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THE *HISTORIA AUGUSTA* ON CONSTANTINE'S LINEAGE

H. W. BIRD

In the summer of 310 a great secret was finally disclosed by a panegyrist addressing Constantine. Claudius II was the emperor's grandfather. "Quod plerique adhuc forte nesciunt, sed qui te amant plurimum sciunt. Ab illo enim divo Claudio manat in te *avita cognatio*".¹ Hereditary monarchy had made a come-back. Constantine was born in Moesia at Naissus (Nish in Yugoslavia/Serbia) on Feb. 17th, c. 272. His mother Helena was a humble bar maid² (at best), his father, Constantius, a young subaltern in the officer cadet corps (*protectores*) of the emperor Aurelian (270–275). Constantius' career was as follows: born c. 250, he was a *protector* in 271, then Tribune, governor of Dalmatia in 284–5, praetorian prefect of Maximian 288–293, Caesar 293 and Augustus 305–306. But from 310 onwards Constantine officially became the grandson of Claudius II, a necessary invention given the political climate of the day. Earlier that year his father-in-law, Maximian, who had supported Constantine's appointment as Augustus in 307, was left in charge of Constantine's southern army while the latter fought on the lower Rhine. He now attempted to supplant Constantine just as he had tried to depose Maxentius at Rome in April, 308. At Arles he declared Constantine dead and bribed the army to acclaim him Augustus. Fausta informed her husband Constantine, who hurried back to southern France and besieged Maximian at Marseilles. The citizens opened their gates to Constantine who captured Maximian and either executed him or ordered him to commit suicide (c. July). The story in Eutropius that Maximian engineered his rift with Maxentius in order to dupe and eliminate Constantine is presumably another aspect of Constantinian disinformation. In 310, therefore, the time was plainly ripe for Constantine to discard his

¹ Pan. lat. VI.2.1.

² Ambrose. De Obitu Theod. 4.2.

connections with his treacherous old father-in-law Maximian, whom he condemned as a traitor and murderer the following year. But first a few words about Fausta, Constantine's second wife and Maximian's daughter. She was born at Rome probably in 290 and engaged to Constantine in 293, very soon after the Tetrarchy had been established. In September 307, when she was c. sixteen and he c. thirty-five the two were married for obvious dynastic purposes, thus Maxentius, who was then ruling in Rome and on friendly terms with his father and Constantine, became Constantine's brother-in-law and Augustus. The reason for this is clear. In the spring and summer of 307, Severus, Galerius' Caesar, marched from Milan, and besieged Rome, but his army, which had formerly belonged to Maximian, deserted to the latter and Maxentius. Severus fled to Ravenna, was captured there, and was finally executed near Rome. That left an open place in the official Imperial College for Maximian again, or for Maxentius. In September Galerius also entered Italy with his army. His enterprise was similarly unsuccessful though he escaped intact. Soon afterwards an arrangement was agreed upon by Constantine, Maxentius and Maximian which included the marriage alliance, Maximian's support for Constantine's promotion to Augustus, Maximian's return to power as Augustus, and a mutually recognized Augustusship for Maxentius. Subsequently, however, Maximian refused to play second fiddle to his son, hence the rift and Maximian's attempted coup in April, 308.

At any rate in the latter half of 310, with the seriousness of Galerius' illness now evident, Constantine's ambitions began to grow. But he needed new legitimation to bolster his designs, hence the sudden discovery: a political fraud duly accompanied by supernatural sanction, so Syme asserted.³ In a temple in Gaul Constantine supposedly saw Apollo offering him the laurels of victory and realized that he was destined to rule the whole world.⁴ Apollo and Claudius both support the claim of Constantine to supreme power, until the more potent vision at the Milvian Bridge dislodges Apollo and substitutes the new, revolutionary, celestial backer. Yet the Claudian connection remained vital. In inscriptions Constantine appears first as *divi Claudii nepos*,⁵ but his son Constans is both *divi Claudii abnepos*, (i.e.

³ R. Syme, *Emperors and Biography* (Oxford, 1971), 204.

⁴ Pan. lat. VI.21.4.

⁵ I.L.S. 699, 702.

great-great-grandson) and *pronepos* (great-grandson).⁶ Eutropius, writing in 369, mentions that Constantius is said to have been *per filiam nepos Claudii*⁷ (i.e. grandson through Claudius' daughter), whereas at the very beginning of Anonymus Valesianus (c. 390) we find *Constantius, divi Claudii optimi nepos ex fratre*, that is to say grandnephew *via* Claudius' brother. The falsification is patent, Eutropius is wary, but the Anonymus Valesianus perpetuates the myth. There is more to come.

Claudius died of the plague at Sirmium, probably in late August, 270.⁸

For the newly-discovered great-grandfather or great-granduncle of Constantine this mundane manner of death was totally inappropriate. Hence a new myth was created, that Claudius, following the *devotio* tradition of the republican Decii, willingly gave his life for the state.⁹ As he was preparing to fight the Goths in 269 he consulted the Sibylline books which revealed that the foremost man of the senate had to be consecrated to victory. When the leading senator, Pomponius Bassus, presented himself Claudius heroically revealed that he, in fact, was the real leader of the senate. Consequently, in the ensuing battle with the Goths near Naissus (Nish) in Moesia, coincidentally the birthplace of Constantine soon afterwards, Claudius died a hero's death and Rome prevailed. Probably Constantius fought under Claudius in this battle and one might surmise that Constantine was conceived amid the general euphoria following the Roman victory and was therefore born in February, 270. At any rate, as he was writing in 360/361 Aurelius Victor, who apparently believed the Claudius myth, provides us with an intriguing comment: "Good emperors consider the safety of their fellow citizens and their own enduring reputation more valuable (than their lives), for these contribute not only to their own glory, but also to the good fortune of their successors. If, indeed, Constantius and Constantine and our own emperors...."¹⁰ Here, unfortunately, a *lacuna* obtrudes. If Victor was taken in by the story, presumably in the *KG*, Eutropius, writing nine years

⁶ Ibid. 723, 725.

⁷ Eutrop. IX.22.1.

⁸ Eutrop. IX.11; Zos. I.43.1–2; Zon. XII.26; Chronog. A.D. 354.

⁹ De Caes. 34.5; Epit. 34.2–3 (written c. 396).

¹⁰ De Caes. 34.6.

later under a different emperor, apparently was not.¹¹ But Ammianus may have been. In 31.5.17 he writes: "*Sed assumpto in imperium Claudio, glorioso ductore, et eodem honesta morte praerepto.*" So much for Claudius' death: his accession also needed expurgation. It would hardly be fitting for Constantine's grandfather to have become emperor through a murderous coup, as had Diocletian. According to the Greek tradition (Zos. I.40.2; Zon. XII.25), when the generals outside of Milan in August 268 contrived a plot against Gallienus, Claudius was brought into it. The *KG* plainly carried a different account, one which Eutropius carefully omitted: perhaps he knew better.

Aurelius Victor, however, maintains that Gallienus, as he lay dying, designated Claudius as his successor and the latter was commanding the garrison at Ticinum (Pavia, about thirty-five km. south of Milan), when the assassination occurred. The *Epitome* corroborates this, adding for good measure the name of the intermediary charged with taking the *indumenta regia* to Ticinum and presenting them to Claudius, Gallonius Basilius, a suspiciously appropriate name, as Syme¹² remarks, for one conveying regal ornaments. But the matter does not end there. The *Epitome* also notes that many think that Claudius was the son of a Gordian, by a mature woman servant who was preparing him sexually for his wife, *Gordiano satum, dum adulescens a muliere matura institueretur ad uxorem.*¹³ This and other suspicious scraps of information in the *Epitome* demonstrate an apparent feature of the times, fraudulent scholarship on the origins of emperors.¹⁴ Licinius, too, comes into the reckoning. In April, 311 Licinius signed, and perhaps urged his friend Galerius to draw up the Edict of Toleration at Serdica. Galerius died in early May. Prior to that, however, and possibly following Constantine's example, Licinius allegedly discovered and published his descent from the Emperor Philip (*H.A. Gord.* 34.5), that is, if we can trust the *H.A.* at this point. The *H.A.* concludes this *vita* (34.6) by writing "*Quae omnia, Constantine Maxime, idcirco sum persecutus, ne quid tuae cognitioni deesset, quod dignum scientia videretur.*" The author, so I

¹¹ Eutrop. Brev. 9.22.

¹² Op. cit., 205.

¹³ Epit. 34.2

¹⁴ Syme, op. cit., 234.

believe, is simply making fun of Constantine's "discovery". In concluding his *vita* of Elagabalus (35) he makes the following comments: "Now I shall begin to write of emperors who followed after (Elagabalus). Of these the most righteous and the most worthy of careful narration was Alexander, the most distinguished was Aurelian, but the glory of them all was Claudius, the founder of your family. About this man I fear to tell the truth as I write to Your Clemency, lest I may seem to the malicious to be a flatterer; yet I shall be delivered from the envy of evil men, since I have seen that in the eyes of others too he was most illustrious. To these emperors we must add Licinius and Maxentius, all whose power has been made subject to your sway, writing of them, however, in such a way that full justice shall be done to their prowess. For I will not, as is the custom of many writers, detract from the greatness of those who have been vanquished, since I realize that in writing of them it will but enhance *your* glory if I tell the whole truth about their good qualities."

So much emphasis on the truth should alert us to the author's intent, as should the mention of the good qualities of Licinius and Maxentius, long buried by Constantinian propaganda.

It is in his biography of Claudius, however, that the author really demonstrates his ironical mockery of this Constantinian myth. In the prologue he observes that he must take care with Claudius' *vita* out of concern for Constantius Caesar.¹⁵ Supposedly this refers to Constantius Chlorus, but the reader will know full well that it was Constantius II who was particularly concerned with his reputation. Furthermore, "it would not be right to keep silent about an emperor who left so splendid a scion of his race ... who thrust from power the monstrous Gallienus, even if he was not the author of the plot." It is almost with malicious glee that the writer underlines the inconsistencies in the official version. He proceeds to mock the panegyric practice:¹⁶ "For what was there in him that was not admirable?, that was not outstanding? that was not superior to the triumphant generals of remote antiquity? The valour of Trajan, the righteousness of Antoninus, the self-restraint of Augustus..." Now for a few other fabrications about Claudius which appear to be aimed at Constantine and his sons.

¹⁵ H.A., Claud. 1.1.

¹⁶ Ibid. 2.2.

”For what great quality did not that man exhibit both at home and abroad? He loved his parents; no surprise in that? He even loved his brothers; that, indeed, may cause surprise. He loved his kinsmen; and that, in our times, may be compared to a miracle.” Here one should observe that Constantine was responsible for the deaths of his son Crispus (326), his wife Fausta (326), his father-in-law Maximian (310), his brothers-in-law Maxentius (312), Bassianus (316), Licinius (325), and his nephew Licinius Licinianus (325). His sons orchestrated the massacre of Constantine’s brothers, their sons and other relatives in September, 337. But to continue: ”Indeed, so great a man did he show himself in public affairs that the greatest princes chose a descendant of his to hold the imperial power, and an improved senate desired him.

Someone, perhaps, may believe that I am speaking like this to win the favour of Constantius Caesar, but your sense of justice and my own past life will bear witness that I have never thought or said or done anything to curry favour. I am speaking of the Emperor Claudius, whose manner of life, whose uprightness, and whose whole career in the state have brought him such fame among later generations that after his death the senate and people of Rome bestowed on him unprecedented rewards. In his honour the Roman people, at their own expense, erected a golden statue ten feet high on the Capitol.... He enlarged the Flavian Gentes..., all ranks, ages, and communities honoured this noble emperor with statues, banners, crowns, shrines and arches, altars and temples....¹⁷ ”He was noted for the gravity of his character, his matchless life, his singular purity.... He was tall with flashing eyes, a broad full face and fingers so strong that often, with a single blow he knocked out the teeth of a horse or mule.”¹⁸ This is a typical *H.A.* tidbit.

”I must relate the oracle given to Claudius in Comagena,¹⁹ so it is said, in order that all may know that the family of Claudius was divinely appointed to bring happiness to the state. For when he inquired, after being made emperor, how long he was destined to rule, there came forth the following oracle²⁰:

¹⁷ Ibid. 3.1.

¹⁸ Ibid. 13.5.

¹⁹ Ibid. 10.1 ff. Comagena is the modern Tulln, about 35 km. N.W. of Vienna.

²⁰ Cf. Alex. IV.6; Firm. III.4.

"Thou, who dost now direct thy fathers' empire
 Who dost govern the world, the gods' viceregent,
 Shalt surpass men of old in thy descendants;
 For those children of thine shall rule as monarchs,
 And make their children into monarchs also."

Again, when he asked about his descendants:

"Neither a goal nor a limit of time will I set for their power."
 "His ego nec metas rerum nec tempora ponam" (Virgil, *Aen.* I.278)

Likewise, when he asked about his brother Quintillus, whom he was planning to make his associate in the imperial power, the reply was:

"Him shall the Fates but display to the earth."
 "Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata neque ultra." (Virgil, *Aen.* VI.869)

This was one of the author's favourite quotations. He had used it in *Aelius* IV.1 and *Gord.* XX.5. "These oracles I have included, in order that it may be clear to all that Constantius, scion of a family divinely appointed, our most venerated Caesar, himself springs from a house of Augusti and will give us, likewise, many Augusti of his own. Some say he was Dardanian and derived his descent from Ilus, a king of the Trojans and from Dardanus himself."²¹

Practically all of this is fanciful fiction, as is the attribution to Claudius of the names Flavius and Valerius, i.e. the names of Constantine. Claudius may indeed have come from Dardania in Moesia Superior but if so the author of the *H.A.* probably hit upon it accidentally as he concocted the Trojan connection or took it from the birthplace of Constantine. Naissus was in Dardania from Diocletian's time. A further observation: soon after 395 the Sibylline verses, by now associated with militant paganism, were officially burned.²² Does one perhaps detect here a shrewd dig both at Constantine and at the current Christian hierarchy?

In chapter XIII of the *vita* the author finally and imaginatively deals with the lineal connections of Constantine with Claudius. The latter had two

²¹ Ibid. 11.9.

²² Rut. Namat. 2.52.

brothers, Quintillus (authentic) and Crispus (fictitious and presumably named after Constantine's eldest son). This Crispus had a daughter, Claudia, who had married a Eutropius, "*nobilissimo gentis Dardanae viro.*" Constantius was supposedly their son. So far a nice blend of fact and fiction, with a possibly malicious finger pointed at the Emperor Arcadius' minister from 395 to 399, also a Eutropius. In 399 he was the first eunuch ever to become consul, a fact widely known and generally censured. As Claudian wrote, "*Omnia cesserunt eunucho consule monstra.*"²³ Eutropius fell from favour later that year and was fortunate merely to suffer banishment to Cyprus. The *H.A.* then throws in a few sisters, including a Constantina who supposedly married an Assyrian tribune but died early. An equally fanciful eulogy follows, quite fitting for an emperor who seemed to be making the state secure for his "*nepoti futuro, Constantio Caesari*" (IX.9). In his concluding chapter (XVIII) the author takes his parting shots:

"Claudi, dux fortissime, aveas! virtutibus tuis devotioni tuae! Claudio statuam omnes dicamus...."

"Claudius our most valiant leader, hail! Hail to your courage and your *devotio!*

Let us all decree a statue to Claudius."

Ironically the author had consciously omitted the *devotio* story from the biography. He also knew that practically everyone at Rome was aware of Constantine's huge statue in his Basilica. Constantinian mementoes probably littered Rome in the late fourth century as Lenin mementoes did Moscow and Leningrad until the eighties. Then, too, many people were eager to set the record straight, to mock and humiliate the erstwhile mighty.

ADDENDUM:

Why did Constantine, or his advisers, choose Claudius II? Decius, Valerian and Aurelian had persecuted Christians. They were plainly unacceptable. Apart from his involvement in the plot to assassinate the unpopular (in the Latin sources) Gallienus, an involvement subsequently expurgated,

²³ In Eutrop. liber I.

Claudius' reputation was unsullied, his background murky, if not unknown. He had, after all, ruled just under two years, but during them he defeated the Alamanni near Lake Benacus (Lago di Garda) in the winter of 268/9 and the following summer defeated the Goths at Doberus in Macedonia and again near Nish (Naissus) in Moesia. Constantine was born at Nish perhaps less than a year after that celebrated battle and as a result of it, and his mother Helena, of whom he seems to have been genuinely fond, was almost certainly a local lass. It was a master stroke to make his home-town hero his own great-grandfather. Furthermore, "it is not easy to refute authorities that never existed," as Quintilian (I.8.21) remarked, and as the author of the *Historia Augusta* knew, and one must bear in mind that in 310, when the "discovery" was made, Constantine was ruling in the west, far from Nish. In his later years, however, he renovated and beautified his native city,²⁴ and presumably paid suitable honours to the memory of his serendipitously-discovered "grandfather".

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²⁴ Anon. Val.2.2.

AJAX' TRUGREDE: ITS MEANING AND DRAMATIC FUNCTION*

HELEN GASTI

Much has been written on Ajax' *Trugrede* (646–92), which comprises the whole second episode of Sophocles' *Ajax*, so much, that true progress is difficult to discern among the welter of theories.¹ This article is meant to further our understanding of the dissembling-speech of Ajax by revealing its meaning without obscuring its peculiar complexity.²

Since this speech has been one of the most problematic and controversial issues for a little more than hundred years, there is a correspondingly large amount of articles and essays. Anyone who wishes to approach this crucial issue anew must, therefore, begin with a brief survey of the trends in the modern study.

The controversy mainly turns on two questions. First, is Ajax still resolved to die, while he speaks these words?³ Second, if Ajax is still

* An earlier version of this article was presented at the First Panhellenic and International Convention of Ancient Greek Philology held in Athens (May 1994).

¹ Although this ambiguous speech has been the source of so much scholarly debate, it has not yet been satisfactorily explained. A new approach may, therefore, be justified. I. Errandonea who examines all previous attempts at interpretation in his article "Les quatre monologues d' Ajax et leur signification dramatique", *LEC* 26 (1958) 22–8 reaches the same conclusion. Cf. also M. Sicherl, "The Tragic Issue in Sophocles' Ajax", *YCIS* 25 (1977) 68.

² On a full discussion of Sophocles' extant deception-scenes one by one, with a separate chapter on each of the relevant plays (*Aj.*, *Trach.*, *El.*, *Phil.*, *OC*) see Ursula Parlavantza-Friedrich, *Täuschungsszenen in den Tragödien des Sophokles*, *Untersuchungen z. antiken Lit. und Gesch.* 2 (Berlin, 1969).

³ So R.C. Jebb (ed.), *Sophocles, The Plays and Fragments, Part VII, The Ajax* (Amsterdam, 1967), *Introd.* XXXV: "While he speaks these words, he is still resolved to die: that is certain". R. Ebeling, "Missverständnisse um den Aias des Sophokles", *Hermes* 76 (1941) 297 thinks that, though Ajax' resolve to die remains unaltered, his change of expression is well-intentioned and is dictated by his compassion for Tecmessa.

determined to die, does he intend to mislead his hearers, namely Tecmessa and the chorus by misrepresenting his intention?⁴ The great majority of critics and commentators assume that Ajax has never abandoned his initial intention to commit suicide.⁵ If so, a number of questions arise: does Ajax speak with intention to deceive his hearers, by introducing deliberately a highly ambiguous wording with ominous overtones? Or is this speech accidentally ambiguous?

Defenders of the view that the speech is dissimulation believe that Ajax' apparent change of purpose is pretended and the hero deliberately deceives his hearers. The speech is regarded as *tota simulatio*⁶ or as a λόγος σχηματικός.⁷ L. Campbell⁸ in his edition of Sophocles and R. Jebb⁹ with more elaborate arguments, unhesitatingly rejected the theory of unintentional ambiguity, which was propounded by F.G. Welcker.¹⁰ Above all, Jebb's greater contribution was to show that this speech, which contains

Cf. also I.M. Linforth, "Three Scenes in Sophocles' Ajax", Univ. of Calif. Public. in Class. Phil. 15,1 (1954) 10–20; W.B. Stanford, Sophocles Ajax edited with Introduction, Revised Text, Commentary, Appendices, Indexes and Bibliography (Bristol Classical Pr., 1981), 287; op. cit. 281 where Stanford maintains that it would be inappropriate dramatically or ethically to have Ajax in a state of uncertainty at this point.

⁴ According to C.H. Whitman, Sophocles. A Study of Heroic Humanism (Cambridge Mass., 1951), 75–76 it is not the fault of Ajax if his listeners do not understand his veiled language and are deceived. Thus, if Tecmessa and the chorus are persuaded that he has decided against suicide, that is entirely involuntary. Cf. Jebb, op. cit. XXXV. Double meanings and misleading half-truths with ominous overtones are carefully examined by Sicherl, op. cit. 77–85. At this point the spectators have an advantage over Tecmessa and the chorus, because they are aware of the traditional version of the story according to which Ajax finally killed himself. On this see P.T. Stevens, "Ajax in the *Trugrede*", CQ 36 (1986) 327.

⁵ On this see Stanford, op. cit. 282.

⁶ L. Doederlein, De Sophoclis Ajace, Diss., Abhandl. philos.-philolog. Klasse der k. bair. Akad. (München, 1837), 120.

⁷ W. Schadewaldt, "Aias und Antigone", Neue Wege zur Antike, Reihe I, Heft 8 (1929), 80.

⁸ L. Campbell (ed.), Sophocles (Oxford, 1881).

⁹ Jebb, op. cit. XXXIII–XXXVIII.

¹⁰ F.G. Welcker, "Über den Aias des Sophokles", RhM (1829) 43–92 [repr. in his Kleine Schriften (Bonn, 1845), II, 302–22].

splendid poetry, might have a profound significance for our conception of Ajax, while still being intended by the hero to deceive his hearers.¹¹

Nevertheless most critics, distressed by the speech's misleading purpose, maintained the view that the systematic ambiguity of language is unintentional. Welcker argued strongly that Ajax had not meant to mislead his hearers and it was no fault of his that his partisans misunderstood him.¹² This theory of unintentional ambiguity has the advantage of exonerating Ajax from the charge of inconsistency of character.¹³ Deception seems utterly contrary to Ajax' Achillean character,¹⁴ and it is not what one would expect from a man like him.¹⁵

The question was debated in a quite different way by E. Howald, a disciple of Tycho Wilamowitz, who argued that the *Trugrede*'s only contribution is one of dramatic effect.¹⁶ Thus the problem is nearly avoided since the explanation of the *Trugrede* is reduced to a purely technical one.¹⁷

There is, however, a general line of interpretation accepted by many scholars arising from the conviction that in a speech magnificent in its language and thought we must look for some profound significance for our

¹¹ Jebb, op. cit. XXXVIII.

¹² See Welcker, op. cit. 43–92.

¹³ For a discussion of this question cf. B.M.W. Knox, "The Ajax of Sophocles", HSCP 65 (1961) 1–37 repr. in Knox' s book *Word and Action. Essays on the Ancient Theater* (Baltimore–London, 1979), 125–60. T. von Wilamowitz, *Die dramatische Technik des Sophokles* (Berlin, 1917), 63ff. dismisses the problem of psychological consistency as unreal. He advocates the position that Ajax, as a Sophoclean personage, speaks what the dramatic situation at the moment happens to demand.

¹⁴ On Ajax as an "Achillean hero" see Mary Whitlock Blundell, *Helping Friends and Harming Enemies. A Study in Sophocles and Greek Ethic* (Cambridge, 1989), 83 note 116. On the literary relationship between Ajax and Achilles see L.V. Hinckley, *Ajax and Achilles: Their Literary Relationship from Homer to Sophocles* (North Carolina, 1972).

¹⁵ It is still questionable whether or not ancient Greeks saw anything unworthy or unheroic in the use of such deception. See Jebb, op. cit. XXXV; Stanford, op. cit. 286; Blundell, op. cit. 82–85.

¹⁶ E. Howald, *Die griechische Tragödie* (Munich, 1930), 97–100.

¹⁷ On the question of the concept of "character" Howald agrees substantially with T. von Wilamowitz. The speech can not, therefore, contribute to our conception of Ajax' personality and its only effect is that of retardation. See Howald, op. cit. 98: "Diese Lugenszene ist rein um der Spannung willen da; sie schafft Retardation, Scheinentspannung. Dies ist ihre ganze, aber auch ihre grosse Bedeutung".

conception of Ajax.¹⁸ In the treatment of this problem a tendency may be discerned for preferring an interpretation which goes back to Reinhardt's view.¹⁹ The speech, according to Reinhardt, is admittedly a deceptive speech, evidently spoken to deceive another person. But in it, a deeper truth is revealed. This view has since been developed and modified by other scholars, notably by B.M.W. Knox in his penetrating study "The *Ajax* of Sophocles"²⁰ and by M. Sicheřl in his influential article "The Tragic Issue in Sophocles' *Ajax*".²¹ This interpretative line which, we feel, serves as the standard-bearer of this much debated issue, will enable us to attempt a reconsideration of the major problems underlying *Trugrede*.²² Furthermore, the state of research seems favorable to a reappraisal of the entire question since there are some neglected aspects which deserve attention.

Before proceeding to my analysis it is necessary to point out that I am an adherent of the view that this long speech is a deception speech in the sense that Tecmessa and the chorus are misled about what is going to happen.²³ On the other hand I think that, since this elusive speech contains some of the noblest poetry even Sophocles ever wrote, Ajax' words have for him an emotional meaning which is essentially true.²⁴ The purpose of this

¹⁸ C.M. Bowra, *Sophoclean Tragedy* (Oxford, 1944), 39–40 stresses the fact that the beauty of Ajax' language is a guarantee of his sincerity. The chief exponent of this point of view is H.D.F. Kitto, *Form and Meaning in Tragedy* (London, 1956), 188. Bowra's views are carefully criticised by Sicheřl, *op. cit.* 71–72. Cf. also J.P. Poe, *Genre and Meaning in Sophocles' Ajax*, *Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie* hg. E. Heitsch, L. Koenen, R. Merkelbach, C. Zintzen, Band 172 (Frankfurt am Main, 1987), 52 note 100.

¹⁹ K. Reinhardt, *Sophokles* (Frankfurt am Main, 1976), 33–38. See H. Friis Johansen, "Sophocles 1939–1959", *Lustrum* 7 (1963) 177–78.

²⁰ *Op. cit.* 1–37 [and in its reprint *op. cit.* 125–60].

²¹ *Op. cit.* 67–98.

²² It would be impossible to present adequately in the space available here a full survey of the vast spectrum of interpretation, concerning the *Trugrede*. For a full reviewing of this much debated issue see Johansen, *op. cit.* 94–288; J. Moore, "The Dissembling-speech of Ajax", *YCIS* 25 (1977) 47–66; Sicheřl, *op. cit.* 67–98; Poe, *op. cit.* 50–71.

²³ Cf. the brief but excellent discussion of this issue in Stevens, *op. cit.* 327.

²⁴ Jebb, *op. cit.* XXXVIII, remarks that in the texture of the speech are subtly interwoven direct expression of Ajax' real mind, irony and elaborate artifice of language. In Reinhardt's view, *op. cit.*, in this deceptive speech, evidently spoken to deceive another person, a deeper truth is revealed. Similarly to Errandonea, *op. cit.* 39, the speech "est une pièce essentielle du drame, une pierre angulaire qui soutient deux murs latéraux; il marque un moment dramatique, décisif sur l' action tragique et surtout c'est une étude

magnificent passage ought not to be judged solely in the light of its dramatic effect of relaxation of tension or *retardation*.²⁵ For Ajax' speech in its splendid language, which in its generalizations about human life and natural process ranges over a wide field, conveys Ajax' own tragic vision.²⁶ Kitto's observation that the speech "is something more gravely philosophical than anything we have yet heard, or would have expected, from Ajax" is really an important one.²⁷

It is in the opening lines of his long soliloquy²⁸ that Ajax is supposed to reveal his philosophic insight into reality. The speech begins with the famous statement about time, long and countless:

ἅπανθ' ὁ μακρὸς κἀναρίθμητος χρόνος
 φύει τ' ἄδηλα καὶ φανέντα κρύπτεται·
 κούκ ἔστ' ἄελπτον οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀλίσκεται
 χῶ δεινὸς ὄρκος χαί περισκελεῖς φρένες.
 κἀγὼ γάρ, ὅς τὰ δεῖν' ἐκαρτέρουν τότε,

profonde de la psychologie du héros".

²⁵ Stevens, op. cit. 327, claims that at any rate part of Sophocles' purpose was evidently to achieve a dramatic effect, that of "retardation". On the speech's position in the development of the play see Sicherl, op. cit. 70–75.

²⁶ M. Heath, *The Poetics of Greek Tragedy* (London, 1987), 186 observes that "the speech is set in motion with a gnomic generalisation, which is then exemplified and applied to the speaker's specific concern".

²⁷ Cf. Kitto, op. cit. 188; on this philosophical aspect of the speech and on its meaning see Poe, op. cit. 61 and note 123.

²⁸ On the dramatic form of the speech see Stevens, op. cit. 328–29; Knox, op. cit. 12–14 [and in its reprint op. cit. 135–38] points out that Ajax' speech has a detached and meditative tone and that the hero in his self-absorption he is oblivious to Tecmessa and the chorus; cf. Poe, op. cit. 54–55 & 60–63 where he discusses Knox's observations; R.P. Winnington-Ingram, *Sophocles. An Interpretation* (Cambridge, 1980), 48 finds it hard to believe that this speech is a soliloquy, because in this case Ajax shouldn't waste so much irony on himself. Nevertheless Ajax seems to be isolated and real human contact is limited to the "staccato commands of his closing lines". On the concept of the monologue, which is one of the most frequently defined concepts in dramatic theory, see F. Leo, *Der Monolog im Drama: Ein Beitrag zur griechisch-römischen Poetik* (Berlin, 1908); W. Schadewaldt, *Monolog und Selbstgespräch. Untersuchungen zur Formgeschichte der griechischen Tragödie* (Berlin, 1926); on the terminological distinction between the concept of soliloquy and the concept of monologue see M. Pfister, *The Theory and Analysis of Drama*, transl. from the German by J. Halliday (Cambridge, 1988), 126–27.

βαφῆ σίδηρος ὥς, ἐθελύνθην στόμα
πρὸς τῆσδε τῆς γυναικός (646–52).²⁹

Within the process of time anything can be expected to happen and it is apparent that something has happened to Ajax. As Ajax himself asserts "he, who once was wondrously firm, like tempered iron, he felt his keen edge of his temper blunted by his woman's words, so that he has become womanish". Thus Ajax implies that time is the agency for all changes, since it works in depth altering the minds (φρένες) of people and the conditions of things (φύει τ' ἄδηλα καὶ φανέντα κρύπτεται). Everything, then, is at the mercy of time, which is a changing, accompanying presence associated with movement of the mind. Ajax' awareness of that purely human world exposed to every actuality as it arises, is important for the play. Even if Ajax is not expected to change his mind, he ought, as a genuine Sophoclean hero, to establish his quality by first examining the balancing factors in his decision to kill himself.³⁰

I consider this emphasis on change as fundamental for the play and as emerging from the realm of Ajax' recent social experiences.³¹ In order to understand this problem we must remember that Ajax, as represented by Sophocles, belongs to an earlier epic world, which was based on the idea of stability.³² When social life was determined by a rigid stability, everybody had his assigned place within the whole of this fixed social structure and felt that his place was the proper, the "natural" unchangeable place. In these terms Achilles was and stubbornly remained proud Achilles; Ajax was rather a stable entity than a man who could change his mind.

Nevertheless later generations saw their ideal of human greatness in terms of adaptation to circumstances, which is reflected in the political and social life of the city and it is embodied in the play by Odysseus.³³

²⁹ Here and hereafter I cite the text of H. Lloyd-Jones & N.G. Wilson (ed.), *Sophoclis Fabulae* (Oxford, 1990).

³⁰ G.H. Gellie, *Sophocles. A Reading* (Melbourne Univ. Pr., 1972), 14–16.

³¹ Cf. lines 422–27 where Ajax' words on his previous undoubted state of honour and on his present ἀτιμία imply the notion of mutability as emerging from his personal experience.

³² Cf. H. Fränkel, "Man's Ephemeros Nature according to Pindar and Others", *TAPhA* 77 (1946) 140–41.

³³ R.W. Burton, *The Chorus in Sophocles' Tragedies* (Oxford, 1980), 11 speaks of "a

Odysseus is fully aware of the fact that change is the only truth which dominates over human life and which needs to be impressed especially upon those who take their social environment for granted.³⁴ In the social and political field, as it is demonstrated by the action of the play and as it is experienced by Odysseus himself, human relationships are so unstable that even the distinction between friend and enemy does not remain constant.³⁵

But human life as a whole is confined as well to the limits of mortality, which means that it is moulded by the conditions of subjection to time. This elemental difference between the ephemeral nature of men and the permanent existence of gods is reconized by Odysseus and it is formulated in lines 125–26:

ὁρῶ γὰρ ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν ὄντας ἄλλο πλὴν
εἶδωλ' ὅσοι περ ζῶμεν ἢ κούφην σκιάν.

Man and his world, because everything in it seems to change in the course of time, are nothing but insubstantial shadows.³⁶

Ajax himself underwent the bitter experience of this unstable social reality, in which everything is in process of unending change. The old Homeric values prevailing in a stable aristocratic society do not any longer exist and yield to the new democratic values. It is significant that the decision of the judges to award the armor of Achilles to Odysseus reveals an attitude which differs from that of the Heroic age. The virtues demanded of a man are no longer bravery or undisciplined, individual heroism but tol-

conflict between two worlds, the world of the Homeric warrior and a more compassionate world to which Odysseus belongs and in which Ajax is an alien". On the difference between Ajax' "primitive heroism" and Odysseus' "modern world" see Winnington-Ingram, *op. cit.* 62.

³⁴ See lines 121–26, 1336, 1347, 1359, 1376–77.

³⁵ See Blundell, *op. cit.* 95–105. On the limits set to the traditional morality of competition and enmity by Odysseus himself see Heath, *op. cit.* 203.

³⁶ The central theme expressed here is that of man's ephemeral character. For this traditional theme see Fränkel, *op. cit.* 131–45; for its application to the action in the play see V. Leinieks, "Aias and the Day of Wrath", *CJ* 69 (1974) 193–201. The theme of the human weakness and of the ephemeral nature of his existence is amplified by the theme of the fortune and its swiftness to change in lines 131–32. Man's ephemeral nature is also suggested by Calchas' prophecy which is framed by references to the idea of the day; for an interpretation of the prophecy and on its dramatic function see M.M. Wigodsky, "The Salvation of Ajax", *Hermes* 90 (1962) 149–58.

erance, adaptability, persuasiveness, which contribute to the creation of a cohesive and ordered society.³⁷ Such political or social virtues are alien to Ajax.³⁸ From his point of view the new values of adjustment and adaptation to the changing circumstances represented by Odysseus, since they may be used for dishonest purposes, are considered inconsistent with his own values of stability, permanence and single-mindedness.³⁹

Knox in his influential article on Sophocles' *Ajax* thoroughly explores the dilemma posed in this speech by the changing nature of human relationships.⁴⁰ Ajax' recent social experience sets the pattern of the flux, of instability and unending change. Nevertheless, although he realizes that in the world of flux nothing remains forever,⁴¹ he himself is trying to define his place in this world in terms of *ἀεί*.⁴² He is obsessed with the idea of eternity⁴³ and by refusing to conform to the human mode of existence he is trying to reach a divine condition. Knox' argument, therefore, that Ajax

³⁷ On the incompatibility of Ajax' Heroic code with the values of a later time see Knox, op. cit. 22–24 [and in its reprint op. cit. 146–47].

³⁸ On the contrast between self-assertive Heroic values and the so-called "cooperative" virtues which prevailed in the 5th cent. see A.W.H. Adkins, *Merit and Responsibility. A Study in Greek Values* (Chicago–London, 1975), esp. chapter 3. The influence of the competitive system of values on the tragedy of Sophocles has been treated by B.M.W. Knox in his book *The Heroic Temper. Studies in Sophoclean Tragedy* (Berkeley–Los Angeles, 1964); cf. P. Easterling, "Notes on Tragedy and Epic" in *Papers given at a Colloquium on Greek Drama in honour of R.P. Winnington-Ingram*, ed. Lyn Rodley, Suppl. paper No. 15 (London, 1987), 53; cf. also H. Gasti, "Sophocles' Ajax: The Military Hybris", *QUCC* 69 (1992) 81–93. On the inappropriateness of Heroic individualism to 5th century see Christina Elliot Sorum, "Sophocles' Ajax in Context", *CW* 79 (1986) 361–77.

³⁹ Ajax and Odysseus present the two contrasting paradigms of the play.

⁴⁰ Knox, op. cit. 18 [and in its reprint op. cit. 141].

⁴¹ The notion of unfaithfulness of friends in lines 678ff. emerges from the idea of mutability. On this see Stanford, op. cit. 143 ad 646–48 & 148–49 ad 677–81.

⁴² Although Ajax emphasizes the general idea of mutability in lines 676 and 682 he continues to see his life in terms of eternity. Knox, op. cit. 18–19 [and in its reprint op. cit. 141–42] observes that the context casts an ironic light on the word *ἀεί*, since it is exposed as inappropriate by the reality.

⁴³ The word *ἀεί* and its opposite *οὔποτε*, which also may refer to Ajax' absolutism and hyperbolic exaggeration, are of frequent occurrence throughout the play. A.E. Youman, "A Perfect Home for Ajax", *CW* 79 (1986) 397 note 2 finds no less than 13 instances of this vocabulary (cf. lines 98, 117, 342, 379, 430, 448, 463, 570, 676, 682, 835, 836, 858). It is also significant that the play opens with the word *ἀεί* uttered by Athena.

must always be immutable, is the foundation stone of my interpretation of the *Trugrede*, which I am about to propose. Our reading of the speech, thus, consists in understanding the deeper meaning of Ajax' words by a close examination of lines 664–82, which seem to be inconsistent with Ajax' determination to die and with his adherence to the world of *ἀεί*.

After complaining about the ill luck that Hector's sword has brought him (661–65) Ajax speaks of yielding (*εἴκειν*) to the gods and venerating (*σέβειν*) the Atreidae (666–67). This reversal of the infinitives *εἴκειν* and *σέβειν* was already remarked by the scholiast⁴⁴ and has been a controversial issue for many years. To Knox this transposition of the verbs *εἴκειν* and *σέβειν*, by presenting submission in terms that Ajax could never accept, expresses a psychological truth and it also indicates his instinctive realization of an objective truth.⁴⁵ Winnington-Ingram believes that Ajax' choice of words betrays the insincerity of his speech.⁴⁶ Yet what seems at first to be an inconsistency or a highly ironic statement or an argument for submission to an hierarchical order turns out to move in a quite different range of ideas: the basic theme is not submission and change but a vision of the world in terms of alternation and permanence.

The term *εἴκειν*, which Ajax uses of the gods, seems to be more appropriate of submission to the royal authority than of submission to gods. Nevertheless, its use must be related to the following lines where the horizons expand in the cosmic scale. The reference to the formidable forces of nature, to the strongest things in the world *τὰ δεινὰ καὶ τὰ καρτερότατα* (669) in combination with the expression *τιμαῖς ὑπέικει* (670) provides a key to the understanding of the content of the verb *εἴκειν*, since it recalls lines 666–67, where Ajax, who is "dreadful and headstrong" like the forces of nature,⁴⁷ is trying to define his place in the world. The use of the verb

⁴⁴ See P.N. Papageorgius (ed.), *Scholia in Sophoclis tragoedias vetera* (Lipsiae, 1888), 57 ad 666: ἐπιφθόνως ἔφρασεν ἐν εἰρωνείᾳ ἀντιστρέψας τὴν τάξιν· ἔδει γὰρ εἰπεῖν θεοῦς μὲν σέβειν, εἴκειν δὲ Ἀτρεΐδαις, ὡς τῶν Ἀτρεΐδῶν οὖν ἤδη καὶ θεομαχοῦντων.

⁴⁵ Knox, *op. cit.* 16–17 [and in its reprint *op. cit.* 140–41].

⁴⁶ Winnington-Ingram, *op. cit.* 49.

⁴⁷ See line 205 where Ajax describes himself as *δεινός* and line 650 where he uses the expression *ἐκαρτέρου*. These two inherent characteristics of Ajax correspond with the natural forces as described by himself in lines 669–70. On this cf. J.C. Kamerbeek, *The Plays of Sophocles. Commentaries Part I: The Ajax* (Leiden, 1963) on line 669.

εἴκειν in line 667 is not necessarily ironic⁴⁸ and the verb might in itself suggest an hierarchy which is similar to the cosmic one, implied by the expression τιμαῖς ὑπέικει. To "yield to the gods", in that sense, would be merely to become part of a cosmic order, of an immutable and permanent order. When Ajax says that he will yield to the gods, he means that, by dying, he will escape the ephemeral and changing reality of human life and he will become a stable entity within cosmos.⁴⁹

This point needs further explanation because it implies a completely new way of interpreting Ajax' mind at lines 666–67. Even if Ajax feels pity at the prospect of deserting his wife and his child (652–53), his decision to suicide remains fixed. Thus, when he says that he will, in future, yield to the gods he refers to the time after his death (τὸ λοιπὸν), which is conceived as an everlasting period referring to αἰεὶ.⁵⁰ By using the verb εἴκειν Ajax is trying to draw a distinction between a cosmic order, represented by the gods which have no separate existence outside the phenomenal world⁵¹ and a human order, confined to the political life, represented by the Atreidae.

Nevertheless, Ajax' choice of the verb σέβειν in reference to the political order represented by the Atreidae amounts to a new perception of supernatural and human causation.⁵² To him Athena's wrath, which had been shown by his delusion and was essentially connected with the frustration of his vengeance, is interwoven with the political and social vision of the world. In lines 450–56 Ajax describes Athena's wrath in terms which

⁴⁸ Cf. Jebb, *op. cit.* XXXVI.

⁴⁹ Sicherl, *op. cit.* 86 correctly points out that although "Ajax perceives that change is the law of the world, at the same time, he knows that he himself cannot change as Tecmessa expects him to do". Sicherl also maintains that Ajax is aware of "the tragic paradox that to fit himself into the world he must yield and leave it; only by dying can he be reconciled with his enemies". M. Simpson, "Sophocles' Ajax: His Madness and Transformation", *Arethusa* 2 (1969) 98 observes that "Ajax is saying that his way of yielding, of revering, of becoming *sophron* is to remove himself, to cease to exist, not to alter his nature and then coexist with the changed order of things".

⁵⁰ For this meaning of τὸ λοιπὸν see O. Taplin, "Yielding to forethought: Sophocles' *Ajax*" in *Arktouros. Hellenic Studies presented to B.M.W. Knox on the occasion of his 65th birthday*, ed. by G.W. Bowersock, W. Burkert & C.J. Putnam (Berlin, 1979), 126.

⁵¹ This is implied by the parallel use of the verb ὑπέικειν (670).

⁵² On this point it would be useful to mention an observation of Ebeling, *op. cit.* 285 note 4, who says that the meaning of the words in this play is conditioned by the person and the situation and he lists a large number of examples.

clearly associate her with the way by which the political order is exerted through tribunal authority. Although Ajax himself recognizes no such communal authority, he fully understands that Athena, a supernatural force, supports the new type of ordered and cohesive society in which the individual's position is based on consent and cooperation.⁵³ Since Athena's attitude is consistent with the political order represented by the Atreidae and Odysseus, Ajax is justified in believing that there is an essential identification between godlike and human causation. Thus in this context the verb *σέβειν* refers to a political order sanctified by gods and to the way of acting demanded by the community. From Ajax' point of view *σέβειν* connotes reverence or respect by "leaving" or "abandoning" this society and does not necessarily imply acceptance of its rules.⁵⁴ Consequently, on the one hand Ajax' deliberate death is an act of reverence to the well ordered society of men, and on the other hand it represents a symbolic act of the transformation of the hero from mortality to immortality through heroic cult.

At this point one may wonder how the words *εἴκειν* and *ὑπέκειν* fit with the picture sketched above. One might object that the audience, hearing these words, would believe that the use of cosmic themes is an argument for discipline in terms of hierarchy. However, the case in nature is plain enough, since this order of succession described in lines (669–76) does not indicate that these elemental forces encroach upon one another.⁵⁵ Each force has its own individual and inalienable nature, which is preserved throughout. Thus the appearance of the unexpected word *τιμαῖς* (670) does not suggest that everything, however tough, gives way to *τιμαί* but it refers to the permanent and inherent characteristics of these elemental forces.⁵⁶ In like manner,

⁵³ Gellie, *op. cit.* 14 remarks that "Ajax's awareness of that world (the world of interdependent human beings) is important for the play".

⁵⁴ See Knox *op. cit.* 16 [and in its reprint *op. cit.* 139–40]. The notion of *σέβειν* implied here is connected with a negative aspect of respect, namely with refraining from doing something. This interpretation is supported by the etymological connection of the verb *σέβομαι* with a sanskrit root signifying "leave" or "abandon". On this see P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire Etymologique de la Langue Grecque* (Paris – ed. Klincksieck, 1968), 992–93 s.v. *σέβομαι*. In my view only *αἶδομαι* (poet. for *αἰδέομαι*) implies acceptance of the rules and consequently refers to a positive aspect of respect.

⁵⁵ Winnington-Ingram, *op. cit.* 50.

⁵⁶ Cf. Hes. *Theog.* 73–74 where *τιμαί* refer to the "provinces" or "spheres of influence" of the gods. On this see M.L. West (ed.), *Hesiod Theogony* (Oxford, 1966), 180 ad 73–74.

Empedocles' frg. B17 seems to provide a similar argumentation.⁵⁷ In lines 27–29 of the above mentioned fragment Empedocles advocates the equity of Love and Strife through the cosmic principle of cyclic change:⁵⁸

ταῦτα γὰρ ἴσα τε πάντα καὶ ἤλικα γένναν ἔασι,
τιμῆς δ' ἄλλης ἄλλο μέδει, πάρα δ' ἦθος ἐκάστω,
ἐν δὲ μέρει κρατέουσι περιπελομένοιο χρόνοιο.

In nature there is an order of succession which ensures its continuance. This means that withdrawal of the elemental forces does not consist a criterion of hierarchical evaluation, since they are equal (ἴσα) and their prerogatives are exerted in different areas.⁵⁹ Each element has its own τιμή and ἦθος which are preserved inviolate through motion and succession. This assumption of permanent characteristics of the elements is essential to their temporal and spatial continuity while allowing plurality and divisibility.⁶⁰ Having come to understand this harmony of the universe Ajax by following the same cosmic process can give way without loss of honour.⁶¹

In a similar way Ajax by using the expression τιμαῖς ὑπέικει (670) refers to the principle of rhythmic succession and alternation, which is a reality of the natural world that cannot be denied. But Ajax asserts some

⁵⁷ All references to the fragments of Empedocles and Heraclitus are from H. Diels–W. Kranz (ed.), *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, vol. I, 12th ed. (Dublin–Zürich, 1966).

⁵⁸ On the so-called "interprétation cyclique" of Empedocles' fragments see D. O'Brien, *Pour interpréter Empédocle* (Collection d' Etudes Anciennes, Paris–Les Belles Lettres/Leiden–E.J. Brill, 1981), 29; M.R. Wright, *Empedocles: The Extant Fragments* (New Haven & London – Yale Univ. Pr., 1981), 181–82.

⁵⁹ Cf. Parmenides fr. 9, 3ff.; Alcmaeon fr. 4; Hes. Theog. 127–28; Soph. El. 86–87. On the concept of equality of the cosmic elements see E. Bignone, *Empedocle. Studio critico traduzione e commento delle testimonianze e dei frammenti* (Roma, 1963), 541–42; on equity as a cosmic principle of cyclic change see Eur. Phoen. 541–45; on the philosophical content of this passage from Phoenissae see E. Craik, *Euripides. Phoenician Women* (Aris&Phillips Ltd, 1988), 197–98 ad 528sq. For the idea of a cyclic pattern in human fortune cf. Soph. Trach. 129–31; Eur. HF 101–06; Hdt., I 207.2.

⁶⁰ See Wright, *op. cit.* 168–69 & 171–72. J.P. Hershbel, "Hesiod and Empedocles", *CJ* 65 (1970) 155 rightly points out that Empedocles' divine roots unlike Hesiod's gods are all equal and coeval.

⁶¹ Cf. Stanford, *op. cit.* XXXV.

connection or parallelism between the natural and the political order, as it is suggested by the use of the verb ὑπείκειν in line 668:

ἄρχοντές εἰσιν, ὥσθ' ὑπεικτέον

Ajax, in his loneliness and isolation, comes to realize a law of cosmic order, which by ensuring an orderly succession of the elemental forces does not necessarily imply a respective hierarchical evaluation of them within the cosmos. The elemental forces have their own spheres of operations and they have their own privileges and offices. In such a context there are no lower forces which must submit to the higher.⁶² So Ajax asks himself if according to this universal law of equity may be found a useful model of social behaviour, which will enable people like him, i.e. stubborn-minded and undaptable men, to have their proper place within the whole of the social structure.

We should, therefore, assume that in the case of Ajax by ὑπεικτέον (668) it is not meant that he will bend and give way, but it is suggested that by dying he will become part of a social and of a cosmic order as well.⁶³ After his death, which is a constant point of reference for him, his body will be transferred to a new state of belonging.⁶⁴ Thus Sophocles conceived Ajax as really meaning by the word ὑπεικτέον that he would thenceforth "revere the Atreidae" in this sense: that transferred to a new sphere of existence through death he would not anymore offend authorities.⁶⁵ Although death will mark his permanent separation from the group of living

⁶² H. Musurillo, *The Light and the Darkness. Studies in the Dramatic Poetry of Sophocles* (Leiden, 1967), 15 assumes the opposite, i.e. that the lower forces must submit to the higher.

⁶³ In this context the verb σωφρονεῖν (677) does not mean "recognition of limitations" or "submission to the Atreidae" but it refers to a cosmic order. The notion of *sophrosyne* is used throughout the play to describe the self-restraint, the attitude proper to a subordinate to a higher order, i.e. military, civic, theological or cosmic. On this see Gasti, op. cit. 88 note 30. Simpson, op. cit. 98–9 says that Ajax comes into harmony with the world (σωφρονεῖν) by leaving it.

⁶⁴ The transition to this new state of belonging, namely to the world of deads, is marked out by the ceremony of burial. On this see Emily Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London, 1981), 1–3.

⁶⁵ This interpretation has the advantage of ruling out any sense of submission to authorities or to the laws of mutability.

men, by the ceremony of burial his visible body will be concealed or dispersed and finally replaced, in a sense, by a tombstone or a mound. Thus the tomb will be the visual symbol of his everlasting value and of his new position in society.⁶⁶

Nevertheless, his rehabilitation will actually depend on the permission of Agamemnon, since any form of burial marks the community action which transfers the body to a new state. Ὑπεικτέον, therefore, is provided of its full meaning when this double sense of belonging is taken into account. The sense of belonging to society can be confirmed only by social rehabilitation through the ceremony of burial and the dead hero can finally be transferred to the sphere of permanent existence – this implies the sense of belonging to the cosmic order – only by this ceremonial process of burial. It is conceivable, therefore, that the cosmic and social themes in the play are interconnected in a very effective way which serves also dramatic purposes.

These dramatic purposes can be better detected in the magnificent lines that follow (670–76), which by stating the argument for change finally become a formulation of Ajax' own vision for stability. In each case cited from the realm of nature, i.e. winter and summer, night and day, storm and sea, the fetters of all-powerful sleep, the notion of change seems to prevail:

τοῦτο μὲν νιφοστιβεῖς
χειμῶνες ἐκχωροῦσιν εὐκάρπῳ θέρει·
ἐξίσταται δὲ νυκτὸς αἰανῆς κύκλος
τῇ λευκοπώλῳ φέγγος ἡμέρα φλέγειν·
δεινῶν δ' ἄημα πνευμάτων ἐκοίμισε
στένοντα πόντον· ἐν δ' ὁ παγκρατῆς Ὑπνος
λύει πεδῆσας, οὐδ' ἀεὶ λαβῶν ἔχει (670–76).

Even if it is admitted that the reference to these forces of nature provides the key to an understanding of the scene,⁶⁷ unfortunately this statement has been misinterpreted. Winnington-Ingram's observation that in each case of

⁶⁶ This everlasting honour of his value is implied by the word τιμή, which can specify the "honour" that a god or a hero receives in cult. For a discussion of τιμή as cult see J. Rudhardt, "Les mythes grecs relatifs à l'instauration du sacrifice", *MH* 27 (1970) 6–7; cf. also G. Nagy, *The Best of the Achaeans. Concepts of the Hero in Archaic Greek Poetry* (Baltimore–London, 1979), 118.

⁶⁷ Poe, *op. cit.* 60.

the natural forces quoted above "there is a change from bad to good"⁶⁸ is undoubtedly misleading. Since each one of these natural forces has been allotted a definite province or sphere of influence (τιμή), the question of "evaluation" is not to be asked. What we have before us is the assertion that nature by providing us with the evidence of a circular process sets the pattern of a compromise between change and stability.

The speech accomplishes this compromise by allowing Ajax to overcome his resistance to the idea of change and to comfort himself for the loss of a stable world by clinging to the view that change is ruled by an unchanging law. The four pairs of opposites named here (winter–summer, night–day, storm–calmness and weaking–sleeping) represent the most typical regularities within the changing world. The circular process, which prevails in nature, provides the link between Ajax' adherence to ἀεί and the experience of flux.⁶⁹ Nevertheless the idea of change is not correlative to a respective adoption of a new role by Ajax but it is used to reconcile Ajax' own vision with the idea of change. The periodicity involved in the regularity within the circular movement of these opposite powers, mentioned above, helps Ajax to re-establish the stability and the unity of the cosmic framework and to confirm again his place within it.

Ajax' general intention is to show, therefore, that all differentiations and alternations in the sum of human experience are interconnected, so that there is an underlying unity. Alternation and circular process does not imply an hierarchical evaluation within the cosmic framework but it rather implies an overall unity. In the course of his lifetime Ajax had the opportunity to learn the deeper meaning of the phenomenal world and in his statement about the opposites, which are incompatible in nature but inseparable in thought, it becomes obvious that he perceives these opposed states as variations in a single continuum. Thus the notion of change combined with

⁶⁸ Winnington-Ingram, *op. cit.* 50.

⁶⁹ E. Benveniste, "Expressions indoeuropéennes de l'éternité", *BSL* 38 (1937) 111ff argues that the notion of κύκλος is the sensible projection of αἰών. The parallelism between κύκλος and αἰών is affirmed by Anaximander's fr. A10. On this see E. Degani, *Αἰών da Omero ad Aristotele* (Firenze, 1960), 69–70. For the semantic evolution of the word αἰών from Homer to Christianity see C. Lackeit, *Aion: Zeit und Ewigkeit in Sprache und Religion der Griechen* (Diss. Königsberg, 1916); cf. also A.J. Festugière, "Le sens philosophique du mot ΑΙΩΝ", *PP* 11(1949) 172–89.

the idea of cyclical periodicity can be used to explain Ajax' position within the cosmic and social framework.⁷⁰

This kind of change involved in Ajax' idea of circularity can be better illustrated by Empedocles' frg. B17, 12–13:

ἦ δὲ διαλλάσσοντα διαμπερὲς οὐδαμὰ λήγει,
ταύτη δ' αἰὲν ἔασιν ἀκίνητοι κατὰ κύκλον.

These verses imply the notion of change from one extreme to the other and they also refer to the notion of permanence and stability (αἰὲν...ἀκίνητοι). Thus κύκλος is a symbol of eternity as well of unending mutability. Ajax' reference to cyclic movement and the implication that cycle is related to his own vision of the world suggest that cycle is crucial to the meaning of the tragedy. Time conceived by Ajax as a cycle becomes rather a principle of unity and permanence than a source of instability and destruction.⁷¹ By integrating human time – this means the irreversible time which is experienced as a source of destruction – into the cyclical organization of the cosmos, Ajax introduces a notion of temporality, which is incompatible with the conception of eternity.⁷² The kind of change involved in the image of cycle is continuous and repetitive, while the idea of succession referred to in Ajax' statement is more probably to be regarded as spatial.⁷³ So much is perhaps indicated by the use of the verbs ἐκχωροῦσιν (671) and ἐξίσταται (672), which imply a gradual motion rather than an immediate and sudden

⁷⁰ J. de Romilly, *Time in Greek Tragedy* (Ithaca–New York, 1968), 91 correctly points out that the "cyclic time" embodies "a continuous movement of all things, which may be controlled by regular laws and yet illustrate the perpetual modification of the world we live in".

⁷¹ Cf. Lynne Ballew, *Straight and Circular. A Study of imagery in Greek Philosophy* (Van Corcum–Assen the Netherlands, 1979), 16 by drawing a distinction between circular and straight says that in Greek literature we find a general association between circular imagery and unchangingness.

⁷² Thus the view of Romilly, *op. cit.* 104–5, that the attitude of Sophoclean heroes suggests an absolute refusal of time's influence must be reconsidered. Ajax by ascribing a circular direction to time he finally abolishes its irreversibility. On this see M. Eliade, *Le mythe de l' éternel retour* (Paris, 1969), 104–5 & 108–9.

⁷³ On cyclicity providing a spatial conception of time see P. Tzamalikos, "The autonomy of the stoic view of Time", *Φιλοσοφία* 19–20 (1989–90) 364.

change.⁷⁴ Thus circularity comes to signify "permanence in an eternally mobile identity".⁷⁵

In such a scheme there cannot be any sense of real progress, since the most important feature of circular motion is periodicity and regularity. This regularity by excluding the tension between mutability and permanence enables Ajax to overcome his dislike for the changing reality by placing himself within this unified framework of a cosmic order. The evidence of the senses and his personal experience tell him that all eventually undergo change and some are in an everlasting process of change. The important point being that these four pairs of opposites named by Ajax are inextricably connected as the extremes of a single process because they invariably succeed each other. The continuous alternation from one state to its opposite and so on implies a circular regularity which excludes any kind of human temporality by introducing a sense of transhuman temporality.⁷⁶ The crisis presented in the *Trugrede* is precisely the moment when Ajax realizes that that other temporality is overtaking him. In this context the concept of ἀεί is being reevaluated and denotes what is "temporally continuous without a temporal gap in it".

The hero's understanding of the world and of himself as part of this single continuum of the cycle, which is presented as a unifying and unified whole, echoes the Heraclitean frg. B88: ταὐτό τ' ἐνὶ ζῶν καὶ τεθνηκὸς καὶ [τὸ] ἐγρηγορὸς καὶ καθεῦδον καὶ νέον καὶ γηραιόν· τάδε γὰρ μεταπεσόντα ἐκεῖνά ἐστι κάκεινα πάλιν μεταπεσόντα ταῦτα.⁷⁷ Valakas, I think, has coped with the adaptation of the Heraclitean picture of change and of the underlying unity of opposites in Ajax' soliloquy effectively.⁷⁸ In his view

⁷⁴ The use of these verbs provides an image of space-time perceived as one reality.

⁷⁵ J-P. Vernant, *Myth and Thought among the Greeks* (London, 1983), 90.

⁷⁶ For the terms *human* and *transhuman* temporality see D. Halliburton, "Concealing revealing: a perspective on Greek tragedy" in A. Benjamin (ed.), *Post-Structuralist Classics* (London & New York, 1988), 263.

⁷⁷ On the interpretation of this fragment and on Heraclitus' assertion of the underlying unity of opposites cf. G.S. Kirk (ed.), *Heraclitus. The Cosmic Fragments* (Cambridge, 1962), 134–48. See also W.K.C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy*, vol. I, *The Earlier Presocratics and the Pythagoreans* (Cambridge, 1962), 452; M.C. Stokes, *One and Many in Presocratic Philosophy* (Cambridge/Mass., 1971), 92; A. Rivier, "L' homme et l' expérience humaine dans les fragments d' Héraclite", *MH* 13 (1956) 148.

⁷⁸ K. Valakas, *Homeric Mimesis and the Ajax of Sophocles* (Ph.D. Cambridge, 1987),

the speech emphasizes "change not as a loss of power on Ajax' part, but as a universal evolution in which he can see himself as a corpse",⁷⁹ namely dead.⁸⁰ Thus for Ajax as for Heraclitus life and death are inextricably connected, since they are the different poles of a cycle.⁸¹

The sameness of the opposites implied by the cyclical process excludes any discontinuance between life and death, since even death may be considered not as an end but as a new start. Only by death, therefore, Ajax can preserve his true permanent identity through transition to a different state, i.e. the state of a corpse, which marks as well the transition to a new social state. As a corpse Ajax will be integrated into a framework of stability and permanence, which is conceived as an infinite duration, as a world where *αἰεὶ* prevails. However, through his consecration as a hero, which is the goal to which the poet brings Ajax,⁸² Ajax can be integrated

93. The influence of Heraclitean thought on Ajax' speech and on Sophocles' plays in general has long been recognized; cf. J.C. Kamerbeek, "Sophocle et Héraclite", in *Studia varia C.W. Vollgraff a discipulis oblata* (Amsterdam, 1948), 84–98; T.B.L. Webster, *An Introduction to Sophocles* (London, 1969), 32; Sicherl, *op. cit.* 78 and Taplin, *op. cit.* 129 point out that the oracular aspect of the speech may be compared to what Heraclitus says of the Delphic oracle (fr. B93). The ambiguity of many of Ajax' statements involves this coming together of revealing and concealing. In line 658 the use of the verb *κρύπτειν* bears the marks of this reciprocal intimacy of revealing and concealing. This ominous verb conceals by revealing and reveals by concealing his intention to commit suicide. Ajax' true intention, therefore, finds itself disclosed in the Heraclitean concealing-revealing pattern of tragedy. In a list of the Heraclitean opposites given by Helen G. Ioannides, *Ηράκλειτος. Γλώσσα και Σκέψη* (Athens, 1962), 50–51 we may note that some of them refer to Ajax' opposites; cf. *ἡμέρη-εὐφρόνη* (frs. B57, B67), *χειμῶν-θέρος* (fr. B67), *μεταβάλλον-ἀναπαύεται* (fr. B84a), *λέγει-κρύπτει* (fr. B93), *κάματος-ἀνάπαυσις* (fr. B111). In fact this affinity noted here shows the link of Ajax' thought as formulated in his monologue with Heraclitus.

⁷⁹ Valakas, *op. cit.* 93.

⁸⁰ In the context of lines 691–92 the word *σεσωμένον* must bear a double meaning: to Tecmessa and the chorus, it means "safely alive", while to Ajax and to the audience, who know the end of the myth, it can only mean "safely dead". Ajax can find "safety" or "salvation" only in death. On this cf. Wigodsky, *op. cit.* 154. On this point, we may note that the notion of *σωτηρία* is situated in the centre of any conception of time and implies an eschatological meaning. On this see A. Kelesidou-Galanou, *Η έννοια της σωτηρίας στην πλατωνική πολιτική φιλοσοφία* (Athens, 1982).

⁸¹ The major difficulty concerning this interpretation proposed here is the objection that the audience could not be expected to understand the speech in this way. For an interesting comment on this major problem see Stevens, *op. cit.* 335–36.

⁸² For the hero's cult as a clue to the play's dramatic unity see Jebb, *op. cit.* XXX–

into the social order of the *polis* as well, since he is not anymore a threat for its existence.⁸³ In this way death is not presented as the irreversible end of a linear process but it can be considered as a starting point in a new mode of existence.

This new mode of existence is suggested, indeed, by the word *ἀείμνηστος* used by the chorus to describe Ajax' grave in lines 1163–67:

ἔσται μεγάλης ἔριδός τις ἀγών.
 ἀλλ' ὡς δύνασαι, Τεῦκρε, ταχύννας
 σπεῦσον κοίλην κάπετόν τιν' ἰδεῖν
 τῶδ', ἔνθα βροτοῖς τὸν ἀείμνηστον
 τάφον εὐρώεντα καθέξει.

After death the hero is immortal in two different senses: in cult the hero can be associated with the immortal existence of the gods,⁸⁴ as it is suggested by the first component of the word *ἀεί-μνηστος*. But in the same time the dead hero is immortalized only in the memory of men, as it is implied by the second part of the word *ἀεί-μνηστος*.

The memory as presented here is necessarily linked with the *mnemosyne* of myth, namely with its archaic form whose function was "to liberate the soul from time and open up a path to immortality", as J-P. Vernant

XXXII. Unfortunately there is not a word of any of Ajax' cult in Sophocles' play. G. Perrotta, *Sofocle* (Messina, 1935), 128 says that "del culto dell' eroe Aiace nella tragedia non si parla affatto". P. Burian in his article "Supplication and Hero Cult in Ajax", *GRBS* 13 (1972) 151–56 provides a solution to this problem by arguing that in the scene in which Teucer places Eurysaces as a suppliant at his father's corpse, those who love Ajax enact in a symbolic way his consecration as a hero.

⁸³ On the final reintegration of Ajax into society see Ch. Segal, *Tragedy and Civilization. An Interpretation of Sophocles* (Cambridge/Mass., 1981), 142–46 & 150–51; Valakas, *op. cit.* 106. On the contrary A.M. Bowie, "The end of Sophocles' Ajax", *LCM* 8 (1983) 114–15 makes the point that Ajax' marginality continues after his death. On the cult of Ajax in Athens see L.R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality* (Oxford, 1921), 305–10.

⁸⁴ I found G. Nagy's distinction between two kinds of immortality, namely between heroic and epic cult very helpful. Cf. J.M. Redfield's foreword in Nagy's well-known book cited before. For the centrality of the tomb in hero cult cf. S.E. Alcock, "Tomb Cult & The Post – Classical Polis", *AJA* 95 (1991) 447–67 and J. Whitley, "Early States & Hero Cults: A Re-Appraisal", *JHS* 108 (1988) 173–82.

pointed out.⁸⁵ But it also contains a temporal aspect and it appears as included within time, since the link between past and present, between earlier and later, is conditioned by memory. In fact this double function of memory above time and within it explains how eternity implied by *ἀεί* can coexist with *μνήμη* in a single word like *ἀείμνηστος*.

To sum up the privilege that *μνήμη* confers on Ajax is the possibility of his entering into a world of eternal existence through immortalization without moving away from the temporality of human life. Hence Ajax who benefits from the memory is himself finally transformed by it. In the world of time and change, Ajax' grave may be concerned on the one hand as the visual symbol of eternity, since veneration is to be paid everlastingly to it. On the other hand Ajax' tomb as a material object which is liable to the destructive power of time⁸⁶ and through its function as *μνήμα*⁸⁷ is suggestive of human temporality.⁸⁸ In other words the tomb as the visual

⁸⁵ Vernant, op. cit. 95. On a detailed analysis of the mythical aspects of memory and time cf. Vernant, op. cit. 75–105. On the importance of memory for Ajax himself see Segal, op. cit. 111, who rightly observes that "civilization resists all-effacing time through 'memorials', means of remembering (*mnemeia*). These enable the individual to survive the effects of time through communal memory.... Without the commemoration of the 'always-remembering tomb' (1166–67), he confronts the full force of time, the utter effacement of his existence and identity".

⁸⁶ The tomb is defined as *εὐρώεις* which refers to its mouldering interior, namely to the destructive force of time; cf. Stanford, op. cit. 204 ad 1166–67. Cf. also the discussion of this passage in A. Henrichs' article "The Tomb of Aias and the Prospect of Hero Cult in Sophokles", *ClAnt* 12 (1993) 169–75.

⁸⁷ Kamerbeek, op. cit. 224 ad 1166–67 points out the significance of the grave as *μνήμα*.

⁸⁸ I am inclined to think that the use of the word *κάπετος* (originally **σκάπετος* from *σκάπτειν*) is suggestive of a concept of spatiality as well. If *μνήμη*, by unifying the past, the present and the future, marks Ajax' temporal existence, the grave marks his spatial existence by reminding us of his local cult. Thus Ajax' condition as a dead hero is defined by *ἀεί*, namely by an infinite duration, by temporality, as it is implied by *μνήμη* and by locality. All these aspects of his existence seem to be recapitulated in the very name of Ajax. Since the real etymology of *Αἴας* is uncertain, Ajax' name may refer to three different etymologies: first Ajax' name may be correlated to *αἰών* or to *αἶα*, which implies the notion of spatiality or to *αἰαῖ*, a derivation which Ajax himself adopts in lines 430–33 and which refers to the ephemeral existence of human being. *Αἴας* is, therefore, the lexical sign of the fusion between *αἰεί* and *αἶα-αἰαῖ*, that is between the time of the gods and the time of men which is connected with land and local cult. For a discussion of these three etymologies see Degani, op. cit. 33–35; A. Fick, *Die griech. Personennamen* (Göttingen, 1894²), 425 says that the names *Αἰακός-Αἴας-αἰών*, *δηναῖός*, *Αἴολος* all

symbol of the immortalization of the dead hero in the memory of men reminds us everlastingly of the separation of god and man. But equally only through death and the subsequent cultic observance Ajax attains to the conditions of divine existence without excluding himself from human time and space.

This approach proposed in this article seems at least to provide a possible pattern of interpretation which reconciles some seeming contradictions already noted in Ajax' famous *Trugrede*. So far our analysis shows that Ajax' speech functions as a mediation between the internal and external communication systems.⁸⁹ Within the framework of the dramatic communication model Ajax' soliloquy can be understood as an epic tendency in drama because it encourages the development of a mediating communication system, which enables the author to communicate his message to the receiver.⁹⁰ The monologue declaimed by Ajax, i.e. a figure situated inside the dramatic action, creates a kind of "personal union" of dramatic figure and epic mediator. Nevertheless this may lead to a split between the self as a person involved in the dramatic situation and the self as a distanced commentator thereof. This assumes that the dramatic figure, namely Ajax, in communicating to the spectators his real opinion creates a mediating communication system through which the audience is informed of the ambivalence of his position. On the other hand, the dramatic illusion is not affected since Ajax in his role as a commentator never steps outside his role as a dramatic person but he merely deceives his hearers within drama.

It is now apparent that in Ajax' soliloquy a distinction can be made between two communication levels: the first has as its primary addressee the

contain the element αἰο- which means "Bewegung, Leben oder αἶα 'Land' in Φίλαιοσ ein Enkel von Αἶας"; Cf. also A.G. Tsopanakis, "Onomatologia omerica: Αἶας-Aiax-Aιακόσ", QUCC 30 (1979) 83–90; Jebb, op. cit. 74–75 ad 430f; Kamerbeek, op. cit. 95–96 ad 430; Stanford, op. cit. 115 ad 430–33. W.B. Stanford, *Ambiguity in Greek Literature. Studies in Theory and Practice* (New York & London, 1972), 35 notes that behind these etymological ambiguities there was lurking the shadow of a profound belief in the principle of *nomen omen*. Thus Ajax' name consists a heavensent epitome and prophecy of his tragic fate.

⁸⁹ Fullest discussion of the communication model for narrative and dramatic texts can be found in Pfister, op. cit. 3–4.

⁹⁰ Pfister, op. cit. 71–84, categorises the various structures and techniques of epic communication in drama: (1) The author as epic narrator (2) The introduction of epic elements by figures outside the action (3) the introduction of epic elements by figures inside the action (4) non-verbal epic tendencies.

audience (external communication system) while the second has its addressee on the internal dramatic level, namely the chorus and Tecmessa (internal communication system). Considering that Ajax' elusive speech expresses the truth of his situation in language which bears a double meaning we must conclude that the two communication levels above mentioned are interconnected. In view of this the question "intentional or unintentional deception?" is unimportant. In addition, the audience from its position of superior awareness is conscious of the ambiguities of the situation and is thus in a position to judge and not to be deceived.⁹¹

To conclude, the essence of Ajax' *Trugrede* is to be found in the contrast between the superior awareness of the audience and the inferior awareness of the dramatic figures. Hence the deceptive aspect of Ajax' soliloquy refers exclusively to the internal communication system, whilst its true content refers to the external system. I end with an interesting remark of P.T. Stevens who concedes that "the *Trugrede* has been rightly so called, since deception of Tecmessa and the Chorus is its principal *raison d' être* both on dramaturgical grounds and for Ajax' own reasons, and almost everything in the speech contributes in some way to this purpose. Ajax' intention has remained constant, to end his life for the reason he had already given, i.e. the intolerable wound to his pride and the damage to his reputation, which while he lived was irretrievable".⁹²

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⁹¹ Wigodsky, op. cit. 153 notes that the audience knew the myth and those who had understood the ambiguities of the deception speech must have been expecting the news of the death already when the messenger appeared.

