

# ARCTOS

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IIRO KAJANTO

LINGUAE LATINAE LITTERARUMQUE ROMANARUM  
IN UNIVERSITATE HELSINGIENSI  
PROFESSORI EMERITO SEPTUAGENARIO  
(7 VI 1995)

VEIKKO VÄÄNÄNEN

LINGUARUM ROMANICARUM  
IN UNIVERSITATE HELSINGIENSI  
PROFESSORI EMERITO NONAGENARIO  
(28 XI 1995)





**PERICULA ALEXANDRINA: THE ADVENTURES  
OF A RECENTLY DISCOVERED CENTURION  
OF THE *LEGIO II PARTHICA***

CHRISTER BRUUN

**1. A recent discovery at Albano Laziale**

In 1992 Pino Chiarucci, the Director of the well-organized and delightful Museo Civico Albano at Albano Laziale near Rome, found an interesting military inscription in the course of some municipal works. The inscription, which is incompletely preserved, was immediately published by Stefania Modugno Tofini and Dott. Chiarucci in the following format and with the following emendations (some of them only tentative, as stressed by the publishers themselves):<sup>1</sup>

*[Iovi] O[ptimo Maximo]  
Pro s[alute et reditu]  
Imp. Caes. [L. Septim. Severi]  
[et Imp. Caes. M. Aurel. Anton-]  
5 [ini et P. Septim. L. f. Get-]  
ae nobiliss[i]mi [Caesar.]  
C. Cassius Sever[ian.]  
praep. militum [- - -]  
leg. II Parthica[e Sever.]*

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<sup>1</sup> See S. Modugno Tofini & P. Chiarucci, "Nuovi rinvenimenti ad Albano", *Documenta Albana* 2. ser., 12-13 (1990-91) [1994] 37-48, esp. 37-42. The editors print *pro sa[alute et victoria]* on l. 2 on p. 38, while the version given here appears on p. 42. – This paper was made possible by the Norwood Travel Grant from the Classics Department at the University of Toronto, for which I here extend my warmest thanks. For useful comments I am most indebted to Prof. Silvio Panciera (Univ. of Rome "La Sapienza"), and I also wish to thank Mr. Simo Örmä and Mr. Kaj Sandberg of the Institutum Romanum Finlandiae for their ready assistance. I am indebted to Ms. Aara Suksi for correcting my English.

- 10 *p(iae) f(idelis) f(elicis) aet(ernae), eiusdemqu[e]*  
*princeps et primuspil.*  
*et quod Alexandriae*  
*cum 7 (centurio) ageret in pericu-*  
*lis constitutus numi-*  
 15 *ne eius adiuvente libera-*  
*tus sit ex voto posuit.*

The swift publication of this highly interesting inscription in the first available issue of the *Documenta Albana* merits the gratitude of all interested scholars. An important testimony to some of the vicissitudes of the *legio II Parthica*, encamped in antiquity at Alba, on the site where Albano Laziale later grew up, has now become accessible to the scholarly world.

The *editio princeps* is accompanied by a photograph of the text and the base on which it is inscribed (Fig. 1 on p. 39). The photograph provides a laudably true image of the original, as the present writer was able to verify during a visit in May of 1995 to the Museo Civico di Albano, where the inscription is prominently displayed in Sala XV on the basement floor of the Museum.<sup>2</sup> However, during my visit some suspicions about the original wording of the inscription, based on the published photograph, were confirmed by a careful scrutiny of the text itself. The presentation and discussion of some different readings and emendations of the text will be the subject of this paper.

## 2. The "autobiography" of a centurion

Although the upper line (or lines? It does not seem possible to establish the original height of the inscribed surface) is almost completely lost, and two lines in the first half of the text (ll. 4-5) cannot be read (they were deliberately erased in antiquity), the general character of the text is clear enough. We are dealing with a votive inscription (l. 16: *ex voto posuit*) dedicated to a deity (l. 1), in connection with a wish for the wellbeing of the

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<sup>2</sup> The visit to the Museo Civico was made on May 27th 1995. I wish to thank Prof. R. Kallet-Marx (Univ. of California at Santa Barbara) for his stimulating companionship during this expedition and inspection. Naturally I remain solely responsible for any errors of reading (or interpretation).

rulers of the Roman empire (ll. 3-6). On l. 7 we find the name of the dedicant, C. Cassius Sever(ianus?). (Other names are possible, e.g. Severus or Severinus.)

After the first part, which is quite regular in this sort of inscription, there follows an interesting and unusual resumé of Cassius' career, in which first (some of) his offices in the *legio II Parthica* are registered. The legion is given certain epithets, *p(ia)*, *f(idelis)*, *f(elix)*, *aet(erna)*,<sup>3</sup> and an imperial honorific title, which might be important in dating the inscription and its context.

Next there follows an even more remarkable section, which could be called "autobiographical": *et quod Alexandriae cum (centurio) ageret in periculis constitutus numine eius adiuvente liberatus sit* - "because he (the dedicant, who speaks of himself in the third person) was saved by the spirit of him (meaning the god, to whom the inscription is dedicated) at Alexandria, where he met with dangers while he was acting as centurion, he erected (this inscription) in fulfilment of a vow."

### 3. The date of the "Alexandrian dangers"

Formulaic expressions abound in inscriptions of Roman soldiers, and such inscriptions therefore rarely reveal very much about the experiences of an individual soldier. There are nevertheless occasional exceptions where we can catch a glimpse of a more personal experience.<sup>4</sup> Such instances often enable us to put the career of the person in question into context, and sometimes to shed new light on historical events.

In the case at hand, the mention of "dangers in Alexandria" was rightly used by the first editors as a 'terminus ad quem'.<sup>5</sup> We know that, since the *legio II Parthica* was founded by Septimius Severus in about A.D.

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<sup>3</sup> On the order of *pia* and *fidelis* see below n. 41.

<sup>4</sup> A by now classic case is that of the so-called Captor of Decebalus, see M. P. Speidel, "The Captor of Decebalus, a new Inscription from Philippi", *JRS* 60 (1970) 142-153 (= *Idem*, *Roman Army Studies I*, 1984, 173-187). Other (auto)biographical inscriptions are, e.g., D 2244 (a soldier who fell in the *bellum Varianum*), D 2259 (a legionary *occisus finibus Varvarinorum*), D 2311 (a soldier listing his expeditions, commanders, and family members), B. Gerov, *Inscr. Latinae in Bulgariae rep.*, 18 (a soldier rewarded for having fought against the Carpi and at Tyras).

<sup>5</sup> Modugno Tofini & Chiarucci 41.

197,<sup>6</sup> any mention of events in Egypt must date to sometime under Severus or later. Furthermore, from what we know about the history of the *II Parthica* and its character as a special guard of the Emperor with its location only a few hours march from the palace in Rome, it can safely be assumed that it would either have been stationed in its Alban camp or been accompanying the emperor(s) on campaign.<sup>7</sup>

A first step in dating the "Alexandrian dangers" is therefore to identify imperial visits to that city under Septimius Severus or later. Modugno Tofini and Chiarucci pointed out that Septimius Severus and his sons are known to have visited the city in 199-200 after their Eastern campaign.<sup>8</sup> The problem with this dating is however twofold: firstly, nothing is found in our sources that would indicate that the emperors or their troops encountered trouble in Alexandria.<sup>9</sup> Secondly, it would seem that the *II Parthica* had been left at Alba when Severus and his sons set out for their second Parthian campaign.<sup>10</sup> The legion presumably never visited Egypt at this time. Unless we want to assume that Cassius Sever(ianus) had been serving in a different legion during his stay in Alexandria, this means that the early date suggested by the first editors has to be discounted.<sup>11</sup>

Most interestingly for our investigation, the next imperial visit to Alexandria, by Caracalla in 215-216 led to severe disturbances and bloodshed. Caracalla was jeered at and insulted by the people in the streets as he arrived accompanied by his soldiers,<sup>12</sup> and this led to stern punitive actions by the emperor. According to Halfmann, these events constitute the

<sup>6</sup> E. Ritterling, *Legio*, RE XII (1924-25) 1211-1828, esp. 1476.

<sup>7</sup> Ritterling 1479f.

<sup>8</sup> Modugno Tofini & Chiarucci 41. For the documentation, see H. Halfmann, *Itinera principum. Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im römischen Reich*, Stuttgart 1986, 218.

<sup>9</sup> For the events during this imperial visit, see Halfmann 220f.; A. R. Birley, *The African Emperor Septimius Severus*, London 1988, 135-139.

<sup>10</sup> Thus A. Birley 129 with 249 n. 1, apparently mainly based on an *argumentum e silentio*.

<sup>11</sup> Promotions within the centurionate from one legion to another are by no means unusual; see the survey by E. Birley, "Promotions and Transfers in the Roman Army II: the Centurionate", *Carnuntum Jahrbuch* 1963/64, 21-33 (= *The Roman Army. Papers 1929-1986*, Amsterdam 1988, 206-220), but since there are many other reasons why a date around A.D. 200 is impossible, it is unnecessary to even consider the possibility that Cassius Sever(ianus) had served in a different unit earlier on.

<sup>12</sup> The accompanying soldiers are mentioned by Dio 77,22,2 and Herodian. 4,8,9.

most violent episode among all the recorded imperial visits during the empire.<sup>13</sup> Incidentally, minutes have been discovered of a *cognitio extra ordinem* held by Caracalla himself at Alexandria, apparently in connection with this commotion. In these (fragmentary) proceedings, written on papyrus, a centurion is also mentioned, but unfortunately we are given neither his name nor even his unit.<sup>14</sup>

After this visit by Caracalla, we do not hear about emperors visiting Alexandria.<sup>15</sup> The year 215 clearly looks like a more probable date for the adventures of Cassius Sever(ianus) in Alexandria.

#### 4. Who are the emperors in the inscription?

Before accepting the date of 215 for Cassius' adventures at Alexandria, we must obviously confront the editors' suggestion that Septimius Severus and his sons are mentioned in the dedication on lines 3-6. If this were so, A.D. 211 would constitute a *terminus ante quem* for both the dedication and the Alexandrian event, which of course took place even earlier.

Very little remains of the imperial names and the titulature in our inscription, but even so, there seems to be one decisive element that without doubt permits its attribution to Septimius Severus and sons: the letters AE at the beginning of line 6. An imperial name ending in -AE and followed by *nobilissimi*, and therefore obviously in the genitive, can only be *Get-ae*.

The problem here is that the letters AE on l. 6 do not show on the

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<sup>13</sup> Main ancient sources: Dio 77,22,1-24,1; Herodian. 4,8,6-9,8 (with the comments by C. R. Whittaker in the LCL-edition). In general, see Halfmann 225, 229 and above all 123 for the commotion in Alexandria. More in detail in P. Benoit & J. Schwartz, "Caracalla et les troubles d'Alexandrie en 215 après J.-C.", EPap 7 (1948) 17-33; F. Kolb, *Literarische Beziehungen zwischen Cassius Dio, Herodian und der Historia Augusta*, Bonn 1972, 97-111. See now the broader treatment in J. Sünskes Thompson, *Aufstände und Protestaktionen im Imperium Romanum. Die severischen Kaiser im Spannungsfeld innenpolitischer Konflikte*, Bonn 1990, 159-166.

<sup>14</sup> For Caracallas *cognitio extra ordinem*, see Benoit & Schwartz; see also H. A. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs Acta Alexandrinorum*, Oxford 1954, 229-232. That the *leg. II Parthica* (in whole or in part) would have accompanied Caracalla at this point has not been doubted. Whether the regular garrison of Alexandria, the *II Traiana*, was at Alexandria seems to be more uncertain; ambiguity in Ritterling 1318. 1321f.

<sup>15</sup> For imperial itineraries, see in general Halfmann, esp. 232 for the travel project of Severus Alexander, which was never realized.

photograph and – more importantly – are not visible on the base at Albano (at least not to the present writer). The initial space on l. 6 seems completely empty. There is no trace of inscribed letters, but neither can any trace of erasure be seen.<sup>16</sup> This might seem surprising, since if it is the case, we would have to assume that originally the beginning of l. 6 was indented. Fortunately, such an outlay of the text would not be without parallels<sup>17</sup> and could be explained by the wish to create symmetry for l. 6, which being the last line of the imperial titulature was perhaps shorter than the preceding lines.

If this observation about a vacant space at the beginning of l. 6 is correct, the most pressing reason for connecting our inscription to the reign of Septimius Severus disappears. We are left with just two elements of imperial titulature: *Imp. Caes.* at the very beginning, and *nobilissimi* towards the end. We are indeed dealing with two (or more) rulers, firstly because the length of the space allotted to this part of the inscription indicates that more than one person was mentioned, and secondly, because the person styled *nobilissimus* should be the junior co-regent (a son, natural or adopted) of the preceding *Imperator Caesar*. There are many pairs of rulers that fulfill this condition: Macrinus + Diadumenianus, Elagabal + Severus Alexander, Maximinus + C. Iulius Verus Maximus, Balbinus and Pupienus + Gordianus III, Philippus Arabs + M. Iulius Philippus junior, and so on.<sup>18</sup>

The pair Macrinus + Diadumenianus must undoubtedly be excluded, since during their brief reign the *legio II Parthica* was in the East. The situation is different when we come to the emperor Elagabal and Severus Alexander. In A.D. 221 on June 26, Elagabal adopted his young cousin, who thereafter was called M. Aurelius Alexander *nobilissimus Caesar imperi et sacerdotis* and *princeps iuventutis*.<sup>19</sup>

We now need to attempt to insert the names and titles of Elagabal and

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Modugno Tofini & Chiarucci 38: L'operazione di levigatura della pietra non è riuscita bene e all'inizio della l. 6 si legge, sia pure con difficoltà, AE seguito da NOBILISS[i]MI [CAESAR(is)] ...

<sup>17</sup> For various ways in which to arrange epigraphic texts, see S. Panciera, "La produzione epigrafica di Roma in età repubblicana. Le officine lapidarie", H. Solin et al. (eds.), *Acta Colloquii Epigraphici Latini Helsingiae ... 1991 habiti*, Helsinki 1995, 319-342, esp. 334 for the increasing popularity of the "schema con asse centrale" during the first century A.D.

<sup>18</sup> For the titulature of these rulers, see D. Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle. Grundzüge einer römischen Kaiserchronologie*, Darmstadt 1990, 169-199.

<sup>19</sup> For Severus Alexander and his titulature, see Kienast 177.

Severus Alexander on lines 3-6 of our inscription. The first entirely preserved line is l. 11 *princeps et primuspil.*, which contains 19 letters. The other complete lines contain respectively 17, 16, 18, 21, and 18 letters. The letter size of the first line seems to be equal to that of the later lines (and in no case would one expect the imperial titulature to have been written smaller), and therefore one should work on the assumption of 17-18 letters per line.<sup>20</sup> The following restoration of the names and the essential titles of the emperor Elagabal and Severus Alexander adheres to this scheme:<sup>21</sup>

	<i>Pro s[alute et reditu]</i>	(17 letters)
	<i>Imp. Caes. M. Aureli Anto-</i>	(18)
	<i>nini Pii Felicis Aug.</i>	(17)
5	<i>et M. Aureli Alexandri</i>	(18)
	<i>nobilissimi Caesar.</i>	(17)

This reconstruction inspires some confidence also because each of the two rulers occupies two entire lines. The reconstruction moreover accommodates for the fact that the name on l. 4 was erased: that would have been the regular practice concerning Elagabal's name (the second half of l. 3 ought to have been erased as well, but the damaged state of the stone prevents us from ascertaining this). It is admittedly puzzling that also l. 5, where according to our proposal the name of Severus Alexander appeared, suffered the same fate. Here, no better explanation than a mistake by those responsible for the intervention can be offered. (If one were to adopt the suggestion by the editors, one would be faced with a similar problem: the erasure of Geta's name would be natural, but why would Caracalla's name

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<sup>20</sup> Thus also Modugno Tofini & Chiarucci 47 n. 3. The restoration of Modugno Tofini & Chiarucci 42 for lines 2-6 seems somewhat tight (with 17, 20, 20, 19, and 19 letters), even though, as the photograph on p. 38 shows, lines 1-7 are marginally longer than the following ones. But the extra space thus available does not amount to more than half a letter or at the utmost one extra letter.

<sup>21</sup> The titulature given here does conform to epigraphic practice, as can be gathered from Dessau, *ILS* 467-475, even though no exact match can be found. There is no place for a priesthood though, which seems somewhat unusual. M. Frey, *Untersuchungen zur Religion und zur Religionspolitik des Kaisers Elagabal*, Stuttgart 1989, 85f. has pointed out that among seven inscriptions mentioning Elagabal that are firmly dated to A.D. 221-222, six mention his priesthood of the Sun.



on l. 4 have suffered the same fate?)<sup>22</sup>

The slight disquietude caused by the erasure of both lines 4 and 5 prompts us to look further. The next possible reigning pair is Philippus Arabs and his son (it is inconceivable that an inscription had been erected to Maximinus at Alba, and there does not really seem to be room for the three rulers Balbinus, Pupienus and Gordianus III). We know that both father and son suffered *damnatio memoriae*, an aspect that accords with the stone from Albano. Their names and titlature do fill out the space quite as well as the above reconstruction for Elagabal and Severus Alexander. Based on the sample of inscriptions in Dessau's *ILS* 505-513 one could suggest the following text for lines 3-6:

	<i>Imp. Caes. M. Iulii Phil-</i>	(17 letters)
	<i>ippi Pii Felicis Aug.</i>	(-"-)
5	<i>et M. Iulii Philippi</i>	(-"-)
	<i>nobilissimi Caesar.</i>	(-"-)

This gives 17 letters throughout. We therefore have to take into account two possible ruling pairs and must make the decision between them based on other aspects of the inscription.

## 5. The imperial epithet of the *legio II Parthica*: not *Severiana*

The imperial epithet attributed to the *legio II Parthica* is important for the dating of the inscription. Old imperial honorific epithets were abolished when a new emperor took up power. The epithets were intended to show the loyalty of the troops towards the ruler and the close ties between emperor and army.<sup>23</sup>

The epithet in our inscription, which was inscribed on l. 9, is no longer legible, and the line is restored by the editors as *leg(ionis) II (secundae)*

<sup>22</sup> Modugno Tofini & Chiarucci 38 are aware of this problem, and suggest that Caracalla's name had been removed too, in the first phase, so that a new and different titlature could be written in.

<sup>23</sup> Thus G. M. Bersanetti, "I soprannomi imperiali variabili degli auxilia dell'esercito romano", *Athenaeum* n. s. 18 (1940) 103-135, esp. 113; J. Fitz, *Honorific Titles of Roman Military Units in the 3rd Century*, Budapest - Bonn 1983, 83.

*Parthica[e] [Sever(iana)].*<sup>24</sup> Personally, I would prefer printing the line simply as *leg. II Parth(icae) [--]*. The photograph gives the impression that the letters following *Parth.* have been erased on purpose, as undoubtedly happened to the imperial titulature on ll. 4-5. That we are dealing with a wilful erasure is made more likely by the fact that neither the line above (l. 8) nor the line below (l. 10) have been damaged in the corresponding place.<sup>25</sup> Personal inspection of the inscription has indeed convinced me that we are dealing with an erasure on line 9 (surely carried out in antiquity). This erasure in all likelihood targeted the honorific epithet of the legion.

A wilful erasure of the honorific epithet of the legion would definitely strengthen the possibility that we are dealing with an inscription erected either under the emperor Elagabal or Philippus Arabs, since both the Elagabalian epithet *Antoniniana* and Philippus' epithet *Philippiana* are known to have been deleted in some inscriptions.<sup>26</sup>

Even if the honorific epithet of the *leg. II Parthica* in our inscription were not erased on purpose, the suggested emendation [*Sever(iana)*] by the editors is not very likely. We have no certain evidence that the *II Parthica* used the honorific epithet *Severiana* during the reign of Septimius Severus.<sup>27</sup> Some scholars even argue that Septimius Severus did not bestow honorific epithets upon army units at all<sup>28</sup> – if this is true, the existence of a honorific epithet in the inscription would necessarily mean that it must

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<sup>24</sup> Modugno Tofini & Chiarucci 42.

<sup>25</sup> I can find no opinion of the editors on this question.

<sup>26</sup> On the erasure of imperial honorific epithets, see Fitz, *Honorific Titles*, passim and esp. 90-123 for epithets under Severus Alexander. In those cases where *Severiana* has been erased on purpose it was practically always part of the larger expression *Severiana Alexandriana* and obviously belonged to the reign of Severus Alexander.

<sup>27</sup> A controversial inscription is CIL VI 32877 = D 9046 from Rome, a private tombstone mentioning the (*legio*) *secund(a) Parthica Sever(iana)*. The ambiguous dating employed has caused some scholars to suggest a date of A.D. 201, thus Bersanetti 111; M. P. Speidel, "*Severiana* as a Title for Army Units and the Three *legiones Parthicae* of Septimius Severus", *PACA* 17 (1983) 118-123, esp. 118 (not reprinted in his *Roman Army Studies I-II*). Other scholars interpret the dating as indicating that the inscription was erected in A.D. 229, thus already Ritterling 1478, and most recently B. Lörincz, "Zu den Kaiserbeinamen der römischen Truppen im 3. Jahrhundert", *AAntHung* 37 (1985) 177-189, esp. 183. On the use of the epithet *Severiana Antoniniana* under Septimius Severus, see below n. 31.

<sup>28</sup> Fitz, *Honorific Titles*, 34 for the alleged practice of Septimius Severus of not awarding epithets. According to Fitz (*ibid.*, p. 90-140, esp. 124), *Severiana* as a honorific army epithet refers to Severus Alexander.

belong to after 211.

Although Septimius Severus clearly did not bestow honorific epithets on army units in general, there are a handful of cases where both *Severiana* and *Antoniniana* (the latter epithet referring to Caracalla's name) can be found before 211.<sup>29</sup> But these examples are rare exceptions, and all but one come from the provinces of the empire. The only case from Rome (including the neighbouring area) is a dedication to Caracalla made by the *cohors I vigilum Antoniniana* in A.D. 205 (CIL VI 1056). Firstly, this is an inscription specifically honouring Caracalla (while our inscription from Albano refers to both a senior and a junior ruler). Secondly, Fitz argues that *Antoniniana* has been added at a later date (as we know happened in many inscriptions of Severan date), obviously after Caracalla became sole ruler.<sup>30</sup>

All this means that on the grounds of probability alone one should avoid restoring the epithet *Severiana* in our inscription.<sup>31</sup>

Of subsequent epithets, *Antoniniana* refers to either the reign of

<sup>29</sup> The reason might be the wish of an individual to demonstrate his loyalty, or, as Bersanetti 108-113 suggests, perhaps two of these epithets that can safely be dated to A.D. 201 are connected to Caracalla's assumption of the *toga virilis* in that year; cf. Fitz, *Honorific Titles*, 32-34. Essentially the same viewpoint was taken by Fitz in a later work, when answering criticism of the more categorical views in his book of 1983, see J. Fitz, "Les épithètes honorifiques *Antoniniana* à l'époque Sévérienne", *StudClas* 24 (1986) 139-142, esp. 140. For criticism of Fitz's monograph, see above all Lörincz 178f.

<sup>30</sup> Fitz, *Honorific Titles*, 33. The inscription was demonstrably reworked after Caracalla took up power, since the name of Geta (as part of the consular dating) has been erased. In general for inscriptions dating to the reign of Septimius Severus, many of which contain later additions, see Fitz, *Honorific Titles*, 32-34. Furthermore, as pointed out by Lörincz 179, the *coh. V Afrorum* is, strangely enough, using the epithet *Severiana* in A.D. 212/213 in Arabia in an inscription honouring the emperor Caracalla; for easy reference, see Speidel, *Roman Army Studies I*, Amsterdam 1984, 248 = ANRW II.8, 706.

<sup>31</sup> Since the inscription did contain an honorific epithet, it is altogether unlikely that it could belong to a period before Caracalla's reign. Fitz, *Les épithètes honorifiques*, 140 presents a certain revision of earlier views and argues that if Septimius Severus had bestowed an honorific epithet after he instituted co-rulership with his son, one would expect to find the combination *Severiana Antoniniana*. But only one such case is known, an inscription from Mesopotamia mentioning the *legio I Parthica*, see BCH 9 (1885) 81 (repeatedly cited in scholarly literature). AE 1975, 170 from Albano was thought to give the same combined epithet for the *leg. II Parthica*, thus e.g. Speidel, *Severiana*, 119, but a new and careful scrutiny of the inscription has shown that the crucial passage reads *leg(ionis) II P(arthicae) Se(veriana) 7 (centuria) (cohorte) I (prima) ha(stati) p(rioris)*, see S. Modugno Tofini, "Osservazioni su alcune iscrizioni edite di Albano", *DocAlb* 2. ser., 11 (1989) [1991] 55-64, esp. 56, who now confidently dates the inscription to the reign of Severus Alexander.

Caracalla or of Elagabal, while the origin of the epithets *Severiana Alexandriana*, *Maximiniana*, *Gordiana*, and *Philippiana* is self-evident.

## 6. The *legio II Parthica* from Caracalla to Elagabal and Philippus Arabs

Under Caracalla, the honorific epithet *Antoniniana* was awarded to many military units. According to one view, the awarding took place mainly in two phases: many units received the epithet in 212, after the accession of Caracalla, for having shown loyalty to the emperor after the fratricide; others were called *Antoniniana* after the outbreak of the Parthian war, which took place in May 216.<sup>32</sup>

Of the five known attestations of the *leg. II Parthica* being called *Antoniniana*, none can be dated to the reign of Caracalla (or, as we have just seen, to a period *before* Caracalla became sole emperor).<sup>33</sup> According to Fitz, it is no surprise that the *II Parthica* did not appear as *Antoniniana* right after the accession of Caracalla, even though other Italic units, namely the Praetorian cohorts, received that epithet. The epithet was awarded as a sign of gratitude for support of Caracalla after the fratricide, but there are indications that the *II Parthica* had favoured Geta.<sup>34</sup> There is no evidence that the *II Parthica* would have received the epithet *Antoniniana* later under Caracalla, either.<sup>35</sup>

When Caracalla prepared for his Parthian campaign the Alban legion must surely have marched off as well. Even before the war against the Parthian enemy began, the legion will have accompanied Caracalla to Alexandria.<sup>36</sup> Caracalla somehow managed to resolve the grave crisis that

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<sup>32</sup> See Fitz, *Honorific Titles*, 74-83 for this argument, 35-73 for the inscriptions. Lörincz 187f. argues forcefully that no particular political events can be connected to the bestowal of honorific epithets under Caracalla.

<sup>33</sup> Fitz, *Honorific Titles*, 35. Four inscriptions are from Rome: CIL VI 2579, 3373, 3734 = 31058 (A.D. 220), and 3410. One has been found at Albano Laziale: AE 1969, 90.

<sup>34</sup> Fitz, *Honorific Titles*, 76 and 81f.; cf. Ritterling 1317 and 1479. The negative attitude of the legion at Alba towards Caracalla is not given credence by G. Alföldy, *Die Krise des römischen Reiches*, Stuttgart 1989, 214-216 with comments on recent scholarship and additions to his own earlier treatment in *Der Sturz des Kaisers Geta und die antike Geschichtsschreibung* (1972), *ibid.*, 200-202. Cf. also Sünskes Thompson 60-64.

<sup>35</sup> See note 33.

<sup>36</sup> Ritterling 1321f. 1479.

he encountered there, but it is not probable that this event resulted in the awarding of any honorific epithets. The *legio II Traiana* which had its camp at Nicopolis outside Alexandria was presumably also involved in putting down the "revolt", and it appears without an epithet still in A.D. 217/218 (AE 1905, 54 = D 8919).<sup>37</sup>

Even if the *II Parthica* had become *Antoniniana* towards the end of the reign of Caracalla, the legion remained in the East until the entry of Elagabal in Rome in the summer of 219.<sup>38</sup> This fact is important, because it means that we can exclude the possibility that our inscription, which by all appearance did contain an imperial epithet, can belong to the reign of Caracalla.

It is certain that Elagabal gave the epithet *Antoniniana* to the Alban legion, as can be seen from CIL VI 3734 = VI 31058, a dedication erected in Rome to the *Victoria Aeterna* of Elagabal, which can be dated to A.D. 220. This epithet cannot refer back to Caracalla, because old imperial honorific epithets were abolished at the beginning of a new reign.<sup>39</sup> The reason for Elagabal's bestowing of the epithet *Antoniniana* on the *leg. II Parthica* are evident: the legion was instrumental in the seizure of power by the young priest from Emesa.<sup>40</sup>

It seems that Elagabal therefore bestowed also the epithets *pia fidelis felix aeterna* on the Alban legion,<sup>41</sup> and since those additional epithets appear in our inscription, we have a further reason for advocating a date under Elagabal. If the legion received the epithet *Antoniniana* from Elagabal, it moreover explains why the epithet was erased on our stone: it took place in connection with the *damnatio memoriae* of the emperor himself. There are several cases where the epithet *Antoniniana* has been

<sup>37</sup> For the *leg. II Traiana*, see Fitz, *Honorific Titles*, 70; cf. the somewhat ambiguous statements by Ritterling 1318. 1321f.

<sup>38</sup> Ritterling 1479f. For the date of Elagabal's entry, see R. Turcan, *Héliogabale et le sacre du soleil*, Paris 1985, 95. 274.

<sup>39</sup> Fitz, *Honorific Titles*, 83.

<sup>40</sup> Thus Ritterling 1479; see Dio 78,34,5 for the "Albanoi" revolting against Macrinus.

<sup>41</sup> These epithets appear in CIL VI 3734 = VI 31058 (= CIL XIV 2257) from A.D. 220 as *p. f. f. aet.* The connection is postulated by Ritterling 1371. 1479. CIL VI 3373 = XIV 2283 lists *ae(terna) pi(a) [f.] fi(delis)*, where *aeterna* is out of place. But it makes one wonder whether the right sequence might not be *pia felix fidelis aeterna*; cf. CIL VI 31001 *p(ia) fel(ix)*. No other source, to my knowledge, expands these abbreviations; cf. the list in Ritterling 1483 and the inscriptions recorded by Fitz, *Honorific Titles*.

erased on purpose.<sup>42</sup> Erasure has indeed occurred in one of the five inscriptions where we find *Antoniniana* in connection with the *II Parthica*. This inscription (AE 1968, 90) has been found at Albano Laziale, whence, interestingly enough, our inscription also comes.<sup>43</sup>

Consequently, the period A.D. 219-222 (or better A.D. 221-222, taking into account Severus Alexander's adoption) constitutes one possible moment for the erection of the dedication at Alba. Before continuing, we nevertheless need to look briefly at other imperial epithets, in order to ascertain whether a case can be made for a different restitution of the erased epithet. The combined epithet *Severiana Alexandriana* does not really seem to fit the available space, *Maximiniana* would be impossible in the neighbourhood of Rome, and there is only one doubtful case of a combined epithet referring to Balbinus, Pupienus and Gordianus III.<sup>44</sup> *Philippiana* is a different matter. Three inscriptions mentioning the *leg. II Parthica* are dated to Philippus' reign.<sup>45</sup> CIL VI 793 (= CIL XIV 2258 = D 505) from Rome is a dedication to the *Victoria Redux* of the emperor and his wife by the soldiers of the *leg. II Parth(ica) [[Philippiana]] p. f. f. aet.* As can be seen, the epithet was later erased. The same epithet appears in D 9087 from ancient Aveia in the Central Appennines, while it is absent from an inscription from Alba itself dated in A.D. 249 (AE 1913, 219).

As both the erasure and the other epithets in our inscription conform to what we find under Philippus Arabs, his reign (A.D. 244-249) constitutes another period that would be possible for the erection of the Alban inscription.

## **7. *Agens centurio* and the duration of the career of a *primipilaris***

Returning finally to the *primipilaris* Cassius, we also need to consider

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<sup>42</sup> For erasure of *Antoniniana*, see Fitz, *Honorific Titles*, nos. 34 (Albanum), 43 (Rome), 71, 72, 73, 82, 93, 113, 178, 191, 197a, 205a (?), 216, 220 (?), 239a, 239b, and 278.

<sup>43</sup> Fitz, *Honorific Titles*, 35 for the other inscriptions. In CIL VI 3734 = VI 31058 from Rome the epithet has been left untouched, but *Antoninus* in Elagabal's name has been erased.

<sup>44</sup> Fitz, *Honorific Titles*, 148f. We need not consider whether the epithet could have been *Gordiana* alone, since more than one emperor is being honoured in our inscription.

<sup>45</sup> Fitz, *Honorific Titles*, 169. In addition there are five inscriptions set up by units of the Roman cohorts in Rome in which the epithet also appears; see *ibid.*, 169-171.

some aspects of his military experience. Unfortunately we know nothing about the first steps of his career.<sup>46</sup> Those stages that our inscription reveals are: the special task, not easily identifiable, of *praep(ositus) militum [-]*,<sup>47</sup> the post of *princeps* (second in rank among the centurions of the legion), and that of *primuspilus* or leading centurion.

Cassius' career up to this point is of interest also because he is one of the very few centurions for whom we know that they held both the rank of *princeps* and of *primuspilus* in the same legion.<sup>48</sup> Our inscription therefore adds a new piece of evidence to the ongoing discussion of promotion and advancement within the legionary centurionate.<sup>49</sup>

Further information might be hiding behind the noteworthy expression *cum 7 (centurio) ageret*. Such a use of the verb *agere*, *ago* is not very common in Latin epigraphy. One gets the impression that the expression is intended to indicate that the post Cassius held at Alexandria was not his regular station in the army. Other military inscriptions where one finds *agere*, mostly as the participle *agens*, reinforces this impression:<sup>50</sup>

Elpinus Festianus *frumentarius leg. I Adiutricis agens curam carceris* (CIL III 433 = D 2368)

<sup>46</sup> Modugno Tofini & Chiarucci 40 assume that Cassius had been enrolled as a centurion of the *II Parthica*, because according to their chronology he appears in A.D. 199/200 at Alessandria as *centurio agens* and some five years later has already held the primipilate. They also point out (p. 38) that the end of l. 7 might have contained an abbreviated military title.

<sup>47</sup> Modugno Tofini & Chiarucci 38 and 40 suggest that the expression might indicate the task of enrolling soldiers for the newly founded *leg. II Parthica*, perhaps as a *praepositus militum iuniorum*. On this difficult question I have nothing to say here.

<sup>48</sup> For two other cases, see B. Dobson, *Die Primipilares*, Köln - Bonn 1978, 318 no. 226 (D 2650) and 327 no. 247 (D 2645).

<sup>49</sup> Among more recent contributions see e.g. K. Strobel, "Bemerkungen zur Laufbahn des Ti. Claudius Vitalis", *Tyche* 2 (1987) 203-209; idem, Ein weiteres Zeugnis zur Rangordnung im römischen Legionszenturionate der Kaiserzeit, *EA* 12 (1988) 43-46; Chr. Bruun, "*Caligatus, tubicen, optio carceris*, and the Centurions Positions; Some Remarks on an Inscription in ZPE 71 (1988)", *Arctos* 22 (1988) 23-40, esp. 37f.; and now M. P. Speidel, *The Framework of an Imperial Legion (The Fifth Annual Caerleon Lecture)*, Cardiff 1992, 11.

<sup>50</sup> A different matter are of course the late-antique *agentes in rebus*, special imperial officials and messengers, whose title had developed into a standard expression, see conveniently RE I (1893) 776-779 s.v. *Agentes in rebus* (Seeck) and B. Palme, Flavius Sarapodorus, ein *agens in rebus* aus Hermupolis, *APF* 40 (1994) 43-68, esp. 44 with a survey of recent research.

Sabinus Ingenuus *et* Aurelius Sedatus *sig(niferi) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) agentes cura(m) macelli* (D 2415)

*vexillatio leg(ionis) XXII Pr(imigeniae) p. f. agentium in lignaris sub principe* (CIL XIII 6623 = D 9119: A.D. 207)<sup>51</sup>

M. Ulp. Emeritus *et* Tib. Cl. Exuperatus *b(eneficiarii) co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis) II Adi(utricis) agentes curam leg(ionis)* (CIL III 10429 = D 2410: A.D. 210)

[...]pilius Restio *m[il. l]eg. XXII Antoni[ni]anae P(rimigeniae) p. f. immu[ni]s co(n)s(ularis) curas a[ge]ns vico Salod(orum)* (D 2411: A.D. 219)

Aur. Artemidorus *b(ene)f(iciarius) leg(ati) leg(ionis) II Ad(iutricis) p. f. S(everianae) agens c(uram) c(arceris)* (CIL III 3412 = D 2409: A.D. 228)

Domitius Bassus (*centurio fr(umentariorum) agens vice principis peregrinorum*) (CIL VI 428 = D 2219)

Cocceius Iulianus (*centurio frum(entariorum) v(ice) a(gens) princ(ipis) pereg(rinorum)*) (CIL VI 3326 = D 2221)

Aurelius Munatianus *evocatus ex cohorte VI praetoria p. v. [[Philippiana]] agens at latrunculum* (D 509: A.D. 246)

Aurelius Aelianus *optio age(n)s sacru comitatu* (B. Gerov, *Inscr. Latinae in Bulg. rep.* 36: late III / early IV century)<sup>52</sup>

This survey (which makes no claim to completeness) indicates that the formula "*agens* + mention of a certain task" denotes an extraordinary duty or responsibility for a soldier. In each of the ten cases above we first find a regular position registered for the soldier(s), after which their special task is mentioned. It does not matter that in some cases we find the very general formula "*curam agens...*", known from every sector of Roman administration. In the army, the formula nevertheless indicates a special task (*cura macelli, cura legionis, cura carceris*). But there are also individual expressions, like *agens in lignariis*,<sup>53</sup> *at latrunculum*, and *sacru comitatu* (late-antique).

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<sup>51</sup> See M. P. Speidel, "Legionsabteilungen aus Mainz beim Holzschlag im Odenwald", in his *Roman Army Studies II*, Stuttgart 1992, 149-152 for three other inscriptions with similar wordings (including a revised reading of CIL XIII 11781).

<sup>52</sup> See also M. P. Speidel, "*Agens sacru comitatu*", *ZPE* 33 (1979) 183-184 (= RAS I, 397-399).

<sup>53</sup> Speidel, *Legionsabteilungen*, 150 calls *agens in lignariis* "ein Fachausdruck der römischen Heeresprache bei der Mainzer Legion", but we are nevertheless dealing with a special task.



Our expression *cum centurio ageret* seems to fit in well with this pattern of special tasks. As a further parallel, there is Eric Birley's extensive list of interim commanders of auxiliary units for comparison. When officers from other units were put temporarily in charge of auxiliary units, they often used expressions such as *agens curam*.<sup>54</sup> Temporary commands over legionary centuries must have existed too.<sup>55</sup>

It thus seems highly likely that only after the Alexandrian events was Cassius promoted to regular centurion, after which, having held (at least) the rank of *princeps* in between, he at last was made *primuspilus*. If he already was a centurion at Alexandria, he was presumably not yet a *princeps*, since in that case it would have been odd to have used the vague expression *agens centurio*.<sup>56</sup>

These observations intend to show that quite likely some time passed between the "Alexandrian dangers" and the dedication at Alba. The editors of the inscription assume that only a couple of years passed between "dangers" and dedication (from 199/200 to ca. 202/203).<sup>57</sup> But there is nothing to prevent us from assuming, on the contrary, a longer interval. A career in the centurionate (counted from when a person was first promoted to centurion to the moment when he reached the primipilate, if he did not retire before that) normally evolved over 15 to 30 years.<sup>58</sup> It is surely more likely that some amount of time, rather than just a couple of years, transpired between the Alexandrian episode and the promotion to

<sup>54</sup> See E. Birley, "A Roman Altar from Old Kilpatrick and Interim Commanders of Auxiliary Units", *Latomus* 42 (1983) 73-83 = *The Roman Army*, 221-231, esp. 227-231.

<sup>55</sup> No overall survey is known to me, but one can point to e.g. CIL IX 4122 = D 2644 where we find a *princeps* of the *leg. VI* to whom the primipilate of the *leg. X* was given without his actually having attained that rank: *ita ut in [leg.] X primum pil. duceret eodem[que te]mpore princeps esset leg. VI*.

<sup>56</sup> Perhaps while in Alexandria Cassius held the official rank of *optio spei* or *ad spem ordinis* (e.g. D 2441-42. 2666b), i.e. an *optio* who was marked down for promotion to centurion. On this rank, see A. v. Domaszewski, *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres*, 2. ed. by B. Dobson, Köln 1967, xiv. 41f. "Bei der grossen Zahl der zu anderen Dienstleistungen abkommandierten Centurionen musste in Friedenszeiten vielfach eine Centuria führerlos sein, und der *optio*, nach einer uralten Bestimmung zur Vertretung des Centurio berufen, tritt an Stelle des Centurio mit der Anwartschaft der Beförderung zum Centurionate." (p. 42).

<sup>57</sup> Modugno Tofini & Chiarucci 41f.

<sup>58</sup> Dobson, *Primipilares*, 62. See also E. Birley, *Promotions and Transfers*, 206-220, esp. 219f. for a list of long-serving centurions.

*primuspilus* (followed by the dedication at Albano).

## 8. Conclusion: Elagabal, Philippus, and Cassius' vow

Four aspects of the recently discovered inscription from Albano have been analyzed: a) the travels of the *leg. II Parthica* and unrest at Alexandria in connection with imperial visits; b) the partly erased imperial titulature in our inscription; c) the erased honorific epithet of the *leg. II Parthica*; d) the normal career of a *primuspilus*. We can now proceed to the suggestion of a new interpretation.

The "dangers" at Alexandria must date to A.D. 215. Therefore the inscription was set up at some time after that. Judging from the remaining portions of the imperial titulature, the space available and the erasure that took place, the emperors whose names appear on lines 3-6 could be Elagabal and Severus Alexander or Philippus Arabs and his son. Slightly awkward is the fact that part of Severus Alexander's name also seems to have been erased, if the first pair appeared in the inscription.

No trace can be seen of the honorific epithet that the *legio II Parthica* had received from the emperor. This epithet was most likely erased, but even if it was not, there are only two restitutions that are seriously worth considering: *Antoniniana* or *Philippiana*.

Can we decide the issue between Elagabal and Philippus on the basis of the military career of the dedicant? Cassius Sever(ianus) had been *centurio agens* in A.D. 215 but at the moment of the erection of the dedication he had advanced to *primuspilus*. If the inscription belongs to the reign of Elagabal, it leaves Cassius some seven years during which to advance through the ranks of the centurionate to make *primuspilus*. Since a *primuspilus* presumably held his commission for only one year,<sup>59</sup> that would give Cassius a certain number of opportunities to attain the leading position in his legion. If, on the other hand, the dedication belongs under Philippus, Cassius served for almost thirty years, perhaps all or at least most of them in the centurionate. This again seems like a very long period, but, as we have seen, it is not impossible nor even unusual for a centurion.

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<sup>59</sup> Dobson, *Primipilares*, 60 advocates a one-year term for the *primuspilus*, although it cannot be proven beyond doubt.

There is one further aspect, though, that speaks in favour of a date under Elagabal: the fulfillment of the vow. The reason for the dedication is the vow that Cassius made because he had escaped from the "Alexandrian dangers". If this event took place in 215, as it surely did, why did he wait six or seven years (or almost 30?) before fulfilling that vow? If we believe in a date of A.D. 221/222 the answer is simple: the *legio II Parthica* did not return to Albanum until, at the earliest, the summer of 219, when Elagabal arrived in Rome. Ritterling even suggested that the imperial guard, to which the *leg. II Parthica* at this point belonged, did not reach Rome until 221 or shortly before. He pointed to a dedication of members of the *coh. X praetoria*, dated to 220 or 221, erected *pro salute* of the emperors Elagabal and Severus Alexander, *quod profisciscentes expeditionibus sacris voverant regressi ... libenter votum solverunt* (CIL VI 323 = D 474). These soldiers had left Rome in 214, and fulfilled their vow as soon as possible on their return.<sup>60</sup> Their case seems to be a good parallel to Cassius', except for the latter's adventures at Alexandria. On this scenario, Cassius probably fulfilled his vow as soon as was feasible.

This, then, would seem to be the most likely interpretation of the inscription:

[Iovi] O[ptimo Maximo] (vel sim.)  
 [Pr]o s[alute et reditu]  
 Imp. Cae[s. [[M. Aureli Anto-]] ]  
 [ [[nini Pii Felicis Aug.]] ]  
 5 [ [[et M. Aureli Alexandri]] ]  
   nobilis[si]mi [Caesar.]  
   C. Cassiu[s S]ever[us/ianus vel sim.]  
   praep. militum [--]  
   leg. II Parth. [[Antonin.]]  
 10 p(iae) f(elicis) f(idelis) aet(ernae), eiusdemq. [leg.]<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Ritterling 1323.

<sup>61</sup> The editors presented the end of this line as "*eiusdemqu[e]*". I find it difficult to see any trace of the letter V, and since the reading *eiusdemque* would leave the line clearly shorter than the following ones (the text on the preceding line has been erased), I think it more likely that the word *leg(ionis)* followed upon the abbreviated word *eiusdemq.* This would give us a line length of 17 letters, for which there is clearly space on the stone, and it would also make better sense from a syntactical point of view.

*princeps et primuspil.*  
*et quod Alexandriae*  
*cum 7 (centurio) ageret in pericu-*  
*lis constitutus numi-*  
15 *ne eius adiuvante libera-*  
*tus sit ex voto posuit.*

Restored in this way, the autobiographical part of the inscription might also shed some light on the events at Alexandria. In her recent detailed treatment of the evidence for the "revolt", Julia Sünskes Thompson reached the conclusion that the whole event may have been exaggerated by Herodian and Cassius Dio: "Vielleicht war das Ausmaß der Greuelthaten, denen vielleicht doch nur Protestaktionen in Form von Verspottung des Kaisers und Entehrungen seiner Statuen vorausgegangen war, tatsächlich geringer als Dio und Herodian nahelegen".<sup>62</sup> Now it seems that we have found an eyewitness-account of these events, which perhaps did after all include more serious actions of the Alexandrian people than mere insults to the emperor and the removal of statues, since the commanding officer of a Roman *centuria* chose to speak of *pericula* and made a vow to his protective god for salvation.

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<sup>62</sup> Sünskes Thompson 166. Cf. Herodian. 4,9,8 who speaks of soldiers losing their lives.



**NAMES AND CASES.**  
**Observations on CIL IV 1364**

ANNE HELTTULA

In a recent article I touched upon school as the ambience of some Pompeian graffiti.<sup>1</sup> One of the texts I mentioned is a list of words scribbled on the wall of the *via di Mercurio* to the north of the forum in the *regio VI*. This graffito was first published in 1846 by F.M. Avellino,<sup>2</sup> then in 1871 by C. Zangemeister as CIL IV 1364:<sup>3</sup>

	NOMINA · ΝΥCΙΗ	
	GENICE	
	T H E I C E	
	DOTICE	PATAGRICAЕ
5	ONOMASTICE	ONAGRICAЕ
	PHŶRRICE	
	BŶXANTICE	
	CRETICE	
	DŶMASTICE	
10	GŶMNICE	
	CHIZECAE	

The text is full of uncertainties. After *nomina*, which seems to be a heading, there follows a list of ten words, or names, with two more in a second column. They all end in *-ice*, or in its orthographical variant *-icae* (*-ecae*).<sup>4</sup> These words, all Greek, have been explained as feminine names –

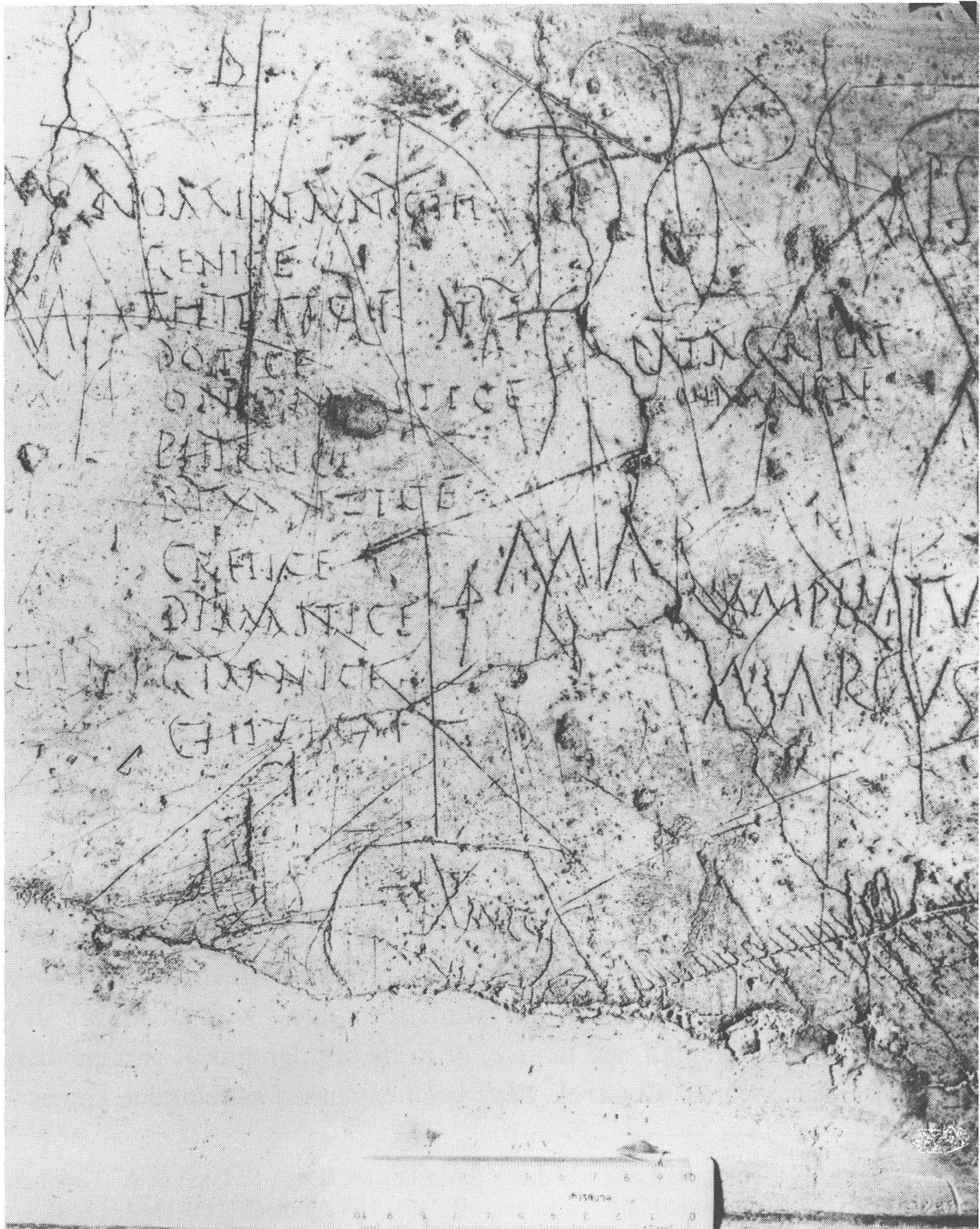
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<sup>1</sup> Epigraphical laughter, in: *Laughter down the centuries II*, ed. S. Jäkel & A. Timonen, Turku 1995, 145-159 (Ann. Univ. Turkuensis B 213); 153 sq. on CIL IV 1364.

<sup>2</sup> F.M. Avellino, *Osservazioni su talune iscrizioni e disegni graffite sulle mura di Pompei*, *Memorie della Regia Accademia Ercolanense* 5 (1846) 75 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> See also Tab. XXVII 8. I am grateful to Prof. H. Solin for making available a photograph of the graffito.

<sup>4</sup> For the complex question of the derivatives in *-icus*, either originally Latin or loans from Greek, see M. Fruyt, *Problèmes méthodologiques de dérivation à propos des suffixes latins en ...cus*, Paris 1986, passim; G.D. Buck, *Comparative grammar of Greek and Latin*, 1933/1969, § 502.



CIL IV 1364

according to Avellino, they are *nomina nym<sup>r</sup> pharum*<sup>5</sup> – or half-Greek, half-Latin adverbs (V. Väänänen).<sup>6</sup> Although they may well have been intended as names, I shall use capital initials in those words only which are clearly derived from proper names.

Since γενική, δοτική and ὀνομαστική are the Greek names of, respectively, the genitive, dative and nominative case (cf. Dion. Thrax 636b,3 sqq. Πτώσεις ὀνομάτων εἰσὶ πέντε· ὀρθή, γενική, δοτική, αἰτιατική, κλητική. Λέγεται δὲ ἡ μὲν ὀρθή ὀνομαστική καὶ εὐθεία ...), it is possible that the graffito was written by a student making fun of the practice of declination<sup>7</sup> or of the lessons of grammar in general.

As far as I know, the transliterated forms *genice* and *dotice* are not found elsewhere; *onomastice* (-ike) appears once in a gloss (Lindsey I Ansil. ON 28).

I intend to show that all the words in the list, culminating in the hilarious *onagricae* (ὄναγρική; from ὄναγρος, 'wild ass'), can be connected with school – with the readings, examples and exercises in the field of the art of *grammaticae*.

Although we can get a fairly good idea of which authors were studied by Pompeian schoolboys,<sup>8</sup> we cannot look into their grammar books to see what method and what kind of examples were used. But the grammatical tradition was conservative. Good examples, once chosen, became a common stock from which generation after generation of writers drew.<sup>9</sup> Therefore,

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<sup>5</sup> The end of the line after *nomina*, beginning with NY, is corrupt (cf. the app. crit. in CIL).

<sup>6</sup> V. Väänänen, *Le latin vulgaire des inscriptions pompéiennes*, Paris 1966<sup>3</sup>, 24.

<sup>7</sup> Thus Avellino (78) and E. Magaldi, *Le iscrizioni parietali pompeiane con particolare riguardo al costume*, AAAN 11:2 (1929-1930) 143 sqq. – Cf. the advice given by Quintilian (inst. 1,4,22-27): *Nomina declinare et verba in primis pueri sciunt, neque enim aliter pervenire ad intellectum sequentium possunt*. Records of this practice have been handed down to us from Egypt, school tablets and ostraca containing exercises of various kinds; for these, see e.g. E. Ziebarth, *Aus der antiken Schule: Sammlung griechischer Texte auf Papyrus Holztafeln Ostraka*, Bonn 1913<sup>2</sup> (*Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen* 65). Ziebarth's No. 49 is a declension exercise.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. S.F. Bonner, *Education in ancient Rome*, Berkeley & Los Angeles 1977, 212 sqq. An important document is Stat. silv. 5,3 on the poet's father, poet and *grammaticus* in Naples in the middle of the 1st century BC. These questions have recently been discussed by M. Leiwo (*Neapolitana: a study of population and language in Graeco-Roman Naples*, 1995, passim).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. L. Holtz, *Donat et la tradition de l'enseignement grammaticale*, Paris 1981, 109 sqq. I am also indebted to Ms. R. Vainio for her opinions on the use of grammatical examples.



the later grammarians probably reflect fairly well the situation of the early Empire.

Epic, headed by Homer and Virgil, occupied the first and foremost place on the syllabus, but plays too were read at school. Plautus may not have been considered suitable for the very young,<sup>10</sup> but the older boys no doubt got acquainted with his plays during their school years. The frequency of Plautine quotations in the repertory of grammatical examples certainly points this way. The influence of his verbal virtuosity on the mind of the potential graffito writer was strengthened by productions seen on stage.<sup>11</sup> We shall see that Plautus, an unrestrained and irreverent word-player, who amused himself with fantastical clusters of real or invented words,<sup>12</sup> could have offered both inspiration and exact formal models to the writer of CIL IV 1364.

The Latin system of education was so imbued with the Greek language and culture that Quintilian wanted boys to begin their grammatical studies with Greek (inst. 1,1,12): *A sermone Graeco puerum incipere malo, quia Latinum, qui pluribus in usu est, vel nobis nolentibus perbibet, simul quia disciplinis quoque Graecis prius instituendus est, unde et nostrae fluxerunt.* The presence of Greek in a Campanian town like Pompeii was probably great and not limited to the educated class only.<sup>13</sup> I think, however, that the anonymous Pompeian who wrote the words we are discussing was a Latin speaker who was studying – or had studied – Greek at school. Although he knew a number of Greek terms and proper names, he was somewhat insecure as how to spell them, especially the words containing the Greek letters Y and Z (see below on *Byxantice* and *Chizecae*), or aspiration (*Chizecae*, *Phyrrice*). In Pompeian graffiti, the original Greek Y is frequently spelled with an I or a V<sup>14</sup> and the aspiration omitted or misplaced.<sup>15</sup> The phonological changes in the Latin vowel system are reflected in the use of

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<sup>10</sup> Cf. Bonner, 216.

<sup>11</sup> For the rôle of theatre in Pompeian life, see M. Gigante, *Civiltà delle forme letterarie nell'antica Pompei*, Napoli 1979, 113 sqq. (142 sqq. on Plautus).

<sup>12</sup> For this Plautine practice of word-making and accumulation, cf. B.-A. Taladoire, *Essai sur le comique de Plaute*, Monaco 1956, 175 sqq.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Gigante, 44 sqq. (with bibliography in the notes).

<sup>14</sup> See Väänänen, 32 sq.

<sup>15</sup> Väänänen, 55 sqq.

the digraph AE to denote both the long /e/ and the short, open /e/,<sup>16</sup> and of E showing the openness of the short /i/.<sup>17</sup>

The graffiti on the walls of the *via di Mercurio*, an important street in the very centre of the town, were frequent,<sup>18</sup> often overlapping and therefore difficult to distinguish from each other. The most tangled and corrupt parts of CIL IV 1364 are the end of the first line after *nomina* (cf. above, n. 5) and the third line, i.e. the second word of the list.<sup>19</sup> Zangemeister's conjecture (with reference to Mommsen) was *Thetice*; later he also thought of *Physice* (add. p. 207).<sup>20</sup> I think that the corrupt word hides efforts to spell the Greek name of the accusative case, αἰτιατική. The correct transcription would be *aetiaticae* (pronounced /etiaticae/. But it is impossible to know how the unknown writer would have visualized the word – even ἡ θιατική? The remains of letters fit my interpretation reasonably well, and the context supports it strongly. It is quite possible that the writer himself has added to the confusion by making corrections in his transcription of a word for which he had no orthographical model in Latin.

I find it obvious, therefore, that the person who wrote the graffito began with transcribing the Greek names of the grammatical cases (the accusative included), and then went on inventing other words with the same ending. The names of disciplines in -ική, Lat. *-ice* – which Quintilian preferred to the Latinized forms in *-ica*: *grammaticae* (Quint. inst. 1,4,4 and passim),<sup>21</sup> *musicae*, *retoricae*, etc. (Quint., passim) – may have been the source of inspiration for *gymnice* < γυμνική (τέχνη), Lat. *ars gymnica*.<sup>22</sup>

Avellino (77) connected *Gymnice* with the feminine names

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<sup>16</sup> Väänänen, 23 sqq.

<sup>17</sup> Väänänen, 21.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. R. Laurence, *Roman Pompeii: space and society*, London & New York 1994, 107, and passim (88 sqq. on street activity and public interaction, especially 96 sqq. on the frequency of graffiti).

<sup>19</sup> Avellino wrote (76) of this word: "Le lettere sono intralciate o confuse con altri segni fatti posteriormente, o per emendare il nome scritto, o per supplirne un altro diverso: ma l'intralcio è divenuto così grande, che non mi è riuscito intender nulla."

<sup>20</sup> *Physice* was accepted by Väänänen (110, without comment).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. ThLL VI.2, 2173, 19 sqq.

<sup>22</sup> *Ars gymnica* is found in Suet. frgm. (Tert. spect. 11) p. 343,2 Reifferscheid (*Sed et gymnicas artes Castorum et Herculum et Mercuriorum disciplinae prodiderunt*), *ars gymnastica* already in Plautus (Most. 151).

*Gymnasium* and *Palaestra*.<sup>23</sup> An interesting derivative of the latter in *-ice*, *Palaestrice*, is actually known from Rome.<sup>24</sup>

On the other hand, *gymnice* could also be perceived as an adverb, and for this kind of formation we have interesting parallels in Plautus. The vocabulary of Plautus is particularly rich in Greek elements, which he treats freely and irreverently.<sup>25</sup> In the semantic field of *artes gymnicae* he has created some delightful adverbs in *-ice*: Bach. 248 *benene usque valuit? pancraticice atque athleticice*; Epid. 20 *quid erilis noster filius? valet pugilice*<sup>26</sup> *atque athleticice*.<sup>27</sup> Other Plautine adverbs of this type are *basilice*,<sup>28</sup> *comoedice*, *dulice*,<sup>29</sup> *graphice*,<sup>30</sup> *musice*.<sup>31</sup>

With the words *pyrrrice* and *cretice* we move into the field of μετρική,<sup>32</sup> or *ars metrica*<sup>33</sup> – if they are derived from the metrical terms *pyrrhichius*<sup>34</sup> and *creticus*.<sup>35</sup> But they are both attested as feminine cognomina, too.<sup>36</sup>

The hypothetical *Byxantice* would more probably be derived from *Byzantium*, with a confusion of the letters X and Z,<sup>37</sup> than from *Buxentum* (a

<sup>23</sup> Cf. H. Solin, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom: ein Namenbuch*, Berlin & New York 1982, 1164 sq. (on *Gymnasio*, *-um*); 1169 (on *Palaestra*).

<sup>24</sup> Solin, 1181.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. J.N. Hough, *The use of Greek words by Plautus*, *AJPh* 55 (1934) 346 sqq.; A. Ernout, *Aspects du vocabulaire latin*, Paris 1954, 71 sq.; Taladoire, 175 sqq.

<sup>26</sup> A Latin word; cf. Fruyt, 51.

<sup>27</sup> On these adverbs, see E. Fraenkel, *Plautinisches im Plautus*, Berlin 1922, 195 n. 1.

<sup>28</sup> Epid. 56: *Di immortales, ut ego interii basilice!* Cf. Fraenkel, 193 sqq.

<sup>29</sup> Mil. 213: *Euge, euscheme hercle astitit et dulice et comoedice*. In addition to *euscheme* (from εὐσχημος), Plautus also has *ineuscheme* (Trin. 625).

<sup>30</sup> E.g. Trin. 767 *is homo exornetur graphice in peregrinum modum*; other examples of *graphice* are Persa 306, 464 and 843.

<sup>31</sup> Most. 729 *musice hercle agitis aetatem, ita ut vos decet*.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Gell. 16,18,5: *est et alia species [sc. κανονικής], quae appellatur μετρική ...*

<sup>33</sup> The Latin term is found in Mar. Vict. (GL 6,35,7).

<sup>34</sup> Väänänen, 110: PHYRRICE for *pyrrhiche*.

<sup>35</sup> Magaldi (144) derived from a common or a proper noun (*creta* or *Creta*)?

<sup>36</sup> On *Pyrrichus* as a personal name, see Fruyt 66; Solin, 696 (*Pyrrhiche*: 1181); on *Creticus*, Solin, 582 sq. (also Κρητική). *Creticus* was also the name of a well-known historical person, i.e. Q. Caecilius Metellus, consul of the year 69 BC. *Pyrrichus* appears a few times in Pompeian graffiti; e.g. C. Cominius Pyrrichus (CIL IV 2155). Avellino's reading is *Phyrncie* = *Phrynice*, another feminine name.

<sup>37</sup> Thus Väänänen, too (65).

town in Lucania):<sup>38</sup> therefore it would be associated with *Chizecae*,<sup>39</sup> which is, in my opinion, a misspelling of *Cyzice* from *Cyzicus*, another famous city of Asia Minor.<sup>40</sup> The name of this city was particularly difficult to spell: it contained both Y and Z, and it also required the difficult decision about the aspiration (like *Phyrrice*, above). Such words were probably frequent in school exercises. Varro discusses the derivatives of *Cyzicus* (ling. 8,81): *item quae dicunt ab Rhodo Andro Cyzico Rhodius <Andrius> Cyzicenus similiter Cyzicius dici <debebat> et civis unusquisque.*

*Dymastice* is the reading of Zangemeister (explained as *dynastice* in CIL IV Suppl. ind. p. 758), while Mommsen and Avellino have read *Dymantice*. It is indeed possible that ST has been corrected into NT, as Zangemeister already suggested. Avellino (77) connected his *Dymantice* with *Dyme*, *Dymae*, towns in Achaëa and Thrace. I find it much more probable that the source of inspiration was Virgil's Aeneid, the first and foremost of the Latin school texts.<sup>41</sup> *Dymas* is the name of a Trojan hero mentioned in Aen. 2,394: *hoc Rhipeus, hoc ipse Dymas omnisque iuventus / laeta facit.*<sup>42</sup> This passage is quoted by Sacerdos (GL 6,459,8) as an example of *homoeoptoton*, together with *Acamasque Thoasque* (Aen. 2,262). The last of these names also serves to Charisius as an example of the Latin declension of this Greek name type: 17,12 *Dryas, Dryantis et Thoas Thoantis*;<sup>43</sup> cf. also 83,29 *Calchas Pallas Atlas gigas. faciunt enim Calchantis Pallantis Atlantis gigantis.*

It seems that after *Byxantice* and *Cretice* our hypothetical student wanted a word beginning with a D – notice that the alphabetical order continues with *gymnice*.<sup>44</sup> Perhaps only after inventing *Dymastice* he

<sup>38</sup> Avellino (76 sq.) suggests both alternatives, plus Βισάωνθη (Macedonia or Thrace).

<sup>39</sup> The reading is uncertain. Väänänen (24 and 110) suggests *chezice* from χέζω 'ease oneself', a verb used by Aristophanes (Vesp. 941; Pax 1235). It is quite a good interpretation, but in this context I find it improbable.

<sup>40</sup> These cities form a natural pair; e.g. in Vell. 2,7,7: *Id maiores, cum viderent tanto potentiores Tyro Carthaginem, Massiliam Phocaea, Syracusas Corintho, Cyzicum ac Byzantium Mileto, ...*

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Bonner, 213 sq. On the presence of Virgil on the walls of Pompeii, see Gigante, 163 sqq. – *Dymas* was also used as a personal name (see Solin, 472).

<sup>42</sup> Also in 2,339: *addunt se socios Rhipeus et maximus armis / Epytus, oblatis per lunam, Hypanisque Dymasque, ...*

<sup>43</sup> Repeated in 17,16; 27,1; 57,9; 84,5.

<sup>44</sup> A Greek ostrakon in the British Museum (Ziebarth No. 8) contains an alphabetical list of names, obviously a spelling exercise (notice the sequence in -ων): Ἀχι[λλ]εὺς Βίων

remembered the declension rules concerning *Dryas* and *Thoas*, decided to apply them, and corrected his word into *Dymantice*.

There remain the two words of the second column, which are closely connected at least formally if not semantically. They may have been written by another person inspired by the preceding list of words.

*Patagrica* (which Avellino and Mommsen read *catagrica*) is without doubt the hardest nut in the whole text. W. Heraeus thought of a misspelling of *podagrice*,<sup>45</sup> which I find a very attractive interpretation. Both the noun *podagra* 'gout' and the adjectives derived from it (Greek *podagricus* and popular Latin *podagrosus*)<sup>46</sup> were used in plays and satires.<sup>47</sup> We find *podagrosus* in Lucilius<sup>48</sup> and Plautus;<sup>49</sup> *podagricus* e.g. in Laberius,<sup>50</sup> Petronius<sup>51</sup> and especially in Seneca:<sup>52</sup> Seneca refers to gout quite frequently.<sup>53</sup>

These adjectives were perhaps discussed at school; it is worth noticing that Charisius tries to make a distinction between them (75,16 Barwick): *Podagrosus a podagra bene dicitur, sed et podagricus a pedum aegritudine, cuius exemplum apud Laberium est in aquis <calidis> podagricus non recessit*. Notice also the rule given by Probus (GL 4,212,14): *Podagrosus an podagricus? podagrosus a podagra, sicut rugosus a ruga*.

Presumably a man suffering from gout was a comic figure and behaved *podagrice*, i.e. jumped, threw about his arms and screamed if someone stepped on the affected toe. Gout was an ailment one could laugh at without compunction – self-induced, painful, but not fatal. It was an

Γάτιος Δίων Ἔρωσ Ζήνων Ἡρων Θέων Ἴων Κλέων Λέων Μάρων etc.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. ThLL X.1, 651,45 sqq.

