Andreas Markantonatos – Vasileios Liotsakis – Andreas Serafim (eds.): *Witnesses and Evidence in Ancient Greek Literature.* Trends in Classics – Supplementary Volumes 123. De Gruyter, Berlin – Boston 2021. ISBN 978-3-11-075116-1; ISBN (e-book) 978-3-11-075197-0. VII, 306 pp. EUR 109.95.

Judicial means and legal customs in ancient Greece were partly different from the modern world. In particular, the skilled argumentation and powerful rhetorical speeches of the participants played an important role in courts, and in the most extreme cases, truth could be extracted by means of torture. Witnesses and evidence were important in courts as well as in other contexts, such as historiography and poetry. *Witnesses and Evidence in Ancient Greek Literature*, edited by Andreas Markantonatos, Vasileios Liotsakis and Andreas Serafim, tackles this subject matter. The book is the published proceedings of the Second Kalamata Conference (2018) and consists of an introduction and thirteen research articles. The main content of the book falls into four themes: written and oral evidence; the rhetoric of information-gathering and decision-making; scripting witnesses and evidence in prose and verse texts; and the cultural workings of witnesses and evidence. The book sheds light on the theme of witnesses and evidence in ancient Greece and in relation to legal history, philosophy of law, oratory, historiography, and ancient mythology, *inter alia*.

In the introduction, the editors contextualize the subject matter by briefly discussing features of ancient legal systems, such as truth and impartiality as a basis of justice, the divine character of witnesses, the custom of manipulating the emotional reactions of the audience, i.e., πάθος (*pathos*, 'emotional treatment'), the controversial custom of βάσανος (*basanos*), i.e., the interrogation of a slave by torture, and a multi-genre approach regarding the theme. They also touch upon Chanakya's (375–283 BCE) political treatise *Arthashastra* and Aristotle's three-part view of ἦθος (*ēthos*, 'character'), πάθος and λόγος (*logos*, 'argument') of rhetoric. Edward Harris begins the first theme of the book, i.e., written and oral evidence, by examining the role of written documents in public cases in classical Athens. He first clarifies a scholarly debate about the role of the documents and the nature of Athenian public documents and continues by dealing with Lysias', Andocides', Demosthenes', Aeschines' and Dinarchus' speeches with descriptions of each case; they are different from each other and illustrate how the documents were used. Harris summarizes that accounts were important for Athenian officials, and written documents were essential for them and for public speakers. Next, Asako Kurihara deals with hearsay evidence, which modifies S. C. Todd's view about this topic. She argues that hearsay evidence (ἀκοή, *akoē*) was generally rejected in Athenian courts, but Herodotos saw it as second-best information. Kurihara begins with the difference between direct (ὄψις, *opsis*) and hearsay evidence. She next explains the Athenian law of hearsay evidence and proceeds to the role of written testimony (ἐκμαρτυρία, *ekmartyria*), which relied on the trustworthiness of witnesses, and the

problematic nature of hearsay witnessing. Finally, Kurihara gives examples of hearsay witnesses and ends by discussing the levels of responsibility of witnesses, false witness, and rumours as witnesses.

The second theme is about the rhetoric of information gathering and decision making. First, Guy Westwood clarifies how audience memory was used as evidence in the trial concerning a crown (330 BC). The case concerned Aeschines' prosecution of Ctesiphon, who had proposed an honorific crown for Demosthenes but, according to Aeschines, illegally. Westwood focuses on Aeschines' third charge, according to which Ctesiphon's claim about Demosthenes' outstanding statesmanship was totally false. He examines here the nature and a two-part strategy of Aeschines' prosecution and Demosthenes' defence, who appeals to audience memory more than once, making a direct appeal to the judges' memory as well as to that of the court general assembly concerning their recollection of these events. Second, Noboru Sato clarifies how additional information, which the main court speeches do not include, was used in Athenian courts. This information is based, according to Sato, on four categories: "(a) a witness' identity and his source of information, (b) "character" evidence for the speaker's own side, (c) such evidence against the opponent's side, and (d) parallel cases" (p. 82). After Sato has described these categories in detail, he argues that although the opportunities to use additional information in the Athenian law courts were limited, the witness testimonies with this information were beneficial. Third, Pasquale Massimo Pinto studies the role of self-quotations in Isocrates' *Antidosis* (Περὶ τῆς ἀντιδόσεως, ἀντιδοσις: 'exchange') – *antidosis* was an Athenian law that concerned an exchange of estates between two legal parties. Isocrates' *Antidosis* is an important, complex and experimental text, and also partly fictional. He used the material of his works in his defence as evidence, so that a clerk read this material aloud in a court. This strategy has, as Pinto argues, two functions: to rehabilitate Isocrates' reputation and to transfer his rhetorical forms into new literary products. Pinto explains here how Isocrates uses self-quotations strategically for his defence and analyses how Isocrates divides his evidence into an "anthological" piece and a piece regarding his pupils as witnesses. The second theme ends with Robert Sullivan's article, which is about the Attic orator Antiphon's argumentative practices, and elucidating early sophistic theories of argumentation. Sullivan begins by explaining how Antiphon's corpus is valuable for several reasons, and how witness and testimony are an essential part in Antiphon's discourses. Sullivan moves on to analyse how witness and testimony occur in Antiphon's works, such as *Tetralogies*. As a shocking example, *On the Murder of Herodes* (Antiphon 5) includes part of the testimony of a slave, obtained under torture. This method is appalling to people today, but it was occasionally used then. Sullivan ends by giving several conclusions about Antiphon's argumentation.