⁹² Op. cit. 334–35.

VETTIUS AGORIUS PRAETEXTATUS AND THE RIVALRY BETWEEN THE BISHOPS IN ROME IN 366–367

MAIJASTINA KAHLOS

In 366 the two contenders for the bishopric of Rome, Damasus and Ursinus, were elected and ordained simultaneously as bishops. This double election led to bloody fights in Rome between their adherents. The Roman city prefect Vettius Agorius Praetextatus (310/320–384) had to interfere in the disturbances and restore public order in the city. Praetextatus was a pagan Roman senator who was highly esteemed and admired by his contemporaries and even by succeeding generations. He promoted pagan cults, participating in some and acquiring many priesthoods and initiations, and he is also known to have devoted himself to the study of philosophy and literature.¹

In this article I intend to show what the role of the pagan Praetextatus in settling the Christians' internal differences was. In my opinion Praetextatus' paganism and impartiality in settling the conflict has been overemphasized in modern scholarly literature and therefore I argue that Praetextatus' action as city prefect cannot be explained simply by his religious adherence. The outcome of the conflict between the rival bishops should be seen in the broader context of Praetextatus' and Damasus' alliance.

The combat between Damasus and Ursinus

The split in the Roman church began in 355 when the bishop of Rome, Liberius (352–366), was banished by the Emperor Constantius and the

¹ PLRE I, "Praetextatus 1", 722–724. Praetextatus' character is praised by his contemporaries Symmachus, rel. 10–12, 21, 24; epist. 1,44–1,55 and by Ammianus 22,7,6; 27,9,8–10. He also appears as a leading authority on paganism in Macrobius' *Saturnalia* and is esteemed by Zosimus 4,3.

deacon Felix was chosen as bishop in Liberius' place. The situation became more complicated when Liberius was reinstated and returned to Rome, which meant that there were two bishops in Rome.² The double election of Liberius and Felix led later to a new pair of rivals who both contended for the position after Liberius' death in September 24, 366: one faction chose and ordained the deacon Ursinus, and the other elected and consecrated the presbyter Damasus.³

The information the contemporary sources, the *Collectio Avellana*, Jerome, Rufinus and Ammianus Marcellinus give us is contradictory. While the *Collectio Avellana* sympathizes with Ursinus,⁴ Jerome and Rufinus take Damasus' side,⁵ and Ammianus is neutral on the incident.⁶ The later church historians Socrates (c. 380–c. 450) and Sozomen (c. 400–c. 450) report the incident and condemn Ursinus, but their accounts are inaccurate.⁷

Damasus and Ursinus were probably elected almost simultaneously, though the *Collectio Avellana* insists that Ursinus was chosen and conse-

² Amm. 15,7,6–10. A. Lippold, "Ursinus und Damasus", *Historia* 14 (1965) 105; E.D. Hunt, "Christians and Christianity in Ammianus Marcellinus", *CQ* 35 (1985) 189–190. Liberius had set himself against Constantius' anti-Nicean church politics and had refused to condemn bishop Athanasius. According to Theodoret. *hist. eccl.* 2,17 Liberius' banishment was cancelled after wealthy Roman matrons had appealed to Constantius through their husbands. The restoration of Liberius: *Avell.* 2. *Avell.* 1,5 implies that Felix still had supporters in stating that Damasus was elected as bishop in his place. H.O. Maier, "The Topography of Heresy and Dissent in Late-Fourth-Century Rome", *Historia* 44 (1995) 233, 243–244.

³ "Damasus", *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 3, 469–470; A. Lippold, "Ursinus", *RE Suppl.* X, 1142–1148.

⁴ The *Collectio Avellana* (CSEL 35), a collection of documents, letters and edicts of Roman emperors, magistrates and bishops between 367 and 553, also presents the correspondence between the Roman civil authorities and the imperial court involving the dispute between Ursinus and Damasus. For the dating of the Ursinian documents in the *Collectio Avellana*, see Lippold, *Historia* 14 (1965) 106–107.

⁵ Jerome wrote about the dispute while Damasus was still alive, Rufinus around 403. Lippold, *Historia* 14 (1965) 109 regards Jerome's and Rufinus' accounts of the conflict as even more partial and unreliable than the Ursinian *Collectio Avellana*. Hunt 191 n. 30 believes that Jerome may have been an eye-witness of the dispute.

⁶ Amm. 27,3,11–13; 27,4,12. Lippold, *RE* 1142 regards Ammianus' account as anti-Christian, while Hunt 191, 199 shows that Ammianus criticizes pagans and Christians alike in his *Res gestae*: "Christianity per se was just not an issue for Ammianus".

⁷ *Socr. hist. eccl.* 4,29; *Sozom. hist. eccl.* 6,23. Sozomen has even changed Ursinus to Ursicius.

crated (September 24, 366) before Damasus in the Basilica Iulii trans Tiberim and that Damasus was elected in a titulus church *in Lucinis* (S. Lorenzo in Lucina today) after Ursinus. Between the ordinations Damasus' adherents attacked the Ursinians, who had convened in the Basilica Iulii, and fought them there for three days.⁸ Rufinus claims that it was Damasus who was chosen first; Ursinus, who could not stand Damasus being elected, in a fury had himself ordained as bishop.⁹ Jerome does not mention who was chosen first but states that Damasus was ordained first.¹⁰

After his consecration Damasus began to solicit the support of the authorities. The city prefect Viventius, following the orders of Emperor Valentinian I, tried to restore peace by exiling Ursinus. However, Viventius did not interfere in the disturbances by force and could not stop the riots; instead, he had to escape to the suburbs. The Ursinian *Collectio Avellana* claims that Ursinus was banished because Damasus had bribed both the *praefectus urbi* Viventius and the *praefectus annonae* Iulianus.¹¹

In spite of Ursinus' banishment, the adherents of Damasus and Ursinus continued bloody riots in the city. Ammianus reports a fight in the Basilica Sicinini with one hundred and thirtyseven dead, and the *Collectio Avellana* describes an attack by the Damasians on the Basilica Liberii (in

⁸ Avell. 1,5–6: *Tunc presbyteri et diacones Ursinus Amantius et Lupus cum plebe sancta ... coeperunt in basilica Iuli procedere et sibi Ursinum diaconum pontificem in loco Liberii ordinari deposcunt; periuri vero in Lucinis Damasum sibi episcopum in loco Felicis expostulant. Ursinum Paulus Tiburtinus episcopus benedicit. Quod ubi Damasus ... comperit, omnes quadrigarios et imperitam multitudinem pretio concitat et armatus fustibus ad basilicam Iuli perrumpit et magan fidelium caede per triduum debacchatus est.*

⁹ Rufin. hist. eccl. 2,10: *Damasus post Liberium per successionem sacerdotium in urbe Roma suscepit. Quem praelatum sibi non ferens Ursinus quidam eiusdem ecclesiae diaconus in tantum furoris erupit, ut persuaso quodam satis imperito et agresti episcopo, collecta turbulentorum et seditiosorum hominum manu, in basilica quae Sicinini appellatur, episcopum se fieri extorqueret legibus et ordine et traditione perversis.*

¹⁰ Hier. chron. a. 366: *Romanae ecclesiae tricesimus quintus ordinatur episcopus Damasus. Et post non multum temporis intervallum Ursinus a quibusdam episcopis constitutus ...*

¹¹ Amm. 27,3,11–12; Avell. 1,6. Viventius PVR 365–367, PPO Galliarum 368–371: PLRE I, "Viventius", 972. Iulianus, *praefectus annonae* 366: PLRE I, "Iulianus" 16, 472. Lippold, *Historia* 14 (1965) 120–121, 127–128; J. Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court A.D. 364–425*, Oxford 1975, 38; A. Alföldi, *A Conflict of Ideas in the Late Roman Empire. The Clash between the Senate and Valentinian I*, Oxford 1952, 80.

October 26, 366) where the Ursinians had convened; there were 160 dead and even more were wounded.¹² Could we identify the fight in the Basilica Sicinini mentioned by Ammianus with the attack of the Damasians on the Basilica Iulii described by Avell. 1,5, or is it identical with the fight in the Basilica Liberii described by Avell. 1,7? Both Ammianus and Jerome describe a fight in the Basilica Sicinini, Rufinus mentions *basilica quae Sicinini appellatur* as the meeting place of the Ursinians, and Socrates also calls the meeting place of the Ursinians Βασιλική Σικίνη.¹³ Lippold distinguishes three fights and puts the fight (II) in the Basilica Sicinini after Damasus' consecration and before Ursinus' exile. The fight (III) in the Basilica Liberii in October 26, 366 (Avell. 1,7) took place after Ursinus had been exiled. The fight (I) in the Basilica Iulii – put between the ordinations of the bishops by Avell. 1,5 – was before these two fights.¹⁴

I am inclined to think that there were two fights: the riot in the Basilica Sicinini mentioned by Ammianus, Jerome, Rufinus and Socrates is identical with the fight in the Basilica Liberii described by the Ursinian *Collectio Avellana*. For the Ursinians, the basilica was Liberius' church while the other sources called it Basilica Sicinini.¹⁵

¹² Amm. 27,3,12–13; Avell. 1,7. It is possible that Ammianus' information about the number of the dead is based on official reports.

¹³ Hier. chron. a. 366: ... *Ursinus a quibusdam episcopus constitutus Sicininum cum suis invadit: quo Damasianae partis populo confluyente, crudelissimae interfectiones diversi sexus perpetratae*. Rufin. hist. eccl. 2,10: ... *in basilica quae Sicinini appellatur, episcopum se fieri extorqueret legibus et ordine et traditione perversis. Quo ex facto tanta seditio, immo vero tanta bella coorta sunt, alterutrum defendentibus populis, ut replerentur humano sanguine orationum loca*. Socr. hist. eccl. 4,29: Καὶ χειροτονεῖται οὐκ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ τόπῳ τῆς βασιλικῆς, τῆς ἐπικαλουμένης Σικίνης.

¹⁴ Lippold, RE, 1144; Lippold, *Historia* 14 (1965) 122–123. Lippold believes that Ursinus' election and consecration took place in the same place, in the Basilica Iulii trans Tiberim, and that thereafter the Ursinians gathered in Sicininum as Hier. chron. a. 366 states.

¹⁵ G. De Spirito, "Basilica Sicinini", *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae* I, ed. E.M. Steinby, Roma 1993, 188 and P. Künzle, "Zur Basilica Liberiana: Basilica Sicinini = Basilica Liberii", *RQA* 56 (1961) 1–61, 123–166 identify the Basilica Liberii with the Basilica Sicinini. De Spirito points out that all sources, except the Ursinian *Collectio Avellana*, use the (technical-administrative) name Basilica Sicinini rather than Basilica Liberii when reporting the conflict between Damasus and Ursinus. Lippold, RE 1144 and *Historia* 14 (1965) 124 n. 99, 126 suggests that the Basilica Sicinini is the Basilica Iulii; the church, however, cannot be located. Various identifications with modern churches have been proposed: Alföldi 80 identifies the Basilica Sicinini with the present S. Cecilia

Praetextatus settles the disturbances as city prefect

The city prefect Viventius was succeeded by Vettius Agorius Praetextatus in 367.¹⁶ Both Ammianus and the *Collectio Avellana* report Praetextatus' acts in the conflict between Damasus and Ursinus.

The Ursinians appealed to Valentinian I so that the exiled Ursinus and his deacons would be pardoned and permitted to return to Rome.¹⁷ Finally, on September 15, 367 Ursinus and his deacons Amantius and Lupus were allowed to return to Rome but the riots between the adherents of Damasus and Ursinus soon began again. The Ursinians still occupied the Basilica Sicinini.¹⁸

According to Ammianus, Praetextatus successfully settled the fights between the rival factions and his decisions were based on justice and truth. Praetextatus gave his support to Damasus and restored order by banishing Ursinus once again from Rome. Profound peace reigned thereafter.¹⁹ The *Collectio Avellana* reports that Ursinus' adherents and priests were allowed to reside wherever they wanted with the exception of Rome *intra muros*. Since their meetings were forbidden within the walls of Rome,²⁰ they

in Trastevere; A. Ferrua, "S. Maria Maggiore e la *Basilica Sicinini*", *Civiltà Cattolica* 89 (1938), 56–59 suggested the present S. Maria in Trastevere. L. Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis I*, Paris 1955, 188 n. 11 places Sicininum on the Esquiline.

¹⁶ Praetextatus entered the city prefecture between May, 5 (Cod. Theod. 9,38,3, the last law addressed to Viventius) and Aug. 18, 367 (Cod. Theod. 8,14,1, the first law addressed to Praetextatus). His *praefectura urbis* ended between Sept. 20, 368 and Jan. 28, 369 (Cod. Theod. 14,8,2). O. Seeck, *Symmachus, opera omnia*, MGH, AA VI, Berlin 1883, lxxxvii–lxxxviii; Chastagnol, *Les Fastes de la préfecture de Rome au Bas-Empire*, Paris 1962, 171.

¹⁷ Avell. 1,9–10: *Voces ergo plebis ad Valentinianum principem sunt delatae, qui pietate commotus reditum concessit exulibus*.

¹⁸ Avell. 1,10–11; Avell. 5, *ubi Ursinus et qui cum sunt ab exilio relaxantur*, a letter addressed to Praetextatus (before Sept. 15, 367) by Valentinian, who announces that the exiled Ursinus and his adherents are to be allowed to return to Rome.

¹⁹ Amm. 27,9,9: *Cuius auctoritate iustisque veritatis suffragiis, tumultu lenito, quem Christianorum iurgia concitarunt, pulsoque Ursino, alta quies parta, proposito civium Romanorum aptissima...*

²⁰ Avell. 1,11. In Avell. 7, *de expellendis sociis Ursini extra Romam*, a letter addressed to Praetextatus (Jan. 12, 368), Valentinian confirms the banishment of the Ursinian priests suggested by Praetextatus but only from within the walls of Rome: *Ursini sociis ac ministris, quos praecelsa sublimitas tua propter quietem urbis aeternae de medio*

continued their meetings outside the walls (*ad sanctam Agnem*, in the present S. Agnese fuori le mura) but the Damasians attacked them again.²¹ Damasus continued as the bishop of Rome and Praetextatus handed the Basilica Sicinini, the main church of the Ursinians, over to him.²²

According to the *Collectio Avellana* other Italian bishops who arrived for the anniversary of Damasus' ordination condemned the violence of the Damasians against Ursinus' adherents.²³ In spite of the protests of other bishops, Damasus retained power until his death in 384. Ursinus who did not give up his fight for the bishopric of Rome is known to have made troubles in Milan and to have continued disputing with Damasus, and his adherents still caused disturbances in Rome in the 370s and 380s.²⁴

The role of the city prefect in keeping the *publica disciplina* in Rome

The *praefectus urbi* was one of the most powerful administrators of the Late Empire and the emperor's deputy in Rome. The city prefect had become the most important man in the city since the emperor no longer stayed in Rome. He was not only the supreme judge whose jurisdiction extended 100 miles from Rome but he was also responsible for keeping public order in the city and the urban cohorts and the cohorts of *vigiles* were subordinated to him.²⁵

putavit esse tollendos, Roma tantum, ... Praetextate parens karissime atque amantissime.

²¹ Avell. 1,12: *Sed populus timens Deum multisque persecutionibus fatigatus non imperatorem, non iudicem nec ipsum auctorem scelerum et homicidam Damasum timuit sed per coemeteria martyrum stationes sine clericis celebrabat. Unde cum ad sanctam Agnem multi fidelium convenissent, armatus cum satellitibus suis Damasus irruit et plurimos vastationis suae strage deiecit.* In the *Collectio Avellana* Praetextatus is usually mentioned by name, but here as *iudex*, i.e. as city prefect.

²² Avell. 6, *ubi redditur Basilica Sicinini*, a letter addressed to Praetextatus (between Nov. 16, 367 and Jan. 12, 368).

²³ Avell. 1,13. The first anniversary of Damasus' bishopric is dated by Künzle 17–23, to Oct. 1, 367, by Lippold, *Historia* 14 (1965) 107–108, to autumn 368.

²⁴ Avell. 11–12; Hier. epist. 15; Ambr. epist. 11. For Ursinus' later years see Lippold, RE 1146–1147; Künzle 166. It seems that the Ursinians were still active in 384 when Siricius was elected as Damasus' successor, since Ursinus was condemned in the election. Avell. 4.

²⁵ The city prefect of Rome ranks immediately after the praetorian prefect of Italy and

Disturbances in the fourth century were often related either to social or economic circumstances, food shortages, rivalries between the circus factions and various conflicts between the upper and lower classes, or to religious issues, which cannot be clearly separated from social and economic ones. Religious disturbances were quite common during the late empire and usually were far more violent than other riots.²⁶

In the late fourth century both the *praefectus urbi* and the *vicarius urbi* were constantly forced to interfere in religious disturbances in Rome.²⁷ These were sometimes fought because of dogmatic disagreements but they were often purely power struggles. The church historian Socrates points out that the battle between Damasus and Ursinus was fought not over dogma but for power.²⁸ The election of the bishop of Rome caused disturbances in Rome even after Damasus and Ursinus: Eulalius and Bonifatius struggled

the praetorian prefect of Gallia in *Notitia Dignitatum* 1,4. A. Chastagnol, *La préfecture urbaine à Rome sous le Bas-Empire*, Paris 1960, 66, 68, 84–85, 120, 181–182; R. von Haehling, *Die Religionsangehörigkeit der hohen Amtsträger des römischen Reiches seit Constantins I. Alleinherrschaft bis zum Ende der theodosianischen Dynastie (324–450 bzw. 455 n.C.)*, Bonn 1978, 15; W.G. Sinnigen, *The Officium of the Urban Prefecture during the Later Roman Empire*, Rome 1957, 6–7. For the history of the urban prefecture, see Chastagnol, *Préfecture* iii–ix.

²⁶ A. Knepe, *Untersuchungen zur städtischen Plebs des 4. Jahrhunderts n.Chr.*, Bonn 1979, 20–21, 60–63, 68, 90; T.E. Gregory, "Urban Violence in Late Antiquity", *Aspects of Graeco-Roman Urbanism. Essays on the classical city*, ed. R.T. Marchese, Oxford 1983, 141–142, 147, 154.

²⁷ E.g. in 368–369 the Luciferian bishop Aurelius was arrested and prosecuted by a city prefect (Avell. 2,77–81); in 382 the Luciferian bishop Ephesius was prosecuted by the prefect Auchenius Bassus but was liberated (Avell. 2,84–85); in 368 the prefect Olybrius and the vicar Aginatus reported religious disturbances to the Emperor and were ordered to restore peace (Avell. 8–10); in 370–372 the Ursinians caused problems for the prefect Ampelius and the vicar Maximinus (Avell. 11–12); in 378–379 the vicar Aquilinus was ordered to banish factionists beyond the hundredth milestone from Rome (Avell. 13). W.G. Sinnigen, "The Vicarius Urbis Romae and the Urban Prefecture", *Historia* 8 (1959) 107–108; D. Vera, "Lo scandalo edilizio di Cyriades e Auxentius e i titolari della 'praefectura urbis' dal 383 al 387. Opere pubbliche e corruzione in Roma alla fine del IV secolo d.C.", *SDHI* 44 (1978) 59–60.

²⁸ Socr. hist. eccl. 4,29: Ἐστασίαζον οὖν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς, οὐ διὰ τινὰ πίστιν ἢ αἵρεσιν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ μόνου τίς ὀφείλει τοῦ ἐπισκοπικοῦ θρόνου ἐγκρατῆς γενέσθαι.

for the bishopric of Rome in 418²⁹ and Laurentius and Symmachus in 498–514.³⁰

The conflict between Damasus and Ursinus was uncomfortable for the civil authorities, both because the city prefect was responsible for public order in Rome and was expected to interfere in rioting³¹ and because the civil authorities did not want to settle the disturbances by force and criminal law, since Valentinian I wanted to avoid any interference in the internal affairs of the church.³² After his ordination Damasus appealed to the civil authorities, and the secular government did intervene to the internal affairs of the church. However, as Lippold points out, Viventius did not avoid interfering in the dispute because of Valentinian's neutrality in religious affairs: it seems rather that the Roman urban cohorts and *vigiles* were so weak in the fourth century that Viventius had to keep out of the way, as Ammianus states: *quae nec corrigere sufficiens Viventius nec mollire, co-actus vi magna, secessit in suburbanum*.³³

Praetextatus' success

It was the pagan city prefect Praetextatus who succeeded in settling the Christians' internal squabbles. He seems to have enjoyed Emperor Valentinian's confidence because he was appointed *praefectus urbi* in middle of the conflict. Alföldi and von Haehling believe that Praetextatus' appoint-

²⁹ Vera, SDHI 44 (1978) 60; A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284–602 II*, Oxford 1964, 693.

³⁰ E. Wirbelauer, *Zwei Päpste in Rom. Der Konflikt zwischen Laurentius und Symmachus (498–514)*, München 1993.

³¹ The importance of the public order, *publica disciplina*, *publica securitas* and peace, *pax*, *quies* in Rome is stressed in the correspondence between the city prefect and the emperor: Avell. 5–7.

³² Valentinian's decree of religious tolerance: Cod. Theod. 9,16,9 (May 29, 371): *Leges a me in exordio imperii datae, quibus unicuique, quo animo inbibisset, colendi libera facultas tributa est*. Pagans as well as Christians praised Valentinian for his impartiality and tolerance in religious matters. Amm. 30,9,5: *inter religionum diversitates medius stetit*; Zos. 4,3; Socr. hist. eccl. 4,1; Sozom. hist. eccl. 6,6.

³³ Amm. 27,3,12. Lippold, *Historia* 14 (1965) 120 and RE 1145. Jones 693 even claims that urban cohorts and cohorts of *vigiles* had been disbanded or had melted away by the early fourth century and that city prefects had no armed force at their disposal.

ment as city prefect in this difficult situation was a well-considered decision because as a pagan he was not restricted in his actions by the discipline of the Christian church.³⁴

Did Praetextatus really behave differently as city prefect because he was pagan? It seems to me that he did not differ from his predecessor Viventius³⁵ in solving the conflict between the two bishops of Rome. Viventius followed imperial orders and banished Ursinus, and so did Praetextatus. I assert that Praetextatus' action probably had nothing to do with his religious adherence and that he probably supported Damasus because his predecessor and the imperial court had already done so. Why had Viventius and the imperial court decided to support Damasus and to banish Ursinus? We do not know whether Damasus was more legitimate as the bishop of Rome or whether he had more supporters within the clergy. Both bishops seem to have been supported by clerics as well as by the Christian plebs but at least Damasus seems to have had more influential connections and to have acted more effectively than Ursinus. Ammianus states that Damasus was victorious because of the support of his adherents: *Et in concertatione superaverat Damasus, parte quae ei favebat instante*.³⁶

Some city prefects managed disturbances efficiently, while other city prefects did not succeed in quelling riots. Viventius, for example, was forced to escape the disturbances.³⁷ As we have seen, Ammianus claims that

³⁴ Alföldi 80–81; Haehling 37–38.

³⁵ We do not know whether Viventius was a Christian or a pagan. Amm. 27,3,11 mentions him only as *integer et prudens Pannonius*. According to PLRE I, s.v. "Viventius", 972 and Künzle 129 n. 98, 163 he was probably a Christian. However, Viventius might have been a pagan as well; Ursinus' banishment does not indicate his being Christian. Lippold, *Historia* 14 (1965) 127 n. 111; Haehling 37–38.

³⁶ Amm. 27,3,13. Künzle 38 and E. Caspar, *Geschichte des Papsttums von den Anfängen bis zu Höhe der Weltherrschaft I*, Tübingen 1930, 196 believe that Ursinus was elected by the minority of the Roman clergy and Damasus was supported by the majority of the clergy, while Lippold, *Historia* 14 (1965) 111 and RE 1142, 1144 remarks that according to Avell. 1,5–6 three of the seven deacons (Ursinus himself, Amantius and Lupus), seven presbyters and *plebs sancta* were against Damasus. Avell. 1,5 regards Ursinus as the legitimate successor of Liberius and Damasus as a candidate chosen in place of Felix.

³⁷ The discontent of the Roman people, e.g. during food shortages, was often targeted against the city prefect or other authorities, though violence directed against the city prefect was rare. Crowds usually directed their anger against things, burned the houses of aristocrats, overturned statues, etc. Amm. 14,6,1 (Orfitus); Amm. 15,7,2–3 (Leontius);

Praetextatus succeeded in restoring the public order in Rome. The historian also praises his other activities as city prefect and writes that Praetextatus acted with high distinction, showing integrity and uprightness and was both feared and loved by the Roman people.³⁸ Ammianus compares him with M. Iunius Brutus, the Roman symbol of *virtus*; though he did not do anything to gain favour, everything he did was regarded with favour.³⁹ Ammianus' account implies that Praetextatus was extraordinary among the city prefects and that his relationship with the Roman *plebs* was exceptional. Because of his authority and popularity in Rome he was able to end the riots and restore order. Also the great sorrow of the Roman *plebs* for Praetextatus' death in 384 reflects his charisma and excellence.⁴⁰

Modern scholars have emphasized the skilful manner in which Praetextatus handled the conflict and earned the respect of pagans as well as Christians,⁴¹ basing their views on Ammianus' account where even

Amm. 19,10,1–4 (Tertullus); 27,3,8–9 (the populace tried to burn Lampadius' house); Amm. 27,3,4; Symm. epist. 1,44 (Avianus Symmachus' house was burned by the people). Aristocrats were particularly afraid of riots because the rage of the crowds fell first on them: Symm. epist. 2,6; 4,54,3; 5,12; 6,18; 6,66,1; rel. 6; 9; 18; 35. Kneppel 25, 63, 94–95; Gregory 140–142.

³⁸ Amm. 27,9,8–9: *Haec inter Praetextatus praefecturam urbis sublimius curans, per integritatis multiplices actus et probitatis, quibus ab adulescentiae rudimentis inclaruit, adeptus est id quod raro contigit, ut cum timeretur, amorem non perderet civium, minus firmari solitum erga iudices formidatos. Cfr. Claud. 10,331–333 of Stilicho: diligimus pariter pariterque timemus. / Ipse metus te noster amat, iustissime legum / arbiter...*

³⁹ Amm. 27,9,10: *In examinandis vero litibus ante alios id impetravit quod laudando Brutum Tullius refert, ut cum nihil ad gratiam faceret, omnia tamen grata viderentur esse, quae factitabat.* Ammianus refers to M. Iunius Brutus (85–42 B.C.) mentioned in Cic. orat. 10,34: *Quid tam difficile quam plurimorum controversiis diiudicandis ab omnibus diligi? ... Itaque efficis ut, cum gratia causa nihil facias, omnia tamen sit grata quae facis.*

⁴⁰ According to Hier. epist. 23,2–3 the whole city of Rome mourned his death: *ad cuius interitum urbs universa commota est.* Praetextatus' friend and the city prefect of 384 Q. Aurelius Symmachus states in rel. 11 that Praetextatus' death caused such great sorrow that the people of Rome refrained from the usual pleasures of the theatre. The mourning of all the Roman people made Praetextatus' death famous, *mortem celebrem dolor omnium fecerit.* According to Symm. rel. 12 both the people and the senate were grieved because of his loss: *Nam praeter illum populi Romani inusitatum dolorem etiam senatus impatiens dispendii sui solacium petit...* For Praetextatus' death see my "Fabia Aconia Paulina and the Death of Praetextatus – Rhetoric and Ideals in Late Antiquity (CIL VI 1779)", *Arctos* 28 (1994) 13–25.

⁴¹ E.g. H. Bloch, "A New Document of the Last Pagan Revival in the West, 393–394

Viventius' flight to the suburbs underlines Praetextatus' excellence. It is remarkable that Ammianus also praises Praetextatus eloquently elsewhere though he criticizes other Roman aristocrats severely.⁴² The *Collectio Avelana* complements and corrects this entirely positive image of Praetextatus and his part in the crisis. There is no sign of impartiality in Praetextatus' actions but on the contrary he seems to have followed the orders of his emperor and supported Damasus from the beginning. One begins to wonder if this is the justice and truth that Ammianus writes about.

The relations between Praetextatus and Damasus

I suggest that Praetextatus' support of Damasus during the rivalry for the bishopric of Rome was a part of the alliance between them. We do not know whether they had been allies before 367 but in any case they acted as allies later and may even have made a kind of division of power in Rome. In 384 it was Damasus' turn to support Praetextatus when Praetextatus' friend Q. Aurelius Symmachus was accused of persecuting Christians. As praetorian prefect Praetextatus had obtained an imperial order from Emperor Valentinian II which authorized the city prefect Symmachus to investigate the plunder of pagan temples. Since Symmachus' adversaries at the court in Milan rumoured that he used the investigation to maltreat Christians, Valentinian reprimanded Symmachus for having imprisoned and tortured Christian priests. Symmachus defended himself by stating that he had not even started the investigation. Bishop Damasus witnessed that Christians had not been offended.⁴³ On other occasions Damasus stood firmly against the Roman pagan aristocrats, including Symmachus, in the famous dispute over the altar of Victory.⁴⁴

A.D.", HThR 38 (1945) 204 asserted that Praetextatus showed a high degree of political tact in this difficult conflict; J.M. Huskinson, *Concordia Apostolorum: Christian Propaganda at Rome in the fourth and fifth Century, A Study in Early Christian Iconography and Iconology*, Oxford 1982, 111.

⁴² Ammianus' positive attitude to Praetextatus appears in Amm. 27,3,12–13.

⁴³ Symm. rel. 21,3–5. Q. Aurelius Symmachus: PLRE I, "Symmachus 4", 865–871. For Praetextatus' protection of pagan temples see my "The Restoration Policy of Vettius Agorius Praetextatus", *Arctos* 29 (1995) 39–47.

⁴⁴ For the dispute about the altar of Victory, see e.g. F. Canfora, *Simmaco e Ambrogio o*

The late fourth century was a period of peaceful coexistence and tolerance for pagan and Christian cults. Some scholars speak of the symbiosis between pagans and Christians rather than of rivalry, especially in the 360s and 370s in Rome. L. Cracco Ruggini even suggests that the period of tolerance was precisely the years dominated by the great personality of Praetextatus.⁴⁵

In the late fourth-century Rome pagans and Christians acted on terms of friendship within the same circles of the Roman aristocracy. Symmachus for example associated with Ambrose, the bishop of Milan, in friendly terms as his correspondence with him shows, though their interests collided in the dispute over the altar of Victory. Praetextatus and Damasus also seem to have moved in the same circles as Jerome records, mentioning that Praetextatus used to joke with Damasus saying: *Facite me Romanae urbis episcopum, et ero protinus Christianus*.⁴⁶ I think Praetextatus' sceptical comment

di un'antica controversia sulla tolleranza e sull'intolleranza, Bari 1970; R. Klein, *Der Streit um den Victoriaaltar*, Darmstadt 1972; R. Klein, *Symmachus, Eine tragische Gestalt des ausgehenden Heidentums*, Darmstadt 1971; J. Wytzes, *Der Streit um den Altar der Victoria*, Amsterdam 1936.

⁴⁵ The term "la convivenza pacifica" is used by L. Cracco Ruggini, "Ambrogio e le opposizioni anticattoliche fra il 383 e il 390", *Augustinianum* 14 (1974) 430, 443; P. Barcelò, "Zur Begegnung, Konfrontation und Symbiose von religio Romana und Christentum", *Christen und Heiden in Staat und Gesellschaft des zweiten bis vierten Jahrhunderts*, hrsg. G. Gottlieb & P. Barcelò, München 1992, 178; G.W. Bowersock, "I percorsi della politica", *Storia di Roma* 3,1, Torino 1993, 546; P. Hadot, *Marius Victorinus, recherches sur sa vie et ses oeuvres*, Paris 1971, 42–46, 58 describes 318–356 as a period of tolerance, while from 356–358 onwards the rivalry between pagans and Christians becomes clearer. Alföldi 84 suggested that the Roman pagan aristocracy and the Roman Church were allied in opposition to Valentinian I's government, and that pagans and Christians depended on each other.

⁴⁶ Hier. c. Ioh. 8 (PL 23, col. 377–379): *Miserabilis Praetextatus, qui designatus consul est mortuus. Homo sacrilegus, et idolorum cultor, solebat ludens beato papae Damaso dicere: 'Facite me Romanae urbis episcopum, et ero protinus Christianus'*. The background of Jerome's *Contra Ioannem Hierosolymitanum* (397) is the Origenist controversy against John of Jerusalem whom he accuses of heresy. In the dispute over the doctrine of the Christian Trinity, John had finally accepted the orthodox doctrine and rejected the Origenist subordinate christology. John had previously rejected the doctrine of the homousia of the Holy Spirit, and belonged to a Macedonian sect. Jerome defames his adversary, showing him as a renegade and insinuates that John changed his religious views for opportunist reasons, in order to become the bishop of Jerusalem. Praetextatus' sceptical comment is an example of calculating opportunism. For the controversy, see G. Grützmacher, *Hieronymus III*, Leipzig–Berlin 1908, 1–21.

ridiculed the contrast between Christian ethics and the power of the church.⁴⁷

The power and prestige of the Christian church had increased considerably during the fourth century and it had multiplied its properties through lavish benefactions from the Christian emperors and the aristocratic families. Damasus' ecclesiastical policy contributed notably to the authority and prestige of the bishop of Rome.⁴⁸ However, the splendour and pomp of the church were also criticized, e.g. by two Ursinian priests Faustinus and Marcellinus who turned to Valentinian I and condemned Damasus for his wealth and luxury.⁴⁹ Ammianus also reports the riches of the Roman church⁵⁰ and Jerome attacks the luxury of the church.⁵¹ Emperor Valentinian I wanted to control the donations made to the church and addressed an edict to Damasus in which he forbade clergymen to visit the houses of widows or orphan minors or to receive any kind of material benefit from them; that is to say, Valentinian virtually accused the churchmen of legacy hunting.⁵² Damasus himself was famous for his visits to aristocratic women, for which his

⁴⁷ Similarly Ch. Pietri, "Evergétisme et richesses ecclésiastiques dans l'Italie du IV^e à la fin du Ve s.: l'exemple romain", *Ktèma* 3 (1978) 317 and J.N.D. Kelly, *Jerome* 1975, 82. Praetextatus' remark has been interpreted in various ways. Alföldi 84 regards it as Praetextatus' answer to Damasus who had tried to convert him to Christianity. According to P. Courcelle, *Les lettres grecques en Occident de Macrobe à Cassiodore*, Paris 1948², 35, Jerome regarded Praetextatus as an opportunist who saw in religion nothing but a political device. Klein, *Symmachus* 48 believes that Praetextatus despised the Christians for their compromised attitude and did not appreciate their doctrine. For F. Paschoud, *Roma Aeterna*, Rome 1967, 95 and "Reflexions sur l'idéal religieux de Symmaque", *Historia* 14 (1965) 232 n. 99 Praetextatus' words illustrate the avaricious spirit of the Roman pagan aristocracy.

⁴⁸ Pietri, *Ktèma* 3 (1978) 317–337, esp. 321, 328; Huskinson 90–91.

⁴⁹ Avell. 2, *Marcellinus et Faustinus presbyteri de confessione verae fidei*.

⁵⁰ Amm. 27,3,14: *ut ditentur oblationibus matronarum, procedantque vehiculis insidentes, circumspicte vestiti, epulas curantes profusas, adeo ut eorum convivia regales superent mensas.*

⁵¹ Hier. epist. 52,10: *Multi aedificant parietes et columnas ecclesiae subtrahunt: marmora nitent, auro splendent lacunaria, gemmis altare distinguitur et ministrorum Christi nulla electio est.*

⁵² Cod. Theod. 16,2,20 (July 30, 370). Pietri, *Ktèma* 3 (1978) 331; Alföldi 83. For the control of legacies see also Ambr. epist. 18,14; Cod. Theod. 5,1,4; 4,4,2 from 389; Cod. Theod. 16,2,27–28 from 390.

Ursinian adversaries defamed him, calling him 'the matrons' ear-tickler', *matronarum auriscalpius*.⁵³

In this article I have argued that Praetextatus' action as city prefect in solving the conflict between Damasus and Ursinus had nothing to do with his paganism and that in supporting Damasus he followed simply the instructions of the imperial court. I also suggest that Praetextatus and Damasus were allies and supported each other: Praetextatus gave his support to Damasus in 367 and Damasus to Praetextatus in 384.

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⁵³ Avell. 1,9.

HERACLES SAVING THE SHIPWRECKED

MIKA KAJAVA

In the previous issue of this journal I published a number of new epigraphic poems of Imperial date from Artena, a mediaeval town some 45 kms south of Rome.¹ They were all found in Colle Maiorana, a locality between the municipalities of Artena and Colleferro, which in ancient times, together with the surrounding areas, belonged to the rather extensive territory of Signia (now Segni). Two of the inscriptions were in Latin, one, very fragmentary, in Greek. I also referred to a Stoic hymn in Greek that was already known in the eighteenth century and which according to modern research tells the story of creation. A concentration of such a group of epigraphic poems of good quality in one and the same locality in the Roman countryside is already notable in itself, but now there is further evidence. During recent field work in southern Latium, a remarkable poem in Greek quite unexpectedly turned up in S. Nicola in Artena, a few hundred metres north of Colle Maiorana. The inscription is preserved in the inner garden of the villa of Mr. Adalberto Perica where I saw it with Kalle Korhonen and Heikki Solin on the 26th of May 1997. As the monument was embedded into the soil with the inscribed side facing a glass wall, the deciphering of the text in situ turned out to be rather difficult. Fortunately, however, despite the hard and uncomfortable conditions, the photographs taken at the time proved to be of first-rate quality. Like the other poems

* I wish to thank Dott.ssa Michela Nocita (Univ. di Roma "La Sapienza") for useful discussions during the XI International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy in Rome (September 1997), where she presented an illuminating poster focusing on her study entitled "Il tema del viaggio negli epigrammi funerari". I am also grateful to Jaakko Frösén and Maarit Kaimio who drew my attention to a number of pertinent details.

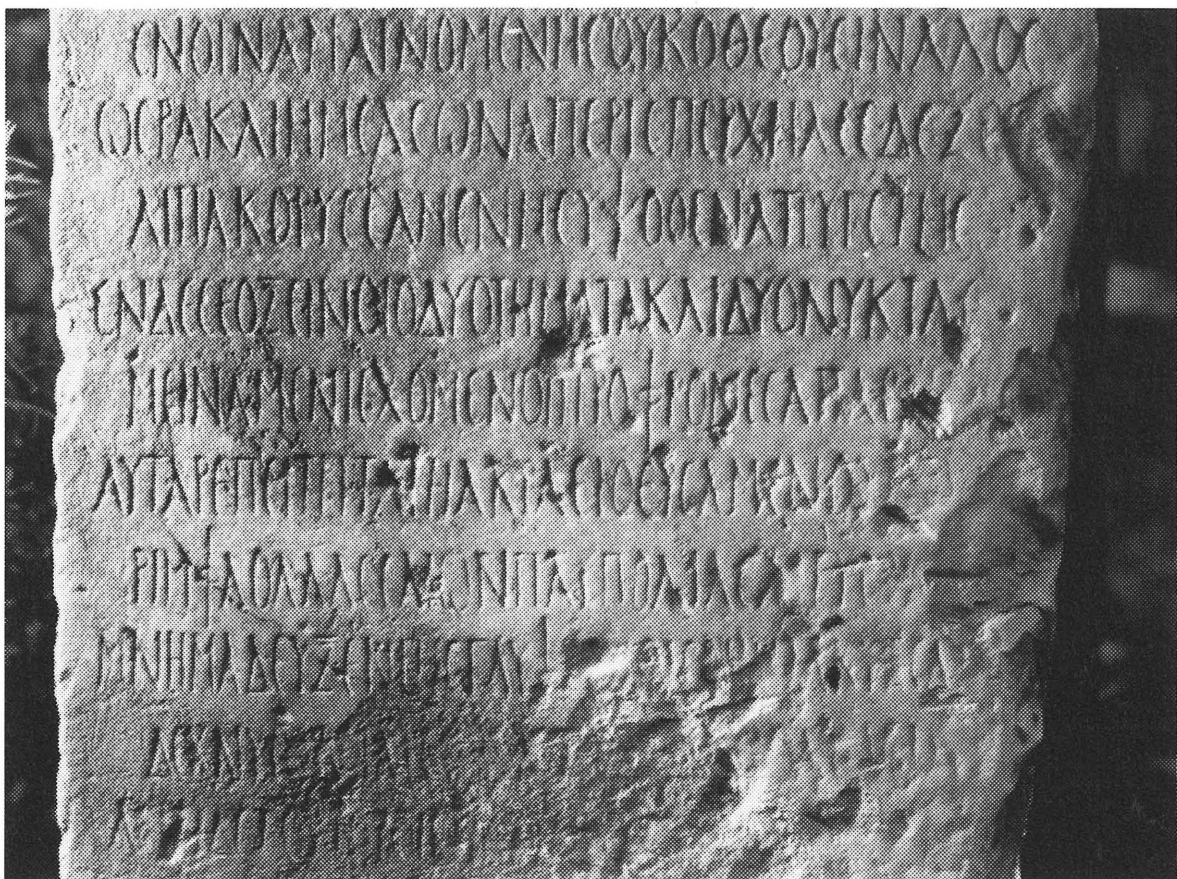
¹ 'New Poems on Stone', *Arctos* 30 (1996) 75–100. For the history and topography of Artena as well as the circumstances of the discovery of the inscriptions I refer to this article.

discovered so far, this monument also comes from Colle Maiorana, as was confirmed by its present owner.

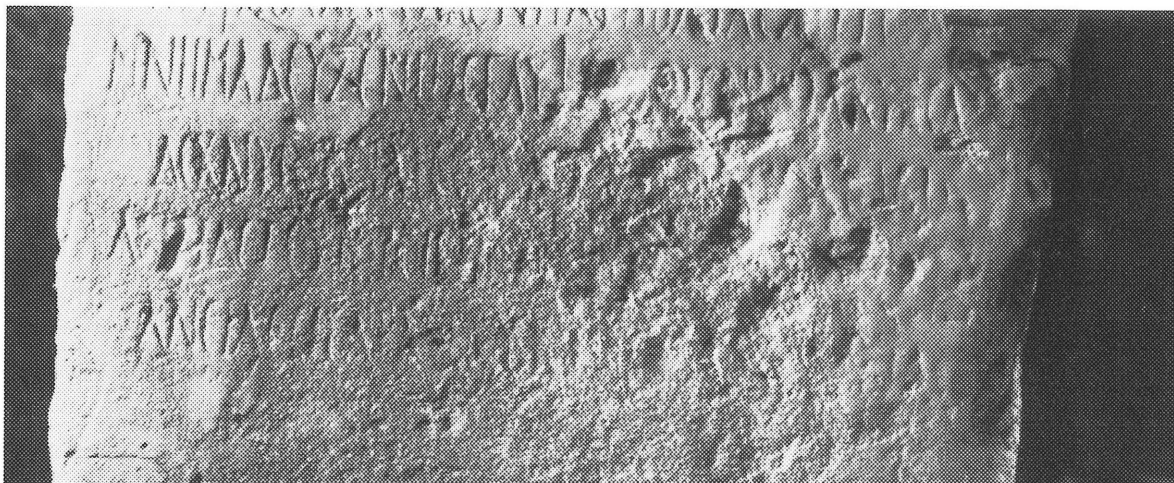
The text is engraved on a quadrangular column of white marble, well dressed on all faces though a bit fragmentary on the right-hand side. The two rectangular cavities (8 x 9 cm) on the right and left sides of the upper edge were probably used for fixing the stone to a wall or some sort of support. There are no signs of a statue. Slightly tapering off at the lower end, the column measures 113 x 30–33 x 24–27 cm, the height of the letters varying between 1.5–3 cm (C, ω). The stone is badly abraded in the middle of the front which makes the reading of the final three verses partly impossible. Though in some places the decipherment was not quite obvious at first sight (cf. lines 7, 10, 12 and especially 13), the text should be sound and clear as it is given below (any problems of reading will be discussed in the following commentary). – Figs. 1–4 (Solín).

Παῖ Διός, εὐκήλου μεδέων, Ἡράκλεες, ὄρμου,
 σῶτερ ἀλιτρύτων, χαῖρε, Μόνοικε, νεῶν·
 ἐς σὲ γὰρ ἢ Ζεφύροιο θοῆ κελάδοντος ἀέλλη
 ἢ ἐ πολυφλοίσβῳ ραιόμεναι Βορέῃ
 5 ἀσπᾶσιν κατίασιν ὑπὸ σκέπας ἀστυφέλικτον,
 ἔνθ' ἵνα μαινομένης οὐκ ὀθέουσιν ἀλός.
 ὡς ῥα καὶ ἡμέας, ὦνα, περισπερχῆας ἐδέξω
 αἰπὰ κορυσσαμένης ὑψόθεν ἀτρυγέτης·
 ἐν δὲ σέο ξείνοιο δύο τ' ἡμάτα καὶ δύο νύκτας
 10 μείναμεν ἰσχύομενοι πρόφρονες ἀπλοίῃ·
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τριτάτη ἀκραεὶ θεύσαμεν οὐρῶ
 ῥίμφα θαλασσαιῶν παρ πόλιας Λιγύων.
 μνήμα δ' ἐυξενίης γλυφά[ν]οις θηητὰ κύπελ[λα] (?)
 δέχνησο ++++++ [-----] ++++++
 15 ἀντὶ δὲ Τ+++++ [-----] ++
 ἀνέρα ++++++ [-----] +++

Since this discovery is a further addition to the series of metric inscriptions from Artena and also because the contents of this singular poem are most interesting from many points of view, it certainly deserves to be published in its own right. In the following commentary I shall first concentrate on lexical and contextual matters; stylistic questions, the genre



Figs. 1-2



Figs. 3–4

in which the author wrote, the date as well as the historical setting of the poem will be dealt with later on.

As may be immediately seen, this is a hymn-like epigram to Heracles of Imperial date composed of eight distichs which are divided thematically into three parts: in lines 1–6 Heracles is praised as the saviour of wrecked ships and seamen in general. In lines 7–12 a story narrated in the first person plural describes some seafarers in distress at sea who were finally saved from drowning by Heracles. The final section in lines 13–16 seems to refer to an object given to Heracles as a memorial of the seafarers' happy escape.

I. Lines 1–6

Heracles, originally a renowned hero who was later accorded a place among the Olympian gods, enjoyed an immense popularity in the minds and thoughts of ancient people. No other god or hero was more frequently described and represented in ancient literature and art. The cult and worship of Heracles is attested all over the ancient world, and it is characteristic of his fame and reception that he was given a great variety of cultic epithets in many parts of the Mediterranean. Above all Heracles' popularity goes back to his role as a benefactor and saviour of both mankind and the individual. People not only invoked him at difficult moments (Ἡράκλεις, *Heracle*, *Mehercule*) but it was also thought that where Heracles is present there can be nothing evil.² His apotropaic nature was often underlined by the epithet ἀλεξίκακος, the averter of evil, which already occurs in early Greece and which was understood in a very broad sense: people called upon Heracles to

² Ἡρακλῆς ἐνθά <δε> κατοικεῖ· μὴ <εἰ>σίτω μηδὲν κακόν (SEG XXVII 648, Gela, c. 300–280 B.C.). An identical or similar formula (ὁ τοῦ Διὸς παῖς Καλλίνεικος Ἡρακλῆς...) was often inscribed above the door of a house. For this habit surviving throughout antiquity in all parts of the Roman Empire, see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 13 (1965) 265–266; I. Mylasa 343; R. Merkelbach, *ZPE* 86 (1991) 41; J.T. Bakker, *Living and Working with the Gods* (Dutch Monographs on Ancient History and Archaeology 12), Amsterdam 1994, 110; E. Courtney, *Musa lapidaria* (Amer. Class. Stud. 36), Atlanta 1995, 342–343. In Christian houses the pagan protector was replaced by Christ or a Saint. For the formula and the apotropaic role of Heracles, cf. also C.A. Faraone, *Talismans and Trojan Horses. Guardian Statues in Ancient Greek Myth and Ritual*, New York – Oxford 1992, 58.

help them overcome all imaginable troubles.³ In Latin sources, Hercules was usually called *Adiutor*, *Conservator*, *Defensor*, *Salutaris*, *Tutor*, or the like.⁴ The association of the god with various positive elements was so obvious and wide-spread in antiquity that it is of no use to pursue the topic here.⁵ Instead attention shall be concentrated on Heracles' connection with the sea and seafaring in general, so as to help understand the contents of the new poem.

First of all, however, one may recall the famous ἄθλα attributed to Heracles, a cycle that was recorded in literary form at a relatively early period.⁶ The basic meaning of those twelve heroic labours is evidently that Heracles thereby domesticated the whole world and purified it. In this way he brought culture and civilization to the peoples of the Mediterranean. This idea began to be expressed concomitantly with the doctrines concerning the birth of civilization, and it is already clearly depicted in Pindar, Sophocles and Euripides who all pointed out that the benefactions of Heracles not only affected the inhabited land but also the seas.⁷ So Heracles was in a sense a pioneering explorer who civilized the known world and made it safe for mortal people.⁸ This, in turn, is closely linked with Greek colonization,

³ RE Suppl. III (1918) 1001. According to Hellanicus, Telamon already called Heracles by this epithet at Troy (FGrH I,4,109). The hero is also firmly established as a saving ἄλεξίκακος as early as the "Hesiodic" Shield of Heracles. 'H. ἄλεξίκακος in Rome: Moretti, IGUR 88, 171. For Heracles as ἄλεξίκακος in Lucian's work, see Luc. Gall. 2,1; Alex. 4,2; Fug. 32,10.

⁴ Note, for example, the bilingual CIL VI 309 = Moretti, IGUR 171: *Herculi Defensori Papirii*, with the Greek version 'Ηρακλεῖ ἀλεξικάκῳ Παπείριοι, on the rear.

⁵ It will suffice to refer to the following treatments: W.H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* I:2, Leipzig 1886–90, 2135–2298; L. Cesano, *Dizionario epigrafico* III (1906) 679–725; H. Zwicker, RE VIII (1913) 516–528; F. Haug, *ibid.* 550–612 (Hercules); O. Gruppe, RE Suppl. III (1918) 910–1121; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (HbAW V,4), München 1902², 278–282; G.K. Galinsky, *The Herakles Theme*, Oxford 1972, *passim* (cf. Ch. VI: Roman Hercules); M. Jaczynowska, ANRW II:17 (1981) 631–661 (cult of Hercules in the Imperial period). As for Heracles/Hercules in ancient art, the abundant evidence is now exhaustively collected in LIMC IV (1988) 728–838 and V (1990) 1–262.

⁶ Scholars usually think of Pisander of Rhodes (c. 600 B.C.).

⁷ Pi. I. 4,73–75; S. Tr. 1012; E. Heracl. 400–402, 851–853.

⁸ For the conception of Heracles as a cultural hero, cf. especially W. Burkert, in: *Héraclès: d'une rive à l'autre de la Méditerranée. Bilan et perspectives* (eds. C. Bonnet – C. Jourdain-Annequin), Bruxelles – Rome 1992, 113–116.

especially in the western Mediterranean, as it was common that the colonists referred to the hero's previous stay in the places where they were about to land. As a protagonist of Greek culture, Heracles had made the way smoother for Greek immigrants. But there is still one role for which Heracles was often praised, namely that of shaping and remodeling the landscape as well as the coastline. Some later authors, especially Diodorus Siculus, underlined the efforts of the hero in the battle against untamed nature. By creating new lakes and rivers and by shaping the shoreline, Heracles drew a line between land and sea.⁹

In view of these considerations, it may seem peculiar that otherwise in the extant Graeco-Roman literature, the figure of Heracles does not seem to have been associated with the sea in any particular way, and the god was only rarely represented as travelling on the sea himself.¹⁰ It is true that apart from some necessary sailing during the execution of the labours, Heracles did participate in the voyage of the Argonauts, but his part in this affair was not particularly emphasized early on.¹¹ What is interesting, however, is that Heracles is said to have killed the Boreadae at the island of Tenos because they had prevented the Argonauts from bringing back their fellows who were left in Mysia.¹² According to another explanation, Heracles did this out of anger at the storm roused by Boreas at Cos.¹³ This episode obviously draws on the story telling that Heracles was himself attacked by whirlwinds at Cos on his way back to Argos from Troy.¹⁴ So it seems that Heracles was sometimes – and already in early sources – represented as fighting against

⁹ D.S. 4,19–29 (passim).

¹⁰ The same concerns the representations of Heracles in art, cf. the relevant articles in LIMC (cit. n. 5).

¹¹ Cf. RE Suppl. III (1918) 979. Note also the interesting fragment *semiremex Hercules* which obviously refers to an episode in the voyage (Sept. Ser. carm. frg. 4; cf. I frammenti dei "poetae novelli". Introduzione, testo critico e commento a cura di S. Mattiacci [Testi e commenti 7], Roma 1982, 119–123).

¹² A.R. 1,1298–1308. For Heracles as ἀλεξίκακος and saviour in Apollonius' work, cf. D.C. Feeney, *The Gods in Epic*, Oxford 1991, 97.

¹³ Sch. A.R. 1,1300.1304; cf. Nicander. *The Poems and Poetical Fragments* (eds. A.S.F. Gow – A.F. Scholfield), Cambridge 1953, 202 (frg. 15), 218 (frg. 113).

¹⁴ Il. 14,249–256; 15,26–28. Note, moreover, that in some later sources Heracles was also described as using the lionskin as a sail (Serv. Aen. 8,299: *ad Geryonem autem, sicut iam supra [cf. 7,662] dictum est, navi aenea navigavit tergo leonis velificans*), cf. LIMC V (1990) 252 no. 41.

stormy winds. This is, indeed, one of the themes of the new epigram from Artena, but in this poem there is a further dimension lacking in the sources referred to above, i.e. the role of Heracles as the saviour of wrecked seamen.

Was Heracles, then, particularly active in rescuing? Considering that he was rather loosely associated with ancient seafaring, it seems better not to stress this point. Heracles was usually not among the gods whom ancient seamen petitioned for protection before setting sail. Other deities such as Aphrodite, Dionysus and Poseidon, were far more important in this respect, and it also deserves to be noted that ancient ships were rarely given the (protecting) name of Heracles.¹⁵ When an association of sailors from Tyre, the Heracleistai, dedicated a sanctuary to Heracles, their patron, on Delos,¹⁶ this does not imply that Heracles was himself regarded as a god of navigation; it shows rather that the hero's presence was also noticeable in the East, especially in Tyre, where he was early amalgamated with Melqart, the great Phoenician god whose major duties comprised the protection of seafaring and colonization.¹⁷ What is more important is that Heracles could protect travellers, whether on the land or sea. This is, in fact, one of the primary functions of Heracles in antiquity, closely linked with that suggested by the epithet ἀλεξίκακος, and it seems to have assumed a more important role in later times, especially in the Roman Imperial period. So Heracles was commonly regarded as a ἡγεμών or *comes* (both are known as epithets of the god) who accompanied travellers, protecting them against troubles of any kind, and this is why people used to offer sacrifices to

¹⁵ Cf. e.g. N. Sandberg, Εὔπλοια. Etudes épigraphiques (Acta Univ. Gotoburg. 60:8), Göteborg 1954, 33 no. 31 (= IG XII,5,712,26; Syros), 35–36 no. 39 (= IG XII,8,581A; Thasos); L. Casson, Ships and Seamanship, Princeton 1971, 355, 359; J. Vélissaropoulos, Les nauclères grecs (Centre de recherches d'histoire et de philologie III; Hautes études du monde gréco-romain 9), Genève – Paris 1980, 86–90; P. Janni, Il mare degli antichi, Bari 1996, 387 ff. Though in Roman times the relative frequency of *Hercules* as a name of warships increased (RE Suppl. V [1931] 954), it never became particularly popular. Moreover, that denomination suggests strength and power and not the god's protection in case of shipwreck (the ship name Λεοντιῆ 'lion's skin' attested from the fifth century B.C. probably was also associated with Heracles' superhuman strength, cf. K. Schmidt, Die Namen der attischen Kriegsschiffe, Diss. Leipzig 1931, 7, 89). It was also common that the image of the protecting god, the *tutela navis*, was exposed on the deck (examples in RE Suppl. V 934), but Heracles is not named among such deities.

¹⁶ I.Délos 1519 (mid-second century B.C.); Vélissaropoulos (cit. n. 15), 108–110.

¹⁷ RE Suppl. III (1918) 983–4; LIMC VIII (1997) 830–834. The connections of Heracles with Tyre are interestingly depicted by Nonn. D. 40,429–580 (passim).

Heracles before setting out on a journey.¹⁸ Macrobius observed that any remains of such offerings had to be completely burnt, a prescription that was also followed when Heracles was given offerings at the very ancient Ara Maxima in Rome.¹⁹ There is no reason to doubt that the habit of making offerings *propter viam* to Heracles goes far back to early Rome, reflecting the religious behaviour of those times. That the god was also praised after a successful journey is attested by many votive inscriptions; one may note especially those set up by soldiers *pro reditu*.²⁰ Travellers sometimes also crowned themselves with a wreath of poplar which was sacred to Heracles.²¹ As a protector of roads and traffic, Heracles was worshipped at many *stationes* throughout the Roman Empire.²²

Thus the Heracles of our poem is not the cosmic, all-embracing lord and soul of the universe, as he was in the Orphic tradition,²³ but rather a guardian of the traveller which is compatible with his role as a humane saviour and companion of anyone in trouble. Though the extant evidence suggests that his field of action was mostly on the land, there are, however, some sources indicating that seamen also used to call on Heracles to help them. In a speech delivered in Cyzicus in August A.D. 166, Aelius Aristides not only praised Heracles as the benefactor of mankind in the traditional Stoic way, but he also affirmed that the god was regarded as a great healer, especially at Messana in Sicily,²⁴ and he added that Poseidon and Heracles

¹⁸ Fest. p. 229: *Propter viam fit sacrificium, quod est proficiscendi gratia, Herculi aut Sanco, qui scilicet idem est deus*. Cf. Plaut. Rud. 149–150, referring to shipwrecked travellers: *ut mea est opinio, / propter viam illi sunt vocati ad prandium*. One should note furthermore that Hercules often appeared together with Mercury.

¹⁹ Macr. Sat. 2,2,4: *Sacrificium apud veteres fuit quod vocabatur propter viam. In eo mos erat ut, siquid ex epulis superfuisset, igne consumeretur*. Sheep are named as sacrificial animals *propter viam* in Non. p. 75, 21; cf. also Laber. mim. 69: *visus hac noctu bidenti <sum Herculi> propter viam* (add. Ribbeck).

²⁰ E.g. AE 1954,102 (Glanum): *Herculi Victori pro salute et reditu*; AE 1993, 1338 (Alba Iulia in Dacia): *Herculi Defensori...in red(itu) ex urbe*.

²¹ Hor. carm. 1,7,23.

²² RE VIII (1913) 588.

²³ H.Orph. 12: "Ἡρακλῆς ὀμβριμόθυμε, μεγασθενές, ἄλκιμε Τιτάν, / καρτερόχειρ, ἀδάμαστε, βρύων ἄθλοισι κραταιοῖς, / αἰολόμορφε, χρόνου πάτερ, etc. Cf. Nonn. D. 40,369: ἀστροχίτων Ἡρακλῆς, ἄναξ πυρός, ὄρχαμε κόσμου.

²⁴ There was also a story that Heracles had killed Scylla which was believed to have terrorized ships in the Strait of Messana, cf. Lyc. 44–47; Sch. Od. 12,85, referring to

were equally praised by those who had escaped danger on the sea: καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ κινδύνους οἱ διαφυγόντες ἐξ ἴσου Ποσειδῶνι τε καὶ Ἑρακλεῖ τὴν εὐεργεσίαν λογιζονται.²⁵ A further piece of evidence is given by Libanius who around the middle of the fourth century A.D. said that people in distress everywhere on land and sea invoked the name of the Emperor Julian in the same way as they did with Heracles: ὡςθ' ὅπερ ἐφ' Ἑρακλέους γενέσθαι φασὶ τοὺς ὅπου δὴ γῆς ἢ θαλάττης πάσχοντας κακῶς ἐκείνουν καὶ ἀπόντα καλεῖν καὶ τοῦνομα πρὸς ἐπικουρίαν ἀρκεῖν.²⁶ The idea expressed in both passages is now confirmed in actuality by the new epigram from Artena. After the temporary revival of paganism under Julian, no similar testimonies to Heracles' protecting role survive. Instead, there is a late legend that Heracles who was living inside a ship in Alexandria was finally expelled by St. Phocas who was then only ten years old.²⁷

Παῖ Διός ... Ἑράκλεες: Heracles was commonly held to be the son of Zeus and of Alcmene, though there was some disagreement about who was his mother (cf. RE Suppl. III 1102–1110). The vocative παῖ Διός often occurs in dedicatory epigrams and other dedications to various deities from archaic times onwards.²⁸ The various vocatives of the name of Heracles are collected in RE VIII (1913) 518–519.

εὐκῆλου μεδέων ... ὄρμου 'guardian of the secure anchorage'. In earlier writers from Homer onwards, the adjective εὐκῆλος (lengthened form of ἔκηλος) usually refers to persons in the act of doing something 'at

Dionysius of Samos (FGrH I, 15,12). The sea monster later came back to life and caused much trouble for Odysseus and his companions.

²⁵ Aristid. Or. 40,12.

²⁶ Lib. Or. 18,186. Julian put himself on a par with Heracles, cf. E. Bliembach, Libanius, Oratio 18 (Epitaphios) Kommentar, Diss. Würzburg 1976, 106, and the same comparison had appeared in a letter of Themistius to the emperor (Jul. ad Them. 2,17; for the background see Giuliano imperatore. Epistola a Temistio, a cura di A. Prato – A. Fornaro, Lecce 1984, 38–39).

²⁷ Anal.Boll. 30 (1911) 272–276; R. Merkelbach (cit. n. 2), 41–43.

²⁸ For an early instance, without the god's name, cf. IG XII,3,1075 = CEG 418 (Melos, early sixth century B.C.). As for Heracles, cf. besides the popular formula cited above in n. 2, W. Peek, Griechische Versinschriften aus Thessalien, Heidelberg 1974, no. 26 (c. 500–450 B.C., supplemented); IG XII Suppl. 424a (Thasos, Imperial time). Cf. also SEG XXVIII 602 = XXXV 842 (Marcianopolis, Severan): τῷ Διός.

their ease' or 'without care'.²⁹ This usage endured in later times as well, but εὔκηλος is usually not found combined with things until Alexandrian and later epic poetry.³⁰ This is the first time that εὔκηλος has been found together with ὄρμος (for this word in the meaning 'anchorage' see already Hom. Il. 1,435).

As for μεδέων (= μέδων) 'guardian, ruler, lord', it already occurs as an epithet of Zeus in the Homeric verse Ζεῦ πάτερ, Ἴδηθεν μεδέων, κύδιστε, μέγιστε.³¹ In later times, it continued to be frequently associated with the supreme god,³² but many other deities also bore this title, among them Apollo,³³ Hermes,³⁴ Pan,³⁵ and, occasionally, the Olympian gods together.³⁶ Poseidon is, naturally, attested as μεδέων of the sea,³⁷ as is the

²⁹ Il. 1,554; 17,371; Od. 3,263; 14,479. For the variation ἔκηλος / εὔκηλος, see P. Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique I: Phonétique et morphologie* (Tradition de l'humanisme 11), Paris 1973, 129–130.

³⁰ Cf. Ion Trag. frg. 28 (πυθμέν' εὔκηλον 'smooth-burning root'); A.R. 2,935 (εὐκήλοισιν ... πτερύγεσσιν 'steady wings'); 3,969 (ἔκηλοι 'unmoved (trees)'); 4,1249 (εὐκήλωι ... γαλήνηι 'dead calm'); Theocr. 2,166 (εὐκάλοιο ... Νυκτός 'silent Night'); AP 9,826 (εὔκηλον ... πόδα 'silent steps'); Opp. H. 3,474 (εὔκηλον ... χέρα 'hand at rest'); 4,415 (αὔραις εὐκήλοισιν 'with gentle breezes'); 5,156 (κώπησι δ' ὑπ' εὐκήλοισι 'with quiet oars'). Cf. also Arat. 100, referring to a star (εὔκηλος φορέοιτο 'may her way be peaceful').

³¹ Il. 3,276.320; 7,202; 24,308; cf. also Il. 16,234, where Zeus is Δωδώνης μεδέων δυσχειμέρου.

³² Pi. O. 7,87–88 (νώτοισιν Ἀταβυρίου); B. 16,66 (πάντων); AP 11,258 and 12,64 (Πίσσης); Q.S. 1,703 (μακάρων); 3,634 (θεῶν ... καὶ ἀνδρῶν); 9,9 (Ἴδης ... ἡδ' οὐρανοῦ αἰγλήεντος); 14,425 (θεῶν); Ps. Just. coh. ad gent. 15 E 8 and B 3 (πάντων). Cf. also E. frg. 912,1 (TGF I p. 655, πάντων), addressed to Zeus / Hades.

³³ SIG³ 1044,8 and 37 = F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1955, no. 72 (Τελεμεσσοῦ; Halicarnassus, third century B.C.); Call. Del. 5 (αἰοιδάων); AP 9,581 (Πτερίδων); Segre, *I.Cos EV 232* (first century B.C./first century A.D.) and Segre, *Tit.Cal. 108–110* (Καλύμνας; first century A.D.); IG XII,5,893 (Tenos; second/third century A.D.) = Kaibel, *Epigrammata 1025* = App. Anth. exhort. 27 (Δήλου); Orph. A. 1 (Πυθῶνος).

³⁴ H.Hom. 4 (Merc.), 2: Κυλλήνης ... καὶ Ἀρκαδίας πολυμήλου.

³⁵ Pi. frg. 95,1 and Carm. Conv. 4,1 (PMG 887): Ἀρκαδίας.

³⁶ I.Cret. I, VIII no. 34 (Cnossos, second/first century B.C.): οἱ...θεοὶ μεδέοντες Ὀλύμπου.

³⁷ Corinn. 1, col. III,14 (PMG 654; πόντ[ω --]); Ar. Eq. 560 (δελφίνων); Mosch. Eur. 149 (πολιῆς ἀλός); AP 6,30 (καὶ χθονὶ καὶ πελάγει); Nonn. D. 36,124; 42,456; 43,120 (ἀλός); Ps.Hdt. Vit.Hom. 236 = Suid. Vit.Hom. 121 (εὐρυχώρου ... ἡδὲ ξανθοῦ

heroine Helen once in Euripides,³⁸ and the same role was probably given to the Emperor Hadrian in the epigram IG II/III² 3575, l. 9–11 (= Kaibel, Epigrammata no. 863 = App. Anth. dedic. 224), where μεδέων is commonly restored at the end of line nine: τὸν χθονὸς εὐρυχόρου δὲ καὶ ἀτρυγέ[της μεδέοντα], / τὸν καὶ ἀπειρεσίων κοίρανον ἡμερί[ων], / ἄσπετον ὅς πάσαις πλοῦτον κατέχευε πόλεσσιν (note, by the way, that the Homeric ἀτρυγέτη also appears at the end of line eight in the new poem from Artena). As for strong heros, one may note the ancient cult of Achilles on the north shore of the Black Sea where he was locally invoked as a μεδέων of the island of Leuce from the late classical period onwards.³⁹ Heracles, however, does not seem to be called μεδέων anywhere in the extant sources except in the Artena poem.⁴⁰ In Christian times, Christ was often given the title of μεδέων, and so was the Antichrist (e.g. κακίης or βροτῶν).

ἀλιτρώτων ... νεῶν: The second line expresses the idea already discussed above, i.e. that Heracles is the saviour of ships and crews. The rare adjective ἀλίτρωτος 'sea-beaten, sea-worn' appears for the first time in Theoc. 1,45 and it later occurs in AP 7,294; Eus. Const. Imp. or. 20, p. 186,1 H. (cf. Verg. ecl. 4,38), and Nonn. Ev. Jo. 21,16. Only in the epigram of the Anthology does this adjective refer to a boat.⁴¹

Ἐλικῶνος). Poseidon is ἀλιμέδων in Ar. Th. 323, ποντομέδων in Pi. O. 6,103; A. Th. 130–131; E. Hipp. 743–4; Ar. V. 1531–32; CEG 266 = IG I³ 828 (c. 480–475 B.C.), and cf. also ποντομέδοιο Ποσειδάωνος in Orac. ap. St. Byz. s.v. Τρινακρία. See, finally, ἄλδος μεδέοντος in Alex. Eph. (Suppl. Hell. 33, if the text is correct) and S. Laoc. frg. 341 D: Αἰγαίου μέδεις πρῶνας ἢ γλαυκᾶς μέδεις εὐάνεμου λίμνας.

³⁸ E. Or. 1690: μεδέουσα θαλάσσης. Cf. also Hom. Il. 1,72, referring to Scylla, Φόρκυκος θυγάτηρ, ἄλδος ἀτρυγέτοιο μέδοντος (from μέδων).

³⁹ I. Pont. Eux. 326, 672 (cf. SEG III 606); SEG XXX 869. What is more, Achilles is μεδέων of Scythia as early as Alcaeus (frg. 354, Z 31). For the cult of A. Pontarches, see H. Hommel, Actes du VII^e Congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine (Constantza 1977), Bucuresti – Paris 1979, 317–318.

⁴⁰ Further cases of μεδέων / μεδέουσα (besides Μέδουσα, name of the Gorgon): Aphrodite (Σαλαμίνος, etc.: H. Hom. 10 (Ven.), 4), Artemis (τόξων: E. Hipp. 167), Athene (τῆς ἱεροτάτης ... χώρας: Ar. Eq. 585; Ἄθηνων: CIG 2246 [Samos], Segre, I. Cos EV 361 [perhaps also from Samos], Plut. Them. 10,2), Helios (ἀπάντων: Eun. hist. 1,229, referring to Julian as a son of the Sun), Mnemosyne (Ἐλευθῆρος: Hes. Th. 54). Cf. also Call. Jov. 86 (ἡμετέρῳ μεδέοντι, i.e. Ptolemy); AP 16,188 (γυμνασίου; cf. App. Anth. dedic. 171); Opp. C. 2,165 (θηρῶν, i.e. the lion king); Nonn. Ev. Jo. 2,41 (εἰλαπίνης).

⁴¹ The genitive νεῶν: Chantraine, Grammaire (cit. n. 29), 72.

Μόνουικε: the occurrence of this epithet in the poem is remarkable because it is attested here for the first time in ancient inscriptions.⁴² In literary sources, Μόνουικος (Lat. *Monoecus*) is naturally known as the name from which derives that of the city of Monaco, originally called Μονοίικου λιμὴν or *Herculis Monoeci portus*.⁴³ Despite other explanations,⁴⁴ the epithet itself most probably draws on indigenous linguistic stock.⁴⁵ Μόνουικος is hitherto known exclusively in direct reference to the name of the Ligurian port which means that it is here attested independently for Hercules for the first time. However, context and especially the mention of the Ligurians on line 12 clearly show that the author of the poem also had Monaco in mind. Moreover, one may note that while Heracles is the guardian of a ὄρμος ('anchorage') in the poem, Strabo 4,6,3 characterizes Monaco in a similar fashion: ὁ δὲ τοῦ Μονοίικου λιμὴν ὄρμος ἐστὶν οὐ μεγάλαις οὐδὲ πολλαῖς

⁴² I can find only one further instance of Μόνουικος in ancient epigraphy (I. Tralleis 250, col. II,40; A.D. 284–305), but here it seems to be the name of an estate, which, of course, has nothing to do with the epithet of Heracles (cf. *Monaulis* in the same inscription, lines 29 and 37, and L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie mineure gréco-romaine* [BAH Istanbul 13], Paris 1963, 274). – Note also that *monoecus* was the name of a plant (Marcell. med. 36,12; cf. ThLL VIII 1424 and J. André, *Les noms de plantes dans la Rome antique*, Paris 1985, 164: "Terme de la région marseillaise? Non identifiable").