<sup>46</sup> For the latter, see A. Ernout, *Les adjectifs latins en -osus et en -ulentus*, Paris 1948, 25, 78 & 80.

<sup>47</sup> Ennius has *podager* (sat. 64).

<sup>48</sup> Lucil. 331 Marx: *quod deformis, senex arthriticus ac podagrosus*.

<sup>49</sup> Plaut. Merc. 595 *sed tamendem si podagrosis pedibus esset Eutyclus, / iam a portu redisse potuit*.

<sup>50</sup> Laber. mim. 16; see below.

<sup>51</sup> Petron. 132,14 *podagrici pedibus suis male dicunt, chiragrici manibus*; other examples in 64,3; 140,6.

<sup>52</sup> Apocol. 13,3, dial. 4,33,4; epist. 24,14 and 95,21 (see below).

<sup>53</sup> Cf. also the use of *podagra* as a symbol of earthly aches and pains in the epitaph CLE 1247 (= CIL VI 7193): *Quod superest homini, requiescunt dulciter ossa, / nec sum sollicitus ne subito esuriam, / et podagram careo nec sum pensionibus arra / et gratis aeterno perfruor hospitio*.

ailment of the rich, brought about by their way of living, therefore something that poor people could not afford, says Juvenal (13,96): *Pauper locupletem optare podagram /nec dubitet Ladas*. It was traditionally a men's problem, but women too, who had adopted the bad habits of men, already suffered from gout, says Seneca (epist. 95,21): *Quod ergo mirandum est maximum medicorum [i.e. Hippocratem] ac naturae peritissimum in mendacio prendi cum tot feminae podagricae calvaeque sint? Beneficium sexus sui vitiis perdidierunt et quia feminam exuerant, damnatae sunt morbis virilibus*.

Another possible interpretation for *patagricae* is suggested by two passages of Plautus and one of Naevius: *\*patag<ia>ricae* (or *\*pata<gia>gricae*).

In *Aulularia* Plautus has made a crowd of shopkeepers and artisans gather outside the door to collect their bills (508 sqq.): *Stat fullo, phyrigio, aurifex, linarius, / caupones, patagiarii, indusiarii, / flammarii, violarii, carinarii, / aut manulearii, aut †murobatharii†; / propolae linteones, calceolarii, / sedentarii sutores diabathrarii, / solearii astant, astant molocinarii, / petunt fullones, sarcinatores petunt; / strophii astant, astant semul sonarii / ... textores limbolarii, arcularii*. The *patagiarii*, it seems, were those who made and sold *patagia*, luxury garments or decorations of some kind,<sup>54</sup> which are also mentioned by Naevius (trag. 43): *pallis patagis crocotis malacis mortualibus*. Finally, in *Epidicus* (229 sqq.) Plautus makes fun of the changing fashions in women's clothes: *quid istae, quae vesti quotannis nomina inveniunt nova? / tunicam rallam, tunicam spissam, linteolum caesicium, / indusiatam, patagiatam, caltulam aut crocotulam, / supparum aut subnimium, ricam, basilicum aut exoticum, / cumatile aut plumatile, carinum aut gerrinum, gerrae maxumae*.<sup>55</sup>

A possible source of inspiration for *onagricae*<sup>56</sup> is the original of Plautus' *Asinaria*, *Onagros* (or *Onagos*; Asin. 10). Avellino (77) observed that *onagri* could have been seen in Pompeii in the spectacles at the

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<sup>54</sup> Paul. Fest. p. 221: *patagium est, quod ad summam tunicam adsui solet*; Non. p. 540,2: *aureus clavus, qui pretiosis vestibis inmitti solet*. A gloss (Lindsay I Ansil. PA 720) explains it to be the garment itself, *pallium ex auro purpuraque variatum*. Cf. E. Schuppe, RE XVIII:2, 2111 sq.

<sup>55</sup> In case *patagricae* is connected with *patagium* /*patagiatus*/ *patagiarius*, one could argue that the form was suggested by *onagricae*, which was invented first; if so, also these two words are in alphabetical order.

<sup>56</sup> The reading is, however, not certain.

amphitheatre.<sup>57</sup> But this word too belonged to the repertory of grammatical examples. Charisius explains the Latin forms of the Greek names in -ρος with the examples Ἀλέξανδρος *Alexander*, Κλέανδρος *Cleander*, ὄναγρος *onager* (57,3 Barwick).<sup>58</sup> Both the masculine *Onager* and the feminines *Onagra* and *Onagris* are also attested as names of persons.<sup>59</sup>

The graffito begins with the names of the grammatical cases, i.e. with unquestionable feminine nouns. It is quite possible that these created the idea of women's (though not necessarily nymphs') names in the mind of the person who invented the list. At school he had perhaps been made to practice the declension of the Greek feminine names in -e; cf. Char. 77,27 sqq. Barwick: ... *Andromache Helene Agave Circe Danae Crotale Calpe Eriphyle; quae quoniam Graeca sunt, Graece declinari debent, huius Andromaches Helenes Agaves Circes Danaes Crotales Calpes Eriphyles*.<sup>60</sup> In addition to mythological names there were personal cognomina of the same inflexional type; in fact, the graffito contains two such names: *Pyrriche* and *Cretice*. We should also bear in mind that grammatical examples in general are very often proper names. On the other hand, the two words of the second column are most easily explained as adverbs. Therefore I come to the conclusion that the common denominator of these apparently unconnected words is their visual and auditory form. This form started a complex chain of associations which move in the ambience of school and stage – and around women, one of the favourite subjects of graffito-writers.

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<sup>57</sup> They were known to Trimalchio and his friends; cf. Petron. 38,4: *nam mulam quidem nullam habet quae non ex onagro nata sit*.

<sup>58</sup> The same information is given in 103,22 sqq.

<sup>59</sup> Solin, 1064 sq.

<sup>60</sup> Also Char. 67,5 *Crotale Crotales Crotalen, Eriphyle Eriphyles Eriphylen, Calpe Calpes Calpen*.

# THE RESTORATION POLICY OF VETTIUS AGORIUS PRAETEXTATUS

MAIJASTINA KAHLOS

The Roman senator, Vettius Agorius Praetextatus (310/320-384), is known to have striven for the promotion of pagan cults in the fourth century. He collected several priesthoods and initiations of pagan cults. As a Roman magistrate he restored and protected pagan temples.<sup>1</sup> In this paper I will place his restoration activities in a broader context. I will try to clarify the meaning of the role the restoration and the protection of pagan temples had in the ideological combat in Rome at the end of the fourth century. I will also discuss the significance of cult places in the pagan topography of Rome.

## Protecting public buildings

Pagan temples were closed and their revenues confiscated by the imperial government, but at the same time, imperial legislation obliged the authorities to protect the temples as public monuments and as fiscal property. Thus, temples were seen not only as civic ornaments and monuments of the past, but also as imperial property.<sup>2</sup> Still, aesthetic conservationists seem to have been few. Augustine disapproved of private use of pagan objects belonging to pagan monuments. Christians ought not to take any-

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<sup>1</sup> PLRE I, Praetextatus 1, 722-724. CIL VI 1779 lists Praetextatus' priesthoods and initiations.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. Theod. 16,10,18 temples as imperial property; Cod. Theod. 16,10,19 temples in public use. Respect was shown for the monuments of the past: Cod. Theod. 15,1,19; 16,10,3; 16,10,8 aesthetic value; Cod. Theod. 16,10,15 protecting ornaments of temples. Even Prud. c. Symm. 1,502-505: *liceat statuas consistere puras, artificum magnorum opera...* R. Krautheimer, Rome, Profile of a City, 312-1308, Princeton 1980, 36-37; A. Wardman, Religion and Statecraft among the Romans, London 1982, 199, n.10.



thing for private use, to make it clear that they were destroying from piety, not from greed.<sup>3</sup>

The imperial government was neither efficient nor interested in protecting pagan monuments in Rome. It did not prevent Christian magistrates from destructing pagan shrines, e.g. in the case of Furius Maecius Gracchus who during his urban prefecture in 376-377 demolished a shrine of Mithras.<sup>4</sup> In particular, temples suffered from private spoliation: decorations of temples were taken away and parts of temples were used for private constructions.

When Praetextatus held the city prefecture in 367 he took measures to protect public buildings, and particularly, temples. He had all the so-called *maeniana* removed. *Maeniana* referred to extra structures like balconies, colonnades or second storeys added privately to public buildings. According to Ammianus this kind of building had been forbidden in earlier times in Rome. Praetextatus also tore down the walls of private houses which had been illegally joined to temples.<sup>5</sup>

### **Aristocratic patronage and restoration of temples**

In 382, the imperial government interrupted the public finance system for pagan cults. Wealthy pagan aristocrats had to take all responsibility for the upkeep of their religious centers without the benefit of state subsidies. At the end of the fourth century Christian building activity did not yet hold a monopoly in Rome. Many pagan monuments and public buildings were restored, remodeled, rebuilt, or redecorated. Pagan adherents continued to dedicate altars and cult statues and carried out the necessary restoration work on the buildings. The Forum Romanum in particular seems to have remained a pagan reserve. For example, the temple of Vesta (in 394) and the

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<sup>3</sup> Aug. epist. 47,3; Wardman 143-144.

<sup>4</sup> Hier. epist. 107,2; Prud. c.Symm. 1,561-565. J. Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court A.D. 364-425*, Oxford 1990<sup>2</sup>, 23 suggests that the destroyed Mithraeum could have been on some private property of the family of Gracchus; D. Vera, *Commento storico alle Relationes di Quinto Aurelio Simmaco*, Pisa 1981, 153-154, disagrees with Matthews.

<sup>5</sup> Amm. 27,9,10: *Namque et maeniana sustulit omnia fabricari Romae priscis quoque vetita legibus et discrevit ab aedibus sacris privatorum parietes isdem inverecunde conexos*; Ebert, s.v. Maenianum, RE XIV, Stuttgart 1930, 245-247.

temple of Saturn (around 400) were restored. Most of the building activity of the time was restorative work.<sup>6</sup>

Both pagan and Christian aristocrats sponsored construction and restoration of shrines in Rome. This private patronage of religious building meant intense reaffirmation of the aristocratic code of life for pagan and Christian senators alike.<sup>7</sup>

### **The restoration of the *Porticus deorum consentium***

As a city prefect, Praetextatus restored and dedicated anew the *Porticus deorum consentium* in the Forum Romanum. The CIL VI 102 records this restoration by stating that Praetextatus restored the sacred statues (*sacrosancta simulacra*) of the *di consentes* and their cult in its old form. The restoration was probably restricted to the relocation of the statues of the Twelve Gods and to some restorations of the damaged parts of the monument.<sup>8</sup>

The portico of the *di consentes* stands below the cliff of the Capitoline Hill in the Forum Romanum. It had been originally built perhaps in the second or third century B.C., but its present form dates from the Flavian period. The statues of the *di consentes* probably stood in the intercolumniations of the colonnade of the portico. In the first century B.C. Varro records the existence of gilded statues of the Twelve Gods in the Forum Romanum.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> The only one major temple known to have been built in Rome after Constantine's death is the temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus probably during the reign of Julian (361-363). D. Vera, *Koinonia* 7 (1983) 151, n.52; 152; Krautheimer 35; J.F. Merriman, *Aristocratic and Imperial Patronage of the Decorative Arts in Rome and Constantinople, A.D. 337-395*, Diss. Univ. of Illinois 1975, 23-24, 320-326.

<sup>7</sup> Merriman 5, 40-41.

<sup>8</sup> CIL VI 102 = ILS 4003: [*Deorum c]onsentium sacrosancta simulacra cum omni lo[ci totius adornatio]ne cultu in [formam antiquam restituto] / [V]ettius Praetextatus, v(ir) c(larissimus), pra[efectus u]rbi [reposuit] / curante Longeio [--- v(ir) c(larissimus), c]onsul[ari]. C.R. Long, *The Twelve Gods of Greece and Rome*, Leiden 1987, 243.*

<sup>9</sup> A good report of the archeological phases of the Porticus deorum consentium: G. Nieddu, *Il portico degli dei consenti*, *Bollettino d'Arte* 71, 1986, 37-52. The first findings of the portico were made in 1833. CIL VI 102 was found in 1834. S.B. Platner - Th. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Oxford 1929, 421-422; F. Coarelli, *Roma, Guida archeologica Laterza, Roma-Bari* 1980, 1989<sup>6</sup>, 61; Krautheimer 35; Long 34, 243; Merriman 327, nr.2. Varro, *rust.* 1,1,4.

The *di consentes* had a special fundamental role in Roman state life. Perhaps the senatorial class wanted to project its own functions and its own dignity on a metaphysical level. The idea of the Twelve Gods as a heavenly projection of the senatorial class is clear in Martianus Capella: *Ac mox Iovis scriba praecipitur pro suo ordine ac ratis modis caelicolas advocare, praecipueque senatores deorum*.<sup>10</sup> The *consensus*, the unanimity of the governing class, could also be emphasized. The Twelve Gods could also have represented an ideological and political conception antithetical to the emperor.<sup>11</sup>

In addition to a political interest, there may also have been a clearly theological one: a neoplatonic interpretation of the divinities. H. Bloch has proposed that the portico of the Twelve Olympians - the *di consentes* - appealed to Praetextatus, because he saw in the traditional Twelve Gods the manifestation of one universal divinity. Bloch believes that Praetextatus did not restore the portico only to maintain the old cult but to propagate his ideology of the *numen multiplex*.<sup>12</sup>

The Twelve Gods appear in Neoplatonic literature of the fourth and fifth centuries; Iamblichus regarded them as hypercosmic deities. In Sallustius' treatise concerning the gods and the universe, the Twelve Gods governed the twelve spheres of the cosmos and were tutelae of the planets.<sup>13</sup> The Twelve Gods are depicted as tutelae of the months and the zodiac also in Macrobius' *Saturnalia*. In the imaginary speech of Praetextatus, Mars and Venus are referred to as the tutelae of March and April.<sup>14</sup> A connection between Praetextatus and the cult of the Twelve Gods can be seen also in the words of Macrobius: ... *magnum in caelo ducem solem vult sub appellatione Iovis intellegi ... atque ideo velut exercitum eius ceteros deos haberi per undecim signorum partes distributos, quia ipse duodecimi signi ... occupat*.<sup>15</sup>

The Roman *di consentes* were protectors of the city of Rome. Their cult, with its emphasis on civic responsibility and well-being, had been

<sup>10</sup> Mart. Cap. 1,42.

<sup>11</sup> Nieddu 50-51.

<sup>12</sup> *Numen multiplex* in Praetextatus' funerary poem, CIL VI 1779; H. Bloch, HTR 38 (1945), 208; followed by Nieddu 50 and J. Flamant, *Macrobie et le néoplatonisme latin à la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Leiden 1977, 32.

<sup>13</sup> Long 317.

<sup>14</sup> Macr. Sat. 1,12,5-8; zodiac signs, Macr. Sat. 1,12,10; Long 304, 326-327.

<sup>15</sup> Macr. Sat. 1,23,5-6. Cfr. Mart. Cap. 1,45.

important for the Romans. Celebrations of the lectisternium in honour of the *di consentes* had been organized in order to protect the city. In the eyes of the Roman pagan aristocracy the restoration of the portico must have seemed essential to the welfare of the city. C.R. Long believes that restoring the *Porticus deorum consentium* was neither mere antiquarianism nor nostalgia. It was instead a practical measure designed to keep the tutelary deities of Rome favourable under threat of barbarian invasions.<sup>16</sup> Augustine tells that some pagans blamed the sack of Rome by Alaric in 410 on the Christians for their neglect of the traditional gods.<sup>17</sup>

*Porticus deorum consentium* seems to be the last pagan monument erected or restored officially by a Roman magistrate. The dedicatory inscription significantly makes no mention of the emperor.<sup>18</sup> The *praefectus urbi* bore the primary responsibility for the public works.<sup>19</sup> Praetextatus was not the only individual known to have restored pagan shrines. Other restorations connected with the pagan state cult were carried out as a result of the financial assistance by the city prefect or other high magistrates of Rome, the temple of Apollo by Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus (PVR 357-359),<sup>20</sup> and the *Porticus Boni Eventus* by Claudius Hermogenianus Caesarius (PVR 374-375).<sup>21</sup> The *praefectus annonae* Sempronius Faustus (under the pagan city prefect Tarracius Bassus) restored the temple of Isis in Portus.<sup>22</sup>

### Acts against the spoliation of temples

The overthrow of pagan temples was gradual, but the plundering and the destruction of temples by private persons continued undisturbed. In 384 it was possible for Praetextatus as pretorian prefect to try to put a stop to the spoliation of temples. He obtained from Valentinian an imperial order empowering the city prefect to investigate and to bring plunderers of public

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<sup>16</sup> Long 306-307, 243; Krautheimer 35.

<sup>17</sup> Aug. civ. 2.3.

<sup>18</sup> Long 305. Private restorations are known to have continued.

<sup>19</sup> Merriman 35-36.

<sup>20</sup> CIL VI 45; Merriman 326-327, no.1.

<sup>21</sup> Amm. 29.6.19; Merriman 37; Merriman 328, no.2, no.4, 329, no.1, no.2, 330, no.3, no. 4.

<sup>22</sup> Amm. 28,1,27.

buildings, i.e. of temples, to justice. The current city prefect was Praetextatus' friend and ally Q. Aurelius Symmachus. Praetextatus' and Symmachus' actions were obviously intended to prevent Christian spoliation of pagan shrines and to restore ornaments removed from public places for private use.<sup>23</sup>

Rumours reached the court of Milan that Symmachus was using the inquiry to maltreat Christians, and that he had imprisoned and tortured Christian priests. In a public letter, Emperor Valentinian reprimanded Symmachus and ordered that all whom he had imprisoned should be released.<sup>24</sup> Symmachus defended himself by stating that he had been authorized by Praetextatus who obtained the decree from the emperor himself. Besides, Symmachus had not even started the inquiry. Damasus, bishop of Rome, testified that no harm had been done to Christians.<sup>25</sup>

D. Vera believes that the attack against Symmachus was actually targeted against Praetextatus. Praetextatus' restoration policy as a *praefectus urbanus* and as a *praefectus praetorio* may have annoyed those within the Christian circles at the court of Milan.<sup>26</sup>

### **Praetextatus' ascent to the Capitol**

Pagan restorations in Rome, Ostia, and Portus were not only a result of religious obligation or propaganda, but also a result of special pagan concepts of urban topography. These concepts were in contrast to Christian ideas of topography. Pagan ceremonial and cultural activities were located inside the walls of Rome, those of Christians outside the walls.<sup>27</sup>

In 403, Jerome wrote how the city of Rome was shaken to its foundations. Christians rushed outside the walls to visit the martyrs' graves. The Capitol and all the temples of Rome were neglected, deserted, and half-

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<sup>23</sup> Symm. rel. 21,3. The text of the imperial *decretum* is unknown. Symm. rel. 3,1 *subiecta legibus vitia* possibly refers to the decree. R.H. Barrow, *Prefect and Emperor*, Oxford 1973, 113; D. Vera, *SDHI* 44 (1978) 81-82; Vera, *Commento* 25, 158-159.

<sup>24</sup> Symm. rel. 21,1-3; 21,6.

<sup>25</sup> Symm. rel. 21,3-5. More about Symmachus' difficulties and about his enemies, see D. Vera, *Commento* xxxiv-xxxix, 153-160.

<sup>26</sup> Vera, *Commento* xlii, 160.

<sup>27</sup> Vera, *Koinonia* 149-151.

ruined.<sup>28</sup>

The Capitol had been the centre of the pagan state cult. Jerome's account of Praetextatus' ascent to the Capitol illustrates the significance of the Capitol in the ideological contest between pagans and Christians. In a letter to Marcella, Jerome blames the recently dead Praetextatus who had ascended to the Capitol just a few days before his death as if he had been celebrating a triumph.<sup>29</sup>

Praetextatus' ascent to the Capitol was a public and official procession because it was evidently organized by authorities of the city. According to Jerome, Praetextatus was preceded by the highest magistrates of the city (*dignitatum omnium culmina praecedebant*). This is a clear allusion to Symmachus, the city prefect at that time.<sup>30</sup>

Jerome realized that though Praetextatus' ascent to the Capitol was not a real triumph, it was still connected to the tradition of triumph. Praetextatus and Symmachus organized a *spectaculum triumphale* inspired by a pagan triumphal ceremony.<sup>31</sup> The Christian emperors had abandoned the traditional triumph that had culminated in a solemn sacrifice to Capitoline Jupiter. In 312, Constantine probably refused to present the customary triumphal offering on the Capitol.<sup>32</sup> After Constantine no Christian emperor wanted to end his triumph in Rome with the traditional process to the Capitol and with the sacrifice to Capitoline Jupiter. This must have offended

<sup>28</sup> Hier. epist. 107.1 ad Laetam: *Auratum squallet Capitolium, fuligine et araneorum telis omnia Romae templa cooperta sunt, movetur urbs sedibus suis et inundans populus ante delubra semiruta currit ad martyrum tumulos.*

<sup>29</sup> Hier. epist. 23.2-3 ad Marcellam de exitu Leae (in 384): *Ille, quem ante paucos dies dignitatum omnium culmina praecedebant, qui quasi de subiectis hostibus triumpharet Capitolinas ascendit arces, quem plausu quodam et tripudio populus Romanus excepit.*

<sup>30</sup> Vera, Koinonia 143.

<sup>31</sup> Vera, Koinonia 141, n.19, 142; L. Cracco Ruggini, RAL ser.8, 23 (1979) 17. Ruggini and Vera believe that Praetextatus' ascent to the Capitol (Hier. epist. 23.2-3) and the gladiatorial games described by Symmachus (rel. 47) were the two phases of the same ceremony, a pagan triumph.

<sup>32</sup> The triumphator deposited his laurel wreath into the lap of the statue of Jupiter, *in gremio Capitolini Iovis*. Late descriptions of triumphs, Symm. rel. 9,3; Paneg. 9,5; Paneg. 6,8,7. The whole triumph was a special homage to Jupiter Optimus Maximus. In triumph a triumphator was temporarily approximated to Jupiter himself. Jupiter remained important for pagans: Aug. civ. 5.26; *Carmen contra paganos* 2; 122. H.S. Versnel, *Triumphus*, Leiden 1970, 1-2, 68-71, 95; S. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* 1981, 34-39; S. MacCormack, *Historia* 21 (1972) 728, 731; Vera, Koinonia, 141, n.19; 155.

traditionalist circles in Rome. Vera construes Praetextatus' ascent to Capitol as an act against Christian emperors.<sup>33</sup>

When Praetextatus celebrated his 'triumph', pagan senators occupied the highest offices under the reign of Valentinian II, Praetextatus acted as pretorian prefect, and Symmachus functioned as city prefect. There had been discussion about whether the imperial government should continue supporting the old Roman state cult. Praetextatus' ascent could have been seen as a protest against the imperial antipagan legislation. Praetextatus had evidently had a leading role in ideological discussions as well as in the 'triumph'.<sup>34</sup> This explains why Jerome rebuked Praetextatus with such ferocity.

The ascent to the Capitol was essential also from a topographical point of view. The temple of Juppiter Optimus Maximus was an ideal centre for cherishing pagan religious traditions. Praetextatus and Symmachus wanted to demonstrate that the Capitol with its temples was still alive as a cult centre instead of merely a relic of the past.

## Conclusion

It was important to hold high offices in order to control the financing of building and restoration projects. Praetextatus restored and protected public buildings and pagan temples in his function as a city prefect. As a pretorian prefect he attempted to prevent the spoliation of temples. Praetextatus used his high position to put his ideas into practice, but he was not the only magistrate to do so. Furius Maecius Gracchus destroyed a shrine of Mithras when he held the city prefecture (p.2). Both pagan and Christian magistrates exploited their positions in the contest between pagans and Christians.

There are two aspects interwoven in Praetextatus' restoration activities. He tried to keep the pagan religious tradition visible in the cityscape of Rome by restoring and protecting pagan shrines. There was also a tendency to emphasize the political senatorial tradition.

Both the restoration of the *Porticus deorum consentium* and the ascent

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<sup>33</sup> Vera, *Koinonia* 143.

<sup>34</sup> Vera, *Koinonia* 142, 144, 150.

to the Capitol reflect the vital importance of a place to pagans. Paganism or polytheism could not have survived without cult sites in the struggle for its existence. A certain cult place was not as crucial for Christianity as for paganism. This is why the location of temples and shrines was important for pagans in Rome at the end of the fourth century.

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## THE BODY POLITIC. On the History of a Famous Simile

IIRO KAJANTO

### Origin of the Simile

Antiquity has bequeathed to us at least two similes of political organization, which in some sense are still alive. One is the well-known ship of state, first found in Ps.-Theognis 667-82 and made famous by Horace's Ode 1,14 *O navis referent...* The simile or allegory is simple, its main point being the stress it lays upon the leading role of the helmsman, the ruler of the state. The other, the body politic, is less used today, but was equally current in antiquity. Though it, too, emphasizes the position of the head of the state, king or emperor, is also symbolized the interdependence of the different parts of the body politic for the well-being of the whole. Thus the organic conception of ὁμόνοια or *concordia* constituted the basic idea of the simile.

The idea of the body politic originated amidst the Greek political troubles of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.<sup>1</sup> For the survival of the simile it was, however, of greater significance that the comparison was current in classical Roman literature and in the Bible. Cicero quotes it e.g. in *de off.* 1,85 and 3,22, Seneca in *de ira* 2,31,7 and *de clem.* 1,3,4. The most famous embodiment of the idea was the parable of the rebellion of the other parts of the body against the allegedly parasitic stomach by which Menenius Agrippa, consul in 503 B.C., was said to have persuaded the *plebs* to give up its secession and to return to the community. The story, such as it is told by Livy 2,32,8-12 and Dion. Hal. 6,86 is naturally of later and probably Greek origin.<sup>2</sup> In Livy, it was only the stomach that referred to a social order, the Senate, whereas in Dionysius specification was more detailed. He mentions

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<sup>1</sup> A. Momigliano, "Camillus and Concord", *Classical Quarterly* 36, 1942, 117-18.

<sup>2</sup> W. Nestle, "Die Fabel des Menenius Agrippa", *Klio* 21, 1927, 350-60. R. Ogilvie, *A Commentary on Livy. Books 1-5.* 1965, 312-13.

the feet, hands, shoulders, mouth, and head as well as their political equivalents. The moral of the story, like that of the comparison in general, underlined the importance of *concordia*. In most references to the simile, it was usually only the *caput* and the *corpus* that were mentioned, the head and the mind of course being the leading organ, e.g. Cicero, Murena 51; Tacitus, ann. 1,12; Pliny the Younger, epist. 4,22,7 (cf. p. 77); Florus 2,14,5-6.

There was a related biological comparison which also has enjoyed considerable popularity up to the present day. The state was considered as a human being undergoing birth, growth, decay, and ultimately death. The idea had been voiced e.g. by Polybius,<sup>3</sup> and it was already a commonplace in Roman literature, where its best-known exposition was found in Florus.<sup>4</sup> He distinguished four biological periods in Roman history.

St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Corinthians 1,12,12-17, made use of the simile, which he had probably learnt from pagan literature, to illustrate the interdependence of the members of Christian community and the supremacy of the whole, which is the body of Christ.<sup>5</sup>

In the Middle Ages, the idea of the body politic was resuscitated, becoming even more popular than it had been in antiquity. With few exceptions – see Dion. Hal. above – the ancient writers did not specify the political equivalents of the different members of the human body. John of Salisbury, a representative of the 12th century Renaissance, in his *Policraticus*, a mirror for princes, quoted a letter of Plutarch to Emperor Trajan, 5,1-2, in which Plutarch allegedly compared the different organs of the body to the parts of the political community, the head, naturally, interpreted as the prince; the heart as the senate; the eyes, ears and tongue as judges and provincial governors; the hands as officials and soldiers; the sides as "people who always stand by the prince"; the stomach and intestines as questors and *commentarienses* and *comites rerum privatarum*, and the feet as farmers. The Epistle is spurious as far as it was attributed to Plutarch,<sup>6</sup> but its real authorship is still undecided. It was formerly thought to have been an inven-

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<sup>3</sup> Polybius 6,4-10. F.W. Walbank, A Historical Commentary on Polybius 1, 1957, 645 records the prehistory of the idea in Greek thought.

<sup>4</sup> Florus, Praef. 5-8. Cf. Paul Jal in his edition of Florus, 1967, lxx-lxxviii.

<sup>5</sup> For interpretation of the passage, see e.g. John Ruef, Paul's First Letter to Corinth, 1971, 132-36.

<sup>6</sup> K. Ziegler, "Plutarchos", RE 21, 1951, 824-25.

tion of John,<sup>7</sup> but today most scholars hold that John had drawn upon a text originating from antiquity or the early Middle Ages. John, though, had reworked it.<sup>8</sup> Thus references to the senate and especially to *comites rerum privatarum*<sup>9</sup> suggest a source in late antiquity. On the other hand, there are clear indications of medieval additions. Contrary to the classical idea of the head, that is the prince, as the leading organ, John states that even as the soul holds supremacy in the body, similarly the prefects of religion are in command of the whole body politic. Further, even the prince is subject to God and his vicars.<sup>10</sup> The assertion that the prince was subordinate to God or divine law, though specifically Christian, had already been articulated in late antiquity, but making the clerical order or the Pope, the Vicar of Christ, superior to the ruler, was a distinctly medieval view. But whether this insistence on the paramount importance of the soul is attributable to John or to a medieval source he made use of, is a moot problem. John himself admits that he had not quoted Plutarch's Epistle literally,<sup>11</sup> and he claims that he had expunged all that *ad idolatriae cultum pertinent*, that is, to pagan religion.

The organological comparison enjoyed great popularity in the Middle Ages and indeed survived to the 18th century.<sup>12</sup> A comprehensive study of the history of the body politic is, however, lacking. Struve attributes the popularity of the comparison to the fact that "eine eigenständige Terminologie zur Beschreibung der verschiedenartigen Phänomene politischer Ge-

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<sup>7</sup> R. Hirzel, Plutarch, 1912, 96-97; H. Liebeschütz, "John of Salisbury and Pseudo-Plutarch", Journal of the Warburg Institute 6, 1943, 33-39; Idem, Medieval Humanism in the Life and Writings of John of Salisbury, 1950, 24-25.

<sup>8</sup> Tilman Struve, Die Entwicklung der organologischen Staatsauffassung im Mittelalter, 1978, 128; Idem, "Vita civilis naturam imitetur. Der Gedanke der Nachahmung der Natur als Grundlage der organologischen Staatskonzeption Johannes von Salisbury", Historisches Jahrbuch 101, 1981, 344-46; Max Kerner, "Die *Institutio Traiani* – spätantike Lehrschrift oder hochmittelalterliche Fiktion?", Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Schriften, Band 33 I, Fälschungen im Mittelalter I, 1988, 715-38.

<sup>9</sup> For these officials, see RE 4, 1901, 664-70. The title came in use in the 4th century A.D.

<sup>10</sup> Struve 1988 (n. 8) 357-58.

<sup>11</sup> Policraticus V,2a *ita tamen ut sententiarum vestigia potius imitarer quam passus verborum*; cf. 2d.

<sup>12</sup> E. Lewis, Medieval Political Ideas 1-2, 1954, see the Index on Organic Analogies; E.-E. Kantorowicz, The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Medieval Political Theology, 1957 (1981) 207-32; Struve 1978 (n. 8) 292.

meinschaften überhaupt fehlte".<sup>13</sup> This deficiency was offset by deriving analogies and comparisons from the realm of organic nature. Though the argument no doubt is plausible, there may have been another reason, too. Greek and Latin writings, even philosophical discourses, were always heavily influenced by rhetoric. Comparison, *similitudo*, classified as a figure of thought, was a favorite means of conferring distinction upon discourse, rendering it ornate, embellishing it by variety.<sup>14</sup> St. Paul, in comparing Christ to the body of believers, was no less under the influence of rhetoric than were the pagan authors, who symbolized the ruler as head and the people as body. The example of pagan and Christian writers, as well as the teachings of rhetoric, which had an entrenched position in medieval as well as humanist education, contributed to the survival of the idea of the body politic in post-classical literature. Thus, contrary to what Struve suggests, it was not the creation of a serviceable political terminology that made an end of the comparison in political debate. Rather, it went out of use simultaneously with the general discrediting of rhetoric in the Age of Enlightenment.

### **The Body Politic in Wexionius-Gyldenstolpe**

In the political literature of the 16th and 17th centuries, the body politic was often little more than a hackneyed metaphor.<sup>15</sup> The Political community consisted of "head" and "body", etc. But frequently the references were of greater significance. Thus Jean Bodin, 1530-1596, a leading theorist of royal absolutism, argued that the king was bound by natural law and fundamental customary law. Moreover, he had always to care for the welfare of his subjects. He once illustrated the concord which was essential for the maintenance of social order by quoting the image of the body, in which every member is equally important for the welfare of the whole, appropriately citing the Parable of Menenius Agrippa.<sup>16</sup>

These references to the comparison were, however, seldom as circumstantial as they were in John of Salisbury. But there were exceptions. One of

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<sup>13</sup> Struve 1978 (n. 8) 290.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Aristotle, rhet. 1393a27; Rhet. Herenn. 4,59.

<sup>15</sup> H.A. Lloyd in J .H. Burns, ed. The Cambridge History of Political Thought 1450-1700, 1991, 274.

<sup>16</sup> De republica libri, Latine ab auctore redditi, Francofurti 1627, 1099.

them was a professor at the provincial university of Turku in the 17th century, Michael Wexionius, and after his rise to nobility, Wexionius-Gyldenstolpe. Turku was the capital of Finland, which at that time belonged to Sweden. Despite his modest position, Wexionius-Gyldenstolpe was one of the leading writers in political philosophy in Sweden during its brief period as a great power.

The biography of Wexionius-Gyldenstolpe can be briefly related.<sup>17</sup> He was a native Swede, born in 1608 in Småland to the family of a country pastor. After primary education at the Cathedral School of Växjö, he went to Uppsala in 1626, where Neo-Aristotelianism had by then triumphed. In 1631 he maintained his *pro gradu* dissertation *Positiones philosophicae*, which consisted of 18 *theoremata* of encyclopaedic character. Like most similar dissertations, it was unoriginal. That he was an Aristotelian is shown by the passages in which he supports his arguments by quoting the Stagirite. After graduation he went on *peregrinatio* to the war-ravaged Germany, where he studied at the University of Marburg, and further to the Netherlands, particularly to Leiden, where he met a few of the leading scholars of the age. After returning home, he was invited to take up the chair of moral philosophy and history at the newly founded University of Turku in 1640, the position which he vacated in 1657 after being appointed an Assessor or Councillor at the Court of Appeal (*hovrätt*) at Turku. He died in 1670. Throughout his career, he was a protégé of the Chancellor of the University, Count Per Brahe, a prominent member of the high aristocracy, a relationship which certainly influenced his political views.

Wexionius-Gyldenstolpe proved a conscientious and hard-working educator. He produced textbooks, originally published as series of dissertations, in all the branches of his academic position. As usual, they were mostly second-hand compilations, but useful for students in a small provincial university, in which books were rare and difficult to obtain.

One of these works was *Politica*, first edition in 1646, and a revised edition in 1657. As the sub-title states, the work was *ad modernum Sveo-Gothici Statum accommodata, domesticisque passim exemplis illustrata*. It was printed in octavo, and the final edition consisted of 660 pages. The first

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<sup>17</sup> A.A. Laitinen, Michael Wexionius-Gyldenstolpe, diss., Helsinki 1912 (in Finnish); N. Runeby, "Gyldenstolpe, Michael", *Svenskt biografiskt lexicon* 17, 1967-1969, 509-12; Kajanto, *Humanism in a Christian Society II. Classical Moral Philosophy and Oratory in Finland 1640-1713*, 1990, 37-55.

edition comprised 12, and the second 19 chapters, originally separate dissertations, which were supplemented by brief theses, *corollaria* or *sicilimenta*, debated by the respondents at a public disputation, where they otherwise had little to say about a dissertation which was wholly the work of the *praeses*, the Professor.

Unlike most other textbooks of Wexionius-Gyldenstolpe, his *Politica* has some claim to originality. Though the political ideas which he represented and to which I will presently return were largely derivative, illustrating and corroborating them by examples drawn from Swedish constitution and social organization was an exception to the usually theoretical discourses of political philosophers. Wexionius-Gyldenstolpe's *Politica* indeed gives a good overview of the Swedish state and society in the mid-17th century. Swedish Law, especially *Konungabalken* or the part of the law defining the rights and duties of the king, and the *Regeringsform* or the Constitution of 1634, were frequently quoted, even more frequently than the Old Testament, which was otherwise one of Wexionius-Gyldenstolpe's main frames of reference. Other branches of the Swedish Law, the decrees of the King and of the Estates were equally often quoted, and Swedish history was drawn upon for examples.<sup>18</sup>

In his political views, Wexionius was an advocate of a mixed constitution. The idea that the best constitution combined the elements of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy was well-known from classical literature, especially from Aristotle, though he in his theoretical discussion mixed only aristocracy and democracy,<sup>19</sup> and from Polybius, who saw mixed constitu-

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<sup>18</sup> In *Politica*, there are about 80 quotations from or references to the *Konungabalken* and 43 to *Regeringsform*. The corresponding figures for the Old Testament were about 70, and to the New Testament 30. The preponderance of the Old over the New Testament was characteristic of the age of Lutheran Orthodoxy. The most often quoted political philosophers were Johannes Althusius: 54 references; Christoph Besold: 42; Jean Bodin: 54; Giovanni Botero: 38; Machiavelli (only *De arte belli*): 22; Daniel Otto: 21, and Theodor Reinking: 32. The most often cited ancient author was Tacitus, about 30 mentions, while Aristotle had only 11, Cicero and Florus 10 each, Plato eight, Sallust five and Vegetius most of all, 17 references. With one exception, all the quotations from Vegetius were found in Chapters 17-18, which dealt with war and armies. Vegetius was still considered an authority in military matters. The popularity of Tacitus in the 17th century, especially in political literature, is well-known, see Peter Burke, "Tacitism, Scepticism, and Reason of State". in Burns 1991 (n. 15) 485-90. Besold, Reinking and Otto were contemporary German political philosophers.

<sup>19</sup> Aristotle, pol. 1295a25-1296b12. He prefers a mixed constitution because it represents the mean, and the mean is always the best. The middle class, who are neither rich

tion realized in the Roman republic.<sup>20</sup> In Sweden, prior to the brief period of royal absolutism at the end of the seventeenth century, mixed constitution almost had the status of official political philosophy.<sup>21</sup> The Introduction to the Constitution of 1634 praised the Swedish state as one "där konungen sin höghet, rådet sin myndighet och ständerne deres skälige rätt och frihet tillbörligen blefve behållen."<sup>22</sup> This *ingress* is said to reflect the views of the leading statesman of the age, Axel Oxenstierna.<sup>23</sup>

In the Statutes of the University of Uppsala from 1626, which were also observed at Turku, the Professor of Practical Philosophy had to teach politics according to Althusius or Golius.<sup>24</sup> The latter was an insignificant commentator of Aristotle, today forgotten, and not referred to by Wexionius,<sup>25</sup> while Calvinist Althusius, 1557-1638, was one of the most influential political philosophers of the age.<sup>26</sup> Disregarding other aspects of his political thought, what is relevant here is his assertion that sovereignty originally belongs to the people. Though the people entrust the task of administration to the king, they retain their original sovereignty and, if the king turn into a tyrant, they have a right to depose him.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, there were a number of "ephors", who controlled the constitutionality of the king's decrees. The constitution devised by Althusius was mixed, which he illustrates by drawing upon the image of the mixture of the four humors:

*recte dicimus, temperatam & mixtam esse quamvis reipublicae speciem, uti hominis complexio ex quatuor... humoribus est temperata. Sic enim quod est monarchicum in Republica, continet in officio, &*

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nor poor, are the best guarantees of a mixed constitution. There are, however, few historical examples of states which would have had this type of constitution. In another connection he mentions Sparta and Carthage, 1265b30 and 1272b24, though in the constitutions of these city states there was a monarchical element, too.

<sup>20</sup> Polybius 6,43-56; cf. Walbank (n. 3) 639-41.

<sup>21</sup> Nils Runeby, *Monarchia mixta. Maktfördelningsdebatt i Sverige under den tidigare stormaktstiden*, 1962, 25ff.

<sup>22</sup> *Sveriges regeringsformer 1634-1806*, utgifne af Emil Hildebrand, 1891, 2.

<sup>23</sup> H. Hjärke, *Från Vasatiden till Frihetstiden*, 1929, 43-45.

<sup>24</sup> Cl. Annerstedt, *Uppsala universitets historia*. Bihang 1, 1877, 278.

<sup>25</sup> Theophilus Golius, a Catholic, author of *Epitome doctrinae politicae ex octo libris Aristotelis collecta*, Argentorati 1622.

<sup>26</sup> See Lloyd (n. 15) 287-92.

<sup>27</sup> *Politica methodice digesta*, 1614 (1981) Cap. XIX.



*conservat id, quod est Aristocraticum & Democraticum, & id quod est Aristocraticum & Democraticum in officio continet & cohibet quod est Monarchicum. Quae temperatura est optima & diuturnitati conveniens.*<sup>28</sup>

Thus, checks and balances were of necessity for a healthy state.

At Uppsala, during Wexionius's student days, this philosophy was advocated by Jonas Magni, with the surname of Wexionensis, 1583-1651, Professor of Moral Philosophy 1614-1620, of History 1620-1624, and of Theology 1626-1640.<sup>29</sup> In political philosophy, his main work was a series of dissertations, *Philosophiae civilis pars posterior seu specialis*, 1624-1625. In Diss. III, with the son of Axel Oxenstierna, Gustavus Axelii, as respondent, Jonas Magni discussed *respublica mixta*. Though he otherwise followed Justus Lipsius, a savant of great fame in the early seventeenth century, here he argues against him. While Lipsius holds that *legitima monarchia* was the best form of government, Jonas Magni argues that because power always corrupts, and moreover, to find a thoroughly good man for a ruler may be arduous, the state will be more stable if the power of the ruler be limited. After that, he quotes the theory of mixed constitution, which clearly derives from the passage of Althusius quoted above:

*Ut enim fervor cholerae a phlegmate temperatur, & sanguinis concitatio a Melancholia cohibetur, ita ut unus humor sit alterius conservatio, non aliter in Repub(lica) cunctos παρεκβάσεις opposito aliarum formarum temperamento cohiberi posse videatur.*<sup>30</sup>

Wexionius discussed the different forms of government in Ch. 2, which with its 41 pages is the longest in his *Politica*.<sup>31</sup> In the edition of 1657 the chapter had been greatly expanded, but the basic ideas remained unaltered. Taking his departure from the debate on the best form of government in Herodotus 3,80-83, he first surveys the three traditional constitutions, democracy, aristocracy, and monarchy, scrutinizing their strengths and

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid. Cap. XXXIX.15.

<sup>29</sup> Nils Runeby (n. 21) 154-71; Idem, *Svenskt biografiskt lexicon* 20, 1973-1975, 369-71.

<sup>30</sup> Op. cit, Thesis 36, with references to Aristotle, pol. 3,6 and Althusius, Cap. XXXIX.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Runeby (n. 21) 391-404.

weaknesses. Democracy guarantees equality, in which there is no place for ambition and envy. Nevertheless, in democracy there have been great heroes in war no less than in arts. Above all, democracy favors freedom. He mentions as examples Athens, Rome, Switzerland, and Netherlands. But all these arguments are fragile. There is no equality in nature, one is born to command, the other to obey; democracy raises the wicked and downgrades the good men; the people are easily corrupted; it is difficult to govern a *bestia multorum capitum*, especially in direct democracy; finally, democracy resembles anarchy and fosters dissensions, secessions, and disorders.<sup>32</sup>

Aristocracy is similarly discussed pro et contra. Power has to be given to the most worthy, but they are always a minority; because the rich have a bigger stake in the welfare of the state, they govern it better; a number of good men more readily than a single one invent good counsel and are better equipped to bear the burden of government. On the other hand, among the worthy one is always worthier than the others; the poor have an equal stake in public welfare, and a monarch most of all; it is equally difficult to find a number of good men than a single one. From Bodin he quotes a few other objections: the more rulers there are, the greater the confusion in decision-making; the people always hate aristocracy, and internally discordant *optimates* have a laborious task to stave off their assaults. Still, Wexionius prefers aristocratic government to democracy as more bearable, equable, and stable.<sup>33</sup>

There can be no doubt that of the three forms of government Wexionius opts in favor of monarchy.<sup>34</sup> Whereas in discussing democracy and aristocracy, he first surveys the arguments in favor and then refutes them, here he first records the arguments which speak against monarchy, such as dissensions springing from elective or contested hereditary kingship and the vices of a king, which may be difficult to forestall. Wexionius discounts these objections. Even in elective kingship there are fewer contentions than there are in polyarchy about the election of magistrates; the vices of the future ruler must be precluded by careful education and by invoking the aid of God, with the tell-tale addition: *quantum fieri potest*. But the arguments which favor monarchy are more numerous and weightier. The first of them are derived from scholastic philosophy. He cites the example of *natura*

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<sup>32</sup> Wexionius 1646: Theses 7-9; 1657: pp. 90-99.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., Theses 10-12 and 1657: pp. 99-104.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., Theses 13-14 and 1657: pp. 104-108.

*naturans*: there is only one God, and of *natura naturata*: in macrocosm there is one sun; social animals like bees and sheep have only one leader; in microcosm or the human body the head is superior to the other members. Further, God himself gave his chosen people one judge, leader, and king; in the household there is one leader, *paterfamilias*; the example of almost all the nations points to monarchy; monarchy is more expedient in decision-making, it guarantees unity and hence strength, and it is more durable.

Wexionius does not, for all that, maintain that monarchy would be the most perfect form of government: *verum in hac corrupta natura, ut nullum purum elementum, nullum purum temperamentum, ita nec ulla reip(ublicae) forma pure simplex per omnia laudabilis et permanens inveniri potest*,<sup>35</sup> an assertion which combines the Christian idea of nature corrupted by the Fall with the ancient doctrine of the mixture of the elements. After summing up the pros and cons of the three constitutions, he states that different forms suit different peoples, but concludes:

*Sed palmam omnibus praeripere statum ex omnibus contemperatum (scil., constat); ubi Rex ab insidijs & subditi ab oppressione & violentia sunt tutiores; Dum simul Monarcae majestas, Optimatum auctoritas, & libertas populi asseruntur.*<sup>36</sup>

which clearly echoes the passage in the Introduction to the Constitution of 1634 which I have quoted on p. 55.

Throughout *Politica*, the idea of mixed constitution is patent. Though the monarch possesses the supreme power and can even be considered the Vicar of Christ, he is not above divine and natural law, not even the civil law except in a public emergency. Hence, the king cannot without a lawful cause deprive his subjects of their possessions.<sup>37</sup> Wexionius takes a very cautious stance on one of the most debated questions of contemporary political philosophy, the right to depose a king who had infringed the fundamental laws and become a tyrant.<sup>38</sup> He refers to Althusius and Reinking and

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<sup>35</sup> Wexionius 1657: 108-109, with references to Althusius, loc. cit. (n. 28 above).

<sup>36</sup> Ibid. 110.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. 179.

<sup>38</sup> Wexionius 1657: 160. See Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought 2. The Age of Reformation*, 1978 (1992), 189ff. The right to resist was especially a Calvinist doctrine whereas the Lutherans had originally advocated the idea that a

others, but adds: *caute hic omnino agendum, & defensive, potius quam offensive*. But even in this guarded form, Wexionius's idea about monarchy was far from absolutism.

Wexionius's most famous doctrine was his division of the subjects into *mixti*, who had some share in power, and into *mere subditi*, who had only to obey.<sup>39</sup> The former group comprised nobility, the clergy and the *literati*, the learned class. Besides *subditi mixti*, he also used the term *subditi immediati*: because of their social position, there was no intervening authority between them and the king. *Subditi mediati*, on the other hand, had an *intermedius dominus*, for example the tenant-farmers of noblemen.<sup>40</sup>

In the age of increasing absolutism, Wexionius's doctrine of *subditi mixti* met royal disapproval. Though the stories of the prohibition of the book are untrue,<sup>41</sup> Wexionius's Correspondence with his son Nils shows that King Carolus X was not altogether satisfied with it.<sup>42</sup>

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Considering that mixed constitution was the leading idea of *Politica*, the importance Wexionius attached to the body politic becomes understandable. The interdependence and indispensability of all the parts of the *corpus mysticum* or *politicum*, which did not jeopardize the leading position of the head, were the salient features of the comparison. It accordingly suited the

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tyrant is not to be resisted but to be endured. Later, though, they too took a more radical view on the right to disobey.

<sup>39</sup> Wexionius 1657, 224: *distinctio, nostro statui maxime conveniens, subditorum in Mixtos, qui potestatis alicuius sunt participes, publicum aliquod munus gerentes, et Meros ac privatos, qui semper & tantum parent*. Wexionius had obtained the doctrine from Laurentius Paulinus Gothus, 1565-1640, Professor, Bishop, and Archbishop, to whose *Historia Arctoa* he duly refers on p. 225; cf. Runeby (n. 21) 400. Wexionius, however, made it more widely known, with some unpleasant consequences, for which see below n. 42.

<sup>40</sup> Op. cit. 221.

<sup>41</sup> Samuel J. Alander et Petrus Kindahl, *Historia librorum prohibitorum in Svecia*, diss. Uppsal. 1764, 14-15, referring to A.A. von Stiernman, *Bibliotheca Sviogothica* 2, 559-66.

<sup>42</sup> Wexionius's letter to his son Nils, dated 9.1. 1662, reveals that Per Brahe had secretly divulged to Nils that the king had upbraided the *Politica*, which Count Brahe had then defended, and he asked his son to enquire *quaenam... punta sive momenta* had met with the king's disapproval, unpublished letter at the University Library of Upsala, Nord. Saml. 468 No 55. Unfortunately, the letter Nils sent to his father has vanished.

idea of mixed constitution, in which the harmonious cooperation of all the social orders was essential.

The main features of the comparison were already present in the first edition in 1646. The edition of 1657 added new details, examples, and quotations, greatly expanding the text, which in the former edition comprised only eight pages, and in the latter as many as 28, both in 8vo. Before subjecting Wexionius's idea of the body politic to a detailed analysis, I will tabulate his presentation of it as it is found in the edition of 1657. The organs marked by an asterisk were lacking in the first edition.

### THE BODY POLITIC IN WEXIONIUS-GYLDENSTOLPE

<b>Organ of the body</b>	<b>Equivalent in the state</b>
CAPUT	REX
cerebrum	sapientia, prudentia
*sensus interni:	
*sensus communis	publicorum negotiorum perceptio et observantia
*phantasia	dijudicatio et consultatio
*memoria	acta publica
sensus externi:	
oculus et visus	publicae utilitatis provisio
aures et auditus	clementia et pressis succurrendi promptitudo
nares et odoratus	imminentis periculi observatio et aversio
lingua et gustus	variorum idiomatum peritia et commoditatum exploratio
tactus	libertatis (1646: et honoris) stimuli
COLLUM	mutua benevolentia inter regem et subditos
INTERIORES CAVITATES	
cor: fons vitalium spirituum	justitiae collegium
epur: sanguinis praeparatio	militare collegium

lien: pituita	ammiralitas
pulmones: respiratio	cancellaria
renes: liquores	aerarium
praecordia et diaphragma: sejun- gunt principalia membra a re- liquis	suprema imperii membra, quae ho- noribus et privilegiis distin- guuntur
COSTAE	arces etc. quae regnum firmant
STOMACHUS	aerarium, fiscus
TRIPLEX CONCOCTIO	triplex instantia ( <i>process</i> ) in omni collegio
BRACCHIA, MANUS	mechanici, artifices, milites
*HUMERI, DORSUM	mere subditi, mercenarii, plebs
VIS GENERATIONIS, LUMBUS	oeconomia, conjugium
*UNGUES	chirurgi, tonsores, <i>servants of just- ice</i>
CRURA, PEDES	agricultura, mercatura
OSSA	nobilitas
CARTILAGO	literati
CARO	plebs
NERVI	proemia et poenae, mutuus amor et fides
QUATUOR HUMORES	quatuor ordines: politicus, ecclesi- asticus, militaris, oeconomicus
flava bilis: animosi, insomnes	magistratus
melancholia: cogitabundi, severi	clerici
pituita: tardi, hebetiores	milites gregarii
sanguis: copia excellit	plebs
SPIRITUS VITALES	literae
ANIMA	leges et jura
intellectus	imperium regium
voluntas	mixti subditi
sensitivus appetitus	mere subditi
SCIPIO, FULCRA: ad corpus sta- biliendum	religio et justitia, confoederati, le- gati
MORBI	<i>no details</i>

In the edition of 1646 Wexionius did not cite any authors, but in 1657 he ends his survey of the body politic by remarking that other learned and wise men had made the same comparison. He quotes Plutarch's Epistle to Trajan (see above p. 50) but does not quote the text from John of Salisbury. Instead he borrowed it from Antonio de Guevara's *Horologium principum*, the Latin translation, in 1632, of his Spanish *Relox de principes*, first published in 1529.<sup>43</sup> Although Guevara alleges to quote Plutarch's Epistle, which was only known from John of Salisbury, his description of the body politic is conspicuously unlike John's (see p. 50 above).<sup>44</sup> To make the differences clearer, I will tabulate the structure of the body politic in Guevara

Head = prince, the holder of supreme power

Eyes = the good men whose guidance we follow

Ears = subjects, who do what they have been ordered to

Tongue = the erudite men, from whom we learn the laws and disciplines

Hairs hanging from the head = the oppressed, who implore the king's aid

Hands = the nobles, who defeat the enemy

Feet = the peasants

Bones = the wise men, who bear the burden of the state

Heart = secret counselors

Neck = mutual love between king and subjects, which holds the state together

Soul, and consequently the clerical order, who according to John possess primacy in the state, is lacking. Only head and feet are similar to John's comparison, but the head's or the prince's subservience to God and the Vicar of Christ goes unmentioned. Hairs, bones, and neck were not found in John, and the remaining organs have very different equivalents in the body politic of Guevara.

Guevara, then, considerably altered John's text, no doubt in order to

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<sup>43</sup> Wexionius 1657, 27-28. For Guevara, see Luis Alborg, *Historia de la literatura española* 1, 1972, 726-29. *Relox de principes* has recently been edited by Emilio Blanco, *Escritores franciscanos españoles* 1, 1994. The expanded Latin translation which I have used was done by Johannes Wancrelius, *editio sexta*, Lipsiae 1632.

<sup>44</sup> Lib. I Cap. XXXVI in the Latin translation; Blanco's edition, 281-87.

make it correspond to new social and political realities.<sup>45</sup> In John, Plutarch's comparisons suggest circumstances in the Late Roman Empire whereas in Guevara they reflect conditions in the Early Modern Age. In John, the heart corresponds to the senate, and in Guevara to the secret counselors of the king.<sup>46</sup> Hands, which in John symbolize *officiales* and *milites*, now represent *equites et nobiles* or *cavalleros* in the original Spanish, etc.

Although Wexionius does not expressly say that he had taken Guevara for his model, his dependence upon the Spanish bishop is evident from the fact, too, that most of the other authors he records as making use of the same comparison were borrowed from the marginal notes in the Latin translation of Guevara:<sup>47</sup> Tacitus, ann. 1,12; Chrysostomus, homil. 10; Cassiodorus, epist. 17; Apuleius, apol. 50; John of Salisbury, Polic. 6,10; Aristotle, pol. 3,16. Only the references to Ulpian 1,25ff., Althusius 2,35 and St Paul, Rom. 12,4-5 were not found in the *Horologium*. This work was well-known to Wexionius for also he quoted it in his ethical treatise.<sup>48</sup> Moreover, as elsewhere in contemporary Europe, Guevara was a popular writer in Sweden.<sup>49</sup>

But though Wexionius probably followed Guevara, his body politic was very different and in all likelihood largely his own invention. As I have remarked, his "body" was greatly more detailed. Besides anatomy, he also considered physiology. Above all, his body politic was unmistakably applied to the Swedish constitution and the contemporary Swedish state. His very words in which he apologizes for his bold use of the metaphor by mentioning that others, too, had made use of it, also suggest that he had himself devised the elaborate comparisons.<sup>50</sup>

Because of the detailed description of the anatomy and physiology of the human body, the source he used here is of special interest. At this time, in medicine the Galenic school was paramount. In the analysis of the separate parts of the body I will show that the physiological doctrine he pre-

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Hirzel (n. 7), note, and Blanco 1994, 283, note.

<sup>46</sup> In original Spanish, *los privados*, and in the Latin translation *familiares intimi*.

<sup>47</sup> See n. 43 above.

<sup>48</sup> Kajanto 1990 (n. 17) 42, 43, 105 n. 39.

<sup>49</sup> See Carlo Claveria, "Guevara in Suecia." *Revista de Filología Española* 26, 1942, 22-48 and 28, 1944, 83-84.

<sup>50</sup> Wexionius 1657, 26 *Coronidis loco notetur, alijs quoque viris doctis ac prudentibus hanc imperij cum humani corporis mole collationem etiam olim arrisisse.*



sented was mainly Galenic. The Greek *editio princeps* of Galen had been published in 1525 but was unknown at Turku. A Latin translation which had appeared in 1561-1562 was found there, but it is uncertain whether Wexionius consulted these big volumes for his description of the human body.<sup>51</sup> He may as well have obtained his information from some contemporary textbook. But he does not seem to have gone to great lengths in these studies. As will be shown below, some of the facts about human anatomy and physiology he records were at variance with established Galenic doctrine.

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Although Aristotle had argued that the heart was the seat of the soul, Galen and other authoritative ancient medical writers correctly located the governance of man in the head.<sup>52</sup> Hence it was natural to equate the head with the king. In both his 1646 and 1657 editions Wexionius writes that even as the head is the noblest and highest placed organ, the leader and lodestar of the lower members, in the body politic the king is the highest member and the ruler of the others.<sup>53</sup> The edition of 1646 records as parts of the head the brain and the five senses, but in 1657 the list was expanded by the addition of three internal senses.

The idea of the **internal senses** derived from scholastic philosophy, which had received it from the Arab writers, who in turn were indebted to Aristotle.<sup>54</sup> The internal senses were organic, separate from the immaterial soul, and common to men and animals. Their number and nomenclature

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<sup>51</sup> J. Vallinkoski, *The History of the University Library at Turku 1, 1640-1722*, 1948, 115 mentions that Hippocrates and Paracelsus were among the more than one thousand works donated by Christina Horn, General Torsten Ståhlhandske's widow, as war booty to the University Library in 1646. Vallinkoski does not say whether Galen's Greek or Latin edition was meant, but H.G. Porthan, *Historia bibliothecae regiae academiae aboensis*, 1776, 254 (*Opera omnia* V, 1974, 293) states that Galen was represented in Latin translation.

<sup>52</sup> Galen, *On the Usefulness of the Parts of the Body*. Translated from the Greek with an Introduction and Commentary by Margaret T. May, 1-2, 1968, 62-64.

<sup>53</sup> Wexionius 1646, A2v; 1657 p. 1.

<sup>54</sup> E. Ruth Harvey, *The Inward Wits. Psychological Theory in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. Warburg Institute Surveys 6, 1975; Katharine Park, "The Organic Soul", in: Ch. Schmitt and Quentin Skinner, ed., *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, 1988, 465-71. Aristotle especially dealt with the common sense, see J. van Eijk, *Aristoteles, Parva naturalia*, 1994, 77-80.

varied, but there were usually five of them. *Sensus communis* compares and evaluates the external sense data, *imaginatio* stores them, *phantasia* produces new combinations, *aestimatio* concludes on the basis of sense data what to avoid and what to trust, and *memoria* stores, besides sense data, also the products of phantasy and estimation. But the number could also be reduced to a mere three. Thus Melanchthon, arguing that he was following Galen, listed *sensus communis*, *cogitatio seu comparatio*, and *memoria*. His words, however, suggest that *cogitatio* and *comparatio* corresponded to *aestimatio* in the fuller list.<sup>55</sup>

In Wexionius what he calls *phantasia* clearly agrees with *aestimatio* whereas *imaginatio* and *memoria* had been combined. *Cerebrum* was not included in the internal senses. Its general function consisted in *cogitatio*, which was sometimes counted as an internal sense.<sup>56</sup> I cannot tell from which source Wexionius had taken his classification. With the exception of the different name for *phantasia*, his group coincides with that of Melanchthon, which of course does not prove that he had directly drawn upon the great Wittenbergian.

In the body politic these organs of the head stood for princely or royal virtues. Since antiquity, panegyrists and writers of mirrors for princes had drawn up lists of them.<sup>57</sup> In Ch. 4, On Royal Virtues, Wexionius divides these virtues into general ethical and special royal virtues.<sup>58</sup> The former include *pietas* or inner faith and *religio* or the observance of religious rites; justice; courage; *temperantia*, with Caesar and Augustus as examples; generosity; *mansuetudo*, and love of peace. The author stresses that both the Bible and *sanior philosophia* or the pagan philosophers, such as Aristotle, acknowledged by Christianity, prescribe these virtues. After recording the vices contrary to these virtues he comes to the special royal virtues. The two first of them stress the crucial idea of the duty of the king to look after the

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<sup>55</sup> De anima, in: Corpus Reformatorum 13, 1846, 120.

<sup>56</sup> Harvey (n. 54) 2; Park (ibid.) 466.

<sup>57</sup> The literature on the subject is vast. For antiquity, the best general survey is P. Hadot, "Fürstenspiegel". RLAC 8, 1972, 555-632; for the Middle Ages, W. Berges, Die Fürstenspiegel des hohen und späten Mittelalters, 1938; for the Renaissance, see A.H. Gilbert, Machiavelli's Prince and its Forerunners, 1938, 3-14; Quentin Skinner (n. 38) 1. The Renaissance, 1978 (1990) 125-28. I have discussed princely or royal virtues in my two studies of the panegyrics on Queen Christina, Christina heroína, 1993, and "Queen Christina in Latin Panegyrics". Acta conventus neo-Latini Hafniensis, 1994, 43-59.

<sup>58</sup> Wexionius 1657, 165-76.

welfare of his subjects and to show love and benevolence towards them. The king should not be a tyrant or a despot. Friendliness and affability were related virtues. In the third place Wexionius mentions clemency, which is indeed a royal virtue *par excellence*, but it should be tempered with strict observance of justice. The fourth virtue, *magnificentia*, is cognate with *liberalitas* recorded among the general ethical virtues but suggests generosity on a royal scale. Finally, kings should always keep their word, to evidence *sancta et intemerata fides*.

The virtues listed above were all ethical, either general or peculiar to princes. The Neo-Aristotelian moral philosophy current in the seventeenth century and represented by Wexionius, recognized special intellectual virtues, too, wisdom and prudence. He argues that the king should excel in all branches of learning, even giving practical advice how, and what, a king should learn.<sup>59</sup> For a king, however, prudence is the most imperative virtue.<sup>60</sup>

It was not feasible to make all these virtues correspond to an organ in the head. Most of the comparisons concern practical wisdom. The brain itself, appropriately, represents *sapientia* and *prudentia*. The latter is further specified by stating that it is both personal and *mutuata*, borrowed, and the edition of 1657 clarifies the latter term by mentioning that it is obtained from counselors and faithful advisors.<sup>61</sup>

*Sensus communis*, which in the human body coordinates the different sense data, in the body politic watches the development of the public events, while *phantasia* is occupied in making plans and decisions. *Memoria*, though, does not represent a royal virtue or quality at all. It corresponds to

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid. 173-74. Wexionius, however, qualifies the requirement by saying that the king should not immerse himself in learning, but only to have a taste of it. Lipsius, *Politica*, in *Opera omnia* 4, 1675, Lib. II Cap. XVII, also warns that a king should pursue learning only so far as it is of use to him; learning may even be enervating.

<sup>60</sup> Contemporary political philosophers had made prudence the leading princely virtue. Lipsius (n. 59) Lib. I Cap. VII defines *prudentia* as *virtutis rector* and as *intellectus* and *delectus rerum, quae publice privatimque fugiendae aut appetendae* (scil., *sunt*). Again, Cap. VIII: it is to be acquired from *usus*, experience, and from *memoria*, from reading history, that is, from the experience of others. Lib. II Cap. VII he claims that *prudentia* and *virtus* make a perfect prince. Althusius (n. 27) 397-98 similarly maintains that political prudence is a necessary prerequisite of administration. It consists in understanding and doing what is to be done or omitted, being based upon learning from the past and judicious application of its lessons.

<sup>61</sup> Wexionius 1657, 2; cf. the preceding note.

the public archives, an almost self-evident comparison.

The five **external senses** were found in both editions with only minimal differences, but because of the addition of the internal senses in the new edition there was now some overlapping. The eyes as taking care of general welfare and the sense of smell as foreseeing and preventing imminent dangers, together with the aforementioned duty of the common sense, clearly symbolize the first special duty of a ruler, *sollicita reipublicae cura*. But *phantasia* arguably also belongs to the same group of royal virtues. In sum, to keep a keen eye on public affairs, to look after the welfare and security of the people, and to take judicious action for these ends, were the primary duties of the prince.

Only two other virtues and qualities were left. The sense of hearing is related to the king's mercifulness and readiness to help the oppressed, which is a natural comparison as the king hears complaints and cries for help. The use Wexionius made of the tongue and the sense of taste is somewhat less fortunate. Tongue, the organ of speech, represents one part of the king's intellectual virtues, his knowledge of foreign languages. In 1657, the addition of looking for possible new advantages, which corresponds to the sense of taste, in effect agrees with the function of the eyes in the body politic.

The sense of touch, which is spread throughout the body, symbolizes a political virtue in the whole body politic, freedom, which all the citizens, high and low alike, love and protect. In the edition of 1657, Wexionius further accentuated the importance he laid upon political freedom. Freedom, which primarily means freedom from despotism and tyranny, was one of the crucial ideas of Wexionius's political thought. Naturally enough, he argued that it had been realized in the Swedish state. It is especially in the chapter on *Comitia (riksdag)*, that he praises the benefits of freedom.<sup>62</sup> To be possessed of the right to give advice, to be heard, to vote, was a great proof of freedom. Citing Althusius he contends that the mere possibility of freely giving one's opinion arouses fear in over-ambitious people but makes the people love their king.<sup>63</sup> Although Wexionius was a champion of the nobility and a protégé of the great Count Brahe, he did not show any desire to curtail the traditional freedom of the people

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid. 447, *Sicilimenta* 1: *Magnum est libertatis argumentum, consilia communicare posse, audiri et suffragium habere.*

<sup>63</sup> Loc. cit.: *Libere audiri, potentiam ambientibus timorem, plebi vero amorem erga regem conciliat.*

The **neck** symbolized another pivotal political idea, the mutual benevolence and affection between the king and his subjects, which indissolubly unites and bonds them together. In the Chapter on Royal Virtues (see above p. 65) Wexionius recorded it as a special virtue. That the ruler should make himself beloved of his subjects had been a traditional topos in the mirrors for princes and similar treatises since antiquity.<sup>64</sup>

The **internal organs** represented the five *collegia*, offices or bureaus, which in a centralized state like Sweden controlled the administration of the country. In the 1646 edition, these bodily organs were simply listed: *cor, hepar, lien, pulmones, renes*. In both editions, the general function of these organs consisted in the generation of the vital spirit as well as in digestion and in discharge of excreta. In the 1657 edition, which I will follow here, the functions of the organs were detailed.<sup>65</sup>

The heart was the source of vital spirit or *pneuma*, which ultimately made the body animate. Posterity inherited the doctrine of *pneuma* from Galen, who in turn was heavily indebted to the Alexandrian school of medicine and to Stoicism.<sup>66</sup> Vital spirit was prepared in the heart from a mixture of air and blood. It is thus material, though of very fine texture. Besides vital spirit, there was another variety, animal spirit, of the subtlest kind of matter. In his *De anima*, Melanchthon summarized the doctrine: *spiritus est subtilis vapor ex sanguine coctus virtute cordis*. There were two species of spirit. One was *spiritus vitalis*, which carried vital warmth through the arteries to the other members, the other *spiritus animalis*. It originated from vital spirit carried to the brain, which made it *lucidior* and spread it *velut lumen* through the nervous system to produce sensation and motion.<sup>67</sup> Wexionius does not mention animal spirit at all (see below p. 76). In the present passage, the idea of the physiology of vital spirit was traditional: it imbued the whole body with life.

