

A LETTER AND SOME DRAWINGS OF ROMAN COINS AMONG PERE GALÈS' PAPERS

XAVIER ESPLUGA*
Universitat de Barcelona
xespluga@ub.edu

ABSTRACT

Edition of a letter belonging to Pere Galès in which two peculiar hymns are quoted and of a list of coins drawn in the back of the letter.

KEYWORDS: Pere Galès; Antonio Agustín; Latin hymn; Pseudo-Sisbertus; Isidor of Seville; Roman coins.

UNA CARTA I UNS DIBUIXOS DE MONEDES ROMANES EN ELS PAPERS DE PERE GALÈS

RESUM

Edició d'una carta de Pere Galès en la qual se citen dos peculiars himnes i també una llista de monedes dibuixades al revers del document.

PARAULES CLAU: Pere Galès; Antonio Agustín; himne llatí; Pseudo-Sisbert; Isidor de Sevilla, monedes romanes.

*Petro utrique,
et Galesio Vldeconensi et Benassalensi Barredae,
dicatum*

The Catalan protestant Pere Galès (Ulldemona 1537 ca. – Zaragoza 1593) is still a forgotten figure in XVIth century scholarship (Espluga 2015, with the standard literature on Galès summarized). Most of the notices about his life come from the interrogation carried by the French Catholic authorities when Galès was arrested by French Catholic supporters near Marmande (southern France) in 1593. On that occasion Galès asserted that he had been an acquaintance of Antonio Agustín, archbishop of Tarragona, who had died some years before (1586) (Alcina 2004, De Maria Parada 2014): the close relationship between the two humanists could also be inferred from the letters and works of the archbishop, in which, here and there, one can see Galès' name.

However, Galès' correspondence is a very meagre dossier: one single autograph letter addressed to Agustín, dated Barcelona 27th September 1581, preserved in the Library of the University of Barcelona,¹ and three letters, written from Padua on 7th September 1582, preserved in the Ambrosian Library

* Universitat de Barcelona – Departament de Filologia Llatina – SGR 998 Ludus (Barcelona Classical Digital). I would like to thank Joan Francesc Alcina for his advice.

¹ Barcelona, Biblioteca de la Universitat de Barcelona, ms. 94, ff. 68r-70v, partially edited by Boehmer, Morel-Fatio (1902: 426-427); for the description of the manuscript, see Miquel i Rosell (1958: 110-111).

of Milan among Giovanni Vicenzo Pinelli's (1535-1601) papers.² One was addressed to Agustín himself (ff. 53r-54v); the other two –almost identical and dated the same day (September 7th 1582)– were addressed to Martín López de Baylo, the secretary of archbishop (Alcina 2003): they seem to be the draft and the final version of the same letter (the final version in ff. 47r-48v; the previous draft in ff. 51r-52v). Galès, on behalf of Pinelli, requested some books from López de Bailo (the list of books which accompanied the letter is not preserved). At the same time, he requests for himself a copy of the fragments of Roman mimes and comedies that Agustín had been collecting for publication (they never saw the light, but most of the material is preserved now in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 7702). Galès asked also for a copy of the famous book of Agustín, the *Diálogos de las medallas, inscripciones y otras antigüedades* (Agustín 1587), in case it had eventually been published. When Galès left Barcelona in September 1581, he might have known that the book was on its long way to publication, because –as Galès himself confesses (“que no saqué las inscripciones sólo por essas esperanças”)- he had been working at collecting inscriptions and checking the readings. However, Galès' request could not have been fulfilled: the *Dialógos* were only printed in 1587, after Agustín's death. As Alcina had noticed, this long delay in the publication of the *Diálogos* seems to be due to the engravings that illustrated the text (Alcina 2004: 44-46, n. 37). This request would support the idea that Galès had an important role in providing Agustín with the correct text of the inscriptions used in the *Diálogos*.

The two versions of this letter addressed to López de Bailo differ only in the central part. In the first one, which is supposed to be the one eventually sent, Galès mentioned Francesc Calça, lecturer at the University of Barcelona, and has a long recommendation of Pinelli, which is not found on the other version. Since we find another recommendation of Pinelli in the letter addressed to Agustín and since all three letters were among Pinelli's materials, it seems clear that to recommend Pinelli was the true goal of the missives. Pinelli put pressure on Gales to tell the archbishop and his circle that he was ready to collaborate somehow with them.

