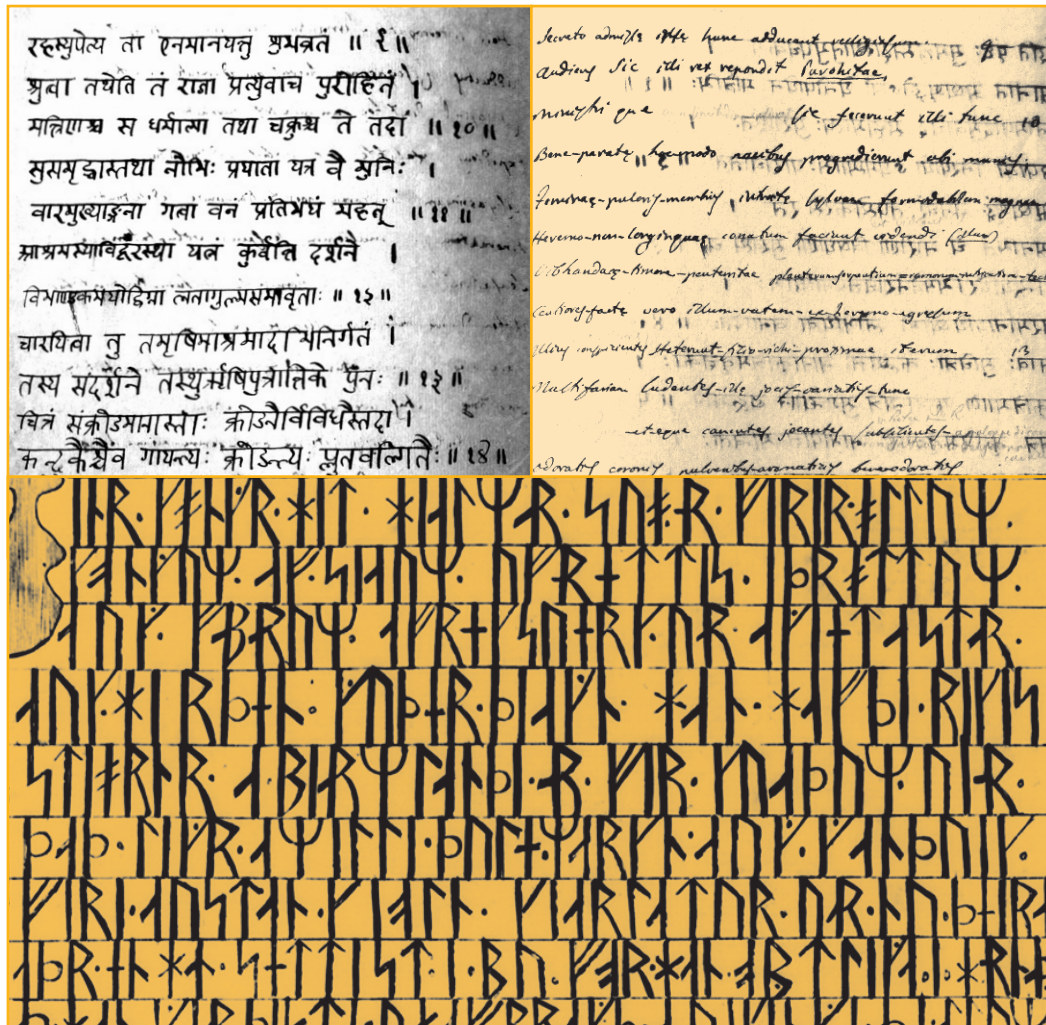


SCIENZE DELL'ANTICHITÀ

31.2 – 2025



SAPIENZA UNIVERSITÀ DI ROMA
DIPARTIMENTO DI SCIENZE DELL'ANTICHITÀ

Estratto

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Fascicolo 2

EDIZIONI QUASAR

La Rivista è organo del Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità della Sapienza Università di Roma.

Nella sua veste attuale rispecchia l'articolazione, proposta da Enzo Lippolis, in tre fascicoli, il primo dei quali raccoglie studi e ricerche del Dipartimento, gli altri due sono dedicati a tematiche specifiche, con la prospettiva di promuovere una conoscenza complessiva dei vari aspetti delle società antiche.

Le espressioni culturali, sociali, politiche e artistiche, come le strutture economiche, tecnologiche e ambientali, sono considerate parti complementari e interagenti dei diversi sistemi insediativi di cui sono esaminate funzioni e dinamiche di trasformazione. Le differenti metodologie applicate e la pluralità degli ambiti presi in esame (storici, archeologici, filologici, epigrafici, ecologico-naturalistici) non possono che contribuire a sviluppare la qualità scientifica, il confronto e il dialogo, nella direzione di una sempre più proficua interazione reciproca. In questo senso si spiega anche l'ampio contesto considerato, sia dal punto di vista cronologico, dalla preistoria al medioevo, sia da quello geografico, con una particolare attenzione rivolta alle culture del Mediterraneo, del Medio e del Vicino Oriente.

La Rivista è classificata in fascia A dall'ANVUR per l'Area 8 e l'Area 10

Il prossimo fascicolo del volume 31 (2025) accoglierà la seguente tematica:

3. Lo sguardo e la parola. Forme e strategie dell'*ekphrasis* nella Roma antica

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Champollion beyond Hieroglyphs.
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a cura di Claudia A. Ciancaglini

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ALESSANDRO PAPINI

*HORRIDA ROMOLEUM CERTAMINA PANGO DUELLUM.*J. FR. CHAMPOLLION'S LATIN STUDIES IN THE *BNF* MANUSCRIPT *NAF 20365**1. THE *BNF* MANUSCRIPT *NAF 20365*

Among the manuscripts attributed to Jean-François Champollion in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, the one usually referred to as *NAF 20365* deserves special attention, for not only can this manuscript shed some light on Champollion's interest in the study of languages other than Egyptian, but it can also tell the story of how even such a great scholar could be deceived by one of the many "philological frauds" of the Renaissance¹.