The **heart**, the source of vital spirit, is likened to *justitiae collegium* or to the Supreme Court, the Court of Appeal (*Svea hovrätt*) in Stockholm. If administration of justice be suspended, only a disfigured corpse is left. Here vital spirit, then, symbolized justice.

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<sup>64</sup> Cf. Lipsius (n. 59) Lib. III Cap. VIII on mutual *benevolentia* between king and subjects and the means whereby it is acquired.

<sup>65</sup> Wexionius 1657, 3-6.

<sup>66</sup> Galen/May (n. 52) 46-48; Harvey (n. 54) 7.

<sup>67</sup> Op. cit. (n. 55) 88.

The political analogies to the other internal organs were based upon more external similarities. The **liver** was from ancient times thought to be the seat of the production of blood.<sup>68</sup> Wexionius accordingly compared to it *militare collegium* or *arméförvaltningen*, which was occupied with the blood of criminals and enemies. In regard to the **spleen** he somewhat deviated from the established Galenic physiology. Galen taught that the spleen attracts and purifies the impurities left in blood prepared in the liver<sup>69</sup> whereas Wexionius states that the spleen *pituitam in corpore attrahit ac ciet*. Now *pituita* is another name for phlegm, one of the four humors.<sup>70</sup> Hence he draws a comparison to *maris pituita et fluctus*, the field of operation of the Admiralty. Next, the **lungs**, which temper the excessive heat of the heart,<sup>71</sup> are compared to the Chancellery (*kansliet*), the leading college, which similarly mitigates excessive severity. This reference to the function of the Chancellery, which in fact was an equivalent of modern Home and Foreign Offices, is not quite appropriate. However, he seems to have meant that the Chancellery should take care of the smooth and equable operating of administration. Finally, the **kidneys**, occupied with the attraction and discharge of fluids,<sup>72</sup> are compared to the Treasury (*kammaren*), which collects the revenues and distributes them duly and justly at the order of the King.

The men in charge of these colleges, members of the high nobility, give secret advice to the king, hidden from public view as if *intra prae-cordia*. Even as the main organs of the body are separated from the other members by the **midriff** and **diaphragm**, these high members of the state are distinguished from the lower ones by honors and privileges, a telling expression of Wexionius's hierarchical social views.

Making the **ribs** analogous to the fortresses and munitions and natural barriers of the state was rather self-evident. But discussing the **stomach** he was inconsistent. Although he had already compared the Treasury to the kidneys, he now compares it to the stomach, which receives necessary vict-

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<sup>68</sup> Galen/May (n. 52) 53-54.

<sup>69</sup> Op. cit., Introduction 54 and text 4,15 (Helmreich's edition I 231-32).

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Melanchthon (n. 55) 81 for this variety of names.

<sup>71</sup> The idea originated from Plato's Timaeus 70d, his one work in natural philosophy, but it was Galen who bequeathed the idea to posterity, May/Galen 390 (Helmreich I 450). Wexionius 1657, 5 *aeremque frigidiorum attrahentes nimium cordis fervorem mitigant atque refrigerant*.

<sup>72</sup> May/Galen (n. 52) 54; Galen, On the Natural Faculties 1,12 and 15.

uals and conveys sustenance to the other members.<sup>73</sup> Wexionius no doubt wanted to include all the parts of the human body in his *corpus politicum*. Hence he had difficulties in finding suitable equivalents for all of them, which then resulted in some overlapping (see pp. 67 and 75).

In the edition of 1646 Wexionius briefly mentions that the three stages of **digestion** correspond to the triple procedure in the colleges. This somewhat obscure statement was greatly expanded in the new edition. Here he drew upon the description of the digestive system in Galenic physiology.<sup>74</sup> According to Galen, food is first elaborated in the stomach into chyle. From there the veins carry chyle to the liver, giving it a preliminary preparation. The liver, finishing the elaboration, turns chyle into blood. Wexionius largely followed this generally accepted explanation of digestion, even using Greek terms, but was not quite accurate, probably because of insufficient study of natural philosophy.<sup>75</sup> The first phase is χύλωσις when the nutriment chewed in the mouth is digested (*coctus*) in the stomach. Χύλωσις literally means "converting into chyle", which, as we have seen, agrees with the Galenic doctrine. The next stage in Wexionius is called χύμωσις. The nutriment digested in the stomach is carried through mesenteric veins to the liver, where it is converted into chyle. But, on one hand, χύλωσις and χύμωσις were synonyms, on the other, standard Galenic physiology placed this phase in the stomach. Wexionius, it is true, adds: "it is also called αἰμάτωσις", that is *sanguificatio* or converting into blood, which is the correct Galenic doctrine. According to Wexionius, the third phase, the final coction or elaboration takes place in the veins, whereas Galen attributes the final purification of blood to the kidneys.<sup>76</sup> Wexionius's description of the system of digestion is, then, somewhat sketchy and inaccurate. But *Politica* was not a work in natural philosophy. His purpose was to find analogical processes in the *corpus politicum*. This he indeed does in regard to all the *collegia* discussed above. Thus, lawsuits are first handled in the Rural District Court (*judex territorialis*, *häradshövding*), then in the Provincial Court (*lagman*), and finally, in important cases, in the Royal Court of Appeal (*hovrätt*). A similar triple procedure was observed in the other colleges, even in the Church, where spiritual matters were first dealt

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<sup>73</sup> Wexionius 1646 A3v; 1657, 6-7.

<sup>74</sup> May/Galen (n. 52) Introduction 53-54 and text 4.1-3 (Helmreich I 195-98).

<sup>75</sup> Wexionius 1657, 7-8.

<sup>76</sup> May/Galen 4,6 (Helmreich I 200-201).

with by *praepositus territorialis* (*prost*), next by Provincial Consistories, and finally, if need be, in the Royal Consistory.

At the end of the passage he returns to the comparison. When all the phases of digestion have been accomplished, healthy blood spreads throughout the body, resulting in a good constitution. Analogously in the state, due observance of correct procedure results in *commodus reip(ublicae) status*. The lesson of the comparison is clear: hierarchical but careful handling of legal and administrative matters is a precondition of a healthy state.

In most of the comparisons so far discussed Wexionius, unless he – which I do not believe – used a source which he does not mention, shows originality. Comparisons to the central colleges were possible only in Sweden. Drawing upon the internal senses was original, too. The author was on a more traditional ground in discussing the political analogies to hands, shoulders, back, and feet. John of Salisbury likened the feet to the peasants, who bear the whole bulk of the body (see p. 50).<sup>77</sup> Guevara gives the same explanation whereas the hands represent for him the nobility, who fight the enemy. Shoulders and the back were not mentioned by John or Guevara. Moreover, the analogical members in the body politic show a greater variety in Wexionius.<sup>78</sup> Thus the **hands** correspond to skilled laborers and artisans, in wartime to the cavalry- and infantrymen and the sailors. Because the **shoulders** and the **back** were suitable for bearing burdens, Wexionius parallels them to *meri subditi*, the *plebs*. He also widened the political analogies of the **feet**. Besides agriculture, they represent commerce, too.<sup>79</sup> The laborers and soldiers no less than farmers and merchants all constitute the common people. I will presently take up Wexionius's attitude to them.

To be as complete as possible, Wexionius includes the **procreative organs**, and in the edition of 1657, even the nails. The former, appropriately, correspond to household and marriage. The **nails**, which man uses to scratch prurient members and to remove pus, sanies and blood, are compared to barber-chirurgians and to people who execute and punish criminals and malefactors, the state's ulcers.

Although Wexionius already referred to a social order, the common people, in dealing with the political analogies to the limbs, it is only in dis-

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<sup>77</sup> In fact, this comparison was already suggested by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, see p. 49 above.

<sup>78</sup> Wexionius 1646 A3v-A4r; 1657, pp. 9-10.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid. A4r and 1657 pp. 11-19.



cussing, in modern terminology, the connective tissues of the body, that he speaks of the whole social structure of the state. At this time, it was composed of four orders: the nobility, the clergy, the bourgeoisie, and the peasantry. Wexionius compared the **bones** to the nobility, the **cartilage**, midway between bones and flesh, to the *literati*, who in the Estates were represented by the clergy, and **flesh** to the common people, the *plebs*.<sup>80</sup> Only the burghers, the representatives of the towns, were missing. **Nervi** meant here sinews, not nerves proper, which were already known to Galen.<sup>81</sup> This does not of course suggest that Wexionius would have been ignorant of the correct meaning of nerves. But because classical Latin, even a medical writer like Celsus, used *nervus* for sinews, this usage survived in post-classical Latin.<sup>82</sup> In the body politic, *nervi* or sinews did not represent a social group at all. They symbolized the material and non-material factors, rewards to the good, punishments to the wicked, as well as mutual affection and trust between the high and the low, the nobility and the people, which firmly bound the members of the body politic together. For all that, because Wexionius aimed at completeness in the description of the human body, the absence of *nervi* in the established Galenic sense is somewhat unexpected.

Comparing the nobility to the bones which hold the body together was not found in John of Salisbury. In Guevara the bones represented the wise men who support the burden of the state. The comparison did not, however, originate with Wexionius. In the edition of 1657 he has a long quotation from Giovanni Botero, an Italian political philosopher, who in praising the nobility parallels them to the skeleton, upon which the whole political system rests.<sup>83</sup> The brief reference in 1646 was otherwise, too greatly expanded. He cites Swedish history to prove the importance of the nobility. Foreign rulers, Albert of Mecklenburg and Eric of Pomerania as well as Christian II surnamed Tyrant, harassed and tried to annihilate the Swedish nobility whereas the good kings and true *patres patriae* enlarged, favored and strengthened it. The heroes of the nobility had often saved the mother-

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid. A4r and 1657, pp. 12-19.

<sup>81</sup> May/Galen (n. 52) 61-62.

<sup>82</sup> *Nervus* was in fact never used in the sense of "nerve" in Roman literature, see TLL, ad loc.

<sup>83</sup> As a rule, Wexionius drew upon the Latin translations of works originally published in a modern language. Botero's *Della ragion di stato* was first published in Venice in 1589. The quotation was taken from Lib. IV Cap. III of the Latin translation.

land from oppressive servitude. He also mentions the wise governance of the high nobility during Christina's minority.

The opposite to the nobility was the common people. In Greek as well in Roman literature, the common people, οἱ πολλοί, *multitudo*, *vulgus*, were almost as a rule considered stupid, fickle, and irresponsible.<sup>84</sup> The humanists from Petrarch on and later the political philosophers like Lipsius and Althusius inherited, and mainly shared, these disparaging ideas. The only noteworthy exception to this low opinion of the qualities of the people was Machiavelli. Wexionius naturally followed this common opinion. After praising the solid strength of the nobility, he remarks: *Vulgi namque ingenium, in quosvis affectus pronum esse, plus satis notum*. In Chapter 10, on *Mere Subditi*, he lists no less than 16 negative features of the *vulgus*.<sup>85</sup>

Like flesh, the people are the most copious part of the body politic, and like it, they are soft, *ad quemvis ventum mobilior*. The people are the more useful the more readily they yield to the will of the authorities. But if they be obstinate and inflexible, like hard flesh they will be subjected to pressures, an assertion supported with the example of the Jewish people, who suffered God's punishment for their obstinacy.

Wexionius admits that he may have expatiated upon the idea of the common people more than it was his intention. But he claims that the discussion can be useful to the academic youth, even to the students of theology, that is, future clergymen. His attachment to the hierarchical view on society and his pro-nobility sentiment are here explicit. When the students enter upon their office, they should remind every one of his duties. They should not unwisely think that because the populace (*plebecula*) maintains them, they should defend and protect them and their freedom. This is mere stupidity. They do not understand what are each social order's nature and du-

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<sup>84</sup> See my "Vulgus instabile et imperitum. A Study of the Survival of an Attitude", *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* (forthcoming).

<sup>85</sup> Wexionius 1657, 350-51: *Vulgus is verbis ferox, inconstans, stupidum, credulum, publica negligens privatis inhians, suspicax, invidum, leve, lucri avidum, superstitiosum, praesentia fastidians, secundis rebus insolens, ad plures inclinans, rerum novarum cupidum, sine duce nil audet, ludicris delectatur*. Although this list of reprehensible qualities clearly proceeded from Lipsius and ultimately from Roman authors like Cicero and Tacitus (see my work, n. 84), Wexionius asserts that *experientia* shows these and similar vices to be characteristic of *imperitum vulgus* and *plebecula*. The common people are not credited with a single positive feature. However, as will be shown in the main text, in the contexts in which he was not hamstrung by this classical and humanist prejudice, his idea of the people was much more favorable.

ties, thereby thrusting themselves and their audience into utter ruin and permanent servitude.<sup>86</sup>

The hierarchical structure of society was a God-given reality, and trying to subvert or merely to weaken it unacceptable. It will be noticed that since 1646, Wexionius's pro-aristocracy stance had been strengthened, no doubt because of the fact that in 1650 he had been raised to the nobility himself. In the Session of the Estates in the same year Wexionius, originally a member of the Clergy, contrary to the position of his colleagues expressed views in favor of the nobility.<sup>87</sup>

It is, however, erroneous to think of Wexionius as an advocate of the oppression of the people. Even as flesh makes the body more beautiful, the great number of the people gives the state beauty and power.<sup>88</sup> The fourth estate, peasantry, also had a right to have a say in the running of the state's affairs by participating in the Estates (see p. 67). The very idea of the body politic suggested a harmonious view of political society, in which every single part was an equally important and indispensable constituent. The bones may have held the body together, but without flesh it was shrivelled and lean.

Wexionius's attitude to the common people, who at this time mainly consisted of peasants, was indeed somewhat contradictory. Although he, like most contemporary authors, repeated the traditional depreciation of the *vulgus*, hallowed by its classical origins, in his Epitome or Brief Description of Sweden and Finland, praising the valor of the Northerners, he made no distinction between the nobles and the people.<sup>89</sup> More than that, in another passage he maintains that any man *ex populo et infima plebe* had a right *per virtutis viam* to rise to the pinnacles of society, to be made bishops, mayors, etc. Here he also extols the traditional freedom of the Swedish freeholder.<sup>90</sup>

As I have already remarked (p. 58), like Althusius and Jonas Magni, Wexionius equated the "temperament" of the **four humors** to a mixed constitution. But he also related them to another system of social stratification,

<sup>86</sup> Wexionius 1657, 18-19.

<sup>87</sup> Runeby (n. 21) 397-98.

<sup>88</sup> Wexionius 1657, 19 *Sicuti caro corporis speciem exornat, pulchrioremque reddit... ita quoque subditorum multiplicatio, imperium pulchrum ac vegetum... efficit.*

<sup>89</sup> Epitome 1650, Lib. IV Cap. V.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., Lib. VIII Cap. I *Rusticus enim nobis non servilem, ut alijs, notat hominem, sed... ingenuum patriotam fundum et bona in regno immobilia possidens.*

division into orders in accordance with social function, *status politicus* or *regementståndet*, *ecclesiasticus* or *läroståndet*, *militaris* or *wärjeståndet*, and *oeconomicus* or *näreståndet*. Except for the military order,<sup>91</sup> these groups coincide with the Estates, only the two lowest, Bourgeoisie and Peasantry, were here united into a single one, into the order which provides for the maintainance of the whole kingdom.

The doctrine of the four humors and their proper mixture or temperament as the basis of good health constituted a basic principle in Galenic medicine, and indeed survived until the birth of modern medicine.<sup>92</sup> Besides physical, the humors had psychic effects as well, each humor being made responsible for a trait or type of character. Aristotle's discussion of melancholic people, who are outstanding in philosophy, statemanship, poetry, and the arts, is well-known.<sup>93</sup> Wexionius drew upon these psychic effects to characterize the salient features of the above-mentioned orders. The only exception is blood. Thus, *flava bilis*, which generates anger and makes people courageous and sleepless, befits the ruler, who must be possessed of *magnitudo animi* and anger to punish wrongdoers and who passes sleepless nights in looking after the security of his subjects. Black bile or *melancholia* produces thoughtful, intelligent, and earnest people, such as the clerical order, who must be distinguished by good intellect and a good behaviour. Phlegm or *pituita* produces slow and dull people. Wexionius argues, apologetically, that the majority of the common soldiers are like that. Blood was the most copious of the humors. Wexionius had obvious difficulties in finding a suitable equivalent to it in the body politic. He writes that because in

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<sup>91</sup> Wexionius 1646, A4v; 1657, pp. 20-23. He excuses the inclusion of the military order by its importance in the Swedish state.

<sup>92</sup> Hippocrates, *The Nature of Man* 4, already gave the basic principles of the physical doctrine of the four humors. That the theory constituted the central element of Galenic physiology is well-known, see May/Galen (n. 52) 44-45; Harvey (n. 54) 4.

<sup>93</sup> Aristotle, *Problems* 30,1; cf. H. Flashar, ed. *Aristoteles, Problemata physica*, 1962, 711ff. for interpretation. Cicero, *Tusc.* 1,80 repeats the argument: *Aristoteles quidem ait omnis ingeniosos melancholicos esse*. In the Renaissance, especially because of its association with astrology, the four-humor doctrine came to exert enormous influence in arts and sciences. Melanchthon (n. 55) 79-87 gives a lucid overview of the prevalent ideas of the humors. They sprang from the four basic substances, fire, earth, water, and air, contained in the blood generated in the liver. Melanchthon surveys the physiological properties of the different humors as well as their psychological effects. The excess of any humor in the *crasis* or *temperamentum* produces the types of character known as choleric, melancholic, and phlegmatic, though he did not use these terms here.

this passage something should correspond to each humor, we may compare blood to the *plebs*, which excels by its quantity. He was indeed aware of the fact that some of his comparisons were rather forced.<sup>94</sup>

Finally, Wexionius comes to the constituent which makes the body a living organism, *vitalis spiritus*, and to the immaterial soul, *anima*, which distinguishes man from animals.<sup>95</sup> He had, however, already dealt with vital spirit which, originating in the heart, symbolized the administration of justice (see p. 68). The fact that he once again, and now from a different angle, utilizes vital spirit for a comparison, suggests that he had given insufficient care to the composition of the Introduction. But there is another possibility. It may be that what he in this passage really means was not vital but animal spirit (see p. 68). The interpretation which he gives to spirit in this passage suggests this alternative.

In both the 1646 and 1657 editions, *spiritus vitalis* is equated with *literae*, literary culture or learning. Stressing the pivotal significance of learning as a vital principle of society was an arch-humanist idea. In 1646, Wexionius did not pursue the idea further, but in 1657 he expanded it by a quotation from Seneca, which, though, instead of clarifying only obscures the meaning. In de clem. 1,4,1 Seneca, quoting the already familiar image of the body politic, compares the ruler to the mind, *animus*, and also to *spiritus vitalis*, thus: *Ille* (scil., the ruler) *est enim vinculum, per quod res publica cohaeret, ille spiritus vitalis, quem haec tot milia trahunt, nihil ipsa per se futura nisi onus et praeda, si mens ille imperii* (scil., the ruler) *subtrahatur*. With one minor difference, Wexionius's quotation is correct. By including the word *politia*, in brackets, after *ipsa per se* he intimates that it is the state which will suffer if *mens imperii* is withdrawn, but in his presentation *mens imperii*, the same as *spiritus vitalis*, instead of to the ruler, now refers to learning. The original meaning in Seneca was thus totally altered. It may be that Wexionius had taken the quotation second-hand, otherwise it is difficult to understand how he could thus ignore the real significance of Seneca's comparison.

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<sup>94</sup> Wexionius 1657, 23 *Similitudo enim ultra comparationis tertium non extendenda, cum omnis similitudo claudicet. Adeoque quodvis simile, etiam sit dissimile.*

<sup>95</sup> Wexionius 1646 A4r-A5r; 1657 pp. 23-24. The doctrine of *anima* was equally traditional as that of vital spirit, originating from Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy, see May/Galen (n. 52) 45. Melanchthon (n. 55) 139 argues that man has immaterial *anima*, which the beasts do not have. It possesses two faculties, *intellectus* and *voluntas*.

Wexionius explains *anima* to stand for *leges et jura*, lawful order. In the edition of 1646, this is clarified by stating that it means the just and equitable interchange of command and obedience, which of course alludes to social hierarchy. In both editions, by drawing upon the traditional concept of the mind, he parallels reason (*intellectus*) to royal power, which rules according to the laws; will (*voluntas*) to mixed subjects, who obey the right reason or the king; sensual appetite (*sensitivus appetitus*) to *mere subditi*, who are content with obeying the royal decrees passed on to them through the mixed subjects. This comparison is very likely attributable to Wexionius, for the division of political community into *subditi mixti* and *mere subditi* was peculiar to his political thought (see p. 59).

The most infelicitous of Wexionius's comparisons was that between the staffs, which a man needs to walk steadily and to avoid stumbling, and religion and justice, which make the state firm and stable. In Christian times, religion and justice were indeed the two essential virtues which a healthy state requires.<sup>96</sup> But the image of a staff inevitably suggested the idea of an old and decrepit state. In the edition of 1646, he did not refer to this, but in the new edition he, apologetically, remarks that "our great and very old body of the empire" is on both sides supported by *religio* and *justitia*. But he still avoided any suggestion of decrepitude. Probably because the Introduction was meant to serve as a kind of summary of the contents of *Politica*, Wexionius uses still one more comparison which goes beyond the human body proper: Even as a man needs friends and interpreters, the state needs allies and envoys, discussed in Chapters 15-16.

Most of the comparisons so far dealt with were unknown in classical literature, in which usually only the head and the body were referred to, as well as in John of Salisbury and Guevara. But comparing the various disorders and afflictions which can befall a state to **illnesses** in the human body was a classical topos.<sup>97</sup> Cicero stigmatized Catilina's intrigues as a *morbis* hidden in the veins and intestines of Rome.<sup>98</sup> Pliny the Younger argued that an illness in the head of the body as well as of a state was the most serious

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<sup>96</sup> *Iustitia*, however, is here a wide concept, universal justice, the necessary prerequisite of civil society. Cf. Melanchthon, *Philosophiae moralis epitome*, in: *Werke* 3, 1961, 200 *haec* (scil., justice) *gubernat ceteras virtutes et praecipuum vinculum est societatis civilis*.

<sup>97</sup> For passages in Greek literature, see Momigliano (n. 1).

<sup>98</sup> In *Catilinam* 1,31.

of all.<sup>99</sup> In later times, especially in political writings in the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries, the metaphor was common: "The state, or 'body politic' is described as being subject to 'illness', so that the ruler or minister has to be able to interpret pathological symptoms".<sup>100</sup> Many of the writers of the tracts or treatises in which the simile occurred were themselves physicians.

In the Introduction, Wexionius deals with the *morbi* of *Imperij corpus*, asserting that although afflictions in any member may be destabilizing, those in the head are especially dangerous (cf. Pliny above).<sup>101</sup> But the most serious affliction ensued if the nerves which join the head to the lower members and the latter to each other were weakened, injured or broken, or if either or both of the pillars which support the bulk of the body were shaken or overturned. The moral of the comparison is clear: *nervi* symbolized the mutual trust and affection between the ruler and the ruled as well as between the high and low orders, while the pillars or staffs represented religion and justice. Thus, these immaterial factors or virtues, in the last resort, held a state together.

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In the last chapter of *Politica*, Wexionius applied to Sweden both the ancient idea of the history of a state as the biological process of growth and decay, and that of political troubles as an illness cured by a good physician or statesman.

The Swedish state had experienced six ages: *infantia*, 300 years, from Magog to the Judges;<sup>102</sup> *pueritia*, 410 years, when wickedness and ignorance were growing and idolatry replaced true religion; *adolescencia*, 330 years, the age of the first Gothic exploits; *iuvenile robur*, 1098 years, to the birth of Christ, the age of the wars against the Danes, Russians, Estonians, etc.; *virilis aetas*, to A.D. 980, when the royal abode was established at Uppsala and the kingdom strengthened and enlarged; *senescens aetas*, which

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<sup>99</sup> Epist. 4,22,7; cf. p. 50 above.

<sup>100</sup> Peter Burke, in: Burns (n. 15) 482.

<sup>101</sup> Wexionius 1646, A5r-v; 1657, pp. 25-26: almost identical.

<sup>102</sup> Wexionius naturally followed the common idea of the Biblical origin and prehistory of the Swedish people, which Johannes Magnus had canonized in his *Gothorum Sveonumque historia*, Basiliae 1583. Magog, the son of Japheth and grandson of Noah, was the ancestor and first king of the Swedes.

usually makes people wiser, in Sweden meant the acceptance of the venerable wisdom of Christian religion.

It should be noted that Wexionius did not follow the cyclic view of classical philosophy towards history, according to which old age was attended by decay and followed by death, after which a rebirth and a new cycle took place.<sup>103</sup> In Christian thought, the course of history was not cyclic but linear, striving towards the Second Coming of Christ and the end of secular history. The best-known and most eloquent exponent of this philosophy was St. Augustine.<sup>104</sup> He divided human history into six periods in analogy to the six days of Creation.<sup>105</sup> The sixth period, which began with Christ's work of Redemption, inaugurated *senectus*, but that meant *senectus veteris hominis* and the birth of *homo novus*. History ended on the seventh day, the day of rest. Wexionius's periodization observes this traditional schema of world history. For him, *senectus* represented the age when true religion finally triumphed. But until victory was secured, the state had to undergo perilous times, which he compares to illnesses. By them he means the troubles at the end of the Middle Ages and the period of Danish rule. Finally, when the state seemed to be in the throes of death, a true doctor appeared, Gustavus Wasa, who revived the state *praesentissima exhibens pharmaca, optimisque vulnera emplastris religens*, that is, hereditary monarchy and the Reformation.<sup>106</sup>

The end of the chapter blends classical and Christian ideas and symbols:

*Sic namque, deposita quasi senectute, ad instar aquilae rejuvenescit, accrescit. Tu o Deus omnipotens in ultima hac aetate, quae et mundi postrema, gressus ac bracchia sublevare ne desistas!*

Putting away old age and being reborn like a phoenix<sup>107</sup> suggests the cyclic

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<sup>103</sup> Posterity learnt these ideas especially from Polybius's sixth book, see p. 50 above.

<sup>104</sup> Theodor E. Mommsen, "St Augustine and the Christian Idea of Progress". *Journal of the History of Ideas* 1951, 346-74.

<sup>105</sup> Augustinus, *De genesi contra Manichaeos*. *Patrologia Latina* 34, 190-93. For other passages, see R.A. Markus in A.H. Armstrong, ed. *The Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy*, 1967 (1970) 406-407.

<sup>106</sup> Wexionius 1646, B2r-B3v; 1657, pp. 545-49: practically identical.

<sup>107</sup> *Aquila* must here mean the fabulous bird phoenix, for which and the legends connected with it, see my *Christina heroina*, 1993, 52-53.



view of the ancient philosophy while the last sentence, describing the present age as the world's last, was truly Christian.

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## EARLY ROMAN TRADE WITH SOUTH INDIA <sup>1</sup>

KLAUS KARTTUNEN

The study of commercial relations between India and the ancient West has advanced enormously in recent years. While the classical standard works<sup>2</sup> heavily relied on (Western) textual evidence, the focus is now mainly on other kinds of evidence, viz. archaeology and numismatics. Among other things, this has brought about a situation where we can no longer simply speak of Indo-Roman trade referring principally to ships sailing from Roman Egypt to Indian ports. No, Indians themselves as well as Arabians had an important rôle to play, and now it also seems that the one-sided account in the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (PME) did not give full recognition to the importance of the Gulf route.

Though early studies mainly relied on textual evidence, numismatics – evidence provided by the Roman coins found in India and Sri Lanka – has contributed its share since the late 18th century and is now among the most important tools used in studying early international trade.<sup>3</sup> The rôle of

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<sup>1</sup> This is a review article of R. Nagaswamy, *Roman Karur*. Brahad Prakashan, Madras 1995. Two further recent books will be often mentioned, viz. Vimala Begley & Richard Daniel De Puma (eds.) *Rome and India. The Ancient Sea Trade*. The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison 1991, and Marie-Françoise Boussac & Jean-François Salles, *Athens, Aden, Arikamedu. Essays on the interrelations between India, Arabia and the Eastern Mediterranean*. Manohar Publishers, New Delhi 1995. The last is actually a new edition (with new Preface, new paging and French contributions translated into English) of the thematic “dossier” *Topoi* 3:2, Lyon 1993, 387-623. In this article, these three are referred to with the abbreviations RK, RIAST, and AAA. My thanks are due to M. Cox, Lic.Theol., who has checked my English.

<sup>2</sup> Such as M. A. Charlesworth, *Trade-routes and commerce of the Roman empire*. Cambridge 1924; M. Hvostov, *Izsledovanija po istorii obmena v èpohu èllinisti českih monarhij i Rimskoj imperii, I. Istorija vostočnoj trgovli greko-rimskago Egipta (332 g. do R.H. – 284 g. po R.H.)*. Kazan 1907; and especially E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*. Cambridge 1928.

<sup>3</sup> The first small note about Roman coins in India, a letter by Alexander Davidson in 1788, was published in *Asiatick Researches* 2 in Calcutta. The Roman coin finds from

archaeology has been more subordinate, and it really started only with the classical excavations at Arikamedu (Virapatnam) undertaken by Wheeler and Casal.<sup>4</sup> Now evidence can be adduced from all regions participating in this ancient trade, from Italy, Egypt, Arabia and the Gulf, from India, and Sri Lanka,<sup>5</sup> but still its volume is meagre in comparison to that of the thousands of Roman coins found in South Asia. Further evidence is also coming to light from such fields as epigraphy (classical and Indian),<sup>6</sup> papyrology<sup>7</sup> and Indian philology.<sup>8</sup>

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India have recently been studied by Paula J. Turner, *Roman Coins from India*. Royal Numismatic Society, Special Publication No. 22; Institute of Archaeology, Occasional Publication No. 12. London 1989 (with references to earlier works); the recent book by R. Krishnamurti, *Late Roman Copper Coins from South India. Karur and Madurai*. Madras 1994, I have not yet seen (see RK 26f.). For Sri Lankan finds e.g. Reinhold Walburg's dissertation, *Antike Münzen aus Ceylon. Die Bedeutung römischer Münzen und ihrer Nachahmungen für den Geldumlauf auf Ceylon*. Münster (Westf.) 1980, and Osmund Bopearachchi's recent summary, "La circulation des monnaies d'origine étrangère dans l'antique Sri Lanka", in R. Gyselen (ed.), *Circulation des monnaies, des marchandises et des biens*. Res Orientales 5. Bures-sur-Yvette 1993, 63–87 can be consulted.

<sup>4</sup> After some preliminary work by Jouveau-Dubreuil and others during the Second World War. See R. E. M. Wheeler & A. Ghosh & Krishna Deva, "Arikamedu: an Indo-Roman Trading-station on the East Coast of India", *Ancient India* 2, 1946, 17–124, and J. M. & G. Casal, *Fouilles de Virapatnam-Arikamedu: rapport de l'Inde et de l'occident aux environs de l'ère chrétienne*. Paris 1949.

<sup>5</sup> On Egypt, see S. E. Sidebotham in *RIAST* 12ff., on the Gulf J.-F. Salles in *AAA* 115ff. on India many contributions in the *RIAST*, on Sri Lanka John Carswell in *RIAST* 197ff. and O. Bopearachchi's forthcoming survey in *South Asian Archaeology* 1995, to mention just a few recent sources.

<sup>6</sup> Only a few classical inscriptions (and these mainly in Egypt) contribute to the history of Eastern trade. See e.g. Sidebotham in *RIAST* 12ff. The evidence provided by the Greek inscriptions of the East and by the South Asian inscriptions dealing with Greeks has been summarized by myself in two articles, "Easternmost Greek Epigraphy", Adalbert J. Gail & Gerd J. R. Mevissen (eds.), *South Asian Archaeology* 1991, Stuttgart 1993, 493–500, and "Yonas, Yavanas, and related matter in Indian Epigraphy", A. Parpola & P. Koskikallio (eds.), *South Asian Archaeology* 1993. *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae B:271*. Helsinki 1994, 329–336. On the few Indian inscriptions from Egypt see R. Salomon, "Epigraphic Remains of Indian Traders in Egypt", *JAOS* 111, 1991, 731–736, with addenda in *JAOS* 113, 1993, 593.

<sup>7</sup> See e.g. Otto Stein, "Indien in den griechischen Papyri", *Indologica Pragensia* 1, 1929, 34–57 (repr. in Stein, *Kleine Schriften*. Hrsg. von F. Wilhelm, *Glasesnapp-Stiftung* 25, Stuttgart 1985, 163–186), and for the most important recent find H. Harrauer & P. Sijpesteijn, "Ein neues Dokument zu Roms Indienhandel, P. Vindob. G 40822", *Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-hist. Klasse* 122, 1985, 124–155.

If there has been a need to revise the commercial history in its Western end and add South Arabia (with the Nabataeans), the Gulf (with Palmyra) and – in the late period – Ethiopia (Axum) beside Egypt, it is also important to note that the South Asian end, too, should never be considered as a uniform whole. This already comes out from a careful reading of the PME, and is fully confirmed by archaeology and especially by numismatics.<sup>9</sup> In the first-century trade described in the PME we can thus distinguish between at least four different spheres of trade with the main marts of Barbarice (for the Indus country and Kushan empire), Barygaza (for North India), Suppara (for Maharashtra) and Muziris (for the South). To these, of course, can be added other names of ports, but the spheres themselves stand. In the second century, new markets on the east coast were added and Western ships seem to have ventured at least as far as Bengal.

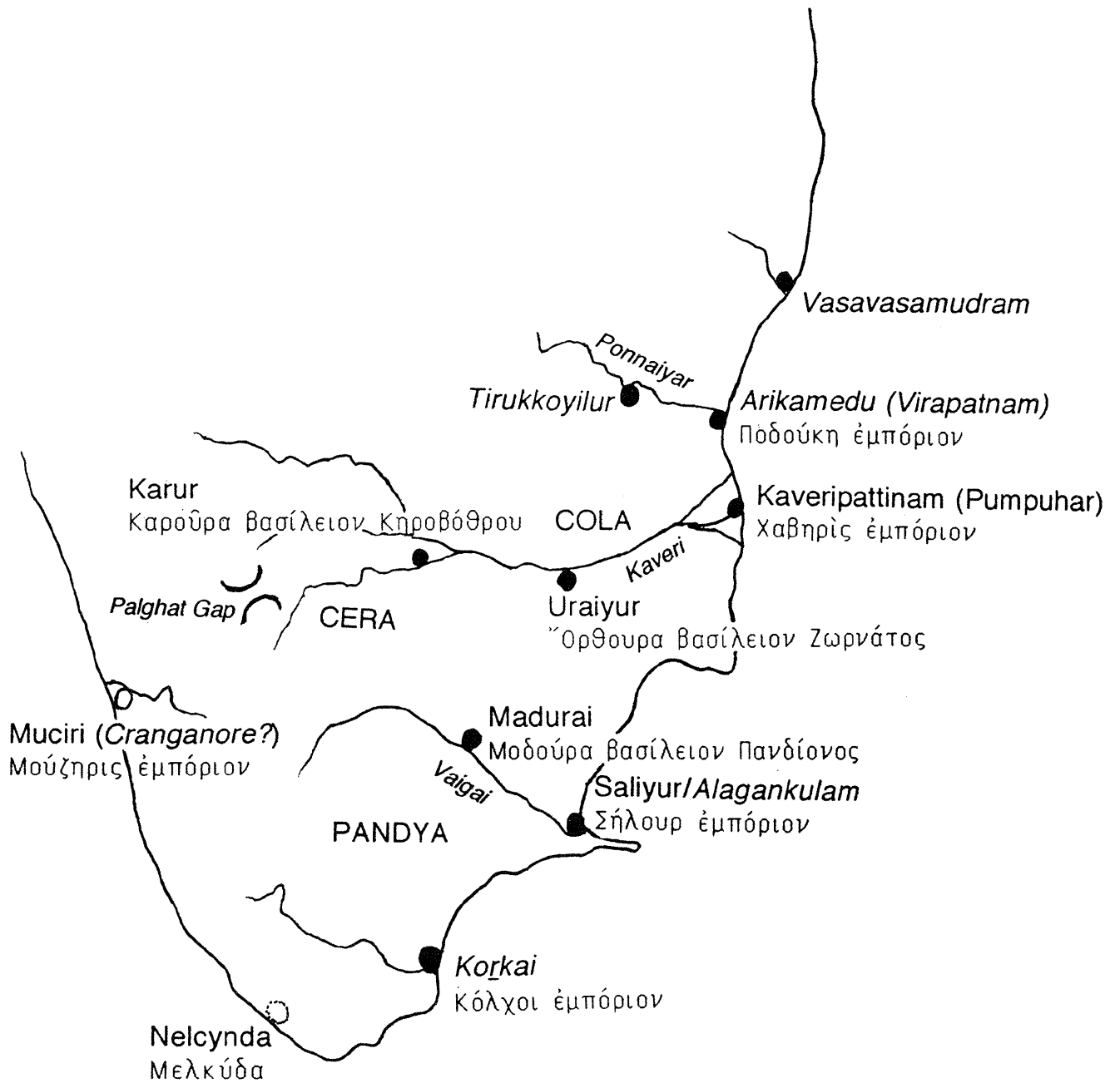
In this article, however, we shall concentrate on South India. In his recent book the former Director of Archaeology of Tamil Nadu, Dr. R. Nagaswamy, discusses under the challenging title *Roman Karur* the numismatic and archaeological material from Karur and other South Indian sites. As the book, published by a small publishing house in Madras, is not likely to attract attention among classical scholars, an attempt briefly to present and evaluate its contribution to the history of Western trade in South India is given in these pages.

Karur (*Karuvūr*), a small town in the Trichy (Tiruccirappalli) district in the middle of Southern Tamil Nadu, can boast of a glorious past. In the early centuries A.D. it was the capital of one of the three classical Tamil kingdoms, the Cera. It is situated rather close to the other two capitals, Uraiyur of the Coḷas and Madurai of the Pāṇdyas (see map). None of the three, as inland towns, is mentioned in the PME, but Ptolemy knew them all, as Καροῦρα βασίλειον Κηροβόθρου (7,1,86), Μοδούρα βασίλειον Πανδίου (7,1,89), and Ὀρθουρα βασίλειον Σωρνάτος (7,1,91). All three

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<sup>8</sup> The references in classical Tamil literature have been collected by Pierre Meile ("Les yavanas dans l'Inde tamoule", JA 232, 1940 = Mélanges Asiatiques 1940–1941, 85–123) and Kamil Zvelebil ("The Yavanas in Old Tamil Literature", *Charisteria Orientalia praecipue ad Persiam pertinentes ... Ioanni Rypka sacrum*, Praha 1956, 401–409), now also in RK 96ff. For Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit sources Sylvain Lévi's old dissertation *Quid de Graecis veterum Indorum monumenta tradiderint*. Paris 1890, is still indispensable, though badly antiquated. The present writer is preparing a new study of them.

<sup>9</sup> See also S. B. Deo in RIAST 39ff.



are often mentioned in Old Tamil Sangam (*Cankam*) poetry.

Tamil *Cēram* is given in Aśokan inscriptions as *Keralaput(r)a*, which is easily connected with Ptolemy's Κηροβόθρος and Pliny's (6,26,104) *Caelobothras*.<sup>10</sup> As the Ceras have since antiquity been connected with Kerala, on the west coast,<sup>11</sup> the location of their capital in Tamil Nadu has sometimes been questioned, despite its name being well attested in Sangam poetry, but the evidence given by Nagaswamy seems to settle the matter.<sup>12</sup>

A closer look at the map shows that the location of Karur actually fits in very well with a Ceran expansion to Kerala. Even in Tamil Nadu, the Ceras were the westernmost of the Tamil kingdoms, and Karur as their capital is situated on the main route, in fact the only important one connecting Kerala and Tamil Nadu through the Palghat Gap between the Nilgiri and Annamalai Mountains. Its importance was further enhanced by the neighbouring rich beryl mines, already exploited in antiquity. In the west, the route probably ended at Muziris, the great western mart of the Ceras. As Muziris (and Tyndis) are known as Cera ports in classical literature as well as in Sangam poetry, the Central Kerala must have already belonged to them in the early centuries A.D., but the capital was still in the east. Only when Karur was conquered by the Pallavas was the Ceran focus definitely shifted to Kerala.

All three Tamil capitals were inland towns, but each had one or several marts on the coast. For Uraiyur, the main port was Kaveripattinam, also called Pumpuhar, on the Kaveri Delta, Χαβηρίς ἐμπόριον of Ptolemy (7, 1, 13). For Madurai, a direct river connection along the Vaigai led to Saliyur (modern Alagankulam), Σήλουρ ἐμπόριον Βάτων of Ptolemy (7, 1, 11) near Rameswaram, but in the first century its most important mart for Western trade seems to have been Nelcynda in Southern Kerala.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Cf. Pāṭaliputra : Παλιβόθρα and the note ad l. in J. André & Jean Filliozat, Pline l'Ancien. Histoire Naturelle. Livre VI, 2<sup>e</sup> partie. Texte établi, traduit et commenté. Paris 1980.

<sup>11</sup> Their famous emporium, Muciri of the Sangam poetry, Μούζιρις of the PME (53f.), Muziris of Pliny (6, 24, 104) and Μούζηρις ἐμπόριον of Ptolemy (7, 1, 8) is situated on the west coast, probably somewhere in the neighbourhood of present-day Cranganore.

<sup>12</sup> In addition to the first inscribed coins of the Cera kings (RK 9ff.) he mentions thousands of non-inscribed copper coins provided with the Cera emblem of the bow and arrow and a few Cera inscriptions found in the neighbourhood of Karur. From later material he can also show that the name Karur has been continuously attached to this same town.

<sup>13</sup> Νελκύνδα in PME 55, Μελκύδα in Ptolemy 7, 1, 9, *gens Nelcyndon* in Pliny 6, 24,

It has been often pointed out that the PME is detailed until the southern end of India, but gives only cursory, often second-hand information about the east coast. The navigation account of Pliny (6, 26, 103-105) also ends with *regnum Pandionis*, the Pāṇḍya country. This fits in well with the numismatic evidence. It has been repeatedly pointed out<sup>14</sup> that most of the first-century A.D. coins have been found in Kerala, in the region around the Palghat Gap and in the interior of Tamil Nadu (Karur!), but very few on the east coast. In the second century A.D. the situation completely changed. Ptolemy has a great deal of details to give concerning the east coast and the greatest concentration of Roman coins is found around the Krishna river in Andhra Pradesh. In addition, first-century Roman coins seem to be rare in Sri Lanka, where late bronze coins have been found in great numbers. The logical conclusion is, of course, that in the first century direct trade with the West was mainly restricted to Keralan marts, visited by Roman and other merchant ships, and that further to the east trade was mainly carried by land through the Palghat Gap.

The archaeological evidence seems to be somewhat incongruent with this. The most famous case is of course the Arretine Ware or terra sigillata of Arikamedu, on the east coast near Pondichery. The site has been identified as Poduce, known not only to Ptolemy (7,1,14 Ποδούκη ἐμπόριον) but also in the PME (60 Ποδούκη). In addition to the terra sigillata, certainly datable to the early first century A.D., Arikamedu has yielded e.g. Roman amphorae and much glass. The amphoras, too, show many first-century types, and not only wine, but also *garum* and olive oil containers.<sup>15</sup> While both Western and Tamil sources confirm that wine was commonly imported in South India, it has been suggested (e.g. by Will) that *garum* and oil must have been provided for Roman merchants living in the town. The absence of coins is perhaps not so serious, as most finds of Roman coins in India come from hoards, and hardly ever from excavations.

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<sup>14</sup> See e.g. Turner, o. c. 5ff.

<sup>15</sup> All these received a special discussion in the RIAST, see 134ff. H. Comfort on Arretine Ware, 151ff. E. L. Will on amphoras and 113ff. E. M. Stern on glass. See further A. Tchernia's review of the RIAST in AAA 147ff. The question of the so-called Rouletted Ware, often connected with Western trade, is less important here. It seems to be commonly accepted that at least part of it was actually manufactured in India (and by Indians) and even if the original inspiration was brought from the West, its presence at a particular site does not indicate direct trade relations. See V. Begley in RIAST 176ff., Tchernia in AAA 151f. and Nagaswamy in RK 77f.

It is not surprising that Wheeler called the place an Indo-Roman trading-station.

There is no doubt of the fact that Arikamedu must have been an important place. Trade between South and North India was important, too, and even the east coast is not completely unknown in the first-century Western sources. But the very uniqueness of its finds can also be used against it, as has been done by Nagaswamy. In the whole of India there is no other confirmed find of the terra sigillata,<sup>16</sup> and Nevasa in Maharashtra is the only other place where amphoras have been found in greater quantity.<sup>17</sup> Even if Poduce was visited by western ships in the first century, it might have been a rare, perhaps exceptional occurrence. The explanation offered above for the rarity of Roman coins at a particular site does not upset the general pattern of coin finds, and this pattern fits in so well with the literary evidence<sup>18</sup> that it cannot be a mere coincidence.

Now it is time to take a closer look at Karur and its position in ancient trade. The flourishing capital of the Ceras is often described in Sangam poetry with its crowded shopping-street, abounding in gold and jewels. Hunters came there to exchange elephant tusks for wine.<sup>19</sup> According to the PME 56, ivory was among the wares purchased by Western traders in South India, and wine is mentioned among the imports. Wine brought by the Yavanas is also known from a Sangam reference.

Archaeologically Karur is not too well known. The only excavations were carried out in 1974 by Nagaswamy and are briefly summarized here (RK 63ff.). According to him, the site has been continuously occupied since

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<sup>16</sup> Such have been occasionally mentioned, but never clearly identified or published. Even for Karur, "Arretine sherds" are mentioned in passing as surface finds (RK 64).

<sup>17</sup> According to Tchernia o. c. 154, out of the 30 sites in India yielding remains of amphoras, only these two have yielded more than thirty sherds, the others never more than five each.

<sup>18</sup> The Tamil epic *Cilappatikāram*, describing the Yavanas (Greeks) in Pumpuhar, cannot be used as evidence for the first century A.D. (as has been done by Stern in RIAST 113f.). The dating of Tamil classics is a vexed problem; some scholars place the epic in the first, but many in the fourth or even fifth century A.D. In any case it is later than the Sangam anthologies, and these Nagaswamy has now dated to the first-second century A.D. Several kings named in them now have their historicity confirmed by Tamil Brahmi inscriptions and inscribed coins dated in this period both through palaeography and indirectly through the archaeological context of inscribed coins and sherds with Roman coins and antiquities.

<sup>19</sup> The *Patirruppaṭṭu* quoted in RK 113.



the third century B.C. (when the Ceras are mentioned by Aśoka). Of the four periods, I is purely South Indian, with no Western imports. We are here mainly interested in Period II, supposedly corresponding to the first two centuries A.D. According to Nagaswamy, it has yielded some amphora sherds, rouletted ware, Indian black and red ware with inscriptions in Tamil Brahmi,<sup>20</sup> and, what is remarkable in a stratigraphic context, one Roman silver coin and one square Cera copper. The Roman coin is unfortunately badly corroded and unidentified.

In addition to excavations the dry river bed of the Amaravati by Karur has yielded an incredible harvest of coins and some other antiquities. They include a few inscribed Cera silver coins bearing names of three Cera kings known from Sangam poetry and, according to Nagaswamy, clearly imitating Roman models (RK 9ff.). More than 5,000 late Roman coppers ranging from Marcus Aurelius to Theodosius have been reported, but for these the reader is referred to Krishnamurti's book mentioned above in note 3 (RK 26f.). Thousands of non-inscribed Cera coppers obtain a chronological framework from the one piece found in excavations, confirming the numismatic argument deriving their earliest types from North Indian punch-marked models (RK 40ff.). In addition a few Pāṇḍya and a considerable number of Coḷa coppers have been reported (RK 50ff.).

No Roman gold or silver is reported among these finds, but on the other hand Karur with its neighbourhood has long been famous for its Roman coin hoards. A hoard of Aurei was reported as early as 1874 and several other finds, also of Denarii, have been made since (RK 21f.).

There are some other important recent finds discussed in the RK. The excavations at Alagankulam, at the now dried up mouth of the Vaigai river on the south-eastern coast of Tamil Nadu (see map) were also conducted under Nagaswamy. They show Alagankulam, the ancient Saliyur, as an important port, worthy of being mentioned beside other similar sites on the east coast of Tamil Nadu (such as Vasavasamudram, Arikamedu, Kaveri-

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<sup>20</sup> Because of their clear stratigraphy they are important for palaeography. Their content is not so interesting, and in any case the reading of the short Tamil Brahmi inscriptions seems to be a vexed problem. Without being able to offer any explanation of my own, I must frankly confess that I find it unlikely that a small cup would bear an inscription stating that it is a 'small cup'. A cup is a cup and does not need an explanation. The name of the owner or producer, an indication of its intended use or something like that would be more easy to accept.

pattinam and Kor̄kai).<sup>21</sup> Alagankulam was occupied from the third century B.C. until c. 600 A.D. (Nagaswamy) or at least from the first century B.C. until the fourth/fifth century A.D. (Raman). The finds include sherds of amphoras, of Rouletted Ware, of Indian NBP ware, and of what Dr. Potter, of the British Museum, who was consulted by Nagaswamy, has identified as “late African red slipped ware”. Three Roman coppers are also mentioned, probably as surface finds, though this is not clearly stated. Two are worn out and unidentifiable, one comes from the reign of Valentinianus.

A great hoard of Roman coins was found in September 1992 at Soraiyappattu near Tirukkoyilur in the South Arcot district of Tamil Nadu (RK 24ff.). It consists of 200 gold coins ranging from Tiberius to Caracalla. The most numerous are coins of Hadrian (42 coins) and Antoninus (63), but some first-century emperors are fairly well represented, too: Nero (18), Vespasian (20) and Titus (15). All are fresh, with no wear marks, but some contain holes or cuts. Nagaswamy points out that Tirukkoyilur was the capital of the local Malaiyaman dynasty, who were allied with the Ceras. From the map we also note its situation by the Ponnaiyar river, at the mouth of which was situated the great port of Poduce (Arikamedu).

All this brings out two problems, where the evidence seems to be insufficient for the conclusions which I, too, should prefer to reach. The first concerns the beginnings of Indo-Egyptian trade, often placed in the first century A.D. From literary evidence we can surmise that it started very early. Though the cinnamon known to Herodotus was brought by middlemen and its real origin was unknown, the famous *Pompa bacchica* of Ptolemaeus Philadelphus contained a number of Indian products also known to be such, and I cannot see how we could deny the historicity of the expedition of Eudoxus in the second century B.C. In the first half of the first century B.C. the Ptolemies had an Epistrategus τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς καὶ Ἰνδικῆς θαλάττης. However, none of this points directly to *South* India. Here the archaeological evidence seems to suggest a start in the late first century B.C. or early first century A.D., while the numismatic evidence has been often interpreted to support still later dates. It has been repeatedly emphasized, e.g. by Turner, Macdowall, P. L. Gupta, and Nagaswamy (RK 22ff.), that Roman Republican coins (which in any case are rare in India) have never

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<sup>21</sup> Kor̄kai at the mouth of the Tamraparni well south of Alagankulam was another Pāṇḍya mart, the Κόλχοι ἐμπόριον of Ptolemy (1,7,10) and the PME (58). Some of these coastal sites have been discussed by K. V. Raman in RIAST 125ff.

been found except in the context of early (and sometimes even not so early) Imperial coins. But what about Greek coins? While so much is written about Roman coins in India, we rarely hear about them. They might be rare, but certainly not non-existent. According to Tchernia,<sup>22</sup> Ptolemaic bronzes are not uncommon in India and the earliest known Hellenistic coin is a 3rd-century B.C. silver of Cyzicus.

The second problem is the presence of Western traders and artisans in South India. Tamil sources clearly state that the Yavanas not only visited, but also lived in South India. In addition to the Yavana ships trading at Muciri we read of Yavana quarters in Kaveripattinam, of Yavana soldiers serving the Pāṇḍya king as bodyguards, of resident Yavana artisans and carpenters and their products. From the classical side we can add the detailed information of South Indian geography shown in the PME and by Ptolemy. It would be tempting to mention here, as has sometimes been done, the *templum Augusti* shown in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* near Muziris (illustrated in RIAST 116). In another part of India, in Maharashtran inscriptions we actually meet resident Yavanas, but cannot say whether they were related to maritime trade. In any case even the merchants, using the monsoon winds, had to remain quite a while in India. However, I cannot see that the archaeological evidence really warrants any conclusions about the activities of resident Westerners. Nagaswamy is rather keen to suppose their interference. But why could not Cera artisans copy Roman Denarii for the silver coinage of their own kings? It is absolutely impossible to say who were actually applying Western models (if they were applied) to locally made Rouletted Ware or who were responsible for the bead industry of Arikamedu, even if the glass came from the West. The fact that genuine pieces of Western jewellery have been found in South India makes it entirely possible that they were imitated by local artisans. Again, no "Roman" artisans are needed for producing the beautiful golden signet rings found at Karur (RK 66ff.).

In conclusion, we see that Karur and other new evidence generally supports the old theory of first-century Western maritime trade being mainly (but not completely) restricted to the West coast (Kerala). The importance of the Palghat Gap route can be again emphasized. In the second century, the East coast was probably included in direct trade. Actually, this might have

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<sup>22</sup> Tchernia in AAA 155, referring to Peter Berghaus' article, inaccessible to me, in A. K. Jha (ed.), *Coinage, Trade and Economy*, 3rd Int. Colloquium. Nashik 1991.

been happened on Coḷan initiative. While the Ceras and Pāṇḍyas had direct access to Keralan ports, the Coḷas were dependent on their neighbours as middlemen. This must have been expensive, and the numerous wars described in Sangam poems must often have interrupted the trade. With the East coast also Sri Lanka became directly involved in maritime trade. The scarcity of third-century coins and the relative silence of literary sources points to a less active phase in trade, but in the fourth and fifth centuries it was again flourishing. Though the Axumite must now have had an important intermediate position, the great number of Roman and early Byzantine coins in South India and Sri Lanka as well as rather numerous literary accounts of Indian journeys (made e.g. by Christian missionaries and by the informant of Cosmas) show that even the Roman East was still actively participating in it.

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**NOTICE OF A NEW MANUSCRIPT OF JOHN OF SEVILLE'S  
LATIN TRANSLATIONS OF SAHL BEN BIŠR'S  
*KITĀB AL-IKTĪ YĀRĀT (LIBER DE ELECTIONIBUS)*  
AND *KITĀB AL-AUQĀT (LIBER TEMPORUM)***

JUKKA KIVIHARJU

A scholar interested in studying or editing medieval Latin scientific translations made from the Arabic language, through which a great part of ancient Greek and Oriental knowledge has reached us<sup>1</sup>, encounters several problems in his task. In the first place, the texts are usually preserved in manuscripts containing several works of different authors without any indication of the writer or translator, or with later attributions that are often erroneous. Secondly, the catalogues of the libraries (when there is a printed one) often enumerate only the titles of the works contained in the manuscripts, omitting the incipits and explicits which are usually essential for the correct identification of the texts. For these reasons, the existing summations of the manuscripts and editions - rarely based on personal inspection - and other works of similar nature<sup>2</sup> remain inevitably incomplete. Detailed studies of single manuscripts, like that of J. M. Millás Vallicrosa (1942), are rare, and probably impossible to do on a larger scale<sup>3</sup>.

I had recently an opportunity to inspect personally a little known fifteenth century codex in the Biblioteca Regionale Universitaria in Catania. The manuscript (MS. U. 87) is a collection of forty odd astronomical and astrological treatises, consisting of 333 folios. Among the works contained in the MS. were, for instance, the *De quattuor partibus astronomiae* of John

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<sup>1</sup> For this process, see the concise but excellent study of Millás Vallicrosa 1954. For further details, see, for instance, the works of Goldstein 1985; Haskins 1933; 1960; Thorndike 1964.

<sup>2</sup> For example, Carmody 1956; Crombie 1959; Klebs 1963; Sarton 1927 ff.; Steinschneider 1956; Thorndike & Kibre 1963.

<sup>3</sup> For these problems, see, for example, the introduction in Carmody 1956.

of Seville, the *Tractatus de sphaera* of John of Holywood and the *Summa librorum astronomiae* of Albert the Great.

The only one to have examined the codex seems to be M. Fava at the end of the last century<sup>4</sup>. His description has been used, for example, by L. Thorndike (1957), and Thorndike and Kibre (1963).

I was mainly interested in the *Liber astronomiae* of John of Seville<sup>5</sup> that, according to M. Fava, begins on fol. 102 and ends on fol. 138<sup>6</sup>. However, on the first column of fol. 123 v. we find a new incipit ("Incipit liber de electionibus. Omnes sapientes concordati sunt quod electiones sunt debiles...") that Fava had not noticed, probably because usually the incipits appear in this MS. on a new folio. Similarly, on fol. 131 v., col. 2, there seems to be a new incipit, although without any heading: "Scito quod mutatio figurarum..."

The existence of these works is not mentioned in the files of the library (there is no printed catalogue), nor in any summation of medieval Latin works. The treatises in question are John of Seville's Latin translations of Sahl ben Bišr's *Kitāb al-ikṭiyārāt* ("Book of elections"), and *Kitāb al-auqāt* ("Book of times")<sup>7</sup>.

Sahl ben Bišr, known in Latin as Zahel or Zahel Benbriz, flourished in the first half of the ninth century. Of Jewish origin, he wrote several books on astrology in Arabic<sup>8</sup>. The translator, John of Seville, whose identity has been widely discussed<sup>9</sup>, was one of the most important figures in the so-called twelfth century scientific Renaissance.

The *Kitāb al-ikṭiyārāt* deals principally with horoscopy, but also presents a number of observations from other fields. Its identification with the Latin translation does not seem to be completely assured<sup>10</sup>, but this will not be discussed here. The *Kitāb al-auqāt* is concerned with time from an astronomical and astrological point of view.<sup>11</sup>

The purpose here is to give a description of the two treatises as

<sup>4</sup> Fava 1897, 432 ff.

<sup>5</sup> I will shortly publish an edition of this interesting treatise.

<sup>6</sup> Fava 1897, 432.

<sup>7</sup> The Arabic letters are transcribed according to the system used in Wehr & Cowan.

<sup>8</sup> Sarton 1950, 569; Brockelmann 1937, 396; Sezgin 1979, 125 ff.

<sup>9</sup> I will deal with this problem in detail in my edition of the *Liber astronomiae*.

<sup>10</sup> Sezgin 1979, 127.

<sup>11</sup> For the contents of the Arabic manuscripts, see Sezgin 1979, 127.

contained in the Sicilian manuscript, and also present some corrections and additions to the information offered by existing catalogues.

F. J. Carmody<sup>12</sup> and Thorndike & Kibre<sup>13</sup> list in total 17 manuscripts of the *Liber de electionibus*. It is also included in five different editions,<sup>14</sup> the first of which is a Venetian incunabulum from the year 1493.<sup>15</sup> The information given by M. Alonso Alonso in his monograph on John of Seville is very incomplete.<sup>16</sup> In M. Díaz y Díaz' *Index* only five manuscripts are mentioned,<sup>17</sup> one of them (Wien 3.124) erroneously. The Viennese manuscript includes Zahel's *Introductorium in iudiciis astrorum*, but the *Regulae utiles de electionibus* (fols. 13r.-15 r.; incipit: "Volens horam sanguinis minuendi eligere..."), which seems to have confounded Díaz y Díaz, was written by the Muslim astrologer Abenragel (d. after 1040), not by Zahel, but was also translated by John of Seville.<sup>18</sup>

I have been able to consult the three Madrilenian manuscripts of the *Liber de electionibus* (BN, MS. 10.009, 13 c.; MS. 10.012, 13-14 c.; MS. 10.053, 13 c.). According to M. Alonso Alonso, the fragmentary text written in a later hand in the margins of the MS. 10.012 begins and ends on fol. 64 v.,<sup>19</sup> whereas J. M. Millás Vallicrosa says that it begins on fol. 66 r. and continues to 69 r.<sup>20</sup> Actually, the text begins on 64 v., continues to 67 v., and is taken up again on 70 r. It ends on fol. 72 v.

The text of the Sicilian MS. (= C) follows that of the Venetian incunabulum and that of the Madrilenian manuscripts, although with some significant textual variants. The transcription of the beginning of the work from C is as follows:

*-Incipit liber de electionibus. Omnes sapientes concordati sunt quod*

<sup>12</sup> Carmody 1956, 42.

<sup>13</sup> Thorndike & Kibre 1963, 985.

<sup>14</sup> Carmody 1956, 42.

<sup>15</sup> "Uenetiis per Bonetum Locatellum, impensis nobilis viri Octaviani Scoti, civis Modoetiensis. M. CCCC. LXXXIII. 13. kalendas Ianuarias" [fol. 152 r., col. 2.; copy consulted: I/1.701 of the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid].

<sup>16</sup> Alonso Alonso 1953, 47 f.

<sup>17</sup> Díaz y Díaz 1958, 221.

<sup>18</sup> See Sarton 1950, 171 ("uncertain"); Alonso Alonso 1953, 46; Steinschneider 1956, no. 68 (also considered as uncertain); Carmody 1956, 139; Thorndike 1964, 77.

<sup>19</sup> Alonso Alonso 1953, 48.

<sup>20</sup> Millás Vallicrosa 1942, 225.



*electiones sunt debiles nisi in diuitibus. Habent enim isti, licet debilitentur, eorum electiones radicem, id est natiuitatem eorum que confortant omnem planetam debilem in itinere. Vilibus vero et mercatoribus que sequuntur non eligas aliquid, nisi supra natiuitates eorum et reuolutiones annorum illorum et secundum natiuitates eorum filiorum. Quorum autem ista ignorantur, accipiantur in eis interrogaciones et scietur effectus rei eorum ex eis. [C, fol. 123 v., col. 1]*

There is a notable difference in the chapter division. In the Venetian edition (= *V*) and the MS. Madrid 10.009 (= *M*<sup>1</sup>; in the comparison of the texts we omit the fragment written in the MS. Madrid 10.012; MS. Madrid 10.053 = *M*<sup>3</sup>), as well as in the Arabic text,<sup>21</sup> the work is divided according to the twelve signs of the zodiac, but in *C* these are not mentioned, for example:

*-De signi sexti electione. Signum VI et quicquid est in eo ex electionibus. Cum in aliquo loco fuerit uel domo aliqua infestatio demonum abitantium malorum... [M<sup>1</sup>, fol. 210 v., col. 1]*

*-Ad expellendum fantasmata uel alia mala de domo uel alio loco. Si fuerit in aliquo loco uel domo aliqua infestatio habencium uel habitantium... [C, fol. 126 v., col. 1]*

Although the most volatile part of any manuscript text, the chapter headings serve to describe their contents. The *Liber de electionibus* is divided in *C* into the following 52 chapters:

*1. Quid significant signa mobilia, fixa et communia. 2. Electio in operibus. 3. Ad eligendam horam in acceptione uel accomodacione. 4. Ad eligendam horam occultandi. 5. Ad eligendum horam empcionis. 6. Cum aliquid operari uolueris. 7. Cum uolueris edificare. 8. Ad emendum terras. 9. Ad faciendum puteum. 10. Ad plantandum arbores. 11. Ad seminandum. 12. Vtrum pariet masculum. 13. Ad instruendum filium. 14. Ad expellendum fantasmata. 15. Ad capiendum medicinam. 16. Ad curam. 17. Ad curam corporis. 18. Ad radendum caput.*

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<sup>21</sup> Sezgin, 1979, 126 f.

19. *Ad constituendum siue emendum seruos.* 20. *An debes mederi.* 21. *De purgationibus.* 22. *De constipantis medicinis.* 23. *De cirurgia.* 24. *De fleobotomia et ventosis.* 25. *De coniugio.* 26. *De nuptiis.* 27. *De hora exeundi ad bellum.* 28. *Ad emendum arma.* 29. *An tarde uel cito fiat bellum.* 30. *De destructione ydolorum.* 31. *De accommodacione.* 32. *De hora petitionis.* 33. *An debes ire ad regem.* 34. *Quando vadis ad se [illegible]* 35. *An eas ad mulieres.* 36. *Quando ire debes ad litteratos, magistros, sapientes, scriptores aut magicos.* 37. *De eadem materia.* 38. *De peregrinacione regis* 39. *Ad petendum regnum.* 40. *Si vis ire cum rege uel principe.* 41. *Si uolueris sublimari.* 42. *Vt sis prepositus.* 43. *De confirmacione principatus.* 44. *Ad inimiciciam regis.* 45. *Si uolueris alicui amicari.* 46. *Si uolueris petere aliquid.* 47. *Ad emendum bestiam.* 48. *De venacione.* 49. *De venacione maris.* 50. *De fuga.* 51. *De fugientibus.* 52. *De epistola scribenda.*

The end of the work is very similar in *C*, *M*<sup>1</sup>, *M*<sup>3</sup> and *V*. Only the text of the first one is transcribed here:

*-De epistola scribenda. Si uolueris scribere epistolam, sit hoc cum Luna fuerit iuncta Mercurio munda a malis. Et sit Mercurius fortis et fortunatus necque retrogradus nec impeditus sitque ipse et Luna munda a malis.* [*C*, fol. 131 v., col. 1]

The Venetian incunabulum ends here ("Expletus est libellus Zahelis de electionibus", fol. 141 v., col. 1), but in *C*, *M*<sup>1</sup> and *M*<sup>3</sup> the text continues without any interruption as follows:

*-Et scito quod excitat mortem. Si igitur inicium motus, qui sit in circulo, usque in finem operis tempus in quo aptatur vnique motui incipiente usque quo finiatur cum complexione sibi congrua uel incongrua quod signat hoc bonum uel malum. Et vniversi motus sunt secundum quod narrabo tibi, si Deus voluerit* [*C*, fol. 131 v., col. 2]

As an example of the different readings, the same passage in *M*<sup>1</sup> is reproduced:

*-Aptatio. Et scito quod tempora excitat motus. Sit igitur initium motus,*

*qui sit in circulo, usque in finem temporis; tempore in quo aptatur Luna unicuique hore motui incipienti usque quo incipiatur cum complexione sibi congrua uel incongrua, quod hoc signat bonum uel malum. Et uniuersi motus sunt secundum quod tibi narrabo, si Deus uoluerit. [M<sup>1</sup>, fol. 213 r., col. 1]*

The same text can be read in the Venetian incunabulum, but preceded by a new title:

*-Incipit liber eiusdem de significatione temporis ad iudicia. Scito quod terra excitat motus. Sit igitur initium motus que fit in circulo vsque in finem temporis in quo aptatur hora vnicuique motui incipienti vsque quo finiatum cum complexione sibi congrua vel incongrua. Quod si hoc signum bonum vel malum et vniuersi motus sunt, secundum quod tibi narrabo, si Deus voluerit [fol. 141 v., col. 1]*

These three passages indicate that this is the beginning of a new treatise, usually called *Liber temporum*, which is John of Seville's translation of the aforementioned *Kitāb al-auqāt* of Sahl ben Bišr. J. M. Millás Vallicrosa, who has studied in detail the Madrilenian MSS., seems not to have been able to identify this text<sup>22</sup>. F. J. Carmody<sup>23</sup> and Thorndike & Kibre<sup>24</sup> say that the incipit of this text is "Scito quod mutatio...", which in *C*, *M*<sup>1</sup> (fol. 213 v., col. 1), *M*<sup>3</sup> (fol. 49 r., col. 1) and *V* (fol. 141 v., col. 1) follows only after the passage cited above. The text in *C* is as follows:

*-De mutacione figure. Scito quod mutacio figurarum et destructio uel conuersio motuum in uniuerso circulo signat... [fol. 131 v., col. 2]*

The concordance of the three MSS. with the Venetian edition shows that the *Liber temporum* probably begins with the incipit mentioned above, not with "Scito quod mutatio...". Thorndike & Kibre mention only the MS. Dijon 449, 15 c.<sup>25</sup>, whereas Carmody gives another (Oxford Canon, misc.