⁴³ Hecat. apud St. Byz. s.v. (= FGrH IA,1 F 57; cf. Hdn. 3,1 p. 151,9 and 3,2 p. 338,36 [Arc. 51,21] where μόνουικος is also recorded as a proparoxytonon); Str. 4,6,1–3; Ptol. Geog. 3,1,2 (see below); Verg. Aen. 6,830 (cf. Serv. Aen.); Plin. nat. 3,47; Lucan. 1,408 (cf. Adnot. Lucan. 1,408 and 3,278; Comment. Lucan. 1,405.408); Sil. 1,586; Tac. hist. 3,42; Amm. 15,10,9 (see below n. 48); Paneg. 11,4,2; Gloss. Verg. ed. Hagen A 309 (*fluvius Monoecus*); Vib. Seq. geogr. p. 156 R. (given as a mountain in Liguria); Itin. Anton. Aug. p. 503,4–5 (*Hercle Manico*); Ravenn. p. 64,46 S. and 86,42 (*Pomune?*) and Ravenn. Guid. p. 131,34 S. (*Pomona?*). The Ἡρακλέους λιμὴν recorded by Ptol. Geog. 3,1,2 between Nicaia (Nice) and Tropaia (la Turbie) is to be identified with the port of Villefranche-sur-Mer (Villafranca) west of Monaco. The same site, *portus Herculis*, is probably meant in Val. Max. 1,6,7 and Obseq. 24, cf. J. Weiss, RE VIII (1913) 613; H. Philipp, RE XVI (1933) 132–133.

⁴⁴ Popular etymologies already appeared in ancient times (e.g. Serv. Aen. 6,830: *dictus autem Monoecus vel quod pulsus omnibus illic solus habitavit, vel quod in eius templo numquam aliquis deorum simul colitur*; Comment. Lucan. 1,405: *Ideo autem 'Monoeci' quod solus ibi οἶκον habebat id est templa*), but cf. also M. Szyncer, in: *La toponymie antique* (Travaux du Centre de recherche sur le Proche-Orient et la Grèce antiques 4), Strasbourg 1977, 167–168: "solitaire".

⁴⁵ G. Reymond – J.-E. Dugand, *Monaco antique: essai sur l'histoire ancienne de Monaco depuis des origines ligures jusqu'aux environs de l'an 1000* (Pubbl. Fac. Lettr. Sc. Hum. Nice 5), Nice 1970, 222–223.

ναυσίν, ἔχων ἱερὸν Ἡρακλέους Μονοίκου καλουμένου (cf. also Lucan. 1,408: *statio Monoeci*).⁴⁶ Unfortunately, nothing remains of the temple recorded by Strabo,⁴⁷ nor is there any indication of how old the cult of Heracles was in Monaco. The earliest extant source testifying to a connection of the port of Monaco with the figure of Heracles comes from the early first century B.C., when Timagenes of Alexandria wrote that both the promontory (*arx*) and port of Monoecus had been consecrated to the eternal memory of Heracles.⁴⁸ But even if we cannot establish the origins of a cultic worship of the god in Monaco, there is little doubt that Heracles was associated with the site at a very early date, most probably in the aftermath of Greek colonization. When the Greek colonists arrived at Massalia and other places in southern Gaul and Liguria, they would have adopted the well-known legend telling how Heracles had taken away the cattle of Geryon from around Gades in southwestern Spain. Heracles finally brought his plunder to Athens after a long journey along the northern littoral of the Mediterranean, and this naturally gave birth to the idea that many coastal towns had been founded or refounded by the hero.⁴⁹ So Heracles, guardian of roads and civilizer of uncultivated land, had in a way cleared the way for the Greeks before their arrival (cf. above at n. 8).⁵⁰ The road running along the coast from Italy to Spain through the Celtic lands was called 'Herakleia'

⁴⁶ Note that Heracles is also otherwise attested as a guardian of ports: Segre, I.Cos ED 180 (first century B.C.): Ἡρακλῆς ὁ Καλλίνικος ὁ ἐπὶ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐπὶ λιμένι.

⁴⁷ It may have stood in the place of the church of Saint-Georges in the valley of the Gaumates, cf. Reymond – Dugand (cit. n. 45), 179–181.

⁴⁸ Preserved (probably) in Amm. 15,10,9: *Monoeci similiter arcem et portum ad perennem sui [scil. Herculis] memoriam consecravit* (cf. FGrH II A,88 F 14); note also Adnot. Lucan. 3,278: *huc usque enim Hercules venit ibique portum Herculis Monoeci condidit*. The first to mention Monaco was Hecataeus, but he did not say a word about Heracles: Μόνοικος· πόλις Λιγυστική (St.Byz. s.v. Μόνοικος, with the addition τὸ ἔθνικὸν Μονοίκιος).

⁴⁹ Aeschylus already referred to Heracles as fighting the Ligurians when he was returning from Spain with the cattle of Geryon: A. frg. 199 (TGF I p. 66–67).

⁵⁰ For further reading, see Reymond – Dugand (cit. n. 45), 116–123; F. Benoît, *Recherches sur l'hellénisation du Midi de la Gaule* (Ann.Fac.Lettres n.s. 43), Aix-en-Provence 1965, 93–96; C. Jourdain-Annequin, in: *Héraclès* (cit. n. 8), 277–278; D. Plácido, in: *Ercole in Occidente, a cura di A. Mastrocinque* (Labirinti 2), Trento 1993, 73–79 (the Geryon episode).

as early as the fourth century B.C.,⁵¹ and many old settlements were similarly renamed for the hero or, if new, began to be named after him right from the beginning.⁵² *Portus Herculis Monoeci* would have been one of those adding the hero's name to an old toponym. Under Augustus, in 7–6 B.C., the site became famous for the grandiose memorial erected by the emperor along the old Alpine road which ran above the port. The *arx Monoeci* of Verg. Aen. 6,830 probably refers to the hill where this monument, *tropaeum Alpium* (la Turbie), was erected to mark the re-opening of the "Heracleian" road, the Augustan *via Iulia*, as well as the pacification of the Ligurian lands.⁵³

Ζεφύροιο...Βορέη: the enumeration of stormy winds was among the typical set pieces of epic poetry from Homer onwards. Similar cliché-like descriptions can be found in most of the major Greek and Latin epic poems down to Nonnus of Panopolis, but winds as well as constellations affecting the sea are also frequently described in other types of poetry, especially epigrams commemorating the death of seamen or referring to navigation in general.⁵⁴

Ζεφύροιο θοῆ κελάδοντος ἀέλλη 'rapid squall of the howling Zephyr': a similar situation, though in completely different words, may be found in Homer: ὑπὸ λιγέων ἀνέμων σπέρχωσιν ἄελλαι (Il. 13,334).⁵⁵ The adjective θοή, it seems, is not otherwise attested as being coupled with ἀέλλη except in the Posthomeric of Quintus of Smyrna.⁵⁶ As for κελάδων (Ep. for κελαδέων / κελαδῶν), this word, especially frequent in the

⁵¹ Ps.Arist. Mir. 85 (837a), possibly from Timaeus: Ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας φασιν ἕως τῆς Κελτικῆς καὶ Κελτολιγύων καὶ Ἰβηρῶν εἶναι τινα ὁδὸν Ἡράκλειαν καλουμένην. Cf. Amm. 15,10,9: *primam [scil. viam] Thebaeus Hercules ad Geryonem exstinguendum, ut relatam est, ...prope maritimas composuit Alpes.*

⁵² For a list and map of places named after Heracles/Hercules in the western Mediterranean, see Reymond – Dugand (cit. n. 45), 130–131 and pl. XXXVbis.

⁵³ Cf. Diz.Virg. s.v. *Monoecus*.

⁵⁴ E.g. Boreas (AP 7,374.397; SEG I 91 from Gytheion, Laconia), Orion and Euros (AP 7,273.395.500.543), Arcturos (AP 7,392.495.539), Eriphoi (AP 7,272.502), Hyades and Libs (AP 7,653.738), Notos (AP 7,263; AP 13,27 = Peek, GV 1744). For Zephyros in Homer, see E. Risch, MH 25 (1968) 205–213 = Kleine Schriften, Berlin – New York 1981, 158–166 (Zephyros appears together with Boreas in Hom. Il. 9,5; 23,195.208).

⁵⁵ Cf. Od. 5,304–305: ἐπισπέρχουσι δ' ἄελλαι / παντοίων ἀνέμων. Cf. further A.R. 2,276: Ζεφύροιο...ἀέλλας.

⁵⁶ Q.S. 3,704; 9,293; cf. 14,25 (θοῶς).

Dionysiaca of Nonnus, was used not only to describe the whistling of winds,⁵⁷ but it also characterized other natural sounds.⁵⁸ As the closest parallel to the second distich of the Arta poem one may adduce Q.S. 4,552–553: ἢ Βορέαο μέγα πνεύοντος ἀέλλαις / ἢ Νότου κελάδοντος.

πολυφλοίσβω ραϊόμεναι Βορέη 'crushed (i.e. the ships) by the loud-roaring Boreas'. πολύφλοισβος, one of the many Homeric epithets of the sea,⁵⁹ was used by later poets, especially Nonnus (but not A.R. nor Q.S.), to express the roaring sound of many other phenomena as well.⁶⁰ This seems to be the first time the adjective is characterizing a wind. ραίω / ραίομαι often refers to shipwrecks or seamen in distress.⁶¹

ἀσπάσια...ἀστυφέλικτον 'welcome they sail down to you (l. 3: ἐς σὲ) under the unshaken shelter'. The meaning is that Heracles, saving the ships from destructive whirlwinds, welcomed the passengers to himself. σκέπας is the shelter against winds already in Homer,⁶² but in the present

⁵⁷ Hom. Od. 2,421 (Ζέφυρον κελάδοντ'), cf. Il. 23,208 (Ζέφυρον κελαδεινόν); Q.S. 3,751 (Ζεφύρω κελάδοντι). Other winds: Βορέας (Q.S. 8,243), ἄνεμοι (App.Anth. orac. 146,5, cf. Eus. PE 6,3,1,7 and Porph. Orac. p. 170,23), ἔτησίαι (Arat. 152; cf. Sch. Arat.), ἀήτης (Opp. C. 1,106; 4,409).

⁵⁸ Πόντος (FGrH IIC,637 F 1,19; Ar. Nu. 284; Opp. H. 5,215; E. Heitsch, Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit I, Göttingen 1961, no. XXIV,35), Okeanos (Nonn. D. 19,342; 42,481), πόταμος (Hom. Il. 18,576; B. 9,65; Theoc. 17,92; Call. Dian. 3,107; A.R. 1,501; 4,133; Philostr. Jun. Im. p. 409,24–25 K.; Q.S. 10,171; Coluth. 6; Nonn. D. 12,165; Euseb. PE 9,22,3,5), Maeander (river, Nonn. D. 25,406), ῥέεθρον (Nonn. D. 13,316; 48,326), ῥόος (Q.S. 4,158; 10,145; Nonn. D. 14,327), ἔναυλοι (Q.S. 2,472), πάταγος (Nonn. D. 3,77), ῥόθιον (Nonn. D. 43,193), μυκηθμός (Nonn. D. 45, 357), νιφετός (Nonn. D. 3,204; 6,282; 13,538), μυχὸς ἄντρου (Nonn. D. 13,9); cf. also τύπανον (Nonn. D. 27,224), μαχητής (Nonn. D. 40,89), ὀπλίτης (Plu. Lys. 29,5, cf. App.Anth. orac. 72,1), φῶς (Orac.Chald. 2,1; 111,1), Silenos (Nonn. D. 19, 301). Note, finally, that Κελάδων is the name of a river in Hom. Il. 7,133.

⁵⁹ Θάλασσα (Hom. Il. 1,34; 2,209; 6,347; 9,182; 13,798; 23,59; Od. 13,85.220; H.Hom. 4 (Merc.), 341; H.Hom. 6 (Ven.), 4; Hes. Op. 648; Archil. frg. 13,3 [West]; Diph. frg. 126,4; Orph. A. 331; AP 7,592 [κύματα θαλάσσης]; 9,398; Ath. 8,10,18); cf. also Choaspes (river, Nic. Ther. 890), ἠτόνες (Opp. H. 3,454), ῥέεθρα (Procl. H. 7,30).

⁶⁰ Βέλεμνον (Nonn. D. 2,476), βίωτος (Nonn. D. 7,64), κόσμος (Nonn. Ev.Jo. 16,126), κυδοιμός (App.Anth. orac. 120,13 [cf. Porph. Plot. 22,25]; Nonn. D. 23,196; 24,103; 29,93), μέλαθρον (Nonn. D. 20,355; Nonn. Ev.Jo. 18,135), μέριμνα (Nonn. D. 33,263; 42,59), μῦθος (Nonn. Ev.Jo. 10,69), τράπεζα (Nonn. Ev.Jo. 6,41).

⁶¹ E.g. Hom. Od. 8,569; 13,151; 23,235 (cf. 5,221 and 6,326); A.R. 2,1112.

⁶² Hom. Od. 5,443; 6,210.212; 7,282; 12,336 (the adjective ἀνεμοσκεπής in Il. 16,224); later, W. Peek, MDAI(A) 67 (1942) 154, 330, l. 3 (ἀνέμων σκέπας, note the adverb

context one should note that a harbor or anchorage could, naturally, also be called a 'shelter',⁶³ and so it is possible that σκέπας associates with εὐκηλος ὄρμος (line 1) as well. Regarding the adjective ἀστυφέλικτος, which is not known until Xenophon (Lac. 15,7) and Callimachus (Del. 26),⁶⁴ it is here attested for the first time with σκέπας. For the idea of shaking (στυφελίζω) a shelter, cf. Nonn. D. 17,202. For κάτειμι, referring to a ship, see Hom. Od. 16,472.

ἐνθ' ἵνα...ἀλός 'where they need not take heed of the raging sea'. It seems as if two relative adverbs of place (ἐνθα, ἵνα) were used pleonastically to open the verse, unless one thinks of the demonstrative ἐνθα followed by the relative adverb ('there where'). Either way, this kind of expression is very rare, being paralleled, it seems, only by three other instances. In a Hadrianic (or early Antonine) inscription from Magnesia-on-Maeander, which enumerates the victories of an athlete, it is stated among other things that the man had participated in the Ourania games in Sparta, in a locality where the tower of Lacedaemon is (Σπάρτη ἐνὶ ζαθέη, Λακεδαίμονος ἐνθ' ἵνα τύρσις, ἐστεφόμην...⁶⁵ The example of Babrius also comes from the second century A.D.: ἐνθ' ἵνα μοι βίος ἐστίν, Ἀμαλθείης κέρασ ἀιγὸς / λέξομαι ἐν μυχάτῳ.⁶⁶ The third case is considerably later, being found in a description of the church of the Holy Martyr Polyeuctus in Constantinople (A.D. 524/527): οἶκον ἰδὼν λάμποντα, περιδρομον, ἄλλον ἐπ' ἄλλῳ, / ἐνθ' ἵνα καὶ γραφίδων ἱερῶν ὑπὲρ ἄντυγος ἀύλης / ἔστιν ἰδεῖν μέγα θαῦμα, πολύφρονα Κωνσταντῖνον.⁶⁷

ἀσπασίως in l. 4; c. 165 B.C.); Opp. H. 1,45 (φοιταλέων ἀνέμων); Q.S. 7,137 and 139 (σκέπας ὡ ἀνέμοιο...ἀέλλαι). Cf. also, referring to weather conditions, AP 6,335 and Greg.Naz. 1396,7 (νιφετός).

⁶³ Lyc. 736–7 (παρ' ἄκλυστον σκέπας / ὄρμων Μισηνοῦ), 768 (ναύλοχον...σκέπας); Hdn. 3,1,272,28 (σκέπας...ἀυτοφνοῦς ὄρμοιο [cf. St.Byz. 303,8]); Nonn. D. 3,47 (λιμένος...ὑπὸ σκέπας); Procop. Aed. 1,5,2 (σκέπας λιμένων ἠσύχιον), also 1,8,7 and 1,11,18.

⁶⁴ See also AP 6,163; 7,748; 9,764; App.Anth. sepulch. 605,3 and orac. 140,14. A number of instances also in Nonn. D. and other late authors. For an epigraphic example, cf. IGLS IV 1599,11 (Chr.) from around Apameia (cf. below n. 80).

⁶⁵ I.Magnesia am Maeander 181, l. 13.

⁶⁶ Babr. Fab dact.iamb. 10,4 (p. 217–218), cf. Suid. A 1478.

⁶⁷ AP 1,10, l. 69–71. Cf. also Suppl.Hell. frg. adesp. 1008: ἐνθ' ἵνα † ἐς κακόν ἐστίν. Some scholars have suggested Callimachus.

ὀθέουσιν 'take heed, fear': the active voice of this verb is known only from Hesychius (s.v. ὀθέων) who says that it means the same as φροντίζων. The dictionary also gives other parallel forms, ὀθεύει· ἄγει. φροντίζει, and ὀθεσθαι· φροντίζειν... δεδοικέναι. The latter, also given by Hesychius as ὀθεται· ἐπιστρέφεται,⁶⁸ is attested in the Iliad, though only in the present and imperfect tense and always in negative clauses (compare, by analogy, οὐκ ὀθέουσιν in our poem). Note further that the Homeric verb is also construed with the genitive (Il. 1,181), as it is in A.R. 3,94 (cf. 1,1267). Besides the verbal forms, Hesychius also provided the noun ὄθη, with the explanation φροντίς. ὄρα. φόβος. λόγος. As for μαίνομαι 'to rage, to be mad', in early epic poetry it mostly refers to persons or to hands holding weapons (or to the weapons themselves), and once to fire (Il. 15,606); the verb is not combined with sea or other natural elements until considerably later, especially in Quintus' Posthomerica.⁶⁹

II. Lines 7–12

The author goes on to tell a personal story of a voyage at sea. After a common epic opening, Heracles is introduced as ἄναξ (line 7) and a helping ξεῖνος (line 9).

ὥς ῥα... ἐδέξω 'so us too, Lord, when we were thrown about by the winds, you took under your protection'.⁷⁰ The title ἄναξ was commonly given to various deities addressed in dedications from archaic times

⁶⁸ This equivalent is hard to explain, as is that of ὀθεσαν (< ὀθέω)· ἐπεστράφησαν. See also P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots*, Paris 1980, 777.

⁶⁹ Q.S. 14,601 (ἐμαίνετο δία θάλασσα); 9,272 (μέμνηε δὲ λαίλαπι πόντος); 5,386 (μαίνετο δ' ἠύτε πόντος ἀπείριτος ἠὲ θύελλα); 10,69–70 (μέγα πόντος...μαίνεται ἐξ ἀνέμοιο); cf. also 1,355–6 ([λαίλαψ] ἐνὶ πόντῳ μαίνεται); 7,588 (μέγα μαίνεται' ἀήτης); 14,249 (μαينوμένου ἀνέμοιο); 14,471 ([ἀνέμους] ῥιπήσι μεμνηότας). Cf. also Gr.Naz. *carm.* 993,7 (μαينوμένοισι...ἀνέμοισι) and POxy. 1085, col. II,13–15 (= Heitsch [cit. n. 58] I, 53, infuriated lion being hunted by Hadrian and Antinous): μαίνετο δ' ὥς ὅτε κῦμα[α] πολυκλύστο[ι]ο θαλάσσης / Στρυ[μ]ονίου κ[α]τόπισθεν ἐχειρομένου Ζεφύρ[οιο]; P.Argent. 481,36 (= Heitsch I, no. XXIV,36; fourth century A.D.): μαينوμένην, following πόντου κελάδοντος [---] of l. 35.

⁷⁰ ἡμέας: Chantraine, *Grammaire* (cit. n. 29), 269.

onwards.⁷¹ Heracles is also ἄναξ in an archaic inscription,⁷² and he bears the same title in literary sources as well.⁷³

περισπερχῆας is an artificial form (pro -έας > -εῖς) probably coined, *metri gratia*, on the model of the type Ἡρακλῆος, -κλῆα (Ion. -κλέος, -κλέα) which, in turn, draws on the genuine Aeolian flexion of nouns in -εύς (e.g. βασιλῆος, -ῆας).⁷⁴ The adjective itself, περισπερχής 'very hasty, hurried, agitated', is first found in Sophocles,⁷⁵ and it is not combined with winds or storm until Oppianus' Halieutica.⁷⁶ For this purpose, however, Homer already used the verb σπέρχω or the prefixed form ἐπισπέρχω.⁷⁷

⁷¹ CEG 402 (god unknown; seventh century B.C. [?], Naxos); 334, 336 (Apollo; late sixth century B.C., Boeotia); 362 (Zeus Kronion; c. 560 B.C., Cleonae); 384 (id.; c. 475 B.C., Elis); 367 (Zeus Olympios; early fifth century B.C., Olympia); 357 (Poseidon; c. 640–625 B.C., Corinth). For a recent survey of the use of ἄναξ in Homer, see N. Yamagata, CQ n.s. 47 (1997) 3–10.

⁷² CEG 396 (late sixth century B.C. [?], Metapontum): χαῖρε φάναξ Ἡρακλῆος· ...; cf. now *Iscrizioni greche arcaiche di Sicilia e Magna Grecia IV: Iscrizioni delle colonie achee*, a cura di R. Arena, Alessandria 1996, 102 no. 79. Compare the fragment of Archilochus in the following footnote.

⁷³ E.g. Archil. frg. 324,2 West (χαῖρε ἄναξ Ἡράκλειος); H. Hom. 15 (Heracl.), 10 (χαῖρε ἄναξ Διὸς υἱέ); Ar. Ach. 94, Pax 180, Lys. 296, Ra. 298; Antiph. frg. 26,1; Men. Dysc. 621. For the evolution of the meaning of ἄναξ, especially its divine and human usages, cf. recently E. Dickey, *Greek Forms of Address: from Herodotus to Lucian*, Oxford 1996, 101–103. The use of ὦ with vocatives: *ibid.* 199–206. For the form ἄνα, see J. Wackernagel, *Über einige antike Anredeformen*, Göttingen 1912, 24. For a good parallel showing both ὦνα, χαῖρε and μεδέων, see IG XII,5, 893 (Tenos, above n. 33).

⁷⁴ Cf. also C.J. Ruijgh, *Lingua* 27 (1971) 270–271 (review of W.F. Wyatt, *Metrical Lengthening in Homer* [1969]) = *Scripta minora ad linguam Graecam pertinentia*, Amsterdam 1991, 209–210.

⁷⁵ Aj. 982 (π. πάθος 'over-hasty'); cf. TGF Adesp. frg. 254 (π. βοῆς); later Plu. adul. 59D (κόλαξ π. 'acrimonious'); Opp. H. 5,145 and C. 4,218 (π. ὀδύνησιν 'goaded by pains'). Cf. the verb περισπέρχω already in Hdt. 7,207 (Φωκέων καὶ Λοκρῶν περισπερχθέντων); later Opp. H. 2,334; 3,449 (see the following footnote); 4,330. Cf. Sch. Opp. H. 2,334: περισπέρχουσα, ταχέως σπουδάζουσα, σπεύδουσα, ὅθεν καὶ περισπερχής ὁ σπουδαῖος, καὶ περισπέρχεια ἢ ἄγαν σπουδή.

⁷⁶ Opp. H. 3,449: ἀλλ' ὅτε κυμαίνουσα περισπέρχησι θάλασσα / λάβρων ἐξ ἀνέμων (cf. Sch. Opp. H. περισπέρχησι· ταρασσεται, κατεπείγεται, βιάζεται, ἐπείγεται).

⁷⁷ Hom. Il. 13,334 (ἀνέμων σπέρχουσιν ἄελλαι); Od. 3,283 (σπέρχοιεν ἄελλαι); 5,304 (ἐπισπέρχουσι δ' ἄελλαι); 13,115 ([νηῦς] ἐπέκελσεν σπερχομένη); later, Hymn.Is. 151 (= IG XII,5,739, Andros, probably early Empire): σπερχόμενος βαρὺ πόντος. Cf. also κατασπέρχω: D.C. 41,46,3 (ὁ ἄνεμος ἰσχυρῶς κατέσπερχε); Opp. H. 4,90–1 (ἐλάττησι νῆα).

ἐδέξω: the reading of this word was not quite clear at first sight because the stone is broken at the end of the line. Yet it seems that the only possibility is ἐδέξω,⁷⁸ i.e. aorist second person singular from δέχομαι 'to accept, to receive (kindly), to welcome', which is well documented in Greek poetry as closing a verse. Another form of the same verb is at the beginning of line 14.

αἰπὰ...ἀτρυγέτης 'when the high waves of the barren sea crested aloft'. αἰπά, neuter plural of the adjective αἰπός 'high, lofty', is here an adverb which probably refers to the height of the waves, though one could also argue that αἰπά is associated with the Homeric αἰπὰ ῥέεθρα 'streams falling sheer down'.⁷⁹ In that case, considering the meaning of the adverb ὑπόθεν (which, however, was also used as an equivalent of ὑψοῦ 'aloft, on high'), one could perhaps understand as follows: 'when the crested waves of the barren sea fell straight down from on high'.

κορυσσαμένης...ἀτρυγέτης. Expressions like ἄλως ἀτρυγέτιοι, ἀτρυγέτιοι θαλάσσης, or πόντον ἐπ' ἀτρύγετον for 'barren sea' are frequent in Homer and later poets.⁸⁰ Here the adjective ἀτρυγέτη is used alone for 'sea', a practice already well attested in early epic poetry.⁸¹ The participle κορυσσαμένη suggests that the waves were so high that they had begun to crest. The verb κορύσσω / κορύσσομαι 'to arm (oneself), to equip (one-

⁷⁸ For the form of the letter Ξ, see e.g. the tables in vol. II of K. Larfeld's *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik*, Leipzig 1898.

⁷⁹ Hom. Il. 8,369 (cf. Paus. 8,18,1); 21,9; Hes. frg. 150,23; A.R. 1,927; Q.S. 6,266. Other usages: Q.S. 1,170; 6,145; 7,557 (α. μέλαθρα); 2,596; 5,55 (α. κέλευθα).

⁸⁰ ἄλς (Hom. Il. 1,316.327; 24,752; Od. 1,72; 5,52; 6,226; 8,49; 10,179; H.Hom. 7 (Bacch.), 2; Hippon. frg. 126,4 D.; Ar. V. 1521; Pl. R. 388,b,1; Orph. A. 1033; Q.S. 6,331), θάλασσα (Hom. Il. 14,204; Sol. Nom. frg. 13,19 [West]; H.Hom. 22 (Nept.), 2; Hes. Th. 413, 728; Orph. A. 1168; Nonn. D. 1,112–3; 35,74; IGLS IV 1599,9 [Chr., cf. above n. 64]), πόντος (Hom. Il. 15,27; Od. 2,370; 5,84.140.158; 7,79; 13,419; 17,289; Hes. Th. 241, 696, 737, 808; Thgn. 1,248; Orph. L. 519; Q.S. 14,589). Cf. also πέλαγος (Hes. Th. 131]; Q.S. 8,156), κῶμα (Orph. A. 1196), ὕδωρ (AP 7,397; Ath. 8,10,16; Nonn. D. 1,94), οἶδμα (Q.S. 7,181), ἄλως κευθμῶνες (Q.S. 2,426), π[ε]λάγους [β]ένθος (IG XII:7, 115,12, Amorgos), αἰγιαλοί (Q.S. 6,334), χθών (Nonn. D. 6,100–1), νύξ (AP 7,735), αἰθήρ (Hom. Il. 17,425; H.Hom. 2 (Cer.), 67,457; Hes. frg. 150,35; Stesich. frg. 32, col. 1,4), ἄήρ (Opp. H. 4,36). For ἀτρύγετος, cf. also P. Vivante, *The Epithets in Homer. A Study in Poetic Values*, New Haven – London 1982, 133.

⁸¹ For examples see G.P. Shipp, *Studies in the Language of Homer*, London 1972², 74. Compare ὑγρή = ὑγρή θάλασσα. As for ἀτρύγετος standing alone for 'sea', cf. e.g. Ar. Av. 1338 (cf. S. frg. 423 D.); IG II/III² 3575 (above at n. 38–9).

self)', especially frequent in Nonnus, is used in this sense by many epic poets.⁸²

ἐν δὲ σέο ξείνοιο...ἀπλοίῃ 'and therein, having you as our host, with forward mind we stayed for two days and two nights, as we could not set sail'. For the opening phrase ἐν δέ..., see Hom. Il. 9,361 (cf. Od. 13,244). Heracles is here ξείνος (Ep. for ξένος), i.e. a host receiving wanderers and refugees, a charge frequently undertaken by Zeus who was regarded as the protector of the rights of hospitality (thereby called Xenios).⁸³ The sailors were prevented from continuing their voyage by ἄπλοια, the 'impossibility of sailing', caused by the storm (cf. the adjective ἄπλοος which may refer to ships, sailors or to the sea itself). This noun occurs here and there in Greek literature from the time of the great tragedians,⁸⁴ and it also appears in the company of ἴσχω (Hdt. 2,119: ἀποπλέειν γὰρ ὀρμημένον αὐτὸν ἴσχω ἄπλοια). The verb ἴσχω 'to keep back, to restrain, to stop' as well as the poetic adjective πρόφρων 'with forward mind, kindly, willing' are both well attested from Homer onwards. The latter, when used of persons, is usually a predicative (always in Homer).

Regarding the rhythm of line nine, it seems to show a metric slip, the only one in the poem. What follows ΔΥΟ appears to be a T with a very short bar, similar to the other ones in the line and elsewhere in the poem. The particle τε, here elided, would indeed be well motivated because of the following καί. The sequence δύο τ' ἤματα καὶ δύο νύκτας is apposite by any standard, but combined with the opening ἐν δὲ σέο ξείνοιο produces a

⁸² κῶμα (Hom. Il. 4,422–424; 21,306; A.R. 2,71; 4,215; Orac. Sib. 3,443; Q.S. 14,344; Porph. ad Il. I, 17,29), θάλασσα (Opp. H. 5,284–285; Nonn. D. 23,316), πόντος (Greg.Naz. carm. 993,7–8), πόντιος ἄρης (Nonn. D. 43,185), γαληνός (CAF adesp. frg. 1324,3 = FCG IV anon. 48,3 = Iamb. adesp. frg. 29,3), οἶδμα (Nonn. D. 23,166; 27,177), πόταμος (Nonn. D. 23,204), ὕδωρ (Opp. H. 286–287), Ganges (river, Opp. C. 4,169). Furthermore, Opp. H. 2,355 (ἄγρια κυμαίνουσα κορύσσεται, of a raging Muraena). See also, referring to a symposium, Plu. Quaest.conv. 713,E,10: ἐν συμποσίῳ κυμαίνοντι καὶ κορυσομένῳ.

⁸³ For Zeus as ξείνιος see Hom. Od. 9,271 (cf. 8,546); Il. 13,625; Q.S. 13,413. Note further that in IG II/III² 1012 = Syll.³ 706 (112/1 B.C.), Zeus Xenios is the patron of an association of Greek naukleroi. For Apollo Xenios, see CIG 2214e (Chios). ξείνος as 'host' e.g. in Il. 15,532; A.R. 1,208, etc.

⁸⁴ E.g. A. A. 150, 188; Eu. IT 15, IA 88; Th. 2,85,6; 4,4,1; 6,22; 8,99; Call. Dian. 230; Plb. 34,11,19 (cf. Str. 6,2,10); D.H. 1,49,3. 50.3; Plu. Her.malig. 857B; AP 7,640 (for the reading, see The Greek Anthology. The Garland of Philip and Some Contemporary Epigrams, Cambridge 1968, II p. 66).

clumsy verse. This might be explained by assuming a break of thought on the part of the author after the first sequence. Another possibility is that the letter following ΔΥΟ is a Ι which, then, should be taken as a stonemason's error (δύο {ι}). This is less plausible, not least because the letter simply does not look like a Ι.

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τριτάτη...Λιγύων 'but then, on the third day, we sailed swiftly with brisk fair wind by the towns of the maritime Ligurians'. After the common epic phrase introducing a contrast to the preceding (αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ), the poet says that the sailors could not start until the third day.⁸⁵ That something should happen only on the third day is, of course, a universal literary topos that ultimately reflects the importance of mystic numbers.⁸⁶

ἀκραεὶ θεύσαμεν οὖρω / ῥίμφα: the relatively rare adjective ἀκραεὶς 'blowing strongly, brisk' is an epic epithet of winds from Homer onwards, though it is not connected with οὖρος 'fair wind' until Apollonius of Rhodes.⁸⁷ οὖρος itself is already frequent in Homer, as is θέω 'to run', also when referring to ships (e.g. Il. 1,483; Od. 13,88). The typically epic adverb ῥίμφα 'swiftly', usually opening a verse, is attested in connection with navigation in Homer (Od.) as well as some later epic poets.⁸⁸

θαλασσαίων πὰρ πόλιος Λιγύων: the Ligurians do not seem to be otherwise called θαλασσαῖοι (= θαλάσσιοι) or *maritimi* anywhere in the extant sources, though, of course, their close connection with the sea was often underlined by ancient writers.⁸⁹ In a geographical context, however,

⁸⁵ Both τρίτη and the lengthened poetic form τριτάτη were used with or without ἡμέρα.

⁸⁶ For a close parallel, cf. e.g. A.R. 2,720–721: Ἦμος δὲ τρίτατον φάος ἤλυθε, δὴ τότε ἔπειτα / ἀκραεὶ Ζεφύρω νῆσον λίπον αἰπήεσαν; Hom. Il. 9,363: ἤματι κε τριτάτω, etc.

⁸⁷ οὖρος (A.R. 1,606; 4,1224), οὖρος ἄ. Ζέφυρος (Orph. A. 485), Βορέας (Hom. Od. 14,253.299; Aristid. 302,8), Ζέφυρος (Hom. Od. 2,421; Hes. Op. 594; A.R. 2,721; Orph. A. 1150), Νότος (Eun. VS 6,2,9). Note also the adverb ἀκραεὶ 'with fresh breeze' in Arr. Ind. 24,1. As for Cic. Att. 10,17,3, where the reading *si ἀκραεὶς erit* was implausibly proposed by Bosius, see D.R. Shackleton Bailey, Cicero's Letters to Atticus IV, Cambridge 1968, 426.

⁸⁸ Hom. Od. 12,182; 13,88 (with θεούσα). 162. Cf. Orac.Sib. 5,530; Orph. A. 1354; Q.S. 10,446 (cf. Od. 13,88).

⁸⁹ The ancient evidence on Liguria and the Ligurians is collected in Fontes Ligurum et Liguriae antiquae (Atti Soc. Ligure di Storia Patria, n.s. 16), Genova 1976. Note, especially, a fragment of Posidonius of Apamea stating that the Ligurians were brave and

Ligurians were sometimes called 'maritime',⁹⁰ but this term is associated in the first place with the denomination of the region where the Ligurians lived, i.e. *Alpes Maritimae* ('Ἀλπεις Μαριτίμαι, παράλιοι, παραθαλασσίδιοι), a Roman province from 14 B.C., governed (later) by a *procurator* residing in Cemenelum (Cimiez). Though this line is perhaps best taken simply as a poetical description of the sea voyage, I would not exclude the possibility that the author of the poem also had the geographical term in mind, especially because he is referring to a sea route along the Ligurian coast. It might be, moreover, that the expression θαλασσαῖοι Λίγυες also echoes the name of the Ligurian sea, i.e. θάλασσα Λιγυστική (*mare Ligusticum*).⁹¹ As for the adjective θαλασσαῖος, a variant of the current form θαλάσσιος which is well attested from Homer onwards, it is first known from Simonides and Pindar, occurring later in Callimachus, the Greek Anthology, Oppian as well as, frequently, in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*.⁹² Nowhere else does this adjective refer to peoples. For the accusative plural πόλιας, cf. already Hom. Od. 8,560 (disyll.), Il. 4,308 (trisyll.; πόλεας Aristarch.).⁹³

III. Lines 13–16

The first of these fragmentary lines plausibly refers to an offering given to Heracles as a memorial of his help. For various reasons it is less probable that the inscribed monument itself is meant.

μνημα δ' ἐυξενίης 'memorial of hospitality'. Heracles is asked to receive (δέχνησο) a gift as a token of gratitude for his remarkable hospitality. Contrary to the common noun ξενία, the prefixed εὐξενία, recalling σέο

fearless seafarers (FGrH II A,87 F 118,8). A different view may be found in Plutarch who affirmed that they were like pillaging pirates when at sea (Aem. 6,3).

⁹⁰ Ps.Scymn. Orb. 201–202: παραθαλάττιοι Λίγυες; Plin. nat. 15,66: *Liguria maritima Alpihus proxima*.

⁹¹ However, the usual Greek form was πέλαγος Λιγυστικόν (or πόντος Λ.).

⁹² Simon. frg. 76,4 (Page); Pi. P. 2,50; Call. frg. 533; AP 5,301; 6,223; 9,653, 663; 16,181; App.Ant. orac. 81,5; Opp. H. 3,377; 5,26; C. 1,382; Nonn. D. 1,108; 2,103; 4,239; 6,308; 7,229; 9,90; 13,62; 21,52; 22,400; 23,153; 33,72; 37,307.470; 39,82.176.257.263; 40,322; 42,496; 43,35.210.265.397.

⁹³ See also e.g. H.Hom. 2 (Cer.), 93; Eu. Andr. 484; AP (often); A.R. 1,982; Call. Ap. 55; 3,36; Orac.Sib. 3,503; 4,59.132.177; Hdt. 1,142.170 (cf. Thal. frg. 4,4 Diels), etc.; Th. 5,77,5.

ξείνοιο of line nine, appears to be attested only in epigraphic sources.⁹⁴ At first sight it would seem that the monument with its dedicatory hymn, sculptured with γλύφανοι 'chisels', should be taken as the μνήμα. However, it seems more probable that the μνήμα refers to some other object given to Heracles. In particular, one may think of a crater or some sort of bowl used for libations, similar objects being well attested as offerings to Heracles and many other deities.⁹⁵ If so, one could perhaps restore κύπελ[λα] at the end of the line. Such beakers may have been made of metal, as were the golden κύπελλα known from Homer and others, though other materials are also attested.⁹⁶ Should this be correct, however, a gap of six letters would still remain after γλυφάνοις (σμιλευτά 'carved' is too long).⁹⁷ One possibility of solving this problem is to restore the Ionic form θηητά (for θεατά) 'admired, wondrous'. In fact, γλυφάνοις θηητὰ κύπελλα would not only fit the context but it is also adaptable to what is seen on the stone. In that case, however, γλύφανοι would be best taken metonymically to mean the carving or the carved work itself. But there is still further evidence in favour of this solution: in a Greek dedication of Imperial date from Tusculum, Heracles is offered a wondrous crater decorated with carved figures depicting his labours (ἡνίδε, τοῖ τόδ' ἄγαλμα φέρων κρητήρος ἀγητόν / θῆκα τεῶν ἀέθλων πλείον[ας ἐν]γλυφέων; observe the form ἐν]γλυφέων⁹⁸ as well as

⁹⁴ IG V,2,461 (Arcadia); I.Phryg.Chr. 27,12 (third/fourth century A.D.). Note, incidentally, that according to a funerary epigram from Heracleopolis in Egypt, the deceased rests in the hospitable ground of Heracles: ξείνην εὐξεινος χθὼν ἔχει Ἡρακλέους (Peek, GV 1873; late second century A.D.). As for seafaring, the adjective εὐξεινος is, naturally, best known as the Greek name of the Black Sea; cf. also E. Hipp. 156–7: λιμένα τὸν εὐξεινότατον ναύταις.

⁹⁵ LIMC IV (1988) 801–805, with reference to οἰνιστήρια offerings to Heracles and to a shrine depicted on a calyx crater, possibly intended as a setting for a ξενισμός of Heracles, cf. O. Walter, Ath.Mitt. 62 (1937) 48–49.

⁹⁶ Golden: Hom. Il. 3,248; 9,670; Od. 1,142; 4,58; 10,357; Antim. frg. 22; A.R. 2,1271; Ath. 11,15,35 (781c); Hist.Alex.M.rec.Byz. 3513; Q.S. 4,139; 14,333; Nonn. D. 12,106; 14,258; 19,196. Silver: Nonn. D. 18,212. Jewelled: Ath. 11,48,25 (474d). Wooden: Ath. 11,53,11 (477b). Made of clay: Nonn. D. 15,14. Understandably, one may find numerous examples in Nonnus' Dionysiaca. – Craters made of metal are sometimes attested as gifts to gods.

⁹⁷ The first letter would seem to be either O or Θ, the next one perhaps I or rather H followed perhaps by HTA.

⁹⁸ πλείον[ας ἐν]γλυφέων is an emendation for Buecheler's πλεῖον [ἐν]γλυφέων: A. Wilhelm, Griechische Epigramme. Aus d. Nachlass hrsg. v. H. Engelmann u. K.

the adjective ἀγητός which is roughly an equivalent of θηητός). What is especially remarkable, however, is that the crater was a gift given to Heracles in thanks for help during a journey to Italy through the Celtic and Ligurian lands (IG XIV 1003). For this inscription, see also below.

The imperative second person singular δέχνυσο (from δέχομαι) is frequently found in epigrams and also in other kinds of poetry as opening a verse. Among these there are a number of cases similar to ours, where a god or a deity is asked to receive a gift.⁹⁹ The rest of the poem remains almost undecipherable. Only at the beginning of lines 15 and 16 is there still something to be read, i.e. the preposition ἀντί, probably followed by δέ, and the epic accusative singular ἀνέρα (from ἀνήρ).

Though the possibility exists that the poem is only a literary piece describing an imaginary voyage at sea, I do not see any reason to doubt that the story, however coloured it may have been in detail, is founded on fact. Reference to geographical details as well as the spontaneity of diction combined with the mention of a gift to Heracles seem to point to this conclusion. Moreover, similar stories describing the journeys of sailors, merchants, etc. are well known from commemorative epigrams.¹⁰⁰ Therefore it might be useful to try a reconstruction of what happened to the Artena adventurers.

The inscription seems to date from the late second or early third century A.D., or at least it should be collocated between c. A.D. 150–250.¹⁰¹ This means that the text can be regarded as roughly contemporaneous with the other metric inscriptions discovered so far in Colle Maiorana (see the beginning of this article). On an annual scale, then, the voyage would have been made during the usual sailing season which was carefully observed in antiquity, that is, between April and October, though perhaps the men did venture out in winter and were hit by a heavy storm. At any

Wundsam, Bonn 1980, 17 no. 17.

⁹⁹ E.g. AP 1,116 (Chr.); 6,12.40.68.78; 9,485. There are some twenty instances of δέχνυσο in Nonnus' Dionysiaca.

¹⁰⁰ For epigrams recording death at sea, mostly caused by shipwreck, cf. AP 7,274.278.286.287.294.366.374.382.383.392.395.397.404.532.624.631.636.642.693; 9,228.267.271 (cf. also 9,85: a father's body saves his son from drowning).

¹⁰¹ For useful palaeographic parallels, look at the Greek inscriptions of the city of Rome: Moretti, IGUR 1237, 1252, 1299, 1311, 1351.

rate, the mention of the epithet Μόνοικος as well as the invocation of Heracles inevitably makes one think of Portus Monoeci as the port of departure, though it may rather be that the ship had departed from some coastal town further to the west and only made an intermediate stop at Monaco. At some point, however, the men were caught in a severe storm which made it impossible to continue. The fact that after a break of three days the crew continued their voyage sailing eastwards by Ligurian towns (line 12) makes one think that they were coming from the direction of Massalia and were sailing somewhere near Portus Monoeci when the storm fell upon them. That there could have been a storm in those waters sounds perfectly plausible, considering that along the Ligurian coast the northerly and northwesterly winds are not particularly favourable for seafaring.¹⁰² The power of winds in this area was also bitterly felt by the Emperor Claudius who was almost wrecked twice in the Ligurian sea in A.D. 43 on his way from Ostia to Britannia.¹⁰³ In A.D. 69, having made sail at Pisae, the knight Fabius Valens, a follower of Vitellius, had to enter Portus Monoeci either because the sea was too calm or because he had the wind against him.¹⁰⁴ The latter reason may be more plausible. Strabo affirms that the whole littoral from Monaco to Etruria was unprotected against winds and also without good ports.¹⁰⁵ According to Silius Italicus, the gale Boreas, dominating the fog-hidden rocks of Monaco, blows hard against the surrounding coast and the Alps.¹⁰⁶ Ancient writers did not fail to observe, however, that Portus Monoeci was an excellent place of refuge in such conditions. This is explicitly illustrated by Lucanus who says that neither the northwest nor the west wind have any effect on the port; it is only *circius*

¹⁰² Casson (cit. n. 15), 294, referring to the Sailing Directions for the Mediterranean II, published by the Hydrographic Office in Washington, D.C. (Publication 152).

¹⁰³ Suet. Claud. 17,2: *Huc cum ab Ostia navigaret, vehementi circio bis paene demersus est, prope Liguriam iuxtaque Stochadas insulas*. The power of *circius* in the Ligurian waters is also underlined by Plin. nat. 2,121 (cf. 17,21). Cf. also n. 107.

¹⁰⁴ Tac. hist. 3,42: *Fabius Valens e sinu Pisano segnitia maris aut adversante vento portum Herculis Monoeci depellitur*.

¹⁰⁵ Str. 4,6,2: ὅλως δὲ ἡ παραλία αὐτὴ πᾶσα μέχρι Τυρρηνίας ἐκ Μονοίκου λιμένος προσεχῆς τέ ἐστι καὶ ἀλίμενος πλὴν βραχέων ὄρμων καὶ ἀγκυροβολίων.

¹⁰⁶ Sil. 1,585–589: *Herculei ponto coepere existere colles, / et nebulosa iugis attollere saxa Monoeci. / Thracius hos Boreas scopulos immitia regna / solus habet semperque rigens nunc litora pulsat, / nunc ipsas alis plangit stridentibus Alpes*.

(the wind from NNW) that makes seafaring difficult in those waters.¹⁰⁷ These considerations seem to suggest that the crew of the poem also found a shelter in Portus Herculis Monoeci (cf. εὐκηλος ὄρμος, σκέπας ἀστυφέλικτον). Here they stayed for three days, enjoying the hospitality of the god (εὐξενία) and wishing the stormy wind would subside. Perhaps they also made an offering *propter viam* to the god in his temple. What is more, in this connection one should also remember that Heracles, who was frequently venerated together with other gods, is attested in Gaul in the company of Nehalennia and Neptune, the former an important indigenous goddess whom local sailors used to invoke to bring them good luck for sea voyages.¹⁰⁸ This is further evidence to show that the figure of Heracles/Hercules as a saviour and *comes* was easily assimilated to local deities in various parts of the Mediterranean (for Melqart of Tyre, see above at n. 17).

The voyage will have stopped at Portus (Ostia), though the possibility cannot be excluded that the ship entered a port somewhere in Etruria or elsewhere in Latium (one would think of Antium in the first place) or even in Campania. At any rate, the crew was saved by Heracles and consequently a dedicatory monument in Greek was set up in Colle Maiorana, a settlement which probably belonged to a *vicus* of ancient Signia, lying some 45 kms south of Rome and about 40 kms northeast of Antium, the nearest port on the coast of Latium. That something like this should happen in the Italian countryside is certainly not an everyday event. Fortunately, however, we have a remarkable parallel from Tusculum, some 20 kms northwest of Colle Maiorana.¹⁰⁹ It is a dedication to Heracles by someone whom the god has helped in various ways: kind and propitious, always responding to prayers, Heracles has protected the grateful dedicator with his hand. What is particularly interesting, however, is that the poet says that Heracles has

¹⁰⁷ Lucan. 1,405–408: *quaque sub Herculeo sacratus numine portus / urguet rupe cava pelagus – non corus in illum / ius habet aut zephyrus; solus sua litora turbat / circius et tuta prohibet statione Monoeci –...*

¹⁰⁸ Evidence in LIMC V (1990) 258 nos. 57–58, 261; VI (1992) 716–719 (Nehalennia). For the cult and presence of Hercules in Cisalpine Gaul in general, see the survey of C.B. Pascal, *The Cults of Cisalpine Gaul* (Coll. Latomus 75), Bruxelles 1964, 159–165.

¹⁰⁹ IG XIV 1003 = Kaibel, *Epigrammata* no. 831 = App. Anth. dedic. 254 = J. Geffcken, *Griechische Epigramme*, Heidelberg 1916, 139 no. 350. The text was found in 1845 during an excavation under the Villa Aldobrandini in Frascati (cf. W. Henzen, *Ann.Inst.* 1857, 101–110).

saved his life during a journey to Italy through the Ligurian and Celtic lands (lines 9–14):

ἤπιος εὐμενέων τε πέλοις, ἐπειή νύ μοι αἰεὶ
 10 εὐχομένωι τε πάρει χεῖρά θ' ὕπερθεν ἔχεις·
 καὶ δὴ νῦν μ' ἐσάωσας ἀμεί[[βον]τα κλυτὰ φύλα
 Κελτῶν καὶ Λιγύων ἄστυ πρὸς Αὐσόνιον.
 αὐτὸν ἀλεξητῆρα κακῶν, αὐτόν σε δοτῆρα
 παντοίης ἀρετῆς κλήιζομεν, Ἡράκλεες.

Apart from the already-discussed fact that the author gave Heracles a beautiful crater depicting the labours of the hero (lines 3–4, see above at n. 98), there are still further similarities between the two poems. In both, Heracles is first praised on a general level: in the Tusculum hymn Heracles is above all the actor of the renowned labours (lines 5–8), while in the new poem from Colle Maiorana, he is the saviour of seafarers. Next follows a personal reference to a journey from Liguria to Italy, in one case by land, in the other by sea. The troubles of both were finally solved by Heracles who is ἀλεξητῆρ κακῶν and δοτῆρ παντοίης ἀρετῆς in the Tusculum piece. It is true, there are some literary epigrams describing the difficulties of travellers in Liguria, because of either local robbers or the high mountains,¹¹⁰ and such themes might even be somehow echoed by the two dedications from Tusculum and Colle Maiorana. Yet these two poems remain perfectly original pieces of their own, being closely linked with each other in terms of subject and style. What exactly, if any, the physical connection between them is, however, hard to say. Because of the conditions of discovery, they cannot have come from the same place and it also seems that the Tusculum poem is somewhat earlier, though probably still from the second century A.D.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ In AP 9,559, Crinagoras, about to sail to Italy from Spain in the early Augustan period, is asking for a chart of the route to Corcyra. He may have sailed through the Ligurian waters, since his reference to Ligurian robbers in AP 9,516 suggests a personal knowledge of the Ligurian route; cf. also *The Garland of Philip* (cit. n. 84), II 241.

¹¹¹ Henzen (cit. n. 109), 110 preferred to attribute the text to the early Principate (“non credo ingannarmi, se attribuisco la lapide incirca al principio dell’era volgare, non credendola certamente più recente del primo secolo.”), but his judgement was almost exclusively based on the palaeographic argument (Σ, Ω, Ξ) as well as the use of the ι

Thematically, these two poems represent a universally known ancient genre in which thanks are offered to the gods for the help they have given. More specifically, however, they tell about travelling and the lurking dangers one might encounter in transit. Such items may be found also in funerary epigrams,¹¹² but inscriptions similar to ours are a much rarer occurrence.¹¹³ As for related small-scale literary pieces from the Imperial period referring to seafaring, one may cite an epic fragment of Alexandrian style from the third century A.D. describing the dangers of travel by sea.¹¹⁴ There is also a third-century prayer uttered by the Lord of the Winds who invites the sea to calm down so as to make it navigable for sailors.¹¹⁵ Moreover, one of the surviving poems of Mesomedes, writing under Hadrian, is a charming hymn addressed to the Adriatic: the author asks the sea for favourable winds so that he can arrive safely at home; as soon as land appears in view, a goodly-antlered fawn will be sacrificed to the Lord.¹¹⁶ In the epigrammatic literature, one may note a number of pieces by Antiphilus from the first century A.D. Not only does he refer to travels, including sea-passages,¹¹⁷ but he also dedicates his hat to a goddess of the road after a safe return from a journey.¹¹⁸ Otherwise, of course, descriptions

adscriptum. These items do not, however, automatically suggest an early date. Geffcken straight off proposed the second century A.D.

112 For those recording death at sea, see above n. 100.

113 For a dedication to an unknown deity by twelve survivors from a shipwreck in c. 411 B.C., preserved in Diodorus Siculus (13,41), see *Further Greek Epigrams* (ed. D.L. Page), Cambridge 1981, 418 no. CXII. Cf. also SEG XXXVI 555 (Epirus, shortly after 129 B.C.), a dedication by three warriors: σωθέντες θύουσιν εἰς πάτραν ἀφειγμένοι; Kaibel, *Epigrammata* 834 = I.Stratonikeia 1104 (Imperial period): Ζηνὶ Πανη[μερί]φ καὶ Ἡλίῳ Διὶ Σεράπει σωθέντες ἐκ πολέμων μεγάλων καὶ ἀλλοδαπ[ῶν] θαλάσσων ('strange seas') εὐχῆς ἵνεκε ταῦτ' ἐπέγραψαν...

114 POxy. 214 (*verso*), unfortunately very rubbed, with a speech relating to Telephus in the *recto*.

115 Heitsch (cit. n. 58), I 33 no. IV = PGM² II 29 = *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* (ed. H.D. Betz), Chicago 1986, 265–266.

116 Heitsch (cit. n. 58), I 28–29 no. 6, lines 13–16: δὸς ἰδεῖν χθόνα, δέσποτα, καὶ πόλιν, / ἀνέμους δὸς ἀπήμονας ἐνδίους· / καὶ μητέρα γῆς ἐσιδὼν πόλιν / τότε σοι νεβρὸν εὐκέρω θύσω. For Mesomedes' poetry, cf. E.L. Bowie, in: *Antonine Literature* (ed. D.A. Russell), Oxford 1990, 85–90.

117 AP 9,277 (storm), 546 (simple life at sea).

118 AP 6,199, cf. *The Garland of Philip* (cit. n. 84), II 115 ff.

of seafaring, including those of shipwrecks, are among the most popular subject matters of ancient literature from Homer onwards, being especially frequent in epic poetry.

Stylistically, the new poem from Colle Maiorana clearly follows the long epic tradition, being, in fact, fairly "Homeric" in tone. It is not pure imitation, however, as there are no obvious citations from known authors, though some expressions, as those composed of noun and attribute (cf. lines 3–4), can be found in other writers as well. Some close lexical similarities to Imperial epic works such as the *Posthomerica* of Quintus of Smyrna (first part of the third century A.D.) show that the authors following the epic line in the Imperial period drew on popular material that went back to Homer and the later tradition depending on his work, especially Apollonius of Rhodes. However, such material would be found not only in the original works or the versions deriving from them but also in handbooks of mythology.¹¹⁹ Though most of the expression and vocabulary of the poem can be traced back to Homer, there are some words known only from later authors which suggest that the poet did not follow painstakingly the great master but also elaborated other elements in his work. Yet he is much closer to Homeric tradition than to the abundant and rhetorical diction of the *Dionysiaca* by Nonnus of Panopolis (fourth/fifth century A.D.). But at the same time, if the eight distichs allow a comparative judgement, he would seem to be less original than, say, Triphiodorus who may have been his contemporary.¹²⁰ It also seems that he is slightly distant from the two Oppiani, authors of *Haliutica* and *Cynegetica*, respectively, who wrote in a Hesiodic and Callimachean tradition in the late Antonine and Severan period. Regarding the metre and rhythm of the poem, it is regular and shows no surprises.¹²¹ As a whole, though the phrasing and vocabulary are

¹¹⁹ For a perceptive survey of anthologies, hymns, epic material, etc. in circulation in the Imperial period, see L. Canfora, in: *Lo spazio letterario della Grecia antica II*, Roma 1995, 95–116.

¹²⁰ See now, in detail, U. Dubielzig, *Triphiodor: Die Einname Iliions* (*Classica Monacensia* 15), Tübingen 1996, 27–28.

¹²¹ Except for a probable metric slip in line 9 (cf. above in the commentary). Correction in l. 7 (καί), elision marked in l. 13 and, probably, in l. 9. Note also the hiatus left in the penthemimeral caesura with a consecutive spondee in l. 11. The number and collocation of dactylic and spondaic feet within individual verses largely follows the Homeric tradition: M. van Raalte, *Rhythm and Metre: towards a systematic description of Greek stichic verse*, Leiden 1986, 36, 40, 42.

somewhat conventional, the expression is neat and written with a practised hand. The major interest, however, lies in the novelty of the subject.

In the article referred to above (n. 1), when discussing the significance of the metric inscriptions found in Colle Maiorana, I already noted that this locality was prosperous not only in terms of business and economy over the centuries but it also flourished culturally, at least in the second and third centuries A.D. Since two of the poems, the dedication to Janus and the Stoic cosmogony, were reportedly found in the ruins of a Roman villa, probably the nucleus of a large *fundus*, the possibility exists that all the others discovered so far also come from this place. Should this be true, it would become even more clear that in the villa there was indeed some sort of cultic activity and that those who lived there were literate persons. The learned atmosphere of the place will have been known elsewhere, too, so that it was visited by persons with literary interests. Who knows if the author of the new dedication, having recently escaped shipwreck in Ligurian waters, was also on a visit to the villa when he wished to immortalize his adventure on stone by composing a Greek epigram to Heracles – unless a skillful poet from outside was commissioned to write the verses. At any rate, it could be well imagined that in the middle of such inscriptions, statues and other exposed works of art, the owners of the villa also kept a library with a good collection of Greek and Roman literature.¹²²

On the other hand, since we do not know exactly where the marble column comes from, a different context is also possible. It may be that the dedication, with a pertinent libation, was made in a local sanctuary. Heracles was, naturally, worshipped in many towns of Latium, and his cult is also attested in Signia as early as the late Republic,¹²³ but, unfortunately, the location of the sanctuary is unknown. As a further possibility, however, one could assume that the dedication was somehow connected with the *statio* at the *bivium* of the Via Labicana and the Via Latina, situated very near to Colle Maiorana. This was the borderland between Latium vetus and Latium adiectum where there was also a mid-Republican period sanctuary of an unknown deity, which may have functioned as a territorial landmark. It is

¹²² According to Sen. dial. 9,9,7, a library was a necessary part of a Roman house. Cf. also Iuv. 3,206–207, 219.

¹²³ CIL X 5961 = I² 1503 (cf. p. 1003), recording the restoration of an *aedes*, the transfer of a cult statue as well as the erection of a statue base.

not impossible that Heracles was worshipped by travellers in this context, as he was at *stationes* throughout the Roman Empire.

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SULL'EDILITÀ DI VARRO E MURENA *

MASSIMO PIERPAOLI

Attraverso quella storia dell'eloquenza latina che è il Brutus, Cicerone¹ ci offre una vera e propria prosopografia degli oratori di Roma: ma la trattazione, che costituisce una preziosissima miniera di informazioni, ovviamente, non è condotta in maniera uniforme, poiché l'Arpinate a notizie biografiche e stilistiche assai precise per alcuni personaggi, quali, ad esempio, L. Crassus, M. Antonius, Hortensius, alterna un tratteggio a volte troppo rapido sull'eloquenza o sulle vicende politiche di alcuni degli oratori in questione. Fra questi personaggi sui quali vorremmo sapere qualcosa di più vi è uno dei cugini di Cicerone, C. Visellius Varro. Vediamo subito il testo ciceroniano:

Erat etiam vir doctus in primis C. Visellius Varro, consobrinus meus, qui fuit cum Sicinio² aetate coniunctus. Is, cum post curulem aedilitatem iudex quaestionis esset, est mortuus; in quo fateor vulgi iudicium a iudicio meo dissensisse. Nam populo non erat satis vendibilis: praeceps quaedam et cum idcirco obscura quia peracuta, tum rapida et celeritate caecata oratio; sed neque verbis aptiorem cito alium dixerim neque sententiis crebriorem. Praeterea perfectus in

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¹ Ho lasciato la forma italianizzata per i nomi degli autori e dei personaggi storici più noti, mantenendo quella latina per tutti gli altri.

² Cf. Brut. 263: *C. Sicinius ... Q. Pompei illius, qui censor fuit, ex filia nepos, quaestorius mortuus est...* Di Sicinius conosciamo ancora meno che di Visellius; caso mai, è proprio grazie a quest'ultimo che possiamo stabilire meno vagamente la cronologia di Sicinius: cf. G.V. Sumner, *The Orators in Cicero's Brutus: Prosopography and Chronology*, Toronto 1973 (= *Orators*), 138.

litteris iurisque civilis iam a patre Aculeone traditam tenuit disciplinam. (Brut. 264)

Lasciando da parte il giudizio di Cicerone sulla eloquenza di Varro, quello che qui mi interessa è la notizia della sua edilità, e soprattutto la questione cronologica. Alle parole di Cicerone possiamo accostare un passo di Vitruvio:

Item Lacedemone e quibusdam parietibus etiam picturae excisae intersectis lateribus inclusae sunt in ligneis formis et in comitium ad ornatum aedilitatis Varronis et Murenae fuerunt adlatae. (Vitr. 2,8,9)

Dalla testimonianza di Vitruvio, ripreso poi in maniera quasi palmare da Plinio³, sappiamo quindi che Varro condivise l'edilizia con Murena. Anche questa notizia, però (come del resto quella ciceroniana), resta di per sé un po' vaga, dal momento che l'autore, evidentemente più interessato alla questione 'tecnica' del trasporto di una parete laterizia da Sparta a Roma⁴ che non a quella cronologica, non ci fornisce elementi precisi per l'identificazione dei due edili.

Con buona probabilità questo Varro di cui parlano Vitruvio e Plinio, come era stato osservato già da F. Münzer, non sarebbe M. Terenzio Varrone, il fecondissimo scrittore di cose romane⁵, bensì C. Visellius Varro appunto il cugino di Cicerone. Cerchiamo quindi, sulla base delle proposte

³ Plin. nat. 35,173: *Lacedemone quidem latericiis parietibus excisum opus tectorium propter excellentiam picturae ligneis formis inclusum Romam deportavere in aedilitate ad comitium exornandum Murena et Varro. Cum opus per se mirum esset, tralatum tamen magis mirabantur.* Secondo F. Münzer, Beiträge zur Quellenkritik der Naturgeschichte des Plinius, Berlin 1897, 276 (cf. anche 49) sia Vitruvio sia Plinio dipendono da una fonte comune, cioè proprio da un'opera di Varrone.

⁴ Sull'uso di portare opere d'arte greche a Roma, uso invalso proprio all'inizio del I sec. a. C., cf. E. Rawson, Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic, London 1985, 194 (alla n. 44 sul passo di Vitruvio, l'autrice pensa si possa trattare di Visellius Varro, ma non fa menzione di Murena, pur distinguendolo, nell'*index nominum*, dal console del 62).

⁵ Per la verità Münzer, Beiträge, 276 aveva in primo tempo sostenuto che si trattava proprio dello scrittore, ma poi in RE XIII (1927) s.v. L. Licinius Murena (n° 123) 446, 20–26 aveva optato per C. Visellius Varro. La ricostruzione della carriera di Varrone Reatino è parimenti complessa: cf. T.R.S. Broughton, The Magistrates of the Roman Republic, New York 1951–52 – Atlanta 1986, II, 625 (= MRR).

presentate dai vari studiosi, di fare luce non solo su questo personaggio, ma anche sul suo collega.

La carriera di Varro non è facile da stabilire⁶. *Tribunus militum* in Asia sotto il proconsole C. Claudius Nero negli anni 80–79⁷, sembra fosse *quaestorius* nel 73, poiché un C. Visellius Varro C. f. Quir. si trova nella lista dei testimoni presenti alla ratifica del *Senatus Consultum pro Oropiis* appunto dell'anno 73⁸. E' perciò probabile che Varro sia stato questore

⁶ A dire il vero, anche la questione onomastica non è del tutto chiara, poiché C. Visellius Varro porta un *cognomen* diverso da quello del padre, C. Aculeo (di cui oltretutto Cicerone non menziona mai il *nomen*). C. Aculeo, *equus Romanus*, era zio di Cicerone, avendo sposato Helvia, la sorella della madre dell'oratore (cf. lo stemma della famiglia di Cicerone in W. Drumann – P. Groebe, *Geschichte Roms*, Leipzig 1929³ [= Hildesheim 1964], V, 218–19). Esperto di diritto civile, fu grande amico dell'oratore Crassus (Cic. de orat. 1,191: [parla Crassus] *nonne videtis equitem Romanum hominem acutissimum omnium ingenio, sed minime ceteris artibus eruditum, C. Aculeonem, qui mecum vivit semperque vixit ita tenere ius civile, ut ei ... nemo de iis qui peritissimi sunt anteponat?*) che lo difese in un processo contro M. Gratidiano (de orat. 2,262; cf. H. Malcovati, *Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta*, Torino 1976⁴ (= ORF), 253 e il commento di A.D. Leeman – H. Pinkster – E. Rabbie al *De Oratore*, Heidelberg 1989, III, 287). L.R. Taylor, *The Voting Districts of the Roman Republic*, American Academy in Rome 1960, 266 ha cercato di risolvere il problema sostenendo che C. Visellius Aculeo avrebbe adottato un figlio il quale mantenne la tribù Quirina (vedi sotto n. 7) e il nome della sua famiglia di origine, i Terenti Varrones; cf. anche D.R. Shackleton Bailey, *Two Studies in Roman Nomenclature*, American Classical Studies 3, 1976, 134 e la relativa recensione di G.V. Sumner in *CPh* 73 (1978) 163 s., che propone uno stemma della famiglia di Visellius Varro. Su Visellius Varro più in generale vedi W. Drumann – P. Groebe, *Geschichte Roms* V, 228 n. 15; H. Gundel *RE* IX A1 (1961) 355–358 n° 3; Malcovati, *ORF*, 438; Sumner, *Orators*, 138 s.; C. Nicolet, *L'ordre équestre à l'époque républicaine* (312–43 av. J. C.), Paris 1966–1974, 1079 (= *Ordre équestre*); T.P. Wiseman, *New Men in the Roman Senate* 139 B. C.–14 A. D. Oxford 1971, 31, 55 e 275; J.-M. David, *Le patronat judiciaire au dernier siècle de la République Romaine*, École Française de Rome 1995, 850 s. (= *Le patronat*).

⁷ Cic. Verr. II 1,71: *vir omnibus rebus ornatissimus, C. Varro, qui tum in Asia militum tribunus fuit* (cf. Broughton, *MRR* II, 81 e 84; D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor. To the End of the Third Century after Christ*, Princeton N. J. 1960, II, 1579).

⁸ SIG³ II, 747. Γάιος Οὐσέλλιος Γαίου υἱὸς Κυρίνα Οὐάρρων Sulla questione cf. R.K. Sherck, *Roman Documents from the Greek East: Senatus Consulta and Epistulae to the Age of Augustus*, Baltimore 1969, 133–38, dove si riprende l'idea di L.R. Taylor, *Voting Districts*, 176, secondo cui i tre testimoni presenti alla ratifica del documento sarebbero senatori, essendo uno dei tre, T. Maenius, presente anche nel *consilium* di senatori incaricati di risolvere la questione degli Oropii. Dunque, se il nostro Varro faceva parte del Senato nel 73, significa che doveva essere almento stato *quaestor* (più cauto invece si dimostra Broughton, *MRR* II, 114 s., che comunque registra tutti i nomi del *S.C.* considerandoli ex-magistrati nell'anno 73).

l'anno precedente, nel 74: il che, se consideriamo le tappe di un normale *cursus honorum*, potrebbe consentirci di stabilire la data di nascita nel 105, cosa del resto confermata dalle notizie di Cicerone, secondo cui Varro aveva ricevuto in casa dell'oratore L. Licinius Crassus la stessa educazione dei due Ciceroni, Marco e Quinto⁹. Varro poteva essere poco più giovane di Marco e più grande di Quinto¹⁰.

Forse è il nostro Varro il tribuno della plebe autore della *lex Visellia de cura viarum* di cui abbiamo notizia grazie ad una iscrizione databile tra la fine degli anni 70 e l'inizio dei 60 (CIL I², 744)¹¹: R. Syme ha pensato che l'autore di tale legge "can perhaps be identified as Cicero's cousin C. Visellius Varro, a senator who had reached questorian rank by the year 73. Visellius Varro can easily have been tribune in 70 or 69"¹². Diversamente da Syme, che peraltro presenta una semplice ipotesi, G. V. Sumner, nel suo lavoro sulla cronologia degli oratori del Brutus, si dimostra abbastanza scettico sul tribunato di Varro, sostenendo che l'autore della legge, come

⁹ Cf. Cic. de orat. 2,2: ... *cumque nos cum consobrinis nostris, Aculeonis filiis, et ea disceremus quae Crasso placerent et ab iis doctoribus quibus ille uteretur erudiremur*. (Per la formazione di Cicerone cf. K. Kumaniecki, Cicerone e la crisi della Repubblica Romana, Roma 1972, 32 ss. e E. Rawson, Lucius Crassus and Cicero: The Formation of a Statesman, PCPhS n. s. 17 (1971), 83). Dell'altro cugino (o degli altri?), invece, non sappiamo nulla.

¹⁰ Q. Cicerone doveva essere nato probabilmente nel 102 (così Drumann–Groebe, Geschichte Roms IV², 637); cf. la carriera: *quaest.* 69/68? (cf. Shackleton Bailey, Epistulae ad Quintum fratrem et M. Brutum, Cambridge 1980, 3 n. 2), *aed. pl.* 65, *pr.* 62.

¹¹ = ILS, 5800; ILLRP, 465a. Sulla *Lex Visellia* cf. Th. Mommsen, Römische Staatsrecht (= St. R.) II, Graz 1969³, 669 n. 3 (vedi anche Gesammelte Schriften, 1907 (= 1965), III, 27–32), che però data l'iscrizione al 71 a. C. (anche CIL I², 744), mettendola in relazione con la *Lex Antonia de Termessibus* (CIL I², 589) nella quale compaiono i nomi di due tribuni della plebe presenti anche nel collegio tribunizio di CIL I², 744. Mommsen data la *Lex Antonia* all'anno 71, Dessau (ILS, 38) la pone "anno ut videtur 683 [=71], certe non multum post 682 [= 72]". In maniera più convincente, L.R. Taylor, Caesar's Early Career, CPh 36 (1941) 121 n. 32, invece, colloca la *Lex Antonia* e quindi anche l'iscrizione in cui compare l'indicazione della *Lex Visellia*, nel 68 (seguita in pratica da Broughton, MRR II, 130 n. 4 e Syme, Ten Tribunes, JRS 53 (1963) 57 s. = Roman Papers, Oxford 1979, II, 561 s. Vedi più recentemente J.L. Ferrary, La *Lex Antonia de Termessibus*, Athenaeum 63 (1985) 439–442 e la bibliografia con le varie ipotesi di datazione 440 n. 74). In ogni caso, se Visellius – chiunque egli fosse – era stato tribuno, lo era stato prima dell'anno (cf. Ferrary, 442 n. 82).

¹² Syme, Rom. Pap., 561. Cf. anche Broughton, MRR II, 136 n. 6, che, pur registrando il tribunato di Visellius nel 69, tuttavia non esclude il 70.

aveva già osservato Mommsen (St. R. II², 669 n. 3), non necessariamente doveva essere un tribuno della plebe (Orators, 139)¹³.

