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FROM M. I. ROSTOVITZEFF'S ARCHIVAL HERITAGE:
ST. PETERSBURG AND TRIER*

Of paramount importance in studies of the scholarly heritage of Academician Michael I. Rostovtzeff, a distinguished world-famed Russian scholar, are his archives held in St. Petersburg (Russia) and Trier (Germany).

In the Russian State Historical Archive there are Rostovtzeff's personal papers described by V. Yu. Zuev in his published survey (Fond 1041. Opis' 1. 147 items)¹. The Manuscript and Photographic Archives at the Institute of the History of Material Culture of the Russian Academy of Sciences hold records of Rostovtzeff's activities in the Imperial Archaeological Commission and in the Russian Archaeological Society, photographs, his letters to archaeologists, and several chapters from his book "Scythia and the Bosphorus". In the Manuscript Division of the Institute of Russian Literature (Pushkin House) there are his letters to Russian early 20th-century writers and intellectuals like Grand Duke Konstantin Konstantinovich Romanov, A. F. Koni, P. B. Struve, N. A. Kotliarevsky, Leonid Andreev, etc.².

The Archive of Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg (established in 1728) contains in its General-Meeting and Central Office collections official records of M. I. Rostovtzeff's elected first as Corresponding (1908) and then Full Member (1917) of the Russian Academy of Sciences. It also has documentary evidence of his activities in the Academy, his personal file³ and Rostovtzeff's personal papers. His letters and photographs are also in the personal papers of his colleagues – Academicians S. Zhebelev (1895-1913), F. Uspensky (1903-1913), N. Marr (1909-1921)⁴, V. Ernsted (1895-1900), N. P.

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¹ Zuev 1991, p. 145-151.

² See: Zuev 1997b, p. 20-21.

³ These were either published or partially used in: Tunkina 1997b, p. 84-123.

⁴ PFA RAN. Fond 729 (Zhebelev). Opis' 2. Delo 109. 134 ff.; F. 116 (Uspensky). Op. 2. D. 316. 17 ff.; F. 800 (Marr). Op. 3. D. 807. 13 ff. For the publication of 60 letters see: Tunkina 1997c, p. 369-408.

Kondakov (1903-1919), V. V. Latyshev (1901-1914), V. Buzeskul (1903-1927), P. Kokovtsov (1905-1913), A. Schakhmatov (1910-1914).

M. I. Rostovtzeff's personal papers (Fond 1054. Opisi 1-2. 161 items, 1849-1918) were left in his house residence in St. Petersburg when Rostovtzeff emigrated in 1918. The manuscripts were taken to the Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences. But after the notorious "Academics' Case" of 1929-1931 they were brought to the Archive of the Academy. The files contain: Rostovtzeff's scholarly work, biographical material, letters, other writings, prints, photographs.

The Rostovtzeff collection includes two inventories. One contains manuscripts of scholarly papers written by Rostovtzeff or some other authors, documents related to his life and work, letters received from Russian and foreign researchers, photographs (50 items, 1849-1918). The other inventory includes offprints of Rostovtzeff's articles (1895-1917, items 1-53) and published works of other scholars (1849-1916, items 54-105). Most of them are classified as bibliographic rarities. Rostovtzeff's contacts with French, Italian and German scholars he met on his West European trips helped him publish some of his papers in West European scholarly periodicals. The offprints were carefully stored in his library as convolutes. Consequently, the archival material represents a portion of M. I. Rostovtzeff's library collection, the remaining part held by the Research Library at St. Petersburg State University.

As I have already published a detailed review of this collection⁵, this paper will focus on unpublished manuscripts. The earliest evidence of M. I. Rostovtzeff's creative work was a fragment of his translation of "Cicero's Letter to His Brother Quintus" probably made when he was a first-year student at History and Philology Department of St. Vladimir University in Kiev⁶. The unpublished "*Nutrices Augustae*" date to his postgraduate studies at the University of Vienna where he also attended seminars on archaeology and epigraphy conducted by F. A. J. Benndorf and E. Bormann. This paper was completed in Paris on 20 August 1896. It was written in response to Professor W. Gurlitt's research⁷ on the role and origins of the cult of "*Nutrices Augustae*". The article analyses the fragmentary relief images and inscriptions of Emperor's slaves and freedmen addressed to deities known as "*Nutrices Augustae*"⁸.

The archive contains his draft lectures on classical Roman history and culture

⁵ Tunkina 1997a, p. 24-34.

⁶ PFA RAN. F. 1054. Op. 1. D. 1.

⁷ See: Gurlitt 1896, p. 1-25.

