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"Filthy Manichees"

Neil Adkin

Towards the end of his Libellus de virginitate servanda (epist. 22)[1] Jerome affirms that all the virgin's exertions are only valid if they take place within the church. The virginity of the heretic on the other hand is worthless. Here Jerome expresses himself in the following terms: *ceterum virgines, quales apud diversas hereses et quales apud impurissimum Manicheum esse dicuntur, scorta sunt aestimanda, non virgines* (38,7).[2]

It would seem that here we have a good example of the peculiar talent for coarse abuse which resulted from Jerome's unusually violent and

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1 Citation of Latin works follows the method of Thesaurus Linguae Latinae: Index Librorum Scriptorum Inscriptionum, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1990. For Latin Fathers the editions used are those given in H. J. Frede, Kirchenschriftsteller: Verzeichnis und Sigel, Freiburg 1981 (Vetus Latina 1/1), and in the same author's Kirchenschriftsteller: Aktualisierungsheft 1984, Freiburg 1984 (Vetus Latina 1/lA), and Kirchenschriftsteller: Aktualisierungsheft 1988, Freiburg 1988 (Vetus Latina 1/lB). Greek patristic works are cited according to the conventions adopted in G. W. H. Lampe, A Patristic Greek Lexicon, Oxford 1961-8, xi-xlv; the editions used are those given in M. Geerard and F. Glorie, Clavis Patrum Graecorum, I-V, Turnhout 1974-87.

2 Jerome's phraseology in the first half of the sentence (*apud diversas hereses et...apud inpurissimum Manicheum*) reflects a general tendency to distinguish Manichees from other heretics in this period; cf. (e. g.) Ambrose, in psalm. 1,33,7 (*nobis, non haereticis, nobis, non Manicheis*); (?) Basil, calumn. Trin. 4 (αἱρετικῶν ἐκκλίσεις καὶ Μανιχαίων μανίαι); Pseudo-Chrysostom (= Severian of Gabala), Chan. 2 (ἢ διὰ Μανιχαίους ἢ διὰ αἱρετικούς); Quodvultdeus, haer. 7,20 (*Manichaei confunderentur...haeretici comprimerentur*); ib. 7,26. Manichees are of course regularly described as "heretics" themselves; cf. (e. g.) Philaster 129,1 (*sunt quidam heretici, ut Manichei*). They are mentioned along with Arians, Marcionites and Novatianists in a definition of "heretic" by Cresconius that is quoted in Augustine, c. Cresc. 2,3,4. For the collective singular (*Manicheum*) which Jerome employs here cf. C. Mohrmann, Quelques traits caractéristiques du latin des chrétiens, in Miscellanea G. Mercati, I, Vatican City 1946 (Studi e Testi 121), 953 (= C. Mohrmann, Etudes sur le latin des chrétiens, I, Rome 1958, 37).

aggressive nature.[3] Opelt has devoted a monograph to Jerome's invective.[4] In it she omits his Letters; here too however there is abundant evidence of Jerome's gift for vituperation. The ingenuity and viciousness he achieves are particularly well exemplified by Letter 40 (Ad Marcellam de Onaso).[5] The same epistle contains a review of recent abuse that had caused offence (2,lf.); one of the passages mentioned is from the Libellus de virginitate servanda (27,8).

Jerome's Libellus includes a number of noteworthy specimens of invective. The first of them concerns loose-living virgins (chs. 13f.); in particular the institution of "spiritual marriage" is assailed. Here Jerome uses the following language: *unde in ecclesias agapetarum pestis introiit? unde sine nuptiis aliud nomen uxorum? immo unde novum concubinarum genus? plus inferam: unde meretrices univirae?* (14,1). Condemnation of this practice was widespread.[6] However the abuse to which Jerome treats it is marked by a pungency that is unique. The idea itself of "spiritual marriage" as indistinguishable from ordinary wedlock had already occurred in Basil of Ancyra: εἰ γὰρ καὶ μὴ γάμος ἐστὶ τὸ ὄνομα, ἀλλ' ἡ φροντὶς τῶν γεγαμηκότων αὐτοῖς ἐμφυεῖσα... (virg. 43). Jerome proceeds to invest the concept with a vituperative verve of his own: *sine nuptiis aliud nomen uxorum*.[7] He also adds two further formulations of the same idea that are even more caustic (*novum concubinarum genus* and *meretrices univirae*[8]). The same phenomenon is to be found in the passage quoted at the start of the present article. When Jerome asserts that heretical virgins are not virgins at all, but rather whores, he is simply taking over

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3 S. Seliga, Quibus contumeliis Hieronymus adversarios carpserit, Eos 34 (1932-3) 395, n. 1, quotes Grützmacher's assessment: "Seine Natur war ihrem ganzen Wesen nach durchaus aggressiv, er hatte geradezu Freude daran, andere zu kränken und zu verletzen" (G. Grützmacher, Hieronymus: Eine biographische Studie zur alten Kirchengeschichte, I, Leipzig 1901, repr. Aalen 1969, 275). Cf. also S. Seliga, De invectiva Hieronymiana, Collectanea Theologica 16 (1935) 145.

4 I. Opelt, Hieronymus' Streitschriften, Heidelberg 1973.

5 On this letter cf. J.-G. Préaux, Procédés d'invention d'un sobriquet par saint Jérôme, Latomus 17 (1958) 659-64. In it Jerome scoffs at a deformity of his victim's nose.

6 Cf. (e. g.) P. de Labriolle, Le "mariage spirituel" dans l'antiquité chrétienne, Revue Historique 137 (1921) 204-25.

7 It is significant that Jerome's phrase is imitated twice; cf. Pseudo-Jerome, epist. 42 p. 291A (*unde sine nuptiis genus novum uxorum?*); Asterius of Ansedunum, ad Renat. ll. 564-5 (*aliud inducitur nomen uxorum*).

8 *Univira* had a strong cachet of commendation; cf. (e. g.) Jerome, epist. 77,3,4 (*sub gloria univirae*). Here it produces a stinging oxymoron. The effect is further enhanced by the inversion of Behaghel's law.

an idea that was already traditional, while at the same time imparting to it an entirely novel abusiveness. Chrysostom in particular was fond of stressing that the virginity of the heretic was not merely pointless but also abhorrent. He had opened his De virginitate by denying that there was such a thing as a heretical "virgin" (1,1).[9] Later in the same treatise the chastity of heretics was said to be ἀσελγείας ἁπάσης...χείρων (5,1): the latter involved only men, whereas the heretic's conduct was an affront to God himself. Elsewhere Chrysostom goes so far as to assert that heretical virgins deserve to be punished "like fornicators", because they defame God's creation: τῇ τῶν πορνευόντων δίκῃ γεγόνασιν ὑπεύθυνοι (hom. in Phil. 2,3). It is however noteworthy that neither Chrysostom nor any other Father matches the grossness with which Jerome formulates the idea: *scorta sunt aestimanda.*[10] Again the vehemence of Jerome's vituperation is unique. Erasmus rightly observed that the subject of heresy provoked Jerome to particular mordancy: *Hieronymus haud alibi dicit melius quam ubi male dicit haereticis aut calumniatoribus.*[11] This is certainly true here.

It might therefore be supposed that the application of *inpurissimus* to the Manichee earlier in the same sentence is a similar instance of Jerome's incomparable talent for abuse. This is evidently Opelt's view.[12] She opens her discussion of anti-Manichean polemic by remarking that "die Ausgliederung des polemischen Wortfeldes ist gegenüber dem anderer Häresien weniger umfangreich, und auch die Termini werden weniger häufig angewendet".[13] Opelt then examines Jerome's use of *inpurus* in the present passage of the Libellus. She qualifies the adjective as "grob" and translates it as "dreckig" (144f.). No example from any other author is cited. The final section of Opelt's book then draws together the results of

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9 The same point is made at exp. in Ps. 44,12.

10 The occurrences of the idea elsewhere in the Fathers may be enumerated. According to Pseudo-Chrysostom (= Severian of Gabala), hom. in Ps. 95:1,6 heretics cannot win the crown of virginity. Augustine states that a catholic wife is superior to a heretical virgin (in psalm. 90, serm. 2,9); at bon. viduit. 15,19 he goes further and asserts that she is still superior even if married several times. Finally Basil is not prepared to condemn a heretical virgin who subsequently marries (ep. 199,20).

11 The dictum is cited as an epigraph by W. Süss, Der heilige Hieronymus und die Formen seiner Polemik, Giessener Beiträge zur deutschen Philologie 60 (1938) 212.

12 The passage is not discussed in Süss, art. cit. (n. 11), who limits himself to just "die Sphäre des Stinkens" (236f.). It is likewise ignored by Seliga, artt. citt. (n. 3); he merely observes that "adiectivum *impurus* perraro occurrit apud Hieronymum" (art. cit. [n. 3 (1932-3)] 405).

13 I. Opelt, Die Polemik in der christlichen lateinischen Literatur von Tertullian bis Augustin, Heidelberg 1980, 143.

her study. Here she affirms that "*impurus* trifft die Manichäer bei Hieronymus" (239). The implication of these statements is that Jerome is alone in calling the Manichees "filthy" and that his choice of language is due to the unique virulence of his polemical style.[14] It is the purpose of the present article to show that neither of Opelt's suggestions is correct. On the contrary Jerome is merely availing himself here of a conventional form of expression: it was customary to characterize the Manichee as "filthy".