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<sup>22</sup> Millás Vallicrosa 1942, 179; 188 f.

<sup>23</sup> Carmody 1956, 44.

<sup>24</sup> Thorndike & Kibre 1963, 1410.

<sup>25</sup> Thordike & Kibre 1963, 1410.

396, 14 c.), with the opening phrase "De eo quod non sit in 12 signis et..."<sup>26</sup> This, however, is used in *M*<sup>1</sup> (fol. 213 r., col. 1), *M*<sup>3</sup> (fol. 49 r., col. 1) and *V* (fol. 141, col. 1) as the last chapter heading at the end of the *Liber de electionibus*, so it remains doubtful, for the moment, whether the Oxford MS. really contains the *Liber temporum*. Nevertheless, as has been mentioned before, distinguishing different works from one another is often very difficult in these types of manuscripts. It could even be possible that what we here call *Liber temporum* is only a continuation of the *Liber de electionibus*. This is perhaps indicated by the phrase "De eo quod non est in 12 signis et...", because the rest of the *Liber de electionibus* is divided according to the 12 signs of the zodiac.

In the Sicilian codex, the text of the *Liber temporum* continues until fol. 135 v. under the following headings:

*1. De mutacione figure. 2. A quo planeta debeas accipere tempus. 3. De 4 modis interrogacionibus in uniuersis. 4. De vita hominis. 5. Usque ad quod tempus debeat viuere. 6. De infirmitate. 7. De peregrinatione. 8. Ad idem. 9. De epistola et rumoribus. 10. De rege.*

The text presents considerable differences in comparison with the one in *M*<sup>1</sup>, *M*<sup>3</sup> and *V*, especially with the two MSS., which, occasionally, seem to reproduce a totally different work. The establishment of a reliable text would require a thorough collation of all the extant copies.

In *C*, the *Liber temporum* ends as follows:

*– et quere testimonia secundum quod exposui tibi tempus, et non errabis in deposicione regis, si Deus uoluerit. [col. 135 v., col. 1]*

This is the ending also in *V*, whereas in the Madrilenian MSS. it seems to have been lost. After this, there is in *C* a chapter heading "De planetis", which apparently starts a new treatise, with the incipit "Nota quod quelibet res habet duos planetas significatores..." I have not been able to identify this work, although the opening phrase "Nota quod...", very common in this type of MS., seems to indicate the beginning of a new work. It goes on until the middle of the second column of the fol. 138 r., where it

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<sup>26</sup> Carmody 1956, 44.

ends, perhaps mutilated, with the words "qualem habet dominus ascendentis, et cetera". The chapter headings are the following:

*1. Quis vincat inter duos viros uel duas bestias. 2. Vtrum multum. 3. De conuiuuis. 4. De infirmis vtrum morietur.*

In this study, our aim has been to call attention to the previously unknown existence of the two Latin translations of Sahl ben Bišr's works in the Sicilian manuscript. This codex, although apparently very interpolated at times - I have made a complete collation of the *Liber astronomiae*, mentioned in the beginning of this study, with other extant manuscripts - also transmits some undoubtedly correct and valuable readings, and is worthy of a thorough examination by the possible future editors of these texts. I have also found that the *Liber temporum*, although apparently in a very mutilated form, is included in the two Madrilenian codices, which seems to have passed unnoticed until now. Finally, in reference to the introduction, I believe it has been shown what types of difficulties the identification and study of medieval scientific translations and original works involves.

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## ÜBER DAS FEHLEN VON INSCRIFTENTYPEN Einige Beobachtungen am Beispiel Kaiserpriester\*

UTA-MARIA LIERTZ

Eine Konzentration von inschriftlichen Quellen zu einem Thema oder an einem Ort übt eine quasi immanente Anziehungskraft auf die Forschung aus, da eine qualitativ oder auch einfach quantitativ reiche Quellenlage auch fundierte Ergebnisse verspricht. In der Tat bringen derartige Unternehmungen im Normalfall einen Fortschritt an Wissen bezüglich eines Sachkomplexes oder eines regionalen Phänomens. Aber sie bedeuten oft auch die Basis für die Erforschung weniger reich bestückter Gebiete, wo *mutatis mutandis* die gewonnenen Einsichten bei der Suche nach entsprechendem Material und bei der Einordnung des vielleicht nur in sehr geringem Maße vorhandenen behilflich sind. Dabei muß man sich jedoch mögliche Gefahren bewußt machen: Hinter gleichen lateinisch-römischen Begriffen können sich inhaltlich nicht vergleichbare Gegebenheiten verbergen. So ist etwa eine *Civitas* in Italien etwas anderes als eine *Civitas* in der *Germania Inferior* oder der *Gallia Belgica*, wo diese ein ganzes Stammesterritorium mit unter Umständen mehreren größeren Siedlungen umfaßt. Auch sollte das Fehlen einer bestimmten Inschriftengruppe nicht automatisch zur Annahme der Nichtexistenz eines "prognostizierten" Phänomens führen. W. Eck hat dies in zwei Aufsätzen mit Hinsicht auf Senatoren mit Herkunft aus einer der nordwestlichen Provinzen vorgeführt:<sup>1</sup> Inschriften, als praktisch einziger Nachrich-

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\* An dieser Stelle möchte ich mich bei Prof. Werner Eck, Universität zu Köln, und Prof. Hellenkemper, Direktor des Römisch-germanischen Museums Köln, bedanken, die mich in Gesprächen über mein Forschungsprojekt auf einige Besonderheiten im Kölner Inschriftenmaterial aufmerksam gemacht haben.

<sup>1</sup> W. Eck, "Senatoren aus Germanien, Raetien, Noricum?", *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio* (Tituli 5), Rom 1982, 539-552 (im folgenden abgekürzt Eck, Senatoren); ders., "Die Struktur der Städte in den nordwestlichen Provinzen und ihr Beitrag zur Administration des Reiches", W. Eck – H. Galsterer, *Die Stadt in Oberitalien und in den nordwestlichen Provinzen des Römischen Reiches*, *Kölner Studien* 4, 1991, 73-84 (im folgenden abgekürzt Eck, Struktur).



tensträger, sind in äußerst geringer Dichte, aber doch – zumindest punkthaft repräsentativ (z.B. Köln) auf uns gekommen.<sup>2</sup> Dabei fällt auf, daß der Typ "Ehreninschriften" fehlt, was wiederum Konsequenz von Strukturunterschieden (nämlich im Vergleich mit dem italischen "Normalfall") des Urbanisationscharakters ist, etwa Traditionslosigkeit der "künstlichen" Siedlung, kaum italische Einwanderung, Weiträumigkeit der Civitates und "landlord"-Charakter der Führungsschicht.<sup>3</sup> Somit habe sich eine breite Munizipalaristokratie, die die Rekrutierungsgrundlage für Ritter und damit Senatoren darstellt, nicht genügend herausgebildet. Es ist also mit einer geringeren Zahl von germanisch-keltischen Senatoren zu rechnen. Aber: Obwohl in Aquitanien und Belgica kein, in der Lugdunensis nur ganz wenige römische Amtsträger inschriftlich überliefert sind, zweifelt wohl niemand an deren Existenz. Man darf also nicht in den Trugschluß fallen, die Unmöglichkeit einer Erkenntnis aufgrund des Fehlens entsprechender Quellen zur Erkenntnis "Nichtexistenz" eines Phänomens, also zu einer inhaltlichen Aussage zu machen.<sup>4</sup>

E. M. Wightman weist in einem kurzen Aufsatz auf einen weiteren Punkt bzgl. der Vergleichbarkeit von epigraphischem Material hin.<sup>5</sup> Bei einer genaueren Gegenüberstellung des numerisch ähnlichen Inschriftenmaterials einer Region Mittelitaliens und der Gallia Belgica fallen ihr drei interessante Unterschiede auf: Zunächst die äußerste Seltenheit von Ehreninschriften in Gallien gegenüber ihrer hohen Frequenz in Italien, zweitens die große Konzentration von Inschriften im jeweilig städtischen Zentrum in Italien gegenüber der Herkunft aus ländlichen Gebieten von oft 50% der belgischen Inschriften (ohne die Verschleppung für Zweitverwertungen in den städtischen Mittelpunkt einzukalkulieren), und schließlich der hohe Prozentsatz an Motivinschriften in Gallien im Gegensatz zum wesentlich niedrigeren in Italien. Wightman kommt zu folgendem Ergebnis: "Dans cet empire immense et multiple, une région pouvait adopter les idées d'une autre en gardant des éléments de sa culture traditionnelle en évoluant de façon originale dans son aire géographique."<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Senatoren 542 f..

<sup>3</sup> Eck, Senatoren 543.

<sup>4</sup> Eck, Strukturen, 81f..

<sup>5</sup> E.M. Wightman, "Imitation ou adaptation? Une note sur les inscriptions dans le nord de la Gaule romaine", *Revue du Nord* 66 (1984) 69-72.

<sup>6</sup> Ebenda 72.

Welche Konsequenzen hat dies, wenn es darum geht, einem konkreten Phänomen in einer bestimmten Provinz auf der Basis der in dieser Provinz erhaltenen Quellen nachzugehen? Sind die aus anderen Gegenden gewonnenen Kategorien wirklich ein geeigneter Maßstab für die Bearbeitung des Materials oder muß man nicht vielmehr diesen Maßstab hintanstellen und methodisch gesehen zunächst das dem Forschungsbereich entstammende Material bearbeiten und erst danach eine Gegenüberstellung wagen? Bevor ich eine Antwort auf diese Fragen versuche, möchte ich die Tragweite am Beispiel der bereits erwähnten Ehreninschriften bzw. ihres Fehlens aufzeigen. Ich beschränke mich dabei auf das vielleicht besonders eklatante Zeugnis der offiziellen Vertreter des Kaiserkultes, also *flamines* und *sacerdotes*.

Zu erwarten sind als Informationsträger zu Recht Grab-, Votiv- und Ehreninschriften. Alle diese Typen geben uns normalerweise Aufschluß über Personen und ihre Aufgaben bzw. Ämter. Aber unsere Erwartungen sind im Fall der Kaiserpriester stark zugunsten der Ehreninschriften verschoben, und zwar auf folgendem Hintergrund: Zunächst schürt die sogenannte "lex de flamonio provinciae"<sup>7</sup> aus Narbo, in der neben anderen Ehrungen für den scheidenden *flamen* genaue Vorschriften bzgl. der für ihn zu errichtenden Ehrenstatuen und der geforderten inschriftlichen Angaben in der Statuenbasis stehen, die Erwartung, eben solche in großer Menge in zumindest jeder Provinzhauptstadt zu finden, wobei davon ausgegangen wird, daß jede eine ähnliche Lex hatte, aber nur die der Narbonensis auf uns gekommen ist.<sup>8</sup> Zum anderen scheinen sich diese Erwartungen in den inschriftlich reich bestückten und durch R. Etiennes Untersuchung<sup>9</sup> leicht zugänglichen spanischen Provinzen voll zu bestätigen. Auch G. Alföldy unterstreicht dieses Ergebnis in seiner Studie zu den *flamines* der Hispania Citerior: Von den 92 *flamines* des Provinzialkultes der Citerior sind 71

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<sup>7</sup> CIL XII 6038. So genannt z.B. in M. McCrum - A.G. Woodhead, *Select Documents of the Principates of the Flavian Emperors A.D. 68-96*, Cambridge 1966, 52.

<sup>8</sup> Vgl. J. Deininger, *Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit von Augustus bis zum Ende des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.*, (Vestigia 6), München 1965, 108. In den Stadtrechten von Malaca, Salpensa und Irni wird logischerweise kein Bezug zum Kaiserkult hergestellt. Städtischer Kaiserkult ist i.a. auf stadteigene Initiative zurückzuführen, bei den genannten Stadtrechten handelt es sich jedoch um Abschriften der Lex Lati, vgl. D. Lebek, "Die municipalen Curien oder Domitian als Republikaner: Lex Lati (Tab. Irn.) Paragraph 50(?) und 51", *ZPE* 107 (1995) 135-194.

<sup>9</sup> R. Etienne, *Le Culte impérial dans la péninsule ibérique d'Auguste à Dioclétien*, Paris 1958.

durch Statuenbasen und zwei weitere durch Ehreninschriften bekannt.<sup>10</sup> Die Versuchung, etwas ähnliches auf Munizipalebene zu erwarten, ist groß und nach einem Blick auf die Verhältnisse in den spanischen Provinzen zunächst nicht unbegründet. In der folgenden Aufstellung wird jedoch deutlich, daß dieses Verhältnis nicht unbedingt als der Normalfall angesehen werden kann, nicht einmal in der Narbonensis.

Um die Tabelle überschaubar zu halten, wird nicht zwischen der Provinzialkultebene und der munizipalen unterschieden. In einigen Inschriften erscheinen mehrere Priestertitel: Ihre Träger hatten sowohl ein *sacerdos*-Amt inne als auch das Flaminat, oft - aber nicht immer - das eine auf munizipaler Ebene das andere beim Provinzialkult. Die Inschriften wurden in fünf Kategorien eingeteilt: 1) Ehreninschriften umfassen sowohl Statuenbasen als auch einfache Ehreninschriften für den jeweiligen Priester. Dabei sind bei weitem nicht alle Ehreninschriften von öffentlicher Hand, also *decreto decurionum*, errichtet, sondern oft auch von Einzelpersonen oder von Vereinen ihrem *patronus* gestiftet. 2) In Grabinschriften finden sich Priester sowohl als Errichter der Inschrift als auch als Verstorbene. 3) Im Gros der Votivinschriften ist der jeweilige Kaiserkultpriester der eigentliche Errichter, in einigen Fällen lediglich verantwortlich für die Ausführung und in vier Inschriften in Pannonia Superior ist das *sacerdos*-Amt offensichtlich als Datierung verwendet. 4) Besonders interessant ist die Kategorie "sonstiges": In den meisten Fällen handelt es sich um Inschriften, in denen der Priester selbst von einer durch ihn finanzierten "Wohltat", also etwa der Restauration oder Errichtung eines Gebäudes, der Stiftung von Spielen u.ä. Kunde gibt. 5) Wenig hilfreich, aber wegen des Gesamtüberblicks trotzdem erwähnt, ist die fünfte Kategorie, wo der fragmentarische Zustand der Inschriften zwar noch die Existenz eines Amtsträgers aber keine Aussage mehr über den Inschriftentyp erkennen läßt. Außer für die Provinzen, für die schon Zusammenstellungen der Priester vorlagen,<sup>11</sup> habe ich mich auf die im jeweiligen CIL publizierte Inschriften, für Britannia im RIB, unter Benutzung der Indices beschränkt. Die Zusammenstellung zielt also nicht auf Vollständigkeit ab. Es geht hier vielmehr darum, Tendenzen aufzu-

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<sup>10</sup> G. Alföldy, *Flamines Provinciae Hispaniae Citerioris* (Anejos de Archivo Español de Arqueología 6), Madrid 1973, hier v.a. 2.

<sup>11</sup> Für die spanischen Provinzen s. Anm. 22-24. Das Material für die beiden germanischen Provinzen und die Gallia Belgica ist praktisch vollständig und wird demnächst in einer Arbeit zum Kaiserkult von mir ausführlich behandelt.

zeigen, und dafür reicht meines Erachtens die vorliegende Übersicht.

Provinz	flamen					sacerdos				
	Ehren	Grab.	Votiv	sonst.	fragm	Ehren.	Grab.	Votiv	sonst.	fragm
Belgica <sup>12</sup>	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	2	1	1
Lugdunensis <sup>13</sup>	2	1	2	0	2	11	0	9	1	8
Aquitania <sup>14</sup>	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	2	2	1
Narbonensis <sup>15</sup>	13	20	1	4	6	0	0	5	0	3
Alpenprov. <sup>16</sup>	2	7	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0
Raetia <sup>17</sup>	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1
Noricum <sup>18</sup>	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	4	0	0
Germ. Sup. <sup>19</sup>	4	2	1	2	1	5	1	0	2	4
Germ. Inf. <sup>20</sup>	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0
Britannia <sup>21</sup>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Hisp.Cit. <sup>22</sup>	107	23	0	3	9	7	2	0	0	0
Baetica <sup>23</sup>	19	1	5	4	1	0	0	0	0	0
Lusitania <sup>24</sup>	14	1	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0
Pannonia Inf. <sup>25</sup>	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	4	4	0
Pannonia Sup. <sup>26</sup>	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	15	1	2

<sup>12</sup> CIL XIII 1702, 3528, 4030, 4324=11353, BerRGK 1927, 322, AE 1982, 716; 1983, 714.

<sup>13</sup> CIL XIII 1642, 1672, 1674, 1675, 1684, 1687, 1691, 1694, 1696, 1698-1700, 1702, 1704, 1706, 1710, 1712, 1714, 1715, 1716, 1717, 1718, 1719, 1927, 2585, 2870, 2877, 2878, 2940, 3034, 3148, 3149, 3150, 3151, 3162, 11174.

<sup>14</sup> CIL XIII 412, 445, 548, 939, 1036, 1042-45, 1049, 1169, 1376, 1384, 1541, 1577, 11042, 11047, 11151.

<sup>15</sup> CIL XII 175, 176, 182, 184, 370, 408, 521, 522, 527, 647, 692, 701, 712, 983, 1114, 1116, 1120, 1121, 1236, 1311, 1368, 1372, 1529, 1567, 1569, 1573, 1577, 1585, 1586, 1745, 1851, 1872, 1876, 2249, 2345, 2458, 2600, 2605, 2608, 2675, 2676, 3180, 3186, 3190, 3207, 3212, 3213, 3275, 4230, 4252, 4402, 4426, 4432.

<sup>16</sup> CIL V 7259, 7907, 7913, 7915, 7917, CIL XII 1, 17, 18, 20, 59, 81, 151.

<sup>17</sup> CIL III 5826, 5827 (weibl.?) , 11926.

<sup>18</sup> CIL III 4800, 4818, 5021, 5443, 5630.

<sup>19</sup> CIL XII 2606, 2614, CIL XIII 5009, 5010, 5063, 5102-4, 5273, 5274, 5353= AE 1965, 341; 5679, 5688, 6467, 7064, 11810, 11475 (falsche Lesung. Der Text lautet richtig: ... *Fl(amen) Aug(usti) ex stipe*); BerRGK 1977, 84, Pekáry, Bulletin Pro Aventico 19 (1967) S. 37.

<sup>20</sup> CIL XIII 7918, 8244, BerRGK 1937, 162, 225.

<sup>21</sup> RIB 2065.

<sup>22</sup> Provinzialpriester nach Alföldy, s. 61-64, Munizipalkult nach Etienne, Listen 182 ff., 205-212.

<sup>23</sup> Nach Etienne, Listen 122ff., 199f..

<sup>24</sup> Nach Etienne, Listen 126ff., 200ff..

<sup>25</sup> CIL III 3288, 3343, 3345, 3368, 3485, 3488, 10305, 10347, 10496, 10570, 13368.

<sup>26</sup> CIL III 4033, 4108, 4152, 4183, 4302, 4395, 4401, 4417, 10820, 10856, 10908, 10911, 10919, 11104a, 11132, 11133, 11139, 11140, 11193.

Die Aufstellung bestätigt zunächst das erwartete Übergewicht von Ehreninschriften in den spanischen Provinzen mit dem Titel *flamen* und in der Lugdunensis für *sacerdotes* am Provinzialaltar der Tres Galliae, woher die meisten der 11 Ehreninschriften stammen. In der Narbonensis dagegen ist die Zahl der Ehreninschriften trotz der Lex Narbonensis im Vergleich mit anderen Inschriftentypen recht gering. In allen anderen Provinzen, für die ein Provinzialkult nachgewiesen ist <sup>27</sup>, zeigt sich dies jedenfalls nicht in Ehrenstatuen. Ein zweiter Aspekt, der bei näherer Betrachtung ins Auge fällt, ist die Verteilung von *sacerdos*- und *flamen*-Amt. Die Provinzen, in denen es bevorzugt *sacerdotes* gibt, sind gleichzeitig alle Grenzprovinzen. Außerdem übersteigt in ihnen die Zahl der Motivinschriften deutlich die der Ehreninschriften, wie überhaupt von der absolut gesehen viel geringeren Zahl von *sacerdotes* mehr als dreimal so viele Motivinschriften errichtet wurden wie von *flamines*. *Flamines* erscheinen dagegen bevorzugt in den "Binnenprovinzen", und hier schlägt sich das auch in einem höheren Anteil an Ehreninschriften nieder, Motivinschriften bilden dagegen fast schon eine Ausnahme. Einen Sonderfall stellt die Germania Superior dar, wo sich die Gesamtlage und auch Entwicklung im römischen Westen auf dem Boden einer Provinz widerspiegeln: Die Provinz hat in ihrem südwestlichen Teil, v.a. der Civitas Helvetiorum mit dem Zentrum Avenches "Binnenprovinzcharakter", während der Norden und der gesamte Oststreifen, also der germanische Limes mit Hinterland wirkliches Grenzgebiet ist. Zudem erlaubt die Inschriftenlage in Avenches, die Entwicklung der Kaiserkultämter angefangen von frühen *sac(rorum) Aug(ustalium) mag(istri)* <sup>28</sup>, ein von hervorragenden Männern der Stadt angeführtes Amt, über einen vereinzelt *sac(erdos) perpetuus* bis zum üblichen *flamen Aug(usti/orum)* <sup>29</sup> zu verfolgen.

Sowohl für die *sacerdotes* wie auch für die *flamines* ist der relative Anteil an Grabinschriften im Verhältnis zu den Ehreninschriften ziemlich ähnlich. Dasselbe läßt sich auch von den Inschriften der Kategorie "sonstiges" sagen: Wohltätigkeit gehörte in allen Provinzen zu den Haupteigenschaften eines solchen Amtes, und ebenso auch das Verlangen, seinen Anteil daran zu verewigen.

Desweiteren muß festgestellt werden, daß die spanischen Provinzen

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<sup>27</sup> Vgl. dazu Deininger, Die Provinziallandtage, v. a. 99-135.

<sup>28</sup> CIL XIII 5093-94, 5123, Pekáry, BullPA 1967, S. 37 ff..

<sup>29</sup> CIL XIII 5063, 11475, gleichzeitig *sac(erdos) perp(etuus)* und *flamen* 5102-4

offensichtlich eine absolute Ausnahme darstellen, worauf immer das auch zurückzuführen sein mag. Jedenfalls können sie nicht als Modell gelten und sicher nicht als Maßstab für andere Provinzen.

Welche Bedeutung hat nun das Fehlen von Inschriftentypen? Bei der Beschäftigung mit dem Material innerhalb einer Provinz sollte ihm zunächst einmal nicht zuviel Gewicht beigelegt werden. Es ist sogar wahrscheinlich wesentlich aufschlußreicher, über mehrere Dokumente desselben Typs zu verfügen als über wenige, gleichmäßig auf alle Kategorien verteilte, da die Vergleichbarkeit und damit die Aussagekraft über z.B. soziale Implikationen erheblich steigt. Dies trifft vor allem zu, wenn die Gesamtzahl der Inschriften zu einem Thema recht niedrig ist, wie in den meisten der hier berücksichtigten Provinzen. Um ein Phänomen freilich in den Gesamtkontext des Imperiums einzuordnen, sollte man auf eine typologische Untersuchung nicht verzichten, da ja offensichtlich gerade die verschiedenartige Nutzung der zur Verfügung stehenden Typen Aufschluß über die Lebensauffassung und -gewohnheiten oder zumindest die Gewichtung der verschiedenen "importierten" Werte gibt. Der gallische Gutsbesitzer und *sacerdos* denkt praktischer - im Sinne einer Kosten-Nutzen-Rechnung -, wenn er ein Votum womöglich an einen einheimischen Gott<sup>30</sup> einlöst, während der lusitanische Stadtverordnete und *flamen* größeren Wert auf eine Ehrung seiner selbst legt und daher von sich aus die Kosten für die Stadt übernimmt. Insgesamt kann man in einer derartigen Typenbetrachtung wohl eine neue aussagekräftige und bisher kaum beachtete Quelle finden. Der recht große Arbeitsaufwand würde in vieler Hinsicht die Mühe lohnen.

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<sup>30</sup> Vgl. dazu U.-M. Liertz, "Götter und Kaiser im Spiegel der Inschriften der beiden Germanien", Akten des II Colóquio Internacional de Epigrafia "Divinidades indígenas e Interpretatio Romana", Sintra 16.-18. März 1995 (in Vorbereitung).



## NOTES ON MARIUS' *DE ELEMENTIS*

BENGT LÖFSTEDT

Richard C. Dales published a critical edition and translation of Marius' work *De elementis* in 1976 (University of California Press). He dates it to the decade of the 1160s, but J. Beaumont, *Medium Aevum* 48 (1979) 116 has proved that it is from the 1140s or even earlier. It has been transmitted in only one manuscript (British Library Cotton Galba E. IV) from ca. 1200.

I have seen only two reviews of Dales' edition (by Beaumont in *Medium Aevum*, and one by J. Cadden, *Isis* 70, 1979, 302 ff.), and neither of these reviewers offers any improvements to text or translation. There is, however, room for improvement.

p. 47,6 f. *licet aquam calefaceris ad fervorem: calefeceris* (misprint?).

53,3 *patit igitur aerem esse humidum: patet* (misprint, I hope).

65,22 ff. *Sicut aqua cum usque adeo frigescit quod congelatur. sane unum quid quod idem est terre efficitur glacies, videlicet frigida et sicca, et meatum sustinet hominum sicut terra*; Dales translates: "Just as water congeals when it is cooled to a certain point, indeed that which it has in common with earth, namely cold and dryness, turns it into ice, and it sustains the passage of men just as earth does". I suggest rather the following punctuation and translation: *Sicut aqua cum usque adeo frigescit, quod congelatur, sane unum quid, quod idem est terre, efficitur, glacies videlicet frigida et sicca...*; "Just as water when it gets so cold that it congeals becomes the same as earth, namely cold and dry ice...", (for the construction of *idem* with dative, see ThLL 7:1,199,83 ff.; in my opinion the construction of *similis* and *par* with dative has influenced that of *idem* with dative). For *unum quid*, cf. below on 93,3 ff.

79,10 ff. *Cui si superveniente calore frigiditas omnino peribit; humiditas autem remanebit, procul dubio aer erit*: there should be a comma instead of a semicolon after *peribit*.



81,16 ff. *De calore quidem et motu sufficit, quare de alia parte iam aperi, quonam modo videlicet frigescat substantia cum quiescit*; Dales translates: "This is sufficient concerning heat and motion; and so the other question – how substance becomes cold when it is at rest – is now clear". I fail to understand how *aperi* can mean "is clear". There should be a period after *sufficit*, and *aperi* is an imperative; I translate: "...Therefore explain about the other question, namely how substance becomes cold when it is at rest".

93,3 ff. *Si particulas illius unde investitur substantia unamquamque per se secundum V sensus consideres easque etiam sicut abeuntes et advenientes, non quidem substantiam iure poteris appellare. Cum vero simul omnes uno ictu cogitabis et numquid illas efficere quod per se intelligi valeat ratione, substantiam poteris dicere, testante Aristotile. Qui omne inquit quod potest cogitari per se, ita quod in cogitatione corruptionis non sit susceptibile, esse substantiam necesse est*. Dales: "...But when you consider them all together at the same time and whether they produce what can be understood in itself by reason, you will be able to call them substance..." But *numquid* is a conjunction which should govern a clause in the subjunctive, and there is none. I emend *numquid* to *unum quid* 'something'; cf. p. 91,21 ff. *Cogita modo particulas quibus forma ignis confecta fuit; cogita, inquam, illas omnes simul quasi unum quid illiusque predictam substantiam, ratione quidem tantum comprehensibilem, uno ictu investiri*. In our aforementioned passage *cogitabis* governs a direct object, *omnes*, and an accusative with infinitive, *illas efficere*: "When you consider them all together at the same time and that they produce something which can be understood in itself by reason..." For *unum quid*, cf. also above on 65,22 ff.

131,15 Write *pinguedine* instead of *piguedine* (misprint).

137,9 ff. *Et nosti tu quia de terra macerata cum aqua fit urceus ille; et cum in eo funditur aurum vel argentum semel et iterum ac multa vice, vidisti quia soleat quandoque virescere et fieri perlucidum, quasi vitrum, atque ultra visum recipere?*; Dales: "And do you know that the pot is made of earth ground up with water; and when gold or silver is cast in it time and again and many times over, have you seen that at some point it usually expands and also becomes transparent like glass and can hardly be seen?" In a note Dales adds: "*virescere* literally means 'to turn green'; a derivative meaning is 'flourish, grow'. In view of what would actually happen to the pot, I have taken some liberty and translated it 'expand'". Professor Dales seems to have had some unusual experiences with earthen pots: when he casts sil-

ver or gold into them, they first expand and then they disappear. My friend Donna Kriger suggests *vitrescere* instead of *virescere*; the word *vitrescere* is listed by A. Bartal, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis regni Hungariae*, in the sense of *incrustare*, which makes perfect sense here. The expression *visum recipere* probably means 'reflect what is seen' (like a mirror).

27 ff. *tempore hiemali calide in puteis inveniuntur aque respectu frigiditatis quam habent in estate*; Dales: "in the winter the water in wells is warm with respect to the coldness they have in summer". The expression *respectu frigiditatis* means rather "in comparison with".

143,11 *...et partes universas eius arce (vel arte) comprimant*; in a note Dales remarks: "*arte* is given by the scribe as an alternate spelling for *arce* 'tightly'". *Arce* and *arte* are, however, not different spellings of one word but different words, and only *arte* makes sense in the context. The letters *c* and *t* are similar in Gothic script and the scribe was not sure how to read his exemplar.

147,7 ff. *intelligas volo quod cum elementa IIII<sup>or</sup> corpus aliquod componunt, nullum illorum in corpore composito actu invenitur nisi potentia dum taxat*; Dales: "I wish you to understand that when the four elements make up any body, none of them is found actually in the composite body except insofar as it is there potentially". *Dum taxat* is the same as *tantum*, and the last words mean: "but only potentially".

153,10 *admodum terre*; 'as earth'. One ought to print *ad modum* in two words in the sense of 'as', since there is an adverb *admodum* 'rather'.

155,10 ff. *Cuprum autem factum est ex vivo argento non bene claro mixto cum sulphure rubeo multum turpitudine et aliquantulum spisso*; the word *turpitudine* is obviously wrong and should be corrected to *turbido* (Donna Kriger).

The edition does not have any word index. Therefore I list here some rare words: *crescibilis* and *decrecibilis* 175,6 (1 instance of *crescibilis* in the ThLL). – *retentivus* 161,30 (listed in Latham, Revised Medieval Latin Word-List and in Ducange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*). – *viridalis anima* 163,29. – Fem. *lebes* occurs 49,11 ff. 1 example in F. Blatt, *Novum Glossarium mediae Latinitatis*; cf. *lebeta*.



## ALCUNI ASPETTI DELLA SOFFERENZA TRAGICA NELL'*AIACE* DI SOFOCLE

MARIA MASLANKA SORO

1. La ricerca che ha per oggetto la sofferenza tragica in Sofocle e nell'*Aiace* in particolare, va impostata anzitutto sul piano dei rapporti tra i personaggi.<sup>1</sup> Il modo di porsi del personaggio tragico di fronte agli altri, si tratti dell'intera società (πόλις, società arcaica di guerrieri) o del singolo, è fondamentale per comprendere come il discorso che Sofocle conduce nei suoi drammi vada molto al di là della concezione ideologica eschilea.

L'analisi della sofferenza tragica si ricollega all'esame di altre problematiche esistenziali e culturali, quali la colpa e la punizione, il rapporto divino/umano, la solitudine e l'emarginazione. Mettere a fuoco una di esse, senza tener adeguatamente conto delle altre può deformare il "messaggio" che il poeta intendeva trasmettere attraverso i suoi drammi. D'altra parte, ogni singola questione è suscettibile di essere esaminata da diverse angolature.

L'ambito in cui vorrei proporre l'interpretazione della sofferenza nell'*Aiace* di Sofocle, da una parte riguarda il nesso colpa / sofferenza, dall'altra si rivolge al significato della sofferenza e ai moduli con i quali essa viene ad esprimersi. In altri termini, una volta ammessa la poca attendibilità

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<sup>1</sup> Questa affermazione concorda con i risultati dei lavori che dedicano un ampio spazio alle relazioni tra il personaggio sofocleo e il mondo esterno: cfr. per es. K. Reinhardt, *Sophocles*, Frankfurt am Main 1933; G. Perrotta, *Sofocle*, Messina-Milano 1935; C. H. Whitman, *Sophocles. A Study of Heroic Humanism*, Cambridge 1971 (1951); J. C. Opstelten, *Sophocles and Greek Pessimism*, Amsterdam 1952; B.M.W. Knox, *The Heroic Temper*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1964; G. Ronnet, *Sophocle, poète tragique*, Paris 1969; E. Fraenkel, *Due seminari romani di Eduard Fraenkel: Aiace e Filottete di Sofocle*, Roma 1977; P. Gravel, *Pour une logique du sujet tragique. Sophocle*, Montréal 1980; V. Di Benedetto, *Sofocle*, Firenze 1983; E. Medda, *La forma monologica. Ricerche su Omero e Sofocle*, Pisa 1983, 75-156; R. Scodel, *Sophocles*, Boston 1984; R.G.A. Buxton, *Sophocles*, Oxford 1984; B.J. Powell, *The metaphysical quality of the tragic*, Bern 1990.

del discorso "eschileo", secondo cui tra la colpa e la sofferenza esiste un rapporto di causa / effetto,<sup>2</sup> l'indagine tende ad analizzare il contesto di rapporti umani in cui Aiace viene a trovarsi e che alimentano il suo malessere e la sua sofferenza.

Prima di passare all'analisi particolareggiata della sofferenza di Aiace, credo sia opportuno percorrere le principali linee della problematica della sofferenza che emerge dalle tragedie di Eschilo: in questo modo sarà più facile comprendere la distanza che divide la realtà tragica in entrambi i poeti.

La struttura etico-religiosa del mondo eschileo assegna al dolore e alla sofferenza una funzione di rilievo. Lo stretto rapporto tra Zeus e Dike<sup>3</sup> presuppone un più costruttivo approccio alla realtà, con l'eticizzazione di molte categorie legate all'elemento divino,<sup>4</sup> come colpa, pena, sofferenza, responsabilità per il male e il dolore. Il rapporto di causa ed effetto tra la colpa e la sofferenza, "sintetizzato" – prima di Eschilo – nello "schema" soloniano ὄλβος → κόρος → ὕβρις → ἄτη,<sup>5</sup> viene ripreso da Eschilo<sup>6</sup> e sviluppato in una "legge" esplicitamente formulata nella parodo dell'*Agamennone*, nell'ambito del cosiddetto "Inno a Zeus" (vv. 176-183). Si tratta del famoso πάθει μάθος: la saggezza attraverso la sofferenza. La funzione che Eschilo attribuisce all'elemento del pathos comporta il tentativo di privarlo del carattere altamente drammatico, tramite lo scioglimento delle tensioni cresciute nel corso della tragedia; esso è il presupposto del μάθος che coinvolge sia l'aspetto conoscitivo che, in

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<sup>2</sup> La concezione in cui la colpa si presenta in termini etico-religiosi e la punizione che viene dagli dei coincide con il ristabilimento dell'equilibrio nel mondo è in Eschilo spesso turbata da altri fattori; la complessità del mondo eschileo nonostante la sostanziale chiarezza e coerenza della sua "teodicea", è stata colta con grande sensibilità letteraria dal Di Benedetto, *L'ideologia del potere e la tragedia greca*, Torino 1978, passim.

<sup>3</sup> Noto già in Esiodo (cfr. per es. Erga 252 ss., dove Dike è esplicitamente chiamata figlia di Zeus) e in Solone (cfr. per es. fr. 13, 9-13 W); per Eschilo cfr. Ag. 163-183; 367 ss., Suppl. 403 ss. e in particolare la conclusione del Coro: δίκαια Διόθεν κράτη (437); Choeph. 948 ss.; Septem 443-446; nei vv. 662-671 Dike è esplicitamente chiamata da Eteocle figlia di Zeus.

<sup>4</sup> I processi culturali cui si accenna vengono analizzati nel loro sviluppo cronologico a partire da Omero nella monografia di E.R. Dodds, *I Greci e l'irrazionale*, Firenze 1959 (titolo orig.: *The Greeks and the Irrational*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1951) e di A.W.H. Adkins, *La morale dei Greci*, Bari 1964 (titolo orig.: *Moral and Responsibility*, Oxford 1960).

<sup>5</sup> Cfr. Solon, fr. 6, 3-4 W.

<sup>6</sup> Cfr. Ag. 750-769.

maggior misura, il comportamento dell'uomo, in corrispondenza ad un atteggiamento di moderazione e di saggezza – σωφροσύνη.<sup>7</sup>

Costruire un sistema in cui la sofferenza costituisce, al tempo stesso la "punizione" e la "grazia",<sup>8</sup> intellettualmente coerente, ma eticamente semplificatore, richiedeva ad Eschilo di dare un nuovo significato alla categoria della colpa tragica e ai concetti oscillanti intorno ad essa, come quello di ἄτη<sup>9</sup> e di φθόνος θεῶν,<sup>10</sup> relitti della precedente tradizione culturale. Questi concetti "convivevano" con la colpa in maniera contraddittoria, nel senso che l'elemento divino in essi rinchiuse era, non di rado, all'origine del male e della sofferenza.<sup>11</sup>

Nel suo tentativo di eliminare la contraddizione Eschilo cerca di connettere l'intervento malvagio della divinità con un atto di ὕβρις da parte dell'uomo. La tendenza moralizzante traspare dall'uso frequente del termine ἄτη col significato di rovina o sciagura come punizione della ὕβρις.<sup>12</sup>

2. L'*Aiace* è – assieme all'*Antigone* – la tragedia in cui il termine ὕβρις (e i suoi derivati) è meglio attestato in Sofocle.<sup>13</sup> Per alcuni studiosi il

<sup>7</sup> Il pensiero racchiuso in questo termine occupa un posto di rilievo nella "trasparente" religione delfica, la cui quintessenza si riconduce alle massime μηδὲν ἄγαν e γνῶθι σεαυτόν. Per l'analisi storica del concetto di sophrosyne cfr. H. North, *Sophrosyne: Self-Knowledge and Self-Restraint in Greek Literature*, New York 1966.

<sup>8</sup> Cfr. χάρις βίαιος in Ag. 182 e il commento del Fraenkel in E. Fraenkel, *Aeschylus. Agamemnon*, II, Oxford 1950, 112.

<sup>9</sup> Sull'eticizzazione del termine ἄτη prima di Eschilo cfr. J.M. Bremer, *Hamartia*, Amsterdam 1969, 105-118 e Dodds, *I Greci e l'irrazionale*, cit., 52 ss.

<sup>10</sup> L'invidia degli dei come topos filosofico-esistenziale raggiunge il suo apice nell'opera di Erodoto (cfr. per es. 1,32,1; 3,40,2; 7,10ε); in Eschilo essa si presenta per lo più come *nemesis*, un giusto sdegno da parte della divinità offesa (cfr. M. Untersteiner, *Le origini della tragedia e del tragico*, Milano 1984, 499); il dio diventa "collaboratore" dell'uomo ogni volta che questi, dopo aver compiuto un'azione malvagia, procede verso la propria rovina: cfr. il discorso di Dario nei *Persiani*, vv. 739-752. La concezione "eticizzata" dell'invidia degli dei traspare dalle parole del Coro dell'*Agamemnone* nei vv. 750 ss.

<sup>11</sup> La concezione della colpa umana come effetto dell'ἄτη divina è frequente in Omero (cfr. per es. *Il.* 9,505; 19,91-94, 129, 134-136), ma non risulta traumatica per il rapporto uomo / dio. Sull'ἄτη in Omero cfr. Bremer, *Hamartia*, cit., 99-112; S. Saïd, *La faute tragique*, Paris 1978, 75-83.

<sup>12</sup> Per i due significati dell' ἄτη in Eschilo, di cui uno indica la forza soggettiva, accecante chi ne sia dominato, l'altro, invece, quella oggettiva, intesa come rovina in seguito ad una trasgressione verso gli dei, cfr. R.E. Doyle, "The Objective Concept of ATH in Aeschylean Tragedy", *Traditio* 28 (1972) 1-28.

<sup>13</sup> Cfr. M. Dirat, *L'Hybris dans la tragédie grecque*, Lille 1973, 264 e Saïd, *La faute*

parallelismo consiste non soltanto nella frequenza dell'uso, ma anche nell'affinità del significato di questa nozione in entrambe le opere, e così il Pohlenz accosta la ὑβρις di Creonte a quella di Aiace, convinto che la colpa in ambedue i casi abbia il carattere della trasgressione contro gli dei e sia dovuta alla mancanza di *self-restraint*.<sup>14</sup> Senonché esiste una fondamentale differenza nel modo in cui essa viene presentata da Sofocle: lo sviluppo dell'azione tragica conferma la ὑβρις di Creonte, ma non quella di Aiace.<sup>15</sup>

Nel dialogo con Odisseo del prologo, in particolare nei vv. 118-120 e 127-133, Atena si serve del caso di Aiace per formulare un avvertimento generico contro il comportamento arrogante verso gli dei. L'eroe ha cercato di uccidere gli Atridi e Odisseo, credendoli responsabili del torto da lui subito, come spiegherà nel dialogo con Atena del primo episodio (cfr. in particolare v. 98 ὅστ' οὐποτ' Αἴανθ' οἶδ' ἀτιμάσουσ' ἔτι); l'ha fatto per i motivi che rivelerà soltanto nel cosiddetto primo monologo (vv. 430-480), una *rhexis* che segue il *kommos* (vv. 349-429),<sup>16</sup> in cui le parole si alternano con le espressioni di dolore,<sup>17</sup> frutto dell'infamia di cui egli si è coperto in seguito ad un errore tragico. In un atto folle, cioè, egli aveva ucciso dei buoi e delle pecore, scambiandoli – nell'accecamento voluto da Atena – per gli odiati comandanti degli Achei e lo scaltro Odisseo.

Aiace come personaggio appartiene – per quanto riguarda il mondo dei valori – all'epoca eroica che il Dodds chiama "civiltà di vergogna".<sup>18</sup> Di questi il più importante è la τιμή, il rispetto e l'onore testimoniati ad un individuo nobile<sup>19</sup> dalla società arcaico-aristocratica in segno di riconoscenza ed

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tragique, cit., 402.

<sup>14</sup> Cfr. M. Pohlenz, *La tragedia greca I*, Brescia 1961 (titolo orig.: *Die griechische Tragödie*, Göttingen 1930), 225. Nel caso di Creonte si può parlare di colpa intesa in termini eschilei, anche se non è su quello che batte l'accento; cfr. Di Benedetto, *Sofocle*, cit., 1-20; cfr. anche M. Maslanka Soro, "La colpa e il colpevole nell'*Antigone* di Sofocle", *Sandalion* 15 (1992) 19-32.

<sup>15</sup> Cfr. North, *Sophrosyne*, cit., 58.

<sup>16</sup> Lo schema *kommos/rhexis* si ripete anche in altre tragedie di Eschilo: cfr. *Ant.* 801-943, *O.R.* 1297-1415. Tale modulo permette al poeta di delineare lo sviluppo della dimensione monologica del personaggio nella crescente estrinsecazione del suo pathos; cfr. su questo argomento Medda, *La forma monologica*, cit., 75-121 e Di Benedetto, *Sofocle*, cit., 38-47.

<sup>17</sup> Cfr. v. 385 ἰώ μοί μοι, v. 394 ἰώ, v. 412 ἰώ; le due ultime esclamazioni rimangono in corrispondenza antistrofica.

<sup>18</sup> Cfr. Dodds, *I Greci e l'irrazionale*, cit., 33.

<sup>19</sup> Al carattere "nobile" (inteso in termini arcaici) di Aiace si riferiscono (direttamente o

ammirazione per i suoi successi dovuti alla forza e al coraggio, in particolare per le imprese gloriose in guerra. Il compiere un atto infame, anche contro le intenzioni, fa perdere la τιμή e il diritto ad essa in futuro.<sup>20</sup> Macchiarsi di tale "colpa oggettiva" equivale ad essere escluso dalla società arcaica e, di conseguenza, essere destinato a morire. È caratteristico che questa "colpa oggettiva", di fondamentale importanza per *Aiace*, già per Sofocle avrà un valore puramente storico, non essendo mai definita ὕβρις ο ἄμαρτία.<sup>21</sup> Inoltre, la sua funzione nella struttura della tragedia è marginale. Come ha ben chiarito la Saïd, "Sophocle ne mentionne jamais expressément une *hamartia* du héros".<sup>22</sup> Per quanto riguarda, invece, il concetto di ὕβρις, si osserva lo slittamento del suo significato dal piano etico-religioso a quello politico, specialmente in riferimento al protagonista.<sup>23</sup> Prima di affrontare tale questione, cercherò di esaminare in che termini l'atteggiamento di *Aiace* viene valutato nel prologo (vv. 1-133) e nella profezia di Calcante raccontata dal messo nel terzo episodio (vv. 748-783).

Nel corso del dialogo con Odisseo neanche una parola di Atena presuppone la colpevolezza di *Aiace*, colpito dalla dea dell'insania che ricorda l'ἄτη omerica. Nella chiusura del prologo la dea ammonisce, in una breve *rhexis*, Odisseo – dopo avergli fatto constatare la rovina del potente eroe – a non rivolgere agli dei delle parole arroganti: τοιαῦτα τοίνυν εἰσορῶν ὑπέρκοπον / μηδέν ποτ' εἴπησ' αὐτὸς ἐς θεοῦς ἔπος (vv. 127-128); inoltre gli ricorda la necessità di non insuperbirsi a causa della propria

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indirettamente) i termini εὐγενής (v. 480), ἄριστος (vv. 636-637, 1340, 1380), γενναῖος (v. 1355).

<sup>20</sup> Cfr. Adkins, *La morale dei Greci*, cit., 93 ss.; J. Lacarrière, *Sophocle*, Paris 1978<sup>2</sup>, 44 ss.; M. Maslanka, "Problem cierpienia bohatera tragicznego u Sofoklesa" (Il problema della sofferenza dell'eroe tragico in Sofocle), *Eos* 72 (1984) 36-37.

<sup>21</sup> Con questo termine, come è noto, viene chiamata la colpa tragica nella *Poetica* di Aristotele (13,1453a,7-10), con una precisazione di significato nella *Retorica* (1,13,1374b, 6-8), dove essa (indicata con il termine ἀμάρτημα, una variante lessicale rispetto ad ἄμαρτία) si colloca tra ἀτύχημα (evento negativo casuale) e ἀδίκημα (trasgressione morale soggetta alla punizione) e si riferisce ad una azione volontaria, negativa nelle conseguenze, ma priva di intenzione malvagia; cfr. anche Bremer, *Hamartia*, cit., 99. La poca attinenza della concezione aristotelica della colpa tragica con le tragedie di Sofocle è sostenuta dalla Saïd, *La faute tragique*, cit., 26, 31, 507; cfr. inoltre V. Ehrenberg, *Sofocle e Pericle*, Brescia 1959 (titolo orig.: *Sophocles and Pericles*, Oxford 1954), 40, e S. Østerud, "Hamartia in Aristotle and Greek Tragedy", *Symbolae Osloenses* 51 (1976) 65-80, in particolare 76-77.

<sup>22</sup> Cfr. Saïd, *La faute tragique*, cit., 398.

<sup>23</sup> Cfr. *ibid.*, 402-403.



superiorità fisica o della ricchezza (vv. 129-130), ma è significativo che questo genere di trasgressione non possa essere riferito ad Aiace. In effetti, il suo discorso, che si mantiene nella forma gnomica, piuttosto generica, sembra non avere stretti legami con la situazione di Aiace.<sup>24</sup> Le ultime parole della dea, con le quali si chiude il prologo (vv. 132-133), hanno il sapore di un detto arcaico e potrebbero riferirsi in maniera indiretta all'eroe: τοὺς δὲ σῶφρονας / θεοὶ φιλοῦσι καὶ στυγοῦσι τοὺς κακοῦς. L'affermazione della dea secondo cui gli immortali odiano i cattivi che, sebbene generica, contiene una chiara allusione ad Aiace, appare svuotata del suo significato in ragione dell'atteggiamento manifestato da Atena in precedenza nei confronti dell'eroe privo di ragione. Nei vv. 90-117 ella si prende gioco del nemico già vinto, ma ancora inconsapevole della propria sciagura, chiamandosi la sua σύμμαχος (v. 90) e incoraggiandolo – con evidente ironia – a mettere in azione ogni suo proponimento contro i nemici: φείδου μηδὲν ὧν περ ἐννοεῖς (115). Ma già prima, nel dialogo con Odisseo colpisce il modo in cui Atena descrive l'episodio dell'attacco notturno dell'eroe, fallito a causa del suo inganno (vv. 51 ss.), antecedente l'azione tragica. L'assenza di qualsiasi proposito etico-didattico in riferimento ad Aiace risulta chiaramente dal passo in cui la dea contrappone la propria superiorità alla debolezza dell'avversario perfino nella sfera "intellettuale": ἐγὼ σφ' ἀπείργω, δυσφόρους ἐπ' ὄμμασι / γνώμας βαλοῦσα (vv. 51-52); ἐγὼ σκοτώσω βλέφαρα καὶ δεδορκότα (v. 85). In tali affermazioni viene dimenticata la lezione eschilea di χάρις βίαιος,<sup>25</sup> riemerge invece la tradizione culturale omerica con il caos etico delle sue divinità capricciose e amorali. Atena non presenta mai la follia dell'eroe come punizione per una determinata offesa,<sup>26</sup> e non si può sostenere che con il proprio inganno ella abbia voluto salvare gli Atridi ed Odisseo: non c'è parola da lei pronunciata che riveli sdegno di fronte al tentativo criminoso del figlio di Telamone. La questione della colpevolezza dell'eroe viene inoltre chiarita dall'atteggiamento assunto nel prologo da Odisseo, la vittima mancata del piano di Aiace. I suoi sentimenti per il nemico rovinato dagli dei oscillano tra la compassione e il senso dello smarrimento. È difficile non dare ragione al Lin-

<sup>24</sup> Cfr. I. M. Linfoth, *Three Scenes in Sophocles' "Ajax"*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1954, 4-5.

<sup>25</sup> Cfr. *supra*, n. 8.

<sup>26</sup> Cfr. Linfoth, *Three Scenes*, cit., 3-4; Di Benedetto, *Sofocle*, cit., 56-61; Ronnet, *Sophocle poète tragique*, cit., 179.

forth quando afferma: "Sophocles has so composed the prologue as almost entirely to suppress the guilt of Ajax".<sup>27</sup>

L'innocenza del protagonista e, di conseguenza, l'impossibilità di interpretare la sua insania come atto di punizione da parte di Atena risulta inoltre, indirettamente, dalla profezia di Calcante del terzo episodio in cui egli afferma che l'ira della dea si sarebbe limitata ad un solo giorno (vv. 756-757). Ciò nondimeno, in base al racconto dell'indovino si potrebbero muovere delle obiezioni a chi non ammette la colpevolezza di Aiace. Nelle parole di Calcante il protagonista assume, in effetti, i tratti di un ὑβριστής nel senso eschileo della parola. La sua tracotanza si è espressa, secondo il profeta, nel superbo rifiuto dell'aiuto degli dei nelle imprese belliche. Dai due esempi riportati dall'indovino nei vv. 762-775 appare chiaro che l'eroe si è rivelato οὐ κατ' ἄνθρωπον φρονῶν (v. 777). I suoi tratti "eschilei" vengono ribaditi con l'uso del linguaggio peculiare del primo grande tragico: μὴ κατ' ἄνθρωπον φρονῆι, (v. 761) e οὐ κατ' ἄνθρωπον φρονῶν (v. 777) si pongono sulla linea di οὐ κατ' ἄνθρωπον φρονεῖ dei *Sette contro Tebe* (v. 425), che, tra l'altro, occupa nel verso la stessa posizione, riferito a Capaneo, uno dei sette invasori di Tebe; θνητὸς ὢν (*Septem* 442) è riecheggiato in ἀνθρώπου φύσιν / βλαστῶν dell'*Aiace* (vv. 760-761).

Nel descrivere il comportamento di Aiace nei confronti degli dei e del padre, Calcante adopera, riferendosi alla sua tracotanza, l'avverbio ὑψικόμπως (v. 766),<sup>28</sup> coniato sull'aggettivo "caro" ad Eschilo.<sup>29</sup> È, inoltre, interessante notare come l'atto di ὑβρις di Aiace coincida – sempre secondo Calcante – con il venir meno della ragione: ἄνους καλῶς λέγοντος ἠὲ ῥέθη πατρός (v. 763) e κάφρόνως ἡμείψατο (v. 766). L'aspetto "intellettuale" della colpa che qui si avvicina all' ἄτη intesa come accecamento connesso con l'atto di trasgressione, è tipico dei personaggi eschilei.<sup>30</sup> Ma nel passo in questione il venir meno della ragione nel protagonista, che si manifesta nelle

<sup>27</sup> Three Scenes, cit., 8.

<sup>28</sup> Cfr. anche ἐκόμπει μῦθον (v. 770).

<sup>29</sup> Cfr. Pers. 827-828 ὑπερκόμπων ἄγαν / φρονημάτων, parole pronunciate da Dario nel contesto dell'ammonimento rivolto ai Persiani a non esporsi all'ira di Zeus; *Septem* 391 ὑπερκόμπους σαγαῖς, detto dell'armatura indossata da Tideo; ibid. 404 σῆμ' ὑπέρκομπον τόδε, riferito alla insegna dello scudo di Tideo e, indirettamente, al condottiero stesso; si veda pure ibid. 425 κόμπος, vocabolo riguardante Capaneo.

<sup>30</sup> La colpa dei personaggi eschilei viene spesso presentata in termini di atto folle e disastroso (cfr. per es. Pers. 821-822, Ag. 219-223, ma gli esempi sono più numerosi), che il Bremer avvicina all'ἄτη: cfr. *Hamartia*, cit., 118-134; cfr. anche supra, n. 12.

parole arroganti da lui pronunciate, non va attribuito all'intervento divino che, nel caso per es. di Serse, si esprimeva nel concetto di "demone" (δαίμων);<sup>31</sup> esso fa richiamo piuttosto alla "malattia mentale" di Prometeo (cfr. *Prom.* 472) di cui l'unico responsabile è egli stesso.<sup>32</sup> L' ἄτη eschilea interessa, invece, l'azione ingannatrice di Atena, che in un primo momento sembra punizione per un'offesa subita. Senonché, come abbiamo potuto notare, l'irrilevanza di tale offesa non permette – se confrontata con la strutturazione interna del personaggio di Atena – di considerare quest'ultima una divinità che si faccia carico della realizzazione del nesso ὕβρις / ἄτη. Ora, è da notare che le profezie di Calcante, anche se tendono a identificare la rovina dell'eroe con la diretta conseguenza della sua ὕβρις, rimangono estranee alla sostanza della tragedia. Il racconto della colpa di Aiace soltanto verso la metà del dramma (vv. 766-770), dopo la sua uscita dalla scena, tende a giustificare la crudele azione di Atena e suona come una rivelazione sui generis, fatta proprio nel giorno "fatale" per Aiace. Per quanto riguarda, poi, l'atteggiamento del protagonista descritto negli episodi riportati da Calcante nei vv. 762-775, il riconoscimento della propria grandezza (μεγαλοψυχία) passava agli occhi dei Greci dell'epoca arcaica per naturale e giustificato: lo confermano gli esempi in Omero (basta pensare ad *Il.* 6, la scena del saluto fra Ettore ed Andromaca, dove nei vv. 444-445 l'eroe afferma: "ho appreso ad essere forte / sempre, a combattere in mezzo ai primi Troiani"), nonché il passo sulla megalopsychia nell'*Etica Nicomachea* di Aristotele.<sup>33</sup> Dal punto di vista dei valori professati da Aiace, il suo rifiuto dell'aiuto divino descritto nei vv. 762-775, non significa che Sofocle avrebbe messo in risalto il lato negativo dell'atteggiamento dell'eroe, colpevole di una trasgressione nei confronti degli dei.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Cfr. *Pers.* 345-346, 353-354, 472, 515-516, 532 ss., 904-905.

<sup>32</sup> Cfr. *Prom.* 982, 999-1000, 1012. Sull'aspetto "intellettuale" della ὕβρις di Prometeo cfr. M. Maslanka Soro, "La legge del pathei mathos nel Prometeo incatenato di Eschilo", *Sandalion* 12-13 (1989-1990), 14-15. La colpa è veicolo di contenuti "intelletuali" anche in Sofocle; per es. nell'*Antigone* Creonte, il più "eschileo" dei personaggi sofoclei, è rimproverato per la sua dissennatezza da Antigone (cfr. per es. vv. 469-470), da Emone (cfr. v. 755) e da Tiresia (cfr. vv. 1052, 1090); alla fine, dopo aver capito di esser stato egli stesso la causa della sua rovina e di quella dei suoi, l'infelice riconosce la follia che l'aveva travolto (cfr. vv. 1261, 1269).

<sup>33</sup> Cfr. *Eth. Nic.* 1123b, 1 ss.

<sup>34</sup> Non diverso è il parere del Linforth il quale, riferendosi ad Aiace, parla di "honest pride" (cfr. *Three Scenes*, cit., 28); cfr. inoltre Dirat, *L'ὕβρις*, cit., 284: "C'est en définitive la grandeur du héros qui est à l'origine du malheur qui le frappe". Che Sofocle

Non si può, infatti, accettare l'approccio all'*Aiace* proposto dal Bowra il quale riduce il principale filone ideologico di questa – e di altre tragedie di Sofocle – alla sequenza eschilea ὕβρις / ἄτη / σωφροσύνη.<sup>35</sup> Il ruolo secondario della problematica della colpa è stato, invece, colto dal Perrotta.<sup>36</sup> Lo studioso sostiene, però, che essa consiste nell'empietà e nella tracotanza,<sup>37</sup> senza notare il fatto che il suo aspetto etico-religioso è stato notevolmente ridotto: lo prova il comportamento amorale della dea stessa, che nel prologo mette in risalto non tanto la ὕβρις dell'eroe quanto le dimensioni e il carattere improvviso della sua sciagura e – in una forma sentenziosa – il contrasto tra la potenza divina e la debolezza umana.

Nelle parti della tragedia successive al prologo, in cui Aiace è ἔμψρων, avendo recuperato la ragione, si determina un'atmosfera di dolore e di sofferenza in seguito alla scoperta da parte del protagonista della sua sconfitta e della sua infamia. Lo conferma il commento di Tecmessa rivolto al Coro, in cui non mancano i termini che caratterizzano la sofferenza dell'eroe (cfr. πάθος: v. 215; ἄλγος: v. 259; πάθη: v. 260; ὀδύνας: v. 262) e il modo in cui Aiace si esprime nel *kommos* con il Coro (vv. 349-429) e nelle successive quattro *rheseis*. Ciò che colpisce è la mancanza del senso di colpa sia per il tentato omicidio che per il tragico errore. Molto forte è, invece, specialmente nel *kommos*, il suo odio verso i nemici, unito al rancore per il fatto che la legittima vendetta ha avuto uno sbocco così misero.<sup>38</sup> Il suo sentimento di odio è alimentato dalla convinzione che i capi dell'esercito greco e, in particolare, Odisseo lo scherniscono e ridono della sua disgrazia.<sup>39</sup>

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non abbia voluto fare di Aiace un theomachos risulta chiaramente non solo dal suo dialogo con Atena nel prologo, ma anche dal suo atteggiamento verso Zeus: cfr. le due preghiere che l'eroe gli rivolge, nel *kommos* e nell'ultimo monologo (rispettivamente, vv. 387-391 e 824-831).

<sup>35</sup> C.M. Bowra, *Sophoclean Tragedy*, Oxford 1944, 16 ss.

<sup>36</sup> Cfr. Sofocle, cit., 124 ss.

<sup>37</sup> Cfr. Sofocle, cit. per es. 124: "[la dea] odia Aiace, perché è dissennato ed empio (...) della colpevolezza di Aiace non è lecito dubitare"; anche il Kitto parla di "irreligious arrogance which Ajax has habitually shown" (*Form and Meaning in Drama*, London 1964<sup>2</sup>, 191).

<sup>38</sup> Cfr. vv. 348-353 e 372-376.

<sup>39</sup> Cfr. v. 367 οἴμοι γέλωτος; v. 382 ἦ που πολὺν γέλωθ' ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἄγεις (detto di Odisseo); πολὺν γέλωτα del v. 382 (che rimane in relazione antistrofica col v. 367) riecheggia, con una sorta di ironia tragica, come ha notato il Di Benedetto (Sofocle, cit., 41), γέλων πολὺν del v. 303, il riso di scherno di Aiace in preda alla follia, diretto contro

Quello del riso dei nemici è un motivo di grande importanza nell'*Aiace*<sup>40</sup> e nella cultura arcaica greca i cui valori determinano il comportamento del protagonista. Il venir meno della considerazione e del rispetto (τιμή) da parte della collettività, tramite il ghigno e lo scherno, costituisce un colpo molto grave per l'individuo che di questi valori si nutre. Secondo ciò che afferma Tecmessa prima della comparsa di Aiace sulla scena, l'intensità del dolore ha influito sul suo modo di affrontare una situazione di sconfitta: mai in passato avrebbe emesso certe grida e certi gemiti, atteggiamento ritenuto da lui proprio degli uomini di poco valore, dei κακοί: ὁ δ' εὐθὺς ἐξώμωξεν οἰμωγὰς λυγρὰς / ἄς οὔποτ' αὐτοῦ πρόσθεν εἰσήκουσ' ἐγώ. (vv. 317-318).<sup>41</sup> Lo stato di estrema disperazione porta l'eroe ad esteriorizzare i propri sentimenti e "svuotandolo" dell'identità culturale gli fa desiderare la morte.

Non c'è nessun altro personaggio sofocleo che tanto frequentemente e con tanta intensità invochi la morte come l'unica soluzione ai suoi mali. Nella prima antistrofa del *kommos* con il Coro dei vv. 349-429 il protagonista fa appello ai suoi φίλοι, in nome del legame che li unisce, chiedendo di essere ucciso (v. 361). Nella loro risposta si può notare una crescente chiusura di fronte allo stato d'animo di Aiace, che lo costringe ad esprimersi in maniera sempre più monologica.<sup>42</sup> Ma di questo parlerò più avanti.

Successivamente, il desiderio della morte si manifesta verso la fine della seconda coppia strofica (vv. 387 ss.), nella quale Aiace chiede a Zeus che gli dia il modo di uccidere chi odia e di morire, subito dopo. In questo momento il dialogo con il Coro, rivelatosi un interlocutore del tutto insufficiente, pare definitivamente abbandonato da Aiace, a favore di una Selbst-äusserung.<sup>43</sup>

La terza strofa si apre (v. 393), in un'atmosfera altamente patetica, con un'invocazione all'Erebo a cui Aiace chiede di accoglierlo. Nel contesto del

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i suoi nemici, in particolare contro Odisseo.

<sup>40</sup> Il motivo del riso sarcastico dei nemici appare anche nella prima *rhexis* di Aiace (vv. 430-480), esattamente nel v. 454 (cfr. κείνοι δ' ἐπεγγελῶσιν ἐκπεφευγότες); esso ricompare, dopo la sua morte, nelle parole di Tecmessa (v. 961) e del Coro (vv. 955-960), dove nel v. 958 ritorna il nesso πολλὸν γέλωτα. Per il motivo del riso in relazione all'eroe sofocleo cfr. Knox, *Heroic Temper*, cit., 30 ss.

<sup>41</sup> Cfr. anche vv. 410-411.

<sup>42</sup> Cfr. Medda, *La forma monologica*, cit., 85 ss. e Di Benedetto, *Sofocle*, cit., 38 ss.

<sup>43</sup> Cfr. Medda, *ibid.*, 89.

desiderio di morire provocato dall'ἄτιμία<sup>44</sup> di cui l'eroe si è coperto, bisogna collocare anche il frustrante paragone con Telamone, che occupa la parte iniziale della prima *rhexis* (vv. 430-480). Esso è basato su una serie di situazioni che coinvolgono in maniera simile il padre e il figlio; l'unica differenza fra i due riguarda l'esito finale: ad Aiace, nonostante abbia dimostrato la prodezza pari a quella di Telamone, è stata rifiutata la gloria. Ora egli è consapevole di aver distrutto "l'eredità culturale" del genitore, che nell'epoca a cui appartiene doveva passare per qualcosa di imperdonabile: il figlio che non si era dimostrato migliore o almeno uguale al padre diventava indegno di lui e di tutta la società che poneva sopra ogni cosa "competitive values".<sup>45</sup>

In ragione della sua ἀρετή, Aiace rivendica – nella stessa *rhexis* – il proprio diritto a portare le armi di Achille, diritto che Achille non gli avrebbe rifiutato, contrariamente a quanto hanno fatto gli Atridi, favoriti da Atena. L'eroe insiste sul fatto che la sua disgrazia è dovuta all'azione ingannatrice della dea e non ai principi su cui fonda il suo modo di agire; egli, cioè, sperimenta su di sé la veridicità della sentenza che "quando il dio colpisce, anche il peggiore ha ragione del migliore" (vv. 455-456). Ora, di fronte all'ostilità degli dei, dell'esercito e dei suoi capi ed alla mancanza di legami "positivi" col padre, il protagonista, nella seconda parte della prima *rhexis*, articolata in domande e rispettive risposte (vv. 457-480), rigetta, quasi al momento di formularle, due possibilità di sfuggire alla presente condizione: il ritorno a casa e la morte sul campo di battaglia con cui avrebbe fatto piacere ai suoi nemici (cfr. v. 469 Ἀτρείδας ἄν εὐφράναίμι πού). Gli rimane solo il tentativo di riabilitarsi agli occhi del padre che si riassume nell'alternativa: ἢ καλῶς ζῆν ἢ καλῶς τεθνηκέναι (v. 479), con l'accento che batte sul suo secondo elemento. Il motivo della morte come l'unica soluzione possibile ritornerà ancora nell'ultimo monologo del protagonista (vv. 815 ss.),<sup>46</sup> in cui Aiace, sul punto di morire, rivolge l'ultimo saluto alla vita e alla natura circostante.<sup>47</sup>

In un solo momento il desiderio di suicidarsi sembra venir meno, es-

<sup>44</sup> Cfr. il termine ἄτιμος nei vv. 426-427, ripetuto nel v. 440 della *rhexis*.

<sup>45</sup> Cfr. Adkins, *La morale dei Greci*, cit., 71 ss.; sul modello agonistico della società greca, cfr. A. Gouldner, "Il sistema agonistico greco: modelli culturali", in *La tragedia greca. Guida storica e critica*, a cura di Ch.R. Beye, Roma-Bari 1976<sup>2</sup>, 179 ss.

<sup>46</sup> Cfr. la patetica invocazione alla morte: ὦ θάνατε θάνατε, νῦν μ' ἐπίσκεψαι μολών. / καίτοι σὲ μὲν κάκει προσαυδήσω ξυνών (vv. 854-855).

<sup>47</sup> Cfr. in particolare vv. 856 ss.

sendo subentrati nel ragionamento del protagonista i principi su cui egli sarebbe disposto a fondare la propria vita futura. Si tratta del suo terzo monologo (vv. 646-692) che, come è noto, mette gli studiosi di fronte a non poche difficoltà, dovute ai moduli espressivi di cui l'eroe si serve (frasi allusive, a doppio senso, espressioni metaforiche). Tale modo di esprimersi che gli permette di creare una barriera tra sé e il mondo esterno è dovuto ad un progressivo allontanarsi dagli altri. Ma sull'argomento avrò modo di ritornare. Per adesso è importante stabilire se Aiace nel momento in cui pronuncia questo monologo è determinato a togliersi la vita. L'allusione al suicidio sarebbe da intravedere nell'immagine del seppellimento della spada di Ettore, "la più odiata delle armi" (v. 658 ἔχθιστον βελῶν). Solo i critici che vorrebbero ritrovare nella struttura ideologico-espressiva della nostra tragedia lo schema eschileo di colpa e punizione – e questo, per esempio, è il punto di vista del Bowra – sostengono<sup>48</sup> che Aiace ha raggiunto la σωφροσύνη e l'εὐσέβεια, riconciliandosi con gli Atridi e onorando gli dei, e, quindi, ha abbandonato il pensiero della morte. Il fatto che, nonostante ciò, il figlio di Telamone si tolga la vita, il Bowra spiega con un secondo accecamento per volontà di Atena. Nel contesto di questa interpretazione, accolta anche dal Webster,<sup>49</sup> l'atto del suicidio assume un carattere per eccellenza fatalistico, in realtà non voluto da Sofocle, che altrimenti non avrebbe avuto alcun motivo di sottolineare più di una volta, come si è potuto notare, il desiderio di morire da parte di Aiace.