The manuscript consists of 174 folios and 215 pages. With some exceptions (e.g. the folios corresponding to the *BNF* pictures no. 163 and no. 178), each page is identified by a progressive number (from 1 to 215), usually written in its upper right-hand corner². The form of some numbers (e.g. the closed eyelet and the long oblique tail of the number 5) suggests that all of the pages were numbered in a second moment by the same hand, most likely that of Champollion himself, or that of his Italian pupil Francesco Salvolini. The discrepancy between the actual number of the folios and the number of the pages is due to the fact that not all the folios have the same format, as the manuscript contains several double pages, such as p. 162 (*BNF* picture no. 149)³. In similar cases, the text written on the left side of the folio should be regarded as a continuation on the *verso* of the same topic commenced on the *recto* of the preceding page.

It should be added that, despite this uniform numeration, the *BNF* manuscript *NAF 20365* is composed of different sections that have no organic connection, and that some of these sections could be attributed to Salvolini (and not to Champollion)⁴.

Finally, the content of the manuscript and some of its characteristics permit to propose a (provisional) date for the document. We are informed by a letter addressed by Champollion to his elder brother Jacques Joseph Champollion-Figeac between August 30th and October 10th 1808

* The present research was conducted in the framework of a PhD fellowship financed by the Research Foundation – Flanders (FWO-PhD Fellowship 11B0921N). I would like to thank Professor Claudia Ciancaglini and Professor Giovanbattista Galdi for reading a preliminary version of this article. Every error it may contain is responsibility of the author alone.

¹ The manuscript is listed under the label *Travaux étrangers à l'Égypte* by KETTEL 1990, p. 221. For the philological frauds of the Renaissance, cfr. the contents in STEPHENS *et al.* 2018. See also ORLANDI *et al.* 2015, and GREGORI - PAPINI 2019.

² <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10086964w>. The numeration found on the website of the *BNF* is rather imprecise. First, this website lists even the cover and the blank folios among the pages of the manuscript. Second, the list contains several doublets (e.g. the *BNF* pictures no. 9, 11 and 135). For this reason, I will always indicate the *BNF* numeration between round brackets (when relevant).

³ In this article, I will use the same terminology of MERLETTI 2009, p. 15, who defines as "fogli normali" those "senza alcuna ripiegatura" and dubs "doppi...quei fogli...ripiegati alla loro metà".

⁴ This is probably the case for the section entitled "Antichità Etrusche" (*NAF*, pp. 31-61, *BNF* pictures no. 39-57). This section is written in Italian and shows the right-inclined cursive handwriting which has been recognised as typical of Salvolini (see the discussion by MERLETTI 2009, p. 14).

that Champollion was interested in Etruscan epigraphy in his youth, when he was a student at the College of France in Paris⁵. Therefore, the manuscript *NAF 20365* contains a section relating to a research interest that Champollion cultivated in the early years of his career, as well as other sections that are most likely to be attributed to Francesco Salvolini (whom Champollion only met in 1830)⁶. For example, the content of the pages from 31 to 61 of the *NAF* manuscript 20365 share the same topic as the section *Pierres Gravées Etrusques* appearing in those manuscripts from the “Fondo Champollion” of the “Biblioteca Comunale di Faenza” that Merletti attributes to the French scholar⁷.

This could qualify the manuscript as a “collection” of several studies undertaken by Champollion and Salvolini in the course of their lives, a circumstance that could also explain the existence of the uniform numeration described above. In other words, it is not impossible that the *BNF* manuscript *NAF 20365* represents the preparation of a future organic edition of these studies. If this hypothesis is correct, it can be assumed that the manuscript was compiled between ca. the year 1830 (arrival of Salvolini in Paris) and ca. the year 1838 (death of the Italian scholar), or, more probably, the year 1832 (death of Champollion himself), if, as it seems possible, it was Champollion’s hand that grouped together the various sections of the manuscript⁸.

2. CHAMPOLLION’S LATIN STUDIES IN THE *BNF* MANUSCRIPT *NAF 20365*

As mentioned in section 1, the *BNF* manuscript *NAF 20365* consists of several sections focusing on different (and often unrelated) topics.

In this article, I will discuss the small part of the manuscript that deals with the interest that J. Fr. Champollion paid to the study of Latin. The subject is of a great interest, as it could shed some light on the sources that the French scholar used for the study of this language.

The “Latin part” of the *BNF* manuscript *NAF 20365* is divided into two sections. The former is entitled *Antiques mots Latines* and contains an etymological study of the Latin words *bellum* “war”, *bonus* “good”, and *homines* “MEN(M).NOM.PL; (M).NOM.PL”. The section consists of only one page, which occupies the entire dimension of the folio (*BNF* pictures no. 60 and no. 61)⁹. The page is identified by the number 66, written below the title in the upper right-hand corner, as per usual in the manuscript *NAF 20365* (see section 1 above). The use of French, the presence of an upright cursive handwriting (not slanting to the right as in the case of Salvolini) and the fact that all <e>’s are written with their own accent suggest that the folio was written by Champollion¹⁰.

The distribution of the text on the page is not uniform. The left column of the folio contains the Old Latin forms <duellum>, <duonus>, and <hemoones>, which are intended as ancient spellings for the “Classical Latin” words *bellum*, *bonus* and *homines*. These forms are written in capital letters and are preceded by the numbers 1, 2 and 3, which, in turn, are followed by a dot. Going

⁵ The letter is dated by VAILLANT - LECLANT 1984, pp. 14-15 (quoted by MERLETTI 2009, p. 37, n. 39).

