations with the Antiochenes soured irreparably, not least because the city seemed indifferent, at best, to his pagan revival — and elsewhere too, there were signs that the project was not proceeding smoothly. Julian responded partly as a litterateur, with satirical invectives that rebuked the Antiochenes and derided Constantine's memory, and with a polemical critique of Christian teaching and practice — but also with legislation discriminating against Christian subjects; most notably, an 'education edict' prohibited the teaching of Classical literature, rhetoric and philosophy by Christian professors in the empire's schools.³ That hardly squared with Julian's initial declaration of religious toleration — but in the event, a catastrophe supervened. The expedition to Persia proved disastrous; in June 363, at the age of thirty-two, Julian was fatally wounded in a skirmish as his army retreated. His attempt to eradicate Christianity as a social force and revive ancestral cult across the empire died with him: his religious measures were quickly annulled under his Christian successors.

Julian's project for a de-Christianizing 'pagan revival' had excited controversy in his own lifetime — and in the aftermath, antique writers' judgments and representations of his purposes and person increasingly polarized. For admirers and detractors alike, though, writing in hindsight, the project's catastrophic end added greatly to its piquancy. The scale of the failure was unarguable — but how to explain it? Ancient writers harped on that in *parti pris* accounts.⁴ For some, the 'revival' had been tyrannical madness and arrogance from the outset, and Julian's violent end was a fitting punishment, divinely ordained to avenge the sufferings inflicted on his Christian subjects. Admirers preferred to recall a heroic enterprise tragically curtailed by fate, or by circumstance, or by Christian treachery, and pondered why Julian's own protector-gods had not chosen to grant him a longer life and reign. An enigmatic counterfactual was implicit within that question: what if Julian had defeated the Persians and returned home triumphant to continue his reign — perhaps, then, his pagan revival would have prospered, and the advance of the Christians in the Empire might have been checked and reversed?

³ Pace McLynn 2014, I adhere to the long-standing view (supported by Ammianus 22.10.7 and 25.4.20) that the Julianic text in question (on which see below at pp. 247–48) was intended to announce a general prohibition of such teaching by Christians.

⁴ For individualized discussions of the near-contemporary retrospectives on Julian in Gregory Nazianzen, Libanius and Ammianus, see Braun and Richer 1978: 9–237 ('le dossier Julien'); and most recently, Marcone 2020: 326–59; Van Nuffelen 2020: 360–97.

This aspect of the case, especially — the brute fact of the failure of Julian's pagan restoration, and the kinds of question that it prompted and left hanging — was to ensure him a long and highly variegated afterlife in post-Classical reception, too. In a line that one could trace from a sixth century Syriac fiction to a memorable cycle of poems composed in the 1920s by C.P. Cavafy, post-Classical representations of Julian have commonly been coloured in some degree by the religious affiliations, or antipathies, or anxieties of the writers in question;⁵ and 'the Apostate' has repeatedly been resurrected and pressed into service in ideological or political conflicts over religious authority that were current in the later writers' times and minds. On that count, the history of Julian's posthumous representations in reception constitutes a complex and fascinating subject for study in its own right.

As my title signals, this paper focuses on a particular phase, and a particular aspect, of Julian's post-Classical afterlife: it addresses learned evocations of his career and person in English works of disputation and satire published over (roughly) a century and a half, ca.1600–ca.1750. Even within that frame of discourse, to be clear, my focus is purposely restricted on two counts. Firstly, I intend to deal only with cases that had a significant political edge (so purely theological disputation, for instance, is excluded). Second, my discussion will privilege evocations that disclose some direct engagement with passages in Julian's own writings: I aim especially to show that certain pieces and particular passages in Julian's literary repertoire came to be repeatedly deployed as weapons of argument within my designated period — and my selection of English authors is tailored to highlight that point. I will focus chiefly on evocations of Julian by six authors, taken in chronological order, and on the lines of influence or reaction that (I shall argue) connect them. In all six cases, the evocations were composed in highly charged political contexts: one was published in the name of England's first Stuart king, and a second figured in a volume that was widely assumed to preserve a set of writings produced *in extremis* by his successor (respectively, James I and Charles I); two others figured in prose publications by authors most famous now as poets (John Milton and Andrew Marvell); the fifth was the work of a

⁵ Braun and Richer 1978/81 collect contributions from various hands on Julian's reception from antiquity to the mid-twentieth century; the most recent overview is Rebenich 2020. On the Syriac 'Romance', see Drijvers 1999; on Cavafy's Julian, Bowersock 2009. The early sixth and early twentieth century 'termini' here selected may be reckoned over-conservative: at a pinch one could trace the line's origin further back, to an early fifth century depiction of Julian as persecutor in the earliest version of the *Passio Cyriaci* (on which see now Trovato 2018); and further forward to the celebrated 1964 novel *Julian* by Gore Vidal.

learned Whig propagandist, pamphleteering under a pseudonym that has left his identity uncertain (though one can speculate); the sixth, which will serve as a coda to this paper, was published among the ‘miscellanies’ of the celebrated novelist Henry Fielding.

In principle, evocations of Julian in scholarly historiography could fall within the paper’s purview, provided that the author could be reckoned to be writing with a political slant or purpose; and my discussion will touch at several points on the history of Julian-scholarship in the period. But it ought to be said that, if my focus lay primarily with Julian’s reception in historical scholarship proper in the seventeenth and earlier eighteenth centuries, English writings would offer quite slim pickings. Gibbon’s famous account of Julian, to be clear, is excluded from my discussion: it was composed in the late 1770s and published in ‘Volume the Second’ of *Decline and Fall* in 1781, well after my ca.1750 end-point — and in any case, its cultural and political contexts have been often and exhaustively studied.⁶ In the period I am concerned with, the historical study of Julian was chiefly advanced, rather, by three Continental writers whose learning Gibbon’s footnotes would duly acknowledge — the French historians Le Nain de Tillemont and the Abbé de La Bletterie, and the German scholar-diplomat Ezechiel Spanheim.⁷ Even in the cases of these erudite savants, to be sure, personal religious affiliations had an evident bearing on their approaches to Julian. Both Le Nain de Tillemont and La Bletterie were Jansenists, and as such they were attracted by Julian’s personal asceticism — but keen also to cast him as the author of a state-directed religious persecution; Spanheim, for his part, was the devout son of a Calvinist theologian who had combined his Julianic studies with service as Brandenburg’s Ambassador at Versailles, and he privately relished the deflation of imperial pomp that he found in Julian’s writings.⁸ But that said, each of these three scholars was painstakingly scrutinizing sources

⁶ E.g. Womersley 1988: 156–68; Womersley 2002: 135–44; Pocock 2015: 145–214.

⁷ On Nain de Tillemont and on La Bletterie respectively, Neveu 1966 and Neveu 2000 are both classic; and for Spanheim, see still Loewe 1924. Gibbon’s frequent citations of these three authors in relation to Julian can be traced ‘s.v.’ from the ‘bibliographical index’ in Womersley’s now standard edition of *Decline and Fall* (Womersley 1994, vol. 3): 1231 (La Bletterie, ‘remarkably distinguished by elegance of style, critical disquisition, and religious prejudice’); 1263 (Spanheim, ‘coarse, languid, and correct’); 1268–69 (Tillemont, ‘whose bigotry is overbalanced by the virtues of erudition, diligence, veracity, and scrupulous minuteness’). For learned receptions of Julian in French discourse over (and beyond) the whole of my chosen time-span, from Montaigne to Voltaire, see especially now the extensive survey of Boch 2013.

⁸ In Spanheim’s case, it is possible also to postulate (speculatively) a personal acquaintance with one of my English authors, the so-called ‘Philaretus’ of 1681: see below n. 76.

in order to discover what he took to be the historical truth about Julian — and on that score, their names are signalled here largely to point up a contrast: they exemplify a discourse different in type from that in which my English authors were engaging. All of my English authors were unquestionably learned persons, in their ways — and some of them were *very* learned, alert to the key antique testimonies, and well able if they wished to consult them directly. But while they might be interested to extract and deploy historical facts about Julian, the elucidation of the historical truth of the case was not my authors' object; they were engaged as controversialists or litterateurs in political-religious argument, and they deployed Julian as an exemplum with political or literary ends in view.

As generally received in the English setting over the period at issue here, the biographical data for Julian were usually derived, directly or indirectly, from the works of a small number of fourth and fifth century authors: Gregory of Nazianzus, a Greek Christian contemporary of Julian who had encountered him in his student days, had composed two lively invectives in *Against Julian* immediately after the emperor's death; and in the fifth century, three Greek ecclesiastical historians in turn (respectively, Socrates Scholasticus, Sozomen, and Theodoret) had each attended to Julian's case at some length, with predictably hostile slants: they demonized him as a tyrannical persecutor and a self-deluding maniac. The popular representation of Julian in the early modern period as a nightmare figure, especially as transmitted in the Roman Catholic tradition, derived mainly from these four early Christian authors.⁹ On the pagan side, if one cared to consult them, there were several retrospective histories of the reign extant. The most important of them, for a historian of Julian's English reception, was a Latin work by another contemporary of Julian: the soldier-historian Ammianus Marcellinus had served as an officer in the Persian campaign, and had later composed an admiring narrative of the reign in his *Res Gestae* that extolled Julian as a lost pagan hero.¹⁰

Latin versions (and in two cases, English versions) of all four of the antique Christian authors at issue were available in several editions well

⁹ One should note that the caricature of Julian as a 'nightmare figure' derived from the antique hagiographic as well as the ecclesiastical historiographical tradition; the latter, although hostile, did not entirely omit or suppress mention of Julian's claim to attention as an intellectual and litterateur: see Trovato 2010/11.

¹⁰ Montaigne, notably, had already deployed Ammianus in a celebrated essay rehabilitating Julian ('De la liberté de conscience': *Essais* 2.19 (1580)); it was to circulate widely in English in Florio's famous translation of the *Essais*, first published in 1603.

before 1600; and several editions of Ammianus, too, had been published by then.¹¹ For my selected English authors, these antique depictions of Julian were all effectively open books: the works of the Christian historians, especially, were widely circulated; and it need hardly be said that all of my English authors could read Latin (and in some cases, Greek) with ease. But no attentive reader of any of these ancient witnesses could fail to register that another, privileged, antique author was potentially available; in the course of their histories, Ammianus and the Christian writers had all made reference to works composed by Julian. The English writers' evocations of Julian to be discussed in this paper would have held a lesser interest than they do, if they had all rested simply on the familiar external antique testimonies. Their special interest lies in the fact that, in most cases, they show knowledge of more than that; most of them disclose, expressly or implicitly, an awareness of specific items and passages in Julian's own writings. In that connexion, we shall see, it can be important to identify as closely as possible the published edition of the text that was used by a given author. So before I pass to close discussion of my individual cases, there is a last essential preliminary: a brief outline of the early editorial tradition of Julian's own writings, and an indication of some particulars that connect the early editions to the reading and reception of Julian in England in my time-frame.

Julian's earliest appearance *qua* printed author came in *Epistulae diversorum philosophorum, oratorum, rhetorum*, an Aldine volume published at Venice in 1499, in which he figured as one of more than thirty ancient epistolographers: it included forty-eight letters ascribed to him (a fair few were spurious), in the original Greek.¹² His second appearance came at one remove, in a Latin translation (made at Basel in 1528, directly from a Greek MS) of Cyril of Alexandria's *Contra Julianum* — the conduit

¹¹ Gregory Nazianzen's invectives against Julian were included in bilingual versions in J. de Billy, ed., *Gregorii Naz. opera omnia* (Paris 1569; 2nd edn. 1583; 3rd 1609); an early critical edition of the Greek was edited by H. Savile as *Invectivae duae contra Julianum*, Eton 1610. The *Ecclesiastical Histories* of Socrates and Sozomen had first been published together in Greek at Paris 1544, and then several times with Latin translation (1549, 1569, 1570). Socrates' history was also accessible in English, along with Eusebius, translated by Meredith Hanmer as *The auncient ecclesiasticall histories* (1577, repr. 1585, 1607, 1619 and 1637). Theodoret was less widely read, and (notably) published *only* in Latin translations (1556 and 1573) until the bilingual Paris edition of 1642. Ammianus (ed. princeps 1474; first complete edn. 1533), was available in many editions by 1600, and was soon to be translated into English by Philemon Holland (1609).

¹² M. Musurus, ed., *Epistulae diversorum philosophorum, oratorum, rhetorum*, t.2, Venice 1499. Several collections of letters by (or ascribed to) Julian had circulated in antiquity: see now Elm 2017: 54–68.

through which what survives of Julian's largely lost *Against the Galileans* had been transmitted, in the form of highly selective and slanted quotations by Cyril.¹³ But apart from these two marginal cases, Julian was a late starter in the age of the printed book. Over the first half of the sixteenth century — a great boom-period for the publishing of Classical authors¹⁴ — he was passed by entirely: it was only in 1560s and '70s, at Paris, that any his extant literary works appeared in book-form. First, there was an edition of the *Misopogon* by P. Martinius [= Pierre Martini], with a substantial preface 'de vita Juliani', and with the Aldine's 48 Julianic letters republished [**Martinius 1566**]; then an edition of *Caesars* by C. Cantoclarus [= Charles de Chanteclair (or 'Chanteclère'), a high-ranking lawyer and judge]: '**Cantoclarus 1577**'.¹⁵ Both of these editions offered parallel Latin versions, and within a few years they were re-published as a unit, together with two other orations and some additional letters, in a volume whose title asserted that it contained 'all of the extant works'.¹⁶ This **Martinius/Cantoclarus 1583** edition could have been more aptly styled a 'selected works' — in truth, it omitted more than half of the corpus — but it constituted the most substantial and widest-circulating 'Julian' for half a century. The first proper 'complete extant works' only appeared in 1630, edited by the Jesuit scholar D. Petavius [= Denys Petau].¹⁷ The **Petavius 1630** edition, retaining the parallel Latin, and offering an improved text and further letters, would serve as the standard 'Julian' for the rest of the seventeenth century; and it remained the main base-text from which Ezechiel Spanheim worked in his parallel edition of the 'complete extant works', published in at Leipzig in 1696, with Cyril's *Against Julian* appended.¹⁸ **Spanheim 1696** thereafter came to be regarded as the standard edition (and would remain so till the later nineteenth century). It was not, though, Spanheim's first

¹³ J. Oecolampadius, trans., *Operum Divi Cyrilli*, v.3: *Contra Julianum*, Basel 1528 repr. 1546, repr. Paris 1573; on the MS context, see Malley 1964: 70–74.

¹⁴ Febvre and Martin 1976: 145–46, 262–68, 272–74, 283.

¹⁵ '**Martinius 1566**' = P. Martinius, *Misopogon et Epistulae et Martinii præfatio de vita Juliani*, Paris 1566; '**Cantoclarus 1577**' = C. Cantoclarus, *Juliani Imperatoris de Caesaribus sermo ... in lucem nunc primum editus, et ab eodem Latine factus*, Paris 1577.

¹⁶ '**Martinius/Cantoclarus 1583**' = P. Martinius and C. Cantoclarus, *Juliani imperatoris opera quae extant omnia ... [Ejusdem Martinii præfatio de vita Juliani]*, Paris 1583.

¹⁷ '**Petavius 1630**' = D. Petavius, *Juliani opera, quae quidem reperiri potuerunt, omnia*, Paris 1630.

¹⁸ '**Spanheim 1696**' = E. Spanheim, *Juliani Imperatoris Opera quae supersunt omnia*, Leipzig 1696.

foray into Julianic studies. He had already, during his years of diplomatic service at Versailles, made a notable, if quirky, contribution with a prolix commentary on *Caesars* (1683): it rendered the text of *Caesars* in a stilted French; and on most pages the translated text occupied only a line or two, squeezed out by a mass of learned but often irrelevant footnotes.¹⁹ And *Caesars* was to be edited once again by a German scholar within the time-frame at issue in this paper: in 1736 Johann Heusinger produced a new edition of *Caesars*' Greek text,²⁰ with his own text-critical observations appended. He also appended to this volume reprints of two previously published translations of *Caesars*: one was Spanheim's 1683 French version, with its ballast of footnotes now entirely stripped out; the other was a Latin version by P. Cunaeus [= Pieter Kuhn] that had first been published over a century earlier (Leiden 1612) as an appendage to Cunaeus's *Sardi venales*, a neo-Latin satire of his own devising.

Other than *Caesars*, to be clear, no literary work by Julian was to be translated for publication in any modern language until almost the ca.1750 endpoint of the period addressed in this paper: the pioneer was La Bletterie, whose elegant French version of a selection of Julian's works was first published at Paris in 1748.²¹ And no English translation of any Julianic work was published until well beyond that endpoint:²² it was only in 1784 that the Revd. John Duncombe produced a 'selected Julian' in English (an amateur's version that depended much, in fact, on La Bletterie's learning and polished French).²³ For my chosen English authors, then, any direct sampling of Julian in his own words would require recourse to one or more of the published items in the early (mainly French) textual tradition that I have specified – and certain features in that tradition deserve a comment here, for their bearing on the English receptions I discuss.

The first point concerns the prefatory 'de vita Juliani' that Martinius had composed in Latin for his 1566 *Misopogon*. It was to be reproduced entire in all three editions of the 'opera omnia' itemized above (the

¹⁹ 'Spanheim 1683' = E. Spanheim, *Les Césars de l'Empereur Julien traduits du Grec*, Paris 1683.

²⁰ 'Heusinger 1736' = J.M. Heusinger, *Iuliani Imp. Caesares Cum integris adnotationibus aliquot doctorum virorum et selectis Ezech. Spanhemii interpretatione item latina et gallica additis imperatorum nummis*, Gotha 1735.

²¹ l'Abbé J.P.R de La Bletterie, *Histoire de l'empereur Jovien, avec la traduction des Césars de Julien et autres ouvrages de cet empereur*, Paris 1748.

²² With the exception of one so-called 'letter' (on which see below, pp. 271–72): the 'letter to the Bostrans' (really an edict [*diatagma*] issued 1 Aug 362), given as *Ep.* 52 in the early printed editions (and in Hertlein).

²³ [Revd.] J. Duncombe, *Select Works of the Emperor Julian*, London 1784.