Ancora più complicata è poi la questione della datazione dell'edilità di Varro, magistratura di cui invece non dobbiamo dubitare, data la notizia ciceroniana: Broughton, MRR II, 189 e 193 n. 4, segue la cronologia proposta da J. Seidel¹⁴ e colloca l'edilità di Varro intorno all'anno 59, il che farebbe supporre che egli sia morto poco dopo, nel 58, mentre esercitava l'ufficio di *iudex quaestionis*¹⁵, secondo la testimonianza del Brutus. Effettivamente questa data potrebbe essere confermata da una lettera ad Attico (Att. 3,23,4) nella quale Cicerone si compiace della proposta di legge per il suo richiamo a Roma dall'esilio presentata da un Visellius, il cui *praenomen* T., presente nei codici, e che naturalmente escluderebbe il Nostro, è stato espunto nelle loro edizioni sia da Tyrrel & Purser sia da Shackleton Bailey¹⁶. Anche qui Sumner non concorda con gli editori e pensa che il Visellius di Att. 3,23 "is clearly someone else, perhaps the real author of the Lex Visellia"¹⁷: infatti una edilità nel 59 sarebbe troppo

¹³ Posizione ribadita dallo stesso Sumner in Review of Shackleton Bailey's Two Studies in Roman Nomenclature, CPh 73 (1978) 161 s. Tuttavia nel giudizio ciceroniano appare un indizio, forse troppo generico, ma da tenere presente, di un'attività oratoria indirizzata, più che al Senato o ai tribunali, al popolo: *Nam populo non erat satis vendibilis*. Ora, sappiamo che Visellius, oltre ad essere un senatore, fu testimone al processo di Verre (Verr. II 1,71) e che esercitò l'ufficio di *iudex quaestionis* (Brut. 264). Difficilmente la sua eloquenza, così minutamente descritta da Cicerone, poteva essere sfoggiata in tali occasioni. Era durante il tribunato che si aveva l'occasione migliore di confrontarsi con i comizi. In Cicerone spesso vi è la differenziazione di situazioni – e perciò di auditorio – nelle quali l'oratore deve essere pronto di parlare: *in senatu – apud populum – in iure, in iudiciis, in causis publicis*: cf. per es. de or. 1,31; 48; 60; 88; 220; 3, 63; 151; 196. (Ma non bisogna neanche dimenticare che negli scritti retorici di Cicerone per *populus* non si deve intendere soltanto 'il popolo', 'la folla', ma spesso qualsiasi pubblico non specificamente esperto di *ars rhetorica*; cf. a questo proposito Brut. 183 ss.).

¹⁴ J. Seidel, Fasti Aedilicii von der Einrichtung der plebeischen Aedität bis zum Tode Caesars, Diss. Breslau 1908, 64.

¹⁵ Per le competenze del *iudex quaestionis*, cf. Mommsen, St. R. II³, 586 ss; questa carica normalmente era successiva all'edilità e precedeva la pretura: vedi gli esempi in Mommsen, 589 nn. 2 (dove si parla anche di C. Visellius Varro) e 3.

¹⁶ R.Y. Tyrrel – L.C. Purser, The Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero, Dublin 1904–1933, I, 410; D.R. Shackleton Bailey, Cicero's Letters to Atticus (= Ad Atticum), Cambridge 1965–67, II, 161. Nei commenti di entrambe le edizioni questo Visellius viene identificato con il cugino di Cicerone.

¹⁷ Sumner, Orators, 139.

tardiva, poiché Visellius Varro avrebbe avuto allora almeno 45 anni. Sumner perciò preferisce porre la magistratura curule al 67 o al 66, anticipando naturalmente la data di morte al 66/65¹⁸. Tuttavia, come ha fatto notare Shackleton Bailey (*Ad Atticum* II, 161), non sarebbe strano che Visellius fosse il promotore di una legge in favore del cugino, tanto più che egli avrebbe potuto mettere in pratica le sue doti di esperto in diritto di cui parla ancora Cicerone nel *Brutus* (264): *Praeterea perfectus in litteris iurisque civilis iam a patre Aculeone traditam tenuit disciplinam*.

Vediamo ora Murena. Tutti gli studiosi¹⁹, ad eccezione di Drumann–Groebe, hanno pensato che questo Murena sia C. Licinius Murena²⁰, fratello minore di L. Murena *cos.* 62. Anche di C. Murena sappiamo ben poco: legato del fratello nella Gallia Transalpina negli anni 64–63²¹, non si trovava a Roma al tempo del processo di Lucius, *consul designatus* accusato *de ambitu*, quasi certamente nel novembre del 63²². L'unica altra magistratura a lui attribuita è appunto l'edilità insieme a Varro, anche se Visellius Varro, come abbiamo visto, era probabilmente coetaneo di Lucius, anch'egli questore nel 74: il *cursus* di L. Murena – e anche l'età – è infatti facilmente avvicicabile a quello di Ser. Sulpicius Rufus, con cui condivise quasi tutte le cariche, almeno fino al consolato, quando Servio fu sconfitto da Murena.

¹⁸ Secondo Sumner, non sarebbe cogente, poi, l'altra testimonianza di Cicerone sul cugino del 56 a. C.: prov. 40 *Ac primum illud tempus familiaritatis et consuetudinis quae mihi cum illo [sc. Caesare], quae fratri meo, quae C. Varroni, consobrino nostro, ab omnium nostrum adulescentia fuit, praetermitto*. Questa affermazione, infatti, non lascia intendere se Visellius era morto di recente o già da tempo (a dire il vero, non lascia neanche intendere se era già morto o no). A questo, Sumner, *CPh* 73 (1978) 162 aggiunge che, nel passo di prov.cons. appena citato, Cicerone parla di suo cugino chiamandolo 'C. Varro' e non 'Visellius'. Broughton, nel suo *Supplement* (*MRR* III, 222) prende in considerazione le riserve di Sumner, ma non esclude in ogni caso anche l'identificazione col Visellius citato da Cicerone nell'anno 59.

¹⁹ F. Münzer in *RE* XIII (1927) 446, 20–26 n° 123; Broughton, *MRR* II, 189 e 195; III, 222; Taylor, *Voting Districts*, 266; Nicolet, *Ordre équestre* II, 1079; Ph. Moreau, *Cicéron, Clodius et la publication du 'Pro Murena'*, *REL* 58 (1980) 228 n. 5; David, *Le patronat*, 850 s.

²⁰ Su C. Murena cf. Drumann–Groebe, *Geschichte Roms* IV², 20; Münzer in *RE* XIII (1927) 444 n° 119.

²¹ Cf. Broughton, *MRR* II, 170; III, 123, che riprende le conclusioni di E. Badian, *Notes on Provincia Gallia in the Late Republic*, *Mélanges A. Piganiol*, Paris 1966, 915–918.

²² Per la datazione del processo di Murena cf. A.D. Leeman, *The Technique of Persuasion in Cicero's Pro Murena*, in *Éloquence et Rhétorique chez Cicéron, "Entretiens sur l'Antiquité Classique"*, 28, Vandoeuvres–Genève 1982, 200.

Servius era *aequalis* di Cicerone²³, il che significa che era nato nel 106 o più probabilmente nel 105 (vedi Sumner, *Orators*, 156): le magistrature di Servius e di L. Murena cadono sempre un anno dopo quelle di Cicerone (il quale, come sappiamo, fu edile plebeo nel 69: cf. Broughton, *MRR* II, 132).

Le tappe del *cursus* di Murena, che viene paragonato a quello di Ser. Sulpicius, sono ripercorse nella orazione pronunciata da Cicerone in difesa di Murena. Nel corso di questa *contentio dignitatis* si parla esplicitamente della questura (§ 18) e della pretura (§§ 35 ss.) dei due competitori, ma non dell'edilità²⁴. E questo naturalmente costituisce la difficoltà maggiore per l'attribuzione dell'edilità a Lucius. Tuttavia nel Drumann–Groebe, senza peraltro fornirne una datazione, si motivava l'edilità di Lucius – "Auch gab er als Ädil keine Spiele; doch verzierte er das Komitium mit lakonischen Steinen" (*Geschichte Roms* V², 199) – proprio in base alle parole di Cicerone in *Mur.* 37:

Sed tamen si est reddenda ratio, duae res vehementer in praetura desideratae sunt quae ambae in consulatu multum Murenarum profuerunt, una exspectatio muneris quae et rumore nonnullo et studiis sermonibusque competitorum creverat, altera quod ei quos in provincia ac legatione omni et liberalitatis et virtutis suae testis habuerat nondum decesserant. Horum utrumque ei fortuna ad consulatus petitionem reservavit. Nam et L. Luculli exercitus qui ad triumphum convenerat idem comitiis L. Murenarum praesto fuit, et munus amplissimum quod petitio praeturae desiderarat praetura restituit.

Cerchiamo di ricostruire le vicende di Lucius Murena agli inizi degli anni 60. Egli rimase in Asia al servizio di Lucullus²⁵ dal 73, l'anno successivo alla questura, almeno fino alla conquista di Tigranocerta, che seguì la battaglia contro Tigrane, il 6 ottobre del 69²⁶; Murena poi, nel 67 fu

²³ Cf. *Brut.* 150–156 (parla Bruto a proposito di Cicerone e di Servius): *aetates vestrae ... nihil aut non fere multum differunt ...* (156) *aequalitas vestra*.

²⁴ L'edilità non era una tappa obbligatoria per un regolare *cursus honorum*: cf. Mommsen, *St. R.* I³, 481.

²⁵ *Cic. Mur.* 20; 89. Sulla cronologia del mandato di Lucullus in Asia vedi la nota di Broughton, *MRR* II, 106–108.

²⁶ *Plut. Luc.* 27 ss.; *App. Mithr.* 84; cf. D. Magie, *Roman Rule*, II, 1215 n. 49.

mandato in Asia fra i dieci legati inviati dal Senato a Lucullus, il che, con buona probabilità, significa che era tornato a Roma dalla campagna in Oriente²⁷. Inoltre, le notizie di Vitruvio e di Plinio fanno riferimento a un'opera d'arte trasportata dalla Grecia a Roma, e L. Murena, tornando dall'Asia, avrebbe potuto portare via l'opera di cui parlano le due testimonianze (non necessariamente doveva farlo di persona)²⁸.

Effettivamente, non sappiamo niente della sua attività durante l'anno 68: a ciò si aggiunge il fatto che non abbiamo i nomi degli edili curuli del 68²⁹, e sarebbe suggestivo pensare a un'edilità di Varro e L. Murena per quell'anno, considerato anche che Murena fu pretore nel 65 e in questo modo i due anni che solitamente – ma non necessariamente³⁰ – intervallavano le magistrature sarebbero rispettati). La carriera politica di C. Visellius – tribuno militare, questore, tribuno della plebe (?) e edile curule –, invece, sarebbe stata interrotta da una morte prematura³¹.

²⁷ Cf. Att. 13,6,4. D. Magie, *Roman Rule II*, 1219 n. 58 (anche se non tutti gli studiosi sono d'accordo: secondo alcuni, infatti, questo Murena sarebbe L. Licinius Murena *pater*, il legato di Silla durante la prima guerra mitridatica: cf. Broughton, *MRR II*, 131 n. 6).

²⁸ David, *Le patronat*, 850 suggerisce che, se vogliamo collocare l'edilità di Varro secondo la proposta di Sumner, la parete laterizia potrebbe essergli stata procurata dal parente M. Varrone, allora legato di Lucullus proprio in quella zona (cf. *Varr. rust.* 2, proem. 6). Comunque, continua David, *Le patronat*, 851 n. 7, la parete poteva essere stata procurata dall'altro edile C. Licinius Murena.

²⁹ Almeno Broughton non registra nessun edile, né curule né plebeo per quell'anno (ma vedi sotto n. 44).

³⁰ Cf. Sumner, *Orators*, 7 e E. Badian, *Studies in Greek and Roman History*, Oxford 1964, 144 ss. Inoltre, in questo modo, potremmo collocare l'eventuale tribunato di Visellius nell'anno 70; sappiamo di vari personaggi che esercitarono il tribunato e l'edilità a distanza di due anni: solo per citare alcuni esempi tardo-repubblicani, vedi P. Clodius Pulcher (tribuno an. 58, edile 56), Cn. Plancius e A. Plautius (entrambi 56 e 54), M. Caelius Rufus (52 e 50).

³¹ Un'altra notizia su C. Visellius Varro ci è fornita da Valerio Massimo 8,2,2, ma anche essa non è in grado di offrirci nuove soluzioni: *Notum suis temporibus iudicium commemoravi* [cioè il processo tra P. Calpurnius Lanarius e Ti. Claudius Centumalus, giudicato da M. Cato, padre dell'Uticense]; *sed ne quod relaturus quidem sum oblitteratum est silentio. C. Visellius Varro gravi morbo correptus trecenta milia nummum ab Otacilia Laterensis, cum qua commercium libidinis habuerat, expensa ferri sibi passus est eo consilio, ut, si decessisset, ab heredibus eam summam peteret; quam legati genus esse voluit, libidinosam liberalitatem debiti nomine colorando. Evasit deinde Visellius ex illa tempestate adversus vota Octaciliae. Quae offensa, quod spem predae suae morte non maturasset, ex amica obsequenti subito dstrictam feneratricem agere coepit, nummos petendo, quos ut fronte inverecunda, ita inani stipulatione captaverat. De qua re C. Aquilius, vir magnae auctoritatis et scientia iuris civilis excellens, iudex addictus,*

Tuttavia si possono sollevare alcune obiezioni fondamentali:

1) è molto difficile, che Murena, anche se fosse tornato a Roma entro l'anno 69 – cosa peraltro non esclusa³² – avesse potuto proporre la sua candidatura all'edilità per l'anno successivo, il 68, appunto, e avesse potuto presenziare alle elezioni: si sarebbe trattato di una candidatura e di un'elezione *in absentia*. E' anche vero che la presenza fisica di un candidato alle elezioni non era strettamente richiesta, almeno fino al 63 a. C., secondo quanto risulta da una frase di Cicerone, leg. agr. 2,24: *Praesentem enim profiteri iubet, quod nulla alia in lege umquam fuit ne in iis quidem magistratibus, quorum certus ordo est*. J.P.V.D. Balsdon, a questo proposito, affermava che "candidates in absence was legitimate, though in practice an absent candidate stood at a great disadvantage"³³ e ricorda alcuni esempi di elezioni *in absentia*, e, a ben guardare, alcuni di questi casi dipendono da circostanze del tutto particolari: Mario fu eletto console per il 105, 104 e 102 (emergenza delle guerre contro Cimbri e Teutoni); Lucullus fu eletto edile per il 79 (ma siamo in piena epoca sillana e Lucullus era stato uno dei più fedeli alleati di Silla durante tutta la guerra civile e la campagna in Oriente); Pompeo e Crasso consoli per il 70 (periodo delle guerre in Spagna e di Spartaco) Secondo l'autore, la frase di Cicerone significa che in caso di

adhibitis in consilium principibus civitatis, prudentia et religione sua, mulierem reppulit. Quod si eadem formula et Varro damnari et ab adversaria absolvi potuisset, eius quoque non dubito quin turpem et inconcessum errorem libenter castigaturus fuerit: nunc privatae actionis calumniam ipse compescuit; adulterii crimen publicae quaestioni vindicandum reliquit. Il processo doveva essere stato famoso all'epoca, ma ovviamente anche qui sembra arduo ipotizzare una datazione: di Otacilia, moglie di Laterensis, sappiamo ben poco (cf. Münzer, RE XVIII 1 (1942) 1866 n° 19). Di C. Aquilius Gallus, famoso giureconsulto (cf. W. Kunkel, *Herkunft und soziale Stellung der Römische Juristen*, Graz–Wien–Köln 1967, 21), sappiamo che fu il giudice nel processo a Quinctius, difeso da Cicerone nell'81 (Cic. Quinct. 1; Gell. 15,28,3), e pretore nella *quaestio de ambitu* nel 66, occasione in cui difficilmente un processo privato poteva essere ricondotto a lui (sul ruolo del *iudex addictus* cf. M. Kaser, *Das Römische Zivilprozessrecht*, München 1996, 195 [n. 31] e 197 [n. 43]). Aquilius era ancora vivo nel 56, ma morì prima del 44 (cf. Shackleton Bailey, *Ad Atticum I*, 290). Il processo giudicato da M. Cato (di cui parla Cicerone in *de off.* 3,66), si daterebbe prima della morte del padre dell'Uticense, intorno al 91 secondo Broughton, MRR II, 14 n. 2, nell'81 secondo Münzer, s. v. Ti. Claudius Centumalus, RE III 2 (1899) 2695 n° 107; in ogni caso, non possiamo essere sicuri che i due processi si siano svolti in un periodo di tempo ravvicinato.

³² Cf. J. Van Ooteghem, L. Licinius Lucullus, Namur 1959, 158 n. 5

³³ Roman History, 65–60 B. C.: Five Problems, JRS 52 (1962) 140 s.

magistrature curuli non era mai esistita una proibizione in termini assoluti³⁴. In un articolo apparso nel 1966, J. Linderski³⁵, però, rifiutava le tesi di Balsdon, sostenendo, a ragione, che bisogna distinguere tra *professio*, cioè la presentazione della candidatura, e la elezione: se per la *professio*, almeno fino al 63, data della orazione sulla legge agraria, non era necessaria la presenza fisica del candidato, questa si rivelava imprescindibile per la elezione³⁶. Tra la *professio* e l'elezione, poi, trascorrevano di norma almeno 24 giorni, ma in ogni caso i comizi per le magistrature curuli si tenevano in estate, in genere in luglio o in agosto³⁷ (anche se a volte potevano essere rinviati³⁸): Murena era certamente ancora in Asia a quel tempo.

³⁴ Anche E.S. Gruen, *The Last Generation of the Roman Republic*, Berkeley–Los Angeles–London 1974, 457, trattando della candidatura al consolato di Cesare che si trovava in Gallia, afferma che "candidacies *in absentia* were not to be a regular part of Roman institutional practice". Tra l'altro, Balsdon, 141, a differenza di quanto suggerito da Mommsen (*St. R.* I³, 503 s. n. 2), sostiene l'improbabilità dell'approvazione di una legge che vietasse la candidatura in assenza in quegli anni relativamente ben conosciuti fra il 63, data del discorso di Cicerone sulla legge agraria, e il 60, quando Cesare preferì rinunciare al trionfo piuttosto che alla candidatura per il consolato (per le fonti vedi Broughton, *MRR* II, 185; cf. anche Gruen, *Last Generation*, 415); difficilmente un provvedimento così importante sarebbe passato sotto silenzio, soprattutto se si considera che essa fu la questione cruciale negli anni immediatamente precedenti la guerra civile tra Cesare e Pompeo. Sulla questione vedi anche B. Levick, *Professio*, *Athenaeum* 59 (1981), 383 e n. 17.

³⁵ *Were Pompey and Crassus Elected in Absence to their First Consulship?*, *Melanges Michalowski*, Warsaw 1966, ora in *Roman Questions: Selected Papers*, Stuttgart 1995, 91–94.

³⁶ Ovviamente Linderski dà alla frase di Cicerone il senso tradizionale: "The law forbidding elections in absence was already in force at the time of Marius and remained so to the end of the republic ... the idea of *professio* in person was first conceived by Rullus (in 63) in respect to election of land-commissioners. A provision to that effect concerning all regular magistracies was laid down in a law enacted shortly afterwards." (Linderski, *Rom. Quest.* 93. In questo articolo, l'autore conclude poi che per Pompeo e Crasso solo la *professio* fu *in absentia*, non l'elezione). Dello stesso avviso sono D.C. Earl, *Appian B. C. I*, 14, *Historia* 14 (1965) 327–29 e C. Nicolet, *Le métier de citoyen dans la Rome républicaine*, Paris 1976, 328 s.

³⁷ Cf. Nicolet, *Le métier*, 324

³⁸ Cf. Nicolet, *ib.*; per un elenco delle date dei comizi in alcuni anni vedi A.K. Michels, *The Calendar of the Roman Republic*, Princeton 1967, 58 s. Un caso emblematico di rinvio delle elezioni consolari fu quello del 59 a. C., quando il console Bibulus, per ostacolare Cesare, riuscì a fare differire i comizi al 18 ottobre (cf. *Cic. Att.* 2,20,6 e 2,21,5, su cui J. Linderski, *Constitutional Aspects of the Consular Elections in 59 B.C.*, *Historia* 14 (1965) 392 ss. = *Rom. Quest.* 71–90), o anche quello dell'anno 57, quando le elezioni per l'edilità fu rinviata addirittura all'anno successivo, a causa degli scontri tra

2) La frase di Cicerone in Mur. 37 lascerebbe intendere che Murena avesse durante la pretura conquistato quel favore che invece gli era mancato per l'elezione alla pretura, ovvero durante la magistratura precedente, e, come sappiamo, l'edilità poteva effettivamente dimostrarsi una carica importante per guadagnarsi il favore popolare, soprattutto per le celebrazioni dei Ludi. Invece, come aveva già notato Münzer (cf. sopra n. 19), il fatto che Cicerone non parli in termini espliciti della edilità di Murena (tanto più nel contesto dell'orazione in cui la *contentio dignitatis* tra Murena e Servio si fondava sulle cariche ricoperte dai due competitori) sarebbe sufficiente per escludere l'attribuzione di questa magistratura. Cicerone avrebbe potuto tacere dell'edilità di Murena, o comunque citarla in maniera così poco chiara, perché Servio non aveva ricoperto tale magistratura, e quindi non poteva fare un paragone (come abbiamo detto, l'edilità non era obbligatoria per il *cursus honorum*); ma è anche vero che difficilmente lo stesso Cicerone avrebbe passato sotto silenzio un tale titolo di merito di Murena rispetto a Servio, cioè appunto essere stato edile; tanto è vero che poco dopo, al § 43, Cicerone aggiunge: *Et quoniam ostendi, iudices, parem dignitatem ad consulatus petitionem, disparem fortunam provincialium negotiorum in Murena atque Sulpicio fuisse, eqs..* Tale frase infatti stabilisce una distinzione non tra le cariche, in tutto e per tutto uguali, ma nella diversità di funzioni amministrative all'interno della questura e della pretura³⁹.

3) Per quanto riguarda Visellius, in questo modo verrebbe esclusa definitivamente l'identificazione con il Visellius di cui Cicerone parla in Att. 3,23,4, poiché il Nostro era già morto da alcuni anni nel 59. Comunque David, *Le patronat judiciaire*, 850 non scarta l'ipotesi che il Visellius della lettera ad Attico possa essere un parente di C. Visellius, così pure la Visellia di cui si parla in Att.15,13,4 (Shackleton Bailey, *Ad Atticum VI*, 296).

Senz'altro più semplice risulta pertanto l'identificazione del Murena citato da Vitruvio e da Plinio con il più giovane C. Murena, di cui sappiamo con certezza che fu legato del fratello in Gallia (vedi sopra) negli anni tra la pretura e il consolato di Lucius. Ma in una iscrizione di Kaunos sono onorati

Clodius e Milo (Cic. Att. 4,13,3–5; cf. Broughton, MRR II, 208. Su questo caso vedi il commento di Nicolet, *Le métier*, 325: "Mais nous sommes là dans les derniers soubresauts d'une république agonisante.").

³⁹ Durante la questura, nel 74, a Servius era toccata la provincia ostiense, mentre *Murena habuit ... provinciam tacitam et quietam* (Cic. Mur. 18); nel 65 Murena era *praetor urbanus*, mentre Servius ebbe in sorte, anche in questo caso, il compito più ingrato, la presidenza del tribunale giudicante i reati di peculato (Mur. 35–42).

L. Licinius Murena, quasi sicuramente *pater*, e in un'altra Caius⁴⁰; questo significa che non solo Lucius *cos.* 62 aveva militato col padre in Asia tra gli anni 84 e 81⁴¹, ma evidentemente anche il fratello minore: ora, questo significa che anche Caius era nato intorno all'anno 100, quasi certamente non dopo, se appunto meritava una statua onorifica (poteva essere forse coetaneo di Q. Cicerone?). Tale elemento, secondo Sumner⁴², costituisce una ulteriore prova che l'edilità nel 59 sarebbe stata tardiva per entrambi, non solo per Visellius Varro.

Per riassumere: se il tribunato di Varro può in definitiva essere accettato e posto nel 70, la data dell'edilità rimane un problema non facilmente risolvibile: la maggior parte delle testimonianze e degli argomenti porterebbero a una datazione 'bassa' dell'edilità, cioè nei primi anni 50, e in questo caso possiamo senz'altro attribuire l'edilità a C. Murena (ovviamente non al fratello che nel 62 era stato console). L'unico effettivo problema – come ha rilevato Sumner – è rappresentato dal notevole ritardo con cui Visellius ricoprì la carica di edile rispetto al normale *cursus honorum*, ritardo accumulato dopo la questura ed eventualmente il tribunato; e questo sembra valere anche per C. Murena. Se intendiamo accettare questo argomento, allora si potrebbe pensare al 68 o al 66. Quanto poi alla colleganza con Murena, l'unica data possibile per quello che riguarda Lucius è il 68, pur con tutte le difficoltà che ciò comporta; altrimenti, come abbiamo detto, dobbiamo più prudentemente e probabilmente pensare al fratello Caius (di cui peraltro sappiamo molto poco, poiché l'unica magistratura conosciuta è la legazione con il fratello in Gallia)⁴³ e indirizzarci verso l'anno 66,

⁴⁰ Le due iscrizioni in Ann. Epig. 1974, 170 n° 630 (*Murena pater*) e n° 631 per Caius: ... Γάϊον Λικίνιον Λευκίου υἱὸν Μουρήνηναν εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτήρα.... su cui vedi R. Bernhardt, Zwei Eherenstatuen in Kaunos für L. Licinius Murena und seinem Sohn Gaius, *Anadolu* 16–17 (1972–73) 117–122.

⁴¹ Per l'attività di Murena *pater*, legato di Silla cf. Magie, *Roman Rule I*, 244 ss.; anche A. Keaveney, *Young Pompey: 106–79 B. C.*, AC 51 (1982) 123 ss.; sul figlio Lucius, in Asia insieme al padre negli anni 84–81, cf. Cic. Mur. 11–12.

⁴² *Varrones Murenarum*, HSCPh 82 (1978) 119 n. 13. In questo contributo Sumner tenta di illustrare i rapporti di parentela tra le famiglie dei Licinii Murenarum dei Terentii Varrones; se è corretto ciò che abbiamo supposto, che cioè Visellius Varro era in origine un appartenente ai Terentii, è possibile che i due colleghi nell'edilità fossero in qualche modo parenti (Sumner, loc. cit., definisce perciò questa colleganza "an interesting combination").

⁴³ Naturalmente dovremo chiederci quando Caius cominciò la sua carriera politica e quando entrò a far parte del Senato: in base a ciò che è stato detto, egli poteva essere

piuttosto che al 67: infatti, seppure non possiamo dimostrarlo con assoluta certezza, è probabile che gli edili del 67 fossero C. Flaminius e M. Plaetorius Cestianus, poiché essi ricoprivano l'ufficio di *iudices quaestionis* nel 66⁴⁴, l'anno della pretura di Cicerone.

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stato questore dopo il 74, anno della questura del fratello maggiore, tra il 73 e il 68.

⁴⁴ Cf. Broughton, MRR II, 150 n. 3 seguito da R. Syme, Review of Broughton MRR, CPh 50 (1955) 132; dello stesso avviso è M.H. Crawford, Roman Republican Coinage, Cambridge 1974, I, 436. La collocazione cronologica dell'edilità di Plaetorius e di Flaminius è collegata, oltre alla questione numismatica, al processo a D. Matrinius; nella Pro Cluentio, pronunciata nel 66, quando Cicerone era pretore, egli dice: (Cluent. 126): *Nuper ... D. Matrinium, cum defendissem apud M. Iunium Q. Publicium praetores et M. Plaetorium C. Flaminius aedilis curulis...* Da un altro passo della medesima orazione (Cluent. 147), in cui Cicerone nomina i presidenti dei tribunali criminali, sappiamo che in quello stesso anno 66 i due edili menzionati presiedevano le *quaestiones de sicariis* (non in qualità di pretori, bensì di *iudices quaestionis*, come di consueto nei tribunali giudicanti tali crimini: cf. W. Kunkel s. v. *quaestio* in RE XXIV (1963) 741–742) e comunemente questo ufficio si ricopriva dopo l'edilità (vedi sopra n. 14). Diversamente F. Münzer, che colloca l'edilità di M. Plaetorius e C. Flaminius nel 68 (cf. RE XX 2 (1950), s. v. Plaetorius 1950 ss. n° 16) e E. Sydenham, Roman Republican Coinage, London 1952, lxxv, che pensa al 66. Per ulteriore commento e bibliografia vedi J.W. Crawford, M. Tullius Cicero: The Lost and Unpublished Orations, Göttingen 1984, 58 s., anch'essa peraltro favorevole all'anno 67. In ogni caso entrambe le datazioni non escludono l'edilità di Varro e Murena per il 66; e possiamo aggiungere, pur con un argomento *e silentio*, che se essi fossero stati *iudices quaestionis* in questo anno, difficilmente Cicerone in Cluent. 147 avrebbe riannunziato a nominarli.

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REIJO PITKÄRANTA ET ROLF WESTMAN

Avec cette bibliographie s'achève la présentation d'un demi-siècle de travail finlandais dans le domaine des études classiques. Les bibliographies antérieures, pour les 40 ans de 1947 à 1986, ont été publiées dans *Euphrosyne* (Revista de filologia clássica) à Lisbonne, dans ses volumes 2, 10 et 15 (1968, 1980 et 1987).

Nous voulons ici remercier les Directeurs d'*Euphrosyne* pour une collaboration toujours agréable: F. Rebelo Gonçalves (1968); Maria Helena de Teves Costa Ureña Prieto (1980); Aires A. Nascimento (1987). Nous espérons que leurs lecteurs ont apprécié cette collaboration entre le Portugal et la Finlande.

En effet, la présente liste fait suite à ces trois bibliographies précédentes:

- pour la période 1947–1966, dans *Euphrosyne* 2 (1968) 209–214 (Westman);
- pour la période 1967–1976, dans *Euphrosyne* 10 (1980) 252–259 (Pitkäranta et Westman);
- pour la période 1977–1986, dans *Euphrosyne* 15 (1987) 357–367 (Pitkäranta et Westman).

La présentation est toujours "abrégée", car elle ne comprend que les livres et les études d'une extension comparable. On ajoute, comme auparavant, les études théologiques dans la même mesure que le fait L'Année philologique, c'est-à-dire les études sur la Septante et le Nouveau Testament ainsi que la patristique. De même, nous avons accordé une place aux ouvrages qui étudient la littérature latine (et grecque) pendant les siècles postérieurs à l'antiquité.

Nous excluons, en principe, les ouvrages rédigés dans les langues nationales de la Finlande, le finnois et le suédois, avec les seules exceptions d'une thèse en finnois (Lampela) et une en suédois (Ahlqvist). Nous excluons aussi les traductions de textes grecs ou latins et les ouvrages scolaires.

Bien que les traductions ne fassent pas partie de nos bibliographies, nous croyons bon de signaler aux lecteurs qu'une traduction complète de **Platon** en finnois a été achevée (7 vols., 1977–1990). On a aussi commencé une traduction d'**Aristote** en finnois, et 6 volumes ont paru depuis 1989.

Pendant la décennie passée, quelques **bibliographies** ont été publiées sur les études classiques en Finlande et sur leur histoire. Comme elles peuvent être intéressantes pour les lecteurs, nous les avons ajoutées en appendice.

Sauf indication contraire, les livres sont imprimés à Helsinki et les thèses appartiennent à une Faculté des Lettres. Les voyelles Ä et Ö sont traitées comme AE et OE.

Nous tenons à remercier les personnes qui nous ont aidé.

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APPENDICE:

Bibliographies spéciales sur les études classiques en Finlande et leur histoire, achevées entre 1989 et 1996 (ordre chronologique).

- 1) Rolf Westman, "Dänemark, Finnland, Norwegen, Schweden: die griechische Philologie". Pp. 685 – 725 dans: *La filologia greca e latina nel secolo XX*, vol. II. Pisa 1989. (Biblioteca di studi antichi, 56**.) – Le traitement de la recherche en Finlande se trouve aux pages 696–705, avec les notes bibliographiques 92 à 172.
- 2) Rolf Westman et Eva Michelsen, "Bibliographischer Anhang" (sc. au numéro 1), *ibid.* pp. 726–743; les publications des Finlandais, pp. 731–734.
- 3) Dag Norberg, "Danemark, Finlande, Norvège, Suède: la philologie latine au XX siècle". Pp. 745–762 dans le même volume que 1). – Le traitement de Norberg est systématique et ne procède pas par nations.
- 4) **BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ten years of research at the Institutum Classicum Universitatis Helsingiensis... 1980–1990.** Helsinki 1991. 46 p. – Préface de Iiro Kajanto. – La bibliographie comprend 377 publications

scientifiques ainsi qu'un grand nombre d'écrits de vulgarisation (non numérotés), et de traductions et d'ouvrages élémentaires.

- 5) Rolf Westman, *Classical studies 1980–1990 in Turku–Åbo and in Oulu. A supplementary bibliography from Finland. Åbo–Turku 1991. 11 p. – 114 publications scientifiques et un nombre d'écrits de vulgarisation et de traductions.*
- 6) Rolf Westman, "History of classical scholarship in Finland: a bibliography", pp. 7–20 dans *Arctos* 30 (1996 [imprimé en 1997]) contenant 106 numéros.

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TWO NOTES ON CORA

OLLI SALOMIES

In the course of studying the history and the epigraphy of the city of Cora (now Cori), in order to prepare a new edition of the inscriptions of the city for a second edition of CIL vol. X, I have made some interesting observations which are to be presented in this paper.

I. Cora During the Civil War between Marius and Sulla

The literary sources do not tell us much of the history of Cora (in Latium, between Velitrae and Norba) in antiquity. There are some legends concerning the origins of the city and its "history" in the regal period, and the name also appears occasionally in the annals dealing with the earlier Republic; no continuous narrative of the vicissitudes of Cora can, however, be based on this.¹ But even what we know of early Republican Cora is substantial compared to what the literary sources say of the city after the Hannibalic war. There is a mention of the city in Strabo and in Pliny the Elder, and Symmachus had a villa there (and there are some further references to Cora in late antiquity); otherwise there is only a passing mention in the *Pharsalia* of the first-century A.D. poet Lucan. This passage has, however, had an interesting fate in Coran studies. Let us examine this special case, which throws some interesting light on the ways of establishing

¹ What can be extracted from ancient authors has most usefully been set forth by Th. Mommsen in CIL X p. 645 and by C. Hülsen in RE IV 1216f. A. Accrocca (a local man, clearly; there is a via Accrocca in Cori), Cori. Storia e monumenti (Roma 1933) cannot be recommended, and P. Manciocchi, Cori. Storia e monumenti. History and Monuments (Cori 1987) is aimed at the tourist rather than at the scholar. – There is one ancient mention of Cora which is omitted in modern expositions of the city and its history (and also in the article on Cora in the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae), namely the pun on the name *Cora* in Plautus, *Captivi* 881ff.

”historical facts” in modern expositions of the history of a small Italian country town, though not necessarily also telling us something about the ”real” history of Cora (the ”wie es eigentlich gewesen”) or illustrating the interpretation of the poet Lucan.

In the 19th century, authors dealing with Cora had nothing to say on the subject of Cora in the early first century B.C. except that the city must have become a *municipium* after the Italic war.² But at the end of the century things start to progress. In the *Realencyclopädie* article on Cora (of 1900) by Chr. Hülsen (RE IV 1216) one finds the statement, accompanied with a reference to Lucan 7, 392, that Cora was destroyed in the civil wars in the time of Marius and Sulla (”Zerstörung im Bürgerkriege unter Marius und Sulla”). This new information did not find its way to the *Dizionario epigrafico* article on Cora published in 1910,³ but readers of Accrocca’s book on Cora published in 1933 (see n. 1) will find the same statement (on p. 18). By this time, this ”fact” had already become common knowledge, for in Accrocca there is a reference to the ”comune opinione” (but, perhaps because of the nature of the book, no such reference to Lucan). Accordingly, one finds the mention of the destruction of Cora in the Marian and Sullan period in all authors who have dealt with Cora after the Second World War, each author also substantiating their statement with a reference to the passage of Lucan mentioned above.⁴

There remains a question: if Cora was destroyed during the civil wars between Marius and Sulla, which of the two was responsible for this? Hülsen in 1900 did not specify his views on this point, but Accrocca in 1933 provides us with an answer: it was Marius’ troops who destroyed Cora. The blame is laid on Marius also in the later studies by Chiari, Brandizzi Vittucci, Crescenzi and Tortorici, and Morselli (see n. 4). But, since

² Cf. S. Viola, *Memorie storiche dell’antichissima città di Cori ne’ Volsci* (Roma 1825); Th. Mommsen, CIL X p. 645.

³ E. De Ruggiero, *Dizionario epigrafico* 2,2 (1910) 1207.

⁴ O. Chiari, ’Il tempio di Ercole a Cori’, in: *Rassegna del Lazio* 2 (1955), fasc. 5,15; P. Brandizzi Vittucci, *Cora (Forma Italiae I 5, 1968)* 32; C.F. Giuliani, ’Cora’, in the *Princeton Encyclopaedia of Classical Sites* (1976) 238; L. Crescenzi and E. Tortorici, ’Cora’, in: *Enea nel Lazio. Archeologia e mito* (1981) 28 (and, copying Crescenzi and Tortorici, C. Morselli, in: *Bibliografia topografica della colonizzazione greca* 5 (1987) 411); F. Coarelli, *Lazio (Guide archeologiche Laterza, 1982)* 254; id., in: *Les ”bourgeoisies” municipales italiennes aux IIe et Ier siècles av. J.-C.* (1983) 239; M. Cancellieri, in: *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* 1 (1984) 887; P. Manciocchi, op. cit. (n. 1) 24.

practically nothing is known of Cora in this period, is it not, theoretically, just as likely to have been Sulla? This is the view of Giuliani (n. 4); and the same view is firmly taken by Coarelli in the 1983 volume *Les "bourgeoisies" municipales italiennes* (n. 4) p. 239, who is the first scholar to provide an explanation: Cora was destroyed (or at least suffered "gravissimi danni") because of its "posizione politica ... avversa a Silla". (He adds that this is the reason for the fact that no Coran senators can be found in the late Republic.)

We thus have a number of authors stating that Cora was destroyed in the civil war; some stating that it was Marius who destroyed the city, some stating that it was Sulla who was the culprit, one scholar, Coarelli, specifying that this was because the Corans did not like Sulla's political views. How can this be resolved? If one returns to the primary sources (always a good idea), which in this case consist of the passage of Lucan referred to above, it emerges that everything that has been said on Cora during the civil war is based on a misunderstanding: there is absolutely nothing in Lucan on Cora in the Marian and Sullan period (and how could there be, in a narrative of the civil wars between Caesar and Pompeius?); in the passage (7, 389ff.), Lucan is imagining the devastation in Italy following the battle of Pharsalus (7, 407f. *Pharsalia tanti / causa mali*): *tunc omne Latinum / fabula nomen erit; Gabios Veiosque Coramque / pulvere vix tectae poterunt monstrare ruinae* (etc.).

It would be interesting to know how the story of Cora's destruction, based on (as we saw) absolutely nothing, developed. If Hülsen really was the first scholar to quote Lucan as an authority on Cora under Marius and Sulla (and he certainly is the earliest I can trace), all this must be his mistake, perhaps due to illegible notes he had made for his RE article on Cora. But how had his one-line observation in the RE, written in German, become "comune opinione" by 1933, this being stated not in scholarly book, but in one written by a Coran amateur? And on what did Accrocca base his view that it was Marius who was to blame for the destruction? It would also be interesting to know at what phase Sulla, favoured by the other school of thought, stepped in. However, since we are dealing with fables here, it is better to leave the matter to those specialised in this kind of narrative fiction.

II. Carlo Fea, an epigraphist visiting Cora?

The famous antiquarian and archaeologist Carlo Fea (1753–1836), a learned man of wide interests and indisputable merits, carried out distinguished work also in the field of Latin epigraphy.⁵ From the point of view of Coran studies he is interesting inasmuch as his manuscript notes, now in the Vatican, include a page with a transcription of seven inscriptions from Cora, CIL X 6511, 6518, 6521, 6524, 6526, 6529, and 6530 (Cod. Vat. Lat. 10592 f. 296). It is stated in the manuscript that all come from Cora, but on most of the inscriptions Fea is more specific: according to him, 6526 (a text recording the building of an aqueduct by the *quattuorviri iure dicundo* C. Oppius Verus and L. Turpilius Priscus) "stava nella città di Cora avanti la scala esterna della casa del sig. Can. Cuagari, ma in occasione, che il medesimo ha rifatta la detta scala l'ha incorporato al muro, onde più non si vede"; of the inscriptions 6511, 6518, 6521, 6529 and 6530 Fea tells us that they "existed" (which must mean that he wished to convey the impression that he had actually seen the texts) "nell'orto interno delli Signori Tiraborelli" (a well-known Coran family).

At first glance, everything looks plausible, and Mommsen never had any doubts about Fea having visited Cora and having copied inscriptions there (cf. CIL X p. 645 and e.g. the apparatus on 6518, "Fea p. 296 qui vidit"). However, the fact is that Fea is lying; it may well be that he had at some time visited Cora (he knew the name Tiraborelli), but he certainly did not copy any inscriptions there. Let us examine the information he offers, which (as I said) on the surface seems plausible, but which in fact includes suspicious elements. Firstly, it is certainly strange that he should state that inscription 6526 had been built into a wall, so that it could not be inspected (who would do such a thing?), for the inscription was in fact seen in the via delle Colonnate close to the casa Tomasi by other scholars in the earlier 19th century and also later by Mommsen (though by the time of Mommsen, the right side of the text had been lost). Secondly, it is very strange indeed that there is no trace of the five inscriptions said by Fea to exist in the casa Tiraborelli, for other inscriptions which are known to have belonged to the collections of the casa Tiraborelli in that period still exist in the same house

⁵ See e.g. P. Pelagatti, in: *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica* III (1960) 611. For a recent paper on Fea see R.T. Ridley, *In Defence of the Cultural Patrimony: Carlo Fea goes to Court*, *Xenia Antiqua* 5 (1996) 143–158.

(now casa Ricci). Again, the quality of Fea's readings in many cases seems to imply that he had not copied the inscriptions carefully. In the case of the votive inscription 6511 he omits the line with the name of the deity (*Matri Matutae*); in no. 6518 (= I² 1512) he offers the reading *Touscia f.* where the original reading of the inscription seems to have been *Toutia M. f.*

Considering this, one starts to wonder how Mommsen could have accepted Fea as a genuine witness to the text of the inscriptions. Perhaps Mommsen thought that Fea's many merits placed him above suspicion. On the other hand, Mommsen had for some reason missed an important book, the perusal of which could have made him realise the nature and quality of Fea's Coran studies.

In 1764, the famous artist Giambattista Piranesi published in Rome his work *Antichità di Cora*, which deals mainly with the archaeological remains (the so-called temple of Hercules etc.), but which also includes many illustrations of inscriptions, in some cases as parts of the monuments themselves (e.g. CIL X 6506 = I² 1507, the inscription from the temple of Castor and Pollux), but mostly as parts of the decoration of the frontispiece. The work includes illustrations of the following inscriptions: CIL X 6506, 6511, 6517, 6518, 6521, 6524, 6526, 6529, and 6530. Piranesi had certainly seen no. 6506 himself, probably also 6517; the inscriptions 6511, 6518, 6526, 6529 he had copied from Iosephus Vulpius' *Vetus Latium profanum et sacrum* (there can be no doubt about this, as Vulpius' and Piranesi's texts are absolutely identical). As for nos. 6521 and 6530, both depicted as being fragments, these texts do not appear in earlier editions of inscriptions, and it is perhaps possible that Piranesi had invented the texts himself (6521 may have been inspired by 6520, 6530 seems to present some features of 6528). In any case, Piranesi's work would obviously have been worth quoting, and one can only wonder how Mommsen can have missed it.

But to come back to Fea: even the most cursory comparison between Fea's texts and those of Piranesi makes it absolutely certain that Fea has copied from Piranesi's book everything he has from Cora. For instance, in the arrangement of various inscriptions on Piranesi's frontispiece, line 2 of CIL X 6511 is partly hidden by another stone, and instead of the whole word *magistra* only *gistra* is visible; Fea, accordingly, has the text *gitra* (he missed a letter). Again, in 6518, where the original reading of the name seems to have been *Toutia*, Piranesi (copying Vulpius) has *Touscia*, which reading also appears in Fea. In 6521, Fea's version is clearly only a careless

copy of Piranesi's text, in which some lines are omitted. In 6524, both Piranesi (again copying Vulpius) and Fea have the absurd reading *Romano*. In 6529, Piranesi equips the names *Lepani* and *Tidi* (which he, and of course Fea, have in the form *Clidi* – the form copied by Piranesi from Vulpius) with *I longae* – which are not found in earlier editions of the text, but which of course also appear in Fea. Only Piranesi and Fea have the inscription 6530, which may well be a fake invented by Piranesi, inspired perhaps by no. 6528 (cf. above). One could go on and on with this, for the texts of Piranesi and Fea are always identical, except in those cases in which Fea has been careless and has got something wrong. But it should in any case be clear by now that Fea has no information whatsoever on inscriptions from Cora except that which he had found in Piranesi's book. It follows that whatever he says on the location of the inscriptions he transcribes is simply an invention, and so it appears that even a man like Fea was capable of inventing information which would otherwise be missing. There remains the question of why he should have done this, but I leave this for others to solve.

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KYTRAGORA
Ein attischer ghost-name

W. J. SCHNEIDER

ΚΥΤΡΑΓΟΡΑ ΛΥΣΙΔΗΜΟ ΑΛΛΑΙΕΩΣ

Die Inschrift mit dem Namen der verstorbenen *Kytragora* (sic), dem ihres Kyrios und seiner Demenangabe¹ fand sich auf dem separat erhaltenen Epistyl eines attischen Grabnaiskos, über dessen Verbleib im Piräuseum heute keine sicheren Angaben vorliegen². Die recht merkwürdig anmutende Bildung des weiblichen Vollnamens hat bis heute anscheinend keinerlei Aufmerksamkeit von Seiten der Onomastiker erfahren und auch bei den Epigraphikern keine Irritation ausgelöst. Während *Κυτραγόρα* als Eintrag in Kirchners *Prosopographia Attica* noch fehlt, verzeichnen den Namen neuerlich Byrne–Osborne³ bedenken- und kommentarlos als eigenes Lemma. Und so erscheint er zuletzt noch bei Clairmont im Ergänzungsband seines umfassenden *Corpus attischer Grabreliefs*⁴. Es ist bis heute in der Fachliteratur weder vermerkt, noch wohl auch nur bemerkt worden⁵, daß es sich hier kaum um einen sonst nirgendwo bezeugten Frauennamen⁶, sondern viel

1 IG II² 5495 (Kirchner): "c.a. 360 a."

2 Chr.W. Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones. Supplementary Volume* (Kilchberg 1995) PE 5 p. 9.

3 S.G. Byrne–M.J. Osborne (edd.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names II. Attica* (Oxford 1994) 277 s.v. *Κυτραγόρα*, vgl. a.O. 290 s.v. *Λυσίδημος* Nr. 5.

4 a.O. (s.o. Anm. 2) und noch im Register p. 101.

5 vgl. das Prinzip der Lemmatisierung bei Byrne–Osborne Introduction IX: "The names are entered under their *normalized* form broadly in accordance with the rules set out in the Preface to Volume I. Thus, for example, *Βείθυς* is set under the name *Βίθυς* but all examples of the spelling *Βείθυς* are noted in the entry."

6 An eine mit Schwund der Aspiration geschriebene Form (Beispiele für κ statt χ bei L. Threatte, *The Grammar of the Attic Inscriptions I* [Berlin – New York 1980] 451 ff.) eines auf *χυτρ-* und *ἀγορα* gebildeten Vollnamens wird man im Interesse der Verstor-

eher um eine Verschreibung⁷ des Steinmetzen (oder etwa eine Falschlesung?) für Κυδραγόρα handeln wird⁸.

*

In der Mythologie ist *Kydragora* eine recht obskure Schwester Agamemnonns, deren offenbar einziger Ruhm es war, mit Strophios den Pylades hervorgebracht zu haben⁹. Als Frauennamenname klassischer Zeit ist *Kydragore* in Minoa auf Amorgos belegt¹⁰; das männliche Pendant *Kydragores* begegnet etwa gleichzeitig auf Thasos¹¹.

*

Beispiele zur Verwechslung von τ und δ sind in den attischen Inschriften nur sehr selten anzutreffen¹². Die nächste Entsprechung zu unserer Κυτραγόρα ist bezeichnenderweise das in mehreren Inschrifttexten überlieferte Ἀτραμυτηνός für Ἀδραμυτηνός. Während hier beim Ethnikon der mysischen Stadt aber der ungriechische Name für das Gleiten der Überlieferung zwischen τρ und δρ verantwortlich ist¹³, kommt ein solches

benen nicht gut denken können: ein solcher für ein Höckerweib vom Topfmarkt passender Name würde eher der skoptischen Phantasie eines Aristophanes oder den denigrierenden Bemühungen tagespolitischer Verunglimpfungen entsprechen als in die bürgerliche Welt der wohl-situierten attischen Oikoi führen!

Es wird auch nicht eine Verschreibung für Κυτραγόρα vorliegen, deren männliches Pendant für Paros im 4. Jh. v. Chr. nachgewiesen ist: F. Bechtel, Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit (Halle 1917) 17.

⁷ Solch ein Fehler in der Überlieferung oder Lesung von Namen auf den Stamm κυδ- ist im übrigen nicht singulär: P.A. Hansen, An Epigraphical Ghost-Name, ZPE 21 (1976) 37 f.; F. Bechtel, Kleine onomastische Studien. Aufsätze zur griechischen Eigennamenforschung, BzKlassPhil 125 (Königstein 1981) 144; 166; M. Lang, The Athenian Agora XXI. Graffiti and Dipinti (Princeton 1976) C 23 Taf. 5 mit D.M. Lewis, SEG XXIX 287 und O. Masson, Quelques noms grecs à l'Agora d'Athènes, in: Fs. H. Hoenigswald (Tübingen 1987) 259 Anm. 44 = Onomastica Graeca Selecta II (Nanterre o.J.) 571.

⁸ Eine Nameninschrift aus dem Corpus Clairmonts hat soeben auch A. Lajtar, Bemerkungen zu einigen griechischen Inschriften im Nationalmuseum zu Warschau, ZPE 112 (1996) 137 f. Nr. 1 korrigiert.

⁹ Schol. E. Or. 33 (etwas anders die Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse ebd. 1233) und Roscher ML II 1. 1675 s.v. Auch hier ist die handschriftliche Überlieferung in A gestört (κυδαγόρας).

¹⁰ IG XII 7. 318.

¹¹ J. Pouilloux, Etudes Thasiennes III. Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos I (Paris 1954) 262 ff. Cat. I col. V 11 (Theorenliste).

¹² Threatte a.O. 438 f.

¹³ Wie auch in der handschriftlichen Überlieferung des Stadtnamens bei Hdt. 7. 42. 1 und sonst: Threatte a.O. 557. Ich erinnere noch an das Schwanken der Lautung in einem

Schwanken der Lautung für den genuin griechischen Eigennamen *Kydragora* nicht in Frage, der schon durch seinen redenden Charakter eine derartige Lizenz des Schriftbildes vereitelt¹⁴.

*

Der Name *Kydragora* ist zusammengesetzt wie *Κυδρόλαος*¹⁵ oder *Κυδροκλῆς*¹⁶. Solche Namenbildungen auf *Κυδρ(ο)-* sind indessen recht rar; häufiger begegnen Namen auf *Κυδ(ο)/(ι)-*¹⁷. Während *κῦδος* in der Welt der epischen Dichtung vor allem der momentane Ruhm und Erfolg ist, den sich ein Mann in der Feldschlacht erwirbt¹⁸, erscheint das zugehörige Adjektivum *κυδρός* bei Homer stets als Femininum, nämlich als Epitheton

ähnlichen Fall, das von antiken wie modernen Grammatikern gern kommentiert wurde: D. Kotova, *Κίδαρις* oder *κίδαρις* bei Eustathius, 1618. 40?, *Mnemosyne* IV 50 (1997) 481f. mit Anm. 5.

¹⁴ Phonologisch ist möglicherweise von einer Angleichung der beiden t-Laute vor Rho auszugehen. Man kann sich auch fragen, ob mit der in die erste Hälfte des 4. Jhs. datierten Inschrift etwa ein früher Beleg für die erst später häufigere Verwechslung vor dem Hintergrund einer Lautentwicklung oder lediglich ein lautgeschichtlich wertloser Schreibfehler vorliegt. Die Belege für den Wechsel $\delta > \tau$ bei genuin griechischen Worten werden zahlreicher in den kaiserzeitlichen Schriftzeugnissen: F.Th. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods I* (Mailand 1976) 80 ff. Wie dem auch sei, das Schwanken zwischen media und tenuis des Verschlusslauts vor der folgenden Liquiden Rho ist in der älteren Zeit vor allem eine Sache von Worten, deren griechische Wurzel(n) nicht ohne weiteres kenntlich war(en) und entsprechende Unsicherheit bei der korrekten Schreibung auf den Plan rufen konnte(n); zu vergleichen sind auch die Belege bei E. Meyser–H. Schmoll, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit I 1* (Berlin 1970²) 155 – ein Passus, der C.P. Thiede–M. d’Ancona, *Der Jesus-Papyrus. Die Entdeckung einer Evangelien-Handschrift aus der Zeit der Augenzeugen* (dt. München 1996) 63 ff., 98 leicht vor manch voreiligem Schluß hätte bewahren können.

¹⁵ D.S. 5. 81. 8.

¹⁶ *Κυδροκλῆς Τιμοκράτος* ist auf zwei Ostraka von der Athener Agora nachgewiesen: F. Willemsen–St. Brenne, *Verzeichnis der Kerameikos-Ostraka*, *MDAI(A)* 106 (1991) 152; ausführlicher zu diesem Namen und seiner Sippe L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l’Asie-Mineure gréco-romaine I* (Paris 1963) 406 ff.

¹⁷ Literarisch am berühmtesten ist wohl *Kydias* von Hermione, der inschriftlich auch auf einem spätarchaischen Gefäß attischer Produktion als Aulet und Teilnehmer am Komos hervorgehoben ist – nämlich auf dem Außenfries der *Kylix* des Ambrosios-Malers in München: K. Schefold, *Griechische Dichterbildnisse* (Zürich 1965) 6, 39 Taf. 2b.

¹⁸ M. Greindl, *ΚΛΕΟΣ ΚΥΔΟΣ ΕΥΧΟΣ ΤΙΜΗ ΦΑΤΙΣ ΔΟΧΑ*. Eine bedeutungsgeschichtliche Untersuchung des epischen und lyrischen Sprachgebrauches (Diss. München 1938) 30 ff.; 94 ff.; E. Alexiou, *Ruhm und Ehre. Studien zu Begriffen, Werten und Motivierungen bei Isokrates* (Heidelberg 1995) 22 (mit weiterer Lit. 162 Anm. 14).

weiblicher Gottheiten wie Leto und Hera, selten auch von einer Sterblichen¹⁹. Insofern steht die Verbindung mit ἄγορά in einer alten Tradition. Man darf zur Semantik des Adjektivums dieses Namens²⁰ aber wohl kaum fragen, was Frauenwert mit der männlich dominierten Institution der Agora zu tun hat. *Kydragora* zielt weniger auf konkretes Frauenlob²¹, das sich aus den weiblichen Lebensbereichen speist, als auf einen zentralen Wertbegriff im Leben des griechischen Mannes. Zur Verbindung von κῶδος und ἄγορά²² reicht es dann aus, an die bekannten Iliasverse zu erinnern, wo das sonst zur Schlacht gehörige Attribut κωδιάνειρα zur ἄγορά tritt:

¹⁹ o 26.

²⁰ 'Ruhmvolle Ratgeberin' oder Pape-Benselers 'Bertrada' werden dem Namen wohl nicht eigentlich gerecht.

²¹ Die homerische Sprache hatte als weibliches Pendant zum männlichen Tugendwert κῶδος / κωδάλιμος in durchsichtiger Analogie das Wort εἰδάλιμος von εἶδος / Schönheit (als typischem Frauenwert) abgeleitet, das sich freilich nicht durchzusetzen vermochte und hapax legomenon blieb (ω 279): M. Leumann, *Homerische Wörter* (Basel 1950) 248.

²² Einen Überblick über mit -αγόρα im zweiten Glied zusammengesetzte Vollnamen liefert der Blick in F. Dornseiff-B. Hansen, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* (Berlin 1957) 39. Dazu kommt auf der männlichen Seite der von den Münzen Metaponts im ausgehenden 4. Jh. v. Chr. bekannte Kriegerheros Θαρραγόρας: LIMC VII (Zürich-München 1994) 909 s.v. Nr. 1 (M. Caccamo Caltabiano). Das erste Glied ist dabei nur ausnahmsweise ein Adjektiv wie etwa im Falle der Ἀγναγόρα, der Schwester des Aristomenes von Messene: Paus. 4. 21. 2 und 24. 1. Semantisch am nächsten stehen wohl der Name Τιμαγόρα und die inschriftlich ausgewiesene ΚΛΕΑΓΟΡΑ von einer attischen Grabmalbasis des mittleren 4. Jhs. v. Chr., heute in Baltimore: E.D. Reeder, *Hellenistic Art in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore 1988) 73 f. Nr. 4. Von den auf -αγορ- ausgehenden Vollnamen stammt kaum zufällig nur ein Bruchteil von Frauen (Bechtel, *Personennamen a.O.* 15 ff.). Die Semantik dieser Zusammensetzungen ist klar auf den männlichen Lebenskreis ausgerichtet und erst sekundär im einen oder anderen Fall auf Frauen übertragen worden, so auch bei der von einer attischen Bildfeldstele des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. bekannten ΝΙΚΑΓΟΡΑ: Clairmont a.O. Nr. 0. 711 und jetzt auch A. Scholl, *Die attischen Bildfeldstelen des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. Untersuchungen zu den kleinformatigen Grabreliefs im spätklassischen Athen*, 17. Beih. MDAI(A) (Berlin 1996) 119; 252f. Nr. 99 Taf. 34. 3.

Dazu käme auf einer soeben publizierten Inschrift aus Kleinasien – den Editoren zufolge – der Name Δυσαγόραν: M. Harriman-K. Mayer-S. Murphy-R. Pianka, *A New Inscription from Ilium*, ZPE 113 (1996) 255 f. Taf. 5 (mit der Nennung z.T. irriger Parallelen für Namen mit dem Präfix Δυσ-). Bildung und Bedeutung dieses Namens befremden indessen so stark, daß ich eine Verschreibung für den recht geläufigen Namen Λυσαγόραν zu bedenken geben möchte. Zur Verwechslung von Δ / Λ nenne ich nur G.S. Kirk, *The Iliad. A Commentary II: Books 5–8* (Cambridge 1990) 264 und Chr. Habicht, *Zu Kapitel 35 des Periplus des Roten Meeres*, ZPE 115 (1997) 128 ff.

αὐτὰρ ὁ μήνιε νηυσὶ παρήμενος ὠκυπόροισι
 διογενῆς Πηλῆος υἱός, πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς.
 οὔτε ποτ' εἰς ἀγορῆν πωλέσκετο κυδιάνειραν²³
 οὔτε ποτ' ἐς πόλεμον ... (A 488ff.)

Und um beim Formelrepertoire des alten Epos zu bleiben, so fällt auf, daß die rühmende Anrede μέγα κῆδος Ἀχαιῶν auf zwei homerische Helden beschränkt ist, die durch ihre intellektuelle und rhetorische Leistung ein besonderer Gewinn für die Griechen sind: Nestor²⁴ und Odysseus²⁵.

Ähnlich tragen Frauen wie Δημοκράτεια²⁶ oder Ἴσοδίκη²⁷ schlagwortartig das politische Credo ihrer Familien im Namen mit sich herum. Mit ihren nomina propria muten sie an wie Personifikationen abstrakter Begriffe²⁸ des politischen Diskurses. Einen dezidiert an Bürgertugenden appellierenden Namen führt auch *Lysi-demos*²⁹, der Kyrios *Kydragoras*.

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²³ Zum Sinn vgl. I 440 f.

²⁴ K 87, 555; Λ 511; X 42: ὦ Νέστορ Νηληιάδη, μ. κ. Ἄ.

²⁵ I 673; K 544: εἴπ' ἄγε μ', ὦ πολύαιν' Ὀδυσσεῦ, μ. κ. Ἄ.; ähnlich μ 184.

²⁶ Auf der bemalten Grabstele Clairmont a.O. Nr. 1. 233.

²⁷ Die Tochter des Megakles aus der Familie der Alkmaioniden: Plut. Cim. 4.

²⁸ vgl. im Rahmen der Bildkunst den Überblick bei H.A. Shapiro, *Personifications in Greek Art. The Representation of Abstract Concepts 600–400 B.C.* (Zürich 1993).

²⁹ Zur Bedeutung vgl. Pape–Benseler a.O. s.v.

ANALECTA EPIGRAPHICA

HEIKKI SOLIN

CLXVII. ARCHITECTUS

Inspiriert durch das Studium des Buches von Michael Donderer, *Die Architekten der späten römischen Republik und der Kaiserzeit. Epigraphische Zeugnisse* (Erlanger Forschungen, Reihe A: Geisteswissenschaften 69), Erlangen 1996, werde ich im folgenden der Existenz und Verbreitung des Cognomens *Architectus* nachgehen. Es ist nämlich bemerkenswert, daß *Architectus* als Cognomen in einigen maßgeblichen Nachschlagewerken nicht verbucht worden ist; man sucht es vergebens in Kajantos klassischem Cognominabuch, und um es im Münchener Thesaurus zu finden, braucht man gewisse Akribie, denn im Wortartikel *architectus* fehlt von dem Cognomen *Architectus* jede Notiz – überraschenderweise findet man den Namen (aus CIL XIV 5 zitiert) unter der großen Namensippe auf *Arch-*begraben.¹ In der zweiten Auflage des Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum von Solin und Salomies (1994) wurde der Name dann aus der stadtrömischen Inschrift CIL VI 148 = XIV 5 (wohl stadtrömisch, nicht ostiensisch)² erfaßt und der lateinischen Onymie zuge-

¹ ThIL II 458, 74–78 mit der irreführenden Erklärung ”cogn. vir., cf. ἀρχιτέκτων”, als sei das Cognomen direkt aus diesem Wort gebildet. Der Artikel stammt von Ernst Diehl, dessen Entscheidung, alle auf *Arch-* beginnenden Namen verschiedensten Ursprungs zusammenzupacken, mir unverständlich geblieben ist; dabei placiert er *Architectus* unter die Namenkomposita, was nun gar nicht zulässig ist.

² Man hat über die Zuweisung der Inschrift lange diskutiert, aber die stadtrömische Herkunft scheint mir evident; vgl. die dafür vorgebrachten Argumente von H.L. Royden, *The Magistrates of the Roman Professional Collegia in Italy*, Pisa 1988, 167f (so auch H. Gummerus, *Cognomen und Beruf, Commentationes philologicae in honorem I.A. Heikel*, Helsinki 1926, 63). Meistens wird sie in der modernen Literatur für ostiensisch gehalten, so Donderer und Vidman in seinem *Cognominaindex* zu CIL VI, daraus zu schließen, daß er sie dort nicht berücksichtigt.

wiesen.³ Die Inschrift (datierbar 124–128 n.Chr.)⁴ lautet wie folgt: *P. Cornelius Thallus P. Corneli Architecti fil., mag(ister) quinq(ennalis) coll(egi) fabr(um) tignar(iorum) lustr(i) XXVII, nomine P. Corneli Architectiani fil. sui allecti in ordinem decurion(um) Fidei signum donum dedit.* Man sieht also, daß *Architectus* eindeutig Cognomen ist, nicht zuletzt wegen der Suffixableitung *Architectianus* (so richtig auch Donderer). *P. Cornelius Architectus* mag ein Freigelassener gewesen sein, vielleicht auch sein Sohn Thallus, während dessen Sohn *P. Cornelius Architectianus* wohl schon Freigeborener war, wie seine Adlectio in den Decurionenstand einer Kolonie oder eines Municipiums (es könnte sich um die ostiensische Kolonie handeln) nahelegt.⁵ Diese Inschrift ist wichtig auch für die Festlegung des sprachlichen Charakters des Cognomens. Wir kommen darauf noch zurück.

Dieses Cognomen läßt sich sonst nur sehr spärlich belegt. Der Thesaurus zitiert allein die ostiensische Inschrift; andere Belege waren damals auch kaum zugänglich. Warum *Architectus* in Kajantos Listen fehlt, ist mir nicht ersichtlich;⁶ vielleicht hat der Autor es als griechische Bildung angesehen. Ob auch die Römer so empfunden haben, dazu weiter unten.

Läßt sich der Name nicht auch sonst noch in der römischen Welt belegen? Donderer hat seinem Buch einen Katalog von Architekten beigefügt, darunter in der Abteilung B (B 1–4) eine Liste von "möglichen Architekten", die aus Fällen bestehen, in denen *Architectus* als Cognomen verstanden werden soll, das auf den Beruf hinweise. Von ihnen belegt aber nur B 3, gerade die ostiensische Inschrift, das Cognomen ganz sicher. B 1 ist die stadtrömische ligorianische CIL VI 3057*, die Donderer als eine echte Inschrift einzustufen versucht, der Wortlaut und die Geschichte des Textes

³ Ferner ist der narbonensische Beleg (Donderer B 2; siehe unten) in dem neuen *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum I* 164 aus Espérandieu 232 verbucht.

⁴ Zur Datierung Royden, l.c. Dort auch zur Interpretation der Inschrift (aber *P. Cornelius Thallus* kann wegen der Form der Filiation *P. Corneli Architectiani fil.* nicht als Freigeborener eingestuft werden).

⁵ Mir scheint der Ausdruck *allectus in ordinem decurionum* zweifellos auf die Adlectio in den munizipalen Decurionenstand hinzuweisen, nicht unter die Decurionen des Collegiums.

⁶ Jedenfalls ist der Beleg aus den Indices des CIL XIV für die Forschung seit langem zugänglich (dagegen kann der Thesaurusartikel, wie schon angedeutet, sehr leicht unbenutzt übergegangen worden sein).

machen sie aber höchst suspekt. Dagegen scheint B 2, eine Mosaikinschrift aus Luc-en-Diois in der Narbonensis (1. Jh. n.Chr.) mit dem Wortlaut *Q. Amiteius Architect(us) fecit* einen weiteren Beleg für das Cognomen darzustellen;⁷ wäre *architectus* hier eine reine Berufsbezeichnung, dann entbehrte der Mann sowohl des Cognomens als auch der Filiation, was doch etwas sonderbar anmutet, weswegen man hier in der Tat *Architect(us)* als Cognomen verstehen möchte. Die Deutung von *[Arc]hitectus* als Cognomen in B 4 (eine späte Inschrift aus Karthago) bleibt dagegen in der Luft. Donderer meint, *Architectus* müsse hier als Name verstanden werden, da "offenbar keine Zeile der Inschrift verloren ist", ihm ist aber entgangen, daß links auch viel fehlen kann. Donderer führt noch unter Abteilung A, die "gesicherte Architekten" katalogisiert, einige weitere Fälle an, in denen *Architectus* als Cognomen verstanden werden soll, sie sind aber alle auszuschalten, außer einer stadtrömischen Inschrift aus tiberischer Zeit: A 160 [--- *Hi]llarionis Divi Aug. lib./ [---] T. l. Architectus*. Es ist in der Tat möglich, daß hier ein Cognomen vorliegt, denn ein cognomenloser Freigelassener ist in jener Zeit schon eine seltene Erscheinung. Es ist freilich nicht ausgeschlossen, daß das Cognomen in der zweiten Zeile vor und nicht nach der Patronatsangabe *T. l.* stand, auch wenn das in der frühen Kaiserzeit noch eine seltene Praxis war; in dem Fall wäre *architectus* Berufsbezeichnung. Die übrigen von Donderer (S. 22f) herangezogenen Fälle sind gegenstandslos: A 132 ist mit Sicherheit eine Fälschung (unbegreiflicherweise versucht Donderer eine Ehrenrettung dieser Ligoriana); A 94 und A 136 hat Donderer arg mißverstanden: in beiden liegt ohne den geringsten Zweifel die Berufsbezeichnung vor. In einigen Fällen (A 86. 123. 127. 152. 159) erwägt Donderer (S. 24) als Alternative die Deutung von *Architectus* als Cognomen, doch handelt es sich in all diesen Fällen um eine Berufsbezeichnung.

Wie ist aber das Cognomen *Architectus* entstanden? Und was ist sein sprachlicher Charakter? Ist es als griechisch oder lateinisch zu verstehen? Im Griechischen existierte der Personennamenname Ἀρχιτέκτων, der ein paar Male belegt ist. Bechtel, HPN 514 führt ihn aus IG XII 9, 249 B 322 (Eretria, 3. Jh. v.Chr.) an, mit der mysteriösen Anmerkung "Welche Befugnisse dem Ἀρχιτέκτων in Eretria zustehn, ist nicht bekannt" (wenn Bechtel meint, der Name spiele auf den Beruf des Namensträgers an, so ist anzumerken, daß

⁷ Espérandieu 232; darauf wurde schon hingewiesen.

eine solche Annahme unnötig ist). Einen weiteren Beleg kenne ich aus Athen: IG II² 5954 = PA 2565 (4. Jh. v.Chr.); ferner I. Magnesia 356,⁸ ein weiterer, etwas unsicherer Beleg kommt aus Ankyra.⁹ Sonst liegen mir keine Belege vor, der Name hat aber in der griechischen Anthroponymie existiert. Es ist aber kaum glaubhaft, daß Ἀρχιτέκτων das Vorbild von *Architectus* war, denn er wurde erstens im griechischen Bereich als Personennamen eher nur okkasionell gebraucht, und zweitens zeigt der Ausgang *-us*, daß es zum lateinischen Appellativ *architectus* gebildet wurde. Diese Berufsbezeichnung war ein altes eingebürgertes Lehnwort im Lateinischen, weswegen auch die Frage entsteht, ob das Cognomen *Architectus* der griechischen oder lateinischen Onymie zuzuordnen ist. An sich hat diese Frage wenig praktische Bedeutung; wichtiger wäre zu wissen, welche Motivationen die Namengeber bei der Vergabe dieses Namens geleitet haben. Manchmal nimmt man an, daß dies Cognomen direkt auf den Beruf des Namensträgers hinweise; dazu weiter unten. Ein Bezug auf die Grundbedeutung des Namenwortes konnte natürlich vorhanden sein. Aber *architectus* hatte auch die übertragene Bedeutung Begründer, Urheber oder Erfinder, und den Namengebern konnte gelegentlich auch eine solche übertragene Bedeutung vorschweben. Meines Erachtens ist das Cognomen wesentlich ein römisches Geschöpf, und sprachlich wohl eher als lateinisch anzusehen. Gebraucht wurde es nur okkasionell in der Kaiserzeit und scheint den besseren Kreisen fern gestanden zu haben; trotzdem besteht kein Zwang, in ihm einen griechischen Namen zu sehen, auch wenn der einzige völlig sichere Beleg zu einem Freigelassenen zu gehören scheint (der Name ist sicher nicht mit der Kaufsklaverei aus dem griechischen Osten nach Rom gelangt). Was aber diese Beleg interessant macht, ist, daß das Cognomen *Architectianus* des wohl fregeborenen Enkels des mutmaßlichen Freigelassenen P. Cornelius Architectus eine Suffixableitung aus dem Cognomen des Großvaters ist. Man trifft in Freigelassenenfamilien bei fregeborenen Kindern zuweilen griechische Namen mit lateinischen Suffixen, während die entsprechenden Grundnamen sich oft nur bei freigelassenen Eltern belegen lassen; man wollte mit einem lateinischen Suffix das griechische und

⁸ Der Text besteht allein aus dem Element Ἀρχιτέκτονος, das zulässig als Personennamen zu deuten ist. Nicht datierbar.