The "filth" metaphor had of course a wide range of application. Pagan examples of the terms *impurus* and *impuratus* are assembled by Opelt.[15] She also notes Tertullian's use of the "Schmutzmetapher" with reference to the heathen because of their association with unclean spirits.[16] The Jew is also described as *impurus*; however the single instance which Opelt adduces[17] is suggested by the biblical text that is being expounded (John 2,6 *secundum purificationem Iudaeorum*).

"Filthy" is moreover a term of abuse that is applied to other heretics besides the Manichees. The Thesaurus Linguae Latinae cites three passages in which heretics are said to be *immundi* (VII,1 col. 502,72ff.); however the first two of these cases are again allusions to scriptural texts (Numbers 19,22 *quicquid tetigerit inmundus, inmundum faciet*; II Cor. 6,17 *inmundum ne tetigeris*).[18] Opelt does not mention the "filthiness"

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14 No reason is given why the Manichee should have been singled out for such treatment. It might be suggested that Jerome's motive is to be sought in the circumstance that the ascetically-minded were themselves accused of being "Manichees"; earlier in the Libellus Jerome had said *quam viderint tristem atque pallentem, miseram et monacham et Manicheam vocant* (13,3; cf. also [Pseudo-]Jerome, epist. 18 p. 57,100-2 *quod si vilibus abstinueris carnibus et non crebro balneas frequentaveris, tunc fere per omnes columnas Manichei tibi titulus adscribetur*). The same charge was later made by Jovinian against Jerome himself: *ex quo manifestum est vos Manichaeorum dogma sectari, prohibentium nubere et vesci cibis, quos deus creavit ad utendum* (adv. Iovin. 1,5). However the supposition that this was Jerome's reason for abusing the Manichees in particularly strong terms will be seen to be unwarranted in the light of the evidence to be adduced below. It was in any case a recognized ploy to label the orthodox with the names of specific heresies; cf. Opelt, op. cit. (n. 13) 172. Jerome himself accuses his opponent of being a "Manichee" at adv. Pelag. 2,1.

15 Cf. I. Opelt, Die lateinischen Schimpfwörter und verwandte sprachliche Erscheinungen: Eine Typologie, Heidelberg 1965, index ss. vv.

16 Op. cit. (n. 13) 13f.; cf. also ib. 20.

17 Op. cit. (n. 13) 114; the passage in question is Gaudentius, serm. 9,26.

18 *Coinmundus* as a term for the heretic in Lucifer of Cagliari, non parc. 7 l. 2 is recorded by I. Opelt, Formen der Polemik bei Lucifer von Calaris, Vig. Christ. 26 (1972) 216; again the word has been suggested by a text of scripture (II Chron. 26,19: Uzziah's leprosy).

metaphor in the section she devotes to "Ausdrücke der moralischen Disqualifizierung" in anti-heretical polemic after Tertullian.[19] She does however note that "die Schmutzmetapher gebraucht Cyprian als Bild für die Häretikertaufe" (ib. 124); two passages are cited.[20] Elsewhere Opelt observes that Athanasius calls the Arians μεστοὶ ῥύπου.[21]

A number of further instances may be adduced in which the application of the "filth" metaphor is to heretics other than Manichees. Jerome himself calls the heresy of Basilides *spurcissima* (epist. 75,3,1); here he is describing the bizarre cosmology associated with the sect, which he thinks is rife in Spain.[22] Eusebius of Caesarea had spoken of the μυσαρωτάτη αἵρεσις of the Simonians (h. e. 2,13,8); Rufinus translates *inquinatissimae huius haeresis*. Montanus is labelled ἀκάθαρτος in a work of the Pseudo-Chrysostomic corpus (pseud. 5);[23] this passage also refers to μοιχαλίδες. In addition the same adjective describes the μυστήρια of the sect (ib. 6). A final instance may be cited that is related to the "filth" metaphor, though strictly speaking not an example of it: Theodoret of Cyrrhus mentions ἡ Μαρκίωνος σηπεδών.[24]

This use of "filth" vocabulary in connection with a variety of other heresies is no more than sporadic. The Manichees on the other hand have such language applied to them with a regularity that is remarkable. While moreover in the above cases the opprobrious epithets tended to be employed predicatively, their application to the Manichee is frequently attributive; this is of course the case in the passage from Jerome's Libellus with which we began (*inpurissimum Manicheum*). "Filthy Manichee" accordingly turns out to be something of a cliché.

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19 Op. cit. (n. 13) 120f.

20 In fact neither is by Cyprian. The first (epist. 75,23) comes from Firmilian of Caesarea and the second (sent. episc. 42) from Iambus of Germaniciana (*non...lotos, sed sordidatos*).

21 Art. cit. (n. 18) 220, n. 49. The passage is h. Ar. 3,4 (Opelt's reference is wrong). There is no mention of the vocabulary of "filth" in D. Schmitz, Schimpfwörter in Athanasius' Reden gegen die Arianer, in Roma Renascens: Beiträge zur Spätantike und Rezeptionsgeschichte I. Opelt...gewidmet (ed. M. Wissemann), Frankfurt/M. 1988, 308-20.

22 At adv. Rufin. 3,41 Jerome says of himself: *ilico et impurus ero et haereticus*. However the adjectives pertain to two separate topics: *impurus* relates to Rufinus' allegation of immorality and is unconnected with *haereticus*, which refers to the charge of Origenism.

23 It may be late; cf. J. A. de Aldama, Repertorium Pseudochrysostomicum, Paris 1965, 106f. (no. 288).

24 Ep. 146 p. 176,20f. (ed. Azéma; Sources Chrét. 111).

Thirteen years after his Libellus de virginitate Jerome again speaks of *inpurissimi Manichei* in a letter to Bishop Theophilus of Alexandria (82,10,2). Here the reference of the adjective is entirely general. Jerome is pointing out that Palestine is full of Jews, various heretics, and Manichees; the term "filthy" is significantly reserved to the last group. One further instance may be adduced from Jerome: in his Contra Ioannem Hierosolymitanum (21) he says that even to mention the name "Manichee" is a *pollutio*. In this passage Jerome is referring specifically to the Manichean view that the soul is of the same substance as God.

Jerome, who published his Libellus de virginitate in 384, was certainly not the first Latin to attach the "filth" metaphor to the Manichees. At some time between 366 and 378 Ambrosiaster produced in Rome his commentary on the Pauline epistles. In dealing with II Timothy 3,6f. (*ex his sunt enim, qui inrepunt in domos et captivas ducunt mulierculas...*) he notes that this text is especially applicable to the Manichees. The author then proceeds to denounce their hypocrisy, which according to him manifests itself in various forms. Finally he observes that the sect is of recent origin and refers in this connection to the edict of Diocletian which had condemned it in 302.[25] The original wording of the relevant section of the decree runs: *audivimus eos* (sc. *Manichaeos*) *nuperrime veluti nova et inopinata prodigia in hunc mundum de Persica adversaria nobis gente progressa vel orta esse* (coll. Mos. 15,3,4). Ambrosiaster however paraphrases the text as follows: *quippe cum Diocletianus imperator constitutione sua designet dicens: sordidam hanc et inpuram heresim, quae nuper, inquit, egressa est de Persida* (in II Tim. 3,7,2). Here the adjectives *sordida* and *inpura* form a very conspicuous addition; in the original decree on the other hand the "filth" metaphor is absent.[26]

Further evidence is provided by the Donatist schism. When at the very beginning of the fifth century Petilian, the Donatist bishop of Constantine, answered Augustine's reply to his earlier letter warning his clergy against the new catholic bishop of the city, Petilian's response included the assertion that Augustine himself still maintained a secret connection with the Manichees. In dealing with this allegation Augustine

[25] For the date cf. S. N. C. Lieu, Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China: A Historical Survey, Manchester 1985, 287, n. 1.

[26] At in Phil. 1,1,1 Ambrosiaster calls Manes *immundus* (along with Photinus), because he denies Christ's manhood. There however the word is merely the opposite of *sanctus* in the text under discussion (*omnibus sanctis in Christo Iesu*).

starts with a reference to *Manicheorum immunditiae*: let Petilian do his best to maximize these and try to fix them on his opponent (c. Petil. 3,16,19).[27] Augustine then rehearses the various arguments that Petilian had adduced against him. One of them concerns a gift of bread: *eulogias panis simpliciter et hilariter datas ridiculo nomine venenosae turpitudinis ac furoris infamet.* Here Frend compares Augustine's Enarratio in psalm. 140,12, which deals simply with the purgation of the divine substance in bread by the Manichean Elect.[28] Courcelle however had suspected a reference to the alleged use of semen.[29]

Augustine refers to the latter practice in De haeresibus 46,9f., where he mentions "a kind of eucharist smeared with human semen", which was thought to promote the liberation of light by analogy with the Manichean doctrine of the mutual concupiscence of male and female spirits.[30] He remarks that the practice was denied by the Manichees themselves and refers in this connection to a separate group called "Catharistae". The accusation was in fact baseless and part of a common stock.[31] However as early as 348 Cyril of Jerusalem had asked in allusion to the supposed rite: μὴ οἱ πορνεύοντες τούτων ἀκαθαρτότεροι; (catech. 6,33). It may be noted further that *immunditia* has a sexual connotation when it is applied to the Manichees by Gaudentius of Brescia (serm. 8,8); here however the reference is to their putative promiscuity. Finally in another work of the early fifth century the Manichees are said *per inpuritates quae vocant sancta conficere.*[32]

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27 *Immunditiae* is oddly replaced by *impudicitiae* in B. Quinot, Oeuvres de s. Augustin. 4e sér., III: Traités anti-donatistes, Paris 1967 (Bibliothèque Augustinienne 30), 812 and id., *C. Litteras Petiliani* III, XL, 48 et le monachisme en Afrique, Rev. Et. Aug. 13 (1967) 23; there is no manuscript authority for this reading. In neither passage does Quinot discuss the precise import of these words.

