

HYPERBOREUS

STUDIA CLASSICA

ναυσὶ δ' οὔτε πεζὸς ἰὼν κεν εὐροις
ἐς Ὑπερβορέων ἀγῶνα θαυμαστὰν ὁδόν

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Wissen, aber ohne Gewähr gegeben.

MICHAEL ROSTOVTZEFF
and
THE TRIUNITY OF CLASSICAL STUDIES:
HISTORY, ARCHAEOLOGY, PHILOLOGY

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PETROPOLI
MMXXI



The portrait of M. I. Rostovtzeff by an unknown artist,
provided by the St Petersburg Branch of the Archive of
the Russian Academy of Sciences (SPbB ARAS).
Fond 1054, opis' 1, delo 51 (drawing)

PREFACE

Michael (Mikhail Ivanovich) Rostovtzeff, a Russian historian of the ancient world, is the world's most famous Russian classical scholar. He was known both in Russia and in the West already in his younger years; he became famous here as well as there before the October Revolution of 1917. His name did not disappear after his emigration from Russia, but it was prohibited for more than 60 years.

So his name returned to his native land and one could not only mention it, but also refer to him, study him, and conduct research about him freely both in the West and in the interim of freedom in Russia. Much has been achieved in the study of his work, as well as of his biography, which became a touchstone of scholarly achievement and a measure of cultural significance.

At the same time, such renown inevitably drew occasional criticism of Rostovtzeff's conceptions. The main line of criticism was indictment of modernization; historians wondered if his passionate political views did not dangerously influence the ideal impartiality of a historian et sim. Knowing this and despite our natural admiration of his fame, we tried to ask some sometimes inconvenient questions to probe the soundness and integrity of Rostovtzeff's work and thus learn more from it. We are pretty certain that everyone can only win through such an approach.

To celebrate Michael Rostovtzeff's 150th birthday, the forum "The Saint Petersburg Days of Classical Studies" was held on October 26–31, 2020 in St Petersburg by a number of academic institutions and museums under the general aegis of the State Hermitage. It was held partly online, since pandemic restrictions limited the number of speakers and attendees (for the most part from St Petersburg) who were allowed to be present personally.

Complete information about all the events of the forum, including the complete list of organizers, the programs of all sessions held at the various institutions, video links of the sessions and publications to follow, is available on the website: <https://classical-studies-spb.tk/en>. For a detailed account of the forum's events in Russian, see: А. А. Трофимова, Н. К. Жижина, О. Ю. Климов, А. Д. Пантелеев, "К 150-летию М. И. Ростовцева.

Дни антиковедения в Санкт-Петербурге (26–31 октября 2020 г.)”, *Мнемон* 20: 1–2 (2020) 7–31, and a succinct version: eidem, “Дни антиковедения в Санкт-Петербурге (Санкт-Петербург, 26–31 октября 2020 г.)”, *VDI* 80: 4 (2020) 1100–1102.

Apart from the round table at the St Petersburg Institute for History and the plenary session at the Hermitage (respectively fully and partly) represented in this volume, three conferences devoted in substantial part to Rostovtzeff took place in the forum:

- “Zhebelev Readings – XXII” at the Institute for History (former Faculty of History) of the St Petersburg State University (October 28–30, 2020);
- “The Bosporean Phenomenon – XVI” (October 27, 2020) with the subsequent publication: *Боспорский феномен, Боспорское царство М. И. Ростовцева (взгляд из XXI века)* I–II (St Petersburg 2020; materials devoted to Rostovtzeff are confined to Vol. I);
- “Actual Problems of Theory and History of Art – IX” (October 29–30, 2020, section “The Art of the Ancient World”).

Two events of the forum are illustrated in the present issue of *Hyperboreus*. The first is the plenary session held at the Hermitage on October 26. Its topic was “Mikhail I. Rostovtzeff as an Historian, Archaeologist, and a Specialist in Classical Antiquity. Classical Studies in St Petersburg and Outside Russia in the Light of the Scholar’s Creativity”.¹ The publication of all of its papers in Russian is to be prepared in 2022 by the Hermitage. The second event is a round table titled “Michael Rostovtzeff and the Triunity of Classical Studies: History, Archaeology, Philology” held on October 28 at the St Petersburg Institute for History (Russian Academy of Sciences). Its scope was Rostovtzeff’s legacy and creative methodology regarding the three main disciplines of *Altertumswissenschaft*.

The papers by A. Gavrilov, A. Marcone, and A. Schnapp were read at the plenary session; those by M. Pozdnev, L. Zhmud, W. Chrystaljow, V. Kashcheev, and D. Keyer at the session organized by the St Petersburg Institute for History; finally, the papers by St. Rebenich and D. Panchenko were added to the materials of the plenary section and the round table, respectively.

Alexander Gavrilov, Denis Keyer
Saint Petersburg Institute for History (RAS)

¹ On the same day, the temporary exhibition-preview “In Search of Antique Bosphorus. Introduction. On Mikhail Rostovtzeff’s 150th Anniversary” was shown at the Hermitage. The opening of the exhibition, itself organized by the State Hermitage in cooperation with the Institute for the History of Material Culture (RAS) and the St Petersburg Branch of the Academic Archive of Russia, was postponed to February 15, 2022.

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Michael Pozdnev

DAS HISTORISCH-PHILOLOGISCHE
VORGEHEN BEI ARISTOTELES UND
IN DER WISSENSCHAFT SEINER ZEIT:
EINIGE RANDBEMERKUNGEN*

M. I. Rostovtzeffs Forschungswerk, das bei seinem kolossalen Umfang beinahe niemals die Fragen der Textauslegung berührt noch sich mit der Auslegung der Texte wirklich befasst, markiert den Höhepunkt einer Entwicklung, die sich als Entphilologisierung der Altertumswissenschaft bezeichnen lässt. Die Realienanalyse hat sich endgültig verselbständigt; eine Vertrautheit mit den literarischen Quellen wird nunmehr als Hintergrund für eine sachorientierte Untersuchung wahrgenommen, welche den Anspruch erhebt, auf einem festeren Boden zu stehen und folglich glaubwürdigere Ergebnisse gegenüber der Deutungsphilologie liefern zu können. Bei allmählicher Isolierung der Letzteren verliert diese – soweit nicht unmittelbar für die Ausbreitung der Kenntnisse über die Antike geboten – bedrohend an akademischer Repräsentativität, während für manche Bereiche der alten Geschichte und Archäologie der sichere Umgang mit den altsprachlichen Texten nicht mehr als notwendig angesehen wird.¹ Ob die textanalytisch-interpretierende Antikenforschung ein Comeback erleben wird oder sich ganz in eine Elitär- bzw. Hilfsdisziplin verwandelt, hängt von etlichen externen Faktoren ab und ist daher nicht eindeutig erkennbar.² In dieser Zeit des Umbruchs befassen wir uns mit einem weiteren geschichtlichen Wendepunkt, nämlich der Phase, in der die historische Wissenschaft ihren Namen erhält, die philologische noch

* Die vorliegende Arbeit ist Teil des von der *Russian Science Foundation* unterstützten Forschungsprojekts „*Thesaurus criticus* zur Aristoteles’ *Poetik*“ (Projekt-nummer 18-18-00060).

¹ So bemerkt bspw. Walther Ludwig in einem Beitrag von 2003 (395–396), dass die Klassische Philologie „in der Öffentlichkeit enorm an Ansehen und Bedeutung verloren hat und konsequent auch die Lateinkenntnisse in der Gesellschaft, in den Medien und selbst in den lateinbedürftigen Wissenschaften eklatant zurückgegangen sind“. Gleichzeitig erfahre die neulateinische Philologie einen revolutionären Aufschwung.

² Für die optimistische Prognose, die allenfalls spekulativ sein kann, s. Nesselrath 2012, 139–142.

namenlos bleibt.³ Während Rostovtzeff die althergebrachte Schulphilologie als solides Fundament für die innovative Geschichtsrekonstruktion verwendet, mag Aristoteles die schriftliche Reflexion der Vergangenheit als etablierte und methodisch gut erarbeitete Praxis ansehen,⁴ die Reflexion der Texte hingegen – obwohl auch sie schon seit langem gepflegt wurde – in Hinsicht auf die Ausarbeitung ihrer Verfahren eher als mangelhaft empfunden haben.

Philologie als Betrieb existierte vor der Ptolemäer-Zeit bekanntlich nicht. Allerdings mit Ausnahme eines Gebiets: Die Homer-Exegese, die sich mit den schwer begreiflichen Stellen befasste, gab es bereits in der Spätarchaik;⁵ auch die für die ethische Kritik anfälligen Gestalten der Epen rückten allmählich ins Blickfeld der apologetischen Exegese.⁶ Im Laufe des 5. vorchristlichen Jhs. formte sich ein ganzes Kollektiv an Interpreten, mit je verschiedenen Methoden der ‚Problem-Lösung‘.⁷ Es stellt sich sogleich die Frage, wie sie sich nannten, denn der Begriff *λυτικοί* scheint späterer Herkunft zu sein,⁸ wie auch *κριτικοί* und *γραμματικοί*, welche als Bezeichnungen von beruflichen Textwissenschaftlern in der voralexandrinischen Epoche nicht vorkommen.⁹ Der Fachbereich jener

³ Dass die Differenzierung der Wissenschaften in der frühen Akademie thematisiert wurde, zeigt die Ähnlichkeit diesbezüglicher Argumentationen im *Alcibiades II* (147 c 8) und in der *Nikomachischen Ethik* (1141 a 18, mit dem gleichen Zitat aus dem *Margites*).

⁴ Den Forschungsmethoden und der Polemik der Geschichtsschreiber des 5. Jhs. geht Thomas 2000, 75–77 nach.

⁵ Zu Theagenes von Rhegion, der als erster Homer-Forscher und somit als Begründer der textinterpretierenden Philologie gilt: Lanata 1963, 104–111; Rispoli 1980; Pozdnev 2016b.

⁶ Die apologetische Tendenz der frühen Homerinterpreten, darunter insbesondere der Allegoristen, wird beinahe einstimmig anerkannt: Sikes 1931, 13; Obbink 2010, 18; Schlaffer 1990, 68. Ausführlicher dazu: Pozdnev 2019, 429.

⁷ S. bspw. Richardson 1975; Westermann 2002, 142–144.

⁸ Eustath. 4, 24, 26 van der Valk: καὶ οἱ τῶν Ὀμηρικῶν ἀποριῶν Λυτικοὶ λαλοῦσιν εἰς τοῦτο πολλά. Zur Entstehung der Opposition *λυτικοί* – *ἐνστατικοί*: Cohn 1895, 869; Lehrs 1833, 205.

⁹ Vgl. Pfeiffer 1968, 157–158. Bei Aristoteles tritt *γραμματικός* im Sinne von Grammatik-Lehrer häufig zusammen mit *μουσικός* oder *ιατρός* auf: *An.* 92 a 33 (ὥσπερ ἂν ἄνθρωπος ὁ αὐτὸς εἴη μουσικὸς καὶ γραμματικὸς); *Top.* 111 b 4; *Met.* 1026 b 17; 1064 b 23; 1087 a 21 (καὶ ὁ θεωρεῖ ὁ γραμματικὸς, τότε τὸ ἄλφα ἄλφα); *SE* 165 b 32 (τὰ γὰρ ἀποστοματιζόμενα μανθάνουσιν οἱ γραμματικοί); *EN* 1105 a 21 (ὥσπερ εἰ τὰ γραμματικὰ καὶ τὰ μουσικά, γραμματικοὶ καὶ μουσικοί); *Cat.* 1 a 14 = 10 a 31 (οἷον ἀπὸ τῆς γραμματικῆς ὁ γραμματικὸς); 1 b 29; 3 a 4–5; *EE* 1226 a 35 (διὸ καὶ ἀπορήσειεν ἂν τις, τί δὴ ποθ’ οἱ μὲν ἱατροὶ βουλευόνται περὶ ὧν ἔχουσι τὴν ἐπιστήμην, οἱ δὲ γραμματικοὶ οὐ); *Phys.* 199 a 34 (ἔγραψε γὰρ οὐκ ὀρθῶς ὁ γραμματικὸς καὶ ἐπότησεν ὁ ἱατρός τὸ φάρμακον).

Urphilologen war Homer, und es wäre nur zu erwarten, dass sie als Ὀμηρικοί, etwa die „Homer-Experten“, bekannt würden.¹⁰ Nun zieht Aristoteles im Schlusskapitel der *Metaphysik* (*N*, c. 6) das Beispiel der „alten Homeriker“ heran, und zwar in der Auseinandersetzung mit den Verfechtern des Zahlensymbolismus, die der Zahl Drei sinnbildliche Funktion zuschreiben, weil es mehrere isolierte ternäre Sequenzen gibt; die Zahl der Doppelkonsonanten (ψ, ξ, ζ) sei laut ihnen deswegen drei, weil es auch drei musikalischen Konsonanzen gebe (1093 a 20–21). „Diese Leute ähneln ja auch den alten Homerikern, welche die kleinen Gleichnisse bemerken, die großen aber übersehen“ (ὅμοιοι δὴ καὶ οὗτοι τοῖς ἀρχαίοις Ὀμηρικοῖς, οἱ μικρὰς ὁμοιότητας ὁρῶσι μεγάλας δὲ παρορῶσιν). Nach fast einhellig angenommener Auffassung meint Aristoteles unter ἀρχαῖοι Ὀμηρικοί jene Homer-Erklärer, die allegorisch vorgingen.¹¹ Gewiss werden die ὁμοιότητες dadurch erläutert, aber inwiefern sich die „Gleichnisse“ in „kleine“ und „große“ teilen lassen, bleibt bislang ungeklärt und ist *prima facie* nicht ersichtlich. Solange die Analogie nur unzureichend zu verstehen ist, darf man auch die andere Deutungsmöglichkeit nicht ausschließen, nämlich dass Ὀμηρικοί für die Nachahmer Homers stehen,¹² wofür vor allem unter Rückgriff auf DL 8, 57 (= Ar. F 70 Rose) argumentiert werden könnte: ἐν δὲ τῷ Περὶ ποιητῶν φησιν (sc. Ἀριστοτέλης) ὅτι καὶ Ὀμηρικὸς ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ δεινὸς περὶ τὴν φράσιν γέγονεν, μεταφορητικός τε ὢν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς περὶ ποιητικὴν ἐπιτεύγμασι χρώμενος. Allerdings wird mit ὁρᾶν / παρορᾶν eher auf die analytische Interpretation als auf die poetische Imitation hingedeutet (bspw. *Rhet.* 1394 a 5: ἄν τις δύνηται τὸ ὅμοιον ὁρᾶν, ὅπερ ῥᾶν ἐστὶν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας; *An.* 76 b 17: ἐνίας μέντοι ἐπιστήμας οὐδὲν κωλύει ἓνια τούτων παρορᾶν; vgl. *Rhet.* 1417 b 36; *An.* 77 b 31; *Top.* 121 b 15; *EN* 125 a 5).¹³ Die Tatsache, dass Ὀμηρικός im oben angeführten Diogenes-Zeugnis rein adjektivisch und dazu noch im positiven Sinne gebraucht wird (vgl. Longin. *Subl.* 13, 3: Ἡρόδοτος Ὀμηρικώτατος

¹⁰ Eben das waren die Homeriden („Homer-Nachkommen“), welche zunächst als Vortragskünstler (Pind. *N.* 2, 1–6), im platonischen *Ion* 530 d 6–8 aber auch als Richter erwähnt werden, von denen ein Rhapsode einen goldenen Kranz für das schönste „Lob“ an Homer zu erhalten hoffte (οἶμαι ὑπὸ Ὀμηριδῶν ἄξιος εἶναι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ στεφανωθῆναι). Als Illustration bietet sich das von S. Bundrick als Rhapsodendarstellung interpretierte Vasenbild an: Der junge Sieger wird bald bekränzt, wobei die Älteren, welche die Stäbe halten, eine Jury repräsentieren (Bundrick 2015, 8–12, Abb. 1–2).

¹¹ Apostle 1966, 248; Bonitz–Carvallo–Grassi 1966, 338; Annas 1988, 130; Reeve 2016, 583.

¹² „Эти философы напоминают древних подражателей Гомера“: So die russische Übertragung von A. V. Kubitsky (1934).

¹³ Diese Beobachtung hat der Verf. Herrn Prof. A. L. Verlinsky zu verdanken.

ἐγένετο <...>), scheint sich ebenfalls gegen die alternative Auffassung zu sträuben. Außerdem wird der Sinn von μικραῖ / μεγάλοι (ὁμοιότητες) bei dieser Auffassung um keinen Deut nachvollziehbarer. Eine brauchbare Erläuterung indes liefert das für Metrodoros von Lampsakos, den wohl berühmtesten Homerdeuter archaisch-klassischer Zeit, charakteristische Verfahren, auf welches W. Nestle als erster aufmerksam gemacht hat:¹⁴ Metrodoros geht den Szenen nach, die gewisse Gleichnisse enthalten, welche die Anwendbarkeit der allegorischen Erklärung auf den jeweiligen Helden voraussetzen können. So werden Hektor als Mond und Agamemnon als Aether allegorisiert (nach *Il.* 8, 555–558: ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἐν οὐρανῷ ἄστρα φαεινὴν ἀμφὶ σελήνην κτλ.); Achilles stelle die segnende Sonne dar (nach *Il.* 19, 397–399); Helena schenke sich nicht Paris, sondern die relevante Episode repräsentiere, wie die Luft die Erde umhülle (vgl. *Il.* 3, 381: ἐκάλυψε δ' ἄρ' ἄερί πολλῇ); Apollon deutet der Allegorist als die Galle um, da der Pfeil des Gottes durch das Beiwort ἐχεπευκὲς bestimmt ist (*Il.* 1, 51, was die Scholiasten als πικρόν verstehen; zu vergleichen ist χολὴ πικρά, πικρόχολος und dergl.). Wahrscheinlich meint Aristoteles, dass von derartigen „kleinen“ Verwandtschaften kein Deutungsprinzip abgeleitet werden darf, weil sie sich nicht aus dem Charakter einer Handlungsperson an sich ergeben, sondern vielmehr durch die Logik der jeweiligen Szene hervorgerufen werden. Die „größeren“ Gleichnisse seien dann die vielen anderen Vergleiche, deren Mannigfaltigkeit eben damit zu erklären sei, dass sie als handlungsbedingt erscheinen. In gleicher Weise sei die dreifache Zahl der Doppelkonsonanten nicht durch die Analogie mit den anderen dreifachen Erscheinungen zu erklären, sondern dadurch, dass es im Sprachorgan drei Stellen gebe, wo sich die Mitlaute bilden,¹⁵ „an die jeweils ein *s* angeschlossen wird“ (τριῶν ὄντων τόπων ἐν ἐφ' ἐκάστου ἐπιφέρεται τῷ σίγμα). Dergleichen Kombinationen von stimmlosen und stimmhaften Konsonanten könne es in Wirklichkeit abertausende geben, denn man könne etwa ein *gr* genauso mit einem Graphem bezeichnen, doch die Verfechter der Konsonanzen-Theorie „kümmern sich wenig

¹⁴ Nestle 1907, 505–506.

¹⁵ Den phonetischen Phänomenen geht Aristoteles in den *Lexis*-Kapiteln der *Poetik* (20–22) ausführlich nach. In dem Katalog bei Diog. Laert. ist auch eine Einzelschrift Περὶ λέξεως in zwei Büchern registriert (5, 24, 31); vermutlich wurde ein Teil davon in die *Poetik* übertragen. Dem Verschluss (προσβολή) zwischen den zwei Organen im Vokaltrakt wird in *Poet.* c. 20, 1456 b 25–31 eine zentrale Rolle bei der Klassifikation der Laute zugeteilt: ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα φωνῆεν μὲν τὸ ἄνευ προσβολῆς ἔχον φωνὴν ἀκουστήν, ἡμίφωνον δὲ τὸ μετὰ προσβολῆς ἔχον φωνὴν ἀκουστήν, οἷον τὸ σ καὶ τὸ ρ, ἄφωνον δὲ τὸ μετὰ προσβολῆς καθ' αὐτὸ μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἔχον φωνήν, μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἐχόντων τινὰ φωνὴν γινόμενον ἀκουστόν, οἷον τὸ γ, καὶ τὸ δ.

darum“ (ὅτι δὲ μυρία ἂν εἴη τοιαῦτα, οὐθὲν μέλει· τῷ γὰρ Γ καὶ Ρ εἴη ἂν ἐν σημείῳ). Die Entsprechung scheint ziemlich genau zu sein; Ὀμηρικός dürfte somit tatsächlich als früheste Bezeichnung eines Philologen im modernen Sinne gelten.

Das wundert wenig, bedenkt man, dass die zwei homerischen Gedichte seit spätestens Anfang des 6. Jhs. zum Hauptvortragsgut der Rhapsoden wurden, und der einheitliche Text derselben in Athen bereits um 520 v. Chr. erstellt worden sein soll.¹⁶ Im 5. Jh. wird dieser Text für die elementare Ausbildung von Grammatik-Lehrern genutzt (zu vergleichen mit Isocr. 4, 159 ist vor allem ein Fragment der Δαιταλῆς von Aristophanes, 222 K.–A., dann aber auch Ael. *Hist.* 13, 38; Ps.-Diog. *Epist.* 35, 1; ein weiteres Zeugnis bieten die D-Scholien zur *Odyssee*, die Glossen beinhalten)¹⁷ und von den Ausgebildeten umfassend besprochen (die Hauptzeugnisse sind Xen. *Symp.* 3, 5–6 und Pl. *Ion* 530 c 7 – d 3). Auch Aristoteles trat als Ὀμηρικός hervor, worüber im Weiteren mehr zu sagen sein wird. Für ihn konnte der besagte Text jedoch nicht mehr als der dichterische Text schlechthin gelten – ebenso wenig wie dessen Forscher als die eigentlichen Textforscher. Von seiner in Form eines Dialogs verfassten literaturgeschichtlichen Studie *Περὶ ποιητῶν* sind zwar nur wenige Bruchstücke überliefert, aber es ist kaum zu zweifeln, dass sein Interesse in diesem Werk, dessen inzwischen längst etablierter Titel schon für sich spricht,¹⁸ nicht allein Homer galt (vgl. das oben zitierte Fragment 70 Rose (= DL 8, 57), und F 74 = Macrob. *Saturn.* 5, 8, 19: Euripides wird wegen eines kleinen Realienfehlers von Aristoteles heftig kritisiert: πᾶν τοὐνάντιον ἔθνος τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς κτλ.). Seine Zeitgenossen haben eine beträchtliche Menge an biographischem Material über verschiedene literarische Persönlichkeiten der Vergangenheit gesammelt. Mangels äußerer Zeugnisse wurden dabei die Informationen fortwährend aus den zugänglichen Dichter-Texten herausgedeutet. Das Vorgehen wurde bekannt als Chamaileons Methode,¹⁹ nach Chamaileon von Heraklea, einem Schüler des Aristoteles, der nicht weniger als acht Biographien der alten Lyriker, ein biographisch geprägtes

¹⁶ S. (Ps.?)Plat. *Hipp.* 228 b 7 – c 1; Lycurg. *In Leocr.* 102; Diog. Laert. 1, 57; Davison 1955, 1–21; 1958, 38–39; Kraft 1963, 11–20; Schorn 2005, 243–247. Peisistratos hat die rhapsodischen Rezitationen auf ‚Homer‘, d.i. die *Ilias* und die *Odyssee*, eingeschränkt; Hipparchos hat die aufgreifende Rezitation eingeführt, welche den Aufführungen besondere Spannung und Sportlichkeit verlieh und, wie zu vermuten ist, die Ausgabe eines kanonischen Textes für die Schiedsrichter ins Leben gerufen hat.

¹⁷ Hierzu: Pozdnev 2016b, 11, mit weiteren Hinweisen.

¹⁸ Das Werk des Glaukos von Rhegion, eines Zeitgenossen von Demokrit, wurde so betitelt. Über die Zeit und den Inhalt dieser Schrift s. Huxley 1968, 47–50.

¹⁹ Ausführlich dazu: Schorn 2007, 46–50 und 2018, 70–72.

Werk über Aischylos, eine theatergeschichtliche Studie über Thespis sowie über das Satyrdrama verfasst hat (F 8; 13; 26–45 Martano). In der *Poetik* berührt Aristoteles weder die Lyrik noch das Satyrdrama; Aischylos bzw. seine Schauspiele erwähnt er nur sehr selten.²⁰ Die Themen haben seine Schüler übernommen. Die Fragmente liefern mannigfache Indizien der weit über Homer hinausreichenden textinterpretatorischen Tätigkeit (beispielhaft in dieser Hinsicht sind Aristoxen. F 113 Wehrli; Praxiphan. 28 B Matelli = 22 b Wehrli; Philochor. *FGrHist* 328 F 90; Chamaileon F 26; 28 Martano = F 24; 26 Wehrli). Die Analyse literarischer Texte hört auf als bloßes Hilfsmittel der Philosophie zu dienen (wie etwa im platonischen *Protagoras*, s. insbesondere 334 b–c; 339 a: Die Tugendbetrachtung wird auf ein Dichterwerk übertragen; somit verliert die Auslegung des simonideischen Gedichts ihren selbstständigen Wert, und wird stattdessen zur Illustration der philosophischen Debatte). Der Versuch, die Literatur im Ganzen als Forschungsobjekt zu definieren, den Aristoteles im 1. Kapitel der *Poetik* unternimmt, ist daher durchaus erklärlich. Dabei merkt er sofort, dass die zu bestimmende Kunst ohne Begriff bleibt (*Poet.* I, 1447 a 28 – b 9: ἡ δὲ μόνον τοῖς λόγοις ψιλοῖς ἢ <καὶ> τοῖς μέτροις καὶ τούτοις εἴτε μιν γνῶσα μετ’ ἀλλήλων εἶθ’ ἐνί τινι γένει χρωμένη τῶν μέτρων ἀνώνυμος τυγχάνει οὔσα μέχρι τοῦ νῦν²¹), lässt sich aber nicht darauf ein, einen solchen zu erstellen bzw. eine gattungsübergreifende Literatur-Definition zu prägen. Diese mit der Natur des Gegenstands selbst zusammenhängende Unbestimmtheit (im 25. Kapitel der *Poetik* ist zu lesen, dass die nachahmende Kunst so gut wie alles beinhalten kann, nämlich „entweder was war oder ist, was die Menschen sagen und glauben, oder was sein soll“: ἀνάγκη μιμεῖσθαι

²⁰ Nur zwei Erwähnungen stammen unzweifelhaft von Aristoteles selbst: 1449 a 16–17 (τῶν ὑποκριτῶν πλῆθος ἐξ ἑνὸς εἰς δύο πρῶτος Αἰσχύλος ἦγαγε, darüber s. weiter unten) und 1458 b 20 (οἷον τὸ αὐτὸ ποιήσαντος ἱαμβεῖον Αἰσχύλου καὶ Εὐριπίδου κτλ.). Die übrigen drei sind alle mehr oder weniger verdächtig, darunter αἶ τε Φορκίδες καὶ ὁ Προμηθεὺς καὶ ὅσα ἐν ᾄδου (1456 a 2–3) gewiss ein spätantiker Einschub, genauso wie 1456 a 17 (Νιόβην καὶ μὴ ὥσπερ Αἰσχύλος); über 1455 a 4–5 (οἷον ἐν Χοηφόροις κτλ.) s. Almazowa 2019, 306. Weder Sophokles noch Euripides, die in der *Poetik* so häufig zitiert werden, widmete Chamaileon eine Schrift. Anscheinend befasste er sich hauptsächlich mit den Früheren.

²¹ Der beinahe allgemein akzeptierte Text stellt eine Mosaik aus den handschriftlich überlieferten und aufgrund der mittelalterlichen Übersetzungen rekonstruierten Lesarten dar. S. den Apparat und die Diskussion bei Tarán–Gutas 2012. Daran, dass es sich hier um die gattungsübergreifende Literaturbestimmung handelt und dass der Mangel eines Universalbegriffs hervorgehoben wird, lässt allerdings der nachstehende Satz keinen Zweifel übrig, 1447 b 10–13: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν ἔχοιμεν ὀνομάσαι κοινὸν τοὺς Σώφρονος καὶ Ξενάρχου μίμους καὶ τοὺς Σωκρατικούς λόγους κτλ. (da sind alle Mss. einig).

τριῶν ὄντων τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐν τι ἀεί, ἢ γὰρ οἷα ἦν ἢ ἔστιν, ἢ οἷα φασιν καὶ δοκεῖ, ἢ οἷα εἶναι δεῖ, 1460 b 10–11, der Zusammenhang wird unten näher erläutert), wurde zu einem der Hauptfaktoren des seit der Wiederentdeckung der *Poetik* in der Zeit der italienischen Renaissance dauernden literaturtheoretischen Diskurses.

Mit erheblicher Wahrscheinlichkeit kann davon ausgegangen werden, dass diesem Versuch, eine systematische Beschreibung der Literatur hervorzubringen, eine Sammlung von literarischen Phänomenen vorausging. Eine derartige vorbereitende Sammeltätigkeit war für Aristoteles und seine Schule überhaupt kennzeichnend: Sie begleitete die Abfassung von den großen zoologischen Werken, den Schriften zur Naturphilosophie, der *Politik*, womöglich auch der *Rhetorik* und der *Metaphysik*.²² Eine jener Sammlungen bezeugt gewissermaßen das Interesse an Volkstum und Sprache.²³ Die *Παροιμίας* sind zwar unter den Büchern des Aristoteles aufgeführt, stellten aber wohl nichts mehr als eine Sprichwörterliste dar. Die verallgemeinernde Schrift soll *Περὶ παροιμιῶν* heißen haben. Die hervorragendsten Schüler des Aristoteles – Klearchos und Theophrastos – haben die parömiologischen Abhandlungen unter diesem Titel verfasst (Athen. 701 b = Klearch. F 64 W; DL 5, 45). Besonders von dem Werk des Klearchos lässt sich aus verschiedenartigen Quellen (darunter einem Papyrusfragment und einer möglicherweise von dem Philosophen selbst gedichteten Inschrift²⁴) eine Vorstellung gewinnen, dass er ganz im Geiste seines Lehrers wirkte. Die Absicht des Aristoteles beim Sprichwörtersammeln wurde anhand der Fragmente seines Dialogs „Über die Philosophie“ von R. Pfeiffer treffend erläutert: Er pflegte damit den Spuren der volkstümlichen Urphilosophie

²² Die *Πολιτεῖαι* wurden in den Katalogen durch die *Δικαιώματα* und die *Νόμιμα βαρβαρικά* ergänzt. Für seine *Rhetorik* benützte Aristoteles das umfangreiche Material der epideiktischen Reden: Trevett 1996, 371–375. Das Sammeln von Meinungen, welches in den doxographischen Werken von Theophrastos und Eudem eine Fortsetzung fand (dazu: Pfeiffer 1968, 84; Blum 1977, 92–93), ging der Abfassung der *Metaphysik* sowie der Schrift *Über die Seele* voran.

²³ Zu den Quellen für die aristotelische Sprachlehre vgl. o. Anm. 15; McKeon 1946, 199, mit weiteren Verweisen; Pfeiffer 1968, 76–78. Die grammatische Systematik des Aristoteles, unter anderem seine Klassifikation der Redeteile, wird meistens als unzureichend eingeschätzt. Sie verdient allerdings eine Beachtung als Versuch, die Funktion des Wortes mit seiner Form zu verbinden (bspw. 1457 a 16–18: τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ἢ λευκὸν οὐ σημαίνει τὸ πότε, τὸ δὲ βαδίζει ἢ βεβάδικεν προσσημαίνει τὸ μὲν τὸν παρόντα χρόνον τὸ δὲ τὸν παρελθυστότα). Aristoteles setzt sich dabei mit Protagoras auseinander, den er *Poet.* 1456 b 14–15 etwas abschätzig erwähnt.

²⁴ So die Meinung von Louis Robert, der die Ai-Chanoum Inschrift publiziert hat: Robert 1968; Diskussion bei Tsitsiridis 2013, 5–8; Tziatzi-Papagianni 1994, 6. Hierzu auch: Verhasselt, im Erscheinen.

nachzufolgen.²⁵ Entsprechend konzentrierte die Abhandlung des Klearchos die Aufmerksamkeit auf die delphischen Weisheiten (*PSI* IX 1093, 33–41 = Schol. Pl. *Phlb.* 48 c = Porph. F 273 Smith: Das γνώθι σεαυτόν sei eine Antwort von Pythia auf die Frage τί ἄριστον ἂν εἴη;) und die „Lehrsprüche der berühmten Personen“ (ῥήματα ἀριγνόντων, die er nach der Ai-Khanoum-Inschrift, in Delphi kopiert haben soll: Πυθοὶ ἐν ἡγαθέαι/ ἔνθεν ταῦτ[α] Κλέαρχος ἐπιφραδέως ἀναγράφας). Das Thema konnte Aristoteles in den frühen Jahren seiner philosophischen Tätigkeit noch reizen, wurde aber dann seinen Schülern überlassen.

Wie mit den Παροιμίαι die Parömiologie, so beginnt die Paradoxographie mit einem anderen anscheinend keine theoretische Verallgemeinerung voraussetzenden Sammelwerk. Die innerhalb des aristotelischen Korpus erhaltene Schrift Περὶ θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων wird gewöhnlich, und zwar sicherlich zu Recht,²⁶ athetiert. Wenngleich hinsichtlich der Ziele des Autors eine gewisse Unsicherheit bleiben muss, können seine Methoden teilweise erfasst werden. Die Erörterung über den Unterschied zwischen Literatur und Historiographie im 9. Kapitel der *Poetik* (1451 a 36 – b 11; hier ist der Begriff ἱστορικός als Bezeichnung eines Berufshistorikers zum ersten Mal anzutreffen) geht in die Beschreibung der kunstgerechten dramatischen Handlung über, welche einen Zufall, der an sich einen Gegenstand der Geschichtsschreibung bildet, nur dann einschließen darf, wenn das zufällig Geschehene den Anschein macht, als ob es absichtlich geschehen wäre. Als Beispiel wird ein Vorfall in Argos angegeben. Dort fiel nämlich die Bildsäule eines Politikers mit dem Namen Mitys²⁷ auf einen Bürger nieder, der diesen Mitys einst während der Straßenunruhen ermordet hatte, und erschlug ihn, gerade als er die Säule beobachtete (1452 a 8: ὁ ἀνδριάς ὁ τοῦ Μίτυος ἐν Ἀργεὶ ἀπέκτεινεν τὸν αἴτιον τοῦ θανάτου τῷ Μίτυι, θεωροῦντι ἐμπεσών. ἔοικε γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐκ εἰκῇ γίνεσθαι). Die Schrift *Über die wunderbaren Gerüchte* beinhaltet fast den gleichen Text unter dem Eintrag 156: φασὶν ὡς ἀνδριάς ὁ τοῦ Μίτυος (Cdd. Βίτυος²⁸) ἐν Ἀργεὶ ἀπέκτεινε τὸν αἴτιον τοῦ θανάτου τῷ Μίτυι

²⁵ Pfeiffer 1968, 83. Vgl. ebd. gegen die Skeptiker, welche die Existenz der parömiologischen Sammlung von Aristoteles bezweifeln: „...Παροιμίαι appear in the list of Aristotle's works, and he is expressly blamed by Isocrates' pupil Cephisodorus for having collected proverbs (Ath. II 60 D παροιμίας ἀθροίσας), which is sound evidence“.

²⁶ Vgl. Flashar 1972, 37–39; Giacomelli 2021, 13.

²⁷ Vgl. Plut. *De sera numinis vindicta* 553 D; Ps. Demosth. *In Neream* 33, 10; Bywater 1909, 197.

²⁸ Der Fehler des inneren Diktats bei der Namenübergabe, dem die ‚Verschlimmbesserung‘ Βίτυι folgte, konnte auf jeder Transmissionsstufe stattfinden. In der *Poetik*,

(Cdd. Βίτυι), θεωροῦντι ἐμπεσόν. ἔοικεν οὖν οὐκ εἰκῇ τὰ τοιαῦτα γίνεσθαι (846 a 2). Es kann kein Zweifel daran bestehen, dass der Text aus der *Poetik* beinahe mechanisch in die *Mirabilium auscultationes* übertragen wurde. Bei φασί steht in Περὶ θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων sonst immer ein AcI. Im zweiten Satz muss der Kompilator das an den vorangehenden Gedanken anknüpfende γὰρ durch das unbeholfene οὖν zwangsweise ersetzt haben. Eine Gerüchte-Kollektion wurde folglich direkt aus den aristotelischen Schriften nachgefüllt. Die von den Schülern zusammengestellten enger oder weiter an die Werke des Schulgründers anlehrenden Kollektionen verschiedener Natur- und Gesellschaftsphänomene zeigen, dass ein solches Sammeln für Aristoteles sowie die frühen Peripatetiker nicht unbedingt ein transzendentes Ziel brauchte. Das gilt sowohl für die als Teil des aristotelischen Korpus überlieferten Προβλήματα als auch für die berühmteste dieser Kollektionen – die *Charaktere* Theophrasts.²⁹

Beim Ansammeln des literaturgeschichtlichen Materials konsultierte Aristoteles die in Delphi und in Athen aufbewahrten Siegerarchive.³⁰ Die Arbeit, welche er zusammen mit Kallisthenes im delphischen Heiligtum durchgeführt hat, wird durch ein dort ausgegrabenes Ehrendekret und die im Katalog seiner Schriften bei Diogenes Laertius aufgelisteten Titel Πυθιονῖκαι, Πυθικός und Πυθιονικῶν ἔλεγχοι bezeugt (5, 26, 386–388 Dorandi, jeweils in einem Buch). Möglicherweise handelt es sich dabei um verschiedene Segmente derselben anderswo als Πυθιονῖκαι oder Πυθιονικῶν ἀναγραφῇ (F 615 = Plut. *Sol.* 11; F 617 = Schol. in Pind. *Ol.* 2, 87) zitierten Schrift, welche die Sieger chronologisch einordnete und in der die Geschichte der Spiele reflektiert wurde. Im Katalog der *Vita Hesychii* findet sich lediglich der Titel Πυθιονῖκαι, begleitet allerdings mit einer Auskunft, die auf die besagte Polemik gewissermaßen hindeutet: Πυθιονίκας βιβλίον α', ἐν ᾧ Μέναιχμον ἐνίκησεν (145 Dorandi). Der weitgehend unterschätzte Hinweis informiert über einen Konkurrenten im Feld der Literatur- bzw. Geschichtswissenschaft, dessen Ansichten

sowie in den oben angegebenen Stellen bei Plutarch und bei Pseudo(?)-Demosthenes wird der Name von allen MSS einheitlich als Μίτυς überliefert.

²⁹ Für verschiedene Vermutungen bezüglich der Absicht des Autors s. Diggle 2004, 12–16. Nach eingehender Erörterung der Optionen plädiert Diggle für die nicht gerade sehr offensichtliche Auffassung von Pasquali: „illustrative showpieces for a course of lectures on ethics“.

³⁰ Pfeiffer 1968, 80; Blum 1977, 47, mit Hinweisen zu den Vorgängern des Aristoteles in der Gattung von Siegerlisten (die in den Katalogen seiner Schriften einen Block bilden), d.i. Hellanikos, dem Verfasser der Καρνεονῖκαι (in metrischer Form, vgl. *FGrHist* 4 F 86) und Hippias, auf dessen Ὀλυμπιονικῶν ἀναγραφῇ (F 3 DK) Aristoteles in seinen Ὀλυμπιονῖκαι zurückgegriffen haben soll. Den Auftrag von Delphi er wohl deshalb, dass er dieses Werk verfasst hatte.

Aristoteles in den *Pythischen Siegern* erfolgreich widerlegt haben soll.³¹ Aus dem Πυθικός des Menaichmos von Sikyon ist in den Pindar-Scholien die Weissagung über den Tod des Orpheus überliefert (in *P.* 4, 176; 313 a 13–15 Dr, mit Verweis auf Chairis). Angeblich befasste sich der Sikyonier mit der Frühgeschichte der pythischen Spiele und der Musik überhaupt (vgl. Athen. 673 f: τὴν δὲ ψιλὴν κιθάρισιν πρῶτόν φησιν Μέναιχμος εἰσαγαγεῖν Ἀριστόνικον τὸν Ἀργεῖον, τῇ ἡλικίᾳ γενόμενον κατὰ Ἀρχίλοχον, κατοικήσαντα ἐν Κορκύρᾳ). In Sikyon sind die musischen Wettbewerbe in der Epoche von Kleisthenes, d.i. etwa um die Zeit der ersten Pythien, durch den Bericht Herodots (5, 66–67) bezeugt. Aus dem umfangreichen Scholion zu Pind. *N.* 2, 1–6, einer der Hauptquellen zur Geschichte des Rhapsodentums, erkennen wir, dass Menaichmos eine eigenartige Etymologie von ῥαψωδός vorgeschlagen hat: Μέναιχμος δὲ ἰστορεῖ τοὺς ῥαψωδοὺς στιχωδοὺς καλεῖσθαι διὰ τὸ τοὺς στίχους ῥάβδους λέγεσθαι ὑπὸ τινῶν (1d 23 Dr). Diese Deutung könnte aus dem literaturgeschichtlichen Werk Περὶ τεχνιτῶν exzerpiert worden sein (Athen. 265 b; 635 b; 637 e), bei dessen Abfassung Menaichmos von der sikyonischen Lokalchronik Gebrauch machen konnte (er verfasste unter anderem τὰ Σικυωνιακά: Athen. 271 d). Herodot erzählt aber nicht allein von den rhapsodischen Deklamationen; er erwähnt dazu noch die Festspiele unter Beteiligung der „tragischen Chöre“, die in Sikyon ursprünglich zu Ehren des Adrastos veranstaltet, von Kleisthenes aber Dionysos zugeeignet wurden, 5, 67–68: τὰ τε δὴ ἄλλα οἱ Σικυῶνιοι ἐτίμων τὸν Ἄδρηστον καὶ δὴ πρὸς τὰ πάθεα αὐτοῦ τραγικοῖσι χοροῖσι ἐγέραιον <...> Κλεισθένης δὲ χοροὺς μὲν τῷ Διονύσῳ ἀπέδωκε <...>. Diese Überlieferung lässt sich weiterhin durch das in der Suda unter dem Lemma οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον (ο 806)³² tradierte Zeugnis ergänzen: Ἐπιγένους τοῦ Σικυωνίου τραγωδίαν εἰς τὸν Διόνυσον ποιήσαντος ἐπεφώνησάν τινες τοῦτο. Vielleicht geht der Nachweis samt der nächstfolgenden Erklärung (unter dem gleichen Lemma: τὸ πρόσθεν εἰς τὸν Διόνυσον γράφοντες τούτοις ἡγωνίζοντο, ἅπερ καὶ Σατυρικὰ ἐλέγετο) auf die oben erwähnte Schrift Chamaileons Περὶ Θεσπιδος zurück

³¹ Man hat sogar geglaubt, dass es sich um den für Aristoteles und Menaichmos in Delphi veranstalteten Wettbewerb handelt, „une sorte de concours historique, dont le sujet était l’établissement d’une liste de vainqueurs pythiques“: Moraux 1951, 201. Richtige Auffassung der Anmerkung (Glosse?) bei Hesychios bietet Düring 1957, 90: „This is the book by which he defeated the corresponding book of Menaechmus“; zu Menaichmos und der sikyonischen Chronik s. außer den zitierten Standardwerken von Moraux und Düring auch Pfister 1913, 535–536, mit Verweise auf Lübbert 1884a und 1884b; Wilamowitz 1912, 467–468, Anm. 3.

³² Zu diesem Sprichwort, dessen Ursprung bereits in der Antike verschiedenartig erklärten wurde, s. zuletzt Mirhady 2012, 398.

(F 41 Martano). Denn als vermeintlicher Schöpfer der Tragödie könnte der sikyonische Dichter Epigenes mit Thespis rivalisiert haben.³³ Menaichmos hatte folglich ausreichend Material zur Verfügung, um die Urheberschaft der theatralischen Spiele für seine Stadt zu beanspruchen. Dass er dies tatsächlich getan hat, beweist m.E. der im Kapitel 3 der aristotelischen *Poetik* zitierte Anspruch der „Dorier“, Urheber der dramatischen Gattungen zu sein (1448 a 29–38: διὸ καὶ ἀντιποιοῦνται τῆς τε τραγῳδίας καὶ τῆς κωμῳδίας οἱ Δωριεῖς κτλ., wobei das ἀντιποιοῦνται unmissverständlich auf den polemischen Charakter ihrer Behauptungen hinweist). Eine Sondergruppe unter ihnen bilden „einige im Peloponnes“; sie erhoben einen besonderen Anspruch, Erfinder der Tragödie zu sein (34–35: καὶ τῆς τραγῳδίας ἔνιοι τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ). Im Bestreben ihre Ambitionen zu untermauern wandten diese Literaturhistoriker unter anderem auch Wortforschung an (ποιοῦμενοι τὰ ὀνόματα σημείον): Sie leiten z.B. die κωμῳδοί von der „Wanderung durch die κῶμαι“ ab (τῇ κατὰ κώμας πλάνῃ ἀτιμαζομένους ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως). Das erinnert sehr an die merkwürdige Etymologie von ῥαψῳδοί, die Menaichmos vorschlug. Verständlicherweise setzte sich Aristoteles weder mit seinem ehemaligen Rivalen auseinander noch nannte er diesen mit dem Namen. Es gibt demnach genug Indizien dafür, dass Menaichmos bemüht war, die Priorität seiner Stadt als Heimat der musischen Wettbewerbe nachzuweisen. Diesem Anspruch trat Aristoteles siegreich entgegen, indem er für Delphi plädierte. Wohl nicht zuletzt deswegen wurden er und sein Neffe für die Herstellung eines Pinax, in dem außer den Siegern auch alle Organisatoren der Pythien (οἱ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὸν ἀγῶνα κατασκεύασαντες: CID 4, 10, 4–6) verzeichnet wurden, mit einer Krone geehrt.

Die Didaskalien-Sammlung, in den Katalogen neben den *Dionysischen Siegern* aufgelistet (DL 5, 26, 24 [135]; *Vita Hesych.* 148 Dorandi: Νικῶν Διονυσιακῶν ἀστικῶν καὶ Ἀθηναίων), ist als unmittelbare Vorarbeit zur *Poetik* vorstellbar. Aristoteles muss sie im athenischen Archonten-Archiv erstellt haben, wo er die notwendigen Urkunden erhalten konnte.³⁴ Die Auskünfte über die Einführung des zweiten und dritten Schauspielers (*Poet.* 1449 a 16–19) sowie über die Frühgeschichte der Komödie (1449 b 1–2: die Urheber dieser Gattung seien auch deswegen unbekannt, „weil der Archon den Komödiendichtern nur spät einen Chor gebilligt hat“, καὶ γὰρ χορὸν κωμῳδῶν ὁπὲ ποτε ὁ ἄρχων ἔδωκεν) deuten auf diese Studien der Philosophen hin. Auch seine berühmte Theorie über die Herkunft der Tragödie „von den Vorsängern der Dithyramben“ (1449 a 10–11) konnte darauf bauen, dass die Daten über die Dithyramben-Aufführungen

³³ Bickel 1942, 145.