Martinius/Cantoclarus 1583 and **Petavius 1630** and **Spanheim 1696** editions), and it thus became a widely consulted source for biographical information about Julian: it would constitute the most easily accessible ‘potted life’ of Julian for any seventeenth century English reader of any of those editions (the essayist Sir William Cornwallis offers an early case in point).²⁴ Drawing on Julian’s own satirical self-portrait in the *Misopogon* and on Ammianus as much as Gregory and the ecclesiastical historians, Martinius had presented a relatively nuanced account ‘wherein its author’s life is recounted from various sources’: the ‘stain of impiety and apostasy’ was dutifully regretted at the outset — but it was regrettable partly (he proceeded to avow) because the ignominy arising from it had deprived Julian of the high measure of admiration that his eloquence and intelligence would otherwise have guaranteed him. Martinius was here cautiously dissenting from the demonizing of Julian in conventional Catholic reception — and one can relate that stance to his own affiliations, and to the 1560s political context in which he was writing. Martinius was a Protestant (in 1572, he would be appointed head of a newly founded college at the Huguenot stronghold of La Rochelle), and it is telling that his *Misopogon*, in both the 1566 and 1583 editions, bore a fulsome dedicatory letter to Odet de Coligny, the Cardinal de Chatillon (1517–71). Chatillon was an eminent aristocrat and a member of the Royal Council; after long working as liberal-minded Catholic for an accommodation with French Protestants, had publically identified with the Huguenots in 1561, and had been excommunicated by Papal order in 1563.²⁵ For Martinius, the (ex-)Cardinal was an inspirational emblem of

²⁴ Cornwallis, *Essayes or rather Encomions, Prayses of Sadnesse: and of the Emperour Julian the Apostate* [London 1616, unpaginated]; the ‘encomion’ of Julian in this volume comprises ‘The prayse of the Emperour Iulian the Apostata: His Princely vertues, and finall Apostacie’ and ‘Julian’s Dialogue of the Caesars’. Cornwallis knew Montaigne’s celebrated praise of Julian (on which see above, n. 10), but his own ‘paradoxical encomion’ of Julian draws also on verbal specifics in Martinius’s preface (Poole 2016: 174 and 184 n. 79), and it ends with a précis of the narrative of Julian’s own satire *Caesars*, and its comparison of Julius Caesar and Alexander. Cornwallis’s use of the **Martinius/Cantoclarus 1583** ‘Julian’ can thus be safely inferred; and his précis of *Caesars* is of interest for being the earliest published engagement with that piece by any English writer. But Cornwallis’ *Encomion* of Julian is otherwise of marginal relevance for my present purpose: composed without any political edge or purpose, it was only published posthumously, two years after the author’s death in 1614 (see Whitt 1932); it was one of a number of ‘paradoxical praises’ of unlikely subjects (others were Sadness, Richard III, ‘the French Pox’ [syphilis], ‘Nothing’, and Debt) that Cornwallis had playfully worked up and had not published.

²⁵ There would soon be an English dimension to the case: by 1568, the (ex-)Cardinal had fled to England, where he petitioned Elizabeth to support the Huguenots; he was to die there in 1571, and was buried in Canterbury Cathedral, after an abortive attempt

cultivation and political moderation — and in a text appreciatively dedicated to such a high-profile Huguenot ‘convert’, Martinius’ expression of regret at Julian’s apostasy struck a particular note. Potentially, it opened the way for a sympathetic representation of the apostasy as a tragedy — a tragic prefiguration of the turn which Papal oppressiveness and corruption had forced upon another, later, person of high intelligence and moral worth. On this Protestant line of argument, what Julian had disowned was not the true Faith, but a Constantinian dispensation that was proto-Catholic, already tainted with corruption — for was it not the claim of the Roman Church that its temporal authority had been underwritten and bequeathed by the dispensation of Constantine? In Martinius’ own preface, to be sure, this line of argument still lay dormant — but just such an exonerating account of Julian’s case, it will emerge, was later essayed by one of my English authors.

Suggestive connexions with England can be noted, too, in the cases of the subsequent editors Petavius and Spanheim. Petavius’ 1630 ‘complete works’ was the fruit of a long project, intermittently pursued over two decades, to which several other scholars had made some limited contributions — one of whom was Patrick Young, the Royal Librarian in London. Young was a churchman — he had formerly been an Oxford college chaplain — and on that score it has been nicely observed that Petavius’ 1630 Julian was ‘to some extent an Anglo-French collaboration [...] gingerly bridging sectarian divides — [an enterprise] laboured over in common by (at least a few) Jesuits and Anglicans’.²⁶ As for Spanheim, a personal friendship made in the course of a sojourn in England was to nurture his Julianic studies significantly. Prior to his diplomatic posting to Versailles, Spanheim had spent a good two years (1678–80) as the envoy at London of the Electors of both the Palatinate and Brandenburg, and in autumn 1679 he stayed as a house-guest with the émigré Dutch scholar Isaac Vossius, now resident as a canon at Windsor.²⁷ The purpose of his visit related to Julian: Vossius owned, and now lent to Spanheim, the best and oldest of all the MSS. of Julian’s works [= ‘Vossius 77’, nowadays held at Leiden]. At that time, Spanheim’s interest in Julian was focused principally on the *Caesars* commentary with French translation that he was to publish at Paris four years later, in 1683. But subsequently,

to return to La Rochelle. One of his siblings, Pierre de Coligny, had just founded there the Protestant college of which Martinius was to become head the following year.

²⁶ Poole 2016: 169. To be precise, the volume to which Young had contributed was not the **Petavius 1630** ‘complete works’ itself, but an edition of three component orations that Petavius had produced earlier: *Juliani imperatoris orationes III panegyricae, ab eo cum adhuc christianus esset scriptae*, Paris 1614.

²⁷ **Spanheim 1696**, preface (at p. xxxiv).

it was partly on the strength of readings he found in Vossius' MS. that Spanheim would justify his undertaking a new edition of Julian's works to improve on that of Petavius; in that sense, a scholarly encounter at Windsor implanted seeds that would flower two decades later in Spanheim's 1696 'complete Julian'.

Spanheim's initial prioritizing of *Caesars* as a text to work on had a precedent of sorts a century earlier. In the editorial tradition I have outlined, two texts stand out as privileged: the very earliest editors, **Martinius 1566** and **Cantoclarus 1577**, had focused their efforts respectively on the *Misopogon* and on *Caesars*; the stand-alone editions they had produced for them had been the earliest-published of any of Julian's works (and subsequently, we have seen, *Caesars* would be the first to be translated into a modern language, and the first to appear in a commentary-form). The special interest that was taken in these two pieces is attributable in the first place to their literary quality (they were his wittiest works) — but the affinity between them went further than that. Composed in close proximity to each other late in the reign, in the mid-winter of Julian's ill-starred stay at Antioch, both could be classified broadly as satire — but it was satire with a distinctive autobiographical edge that might seem to some readers to open a window directly onto an emperor's inner thoughts and character. In the *Misopogon* ['The Beard-Hater'] Julian slyly cast himself as an innocent abroad in a city of ingrates — a gauche and hirsute ascetic whose philosopher's beard is mocked by the effeminately depilated (and Christian) Antiochenes. In *Caesars*, he devised a fantasy in which he obliquely reviewed and commended his own actions and purposes and merits as a ruler: in his depiction of a parade on Olympus at which all the previous emperors of Rome compete to be rewarded or (in Constantine's case) condemned as the gods deem fit, Julian implicitly ranked himself close kin to the gods' elected winner, the great Marcus Aurelius²⁸ — the very anti-type of Constantinian impiety. Significantly, details drawn from one or other of these two pieces, the *Misopogon* and (repeatedly) *Caesars*, will figure prominently in the majority of the English evocations of Julian to which I now turn.

2. The Evocations

One can assume that any purposeful depiction or evocation of Julian in a work of religious or political disputation would be meant to work to the advantage of the writer's own religious or political affiliations. But to serve its purpose persuasively, the evocation had better at least appear to

²⁸ Hunt 1995.

pay *some* regard to what passed for historical facts, as transmitted in the antique testimonies; and as I observed at the outset, certain basic realities in Julian's case did set a parameter of sorts for his posthumous reception in antiquity, even in the polarized depictions offered retrospectively by pagan admirers and Christian detractors. By extension, the same constraint would apply to any post-Classical evocation of him that purportedly respected the historical record. So for the English writers I am concerned with, then, selective reference to the ancient source tradition would be hard to avoid entirely — and potentially it was an advantageous tool in argument: but they would be minded to privilege certain basics that chimed with their prejudices and purposes, and to explain away (where they could not suppress) others that were hard to accommodate. What, then, were the basics that my writers counted especially salient? They can be boiled down, perhaps, to yield four key items:

First, and most obvious, there was Julian's status as 'the Apostate' (the soubriquet goes back to the fifth century ecclesiastical historians): he had been born into the Constantinian dynasty and raised under the direction of bishops, only to convert away from Christianity and work as emperor for a pagan restoration.

Second, there was Julian's status in the antique Christian tradition as a determined persecutor. There was a difficulty with that charge: at no point in his reign were Christians ever subject to arrest or execution *qua* Christians, as they had been under pre-Constantinian emperors. And the reign had opened with a declaration of toleration: pagans and Christians were permitted to practise their respective religions freely; and the Christian bishops and clerics who had been exiled as sectarians or heretics by Julian's (Arian) predecessor Constantius were all recalled, and told they were free to return to their churches. Julian's intention in that, though, was probably to foster division among the Christians (certainly, his admirer Ammianus took that view); and as the reign proceeded, Christians were disadvantaged in law on various counts (notably, by the edict forbidding Christian professors to teach the Classical literary canon — which even Ammianus criticized as unjust and oppressive). For the Christian writers, these features of the reign marked Julian as emphatically a persecutor — albeit a guileful one.

Third, there was Julian's intellectual standing. His learning and intelligence and his philosophic interests were manifest, and could not be plausibly denied; his pagan conversion had been informed by his philosophic studies, and during his reign his closest intimates at court were his Neoplatonist mentors.

Lastly — a point of particular importance for its potential repercussions on Julian's reception in the early age of print — Julian had been

a talented and prolific writer. Far more was extant from his hand than from any other Roman emperor's, and it disclosed an unusually cultivated ruler: the oeuvre included panegyrics, polemics, satires, theological treatises and a collection of letters. Several of these works were already available in bilingual Greek and Latin editions by 1600; and after 1630, almost all of them were, as they circulated in Petavius' edition.

On the four basic counts here itemized, Julian potentially offered rich pickings as an exemplum for writers engaged in disputations over regal or religious or civil authority. His case was such that there were several 'Julians' available, so to speak. At the crudest level of argument, one could simply adduce the caricature figure of the antique ecclesiastical historians — the archetype of apostasy, a perverse enemy of God, and a devious persecutor of the faithful. At more sophisticated levels, one could manipulate two or more of the four 'basics' in combination, privileging 'x' or ignoring 'y', as one wished, to fit a case. And potentially, Julian's own writings could be added to the mix: those who were familiar with them might be inclined to privilege some particular work or passage as the quintessence of the man, or in order to emphasize a particular point.

In the cases that follow I shall find Julian adduced in series of often contrasting guises. He will be reviled, in turn, as a persecutor of Roman Catholics and as a tyrannical Papist idolater; tarred first as an oppressor of Puritan teaching, then as an apologist for Puritan regicide; rationalized as a disenchanted cradle-Catholic; enrolled as a recruit in the British resistance to Bourbon Absolutism; commended as a pre-Enlightenment *philosophe* — until reincarnated, finally, as a Protestant bishop and martyr.

2.1 Perfidious Apostate: Julian in the disputation of Bellarmine and James I, 1607/8

The earliest substantial reference made to Julian in English disputation arose in reaction to a prod from Continental Europe — and like all the cases that I discuss, it occurred in a volatile political context. The occasion in this case was a tit-for-tat exchange between very eminent persons — a king of England and a leading bigwig at the Vatican. In 1606, in the wake of the Gunpowder Plot, James I had promulgated an Oath of Allegiance requiring English Catholics to swear loyalty unconditionally to his royal person, irrespective of any Papal ordinance to the contrary. The Vatican's response included a letter sent from Rome in September 1607 to the Catholic Archpriest of England, George Blackwell, urging him (and by his

example, English Catholics in general) to refuse to take the oath.²⁹ Its author was a highly learned Jesuit, Robert Bellarmine, a quondam professor of Theology who had risen to be an eminent Cardinal. He was well known across Europe as a leading counter-Reformation polemicist, and as an astute political theorist — in particular, for his formulations of the Papal claim to international authority in matters spiritual.³⁰ He composed his letter in Latin (the normal Vatican protocol in such a diplomatic context), but an English version, under the title *To the most Reuerend Master George Blackwel, Archpriest of the English*, was soon afterwards (1608) prepared for publication at London by James I's printer, Robert Barker. In the course of this letter, Bellarmine devised a barbed comparison (here quoted in the English version):

But, as I saide, these vaine pretexts [i.e., the justifications offered by James for his promulgation of the Oath of Allegiance] are but the trappes and stratagemes of Satan: Of which kinde I could produce not a few out of Ancient Stories, if I went about to write a book and not an Epistle. One onely for example sake I will call to your memory: S. Gregorius Nazianzenus in his first Oration against Iulian the Emperour, reporteth, That he, the more easily to beguile the simple Christians, did insert the images of the false gods into the pictures of the Emperour, which the Romanes did use to bow downe unto with a civill kind of reverence: so that no man could doe reverence to the Emperours picture, but withall he must adore the Images of the false gods; whereupon it came to passe that many were deceived. And if there were any that found out the Emperours craft, and refused to worship his picture, those were most grievously punished, as men that had contemned the Emperour in his Image. Some such like thing, me thinkes, I see in the Oath that is offered to you, which is so craftily composed, that no man can detest Treason against the King and make profession of his Civill subiection, but he must be constrained perfidiously to denie the Primacie of the Apostolicke See.³¹

²⁹ Two papal breves had preceded the September 1607 letter; for a full account of the context, see Patterson 2000: 75–84.

³⁰ On Bellarmine's career and activities, see Tutino 2010 (esp. at pp. 117–58, on his part in the 'Oath' controversy). In England, Bellarmine's name would become a byword for prodigious scholarly learning throughout the seventeenth century: in Swift's *Battle of the Books* (Swift 2008: 11 [1st edn. 1704]) he ranks alongside Aquinas and Duns Scotus as a general commanding the Moderns; at Oxford, a particularly capacious type of bottle was called a 'Bellarmine' (Wood 1961: 224).

³¹ Bellarmine, R: Robert of the holy Church of Rome Cardinall Bellarmine, sendeth greeting to the most Reuerend Master George Blackwel Arch-priest of the English:

The thrust of the comparison is patent: James I's pretence that his oath could be sworn in good conscience by English Catholics, so Bellarmine maintains, was a sly 'stragem' that disclosed James as a latter-day 'Emperour Julian' (one observes that Bellarmine does not care to deploy overtly the appellation 'Apostate' in this context; his attention is focused principally on Julian as an emblem of state persecution of the faithful, and as the perpetrator of a devilish imposture). Julian, Bellarmine avows (plucking an apt story he had read in Gregory of Nazianzus), had deviously arranged for pagan ritual images to be placed unobtrusively among or within the portrait statues of his own person to which his subjects customarily swore loyalty in the context of the Imperial Cult, so as to lure simple-hearted and unsuspecting Christian subjects into an unwitting betrayal of their faith, 'so that no man could do reverence to the Emperour's picture, but withall he must adore the Images of the false gods; whereupon it came to pass that many were deceived ... [And] some such like thing, me thinkes, I see in the Oath that is offered to you'. England's Roman Catholics, Bellarmine insisted, were now being similarly tricked into swearing an oath 'so craftily composed' as to seem on the face of it unobjectionable for any loyal subject of the Crown to take, but which would actually entail a disavowal of a fundamental principle on which Papal authority rested. And just as those who had seen through and rejected Julian's chicanery had been 'most grievously punished', so now any Catholic who refused to swear what James demanded faced torture and execution.

London 1607, at pp. 38–39. The letter in English and Latin was published as a component in 'Anonymous' [= James I], *Triplici nodo, triplex cuneus. Or An apologie for the Oath of allegiance against the two breues of Pope Paulus Quintus, and the late letter of Cardinal Bellarmine to G. Blackwel the Arch-priest*. Imprinted at London: By Robert Barker, printer to the Kings most excellent Maiestie, Anno 1607.

In Bellarmine's Latin:

Sed, ut dixi, vani isti praetextus decipulae sunt, et stratagemata Satanae. Qualia non pauca in Historiis veterum temporum inueniuntur, quae facillè referre possem, si non epistolam, sed librum integrum scribendum suscepissem: vnum tantùm, exempli gratiâ, ad memoriam tibi reuocabo. Scribit Sanctus Gregorius Nazianzenus in primâ oratione in Iulianum Imperatorem, illum, ut s implicibus Christianis imponeret, in imaginibus Imperatoriis, quas Romani ciuili quodam genere honoris pro more adorabant, imagines deorum falsorum admiscuisse, ut nemo posset Imperatoris imaginem adorare, quin simul deorum simulachris cultum adhiberet. Hinc nimirum fiebat, ut plurimi deciperentur, ac si qui fortè fraudem subodorati, Imperatoris imaginem venerari recusarent, ii grauissimè punirentur, ut qui Caesarem in suâ imagine contempsissent. Tale aliquid in Iuramento vobis oblato mihi videre videor, quod eâ fraude compositum est, ut nemo possit prodicionem in Regem detestari, ciuilemque subiectionem profiteri, quin primatum Sedis Apostolicae perfidè abnegare cogatur.

If one collates this passage in Bellarmine's letter with the relevant chapter in the speech of Gregory Nazianzen that he signalled as its source-text, it immediately becomes evident that Bellarmine was drawing very closely and precisely on the Gregorian source.³² But the comparison that Bellarmine drew witnesses more than his close knowledge of an oration by a hostile Christian contemporary of Julian. There was a neat *ad hominem* edge to Bellarmine's choice of this particular Roman emperor as the emblem of persecution: Bellarmine was also well aware (in his ecclesiastical and diplomatic milieu it was common knowledge that in his infancy James's mother Mary Stuart had had him baptized a Roman Catholic).³³ Once the comparison is read with that knowledge, there surely is discernible within it a mischievous evocation by Bellarmine of Julian *qua* Apostate: he chose to leave it implicit, with the word itself unstated — but James certainly did not mistake the jab, and it evidently irked him. He was to address the comparison at some length, in a passage of rebuttal which recurs with variations in three publications; first in a text that I shall call for short *An Apologie*, issued in two editions in 1608 and 1609 respectively; and again, in an abbreviated form, in 1616.³⁴ In *An*

³² Greg. Naz., *Against Julian* 1, 81, here cited as rendered in the *Post-Nicene Fathers Library* version, with some clear parallels to particulars in Bellarmine's letter marked in **bold**:

Now what does this man contrive, and **what snare does he set for the former [i.e., 'simpler'] sort of Christians?** Like those who mix poison with food, **he mixes his impiety (idolatry) with the customary honours of the sovereign, thus bringing into one the Roman laws and the worship of idols; he associates his own portraits with the figures of his demons, pretending that they were some other sort of customary representations.** He exposes these figures to peoples and to cities, and above all to those in government of nations, so that he could not miss being in one way or another mischievous: for either by the honour paid to the sovereign that to idols was also insinuated, or else by the shunning of the latter the sovereign himself was insulted, the worship of the two being mixed up together. This treachery, and so cunningly devised snare of impiety, **a few indeed escape (of the more cautious and intelligent sort), but these get punished for their sagacity on the pretext that they had offended against the respect due to the emperor;** but, in reality, because they braved the danger for the sake of their true sovereign and their religion. But many of the more ignorant and simple sort were caught in the trap, who, perhaps, deserve pardon for their ignorance, thus drawn away by stratagem into impiety.