Inoltre, nel corso del quarto monologo, racchiuso nei vv. 815-865 (a differenza degli altri, esso è un "vero" monologo, pronunciato in estrema solitudine, con delle invocazioni alle forze cosmiche e alla natura circostante) neanche una parola richiama la precedente *rhexis*, il che naturalmente sarebbe dovuto accadere se l'eroe avesse cambiato la decisione presa poco prima.

La tesi di chi ritiene l'ᾄτη la causa del suicidio di Aiace pare contraddetta anche dalle parole di Tecmessa rivolte al Coro che compatisce la sua sorte, in presenza del messo venuto con la notizia dell'arrivo di Teucro e della profezia di Calcante. Il destino di Aiace sembra già compiuto in

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<sup>48</sup> Cfr. il parere del Bowra: "The great speech which he makes at 646-692 shows that he has recovered himself, got rid of his evil passions and illusions, learned the lesson which the gods have taught him" (Sophoclean Tragedy, cit., 39); il Bowra parla di "pentimento" di Aiace, presunto ὑβριστής (40), ed esprime l'opinione che egli muoia "riappacificato" con gli dei e i capi degli Atridi (42).

<sup>49</sup> Cfr. T.B.L. Webster, An Introduction to Sophocles, London 1969<sup>2</sup>, 69 e 96.

quell'istante e la donna si sente ingannata (cfr. v. 807 ἠπατημένη) dalle sue precedenti parole (quelle del terzo monologo); più avanti, raggiunta la certezza, ella nel *kommos* col Coro approva inaspettatamente (vv. 967-968) questa morte aggiungendo che Aiace ha ottenuto ciò che ardentemente desiderava.

D'altra parte, la profezia di Calcante parla di un solo giorno (cfr. vv. 756-757) fatale per Aiace in cui egli non avrebbe dovuto muoversi dalla sua tenda; non c'è alcun accenno alla morte come strumento di punizione da parte di Atena. Se la dea, infatti, lo avesse voluto morto, non avrebbe posto nessuna condizione per la possibile salvezza. Non è l'ira di Atena che spinge l'eroe a togliersi la vita, ma le sue conseguenze, troppo inaccettabili rispetto ai valori che Aiace professava durante la vita.<sup>50</sup>

Alla luce di quanto si è finora detto possiamo affermare che la relazione tra colpa e sofferenza nell'*Aiace* non si racchiude nello schema causa → effetto e che la sofferenza prevale nel corso della vicenda tragica. Infatti, nemmeno dopo la morte Aiace è oggetto di condanna da parte di Tecmessa, del Coro e di Teucro. Diversamente egli viene giudicato dagli Atridi che si oppongono a concedergli la sepoltura, nella seconda parte della tragedia. L'analogia con l'*Antigone* si delinea chiaramente, sia per quest'ultimo motivo sia per il fatto che la ὕβρις che qui viene imputata al protagonista, appartiene al contesto politico, non a quello etico-religioso. Menelao la identifica con il fallito attacco all'esercito greco (e ai suoi capi), aggravato dal tradimento (vv. 1055-1061), nonché con la mancanza di disciplina e di rispetto verso gli Atridi (vv. 1081 ὑβρίζειν, 1088 ὑβριστής). Menelao deforma, quindi, la verità nel riportare l'ostilità di Aiace all'intero esercito (v. 1055 στρατῶ ξύμπαντι) e, inoltre, nell'ignorare la legittimità della difesa della propria τιμή da parte dell'eroe.

Il termine ὕβρις nelle sue varianti grammatico-lessicali (ὕβριστής, ὑβρίζειν ecc.) viene adoperato, a sua volta, in riferimento agli Atridi, ad Odisseo e a tutti gli Achei. Con esso Aiace indica l'attacco alla sua τιμή (cfr. v. 304 ὕβριν)<sup>51</sup> e l'atteggiamento oltraggioso, unito agli scherni, di fronte alla sua infamia (cfr. v. 367 οἴμοι γέλωτος, οἶον ὑβρίσθην ἄρα).

<sup>50</sup> Cfr. Linforth, *Three Scenes*, cit., 23.

<sup>51</sup> La Saïd ha dimostrato che la ὕβρις in questo passo va intesa come oltraggio subito da Aiace e non come quello che egli infligge (in termini di punizione) ai suoi nemici: cfr. *La faute tragique*, cit., 404 n. 581.



Καθυβριζών del v. 153<sup>52</sup> riguarda il comportamento di Odisseo, che nei vv. 955-958 si unisce allo scherno. Gli Atridi vengono accusati di ὕβρις nei vv. 1092, 1385, quando rifiutano di dare sepoltura ad Aiace.

Concludendo questa parte in cui si è cercato di dimostrare che la sofferenza di Aiace è frutto non della sua colpa, ma della sconfitta nei rapporti con Atena e gli Atridi, possiamo dire che la ὕβρις del protagonista, affermata solo da Menelao che le dà un significato "politico", non ha niente a che vedere con l'accecamento mandatogli da Atena. Esso viene presentato da Calcante come una punizione per il suo atteggiamento arrogante verso gli dei, ma la dimensione etico-religiosa di questa presunta colpa si dimostra irrilevante nel contesto della problematica della τιμή e nel modo in cui essa viene illustrata da Sofocle. Tutto ciò fa sì che la sofferenza dell'eroe, esprimendosi nelle sue reazioni alla sconfitta infame e nella consapevolezza di una crisi profonda tra lui e il mondo esterno, non si lasci rinchiudere nella struttura rigida della teodicea, ma assuma una dimensione autonoma.

Nella seconda parte della nostra analisi l'accento verrà posto sulla sofferenza di Aiace come conseguenza della sua emarginazione e sui moduli espressivi in cui questo stato si manifesta.

3. Il protagonista, a partire dalle prime parole che pronuncia sulla scena va incontro alla crescente incomprensione da parte di chi gli sta vicino. Questa situazione non rimane senza conseguenze nella sfera espressiva: di fronte all'impossibilità del dialogo il personaggio assume un atteggiamento monologico,<sup>53</sup> con dei forti accenti di pateticità.

L'incomunicabilità tra l'eroe tragico e gli altri è una caratteristica delle tragedie di Sofocle, ma nell'*Aiace* essa raggiunge dei toni particolarmente drammatici. Ciò, credo, sia dovuto in gran parte alla peculiarità della struttura di quest'opera che comincia nel bel mezzo della catastrofe. Il tentativo – da parte del protagonista – di trovare una giusta via d'uscita dallo stato di atimia nel quale si trova, unito alla necessità di spiegare a se stesso le ragioni che lo spingono a togliersi la vita, gli fa pronunciare quattro *rheseis*

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<sup>52</sup> Cfr. anche v. 971 πρὸς ταῦτ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐν κενοῖς ὕβριζέτω.

<sup>53</sup> La problematica dell'emarginazione dei personaggi sofoclei è stata recentemente studiata più a fondo dal Di Benedetto, "Moduli di una nuova soggettività nell'*'Antigone'*", ASNP, s. III, 10 (1980) 79-123; Idem, "L'emarginazione di Edipo", ASNP, s. III, 9 (1979) 919-957; Idem, Sofocle, cit., passim; per l'espansione monologica di Aiace, Antigone, Edipo (nell'*Edipo Re*) cfr. anche le analisi del Medda, *La forma monologica*, cit., 75-121.

il cui significato sfugge, per lo più, ai presenti.

I diversi livelli di "comunicazione" tra Aiace e il Coro, da mettere in rapporto con la scarsa disponibilità di quest'ultimo a manifestare la *συμπάθεια* con l'eroe, si possono individuare ancora prima della comparsa del protagonista sulla scena, e precisamente durante il dialogo del Coro con Tecmessa, nel contesto dell'opposizione tra *νοσεῖν*<sup>54</sup> (l'insania) e *φρονεῖν* (l'assennatezza). Nel loro modo di pensare i marinai del Coro non riescono a comprendere, come mai, recuperata la ragione, Aiace sia preso da un profondo dolore (cfr. vv. 263-264). La maniera in cui lo stato di follia si oppone a quello di normalità presenta un rovescio rispetto alle norme comunemente riconosciute, in quanto la prima offre un conforto che la seconda non è in grado di procurare. È significativo in proposito il commento del Coro ai gemiti di Aiace: esso confonde questa reazione dell'eroe alla sua attuale atimia con il precedente stato di follia: *ἀνὴρ ἔοικεν ἢ νοσεῖν, ἢ τοῖς πάλαι / νοσήμασι ξυνοῦσι λυπεῖσθαι παρών* (vv. 337-338).

Eppure, nonostante questa "incomprensione", sia nella parodo che nel dialogo tra Tecmessa e il Coro Sofocle aveva messo in risalto la buona disposizione dei marinai nei confronti del proprio comandante, la cui figura domina i loro pensieri. Nello stesso tempo emergono (già nella parodo: cfr. vv. 200, 245-250) i limiti di questo sentimento, consistenti nella paura dei Coreuti di essere coinvolti nella rovina del protagonista. Qui e anche altrove i compagni di Aiace sono mossi dall'egoismo,<sup>55</sup> pensando soprattutto a se stessi; un atteggiamento simile traspare – fino ad un certo momento – dal comportamento di Tecmessa, la quale però fin dall'inizio dimostra molto più affetto per l'eroe e comprensione per il suo stato d'animo. Per esempio nei vv. 265 ss., ella cerca di spiegare al Coro, meravigliato e incapace di capire (cfr. v. 270 *οὐ κάτοιδ' ὅπως λέγεις*), perché ora, che Aiace ha ripreso di ragionare, il suo male si sia aggravato.

La "sfasatura" tra Aiace ed i suoi compagni è ancora molto più evidente nel corso del dialogo lirico dei vv. 349-429.<sup>56</sup> Nella battuta iniziale

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<sup>54</sup> Questo termine nelle sue varianti grammatico-lessicali è più frequentemente usato per descrivere la follia di Aiace; cfr. *νόσοις* (v. 59); *νόσος* (v. 66); *θεῖα νόσος* (v. 185); *νοσήσας* (v. 207); *νόσῳ* (v. 271); *νόσου* (v. 274); *νόσον* (v. 280); *νοσεῖν* (v. 337); *νοσήμασιν* (v. 338); *νόσον* (v. 452).

<sup>55</sup> Cfr. vv. 900-902 (*ᾧμοι ἐμῶν νόστων / ᾧμοι, κατέπεφνες, ἄναξ, / τόνδε συνναύταν, τάλας*), che essi pronunciano subito dopo aver appreso da Tecmessa la notizia della morte di Aiace.

<sup>56</sup> L'emarginazione del protagonista nel *kommós* è messa in risalto anche dal fatto che

della prima strofa l'eroe fa appello ai suoi philoi, insistendo sul fatto che essi siano gli unici amici dimostratisi leali nei suoi confronti.<sup>57</sup> Appare, inoltre, nelle parole dell'eroe un patetico invito a "vedere" le sue disgrazie (cfr. v. 351 ἴδεσθε e v. 364 ὀρᾶς) che non trova nessun riscontro nella reazione del Coro. La sua prima risposta è, infatti, rivolta non ad Aiace, ma a Tecmessa (vv. 354-355) e si limita a constatare l'immensità della disgrazia dell'eroe. Il desiderio di prendere le distanze dallo sciagurato emerge, insieme alla poca disponibilità a comprenderlo e ad agire a suo favore, dalla seconda battuta dei Coreuti (vv. 362-363), dopo che Aiace si è rivolto a loro chiedendo di aiutarlo a uccidersi<sup>58</sup> (cfr. v. 361). Anche nelle successive, sempre più rare battute il Coro, freddo e distaccato, si limita a invitare seccamente il protagonista a conservare l'equilibrio di fronte all'impossibilità di cambiare lo stato attuale di cose (vv. 377-378, 386).

A partire dalla seconda strofa, in particolare dal v. 372, si nota – da parte di Aiace – l'abbandono dell'atteggiamento dialogico col Coro: l'eroe, non facendo più caso alle battute dei suoi "φίλοι" (quelle dei vv. 377-378, 383, 386), espone a se stesso i motivi della propria sofferenza,<sup>59</sup> come la ἄτιμία (vv. 364 ss.), il riso dei nemici (vv. 367, 382), il rimpianto di non essersi potuto vendicare dei colpevoli (vv. 372 ss.). Tutto ciò è seguito da una breve preghiera a Zeus, verso la fine della seconda coppia strofica (vv. 387 ss.), molto personalizzata in cui Aiace chiede al dio di vendicarlo e, subito dopo, di concedergli la morte.

Nella terza strofa ed antistrofa la chiusura del protagonista nei confronti degli altri è "completa": nelle invocazioni pronunciate con tono elevato,<sup>60</sup> i suoi interlocutori diventano le tenebre dell'Erebo, il mare e il

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esso è preceduto da una apostrofe a Teucro, l'unico personaggio – assente, del resto, nella tragedia fino alla morte dell'eroe – ad avere un rapporto produttivo con Aiace; cfr. in proposito Medda, *La forma monologica*, cit., 86-87.

<sup>57</sup> ὀρθῶ νόμῳ del v. 350 si riferisce, secondo lo scoliasta, alla legge dell'amicizia: cfr. P.N. Papageorgios, *Scholia in Sophoclis tragoedias vetera*, Lipsiae 1888, comm. al v. 350, p. 34.

<sup>58</sup> La barriera emotiva tra il protagonista e il Coro si nota anche a livello formale, in quanto Aiace si esprime in versi lirici, mentre le fredde e banali risposte dei suoi compagni sono rese con trimetri giambici; cfr. Di Benedetto, *Sofocle*, cit., 41.

<sup>59</sup> Sui quali ci siamo soffermati nel paragrafo secondo del presente articolo.

<sup>60</sup> L'intensità emotiva dell'ultima coppia strofica si coglie in particolare: 1) nelle frequenti ripetizioni (cfr. v. 396 ἔλεσθ' ἔλεσθέ μ'; v. 397 ἔλεσθέ μ'; v. 403 ποῖ; v. 404 ποῖ; v. 414 πολὺν πολὺν); 2) nell'hyperbole dei vv. 408-409, in cui Aiace parla dell'i n t e r o esercito come responsabile della sua u c c i s i o n e; 3) nell'antitesi dei vv.

paesaggio di Troia – gli unici testimoni a cui spiega il perché dell'attuale condizione e le possibilità di uscirne.

Il senso di tragico e di solitudine che gli ispira la sua condizione, assieme alla consapevolezza che l'unico sbocco per uscirne coincide con la morte, domina il rapporto tra Aiace e gli altri anche nelle parti successive alla prima *rhexis*, e ciò si ripercuote a livello espressivo; egli, infatti, pronuncerà ancora altri tre discorsi, di cui l'ultimo in estrema solitudine.

La seconda *rhexis* (vv. 545-582) è preceduta dal dialogo tra Aiace e Tecmessa, caratterizzato dalla chiusura del protagonista nei confronti della donna, atteggiamento assunto da lui già in precedenza (cfr. vv. 293, 369).<sup>61</sup> Il Reinhardt ha notato l'assenza di qualsiasi reciprocità tra i due personaggi nel secondo episodio.<sup>62</sup> Tecmessa resta inascoltata a causa della sua posizione di donna e dell'inflessibilità dell'eroe. Nei vv. 485-524 ella pronuncia una *rhexis* con cui cerca di commuoverlo<sup>63</sup> e di fargli abbandonare l'idea del suicidio. Una delle caratteristiche di questa scena, che precede il discorso dell'eroe al piccolo figlio Eurisace, è il chiaro richiamo al passo dell'incontro tra Ettore ed Andromaca nel sesto libro dell'*Iliade*. Ma lo spostamento dell'accento – rispetto al passo iliadico – riguardante il rapporto che Aiace instaura tra sé e la donna, conferma la coerenza che egli manifesta nel voluto allontanamento dagli altri. Sono stati rilevati dei nessi linguistici tra le due scene.<sup>64</sup> Si è rivolto, tra l'altro, l'attenzione ad un particolare importante: nella sua *rhexis* Tecmessa si serve – alludendo allo stato di schiavitù in cui si verrà a trovare dopo la morte di Aiace – delle parole che nell'*Iliade* appartengono ad Ettore. La "sfasatura" tra i livelli di pensiero e di emotività su cui si pongono le parole dei due personaggi si coglie nel fatto<sup>65</sup>

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421-427, costruita di due immagini, di cui la prima si riferisce alla passata grandezza dell'eroe, l'altra, invece, all'attuale nullità; cfr. anche infra.

<sup>61</sup> Le battute di Tecmessa dei vv. 392-393 e 410-411 si infrangono contro una totale indifferenza da parte di Aiace ed è significativo che l'ultima battuta della donna sia pronunciata in terza persona.

<sup>62</sup> Cfr. K. Reinhardt, *Sophocle*, Paris 1971 (titolo orig.: *Sophokles*, Frankfurt am Main 1933), 45.

<sup>63</sup> La prova che tale sia l'intenzione di Tecmessa si ha nelle parole del Coro successive alla *rhexis*: Αἴας, ἔχειν σ' ἄν οἴκτον ὡς κ' ἀγὼ φρενὶ / θέλοισι' ἄν. αἰνοίης γὰρ ἄν τὰ τῆσδ' ἔπη (vv. 525-526).

<sup>64</sup> Cfr. Di Benedetto, *Sofocle*, cit., 72 ss., Reinhardt, *Sophocle*, cit., 46 ss., e Perrotta, *Sofocle*, cit., 144 ss.

<sup>65</sup> Notato dal Di Benedetto, *Sofocle*, cit., 73 e, prima di lui, dal Reinhardt, *Sophocle*, cit., 47-48.

che Tecmessa usa gli stessi argomenti contro il suicidio (il pensiero del padre, della patria, la considerazione dell'onore e della vergogna) che Aiace adoperava in precedenza – nella *rhexis* dei vv. 430-480 – a suo favore. Nella parte iniziale del secondo episodio, nel contesto del terzo monologo il protagonista, mentre pronuncia il principio dell'alternanza quale legge naturale che regola il ritmo del mondo, dà l'impressione di aver cambiato il suo atteggiamento nei confronti della donna: esprime, infatti, il proprio rammarico al pensiero che potrebbe lasciarla vedova con il figlio orfano (cfr. vv. 650-653). Significativamente egli parafrasa qui le parole pronunciate da Andromaca in *Il.* 6,432; in questa maniera allusiva egli dimostra di non esser rimasto indifferente al precedente discorso della donna. Tale sua partecipazione allo stato d'animo di Tecmessa dura, però, solo un attimo e non è sufficiente a distoglierlo dal pensiero del suicidio: ne abbiamo la spia nell'avversativa ἀλλὰ del v. 654 che apre una nuova sequenza introducendo un distacco da quanto detto nei vv. 650-653. In realtà, dunque, la "chiusura" di Aiace coinvolge, oltre al Coro anche il personaggio di Tecmessa.

L'emarginazione del protagonista – che rende più intenso il suo soffrire – è presente pure nella sfera dei rapporti familiari di fondamentale importanza nel mondo greco: si tratta del nesso Aiace / Eurisace. Nella sua seconda *rhexis*, il cui nucleo si riconduce essenzialmente al paragone tra lui e il figlio, l'eroe augura ad Eurisace di essergli uguale (cfr. vv. 550-551), ma di aver una sorte migliore (cfr. v. 550 εὐτυχέστερος). La "dissociazione" tra il padre e il figlio per quel che riguarda la "felicità" si riferisce anzitutto alla situazione attuale. La condizione del figlio è oggetto d'invidia da parte del padre, in quanto lo stato di felicità è strettamente legato alla non consapevolezza che accompagna la prima infanzia: ἐν τῷ φρονεῖν γὰρ μηδὲν ἥδιστος βίος (v. 554). Di conseguenza, il raggiungimento della somiglianza al padre viene identificato con la perdita della felicità.

A proposito di questa *rhexis* possiamo parlare di un certo capovolgimento del principio eschileo del *pathei mathos*: nel poeta più anziano la sofferenza conduceva alla σωφροσύνη intesa come conoscenza morale; nel passo in questione, la σωφροσύνη che corrisponde alla conoscenza intellettuale (=consapevolezza) porta il dolore a chi l'ha raggiunta. Per Aiace si rivela frustrante non solo il rapporto padre / figlio, ma anche la scoperta della dimensione negativa della ragione umana, del resto sperimentata già da lui nel doloroso passaggio dallo stato di insania a quello di normalità.

La terza *rhexis* di Aiace (vv. 646-692),<sup>66</sup> importante per valutare adeguatamente la crisi del suo rapporto con gli dei e i capi dell'esercito greco, in quanto il protagonista "spiega" a se stesso le ragioni che gli impediscono di accettare il compromesso con gli uni e gli altri, ha fino al v. 684 il carattere monologico, messo in risalto dall'amfibologia che si manifesta a livello espressivo, ma non ideologico.

Dopo il passo relativo al suo cambiamento verso Tecmessa (si tratta dei vv. 650-653) e dopo l'accenno metaforico – col motivo del "seppellimento" della spada di Ettore – al modo in cui si darà la morte (vv. 656-665), l'eroe formula un principio di alternanza dei fenomeni naturali (vv. 666-677), ognuno dei quali ha un esito "positivo": la notte svanisce davanti al giorno, l'inverno si "arrende" all'estate in arrivo ecc. Queste considerazioni vengono fatte a sostegno dell'affermazione che apre il passo (vv. 666-667), che cioè è necessario cedere agli dei e agli Atridi. In tale modo l'atto dell'ubbidienza nei confronti degli odiati capi dell'esercito greco si rivela fenomeno "positivo", analogo ai processi naturali che appartengono alla sfera del  $\sigma\omega\phi\rho\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ .<sup>67</sup>

Nella sequenza dei vv. 678-682, Aiace ritorna alla legge dell'alternanza e nel suo contesto riporta la massima di Biante di Priene,<sup>68</sup> conformemente alla quale l'amico può facilmente diventare il nemico e viceversa. Il Di Benedetto ha notato<sup>69</sup> che in Sofocle la parte "negativa" di questo motto si trova al secondo posto e che perciò su di essa batte l'accento. Inoltre, è significativo che il passaggio dall'amicizia all'ostilità venga presentato come frutto dell'esperienza personale del protagonista: "So per averlo appena appreso" (v. 678). A livello linguistico-grammaticale si coglie una certa incoerenza tra questa sequenza e la precedente: per Aiace i fenomeni ad esito "positivo" non sono conformi alla sua condizione presente,<sup>70</sup> e la domanda del v. 677: "E noi, come possiamo ignorare la saggezza?" rimane difatti senza risposta, sospesa, non in sintonia con la frase successiva che

<sup>66</sup> Una interpretazione convincente di questa *rhexis* ci è data dal Di Benedetto, Sofocle, cit., 47-55. Lo studioso dimostra, come i meccanismi del pensiero del protagonista rimangano in stretta connessione con i moduli espressivi.

<sup>67</sup> Cfr. v. 677: ἡμεῖς δὲ πῶς οὐ γνωσόμεσθα  $\sigma\omega\phi\rho\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ ;

<sup>68</sup> La conosciamo da Aristotele: cfr. Rhet. 2,13,1389b, 23-25.

<sup>69</sup> Cfr. Sofocle, cit., 51.

<sup>70</sup> A proposito della particolare condizione di Aiace che lo sottrae alle leggi riconosciute da tutti, cfr. le riflessioni del Fraenkel, *Due seminari*, cit., 23.

inizia con un ἐγὼ δ' ἐπίσταμαι γὰρ ἀρτίως seguito dalla parafrasi del detto di Biante: "bisogna odiarlo, il nemico, ma con l'idea che un giorno sarà amico, e l'amico vorrò servirlo, giovargli, ma col pensiero che non resterà sempre amico" (vv. 679-682).<sup>71</sup> L'ἐγὼ del v. 678 non può equivalere ad un ἐγὼ enfatico (=ἐγὼγ', secondo la congettura del Brunck), corrispondente a ἡμεῖς della sequenza precedente, come crede il Ferrari perché la contrapposizione logica tra le riflessioni in prima persona plurale nelle quali il protagonista non sembra personalmente coinvolto e quelle in prima persona singolare che esprimono la sua convinzione confermata dall'attuale esperienza, sembra giustificare l'opposizione grammaticale ἡμεῖς - ἐγὼ δ'.<sup>72</sup> Tale contrasto è ancora ribadito nella chiusura dell'ultima sequenza, cioè nei vv. 682-683, con l'amaro pensiero che per la maggioranza degli uomini l'amicizia è un "porto insidioso".

Aiace pronunciando il discorso appena analizzato non ha l'intenzione di ingannare gli altri, nonostante l'uso di un linguaggio ermetico ed allusivo. Una conferma in proposito viene dal fatto che fino al v. 684 non è resa nota la presenza del Coro e di Tecmessa:<sup>73</sup> i primi versi del monologo (vv. 646 ss.) coincidono con l'inizio del terzo episodio e si può avere l'impressione che Aiace sia solo sulla scena. E mentre pronuncia la quarta *rhexis* (vv. 815-865) sulla scena non c'è nemmeno il Coro. In questo "monologo del suicidio", il πάθος che emana dalle singole invocazioni (a Zeus, ad Hermes, alle Erinni, ma soprattutto da quelle rivolte al Sole e alla Morte, nei vv. 846 ss.) raggiunge il suo apice.

L'invocazione al Sole si inserisce nel contesto relativo ai genitori di Aiace; ad esso viene chiesto di portare loro durante il suo corso celeste la notizia della fine del figlio. Nella invocazione successiva, l'appello alla Morte che venga senza indugio si sostituisce a quello al Sole; la vicinanza della morte è ormai così pressante che, a partire dal v. 856 l'eroe si limita, nel veloce susseguirsi delle apostrofi pronunciate con un tono altamente emoti-

<sup>71</sup> Trad. di U. Albin e V. Faggi, in Sofocle, Aiace-Trachinie, Milano 1991.

<sup>72</sup> Cfr. F. Ferrari, Ricerche sul testo di Sofocle, Pisa 1983, 28-29; lo studioso rigetta la lezione dei manoscritti ἐγὼ δ', messa tra cruces dal Dawe (Sophoclis Tragoediae, I, cit., 28) e non ritenuta, invece, corrotta da A. Colonna (Sophoclis Fabulae. Edidit commentario instruxit A. Colonna, I, Ajax-Electra, Torino 1975, 41) e propende per la congettura ἐγὼγ' (accettata anche dal Lloyd-Jones, Sophoclis Fabulae, cit., 28) unicamente in base ai parallelismi linguistici, senza un cenno ai nessi semantici; più convincenti risultano le osservazioni del Di Benedetto, Sofocle, cit., 52-53.

<sup>73</sup> Due seminari, cit., 37; anche Knox, The "Ajax", cit., 11 ss.

vo, a dare l'estremo saluto alla vita simboleggiata dalla luce del giorno, alla propria terra lontana, ad Atene e alla natura circostante. Ed è significativo che gli uomini sono esclusi dai suoi pensieri e dalle parole d'addio.

L'esame delle principali linee della sofferenza dell'*Aiace* sofocleo ci ha permesso di individuare le sue forme e il suo significato, in relazione alla strutturazione interna del protagonista e ai suoi rapporti con altri personaggi. Nonostante il concetto di colpa – in riferimento ad Aiace – abbia ancora qualche punto di contatto con la ὕβρις eschilea, la vicenda tragica vista nel suo insieme non lascia dubbi sul carattere irrilevante di questo genere di problematica. È, infatti, impossibile adottare qui lo schema eschileo secondo cui all'origine della sofferenza dell'individuo si pone un atto (o un atteggiamento) colpevole. La frantumazione del nesso colpa/sofferenza è determinata dalla maniera in cui nella tragedia viene presentato il rapporto dio/uomo e dal carattere amorale della divinità (Atena) che di questo rapporto è la "forza motrice".

La sofferenza dell'eroe si esprime – da un lato – nelle sue reazioni allo stato di ἀτιμία in cui è stato spinto dalla dea, dall'altro, invece, nella crescente consapevolezza dell'incomprensione da parte degli altri uomini. Quest'ultima lo costringe ad assumere un atteggiamento sempre più "monologico" che, a sua volta, fa accrescere lo stato di emarginazione. Esso raggiunge la sua punta massima nel corso degli ultimi due monologhi che costituiscono il preludio all'atto del suicidio.

*Cracovia*





**CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY  
IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FINLAND:  
HENRIK HASSEL AND CARL ABRAHAM CLEWBERG\***

OUTI MERISALO

## 1. Introduction

This article is concerned with the central figures of the Classical curriculum at the *Academia Aboensis*, Henrik Hassel and Carl Abraham Clewberg, from the 1720s until the 1770s, and the development of the position of Classics until the introduction of Neo-Humanism by Henrik Gabriel Porthan in the 1770s.

The *Magnus Ducatus Finlandiae* belonged to the realm of Sweden until 1809. Until 1917 it was under Russian rule as an autonomous Grand Duchy. The Baltic and Karelian parts of the Realm were to be definitively lost after the disastrous wars of Charles XII, which concluded with the treaty of Uusikaupunki (Sw. Nystad) in 1721 that consecrated Russia's new position as a major power of the Baltic Sea area. Sweden would lose the southeastern part of Finland in 1743 and the rest in 1809.

In 1640, Queen Christina had founded the *Regia Academia Aboensis / Auraica* in the capital of the Grand Duchy, in Latin Aboa, in Swedish Åbo and in Finnish Turku, situated on the banks of the river Aura. The Academy was one of a series of Royal universities started by Gustavus II Adolphus who had founded the *Academia Gustaviana* in Dorpat (in Estonian, Tartu) in Livonia as early as 1632.

In the seventeenth century the *Academia Aboensis* housed several important scholars, with Humanist ideas flowing in especially from Germany and the Baltic area.<sup>1</sup> The foundation of the Academy was a significant step

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\* I have the pleasure of thanking Prof. K. M. Coleman (TCD), who kindly revised my English.

<sup>1</sup> See I. Kajanto, *Humanism in a Christian Society* 1-2, Helsinki 1989-1990; M. Klinge -

in the development of cultural life in Finland. In spite of the wars and the territorial divisions of the eighteenth century, the *Academia Aboensis* continued its activities.<sup>2</sup> Although its primary function was to produce Lutheran ministers, this did not preclude research of considerable interest.

In the eighteenth century the Enlightenment penetrated Finland as well, sometimes at a surprising speed. The *Querelle des anciens et des modernes* had weakened the position of the traditional post-humanistic education, as it was difficult to see the immediate usefulness of Latin and Greek.

The students of the *Academia Aboensis* normally came from the countryside and on graduating they returned there.<sup>3</sup> Utilitarianism was, understandably, very strongly represented at the university, and this situation influenced the position of Latin and Greek in the curriculum. Exact sciences, such as mathematics and medicine, attained significant levels in Turku from the 1720s onwards.<sup>4</sup> Swedish, the language of administration of the realm, started to gain ground in scientific publications in this period, particularly in economics and natural sciences. In other disciplines Latin maintained its position.

The chair of Poetry was abolished in 1747 in favour of a chair of Economy. From 1748 onwards, this chair also covered chemistry, mineralogy, botany and zoology.<sup>5</sup> Another attack on the position of Classical languages was launched a few years later. At the beginning of the 1750s the Royal Commission for Education proposed to restructure the whole educational system of the realm by transforming the universities into vocational high schools. This proposal met with vehement criticism from 1752 onwards, especially at the University of Uppsala, where the negative Opinion of the institution was drafted by Carl von Linné. At Turku, Biblical

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A. Leikola - R. Knapas - J. Strömberg, *Kungliga Akademien i Åbo. Helsingfors Universitet 1640-1990*, Helsinki 1988.

<sup>2</sup> Only in 1827 would it be transferred to Helsinki, after the great fire at Turku that destroyed most of the University library.

<sup>3</sup> B. Lindberg, "Henrik Hassel - humanist och utilist", *Lychnos* 1990.

<sup>4</sup> J. Vallinkoski, *The History of the University Library at Turku 2. 1722-1772* (Publications of the University Library of Helsinki 37), Helsinki 1975, 237. This is the opposite of what had prevailed at the Academy until then, see now M. Kallinen, *Change and Stability. The Study of Natural Philosophy at the Academy of Turku, 1640-1713* (*Studia historica* 51), Helsinki 1995.

<sup>5</sup> Vallinkoski 2.238.

Greek would have been taught at the Faculty of Theology, whereas non-Biblical Greek would have been taught by the professor of Eloquence. In 1754 the Consistorium of Turku gave its Opinion on the proposals, composed by Carl Abraham Clewberg, professor of the Sacred Languages. Understandably, the Consistorium eloquently defended the position of Oriental and Classical languages in the curriculum, fielding both practical, historical and linguistic arguments (see below p. 146). Due to such resistance, the Commission's proposal was abandoned.<sup>6</sup>

As regards Hassel and Clewberg's scholarly activities, the direct documentation is somewhat problematic. Both men published very little themselves but were *praesides* (supervisors) for a considerable number of *dissertationes pro exercitio* (B.A.) and *graduales* (M.A.). Since it was common for seventeenth- and eighteenth-century professors to publish their own research under the name and at the expense of their students, the theses supervised by Hassel and Clewberg can be used to reconstruct their ideas in several fields. Another important source for Hassel is the funeral speech delivered by his most famous pupil, Henrik Gabriel Porthan, in 1777.<sup>7</sup> Clewberg's views on Classics can be gleaned from the Opinion of the Consistorium in 1754. In addition to these texts, interesting information is provided by the *Indices* (or *catalogi*) *praelectionum*, preserved for almost the total duration of the careers of both men. These catalogues not only give the subjects treated but they often provide a motivation of the choice of the subject as well.

## 2. *Eloquentiae professio, poeseos professio*

Hassel's ideas have recently been studied by Bo Lindberg.<sup>8</sup> This chapter will largely be complementary to his article.

Henrik Hassel was born as a minister's son on the island of Åland (Finn. Ahvenanmaa) to the west of Finland in 1700.<sup>9</sup> In 1714, during the Russian occupation of Finland (the so-called Great Hate), he was sent to

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<sup>6</sup> Klinge 518-523.

<sup>7</sup> See I. Kajanto, Porthan and Classical Scholarship 26 (AASF B 225), Helsinki 1984. The number of dissertations is 125.

<sup>8</sup> See n. 2.

<sup>9</sup> H.G. Porthan, De Henrico Hassel 361.

Strängnäs in Sweden and enrolled at the famous Gymnasium of the town.<sup>10</sup> In 1718 he went to study at the University of Uppsala.<sup>11</sup> He graduated from the *Academia Aboensis* in 1726 with the thesis *De usu et applicatione Historiae ad vitam civilem* (*praes.* Daniel Juslenius and Algoth Scarin).<sup>12</sup> In 1728, he obtained the chair of Eloquence at the same university.<sup>13</sup>

## 2.2. Hassel's teaching

It can safely be said that traditional eloquence was almost completely absent from the teaching of Hassel. Apart from a course in rhetoric based on Vossius (1728),<sup>14</sup> one concerning Tacitus (1732)<sup>15</sup> and five concerning Suetonius (1735-1739),<sup>16</sup> he concentrated on the moral dialogues of Cicero, especially *De officiis*. According to Hassel, this text was *& argumenti dignitate conspicuum, & medio ac temperato orationis genere commendatissimum, adeoque studiosae Juventuti convenientissimum*.<sup>17</sup> It was the first one in a cycle that was repeated several times from the 1740s until the 1760s which included *De amicitia*, *De senectute*, *Somnium Scipionis* and the *Paradoxa*. Porthan provides information on the contents of the lectures: Hassel stressed the fact that history, with the causes and consequences of the events, was an excellent *magistra vitae*, and he managed to keep up the

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<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* 362.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* 363. His subjects were Roman and Greek literature, history, philosophy and Oriental languages, see I.A. Heikel, *Filologins studium vid Åbo Universitet. Åbo Universitets lärdomshistoria 5. Filologin* (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland 26), Helsingfors 1894, 168.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* 365 and note.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* 366.

<sup>14</sup> *Ordine, Vossii sequendo praecepta Veterum Rhetorum publicè tradere, & praesenti Vitae civilis indoli applicare, Deo Duce, conabitur* (CP 1728).

<sup>15</sup> *Cornelium Tacitum, ob gravem styli majestatem, & rerum Romanarum enarrationem, incorrupto non minus veri studio, quam exacto judicio pragmatico commendabilem, idoneum in primis habuit, quem in gratiam aestimatorum Eloquentiae Civilis, DEO propitio, hoc anno publicè interpretetur* (CP 1732).

<sup>16</sup> *vt C. Svetonium Tranquillum dudum plurimi aestimavit, non minus ob concinnitatem styli tersam & nervosam, quam fidam iuxta ac prudentem rerum Romanarum enarrationem; ita, Divina adfulgente Gratia, hoc anno Academico Illum publice interpretari constituit* (CP 1735).

<sup>17</sup> CP 1749; in 1759: *tam argumenti praestantia, quam temperatae orationis dignitate maxime commendabilem denuo interpretandum eo lubentius se accingit, quo saepius hanc operam Auditoribus non displicuisse jucunda perceperat experientia.*

interest of his public.<sup>18</sup>

It is probable that Hassel was responsible for the definition of the contents of his teaching in the reply of the *consistorium maius* to the Chancellor of the university in October, 1750, which stressed the importance of *realia* in the curriculum of Eloquence and Poetry.<sup>19</sup> These ideas, that would seem to suggest some Neo-Humanist influence, will also be seen to be present in the dissertations supervised by Hassel (cf. below). In addition to all this, Hassel taught Latin and Swedish prose composition; including Swedish in the programme of the professor of Eloquence of course reflects the progress of the vernacular at the universities of the realm.<sup>20</sup>

Until the elimination of the Chair of Poetry in 1747, it was naturally the *Professor Poëseos Ord.*, Andreas Pryss, who was responsible for teaching Latin lyric poetry. In 1727 he is listed as giving a course on *Tristia, ostensurus tum doctrinae in iis notas, tum ingenii lumina, quorum observatione Eloquentiae & Poëseos studiosos feliciter proficere existimabit.*<sup>21</sup> The formulation seems to represent the typical post-humanistic attitude to

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<sup>18</sup> *Cui Mori* (i.e. to study history) *debuimus, quod discipulis quoque et auditoribus Suis Historiae studium commendare soleret non intra nudam subsistens temporum nominumque enumerationem memoria custodiendam, sed eventus sollerter cum caussis effectisque suis expendens, et doctrinas inde elicere vitae utiles enitens; cujus amorem, non exemplo minus quam consiliis praeceptisque, instillare juventuti feliciter ac inculcare noverat*, De Henrico Hassel 365.

<sup>19</sup> According to the reply of the *Consistorium maius* to the Chancellor who had asked for an opinion on the reform of the University curriculum and which was presented in the meetings of 22 until 26 October 1750, the *Eloquentiae et poëseos professor* was to explain *auctores classici* by means of *ars gramatica, critica, historia critica scriptorum, historia civilis, geographia, cronologia, studium antiquitatum et historia philosophica* without forgetting *ars rethorica, poetica, mythologia* and especially *exercitia stili* in Latin and in Swedish. The ideal study time was three years, during which period the student was supposed to acquire in class no more than the *fundamenta et praxis disciplinarum* - the rest was to be the student's own responsibility (*på det studerande således i stånd satte måge sedan sielfwa kunna underläsandet hielpa sig*), see V.M. Autio, ed., Turun Akatemian konsistorin pöytäkirjat (= TAKP) 16, Helsinki 1972, 370-371. It is interesting to see that the reply makes explicit reference to *antiquitates* which have an important role in Gesner's teaching at Göttingen (*Opuscula minora* 1.58, *Recitationum indictio*, 2 October 1735). Exercises in the vernacular are another point in common between Turku and Göttingen, e.g. *Si qui praeterea in Latino vel Graeco scripto quocumque intelligendo, in Germanicae eloquentiae cultu, in exercitatione scribendi, loquendi, dicendi, antiquitatis cognitione* (*ibid.*).

<sup>20</sup> See Lindberg 188-190.

<sup>21</sup> CP 1727.

Ancient texts, seen as literary models that should be heavily annotated. In the years 1728-1747 Pryss lectured on Horace (*Ars poet.*, *Carm.*, *Epod.*),<sup>22</sup> Virgil (*Aeneid*, *Georgics*) and Ovid (*Fasti*).

After the elimination of the chair of Poetry in 1747 Hassel became responsible for this subject as well.<sup>23</sup> He did not, however, teach a single course on poets but continued his lectures on Cicero. Some teaching of poetry in private lessons was offered by a *magister docens*.<sup>24</sup> The almost complete absence of poets in the curriculum of the years 1747-1755<sup>25</sup> was noticed by the Chancellor himself. In 1757 Wilhelm Robert Nääf (1720-1783) was appointed professor *extraordinarius* of Poetry. He seems to have started teaching only in 1761, when he gave a course on the *Carmina* and the *Ars poetica* of Horace.<sup>26</sup> There is no information in the programmes of 1762 and 1763 (that of 1764 has not been preserved). In 1765 he taught *Bucolica* and the *Aeneid*; in 1767 and 1768 again the latter (no information being available for 1766). In 1768 Nääf was appointed *ordinarius* in Poetry, in 1770 *ordinarius* in Logic and Metaphysics, and in 1779 *Professor ordinarius quartus* in Theology, to be promoted *tertius* in 1780.<sup>27</sup> Paradoxically, his

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<sup>22</sup> Note the following motivation for the course on the Epodes: *Silenis certe Alcibiadis persimiles, quod non magna praeferant, explanatae vero, pandere praeclara ad usum in vita maximos valeant* (CP 1735).

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> The category of *magister docens*, still extant in the German-type university system of Finland and Sweden, had been established at the *Academia Aboensis* by the end of the 1730s, Klinge 367.

<sup>25</sup> The proposal for re-instating the chair of Poetry in 1755 was motivated as follows: *Af de sedermera insände cataloguer och förteckningar på föreläsningarne, har han (i.e. the Chancellor) sedt, det Professoren Hassel endast drifwit underwisningen uti de effter första inrättningen honom tillagde lärostycken, uti eloquentia prosa, hwarmed han ock skal wara wäl nögd, på det professoren må hafwa så mycket tilräckeligare utrymme, at til ungdomens opbyggelse och wetenskapens framgång utöfwa den fullkomliga insigt och mycket behageliga färdighet, som han jämte annan grundelig och widsträkt lärdom derutinnan med allmän approbation äger, hwarom Hans Excellence til hans välförtjenta loford nu billigt omnämna bordt*, TAKP 422.

<sup>26</sup> CP 1761. Before his appointment, Nääf had given private lessons (his main post being that of the *adjunctus philosophiae*), which the Chancellor had not found sufficient (*som icke göra tillfyllest för ändamålet, utan måste poësiën här äga lika skiötsel, som eloquentien och de öfriga wetenskaperne, så at therutinnan publice föreläses, examineras och disputeras, cons. maius* 10 October 1755, TAKP 17.422).

<sup>27</sup> J.J. Tengström, *Chronologiska förteckningar och anteckningar öfver Finska universitetets fornda procancellorer samt öfver faculteternas medlemmar och adjuncter, från universitetets stiftelse inemot dess andra sekulärer*, Helsingfors 1836, 233; Klinge 141.

first promotion in 1768 seems to have put an end to his teaching in Poetry, and from 1769 it was Henrik Gabriel Porthan, since 1762 *Eloquentiae docens* and since 1764 *Amanuensis Bibliothecae*,<sup>28</sup> who, being *injunctam sibi Poeseos arva colendi operam*,<sup>29</sup> took over the course on Horace. Porthan, who had been a student of Hassel's without graduating under his supervision, was soon to revolutionise Classics at the Academy by introducing the *Neuhumanismus* à la Winckelmann.<sup>30</sup>

One might thus suspect some influence of the *Neuhumanismus* of Johann Matthias Gesner (1691-1761) on the teaching of Hassel and his colleagues, notably in the stress on an historicising approach and the importance of *Realienkunde* and the utility of Ancient doctrines in modern life. As we have seen, Hassel taught Cicero's moral dialogues for practical purposes and underlined the role of history as *magistra vitae* at the expense of the study of rhetoric or the perusal of texts for linguistic purposes. Gesner stresses the importance of Ancient texts for real life, as e.g. in OM 1, *Recitationum indictio* of 2 October 1735, 57, where he speaks of the usefulness of Pliny the Younger for people not living in a democracy. However, the aestheticising approach to Ancient literature typical of Gesner and, later, Winckelmann and, in Turku, Henrik Gabriel Porthan, is nowhere to be found in Hassel.

### 3. LL. SS. *professio ordinaria*

In the period between 1728 and 1739 this post was held by Isaac Björklund, who announced *ubi intervallum annuorum laborum prius Graecae tribuerit litteraturae, posteriori ad colendam Ebraeorum philologiam divertat*.<sup>31</sup> *Graeca litteratura* meant the New Testament.<sup>32</sup> His successor, Gregorius Steenman (1700-1746), appointed in 1741, never took up his

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<sup>28</sup> M.G. Schybergson, *Historiens studium vid Åbo universitet. Åbo universitets lärdomshistoria 3: Historia*, Helsingfors 1891, 105.

<sup>29</sup> CP 1769.

<sup>30</sup> Porthan made a study trip to Göttingen in 1779-1781.

<sup>31</sup> CP 1728.

<sup>32</sup> From 1729 until 1734 Björklund gave courses in the Gospel of St. Luke and the Epistle of St. Paul to the Jews; from 1734 until 1738 he did not teach Greek anymore. He had left Turku by 1739.



post.<sup>33</sup> The 1741-1743 war between Sweden and Russian closed the gates of the Academy for 1742-1743, the chair of Sacred Languages remaining vacant until 1747. That year saw the appointment of a Swede, *magister* Carl Abraham Clewberg (1712-1765), who subsequently (in 1757) became third professor of Theology.

Clewberg was the son of a clergyman and had graduated from Uppsala in 1737. The *Catalogus praelectionum* of 1747 says of him: *in literario itinere, apud exteros versatur; redux, proximo ut speramus, vere, ipse significabit quid sit traditurus*. He stayed abroad, however, even for the following academic year, *inter exteros etiamnum degens*.<sup>34</sup> From the 1730s he had been tutor to the youngsters of the noble house of De La Gardie, and had spent the years 1742-1744 in Paris with Count Ulrik Gustav and Count Carl Julius (1729-1786),<sup>35</sup> who were staying with their brother-in-law, Count Clas Ekeblad, the Swedish ambassador to the French court and later Chancellor of the Academy.<sup>36</sup> Clewberg visited British universities in 1746.<sup>37</sup> In July 1746 we find him at the University of Leiden, and in December 1747 at the University of Göttingen, as *ephorus* to Count Carl Julius. In Leiden he probably listened to the famous Orientalist A. Schultens.<sup>38</sup> At that time, the professor of Sacred Languages was Tiberius Hemsterhuys (1685-1766) and the professor of Eloquence and History, Frans van Ouden-dorp (1696-1761).<sup>39</sup> Göttingen, of course, was the birthplace of *Neuhuma-*

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<sup>33</sup> He was appointed second professor of Theology in 1742 by the Russian general Keith, only to become again a simple minister of the Cathedral parish of Turku in 1745, Tengström 203.

<sup>34</sup> CP 1748.

<sup>35</sup> Clewberg had been enrolled at the University of Uppsala in 1722; together with his brother Christoffer he had had private tuition from Johan Tolsteen (A.B. Carlsson, utg. *Uppsala universitets matrikel ... 2. 1700-1750*, Uppsala 1919-1953, 152, 220.)

<sup>36</sup> 1762-1765, 1769-1771, Klinge 172.

<sup>37</sup> See O. Schilling, *Då Theologiae Professorn vid Åbo Academie, Högvördige och Vidtberömde Herren, Herr Mag. Carl Abraham Clewberg ... den 25. i samma månad ned-sattes i sin hvilokammare i Upsala Domkyrka, År 1765. Upprestes detta enfaldiga minne, Upp Helsingiska nations vägnar, af Olof Schilling, s.l.*

<sup>38</sup> Heikel 189. Clewberg was very serious about his job in Turku: the protocols of the *Consistorium* mention several sets of books bought by him for the Academy library in Holland in 1747-1749.

<sup>39</sup> J.E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship 2*, Cambridge 1958 (New York - London 1967), 447-455.

*nismus*.<sup>40</sup> Unfortunately, we know very little about Clewberg's and De La Gardie's stay in that town, and the intriguing question whether Clewberg actually made contact with J.M. Gesner, professor of Poetry and Eloquence until 1761, must be left unanswered for the time being. There are, however, a series of documents illustrating Clewberg's attitude to Classics.

Apart from his teaching as professor of Sacred Languages from 1749 until 1757, Clewberg's interests are revealed by the Opinion of 1754 and the catalogue of his personal library, sold at an auction in 1767.<sup>41</sup>

It is no exaggeration to say that Clewberg revolutionised the teaching of Sacred Languages. In 1749, he not only taught a public course on Job and delivered private lectures on the Book of Joshua in Hebrew, but he also gave lectures on Plutarch (*De liberorum educatione*), without neglecting Arabic.<sup>42</sup> Plutarch had been taught in 1725 by Daniel Juslenius, *LL. SS. professor*.<sup>43</sup> In 1750, Clewberg switched to Aelian (*Varia historia*),<sup>44</sup> and made the following announcement for 1751-1752:

*Privatas curas sibi vindicabunt, quarum usus insignior judicabitur, LL. orientis reliquae. Ad notitiam quoque profanorum Graeciae scriptorum viam pandet, daturus consilia pro lectione eorum feliciter instituenda.*<sup>45</sup>

Even his teaching of Hebrew had elements of novelty: in 1752 he announced a course on the *Antiquitates Sacri Codicis & Gentis Hebraeae privatae occupabunt curae*, i.e. *Realienkunde* of the Bible.<sup>46</sup> In 1752, *In*

<sup>40</sup> U. Schindel, "Johann Mathias Gesner, Professor der Poesie und Beredsamkeit 1734-1761", C.J. Classen, hrsg., *Die klassische Altertumswissenschaft an der Georg-August-Universität Göttingen ...* (Göttinger Universitätschriften a. Schriften 14), Göttingen 1989, 9-26.

<sup>41</sup> Förteckning På den Wackra och talrika boksamling, Som, För detta Theologiae Professoren wid Åbo Akademie, Herr Carl. Abrah. Clewberg Ägt, Hwilken därstädes i instundande Junii månad och Höst-Terminen därpå, igenom offentlig Auction kommer at försäljas, Åbo 1767; see also Vallinkoski 2.130.

<sup>42</sup> CP 1749.

<sup>43</sup> Kajanto 43.

<sup>44</sup> *Privatim Aeliani Variam Historiam, au Librum Psalmorum. In aliis autem Lingvis Orientalibus, discentium desiderii, pro virili, satisfacere conabitur* (CP 1750-1751).

<sup>45</sup> CP 1751-52.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. also the definition of his post, in 1750: *Ling. O.O. et Gr. professio: Lectio lingvarum hebr. et graec. ex libris ecclesiasticis et profanis, lingua caldaica, arabica,*

*Graecis ea sedulo proponet, quae maxime in rem fore discentium intellexerit.* In 1753 he did not give the contents of the private courses. In 1754 he taught the Gospel of St. Luke and the Psalms, and in 1755, because of administrative tasks, he taught *in Hebraicis aut Graecis* without further detail. In 1756, *privatim in Ebraicis Exodum, in Graecis, Hesiodi Ascraei Opera & Dies explicabit.* In 1757, after his appointment as professor of Theology, he taught exegesis and *Historia Ecclesiastica Veteris Testamenti*, and in 1759 his course on Genesis was characterised by his

*stili originalis emphasin, historiam sacram, typos, dogmata & mores, qua fieri poterat brevitate, publicè expositurus. Privatim dicta classica enucleabit, eorumque ad probanda fidei dogmata adplicationem ostendet.*

After 1759 Clewberg does not seem to have taught non-Biblical Greek. We have seen, however, that in his years as professor of Sacred Languages, he not only delivered lectures on Plutarch, Aelian and Hesiod but also gave tuition in the independent study of Ancient Greek texts. This programme with all its lacunae - Homer is notably absent -, represents a width of philological interests unknown to Hassel, professor of Eloquence. It is true that although Clewberg's appointment as professor of Theology did not put an end to his teaching of Classics, he subsequently used these texts as a complement to theological ones, as exemplified by the last sentence of the notice for 1759.

Clewberg takes a strong position in favour of the Ancients in the Opinion of the Consistorium (1754) (see above p. 139): in spite of his admiration for Dacier, Pope, Racine, Fontenelle and Holberg, he acknowledges the superiority of Homer, Euripides, Lucian and Plutarch. Oriental languages are useful from a practical point of view, and Classical Greek was the language of the free societies of Ancient Greece. The usefulness of Greek as a linguistic model is shown by the elegance of French and English written by authors well-versed in Greek.<sup>47</sup> Here it

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*syriaca et aethiopica, antiquitates judaicae et graecae, accentuatio hebraica, critica sacra vet. et novi testamenti, historia lingvarum orientalium et notitia scriptorum hebr. graec. et arabicum etc.*, TAKP 16.371.

<sup>47</sup> Klinge 522-523. This idea, though applied to Latin as well, is also present in the *dissertatio pro gradu magisterii* of A. Gottskalk, *De usu diversitatis lingvarum* (20 July 1754), Vallinkoski 813: *Sic et lingvae lingvis perficiuntur, eoque magis ad unam, exc-*

would not be exaggerating to see some Neo-Humanistic influence, although the aestheticising element is still missing.

According to Porthan, Clewberg was *peritus ipse librorum iudex et conquisitor*.<sup>48</sup> His library shows him not only as a polyglot - apart from the predictable Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic and German, he had books in Finnish,<sup>49</sup> Italian, French, Spanish, English, Polish, Persian and Turkish - but as a man of extraordinarily varied scholarly and cultural interests.<sup>50</sup> The library consisted of 2337 volumes, which was an imposing number for Turku.<sup>51</sup> As to Classics, there were 140 volumes of editions of Greek texts, from Homer to Zonaras, with some translations in Italian or French, whereas the Latin texts numbered only 42. In addition to texts there were several

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*lendam apti reddimur, quo penitius ceterarum elegantiae nobis fuerint perspectae ... Graeciae lepores ad se transtulit suosque fecit Latium. Utriusque spoliis ornata superbit Gallia.* On the other hand, in A.S. Edblad's dissertation *De studio linguae hebraeae maturius inchoando* (10 July 1754), Vallinkoski 810, Swedish and Hebrew are compared favourably to such languages as Latin, redolent of *artificium*.

<sup>48</sup> *Historia bibliothecae R. Academiae Aboënsis...* H.G. Porthans skrifter i urval / Henrici Gabriëlis Porthan opera selecta 3 (SKS 21), Helsingfors 1867, 74.

<sup>49</sup> He collaborated on a new translation of the Bible in Finnish, Tengström 218. As early as 1754 he knew Finnish well enough to qualify as the minister of the Finnish-speaking parish of Turku, Heikel 195.

<sup>50</sup> In addition to works related to his academic activities, there is an important amount of texts on European and Swedish history, natural sciences, numismatics (e.g. C. Chiffletius, *De numismate antiquo*), geography and mathematics. There is a significant number of volumes on theatre, e.g. *Nuovo Teatro Italiano cum versione Gallica* (vols. 1 and 3) and the *Traité de la Réformation du Theatre* by Luigi Riccoboni (Förteckning 79) as well as *Le Theatre italien de gherardi tomes 5 et 6 (Amstelodami 1701, in one volume, ibid.)*. This interest would be inherited by his son, Abraham Niclas Clewberg, first librarian at the Academy library, later (1783) Second Director of the Royal Opera in Stockholm and a friend of the theatre-loving king Gustav III, who ennobled him under the name of Edelcrantz, see H. Schück, ed. *Johan Henrik Kellgrens bref till Abraham Niclas Clewberg*, Helsingfors 1894, vii. Porthan lamented the dispersion of the library: *E relicta praeterea egregia supellectili libraria b. Theologiae Professoris Dn. Caroli Abrahami Clewberg, pulcherrimo aucta fuit incremento, quod longe etiam amplius futurum fuisset, aliquanto majore consilio curaue adhibitis (Bibliotheca 89)*, in note: *quam merito totius acquirendae debuisset consilium iniri, satis docet: raro in nostris oris similis continget opportunitas, literis Graecis, complures egregii libri, Auctores Graeci, Msc. quidam libri Arabici (minoris licet pretii) etc.* We have found Clewberg's copy of Herodian (Fört. 38, in quarto) translated by Politian (H. Estienne 1581), at the Helsinki University Library. This volume was apparently not acquired by the Academy at the auction of 1767: it does not figure in the inventory of books preserved after the disastrous fire of 1827; the nineteenth-century binding is not typical of the Academy either.

<sup>51</sup> Cfr. Vallinkoski 2.233.

volumes of scholarship from Marcus Antonius Sabellicus to Angelo Maria Ricci. Ricci taught at the University of Florence and was an ardent partisan of the study of Greek, especially of Homer. His *Dissertationes Homericae*, published in 1733, stress the necessity of reforming the teaching methods of the Classical languages by eliminating memorisation of grammatical rules and by focusing on content and style in reading texts.<sup>52</sup> Clewberg's library was complementary to the University library, lacking in profane Greek texts. At the auctions of 1767 and 1772<sup>53</sup> the University Library only bought printed and manuscript works in Arabic.<sup>54</sup>

Philology was thus absent from the teaching of the professor of Eloquence but it was represented in that of the professor of Sacred Languages who, in the 1750s, did not limit himself to Biblical Greek. The influence of *Neuhumanismus* on Clewberg's academic activities remains a moot point. His re-introduction of Classical Greek into the curriculum, his interest in *Antiquitates* in his theological teaching, maybe also his interest in the *stylus originalis* of Biblical texts, and especially his library (which also contained Gesner's commentary on Aesculapius, Hygieia and Telesphorus)<sup>55</sup> - all these facts together suggest that his ideas were at least parallel to Gesner's. It is, however, quite obvious that this never solidified into a Neo-Humanistic programme. An important reason might be Clewberg's predominantly Orientalistic and theological interests, as well as his academic duties. It would, however, be interesting to speculate on the impact of his library and his private teaching on students and colleagues.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Förteckning 49 (in quarto): *Ab Ang. M. Riccii Orationes Homericae*. We have used *Dissertationes Homericae habitae in florentino Lyceo ab Angelo Maria Riccio Graecarum literarum prof. quibus accedunt eiusdem orationes pro solenni instauratione studiorum 1-4. Florentiae 1841.*

<sup>53</sup> Vallinkoski 2.130.

<sup>54</sup> Tengström 218: "Af hans i Orientaliska, Grekiska och Theologiska Litteraturen betydliga boksamling inköptes efter hans död för akademiska Bibliothekets räkning, utom flera tryckta verk åtskilliga Arabiska manuskript". According to Heikel 189 the books bought by the library in 1771 were parts of the Quran, quranic exegesis and two Arabic grammars, see also Vallinkoski 2.133.

<sup>55</sup> *J.M. Gesneri Marmoris Cassellani, quo Aesculap. Hygaea & Telesphorum celebr explicat* (Förteckning 50).

<sup>56</sup> Vallinkoski 2.233 presents figures: of quotations of Classical authors (Greek, Latin, Paleo-Christian down to c. 450) in dissertations between 1722 and 1772, 75.1 % were taken from texts present in the Academy library. 24.9 % must have come from texts of a different origin, e.g. owned by the *praeses*.

#### 4. Dissertations supervised by Hassel and Clewberg

The dissertations supervised by Hassel are rarely about philology. In 1745 (4 May) the future traveller and explorer Wilhelm Ross defended his *Theses philologicae ... pro gradu* (Vallinkoski 1626).<sup>57</sup> Rhetoric is treated in three theses between 1735 and 1751.<sup>58</sup> Lizelius-Hassel's *De dotibus ...* heavily criticises this discipline:

*naturam patet longe pluris aestimandam esse; utpote quae etiam sine doctrina saepe multum valet* (p. 3)

In fact, Hassel-Fontell's *De perspicuitate orationis* is a theoretical treatise on semantics, with a list and a description of the problems in communication caused by polysemy, homonymy, metaphoric use and diachronic variation of meaning. There are also remarks on the vernacular, and on translation.<sup>59</sup>

This dissertation also exemplifies what we know, through Porthan, to have been Hassel's stylistic ideal: the Simple Style. Without mentioning his name, the author quotes Quintilian:

*Vulgus est magister loqvendi, & hominem faciliū, quam verbum civitate donaverit princeps* (p. 10)<sup>60</sup>

Hassel's attitude to purely linguistic research is highly negative: the principal achievement of the Renaissance had been the knowledge of the three Sacred languages, Hebrew, Greek and the Latin of Antiquity; now it is important to learn other languages. Since, however, there are so many new fields of learning to be covered, one should not insist on linguistic studies. Language is only a means of communication, and rhetoric has a lower

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<sup>57</sup> Also note *Aphorismi philologici de certitudine linguae sacrae hebraeae* (Benedictus Krook, 29 June 1745, Vallinkoski 1635).

<sup>58</sup> *De dotibus naturalibus oratori necessariis* (*resp.* Andreas Lizelius, 27 June 1735, Vallinkoski 1567); *De perspicuitate orationis* (*resp.* Mauritius Wilh. Fontell, 1 June 1748, Vallinkoski 1649); *De usu et abusu eloquentiae* (*resp.* Gabriel Peteche, 2 May 1751, Vallinkoski 1661).

<sup>59</sup> See especially pp. 15-16.

<sup>60</sup> See also *Theses miscellaneae* (Hassel-Adam Gerhardus Sacklinius, Vallinkoski 1633): *Inter caeteras stili virtutes primum locum tribuimus perspicuitati* (th. 9).

priority than practical needs:

*Praecepta Rhetorica, a Graecis atque Romanis tradita, non magis conveniunt praesenti negotiorum indoli, & stilo, qui jam obtinet, civili, quam Jus romanum cum Jurisprudencia & praxi fori hodierna congruit.*<sup>61</sup>

Iiro Kajanto has recently covered Hassel's dissertations rather thoroughly. Most of the theses supervised by H. were on history, and covered rather large fields. Depending on the *respondentes* these texts are either essays, with a minimum of indication of sources, or well-documented treatises. Some of them, such as the heavily annotated *De fati libertatis romanae* 1-2 (*resp.* Petrus Ringh, 1740), give evidence for quite an extensive knowledge of the most important historians, Greek (Polybius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Plutarch) and Latin, and take into account some seventeenth- and eighteenth-century scholars as well. In spite of the absence of official teaching of non-Biblical Greek until 1750, the students quite obviously knew their texts. Roman history seems to have been a subject favoured by Hassel, from Caesar's murder (1732) and Octavian's takeover of the Roman state (1733) to the expansion of Rome (*De magnitudine Romana per imprudentiam vicinorum* 1-2, Petrus Jusleen, 29 May 1756–13 July 1757, Vallinkoski 1669-1670).<sup>62</sup> These texts are characterised by a conspicuously critical attitude towards Rome. As we have seen, history was the ideal *magistra vitae* for Hassel, a Humanistic idea that had developed into the concept of pragmatic history in the seventeenth century when history had been reduced to a series of *exempla*. A knowledge of *antiquitates* was essential for understanding texts.<sup>63</sup> Although the theses do not refer to contemporary political events, it is not difficult to see the relevance of such themes as political freedom and imperialism for subjects of the Swedish realm, especially in the 1750s, with, on the one hand, the democratic system in vigour from 1721 until 1771 and, on the other hand, Prussian successes in the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War.

If Hassel was critical of Roman politics, his attitude to the Latin language and the culture it transmitted seems to have been outright negative.

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<sup>61</sup> Theses Misc. 2 (Henricus Erici Carling, 1745, Vallinkoski 1630, no. 24).

<sup>62</sup> Kajanto 26.

<sup>63</sup> Th. philosophicae (A.G. Sacklinius, 20 June 1745, Vallinkoski 1633), no. 3 and 4.

The theses stress the derivative character of Roman culture and even deny Latin the position of an original language of learning: it was only thanks to the Catholic Church of the Middle Ages that it came to have that role. Greek has better credentials for its status, and in *De diverso gustu reipublicae literariae* 1 (1751) the author speaks in favour of Greek culture. It would, however, be precipitous to characterise Hassel as a Philhellenist: although the Greeks were superior to Romans in philosophy,<sup>64</sup> they proposed many a fallacious idea. They are also condemned as arrogant in a dissertation of 1745, the ground being the fact that they called other nations barbaric.<sup>65</sup> Another dissertation praises the Roman religion at the expense of Greek, the first being *simplicior* and *honestior*.<sup>66</sup> The Romans were militaristic.<sup>67</sup> These statements do not seem indicate to a Neo-Humanistic Hellenomania, but rather a negative judgement of both Greeks and Romans.

As we have seen, Hassel also showed interest in Swedish. According to one thesis, the vernacular is appropriate for scientific texts.<sup>68</sup> Some people maintain that eliminating Latin would destroy civilisation, but they are wrong.<sup>69</sup> It is interesting to note, however, that there is not a single thesis in Swedish supervised by Hassel.

It is consequently not surprising that Hassel, together with his colleague in natural sciences, C.F. Mennander, should have shown himself for the Moderns:

*non dubitamus accedere illis, qui pro recentioribus pronunciant*<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Theses philosophicae (Sacklinius, Vallinkoski 1633, th. 17).

<sup>65</sup> Theses philosophicae, Paul. Krogius, 8 May 1745, Vallinkoski 1627, th. 18 and 19.

<sup>66</sup> *De magnitudine Romana* 1 (Petrus Jusleen, 24 May 1756, Vallinkoski 1669, p. 3).

<sup>67</sup> Theses philosophicae (Krogius, Vallinkoski 1627, no. 22).

<sup>68</sup> Theses Miscellaneae (Ericus Lemquist, 1745, Vallinkoski 1623, no. 13).

<sup>69</sup> *Qui ex hac parte etiamnum sibi a barbarie metuunt, nimis utique sunt scrupulosi* (Th. Misc. Vall. 1633, Sacklinius, 1745, no. 6).

<sup>70</sup> The first mention of the *Querelle des anciens et des modernes* is found in the dissertation of J. Odenius (Theses misc. 1, 17 April 1745, Vallinkoski 1625) in 1745 (Kajanto 38). Mennander supervised a dissertation called *Nonnulla monumenta controversiae illustris: an recentioribus vel antiquioribus palma eruditionis sit tribuenda* (Israel Altan, 20 June 1753, Vallinkoski 2453 ) which presents a careful comparison of the achievements of both sides. Without depriving the Ancients of their merits, the author votes for the Moderns because of the results of cumulative sciences. Mennander was, however, no blind admirer of the Moderns, but also appreciated part of the heritage of Antiquity.



Utility and reason emerge as the mainstays of the ideology represented by Hassel's theses, and the idea of a continuous progress of mankind is essential.<sup>71</sup> The dissertation *De praesenti reipublicae literariae flore* (1754) is in fact a history of scholarship. The author proclaims the ideas of science and progress, and takes up a position against the predominance of Latin in scientific communication. J.M. Gesner is mentioned in a dissertation from 1766, *De impedimentis nonnullis linguae Latinae addiscendae*,<sup>72</sup> which criticises current teaching methods, memorisation of rules etc., to be compared with similar remarks by Ricci and Gesner himself.