To the scarce evidence of Gales' correspondence a new letter can be added. It is found in current Auct. S.10.25 of the Bodleian Library. The volume is a copy of the well-known epigraphic collection –*Epigrammata antiquae Romae*– published in 1521 by Giacomo Mazochi (*Iacobus Mazocchius*).³ It belonged to Benedetto Egio (†1567) (Pignati 1993, Crawford 1993), who annotated it profusely. After his death, it passed into the hands of Galès, whose name is

² Milan, Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ms. R.97.sup, ff. 47r-54v, partially edited by Boehmer, Morel-Fatio (1902: 428-431).

³ Mazochi was not responsible for the collection, merely the publisher of the book. For the editing of the first collection of Roman inscriptions, see Buonocore (2006); Bianca (2009); Buonocore (2014: 34). For other annotated copies of the *Epigrammata*, see Vagenheim (2008), González Germain (2012: 150).

found in this letter. Another indirect proof of Galès' ownership is the provenience of book from the Jesuit college of Agen to which the library of Galès, confiscated by French Catholic authorities in 1591, was handed (Boehmer, Morel-Fatio 1902).

The letter is a partially strapped leave inserted between f. 38 and 39 of the *Epigrammata*. It has been preserved because the verso of the letter, once it had been written, was used to design a number of coins with their legends. So this secondary use has allowed the preservation of a letter that otherwise would have been discarded. Moreover, as the letter seems addressed to Galès, these designs would be one of the few preserved autograph pieces by Galès. The letter should be dated after Egio's death (1567) and after acquisition of the volume by Galès (the date remains unknown, but it cannot be distant from Egio's death) and before 1591, when Galès' library was confiscated.

The text of the letter is the following:

Señor mío,

Aý (*sic pro ahí*) embío a V. M. ese otro hymno para que se reforme y ponga / a gesto, y de manera que salga como de tales manos, y más suplico / a V.M. que ponga su juicio y censura de ambos a dos y por / esto le embío el otro. Y el artificio y medida que guardan / y si es costumbre ecclesiástica hazerse así y de quantos años y si autores graves usaron de esta manera / de hymnos y si los que scrivieron desto, hizieron mención / desta compostura. Y V.M. perdone que los que no sabe/mos ni en esto ni en otras cosas, a biva fuerça hemos / de dar fastidio a los que en todo saben y alcançan / tanto.

Besa las manos de su / su maior servidor.

Para mi s(eñ)or Pedro / Galès.

Manus nota.

The letter is written by a single hand, which added the header (*Señor mío*) and the farewell (*besa las manos ... servidor*) at a time. As far as I can guess, it would seem the work of an unknown Spanish (?) correspondent of Galès –as the final sentence (*Para mi señor Pedro Galès*) reveals–. This final sentence should be read as the name of the addressee. It is more difficult –in my opinion– to put a pause in the middle of the sentence (*para mi señor. Pedro Galès*) and to consider *Pedro Galès* as the signature of the letter (in this case, the addressee would remain anonymous). Moreover, it does seem to be the hand of Galès, if we compare with BUB, ms. 94.

The addressee –whoever he was– is asked to check the readings of two unspecified hymns. No other information is given in the letter, nor is any hymn mentioned in the marginal annotations of the whole volume of the *Epigrammata*. In these circumstances, the identification of these hymns is a Herculean task. One of them must have been a peculiar hymn, as the correspondent shows some surprise at the hymn's structure and features (*de esta manera, desta compostura*). As a working hypothesis, I would be tempted to identify these