⁶ Cfr. MERLETTI 2009, p. 11.

⁷ See the discussion by MERLETTI 2009, pp. 29-30.

⁸ For a detailed bibliography of Champollion cfr. HARTLEBEN 1983. On the life of Francesco Salvolini, see MERLETTI 2011. The hypothesis that the *BNF* manuscript *NAF 20365* is a preparation for a future edition is further confirmed by an autograph annotation appearing at p. 83 of the document (*BNF* picture no. 73). There, under the title which introduces the section (*i.e.*, *Grammaire Samaritaine*), one can read the words “encore un pillage de Salvolini!” preceded by the signature “Jan F(rançois) C(hampollion)”.

⁹ For the presence of similar doublets on the *BNF* website, cfr. *supra* n. 3.

¹⁰ As MERLETTI 2009, p. 14 points out, Salvolini does not put accents on the <e>’s when writing in French (except for the titles).

forward, a short commentary on these Old Latin forms is written on the right column of the page. This commentary indicates the “Classical Latin” equivalent of each form (in the case of <duellum> a translation in French is also provided) and quotes a Latin source as an *exemplum* for the relevant Old Latin spelling (e.g. “duellum...employé dans le premier vers des annales...Il signifie Guerre. Bellum”; cfr. *infra* APPENDIX). As I will show in section 3, it is possible that Champollion derived most of these *exempla* from the edition of Ennius’ *Annales* realised in the year 1595 by the Dutch classicist Paul van Merle.

The commentary on the form <duonus> is followed by a digression on the Latin words *terminus* ‘boundary’ and *terminare* ‘set boundaries’, which Champollion associates with the god *Turms*, the Etruscan equivalent of Ἑρμῆς¹¹. The digression is also signalled on the left side of the page, where the same words <terminus> and <terminare> are written in lowercase letters. Finally, the bottom of the page is occupied by a paragraph entitled “Exemples de DU devenu B”. This paragraph is another digression, as evidenced by the fact that it is linked by an asterisk to the sentence “Par le changement de DU en B est venue le BI (by)*”, which is written earlier in the text (cfr. *infra* APPENDIX). As suggested by the title, in this digression Champollion lists a number of examples of the sound change /dw/ > /b/, provided in the form X-Y (e.g. “DUIS-BIS”).

As for the second section of the Latin part of the *BNF* manuscript *NAF 20365*, it consists of seven small-sized leaflets arranged in sequence on a single folio (*BNF* picture no. 62). As per usual, each leaflet has its own page number in its upper right-hand corner (from 67 to 73). The leaflets from 67 to 72 have the same dimension (ca. 1/8 of the entire folio), while the one identified by the number 73 is both shorter and wider as compared to the other leaflets. It occupies the lower part of the page.

The first of the seven leaflets forming this specific part of the manuscript begins with the sentence “Antique Orthographie Latine, extrait des Fragments de Q. Ennius”, which is written in italics and underlined. The content of the other leaflets suggests that this sentence was intended as the title of the entire sub-section. As for the author, the use of French and the presence of the same regular calligraphy found in the previous page of the manuscript suggest that the entire sub-section should be attributed to Champollion.

As the title indicates, this part of the *BNF* manuscript *NAF 20365* is devoted to the study of Old Latin orthographies representing a number of important sound changes that occurred at different stages in the transition from Old to “Classical Latin”. These orthographies are: the use of <o> for /ū/ (p. 67), the spelling <ai> instead of /ae/ (p. 68), the use of the digraph <ei> for the “Classical Latin” long /ī/ (p. 72), the rendering of the short /i/ phoneme with <e> (p. 70), and the use of the grapheme <u> (instead of <y>) in Greek loanwords of the type of *Olympus* (cfr. Gk. Ὀλυμπος = p. 73)¹². The discussion of each phenomenon consists of a list of examples drawn from the inscriptional sources (e.g. the Laws of the Twelve Tables) and from fragments of early Latin poets (especially, Ennius).

There are, however, two exceptions. The leaflet numbered 71 does not discuss a specific sound change, since it comments on the Old Latin form <piter>. On the contrary the leaflet numbered 69 attests to a single example regarding the palatalisation of occlusive consonants followed by a front

¹¹ This association is perhaps suggested by the fact that, in Latin, the word *Terminus* also indicated a deity presiding over boundaries. Cfr. LEWIS *et al.* 1969, s.v. *terminus*.

¹² The forms cited to exemplify the use of <e> for /i/ are the same indicated by QUINT. *Inst.* 1, 4 (Quintilian is explicitly indicated as the source of these forms). However, it should be emphasised that the spellings mentioned in the *Institutio Oratoria* refer to different sound changes. The first three forms (i.e., <Menerva>, <leber>, and <mag-ester>) pertain to vowel weakening, whereas the writing <Diove> (for *Diovi* < *Diovei*) refers to the monophthongisation of /ei/. Cfr. LEUMANN 1977, pp. 62-64, MEISER 2006, p. 70 and pp. 86-87, and CIANCAGLINI - KEIDAN 2018, pp. 278-279. See also ADAMS 2013, pp. 41-42, and PAPINI 2022.

vowel (namely, <precium> for *pretium*). This sound change occurred in Latin only after ca. the 2nd cent. CE, and it is therefore wrongly grouped with the other (earlier) changes that are listed in this particular sub-section of the *BNF* manuscript *NAF 20365*¹³. The phenomenon (*i.e.*, palatalisation) is illustrated by a quotation from Ennius: *audeire est operai precium*. As I will discuss in the next section, the form of this and other quotations supports the hypothesis that Champollion was deceived by the edition of Ennius realised in 1595 by Paul van Merle.