³³ Patterson 2000: 86 (adducing Bellarmine's own remark in his *Responsio* to James's *Apology*)

³⁴ The *Triplici Nodo, Triplex Cuneus: or, an Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance* was first issued anonymously in 1608 (but with 1607 on title-page); it was re-published with revisions in 1609 under James's name (now prefaced by another piece, the *Premonition*, addressed to fellow-monarchs). The relevant passage on Bellarmine's comparison recurs in abbreviated form in James's *Remonstrance* 1616 (on which see below, p. 244)

Apologie, James accused his detractors of having mistaken, or misrepresented, the narrow civil purpose of the Oath of Allegiance. There is good reason to think that the whole of the piece (it runs to more than a hundred pages) was substantially composed, and later revised, by James himself;³⁵ and that is certainly true of the passage on Julian. To best convey its flavour, I quote the passage here from the revised 1609 edition, in which James openly identified himself as the author (I note that in the 1609 version the passage comprises a single, simple, paragraph; in my quote, I number and sub-paragraph the ‘proofs’ adduced, for clarity):³⁶

And wheras for illustration of this strong [= principal] argument of his, hee [Bellarmine] hath brought in for a similitude [ie. a comparison] the hystorie of Julian the Apostata his dealing with the Christians, when as he straited [= forced] them either to commit idolatrie, or to come within the compasse of treason: I would wish the authour [= Bellarmine] to remember, that although a similitude may bee permitted *claudicare uno pede* [‘to limp on one foot’], yet this was a very ill chosen similitude, which is lame both of feet and hands, and every member of the body. For I shall in few words proove, that it agreeth in no one point, save one, with our purpose, which is, that Iulian was an Emperour, and I a King.

[1] First, Iulian was an Apostata, one that had renounced the whole Christian faith, which hee had once professed, and became an Ethnike [= pagan] againe, or rather an Atheist: whereas I am a Christian, who neuer changed that Religion, that I dranke in with my milke: nor euer, I thanke God, was ashamed of my profession.

[2] Iulian dealt against Christians onely for the profession of Christes cause: I deale in this cause with my Subiects, onely to make a distinction betweene true Subiects, and false hearted traitours.

[3] Iulians end was the ouerthrow of the Christians: my onely end is, to maintaine Christianitie in a peaceable gouvernement. Iulians drift was to make them commit idolatrie: my purpose is to make my Subiects to make open profession of their naturall Alleagiance, and ciuill obedience.

³⁵ On James’s authorship of the piece, see North 2002: 215–16; Patterson 2000: 85.

³⁶ James I, *Apologie* (1609) 78–81 (a lightly revised version of pp. 78–80 of the ‘anonymous’ first edition of 1608, in which James had referred to himself in the third person form).

[4] Iulians meanes whereby hee went about it, was by craft, and insnaring them before they were aware: my course in this is plaine, cleare, and void of all obscuritie: neuer refusing leaue to any that are required to take this Oath, to studie it at leisure, and giving them all the interpretation of it they can crave.

[5] But the greatest dissimilitude of all, is in this: that Iulian pressed them to commit idolatrie to idoles and images: but as well I, as all the Subiects of my profession are so farre from guilt in this point, as wee are counted heretiques by you, because we will not commit idolatrie.

[6] So as, in the maine point of all, is the greatest contrarietie. For Iulian persecuted the Christians because they would not commit idolatrie; and yee count me a persecutour, because I will not admit idolatrie. So as to conclude this point, this olde sentence may well be applied to Bellarmine, in using so unapt a similitude, *Perdere quos vult Iupiter, hos dementat* [‘Those whom Jove wants to destroy, he (first) renders mad’].

It is telling that, in the exposition of his refutation, James chose to begin with a rebuttal of the sly point of comparison that had not been overtly voiced in Bellarmine’s letter, but which hovers around it — the suggestion of personal apostasy. His answer to it should be appraised with an eye to a passage in the text that James conjoined as a preface to his *Apologie* as published in 1609 — his ‘Premonition to all most mighty Monarchs’. There, he acknowledged his Catholic baptism, but in terms that belittled its import and reviled its ritualistic elements, and allowed himself a side-swipe for good measure at the Jesuit order to which Bellarmine belonged:

For first, I am no Apostate, as the Cardinall [Bellarmine] would make mee; not onely hauing euer been brought up in that Religion which I presently professe, but euen my Father and Grandfather on that side professing the same: and so cannot be properly an Heretike by their owne doctrine, since I neuer was of their Church. And as for [Mary Stuart] the Queene my Mother of worthie memorie, although she continued in that Religion wherin she was nourished, yet was shee so farre from beng superstitious or *Iesuited* therein, that at my Baptisme (although I was baptized by a Popish Archbishop) shee sent him word to forbear to use the spettle in my Baptisme; which was obeyed, being indeed a filthy and an apish trick, rather in scorne then imitation of CHRIST. And her owne very words were, That shee would not haue a pockie Priest to spet in her child’s mouth. As also the Font wherin I was Christened, was sent from the late Queene heere of famous memorie

[Elizabeth I], who was my Godmother; and what her Religion was, [Pope] Pius V. was not ignorant.³⁷

When he addressed the matter in the 1609 *Apologie* proper, James chose not to revert to the awkward fact of the baptismal ceremony; he merely rehearsed the *Premonition's* assertion that he remained what he had always been since his infancy: a steadfast and faithful adherent of the Christian religion, the very opposite of an apostate. That done, he passed on (paras. 2–4) to rebut the charge that his imposition of the Oath marked him out as a devious persecutor, and then (paras. 5–6) moved to the attack in a closing twist. If anyone deserved to be likened to the Emperor Julian, James declared, it was not he, but rather Bellarmine himself. It was the Catholic Cardinal who merited the title of persecutor — and one could add idolatry to the resemblance: the adoration of statues and images that Bellarmine and his confreres at the Vatican prescribed and practised was idolatry; and they persecuted as heretics those (like James) who refused to countenance it. This closing riposte reads as a debater's device, and perhaps an over-strained one; but it served its purpose in the exchange — and beyond that, it is tempting to think, it has a certain aptness. Cardinal Bellarmine, so concerned in 1608 to protect the freedom of religious conscience of English Catholics, served as an expert adviser to the Congregation of the Holy Office (that is, the Inquisition); in 1600 he had sat on the board that tried and condemned Giordano Bruno as a heretic — and he would soon (in 1616) be interrogating Galileo.³⁸

The underlying issue that had prompted Bellarmine's evocation of Julian — the problem (as he saw it) inherent in any action by a State's civil authority to constrain the universal reach of the Papal authority in matters spiritual — continued to be rehearsed in a proliferating discourse over the next few years. Bellarmine, on the Pope's instructions, composed a pseudonymous *Responsio* (1608) to James's *Apology*, later expanded (1610) in response to James's *Premonition*.³⁹ Bellarmine did not himself return in these pieces to his Julian-comparison, but in 1615 the French Cardinal Du Perron picked up on it, and redeployed it an oration published that year (and translated in 1616 as the *Oration on the Part of the Lords Spiritual*). James's *Remonstrance* (1616) was intended as a refutation of that oration. In the course of it he briefly revisited the Julian/James comparison, in a passage which effectively compressed his

³⁷ James I, *Premonition* (1609) 33–34.

³⁸ Godman 2000: 174–78, 214–16.

³⁹ Patterson 2000: 86, 102.

earlier points, and professed surprise at Du Perron's failure to appreciate that Bellarmine had been decisively answered in this matter:

Nor in any sort doe I purpose, to set Iulian the Apostata before mine eyes, as a patterne for me to follow.

Julian of a Christian became a Pagan: I professe the same faith of Christ still, which I haue euer professed:

Iulian went about his designs with crafty conueiances; I neuer with any of his captious and cunning sleights:

Iulian forced his subiects to infidelitie against Iesus Christ; I labour to induce my subiects vnto such tearmes of loyaltie towards my selfe, as Iesus Christ hath prescribed and taught in his word.

But how farre I differ from Iulian, it is to bee seene more at large in my answer to Bellarmines Epistles written to Blackwell; from whence the Lord Cardinall [Du Perron] borrowing this example, it might well haue beseemed his Lordship to borrow likewise my answer from the same place.⁴⁰

In his own estimation, at least, then, James had emerged the clear winner in the 1607–9 exchange with Bellarmine about Julian. It had been all along, of course, only a sideline in a larger argument — an argument about the limits to be placed on the power of a temporal civil authority to demand unqualified obedience of its subjects, and about the circumstances in which the subject could properly withhold full obedience in the face of a tyrannical demand. And it is not clear that, in the immediate aftermath, the interest of contemporaries in Julian's particular case was much quickened or broadened by James's depiction of him in 1608/9. There is no cause, certainly, to imagine that Cornwallis owed anything to it when he wrote the mock-encomion on Julian that I have mentioned earlier (see n. 24). Soon after James's accession, admittedly, Cornwallis had briefly tried his luck at court; but his composition of the encomion quite possibly pre-dated the *Apologie* — and in any event, it was a piece of a very different temper: the sources that inspired and underpinned his encomion were clearly Montaigne, and Martinius, and Julian's own *Caesars*. A rather better case could be made, perhaps, for a reverberation of James's Julian in an early Jacobean drama: it has recently been argued that the figure of Julian is obliquely evoked in a Middleton play, *The Lady's Tragedy*, first performed by the King's Men at Blackfriars in either late 1610 or 1611, and subsequently at court.⁴¹ On

⁴⁰ James I, *Remonstrance* (1616) 240–41.

⁴¹ Streete 2017: 95, 111–20.

that argument, the play's basic thrust was anti-Catholic, and the characterization of its principal villain, 'the Tyrant', shows a marked affinity with the figure of Julian as represented in James's *Apologie* — tyrannical, idolatrous and cunning, a cipher for Catholic persecution of Protestants. It might just be, then, that Middleton had read or knew the gist of James's recently published evocation of Julian by the time he wrote the play, and was purposely echoing it.

That is a speculation, not a proof — but if it is hard to specify any immediate resonances of James's Julian in English discourse, there is no doubt that on one key point it set down a lasting marker: under a later Stuart, we shall see, Julian would be notably deployed again as an exemplum in political disputation over the limits of 'passive obedience' to a monarchic civil authority — and as a warning against the re-imposition of Roman Catholic 'tyranny' in England.

2.2 'The subtlest enemy': Julian's Education edict in Milton's *Areopagitica*, 1644

It is not in question that James had the capacity, and the appetite, to engage with Classical authors, and Bellarmine was famously learned; he certainly had read fragments of Julian's *Against the Galileans* (as quoted by Cyril of Alexandria) in his extensive studies in the 1570s and '80s for the preparation of his magnum opus, the *Controversiae*; ⁴² and it is hard to think that he had never looked at any other works or letters of Julian. But that said, it seems clear that neither he nor James was drawing directly on Julian's own writings in their exchange of 1607/8: Bellarmine had ingeniously fished out a particular passage from an oration of Gregory Nazianzen — but the image of Julian that he presented in his letter remained at bottom the stock figure of the tyrannical, quasi-Satanic persecutor that the Catholic tradition had constructed on the basis of the antique ecclesiastical historians. And James was happy to concur entirely with that caricature; in his rejoinder to the comparison, he adduced no other ancient source.

In the case of the second Julian-allusion I highlight for discussion in this paper, the question whether a direct encounter with Julian's own writings was at play is a more finely balanced one. Here too, the trope of Julian as a devious persecutor figured prominently — but in this case it

⁴² Bellarmine in his *Controversiae*, vol. 3 (1593), ch. III, p. 274, cites Cyril, *Contra Julianum* (= Julian C. Gal. ap. Cyril. 86A) on Julian's sarcastic questioning of the means by which the serpent in Eden had acquired the power of human speech and a knowledge of Hebrew.

was adduced as something more substantial than a convenient rhetorical exemplum; it was deployed with a genuinely subversive edge at a time of deep political crisis. The text is very famous — Milton's *Areopagitica* of 1644, a polemical pamphlet directed against a recent Parliamentary Licensing Order (1643) which had imposed pre-publication censorship on the press: with the Civil War in progress, the Presbyterian-dominated parliament had determined to suppress both Royalist propaganda and radical Puritan pamphleteering. Suppression of the former, it may be suspected, would have caused Milton little worry — but the threat to the latter was emphatically objectionable to him.⁴³ He deplored the licensing order as a measure of the kind one would have expected of the Papal Inquisition, or of King Charles's Star Chamber, only abolished three years earlier, and a repellant memory for Milton.

Areopagitica has spawned a vast bibliography, but my interest in it is restricted to a particular passage recounting an episode that had occurred in the mid-fourth century Roman empire. It was common knowledge that after the accession of Constantine, early in the century, State persecution of Christians had ceased; and according to Milton, at least (the picture is historically misleading), censorship or licensing of books was unknown until ca.AD 400: until then, he asserted, no measures were introduced by either the Christian emperors or by the bishops of the Church to restrict the freedom of the early Christians to read whatever they wanted; they had been left free to read the Classical pagan authors without hindrance — and they had profited from reading them critically. But there was an exception of sorts to all this: Milton now paused his argument, to adduce the case of a legal enactment by the pagan Emperor Julian. Milton's treatment of it turns on a contrast: whereas in the first century St Paul, by his own exemplary practice in his epistles, had commended and encouraged the study of pagan literature by the early Christians, Julian in the fourth had gone so far as to issue a decree that prohibited it entirely. I quote below, first, the relevant passage in *Areopagitica*, and then parts of the Julianic text to which Milton's passage refers (for clarity, I occasionally expand or gloss the texts, within square brackets; and I highlight key clauses in **bold**):

Not to insist upon the examples of Moses, Daniel & Paul, who were skilfull in all the learning of the Aegyptians, Caldeans, and Greeks, which could not probably be without reading their Books of all sorts, in [relation to] Paul especially, who thought it no defilement to insert into holy Scripture the sentences of three Greek Poets, and one of them a

⁴³ Egan 2007.

Tragedian, the question [*i.e. the question whether it was permissible and profitable for Christians to be left free to read 'heathen' literature if they wished*] was notwithstanding sometimes controverted among the Primitive Doctors, but with great odds on that side which affirm'd it both lawfull and profitable, **as was then evidently perceiv'd, when Julian the Apostat and sottlest enemy to our faith made a decree forbidding Christians the study of heathen learning: for, said he, they wound us with our own weapons, and with our owne arts and sciences they overcome us.** And indeed the Christians were put so to their shifts by this crafty means, and [were] so much in danger to decline into all ignorance, that the two Apollinari were fain as a man may say, to coin all the seven liberall Sciences out of the Bible, reducing it into divers forms of Orations, Poems, Dialogues, ev'n to the calculating of a new Christian grammar. But, saith the Historian Socrates, The providence of God provided better then the industry of Apollinarius and his son, by taking away that illiterat law with the life of him who devis'd it. So great an injury they [the Christians] then held it to be depriv'd of Hellenick learning; and thought it a persecution more undermining, and secretly decaying the Church, than the open cruelty of Decius or Dioclesian.⁴⁴

The Julianic text that Milton here calls a 'decree' was extant, and was traditionally published as a letter: in the Martinius/Cantoclarus 1583 and Petavius 1630 editions of Julian's works, it was given with a parallel Latin version as *Ep.* 42 [= *Ep.* 36 in the Loeb]. The date and particular context of its issue, and its precise standing as a legal text, have been much discussed by Julian scholars. On the standard view (which I believe correct) it had legal force: it is a 'rescript' that Julian wrote and issued in the summer of 362 (either en route to Antioch, or soon after his arrival there), and was intended to clarify the requirements of an earlier, brief, 'education edict' (issued on 17 June 362) in which he had curtly stipulated that teachers must be men of honest character. I here quote key excerpts from the rescript (in the Loeb translation [= *Ep.* 36], occasionally adapted):

I hold that a proper education results not in laboriously acquired symmetry of phrases and language, but in a healthy condition of mind ...

Therefore, when a man thinks one thing and teaches his pupils another, in my opinion he fails to educate exactly in proportion as he fails to be an honest man ...

⁴⁴ Milton, *Areopagitica*, p. 10 in the original 1644 edition.

So I give [Christian teachers in the Schools of grammar and rhetoric] this choice: either not to teach what they do not think admirable; or else, if they wish to teach, let them first persuade their pupils that Homer [and all the other Classical pagan writers] are not to be declared guilty of any impiety or foolishness or error in what they wrote about the gods ...

However, if they [i.e. the Christian teachers] think that those [pagan] writers were in error with respect to the most honoured gods, then let them take themselves off to the churches of the Galilaeans [= the Christians] to expound Matthew and Luke ...

For religious and secular teachers let there be a general ordinance [a *koinos nomos*] to this effect. Any youth who wishes to attend the schools is not excluded; nor indeed would it be reasonable to shut out from the best way boys who are still too ignorant to know which way to turn, and to overawe them into being led against their will to the beliefs of their ancestors. Though indeed it might be proper to cure these, even against their will, as one cures the insane, except that we concede indulgence to all for this sort of disease. For we ought, I think, to teach, but not punish, the demented.

The rescript made it clear that unless Christian teachers declared themselves pagans to their pupils and taught the Classical authors in that spirit, they were to be banned from all teaching in the Schools of grammar and rhetoric. The ban is reported by Gregory Nazianzen and by all the early Christian ecclesiastical historians — and it is alluded to also (and deplored) by Ammianus. None of them, though, had quoted details from the law — and on the face of things, a reader might think that Milton does precisely that; in which case he could not be relying solely on these familiar testimonies. The formulation of the crucial sentence in question embraces a first-person direct quotation, and implies a direct reading by Milton of Julian's rescript: **[he] made a decree forbidding Christians the study of heathen learning: "for," said he, "they wound us with our own weapons, etc."**...'. But on a closer reading, the quote introduced by 'said he' is a distraction, and as evidence of direct reading of the rescript it is weightless. While it may appear to render a part of the 'decree' *verbatim*, the 'quote' is nowhere to be found in the text of Julian's rescript. The words Milton put into Julian's mouth are a loose version, rather, of an item that only figures as an unplaced fragment in modern editions of Julian's works — and its claim to authenticity is very suspect. The item at issue, it must be stressed, was not transmitted in the MS tradition of Julian: in MS form, it is preserved solely in the *Ecclesiastical History* of a fifth century Christian author, Theodoret — who depicts it as

an expansion of a proverbial saying on Julian's part.⁴⁵ What might seem a quotation by Milton of Julian's 'decree', then, is nothing of the sort: it is only a loose version of what Theodoret had represented as a Julianic variation on a traditional saying.

Like Bellarmine and James, Milton puts emphasis on the craftiness and guile of the Apostate: *Areopagitica* ranks Julian as Christianity's 'suttlest enemy' (cf. Rufin. *hist.* 10.33: *callidior ceteris persecutor*). That is a high compliment, of a sort — but it still may not convey the full depth of the enemy's subtlety. On a close reading, Julian's rescript on Christian teachers did not actually forbid the study of 'Hellenick learning' by Christians *tout court*. What it expressly forbade was the *teaching* of pagan literature by Christian professors; it closed with a rider (included in my excerpt) in which Julian stressed that Christian youths were still welcome to attend the Schools, if they wished, to be taught Classical Greek literature and philosophy. There was a very material consideration at issue: for anyone (and there were many) who hoped to serve and progress in the secretariat of the greatly enlarged bureaucracy of the later empire, such an education was virtually *de rigueur*. Under Julian's 'education law', Christian youths could aspire, still, to a career of that sort — but there was catch, of course. Henceforth, they were only to be taught by professors who venerated the ancestral pagan gods; they would be 'correctly' instructed in a purified pedagogical environment. Julian's law thus posed a stark choice not just for Christian teachers, but for any Christian family of respectable social status that wished good things for its sons. It signalled an ideologically determined programme to marginalize Christianity at the upper levels of imperial society — and for a modern reader, very sinister twentieth century parallels spring to mind.