Philology is, on the contrary, the prevailing subject in dissertations supervised by Clewberg. There are very few statements on the value of the field. From the theological point of view, Clewberg sticks to Lutheran Orthodoxy.<sup>73</sup> Most of the theses deal with Biblical semantics. There is also a dissertation comparing the *koine* with Classical Greek which underlines the necessity of knowing the latter in order to understand the New Testament.<sup>74</sup> It is interesting that even theses on specifically Biblical subjects, such as *De Mose vitulum aureum potabilem reddente*<sup>75</sup> make extensive use of Classical authors, such as Pliny the Elder, Flavius Josephus, Pausanias, Strabo, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Aristotle, Plutarch, Seneca and Caesar,<sup>76</sup> and compare the specific problem with conditions in the Greek and Roman world. Secondary bibliography is modern<sup>77</sup> and the sources are indi-

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<sup>71</sup> Theses Miscellaneae (11 April 1745, Ericus Lemquist, Vallinkoski 1623) no. 22: *Felicitas hominis est continuus ad majores perfectiones progressus*.

<sup>72</sup> Kajanto 42.

<sup>73</sup> Both Nature and Revelation are evidence for God. Clewberg does not accept any criticism of the text of the Bible as it has been handed down to modern times, since admitting even one mistake made by a copyist would endanger the authority of the Holy Book, see e.g. Clewberg - M. Pazelius, *Dissertatio psalmum CXLV. vindicans ... pro gradu...*, 16 July 1751, Vallinkoski 792).

<sup>74</sup> *Aphorismi philologici de genio sermonis originalis novi testamenti*, M. Forsinius, 23 Dec 1756, Vallinkoski 822.

<sup>75</sup> Abrahamus Indrenius, *Fil.*, 28 June 1755, Vallinkoski 817.

<sup>76</sup> E.g. A.A. Indrenius' *De Mose* uses Justinus, Musonius, Aristotle, Pausanias, Sophocles, Plato, Aelian, Plutarch, Xenophon, Valerius Maximus, Dio Cassius, Strabo, Clemens of Alexandria and Talmudic scholars.

<sup>77</sup> In dissertations on Arabic, among others, Pococke, Joh. Ben. Carpzow (Carpzovius), Giggejus, in Biblical studies Stock, Bochart (Hierozoicon), Selden, all of them seventeenth or eighteenth century. Schultens' works are quoted with admiration by Avellan in the Specimen. It is worth noting that modern travellers are also drawn on; the model for this could be found e.g. in Balthasar Ludwig Eskuche, *Erläuterung der heil. Schrift aus*

cated with great precision. This is quite different from what we have seen in Hassel's output. Some dissertations cover vast fields, such as the diss. grad. *De poenis coelibum apud veteres*,<sup>78</sup> on Biblical, Greek and Roman history.

Clewberg's speciality, which probably kept him from developing Classical studies at Turku, were dissertations on Arabic, such as *Specimen philologicum usum linguae arabicae in perficiendo lexico hebraeo sistens*,<sup>79</sup> and *De nummis arabicis in patria repertis*, which is a treatise on Arabic paleography as well as numismatics. According to the *De nummis* the Arabs are a very important people for Westerners because they have saved so many Greek works and thus merit our admiration<sup>80</sup> (p. 1). This does not, however, mean that the author would approve of Mohammed, that he calls *impostor*.<sup>81</sup> Clewberg seems to have allowed the author to examine his own collection of coins.<sup>82</sup> The style is simple, just as in Hassel's dissertations, but the notes are more precise and numerous, and, in the case of the *De nummis*, the factual information presents elements of novelty.

## 5. Conclusion

We have seen that Henrik Hassel, *Professor eloquentiae*, was not interested in the study of Classical languages, criticised the use of Latin in non-scientific contexts, did not appreciate traditional rhetoric, considered the Moderns superior to the Ancients and wanted the programme to be of immediate utility for civil servants. He was interested in Ancient texts as material for historical study which was to be useful for modern life. His ideas could be characterised, with Bo Lindberg, as Christian Enlightenment: belief in the progress of humanity thanks to empirical science, hostility to philosophical speculation, and, to round up the whole, Lutheran Orthodoxy. Clas-

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morgenländischen Reisebeschreibungen 1-2. Lemgo 1750-1755, often quoted e.g. in L. Settermark, *Dissertatio academica Esa. VII:14 veram notionem eruens* (3 July 1756, Vallinkoski 819).

<sup>78</sup> A.A. Indrenius, 26 July 1757, Vallinkoski 823.

<sup>79</sup> M. Avellan, 18 May 1757, Vallinkoski 823.

<sup>80</sup> M. Lundbeck, 25 June 1755, Vallinkoski 816; for the coins, see Vallinkoski 2.174. P. 1: *Dum ex procellis iactabantur Graecanis litterae, ad tutissimum hujus refugiebant portum...*

<sup>81</sup> E.g. p. 23.

<sup>82</sup> P. 16, where the author discusses a Persian coin from 1721 belonging to Clewberg.

sical studies certainly gained very little from this attitude. The Professor of Sacred Languages, later professor of Theology, Carl Abraham Clewberg, gave new vigour to the study of Classical Greek in the first half of the 1750s and set new standards of scientific inquiry in the field of Oriental and Greek studies. His prevalently Orientalistic and theological interests probably kept him from introducing a more thorough reform, and Hassel's line remained predominant in Classics. In 1764 Matthias Calonius (later professor of Law from 1778 until 1816) published, *sine praeside*, his dissertation, which was to be the first part of *De nova facie orbis Europaei circa saeculum reformationis exorta*, a comprehensive account of Western culture from early Middle Ages to the Renaissance. This work introduced a new, distinctly historicising approach at Turku,<sup>83</sup> and prepared the way for full fledged Neo-Humanism. Porthan would then definitively open up the *Academia Aboensis* for continental Neo-Humanistic influence in the 1770s.

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<sup>83</sup> Klinge 710-711.

**PRAENOMINA RECORDED ERRONEOUSLY IN INSCRIPTIONS**  
**With an Observation on the Grandfather**  
**of Q. Aulus Cerretanus (cos. II 319 BC)**

OLLI SALOMIES

It is well known that Latin inscriptions, from simple funerary ones to elaborate texts published by Roman authorities such as bronzes recording laws, often include striking errors and mistakes. Even the Capitoline fasti, the text of which is in general remarkably faultless, can offer instances such as *Valprios* for *Valerius* (Inscr. It. XIII 1, 42, a censor of 252 BC) or *Perilus* for *Philus* (ibid. 44, the consul of 223 BC).<sup>1</sup> Of the errors one encounters in reading Latin inscriptions many may be attributed to the respective stonecutters, but there are also other ways of explaining the mistakes, for instance faulty drafts for the texts to be inscribed. There is a recent paper on all this by Heikki Solin, 'Zur Entstehung und Psychologie von Schreibfehlern in lateinischen Inschriften',<sup>2</sup> which will no doubt revive the discussion on the phenomenon. In this paper, my aim is not to enter into a general discussion of errors in inscriptions, but rather to point out some interesting examples of praenomina rendered erroneously in various epigraphical texts.

In doing this, I am not going to say anything on those rather uninteresting errors which can be regarded as simple mistakes and do not seem to be in need of elaborate explanation. Errors of this kind are quite numerous. Any Roman Tiberius could at some stage find his praenomen abbreviated somewhere as *T.*, this abbreviation in fact being that of *Titus*, and many a Titus must no doubt have faced the situation that his praenomen was abbreviated with *Ti.*, which of course was meant to be the abbreviation of *Tibe-*

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<sup>1</sup> The latter not noted by A. Degrassi in his list of mistakes in the Capitoline consular and triumphal fasti, Inscr. It. XIII 1, 641f. This is, in fact, quite a mysterious case because the letters *er* seem to be attributable to a correction made by a later stonecutter.

<sup>2</sup> In: Acta colloquii epigraphici Latini Helsingiae 3.-6. Sept. 1991 habiti, ed. H. Solin, O. Salomies, U.-M. Liertz (Commentationes humanarum litterarum 104, 1995) 93-111.

*rius*.<sup>3</sup> And stonecutters having to deal with the praenomen *Manius*, abbreviated with an *M* of the archaic type having an extra stroke on the right, understandably often got it wrong.<sup>4</sup> Sometimes one observes that in inscriptions in which men (who should have a praenomen) are enumerated after women (who do not have a praenomen) the praenomina of the men are omitted, no doubt in most cases because the stonecutters had quickly become used to nomenclatures beginning not with praenomina but with nomina.<sup>5</sup> But there are also errors of a more interesting type which do not seem to be simple blunders. For instance, reading the commentary on an inscription from Aquileia, *Inscriptiones Aquileiae* 932 (CIL V 8347), one learns that the stonecutter who was inscribing the nomenclature of a certain C. Caecilius Aquileiensis started by inscribing *Q. Caecilius*, only later correcting the praenomen. Although this does not necessarily mean a thing, one cannot help thinking of the fact that *Quintus* was by far the most common praenomen among Caecilii, both among the senators and others.<sup>6</sup> Perhaps this stonecutter was somehow simply accustomed to prefixing the praenomen *Q.* when having to deal with Caecilii.

In a first-century inscription from Savaria, CIL III 4198 = 10922 = RIU 157, one observes another interesting example of a praenomen rendered erroneously. The text is inscribed as follows: *C. Caesio C. f. Cl. Victori ... C. Caesius Vitulus et C. Caesius Optatus et Caesia Graeca parentibus etc.* From this it would appear that all male members of this family had the same praenomen. Unfortunately for the stonecutter, the discovery of another in-

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<sup>3</sup> Most of the T. Claudii attested in inscriptions later than the earliest Empire (CIL VI 1057, v 55; 1058, iii 86. 101. v 59; 15310; 15319; 32533 b i 3; 34863; 34881; 36042; I. Ephesos 426 etc.) will in fact have been Ti. Claudii. For *Ti.* = *Titus* see Die römischen Vornamen (1987) 57 n. 127.

<sup>4</sup> Vornamen (n. 3) 36 n. 53; AE 1971, 534 = IAMaroc II 94, line 43. In modern numismatical literature, one observes an established, but misguided, custom to interpret the abbreviation as standing for *Mn.*, i.e. the 5-stroke *M* is apparently understood as *M(a)n(ius)* with a ligature of the *M* and the *N* (cf. e.g. S.J. Westdal, *Dictionary of Roman Coin Inscriptions* [1982] 30; A. Burnett – M. Amandry – P.P. Ripollès, *Roman Provincial Coinage* [1992] no. 322-4, 359f., 437).

<sup>5</sup> E.g. CIL XIV 1262 (F. Sinn, *Vatikanische Museen. Museo Gregoriano Profano ex Lateranense. Katalog der Skulpturen* 1 [1991] no. 59) ... *matri Liviae A. f. Iustae, Liviae A. f. Hagiae, Livi A. f. Sabini* (for this Livius Sabinus' praenomen *Aulus* see CIL XIV 1249 = Sinn, *op. cit.* no. 73). Cf. Vornamen 419f. and *Inscriptiones Aquileiae* 603.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Vornamen 198 n. 128, 199. For Aquileia, see the index of *Inscriptiones Aquileiae*, p. 1282.

scription (AE 1988, 935) mentioning members of the same family shows that he had been doing his job badly, for in this latter inscription the two sons appear, no doubt correctly, as *C. Caesius C. f. Vitulus* and *L. Caesius C. f. Optatus*. The explanation is clearly that because both the father (and the grandfather) and the eldest son had the praenomen *Gaius*, and because during the Empire in more and more families all sons inherited the father's praenomen (cf. below), the stonecutter inadvertently extended the use of this praenomen also to the younger son.

But there is one recurring mistake in the rendering of praenomina which is of especial interest, namely mistakes in praenomina appearing in filiations. For some easily identifiable reasons praenomina appearing in filiations referring to fathers (and sometimes, in addition, to grandfathers) tend to be identical with those prefixed to the nomina of the persons in question; that is, if one comes across a *C. Cornelius*, a good guess would be that this person's filiation should be *C. f.* (and *C. n.*). During the Empire this is easily understandable, because praenomina were becoming hereditary, sons more and more often automatically inheriting the paternal praenomen.<sup>7</sup> But this tendency is clear already during the Republic when it was still customary to give each son a personal praenomen; for instance, of the members of the *consilium* of Cn. Pompeius Strabo in 89 BC (enumerated in the well known inscription CIL I<sup>2</sup> 709add.) more than 70% have the same praenomen as their fathers.<sup>8</sup> The obvious explanation is that in most families there was only one son (Cichorius [n. 8] speaks of "erschreckend geringe Kinderzahl").<sup>9</sup> But whatever the explanation, the fact is that at all times, or at least from the later Republic onwards, most sons had the same praenomen as their fathers, this again leading to praenomina appearing in filiations tending to be mere duplications of the praenomina which appeared in front of the nomina.

It is easily imaginable, then, that Roman stonecutters may have become accustomed to inscribing the same praenomen twice, both before the

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<sup>7</sup> Vornamen 378ff.

<sup>8</sup> C. Cichorius, *Römische Studien* (1922) 184; cf. Vornamen 211 n. 151.

<sup>9</sup> But observe also that if a son who had the paternal praenomen died young the praenomen of another son having another praenomen could be changed to that of his brother (see Vornamen 209ff.), this custom producing yet more sons with the same praenomen as their fathers.

nomen and after it in the filiation. This seems to be the best explanation<sup>10</sup> for cases such as the inscription from Urvinum, CIL XI 6059, cf. A. Donati, *Epigraphica* 29 (1967) 181 (AE 1968, 161), which has the following text: *Q. Vasselio Q. f. Stel. Sab[in]o* (a praetorian who died in his twenties) ... *C. Vasselio C. f. Stel. Sabino patri, .... matri*. Since the father of the praetorian was a Gaius, it is clear the he himself must have been *C. f.*, not *Q. f.*; the stonecutter has, however, by mistake simply duplicated his own praenomen *Q.* A similar case is CIL V 5865 from Mediolanum (seen by Mommsen), *C. Herennius C. f. Iuvenior Vivir iun. sibi et L. Herennio patri, ... matri, M. Herennio Vero fratri* etc., where the correct filiation should of course have been *L. f.*, not *C. f.*, in which the man's own praenomen is simply reproduced. From Volubilis in Mauretania Tingitana there is IAM II 479, *L. Valerio L. f. Claud. Prisco annor. XVII M. Valerius Peregrinus pater filio*. Besides stonecutters, copiers of inscriptions may also easily make a mistake of this kind.<sup>11</sup>

One finds mistakes in filiations even in the consular fasti.<sup>12</sup> *Q. Pedius*, who later became *cos. suff.* in 43 BC, appears in the Capitoline triumphal fasti recording his triumph in 45 *ex Hispania* as *Q. Pedius M. f. pro cos.* But in the list of the consuls of 43 BC, the *Fasti Colotiani* (*Inscr. It.* XIII 1, 273) have *Q. Pedius Q. f.* Though other scholars had thought that this, not *M. f.*, was the correct filiation,<sup>13</sup> A. Degrassi (*Inscr. It.* XIII 1, 275, 567) suspected a mistake in the *Fasti Colotiani*, and this was confirmed by the discovery of

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<sup>10</sup> In theory, one could of course also think that in some of the following cases the sons had been adopted by relatives with the same nomen, *C. Vasselius C. f. Sabinus* for instance on being adopted by a *Q. Vasselius* taking the adoptive father's praenomen and referring to the adoptive father in his filiation. On the other hand, in such cases we would be dealing with real (not "testamentary") adoptions, and the wording of the cases quoted below does not recommend this assumption at all.

<sup>11</sup> Most transcriptions of the inscription in honour of *M. Titius L. f.* (the consul of 32 BC) seen by Cyriacus in Mytilene, CIL III 455 = 7160 (ILS 891; ILLRP 433), have the reading *M. Titio M. f.*, the correct filiation *L. f.* appearing only in two of the copies in which Cyriacus' text has been transmitted (see Mommsen's apparatus criticus in CIL).

<sup>12</sup> Observe however, that F. Münzer's assertion in RE XIII 287 that *P. Crassus M. f.* (the consul of 95 BC, RE no. 61) is given the incorrect filiation *L. f.* as censor in 89 in the Capitoline fasti is based simply on a misprint in the old CIL edition of the fasti, which in fact have *M. f.* (*Inscr. It.* XIII 1, 54).

<sup>13</sup> W. Drumann – P. Groebe, *Geschichte Roms III*<sup>2</sup> (1906) 687 n. 9 and F. Münzer, RE XIX 38 (no. 1) thought that *Q. f.* would be probably correct, basing this on the fact that *Q.* was *Pedius'* own praenomen.

an inscription from Casinum, set up *Q. Pedio M. f. pro cos., patrono* (AE 1971, 97; CIL I<sup>2</sup> 2974). As for the possible source of the stonecutter's error, observe that the other consuls of 43 BC to be inscribed were (in addition to *C. Iulius Caesar*) *C. Vibius C. f. Pansa*, *A. Hirtius A. f.*, *C. Carrinas C. f.*, *P. Ventidius P. f.*, all thus having the praenomina of their own fathers.

The consul of 160 BC, L. Anicius Gallus, appears as *L. f. L. n.* in the Capitoline consular fasti (Inscr. It. XIII 1, 51). But in the Capitoline triumphal fasti the same man (as shown by the triumphal fasti from Urbs Salvia, Inscr. It. XIII 1, 338) is given the filiation *L. f. M. n.* (Inscr. It. XIII 1, 81). I do not seem to recall having seen the meaning of this being taken under consideration;<sup>14</sup> however, I think that we have here another mistake of the above kind, the stonecutter having, when inscribing the entry for 160 BC, mechanically reproduced, in the indication of the consul's grandfather, the praenomen which had already appeared twice in the man's nomenclature. Furthermore, taking *M. n.* to be the correct filiation has the extra advantage of bringing this man, who because of his nomen no doubt came from Praeneste,<sup>15</sup> in connection with the *praetor* of Praeneste M. Anicius, whose activities in 216 BC are registered with approval by Livy (23, 19, 17ff.). It seems a good guess that the consul could be this M. Anicius' grandson.<sup>16</sup>

All this now brings us to an obscure character of the period of the Samnite wars, Q. Aulius Cerretanus. A man of this name is known to have been consul in 323 and 319 and *magister equitum* in 315. In the entry in the Capitoline fasti on the events of 315, the filiation of the man is given as *Q. f. Ai. n.* (Inscr. It. XIII 1, 36). Of course it was thought that the consul was identical with the master of the horse (e.g. E. Klebs, RE II 2411 n. 2). But in the beginning of this century, a new fragment of the Capitoline fasti, referring to the second consulate in 319, gave the filiation of the consul Q. Aulius as *Q. f. Q. [n.]* (Inscr. It. XIII 1, 36). From this it seemed to follow that there were in fact at the same time two Q. Aulii Cerretani, the grandson of a Quintus and the grandson of someone whose praenomen was abbreviated as

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<sup>14</sup> E. Klebs (RE I 2197f. no. 15) and A. Degrassi (Inscr. It. XIII 1, 123; 556) simply note the discrepancy. E. Badian, *Chiron* 20 (1990) 377, seems to accept *L. f. L. n.* as the correct filiation.

<sup>15</sup> A. Licordari, in: *Tituli* 5 (1982) 38.

<sup>16</sup> Thus D.M. Novak, in: *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History* (ed. C. Deroux) I (1979) 123.



*Ai.* This view has been advocated by some scholars,<sup>17</sup> most recently and most competently by the Swedish scholar Örjan Wikander, who rightly points out that *Ai.* instead of *Q.* would be a quite inexplicable error, and that one can find two contemporary senators with different grandfathers but otherwise identical names in the two late fifth-century P. Cornelii A. f. Cossi RE no. 118 (who was *P. n.*) and RE no. 119 (who was *M. n.*).<sup>18</sup> However, this is not really a good parallel, because the Cornelii were a large patrician *gens* with numerous members known to us (and no doubt many more not registered in the historical tradition) already in the fifth century, and it seems natural to come across two members not closely related with the same name. With the Aulii it is quite different, because in this case we are dealing with a *gens* which makes an appearance in history only this once, and therefore it would be almost incredible if it could have produced two homonymous members at the same time who are not even first cousins.

Considering this, and reluctant to have to have something to do with a praenomen beginning with *Ai.*, I once suggested that we would be dealing in all cases with only one man called Q. Aulius Cerretanus, and that *Q. f. Q. n.* was his correct filiation, *Ai. n.* being an error (Vornamen 60). However, in view of the fact that this error would be inexplicable indeed and, on the other hand, in view of the examples presented above it now seems obvious to me that *Q. f. Q. n.* must be the mistaken filiation, *Q. f. Ai. n.* the correct one. But this of course raises the question of the grandfather's name. Now, the question of the acceptability of a praenomen abbreviated as *Ai.* needs urgent reconsideration in view of the publication of an archaic inscription written on a bronze plate, now in a private collection in the Netherlands, but said to have been found somewhere near Rome (P.J. Sijpesteijn, ZPE 81 [1990] 243f.; not, I think, in *Année épigraphique*). This fragmentary (only the left side has been preserved) and problematic text (but which is, according to the editor, who refers to an "Atomabsorbtionsanalyse", above the suspicion of being a forgery) begins – this is clear enough – with the names of persons who seem to have been *tribunei plebe[i]* (l. 3), perhaps not in

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<sup>17</sup> A. Degrassi, *Inscr. It.* XIII 1, 109f.; T.R.S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic* II 535 (index), cf. I 157 n. 2; E.J. Phillips, *Athenaeum* 50 (1972) 339. K.J. Beloch, *Römische Geschichte* (1926) 659 (index) identifies all the known Q. Aulii, but does not comment upon the problem presented by the filiations.

<sup>18</sup> Ö. Wikander, *Opusc. Rom.* 19 (1993) 105.

Rome.<sup>19</sup> One can decipher the names of two persons;<sup>20</sup> in addition to a certain *An. Mateli(os) V. [f.]* (line 1) one finds in line 2 a certain *V. Semini(os) Ai. f.* Here we have at last what seems to be a parallel to the praenomen of Q. Aulius' grandfather.

My conclusion is, then, that the Cerretani are all only one person, whose grandfather had a praenomen abbreviated with *Ai.*, of which there now seems to be another attestation in the new inscription. Since this can hardly be classified as a genuine Roman praenomen, this may be taken to mean that the ancestors of Aulius Cerretanus – whose cognomen seems to refer to some locality<sup>21</sup> – had come from somewhere outside Rome; and observe, for a possible parallel, that the grandfather of the first plebeian consul in 366 BC, L. Sextius Lateranus, also had a foreign praenomen, namely *Numerius* (Inscr. It. XIII 1, 32).<sup>22</sup> Of course, we are still left with the question of how to interpret the abbreviation *Ai.*, but this is a question which I think must, for the time being, be left open; one can only hope that the full name will emerge some day from some new epigraphical discovery.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Magistrates known as 'tribunes of the plebs' are attested at least in Teanum Sidicinum, Nuceria, Bantia and Venusia (see A. Degrassi on ILLRP 690).

<sup>20</sup> In line 1 (at least) one name seems to be missing altogether, in line 2 one recognizes the beginning of a nomenclature beginning with *A. Vl -- J.*

<sup>21</sup> I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (1965) 48f. n. 2 suggests, under the impression that the name appears only in Livy, that one should emend it to *Caerretanus*; but in fact the Capitoline fasti also have the form *Cerretanus* (Inscr. It. XIII 1, 36).

<sup>22</sup> The fact that the Fabii, for a very special reason, used the praenomen *Numerius* (Vornamen 39f.) does not really make this a "Roman" praenomen. – Observe also that an obscure consul of the fifth century, P. Sestius Capito in 452 BC, is given the filiation *Q. f. Vibi n.* in the Capitoline fasti (Inscr. It. XIII 1, 24).

<sup>23</sup> It is true that in the past some scholars have postulated the existence of a praenomen which could be suitable, "*Aemus*", on the basis of a late-Republican inscription from Puteoli, CIL X 1589 = I<sup>2</sup> 1618. This is, however, not acceptable (Vornamen 97).



## STATUE BASE EPIGRAMS IN HONOR OF A RESTORER FROM EARLY BYZANTINE ATHENS

ERKKI SIRONEN

The present article is intended to serve as a reminder of the need for caution in restoring Greek stone epigrams without consideration for their date, genre and the kind of object on which the text was cut, and to recognize the danger of the first impression leading often to hasty restorations. Today the means of restoring right away from computer-based text *corpora* is available to an ever increasing number of philologists. But, especially in the field of three-dimensional philology, arguments for proposed restorations should always be tested within the frame of phrases possible in more genres than one before including restorations in the text itself.

Werner Peek, recognized by many scholars as the most ingenious epigraphist in restoring Greek metrical inscriptions, interpreted the inscription under study as funerary epigrams.<sup>1</sup> He failed to notice (maybe because he was working from a squeeze) that the inscription was cut on a statue base, more appropriate for honorary or dedicatory inscriptions. Peek

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<sup>1</sup> W. Peek, "Epigramme von der Agora", in ΦΟΡΟΣ. Tribute to Benjamin Dean Meritt, ed. by D.W. Bradeen and M.F. McGregor, Locust Valley (N.Y.) 1974, 127, no. 9 (with a reconstructive drawing in fig. 3 on p. 128), photograph in plate XXIV, 1 (so far ignored by the SEG):

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[ἐν τεμένει δὲ θεᾶς στ]ῆσεν ἰο[στεφάνου].  
[βουλή ταῦτὸ δ' ἔπραξεν ἡ] Ἀρείοιο [πάγοιο],  
[πάντων πειθομένη δό]γμασι Κε[κροπιδῶν].

[ἰητῆρα Κράτιππον ἔχει τάφ]ος, ἐσθλὸν [ἀρωγὸν]  
[ἀνδράσιν ἠδὲ γυναιξὶν ἐν] ἄστε[ι] τῶιδε γε[γῶτα].  
[ἀλλά μιν Ἑρμείας οἱ] ἀρήγ[ονα χ]εῖρα τιταί[νων]  
[ἐξ ἐνέρων ἀνάγοι καὶ ἀπ]ὸ χθονὸς αὐθις ἐγείρο[ι].



**Agora I-5661**

(Photo courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations)

was not only mistaken in his reading of the extant letters but also provided rather imaginative restorations from his own special field, funerary poetry.

He did not bother to establish any kind of date for the epigrams.<sup>2</sup>

Agora I-5661, found in the Agora Excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.<sup>3</sup> It is a large fragment of an inscribed base of Pentelic marble, with a small portion of the smooth inscribed face (parts or traces of six lines in two different hands), part of the rough-picked top and bottom preserved, found in a modern context at the north foot of the Areopagus<sup>4</sup> (P 22) on February 24, 1939. Three more joining fragments were found in a modern context in the same area on March 13 and 14, 1939. They constitute parts of the bottom of the monument, preserving the smooth inscribed face (parts or traces of four lines) with *cyma reversa* and flat torus moulding below, the rough-picked bottom, and the right side, around which the mouldings carry. They were glued together in June of 1948.

Most of the inscribed face near the lower right edge is preserved, but

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<sup>2</sup> I agree with Peek's observation that the poems may well be contemporaneous, but his argument, "sonst wäre nach dem ersten Epigramm doch auch wohl größerer Zwischenraum gelassen", is weak. During the Late Roman and Early Byzantine period (i.e., from the later third to the end of the sixth century) earlier texts were usually simply cut away. For conspicuous examples of this procedure in Attica, cf. E. Sironen, "Life and Administration of Late Roman Attica in the Light of Public Inscriptions", in *Post-Herulian Athens. Aspects of Life and Culture in Athens A.D. 267-529* (Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens I), ed. by P. Castrén, Helsinki 1994, 31, no. 15 and 51, no. 32: traces of letters from earlier texts are still visible. Another procedure was to use one of the other sides of the base, cf. *ibid.* 26-27, no. 11 and 46, no. 29. In view of these observations it is likely that the epigrams were contemporaneous.

<sup>3</sup> I am indebted to John McK. Camp, Field Director of the Agora Excavations, for inviting me in November 1994 to carry out a systematic search for Late Roman and Early Byzantine inscriptions from the Agora, published or not. I thank Homer Thompson and John McK. Camp for granting permission to publish the identified pieces. Furthermore, I wish to thank Judith Binder, Julia Burman, Paavo Castrén, Jaakko Frösén, Arja Karivieri, Heikki Solin and Homer Thompson for their helpful comments on earlier drafts of this paper, and Eric Ivison for his help at the 21st Annual Byzantine Studies Conference in New York City, where I read a shortened version of this paper, thus gaining a few useful comments by James Crow and Kenneth Holum, among others.

<sup>4</sup> As Homer Thompson suggested to me (in a letter of September 1995), the piece may be assumed to have been erected in some very public place, perhaps on the Acropolis: a fair number of fragmentary inscriptions, which undoubtedly stood on the Acropolis, have been found on the north slope of the Acropolis and Areopagus.

on the left more than two thirds of the eight lines is lost. Overall measurements: H. 0.685; preserved W. 0.44 (estimated W. 0.75); preserved T. 0.80. LH. (A.) 0.02-0.025 and (B.) 0.016-0.033; interlinear space (A.) 0.008-0.015 and (B.) 0.006-0.023.

## A.

[*vacat*]

[-UU-UU-UU-UU] trace of a letter [UU-x]

[? -UU-UU-?στ]ῆσεν ΙΩ[UU-?]

[-UU-UU-UU ἄν]δρείοιο [U-x]

[?-UU-UU- ?ἔρ]γμασι Κε[κροπίν?]

## B.

[-UU-UU-UU-]ΩΣ ἐσθλὸν [U-x] 5

[-UU-UU-UU] ἄστ[ε]ῖ τῶιδε γέρ[ηρεν?]

[-UU-UU-U] ἀρηγ[ό]ν[α χ]εῖρα τιταίν[ων?]

[-UU-UU-U ἀπ]ὸ χθο[ν]ὸς ἀῦθις ἔγειρε[ν?]

*vacat*

Above line 1: if the top moulding was as high as the preserved one at bottom (0.14), the original height of the inscribed face would have measured around 0.405. Since 0.306 of its lower part is preserved, it would follow that about 0.099 from the topmost inscribed face would be missing. Because the average line height in epigram A. is 0.034, the space available at the top would allow for one, but obviously not more than two more verses to be restored above line 2. The unscribed space of 0.06 m at the bottom may have been balanced with a roughly equal *vacat* at top. My restoration with not more than eight lines is based on presuming balances of unscribed areas at the top and bottom and the number of verses in the epigrams, rather than on being totally positive that epigram A must have been in regular distichs. Because we cannot ascertain the meter of epigram A other than being dactylic, the number of lines to be restored should maybe better be left open. Line 1: nothing more than a trace of a horizontal stroke is preserved at the bottom of the line. Line 2: the last surviving letter is open at top, so it must be omega, not omikron. At the beginning I suspect a finite aorist form. If the line were certainly in hexameter, it would be tempting to see the beginning of a name at the end, and to restore Ἴω[άννου] on the strength of the frequency of the name in this period; if the sentence continued into the next line, the nominative or the accusative case would seem less plausible. Line 3: the stone is broken below the oblique stroke at the beginning of the line. The only other alternative in addition to my proposal [ἄν]δρείοιο, viz. [δεν]δρείοιο, would be as implausible as Peek's conjecture. At the end, I would like to suggest a conjecture with [θ' ὑπάρχου], providing the hypothetical Ἴω[άννου] with a position. Line 4: the first letter could also be tau since everything to the left of the

vertical stroke is lost. I would prefer to restore [ἔρ]γμασι Κε[κροπίην] instead of [δό]γμασι Κε[κροπιδῶν]; for the numerous examples of mythical periphrases in Attic Late Roman/Early Byzantine honorary epigrams, see footnote 8 below. Line 5: at left only the right edge of a lunar stroke is visible, making omikron and omega equally possible; of the last three dotted letters, four traces only from their lowermost parts survive: two oblique strokes slanting towards each other, a lunar stroke, and near it a tip of a vertical stroke. Line 6: the upper parts of the second and third letters have been lost; the trace of an overlong vertical stroke at the right edge represents either iota or, more probably, rho (upsilon is impossible due to small space on the left); after this there is no sure trace of any letter. I restore the ending of γεραίρω, in view of the end of line 8, in the third person singular. Line 7: there is a trace of a top part of a vertical stroke just above the damaged four letters; the last two traces in this line are two lower tips of vertical strokes. I restore the participle, because an accompanying action with a non-finite ending was probably included in this verse. Line 8: no trace of nu exists; of the last surviving letter only the lower left part of a lunar stroke is preserved; it is impossible to know whether a cross, certainly possible at such a late date, decorated the end of the text. Room enough for a final nu or a cross was originally available.

A.: " --- set up the statue (?) of (?) --- of the courageous (?) --- Athens  
(?) with (building) works (?) "

B.: " --- the noble --- he (?) gave as a reward to this city --- stretching  
(?) out his helping hand --- he (?) raised up, once again, from the ground "

I propose a date from the later fifth century to the sixth century, possibly between the Vandalic raid of A.D. 457/67 and the reign of Justinian.

Sometimes Early Byzantine epigrams were cut in a series of poems on a single object.<sup>5</sup> In our case, however, the lettering of lines 2-4 is also completely different from that of lines 5-8. The latter script, forming the second epigram, could be as late as the sixth century: note especially *theta* with the overlong cross bar.<sup>6</sup> The cutter of the first epigram clearly did not

<sup>5</sup> See the examples given in L. Robert, *Épigrammes du Bas-Empire* (1948), 81-82, and especially the comparison of two different scripts in the epigrams from the Heraeum of Samos, *ibid.* 58. Add to these e.g. *ibid.* 5 (Aegina), 22-23 (= Sironen (1994), 31, no. 15); Sironen (1994), 32, no. 16; and C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity: the Late Roman and Byzantine Inscriptions including Texts from the Excavations Conducted by Kenan T. Erim*, (JRS Monographs 5, 1989), no. 53.

<sup>6</sup> See *ibid.* nos. 54, 89, 97, and 100, all basically public texts from late fifth or sixth century Aphrodisias, capital of Caria. SEG XXXVIII 530-533, four separate epigrams in more or less mixed meter honoring Justinian's subordinate Victorinus for building the



cut his letters as deeply as his colleague, and his work emulates the style of earlier centuries, although *alpha* with a lightly dropped bar and *sigma* with four strokes appear in Attica as late as the last years of the fourth century.<sup>7</sup> Attention may be called to the fluctuation in lines 2 and 3; neither is the *sigma* in line 4 identical with the one two lines above it. The work in the second epigram is much more self-assured, and the cutter seems to be more at home with his script, possibly cut after a model written in literary handwriting.

With support from phrases found in this genre, identified in verses 5-8, the very scanty remains of the first epigram seem to suggest that a statue was possibly erected (line 2) to - rather than by - a man (possibly named John), who could be the obviously courageous one referred to in line 3. If this is right, either the reason<sup>8</sup> or the authorization for erecting the statue was probably mentioned in the last verse.

The second epigram, with many intact words and no need for conjectural restorations, is certainly in hexameters. In line 5 the man honored is possibly praised with the generally positive epithet ἐσθλόν.<sup>9</sup> In line 6 the

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walls of the Illyrian town of Byllis (in modern Albania) share this feature whenever *theta* is present. For Thessalonica, see D. Feissel, *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes du IIIe au VIe siècle* (1983), nos. 131, 133, and 135, unfortunately all of them Early Christian epitaphs, but certainly dated to the early sixth century. Lacking other Early Byzantine *corpora* furnished with photographs and in the dearth of any texts from adjacent areas with certain sixth century dates, it is laborious to find comparable letterings. As far as Attica and Corinth are concerned, similar *thetas* appear only in some of the numerous Early Christian epitaphs, i.e. from the fourth to sixth centuries. To my knowledge, the only example of *theta* with an overlong horizontal stroke in an inscription from the province of Achaëa allegedly predating A.D. 400 is IG V, 2, no. 153, restudied by D. Feissel and A. Philippidis-Braat, "Inventaires en vue d'un recueil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance. III. Inscriptions du Péloponnèse", in *T&MByz* 9 (1985), 292-293, no. 32, and illustrated there in plate V, 1. In view of its *alpha*, *beta*, and *mu*, however, I would be inclined to propose a date in the later fifth century for the piece.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Sironen (1994), 42, no. 26 and 41, no. 25, respectively.

<sup>8</sup> In disagreement with Peek I suspect that at the beginning of this concluding verse of the first epigram the work done for Athens was likely to have been mentioned. For ἔργον and its metrical variant ἔργμα in general, see Robert (1948), 12, footnote 1, and *ibid.* 5 (περικάλλεα ἔργα), 61 (τίς τόσον ἔργον ἔτευξε;), 63 (θέσκελα ἔργα), 65 (ὄρας τὸ ἔργον ἠλίκον), 112 (ἔξοχον ἔργον), and 87-89 (κλεινοῖς ἔργμασιν). The restoration Κεκροπίην is paralleled, among others, by Sironen (1994), 17, no. 1, line 9; 31, no. 15, line 2; 33, no. 17, line 3 (the only one not at the end of a pentameter); 48, no. 30, line 2; 51, no. 32, line 4. Cf. also IG II/III<sup>2</sup>, no. 4008, line 3.

<sup>9</sup> See ἐσθλὸς ὑπαρχο[ς] in CIG, no. 8614, and ἐσθλοὶ ἡγεμόνες in Robert (1948), 17-18, footnote 2; cf. also *ibid.* 24, footnote 3 and 94, footnote 6. Despite the first parallel I

perception of the last word as *γεραίρω* is crucial for the new interpretation. What else than *giving a reward* could be the issue that the honored man did for the city, "stretching out his helping hand"?<sup>10</sup> The last line is essential for the interpretation of the whole: the verb *ἐγείρω* is often used in connection with building works.<sup>11</sup> The phraseology in lines 5-8 is commonplace in Early Byzantine honorary epigrams, and makes a case for interpreting the first epigram built around a similar idea.

It remains to speculate on what might have been rebuilt, and then to ponder who could have been the benefactor. The words *αὐθις*<sup>12</sup> *ἀπὸ χθονός*<sup>13</sup> *ἔγειρεν* evidently refer to a public construction, either destroyed or fallen into ruin. It is not totally out of the question that the whole city or a part of it is being referred to,<sup>14</sup> but I would argue in favor of the circuit wall rather than of other possible reconstructions: between the third and sixth centuries a double set of defensive walls (an inner and an outer) were built or restored repeatedly, and on two occasions we are informed of this in three commemorative dactylic epigrams.<sup>15</sup>

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would rather refrain from conjecturing [*ὑπάρχον*] also here as being too hypothetical and repetitive, if taken with my conjecture [*θ'ὑπάρχου*] at the end of line 3; cf. the critical apparatus above.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. AP 1.29, 3: *Χριστὸς ... ἀρηγόνα χεῖρα τιταίνοι* and Roueché (1989), no. 40: ... *κάμει καμουσαν ἀμετρήτοις ἐνιαυτοῖς / ἤγειρεν κρατερὴν χεῖρ' ἐπορεξάμενος*.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. AP 16.42: *Σμύρναν ἔγειρε καὶ ἤγαγεν εἰς φάος αὐθις / ἔργοις θαυμασίοις ...* among other references in Sironen (1994), 35, note 114. Add to these BÉ 1959, no. 447 *ἄναξ ... ἔγειρε πόλιν*, and Roueché (1989), nos. 39-40. See also Robert (1948), 12, footnote 1 (*ἔργα ἐγείρειν*) and 14-15, footnote 5, for idioms referring to restoration of cities.

<sup>12</sup> For *αὐθις*, see *ibid.* 63 = AP 16.43 (*μετὰ λoίγια πῆματα σεισμοῦ / ἐσσυμένως πονέων αὐθις πόλιν ἐξετέλεσσας*) and 75 (*αὐτίς ... / πάλιν σῶσεν ἀπολλυμένην*), in addition to footnote 11 above.

<sup>13</sup> As was suggested by Kenneth Holum at the 21st Annual Byzantine Studies Conference in New York, *ἀπὸ χθονός* - perhaps nothing else than a poetic equivalent to *ἐκ θεμελίων* common in prose inscriptions (e.g. Sironen (1994), 42-43, no. 26, with footnote 142) - could refer to anything constructed from the foundations.

<sup>14</sup> In his letter to me Homer Thompson feels inclined to suppose that the present monument commemorates a remarkable amount of reconstruction and new building that occurred in the northern part of the Agora, and possibly in other parts of the city, following a destructive Vandal incursion perhaps in A.D. 457, basing his opinion largely on the evidence adduced by A. Frantz, *Agora 24. Late Antiquity A.D. 267-700* (1988), 78-82. Thompson himself worked closely with Frantz on this problem and was greatly impressed by the scale of activity in the Agora at a seemingly improbable time. See also footnote 16 below.

<sup>15</sup> See Sironen (1994), 21-22, nos. 4 and 5 (the new Post-Herulian inner enceinte) and

What is more crucial in our case, though, is that in A.D. 457/67 the Vandals may possibly have caused damage to Athens, as is suggested by a destruction layer in the western part of the Agora, above the north-south road.<sup>16</sup> Later on, a sixth-century reparation of the walls of Athens is known from Procopius' panegyric of the Emperor Justinian *On Buildings*.<sup>17</sup> Excavations in the Pnyx area have confirmed that the outer city wall had

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32-33, no. 16 (probably the ancient Themistoclean outer circuit wall).

<sup>16</sup> A. Frantz (1988), 78-79: this layer included a large number of coins, the latest of which were of Marcian and Leo I, in addition to which the great majority of the lamps found in this layer date from the early fifth to the second half of the fifth century. See A. Frantz, "Some Invaders of Athens in Late Antiquity", in *A Colloquium in Memory of George Carpenter Miles (1904-1975)*, The American Numismatic Society (1976), 13-14. The extent of this understudied ravage of Athens is unknown. J. Koder and F. Hild, *Hellas und Thessalia*, in *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, ed. by H. Hunger, vol. I (1976), 52, with footnote 70 speak for a less thorough destruction in the eastern area of Achaëa, based partly on Procopius' *Vand.* 1,5,23 (ed. by J. Haury, 1962): Ἰλλυριοὺς οὖν ἐληίζετο καὶ τῆς τε Πελοποννήσου τῆς τε ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ ὅσαι αὐτῇ νῆσοι ἐπίκεινται. T.E. Gregory, "Fortification and Urban Design in Early Byzantine Greece", in *City, Town and Countryside in the Early Byzantine Era* (ed. by R.L. Hohlfelder, New York, 1982), 57, footnote 53, surprisingly plays this down. See, however, Damascius, *Isid.* (ed. by C. Zintzen, 1967), fr. 273: ... πλείστων γὰρ αὐτῶ (= Ἀρχιάδα) χρημάτων διηρασμένων, ἐπειδὴ ἦσθετο Θεαγένη ἔτι παιδίον ὄντα λυπούμενον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπολωλόσι καὶ πεπορθημένοις, ὃ Θεάγενης, ἔφη, θαρρεῖν ἤδη σε χρή καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ὁμολογεῖν σωτηρίου χάριτας ὑπὲρ τῶν σωματῶν, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν χρημάτων οὐκ ἀθυμητέον ... ἀλλὰ τὸν παρόντα ἀγῶνα καὶ Παναθηναίων ἡγεῖσθαι δεῖ καὶ παντὸς ἑτέρου λαμπρότερόν τε καὶ εὐσεβέστερον, which could refer to Vandalic action in Athens.

<sup>17</sup> *Aed.* 4,2,23-24: Καὶ πόλεις δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπάσας, αἵπερ ἐντὸς εἰσι τῶν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις τειχῶν, ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ κατεστήσατο εἶναι, τοὺς περιβόλους ἀνανεωσάμενος ἅπαντας. κατερηρίπεσαν γὰρ πολλῶ πρότερον, ἐν Κορίνθῳ μὲν σεισμῶν ἐπιγενομένων ἑξαισίων, Ἀθήνησι δὲ καὶ ἐν Πλαταιῶσι κὰν τοῖς ἐπὶ Βοιωτίας χωρίοις χρόνου μὲν μήκει πεπονηκότες, ἐπιμελησαμένου δὲ αὐτῶν οὐδενὸς τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων (ed. by J. Haury, 1964). Procopius' testimony in *Arc.* 26,33, however, seems to contradict his earlier statement: ... ἐν τε τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐν Ἀθήναις αὐταῖς οὔτε τις ἐν δημοσίῳ οἰκοδομία (ἀνενεώθη) οὔτε ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν (οἶόν τε ἦν) γίνεσθαι. (ed. by J. Haury, 1963; the textual difficulties do not affect our point). One may wish to solve this seeming contradiction by the slandering tone of the *Historia Arcana*, but maybe this passage refers to another period in Justinian's long reign, cf. Frantz (1988), 82. In general, the difficulty in differentiating between the building techniques of the fourth to sixth century renders the identification of Justinianic building activity very problematic. This problem is discussed in A.W. Lawrence, "A Skeletal History of Byzantine Fortification", in *ABSA* 78 (1983), 188, who also notes that even though Procopius mentions more than 600 walls or towers in the Balkans as Justinian's works, earlier emperors are rarely mentioned in *De Aedificiis*.

been repaired under Valerian and Justinian.<sup>18</sup> As far as the building activity around the Acropolis area is concerned, four reservoirs and fortifications have now been dated to the Justinianic period.<sup>19</sup> Towers added to the city wall have a similar date.<sup>20</sup>

Could the benefactor of our inscription be an emperor, a high-ranking Roman official of the central government, or perhaps a wealthy citizen of Athens?

An emperor, though not totally out of the question, seems implausible: more often than not it was the government official who was honored for building activity in the stone epigrams from the East known to us today.<sup>21</sup>

Was the statue set up in honor of a high-ranking Roman official? For the period after A.D. 435 we know many more names of praetorian prefects of Illyricum than names of proconsuls of Achaëa.<sup>22</sup> If my conjectures of the

<sup>18</sup> See H.A. Thompson and R.L. Scranton, "Stoas and City Walls on the Pnyx", in *Hesperia* 12 (1943), 372 and 376; cf. also A.W. Parsons in *Hesperia* 12 (1943), 250, footnote 159. I. Travlos, 'Η πολεοδομική εξέλιξις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν (1993<sup>2</sup>), 144-148 states that the outer wall was radically repaired and strengthened by Justinian, but the inner enceinte was renewed only as regards its gates.

<sup>19</sup> For the large cistern abutting the east side of the northern wing of the Propylaea, see T. Tanoulas, "Τὰ Προπύλαια τῆς ἀθηναϊκῆς Ἀκρόπολης", in *AD* 42 (1987) B' 1 *Chron* [1992], 14 and in *AD* 43 (1988) B' 1 *Chron* [1993], 21; idem, "The Pre-Mnesiclean Cistern on the Athenian Acropolis", in *AM* 107 (1992) [1993], 130, footnote 5; idem, "The Propylaea and the Western Access of the Acropolis", in *Acropolis Restoration. The CCAM Interventions* (ed. by R. Economakis), London 1994, 56-58.

<sup>20</sup> See J. Threpsiades and I. Travlos, "Ἀνασκαφαὶ νοτίως τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου", in *AD* 17 (1961-1962) B' 1 *Chron* [1963], 13, with figure 1; B. Filippake, "Ἀνασκαφαὶ ἐντὸς τῆς περιμετρικῆς ζώνης τῶν Ἀθηνῶν", in *AD* 21 (1966) B' 1 *Chron* [1968], 57 (cf. figure 1, no. 1), figure 2; O. Alexandre, in *AD* 23 (1968) B' 1 *Chron* [1969], 53, no. 22 (cf. figure 1, no. 24), figures 15-16 and p. 67, no. 45 (cf. figure 1, no. 47), figures 26-27 with plate 34ε. See also E. Lyngoure-Tolia, "Ἀνασκαφικὴ ἔρευνα παρὰ τὴν Πειραιϊκὴ πύλη. Νέα στοιχεῖα γιὰ τὴν ἀρχαία ὄχυρῶση τῶν Ἀθηνῶν" in *AAA* 18 (1985) [1988], 137-142 with figures 1-4. I owe all of these references to Judith Binder's unpublished manuscript, *The Topography of Athens. A Sourcebook, Part I, s.v. The Themistoklean City Wall*.

<sup>21</sup> An example of the few Justinianic stone epigrams: SEG XXXVIII 530-533, a recently studied series of four texts from Byllis (see footnote 6 above), honor Justinian's subordinate Victorinus, evidently assigned to carry out the emperor's building program in the Balkans. In two of these practically intact texts, Justinian is also mentioned: 531 Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ κρατίστου δεσπότη and 533 [Ἰ]ουστινιανοῦ τὸ κράτιστον οὐνομα.

<sup>22</sup> J.R. Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire II* (1980), 1249-1250, and id., *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire III* (1992), 1475, with altogether around 50 names as opposed to only one possible proconsul: see s.v. Victor 1

ends of lines 2 and 3 (suggested only in the critical apparatus) are acceptable, then John, the praetorian prefect of Illyricum in A.D. 479, noted for his just administration and support of the arts, would possibly be a more plausible candidate than any other John known to us. If we stress his action in the revolt of Theoderic, as evidenced by Martindale, he could also have lived up to an adjective like [ἀν]δρεῖος, comparatively rare in Early Byzantine honorary epigrams, restored in line 3.<sup>23</sup>

If we discard John, however, as an unacceptable conjecture, there remain several local wealthy men in Athens that merit being considered,<sup>24</sup> despite the wording ἄστει τῶιδε γέρηρεν instead of e.g. πατρίδι τῆιδε γέρηρεν.<sup>25</sup> The wealthy senator, archon, and *patricius* Theagenes generously assisted both cities and individuals.<sup>26</sup> Together with his father-in-law Archiadas,<sup>27</sup> Theagenes would have been ready to spend his money for Athens. Theagenes' son Hegias,<sup>28</sup> scholarch of the Neoplatonic School, would be another candidate. It is not impossible that our inscription forms the base for the latest statue from the Agora, the famous *togatus*, possibly depicting a senator from the middle<sup>29</sup> or the last quarter<sup>30</sup> of the fifth

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in the latter work (before A.D. 528). Cf. also E. Groag, *Die Reichsbeamten von Achaia in spätrömischer Zeit* (1946), 76-77, with footnotes 7 and 1-3.

<sup>23</sup> See Martindale (1980), s.v. Ioannes 29, possibly to be identified with (Fl. Ioannes) Thomas 13.

<sup>24</sup> In general, see Groag (1946), 76, with footnotes 2-6.

<sup>25</sup> The wordings in Robert (1948), 134 (οὗτος ὁ ... κόσμο[ς] / ὃν κάμεν ἢ πατρη θρέπτρα χαριζόμενος / ἀντ' ἀσιαρχίης ὑπατον κλέος ἄστει τεύξας), Roueché (1989), no. 24, line 5 ὃς μεγάλη χαρίεντα πόλι θρεπτῆρια τίνων and no. 56 Ἄστ[υ] θεῆς Παφίης καὶ Πυθέου ... go to show that also more neutral designations for one's hometown were in use.

<sup>26</sup> For references, see Martindale (1980), s.v. Theagenes, and P. Castrén, "General Aspects of Life in Post-Herulian Athens", in *Post-Herulian Athens* (see footnote 2 above), 13, with footnotes 132-133. Cf. especially Damascius, *Isid.*, fr. 257: ... Ἑλλήνων τε ὅτι μάλιστα χρήμασι λαμπρυνόμενος, οἷς εἰς δέον ἐχρήτο τὰ πολλὰ πόλεων τε ἐνίων τὰ πταίσματα ἐπανορθούμενος ... and Marinus, *Procl.* (ed. by R. Masullo, 1985), 29.

<sup>27</sup> See Martindale (1980), s.v. Archiadas 1: Damascius, *Isid.*, fr. 273 and Marinus, *Procl.*, 14. Cf. Castrén (1994), 13, footnotes 134-135.

<sup>28</sup> See Martindale (1980), s.v. Hegias; Damascius, *Isid.*, fr. 351: ἐνήν γάρ τι τῶ Ἠγία καὶ τῆς Θεαγένους μεγαλόφρονος φύσεως ἐν ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις.

<sup>29</sup> Castrén (1994), 14, footnote 139 and Frantz (1988), 65, with footnote 53. H.A. Thompson and R.E. Wycherley, *Agora 14. The Agora of Athens* (1972), 213 says that "the high honor represented by a life-sized statue in this period is most likely to have been in recognition of some substantial benefaction." However, see footnote 4 above for the possibility, that our base was originally set up on the Acropolis.

century (maybe Theagenes) or even from the sixth century.<sup>31</sup> Yet another candidate would be Diogenes, maybe a native of Achaëa, a benefactor mentioned in a prose inscription for his building works in Megara, possibly during the reign of Zeno.<sup>32</sup> The inscriptions of Aphrodisias show that after the mid-fifth century private citizens were honored more often for benefactions in the community than the governor.<sup>33</sup>

In conclusion, the stone under study has been identified as a statue base carrying the latest example of epigrams honoring restorers of Athens. The inscription has also been dated, within a range of around 100 years. Because the text is very fragmentary, it has not proved possible to make sure what was restored and by whom. Nevertheless, the inscription now takes its place among the documents concerning Post-Vandalic Athens, revealing a reality beyond the indications of a Vandalic raid on Athens, rare in the ancient Graeco-Roman literature and seldom studied, and opening up avenues of inquiry for both the historian and the archaeologist.

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<sup>30</sup> E.B. Harrison, *Agora 1. Portrait Sculpture* (1953), 79-81, no. 64 (inventory number S 657), plates 41-42, with full bibliographical references to earlier literature. For later references, see footnote 29 above.

<sup>31</sup> See B. Kiilerich, "Sculpture in the Round in Early Byzantine Period: Constantinople and the East", in *Aspects of Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium* (Papers Read at a Colloquium Held at the Swedish Institute in Istanbul 31 May – 5 June 1992, Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul Transactions 4), ed. by L. Rydén and J.O. Rosenqvist, Uppsala 1993, 92-93.

<sup>32</sup> Martindale (1980), s.v. Diogenes 5 and 7, Groag (1946), 77-78 and Frantz (1988), 79, with footnotes 150-151.

<sup>33</sup> Roueché (1989), 86 and 123-124. F.E. Wozniak, "The Justinianic Fortification of Interior Illyricum", in *City, Town and Countryside in the Early Byzantine Period* (see footnote 16 above), 200, 202-203 suggests that from the fifth century on fortification works and defense were carried out by the local population and the local aristocratic landowners.



## ANALECTA EPIGRAPHICA

HEIKKI SOLIN

### CLIX. FALSCHER NAMEN

W. Dennison, *AJA* 2. ser. 2 (1898) 388 Nr. 38 publiziert eine Inschrift aus Puteoli wie folgt: SERRVIVI / MENOHAE usw. Für den ihm zufolge korrupten Gentilnamen schlägt der Editor vermutungsweise *Ser(vius) Rulli* oder alternativ *Serr. Vivi* vor, was durch nichts einleuchtet, und das Cognomen bleibt vollends obskur. Ich habe von der im Kelsey Museum, Ann Arbor aufbewahrten Inschrift ein gutes Photo gesehen und lese ohne Zögern *Ser. Fulvi Menophili*.

### CLX. VERKANNTER NAMEN

*Salvitta*. In der schlecht überlieferten Inschrift CIL VI 4112 aus dem Liviakolumbarium ist der Name der erstgenannten Person, anscheinend einer Sklavin, SALVITIAE vom Erstherausgeber wiedergegeben worden. *Salvitia* ist aber keine plausible Bildung, wenigstens nicht für die früheste Kaiserzeit, aus der die Inschrift stammt. Durch die Annahme einer Verlesung von I für T hätten wir den Namen *Salvitta*. Dieser war freilich bisher nicht belegt, ist aber eine plausible Bildung neben vielen anderen aus Gentilicia gebildeten Frauennamen auf *-itta* (zu diesem Suffix vgl. Kajanto, *Latin Cognomina* 129; den von ihm angeführten hinzuzufügen wäre *Priscit(t)a* AE 1976, 460 aus Reims). Die Existenz von *Salvitta* in der römischen Namensgebung wird von dem Männernamen *Salvitto* befürwortet, dessen Suffix wohl desselben Ursprungs ist (zu seiner Belegung Kajanto, *Latin Cognomina* 177, dazu AE 1974, 222 aus Rom [dort im Index falsch *Salvittus*]).

Die obige Beobachtung führt die Gedanken zu dem oft wiederkehrenden Mißbrauch des Frauennamensuffixes *-ia* in Cognomina verschiedenster



Herkunft. Wenn aber dieses Suffix deutlich als die für die spätantike Namengebung so charakteristische Bildung anzusehen ist, dann ist bei älteren Inschriften immer Verdacht am Platz, daß in dem Namen das Suffix *-la* verkannt worden ist. Ich habe darauf öfters hingewiesen. Hier teile ich einen kürzlich aufgetauchten Fall mit. In CIL X 2288 (heute in Avezzano im Museum) geistert die Verstorbene mit dem Namen *Claudia Felicia* herum, wie ihn seinerzeit Benndorf und Mommsen gelesen haben. Ich wurde wegen des Suffixes mißtrauisch und habe versucht, von der Inschrift eine gesicherte Lesung zu erlangen. Vor kurzem erhielt ich durch Freunde eine Aufnahme und ein Apographon, woraus eindeutig hervorgeht, daß dort *Felicia* zu lesen ist.

*Phaetho*. Diesen Namen darf man vielleicht in der verschollenen Inschrift CIL VI 4201 aus dem Liviakolumbarium festlegen. Überliefert ist [— — —] FAEPHO. Der einzige Punkt, der gegen diese Emendation sprechen könnte, ist, daß *ph* in augusteischer Zeit sich noch nicht so oft mit *f* geschrieben belegen läßt, unüberwindlich ist er aber nicht. *Phaetho(n)* ist in Rom einigermaßen belegt (im Namenbuch 523 sind 3 Belege verzeichnet). Etwas unsicher bleibt die Konjektur freilich, denn der erste Buchstabe ist, aus dem vom CIL gebotenen Druckbild zu schließen, unsicher und könnte auch ein E vertreten (Vidman im Cognominaindex gibt ...*aepho*); also [— — —] *ae Pho*[— — —] ?

#### CLXI. VERKANNT E IDENTITÄTEN

Aus dem Statilierkolumbarium haben in das Corpus die folgenden zwei kurzen Inschriften nacheinander Aufnahme gefunden: 6503 POLONVS / VIX ANN VII und 6504 POLVS / VIX ANN VII. Die erstere wurde vom Corpuseditor nicht gesehen. Da ein Cognomen *Polonus* vollends undurchsichtig bleibt und das Errichten eines Epitaphs gesondert für zwei siebenjährige Sklavenkinder in demselben Monument doch etwas überraschend ist, wird man vermuten, daß der Erstherausgeber Brizio denselben Text versehentlich zweimal publiziert hat. Als Folge eines sonderbaren lapsus mentis hat er in die Abschrift von 6503 den seit der Humanistenzeit bestens bekannten Namen gesetzt.

CIL VI 13148 wurde von den Corpuseditoren aus Gudius und Fabretti übernommen. Später wurde dieselbe Inschrift von Henzen in vermindertem

Zustand in den Vatikanischen Museen abgeschrieben und in 30553,1 als Ineditum publiziert. Die Identität wurde kürzlich von Pekka Tuomisto erkannt. In 2 ist *Marcello*, nicht [– – –] *celio* wie in 30553 zu lesen; das bestätigt auch Ivan Di Stefano, der auf meine Bitte hin den Text verglichen hat. Das Cognomen *Demarchius*, von dem in 30553 nur *Dem*[– – –] übrig geblieben ist, ist wohl sicher, da Fabretti DEMARCHIO hat und auch Marini DEMARCH... gesehen hat. In 6 ist der Ablativ *dulciori* sicher, wie ich Di Stefanos Abklatsch entnehme.

CIL VI 29467 *Volonia Sex. l. Liccaea* aus Muratori 1789,5 aus Ficonis Abschrift verschwindet. Die Inschrift findet sich in den Kapitolinischen Museen und wurde von Henzen aufgrund von Autopsie in 28955 in folgender Form publiziert: *Vilonia Sex. l. Liccaea*.

NSc. 1923, 375 steht schon CIL VI 37998. Die Deutung der letzten Zeile bereitet Schwierigkeiten, und keine der beiden Abschriften ist in dieser Hinsicht behilflich. Vielleicht bezieht sich das L auf einen vorausgehenden Namen: [*illi*] *l(iberto)*, *Anteroti Aug(usti servo)*.

Ferrua, Rend. Pont. Acc. Arch. 63, 1990-1991 (1993) 263-277 publiziert eine Handvoll neuer heidnischer Inschriften aus S. Sebastiano. Alle sind aber nicht mit Sicherheit heidnisch. Von den Inschriften sind zwei schon anderswo publiziert: 269 Nr. 128 ist ICVR 1354; 272 Nr. 140 = Nuovo Bull. arch. cr. 26 (1920) 53.

Ferrua, Rend. Lincei 1973, 78 Nr. 24 steht schon CIL VI 34227 *a*. In der ersten Zeile rechts hat Ferrua *vetustate* besser gegen VOTV/// des CIL gelesen.

## CLXII. VARIA URBANA

1. *Navos Marcellaes* in CIL VI 4470 steht gut. Vidman im Cognominaindex reiht den Beleg unter die Fragmente (S. 356: ...*navos*), aber ganz unnötig, denn *Navus Navos* ist ein gut lateinischer Name, in Rom in *Navos* CIL VI 2641 vorhanden (dagegen kann *Naus* CIL VI 20148 eher gr. *Ναός* vertreten). Es stehen keine anderen Namen, die mit *-navos*, *-naus* beginnen, zur Verfügung. Man schrieb freilich oft z.B. *Agesilavos*, aber der einzige Name mit der Ausgang *-naus*, *Danaus*, wird nie *Danavos* geschrieben (freilich ist er nur selten belegt).

2. Ein weiterer verkannter Namenbeleg liegt in CIL VI 5194 vor:

[Is]marus, sowohl von Vidman in seinem Cognominaindex als auch in meinem Namenbuch verkannt.

3. CIL VI 6071, eine von den Corpuseditoren nicht gesehene Kolumbarieninschrift aus augusteischer Zeit beginnt in der uns überlieferten Form C·AEMILI·LEPIDI / LAECCAE·NOMEN/CLATORIS· OSSA usw. Man wird hier den Freigelassenen eines Aemilius Lepidus sehen dürfen. Bang in seinem Supplement und im Nominaindex vermutet Auslassung von L nach LEPIDI; aber ein Name LAECCA ist unerklärlich. Nicht allzu gewaltsam wäre eine Änderung in *Lepidi l. Aeglae*. *Aegla* ist in Rom belegt (wenn denn CIL VI 14160 *L. Calpurnius L. l. Egla* auf dieses Anthroponym bezogen werden kann) und für die griechische Namengebung eine plausible Bildung (vgl. die Sippe zu *αἴγλη* Bechtel HPN 23) und auch belegt: *Αἴγλας* SEG IX 264 aus Kyrene (Kaiserzeit). C für G ist banal und auch C für L bereitet keine besonderen Schwierigkeiten (diese Verwechslung kommt des öfteren vor und kann durch Mißverständnis einer kursiven Vorlage entstanden sein). Vielleicht ähnelten sich in der Tat C und L einander in der Vorlage, denn man wird versucht sein, auch den als C überlieferten Vornamen eher als L zu verstehen, denn als Vorname eines Freigelassenen eines Aemilius Paullus wäre *Gaius* höchst überraschend (die weniger zahlreichen in stadtrömischen Inschriften bezeugten C. Aemilii haben nichts mit den Lepidi zu tun und sind zudem durchweg spät). Auch wenn der Freilasser Paullus Aemilius Lepidus cos. 34 v. Chr. wäre, wie Henzen vermutet, hätte sein Freigelassener doch eher das Praenomen *Lucius* angenommen (falsch hier Henzen).

4. CIL VI 7741 *Botrys nutri[x]*, wie der Corpuseditor es druckt, macht stutzig. Auch Vidman im Cognominaindex faßt den Beleg als Frauennamen auf. Der Sexus des Namenträgers geht aus dem Kontext nicht hervor, aber *Botrys* ist ein Männername (ganz wie *βότρυς* ein Maskulin ist). Warum also nicht *nutri[tor]*? Im ganzen sind die Namen auf -ys lauter Männernamen, wie etwa *Stachys*, von den mit dem Suffix -ys gebildeten Kurznamen ganz zu schweigen.

5. In CIL VI 12842 ist der Name des Errichters bei dem einzigen Zeugen, P. Sabinus Ottob. f. 101' M·VLPIVS·AVGVSTORVM·LIBER... überliefert. Henzen ändert das in *AVg LIBERTus*. Ein seltener Einfall. Uns sind eine Handvoll von Ulpii bekannt, die als Freigelassene oder Sklaven mehrerer Augusti bezeichnet werden. Einschlägige Fälle sind bei Chantraine, Freigelassene und Sklaven im Dienst der römischen Kaiser 225ff verzeichnet. Dort 226 Anm. 5 ist unser Fall nachzutragen. Neben *Augg. lib.* ist auch *Au-*

*gustorum lib.* genügend belegt, so daß nicht der geringste Grund besteht, an der Richtigkeit der Textform bei Sabinus zu zweifeln. Zum Schluß sei noch ein *T. Aelius Augustorum lib. Philumenus* (Riv. arch. cr. 50 [1974] 80 aus Rom bei Chantraine 226 Anm. 7 nachgetragen.

6. In CIL VI 16094 *P. Corfidius P. l. Donis* ist das Cognomen anscheinend korrupt. Vielleicht *Dorus*. RV in der (halb)kursiven Vorlage konnte vom Steinmetzen oder vom Ordinator leicht als NI verlesen werden, oder aber das Versehen liegt bei den alten Gewährsleuten. – Es gibt in keltischen Gebieten eine größere Namensippe *Don-*, ich sehe aber nicht ein, wie unser Beleg hierdurch erklärt werden könnte.

7. In CIL VI 16401 soll laut den Herausgebern ein Cognomen *Crentes* vorliegen. Eine solche Bildung wäre aber vollends undurchsichtig, es muß sich um einen 'ghost-name' handeln. Die Inschrift erwähnt mehrere Freigelassene, die lauter griechische Cognomina führen; sie weist keine Korruptelen auf. Auch wenn die Lesung von Henzen und Hülsen (vgl. CIL VI S. 3519) gesehen wurde, die sie bekräftigen, steht CRENTES doch nicht sicher fest. Garrucci Sylloge 1377 las seinerzeit OPENTES, sicher falsch, doch kann das O richtig gelesen sein. Durch Annahme einer auch kleinen Beschädigung der Oberfläche konnten Henzen und Hülsen den noch von Garrucci gesehenen rechten Teil des O nicht mehr vollständig erkennen. Wenn dem so ist, hätten wir vor uns das geläufige, zu dem Flußnamen gebildete Anthroponym *Orontes* (Namenbuch 644f), das nicht selten *Orentes* geschrieben wird: CIL VI 5280. 14687. 20816. 37789. [Korrekturnachtrag. Gerade teilt mir Ivan Di Stefano mit, daß die Inschrift doch CRENTES hat. Das ändert jedoch nichts an der Deutung des Namens als Orentes. Entweder ist dem Steinmetzen ein Fehler C für O unterlaufen, oder am Stein war einmal doch ORENTES zu lesen – darauf deutet Garruccis Lesart hin, und es kann sein, daß an der Oberfläche seit alters mehrere Strichen mehr oder weniger unsichtbar geworden sind, wie auch Garruccis P in OPENTES denken ließe.]

8. In CIL VI 19349 ist ohne weiteres *collibert(ae) suae Herennuleiae Gr[aph]ini* zu ergänzen. Die heteroklitische Form *Grap(h)ini(s)* sonst in CIL VI 5037. NSc. 1914, 388 Nr. 26. 391 Nr. 54. Die Möglichkeit, daß hier etwa eine heteroklitische Form von *Gracilis* vorliege, ist nur theoretisch; außerdem ist *Gracilis* ausschließlich als Männername belegt.