⁹ Ἀρχιτεκτ[---]: E. Bosch, Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Ankara im Altertum, Ankara 1967, 225 Nr. 174 II, 6 (166 n.Chr.). Es scheint sich um einen Personennamen zu handeln, ganz sicher ist das aber nicht.

somit oft augenscheinlich servile Gepräge des Namens vermindern und die unfreie Abkunft verschleiern.¹⁰ Wenn also *Architectus* als griechischer Name empfunden wurde, so wird die Wahl einer Suffixableitung für den Namen des freigeborenen Enkels verständlicher. – Schließlich ist zu fragen, inwieweit das Cognomen *Architectus* auf den Beruf des Namensträgers anspielen kann. Man nimmt oft an, daß Träger solcher Cognomina, die zu Berufsbezeichnungen gebildet worden sind, den betreffenden Beruf auch selbst ausgeübt hätten. Das kann in Einzelfällen stimmen, zunächst bei Freigeborenen der späteren republikanischen und der frühesten Kaiserzeit, wenn angenommen werden kann, daß die Person von Geburt her kein Cognomen hatte – sie hätte sich also selbst seine Berufsbezeichnung als Cognomen zugelegt. Im Prinzip ist dieser Vorgang aber eher selten gewesen, und erst recht bei Freigelassenen und Sklaven praktisch ausgeschlossen (wenigstens seitdem die Freigelassenen verpflichtet wurden, ihre alten Sklavennamen als Cognomina beizubehalten; dies geschah Anfang des 1. Jhs. v.Chr.). Außerdem ist es in Einzelfällen praktisch unmöglich zu bestimmen, ob die Berufsbezeichnung, die auf den Gentilnamen oder die Filiation folgte, wirklich zu einem Cognomen geworden wäre. Deswegen ist es unzulässig, in P. Cornelius Architectus allein aufgrund des Cognomens einen Architekten zu sehen; wer weiß, welcherlei Motivationen den Namengeber zur Wahl dieses Cognomens geleitet haben.

Es sei mir noch erlaubt, einige weitere Bemerkungen zu Donderers Buch beizusteuern, um so meine Pflicht als Rezensent einzulösen. Der Verfasser hat dem Katalogteil verschiedene interessante und nützliche Erwägungen zur Umwelt der Architekten vorausgeschickt. Dabei (z. B. S. 22f) kommt er auf den Inhalt des Cognomens *Architectus* zu sprechen. Er meint, daß "die Wahl eines Cognomens zumindest in den mittleren und unteren Schichten in der Regel nicht ohne Bezug zur Realität vorgenommen worden ist". So kann man aber den Sachverhalt nicht ausdrücken. Donderer hat eine falsche Prämisse von Gummerus sich zu eigen gemacht. Ich habe schon oben dargelegt, daß gerade im Libertinenmilieu der Übergang von der Berufsbezeichnung zu einem wirklichen Cognomen in der Nomenklatur einer Person sich schwerlich hat verwirklichen können, da die Freigelassenen ihre ehemaligen Sklavennamen als Cognomina weiter trugen, d. h. ihre Cognomina waren ihnen bei der Geburt verliehen worden. Das heißt

¹⁰ Vgl. meine Beiträge zur Kenntnis der griechischen Personennamen in Rom I 132.

zugleich, daß in solchen Fällen der Beruf für den Namensträger schon von vornherein hätte feststehen müssen. So etwas ist nun prinzipiell nicht ausgeschlossen, wäre aber in der kaiserzeitlichen Namengebung doch etwas Ungewöhnliches. Berufsnamen (d. h. Namen, die irgendwie auf den Beruf des Namensträgers hinweisen, ohne die Berufsbezeichnung an sich zu vertreten) wurden in der römischen Gesellschaft gebraucht, so sind bei römischen Ärzten gelegentlich Namen wie *Asclepiades* oder *Hippocrates* belegt, niemals aber *Medicus* als Cognomen.¹¹ Was den speziellen Fall des Cognomens *Architectus* betrifft, so ist wegen der Seltenheit dieses Cognomens zuzugeben, daß doch irgendwelche Verbindung zwischen der Namenwahl und dem Beruf vorhanden gewesen sein mag. Welche, können wir nicht wissen. Daß im 2. Jh. ein Kind in einer Architektenfamilie einfach *Architectus* benannt gewesen wäre, weil für es der Architektenberuf vorgesehen war, scheint mir keine gute Erklärung. Im allgemeinen möchte ich noch betonen, daß zwischen der Wahl des Cognomens und der Bedeutung des zugrundeliegenden Namenwortes kein gegenseitiges Verhältnis zu bestehen braucht; ist aber ein solches vorhanden, kann das Cognomen seine identifizierende Funktion (dies war eben die zentrale Aufgabe des Cognomens in der Kaiserzeit) nur dann ausüben, wenn keine Gefahr besteht, den nach seinem Beruf benannten Namensträger mit anderen seiner Umwelt zu verwechseln. Was den speziellen Fall der Familie der P. Cornelii angeht, wissen wir nichts Genaueres darüber, aus welchen Gründen *Architectus* gerade so zubenannt wurde; war er als Fortsetzer des Architektenberufs in der Familie oder Dienerschaft seines Patrons vorgesehen? Das sind Fragen, die sich nicht beantworten lassen, so wenig wissen wir über die Namengebungsmotiven in römischen Familien Bescheid. Es kann auch sein, daß die Wahl des Cognomens *Architectus* in dieser Familie nichts mit dem Beruf des Architekten zu tun hat. Vielleicht schwebte dem Namengeber eine Bedeutung "erfinderisch, einfallsreich, listig" vor. Beenden wir aber jetzt die schon zu lang gewordenen Erörterungen zu dieser Ewigkeitsfrage.

An den einleitenden, zuweilen recht weitschweifigen Erörterungen des Verfassers wäre noch manches zu beanstanden,¹² ich begnüge mich aber mit

¹¹ Zu diesem Fragekomplex vgl. H. Solin, Die sogenannten Berufsnamen antiker Ärzte, in: *Ancient Medicine in its Socio-cultural Context*, Amsterdam – Atlanta 1995, 119–142.

¹² Ein paar Einzelheiten. S. 53: Verf. hat A 103 kaum richtig verstanden; ihm zufolge soll der letzte Name in der Inschrift eine sekundär angebrachte Signatur eines kaiserlichen Freigelassenen (für den die Verpflichtung, dem kaiserlichen Patron dauernd

einer Bemerkung zum Abschnitt über den sozialen Status. Auf S. 72 stellt Donderer die Vermutung an, daß Personen ohne Angabe der Filiation meistens Freigelassene gewesen wären. Dies stimmt nicht, denn nicht nur die Freigelassenen, sondern auch die Freigeborenen konnten in ihren Grab- und sonstigen Inschriften die Filiation beliebig weglassen; dafür gibt es unzählige Belege.

Zum Schluß einige Bemerkungen zu dem nützlichen Katalogteil, der eine gute Grundlage für weitere Forschung liefert. Ich habe eine einzige Lücke anzumelden, den kürzlich bekanntgewordenen Architekten Q. Mutius, der ein Nymphaeum in Signia durch eine griechische Mosaikinschrift signiert hat.¹³ Dann zu einzelnen Inschriften. A 91: Der hier genannte *Amiantus* (so zu schreiben; die Grundform ist *Amiant-* ohne *h*) ist schwerlich ein Architekt und identisch mit A 90. Seine Dienstbezeichnung ist in der abgekürzten Form *arc.* wiedergegeben, was eher etwa als *arc(arius)* aufzulösen ist.¹⁴ *Amiantus* war ein üblicher Name in der frühen Kaiserzeit, öfters auch in der Dienerschaft der Livia belegt: ein *Amianthus Liviae ad Venerem* CIL VI 4040; zeitlich nahe kommen auch zwei Freigelassene in CIL VI 8781 und 38076. Man versteht auch nicht, wieso die Namen des Bruderpaares Chius und Homerus inhaltlich aufeinander Bezug nehmen sollten; daß Chios als einer der Kandidate für Homers Geburtsstätte im Umlauf war, reicht nicht als Grund, von einem Namenpaar zu sprechen. – A 93: Der Fundort heißt nicht Frigentum, als handele es sich um eine antike Stadt, sondern Frigento; der Name der antiken Stadt (wahrscheinlich müssen wir damit rechnen, daß an der Stelle von Frigento eine selbständige Stadt

Dienste zu leisten, nicht gegolten hätte!) auf dem Grabbau eines Berufskollegen vertreten, und er übersetzt "Tiberius Claudius Eutyclus, kaiserlicher Freigelassener, war der Architekt". Mir scheint es jedoch besser anzunehmen, daß auch Eutyclus Teilhaber des Grabes war; demnach soll nicht "war der Architekt" übersetzt werden. – S. 55: kann man *magistri et machinatores* in Tac. ann. 15,42,1 wirklich mit "Meisterkonstrukteure" wiedergeben? Nein. Sicher eine Fehlinterpretation. – S. Anm. 284: dem Verf. ist die Monographie von J. Korpela, Das Medizinalpersonal im antiken Rom. Eine sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchung, Helsinki 1987 entgangen.

¹³ Κόιντος Μούτιος ἠρχιτεκτονε[---]. Zu ihm zusammenfassend F.M. Cifarelli, EAA Suppl. (1971–1994), 1995, 832; dort weitere Literatur. Cifarellis Bemerkungen zur Person des Q. Mutius sind aber korrekturbedürftig, vgl. demnächst M. Kajava, in CIL X² Signia.

¹⁴ Die Abkürzung ARC für *arcarius*: CIL VI 4884. 8722. 31145. XIV 2156. X 3938. 3942. V 8672; auch in Provinzen.

lag, nicht nur ein *vicus* oder *pagus* von Aeclanum) ist unbekannt.¹⁵ Außerdem befinden wir uns nicht in Kampanien, sondern in Apulien. – A 94 erhüllt eine verblüffende Ignoranz zentraler Fakten der römischen Onomastik (einige von den absurden Behauptungen kehren in der Einleitung wieder). Die Testamentsvollstrecker waren *Antonius architectus* und *Titius* (o.ä.) *coriarius*. Für den Verfasser sind aber *Architectus* und *Coriarius* Gentilnamen (!) und die vor ihnen stehenden Namen Praenomina! Das macht doch stutzig. – A 99: dem Verfasser ist ein arges Mißverständnis unterlaufen, wenn er "Sohn des noch lebenden Spurius" übersetzt. Das VIVI am Ende der ersten Zeile gehört nicht zu *Sp(uri)i*; vielmehr handelt es sich um eine Vorwegnahme von *vivit* in Zeile 3. Und der Fundort Frattamaggiore liegt nicht bei Neapel, sondern im Territorium des antiken Minturnae, also 100 km entfernt aus Neapel. Die Inschrift wurde von mir neu publiziert in: Epigrafia... Actes Degrassi, Rome 1991, 380f. – A 112: Statt *scol(ptis)* ist *scol(am)* zu verstehen: Arctos 19, 1985, 201; so auch die Erstherausgeberin in ihren neuesten Edition. – A 118: Wie kann man die Inschrift als verschollen bezeichnen, wenn ich sie vor kurzem gesehen und aufgenommen habe? – A 123 scheint eher aus der frühen Kaiserzeit zu stammen. – A 129: Schön die Entdeckung, daß diese Ligoriana in Wirklichkeit echt ist. Aber der Vater war ein Freigelassener: *C. Octavius C. l. Pal. Eutyclus* (so gibt wenigstens Henzen Ligorios Abschrift wieder).¹⁶ – A 132 = CIL VI 3048*: Die Inschrift, die einmal auf Stein existiert hat, besitzt alle Anzeichen einer ligorianischen Fälschung. Donderer plädiert für ihre Echtheit, aber seine Argumente sind ganz abwegig.¹⁷ – A 133: Nicht *Hera(s)*, sondern *Hera*. – A 136: Wäre es ausgeschlossen, *Q. Vinîûs Archîtect(us)* zu lesen? – A 151 = CIL VI 2931*: Donderer plädiert für die Echtheit der Inschrift, und in der Tat hat Ligorio eine echte Inschrift auch recht genau wiedergeben können. Die Frage ist aber nicht einfach zu entscheiden, vgl. Solin, Ligoriana und Verwandtes 348. – C 8 ist ohne den geringsten Zweifel ein ligorianisches Produkt. Wird CIL X² 4*.

¹⁵ Vgl. M. Kajava – H. Solin, Epigraphica 59, 1997, 319.

¹⁶ Zur Palatina als Tribus von Freigelassenen Taylor, Voting Districts 147. Solin, Beiträge I 130.

¹⁷ Zur Gruppe von Inschriften, zu denen auch diese gehört, vgl. Solin, Ligoriana und Verwandtes, in: E fontibus haurire. Beiträge zur römischen Geschichte und zu ihren Hilfswissenschaften, Paderborn 1994, 349.

CLXVIII. ABLATIV STATT LOKATIV IN STÄDTENAMEN

Es ist eine schlechte Gewohnheit vieler Editoren, einen lokativischen Ablativ der 1. Deklination in einen Lokativ zu ändern, als liege eine Abkürzung -A für -AE vor, auch in Fällen, in denen die Überlieferung ganz in Ordnung ist und die Inschrift sonst keine analogen Abkürzungen aufweist. Die Auflösung des alten Lokativs durch den Ablativ ist aber schon seit Anfang der Kaiserzeit in vollem Gange, weswegen man sich davor hüten sollte, solche gewaltsamen Änderungen vorzunehmen. Ich nenne ein rezentes Beispiel. In einer von A. Buonopane, *Mélanges R. Chevallier* (Caesarodunum 29, Tours 1994f) 167–174 publizierten, mutmaßlich aus Trebula Mutuesca stammenden Inschrift versteht der Editor *Q. Vibius P. f. Qui(rina) Kanio Trebula(e)*. Dieselbe Auflösung in AE 1994, 559, trotz meiner Mahnung an die Editoren. Wie unnötig derartige gewaltsame Änderungen sind, wird auch dadurch ersichtlich, daß Belege des Ablativs der 2. Deklination, der seit der frühesten Kaiserzeit anstelle des Lokativs durchzudringen beginnt (etwa Vitruv gebraucht Formen wie *Arretio*, *Halicarnasso*, *Tarso*), nicht als Abkürzungen abgetan werden können. Zum Fragekomplex vgl. etwa G. Konjertzny, ALL 15, 1908, 327; K. Klinck, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Lokativs und des lokativen Ablativs im Lateinischen, Diss. München 1932; V. Väänänen, *Le latin vulgaire des inscriptions pompéiennes*, Berlin 1966³, 119; Hofmann–Szantyr, *Lat. Syntax und Stilistik* 145; und vor allem E. Löfstedt, *Syntactica II*, Lund 1956, 73–78. An einem Punkt müssen aber die Löfstedtischen Ausführungen korrigiert werden; er behauptet nämlich, der lokativische Ablativ sei in Städtenamen der ersten Deklination erst viele Jahrhunderte später eingedrungen als indenen der zweiten. Daß diese Behauptung unrichtig ist, zeigt die epigraphische Überlieferung unwiderlegbar. Gerade die trebulanische Inschrift stammt, wie es scheint aus der ersten Hälfte des 1. Jh. n.Chr., und es ließen sich mühelos weitere alte Belege anzuführen (z. B. stammen die von Väänänen registrierten pompeianischen Belege natürlich aus der Zeit vor dem Vesuvausbruch).¹⁸

¹⁸ Aufs Geratewohl sei ein Beleg aus dem 2. Jh. angeführt: CIL X 4591 *Augustalis gratis Caiatia*; zur Interpretation vgl. Solin, *Le iscr. antiche di Trebula, Caiatia e Cubulteria* (1993) S. 113.

CLXIX. FALSCHES ODER VERKANNTES NAMEN

Hedys oder *Hedylus*? E. Folcando, Ann. Fac. Lett. e Filos. Univ. Bari 35–36, 1992–1993, 296 Nr.4 (mit Photo) (= AE 1993, 537) hat die Lesung der zuerst von A. Russi veröffentlichten Inschrift AE 1981, 247 aus dem Territorium von Aecae in Apulien beträchtlich verbessert. In der neuen Lesung beginnt die Inschrift *D. m. s. Ti. Claudi Hedyi Aug(ustalis)*. Der wunde Punkt an der Lesung des Namens des Augustalis bleibt sein Cognomen. Kann man einen Genetiv *Hedyi* aus *Hedys* ansetzen? Es ist schwer zu sagen, wie die Römer den Personennamen *Hedys* normalerweise flektiert haben. Aus Rom überliefert ist der Genetiv *Hedys*,¹⁹ aber sonst liegen mir keine anderweitigen Belege vom Genetiv vor. Von anderen Namen auf -ys sind aus der stadtrömischen Dokumentation folgende Genetive überliefert: *Athyi*, *Athys*, *Phillytis*.²⁰ An Dativen kennen wir aus derselben Dokumentation: *Botry*, *Halyi*(?), *Ityi*, *Stachyo*.²¹ Von diesem Tatbestand ausgehend, könnte man in der Tat einen Genetiv *Hedyi* festlegen. Andererseits könnte man sich die Frage stellen, ob *Hedyl(i)* gelesen werden könnte; dabei würde man der morphologischen Schwierigkeit entgehen. Freilich scheint das L vom Steinmetzen mit einem deutlichen Querstrich versehen zu sein, während das vermutliche L hier nur eine normale Serife hätte. Als Fazit würde ich den Genetiv *Hedyi* vollen Vertrauens dem Flexionsbestand von Namen auf -ys hinzufügen.

Helice. Wohl so ist in der pompeianischen Inschrift HELICF NSc. 1894, 384 zu verstehen, nicht *Helius C. f.* (so Castrén, *Ordo populusque Pompeianus* 173), denn erstens ist *Helius* ein ungebräuchliches Gentilicium (Schulze, *ZGLE* 173 ist ungenau), und zweitens wäre eine Namensform mit Filiation, aber ohne Praenomen höchst suspekt. *Helice* ist ein üblicher Name griechischer Herkunft (22 Belege in meinem Namenbuch).

Niger o.ä. M. Silvestrini, *Studi in onore di Albino Garzetti*, Brescia 1996, 431–462 publiziert verdienstvoll neue Inschriften aus dem ager Lucerinus. Darunter findet sich eine fragmentarische Grabinschrift (Nr. 3, Ss. 454–

¹⁹ CIL XV 1439 *ex opere Hedys ser(vi)*.

²⁰ *Athyi* CIL VI 4165. 4298. 21404. *At(h)ys* CIL VI 4151. 4174. *Abucci Phillytis* CIL VI 8150.

²¹ *P. Mutillio P.l. Botry* CIL VI 22047. *C. Iulio Divi Aug. l. Halyi* (?) CIL VI 35612 (überl. HALYT). *M. Clodio Ityi* CIL VI 15711. *L. Valerio Stachyo* CIL VI 28120.

457), deren Schlußteil die Editorin wie folgt wiedergibt: [- C]armeniu[s] / [sup]erdonav[it]. Sie selbst gibt zu, daß ein Verb *superdonare* sonst nirgends belegt ist, und in der Tat mutet mir die Existenz einer solchen Bildung höchst suspekt. Der Dedikant hieß wohl etwa *Carmenius Niger*.

CLXX. EIN NEUES COGNOMEN: CAESARIO

CIL VI 2248 = I² 986 (in Wirklichkeit ist die Inschrift aber in die Kaiserzeit, etwa ins 1. Jh. n.Chr., anzusetzen) lautet wie folgt: [- V]olusius / [-]aesario / sacerdos Isidis / Capitoline (vom ersten A der zweiten Zeile wird in den Abschriften nur der rechte senkrechte Strich wiedergegeben, es dürfte sich aber um A handeln; ein Name auf *-mesario* ist ausgeschlossen). Meines Erachtens wurde bisher verkannt, daß hier als Cognomen [C]aesario zu verstehen ist. Ein solches Cognomen war bisher freilich unbekannt, sieht man von dem Sohn des Caesar und der Kleopatra ab, einem Fall, der natürlich anders steht. Die aus *Caesar* abgeleiteten Suffixbildungen sind freilich recht spärlich, es bereitet aber wohl keinerlei Schwierigkeiten, ein solches Cognomen für die römische Anthroponymie anzusetzen, so üblich ist sonst das onomastische Suffix *-io*. Außerdem braucht als Ausgangspunkt nicht unbedingt das Cognomen *Caesar* (das bis Anfang der Kaiserzeit die Stellung einer Art Tabunamens angenommen hatte) postuliert zu werden, es kann sich auch um eine mit *caesaries* zusammenhängende Bildung handeln. An sich bleiben die Namengebungsgründe für die Wahl dieses Cognomens natürlich verborgen.

CLXXI. VARIA URBANA

1. In CIL I² 2954 muß am Anfang unbedingt [P.] *Servilius* ergänzt werden, denn es wäre unvorstellbar, daß in der von Isauricus selbst errichteten Motivtafel das Praenomen gefehlt hätte. Nach dem im CIL publizierten, freilich recht unscharfen Photo zu schließen, ist da Raum für den Vornamen.

2. Bull. com. 45, 1917 (1918) 230 = NSc. 1917, 311 PVSSIENVS / L·L·PHILIPPVS muß wohl als *P. Ussienus L. l. Philippus* verstanden werden. *Pussienus* ist als Gentilicium nicht belegt (vgl. Salomies, Reper-

torium 152), und es wäre schwerlich verständlich, wieso in einer frühen Inschrift (sie stammt sicher aus augusteischer oder tiberischer Zeit) das Praenomen weggelassen worden wäre, obwohl die Angabe des Patrons da ist. *Ussienus* ist ein guter Gentilname. Wahrscheinlich erscheint derselbe Mann noch in Bull. com. 43, 1915 (1916) 316, die vom Editor folgendermaßen wiedergegeben wird: ?[*vol*]SIENI / ...PHILIPPI.

3. L. Cantarella publizierte in Bull. com. 43, 1915 (1916) 309 eine Grabinschrift, deren Anfang er D M / OC RVDELEN... druckt. Es ist natürlich *o, crudele nefas* zu verstehen. Der Beleg fehlt in Lommatzsch' Supplement und bei Zarker.

4. Dann einiges aus christlichen Inschriften. Zuerst zwei verkannte Identitäten. ICUR 8594 = 19523. Die Verdoppelung läßt sich dadurch erklären, daß Bosio den Text zweimal wiedergibt, das erste Mal aus Callistus, das zweite Mal aus Cyriace; der Editor des siebenten Bandes, in dem die Inschriften aus der Cyriace-Katakombe enthalten sind, hat nicht bemerkt, daß unter 8594 schon auf die zwei Stellen bei Bosio hingewiesen wurde.

5. ICUR 18886 aus Da Bra, Iscr. di S. Lorenzo 91 steht an richtiger Stelle 20435, vom Editor Ferrua selbst in der Novatiankatakombe gesehen. – Nebenbei sei noch notiert, daß ICUR 15870 schon CIG 9585 steht.

6. *Fidelis*. Der Personename *Fidelis* wurde in der altchristlichen Anthroponymie nicht besonders häufig gebraucht. Deswegen ist immer Vorsicht am Platz, wenn der onomastische Charakter nicht eindeutig feststeht. Ich nehme als Beispiel die Belege von FIDELIS im siebenten Band der ICUR. Zuerst ist 19421 aus dem Namenindex p. 548 zu entfernen. 17871 bleibt etwas unsicher als Beleg für den Eigennamen. Endlich ist 18837 nicht ganz eindeutig; die Inschrift ist nur aus den Acta Lipsanothecae bekannt, mit der Nennung der Leiche einer/eines s. FIDELIS. Da in den Akten öfters allerlei Unstimmigkeiten vorkommen, könnte man sich denken, daß der Name des/der *fidelis* in der Abschrift ausgefallen sei. – Dagegen ist *Fidelis* in ICUR 24398 ein Name, aber nicht Frauennamen, wie in Band IX Index p. 400 fälschlich angegeben, sondern Männername.

7. Das Ziegelgraffito ICUR 26576 lautet MAXIMILLA ROMA. Wie ist das zu verstehen? Der Erstherausgeber Josi dachte an *Roma[na]*, während der neue Editor Mazzoleni dort eher den Frauennamen *Roma* sehen möchte. Unklar bleibt aber vieles. Handelt es sich um zwei Frauen oder um eine Frau mit zwei Individualnamen oder sind *Roma[na]* oder *Roma* Herkunftsbezeichnungen? Wie dem auch sei, möchte ich noch einmal daran

erinnern, daß *Roma* als Frauennamen in der lateinischen Anthroponymie höchst eigentümlich wäre; darüber habe ich ZPE 39, 1980, 249–254 gehandelt.

CLXXII. MINIMA MINIMORUM

M. Buonocore, *Epigraphica* 59, 1997, 247–249 Nr. 7 publiziert aus Corfinium eine Grabinschrift mit folgendem Wortlaut: *Lollia O. l. Chymasis; Secundilla suae deliciu p(osuit)*. Das merkwürdige Cognomen *Chymasis* vermag auch ich nicht zu deuten. Es gibt nicht einmal Namen mit einem Ausgang *-masis*. Videant meliores. Interessant ist *deliciu*, wie es deutlich geschrieben ist. Buonocore denkt an eine undeklinierte Form *deliciu(m)*, mit Hinweis auf eine Inschrift aus Ameria (CIL XI 4472, in der zwei ähnliche Bildungen, *Naeviae Nympheni deliciu* und *Amerino delicum* vorkommen. In dem ersteren Fall würde ich jedoch eher *Naeviae Nympheni delicio* verstehen, und so auch in der Inschrift aus Corfinium. *suae* steht freilich in der femininen Form – normalerweise sagte man ja *suo delicio* –, *suae* weist aber auf den Sexus der Lollia Chymasis.

In einer schon früher publizierten Inschrift aus Kos gibt D. Berger, *Rundaltäre aus Kos und Rhodos* 117 Nr. 38 den Anfang wie folgt wieder: Ἰουλιὰς Τερτιάς, Γαίου θυγάτηρ. Es ist aber besser, den Namen als Genetiv aufzufassen und demnach Ἰουλίᾱς Τερτίᾱς zu schreiben. Einen Übergang von Genetiv zu Nominativ anzunehmen bereitet keinerlei Schwierigkeiten.

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THE EARLY VERSION OF PLATO'S *REPUBLIC**

HOLGER THESLEFF

The theory of the 'Proto-Republic' is an uncomfortable one. Those who have seen it mentioned tend to dismiss it offhand, chiefly because it does not fit in with their views of Plato's development, and certainly because so very few specialists have endorsed it. And were not Hirmer (1897) and Adam (1902, followed by Usher 1973 and many others) able to refute definitely the notion that Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae* might refer to Plato, rather than vice versa?

No, they were not. The theory has been revived recently.¹ The following is an attempt to restate my position regarding the issue of Plato's early Utopia, by adding a few more arguments and by developing some of the consequences of the theory for our understanding of Plato's public relations and his early philosophy. As I see it, the question demands an extensive (and 'philological') treatment and probing from as many angles as possible. It is largely a matter of circumstantial evidence.

*

The main arguments for the existence of an early Platonic Utopia are the following.

(i) Although the *Republic*, as we have it in our manuscripts, forms a

* Variants of this paper were read in 1994 in Columbia SC ('The Rosamond Kent Sprague Lecture' II), Chicago, New York, and Athens, and in 1995 at a conference in Gammel Vraa (Denmark). I am particularly indebted to the friendly help and criticism from Ian Mueller, Debra Nails, Jerry Press, Rosamond Sprague, and two anonymous referees.

¹ Cf. Debra Nails, *Agora, Academy, and the Conduct of Philosophy* (Philosophical Studies Series 63), 1995, 116–122, developing the theses of H. Thesleff, *Studies in Platonic Chronology* (Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 70), 1982, and id., *Platonic Chronology*, *Phronesis* 34 (1989) 10–15.

monumental, pedimentally composed unity,² it is not likely to have been a monolith from the start. The dialogue is usually taken as typical of Plato's 'Middle Period', and so the commonly accepted date of composition is 'about 375 B.C.'. As a matter of fact, however, this conventional view is a loose compromise among a wide variety of considerations. There are no unambiguous clues to the dating. The different blocks of the work may well originate in different periods and contexts, and the final editing probably took place rather late, after Plato's Sicilian adventures were over.³ It is quite possible, indeed feasible considering the structure of the work, that the Utopia (Kallipolis) belongs to its earliest layers.

(ii) Aulus Gellius, a usually well-informed author, reports that Xenophon was said to have opposed the ideas of Plato's Republic, having read the "approximately two books which had first reached the public".⁴ Hence, Gellius continues, Xenophon put forward a different view of a good government in the Cyropaedia, which occasioned Plato to remark (Laws III 694c) that Cyrus was not educated at all. Gellius' source probably had in mind the opening section of the Cyropaedia and Book VIII, which present a theory of the Best State in a Persian setting, with some apparent reminiscences of Plato's Utopia.⁵ The date of the Cyropaedia is usually put rather late because of the references in the epilogue (VIII 8); but if this is a postscript, the bulk of the text may well, like the Anabasis, have been written in Skillous in the 380s when Xenophon cannot possibly have seen the final Republic.

What is really intriguing here, is the mention in Gellius of 'approximately two books'. This is irrelevant to his basic story which concerns the relations of Plato and Xenophon. Gellius is quoting an unnamed author who

² Contrary to earlier attempts to analyze the Republic into parts, it has been customary in recent years to underline its structural unity. For the 'pedimental' composition, see H. Thesleff in G.A. Press (ed.), *Plato's Dialogues, New Studies & Interpretations*, 1993, 27 f., with context.

³ This is one of the theses of Thesleff 1982; see further below.

⁴ NA XIV 3.3, note *duobus fere libris, qui primi in vulgus exierant*. Cf. below, Aristotle.

⁵ Especially I 1.1, deficiencies of all Greek constitutions, cf. Plato, Seventh Letter 326ab (below); I 2.15, schools of justice; VIII 1–2: loyalty aiming at common εὐδαιμονία, Guardians, σχολή, training for ἀρετή and justice, respect for women (1.27 f.), strict specialization of the crafts (2.5–6). Xenophon does not appear to know Isocrates' Busiris (below) which may have been published earlier.

obviously did not mean the beginning of the Republic (as Gellius knew it), from Book I to somewhere about the end of Book II or the opening of Book III, since these sections could not have provoked what we read in the *Cyropaedia*. Very probably Gellius' source was well-informed enough to know, or to assume, that Xenophon had been using an earlier, shorter version of Plato's political Utopia, a text which he perhaps had not seen but which he presumed to be of 'about' two papyrus scrolls in length, like the Peripatetic epitome we happen to know of (below, p. 159).

(iii) In the opening of Plato's *Timaeus* (17c–19b), we read what purports to be a constricted but complete summary of the λόγοι περὶ πολιτείας that Socrates had presented to the same audience the day before. The summary covers the essentials of the political proposals of Books II–III and V of the Republic:

Timaeus	Republic
17cd The specialization of the trades in the Best State and the need of specialized soldiers as Guardians	II 369b–374d
17d–18a The mild and violent, spirited and philosophic nature required for Guardians	II 374d–376c
18a The education (τροφή) of the Guardians will consist of γυμναστική, μουσική, and μαθήματα proper for them [no details given but note 19de on μίμησις and poetry]	II 376c–III 412b, VII 521c–531c (cf. VI 502c–506b)
18b The Guardians would have no private property but live modestly on common public funds, devoting themselves to ἀρετή and σχολή	III 416d–417b (and more loosely V 461e–466d), cf. II 374b–e
18c Equality of women and men	V 451d–457c
18cd The strange proposal of community of women and children	V 457c–458e, 461de
18de Eugenics: the secret manipulation of sexual unions	V 459a–460b, cf. III 415bc
19a Good offspring to be reared, bad offspring to be sent to their proper class	V 460c–461c, cf. III 415bc

The summary begins where Socrates in our text of the Republic takes over, after the speeches of Plato's brothers (II 368c), and it ends before the discussion of philosophy and philosophic man begins (V 472a). There is in *Timaeus* no reference to the issues of Book IV (happiness as a balance of

virtues in the state and the soul) or to the detailed criticism of myth in Books II and III (377d–398b), though note the hint 19de; and the education of the (yet undifferentiated) Philosopher-Guardians is only mentioned in passing (18a), though μαθήματα are included (elaborated in Republic VII 521c ff., cf. VI 502c–506b). The main distinction is that between the Guardians of society and the rest.

The framing of the summary involves some obvious fiction and deliberate mystification. It is particularly interesting that the summary only deals with a specific part of our Republic and, moreover, that it does not correspond exactly even to this part, although it is explicitly said to be complete. "This is all that was said yesterday", we are assured (19ab), before Socrates goes on to say that he would now like to see the Ideal City in action (which leads first to the Atlantis story). The mock-pedantic and pointed restriction to what we know as parts of the Republic, put in a different context, must have some significance. Why could Plato not just refer to the ideas of 'Socrates' as presented in the Republic? On the other hand, if Plato had wanted to operate with pure fiction, it would have been easy for him to create a summary of a previous discussion which would have fitted his present theme much better than the summary given in the Timaeus actually does.

We shall never know all the implications of this mystification. But by reason of what we seem to know, it is difficult to avoid the assumption that Plato makes Socrates refer to an existing version of his Utopia, without such later accretions as readers of the Timaeus presumably knew of: oral or written additions that would too readily associate with Plato's activities in the Academy and in Syracuse. He simply made a reference to his early Utopia of equality and communism among the leading class, a Utopia which included little or no explicit discussion of philosophical issues. Such a static Utopia, projected into prehistory, gave him somehow a suitable starting point for the dynamics of the Atlantis story, the Egyptian fabulations (cf. Isocrates, below), and indeed the cosmic background of all this, rooted as it is in constant κίνησις.⁶ In other words, I presume Plato is here playing with the 'approximately two books' known to the source of Gellius.

The fiction of the lecture having been given 'the day before' to the same company (though one is now missing due to ἀσθένεια, like Plato is in

⁶ Movement is typical of both soul and body of the Cosmos.

the *Phaedo*) may imply that the earlier version had not been published in the manner of the more widely known dialogues and, consequently, that it did not have a fixed literary setting. It is also important to note that the language of the relevant portions of the present *Republic* II–III and V has features of Plato's 'late style':⁷ so if the utopian part of this dialogue represents an earlier layer, it has not come to us in its original shape. This original shape need not even have been dialogic (below).

(iv) The existence of an early version of Plato's Utopia is partially confirmed by Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae* (about 392 B.C.). To sceptics it should be remarked at the outset that those who deny that Aristophanes might have had Plato in mind probably have not considered all the parallels found – or the existing indications that Plato had a distinct political philosophy before 388 B.C., long before the *Republic* received its final shape, or the fact that a comic parody is likely to exaggerate and disfigure to the point of sheer nonsense, or how Plato would react on an earlier parody of his views. Plato's own sense of humour may well account for the comic tones and allusions in *Republic* V and elsewhere in the dialogue, even if he had himself set the ball rolling and Aristophanes had already made him the subject of public mockery.⁸

The most conspicuous parallels with our text of the *Republic* are the following:

Ecclesiazusae	Republic
1–240 Opening arguments of Praxagora for the need of reform and rule of women, ending in statement: εὐδαιμονοῦντες τὸν βίον διάξετε	(Εὐδαιμονία given as background motivation for the utopia, IV 419a ff., V 465d ff., 473c)
441–442 Women are both intellectual and productive	Cf. esp. V 454d–456a (VII 540c)
556–568 No social injustice	Cf. III 416d–417b (V 462bc)
571–582 Chorus introducing Praxagora's proposals by addressing her: "Collect your philosophic knowledge (πυκνὴν φρένα, φιλόσοφον φροντίδα ἐπιστα-	Cf. Socrates' reluctance in Book V to present his proposal of community of

⁷ References in Thesleff 1982, 137.

⁸ And he knows that mockery subsides with time, V 452b–e. The reflections of comedy in the *Republic* have been often noted, and hence some critics tend to interpret the entire Utopia as satire. More commonly, Plato is said to play ironically with ideas originally advanced by Aristophanes.

μένην) for the benefit of your sisters (φίλαι); for the thoughts of your revolutionary speech (καινή γλώττης ἐπίνοια) will bring much happiness, joy, and help to the life of our citizens. It is time to show what you can. For our city needs some clever innovation (σοφοῦ τινος ἐξευρήματος). Go on with what has never been done or said before...”

Praxagora:

583–585 I know my advice is good (χρηστὰ διδάξω) and for the women’s part revolutionary (καινοτομεῖν).

589 Try to understand my thought (ἐπίστασθαι τὴν ἐπίνοιαν)

590–604 All property shall be common

605–608 There will be plenty of everything

609–610 Old laws not needed

613–615 Free love, community of women

615–618 External beauty not decisive

635–645 Fathers will not recognize their offspring

651–652 Slaves as farmers

656–672 No quarrels and lawsuits

678–680 Recital of epic poetry to make children courageous

673–688 (cf. 715) Common meals; the city will become like one single home (μίαν οἴκησιν, εἰς ἓν ἅπαντα)

women and children, under the supervision of philosophers

Cf. above

V passim

Cf. II 372ab

Cf. V 462a

V 451d–461c

Cf. V 474de

V 457d, 461c–e, 463c

(Note σχολή of Guardians, II 374b–e and passim; cf. Timaeus 18b; cf. further III 415a, e, V 466b: farmers the lowest class)

III 405bc, V 464d–465d

Cf. V 468cd (and II/III)

III 416de, V 462a–464d

It is a new (583 ff.) ‘philosophic’ theory of communism and community of women and children that is the chief target of Aristophanes’ parody. He makes his heroine Praxagora present her communistic manifesto (571–688) together with a plan for women’s takeover. The latter follows by Aristophanic logic from the deplorable political conditions in Athens (171 ff.), from the need of justice for all, and from the notion of the equality of the sexes. But the points of contact with the relevant sections of the Republic

(II–III and V) are unmistakable.⁹ Note especially the emphasis on the 'philosophic' nature of the proposal (571 ff., 589).

Specific questions are the possible indirect reflection of Pythagorean ideas in this context, and Antisthenes' role here. The figuring of Antisthenes and other Socratics in Aristophanes' scenery cannot be excluded, and the idea of philosophizing women has a Pythagorean flavour.¹⁰ The main target, however, of the parody is likely to be Plato. When Praxagora first addresses her public, in the disguise of a pale young man (427 ff.), she is acting a young, effeminate, intellectual revolutionary. Here she probably represents Plato (aged thirty-five or less). She represents a philosopher (not a 'sophist'). In fact, verse 571 gives the only occurrence of the word φιλόσοφος or its derivatives in the entire Aristophanic Corpus, including the *Clouds* and all the fragments: and we know that Plato, apparently more emphatically than the other Socratics, made a special point of φιλοσοφία. And there is an additional indication, surely not popular among Platonists, of the presence of Plato in the *Ecclesiazusae*: he seems to figure here, indirectly in the shape of a 'pervert', in the hint at the risks of free love resulting in a kiss by Aristyllos the fellator (647).¹¹

(v) It is fairly generally agreed that Isocrates in his *Essay XI*, the

⁹ Nails 1995, 117–121, discusses several of the points and sums up the arguments for the priority of Plato. It is not necessary to repeat them here.

¹⁰ For Antisthenes, see my notes 1989, 11 f. and below. The Ps.-Pythagorean 'Four Speeches' (*Iambl. VP* 37–57, p. 178–183 Thesleff) give a relatively early reflection of Pythagorean social ethics, but they do not have very much in common with Plato's *Utopia* (cf. below). Possibly Plato also referred to the three Graiae who share everything ('Speech' IV 55), cf. *Ecclesiazusae* 446–451, 877 ff. (Isocrates, *Busiris* 29, suggests a knowledge of the 'Speeches'); cf. further the pointed διασπᾶν, *Republic* V 462b, 464c, *Ecclesiazusae* 1076, and 'Speech' II 49. At any rate, note the explicit statement in Aristotle, *Politics* II 1266a34 (cf. 1274b9): before Plato, nobody had put forth the idea of community of women and children (though Phaleas had proposed community of property); and it is pronouncedly a καὶνὴ ἐπίνοια, according to Aristophanes 573 f.

¹¹ *Etym. Magn.* s.v. (referring in fact to Aristophanes; cf. also Eusthatios; Edmonds *FAC* I 717n, 719) explains Aristyllos as hypocoristic for Aristokles, and this is said by some sources to have been Plato's original name (*DL* III 4, 43). The reference in *Ecclesiazusae* 647 is to an effeminate young man, and καλαμίνθη 648 is perfume (not in the first place ordure), cf. Usher ad l. But in the nonsensical context of *Plutus* 311 ff., Aristyllos can be taken to "follow still his mother" (i.e. to preach feminism?), though he has been punished (in *Ecclesiazusae*?); note here μινθώσομεν (perversity is probably implied), and note also the tone of the hypocoristic name form. Plato's homosexual inclinations, as well as Aristophanes' populist attitude to 'perverts', is well known.

Busiris, includes Plato (typically unnamed) among the "well-known philosophers" who have used the Egyptian institutions (allegedly founded by King Busiris) as their model when speaking about the organization of society and constitutions.¹² The institutions referred to are the strict specialization of trades and the division of society into three main classes, priests, soldiers and workers; the ascetic communal life of the two first for the benefit and happiness of all (also imitated but misused, according to Isocrates, by the military cast in Sparta); and the special training and *σχολή* reserved for the intellectuals (the priests in Isocrates' account). It is the intellectuals as a class who are the leaders (not the King). The point of Isocrates is to characterize the mythic King Busiris as a benefactor of mankind, against the rhetor and anti-intellectualist Polykrates who, in a recent speech and following Greek traditions, had made him rather a criminal. A 'report' or even a criticism of the contents of Plato's Republic is not intended by Isocrates' fiction, and so it is understandable that nothing is said about the community of women and children. However, we can detect some close parallels with the summary in Timaeus (cf. below, p. 171). There is nothing in particular in Isocrates' text that would suggest his use of the full version of the Republic. Rather, it reads as a projection of suitably selected parts of Plato's Utopia upon a vague picture of Egyptian society.¹³

The date of Busiris is open to dispute. It is often dated by the Republic, i.e. 'soon after 375 B.C.'; but Eucken (1983) who finds difficulties with the chronology, admits that Isocrates might have seen the Republic "im Stadium der Abfassung". In fact a date in the 380s is plausible.¹⁴ In that

¹² XI 16–23. It may be relevant that Isocrates writes *λέγειν ἐπιχειροῦντας* which suggests recent attempts; Pythagoras (mentioned later, 28–29) is not meant in the first place.

¹³ Pace Eucken, see the next note. The Proto-Republic is likely to have contained some criticism of poetry (cf. Busiris 38–40, Timaeus 18a προσήκει), but Isocrates added his own comments on Egyptian medicine (22) and religion (24–29, with an ironical note on Pythagoras). I have argued elsewhere (in a paper read to the Nordic 'Platonselskabet', 1997) that Isocrates did not know more of Egyptian society than what Herodotus reports, and that he identified the Egyptian 'priests' with the philosophers of Plato's Utopia, attributing to the former such Platonic notions as fitted Herodotus' picture. In this essay, Isocrates still avoided a confrontation with Plato (whether he or somebody else, perhaps Plato himself, was the first to assert that Plato had drawn on Egyptian models). In attacking Polykrates, Isocrates saw an ally in Plato whose Utopia probably had referred to the detractors of philosophy (cf. e.g. Republic III 407c).

¹⁴ C. Eucken, *Isokrates (Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte 19)* 1983,

case it must be the Proto-Republic that Isocrates has in mind. And perhaps Plato, in his usual playful manner, is answering Isocrates (much later) by putting his Utopia into a 'true' Egyptian context, and by making Socrates enumerate in the *Timaeus* (with a pedantry more typical of Isocrates than of Plato) the issues of 'yesterday's speech'.¹⁵

*

Thus we may take it as a fairly well grounded hypothesis that Aristophanes in 392 B.C. knew, and expected some in his audience to know, of a recent communistic and 'feministic' political manifesto by young Plato. The contents of this proposal corresponded to the summary in the *Timaeus*, and so it presumably represented the 'approximately two books' of Gellius, and the ideas to which Isocrates refers.¹⁶

It is quite possible, in my view rather probable, that Plato had originally presented his manifesto at an informal gathering, as a speech in his own name – not in the name of Socrates, though later the distinction between the two was naturally blurred. There is nothing to suggest that young Plato wrote only dialogues; on the contrary, the *Apology*, *Menexenus* and the extensive use of speeches in some dialogues point to an early familiarity with rhetoric. If the Proto-Republic was a speech, it is even more understandable that Plato's ideas were soon abroad, and copies may have been immediately taken (cf. 'Lysias' in *Phaedrus*) whether he wanted it or not.¹⁷

180 f., does not accept the Proto-Republic theory. Note, however, that the formal addressee of the *Busiris*, Polykrates, had left Athens for Cyprus about 390 B.C., and we do not hear from him later. The ultimate purpose of Isocrates is to defend 'philosophy' against the (certainly recent) attacks by Polykrates and his Athenian sponsors (notably Anytos). The praise of Egypt, also but inconsistently undertaken by Polykrates, is understandable from the fact that both Cyprus and Athens were allies of Egypt (King Akoris) in the 380s; the renewed contacts between Athens and Egypt after 363 B.C. (King Tachos) are obviously irrelevant here. The note on the behaviour of the Spartans, *Busiris* 19–20, also points to the 380s. And *Busiris* fits in with Isocrates' earlier interests in fictitious culture and myth, also reflected in *Helen* (X), rather than with his engagement in contemporary politics, beginning with the *Panegyricus* (IV) of 380 B.C.

¹⁵ Isocrates' using Plato's *Apology* extensively in his *Antidosis* (XV) of 354 B.C., is a good example of the slow movements in the 'dialogue' between Plato and Isocrates.

¹⁶ For some further references and considerations, see Nails 1995, 114 ff.

¹⁷ The anecdote in *Themistios* (23.296cd) about the protreptic effect of the *Republic* on Plato's woman pupil Axiothea, rather applies to the Proto-Republic if it is not just a redoubling of the story about the *Gorgias* and the Corinthian farmer (*ibid.*, cf. Alice Swift

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I shall discuss below the additional information given by the Seventh Letter. First, however, it is fair to ask what other reflections there are, in 4th century sources, of Plato's Utopia or, in general, of his Republic.

The intra-Academic discussion of Plato's political theories is not easily traced until we come to the *Timaeus*, *Politicus*, and *Laws*. The somewhat ambiguous evidence of the *Apology*, *Gorgias*, *Menexenus* and *Theaetetus* will be considered below. A βασιλική τέχνη is unexpectedly and humorously introduced at the centre of the *Euthydemus* (291b), possibly with allusion to Isocrates.¹⁸ Young men dreaming of power occur in several dialogues, including *Alcibiades I* and *Theages*. It looks, however, as if Plato were avoiding the theme of the Utopia in his written dialogues until it suddenly turns up in the *Timaeus*. Certainly this does not mean that *Timaeus* was written immediately after the *Republic*.

The opening of *Parmenides* seems to allude to *Republic I*, but I am not so sure¹⁹ that the criticism of the theory of Forms applies to the *Republic* version of it. Even the *Politicus* does not demonstrably take account of a published version of the *Republic*: the myth of metals occurs at 269b ff. (271a ff.), but the treatment of, say, βασιλική τέχνη (259c ff., 277e ff.) and μίμησις has a slightly different basis (note 301c, 303a), and the attitude to legislation (293e ff.) corresponds to that of the *Laws* without reference to the Utopia. The various kinds of government (291c ff.) are dealt with in a manner very different from the *Republic*. Strictly speaking, the *Laws* does not presuppose the existence of a written *Republic*, either; but it is oriented to Plato's Utopian City in very many ways, most explicitly in the chapter on ideal communism which suits gods, not men (V 739b ff.). At any rate, the existence of the *Republic* as a written text soon after Plato's death cannot be doubted.

Several of Plato's younger associates took up the theory and practice of law-giving, but as far as we know only Aristotle took up the theme of the

Riginos, *Platonica* (Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 3), 1976, 183 f.) which probably derives from Aristotle.

¹⁸ Since Isocrates the 'semi-politician' (305de) is very probably alluded to at the end of the dialogue, one might think of the Cyprian essays (below). Cf. also 289d λογοποιοί: Antisthenes is not likely to be meant here.

¹⁹ Pace Thesleff 1982, 159 and many others. The frame story of *Republic I* occurs in several variants, cf. below, n. 26.

communistic Utopia.²⁰ In his *Politics*, Aristotle criticizes Plato's utopian proposals extensively, comparing them to the *Laws* and, somewhat unfairly, presenting both as Plato's political teachings without taking account of his philosophical motivations. He has seen a written version of the *Republic*, though obviously it was not a favourite text with him.²¹ For his criticism, he may have used the epitome of Plato's *Πολιτεία* in two (!) books which belonged to his and Theophrastus' library (DL V 22, 43).²²

Among the pupils of Aristotle, notably Theophrastus, Dikaiarchos and Aristoxenos studied the theory of constitutions in the footsteps of their master but, as far as we can see, with no direct reference to Plato. We are now in the vicinity of Zeno the Stoic to whom we shall return presently.

But what about the early extra-Academic discussion of the *Republic*? After all, should we not expect the early *Utopia* and the monumental final work to have left more marks in contemporary debate, than those we have seen so far? A scrutiny of our sources gives a meagre result which is, however, not without some interest.

Disregarding Xenophon, the only 'minor Socratic' of relevance here is Antisthenes.²³ He wrote several essays or dialogues about social ethics and

²⁰ For Aristotle, see the next note. Some Ps.-Platonic Letters (notably VIII) refer to law-giving, and several of Plato's pupils wrote on political theory and laws, apparently developing themes of the Platonic *Laws*. Xenokrates also wrote on Kingship (for Alexander the Great). The only philosopher known to have written a commentary or tract on Plato's *Republic*, apart from Aristotle and before the late Hellenistic period, is Klearchos of Soloi, a pupil of Aristotle (cf. H. Dörrie & M. Baltes, *Der Platonismus*, III, 1993, 44 f., 202 ff.); but his main interests were the Line and the Nuptial Number.

²¹ In Book II of the *Politics*, Aristotle almost entirely avoids the philosophical aspects of the *Republic*, though occasional echoes of Books VIII–IX of the latter suggest that he knows the final version (and note τὸ κομψόν II 1265a12). Elsewhere, he rarely refers to this work (cf. Bonitz' Index). The most interesting quotations, apart from the discussion in the *Politics*, are two passages in *EN* (I 1095a31, V 1132a20 ff.) alluding to the Divided Line, and a passage in the *Rhetorics* (III 1406b32 ff.) where three examples of Platonic similes are given, from *Republic* V, VI, and X.

²² Was this a text of the Proto-*Republic* which the source of Gellius had in mind? No wonder antiquity knew several incipits for the *Republic* (cf. Thesleff 1982, 85 and below, n. 26). Theophrastus also wrote 'On the Best Constitution', in addition to works on kingship and laws, but he certainly did not develop Plato's utopian ideas any more than Aristotle did. – For Klearchos, see n. 20, for Aristoxenos n. 30.

²³ See G. Giannantoni's extensive collection of material and references in his *Socraticorum Reliquiae* (with some additions in *SSR*); cf. above, n. 10. Several of the titles attributed to Antisthenes (and also Aischines, Simon, and Simmias) suggest themes

also kingdom, βασιλεία. Without going into the vexed details of reconstruction and chronology, it can be safely stated that Antisthenes' mythic heroes, Herakles and Cyrus the Great, stand very far from Plato's Philosopher-King, and also that his Proto-Cynic ideals of ἐγκράτεια, ἀυτάρκεια, τὰ ἀυτοῦ πράττειν, σωφροσύνη, and δικαιοσύνη, may at most have given impulses to his younger contemporary Plato's conception of the Best City and the Best Man. Antisthenes seems to have known the tradition about the Four Speeches of Pythagoras with their emphasis on the internal harmony and loyalty of a Pythagorean city and the active role of women. Antisthenes 'the dog' may figure in a playful context in the Republic (II 376ab), and his Laconism may be reflected in certain traits of Plato's version of the Guardians of the Best City.²⁴ Plato, however, was no admirer of Spartan brutality. And, again, the education and particularly the μαθήματα of the philosophers, so essential to Plato, meant little or nothing to Antisthenes. On the other hand, there is no direct trace of an Antisthenean polemic against Plato's political theory, either. Although Plato put more emphasis on φιλοσοφία than Antisthenes was inclined to do, perhaps the fact is that his Proto-Republic was basically so close to Antisthenes' own idea of the Just City that the latter found no reason to laugh, with Aristophanes, at the politics of young Σάθων. This might explain the character of the allusions to Antisthenes in the Ecclesiazusae. Probably Antisthenes never saw the final Republic.

Later, however, Plato's Utopia provoked a sarcastically exaggerated answer from Diogenes of Sinope, the Cynic. The role of Diogenes as an intermediate link between the Πολιτεία of Plato and Zeno the Stoic has been very seldom noted. To be sure, the authenticity of the fragments of Diogenes' Πολιτεία in the recently restored and reinterpreted Herculaneum papyri is under debate.²⁵ Assuming that the papyrus reports at least an

found in the Republic, but except for myths there is nothing to point to utopian contents. Possibly it was Antisthenes who first introduced the idea of an Ideal King into philosophy (cf. DL VI 15); the idea was elaborated in different ways by Xenophon, Isocrates, Plato and his pupils, and the Stoics.

²⁴ Cf. above, n. 10. For Antisthenes 'the dog', cf. Eubulos Fr. 85 KA.

²⁵ For the earlier discussion, see J. Ferguson, *Utopias of the Classical World*, 1975, 95. R.G. Andria's and T. Dorandi's text of Philodemus' account is printed in Giannantoni's *Socr. Rel.* (II, 1983, 466–468, cf. III 1985, 416 f., 487–494) and then in SSR. Dorandi (following Höistad 1948) defends the authenticity of Diogenes' Politeia in: Marie-Odile Goulet-Cazé & R. Goulet (eds.), *Le Cynisme ancien*, Paris 1993, 57–68. I am inclined to

authentic tradition about what Diogenes had said, if not the original wording, and whatever backing Diogenes had found in Antisthenes, it would seem that one of his sources of inspiration was Plato. Partly like Zeno after him, Diogenes appears to have argued for radical communism, equality of the sexes, free love, and community of children; and he accepted incest, masturbation in public, cannibalism, and total anarchy in the name of concord, peace, and love. This Arch-Cynic Utopia meant an extremist radicalization of some of Plato's ideas, but at the same time a pointed rejection of his basic premisses: the notion of a city state with stable institutions, the division into classes and trades, and above all, the education and social responsibility of the Leaders, the philosophers. We cannot of course determine the degree of ironically sarcastic thoughtplay in Diogenes' proposals; at least Zeno seems to have found serious logic in them. More humorously than Zeno, and probably inspired by Diogenes, Krates the Cynic (DL VI 85) wrote a satirical poem about his bag, Πήρη, as representing a chaotic cosmopolitan paradise, the only πόλις needed. There is no evidence that the Cynics had ever bothered to read anything by Plato. Presumably Diogenes took a stand on the ideas orally disseminated about the early Utopia.

Xenophon rather clearly alludes to some Platonic dialogues, and the *Republic* is sometimes automatically counted among these. However, apart from the Proto-*Republic* story related by Gellius, and except some possible reminiscences of Book I, the alleged traces of the *Republic* in Xenophon's works disappear on closer scrutiny.²⁶

take the Πολιτεία to be a Hellenistic 'reconstruction' of authentic traditions, presumably on the basis of Zeno's account. Cf. the platonizing 'reconstructions' of early Pythagorean ideas in the Hellenistic Pseudo-Pythagorean texts (ed. Thesleff 1965). But the question requires further scrutiny.

²⁶ *Republic* I is, at any rate, to be distinguished from the Proto-*Republic*, and there are several indications of the existence of an earlier version of it as a separate dialogue (pace C. Kahn, CQ 43 (1993) 131–142) before it became incorporated with the final work. The opening of Xenophon's *Symposium* seems to allude to the former, and reminiscences of it seem to occur in *Memorabilia* IV 4 (cf. also the openings of Plato's *Symposium* and *Parmenides*), unless a common source (Antisthenes?) lies behind all this. Elsewhere Xenophon does not operate with ideas reminiscent of the *Republic*, hardly even in the women chapter of his *Spartan Constitution* (I 3–10, and certainly not in the last chapter on Kings, XV). The discussion of political leadership in *Memorabilia* III 6–7 is closer to Alcibiades I (or Theages), though Socrates' partners are Glaukon and Charmides respectively. The βασιλική τέχνη at IV 2.11 suggests the *Euthydemus*, though the

Plato's relations with Isocrates is another much-discussed issue. Like Antisthenes, Isocrates was some ten years Plato's senior. He was Plato's only serious rival as an educator of an intellectual élite. And he insisted on calling his educational programme φιλοσοφία, which must have irritated Plato ever since Isocrates had begun his regular teaching in Athens in the late 390s. 'Right philosophy' meant something different to Plato (below). It is well known that Isocrates and Plato allude to each other in various connections, though most of the details are controversial; the references are seldom (and never on Isocrates' part) explicitly clear, and Plato maintains an ironical distance. However, the controversies between the two have probably been very much exaggerated by later critics. It seems that Isocrates in addition to Plato's early Utopia refers at least to the Gorgias and Phaedrus, and in his old age he was well acquainted with Plato's Apology. Naturally it was rhetoric, not dialectic, that interested him. At the time when he wrote the Busiris, he saw in Plato an ally against the detractors of 'philosophy'.²⁷ And when Plato had founded the Academy, the two operated on very different levels. If, however, Isocrates had known the final Republic, he might be expected to have referred to it in his three 'Cyprian Essays' from about 370 B.C., Ad Nicoclem (II), Nicocles (III), and Euagoras (IX), which all deal with the best constitution and the education of the King. Indeed, it is usually taken for granted that Isocrates has the Republic in view here. I find this extremely unlikely and all the supposed allusions easy to explain otherwise.²⁸ I am prepared to infer that Isocrates,

partner of Socrates is Euthydemus, son of Diokles, not the erist. The remarks on the decline of Athens at III 5.13–17 and on the misery of tyrants at IV 2.38 f. are commonplaces; cf. the theme of the Hiero (where, at 10.1–8, the φύλακες occur as a kind of Secret Service in the manner of Laws VI 758a ff. rather than of the Republic). A passage on μίμησις in art, Memorabilia III 10, surely need not be a loan from the text of our Republic. And when, in IV 6, Xenophon makes an evident attempt to turn 'philosophical', τὸ ἀγαθόν is defined as τὸ ὠφέλιμον (8) and καλόν as χρήσιμον (9), and the presentation of the 'hypothetical method' (13–14) has nothing in common with Republic VI. In fact, as has been often noted, Xenophon often appears to represent an earlier 'Socratic' position than Plato.

²⁷ Cf. above, n. 14. Isocrates is even prepared to allow for μαθήματα in education (23) which he otherwise rather rejects (see especially Antidosis 261 ff.).

²⁸ The most comprehensive discussions of the relations of Isocrates and Plato are by Ries (1959) and Eucken (1983, above n. 14). Though Eucken often corrects Ries, he is still too ready to see marks of a 'dialogue' or even polemics between Isocrates and his contemporaries. He is probably right in inferring (5 ff., 251 f., 269) that Isocrates' first

at this stage, knew only the Proto-Republic which did not consider Kingship at all, but regarded the philosophers as a class. The specific issues of Plato's Utopia such as communism were of course totally irrelevant in this Cyprian context. As a matter of fact, there are no clear allusions to the Republic complex in any of Isocrates' writings from the 370s, 360s, or even the 350s. This may have some bearing on the dating of the final Republic. Only in his open letter to Philip II, written in 346 when Isocrates was ninety and Plato was dead, he may be thinking of the Republic when declaring that empty eulogies of a King (such as others have written) are as useless as are the Νόμοι and Πολιτεῖαι written by the sophists.²⁹

But there had certainly been other sophists around who 'wrote' Πολιτεῖαι: Hippodamos, Phaleas, and perhaps Protagoras among them.³⁰ In Plato's Protagoras, the sophist presents the growth of human society where the τέχνηαι have an essential function (especially 322b–e); though most critics think that Plato had not 'yet' conceived Republic II, I would insist that the opposite might as well be true. At any rate we are far from Plato's Utopia here. Again, of a more 'pythagorizing' type is the Pseud-Epicharmean Πολιτεία in trochaic tetrameters said to have been written by the

pamphlet against rival schools, *Adversus Sophistas* (XIII) of about 390 B.C., considers the Socratics as a group where Antisthenes stands out but where Plato as yet plays no distinct part; indeed, Isocrates had no specific reasons to refer to Plato in this context (cf. XIII 9–10) even if he knew the Proto-Republic. The same seems to me to apply to the Helen (X) where the opening criticism hardly includes Plato in particular. Occasional echoes of Gorgias and Phaedrus seem to occur later, and Plato's Apology is clearly being used in the Apodosis (XV, a late work), without a trace of criticism. – The alleged parallels of the Cyprian Essays with the Republic (cf. Eucken 1983, 216–268), such as μετέχειν τῶν ἰδεῶν in connection with ἀρεταί (III 29–30), may suggest a vague acquaintance with Academic terminology, but nothing more. It is typical of this line of arguing that Isocrates' praise of τυραννίς as τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν ὄντων (IX 40, Eucken 268) is considered as polemic against Plato's metaphysical Form of the Good and his negative view of the tyrant.

²⁹ V 12. Isocrates' use of the word σοφιστής is sometimes very imprecise, e.g. XV 268. Allusions to Plato's Laws seem to occur in the Panathenaicus (XII) of 339 B.C., cf. Eucken 1983: 42 ff. and elsewhere.

³⁰ Aristoxenos, who himself wrote on constitutions, is reported (DL III 37, Fr. 67 We.) to have found the essentials of the Republic (i.e. the Utopia?) in Protagoras' Ἀντιλογικά; possibly Aristoxenos saw traces of radical ideas which he interpreted in his slanderous manner, anti-Platonically. But there was a dialogue attributed to Kriton, named Πρωταγόρας ἢ Πολιτικός (DL II 121).

musician Chrysogonos (mid-4th century):³¹ in the two brief fragments we have, it is emphasized that mathematics and θεῖος λόγος direct a good life and good τέχνη. Somewhat similarly (though not without some allusive play) Socrates asserts towards the end of Protagoras (356e) that σωτηρία τοῦ βίου depends on μετρητική; cf. also the 'nuptial number' in Republic VIII (546a–547a). Such pythagorizing sophistry, however, has no direct bearing on Plato's Utopia, nor have the other remains of sophistic literature that we know of.³²

The fragments of Middle Comedy might also be expected to shed some light on the possible discussion of the Republic. We have more than 20 fragments, many of them from Alexis, in which Plato and his Academy are mentioned or certainly alluded to. Hellenistic critics (and detractors) have evidently been looking for such references, so the material is likely to cover the ground fairly well. Probably or possibly the Phaedrus, Gorgias, Phaedo and Symposium were known.³³ It is therefore noteworthy that the comedians do not seem to make fun of Plato's monumental Republic, after Aristophanes had used the Utopia for his own ends in his Ecclesiazusae. Amphis (Fr. 8 KA) and Alexis (41–42) wrote plays called Γυναικοκρατία, but they seem to link up with Aristophanes, not (at least not directly) with Plato: presumably the later examiners of comedy would have notified it if Plato had figured here (since Plato was known to be a target of Middle Comedy). However, there was a saying, Πλάτωνος ἀγαθόν, denoting something entirely obscure or unattainable. The saying is found e.g. in Amphis (6) and Alexis (98), both mid-4th century comedians, and somewhat later in Philippides (6). Does this indicate, as many critics have thought, that Book VI of the Republic was known to the Athenian public? Hardly. It is more natural to assume that the saying originated in rumours about Academic discussions, and especially in Plato's notorious lecture 'On the

³¹ Vors. 23 B 56–57 DK; cf. Epinomis 977e–978a. On the whole, the Pseud-Epicharmea seem to be influenced by Academic thought rather than vice versa.

³² Cf. G.B. Kerferd, *The Sophistic Movement*, 1981, 139, 162.

³³ For Phaedrus, cf. Alexis Fr. 20 KA, 247–248, Eubulos 20, Philemon 126, Philyllios 20, Timokles 6, Timotheos 2 (but the 'winged Eros' of course occurs in art too); Gorgias, Antiphanes 198, Philetairos 17; Phaedo, Kratinos J:r 10, Theopompos 16 (or an allusion to 'On the Good?'); Symposium, Alexis 247–248, Anaxandrides 62, Strattis 27–33. Further possible allusions include the Laws (VI 761c) in Antiphanes 298. Unfortunately Plato's βιβλίον ἐμβρόντητον which is "like pepper" (Ophelion 3) cannot be identified.

Good'.³⁴ Plato's Sun, Line, or Cave did not become slogans, nor indeed did Plato the feminist or Plato the 'Ομηρομούστιξ. Perhaps we ought to accept as a fact that Plato's dialogues were not so widely read and discussed by his contemporaries, as is often believed.

But the silence of our sources in the case of Plato's *Republic* may have a particular bearing on the question of his public relations.

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It has appeared so far that the signs we have, from the first half of the 4th century, of Plato's Utopia being known and discussed outside the Academy – Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae*, Isocrates' *Busiris*, the source used by Gellius, probably Plato's *Timaeus*, and Diogenes of Sinope – all point to an early version of the *Republic*. Indeed, there are no clear indications of the existence of the final work before, say, 350 B.C.

In the light of these facts, the picture of Plato's early activities which is given in the opening part of the Seventh Letter is quite interesting. It is of little consequence if these are or are not Plato's *ipsissima verba* (I think they are), since the writer is obviously well informed and expects his readers to know various specific circumstances; and his point is to defend Plato's and Dion's intentions and undertakings in Syracuse, and to state the fact that there is no easy short-cut to philosophy – taking for granted that Plato had a philosophy of his own already in the 390s. The description of the events before the first voyage to Sicily (in 388 B.C.) amounts to the statement (327a) that Plato began to instruct Dion out of his well-grounded conviction that only *true* philosophy will reform human life and society. This philosophical education brought Dion into conflict with Italian and Sicilian practice (327b), which contributes to explaining the unfortunate happenings after the death of Dionysius I (in 367 B.C.).

The review of events between ca. 407 and 388 B.C. (324b–326e) has a very reliable ring, and the omissions may be intentional. Plato's political hopes and frustrations, the shock he felt at the trial and death of Socrates, and his 'dizziness' looking from outside at the shortcomings of all existing types of government, are presented in a vivid, personal, and convincing manner. And as in *Gorgias* (512e ff.), but unlike the basic conception in the final *Republic*, Plato's viewpoint is principally Athenian.

³⁴ For K. Gaiser's interpretation (1980) of 'On the Good' and arguments for regarding it as a deliberate challenge of the Athenian public, see Thesleff 1993, 39 f. More remote allusions to Plato's ἀγαθόν seem to occur in Klearchos 3 KA and Philemon 74.

In that situation (i.e. in the late 390s), says Plato, he came to the conviction that only a "marvellous arrangement of luck" could change things: "And I felt compelled to declare, while recommending right philosophy, that it is by this that one is enabled to discern all political and individual justice; so evil will not cease from the classes of mankind until the class of those who are right and true philosophers attain political leadership, or else the class of those who hold power in the cities becomes by some divine dispensation really philosophic" (326ab, R.G. Bury's translation).

It is usually thought that the Letter simply refers to the famous passage in Book V (473d) of our Republic, at the end of the chapter on women, equality and the Just State, with the sole difference that the Letter speaks of the philosophers as a class, whereas Socrates in the Republic speaks of Philosopher-Kings (introduced just before, at 473b). Though the Letter appears to echo some of the wording in Republic V, it is more natural to infer that the Letter actually reports what was said in Plato's early Utopia. A theory of Philosopher-Guardians as a class (γένος), the élite of the Guardians of the Ideal City, would better suit Plato's thought before he met Dion, than a theory of Philosopher-Kings: and indeed, what we read in our Republic up to that crucial passage,³⁵ as in Timaeus, and in Aristophanes and Isocrates, is a theory of the former kind. The Letter (note 326d) also implies that Plato's deliberations about the degeneration of constitutions (i.e. what we read in Books VIII–IX of our Republic) were caused by his experiences in the West.

Moreover, the curious formulation "I was forced" or "compelled to declare" (326a5) suits the reluctance of a young moralist presenting a very odd theory, as well as it may appear to suit the reluctance of old Socrates at Republic V 472a–474b. But the latter passage is rather clearly written post festum: Plato knows, and expects his readers to know, the surge of doubt and laughter that the proposal has already awakened. After all, the λέγειν ἠναγκάσθην and its context in the Letter suggest an oral declaration by Plato in a situation of political and moral frustration, more naturally than it

³⁵ At Republic III 414b the φύλακες παντελεῖς (in plural) are distinguished from the ἐπίκουροι, but Kings come in at V 473b (ένός – δυοῖν – ὅτι ὀλιγίστων). In the Letter, the emphasis on Plato's theoretical (σκοπῶν 325e, περιμένειν 326a) engagement in politics, is surely meant as a contrast to the eventual πράττειν that he admits he recommended to Dion (327a).

applies to the fictitious situation in which Socrates speaks, though indeed under some pressure (cf. notably 472a, 473c).

What, then, does the ὀρθὴ φιλοσοφία involve which the Letter says Plato had been "recommending" or "praising"? The Letter seems to state that Plato felt bound to put forth his thesis of the philosophers' rule, at the time and as the consequence of his arguing for right philosophy as the only way to a right conception of justice.³⁶ On a superficial reading, and assuming that the writer of the Letter expresses himself confusedly besides being confused about chronology, one might take the 'recommendation' of right philosophy to refer to the subsequent central books of the *Republic* (end of V to VII). Up to the crucial passage 473cd, no such recommendation or praise has occurred in the latter.³⁷ However, why not trust the Letter?

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Those who are prepared to take a critical distance from the traditional view of Plato's philosophical development³⁸ will find a particular challenge in the question what Plato meant by philosophy in the 390s.

Let us assume (as I am sure we have to) that Plato did *not* begin his philosophic career as a writer of short, playfully aporetic dialogues in the so-called Socratic manner, trying to define what virtue is. Let us assume that the developmentalist picture of Plato gradually abandoning Socratic openness, betraying his Socratic legacy, and becoming a metaphysician and

³⁶ In the Letter (326a6), the present participle ἐπαινῶν points to a situation (caused by the political development in Athens) where arguments about the nature of philosophy necessitated arguments about the derivation from philosophy of a theory of justice. For the use of this verb in debates, cf. *Republic* II 358d. Plato seems to be referring to a more general discussion in early fourth-century Athens about the status of philosophy, a discussion where Plato had reason to profile himself, not only in relation to people like Polykrates, Thrasymachos, or 'Kallikles', but also perhaps against the loose conception of φιλοσοφία as advocated by Isocrates (but cf. above, n. 13).

³⁷ The only contexts where philosophy is mentioned in our text of the *Republic*, before the rather unexpected pronouncement at V 473cd, are the discussion of the double 'dog-like' nature of Philosopher-Guardians in Books II (374e–376c) and III (410c–412a, *Timaeus* 17d–18a), a remark on the detraction of philosophy (III 407c), and a remark in passing on philosophical women (V 456a). The introduction of the Form of Justice at V 472c (with 'αὐτό terminology') includes no 'praise'. In the final work, the ἀληθινὴ φιλοσοφία is only gradually introduced (cf. VI 487a ff., VII 521bc).