The lack of any reference in *Areopagitica* to Julian's distinction between the teacher and the student has little bearing on the question whether Milton wrote the piece with, or without, any first-hand acquaintance with the rescript: even supposing Milton *had* read it, and was aware of the fact that Julian had specified that Christian youths were free to study at the Schools, it would hardly have served his purpose to air that fact in *Areopagitica*. But in any case, Milton was not alone in eliding the teacher/student distinction: it went largely ignored, in general, in the

⁴⁵ Theodoret *HE* 3.4: 'First of all he prohibited the sons of the Galileans, for so he tried to name the worshippers of the Saviour, from taking part in the study of poetry, rhetoric, and philosophy, "For", said he, "**in the words of the proverb 'we are shot with shafts feathered from our own wing,' for from our own books they take arms and wage war against us**" [I cite the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers Library trans.] The ostensible quotation is given as Fr. 9 in Hertein's edition of Julian = Fr. 7 in Loeb.

early modern reception of Julian's 'education law'. Milton's imprecision on the point is thus most easily and economically explained on the premise that his own knowledge of the 'decree' was drawn simply from the ecclesiastical historians, without any direct acquaintance with the Julianic rescript. In my view, that is probably the truth of the matter; Socrates Scholasticus, after all, is explicitly named by Milton as one of his sources, and Theodoret was patently another — and there is nothing else said in the passage that would count as evidence for the contrary view. Perhaps the question is best left hanging: strictly speaking, one cannot preclude the possibility that Milton had already had some direct acquaintance with Julianic writings by the time he wrote *Areopagitica*⁴⁶ — but on the evidence we have, the proposition is otiose. Either way, the essential point to observe is unaffected. When Milton adduced Julian in his pamphlet, he cast Parliament's Presbyterian legislators as akin to an odious and tyrannical Apostate, and by implication to the English king they were currently at war with. *Areopagitica* represents Julian's 'crafty' assault on the early Christians' intellectual liberty as more injurious than the physical sufferings inflicted on them previously in the pre-Constantinian period; 'to be depriv'd of Hellenick learning [was] a persecution more undermining, and [more] secretly decaying [of] the Church, than the open cruelty of Decius or Dioclesian'. The evocation of Julian in *Areopagitica* castigates Parliament's impulse to censor Puritan pamphleteers as likewise a subtle persecution: tyrannical, contrary to the enlightened practice of Paul and the early Church Fathers — and unless challenged, morally and intellectually enfeebling.

Within the overall argument of *Areopagitica*, Julian is only an aside — but the case perhaps already had a particular edge for the future author of *Paradise Lost*. It is surely telling that in his Julian-evocation Milton contrived to refer to the story that Socrates Scholasticus (*HE* 3.16) had told of the response of the two Apollinariii to Julian's ban: forbidden to teach Homer and the poets in the Schools, a Christian litterateur and his son had composed substitute texts for Christian readers in which the substance of the Pentateuch was re-cast into the hexameters of Homeric epic and the strophic verse-forms of Greek tragedy. For Milton, who would soon himself be rehearsing a biblical narrative in a neo-Classical verse epic, the accommodation of Classical thought and literature by Christians was a fundamental moral and poetic question — and it is

⁴⁶ To be clear, on the evidence we have, it cannot be proved that Milton *ever* read any work of Julian's. Poole 2016 has observations which by convergence would commend a hypothesis for the *likelihood* that Milton at some point read and pondered some works by Julian, especially the *Misopogon*; but that does not amount to proof.

important to be clear that he had already taken an interest in Julian's attitude to the matter well before he wrote *Areopagitica* in 1644. It has been nicely noted lately that the kernel of what Milton had to say about Julian in *Areopagitica* — even the 'quote' culled from Theodoret that he attributes to him there — can be found already in a 1638 entry in Milton's commonplace book.⁴⁷

The evocation of Julian in *Areopagitica*, then, turns out to constitute more than one of a sequence of exempla adduced by Milton in 1644 to support a case against a censorious Parliamentary Licensing Order enacted at a time of civil war. For Milton, Julian's 'education edict' already had a deeper significance and resonance: Julian was of the devil's party, but his edict had identified and crystallized a problematic question that would confront any intelligent Christian at any time: in what spirit should Classical literature be read?

2.3 Republican regicide: a motto from Julian's *Misopogon* in *Eikon Basilike*, 1649

Milton, when he wrote *Areopagitica*, was in my view almost certainly portraying Julian on the basis of external witnesses, not from first-hand knowledge of Julian's own works. But five years after *Areopagitica*'s publication, an anonymous learned person indubitably did make ingenious play with a Julianic text in a volume produced at a time of extreme political crisis. Again, the book at issue is very famous — *Eikon Basilike: The Pourtraicture of His Sacred Majestie in His Solitudes and Sufferings*, a work of Royalist propaganda first published only a few days after Charles I's execution on 30 January 1649. It was to circulate very widely: before the year was out it had been issued over fifty times, in more than thirty editions — and there were to be many more in subsequent years.

⁴⁷ Poole 2016: 165 and 180 n. 21: a very acute observation. Poole first cites the 1638 entry as Milton wrote it (in Latin, and with the quote attributed to Julian in the Greek), and then in translation, as follows: 'Even the faithless Julian saw by what weapons his cause might be weakened, when he forbade to Christians the teaching of poetry, rhetoric, and philosophy: "for," said he, "as the proverb has it, we are struck by our own quills."'

The persons who produced it had gathered and ‘methodized’ for publication a set of reflections that had been written by Charles himself at

Figure 1



Greek motto at bottom line:
Τὸ Χι οὐδὲν ἠδίκησε τὴν πόλιν, οὐδὲ τὸ Κάππα

various points in the course of the 1640s (or such, at least, was their claim). In any event, the material was carefully arranged to project an image of Charles as a regal martyr — a long-suffering, saintly figure,

Christ-like in his willingness to sacrifice himself for his subjects' good. The substance of the claim to regal authorship, and the identities and particular purposes of the men who compiled and edited the texts for publication, have been the subject of many studies⁴⁸ — but here I can leave that aside: my interest lies not with *Eikon Basilike's* text proper, but with its opening paratext, rather. In several of the earliest editions, an intricate frontispiece sheet [FIG. 1] has an engraving showing a solitary Charles at prayer, as if meditating in anticipation of his execution; a set of Latin and English verses placed beneath this scene explains its allegorical details, lauding the king as a holy martyr; and then, at the very bottom of the frontispiece sheet (and quite distinct from the Latin and English verses), there stands one further line of text — a short unattributed sentence, in Greek:

Τὸ Χί οὐδὲν ἠδίκησε τὴν πόλιν, οὐδὲ τὸ Κάππα.

Neither the Chi nor the Kappa ever inflicted any harm upon the city.

Presented (as it was) with no indication of its author or source, this motto will have seemed utterly perplexing to all but a very few among the frontispiece's readership, whether or not they were able to construe the literal meaning of the Greek. To appreciate the motto's purport in the frontispiece, one needed a very precise knowledge of its origin and connotations within a particular antique text. It is actually a quotation — almost an exact one — from Julian's *Misopogon*, the satire he composed and posted up in January 362 at Antioch (his headquarters, at the time) to chide the city's (predominantly Christian) populace for its indifference to his pagan revival. As the relevant sentence appears in the *Misopogon*, though, there is a small but significant difference that bears on this context — an additional verb of speech:

Τὸ Χί, φασίν, οὐδὲν ἠδίκησε τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲ τὸ Κάππα. (*Misopogon*, 357a)

'Neither the Chi,' **they say**, 'nor the Kappa ever inflicted any harm upon the city.'

The Greek sentence cited in *Eikon Basilike's* frontispiece, then, had been cited by Julian as a direct quotation of something spoken by others; and in the context of the *Misopogon*, their identity is clear. Julian is quoting

⁴⁸ Wilcher 1991 is a lucid review of these questions. On the early publishing history of the work, and the editions containing the frontispiece in the particular form discussed below, see Madan 1950: 33–34.

a riddling jibe that an Antiochene crowd had recently chanted (quite likely in his presence) to insult and provoke him. The Greek letter Chi was an acronym for Christ; the letter Kappa denoted Constantius [‘Konstantios’ in Greek spelling], the son and successor of Constantine — and Julian’s cousin and immediate predecessor. Now Constantius, though an odious memory for Julian, had been a ruler well-liked at Antioch: the Antiochenes’ jibe asserted their city’s fond remembrance of Constantius ‘the Kappa’ as an admirable Christian emperor, and also its continuing attachment to the religion of the Christian God that the Constantinian dynasty had identified itself with, and had consistently promoted — until Julian abandoned and assaulted it. And there was possibly a further twist in the jibe, in so far as it praised the ghost of Constantius; Constantius had promoted Julian to be his junior colleague — and Julian had repaid him by marching his army against him; the jibe might carry the suggestion, then, that Julian was a treacherous usurper.

For those readers of *Eikon Basilike* (precious few, to be sure) who were alert to all this, the point of the Greek motto in the frontispiece was deducible by analogy. Kappa transliterated is the Latin ‘C’, and now serves an acronym for Carolus (Charles): he stands, like Constantius the son of Constantine, as an emblem of stable governance, Christian monarchy, and filial loyalty. Chi/Christ now signals Charles’s established Church in England; the ‘city’ he had never done any wrong to is the English people. Charles, on this reading, is a paragon of faith and piety — an English revival of antiquity’s greatest champions of Christian monarchy. By contrast, the New Model Army leaders and the clique of ‘republicans’⁴⁹ who have just recently connived to try and kill their king now collectively reincarnate the impiety and treachery of the ungrateful Apostate. In short, a Greek tag that had been devised at Antioch in 362 in mockery of Julian and his project to de-christianise the Roman State is now redeployed in application to an English political catastrophe. In its location at the foot of *Eikon Basilike*’s frontispiece, beneath a picture and verses representing Charles as God’s suffering servant *in extremis*, the tag mourns England’s loss of a saintly king, and scorns the legal pretexts (treason and tyranny) that the regicides had devised to justify their putting Charles on trial. Such a recondite ‘quote within a quote’ riddle would do nothing, of course, to further what was presumably the prime practical aim of *Eikon Basilike* — the preservation of a popular support-

⁴⁹ I here use the term loosely as a convenient shorthand; but few (if any) of those who tried Charles in 1649 would have identified themselves as ‘Republicans’, and in the recent historiography of the Civil War period a more restricted application of ‘Republicanism’ is commended, to strictly denote and entail the principle of ‘anti-monarchism’: see Worden 2002, with Hammersley 2012: 324–27.

base for the Royalist cause. It offered, rather, a compressed enigma to be pondered by the cognoscenti; it was the heartfelt flourish of some learned man involved in the book's production. The name of that person eludes us now (the likeliest candidates are Jeremy Taylor, a chaplain to Charles, or else William Dugard, an erudite printer)⁵⁰ — but whoever he was, he had read Julian's satire the *Misopogon* with close attention, and had persuaded himself that a witticism quoted there by Julian could be aptly recast as a plangent dirge in the aftermath of Charles's execution.

2.4 Tolerant tyrants: Julian and his *Caesars* in Marvell's *Rehearsal Transpros'd*, 1672/73

One might have hoped to find in Milton's *Eikonoklastes* (1650) — a work he wrote by commission as a counterblast to *Eikon Basilike* — an early reaction to the oblique play made with Julian's 'Chi and Kappa' riddle in *Eikon Basilike*'s frontispiece. *Eikonoklastes*' preface, after all, does contain a scornful reference to the 'conceited portraiture' of the famous engraving of Charles at prayer in the frontispiece; but Milton makes no mention of Julian's riddle there — nor anywhere else in *Eikonoklastes*. His silence on this detail *might*, of course, be taken to indicate simply that at the time he wrote *Eikonoklastes* he had not read the *Misopogon* — but there is no proving that: the silence could be explained as well in other ways.⁵¹ And in the sequel, it seems, no later seventeenth century writer would address the implications of the puzzling Greek sentence in *Eikon Basilike*'s frontispiece.⁵² Julian's actions and utterances at Antioch, however, *did* still come to figure notably in late seventeenth century disputation: the demands he had pressed upon his subjects there, and the mockery of his person and religious policy he encountered in response,

⁵⁰ For these possibilities (and others: among them, John Gauden), see Poole 2016: 162–63.

⁵¹ As was noted above, the quotation from the *Misopogon* only occurs in some — by no means all — of the 1649 editions of *Eikon Basilike*; in others, the frontispiece prints the engraved scene, but without the quotation; it is possible, then, that Milton had only seen the frontispiece in a form that lacked the quotation. Or again, on the supposition that he *had* seen the quotation, and *had* recognized the source, he might have thought it too trivial to merit any comment in a popularizing work of refutation.

⁵² The solution to the 'riddle' would be immediately clear to any reader of the *Misopogon*, and one can find it explicated as such by seventeenth century authors (e.g. by William Cave *Ecclesiastici*, 1683, Intro., Section III, p. xlv). But there appears to be no printed discussion of it with specific reference to *Eikon Basilike* earlier than the eighteenth century (so Poole 2016: 162, observing a debate in the *Gentleman's Magazine*).

raised once again a key question that had attached to Julian in the discourse of Bellarmine and James I: what could a civil authority legitimately require of its subjects, especially in matters touching on religion? And what should the response of the subject be, if the state's requirements go beyond a legitimate limit? To elucidate the uses to which Julian was put in disputation over this matter, I pass from the aftermath of Charles I's beheading to the era of the Restored Monarchy, to discussion of a memorable satirical polemic of the 1670s: one finds in it a pugnacious depiction of Julian — and a learned and highly subversive deployment of a particular Julianic text.

The author of the polemic was Andrew Marvell, a Member of Parliament of twelve years' standing when he wrote it, and a close friend of Milton's; under the Commonwealth, he had been employed as his assistant (and he had certainly read *Areopagitica*).⁵³ By a neat coincidence, he was also the creator of English poetry's most famous image of Charles I, pictured at the moment of his execution — and most moderns would think of him as a poet. But Marvell's literary reputation in his lifetime rested chiefly on his prose satires, not least on the two-part work I am concerned with here: *The Rehearsal Transpros'd*, and *The Rehearsal Transpros'd: The Second Part*, published respectively in 1672 and 1673 to much acclaim.⁵⁴ (For brevity, when I need to distinguish between the two parts, I will designate them respectively *RT1* and *RT2*). It was a best-seller in the 1670s in several editions (some pirated), and was still a popular classic thirty years later: Swift commends it as such, and as a product of 'great genius', in his *Tale of a Tub*.⁵⁵ Its wide circulation in the 1670s and 80s (and later), I wish to argue, will have been instrumental in enhancing and modifying Julian's profile in the consciousness of a broader English readership — and in particular, in a curious text that bears on the Exclusion Crisis of the early 1680s (see below, pp. 267–70).

The use to which Marvell put Julian in *Rehearsal Transpros'd* is mordantly subversive. The political and literary contexts for its composition and publication are intricate, but for my purposes it will suffice to sketch a summary background. I will then turn to its particular evocations

⁵³ Marvell patently borrows an analogy from *Areopagitica* early in *RT1*, at p. 5 in 1672 edn. (= Marvell, *Prose Works* (2003) vol. 1, 46, with Dzelzainis' n. 29 *ad loc.*).

⁵⁴ In what follows, my discussion of the political contexts of *RT1* and *RT2*'s composition is indebted to the introductions to *RT1* (by A. Dzelzainis) and to *RT2* (by A. Patterson) in Marvell, *Prose Works* (2003) vol. 1, at pp. 3–40, 207–13; and to Smith 2010: 247–78.

⁵⁵ Swift 2008: 66: 'We still read Marvell's answer to Parker with pleasure, tho' the book it answers be sunk long ago' (I quote from the prefatory 'Apology' to the [1710] 5th edition of *A Tale of a Tub*).

of Julian: first, a jibe made in passing in *RT1*, and then the sequel it prompted in *RT2* — a sustained sequence of allusions that played out over ten pages in the original 1673 edition, with close engagement at one point with a specific Julianic text.

The political context, first. In March 1672, Charles II had issued a Declaration of Indulgence permitting freedom of religion to both Protestant Nonconformists (or ‘Dissenters’) and Roman Catholics, by a suspension of the penal laws that had previously applied. There was much opposition to this policy in Parliament, and in pamphleteering — and it was effective enough to press the King to withdraw the Declaration in March 1673. Very prominent among the opposition was the then Archdeacon of Canterbury, Samuel Parker. Parker was a seasoned controversialist — and a vitriolic anathematizer of Protestant Nonconformists, especially. At the time in question, he was the leading (and the most extreme) conservative Anglican proponent of the doctrine and duty of ‘Passive obedience’ in religion to royal and civil authority. On that score, Parker was firm that Roman Catholics in the kingdom, as well as Nonconformists, must be required to be obedient. Between 1670 and 1672, he published three lengthy works demanding the retention or re-imposition of the various laws and penalties that privileged the Anglican establishment — and it was in response to the last of this trio of works, published in 1672 (I shall call it here the *Preface*, for short),⁵⁶ that Marvell entered the ring with his *Rehearsal Transpros’d; or Animadversions upon a Late Book, Intituled, a Preface ...* [= *RT1*]. Its first publication in December 1672 (which was anonymous, and formally illegal) spurred Parker to produce another massive screed, of over 500 pages: *A Reproof to the Rehearsal Transpros’d* (May 1673). *The Rehearsal Transpros’d: The Second Part* [= *RT2*] was published (November 1673) as Marvell’s response to that ‘*Reproof*’ of Parker’s. By contrast with *RT1*, it was not published anonymously; *RT2* was openly published under Marvell’s name. The reason for that is intriguing: the King himself had read and greatly enjoyed *RT1*, and had made clear his view that it should not be suppressed; and Marvell had other eminent supporters too, in the persons of the First Earl Shaftesbury and Lord Anglesey.⁵⁷ *RT2* was composed and released, then, in the confidence that anonymity was no longer necessary.

The nuances of Marvell’s political and religious allegiances constitute a central topic in current Marvell scholarship, but in this particular case,

⁵⁶ For the relationship of these three works of Parker, and their full titles, see Patterson’s comment in Marvell, *Prose Works* (2003) vol. 1, 7–8.

⁵⁷ See Dzelzainis’ comment in Marvell, *Prose Works* (2003) vol. 1, xxii.

there is a broad consensus on what his fundamental political purpose was in attacking Parker's *Preface*: it was to defend the interests of Protestant Nonconformists ('Popery' was as repellant to him as it was to his good friend Milton). But in *Rehearsal Transpros'd*, Marvell deliberately avoided signalling that specific aim, and took care not to voice his personal hostility to Roman Catholics. He was well aware, from his contacts with highly placed insiders in the government, of the rumours of Charles II's own private Catholic sympathies, and of the Catholic conversion of the King's brother and designated successor James, the Duke of York; but the immediate threat to the Nonconformists came from conservative Anglicans, not from Rome. It suited Marvell in *Rehearsal Transpros'd* to pose as an adherent of the doctrine of Divine Right of kings and as a loyal supporter of the King's project for religious toleration with a broad application — and to affect to be demonstrating his loyalty with a demolition of the intemperate attack on the King's policy that Samuel Parker had recently published in his *Preface*.