³⁴ Blum 1977, 53–54.

den gleichen Angaben über das Drama chronologisch vorausgingen. Mutmaßlich war auch diese Forschungsarbeit zumindest teilweise von dem Staat gefördert. Lykurgos, ein Mitschüler des Aristoteles in der Akademie Platons, ein Staatsmann, dessen Begeisterung für Poesie und Theater und Engagement für deren Förderung sowohl in seiner erhaltenen Rede *Gegen Leokrates* (im § 98 werden 55 Verse aus dem *Erechtheus* des Euripides zitiert) als auch in seiner Baupolitik ersichtlich ist,³⁵ setzte sich stark dafür ein, die klassischen Stücke auf der neuerbauten Bühne zum neuen Leben zu erwecken. Er ließ eine Gesamtausgabe der drei großen Tragiker schaffen, nach Ps.-Plutarch *Vit. X Or.* 841 f mit dem Zweck, den Schauspielern einen kanonischen Text zu geben. R. Blum vermutet nicht zu Unrecht, dass Aristoteles als Experte für die Echtheit der kopierten Texte engagiert wurde.³⁶ Wenn der Angabe Galens (*In Hippocr. lib. 3 Epidem.* XVII a, 607, 7 Kühn) fernerhin Glauben zu schenken ist, haben die Athener das Buch (das etliche Rollen umfassen musste) Ptolemaios III. gegen ein enormes Pfand von 15 Talenten geliehen, er hat es aber nicht zurückgegeben. Keiner der von Aristoteles verfassten Siegerkataloge hat die Antike überlebt: Weder die *Πυθιονῖκαι* noch die *Ὀλυμπιονῖκαι* noch die *Διδασκαλῖαι* bzw. die *Νῖκαι Διονυσιακαί* (es drängt sich die Annahme auf, dass diese dasselbe Werk unter anderem Titel darstellte) sind erhalten. Bekanntlich sind die aristotelischen Schriften mit nur ganz wenigen Ausnahmen den frühhellenistischen Grammatikern unzugänglich geblieben. Auch von den Konzeptionen der *Poetik* hatten die Alexandriner keine Vorstellung.³⁷ Dennoch, wie allgemein geglaubt, greifen die alexandrinischen *ὑποθέσεις*, welche die überlieferten Stücke begleiten, auf das Werk des Aristoteles zurück.³⁸ Lykurgos plante selbstverständlich nicht einen Sieger-Pinax in der Art des delphischen in dem von ihm renovierten Dionysostheater aufzustellen. Wahrscheinlich wollte er aber, dass die Stücke der Tragiker in seinem Staatsexemplar mit Anmerkungen zu theatralischen Gegebenheiten der jeweiligen Aufführungen eingeleitet würden. Mit der Herstellung dieser Notizen konnte er Aristoteles und seine Schüler beauftragen.³⁹ Das Staatsarchiv wurde also für den Lykeion-

³⁵ Vgl. Kunst 1927, 2454; Pfeiffer 1968, 82.

³⁶ Blum 1977, 91; über die Verfassungszeit der aristotelischen Didaskalien und die relevanten epigraphischen Quellen s. ib. 54–68.

³⁷ Hierzu: Pozdnev 2016, 23–24.

³⁸ Blum 1977, 55.

³⁹ Es ist zu bemerken, dass nicht alle ‚Hypotheses‘-Notizen auf die im Archonten-Archiv aufbewahrten Protokolle zurückgreifen konnten: „Die *Andromache* des Euripides z.B. stand nicht in den *Didaskaliai*, da sie nicht in Athen aufgeführt worden war“; Blum 1977, 88.

Gründer trotz seiner mazedonischen Sympathien geöffnet, und so gerieten einige theatergeschichtliche Auskünfte sowohl in die Ausgabe des Lykurgos als auch in die *Didaskalien* des Aristoteles. Es ist denkbar, dass im damaligen Athen auch die anderen mit den ursprünglich aristotelischen Einführungsnotizen versetzten Kopien der Theaterstücke angefertigt wurden, die später ihren Weg nach Alexandrien gefunden haben.

Die Überlieferung von der „*Ilias* aus dem Stiftschachtel“ (ἐκ τοῦ νάρθηκος), die Alexander in Persien gelesen und sogar gemeinsam mit Kallisthenes und Anaxarchos annotiert haben soll (Plut. *Al.* 8, 2; Strab. 13, 1, 27 [594]), ist insoweit glaubwürdig, dass der Mazedonier mithilfe seines Lehrers eine detaillierte Bekanntschaft mit Homerproblematik gemacht hat. Vielleicht behielt der König das Schulexemplar, das er für die gemeinsame Homerlektüre benutzt hatte (ἢ τῆς Ἰλιάδος ἐκδοσὶς ἦν δέδωκε τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, wie es in der *Vita Marciana* heißt, F 276 a; vgl. Plut. a.a.O. τὴν μὲν Ἰλιάδα <...> ἔλαβε μὲν Ἀριστοτέλους διορθώσαντος ἦν ἐκ τοῦ νάρθηκος καλοῦσιν), wodurch die Legende genährt wurde.⁴⁰ Diese Lektüre, zentral für die Ausbildung des Dreizehnjährigen, lockerte Aristoteles mit anregenden Exkursen in die Interpretation schwieriger Stellen auf. Daraus entstand eine 6 Bücher umfassende Sammlung der „Homerischen Schwierigkeiten“ (Ἀπορήματα Ὀμηρικά), deren theoretische Grundlagen im umfangreichen 25. Kapitel der *Poetik* summarisch dargestellt und mit einigen Paradebeispielen veranschaulicht werden.⁴¹ Als Philologe vertritt Aristoteles die alte Schule der Ὀμηρικοί: Seine Überlegungen gelten ausschließlich der Rechtfertigung der angeblichen „Fehler“ (vgl. *Poet.* 1460 b 15–16: αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς ποιητικῆς διττὴ ἁμαρτία <...>; 1460 b 6–7: περὶ προβλημάτων καὶ λύσεων, ἐκ πόσων τε καὶ ποίων εἰδῶν ἐστὶν – so lautet das Thema der einschlägigen Untersuchung).⁴² Das Pathos ist betont apologetisch, inspiriert womöglich durch den Widerstand gegenüber der rhetorisch ausgerichteten Kritik des Zoilos von Amphipolis, dessen Schrift *Katὰ τῆς Ὀμήρου ποιήσεως* etwa zur gleichen Zeit verfasst wurde. Aus

⁴⁰ Obwohl dieses Exemplar bei Plutarch διόρθωσις heißt, kann es sich unmöglich um eine von Aristoteles selbst vorbereitete kritische Ausgabe handeln. Sonst würden die Alexandriner ein Indiz hierfür in den Scholien hinterlassen: Pfeiffer 1968, 72.

⁴¹ Vgl. Dupont-Roc–Lallot 1980, 386.

⁴² Auch für das angeblich unmoralische Benehmen der Götter und Helden, die in erster Linie von Platon missbilligt wurde, fand der Philosoph eine rechtfertigende Erklärung: „Plato, amongst his many complaints about Homer’s representation of gods and heroes, had declared that it cannot be true that Achilles dragged Hector’s body around the tomb of Patroclus (*Rep.* 319: ταῦτα οὐ φήσομεν ἀληθῆ εἰρησθαι); but Aristotle justified it by referring to the Thessalian custom (which still existed in his own time) of dragging men’s bodies around the tombs they had murdered (fr. 166 Rose)“: Pfeiffer 1968, 69.

den wenigen Fragmenten, teilweise aber auch aus der reichen Zoilos-Rezeption,⁴³ gewinnen wir eine mehr oder weniger klare Vorstellung von Objekt und Charakter seiner Angriffe. Nach den Beispielen zu urteilen, stimmten diese Angriffe mit denen des Xenophanes, der als Maßstab unter den Homerkritikern galt, in mancher Hinsicht überein. Die „flehenden Ferkel“ (χοιρίδια κλαίοντα: F 7 Friedl. = Ps. Longin's *De Subl.* 9, 14; gemeint ist *Od.* 10, 239–241) und „die Moiren in den Waagschalen sitzend oder stehend“ (F 35 Friedl. = Schol. T in *Il.* 22, 210: ποδαπαὶ γὰρ αἱ Μοῖραι ἐν ταῖς πλάστιγξι, καθήμεναι ἢ ἐστηκυῖαι;) dürfen *mutatis mutandis* als satirische Zuspitzung der xenophanischen Anthropomorphismus-Kritik wahrgenommen werden. Aristoteles will nicht in die offene Polemik gegen die spottenden Attacks des Zoilos gehen, setzt sich jedoch mit dem bekannten Standpunkt des Xenophanes kurz auseinander. Die Dichtung zeige nicht nur „was war oder ist“, sondern auch „was die Menschen sagen und glauben“ (1460 b 10–11, für den griechischen Text s. oben S. 14–15). Es sei vielleicht weder schön noch wahr über die Götter so zu reden, wie die Dichter es tun, sondern man muss in derartigen Beschreibungen Xenophanes folgen; darauf lasse sich aber erwidern, dass man darüber so redet (1460 b 35 – 1461 a 1: εἰ δὲ μηδετέρως, ὅτι οὕτω φασίν, οἷον τὰ περὶ θεῶν· ἴσως γὰρ οὔτε βέλτιον οὕτω λέγειν οὐτ' ἀληθῆ, ἀλλ' εἰ ἔτυχεν ὥσπερ Ξενοφάνει· ἀλλ' οὖν φασι).⁴⁴

Bei der Formulierung seiner Schwerpunkte, welche die angriffslustige Kritik von Zoilos und seinesgleichen ausmerzen sollten, verbündete sich Aristoteles mit einem Dichterinterpreten namens Glaukon, dessen Identität mit dem im platonischen Dialog *Ion* (530 c 7 – d 3) erwähnten Homeriker sich sowohl aus der Art und Weise seiner Erwähnungen als auch aus der Ähnlichkeit seiner aufgrund einiger wenigen Quellen rekonstruierbaren Deutungen ziemlich sicher ergibt (seine Lösung des Nestorbecher-Problems ist von Porphyrios referiert, *QH* I 168, 12–18 Schrader; über das Schild von Aeneas und das Ikarios-Problem s. gleich unten). Seine Blüte ist ungefähr in der letzten Hälfte des 5. Jh. anzusetzen. Von der ionischen Insel Teos stammend, übte er den Beruf eines Rhapsoden aus. Dazu gehörte auch die Dichtungsinterpretation, unter deren anerkannten Meistern er bei Platon aufgelistet wird. Laut Ar. *Rhet.* 1403 b 20–28 wurde er durch eine Schrift über die Darstellungskunst bekannt. Es kann sein, dass diese Schrift außerdem Anweisungen bezüglich der Homerdeutung

⁴³ Hierzu: Weiß 2017, 45 mit Anm. 88.

⁴⁴ Vgl. die Übers. von Arb. Schmitt: „Vielleicht ist es weder besser, sie so darzustellen, wie sie dargestellt werden, noch entspricht es der Wahrheit, aber wenn man es eben tut, muss man es so verteidigen wie gegenüber Xenophanes: ‚man sagt eben so‘“.

enthielt, auf die in der *Poetik* folgendermaßen Bezug genommen wird, c. XXV, 1461 a 31 – b 9:

δεῖ δὲ καὶ ὅταν ὄνομά τι ὑπεναντίωμά τι δοκῇ σημαίνειν, ἐπισκοπεῖν ποσαχῶς ἂν σημῆναι τοῦτο ἐν τῷ εἰρημένῳ, οἷον τῷ “τῇ ῥ’ ἔσχετο χάλκεον ἔγχος” τὸ ταύτῃ κωλυθῆναι ποσαχῶς ἐνδέχεται, ὡδὶ ἢ ὡδί, ὡς μάλιστ’ ἂν τις ὑπολάβοι· κατὰ τὴν καταντικρὺ ἢ ὡς Γλαύκων⁴⁵ λέγει, ὅτι ἔνιοι ἀλόγως προὔπολαμβάνουσί τι καὶ αὐτοὶ καταψηφισάμενοι συλλογίζονται, καὶ ὡς εἰρηκότος ὁ τι δοκεῖ ἐπιτιμῶσιν, ἂν ὑπεναντίον ἢ τῇ αὐτῶν οἴησει.

Auch wenn ein Wort etwas Widerspruchsvolles zu bezeichnen scheint, muss man überlegen, auf wievielerlei Art es in diesem konkreten Ausdruck dieses bezeichnen kann. Beispielsweise in dem Ausdruck „hierdurch wurde der ehernen Speer festgehalten“ [muss man überlegen], auf wievielerlei Art der Speer dadurch gehindert werden konnte, ob so [d.i. wie es geschildert ist] oder so, wie man am ehesten glauben würde. Dieses Vorgehen ist dem entgegengesetzt, über welches Glaukon spricht,⁴⁶ nämlich, dass einige etwas Folgewidriges voraussetzen, und nachdem sie selbst dafür gestimmt haben, Schlüsse daraus ziehen und das, was er [*sc.* der Dichter] ihnen gesagt zu haben scheint, dafür tadeln, dass dies ihrer Meinung widerspreche.

Die ganz im elliptischen Stil der Homerprobleme-Literatur dargelegte Auseinandersetzung enthält außer der Wiedergabe der theoretischen Grundhaltung Glaukons ein Beispiel, welches von seinem Traktat übernommen zu sein scheint. Aristoteles zitiert einen Vers aus der Zweikampfszene von Aeneas und Achilles im 20. *Ilias*-Gesang.⁴⁷ Der Speer des trojanischen Helden wurde zurückgehalten von „Gold, dem Gottesgeschenk“ (268). Er durchdrang zwar zwei Schichten des von Hephaistos gefertigten Schildes, drei weitere aber blieben unversehrt (269). Denn der Schild bestand insgesamt aus fünf Schichten: „Zwei eherne, zwei innere aus Zinn und eine aus Gold“ (271–272: τὰς δύο χαλκείας, δύο δ’ ἔνδοθι κασσιτέροιο, / τὴν δὲ μίαν χρυσεῖν, τῇ ῥ’ ἔσχετο μέλινον ἔγχος). Das Problem entstand, weil die Homerkritiker nicht wahrhaben wollten, dass die mittlere, nicht

⁴⁵ Rostagni 1927, 166 konjizierte Γλαῦκος, weil er meinte, es könnte sich hier um Glaukos von Rhegion handeln. Dies kann allerdings kaum der Fall sein: Die Schrift von Glaukos wurde größtenteils der Musikgeschichte gewidmet, vgl. o.Anm. 18.

⁴⁶ Dies wurde von Flashar 1958, 35–36 so missverstanden, als ob Aristoteles Glaukon tadele. Richtig aufgefasst ist der Text u.a. von Westermann 2002, 143: „Aristoteles referiert Glaukons Verteidigung und stimmt ihr zu“.

⁴⁷ *Il.* 20, 272, wobei bei Homer μέλινον und nicht χάλκεον steht. Wie üblich, zitiert Aristoteles den vielbesprochenen Vers aus dem Gedächtnis, und macht dabei einen kleinen Fehler.

die sichtbare äußere, Schicht aus Gold bestand (Porph. *QH* 1, 244). Durch das Schild-Problem wird von Aristoteles ein Anhaltspunkt veranschaulicht, nach welchem genau zu prüfen ist, wie viele Widersprüche bei dem zu analysierenden Ausdruck tatsächlich eintreten könnten. Dabei darf es keinen Platz für willkürliche Annahmen geben, die zu einem weiteren, in dem Ausdruck nicht implizierten ὑπερπέντιωμα führen. Zu prüfen ist, ob der Speer durch die goldene Schicht aufgehalten worden sein könnte. Dass diese Schicht die obere sein sollte, ist eine willkürliche Annahme, die einen texttranszendenten Widerspruch schafft. Das Problem sei folglich in der irrtümlichen Prämisse der Interpreten begründet. Sollte das Beispiel von Glaukon stammen, so wollte dieser, dass nicht nach weiteren Unangemessenheiten gesucht werde, sondern man den Text einfach „so“ (ὥδι) lesen solle.⁴⁸

Einem Kritiker sei demnach nicht gestattet, dem kritisierten Autor eigene, möglicherweise falsche Ansichten aufzudrängen. Den Fehler hat Zoilos gemacht, indem er bspw. behauptete, dass die unter die Erde sinkende Seele des Patroklos nicht mit dem Rauch verglichen werden dürfte (F 36 Friedl. = Schol. ad *Il.* 23, 100–101).⁴⁹ Aristoteles fordert, die Auslegbarkeit des Quellentextes vorauszusetzen. Um das Subjektivitätsrisiko zu verringern, müsse man davon ausgehen, dass der tradierte Text sinnvoll und korrekt gelesen ist. Mit dem Grundprinzip wappneten sich auch die alexandrinischen Grammatiker, wenn auch die *Poetik* und die *Homerischen Schwierigkeiten* ihnen unbekannt geblieben sind. Die Tatsache, dass Aristoteles diese methodische Regel von Glaukon übernimmt und erneut gegen die Homerkritiker wendet, signalisiert den Anfangsmoment der Textforschung, in welcher, wie zusammenfassend anzumerken ist, Philologie und Geschichte, obwohl grundsätzlich verschieden, bei der Erfassung der Literatur- oder auch Sprachphänomene als gleichrangige Vorgangsweisen zunächst problemlos koexistieren konnten.

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⁴⁸ Der Ikarios-Fall ist im Wesentlichen der Gleiche: „Man nimmt zwar an, er sei ein Spartaner gewesen; es sei somit unangemessen, dass Telemachos ihn nicht getroffen habe, als er nach Sparta kam“ (14461 b 4–6: οἶονται γὰρ αὐτὸν Λάκωνα εἶναι· ἄτοπον οὖν τὸ μὴ ἐντυχεῖν τὸν Τηλέμαχον αὐτῷ εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐλθόντα). Doch Telemachos beklagt die Freier, dass sie sich davor scheuen, „zu Ikarios’ Haus zu wandern“ (2, 52–54). Das setzt voraus, dass Ikarios, auch wenn er Bruder von Tyndareos und ein gebürtiger Spartaner war, entweder auf Ithaka oder in der Nähe dieser Insel wohnhaft ist (vgl. Schol. HMQ in *Od.* 2, 52).

⁴⁹ Pavlova 2019, 150–151.

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Proceeding from the emancipation of historical research marked by the scientific work of M. I. Rostovtzeff the author makes a few side remarks on the text and cultural studies in the time of Aristotle, when the gap between philology and history has not yet occurred. The very existence of the then philology is a matter of dispute. It is true that intellectuals dealt in explicating Homeric texts since as early as the outgoing 6th c. BC: the term Ὀμηρικοί, conceivably hinting at Metrodorus of Lampsacus in Ar. *Met.* 1093 a 20–21, is actually the earliest term to stand for the profession of a philologist. However, the antiquarians of the 4th c. BC were hard at work collecting sources on literary history and interpreting texts beyond the Homeric epic. Hence the attempt to give the overall definition of literature which Aristotle undertakes in the first chapters of the *Poetics*. This attempt was preceded by antiquarian research shared and inherited by disciples. Collecting was groundwork having goal in itself. *The Proverbs* of the Aristotelian catalogues, giving birth to paroemiology, were probably nothing more than a list of proverbs; the works of abstraction under the title *On Proverbs* are attested for Klearchos and Theophrastus. *On Marvelous Things Heard* is attributed to the school; a parallel with the *Poetics* shows that the earliest paradoxographic treatise was compiled directly from the esoteric works of Aristotle. With his Πυθιονίκαι Aristotle

“triumphed over Menaechmus of Sicyon” (*Vita Hesychii*). A patriot of his home city, Menaechmus evidently maintained a view that first music competitions were set up in Sicyon. He dealt in etymologies, deriving ῥαψωδοί from ῥάβδος in a rare meaning ‘verse’. At the end of ch. 3 of the *Poetics*, Aristotle discusses the origins of drama adducing, among other things, etymologies on which the Dorians are building their claims. An exotic etymology of -ωδός allows to grasp an allusion to Menechmus, whom the author of the *Poetics* would not oppose openly. Collecting the *didascaliae* was evidently easier than proverbs: the records were kept by the archon, it only took some time to put them together in an orderly way. The political circumstances being propitious, the doors of the state archive were thrown wide open for Aristotle. Licurgus, likewise an attendee of the Plato’s Academia, saw to the production of an established text of the great trio in the revamped theatre of Dionysus. This famous edition was to be borrowed by Ptolemy III. It is common knowledge that the ὑποθέσεις of Byzantine MSS go back to the lists compiled by Aristotle. It is reasonable to conjecture that the standardized text of the tragedies made available to the Alexandrians was initially annotated by the same hand that compiled the *Didascaliae* and the *Dionysiac victors*. Legend has it that Alexander held a copy of *Ilias* ‘out of a casket’, and even commented on the Homeric text. It may be, in part, true, since it is evident that Aristotle used to read and discuss this text with his disciple. The penultimate chapter of the *Poetics* is fully devoted to the discussion of contended passages. In all probability, these sections were imported from – the *Homeric problems*. Zoilus, whose satirically naïve interpretations spiked the Homeric studies of the time, could well have been an adversary of Aristotle, while Glaucôn of Theos counts as a proponent. Referring to Glaucôn Aristotle articulates one of the plain truths of philological studies: understanding should precede criticism, or else the latter would turn against the one who voices it. His attitude as an interpreter is definitely apologetic. On the whole it is noticeable that the painful awareness of a gap between philology and history vexing the scholars for the last two centuries seems to have never occurred in the time of Aristotle. Following his thought, we observe an easy and natural, predetermined by the very object of research, unity of two types of argumentation. When dealing with an historical fact, such as, for instance, the origins and early history of drama, anthropological and historical causes have the lead, while discussing poetry argumentation ἀπὸ τῆς λέξεως prevails.

Обращаясь к эпохе, когда рядом с историей начинало существовать то, что уже допустимо назвать филологией, автор статьи высказывает несколько наблюдений об исследовательских методах Аристотеля. Профессия филолога в его время, по-видимому, обозначалась словом Ὀμηρικοί. В “Гомероведях прошлого” из последней главы “Метафизики” (1093 а 20–21) слышен намек на Метродора из Лампсака. Старинная филология отживает свой век: для современников Аристотеля текст “Илиады” и “Одиссеи” – далеко не единственный предмет интерпретации; их антикварные изыскания сосредоточены на различных жанрах и персоналиях, причем литературная история зачастую вычитывается из самих произведений (“метод Хамелеона”). На этом фоне

понятно стремление описать литературу как целое. Попытка сформулировать общее определение предпринята в первых главах “Поэтики”. Этой попытке предшествовало собирание материала, причем Аристотеля одинаково занимала история литературы, языка, реалий и событий. Указанные в каталоге Диогена Лаэртского *Παροίγια* вряд ли были чем-то большим, нежели простой список. О задействованности учеников свидетельствуют теоретические работы Клеарха и Теофраста *Περὶ παροιμῶν*. Как показывает сопоставление с “Поэтикой”, сборник *Περὶ θαυμασίων ἁκουσμάτων*, положивший начало жанру парадоксографии, скомпилирован из доступных в Ликее писаний основателя школы. Сборник “Пифийских победителей”, составленный в Дельфах, имел полемическую направленность. В приложенном к *Vita Hesychii* перечне сообщается, что Аристотель “одержал в этом сочинении победу над Менехмом Сикионским”. Вероятно, Менехм доказывал первенство Сикиона в ряде жанров. Он оперировал и этимологиями, производя, например, *ῥαψῳδοί* от *ῥάβδος* в редком значении “стих”. В конце третьей главы “Поэтики” Аристотель рассуждает о происхождении драмы и среди прочего приводит этимологии, на которых основываются дорийцы. Экзотическая этимология слова с *-φῶδός* позволяет усматривать здесь намек на Менехма, в полемику с которым автор намеренно не вступает. Собрать дидаскалии было проще, чем пословицы: записи хранились у архонта. Обстановка благоприятствовала театроведческим поискам. Ликург позаботился не только об установке в обновленном театре Диониса статуй трех великих трагиков, но и об издании их канонического текста. Это издание позаимствовал у афинян Птолемей III. По общему мнению, *ὑποβόσεις* византийских рукописей восходят к составленным Аристотелем спискам. Резонно предположить, что тексты трагедий, оказавшиеся доступными александрийским филологам, были аннотированы в “государственном экземпляре” автором “Дидаскалий” и “Дионисийских победителей”. Другое связанное с “Поэтикой” заказное собрание – “Гомеровские затруднения” в шести книгах – возникло как результат занятий с Александром, так же, по-видимому, как и легенда об “Илиаде” *ἐκ τοῦ νάρθηκος*, которую царь якобы перечитывал и даже снабдил комментарием. По всей видимости, гл. XXV “Поэтики”, посвященная объяснению спорных мест, перенесена из *Ἀπορήματα Ὀμηρικά*. Апологетический пафос предполагает, что оппонентом Аристотеля мог быть Зоил, чьи сатирические трактовки оживляли тогдашнее гомероведение. Союзником же Аристотеля становится Главкон Теосский. Со ссылкой на Главкона формулируется принцип филологической работы, состоящий в презумпции правильности интерпретируемого текста. Следя за мыслью автора “Поэтики”, наблюдаем естественное, заданное самим объектом поиска объединение двух типов аргументации. Когда анализа требует исторический факт, такой, например, как возникновение и ранняя история драмы, на первом месте антропологические и исторические причины; если же разбирается поэзия, первенствуют аргументы *ἀπὸ τῆς λέξεως*.

Alexander K. Gavrilov

THE SCHOLARLY PROGRAM OF M. I. ROSTOVITZEFF

In the epoch of *Altertumswissenschaft*, the original texts analyzed *philologically* were backed up by ever-growing amounts of material collected, preserved, and studied by classical *archaeology*. The study of *history* needed both philology and archaeology, recently expanded, for complex research, aiming at the coherent restoration of the past. The reconstruction of history – the principal vocation and goal of the humanities – presupposes the use of both philology and archaeology as crucial tools for the study of sources. This was a great ideal in the second half of the 19th century. Against this background, it may seem strange that the works of Michael Rostovtzeff refer much less frequently to philology.

In the process of investigating large regions and vast epochs of the classical world, Rostovtzeff, as a historian of social and economic history, massively relied on archaeological material and works of the imitative arts that circumstantially characterize the technical implements and economic life of the ancients. As a historian of ancient art and an enthusiastic connoisseur of the objects preserved in museums all over the world, he was admirably well versed. At the same time, the bulk of literary and especially of the ever-growing documentary sources needed the masterly use of philology and its multiple tools to develop creative historical study.¹

As a pupil at the Zhitomir gymnasium (where his father and grandfather had been principals at different times),² Rostovtzeff had to

¹ We have everywhere a huge literature on M. Rostovtzeff. For the Western part, see e.g.: Rufus Fears 1990, 405–418. For a broader background, see Schneider 1991, 543–547.

² The most remarkable achievement on M. I. Rostovtzeff after his political resurrection in Russia remains the volume: Bongard-Levin 1997 [Г. М. Бонгард-Левин (ed.), *Скифский роман*]. I find remarkable the portrait given by Tyzhov 2000 [А. Я. Тыжов, “Михаил Иванович Ростовцев”, in: М. И. Ростовцев, *Общество и хозяйство в Римской империи*], 5–12. One of the most recent sketches of Rostovtzeff is an article in Chrystaljow 2021a [В. М. Хрусталева, “Ростовцев М. И.”, in: *Словарь петербургских антиковедов XIX – начала XX века*], 647–654 (with lit.); see also Chrystaljow 2021b (this fascicle).

experience painstaking classical drill, continued and somehow hardened in the atmosphere of Count Dmitry A. Tolstoy's reforms, which took linguistic skills in Greek and Latin as the basis of all solid knowledge. The Zhitomir school with its Polish provenience was notorious for extraordinary drill in ancient languages with translations not only from Greek in Latin but also vice versa, including a "generous" use of the birch rod as educational implement – the testimony of the outstanding Ukrainian geologist academician P. A. Tutkovsky (born in 1858) is overwhelmingly clear in this respect. In the last two classes, however, the future historian became a pupil of the 1st Classical Gymnasium in Kiev, where more modern approaches were not so delayed: here, the youth wrote his first study of ancient history and received a silver medal for it at the end of the course.

At St Vladimir University, Rostovtzeff became *inter alia* a student of A. I. Sonny (1861–1922), who had studied at the Russian Philological Seminary in Leipzig and since that time was linked with F. F. (Th.) Zielinski (1859–1944). When he moved to St Petersburg University with Zielinski as one of his professors, he became Zielinski's closest pupil. Zielinski's mode of study combined wide philological scope with a historical vein, formed by the German tradition. Of special interest for our topic is the special mark that Zielinski invited his pupil to join him at the brilliant Nicholas Gymnasium in Tsarskoe Selo. Here the young scholar wrote a masterful commentary within Russia's official project of commented classical texts for gymnasia, edited by S. Manshtejn and L. Georgievskij: *Julius Caesar, De bello Gallico*, which enjoyed its 9th edition in 1916 (just at the end of classical education in Russia).³

It was philologists who regarded classical studies at secondary schools as an absolutely necessary philological propedeutics of a *scholarly* type (hence such expressions as *Gelehrtschule*, *grammar school*, *Valediktionsschrift*, et sim.) and as something preparing pupils not only for classical philology, but also for every involvement with the humanities or scholarship. A pupil of A. K. Nauck, P. Nikitin (1849–1916), a philologist whom Rostovtzeff especially esteemed, was intermittently the Director of the University, at other times the Vice-President of the Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg, and maintained similar opinions about classical education. Zielinski published his lectures to the graduates of Russian gymnasia as a book, *The Ancient World and Us* (*Древний мир и мы* [St Petersburg 1911]), which was soon translated into a dozen European

³ Rostovtzeff 1916 [М. И. Ростовцев (ed.), *Гай Юлий Цезарь. Записки о галльской войне в избранных отрывках*].

languages. The body of cultural and especially epistemological arguments developed by Zielinski, who combined humanistic ideals with the scientific psychology of Wilhelm Wundt to preserve classical education, was of course shared by the socially and politically engaged historian and brave constitutional democrat (russ. *kadet*), Rostovtzeff.⁴

It is clear that advanced philological training at school, given and received at an early age, was not yet scholarship in the full sense of the word, but a sum of the skills that served as substantial preparation for any scholarly or scientific activity in the future. In the case of “dead” classical languages, the acquisition of linguistic skills is not only a value in itself, but also an ideal way to endorse the *hermeneutic* abilities that are crucial for all the humanities. The significance of early and severe drill (compare the “ballet body” education at famous ballet schools) lies in the fact that it is irreplaceable, because work with the primary ancient sources at a more advanced age and/or without exercise under appropriate teachers is full of insuperable obstacles. The art of interpretation of “texts difficult for *direct* understanding” (definition of philology given by J. M. Borovskij, 1896–1994, which does not deny, but restricts the significance of the so-called direct method) is learned most successfully in grammar school through the reading of classics (as far as possible, accompanied by composing essays and/or verse), that is, in the formative years under the direction of experienced scholars and refined pedagogues. In the end, the Zhitomir school proved to be a good prerequisite for a future student of ancient social and material culture, even if, in the following epochs of his life, Rostovtzeff did not seem to cherish the memory of the exuberantly linguistic occupations of his boyhood. The witnesses tell us about his reciting the full text of Horace’s “Roman Odes”, one after another, at a time when his mental bloom was gone.

Special fields of inquiry in the classics in which the unity of archaeology, philology, and history is quite manifest were *epigraphy* and *papyrology*. These belonged to the sphere especially dear to Rostovtzeff, as many of his works take an epigraphic text or papyrus (more often than not, a recently discovered one) as a point of departure. A series of his publications testifies to this preoccupation (e.g. the huge complex of *Zenon papyri*).⁵ The list of the courses taught by Professor Rostovtzeff at the University of St Petersburg demonstrates that he placed the

⁴ Zielinski enjoyed in Leipzig not only a touch of the cult of Friedrich Nietzsche, but also the no less massive influence of the innovative scientific psychology taken directly from the hands of Wilhelm Wundt (on this, see Gavrilov 2021 [А. К. Гаврилов, “Зелинский Ф. Ф.”], *Словарь петербургских антиковедов XIX – начала XX века*).

⁵ Rostovtzeff 1922.

interpretation of such still largely unexplored texts on the same level with the reading of literary texts. With time, his enthusiasm for papyrological texts, sometimes investigated together with G. Zereteli (1870–1938), only increased.

Controversy about the interpretation of literary texts was not alien to Rostovtzeff, either. It is remarkable when we see that in his brief introduction to his general sketch of Greek history, the historian produces a lot of archaeological illustrations and not one quotation from a literary text! As luck would have it, in the preface to that book, the author explains, “Mere quotations from any great literary work are lifeless things”; in his opinion, the reader should read the great works of classical literature in the original or in translation, but necessarily as an artistic whole.⁶

This type of negative worship of artistic creations could seem a bold excuse for himself or even irony. But Rostovtzeff in general tends to be fundamentally serious and has no inclination to avoid drastic statements. In his manner, he meant what he said. At the same time, we know his close adherence not only to salient political protagonists, but also to contemporary literary people: Vjach. Ivanov, I. Bunin, M. Kuzmin, D. Merezhkovskij, A. Blok, A. Belyj, et al. – all those idols of the Russian Silver Age were welcome at his home, in correspondence with his literary habits and tastes. Probably the request of Kondakov and other “factolaters” (if we try to render the Russian “фактопоклонники”, coined on the model of “идолопоклонники”, that is “idolaters”) self-ironically describes the enthusiasm for nothing but facts. In the case of Rostovtzeff, the situation received the following form: never mix up scientific practices with any *élans à la mode*.

This seems to be a clear and sound position, but in my view, the “factolaters” somewhat overrated their own ability to stick solely to the facts (which are themselves an object of infinite research). This somewhat simplistic conception by Kondakovians of what a *fact* is paralyzed their cognitive will to a degree. Zielinski, however, was ready to risk a new hypothesis on many occasions, and despite some setbacks often proved correct. At any rate, it was useful for Rostovtzeff to see both the weak and the strong points of the Kondakovian group – and of Zielinski, as well. So, a few of Rostovtzeff’s decisions seem to me to have been made by finding the middle between Zielinski and the Kondakovians, for example, in the question of the language to be used in studying the classics or in the recognition of national scholarship without denying the

⁶ Rostovtzeff 1925, III.

international nature of knowledge. Rostovtzeff was ready to acknowledge his occasional mistakes and at the same time be unflinching when making up his mind on the most complex questions.

Conclusions

Like the verbal art of the ancients itself, so *philology*, which studies it, acts in Rostovtzeff's work in its proper role, even if for one or another reason he does not show much consciousness of that. Probably this was due to a trauma resulting from the provincially severe grammar school in Zhitomir and because of the – falsely supposed – *Selbstverständlichkeit* of developing rather advanced philological skills during one's youth. If history was Rostovtzeff's goal, his main passion being archaeology, philology definitely served him as a reliable general basis in the common field of classics: even if a scholar did not adore this foundation, he surely had to stand on it.

Another astonishing thing: Michail I. Rostovtzeff was a happy outcome not only of his own talents and character, but to some degree (as we could also say about Zielinski) a consequence of the care taken by the Russian government of the epoch for scholars and national scholarship. These policies secured much philology (as a matter of course, somewhat too much of it for unspecialized schools) on the foundation of solid education, producing at the same time an impression of monotony or even tyranny. Philology became ubiquitous, often annoying, and as it were invisible to the educated persons themselves. This led to the – alas, destructive – wish for liberation in fields of knowledge that seemed to be less formal and more independent in themselves.

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The author asks: what was the place of philology in the stupendous historical work of M. Rostovtzeff, considering that the great scholar identified his scholarly program with history and/or with the archaeology of the ancient world, leaving philology in their shadow. Such a disposition seems to reflect an ever-growing division and even a gap between those three disciplines as different parts of ancient studies in the 20th century: natural from the point of view of specialized knowledge, it is fatal from the perspective of hermeneutics, where parts and the whole check each other in a very sophisticated way. Hence, the lecturer's attempt to ask what the message of Rostovtzeff's work is on this question, since his teaching in the famous Nickolas Gymnasium in Tsarskoje Selo, along with its brilliant scholarly crew, already speaks for the presence of traditional philological values. The same is indicated by the commented and illustrated edition of *Julius Caesar De bello Gallico* for Russian gymnasia, philology being supplemented here by historical explanations, tables, and pictures. Also significant was that Rostovtzeff's favorite auxiliary disciplines were epigraphy and papyrology, which, treating new and often hardly readable texts, already presuppose especially strong philological skills. Rostovtzeff's sensitivity to the artistic value of ancient literature is seen from his biography, which relates how he met and admired the literary persons of the Russian Silver Age and how he wrote lucid Russian himself. As for Rostovtzeff's lack of sympathy with exclusively philological topics, we guess that this was a consequence of the monotonous accent on grammatical competence disproportionately cultivated in the "classical" reforms of Count D. A. Tolstoy.

Автор ставит вопрос о том, какое место в творчестве М. И. Ростовцева занимала филология: сам он обычно признавал с гордостью свое призвание историка, иногда заодно изъясняя пылкую привязанность к археологии. Это предвещает возобладавшее (не только в России) разделение истории и филологии в рамках антиковедения, что, по представлениям автора, ведет

к печальным для обеих сторон последствиям. Отсюда стремление присмотреться внимательнее к тому, чему в этом смысле учит само творчество историка. О филологических навыках Ростовцева свидетельствует уже его преподавание в Николаевской Царскосельской гимназии с ее великолепным штатом разносторонних знатоков античности (начиная с Ф. Ф. Зелинского), между тем как создание всесторонне комментированного издания *De bello Gallico* Юлия Цезаря для употребления в русских гимназиях показывает мастерство Ростовцева в этой не в последнюю очередь филологической специализации. Поучительно и то, что из вспомогательных исторических дисциплин историк особенно часто читал курсы и писал исследования по папирологии и эпиграфике – дисциплинам, которые уже новизной своего материала требуют особой искусности в филологии, особенно в вопросах языка. Чувствительность к искусству слова и к носителям этого искусства видна и по биографии историка; она же ощущается по живому слогу его сочинений. С другой стороны, на отсутствие пристрастия к темам сугубо филологическим повлияло отношение Ростовцева к засилью языковых упражнений в толстовской гимназии, где последние были так неубедительно раздуты.

Arnaldo Marcone

ROSTOVTZEFF AND ITALY: A LONG HISTORY*

There is certainly one aspect that is clearly emerging from recent and ongoing research, and from the numerous and important contributions that have so systematically enriched our overall picture of Michail Rostovtzeff. We have all become much more aware, on the one hand, of the profound roots he had in early 20th-century European culture and, on the other, of the specifically Russian aspects of his personality as a scholar and, therefore, of what his mature historiography owes to the intertwining of these two components.¹

There is no doubt that Rostovtzeff, before his departure for England in 1918 and later – in 1925 – for the United States, was closely indebted to German academia.² In Germany he had found his warmest admirers and supporters, and it was there that he regularly published writings he hoped might enjoy the kind of international circulation that the Russian language could not give them (“*Rossica sunt, non leguntur!*”, he complained).³ This special relationship with the country then leading in the field of Classical Studies, must not lead us to underestimate other international relations Rostovtzeff established at the same time. Italy undoubtedly plays a major role which deserves consideration.⁴

We all know that Michail Rostovtzeff traveled a lot. It is not difficult to imagine what curiosity and thirst for knowledge must have driven him when, as a young man just over twenty, in 1892 he undertook a trip to visit Pompeii at his own expense.

* I do still remember with emotion my visit to Moscow and St Petersburg at the occasion of a conference organized on Rostovtzeff by Gregory Bongard-Levin in September 1993 (see *VDI* 1994: 1, 229–232). Regretfully Bongard-Levin as many of the participants have passed away.

¹ On the remarkably important tradition of Classical studies in Russia, see Wes 1992 and now Cinnella 2018.

² See Fichtner 2020.

³ See Andreau 1988 and Marcone 1992.

⁴ See Marcone 1999.

This burning desire of Rostovtzeff's to learn about the Classical world, to see with his own eyes what beforehand he could only have guessed, is very characteristic of the personality of this scholar, who before and more than many others firmly believed in the value of archaeology for historical reconstruction. Rostovtzeff had dedicated to Pompeii his first university dissertation (*Pompeii in the Light of the New Excavations*) and it is therefore understandable that he wanted to visit the site he only knew through his readings.⁵

The article which he published on this subject in 1894 obviously benefited from this trip. But the great travel season in his life was to begin later, in 1895, when after three years of teaching at the imperial high school of Tsarskoye Selo, Rostovtzeff embarked on a grand tour of the Mediterranean and of leading European cultural institutions.

This was an official trip, as the young Rostovtzeff received a research grant from the Russian government. One remarkable feature of this journey is the alternation between winter stays in research centers and summer trips to visit excavations and archaeological sites. This earned him the esteem and the sympathy of scholars he was able to get in touch with.

It is precisely to the autumn of 1895 that we can date the first Italian season in Rostovtzeff's career. In that year he visited the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Rome, then located in Via Tarpea, on the Capitol. On Italian soil he also started establishing those contacts that were to prove so important for his future as a scholar with the academic world. One bond, in particular, proved particularly important. I am referring to the one he established with the archaeologist and epigraphist Christian Hülsen, a pupil of Mommsen's who was a specialist in the topography of ancient and medieval Rome. For over twenty years, from 1887 to 1908, Hülsen served as vice-secretary of the Institute, until a missed promotion led him to an early resignation.

The history of Rostovtzeff's relationship with the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut is largely the story of these personal relationships. The Russia we get to know through Rostovtzeff is of course a different one from that of aristocrats who, bored with provincial life, sell their properties and set off to spend a few years of leisure in the "land of the sun". In reality, until the Risorgimento, Italy's attractiveness for Russians was determined mostly by literary and aesthetic attitudes, sometimes even religious interests. After 1848 another Russia began to show itself in Italy and, in particular, in Piedmont, between Nice, Genoa and Turin. It was

⁵ See also Rostovtzeff 1904.

a Russia made up of political *émigrés*, populists who anticipated the next wave of exiles, the one after 1905 – best known perhaps by association with Maksim Gorki and his stay on Capri (a sort of upper-class Crimea at the time).⁶

Rostovtzeff certainly had nothing to do with political emigration at this time. But we can easily understand how the presence of a well-established émigré network helped him find a place in a wider context than that of the German Institute.

It must be added that from 1860 to 1886 the chair of Italian literature in St Petersburg was held by Michelangelo Pinto, who was in touch with Alexander Herzen and Ivan Turgenev; through his marriage to Lidjia Adolfovna Voronec-Dmochovskaya, he gained access to St Petersburg high society. Pinto was among those who sympathized with the emigration of Russian populists to Piedmont.⁷

The environment of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome was particularly propitious as a springboard into the world of Italian culture at the end of the century: this is proven by the very peculiar story of another Russian scholar and poet, Vyačeslav Ivanov. Ivanov, who was slightly older than Rostovtzeff, arrived in Rome in 1892 from Berlin. Through the influence of Nietzsche – who was widely read in Russia at the time – the conditions were already emerging for Ivanov's transition from philology to poetry.⁸ We must not forget that an important role with respect to Nietzsche's circulation in Russia was played by one of Rostovtzeff's teachers, the Pole Th. Zielinski.⁹ Ivanov would never formally graduate: his thesis, *De societatibus vectigalium publicorum populi Romani*, was appreciated by Mommsen, and Rostovtzeff himself tried to have it published in St Petersburg in 1910, recommending the addition of an *instrumentum epigraphicum*.

Ivanov's own life, after he abandoned Classical Studies, became increasingly linked to Italy. In 1924 he settled there almost definitively: he first took up residence in Pavia and then, from 1934, in Rome. An ancient historian, Albino Garzetti, has shared his memories of Ivanov as a teacher at the Borromeo College in Pavia: an elderly gentleman with white hair and always dressed in black from head to toe.

As we have seen, Rostovtzeff's friendship with Hülsen proved decisive for his relationship with both German and Italian intellectual circles. His correspondence, preserved in the Archives of the Deutsches

⁶ See Tamborra 1977 and Strada 1994

⁷ See Morachioli 2015.

⁸ See Glatzer Rosenthal 1986.

⁹ See Plezia 1993.

Archäologisches Institut, illustrates the numerous relationships established by the Russian scholar.¹⁰ What is certain is that after 1898, when bound by his teaching obligations and no longer able to take time off from St Petersburg, Rostovtzeff often turned to his friends in Rome for all kind of information and advice. This was the case, for example, when he was planning to attend the Second International Congress of Historical Sciences in April 1903, a congress that had a troubled background owing to an all-Italian dispute that led to the removal from the presidency of the Congress of the ancient historian Ettore Pais, accused of being too pro-German.¹¹ It was again the case when Rostovtzeff was considering of traveling to Italy in the summer of 1906, to work in Pompeii. The eruption of Vesuvius, which had taken place in April of that same year, made him doubtful as to whether he could find any facilities to carry out his work there; he also wanted to know about work opportunities in the Naples museum. For his Pompeian studies Rostovtzeff could also rely on the help of another scholar who was active in the German Archaeological Institute, August Mau, a man of a very different bent.

Rostovtzeff, however, certainly knew how to earn the esteem and trust of colleagues who had the opportunity to meet him and to work with him. I will only recall one case among many that could become even clearer through some patient archival research. I am referring to the close collaboration between him and Maurice Prou, with whom he published a series of studies on one of the subjects that he was most interested in in that period, the ancient leads.

It is very likely that if we could explore the correspondence of this illustrious paleographer, a friend of Jacques Pirenne's, which is stored in the Municipal Library of Sens, we would find valuable documentation concerning the cooperation between the then *attaché au Cabinet des Médailles* and the young Russian historian. To return to Italy, much the same can be said about the relationships Rostovtzeff established in his Roman years with Dante Vaglieri, the director of the Terme Museum: together with Vaglieri he published a paper on the new discoveries of leads and *tesserae* in "Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità".¹² Vaglieri is one of the scholars most warmly thanked in the introduction to the *Tesserarum Urbis Romae et Suburbi Plumbearum Sylloge*, which appeared in St Petersburg in 1903.¹³

¹⁰ See Marcone 1988.

¹¹ See Erdmann 1987, 38–63; Hübinger–Ficht–Dabrowska 2010.

¹² 1900, 225–268.

¹³ Reprinted in Bologna (Forni), 1979. The volume is dedicated to Zielinski, *magistro et amico*.

The volume complementary to this, *Römische Bleitesserae*, is significantly dedicated to the Roman friends of Rostovtzeff's who gravitated around the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut: H. Graeven, E. Kornemann, F. Muenzer, M. Siebourg, J. Sieveking, R. Wuensch.¹⁴

We can here appreciate the European dimension of Rostovtzeff's career as a scholar who always knew how to establish fruitful relationships. His acquaintance with Gaetano De Sanctis also dates back to this period. By a happy coincidence, according to what De Sanctis himself recounts in his memoirs, the two scholars – both born in 1870 – met in Athens in 1895. Rostovtzeff immediately earned the esteem and friendship of his young colleague, who was also in Greece to conduct some research: it is above all thanks to De Sanctis that his name immediately gained attention in Italy, establishing him as member of the select circle of scientific authorities on the ancient world in the country. Rostovtzeff's extensive use of papyrological sources, in addition to epigraphic ones, was particularly well regarded by the Italian scholar. As a pupil of Beloch De Sanctis knew better than anyone else how to combine as many heterogeneous sources as possible, and he was certainly capable of appreciating the innovative aspect of his Russian colleague's research.

We can find proof of this attitude in what De Sanctis wrote, together with his pupil Luigi Pareti, as a programmatic statement for the inauguration of the new series of publications *Studi Italici e Italoti* (Florence 1914):

Open to works of a predominantly philological and archaeological nature, our publications will also, and above all, welcome writings of a historical nature, always based, of course, on that the kind of minute and direct archaeological investigation without which the writing of history is a vain work.

In 1901 Rostovtzeff had published a short note in the first issue of the German journal *Klio*, which was as peremptory in its content as it was in its title. In a very concise form he supported the argument that the colonate, that is the bond of the small tenant to the land, had developed in customary form on large African estates, only subsequently receiving legal recognition.¹⁵ The core of the colonate, however, was to be found in the management of landholdings in the East, whence transplanted in the West, with few modifications, by the Roman emperors. Rostovtzeff had come to the formulation of this thesis on the basis of an inscription, which

¹⁴ Reprinted in Aalen 1979.

¹⁵ Rostovtzeff 1901.

had just been published by B. Haussoullier, relating to the purchase, in 256 BC, of the village of Pannos and its territory by the wife of Antiochus II, Laodice. This inscription revealed the important fact that the object of the purchase was not only the land but also what was on it, including the peasants, the so-called *λαοὶ βασιλικοὶ* who resided there with all their assets. While not being slaves, these people were bound to the land and could not abandon it. The East, therefore, offered very precise evidence of the economic and administrative bond of peasants to the land. In this way, the colonate, which had never really disappeared, was revived. Five pages had been enough for Rostovtzeff to interpret an inscription with such confidence and develop such an important argument.