3. TRACES OF *P. MERULA* IN J. FR. CHAMPOLLION'S LATIN STUDIES

Section 2 anticipated that the Latin part of the *BNF* manuscript *NAF 20365* begins with a discussion of the Old Latin forms <duellum>, <duonus>, and <hemooones> which are cited as early spellings of the "Classical Latin" words *bellum* 'war', *bonus* 'good' and *homines* 'men'. The first two forms (*i.e.*, <duellum> and <duonus>) are associated by Champollion with the sound change /dw/ > /b/ in word-initial position, which occurred in Latin during ca. the mid-3rd cent. BCE¹⁴. This is evidenced by the fact that <duonoro> (instead of *bonorum* 'GOOD.M.GEN.PL; "M.GEN.PL"') is still attested in the metrical *elogium* of *Lucius Cornelius Scipio* (*CIL*, I² 9; ca. mid-3rd cent. BCE), and that the use of <du> for /b/ is also used as an intentional archaism in the *Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus* of 186 BCE (*CIL*, I² 581)¹⁵.

The etymology proposed by Champollion for *bellum* and *bonus* is not very different from the etymology that is given in modern etymological dictionaries. Latin *bonus*, for example, is usually assumed to continue an ancient form **dwenō-*, which underwent the sound change /ě/ > /ō/ in the first syllable before the end of the 6th cent. BCE. This is evidenced by the fact that a spelling such as <duenos> (for *bonus* 'GOOD.M.GEN.SG; "M.GEN.SG"') is still found in *CIL*, I² 4 (the so-called Duenos' vase), which dates back to the 6th cent. BCE, while *CIL*, I² 9 (mid-3rd cent. BCE; *cfr. supra*) has the form <duonoro> (with /ě/ > /ō/)¹⁶. In the same vein, <duonus> (*i.e.*, exactly the same form quoted in the *BNF* manuscript *NAF 20365*) appears in one of the extant fragments of the so-called *Carmen Saliare*, quoted by Varro, *Ling.* 7. 3. 26¹⁷.

As for *bellum* 'war', its etymology is not certain, but the word probably continues the PIE adjective **dwen(e)lo-* 'quite good/quite brave', most likely a diminutive of *bonus*. More specifically, it is assumed that the adjective was used in the military lexicon in phrases such as **duella acta* 'actions of valour', and that this use eventually led to the meaning 'war' for the derived noun *duellum* (> *bellum* because of /dw/ > /b/; *cfr. supra*)¹⁸. Although this etymology is uncertain, it must be emphasised that *duellum* (quoted in the *BNF* manuscript *NAF 20365*) is recognised by (almost) all Latin sources as the antecedent of *bellum*. The form is still found in ancient Latin poetry with the exact meaning of 'war', and a considerable effort is made by Latin authors in the attempt of connecting *duellum* with *bellum* (which often leads to the creation of original folk etymologies)¹⁹.

¹³ The chronology of this sound change is discussed by TRAINA-BERNARDI PERINI 1998, p. 59. See also CIANCAGLINI - KEIDAN 2018, p. 250.

¹⁴ *Cfr.* LEUMANN 1977, p. 132, MEISER 2006, p. 111, and CIANCAGLINI - KEIDAN 2018, 260.

¹⁵ For *CIL*, I² 9, *cfr.* among others WACHTER 1987, pp. 301-342, CLACKSON - HORROCKS 2007, pp. 138-142, CIANCAGLINI-KEIDAN 2018, pp. 291-293, and PAPINI 2022, pp. 262-263. On *CIL*, I² 581, see PERRI 2013 and CIANCAGLINI-KEIDAN 2018, pp. 295-300.

¹⁶ On *CIL*, I² 4, *cfr.* the discussion by CLACKSON - HORROCKS 2007, pp. 29-31. See also CIANCAGLINI - KEIDAN 2018, pp. 243-245.

¹⁷ *Cfr.* WALDE *et al.* 1956, p. 101, ERNOUT - MEILLET 1967, p. 73, and DE VAAN 2008, p. 73-74 (*s.v. bonus*).

¹⁸ *Cfr.* DE VAAN, 2008, p. 70 (*s.v. bellum*) and references therein. See also WALDE *et al.* 1956, p. 100, and ERNOUT - MEILLET 1967, p. 68 (*s.v. bellum*).

¹⁹ *Cfr.* TLL 5, 2181, ll. 20-30.

Moreover, the ancient spelling is preserved in the derived noun *perduellis* ‘public enemy’²⁰, and it also remains in the alliterative phrase *duelli domique* ‘in times of war and peace’, which still appears in Latin inscriptions of the Principate²¹.

The etymologies proposed in the *BNF* manuscript *NAF 20365* for the remaining Old Latin forms that illustrate the sound change /dw/ > /b/ are also (essentially) correct. For example, Latin *bellus* ‘charming’ (which Champollion derives from an ancient <duellus>) is usually believed to continue the same PIE diminutive adjective **dwen(e)lo-*, which was cited above for the form *bellum* (**dwen(e)lo-* > **dwenlo-* > **dwello-* > *bello-*)²². Similarly, Latin *bis* ‘twice’ goes back to PIE **dwis* (cfr. Gk. δῖς), and the form <duis> (quoted in the *BNF* manuscript *NAF 20365*) is often found in Plautus²³. Finally, even the spelling <Duilia> is explicitly mentioned as the ancient form of the female *nomen* *Bil(l)ia* by CIC. *Orat.* 153 and HIERONYM. *adv. Jovin.* 46 (among others; Cicerone also quotes <duellum> and <duis> as the original forms of *bellum* and *bis*).