28 W.H.C. Frend, Manichaeism in the Struggle between Saint Augustine and Petilian of Constantine, in Augustinus Magister, II, Paris 1954, 863.

29 P. Courcelle, Recherches sur les *Confessions* de Saint Augustin, Paris 1950, 239, n. 2 (2nd ed., Paris 1968).

30 Cf. also nat. bon. 47 and mor. Manich. 18,66 (*quod de vobis homines suspicantur*).

31 Cf. H.-Ch. Puech, Sur le manichéisme et autres essais, Paris 1979, 241f. The Manichees had also been charged with using menstrual blood; cf. C. H. Roberts, Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, III: Theological and Literary Papyri, Manchester 1938, no. 469, ll. 33ff. (the date is c. 300). Both practices are attributed to Gnostics in Epiphanius, haer. 26,4,5ff.

32 Pseudo-Pacian (= Eutropius Presbyter), sim. carn. p. 125,21f. Their *inpuritas* is also mentioned in Priscillian, tract. 1,26.

One other work that is inspired by the Donatist controversy may be cited for the application of the "filth" metaphor to the Manichee. This time the reference is quite general. The work in question has been preserved in the anonymous treatise Adversus Fulgentium Donatistam, which was written at some time after 411;[33] its author has incorporated the Donatist text, to which his own work is a direct response. This undistinguished[34] Donatist identifies the presence within the Catholic church of *manicheorum detestanda sordium feculenta* (p. 201,6). The phrase is part of a list and occurs in conjunction with *diversa schismatum semina* and *haereticorum multimodas pestes.* The "filthiness" metaphor has again been reserved to the Manichee; here it is expressed with the redundance and inelegance that are characteristic of the writer. This testimony is all the more significant, inasmuch as it represents a level of writing which is considerably inferior to that of the other texts to be considered.

Augustine himself tends to avoid the vocabulary of "uncleanness" in works adressed directly to the Manichees;[35] such language is also absent from the Acta Archelai, which describe a disputation between a Catholic and a Manichee. In the Pelagian controversy on the other hand Augustine makes copious use of the phraseology of "filth" in connection with the Manichees. His adversary, Julian of Eclanum, also employs the same language. In his Ad Florum Julian had alleged that Augustine's teaching coincided with that of Manicheism; Augustine replied with the Opus imperfectum contra Iulianum, in the course of which he made the same charge againt Julian. The text of the Ad Florum is preserved in Augustine's treatise.

In his opening book Augustine quotes a passage of Saint Ambrose: *omnes homines sub peccato nascimur, quorum ipse ortus in vitio est* (1,115).[36] He then adds the following gloss: *hoc non dixit haereticus immundus Manicheus, sed catholicus sanctus Ambrosius.* Here *haereticus immundus Manicheus* forms a striking antithesis to *catholicus sanctus*

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33 Cf. C. Lambot, L'écrit attribué à S. Augustin *Adversus Fulgentium Donatistam*, Rev. Bén. 58 (1948) 184-6; he surmises 430-50.

34 "Demi-lettré" according to P. Monceaux, Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne depuis les origines jusqu'à l'invasion arabe, VI, Paris 1922, repr. Brussels 1966, 231.

35 At c. Faust. 31,4 he identifies the *inmundi et infideles* of Tit. 1,15 with the Manichees, because they think that matter is unclean and that God is implicated in it (for the same application of the text cf. also ib. 6,3 and 6,8).

36 The Ambrosian passage in question is paenit. 1,3,13.

Ambrosius; at the same time this description of the Manichee has an almost formulaic ring that is particularly noteworthy. Augustine employs the same antithesis later: *eligitis adiumenta praebere impurissimo Manicheo quam sancto acquiescere Ambrosio* (3,187); the topic at issue here is the Manichean view of creation. The collocation *impurissimus Manicheus* is of course the same as occurred in the passage from Jerome's Libellus cited at the outset. The superlative of this adjective had also been used by Julian: *Manicheorum scorta dogmatum impurissimorum* (2,9). Julian twice uses *spurcus* of Manichean dualism (3,216 and 5,2); he also refers in this connection to *illuviem sordesque Manichaeas* (5,4).[37] Finally Julian had spoken of *pollutissimo Manichaeorum dente* in a discussion of human nature (5,23).

Over twenty years before Augustine's Opus imperfectum contra Iulianum he had attacked Manichean animism and in particular their use of John 1,4 (*in ipso vita erat*) to support the theory that wood and stone contain divine substance and therefore have "life" (in evang. Ioh. 1,16); here he had employed the words *sordidissima secta Manichaeorum.* At an undetermined date Augustine had apostrophized the Manichees' *inmundissimae inpietatis insania* in De continentia 9,22, where he was combatting their view that the flesh is to be associated with the principle of evil. Earlier in the same work (5,14) he had remarked: *haec Manichaeorum est inmundissima insania.* Here the reference is simply to the sect's teaching: God allowed himself to be contaminated by matter. At the same time Augustine takes the opportunity to insert the following conceit: *quid autem flagitiosae contaminationis et corruptionis de istis merito non creditur, a quibus deus...contaminabilis et corruptibilis creditur?* It would seem that here we have a further allusion to the alleged use of semen.

This last piece of Augustinian vituperation (*inmundissima insania*) is in fact noted by Opelt in her discusion of anti-Manichean polemic.[38] However she merely uses it in order to exemplify the "Wahnsinnsmetapher".[39] The employment of the "filth" metaphor on the other

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37 Julian also uses the phrase *Manicheorum sordes* (1,9); here however the wording is suggested by Matth. 23,27 (*intus vero plena sunt...omni spurcitia*).

38 Op. cit. (n. 13) 144, n. 253. The passage is erroneously located at "conf. 5,14"; it actually occurs in De continentia 5,14.

39 This terminology was of course supported by the similarity of Manes' name to the aorist participle of μαίνομαι (μανείς). It was widely used; cf. Opelt, op. cit. (n. 13) 145.

hand is ignored. Opelt does register the "ironische Apostrophe" of the Manichees as *casti et mundi homines* at Contra Secundinum 23 (ib. 145f.): they find it abominable that the son of God should be born from a virgin's womb, although they themselves consider God to be locked in the flesh of beasts and prostitutes. Augustine's sarcasm acquires all the more point when understood in relation to the conventional description of the Manichee as "filthy". Opelt fails to mention that Augustine employs the same gibe at De continentia 10,24 in regard to the Manichees' denial of the reality of Christ's flesh: *videlicet hominibus nimium mundis malum est caro vera.* Finally it is perhaps pertinent in this connection to note the Manichees' own view of themselves as *nimis mundi*, because they scorned the sexual organs as *immunda*.[40]

The Pseudo-Augustinian treatise Adversus quinque haereses was attributed by Morin to Quodvultdeus, who became bishop of Carthage about 437;[41] this Quodvultdeus was further identified with the deacon to whom Augustine's De haeresibus is addressed. Quodvultdeus opens chapter five of the work by saying that he has dealt fully with Christ's divinity; his main targets have been Jews and Arians. He goes on to announce that he will now treat the incarnation, *cui Manichaeus obsistit impurus* (5,1). The reason given for this opposition is the Manichee's unwillingness to have the son of God called the son of man as well. Quodvultdeus then provides an extensive discussion of the scriptural evidence and rebuts the Manichee's rejection of the Old Testament (5,2-9). Finally he addresses the Manichean case that the incarnation would be a defilement (5,10ff.). This last topic is well away from the word *impurus*; nonetheless it will account in some degree for the occurrence of the adjective in this particular passage.[42]

A further example occurs in another work falsely assigned to Augustine. This is the *commonitorium*,[43] which gives a list of those

40 Cf. Augustine, c. Faust. 6,3.

41 G. Morin, Pour une future édition des opuscules de saint Quodvultdeus, évêque de Carthage au Ve siècle, Rev. Bén. 31 (1914) 156-62.

42 Cf. the final sentence of the chapter: *taceat immunda vanitas* (5,15). It may be noted further that of "filth" words *impurus* is the one most often given a sexual reference; cf. Thes. Ling. Lat. VII,1 col. 726,53ff. and Opelt, op. cit. (n. 15) 156, 174f., 179. It is possibly also relevant therefore that the Quodvultdeus to whom Augustine's De haeresibus was addressed had first-hand knowledge of all the "confessions" of immorality reported at 46,9 of that work (*sicut scis*).