two hymns with two rhythmic hymns of Pseudo-Sisbert of Toledo, namely the *Exhoratio poenitendi* (CPL 1227) and the *Lamentum poenitentiae* (CPL 1537; see the standard edition in Stecker 1923; also Domínguez del Val 1998, Elfassi 2011), traditionally attributed to Isidore of Seville. As it is well known, the first one consists of 113 stanzas of three verses with a rhythmic structure (the first hemistich has eight syllables and a final word with paroxytone accent; the second one, with 7 syllables, has a final proparoxytone word). Moreover, what is more striking and could explain the doubts expressed in the letters is the fact that the stanzas are ordered alphabetically. Agustín, who was particularly interested in Isidore as he was member of the commission charged with the edition of Isidore's works, with Alvar Gómez de Castro and Juan de Grial, that was only published in 1599 (De Grial 1599: VIII; see also Alcina 2008: 43, n. 33 – the place of edition is, however, Madrid– and Codoñer 2009), must have known the hymn: the edition (following Sigebert of Gembloux) ascribed it to Isidore.

The back of the *letter* was subsequently used to draw 29 coins, arranged in eight rows of unequal number of coins. Galès has tried to reproduce the layout of the coins, either by drawing the portraits and figures or by description using Latin (however, Spanish is used in the description of one single coin). He has reproduced the legends using capital letters, and in general the layout of these designs is very close to the real coins. So far, I guess that they were copied directly from existing exemplars that could have belonged either to Galès or to Agustín himself (Carbonell 1991, Carbonell 1992-1993, Carbonell 2002, Carbonell 2003, Carbonell 2007, Carbonell, Barreda 2002).

Both the letter and the coins show the vast range of interest of Galès and can be taken as revealing signs of the closeness between Galès and Agustín's circle, which might be behind the request and the drawing of the coins.

List of coins:⁴

1. [1.1.] RRC 344/1a. Obv.: SABIN.; AT in monogram; "Caput cum capillo demisso et barba"; Rev.: "Duo raptore mulierum"; in the exergue, L. TITVRI.
2. [1.2.] RRC 363/1d. Obv.: "Caput capillo demisso sine barba cum laurea". Rev.: L. CENSOR; "Quidam stans dextro brachio erecto ad laeuam q.(?) columnae (?) instar".
3. [1.3.] RRC 494/26a or 26b. Obv.: REGVLVS / PR. "Caput": Rev.: L. LIVINEIVS / EGVLVS, "defecto R"; "Sella cur(ulis)".
4. [2.1.] RRC 449/1. Obv.: PANSA; "Caput"; Rev.: ·IOVIS·AXVR· / VIBIVS C.F. "Quidam sedens pedibus decussat orbem quendam tenens dextra et hastam aut quidpiam tale laea subtus pactus (?) pars tuberosa in cap(ite)".

⁴ Into brackets, I wrote the number of the row and successively the number of the coin (so, 1.1. is the first row's coin).