If the etymologies proposed in the *BNF* manuscript *NAF 20365* are fairly accurate, the same cannot be said for the choice of the Latin quotations used to support them. This is because, the list of these quotations contains a number of inaccuracies, which may be of some use in revealing the sources that Champollion used for the study of the Latin language.

To begin with, when discussing the form <duellum> (> *bellum*; cfr. *supra*), Champollion recalls the following passage from Varro’s *De Lingua Latina*: ...*duellum id postea bellum: ab eadem causa facta est Duellona, Bellona*. The quotation is then followed by the clarification “Varron, Ling. Lat. Livre VI.”, written between round brackets after the Latin text (cfr. *infra* APPENDIX). However, the reference is not entirely correct, since the quotation is not from book 6th, but rather from book 7th of Varro’s *De Lingua Latina* (to be precise, VARRO 7. 3. 49).

A far more interesting “error” concerns the first example cited by Champollion with respect to the form <duellum> (cfr. *supra*). In this case, Champollion clearly states that this form is found “dans le premier vers” of Ennius’ *Annales* (cfr. *infra* APPENDIX), but the *BNF* manuscript *NAF 20365* does not report the famous invocation to the *Musae* which modern editors have set as the *incipit* of Ennius’ epic (i.e., ENN. *Ann.* 1, 1: *Musae quae pedibus magnum pulsatis Olympum*)²⁴. Instead, a different hexameter is quoted, in which a self-conscious Ennius speaks in his own voice to announce the theme of his work: *horrida Romuleum certamina pango duellum* ‘I write of the bristling battles of the Romulean war’²⁵. The verse, however, is spurious, since it was not composed by Ennius, but rather by the Dutch classicist Paulus Merula (pseudonym of Paul van Merle), who added it at the beginning of his edition of the *Annales* in 1595²⁶.

As pointed out by N. Goldschmidt, Merula published his edition at a time “of constant finds of previously lost ancient texts and intense competition between scholars”²⁷. Specifically, Merula was competing with two highly respected editors: Henricus Stephanus (Henri Estienne) and Hieronymus Columna (Giovanni Colonna). The former had already published his own version of the *Annales* in a larger collection of fragmentary Latin poets in 1564, while the latter had pro-

²⁰ See ERNOUT - MEILLET 1967, pp. 68-69 and DE VAAN 2008, p. 70 (s.v. *bellum*).

²¹ E.g. *CIL*, VI 877: *vos quaeso precorque uti vos imperium maiestatemque p(opuli) R(omani) Quiritium duelli domique au[x]itis utique semper Latinus obtemperassit...* (ca. 17 BCE).

²² In this case, the diminutive meaning would explain why *bellus* was originally used in Latin mainly to refer to women and children. Cfr. DE VAAN 2008, pp. 73-74 (s.v. *bonus*). See also WALDE *et al.* 1956, p. 101 (s.v. *bellus*), and ERNOUT - MEILLET 1967, p. 73 (s.v. *bonus*).

²³ Cfr. DE VAAN 2008, p. 72 (s.v. *bis*).

²⁴ However, ENN. *Ann.* 1, 1 is later quoted by Champollion (cfr. *infra*).

²⁵ GOLDSCHMIDT 2012, p. 15 (translation according to the same author, with minor changes).

²⁶ GOLDSCHMIDT 2012, p. 15. See also SKUTSCH 1985, pp. 794-795.

²⁷ GOLDSCHMIDT 2012, p. 13.

duced the first critical edition with a specific focus on Ennius' epic in 1585 (*i.e.*, ten years before Merula)²⁸. The desire to surpass his illustrious predecessors led Merula to forge no less than fifteen fragments of the *Annales*, as J. Lawicki discovered almost three centuries later (in 1852)²⁹. More precisely, Merula claimed that he had access to two unpublished sources of the *Annales*. The first is an otherwise undiscovered treatise entitled *Veterum poetarum continentia*, which, Merula maintains, was written by a grandson of the Roman politician Lucius Calpurnius Piso³⁰. The second source is a glossary supposedly found by Merula's contemporary Guiliemus Fornerius (Guillaume Fournier)³¹.

However, it is not surprising that Champollion was deceived by the philological fraud of Paulus Merula. First, as mentioned in section 1, it is likely that he grouped together the pages of the BNF manuscript NAF 20365 between ca. the year 1830 and ca. the year 1832, *i.e.*, about twenty years before the publication of Lawicki's *De fraude Pauli Merulae* in 1852. Second, as Goldschmidt points out, "apart from some issues of metre and vocabulary, the fake *Ennius* is exactly what readers aware of *Ennius*' literary-historical reputation would expect"³². Indeed, the same spurious hexameter that was just mentioned provides a clear representation of "Merulas' scholarly *acumen*"³³. For example, the use of *pango* in the sense of 'compose poetry' reflects the same construction found in Cicero's quotation of Ennius' epitaph, while the collocation of the same verb with an accusative plural (*horrida certamina*) echoes LUCR. *rer. nat.* 1, 933 (*Deinde quod obscura de re tam lucida pango*) and HOR. *ars.* 416 (*Nunc satis est dixisse ego mira poemata pango*)³⁴. Similarly, the trisyllabic scansion of the word *duellum* appears for the first time precisely in Ennius' *Annales* (ENN. *Ann.* 573: *Hós pēstís nēcūīt pārs ōccīdīt íllā dūéllis*)³⁵.