Viewed as a work of satirical literature, *The Rehearsal Transpros'd* in its two parts is a highly original and brilliantly sustained performance. It exhibits real scholarly learning, and a remarkable breadth of reading (not least, in the ancient classics: Marvell had excellent Latin and Greek; and in 1672–73 he had the use of the extensive library of a highly-placed helper, Lord Anglesey).⁵⁸ And it deploys its learning ingeniously in coruscating ridicule of Parker's person and writings. Parker is mockingly named throughout as 'Mr Bayes', after an absurd figure in a popular play of the day on whose title Marvell now played in his satire. In Buckingham's *The Rehearsal*, a burlesque of heroic drama first performed in 1671, 'Mr Bayes' had served as the leading character — a puffed-up, plagiarizing dramatic poet (his name alluding to his laureate's crown). Marvell now undertakes to transfer — or to 'transpose' — 'Mr. Bayes' from the realm of poetic drama to the world of prose literature.

RT1 is for my purposes less important than *RT2*; but it is relevant for a particular passage, in which Marvell picks up on Parker's demand in his *Preface* that all Penal Laws affecting non-Anglicans must be applied with unremitting rigour. Parker had set out various possible means to compel the obedience of subjects on that count, on a rising scale of severity, in which the top (fifth) level amounted effectively to a persecution — but which Parker nonetheless insisted must be enforced without compunction, if need be. That prompted Marvell in *RT1* to draw a comparison, in the knowledge that 'Mr Bayes' was a high-ranking Anglican cleric:

⁵⁸ See Dzelzainis and Patterson 2001.

But Mr. Bayes nevertheless is [keen] for his fifth [level of enforcement]: Persecution [is] recommended; and he does it to the purpose. Julian himself, who I think was first a Reader, and held forth in the Christian churches before he turned apostate and then persecutor, could not have outdone him ['Mr. Bayes'] either in irony or cruelty. Only it is God's mercy that Mr. Bayes is not emperour. You have seen how he inveighs against trade: [he says that] 'whilst men's consciences are actuated by such peevish and ungovernable principles, to erect trading combinations is but to build so many nests of faction and sedition.' Lay up your ships, my masters, set bills on your shop-doors, shut up the custom house; and why not adjourn and immure-up Westminster-hall, leave plowing and sowing, and keep a dismal holy-day through the Nation? for Mr. Bayes is out of humour. But I assure you, it is no jesting matter.⁵⁹

Marvell's allusion to the youthful Julian as having been an enthusiastic Christian (a church Reader) before his apostasy is accurately drawn from a precise report in Sozomen's *History* (4.2). And on this score, Marvell's likening of Parker to Julian not simply *qua* persecutor, but as one whose impulse to persecute arises from a change of mind ('Mr. Bayes is out of humour'), was a particularly shrewd punch: it was common knowledge that Parker had not always been a watchman for conservative Anglicanism; as a student at Oxford he had been, for a time, an enthusiastic Puritan Dissenter. Parker, in the prolix response to *RT1* that he published the following year (the *Reproof*), unwisely tried to deflect this jab by scorning Marvell's depiction of Julian in the passage from *RT1* I have quoted as the work of an historical ignoramus:

Your [Marvell's] fifth Play is 'Persecution recommended'; and here in the opening of your first Scene you bring the Emperour Julian upon the Stage as a more cruel and execrable Monster of Persecution than Antichrist or the Dragon himself, and you throw your slaver upon him with so much scorn and rudeness, that the People take him for as very a rake-shame as Bishop Bonner or Pope Hildebrand. And yet, poor Gentleman, he was a very civil person, and a great Virtuoso, and though he were somewhat Heathenishly inclined, yet he had nothing of the persecuting Spirit in him against the Christians, as you may see at large in [the writings of] Ammianus Marcellinus, unless you will suppose (as he did) that there is no such effectual way of persecuting an establisht

⁵⁹ *RT1*, at pp. 122–23 in 1672 edn. = *Prose Works* (eds. Dzezainis and Patterson, 2003) vol. 1, 104.

Church as by suspending all Ecclesiastical Proceedings against Schismatics and Hereticks, and granting an Unlimited and Universal Toleration. So that you might have found out some other Emperours that might better have become your Character of Cruelty than Julian. And how you will reconcile this hard usage of him with that deep Respect you profess to Sovereign Princes is past my Understanding.⁶⁰

When Parker depicted Julian as a cultivated intellectual who was positively disinclined to persecute anyone unless the alternative would result in an anarchic collapse of the entire fabric of the State religion, he was drawing an idealized self-portrait, of course. The depiction had a basis, of sorts, in the ancient evidence, inasmuch as Julian never had never intended to subject Christians to violent persecution, and had never outlawed them *qua* Christians — but Parker’s harping on Ammianus to make his point was a poor tactic. Marvell knew his Ammianus well, and in November 1673, when he called up his heavy battalion of ancient sources in the *Rehearsal Transposed, The Second Part*, Ammianus was a weapon he used skillfully, quoting the text with precise chapter references. I here give a substantial representative extract for flavour. Marvell’s direct quotations of Parker are given in **bold**; his direct quotations of Ammianus are in *italics*; it should be noted that Marvell’s source references to Ammianus in the passage establish that he was working directly from the Latin of a 1609 Hamburg edition (and not from Philemon Holland’s English translation):

You [‘Mr Bayes’] return me [this] in answer to this passage (for in my whole Book [= *RT1*] I have but this once mentioned him [= Julian]):
‘You bring the emperour Julian upon the stage, as a more cruel and execrable monster of persecution than Antichrist or the Dragon himself, and you throw your slaver upon him with so much scorn and rudeness, that the people take him for as very a rake-shame as Bishop Bonner or Pope Hildebrand.’ [= Parker, *Reproof*, p. 73] You are very gentle, Mr. Bayes, and good-natured to extremity; which makes me the more wonder at this transport, for in your whole Book there are not above one or two like instances, and you have imbraced no man’s quarrel with more concernment and vehemency. There must be something extraordinary in it. Had I then known that he [Julian] was so old an acquaintance of yours as I since find in your Platonick Philosophy, or had I imagined that he was so near of kin to you, and one of your

⁶⁰ *A Reproof to the Rehearsal Transposed, by the author* [= Parker] of *Ecclesiastical politie*, London 1673, p. 73.

‘dearest cuzzes,’ I should perhaps, according to the rules of conversation, have spoke of him with more respect; but however I am cautioned sufficiently for the future. Especially seeing he has so ample testimonial from you, **‘that he was a very civil person, a great virtuoso, and though somewhat heathenishly inclined, yet he had nothing of a persecuting spirit in him against Christians, as may be seen at large in Ammianus Marcel. 1. 22.’** And you add immediately: **‘unless you will suppose, as he did, that there is no such effectual way of persecuting an established Church as by suspending all Ecclesiastical proceedings against Schismatics and Hereticks, and granting an unlimited universal toleration.’** I do not suppose it, but you do; and it is one of the greatest arguments in your Ecclesiastical Politie against toleration or indulgence.

Therefore let us see what your Ammianus saith: *“But when Julian observed that he was now free to do what he would, he revealed his secret design, and by plain and absolute edicts commanded that the temples should be open’d, sacrifices offer’d, and the worship of the Gods restored: and to strengthen the effect of what he had proposed to himself, he therefore called the Christian Bishops that were at odds with one another, and their divided people, together into his palace, admonishing them that laying aside their intestine quarrels, every one should boldly exercise without all disturbance his own religion; which he therefore did, that this liberty increasing their dissentions, he might be secured thence-forward against the unanimating of the Christian people, for he had found by experience that no beasts were so cruel against man as Christians for the most part are inveterate against one another. [Ammianus, L 22, p. 225.] ...”*

But further, does not your Ammianus tell you of *“a most inhumane edict, and in respect to Julian’s memory fit to be buried in perpetual silence—that no grammarian or rhetorician should presume to teach any Christian? [Ammianus, 1. 25, p. 316; l. 22, p. 239.]”* This he twice mentions with the same remark.

Does he not tell you that Apollo’s Temple at Antiochia *“being burnt down,”* whether by chance [or] otherwise, *“he upon meer suspicion caused the Christians to be question’d and tormented more severely than usual, and commanded their great church at Antioch to be shut up thenceforward. [Idem, 1. 23, p. 257.]”*

He saith too *“that Julian left behind him there a turbulent and cruel governour on purpose, affirming that he was not worthy of the place, but the people deserved to be so handled:”* so that this Author makes

as much herein against your ‘great virtuoso’ as could be expected from one that was no Christian, and in Julian’s service ...⁶¹

Having quarried Ammianus to his satisfaction, Marvell rounds off his assault by endorsing the (wishful) claim of the ancient Christian sources that Julian had engaged in bloodthirsty persecution, and launching an *ad hominem* attack upon Parker:

Would you but have given as much credit to Gregory Nazianzen [...] and all the Ecclesiastical writers of that time, as to Ammianus Marcellinus an Heathen soldier, you could not sure have had so good an opinion of him [Julian] ... [It is] manifest that during his short reign there was by his means and under his authority as great, if not greater, ravage and cruelty exercised then in any of the former persecutions ...

[But] you do openly aver a known falsehood in defence of Julian, for whom you have so great a friendship, and whose actions you approve of. But no man will think the better of your cause for your justifying it by panegyricks of Julian the Apostate ... Truly, Mr. Bayes, you have a very notable face ... one would almost swear you were spit out of [Julian’s] mouth. He set up a nickname [viz. ‘the Galileans’] for the Christians, to make them out to be knock’d o’ th’ head [i.e. to be insane]: so [likewise] do you give the Nonconformists the name of Fanaticks, as he them of Galileans Pray Sir, who are these Fanaticks? Most of them, I assure you, [are] better men than your self, of truer Principles than you are, and more conformable to the Doctrine of the Church of England Julian’s wit and yours is incomparable, but betwixt you there is not any more Token of a mean Spirit than to taunt and scoff at those in Affliction ...⁶²

Marvell’s many coffee-house readers could smile at that as a well-aimed spit at Parker’s face — but there was more for them to relish than that in *RT2*. Marvell did not confine himself in it to mocking Parker’s pretence to scholarly learning by citing Ammianus; he also drew ingeniously on a text by Julian himself.

In his *Reproof*, Parker had at one point asserted that the King’s proposal to grant freedom of religion, if put into practice, would prove fatal to the State — so much so, that it would be preferable to grant his

⁶¹ *RT2*, pp. 276–81 in 1673 edn. = *Prose Works* (eds. Dzelzainis and Patterson, 2003) vol. 1, 377–79.

⁶² *RT2*, pp. 280–82 in 1673 edn. = *Prose Works* (eds. Dzelzainis and Patterson, 2003) vol. 1, 379–80.

citizens full licence for utter debauchery in their private lives. And warming to this theme, Parker had proceeded to compose, for the amusement of his readers, a parody of Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence: a cod-'Proclamation of Toleration for all Debaucheries'. Parker had intended this parody to display his literary originality and wit — but Marvell deftly mocked the effort without mercy. Did Mr. Bayes not realize, he asked, that — quite apart from the shocking disrespect it showed towards His Majesty — his supposedly original conceit of a edict granting free rein to Debauchery had been anticipated long ago by his bosom friend Julian, at the climax of his satire entitled *Caesars*? In *Caesars*, Julian had imagined all the emperors of Rome competing for the title of 'best Caesar' in a contest arranged for the gods' amusement. The big loser in the contest, predictably, is Julian's uncle, Constantine: he ends up arraigned on a charge of murder, and runs off as an outlaw in search of a protector — which is Julian's cue to deride the Christian sacrament of baptism. I quote the relevant passage (*Caes.* 335d–336b) in Marvell's own translation, in *italics*:

But because I have observed how careful you [Parker] are to find out, before you attempt a great jump of wit, some convenient rise, and you would not doubtless have penn'd so notable a declaration [as your 'Toleration for all Debaucheries'] without some precedent, after a little searching, I found this in the *Caesares Juliani*, where that emperour, having undertaken to marshal his predecessors under the patronage of some proper Deity, when he comes to Constantine does thus satyrically represent him:

"But Constantine not being able among all the Gods to find a Pattern of his own life, casting his eye about saw the Goddess of Luxury near him, and straight ran to her. She hereupon receiving him delicately and embracing him, tricked him up in woman's cloaths, and conducted him to the Goddess of Intemperance, finding his [Constantine's] son returned and making to all men this public proclamation:

"Let all men take notice, of whatsoever condition and quality, whether they be adulterers, or murtherers, or guilty of any other immorality, vice, or debauchery, that hereby they are warranted and invited to continue boldly and confidently in the same; and I declare that, upon dipping themselves only in this water, they are, and shall be so reputed, pure and blameless to all intents and purposes. And moreover, as oft as they shall renew and frequent such other vices, immoralities, or debaucheries, I do hereby give and grant to them and every one of them respectively, that by thumping his breast, or giving

but himself a pat on the forehead, he shall thereupon be immediately discharged and absolved of all guilt and penalty therefore incurred, any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding ...” This is in the 99th page of that book printed at Paris 1583 ...⁶³

This source-citation of a ‘99th page’ (which is exactly accurate) in a Parisian publication of 1583 identifies the specific edition of Julian’s works that Marvell was here translating from; it is the old **Martinius/Cantaclarus 1583** edition — and it will soon emerge [pp. 270–71] that there is a particular interest, and an irony, in his translating from that edition’s text in his depiction of Constantine’s flight. But for the moment, the key point to hold is that Marvell’s translation of the close of Julian’s *Caesars* was published in the pages of a best-seller: the coffee houses were thick with copies of the *RT2* (and it reached to far grander places also; as was noted earlier, we have a contemporary’s testimony that the King himself ‘read [both parts] over and over again’).⁶⁴ Marvell was thus instrumental in alerting a broader Anglophone readership to the existence of Julian’s wittiest work — a satire in which all the Caesars of Rome are gathered to parade as rivals in an imperial beauty contest, and in which Constantine figures as a convicted murderer who seeks to evade his punishment by means of an easy ritual pardon offered to all-comers by a Christian huckster.

The deployment of Julian in *Rehearsal Transpros’d* has a curious twist. Its representation of Julian is on the face of things stereotypically hostile: Marvell first introduces him in *RT1* as a prototype of Parker the scourge of Nonconformists, an emblem of the ‘cruel’ persecutor; then, in *RT2*, he scorns Parker’s rejoinder that Julian was ‘a very civil person’ and a ‘great Virtuoso’ with ‘nothing of the persecuting Spirit in him’, rebutting it at length with appeal to Ammianus and the Christian sources, and to Julian’s own testimony: in citing his ‘ingrateful’ abuse of Constantine in his *Caesars*, Marvell makes Julian prefigure the disrespect Parker has

⁶³ *RT2*, at pp. 375–76 in 1673 edn. = *Prose works* (eds. Dzelzainis and Paterson 2003) vol. 1, 376: Marvell was translating *Caesars* 335d–336c from the **Martinius/Cantaclarus 1583** edition: ὁ δὲ Κωνσταντῖνος, οὐχ εὐρίσκων ἐν θεοῖς τοῦ βίου τὸ ἀρχέτυπον, ἐγγύθεν τὴν Τρυφήν κατιδὼν ἔδραμε πρὸς αὐτήν: ἡ δὲ ὑπολαβοῦσα μαλακῶς καὶ περιβαλοῦσα τοῖς πῆχεσι πέπλοις τε αὐτὸν ποικίλοις ἀσκῆσασα καὶ καλλωπίσασα πρὸς τὴν Ἀσωτίαν ἀπήγαγεν, ἵνα καὶ τὸν υἱόν [sic] εὐρῶν ἀναστρεφόμενον καὶ προαγορεύοντα πᾶσιν, “Ὅστις φθορεὺς, ὅστις μαιφόνος, ὅστις ἐναγῆς καὶ βδελυρός, ἴτω θαρρῶν: ἀποφανῶ γὰρ αὐτὸν τουτῶι τῷ ὕδατι λούσας αὐτίκα καθαρὸν, κὰν πάλιν ἔνοχος τοῖς αὐτοῖς γένηται, δώσω τὸ στήθος πλήξαντι καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν πατάξαντι καθαρῶ γενέσθαι. On Cantoclarus’ (mis)reading of MSS’ *iv* as *υἱόν* in this passage, see below, pp. 270–71.

⁶⁴ See Dzelzainis in *Prose Works* (eds. Dzelzainis and Patterson) vol. 1, 20, quoting Gilbert Burnet.

shown towards Charles II in his *Reproof*. But Marvell's extensive quotation from the end of *Caesars* adds a new note which complicates the tone: Julian is now disclosed as not just a precursor of Parker, but as an original literary talent in a manifestly higher league — and *qua* satirist, a precursor of Marvell himself. Marvell plainly could, and did, admire Julian as a fellow-satirist: in selecting and translating the *Caesars* passage at issue, a Restoration satirist was drawing on the wit of an antique one in order to ridicule a contemporary opponent's claim to literary originality. Although he does not care to confess it explicitly, Marvell here savoured and evoked Julian as the cultured 'Virtuoso'.

It is noteworthy that the passage in *Caesars* picked by Marvell for translation relates to Constantine — and not mere coincidence, perhaps, that it depicts him in a most unflattering light. The depiction, admittedly, is entirely focalized through the pen of the 'ingrateful' Julian; but there is reason to think that Marvell's own estimate of Constantine — his regime, at least, if not the person — was less than positive. In *Rehearsal Transpros'd* itself, however, he chose not to dwell upon that. Marvell was affecting, there, to write as a stout supporter (by contrast with Parker) of the King's project for a broad application of religious 'toleration' — which is to say, an application of it which would benefit not only Protestant Nonconformists (Marvell's real concern), but also Roman Catholic subjects of the Crown; and to preserve that pose, he will have judged it wiser in his *Rehearsal* not to register any criticism of the convert heroized in the Catholic tradition as Constantine the Great, the founder and champion of a Christianized Roman empire. On the contrary, Constantine is momentarily likened in *RT2* to Charles II in his concern to promote tolerance and concord in religion — which is ostensibly a praise of his intentions. But in the radical discourse of Nonconformists — not least, in the young Milton's *Of Reformation* (1641) — Constantine's reign had been identified as the point at which an unholy compact, forged between the state and the Church, had corrupted the purity of the early Christians, and had opened the way for an enriched and ambitious episcopate to construct, in the form of the Papacy, an oppressive simulacrum of the true Faith.⁶⁵ This is broadly the view that Marvell himself would express, three years after the *Rehearsal*, in a provocative text that he published pseudonymously along with his *Mr Smirke* in 1676 — *A Short Historical Essay concerning general councils, creeds, and impositions, in matters of religion*. The *Essay* articulated a radical challenge to the authority of all formal creeds and councils, beginning with the Council of Nicaea to which Constantine had summoned some three hundred bishops in 325,

⁶⁵ Hill 1977: 84–86.

and the Nicene Creed that it formulated:⁶⁶ Constantine's regime, Marvell now avowed, had sown the seeds of a 'Pestilence' which had flourished horribly under his successor Constantius, and which rendered Julian's apostasy comprehensible:

It show'd it self first in Ambition, then in Contention, next in Imposition, and after these Symptoms broke out at last like a Plague-Sore in open Persecution...