De Sanctis shared the hypothesis of the Hellenistic origin of the colonate. The Italian scholar followed Rostovtzeff in seeing the inscription as a decisive testimony in support of the thesis that, while the primary reasons for the development of the colonate were economic, its origin had to be found in the extension of regulations in force for some time on the land that the Roman state had inherited from the Seleucids to imperial estates in the West, and then from these to private ones. Particularly striking is what De Sanctis writes when reviewing a dissertation by H. Bolkenstein, *De colonatu romano eiusque origine*, published in the Italian Journal *Rivista Storica Italiana* in 1907. Although he recognizes the undeniable merits of this work, he reiterates in plain words how, in his opinion, the inscription about Laodice should be interpreted. He writes:

This opinion (i.e. that of the Hellenistic origin of the colonate) which Rostovtzeff and I support, based on a Milesian inscription recently discovered, would not appear to be undermined by the few sentences that the A. devotes to it on p. 160, n. 2, where he misreads the text of the inscription.¹⁶

De Sanctis did not react to Rostovtzeff's major publication on the colonate, the *Studien zur Geschichte des römischen Kolonates*, which appeared in 1910 as the first supplement of the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* and that, in turn, stands as a testimony to the active collaboration and friendship between the Russian historian and a great German papyrologist, Ulrich Wilcken. This can be explained by the fact that the *Studien* were published in the only period in which, probably owing to the progress of his *Storia dei romani*, De Sanctis interrupted his tireless activity as a reviewer (the years 1910–1922).

¹⁶ De Sanctis 1907.

In Italy the *Studien* received only one important review, by a specialist in Roman law, Vincenzo Arangio-Ruiz, who discussed the book at length in the *Bullettino dell'Istituto di Diritto romano* of 1911. This is a very detailed account and the reviewer does not appear to be critical of the work in any way. It must be observed – and this strikes me as significant – that Arangio-Ruiz does not feel the need to introduce Rostovtzeff to the readers of the *Bullettino* (the review is included in a general discussion of legal papyrological studies) but limits himself to pointing out that the study contains many points of contact with the entry *Frumentum* in the Pauly–Wissowa.

Arangio-Ruiz even speaks of “a luminous and patient research developed on Egypt chiefly on the basis of papyri from the Ptolemaic and Roman ages”, of “a particularly original, new and insightful analysis of recently discovered epigraphic sources, and of a vigorous presentation of the agrarian evolution of the Empire, in this “most valuable book”.¹⁷

It is unsurprising, therefore, that in Italy, after the publication of many important writings,¹⁸ Rostovtzeff's fame was really well-established. Let me take a step back, to consider an instance of Rostovtzeff's early significant involvement in an Italian initiative, which to this day remains the most important Italian collective enterprise in the field of Ancient History – although, unfortunately, it was never completed. I am referring, of course, to the *Epigraphic Dictionary of Roman Antiquities* which began to be published in 1886 on the initiative of Ettore De Ruggiero. De Ruggiero – I will briefly recall – had himself specialized under Mommsen in Berlin, where he had studied between 1861 and 1866. The first volume, including the letters A–B, had been brought to completion in 1895; the second, which is what we are interested in, including the letters from C to E, and appeared in three volumes within a few years. The first volume, which appeared in 1900, includes a contribution by Rostovtzeff on the *conductor*.¹⁹

The *Dizionario* was open to the collaboration of foreign scholars; it may be said that it was even more open to international collaboration than the Pauly–Wissowa.

De Ruggiero must have come across Rostovtzeff's name independently, given his relations with the German Institute and the economic-administrative history studies that the young Russian was publishing in

¹⁷ I personally edited an Italian edition of this book in 1994 (Brescia). Cfr. Marcone 2001.

¹⁸ I have published some of these papers in the volume: M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Scripta varia. Ellenismo e Impero romano* (Bari 1995).

¹⁹ II, 1900, 578–597.

those years. And it is also likely that the entry was commissioned from Rostovtzeff during one of his winter stays in Rome.

I will limit myself to two general considerations: the first is that Rostovtzeff's collaboration with the *Dizionario Epigrafico* and Pauly-Wissowa took place in parallel and in relation to similar themes, yet through the drafting of different items: the entry *congiarium*, written by Rostovtzeff for the *Real-Encyklopädie* dates from 1901, while the same entry for the *Dizionario* is by Esperandieu.

A more important observation that I think can be made concerns the structure of the entry *conductor*. In his introduction, Rostovtzeff emphasizes legal issues, discussing the nature of the *locatio-conductio* contract, and whether its origin is to be traced back to the sphere of public or private law.

The presence of a very precise discussion of modern theories on the subject, which seems to exceed the editorial requirements, appears to be related to the general principles established by De Ruggiero and to the influence of the Mommsenian school, which probably reached Rostovtzeff through Hirschfeld. It is true that in the only other entry he wrote for the *Dizionario*, *fiscus*, in the volume published in 1922, the prose is more concise, more personal – in other words closer to the succinct style that we find in his major works.

Between Rostovtzeff and De Ruggiero there certainly was common ground in other respects as well. The Italian scholar was in fact in a condition to appreciate the openness to archaeology of his Russian colleague, as he had been Professor of Archaeology and Director of the Archaeological School of Pompeii. In 1874 he had been appointed director of the Museo Kircheriano in Rome, in which Rostovtzeff himself would later work: Rostovtzeff's fame in Italy was therefore rapidly consolidating at the beginning of the century, as various elements prove.

I here wish to consider what can be inferred from the testimony of an ancient historian who, at the beginning of the 20th century in Italy was one of the leading authorities in the field, Ettore Pais.²⁰ In a paper on “Ancient history in the last fifty years with special reference to Italy”, which he gave at a meeting of the Italian Society for the Progress of Sciences in Rome, he cited Rostovtzeff as an example of those scholars who, through their preparatory work, were paving the way for a great synthesis on the Roman Empire.²¹ Pais, of course, could not imagine at the time that, under completely different circumstances, this synthesis would be the work of Rostovtzeff himself. However, we must take account of the fact that Pais'

²⁰ See Nenci 1982.

²¹ Pais 2011.

paper played a role in the controversy over the dependence of Italian philological and ancient historical studies on German research. It was obvious for Pais that Rostovtzeff's work was yet another expression of German scholarship outside Germany.²²

In any case, even if with a delay, Italian Classical scholars – perhaps partly on account of the effort which was being made at the time to avoid any conditioning from German scholarship – also began to look at the researches of their Russian colleagues.

In this respect, Rostovtzeff must still have appeared too “German” and the path to an effective reconsideration of Russian Classical Studies passed above all through his teacher, the Nietzschean Zielinski, whose popular work, *Die Antike und Wir*, was translated in Florence in 1911. It must be said that this is not a translation from Russian but from German, the language in which the essay had already appeared in 1903. A few years later, in 1916, a short essay by T. Savcenko, *Outlines of Classical Studies in Russia*, appeared in the Florentine journal *Atene e Roma*. The most interesting fact is that this publication was inspired by a text read at Nicola Festa's seminar. However, it is worth noting that this was not a particularly valuable contribution. We need only consider the inaccuracies which the author incurs in the few sentences he devotes to Rostovtzeff.

Italian Classical scholars began to pay attention to Russia around the time in which it was becoming the Soviet Union.

Rostovtzeff's relationship with my home country now belongs to another dimension. Gaetano De Sanctis' review of *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* in 1926 represents the best-known and indisputable *trait-d'union* between the world of pre-war ties and the following one.²³

To get an idea of Rostovtzeff's importance for De Sanctis and his pupils, we only need to leaf through some of the early writings by Momigliano, in which the name of the Russian historian frequently appears.

The aforementioned entry *fiscus* published in the *Dizionario Epigrafico* in 1922 may also be considered a sign of the desire to return to a common path.

To keep to a more personal level, Rostovtzeff tried to renew some of his old friendships: when traveling through Tuscany with his wife, he did not fail to pay a visit to Christian Hülsen, now a Florentine by adoption after the disillusion suffered at the German Archaeological Institute. Rostovtzeff was undoubtedly a loyal friend: we learn as much from his correspondence

²² See Polverini 2002.

²³ De Sanctis 1926 = 1972.

with William Westermann.²⁴ I am referring to what Marinus Wes has published in *Historia* with reference to G. De Sanctis. Rostovtzeff wrote to Westermann from Lido di Camaiore in Versilia, during the Ferragosto holidays of 1932. He had arrived there after a visit to archaeological sites in southern Italy and a six-week work stay in Rome. Rostovtzeff, of course, was not in Versilia only to enjoy the beach, but also to revise the drafts of the Italian edition of his *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* together with its publisher, Ernesto Codignola.²⁵

I would like to stress that Rostovtzeff had planned to publish a new edition of this translation. In Trier, in the Gilliam collection (named after a pupil of Rostovtzeff's), acquired by Heinz Heinen and Günter Grimm, I found the Russian scholar's personal copy of the Italian edition of the *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, with his handwritten notes. These additions, of exceptional value, have been included in the new Italian edition of 2003. Chapter V, on Palmyra, is where Rostovtzeff sought to introduce the most important changes, as he had been deeply marked by the experience of the Dura-Europos excavations with Franz Cumont.²⁶

Rostovtzeff lent support to De Sanctis, whom he had seen shortly before in Florence, where he had undergone an eye operation. In his letters to his American friends, he recalls that De Sanctis, one of the eleven Italian university professors to refuse to display any loyalty to Fascism, was living only on a meager pension. He did his best to get an invitation for De Sanctis from the Italian Casa della Cultura of Columbia University, which every year invited an Italian scholar to give a lecture.²⁷ In his opinion it would be better for Columbia to invite De Sanctis than worthless scholars, of the sort they had often hosted in the past, or renegades like Pais who had nothing more to say. This unfortunately never happened – because, according to Westermann, inviting De Sanctis would have created problems for the Director of the Casa, Prezzolini, who was not aligned with the regime and was trying to keep the cultural center free from overly pressing political interference.

I must also mention Rostovtzeff's significant involvement in an Italian cultural initiative which is undoubtedly the most important to have taken place under the Fascist regime, namely the *Enciclopedia Italiana*

²⁴ The correspondence between Rostovtzeff and Westermann reaches peaks of intensity that find few parallels in the former's very rich correspondence. The two scholars used to address each using graceful diminutives: Rosti / Vesti. See. Bongard-Levin–Litvinenko 1996 = Bongard-Levin 1997, 346–365.

²⁵ Wes 1993.

²⁶ In 2003 I published a new edition of the Italian translation with these additions (Milano). See Marcone 2001.

²⁷ Prezzolini was also a teacher at the same university.

Treccani. Two facts must be born in mind: the first is that the chief scholar responsible for Ancient History was Gaetano De Sanctis; the second is that this section was considered one of the “most Italian” in the *Enciclopedia*, as the entries about the ancient world were entrusted almost exclusively to Italian scholars.

The “almost” must be explained: the exception was represented precisely by some entries relating to the provinces of the Roman Empire, among which those on Thracian Chersonesus, Olbia, Panticapeous, Ponto and Dura-Europos stand out, which were entrusted to Rostovtzeff.

I would like to present a forthcoming publication. Among the links that Rostovtzeff established with many Italian colleagues is that with Evaristo Breccia, who before becoming professor of Ancient History in Pisa, had worked for a long time – starting in 1904 – as the director of the Graeco-Roman Museum of Alexandria, in Egypt, succeeding the founder of the museum himself, Giuseppe Botti, in this role. Rostovtzeff had been in touch with Breccia at least since 1905, as he had written his first letter to Breccia from St Petersburg on 19 June 1905.

We have 34 letters in total, which are now in the museum of Pisa University. Breccia taught ancient history there from 1930, also becoming president of the same university. The last letter was written by Rostovtzeff from Yale and is dated December 17, 1938. The publication of this correspondence is therefore of great importance. It was originally prepared by a pupil of Breccia himself, Donato Morelli and is now being edited by Rosario Pinaudi. Pinaudi will also publish an Italian translation of Rostovtzeff’s travel journal in Alexandria.

Traces of Rostovtzeff’s ties with Italian papyrologists are also preserved in the Laurenziana Library in Florence, where requests for information are found in the letters which Rostovtzeff addressed to Girolamo Vitelli, then professor of Papyrology in Florence and Director of the Papyrological Institute which, after his death, took his name.

Let me conclude by mentioning the important book published in 2019 by an Italian specialist on Rostovtzeff, the Milanese scholar Piergiuseppe Michelotto: *Da Pietroburgo a New Haven*.²⁸ Rostovtzeff indisputably remains a very important historian for scholars of Imperial Rome in present-day Italy.

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²⁸ Michelotto 2021.

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In recent years, we have all become much more aware of Rostovtzeff's profound roots in early 20th-century European culture, of his specifically Russian traits as a scholar and, therefore, of what his mature historiography owes to the intertwining of these two components. Italy plays a major role in this context. To get an idea of the importance of Rostovtzeff for De Sanctis' school, we only need to glance at some of Momigliano's early writings, in which the name of the Russian historian frequently appears.

В последнее время нам стала понятней, с одной стороны, глубокая укорененность М. И. Ростовцева в европейской культуре начала XX в., а с другой – специфически русские черты его как ученого. Стало яснее, чем его зрелые исторические труды обязаны переплетению двух этих компонентов. Италия играет важную роль в этом процессе. Чтобы оценить важность Ростовцева для школы Де Санктиса, достаточно взглянуть на некоторые ранние работы Момильяно, где часто встречается имя российского историка.

Vladimir Kashcheev

NIKODIM P. KONDAKOV
AND MIKHAIL I. ROSTOVTTZEV:
A TEACHER AND HIS DISCIPLE

In memoriam Heinz Heinen

In his *An Introduction to Archaeology* (1923), S. A. Zhebelev called Nikodim Pavlovich Kondakov (1844–1925) “a famous archaeologist” and showed that his scholarly and literary activity “in its entirety covers almost all branches of archaeology”, from classical and Byzantine to Old Russian, Slavic and western European.¹ He was the founder of a research school whose main representatives were the Russian archaeologists and art historians D. V. Ainalov, E. K. Redin and Ya. I. Smirnov. According to a fair assessment by Sergei A. Zhebelev, “The entire modern generation of Russian archaeologists can be considered to have passed through ‘the Kondakov school’”.² But the school’s graduates also included many Russian historians of antiquity and classical philologists. Interesting and instructive in this respect is the research career of Mikhail Ivanovich Rostovtzev (1870–1952), whose achievements in ancient history made it possible for Karl Christ, after the death of Mikhail Ivanovich, to quite reasonably compare him with Theodor Mommsen.³ As one of the most famous students of the academician Kondakov, Mikhail I. Rostovtzev was obviously influenced by his teacher in many ways. It is of interest to trace the main lines of influence of Nikodim P. Kondakov and his school on the formation and development of Rostovtzev as a researcher.

The life and scholarly activities of N. P. Kondakov and M. I. Rostovtzev are quite similar. Both were energetic researchers, possessed a powerful creative temperament and sharp intellect, and had unusually broad scholarly interests and rich professional and life experience. Both belonged to the St Petersburg school of history and philology, although their conscious life paths began in different places: Kondakov’s in

¹ Zhebelev 1923 [С. А. Жебелёв, *Введение в археологию. Ч. 1. История археологического знания*], 134.

² Zhebelev 1923, 133–134.

³ Christ 1972, 334.

Moscow and Rostovtzev's in Kiev. Both received recognition as researchers at home and abroad even before emigrating from Russia. Both were elected members of the St Petersburg Academy of Sciences, in 1900 and 1917 respectively. Both made numerous trips to collect material for their research, and both led archaeological excavations: Kondakov in the Crimea, Taman and Kuban, Rostovtzev in Dura-Europos. Both lived quite long lives and were buried outside Russia: Kondakov at the Olshansky Cemetery in Prague, Rostovtzev at the Glove Street Cemetery in New Haven, Connecticut. Both had pupils and followers in Russia and abroad; their scholarly achievements had a significant impact on the development of world scholarship in the twentieth century.

N. P. Kondakov studied at the Faculty of History and Philology of Moscow University from 1861 to 1865, where his main university teacher was Fedor Ivanovich Buslaev (1818–1897), who was not only an art historian, but primarily a historian of Russian literature and the Russian language.⁴ Nikodim Pavlovich called him “the famous Russian scholar” and his “unforgettable teacher”⁵ and considered him “a real Westerner” and “a European in the true sense of the word”.⁶ In his papers on Russian archaeology and art history, N. P. Kondakov saw “a light imprint of those rosy impressions” that Buslaev had experienced during his travels abroad in 1839–1840.⁷ They undoubtedly bear the imprint of the works the young Buslaev read, including those by Johann Joachim Winckelmann,

⁴ Ainalov 1928 [Д. Айналов, “Академик Н. П. Кондаков как историк искусства и методолог”], 312.

⁵ Kondakov 1908 [Н. П. Кондаков, “Предисловие”, in: Ф. И. Буслаев, *Сочинения по археологии и истории искусства*], III.

⁶ Kondakov 2002 [Н. П. Кондаков, *Воспоминания и думы*], 72. He believed that, among Russian scholars, Buslaev was “not only a European scholar par excellence, but, in his way, the most happily formed thinker and writer” (Kondakov 1908, III).

⁷ Kondakov 1908, II. In his memoirs, F. I. Buslaev writes about this journey: “Suddenly, an immense and alluring perspective opened up in front of me from the Baltic Sea through Germany and the Alps to wide Lombardy, from the Adriatic Sea to Venice, and from there through the Alps to Florence, Rome and finally to the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, with Naples and Vesuvius, with Herculaneum and Pompeii. My spirit was occupied, my head was spinning; I didn't feel my legs under me in the impetuous expectation of seeing, feeling and experiencing all this, stimulating the mind and imagination”. And then the memoirist, who by that time had long outlived his passion for Romanticism, continues: “The promised land for enthusiastic souls was then Italy, empty, wretched and enslaved in its present and so inexhaustible and powerful in the artistic monuments of its past, like an immense cemetery of world giants who once built the babel of European civilization” (Buslaev 1897 [Ф. И. Буслаев, *Мои воспоминания*], 157).

Karl Otfried Müller, Lessing, Schiller, Goethe, Kant, Hegel, Schelling, August Schlegel and Wilhelm Humboldt.⁸ Fedor Ivanovich admitted that even in his student years he had heard the name of Jacob Grimm from Professor M. P. Pogodin. He noted that the German scholar “with his numerous and varied studies later had such a charming effect on me, so inspired me that I became one of his most zealous and devoted followers”.⁹

The formation of N. P. Kondakov as a scholar was influenced by a number of Buslaev’s works on the history of the Slavic language and Russian icon painting.¹⁰ It was under the influence of his teacher that Kondakov, after graduating from the university, took up the study of Christian and Byzantine art. Fedor Ivanovich spoke at the debate on the doctoral dissertation of his student,¹¹ who many years later recalled this with gratitude.¹² The surviving correspondence between F. I. Buslaev and N. P. Kondakov testifies to close scholarly and personal ties between teacher and pupil, which continued even after the latter left Moscow.¹³

N. P. Kondakov’s research activities and teaching at the university during the Odessa period of his life (1869–1888) were undoubtedly important for his further development as a scholar of ancient and Byzantine art. Nevertheless, his stay in St Petersburg was the most eventful and fruitful time of his academic career.

⁸ Buslaev 1897, 144; 155–156; 177; 184; 186, etc.; see Kyzlasova 2018 [И. Л. Кызласова, *Академик Н. П. Кондаков: поиски и свершения*], 55–57.

⁹ Buslaev 1897, 128.

¹⁰ Buslaev 1848 [Ф. И. Буслаев, *О влиянии христианства на славянский язык. Опыт истории языка по Остромирову евангелию*]; it was his master’s thesis, in which, using the material of the Church Slavonic language of the Holy Scriptures, he established a close connection between the history of the language and the life of the people who were its bearers, with their morals, customs, traditions and beliefs. See also Buslaev 1844 [*О преподавании отечественного языка*]; Buslaev 1866 [*Общие понятия о русской иконописи*].

¹¹ Kondakov 1876 [Н. П. Кондаков, *История византийского искусства и иконографии по миниатюрам греческих рукописей*]. In this work, N. P. Kondakov, in particular, formulated the idea, close to F. I. Buslaev’s views, that artistic culture acts as “an indispensable, full and unique expression of the life of every nation” (Kondakov 1876, 50).

¹² N. P. Kondakov writes about this in a letter to V. V. Stasov dated April 21, 1895; see Kyzlasova 2018, 261 n. 68.

¹³ Between December 1875 to January 1891, N. P. Kondakov wrote nine letters to F. I. Buslaev, and Buslaev wrote six to his former student. The letters are kept in the Research and Development Department of the RSL, RGALI and St Petersburg FA RAS; see Kyzlasova 2018, 188–211.

Here, for a short time, N. P. Kondakov lectured at St Petersburg University (1888–1892) and the Higher Courses for Women (1890–1891). He began teaching the art history for the first time, organized, in the Hermitage, the Department of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, and served on the Archaeological Commission. He also did productive work at the St Petersburg Academy of Sciences, and the Academy of Arts owed him its new charter (1893). He founded the Icon Painting Committee and began to study the works of ancient Russian fine art systematically. He took part in the activities of the Russian Archaeological Society,¹⁴ the Society of Lovers of Ancient Literature and the Orthodox Palestinian Society. His diverse and successful activities were witnessed not only by his colleagues, but also by his pupils, for whom he was always a model scholar.

N. P. Kondakov's influence on M. I. Rostovtzev, his other pupils and disciples and those who could only indirectly consider themselves to be his pupils took place at different times and in different forms. The lecture courses that Nikodim Pavlovich taught at St Petersburg University (and earlier at Novorossiysky University) played an important role in this process. After graduating from the Kiev Gymnasium with a silver medal in 1888 and studying for two years at the Faculty of History and Philology at the University of St Vladimir in Kiev, young Rostovtzev enrolled in St Petersburg University in September 1890.¹⁵ There he attended courses given by N. P. Kondakov on archaeology and art history, including classical art.¹⁶ It is known that in the spring semester of the 1890–1891 academic year, Nikodim Pavlovich lectured and conducted seminars on the history and archaeology of Christian art.¹⁷ Later M. I. Rostovtzev confessed: “I was a baby in the field of archaeology, a novice classicist.

¹⁴ S. A. Zhebelev describes N. P. Kondakov's time in St Petersburg as “the most brilliant, fruitful period of his activities” (Zhebelev 2002 [С. А. Жебелёв, “ОЕУС ТА ПРАГМАТА”], 218); see Tunkina 2008 [И. В. Тункина, “Биографический словарь-указатель,” in: В. П. Бузескул, *Всеобщая история и ее представители в России в XIX и начале XX века*], 620; Kashcheev 2021a [В. И. Кашеев, “Кондаков Никодим Павлович,” in: *СПА*], 368.

¹⁵ Zuev 1997a [В. Ю. Зуев, “М. И. Ростовцев. Годы в России. Биографическая хроника”, in: Г. М. Бонгард-Левин (ред.), *Скифский роман*], 51–52.

¹⁶ Rostovtzev 2002 [М. И. Ростовцев, “Странички воспоминаний”], 211; see Alipov 2017 [П. А. Алипов, “А. Май, Н. П. Кондаков и М. И. Ростовцев: к вопросу о научной кооперации историков”, *Вестник РГГУ. Серия: Политология. История. Международные отношения*], 29.

¹⁷ Tikhonov 2003 [И. Л. Тихонов, *Археология в Санкт-Петербургском университете. Историкографические очерки*], 59.

For the first time I heard about the history of art and about archaeology from N. P., in his lectures ... on the history of ancient art”.¹⁸

A circle was formed under the leadership of N. P. Kondakov at the Museum of Antiquities at St Petersburg University. Its senior members were Alexander N. Shchukarev, Dmitriy V. Ainalov and Yegor K. Redin.¹⁹ The group of younger participants – in addition to Mikhail I. Rostovtzev himself – included Yakov I. Smirnov and Sergey A. Zhebelev, who were joined by Boris A. Turaev, Grigory F. Tsereteli and later Boris V. Farmakovskiy.

According to M. I. Rostovtzev, it was the circle around Kondakov, not Kondakov himself, that conveyed to him a sense of his teacher’s “enthusiasm for antiquity ... love of monuments and method for strict and accurate knowledge”.²⁰ Here, the influence of N. P. Kondakov was always felt, along with the invisible presence of Fedor Fedorovich Sokolov (1841–1909), with whom Rostovtzev never personally interacted,²¹ but who in his Friday *privatissima* developed close ties to S. A. Zhebelev and A. N. Shchukarev.²² Members of the circle at the Museum of Antiquities were called “factolaters” (*фактопоклонники*, < “idolaters”), but Mikhail Ivanovich did not regard them, N. P. Kondakov, or even F. F. Sokolov as such. From the members of the circle and their teachers, he learned that the most important thing was to honor facts; the essential first step was “to establish the facts, strictly and accurately ... according to the sources”.²³

¹⁸ Rostovtzev 2002, 211. It is interesting to look at these lectures from the other perspective. Noting the indifference of students to his lectures in Odessa, N. P. Kondakov admitted: “Only at St Petersburg University, where I taught for just four years, ... did I feel much better at my lectures, because from the very beginning I knew that there were two to three students who were studying my subject” (Kondakov 2002, 139). Now we can guess who these students were.

¹⁹ Both of them, as candidates of Novorossiysky University, were seconded for scholarly studies at St Petersburg University; see Tikhonov 2001 [И. Л. Тихонов, “Становление классической археологии в Санкт-Петербургском университете: школа Н. П. Кондакова”, in: *Никодим Павлович Кондаков. 1844–1925. Личность, научное наследие, архив. К 150-летию со дня рождения*], 28.

²⁰ Rostovtzev 2002, 212.

²¹ V. Yu. Zuev states that Rostovtzev shied away from being taught by F. F. Sokolov, and suggests that this was due to the influence exerted on the young Rostovtzev by I. V. Pomyalovsky (see Zuev 1997a, 53), who was the dean of the Faculty of History and Philology at St Petersburg University from 1887 to 1897 (see Tunkina 2008, 719).

²² Kashcheev 2021b [В. И. Кашеев, “Соколов Фёдор Фёдорович”, in: *СПА*], 696.

²³ Rostovtzev 2002, 212; cf. Alipov 2019 [П. А. Алипов, “Научное наследие Н. П. Кондакова в историографическом осмыслении его учеников и коллег”, in: *Вестник РГГУ. Серия: Политология. История. Международные отношения*], 18.

In this circle, a prominent figure was Yakov Ivanovich Smirnov (1869–1918), whom Mikhail Ivanovich characterized as “the closest” to Kondakov, “the most brilliant” of his students and “undoubtedly, the most powerful and whole-hearted person” in this association of young people.²⁴ According to S. A. Zhebelev, “He was a ‘great critic’, a great skeptic, an amazing ‘paradoxographer’, but behind his eternal intractability was a surprisingly kind, gentle, nobly pure, absolutely honest, extremely truthful soul”.²⁵ There is no doubt that N. P. Kondakov highly appreciated Smirnov and later, according to B. V. Varneke’s memoirs, he said about his disciple:

That I took him to the academy²⁶ is perhaps the best deed of my life, although many people attacked him for not publishing enough. But everything he publishes is real gold, and no one in our country now feels the historical style as much as Yakov Ivanovich. Such experts, perhaps, only exist in the British Museum ... I learned a lot from him myself.²⁷

Ya. I. Smirnov enjoyed deep and sincere respect and there can be little doubt that his studies in archaeology significantly influenced M. I. Rostovtzev as a researcher both in his student years and afterward. It is no coincidence that Mikhail Ivanovich once called Ya. I. Smirnov “my constant teacher in the field of archaeology”.²⁸ However, despite this, he

²⁴ Rostovtzev 2002, 213.

²⁵ Zhebelev 1993b [С. А. Жебелев, “Из воспоминаний о Я. И. Смирнове”], 182. Based on the analysis of the published works of Ya. I. Smirnov and the works about him by his contemporaries, L. G. Klimanov notes his features as a researcher and personality: he was “a deeply and broadly educated person with a strong university background and a strong critical mind; an expert on research literature, which he closely followed and meticulously studied; an all-round expert on monuments ... who had a strong memory and a keen analytical eye, capable to make attribution of them; a scholar who was keenly interested in research and therefore knew the interests of his colleagues and always shared his knowledge with them in a disinterested, enthusiastic and generous way; a hardworking and diligent museum worker”; see Klimanov 1999 [Л. Г. Климанов, “Я. И. Смирнов: из рукописного наследия”, in: И. П. Медведев (ред.), *Рукописное наследие русских византинистов в архивах Санкт-Петербурга*], 445.

²⁶ In 1917, Ya. I. Smirnov was elected an ordinary academician in the Department of Russian Language and Literature at the Russian Academy of Sciences; see Tunkina 2008, 750.

²⁷ Cited in Tunkina 1995 [И. В. Тункина, “Н. П. Кондаков: обзор личного фонда,” in: И. П. Медведев (ред.), *Архивы русских византинистов в Санкт-Петербурге*], 98.

²⁸ Rostovtzev 1914 [М. И. Ростовцев, *Античная декоративная живопись на Юге России. Текст*], IX.

admits: “I don’t know what I took from him personally and what through him from N. P., but along with others, these influences played a significant role in my life. For the first time I began to feel that without archaeology in the history of antiquity you cannot go far. And this, of course, came directly from N. P.”.²⁹

It was in this circle that M. I. Rostovtzev turned to archaeology and the fine arts of Pompeii. He presented his first essay on the characteristics of Pompeian artistic and decorative styles at the seminar of N. P. Kondakov. In 1892, under the supervision of N. P. Kondakov and Faddey (Tadeusz) Frantsevich Zelinsky (1859–1944), he wrote and presented his thesis on the topic in order “to correct and supplement Nissen’s urban Pompeian chronicle on the basis of the latest research and excavations”.³⁰ Thanks to a decision by the Council of Professors of the Faculty of History and Philology, it was awarded a gold medal.³¹ Later, Rostovtzev repeatedly recalled this university work and believed that in it, as well as in a youthful essay he had written in his senior year at gymnasium,³² he had presented “ancient history, focusing on the problems of state structure, social and economic life, and archaeology, considering everything in terms of what insights it can provide into ancient history”.³³

It is no coincidence that in 1893, after graduating from university, M. I. Rostovtzev traveled to Italy and visited Pompeii. There he took

²⁹ Rostovtzev 2002, 213. Beginning in his student years, S. A. Zhebelev was on friendly terms with both M. I. Rostovtzev and Ya. I. Smirnov (Kashcheev 2021c [В. И. Кашеев, “Жебелев Сергей Александрович”, in: *СПА*], 257). In “Autonecrologue”, written in 1932, Sergei Alexandrovich describes the circumstances that awakened his interest in archaeology. Perhaps the most important were his “close relations with N. P. Kondakov, whom Zhebelev considers to be rather the godfather of the field of archaeology, then his teacher”; see: Zhebelev 1993a [С. А. Жебелев, “Автонекролог”, *ВДИ*], 179.

³⁰ The wording of this topic presupposes a critical analysis of H. Nissen’s research (Nissen 1877); Rostovtzev calls this book a “gem” among the works about Pompeii (Rostovtzev 1909 [М. И. Ростовцев, “Август Май. (Некролог)”, *ЖМНП* 5 (Май). Отд. II], 33).

³¹ Zuev 1997a, 54; Tyzhov 2000 [Тыжов А. Я. “Михаил Иванович Ростовцев”, in: М. И. Ростовцев, *Общество и хозяйство в Римской империи* 1], 7 n. 1.

³² For this work, titled “On the Governance of Provinces in the Last Century of the Republic”, the young Rostovtzev received the N. I. Pirogov Prize (Zuev 1997a, 51). But in his autobiographical essay “The Academic Career of Professor M. I. Rostovtzev, Yale University” (June 7, 1940), he refers to it under another title: “Administration of the Roman Provinces at the Time of Cicero”; see Bongard-Levin 1997 [Г. М. Бонгард-Левин, “Автобиографические материалы М. И. Ростовцева”, in: Г. М. Бонгард-Левин (ред.), *Скифский роман*], 46.

³³ As he wrote in his autobiographical essay in 1940 (Bongard-Levin 1997, 46).

part in archaeological excavations and, thanks to Augustus Mau (1840–1909), became acquainted with the topography, architecture and fine art of the ancient city.³⁴ Rostovtzev calls this researcher and expert on Pompeii “an old Pompeian, but a Pompeian armed with all the means of modern research”.³⁵ The very first publication by M. I. Rostovtzev is devoted specifically to the materials from excavations in Pompeii.³⁶ In it he used the classification system that A. Mau developed for Pompeian painting styles. The young Rostovtzev considered it useful for dating archaeological sites with monumental painting.³⁷ Mikhail Ivanovich continued to study Pompeii and its architectural landscape even later.³⁸ His early works on Pompeii³⁹ were the first steps toward an important study of ancient decorative painting in the south of Russia.⁴⁰

It can be assumed that Rostovtzev’s first trip and his visit to Pompeii once again strengthened his conviction that archaeological material was of special importance for the study of ancient history. On the one hand, thanks to N. P. Kondakov, Mikhail Ivanovich came to the conclusion that the study of the history of antiquity was impossible without archaeology; on the other, as a pupil of F. F. Zelinsky, he was aware of the importance of classical philology for his studies. As M. I. Rostovtzev notably confessed, “I have not become a pure archaeologist, just as I have not become a classical

³⁴ Zuev 1997a, 55.

³⁵ Rostovtzev 1909, 34.

³⁶ Rostovtzeff 1894 [М. И. Ростовцев, “О новейших раскопках в Помпеях”, *ЖМНП* 1–2 (Январь–февраль). Отд. V], 45–101.

³⁷ M. I. Rostovtzev considers A. Mau’s work on the history of decorative painting (1882) to be his best work. “The change of styles ... is proved here with mathematical precision; their chronological sequence is determined with an accuracy of almost ten years” (Rostovtzev 1909, 33). In his first work on Pompeii, Mikhail Ivanovich provides a brief description of the four styles and indicates their approximate dating (Rostovtzev 1894, 49 n. 1).

³⁸ See Rostovtzev 1896 [М. И. Ростовцев, “Помпеи за 1893–1895 гг.”, *Записки Русского Императорского Археологического Общества*], 307–393; Rostovtzeff 1904, 103–126; M. I. Rostovtzev, 1908 [М. И. Ростовцев, *Эллинистическо-римский архитектурный пейзаж*]. It is highly noteworthy that in her book about Pompeii, M. E. Sergeenko, a pupil of Rostovtzev in the Higher Courses for Women, also examines in detail four styles of Pompeian painting (Sergeenko 1949 [М. Е. Сергеевко, *Помпеи*], 198–205).

³⁹ Later, in an article about Tatiana S. Varsher, a graduate of the Higher Women’s Courses and his pupil as well, who lived in Italy and studied Pompeii, M. I. Rostovtzev wrote: “My early love was Pompeii”; see C. Cadamagnani 2015 [Ч. Кадамьяни, “Страсть к античности: Михаил Ростовцев, Татьяна Варшер и изучение помпейских руин. Новые материалы”], 183.

⁴⁰ Rostovtzev 1914; see also Rostovtzev 1913a [М. И. Ростовцев, *Античная декоративная живопись на Юге России. Альбом*].

philologist. But I have tried and am trying to be a historian of antiquity, based on my knowledge of archaeology and classical philology”.⁴¹

The meetings and communication with N. P. Kondakov during his research trips abroad were important for the development of M. I. Rostovtzev as a scholar. In order to study the art monuments of the “West and the Greek East”, Nikodim Pavlovich made many trips to the countries of western and southern Europe, Greece, Turkey, Egypt, Syria, Palestine, the Transcaucasia, Crimea, Kuban and the central provinces of Russia.⁴² N. P. Kondakov’s journeys fall into two groups. The first includes the major research trips to Sinai to study the Sinai monastery and the manuscripts of its library (1881); to Constantinople to explore Byzantine churches and monuments (1884); to the Caucasus to investigate the monasteries of Mingrelia, Imereti and Georgia (1889); to Syria and Palestine for the study of Christian antiquities (1891); to Athos to inspect the antiquities of Orthodox monasteries (1898);⁴³ and to Macedonia and adjacent lands for the study of Slavic antiquities (1900). The fruits of his “archaeological travels” were publications that played an important role in the study of both specific monuments (architectural works, monumental painting and applied art, icons, illuminated manuscripts, etc.) and the history of fine art in general.⁴⁴ The second group consists of less significant research trips: to the East, to western Europe and especially to the provinces of Russia. In the late 1890s, Kondakov began to pay closer attention to issues of ancient Russian art and archaeology.⁴⁵

At the end of 1894, Rostovtzev planned his second trip abroad, set to last one year, in order to work on his master’s thesis. F. F. Zelinsky helped draw up the itinerary. The trip began on March 15, 1895, and, after the settlement of various formalities, lasted a total of three years. Constantinople was the first important destination.

⁴¹ Rostovtzev 2002, 213.

⁴² See Tunkina 2001 [И. В. Тункина, “Материалы к биографии Н. П. Кондакова”, in: *Никодим Павлович Кондаков. 1844–1925. Личность, научное наследие, архив. К 150-летию со дня рождения*], 14–19.

⁴³ Zhebelev 1923, 133.

⁴⁴ Kondakov 1882 [Н. П. Кондаков, *Путешествие на Синай в 1881 году. Из путевых впечатлений. Древности Синайского монастыря*]; Kondakov 1886 [Н. П. Кондаков, *Византийские церкви и памятники Константинополя*]; Kondakov 1890 [Н. П. Кондаков, *Опись памятников древности в некоторых храмах и монастырях Грузии, составленная по Высочайшему повелению*]; Kondakov 1901 [Н. П. Кондаков, *Памятники христианского искусства на Афоне*]; Kondakov 1904 [Н. П. Кондаков, *Археологическое путешествие по Сирии и Палестине*]; Kondakov 1909 [Н. П. Кондаков, *Македония. Археологическое путешествие*] et al.

⁴⁵ Zhebelev 1923, 133; Kashcheev 2021a, 368.

From May to June 1895, Mikhail Ivanovich constantly communicated, primarily in Athens, with two other members of the “Kondakov circle”, Ya. I. Smirnov and B. V. Farmakovsky, a master’s student at Novorossiysky University.⁴⁶ Then Rostovtzev, Smirnov and Farmakovsky, together with E. M. Pridik, a graduate of the University of Dorpat, took part in a trip to the islands of the Aegean Sea (Aegina, Paros, Evia, Delos), led by Wilhelm Dörpfeld and organized by the German Archaeological Institute.⁴⁷ Four young Russian researchers also visited Cape Sunius, the town of Oropus in central Greece and Assos on the coast of Asia Minor. On Delos, Mikhail Ivanovich took an interest in private houses. In terms of their design, they reminded him of the houses in Pompeii.⁴⁸ This trip, which M. I. Rostovtzev considered his most important, included a visit to Troy and a lecture by W. Dörpfeld on the stratification of that ancient city. Back in Athens, Rostovtzev attended lectures on ancient sculpture and vase painting in the museums of the Greek capital. The stay in Greece ended with a long journey across the Peloponnese (Corinth, Sparta, Tiryns, Mycenae, Olympia and Epidaurus), which Rostovtzev undertook with his young colleagues Ya. I. Smirnov and E. M. Pridik.⁴⁹

From July to October, M. I. Rostovtzev was in Italy, where he worked in the Rome branch of the German Archaeological Institute. During this time, he also made a trip to Pompeii. He spent the winter semester of 1895–1896 at the University of Vienna, where he studied Latin epigraphy in the seminar of E. Bormann, a pupil of Th. Mommsen, and archaeology in a course given by O. Bendorf.⁵⁰

In April 1896, N. P. Kondakov arrived in Vienna from St Petersburg; on behalf of the Academy of Arts, he traveled to cities and museums in Italy and especially Spain. It was in Vienna that the teacher and his pupil M. I. Rostovtzev met. Accompanied by the Russian artist and

⁴⁶ M. I. Rostovtzev notes that “fate constantly brought me together [with Ya. I. Smirnov] during my European-Asian wanderings: in Greece, Turkey, Italy and London” (Rostovtzev 2002, 213–214).

⁴⁷ S. A. Zhebelev calls this trip the “Inselreise” (Zhebelev 1993b, 188).

⁴⁸ He concluded that the decoration of houses on Delos should be attributed to the first Pompeian style and dated to the end or middle of the second century BC; Tikhonov 1989 [И. Л. Тихонов, “Заграничные командировки 1893–1898 гг. М. И. Ростовцева: становление археолога”, in: *Скифия и Боспор. Археологические материалы к конференции памяти академика М. И. Ростовцева*], 13.

⁴⁹ According to S. A. Zhebelev, it was a “Peloponnesosreise” (Zhebelev 1993b, 188). Mikhail Rostovtzev’s report on his trip to Greece is held in the Central State Historical Archives of St Petersburg (F. 14. Op. 27. D. 617 [Fund 14, Inventory 27, Case 617]); see Zuev 1997a, 56, 79 n. 37; Tikhonov 1989, 12–13.

⁵⁰ Zuev 1997a, 56; Tyzhov 2000, 7; cf. Alipov 2017, 31.

architect L. M. Brialovsky, they both proceeded to Italy, where they were joined by Ya. I. Smirnov.⁵¹ From April 25 to May 7, they visited the museums of Venice, Verona, Milan and Genoa. They arrived in Spain on May 10, and their route took them through Barcelona, Tarragona, Zaragoza, Madrid, Cordoba, Granada and Seville. On June 7, they left Madrid for Paris, thus ending their trip through Spain's cities, museums and archaeological sites.⁵²

As M. I. Rostovtzev recalled: "During this unforgettable trip, N. P. taught us absolutely nothing. He did not 'lead' us or 'show' us anything. He traveled with us, looking on his own and assuming ... that we were also looking for something and collecting material for something". But this time the young Rostovtzev did not collect material for his research. Rather, he did something else: "I just drove and looked. It is more accurate to say I learned to look and see. Few people know how difficult that is. I learned this difficult task from N. P. and from Ya. I., although they never taught it to me, but only watched and shared with me what they saw".⁵³ This was clearly an important trip for M. I. Rostovtzev.

His second work on Pompeii, in which his exploratory look at works of fine art is more intent and more accurate than before, dates to this time. In it, Mikhail Ivanovich investigates in detail one architectural monument of the ancient city, "a large, rich and luxurious aristocratic house, located not far behind the famous Casa di Meleagro". It was the so-called house of the Vettii, although he does not call it such himself.⁵⁴ He describes the decor of numerous rooms, including the atrium and the peristyle, and analyzes in detail the narrative plots depicted by the paintings in the house. At the same time, he not only uses the literary texts of Euripides, Callimachus, Apollonius of Rhodes and other Greek authors, who describe the corresponding mythological plots, but also determines the ratio of the paintings to other monuments depicting these plots.⁵⁵ The young philologist was naturally attracted by the Latin graffiti on the walls in the vestibulum of the house and willingly examines them.⁵⁶

⁵¹ However, according to Rostovtzev's evidence, Ya. I. Smirnov already accompanied N. P. Kondakov in Vienna (Rostovtzev 2002, 213–214).

⁵² Zuev 1997a, 56; Tunkina 2001, 16.

⁵³ Rostovtzev 2002, 214.

⁵⁴ Rostovtzev 1896, 308–309; 393 n. 1. In her book about Pompeii, M. Ye. Sergeenko does not ignore this house (see Sergeenko 1949, 24; 64; 92; 171–175, fig. 52; 202–205, fig. 68; 211–214 and fig. 73–74; 225).

⁵⁵ See for the analysis of plots: Pentheus, torn apart by the bacchantes (Rostovtzev 1896, 342–345); Apollo after the massacre of Python (*ibid.* 363–365); Iphigenia at Tauris (*ibid.* 365–366); cf. Alipov 2017, 34–36.

⁵⁶ Rostovtzev 1896, 311.

During this trip, M. I. Rostovtzev also learned, by following his more experienced colleagues, to record what he saw. In the fall of 1895, his friend Ya. I. Smirnov traveled to Asia Minor,⁵⁷ where, in the notebook “Epigraphy: From a Trip to Asia Minor, 1895”, he recorded the Greek and Latin inscriptions from Roman times that he found and saw there, as well as reliefs on stone, architectural details, tombstones, church crosses, etc. Smirnov measured and sketched all the inscriptions and reliefs he encountered.⁵⁸ N. P. Kondakov’s notebooks were the usual way he collected material for his research. They contain, for example, a diary of excavations at Nymphaea in 1876. The notebook “Russian Miniatures” from the same year describes manuscripts from the collection of F. I. Buslaev. There is also one called “Archaeology, Athos, Macedonia” with notes taken during his trips to Mount Athos, Macedonia and the adjacent lands in 1898–1900. “Legends” contains materials about the Russian national character, and “Ethnography” features ethnographic records about the Avars, Bulgarians, Huns, Cumans, Rus people and other ancient peoples.⁵⁹

Like his colleagues, M. I. Rostovtzev took notes when he traveled. Most of his notebooks date from his travels abroad in 1893 and in 1895–1898. They contain the notes he took of the lectures given by A. Mau in Pompeii in 1893 and 1895, W. Dörpfeld in the Troade in 1895, and E. Bormann in Vienna in 1896. Additional notebooks are filled with Rostovtzev’s descriptions of the monuments in Rome and Pompeii, which he examined on his own.⁶⁰

A very interesting notebook titled “Kerch, Smirnov (1890), Sorak, Feldshtein” (entry by M. I. Rostovtzev) contains notes and sketches of ancient monuments in Kerch, made by Ya. I. Smirnov in 1890, including

⁵⁷ Regarding this trip, see Zhebelev 1993b, 188.

⁵⁸ For example, in the cemetery north of the village of Kilisse-Gissar in Cappadocia, Ya. I. Smirnov discovered a monument and wrote: “A round marble pillar that twice served as a tombstone; only one inscription was published, which may be explained by the fact that the copy was made when the monument not standing but lying on the ground, as now”. This notebook is currently held in the manuscript archive of the Institute for the History of Material Culture RAS (F. 11. D. 34. L. 7); see Klimanov 1999, 447. Also preserved is the “Notebook of 1896–97”, which contains information about Ya. I. Smirnov’s visits to museums and libraries and about his meetings with colleagues in Rome, Paris and London from December 1896 to December 1897 (F. 11. D. 48); see Klimanov 1999, 447–448.

⁵⁹ All are kept in SPbF ARAN (F. 115 [Kondakov N. P.]. Op. 1); see Tunkina 1995, 103–105.

⁶⁰ Thirty-two notebooks of M. I. Rostovtzev are kept in the Russian State Historical Archive (F. 1041. Op. 1, D. 85–117); see Zuev 1997b [В. Ю. Зуев, “Рукописное наследие М. И. Ростовцева в архивах России. Краткий обзор”, in: М. Г. Бонгард-Левин (ред.), *Скифский роман*], 19.

the plan of the Sorak (Soracus) crypt. As can be assumed, in 1905 Yakov Ivanovich gave this notebook to Rostovtzev, who at the time was studying the crypts and their decorative paintings. Its new owner continued recording his observations in it, starting from June 15 that year. It contains, among other things, a plan of the crypt at Feldshtein's estate.⁶¹ Later, M. I. Rostovtzev used the material in the notebook when discussing the architecture and murals of the Sorak⁶² and Feldshtein⁶³ crypts in the first part ("Bosporan Kingdom") of the first volume of his studies on ancient decorative painting in the South of Russia.

M. I. Rostovtzev kept a diary of the trips he took to Sicily, Tunisia and Algeria between April 23 and May 28, 1897.⁶⁴ During this time, he traveled one thousand kilometers through the territory of North Africa, visiting and examining several dozen towns, settlements and archaeological sites.⁶⁵ The diary contains fairly accurate sketches and descriptions of a number of monuments, including the mosaic *Farewell of Dido and Aeneas* (its another name is *Hercules and Augus*, now in the Bardo National Museum, Tunisia) and the mosaic *Herd of Horses* (located in the Sousse Archaeological Museum). The young explorer examined and copied two Latin inscriptions from Thala in situ (entry dated May 20).⁶⁶

Upon returning to Russia, the young scholar continued to be influenced by his teacher. According to M. I. Rostovtzev, Kondakov's house was "a real 'Liberal Academy'". S. A. Zhebelev recalls the "unforgettable" *jours fixes*, which took place in the apartment of Nikodim Pavlovich at Liteynaya Street 15, initially on Saturday evenings and then in the afternoon. They were attended by almost all Russian scholars and scientists interested in archaeological, humanities and natural historical knowledge.

⁶¹ The Russian State Historical Archive (F. 1041. Op. 1, D. 85); see Zuev 1997 b, 22 n. 14.

⁶² M. I. Rostovtzev attributed this crypt (no. XX) to the group of "flower style" monuments of the Roman imperial period (Rostovtzev 1914, 244–252). He reports that soon after its opening (in 1890 by Yu. A. Kulakovsky), "the crypt was visited by Ya. I. Smirnov, who made accurate measurements and took beautiful ... photographs of some of the most important parts of the painting" (Rostovtzev 1914, 244). Mikhail Ivanovich published a plan of the crypt from the notebook (Rostovtzev 1914, 245 fig. 53) and one of the photographs taken by Ya. I. Smirnov (Rostovtzev 1913a, table LXV, 4).