As for the language, Merula's fragments are littered with archaisms. For example, the hexameter that was just mentioned has <Romoleum> (with <o> for /ũ/) over *Romuleum*, a circumstance that also misled Champollion, since he cited this verse even when dealing with the sound change /ō/ > /ũ/ on p. 67 of the BNF manuscript NAF 20365 (in addition to the discussion of <duellum>). Indeed, the continued research into archaism is one of the main features of Merula's edition of the *Annales*. Even when Merula does not forge entirely new fragments, he always colours Ennius' verses with an archaizing coating, probably moved by the idea that this old-fashioned language would appear more convincing to his readers³⁶. This is illustrated by the second Ennian fragment quoted by Champollion with respect to /ō/ > /ũ/: *Quei rem romanam Latiumque augescere voltis* (NAF, p. 67, BNF picture no. 62). The verse (placed by modern editors among the Ennian fragments that cannot be attributed to any of the books of the *Annales*) is preserved by Varro, who quotes it in one of his Menippean satires³⁷. It is possible that <voltis> (for *vũltis*) was the form

²⁸ GOLDSCHMIDT 2012, p. 14.

²⁹ LAWICKI 1852. Cfr. GOLDSCHMIDT 2012, p. 14.

³⁰ GOLDSCHMIDT 2012, p. 14. The first Ennian verse cited in the BNF manuscript NAF 20365 is declared to have been preserved in this source. Cfr. MERULA 1595, p. 41: *pater cultioris et elegantioris apud Latinos Musae, Q. Ennius hoc versu indicat, quid scripturus. Citatur autem a L. Calpurnio Pisone (cuius in Praefatione Lectorem praemonui) lib. I de continentia veterum Poetarum...*

³¹ GOLDSCHMIDT 2012, p. 15.

³² GOLDSCHMIDT 2012, p. 16.

³³ GOLDSCHMIDT 2012, p. 15.

³⁴ For Ennius' epitaph, cfr. CIC. *tusc.*, 1, 34: *Aspicite, o cives, senis Enni imaginis formam: / Hic vestrum panxit maxima facta patrum?* Cfr. GOLDSCHMIDT 2012, p. 15, n. 56.

³⁵ The word is always disyllabic in ancient Latin poets. Cfr. ERNOUT - MEILLET 1967, p. 68 (*s.v. bellum*). See the entire discussion by GOLDSCHMIDT 2012, pp. 14-16. The verse cannot be attributed to any of the books of the *Annales* (cfr. *infra*). Metrical scansion according to Pedecerto (www.pedecerto.eu).

³⁶ GOLDSCHMIDT 2012, p. 15.

³⁷ Varro *Men.* 542. Cfr. STEUART 1976, p. 208.

used by Ennius, but the same is not true for the rendering of the long /ī/ with <ei> in <quei> (for *quī*), which is probably due to Merula³⁸.

The same artificial archaisation of the Ennian language is also found in several other fragments quoted in the section *Antique Orthographie Latine* of the BNF manuscript NAF 20365. For example, in the case of ENN. Ann. 1, 16: *Lunai portum, est (operai), cognoscere, ceives* only the archaising form <Lunai> (instead of *Lunae*) can be attributed with some certainty to Ennius, since the form is also found in PERS. Sat. 6, 9 (who preserves the verse). The old ending <-ai> (for /-ae/) in the genitive singular of nouns of the first declension is derided by Martial as an inelegant feature of early Latin poetry (MART. 11. 90), which makes it unlikely that Persius used this old-fashioned form himself³⁹. On the contrary, at least the use of <ei> for /ī/ in <ceives> (for *cīves*) is most likely to be attributed to Merula's attempt to make the language of Ennius even more archaic than it actually was (with the same expedient used in the case of <quei> discussed above). However, Champollion seems to follow Merula's version of the Ennian text even in this case, since he quotes Merula's line to illustrate the sound change /ei/ > /ī/ on p. 72 of the BNF manuscript NAF 20365 (BNF picture no. 62).

The same applies to ENN. Ann. 1, 1 and ENN. Ann. 494 (another of the so-called *incertae sedis fragmenta*), for the verses are again quoted by Champollion in a form that reveals the artificial archaisation of Merula's edition of the *Annales*: *Musai quai pedibus magnum pulsatis Olumpum* and *Audeire est operai precium* (NAF, pp. 68-69 and 72-73). More precisely, it seems that Merula deliberately used the old-fashioned spelling <ai> that was just mentioned in the forms <Musai> and <quai>, and that he even aged the form *audire* used by Ennius (cfr. HOR. Sat. 1. 2. 37) by using the Old Latin spelling <ei> (cfr. *supra*)⁴⁰.

The form <precium> (for *pretium*) requires further commentary. As mentioned in section 2, the occlusive consonants were not palatalised in Latin before the mid-2nd cent. CE, but orthographic confusions involving <ti> vs <ci> are often attested in Latin inscriptions from the 4th cent. CE onwards⁴¹. Consequently, it is not impossible that Merula misinterpreted <ci> for <ti> as an Old Latin feature, which led him to use this spelling in his edition of the *Annales* (moved by his own archaising intent). Alternatively, Merula may have been inspired by doublets such as <Vecilius>/<Vetilius>, which appear in Latin inscriptions from as early as the time of the Roman Republic⁴².

Traces of Merula's 1595 edition of the *Annales* can even be found in Champollion's commentary of the form <piter> (NAF, p. 71, BNF picture no. 62), cited as the antecedent of Latin *pater* 'father' ("Ce mot signifiait père..."; cfr. *infra* APPENDIX). More precisely, the etymology is based on the fact that *piter* appears in the ancient names of Roman gods such as *Iuppiter* (which Champollion interprets as <Iou-piter>) and *Mars*, who is often referred to as *Marspiter* in Old Latin texts (the form is interpreted by Champollion as *Mars-piter*). The etymology is not entirely correct, for *Iuppiter* (ancient *Iūpiter*) is most likely derived from PIE **djow-* 'sky, daylight' and **ph₂ter-* (> Lat. *pāter*)⁴³. Most importantly, however, the line used to illustrate the form *Marspiter* is, again,

³⁸ The opinion, it seems, of both STEUART 1976, p. 65 and SKUTSCH 1985, p. 117.