³⁸ The problems of Platonic chronology are now in a flux: see e.g. Thesleff 1982 and 1989, J.A. Howland, *Re-reading Plato*, Phoenix 45 (1991) 189–214, Nails 1995 and G.A. Press, *The State of the Question in the Study of Plato*, *SJPh* 34 (1996) 511 f.

totalitarian only after his experiences in the West, is *totally misleading*. Let us assume that the 'Socratic' dialogues, as we have them, were composed after the founding of the Academy, and that they have other purposes than to depict accurately the ways Socrates reasoned.³⁹ Let us assume, instead, that Plato began as an intensely committed moralist with 'metaphysical' inclinations, however deep his admiration was of the Socratic method.

The Apology (though also an apology of the Socratics and of Plato himself) of course focuses on what Plato thought the historical Socrates has said (or meant) in 399, and here φιλοσοφία implies mainly a Socratic examination of the opinion of others to reach the truth and to abandon the untrue (cf. 23d, 28e, 29cd); this is an essential aspect of what Plato later called 'dialectic' (below). But even here the social responsibility of the philosopher's criticism is emphasized, and an occasional hint of the need of a theory of the State is given (36c). More specifically, the issue of τὸ δίκαιον is introduced in what we know as Book I of the Republic. Whenever this book (the 'Thrasymachus') may have taken definite shape,⁴⁰ it is likely to illustrate the 'dialectic' moves around the definition of justice which occurred in the Socratic circle: witness the Clitopho and several of the writings of Antisthenes. Plato's early fascination by geometry is intimated by Theaetetus 147c–148c where the 'Younger Socrates' appears to stand for young Plato.⁴¹ Moreover, the Gorgias certainly has its roots in the 390s, though it probably (like the Theaetetus) received its present form later.⁴² Here the question of right and wrong is one of the basic themes, and the conflict between philosophy and political rhetoric is envisaged, partly, in rhetorical terms; but some metaphysical aspects are also to be observed, notably in the very pregnant statement 507c–508c. Gorgias probably illustrates what Plato meant by 'right philosophy' at the time of his presentation of the Utopia: a fearless 'dialectic' search into the ontological (cosmic, metaphysical) foundations of ethics, perhaps with an ironical sideglance at Isocrates' non-committal conception of 'philosophy', but with its pathos directed against influential anti-intellectualists such as Anytos (cf.

³⁹ This is one of the basic theses of Thesleff 1982.

⁴⁰ For the 'separatist' view and a very tentative dating, cf. Thesleff 1982, 107–110, 137 f.; 1989, 11 n. 36, 14 f.; above, n. 26.

⁴¹ See Tuija Jatakari, *Der jüngere Sokrates*, *Arctos* 24 (1990) 29–45.

⁴² References in Thesleff 1989, 7 n. 28.

the *Apology*, also *Meno*). The *Phaedo*, where the importance of ὀρθὴ φιλοσοφία and its metaphysical dimension is made explicit,⁴³ hardly reflects as such Plato's early thought; but the account of Socrates' search for metaphysical standards (96a–100a) rather naturally applies to young Plato, not to the historical Socrates. We may safely assume that Plato's own philosophy had begun to take shape in the 390s.

To Plato, dialectic seems always to mean philosopher-conducted dialogic pushes and moves, preferably in the form of questioning and answering.⁴⁴ The *Republic* does not offer much illustration of strict dialectic (after Book I); but Plato presumably regarded a philosopher's thesis put forward in a context of criticism and controversy – or a push from hypotheses towards ἀνυπόθετα (*Republic* VI 510b, 511b) – as 'dialectic' to all intents and purposes. If the Utopia of the final *Republic* is such a move (explicitly provoked as it is by Thrasymachos and Plato's brothers), the early Utopia may well have been 'dialectic' in the same sense (though we do not know exactly who provoked it). However, there is more of philosophy in it.

At a first glance, the Utopia of the Proto-*Republic* does not look particularly philosophic. Does Aristophanes call it a 'philosophical' scheme simply because it was set forth by a philosopher, as Isocrates also seems to imply? Or did Plato himself present it as 'philosophy'? The latter does make better sense, as we shall see.

It is true that the Spartan institutions provided some parallels or even models for Plato. But his Spartan sympathies were ambivalent.⁴⁵ Strict equality and loyalty on the top level of society among the ὅμοιοι (*pares*, 'peers') is a very ancient idea found all over the world, and it must have been known as a traditional ideal in Athens too. Slogans such as 'justice for all', ἰσονομία, or ὁμόνοια belonged to the political debate of classical

⁴³ E.g. 64a ff., 68c ff., 78b ff., 84b. The 'School of Tübingen' tends to emphasize the esoteric traits in Plato's 'right philosophy' more than I am prepared to do for this early stage.

⁴⁴ I have argued this in a contribution to G.A. Press (ed.), *Who Speaks for Plato?* (forthcoming).

⁴⁵ See E.N. Tigerstedt, *The Legend of Sparta in Classical Antiquity I* (Stockholm Studies in History of Literature 9), 1965, 244 ff., who however slightly overrates Plato's Spartan sympathies. Plato certainly agreed with Isocrates in despising Spartan brutality. In *Protagoras* 342c–343b we find ironical play with Spartan anti-intellectualism.

Athens. Community of property had been proposed by Phaleas. Plato, however, went much farther than any Greeks had ever gone in theory or practice. The Proto-Republic is even less likely to have been intended as a political pamphlet or blueprint than the final Republic was, however revolutionary its thoughts may have looked. Plato cannot have been so naïve, even as a young man, as to believe in its implementation as such. And the Proto-Republic referred to classes only, not to a Philosopher-King or anybody else who might start a coup d'état: who was supposed to do something for the implementation? 'Socrates', the only true politician (Gorgias 521d)? Or those who follow up Socrates' mission (Apology 39cd)? No, the Utopia sounds like pure theory. And it was not just a radicalization of current ideas for improvement of society, whether playful or not. It is in fact arguable that Plato's early Utopia, seen in the light of the Seventh Letter (and also the Ecclesiastusae), was what the Utopia purports to be in the final Republic: a theory of ideal justice that arose from a moral indignation at all kinds of selfishness and brutality, from a dissatisfaction with all existing forms of government, and from a search for a philosophic framework for true social ethics. The Utopia tells us what the Ideal City *ought* to be *if* it is constructed in accordance with what Plato regarded as fundamental philosophical premisses. It is only from this perspective that the radicalism of its solutions become really understandable.

In the final work, the foundations of Plato's theory of the Ideal City appear as ethical, psychological and educational considerations (especially in Book IV and from the latter part of Book VII onwards) and as glimpses of certain rather complicated metaphysical truths at the important centre, from the latter part of Book V to the first part of Book VII, with τὸ ἀγαθόν, the μέγιστον μάθημα as the pivot (VI 505a). The Ideal City is a manifestation of the Good and other ideal qualities such as the cardinal virtues, unity, sameness, and stability; and the philosopher-leaders' methods of reaching the appropriate knowledge of these ideal qualities is a prerequisite for the establishment of the Ideal City.⁴⁶ These methods are described as μαθήματα culminating in 'dialectic' (VII 531c ff.). But the same conception would seem to work in the early Utopia, though with far less elaboration of detail. The pointedly ethical excellence of the ruling class is based on the

⁴⁶ The application of the theory of the tripartite soul to the theory of society implies that a clear distinction is made between the two classes of Guardians.

selection of suitable individuals⁴⁷ and on philosophy. The details of this philosophy remain rather unspecified in our sources. It is said to imply leniency towards 'natural friends' (Timaeus 17d, cf. Ecclesiastusae)⁴⁸ and complete devotion to ἀρετή (Timaeus 18b, Busiris 21, 23), φρόνησις (Busiris 21, cf. Ecclesiastusae), ascetic responsibility and σχολή from other tasks (Timaeus 18b, Busiris 21); and Isocrates states (Busiris 22), almost certainly by inference from Plato, that the philosophy of the ruling class includes νομοθετήσαι and τὴν φύσιν τῶν ὄντων ζητῆσαι. The education of the future Guardians is essential (Timaeus 18a, Busiris 23 and 38–43, also Gellius). We may take it that the early Utopia reserved γυμναστική (for obvious reasons substituted by medicine in Busiris), μουσική and relevant μαθήματα (ἀστρολογία, λογισμός, γεωμετρία according to Isocrates) for the training of all Guardians before the differentiation of the Soldiers from the Leaders (cf. Republic III 414ab; Isocrates 15–16 makes King Busiris separate the three main classes, priests, soldiers and labourers, from the start). Furthermore, admitting that Plato's early Utopia is likely to have taken for granted a search into the φύσις τῶν ὄντων and μαθήματα as parts of the philosophical pursuits of the Guardians, the very prominent principles of unity, specialization and balance between unequals (in particular the ὁμόνοια and mutual understanding between the rulers and the ruled) can in fact be explained as rooted in Plato's philosophical ontology: Unity, Sameness and Stability versus Plurality, Difference and Change can be taken as covertly basic ideas in the early Utopia.

I would see here an early reflection of what I have elsewhere called Plato's 'two-level model'.⁴⁹ This is not the place to elaborate the details. A few points have to be emphasized, however. I am careful to note that the model cannot, at any stage, have been a fixed or systematically formulated doctrine. It was rather an intuitive 'vision' of a two-level universe, a frame for thinking and understanding the nature of things, a vision that had taken shape in Plato's mind not long after the death of Socrates, if not before. It can be naturally derived from Presocratic thought, Socrates' search for

⁴⁷ Their character is a matter of φύσις not strictly inherited, since there is a certain social mobility (Timaeus 19a); the new genealogical myth, the myth of metals (III 414a–d), is a ψεῦδος for soothing and persuading, whether it belonged to the early Utopia or not.

⁴⁸ Cf. the Isocratic ideal of humanity; also Busiris 20, and Ecclesiastusae.

⁴⁹ Cf. Thesleff 1989, 14 n. 45; 1993, 20–22; and elsewhere.

unchanging definitions, and mathematical truths.⁵⁰ Its constituents are pairs of contrast, such as one/many, same/different, stability/change, invisible/visible, divine/human, intellect/senses, truth/appearance, where the contrasts are not felt to be polar opposites, but where the first term is conceived as better, more important, leading, and in all respects primary in relation to the second, both main levels yet being necessary parts of a 'harmoniously' constructed whole (as are the *συστοιχίαι* in Pythagorean metaphysics).⁵¹ Such a two-level vision can actually be traced as a background in all Platonic dialogues. As I see it, the theory of Forms, the *μέγιστα γένη* of the late dialogues, and the pythagorizing First Principles of the *ἄγραφα δόματα*, are due to secondary elaborations of this model.

This is what Plato's 'right philosophy' very probably comprised. And if applied to the problem of the Best State (and its cosmic paradigm) and to justice in human society and the individual, Plato's model would rather naturally produce something like the basic pattern we seem to have in the Proto-Republic: the upper level of society manifesting unity, stability and theoretical knowledge, the lower level representing plurality and practical skill, everybody specializing and yet feeling bound together and acting for the benefit of the whole. The theory of the ascetic, altruistic Philosopher-Guardians as a united and 'communistic' ruling class, contrasted to the variety of the lower classes, can be best explained against the background of this model.⁵²

We need not feel shocked at the totalitarianism of such a theory, never applied and not really applicable to real life. Indeed, it bears the stamp of the youthfulness of its author.

⁵⁰ For the early (!) death of Theaitetos and Plato's early geometrical interests, see my notes in *Arctos* 24, 1990, 147–159, and above.

⁵¹ Aristotle *Met. A* 986ab, *EN* 1096b, 1106b29, etc.

⁵² In addition to the all-pervading notions of Unity, Stability and Knowledge (on the upper level of society), note e.g. the double nature of the Philosopher-Guardians (yet undifferentiated from Soldiers, Republic II 374e ff., etc.): a philosopher (i.e. a dialectician) is able to recognize and reject. What is known and φίλον is of the class of the 'same'; and philosophy is always about τὰ ἀντά, as Socrates remarks in a pregnant context in *Gorgias* (482ab, misunderstood by ordinary Athenians, cf. *Gorgias* 490e, *Symposium* 221e; Xenophon, *Memorabilia* IV 4.6). The fact that there is no sign of political or social utopianism in the *Apology* or *Gorgias* (or indeed in any dialogue 'before' the *Republic* and *Timaeus*) obviously is no argument against the early date of the *Utopia*: Plato had reasons for avoiding this theme.

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Thus I find it reasonable to assume that the Utopia was a manifestation of experimental dialectic, part of Plato's arguing for 'right philosophy' in the mid-390s. But the Utopia was no success. It aroused more laughter and scepticism than real understanding. Plato laid the sketch of his Best City aside, and avoided the theme for a long time. The Apology and the first version of the Gorgias perhaps took shape in this atmosphere of attack and disdain from many quarters. If (as seems very plausible) Plato travelled to the West in 388, after the death of his friend Theaetetus,⁵³ in the hope of learning more about Pythagorean institutions and philosophy, he came back enriched by rather different experiences. Above all, he had met Dion.

Now he definitely turned his back on Athenian politics: the Menexenus (its date in or soon after 387 is firm) reads as a funeral oration to Athenian chauvinism. With some grim irony, the speaker is Aspasia, and at the end there is a promise of more fine political λόγοι from her; but, to be sure, her role was soon taken over by another woman, Diotima. Does the 'feminism' of the Utopia figure in the background?

The Academy was being founded, in fact extra muros to keep a distance from the city. The activities of the Academy, the schooling and training of philosophers, and the writing of dialogues, absorbed Plato's time for the next twenty years. Issues of political theory were certainly ventilated, and the idea of a real Philosopher-King may have entered Plato's mind.⁵⁴ But it was not until the unexpected death of Dionysius I of Syracuse in 367, that the remote possibility of the implementation of at least a Second Best City seemed to present itself. Plato was summoned to assist Dion.

The character and design of the final Republic, its different layers, and the internal tensions in it,⁵⁵ are best explained by the hypothesis of an early

⁵³ Cf. Thesleff 1982, 27 ff., and above, n. 50.

⁵⁴ Antisthenes seems to have introduced the idea of a Philosopher-King (cf. above, n. 23), but the King remains in a mythic disguise (cf. Isocrates' Busiris and Xenophon's Cyropaedia); in his Cyprian essays, Isocrates applies the idea to contemporary politics. For Plato, it was Dion who symbolized something of the kind: cf. Republic VI 499b–d, 502a, Phaedrus 252c–e (Philebus 30cd, 33b). This gives a terminus post quem for Republic V 473b. The teachability of the ἀρετή of political leaders as a class is 'debated' e.g. in Meno (89b ff., 91a ff.); in Alcibiades I it applies to a single leader.

⁵⁵ For the tensions in the Republic interpreted as part of an overall design, see e.g. the widely different approaches of C.D.E. Reeve, *Philosopher-Kings*, 1988, and P.W. Rose, *Sons of the Gods, Children of Earth*, 1992. Some other recent critics tend to place the

Proto-Republic, followed by a long public silence on the issue. This silence may account for the lack of traditions about Plato's political and educational views being subject to further public criticism or mockery: it was the Proto-Republic that, perhaps against Plato's wish, continued to awaken occasional interest. If I am right, the complex thought-play of the Utopia and its philosophic basis remained in the background of Plato's mind throughout his life, and its partial implementation became a source of frustration and re-thinking. Perhaps it was this interference by practice that eventually – at certain inspired and/or desperate moments after 360 – motivated the composition of the Republic as we have it: a monument of a Theory of man and society at their Best, a theory never tested nor really testable, and a monument never meant to be 'published' outside the Academy.⁵⁶

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final Republic into the context of Plato's later 'cosmopolitan' thought, without arguing for specific dates, e.g. A. Laks, *Legislation and Demiurgy*, *ClAnt* 9 (1990) 209–229; K. Trampedach, *Platon, die Akademie und die zeitgenössische Politik* (Hermes Einzelschriften 66), 1994. If the theory of the Proto-Republic is accepted, the successive accumulation of the blocks of the final work, and the possible re-writing of large portions of the text, require renewed scrutiny from a post-developmental point of view. It is worth considering, for instance, how the theory of the tripartite soul was applied here (cf. above, n. 46); how Books IV and VIII–IX became connected; how the different versions of the theory of Forms took shape in Books V, VI and X; and how Plato's Sicilian experiences became reflected in the work (note the fact that Dion reached the age of fifty about 358 B.C.; cf. VII 540a, often taken to refer to Plato's own age). See the preliminary observations, some of them very hypothetical, in Thesleff 1982, 137–140, 184–186.

⁵⁶ It is almost always taken for granted that the Republic was meant for immediate publication. But was there a public for a work of this scope and of such refinement of thought, style, and composition? It is true that large portions read as if intended for a general audience, but then much would remain un-understandable, and the overall design would require the constant presence of well-informed commentators (an arrangement more natural for the shorter dialogues). The posthumous and more exoteric Laws became at any rate oriented towards this monument. What 'protreptic' and 'publication' might have meant, concretely, in Plato's environment is the underlying theme in many recent studies. The question is certainly worth detailed scrutiny.

COMMUNICATIVE ASPECTS OF ANCIENT GREEK DANCE

MANNA VESTERINEN

One of the barbarians from Pontos, a man of royal blood, came to Nero on some business or another, and among other entertainments he saw that dancer perform so vividly that although he could not follow what was being sung – he was but half Hellenised, as it happened – he understood everything. So when it came to be time for him to go back to his own country, Nero, in saying good-bye, urged him to ask for anything that he wanted, and promised to give it him. "If you give me the dancer," said he, "you will please me mightily!" When Nero asked, "What good would he be to you there?", he replied, "I have barbarian neighbours who do not speak the same language, and it is not easy to keep supplied with interpreters for them. If I am in want of one, therefor, this man will interpret everything for me in signs." So deeply had he been impressed by that disclosure of the distinctness and lucidity of the mimicry of the dance.¹

The passage from Lucian gives a laudatory view of dance as a medium to transform knowledge, and as a replacement for language – when words fail, it is time to dance. Lucian's statement is, I believe, an exaggeration of the ability of dance to be cross-culturally understandable. Still, there is something in dance which enables it to be a powerful tool for communication. In this paper I concentrate on ancient Greek dance used as a communi-

¹ Lucian, On dance 64; translated by A. M. Harmon, Lucian, Loeb V. τῶν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου βαρβάρων βασιλικός τις ἄνθρωπος κατὰ τι χρέος ἦκων ὡς τὸν Νέρωνα ἐθεᾶτο μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τὸν ὀρχηστὴν ἐκείνον οὕτω σαφῶς ὀρχούμενον ὡς καίτοι μὴ ἐπακούντα τῶν ἀδομένων – ἡμιέλλην γὰρ τις ὢν ἐτύγχανεν – συνεῖναι ἀπάντων. καὶ δὴ ἀπιῶν ἤδη ἐς οἰκείαν, τοῦ Νέρωνος δεξιουμένου καὶ ὅ τι βούλοιτο αἰτεῖν κελεύοντος καὶ δώσειν ὑπισχνουμένου, "τὸν ὀρχηστὴν," ἔφη, "δοὺς τὰ μέγιστα εὐφρανεῖς." τοῦ δὲ Νέρωνος ἐρομένου, "τί ἂν σοι χρήσιμος γένοιτο ἐκεῖ;" "προσοίκους," ἔφη, "βαρβάρους ἔχω, οὐχ ὁμογλώττους, καὶ ἐρμηνῶν οὐ ῥάδιον εὐπορεῖν πρὸς αὐτούς. ἦν οὖν τινας δέωμαι, διανεύων οὗτος ἕκαστά μοι ἐρμηνεύσει." τοσοῦτον ἄρα καθίκετο αὐτοῦ ἢ μίμησις τῆς ὀρχήσεως ἐπίσημός τε καὶ σαφῆς φανεῖσα.

cative medium.² There are only a few writings of ancient authors who have discussed dance at length which survive. They discuss various aspects of dance, e.g. Plato explores dance used in education, Lucian and Libanius both write about pantomime, and Plutarch gives a brief discussion about the elements of dance. Some authors mention dance in passing. As the source material is what it is, some questions remain unanswered. For example, we do not have a detailed analysis of a dance and its movements, or a dance notation from antiquity. On the basis of this simple fact, I would argue that a reconstruction of ancient dance, or even a deep understanding of the "language of ancient dance", is impossible. There is, however, no reason to be too pessimistic about the possibilities of studying ancient dance. I wish to show in this paper that even a glimpse of ancient dancing seen from a modern theoretical viewpoint can stimulate our minds to see things a bit differently, to set ancient dance into the field of dance studies in general. Before entering the ancient world it would help to review some points of modern theories on dance and communication presented in the field of anthropology and dance studies.

Dance as nonverbal communication

Movement, dance, music, and ritual can usefully be treated as modes of human communication on a continuum from the nonverbal to the verbal. — — — [They] can express ideas that belong to other spheres of human activity: social, political, economic, religious, and so on.³

In the 1950's anthropologists of dance began to view dance on its own rather than what dance can tell about something else.⁴ The focus was on the

² There are studies on gestural communication in the ancient world but none on dance and communication. See e.g. G. Neumann, *Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst*, 1965; J. P. Holoka, "Nonverbal communication in the classics: research opportunities", in: F. Poyotas (ed.), *Advances in nonverbal communication*, 1992, 237–254. I would like to thank Mr Holoka for sending me the offprint of his article.

³ J. Blacking, "Movement, dance, music and the Venda girls' initiation cycle", in: P. Spencer (ed.), *Society and the dance*, 1985, 64. See also J. Blacking, "The study of man as music-maker", in: J. Blacking and J. W. Kealiinohomoku (eds.), *The performing arts*, 1979, 4.

⁴ A. P. Royce, *The anthropology of dance*, 1980, 31.

form of dance, and approaches were influenced by structural linguistics, cognitive science and communication studies. Dance was treated as a particular kind of "language". For example, Judith Lynne Hanna who constructed a theory of dance communication in the 1970's, states this quite explicitly: "— — — Dance is a conceptual natural language with intrinsic and extrinsic meanings, a system of physical movements, and interrelated rules guiding performance in different social situations."⁵ It should be noted that in a strict sense dance is not language – it is not translatable into other modes without distortion of meaning.⁶ Dance and language convey different kinds of information and in different manners. As Isadora Duncan has put it, "If I could tell you what it meant, there would be no point in dancing it."⁷ What is usually stated in the comparison of dance with language is that dancing more resembles poetry than prose.⁸

Dance is often defined as human behaviour. In colloquial language we may describe certain behaviour of animals as dance, e.g. birds' dance, referring to their rhythmical, patterned movements by which something is communicated. Behind those movement patterns there are immediate emotion and drives, such as fear, hunger, and sexual arousal, involved. This behaviour is shared by all animals including human beings. In addition to this humans can consciously choose a particular rhythm and movement style in order to express and transmit abstract concepts, historical or mythological events, political ideas, etc.⁹, and this kind of action is called dance. Curt Sachs makes a distinction between innate (animals) and acquired (humans) characteristics.¹⁰ We can see that some human motions may share a

⁵ J. L. Hanna, *To dance is human: a theory of nonverbal communication*, 1987, 5. Critique against Hanna's theory, e.g. N. R. Crumrine, *CA* 20 (1979) 325; J. W. Kealiinohomoku, *CA* 20 (1979) 327–328; S. A. Ness, "Observing the evidence fail", in: G. Morris (ed.), *Moving words*, 1996, 253–258.

⁶ Blacking, in: Spencer (ed.) 66 states that the discourse about dance is metaphysics.

⁷ In: T. Comstock (ed.), *New Dimensions in dance research: Anthropology and dance*, 226, ref. Royce 15.

⁸ E.g. A. L. Kaepler, "Structured movement systems in Tonga", in: Spencer (ed.) 92.

⁹ Hanna 60–61.

¹⁰ C. Sachs, *World history of dance*, 8–19 (?), ref. Royce 4. Royce also states that this distinction becomes "knotty once more, however, when one considers the dancing of chimpanzees, where there is an uncomfortable fuzziness about the innate/acquired distinction."

universal meaning, such as approaching, fleeing, jumping with joy, or drooping with sorrow, but most of the motions are culturally specific.¹¹ In the same way dance is not universally identical behavior, although the raw capabilities, or tools are. Hence the "language of dance" is culturally bound, and even within one particular culture, dance may not communicate in the same way to everyone.

Dance can serve various purposes, just as music, literature, or any other so-called art form does. The communication-model of dance sees every function of dance as being communicative in essence, while other models may state that communication is just one class of purposes among others.¹² Seen from the viewpoint of communication dance can transmit cognitive information, such as norms, values, and concepts. By dancing one can teach and learn problem solving or basic skills which are needed for hunting, agriculture, or war, just to name a few. One scholar has even argued that in nonliterate societies dance functions in the same ways as a written language would: dance teaches and preserves knowledge.¹³ Dance often serves as a mediator between humans and the supernatural. The affective function of dance is to provide an immediate and sensuous experience, and dance may provide a sense of security as a familiar experience for dancer or audience.¹⁴ Dance has a great potential for self-expression, or as Royce says "— — — for communicating something about how people feel about themselves, and especially in a situation where different people come into contact".¹⁵

Dance is symbolic action where meaning is conveyed by using different means of expression.¹⁶ Imitation is used when something is depicted as it is seen in the "real world". Using arbitrary symbols is a

¹¹ Hanna 61.

¹² See J. E. Kaemmer, *Music in human life*, 1993, 153 ff. Kaemmer classifies music as play, as self-expression, as communication, etc. He writes about music, but the same classification can be applied to dance.

¹³ A. Snyder, "The dance symbol", in: Comstock 213–214, ref. Royce 154.

¹⁴ Hanna 25–28.

¹⁵ Royce 158.

¹⁶ The terminology used is naturally derived from communication studies and semiotics. See e.g. E. Leach, *Culture and communication*, 1976, 9 ff. I shall not discuss here the problematics related to the terminology, since it is not necessary for this paper.

common way of communicating in dance. De-coding gestures and abstract movements demands intuition and a good knowledge of the specific culture, or dance-culture, in order that the dance performance in question can be fully understood. Understanding a dance performance the way its creators (choreographer, dancers, etc.) meant it to be understood, is not the only way of understanding; one can simply enjoy a performance without being able to express (in words) what it "means". It is important to keep in mind that dance is in most of the cases not mere movement, but an entity comprised of movement, music (rhythm, melody, lyrics), costume, and the whole context of the performance.¹⁷

Ancient Greek dance and communication

In the Laws Plato writes that dance arose from the natural desire of the young of all creatures to move their body in order to express their emotions, especially joy. But, he continues, the sense of harmony and rhythm which actually makes dances out of instinctive movements is a special gift of the gods¹⁸ – a difference between animal and human "dance" which is expressed in modern notions about the nature of dance in general.¹⁹ Elsewhere Plato suggests in passing that dance evolved from the imitation of words by means of gestures: "διὸ μίμησις τῶν λεγομένων σχήμασι γενομένη τὴν ὀρχηστικὴν ἐξειργάσατο τέχνην ξύμπασαν".²⁰ Some modern scholars on human evolution have argued that language has evolved from gestural communication²¹, just the opposite of what Plato claimed. I find the discussions about the origins of things somewhat irrelevant; in this case we

¹⁷ Hanna, in her processual model of dance semiotics (p. 79, fig. 4), calls these adjunct channels, and she argues (p. 80) that "dance performance – – – *sometimes* includes adjunct channels" (italics mine).

¹⁸ Pl., Laws 2,653d–e; 2,672d; 2,673d. Cf. Ath. 14,628c where he cites Damon's ideas about dance: "– – – τὰς ᾠδὰς καὶ τὰς ὀρχήσεις ἀνάγκη γίνεσθαι κινουμένης πῶς τῆς ψυχῆς."

¹⁹ See above p. 177.

²⁰ Pl., Laws 7,816a.

²¹ See Hanna 65.

could just accept the fact that both language and gesture are communicative vehicles, and often used together reinforcing each other.²²

Dance for Plato was an inseparable part of human existence. And just because dancing is an inborn ability for any human being, it is practical to teach a child about the surrounding culture with the help of dancing, and what is most important, to teach the child what is good and virtuous – “these forms of training [i.e. music and dance] constituted, as it were, the *unwritten* laws. They were crucial because they allowed the child to become habituated to virtue (*aretē*) before reason had formed.”²³ To teach the child to be all that, demands instruction in good, i.e. morally fitting dances. Eventually we are led to the conclusion, that one’s dance would represent one’s nature. It is important to note, though, that someone who is not so talented in the arts of the Muses but still “welcomes all the good things and dislikes bad ones” is deep down a better educated person than one who knows how to represent good things by dancing, and does so, but “neither delights in good things nor hates bad ones”.²⁴

Naturally it was important to make a distinction between dances proper for girls and proper for boys, as the natural temperament of each sex was characteristically different and the dance styles should be in accordance with the specific characteristics.²⁵ Lucian describes the Spartan dance called ὄρμος (chain dance):

ὁ δὲ ὄρμος ὄρχησις ἐστὶν κοινὴ ἐφήβων τε καὶ παρθένων, παρ’ ἓνα χορευόντων καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς ὄρμω εἰκότων· καὶ ἡγεῖται μὲν ὁ ἔφηβος τὰ νεανικὰ ὀρχούμενος καὶ ὅσοις ὕστερον ἐν πολέμῳ χρήσεται, ἡ παρθένος δὲ ἔπεται κοσμίως τὸ θῆλυ χορεύειν διδάσκουσα, ὡς εἶναι τὸν ὄρμον ἐκ σωφροσύνης καὶ ἀνδρείας πλεκόμενον.²⁶

²² A short discussion of the use of language and gesture simultaneously in antiquity, with some references to ancient authors in Holoka 242.

²³ S. Lonsdale, *Dance and ritual play in Greek religion*, 1993, 24 with reference to Pl., *Republic* 3,401d–e.

²⁴ Pl., *Laws* 2,654c–d. See K. Schöpsdau, *Pl., Nomoi (Gesetze) Buch I–III, Übersetzung und Kommentar*, 1994, 265–6.

²⁵ Pl., *Laws* 7,802d–e. See discussion in Lonsdale 28–29.

²⁶ Lucian, *On dance* 12. “That is a dance of boys and girls together who move in a row and truly resemble a string of beads. The boy precedes, doing the steps and postures of

These thoughts have lived on in the Western philosophy of education throughout the centuries. "Dauncing may be an introduction into the first morall vertue, called Prudence," wrote Sir Thomas Elyot in 1531, and in 1693 John Locke stated: "The effects of dancing — — — gives to children — — — not mere outward gracefulness of motion, but manly thoughts and a becoming confidence."²⁷ Not only were the natural characters of each sex different but also the gender-related tasks and duties in society differed. One example of dance used as a medium of teaching these duties is that the boys were taught the skills of handling weapons and fighting to prepare them for manhood with the help of dance.²⁸ Πυρρίχη (*pyrrikhe*) is perhaps the best known and was the most wide-spread weapon dance in the Greek world, but not the only one. Xenophon, in *Anabasis* book six, describes several weapon dance performances which took place at the reception for the Paphlagonian ambassadors arranged by the Greeks. Some of the performances were clearly imitations of actual fighting situations, others had a nonmimetic character, like the choral dance where dancers were clad in ceremonial armour and moved to the rhythm used in war dances. The last performance is an example of how a war dance could be used in the context of ritual and as a mediator between gods and humans.²⁹ Plato says that in *pyrrikhe* the movements imitate the ways how blows should be fended off by turning and twisting the body and by jumping or crouching. Also, *pyrrikhe* teaches the dancer to attack by movements which imitate e.g. the shooting of bows.³⁰ It

young manhood, and those which he will later use in war, while the maiden follows, showing how to do the women's dance with propriety: hence the string is beaded with modesty and with manliness." (Translated by A. M. Harmon, *Lucian*, Loeb V.) Some remarks to the translation: Firstly, *Lucian* does not write "women's dance" but more like "dancing the female" (τὸ θήλυ χορεύειν). Thus, the description of the girl's dance means that it shows how to be a woman who respects the proper characteristics of a female. And secondly, I would prefer translating σωφροσύνη as prudence, not as modesty.

²⁷ Cited in P. Spencer, "Introduction", in: Spencer (ed.) 8.

²⁸ Pl. (*Laws* 7,814a–c) considered that girls should also participate in weapon dances in order to be prepared to defend their city in case of war. And as Xenophon states (*Anabasis* 6,1,13) girls did perform them in practice. Hanna (p. 181) mentions briefly that in rites of passage the (warrior) dance is "usually an educational medium for adult male physical and moral behaviour."

²⁹ Xen., *Anabasis* 6,1,1–13; *Lonsdale* 141–142. Hanna (p. 187) states that a weapon dance in a ritual context can act e.g. as a prayer of thanking or invoking.

³⁰ Pl., *Laws* 7,815a. M.-H. Delavaud-Roux, *Les danses armees en Grece antique*, 1993, 74–100, discusses the various movements based on Plato's description, and gives

is no wonder, then, that Socrates is reported to have said: "οἱ δὲ χοροῖς κάλλιστα θεοῦς τιμῶσιν, ἄριστοι ἐν πολέμῳ"³¹, especially if those persons had learnt the weapon dances properly.

"— — — The movements of the dance are frequently full of meaning, and appeal to the emotions without any aid from words", states Quintilianus about the affective function of dance.³² A vivid example of the power of dance to transmit emotions comes from Xenophon's Symposium, the final scene where two dancers performed the love-affair of Ariadne and Dionysus. The dancers, a boy and a girl, performed the emotional state so vividly that the audience, Athenian men, thought the dancers were truly in love with each other, and "they looked like as if they were not taught the movements but did what they had desired to do for a long time." After the performance the men hurried back home to their wives, and those who were not married swore they would do so.³³ In other words, the emotional state the dancers were presenting was transferred to the audience. The expressive power of dance made it possible that a certain kind of dancing was considered harmful for a person,³⁴ and that a dance style could reveal the dancer's inner norms and values.³⁵ One example of a person who revealed his very nature with unfortunate consequences (for him at least) comes from Herodotus' story about Cleisthenes of Sicyon. After Cleisthenes saw one of his daughter's suitors, Hippocleides of Athens, dancing in a vulgar manner,

examples of these movements depicted on vases. Her aim is to give some kind of a reconstruction, which has been a typical trend in French studies of ancient dance, but she admits the obvious risks of this approach (40).

³¹ Ath. 14,628f. ("The ones who honour the Gods best in dancing, are the best in war.") Socrates' positive attitude towards dance is mentioned elsewhere: Xen., Symposium 2,16, tells how Socrates praised dancing over other "gymnastics" as dancing makes one's body symmetrical i.e. no part of the body is more muscular than an other.

³² Quintilianus 11,3,66.

³³ Xen., Symposium 9.

³⁴ Ath. 14,628c (citing Damon). Plato (Laws 7,815c, 816d–e) rejects dances which are "Bacchic in nature" and imitate an unorganized world. Later on he writes that one has to know what the "bad dances" look like in order to be able to avoid them. Thus, one is permitted to watch these dances provided one does not dance them oneself.

³⁵ Pl., Νόμοι 7,815e. Plato writes here about the "good dances", but says quite explicitly that the state a person is in is directly reflected in his dancing.

he shouted ἀπορχήσαό γε μὲν τὸν γάμον (you have danced away your marriage), believing that the man's soul was also vulgar.³⁶

Earlier I discussed the devices, or the means of expressions, used in dance for transmitting information.³⁷ What devices were there used in ancient dancing and what elements were the ancient dancer/audience supposed to focus on? Plutarch discusses briefly the elements of dance.³⁸ He does not explicitly state what kind of dance he had in mind, or whether he wrote about dance in general. Reading the passage, however, leads one to think of pantomime,³⁹ which is not surprising as the "dance of the day"⁴⁰ was pantomime and one would have seen it performed quite often. I would argue, though, that Plutarch at least intended to discuss the whole art of dancing⁴¹ – some elements he mentions may be emphasized more in some dance styles, others in other dance styles. Plutarch begins with stating that dance consists of movements (κινήσεις) and positions (σχέσεις) just as melody consists of its notes and intervals; the rests (μοναί) are the terminating points of the movements. Elements of dance are of three kinds: φορά (*phora*) is the actual movement, σχῆμα (*schema*) refers to the position where the movements end⁴² and δειξις (*deixis*) is pointing, not mimetic but actually showing a particular object, e.g. a tree or the ground.⁴³ Plutarch

³⁶ Hdt., 6,129; Ath., 14,628d.

³⁷ See above p. 178.

³⁸ Plut., Table-talks 9,15,747c ff. The following discussion on Plutarch's passage is to be found under this reference.

³⁹ S.-T. Teodorsson, A commentary on Plutarch's Table talks (vol. 3), 1996, 377–380. He states that the theory of dance in Plutarch is clearly post-classical, and that Plutarch probably thought of pantomime dance when modelling his theoretical discussion on dance.

⁴⁰ At the end of the passage, 9,15,748c–d, Plutarch rejects the dance of his times: "ἀλλ' οὐδὲν οὕτως τὸ νῦν ἀπολέλαυκε τῆς κακομοῦσιας ὡς ἡ ὄρχησις." He probably refers to pantomime.

⁴¹ E. g. Plutarch (9,15,748b) mentions *hyporchema* which was a combination of singing (i.e. poetry) and dance.

⁴² It can be called a pose. Plutarch (9,15,747c) describes *schema* as follows: – – – ὅταν Ἀπόλλωνος ἢ Πάνος ἢ τινος Βάκχης σχῆμα διαγένηται ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος γραφικῶς τοῖς εἶδεσιν ἐπιμένωσι. ("– – – as when dancers compose their bodies in the attitude of Apollo or Pan or a Bacchant, and then retain that aspect like figures in a picture." Translated by E. L. Minar et al., Plutarch's *Moralia*, Loeb IX.)

⁴³ This is a rough sketch of these terms, and there would be a lot more to discuss. That

continues by saying that poetry provides a parallel to dancing,⁴⁴ and compares the way poets use words to how these above-discussed elements are used in dancing. Plutarch makes quite clear what kind of devices there were used in dance in order to convey meaning. *Phora* expresses emotion or action, *schema* is mimetic action – “τὸ μὲν σχῆμα μιμητικόν ἐστὶ μορφῆς καὶ ιδέας.” These two elements can be used as metaphors, whereas *deixis* is a very pragmatic, straightforward way of “telling” something. When *deixis* is to be understood as pointing at some object, it could also act as a stylization, e.g. pointing at one’s heart would be a sign for love.⁴⁵ I have already alluded to pantomime, I discuss it a bit more in detail. Pantomime serves as an example of how communication through dance took place in practice.

Pantomime and communication

In 22 BC, so the story goes, Pylades of Cilicia and Bathyllos of Alexandria invented a dance style called pantomime, a form of solo dance portraying a mythological or historical theme. Pantomime attained great popularity in the Roman Empire, and it seems to have dominated the dance world of Greece and Rome until the sixth century. It should be, however, kept in mind, that mimetic dancing was a feature of Greek culture from the earliest recorded times. In Xenophon’s *Symposium* the final scene in which two dancers present the love-affair of Ariadne and Dionysos, is not only mimetic dancing but also mimetic dancing with a mythological theme.⁴⁶ As the ancient authors gave attention to pantomime it is perhaps the best known ancient Greek and Roman dance form.⁴⁷ Both Lucian and Libanius wrote in

is, however, a task to be done in a paper dedicated entirely to the usage and meaning of these terms. See e.g. L. B. Lawler, “*Phora, schêma, deixis* in Greek dance”, *TAPhA* 85 (1954) 148–158.

⁴⁴ Modern notions about dance being comparable to poetry, above p. 176.

⁴⁵ See Hanna 41. “Stylization encompasses somewhat arbitrary gestures or movements which are the result of convention – – –.”

⁴⁶ Xen., *Symposium* 9. About the origin of pantomime see E. J. Jory, “The literary evidence for the beginnings of imperial pantomime”, *BICS* 28 (1981), 147 ff.

⁴⁷ The best known works about pantomime are Lucian’s *On dance* and Libanius’ *Against Aristeides* (Or. 64). Modern studies see e.g. E. Wüst, “Pantomimus”, *RE* XVIII

defence of pantomime describing its nature and good qualities. From these authors we can draw a general picture of the style of this dance. Pantomime was a highly stylized performance, usually portraying a story close to the themes of Greek tragedy, mythology, or legend. As Lucian states, a dancer must know and memorize everything: ἀπὸ γὰρ χάους εὐθύς καὶ τῆς πρώτης τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως ἀρξάμενον χρῆ αὐτὸν ἅπαντα εἰδέναι ἄχρι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Κλεοπάτραν τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν.⁴⁸ One dancer performed all the roles in episodes separated by musical interludes. The movements themselves consisted of twists, turns, leaps and back-flung poses⁴⁹, and the use of hand signs, χειρονομία, was very important. Music was played by a great variety of instruments. There was also a chorus of singers which sang before and between the episodes; their libretto, *fabula saltica*, was usually in Greek. The dancer was clad in sumptuous costumes of expensive materials, and wore characteristic masks with mouth closed to indicate that the dancer told the story without spoken words. An epigram describes the Muse Polymnia referring to pantomime: "Σιγῶ, φθεγγομένη παλάμης θελξίφρονα παλμόν, νεύματι φωνήεσσαν ἀπαγγέλλουσα σιωπὴν".⁵⁰

Concerning the nature of pantomime, Lucian says that "pantomime relates to rhetorics, depicting character and emotion," and it is "a science of imitation and portrayal, of revealing what is in the mind and making intelligible what is obscure."⁵¹ Lucian quite explicitly places pantomime on the level with speech, or rhetorics. He says that the dancer must cultivate extreme clearness, so that whatever he presents will not require any interpreting. Lucian further states that the audience must be able "to understand the mute and hear the silent dancer." Lucian then gives a vivid example of the communicative power of pantomime dance. There was a

2, 833–869; L. B. Lawler, "Portrait of a dancer", CJ 41/6 (1946), 241–247; M. E. Molloy, Libanius and the dancers, 1996.

⁴⁸ Lucian, On dance 37. ("Beginning with Chaos and the primal origin of the world, he must know everything down to the story of Cleopatra the Egyptian." Translated by A. M. Harmon, Lucian, Loeb V.)

⁴⁹ Lucian, On dance 71. Libanius also praises the vigorous movements of the dancers, Or. 64,117–118.

⁵⁰ AP 9,505. "I, Polymnia, am silent, but speak through the entrancing motions of my hands, conveying by my gestures a speaking silence." (Translated by W. R. Paton, The Greek anthology, Loeb III).

⁵¹ Lucian, On dance 35–36.

story of Demetrios the Cynic, who like Kratinos in Lucian's essay, was denouncing the dance saying that the dancer was a mere adjunct to the *aulos*, *syrinx*⁵² and stamping and that the dancer did not contribute anything to the performance, only making absolutely meaningless, idle movements; people were duped by the luxurious accessories, e.g. silk costumes and beautiful masks. Hearing these words, a famous dancer of that time, probably the one called Paris at the time of Nero, asked Demetrios to see him dance before passing judgment. The dancer promised to dance without the *aulos* and songs. He performed a passage of the *Odyssey* in such a manner that Demetrios was delighted and shouted: "ἀκούω, ἄνθρωπε, ἃ ποιεῖς· οὐχ ὀρώ μόνον, ἀλλά μοι δοκεῖς ταῖς χερσὶν αὐταῖς λαλεῖν."⁵³ The use of the hands in dancing is emphasized in other areas of literature as well⁵⁴ and in modern studies it is often compared with the Indian *hastas/mudras*⁵⁵. What we have to remember, though, is that we do not know the exact system of using hands in ancient dancing – whether the signs were given a precise meaning so that a dancer could produce entire sentences by using hand signs, or whether the signs were purely "decorative". In Indian interpretative dance (*nritya*) the *mudras* have a real language value, word meanings, whereas in pure dance (*nritta*) the *mudras* have a decorative value.⁵⁶

⁵² *Aulos* (αὐλός) is often translated incorrectly as flute. It was a wind instrument, but it functioned more like an oboe or clarinet. *Syrinx* can be translated as a panpipe.

⁵³ Lucian, *On dance* 62–63. ("I hear the story you are acting, man, I do not just see it; you seem to me to be talking with your very hands." Translated by A. M. Harmon, Lucian, Loeb V.)

⁵⁴ See references in Molloy 69. Lucian (*A professor of public speaking* 17) suggests ironically that a pantomime dancer should be called *χειρίσοφος*.

⁵⁵ E.g. L. B. Lawler, *The dance in ancient Greece*, 1964, 12; Lonsdale 30. It should be noted that in Indian classical dance a great emphasis is laid also on facial expressions, which are lacking in the ancient Greek pantomime as the dancers wore masks. But there are some similarities in the overall nature of the movements in ancient pantomime and certain Indian dances, e.g. "stamping of feet". It would be interesting to explore further the connections of Indian and Greek dances from the hellenistic period onwards.

⁵⁶ See E. Barba and N. Savarese, *A dictionary of theatre anthropology*, 1991, 136; A. Iyer, "Hand gesture in Indian dance", *Dance studies* 18 (1994) 51–95. She states that "kathakali dance drama appears to be the only one which has developed the *hasta/mudra* to such an extent that they can be employed by the dancers/actors to translate speech into signs very accurately" (55). If the Indian system is compared with the Chinese sleeve gestures (*hsiu*), the difference is that with the *mudras* a dancer can tell a whole narrative

Demetrios the Cyniy was a Greek, he knew the culture, he knew the story and he probably recognized the system of gestures and the costumes and masks in which the dancer was clad. How then, could a foreigner understand the message of Greek pantomime? If we think of e.g. Indian dance employing mudras and facial expressions, it is quite impossible to follow the actual story without the knowledge of the language of that dance. But Lucian gives a different picture in the story with which I began this paper. This story leads us to think that the "language of pantomime dance" would have been easy to understand even for a non-Greek person. We have no way of knowing whether this was actually true – we have to keep in mind that Lucian uses every possible argument in defending dance. I discussed earlier in this paper about dance having a great potential for self-expression. And in this sense dance can be, and could have been in the ancient Greek world, a powerful tool of communication also over language-barriers.

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(nouns, verbs, modifiers) but the hsiu can only embroider the narrative. See Royce 195; Blacking, in: Spencer (ed.) 72.

FLORILEGIUM ABOËNSE
Recueil de proverbes latins manuscrits de Turku, Finlande

VEIKKO VÄÄNÄNEN

[Veikko Väänänen nous a quittés le 1^{er} juin 1997. Il a laissé un gros manuscrit destiné à être présenté à la rédaction d'Arctos en vue de sa publication. Pour honorer sa mémoire, l'équipe de rédaction d'Arctos a décidé de publier la version originale dans son intégralité. V. Väänänen a été l'un des collaborateurs les plus fidèles d'Arctos. Ses collègues, amis et disciples tiennent à exprimer leur sympathie et leur émotion. Nous remercions Madame Renja Salminen qui a bien voulu relire le manuscrit et y apporter les menues corrections nécessaires. H.S.]

Il arrive parfois qu'un vieux manuscrit dorme dans des archives sans révéler ni sa provenance ni ses antécédents. C'est le cas d'un cahier, broché avec deux livres didactiques in-octavo, le tout déposé à la bibliothèque de la nouvelle université de Turku (code: Ai I, 39 a–b).¹ Les deux livres jumeaux sont publiés à Turku, en 1669, par Johannes Gezelius père. L'un contient un choix de fables d'Ésope, en grec et en latin, *in usum scholarum trivialium* (40 pages); l'autre, *Disticha moralia*, en latin, de Cato Novus, de Marc Antoine Muret (humaniste français du XVI^e siècle), plus un recueil de distiques sentencieux anonymes (48 pages). A quoi est soudé le manuscrit, en latin et quelques parcelles en suédois, de 53 feuillets inscrits.

¹ V. Väänänen, "Appendix Gezeliana": unohdettu historiallinen dokumentti (Un document historique oublié), in: Historiallinen aikakauskirja (Revue historique), Helsinki, 1991, pp. 109–116. Idem, Codiculus Aboënsis. La latinité "triviale" de Finlande. In: Latin vulgaire – latin tardif. Actes du III^e Colloque international sur le latin vulgaire et tardif, Innsbruck, 2–5 septembre 1991, éd. par Maria Iliescu et Werner Marxgut, pp. 359–363. – Le présent article entend insister sur le rôle joué par le latin dans les études supérieures au XVII^e siècle.

Johannes Gezelius, évêque de Turku et vice-chancelier de l'*Academia Aboënsis*, s'est distingué comme promoteur de l'enseignement supérieur en Finlande.² Dans sa *Methodus informandi* Gezelius expose un programme d'études latines pour les gymnases et écoles de *trivium*. A partir de la catéchèse latine, on aborde graduellement, en passant par *Orbis sensualium pictus* de l'humaniste Comenius, des livres didactiques aux titres révélateurs: *Aureae sententiae*, *Portula linguae Latinae*, *Familiaria colloquia*; puis on s'attaque à des extraits d'Érasme, de Vives et des discours de Cicéron et d'autres classiques. On dispose d'un lexique composé par Gezelius lui-même, *Vocum Latinarum sylloge*.³

Le latin était un moyen autant que le but des études. Dans la préface aux *Aureae sententiae* Gezelius énonce ses principes concernant l'apprentissage des langues, en l'espèce du latin: "une fois les déclinaisons et conjugaisons apprises, il ne faut pas pousser l'étudiant tout de suite vers les règles de la grammaire (c'est-à-dire de la syntaxe), comme on le fait souvent, au grand ennui des jeunes gens (*ut fieri solet magno cum juventutis taedio*). En fait, poursuit-il, la grammaire n'enseigne pas la langue, elle apprend à la parler correctement, ce qui en suppose déjà une certaine connaissance."

Sans doute, l'évêque et vice-chancelier n'eût-il pas approuvé tout ce que donne le manuscrit en question, lequel ne manque cependant pas de morceaux analogues aux textes didactiques préconisés par Gezelius. D'ailleurs, celui-ci devait rester inédit, faute d'une autorisation de la part de l'Académie. En effet, les *Acta Consistorii* constatèrent, le 29 mai 1643, que les étudiants faisaient imprimer des *Carmina* non censurés et les distribuaient en Suède, en encourageant le discrédit de l'Académie. En

² Ernst Lagus, *Studier i den klassiska språkundervisningens historie i Finland*. Thèse de Helsinki, 1890, pp. 35–65.

Outi Merisalo, "The Use of Latin in Schools and Administration in Finland from the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth Century". In: *Mare Balticum – Mare Nostrum. Latin in the Countries of the Baltic Sea (1500–1800)*. P.p. Outi Merisalo et Raija Sarasti-Wilenius, *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae*, B–274, Helsinki, 1992.

³ A. A. Stiernman, *Aboa Literata*. Turku, 1719 (La littérature publiée par l'Académie de Turku). Édition en fac-similé et traduction en finnois par Reijo Pitkäranta. *Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia* 518, Helsinki, 1990. – Johannes Gezelius (pp. 69–77): 136 oeuvres écrites ou éditées par J. G.

conséquence, il fut décidé que rien ne serait imprimé sans le consentement d'un professeur affecté à la censure.⁴

Le manuscrit Ai I 39

C'est un centon de 84 pages en écriture baroque assez soignée, commune chez les scribes nordiques des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles. La dernière pièce *Querela* (voir ci-dessous) est datée du 25 juillet 1683, quatorze ans après la parution des deux livres de Gezelius. Les pages laissées en blanc portent des essais de plume et des signatures de personnages finlandais (possesseurs du volume?), ainsi que des citations: *Nitimur in vetitum, semper cupimusque negata* (Ovide, *Am.* 3,4,17); *Cum peccare licet, peccat minus*.

Parmi les *disticha moralia* de Gezelius figure p. 44 l'épigramme:

Auro quid melius? Jaspis. Quid jaspide? Virtus.
Quid virtute? Deus. Quid deitate? Nihil.

Au-dessous on lit un ajout, de belle main:

Aspide quid peius? Tigris. Quid tigride? Demon.
Demone quid? Mulier. Quid muliere? Nihil.⁵

La réplique acerbe anticipe le début du texte manuscrit. En effet, il s'ouvre par une suite de vers portant des rubriques éloquentes: *De ebrietate*,⁶ *In garrulum*, *De magistris nostris*, *Scommata mulierum*, *De 30 notis*

⁴ Consistorii Academici Aboensis äldre protokoller, p.p. Finska historiska samfundet. I. Helsingfors, 1884.

⁵ Autres gloses intercalées aux *Fabulae Aesopi* et *Disticha moralia*. P. 6 en bas: Haec est, quae cor meum fodit et lancinat (sic)/ tanquam acubus ignitis figeretur.

P. 9 sous *Affabulatio*: Loquere, nemo nostros sermones aucupabitur: / recedite vos.

Disticha moralia, M. Antonii Mureti *Institutio puerilis*, p. 15: Mendacium non senescit.

En marge: Execrandis aliquem onerare mendaciis.

P. 18, in fine: Cattus saepè satur cum capto mure jocatur.

P. 39, sous *Ora et labora*: Cor calamum linguam cerebrum mentemque gubernat. / O Pater, o Fili, o Spiritus alme, meum.

⁶ P.p. V. Väänänen, *De Ebrietate*. Poèmes bachiques connus en Finlande au XVII^e

mulierum.⁷ Ensuite, 3v^o–12r^o, le recueil de sentences, *Florilegium Aboëense*, qui constitue le sujet du présent article. Suit une brève notice en suédois sur l'introduction du tabac en France – grande nouveauté de l'époque, appelée *herbe de la royne mere*. Plusieurs pages blanches ou embrouillées; feuilles 15r^o–32r^o: *Ratio expolitum dicendi genus facile assequendi* (conseils et exemples de variation du style en latin et en suédois). Feuilles 33r^o–40r^o: *De conservanda valetudine, liber scholae Salernitanae* (guide hygiénique, version libre de *Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum*, soi-disant dédiée au roi d'Angleterre, Guillaume le Rouge selon une tradition, vers l'an mil). C'est une mentalité de laisser aller:

Vina bibant homines, animalia cetera fontes.

Il n'y manque pas le fameux:

Balnea, vina, Venus, corrumpunt corpora nostra;
Restituunt eadem balnea, vina, Venus.⁸

A la fin vient une pièce qui peut être qualifiée de littéraire, *Querela de fide erga Deum et homines in mundo fere extinctâ*, plainte trochaïque connue par plusieurs éditions, entre autres celle de Luther en 1535; celle-ci se termine aux vers 241 sq. du texte de Turku:

Amen devote dicamus,
Ut cum Christo maneamus,

auquel notre ms ajoute une *precatio* de 30 vers et trois quatrains sous le titre *Extremum iudicium*, pour prendre fin par une prière de 15 vers.

siècle. In: *Arctos* 26, 1992, pp. 129–136.

⁷ Éd. V. Väänänen, in: *Mélanges Tauno Nurmela*, Turku, 1967, pp. 127–134. De nouveau, in: *Recherches et récréations latino-romanes*, par V. Väänänen, Naples, 1981, pp. 355–364.

⁸ I. Kajanto, "Balnea uina Venus", in: *Hommage à Marcel Renard II*. Coll. Latomus 102. Bruxelles 1969, p. 357–367. – Le pentamètre original: "Sed vitam faciunt b. v. V."

Florilegium Aboëense

Les 230 sentences ou proverbes en vers du FA constituent un ensemble analogue aux collections locales de dictons, qui abondent dès le moyen âge. A l'instar des distiques publiés par Gezelius et, bien antérieurement, chez Gartner, les entrées sont divisées en groupes au nombre de 55; vaguement alphabétiques, de volume variés, ils sont rangés selon l'ordre thématique et munis de rubriques. Les multiples sujets concernent les expériences quotidiennes: vices et vertus, dévotion et indifférence, enfin divers états de l'homme. La catégorie la plus importante (38 vers) est celle de *Paupertas*, ce qui n'est sans doute pas hasard. La pénurie peut se dire par métaphore subtile: *Ut vulgus fatur, male cos sitiens operatur* (105). La misère a quand même quelque chose de bon: elle supprime la crainte de perdre et d'être volé: *Abs re qui vadit, res sibi nulla cadit* (109). Mais attention! Quoi de plus rude qu'un pauvre enrichi (117)? On évoque pêle-mêle l'édification, l'art du commerce, l'omnipotence de l'argent (94–96). Satire et raillerie ne manquent pas, ni moralité, mais on ne décèle point d'obscénité ni d'insolence, ni non plus d'allusions aux faits historiques ou actuels. Tout juste si l'on y trouve un dicton – d'ailleurs très répandu – qui déconseille aux serviteurs de partager les cerises avec les seigneurs, ce qui tournerait mal pour ceux-là (54). Assez commune aussi l'hostilité de la bourgeoisie à l'égard des prélats (47). Métiers mal considérés: avocat, percepteur, militaire, médecin, bourreau, astrologue, peintre, poète (86). Peu de citations classiques: Ovide (36, 128, 157), Horace (98), Juvénal (10, 137), Suétone (51). Attestations isolées, étant donné le modeste cercle dont nous disposons: 3–8, 32, 53, 83, 223.

En somme, c'est un héritage quasi-littéraire du moyen âge et de l'humanisme, un bien commun conservé dans de nombreuses collections.

La plus importante de celles-ci, on le sait, est le trésor de sentences latines que publie Hans Walther.⁹ Le nombre des proverbes cités dépasse

⁹ Walther paraît ignorer, de FA, les numéros 2–8 (*De musica*), 32, 53, 83, 102 (G 89r^o), 161 (G 84v^o). Font défaut dans sa longue liste de recueils imprimés, les sus-mentionnés *Aureae sententiae* et *Portula linguae Latinae* (Turku, 1671). – Les critiques de Dag Norberg, *Gnomon* 37 (1965), sont fondées: l'utilisation des immenses matériaux est rendue compliquée par un certain manque de méthode.

Signalons une importante entreprise actuellement en cours de publication, où figurent des parallèles latins: *Thesaurus Proverbiorum Medii Aevi*, *Lexicon der Sprichwörter des romanisch-germanischen Mittelalters*, begründet von Samuel Singer. Herausgegeben

bien 45.000 (*Einleitung*); ajouter les incalculables variantes et les accroissements qu'apportent les tomes supplémentaires.

Très utile, le recueil de J. Werner et P. Flury, qui puisent principalement dans les manuscrits, pour la plupart de la bibliothèque de l'université de Bâle.

La parémiologie ne s'occupe pas uniquement de la dispersion des dictons et proverbes, mais encore de leur passage par traduction d'une langue à l'autre. Aussi a-t-on établi des recueils bilingues, tel que celui publié par Hoffmann von Fallersleben, en néerlandais et en latin, sans commentaires, en tout 803 proverbes. Une cinquantaine correspondent au FA, par exemple n° 6 (FA 38):

Als die buuc opgaet, so briet dat speelken uut.
Quando tumet venter, produntur facta latenter.¹⁰

Un florilège qui nous intéresse particulièrement est celui de Gartner (1575), structuré par sujets et accompagné de traductions allemandes, par exemple *Poesis, & Poëta* (92v⁰ = FA 60):

Qui bona vina bibunt, Vates, bona carmina scribunt.
Ein Poet macht bey gutem Wein, gute Reimen oder Verslein.

vom Kuratorium Singer der Schweizerischen Akademie der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaften. Band 1–4, Berlin, 1995–.

¹⁰ Une preuve de la popularité qu'a connue la poésie gnomique latine au moyen âge est apportée par les mélanges du français et du latin. Telle est la facétie du XIII^e siècle "Des fames, des dez et de la taverne", publiée par Barbazan et Méon, *Fabliaux et contes des poètes français des XI, XII, XIII, XIV et XV^e siècles ...* Paris, 1808, IV, p. 485 sqq.; V. Väänänen, *Recherches et récréations*, pp. 365–374. Elle consiste en 14 quatrains monorimes terminés chacun par un hexamètre ou pentamètre latin, les quatre vers rimant en latin. Voici le dernier quatrain:

A chascun veil prier *in fine carminis*:
Qui a riens, si le gart, soit viex, soit juvenis,
Ne li praigne pas fain *istius ordinis*,
Car qui riens n'a, il est par tous tenu *vilis*.
Alterius penis fit castigatio lenis.

Le vers terminal est connu de Walther (n° 879) ainsi que de FA (85). Les autres hexamètres de ce fabliau sont de la même farine. – Pour les vers latino-allemands, voir Seiler, p. 129.

Le Gartner offre un rapport assez proche avec notre florilège, qui, dans certaines sections, le suit vers par vers, par exemple dans le chapitre sur les pauvres. En plus, il est à noter que seulement une vingtaine des proverbes inclus dans FA font défaut chez Gartner.

Deux parémiologues très connus, Fr. Seiler et S. Singer, s'occupent de l'origine des proverbes allemands et de leurs parallèles indigènes et extérieurs, notamment romans et latins.

Matti Kuusi, assisté par ses collaborateurs, traite des proverbes septentrionaux (en 1985), avec une introduction sur l'histoire des études comparatives de proverbes et de données statistiques.

A titre de curiosité, rappelons la *Portula linguae Latinae* par Caspar Seidelius (Turku, 1671), qui persiste à attribuer les proverbes qu'il publie à des auteurs peu connus ou simplement imaginaires, plutôt que de les marquer de *V(ersus) V(ulgaris)*.

Enfin, notre FA ne manque pas d'efforts pour traduire les sentences latines, 22 en suédois et deux en allemand.¹¹

MÉTRIQUE ET PROSODIE

Les sentences latines adoptent généralement soit l'hexamètre soit le distique élégiaque. Le pentamètre seul, plutôt rare, apparaît dans FA 16 fois, tristique 3 fois, tetrastique une fois (102). Sont en prose les n^{OS} 11 et 32.

La rime léonine est pour ainsi dire régulière, p.ex. *Si fueris Romae, romano vivito more; Si fueris alibi, vivito sicut ibi* (2).

Assonance, assez fréquente, p.ex. 36, 76, 77.

Versus caudatus: 67.

Versus differentiales: 31, 44, 99, 167, 172, 175.

Trininus saliens: 162.

Homonymie (jeu de mots): 84.

Élision, assez rare: 3, 6, 7 (*De musica*, probablement vers plus anciens), 107.

¹¹ Pourquoi en suédois, et non dans la langue du peuple? Tout d'abord, n'oublions pas que l'origine du ms est inconnue: est-elle finlandaise? C'est vraisemblable, sans plus. Ensuite, les deux langues en usage en Finlande avaient des positions différentes. Le suédois, langue du pouvoir, surpassait le finnois dans l'administration, la justice, les chancelleries, voire – concurremment avec le latin – comme langue littéraire. Le finnois, à part la poésie populaire, servait principalement à l'instruction religieuse. D'ailleurs, on était peu empressé d'enseigner l'écriture au peuple, par crainte de lui donner l'idée de revendications sérieuses.

Durée négligée, surtout *-o* final et voyelle devant césure: 27, 35, 49, 54, 58, 68.

GRAPHIES¹²

Hypercorrect ou savant: *caelato* 196 (mais *celat* 189, *celabis* 193), *chari* 160, 197, *faemina* 209, *faemineus* 81, *sylvis* 225, *virthus* 223.

Accent grave, passim, sur *-e* final: *propè* 13, *saepè* 100, *dignè*, *benignè* 144.

Circonflexe sur *-a* final pour marquer l'ablatif: 7, 64, 148.

Crochet sur *u*, constant (omis par nous).

Sont distingués *u* et *v*; *j* marque la semi-consonne médiopalatale et *i* suivant *i*: *genijs* 3.

ABRÉVIATIONS (en italique)

esse 18, *est* 19 et passim, *quam* 52, *domino* 54, *non* 152, *quod*, *-que* 196.

FAITS DE LANGUE

ocium, *ocia* 'otium', 'otia' 188.

spernitur athleta patria: sans doute *patriā*, complément d'agent pour *a patria* 139.

sibi pour 'ei' 58, 109, 124, 136.

ire forum 106, *Graeculus* ... *si coelum iusseris, ibit* 137.

veteri abl. de *vetus* 113, 208.

MOTS RARES

bursalis (regula) 'qui concerne la bourse?' (hapax) 131.

chorisare = *chorizare*, 'danser la ronde' 28.

debet 'il faut' 61.

diaeta 'journée de travail' 73.

genius 'ange' 3.¹³

gobio 'goujon' 151.

hastula 'copeau' 188.

hilla 'saucisse' 220, 'essence' 167.

Je remercie mes collègues les professeurs Lars Huldén et Kauko Pirinen pour m'avoir assisté dans la transcription des textes suédois.

¹² "Metro peccavi, sensum tamen insinuavi" (Rylands 1v^o 14), auraient eu lieu d'avouer plus d'un de nos scribes.

¹³ Hermas, in Pastore, 2,6: "Duo sunt Genii cum homine ..." (Du Cange, IV).

il: plus valet il quam nil 154.
lapillus 'pépin' 54.
lupula 'louvetot' 68.
ocior 'plus rapide' 214.
praegustus 'saveur' (hapax) 6.
prima, 'prime, première heure canoniale' 178.
similari (cani) 'ressembler' 160.

NOMS PROPRES

Christus 75, 124, 134.
Erebus 86.
Graeculus 137.
Gunstius, fait de l'allemand *Gunst*, *Gwaltus* de *Gewalt* 12.
Iliacus 98.
Lisa 62.
Oedipus 229.
Roma 2, 230.

Notes

Le chapitre *De magistris nostris* (3v⁰) est suivi d'un blanc et d'un vers orphelin: *Vir bene barbatus rubra barbaque beatus*. Ce vers – qui manque dans Walther – se laisse compléter par notre 213:

Per rubram barbam debes cognoscere nequam;
 Multi non rubram, sed habent cum crimine nigram.

Une vieille tradition veut que Judas Iscariote ait eu une barbe rouge et que, par conséquent, tout homme ainsi barbu soit un individu suspect. On a même expliqué le nom Iscariote par les mots allemands *Ist gar roth*. Mais le rouge a connu bien d'autres connotations. D'autre part, les cheveux et la barbe rouge sont un signe d'anormalité et pour cela, appropriés à Judas Iscariote. Ce trait physique, exceptionnel, passait pour indiquer une qualité psychique.¹⁴

¹⁴ P. F. Baum, "Judas' Red Hair", *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* XXI

3–9, *De Musica*: poème dithyrambique, sans doute incorporé dans le recueil de proverbes parce qu’il est joli, bien tourné, classique. Mais de quelle provenance? Un tour d’horizon ne m’a donné un parallèle que pour le distique terminal.

12. Les noms factices *Gunstius* et *Gwaltus* symbolisent, dans deux vers de circonstance, les mots allemands *Gunst* et *Gewalt*, soit ‘faveur’ et ‘puissance’.

62. *Lisa* représente un type de femme, sans doute péjorativement.

178. ”Dans le lieu d’aisance, tu ne chanteras pas prime”, aurait dit le diable à saint Paul (Gartner 82v⁰).

230. Le palindrome *Roma tibi ...* était connu dès la Rome antique, de même que *Roma olim Milo amor et roma summus amor*.¹⁵

Le texte

1. Vir bene vestitus pro vestibus esse peritus (4r⁰)

Creditus a mille, quamvis idiota sit ille.

W 33505 – FG 87 – G 114v⁰ – WF V 49 in vestibus.

MOS

2. Si fueris Romae, romano vivito more;

Si fueris alibi, vivito sicut ibi.

W 28521 – G 70r⁰ – WF S 88 – Oxford p. 547 When you are at Rome, do as Rome does – DPR fr. 2024 Qui veut vivre à Rome, ne doit pas quereller avec le pape – PS 192 Maassa maan tavalla taikka maasta pois (Il faut suivre les coutumes du pays, sinon en sortir).

DE MUSICA

3. Musica grata Deo est, Genijs quoque grata beatis (4v⁰)

Et quorum gignit pectora diva charis.

4. Musica tristitiam depellit, musica curas:

Nonne satis magnum musica robur habet?

(1922) 520–529.

¹⁵ M. Guarducci, ANRW II,16 (1979) 1745 sqq.

5. Tempore nos pacis iuvat et nos munit in hostes,
Nosque iuvat placidas ire redire vias.
6. Si pietas adsit, cantu nil svavius umquam est,
Praegustus vitae est Musica perpetuae.

ITEM

7. Nil adeo humanas tantâ dulcedine mentes
Afficit ac melice nobile vocis opus.
8. Artes hoc omnes mundo pereunte peribunt:
Musica sola polum scandit amica Dei.

X

9. Non vox sed votum, non cordula Musica, sed cor,
Non clamans sed amans cantat in aure Dei.

W 18723 N.v.s.v.n. musica cordula, sed cor, Non clamor sed amor sonat in aure Dei –
WF N 272 b Non clamor sed amor cantat in aure Dei = FG 172 et Hauréau 4, p 55 – G
20r^o et 91v^o N. clamor sed amor clangit in aure Dei – Cf. *infra* 70.

DE JUDICE (5r^o)

10. Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas.
Then stäckar flugorna och låter bijen fahra.

JUV. 2,63 – Otto s. v. corvus 2 – Aureae sententiae 11 – PLL p. 25 – W 20755 Parvus
pendetur fur, magnus abire videtur = HF 274 – FO 114 Iustus quassatur, versutus ad astra
levatur – W 12932 Irretit muscas, transmittit aranea vespas – PLL p. 69 – Suédois: "On
attrape les mouches, on laisse passer la guêpe" – Taylor p. 62 sq. et 153.

11. Plus valet favor in iudice, quam mille leges in codice (ferè).
Itt quintum gunst geller mehr än en centrär rättfärdigheet.

W 21706 P.v.i.j. quam lex in codice – Suédois: "Un cinquième (?) de faveur vaut plus
qu' un quintal de justice".

12. Gunstius est pluris *quam* tota scientia juris,
Plusque valet Gwaltus *quam* status magnus et altus.

W 10497 Günstig e.p.q.t.s.j. – W 10408 Gratia fit pluris quam tota scientia juris.

REPREHENSIO (5r^o)

13. Mille docent hominem propè callem qui struit aedem.

FA construit, *corr.* W 14860 = HF 232 – Seiler Z 45 p. 226 Qui struit in calle, multos
habet ille magistros.

14. Multi corripunt crimen quod linquere nolunt.

W 15444 – WF M 60.

15. Qui vult alterius oculorum tergere labem,
De proprio citius eruat ipse trabem.

W 24936 Ex p. – Matt. 7,3 Quid autem vides festucam in oculo fratris tui, et trabem in oculo tuo non vides?

RARO

16. Qui pectit raro, cum pectine pectit amaro.

G 96v^o – W 24462 avaro = HF 785.

17. Esse solet raro pulchra pudica caro.

W 7241 – G 96v^o – W 7710 Est multum r.p.p.c.

PUER

18. Parva manus pueri modico solet *esse* repleta.

Kinds handt ist bald gefylt.

W 20765 s. illa repleti = HF 440 et G 96r^o – Allemand: "La main de l'enfant est vite remplie".

19. Quod fleat *est* melius puer unus quam vir adultus.

W 25808 – G 96r^o.

20. Quod nova testa capit, inveterata sapit.

W 25948 – WF Q 212 – G 96r^o – PLL p. 58 – Singer I p. 120 – Fecunda Ratis I,233 – Serlo p. 153 – W 25990 Quod puer addiscit, assuescat dum iuvenis sit! Inveterata sapit, quod nova testa capit = WF Q 214 – HOR. Epist. 1,2,69 Quo semel est imbuta recens, servabit odorem Testa diu – SL p. 272 Minkä nuorena oppii, sen vanhana taitaa (Ce qu' on apprend jeune, on le sait vieux).

PUDOR

21. Jure coronetur quicumque pudore repletur.

W 13211 – G 96r^o.