⁸ PFA RAN. F. 1054. Op. 1. D. 3. In addition to the Russian text and German translation corrected by an anonymous person, containing extracts from published sources, drawings of relief images and reproductions of legends, and information about the excavations on the right bank of the Drova river where the monuments were discovered. Rostovtzeff renewed his studies in the "*Nutrices Augustae*" cult at a later time in his paper: Rostovtzeff 1920, p. 204-209. See also: UT. Box IV. No. 237; Omnibus volume 5. No. 10.

delivered by Rostovtzeff at the St. Petersburg University, the St. Petersburg History and Philology Institute, and the College for Women (Bestuzhev courses) when he was a mature and well-known scholar. His course of lectures "The Empire. I. Caesar and his Reforms"⁹ was drafted as an abstract. His lecturing course "Political Poetry in the Augustan Period" is represented by copies of lecture one "Caesar and August"¹⁰, and lectures two and three – "Public Attitudes in the Reigns of Caesar and August" and "Service Times" (the life and work of Horace)¹¹. Pompeian excavations were handled in his early 20th century lecture on the Vettian House and monumental decorative painting in the Hellenistic-Roman period¹².

The most important portion of creative material represents historical and archaeological research in South Russia. Rostovtzeff's manuscripts are related to preliminary work for his monumental "Ancient Decorative Painting in South Russia" (1913-1914) and monograph "Studies in the History of Scythia and the Bosporan Kingdom". The author intended to publish the monograph entitled "Scythia and the Bosporus" (1925, German translation in 1931) in two volumes "Vol. 1: Sources. Vol. 2: Political History of Scythia and the Bosporus. Government System, Religion and Culture in Scythia and the Bosporus". Most of the material was undated, but some papers bear the dates of writing – 1913-1918. These documents indicate that Rostovtzeff began his work on the monograph generalising the archaeology and history of Scythia and the Bosporus early in the 1910s. The specific impulse was provided both by his own paper "Iranism and Ionism in South Russia" (SPb., 1913, 8 p.) presented at the Third International Congress of Historians in London in March 1913, and the well-known book "Scythians and Greeks" by Dr. Ellis H. Minns published the same year (Cambridge, 1913). This extensive and well-justified work touched arouse ambition feelings of Rostovtzeff.

The question of publishing plates for his "Studies in the History of Scythia and the Bosporus" was discussed in the Russian Academy of Sciences between April and June 1918. The atlas entitled "Monuments of Scythia and the Bosporus" was to provide a summary of archaeological monuments, many previously unpublished. As proposed by Rostovtzeff, the Atlas was to be published in three volumes of at least 100 pages each. Volume one was to cover artefacts from Greek necropoleis in the Bosporus and Olbia, including architectural monuments, sculpture, painting, sarcophags with elements of ornamentation, weapons, headpieces, clothes, jewellery, toreutics, ceramics, glass, stone carving, etc. Volumes two and three of this "Atlas of South Russian Relics" was to deal with

⁹ PFA RAN. F. 1054. Op. 1. D. 6. 11 ff.

¹⁰ PFA RAN. F. 1054. Op. 1. D. 2. 114 ff.

¹¹ PFA RAN. F. 1054. Op. 1. D. 7. Ff 12-15, 18-24.

¹² PFA RAN. F. 1054. Op. 1. D. 8. 12 ff.

Scythian monuments in the topographical and chronological order. The second volume covering the barrows, with plans, cross-sections and interior and exterior designs, along with the whole burial components. The third volume was to include some specific remains classified by subject and chronology – weapons, jewelry, toreutics, ceramics, hearse decoration, harness, etc. The Academy of Sciences assigned some money in advance for plates printing but whether any of the plates were actually printed remains unknown.

By 1917 M. I. Rostovtzeff and O. F. Retovsky¹³ had prepared “The Corpus of Bosporan Coins” for the press but it was not delivered to print due to revolutionary events. This work was not published and its fate is unknown. The preliminary materials for this generalising work on numismatics are in Rostovtzeff’s papers in the Russian State Historical Archive. However, some tables for this corpus of Bosporan coins *were* published, as can be seen from the letter M. I. Rostovtzeff wrote to B. V. Farmakovskiy from Sweden on 1 August 1918. Rostovtzeff asked to send him «any prints from my book “Studies in the History of Scythia and the Bosporus”, along with the coin data already tabulated» for further work¹⁴.

Surprisingly, I discovered five plates from unpublished “The Corpus of Bosporan Coins”, compiled by M. Rostovtzeff and O. F. Retovsky, when inventorying the portion of Rostovtzeff library and archive at the Trier University in Germany¹⁵. In February and March 2000, following the invitation of Prof. Dr. Heinz Heinen, I compiled a research review of the collection of former Rostovtzeff’s pupil Professor John Frank Gilliam (1915-1989). Gilliam was a major figure in classical studies and papyrology. He was Rostovtzeff’s student at Yale University, and for a number of years worked at Princeton Institute for Advanced Study. For 30 years he compiled a bibliography on Rostovtzeff¹⁶, published as a supplement to the well-known bibliography by C. B. Welles¹⁷. Gilliam hoped to write a book about Rostovtzeff, but failed to do it because of his death. In 1990 Trier University acquired part of Rostovtzeff’s library and some documents concerning him from the widow of Prof. Gilliam in the USA. These materials have been properly classified or described so far.