The third theme concerns witnesses and evidence in prose and verse texts. First, Andreas Serafim examines the role of questions in Plato's *Apology of Socrates*. He argues that there are three specific ways in which certain questions serve Socrates, i.e., introductory or explanatory, ἦθος-

depicting and investigatory questions – it should be remembered that Socrates' life was at stake, and his trial was thus dramatic in many ways. After a contextualizing introduction, Serafim deals with the three groups of question in detail and their connections with the historicity of the trial of Socrates. He concludes that the questions in *Apology of Socrates* shed light on the rhetorical nature of the speech and historicity and the veracity of Socrates' case. Second, Ioannis Perysinakis also deals with the same work. He argues, first, that this writing represents an ancient quarrel between philosophy and poetry, which is Plato's literary or rhetorical invention, and second, that a fundamental chapter of this quarrel consists of "the re-evaluation of the archaic moral values and excellences" (p. 157). Perysinakis analyses the writing in detail and considers, e.g., the meaning of ἀρετή (*aretē*), Socrates' methods, the nature of the serious charges (cf. γράφομαι (*graphomai*), 'criminal prosecution'), and the connection of Plato's writing with Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. He summarizes that Plato's aim was twofold: "[S]tarting from the trial and exploiting Socrates' philosophy to protect him in judicial terms and lay the foundations of his own philosophy" (p. 177). Third, Vasileios Liotsakis elucidates the institutional and rhetorical context of the digression on tyrannicides, i.e., Harmodius and Aristogeiton, in Thucydides. Liotsakis argues that Thucydides corrects two errors in his digression: first, the flaws of his compatriots' collective memory about Harmodius and Aristogeiton, and second, the fact that the story of them was intentionally misrepresented by politicians and demagogues, though Thucydides fails in this aim. He also analyses Thucydides' stylistic choices. Liotsakis goes over certain possibilities and the related scholarly debate, clarifies the institutional context of the digression, such as the state's responsibility for the distortion of the myth, and the rhetorical context of the digression, namely Thucydides as a speaker against orators, by means of contextualization and historical and word frequency analyses, as well as the nature of digressions in fourth century oratory. Fourth, David Mirhady considers the Athenians' basis for the rationale for torture in the early fifth century by means of *Prometheus Bound*. Here he deals with the story of Prometheus and that of Aristogeiton, who was tortured by the tyrant Hippias. Mirhandy explains that "Athenian democratic ideology dictates that slaves lie, unless tortured, but that if tortured (under the right conditions) tortured slaves are the surest guarantee of truth" (p. 215). However, at the same time, the Athenians were averse to the torture of free citizens, such as Aristogeiton. Mirhandy clarifies, *inter alia*, that Athenian speechwriters developed arguments in favour of slave torture, and that Prometheus gives various arguments against his torture and considers the torture of women and children too – there is no direct evidence about the latter. Mirhandy also discusses here the sacrifice of Iphigenia, the story of Gyges, Sophocles' *Trachiniae* and Euripides' *Hecuba*. Fifth, Margarita Sotiriou examines witness roles and the game of truth in the epinician poetry of Pindar and Bacchylides. This game, which was a communicative process, was played out between the poet and his audience and patron. Sotiriou argues that it consisted of two main levels: the poet's encoding of a message and the patron's

and audience's decoding of the lyric message. In the following sections, Sotiriou explains the role of witness, messenger and oath in Pindar's and Bacchylides' poetry, their use of oaths, and the connection between oaths and truth (ἀλήθεια, *alētheia*) – she clarifies that in Attic drama the oath is a literary device that combines language and action. Sotiriou concludes that Pindar and Bacchylides invite the audience to participate in a fictional "game of truth", so that a communication on multiple levels between the poet, patron and audience would be possible.