43 On the question of authorship cf. F. Châtillon, Sur Saint Augustin et le manichéisme médiéval: Deux suggestions, Revue du Moyen Age Latin 10 (1954) 207f.

doctrines the Manichee must renounce. At the end it also includes the draft of a letter guaranteeing immunity to ex-Manichees who have recanted. The former adherent is here said to have cursed *inpiissimae atque inmundissimae haeresi eorum* (10). Use of the adjective *inmundus* to characterize Manicheism is particularly interesting in this brief document, which consists of a single sentence. The reference here is completely general.[44]

In the following century Caesarius of Arles makes very extensive use of the "uncleanness" metaphor in dealing with Manicheism. He uses the collocation *inmundissimi Manichei* on no fewer than six occasions.[45] In each case it is Manichean objections to the Old Testament that are at issue. Caesarius observes in Sermon 83,7: *solent nos hinc inpugnare pagani et maxime inmundissimi Manichaei dicentes: ecce nesciebat deus legis, quid ageretur in Sodomis.* Elsewhere the context is God's hardening of Pharaoh's heart (serm. 101,1 *de hac re inmundissimi Manichaei sacrilego furore scripturam veteris testamenti reprehendere solent*) or the expulsion of the Canaanites (serm. 114,1 *solent...inmundissimi Manichaei ore sacrilego blasphemare*). In the latter Sermon Caesarius also expresses his anxiety to see the Manichee silenced: *ut habeatis quid respondere possitis inmundissimis et sacrilegis Manichaeis* (114,2). He makes the same point elsewhere: *ut...vobis praesentibus inmundissimis Manichaeis contra scripturam sacram murmurare non liceat* (serm. 125,3). The final passage deals with the Manichee's strictures concerning Elisha's curse on the children who had called him "Thou bald head" and had in consequence been torn to pieces by a she-bear: here Caesarius refers to *inimici dei et hostes animae suae inmundissimi Manichei* (serm. 127,1). In these examples Caesarius' partiality for the attributive use of the adjective with the proper noun is noteworthy; it is even more striking that the epithet he employs is always the same. Here "filthy Manichee" is indeed a cliché.

The Greek evidence for the application of such language to Manicheism is a good deal less abundant. It would seem in fact that only

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44 It is tempting to posit the use of such terminology in a similarly official context in Greek as well. The formula of abjuration in the appendix to the Pseudo-Clementine Recognitiones anathematizes all Manichees and their "mysteries", which are qualified as μυσαρὰ καὶ ἀκάθαρτα (Clem. recogn. suppl. 3,3). Some indication of the sense the two words are here intended to bear may be supplied by the third term used: γοητείας πλήρη. Unfortunately the text is inadmissible as evidence; cf. Puech, op. cit. (n. 31) 236f.

45 All the sermons in question are classified as Caesarius' own by G. Morin, S. Caesarii episcopi Arelatensis opera omnia, I: Sermones seu admonitiones, Maredsous 1937.

one Father uses the "filth" metaphor in the strictest sense to describe the Manichees. In the late fourth century Amphilochius of Iconium has occasion to refer twice to their abstinence from meat: in this connection he speaks of τῆς ... ἀκαθάρτου αἱρέσεως τῶν Μανιχαίων (exerc. 19) and of ἀκαθάρτων Μανιχαίων (ib. 28).

At the same time a number of examples may be adduced that are closely linked to the "uncleanness" metaphor. Basil had called Manicheism σηπεδὼν...τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν in a discussion of Genesis 1,2 ("darkness was upon the face of the deep"); he was rebutting the view that this darkness is the principle of evil (hex. 2,4). In the same passage reference is made to Marcion and Valentinus; however the offensive language is again reserved for the Manichee. In similar terms John Chrysostom speaks of τοῦ σεσηπότος τῶν Μανιχαίων στόματος with regard to their view that the soul is of the same substance as God (hom. in I Cor. 7,5). Μυσαρός had already been employed by Cyril of Jerusalem in one of his Catecheses (6,35); two chapters earlier he had referred to the use of human semen.[46] The same word describes Manichean explanations of scripture in Theodore of Mopsuestia: τὰς μυσαρὰς γλώσσας (Mt. 80). It also occurs in the preface to Theodoret of Cyrrhus' Eranistes (p. 61,14); there the application is quite general.

From the foregoing analysis it is evident that the use of the "filth" metaphor in relation to the Manichee was conventional. This same investigation may also have suggested some of the reasons. In the first place there was the accusation of immorality and in particular the allegation concerning the employment of human semen. Here it must however be admitted that in the majority of cases where the terminology of "uncleanness" occurs the reference is either unspecified or clearly to something else. It may also be noted that Leo the Great, though he deals at some length with the alleged practice,[47] nowhere happens to call the Manichees "filthy". As a further reason for such language one might also

46 Rather different is catech. 6,20, where Manes is described as τὸ δοχεῖον παντὸς ῥύπου. Here however Cyril is referring to the eclectic nature of his teaching, which is alleged to have been a hotchpotch of all other heresies; cf. also Leo the Great, serm. 16,4 *hoc* (sc. what is worst in other heresies) *in istos* (sc. Manichees) *quasi in sentinam quamdam cum omnium sordium concretione confluxit.* Leo's phraseology is inspired by Sallust, Catil. 37,5 (*ii Romam sicut in sentinam confluxerant*).

47 For the relevant passages cf. A. Chavasse, S. Leonis Magni Romani Pontificis Tractatus septem et nonaginta, Turnhout 1973 (Corp. Christ. Ser. Lat. 138) CLXXVIII-CLXXXI.

point to the belief of the Manichees themselves that the divine substance existed in a state of defilement, from which it could only be "cleansed" by the Manichean Elect. It may however be doubted whether these two factors are alone sufficient to account for such extensive use of the "filthiness" metaphor. Its frequency would also seem to be an indication of the particular abhorrence which Manicheism as a whole inspired.

By way of conclusion it will be appropriate to return to the text from which the present study began. It has been noted above that the charge of immorality was made against the Manichees. When therefore in his Libellus de virginitate servanda Jerome calls the Manichee *inpurissimus*, does he intend the epithet to have a specifically sexual reference? The word could certainly be used in this way.[48] On the other hand Opelt also classes it simply as an "Allerweltsadjectiv".[49]

The description of Manichean virgins as *scorta* at the end of the same sentence is merely intended to provide the most striking possible antithesis to *virgines:* it was noted above that here we simply have a particularly drastic formulation of the traditional idea of the worthlessness of heretical virginity. The charge which Jerome makes elsewhere against heretical virgins is in fact not one of "immorality", but rather of insincerity.[50] Moreover the argument which Jerome adduces to justify his use of the word *scorta* is a purely theological one, which has nothing to do with morality: *si enim corporis earum auctor est diabolus, quomodo possunt honorare plasticam hostis sui?* On the other hand Jerome at once goes on to assert that *turpitudinem vitae falso nominis honore convestiunt.* Both these arguments had in fact been used recently by other Fathers. The first had occurred in Basil, who pointed out the Manichees' inconsistency in imposing chastity on a body which they considered to be the work of the devil.[51] Likewise Ambrosiaster had already employed the antithesis

48 Cf. n. 42 above.

49 Op. cit. (n. 15) 262.

50 Cf. epist. 49,8,2 (*si Manicheorum sequamur errorem et simulatae pudicitiae retibus implicemur*); in Os. 7,13 ll. 354f. (*quicumque pudicitiam simulant se amare, ut Manichaeus*); ib. 9,10 ll. 270-3 (*difficile est enim haereticum reperire, qui diligat castitatem; non quod eam praeferre desistat in labiis, sed quod non servet in conscientia, aliud loquens, et aliud faciens*); in Am. 5,21 l. 763; in Zach. 8,11 ll. 321-5; in Matth. 7,15 ll. 948-50; ib. 19,12 ll. 812-3 (*persuasione heretica simulant castitatem*). The same view is expressed at the end of the present chapter of the Libellus: *quod aliae simulant, tu vere esse coepisti* (38,7).

51 The point is made in a work against the Manichees that has not survived; the fragment in question is however preserved by Augustine, c. Iulian. 1,5,17. Here Basil expresses

between the Manichees' disgusting way of life and their veneer of sanctity: *sanctimonium defendunt et...turpiter vivunt.*[52] It was Jerome's custom to string together arresting formulations that had been appropriated from elsewhere; nor were they always completely harmonized.[53] In the present passage of the Libellus therefore it is not quite clear whether *inpurissimus* has a sexual connotation or not. What is absolutely certain on the other hand in the light of the foregoing enquiry is that here Jerome is merely repeating a cliché. The epithet is not an example of the unique vigour of his vituperation: Opelt is quite wrong.

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himself with a fullness and subtlety which contrast markedly with Jerome's rather asthmatic but more striking argumentation.

52 In II Tim. 3,7,1. For their *turpitudo* cf. also Philaster 61,3 (*nefandae turpitudini servientes*).

53 On this characteristic feature of Jerome's method of composition cf. the present writer, Some Notes on the Content of Jerome's Twenty-second Letter, Grazer Beiträge 15 (1988) 177-86 and id., Some Features of Jerome's Compositional Technique in the Libellus de virginitate servanda (Epist. 22), Philologus 136 (1992) 234-55. Between the formulations which would appear to have come from Basil and Ambrosiaster respectively Jerome has inserted two further borrowings: *sub ovium pellibus lupos tegunt. Christum mentitur antichristus*. The first would seem to have been suggested by Lactantius, inst. 5,3,23: *voluit lupum sub ovis pelle celare*. The second is evidently an adaptation of Cyprian, unit. eccl. 3: *antichristum sub vocabulo Christi* (*mentiuntur* occurs three words later; as in Jerome the reference is to heretics). Jerome imitates Cyprian's phrase more closely at in Ion. 2,7 ll. 285f. D.: *sub persona Christi mentiantur antichristum* (sc. *haeretici*).