5. [2.2.] RRC 410/10a. Obv.: inverse K; "Caput sine barba capillo demisso sed coercito et laurea"; Rev.: Q. POMPONI. / MVSA; "Mulier dextra quid praeferens".
6. [2.3.] RRC 429/1. Obv.: P. FONTEIVS P.F. / [CAP]ITO·III·VIR ; "Spolium, caput galeatum" ; Rev.: MV·FO[N]T·TR·MIL· "eques sub quo duo pedites".
7. [3.1.] RRC 356/1. Obv.: AED. CVR. S.C.; "caput" and a crown *turrita*; Rev.: In the exergue, CRASSI PES.; "Sella cur(ulis)".
8. [3.2.] RRC 357/1b. Obv: C. NORBANVS. and the mark CTX; "Cap(ut) adul.(?)" (actually, it is Venus' head wearing diadem); Rev: "spica. fasces. cadux".
9. [3.3.] RRC 329/1d. Obv.: above the portrait, P.E.S.C./ I; "Cap(ut) cum col. et hu."; control-mark I; Rev.: In the exergue, LENT. MAR. F.; control-mark I.
10. [3.4.] RRC 243/1. Obv.: "caput galeatum"; Rev. TI. MINVS. (*sic*) ROMA AVGVRINVS. Design of two men standing in front of a column.
11. [3.5.] RRC 422/1b. Obv.: M. SCAVRVS AED. CVR. S.C.; "Camelus". Rev.: YPSAE. AED. CVR. [...] CAPTV. "Quad(riga)".
12. [4.1.] RRC 432/1. Obv. : CN. PLANCIVS. / AED. CVR. S.C. "caput cum bo(n). (?) laxo" (the head is wearing *causia*); Rev.: "pha(lera), arc(us), cornus".
13. [4.2.] RRC 423/1. Obv.: FLORA PRIMVS to the right. "Cap(ut) cum inaure". Design of a *lituus*; Rev.: C. SERVEIL., in the exergue; C.F. to the right; "Par glad(iatorum)".
14. [4.3.] RRC 307/1. Obv. : P.P. to the right; "2 facies"; design of a star; Rev.: MN. FONTEI; "nauis".
15. [4.4.] RRC 454/1. Over the description, "(illegible) quid instar nascentis lunae ". Obv. : FIDES / NERVA, "caput"; Rev.: III VIR. / A. LICIN. "equus cum (?) prominet".
16. [5.1.] RRC 273/1. Obv. : ROMA / X LABEO; Rev. : Q. FABI.
17. [5.2.] RRC 405/3. Obv.: "cap(ut)"; Rev. MILALTOR (*sic pro* M. PLAETORI) / CEST. EX S.C.; "caduceum".
18. [5.3.] RRC 362/1. Obv.: "cap(ut)" ; Rev.: C. MAMIL. / LIMENTAN (AT in monogram); "Quidam baculo se subst. ad canem dex(tram) intendens".
19. [5.4.] RRC 392/1. Obv.: MENSOR / S.C. "caput". Rev.: in the exergue, L. FARSVLEI; control-mark CVT (*sic*); "Bigae ad quas recipitur alter in (?) prehensa".
20. [5.5.] RRC 385/4. Obv. : "Caput"; Rev. : in the exergue, M. VOLTEI M.; "Mulier cum curru cui adlig(igantur ?) et (?) drac(ones ?) .".
21. [6.1.] RRC 311/1. Obv.: "Caput ad dextram"; Rev.: in the exergue, L. SCIP. ASIAG.; "Quadriga". T as dot control mark above the quadriga.
22. [6.2.] RRC 336/1. Obv.: BALA; "Caput"; Rev.: "Bigae adligatae ceruis (?) sub quibus auis quaedam" (It is actually a grasshopper). In the exergue, C. ALLI.
23. [6.3.] RRC. 348/1. Obv.: DOSSEN.; "Caput". Rev.: "Quadriga cum uictoria"; in the exergue, L. BVRR. (*pro* RVBR.)