⁶³ The researcher attributed this crypt (no. XXIV) to the "pure inlay style" monuments of the Roman imperial period (Rostovtzev 1914, 260–271; Rostovtzev 1913a, plates XXVI–LXX).

⁶⁴ Litvinenko–Spichenko 2003 [Ю. Н. Литвиненко, Н. К. Спиченко, "Путешествие М. И. Ростовцева в Тунис и Алжир весной 1897 г.", in: Г. М. Бонгард-Левин, Ю. Н. Литвиненко (ред.), *Парфянский выстрел*], 407–443.

⁶⁵ Litvinenko–Spichenko 2003, 408.

⁶⁶ Litvinenko–Spichenko 2003, 410, 418–419 and fig. 16.

The participants were united by “cordiality and easy communication”, enjoying an environment in which “serious conversations were interspersed with witty and humorous talk [and] scholarly and everyday anxieties were discussed, because all of these various interests were close to the heart and mind of N. P.; they all excited him”.⁶⁷ Here talk about archaeology, as can be assumed, was frequent, since “everyone was more or less engaged in it”.⁶⁸ The political issues included the activities of the State Duma and the military operations during the Russo-Japanese War and the Great War. All the visitors “learned, relaxed, and had fun”. S. A. Zhebelev emphasizes that “over all visitors towered the figure of N. P., sometimes gloomy, sometimes sarcastic, but even more often illuminated by the bright rays of inspiration, enthusiasm and courtesy”.⁶⁹ Thus, according to M. I. Rostovtzev, his connection with N. P. Kondakov and his influence were not interrupted: here, “as well as in Spain, he never, at least to me, gave advice or direct instructions”.⁷⁰

Three months before his death, Nikodim Pavlovich, in a letter to S. A. Zhebelev, asked the latter, on his behalf, to “bow deeply ... to the members of ‘our’ academy [the Liberal Academy – *V. K.*], who remember me”.⁷¹ As we might guess, the basis of this academy, similar to the circle at the Museum of Antiquities, was, in addition to N. P. Kondakov himself, his disciples Smirnov (before his death in 1918), Zhebelev and Rostovtzev.

The personal meetings of M. I. Rostovtzev with N. P. Kondakov were another important way the teacher influenced his disciple. Nikodim Pavlovich was “interesting and instructive” in his talks with each of his pupils. V. N. Muromtseva-Bunina provides valuable material about the personality traits of N. P. Kondakov, which brings us closer to understanding how he communicated with others, including his nearest and dearest: “Being very strict and almost picky in matters pertaining to his own person, he was strict with others. Any manifestation of weakness aroused in him a feeling of contempt, which he expressed with ruthlessness and directness. When he encountered dignity in others, he valued it very highly”.⁷² There is no

⁶⁷ Zhebelev 2002, 219.

⁶⁸ Rostovtzev 2002, 215.

⁶⁹ Zhebelev 2002, 219–220.

⁷⁰ Rostovtzev 2002, 215; cf. Alipov 2019, 19–20.

⁷¹ Letter dated November 25, 1924, from Prague (see Tunkina 2004 [И. В. Тункина, “Академик Н. П. Кондаков: последние годы жизни (по материалам эпистолярного наследия)”, in: И. П. Медведев (ред.), *Мир русской византистики. Материалы архивов Санкт-Петербурга*], 739).

⁷² Muromtseva-Bunina 2002 [В. Н. Муромцева-Бунина, “Н. П. Кондаков (к пятилетию со дня смерти)”, 349.

doubt that Smirnov, Zhebelev, and Rostovtzev were among those with whom N. P. Kondakov discussed academic and private matters. According to V. N. Muromtseva-Bunina, Nikodim Pavlovich spoke “with special tenderness” about his disciple M. I. Rostovtzev.⁷³

From the end of the 1890s on, due to pulmonary disease, N. P. Kondakov mostly spent his winters in Yalta⁷⁴ and often went to St Petersburg in the summer months. This made it possible for his disciples to meet and talk to him personally. S. A. Zhebelev recalls how almost every evening he went to N. P. Kondakov’s house at the corner of Gorokhovaya and Bolshaya Morskaya Street and spent evenings with him there. “At first, we talked in a stuffy room, then we went for a walk – usually along the same route ... we regularly went to buy cheese and returned home to drink tea. And during all these hours we talked... I felt both content and cheerful, and I have the most vivid recollection of these conversations”.⁷⁵ We can assume that Mikhail Ivanovich also had personal talks with his teacher. According to him, N. P. Kondakov never “gave answers or direct instructions”, but simply talked about his own works, and this was highly instructive.⁷⁶

Kondakov’s scholarly works had a diverse and powerful influence on M. I. Rostovtzev as a researcher of ancient civilizations.

The art of the nomads of Eurasia was a topic investigated by N. P. Kondakov in several of his works.⁷⁷ In his opinion, the barbarian antiquities of the early Middle Ages across a large area of southern Europe – from the Caspian Sea to France, England and Spain – were linked by a common style and formed a unified whole. This style prevailed from the second to the seventh centuries CE. “The unity of this style is revealed, first of all, by the manner of decorating objects with colored stones or glass inlays, covering the surface with geometrical patterns, carving the extremities with animal forms; the style is determined by the technique of metalworking – carving and filigree – and by the very

⁷³ Muromtseva-Bunina 2002, 353.

⁷⁴ Kashcheev 2021a, 368.

⁷⁵ Zhebelev 2002, 220.

⁷⁶ Rostovtzev 2002, 215.

⁷⁷ Tolstoy–Kondakov 1889 [И. И. Толстой, Н. П. Кондаков, *Русские древности в памятниках искусства. Вып. 2. Древности скифо-сарматские*]; Tolstoy–Kondakov 1890 [И. И. Толстой, Н. П. Кондаков, *Русские древности в памятниках искусства. Вып. 3. Древности времен переселения народов*]; Tolstoy–Kondakov 1897 [И. И. Толстой, Н. П. Кондаков, *Русские древности в памятниках искусства. Вып. 5. Курганные древности и клады домонгольского периода*]; Kondakov 1892 [Н. П. Кондаков, *История и памятники византийской эмали. Собрание А. В. Звенигородского*]; Kondakoff–Tolstoi–Reinach 1891–1893; Kondakov 1909.

selection of objects, their shape and purpose”.⁷⁸ Objects made in this style were concentrated in the territory of southern Russia. It is there that the earliest known examples were found and one can “observe the various connections of this style with the art of ancient, oriental, primitive and barbarian art itself”.⁷⁹

As an example of the combination of the ancient Greco-Eastern animal style and the new Arab style in Russia, N. P. Kondakov refers to a pair of aurochs horns in a silver frame found in the Chernigov burial mound known as the “Black Grave”. He dates these to the tenth century and sees them as the earliest manifestation of the animal style in antiquities of Russian origin.⁸⁰ The horns are an early example of oriental art which, thanks to Syrian production and Arab trade, spread to far eastern and far western Europe. Forms of this art were developed in southern Europe and spread through Germany to northern Europe.⁸¹ N. P. Kondakov shows that the influence of nomadic art was also felt after the seventh century. The oriental animal style did not disappear, but became the heritage for folk art – for example, in glazed ceramics – and “survived until the twelfth century, when it again passed into the ornamentation of northwestern Europe under the title of the Romanesque style”.⁸²

Nikodim Pavlovich examined in detail the unique collection of gold works found in Siberia and stored in the Hermitage (in the so-called Siberian Collection of the Hermitage). All were made in an animal style.⁸³ Most of the items are large openwork plates of massive gold that apparently served as buckles. They depict scenes from the life of animals: a reindeer, a yak, a wild boar, a tiger, a mythical griffin and others. Some of the scenes portray animal fights or hunts for different animals. According to the researcher, “naturalism, the exaggerated depiction of reality in the images, stark details and a stark manner of work” point to the Persian origin of these images.⁸⁴

N. P. Kondakov reflected on questions of nomadic art and the animal style from the late 1890s until his death. This is evidenced not only by his publications, but also by numerous records in his personal archive. These deal with the animal style in the art of the peoples of Eurasia (1899?–1900), the religious symbols and subjects of the animal style, and

⁷⁸ Tolstoy–Kondakov 1890, 3–4.

⁷⁹ Tolstoy–Kondakov 1890, 4.

⁸⁰ Tolstoy–Kondakov 1897, 14–19.

⁸¹ Tolstoy–Kondakov 1897, 19.

⁸² Tolstoy–Kondakov 1897, 20.

⁸³ Tolstoy–Kondakov 1890, 43–66 and fig. 43–76.

⁸⁴ Kondakov 1909, 57–58.

the animal style in the stone decoration of the Dmitrievsky Cathedral in Vladimir (1915?).⁸⁵ In a letter to N. Ya. Marr dated December 26, 1922, N. P. Kondakov writes: “I am now giving a course on the history of the Middle Ages in eastern Europe, and writing an essay ‘*On the Animal Style*’ [emphasis in the original – V. K.] as a part of this course which is completely new and builds mainly on the history of the barbarian transfer of Asian cultural heritage – the heritage of China, Central Asia, Persia and Armenia – which they have got from other peoples. By barbarians I mean the Turkic, Iranian, Slavic and German nomads”.⁸⁶ Obviously, this “essay” became part of the posthumously published book by N. P. Kondakov on the history of medieval art and culture.⁸⁷

Nikodim Pavlovich considered the art of the nomads to be one of the main forces in the history of art. For him, it was the key to discovering the specifics of Byzantine art.⁸⁸ In his and I. I. Tolstoy’s edition of *Russian Antiquities*, he showed for the first time how the Scythian culture was replaced by the Sarmatian one, and the latter by the culture dominated by the style of the Migration Period. He also made clear that this development concerned the peoples of all of Eurasia. According to Ellis H. Minns, “From here comes the research of [O. M.] Dalton, [J.] Strzygowski, [M. I.] Rostovtzev. From here comes some understanding of the ‘animal style’ and its importance for the entire history of art from Assyria to the Romanesque era”.⁸⁹

M. I. Rostovtzev investigated the problem of the animal style in his fundamental study *Scythia and the Bosphorus*⁹⁰ and several other works.⁹¹ He described the most characteristic features of the Scythian animal style as follows:

⁸⁵ Tunkina 1995, 103–105.

⁸⁶ See: Tunkina 2004, 685.

⁸⁷ Kondakov 1929 [Н. П. Кондаков, *Очерки и заметки по истории средневекового искусства и культуры*] (non vidi).

⁸⁸ Vernadsky 2002b [Г. В. Вернадский, “О значении научной деятельности Н. П. Кондакова. К восьмидесятилетию со дня рождения (1844–1924)”], 237–238.

⁸⁹ Minns 2002 [Э. Миннс, “Область южнорусских и скифских древностей”], 206.

⁹⁰ Rostovtzev 1925 [М. И. Ростовцев, *Скифия и Боспор. Критическое обозрение памятников литературных и археологических*].

⁹¹ Rostovtzev 1918 [М. И. Ростовцев, *Эллинизм и иранство на Юге России*]; Rostovtzev 1922 (the author dedicated the book to Count A. A. Bobrinsky, N. P. Kondakov and E. H. Minns, in memory of V. V. Latyshev, Ya. I. Smirnov, V. V. Škorpil and N. I. Veselovsky, to whom, as he noted, he was indebted for his knowledge of the history of South Russia); Rostovtzev 2003 [М. И. Ростовцев, “Юг России и Китай – два центра развития звериного стиля”, in: Г. М. Бонгард-Левин, Ю. Н. Литвиненко (ред.), *Парфянский выстрел*], 548–563; see also some titles on the list of his articles published in Russia and abroad from 1918 to 1924 (Rostovtzev 1925, IV).

It was at once very primitive and highly refined. The main principle is the purely ornamental treatment of the animal figure... In general, the animals are treated realistically, and the realism is vigorous and powerful. But at the same time the animal figure is used exclusively as ornament... The artist's sole preoccupation is to decorate the object with a number of figures. The only type of group is the antithetic or heraldic. For the sake of ornamental effect, the artist does not hesitate to place his animals in attitudes that are sometimes taken from nature, but are immoderately exaggerated and occasionally quite fantastic. He sometimes takes the liberty of cutting the animal into pieces and using the head of a bird, for instance, as if it were an ornament. The bird's head is often repeated dozens of times and is employed to form friezes and borders. A common practice is to shape the extremities of animals as birds' or griffins' heads.⁹²

In an important assessment, M. I. Rostovtzev notes that this style was not born "on the soil of ancient Scythia and can therefore be called Scythian only to a limited extent; it arrived in Scythia already fully developed". He sees the closest analogies in the finds of Archaic Elam, the ancestor of Iranian art in general.⁹³

The animal style spread widely and was found in the steppes of southern Russia, the Urals, along the Bug and Dniester and further west in Romania and Bulgaria.⁹⁴ Mikhail Ivanovich showed that it existed in Thrace, which had close contacts with the Bosphorus and Scythia, and demonstrated the variety of forms of the Thracian-Scythian animal style based on objects found in Craiova and stored in the museums of Bucharest and Sofia.⁹⁵

The advantage of M. I. Rostovtzev's approach to the question of the animal style is that he showed the connection between China and the Iranian regions in the south of Russia in the fields of archaeology and art history, including in relation to the animal style. He cited evidence of

⁹² Rostovtzeff 1922, 51; cf. Rostovtzev 1918, 44; Rostovtzev 2003, 549.

⁹³ Rostovtzev 1918, 45.

⁹⁴ Rostovtzev 2003, 551.

⁹⁵ Rostovtzeff 1941, I, 111–118. On one of the plates in his work on the social and economic history of the Hellenistic world, M. I. Rostovtzev presented images of several silver plaques, including those from Craiova that formed part of horse trappings: "(a) triquetra of stylized horse protomes, (b) triquetra derived from the first, the horses' heads being transformed into imitations of Greek plant ornaments, (c) head of a stag with stylized horns, (d) two hind legs of lions, the paws forming birds' heads on their ends, crowned with a highly stylized griffin's head, (e) a lion's head with a wide open mouth" (Rostovtzeff 1941, I, 115, and plate XVI). For finds in Craiova, see Rostovtzeff 1931, 491 sqq.

“a close link between Chinese and Iranian art in the most ancient stage of their development”. Mikhail Ivanovich was convinced that both branches of artistic creation “were fed from a common source”, which has not yet been established, but which was undoubtedly associated with the ancient art of Mesopotamia. “In the third and fourth centuries BC, the Iranians took their animal style to the West and East for the second time. The western branch existed for a long time in the south of Russia and from there spread to central and northern Europe, to Scandinavia. The eastern branch again came into contact with China during the Han dynasty”.⁹⁶ New archaeological finds, in particular from the Arzhan burial mound (Tuva), confirm M. I. Rostovtzev’s hypothesis that the Scythian animal style comes from Central Asia.⁹⁷

N. P. Kondakov provided evidence that “mixing one’s own (local) and other people’s forms can lead to the creation of something new” in both culture and art. This concept, which L. S. Klein called “combinationism”,⁹⁸ was developed by Kondakov’s pupil B. V. Farmakovsky on the basis of the archaic Scythian culture of the Caucasus. It was valued by M. I. Rostovtzev, who applied it to the example of Scythia and the Bosphorus.

In the work he did between 1910 and 1914, M. I. Rostovtzev strove to define the most essential features of the relationship between the Greeks and the barbarians. Studying the archaeological sites of Scythia and the Bosphorus, he came to understand Scythian culture as an Iranian one.⁹⁹ In 1915, Mikhail Ivanovich began his fundamental work *Studies in the History of Scythia and the Bosphorus Kingdom*, in which he intended to examine the history of Scythia, primarily in the Hellenistic era, against the backdrop of the cultural life of the northern Black Sea region, starting from the Eneolithic era.¹⁰⁰ Of the two volumes planned, only the first, *Scythia and the Bosphorus* (1925), was published.¹⁰¹ Here the author was able to solve the difficult methodological problem of the simultaneous use of different sources (literary, epigraphic and archaeological) within the framework of a single study.

⁹⁶ Rostovtzev 2003, 562.

⁹⁷ Bongard-Levin–Ivanchik 2003 [Г. М. Бонгард-Левин, А. И. Иванчик, “Юг России и Китай – два центра развития звериного стиля. (Вступительная заметка)”, in: Г. М. Бонгард-Левин, Ю. Н. Литвиненко (ред.), *Парфянский выстрел*], 547.

⁹⁸ Klein 2011 [Л. С. Клейн, *История археологической мысли*], 664–665.

⁹⁹ Zuev 1991 [В. Ю. Зуев, “Творческий путь М. И. Ростовцева (к созданию ‘Исследования по истории Скифии и Боспорского царства’)”, *ВДИ*], 169.

¹⁰⁰ Zuev 1991, 169–170.

¹⁰¹ Rostovtzev 1925. This volume was also published in German (Rostovtzeff 1931; see Heinen 1999, 52).

M. I. Rostovtzev approached Scythia and the Bosphorus as a philologist, epigraphist, archaeologist and historian.

As a philologist, he produced a short, meaningful essay that shows the evolution of the literary tradition about the northern and eastern Black Sea regions and testifies to the wealth of information available to researchers.¹⁰² Mikhail Ivanovich saw his task not only in reading and assimilating literary sources, but also in critically examining them, establishing a genetic connection between them, and determining the dependence of some sources on others.¹⁰³ He focused attention mainly on those parts of the tradition that characterize the state, culture and life not only of the Scythians, but also of the other tribes that lived in the vicinity of the Scythians, the Greek cities in the northern Black Sea region, and the Bosphorus Kingdom itself.¹⁰⁴ M. I. Rostovtzev's research aimed "at studying the fate of the Bosphorus Kingdom, Crimea and a part of the northern coast of the Black Sea, close to the Bosphorus" – not throughout their historical existence, but only during the period in which they played an independent political role, up to approximately the third century CE. Thus, he was interested in the "Bosphorus, [in] Scythia, which was closely connected with it as a political and cultural unit, [and in] a few Sarmatian tribes that were closely bound up with the Bosphorus and Scythia".¹⁰⁵

As an epigraphist, M. I. Rostovtzev noted in a brief review of inscriptions that many gaps in the literary tradition could be filled with data obtained from numerous Greek and rare Latin inscriptions.¹⁰⁶ He argued that "the composition of our relatively extensive epigraphic material is accidental and could be significantly replenished by systematic excavations".¹⁰⁷

As an archaeologist, M. I. Rostovtzev proceeded from the fact that grave goods constituted the main archaeological material and the basis

¹⁰² Rostovtzev 1925, 1–11.

¹⁰³ Rostovtzev 1925, 12.

¹⁰⁴ Rostovtzev 1925, 14.

¹⁰⁵ Rostovtzev 1925, 15.

¹⁰⁶ Rostovtzev 1925, 144.

¹⁰⁷ Rostovtzev 1925, 153. Since *Scythia and the Bosphorus* was first written and published, the number of Greek and Latin inscriptions found in the northern Black Sea region has grown significantly, and important collections have been published, most notably *Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosporani* (Struve 1965 [B. В. Струве (ред.), *Корпус боспорских надписей*]) and *Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosporani: Album Imaginum* (Gavrilov–Pavlichenko–Keyer–Karlin 2004 [А. К. Гаврилов, Н. А. Павличенко, Д. В. Кейер, А. В. Карлин (ред.), *Корпус боспорских надписей: Альбом иллюстраций*]).

for studying the “evolution of external culture and partly the religious views of the inhabitants of the cities of the Bosporus Kingdom”. They could also be drawn on to investigate the settled and nomadic peoples of Scythia.¹⁰⁸ When studying specific monuments, Mikhail Ivanovich strictly separated the necropolises of Greek cities from those of semi-Greek settlements as well as from those of the settled inhabitants of the Scythian Kingdom. As a special category, he singled out necropolises and individual burials grounds “that belonged to the nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes of the steppes of southern Russia”.¹⁰⁹ This division allowed him to correctly assess archaeological sites and use the material to achieve historical goals.

As a historian, M. I. Rostovtzev traced the processes of interaction between the Hellenic principle and the Scythian-Sarmatian (Iranian) culture in various spheres of life, especially in the Hellenistic and Roman eras. For example, he showed how, during the reign of the last Spartocids, the Iranian element freely spread to the Greek population of the cities of the Bosporus. “Behind the Greek outward form, even in the Greek centers, local elements increasingly appeared, changing all the foundations of political, economic, social, cultural and religious life”.¹¹⁰

It should be emphasized that, in terms of its broad treatment of literary, epigraphic and archaeological sources, the thoroughness of its analysis, and the importance of the historical conclusions drawn on the basis of this analysis, *Scythia and the Bosporus* remains a singular work in Russian and international scholarship even today, one hundred years after it was written.¹¹¹

The similarity of the positions of N. P. Kondakov and M. I. Rostovtzev can be seen in their attitude toward the important ideas dominating the humanities and social sciences of their age. The idea of social/historical progress in its pure form was alien to Kondakov. Georgy V. Vernadsky (1887–1973), who was the intellectual disciple of Nikodim Pavlovich, rightly noted that “the idea of transformation or evolution”

¹⁰⁸ Rostovtzev 1925, 157.

¹⁰⁹ Rostovtzev 1925, 159.

¹¹⁰ Rostovtzev 1918, 112.

¹¹¹ Professor Heinz Heinen (1941–2013), inspired by the studies of M. I. Rostovtzev, planned to create a general work on the ancient history of the northern Black Sea region, but his early death prevented him from realizing this project. He published six well-written articles on the topic (see Heinen 2006b, 151–304; 320–358), which in 2006 were supplemented by the small book *Antike am Rande der Steppe* with the notable subtitle *Die nördliche Schwarzmeerraum als Forschungsaufgabe* (Heinen 2006a).

was inherent element of his teacher's understanding of history. Such evolution can take different forms: either progress in its pure form, decline or simply "lateral deviation". "The development of civilization ... does not follow one ascending line, but simultaneously different lines going in different directions".¹¹² According to N. P. Kondakov, in various periods of history, some very distant from us, there have been cultural achievements that, "in terms of their methods and creative processes, have not yet been surpassed by mankind".¹¹³ Some of the achievements that remain unrivaled to the present day are, for example, filigree, carvings, enamels, miniatures and wax paintings. In a number of his fundamental works, Nikodim Pavlovich studied in detail such outstanding works of art, which were objects of people's everyday lives. He showed that Byzantine enamel art began in the eighth century, reached its peak in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and fell into decline at the beginning of the thirteenth century.¹¹⁴ As an art historian, N. P. Kondakov described the features of the best of these artworks:

The main advantage of Byzantine enamels is the harmony of colors and the purity and intensity of the tones. The main disadvantage is the absence of modeling reliefs and the schematism of the figures and especially the draperies ... in Byzantine enamels, the beauty and physicality of the color of hands and faces are especially striking, but at the same time, a pure bodily tone, with a slight pinkish and olive tint, is found only in the tenth and first half of the eleventh centuries... A well-known feature of ancient enamels is also the transparent emerald enamels and milky white body paint... The final process of enamel production is the grinding of the finished surface after firing. This grinding or polishing achieved a high level of perfection in the hands of the Byzantine craftsmen, similar to the polishing of precious stones.¹¹⁵

Accordingly, N. P. Kondakov appropriated the art achievements of some peoples and some eras as outstanding, although many other researchers usually did not think so and therefore did not study them.¹¹⁶ In the issue of *Russian Antiquities* on barrow antiquities and treasures of the pre-Mongol period, N. P. Kondakov expressed an important idea: "The life of the nomads in a certain era was more advanced than the life of the agricultural peoples in terms of the assimilation of cultural forms, even if these forms

¹¹² Vernadsky 2002a [Г. В. Вернадский, "Никодим Павлович Кондаков"], 319.

¹¹³ Vernadsky 2002a, 319–320; Vernadsky 2002b, 254–255.

¹¹⁴ Kondakov 1892, 87, 250.

¹¹⁵ Tolstoy–Kondakov 1897, 37.

¹¹⁶ Vernadsky 2002b, 255.

were exclusively related to personal decorations, headdresses, and what has hitherto been called wealth among the people”.¹¹⁷

The idea of historical progress in its “pure form” was not embraced by M. I. Rostovtzev either. He did not see an opportunity to apply it to the field of art and made the following argument: “Evolution in this area is clear. Many epochs have achieved perfection in expressing the spirit inherent to them, and all epochs have found an artistic language corresponding to this spirit”. Mikhail Ivanovich raised several questions: “But what about the idea of continuous progress? Where are the steps taken by art as it strives to attain some ideal?” He sees the answer in the fact that “in the field of art, ideals are a myth and do not exist at all. Each epoch has its culminating point, and these culminating points are generally incommensurable”.¹¹⁸

M. I. Rostovtzev limited the application of the theory of progress to the field of science – that is, to the sphere of human creativity in which this theory appeared. Here progress can be proven, but with time constraints, since in science long periods of “weakness and decay” are replaced by short periods of “intense creativity”. However, we have no right to consider “the development of science to be constant and unlimited”.¹¹⁹

In his work *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, M. I. Rostovtzev briefly but quite definitively formulated his view of the historical process that since the time of Edward Gibbon had generally been designated “the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, or rather of ancient civilization in general”. In this context, he defined the very essence of the problem as follows: “The decline and fall ... have two aspects: first, the political, social and economic, and second, the intellectual and spiritual”.¹²⁰ The main phenomenon underlying the process of decline was “the general absorption of the educated classes by the masses and the resulting simplification of all the functions of political, social, economic, and intellectual life, which we call the barbarization of the ancient world”.¹²¹

¹¹⁷ Tolstoy–Kondakov 1897, 25.

¹¹⁸ Rostovtzev 2004 [М. И. Ростовцев, “Идея прогресса и ее историческое обоснование,” in: К. А. Аветисян (ред.), *Miscellanea: из журналов Русского зарубежья (1920–1939)*], 56 (this article was first published in the journal *Sovremennye zapiski* [Современные записки, “Contemporary Notes”], Paris 1921).

¹¹⁹ Rostovtzev 2004, 56.

¹²⁰ Rostovtzeff 1926, 478; Rostovtzeff 1957, 2, 532.

¹²¹ Rostovtzeff 1926, 486; Rostovtzeff 1957, 2, 541.

Being an enthusiastic researcher of antiquity, M. I. Rostovtzev clearly formulated conclusions, the correctness of which he did not doubt. But as a passionate citizen of the world and a man of his time, he encouraged his contemporaries to learn from history.¹²² He wrote:

The evolution of the ancient world has a lesson and a warning for us. Our civilization will not last unless it is a civilization not of one class, but of the masses. The Oriental civilizations were more stable and lasting than the Greco-Roman, because, being chiefly based on religion, they were nearer to the masses. Another lesson is that violent attempts at levelling have never helped to uplift the masses. They have destroyed the upper classes, and resulted in accelerating the process of barbarization. But the ultimate problem remains like a ghost, ever present and unresolved: Is it possible to extend a higher civilization to the lower classes without debasing its standard and diluting its quality to the vanishing point? Is not every civilization bound to decay as soon as it begins to penetrate the masses?¹²³

M. I. Rostovtzev was worried about what was happening in his contemporary world, and he was looking for answers. Modernity had also invaded Kondakov's usual measured life, and he, too, was worried about the fate of his country and the world.¹²⁴ But despite all the external difficulties, both scholars continued their academic activities, and their contribution to world scholarship is enormous.

N. P. Kondakov was the founder of a research school that, according to I. V. Tunkina, united representatives of various disciplines in the humanities: historians, art historians, archaeologists, Orientalists, antiquities scholars, Slavists and Byzantinists.¹²⁵ Many scholars – not only Russian,

¹²² This is what Oswald Spengler did in his *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* (1918–1922), Johan Huizinga in *In de schaduw van morgen* (1935) and Arnold J. Toynbee in *A Study of History* (1934–1961).

¹²³ Rostovtzeff 1926, 486–487; Rostovtzeff 1957, 2, 541. Clearly influenced by M. I. Rostovtzev, Frank W. Walbank (1909–2008), known as a researcher of Polybius and the history of the Hellenistic world, wrote a work titled *The Decline of the Roman Empire in the West* (Walbank 1946). In later editions, the author expanded the title to include a phrase from E. Gibbon, “the awful revolution”, in which “awful” means not only “terrible”, but also “causing a feeling of horror” (Walbank 1969).

¹²⁴ In a letter to S. A. Zhebelev dated March 29 (16 in the Julian calendar), 1918, he wrote: “In the twentieth century, you cannot live in a country where there are no property rights, or where they exist only for some classes, while others are ‘outlawed’. It is no longer possible for a Russian to live in Russia. Soon it will be as dangerous as a convict prison, and it will therefore be necessary to leave it” (see Tunkina 2004, 662).

¹²⁵ Tunkina 1995, 98.

but also European – considered him their teacher. N. P. Kondakov was convinced that his teacher F. I. Buslaev had laid the foundation for Russian archaeological scholarship. According to S. A. Zhebelev, N. P. Kondakov himself erected a strong and powerful edifice on this foundation: he applied “those methods of historical and analytical research thanks to which archaeology is transformed into the history of art”. Furthermore, S. A. Zhebelev clarified what exactly this method consisted in: “N. P. Kondakov is undoubtedly the first archaeologist and art historian who in his research of Christian monuments relied on a thorough and comprehensive study of their style and conducted all his research on a broad historical basis, constantly using the comparative method”.¹²⁶

Having graduated from Kondakov’s school, M. I. Rostovtzev completely mastered its characteristic method and was able to conduct a stylistic analysis of the most diverse (and, in fact, almost all) works of art. But unlike his famous teacher, he did not become an art historian, perhaps because he had another teacher, the celebrated philologist F. F. Zelinsky, thanks to whom, as a researcher, he was able to profit from the life-giving source of St Petersburg philology. The inclination of Mikhail Ivanovich to popularize scholarly knowledge came not from N. P. Kondakov, but from F. F. Zelinsky, and he also owed his “passionate participation in the most pressing issues of that desperate time”, especially during the years of exile, to Zelinsky.¹²⁷ M. I. Rostovtzev was able to combine the merits of both of his very different teachers. He “advanced Russian scholarship precisely because he combined the harsh skeptical attitude of ‘fact-worshippers’ with the contemplative courage of Zelinsky. Relentlessly adhering to sources, Rostovtzev ... did not abandon general conclusions and believed in the power of scholarly thought”.¹²⁸

In 1913, M. I. Rostovtzev outlined an ambitious research program that over the next few decades he was able to implement in his writings on the history of the Hellenistic world. He proceeded from the fact that

¹²⁶ See Tunkina 2004, 645. Similarly, art critic N. P. Sychev (1883–1964) described the features of the subject and method of research in this school as follows: “Art history in Kondakov’s school was not limited to subjective observations or the study of works of personal creativity and an aesthetic and stylistic analysis of such works. Its subject was the vast and substantial material from antiquity. It saw reflected in this material processes of growth, deformation and decline ... it did not limit itself to studying only one branch because it wished to leave open the possibility of a comparative analysis of forms and; therefore; be the sole tool for scholarly work” (Klimanov 1999, 470–471).

¹²⁷ See Gavrilov 2012 [А. К. Гаврилов, “Фаддей Францевич Зелинский в контексте русской культуры”, in: *Древний мир и мы*], 38.

¹²⁸ Gavrilov 2012, 43.

it was impossible to recreate the political history of this world without a definite idea: first, “about that culture, which was the basis of people’s life in infinitely diverse countries”; second, “about the social and economic structure of these countries”; third, about “the evolution of forms of life, household items, features of architecture and the fine arts”; and, finally, about the peculiarities of the religious development of each country. The data, taken from literary texts, especially from the “historical and geographical tradition”, and combined with epigraphic materials (and not only Greek ones) and understood on the basis of the archaeological material of each country – all this data should be combined to form an overall picture, which, though possibly incomplete, is able to convey all the main and the principal features of history. M. I. Rostovtzev believed that the essence of historical work lay not in a retelling of what ancient historians wrote, but in something more valuable and important.¹²⁹ He continues:

Anticipating the enrichment of our materials and the refinement of the historical method, we must now, having grouped all the material available for our attempts at understanding, try to clarify the features and significance of the main processes in a given geographical area and in a given epoch, link these processes with the past and future and ... against this backdrop, portray the political history of the state and era.¹³⁰

M. I. Rostovtzev implemented this program partly in *Scythia and the Bosphorus* (1925)¹³¹ and to a greater extent in both *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (1926)¹³² and his grandiose study *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (1941).¹³³ His reputation as an ancient historian is based on his last two monographs. These differ in significant ways from the previous three monographic works published before 1913, which also dealt with questions of ancient social and economic history¹³⁴ – the first with state ransom in the Roman Empire (1899), the second with Roman *tesserae* tokens, made from lead (1903), and the third with the Roman *colonatus* (1910). These differences

¹²⁹ Rostovtzev 1913b [М. И. Ростовцев, “Эллинистическая Азия в эпоху Селевкидов (по поводу книги: А. Bouché-Leclercq. Histoire de Seleucides. Paris 1913)”, in: *Научный исторический журнал, издаваемый Н. И. Кареевым*], 42; cf. Zuev 1991, 166–167.

¹³⁰ Rostovtzev 1913b, 42; cf. Zuev 1991, 166.

¹³¹ Rostovtzev 1925; see also Rostovtzeff 1931; Rostovtzeff 1993.

¹³² Rostovtzeff 1926; see also Rostovtzeff 1957, 1–2.

¹³³ Rostovtzeff 1941, 1–3.

¹³⁴ Schneider 2014, 545.

are the result of the experiences Mikhail Ivanovich had while studying ancient monuments of archaeology and the fine arts.

M. I. Rostovtzev dedicated his famous work *Ancient Decorative Painting in the South of Russia* (1913–1914), which was of crucial importance for the further study of the history, archaeology and art in the northern Black Sea region, to N. P. Kondakov. Rostovtzev explained: “He was the first to open my eyes to monuments, with him I took one of my first archaeological trips, [and] in conversations with him I learned to look and see”. He also offers an important judgment: “I have not become an art historian like him, but those scholars who approach monuments as historians and archaeologists are not useless, perhaps for the scholarship of antiquity”.¹³⁵ Thus, in this dedication, M. I. Rostovtzev clearly expresses the most important thing that he, as a researcher, received from his teacher. In addition, he describes the fundamental difference between his own approach and his teacher’s to the monuments of the fine arts and archaeology.

In his two main historical works about the social and economic history of the Roman Empire and the Hellenistic world, Mikhail Ivanovich used many plates as an important part of his research – reproductions of works of fine art and archaeological monuments. It is noteworthy that he analyzed these works not as an art historian or art critic, as N. P. Kondakov would have done, but primarily as a historian and archaeologist. Explaining the purpose of illustrations in his works, M. I. Rostovtzev wrote that they

are not intended to amuse or please the reader. They are an essential part of the book – as essential, in fact, as the notes and quotations from literary or documentary sources. They have been taken from the large store of archaeological evidence that for a student of social and economic life is just as important and indispensable as the written evidence. Some of my inferences and conclusions are largely based on archaeological material.¹³⁶

One example can be found in the chapter about the Roman Empire under the Flavians and Antonines in *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*. Plate XXXVI (in the second edition, plate XLVII), which is titled

¹³⁵ Rostovtzev 1914, IX. It is noteworthy that N. P. Kondakov, having read the book *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (1922), made the following entry in his diary on August 10, 1923: “I read Rostovtzev – it was not an archaeological, but a historical book!” (see Tunkina 2004, 740 n. 12). In a letter sent to S. A. Zhebelev from Prague on November 25, 1924, Kondakov wrote that he did not like the book very much (see Tunkina 2004, 739).

¹³⁶ Rostovtzeff 1926, XIV; Rostovtzeff 1957, 1, XVII.

“Life in South Russia”, presents three fragments of mural paintings from the tombs at Panticapaeum: (1) a landowner on his estate, (2) a landowner fighting the Scythians, and (3) a landowner fighting a Taurian.¹³⁷ Before the fragments appeared in Rostovtzev’s book, they were published in the French edition of *Russkie drevnosti* by N. P. Kondakov and I. I. Tolstoy, edited by S. Reinach.¹³⁸ M. I. Rostovtzev referred to these images at least twice: they appear in his atlas *Ancient Decorative Painting in the South of Russia*,¹³⁹ as well as in the English edition of his work *Iranians and Greeks in the South of Russia*.¹⁴⁰ The first fresco bears a Greek inscription: Ἀνθεστήριος ὁ Ἥγησιππου ὁ καὶ Κτησαμένος (*IosPE* II. 123).¹⁴¹ Rostovtzev describes the fresco as follows:

The scene represents the rural life of a large landowner of Panticapaeum. The dead man, armed and followed by a retainer, is riding towards his family residence, a tent of true nomadic type. His household (wife, children, and servants) is assembled in the tent and beside it, under the shade of a single tree; beside the tree is his long spear, while his quiver hangs from a branch. It is of course summer, and in summer during the harvest season the landowner, who lived as a rule in the city, went out to the steppes, armed and accompanied by armed servants. He supervises the work in the fields, and defends his labourers and harvesters from the attacks of neighbours, the Taurians from the mountains and the Scythians from the plains.¹⁴²

This is an excellent example of an ekphrasis put to effective use in historical research.

In “Autonecrologue”, S. A. Zhebelev formulated an important criterion for determining whether a researcher was an archaeologist: he must “deal with material monuments as such” and, most importantly, “study material monuments themselves, and not just their images”.¹⁴³ In this respect, N. P. Kondakov was clearly an archaeologist, which is highlighted

¹³⁷ Rostovtzeff 1926, between 240 and 241; Rostovtzeff 1957, 1, between 260 and 261.

¹³⁸ Kondakoff–Tolstoi–Reinach 1893, 203, fig. 187; 209, fig. 192.

¹³⁹ Rostovtzev 1913a, plates LI, 6; LXXIX and LXXVIII, 1 respectively.

¹⁴⁰ Rostovtzev 1922, plates XXVIII, 1; XXIX, 3, and XXIX, 1 respectively.

¹⁴¹ Rostovtzev 1914, 172. For a description of the painting and its analysis, see Rostovtzev 1914, 172–175.

¹⁴² Rostovtzeff 1926, 240; Rostovtzeff 1957, 1, XVII.

¹⁴³ Zhebelev 1993a, 179. In this sense, S. A. Zhebelev did not consider himself an archaeologist, despite the fact that, when it was necessary, he included archaeological material in his research, lectured on archaeology at the university and published the work *An Introduction to Archaeology* (see *ibidem*).

by the fact that he also supervised archaeological excavations during the Odessa period of his academic activity. However, this fact does not prevent us from classifying him, first and foremost, as an art historian and a Byzantinist.

By the same token, M. I. Rostovtzev can rightfully be considered an archaeologist – all the more because from 1928 to 1937 he directed large-scale excavations of the ancient city of Dura-Europos in Syria and published a book based on the materials from these studies.¹⁴⁴ The publishers of *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica* considered these activities sufficient reason to call Rostovtzev a “Russian-born archaeologist”.¹⁴⁵ Still, archaeology was not the main area of his scholarly interests.

In *A History of Archaeological Thought*, Lev S. Klein forms his own judgment about who can be considered a true creator in scholarship. “Usually, outstanding creators were ... those who put the interests of science above their own, who were ready to work in this field without prospects for quick or significant success, but who – and this is the most important thing – were always ready for it”. These creators were individuals “who have always striven to do their jobs with the greatest skill and assuming the greatest responsibility”. L. S. Klein counts Mikhail Rostovtzev among such creators, placing his name on par with Sophus Müller and Gray Clark, those outstanding archaeologists of the early twentieth century.¹⁴⁶

M. I. Rostovtzev was undeniably “a true creator in scholarship”. Unlike his teacher N. P. Kondakov, he did not create his own school, but was nevertheless one of the very rare universal scholars of that era. He was able to work professionally in various branches of classical studies, including the history of ancient literature, Greek and Latin epigraphy, papyrology, ancient numismatics, the history of ancient art, the history of religion and, of course, classical archaeology. However, he was mainly an ancient historian who was able to view the history of the peoples of the ancient world as a union of politics, economics, social relations, religion, culture and everyday life. If we want to define the role played by Mikhail I. Rostovtzev in scholarship as one of the most outstanding researchers

¹⁴⁴ Rostovtzeff 1938. This book was based on the lectures given by M. I. Rostovtzev at University College, London, and at the Collège de France, Paris, in 1937. The lectures were held after he had completed his excavations at Dura Europos, although by that time not all reports on the excavations had been published (Rostovtzeff 1938, VII).

¹⁴⁵ However, Britannica also describes him as “one of the 20th century’s most influential authorities on ancient Greek and Roman history, particularly their economic and social aspects” (*The New Encyclopaedia Britannica* ¹⁵1994, 10, 198).

¹⁴⁶ Klein 2011, 2, 489.

of antiquity in the twentieth century, we must bear in mind the research tradition associated with the city of St Petersburg, to which his prominent teachers Nikodim P. Kondakov and Faddey (Tadeusz) F. Zelinsky belonged – and to which he belonged as well.

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The influence of the outstanding scholar N. P. Kondakov and his research school on M. I. Rostovtzev as a scholar was multifaceted and powerful. The main lines of this influence are traced here: the young Rostovtzev's attendance of his teacher's lectures on art history and archaeology at the university, his participation in the circle established by Kondakov at the Museum of Antiquities, their joint research trips, especially to Italy and Spain in 1896, Rostovtzev's visits to the *jours fixes* in Kondakov's home (the so-called Liberal Academy), his personal meetings and talks with Kondakov and Kondakov's pupils, especially with Ya. I. Smirnov and S. A. Zhebelev, and his study of Kondakov's scholarly works. M. I. Rostovtzev took a new approach to the animal style, which his teacher had researched for many decades. Kondakov's idea that "mixing one's own (local) forms and the forms of another people leads to the creation of something new" in culture and art was developed in detail by Rostovtzev using the example of Scythia and the Bosphorus. This essay shows that the idea of progress in its pure form, which was relevant to the humanities and social sciences of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, was alien to both teacher and disciple. Having passed through Kondakov's school, M. I. Rostovtzev had completely mastered its characteristic method and was able to conduct a stylistic analysis of the most diverse works of art. However, he did not become an art historian, perhaps because he had another teacher, the celebrated philologist F. F. Zelinsky, thanks to whom, as a researcher, he was able to profit from the life-giving source of classical philology. N. P. Kondakov was first and foremost an art historian and a Byzantinist, but also an archaeologist. For his part, M. I. Rostovtzev can rightfully be considered an archaeologist, all the more so because he directed the excavations at Dura-Europos in 1928–1937. However, archaeology was not the main focus of his scholarly interests. He was one of the very rare universal scholars of antiquity in this era who was capable of working professionally in many branches of classical studies. Most of all, he was an ancient historian who was able to view the history of the ancient world as a kind of union of politics, economics, social relations, religion, culture and everyday life. M. I. Rostovtzev, as well as his prominent teachers N. P. Kondakov and F. F. Zelinsky, belongs to the classical tradition associated with St Petersburg.

Влияние выдающегося ученого Н. П. Кондакова и его научной школы на М. И. Ростовцева как исследователя было многосторонним и мощным. Здесь прослежены основные линии этого влияния: посещение молодым Ростовцевым лекций его учителя по истории искусства и археологии в Университете, его участие в созданном Кондаковым *кружке при Музее Древностей*, их совместные исследовательские поездки, особенно по Италии и Испании в 1896 году, посещение *журфиксов* в доме Кондакова (так называемая *Свободная Академия*), личные встречи и общение Ростовцева с учителем и его учениками, особенно с Я. И. Смирновым и С. А. Жебелёвым, а также влияние на него научных трудов Кондакова. М. И. Ростовцев по-новому подошел к изучению проблемы звериного стиля, которую его учитель исследовал на протяжении многих десятилетий. Идея Н. П. Кондакова о том, что “смешение своих собственных (местных) форм и форм другого народа приводит к созданию чего-то нового” в культуре и искусстве, была детально развита М. И. Ростовцевым на примере Скифии и Боспора. Здесь показано, что актуальная для гуманитарных и социальных наук конца XIX – начала XX века идея прогресса в ее чистом виде была чужда и учителю, и ученику. Пройдя школу Кондакова, М. И. Ростовцев всецело овладел присущим ей методом и мог проводить стилистический анализ разнообразных произведений искусства. Но искусствоведом он не стал, возможно, потому что у него был еще один учитель, знаменитый филолог Ф. Ф. Зелинский, благодаря которому он как исследователь мог черпать силы из живительного источника классической филологии. Н. П. Кондаков, несомненно, был археологом, но прежде всего искусствоведом и византистом. Равным образом и М. И. Ростовцева по праву можно считать археологом, тем более что он руководил раскопками в Дура-Европос (1928–1937). И все же археология не была основной областью его научных интересов. М. И. Ростовцев был одним из очень редких для его времени универсальных исследователей античности, способных профессионально работать во многих областях антиковедения. Но прежде всего он был историком античности, способным рассматривать историю древнего мира как некое единство политики, экономики, социальных отношений, религии, культуры и повседневной жизни. М. И. Ростовцев, как и его выдающийся учитель Н. П. Кондаков и Ф. Ф. Зелинский, принадлежит той классической традиции, которая связана с Петербургом.

Alain Schnapp

DES MONUMENTS À L'HISTOIRE : LA RAISON DES RUINES ET MICHEL DE MONTAIGNE

Michel Rostovtseff est l'un des plus puissants esprits du XX^e siècle qui aient consacré leur vie à l'histoire ancienne.¹ Mais sa conception de l'histoire est singulière. Il la conçoit comme une approche globale des sociétés anciennes qui fait autant de place aux sources écrites qu'aux sources non écrites, et qui conjugue la tradition textuelle, l'histoire de l'art et l'archéologie de terrain pour construire un récit historique complet. Pour lui, l'histoire des choses et aussi importantes que celle des idées, il est le premier à tenter de se libérer du carcan de la tradition descriptiviste des antiquaires pour construire un dialogue entre l'histoire et les sources matérielles. Ce faisant, il est l'héritier d'une tradition critique qui, depuis Montaigne, hante notre intelligence du monde antique. C'est pourquoi en m'interrogeant sur la critique que Montaigne élève contre les antiquaires de son époque, je pense rendre un hommage à la méthode et à l'œuvre de Rostovtseff.

Antiquaires, poètes, peintres et architectes ont contribué à faire de Rome le paysage inéluctable sur lequel se projette toute la pensée des ruines en Occident. Pour parachever cet édifice artistique, moral et historique il ne manquait que la voix critique et ironique du philosophe, la seule capable d'observer les ruines avec le mélange d'admiration et de défiance nécessaire à une approche rationnelle, et une vision distanciée de la Ville Eternelle. Montaigne s'est senti en quelque sorte, obligé, de prendre en charge cette attitude à la fois, comme il le dit dans les *Essais* parce que l'idée de Rome lui est en quelque sorte consubstantielle, et aussi du fait que la critique des pratiques érudites est au cœur de son travail d'écrivain (*Essais*, Livre III, chap. IX, p. 1117) :²

¹ Andreau 1988. Sur le dialogue possible entre l'historien et l'historien de l'art voir le premier volume des « *Dumbarton Oaks papers* », 1940, avec les contributions d'Henri Focillon et Michael Rostovtzev.

² Ci-après cité par édition: Montaigne 1950.

J'ay eu cognoissance des affaires de Rome, long temps avant que je l'aye eue de ceux de ma maison. Je sçavois le Capitole et son plant, avant que je sceusse le Louvre : et le Tibre avant la Seine.

Pour Montaigne plus que quiconque l'*Urbs* est la ville universelle, celle où les différences de culture et de nationalité s'estompent (*Essais*, Livre III, chap. IX p.1119) :

Et puis ceste mesme Rome que nous voyons, merite qu'on l'ayme. Confederée de si long temps, et partant de tiltres, à nostre couronne : Seule ville commune, et universelle. Le magistrat souverain qui y commande, est recognu pareillement ailleurs : c'est la ville metropolitaine de toutes les nations Chrestiennes. L'Espagnol et le François chacun y est chez soy : Pour estre des princes de cet estat, il ne faut qu'estre de Chrestienté, où qu'elle soit. Il n'est lieu ça bas, que le ciel ayt embrassé avec telle influence de faveur, et telle constance : Sa ruyne mesme est glorieuse et enflée. *Laudandis preciosior ruinis* (« plus précieuse par la splendeur de ses ruines » [Sid. Apoll. *Carm.* 13, 62]).