Notes on Athenian Drama as Ritual Myth-Telling within the Cult of Dionysos*

Jaakko Aronen

1. Countless books and articles have been written on Greek drama. It is practically impossible for one person to read all these studies without losing the trail in the jungle of more or less pertinent theories and interpretations of the plays, their authors, their metaphors, messages, formal conventions, structures of thought, hidden meanings, and so on. The predominant approach over recent decades has been philological (and that of literary criticism): ancient dramas are seen as literature and the surviving texts are analyzed as the literary products of a particular author. Indubitably, this kind of study can illustrate the style and methods of individual authors and more generally the conventions of drama conceived of as a literary genre. But we must remember that for the contemporary Athenian audience the plays were not literary texts. Especially in recent years, perhaps as a partial counter-reaction, there has emerged a variety of new approaches to Greek drama; among them the anthropologically oriented one made famous by French scholars and the one that concentrates on questions connected with how the plays were actually performed on stage.[1]

The present contribution is not based on the reading of the extant dramatic texts but focuses on the role of drama in the determinate cultural-historical context of the *polis,* the city-state of Athens. I shall be arguing that drama in Athens is an integral part of the Dionysiac cult and had a collective importance being an institution organized and maintained by the *polis,* and that it is misleading to consider this phenomenon as pure

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[1] For some recent trends, cf. M. Kaimio, 'Understanding Greek Tragedy', The Finnish Institute at Athens. Inaugural Lectures 21-22 May 1985, 1986, 5-12.

entertainment or as pure expression of creative spontaneity of individual authors. In the first part (section 2) I have found it necessary to discuss briefly some facts concerning drama that should be known to every student of ancient Greek culture. However, the grouping together and commentary on these issues form an indispensable basis for the subsequent treatment.[2]

2. Of crucial importance to the present theme is the relationship of Greek theatre to the cultural field that we are accustomed to call 'religion'. A widely held opinion is that although it *originates* somehow in the religious sphere, fifth-century Athenian drama has little or nothing to do with religion itself; at most one is expected to find reflections of the personal religious sentiments of individual authors (such as the "monotheism" in Aeschylus, the "enlightened" criticism of traditional religion in Euripides), glimpses of contemporary religious practices or ritual survivals (sacrifice, lamentations, hymns, dances, and the use of masks).

A more organic theory of the ritual origin of drama than that of collecting survivals was formulated at the beginning of this century by the so-called Cambridge School of Classical Anthropology.[3] Its representatives

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[2] The basic facts of Greek Drama can be read in various manuals. The Dramatic Festivals of Athens by A. Pickard-Cambridge (2d ed. revised by J. Gould and D.M. Lewis, Oxford 1968) is important for details on the public presentation of plays. In this paper, which does not in any way aim to be exhaustive, references to scholarly discussion have been intentionally kept to a minimum. On the whole, I would like to acknowledge my debt to the studies by A. Brelich, 'Aspetti religiosi del dramma greco', Dioniso 39 (1965) 82-94; 'Aristofane: commedia e religione', in M. Detienne (ed.), Il mito. Guida storica e critica, Bari 1975 (4th ed. 1989), 104-118 (originally in Acta Class. Debr. 5 [1969] 21-30); I Greci e gli dei, Napoli 1985, 106-111, and to some more recent treatments of drama in classical Athenian society, especially those of O. Longo, 'The Theater of the Polis', in J.J. Winkler and F.I. Zeitlin (eds.), Nothing to do with Dionysos? Athenian Drama in Its Social Context, Princeton 1990, 12-19 (originally in Italian in Dioniso 49 [1978] 5-13) and S. Goldhill, 'The Great Dionysia and Civic Ideology', ibid., 97-129 (revised version of a paper published in JHS 107 [1987] 58-76). A.F.H. Bierl's recent book Dionysos und die griechische Tragödie: Politische und 'metatheatralische' Aspekte im Text, Tübingen 1991, reached me only after I had finished the present manuscript. I have inserted in notes a few references to this study, the purpose of which, as the subtitle shows, is however to analyze the presence of Dionysos in the texts of the plays - a task completely different from that undertaken here.

[3] This school followed the path trodden by Sir James Frazer and included Jane Harrison, F.M. Cornford, A.B. Cook and Gilbert Murray (actually Oxonian). A critical survey of these theories is provided by R. Friedrich, 'Drama and Ritual', in Drama and Religion (Themes in Drama 5), Cambridge 1983, 159-190. Cf. also R. Ackerman, The Myth and Ritual School: J.G. Frazer and the Cambridge Ritualists, New York-London 1991. The seeds of this kind of ritual theory are to be found in Nietzsche's Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik (1872), cf. Friedrich, 161-162; Ackerman, 97-100.

argued among other things that Dionysos was a personified year, a year-spirit (they used the unattested Greek term *eniautos daimon*) who is imagined to die and undergo rebirth each year. The theatrical drama would then have evolved from magical fertility rituals and presentations of this year-god's life-story so that the ritual pattern was still present in the extant plays. Such opinions, often based on bold assumptions, were received with criticism by many contemporary classicists and are nowadays rejected in the research into Greek theatre as well as Greek religion. In fact, the purely literary approach which tends to detach Greek drama from its living context and deny its connections with religion gained strength in the atmosphere of reaction against the Cambridge scholars.[4]

However, in this paper we are not interested in the origin of drama or in examples of ritual details contained in the plays. Besides, we should speak of many origins rather than a single origin since it should be clear that drama did not result from an evolution on its own but was a deliberate creation of the *polis* of Athens.[5] The establishment of tragedy certainly owes much to the cultural policy of Peisistratos and his sons as well as to the activity of Kleisthenes at the end of the sixth century. In the formation process various elements obviously combine to form a new whole. But tracing all the origins does not explain *why* and *for what purpose* the institution was created and maintained. It is this new creation and its function in fifth-century Athens that form the object of the present research.[6]

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[4] The whole issue of the historical relationship between ritual and drama has been put on a new footing by F. R. Adrados, Festival, Comedy and Tragedy. The Greek Origins of Theatre, Leiden 1975 (originally in Spanish 1972) who derives drama from "rituals of agricultural religion" but is more data-based than the Cantabrigians, and by W. Morgan and P. Brask, 'Towards a Conceptual Understanding of the Transformation from Ritual to Theatre', Anthropologica 30 (1988) 175-202 who argue that the emergence of theatre in state level societies such as the Athenian *polis* was an adaptive transformation of collective rituals of traditional societies characterized by functions of social control and integration, and that these functions were inherited by drama in the new circumstances.

[5] The purport of the fact that drama was an invention has been all too often overlooked in discussions on the origins. A salutary exception is J.-P. Vernant in J.-P. Vernant and P. Vidal-Naquet, Myth and Tragedy in Ancient Greece, New York 1988, 185-188 (originally in French 1986).

[6] This is also the reason why I am not going to dwell on the various recent studies on the connections between tragedy and sacrificial ritual. In these discussions it is a question either of sacrificial origins (W. Burkert, 'Greek Tragedy and Sacrificial Ritual', GBRS 7 [1966] 87-121, cf. Friedrich [n. 3], 167-174; J.-P Guépin, The Tragic Paradox: Myth and Ritual in Greek Tragedy, Amsterdam 1968; R. Girard, Violence and the Sacred, Baltimore-London 1977 [originally in French 1972]) or of sacrificial structures and themes in the plays (e.g. P. Pucci, 'Euripides: The Monument and the Sacrifice', Arethusa 10

For that intent we should bear in mind some incontrovertible facts concerning the plays and the conditions of their presentation. Firstly, the subject matter of at least tragedy (with only rare exceptions)[7] and satyr-play is myth. Comedy was introduced to the festivals somewhat later and it usually dealt with the contemporary world, although always transposing it into an unreal dimension, into an 'other world', which is in a way analogous to the recreation of an unreal mythical world by tragedy. Therefore it would be too simplistic to say that comedy describes contemporary Athens; rather it deliberately depicts something that is *not* the prevailing reality (the city among birds, the revolt of women, the school of Sokrates, etc.). It is also true that comedy is in many ways dependent on tragedy, largely operating with mythical material by refashioning and recreating it.[8]

A good deal of what we know about Greek myth-making derives from tragedy. The tragedians did not invent their plots but narrated traditional tales, although they could within certain limits modify them (cf. below). However the basic fact remains that they narrated myths and one can hardly deny that mythology is a religious phenomenon. Consequently, the protagonists of these narratives are not ordinary human beings but principally mythical heroes of the past who could have public cults in Athens or elsewhere in Greece all the while their vicissitudes were told on stage (examples being the cults of Oidipous, Orestes or Erekhtheus and even that of the children of Medeia). There is an even more explicit link

[1977] 165-195; H.P. Foley, Ritual Irony: Poetry and Sacrifice in Euripides, Cornell UP 1985). From the present point of view a more stimulating idea is that expressed by J. Svenbro, namely that the very composition and presentation of a mythological narrative at a religious festival may have been considered as a sacrifice to the given god. The poems of Pindar offer support for this idea. If it is applied to drama we could consider all plays as sacrifices to Dionysos. We know that in the Athenian theatre the altar of Dionysos was actually situated on the stage. Cf. J. Svenbro, 'Il taglio della poesia. Note sulle origini sacrificali della poetica greca' in C. Grottanelli and N.F. Parise (eds.), Sacrificio e società nel mondo antico, Roma-Bari 1988, 231-252.