24. [6.4.] *RRC* 378/1c. Obv: CAPIT. C(?)XXXI; “Caput”; Rev.: in the exergue, C. MARI C.F. S.C.; “quidam agens par boum”.
25. [7.1.] *RRC* 335/1. Without design and no distinction between obverse and reverse. L. METEL. A. ALB. S. F.
26. [7.2.] *RRC*. 291/1. Obv.: ROMA; “Caput” and crossed X; Rev.: MN. AEMILIO, in the exergue, L.E.P. under three arches; “Eques”.
27. [7.3.] *RRC* 412/1. Obv.: In the exergue, L.ROSCI, “caput cum palla et cor(nu) et pene col.”; Rev.: FABATI; “Una muger con unas (*sic*) faldilla con (*illegible*) delante una (*deleted*) serpe”.
28. [8.1.] *RRC* 407/2. Obv. III VIR, “caput”; Rev. : “animal uillosum instar et qui infra ped(es) poster(iores) canis”; in the exergue, C. HOSIDI C.F.
29. [8.2.] *RRC* 411/1b. Over the description, “Solus hic aureus, alii argentei (*corr. ex sola haec aurea aliae argenteae*) (apparently wrong, because *RRC* 411/1b is a denarius); Obv.: “caput”; Rev. : L. TORQVAT. / III VIR; Design of a tripod, with “ambiente corona opinor tropea (?)”.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ALCINA, J.F. (1998), “Martín López de Bailo, humanista al servicio de Antonio Agustín”, in *DIDASKALOS. Estudios en homenaje al Profesor Serafín Agud con motivo de su octogésimo aniversario*, C. Schrader, C. Jordán, J.E. Beltrán (eds.), Zaragoza, Univ. de Zaragoza (Monografías de Filología Griega, 9), 251-258 .
- ALCINA, J.F. (2002), “La dispersión de los libros y monetario de Antonio Agustín (1586-1594)”, en *Humanismo y pervivencia del mundo clásico. Homenaje a Antonio Fontán*, J. M. Maestre *et al.* (eds.), Alcañiz-Cádiz, Instituto de Estudios Humanísticos, vol. III/1, 331-35.
- ALCINA, J.F. (2004a), “Notas sobre la imprenta de Felipe Mey en Tarragona”, in *Humanae Litterae. Estudios de humanismo y tradición clásica en homenaje al profesor Gaspar Morocho*, J. F. Dominguez (ed.), León, Universidad de León, 19-54.
- ALCINA, J.F. (2004b), “Aventures d'un impressor a Tarragona: Felip Mei i Antoni Agustín”, *Estudi General* 23-24, 33-62.
- ALCINA, J.F. (2008), “El humanismo de Antonio Agustín”, in *Mecenazgo y Humanidades en tiempos de Lastanosa: Homenaje a Domingo Ynduráin*, A. Egido, J.E. Laplana (coords.), Zaragoza, Institución ‘Fernando el Católico’ e Instituto de Estudios Altoaragoneses, 31-50.
- AGUSTÍN, A. (1587), *Diálogos de medallas, inscripciones y otras antigüedades. Ex Bibliotheca Ant. Augustini Archiepiscopi Tarraconen.*, Tarragona, Felipe Mey, 1587.
- BIANCA, C. (2009), “Giacomo Mazzochhi e gli Epigramata Antiquae Urbis”, *Studi di antiquaria ed epigrafia per Ada Rita Gunnella*, C. Bianca, G. Capecchi and P. Desideri (eds.), Roma, 107-116.
- BOEHMER, E., MOREL-FATIO, A (1902), “L'humaniste hétérodoxe catalan Pedro Galès”, in *Journal des Savants*, 357-370, 425-437, 476-486.
- BUONOCORE, M. (2006), “Sulle copie postillate vaticane degli Epigrammata antiquae Urbis”, *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* 13, 91-102.

- BUONOCORE, M. (2014), "Epigraphy and Philology: Manuscript Sources", *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, edited by C. Bruun and J. Edmondson, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 21-41.
- CARBONELL, J. (1991), *Epigrafia i numismàtica a l'epistolari d'Antonio Agustín (1551-1563)*, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Ph. Dissertation.
- CARBONELL, J. (1992-1993), "Fulvio Orsini i A. Agustín, precursors de la moderna numismàtica", *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Gironins* 32, 169-188.
- CARBONELL, J. (2002), "Antonio Agustín, filólogo y epigrafista. A propósito de la 'Lex Agraria' (CIL I 585)", *Humanismo y pervivencia del mundo clásico. Homenaje al profesor Antonio Fontán*, José María Maestre Maestre, Luís Charlo Brea, Joaquín Pascual Barea (eds.), Madrid, vol. I, 397-412.
- CARBONELL, J. (2003), "El estudio de la iconografía numismática en el siglo XVI. A. Agustín malgré lui", *VII curs d'història monetària d'Hispania. Les imatges monetàries: llenguatge i significat*, Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, 119-135.
- CARBONELL, J. (2007), "De nummos antiquos interpretandi arte. El "método" de Antonio Agustín. Entre tradición e innovación", in *La interpretació de la moneda: passat i present. XI Curs d'Història Monetària d'Hispania*, M. Campo (ed.), Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya.
- CARBONELL, J., BARREDA, A. (2002), "Filología y numismática itálica en elms. 12639 de A. Agustín de la BN.", Actas del XI Congreso Nacional de Numismática, Zaragoza, 161-168.
- CODOÑER, C. (2009), "La edición de Juan de Grial (1599) de las *Etymologiae* de Isidoro de Sevilla, un informe de Juan de Mariana y el trabajo de Alvar Gómez de Castro", *Faventia* 31/1-2, 213-225.
- CRAWFORD, M.H. (1993), "Benedetto Egio and the Development of Greek Epigraphy", in *Antonio Agustín between Renaissance and Counter-Reform*, M.H. Crawford (ed.), London, The Warburg Institute (Warburg Surveys and Texts XXIV), 133-147.
- DE AZAGRA, M. (1775), *Cartas eruditas de algunos literatos españoles*, Madrid, Por Don Joachín Ibarra.
- [DE GRIAL, J.] (1599), *Diui Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Opera: Philippi II Cathol. Regis iussu e vetustis exemplaribus emendata*, Madriti, ex Typographia Regia (Apud Ioannem Flandrum).
- DE MARIA, S., PARADA LÓPEZ DE CORSELAS, M. (2014), "Antonio Agustín, Bologna e l'antiquaria del Cinquecento", *El Imperio y las Hispanias de Trajano a Carlos V*, Bolonia, 331-356.
- DOMÍNGUEZ DEL VAL, U. (1998), *Historia de la antigua literatura latina hispano-cristiana*, Madrid, Fundación Universitaria Española, vol. 4, 482-484.
- ELFASSI, J. (2011), "El corpus atribuido a Sisberto de Toledo: algunas notas sobre su difusión medieval y sus fuentes", *Estudios de latín medieval hispánico. Actas del V Congreso internacional de latín medieval hispánico. Barcelona, 7-10 de septiembre de 2009*, J. Martínez Gázquez, Ó. de la Cruz Palma, C. Ferrero Hernández. (eds), Firenze 2011 (Millennio Medievale, 92 ; Strumenti e Studi, n. s. 30), 53-60.
- ESPLUGA, X. (2015 forthcoming), "Pere Galés, un protestante de Ulldecona profesor en Ginebra", en *Heterodoxia y disidencias religiosas en el siglo XVI. La recepción de la Reforma en la península Ibérica*, Ignasi Fernández Terricabras, David Kahn, Michael Boeglin (eds.), Madrid, Casa de Velázquez.