³⁹ STEUART 1976, p. 95.

⁴⁰ On the contrary, it is likely that <Olumpum> for *Olympum* (quoted by Champollion) is Ennius' own spelling, for <y> was not used in Latin to represent Gk. /u/ before the late 1st cent. BCE. Cfr. STEUART 1976 p. 95. On the introduction of <y> in Latin, cfr. LEUMANN 1977, pp. 8-9. It should be noted that *pretium* appears as <praicium> in Merula's edition. This seems to be the only case where Champollion does not (fully) follow Merula.

⁴¹ E.g. ICUR IV, 12322 (second half of the 4th cent. AD): *Minitius* (for *Minucius*) // *vix(it)* // *ann(os)* // {*a*} II *m(ens-es)* X *d(ies)* IIII.

⁴² E.g. CIL, I² 945 (1st cent. BC): *Diocles Vecili (scil. servus) / spectavit / a(nte) d(iem) V K(alendas) Febr(uarias)*. Cfr. FORCELLINI 1913 (s.v. *Vetilius*).

⁴³ Cfr. DE VAAN 2008, pp. 315-316 (s.v. *Iūpiter* and *Iovis*) and references therein.

spurious. The verse, which reads: *ante has res mihi Romanas scripturo Marspiter adsis* “Father Mars, assist me, now that I am going to write of the Roman deeds”, is quoted by Merula as the alleged *incipit* of the *Annales* of Furius Antias (ca. 1st cent. CE). More precisely, Merula claims that he found this verse in Piso’s *Veterum poetarum continentia*, where it was used as a term of comparison for the harsher *incipit* of Ennius’ epic (*Horrida Romuleum certamina pango duellum*; cfr. *supra*)⁴⁴.

The same applies to <hemoones> (quoted as the antecedent of *homines* ‘MEN(M).NOM.PL; “(M).NOM.PL”’; NAF, p. 66). In this case, the etymology proposed by Champollion is essentially correct, for Latin *homō* is probably a continuation of PIE **dʰgʰ(e)m-ōn* “born from the earth” (the vowel change /ē/ > /ō/ in the first syllable is probably due to the influence of the following /m/ plus back vowel, but the original vocalism seems to be preserved by Lat. *nēmō* “nobody” < **ne-hemō* “not even a single man”). Moreover, the spelling <hemonem> (i.e., almost the same form quoted in the BNF manuscript NAF 20365) is also attested (in the accusative singular) in Paul. *fest.* 89. 8 (*Hemona humana, et hemonem hominem dicebant*)⁴⁵. However, even in this case, the two lines (from Naevius) that Champollion quotes to illustrate <hemoones> are spurious verses forged by Merula, who claims to have found these verses in the aforementioned treatise *Veterum poetarum continentia*. As in the case of the “fake Ennius”, the two verses attributed to Naevius display the same artificial pursuit of archaism which (as shown) is one of the main features of Merula’s philological sophistication. For example, the long /ī/ is constantly rendered with <ei>, the spelling <ai> is preferred over <ae>, and the long vowels are always written as geminated (*quei terrai Latiaai hemoones tuuserunt; Latium legioones hemoonum*)⁴⁶.

When this last piece of information is added to our previous comments on the other verses quoted by Champollion in the Latin part of the BNF manuscript NAF 20365, the hypothesis can be made that Champollion used Merula’s 1595 uncritical edition of the *Annales* as his main source of quotations from ancient Latin authors (especially Ennius). Specifically, this hypothesis appears even more likely if one considers that the first verse quoted by Champollion is exactly the false *incipit* created by Merula for his own edition of Ennius’ epic: *horrida Romuleum certamina pango duellum*.

4. SOME PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

The study of the Latin section of the BNF manuscript NAF 20365 in this article may have shed some light on the sources used by Jean-François Champollion for the study of the Latin language. First, the discussion in sections 1 and 2 clarified that this part of the manuscript was probably realised by Champollion himself (as evidenced by its calligraphic features). Moreover, the presence of a uniform numeration that brings together all the different (and unrelated) sections of the BNF manuscript NAF 20365 led us to hypothesise that the document (probably) represents the preparation of a future edition of the studies it contains, and that the manuscript was (perhaps) arranged between ca. the year 1830 (arrival of Salvolini in Paris) and ca. the year 1832 (death

⁴⁴ Cfr. LAWICKI 1852, p. 12. Note that this treatise (*Veterum poetarum continentia*) is explicitly quoted by Champollion: “Mars qualifié de piter dans...Furius (cité par Calpurnius Pison...)”; cfr. *infra* APPENDIX.

⁴⁵ The form with the vocalism /o/ in the first syllable is then found in ENN. *Ann.* 2, 138: *Vultur in spinis miserum mandebat hominem*. However, it is not impossible that Latin *nēmō* actually goes back to *ne-homō*, which would suggest interpreting *hemonem* in PAUL. *fest.* 89, 8 as a backformation from *nēmō*. Cfr. WALDE *et al.* 1956, pp. 654-655, ERNOUT - MEILLET 1967, pp. 297-298, and DE VAAN 2008, pp. 287-288 (s.v. *homō*).