7 As regards the one and only surviving 'historical' tragedy, Aeschylus' Persae, one can remark (as has been done sometimes) that here historical events are strongly mythicized.

8 On myth in comedy, cf. E.W. Handley in The Cambridge History of Classical Literature I, 1985, 370-373. On the programmatic use of the mythological patrimony in Aristophanes' Birds, see B. Zannini Quirini, Nephelokokkygia. La prospettiva mitica degli Uccelli di Aristofane, Roma 1987. Besides, it has been observed that the themes and characters of comedy have much in common with those of *mythological* narratives in other cultures which have as protagonists grotesque and sub-human (also theriomorphic) persons conventionally called "tricksters" in scholary literature. Cf. Brelich, 'Commedia e religione' (n. 2), 114-116.

with the heroic cult when at the end of the tragedy its foundation is mentioned or some kind of allusion to it is included.[9] This factor, which to literary-minded critics may seem somehow superfluous as regards the structure of the play, nevertheless helps us to gather the close relation that could exist between the myth narrated and the actual cultic situation.

A further fact to keep in mind is that the plays could not just be performed at any time in any place, but their performance took place during public festivals celebrating Dionysos (never any other god). These festivals were bound to determinate days of the year by the public calendar of the *polis*. Without these conditions there could not have been either dramas or dramatists. In sum, the drama presentations were a public institution; they were organized year after year and supervised by the *polis* in connection with a religious festival of Dionysos.

The most important of these occasions were the Great Dionysia, or the City Dionysia, which were celebrated in late March from the latter part of the sixth century onwards. The performances during other Dionysiac festivals - the Rural Dionysia in December, the Lenaia in January and the Anthesteria in February - are usually considered somewhat more recent and secondary although the festivals themselves probably antedated the Great Dionysia. If we take a closer look at the latter, we see that performing dramas was only one part of a festival which included various other activities. As the temporal setting of the performances was the time of the Dionysia, the spatial setting was that of the cult place of the same god.

At the beginning of the festivities a statue of Dionysos was brought from outside the city in a ritual procession to the theatre (which was actually called the theatre of Dionysos). This was done to re-enact his first mythical arrival from the town of Eleutherai. The theatre included an altar in the middle of the orchestra, and in the immediate vicinity was a small temple dedicated to the same god.

In addition we know that the priest of the god, together with the most important officials of the *polis,* had a special seat of honour in the theatre, and a sacrifice to the god also took place there. The first part of the rituals was dedicated to the performance of dithyrambs. Not very much is known of these but it seems clear that they were ritual dances and choral

9 A selection: Aesch. Eum. 778ff.; Soph. Oed.Col. 1518ff.; Eur. Alc. 445ff., Hippol. 1423ff., Iph.T. 1449ff., Med. 1378ff.

songs in honour of Dionysos. The organization of the festival was one of the responsibilities of the *arkhon,* the chief magistrate. It should perhaps be added that the public itself was not a casual one but to a great extent coincidental with the civic community of the *polis.*[10]

3. If one examines this temporal-calendrical, spatial and socio-political system without prejudice, it is very difficult not to see here a ritual activity organized by the *polis* and performed by its citizens. The presence of Dionysos in every phase is so predominant that I would say the dramatic production ought to be seen as more closely connected with this cult than it usually is. That is to say: it should be seen as an integral part of the Dionysiac ceremonies, not only as loosely connected with them. As it is clear that all the other components of the festival are clearly cultic and ritual, why could not the representation of the dramas be cultic and ritual alike? Do we do justice to the historical and religious context if we isolate a part of the ritual complex and view it only as a separate phenomenon?

As to the ritual character of drama in fifth-century Athens there prevail many misconceptions. To take a random example, in the recent and authoritative Cambridge History of Classical Literature we read that tragedy was not a ritual, "having none of that rigid repetitive character by which ritual is marked".[11] But it is exactly the character that it possesses, the performances being staged every year at the same time in the same place in the same ritual surroundings. The misunderstanding perhaps derives from the fact that the plays themselves were always different. However, this does not constitute a problem if we consider all tragic performances as public myth-telling situations.[12] Myths are always told although *which* myths are told may vary. Nevertheless they all formed part of the inherited mythological patrimony of the very society to which both the narrator (the dramatist) and his audience belonged.

At this point a few words may be timely to avoid eventual misunderstandings. Referring to the dramatist as myth-teller does not mean that he is merely a passive mediator of inherited material. Anthropological and religious-historical research has frequently dealt with problems related

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[10] This is emphasized by Longo (n. 2), 13-16.

[11] R.P. Winnington-Ingram in The Cambridge History of Classical Literature I, 262 (with a reference to B. Vickers, Towards Greek Tragedy, London 1973, 41-42).

[12] I now find this opinion expressed in a most concise way also by D. Sabbatucci: "la tragedia è un rito di narrazione di miti" (Il mito, il rito e la storia, Roma 1978, 139).

to the transmission of tradition and to the ways in which the tradition is retold. It has been observed that myths are not formally static and monolithic but reworked and recreated with every act of narration. It has also been pointed out that the narration of myths was not a form of entertainment as we understand the word but usually had a profound collective importance for the given society.[13]

Of course the Athenian dramatist as myth-teller certainly reshaped the tradition. But I believe that here the impact of individuality has often been exaggerated at the cost of the traditionality of the material and the collective nature of the performing conditions. There is no point in denying that the dramatist as an individual artist can re-elaborate the tradition in keeping with his personal points of view (that we moderns are then accustomed to label in our studies as political, religious, philosophical, moral, critical, artistic, or suchlike), but as well, and perhaps even more significantly, he can do so from the point of view of the *polis*, the institution that had charged him to tell myths on the public occasion of the Dionysia. One illustrative example of this kind of reworking *ad maiorem gloriam Athenarum* is how, in narrating episodes of the Theban cycle, the dramatic authors constantly portray the city of Thebes as a negative model, a kind of anti-Athens, where - in order to affirm contemporary Athenian values - they depicted a world which served as a contrast.[14]

4. I have not yet referred to an important morphological feature in the dramatic performances that connects them even more to cultic

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13 It would be superfluous to discuss here various theories on myth and its narration. Let us only quote the clear formulation of U. Bianchi on the validity of myth in the society which narrates it: "Il mito, laddove è 'valido', è impegnato nella vita e nell'ideologia: anzi, ne fa parte integrante, e in esso si riflette, sotto un certo rispetto, l'esperienza ideologica e quella esistenziale della popolazione che lo ha come proprio" (Problemi di storia delle religioni, 2d ed., Roma 1986, 148). Recent theoretical discussions on Greek myth include e.g. W. Burkert, Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual, Berkeley 1979, 3-56; F. Graf, Griechische Mythologie, München 1985, 1-7; J. Bremmer in J. Bremmer (ed.), Interpretations of Greek Mythology, London-Sydney 1987, 1-9; C. Calame, Thésée et l'imaginaire athénien, Lausanne 1990, 15-68; G. Nagy, Greek Mythology and Poetics, Cornell UP 1990, 8-9; G.A. Samonà, Il sole, la terra, il serpente, Roma 1991, 21-52.

14 Cf. Sabbatucci (n. 12), 117-141 and F.I. Zeitlin, 'Thebes: Theater of Self and Society in Athenian Drama', Nothing to do with Dionysos? (n. 2), 130-167 (published also in J.P. Euben [ed.], Greek Tragedy and Political Theory, Berkeley 1986, 101-141). Another good example of reading the dramatic production with regard to the value system of the *polis* is provided by E. Hall, Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-Definition through Tragedy, Oxford 1989. This studies how the dramatists conceptualized the barbarian as the negative embodiment of Athenian civic ideals.

activities, namely, that they were competitions, *agones*. The competitions in various skills are a specifically Greek form of ritual and are found in numerous heroic and divine cults.[15] And it is significant that competitions were organized in myth-telling as is evidenced by rhapsodic contests.[16] Also in archaic choral lyric performances we are dealing with public and to some degree mimetic myth-telling in a ritual context.[17] These parallels are of vital importance for the understanding of the structure of the Athenian cult enacted at the Great Dionysia.

5. One reason for the detachment of the dramatic production from its religious setting is certainly that many scholars have been victims of the Aristotelian theorization of tragedy. Aristotle's Poetics has been read as if it should reflect the opinions prevailing in fifth-century Athens when the tragedies were composed. However, in Aristotle we have only one opinion (or, more generally, that of the philosophical discourse of the time). In any case it is an opinion expressed in a culturally and politically different *polis* from the one which introduced the dramatic festivals. To put the matter in chronological perspective, we need only remark that over 150 years separate Aristotle from Thespis, the first known tragedian.

In fact, in an interesting but little known study, M. Massenzio has revealed a process of desacralization in the Aristotelian treatment of tragedy.[18] In other words, Aristotle has deliberately dissociated the tragic phenomenon from the sacral sphere. But in so doing he could not avoid using Dionysiac terminology and imagery so that the "poetic" in Aristotle

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[15] Also in some Dionysos cults, e.g. annual contests in music, swimming and boat-racing were arranged at Hermion (Paus. 2,35,1).