The Trier part of Rostovtzeff library and archive is small (1097 items). Most of the books have marks of the scholar’s Yale library. I studied these materials and compiled a scholarly description of ca. 250 bibliographical units of

¹³ Retovsky Oskar Ferdinandovich (1849-1925), numismatist, curator of numismatics division at the Hermitage, author of works on Ghireis’ coins and Genoese-Tatar coins.

¹⁴ Cit. from: Zuev 1997a, p. 429.

¹⁵ UT. Omnibus volume 9. Articles on South Russia (in Russian, 1913-1930). No. 17.

¹⁶ Gilliam 1997, p. 1-8.

¹⁷ Welles 1956, p. 358-381.

Rostovtzeff's books collection (including 17 omnibus volumes of articles written by Rostovtzeff and other scholars). Here you can find Rostovtzeff's books with underlining, marginal notes and inserted letters of other scholars to him, offprints with dedications to Rostovtzeff etc., 6 boxes with Rostovtzeff's papers (316 items) and 2 boxes of letters, documents on the biography and activities of Rostovtzeff and articles concerning him.

The first editions of major Rostovtzeff's works –“The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire” (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1926), and “The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World” (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1941, Vol. 1-3) are the most important in the same archive. The volume “The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire” (1926) contains an inserted letter to M. Rostovtzeff from Bulgarian historian Gavriil Kazarov (8 June 1929, Sofia). Volume one of “The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World” (1941) includes letters to M. Rostovtzeff from C. Kern (postcard, Leiden, Holland, 2 May 1946), and American archaeologist David M. Robinson (Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, 28 December 1942). The books contain a lot of author's additions and corrections, sometimes up to 6 handwritten pages. The enclosed material indicates that the author continued to revise his monumental works well after publication date. Thus he went on revising “The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World” (1941) until 1946, before his grave illness. The second edition of “The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World” (1953) shows author's corrections in the third bibliographical volume only. It should be mentioned again that the second English edition was reprinted lithographically from corrected sheets of the first edition (edited by P. M. Fraser)¹⁸. Rostovtzeff's corrections and additions were ignored in multiple reprints and translations of this work. Obviously it is not possible to republish any of the editions or translations of Rostovtzeff's works written in English without due consideration to additions and corrections stored in Trier.

The original and reproduced documents collected by Gilliam are

¹⁸ In his Preface to the 2nd edition in November 1952 P. M. Fraser wrote: “Professor Rostovtzeff was, for reasons of health, unable to cooperate in the preparation of this impression, which had already gone to press before his death on 20 October 1952. I therefore bear sole responsibility for the changes which have been made. These are limited to those which could be made without resetting the book. The first and second volumes stand unchanged save for the correction of a few material errors. In the third volume I have indicated where material to which Rostovtzeff had access before publication has since been published, and where he quoted documents published in periodicals, &c, which have since been republished in standard collections, I have added the reference to the latter. New references to corpora, &c., have been inserted either in the body of Index II or in the Addenda to it. Similarly I have inserted references to new editions of works which have appeared since 1940 in fresh editions. I have added no new material inaccessible to Rostovtzeff. Bibliographical citations have not been checked systematically throughout, but I have corrected all errors I came across” (Fraser 1953, p. XV).

comparatively few (126 items). These are largely copies of biographical items. Among them are photocopies of Rostovtzeff's autobiography (June 7, 1940, in English)¹⁹, his letters to Prof. Ch. Hülsen, E. Petersen, R. Delbrueck (1894-1927 in German, from the Archive of the Roman Department of the German Archaeological Institute)²⁰. Additionally, there are Gilliam's original handwritten or typed notes about Rostovtzeff and his time (preliminary material for the book about his teacher). The most important among them are the following: Gilliam's bibliographical notes to Rostovtzeff's monograph "The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire", including the comparisons of the first (1926) and the second (1957) English editions, Italian (1933) edition. Probably these comparisons were done for the new edition which Gilliam planned to publish. The archive contains Gilliam's addenda to Rostovtzeff's bibliography (1971-1975), Gilliam's original letters about M. Rostovtzeff to other scholars (1973-1975), A. Alföldi's comments on the paper by Bowersock (February 1974, typescript)²¹, E. Bickerman's letters about Rostovtzeff (1974-1981). All these papers are very important for studying Rostovtzeff's scholarly activities.

I have found 24 papers of Rostovtzeff's works and several reviews of his works that have never been mentioned before in his published bibliographies²². As a result of my research in Trier I published addenda and corrigenda to the bibliography of Rostovtzeff²³ and a short review of Gilliam's collection²⁴.

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¹⁹ UT. Box VII. No. [953]. Text of the autobiography was published in Russian translation: Bongard-Levin 1997, p. 45-47.

²⁰ UT. Box VIII. No. [1024]. Partially published: Marcone 1988, p. 339-350; Vinogradov 1995, p. 204-211.

²¹ UT. Box VII. No. [950].

²² Zuev 1997c, p. 200-230.

²³ Zuev, Tunkina 2003, p. 721-727.

²⁴ Tunkina 2002, p. 3-14.

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