L'*Urbs* est le cadre de référence de toute histoire et de toute réflexion, elle est la seule cité au monde à offrir une telle agrégation d'esprits et de talents, sans que le principe de nationalité puisse faire obstacle à la conduite des affaires de l'Eglise, ou à la gestion de la ville. La capitale de la chrétienté est donc aussi une capitale des arts et du savoir, et ses ruines mêmes sont l'expression de son statut particulier, de sa singularité au sens très fort que Montaigne donne à ce mot. Comme bien d'autres avant lui, Montaigne connaissait Rome sans même l'avoir visitée, et si nous ne disposions pas du *Journal de Voyage*, il aurait été impossible à partir des seuls *Essais* de nous faire une idée précise du rôle que l'observation des ruines a joué dans sa conception de l'histoire et de la philosophie. Car malgré toute sa familiarité avec les institutions et la littérature romaines, Montaigne entend faire l'expérience des lieux et procéder à toutes les observations qui lui semblent nécessaires. Car ce qui le frappe, c'est la distance entre la Rome antique telle qu'il la connaît et la Rome moderne au milieu de ses ruines. Quand il affirme (*Journal de Voyage en Italie*, p. 211) :³

qu'on en voïoit rien de Rome que le ciel sous le quel elle avait assise et le plan de son gîte,

³ Ci-après cité par édition: Montaigne 1946.

il retrouve la parabole de Vitalis : les « choses immobiles chancellent et celles, qui perpétuellement agitées, subsistent ».⁴ Rome n'est pas comme Troie ou Sparte un *nomen*, un pur concept. Elle est faite d'une accumulation de vestiges que le visiteur doit tenter d'interpréter pour en éprouver la matière même. Pour le visiteur humaniste l'expérience du voyage est une découverte de soi (*Essais* Livre III, chap. IX, p. 1088) :

je respons ordinairement à ceux qui me demandent raison de mes voyages : que je sçay bien ce que je fuis mais non ce que je cherche.

Montaigne n'aborde pas la ville avec un but précis et un questionnaire déjà tout prêt. Il se laisse porter par l'expérience et les rencontres. Il tente, comme tout voyageur de cette époque et de ce rang, d'avoir recours à un guide expérimenté, mais l'affaire capote. On ne sait si cela est du fait de Montaigne ou de son accompagnateur, l'important est que dans un premier temps Montaigne se prend au jeu (*Journal de Voyage* p. 211) :

(...) il se pica par son propre estude, de venir à bout de cette science, aidé de diverses cartes et de divers livres qu'il se faisoit lire le soir, et le jour alloit mettre en pratique son apprentissage si que en peu de jours il eut aysément guidé son guide.

Comme Rabelais avant lui, Montaigne désire expérimenter la méthode antiquaire et se rendre maître des outils nécessaires à l'interprétation des sites et des monuments. Mais il entend soumettre les résultats de ses observations à la critique (*Journal de Voyage* p. 211) :

(...) que cette science qu'il en avait (du plan de Rome) estoit une science abstraite et contemplative, de laquelle il n'y avoit rien qui tumba sous les sens, que ceux qui disoient qu'on y voyoit au moins les ruines de Rome en disoient trop : car les ruines d'une si espouvantable machine rapporteroient plus d'honneur et de révérence à sa mémoire, ce n'estoit que son sépulcre. Le monde ennemi de sa longue domination, avoit premierement brisé et fracassé toutes les pièces de ce corps admirable et parce qu'encore tout mort, ranversé et desfugé, il lui faisoit horreur, il en avoit enseveli la ruine mesme.

Montaigne s'est frotté aux travaux des antiquaires et a examiné leurs plans et relevés ; son jugement est sévère. Rien de ce qu'ils restituent n'est parfaitement assuré, et prétendre que les ruines portent témoignage de ce que fut la ville n'est pas exact. Il retrouve ici l'image de Rome-

⁴ Mortier 1974, 47-48.

tombeau qu'avait si bien exprimée du Bellay. Pour Montaigne, l'adage « *Roma quanta fuit ipsa ruina docet* » n'est pas avéré. Il regarde les ruines de loin avec une focale qui est plutôt celle d'un géologue que d'un antiquaire, et il prête attention aux différents mécanismes de l'érosion et de spoliation qui affectent tous les monuments. Les antiquaires confondent trop souvent à son gré l'état des édifices qu'il leur est permis d'observer, avec les monuments dans leur situation et leurs fonctions originelles. Ceux-ci n'ont pas tant souffert de la chute de l'Empire que d'une entreprise de destruction systématique qui rend presque impossible leur restitution, et inutile leur restauration. Pour Montaigne, il est vain de tenter une cartographie précise de la ville antique, car la fureur des spoliateurs (qui ne sont pas clairement désignés) a atteint une partie de ses objectifs, ce qui reste est infime en rapport à ce qui a été : « Pour Montaigne voyageur, Rome a été tout d'abord une déception ».⁵ Ce qui se voit au bout du compte relève plutôt du fragment, des vestiges, des décombres, que de la ruine avec ses valeurs esthétiques et historiques (*Journal de Voyage* pp. 211–212) :

Que ces petites monstres de sa ruine qui paissent encores au dessus de la bière, c'estoit la fortune qui les avoit conservées pour le tesmoingnage de cette grandur infinie que tant de siecles, tant de feux, la conjuration du monde reiterée à tant de fois à sa ruine, n'avoient peu universelemant esteindre. Mais qu'il estoit vraisemblable que ces mambres devisagés qui en restoint c'estoint les moins dignes et que la furie des ennemis de cette gloire immortelle les avoit portés, premierement, à ruiner ce qu'il y avoit de plus beau et de plus digne ; que les bastimans de cette Rome bastarde qu'on aloit asteure atachant à ces mesures antiques, quoi qu'ils eussent de quoi ravir en admiration nos siecles presans, lui faisoient resouvenir proprement des nids que les moineaus et les corneilles vont suspendant en France aus voutes et parois des églises que les Huguenots viennent d'y démolir.

Pour Montaigne la grandeur métaphysique de Rome transcende les monuments, elle ne peut, au moins dans un premier moment, se laisser appréhender par l'observation des ruines qui sont trop érodées et trop démantelées pour donner une idée de leur splendeur première. Il voit la chute de Rome comme l'aboutissement d'une sorte de conspiration des peuples contre sa prétention à l'Empire universel. Son approche prend à contre-pied l'attitude antiquaire classique, qui part des monuments qui ont subsisté pour restituer le cadre d'ensemble. Montaigne entend

⁵ Boccassini 1993, 155.

d'emblée soumettre les ruines à l'épreuve de la tradition écrite, et d'une certaine façon, son scepticisme le conduit à considérer que les choses ne peuvent se comparer aux mots. Quelle que soit la qualité des constructions nouvelles, elles sont le produit d'un compromis « batard » entre la grandeur antique et les ambitions du pape et des cardinaux.

Le thème de la dégénérescence de l'architecture, si présent dans la tradition humaniste (il suffit de penser au *songe de Polifile*), apparaît alors sans compromis : les édifices élevés par les plus grands architectes de la Renaissance sont comparés aux nids des oiseaux qui colonisent les ruines des églises détruites par les protestants. Les architectes, à commencer par Alberti, se voyaient comme le fer de lance de la reconquête antiquaire, Montaigne les renvoie à leurs études et à leurs illusions. Il pense que le travail antiquaire est inutile, que la chaîne stratégique imaginée par Alberti et Raphaël, observation, relevé, restauration, est au mieux destinée à l'échec, et au pire une imposture. Il s'attaque à ce que D. Boccassini appelle le monumentalisme des humanistes, la volonté de restaurer Rome et de la refonder par l'observation et l'imitation de l'architecture antique.⁶ Montaigne s'en prend ainsi directement à la doctrine antiquaire qualifiée « d'abstraite et de contemplative », il en appelle au jugement critique et à une interprétation naturaliste de la transformation de l'*Urbs* en décombres.

Sa critique des antiquaires n'empêche nullement le contact avec le terrain et l'observation directe et attentive des sites. Rome est une ruine de tombeau, et la méconnaissance de ce fait conduit à négliger l'impact du processus de destruction qui affecte la ville. Montaigne insiste sur ce qui est caché et inaccessible. Le *Testaccio* lui apparaît comme une véritable leçon de choses, une montagne artificielle aux dimensions inimaginables qui témoigne du procès inéluctable de l'ensevelissement (*Journal de voyage* p. 212) :

Que cela (l'enfouissement), de voir une si chetifve descharge, comme de morceaux de tuiles et pots cassés, estre antiennemant arrivée à un monceau de grandur si excessive, qu'il egale en hauteur et largeur plusieurs naturelles montaignes (...) c'étoit une expresse ordonnance des destinées.

La Rome antique est recouverte par des masses de sédiments qui empêchent d'en restituer les contours. Les reconstitutions topographiques sont donc fragiles et sujettes à caution (*Journal de voyage* p. 213) :

⁶ Boccassini 1993, 166.

Mais, à la vérité, plusieurs conjectures qu'on prend de la peinture de cette ville antienne n'ont guiere de verisimilitude, son plant mesme estant infiniment changé de forme : aucuns de ces vallons estans comblés.

Partout dans les profondeurs du sol un immense mécanisme de subduction est à l'œuvre, le plan de la ville est illisible parce que l'action des hommes, les violences de la nature et le passage du temps ont contribué à défaire ce que la cité glorieuse avait édifié. Là où ses prédécesseurs s'émerveillaient de ce qu'ils voyaient des ruines, Montaigne est accablé, au point de penser qu'aucun des grands hommes de la Rome antique ne trouverait son chemin dans la Rome moderne (*Journal de voyage* p. 213) :

Il croioit qu'un antien romain ne sauroit reconnoistre l'assiette de sa ville quand il la verroit. Il est souvent avvenu qu'apres avoir fouille bien avant en terre, on ne venoit a rencontrer que la teste d'une fort haute colonne qui estoit encore en pieds au-dessous (...). Il est aysé à voir que plusieurs rues sont à plus de trante pieds profonds au dessous de celles d'à-cette-heure.

Une sorte de voile recouvre la ville, composé de sédiments, de rochers et de débris qui opposent à l'antiquaire une résistance toute matérielle. Le passé est constitué d'innombrables fragments qu'il est impossible de relier les uns aux autres. Il faut accepter que la reconstruction de la ville antique soit un rêve inaccessible. Pourtant, tout n'est pas perdu si l'on médite la leçon des siècles et les cycles de la nature :

si l'on accepte de considérer perdue à jamais la *forme* première des choses, la *disposition* accidentelle des fragments est à même de révéler une grandeur non moins étonnante : c'est ainsi que l'art se naturalise, que le monument devient paysage et que le spectateur participe des choses qui l'entourent.⁷

En bref, pour suivre la démonstration de D. Boccassini, il ne faut pas entendre les ruines comme une donnée immédiate de la conscience mais comme le résultat d'un long processus, à la fois historique et naturel, qui aboutit à l'état présent du site. Montaigne propose une stratégie environnementale qui part du principe de l'érosion pour tracer la voie de l'interprétation. Accepter humblement que les ruines ne soient que les parties d'un tout est une sage réflexion qui prémunit l'antiquaire de toute exaltation. Cyriaque et ses successeurs avaient découvert un continent inconnu, qu'il s'agissait d'explorer en combinant les méthodes du

⁷ Boccassini 1993, 168–169.

philologue et de l'arpenteur. Ils ne se posaient guère la question du rapport entre le visible et l'invisible, parce qu'ils étaient sous le charme d'une redécouverte du passé qui avait échappé à leurs prédécesseurs. Ils portaient un regard émerveillé sur les vestiges qui semblaient se dévoiler dans une sorte d'innocence première. Montaigne incarne un deuxième moment qui tient pour acquis la matérialité du passé, mais qui interroge sa forme et son sens. Les ruines sont bien une part de l'Antiquité, mais laquelle ? Elles sont le reste d'un tout qui n'est pas concevable. La visite d'Ostie lui révèle l'étendue du mécanisme d'érosion et de perte d'information (*Journal de voyage* p. 229) :

Les ruines de Rome ne se voient pour la plupart que par le massif et espais du bastiment. Ils faisoient de grosses murailles de briques, et puis ils les encroutoient ou de males de mabre ou d'autre pierre blanche, ou de certain simant ou de gros carreau enduit par dessus. Cette croute, quasi partout a été ruinée par les ans, sur laquelle etoint les inscriptions : par où nous avons perdu la plupart de la connoissance de teles choses.

Depuis Cyriaque les inscriptions sont l'outil principal pour « réveiller les morts », et pourtant l'historien ne peut échapper à la question de la représentativité du corpus. Les techniques mêmes de construction romaine révèlent que d'innombrables inscriptions ont été perdues dans le processus de dégradation et de spoliation qui a touché les bâtiments. Les murs sont devenus muets, et leur mutisme est pour les antiquaires un obstacle insurmontable. La critique de Montaigne rejoint un peu l'attitude de Pétrarque. Comme ce dernier, il se veut un contemporain des Romains de l'Antiquité (*Essais*, Livre III, chap. IX, p. 1118) :

Me trouvant inutile à ce siecle, je me rejette à cet autre. Et en suis si embabouyné, que l'estat de ceste vieille Rome, libre, juste, et florissante (car je n'en ayme, ny la naissance, ny la vieillesse) m'interesse et me passionne. Parquoy je ne sçauroy revoir si souvent, l'assiette de leurs rues, et de leurs maisons, et ces ruynes profondes jusques aux Antipodes, que je ne m'y amuse.

Il revendique son admiration pour la Rome de la République et celle d'Auguste, entendue comme un territoire qu'il peut découvrir par un effort d'imagination et de connaissance. Il reconnaît qu'il est lui-même captivé par l'urbanisme de Rome, et admet que si le plan de la ville est enveloppé d'incertitudes, il a pu comme les antiquaires en capter une partie du tracé, et en saisir la matérialité malgré les sédiments qui la recouvre. Ce faisant, il révèle sans hésiter ce qu'il est venu chercher dans les ruines (*Essais* Livre III, chap. IX, p. 1118) :

Est-ce par nature, ou par erreur de fantasie, que la veuë des places, que nous sçavons avoir esté hantées et habitées par personnes, desquelles la memoire est en recommandation, nous emeut aucunement plus, qu'ouïr le recit de leurs faicts, ou lire leurs escrits ?

Les monuments procurent quelque chose d'ineffable qui dépasse les mots, le sentiment d'entrer en communication directe avec le passé, ils permettent d'établir avec lui un lien concret. Cet exercice, pour moderne qu'il soit, est une pratique qui était celle de l'Antiquité. Les mots de Montaigne sont la traduction presque littérale d'un passage de Cicéron qu'il cite à la suite de sa réflexion (Cic. *De fin.* V, 1, 2). Pison au cours d'une promenade antiquaire à Athènes déclare :

(...) tanta vis admonitionis inest in locis

il y a une telle force de souvenir dans ces lieux (...)

Et le jeune Lucius reprend :

Quamquam id quidem infinitum est in hac urbe; quacumque enim ingredimur, in aliqua historia vestigium ponimus.

Tout cela [les souvenirs de l'Antiquité] est d'une richesse infinie dans cette ville [Athènes], quoi que nous trouvions nous y reconnaissons un vestige de quelque histoire.

La visite des lieux de mémoire est donc un exercice intellectuel qui permet d'établir entre les visiteurs et les monuments une sorte de complicité, et d'éclairer leur histoire. Mais une telle expérience réclame une discipline réglée. Et Pison d'aller plus loin (*ibid.* V, 2, 6) :

Ces études, si elles visent à imiter les grands hommes sont d'un esprit créatif (*ingeniosorum*), si elles n'ont pour but que d'étudier les traces d'une mémoire du passé, elles sont le fait de curieux (*curiosorum*).

Cette référence n'est pas sans conséquence. Montaigne s'en va chercher chez Cicéron une confirmation de son goût des ruines et de l'émotion qu'elles lui procurent. Cicéron oppose deux mots, *ingeniosus* et *curiosus*, et il laisse entendre que la *curiositas* est une attitude un peu légère ou superflue, bien moins utile que l'*ingeniositas* qui dénote un savoir-faire, une volonté d'imiter et de comprendre.⁸ En creux, l'*ingeniositas* décrit

⁸ Voir les remarques de Moatti 1997, 145–146.

donc une aptitude à tirer parti de l'exemple des Anciens et des traces qu'ils ont laissées. Elle trouve sa place dans la promenade à travers les ruines d'Athènes qu'entreprennent Cicéron et son groupe d'amis pour mieux se pénétrer de l'esprit des grands hommes de l'Antiquité, dans les lieux mêmes où ils ont agi et créé, car, dit Cicéron, la vision des lieux de leur action est plus efficace que « le récit de leur vie ou la lecture de leurs œuvres ». Cette réflexion ironique est un appel à l'observation du paysage et du sol, un plaidoyer pour l'intelligence des monuments et des hommes qui les ont construits et habités. Montaigne se délecte de trouver dans l'œuvre d'un de ses maîtres favoris la substance de son goût pour les ruines, comme s'il ne pouvait y céder qu'en mettant ses pas dans ceux de son lointain prédécesseur. Il entend visiter et comprendre Rome avec le même état d'esprit que Cicéron et son groupe d'amis quand ils admiraient le paysage des ruines d'Athènes. Même pour quelqu'un d'aussi rationnel que Montaigne, les ruines sont une source d'émotion. Il faut la contrôler et la discipliner, mais il ne peut ni ne veut lui échapper (*Essais*, Livre III, IX, p. 1118–1119) :

Je remasche ces grands noms entre les dents, et les fais retentir à mes oreilles. (*Ego illos veneror, et tantis nominibus semper assurgo* [Sen. *Ep.* LXIV, 10].) Des choses qui ont en quelque partie grandes et admirables, j'en admire les parties mesmes communes. Je les visse volontiers deviser, promener, et soupper. Ce seroit ingratitude, de mespriser les reliques, et images de tant d'honnestes hommes, et si valeureux lesquels j'ay veu vivre et mourir : et qui nous donnent tant de bonnes instructions par leur exemple, si nous les sçavions suyvre.

Le culte des grands hommes est une incitation à visiter les ruines, un moyen d'établir un pont entre passé et présent qui ne se limite pas au seul exercice érudite, une sorte de discipline morale qui est proprement la justification du goût pour les ruines ; un goût qui ne relève pas de la simple curiosité (*curiositas*), mais qui réclame une forme de créativité (*ingeniositas*). Une fois cela affirmé, comme s'il s'était bien démarqué d'une naïve curiosité humaniste, Montaigne se laisse aller au plaisir des ruines. Comme l'a bien vu D. Boccassini,⁹ à la critique des ruines succède dans l'état d'esprit de notre voyageur une sorte d'empathie jusque là refoulée. A la fin de son séjour, il confesse (*Journal de Voyage* p. 240) :

je n'ai rien si ennemi à ma santé que l'ennui et l'oisiveté : là j'avais toujours quelque occupation, sinon si plaisante que j'usse peu désirer, au

⁹ Boccassini 1993, 172.

moins suffisante à me desennuier : comme à visiter les antiquités, les Vignes qui sont des jardins et lieux de plesir, de beauté singulière, et là où j'ai appris combien l'art se pouvoit servir bien à pouint d'un lieu bossu, montueux et inégal ; car eus ils en tirent des grâces inimitables à nos lieux pleins, et se praevalent tres – artificiellement de cette diversité.

L'art des jardins romains mêle l'Antiquité et le présent, il se révèle un savoir-faire unique pour tirer parti des particularités du paysage. Chacune des vignes, outre la grâce des bosquets, possède son lot d'antiquités. Au lieu de couper les ruines de leur environnement, ou de les utiliser comme les soubassements des édifices nouveaux, les vignes romaines les intègrent dans un espace paysager. Elles s'opposent aux jardins classiques qui entendent créer un ordre nouveau, fait d'échappées géométriques. La manière des vignes, au contraire, est un accommodement avec le passé, qui privilégie l'aspect ruiné des vestiges ainsi réutilisés.¹⁰ C'est l'absence d'ordre, la disposition a priori négligée des oeuvres dans un contexte où la nature reprend ses droits qui domine cette forme de présentation des ruines qu'on trouve déjà dans les dessins de Van Heemsckerk, comme à une échelle presque cosmique dans le fameux tableau de Posthumus.¹¹

Ce type de dispositif crée un rapport étroit entre les œuvres de l'homme et celle de la nature entendue comme un écrin. La diatribe de Montaigne contre les antiquaires doit s'entendre avec nuance, son goût de la continuité historique l'éloigne des topographes qui déclinent avec précision le plan des monuments anciens, mais le rapproche de tous ceux, et notamment les Flamands, qui entendent dans leurs croquis saisir le palimpseste du paysage réduit dans ses différents états. Visitant la villa d'Este, Montaigne est captivé par les jeux d'eau et les arcs en ciel artificiels dûs à la maestria des architectes (*Journal de voyage* pp. 244–245), mais aussi par les collections de sculptures. Au fil du temps et des occasions notre auteur se révèle aussi féru d'antiquités que bien des voyageurs de sont temps, observant ici un tombeau, commentant là une inscription. Il s'éloigne de Rome en de meilleures dispositions qu'il n'y était arrivé (*Journal de voyage* p. 248) :

Les douceurs de la demure de cette ville s'estoint de plus de la moitié augmentées en la praticant.

¹⁰ Boccassini 1993, 173 et ill. 11 et l'excellent travail de maîtrise d'Elke Zadek 2005.

¹¹ Voir Olitsky-Rubinstein 1985.

Toutefois cela n'affecte pas sa conviction que la reconstruction de la Ville antique est une chimère. Le vieux principe stoïcien de l'obsolescence des sociétés et du monde reste pour lui cardinal (*Essais*, Livre II, chap. XII, apologie de Raimond Sebond, p. 601) :

Finalement il n'y a aucune constante existence, ny de notre estre, ny de celui des objets. Et nous, et notre jugement, et toutes les choses mortelles, vont coulant et roulant sans cesse. Ainsi il ne se peut établir rien de certain de l'un à l'autre, et le jugeant et le jugé estant en continuelle mutation et branle.¹²

A Rome, et durant le reste de son voyage en Italie, Montaigne a fait l'expérience des vestiges, et ce contact avec une antiquité matérielle l'a persuadé que le rapport au passé relève d'une stratégie philosophique, qu'il ne suffit pas de se pencher sur les ruines pour en comprendre les leçons. L'observation et le relevé sont des outils insatisfaisants. Car les ruines sont par essence fragmentaires, éparpillées, et le regard que nous portons sur elles est par définition instable puisqu'il dépend du moment et du lieu qui nous sert d'observatoire éphémère. C'est la « contexture », entendue comme le faisceau de relations qui unissent les objets et les monuments aux hommes dans le temps, qui détermine ce qui observable et donc intelligible. Cette intelligence, ou *ingeniositas*, est indispensable à l'amateur des ruines, qu'il soit antiquaire, philosophe ou simple voyageur.¹³ Elle explique les paradoxes de l'histoire, et elle seule permet d'en tirer une leçon. L'empire de Rome ne fut « jamais si sain que quand il fut le plus malade » (*Essais*, Livre III, chap. IX, p.1074).

Toute l'histoire de Rome est traversée par des crises, et pourtant elle n'y cède pas pendant des siècles (*Essais*, Livre III, chap. IX, p. 1075) :

Tout ce qui branle ne tombe pas. La contexture d'un si grand corps tient à plus d'un clou. Il tient mesme par son antiquité: comme les vieux bastimens, ausquels l'aage a desrobé le pied, sans crouste et sans cyment, qui pourtant vivent et se soustiennent en leur propre poix.

Rome est elle-même d'une contexture si fragile et si ancienne qu'elle symbolise une parabole de la ruine, mais de cette faiblesse elle a su tirer profit, comme ces édifices surannés et branlants qu'on peut observer à chaque pas. Au bout du compte, la déception qui saisit Montaigne lors de son premier contact avec les ruines de Rome a eu un effet salutaire, elle lui permet de donner sens à sa conception de l'histoire et du destin

¹² Voir Bocassini 1993, 169.

¹³ Bocassini 1993, 174.

des hommes. Les sociétés humaines sont elles-mêmes des ruines qui charrient l'ancien et le nouveau, dans un équilibre instable sans cesse renouvelé. Montaigne a renversé le sentiment des ruines, il a remplacé la fixité par l'instabilité, l'observation monographique par une approche presque fractale des vestiges. Chaque fragment est la part d'un ensemble plus vaste, mais divisé et dégradé, chaque monument est le résultat d'une longue histoire inscrite dans les sédiments qui l'ont recouvert. Aussi la ruine n'est-elle qu'un mélange instable de souvenir et d'oubli, une forme indécise couturée de tous les accidents de l'histoire et du passage du temps. C'est un outil de remémoration, un moyen de payer son dû à ceux qui nous ont précédés, mais pour être utile elle doit être mise à bonne distance, le voyageur ne doit pas céder à l'exaltation des lieux et à l'atmosphère des monuments. Montaigne a su saisir cette impermanence des ruines que Jacques Grévin, un autre critique de la pratique antiquaire, illustrait dans ses vers :

Je passai l'Apennin et je vis Rome deserte,
Ainsi je vis seulement une ruine aperte,
Qui me saisit d'ennui, de douleur et de deuil.
Car Romme n'est plus à Romme e ceste grand'Romme
Ne reste que le nom en la bouche de l'homme
L'image dans l'esprit, et le regret en l'œil.¹⁴

A la différence de Du Bellay, Grévin historicise le destin de Rome, et se retrouve avec Montaigne pour affirmer le gouffre qui sépare « l'esprit » de « l'oeil ». La Rome antique, la Rome idéale des humanistes est introuvable, mais qui sait prendre la bonne distance comme Montaigne peut réconcilier les deux faces de l'*Urbs* ; sa ruine est la conséquence d'un équilibre précaire entre décrépitude et grandeur. La force de Montaigne est d'accepter la ruine comme une des conditions d'un rapport éclairé avec le passé, elle lui a permis d'étendre son expérience à cette grande aventure que fut la réception de la découverte des Amériques. Il a jeté les bases d'une approche comparatiste qui sera celle des lumières et au-delà de ceux qui, comme M. Rostovtseff voyaient dans les œuvres d'art et les objets un outil de l'interprétation des sociétés.

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¹⁴ Jacques Grévin, Sonnet III, cité par Mortier 1974, 71.

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Michael Rostovtzev was among the few scholars of the 20th century to dominate the sometimes conflicting, or feeble at least, connections between history and archaeology. By questioning Michel de Montaigne's curiosity for Roman antiquities and his critical lecture of the antiquary works, this paper intends to demonstrate how Montaigne has led the foundations of an epistemology of Antiquity that anticipated the research and works of the Russian master.

Михаил Ростовцев – один из немногих ученых XX в., кому удалось достичь мастерства в истории и археологии – двух областях, которые часто слабо связаны между собой, а иногда даже вступают в конфликт. В статье показано, как Мишель Монтень, интересуясь римскими древностями и критически оценивая работы антикваров, заложил основы понимания античности и оказался в этом предшественником М. И. Ростовцева.

Wjatscheslaw K. Chrustaljow

MICHAIL ROSTOVTZEFF ALS UNIVERSALHISTORIKER

Für das wissenschaftliche Wirken Michail Rostovtzeffs sind bekanntlich auffallende Vielfältigkeit und Universalität charakteristisch. Er beschäftigte sich mit Untersuchungen in den Bereichen Epigraphik, Numismatik, Sphragistik, Papyrologie, Archäologie und Kunstwissenschaft. Rostovtzeffs Interesse an der Epigraphik ist auf sein Studium an der St. Petersburger Universität zurückzuführen, wo er unter anderem die epigraphischen Seminare von I. V. Pomyalovsky und I. I. Kholodnyak besuchte.¹ Auch mit der Archäologie und Geschichte der antiken Kunst begann er sich in N. P. Kondakovs Seminar im Antiquitätenmuseum der St. Petersburger Universität zu beschäftigen.² Diese Leidenschaft verstärkte sich weiter im Laufe des ersten Auslandsaufenthalts des jungen Rostovtzeffs im Jahre 1893, während dessen er Pompeji besuchte und dort die Vorlesungen von August Mau hörte.³ Dieser hat bei ihm einen tiefen Eindruck hinterlassen. Noch im Jahre 1941, lange Zeit nach dem Tod des deutschen Forschers, schrieb Rostovtzeff, dass Mau „still ... my pet“ sei.⁴

Bei aller Weite seiner wissenschaftlichen Interessen verstand sich Rostovtzeff trotzdem immer eben als Historiker, dabei als ein solcher, der zunächst die soziale und wirtschaftliche Geschichte der alten Welt untersuchen wollte. Sein Forschungscredo erklärte er deutlich schon in der deutschen Fassung seiner ersten großen wissenschaftlichen Schrift – der Magisterdissertation: „Was die Methode betrifft, so war es mein Hauptziel den geschichtlichen Standpunkt nie vor dem antiquarischen auf den zweiten Plan treten zu lassen; die geschichtliche Entwicklung in ihren Grundzügen festzustellen war mein Bestreben und das

¹ Vgl. Tyzhov 2000 [А. Я. Тыжов, „Михаил Иванович Ростовцев“, in: М. И. Ростовцев, *Общество и хозяйство Римской империи*], 7–8.

² Siehe Tunkina 2015 [И. В. Тункина, „М. И. Ростовцев на перекрестке между русской и немецкой классической археологией до Первой мировой войны“], 234.

³ Zu diesem Aufenthalt siehe Tunkina 2015, 239–242.

⁴ Welles 1953, 129.

Antiquarisch-juristische ist mir stets ausschließlich Hilfsmittel gewesen“.⁵ Im Manuskript mit einem Überblick über eigenes wissenschaftliches Wirken, das Rostovtzeff im Jahre 1941 seinem amerikanischen Schüler Bradford Welles anvertraute, schrieb er, dass seine Schwerpunkte stets „ancient history with the emphasis on constitutions and social and economic life and archaeology in the service of ancient history“ waren.⁶ Alle oben aufgezählten Disziplinen, denen er so viel Aufmerksamkeit in seiner wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit schenkte, betrachtete er somit als Hilfsdisziplinen gegenüber der Geschichtsforschung. Daraus wird eine der typischen Charakteristika des Forscherstils Rostovtzeffs erklärbar, nämlich das Streben, jeden archäologischen Fund, jede Münze, jede Inschrift oder jeden Papyrus in den breiteren historischen Zusammenhang einzuordnen.⁷ Ohne einen solchen Kontext sind diese Quellen für ihn von geringfügigerem Interesse.

Schon der erste Aufsatz Rostovtzeffs zur Epigraphik, der aus seinen Studien im Seminar Eugen Bormanns in Wien entstand und in dem zwei neugefundene metrische Inschriften (eine lateinische und eine griechische) mit Widmungen an Apollon untersucht werden,⁸ demonstriert eine Kombination scharfsinniger philologischer Analyse der lateinischen Inschrift⁹ mit der Heranziehung vieler literarischer und numismatischer Quellen. Dies erlaubte Rostovtzeff, ihre Auslegung und genaue Datierung vorzuschlagen. Er setzt das Epigramm ins Jahr 191 n.Chr. an, d.h. ganz am Ende der Regierung Kaisers Commodus. Auf die ausführliche

⁵ Rostowzew 1902, 3; vgl. auch Rostovtzeff 1899 [М. И. Ростовцев, *История государственного откупа в Римской империи (от Августа до Диоклетиана)*], xiii. Siehe dazu Andreau 1991 [Ж. Андро, „Влияние М. И. Ростовцева на развитие западноевропейской и североамериканской науки“, *ВДИ*], 167–168.

⁶ Welles 1953, 129.

⁷ Vgl.: Marcone 1992, 7; Heinen 2006, 220–221.

⁸ Rostovtzeff 1896 [М. И. Ростовцев, „Две метрические надписи из Филиппополя“, *ЖМНП*]. Die griechische Inschrift stammt allem Anschein nach aus dem Heiligtum Apollons in Philippopol in Thrakien. Die lateinische Inschrift, die Bormann nur durch einen Abklatsch bekannt war, rechnete er aufgrund eines Missverständnisses demselben Schrein zu. Ihm folgt Rostovtzeff, der vermutete, dass diese Inschrift eine Kopie eines „Epigramms auf dem Votivdenkmal im palatinischen Apollon-Tempel“ in Rom darstellte (Rostovtzeff 1896, 68). In Wirklichkeit, wie sich später herausgestellt hat, wurde die lateinische Inschrift in Aquileia im April 1894 gefunden und von dem italienischen Forscher Enrico Maionica an das Seminar Bormanns geschickt (Maionica 1896, 209).

⁹ *Inscr. Aq.* 104 = *CLE* 1841 = *ILS* 3228: *Accipe, Phoebe, pre[cor; Ti]r[ty]n[t]hia munera pro me! / Haec tibi, quae potui, fortia dona dedi. / Hic orbem domuit, tu pacem, Phoebe, dedisti. / Utraq(ue) res votis annuat ista meis!*

Untersuchung der zweiten, griechischen Inschrift verzichtete Rostovtzeff (vermutlich eben weil er nicht imstande war, diese in den breiteren historischen Zusammenhang zu stellen) und beschränkte sich auf ihre Publikation und die kurze Bemerkung, dass „sie der späten Zeit anhört und völlig aus ungeschickt verketteten Reminiszenzen an Homer besteht“.¹⁰ Es ist interessant, dass Bormann, der im Gegensatz zu seinem Schüler in seiner wissenschaftlichen Arbeit vor allem vom Interesse eines Epigraphikers, nicht Historikers getrieben wurde,¹¹ sich gerade auf die Ergänzung der Lücken und philologische Auslegung der fragmentarisch erhaltenen griechischen Inschrift konzentrierte.¹² Das in gutem Zustand auf uns gekommene lateinische Epigramm, das Bormann in die augusteische Zeit datierte, erschien ihm zuerst ganz unklar, sodass er sogar mutmaßte, der Schlussteil der Inschrift sei verloren;¹³ später schloss er sich der Interpretation Rostovtzeffs an: Im Kommentar zum Aufsatz Maionicas erzählt Bormann im Wesentlichen die Überlegungen seines russischen Kollegen nach.¹⁴ Bemerkenswert ist, dass Rostovtzeff selbst, als er sich nach vielen Jahren, schon als Emigré, dieser Inschrift aufs Neue zuwandte, die Schlussfolgerungen, zu denen er in seinem früheren Aufsatz gelangt war, ablehnte. Nun setzte er das Epigramm in die Regierung Neros an. Auf diese neue Datierung kam er sowohl aufgrund der paläographischen Analyse der Form der Buchstaben, worüber er nun nicht nur durch einen Abklatsch, sondern auch aufgrund der Fotos urteilen konnte, als auch aufgrund zusätzlicher Text- und Bildquellen, die belegten, dass Nero mit Apollon und Hercules identifiziert werden wollte.¹⁵ In anderen Worten: Obwohl Rostovtzeffs Schlüsse modifiziert wurden, blieb seine Forschungsmethode sich selbst gleich. Trotzdem leuchtete, soweit ich weiß, die neue Vermutung Rostovtzeffs hinsichtlich dieser Inschrift nur wenigen Gelehrten ein. Die späteren Forscher, die sich mit diesem Epigramm beschäftigten, datierten es erneut in die Zeit des Commodus, dabei vollkommen unabhängig von Rostovtzeff, dessen russischsprachiger Aufsatz ihnen selbst in der komprimierten Darlegung Bormanns unbekannt geblieben ist. Sie setzten freilich die Inschrift nicht am Ende, sondern in den ersten Jahren der Regierung dieses Kaisers an,

¹⁰ Rostovtzeff 1896, 68.

¹¹ Fast alle Publikationen Bormanns (mit Ausnahme der in der Jugendzeit abgefassten Doktordissertation Bormann 1865) sind ausschließlich der Epigraphik gewidmet. Vgl. auch Marcone 1992, 7–8.

¹² Bormann 1896, 230–233.

¹³ Vgl. Rostovtzeff 1896, 63 Anm. 2.

¹⁴ Maionica 1896, 209–211.

¹⁵ Mattingly, Rostovtzeff 1923, 102–104.

weil sie in diesen Versen eine Anspielung auf den Frieden, den jener mit Quaden und Markomannen schloss, erkennen wollten.¹⁶

Eines der wichtigsten methodologischen Prinzipien Rostovtzeffs während seiner wissenschaftlichen Laufbahn war eine synthetische Behandlung und Auswertung aller Arten von Quellen (literarischen, epigraphischen, papyrologischen, archäologischen, numismatischen), deren Zweck eine möglichst genaue Rekonstruktion eines historischen Geschehens in all seiner Vielfalt war.¹⁷ Dieses Vorgehen, das einem Historiker heute als eine Selbstverständlichkeit vorkommt, war in denjenigen Jahren, in die Rostovtzeffs Werdegang als Forscher fällt, in der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft keineswegs selbstverständlich und musste sich nicht nur in Russland, sondern auch in Europa immer noch durchsetzen.¹⁸ Rostovtzeff zufolge soll Geschichte keine bloße Aufhäufung von Fakten¹⁹ und das historische Werk keine anhand von archäologischem Befund illustrierte Darlegung der literarischen Quellen sein.²⁰ Zu den eklatanten Beispielen der oben angesprochenen Synthese zählen natürlich seine späteren zusammenfassenden englischsprachigen Werke, die ihrem Verfasser zum Weltruhm gereichten.²¹ Jedoch zeigen die vorrevolutionären Aufsätze und Monographien Rostovtzeffs, in denen meist engere Fragen besprochen wurden, wohl sogar noch deutlicher sein wissenschaftliches Talent auf, und es ist Glen Bowersock zuzustimmen, dass diese wohl gerade von größerem Interesse für die moderne Altertumskunde sind.²²

Natürlich gab Rostovtzeff in seinen Studien immer archäologischen Quellen, Münzen, Papyri und Inschriften den Vorzug, denn eben diese „reflect life directly“.²³ Eigentlich war das Schwergewicht auf den materiellen Überresten der Antike für Altertumswissenschaftler seiner Generation sowohl in Russland als auch – und insbesondere – in Europa kennzeichnend. Aber die Anzahl der Sachquellen, die er zur Untersuchung der sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Geschichte heranzog, sowie die Sorgfalt und Gründlichkeit von deren Analyse können bis jetzt als Beispiel dienen. Man muss darin m.E. einen offensichtlichen Einfluss seines Lehrers Kondakov und des Zirkels der „Faktenverehrer“ sehen.

¹⁶ Calderini 1930, 49; Pascal 1964, 139; Steuernagel 2004, 140; Migliorati 2014, 103; Pensabene-Barresi 2017, 222.

¹⁷ Vgl. Welles 1953, 130.

¹⁸ Vgl. dazu etwa Marcone 1992, 4.

¹⁹ Welles 1953, 130.

²⁰ Rostovtzeff 1922, vii.

²¹ Rostovtzeff 1926; Rostovtzeff 1941.

²² Bowersock 1993, 197.

²³ Welles 1953, 130.

Als Erster demonstrierte Rostovtzeff die Aussichten der Anwendung der griechischen und römischen Bleitesserae bei der Rekonstruktion des Sozial- und Wirtschaftslebens der Antike. Dieses Thema behandelte er in einem Zyklus der Aufsätze²⁴ sowie in seiner Doktordissertation.²⁵

Einen starken Einfluss auf Rostovtzeffs Werdegang als Historiker übten seine Verbindungen zu ausländischen, zunächst deutschsprachigen, Altertumswissenschaftlern aus. Allerdings kam er im Gegensatz zu seinem Lehrer Tadeusz Zielinski, der an der Universität Leipzig studierte und auch daselbst zum Doktor promovierte, zum ersten Mal nicht in Deutschland selbst, sondern in Rom, Athen (wo er in den Bibliotheken der dortigen Abteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts arbeitete) und Wien mit der deutschen Altertumswissenschaft in engen Kontakt, was nicht ohne Eindruck auf seine weitere wissenschaftliche Laufbahn bleiben konnte. Wie Arnaldo Marcone treffend bemerkte, führte ebendieser wahrscheinlich zufällige Umstand dazu, dass Rostovtzeff einen unmittelbaren Einfluss Theodor Mommsens nicht erlebte, unter dem damals die klassische Altertumswissenschaft in Deutschland und insbesondere in Berlin stand,²⁶ obwohl der junge russische Forscher den Schülern Mommsens Christian Hülsen und Eugen Bormann näherkam.

Von November 1895 bis März 1896 nahm Rostovtzeff am archäologisch-epigraphischen Seminar Bormanns an der Universität Wien teil, das damals eines der führenden europäischen Zentren für die Erforschung griechischer und lateinischer Inschriften war. Bormann gehörte zu den besten Schülern und Mitarbeitern Mommsens und war maßgeblich an der Vorbereitung des *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* beteiligt.²⁷ Gerade Bormann regte Rostovtzeff dazu an, sich der Beschäftigung mit der Staatspacht im römischen Kaiserreich zuzuwenden, indem er seinen russischen Zuhörer auf die an der Stelle des alten Halikarnassos gefundene Inschrift aus dem 2. Jahrhundert n.Chr. aufmerksam machte, die wichtige Informationen über die Steuerpächter in der Provinz Asien enthielt.²⁸ Die Ergebnisse dieser Studien wurden in einen Aufsatz²⁹ und der im Jahre 1899 von der St. Petersburger Universität angenommenen Magisterdissertation

²⁴ Vgl. z. B. Rostowzew 1896a.

²⁵ Rostovtzeff 1903. Deutsche Übersetzung: Rostowzew 1905.

²⁶ Marcone 1992, 6–7.

²⁷ Zur biographischen Skizze Eugen Bormanns vgl. etwa Wirbelauer 2018 (mit Bibliographie).

²⁸ Vgl. Rostovtzeff 1899, xiii–xiv; Frolov 1993, 203; Marcone 1992, 7; Tyzhov 2000, 7. Diese Inschrift wurde von Rostovtzeff veröffentlicht im Aufsatz: Rostowzew 1896b.

²⁹ Rostowzew 1897.

zusammengefasst.³⁰ Die im Jahre 1902 erschienene deutsche Fassung dieses Werks wurde deshalb nicht zufällig Bormann gewidmet.³¹

Dank seiner deutschen Freunde machte Rostovtzeff mit Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff Bekanntschaft, anfangs durch Korrespondenz. Wilamowitz beauftragte ihn, einen Vortrag über das römische Kolonat für den dritten Internationalen Kongress für historische Wissenschaften in Berlin vorzubereiten,³² obgleich der russische Forscher zu jener Zeit erst einen Aufsatz zu diesem Thema veröffentlicht hatte.³³ Rostovtzeffs Vortrag auf diesem Kongress wurde von ausländischen Gelehrten hoch eingeschätzt.³⁴ Aus dem Auftrag von Wilamowitz resultierte die im Jahre 1910 auf Deutsch veröffentlichte Monographie.³⁵ Einen großen Beitrag zum Lektorat des Buches leistete der führende deutsche Papyrologe jener Zeit Ulrich Wilcken,³⁶ den Rostovtzeff in Italien während seines dreijährigen Auslandsaufenthalts kennenlernte³⁷ und dem er sein Werk gewidmet hat. Also stellte sich Rostovtzeff (wie auch Zielinski), im Gegensatz zu einigen seiner russischen Zeitgenossen und Kollegen,³⁸ schon von Jugend an ganz bestimmt auf die europäische klassische Altertumskunde ein. Deswegen glaubte er, dass russische Altertumswissenschaftler regelmäßige internationale Kontakte unterhalten und die Ergebnisse ihrer Arbeit auch im Ausland in den üblichen Fremdsprachen publizieren mussten, ohne sich zur illusorischen Hoffnung verleiten zu lassen, dass in absehbarer Zukunft die Mehrheit der europäischen und nordamerikanischen Forscher Russisch lesen können würde.³⁹ Rostovtzeff selbst war von Anfang seiner wissenschaftlichen Laufbahn an ein vollberechtigte Mitglied der europäischen Gelehrtenwelt und veröffentlichte vom Jahre 1896 an regelmäßig in westlichen Zeitschriften. Eben dank dieses Umstandes

³⁰ Rostovtzeff 1899.

³¹ Rostowzew 1902.

³² Vgl. Calder 1990; Gavrilo 1990, 239; Marcone 1992, 10.

³³ Dieser Aufsatz wurde zuerst in russischer (Rostovtzeff 1900c [М. И. Ростовцев, *Происхождение колоната*]), dann auch in deutscher (Rostowzew 1901) Sprache publiziert.

³⁴ Vgl. Haskins 1908, 4.

³⁵ Rostowzew 1910.

³⁶ Vgl. darüber seine Briefe an Rostovtzeff: Kreucher 2005, 20–68. Leider sind die Antwortbriefe Rostovtzeffs nicht erhalten.

³⁷ Heinen 1986, 389.

³⁸ Zum Beispiel, B. A. Turaev, z.T. auch S. A. Zhebelev (Tyzhov 2000, 10–11). Zu Rostovtzeffs Verhältnis zum Problem der Wahl der Publikationssprache vgl. auch Gavrilo 1990, 244–245 Anm. 24.

³⁹ Vgl. Rostovtzeff 2000, 320–321 Anm. 17 [М. И. Ростовцев, *Общество и хозяйство Римской империи*]: „*Rossica sunt, non leguntur*“.

wusste Rostovtzeff sich nach seiner Emigration aus Russland relativ schnell in die ausländische akademische Gemeinschaft einzugliedern. Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen, die vor allem für professionelle Altertumswissenschaftler von Interesse sein konnten, veröffentlichte er schon vor der Emigration öfter gerade im Ausland (normalerweise auf Deutsch, seltener auf Französisch) und nur von Zeit zu Zeit in russischen Zeitschriften („Zhurnal ministerstva narodnogo prosveshchenija“, „Filologicheskoe obozrenije“ usw.). Die beiden Dissertationen Rostovtzeffs erschienen in zwei Fassungen, zuerst auf Russisch, danach in überarbeiteter Form auf Deutsch; dasselbe betrifft seine kleinere Monographie „Die hellenistisch-römische Architekturlandschaft“ (die russische Fassung kam im Jahre 1908, die deutsche 1911 heraus). Allerdings veröffentlichte Rostovtzeff nicht selten auch auf Russisch in Zeitschriften, die sich an ein breiteres Lesepublikum richteten: „Russkaja mysl“, „Mir Bozhij“, „Russkoje bogatstvo“, „Nauchnoje slovo“, „Vestnik Evropy“ usw.⁴⁰ Diese Aufsätze, ohne bibliographischen Apparat und ohne wissenschaftlichen Anspruch, wurden häufig jenen Themen aus der antiken Geschichte gewidmet, die einen lebhaften Nachhall bei dem gebildeten Publikum fanden.⁴¹ Außerdem publizierte Rostovtzeff in russischer Sprache Besprechungen russischer und ausländischer Bücher, Nachrufe herausragender Altertumswissenschaftler, Überblicke über die neuesten Ausgrabungen in Europa und Russland, Aufsätze über Geschichte und Kultur des nördlichen Schwarzmeergebiets sowie Artikel in Enzyklopädien (so in der Brockhaus-Efron-Enzyklopädie oder dem „Neuen enzyklopädischen Wörterbuch“).

Eben während seines langfristigen Forschungsaufenthalts in Europa in den Jahren 1895–1898 wählte Rostovtzeff als Schwerpunkt seiner wissenschaftlichen Arbeit, mit dem er sich später zeitlebens beschäftigte, die Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der hellenistischen Welt, in erster Linie des ptolemäischen Ägyptens, und des römischen Kaiserreichs. Fragen des Sozial- und Wirtschaftslebens der antiken Welt behandelte Rostovtzeff allerdings nie isoliert, sondern im Zusammenhang mit der politischen und kulturellen Geschichte. Zugleich hielt er eine wissenschaftliche Untersuchung der politischen Geschichte ohne klare Vorstellung von der sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Struktur des jeweiligen Staates für prinzipiell unmöglich.⁴² Rostovtzeff wandte sich entschieden gegen das rein

⁴⁰ Vgl. Marcone 1992, 6.

⁴¹ Siehe etwa Rostovtzeff 1900a [М. И. Ростовцев, “Капитализм и народное хозяйство в древнем мире”, *Русская мысль*].