It is [hence] not strange to me that Julian, being but a Reader in the Christian Church, should turn Pagan: Especially when I consider that he succeeded Emperor after Constantius. For it seems rather unavoidable that a Man of great Wit, as he [Julian] was, and not having the Grace of God to direct it and [to] show him the Beauty of Religion, through the Deformity of its [Christian] Governours and Teachers; but that he must conceive a Loathing and Aversion for it. Nor could he think that he did them any Injustice, when he observed that, beside all their Unchristian Immorality too, they practised thus, against the Institutive Law of their Galilean, the Persecution among themselves for Religion ...⁶⁷

In explaining Julian's apostasy as a reaction against the Constantinian Catholic ecclesiastical authority's 'deformity', 'Unchristian immorality' and 'persecution' of honest Christians, Marvell was building, no doubt, on the anti-Constantinian strand in radical English discourse instantiated in his friend Milton's anti-prelatical *Of Reformation*. But the impulse to depict the apostasy in this manner had roots running back a century: as I have signalled in my introduction [see above pp. 233–34], the basic idea was already forming in embryo in the dedicatory letter and potted 'Life of Julian' that had prefaced the Huguenot Martinus's 1566 edition of the *Misopogon*.

If Marvell in his *Essay* represented Julian's apostasy as comprehensible in its context, he was not himself disposed to excuse or justify it, still less to find in it any cause for praise of Julian: at bottom, Marvell remained committed to the same censorious view of him as a subtle persecutor that had underpinned his friend Milton's picture of the Apostate in *Areopagitica*, and before that, James I's picture of him in his

⁶⁶ Marvell, *Prose Works* (eds. Dzelzainis and Patterson, 2003) vol. 2, 17–19; Smith 2010: 306–8.

⁶⁷ *Mr. Smirke; or, The divine in mode: together with a short historical essay, concerning general councils, creeds, and impositions, in matters of religion by Andreas Rivetus, Junior*, London 1676 [repr. 1680], at pp. 126 and 154 = Marvell, *Prose Works* (eds. Dzelzainis and Patterson, 2003) vol. 2, at pp. 51 and 63.

Apologie. But after his death in 1678, Marvell soon came to be posthumously adopted by the early Whigs as an ally in their efforts to exclude the Catholic Duke of York from the succession; and in the sequel, as I will now argue, Marvell's highlighting of Julian's assault on Constantine at the close of *Caesars*, and his *Essay*'s depiction of the Constantinian regime as an emblem of ecclesiastical corruption, could in some contexts encourage the paradoxical deployment of Julian as an exemplum of Protestant virtue, rather than Papist persecution or idolatry.

2.5 An Apostate's Exclusion Crisis: Julian as Whig in 'Philaretus Anthropopolita', 1681

In 1681 a pamphlet circulated in London under the title *Seasonable Remarks on the Deplorable Fall* [i.e., the apostasy] *of the Emperour Julian*.⁶⁸ The political context, once again, was exceptionally volatile. The Exclusion Bill Crisis was peaking: 1681 was the year in which the efforts of the First Earl of Shaftesbury to exclude the Duke of York from the line of succession earned him imprisonment in the Tower in July, on a charge of treason. Shaftesbury was a founding Whig (and formerly, in 1672/73, an influential behind-the-scenes supporter of the publication of both parts of Marvell's *Rehearsal Transformed*). The pamphlet *Seasonable Remarks* was composed by a highly learned author who styled himself 'Philaretus Anthropopolita' ('a Virtue-loving Citizen', as he might have put it in English), and devised as subtle propaganda in defence and support of Shaftesbury's cause. Ingeniously, though, the author did not mention Shaftesbury's name or particular case at all; instead, he found an ancient precursor to them in Julian:

Had not our Holy Religion degenerated much from its Native goodness, and the integrity in which our Saviour Jesus and his blessed Followers left it, it would have been indeed admirable that any once instructed in it, and much more so excellent a person as Julian, should ever desert it ... for a person [so] severely Vertuous, profoundly Speculative, admirably Learned and Eloquent, and (which is yet more) firm and positive in the belief of a Deity and future life, to relinquish a Religion of so much genuine Piety, and simple innocence as ours [Christianity] is, for the fond Superstitions of Heathens and gross Idolaters, would be not only unaccountable, but above measure stupendious, did we not

⁶⁸ *Some seasonable remarks upon the deplorable fall of the Emperour Julian with an epistle of his to the citizens of Bostra now made English by Philaretus Anthropopolita*, London 1681.

find the lamentable causes of it in the debauched Christianity of those times; I mean the times of the two Emperours, Constantine, and Constantius; for then first our Religion was converted into Faction, Policie, and vile Hypocrisie ... [and] by [these] steps the flock of Christ came at last to be a prey to the Avarice and Ambition of Bishops, in the time of our unhappy Emperour Julian ... This discerning Prince soon saw their [the Bishops'] Designe was to erect in all parts of the Empire their own Mosaick or Ecclesiastick Politie, by themselves Metamorphos'd from a Democracy into an Absolute Tyranny: they having advanced so far already, as to procure of Constantine the sole Jurisdiction over Christians.⁶⁹

The Emperor's 'deplorable Fall', to be glossed later as a 'tragical apostasy', is here presented as a lamentable turn, but by no means one for which he is to be condemned or judged culpable: its contemporary analogue is Shaftesbury's momentous switch of political allegiance over the years 1679–81; in that period, he had switched from service as Lord President of Charles II's Privy Council to help direct the parliamentary Opposition to him, taking leading roles in the formulation of the anti-Catholic Exclusion Bill and in the championing of Protestant Nonconformists. Like Shaftesbury, Julian was an 'excellent person' (so Philaretus argued) whose 'tragical Apostasy' would never have occurred in better times; its root cause had been 'the Avarice and Ambition of Bishops', whose 'modelling [of] Religion on Court-Intrigues' had 'metamorphos'd [the Roman State] into an Absolute Tyranny' under Constantine and Constantius. The pamphleteer here implicitly placed Constantine and his son in the damnable company of Popes and bishops, and idealized his nephew Julian the Apostate as a virtuous proto-Whig — a Nonconformist Protestant champion of political moderation and religious toleration, standing resolute against Roman Catholic authoritarianism and avarice, and against the Catholicising Absolutism instantiated in the Bourbon regime of Louis XIV. And to illustrate the debauched condition of the Catholic Church which the virtuous Julian had abandoned, 'Philaretus' alighted on its peddling of ritual pardons to the most wicked and unrepentant villains. For example (he observed), there was the matter of the murderous putsch that had deprived the young Julian at a stroke of his father and male relatives; and on the strength of that 'Philaretus' proceeded to offer his own lively rendering of the very same passage that Marvell had a few years earlier picked out and translated in his *Rehearsal Transpros'd* — the scene at the close of *Caesars* in which Constantine's

⁶⁹ Philaretus' *Seasonable Remarks* at pp. 1–2, 14–15 and 18–19.

son (or so Marvell and ‘Philaretus’ supposed) promises a general amnesty for all sinners through the sacraments of baptism and confession.

I am perswaded nothing offended him [Julian] so much, as the vile Hypocrisie of the then Clergy, who besides their coining of contrary Creeds, in the Reigns of Constantine and Constantius, and [their] modelling Religion by Court-Intrigues, seemed almost wholly to dispense with Morality, placing Sanctimony not so much in a good Life, as in the strict Observance of the Rituals and the Symbolical Representations of our Religion; such as Baptism, the Eucharist, Chrism, but above all in submitting to the Formalities of Confession and Penance, upon which the worst of offences were too easily remitted. What flesh could bear to hear the Murderers of ones Father, Uncle, two Brothers, six Cousin germans, harangued to Heaven in Pulpits, as very holy and good men, because (forsooth) absolved by their own Friends the Priests? And I the rather suspect this to have been the principal Cause of his Tragical Apostacy, because I do not finde his Satyr any where so truculent, as upon this occasion. In the end of his *Caesars* we finde his Uncle Constantine conducted by the Goddess Effeminacy to her Sister Debauchery, where he findes his Son Constantius making Proclamation as followeth ... “*Ho! whosoever is either Sodomite, Murderer, Rogue or Villain, let him dread nothing but repair hither, with this water I’ll make him clean in a trice: And if he shall happen (as humane Nature is frail) to repeat the same Crimes, if he will but thump his breast, and box his noddle, I’ll warrant him as innocent as the Child unborn.*” This [passage in *Caesars*] was the vengeance Julian took for the Barbarous Murders committed upon almost his whole Family and Blood.⁷⁰

As ‘Philaretus’ saw it (and he wholly concurred with Julian on the point), this Constantinian advertisement for the automatic pardoning of unrepentant repeat-offenders with a splash of water was noxious hypocrisy: it nicely epitomized the pernicious impact of the Roman Catholic Church on the body politic, and the danger posed to England by Catholic intrigue in high places; the rot, ‘Philaretus’ is clear, had come to reach even the King’s own family and intimate counsellors. Philaretus’ *Seasonable Remarks* thus unmistakably conveyed a ‘timely’ warning: unless King Charles denounced and prevented the plotting of the Catholic intriguers, he would come to be viewed by his subjects as a monarch quite as corrupt and oppressive as Constantine and Constantius had been in Julian’s eyes — and in that event, many a hitherto loyal subject of the Crown besides

⁷⁰ Id., pp. 17–18.

Shaftesbury might well be tragically compelled to contemplate a political ‘apostasy’.

What prompted ‘Philaretus’ to adduce Julian’s apostasy as a metaphor for the First Earl of Shaftesbury’s case in his pamphlet? And what prompted him to pick up so precisely on the Julian’s depiction of Constantine’s baptism at *Caesars’* close? On both counts, the best answer is surely that he was drawing on his reading of Shaftesbury’s quondam literary protégé and ally Andrew Marvell: ‘Philaretus’ was surely familiar both with Marvell’s rationale for the apostasy in his anti-prelatical *Short Historical Essay* (it had been republished in 1680), and with his exuberant depiction in the best-selling *Rehearsal Transpros’d* of Constantine’s effort to evade justice by a ritual washing. Quite likely, ‘Philaretus’ had first encountered this passage in Marvell’s translation — but if so, it led him to read more of Julian at first hand; his translation of *Caesars’* baptism-scene is his own, and it can be inferred from a detail in his preamble to it that he was working from a later edition of Julian than the **Martinius/Cantoclarus 1683** volume that Marvell had used:

These words, though the learned Loyalite [= Jesuit] Petavius durst not translate [them] to his Catholick friends, I may [translate] to pious Protestants without the least offence, since they [the Protestants] derive not their religion from Constantine’s bishops, but from Christ immediately.

‘Philaretus’, then, was reading *Caesars* in the **Petavius 1630** edition: as he pointedly notes, Petavius [Denys Petau], in the Latin crib he had provided, had skipped over the closing baptism-scene in *Caesars* — an omission ‘Philaretus’ attributes to the passage’s extreme offensiveness to the sensibilities of a Roman Catholic ritualist. By contrast, ‘Philaretus’ trusts, his Protestant readers would recognize in Julian’s case a virtuous Protestant *avant la lettre*: what the ‘Apostate’ had turned away from was not the true faith, but a travesty of it first inflicted on the Roman State under Constantine, and then perpetuated by the Papacy.

There is an irony to observe in this connexion; the jibe ‘Philaretus’ directed at Petavius had a sharper edge than he himself knew. ‘Philaretus’ (and Marvell likewise, for that matter) would have been distinctly less inclined to make any play with the scene of Constantine’s baptism in *Caesars* if either had realized that, in a crucial particular, his own translated version had misunderstood and misrepresented what Julian had written. In both of their versions, that is to say, the preacher who promises a general pardon for sins at the climax of the *Caesars* is represented as Constantius, the son of Constantine — but quite erroneously.

The misunderstanding of Julian's Greek on this point went back to an error perpetrated by the first editor of *Caesars* [**Cantoclarus 1577**]; he had garbled the Greek text in a crucial manuscript, misreading as $\acute{\upsilon}\iota\omicron\nu$ ('son') what was actually an abbreviated MS form of Jesus' name in the accusative ($\acute{\iota}\nu = \text{'}\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon\nu$). This false reading, $\acute{\upsilon}\iota\omicron\nu$ ('son'), then persisted in all the early editions of Julian's works throughout the seventeenth century, up to and including **Spanheim 1696**; it was not until 1736 that a keen-eyed German editor, Heusinger, detected the error — and even he felt obliged to keep the point corralled in an endnote, rather than printing the correct form of the Greek in his volume's main text.⁷¹ But there is no doubt that, in the true reading, the preacher is actually Jesus — which renders the passage not merely offensive to Catholics, but spectacularly blasphemous for Catholics and Protestants alike: Julian's Jesus is a huckster peddling a fake salvation through baptism while cohabiting with 'Madam Pleasure' (*Tryphe*) and 'Mistress Wantonness' (*Asotia*) — a pair of luxurious tarts.

'Philaretus' did not confine himself to translating this one passage from Julian. In closing, he professed to be worried lest his readers might suspect him (as they well might) of projecting his own views or sentiments onto the figure of Julian. In order to reassure them that the views he ascribed to Julian were authentically Julianic, he undertook (pp. 20–23) to close his 'seasonable remarks' by 'adventur[ing] to translate an Epistle of his [Julian's] to the Citizens of Bostra, who had been in some disorders, by reason, as it should seem, of a Toleration allow'd by Julian to the yet unconverted Heathens of that Town.' This so-called 'Epistle to the Bostrans' — it figured as 'letter 52' in the early editions of Julian — was in fact an edict that Julian had issued at Antioch on 1 August 362: it required the Christian and pagan citizens of Bostra to put a stop to the violent rioting that had afflicted their city, and to live henceforward in civic harmony (but the Christians were also told to expel the local bishop, who in Julian's eyes was the prime instigator of the disorder). The 'letter' is an item well-known to students of Julian's subsequent reception in the discourse of the eighteenth century Enlightenment: it is a text which inspired Voltaire in his *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie* to elevate Julian as

⁷¹ J.M. Heusinger, *Iuliani Imp. Caesares, cum integris adnotationibus aliquot doctorum virorum ...*, Gotha 1736, identifies the true reading in tortuous note at pp. 142–44. To be clear, only one of the extant MSS of *Caesars* (the thirteenth century *Augustanus*) transmits the passage depicting Constantine's baptism; in all the other codices, the passage is lacking (presumably because it had been suppressed relatively early by a scandalized copyist): see the comments of the editor in the Budé *Les Belles Lettres* edition (vol. 2.ii, ed. C. Lacombrade, Paris 1964, at pp. 30–31).

a model of philosophic tolerance (and which Gibbon more cannily characterized as a missive in which Julian ‘professes his moderation, and betrays his zeal’).⁷² The picking out of this item by ‘Philaretus’ for translation can thus be viewed as a harbinger of the later idealization of Julian as an Enlightenment *philosophe* — and perhaps as itself a significant early stimulus for that later idealizing turn. It is noteworthy, at least, that the earliest eighteenth century deployment of the ‘letter to the Bostrans’ as a means to commend Julian as a tolerant enlightenment *philosophe* was a translation of the ‘letter’ published in 1714, in an essay by an English author — and that the author at issue was the Third Earl of Shaftesbury:⁷³ that is to say, the author was the grandson of the First Earl of Shaftesbury, in support of whom ‘Philaretus’ had written his pamphlet (and one may add that in 1681 the Third Earl was being tutored by an erudite employee of his grandfather’s — John Locke — with whom he thereafter maintained a lifelong personal friendship). There is a case to made, then, that the Third Earl’s knowledge of ‘the letter to the Bostrans’ went back to his days as a youthful pupil of Locke — or at least that he had first been alerted to its significance by a publication that Locke, his quondam tutor, had later brought to his notice.

Just who ‘Philaretus’ was now eludes us. John Locke himself has been conjectured — and it is not impossible: as an intimate friend, employee

⁷² I quote Gibbon *DF* (ed. Womersley, 1994) 1.876 n. 33. ‘Ep. 52’ is the text from which Voltaire had earlier selectively quoted (at p. 6) in the prefatory ‘Portrait de L’Empereur Julien’ that he contributed to the Marquis d’Argens’ *Discours de l’Empereur Julien contre les Chrétiens* (Berlin 1769): ‘On lit ses lettres, et on admire. “Les Galiléens”, dit-il, “ont souffert sous mon prédécesseur l’exil et les prisons; on a massacré réciproquement ceux qui s’appellent tour à tour hérétiques, j’ai rapellé leurs exilés, élargi leurs prisonniers; j’ai rendu leurs biens aux proscrits, je les ai forcés de vivre en paix. Mais telle est la fureur inquiète des Galiléens qu’ils se plaignent de ne pouvoir plus se dévorer les uns les autres.” Quelle lettre, quelle sentence portée par la philosophie contre le fanatisme persécuteur!’ A compressed version of this praise was subsequently offered by Voltaire in his *Questions sur l’Encyclopédie* (Geneva 1774) vol. 1, 268 (s.v. ‘Apostat’): ‘... [Julien] voulait extirper la persécution et l’intolérance. Relisez sa lettre cinquante-deuxième, et respectez sa mémoire’; for the full quotation, see the epigraph to the present paper.

⁷³ The Third Earl of Shaftesbury, *Characteristicks*, vol. 3 (London 1714) gives an abbreviated translation of ‘Julian’s Epistles Number 52’ at pp. 87–88, under the following preamble: ‘A Letter of that elegant and witty Emperor may be not improperly plac’d amongst our Citations, as a Pattern of his Humour and Genius, as well as of his Principle and Sentiments.’ It may be added that the Third Earl’s interest in Julian had another expression ca.1700: Haskell 1980: 198 observes that he was almost certainly the deviser of the programme for an allegorical fresco painted by Verrio at Hampton Court whose central scene depicts the contest of the emperors in Julian’s *Caesars* (on which see Wind 1939/40).

and supporter of the First Earl of Shaftesbury, Locke had certainly engaged previously in anonymous pamphleteering in collaboration with him and on his behalf, and in 1681 he had contributed to another anonymous pamphlet produced in the Earl's defence.⁷⁴ The idea at Locke also had a hand, at least, in the composition of the *Seasonable Remarks* is thus quite plausible, *per se* (and one can observe in this connexion that Locke's personal library contained several copies of Marvell's *Rehearsal Transpros'd*, and also a copy of the *Short Historical Essay*).⁷⁵ But that said, 'Philaretus' could just as easily have been some other learned man who moved in the First Earl's intellectual circle.⁷⁶ Whoever he was, though, his pamphlet of 1681 had a curious sequel. In the immediate aftermath, it may have been a stimulus for a much longer Whiggish pamphlet produced by a less incisive mind in the years of the Exclusion Crisis — the Reverend Samuel Johnson's *Julian the Apostate*, published in 1682.⁷⁷ Johnson was a Protestant clergyman in service as a chaplain to Lord Russell, another Whig grandee (and an ally of Shaftesbury), and Johnson's basic political object chimed with that of 'Philaretus' — the Catholic Duke of York was to be prevented from succeeding his brother as King of England. A reading — or simply a report — of the *Seasonable Remarks* quite likely gave Johnson the basic idea of harping on Julian in an item of anti-Catholic propaganda. Johnson reverted, though, to the stereotypical trope of Julian as a demonic and tyrannical persecutor: his

⁷⁴ Wind 1939/40: 133–44 made the conjecture; for Locke's pamphleteering activities in 1681 and previously, see Cranston 1957: 202 and Ashcraft 1986: 348–49.