- Familiae romanae* (1557), *Familiae romanae quae reperiuntur in antiquis numismatibus ab urbe condita ad tempora Diui Augusti ex biblioteca Fului Vrsini; adiunctis familiis XXX ex libro Antonii Augustini Ep. Ilerdensis, Romae, impensis haeredum Francisci Tramezini apud Iosephum de Angelis.*
- GARCÍA BELLIDO, M.P. (1997), "Diálogo de medallas", in *Ex Roma Lux. La Roma antigua en el Renacimiento y el Barroco*, M.A. Elvira (ed.), Madrid, Electa 1997, 43.
- GONZÁLEZ GERMAIN, G. (2012), "Jean Matal and His Annotated Copy of the Epigrammata Antiquae Vrbis (Vat. Lat. 8495): The Use of Manuscript Sources", *Veleia* 29, 149-168.
- MIQUEL I ROSELL, J.F. (1958), *Inventario general de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Universitaria de Barcelona*, vol. I, Madrid, Dirección General de Enseñanza Universitaria y de Archivos y Bibliotecas.
- PIGNATTI, F. (1993), "Egio, Benedetto", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. XLII, Roma, Treccani, 356-357.
- RALLO, A. (2001), "La imagen de la Antigüedad en las medallas. Antonio Agustín y la forma dialogada", *Silva. Studia philologica in honorem Isaías Lerner*, I. Lozano Renieblas, J.C. Mercado (eds.), Madrid, Castalia, 503-524.
- RRC = M.H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*, London, Cambridge University Press.
- SOCIAS I BATET, I. (2003), "Algunes consideracions entorn de l'edició prínceps de Diàlogos de Medallas inscripciones y otras antigüedades d'Antoni Agustí (1587) de la Hispanic Society of America", Pedralbes, *Revista de Història Moderna* 23, 506-525.
- STRECKER, K. (1923), *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, Berlin, Weidmann, vol. IV/2-3, 760-768.
- VAGENHEIM, G. (2008), "Piero Vettori e l'epigrafia: l'edizione (Epigrammata antiquae Urbis, Roma 1521), le schede (Firenze, B.N.C. cod. Magliab. XXVIII, 29) e le lapidi", *La Biblio filia* 110, 139-157.