⁴² Vgl. Rostovtzeff 1913a, 42 [М. И. Ростовцев, “Эллинистическая Азия в эпоху Селевкидов (по поводу книги: А. Bouché-Leclercq. Histoire des Séleucides. Paris, 1913)”, *Научный исторический журнал*].

deskriptive Vorgehen bei der Behandlung der antiken Institute und betonte, dass es erforderlich sei, auch ihre Entstehung und historische Entwicklung gründlich zu untersuchen: Eben dies unterscheidet seiner Meinung nach einen Historiker von einem Antiquar.⁴³ Man kann sagen, dass sich Rostovtzeff als Historiker vor allem nicht für einzelne Fakten und Ereignisse interessierte, sondern für Tendenzen und Prozesse, die sich in der breiten geographischen und chronologischen Perspektive manifestierten. In dieser Hinsicht stehen alle Themen, die er in seiner wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit herausarbeitete, miteinander in enger Verbindung.⁴⁴ Nachdem er mit der Untersuchung der sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung des römischen Kaiserreichs angefangen hatte, gelangte Rostovtzeff zur Erkenntnis, dass man die Wurzeln dieser Entwicklung in der Geschichte der hellenistischen Staaten und noch weiter in der Poliswelt des klassischen Griechenlands und den vorhellenistischen orientalischen Monarchien suchen muss.⁴⁵

Als Rostovtzeff sich ernstlich der Untersuchung des Hellenismus zuwandte, konnte er die Geschichte des nördlichen Schwarzmeergebietes in der Antike nicht außer Acht lassen. Der Grund dafür, dass er diesem Gegenstand besondere Aufmerksamkeit schenkte, ist nicht nur im patriotischen Gefühl und durchaus erklärbaren Interesse zu suchen, das die russische klassische Altertumswissenschaft stets dieser Region entgegenbrachte. Das nördliche Schwarzmeergebiet interessierte Rostovtzeff in erster Linie als ein Raum, in dem es einen engen kulturellen Kontakt zwischen griechischen Kolonisten und der einheimischen „barbarischen“ Bevölkerung gegeben habe, was zur Mischung verschiedener Kulturen und zur Bildung einer eigenartigen griechisch-barbarischen Einheit geführt habe. Nach Rostovtzeff war dieser Prozess für die hellenistische Zeit im Allgemeinen charakteristisch, sodass die Untersuchung der Geschichte dieses Gebietes ihm eine Möglichkeit gab, jene Tendenzen festzustellen und zu studieren, die für den ganzen Mittelmeerraum auf die eine oder andere Weise bezeichnend waren.⁴⁶ Vor der Emigration diente das nordpontische Material Rostovtzeff als am besten geeignete Quellengrundlage zur Herausarbeitung seiner Ideen, da es ihm aus offensichtlichen Gründen für die Untersuchung leicht erreichbar war:

⁴³ Siehe insbesondere in den Besprechungen: Rostowzew 1900, 2920–2923; Rostowzew 1909. Vgl. auch Welles 1953, 130.

⁴⁴ Vgl. sein eigenes Geständnis: Welles 1953, 131.

⁴⁵ Siehe dazu etwa: Rostowzew 1900, 2920–2922; Rostowzew 1910, vii.

⁴⁶ Rostovtzeff 1913b [М. И. Ростовцев, “Рец. на кн.: Minns E. Scythians and Greeks. Cambridge, 1913”, *ЖМНП*], 190–191. Vgl. dazu: Zuev 1993, 169–170; 174–176.

Er konnte häufige Reisen in dieses Gebiet zur persönlichen Besichtigung der antiken Denkmäler unternehmen, worauf er stets besonderen Nachdruck legte. Die Erforschung der griechisch-barbarischen Synthese war selbstverständlich ohne eingehende Beschäftigung mit ihrem „barbarischen“ Bestandteil unmöglich, was Rostovtzeff konsequenterweise zur Untersuchung der Kultur der iranischsprachigen Nomaden aus dem nördlichen Schwarzmeergebiet (Skythen, Sarmaten usw.) anregte, und danach zur Untersuchung des Einflusses, den die Kultur anderer östlicher Völker auf diese Volksstämme ausübte. Es sei bemerkt, dass Rostovtzeff Skythen und Sarmaten nicht als primitive Barbaren betrachtete, was dem Vorgehen der meisten zeitgenössischen Forscher zuwiderlief. Möglicherweise kann man dies z.T. abermals durch den Einfluss seitens seines Lehrers N. P. Kondakov, der eurozentristische Ideen nicht akzeptierte,⁴⁷ z.T. aber auch durch den Anstieg des Interesses für Skythen und Skythien erklären, der in der russischen Kultur am Ende des 19. und Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts deutlich zu spüren war.

Nachdem die Emigration Rostovtzeff eine Möglichkeit geraubt hatte, die Denkmäler des nördlichen Schwarzmeergebietes persönlich zu besichtigen, entfernte er sich allmählich von diesen Studien.⁴⁸ Er setzte jedoch die Behandlung der Synthese der hellenistischen und iranischen Kulturen fort, von nun an am Beispiel der Geschichte des Partherreiches. Diese Arbeit hatte ihre Grundlage vor allem in den Ausgrabungen in Dura-Europos in Syrien, die Rostovtzeff in den Jahren 1928–1937 leitete.⁴⁹

Vorzüglich gerade wegen des „Fehlens der historischen Perspektive“ übte Rostovtzeff Kritik an dem von ihm tief geachteten U. Wilcken in seiner Besprechung von dessen Buch über griechische Ostraka. Rostovtzeffs Auffassung nach gab Wilcken zwar eine im Allgemeinen richtige Charakteristik einzelner Bestandteile des finanziellen Systems Ägyptens der ptolemäischen und römischen Zeit, ging aber nicht weiter. Der deutsche Papyrologe habe das gemischte System der Steuererhebung,

⁴⁷ Vgl. ausführlicher Tunkina 2015, 237 (mit Bibliographie).

⁴⁸ Trotzdem veröffentlichte er manchmal auch später zu diesem Thema: vgl. z.B. das Buch Rostovtzeff 1922, das größtenteils aus der Erinnerung abgefasst wurde, und die einschlägigen Kapitel in *The Cambridge Ancient History* (Bd. VIII, Kapitel 18 „The Bosporan Kingdom“; Bd. IX, Kapitel 5 „Pontus and Its Neighbours: The First Mithridatic War“ – in Zusammenarbeit mit Henry Ormerod; Bd. XI, Kapitel III „The Sarmatae and Parthians“).

⁴⁹ Die wichtigsten Ergebnisse dieser Studien wurden im Buch Rostovtzeff 1938a dargelegt. Siehe dazu auch: Matheson 1992 [С. Б. Мэтесон, „М. И. Ростовцев и Дюра-Эвропос“, *ВДИ*], 130–139.

das in der Kaiserzeit vorlag, für das Ergebnis einer einmaligen Reform gehalten; Rostovtzeff zufolge erkannte er nicht, wie sich diese von ihm aufgezeigten Bestandteile Schritt zu Schritt ohne plötzliche Sprünge im Laufe mehrerer Jahrhunderte veränderten und „wie organisch sich die finanzielle Organisation Ägyptens im Zusammenhang mit historischen Geschicken des ganzen römischen Kaiserreichs entwickelte“.⁵⁰ Dabei führte die Neigung zu breiten Verallgemeinerungen zusammen mit einem gewissen im Laufe der Jahre erworbenen Dogmatismus sowie Entschiedenheit im Urteil manchmal Rostovtzeff selbst zu nicht unumstrittenen Schlussfolgerungen, was besonders in seinen Werken der 1920er- und 1930er-Jahre auffiel und wofür er sowohl von Zeitgenossen als auch von späteren Forschern häufig kritisiert wurde.⁵¹

Diese Vorwürfe treffen in vielerlei Hinsicht zu: Der beharrliche Wunsch, ein möglichst komplettes Bild der Vergangenheit zu erlangen und kausale Zusammenhänge zwischen einzelnen Ereignissen und Erscheinungen zu ermitteln, zwang Rostovtzeff manchmal, den festen Boden der Tatsachen zu verlassen und verlockende, aber hinfällige Vermutungen aufzustellen. Rostovtzeff selbst war sich dieses Mangels bewusst und schrieb ironisch darüber in einem vom 14.01.1919 datierten Brief an Ellis Minns: „Ich bin ja selbst der Eilige und Phantast, und ich will wissen, was man bisweilen nicht wissen kann“.⁵² Zum Beispiel sei Rostovtzeffs Beitrag über den iranischen Reitergott erwähnt, für die Festschrift zum 55. Geburtstag seines Freundes Zhebelev verfasst, die man im Jahre 1926 herauszugeben vorhatte. Aus Zensurgründen, und zwar wegen der Beteiligung von aus dem sowjetischen Russland emigrierten Forschern an dieser Festschrift, kam diese nie heraus, weswegen lediglich mehrere maschinengeschriebene Kopien bis heute erhalten sind.⁵³ In diesem Aufsatz brachte Rostovtzeff äußerlich ähnliche Bildnisse miteinander in Verbindung, die auf Gegenständen aus den skythischen Kurganen des 4. und 3. Jahrhunderts v.Chr., auf thrakischen Votivtafeln des 2. und 1. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. sowie auf Münzen der Kuschana-Herrscher und Siegeln der sasanidischen Könige des 3. und 4. Jahrhunderts n.Chr.

⁵⁰ Rostovtzeff 1900b [М. И. Ростовцев, „Новые данные по истории финансового управления греко-римского Египта (по поводу книги: U. Wilcken. Die griechischen Ostraka aus Ägypten und Nubien)“, *ЖМНП*], 154–161.

⁵¹ Vgl. dazu etwa Bowersock 1993, 191–192; 197; Heinen 2006, 246.

⁵² Bongard-Levin–Bukharin–Tunkina 2003 [Г. М. Бонгард-Левин, М. Д. Бухарин, И. В. Тункина, „Скифский мир М. И. Ростовцева и Э. Х. Миннза“, in: *Парфянский выстрел*], 482.

⁵³ Viele Jahre nach dem Tod des Verfassers wurde dieser Aufsatz Rostovtzeffs immerhin veröffentlicht; vgl. die deutsche Übersetzung: Rostovtzeff 1993.

zu sehen sind, ohne die kontinuierliche Entwicklung der behandelten ikonographischen Motive sicher festzustellen und einige wichtige Details zu beachten, die diese Sujets voneinander unterschieden.⁵⁴

Die prinzipielle methodologische Einstellung Rostovtzeffs war, dass man das Vergangene an der Gegenwart messen sowie eine andauernde Gegenüberstellung und einen Vergleich der Vergangenheit und Moderne durchführen muss, und dies unter bewusstem Verzicht auf jede Absonderung der historischen Wissenschaften vom modernen Leben. Rostovtzeff war der Meinung, dass der Forscher nicht in der Lage sei, die von ihm untersuchte historische Epoche nachzuvollziehen, wenn die Moderne ihm kein Material für eine komparative Analyse biete.⁵⁵ Daraus sind Ursachen der scharf ausgeprägten modernistischen Tendenz in Rostovtzeffs Einstellung zur alten Geschichte zu verstehen, die freilich für viele Historiker der zweiten Hälfte des 19. und ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts kennzeichnend war (hier sind z.B. Theodor Mommsen, Karl Julius Beloch und Eduard Meyer, in Russland R. Ju. Vipper und M. M. Khvostov zu nennen). Allerdings tritt das modernistische Vorgehen Rostovtzeffs nicht seit dem Anfang seiner wissenschaftlichen Laufbahn zutage: Weitestgehend fällt es in die Augen in seinen in der Emigration verfassten Werken und insbesondere in *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*. Trotzdem verfällt Rostovtzeff nicht ins Extrem des Präsentismus.⁵⁶ Im Allgemeinen sind seine theoretisch-methodologischen Einstellungen den positivistischen Sichtweisen ähnlich, wenngleich mit einigen wichtigen Unterschieden. Zum Beispiel hatte Rostovtzeff ein skeptisches Verhältnis zu Ideen des Evolutionismus und der kontinuierlichen progressiven Entwicklung der Menschheit. Auch die präzise Bedeutung vieler Begriffe, die für Rostovtzeffs Gesamtkonzeption zentral sind, wie „Bourgeoisie“, „Kapitalismus“, „Imperialismus“ usw., wird in seinen Werken überhaupt nicht erklärt. Wahrscheinlich gab Rostovtzeff mit vollem Bewusstsein keine prägnanten Definitionen für diese Termini, da dies ihm die Möglichkeit bot, mit ihnen bei der Herstellung seiner Analogien ungehindert zu verfahren.

Die oben aufgezählten Umstände können auch Rostovtzeffs Interesse an der Kultur und Religion des zeitgenössischen China und insbesondere

⁵⁴ Vgl. dazu weiter das Kommentar von V. Ju. Zuev und I. A. Levinskaja zu diesem Aufsatz: Rostovtzeff 1993, 164–168.

⁵⁵ Vgl. z.B. Zitate aus Rostovtzeffs Vorlesungen, die er im Jahre 1922 an der Universität Michigan gehalten hat, im Aufsatz: Bowersock 1993, 191–192.

⁵⁶ Entgegen der Meinung P. A. Alipovs, der Rostovtzeff für einen bewussten Präsentisten hält (Alipov 2010 [П. А. Алипов, М. И. Ростовцев – историк древнего Рима: доэмигрантский этап научного творчества], 6–7; 23–24).

Indien erklären, in denen er lebendige Parallelen zur antiken Welt fand.⁵⁷ Im Jahre 1937 machten Rostovtzeff und seine Frau eine große Reise nach Sri Lanka, Indien und Südostasien. Indem er über seinen Eindruck von dieser Fahrt im Brief an G. V. Vernadsky erzählte, schrieb Rostovtzeff: „In Indien hat mich vor allem das Leben desjenigen frappiert, was ich zeitlebens als verfallene, zerschlagene Vergangenheit untersuchte. Das Leben einer heidnischen Religion und eines heidnischen Kultus. ... Der antike Kultus ist vor mir zum Leben erwacht. Ich habe ihn gesehen, und für mich bedeutet zu sehen (ist von Rostovtzeff unterstrichen. – *W. C.*), zu empfinden und zu verstehen“.⁵⁸ Die gleiche Meinung äußerte Rostovtzeff auch in einem nach dieser Reise abgefassten Aufsatz über Indien: „Zum ersten Mal habe ich die Religion der antiken Welt lebend gesehen und vieles in ihr verstanden, was mir vor dieser Reise unklar geblieben war. Ich würde den Forschern der antiken Religion nachdrücklich empfehlen, Indien zu besuchen und sein Tempelleben zu erleben. Sie würden vieles lernen, was weder Bücher noch Abbildungen lehren können“.⁵⁹

Zusammenfassend sind noch ein weiteres Mal die Nachhaltigkeit von Rostovtzeffs Forschungsinteressen und die sozusagen überraschende Integrität seiner Forschernatur zu betonen. Rostovtzeff blieb als Historiker den in der Jugendzeit von ihm aufgenommenen theoretisch-methodologischen Einstellungen bis ans Lebensende treu, wobei er im Laufe der Jahre seine Methoden weiterentwickelte und verbesserte. In dieser Hinsicht hat die Emigration aus Russland keine Schlüsselrolle in seinem wissenschaftlichen Geschick gespielt, wie es so oft in der europäischen und nordamerikanischen Forschung festgestellt wird.⁶⁰

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⁵⁷ Vgl. z.B. Rostovtzeff 1995 [М. И. Ростовцев, “Заметки об Индии и ее древнем искусстве”, *ВДИ*]. Siehe ausführlicher auch Bongard-Levin 1995 [Г. М. Бонгард-Левин, “Индийское путешествие М. И. Ростовцева”, *ВДИ*].

⁵⁸ Zitiert nach: Bongard-Levin 1995, 199.

⁵⁹ Rostovtzeff 1938b [М. И. Ростовцев, “Индия и её искусство”, *Русские записки*], 183.

⁶⁰ Vgl. etwa Momigliano 1966, 92.

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It is well known that astonishing diversity and universality are characteristic of Michail Rostovtzeff's research work. Yet although he was a man of extraordinarily broad scholarly interests, Rostovtzeff always saw himself primarily as a historian. One of the most important methodological principles by which Rostovtzeff was guided throughout his academic career was a synthetic evaluation of all types of evidence, i.e. literary, epigraphic, papyrological, archaeological and numismatic. For him the main aim of historical study was the most accurate reconstruction of a historical event or phenomenon in all its diversity. On the whole, Rostovtzeff remained faithful to the theoretical and methodological attitudes he took up in his youth until the end of his life, although he further developed and improved his methods over the years. In this respect, emigration from Russia did not play a pivotal role in his scholarly fate, as it is so often claimed in Western historiography.

Хорошо известно, что научная деятельность М. И. Ростовцева характеризуется поразительной многогранностью и разносторонностью. Однако при всей необычайной широте своих исследовательских интересов Ростовцев всегда видел себя прежде всего историком. Одним из его главных методологических принципов на протяжении всей научной карьеры был синтез разных видов исторических источников (литературных, эпиграфических, папирологических, археологических и нумизматических). Главная цель исторического исследования, по Ростовцеву, заключается в как можно более точном воссоздании исторического события или явления во всем его многообразии. В целом Ростовцев до конца жизни оставался верен теоретико-методологическим подходам, усвоенным в юности, хотя с годами он все более развивал и совершенствовал свои методы. В этом отношении эмиграция из России не сыграла ключевой роли в его научной судьбе, как это часто постулируется в западной историографии.

Leonid Zhmud

MIKHAIL ROSTOVTZEFF AND THE MODERNIZATION OF ANTIQUITY

When political economy emerged as an independent field of study in the second half of the nineteenth century, it considered economic development in the then dominant notions of stadial progress. Thus Karl Bücher argued in *The Rise of the National Economy*¹ that antiquity had not progressed beyond the primitive economic order of an isolated household (οἶκος) as described by Karl Rodbertus. This did not imply market relations, competition, the turnover of commodities in any substantial volume, commercial capital, product specialization in different regions, and other attributes of a national economy which, according to Bücher, arose only in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

German ancient historians began to master socio-economic problems at precisely the time when there emerged a desire among them – as a reaction against the former idealization of Greece and Rome – “to dismount the ancients from the fantastic cothurns” (Theodor Mommsen in 1854) and give them a footing in reality through the liberal introduction of modern concepts into the historical narrative.² It was Mommsen who had capitalists densely populating his *Roman History* (1854–1856), a work of formative importance for several generations of ancient historians. The opposite reaction to classicism can be observed in *La Cité antique* by Fustel de Coulanges, who lamented that we habitually see ourselves in the Greeks and Romans, thus breeding many a misconception:

¹ Bücher 1893.

² “Es gilt doch vor allem, die Alten herabsteigen zu machen von dem phantastischen Kothurn, auf dem sie der Masse des Publikums erscheinen, sie in die reale Welt, wo gehasst und geliebt, gesägt und gezimmert, phantasiert und geschwindelt wird, den Lesern zu versetzen – und darum musste der Consul ein Bürgermeister werden” (Mommsen’s letter to W. Henzen, quoted after Christ 1983, 45). In his day, Mommsen’s approach in *The Roman History* seemed rather provocative not to mention radical. See Meier 2006, 447.

To understand the truth about the Greeks and Romans it is wise to study them without thinking of ourselves, as if they were entirely foreign to us.... Thus observed, Greece and Rome appear to us in a character absolutely inimitable; nothing in modern times resembles them; nothing in the future can resemble them.³

The end of the nineteenth century saw a further consolidation of Mommsen's stand at a time when *Altertumswissenschaft* was ceding its previous dominance in education under the onslaught of modernity. Seeing this, the best German historians of antiquity – Mommsen, Julius Beloch, Eduard Meyer, Robert Pöhlmann, Ulrich Wilcken – strove to demonstrate the enduring relevance of ancient history, among other reasons because of the similarity it bears to modernity.⁴ Meyer went the furthest afield. In his well-known talk “Economic Development of the Ancient World”, delivered two years after the publication of Bücher's book, he opposed the notion of stadial economic development, from the primitive beginnings all the way to industrial capitalism, with his theory of two parallel cycles of world history, thus inaugurating a lengthy discussion.⁵ The first cycle ran from the time of Homer (of which European feudalism was the closest counterpart) through to the development of trade and marine transport, through technological advances to the monetary economy, factories operated by slave labor and the commercial capital of Hellenism and the Early Empire, then taking a downward curve toward the end of the ancient civilization. The second cycle, from the Migration Period to modern times, largely retraced the steps of the first cycle.

Other scholars, without going this far, followed Mommsen to discern in antiquity a multitude of capitalistic elements – even though the very notion of “capitalism” had not yet been clearly defined, nor in fact has it been defined to this day.⁶ By 1918 Richard Passow had already counted 111 meanings of the notion “capitalism” and stated that “dem Begriff genau bestimmte Vorstellungen überhaupt nicht zugrunde liegen”.⁷ To my

³ Fustel de Coulanges 1864, 2.

⁴ Schneider 1990, 425–428. See especially Pöhlmann 1893–1901. In his editor's preface to the Russian translation of Pöhlmann, Rostovtzeff noted: “Exploring the social life and social ideas of the ancient world from a modern viewpoint and on thorough acquaintance with contemporary social literature, the author could not help modernizing antiquity in a way, doing violence to its bearings, stereotyping the processes by which it developed” (III).

⁵ Meyer 1895. See Schneider 1990.

⁶ The author of a paradigmatic article on this term summarizes thus: “Als wissenschaftlicher Terminus hat sich ‘Kapitalismus’ trotz der definitorischen Bemühungen von zahlreichen Autoren bis heute nicht durchgesetzt” (Hilger 1982, 448).

⁷ Passow 1918.

surprise, Marx never used it in his published works, opting each time for the “capitalist mode of production”. Fundamental historico-sociological studies by Werner Sombart (*Modern Capitalism*) and Max Weber (*The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*) only came about in the early twentieth century.⁸ For our purposes it is worth stressing that not only ancient historians but many economists and sociologists of that time, among them Max Weber and Lujo Brentano, admitted to the existence in ancient times of certain types of capitalism.⁹ Even Sombart, a very independent thinker in this regard, gave his book such a title so as to imply that it dealt with just one variety of capitalism.

Rostovtzeff’s formative years as a scholar were in the last decade of the nineteenth century and it is no wonder that he sided, though not unreservedly, with advanced German scholarship, i.e. with those who in their own lifetime had been called “modernists” or “modernizers”. His article of 1900, “Capitalism and National Economy in Antiquity”,¹⁰ already mentions the theory of two cycles. Many of the ideas voiced in this article were later developed to become part of his fundamental work on the social and economic history of the Hellenistic world and the Roman Empire. “I must protest, following most historians”, wrote Rostovtzeff, “against the application of these schemes [i.e. Bücher’s periodization] to the whole history of mankind and mainly against enlisting all antiquity in the category of self-sufficient household”.¹¹ Many facts of life in antiquity can only be explained through analogy with modernity, since the development of ancient civilization took place largely along the same lines. Having published this article in a popular liberal journal *Russkaja Mysl’*, the young historian explained to a progressive public the latest results of modern scholarship, with which he was in step, later joining its vanguard.

At that time most Russian historians of antiquity shared similar views to those of Rostovtzev. While ten years his senior, I. M. Grevs was still guided by Bücher and Fustel de Coulanges,¹²

⁸ See Sombart 1902 and Weber 1904–1905.

⁹ Brentano 1916. On Weber, see below p. 123. See also a book criticizing Ed. Meyer: Salvioli 1906.

¹⁰ Rostovtzev 1900 [М. И. Ростовцев, “Капитализм и народное хозяйство в древнем мире”, *Русская мысль*].

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 196.

¹² Grevs 1899 [И. М. Грекс, *Очерки из истории римского землевладения*]. For Rostovtzev’s critique of Grevs’ theoretical positions, see Alipov 2010 [Р. А. Алипов, М. И. Ростовцев – историк древнего Рима: доэмигрантский этап научного творчества], 168–173.

F. G. Mischenko,¹³ who was older than Grevs, as well as Grevs' peers – namely Th. Zielinski, V. P. Buzeskul and R. Ju. Vipper – supported the views of Meyer albeit to varying degrees.¹⁴ M. M. Khvostov,¹⁵ a peer of Rostovtzeff, and those historians of the next generation who took an interest in economic history – namely V. S. Sergeyev and S. I. Kovalev – were their active proponents, these last two in the aftermath of the revolution.¹⁶ The First World War delivered a devastating blow to the doctrine of progress and the historical theories based on it;¹⁷ cyclic conceptions became attractive to many, including Marxists and those who wished to pass for Marxists. In Kovalev's *General History Course* there is much more modernization of antiquity than in Rostovtzev; he even explained the Doric and Ionian orders through the predominance of feudal and capitalist elements. Until the late 1920s in the Russian historiography of antiquity, only A. I. Tiumentev, a Marxist of old pre-revolutionary stock, vigorously opposed the notion of capitalism in antiquity, distancing himself from both Bücher and Meyer.¹⁸ Yet he acknowledged the importance of commercial and usury capital as well as slave industry for the market, and he estimated that the economic development of ancient Greece was on a par with that of Renaissance Europe. The familiar doctrine of socio-economic formations – slaveholding, feudal, capitalist etc. – was only developed in 1933–1934 in the State Academy for the History of Material Culture. Its

¹³ Mischenko 1899 [Ф. Мищенко, “Эд. Мейер. Рабство в древнем мире”]. “It is however desirable to find in such overviews, for the sake of avoiding the ‘update’ (*ponovleniye*) of antiquity, a more balanced approach making manifest not only the similarities, but also the differences between the analogous phenomena of different historical periods” (102). Mischenko, much like Rostovtzeff (see above n. 4), saw a certain bias in the “update” – modernization.

¹⁴ Zielinski 1896 [Ф. Ф. Зелинский, *Филологическое обозрение*]. See also Zielinski 1900 [Ф. Ф. Зелинский, “Из экономической жизни древнего Рима”, *Вестник Европы*]; Buzeskul 1915 [В. П. Бузескул, *Лекции по истории Греции. I. Введение в историю Греции*], 574; and Vipper 1916 [Р. Ю. Виппер, *История Греции в классическую эпоху IX–IV вв. до Р. Х.*].

¹⁵ See Khvostov 1900 [М. М. Хвостов, “Изучение экономического быта древности (две полемики)”]; Khvostov 1917 [М. М. Хвостов, *История Греции*], 41–43.

¹⁶ See Kovalev 1923–1925 [С. И. Ковалев, *Курс всеобщей истории*]; Sergeyev 1925 [В. С. Сергеев, *История древнего Рима*]; Sergeyev 1926 [В. С. Сергеев, *Феодализм и торговый капитализм в античном мире*].

¹⁷ See for example Vipper 1921 [Р. Ю. Виппер, *Кризис исторической науки*], 34–37.

¹⁸ See Tiumentev 1920–1922 [А. И. Тюменев, *Очерки экономической и социальной истории древней Греции*] and Tiumentev 1923 [А. И. Тюменев, *Существовали ли капитализм в древней Греции?*]. On Tiumentev, see Krikh 2013 [С. Б. Крих, *Образ древности в советской историографии*], 74 f.

forced implementation made many Soviet historians of antiquity, Sergeyev and Kovalev included, abandon their previous views of the historical process.¹⁹ Although S. Ia. Luria – who was in Rostovtzeff’s seminar and held Ed. Meyer in high esteem – continued throughout the 1930s to write about the struggle in Greek mathematics between the progressive Ionian bourgeoisie and the reactionary Pythagorean feudal lords,²⁰ in his *History of Greece* (1940) he could no longer indulge in such things. Modernism in Russian scholarship was stifled by Stalinism, from which Rostovtzeff was lucky to escape.

Arnaldo Momigliano, in a famous essay on Rostovtzeff, wrote that “it would be wrong to assume that he had reached intellectual maturity before leaving Russia [at the age of 48! – *L. Zh.*].... It is safe to assume that the exile made Rostovtzeff the great man he was”.²¹ One can hardly agree with this. The students of Rostovtzeff’s legacy from different countries have in the last decades provided more than sufficient evidence to the contrary.²² The published materials reveal that Ed. Meyer and U. von Wilamowitz were personally acquainted with Rostovtzeff long before the spring of 1914 when they recommended him as a corresponding member of the Prussian Academy of Sciences.²³ They held in high esteem his numerous books and articles on the economic history of Hellenism and the Roman Empire published in German.²⁴ Considering his Russian colleague’s desire for an “all-encompassing take on antiquity”, Ed. Meyer invited him in 1913 to write an overview of the economic history of Hellenism and the Roman Empire for *A Universal History of Economy*.²⁵ The war thwarted this enterprise, but Rostovtzeff’s lecture courses from 1912 to 1915, preserved in the archives, allow us to conclude that the backbone

¹⁹ See Krikh–Metel’ 2014 [С. Б. Крих, О. В. Метель, *Советская историография древности в контексте мировой историографической мысли*], 91–92, where Sergeyev and Kovalev are characterized as “principled opportunists”.

²⁰ Luria 2016 [С. Я. Лурье, *Избранные работы по истории науки*], 185.

²¹ Momigliano 1966, 92; 98. To be sure, Momigliano admitted to knowing very little about Rostovtzeff’s pre-revolutionary life, which those who quote him forget to mention; see for example Bowersock 1974, 16.

²² Among the numerous works in Russian, see especially Bongard-Levin 1997 [Г. М. Бонгард-Левин (ed.), *Скифский роман*]; Alipov 2010; Tunkina 2015 [И. В. Тункина, “М. И. Ростовцев на перекрестке между русской и немецкой классической археологией до Первой мировой войны”].

²³ See Funk 1992 and Gavrilov 2011 [А. К. Гаврилов, “Три письма У. фон Вилламовица М. И. Ростовцеву”, in: id., *О филологах и филологах*]. Wilamowitz discerned Rostovtzeff’s talent quite early on, in 1901; see Marcone 1992, 10 and Kreucher 2003, 96–97.

²⁴ See Rostowzew 1902; Rostowzew 1905; Rostowzew 1910.

²⁵ See Funk 1992, 464 and Marcone 1992, 13.

of his theory was already in place at that time and in any case before the revolution,²⁶ which prompted his flight from Russia in June 1918.

By August 1919, while lecturing at Oxford, he had negotiated with the Clarendon Press for an edition of *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, the first chapters of which, irrespective of the numerous obstacles, he submitted in January 1924.²⁷ The project was at first entitled *Studies in the Economic History of the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds*, which corresponded to the initial conception of the prewar German edition, but the agreement signed in December 1919 already had “social history” in the first position in the title. Rostovtzeff had thus considerably widened the original scope of his German colleague’s proposal, having exhibited in this study and later in *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* an unsurpassed power in analyzing the evidence of archeology, numismatics, papyrology and epigraphy as well as literary and iconographic sources so as to create a thoroughly grounded yet lifelike pattern of history in its dynamic development. It is in this way that he differs from other modernizers, Russian and European alike. It was not his emigration that made Rostovtzeff the great man – it merely allowed him to be the scholar he would have become in Russia had it not been for the October Revolution.

Thus I am disinclined to overestimate the importance of the dramatic personal experience of revolution and emigration which, according to Momigliano, made Rostovtzeff recognize the bourgeoisie as the main creative force of the ancient economy and devote his two pivotal works to this subject. Even my necessarily brief overview shows that (1) Rostovtzeff’s historical interests and views were formed at the turn of the century under the profound influence of the most prominent representatives of German scholarship, who took for granted the existence of capitalism in antiquity in one form or another,²⁸ and (2) the theory of Ed. Meyer resonated most widely among Russian scholars holding different political views and retained its influence after the revolution as well. Significantly, the conservative Meyer had no particular sympathy for capitalism, neither ancient nor modern – “fully-blown capitalism” disrupted the traditional life of the rural population, which ultimately resulted in the collapse of ancient culture.²⁹ From the very beginning, Rostovtzeff’s approach was nothing if not balanced. He distinguished the “healthy” and “fruitful” Hellenistic

²⁶ For a detailed analysis, see Alipov 2010, 207–219.

²⁷ Marcone 2001, 359 n. 9.

²⁸ In his article, among other instances, Rostovtzeff cites Mommsen and M. Weber: Rostovtsev 1900, 205. See Weber 2006.

²⁹ See Meyer 1895, 110; 132 f.; 154 f.; 157 f.; Schneider 1990, 443.

capitalism from a “barren and baleful” Roman capitalism that kept diminishing the productivity of Italy and the provinces.³⁰ His views on the Roman bourgeoisie were liable to change over time, and yet in his history of the Roman Empire he makes Trimalchio a typical representative of this class,³¹ so the attempt to link Rostovtzeff’s attitude here to his merchant genealogy is unconvincing.³² Rostovtzeff was the last to deny the influence of modernity on the historical study of the ancient world; as a matter of fact, social and economic history, his main field of research, was itself a product of modernity. However, a straightforwardly biographical interpretation of his modernism has yet proven unsuccessful.

What was the essence of Rostovtzeff’s modernization? In the firm belief that the political history of antiquity was as much derived from the interests of various social groups as was modern history, he largely borrowed from his German teachers and colleagues the practice of using contemporary concepts – national economy, capitalism and capitalists, industry, stock exchange, factory – to explain those phenomena of ancient economics where he saw similarities to modernity. Let us consider the word “factory”. In *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* the word occurs quite often – sometimes alongside the “workshop” that presupposes differences between them, sometimes independently – and it denotes a small to large-scale market production of certain standardized goods in mass demand such as ceramic lamps. No definition of a factory is offered, its size is not determined, thus it is unclear in which respect it differs from a large workshop or manufactory (a concept also used here) and what is described in one place as a workshop sometimes appears as a factory in another. At the same time, Rostovtzeff distinguished the ancient factory from the modern one based on machine production, and he considered small workshops the main type of production in the Roman Empire. Had he defined the modern notions as clearly as he had the Latin ones in his thesis on Roman tax-farming,³³ it would have forestalled much of the criticism that followed. Like other modernist historians, however, he was reluctant to do it,³⁴ thus leaving this task to those he called theorists.

³⁰ Rostovtsev 1900, 204 f.

³¹ Rostovtzeff 1926 (1957), 57 f.

³² Wes 1988, 212. In the passage that Wes cites, Rostovtzeff is not dealing with the bourgeoisie.

³³ Rostovtsev 1899 [М. И. Ростовцев, *История государственного откупа в Римской империи (от Августа до Диоклетиана)*].

³⁴ About Ed. Meyer, see Schneider 1990, 435–437. Christ 1972, 344 n. 24: “Rostovtzeff was always far from precise in his sociological and philosophical definitions. He had completely renounced the creation of his own terminology, as practiced by Max Weber”. Yet must a historian devise his own terminology?

His review of *A Social and Economic History of Greece* by J. Hasebroek, who was generally in favor of primitivism, is interesting in this respect. Admitting that “much is correct in the revolt against the modernization of ancient history”, that “on the whole it is a healthy reaction to excesses of an otherwise sound view”,³⁵ Rostovtzeff devotes a lengthy footnote to defense of this view: theorists endlessly argue about definitions of capital and capitalism, so it has become impossible to talk about capitalism in the ancient world. However, we are dealing not with words or notions but with facts. We are faced with a dilemma. Did the ancient world set a template for the development that the modern world is now undergoing, or did it remain at a primitive level of the economy which was then surpassed by the Middle Ages? The development is evident, continues Rostovtzeff, with the ancient economy reaching its highest point in Hellenism and the Early Empire. The economy of that time differs from the present day only in a quantitative fashion, not qualitatively, and he calls it capitalistic because the manufacturers and traders were working only for the market, not for any targeted consumer group, and were exclusively profit-oriented. The concentration of labor, credit, technology, developments in transport and new legal regulations – all these are also features of a capitalist economy.³⁶

We are thus dealing with two separate phenomena. On the one hand in Rostovtzeff’s eyes there was a scientifically attested and unequivocal growth in production and living standards from the time of Homer all the way through to the early centuries of the Empire, this followed by stagnation and decline, which is incompatible with a primitivist approach to the ancient world economy. On the other hand it presents the theoretical possibility of a capitalism based on neither machine production nor free labor; for people born in the nineteenth century it seemed more feasible than for those born in the twentieth century when these things were inextricably linked. Rostovtzeff deals with a profit-oriented market economy – so why should this economy not also use slave labor, like capitalist agriculture in the American antebellum south, and be called ancient capitalism? To corroborate Rostovtzeff’s thinking, let me adduce one fact that impressed me. When metal smelting as the indicator of industrial activity as a whole came to be measured by lead emissions deposited in Greenland’s ice cap, it appeared that its peak coincided with the Roman Empire’s heyday in the first century CE, to be superseded only after 1800 with the beginning of the industrial

³⁵ Rostovtzeff 1932, 334.

³⁶ Rostovtzeff 1932, 334 n. 1.

revolution.³⁷ If one takes “capitalism” off the table and judges by the level of social development, it turns out that the remarkable achievements of the ancient world from the first century BCE to the first century CE were only reiterated in Western Europe in the eighteenth century.³⁸ It is evident that the theory of cycles, as much as the theory of stadial development, has its *raison d’être*. The resurgence of concentration-camp slavery and the serfdom of the *kolkhozes* and communes in the twentieth century is just another reminder of this.

What is surprising about the review under discussion is the treatment of Max Weber. Ever since the 1910s, Weber had had an interest in and a productive influence on Rostovtzeff’s studies of ancient economy – and vice versa.³⁹ Presenting him as “predominantly a theorist and philosopher”, Rostovtzeff notes that “a man of genius, Weber modified Bücher’s position, making it more acceptable for historians”.⁴⁰ Meanwhile in *The Agrarian History of the Ancient World*⁴¹ and other works, Weber, having repeatedly stressed the importance of Rostovtzeff’s conclusions, not only did not deny the most diverse types of ancient capitalism but with great methodological clarity formulated which of the ideal forms of capitalism were attested to in antiquity and the obstacles they faced.⁴² Weber, a sociologist, did not recognize the dilemma imposed by Rostovtzeff, an historian, which allowed for either Bücher’s progress or Meyer’s cycles, but instead went his own way, which often ran parallel to Rostovtzeff’s chosen path. Interestingly, another outstanding sociologist, Pitirim Sorokin, who became a close friend of Rostovtzeff in America, was pushing a cyclical model of development in his *Social and Cultural Dynamics*.⁴³ The historical process is presented here as a fluctuation of the three main types of culture. It was about this same time that O. M. Freidenberg, a proponent of the archaization of antiquity, wrote: “Modernization is a bane. But modernization is first and foremost a method. It explores antiquity in the same way as modernity”⁴⁴ – which brings us back to the position of Fustel de Coulanges.

In *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, a major study published in 1941, modernistic traits are pared down considerably.

³⁷ Persson 2010, 36 f.

³⁸ Morris 2013, 240–241. See also some compelling graphs in de Callatay 2012.

³⁹ See Deininger 2004; Bruhns 2005.

⁴⁰ Rostovtzeff 1932, 334–335.

⁴¹ See Weber 2006 (1908) 320–747; Lo Cascio 1988.

⁴² See Meier 1988.

⁴³ Sorokin 1937.

⁴⁴ Freidenberg 1978 [О. М. Фрейденберг, *Миф и литература древности*], 11.

The “bourgeoisie” remains, but “capitalism” is used only now and then, and this with reservations;⁴⁵ “capitalistic” occurs more often, but usually in quotation marks; “factory” tends to become “something like a factory”. The historian seeks not to exaggerate the importance of new trends in ancient economy, describing his position as a middle ground between Bücher and Meyer.⁴⁶ This book placed Rostovtzeff at the summit of scholarly achievement in the economic history of antiquity. His authority was such that in 1946 the only publisher that Meir Reinhold could find for his extensive critique of Rostovtzeff was in the Marxist journal *Science and Society*.⁴⁷ Moses Finley, a friend of Reinhold, proved to be a far more influential critic, approaching ancient economy via the theorization of history, toward which Rostovtzeff, by his own account, felt “an innate dislike”.⁴⁸ Finley was shaped by Marx and the economist Karl Polányi,⁴⁹ who claimed that economic activity in antiquity was never an independent sphere but subject to the laws of social relations. Later Finley would gravitate toward Weber, from whom he took up not the analysis of capitalistic elements in ancient economy but the opposition between *homo politicus* of antiquity and *homo oeconomicus* of the Middle Ages and modern times.⁵⁰ For Weber, meanwhile, the final decision on the correspondence of models with historical reality, meanwhile, lay with scholars experienced in philology and archeology⁵¹ such as Rostovtzeff.

Reviving the old argument between the primitivists and modernists by taking it to a new level, Finley mainly targeted Rostovtzeff. In an article of 1965, minimizing the technological progress and economic development throughout antiquity, he labels Rostovtzeff’s theory “an anachronistic burlesque”.⁵² In Finley’s *The Ancient Economy*, a book which won him wide renown, all the references to Rostovtzeff except for one are intended to demonstrate that he is hopelessly outdated and of no good use.⁵³ All this relates to *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, while Rostovtzeff’s profound study of the Hellenistic world’s economy is disposed of in a single paragraph challenging the very existence

⁴⁵ Rostovtzeff 1941, 1303: “I hesitate to use a term whose meaning is so much disputed”.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 1327 n. 25.

⁴⁷ Reinhold 1946.

⁴⁸ Rostovtzeff 1930, 197.

⁴⁹ For instance see O’Halloran 2019, 15–32.

⁵⁰ On Finley’s facile view of Weber’s theories, see Chazel 2016.

⁵¹ Weber 2006 (1908), 373.

⁵² Finley 1965, 42. For criticism of Finley’s views, see for example Greene 2000.

⁵³ Finley 1985.

of a Hellenistic economy.⁵⁴ Dripping with sarcasm, Finley cunningly caricatures the modernists, which was also a practice of Rostovtzeff when dealing with Bücher. Yet Rostovtzeff contrasted Bücher's brief theoretical essay not just with two papers, as Meyer did, but with two monumental histories, synthesizing a range of diverse sources greater than what anyone else would later do. A book of modest size based on selected examples from literary sources of specific periods, Finley's study could not become a time-proof alternative. While rightly exposing the excesses of the modernists, Finley substituted the economic model with a sociological one, according to which the rich aristocracy of Greece and Rome were mainly concerned with maintaining their social status because ideology prevented them from any direct involvement in market transactions where only people of lowly station were involved. He was thus touching on the whole ancient mindset and the degree to which it was capable of rational economic behavior such as risk assessment and potential investment gain. Finley claiming we cannot apply a modern yardstick to ancient man was at this point almost closer to Fustel de Coulanges than to Weber.

I believe that whether it be an archaization or modernization of ancient economy, literature or science, these are not the theoretical pursuits of individual scholars or isolated episodes in historiography but forces permanently at work and competing ways of interpreting history. We tend to see antiquity as having greater similarities to our own time or greater differences from it, depending on the influence of contemporary trends. Finley, who grew up in the leftist intellectual milieu of 1930s New York,⁵⁵ saw antiquity through a lens which differed from that of Rostovtzeff, and he felt no need to bring it closer to modern times. In the 1970s and 1980s his theory was very influential, and he still remains one of the those ancient historians most often cited.⁵⁶ However, experts even then pointed out that he had neglected not only archeology – upon which Rostovtzeff had based many of his own conclusions⁵⁷ – but also the quantitative methods of research which were gaining momentum to reveal real economic growth that in no wise followed from his theory.⁵⁸ In the argument between the proponents of modernism and primitivism that followed, Finley's theory was and still often is met with more severe criticism than Rostovtzeff's

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 183.

⁵⁵ Tompkins 2013.

⁵⁶ Scheidel 2016. We should keep in mind that Finley's *The Ancient Economy* (250 pages) is easy reading compared to Rostovtzeff's history of Hellenism (1700 pages).

⁵⁷ D'Arms 1977.

⁵⁸ See Silver 2007; Erdkamp 2020.

histories.⁵⁹ Thus the author of a recent book on the economy of classical Athens attributes the generation-long stagnation in ancient economic history to Finley's influence.⁶⁰ Even those who acknowledge the validity of those problems raised by Finley, are themselves seeking different solutions.⁶¹

Henry Pleket, who in 1975 wrote the article "A Farewell to Rostovtzeff", in 1984 suggested that "we may well have made pre-modern Western Europe too modern and ancient society too primitive". In 1990 he convincingly showed that there were no essential structural differences between the economy of pre-industrial Europe (1500–1800) and that of the Roman Empire.⁶² Economic growth per capita in the Roman Empire was only half as high as that of Holland in its golden age of the seventeenth century, but their social structures differed markedly. These are significant and far from the only adjustments to Rostovtzeff's standpoint, thus delimiting his at times too bold rapprochement with modernity.

How has Rostovtzeff's modernism fared in recent decades? I do not pretend to have the big picture, but might still offer some separate observations. The dispute between modernists and primitivists was often believed to have been settled and superseded, but modernism as a means of interpreting the ancient economy by way of an economic theory elaborating on the facts of modern life is hardly dead and gone but rather undergoing vigorous development. Douglas North's new institutional economy has meantime replaced Finley's theory, and economic historians who use it look hard for and succeed in finding markets and transaction costs in antiquity.⁶³ That said, Rostovtzeff's vocabulary has generally been discarded: capitalism turns into market economy, capitalist into an entrepreneur, the bourgeoisie into the merchant middle class. This allows one to avoid any outdated parallels when analyzing the same or similar phenomena and processes while resorting to contemporary analogies which would seem to be more appropriate. Will they still seem so in twenty or thirty years' time?

The break however has not been final. John Bintliff, a leading ancient archeologist, recently published an article on the Hellenistic and Roman Mediterranean subtitled "A Proto-Capitalistic Revolution?" –

⁵⁹ See for instance Sarri 2011; Temin 2012.

⁶⁰ O'Halloran 2019, 316–317. Finley's student, on the contrary, argues that Rostovtzeff's position and that of his teacher had more commonalities than his critics care to admit; see Saller 2005.

⁶¹ See for example Morris–Saller–Scheidel 2007; Manning 2018.

⁶² See Pleket 1975; Pleket 1984, 6; Pleket 1990.

⁶³ See Manning 2018, 30–31.

but without mentioning Rostovtzeff.⁶⁴ Yet still of importance here is the way mapped-out by Rostovtzeff, not the mention of his name or the use of terminology which he himself was already discarding. It is a way of reconstructing the social and economic history of the ancient world through the use of massive amounts of data from papyrology, epigraphy, fine art and especially archeology. Even at the beginning of the twentieth century, when the possibility of quantifying these data was very limited, Rostovtzeff pressed hard to recover from those material remains of the past the information which contemporary methods of scientific analysis extract with unparalleled ease and efficiency. Without these methods one cannot imagine either economic archeology or any social and economic history of antiquity.⁶⁵

Although there has presently been a hundredfold increase in the number of students of ancient economy as compared to a century ago, a general economic history of the Roman Empire which would replace Rostovtzeff's outdated history has not yet appeared – unlike the new theory. William Harris, an eminent economic historian, says in the introduction to his recent book: “All that I offer here in any case are some fragments for some future Rostovtzeff to throw into the furnace as raw material for a new synthesis”.⁶⁶ A large group of students of Hellenistic economy have regularly organized conferences and published proceedings on the topic, building on Rostovtzeff and paving the way for a modern alternative at an altogether new theoretical level. Beginning in 2001, they have so far published three volumes of stimulating studies, the latest in 2011.⁶⁷ As far as I know, no collective monograph has yet appeared. It has emerged that it is easier to oppose Weber and Rostovtzeff, theory and history, than it is to incorporate them in a single approach. Meanwhile, as voices that refuse to consider economic growth as an indicator of success are growing louder, it becomes difficult to predict the way in which the next generation will come to estimate the ancient economy.

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⁶⁴ See Bintliff 2013; Bintliff 2014.

⁶⁵ See for instance Bowman–Wilson 2009.

⁶⁶ Harris 2011, 11.

⁶⁷ See Archibald–Davies–Gabrielsen 2001; Archibald–Davies–Gabrielsen 2005; Archibald–Davies–Gabrielsen 2011.

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The introduction of modern notions into the history of the ancient world is not an individual feature of Mikhail Rostovtzeff as an historian but was characteristic of many scholars from the generation of his teachers, and then of his students, and therefore should be viewed against this broader backdrop. With the emergence of economic history, political economists K. Rodbertus and K. Bücher interpreted the economic development of antiquity in terms of the then prevailing notions of progress, and corresponding to this historical period was a very primitive economic order and closed-household economy. Such an archaization of the ancient economy was opposed by Eduard Meyer, an outstanding historian of the ancient world, who not only saw many capitalist elements in antiquity (they were previously discerned by T. Mommsen and later by his students M. Weber, J. Beloch, U. Wilken, R. Pöhlmann etc.) but who in principle rejected the theory of progress in favor of the theory of cycles, or two parallel periods in world history. M. Rostovtzeff shared this theory in his early article "Capitalism and the National Economy in the Ancient World" (1900) which contains many ideas that he later developed in his major works on the social and economic history of Hellenism and the Roman Empire.