[16] To see the rhapsodic contests at public festivals as occasions for pure entertainment is erroneous since the festivals were dedicated to gods and the performances were markedly formal and ritual. The epic narration was preceded by a prayer (*prooimion*) to the given god. In terms of morphology, the narrative part itself could be a hymn (cf. the so-called Homeric Hymns). The performances served as an instrument for cultural indoctrination and tended to integrate the citizens into the order of the *polis*, as is noted recently by B. Gentili, Poetry and Its Public in Ancient Greece, Baltimore-London 1988 (originally in Italian 1984), 156-157.

[17] Cf. J. Herington, Poetry into Drama: Early Tragedy and the Greek Poetic Tradition, Univ. of California Press 1985, 20-31. Note that Alcman's lyrics seem to have been composed for competitions. There is of course a historical relationship between choral performances in general and the evolution of drama. Cf. also n. 32 below.

[18] M. Massenzio, 'La poesia come fine: la desacralizzazione della tragedia. Considerazioni sulla Poetica di Aristotele', Religioni e civiltà 1 (1972) 285-309. On the importance of this article see also Sabbatucci (n. 12), 145-151.

(characterized by otherness, enthusiasm, *mania,* breaking of equilibrium, etc.) largely corresponds with the "Dionysiac" in Greek religion. Thus Aristotle too, *nolens volens,* brings us to the world of Dionysos.

6. We have seen above that dramatic performances were an organic part of the Dionysiac rites of Athens. But what actually was their significance in that context? Certainly they did not bring to the stage mythological accounts concerning the god himself with the exception, for instance, of Euripides' Bacchae.[19] It is an ancient (and modern) proverbial saying that the tragedies have "nothing to do with Dionysos" (οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον), a commonplace that has caused much perplexity among scholars.[20] The Dionysiac function of Greek drama must however be sought elsewhere, not in the dramatic portrayal of the god.

A solution to the problem was formulated some time ago by A. Brelich[21] and his intuitions have been validated by more recent (mostly independent) research both on drama and Dionysos. According to Brelich, comedy and tragedy have a complementary function as to the edification of the *polis.* His theory might be briefly summarized as follows: whereas tragedy, which is situated in the mythical and irreversible past, brings on stage conflictual and often cruel episodes where the superhuman heroes appear guilty of *hubris* and other kinds of excess,[22] comedy visualizes the other excess, the subhuman chaotic world with ridiculous and 'tricksteric' protagonists whose behaviour is markedly uncivilized. Ultimately these

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19 For the Dionysiac in the Bacchae, cf. R. Seaford, 'Dionysiac Drama and the Dionysiac Mysteries', CQ 31 (1981) 252-275; C. Segal, Dionysiac Poetics and Euripides' Bacchae, Princeton 1982; J.-P. Vernant in Myth and Tragedy (n. 5), 381-412; H.S. Versnel, Ter Unus. Isis, Dionysos, Hermes: Three Studies in Henotheism, Leiden 1990, 96-205; Bierl (n. 2), 177-218. In Bierl's book one can find a comprehensive discussion on the role of Dionysos in all extant dramatic texts.

20 Souda, s.v. τραγῳδία. According to the Souda, the reason for this expression was exactly that the tragedies did not usually deal with Dionysos. Cf. also Plut. Q.conv. 615a; Zenob. 5,40.

21 Cf. the bibliography in n. 2.

22 Note that the *heroes* of Greek mythology were not exclusively noble and imperfect figures (as one could expect judging from the modern use of the word 'hero') but characterized with various ambiguous traits (violence, one-sidedness, cheating, madness, etc.), and this in accordance with their belonging to an earlier mythical time when the world had not yet reached its present normality. See A. Brelich, Gli eroi greci: Un problema storico-religioso, Roma 1958. On the prominence of cruelty and violence in drama, see now M. Kaimio, 'Violence in Greek Tragedy', in T. Viljamaa, A. Timonen and C. Krötzl (eds.), Crudelitas (Medium Aevum Quotidianum, Suppl.) 1992, 28-40.

two models[23] are to be considered in negative terms with respect to the actual civilized life in a civilized *polis,* and the spectator is thus in a way warned against transgressing the critical line that could land him in these 'other' worlds. The final achievement of drama is thus the (periodical and ritual) reinforcement of the civic ideology, equilibrium and value system of the *polis*. The dissolution of normal order as these two models are ritually enacted during the Dionysiac festival is followed by the re-establishment of the order of the *polis* which, as was said, is now understood as the best possible. This, notes Brelich (but without any further discussion), is structurally and ideologically analogous with many Dionysiac myths where the god arrives from outside and creates a state of disorder (e.g. by causing ecstasy or *mania*) after which a new, more complete order is achieved.

7. On the whole there seems nowadays to be an increasing body of opinion in favour of the idea that drama ultimately validates the present social, political and cosmic order.[24] Other arguments can certainly be added in support of this line of interpretation opened by Brelich.[25] It seems to me methodologically correct, above all because it is not an abstract ahistorical construction but finds support, for instance, in the very function of myth (the establishing and sanctioning of actual reality), in the typically Greek idea of the necessity of avoiding any excess (crystallized in such catchwords as "σωφροσύνη" or "μηδὲν ἄγαν"), and in some aspects

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23 Here, as also Brelich remarks in 'Commedia e religione' (n. 2), 112, we come near the Aristotelian statement that tragedy represents people as superior to men as they normally are, comedy as inferior (Poet. 1448a17).

24 E.g. C. Segal, Interpreting Greek Tragedy: Myth, Poetry, Text, Cornell UP 1986, 25, 65; Morgan and Brask (n. 4), 178, 187-189; Longo (n. 2), 16; Hall (n. 14), 2; D.C. Pozzi, 'The Polis in Crisis' in D.C. Pozzi and J.M. Wickersham (eds.), Myth and the Polis, Cornell UP 1991, 126-163. Cf. what was said about the rhapsodic competitions (above, n. 16), another occasion for public myth-telling.

25 Goldhill (in diverse arguments and without quoting the Italian scholar) comes to conclusions that in some aspects resemble those of Brelich, maintaining that "it is the interplay between norm and transgression enacted in the tragic festival that makes it a Dionysiac occasion" (cit. n. 2, 127). He also points out the complementary character of tragedy and comedy: "the tensions and ambiguities that arise from tragedy to comedy, all fall under the aegis of the one god, the divinity associated with illusion and change, paradox and ambiguity, release and transgression" (128). However, there is a difference between the two scholars: while Goldhill's main point is that drama questions the norms in the sphere of Dionysiac transgression, Brelich thinks that it rather reaffirms them thus stressing the reintegrative moment in the Dionysiac experience.

of Dionysos and his festival. It is on these latter aspects that we are going to focus next.

As was said, Dionysos is a god who comes from outside - a "visiting" god.[26] During the Athenian dramatic festivals too, as in many myths, he actually only visited the *polis*. The Dionysiac event basically consists of three phases: the previous state, the alteration of that state (which has been called enthusiasm, ecstasy, transgression, dissolution, etc.) and, finally, a new more complete state. This scheme can be applied also to the Great Dionysia. We have seen above that every year at the beginning of the festival the statue of the god was taken to the temple outside the city and then ritually made to return. It was situated in the theatre where it was present during the drama performances. The removal of the statue was a sign of the separation from the normal state and its arrival in the theatre meant the beginning of the altered state. Drama in a way transfers the *polis* into a Dionysiac dimension for a determinate period. When the Dionysiac ends after the festival, the community is restored to the everyday reality. But the community is not exactly the same as before: it has been reinforced by the Dionysiac experience.

This three-structured pattern is in fact the same as that of every transition rite or rite of passage.[27] On this basis we could say that we have here a collective transition rite organized by the *polis* in order each year to reintegrate its citizens. Collective transition rites often are situated in seasonal periods of passage as for instance the different kinds of New Year festivals in many societies. Indeed the Dionysia took place in a moment of seasonal change in the springtime.[28] There is thus a clear connection between the renewal of nature and the renewal of the community through the Dionysiac festival. The drama performances represent the liminal stage

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26 Cf. the famous definition "der kommende Gott" in W.F. Otto, Dionysos. Mythos und Kultus, 2d ed. Frankfurt 1948. Dionysos as a stranger is now discussed by M. Detienne, Dionysos at Large, Harvard UP 1989 (originally in French 1986). For a brief general survey on the god, cf. W. Burkert, Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical, Oxford 1985 (originally in German 1977), 161-167.

27 As is known since A. van Gennep (Les rites de passage, Paris 1909) three stages can be distinguished in these rites: 1) separation, 2) the marginal or liminal phase, 3) reaggregation (what we have called here reintegration). For these rites, cf. now also U. Bianchi (ed.), Transition Rites: Cosmic, Social and Individual Order, Roma 1986.

28 This is emphasized also in various sources (cf. Pickard-Cambridge [n. 2], 58-59). The connection of Dionysos with spring is evident also at the somewhat earlier Anthesteria, see, e.g., M. Guarducci, 'Dioniso primaverile ad Atene. Riflessioni sul vaso di Lydos nel museo di Villa Giulia', Numismatica e antichità classiche. Quaderni Ticinesi 9 (1980) 37-62.

in the transition rite. It is noteworthy that in this phase the normal state is usually altered and suspended to make room for something 'other', often conceived of as something disorderly and negative. We have argued above, following Brelich, that what the plays brought to the stage was ultimately negative and against the prevailing order.