9. M IVLIVS·AVG·L·HEBER CIL VI 20216 aus Fabretti 438, 38 ist wohl als *Neber* zu verstehen. Dem Wechsel zwischen H und N begegnet

man oft (ein Beispiel in CIL VI 200 I 99, vgl. Arctos 16 [1982] 188), wobei es sich oft um eine harmlose Verlesung handelt. *Nebris* war ein geläufiger Name in Rom, und daneben ist auch *Neber* belegt (Namenbuch 1063f).

10. Ohne die Inschrift selbst gesehen zu haben, schlage ich vor, in CIL VI 23013 den ersten Namen als *T. Nonius T. l. Batull(us)* zu verstehen. Das Cognomen ist anscheinend *Bathyllus* (dieselbe Graphie CIL VI 20868. NSc. 1917, 98), nicht zu *Bato*.

11. [---] *Jarii* in CIL VI 23559 *a* ist nicht Cognomen, wie Vidman in Cognominaindex 353 will, sondern Dienstbezeichnung. Die Genetive Singular von Cognomina auf *-arius* lauten regelmäßig *-ari* (zum Beispiel ist in Rom kein einziges Mal *Ianuarii* belegt). Freilich gibt Gudius die Variante ...ARI, und der zur Verfügung stehende Raum ist recht kurz sowohl für ein Cognomen als auch für eine Dienstbezeichnung, so daß doch letzten Endes auch ein Cognomen vorliegen kann.

12. In CIL VI 29468, nur von alten Gewährsleuten gesehen, kann der Name der letztgenannten Person vielleicht *Selia O. l. Prima* gelesen werden. Die letzte Zeile war links unleserlich, und die Abschriften geben rechts ...RIMA, so daß links mehr fehlen sollte; auf das Druckbild der alten Kopien soll man aber nicht allzu viel bauen. Wenn die letzte Zeile aus Zentrierungsgründen kürzer war als die übrigen, dann paßt *Prima* ausgezeichnet. In der lateinischen Anthroponymie gibt es keine anderen Namen auf *-rima* als *Prima*, und die griechischen femininen Gegenstücke von *-rimus* würden auf *-rime* enden. Ausgeschlossen ist freilich nicht ein Epithet wie *miserrima*, aber es ist vorzuziehen, hier das Cognomen der *Selia* festzulegen.

13. *Caninia O. l. Salvi(a)* CIL VI 37555 heißt in der Zwillingsinschrift 33154 *Caninia O. l. Salus*. Bang und Vidman in ihren Indices wählen *Salus*, ich würde aber eher für *Salvia* optieren. *Salus* ist als Frauennamen sehr selten bezeugt (Kajanto, Latin Cognomina 232, kennt nur zwei sonstige Belege; dazu noch Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome 10 [1932] 182 aus Rom). Um aber letzte Sicherheit zu erlangen, sollte man die Lesung an den Steinen selbst nachprüfen (ob sie noch existieren, entzieht sich meiner Kenntnis), denn keines der zwei Exemplare wurde von den Corpuseditoren gesehen.

14. In CIL VI 37386 ist wohl [*A. Papiri]us A. l. Me[gis]tus* zu ergänzen. Der einzige sonstige Name, der in etwa in die Lücke (so wie man sie nach dem vom CIL geboteten Druckbild ausrechnen kann) passen würde, ist *Melilotus*, der aber nur höchst selten auftritt (Namenbuch 1069 verzeichnet einen Beleg).

15. NSc. 1915, 37 Nr. 1 (Rom, 2./3. Jh.) \CON verbirgt wohl den Namen *Heracon* (ein gut griechischer Name: Bechtel, HPN 192), der aus Rom sonst in CIL VI 33833 belegt ist. Andere Namen auf *-acon* sind aus Rom nicht bekannt; dagegen auf *-aco*: *Draco* (11 Belege im Namenbuch 1048) und *Laco* (5 Belege im Namenbuch 583).

16. In NSc. 1916, 99 Nr. 37 verstehe ich A. () A., Q., *Aucti l. Tralis*. Der Mann führt einen thrakischen Namen, dürfte also aus dem thrakischen Gebiet als Sklave nach Rom gelangt sein. Zum Namen vgl. CIL VI 20841 D. *Iunius Tralis*.

17. *Opuscula Romana* 1 (1954) 140 Nr. 130 ist anhand des Photos nicht *Tumun* (der ein etruskischer Name sein soll), sondern *tumulu(m)* zu lesen. Der Wortlaut der Inschrift ist insofern bemerkenswert, als darin kein einziger Name genannt wird. Um so seltsamer wäre es, daß nur der Name des Errichters genannt wäre.

18. Ferrua, *Rend. Pont. Acc. Arch.* 63 (1990-91 [1993]) 268 Nr. 119 vermutet in OENE den Namen *Amoene*. Man würde aber *Amoena(e)* erwarten, und sodann scheint der Name nicht akephal zu sein. Warum nicht *Oene*? Mir ist freilich kein Anthroponym *Oene* Οἶνη bekannt, ein solches wäre aber wohl eine plausible Bildung, erklärlich 1) als Kurzname aus der im Griechischen nicht ganz dürftig belegten Namensippe Οἶνο- 2) zu οἶνη in dessen verschiedenen Bedeutungen; 3) zum Stadtnamen. Wenn das nicht befriedigt, könnte man etwa an *[C]oene* (Namenbuch 968) denken. Aus Ferruas Wiedergabe der Inschrift zu schließen, scheint der Name freilich vollständig zu sein, doch könnte wohl ein C unbemerkt geblieben sein.

19. Ebda. 275 Nr. 155 würde ich statt *T. Stati[o] / Calli[sto]* eher *T. Stati[lio] / Calli[— —]* lesen, vornehmlich wegen der T. Statilii.

20. Ferrua, *RAC* 69 (1993) 140 Nr. 35 publiziert folgendes Fragment aus dem Lapidario Armellini: M / LVIO·AVG·L / CVNDO / EVTERI / *coiu*GI·KARISS. Kein Wort der Erklärung wird gegeben. Das Gentile des kaiserlichen Freigelassenen muß aber erklärt werden. Das einzige Kaisergentilicium auf *-lvius* ist *Salvius*, aus Rom ist aber kein einziger M. Salvius Aug. l. überliefert (wahrscheinlich auch nicht außerhalb von Rom). Trotzdem ist es durchaus möglich, solchen zu begegnen, trotz der kurzen Regierungsperiode Othos. Wir kennen Othos Sklaven (CIL VI 9144; vgl. auch einen T. Flavius Aug. lib. Phoebus Othonianus CIL XIV 2060, wo ein ehemaliger Sklave Othos, oder allenfalls seines Bruders, zu erblicken ist). Wenn ein Sklave Othos während seiner Regierungszeit freigelassen wurde,

wurde er zwangsläufig ein *M. Salvius Aug. lib.* Aber durch Annahme einer kleinen Verlesung erhielten wir einen *M. Livius Aug. l.*

21. Ebda. 140 Nr. 36 [– – –]ERTINIUS wird von Ferrua als *Libertinius* (das ein neues Cognomen sein soll) ergänzt, warum, versteht man nicht. Viel eher liegt ein Gentile vor: etwa *Sertinius [– – –]aes* (oder [– – –]mes?) *coniu[gi]*.

22. ICVR 219912 beginnt EPENVVS·ET ZOSIME. Der Editor sieht dort den Namen *Hebenus*. Aus vielen Gründen ist das keine gute Lösung. Eher als *Epaenus* aufzufassen. Zum Namen vgl. mein Namenbuch 1176.

23. F. Bisconti publiziert Riv. arch. crist. 70 (1994) 7-42 neue altchristliche Inschriften aus Ss. Pietro e Marcellino. S. 18 Nr. 3 ergänzt der Editor [*Z*]otice. Ebensogut [*Er*]otice. Freilich ist *Zotice* geläufiger bei römischen Christen.

24. Ebda. 22 Nr. 10 würde ich statt *Stefanid* eher *Stefanio* verstehen. Der Editor denkt an *Stefania* (D für A wäre ein Schreibfehler), aber das nachfolgende *pater* läßt eher an einen Männernamen denken. Beide Namen sind für die altchristlichen Namensgebung gesichert.

### CLXIII. MINIMUM COMENSE

I. Como (1994) Mp05 (p. 60) nicht *Valerius lucis* (?) (*filius*?), sondern *Valerius Luci(u)s*. Die Inschrift ist spät, so daß es keinerlei Schwierigkeiten bereitet, hier die in der Spätzeit so übliche synkopierte Form *-is* für *-ius* anzunehmen.

Ebda. p. 81 (CIL VI 27030) *D(ecimus) Survius Minervalis*, nicht *D(idius)*, und p. 82 (CIL VI 27792) *Turpilia Thyce L(ucio) Calpurnio Sabino*, nicht *Thyce l(iberta)*.

Universität Helsinki

## DE NOVIS LIBRIS IUDICIA

GIOVANNI FORNI: *Scritti vari di storia, epigrafia e antichità romane*. A cura di Maria Gabriella Angeli Bertinelli. Pubblicazioni dell'istituto di Storia antica a scienze ausiliarie dell'Università degli studi di Genova XVII. Georgio Bretschneider Editore, Roma 1994. 995 pp., XVIII tavv. ITL 812.000.

Not long after the publication of *Esercito e marina di Roma antica* (Mavors vol. 5, 1992) which includes most of the papers by Forni dealing with the Roman army, and for which Forni himself (who died prematurely in 1991) had furnished addenda, this is now a second part of a series of volumes intended to collect Forni's writings. The two volumes include all kinds of papers, also some which come under the heading "esercito e marina", but the papers dealing with the Roman *tribus*, a favourite subject of Forni's, have been omitted since there is going to be a further volume on *tribus* referred to (on p. xxvii) as *Le tribù romane IV. Scritti minori* and said to be "in corso di stampa". On the same page one finds the information that volumes I and II of *Le tribù romane* are also on their way (vol. III on the "pseudo-tribes" came out in 1985). This should be the work which at last replaces Kubitschek's book of 1887; both volumes have, however, the somewhat disquieting subtitle "*I tribules*", as if they had been conceived simply as lists of people with tribes which does not seem an excellent idea. But possibly I am interpreting the title incorrectly.

Be that as it may, the volumes under inspection here certainly contain most useful papers (some of substantial length, e.g. no. 5 of almost 150 pages) on a remarkably varied field from Manius Curius Dentatus to the legacy of the ancient world, papers on subjects such as those classified under "istituzioni politiche e religiose", "ordinamento militare" and "demografia" coming in between, not to mention the many papers on inscriptions (for Forni's wide interests one should also have a look at the bibliography of his work on p. xv-xxvii). Much of the material included in these volumes is well known to those working on related subjects. There are addenda by the author here and there (e.g. on p. 382 and 683), but in general the papers have retained their original form. All have, however, been reset, which gives the volumes a unified outward appearance, but which is in other respects a procedure not beyond discussion, at least if (as is the case in this book) references to the original page numbering have been omitted. Obsolete (such as many of the epigraphical editions quoted on p. 182ff.) or otherwise useless information (e.g. the editors of the journal *Apulum* saying something in Rumanian on p. 665) also seems less awkward if the original publications are rendered as such. And of course the resetting of all the papers may have had effects on the price of the book.

There can be no doubt that all those working on a subject touched upon by Forni will find the publication of this set of volumes extremely useful; however, Forni's work can be recommended to any student or scholar especially because of Forni's tendency to present his material as clearly as possible, often with the use of tables which much clarify



difficult subjects (e.g. on p. 25. 36f. 352f. 524). Forni's bibliographical references are also in general mines of information (cf. e.g. the bibliography on the Roman army on pp. 315-34). The papers, being designed for the serious scholar rather than for the interested amateur and often of a rather austere appearance, in general stick to the essential and to the non-speculative; it is only in some papers of a more general nature that Forni drifts into saying something like "Cesare andò contro montagne, fiumi, paludi, foreste e mari come se si trattasse di muovere una guerra contro gli elementi" (p. 470; cf. e.g. p. 311 on Romans and the sea).

But whatever the uses of a work like this, without proper indices it would remain only a torso. Luckily, this is not the case with this book, for at the end of vol. II one finds an absolutely remarkable set of indices of no less than 140 pages, prepared by several authors. The advantages of this are so obvious that I need not point them out.

*Olli Salomies*

*Gedenkschrift István Hahn.* Hrsg. von György Németh. *Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis de Rolando Eötvös nominatae. Sectio historica* tom. XXVI. ISSN 05-24-8981. Budapest 1993. 293 S.

Zu den vielen wohlbekannten ungarischen Althistorikern dieses Jahrhunderts gehörte István Hahn (1913-1984). Ihm wurde als Gedenkschrift von Schülern, Freunden und Kollegen der vorliegende Band gewidmet. Rund die Hälfte der 18 Beiträge gehören zum Gebiet der klassischen Altertumswissenschaften (abgedruckt ist auch ein nicht vollendeter Aufsatz von Professor Hahn, "Ethnische Identität, Integration und Dissimilation im Lichte der Namengebung", mit einigen Fußnoten versehen vom Herausgeber György Németh). Unter den Beiträgen befinden sich etliche, die sich mit Ägypten, dem Orient oder Indien beschäftigen, was auch gut zu den Interessen von I. Hahn paßt. Von den rein römischen Themen sei genannt der Beitrag von B. Lörincz, "Westliche Hilfstruppen im pannonischen Heer" (S. 75-86). Den größten Umfang in diesem Teil hat der Aufsatz von B. Kozma, "Zur Problematik und Vorgeschichte des Arianismus", der leider an allzu vielen Druckfehlern leidet.

Die restlichen Aufsätze behandeln meistens Fragen der ungarischen Geschichte vom 14. Jh. bis zum vorigen Jahrhundert, woran sich noch einige Rezensionen von Werken desselben Themenbereichs anschließen. Der Band wird von einer Bibliographie von István Hahn mit Beginn im Jahre 1934 abgeschlossen (S. 271-291), aus der die rege Tätigkeit von Prof. Hahn deutlich hervorgeht, sowohl in seiner eigenen Sprache Ungarisch als auch in anderen Sprachen. Der Rez. notiert, daß Hahns "Geschichte der Juden" (mit A. Brody u. W. Fürstenberg) sowohl ins Schwedische übersetzt wurde (*Judarnas historia*, Stockholm 1950), als auch auf finnisch erschienen ist (*Juutalaisten historia*, Helsinki 1958). Es fällt auf, daß viele Arbeiten erst nach dem Verscheiden des Verfassers erschienen sind, so z. B. *Traumdeutung und gesellschaftliche Wirklichkeit. Artemidorus Doldianus als sozialgeschichtliche Quelle* (Xenia 27), Konstanz 1992, oder "Appian und Rom", *ANRW* II.34,1 (1993) 364-402, womit auch einer der Schwerpunkte dieses hervorragenden Althistorikers genannt worden ist.

*Christer Bruun*

*Klassisches Altertum, Spätantike und frühes Christentum*. Adolf Lippold zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet. Herausgegeben von Karlheinz Dietz, Dieter Hennig und Hans Kaletsch. Würzburg 1993. 635 S. ISBN 3-927894-14-1.

This anniversary publication in honour of Adolf Lippold consists of thirty articles written by his friends, colleagues and disciples. There is a useful bibliography of Lippold's works at the beginning of the book. The articles are arranged in chronological order. The articles treating classical antiquity vary from the ancient theories about the geography and ethnography of Africa and ancient utopias to the fall of the hellenistic world and the relationship between war and politics in republican Rome. I found G. Pfister's article about *Lusus Troiae* especially interesting. The history of the Roman republic and empire is well represented.

The main emphasis, however, is on late antiquity and early Christianity. A. Demandt discusses the relationship between economy and politics in late antiquity and surveys various explanations for the fall of the Roman empire. K.M. Girardet considers the role of Constantine the Great in the council of Nicaea in 325 and shows how Constantine followed the preceding tradition fulfilling his *munus principis* and taking care of the political and religious unity of the *oikoumene*.

K. Rosen analyses the anonymous poem *An quendam senatorem ex Christiana religione ad idolorum servitutem conversum* (CSEL 3,3, 1871, 302-305). He offers the text edited with a German translation and compares various similar anonymous polemical poems. H. Kaletsch discusses the chronology used by Orosius in his historical work and places him in the Hellenistic and Roman tradition of universal histories.

The focus of the end of the book is early Christianity in its various forms. I mention only a few of the articles. R. Klein discusses the social problem of slaves as priests in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. G. Waldherr's article deals with a Christian inscription in Rhetia and surveys the different possible meanings of the formula *martiribus sociata*.

M. Clauss discusses the relationship between the church and the state in the age of Justinian. K. Christ's article about the *Constitutum Constantini* is concerned with the history and ideology of falsifications. His purpose is to study the image of Constantine the Great which the *Constitutum Constantini* is based on. He shows that even a falsification can reveal the aims of contemporary politics, so that we can speak of "die Wahrheit der Fälscher".

*Maijastina Kahlos*

LUDWIG POLLAK: *Römische Memoiren. Künstler, Kunstliebhaber und Gelehrte (1893-1943)*, hg. Margarete Merkel Guldan. *Studia archaeologica* 72. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Rom 1994. 314 S., 54 Abb. ISBN 88-7062-863-9. ITL 300.000.

Margarete Merkel Guldan, die 1988 schon die Tagebücher des Archäologen und Kunsthändlers Ludwig Pollak herausgegeben hat, legt hier die Edition seiner Memoiren und einiger kürzerer Vorträge bzw. Notizen vor. Auf eine ausführliche Einleitung mit Informationen über die Person, Lebensumstände und "Quellenkenntnis" von Pollak und über die Besonderheiten des bisher im Museo Barracco in Rom aufbewahrten, nicht be-

endeten Manuskripts folgt die Edition desselben. Es handelt sich bei diesen Memoiren nicht um eine Lebenserzählung. Vielmehr trägt Pollak seine Erinnerungen an Persönlichkeiten und Ereignisse im Zusammenhang mit antiken Fundstücken in Rom zusammen. Er ist sich dabei der wissenschaftsgeschichtlichen Bedeutung seines Unterfangens bewußt.

Pollak geht systematisch vor. Im ersten Kapitel "Falsches und Echtes" führt er nicht nur Erinnerungen an erlebte Entdeckungen von Fälschungen oder die Fälscherklärung von Echtem an, sondern sinniert auch "über Kennerschaft". Es folgen Kapitel über jüdische Stiftungen in Rom – Pollak hatte vor allem in den letzten Jahren des Faschismus als Jude manche Einschränkung ertragen müssen und ist schließlich 1943 auf einem Transport in ein KZ gestorben –, über bildende Künstler und Architekten, die gelehrten Kreise in Rom, Persönlichkeiten aus der deutschsprachigen Kolonie, die römischen Antiquare und Sammler und schließlich über Antiquitätenpreise. In alledem reiht er mit Anekdoten gespickte, sehr persönliche Charakterisierungen der vielen Persönlichkeiten aneinander. Immer wieder flechtet er auch kürzere theoretische Betrachtungen zu dem jeweiligen Thema ein. Der im Anhang veröffentlichte Vortrag Pollaks über römische Privatsammlungen sowie einige kürzere Manuskripte über weitere römische Sammler und Antiquare, über J. P. Morgan und über "die Lansdownecollection. Eine versäumte Gelegenheit" bieten willkommene Ergänzungen zu den Memoiren.

Ein wesentlicher Verdienst der Herausgeberin ist es, bei allen antiken Gegenständen auch ihren jetzigen Verbleib in Fußnoten hinzuzufügen. Ebenso erleichtert das ausführliche Personen- und Ortsregister einen schnellen Rückgriff, genauso wie die Abbildungen von Personen und Räumlichkeiten das Einfühlen in das humanistisch geprägte Geistesleben der ersten Hälfte dieses Jahrhunderts erleichtern.

Uta-Maria Liertz

WILLY SCHETTER: *Kaiserzeit und Spätantike*. Kleine Schriften 1957-1992. Sonderband zur Zeitschrift *Hermes* und den Einzelschriften. Mit einführender Gedenkrede, Schriftenverzeichnis und Register herausgegeben von Otto Zwierlein. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1994. 520 S. ISSN 0018-0777. DEM 168.

Willy Schetter was a remarkable specialist in Latin literature of the imperial period and of the profane literature of late antiquity. His early death prevented him from completing the part VII of the *Handbuch der Lateinischen Literatur: Kaiserzeit und Spätantike* was published as a compensation. *Kaiserzeit und Spätantike* is a compilation of Schetter's articles and book reviews in 1957-1992.

The variety of Schetter's articles reflects his wide experience in Latin literature, especially in late Latin literature. The articles of the first part of the book deal with the literature of the imperial period, Seneca's tragedies, Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*, Silius Italicus, Tacitus, and particularly Statius (six articles).

The second part of the compilation is dedicated to late antique literature. Schetter has accomplished a great life's work in studying late profane literature, including those authors who often fall easily into oblivion. He analyses Nemesian's *Bucolica* and its various aspects (dating, identification of its characters, etc.) and compares Nemesian's "Neoclassicism" with the classicizing style of the contemporary Lactantius. Schetter discusses problems concerning e.g. the Panegyrici Latini, Ausonius, Prudentius, Commo-

dianus, Merobaudes, Sidonius Apollinaris, Secundinus, the anonymous *Aegritudo Perdicae*, Dares Phrygius' Book of Troy, Ennodius, Maximianus, anonymous poems in Codex Salmasianus etc.

Schetter's six articles about Dracontius are especially interesting: he analyses the transformation of classical myths and themes in North Africa at the end of the fifth century. Dracontius seems to have been the last Latin poet who (though Christian) treated pagan mythical subjects in epic form (e.g. Medea, Orestes, the Trojan War). The article on Dracontius' *Satisfactio* gives a vivid picture of Dracontius' difficulties during the Vandal period, and the article of Dracontius' *Romulea* 9.18-30 surveys the conceptions of the astral ascent of the human soul in Latin literature.

*Maijastina Kahlos*

*Florentia Iliberritana*. Revista de Estudios de Antigüedad Clásica, No. 2, 1991. Universidad de Granada 1993. 498 p., Abbildungen. ISSN 1131-8848.

Eine weitere Zeitschrift in spanischer Sprache, die das gesamte Feld des klassischen Altertums abdeckt. Die dreißig Aufsätze in diesem Band behandeln von Themen zur griechischen Literatur über linguistische Fragen und lateinische Autoren bis zur Spätantike, von Inschrifteneditionen und archäologischen Überlegungen über historische Themen bis hin zu wissenschaftsgeschichtlichen Fragen alles Mögliche, wobei naturgemäß Hispania betreffenden Themen einen Schwerpunkt bilden. Jedem Aufsatz ist eine knappe englische Zusammenfassung vorangestellt. Für den spanischen Leser handelt es sich sicher um eine interessante Veröffentlichung.

*Uta-Maria Liertz*

CLAUDE LOUTSCH: *L'exorde dans les discours de Cicéron*. Collection Latomus vol. 224. Revue d'études latines, Bruxelles 1994. 583 p. BEF 2750.

This book on the *exordia* of a number of Ciceronian speeches is, though not the first of its kind and not including detailed studies on all the speeches, certainly the one most thoroughly dealing with its subject and will no doubt be considered one of the major recent works in Ciceronian scholarship. The author is not only completely at ease with his subject material but has also a remarkable (in fact, almost incredible) command of the relevant secondary literature from the fifteenth century onwards, this including many unexpected items (note p. 343 n. 64) and a large number of 19th-century German *Programme* (e.g. that of H. Ernst, "Progr. Neu-Ruppin, 1885", cited on p. 149 n. 89), most of which do not seem to appear in the bibliography at the end of the book which is, it is true, very substantial indeed as such. (The author's extensive reading allows him to furnish exotic details such as the fact that, in the 1880's, someone could get the idea of writing 89 pages to show that *pro Sex. Roscio* is not worth being read in schools: p. 130 n. 17.) Unlike many modern scholars (especially those writing in English), the author in no way gives preference to works written in French, but keeps his bibliography remarkably international (observe also the list of modern authorities mentioned as models on p. 6). There are separate bibliographies on those speeches which are dealt with, but also

those interested in the bibliography on other Ciceronian speeches should consult the book (note e.g. the material on *pro Quinctio* p. 503f. n. 80).

The book begins with an exposition of the theory of *exordia* on the basis of the *de inventione* and the *retorica ad Herennium* on one hand and on the basis of *de oratore* on the other. The importance of Cicero's own contribution emerges at many places (e.g. p. 90, 91, 99, 104), and it is also interesting to observe traces of evolution between the young author of the *de inventione* and the mature Cicero of the *de oratore* (e.g. p. 76, 85, 87f.). After two useful excursuses (on *actio* and the evaluation of Cato's *pro Rhodiensibus*) the main part of the book follows, "analyses d'exordes choisies" of twenty-seven speeches (including thirteen *Philippicae*), often (as in the case of *pro Sex. Roscio*) of considerable length. The criteria used by the author in making his choice are explained on p. 6 and seem acceptable. Although there may perhaps be readers who miss a speech or two, at least the material used here covers the whole range of Cicero's oratory and chronologically most of his career (and many further speeches are in fact referred to in the third part of the book, cf. below). Besides the *Philippicae*, one finds *S. Rosc.*, *div. in Caec.*, *Verr. I*, *Manil.*, *leg. agr. II*, *Rab. perd.* (not liked by some modern scholars [p. 252 n. 41], but thought worthy of being referred to in *Orator* 102 by Cicero, and receiving an important treatment here), *Catil. I*, *Mur.*, *Cael.*, *prov. (cons.)*, *Balb.*, *Planc.*, *Lig.*, *Deiot.* The individual chapters have introductions covering also historical aspects; after this, there follow analyses of the *exordia* admirable in their clarity and *bon sens* (a notion used, not unreasonably, at least in the analysis of *S. Rosc.* on p. 142), and full of good observations (e.g. p. 340 on the intonation in *Cael.* 1). Since the *exordia* are constantly studied also as parts of whole speeches these chapters will be of immense value to the study of Cicero's rhetoric as a whole.

The main part is followed by a most useful 50-page overview of Cicero's "topique exordiale", speeches made in the senate, those spoken to the people and judicial speeches being studied separately. In this section, speeches not included in the main part are discussed, in many cases not just cursorily (cf. the index on p. 579). Followed by a bibliography of more than thirty pages, this chapter aptly rounds off an excellent book.

Olli Salomies

LIVY: *Ab urbe condita*, Book VI. Edited by Christina Shuttleworth Kraus. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1994 (Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics). x, 356 p. ISBN 0 521 41002 9 (H/b) / 0 521 42238 8 (P/b). GBP 40.00 (H/b) / 14.95 (P/b).

Although one can hardly think of a more difficult task than writing a commentary on an ancient author, the excellent Cambridge series seems to be thriving. This is now the first volume on Livy. The fact that it is on book 6 comes as a small surprise, for Livy's second pentad presents some problems to the prospective commentator, and even within this pentad some books may seem to offer more attractions than this one, book 9 for instance containing *i.a.* Caudium, Ap. Claudius' censorship and the remarkable excursus on Alexander. (Observe that book 6 has the shortest *periocha* of the set.) But of course even book 6, centering around the personalities of M. Manlius and Camillus and taking the story from the sack of Rome to the first plebeian consul has much of interest, and in any

case that irresistible *lactea ubertas* always comes as an extra bonus in any book of Livy.

As in other volumes in this series, there is an introduction (p. 1-30) which is followed by the text (p. 33-82), the rest being occupied by the commentary (p. 83-333) and the usual concluding items. The introduction is good, has some personal touches, and says what it should say referring to the relevant literature (of as late as 1993), although, there being quite a lot to be said, it seems at places a bit dense. The text is basically that of the OCT, with some exceptions enumerated on p. 30 (add 1.2, *parvae et rariae ... litterae*, *parvae* being rightly defended in the commentary against emendation). Where the text has been altered, this happens only rarely in accordance with Bayet; only some of the alterations seem to have been commented upon in the commentary. Many of them seem good (e.g. 6.13, 9.10, 19.4, 37.8, 40.16), but *intuenda* in 14.2 (*intuenti* Kraus following Gronovius) and *etiam maiora* in 18.13 (*iam* Kraus) are perfectly acceptable (for *etiam* cf. TLL V 2, 948, 69ff.) and emendation of what the mss. say seems unnecessary. There is a select critical apparatus, but the principles of selection do not seem altogether clear.

As for the commentary which rightly concentrates on language and style, here and there one gets the impression that the editor seems to address different audiences at different occasions, at one moment feeling that she has to say that *gessere* is the same as *gesserunt* (1.1), at another feeling that she can introduce a concept such as *peripeteia* without further information (3.6). This kind of thing can, however, not be avoided, and in general one can say that this very thorough (at places perhaps almost too thorough) commentary represents a splendid achievement which both students and scholars will find extremely useful. There is a huge number of marvellously illuminating observations which make one look at Livy's exposition with a fresh look (even other authors may gain, as e.g. Caesar in the note on *ferre* in 3.5). I was very impressed for instance by the introduction to M. Manlius' speech in 18.5ff. (p. 199f.) or by the observation on the presentation of Camillus' behaviour in 38.5. All over the book one observes (and enjoys) Kraus' ability for putting things well, for instance on *odium* and *contemptus* in 2.4 ("emotions characteristically felt for a tyrant by his subjects in response to his identical feelings about them"; cf. p. 246 at the end of the note on 27.6-8 or p. 295 on *favor* in 38.5 and on a "certain linguistic libido" pervading Camillus' speech in 38.6). Perhaps there are places where one could have added a comment or two; for instance *et (erat aeris alieni magna vis)* in 11.9 might have earned a reference to Nägelsbach's *Stilistik* (9th ed., 1905) p. 768, and the same work (p. 208f.) would have provided useful illustration of *ortum initium* in 18.16. But these are of course minor details.

There are also some cases where I think Kraus cannot be followed. When Livy uses *res* in a phrase like *res ad interregnum rediit* (1.5), I have always thought that *res* means something like "situation", "circumstances" or "state of things"; but Kraus assures us that *res* stands for *res publica* (in the Loeb translation it is in fact rendered with "the state"). In spite of Kraus' assertion, I am not convinced. Neither am I convinced of her suggestion that *ibi* in 4.5 should refer to Rome, not to Veii, which seems the natural interpretation (and if Livy had really wished to mean Rome, would he not have made this clear by saying e.g. *ibidem*?). But again I am only speaking of minor details; in general I must conclude by saying that this is really a remarkable book, worthy of its series and certainly worthy of being studied with care by all those interested in Livy.

Olli Salomies

*Studies in the Dionysiaca of Nonnus*. Edited by Neil Hopkinson. Cambridge Philological Society, Supplementary Volume no. 17. University Printing Services, Cambridge 1994. 187 p. ISBN 0-906014-09-3.

It is somewhat curious that the longest extant epic in classical Greek has got so little attention, although the new Budé, appearing since the 1970s and furnished with good commentary, is likely to change this. Here, at least, we have a collection of seven articles by various scholars, dealing with different aspects of this poem. The editor has contributed an introduction and a penetrating study of Nonnus' relation to Homer (9-42). Other authors, too, deal with Nonnus' sources (unfortunately his relation to the Bassarica of Dionysus has not obtained a special treatment), as well as with the style, structure and mythology of the poem. A bibliography of six pages and two indexes (general and of passages discussed) conclude the useful work.

*Klaus Karttunen*

GIORGIO BRUGNOLI & FABIO STOK: *Ovidius παρωδήσας*. Testi e studi di cultura classica proposti da G. Brugnoli e G. Paduano 10. ETS Editrice, Pisa 1992. Pp. 218. ISBN 88-7741-656-4.

Il presente volume unisce tre articoli in precedenza pubblicati altrove (capp. I-III), mentre due contributi (capp. IV e V) sono inediti. Di questi, il primo ("Ossa Romuli") è del Brugnoli e tratta della morte e dell'apoteosi di Romolo, il secondo ("La rivincita di Esculapio") del Skok e dedicato alla *translatio* di Esculapio in met. 15. Nei tre primi capitoli, il contenuto dei quali era dunque già noto al mondo dei letterati, il Brugnoli tratta l'episodio di Anna Perenna (fast. 3,543-656) come parodia o revisione culturale del IV dell'Eneide, e lo Skok l'ambivalente caratterizzazione di Romolo nei Fasti.

*Heikki Solin*

CORNELII TACITI *libri qui supersunt*. Ediderunt Stephanus Borzsák et Kenneth Wellesley. I.1: *Ab excessu Divi Augusti libri I-VI*, edidit Stephanus Borzsák. Teubner, Stutgardiae et Lipsiae 1992. 156 pp. ISBN 3-8154-1835-6. DEM 68.

Nach dem Tode von Erich Koestermann hat seine bewährte Tacitusausgabe dasselbe Schicksal der Spaltung ereilt wie einige andere Teubnereditionen wie Horaz und Properz. Die in Leipzig vor der Wiedervereinigung begonnene Ausgabe liegt jetzt mit Borzsáks erstem Teil der Annales fertig vor. Borzsák als ein profunder Kenner des taciteischen Stils und des Tacitustextes war gut angewiesen, die Edition zu erstellen. Ein Vergleich mit der Stuttgarter Rivalin von Heubner ist wohl am Platze. M. E. ist Heubners Ausgabe etwas besser, auch wenn Borzsák einige bei der Rivalin fehlende Vorzüge aufzuweisen hat. Im ganzen, das ist meine Meinung, haben weder Heubner noch Borzsák die von Koestermann selbst besorgte Ausgabe unnötig gemacht. Besonders die neueren Koestermannschen Auflagen, in denen er die Idee der Eigenüberlieferung des Leidensis (L) aufgegeben hat, sind m. E. immer noch die besten Annalentexte.

*Heikki Solin*

NICHOLAS HORSFALL: *Virgilio: l'epopea in alambicco*. Forme, materiali e ideologie del mondo antico 31. Liguori Editore 1991. 160 pp. ITL 20.000.

Se lo Horsfall comincia dicendo che ci sono troppi libri su Virgilio, ha ragione, ma egli stesso non ha scritto un libro inutile. La lettura di questo attrattivo volumetto, scritto non senza umore (a cominciare dal titolo senz'altro poco chiaro per un non italiano), è veramente avvincente. L'a. tratta degli aspetti dell'uso virgiliano di fonti, sia in prosa che in versi, per quanto riguarda mitologia, storia, geografia ed etnografia, soprattutto nell'Eneide, ma anche nelle due altre principali opere virgiliane. In dieci capitoli tratta di cose diverse con acume, e sarebbe compito impossibile a cercare di caratterizzarne la sostanza nelle poche righe concesse dalla redazione di Arctos. Così ognuno legga il volumetto; lo farà certamente non senza grande profitto.

*Heikki Solin*

THEODORI PRODROMI *De Rodanthes et Dosicles amoribus libri IX*. Ed. Miroslav Marcovich. Teubner, Stuttgart-Leipzig 1992. x, 230 p. ISBN 3-8154-1703-1. DEM 148.

The reappearance of the Greek romance in the Byzantine 12th century after an interval of six centuries is interesting not only from the point of view of traditional literary history but of cultural history as well. The direct quotations and the common motifs intertwine it with the genre of the Second Sophistic. However, behind the form of the genre the byzantine reality may be seen clearly, to say nothing of the fact the byzantine romances were written, contrary their late antique models, in verse, except *Hysmine et Hysminias* by Eustathios Makrembolites.

One of them, *Rhodanthes et Dosicles* by Theodoros Prodrimos, a verse written erotic romance, has been given its first critical edition by M. Marcovich. The earlier one by R. Hercher (*Scriptores erotici graeci II*. Teubner 1859 (p. 287-434), was actually a reprint of the *editio princeps* by Gilbert Gaulminus (Paris 1625) based just on one manuscript.

We can now hope that the new modern edition of Prodrimos' novel and the clarifying of its manuscript tradition by Marcovich will increase the discussion on the function and value of the genre in its own time, not just as imitation of its model, and further the still open question of the reappearance of the genre in the 12th-century.

*Mika Hakkarainen*

MICHAELIS PSELLI *Philosophica minora* Vol. I. *Opuscula logica, physica, allegorica, aliae figurae*, edidit J.M. Duffy. Teubner, Stuttgart-Leipzig 1992. xlix, 308p. ISBN 3-8154-1955-7. DEM 148.

Under the title of *Philosophica Minora* J. M. Duffy has selected and categorized, together with J. O' Meara (the editor of the earlier volume II published in 1989), partly using the order of texts in two manuscript Par. Graec. 1182 and Ox. Bar. 131, four different units: *generalia et logica, physica et meteorologica, miscellanea et allegorica* and *incerta et spuria* from the extant writings of Michael Psellus.



Duffy underlines however, that the chosen texts cannot be easily typologized as philosophy, reminding us of the fact that the term philosophy in the Middle Ages differs from the modern conception of the term. The collection brings to mind the Byzantine educational sphere, *enkyklios paideia*, i.e. the main curriculum of grammar, rhetoric and dialectic (philosophy) and especially the Byzantine quadrivium (ἡ τῆς μαθηματικῆς τετρακτύς), arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy .

*Mika Hakkarainen*

MICHAELIS PSELLI *Poemata*. Ed. L.G. Westerink. Teubner, Stuttgart-Leipzig 1992. xlv, 550 p. ISBN 3-8154-1662-0. DEM 198.

L.G.Westerink has done an admirable work by editing and re-editing the verse texts of Michael Psellus, which are preserved in a rather heterogeneous manuscript tradition and partly published here and there during the last hundred years. The collection written in political verse (πολιτικὸς στίχος) consists of 1) *didactica maiora* (1-9) didactic poems (commentaries on psalms, on Canticum, on dogmatics, on church councils, on rhetoric, on grammatics, on laws and on medicine), which were originally composed by the order of the Emperor Constantine X Doukas (1059-1067) for his son's education. 2) *didactica minora* (10-15), very short and compact works on various themes. 3) *ad imperatores* (16-20), poems dedicated to emperors for different occasions: Psellus' own petition for the office of clerk to the Emperor Michael IV, lamentation on the occasion of the death of Scleraine, the mistress of Constantine VIII Monomachos and a poem for the coronation feast of Isaak I Komnenos. 4) *invectiva* (21-22) two defamatory writings both against two monks (Sabbaitae and Iacop). 5) *canones liturgice* (23-24) the first in the memory of Symeon Metafrastes and the second a paraphrasis of a canon of Cosmas of Maiouma. 6) epigrams (25-52) and finally 7) a comprehensive section of *spuria* (53-92) on various themes. The collection is a fine illustration of the socio-cultural milieu in which verse texts were composed.

*Mika Hakkarainen*

MICHAEL MAUSE: *Die Darstellung des Kaisers in der lateinischen Panegyrik*. Paligenesia 50. Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1994. x, 317 S. ISBN 3-515-06629-2. DEM 124.

The sources of this study are mainly all those Latin panegyrics that are written in honour of the emperors. After the quite interesting introductory part that deals with the methodology of the study and the position of the panegyrics in the imperial ceremonies and their historical-social context, the author deals with the picture of the emperor in the panegyrics divided into chapters, according to the different aspects that are generally included in these types of poems. An excursus is devoted to the poems to Domitian by Statius, as an example of the first century panegyric poetry. The discussion is many-sided and gives the reader a good cross-section of the treatment of the central topoi in the imperial panegyrics, the study of which seems to have recently attracted an increased amount of interest.

*Pekka Tuomisto*

MARIA BECKER: *Die Kardinaltugenden bei Cicero und Ambrosius: De officiis*. ΧΡΗΣΙΣ, CHRESIS, Die Methode der Kirchenväter im Umgang mit der antiken Kultur IV. Schwabe & Co. AG, Basel 1994. 295 S. ISBN 3-7965-0953-3. CHF 50.

Wie haben die Kirchenväter das klassische heidnische Kulturerbe verstanden und für ihre eigenen Zwecke gebraucht? Dieser großen Frage ist die Reihe gewidmet, in der die vorliegende Münsteraner Dissertation erscheint. Eine sorgfältige vergleichende Analyse einiger Teile der zwei gleichnamigen Werke Ciceros und Ambrosius' scheint dazu gut geeignet und wird wohl nicht ohne positive Forschungsergebnisse geblieben sein. Doch kann sich der Leser dem Eindruck nicht entziehen, daß die Behandlung des Themas an einer gewissen Beschränktheit gelitten hat: außer Cicero, Ambrosius und der Bibel werden kaum andere antike Quellen zitiert. Vielleicht wäre es nützlich gewesen, die Richtungen der heidnischen Morallehre nach Cicero wenn auch nur kurz zu betrachten, um eine Vorstellung davon zu bekommen, wie Ambrosius' Tugendbegriffe sich zu denen der *zeitgenössischen* Heiden verhalten haben mochten. Von der Überlegenheit des christlichen Moralsystems ist die Verfasserin *a priori* überzeugt – vielleicht ein nicht ganz glücklicher Ausgangspunkt für eine Untersuchung, die die Unterschiede zwischen zwei Pflichtenwerken erklären will.

*Antti Arjava*

GIOVANNI CASADIO: *Storia del culto di Dioniso in Argolide*. Filologia e critica 71. Gruppo Editoriale Internazionale, Roma 1994. XI, 371 p. ISBN 88-8011-026-8. ITL 80.000.

Che il culto di una determinata divinità non sia uguale sempre e ovunque, ma presenti una fisionomia diversa secondo i contesti storico-culturali, è un principio che purtroppo ancora oggi non va sempre adeguatamente considerato. Nel presente libro, però, problemi di questo tipo non s'incontrano in quanto l'autore è un rappresentante della scuola romana di storia delle religioni ed allievo diretto del compianto Ugo Bianchi. Dopo un notevole numero di articoli sul dionisismo, Casadio si presenta con il volume concentrato su un'analisi del culto di Dioniso in Argolide.

Perché l'Argolide e quale Argolide? La scelta geografica è di primaria importanza per il culto di Dioniso che proprio in Argolide ha avuto importanti manifestazioni (vari luoghi di culto e vari miti), benché le testimonianze siano per lo più indirette. Il culto risale con ogni probabilità all'epoca micenea anche se le tavolette includenti il nome del dio in Lineare B provengono da Pilo (in Messenia) e da Cidonia (Creta). I limiti cronologici dello studio vanno dunque dalla preistoria micenea alla fine dell'epoca classica.

La comparsa di Dioniso sulle tavolette dette origine ad una valanga di interpretazioni fuorvianti e fantasiose da parte di molti studiosi, anche estremamente rinomati. Casadio fornisce uno sguardo istruttivo e, al tempo stesso, divertente sulla storia degli studi in merito e riesce, con un buon senso di giudizio, a recuperare quello che c'è da recuperare, cioè l'incontestabilità della presenza di Dioniso nel mondo miceneo. Inoltre, sulla base di vari argomenti, in parte tratti dalle testimonianze posteriori quali Saffo, Alceo e Pausania, ma ovviamente rappresentanti situazioni antichissime, viene postulata una triade micenea di Zeus, Hera e Dioniso e la sua continuità all'epoca arcaica.

In capitoli successivi C. prende in esame tre complessi mitico-rituali pertinenti al dionisismo argivo. Attraverso lo studio delle varianti il mito delle Pretidi, figlie del re Preto (una critica generale: le forme italiane dei nomi irritano un non-italiano; perché non Proitos invece di Preto, Bias invece di Biante ecc., usanza peraltro non inconsueta in studi storico-religiosi in Italia) si rivela un antico e autentico mito collegato con il rito degli Agr(i)ania. Un complesso, questo, che contiene elementi mistico-iniziatici nell'ambito dionisiaco. Nel mito di Arianna la protagonista, sposa di Dioniso, muore ed è sepolta ad Argo nel *temenos* del dio. Ciò induce C. ad esaminare il rapporto fra i due personaggi: chi era Arianna (gr. Ariadne, Ariagne, Aridela, Arianne ecc.) e perché fu introdotta nel contesto dionisiaco? Probabilmente si tratta di una dea egeo-cretese "in vicenda" (cioè soggetta a varie peripezie, la morte inclusa) collegata con la sfera infera. E' convincente la spiegazione che vede nella coppia Arianna-Dioniso un antichissimo legame mitico-culturale (forse addirittura con l'originaria prevalenza della partner femminile) realizzantesi in diversi modi nelle varie isole e, di conseguenza, anche ad Argo. In questa connessione viene sottolineata la possibilità dell'origine cretese del Dioniso stesso. Il suggestivo paesaggio della zona paludosa attorno a Lerna (non molto lontana da Argo) fu lo scenario dei riti e miti connessi con Dioniso, Demetra ed Artemide. Il culto di Dioniso assume qui una forma misterica qualche volta paragonata e fatta derivare dai misteri eleusini, ma probabilmente risultante da uno sviluppo indipendente, e non più recente, del culto eleusino.

Nella discussione dei numerosi problemi emersi in questi capitoli C. utilizza in un modo esemplare fonti letterarie di origine molto disparata nonché rappresentazioni figurative dimostrando la perfetta padronanza, anche filologica, del materiale antico. La formazione storico-religiosa contribuisce ad una visuale più ampia, ricca di interpretazioni originali e spunti nuovi.

*Jaakko Aronen*

CLAUDIA BERGEMANN: *Politik und Religion im spätrepublikanischen Rom*. Paligenesia, Monographien und Texte zur klassischen Altertumswissenschaft 38. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1992. 166 S. ISBN 3-515-06105-3. DEM 64.

Den religiösen Faktor in der Krise der späten Republik möchte C. Bergemann darstellen und analysieren. Dazu untersucht sie in den ersten hundert Seiten ihrer hier überarbeitet vorliegenden Dissertation ausführlich Ciceros Rede "de domo sua", in der es ja um die Rückgabe seines konfiszierten und anschließend geweihten Besitzes geht. Dabei werden die Argumentationsstränge auf juristischer, politischer und persönlicher Ebene detailliert erörtert, aber auch der Adressatenkreis, mit einer vollständigen Liste des betroffenen Pontifices-Kollegiums, und der rechtsgeschichtliche Kontext hinreichend berücksichtigt. Die aufgezeigten Interdependenzen zwischen Sakralem und Politischem lassen eine je nach parteipolitisch geprägten Machtverhältnissen gewichtete Verfügbarkeit des Sakralen deutlich werden (vgl. 84 f.).

Im zweiten Teil der Arbeit wird nun die weiterreichende Gültigkeit der am Einzelfall "Cicero" gewonnenen Ergebnisse bzgl. des manipulativ-politischen Einsatzes des Staatskultes anhand von verschiedenen Fällen der letzten zwei Jahrhunderte v. Chr. belegt. Vor allem der Gebrauch von Götterzeichen zur Unterbrechung, Aufhebung oder

Verschiebung von Versammlungen, Amtseinführungen o.ä., aber ebenso die willkürliche Deklaration von Festtagen sowie – wenn auch in geringerem Rahmen – Maßnahmen des Pontifex Maximus boten sich zur Behinderung oder gar Ausschaltung des politischen Gegners an. Damit einher geht die Aufwertung und Politisierung der relevanten Priesterkollegien, aber letztlich auch ihr Verfall.

Trotz der sichtlichen Beschränkung auf deutsch- und englischsprachige Literatur hat die Autorin mit ihrer Betrachtung des politisch relevanten Stellenwertes des Staatskultes in Rom am Ende der Republik einen wichtigen Aspekt der Krise ins Diskussionsfeld gerückt.

*Uta-Maria Liertz*

G.W. BOWERSOCK, *Martyrdom and Rome*. The Wiles lectures given at the Queen's University of Belfast. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1995. 106 p. ISBN 0-521-46539-7. GBP 19.95.

G.W. Bowersock has published a highly interesting and inspiring book about early Christian martyrdom. In Chapter I the author sets out to explore the historical context of martyrdom, discussing the concept, its origins, its appearances in early sources. He emphasizes the Graeco-Roman background of Christian martyrdom. Its roots were closely linked with the Graeco-Roman world, its traditions, its language, and its cultural tastes. The early martyrdoms were inconceivable without the traditional pagan institutions of Graeco-Roman urban life. He argues that early Christian martyrdom had nothing to do with Judaism or with Palestine.

The pre-Constantinian Martyr Acts contain precious documentary material and shed a bright light on the dark space between the Gospels and hagiography. Bowersock analyses the martyr accounts, e.g. the Martyrdom of Pionius and the Martyrdom of Perpetua and demonstrates how the written record for the early martyrdoms places the martyrdoms in the context of the Roman empire.

The most important part of Bowersock's book is Chapter III which concentrates on the civic role of martyrs. Martyrdom is placed in the everyday life background of the Graeco-Roman world. The early martyrdoms were a conspicuously urban affair. Martyrdom in a city provided the greatest possible visibility for the Christian cause. Bowersock emphasizes the important role of some martyrs as teachers and leaders of the Christian communities. Martyrs are compared with sophists. Cyprian, Pionius and Polycarp were the Christian equivalents of the teachers and sophists in the intellectual and social life of the second and third centuries. The culture from which both martyrs and sophists came was largely one and the same, the Graeco-Roman culture. Martyrdom was solidly placed in the civic life of the Roman empire, in the great urban spaces such as the agora and the amphitheater and in the bureaucratic institutions of the Roman state.

The author ends his book with a discussion of the relationship between martyrdom and suicide. Emphasizing again the particularly Roman character of martyrdom, Bowersock argues that the glorification of suicide in the Roman tradition effected the development of martyrdom. The debate about suicide and martyrdom among the early Christians (Tertullian, Clement, Origen, Augustine) is surveyed and is followed by four appendices on special subjects concerning martyrdom.

*Maijastina Kahlos*

DAVID RANKIN: *Tertullian and the Church*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1995. xvii, 229 p. ISBN 0-521-48067-1 (bound). GBP 35,00.

Tertullian's writings are the most important historical source for the development of ecclesiastical structures in the early third century. This book is devoted to Tertullian's theology of the church and on his perception of church office and ministry. They are examined especially in regard to his later sympathizing with the Montanist new prophecy movement. The author argues that Tertullian's ideas did not change fundamentally in the course of his career. This conforms with his view that, although Tertullian vehemently criticized the ecclesiastical hierarchy, he never really broke with the catholic church.

*Antti Arjava*

P. M. FRASER – E. MATTHEWS: *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. Vol. II: *Attica*, edited by M. J. Osborne and S. G. Byrne. The British Academy, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1994. XXI, 510 pp. GBP 60.00.

The LGPN proceeds. After the first volume, which appeared in 1987 encompassing the Aegean islands and Cyrenaica, we now have at our disposal the second volume covering Attica. In the very same year, an overlapping publication was begun: J. S. Trail, *Persons of Ancient Athens*, vol. I: *A- to Alexandros*, Toronto 1994, pp. XXV, 339 (I know this work only from the review by K. Rigsby, *BMCR* 6, 1995, 218-225, where the works are compared; by the way, Rigsby's criticism is partly exaggerated and not always with a sense of proportion and not always fair); twenty volumes are projected. The simultaneous appearance of these two works invites us to ask about scientific collaboration; it is indeed distressing that these two volumes should appear simultaneously and without reference to each other. So a great deal of labor has been duplicated to produce incompatible databases. But what a general reader needs, is a reliable and complete onomasticon of names in Athens, and for this purpose the British Academy volume is, in large measure, sufficient. Furthermore: how many readers will locate an obscure press and spend \$125 in order to own 5% of the Athenians available from Oxford for \$75 (but I would like to stress that I have not seen Trail's volume so that a comparison should be put off to a later occasion). The volume under review will be unique in the series because of the significant role played by literary sources and the complexity of attestation of so many individuals. The Attic volume will also have far more users than the others in the British Academy Lexicon.

There is no room here for extensive criticism. As is known, the first volume was criticized from various standpoints, above all from the linguistic view. In the Attic volume such shortcomings of a linguistic nature are not so apparent, as there is more coherence without the variety of the numerous dialects. In my brief remarks I would only point out one principal disagreement as to the criteria for inclusion. The authors have decided, in accordance with the principle of the first volume, to banish from the Lexicon all those thousands of foreign residents with ethnics attested in tomb inscriptions, whilst including the mass of residents whose original provenance is unknown. Repatriating such metics to their home city, constitutes arguably an impoverishment of the onomastic record (as the authors themselves admit), since the length of their sojourn clearly may

have had an impact locally and enriched Attic onomastic customs. Athens was always teeming with foreign residents, and their name habits remained with their families and could be rooted during a few generations in Athenian name-giving.

Some details. The materials from the Christian period seem to be to some extent incomplete. Without spot-checking extensively, I mention one omission: Ἀναστάσιος DChAE 2, 1894, p. 89 (my friend E. Sironen pointed out to me several such omissions from the late period. – Spelling variants are normalized tacitly (without cross-references; e. g. Βεΐθυς for Βίθυς), but why do cases such as Ἐστιάιος for Ἴστιάιος constitute two different entries? It would also have been helpful to refer under Διονύσις to Διονύσιος or under Χρυσάριον to Χρυσάριον.

*Heikki Solin*

LAURA TUSA MASSARO: *Sintassi del greco antico e tradizione grammaticale* I. Subsidia philologica, Collezione diretta da Tommaso Guardí, 2. L'Epos Società Editrice, Palermo 1993. 253 p. ITL 43.000.

Questo libro è il primo di due volumi e contiene aspetti della sintassi dei nomi e del verbo, mentre nell'altra parte sarà inclusa la sintassi delle parti invariabili e del periodo. Secondo l'autrice il libro ha uno scopo soprattutto didattico ed ha come possibili lettori non solo gli studenti ma anche persone per le quali non è sufficiente un approccio esclusivamente morfologico al fatto linguistico. Per questo fine i dettagliati indici rendono l'uso del libro molto maneggevole.

Nel campo linguistico generale questo volume non offre molto, ma presenta una grammatica tradizionale nel senso normativo-prescritto senza alcuna discussione della variazione linguistica nei diversi generi dell'uso della lingua. D'altra parte, però, la prima parte dei capitoli tratta benissimo ed ampiamente della storia della ricerca linguistica antica citando ed analizzando la terminologia degli antichi grammatici. Nelle altre parti di ogni capitolo, poi, si commentano con vari esempi le particolari funzioni sintattiche dei casi, dei modi ecc. Tuttavia, si deve dire che lo scopo didattico soffre un poco per la mancanza di precisazione dell'oggetto dello studio in questione negli esempi dati. Sarebbe stato più pratico sottolineare i punti importanti, perché ora non è sempre del tutto manifesto ciò che l'autrice vuole mostrare, vedi per es. p. 41 nel caso di Nominativo anacoluto.

Alcuni errori di stampa sono rimasti, ma non sono gravi. Comunque, dev'essere ὑπερθετικόν non ὑμερθετικόν p. 32; nota 20 è 107 e nota 21 è 108 nella p. 68.

*Martti Leiwo*

HELMUT RIX: *Die Termini der Unfreiheit in den Sprachen Alt-Italiens*. Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei, Band XXV. (Begr von Joseph Vogt. Im Auftrag der Kommission für Geschichte des Altertums der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur. Hrsg von Heinz Bellen.) Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1994. 148 S. Kart. DEM 54.

Das Herauskommen dieses Buches ist viele Jahre lang mit großem Interesse von vielen Sprachwissenschaftlern, Philologen und Althistorikern erwartet worden; leider ist indes die Vollendung der vorliegenden Arbeit durch viele unerwartete, aber ganz verständliche und verzeihliche äußere Hindernisse verzögert worden. Meiner Meinung nach

ist aber das Warten nun fürstlich belohnt worden: Das Buch bietet äußerst klare, logische, haltbare und ausreichend vielseitige Argumentationen über ein schwieriges Thema – und die Schwierigkeiten liegen nicht ausschließlich in der oft mangelhaften sprachlichen Dokumentation der verschiedenen italischen Sprachen. Die Auswahl der behandelten Wörter ist gut motiviert (S. 10): *ancilla*, *famulus / famula*, *servus / serva* und *libertus / liberta*, sowie ihre genetischen oder semantischen Entsprechungen in den italischen Sprachen.

In dem ersten Kapitel (eigentlich unter der Nummer 0) legt der Verfasser die Fragestellung und Lösungswege, erstens kurz durch eine Analyse der Quellen für die Sklaverei in (Mittel-)Italien in vorliterarischer und in literarischer Zeit, zweitens mit einer interessanten dialektalen und diachronischen Darstellung der italischen Sprachen und, wieder recht kurz, mit ihrem Verhältnis zu den anderen behandelten indogermanischen Sprachen. Die Methodologie ist im Kapitel 0.4., "Etymologie und Gleichung", behandelt worden.

Im Kapitel 1 wird die Etymologie – die zum erstenmal von W. Pax schon 1937 vorgebracht worden war (ursprünglich eigentlich zu gr. ἀμφίπολος < \*h<sub>2</sub>mbhi-kwolho-s) – des lateinischen Wortes *ancilla* ausführlich, und zwar vorwiegend mit Hilfe der Indogermanistik, kritisch diskutiert, vertieft und erweitert (*ancula*).

Das Kapitel 2 beginnt mit einer kurzen Analyse des (am wichtigsten) oskischen Wortes *famel*. Dann werden die Bedeutung und Verwendung von lat. *famulus / famula*, lat. *familia*, osk. *famelo* und umbr. *famelias* und schließlich das gegenzeitige Verhältnis dieser Wörter diskutiert. Im Unterkapitel 2.5 werden dann in einer überzeugenden Weise die Überlegungen zur Etymologie angestellt.

Das Kapitel 3 behandelt die Semantik der lat. Wörter *servus* und *serva*, u.a. mit dem Vorschlag, daß dies ein Lehnwort aus dem Etruskischen sein könnte. Schließlich werden die Etymologie und Bedeutungsentwicklung von *servus* im Unterkapitel 3.6 zusammenfassend dargestellt.

Das nächste Kapitel ist dem lat. *libertus*, *-ta* und seinen Entsprechungen in anderen italischen Sprachen gewidmet, nämlich dem im Faliskischen belegten *loifir / loifirta / loferta*, dem etruskischen *lautni / launiθa*, dem pälignischen *loujir* und dem venetischen *libertos* (4.3.), mit Berücksichtigung des relevanten Namenformulars und Namenlexik (4.4.). Danach wird die Etymologie des etr. *Iautni* (4.5.) und das lat. *libertinus / libertina* besprochen. Schließlich stellt der Verfasser in konziser Form die Chronologie und Entwicklung der Wörter dar.

Im letzten Kapitel gelingt es dem Verfasser, alles, was er in seinem vortrefflichen Buch behandelt hat, in mehr als einer reinen Zusammenfassung in einen umfangreichen historischen Zusammenhang zu bringen (SS. 120-123). Die Sachen-, Stellen- und Wörterregister ergänzen das Buch, so daß es ohne Zweifel ein unentbehrliches Hilfsmittel sein wird, und zwar nicht nur für Sprachwissenschaftler und Althilologen, sondern auch für diejenigen Althistoriker, die sich mit der Sozialgeschichte des vorrömischen Italiens und des (zunächst) republikanischen Roms beschäftigen.

Professor emeritus H. Rix hat ein ausgezeichnetes Buch verfaßt. Besonders lobenswert ist der klare Stil, der dem Leser keine unüberwindbaren Schwierigkeiten bieten dürfte. Manche Sprachwissenschaftler machen nämlich leider oft der "Unsitte" schuldig, daß sie in einem Stil schreiben, der selbst vielen Kollegen den Gedankengang allzu schwierig macht, um ihm folgen zu können.

Timo Sironen

CLAUDE VATIN: *Monuments votifs de Delphes*. Archaeologica Perusina 10; Archaeologica 100. Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, Roma 1991. Pp. 268 con 115 figg., 11 tavv. e 11 grafici. ISBN 88-7689-060-2. ITL 500.000.

C'est un volume hautement sujet à controverse que Claude Vatin vient de nous proposer. Selon l'auteur, un grand nombre d'inscriptions n'ont jamais été vues. Son travail épigraphique, qui s'appuie sur des techniques de lecture nouvelles, a la prétention de déterminer l'existence de palimpsestes épigraphiques. Toutefois, les nouvelles trouvailles de Vatin ont été fortement contestées par les meilleurs spécialistes de l'épigraphie grecque; voir, par ex., Bull. ép. 1992, 78, selon qui la plupart des nouvelles lectures soient inadmissibles. Les textes qu'édite Vatin ont été lus par lui sur des pierres où personne n'avait jamais rien lu. Malgré un examen attentif, on ne voit rien sur les fac-similés présentés par Vatin des excellentes photographies dont il accompagne son étude. Particulièrement inconsideré est le dernier chapitre "Les Etrusques à Delphes", où l'auteur évoque plusieurs inscriptions grecques et étrusques qu'il veut restituer en appliquant ses méthodes de lecture. Dans ces conditions, il est inutile de prolonger la discussion. Vatin, dont les mérites dans le domaine de l'épigraphie grecque sont bien connus, semble avoir commis un pas de clerc avec ce dernier livre.

*Heikki Solin*

WILLIAM HORBURY – DAVID NOY: *Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt. With an index of the Jewish inscriptions of Egypt and Cyrenaica*. Cambridge UP, Cambridge 1992. XXIV, 378 pp., XXXII plates. GBP 60.

As is well known, the Jewish inscriptions of Egypt were published by G. Kittel in the second volume of Frey's *Corpus inscriptionum Judaicarum*, and then (much better) by the late D. M. Lewis in the third volume of the *Corpus papyrorum Judaicarum*. Even if the number of the new inscriptions included by the authors, but not yet known to the previous editors, is not very high, this does not mean that the new edition would not be useful. On the contrary, it is most welcome. With its commentaries, its rich bibliographical apparatus, and with its indices, the book will be very useful not only for the epigraphers, but also, and above all, for the students of the Jewish diaspora in the Hellenistic-Roman world.

*Heikki Solin*

DAVID NOY: *Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe. Vol. I: Italy (excluding the City of Rome), Spain and Gaul*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1993. xxi, 385 p., XXXII plates. ISBN 0-521-44201-X. GBP 60.00.

This is the first volume of a highly welcome new epigraphical corpus of Jewish inscriptions from the Western part of the Roman Empire. The second volume will concentrate on the inscriptions found in Rome: a larger collection than any other place of provenance can provide and fraught with its own special problems. The scarcity of Jewish epigraphical material, considering the substantial Jewish population in Western



Europe, is somewhat unexpected. The present publication amounts to 192 texts which can be dated before A.D. 700. There are numerous corrections and additions to J. B. Frey's *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum* (not only to its first edition from 1936 but also to the revised edition by B. Lifshitz in 1975). In addition, there are lists of inscriptions included in *CIJ* that are now considered medieval or non-Jewish. Each text is followed by a translation, bibliography, information about the context of the discovery and rich comments. The latter give a sound and many-sided impression: they discuss, among other things, linguistic, terminological, onomastical, demographical and ideological matters, and they do not forget the iconographical part (mostly the occurrence of Jewish symbols). The translations are in this case especially important since they make the texts better available also to scholars not well-versed in ancient languages. In truth, they serve also the classical scholars since the inscriptions are often bilingual (Greek/Latin and Hebrew/Aramaic) or even trilingual (Greek, Latin and Hebrew), and, I imagine, the specialists in Jewish culture for similar reasons.

*Jaakko Aronen*

BENGT MATTSSON: *The Ascia Symbol on Latin Epitaphs*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature, Pocket-book 70. Paul Åströms förlag, Göteborg 1990. 154 p. ISBN 91-86098-83-7.

The publishing house of Professor Paul Åström is well-known for its publication of books on Classical, mainly Mediterranean, studies, that the authors perhaps otherwise would have had trouble finding a publisher for, due to the nature of the field, which means that each text has a potential readership that is quite small.

Here Åström has given us another potentially important work, this time by Bengt Mattsson, which considers the implications of the *ascia* symbol, in particular on epitaphs. This is a study based on material previously published. According to the author, his primary sources have been the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* and *L'Année épigraphique*.

The main body (109 pages) of Mattsson's work consists of a catalogue listing the instances of mention of finds of tombstones (of all types) with either a pictorial representation of an *ascia*, or a mention of the instrument in a formula (e.g. *sub ascia dedicare*). The entries are grouped according to the general region and specific place of discovery (where such information is available) following the model of *CIL*. The provinces that have yielded the greatest number of *ascia* inscriptions are Provincia Lugdunensis (394 inscriptions), Gallia Narbonensis (216), Dalmatia (128), Latium (127) and Aquitania (98). The number of *ascia* inscriptions from the Gallic provinces thus totals over 700. As the number of *ascia* inscriptions found in Latium, while considerable, does not constitute a large proportion of the total number of grave inscriptions in that province, the conclusion seems clear that the principal area of *ascia* inscriptions are the Gallic provinces, even though the inscriptions that seem to be the oldest are to be found in Dalmatia.

The catalogue is followed by a brief discussion, divided into four chapters, in which the author discusses various theories on the significance of *ascia* on tombstones and distinguishes between two main hypotheses, which he calls the material theory and the spiritual theory, respectively. The former is supposed to refer to the existence of a specific rite, in which an *ascia* was present at the consecration of the grave, while

according to the latter hypothesis the *ascia* was a mystic symbol of eternal life. Not surprisingly, the author leans toward the material theory as the more likely one. Mattsson also cites the literary instances of occurrence of the word *dSCid* among classical authors in chronological order, breaks down the material into nine parts in a further catalogue according to the characteristics distinguished in the main catalogue and finally makes a brief analysis of the material presented in the previous chapters.

Although the material could have been analysed in greater depth, Bengt Mattsson has in the work here reviewed given us a valuable summary of inscriptions containing either depictions of, or formulae containing the word, *ascia*. It is inevitable in a work founded on published material that there should be some flaws due to the fact that the author has been unable to verify the published facts. The reason for some omissions are not very clear, however. Why are not the ages given for persons above the age of 18, for instance? Linguistic flaws and non-idiomatic expressions (e.g. representant for representative) are unnecessary, (not to mention the inevitable typographical errors) and could have been avoided by thorough proof-reading. As it is, these flaws detract not only from the enjoyment of reading, but from the easy understanding of the author's meaning. Apart from these quibbles, the book fills its place well as a valuable publication of basic material, well suited to be used by researchers as a source for the distribution and contents of *ascia* inscriptions.

Tryggve Gestrin

JOHN BODEL: *Graveyards and Groves. A Study of the Lex Lucerina*. American Journal of Ancient History 11. Cambridge, Mass. 1986 [1994]. VII, 134 p., 4 plates. USD 25.00.

The so-called *lex Lucerina* (CIL I<sup>2</sup> 401) is a remarkable inscription, not only because of the legal and linguistic aspects the text raises, but also since, apparently, nobody has seen this inscription since 1847, when it was first transcribed by a local antiquarian. Thus all later research has depended and still depends for the text on that early version, published in 1861 in a local history. Mommsen himself devoted a lot of energy to find and examine the stone, but despite repeated efforts since then, the stone probably still lies in the foundations of the Palazzo Bruno in Lucera (Puglia).

The inscription itself may date from some time in the third century B.C. (certainly later than the founding of the Latin colony at Luceria in 314 B.C.). The contents are sufficiently clear: *in hoc loucarid* three activities are prohibited: *stircus ne [qu]is fundatid neve cadaver proiecitad neve parentatid*. Transgressors shall be fined. Now, the crucial point in B.'s analysis is the word *loucarid*, which, after Mommsen, has been constantly interpreted as a dialectal form of *luco* (from *lucus*), and since a *lucus* was by definition a sacred place, the Lucerian ordinance has been universally taken as a sacred law. If that is so, the inscription would belong to a very rarely attested category of laws in Latin concerning the protection of sacred groves. So, in contrast to earlier research, B. argues that the Lucerian inscription refers to civil rather than sacred law, and that it was set up in a cemetery, not in a sacred grove in the proper sense. The prohibited activities would indeed be rather peculiar in a sacred context, since none of the regulations were normally associated with measures taken to protect sacred groves (p. 24 ff.). Similar prohibitions against abandoning corpses and dumping refuse are attested in places where

a specific area was to be policed, as is shown by epigraphical and archaeological evidence from the Esquiline burial ground in Rome (p. 38 ff.). Therefore the author goes on to explain the purpose of the law as being that of marking off a public area in the middle of a cemetery, where further burying and religious observances for the dead were to be prohibited. (In fact, in an old report of its circumstances of discovery, the inscription is confirmed to have been unearthed in a graveyard. Also, *parentatio* clearly points to a graveyard.) All this concerned public management, not religious affairs. No doubt B.'s arguments are well-founded and logical. It only remains to be studied whether the equation *loucarid* = *luco* is absolutely necessary. What about the classical Latin noun *lucar* in the sense 'revenue expended for public entertainment' and its unquestionable association with the grove of the goddess Libitina?