Evaluating the discussions about Hellenistic and Roman capitalism, we should consider the struggle between primitivists and modernizers to be an integral part of and a powerful stimulus to the scholarly understanding of antiquity, which uses explanatory models. In the second half of the nineteenth century the concept of capitalism had not yet been fully developed (Marx, for example, never used it in his writings) and therefore its scope and content in the works of Rostovtzeff, his associates and critics did in fact vary significantly. The doctrine of socio-economic formations (slaveholding, feudal, capitalist etc.), habitual to Soviet scholars, was developed only in the 1930s, thus forcing many Soviet historians to abandon their previous views of the historical process, whereas others such as S. Luria continued to write about the struggle of the Greek urban bourgeoisie with the feudal lords.

The leading historian of ancient economy after Rostovtzeff, M. Finley, though used Weberian concepts, tended rather to side with the primitivists. In general he insisted on the self-sufficiency of cells of the ancient economy and denied any

tangible technological progress or economic growth throughout ancient history. By the end of the twentieth century it became clear that the model proposed by Finley needed at very least the same modification as Rostovtzeff's theory. Unlike Rostovtzeff's theories, his histories remain unsurpassed.

Привнесение современных понятий в экономическую жизнь античности и шире – в историю древнего мира – не является индивидуальной особенностью М. И. Ростовцева как историка, оно было свойственно многим ученым того времени и потому должно быть рассмотрено на широком фоне. Во второй половине XIX в. политэкономы К. Родбертус и К. Бюхер трактовали экономическое развитие древности в господствующих тогда понятиях стадийного развития, в соответствии с которыми на период античности приходился примитивный экономический уклад – замкнутое ойкосное хозяйство. Против архаизации античной экономики выступил Эд. Майер, который не просто усматривал в древности множество капиталистических элементов, – ранее их видел Т. Моммзен, позже его ученики М. Вебер, Ю. Белох, У. Вилькен, Р. Пёльманн, – но и выдвинул теорию циклов, или двух параллельных периодов в мировой истории, сходных своими базовыми чертами. У Ростовцева эта теория представлена в статье “Капитализм и народное хозяйство в древнем мире” (1900), содержащей многие идеи, развитые им впоследствии в капитальных трудах по социально-экономической истории эллинизма и Римской империи. Неверно поэтому связывать эти идеи с воздействием на его мировоззрение революции 1917 г.

В Европе и США между двумя мировыми войнами сложился широкий консенсус, выразителем которого выступал Ростовцев. Альтернативой историчистской теории, рисовавшей развитие человечество как смену этапов или формаций, был метод М. Вебера. Критикуя Эд. Мейера за попытки найти в античности следы промышленного капитализма, он рассматривал “феодализм” и “капитализм” как универсальные типы хозяйствования, совместимые с различными историческими формами производства. Ведущий историк античной экономики послевоенного времени М. Финли, используя идеи Вебера, в главном склонялся скорее к позиции “примитивистов”. Он не только настаивал на самодостаточности ячеек античной экономики, но и отрицал технологический прогресс и экономический рост на всем протяжении античной истории. В последние десятилетия XX в. стало ясно, что модель, предложенная Финли, нуждается в такой же, если не более существенной модификации, что и теории Ростовцева. Почти через сто лет после выхода *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (1926) Ростовцева избранный им способ модернизации античности остается одним из самых плодотворных в той области, где теоретические модели современной экономической науки накладываются на ограниченный и с трудом поддающийся количественному анализу материал.

Dmitri Panchenko

ROSTOVVTZEFF AND HIS *SOCIAL AND
ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE*:
A COMMENT ON A SCHOLARLY MASTERPIECE*

The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire appeared in 1926. It was a great success. However, it was a success of somewhat unusual kind. Let us consider a characteristic remark in the preface to the second edition (1957) diligently prepared by P. M. Fraser: “Rostovtzeff’s work has become a classic, if not necessarily wholly correct, account of the subject with which it deals”.¹ One immediately notes a trace of the contradictory reception of the work. Less than three decades sufficed to make it classic! However, even though no professional scholar would expect from any historical study of so large a scale to be “wholly correct”, the editor feels the need to draw attention to the point.

Indeed, respect and admiration in the scholarly perception of Rostovtzeff’s work have been repeatedly combined with a reluctance to accept its major ideas. For instance, Glenn Bowersock, an outstanding scholar himself, in his elegantly written essay on *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, goes so far as to declare: “Rostovtzeff’s view of the collapse of the Roman Empire soon became and remains a curiosity”.² He continues sympathetically, nevertheless: “Yet today the book in which it was presented is considered a classic work”. One is puzzled: is there such a thing on earth as a classic work with cheap ideas?

1

I will start with a particular point – did the critics correctly understand what they styled a “curiosity”? Here is another of Bowersock’s comments on Rostovtzeff’s ideas: “In his view, an alliance of the rural proletariat with the military in the third century AD destroyed the beneficent rule of an urban bourgeoisie. This explanation of the end of the Roman Empire

* I am grateful to David Konstan for his comments on the draft of this paper.

¹ Rostovtzeff 1957, I, VII.

² Bowersock 1974, 19.

is so obviously unsatisfactory that one may well wonder why an acute scholar like Rostovtzeff took it seriously”.³ I reply that he did not, for this view is not his. The interpretation formulated by Bowersock omits the emperors, a political institution never underrated by Rostovtzeff, and introduces instead “the rule of an urban bourgeoisie”. It is true that Rostovtzeff’s picture of a satisfactory (rather than “beneficent”) rule includes the urban bourgeoisie, but as an element within a larger system. He speaks of “the constitutional monarchy of Antonines, which rested on the middle class throughout the Empire and on the self-government of the cities”; in this system, “the imperial bureaucracy and the army were co-ordinated with the self-governing bodies in Italy and in the provinces”.⁴ As to what was destroyed, and what was left, in the third century AD, during the period called by Rostovtzeff “military anarchy”, a quotation at length seems appropriate:

In this heritage there was almost nothing positive except the fact of the existence of the Empire with all its natural resources. The men who inhabited it had utterly lost their balance. Hatred and envy reigned everywhere: the peasants hated the landowners and the officials, the city proletariat hated the city *bourgeoisie*, the army was hated by everybody, even by the peasants. The Christians were abhorred and persecuted by the heathens, who regarded them as a gang of criminals bent on undermining the state. Work was disorganized and the productivity was declining; commerce was ruined by the insecurity of the sea and roads; industry could not prosper, since the market for industrial products was steadily contracting and the purchasing power of the population diminishing; agriculture passed through a terrible crisis, for the decay of commerce and industry deprived it of the capital which it needed, and the heavy demands of the state robbed it of labour and of the largest part of its products. Prices constantly rose and the value of the currency depreciated at an unprecedented rate. The ancient system of taxation had been shattered and no new system was devised. The relations between the state and the taxpayer were based on more or less organized robbery: forced work, forced delivery, forced loans or gifts were the order of the day. The administration was corrupt and demoralized ... The city *bourgeoisie* was tracked out and persecuted, cheated, and maltreated. The municipal aristocracy was decimated by systematic persecution and ruined by repeated confiscations and by the responsibility imposed on it of ensuring the success of the organized raids of the government on the people. The most terrible chaos thus reigned throughout the ruined Empire.⁵

³ Bowersock 1974, 18.

⁴ Rostovtzeff 1957, I, XII.

⁵ Rostovtzeff 1957, I, 505–506.

One can see that the unfortunate situation of the urban bourgeoisie is only part, though an important one, of the whole picture and that the government rather than the rural proletariat or the army emerges here as the main destructive force with which the urban bourgeoisie had to deal. If we go beyond the quotation, it is true that Rostovtzeff assumes that the army was filled with the soldiers who came from the rural proletariat and that he cites examples of the open hostility of the army to the relatively prosperous population of the cities. Nevertheless, this implies a more complex and nuanced interpretation of the course of events than the destruction of the rule of an urban bourgeoisie by an alliance of the rural proletariat with the military. Rostovtzeff's study reveals a complicated historical process, more powerful than the will of its participants, though not wholly predetermined. Yet the emperors appear almost invariably as the most influential participants in what happened. They needed money, and they chose to impose such a burden on the cities and urban bourgeoisie that it resulted in their decline and near collapse.

A particular historical situation appears in his story as having special importance. Like Edward Gibbon before him, Rostovtzeff associates an important turn with Septimius Severus as a military usurper: "With the senate and a large part of provincial aristocracy against him, Septimius was forced to make one concession after another to the army... Septimius was the first to base his power firmly and permanently on the army". The "baneful aspect" of his policy "was, not that he made the army democratic, but that he militarized the principate; and that was in fact a necessary consequence of his usurpation of power and his establishment of a hereditary monarchy".⁶

To be sure, no attentive reader of *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* will think that Septimius Severus, a military usurper, came out of the blue. Rostovtzeff points to the limits on economic growth in the second century and to the policy of exclusiveness of the city bourgeoisie, both resulting in a growing gap between the *honestiores* (who also included the imperial aristocracy and bureaucracy) and *humiliores*. In his view, the city-based capitalism gradually degenerated.

The creative forces which in the early Imperial period produced a rapid growth in every quarter of the Empire, and promoted a high standard of technical improvement alike in commerce, in industry, and in agriculture, suffered a gradual atrophy, which resulted in increasing stagnation of the

⁶ Rostovtzeff 1957, I, 401–404.

economic life. The activity of the urban middle class degenerated into a systematic exploitation of the toiling lower classes.⁷

The accumulated wealth of the city bourgeoisie was mostly invested in land, and their prevailing outlook was that of the rentier.

The burden of supporting the life of the State lay entirely on the working classes and caused a rapid decline of their material welfare. As they were the chief consumers of the industrial goods produced by the cities, their diminished purchasing power reacted adversely on the development of commerce and industry.

The measures taken by the emperors were typically inadequate.

To save the state they resorted to the old practice of the ancient world – the policy of force and compulsion. Force and compulsion were applied both to the city bourgeoisie and to the lower classes, and they embittered each against the other. The result was the collapse of city-capitalism and the acute economic crisis of the third century.⁸

Rostovtzeff does not claim, however, that the course of the events was strictly predestined:

I see no reason why another pair of emperors of the type of Trajan, Hadrian, and M. Aurelius should not have prolonged the quiet and comparatively prosperous period in the history of the Empire for some scores of years, had it not been for the ambition and unscrupulous policy of Septimius Severus.⁹

Rostovtzeff does not regard, of course, the crisis of the third century as marking the end of the Roman Empire, though he displays no sympathy with what he calls the Oriental despotism of the fourth and fifth centuries, based on the army, a strong bureaucracy and on the mass of the peasants. “In the mind of Diocletian”, he says, “the state meant compulsion, and organization meant organized violence”. Accordingly, “the more one produced, the more would be taken by the state”.¹⁰ He may concede that “Gelzer and Heihelheim are right in observing that there is throughout

⁷ Rostovtzeff 1957, I, XIV.

⁸ Rostovtzeff 1957, I, XV.

⁹ Rostovtzeff 1957, II, 710.

¹⁰ Rostovtzeff 1957, I, 522–523.

the Roman Empire a certain awakening of economic life between Diocletian and Theodosius”, yet he maintains that this awakening was short-lived and limited and that “pressure exerted from above continued to be the hall-mark of the age”.¹¹

Such are (more or less) the main ideas of Rostovtzeff’s work, in brief. I see no reason to approach them as a “curiosity” and to treat *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* as a classic work filled with readily dismissible views.

2

Critics of Rostovtzeff’s work find an explanation for its allegedly unsatisfactory ideas in their dependence on Rostovtzeff’s personal experience as an exile from revolutionary Russia. I think this is misleading. The use of such terms as “bourgeoisie” and “proletariat” is such a minor issue that it need not be discussed here. Now, there is no direct retrojection of Russian conditions onto the Roman in *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*; and although the presence of Rostovtzeff’s personal experience in his work is undeniable, its effects operate on a deeper level and they are essentially positive and productive: a historian troubled by the problems of his own time may acquire a more acute vision of comparable phenomena in the past.

Let us consider a couple of quotations in which Rostovtzeff explicitly bridges the ancient and the modern worlds. The first one comes from his description of daily life in Egypt of the third century:

Evidently corporal punishment very often followed financial ruin, and the only way to escape it was to flee from one’s domicile ... A striking private letter from Oxyrhynchus may also be quoted. Charmus writes to his brother Sopatrus: “The prefect has sent an amnesty here, and there is no longer any fear at all; so, if you will, come boldly; for we are no longer able to stay indoors. For Annoë is much worn out with her journey, and we await your presence, that we may not withdraw without reason; for she considers herself to be keeping the house here alone”. The enigmatic sentences, comprehensible to the addressee, remind me of many letters which I receive from Soviet Russia. The system of terrorism gives rise to the same phenomena everywhere and at all times.¹²

¹¹ Rostovtzeff 1957, II, 749.

¹² Rostovtzeff 1957, I, 487.

One can see that Rostovtzeff's personal experience fostered his empathy, which brought his, and then his readers' attention to remarkable documents. There are many examples of such documents in his work. They serve both to create a better understanding of the historical process and to lend an aura of compassion to the oppressed, to the common people of the Roman Empire.

The other quotation pertains to Rostovtzeff's treatment of the despotism of the fourth and fifth centuries:

Compared with the delicate and complicated system of the early Empire, in which stress was laid on the self-government of the cities, while the bureaucracy was a subsidiary organ and an organ of control, the system of the late Empire, despite its apparent complexity, was much simpler, much more primitive, and infinitely more brutal. Being supreme and omnipotent, and not subject to any control exercised in one way or another by those who were the life-blood of the state, the bureaucracy gradually became utterly corrupt and dishonest and at the same time comparatively inefficient, in spite of the high professional training of its members. Bribe and illicit gains were the order of the day ... The worst were the thousands of secret police agents, the *agentes in rebus*, who were the successors of the *frumentarii* and whose duty it was to keep an eye on the population and on the host of imperial officials. Corruption and inefficiency is the fate of all bureaucracies which are not checked by wide powers of self-government vested in the people, whether they are created in the name of autocracy or of communism.¹³

One can say that the last sentence adds nothing to the description of the state of affairs in the Roman Empire. However, it puts Roman history in a larger context of human history, and this is not something to regret. One more point also seems worth making. Relating the ancient world and the modern, Rome and Russia, Rostovtzeff incidentally made a prediction: "the thousands of secret police agents" would prove to be a reality of Soviet Russia soon after the publication of his book.

The personal experience of Rostovtzeff was not, of course, narrowly Russian. He writes in the conclusion of his book:

But the ultimate problem remains like a ghost, ever present and unalaid: Is it possible to extend a higher civilization to the lower classes without debasing its standard and diluting its quality to the vanishing point? Is not every civilization bound to decay as soon as it begins to penetrate the masses?¹⁴

¹³ Rostovtzeff 1957, I, 512–513.

¹⁴ Rostovtzeff 1957, I, 541.

Rostovtzeff addresses here the problem raised in the great books by Alexis de Tocqueville and José Ortega y Gasset. I cannot say whether Rostovtzeff knew *The Democracy in America*, but the author of *The Revolt of the Masses* cites his study of the Roman Empire.

I thus conclude that the ideas in Rostovtzeff's work were solid and interesting and that the open appeals to his personal experience in his study were stimulating and positive rather than disorienting.

3

The ideas of *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* pertain to the fate of the Roman Empire, of its particular institutions, like self-government, of its economy, of its culture and of its educated as well as lower classes. The book presents a kind of story, and this story is tragic. It is finally about degradation and annihilation. It puts at the core of the plot neither the barbarians who came from outside nor the allegedly malicious Christians – as the best dramas tend to avoid introducing a *deus ex machina*. We are offered instead an account of a structural evolution of political institutions, economy, and society. The story develops leisurely, with due attention to all sorts of details (for who can anticipate the future significance of this or that small thing?) and without a forced schematism. It introduces a great variety of *dramatis personae* and presents a large picture of social life.

I intentionally use the terms that may seem appropriate to talking about a novel. For I believe that many of the best books written by historians belong to the same realm as the best novels, dramas and poems like the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. All such books are aimed at tracing and comprehending the story of a person, or a group, or a commonwealth, or a civilization. A great novelist or poet, on the one hand, and a great historian, on the other, may address different materials and employ largely different methods of constructing their narratives, but they share an interest in illuminating the human condition. The problems of *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, originally a thick volume with a huge scholarly apparatus (published separately as a special volume in the second edition) make this work akin to a solid novel. In a work of that kind, the ideas need not be indisputably correct; they have to be thoughtful, elaborate, and nontrivial, as in the case of Rostovtzeff's work they certainly are.

A great book is typically a very personal matter, and the notion of the author's persona is not to be confined to lyric poetry. One feels the author's persona, and an attractive one, behind Rostovtzeff's work: daring, learned, hard-working, emotional and sober at the same time.

In a way, one may observe the treating of history as a story and of a historical episode as a drama already in Herodotus. Thucydides' narrative of the Sicilian expedition has been repeatedly compared with a tragedy. There is something, however, in *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* which is absent in the ancient historians. This is its quality as a study of a historical process. One can point, perhaps, to an anticipation in the introductory part of the *History of the Peloponnesian War* or in Polybius' approach to the rise of the Roman power (where it is a matter of a course of events with a fixed direction rather than a historical process in true sense), but the differences are still essential. One hesitates to see the idea of studying a historical process even in Edward Gibbon's *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, the obvious predecessor of Rostovtzeff's work. It is rather from the second quarter of the nineteenth century that this idea became firmly established. Rostovtzeff employs it while presenting his task:

The economic conditions of the Empire have been the subject of repeated study. Much valuable work has been done in various special fields. But no one has attempted to trace the main lines of the economic development of the Empire as a whole, no one has tried to show how and why its material aspect gradually changed, and how and why the brilliant life of the early Empire so completely degenerated into the primitive and half-barbarous life of the later period.¹⁵

An account of a historical process implies telling a story. To be sure, there are different stories. Since the nineteenth century the best novelists have created stories based on a deep insight (one may call it research) into human psychology and human behavior in general, including its dependence on social habits and values, a matter of change over the course of time. I mean grand novels like *Vanity Fair* or *War and Peace* or *Buddenbrooks*. It is hardly accidental that the rise of both novels and historical studies of this kind occurred in the same epoch. In any case, historians read the novels. When *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* appeared, its readers were (and, I hope, still are) prepared to appreciate the "novelistic" quality of the book, even without recognizing that aspect clearly. Since critics of the ideas of this book nevertheless have spoken of it as a source of inspiration,¹⁶ I suppose that these critics in fact liked the ideas – if not particular positions or interpretations, then at all events the general image that they produced.

¹⁵ Rostovtzeff 1957, I, XIII.

¹⁶ As Bowersock 1974, 23 does.

Aristotle observes in a famous passage (*Poet.* 1451 b 5–6) that writing poetry (that is, fiction) requires more skill than writing history, that it is intellectually a more difficult task. Yet in the case of the books like *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* a historian competes with the poets and all writers of fiction, and has, moreover, the advantage of dealing with historical, that is, “true”, and not fictional characters and situations.

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M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* I–II (Oxford 1957).

The reputation of *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (1926) is contradictory. On the one hand, Rostovtzeff’s work has been recognized as a masterpiece. On the other hand, its main ideas have been repeatedly dismissed. The critics pointed to the personal experience of Rostovtzeff, an exile from revolutionary Russia; they saw in his argument the intrusion of the concerns that properly pertain to Russian history. However, there is no direct retrojection of Russian conditions onto the Roman Empire in Rostovtzeff’s work, and his personal experience, that of a historian emotionally preoccupied with the problems of his own time, gave him a more acute vision of comparable phenomena of the past. The ideas of *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* are in fact profound and persuasive though, of course, not all of them are unimpeachable. The book traces the fate of the Roman Empire with its institutions, social groups and economy. It is a tragic story of “how and why the brilliant life of the early Empire so completely degenerated into the primitive and half-barbarous life of the later period”, and here the reader senses the emotional involvement of the author. Such and similar features of *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* make this book, with its formidable scholarly apparatus, akin to all great books that illuminate the human condition, and to the grand European novels in particular, and this must be recognized as a remarkable achievement rather than an idiosyncrasy.

“Социальная и экономическая история Римской империи” Ростовцева, с одной стороны, очень быстро получила статус классической работы, но с другой – ее идеи неоднократно отвергались; в них, в частности, видели проекцию на древнюю историю проблем, волновавших русского эмигранта. На деле идейный каркас исследования крепко сколочен, и автор вовсе не стремится населять Римскую империю русскими реалиями, а опыт исторической драмы, которую на его глазах пережила Россия, лишь обострил взгляд Ростовцева на ход истории. Его книга, справочный аппарат которой при подготовке второго издания сочли уместным вынести в отдельный том, является тем не менее превосходным примером того, как в своем высшем проявлении история может принадлежать литературе. Там, где прослеживается и постигается судьба, – человека, семьи, народа, цивилизации, – это литература. У большого писателя и большого историка разный материал, и их методы построения текста далеко не во всем сходны, но их общим интересом является понимание хода жизни. Перед читателем “Социальной и экономической историей Римской империи” открывается судьба – римского государства и особенно созидательных аспектов римской цивилизации; судьба, которую, в общем-то, можно обозначить двумя словами – деградация и крушение.

Stefan Rebenich

DIE WISSENSCHAFTLICHE
INTERNATIONALE DER ALTERTUMSKUNDE:
EIN BRIEF MICHAEL I. ROSTOVZJEFFS
AN ALFRED VON DOMASZEWSKI

In der Biographie des großen russischen Althistorikers Michael Iwanowitsch Rostovtzeff spiegeln sich auf ebenso eindrucksvolle wie bedrückende Weise die Wechselfälle der politischen und intellektuellen Geschichte der zweiten Hälfte des 19. und der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts.¹ Hineingeboren in die großbürgerliche Welt des zaristischen Russlands, prägten den jungen Wissenschaftler die humanistische Tradition seines Vaterlandes, der Besuch der klassischen Ausgrabungsstätten des Mittelmeerraumes – und die deutsche Altertumsforschung. Schon seine ersten wissenschaftlichen Auslandsreisen stärkten seine Verbindungen zu europäischen, insbesondere deutschen Altertumswissenschaftlern.²

Seine ersten großen Studien waren der römischen Staatspacht und den Bleitesserae gewidmet; doch die ursprünglich als Qualifikationsarbeiten in Russisch verfassten Werke wurden international erst rezipiert, nachdem sie auch in deutscher Sprache veröffentlicht worden waren.³ Der 1870 geborene russische Forscher wurde bald nach 1900 als herausragender Altertumswissenschaftler wahrgenommen. 1914 wurde er zum Korrespondierenden Mitglied der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften gewählt. Eduard Meyer führte in seinem Wahlvorschlag aus, dass

¹ Die Literatur zu Rostovtzeffs Biographie und Werk ist inzwischen umfangreich. Ich verweise nur auf Marcone 1966, 91–104; Christ 1989, 334–349; Fears 1990, 405–418; Wes 1990, 156–162 (mit den Besprechungen von Calder III 1991 und Shaw 1992); Marcone 1999; Heinen 2006, 172–189; Schneider 2012, 1083–1089 und Fichtner 2020a mit weiterer Literatur. – Zu Rostovtzeffs Bibliographie vgl. Welles 1956, 358–381 und Gilliam 1987, 1–8.

² Fichtner 2020a, 125–142.

³ Rostovtzeff 1899 [М. И. Ростовцев, *История государственного откупа в Римской империи (от Августа до Диоклетиана)*] (Deutsch: Rostovtzeff 1902a); Rostovtzeff 1903b [М. И. Ростовцев, *Римские свинцовые тессеры*] (Deutsch: Rostovtzeff 1905); vgl. Rostovtzeff 1903–1905.

Rostovtzeff zu den „Gelehrten Russlands“ zähle, „welche in den beiden letzten Jahrzehnten die Altertumswissenschaft durch thatkräftige Arbeit, streng wissenschaftliche Arbeit energisch weiter gefördert haben“.⁴

Seine intensiven Kontakte zu deutschen Kollegen wie Otto Hirschfeld, Ulrich Wilcken, Eduard Meyer und Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff wurden jedoch durch den Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkrieges unterbrochen. Für Rostovtzeff war dies zweifelsfrei ein „deutscher Krieg“.⁵

Im Sommer 1918 verließ er jedoch für immer seine Heimat. Die Oktoberrevolution machte ihn zu einem Exilanten.⁶ Er floh zunächst nach Schweden; seine Manuskripte und seine Bibliothek blieben zurück. Gegen das bolschewistische System griff der liberale Gelehrte zur Feder. Seine journalistischen Bemühungen, die westlichen Staaten für ein Bündnis gegen das neue Regime in Rußland zu gewinnen, trugen indes keine Früchte. In Oxford fand Rostovtzeff eine neue Heimstatt, ohne dort aber heimisch zu werden. 1920 nahm er daher einen Ruf an die Universität von Madison in Wisconsin an. 1925 wechselte er nach Yale, wo er den Höhepunkt seiner wissenschaftlichen Laufbahn erreichte. Nun veröffentlichte er seine großen Synthesen, die ihn nicht nur unter Altertumswissenschaftlern, sondern bei einem historisch gebildeten Publikum berühmt machten: „The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire“ (1926), die 1929 ins Deutsche, 1933 ins Italienische⁷ und 1937 ins Spanische übersetzt wurde, und „The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World“ in drei Bänden (1941). Eine ebenfalls dreibändige deutsche Ausgabe erschien 1955/1956. Mit letzterem Werk stellte Rostovtzeff die Erforschung des Hellenismus auf eine neue Grundlage. Eine Vielzahl von Untersuchungen zur Geschichte, Archäologie und Wirtschaft des Altertums traten hinzu, die der polyglotte Forscher in verschiedenen europäischen Sprachen publizierte. Sie zeigen die beeindruckende Breite seiner Kenntnisse und Fertigkeiten. Doch die gelehrte Exegese literarischer und monumentaler Zeugnisse, die Interpretation von Inschriften, Münzen und Papyri war ihm nie Selbstzweck. Sein Credo lautete: „Lieber historisch irren, als antiquarisch verflachen!“⁸ Methodisch richtungweisend für die antike Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte war die Auswertung archäologischer Denkmäler für übergeordnete historische Fragestellungen.

⁴ Vgl. Kirsten 1985, 158 f., Nr. 58.

⁵ Vgl. Fichtner 2020a, 173–227. Zu den Folgen des Ersten Weltkrieges für die Altertumswissenschaften vgl. von Ungern-Sternberg 2003, 169–176; ders. 2006, 239–254 (= ders. 2017a, 247–265) und ders. 2017b, 203–245.

⁶ Vgl. Fichtner 2020a, 229–329 und Wes 1990, 12–18.

⁷ Vgl. die italienische Neuausgabe: Rostovtzeff 2003.

⁸ Rostovtzeff 1995, 434.

Die biographischen Erfahrungen des Emigranten fanden Eingang in sein Werk. Seine Darstellung der „Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft im römischen Kaiserreich“ ist ein glühendes Plädoyer für die soziale und politische Bedeutung des prosperierenden Bürgertums, oder wie Rostovtzeff selbst formulierte: „der oberen Klasse der städtischen Bourgeoisie“, die dem *Imperium Romanum* „sein glänzendes Äußeres gab“ und es „tatsächlich regierte“.⁹ Die Krise des römischen Reiches ging einher mit dem Niedergang der traditionellen urbanen Wirtschaft und der „fortschreitenden Absorbierung der höheren Klassen durch die niederen, begleitet von einer allmählichen Nivellierung in regressivem Sinne“.¹⁰ Die Idealisierung der „Bourgeoisie“ des römischen Kaiserreichs griff nicht nur Theorien der zeitgenössischen Altertumswissenschaften und Nationalökonomie auf,¹¹ sondern reflektierte auch den politischen Anti-Bolschewismus des russischen Großbürgers.

Hatten Rostovtzeff 1892, zu Beginn seiner wissenschaftlichen Sozialisation, die Grabungen in Pompeji fasziniert, so schlugen ihn seit Ende der 1920er Jahre die Ausgrabungen von Dura-Europos in ihren Bann. Seine Forschungen über das „Pompeji des Ostens“, das unter seiner Leitung freigelegt wurde, brachten ihm neuen Ruhm. Doch trotz der internationalen Anerkennung und zahlreicher Ehrungen waren die letzten Jahre seines Lebens von Depressionen überschattet. Am 20. Oktober 1952 starb der russische Patriot in New Haven, Connecticut, ohne je seine Heimat wiedergesehen zu haben.

Sieht man von der Zeit des Ersten Weltkrieges ab, stand Rostovtzeff über all die Jahre hinweg mit deutschen Wissenschaftlern in brieflichem Austausch. Zahlreiche Korrespondenzen sind inzwischen publiziert.¹² Bisher nicht bekannt ist ein längerer Brief Rostovtzeffs an Alfred von Domaszewski aus dem Jahr 1909, in dem es um die Interpretation einer bronzenen Scheibe aus der ägyptologischen Sammlung Goleniščev geht. Die umlaufende Inschrift LEG VI FERR F C FEL¹³ verwies das Objekt in das Umfeld des römischen Militärs.¹⁴ Rostovtzeff wollte darin eher einen

⁹ Rostovtzeff [1929], zitiert nach dem Nachdruck Aalen 1985, 156.

¹⁰ *Ebd.* 240.

¹¹ Vgl. hierzu etwa Bruhns 2004, 150–171; Bruhns 2003, 571–595 und ders. 2005, 79–99.

¹² Vgl. Kreucher 2005 und Kreucher 2003, 95–121; darüber hinaus sei verwiesen auf: Pack 1987, 542–527; Marcone 1988, 339–350; Gavrilov 1990, 238–247 (= Calder III 1994, 191–199); Calder III 1990, 248–253 (= ders. 1994, 200–205).

¹³ *AE* 1910, 68 (vgl. *Chronique d'Égypte* 2005, 325 und *AE* 2013, 71). Die Inschrift ist zu lesen als *Leg(ionis) VI Ferr(atae) F(idelis) C(onstantis) fel(icitis)*, wie von Domaszewski meinte; vgl. Ritterling 1925, 1592.

¹⁴ Zur *legio VI*, die seit späthadrianischer Zeit in der Provinz Iudaea / Syria Palaestina stationiert war, vgl. etwa Cotton 2000, 351–357.

Teil eines Signum erkennen, während von Domaszewski den Gegenstand „nach der Analogie rheinischer Monumente“ als Beschlag eines Ledergürtels identifizierte.¹⁵ Die neuere Forschung hat von Domaszewski recht gegeben.¹⁶ Rostovtzeff hatte das Objekt, in dessen Mitte die römische Wölfin mit den Zwillingen abgebildet war, zuvor in einer russischen Zeitschrift publiziert;¹⁷ den in russischer Sprache verfassten Text konnte von Domaszewski nicht lesen und setzte sich deshalb mit Rostovtzeff in Verbindung. Der russische Wissenschaftler antwortete umgehend und übersandte von Domaszewski eine Photographie, die dieser in seiner *Miszelle* abdruckte.

Alfred von Domaszewski, ordentlicher Professor der Alten Geschichte an der Universität Heidelberg, war ein ausgewiesener Spezialist für die römische Heeresgeschichte und hatte an den *Supplementa* zu dem dritten Band des *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (CIL) mitgearbeitet.¹⁸ Er war als Gesprächspartner für den 14 Jahre jüngeren Rostovtzeff nachgerade prädestiniert – auch mit Blick auf dessen Interessen an der Geschichte des südlichen Russlands und des Schwarzmeergebietes im Altertum: Die epigraphische Überlieferung dieses Raumes wurde in CIL III erfasst. Von Domaszewskis einschlägige Veröffentlichungen sind in Rostovtzeffs Arbeiten aus dieser Zeit omnipräsent. Sie bestätigen den engen Austausch zwischen dem russischen Altertumswissenschaftler und der deutschen Forschung. So überrascht es nicht, dass Rostovtzeff zwischen 1894 und 1914 am häufigsten die deutsche Sprache benutzte, wenn er international wahrgenommen werden wollte.¹⁹ Er beherrschte, wie auch der nachfolgend edierte Brief zeigt, das Deutsche nahezu perfekt. Noch vor seiner Promotion über die Staatspacht in der römischen Kaiserzeit im Jahr 1899 und seiner Habilitation über die *Bleitesserae* 1903 publizierte Rostovtzeff regelmäßig in den *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts in Rom*; auch mit Christian Hülsen, dem Zweiten Sekretar des Instituts von 1887 bis 1909, stand Rostovtzeff in engem Austausch.²⁰

Der Brief an von Domaszewski bestätigt, was schon der junge russische Forscher erkannt hatte: „*Rossica non leguntur*“. Rostovtzeff zögerte denn auch nicht, die Ergebnisse eines Aufsatzes, den er in russischer Sprache verfasst hatte, in seinem Schreiben zu paraphrasieren. Es war die

¹⁵ Domaszewski 1910, 9 f., Zitat 9.

¹⁶ Vgl. unten Anm. 41.

¹⁷ Rostovtzeff 1908 [М. И. Ростовцев, “Фрагмент римского легионного знамени”], 129–136; Welles 1956, Nr. 145.

¹⁸ Zu ihm vgl. Pesditschek 2012, 316 f. mit weiterer Literatur.

¹⁹ Vgl. Fichtner 2020b, 128.

²⁰ Vgl. Marcone 1988, 339–350.

deutsche Sprache, die ihm den „Anschluss an die europäische Altertumswissenschaft“ erleichterte, durch den Rostovtzeff „zu jener breiten Wirkung und anhaltenden Resonanz“ gelangte, „die ihn in die erste Reihe der Archäologen und Althistoriker seiner Zeit trug“. ²¹ Doch die Sprache allein genügte keinesfalls. Nicht minder wichtig für den wissenschaftlichen Erfolg war der Umstand, dass Rostovtzeff das international erfolgreiche Modell der editorischen Grundlagenforschung, das besonders in Deutschland propagiert wurde, übernommen hatte und erfolgreich anwandte. Um zur umfassenden Erkenntnis der Alten Welt vorzudringen, bediente er sich, wie Mommsen 1869 im Nachruf auf seinen früh verstorbenen Freund und Lehrer Otto Jahn ausgeführt hatte, der „streng philologischen Methode“, d.h. „einfach der rücksichtslos ehrlichen, im großen wie im kleinen vor keiner Mühe scheuenden, keinem Zweifel ausbiegenden, keine Lücke der Überlieferung oder des eigenen Wissens übertünchenden, immer sich selbst und anderen Rechenschaft legenden Wahrheitsforschung“. ²²

In der Tradition von Friedrich August Wolf und von August Böckh verfochten Rostovtzeff und von Domaszewski das Konzept einer umfassenden, verschiedene Einzeldisziplinen integrierenden Altertumswissenschaft. Nicht mehr allein die Textzeugen, sondern die gesamte Hinterlassenschaft der griechischen und römischen Antike wurden von der als historische Wissenschaft verstandenen Philologie in den Blick genommen. Böckh hatte einst als Aufgabe der Altertumswissenschaft „das Erkennen des vom menschlichen Geist Produzierten, d.h. des Erkannten“ definiert. ²³ Die Formel von der Erkenntnis des Erkannten machte die Philologie zu einer ‚historischen‘ Wissenschaft. Das „Produzierte“ wurde von Böckh auf alle kulturellen Zeugnisse bezogen, so dass die sprachliche Überlieferung zwar nach wie vor das zentrale, aber nicht mehr das einzige Instrument zum Verständnis der Alten Welt war. Angetrieben wurde Böckh von der idealistischen Vision, dass die vollständige Erfassung des „Produzierten“ – die *cognitio totius antiquitatis* – die notwendige Grundlage der wahrheitsgetreuen Rekonstruktion der historischen Wirklichkeit sei.

Mommsen teilte diese Auffassung, veränderte aber die Böckh'sche Altertumswissenschaft in inhaltlicher und organisatorischer Hinsicht grundlegend. Nach industriellem Vorbild schuf er einen Großbetrieb der Forschung, in der der Mensch der Wissenschaft, nicht die Wissenschaft dem Menschen diene. Erst durch die von ihm geleiteten ‚Langzeitunternehmen‘ der Berliner Akademie erhielt Böckhs Totalitätsgedanke

²¹ Christ 1989, 335.

²² Mommsen 1905, 459.

²³ Böckh 1966, 10. Vgl. hierzu auch Rebenich 2021, 45–50.

ubiquitäre Bedeutung. Jetzt wurde das gesamte erhaltene Quellenmaterial aus der Antike mit beispiellosem Aufwand gesammelt, geordnet und ediert. Noch das kleinste Fragment war des Sammelns wert, da es ein potentiell Objekt künftiger Erkenntnis sein konnte. Dadurch wollte man, um nochmals ein berühmtes Wort von Mommsen aufzugreifen, „die Archive der Vergangenheit“ ordnen, um zur „Grundlegung der historischen Wissenschaft“ beizutragen.²⁴

Rostovtzeff hatte sich wie andere russische Altertumswissenschaftler des Zarenreiches, die im engen Kontakt mit ihren deutschen Kollegen standen,²⁵ diese Forderung zu eigen gemacht. Also diskutierten der russische und der deutsche Wissenschaftler im Medium Brief ein Objekt, das aus einem militärischen Zusammenhang zu stammen schien. Methodisch überzeugend sind einerseits die Interpretation der Darstellung der Scheibe zusammen mit der umlaufenden Inschrift und andererseits der Vergleich des Objektes mit „Paralleldenkmälern“; nur so konnten begründete Hypothesen sowohl zur Datierung als auch zur Verwendung (Rostovtzeff sprach von „Bestimmung“) vorgetragen werden.

Doch es gab weitere Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen dem russischen und dem deutschen Forscher: Beide verband ein bürgerliches Leistungsethos und die Verabsolutierung wissenschaftlicher Wahrheitssuche.²⁶ Also verstand es sich von selbst, dass Rostovtzeff bereitwillig Auskunft zu weiteren Inschriften aus dem südrussischen Raum und von der Halbinsel Gallipoli gab, an denen von Domaszewski ebenfalls interessiert war.

Der Brief integrierte den abwesenden deutschen Kollegen in die detaillierte Diskussion eines Fundes, der nicht eindeutig zu interpretieren war. Die Scheibe entzog sich einer raschen Entschlüsselung. Also begrüßte es Rostovtzeff ausdrücklich, dass sich von Domaszewski mit dem „Monument“ beschäftigte – zumal es „wertvoll genug“ sei. Für eine überzeugende historische Einordnung des Objektes bedurfte es des transnationalen Austausches von Beobachtungen, Fragen und Hypothesen. Der Brief zeigt zudem, dass der ältere und arrivierte deutsche Altertumswissenschaftler und sein jüngerer russischer Kollege wissenschaftlich offenbar auf Augenhöhe korrespondierten. Einige Jahre zuvor bereits waren Rostovtzeffs Leistungen auch dadurch anerkannt worden, dass er eingeladen wurde, einen Beitrag zur Festschrift für Otto Hirschfeld zu verfassen.²⁷ Geschätzt

²⁴ Rebenich 2021, 37.

²⁵ Zu den deutsch-russischen Verbindungen im Zarenreich vgl. etwa Maurer 2004, 60–77; Maurer 1995, 63–104 sowie Funk 1992 456–473; Hengel 2004, 171–199 und Gavrilov 2006, 255–265.

²⁶ Vgl. hierzu allg. Maurer 1998.

²⁷ Rostovtzeff 1903a, 303–311; Welles 1956, Nr. 139.

wurde an Rostovtzeff, dass er unterschiedliche Quellen zusammenzuführen und Einzelzeugnisse in größere Kontexte zu integrieren vermochte. Seine Detailforschungen, von denen dieses Schreiben zeugt, verstellten ihm nicht den Blick für wesentliche Fragen. Auch die Scheibe aus der ägyptologischen Sammlung Goleniščev integrierte er in die politische und militärische Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit.

Der Brief aus dem Jahr 1909 spiegelt Rostovtzeffs intensive wissenschaftliche Kooperation mit deutschen Altertumswissenschaftlern. Über diese Zusammenarbeit hatte sich der russische Historiker zugleich höchst erfolgreich in die internationale altertumswissenschaftliche Gemeinschaft integriert, deren Zusammenhalt durch den Ersten Weltkrieg und die Oktoberrevolution zutiefst erschüttert wurde.

Edition des Briefes

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Morskaja 34²⁹

Petersburg
am 29 S[*eptember*] / 12 Okt[*ober*]
[1909]³⁰

Sehr geehrter Herr Kollege.

Besten Dank für Ihren Brief mit den mir theilweise unbekannten Nachweisen. Nun höre ich, dass Sie die Absicht haben, die Scheibe aus

²⁸ Der UB Heidelberg danke ich für die Publikationsgenehmigung. Ein besonderer Dank geht an Dr. Maria Effinger, die mir ein Digitalisat dieses Briefes zur Verfügung stellte.

²⁹ Rostovtzeffs Wohnung in der Bolshaya Morskaya Ulitsa lag im Zentrum von St. Petersburg und war etwa fünf Gehminuten vom Winterpalais entfernt.

³⁰ Rostovtzeff gab, wie auch in anderen Briefen an deutsche Altertumswissenschaftler, die doppelte Datierung sowohl nach dem Julianischen als auch dem Gregorianischen Kalender an; vgl. z.B. Kreucher 2005, 120, Nr. 55; 122, Nr. 57; 124f., Nr. 60 f.; 183, Nr. 94. Eine Jahreszahl fehlt. Aus der in diesem Brief genannten Publikation von Alfred von Domaszewski geht indes eindeutig hervor, dass der Brief 1909 verfasst wurde: Sein Beitrag im Korrespondenzblatt (= Domazewski 1910) erschien im ersten Faszikel (Januar und Februar) des Jahres 1910.

der Sammlung Goleniščev's [sic],³¹ welche jetzt von unserer Regierung für das Museum von Moskau angeworben ist, zu besprechen. H. Krüger³² schreibt mir nämlich, ich soll ihm eine Photographie der Scheibe zuschicken. Ich kann Ihre Absicht nur begrüßen, denn das Monument ist wertvoll genug, um von einem Kenner wie Sie [*lies: Ihnen*] beleuchtet zu werden. Ich hätte gerne Ihnen mit diesem Briefe zusammen die Photographie zugeschickt, leider aber besitze ich momentan keinen Abzug davon. Die Negative habe ich aber aufbewahrt und ein Abzug wir[d] nächstens gemacht und geht an Sie ab.³³ Im Anschluss an Ihren Brief möchte ich Ihnen bei dieser Gelegenheit einiges mittheilen, was für Ihre Besprechung von Bedeutung sein könnte und theilweise in meinem Aufsatz, den Sie, wie Sie schreiben, nicht verstehen können, steht, theilweise später von mir in mein Handexemplar eingetragen wurde. |

1) Zuerst die Paralleldenkmäler. Viel näher als die von Ihnen genannten Monumente steht zu meiner Scheibe eine fast in allen Einzelheiten unserem Monumente gleiche Scheibe aus Grossbritannien.³⁴ Sie wurde gefunden in High Rochester,³⁵ jetzt im Museum in Alnwick Castle, mehrmals publiziert, am besten Lapidarium Septentrionale Lond. 1875 p. 303 n. 578³⁶ (wiederholt auch bei Bruce, *The roman wall*;³⁷ zuerst publiziert in Newcastle vol. of arch. Institute I, 148³⁸). Es ist eine Scheibe wie die unsere, derselben Grösse und von derselben Technik. In der Mitte wird aber nicht die Wölfin, sondern ein Adler dargestellt und die Inschrift

³¹ Wladimir Goleniščev (Goleniščev) war ein russischer Ägyptologe, der sein ererbtes Vermögen zum Aufbau einer großen Privatsammlung einsetzte. Finanzielle Schwierigkeiten zwangen ihn, diese an das Puschkín-Museum in Moskau zu verkaufen; vgl. Grieshammer 2012, 480 f.

³² Emil Krüger, zunächst stellvertretender Leiter und seit 1905 Direktor des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Trier. Er gab das „Römisch-germanische Korrespondenzblatt“ heraus.

³³ Auf Rostovtzeffs Veranlassung wurde von Domaszewski die Photographie übersandt, die dann als Abb. 4 in Domaszewski 1910, 9 veröffentlicht wurde: „In Originalgrösse nach einer von Rostovzew mir freundlichst übersandten Photographie abgebildet“.

³⁴ Vgl. Domaszewski 1910, 10: „Rostowzew macht auf eine Metallscheibe aufmerksam, die in England gefunden wurde [...]“.

³⁵ Dem antiken Bremenium, nördlich des Hadrianwalles; vgl. e.g. Bruce 1978, 295–301 und Breeze 1982, 138 f.

³⁶ Bruce 1875, 303 Nr. 378.

³⁷ Vgl. Bruce 1853, 463.

³⁸ Zitiert nach Bruce 1875, 303: *Newcastle Volumes of Archaeological Institute*; vol. 1, 148; gemeint sind die *Proceedings at the Meeting of the Archaeological Institute, Held at Newcastle-upon-Tyne* 1 (1858) 148.

rings herum lautet OPTIMOMAXIMÐCOH[.]³⁹ Also eine gewöhnliche Weihung an I.O.M. ausgehend von einer cohors oder einem einzelnen Soldaten. Die Form der Scheibe hinten ist anders als in der unseren. Sie wird folgens [sic] angegeben [es folgt eine Zeichnung, s. Abb. 1⁴⁰].

2) Die Bestimmung. Ich habe (S. 130, Anm. 2) beide sich mir präsentierende{r} Möglichkeiten – entweder als Theil des Soldatenkostüms, also eine Art phalera, oder als Theil eines Signums – erwogen und mich schwankend für das Letztere entschieden.⁴¹ Denn für einen Gürtel schien mir die Scheibe zu schwer und zu massiv, auch die Oesen dahinten [lies: dahinter] zu monumental angelegt. Es war aber nicht leicht die Scheibe auf einem | Signum zu unterbringen [lies: unterzubringen]. Zweifelnd schlage ich die beiden Ende[n] der Querstange vor. Nicht viel grössere Scheiben finde ich an einigen neulich gefundenen Signa[.] Num. Circular 1908 April: A sella castrensis and a military standard of the reign of Nero (London Spink & Son; ob echt?)⁴² und Boletin de la Real Ac. de la Historia, 1907 p. 249.⁴³ Doch dies Alles sind nur Möglichkeiten

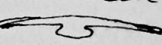
³⁹ Vgl. CIL VII 1290 = *Ephemeris Epigraphica* 9, 1316a = *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain (RIB)* II 3, 2429.1 (mit der Korrektur RIB II 8, p. 162). Die genaue Lesung und Interpretation der Inschrift war kontrovers. Bruce 1875, 303 hatte festgestellt: „No satisfactory expansion of the legend which surrounds the central compartment has yet been suggested“. Den methodisch richtungweisenden Vergleich dieser Scheibe mit ähnlichen Objekten stellten sowohl Rostovtzeff als auch von Domaszewski an. Mit Rostovtzeff wollte Domaszewski 1910, 10 die Worte *Optim(us) Maxim(us)* auf Juppiter beziehen, zumal in der Mitte ein Adler abgebildet war. Beide stimmten auch darin überein, dass die Scheibe aus einem militärischen Kontext stammen müsse. Heute wird statt COH jedoch CON gelesen und die Inschrift mit *Optime Maxime con(serva)* wiedergegeben, also: „Bester und Größter [sc. Juppiter], bewahre!“

⁴⁰ Vgl. Bruce 1875, 303, wonach Domaszewski 1910, 10 die Scheibe abgebildet hat (Abb. 5).

⁴¹ Auch die Verwendung des Objektes war kontrovers. Domaszewski 1910, 10 dachte anders als Rostovtzeff „an einen Gürtelbeschlagnahme, vielleicht der signiferi“. Die Scheibe gilt heute als repräsentativer Teil eines Gürtels, der möglicherweise von einem Offizier getragen wurde; vgl. RIB II 3, 2429.1: „The legends support that those objects were a special issue, perhaps on the occasion of a campaign, rather than normal items of infantry equipment, and their comparative rarity makes it likely that they were worn only perhaps by officers“.

⁴² Verwiesen wird hier auf eine separate Publikation des britischen Auktionshauses *Spink & Son*, die das *Numismatic Circular* für die Münzauktionen verlegte: *A sella castrensis and a Military Standard of the Reign of Nero* (London: Spink & Son 1908. Reprinted from the *Numismatic Circular*, April 1908).