⁴⁶ See VIREDAZ 2020, pp. 216-217. However, Merula seems to have been mistaken here, since the /ō/ in *hemones* was probably short.

of Champollion). However, this hypothesis is not the focus of the present article. Therefore, it should be regarded as a mere suggestion.

As for the Latin part, the discussion in section 3 confirmed Champollion's scholarly acumen by emphasising that the etymologies contained in this part do not differ significantly from the etymologies that are found in modern dictionaries. However, the same discussion could also reveal that even this great scholar (probably) fell victim to one of the several philological frauds of the Renaissance. Specifically, the form of the quotations used by Champollion to illustrate the Old Latin orthographies reported in the *BNF* manuscript *NAF 20365* allows the assumption that these quotations were derived from the uncritical edition of Ennius' *Annales* realised in 1595 by the Dutch classicist Paul van Merle (Paulus Merula). In particular, this seems to be confirmed by the fact that these quotations include the false *incipit* that Merula forged for his edition of the *Annales*.

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APPENDIX

Antiques mots LatinesAntiques mots Latines

66

1. DUELLUM	Employé dans le premier vers des annales → En-
2. DUONUS	nus: <i>HORRIDA ROMOLEUM CERTAMINA PAN- GO DUELLUM.</i> Il signifie <u>Guerre</u> . <i>BELLUM</i> = <u><i>Duellum</i></u> : <i>id postea bellum</i> <i>ab eadem causa facta DUELLONA, BELLONA</i> (Varron, <i>Ling. Lat. Livre VI.</i>). <i>DUONUS</i> suscite <i>BONUS</i>
<u>Terminus</u>	N.D. XXX L'article Etrusque T. devant V. qui vient
<u>Terminare</u>	ensuite changé en B lettre du même organe! Cet article est resté dans les mots <u><i>Terminus, Termi- nare</i></u> Dérivés de TURMS, nom Etrusque de Mercure qui N'est que Ερμης précédé de l'art. Etrusque T. Par le changement de DU en B est venue le BI (by)* Pour DUI: dans <u><i>bifurcatio</i></u> XXX, dans DIVIdere, DUIDERE (ά, α, έ)
3. HEMOONES	dans la suite HOMINES. Employé dans ce vers attribué ordinairement à Naevius mais qui pourrait XXX <i>QUEI TERRAAI LATIAAI HEMOONES TUU- SERUNT</i> Et dans celui-ci <i>LATIUM LEGIOONES HEMOONUM</i>

* Exemples de DU devenu B.

DUONUS --- *BONUS*
DUELLUS --- *BELLUS*
DUILIA --- *BILIA* au *BILLIA*
DUIS --- *BIS*

Facies virginis duellae
Naevius

Antique Orthographie
Latine
Extrait des fragments de Q. Ennius

67

O à la place de U. =	ROMOLEUM pour <u>Romuleum</u> <u>Horrida Romoleum certamina duellum</u> <i>annales. Lib. 1^{er}.</i>
VOLTIS pour VULTIS	<u>Quei rem romanam Latiumque</u> <u>augescere voltis</u>
POPOLUS	} Lois des 12 tables.
PIACOLUM	
POLMEN	
TOLIT	
OBUAGOLATUM	

AI pour AE

68

OPERAÏ pour OPERAE. =	<u>Audeire est operai precium</u> <i>Annales. Lib. 1.</i>
MUSAI pour MUSAE =	} <u>Musai quai pedibus magnum</u> <u>pulsatis OLUMPUM. Annales. Lib. 1.</u>
QUAI pour QUAE =	

69

C pour T

PRECIUM pour PRETIUM =	<u>Audeire est operai precium</u> <i>annales. Lib. I.</i>
------------------------	--

70

E pour I

MENERVA pour MINERVA.
LEBER --- LIBER.
MAGESTER --- MAGISTER.
DIIIOVE --- DIIIOVI.
VEIIIOVE --- VEIIIOVI.

Quintilien. Inst. Orator. Lib. I. Cap. IV.

PITER

71

Ce mot signifiait père sur les romains dans les
 Premiers temps de la XXX
 Au nom du Dieu sous la protection desquels
 Leur ville, leur nation, ou eux-mêmes étaient
 placés, ainsi IOV (génitif IOVIS) ou IV était le nom du
 Maître des dieux, on l'appelait ordinairement
 IOUPITER ou IUPITER: on trouve aussi
Mars qualifié de PITER dans le passage (?)
 De Furius (cité par Calpurnius Pison, Livre 1^{er})
 ANTE HAS RES MIHI ROMANAS SCRIPTURO
 MARSPITER ADSIS

72

EI pour I

AUDEIRE pour AUDIRE = Audeire est operai precium

Annales. Lib. I.

QUEI pour QUI = Quei rem romanam Latiumque
 augescere voltis Lib.

CEIVES --- CIVES Lunai portum est cognoscere ceives

Ann.

73

U pour Y

OLUMPUM pour OLYMPUM. Musai quai pedibus
 Pulsatis Olumpum

Annales. Lib. 1^{er}

ABSTRACT

Il contributo offre un'analisi preliminare della breve parte dedicata allo studio della lingua latina nel manoscritto NAF 20365, conservato presso la Bibliothèque nationale de France e attribuibile (almeno in parte) a Jean-François Champollion. La sezione 1 del contributo illustra alcune caratteristiche generali del manoscritto, mentre la sezione 2 descrive in dettaglio la parte dedicata al latino. Infine, la sezione 3 analizza le fonti utilizzate da Champollion per lo studio di questa lingua. In particolare, tale sezione si propone di mostrare come lo studioso francese si sia servito dell'“ingannevole” edizione degli *Annales* realizzata nel 1595 dal classicista olandese Paul van Merle (Paulus Merula).

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