The final part of the book deals with cultural mechanisms regarding witnesses and evidence. First, Smaro Nikolaidou deals with information and decisions in Sophocles' *Trachiniae* and Euripides' *Medea* and the fragmentary *Ino*. She considers how these works reflect the Athenians' attitudes towards love, conjugal fidelity and disloyalty, monogamy and polygamy – Nikolaidou notes that marriage in classical Athens was monogamous. She explains further that in *Trachinia*, *Medea* and *Ino* jealousy leads to kin killings, which are organized by using witnesses and evidence. The results are tragic in each case: a jealous Themisto accidentally kills her own children owing to Ino's treachery; Deianeira, a jealous wife, unwillingly causes her husband Heracles' death, and this drives her to suicide; and Medea becomes a filicide since she wants to revenge Jason's adultery and his new marriage. In these cases, infidelity leads to catastrophic results. Second, Rosalia Hatzilambrou studies how scandals could be used in place of testimony and as evidence by means of the case study of Aeschines' *Against Timarchus*: Aeschines here accuses Timarchus of prostitution and of an affair with the public slave Pittalacus; Aeschines clarifies that a slave has abused the body of a free citizen, which is not appropriate. Hatzilambrou explains that scandalous stories have a strong impact on the audience, and in this way they may help to achieve the various goals of a participant. Further, she contextualizes the case, analyses the content of *Against Timarchus*, and explains, *inter alia*, how Aeschines uses vivid descriptions as a device and metaphorically allegations, and how he even makes an invocation to Zeus. Hatzilambrou concludes that Timarchus' and Pittalacus' case has the properties of a good scandalous story, and that in these kinds of stories factual evidence may have little importance in the end.

Witnesses and Evidence in Ancient Greek Literature approaches its subject from many angles and in various ways. The book has much to recommend it: the selection of articles is diverse and the thematization is good; abstracts facilitate reading; the articles are clearly written and of good quality; each article includes an adequate number of sources as well as useful scholarly discussions and comments; the cases and discussed works are well analysed and explained; and English translations have been given for all long quotes. I do, however, have some criticisms. There is inconsistency in the abstracts regarding the use of first and third persons; here and there some English translations and transliterations regarding words and short expressions are missed out; the book includes some unclear and overcomplicated sentences; the book does not contain a separate terminological section,

which would be useful for scholars and non-specialized readers. Nevertheless, all in all, *Witnesses and Evidence in Ancient Greek Literature* is a clear and versatile package about the theme in question that shows, among other things, that legal proceedings were not arbitrary in these earlier times and that the ancient Greeks found witnesses and evidence to be an essential part of their culture. This book offers interesting points of view about that theme.

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Antonino Nastasi: *Le iscrizioni in latino di Roma capitale (1870–2018)*. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 2019. ISBN 978-88-7140-962-7. XLIII, 831 pp. EUR 90.

This delightful book, based on a doctoral thesis (p. XXIII), is a very competent edition of 969 Latin inscriptions, 773 of them extant (see p. XXIV), from Rome and environs as far as Ostia Antica and Prima Porta (there are also three Greek inscriptions, see p. 44). It consists of an instructive introduction, the edition proper and remarkable indexes.

In the introduction, Nastasi (N.) offers observations e.g. on the themes of the inscriptions, often stressing notions such as *labor* and *quies*. Many of them quote or modify passages of ancient authors, Horace, Virgil and Cicero being the most popular sources, although one can observe quotations from a very wide range of authors (see the index p. 800–807); but often the texts contain "frasi create o pensate *ad hoc*" (p. XIII). Inscriptions in Latin are especially popular during the fascist era (p. XVI–XX; cf. p. 770), although texts with a distinctly fascist message (if one excludes mentions of Mussolini and datings, for which see below) are not common (p. XVII; one of the examples mentioned is the famous inscription on the 1930s building in Piazza Sant'Andrea della Valle, *Italiae fines promovit bellica virtus* etc.). There are also observations on the letter forms (p. XVIII; cf. Q. xvii 7 on the "capitale fascista"), and on earlier corpora of a similar scope (but there are also unpublished texts, e.g. Q. v, 58–60; Q. xix 1; S. xi 2). At the end of the introduction, there is a bibliography.

As for the edition, some categories of inscriptions have been excluded (p. XXIV); to these belong inscriptions in churches and 'ecclesiastical' inscriptions in general; inscriptions in foreign institutions (embassies, etc.); funerary inscriptions of private persons; inscriptions that record simply a year (normally that of a building's construction), even if accompanied by a standard expression of the type *extructa*. The edition is divided into extant and lost inscriptions (in the latter case with the number being followed by an asterisk), which was not a particularly good idea, for the lost texts could have been presented together with the extant ones, as is normal in editions of ancient inscriptions.