In his learned discussion of the term *lucar* in all its definitions, especially in connection with Libitina, the author provides a good insight into financial transactions concerning burials in Roman society. It was in the *lucus Libitinae* that funeral arrangements were made, equipment and services were hired and deaths were officially registered. B. comes to the conclusion that *lucar* (deriving from *pecunia lucaris*) not only refers to revenue derived from the *lucus Libitinae*, but also indicates the place whence the money derived. And since the institution of *lucus Libitinae* is not only attested in the city of Rome, but also occurs (at least) in Puteoli and Bergomum, it is argued that *loucarid* of the Lucerian inscription refers not just to any grove in Luceria but to a grove of Libitina, a sort of undertakers' headquarters which specialized in contracting burials and offered various funeral services. As public places of business *luci Libitinae* were not subject to the rules of sacral law, and it is plausibly argued that they were normally situated near or inside cemeteries.

B. also tries to put the inscription in a historical context, suggesting that in an early phase of Luceria's history, perhaps in the aftermath of the massacre of the Samnites (Liv. 9,26,1 ff.), there was a strong need for organizing the disposal of a mass of corpses. So, he argues, a section of the public cemetery may have been closed down and it was given to those who took over the massive burial business.

The study concludes with three short appendices (App. 1 'Productive *luci*?' discusses the question of whether Roman *luci* produced some sort of income; App. 2 presents excerpts from the famous *lex libitina* from Puteoli (AE 1971, 88), with several new readings and suggestions to the text; App. 3 'Municipal potter's fields' discusses mass burials and other public burial practices outside Roman municipalities).

Whether or not the Lucerian *loucarid* stands for *luco*, B.'s book is a clearly written analysis of the many and complex aspects of the terms *lucus* and *lucar* in Roman society. His interpretation of municipal *luci Libitinae* as publicly established burial offices for local undertakers certainly deserves further attention. One only wishes that some day B. himself or some other explorer will be able to recover the Lucerian stone.

Mika Kajava

ANTONIO VARONE: *Erotica Pompeiana. Iscrizioni d'amore sui muri di Pompei*. Studia archaeologica 71. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1994. 192 p. 28 figs. ITL 60.000.

Le iscrizioni pompeiane e soprattutto i graffiti sono l'unico materiale a nostra disposizione capace di offrire un sentore della vita quotidiana di una città antica. Antonio Varone, epigrafista ed archeologo, ha preso i graffiti erotici come oggetto di un suo nuovo studio. L'abilità epigrafica dell'autore e la sua profondissima conoscenza di Pompei non lasciano niente a desiderare. Anche lo stile è chiaro e piacevole servendo così anche il pubblico più largo.

Nel titolo del libro si parla dell'erotica ma in realtà Varone tratta piuttosto dell'amore, della "ricerca di tutte le sfumature delle quali si tinse il sentimento d'amore". Varone non definisce esplicitamente nè il concetto "amore" nè "erotismo" ma distingue venti diversi aspetti dell'amore tra cui p.e. gelosia, vanti d'amore, amore infelice, prostituzione, amore coniugale, sulla base dei quali "amore" viene definito implicitamente. Riteniamo, però, che una più rigida definizione di questi due concetti avrebbe acuito e chiarito la trattazione. Forse sarebbe stato meglio, per esempio, trattare i graffiti scoperti nel grande lupanare tutti insieme sotto il titolo "prostituzione" e non spargerli in diversi capitoli.

I graffiti sono un materiale molto complesso. Sono difficilmente databili con esattezza (la datazione viene fuori solo in pochi casi), la loro lingua è quotidiana, popolare, spontanea ed ogni tanto difficile da capire per coloro che sono abituati alla lingua di Cicerone. Perciò Varone ha tradotto tutte le iscrizioni in italiano e vi riesce bene. Ciononostante sarebbe stato opportuno ricordare al lettore che i testi sono frammentari e molte parole sono conosciute solo dalle iscrizioni parietali e perciò aperte a varie interpretazioni. Il punto di vista di Varone è quello di un filologo, non di uno storico. Si limita ad un'analisi quasi esclusivamente filologica dando nelle note importanti commenti su varie questioni riguardanti la lettura critica e la forma grammaticale classica di ogni parola. A nostro avviso, però, una breve discussione storica sullo sviluppo e il cambiamento nel livello materiale e soprattutto nel livello sociale sarebbe stata interessante. Ma anche così quest'opera ci offre un'immagine ricca dell'amore pompeiano. Il volume è costituito da indici di iscrizioni, nomi antichi e passi degli autori antichi, il tutto di grande utilità.

*Liisa Savunen*

LIVIA BIVONA: *Iscrizioni latine lapidarie del Museo Civico di Termini Imerese*. SIKELIKA, serie storica 8. Supplementi a «Kókalos» 9. Giorgio Bretschneider, Roma 1994. 317 p., 81 tav. ISBN 88-7689-110-2. ITL 350.000.

I materiali epigrafici del Museo Civico di Termini Imerese (Palermo) si compongono di due iscrizioni sacre, una trentina di iscrizioni onorarie di vario tipo e soprattutto di quelle funerarie, tutte di età imperiale, che ammontano a più di 140 in questa edizione (per le poco meno di trenta iscrizioni funerarie greche, tutte di età romana, si veda A. Brugnone, *Kokalos* 20 [1974] 218-264). Alcuni frammenti nonché iscrizioni di origine incerta (forse termitane) o *alienae* (di cui una probabilmente urbana) concludono la raccolta. Sono inoltre inserite le non poche epigrafi ora perdute che non sono mai state conservate nel Museo Civico (perciò il titolo del libro è alquanto

ingannevole). La maggior parte delle iscrizioni sono già state pubblicate o in CIL X o più tardi; completamente inedite sono le iscrizioni n. 26 e 173bis. Il numero degli individui documentati dalle iscrizioni è in totale di 203 (ma cfr. p. 64).

La raccolta vera e propria è preceduta da uno sguardo generale ai materiali: provenienza, materie e tecniche (si osservi l'ampio uso del calcare locale per le basi, i cippi, le stele e le lastre di grande formato), tipologia dei singoli monumenti (occorre notare, indipendentemente dal materiale adoperato, la quasi totale mancanza di elementi decorativi nell'epigrafia funeraria), impaginazione e scrittura, l'influsso (assai modesto) della lingua greca nella redazione delle epigrafi latine (nella parte occidentale della Sicilia, a differenza che in quella orientale, la prevalenza del latino nel linguaggio epigrafico risulta indubitabile, cosa che vale anche per Panormo e Lilibeo).

Sia i soliti formulari degli epitafi (tra le cose ovvie si noti che il nome del defunto si presenta prevalentemente in nominativo; il dativo risulta meno frequente e il genitivo è quasi inesistente) sia i dati onomastici vengono trattati in capitoli propri. Per quanto riguarda l'onomastica (pp. 53-65), alcune affermazioni dell'autrice sono irrilevanti: così, gli individui con nome greco, che compaiono nelle epigrafi insieme ad altri con denominazione latina e che "molto spesso – ma non sempre – sono i dedicanti", sarebbero talvolta, per brevità, indicati in tal modo, pur avendo i *tria nomina* (p. 53, 65). Nel rapporto sui praenomina (p. 54-56) si doveva fare riferimento al libro di O. Salomies (*Die römischen Vornamen*, 1987), e non a quello di H. Thylander (1952), che purtroppo viene citato come autorità. Per il prenome femminile (n. 155: *L. Vecilia L.f.*) cfr. recentemente anche M. Kajava, *Roman Female Praenomina* (1994) 43.

L'autrice trae giustamente attenzione a *gentes* di scarsa diffusione, in ambito municipale, che compaiono nelle iscrizioni termitane nonché nelle Verrine di Cicerone (cfr. esp. il ricco e nobile termitano Stenius, con probabili interessi commerciali nell'Oriente), e tenta di delinearne le provenienze dalle città della penisola nonché di stabilirne i rapporti con i centri commerciali dell'Oriente ellenistico, esp. Delo (p. 67-97). Vengono sottolineati sia i rapporti tra *gentes* termitane con omonime dell'area campano-laziale e di Ostia (porto) sia la presenza di molte famiglie transpadane a Thermae. Anche gli evidenti legami con *gentes* dell'Africa vengono analizzati.

Tra i ca. 70 gentilizi che si riferiscono a più di cento persone, ne compaiono alcuni che si conoscono soltanto dalle iscrizioni termitane, così *Alfesi*, *Laesanius*, *Rufei*, *Tenni*, ed altri che sono scarsamente documentati dappertutto, *Acellius*, *Audius*, *Clovatius*, *Coponius*, *Ducenius*, etc. Qui seguono alcune osservazioni e aggiunte al capitolo su nomina (p. 67-97). P. 72: Fundi è situata nel Lazio; *Decumius* ricorre anche nel territorio di Interamna Lirenas (RAL 1978, 520 n. 8); in Sicilia *Mevius* è attestato anche in Halaesa (*Epigraphica* 51 [1989] 190 n. 80), nonché in Neapolis (NSc 1949, 172; cfr. M. Leiwo, *Neapolitana* [1994] 94) e *Cereatae Marianae* (M. Cassoni, *Casamari* o l'antico "Cereatae Marianae" [1918] 82). – p. 74: occorre notare la presenza della *gens Stenia* anche nell'aquinate e nel cassinate (oltre al CIL, cfr. RAL 1971, 424 n. 8 e 788 n. 3); per la *gens Audia*, cfr. anche NSc 1961, 191 (Pompei) e Puteoli 7-8 (1983-84) 301-303 n. 4; il gentilizio *Patulcius* anche in AJA 77 (1973) 160 n. 10 (Puteoli). – P. 76: la combinazione *N. Plaetorius* è nota anche da Salernum (*InscrIt* I,1, 20). – P. 80-81: il prenome *Gaius* appare con *Popillius* anche in RAAN 57 (1982) 225 sgg. n. 2 da Suessa (nel patronimico; *Ilvir*). – P. 82: cfr. AJA 2 (1898) 379 n. 13 (Puteoli): *C. Ducenius*

*Athenodorus*, che porta lo stesso prenome del Ducenius termitano, e dal Latium adiectum, Epigraphica 34 (1972) 143 sg (Capitulum Hernicorum?); si notino inoltre due attestazioni dell'abbreviazione *Duc.* a Locri: EE VIII 842 e SupplIt 3: Locri n. 10. – P. 83 n. 176: la combinazione *L. Acilius* si conosce anche da Pompei (P. Castrén, Ordo populusque Pompeianus [1983<sup>2</sup>] 129); su *L. Acilius Strabo*, noto da più fistule nella zona flegrea, cfr. anche Puteoli 3 (1979) 160 sgg. n. 4. – P. 84 n. 180: altri *M. Albii* ricorrono in NSc 1911, 145 sgg. (Interamna Lirenas), Ausonia 6 (1911) 85 (Minturnae), NSc 1910, 284 sgg. (Sora); sugli *Albii* del Lazio cfr. anche G. Paci, in: Atti Convegno Intern. su Albio Tibullo [1984], Roma 1986, 275 sgg. – P. 85: cfr. anche *M. Hortensius Eutyclus* da Neapolis (NSc 1893, 522; Leiwo, Neapolitana 112). – P. 85-86: a prima vista sembrerebbe che il prenome *Aulus* appaia con *Domitius* anche in NSc 1887, 563 da Pompei (bollo: PRISCI A F / DOMITI), ma in realtà Priscus sarà stato schiavo di Cn. Domitius Afer (cos.suff. 39), cfr. CIL X, 8048,16. – P. 87-88: Rustii si conoscono anche da Centuripae (Siculorum Gymnasium 3 [1949] 97 n. 4, Epigraphica 51 [1989] 166 sg n. 30); cfr. anche CIL I<sup>2</sup> 2687 da Minturnae. – P. 88: la combinazione *C. Sabidius* anche in Forma Italiae I,14: Misenum, 160 n. 180.

Dopo un breve profilo di *res municipales* (p. 99-110: costituzione e istituzioni locali, culti e sacerdoti, condizioni sociali e vita privata, vita vissuta ed aree sepolcrali) segue il catalogo delle iscrizioni termitane (1-188). N. 4: da notare che il Gualtherus trascrive IVL nella quarta linea, cosa che potrebbe far pensare che la dedica fosse posteriore al 14 d.C. (... *Iuliae Augustae, matri Imp. Caes. Aug.f./divi Aug.f. Augusti*; l'integrazione *Liv[iae deae]* di G. Manganaro, ANRW 1988, 48 sembra da escludere); d'altro canto, non risulta che Augusto fosse ancora *divus*. – N. 7: Maesia Fabia Titiana *c.f.* è anche in Raepsaet-Charlier, PFOS n. 515; cfr. inoltre AE 1990, 129 da ager Tusculanus, che ricorda Maesia Titiana *c.p.* – N. 8: cfr. anche MAAR 36 (1980) 111 da Panormus: *P. Ac.* (bollo), ma non è detto che sia *Acilius*. – N. 10: il titolo di *consularis* per le donne, anche se attestato solo per la prima metà del III sec. d.C., sarà stato in uso già alla fine del II, come l'equivalente greco ὑπατική (cfr., da ultimo, A. Arjava, Tyche 6 [1991] 29 sgg.). – N. 11: l'uso del nome greco *Clymene* non significa che la donna stessa fosse greca. – Nn. 13-14: registrato ora in S. Demougin, Prosopographie des chevaliers romains julio-claudiens (1992) n. 50. – N. 15: interessante la presenza del patronimico *Sp.f.* nel nome di un notevole locale: l'iscrizione non sembra anteriore alla seconda metà del I sec. d.C. – N. 16: Demougin, Prosopographie n. 46. – N. 17: la lettura *Ticiniana* della Bivona è senz'altro preferibile a quella del Manganaro (*Liciniana*). – N. 18: *pub(lica)*. – N. 37: *Acellius* anche in EE VIII 892 (Sora). – N. 40: *Soter* forse anche in Epigraphica 51 (1989) 171 sg nn. 38-39 (Catina). – N. 42: Sul gentilizio cfr. anche Sicilia archeologica 24-25 (anno VII, 1974) 49 (Panormus, bollo). – N. 44: Che il cognome *Asiaticus* del figlio indichi origine microasiatica per il padre è possibile, ma non "assai probabile". – N. 50: la combinazione *M. Antonius* ricorre anche in Messana (MonAnt 24 [1917] col. 162: *M. Ἀντώνιος Σκόρπος Κορίνθιος*). – N. 74: altri *Clodii* in Sicilia: NSc 1913, 264 (Syracusae, bollo; cfr. anche NSc 1889, 387), Epigraphica 51 (1989) 186 n. 71 (Henna). – N. 76: la lettura della linea 1 sembra problematica. Anche l'abbreviazione *S.* per *Sextus*, benché se ne trovino alcuni confronti (Salomies, Vornamen 49 n. 98), sarebbe assai insolita. Il cognome del liberto è il greco *Colax* (non *Colax[-/-]*). Altrettanto difficile risulta la lettura della faccia b che sembra parte di un'epigrafe

molto più recente, forse cristiana. – N. 78: *Am[emp]ta*, non *Am[em]ta*. – N. 86: sulla desinenza *-in*, cfr. anche H. Solin, *Arctos* 21 (1987) 137 f. a proposito di AE 1984, 441 (Catina). – N. 96: per la *gens Fabia*, cfr. anche *ArchStorSic* n.s. 12 (1887) 300 n. 822 (Lilybaeum, bollo). – N. 109: da notare l'uso di porfirite (così il Gualtherus). Il cognome non indica necessariamente l'adozione. – N. 115: cfr. p. 74 n. 71. – N. 135: che *Brutanus* sia da ricondurre, tramite Βρυτάνι (dat.) di IGUR 336, a *Prytanis* non sembra verosimile. – N. 143: sarebbe assai strano se il defunto, liberto di una Sempronina, non portasse anche il prenome. Perciò, siccome il Gualtherus trascrisse il testo come 'C · SEMPRONIO / 7 . L . PRIMIONI / etc., sembra che il prenome di Primio fosse *Gaius*. – N. 145: *Lais* anche in NSc 1915, 216 (Catina). – N. 147: *Hil(arius)* è da escludere come scioglimento alternativo per *Hil*. – N. 153: per il cognome, cfr. anche *Epigraphica* 3 (1941) 267 n. 36 (Panhormus). – N. 159: per il gentilizio, cfr. anche NSc 1895, 500 n. 911 (Syracusae), *Epigraphica* 51 (1989) 171 sg. n. 38-39 (Catina), e forse anche *Misc. Studi Class. E. Manni* IV 1224 sg. n. 22 (Panhormus, bollo). – N. 161: Non è da escludere che il cognome *Parsianus*, che sembrerebbe un'unicum, sia in realtà *Sparsianus* (Kajanto, LC 356), la cui S iniziale si sarebbe unita con la S finale di *Volumnius*. – N. 175: *piissimo* (non *piissimo*, così nel lemma).

L'impressione generale è di un volume accuratamente elaborato, in cui tuttavia cose ovvie e generalmente note a volte si commentano in modo eccessivo. Errori di stampa e altre sviste minori si osservano, come al solito, nei nomi e nelle parole straniere (cfr. bibliografia; si noti anche che l'autrice sembra credere che il *Namenbuch* di Solin [1982] registri i nomi greci che ricorrono solo nelle iscrizioni latine urbane, piuttosto che in tutte le fonti riguardanti la città eterna). Un dettaglio tecnico: l'uso dei segni diacritici non è sempre conforme alle regole di oggi (cfr. e.g. l'iscr. n. 33).

Tutto sommato, un bel volume che diventerà un'ottimo compagno per chiunque si occupi dell'epigrafia di *Thermae Himeraeae* e di quella siciliana in generale. Peccato, però, che il suo prezzo sia così elevato.

*Mika Kajava*

MARTIN FREY: *Die römischen Terra-sigillata-Stempel aus Trier*. *Trierer Zeitschrift*, Beiheft 15. Selbstverlag des Rheinischen Landesmuseums Trier, 1993. ISSN 0934-7607, ISBN 3-923319-23-1.

M. Frey stellt hier die bisher bekannten, in Trier gefundenen 1.800 Stempel von 311 Töpfen erstmalig zusammen; er weist jedoch auf die Nichtvollständigkeit des Kataloges hin – es werden laufend neue gestempelte *Terra-sigillata*-Reste gefunden. In der auf den alphabetischen Katalog inklusive der laut Inventar vorhandenen, aber nicht mehr auffindbaren Töpferstempel folgenden Zusammenfassung geht der Autor v.a. auf die mutmaßliche chronologische Abfolge der zunächst importierten, später in Trier erstellten Stempel ein. Nach Literaturverzeichnis und Fundortregister schließt der Band mit einem Tafelteil. Eine kurze Erläuterung der in ihrer Vielfalt verwirrenden Inventarangaben wäre sicher benutzerfreundlich gewesen. Dennoch bildet diese Zusammenstellung eine wertvolle Arbeitsgrundlage für weitere Forschungen.

*Uta-Maria Liertz*

*The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, ed. by R.G. Collingwood and R.P. Wright. Volume II: *Instrumentum Domesticum*, Fascicule 6, ed. S.S. Frere and R.S.O. Tomlin with contributions from M.W.C. Hassall. Oxford 1994. 102 p., 8 pl. ISBN 0-7509-0536-0. GBP 35.00.

The new fascicule of RIB – *Instrumentum domesticum*, containing dipinti and graffiti on amphorae and mortaria as well as inscriptions in white barbotine, on coarse ware and Samian barbotine, is put at the disposal of research, in the customary reliable manner. It has been compiled by S.S. Frere with the assistance of R.S.O. Tomlin on the bases of the archives of R. Wright. The fascicule contains finds up to 1986. Apart from drawings to each inscription in the text, some important pieces are reproduced in photographs at the end of the volume. An index of sites facilitates the access to the material from a geographical point of view. Other references will be available upon completion of the volume. Nevertheless, this is a further piece of evidence for a fuller view of Roman life in Britain.

*Uta-Maria Liertz*

DAVID RIDGWAY: *The First Western Greeks*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1992. xvi, 180 p. ISBN 0-521-42164-0. GBP 32.50 (hc) / 10.95 (pb).

This important book is the 2nd, revised and up-dated, edition of the author's *L'Alba della Magna Grecia* which was published in 1984 by Longanesi & C. Milan. The primary changes have been made in chapter 1 Mycenaean prologue, chapter 2 The Euboeans at home and abroad, chapter 7 Campania, Latium vetus and Southern Etruria in the ninth and eighth centuries, and chapter 8 Etruscan epilogue. A new final section has been added called Notes for further reading. The illustrations are identical with those of the previous edition. The rest of the contents are as follows: chapter 3 Pithekoussai: an introduction, chapter 4 Pithekoussai: the cemetery in the Valle di San Montano, chapter 5 Pithekoussai: the non-funerary sites, and chapter 6 Pithekoussai: status and function. The aim of the author is "to acquaint a wider audience with an archeological project that could hardly be more revolutionary: the effective discovery and excavation of the first Greek establishment in the West". In this task he has succeeded very well.

With the new and better excavated sites our information on the Mycenaean presence in South Italy and Sicily occurring from the Middle Helladic period (16th to 15th century) to the Late Helladic IIIC period (1200-1050) has increased considerably (p. 4 ff.). It now seems to be apparent that a dominant quantity of the imported material can be dated to the LH IIIA period (1400-1300) which shows an increasing Mycenaean activity towards South Italy in general, while on the contrary in the next period LH IIIB (1300-1200) there are many changes of emphasis, as, e.g., imports to southeast Sicily decrease but those of the Aeolian islands as well as those along the Ionian coast of the modern Calabria and Basilicata increase. This stage of Mycenaean contact with Italy is in perfect harmony with the Mycenaean palace civilisation in Greece and it is contemporary also with the Mycenaean presence in Crete, the Dodecanese, Egypt, Cyprus, Anatolia and the Levant. Altogether, the excavated sites in Italy cover a Mycenaean engagement which was in existence for more than 500 years between the 16th and the 11th centuries.



The forthcoming excavations will certainly give us still more information about still existing problems concerning the indigenous inhabitants of Italy and the actual Mycenaean residents, and their real relationships with each other.

The second chapter is a significant contribution to Euboian importance in Greek and Italian history from the late 10th century onwards and it consists principally of deductions from archaeological evidence. The excavations in Eretria, Chalcis and Lefkandi seem to confirm that Euboea belonged to a loose maritime federation from the 10th century onwards which extended from Thessaly to the northern Cyclades. It could also take advantage of the existing trade routes of the Phoenician and Cypriot traders. Moreover, the new Euboian survey finds suggest extensive early use of local metal resources. Thus the new archaeological evidence from Chalcis, Eretria and especially Lefkandi allude to the existence of an economically flourishing society during the 10th and 9th centuries. This society also had useful contacts both to the West and to the East as members of the Cypro-Phoenician trade network.

In the west, Sardinia was the main centre of metal work already from the 12th century onwards and it also gives the earliest evidence of iron in the western Mediterranean. According to the recent finds the indigenous nuraghic communities were technologically far more advanced in the beginning of the first millenium than their contemporaries in Italy. This could have been one of the reasons which caused the Euboian communities to seek new connections in the West, inasmuch as they became aware that metal was easily available. Their first destination could have been Northern Etruria, an area rich with metals, and the first mutually profitable exploitation of the metal resources was then organized in Sardinia.

Many interesting details are offered to the reader in chapters 3-6 about different social aspects of Pithekoussai itself. The weakest element in this analysis seems to be the tables and figures (p. 69-77, and especially p. 101). It would have been better to leave off the percentages in the distribution of burial sites and grave goods in late Geometric I and II (= LG) (table 2., fig.17) as well as in the proportion of grave goods in LG I and II (table 3., fig 18). The same goes for the other tables, viz. the distribution of objects by burial rite (what does it mean?) in LG I and II (table 4., fig 19), the incidence of objects in graves in LG I and II (table 5, fig. 20). The meaning of the figures is difficult to understand, and the percentages are misleading since the finds are necessarily haphazard and far too small in number to be statistically relevant. Nevertheless, one is absolutely convinced that the earliest Euboians came to Pithekoussai with good technology and Levantine connections, and they can be considered as some kind of "missing link" on the route from East to West (see. p. 121). Their influence on the native cultures is certainly difficult to define, but it is evident, as R. shows, that a crucial impact was made not only in pottery but also in the know-how of metal working. It was "high technology" they could offer to the Etruscans as well as other native communities. The other item in which they might have been a sort of go-between was the transmitting of ideas, e.g., the first introduction of the Homeric Epic to the West might have happened through their intermediation. Not only the Nestor kotyle but also two *passi* at *Odyseia* (1.184; 14.305-13) suggest that along with the trade also ideas were transported.

*Martti Leiwo*

*Ancient Rome and India. Commercial and cultural contacts between the Roman world and India.* Edited by Rosa Maria Cimino. Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Rome, Italian Embassy Cultural Centre, New Delhi. Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi 1994. xviii, 264 p., 12 colour and LXXX black and white plates.

One can only regret not having been able to see the exhibition, shown in Delhi and Rome, for which this volume is a catalogue. But fortunately we have at least this catalogue. In 64 brief chapters the diversity of Indo-Roman relations is presented in a way, which, though succinct, is still often able to give new perspectives. The archaeological evidence pertaining to Indo-Roman commerce is fully surveyed without forgetting the afterlife of Western techniques and motifs in Indian art. An appendix lists separately Roman coins found in India and the *bullae* imitating them. Indian products used in Roman medicine, cuisine and cosmetics are listed in separate chapters. A number of chapters discuss Indo-Greek history and archaeology and the subsequent Gandhara art. Every chapter is furnished with a separate bibliography. The bulk is written by Dr. Cimino, a well-known scholar of Indian art history, though 18 other, Italian, French and Indian scholars have contributed. Numerous illustrations give a good idea of the exhibition and illustrate well the text. With a few exceptions their quality is very good; only the maps have suffered from excessive reduction. At worst this is seen in plate XXXIII, supposedly showing locations of the *bullae* found in India, where no such location can be actually discerned. There are many misprints, but actual errors are rare. Here it suffices to point out two. There is no reason to believe that Indo-Babylonian trade described in the Baveru- Jātaka should belong to the pre-Achaemenid period (p. 38 & 80). The famous Vienna papyrus containing a transaction *made* at Muziris was not actually *found* at Muziris, as claimed on p. 173, a place whose exact location is still unknown.

Klaus Karttunen

*Prosopographie und Sozialgeschichte. Studien zur Methodik und Erkenntnismöglichkeiten der kaiserzeitlichen Prosopographie* (Kolloquium Köln 24.-26. November 1991). Hrsg. v. Werner Eck. Böhlau Verlag, Köln Wien Weimar 1993. VII + 448 S. ISBN 3-412-04393-1. DEM 88.

Die rund zwanzig in diesem Band versammelten Beiträge wurden erstmals bei einem internationalen Kolloquium 1991 in Köln vorgetragen. Lobenswert ist, daß die Vorträge nicht einmal zwei Jahre später schon gedruckt erschienen sind. Der Veranstalter (zusammen mit Klaus Wachtel) und Herausgeber Werner Eck weist in seinem Vorwort auf den zweiten Teil des Titels hin: es sollte bei diesem Treffen wohlbekannter Forscher, mit einer Ausnahme versierter kaiserzeitlicher Prosopographen, nicht so sehr um neue Ergebnisse, sondern um methodische Fragen, um Erkenntnismöglichkeiten der sozialgeschichtlich angelegten prosopographischen Forschung gehen. (Der Beitrag der Prosopographie an der politischen Geschichte der Kaiserzeit gehörte demnach nicht zur eigentlichen Tagesordnung und wird nur im Beitrag von H. Halfmann über die Senatoren aus dem Osten gestreift.)

Es handelt sich um ein aktuelles Thema, denn in letzter Zeit wurde öfters über den Wert der prosopographischen Forschung diskutiert. Kritiker dieser Methode konnten dabei mit Recht auf Arbeiten und Forscher hinweisen, die allgemeine historische Schlüsse gezogen haben, ohne daß es ihr Material zuließ. Oder sind unberechtigte bzw. banale Schlußfolgerungen gar ein Merkmal jeglicher prosopographischer Forschung? Zu den bekanntesten Kritikern der prosopographischen Methode gehört der Cambridge Professor Keith Hopkins, dessen Teilnahme am Kolloquium mit einem provokativen Vortrag sicherlich fördernd auf die Diskussion wirkte. Man muß bedauern, daß der Vortrag nicht für die Veröffentlichung fertiggestellt wurde.

Von Seiten der Veranstalter wurde also angestrebt, die methodischen Grenzen der prosopographischen Forschung in möglichst vielseitiger Weise zu beleuchten. Deshalb wollte man sich auch nicht auf die höchsten sozialen Schichten der Kaiserzeit (Senatoren und Ritter) begrenzen, sondern hat auch die prosopographische Erforschung der munizipalen Oberschichten mit einbezogen (M. Christol über die Provinz Narbonensis, G. Di Vita-Evrard über Lepcis Magna, I. Piso über Sarmizegetusa und Apulum, G. Camodeca über Puteoli und Herculaneum). Vor allem möchte man in diesem "lokalen" Zusammenhang den Beitrag von D. Hagedorn, "Eignet sich die prosopographische Methode zur Erforschung sozialer Strukturen in den Dörfern des römischen Ägypten?" nennen, einen Beitrag, der sich bestens dem eigentlichen Thema des Kolloquiums anschließt. Laut Hagedorn sind bei der sozialgeschichtlichen Erforschung des römischen Ägyptens einzelne inhaltsreiche Papyri oft viel aussagekräftiger als die Ergebnisse von prosopographischen Untersuchungen über Einwohner auf der Lokalebene.

Unter den Gruppen der römischen "Mittelschicht" werden auch die Soldaten behandelt (S. Panciera über die Verbindungen zwischen Soldaten und Zivilisten in Rom, eine Arbeit, die das Familienleben der Soldaten betrifft; und K.-P. Johne über das Offizierskorps im 3. Jh.), während den kaiserlichen Freigelassenen kein gesonderter Vortrag gewidmet wurde.

Die Mitglieder des römischen Ritterstandes werden in zwei Beiträgen behandelt (siehe S. Demougin, "Appartenir à l'ordre équestre au II. siècle", und den Beitrag über die ritterlichen Offiziere, wofür natürlich H. Devijver zuständig ist).

Etwa die Hälfte der Beiträge behandeln den Senatorenstand, wobei sich nicht alle im besonderen Ausmaß allgemeinen methodischen Fragen zuwenden, sämtliche aber gute Beobachtungen zum jeweiligen Thema enthalten. Nur eine Auswahl kann an diesem Ort genannt werden. In einem Studium der geographischen Cognomina zeigt H. Solin überzeugend, wie wenig sog. Herkunftsnamen wie z. B. Sabinus über die geographische Herkunft ihres Trägers auszusagen vermögen. O. Salomies zeigt in einem wichtigen und ebenfalls methodisch wohlabgewogenen Aufsatz, daß die Gentilizien in den Provinzen nur wenig Informationen über die Tätigkeit römischer Amtsträger beim Verleihen des Bürgerrechts vermitteln, obwohl oft das Gegenteil angenommen wird. Ein weiterer lesenswerter Beitrag stammt von J. Scheid, der kritisch die Möglichkeiten in Augenschein nimmt, den Wert der verschiedenen Priesterkollegien auf Grund von (lückenhaften!) prosopographischen Zusammenstellungen abzuschätzen.

Eine positivere Rolle wird der Prosopographie von E. Champlin zugemessen, wenn es nämlich darum geht, den Grundbesitz in Italien während der Kaiserzeit auf Grund von mittelalterlichen Dokumenten festzustellen. Es sieht so aus, als ob viele Topo-

nyme, die über Jahrhunderte oder sogar noch länger unverändert blieben, auf römische Senatoren zurückgehen würden. Positiv wertet auch G. Alföldy die Tragweite der prosopographischen Forschung auf der sozialhistorischen Ebene, was nicht verwundern kann, denn Alföldy behandelt die Zeit von Mark Aurel, für welche unsere Quellen besonders ergiebig sind. P. Leunissen behandelt in seinem Beitrag die *homines novi* und die Ergänzungen des Senats, ohne die methodischen Probleme zu verschweigen.

"Last but not least" sei der abschließende Beitrag von Werner Eck genannt, wo in musterhafter Weise mit einigen Beispielen gezeigt wird, wie prosopographisches Material methodisch durchzuarbeiten ist, ehe es für die historische Forschung voll verwertbar ist.

Zusammenfassend kann festgestellt werden, daß der vorliegende Band für die prosopographische Forschung wegen der Vielfalt seines Inhalts zweifelsohne äußerst wertvoll sein wird. Aber wie dieser Band die Grenzen und Möglichkeiten der prosopographischen Methode zeigt, so zeigt er vielleicht auch die Grenzen der Möglichkeiten, die ein Veranstalter eines Kolloquiums hat, wenn es darum geht, die Teilnehmer auf ein bestimmtes Thema hin auszurichten.

*Christer Bruun*

RICHARD P. SALLER: *Patriarchy, property and death in the Roman family*. Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time 25. Cambridge UP 1994. ISBN 0-521-32603-6. 249 p. GBP 35.00.

This book integrates a number of studies on the Roman family which the author has during the past decade published in various periodicals and collections of essays. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that they provide a basis for most recent research done in this domain. The book perhaps does not offer radical novelties to those who are already familiar with Saller's work, but it is convenient to have the essays gathered together from dispersed sources, which may be difficult to obtain. Moreover, they have been brought up to date and more or less rewritten to answer criticisms. For anyone who is not yet acquainted with this field Saller's book will be an indispensable guide to ancient demography and the transmission of property within the Roman family.

The book begins with a very readable account of the use of model life tables to produce a computer simulation of the Roman population (or rather some alternative simulations, given the speculative character of the demographic parameters). The simulation suggests among other things that of all Romans aged twenty about one half would have had a living father and only one in a hundred a living paternal grandfather. All this had naturally far-reaching repercussions on Roman society as a whole. For example, the extensive powers of the Roman *paterfamilias* are seen in better perspective. Saller also points out that roughly one third of property-owning males would have been still under guardianship (*tutela* or *cura*), and much of the existing capital in the Roman empire would thus have been subject to laws which discouraged investment and dynamic economic activity. One might have liked to hear an enlightened guess about the proportion of property owned by females (a question neglected e.g. on p. 203), given the author's extensive and very useful discussion of inheritance practices and the size of dowries.

As usual, "the Roman family" is not taken beyond AD 235, and although the Digest has been much used the Justinian Code, with all its third century material, has not. This does not diminish the book's value, but it means that something remains to be done.

*Antti Arjava*

NIKOS KOKKINOS: *Antonia Augusta. Portrait of a great Roman lady.* Foreword by Fergus Millar with illustrations by F. Vartuca. Routledge, London and New York 1992. 254 p., ill. ISBN 0-415-08029-0.

Antonia Augusta surely ranks as one of the most remarkable among Roman women known to posterity. She was the niece of Augustus, sister-in-law of Tiberius, mother of Claudius, grandmother of Caligula, and greatgrandmother of Nero. What a subject for a magnificent biography would her life provide, were scholars to have the necessary sources for such an undertaking. But alas, the surviving material is not nearly sufficient to allow a real biography (as Fergus Millar points out in his foreword), and the present work is on purpose not attempting anything like a full-scale life of Antonia.

What is known about Antonia's life is set out on pp. 6-33 (Antonia in history), while the following chapters deal at length with the various sources that refer to Antonia (except for the literary ones): Inscriptions, Papyri, Coins, Sculpture, Minor Arts, and finally Architecture (namely her house in Rome and villas, of which only the one at Bauli is thought to have been identified with any certainty, on which see below). The evidence is conveniently listed in 14 registers at the end of the book.

No sources are listed *in extenso*; instead references to standard publications are given, and in the cases of inscriptions, the portion providing Antonia's name and/or title is cited. It is a pleasant surprise to find the book so lavishly illustrated (through the efforts of Franco Vartuca), but few of the illustrations refer directly to the sources that are discussed, and indeed no attempt has been made to fully cover all the items in the six registers labelled H - M (Sculpture, Minor Arts). More important, as Kokkinos states (p. 108f.), no securely identified portrait of Antonia Augusta has come down to us. Something can be worked out with the help of her coin portraits, but doubts remain in many cases. This also means that many attempts have been made (and are still being made) at linking various portraits to Antonia. It was probably a wise decision, if one was to keep the size of the book manageable, to abstain from attempting a complete coverage of all portraits (and minor arts objects) that at some point have been referred to as Antonia.

The treatment provides much more than a mere listing of the sources: Kokkinos also discusses and interprets his material. Since Antonia was a public figure and a wealthy woman, and traces of her activities can be found in many places, this book is highly relevant for scholars in many ways.

It is no mean feat to master such a variable collection of sources, and precisely because so many skills are involved, it would be too much to ask for impeccable analysis in every case. The following comments on some epigraphic matters are intended to further a fuller understanding of the material.

The inscriptional evidence is divided in two groups: Direct sources (19 inscriptions that expressly mention Antonia), and Indirect ones (42 inscriptions that

commemorate other people and events but mention Antonia only indirectly). Among the indirect sources are, for instance, inscriptions of her freedmen and -women, who mention Antonia in their name, as in *Dis manib. Antoniae Aug(ustae) libertae Caenidis optumae patron(ae) ...* (CIL VI 12037), the epitaph of Caenis, freedwoman of Antonia Augusta.

Among the freedmen providing indirect testimony Kokkinos lists one Diadumenus Aug. l. proc. Antonianus and his son Macrinus (p. 64f.). This passage calls for some comments. The relevant source, a graffito from Posillipo dated to A.D. 65, presents these persons thus: *Macrinus Diadumeni Aug. l. proc. Antoniani disp.* (Eph. Ep. VIII 337 = Dessau 5798). The genitive is surely not an indication of paternity but of servitude. Macrinus was a *dispensator*, presumably unfree, of the imperial freedman procurator Diadumenus.

Kokkinos interprets Diadumenus *Aug(ustae) l(ibertus)* (cf. Register B no. 41), pointing to his cognomen Antonianus, and suggests that the man was procurator of Antonias villa at ancient Bauli. But this cannot be correct. *Aug.* must refer to the emperor, not to Antonias title Augusta. To be sure, Diadumenus had presumably been in Antonias possession previously – this is what the *agnomen* Antonianus would seem to indicate. But if *she* had freed him, his name would have been Antonius Antoniae l. Diadumenus. Thus there would have been no need for the agnomen Antonianus, which at this point in Roman history normally indicated the previous owner of a slave that the emperor had acquired. Diadumenus was an imperial freedman whom the emperor had acquired from Antonia (she had died in A.D. 37).

Kokkinos further argues that his case is strengthened by the fact that among slaves and freedmen known to have belonged to Antonia, we find one freedman Macrinus (CIL VI 4609, his epitaph dated to A.D. 10/37) and one Diadumenus, who was Antonia's *a manu*-secretary (CIL VI 33774, dated to A.D. 29/37 with a question mark). But no onomastic or other connection can be established between these peoples and Diadumenus and Macrinus at Bauli in A.D. 65. Antonia apparently owned the villa at Bauli which formerly had belonged to the orator Hortenius (Plin. nat. 9,172). But the graffito of Macrinus (and Diadumenus) provides no clue to its whereabouts.

These are, however, minor faults, and all in all the book provides for interesting reading on an important topic.

*Christer Bruun*

GENNARO D'ISANTO: *Capua romana. Ricerche di prosopografia e storia sociale*. Vetera 9. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 1993. 352 p. ISBN 88-7140-064-X. I.T.L. 70.000.

Questo libro, che inizia con un profilo generale della storia di Capua, una delle città più importanti dell'Italia antica, è prevalentemente una lista dei nomi gentilizi noti da Capua (p. 53-267), complessivamente ca. 400 portati da ca. 1500 persone (perciò il sottotitolo 'Ricerche di prosopografia e storia sociale' non risulta perfettamente conforme al contenuto del volume). Il catalogo principale è seguito da alcuni gentilizi acefali, le persone anonime nonché da due elenchi di cognomina. Nella "prosopografia analitica" (p. 298-315) l'autore ha messo insieme materiale di vario tipo sulla gente e la società capuana: persone note dal periodo precedente alle guerre annibaliche, funzionari pubblici e consiglieri municipali, sacerdoti, persone di origine straniera con vari interessi a Capua

(Cassius Dio, etc.), governatori di Campania attestati nelle iscrizioni capuane. Le tre ultime liste, di natura più propriamente onomastica, sono meno utili perché le considerazioni sui cognomina non risultano particolarmente remunerative e anche perché la datazione delle epigrafi rimane sovente problematica. (cfr. esp. "O. Distribuzione delle gentes per periodi"). Alcuni dei criteri di datazione presentati a p. 50-51 sono infatti equivoci, come per es. l'identità del prenome del liberto con quello del patrono (p. 50; cfr. anche un'iscrizione collocata nel I sec. a.C. "per presenza del prenome e della tribù", p. 59 n. 15,1; cfr. inoltre p. 70 n. 34,2), omissione dell'indicazione di *libertus/a*, impaginazione trascurata dell'epigrafe.

L'importanza del libro sta ovviamente nel produrre un catalogo ben organizzato del materiale onomastico ed epigrafico capuano. Sarebbe infatti estremamente difficile creare un quadro attendibile della società capuana senza una ricerca completa e sistematica di tutte le fonti disponibili. La raccolta e la riorganizzazione del materiale, assai variegato, che ammonta a quasi 1100 iscrizioni, è in se e per se un lavoro ammirabile.

Non entrerò qui in dettagli (una recensione più sostanziale del libro sarà pubblicata in *L'antiquité classique*, Bruxelles); mi fermo soltanto su un aspetto metodologico: perché alcuni numeri sono forniti di dati sulla diffusione geografica dei gentilizi, mentre altri non lo sono? Il criterio della scelta ("sono incluse notizie sulle *gentes* che, in base al materiale disponibile, apparissero di rilevante importanza politica, economica e sociale o avessero un notevole numero di attestazioni a Capua", p. 49) risulta alquanto problematico e inoltre non viene seguito costantemente. Alcuni gentilizi molto diffusi non meriterebbero di essere commentati in maniera così dettagliata come lo sono qui.

*Mika Kajava*

GIAN LUCA GREGORI: *Brescia romana. Ricerche di prosopografia e storia sociale I. I documenti*. Vetera ricerche di storia epigrafia e antichità 7, a cura di Silvio Panciera. Casa Editrice Quasar, Roma 1990. ISBN 88-7140-028-3. 299 p. ITL 70.000.

Nei tre volumi delle *Inscriptiones Italiae X,V* di A. Garzetti sono stati pubblicati più di 1.300 testi provenienti dalla città romana di *Brixia* (Brescia). Questi testi, insieme a tutte le altre fonti che citano persone provenienti da *Brixia*, costituiscono la materia base per il presente volume.

Malgrado alcuni lavori su vari gruppi sociali della Brescia romana, secondo l'autore manca ancora una storia integrale basata su una raccolta di tutta la documentazione disponibile, come si è invece fatto per alcune altre città della Cisalpina, ad es. per *Ticinum* (E. Gabba) o *Vicetia* (L. Cracco Ruggini). L'obiettivo dell'autore si articola in due fasi. Nel presente volume sono raccolti tutti i c. 2.100 personaggi documentati, mentre in un volume futuro si prevede la sintesi storica (composizione della popolazione, distribuzione nel territorio, la fortuna delle varie famiglie, ecc.).

Dopo una breve introduzione storica (p. 15-25) ha inizio la sezione prosopografica. I personaggi sono presentati in cinque gruppi, una divisione che rispecchia soltanto le nostre conoscenze dei loro nomi, ma non intende raggrupparli secondo categorie sociali: A. personaggi con gentilizio, B. personaggi con gentilizio frammentario (e cioè anche loro sicuramente liberi), C. personaggi noti solo con il *cognomen* (in questo gruppo si trovano sia schiavi che ingenui e addirittura qualche senatore), D. i *peregrini*, E. ano-

nimi (in tutto 20 personaggi, sui quali si ha comunque qualche altra informazione). Questa parte comprende le pp. 29-271. Alla fine segue un centinaio di note critiche con aggiunte o interpretazioni nuove. Un'ampia bibliografia conclude il volume, mentre non ci sono indici (ovviamente previsti per il secondo volume).

Nella parte prosopografica, l'autore presenta i personaggi della parte A. raggruppati per nome gentilizio in ordine alfabetico. Ogni personaggio ha ricevuto un numero secondo un sistema facilmente comprensibile (p. 29); così è stato possibile indicare i vari rapporti (parentela, apparizione nell'iscrizione insieme ad altre persone, ecc.) esistenti fra i personaggi senza ripetere nomi o citare iscrizioni. Le iscrizioni che forniscono il materiale per la prosopografia infatti non sono mai citate interamente. Qualche lettore potrebbe rammaricarsi di questo fatto, ma dall'altra parte, data la natura dell'opera, non avrebbe senso riprodurre una grande parte del corpus di Garzetti.

I personaggi con gentilizio costituiscono di gran lunga la maggior parte, mentre i personaggi con gentilizio incerto sono 132, quelli conosciuti solo con *cognomen* sono 334, e 194 i *peregrini*. A *Brixia* appaiono 322 gentilizi diversi; quelli attestati più frequentemente sono Valerius (110 personaggi), Cornelius (98), Quinctius/Quintius (43), Aurelius (37), Clodius (36), Postumius (32), Publicius (32), Postumius (32), Caecilius (30), e Nonius (28).

Molto meno frequenti i gentilizi imperiali dell'alto impero (Claudius con 27 attestazioni è quello più frequente), e in linea con questo sembra che manchino i liberti imperiali a Brescia. Numerosi sono invece i militari di varie unità.

Ma queste sono solo osservazioni sparse; ovviamente tocca ora all'autore. Chiunque abbia lavorato con grandi raccolte epigrafiche saprà apprezzare gli sforzi dell'autore. Ci è voluta una grande mole di lavoro per effettuare questa sistematica divisione delle fonti per Brescia romana. Tanto spesso un'iscrizione, e non soltanto se è frammentaria, richiede un lungo studio prima che il contenuto si lasci sistematizzare come l'ha fatto il Gregori. Si augura all'autore che la pubblicazione del secondo volume contenente le conclusioni segua il più presto possibile.

*Christer Bruun*

ROGER S. BAGNALL & BRUCE W. FRIER: *The demography of Roman Egypt*. Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time 23. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1994. xix, 354 p. ISBN 0-521-46123-5. GBP 35.00.

It is perplexing how little we still know about the population of the Roman Empire, its age composition, marriage customs, fertility and mortality. This invaluable book, written by a renowned papyrologist together with an expert in historical demographics, is a great leap forward. It utilizes the c. 300 extant census declarations from Roman Egypt (first to third centuries AD), but it is much more than a simple update of Hombert and Préaux's 1952 work on the same topic. All the material has been critically reviewed, statistically analysed and attractively discussed. The main part of the book is followed by a long commented catalogue of the individual declarations.

Although the census returns provide us with the largest statistically usable collection of demographic information in the ancient world, the sample is still quite small. This leads to a number of problems, which the authors clearly recognize and



attempt to solve. For example, the metropoleis are better represented than the villages, although far more people lived in the latter. Since the urban and the rural population seem to have differed demographically, the authors have weighted the sample towards the villages to achieve a more reliable picture of the whole. They are often compelled to manipulate the data in other ways, too, to remove various sorts of distortions. The adjusted curves are likely to be much nearer to the truth than the "bare" facts, but one is struck by the frequency with which such procedures are needed. This serves to highlight the dangers of trying to interpret a limited sample like this (see e.g. Fig. 6.1 on female ages at marriage). To avoid the pitfalls, one should not view only the figures. Fortunately, it suffices to read the text carefully, as the authors constantly express their caveats and tell how they have used the material. The book is absolutely essential reading for anyone who is interested in the ancient family, the everyday life of ancient people, and ancient populations in general.

*Antti Arjava*

*A Passion for Antiquities. Ancient Art from the Collection of Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman.* The J. Paul Getty Museum in association with The Cleveland Museum of Art. Malibu, CA 1994. 358 pp. ISBN 0-89236-223-5.

The collection of Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman of New York is one of the most important private collections of ancient Greek and Roman art in the United States and among the most important in the world. Composed of approximately three hundred objects from the Bronze Age to Late Antiquity, it includes bronze statuettes, marble sculpture, inscriptions (both Greek and Latin, and in addition, Etruscan), vases, jewelry, lamps and candelabra, keys, weights, and silver bowls and utensils. The publication has been carried out by a large team of specialists, and among the authors of the introductory essays figure names such as Oliver Taplin. I end by pointing out two details. On pp. 336-338 M. L. Anderson publishes a grave relief followed by the inscription *P. Curtilius P. l. Agat[ho] faber argentarius*, as should be read (not *Paulus (!) Curtilius Placatus*, as the editor reads it). On p. 317 the man cannot be an Aurelius Valerius, but Aurelius Falerus.

*Heikki Solin*

FRANCESCO TOMASELLO: *L'acquedotto romano e la Necropoli presso l'Istmo.* Missione Archeologica Italiana di Iasos II. *Archaeologica* 95. Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, Roma 1991. Pp. IX, 242, tavv. XXXIII f.t. ISBN 88-7689-066-1. ITL 650.000.

Procede la pubblicazione dei risultati della missione archeologica italiana di Iasos. I rapporti tra la città di Iasos ed il suo immediato entroterra rimangono alquanto oscuri. Per chiarire questioni connesse con questi rapporti, l'a. presenta da una parte una nuova edizione dell'acquedotto romano di Iasos, dall'altra i risultati di una ricognizione della necropoli a camere presso l'Istmo. Sia dell'acquedotto sia della necropoli molti particolari erano noti già da tempi lontani (ricordo solo che nella pianta pubblicata nel 1890 da Walter Judeich, c'è già un accenno all'acquedotto). Ma soltanto con questo libro

hanno ricevuto una trattazione adeguata. Ci auguriamo che la pubblicazione di altri reperti della missione italiana continui con celerità.

*Heikki Solin*

*Aphrodisias*. Results of the Excavations at Aphrodisias in Caria / New York University, Institute of Fine Arts. Vol. I: R.R.R. Smith: *The Monument of C. Julius Zoilos*. With figure drawings by C.H. Hallett. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 1993. X, 68 p., 33 plates. ISBN 3-8053-1448-5.

C. Iulius Zoilus, Octavian's freedman, was one of the stout Caesarians, commanders and magistrates, *soteres* and benefactors, who were active in the Greek towns of Asia Minor towards the end of the Republic. Agent of Octavian from the late 40s (and before him probably in Caesar's service), he became a major benefactor to his home-town Aphrodisias, as is shown by epigraphic evidence, including a letter of Octavian from 39/38 B.C. He held important priesthoods and was *stephanephoros* for ten consecutive years. At least two public statues were given to him, but he is especially known as the recipient of a remarkable heroon monument, the principal object of this study. This square mausoleum itself is not preserved, but its architecture can be approximately reconstructed on the basis of a number of surviving frieze panels which were found in 1956 and succeeding years. The panels are identified by inscriptions, and arranged in a numbered sequence up to at least eighteen.

Zoilus himself is represented in the frieze in the company of various personifications and deities: Aion, Andreia, Arete, Demos, Mneme, Pistis, Polis, Roma, and Time. The frieze, which is of unusually high quality, stands somewhere between late Republican Hellenism and the Ara Pacis. Culturally it belongs to both the Hellenistic East and to the Roman West. The series of allegorical scenes are accompanied by traditional Greek ideas as well as typically Roman virtues such as Loyalty and military Valour, and Zoilus also appears as a togate citizen in the presence of the goddess Roma.

The programme of the frieze is thoroughly discussed, as are the personifications, their sources and style. The author also introduces a parallel case from Glanum, namely the contemporary Monument of the Julii. One of the major suggestions in Smith's book is that "the sober marriage of late classical figure style and Roman subject matter that characterizes much of Augustan art was already under way early in the reign." (p. 66). The book concludes with a number of excellent illustrations.

*Mika Kajava*

FERDINANDO CASTAGNOLI: *Topografia antica. Un metodo di studio. I: Roma, II: Italia*. Università degli Studi di Roma «La Sapienza», Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, Roma 1993. XVI, 1116 p. ISBN 88-240-0394-X. I.T.L. 230.000.

La raccolta, uscita postuma, dei principali lavori "minori" di Ferdinando Castagnoli dimostra, se ancora ce ne fosse bisogno, l'importanza dell'attività pluridecennale dell'illustre ricercatore di topografia d'ambito romano e italiano (soprattutto lavinate). Sembra decisamente fuori luogo recensire qui vari articoli, tanto sono diventati lavori

classici ed indispensabili per ogni addetto ai lavori in questo campo. Anche se magari alcune opinioni appaiono superate con l'evolversi degli studi e delle nuove scoperte, rappresentano una tappa importante nello sviluppo della disciplina e continuano a formare un costante punto di riferimento. Per verificare ciò, basterà dare un'occhiata ai riferimenti bibliografici contenuti nel nuovo *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*. Oltre all'interpretazione di dati, un aspetto pregevole di questi scritti viene sottolineato dal sottotitolo: l'eredità del prof. Castagnoli consiste anche nel chiaro e rigoroso metodo che prende in simultanea considerazione tutti i tipi di documentazione.

*Jaakko Aronen*

EDOARDO TORTORICI: *Argiletum. Commercio, speculazione edilizia e lotta politica, dall'analisi topografica di un quartiere di Roma di età repubblicana*. Bull. Comm. Arch. Com. di Roma, Supplementi 1. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1991. Pp. 128, 2 piante f. t. ISBN 88-7062-668-7. ITL 150.000.

Per *Argiletum* si intende generalmente la strada che metteva in comunicazione il Foro Romano con il popoloso quartiere della Subura; è un'interpretazione che risale al Lanciani. La recente ipotesi del Tortorici invece tenderebbe a considerare il toponimo *Argiletum* come denominazione non soltanto del tracciato viario tra il Foro e la Subura, ma piuttosto dell'intero quartiere che in età repubblicana sorse e si sviluppò su tutta la valle a NE del Foro Romano. Queste sue ipotesi Tortorici ora le espone in un bel volume, stampato su carta lussuosa e corredato di fotografie di alta qualità. Il volume stesso è costituito da tre parti; nella prima si offre un'analisi dei dati topografici, nella seconda un elenco delle fonti letterarie, e nella terza si discute di programmi edilizi, lotta politica e programmi culturali. Nel complesso, lo trovo un'opera buona e piena di spunti interessanti.

*Heikki Solin*

*Dives Anagnia. Archeologia nella Valle del Sacco*. (Esposizione ad Anagni, 30/5 – 30/6/1993.) "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1993. Pp. 129. ISBN 88-7062-828-0. ITL 80.000.

Il libro, che trae il suo nome da un passo del settimo libro dell'Eneide, è il catalogo di una mostra inaugurata il 30 maggio 1993 nel Palazzo Comunale di Anagni. Nella mostra furono esibiti ricchi materiali che vanno dalla preistoria alla tarda antichità. Si comincia con il Paleolitico (i cui ritrovamenti sono nell'Anagnino particolarmente legati a Italo Biddittu), si prosegue con i materiali da sepolture eneolitiche. In seguito ci si avvicina ai tempi storici ed all'epoca della formazione dell'etnia ernica. Apprendiamo molte cose interessanti, ad es. dai frammenti di ceramica (a mo' d'esempio, a p. 71) si presenta un frammento di impasto con iscrizione arcaica etrusca o latina). Un posto speciale va attribuito al santuario di S. Cecilia per le indagini svolte dalla Soprintendenza Archeologica del Lazio (noto solo lo splendido sostegno a zampa ferina, accompagnato superiormente da una placca quadrangolare, nella quale è raffigurato un giovane nudo nello schema della corsa in ginocchio: p. 96 sg.). Anche il capitolo dedicato a teste votive offre

delle novità. Le poche pagine concernenti l'Anagnina romana propriamente detta sono invece meno sensazionali; si pubblicano, tra l'altro, alcune iscrizioni (ma ad Anagni resta ancora una quantità di epigrafi inedite che saranno da noi rese pubbliche). A p. 121 sg. viene trattata la difficile iscrizione CIL X 5939, la cui interpretazione, nonostante i lodevoli sforzi dell'autrice M. Granino Cecere, resta assai incerta (due quisquiglie: alla r. 6 si legga FIIIAE e solo s'intenda *filiae*; i segni diacritici nell'ultima r. sono messi a torto). Interessante è l'iscrizione dei Satrii, letta e spiegata dall'a. bene in grandi linee (ma non si può trattare di un vigile; e *arbitratu* compare spessissimo riferito a più persone). Infine nell'iscrizione di Pontia Pyrallis (p. 121) si legga nell'ultima linea *matris*, non *matri*.

*Heikki Solin*

*Lungo le tracce dell'Appia: Sessa Aurunca e Capua, due città di cultura.* Collana Aurunca 5. Caramanica Editore, Minturno 1993. Pp. 182. ISBN 88-86261-02-0. ITL 80.000.

*Formianum. Atti del Convegno di Studi sull'antico territorio di Formia, 1993.* Archeoclub d'Italia. Caramanica Editore, Marina di Minturno 1994. Pp. 111. ISBN 88-86261-11-x. ITL 30.000.

GIAMPIERO DI MARCO, *Sessa e il suo territorio tra medioevo ed età moderna.* Liris saggi 1. Caramanica Editore, Marina di Minturno 1995. Pp. 224. ISBN 88-86261-17-9. ITL 30.000.

ANGELO NICOSIA: *Il Lazio meridionale tra antichità e medioevo.* Liris saggi 2. Caramanica Editore, Marina di Minturno 1995. Pp. 174. ISBN 88-86261-12-8. ITL 25.000.

ANTONIO MARCELLO VILLUCCI: *Sessa Aurunca. Storia ed arte.* Liris saggi 4. Caramanica Editore, Marina di Minturno 1995. Pp. 126. ISBN 88-86261-15-2. ITL 20.000.

Il benemerito Editore Caramanica di Minturno ha pubblicato, nel corso di questi ultimi anni, parecchi libri di grande interesse storico ed alto livello professionale. Prima vorrei ricordare la nuova collana Liris, diretta da Aldo Di Biasio, di cui finora sono usciti quattro volumi (ma non abbiamo ricevuto il terzo). Due dei volumi tratto di Sessa Aurunca, e chi conosce i nomi degli autori, può essere certo dell'interesse ed importanza dei volumi. Il volume di Angelo Nicosia sul Lazio meridionale è frutto di un'esperienza decennale con i problemi storici della sua terra: opera encomiabile. L'Archeoclub di Formia organizzava un colloquio su studi di Formia antica, ed ora ecco gli Atti del colloquio pubblicati. Già i nomi quali Gasperini e Di Biasio ne assicurano alto livello professionale. Il volume 'Lungo le tracce dell'Appia' è di contenuto forse un poco di più leggero, ma non per questo meno interessante. Ci auguriamo all'Editore ulteriore successo nel non facile compito di divulgare il patrimonio storico locale per essere meglio assimilato tra il colto pubblico ausonio.

*Heikki Solin*

LUCIANA JACOBELLI: *Le pitture erotiche delle terme Suburbane di Pompei*. Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali. Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei. Monographie 10. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider 1995. 132 p. 73 ill. IX tav. ITL 150.000.

Le Terme Suburbane, costruite nel primo secolo d.C e che sorgono nella zona sud-occidentale di Pompei, subito fuori Porta Marina, sono state senza dubbio fin qui le più sconosciute di Pompei. Nemmeno la stampa aggiornata della Guida Archeologica di Pompei (1994) ne sa dire molto. Questa lacuna viene colmata ora da due studi di Luciana Jacobelli, archeologa napoletana. Il primo è il presente volume sulle pitture erotiche scoperte nello spogliatoio (apodyterium) delle Terme cui seguirà più tardi uno studio archeologico sulle Terme stesse.

Lo scavo sistematico delle Terme Suburbane fu iniziato già nel 1985 e fu portato a termine nel 1988. La sorpresa degli archeologici non fu piccola quando trovarono otto scene erotiche sulla zona superiore della parete sud dello spogliatoio. Le pitture, però, non decorano tutta la zona, ma solo il lato sinistro. Rappresentano diversi atti sessuali p.e. fellatio, cunnilingus, symplegma. L'ultima scena è la più misteriosa: rappresenta un uomo nudo ritto davanti ad un tavolo, fra le mani una pergamena arrotolata. Ha una malformazione ai testicoli, notevolmente ingrossati. Fu proprio questa scena a suggerire a Jacobelli che nonostante la similitudine con le famose pitture del lupanare in questo caso non si trattava di un nuovo lupanare ma di un gioco e di umorismo sessuale.

Lo scopo primario dello studio della dottoressa Jacobelli non è soltanto di descrivere e documentare le pitture (il che fa minuziosamente) ma cerca di tracciare il significato e l'intento dei quadri. Sembra che abbia trovato la risposta. Osserva, infatti, che sotto ogni pittura c'è un elemento rettangolare, una "scatola" che sembra essere posta su una lunga mensola gialla. Le scatole sono numerate da 1 a 8. Jacobelli propone che le scatole potessero essere vere e proprie scatole di legno e che esistesse una correlazione specifica tra esse e le scene erotiche: la scatola serviva a depositare gli indumenti dei bagnanti che ricevevano il gettone ma era più facile ricordare la figura erotica sul muro. L'interpretazione di Jacobelli è ben formata e convincente. Tratta con abilità il difficile tema e cerca di trovare materiale di sostegno nella contemporanea letteratura romana.

Il volume è munito di figure e tavole e di tre appendici che trattano di argomenti importanti per capire l'interpretazione di Jacobelli: l'arredo dell'apodyterium, il piano superiore delle Terme Suburbane e note sulla diagnosi e l'individuazione dell'idrocele dall'età antica all'età moderna (l'uomo nudo sopramenzionato era affetto proprio da questa malattia).

*Liisa Savunen*

GIOVANNANGELO CAMPOREALE, *La Collezione C. A. Impasti e bucheri I*. Archaeologica 101. Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, Roma 1991. Pp. 167 + CXIII tavv. ISBN 88-7689-070-x. ITL 550.000.

Il noto archeologo ed etruscologo Giovanni Camporeale pubblica qui una collezione privata che si conserva a Ginevra. I suoi pezzi ammontano ad alcune centinaia e, salvo poche eccezioni, sono tutti vasi di impasto e di bucchero di fabbriche etrusche ed italiche. L'autore ha scelto per il presente volume, corredato da un'appendice di eccellenti

fotografie, 161 pezzi, un terzo circa dell'intera collezione. Un secondo volume in preparazione verrà a concludere lo studio della collezione C. A., per molti versi di eccezionale qualità. I pezzi sono di provenienza sconosciuta, salvo il n. 104 da Orvieto. Oltre all'analisi approfondita dei singoli pezzi, il volume offre importanti dati tipologici sia per gli impasti sia per i bucheri; l'autore, con la sua ben nota erudizione, tenta di proporre, in base all'analisi tipologica, delle identificazioni convincenti. Restiamo ad aspettare con ansia il secondo volume.

*Heikki Solin*

ANTONELLA PAUTASSO: *Il deposito votivo presso la porta Nord a Vulci*. Corpus delle stipi votive in Italia VII; *Archaeologica* 107. Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, Roma 1994. Pp. 120, tavv. 51. ISBN 88-7689-101-3. ITL 400.000.

Procede la pubblicazione del corpus delle stipi votive in Italia. In questo volume viene pubblicata, per la prima volta interamente, la stipe votiva della porta Nord di Vulci rinvenuta nel 1956 nel corso di un'esplorazione archeologica dell'area urbana. Il reperto consta di teste, bambini in fasce, piccole terrecotte figurate, statue di bambini accovacciati, modellini architettonici, statue, votivi anatomici e terrecotte architettoniche. Il catalogo è condotto con criteri ben ripensati e corredato da ottime fotografie.

*Heikki Solin*

*Sulle rive della memoria. Il lago Fucino e il suo Emissario*. A cura di Ezio Burri con la collaborazione di Adele Campanelli. CARSA Edizioni, Pescara 1994. Pp. 320, 324 figg., 13 piante f. t. ISBN 88-85854-20-6. ITL 200.000.

Ecco un'importante opera, splendidamente pubblicata e illustrata. Ai lettori di questa rivista saranno di particolare interesse i contributi concernenti l'epoca romana: del capitolo III (Aspetti storici del bacino del Fucino: il lago, le popolazioni residenti, l'esigenza del prosciugamento) i contributi di A. Campanelli (Dagli insediamenti sparsi alle città: il comprensorio fucense in età romana), di C. Morelli (Miti, culti e luoghi sacri: il periodo ellenistico e romano), di D. Mancinelli – G. Gruppioni (Le antiche popolazioni del Fucino), nonché tutto il cap. IV dedicato all'emissario romano; tra i suoi contributi spicca il primo, quello di C. Letta, "Rileggendo le fonti antiche sul Fucino" con ottime interpretazioni di passi letterari ed epigrafici. Tutto sommato, un libro molto ben riuscito che contribuirà a rendere più accessibile al colto pubblico questi problemi spesso complicati e difficili.

*Heikki Solin*

LUCIANO BOSIO: *Le strade romane della Venetia e dell'Histria*. Il mito e la storia, Ser. magg. 4. Editoriale Programma, Padova 1991. Pp. 283. ISBN 88-7123-020-9. ITL 78.000.

Dopo la pubblicazione, nel 1986, de "I miliari della Venetia romana" di P. Basso, ecco uscire questo magnifico volume di Luciano Bosio sulle principali vie di comunica-

zione nell'Italia settentrionale e più precisamente nella X regio augustea, più tardi chiamata *Venetia et Histria*. Un ottimo libro nel quale sono raccolte le notizie da fonti letterarie, connesse con i resti della rete viaria. L'a. descrive infatti il percorso delle strade appoggiandosi molto a fonti letterarie. Di ottima qualità l'illustrazione fotografica, riuscite le vedute aeree che consentono di capire meglio l'importanza delle strade nell'organizzazione spaziale delle zone urbane e anche rustiche antiche.

*Heikki Solin*

LUIGI BERNABÒ-BREA & MADELEINE CAVALIER: *Meligunìs Lipára V: Scavi nella necropoli greca di Lipari*. Pubblicazioni del Museo Eoliano di Lipari. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1991. Pp. XXXVI, 192, tavv. CLXXXVIII. ISBN 88-7062-709-8. ITL 450.000.

Ecco la pubblicazione dei risultati di quattro campagne di scavo nella necropoli greca di Lipari tra il 1981 e il 1985, e che quindi sono stati presentati al mondo scientifico con un'encomiabile celerità e con un'impeccabile qualità scientifica. Le tombe ed i loro corredi vengono analizzati con grande cura, gli oggetti riprodotti in fotografie. Il materiale è ricco e vario, non mancano neanche iscrizioni, sia iscrizioni su vasi che epitafi, anche dell'età romana (si tratta dunque di riutilizzi). Nel volume stampato con eleganza e cura sono rimaste alcune sviste. Nell'indice non è contenuto l'indice delle cose notevoli, messo stranamente all'inizio del libro, e l'introduzione non comincia a pag. XXVII, bensì a pag. XXXV.

*Heikki Solin*

*Lixus. Actes du colloque ... Larache, 8-11 nov. 1989*. Collection de l'École française de Rome 166. École française de Rome, Rome 1992. 420 pp. ISBN 2-7823-0266-9. ITL 200.000.

La publication des Actes d'un colloque tenu à Larache en 1989 met à jour nos connaissances sur Lixus ou Lixos antique, une cité importante de la côte atlantique du Maroc. Le volume comporte 37 contributions dont plusieurs peuvent être dites définitives (comme celles sur la céramique), tandis que d'autres articles offrent une idée claire sur l'état actuel de l'archéologie de Lixus et du Maroc. Au total, une œuvre de première importance qui fait le point des problèmes archéologiques et historiques et nous fait mieux comprendre la nature des rapports qui se sont développés entre la côte marocaine de l'Atlantique et celle de la Méditerranée.

*Heikki Solin*

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