⁷⁵ For Locke's ownership of these volumes, see Patterson 1999: 26 and 47 n. 6.

⁷⁶ It is a tempting speculation, in view of his intellectual milieu, that 'Philaretus' may have heard something of the *Caesars* commentary that Ezechiel Spanheim was preparing in the late 1670s, and may even have encountered Spanheim in person. As was noted above (p. 234), the scholarly Calvinist Spanheim was serving in London from 1678 until April 1680 as the diplomatic envoy of the Electorates of the Palatinate and of Brandenburg; his stay there thus coincided closely with the Exclusion crisis, and the Electors he represented were keen to support the English opposition to a Catholic succession (see O'Malley 1976: 348–49, with Brinkmann 1909: 464–66). Spanheim's employers will certainly have expected him to acquire and pass on information on the activities of Shaftesbury and his circle, and judicious contact with members of the circle would constitute the most effective means to do so. As for Locke, there is sure evidence that by the later 1680s at least, he had at least some passing acquaintance with Spanheim: in 1689, while Locke was residing in Holland, a Parisian friend wrote to let him know that he had entrusted certain books he wished Locke to have to an intermediary — namely, to Spanheim, who was about to travel from Paris to Amsterdam (see Di Biase 2013: 733, at nn. 177 and 178).

⁷⁷ *Julian the Apostate, being a short account of his life, the sense of the primitive Christians about his succession and their behaviour towards him: together with a comparison of popery and paganism*, London 1682.

pamphlet, running for over 60 pages, represented the Catholic Duke of York as a reincarnated Julian — a devilish apostate from the Protestant road who was waiting in the wings to take the Crown and then wreak havoc on the British nation. Johnson's *Julian* was for a brief time a very widely read best-seller, and for historians of the Exclusion Crisis of the 1680s its popular reception and the rejoinders it prompted lend it a greater political insignificance than 'Philaretus'.⁷⁸ For my present purposes, though, it is a text of much less interest and significance than the *Seasonable Remarks*: Johnson's depiction of Julian as a Papist tyrant is a laboured and prolix effort, a caricature heavily reliant on the ancient ecclesiastical historians, and uninformed (despite the author's occasional pretences to the contrary) by any direct acquaintance with any of Julian's writings.⁷⁹ In closing, I will pass, rather, to a much more sophisticated text in which a vestigial memory of the 'Philaretan' portrait of Julian as an heroic Protestant seems to persist. The text in question was published a good sixty years after 'Philaretus' wrote his *Seasonable Remarks*, but it offers scope for a retrospective of sorts on the several seventeenth century 'receptions' of Julian that this paper has aimed to explain and connect.

⁷⁸ It is the subject of a recent study by Rose 2018; see also Zook 1999: 37–39, 56–62.

⁷⁹ Johnson occasionally cites Julianic works (including, at pp. 21–22, the 'Chi and Kappa' riddle in the *Misopogon*); but in all these instances his knowledge actually comes at second hand: a key intermediary source was the long introduction supplied by the learned patristic scholar William Cave to his *Ecclesiastici*.

That volume was published in 1683, so subsequently to Johnson's *Julian*; but Cave pointedly makes it clear in his preface (unpaginated [= p. 5]) that the Revd. Johnson was much in his debt (or rather, perhaps, was a plagiarist): 'I thought good to premise an Historical Survey of the state of Paganism under the Reign of the First Christian Emperours ... [but] I wrote not an History but an Introduction. I know not whether the Reader may expect to find more particular Accounts of some things relating to the Reign of Julian (of late so hotly contested among us.) But besides my natural averseness to Controversie, this Introduction was not only Written, but Printed some Months before ever the Dispute was started concerning Julian, which has made so much noise amongst us. If the Reader shall meet with any Passages in the body of the Book, which may more properly seem to challenge a place in the Introduction, he may please to take notice, that this last was a Piece of a later date, done after the other was completed.'

3. Concluding Coda: From London to Elysium: ‘Mr. Julian the Apostate’ in Fielding’s *Journey from this World to the Next*, 1743

In his *Caesars* (309a), Julian had memorably characterized the emperor Augustus as a chameleon, changing colour as circumstance or need or taste required. Something similar could be said of Julian himself, in his posthumous English receptions across the seventeenth century. I have shown him adduced in a sequence of guises (some jarring, some concordant): for Bellarmine and James I, in turn, he is a persecutor of England’s Catholics and a tyrannical Papist idolater; for Milton, a crafty oppressor of Puritan free-speech (and an enemy to poetic imagination); in the logic of *Eikon Basilike* an anti-type to a saintly Constantine, an emblem of ingratitude and regicide; for Marvell, an Anglican scourge of Nonconformist Protestants (but also a model of wit for the satirist); for ‘Philaretus’, as in *Eikon Basilike*, an anti-Constantine, but this time an admirable one — a quondam Catholic driven by force of conscience to work for the Protestant Succession in England, in stout resistance to Bourbon Absolutism and Papal corruption across the water; and finally (in the eyes of the Third Earl of Shaftsbury) a proto-Enlightenment *philosophe*. Vestiges of several of these earlier English ‘Julians’ could be sought in the final text I wish to highlight for discussion — an extended evocation of Julian in a short fiction produced by the novelist Henry Fielding, under the title *A Journey from this World to the Next*.

A Journey was published in 1743, in ‘Volume Two’ of Fielding’s *Miscellanies*. It is an apt text to close this paper: it plays subversively, and very learnedly, with the figure of Julian, disclosing knowledge not only of the key ancient sources but also of some earlier evocations of Julian by English authors; and moreover, a long stretch of its narrative reveals Fielding as an ingeniously creative reader of Julian’s *Caesars*. (Fielding, it should be stressed, had been extremely well trained in Latin (less well in Greek), and had a scholarly bent: he studied for a time at Leiden, and read widely in Classical literature and history throughout his life — and he owned a considerable personal library: it is known, for instance, to have included bilingual Greek and Latin editions of Julian’s *Caesars*, of Ammianus’ *Res Gestae*, and of Socrates Scholasticus’ *Ecclesiastical History* — and the Third Earl of Shaftesbury’s *Characteristicks*).⁸⁰

A Journey is a Menippean fiction on a perennial satirical theme — the exposure of the vanity and hypocrisy underlying claims to glory in ‘this world’. Its principal narrator is a spirit-author who dies at Cheapside in

⁸⁰ On Fielding’s Classical learning, see Mace 1996: 39–60; his personal library is fully catalogued in Ribble 1996.

1741: he wakes up to be greeted by Mercury and sets out on a coach-tour of the ‘next world’. King Minos, the judge of the dead, allows him to make a tour of Elysium, in the course of which he meets a wide assortment of persons in their afterlives — famous historical figures, ancient and modern; humble souls who had had walk-on roles in the antics of the famous; celebrated poets and literary authors. But a complicating twist occurs at Chapter X, when the spirit-author encounters ‘a Spirit by the name of Mr. Julian the Apostate’ enjoying the pleasures of Elysium:

This exceedingly amazed me, for I had concluded that no Man ever had a better Title to the Bottomless Pit than he. But I soon found that this same Julian the Apostate was the very [same] individual [as] Arch-Bishop Latimer. He told me that several Lyes had been raised on him in his former Capacity, nor was he so bad a Man as he had been represented. However, he had [originally] been denied Admittance [to Elysium], and forced to undergo several subsequent Pilgrimages on Earth, and to act in the different Characters [of a good score of men], before his Martyrdom [...] in [his] last Character [as Arch-Bishop Latimer] satisfied the Judge [Minos], and procured him a Passage to the blessed Regions.⁸¹

The spirit-author is keen to hear the details of this story, and ‘Mr. Julian’ now becomes an internal narrator; in the succeeding fifteen chapters of *A Journey*, he gives a first-person account of his successive re-incarnations across a millennium in some twenty lives, as (*inter alia*) a eunuch slave of a Church Father, ‘an avaricious Jew’, a monk, a fop, a courtier, a general, a court-jester, a king, a beggar, a poet — and lastly, ‘three times a bishop’.

In his final, and redeeming, incarnation as a bishop, ‘Mr. Julian’ is the martyred Protestant Hugh Latimer, who burned at the stake under Mary Tudor. That choice is rather intriguing: it hints that Fielding may have heard something about the Whiggish deployment of Julian as an emblem of Protestant moderation half a century or so before *A Journey* was written. Most of the earlier re-embodied existences of ‘Mr. Julian’, too, have embroiled him in the intrigues and dangers of high politics. His narrative dwells often on the folly of mistaking a glorious show for something lasting — and part of the purpose of *A Journey*, as originally conceived, was to satirize the political career and foibles of Robert Walpole, the long-serving Whig Prime Minister (a career notoriously slippery, marked by a trail of bribery, venality and embezzlements). But

⁸¹ *A Journey* (in *Miscellanies II*, ed. Goldgar, 1993) 45.

to some extent, events overtook Fielding's plan: Walpole was forced to resign from government in 1742, a year before *A Journey* was published — and even before the 'fall', Fielding's earlier stance of opposition to Walpole was shifting.⁸² In the chapters of *A Journey* narrated by 'Mr. Julian', at any rate, the underlying joke at play has little to do with Walpole; is an intertextual joke that relates to Julian. The story 'Mr Julian' tells of his posthumous adventures has moments of mischief that a reader who knew Julian's *Caesars* could particularly relish. In *Caesars*, for instance, Julian's Marcus Aurelius is especially esteemed for his abstemious diet and his scrupulous piety: in a *Journey*, Fielding's 'Mr. Julian' is at one point a pagan priest who gets fat from feasting on meats that he has stolen from the sacrificial altars.⁸³ But the intertextual joke in *A Journey* goes deeper than such incidentals. The story that Fielding makes 'Mr. Julian' recount subverts the guiding premise of Julian's original satire the *Caesars*: in Julian's satire, a pagan emperor had passed judgement on his imperial predecessors in the name of the gods, admitting them to Elysium, or consigning them to the Furies, as he saw fit; in Fielding's satire, the dead Julian himself comes to face the judgement of Minos — and is repeatedly found wanting. In the end, he is allowed entry into Elysium, but *A Journey* teasingly denies him that for a good millennium: Fielding's Julian only gets to heaven the hard way, by living out a score of messy lives in other men's bodies, in the course of which his pagan piety has quite dissolved. The Apostate goes to heaven metamorphosed into a Christian martyr, in the burning flesh of a Protestant bishop.

Fielding's literary reputation has rested on other works than his witty *Journey*; it was published hurriedly, and on one view in an uncompleted state; it is nowadays among the least-read of his fictions. But it is interesting to observe that thirty years after its publication, it was to win high praise from Julian's greatest English historian. Fiction did not rank high, perhaps, as a reading priority for Edward Gibbon; but he made an exception in the case of Fielding. A footnote in *Decline and Fall* pays him

⁸² On the general topic of Walpole as a target of satirists, see Beasley 1981: 406–31. On Fielding's satirizing of him in *A Journey*, see Cleary 1984: 31–32, 154–55, 184–86, and the editor's remarks in *Miscellanies by Henry Fielding, Esq., Volume Two* [1743], ed. B.A. Goldgar, Oxford 1993, xxiv–xxvi. The case is complicated by the fact that Fielding was less disposed to criticize Walpole after reaching a rapprochement with him in late 1741, well over a year before a *Journey* was published; but already by then he had drafted several passages that satirized Walpole, and these were retained in the published version.

⁸³ Julian, *Caes.* 317c–d, 334b–d; c.p. *A Journey* (in *Miscellanies II*, ed. Goldgar, 1993) 48–49.

a very remarkable compliment: ‘I am almost tempted,’ Gibbon wrote, ‘to quote the romance of a great master (Fielding’s Works, vol. iv p. 49), which may be considered as the history of human nature’.⁸⁴ The ‘romance’ in question, it transpires, is *A Journey from this World to the Next* (the footnote relates obliquely to the earliest *post mortem* life of ‘Mr. Julian’) — and on the strength of it, Gibbon was prepared to hail Fielding as a fellow-historian, of sorts.

Quite what Gibbon meant when he commended Fielding’s satirical fiction *A Journey* to his readers as ‘the history of human nature’ is a question with ramifications that go well beyond my object in this paper: I restrict myself here to its bearing on the particular case of Fielding’s evocation of Julian. It will surely have been the chapters of *A Journey* in which Julian serves as an internal narrator that initially prompted Gibbon to characterize *A Journey* as a kind of history. The events to be recounted extend over more than a millennium of historical time, and they are organized by the unifying voice of an observant narrator whose perspective has passed beyond the confines of a single individual’s life-span; he participates in the events at issue experientially and sequentially, through the eyes (and in the bodies) of a chain of reincarnated witnesses, and then reports back to the present as narrator. That could be construed as an imaginative metaphor for the business of historiography, at least as Gibbon understood its requirements and objectives: the impulse to see things in the long view; acquaintance with many primary sources; self-immersion in particularly rich or well-placed authors, until one knew their foibles inside out and could intuit their angle of vision; and finally, the artful organizing of one’s findings into a literary narrative. For Gibbon, then, Fielding’s *A Journey* could exemplify the task and the pleasure of writing a history: Fielding’s Julian was both an idealized historical witness and (in comic mode) a kind of historiographer.

Gibbon’s complimenting of *A Journey* as ‘the history of human nature’ may seem extravagant praise for a short and possibly unfinished satirical fiction. But in a roundabout fashion, the publication of *A Journey* in 1743 can at least be argued to have rendered the scholarly study of Julian more accessible than it hitherto had been to a general readership in England. In his *Memoirs*, Gibbon wrote that the seed from which his interest in Julian first grew was a book by a French scholar that he had read as a young man at Lausanne:⁸⁵ the Abbé Jean-Philippe-René de La Bletterie’s *Vie de l’empereur Julien*. It had first been published at Paris in 1735, and Gibbon read it ca.1755 in a French edition — but by the time he

⁸⁴ Gibbon *DF* (ed. Womersley, 1994) 2.242 n. 13.

⁸⁵ Gibbon, *Memoirs* (ed. Radice, 1984) 100.

did so, La Bletterie's biography had been available for a decade to a general English readership; it had been published in 1746 as *The Life of the Emperor Julian*, in a version prepared by a team of translators commissioned for the purpose by a leading London printer-publisher of the day, William Bowyer (the Younger).⁸⁶ The initial recommendation for a translation of the book (so Bowyer's prefatory advertisement announced) had been put to him by 'an eminent Writer who has had the good fortune to please the world, and is therefore best entitled to judge of its taste'.⁸⁷ Bowyer does not name this 'eminent author', but it is tempting to think he was referring to Fielding; they were acquainted — and he had been involved only three years earlier in the printing of Fielding's *Miscellanies* — the three-part series in which *A Journey from this World to the Next* had been published in 1743.⁸⁸ A literary satire of Fielding's briefly in vogue in the early 1740s, it would seem, had raised Julian's profile for an English readership — and a canny publisher had taken the chance to commission an English version of the 1735 French biography by La Bletterie. In the 1746 publication of the *Life of the Emperor Julian*, then, one can observe a curious conjunction. The French scholarly tradition of Julianic studies instantiated in the Abbé de la Bletterie's *Vie de l'Empereur Julien* was now made available to a general English readership; but that English readership's appetite for such a biography had been stimulated by a home-grown discourse that reached back across a century, to the depictions of Julian in the English controversialists and satirists that have furnished the material for this paper.

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⁸⁶ Nichols 1812: vol. 2, 178–81.

⁸⁷ Id., 182.

⁸⁸ Miller 1961: 12–13 (on Bowyer's part in the printing of *Miscellanies* III), and 15–16 (the financial success of the publication of *Miscellanies* I–III).

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UN'ISCRIZIONE GRECA INEDITA DI MELCHIORRE CESAROTTI AL PALAZZO DEL CATAJO

— ALESSANDRA COPPOLA —

ABSTRACT

Nel palazzo del Catajo alle pendici dei Colli Euganei (Battaglia Terme, nei pressi di Padova) il marchese Tommaso Obizzi (1750–1803) raccolse una ricca collezione di antichità, che divenne celebre fra i suoi contemporanei. La raccolta comprendeva centinaia di iscrizioni greche e latine, che furono successivamente trasferite, soprattutto a Vienna, con buona parte del resto della collezione. Il palazzo del Catajo conserva però ancora un'iscrizione in greco antico incisa su un altare della cappella di famiglia. Grazie a un documento d'archivio conservato alla Biblioteca Civica di Padova, si rivela autore del testo Melchiorre Cesarotti, il noto grecista e studioso della lingua italiana.

In the Catajo Palace at the foot of the Euganean Hills (Battaglia Terme, near Padua), the marquis Tommaso Obizzi (1750–1803) collected a vast group of antiquities in a private Museum, which was highly celebrated among his contemporaries. This collection also included hundreds of Greek and Latin inscriptions, which were later transferred to Vienna with a sizeable part of the collection. Yet, the Catajo Palace still houses a modern inscription in ancient Greek, written on an altar in the family chapel. Thanks to a letter kept at the Public Library in Padova, the author of the text can be identified with the classicist and linguist Melchiorre Cesarotti.

KEYWORDS

epigraphy, Catajo, Classical antiquities, antiquarian collections, Melchiorre Cesarotti

Presso Battaglia Terme, vicino a Padova, si trova il maestoso palazzo del Catajo, l'antica residenza della famiglia Obizzi. Il Catajo, costruito all'inizio del XVI secolo, venne presto celebrato dall'umanista Sperone Speroni, nel 1534, e qualche anno più tardi da Giuseppe Betussi, a cui si deve un'ampia illustrazione degli affreschi che ornano tuttora le sale del palazzo (a opera di Giovan Battista Zelotti) e raccontano, glorificandola, la storia della famiglia Obizzi¹. Anche in seguito il

¹ S. Speroni, *Delle laudi del Catajo, villa della S. Beatrice Pia degli Obici*, Venezia 1534; G. Betussi, *Ragionamento di M. Giuseppe Betussi Sopra il Cathajo; luogo dello*

palazzo attirò artisti e vari ingegni, particolarmente al tempo di Pio Enea II che, nel XVII secolo, tenne al Catajo una vita sociale e culturale molto vivace².

La casata si estinse con il marchese Tommaso (1750–1803), appunto l'ultimo degli Obizzi. Tommaso era un accanito collezionista di antichità, quadri e libri: una gran quantità di materiale che si aggiunse a un primo nucleo di raccolte che la famiglia possedeva da tempo, come quella di armi e strumenti musicali. In particolare, Tommaso Obizzi aveva una grande passione per l'arte antica in tutte le sue manifestazioni, dalla statuaria ai vetri, dai bronzetti alle iscrizioni. Con lui le collezioni si incrementarono al punto da formare un vero e proprio Museo, assai rinomato in tutta Europa e assiduamente visitato:

Vi si trovano 100 e più statue, 12 torsi, 182 busti, 30 teste, 15 erme, 20 e più urne cinerarie etrusche, 8 sarcofagi e 9 cinerari romani di marmo figurati, 64 bassorilievi, 30 e più edicole sepolcrali figurate, 5 iscrizioni euganee presso a 100 romane e 20 greche; senza dire di un buon numero di frammenti e di que' tanti oggetti minori esposti entro 15 armadij, e di presso a 100 colonne de' più vaghi e pregevoli marmi antichi, le quali, ridotte a perfetto polimento, ornano la grande sala del Museo. Questa è lunga 73 metri e larga 5,80 e i monumenti vi sono simmetricamente disposti lungo le pareti tutto all'intorno, e in un filare posto nel mezzo di essa, con tale spessezza, che non vi rimane quasi nulla di spazio vuoto³.