⁴³ Genannt ist die folgende Publikation eines spanischen Aristokraten und Privatgelehrten in den *Akten der Madrider Real Academia de la Historia*: Mariano-Carlos Solano Gálvez de San Pelayo y Villalpando, Marqués de Monsalud (= Solano Gálvez de San Pelayo y Villalpando 1907), 248–252, hier 249 Nr. 4 aus Solana de los Barros.

1) Zuerst die Paraheldenkmalen. Viel
näher als die von Thacy genannten
monumente steht ^{ihre archaische} eine fast in allen
Einselheiten unserem monumente gleiche
Scheibe aus Staffordshire. Sie wurde
gefunden in High Rochester, jetzt im Mus-
seum in Alnwick Castle, mehrmals
publiziert, am besten Lapidarium Septen-
trionale Lond. 1875 p. 303 n. 578 (wiederholt
auch bei Bruce The Roman wall; zuerst
publiziert in Newcastle vol. of arch.
Institute I, 148). Es ist eine Scheibe
die die unsere, derselben Größe und von
derselben Technik. In der Mitte wird
aber nicht die Wölfin, sondern ein
Adler dargestellt und die Inschrift
rings herum lautet OPTIMO MAXIMO
Also eine gewöhnliche Widmung an I. O. M.
ausgehend von einer cohors oder einem
einzelnen Soldaten. Die Form der Scheibe
unterscheidet sich anders als in der unseren.
Sie wird folgendes angegeben 

2) Die Bestimmung. Ich habe (S. 130, Anm.
2) beide sich nicht präzisierend be-
zogen - entweder als Theil des Solda-
ten kostüms, also eine Art phalera, oder
als Theil eines Signums - erwogen und
nicht schlussend für das letztere
entschieden. Denn für einen Gürtel
scheint die Scheibe zu schwer und
zu unpraktisch, auch die oben diskutierten
zu monumental angelegt. Es war aber
nicht leicht die Scheibe auf einen

Abb. 1: Ausschnitt aus dem Brief M. I. Rostovtzeffs
an A. von Domaszewski. Heid. Hs. 2501, Bl. 1v.

und auch die von mir ausgesprochene und von Ihnen präzierte Deutung halte ich für möglich.

3) Zwillinge. Wie Sie, meine ich (S. 133), dass das Zodiakalzeichen der I[egio] VI Ferrata der Stier war⁴⁴ und dass die Zwillinge aus demselben Grunde hinzugekommen sind wie bei der I[egio] II Italica.⁴⁵ Und nun rathe ich auf S. 134, was dieser Grund sein könnte. Soweit es mir bekannt ist, ist die I[egio] II Italica von M. Aurel und L. Verus gegründet worden, wohl für den Partherkrieg. Kann nicht die Wölfin mit den Zwillingen, welche dieser Legion als Zeichen gegeben sind, auf die Sammatherrschaft des Marcus und Lucius anspielen? Bei derselben Gelegenheit würde dann auch ein zweites Zeichen an die VI Ferrata als Auszeichnung für die Leistungen im Kriege verliehen [worden sein] (s. die Münzen Cohen I, 46 n. 83;⁴⁶ ihre Abh. A. e. M. XV, 187⁴⁷). Natürlich ist auch dies nur eine Möglichkeit. Aber ich mache Sie auf eine vielleicht Ihnen entgangene Einzelheit auf der Scheibe aufmerksam. Ueber dem Bilde am oberen Rande ragen aus dem Rande heraus zwei Adlerköpfe. Würde dies auch ein Zeichen der Sammatherrschaft, wie auf den Ptolemäischen Münzen sein?

4) Die Zeit. Da die Scheibe sicher in Ägypten gefunden worden ist, so stellt sich die Frage: War denn die leg[io] VI oder eine Abtheilung in Aegypten und bei welcher Gelegenheit? Dass sie oder eine vexillatio sicher einmal in Aegypten war, schliesse ich aus Inscr. Gr. ad r. R. p.⁴⁸ 1089: Οὐαλ. Φλάουιον / στρατιώτην λεγ. ζ' Σιδηρ(ᾶς) / στιπενδίων ις' ἐτῶν / δὲ λε. ὄντα ἀπ' Ὀκγου (natürlich ἀπὸ Κίου, wie ich auf dem mir von Breccia zugesandten Abklatsche mit Sicherheit lese) Ἀ[μ]μώνιος, Ὁρίου Διοκαισαρᾶς. Nach den Buchstaben zu urtheilen ist die Inschrift etwa Ende II. Jh. gesetzt. Es kann sein, dass der syrische Usurpator Avidius Cassius eine Abtheilung seines Heeres zur

⁴⁴ Vgl. Domaszewski 1892, 187: „Der Stier ist das Zodiakalzeichen jenes Monates, in welchem die Schutzgottheit des julischen Hauses, die Venus genetrix regiert“.

⁴⁵ Vgl. Domaszewski 1910, 10: „Die Wölfin mit den Zwillingen weist auf den italischen Ursprung der Legion hin“.

⁴⁶ Cohen 1880, 46 Nr. 83: Der auf die Legio VI Ferrata von dem Triumvirn Mark Anton geschlagene Denar wurde von Mark Aurel und Lucius Verus zur Zeit des Partherkrieges restituiert (vgl. *RIC* III 443). Daraus hatte von Domaszewski 1892, 187 f. bereits gefolgert, dass die legio VI des Mark Anton aus der späten Republik in der Prinzipatszeit fortbestanden habe; vgl. auch Ritterling 1925, 1588 und 1592.

⁴⁷ Domaszewski 1892.

⁴⁸ *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes* I 1 (Paris 1901) 1088; zur abweichenden Lesung vgl. *SEG* 8, 438a.

Sicherung Alexandrien's nach Alexandrien abkommandiert hat (S. 130 mit Zusätzen).⁴⁹

Soweit über die Scheibe. Der Rest meines Aufsatzes wird Sie wohl nicht interessieren: ich spreche über den Zusammenhang zwischen den römischen und den orientalistisch-hellenistischen Signa.

Sie fragen mich ob in Etschmiadzin, woraus die auf S. 2 meines letzten Aufsatzes⁵⁰ publizierte Inschrift stammt⁵¹ und wo auch C III 6052⁵² gefunden ist (Abbild. zuerst | nach einem Abklatsche S. 6; die Inschrift ist leider übermalt und daher die anderen Publikationen ungenau)[.] Ausgrabungen gemacht worden sind. Leider nicht, die publizierte Inschrift stammt aus zufälligen Schürfungen. Es thut mir leid, dass ich Ihnen einen Separatabzug ohne Tafel zugeschickt habe. Ich ersetze denselben heute mit einem [*lies: durch einen*] anderen. Vielleicht finden sie die Lesungen in der letzten Zeile. Wenn Sie sich dafür interessieren wollten, könnte ich Ihnen einen Abklatsch der letzten Zeile zuschicken. Besten Dank für den Hinweis auf die mir entgangene Inschrift C XIII 8213.⁵³ Sie gehört wohl auch in die von mir im Kommentar behandelte Epoche der intensiven Okkupation Armeniens nach dem Partherkriege, wo auch die Festung in Etschmiadzin dem spät. Valaršapata gebaut werde [*lies: wurde*]. Die zweite auf der Tafel abgebildete Inschrift⁵⁴ stammt aus Suchum (Westküste des Kaukasus), nennt den Kaiser Hadrian und den berühmten Legaten desselben Fl. Arrianus, den bekannten Geschichtsschreiber. Sie bekundet wohl auch einen Bau des Legaten, vielleicht die Festung, wie die meisten lateinischen Inschriften aus Südrussland, welche nicht Soldatengrabschriften sind.

Eine Bau{*i*}nschrift ist auch das von Ihnen ausgeschiedene Fragment (leider verschollen), welches ich auf S. 13 meines ersten Aufsatzes⁵⁵

⁴⁹ Vgl. hierzu Ritterling 1925, 1593, der vermutet, es sei Septimius Severus gewesen, der zu Beginn des dritten Jahrhunderts „möglicherweise“ Abteilungen der Legio VI Ferrata mit nach Ägypten genommen habe; in diesem Kontext hätte der in der Inschrift genannte Soldat, der im Legionslager von Alexandrien verstorben war, dorthin kommen können.

⁵⁰ Rostovtzeff 1909 [М. И. Ростовцев, “Новые латинские надписи с юга России”], 2; vgl. Welles 1956, Nr. 37.

⁵¹ *AE* 1910 = *AE* 1911, 83 = *ILS* 9117; vgl. Mosser 2003, Nr. 236. Diese und die nachfolgende Inschrift bezeugen, dass unter der Regierung Mark Aurels eine oder mehrere Vexillationen der Legio XV Apollinaris im armenischen Valaršapata stationiert waren.

⁵² *CIL* III 6052 = *CIL* III 13627 = *ILS* 394; Mosser 2003, Nr. 237.

⁵³ *CIL* XIII 8213 = *ILS* 4795; vgl. Galsterer–Galsterer 2010, Nr. 129.

⁵⁴ *AE* 1905, 175; vgl. Gamkrelidze 2014, 11. Ich danke Dr. Manana Topadze, dass sie mir eine digitale Version des Buches zur Verfügung gestellt hat.

⁵⁵ Rostovtzeff 1907 [М. И. Ростовцев, “Новые латинские надписи из Херсонеса”], 1–20; vgl. Welles 1956, Nr. 35.

anführe. Wie ich das Fragment ergänze[,] | steht auf derselben Seite. Dass das Fragment in die Zeiten Diokletians oder Constantins (auch möglich) {hin}gehört, habe ich natürlich erkannt. Dass N/N·BB·CC nobilissimi Caesares aufzulösen ist steht ebendasselbst. Nur halte ich nach Dessau 656 vielleicht für wahrscheinlicher nobilissimi beatissimi, doch ist dies irrelevant. Für op]era militare danke ich. Es bestätigt meine Vermuthung über die Baubedeutung der Inschrift. Sehr dankbar wäre ich Ihnen[,] wenn Sie mir irgend was über meine Ergänzungen des wichtigen Fragments auf S. 6 sagen wollten.⁵⁶ Die letzte Zeile ist besonders schwierig.

Dass Sie an meinen dux nicht glauben wollen,⁵⁷ finde ich natürlich. Zu dieser Ergänzung kam ich aber durch Raumverhältnisse. Denn in der schön geschriebenen Inschrift wird doch wohl simo in der letzten Zeile in der Mitte stehen und in diesem Falle geht Ihre Ergänzung nicht. Auch wäre vx für vixit in einer so schön und so voll geschriebenen Inschrift sehr merkwürdig.

Ich schliesse diesen Brief mit einem lebhaftesten Danke für Ihre Bemerkungen und hoffe, dass Sie auch meinen weiteren Publikationen der lat[*einischen*] Inschriften aus Südrussland dieselbe Aufmerksamkeit schenken werden. In einigen | Wochen publiziere ich neue wichtige Inschriften aus dem Vexillationslager von Ai-Todor (Kast. Charax).⁵⁸ Dürfte ich bei Ihnen gelegentlich auch vor der Publikation um Rath bitten?

Ihr ergebener
MRostowzew

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⁵⁶ AE 1907, 164 = AE 1908, 178 = AE 1984, 804; vgl. Solomonik 1983 [Э. И. Колможник, *Латинские надписи Херсонеса Таврического*], Nr. 3.

⁵⁷ Vgl. Rostovtzeff 1907, 8 f.

⁵⁸ Rostovtzeff 1911 [М. И. Ростовцев, „Святылище фракийских богов и надписи бенефициариев в Ай-Тодоре“], 1–42; vgl. Rostovtzeff 1902b, 80–95; Welles 1956, 361 Nr. 149 und Nr. 34.

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The article publishes a hitherto unknown letter from Michael I. Rostovtzeff to the German ancient historian Alfred von Domaszewski which was written in the autumn of 1909. Rostovtzeff discussed in nearly perfect German a Roman bronze object with a Latin inscription which might have been produced on the occasion of a military campaign. Its exact use was a controversial issue. The artifact was part of the extensive collection of the Russian Egyptologist Goleniščev.

The letter illustrates Rostovtzeff's intense cooperation with German classicists. With German *Altertumswissenschaftler* he shared a strong commitment to the historical-critical method and to editorial enterprises. But Rostovtzeff was able to combine different sources and to integrate single testimonies into larger contexts. Small-scale research did not impede him from asking more far-reaching questions. He therefore tried to relate the bronze object to the political and military history of the Roman Empire.

Through his academic cooperation, the Russian historian could integrate himself successfully into the international community of classical scholarship.

В статье содержится публикация прежде неизвестного письма М. И. Ростовцева к немецкому историку античности Альфреду фон Домашевски, написанное в августе 1909 г. На практически безупречном немецком языке Ростовцев обсуждает некий римский бронзовый предмет с латинской надписью, возможно, изготовленный для военного похода. Его конкретное назначение и было предметом дискуссии. Артефакт входил в коллекцию русского египтолога Голенищева.

Письмо демонстрирует тесное сотрудничество Ростовцева с немецкими антиковедами. С немецким *Altertumswissenschaftler* он разделяет общий историко-филологический метод и нормы издания текста. Но Ростовцев умел сочетать различные источники и встраивать изолированные свидетельства в более широкий контекст. Сосредотачиваясь на узкой специальной проблеме, он в то же время ставил и более масштабные вопросы. В данном случае бронзовый артефакт он рассматривает на фоне политической и военной истории Римской империи.

Академическое сотрудничество позволило русскому ученому занять прочное место в международном сообществе антиковедов.

Denis Keyer

INTERPRETING HORACE IN TH. ZIELINSKI'S AND M. ROSTOVTZEFF'S CRITIQUE OF I. GREVS

The appearance of Ivan Grevs'¹ “Essays on the History of Roman Land-Tenure” in 1899 (vol. 1: on Horace’s Sabine estate; on Atticus; on the theory of J. K. Rodbertus and K. Bücher)² and 1905 (on the evidence of Petronius)³ gave rise to polemics⁴ that have been thoroughly discussed by

¹ Rostovtzeff, from whose references Russian works by Grevs (Гревс) are known to most western scholars, renders his name as *Greaves*, which makes it difficult to establish the Russian transcription for bibliographical inquiries. However, this spelling is historically correct. Wjatscheslaw Chrustal'jow pointed out to me that Grevs' ancestor had emigrated to Russia from Britain (allegedly as early as under Peter the Great), and according to Olga Dobiash-Rozhdestvenskaya, a student of Grevs, in English his name was spelled *Greaves* (see Dobiash-Rozhdestvenskaja 1993 [О. А. Добиаш-Рождественская, “Гревс, И. М.”], 327–328; cf. Chrustal'jow 2021 [В. К. Хрусталеv, “Гревс, И. М.”], 196–200, with literature).

² Grevs 1899 [И. М. Гревс, *Очерки из истории римского землевладения (преимущественно во времена империи)*], previously published in *ŽMNP* 297 (1895 Jan.), 303 (1896 Feb.), 306 (1896 July), 307 (1896 Oct.), 313 (1897 Oct.). It was defended as a masters thesis (opponents: F. Sokolov, Th. Zielinski). Vol. 2 was planned as a doctoral thesis, but only single studies pertaining to it have seen print (see n. 3 below).

³ Grevs 1905 [И. М. Гревс, “Очерки из истории римского землевладения. Крупное домовое хозяйство в эпоху наибольшего экономического расцвета римского мира (Данные Петрония по аграрной истории I века империи)"]. It was originally planned as a part of vol. 2, but Grevs gave up the subject after the publication of Hirschfeld 1902. From 1936 he re-edited his “Essays...” (vol. 1 was augmented by a number of articles, vol. 2 rewritten), but his death in 1941 left the work in manuscript; only one article on Livia's estate was published: Grevs 1941 [И. М. Гревс, “Эпизод из истории развития земельной собственности римских императоров и ее социальной роли: Земельное состояние Ливии, второй жены Августа”, in: *Ученые записки ЛГУ. Серия исторических наук*]. See in detail Kaganovich 1990 [Б. С. Каганович, “Вокруг ‘Очерков из истории римского землевладения’ И. М. Гревса”, in: *Политические структуры эпохи феодализма в Западной Европе VI–XVII веков*], 211–212.

⁴ Reviews on Grevs 1899: [Anon.], 1900 [in: *Русское богатство*]; Zielinski 1900a [Ф. Ф. Зелинский, in: *ЖМНП*], 1900b; Rostovtzeff, 1900 [М. И. Ростовцев,

historians of Russian classical scholarship and which mark an important episode in Russian historiography of ancient Rome.⁵

Critical responses to Grevs mostly concerned historical conceptions of ancient economy,⁶ but I would like to focus on one particular aspect of this debate that concerns the role of philology in Rostovtzeff's legacy and methodology. By common consent, Rostovtzeff's position was underpinned by immense knowledge and extensive use of archaeological, epigraphical and papyrological sources, as well as a keen interest in social and economic theories of modern history. Therefore, I will confine the present discussion to two extensive reviews on the first volume of Grevs' "Essays" written by Zielinski and Rostovtzeff in 1900⁷ and Rostovtzeff's references to Grevs in his "Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire" in 1926.

Zielinski's review of Grevs is profound and intelligent. He went beyond incisive judgments and astute critical remarks on Grevs' work to make eloquent and passionate statements on the methodology of classical scholarship. Zielinski's fervour was obviously elevated by Grevs' attack on "classical philologists", who had allegedly appropriated Roman antiquity and were obstructing studies that would place it in the context of universal history.⁸

In fact, Zielinski puts forward a kind of manifesto in defense of the unity of "historical-philological method" and then goes on to act as a philologist and a historian in turn. First, he offers philological objections to Grevs' "Essays" on Horace's estate and Atticus; subsequently he

in: *Мир Божий*]; Kareev, 1900 [Н. И. Кареев, in: *Русское богатство*]. It is noteworthy that Zielinski 1900b [Ф. Ф. Зелинский, in: *Вестник Европы*] contains also a benevolent review of Rostovtzeff 1899 (М. И. Ростовцев, *История государственного откупа в Римской империи [От Августа до Диоклетиана]*) that was defended as masters thesis in 1899 and published in German in 1902.

⁵ See Kaganovich 1990 [Б. С. Каганович, "Вокруг 'Очерков из истории римского землевладения' И. М. Гревса, in: *Политические структуры эпохи феодализма в Западной Европе (VI–XVII вв.)*]; 2007 [*Русские медиевисты первой половины XX века*], 20–28; 71–73 n. 42–82; Alipov 2009 [П. А. Алипов, "Судьба теории Родбертуса–Бюхера в России: критика диссертации И. М. Гревса современниками", in: *Исторический ежегодник 2009*]; Frolov 2006 [Э. Д. Фролов, *Русская наука об античности: Историкографические очерки*], 337–349; Cinnella 2005, 195–205.

⁶ See Zhmud 2021, 115–133 (in the present fascicle).

⁷ Zielinski 1900a, Rostovtzeff 1900.

⁸ Grevs 1899, 41–43. Most likely, Grevs echoed this attitude from representatives of ancient history who had by that time separated from the common stem of classical scholarship; cf. *ibid.* 455 with reference to Pöhlmann 1895, 34–55 and Zielinski's answer to it quoted below on p. 172.

supports Ed. Meyer's critique of J. K. Rodbertus' and K. Bücher's theory that oikos-like household management prevailed in ancient economy. Zielinski's remark on the methodology of classical scholarship is worth quoting here in full:⁹

"Everything that concerns Roman antiquity, – says the author, – has long been considered to be the private property of classical philologists". As a "classical philologist" I find it my pleasant duty to declare that up to now I do indeed consider everything that pertains to Roman antiquity to be my property, the present review clearly demonstrating this. And it is by no means "due to this fact" that "the history of ancient Rome had not been able for a long time to grow into a perfectly self-standing discipline, that would be engaged in lively communication with homogeneous neighbouring disciplines", but in consequence of natural conditions, owing to which history cannot be perceived otherwise than through monuments, and the monuments of Roman history form one solidary group, as homogeneous in itself as different from the monuments of the neighbouring disciplines. Philologists are not to blame for it whatsoever.

As for the book itself, Zielinski sometimes approves of Grevs' argument and agrees with him.¹⁰ Of special interest are his terse objections to Grevs that focus on interpreting Horace's passages about the part of the estate that was run by the poet himself.¹¹ Thus, according to Grevs, the poet's estate included cornfields, olive plantations, fruit orchards, meadows and vineyards.¹² This conclusion is drawn from *Epist.* 1. 16. 1–4:

ne perconteris, fundus meus, optime Quincti,
arvo pascat erum an bacis opulentet olivae,
pomisne an pratis an amicta vitibus ulmo,
scribetur tibi forma loquaciter et situs agri.

⁹ Zielinski 1900a, 158. Here and below I give Russian quotations in my translation; spacing is also mine.

¹⁰ E.g., with Grevs' general estimation of the estate as comprising not less than 350 jugers. The part of it that was leased to five farmers (*Epist.* 1. 14. 2–3; McGann 1969, 73 oddly speaks of four tenants, Horace being one of the five *patres* going to Varia) Grevs 1899, 127 estimates as not less than 150 jugers (with reference to Mommsen 1888 I. 93; 184–185 that 20 jugers was a minimum to feed a family in more ancient times). The part run by Horace with the help of eight slaves and a *vilicus* is estimated as ca. 200 jugers (from Colum. *R. r.* 2. 12. 7). Yet even here Zielinski stresses that a part of Horace's income might be not in lands, but in money lent out at interest.

¹¹ Zielinski 1900a, 160–161.

¹² Grevs 1899, 105 with n. 4; cf. n. 17 below.

Lest you, my good Quinctius, should have to ask me about my farm, whether it supports its master with plough-land, or makes him rich with olives, whether with apples or with meadows or vine-clad elms, I will describe for you in rambling style the nature and lie of the land.¹³

Greys rightly admits that these words introduce only a hypothetical interrogation of a friend (“It is clear by context that it is no more than a literary figure of speech”), yet he goes on: “... and that all the details serve to describe what actually was in the estate itself”). We can imagine Greys’ “aha!” moment, counting on his fingers: “There were then (1) cornfields; (2) olive plantations; (3) fruit orchards etc.” But when Horace’s commitment is to respond “in rambling style...”, why should these hypothetical questions imply positive answer? It is not a recognised “literary figure of speech” that they should do so. Zielinski reasonably objects that the implication (“I possess all these things”) is here far from self-evident. The items mentioned are not to be thought of as necessarily present in the estate: they are simply ones about which a friend might ask.

The structure of the epistle and its train of thought can be seen to strengthen this objection. The imaginary questions of a friend focus on potential sources of wealth, i.e., how the owner earns his *income*. Though Horace’s profuse and detailed description of the estate in v. 5–16 is formally introduced as baiting the friend’s curiosity, it surprisingly avoids the subject of material wealth altogether. Instead the poet stresses that the estate’s climate and landscape are pleasant, healthy and an invitation to relaxation (for the sake of convenience, I quote the translation only):

There are hills, quite unbroken, were they not cleft by one shady valley,¹⁴ yet such that the rising sun looks on its right side, and when departing in his flying car warms the left. The climate would win your praise. What if you knew that the bushes bear a rich crop of ruddy cornels and plums, that oak and ilex gladden the cattle with plenteous fruitage, and their lord with plenteous shade? You would say that Tarentum with its verdure was brought nearer home. A spring, too, fit to give its name to a river, so that not cooler nor purer is Hebrus winding through Thrace, flows with healing for sickly heads and sickly stomachs. This retreat, so sweet – yes, believe me, so bewitching – keeps me, my friend, in sound health in September’s heat.

¹³ Here and below the *Epistles* transl. by Fairclough ²1929, with slight corrections.

¹⁴ In v. 5 both codd. and editors vacillate between *ni* and *si* (in case of the latter *laudes* is the apodosis; cf. McGann 1960, 205 with n. 2: “...the sense is something like ‘if you were to find yourself in a place where the mountains, which crowd close to one another, are parted ... you would praise its temperate climate. <Such, you must know, is the setting of my farm>’”).

Thus, while the imaginary questions of a friend remind us of a catalogue of the main items of agricultural income, the answer to them scarcely mentions any of these items at all (only bush fruits and pigs that are introduced, indirectly, as consuming acorns from shady trees – in fact, both might as likely be items of home consumption as sources of income).

The train of thought seems therefore to be as follows: "If you just learn in detail how pleasant and healthy the climate and landscape are here, you will not bother me, trying to find out which products bring me wealth". That is to say, the implied answer to the anticipated interrogation would be not "All the items on the list", but "It does not matter". The estate's charm surpasses by far its commodities.¹⁵

The rest of the epistle (v. 17–79) supports this interpretation. Its point is that Quinctius, whom everyone calls *beatus* ('rich' or 'blessed', v. 18), must not depend upon the opinion of the crowd; instead he must remember that truly *beatus* is he who is virtuous and wise (*bonus et sapiens*, v. 20).¹⁶ In particular, he must not be afraid to lose his possessions (v. 75–76). The preamble (v. 1–16) can only provide a logical link to this sermon if it is understood as stressing the insignificance of material values.¹⁷

Zielinski's second objection to Grevs concerns the epistle to the bailiff, who longed for the countryside while in Rome and now, conversely, longs for Rome (1. 14. 21–26):¹⁸

¹⁵ Cf. McGann 1960, 207: "All that he does is implicitly to correct the suggestion that the farm is a valuable property (cf. *opulentet*, 2) by choosing to speak, and at no great length (8–10), only of produce which is of little material value <...> It is as if Horace wished by writing a description of this kind to show that the value of the farm lay for him, not in its produce, which is all that Quinctius is interested in, but in other, less material, advantages".

¹⁶ For the thought cf. *Carm.* 2. 3. 17 ff., 4. 9. 45 ff.

¹⁷ Likewise, McGann 1960, 207. Grevs 1899, 105–106 n. 4 comes close to this understanding. He does note that the interrogation on the sources of income in v. 1–4 is left unanswered: in his opinion, Horace turns to praising of natural beauties due to a momentary sentiment of enjoying nature and despising material values. Yet Grevs insists (on no firm grounds, see n. 12 above) that all the questions in v. 1–4 imply positive answer, regarding them as a vague "literary figure".

The tone of *Epist.* 1. 16, that agricultural profit was insignificant as compared with the estate's non-material advantages, might indirectly suggest that it was insignificant. On the other hand, Horace may simply have chosen to play down his material wealth for this rhetorical purpose. After all, he did have cornfields and meadows (see n. 26 below).

¹⁸ Cf. *Serm.* 2. 7. 28–29: *Romae rus optas, absentem rusticus urbem / tollis ad astra levis*.

...fornix tibi et uncta popina
 incutiunt urbis desiderium, video, et quod
 angulus iste feret piper et tus ocus uva
 nec vicina subest vinum praebere taberna
 quae possit tibi, nec meretrix tibicina, cuius 25
 ad strepitum salias terrae gravis...

'Tis the brothel, I see, and greasy cookshop that stir in you a longing for the city, and the fact that that poky spot will grow pepper and frankincense [*which only grew in the East – DK*] as soon as grapes, and that there is no tavern hard by that can supply you with wine and no flute-playing courtesan, to whose strains you can dance and thump the ground.

Grevs takes this as evidence for cultivating vineyards in the *Sabinum*. In his opinion, the grapes do not grow there only from the bailiff's point of view. The remark on the soil that "will rather grow eastern spices than grapes" would then be merely an exaggerated reference to the difficulty of his work.¹⁹ Zielinski objects that it would be incompatible with the future tense of *feret* in the *quod*-clause. If the clause represented the bailiff's thoughts, a subjunctive would be required. A linguistic detail is here crucial for the interpretation of the passage from which historical conclusions are drawn – truly, a boon for anyone upholding the unity of classical philology and ancient history.

It seems that Zielinski's argument here, however grammatically correct, does not completely refute the possibility of vines growing in the estate. The indicative does show that the statement is meant to convey objective truth – yet, it still might be an exaggeration and imply that Horace here rehearses the way his bailiff thinks and speaks on the subject ("vine is indeed damn hard to grow there"). So the question is whether one can take this statement other than literally, thus admitting actual existence of vines, no matter how painfully cultivated.

The context clearly lays stress on the absence of urban entertainment rather than weariness of vine growing: the bailiff cannot get any wine

¹⁹ Grevs 1899, 107–108 with n. 1. Against the commentaries that usually take it as indication that the *Sabinum* produced no vine (thus, e.g., Orelli–Baier–Kirschfeld 1884, 343; Schuetz 1883, 107; Kiessling 1884, 74 ad *Carm.* 1. 20; Mueller 1893, 112; Mueller 1900, 87; Wilkins 1892, 178 later followed by Kiessling–Heinze 1968, 96; Préaux 1968, 148; Nisbet–Hubbard 1970, 246–247 a.o.) he puts forward the following reconstruction of events: when Horace got possession of the estate, the vines were either absent or neglected, so he ordered the lazy bailiff to grow them, despite his grumbling (v. 22–23); the cultivation of soil in v. 26–28 in his opinion also refers to the planting of the vineyard.

from the estate, nor is there a tavern nearby. If by this passage is meant not the absence of a vineyard, but the toil it costs him, that would be out of place aligned with *fornix*, *popina*, *taberna* and *tibicina*.²⁰ The subject of exhausting labour comes up only in the following v. 26–28: *et tamen urges iampridem non tacta ligonibus arva bovemque / disiunctum curas...*

The most natural explanation for the fact that the estate cannot procure home-grown wine for the bailiff would be that there is none; the possibility that it is yet to reach production or produces only in small amounts appears far less plausible, though perhaps not completely ruled out.

The other passages that Grevs regards as evidence of viniculture in the estate are refuted by Zielinski on good grounds.²¹ Thus, in *Epist.* 1. 8 the poet says that he suffers not from material troubles (v. 3–6), but from inner conflict (v. 7–12):

si quaeret quid agam, dic multa et pulcra minantem
vivere nec recte nec suaviter, haud quia grando
contuderit vitis oleamve²² momorderit aestus,
nec quia longinquis armentum aegrotet in agris, 5
sed quia mente minus validus quam corpore toto
nil audire velim, nil discere, quod levet aegrum...

If he ask you how I fare, tell him that despite many fine promises I live a life neither wise nor pleasant; not because hail has beaten down my vines and heat blighted my olives, nor because my herds are sickening on distant pastures; but because, less sound in mind than in all my body, I will listen to nothing, will learn nothing, to relieve my sickness...

Zielinski rightly points out that v. 3–6 cannot be regarded as direct evidence concerning Horace's estate, since these are merely common

²⁰ In the same vein as Grevs *Epist.* 1. 14. 22–23 is taken by McGann 1969, 73–74 (who also believes that the items mentioned in *Epist.* 1. 16. 1–4 were in fact produced in the estate, though passed by in Horace's answer) and Egorova 2020 [С. К. Егорова, "Гораций и виноделие"], 1045. For home-grown wine, apart from *Carm.* 1. 20, Egorova 1041–1042 cites *Carm.* 1. 9. 7–8 *Sabina diota*, suggesting that this *hapax*, like *Graeca testa* in *Carm.* 1. 20 (see n. 23 below) hints at preserving of home-grown wine (still, in this case *Sabina* would require an explanation; besides, the scene in this case is not the *Sabinum*), and *Carm.* 3. 8. 10 *corticem adstrictum pice dimovebit*. However, she cautiously admits (p. 1043) that in all these cases grapes could be bought outside the estate.

²¹ In addition to the following examples he rightly dismisses *Carm.* 1. 38. 7–8 *me sub arta vite bibentem* (cited by Grevs 109 with n. 4) as referring to a vine pergola and not to vineyards.

²² V. l. *oleamque*.

examples of material troubles, mentioned as hypothetical obstacles for *recte et suaviter vivere*. Indeed, if someone were to say “I feel sad not because my car crashed or my villa burned down, but because I cannot find peace with myself”, it would not be clear if they in fact own a car or a villa.

A more complicated case is *Carm.* 1. 20. 1–4, where Horace mentions a bottle of Sabine wine that he himself sealed on the day of Maecenas’ first appearance in public after recovering from a serious illness:

vile potabis modicis Sabinum
 cantharis Graeca quod ego ipse testa
 conditum levi, datus in theatro
 cum tibi plausus...

You will drink from modest cups a cheap Sabine wine that I stored away in a Greek jar²³ and sealed with my own hand on the day when you ... were given such applause in the theatre..., transl. Rudd 2004)

Here Zielinski succinctly defends the interpretation that is also preferred in a number of commentaries: “Horace speaks here of a self-bottled wine, not a self-produced one”. Indeed, a cheap sort of wine and second-rate cups are here contrasted with the poet’s efforts to add sentimental value to the bottle: he stored and sealed it himself on the joyous day.²⁴ It is not stated (though some assume it as self-evident) that the wine comes from Horace’s estate, and in view of *Epist.* 1. 14. 23 discussed above, this possibility, if not ruled out completely, remains dubious.²⁵

²³ Nisbet–Hubbard 1970, 247–248 plausibly explain the reference to *Graeca testa* as the one “impregnated with salt which would act as a preservative” and dismiss the idea of flavouring purposes, because “Greek wines, like Italian, might be good, bad, or indifferent”.

²⁴ Nisbet 1959, 73–74 (cf. Nisbet–Hubbard 1970, 245–246) ingeniously explained that in *Epist.* 1. 5. 4–5 (*vina ... diffusa palustres / inter Minturnas Sinuessanumque Petrinum*) Horace “is deliberately offering his friend wine from his ancestor’s battlefield” (cf. Liv. 8. 11. 11), that is, something also of sentimental value.

²⁵ Romano 1991, 564 remarks that even if the wine did not come from the estate, the epithet *Sabinum* (“our local Sabine wine”) was enough to hint at the gift of the estate. Heinze (Kiessling–Heinze ¹³1968, 96) adds that since only bottling and sealing are mentioned as done by Horace himself (*ipse*), his personal input (by contrast with that of, e.g., the wine merchant) must be reduced to these two operations. Indeed, if the wine came from Horace’s estate, *ipse* would lose in significance – it goes without saying that everyone seals his home-grown wine himself. On the other hand, in this case *ipse* might imply that Horace was not content to have it done by a slave (Fraenkel 1957, 215 n. 2). Thus, whether or not Horace’s estate grew vines ultimately boils down to the interpretation of *Epist.* 1. 14. 23.

Therefore Zielinski insists on crossing out vineyards as actually contradicting Horace's references, and olive plantations as not properly attested by them, while assenting to the rest.²⁶

In Rostovtzeff's view, Grevs' study on Horace as a source for agricultural history is diligent and thorough.²⁷

Everything that one could retrieve from Horace and partly also from other poets contemporary to him has been retrieved by the author in full and the evidence he has collected gives a lively and relief image, despite its hypothetical character.

Rostovtzeff's objections remain in the field of history and historical concepts: he complains of insufficient attention to other sources, of underestimating the development of economic forms in the Hellenistic epoch, and (as does Zielinski) of the implausibility of J. K. Rodbertus' and K. Bücher's theory. Thus, while Zielinski pointedly examines Grevs from both a historian's and a philologist's point of view, Rostovtzeff settles for the role of a historian.

A quarter of a century later, in his famous monograph "Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire",²⁸ Rostovtzeff makes complimentary

²⁶ Horace's estate did contain cornfields (*Epist.* 1. 14. 27–28) and meadows (*ibid.* 29–30). Large cattle is sacrificed in *Epist.* 1. 3. 36 (*votiva iuvenca*), *Carm.* 1. 36. 2 (*vitulus*) and 4. 2. 54 (*tener vitulus*). Goats were certainly bred there (*Carm.* 1. 17. 1–9; 3. 13; 3. 18. 5). Pigs are attested in *Epist.* 1. 16. 9–10. Sheep are not mentioned explicitly, though they might be implied by *pecus* (*Serm.* 2. 6. 14) and *parvis alumnis* (*Carm.* 3. 18. 3–4) along with goats (pace Schmidt 1997, 19 n. 37, *Carm.* 3. 18. 9–16 is usually taken to describe the feast of *Faunalia* in general, not necessarily in the *Sabinum*). The cultivation of fruit trees, according to Schmidt 1997, 19 with n. 40, is only confirmed by the cursed tree in *Carm.* 2. 13, since it was planted and grown in his land (*produxit... agro... statuit meo*) – yet, it was not necessarily a fruit tree. There was a *hortus* (*Serm.* 2. 6. 2, *Epist.* 1. 14. 42), but whatever was there might as well be grown for home consumption.

Thus, if *Epist.* 1. 8. 4–6 and 1. 16. 1–4 discussed above are not taken into account, the variety of products firmly attested for the *Sabinum* is reduced. Some of the other passages cited as evidence (e.g., *Epod.* 1. 27 and *Carm.* 3. 16. 35–36 by Schmidt 1997, *ibid.*; cf. also n. 32 below) are not relevant (cf., on the other hand, n. 31 below).

²⁷ Rostovtzeff 1900, 96.

²⁸ ¹1926; Germ. transl. 1928, ²1957. Cf. the enthusiastic laudation in Jones 1952, 358: "He seems to have studied and mastered every possible primary source in his field, and to have read, criticized, and remembered every modern publication in all the languages of Europe. How he achieved this result I do not know, but it must have been the fruit of unremitting labour and a vast capacity for organization, aided by a prodigious memory. The results are plain to see in the notes to his great works, which are the wonder and despair of scholars. In them he corrects and supplements the articles and monographs which he cites, and where, as often, the evidence had not been previously collected by himself or others, cites it in detail, often with reasoned emendations of the published texts of inscriptions and papyri".

reference to Grevs' essays on Horace and Petronius – of course, along with abundant references to new scholarly literature; the remains of Horace's Sabine villa were excavated by that time, and by general consent it turned out to be somewhat less modest than one might infer from Horace's verses.

Rostovtzeff sums up the evidence on Horace's estate as follows:²⁹

The careful investigation of Horace's scattered remarks on his estate by I. Grevs has shown that it was a plot of land large enough to provide its owner with a decent income. The poet paid much attention to his property and transformed part of it into a model farm run on scientific lines (...) On the model farm one part of the land was cultivated as a vineyard, another as a fruit and vegetable garden, the largest part as cornfields. The meadows and woods which were owned by Horace were used for feeding a large number of oxen, sheep, goats, and pigs.

This description follows Grevs and, as Zielinski plausibly showed, with regard to vineyards and olive plantations Grevs' conclusions were in turn drawn from controversial interpretations of *Epist.* 1. 16, 1. 14 and 1. 8. These details, though not fatal,³⁰ are partly relevant for Rostovtzeff's arguments. Without vineyards and olives the varied produce of the *Sabinum*, displayed as a typical medium-sized estate, appears less impressive. The *Paradebeispiel* is partly unreliable and possibly exaggerated.

Rostovtzeff could hardly have been unfamiliar with his teacher's review of Grevs. Either he had studied Zielinski's arguments, considered them to be wrong and sided with Grevs, or else he had rejected them as implausible *a limine*. Either way, to him Grevs' study was a carefully examined body of evidence that confirmed his own views, so that he incorporated it into his impressive panorama without realizing the significance of Zielinski's objections.³¹

²⁹ Rostovtzeff 1926, 61.

³⁰ Substantial archaeological evidence for Campanian villas suffices to support Rostovtzeff's arguments.

³¹ Admittedly Rostovtzeff's judgement, however philologically unfounded, finds some support in a recent archaeobotanical research of the villa's garden (Ramsay 2006, 305–306): "at Horace's Villa the crop species present were barley, wheats, olives, grapes and legumes, as seen from the carbonized material that remains. Moreover, most of the material recovered appears to indicate waste products that had been cleaned out of a hearth or oven and deposited on the villa's garden to act as a fertilizer". I do not venture to say whether this proves that all these items were cultivated in Horace's estate.

A historian's viewpoint is naturally predisposed to take all agricultural references in Horace as referring to the Sabine estate. Grevs and Rostovtzeff were not the only ones to fall into this methodological trap.³²

It was much more important for Rostovtzeff to master a huge array of historical, archaeological, epigraphic and papyrological evidence than to plod through interpretation of single details, which, if conducted systematically, would no doubt ruin his project. The scope of his study was too large for scrutinizing philological nuances. If interpretation of a text did not influence historical conclusions directly (as was the case, e.g., with restoring texts on papyri), Rostovtzeff understood the study of texts as collecting evidence and taking them into account rather than their hermeneutical examination.

Though sometimes purely philological research allows one to draw reliable conclusions that have historical relevance, this happens relatively rarely. For the most part, the use of a hermeneutical approach is restrictive: it can bring to light interpretations unobvious at first sight and thus spare historians from drawing premature conclusions from texts.

³² E.g., for one of the recent researchers of the *Sabinum* vineyards are proven by *Epist.* 1. 14. 22 f. and *Carm.* 1. 20 because they "make good sense against the background of a personal vineyard in the estate given by Maecenas" (Schmidt 1997, 19 with n. 38; cf., however, n. 25 above). Neither interpretation nor translation of *Epist.* 1. 14. 22–23 is given (presumably taken in the same way as Grevs, cf. n. 19–20 above), and the alternative view that the cheap Sabine wine in *Carm.* 1. 20 was purchased elsewhere and only bottled in the estate is not mentioned. Instead Schmidt cites *Epist.* 1. 8. 4–5 (which, as shown above, does not necessarily refer to Horace's own estate) and *Carm.* 1. 9. 7 (also far from compelling, see n. 20 above). Cf. Wili 1980, 161 with n. 6 (a complimentary reference to Lugli 1926, 458): "Zwar sterben die eiligen Leser nicht aus, die meinen, es sei nie eine Weinrebe auf Horazens Gut gewachsen. Sie vergessen den eben zitierten Vers [*Epist.* 1. 16. 11 *dicas adductum propius frondere Tarentum* – D. K.] wie das *vile potabis Sabinum* (c. I 20), sie spüren nicht die südliche Atmosphäre der Sabiner Episteln des ersten Buches und haben wohl die Gegend nie gesehen".

In favour of olive plantations Schmidt 1997 with n. 39 also cites *Epist.* 1. 8. 4 f. and 1. 16. 1–3. Conceding that the catalogue of questions is left unanswered, for him this seems to suggest that Horace's implied answer was "My farm is no monoculture": "Der unbeantwortete Fragenkatalog in *epist.* 1, 16, 1–3, der <...> auch Oliven aufzählt, kann kaum bedeuten, dass Horaz dies alles nicht habe, sondern – das ist der Tenor von *epist.* 1, 16, 1 ff., – nicht im Sinn jeweiliger ausschließlicher kapitalistischer Monokultur". However, the subject of monocultural or diversified strategy in farming is not likely to be the scope of vv. 5–16 (why dwell on the subject *loquaciter* and yet not mention any relevant details?), and it cannot be logically linked with the rest of the epistle.

In the same vein H. Philip 1968, 1591 oddly cites *Carm.* 1. 31. 15–16 *me pascunt olivae, // me cichorea levesque malvae*; clearly, this praise of a simple vegetarian diet by contrast with luxury has nothing to do with the Sabine estate.

After all, this was probably why history could not develop hand in hand with philology anymore. Due to multiplying fields of knowledge and progressive specialization, they were bound to separate despite their common basis, so clearly and eloquently outlined by Zielinski:³³

I cannot think of a more inept controversy (*than that concerning the relative importance of history and philology – DK*). To my mind, it is the same as if two chess players were to debate where a given square, say, G7, is to be referred: to the vertical line G or to the horizontal line 7. (...)

There is no possibility whatsoever of substantively demarcating the respective spheres of history and philology. This possibility existed as long as philology was understood as critique and interpretation of texts, and history as so-called political history; since, however, they both, extending their horizons, developed into disciplines, they inevitably mingled. In terms of science there is no history and no philology, but one historical-philological science. The difference lies only in the aspect. This or that phenomenon of the historical-philological science will have a philological aspect, if it is studied as depending on the sources from which we retrieve it; but the same phenomenon will have a historical aspect if it is studied in connection with other phenomena with which it forms a joint evolutionary chain. Which of the two aspects is “better” – let children argue over it; to a mature mind they are both equally necessary.

Rostovtzeff’s grandeur and success in studying social and economic history was in the first place enabled by going beyond the limits of purely literary sources and producing a cyclopic masonry of various fields of knowledge. Perhaps, occasional neglect of what Zielinski calls “philological aspects” was a *sine qua non* of this grandeur. Since, however, the use of any literary evidence involves some philological interpretation, historical studies cannot ignore philology’s relevant achievements. To be an expert in all the problems that philological interpretation might have to tackle is, of course, impossible. But the case in question proves that merely taking renowned commentaries into account may help to avoid erroneous assumptions and soften the break between philology and history.

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³³ Zielinski 1900a, 169.

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I. Grevs' study of Horace's Sabine estate (Grevs 1899) was reviewed by Zielinski 1900a, who made astute critical objections along with eloquent remarks on the unity of historical-philological method. In particular, he showed that Grevs' conclusions on the existence of vineyards and olive plantations in the estate was drawn from controversial interpretations of *Epist.* 1. 16, 1. 14 and 1. 8. M. Rostovtzeff's famous monograph (Rostovtzeff 1926) displays Horace's *Sabinum* as a typical medium-sized estate with reference to Grevs 1899; he follows Grevs in treating the part of the estate run by Horace himself as a diversified farm that cultivated vines along with fruit and vegetable gardens, thus ignoring Zielinski's objections and possibly exaggerating the diversified commercial production of the *Sabinum*.

Рецензия Ф. Ф. Зелинского на труд И. М. Гревса о сабинском поместье Горация (Grevs 1899) содержит тонкие критические замечания вкупе с яркими высказываниями в защиту единства историко-филологического метода (Zielinski 1900a). В частности, он показал, что заключения Гревса о наличии в поместье виноградников и оливковых плантаций основаны на спорном толковании *Epist.* I, 16; I, 14 и I, 8. В знаменитой монографии М. И. Ростовцева (Rostovtzeff 1926) сабинское поместье Горация изображается типичным поместьем средней руки; при этом Ростовцев, ссылаясь на Гревса, вслед за ним считает часть поместья, не сдававшуюся внаем, многопрофильным хозяйством, содержащим в т.ч. виноградники и плодово-овощной сад; тем самым он не учитывает возражения Зелинского и, возможно, преувеличивает многопрофильность хозяйства Горация и объем ее продукции.

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CHRUSTALJOW

ancient history; classical studies in Russia; history of classical scholarship;
M. I. Rostovtzeff
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GAVRILOV

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KASHCHEEV

ancient history; animal style; archaeology; art history; Bosporus; classical philology; idea of progress; research school; Scythia
античная история; археология; Боспор; звериный стиль; идея прогресса; история искусства; классическая филология; научная школа; Скифия

KEYER

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MARCONI

De Sanctis; Germany; Italy; Rostovtzeff
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PANCHENKO

European novel; historical process; historiography; Michael Rostovtzeff; Roman Empire
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POZDNEV

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A. von Domaszewski; classical scholarship; German *Altertumswissenschaft*; international cooperation; M. I. Rostovtzeff

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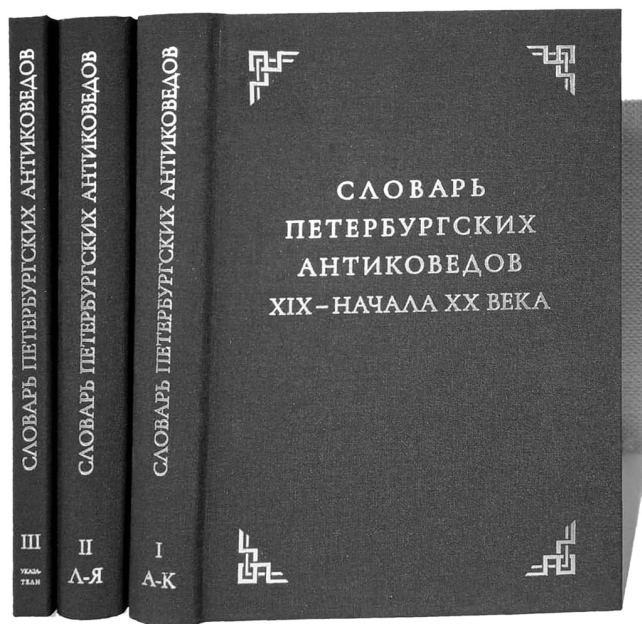
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антикварный подход; антиковедение; история археологии

ZHMUD

ancient economic history; capitalism in antiquity; modernization of antiquity; Max Weber; M. I. Rostovtzeff

история античной экономики; капитализм в древнем мире; Макс Вебер; модернизация античности; М. И. Ростовцев



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