22. Post peccata pudor prodest, post balnea sudor.

W 22038.

23. Retro sedet ianuam, non invitatus ad aulam.

W 26833 – HF 268 R. sedit.

24. Virtutum florem perdis perdendo ruborem.

G 96r^o – W 33733 Virtutis f.

25. Cedere majori, non est pudor inferiori.

W 2585 – FG 20.

PRUDENTIA

26. Respice, quaeso bene, non sunt cerevisia spume.

Skum är intet i öhl.

W 26806 – HF 618 = 789 – G 95v^o – Suédois: "La mousse n'est pour rien dans la bière".

27. Nescit prodesse qui nescit providus esse.

W 16572 – G 25v^o.

28. Palmas *prae*visas habeas tu quando chorisas.

W 20591 – HF 281 – G 95v^o.

29. Se minus afflictum sentit qui *prae*videt ictum,

Tela nocent levius visa vol<are> prius.

W 27749 – WF S 44 – G 95v^o.

PROPRIA (5v^o)

30. Per caudam propriam tu debes tollere vaccam.

Han skall taga i rumpan som koon äeger.

W 21187 – G 95v^o – HF 251 – Singer I p. 73 Cuius enim est asinus, teneat illum per caudam – Suédois: "Qui possède la vache, doit la tenir par la queue."

PROPINQUITAS

31. Fervidior locus est, quo propior focus est.

G 95r^o – W 9402 cui p.

32. Beneficium in pulvere scribitur, in marmore noxa.

33. Res mala, res stulta, dare nil, *promittere* multa.

W 26601.

34. Tu non spondebis quod mox praestare valebis.

Låfva icke tet tu ej strax kan gifve.

G 95r^o Bis n. – WF B 15 Bis non spondebis, quod tu praestare valebis, Ne similis vento, dum vis bonus esse, memento! – Suédois: "Ne promets rien que tu ne peux donner aussitôt."

35. Fas est implere promissa decentia vere.

W 8866 – G 95r^o.

36. Promissis dives quilibet esse potest.

W 22612 – G 95r^o – OV. Ars 444 Pollicitis dives quilibet esse potest.

37. Rem tibi promissam nulli *promiseris* unquam.

W 26571 – G 95r^o.

PRODITIO

38. Quando tumet venter, produntur facta latenter.

W 23562 – HF 6 – G 94v^o.

39. Quicquid nix celat, solis calor omne revelat.

W 25302 ipse revelat – G 94v^o – WF Q 208 Quod modo nescitur, post haec fortasse scietur; Sub nive quod tegitur, dum nix perit, omne videtur – Taylor p. 47.

PRODIGALITAS

40. Qui plus expendit quam rerum summa rependit,

Non admiretur si paupertate gravetur.

W 24403 – G 93v^o – WF Q 115 Q.p.e.q. lucri s.r.

41. Qui sua demergit, mendicus ad ostia pergat.

W 24812 – G 94v^o.

42. Res quaesita mora parva consumitur hora.

W 26756 – G 94r^o.

43. Si tibi sunt usus, ne rerum fiat abusus.

W 29297 – G 94r^o sint.

44. Prodigus *est* gnatus qui de parco patre natus.

Ein Sparer will ein Aerer haben.

HF 553 – G 94r^o – W 22566 P.e. natus q. de p.p. creatus – Allemand: "Un parcimonieux veut un héritier."

45. Prodigia res totum tollit cum semine saccum:

Pisces, perdices, vinum nec non meretrices,

Corrumpunt cistam vel quidquid ponis in istam.

G 94r^o – W a 22563 – W bc 21514 P.p.v. simul et m., Evacuant cistam quamvis non repleant istam.

PRINCIPIUM (6r⁰)

46. Principium lauda quod consequitur bona cauda.

W 22436 – G 93v⁰.

PRAELATIO

47. Mos est praelatis beneficia non dare gratis.

G 93r⁰ – W 15297 M.e.p. praebendas n.d.g. = G 17r – WF M 52 M.e.p. dare praebendam trabeatis, Vel bene nummatis vel eorum sanguine natis.

48. Luscus praefertur caeco, sic undique fertur.

W 14112 – HF 116 – G 93r⁰.

PRAETERITUM

49. Est iam potata, sed erat cerevisia grata.

W 7543 – G 93v⁰ – W 13032 Jam est p.

QUAE AVOCARI NON POSSUNT

50. Virginitas, tempus, verbum dictum *que* iuventus.

WF B 14 Bis duo notavi, quae non possunt revocari: Virginitas, tempus dictum verbumque iuventus = Seiler p. 129 – W 33622 Virginitas, tempus, vox: irreparabile damnum.

SAT CITO, SI SAT BENE

51. Quanta sit in rebus mora, nil curato gerendis:

Sat cito confectum, quod bene fiet, erit.

W 27537 Sat celeriter fit, quicquid fit satis bene (SUET., Aug. 25) – PVBLILIVS 16 Inopi beneficium bis dat, qui dat celeriter – Otto *s. v.* beneficium.

ALIUD: NON QUAM DIU, SED QUAM BENE

52. Quid numeras annos? Usum, non tempora specto:

Lux bona plus septem *quam* mala lustra valent.

W 68328.

CONTRA

53. Quod peto ne differ, si differs gratia facti

Tota perit; bis dat qui cito vota facit.

POTENTES

54. *Cum domino* cerasum res est mala mandere servum:

Tollit matura, tibi projicit omnia dura;

Consumptis illis cupiet iactare lapillis.

G 93r^o – W 2626 Cerasa cum dominis non suadeo mandere servis: Tollunt matura, mittunt tibi quaerere dura – WF C 178 Cum dominis cerasa tibi numquam sint comedenda: consumptis illis cupiunt iactare lapillis – FG 158 Cerasa cum dominis non consulo mandere servis: Mandunt matura, sed relinquunt sibi dura = Seiler Z 45,81 – Taylor pp. 30 et 74 – PS 713 Ei pija mennä herrain kanssa marjaan: ne vievät marjat sekä ropeet (N'allez pas cueillir des baies avec les seigneurs: ils enlèvent et les baies et les paniers).

55. Imber quando cadit, nix deperit et cito vadit.

W 11517 – G 93r^o – HF 9 – Cf. FA 39 et 189.

56. Servus testatur, quod felix qui dominatur.

W 28189.

57. Laeditur a stimulo quicumque fricatur ab illo.

W 13376 – G 93r^o.

PLURALITAS

58. Vae sibi quando canes veniunt os rodere plures!

W 32849 – G 92v^o.

59. Pluribus intentus minor est ad singula sensus.

W 21629 – WF P 58 – G 92v^o.

POËTA (6v^o)

60. Qui bona vina bibunt vates, bona carmina scribunt.

W 23883 – G 92v^o – G 30r^o Post sumptum vinum, loquitur mea lingua latinum. Cum bibo bis vel ter, sum qualibet arte magister – Rylands p. 31, 15 Qui b.v. bibit, paradisum tutus adibit.

61. Propter bonum rhythmum debet confundere totum.

G 92v^o infundere t.

PIGRITIA

62. Est pigrae parvus Lisae defensio servus.

Late qwinfolk tå Lijsa möter

Ner the råka en laps (= finnois lapsi 'enfant') i skötet.

W 7785 – HF 728 – G 92r⁰ – Suédois: ”Les femmes paresseuses, Lisa (les) rencontre lorsqu’ elles ont un enfant sur les bras (?).”

63. Quae tua sunt cerne, pigris committere sperne.

W 23039 – G 92r⁰ – W 26103 Quod t.

64. Desidiâ pressus erit in studio cito fessus.

W 5440 – G 92r⁰.

65. Est piger agnellus qui non gestat bene vellus.

W 7783 – G 92r⁰ – PLL p. 27 – PS 410 Se on huono lintu, joka ei jaksa höyheniään kantaa (C’est un oiseau misérable, celui qui ne peut porter ses plumes).

66. Primo sternatur equus is qui piger habetur.

Then late skall först på vägen.

G 92r⁰ tardus h. – W 22393 P. selletur e.q. tardus h. = HF 228 – Suédois: ”C’est au (plus) paresseux de se mettre le premier en route.”

67. Qui cupit in lecto lucem videre diei,

Gloria, laus et honor raro debuntur ei.

W 23999 Q.c. in l.l.v. diei, Honor et divitiae raro debuntur ei – G 92r⁰ b Divitiae atque honor hic r.d.e.

68. Si dormit lupula, non currit in os ovis ulla.

W 28463 – HF 171 – G 92v⁰ – Seiler Z 47 p. 171 – Singer I p. 12 – HF 276 Dum vult dormire catus, vult mus resilire – WF D 188 Dum stertit cattus, numquam sibi currit in os mus – Seiler Z 45 p. 174 Vulpi stertenti veniet non grellio denti.

PIETAS

69. Scit connivere Deus, ergo Deum reverere.

W 27649 – G 92r⁰.

70. Non clamor, sed amor, clangit in aure Dei.

W 17381 – G 92r⁰ – PLL p. 55 – *Voir supra* 9.

71. Te signa cruce, cum venerit incubus ad te.

W 31146 – G 91v⁰.

72. Collige thesaurum, qui gemmas vincit et aurum.

W 2945 – G 92r⁰ – W 2444 C.t. celi, qui prevalet aurum – Matt. 6,20 Thesaurizate autem vobis thesauros in caelo...

73. Non unctura rotam, nec tardat missa diaetam.

W 18657 – G 92r⁰ – W 17545 Non elöys (= 'aumône') bursam minuit nec missa dietam.

74. Quid sis, quid fueris, quid eris, semper mediteris:

Sic minus atque minus peccatis subjicieris.

W a 25172 = WF Q 166 – W 25041 Quid fueris, quid sis, quid eris semper memoreris.

75. Qui pius implorat Christum, feliciter orat.

W 24497.

PIGNUS (7r^o)

76. Cum rogo quem nummos sine pignore, non habet ullos.

W 4385 – G 92r^o.

PETITIO

77. Exige rem justam, si non cupis inde repulsam.

W 8431.

78. Qui pingit florem, non pingit floris odorem.

W 24490 – G 91r^o – WF Q 114.

CONTINUATIO

79. Arbor per primum quaevis non corrui ictum.

W 1254 – W 1251 A. non primo, sed sepe cadit feriendo – WF A 104 A.p.p. nequaquam c.i. – Seiler Z 45,20 A.p.p. ne quaequam c.i. – HF 200 A.p.p. quevis n.c.i. – Singer I, 97 Primitus inflectum non corrui arbor ob ictum – PLL p. 63 Uno ictu non caeditur ilex – DPD *fr* 54 Au premerin coup ne chiet pas le chasnes (XIII^e s.) – SL p. 351 Ei puukaan ensi lyönnillä kaadu (L'arbre ne s'abat pas au premier coup) – Taylor p. 21 sqq.

PERVERSIO

80. Quatuor ista: timor*que*, odium, dilectio, census,

Saepe solent boni rectos pervertere sensus.

G 91r^o – W 23692 Q.i. timor, o.d.c., S.s. hominum hebetes pervertere sensu.

PAENITENTIA

81. Faemineus vere dolor est, post facta dolere.

W 3320 – G 90v^o.

82. Qui numquam cecidit, quis talem surgere vidit?

W 24430 Q.n.c. hunc nullus s.v.

POENA

83. Quod facimus duplex, non valet ultio simplex.

84. Ad mala patrata sunt atra theatra parata.

W 388 – G 90r^o – Hauréau II p. 23 Mala malo mali mala contulit omnia mundo – Serlo p. 137 Mali mala male malo michi quam male malo.

85. Alterius poenis fit castigatio lenis.

W 879 – G 90r^o – HF 424 – Rylands III: A 6.

86. Causidicis, Erebo, fisco, fas vivere raptō;
Militibus, medico, tortori occidere ludo,
Mentiri astrologis, pictoribus atque poëtis.

W 2542 a raptō est, b ludo est – G 90v^o.

87. Mitior est poena, quanto communior ipsa.

FA quando, corr. W 14955 = G 90v^o – W 22992 Que mala cum multis patimur, leviora videntur.

88. Poenam consimilem clavus fert atque foramen.

G 90v^o – W 21850 P.c. tolerant clavis atque foramen.

89. Quod puer est caesus loquitur, non cur ita laesus.

Han säger han fick, men icke för hvad.

W 25994 – G 26v^o et 90v^o – HF 697 Q.p.e.c. fert, sed n.c.i.l. – Suédois: "Il dit qu' il l'a eu, mais (il ne dit) pas pour quelle raison."

90. Quod sus peccavit, sucula saepe luit.

W 26060 – PLL p. 73 – G 90v^o – W 27168 Sepe luet porci facinus porcellus adulti.

91. Saepe suum proprium fecit puer ipse flagellum.

W 27328 – G 90v^o – HF 504 S.s.p. facit p.i.f.

PECUNIA (7v^o)

92. Reddit mercatum nunc prompta pecunia gratum.

W 26441 – G 89v^o – W 22228 Praestat m.n.p.p.g.

93. Est nihil et nihilum, nisi certa pecunia totum.

G 89v^o – W 7721 E.n. et n. sine prompta p.t.

94. In terra summus rex est hoc tempore nummus.

W 12105 – G 89v^o – Hauréau II p. 251 – Carmina Burana 11,1 – W 11889 In mundo s.r.e. super omnia nummus – WF I 73 In terris s.– FO 115 In terris nummus r.e.h.t. summus – PVBLILIVS 9 Pecunia unum regimen est rerum omnium.

95. Laudatur nummus quasi rex super omnia summus.

W 13543 – G 89v^o.

96. Nummus honoratur, sine nummo nullus amatur.

W 13188 – G 89v^o – Carmina Burana 11,46.

PECCATUM

97. Cur mala non sinis, homo, cum non sis nisi cinis?

W 4689 – G 89v^o – W 4700 Cur non prava sinis? Pulvis es atque cinis.

98. Ilicos intra muros peccatur et extra.

HOR. Epist. 1, 2, 16 – W 11427 – G 89r^o

99. Omnis origo mali processit ab arbore mali.

W 20244 – G 89r^o – PLL p. 56 – W 20200 Omnis causa mali fuit orta cupidine mali.

100. Peccatum verè faciat te saepè dolere.

W 21095 – G 89r^o.

101. Res quae sparguntur, totae non saepe leguntur.

W 26753 – G 89r^o.

102. O homo, evita peccatum *totque* pericla!

Nam si caecus eris nullo*que* dolore moveris

Atque Deum spernes, animam cum corpore perdes,

Et nisi parebis, caelesti sede carebis.

G 89r^o.

103. Saepius audieram fari pulcherrima verba

Et mala patrare, dedecus esse grave.

G 89v^o – W 27370 S.a.f.p.v., Et facere acta mala d.e.g.

PAUPERTAS

104. Quando deest panis, cibus est tunc omnis inanis.

HF 657 – G 86r^o – W 23477 Q.d.p., tunc est cibus omnis inanis – W 28672 Si modo sit panis, fame non morimur inanis. Si deest panis, tunc est cibus omnis inanis.

105. Ut vulgus fatur: male cos sitiens operatur.

W 32646 – HF 661 – G 87r^o.

106. Impedit ire forum defectus denariorum.

W 11567 – G 87r^o – W 11568 Impedit omne f.d.d. – WF D 66 Deficit omne forum defectu denariorum.

107. Hic mos est genti: pauca aut nihil addere egenti.

W 10875 – G 86v^o – WF H 20 H.m.e.g. panis praebetur habenti.

108. Dum pauper clamat, ianua limen amat.

W 6636 – G 86v^o – W 6499 Dum dives loquitur, sibi ianua mox aperitur.

109. Abs re qui vadit, res sibi nulla cadit.

Then intet hafwer, blifwer inthet gifwit.

W 1151 – HF 238 – G 86v^o – FG 39 – WF Q 133 Qui sine re v.r.s.n.c. – Singer I p. 169
Qui vacuus v.r.s.n.c. – *Ibidem*: Perdere res nescit, quisquis non novit habere. – Suédois:
"A qui n'a rien, on ne donne rien".

110. Bursa vacans aere, vetat inter vina sedere. (8r^o)

Bursa manet vacua, vox licet ampla tua.

G 86v^o – W a 2195 = FG 37 – W b 2191 – WF B 32 Bursa carens aere nequit inter vina
sedere. – Seiler Z 45 p. 241 Cum tua bursa sonat, comitem te turba coronat, Exhausto
sonitu fies comes ipse tibi tu.

111. Esurit atque sitit pauper qui lauta requirit.

Een maat granner fattig måste offta swälta.

W 8071 – G 87r^o – Suédois: "Un voisin pauvre doit souvent connaître la faim".

112. Expensas fugere solet omnis qui caret aere.

W 8519 – G 87r^o.

113. Ex veteri more pauper caret ipse pudore.

W 8361 – G 87r^o – WF E 135 Ex v.m. pota semel absque pudore! Sed bis quando bibis,
nisi solvas, turpiter ibis.

114. In paupertate multi pollent bonitate.

W 11921 – WF I 54 – G 87r^o.

115. In paupertate quis amicus noscitur a te?

W 11921 – G 87r^o – OV. Trist. 1,9,5 Donec eris sospes, multos numerabis amicos;
Tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris.

116. O bona paupertas, ni te Deus ipse tulisset!

Tunc tua durities multis ingrata fuisset.

G 87r^o – W a 19418 O bona pauperies nisi te Deus ipse tulisset!

117. Paupere ditato nil acrius esse putato.

W 20954 – WF P 26 – G 87r^o – FG 71 – Singer I p. 183 – Seiler Z 45 p. 243 P.d.n.a.e.p.,
Crudeles inopes, dum veniunt opes – WF A 126 Asperius nihil est humili, dum surgit in
altum.

118. Pauper homo raro vivit cum nomine claro.

G 87v^o – W 20922 P.h.r. comes est de nomine claro.

119. Pauperior census, non sit turbatio sensus.

G 87v^o – W 20977 P.c.n.s.t.s., Sed sis contentus, sicut fert omnia tempus.

120. Pauperis est gentis tenuis puls farre carentis.

G 87v^o – W 20984 – HF 75.

121. Pauperis in capite pereunt bona dogmata saepè.

Then fattiges wijsa rådih gäller inthet åffta.

W 20993 – G 87v^o – Suédois: "Les sages conseils du pauvre ne valent pas souvent."

122. Pauperis in causa non auris sit tibi clausa.

W 20993 – WF P 29 – G 87v^o.

123. Pauperis in mensa vires, non fercula, pensa.

W 20997 – G 87v^o – W 6150 Divitis in mensa vultum, non fercula, pensa.

124. Pauperis in specie cum Christus venerit ad te,

Impertire sibi, quod dedit ipse tibi!

FA dum, *corr.* W 26998 – G 87v^o.

125. Pauper et absque pilis est sponsa nimis mihi vilis.

G 87v^o – W 20913 P. et a.p. tanto plus sponsula vilis = HF 85.

126. Pauper pauperiem per totum sustinet orbem.

W 20934 – HF 72 – G 88r^o – W 35687 Consolatio miserorum est habere socios – Aureae sententiae 36 Consolatio miserorum est habere pares.

127. Pauper pejorem vestis tenet undi *que* partem.

W 20936 restis = G 88r^o.

128. Pauper ubique iacet, dum sua bursa tacet.

W 20949 – G 88v^o – W 6094 Dives utique placet, pauper ubique iacet – OV. Fast. 1,218
Pauper ubique iacet.

129. Perdere quid valeo, dum nihil obstineo?

W 21299 – G 88r^o

130. Quid pectunt illi, quibus absunt fronte capilli?

W 25124 – G 88r^o – W 4703 Cur p.

131. Regula bursalis sit omni tempore talis:

Prandia fer tecum, si vis comedere mecum.

G 88r^o – W 26517 R.b. fuit o.t.t. : P.f.t., cupies si mandere mecum – WF D 174 Dum mea bursa sonat, hospes mihi fercula donat; Dum mea bursa vacat, hospes mihi fercula non dat = Carmina Burana 11,35b.

132. Pauper, inops habui, sed habens dives volo dici. (8v^o)

HF 381 Semper i. = G 88r^o et W 27967.

133. Si careas aere, cupiet te nemo videre.

W 28299 – WF S 71 – G 88v^o.

134. Si sum semper egens, non debet spernere me gens:

Christus pauper erat, qui nunc super omnia regnat.

W 29203 – G 88v^o.

135. Tempus adhuc veniet, quod dives, qui modo gaudet,

Assidue flebit: tunc pauper in corde ridebit.

W 31292 – G 88v^o – W 31198 Tempora gaudendi sunt tempora certa dolendi.

136. Vivit securus, paupertas *est* sibi murus.

Then inthet haar stiäl intet ifrån.

W 34028 – G 88v^o – W 34027 V.s. in paupertate egenus – Suédois: "Qui n'a rien, on ne lui vole rien."

137. Graeculus esuriens si coelum iusseris ibit.

Armod lärer enom wägen.

W 10353 – G 88v^o – JUV. 3,78 – Suédois: "La misère vous montre le chemin."

138. Dura si fueris in paupertate superbus,

Derideberis et veluti reputabere stultus.

W 6811 – G 88v^o.

PATRIA

139. Spernitur athleta patria licet ipse propheta.

W 30171 – G 86r^o – HF 635 Nemo propheta sua cognitus in patria. Spernitur a.p.l.i.p.

140. In patria natus non est propheta vocatus.

W 11918 – G 86r^o – WF I 56 In propria natus est nemo propheta vocatus – Luc. 4,24 Amen dico vobis, quia nemo propheta acceptus est in patria sua. – DPD *fr* 2056 Nul n'est prophète en son pays.

141. Vult lepus esse loco semper, generatus erat quo.

W 34241 – G 86r^o.

PATIENTIA

142. Est indulgendum, quod non aliter faciendum.

G 69r^o – W 7528 E.i.q.n. licito f.

143. Quae fecit sibimet mala, *quisque* pati *quoque* debet.

W 22978 – G 85v^o – W 25802 Quod fecit sibi quisquis, hoc tollere debet.

144. Quam pateris dignè, poenam patiare benignè.

W 23336 – G 86r^o – W 17244 Non animo tristi fer penam quam meruisti, Quam p.d.p.p.b.

PARVUM

145. Fit nihil ex nihilo, summus philosophus inquit.

W 9597 – G 84v^o – W 8299 Ex nihilo nihil fit, s.p.i. – PLL p. 81 Ex nihilo nihil fit, vir prudentissimus inquit.

146. Nullus tam parvus saccus, quin sit prece dignus.

G 84v^o – G 93v^o t. pravus – W 19116 N.t. pravus s.q. est p.d.

147. Quisquis rixatur modico, vilis reputatur.

W 25590 – G 93v^o t. – G 85r – WF Q 123 Qui saepe rixantur, a paucis amantur.

148. Solâ scintillâ perit haec domus aut domus illa.

G 85r^o – W 29938 S.s.p.h.d. et ruit illa – WF D 34 De minima magnus scintilla nascitur ignis – PLL p. 39 Grandia scintillae praebent incendia parvae – Eccli. 11,34 A scintilla una augetur ignis, et ab uno doloso augetur sanguis.

149. De rebus minimis fit saepe molestia grandis. (9r^o)

W 5143 – G 85v^o – W 13872 Lis minimis verbis interdum maxima crescit.

150. Multa simul modica magnum faciunt cumulata.

FA cumulatum, *corr.* W 15430 = G 85r^o – WF F 58 Fontibus ex modicis concrescit maximus amnis.

151. Gobio dum capitur, tunc piscis captus habetur.

W 10351 – HF 207 *et* 407 – G 85r^o.

152. Nil est tam parvum quod ad ullum *non* valet usum.

W 16711 – G 85v^o.

153. Parvum servabis, donec majora parabis.

W 20791 – G 85r^o.

154. Plus valet il quam nil, sit procul ergo nihil.

FA P.v. id, *corr.* W 21800 – G 85r^o – HF 119 – W 21799 P.v. il q.n., pulicem glutiens lupus inquit = WF P 70.

155. Plus valet in manibus passer quam sub dubio grus.

W 21805 – G 85r^o – Seiler Z 45 p. 196 – WF P 72 P.v. in m. avis unica fronde duabus – HF 135 Est avis in rete melius grege quoque volante – Låle d 301 Est avis in dextra melius quam quatuor extra – Singer I p. 167 una avis in laqueo plus valet octo vagis – Oxford p. 44 A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush – PS 278 Parempi pyy pivossa kuin kaksi oksalla (une gelinotte en main vaut mieux que deux sur la branche).

156. Quamvis sint modica, prosunt tamen omnia lucra.

W 23436 – G 85r^o – W 23447 Q. sunt.

157. Quo minime reris, gurgite piscis erit.

G 85v^o – W 25666 Q.m.r. de g. pisce frueris – Ov. Ars 3,425 Casus ubique valet, semper tibi pendeat hamus; Quo minimum credis, gurgite piscis erat.

158. Sepes calcatur qua pronior esse putatur.

W 27359 – G 85v^o – Seps sepe c. ubi p.e.p. – PS 157 Siitä yli, mistä aita matalampi (On traverse là où la haie est plus basse) – DPD *fr* 1825 On passe la haie par où elle est la plus basse.

159. Sicut ego novi, plus testa pars valet ovi.

W 29587 – G 85v^o – W 31496 Tota, equidem novi, testa plus pars valet ovi – W 31501 Tota quidem n. testa plus pars v.o.

160. Pro modico, chari, nolite cani similari!

Man skal icke wara hundh för ett been skul.

W 22481 – G 84v^o – Suédois: "Il ne faut pas faire le chien pour avoir un os."

161. Expensas multo qui caret aere, fugit.

G 84v^o – *Cf. supra* 112.

162. Parca manus, labor assiduus, designat habere;

Parca manus, labor insolitus, desistit habere.

HF L 18 Larga manus, labor insolitus designat egere; Parca manus, labor assiduus designat habere – G 84v^o b Larga m. – W b 20642 Larga m.l. assiduus designat habere.

163. Si servas quod habes, commendat te sapientes.

W 29148 – G 84v^o – *Cf. supra* 153.

PANIS

164. Non bene prandetur ubi panis *abesse* videtur.

W 17306 N.b.p. cum p.a.v. = G 83v^o – W 17305 N.b. prandebit, potu quicumque carebit
– Cf. *supra* 104.

165. Sit cordis festum panem meminisse comestum.

W 29785 – G 83v^o Si[t] – HF 367 S.c.f.p. cogitare comestum.

PARENTES (9v^o)

166. Nati prudentes sunt, qui novere parentes.

W 15913 – HF 724 – G 84v^o et 84r^o.

167. Differt in hilla cujus mater fuit illa.

W 5665 – HF 624 – G 44r^o et 84v^o.

168. Quod vaccam vitulus comitetur, mos jubet et jus.

G 84r^o – W 26105 nos iubet – W 32610 Ut v.v.c. res i. et i. = G 77v^o.

169. Arbor naturam dat fructibus *atque* figuram.

W 1250 – HF 93 – G 84v^o – Seiler Z 45 p. 241 Fructibus ex propriis arbor cognoscitur
omnis – Taylor p. 123 – Luc. 6,44 Unaquaeque enim arbor de fructu suo cognoscitur.

170. Audit carnificem spernens audire parentem.

W 1734 – G 80r^o et 84r^o – W 1724 Audiet c.

171. Esto pius verè super his qui te genuere.

W 8041 – G 84r^o – Cato N. III 24 Aequa diligit caros pietatè parentes, Nec matrem
offendas, dum vis bonus esse parenti.

172. Gaudet uterque parens dum filius *est* bene parens.

G 80r^o et 84r^o – PLL p. 39 – W 10202 cum f.

173. Naturam vitis sequitur vinum, bene scitis.

W 15943 – HF 298 – G 77r^o et 84r^o – W 15940 Naturam fructus proprie sapit arboris
usque.

ONUS

174. Quod leve, valde grave fit onus, dum porto remote.

W 25844 – HF 454 – G 82r^o – Singer I p. 175.

OPERA

175. Nulla valent opera, si qua *deest* opera.

W 18966 – G 82v^o.

176. Affectus mentis operum patet experimentis.

G 10v^o – W 781 A.m.o. liquet e.

OPTARE

177. Crede quod optantes simul divitias cumulantes,

Fert, ut plebs fatur, saccus quod quisque precatur.

Önska och tigga gåår wähl alt i een säck.

W 3661 – G 82v^o C.q.o. sunt s.d.c. – W b 9376 – Suédois: "Souhaiter et mendier vont bien dans le même sac."

ORATIO

178. Super latrinam non debes dicere primam.

W 36858 – G 82v^o – W 18544 Non super latrinam tu d.d.p. "Hic et ubique Deum semper adoro meum."

179. Caelos non penetrat oratio quam canis orat.

W 2891 – G 82v^o – W 2894 Celum n.

180. Orator verbis valeat, vir bellicus armis.

Orator skall wara frij på tungen, krigaren på näfwen.

W 20346 – G 83r^o – Suédois: "L'orateur doit avoir licence de sa langue, le soldat de ses armes."

OBOEDIENTIA

181. Nemo est exemptus et legibus undique demptus.

W 16344 – G 80r^o.

182. Ut nequeas laedi, majori semper oboedi.

W 32465 – G 80r^o.

OBLIVIO (10r^o)

183. Labitur ex mente cito res bona, sed mala lente.

W 13354 – G 80r^o – WF L 1 Labitur a m.c.r.b.s.m.l.

184. Qui procul ex oculis, procul est a limine cordis.

W 24558 – G 80r^o – WF Q 119 Q.p. est o., p. est a lumine c. = HF 166 – W 25514 Quisquis abest oculis, fructu privatur amoris = Seiler Z 45 p. 241 – Quicquid abest oculis, fructu privatur amoris – DPD *fr* 623 Loin des yeux, loin du coeur – Oxford p. 480 Out of sight, out of mind – SL p. 407 Mitä ei silmä näe, sitä ei sydän itke (Ce que l'oeil ne voit pas, le coeur ne le pleure non plus).

185. Stultus =les sua mi= calcaria =viscitur obli=

W 30477 – G 80v^o – W 29004 Si quis eques sua se oblitum calcaria dicet, In grege stultorum constituendus erit – Cf. RABELAIS, Garg. et Pant. Deficiente pecu, deficit omne nia.

OCCASIO

186. Dum manet in nemore lupus, est plebs *absque* timore.

G 80v^o – W 6594 *absque* clamore.

187. Ferrum quando calet, cudere *quisque* valet.

W 9362 – HF 25 – G 80v^o – W 9360 F. dum candet, cudere quemque decet – Fecunda Ratis et Singer I p. 95 Dum calidum fuerit, debetur cudere ferrum = Seiler Z 45 p. 246 – DPF *fr* 11 Il faut battre le fer tandis qu'il est chaud – PS 23 Silloin on taottava kun rauta on kuuma (Il faut le battre lorsque le fer est chaud) – Oxford p. 626 Strike while the iron is hot.

OCCIUM

188. Hastula nulla cadit, dum sector ad ocia vadit.

När timbermannen spelar, så falla eij spånor.

W 10649 – HF 109 – G 80v^o – Suédois: "Quand le menuisier s'amuse, les copeaux ne volent pas."

OCCULTA, SECRETA

189. Sub nive quod tegitur, dum nix perit, omne videtur:

Quicquid nix celat, solis calor omne revelat.

G 81r^o – W 25302 ipse revelat – HF 695 – WF S a 200 – W b 30544.

190. Non omni socio cordis secreta revelo.

W 18145 – G 81r^o.

191. Contentum scitur saccus dum post aperitur.

W 3292 – HF 82 – G 81r^o.

192. Non manet occultum quod latro facit nec inultum.

W 17990 – G 81v^o.

193. Prudens celabis quod amicis turpe putabis,

Nec culpent plures, quod solus pandere cures.

W 22777 – G 81v^o Ne c. – Cato N. II,7 Quod pudeat, socios prudens celare memento, Ne plures culpent id quod tibi displicet uni.

194. Si secretarum seriem vis noscere rerum,
 Ebrius insipiens pueri dicunt tibi verum.
 W 29143 – G 81v^o – FG 288 – W 3894 b Ebrius et pueri d.t.v.

195. Ne confidatis secreta nec haec retegatis,
 Cum quibus egistis pugnae discrimina tristis.
 W 15973 – G 81v^o.

196. Secretum *quodcunque* tibi committitur uni:
 Caelato semper, licet irascaris in illum.
 W 27782 – G 81v^o.

OFFENSAE (10v^o)

197. Chari rixantur, per se *quoque* pacificantur.
 G 82r^o – W 2360 Cari rixantes conciliantur – HF 467 C.r. *quoque* per se p.

198. Pulvere, qui laedit, sed laesus marmore scribit.
Then illa giör, förgäter tedh snart,
Then skadan fåår, haar lenge thed erfört.

W 22886 – G 82r^o – W 42132 In vento scribit ledens, in marmore lesus – Suédois: "Qui fait du mal, l'oublie bientôt; qui le subit, le ressent longtemps."

OFFICIUM

199. Officiis gratus sis, ut fias adamatus.
 G 82r^o – W 19751 O.g. fias, ut sis semper [ad]amatus – Cato N. IV 42 Grator officii, quo sis mage carior, esto, Ne nomen subeas, quod dicunt officiperdi.

200. Quodlibet officium lucri pinguedine crassum.
 W 26128 – G 82r^o.

201. *Utraque* mundatur dum palmâ palma lavatur.
 W 32752 – G 82v^o – W 32126 Una manus reliquam lavat, ut relavetur ab ipsa – SEN. Apoc. 9 Manus manum lavat = PETRONE 45 – Otto s. v. manus 3.

NATURA BONA VEL MALA

202. Artem natura superat, sine vi sine cura.
 W 1475 – G 76v^o – HF 542 A.n.s., dant hec sua iura.

203. Plus vi naturae septem bobus attrahe jure.
 Ex vi naturae verret qui caret ungue.
 G 76v^o – W a 21815 P. vi n.s.b. trahe i. = HF 543.

204. Cinge caput lauro, gemmis, tege corpus et auro,

Qui fuerit pridem, mansurus rusticus idem.

FA tege caput, *corr.* W 2756 = G 77r⁰ – WF C 44 Q. fueras p., remanebis r.i. = FG 117 – Seiler Z 45 p. 241 C.c.l.g.t.c. et a.: Q.f. olim, manebis r.i. – W 32177 Unge caput lucro, gemmis tege corpus et auro, Aureus esto quidem, tamen es tu rusticus idem.

205. Cantat avis quaevis, sicut rostrum sibi crevit.

W 2309 – WF C 8 – G 77r⁰ – Singer p. 91 – W 2315 Cantus avis talis, rostri formatio qualis – PS 4 Äänellään lintukin laulaa (L'oiseau chante avec sa voix à lui).

206. Cautus homo cavit quotquot natura notavit.

W 2556 – G 77r⁰ – W 2566 Cave quod natura notavit!

207. Rustica natura semper sequitur sua jura.

G 77r⁰ – W 26900 R.n. semper querit sua i. – WF R 79 R. gens semper sequitur sua iura libenter – W 27002 R. turba suos nescit deponere mores – Rylands 14v⁰ 12.

208. Vir unus more veteri solo cibatur ore.

Een man kan på enu snu stundh

eij äta än som medh een munn.

FA V.u. veteri more, *corr.* W 93586 = G 77v⁰ – Suédois: "Un homme ne peut manger d'un seul coup qu'avec une bouche."

209. Vulpes vult fraudem, lupus agnum, faemina laudem.

W 94224 – G 77v⁰ – W 34221 V. amat f. – WF V 140 V. amat f., leo praedam, femina l., Nauta levem portum, lupus agnum, rusticus agrum.

210. Bos ad praesepe conatur currere saepe.

W 2142 – G 77v⁰ – W 18268 Non presepe bovum, sed bos presepe sequatur.

NEQUAM (11r⁰)

211. Nequam nequitiam monstrat ubique suam.

W 16489 – WF N 46 – 78r⁰.

212. Nequam per verba, per odorem noscitur herba.

W 16491 – G 78r⁰.

213. Per rubram barbam debes cognoscere nequam;

Multi non rubram, sed habent cum crimine nigram.

W 21248 – G 78r⁰ – Singer III. 100 – W 21249 a Per ruffos crines d.c. viles – W 30559 a Sub rossa barba latet fiducia parva – W 30560 Sub rubra pelle non est aliquis sine felle – WF S 202 Sub varia pelle mens saepe latet sine felle – PLL p. 20 Sub ruffa pelle est animus rarò sine felle – Oxford p. 535 A red beard and a black head, catch him a good

trick and take him dead – SL p. 349 Punapäiset ei pääse taivaaseen (Les rouquins n'entrent pas au ciel) – Taylor pp. 70 et 128.

214. Quo nequam ocior, tanto sors [est] sibi major.

Ju argare skalk, iu bettere lycka.

W 25674 Q.n. peior, tanto sibi est sors maior – G 78r^o Q.n. peior, t. sors est s.m. – W 25699 Q. quisquam peior, tanto felicior exstat – Seiler Z 47 p. 386 – Suédois: "Plus il est malin, plus il a de chance."

215. Stans aut scurra sedens, est tamen aequivalens.

W 30281 – G 78r^o – W 30289 S. scurro ve[l] sedens, est velut equivalens = HF 105.

NIHILI – RES VANAE

216. Ex ovis pullus non natis serò fit ullus.

G 78v^o – W 8317 Ex o.p.n.n. quando f.u. – HF 601 Ex pravo pullus bonus ovo non venit ullus – W 8250 Ex frixis ovis pullus numquam venit ullus = HF 53.

217. Non affigatur ibi res ubi stare negatur.

Illa fäster man skutan thär ingen påle finnes.

W 17208 – HF 742 – G 78v^o – Suédois: "C'est mal attacher un bateau où il n'y a pas de poteau."

218. Quod nihil et nulli nocet, uti *que* non nocet ulli.

W 25914 – HF 782 – G 78v^o.

219. Clericus ad bella pronus, lasciva puella,

Martius in flore: careant hi prorsus honore.

G 78v^o – W 2844 C. ad b.p.l.p., M. in f. caret horum finis honore = WF C 54 et FG 15 – W 22323 Presbiter ad – W 2860 Clericus in bello, preceps in verbo puella, M. in f. raro tenere vigorem.

220. Si canis ex hilla religatur, mordet in illa.

Een hundh tå wijst holler medh hest

than widh een korf är bunden fest.

W 28290 – G 78v^o – W 17351 Non canis ad hillam ligatur, m. in i. = HF 349 – PS 369 Ei oo uskomista koiraa makkara kaulaan (Ne vous fiez pas au chien avec une saucisse autour du cou) – Suédois: "Un chien est bien tenu lorsqu'il est lié avec une saucisse." – BERNANOS, Journal d'un curé de campagne, 1936, p. 1068: "Un de ces bons bourgeois romains qui ne devaient pas, comme de juste, attacher leur chien avec des saucisses." – TLF, V, p. 704: "Ne pas attacher son chien avec des saucisses". Le sens: "Être d'une avarice rare".

CARMINA (11v⁰)

221. Dictio lassat equum, mel diligit, abstrahe primam,
Deme duas alias, est tibi dulce lutum.

W VII 41519 a – *Réponse*: CURSUS.

CASTANEA

222. Arbor inest sylvis, quae scribitur 8 figuris:
Fine tribus demptis vix unam in mille videbis.

W 1246 – G 122r – Hauréau VI p. 120 – *Réponse*: CASTANEA.

223. Viva fui, vivos pavi, superambulo vivos
Et regor a vivis nec vivo dum fero vivos.
Nobis sub ponte virthus (*sic*) jacebit in igne.

Réponse: NYMPHA?

A. P.

224. Est quoddam sine P cui servit noxque diesque;
Cui P si dederis, facies tunicam tibi rite.

W 7843 Est quiddam s. – *Réponse*: PANNUS.

Q. P.

225. In densis sylvis venor bis quinque catellis.
Quod capio, perdo, quod non capio, mihi servo.

W 11730 – G 122r – Friedreich 181, Anm. – *Réponse*: PECTEN.

G.

226. Mater me genuit, eadem mox gignitur â me.

W 14471 – G 122v – W 1447 M. me peperit, pario mox filia matrem – *Réponse*:
GLACIES.

H.

227. Est animal quoddam *quod* est bene notum,
De mane quadrupes, medio bipes, sero tripes.

W 7275 – W 4635 – *Réponse*: HOMO.

B.

228. Sum decor in manibus, sustendo senem, rego gressus,
Sum terror canibus, habeat me pro duce fessus.

W N. S. 4312 S.d. in m., senem rego dirigo gressus, Et fuga sum c.h. me p.d.f. –
Réponse: BACULUM.

U. (12r⁰)

229. Dic mihi *quod* flumen soleat conscendere montem.

Hoc mihi si solvas, Oedipus alter eris.

W 5569 – *Réponse*: URINA.

230. Signa te signa temere me tangis et angis.

Roma tibi subito motibus ibit amor.

W a 29616 – FA *précédé de* "Sathan hos versus reciprocos recitasse fertur, cum Bizantium Episcopum ex pacto ad Tartare ducere vellet." – Friedreich 27.

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DPD = Dictionnaire de Proverbes et Dictons, éd. F. Montreynaud, A. Pierron et F. Suzzoni, Paris, 1989 (*fr* = partie française).

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FA = Florilegium Aboëense (voir supra, p. 193)

Fecunda Ratis = Egberts von Lüttich Fecunda Ratis, éd. Ernst Voigt, Halle, 1889.

FG = Florilegium Gottingense, éd. E. Voigt in Romanische Forschungen III, 1887, p. 281 sqq.

FO = Florilegium St Omer, éd. E. Voigt in Romanische Forschungen VI, 1891, p. 557 sqq.

Friedreich = J. W. Friedreich, Geschichte des Rätsels. Dresden, 1860.

- G = *Proverbialia dicteria, ethicam et moralem doctrinam complectentia, versibus veteribus rhythmicis, ab antiquitate mutuatis, una cum Germanica interpretatione ... per Andream Gartnerum Mariaemontanum, s. l., 1575.*
- Hauréau = B. Hauréau, *Notices et extraits de quelques manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale 1–6. Réimpr. Farnborough, 1967.*
- HF = *Altniederländische Sprichwörter nach der ältesten Sammlung. Gesprächbüchlein, romanisch und flämisch. Herausgegeben von Hoffmann von Fallersleben, Hannover, Carl Rümpler, 1854 (in *Horae Belgicae. Studia atque opera Hoffmanni Fallerslebens, Pars nona*).*
- Låle = *Danmarks gamle ordspråk I:1–2. Peder Låles Ordsprog udgivet af Iver Kjær og Erik Petersen, København 1979.*
- Otto = A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und Sprichwörterlichen Redensarten der Römer, Hildesheim, 1964.*
- Oxford = *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs, éd. W. G. Smith, 2^{ème} éd., Oxford, 1952.*
- PLL = *Caspar Seidelius, Portula linguae Latinae, ex sacrarum paginarum, Bb Patrum ... aliorumque Doctorum Virorum monumentis ... confabricata & erecta. Aboae (Turku), 1671.*
- PS = *Proverbia septentrionalia. 1900 Balto-Finnic Proverb Types with Russian, Baltic, German and Scandinavian Parallels, p.p. M. Kuusi, Helsinki, 1985.*
- Rylands = *A Medieval Collection of Latin and English Proverbs and Riddles, from the Rylands Latin MS, 394, éd. W. A. Pantin, Manchester, 1930.*
- Seiler = F. Seiler, *Deutsche Sprichwörterkunde, Munich, 1922.*
- Seiler Z = F. Seiler, "Deutsche Sprichwörter in mittelalterlicher lateinischer Fassung", in: *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 45, 1913, p. 236–291.
- Serlo = *Serlon de Wilton, Poèmes latins. Texte critique avec une introduction et des tables, p.p. Jan Öberg, Stockholm, 1965. Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia XIV.*
- Singer = S. Singer, *Sprichwörter des Mittelalters, Berne, 1944.*
- SL = *Sananlaskut (Les proverbes). 15904 proverbes provenant des archives de la Société du folklore finnois, choisis par K. Laukkanen et P. Hakamies. Introduction par M. Kuusi. Société de Littérature finnoise, Vaasa (Finlande), 1989.*
- Taylor = A. Taylor, *The Proverb, Cambridge, 1931.*
- TLF = *Trésor de la langue française. Dictionnaire de la langue du XIX^e et du XX^e siècle, CNRS, Paris, 1971–94.*
- W = H. Walther, *Proverbia sententiaeque latinitatis medii aevi. Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters in alphabetischer Anordnung I–, Göttingen, 1963–.*

WF = Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sinnsprüche des Mittelalters aus Handschriften gesammelt, 2^{ème} éd. J. Werner et P. Flury, Heidelberg, 1966.

N.B.: *a, b, c* ... devant un vers ou une partie de vers désignent le 1^{er}, 2^{ème}, 3^{ème} vers d'un distique, tristique, etc.

Les abréviations des titres d'ouvrages classiques sont les mêmes que celles du Thesaurus linguae Latinae.

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ADDENDA TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHY IN ARCTOS XXX

ROLF WESTMAN

The pages 7 to 20 of *Arctos* XXX (1996, printed 1997) contain "History of classical scholarship in Finland: a bibliography". Here are some addenda, all of them pertaining to part II, "Accounts of the careers of individual scholars" (pp. 12–17, nos. 33–87). Knowledge of six of the following articles I have obtained from a not yet published manuscript sent to me by Prof. Heikki Solin on the history of Finnish research in ancient epigraphy (52 pp.). The articles on Ph.J. Bruun, R. Pomoell and H. Zilliacus I have found myself.

Every article except those on Bruun and Pomoell is provided with a photograph of the person whose career is outlined, that on Linkomies with a drawing. (In the case of Edvard af Brunér, the picture is probably a photograph of a painted portrait.)

The addenda are related to the numbering system of the bibliography in *Arctos* XXX.

After 35. **af Brunér (1816–1871)**: Flinck, Edwin, article in Finnish in: *Kansallinen elämäkerrasto* (National collection of biographies, vol. 1–5, Helsinki 1927–1934) 1, 1927, 336.

Before 37. **Philipp Jacob Bruun (1804–1880)**: "Philipp Bruun. (Nekrolog)." Anonymous obituary in German in *Russische Revue. Monatschrift für die Kunde Russlands*, herausg. von Carl Röttger, IX. Jahrgang, 10. Heft, St. Petersburg 1880, 361–373. – Under the obituary are only the following signs: "α. _".

Before 37. **Idem**: Anonymous obituary in German in *Bursians Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft*, 20. Band,

Abteilung "Biographisches Jahrbuch 1880", pp.22–23, Berlin 1881*. – After the text there is, within brackets, the following remark: "Nach einem Artikel in der Russischen Revue herausgegeben von C. Röttger, IX. Jahrgang S. 361 ff."

Before 52. **Lagus (1821–1909)**: Synnerberg, Carl, "Wilhelm Lagus" (in Swedish), pp. 1–59 of part II ("Minnesteckningar") of *Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland* 90, 1910.

Before 53. **Linkomies (1894–1963)**: Suolahti, Jaakko, obituary in Italian, *Studi Romani* 11, 1963, 566–567.

After 61. **Pomoell (1894–1975)**: Koskenniemi, Heikki, obituary in Finnish, *FORUM* (mimeogr.) X, 1976, 7–8.

In 64 a, line 3: after "1833", add "–1847".

After 81. **Oskar Emil Tudeer (1850–1930)**: Rein, Edv., obituary in Finnish, *Valvoja-Aika* 8, 1930, 349–359.

After 83. **Lauri Oskar Theodor Tudeer (1884–1955)**: Linkomies, Edwin, obituary in German, *Sitzungsberichte der Finnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften – Proceedings of the Finnish Academy of Science and Letters*, 1955 (printed 1956), 61–67.

Before 84. [a new name] **Nils Robert af Ursin (1854–1936)**: Voionmaa, Väinö, article in Finnish in *Kansallinen elämäkerrasto* (cf. about af Brunér above) 5, 1934, 514–515.

* From Andreas Thierfelder, "Gesamtverzeichnis der Nekrologe des 'Bursian' 1877–1943", *Lustrum* 3, 1958 (printed 1959), 251–259. Ph.J. Bruun, the only Finnish scholar who has received an obituary there, is mentioned on p. 253.

Additional note. I want to apologize for having maintained in a review in the same *Arctos* (XXX, p. 276) that Capasso edited Polystratus in 1978. A mistake: the editor was Giovanni Indelli. And I had myself reviewed his edition in *Arctos* XVI (1982), p.234 f.

Before 86. **Henrik Zilliacus (1908–1992)**: Hohti, Paavo, obituary in English, *Byzantium and the North* (Acta Byzantina Fennica) 5, 1990–1991 (printed 1992), 9–16 (text 13–16).

Index of authors (references to numbers without "before" or "after")

Anonymous – 37 (bis). Flinck – 35 and see Linkomies. Hohti – 86. Koskeniemi, H. – 61. Linkomies – 83. Rein – 81. Suolahti – 53. Synnerberg – 52. Voionmaa – 84.

DE NOVIS LIBRIS IUDICIA

Utriusque linguae peritus. Studia in honorem Toivo Viljamaa. Ed. by Jyri Vaahtera & Raija Vainio. Turun yliopiston julkaisuja (Annales Universitatis Turkuensis), sarja – ser. B: Humaniora, osa – tom. 219. Turku 1997. ISBN 951–29–0972–3. x, 182 p. FIM 80.

This book was dedicated to Toivo Viljamaa, Professor of Classical Languages and Culture at the University of Turku, on the occasion of his 60th birthday. The honorand, who is known as an excellent classical philologist with considerable interest in linguistics, was given a rich volume comprising articles by his pupils and colleagues. Among the writers there are some renowned and well-established scholars as well as post-graduate students who are producing their first article. This is inevitably mirrored by a slight unevenness of quality between the works of individual authors which, however, surely does not make the book less fascinating. The twenty contributions, preceded by a beautiful dedicatory introduction by Martti Nyman, deal with manifold themes which, partly, reflect the fruitful activity of the members and staff of Viljamaa's own Department. On a broader scale, besides being a traditionally construed Festschrift, the book provides an interesting, though partial insight into what is going on in classical studies in Finland. The contents are briefly as follows: H. Solin (on *Spes* and similar names; cf. the first name *Toivo* 'hope'), R. Westman (comments on PHerc. 1251), S. Jäkel (Homer and Greek tragedy), M. Kaimio – N. Nykopp (interesting observations on the censure of the style of minor tragedians in Old Comedy as well as the reception of "bad" poets by later generations in general), P. Sandberg (critical thought and references to sources in Pliny's Natural History), A. Timonen (Galba's death and narrative techniques in Roman biography), R. Hälikk (intertextuality in Seneca's *Phaedra*), R. Heikkinen (C. Scaevola as a moral example in Seneca), K. Mustakallio (the duties of Vestal Virgins), Jyri Vaahtera (Dionysius of Halicarnassus on Roman augurs), A. Helttula (names of mushrooms), Jaana Vaahtera (Aristotle's *ὀνόματα πεποιημένα*), A. Luhtala (semantics of the verb *amare*), V.-M. Rissanen (Cicero's concept and use of analogy), O. Salomies (quotations from Cicero's speeches in Donatus and Servius), R. Vainio (causes of the incorrect use of Latin according to Roman-grammarians), P. Castrén (everyday life and homely speech in the works of the church fathers), L.G. de Anna (ancient origins of the legend of Hippopodes), L. Lindgren (G. Stiernhielm, Swedish poet of the 17th century [in Rumanian]), I. Kajanto (Didrik Ruuth's *Propemptikon*: the first Finnish humanist poem). The book concludes with Viljamaa's bibliography. As a multi-faceted philologist, Viljamaa is likely to have read every contribution with delight and interest.

Mika Kajava

The Cambridge Companion to Greek Tragedy: Ed. by P.E. Easterling. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1997. 392 p. ISBN 0-521-41245-5, GBP 40.00 (hardback). ISBN 0-521-42351-1, GBP 14.95 (paperback).

The study of Greek tragedy has in the last few years benefited from several good handbooks and collections of essays centred on special themes. The new Cambridge companion answers a different kind of need: in the form of twelve essays by seven distinguished scholars (Peter Burian, Paul Cartledge, Pat Easterling, Simon Goldhill, Edith Hall, Fiona MacIntosh, Oliver Taplin) it presents the main aspects of Greek tragedy in the light of the recent trends in scholarly criticism. In spite of multiple authorship, the presentation maintains a uniform level of style, being at the same time accessible for the Greekless reader and non-specialist in the traditions of Attic theatre, and interesting, even challenging, for a classicist. Theoretical insight, documentary evidence and examples taken from the dramas themselves combine to give a many-faceted view of the themes discussed.

The essays are divided into three groups. In the first group, the main emphasis is on tragedy as a civic institution in Athens – a theme which has been very much in the forefront lately, and justly so – concentrating on tragedy as a phenomenon of fifth century Athens instead of the views of Aristotle or later literary criticism. The last group discusses the reception of tragedy in later Antiquity, the Renaissance and modern times, especially in regard to performance – a theme which as yet has not received enough attention, but is clearly a growing interest of scholarship. In the middle section, some central aspects of Greek tragedy are discussed in a series of very good treatments, giving rich insights into the polyphony inherent in the sociology of the scene and the audience, in the language, in the form and performance, and in the use of myth as tragic plot.

One of the very good points emerging from these essays is the continuous attention given to the interaction between the audience and the plays. One of the embarrassing uncertainties we face – very well brought out by Goldhill in ch. 3 – is the fact that the evidence for the composition of this audience is so inconclusive that we still cannot be sure whether it included women or not.

These essays give a rich and variegated picture of tragedy, but the overpowering faith in the civic function of theatre strikes me as a bit too monolithic. It is good that this aspect has been emphasized by recent research, but surely it is time to explore the emotional, artistic and intellectual challenges to the audience as individuals and not merely as members of the state. I do not believe that the prevalent model of myth and tragedy functioning as a confirmation of the values and norms of the Athenian state in any way exhausts the meaning of tragedy for the fifth-century Athenian audience. And – as Pat Easterling's excellent essay about the reception of tragedy in Hellenistic and later Antiquity shows (ch. 9 "From repertoire to canon") – tragedy very soon began to be presented and appreciated in non-Athenian contexts, too, where the civic function was at least different. Even in Athens, the situation hardly was so simple as some expressions used by some writers seem to imply. For instance, although Cartledge (p. 4) and Easterling (p. 213) call attention to the presence of several non-Attic playwrights even in the fifth century, we find such sentences as "the relationship between the Athenian tragic poet and his audience was, formally, that of political equals" (Hall, p. 95; of course true of the three major figures, but all tragic poets writing for Athens were not Athenians) and "the fact that

tragedy is written by citizens – adult, enfranchised males...” (Goldhill, p. 344; this fact is not a fact).

The use of this rich and stimulating volume is facilitated by a glossary of transcribed Greek terms, a chronology of theatrical (and some historic) events, a useful list of texts, English translations and commentaries, an extensive bibliography and an index of subjects.

Maarit Kaimio

NEIL HOPKINSON: *Greek Poetry of the Imperial Period. An Anthology*. Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics, Cambridge University Press 1994. 224 p. ISBN 0–521–41155–6, GBP 37.50 (hardback). ISBN 0–521–42313–9, GBP 15.95 (paperback).

As the editor says in the preface, the Greek poetry of the Roman period, and especially the later Roman, is an area of Greek literature which in the course of classical studies remains unfamiliar to a student of classics. This anthology is a welcome attempt to correct the situation. The book begins with a brief review of the historical and cultural background of the period in question, i.e. from the first centuries AD until the 6th century. The geographical area as well as the time span is vast, and it is impossible to give a detailed picture of various phenomena in only a couple of pages. The editor has succeeded in giving an idea about what kind of a world we encounter by taking up some major areas: 1. Historical developments, 2. Education and culture, 3. Christianity and 4. Pagan poetry in the Imperial period. This provides a sufficient background for the actual theme – the poets and their production.

The anthology itself introduces a total of 11 poets of collections of poems: *Anacreontea*, Mesomedes, Epigrams, Quintus Smyrnaeus, Nonnus, Musaeus, Oppian, [Oppian], [Manetho], [Orpheus] and Babrius. For each part a bibliography for further reading is provided. The texts are given in Greek with a good and thorough commentary. In addition, some basic facts (if known) are given about each poet, and the contents of the poems are explained in a few words. Since there are no translations, these overviews of the contents are very helpful especially for those students/readers who do not read Greek fluently. The commentaries also help in other ways: the individual texts are handled in great detail, and morphological as well as syntactical explanations are given. The editor often comments on the choices of words and phrases which helps to understand the influences of Greek literary tradition and linguistic phenomena (e.g. Atticism). The reader is also guided through cultural history and mythology.

In the course of reading the anthology I could not help wondering why the editor had chosen these particular poets and/or poems and why were they put in this order. A few lines on the criteria for these arrangements would have cleared up the point, especially in the case of Epigrams. To sum up, the anthology fulfills its purposes. It is a thorough enough introduction to the less-known Greek poetry for students as well as for those who are mainly focused on the ”more classical periods”.

Manna Vesterinen

RAIJA SOLLAMO: *Repetition of the Possessive Pronouns in the Septuagint*. Society of Biblical Literature: Septuagint and Cognate Studies Series, Number 40. Scholars Press, Atlanta 1995. ISBN 0-7885-0149-6. 120 p.

In this volume, Sollamo illuminates the translation technique of the Pentateuch by examining the use of the possessive pronouns. This is a linguistic feature which is very revealing in this respect, because the Hebrew and the Greek languages differ sharply from each other: while it is idiomatic in Hebrew to repeat the possessive suffix even in chains of several coordinate nouns, the normal Greek stylistic practice tends to avoid altogether the use of adjectival possessive pronouns or the genitives of the personal pronouns, if the possessive function is obvious in the sentence. In her study, Sollamo first delineates the stylistic practice normal in Hellenistic Greek, using as her material a selection from historiography (Polybius), Ptolemaic papyri (both official documents and private letters), inscriptions and Jewish Greek writers, and considers the frequency of the possessive pronouns and their positions in the clause. She then proceeds with a comparison of the Hebrew original and the Greek translation of the Septuagint, working with a rigorous schema considering the use and position of the possessive pronoun through the five books of the Pentateuch. The disposition may seem repetitive, but it is necessary for the main object of the study, namely to get a picture of the possible divergences in the handling of the possessive pronouns in the different books.

Sollamo starts from the commonly accepted hypothesis that the different books of the Pentateuch have different translators, and the results of this careful study point to the same direction. There are clear differences between the books, Gen and Exod showing markedly less repetition of the possessive pronouns and thus taking the demands of the target language better in account than Lev, Deut and especially Num. Sollamo does not work on the basis of quantitative analysis only, but in the main body of the study she takes into account the stylistic frame of the text (narrative/discourse/legal text etc.) as well as the more immediate context, which often seems to guide the translator in the choice of expression. In many cases Sollamo also discusses the problems of the original Hebrew text and makes suggestions for the wording used by the translator on the basis of his choice of expression in Greek. The quantitative results are collected in the form of three tables in the final chapter *Different translation techniques*, with a critical analysis.

In the light of one such feature as the use of possessive pronouns it would perhaps not be safe to make far-reaching conclusions about the different translators of the Pentateuch, but taken together with the results of other studies made by the Finnish researchers of the Septuagint (mainly by I. Soisalon-Soininen, A. Aejmelaeus and Sollamo herself) a convincingly coherent picture starts to emerge. There are interesting divergencies, too, namely in the intermediary position of Leviticus between a free and literal practice of translation (pp. 83f., 87f.).

Maarit Kaimio

HEIKKI SOLIN: *Die stadtrömische Sklavennamen*. Ein Namenbuch, I–III. Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei, Beiheft 2. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1996. ISBN 3–515–07002–8. 727 S. DEM 196.

Da von finnischen Gelehrten publizierte Werke gewohnheitsmäßig in *Arctos* nicht besprochen werden, haben wir entschieden, statt einer Rezension dieses uns vom Verlag zugesandten Namenbuches einige vom Verfasser selbst zusammengestellte Nachträge und Verbesserungen darzubringen.

S.8: unter Tiberius – Nero kommt hinzu *P. Pomponius O.l. Salvius* Epigraphica 57, 1995, 168 Nr. 9. – S.19: unter *Martia* kommt hinzu *Martia* 23825 (3.Jh.n.Chr.). – S.40: *Atticus*: 3596 unter 1./2.Jh. und 15694 unter 2.Jh. sind beide besser in die Jahre 50–150 zu datieren. – S.66: *Lucrio*: 22610, in die Zeit zwischen Augustus und Nero datiert, ist älter, circa 40/30 v.Chr. – S.95: *Fortunatus*: 15694 unter 1./2.Jh. ist besser in die Jahre 50–150 anzusetzen. – S.100: *Vitalio libertus* NSA 1920, 229 = RAC 1, 1924, 98 muß als ICUR 26460 zitiert werden. – S.103: *Amabilis* (Sexus unbekannt): 11507 gehört eher in die zweite Hälfte des 1.Jh.s n.Chr. – S.117: 29436 unter 1./2.Jh. gehört in die Jahre 50–150. – S.123: *Hospita*: NSA 1950, 84, ein Beleg, der unter Augustus steht, ist eher cäsarisch. – S.610: *Spartacus*: 12889 kann anstatt ins 2./3.Jh. genauer ins 2.Jh. angesetzt werden. – S.635: Frauennamen: am Anfang ist zu setzen ein neuer Beleg von der ersten Hälfte des 1.Jh.s v.Chr.: *Plotia A.l.* [- - -] I² 2527 c vgl. V.Kockel, Porträtreiefs stadtrömischer Grabbauten, Mainz 1993, 85 Nr. A2. – Die griechischen Namen werden in leicht verbesserter Form in der 2. Auflage des griechischen Namenbuches einfließen. Hier nur ein Nachtrag. Die aus CIL VI 10730 bekannte *Aelia Sozusa* hat sich neuerdings als eine Freigelassene entpuppt durch die von D. Boschung – H. von Hesberg – A. Linfert, Die antiken Skulpturen in Chatsworth, Mainz 1997, 60 Nr. 54 publizierte Büste der *Sozusa*.

Heikki Solin

A Survey of Greek and Latin Inscriptions on Stone in Swedish Collections. Edited by Bengt E. THOMASSON in collaboration with Monica PAVESE. Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae, ser. in 8°, XXII; Gli Istituti Stranieri a Roma per l'XI Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina. Stockholm 1997. ISBN 91–7042–154–4, ISSN 0283–8389. 129 p., 74 fig. nel testo. SEK 250.

Il nucleo delle collezioni epigrafiche svedesi fu costituito dalla collezione Piranesi, acquistata dal re Gustavo III negli anni 1780 in Italia, oggi distribuita in tre musei di Stoccolma. Durante gli ultimi due secoli, le collezioni svedesi in Svezia sono aumentate, e contengono oggi oltre 100 iscrizioni greche e latine provenienti da diverse regioni del mondo antico. Però, la più importante collezione svedese si trova a Capri, nella Villa S. Michele che appartenne al famoso medico Axel Munthe. In tutto, la pubblicazione del Thomasson e dei suoi collaboratori contiene 202 iscrizioni. Si pubblicano per la prima volta alcuni testi importanti, ad es. il n. 165, un'iscrizione onoraria latina per Erode Attico. Poichè si pubblicano soltanto le iscrizioni lapidarie, è rimasta esclusa almeno l'interessante dedica per Apollo *Grannus* CIL XIII 10036,60 = ILS 9306, trovata (ma non fabbricata) in Svezia. Nel complesso, si tratta di un lavoro di ottima qualità con letture giuste e controllabili dalle

fotografie incluse spesso nel testo. I segni diacritici sono generalmente chiari; l'unico dettaglio discutibile è l'uso del segno ¶ nel posto di |⁵, |¹⁰ ecc.

Passiamo alla collezione di Axel Munthe ad Anacapri, edita da Monica Pavese. La natura del collezionismo del Munthe ha sfortunatamente reso le provenienze della maggior parte delle pietre incerte. Una parte fu trovata o comprata a Capri, il resto nel mercato antiquario, anche piccoli frammenti, come vedremo sotto (n. 22); tra le pietre, alcune sono di origine urbana, altre albane, puteolane, veliterne ecc. Questo è importante soprattutto dal punto di vista della cultura epigrafica caprese: anche se ci sono certamente delle iscrizioni di origine caprese, tali testi sono difficilmente individuabili, come spiega l'editrice nella sua introduzione (pp. 15–17). Dopo la pubblicazione della stessa collezione da parte di H. Thylander (1962), la provenienza di molte iscrizioni da lui pubblicate come inedite è stata chiarita da Luigi Moretti e dalla Pavese. L'edizione di quest'ultima è un grande passo avanti da quella del Thylander. Le letture sono quasi sempre corrette e i commenti sufficienti. Sono stati combinati nuovi testi dai frammenti pubblicati separatamente. I difetti della nuova edizione sono, da una parte, la mancanza dell'apparato critico quando le iscrizioni sono già state pubblicate nel CIL, e, dall'altra, la mancanza delle fotografie di tali iscrizioni, le cui fotografie sono reperibili nell'opera del Thylander.

Con il permesso della Intendenza del Museo S. Michele, Mika Kajava, Heikki Solin ed io abbiamo potuto controllare le iscrizioni nel maggio del '97. Dunque, vorrei fare alcune note sulla lettura e commento dei singoli testi. Il controllo delle letture è stato un lavoro comune; ringrazio Kajava e Solin anche per i loro commenti sull'edizione. Prima è necessario fare alcuni appunti generali. Perché viene utilizzato il segno = prima e dopo le cifre? Il motivo di sciogliere l'abbreviazione $\text{D} ((C))(aiae)$ non mi è chiaro. Trattandosi dei frammenti, perché il testo composto dai frammenti non viene pubblicato come unità (nei nn. 23 e 35)? Quando una parte dell'iscrizione è scomparsa, ma fu vista dagli autori più antichi, sarebbe convenzionale la sottolineatura (n. 67). In alcuni casi mancano le misure (ad es. il n. 53); perché non sono incluse nel testo, ma nelle note? Manca anche il riferimento all'iscrizione n. 9 del Thylander, ovviamente perduta poichè non ne fa cenno né la Pavese, né l'abbiamo trovata noi.

Passo adesso alle singole iscrizioni. 3: Il prenome nella *pars antica* è totalmente scomparso, dunque: [*L(ucius)*]. – 6: Si tratta in realtà di CIL VI 28515, come ha fatto notare H. Solin, Tyche 4, 1989, 167; l'inizio dell'iscrizione è: *D(is) M(anibus) Venusti, | qui vix(it)* ecc. Un riferimento all'età traianea o post-traianea non c'è. – 8: Non è un'ipotesi del Mommsen (CIL) che si trattasse di un'iscrizione del Museo Borgiano. Questo è stato affermato da un autore antico, l'Amaduzzi (cfr. anche i nn. 9 e 10, dove il testimone essenziale è il Cardinali). – 9: CVLTO è la parola *culto(rum)* abbreviata, non una forma di *cultus*. – 11: È particolare la dedica a *Triviae*, le divinità dei *trivia*. Le dediche di questo tipo sono caratteristiche delle province illiriche e germaniche; la pietra può, dunque, provenire anche da lontano. – 13: È possibile anche ... *A(ulo) Fulvi[o ---] | [---] f]ratri s[uo]*. – 14: Nella r. 2 si vedono una M e forse una O. – 15: Si può leggere *Jtino* nell'inizio. – 17: *Felicitas* è un nome. – 19: Nella r. 3 abbiamo letto *conmpa[r---*]. – 22: Il riferimento all'*arca pontificum* (cf. anche Thomasson nelle note) è un indizio dell'origine urbana del frammento. – 28: Forse si potrebbe leggere [*--- quae]st(or-) Aug(usti) n(ostr)i, pr(aetor-)[---]* (o *pr[oc(urat-) ---]*?). – 30: *Polytimus* è sicuramente il cognome. – 36: L'iscrizione non comincia con PAPERONO, ma ci sono due righe senza spazio tra di loro. Nella prima c'è D

(*D(is) [M(anibus)]*), nella seconda PATRONO, ovviamente il nome del defunto. *Patronus* è un cognome latino, ma abbastanza raro. – 37: La tribù *Collina* non è un indizio sicuro di provenienza urbana. – 41: La prima riga deve essere letta *Corelliae Secundine* come nel CIL; il nome della defunta era *Corellia Secundina*, la parola (*uxori*) è da togliere. – 42: La fine del nome nella r. 7 è *-ta*, quindi il personaggio ivi accennato non è Iulia Hermiona. – 43: *Onesimus* è un cognome comunissimo. – 45: Nella r. 6 c'è una specificazione *c]um maceria*; seguono le misure dell'area sepolcrale. – 48: Il nome *Verella* sarebbe una novità, ma è meglio leggere [*sine ulla q]uerella*. Nella r. 10 la parola *referri* è seguita da un punto. È un infinitivo che fa parte della regolazione di uso del sepolcro. – 50: Il nome nella r. 1 finisce in *Jiseidi*. – 51: L'anno 384 non è in questo caso un *terminus a quo*, ma indica soltanto il periodo al quale probabilmente appartiene il frammento. – 59: Non mi sembra possibile l'interpretazione *b(eneficiarius) v(ivus) m(onumenti)*; vista la qualità grafica dell'iscrizione e l'accumulazione delle formule funerarie in essa, direi che si tratta della frase *b(e)n(e) m(erenti)* scritta una seconda volta con V pro N. – 63: Il frammento collocato dal Moretti tra le iscrizioni cristiane non presenta alcuna caratteristica cristiana. – 65: Nell'ultima riga c'è la datazione *VI K[al(endas) ---]*. – 68: Un'errore di stampa nella r. 1, la forma corretta è *superatrici*. – 70: Il cognome nella r. 1 è *Venusta*. – 72: La fine del gentilizio è leggibile, dunque: [*---]ius Successus*. – 73: Si può supplere *deposi]ta est Pa[---*] con l'inizio di un nome femminile. – 78: Si tratta di un'iscrizione antica, ma l'interpretazione proposta dalla Pavese non mi pare possibile. Sono incise due cifre (anche LXII, capovolta nella fotografia, è una cifra); la paleografia rinvia piuttosto all'età romana che al decimo secolo d. C. La pietra fu probabilmente un blocco di costruzione, e ci sfugge il significato delle cifre. Non è impossibile che si tratti di una falsa, ma perchè fabbricare un'iscrizione falsa paleograficamente convincente di un tale contenuto? – 80: Un errore di stampa nella r. 5: la piccola defunta si chiamò *Iulia Attia*. – 82: Non è necessario *<e>idem*; *idem* è più comune nelle iscrizioni in questa posizione, anche se, dal punto di vista grammaticale, è una deviazione dalla norma. – 83: Il nome nella parte B è *Philargyrus* (c'è un errore di stampa). – 87: *apstulit* e *acervo* pro *acerbo* non sono errori linguistici, ma varianti di grafia e contemporaneamente indizi della pronuncia. – 88: È un'iscrizione dedicatoria, perché nella prima riga abbiamo letto [*---]i deae*. – 90: Il nome della donna era probabilmente *Veiena Ventica*; il suo gentilizio è attestato altrove, il cognome solo qui (anche se è scritto *Bentica*).