La particolare descrizione, molto ricca, ma in realtà non completa, ci fa capire quanta abbondanza di antichità fosse custodita nel palazzo del marchese Obizzi⁴. La raccolta presentava anche un elevato numero di

ill. S. Pio Enea Obizzi, Padova 1573. Sugli affreschi cfr. B. Jaffe (with G. Colombo), Zelotti's Epic Frescoes at Catajo. The Obizzi Saga, New York 2008. Un accurato studio del palazzo è stato offerto da S. Glaser, Il Catajo: die Ikonographie einer Villa im Veneto, München–Berlin 2003.

² Vd. G. Tormen, *Gli Obizzi e il Catajo*, in *Gli Obizzi e la collezione di Antichità al Catajo*, a cura di A. Coppola, Padova 2017, pp. 38–39; C. Di Luca, *Tra «sperimentazione» e «professionismo» teatrale: Pio Enea II Obizzi e lo spettacolo nel '600*, «Teatro e Storia» 11, 1991, pp. 257–303.

³ C. Cavedoni, *Indicazione dei principali monumenti antichi del reale Museo Estense del Catajo, pubblicata per la fausta contingenza della riunione degli scienziati italiani che si terrà in Padova nel settembre del MDCCCXLII*, Modena 1842, pp. 6–7.

⁴ L'esatta consistenza della collezione è ricostruita ora da A. Coppola e G. Tozzi nel volume *Gli Obizzi e la collezione di Antichità al Catajo*, a cura di A. Coppola, Padova 2017, pp. 117–342.

testi epigrafici latini e greci. Alla morte di Tommaso, in assenza di eredi, i beni degli Obizzi e tutta la collezione passarono ai duchi di Modena e poi agli Asburgo⁵. Ma, finché fu in vita, il marchese tenne fitte relazioni con collezionisti, mercanti, studiosi, amanti delle antichità e restauratori.

La passione principale di Tommaso Obizzi erano dunque le cose antiche, ma egli aveva anche una particolare predilezione per i quadri dei cosiddetti 'Primitivi', con i quali aveva decorato la cappella privata del palazzo⁶. Qui un altare in marmo della navata sinistra presenta un'iscrizione redatta in greco antico (figg. 1, 2), con il seguente testo:

ΚΟΥΡΗΝ ΞΕΙΝΕ ΣΕΒΟΥ ΘΕΟΜΗΤΟΡΑ ΖΩΓΡΑΦΕ ΛΟΥΚΑΣ
ΕΙΚΟΝΑ ΤΟΝ ΒΩΜΟΝ Δ' ΙΔΡΥΕΝ ΩΒΙΚΙΟΣ
ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ
ΤΩ ΕΤΕΙ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ Α Ω

Lo specchio epigrafico è di cm 80x52, l'altezza delle lettere di cm 2,7. Le lettere presentano tracce di doratura e, al di sotto, è incisa una colomba con un ramo di ulivo; ai quattro lati sono decorazioni floreali e in alto, al centro, il monogramma di Cristo. La traduzione del testo è la seguente:

Visitatore, onora la Vergine madre di Dio: Luca dipinse
l'immagine e Obizzi costruì l'altare
a motivo di venerazione
nell'anno di Cristo 1800

L'iscrizione cerca di ricalcare stilemi antichi ampiamente attestati, con l'invocazione allo sconosciuto passante o visitatore (ξέινε), tipica in realtà delle iscrizioni a soggetto funebre, e con l'indicazione del motivo della dedica espressa con χάριν e il genitivo. È più volte attestato nelle epigrafi antiche anche il ricordo di opere realizzate, come per esempio un altare, con l'impiego del verbo ἰδρύω (per lo più nella forma media) e il nome del

⁵ Su tutte queste vicende vd. G. Tormen, *Gli Obizzi e il Catajo: storia di una famiglia e del suo grande Museo dimenticato*, in *Gli Obizzi e la collezione di Antichità al Catajo*, a cura di A. Coppola, Padova 2017, pp. 11–70; A. Coppola, *Antichità al Catajo*, ivi, pp. 71–115; G. Tozzi, *La collezione epigrafica*, ivi, pp. 343–400. Cfr. inoltre G. Tormen, s.v. *Obizzi*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 79, 2013, pp. 59–63; Id., “Una piccola Atene sempre crescente”: *aspetti e problemi della collezione Obizzi*, ivi, pp. 87–100. Vd. inoltre il volume *Gli Estensi e il Catajo. Aspetti del collezionismo tra Sette e Ottocento*, a cura di E. Corradini, Modena 2007. A proposito delle iscrizioni antiche, ora custodite presso il Kunsthistorisches Museum di Vienna, vd. anche le schede di G. Tozzi, *Le iscrizioni della collezione Obizzi*, Padova 2017, pp. 343–400.

⁶ Ringrazio il dott. Marco Moressa per avermi permesso la visita alla cappella e la riproduzione fotografica.

promotore o dell'artista⁷. Del tutto anomala la forma ζώγραφε, che non può essere che un verbo che regge l'accusativo εἰκόνα, piuttosto che un più normale vocativo della parola ζώγραφος, indicante il pittore, da concordare con ξεῖνε, sebbene il verbo greco che esprime il dipingere sia in realtà un contratto in -έω e richieda dunque un'altra terminazione, oltre all'aumento. Si può pensare a un adattamento al metro: un distico elegiaco nelle prime due linee. Da notare anche le forme ioniche ξεῖνε e κούρην.

Il testo non ha modelli antichi veri e propri, perché è interamente concentrato sull'occasione che l'ha prodotto. Il contenuto allude proprio alla costruzione dell'altare della cappella a opera di Tommaso Obizzi e anche al quadro a soggetto sacro che stava sopra l'altare e presentava un'immagine della Madonna. L'artista è definito con il nome Luca: una chiara allusione a San Luca Evangelista, il quale, secondo la tradizione, fu il primo pittore di immagini della Vergine. Più esattamente, questa indicazione serviva all'epoca a designare la pittura dei cosiddetti 'Primitivi', i pittori del Trecento e del Quattrocento. Tutta la cappella era infatti decorata in quello stile ed era tappezzata di tavole con pitture dell'epoca, secondo il gusto specifico di Tommaso⁸.

L'iscrizione è dunque importante in quanto fornisce un'indicazione sulla tavola che stava sopra l'altare, sicuramente in stile 'primitivo'. Dietro la tenda rossa che ora copre lo spazio lasciato dal quadro rimosso, si vedono ancora una tavola in legno e l'alone lasciato dal dipinto, con misure ben precise (cm 86x46).

La presenza del quadro è testimoniata da un altro documento, conservato presso l'Archivio di Stato di Padova: una «descrizione e Stima delle Pitture, e Stampe già rispettivamente notate nelli due inventari, eseguita dal pittore Mengardi». Il documento si data al 7 luglio 1803 e l'autore dichiarato è Francesco Mengardi. Vi si legge:

In la Cappellina della Madonna. Sull'Altare una Madonna di quelle che comunemente si dicono di S. Lucca con specchio e cornice dorata⁹.

⁷ Per l'erezione di un altare cf. e.g. *IG* II² 4546; 4961; *IG* IV² 1, 392; *IG* XI 9, 25; *MAMA* V 113; *IK* Knidos I 59.

⁸ Molti dei quadri Obizzi si trovano ora a Praga: vd. M. Meiss, *Italian Primitives at Konopiště*, «The Art Bulletin» 28, 1946, pp. 1–17. Vd. inoltre *La fortuna dei Primitivi. Tesori d'arte delle collezioni italiane fra Sette e Ottocento*, Catalogo della Mostra, Firenze 24 giugno – 8 dicembre 2014, a cura di A. Tartuferi e G. Tormen, Firenze 2014.

⁹ Archivio di Stato di Padova, Archivi Privati, Obizzi – Casa d'Austria Este, busta 777, nr. 9.

I pochi dati relativi al dipinto potrebbero favorirne il riconoscimento fra quelli riconducibili alla raccolta Obizzi.

Torniamo però all'iscrizione, che descrive il dipinto e rende omaggio a Tommaso Obizzi. Un prezioso documento d'archivio ci permette infatti di identificare l'autore del testo in greco antico. Si tratta di una lettera indirizzata a Tommaso Obizzi da Floriano Caldani, che all'epoca era assistente e sarebbe poi stato, dal 1806, professore di Anatomia presso l'Ateneo patavino; era anche grande appassionato di antichità e in buone relazioni con il marchese proprio a causa dei suoi interessi per l'antico. Nella lettera si legge chiaramente:

Attendo l'iscrizione greca per l'altare che sarà fatta dall'ab. Cesarotti.
Dovrà darmela da un giorno all'altro.

Tale lettera si data «Padova, 22 novembre 1799»¹⁰. La data dell'iscrizione, espressa con numerazione greca che tiene conto delle lettere dell'alfabeto, secondo il sistema detto appunto alfabetico o milesio, è esattamente il 1800¹¹.

Questo confronto ci conferma la possibilità di attribuire il testo a Melchiorre Cesarotti, illustre grecista e noto studioso di problemi di lingua e traduzione. L'abate padovano (1730–1808) è noto soprattutto per la traduzione e divulgazione in Italia dei *Poems of Ossian*, il noto falso di James Macpherson, che nella resa in italiano ci svela un ampio interesse rivolto ai problemi della lingua e della tradizione letteraria italiane¹². Ai fini di questo contributo gioverà piuttosto ricordare, tra i dati essenziali della sua personalità intellettuale, l'attività di grecista e particolarmente l'opera di traduzione dal greco. Dal 1768 al 1797 Cesarotti fu professore di Lingua greca ed ebraica presso l'Ateneo di Padova, e proprio per l'università iniziò un ricco periodo di traduzioni dal greco. Traspose infatti in italiano Omero, mettendo in prosa e in versi

¹⁰ Biblioteca Civica di Padova, C.A. 286.a/XXXI. La lettera non è citata da G.P. Mantovani, *Floriano Caldani a Tommaso Obizzi (dalla raccolta di autografi della Biblioteca Civica di Padova)*, «Quaderni per la Storia dell'Università di Padova» 45, 2012, pp. 205–240.

¹¹ In tale sistema un semplice A indica la cifra 1 e richiederebbe un apice a sinistra per indicare 1000, mentre Ω indica la cifra 800. Felicemente pieno di significato, in senso cristologico, sarà poi apparso questo accostamento tra alfa e omega.

¹² La prima edizione della traduzione è del 1763; si può leggere ora in M. Cesarotti, *Poesie di Ossian, antico poeta celtico*, a cura di G. Baldassarri, Milano 2018.

Iliade; di Eschilo scelse il *Prometeo legato*; di Pindaro, sette delle odi; di Demostene, le *Filippiche*¹³.

Nel *Corso ragionato di Letteratura greca* trattò gli oratori attici (Lisia, Isocrate, Iseo, Antifonte, Andocide, Licurgo), Platone (*Apologia di Socrate*) e poi Dione Crisostomo, Elio Aristide e Temistio: accanto a traduzioni di alcune opere di questi autori, Cesarotti presentava un ampio commento storico-letterario a illustrazione del periodo storico e del valore dello scrittore¹⁴. In quest'opera Cesarotti volle illustrare un suo peculiare punto di vista in relazione alla lingua greca. Innanzitutto elogiava l'elevatezza della produzione greca in tutte le forme e raccontava poi come, da Roma alla Rinascita, l'aver dimestichezza con il greco fosse ritenuto una conquista di civiltà per le persone più colte, anche fino al punto di esagerare. Per fortuna, a un certo momento,

molti buoni spiriti s'avvidero esser cosa insensata il trascurar la propria lingua per intisichir sulle altrui, piuttosto che prevalersi saggiamente delle lingue antiche per incivilir le presenti¹⁵.

Così, a onore della modernità, confessava che era

una vera assurdità il credere che i Greci, o alcun popolo al mondo, possano mai presentare alle nazioni ed ai secoli un modello in ogni sua

¹³ La cattedra di Cesarotti fu poi trasformata in una cattedra di Eloquenza e Letteratura antica e moderna, perdendo ogni profilo storico a favore di quello retorico: vd. M. Zago, *L'insegnamento universitario di Cesarotti*, «Padova e il suo territorio» 135, ottobre 2008, pp. 13–16; C.E. Roggia, *Cesarotti professore: le lezioni universitarie sulle lingue antiche e il linguaggio*, «Lingua nostra» 75, 3–4, 2014, pp. 65–92. Vd. inoltre G. Benedetto, *Cesarotti e gli oratori attici*, in *Aspetti dell'opera e della fortuna di Melchiorre Cesarotti*, Atti del Convegno (Gargnano del Garda, 4–6 ottobre 2001), a cura di G. Barbarisi e G. Carnazzi, vol. I, Milano 2002, pp. 183–204; T. Matarrese, *Su Cesarotti traduttore dell'Iliade*, in *Melchiorre Cesarotti*, a cura di A. Daniele, Padova 2011, pp. 107–116; M. La Rosa, *Cesarotti traduttore e la traduzione del greco*, «Ticontre. Teoria testo traduzione» 12, 2019, pp. 429–447. Fra l'altro, Cesarotti fu Segretario perpetuo per le Belle Lettere dell'Accademia di Scienze, Lettere e Arti in Padova, che nel 1779 venne a sostituire la precedente Accademia dei Ricovrati e prende ora il nome di Accademia Galileiana.

¹⁴ Il *Corso Ragionato sopra la letteratura greca* apparve in due volumi: *Corso ragionato di letteratura greca, ossia Scelta delle migliori produzioni de' greci autori trasportate nella favella italiana e accompagnate da osservazioni e ragionamenti critici. Parte prima: Eloquenza oratoria*, 2 voll., Padova 1781–1784. Si legge ora in *Opere dell'abate Melchior Cesarotti padovano*, voll. XX–XXII, Firenze 1806.

¹⁵ *Opere dell'abate Melchior Cesarotti padovano*, vol. XX: *Ragionamento preliminare all'edizione del 1771, con giunte e correzioni*, p. XII.

parte invariabile, o esaurire tutte le forme e tutti gli atteggiamenti del Bello¹⁶.

Ciò non gli impediva di ammettere che la lingua greca

musicale, pittoresca, precisa, varia, flessibile in sommo grado, atta colla natural composizione de' suoi termini a rappresentar in un sol tratto l'accoppiamento, la contemperazione, il contrasto d'idee diverse, si prestava con facilità alle opere d'immaginazione e a quelle di ragionamento¹⁷.

Cesarotti aveva quindi contribuito a decorare la cappella privata Obizzi con un'iscrizione scritta in greco, che ci risulta essere l'unico testo da lui tradotto dall'italiano al greco, contrariamente al solito. Da appassionato grecista, non avrà resistito alla tentazione di scrivere di propria mano un'iscrizione in greco in un contesto così 'bizantino' quale era quello della decorazione della cappella Obizzi, tutta rilucente d'oro grazie ai dipinti dei cosiddetti 'Primitivi'. Soprattutto, avrà inteso adeguarsi al gusto per l'antico del marchese Tommaso, aggiungendo alle numerose lapidi greche antiche presenti al Catajo questa moderna scritta da lui. Di Cesarotti si conoscevano solo iscrizioni in latino¹⁸, ma nessuna scritta in greco — sino a questa, che si rivela dunque documento particolarmente interessante.

Sempre nella prefazione al *Corso di Letteratura greca* del 1806, Cesarotti scriveva che l'uomo eloquente, il quale volesse procacciarsi un tesoro di espressioni adatte a rappresentare tutte le situazioni e le combinazioni possibili, non avrebbe potuto rinunciare alle miniere di Grecia.¹⁹ Egli stesso, dunque, pensò, almeno in questo caso, di cimentarsi con una personale composizione direttamente nella lingua dei Greci, attingendo a quelle stesse miniere.

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¹⁶ Ivi, p. XIV.

¹⁷ Ivi, p. XV.

¹⁸ Vd. *Opere dell'Abate Melchior Cesarotti padovano, vol. XXXIII. Versioni poesie latine e iscrizioni di Melchior Cesarotti*, Firenze 1810.

¹⁹ *Opere dell'abate Melchior Cesarotti padovano, vol. XX. Ragionamento preliminare all'edizione del 1771, con giunte e correzioni*, p. XVI.



Fig. 1. Altare in marmo nella navata sinistra della cappella privata del palazzo del Catajo.

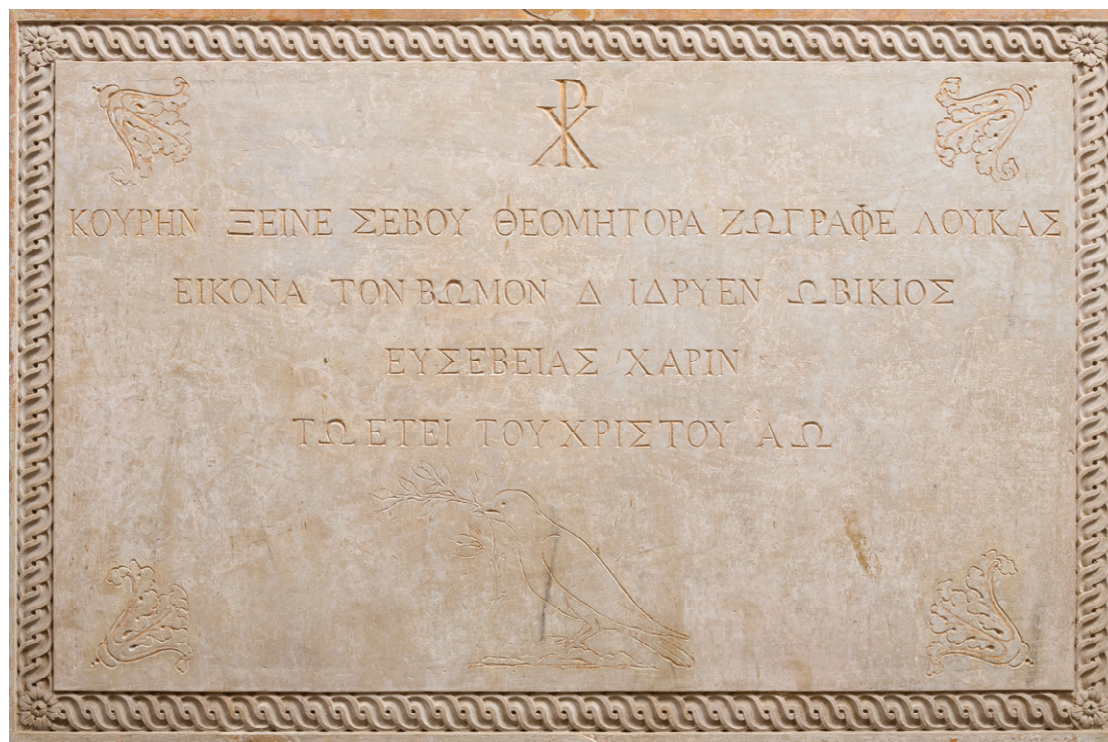


Fig. 2. Dettaglio dell'iscrizione in greco antico incisa sulla predella dell'altare.