Dopo questi appunti passo alle collezioni svedesi. "The collections in Göteborg" è un articolo di B. Mattsson che viene ripubblicato con qualche modifica. Si tratta di iscrizioni funerarie latine (nn. 94–126). Anche se pare che siano tutte (?) urbane, l'indicazione della provenienza sarebbe stata utile; mancano anche i riferimenti all'Année épigraphique. La collezione di Uppsala a cura di B. E. Thomasson (nn. 127–149), d'altra parte, contiene, oltre alle iscrizioni funerarie greche e latine, una dedica greca ad Apollo (135) ed un elenco dei membri di un *collegium* (149). Alcune sono di origine incerta, altre provengono dall'Egitto. Le collezioni di Stoccolma contengono iscrizioni di tipi e provenienze diversi, tra le quali vi sono dediche, testi onorari e sepolcrali, e anche un decreto comunale di Cizico (177) e un'iscrizione edilizia molto specifica (184). Segue qualche breve nota: 132: L'andamento del testo non è chiaro. Sembra che *Diis Manibus* cominci una nuova frase. – 137: *vixet* nella r. 3. – 139 La frase εἰρήνη σοι significa "pace con te"; non c'è un nome. – 149: Nella fine della prima riga, dopo il nome di *Acratus* (non

Acrates), credo di vedere tracce delle lettere nella fotografia. – 152: D·I·M significa, visto che si tratta probabilmente di una stele sepolcrale, *D(is) I(nferis) M(anibus)*.

Si tratta, dunque, di un volume importante, uno dei molti frutti dell'XI Congresso dell'AIEGL tenutosi a Roma nel settembre '97. Ci congratuliamo con il Thomasson ed i collaboratori per il lavoro compiuto.

Kalle Korhonen

Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum. Volumen sextum. Inscriptiones Urbis Romae Latinae. Consilio et auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Berolinensis et Brandenburgensis editae. Pars octava. Titulos et imagines collegit schedasque comparavit Silvio Panciera. Fasciculus alter. Titulos imperatorum domusque eorum thesauro schedarum imaginumque ampliatio edidit Géza Alföldy adiuvantibus Anne Kolb, Thomas Kruse, Veit Rosenberger, Andrea Scheithauer, Gabriele Wesch-Klein, itemque Ivan di Stefano Manzella, Martin Spannagel, Jens-Uwe Krause. Gualterus de Gruyter et socii, Berolini – Novi Eboraci MCMXCVI. ISBN 3-11-015194-4. DEM 890.

Post tres fasciculos Hispanienses Corporis vol. II his proximis annis editos iam in manibus habemus novum fasciculum Corporis vol. VI, id quod rei epigraphicae studiosis erit pergratum; praeterea iam bene apparet Corpus nostrum, opus utilissimum, etiam nunc non tantum vivere, sed etiam vigere. Fasciculum hunc conscripsit Géza Alföldy professor Heidelbergensis, homo de titulis Latinis legendis edendis explicandis optime meritus, ita tamen, ut hic et illic usus sit adiutoribus, quorum nomina supra inveniuntur; quibus partibus operis operam dederint explanatur p. X. Quod ad rationem operis attinet, notandum est agi non (ut in titulis Hispaniensibus) de nova editione omnium titulorum quotquot noti sunt – nam hoc nullo modo fieri potuit in titulis urbanis propter numerum eorundem paene infinitum –, sed de supplemento, in quo novi tantum tituli proponuntur, in Corporis fasciculis prioribus iam editi additamentis tantum instruuntur (si autem tituli iam pridem editi novis curis eguerunt, e.g. propterea, quod olim minus bene editi sunt – e.g. n. 854, 879, 884–7, 894–5, 899 –, in hoc fasciculo denuo propositi sunt instructi novo numero). Additamenta tamen haec studiosis erunt utilissima, cum omnia contineant, quae ipsas inscriptiones tractantibus erunt cognitione digna: tituli quomodo recte legendi sint (in titulo arcus Severi n. 1033 Alföldy statuit, inspectis foraminibus litteris aereis infigendis destinatis, legendum esse *P. Septimio Getae nobilissim. Caesari*); num monumenta etiam nunc omnino exstant, et si exstant, eorundem mensurae et in quibus museis aliisve locis iam reperiantur (dolendum tamen est exstare aut certe exstitisse nuper multos titulos, Florentiae praesertim sed etiam Romae, quos Alföldy nescio qua de causa inspicere non potuit: cf. n. 971, 1020, 1056, 1075, 1192, 1222 et praeterea 40793); in quibus libris inveniuntur imagines photographicae titulorum; quinam homines docti in quibus libris titulos singulos tractaverint etc. (notandum etiam e.g. me certe ex his demum additamentis didicisse titulos multos aevi posterioris – e.g. n. 31395, 31397 – inscriptos esse in locum titulorum antiquiorum erasorum). Ita titulum urbanum ad imperatores pertinentem tractare in animo habentibus primum posthac erit necesse adire hunc fasciculum.

Continet fasciculus de quo loquimur praefationes generalem vol. VI scriptam a Silvio Panciera et huius fasciculi scriptam ab ipso Géza Alföldy (in qua p. X–XII "de rebus

in hoc opere tractatis et de arte, qua tractatae sint”), explicationesque tam librorum abbreviate laudatorum quam notarum; sequuntur additamenta ad titulos editos in fasciculis prioribus, et deinde editio titulorum novorum nn. 40301–40889 (inter quos nn. 40301–40845 tituli imperatorum proprie ita dicti, n. 40846 lapis miliaris I viae Praenestinae, nn. 40847–40851 tituli instrumenti domestici ad opera imperatorum pertinentis, nn. 40852–40889 tituli terminum). Tituli novi editi sunt secundum ordinem imperatorum aliorumque hominum (et feminarum) ad domum Augustam pertinentium, ita ut primus sit ipse Augustus, sequantur Agrippa, C. et L. Caesares e.q.s.; in initio capitulorum singulorum, in quibus scilicet homines singuli tractantur, sunt catalogi titulorum omnium ad eosdem pertinentium, in fasciculis prioribus editorum; hi catalogi quam utiles futuri sint manifestum erit omnibus. Inter titulos novos aut denuo editos multi sunt haudquaquam neglegendi; nota e.g. n. 40307 (titulum positum in honorem Augusti ipsius, Neronis, Claudii et Agrippinae ab aenatoribus, tubicinibus, liticinibus, cornicinibus Romanis) vel n. 40454a (titulum amphitheatri Flavii, quem Alföldy in lapide eraso et denuo inscripto ex foraminibus litteris aereis destinatis restituere potuit; ceterum in fine tituli mihi certe minus placent verba [*feri iussit*]: saec. I expectaveris [*fecit*]). – In fine fasciculi sunt indices (conscripti a solo Alföldy) non minus LX paginarum; hi indices, mirum quendam in modum facti et qui omnibus posthac pro exemplo esse debent, non solum omnia continent, quae in indicibus quaerere solemus, sed etiam nova quaedam (nota indicum partis primae cap. IV, ”Potestas maiestas virtutes laudes imperatorum”, in quo laterculo reperiuntur e.g. omnia exempla titulorum scriptorum *ex auctoritate, ex decreto, ex iussu* v. sim. imperatorum diversorum). Index omnis divisus est in partes tres, epigraphicum topographicum generalem; indices epigraphicus et generalis, in quibus plerumque enumerantur res similes (nomina et homines, imperatores e.q.s.), eo differunt, quod in indice epigraphico ea tantum inveniuntur, quae in ipsis lapidibus leguntur, in indice generali ea praesertim, quae ab editore ad illustrandos titulos sunt allata. (Videndum – ut obiter attingam rem momenti non ita magni –, num recte fecerit editor, cum in indice nominum etiam cognomina ”quae pro nomine gentili usui erant” laudavit; nunc *M. Cra]ssum Frugi*, qui mihi quidem ”M. (Licinius) Crassus Frugi” sollemniter videtur esse appellandus, inter homines invenimus, qui habent nomina incipientia a littera *c*, non etiam inter Licinios.) – In fine fasciculi tabellae sunt synopticae et praeterea formae Urbis (in quibus fines Romae multis locis nove definiuntur).

Sed iam videamus de singulis. N. 960 (titulus columnae Traiani): homines docti multi laudantur, qui quomodo linea 6 intellegi debeat scripserunt; minus tamen clare apparet quae sit sententia ipsius Alföldy (addi fortasse potuerat versio Germanica). – 967: Adici potest scriptorem huius tituli usum esse clausula Ciceroniana cum scripsit *praestitit hac liberalitate securos* (Arctos 28 [1994] 103). – 36990: Constantinus (I) *venerabilis* dicitur non solum in titulo Tarraconensi, sed etiam in n. 36951; quem titulum Bangium respexisse, cum etiam hunc titulum ad Constantinum pertinere proposuit, facilis est coniectura. – 40356 (= 920): melius fortasse fuerat scribere [*quod ... in dici[onem ... redegit*] (non *redegisset*), cum in enuntiatis incipientibus cum vocabulo *quod* in titulis saec. I modus indicativus fuerit coniunctivo multo usitatior (cf. n. 944 [Titus] *quod ... delevit*); saec. demum II percrebruit usus modi coniunctivi (cf. e.g. titulum Hadriani n. 40524).

Haec de singulis; in universum fatendum est agi de opere non tantum egregio, sed paene mirabili, cuius virtutes ego quidem hoc loco nullo modo satis laudare possum. Valde mihi praeterea probatur exiguus numerus errorum varii generis (inveni tamen *huius*

volmininis p. 4301, *P.* – pro *C.* – *Deroux* n. 930, *Iulianus* – pro *Iulius* – *Frontinus* n. 40486). Laudanda denique est elegantia Latinitatis et etiam perspicuitas; de lingua Latina hoc tamen mihi videtur esse observandum, Alföldy (ut omnes fere Latinistae mediae Europae) saepius usum esse vocabulo *quoque* eo loco, ubi secundum praecepta Ciceroniana expectaveris *etiam* (e.g. n. 946 "quia cognomen Germanici plene quoque perscriptum est": melius fuerat "quia etiam cognomen" e.q.s. [sententia est "da auch das Cognomen *Germanicus* voll ausgeschrieben ist"]; n. 959 "latitudinem ... indicavit quoque G. BARBIERI"; nn. 960, 31307, 31395, 36898).

Olli Salomies

DENISE MODONESI: *Museo Maffeiano. Iscrizioni e rilievi sacri latini*. *Studia Archaeologica* 75. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1995. ISBN 88-7062-891-4. 128 p., 107 ill. ITL 200.000.

Il presente catalogo raccoglie le centosette iscrizioni e i rilievi di carattere sacro che si conservano al Museo Lapidario Maffeiano di Verona. Questo Lapidario, inaugurato due secoli e mezzo fa, è uno dei primi musei pubblici d'Europa, e ancor' oggi porta orgogliosamente il nome del fondatore, Scipione Maffei. Con il riordinamento museografico del 1982, i seicentotrentasei oggetti della collezione furono distribuiti sia topograficamente sia per sezioni della raccolta, che è stata divisa secondo i diversi ambiti culturali. La catalogazione del materiale esposto al Museo Maffeiano iniziò nel 1981 con il volume dedicato alle "Iscrizioni e rilievi greci" a cura di Tullia Ritti, seguito, nel 1990, dalle "Urne etrusche e stele paleovenete" a cura di Denise Modonesi a cui si deve anche la realizzazione del presente catalogo. Il materiale fornito dal volume è maggiormente di provenienza veronese o comunque veneta, ma sono anche inclusi alcuni pezzi urbani.

Purtroppo, però, bisogna dire che l'eredità lasciata da Scipione Maffei avrebbe meritato qualcosa di più sostanziale. L'impressione data dalla lettura del volume non è affatto la migliore possibile, non solo per i numerosi errori tecnici ma anche e soprattutto per questioni di altro carattere. Per primo, se questo volume va inteso come catalogo museale, poteva – e doveva – essere strutturato diversamente. Adesso è incluso soltanto il materiale di argomento sacro che si usa in primo luogo per la ricostruzione della vita religiosa locale in tutti i suoi aspetti. Tale lavoro è, certo, utile e prezioso, ma non può essere lo scopo principale di un catalogo epigrafico. Chi vuole studiare le credenze religiose retico-celtico-venete, il rapporto tra la religione locale e il culto ufficiale romano, nonché l'iconografia delle divinità, è invitato a consultare tutte le fonti possibili, non solo il materiale esposto al Lapidario veronese. Inoltre, uno studio specialistico del genere andrebbe pubblicato come lavoro indipendente, non in veste di catalogo epigrafico. Invece, gli studiosi dell'epigrafia e delle antichità sarebbero interessati ad avere un catalogo finalizzato a fornire i dati essenziali e precisi di ogni singolo oggetto con gli altri commenti ridotti al minimo. Quello che importa sono una edizione accurata e concisa di tutto il materiale, buoni indici, e documentazione fotografica. Per il secondo, non è tutto "sacro" quello che si pubblica in questo volume: le epigrafi funerarie e le altre iscrizioni di non sicuro significato sacro andrebbero tolte dal volume. Inoltre, non mi risulta del tutto chiara la logica dell'ordine seguita nella suddivisione del materiale, in quanto nei numeri delle iscrizioni non è osservato l'ordine tradizionale del CIL, ma non sembra neppure che la

collocazione museale sia stata sempre decisiva per il numero dato al testo. O forse mi sfugge il filo conduttore. Ancora, riguardo all'ordine del materiale, non si capisce bene perché il capitolo "Iscrizioni spurie e genuine poste tra le "falsae" da Maffei" (pp. 84–87) sia diventato una sezione autonoma. Inoltre, mi chiedo perché alcuni rilievi e pezzi architettonici siano pubblicati tra le iscrizioni (cf. 4–6, 10–13, 90), mentre altri sono riportati sotto il capitolo "Rilievi" (94–107).

Da un buon catalogo epigrafico si aspetterebbe una rigorosa struttura dove il materiale viene dato in modo conciso e corretto. Purtroppo, queste qualifiche non si verificano nel presente lavoro. In numerosi casi, il testo dato nel lemma non corrisponde a quanto si vede nella fotografia; l'uso dei segni diacritici lascia spesso a desiderare; i nomi di persona e anche i rapporti tra le persone ricordate nei singoli testi sono a volte spiegati molto male; gli indici, anche lacunosi, presentano molti errori, talvolta clamorosi, cosa che deriva dalla erronea interpretazione dei testi. Pare che le decine di sviste di questo genere avrebbero potuto essere facilmente evitate con una più accurata revisione del testo.

Nonostante questa critica, il lavoro della Modonesi, corredato da ottime fotografie, resta certamente un utile compagno per chiunque si occupi del materiale conservato nella preziosissima collezione veronese.

Mika Kajava

MICHAEL DONDERER: *Die Architekten der späten römischen Republik und der Kaiserzeit. Epigraphische Zeugnisse. Erlanger Forschungen, Reihe A, Geisteswissenschaften Band 69.* Erlangen 1996. ISBN 3–930–357–08–9. 355 S., 72 Taf. DEM 148.

Donderer hat eine nützliche Quellensammlung zu den Architekten im römischen Reich geliefert. Das Buch besteht aus einer langen und etwas weitschweifigen Einleitung und einem in vier Abschnitte gegliederten Katalogteil. Am Ende stehen reichhaltige Indices und Abbildungen. Da das Werk im Rahmen der *Analecta epigraphica* oben S. 135–142 näher gewürdigt worden ist, kann hier von einer weiteren Besprechung abgesehen werden.

Heikki Solin

DAVID NOY: *Jewish inscriptions of Western Europe. Volume 2. The city of Rome.* Cambridge University Press, 1995. ISBN 0–521–44202–8. 573 p., 6 plans, XX plates. GBP 85.00.

The book aims to collect all Jewish inscriptions from the city of Rome which can be dated before A.D. 700. Thus it updates and replaces much of J.B. Frey's *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum* (1936) as well as other editions after Frey. The criteria for attributing the texts to Jews are simple. The vast majority of the material comes from Jewish catacombs. If inscriptions, which do not come from a catacomb, are included in the corpus, they use some Jewish terminology, symbols, formulae, names, or the language has words of Hebrew or Aramaic. These criteria are clear and well-defined.

The inscriptions published in *JJWE 2* contain some new information, and Noy's readings and interpretations differ occasionally from those of previous editors (e.g., nos. 204 and 292).

The entries are arranged as in the previous volume (*JlWE* I), the given text is followed by a critical commentary, a translation into an English-like language, and two different bibliographies, the first of which is comprised of previous editions and publications, and the second one tries to give further reading connected to that particular inscription or subject. This division is not always clear, and some omissions and overlapping can be found (for minor omissions, cf. no. 185 which is also published in *IG* XIV 1606; no. 197 also published in *CIL* X 948*, 25; no. 198 the beginning of which is also published in *CIL* X 948*, 33.). Sometimes Noy's new readings seem strange, as in, e.g., no. 287 where he reads Εἶρεναῖο, whereas from the picture provided by Frey (*CIJ* I 266) it is possible to read without any doubts Εἶρηναῖο.

The language of the inscriptions is very interesting, as we already know from earlier corpora. It is good that Noy gives the texts as they are, and refrains from "correcting" the language. This is important, because the texts as such offer a great variety of registers, which makes it possible to study the linguistic interference scrupulously. The study of language as a general, universal system has shown that all languages, and all dialects, whether they be geographical or social, are equally 'good' as linguistic systems. All varieties of language are structured, complex, rule-governed systems which are wholly adequate for the needs of their users. It follows that non-standard varieties are not linguistically inferior, but they may be considered socially inferior. With texts like these, therefore, it is possible to study the non-standard language of the bi- or multilingual society of Jews in Rome, and the interference in the Jew's use of language. Naturally the language of the Jews has been studied in the past by several scholars, but there is a lot of work still waiting to be done. Particularly interesting are the texts of the following type: (no. 204 Vigna Randanini) *Esidorus eterus en irene quimesis su.*; no. 199 (Monteverde) *veritas amor anestase titulos*; and no. 195 (Monteverde) *λοκου Βεσουλες ανουρο ρεκεσητ κε'*. There are also linguistic differences between the catacombs, which seem to reflect some topographical or perhaps social variation in the use of language.

The book is furnished with ample indexes which are of great help to readers.

Martti Leiwo

ANTONIUS E. FELLE: *Inscriptiones Christianae urbis Romae, n.s. Concordantiae verborum, nominum et imaginum. Tituli Graeci*. Edipuglia, Bari 1997. ISBN 88-7228-173-3. XXXIV, 449 p. ITL 150.000.

The large corpus of the Christian inscriptions of Rome (ICUR), edited in 10 volumes between 1922 and 1992, soon to be completed with the final 11th volume, has received a (*key-word-in-context*) computer concordance of the texts in Greek lettering at the hands of A.E. Felle. Because full indices will be published in the final volume, this book may have been intended as a reference work to identify the texts. Otherwise I cannot see the utility of a project like this.

Of a total of more than 45,000 inscriptions, as many as 3,859 are in Greek lettering (for comparison, the whole of Attica has less than 350 texts). The problem is that most of the texts in the ICUR remain in majuscules, without a Greek transcription or interpretation. Obviously, partly due to this reason, the Greek texts have not been edited properly for the

concordance. I could give a long list of mistakes in accentuation and breathings, but the following – in the order of the Concordance (*Lexicon; Onomasticon; Geographica*) – will have to do: ἀγείον (for ἄγιον), ἀπλουστάτη (for ἄ-), αὐ (for αὐ̄), γέα (for γ(αῖ)α), δίκαιαν (for δικαίαν), ἐβδόμαδι (for -άδι), εἶλ' (for εἶλ'), εἶσον (maybe for εἶσον), ἐλε{υ}ῖσον (for ἐλέ-), ἐνθάδε (for ἐνθά-), ἐπτά (for ἐπτά), ἐτεῶν (for ἐτέ-), ἐτοίμασε (for ἐ-), ἐτυφλώσας (for ἐτύ-, but 16915d does not feature it), εὐσεβεία (for εὐσέ-), ευψύχει (for εὐ-), ἐῶν (for ἐών), ἠῖθεον (for ἠί-), ἦν (for ἦν), θεῖω (for θείω), ἴνα (for ἴνα), ἰρῶτα (for ἰρώτα), κάκας (for κακάς), κακομηχανη (for -ίη), καλανδαῖς (for καλάνδαις), κεῦθει (for κεύθει), κίτη (for κίτη), κύτε (for κῦτε), λυπίσθε (for -ῖσθε), μεμελήμενος/ν (for -μένος/ν), μέν(ας) (for μ(ῆ)-), μονή (for μό-), ξειν' (for ξειν'), οἴη (perhaps for οἴη), οἰκειοῖς (for οἰκεί-), οὖτος (for οὐ-), πασιφιλήτος (for -φί-), πιτυτᾶ (for πιτυτᾶ), πότνιας (for -ίας), προτερήν (for προτέ-), σεπτένβριες (for -ίες), συνεζέκοτι (for -κότι), σῶσι (for σώσι), ταλαιπῶροι (for ταλαί-, but 16915d does not feature it), τεύξ' (for τεύξ'), τί (for τί), τούτω (for τοῦτ(ον), found in the edition), υἱοῖς (for υἱί-), ὑπατοῖς (for ὑπά-), φιλαδελφίσσα (for φιλαδέλ-), φρονήσιν (for φρό-), φωτε (for φῶτε), χώρον (for χῶ-), ὦ (for ὦ), ὄδαι (perhaps for ὄδαι); Ἀγάπητος (for -τός), Ἀγατοκλία (for -όκλια), Ἀριστογενία (for -γένια), Ἀρκάδις (for -δής), Ἄττικός (for -ός), Βικτώρι (for Βί-), Γεωργηός (for Γεώ-), Ἐγκρατία (for Ἐγκράτια), Ἐρμαῖς (three syllables), Ἐρύθρις (for Ἐ-), Ἐρώτι (for Ἐ-), Εὐγενεία and Εὐγενία (for -γένεια), Ἐρακλία (for Ἐρά-), Θαιδῶρε (for Θαί-), Θαλεία (for Θά-), Καλλιοπέα (for -όπεια), Κορνῆλιος (for -ήλιος), Μαρίνα (for -ίνα), Παυλείνους (for Παυλεῖνους), Πρειμεγενεία (for Πρειμεγένεια), Πρωτογενία (for Πρωτογένια), Ῥεδέμπα/Ῥεδῆμπα (one accentuation), Σιλβίννε (without accent, as it is Latin), Φαυστίνα (for -τίνα, found in the edition); Ἀλεξάνδρεως/εος (instead of -έως/έος), Ἀφροdisίευς (for -εύς), Ἐγύπτου (for Ἐ-, found in the edition), Κωνσταντινουπολιτίσσα (for -λίτισσα).

There are also some more serious mistakes: ἀείμνηστος (for ἀείμνηστος), αὐτοκασικνήτην (for -γν-), εἰρή(να) (for -νη), εἰς ὁ θεὸν (for εἰσόθεον, adjective in 26236), ἔμειν (for ἡμειν), εὐρίνι (for εἰρίνι), ζέσας (ζ(ή)σ(η)ς or rather ζέσα(ι)ς), ζωοίει (for ζωοῖ(σ)ι), ἡμήρας/ἡμηρῶν (to be restored with ἡμε-), κάμδον (for participle καμδον), κασιγνέτου (to be restored as κασιγνήτου), μῆνας (for μῆ(νας) in 4228, because it is abbreviated; I do not know how many other equally untrustworthy examples remain), ὀρχιστής (for ὀρ(κ)ιστής), φαωθί (for φαωφί), φιλία (for φιλια without accent, because this is Latin); Ἀλεξάνδρεο(ς) must be moved into the section of *Geographica*, Ἀντιοχεία (perhaps pertaining to games, cf. the preceding Καπιτώλ-), Σεπτιμία (for -α), Συμπλικίω (for Σι-). I regard the edition of 12901 as a major error with its ghost name Μηκετίο, to be read τῷ θανάτῳ μηκέτι ὀφιλομένη (= IGVR 1180, cf. similar wordings in IG II/III² 12514.12984, XIV 1512). I do not know how many other readings need to be amended, but I do hope it gets done before the full *indices* are published. A glance at words such as αὐγουστος (confusing the emperor and the month) εἰς-εἶς, ἐξ-ἔξ, ἦ-ἡ-ἦ, ου-οὐ-οὐ̄, ω-ω-ὦ-ὦ̄, enumerated in a mishmash, goes to show how mechanically the concordance has been compiled; emperors, consuls, Venus, Christ etc. are featured among the personal names.

The sigla indicating bilingualism (^) or metric texts (#) are used by no means consistently because they are also indicated in the Latin and prosaic segments of the

inscriptions. It would have been very useful to include a concordance of the ICUR texts utilized for this work, and note which of them are bilingual and metric.

Nowadays everything is allegedly done more efficiently than before, but diligence and patience are still useful, so that the work published would be more trustworthy.

The concordance has, however, a merit besides serving as a first starting point for the compilation of an index: the introduction on pages vii–xxxiv, which by far excels the work itself.

Erkki Sironen

E. BADIAN: *From Plataea to Potidaea*. Studies in the History and Historiography of the Pentecontaetia. The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London 1993. ISBN 0–8018–4431–2. 264 p. USD 39.

It is always a great pleasure to read E. Badian's writings, and this book is no exception. *From Plataea to Potidaea* consists of five previously published essays and one which is new. The essays are as follows: "The Peace of Callias" (1987), "Toward a Chronology of the Pentecontaetia down to the renewal of the Peace of Callias" (1989), "Plataea between Athens and Sparta" (1989), "Thucydides and the Outbreak of the Peloponnesian War" (1990), and "Athens, the Locrians, and Naupactus" (1990). The previously unpublished essay is "Thucydides and the *Arche* of Philip". The essays have been revised by the author and thus the earlier published versions are now obsolete.

All the essays concentrate more or less on problems which are related to each other, and it is good to have them all together in the form of a book. The importance of the book lies in the new results and suggestions based on careful reading and interpretation of Thucydides (T.) especially. Badian has, naturally, a profound knowledge of the difficult period of the Pentecontaetia, and especially of Thucydides. To put it in Badian's own words: 'Practically throughout the history of the Pentecontaetia T. was writing as an impassioned Athenian patriot and ... his interpretation of that history must be read as critically as we read ancient forensic speeches' (p. X–XI).

Badian is at his best in the contextual analysis of different historical events. Of this a good example is his treatment of the King's Peace (41 ff.) and the chronology provided by Diodorus (48). The discussion is always very rewarding to a conscientious reader, either regarding minor details, or in respect to the chronology of the Pentecontaetia in general (73–107). Badian emphasizes that T. did not consider monuments or inscriptions as sources for historical information, and that interviewing older men and politicians, or this kind of 'oral tradition', was all that T. and others had to go on when they tried to write the history of this period. Therefore, it is understandable that T. could not supply precise dates for the actions he knew had taken place.

Another major problem is technical: How to write down facts and reasoning from the available material? For T. this was a fundamental problem as he tried to put events in strict chronological order. He did not, however, succeed in doing that, and Badian provides a clear example of that (79–80). He is also able to point out several other misinterpretations connected with T. both in his sequential narrative and in his linguistic output. It is once again demonstrated how extremely important for an ancient historian a good knowledge of Greek (and Latin, of course) is.

The new volume V (1992) of the Cambridge Ancient History (CAH²) has given Badian a reason to add an appendix to the present book (103–107). It is important that the appendix is read together with the long treatment of D.M. Lewis of the peace of Callias (CAH² V 121–127), since it gives more information and substance for this subject due to Badian's well argued disagreement with Lewis.

The new essay offers a fresh and convincing interpretation of the Athenian military activity in Macedonia, and especially of Thuc. 1.61.4. Badian shows that the emendation for ἐπιστρέψαντες as ἐπὶ Στρέψων long ago suggested by Pluygens is not necessary, although it has been accepted unanimously in new editions. By dismissing the following καί the whole phrase becomes comprehensible: the Athenians arrived at Beroea, and turning away from there (having first tried to take the place and failed), marched by land to Gigonus, in the direction of Potidaea. After this ingenious dismissal of the emendation, Badian shows that the Athenians could have marched all the way to Gigonus in three days, and in this way, reach Potidaea more quickly than by boat.

Martti Leiwo

A Literary Companion to Travel in Greece. Edited by Richard Stoneman. The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2nd edition 1994. ISBN 0–89236–298–7. 247 p. USD 16.95 (paperback).

"We follow further the Achaean Coast, still the Morea, though Laconia's past, and come upon the island of Cervi whose name seems quite unsuitable to me, since not one deer has there its habitat, but only a great quantity of rats." This is how Bertrand de la Borderie describes in the year 1542 his arrival to the Greek island of Elaphonisos. From there he proceeds to Malvaysie (Monemvasia) and continues: "There was discovered, most authors concede, the first vine to produce that splendid mead called Malmsey from its place of origin, and brought from here to Candy (which was then called Crete), the island of a hundred towns..."

This and many other literary excerpts, ancient and more recent, can be found in the charming new and partly updated edition of R. Stoneman's *Literary Companion to Travel in Greece*. The selected literary passages are arranged geographically according to the places to which they refer. Istanbul, the Troad and Izmir are among the places also included from outside the modern Hellenic republic. On the whole, the selection of literary passages has been made subjectively, but it is interesting as well as amusing, and the book is a nice addition to the genre. It is handy and easy to use especially as it has an updated bibliography, and an Index of Places together with an Index of Names.

Martti Leiwo

HELGA BOTERMANN: *Das Judenedikt des Kaisers Claudius.* Römischer Staat und Christiani im 1. Jahrhundert. Hermes Einzelschriften Band 71. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1996. ISBN 3–515–06863–5, ISSN 0341–0064. 200 p. DEM 88.

This monograph by Helga Botermann explores the much-discussed problem of Emperor Claudius' policies against the Jews of Rome. Three sources (Cass. Dio 60,6,6; Acta Apostol. 18,2; Suet. Claud. 25,4) discuss Claudius' measures but there has been

controversy over whether these texts refer to one edict only or even to two edicts. Botermann distinguishes two separate edicts against the Jews (in 41 and in 49).

The prime contribution of Botermann's *Judenedikt* is that she widens the perspective of early Christian history and connects the movement of early Christians with the surrounding Roman Empire. She discusses the relation of early Christians towards their Jewish origins, arguing that Claudius' edicts concerning Jews illustrate the long process in which Christians were separated gradually from Jews.

The main part of the book (chapters II–IV) concentrates on analyzing the sources. Botermann's critical use of the *Acts of the Apostles* as a "normal" historical source shows particularly well how much an exhaustive study of sources can reveal. She remarks that the *Acts* and other early Christian sources cause special problems for theologians while for historians these sources are easier to deal with. Botermann warns of anachronisms since theologians are constantly in danger of interpreting the early Christian movement as a religion of its own, separate from Judaism, because the result is perceptible nowadays as Christianity.

An important question raised by Botermann is when and how early Christians began to identify themselves as a separate group from Jews and when the Roman authorities began to regard Christians as a unit distinct from other Jews. Botermann argues that the distinction between Christians and Jews must be dated to a later period than the 40s that has traditionally been proposed as the turning point of the Christian movement. Paul and the writer of the *Acts*, for example, clearly regard early Christianity as a part of Judaism though they criticize Judaism – inside Judaism, as Botermann points out. The Roman writers and authorities did not make any difference between different Jewish sects either; for the Roman authorities they were all mere troublemakers. The problem concerning the appearance and use of the name *Christiani* – Χριστιανοί – is thoroughly discussed in the last part of the *Judenedikt*. Botermann's argumentation is extremely interesting though her new chronology remains hypothetical.

Botermann's *Judenedikt* is an excellent interdisciplinary study in which she has connected historical, philological and theological scholarship with each other in a fruitful way. She speaks for interdisciplinary studies in several passages in her book, complaining of the lack of cooperation between *Alttertumwissenschaftler* and theologians.

Maijastina Kahlos

JENS-UWE KRAUSE: *Gefängnisse im Römischen Reich*. Heidelberger Althistorische Beiträge und Epigraphische Studien 23. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1996. ISBN 3-515-06976-3. 365 S. DEM 96.

Gefängnis kam im römischen Recht nur als Untersuchungs- und Exekutionshaft vor, also kurz vor und nach dem Urteil, nicht aber als eine eigentliche Strafmassnahme. Dafür wurden Busse, Körperstrafen, Verbannung und Zwangsarbeit gebraucht. Dennoch sind die antiken Quellen voll von Hinweisen auf Häftlinge und auf das mit dem Kerker verknüpfte Elend, und die Erwähnungen scheinen sich besonders in der Spätantike zu häufen. Hatte sich die Freiheitsstrafe also in der Praxis durchgesetzt, und hatte sich die allgemeine Einstellung dazu im Verlauf der Kaiserzeit geändert? Diesen äusserst interessanten Fragenkreis zu untersuchen nimmt sich der Verfasser in seiner Monographie vor, in der

ersten Gesamtdarstellung des römischen Gefängniswesens. Eine ehrenwerte Menge von Material wird vorgelegt und sorgfältig bewertet, wie man es ja vom Verfasser zu erwarten gewohnt ist. Er versucht zu zeigen, dass die Zahl der Gefangenen in der Spätantike wirklich zugenommen hat, eine Entwicklung, die mir durchaus möglich scheint. Allerdings dürfte das Beweismaterial derart ungleichmässig sein, dass man später gemeinhin mehr Aufmerksamkeit auf die Probleme der unteren Schichten lenkte als in der Republik oder frühen Kaiserzeit. Diese Randbemerkung kann aber die Zuverlässigkeit der Schlussfolgerungen des Buches kaum mehr als marginal beeinträchtigen.

Dass zunehmend mehr Menschen inhaftiert wurden, kann nicht auf Gesetzgebung beruhen, weil keine diesbezüglichen Erlasse gegeben wurden (nur die Verbannung ins Kloster hat man als eine neue Strafe bestätigt). Nach einem Vorschlag des Verfassers haben jedoch die immer grausamer gewordenen gesetzlichen Todesstrafen dazu geführt, dass man sie nicht vollziehen wollte, sondern entweder das Urteil oder die Exekution absichtlich aufschob. Darum mußten die Angeklagten lange Zeiten, sogar mehrere Jahre im Gefängnis verweilen (länger konnte man überhaupt nicht unter den dort herrschenden Verhältnissen am Leben bleiben). Diese Erklärung möchte ich für sehr erwägenswert halten.

Antti Arjava

MARIO PERRA: *La Sardegna nelle fonti classiche dal VI sec. a.C. al VI sec. d.C.* 533 p. ITL 150.000. – *I vetri romani del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Cagliari*, a cura di Daniela Stiaffini e Giuseppina Borghetti. Mediterraneo tardoantico e medievale. Scavi e ricerche 9. 374 p., 190 tavole. ITL 100.000. – *Carbonia e il Sulcis. Archeologia e territorio*, a cura di Vincenzo Santoni. 479 p. – Editrice S'Alvure, Oristano 1993, 1994, 1995.

Il ponderoso volume compilato da Perra comprende la ricerca e il riordino cronologico di tutte le antiche testimonianze letterarie latine e greche riguardanti la Sardegna, con testo italiano a fronte. Questo lavoro, che continua la serie di simili opere compilatorie sulle varie regioni d'Italia, sarà indubbiamente un ottimo strumento per chiunque intenda studiare la storia antica della Sardegna o comunque argomenti che in qualche modo si riferiscano all'isola (aggiunta bibliografica: M.R. Webster, 'An Early History of Sardinia 1000 BC – AD 1000: Literary and Epigraphical Evidence', *AncW* 28 [1997] 3–23).

La competenza della Stiaffini sulle produzioni vetrarie e la collaborazione nell'opera della Borghetti garantiscono l'alto livello scientifico del volume dedicato ai vetri romani del Museo di Cagliari. Le autrici seguono un rigoroso criterio di classificazione del materiale che proviene in gran parte da vecchi ritrovamenti, purtroppo non documentati, nel territorio sardo (i reperti più recenti dai contesti archeologici più precisi non sono inclusi, perché ancora in corso di edizione). Il trattamento di temi specifici (formazione della collezione del Museo, storia degli studi, analisi della presenza vitrea romana in Sardegna, premessa alle forme nonché le fabbriche di vetro e la produzione locale) è seguito dal Catalogo vero e proprio (460 numeri), redatto con molta cura e serietà. La sezione delle tavole comprende una completa documentazione sia fotografica sia grafica del materiale, accompagnata da carte di distribuzione delle forme vitree, che hanno il fine di evidenziare le tendenze più importanti.

Il territorio del Sulcis-Iglesiente, sito nella parte sud-occidentale della Sardegna, con la città di Carbonia come centro demografico della zona, è l'oggetto del bel volume curato

dal Soprintendente Archeologo Santoni. Nei ventisei contributi viene ben tenuta presente la linea di continuità della presenza umana a Sulcis dai tempi preistorici (VI millennio a.C.) all'epoca moderna. Le fasi intermedie, fenicia e punica, romana e bizantina, sono analizzate dal punto di vista sia storico-geografico sia archeologico. I numerosi reperti di natura documentaria provenienti da Sulcis sono infatti tali da poter garantire una felice valutazione della splendida storia sulcitana. Riguardo alle nuove iscrizioni latine provenienti da S. Antioco pubblicate dalla Sotgiu (279–306), vorrei ricordare la n. 4, un'epigrafe relativamente antica (forse del I sec. d.C.) ma, purtroppo, tramandata solo in una copia; nel foglio sul quale è stata trascritta, la terza linea si legge così: *C. Cestio C.l. Signae*. Il cognomen, se è esatta la lettura, sarebbe una novità onomastica.

Mika Kajava

Rivista di Archeologia. Suppl. 16: GERMAN HAFNER: *Jason – "Frauen angenehm"*. ISBN 88–7689–120–X. 27 S., 28 Abbildungen. ITL 230.000. Suppl. 17: *Venezia, l'archeologia e l'Europa*. Congresso internazionale, Venezia 27–30 giugno 1994, a cura di Manuela Fano Santi. ISBN 88–7689–123–4. 207 p., LXVIII tavole. ITL 750.000. Giorgio Bretschneider, Roma 1995, 1996.

The world-famous "Ares Ludovisi" does not represent the god of war. Hafner's study is an intriguing example of how the analysis of a detail of an ancient statue or statue group can change the interpretation of the whole piece. In this case the thing that absorbed his attention during an exhibition in Rome (1992) was the peculiar way in which the figure's shield was placed against a rock. Hafner comes to the interesting conclusion that the sitting man represents Jason on Lemnos where he is held back by Eros. The love of Hypsipyle prevented him from continuing the adventurous voyage to Colchis.

The Venice meeting of 1994 was a continuation of the successful Congress "Venezia e l'Archeologia" of 1988 (RdA Suppl. 7, 1990). The papers printed in the Acts largely concentrate on the antiquarian market in Venice during the past centuries, with special reference to the links between local antiquarians and foreign collectors. Other themes include the diaries and descriptions by European travellers and scholars who came to Venice to admire the local treasures, as well as the influence which the classic works preserved in Venice had on European art and sculpture. As for the concrete results of the congress, the reader may note with particular delight that it was decided to found an international "Comitato Veneto-Europeo". The purpose of this project is to promote the study of the antiquities of Venice and to illuminate the contacts between local and European collectors. The Comitato has also decided to produce a full documentary corpus of the ancient objects that have passed through Venice during the last centuries. One only wishes that the enterprise can be carried out as soon as possible. There is no doubt, however, that the fine result will be what La Serenissima deserves.

Mika Kajava

Collezioni e Musei Archeologici del Veneto, collana diretta da Gustavo Traversari, vol. 38: *Maurizia Vecchi: Sculture tardo-antiche e alto-medievali di Murano*. ISBN 88-7689-068-8. 140 p., ill. ITL 400.000. Vol. 39: *Ceramica sovraddipinta, ori bronzi monete della Collezione Chini nel Museo Civico di Bassano del Grappa*, a cura di G. Andreassi. ISBN 88-7689-148-X. 298 p., ill. ITL 800.000. Giorgio Bretschneider, Roma 1995.

Si segnalano qui due ulteriori volumi della serie pubblicata dal benemerito editore Giorgio Bretschneider. Nel primo Maurizia Vecchi ci regala uno splendido catalogo delle sculture tardo-antiche e alto-medievali di Murano. La scultura del periodo che ci riguarda è stata tra le arti nel Veneto quella più trascurata dagli studiosi che si sono occupati di archeologia e storia dell'arte medievale. Già per questo bisogna salutare la pubblicazione del presente catalogo con grande soddisfazione. Il volume si apre con una breve – forse anche troppo – introduzione, a cui segue il catalogo stesso, corredato da splendide fotografie. Ai lettori di questa rivista interesseranno soprattutto i pezzi accompagnati da iscrizioni, non sempre trattate con la dovuta perizia.

Facciamo un esempio. Il n. 118 (pp. 77 sg.) è una vasca battesimale che reca un'iscrizione romana; il monumento proviene probabilmente da Altino. Non solo l'autrice ha malamente frainteso l'andamento del testo, ma tace anche completamente il fatto che l'iscrizione è molto antica, dell'inizio dell'età imperiale se non repubblicana. È l'epitaffio di un P. Acilius P.f. Sca(ptia) decurio (CIL V 2166; questo rinvio manca nella bibliografia). Nonostante tali aberrazioni si saluta con piacere l'apparizione del volume accompagnato da così buone fotografie che permettono facilmente di correggere le false letture.

Il secondo volume è collettivo. Fa seguito a tre precedenti volumi, usciti nella stessa serie, sulla stessa collezione Chini, ed è stato realizzato con l'intervento finanziario della Regione Veneto e del Comune di Bassano del Grappa. Si tratta di una collezione superba, per cui gli studiosi devono essere molto grati per l'iniziativa di rendere di pubblico dominio questo patrimonio; un merito speciale va al coordinatore del lavoro, G. Andreassi, a cui spetta anche, credo, l'alto livello professionale che caratterizza il volume, corredato per di più da ottime fotografie.

Heikki Solin

DIETRICH BOSCHUNG, HENNER VON HESBERG, ANDREAS LINFERT: *Die antiken Skulpturen in Chatsworth sowie in Dunham Massey und Withington Hall*. Monumenta Artis Romanae XXVI. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 1997. ISBN 3-8053-1991-6. 148 S., 122 Taf. DEM 198.

Die Besprechung dieses prachtvollen und ausgezeichneten Katalogs soll hier nur mit ein paar Bemerkungen zu epigraphischen Urkunden eingelöst werden. Auf S. 80 Nr. 78 wird der griechischen Anthroponymie ein neuer Name geschenkt (diese Deutung scheint mir evident): Πυρροκλῆς. – S. 84 Nr. 85: auch diese Inschrift schenkt uns einen neuen Personennamen: *Myra*. Ich kann ihn nur als zum Namen der lykischen Stadt gebildet erklären. Städtenamen wurden nicht ganz selten als Personennamen verwendet. Dies betrifft vor allem Namen aus dem griechischen Bereich. Paradebeispiel *Corinthus*. – Ein Lapsus calami auf S. 99 Nr. 112 Anm. 3: Bruun statt Brunn.

Heikki Solin

TONIO HÖLSCHER: *Monumenti statali e pubblico*. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1994. ISBN 88-7062-794-2. 275 p., 40 tav. ITL 130.000.

Gli studi raccolti in questo volume sono stati scritti come saggi preparatori per un manuale sui rilievi statali romani. Gli studi sono sei, pubblicati già negli anni 1978-84, in varie riviste, ma adesso sono stati tradotti in lingua italiana. La premessa porta la datazione del 1991, il volume stesso, però, è uscito solo nel 1994. La novità vera e propria del testo di questo volume consiste della sola introduzione. In una pubblicazione di questo genere si sente la mancanza di un aggiornamento. L'autore si riferisce ai nuovi ritrovamenti e alle nuove pubblicazioni nelle aggiunte in sei pagine, dove egli prende posizione nel fare qualche commento *pro et contra* dei nuovi saggi confrontandoli con le sue idee originali. Questo appare evidente per quanto riguarda la topografia, a proposito della quale si sente la mancanza di molte nuove pubblicazioni importantissime. Nonostante ciò, la raccolta offre comunque al lettore uno studio complessivo della dimensione storica e iconografica nei monumenti statali romani e l'arte di rappresentanza. Non sono, però, convinta della necessità di questa traduzione in italiano, dato che tutti gli articoli sono facilmente accessibili anche come pubblicazioni originali.

Leena Pietilä-Castrén

ROBERTA BELLI PASQUA: *Sculture di età romana in "basalto"*. Xenia Antiqua, Monografie 2. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1995. ISBN 88-7062-885-X. 166 p., 43 figs., 89 pls. ITL 200.000.

Roberta Belli Pasqua has provided us with a mostly welcome study on an unusual group of sculpture of the Roman period, made of the black "basalt", the greywacke of Uadi Hammâmât in Egypt. As the author points out in her introduction, the material of these pieces of sculpture has erroneously often been described as basalt, which is a volcanic rock, when the material in question, greywacke, is in fact a sedimentary rock.

Belli Pasqua has collected for her publication all the known examples of Roman sculpture in greywacke. The Egyptianizing production of the Hellenistic period that imitates the Egyptian greywacke sculpture of the earlier periods is discussed briefly in the book. Both the Egyptian production and the Egyptianizing sculpture are, however, regarded as antecedents to the production of the Roman period. Therefore, the author has collected a complete representative collection of products with Greco-Roman iconography. The book is based on the doctoral thesis of the author, presented in the Università degli Studi di Roma Tor Vergata.

The publication has been divided into three main parts. The first part consists of a synthesis of the results of the study, including, among others, the ancient and post-classical sources, production techniques, workshops, typology, and dating. A short discussion on the use of greywacke in Egypt until the Ptolemaic period is added. The second part is the catalogue which contains portraits, figurative sculpture of various subjects, ornamental sculpture, and fragments. The author has avoided the use of chronological order in the catalogue, since the archaeological context of the finds is missing, and the given dates are based on a stylistic analysis and comparison to similar objects made of other materials. Third, the author has added an appendix with three categories of sculpture: objects made of

unidentified material, objects that could be modern, and objects mentioned in the antiquarian sources. The text is followed by an index of the museums with a list of greywacke products cited in the book. Another index provides the proveniences of the objects.

The presentation of the material is clear, and easy to follow. The arrangement of the catalogue is also understandable, and I have only one question concerning the author's choice of order. Why did she place no. 71, a fragment of a crater, in the group of "Ornamental sculpture", and not in "Fragments" as she did with no. 95 which is another fragment of a crater? To me it seems more suitable to place no. 71 with the group of fragments, not with the ornamental sculpture which contains complete or nearly complete examples.

Especially interesting is the significance of the use of greywacke, which the author discusses on pages 56–58. She suggests that greywacke could have been used for portraits of Augustus to point out via an allusion his power over conquered Egypt; Augustus could have accentuated his power in a symbolic meaning through an allusion. For the same purpose, Augustus could have used mythological statues made of greywacke to decorate the Temple of Apollo to emphasize the victory over Egypt. The same theory of imperial propaganda would then suit the portraits of Livia and Gaius Caesar, Tiberius and other members of the Julio-Claudian family. The first century AD is therefore the most important period for the use of greywacke in art.

The cessation of the use of greywacke took place in the second century AD, due to several possible reasons: Belli Pasqua suggests the change in taste as one possibility. Another reason could have been that specialists who were able to work with this material disappeared, and, as the most interesting alternative, she proposes that the symbolic meaning of greywacke with imperial connotation disappeared when other materials became more popular: porphyry took over the symbolic meaning of greywacke.

The book gives us an important introduction to a special group of objects, Roman sculpture made of greywacke, and we have to be grateful to the author for all the pieces of information she has collected into this volume about this rare group of Roman artifacts.

Arja Karivieri

Petra. Ez Zantur I. Ergebnisse der Schweizerisch-Liechtensteinischen Ausgrabungen 1988–1992. Terra Archaeologica II. Ed. A. Bignasca, N. Desse-Berset, R. Fellmann Brogli, R. Glutz, S. Karg, D. Keller, B. Kolb, Ch. Kramar, M. Peter, S.G. Schmid, Ch. Schneider, R. A. Stucky, J. Studer, I. Zanoni. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 1996. ISBN 3–8053–1749–2. 411 pages, 1027 illustrations and drawings, 7 color plates, and 16 plans. DEM 180.

This comprehensive volume which presents the results of the 1988-1992 Swiss-Liechtenstein excavations at Petra is a true milestone in the studies concerning the culture history and archaeology of Petra during the Classical and Byzantine periods. Petra was the capital city of the Nabataean Kingdom, and subsequently the capital of the Roman province of *Arabia* and later, of the Byzantine province *Palaestina Salutaris/Tertia*. The economic significance of Petra as a major emporium in the international long-distance trade in spices and aromatics during the Hellenistic and Roman periods is well-known. Therefore, the volume is all the more welcome since the archaeological exploration of Petra is still

insufficient, and the material published so far is not abundant, despite the obvious importance of the city. The Swiss team under the leadership of Prof. Rolf Stucky, University of Basel, had selected a site located on the slope of a hill overlooking the city center, which turned out to be a residential quarter. That fortunate decision brought in a plethora of information concerning the domestic architecture and the material culture of the Nabataean, Roman, and Byzantine periods at Petra. The excavations have uncovered a sequence of domestic structures dated from the late 2nd century B.C., through the early 5th century A.D. The occupation was, however, disrupted at the beginning of the 2nd century A.D., largely discontinued during the 2nd and 3rd centuries, reconstituted in the early 4th century A.D., and disrupted again by the disastrous earthquake of A.D. 363. While that destruction was followed by a limited rebuilding of the housing complex, another seismic event, postulated by the authors to have occurred in A.D. 419, finally brought to an end the occupation at the ez-Zantur slope.

The volume is divided into chapters which consequently present the material culture remains, and comment on parallels and the historical significance of the finds. Particular attention may be directed upon the exemplary, well-referenced, and imaginative presentations of the Nabataean and Late Roman domestic architecture. Private houses were excavated in Petra in the past but so far the best preserved and published examples were restricted to the Nabataean Negev (e.g., at Mamphis). The ceramic analyses which follow the architectural presentations involve thorough discussions of plain, fine, and imported ware found in association with the houses at ez-Zantur. The Nabataean Fine Ware analysis and the proposed chronological framework of the distinguished types should be considered a major breakthrough in Nabataean ceramic studies, with regard to the form and decoration vs. the chronological assignment. Although Nabataean pottery has been intensively studied in the past, using the material from Petra and the Nabataean settlements in southern Jordan and the Negev, the current analysis is particularly valuable since it is based upon a corpus of material which represents a considerable time-span, and which comes from well-stratified and coin-dated deposits. Other contributions in the volume are equally outstanding and exhaustive in information and parallels, and these include the presentations of terracotta finds, glass, ceramic lamps, faunal remains, and human skeletal remains. The numismatic chapter includes the description of the coin finds associated with the A.D. 363 earthquake.

One cannot but highly praise Rolf Stucky and his team of experts for their contribution in expanding our knowledge of Petra through this important publication. Undoubtedly, this handsomely produced and illustrated volume will remain a standard reference book for all who work in Petra or study the history and archaeology of the city. The readers will eagerly await the appearance of the following volumes in the series, especially in light of new and important discoveries which have been made by the Swiss-Liechtenstein team since 1992.

Zbigniew T. Fiema

Quaderni di Archeologia della Libia, vol. 17. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1995. ISBN 88-7062-922-8. 132 p., ill. ITL 250.000.

Con il presente volume dei Quaderni (da notare, dal 1987, la sostituzione della parola *Libia* con *Libya* nel titolo), pubblicato sotto la competente coordinazione di Lidiano Bacchielli, continuano i fruttuosi studi italiani sull'archeologia della Libia antica. L. Gasperini (5-12) pubblica alcune nuove dediche vascolari all'Apollo di Cirene; R. Zucca (13-20) studia quattro manufatti archeologici di provenienza cirenaica nell'Antiquarium Arborensis di Oristano (Sardegna): di origine sia locale sia magnogreca e alessandrina, gli oggetti offrono una nuova testimonianza delle relazioni commerciali della Cirenaica in età ellenistica; M.E. Micheli (21-29) interpreta un pilastrino proveniente dal santuario di Apollo a Cirene come dono votivo al dio da parte di un privato, forse atleta; G. Ottone (31-39), partendo da una notizia probabilmente attribuibile a Teocresto, autore di *Libyka*, richiama l'attenzione sulla figura di Cadmo che rientrava anche nell'ambito delle tradizioni mitiche di Cirene; A. Spanò Giammellaro (41-51) scrive di una scultura del dio Bes, conservato nel Museo Punico di Sabratha; A. Santucci (53-61), in un interessante studio della tomba N 226 della necropoli settentrionale di Cirene, rintraccia le diverse fasi della tomba da un monumento ellenistico alla riformulazione architettonica romana in piena età imperiale; N. Bonacasa (63-74), pur non scoprendo quale delle due Augustae, Annia Lucilla o Bruttia Crispina, fosse rappresentata in uno splendido ritratto nel Museo Archeologico di Sabratha, arriva a importanti conclusioni circa il significato e la durata degli Antonini nella città; R. Macaluso (75-81) fornisce un utile catalogo di un tesoretto di denari di età severiana proveniente da Sabratha; S. Fontana (83-91) studia la tradizione artigianale e la raffigurazione di tipi etnici nei balsamari configurati di produzione africana del III e IV sec. d.C.; L. Bacchielli e M.R. Falivene (93-107) segnalano la ricca decorazione pittorica di una tomba cirenaica con scene che costituiscono una sorta di *Tabula Iliaca* e di *Tabula Odysseaca*: in particolare si notino l'episodio di Ulisse e le Sirene e quello dell'attacco di Scilla alla nave di Ulisse. Il primo è, del resto, accompagnato dal canto delle Sirene in forma di un centone in echi omerici e privo di struttura metrica; R.M. Bonacasa Carra (109-118) studia sei rilievi cristiani con monogramma laureato nel Museo di Leptis Magna.

Mika Kajava

CATERINA ROSSETTI TELLA: *La terra sigillata tardo-italica decorata del Museo Nazionale Romano*. *Studia Archaeologica* 83. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1996. ISBN 88-7062-933-3. 446 p., 102 pls. ITL 450.000.

Caterina Rossetti Tella has published an important analysis of a special group of pottery, the so-called Late Italian Sigillata, in the collections of the Museo Nazionale Romano. The production of this type of pottery started when the production of the previously so popular Arretine Ware was coming to an end in the late first century AD, but the quality of the Late Italian Sigillata products is more careless in comparison to the Arretine Ware. The production of Late Italian Sigillata extends from the 80s of the first century AD to the middle of the second century AD, when the African products took over the pottery market in the Mediterranean. Until today, the location of the production centre

for Late Italian Sigillata has been uncertain; Rossetti Tella prefers the suggestion that the production centre would have been in Pisa.

In 1984 the author wrote her master thesis on fragments of Late Italian Sigillata from Velletri, and continued later on her studies on other fragments, 542 in all, in the Museo Nazionale Romano. These studies resulted in this book which relies partly on the study of M. Medri on Late Italian Sigillata, published in 1992; both studies have been directed by Prof. Giuseppe Pucci at the University of Siena.

Rossetti Tella has chosen a traditional order of presentation for the decorated pieces of Late Italian Sigillata in the Museo Nazionale Romano. She has divided the book into 10 chapters which include five different catalogues. The author presents first the proveniences of the objects in question, followed by the technical analysis of the clay and glaze, the quality of the products, and the morphology based on the forms Dragendorff 29 and 37 as well as Dragendorff-Watzinger I. The repertory of the motifs has the main weight in the catalogue of the poinçon-motifs. There are also shorter notes about poinçon-stamps on stamped vases, and compound schemes, as well as comparisons to other types of pottery. In addition, Rossetti Tella discusses briefly the attribution of unsigned fragments. This is followed by the catalogue of fragments, chronology, conclusions and bibliography. The text is completed with a list of stamps on stamped and/or attributed vases and a concordance.

In chapter II, the author has divided the clays into 13 different types and the glaze into six types. Chapter III describes the three types of Late Italian Sigillata to which the vases belong; the most important forms are represented with profile drawings in figures 1 to 5. Chapter IV presents the poinçon-stamps used to decorate the surface of the vases, divided into 561 types, where the 542 catalogued items are marked in italics to separate their numbers from the stamp types. Similar stamps were used by several workshops, and the author gives several possible explanations for this practice: co-operation between the shops, a common source for stamps, or collaboration between shops by change of stamps and archetypes. Chapter V presents the workshop stamps and graffiti of the workshops represented in the Museo Nazionale Romano. In chapter VI, Rossetti Tella has gathered her suggestions for the attribution of the unsigned pieces. Of the 463 unsigned fragments, she could attribute 324 pieces to certain individual workshops, 37 fragments to a group of two possible workshops each, and the rest, i.e., 102 pieces, were not possible to attribute to a certain workshop.

The quality of the illustrations in the plates is in general good. In some cases, however, the black-and-white photos are too dark to be able to see the details (see, for example, pl. 36, no. 140; pl. 53, no. 251; pl. 59, nos. 282 and 283; pl. 64, no. 313; pl. 74, nos. 364 and 365; pl. 102, no. 539). Furthermore, I personally would have preferred to see the profile drawings of the catalogued items; a photo of the object and a drawing of the figurative motif on the vessel do not always provide enough information for the whole object, since there can be significant differences, e.g., in the base or the rim of the vessel, which are important when seeking comparisons or mouldmates to other pieces of Late Italian Sigillata.

Arja Karivieri

ANTONIETTA VIACAVA: *L'atleta di Fano*. Studia Archaeologica 74. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1994. ISBN 88-7062-868-x. 154 p., 116 fig. ITL 200.000

Finalmente una profonda monografia sull'atleta di Fano, alias Il Bronzo Getty, un bronzo originale greco, scritta dalla studiosa Antonietta Viacava. Lo studio si fonda sulla tesi di laurea effettuata col professor Paolo Moreno come mentore, a cui l'autrice ovviamente deve molto. La ricerca si apre con la storia degli studi, cominciati dal J. Frel nel 1978 dopo l'acquisto del bronzo al Getty Museum. Il bronzo, 1,49 m di altezza, salvo i piedi e le caviglie, venne ritrovato nel 1961 nel Mar Adriatico al largo di Numana dai pescatori e venduto clandestinamente a Gubbio. Le sue fate lo portavano poi a Milano, in Svizzera, in Liechtenstein, a Monaco di Baviera, a Londra e finalmente nel 1977 a Malibu. Si spera che quei lontani anni Sessanta siano l'ultima volta che scopritori fortuiti vendono clandestinamente materiale archeologico. Una pratica introdotta ultimamente in Grecia per impedire traffici di questo genere sarebbe una grande ricompensa monetaria per gli scopritori dei reperti archeologici. Nel 1961 sono andati perduti gli occhi della statua, e, prima di tutto, il contesto archeologico sottomarino, cioè tutta l'informazione riguardante il trasporto antico, oppure più tardi – addirittura nel 1204 secondo l'autrice – del nostro bronzo. Il paragrafo sulla storia degli studi è molto esauriente, ma riflette fortemente p.es. con le sue molte citazioni dai altri studiosi, il carattere di una tesi universitaria.

Il bronzo presenta un giovane che gravita sulla gamba destra, mentre l'arto sinistro proietta in avanti, il braccio destro è sollevato, il braccio sinistro è disposto ad arco accanto al fianco. La ponderazione è antitetica, riconosciuta già dal Moreno come una caratteristica del grande scultore Lisippo. Le opinioni sulla datazione dei vari autori oscillano tra il 340 e il 280 a.C., unanimamente concordano, però, sulla identificazione del giovane come un atleta vincitore ad Olimpia, e meglio ancora, con la sua fisionomia individuale precisa come un personaggio storico. Il gesto compiuto dall'atleta si è voluto interpretare sia come l'autoincoronazione, sia come una rimozione della corona, sia l'indicazione della corona, che caratterizza la posizione di vincitore. Il secondo paragrafo della monografia si concentra alla statua stessa con una minuta descrizione, l'interpretazione del gesto, l'attribuzione e la cronologia, per poter poi utilizzare tutte queste indagini per inquadrare la statua proprio come un originale del Lisippo eseguito intorno al 340, vuol dire nel periodo di trasferimento dello scultore da Sicione alla corte macedone.

Il terzo paragrafo presenta le repliche e derivazioni del bronzo individuate dalla Viacava in Asia Centrale, Asia Minore, Grecia e Italia, in forma di monete, statuette e statue, rilievi, sarcofagi e steli, addirittura un affresco e un mosaico, seguito poi, come il quarto paragrafo del libro, da una discussione interessantissima sulla fortuna del tipo del bronzo in età ellenistica e romana. Secondo l'autrice il motivo iconografico dell'atleta vincitore ha avuto in Oriente una lunga fortuna. Il motivo è testimoniato da documenti di vario genere in Asia sin dal terzo secolo a.C., in una certa misura anche in Grecia, e finalmente, a partire dal II secolo d.C., con una esperienza mediata, anche in Italia. Come identificazione della statua con un personaggio storico l'autrice propone Seleuco Nicatore, re di Siria, già prima identificato con una testa bronzea da Ercolano, ora nel Museo archeologico di Napoli e ancora recentemente attribuito anche questo a Lisippo. La Viacava propone l'ipotesi che queste due statue presentino lo stesso personaggio in età diversa, un ragazzo di circa quindici anni e un uomo maturo tra i quaranta e i cinquanta, basandosi sulla struttura facciale. Secondo le fonti epigrafiche Lisippo eseguì affatto un ritratto del detto

Seleuco. La nuova teoria volle che il ritratto sarebbe stato effettuato dallo scultore intorno al 340, per esempio quando entrambi vivevano alla corte macedone. Il ritratto dall'età più tarda sarebbe poi stato eseguito una ventina di anni più tardi da un modello, che sarebbe proprio l'atleta di Fano. Una teoria assai affascinante, costruita con tanta cura e competenza, che purtroppo deve rimanere senza affermazione definitiva, come sempre accade con le opere d'arte recuperate senza il loro contesto originario.

Leena Pietilä-Castrén

MARCELLO BARBANERA: *Il guerriero di Agrigento*. Una probabile scultura frontonale del Museo di Agrigento e alcune questioni di archeologia "siceliota". *Studia Archaeologica* 77. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1995. ISBN 88-7062-904-X. 101 p., XXI tavole. ITL 150.000.

In questo lavoro si propone una nuova ipotesi ricostruttiva del c.d. Guerriero di Agrigento, probabilmente ideato per il frontone di un tempio arcaico agrigentino, che viene qui interpretato come un gigante caduto in combattimento. L'idea di tentare una ricostruzione in gesso della scultura fu del compianto Sandro Stucchi, il cui progetto è qui felicemente portato al termine sotto la competente cura del Barbanera, curatore della Gipsoteca archeologica dell'Università "La Sapienza". Lo studio di quest'opera artistica ha inoltre indotto l'autore a proporre alcune questioni rilevanti sulla scultura dei centri greci occidentali e sul significato della gigantomachia come motivo decorativo dei templi greci in Sicilia.

Mika Kajava

GIORDANO LABUD: *Ricerche archeologico-ambientali dell'Istria settentrionale: la valle del fiume Risano*. *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature*, Pocket-book 130. Paul Åströms förlag, Jonsered 1995. ISBN 91-7081-085-0. iv, 186 p. SEK 250.

Scopo principale del presente lavoro, una dissertazione della Università di Lund del 1995, è di chiarire ed illustrare, tramite ricerche sul campo e l'analisi dei dati già esistenti, le caratteristiche dell'insediamento umano nonché le diverse forme della vita economica nel territorio del fiume Risano, nell'odierna Slovenia, dall'età protostorica a quella romana. Questo lavoro ha portato al riconoscimento di 45 insediamenti, tra i quali di particolare importanza sono i cd. *castellieri* dell'età protostorica, spesso situati sui colli e fortificati da una o più cinte di muraglioni a secco. Degli undici insediamenti di questo tipo, almeno nove erano in uso ancora nel periodo romano. L'influenza romana risulta essere stata particolarmente forte nel I secolo d.C., come dimostra la presenza dei resti delle ville urbano-rustiche, con panorama verso la valle del fiume, nonché di quelle lussuose sulla costiera. Degli insediamenti propriamente urbani i migliori esempi sono Capodistria e Sermino, ambedue abitati già nell'età protostorica.

Tutto sommato, un libro solido e informativo, solo che l'interpretazione delle singole epigrafi e dei bolli laterizi citati nel testo talvolta lascia a desiderare, ovviamente per la mancata conoscenza dei criteri editoriali di oggi. Sarebbe del tutto superfluo elencare qui tutte le sviste, che sono del resto di poco rilievo per l'argomento stesso. Alla p. 56, per la

gens Magaplina, si veda M. Kajava, *Roman Female Praenomina* (1994) 80 f.: l'iscrizione sulla lamina di bronzo, che è qui riprodotta in modo negligente, non può essere del II sec. d.C. – P. 99: il gentilizio *Pasellius* (CIL V 502 = Inscr. It. X,3, 22) sembra corrotto (l'iscrizione fu vista nel '700) e perciò non è registrato neppure in H. Solin – O. Salomies, *Repertorium nominum gentilium*, etc. (ed. nova 1994).

Mika Kajava

La Cueva de la Camareta (Agramón, Hellín-Albacete). Hg. von A. González Blanco, R. González Fernández, M. Amante Sánchez. *Antigüedad y cristianismo, monografías históricas sobre la Antigüedad tardía X*. Universidad de Murcia 1993. ISSN 0214–7165. 673 S. USD 70.

In den letzten Jahrzehnten sind auf der iberischen Halbinsel eine ganze Reihe von neuen Inschriften, z.B. Bronzetafeln mit Gesetzestexten und andere, archäologische Reste entdeckt worden. Die vorliegende Publikation nun stellt erstmals in einer umfassenderen Weise die archäologischen und epigraphischen Überbleibsel der erst 1980 als wahre Fundgrube der Geschichte entdeckten Höhle "La Camareta" bei Hellín zwischen Murcia und Albacete dar. In dieser Höhle finden sich von vorrömischen iberischen Texten und Bildern über lateinische und arabische Graffiti bis hin zu modernen englischsprachigen und selbstverständlich spanischen Texten Zeichen einer ständigen Benutzung dieser Höhlen. In 25 Aufsätzen werden mehr oder wenig ausführlich die einzelnen Aspekte dieses Konglomerats an Quellen behandelt. Fast alle Autoren unterstreichen dabei den provisionalen Zustand ihrer Beiträge und verweisen auf noch zu erstellende wissenschaftliche Publikationen.

In einem ersten Teil werden außer einer einführenden Bibliographie die Methoden zur Erschließung der Höhle vorgestellt, gefolgt von einer ausführlichen Einordnung in das archäologische Umfeld der Höhle, wie z.B. das westgotische und das römische Straßennetz, die Besiedlungsstruktur u.ä.. Es schließen sich vorläufige Corpora der vorrömischen, lateinischen, arabischen und schließlich modernen Inschriften an, wobei besonders der onomastische Aspekt im Vordergrund steht. Die lateinischen Graffiti sind fast alle christlich, und auch die arabischen sind größtenteils religiösen Inhalts. Beiträge über das Mönchtum dieses Raumes in maurischer Zeit, die islamische Religiosität und schließlich mit dieser und anderen Höhlen verbundene Sagen versuchen einen ersten interpretatorischen Zugang.

Ein zweiter Teil unter dem Titel "Anthropologie der Höhlen" stellt einige weitere Höhlen vor und skizziert das Phänomen des Lebens in Höhlen, was noch bis in die Mitte dieses Jahrhunderts in dieser Region in Spanien gebräuchlich war. Als Parallele wird schließlich die ähnlich geartete Besiedlung von Höhlen entlang des oberen Eufrat beschrieben.

Den Beiträgen des eigentlichen Themas geht jeweils eine extrem kurze Zusammenfassung in spanisch – im übrigen die Editionssprache des Bandes – mit englischer Übersetzung voraus. Es folgen einige kürzere Nachrichten u.a. über neuere Ziegelfunde und ein lateinisches Alphabet sowie zwei Rezensionen. Insgesamt gibt das Werk einen guten ersten Einblick in einen interessanten Fundkomplex.

Uta-Maria Liertz

AGNETA AHLQVIST: *Pitture e mosaici nei cimiteri paleocristiani di Siracusa*. Corpus iconographicum. Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti; Classe di scienze morali, lettere ed arti; Memorie, vol. 56. Venezia 1995. ISBN 88-86166-18-4, ISSN 0393 845X. 476 p., 89 fig. f. t., 7 tav. f. t. ITL 60.000.

Il *corpus iconographicum* della Ahlqvist è un importante contributo alla conoscenza delle pitture e dei mosaici "sotterranei" di Siracusa, un *desideratum* per lungo tempo, adesso finalmente realizzato. Ormai, quando le catacombe sono per la maggior parte protette dagli atti di vandalismo, la conservazione di questo patrimonio ragguardevole è sempre più minacciata dall'inquinamento atmosferico. L'opera consiste di un'introduzione, del catalogo delle pitture e di molte appendici.

In questa sede vorrei fare soltanto qualche nota sull'elenco delle iscrizioni dei quadri figurati (pp. 377-391), nel quale sono incluse tre iscrizioni inedite, lette per la prima volta dall'autrice (i nn. *isc8*, *isc28*, *isc35*). Poiché l'inquinamento ha reso alcune delle iscrizioni praticamente illeggibili, il lettore avrebbe volentieri visto un apparato critico completo con le letture dei vari editori e l'indicazione di che cosa rimane oggi nelle pareti (ad es. nelle *isc13* e *isc14*). Però, manca l'apparato, pur essendo utile anche in un tale elenco. Seguono alcune note sulle singole iscrizioni: *isc1*: Contrariamente a quanto dice l'autrice, Joseph Führer non scrisse (almeno nei luoghi menzionati) che fosse riuscito a leggere quest'iscrizione ormai totalmente scomparsa. – *isc4*: Nel luogo del Führer a cui si fa accenno non trovo la menzione di quest'iscrizione con "lettere in più righe", ma soltanto di due monogrammi. È veramente esistita? – *isc5*: È preferibile la lettura dell'Orsi. – *isc6*: La data dovrebbe essere *VIII Kal.* – *isc7*: ἥρως non è un nome, ma l'epiteto che riferisce al padre della defunta. – *isc9*: C'è veramente BI nell'inizio? La forma ΑΛΥΠΙC per Ἀλύπιος è comune. – *isc10*: Occorre notare che il Wessel non vide le iscrizioni, ma collazionò il testo delle edizioni precedenti, raramente con l'aiuto delle fotografie. L'edizione wesseliana della parte non vista dall'Orsi è fondata sull'edizione del Kaibel (*IG XIV*), a sua volta fondata sulla lettura erronea del Walther (Gualterus), ormai già corretta dal Ferrua (*RivAC* 17, 1940). – *isc12*: L'uso dei segni diacritici è spesso un po' oscuro. – *isc14 A*: Ð sta per *deposita*. *B*: L'Orsi è il Ferrua (*Note e giunte alle iscrizioni cristiane antiche della Sicilia* [1989] p. 22 n. 41) leggono *beteranus*; Ferrua aggiunge nella fine riga NBAVTI·I. – *isc15*: È molto buona la fotografia a p. 519 (fig. 36). Indica anche che sfortunatamente la lettura dell'Orsi non è più perfezionabile; il contenuto del testo rimane oscuro. – *isc19*: Pare che si tratti di due iscrizioni diverse: 1) in questa stanza gli editori posteriori al Führer hanno visto soltanto BICTO; il nome può essere anche *Victor* o *Victorinus*, ma *Victoria* è più probabile. 2) *ic iacet Bictoria* si trova nella "Rotonda di Vittoria" del cimitero di S. Diego (vd. le pp. 262-264 Ahlqvist). È stata letta interamente dall'Orsi (*NSc* 1893, 314 n. 150) e dagli altri. – *isc20*: È da notare che finalmente esiste un'edizione vera e propria della prima parte di questo testo interessante, A. Ferrua, *Note e giunte* cit. (1989) p. 83 n. 330c, della quale non fa cenno l'autrice.

Uscito questo lavoro importante, occorre aggiungere che è già in fase avanzata la preparazione di un altro lavoro essenziale: l'edizione delle iscrizioni della catacomba di S. Giovanni a cura di Mariarita Sgarlata. Quindi, stanno diventando sempre più accessibili agli studiosi le antichità paleocristiane siracusane così imponenti.

Kalle Korhonen

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