We saw that the temporal setting of the Dionysia was a period of passage. In the same way the topographical setting was in a "no-man's land" on the southern slope of the Akropolis between the *polis* with its civic activities and the space dedicated to the gods at the top of the hill. The coincidence of the temporal and spatial location of Dionysos is hardly casual and reveals that liminality is one very essential feature in this Athenian cult complex.[29]

If we continue to use the concept of liminality[30] we can conclude that, during the dramatic performances, the *polis* finds itself in a liminal time, in a liminal place and in a liminal state of mind (the typical Dionysiac change in consciousness between the prior state and the reintegration into it on a new level).

8. It is within the frames of liminality that we must perceive some details in the rites at the Great Dionysia which in a concrete way refer to the acquisition of a new status for certain groups of individuals. Thus in this festival we find an occasion for individual passages in the larger framework of a collective passage concerning the whole *polis*.[31]

One part in the initial procession was played by the *epheboi,* the group of young men between the status of child and adult. At least in the

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[29] The interrelation between the calendrical position of the festival of a deity and the topographical position of the cult in archaic *poleis* is a subject for study in its own right. For an early Roman case, see my article 'Iuturna, Carmenta e Mater Larum. Un rapporto arcaico tra mito, calendario e topografia', Opusc. Inst. Rom. Finl. 4 (1989) 65-88. The cult places and festivals did not exist *naturally* but were *culturally* created and organized by the determined community. This statement seems a mere triviality but in fact its implications are not often realized.

[30] I am not the first to introduce this term into the discussion on Dionysos, also Segal (n. 19) and R.J. Hoffman, 'Ritual License and the Cult of Dionysos', Athenaeum 67 (1989) 91-115 have used the word to characterize some aspects of the god. However, they have not been interested in the structure of the ritual complex of the Dionysia.

[31] Cf. Bianchi (n. 27), 47 on the distinction between the not iterable individual ("aimed at the acquisition of something new [a new status]") and cyclically repeated collective passages ("aimed at the renovation of life, the community's life"). Of course the individual passages are normally connected with the basic interests of the community, above all with its self-reproduction so that a clear-cut distinction is not always possible (Bianchi, 45). We shall see that this is very much true as to the rites performed at the Dionysia.

fourth century the *epheboi,* in their second year of ephebate, gathered in the theatre after which they received the military weapons on behalf of the *polis.*[32] Moreover, orphaned children of men who had died fighting for the *polis* had been educated at state expense, and, when they reached manhood, they paraded fully armed in the theatre.[33] I believe that these public exhibitions of young men in military training are not casual but organically related to the cultic setting of the Dionysia. They reveal the pertinence to the festival of the themes of passage and renewal of the citizen body. Dionysos is in fact often imagined as an eternal adolescent,[34] neither child nor a man, a kind of prototype of those on the threshold of adulthood - in other words, another manifestation of the liminality associated with the god.

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32 The question of the role of the ephebes is admittedly rather complicated for chronological reasons. All our sources are posterior to the classical period. Whether there was an institution of *ephebeia* in classical Athens is not certain. In any case *ephebos* was a denomination for those on the threshold of adulthood (cf. Hdt. 6,83; Aesch. Sept. 665). The most remarkable analysis on ephebate as a liminal period is P. Vidal-Naquet's 'The Black Hunter and the Origin of the Athenian Ephebeia' (an article from 1968, revised version in The Black Hunter, Baltimore 1986, 106-128, to be read together with the essay 'The Black Hunter Revisited', PCPS 32 [1986] 126-144). On the various problems, see A. Brelich, Paides e parthenoi, Roma 1969, 216-226 (perhaps too sceptical); Goldhill (n. 2), 124-125. Here a brief mention may be made of an interesting but somewhat conjectural theory of J.J. Winkler on the origin of the tragic choruses: 'The Ephebes' Song: Tragoidia and Polis' in Nothing to Do with Dionysos? (n. 2), 20-62 (revised version of a paper publishd in Représentations 2 [1985] 27-62). According to Winkler they developed from military dances performed by young warriors. He connects the term *tragoidoi* (used of the members of the chorus) with the verb *tragizein,* which can denote the voice-breaking of those undergoing puberty. The chorus would be, then, representative of the members of the community who were reaching full citizenship. My only comment here is that the whole issue should also be related to the question of to what extent the choral lyric performances in general are ultimately connected with the passage to adulthood. The Pindaric choruses of the Epinicia seem to have been made up of young men (cf. Herington [n. 17], 30) and the Alcmanic mostly of young girls. The function of the Epinicia in an originally initiatory structure is discussed by G. Nagy, Pindar's Homer: The Lyric Possession of an Epic Past, Baltimore 1990, 136-145; in the case of Alcman the initiatory background is quite evident, cf. C. Calame, Les choeurs des jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque I-II, Roma 1977 and, more recently, R. Monaldi, 'L'autodescrizione del coro nel Partenio di Alcmane', SMSR 57 (1991) 253-288.

33 The intimate relation of the parade to the civic ideology in general has been aptly discussed by Goldhill (n. 2), 105-114.

34 Cf. e.g. Segal (n. 19), 159-160. According to Burkert (n. 26), 167 and others the rejuvenation of Dionysos takes place in the middle of the fifth century, but cf. Il. 6,132; H.hymn.Dion. 3. Characteristically there is sometimes also a sexual ambiguity, being an amalgamation of male and female features (e.g. Versnel [n. 19], 133). Also in this way he was representative of young boys whose sex had not yet been socially determined by a transition rite. In various societies documented by anthropologists "i maschi non-iniziati non sono considerati come uomini, bensì o bambini o - in rapporto con sesso - ragazze" (Brelich, Paides e parthenoi [n. 32], 59).

A comparison could be made to what happened in the theatres of Sparta and Arcadia. In the Spartan theatre[35] a competition regularly took place. It was a kind of violent ball-game, played by a group of young men called the *sphaireis*. They represented the age-group that was passing from youth to manhood.[36] In the Arcadian theatres the youth (*neoi*) "showed themselves" once a year in front of the citizens during a festival of choral song called *Apodeixeis*.[37] Why in the theatre? Was it only because it offered a suitable location for these occasions or was it because the ritual activity of precisely this age-group was inherent in the use of the theatrical space?

I think that another comparison, and this time to some archaic Roman data, may prove useful at this point. We know that the Dionysos cult spread throughout the Italic and Etruscan world from the seventh century B.C. onwards. In the Italic areas and in Rome the god was called Liber.[38] Now, the Latin *liber* corresponds etymologically and semantically to the Greek words formed from the root *eleuther-*,[39] and it was no less than Dionysos Eleuthereus who presided over the Athenian festivals (according to the myth because he came there for the first time from the town of Eleutherai). Dionysos Eleuthereus may actually have had a part in the formation process of the early Roman Liber.

The Liberalia, the festival of the god in Rome, took place on the 17th of March, i.e. precisely in the same period of the year as the Athenian Dionysia. Moreover, it included some kind of public spectacles (*ludi*) and the use of masks and ritual license.[40] This morphological affinity is

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35 Discussion on the Spartan theatre is fraught with chronological problems. The tradition speaks of a theatre there as early as the beginning of the fifth century (Hdt. 6,67; Plut. Ages. 21,29; Lucian. Anach. 38), while the oldest archaeological evidence is from the Hellenistic period. A short survey on the question is to be found in D. Musti - M. Torelli (eds.), Pausania. Guida della Grecia III, Milano 1991, 211.

36 This has been explicitly stated by Pausanias (3,14,6) who defines them as οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἐφήβων ἐς ἄνδρας ἀρχόμενοι συντελεῖν. For the initiatory character of this competition, cf. Brelich, Paides e parthenoi (n. 32), 122-123.

37 Polyb. 4,20,12. Cf. Brelich, Paides e parthenoi (n. 32), 187.

38 On the Italic and early Roman Liber-Dionysos there are two recent treatments where the relevant archaeological and literary sources are discussed: A. Mastrocinque, Lucio Giunio Bruto: Ricerche di storia, religione e diritto sulle origini della repubblica romana, Trento 1988, 245-275; E. Montanari, Identità culturale e conflitti religiosi nella Roma repubblicana, Roma 1988, 103-136.

39 Cf. n. 43 below.

40 Cf. G. Piccaluga, Elementi spettacolari nei rituali festivi romani, Roma 1965, 57, 150-152.

undoubtedly important although we are not in a position to speculate about the contents of these performances.

What is more important and more amply documented is a transition rite for the youth that was organized at the Liberalia. The ceremony consisted of sacrifices to Liber and of a procession of young men of the age of seventeen. On this occasion they received the clothes worn by adult male citizens (*toga virilis*) and their names were inscribed in the official lists.[41] The day presents also a martial aspect comparable to the armed parades in the Athenian theatre: the priests of Mars (*Salii*) performed ritual dances in their full armour. This priestly college has often been interpreted as representing the age-set of young warriors.[42] All this accords very well with the etymological explanation of the words *eleuther(eus)* and *liber* as originally denoting the growth of the populace.[43] It is also noteworthy that when we hear of the institution of the earliest real theatrical performances in Rome (from the fourth century B.C. onwards) the sources seem to attribute certain importance in this process to the *iuventus,* a term to be understood, according to J.-P. Morel, as the "classe d'âge militaire".[44]

At any rate, even the many similarities between the Dionysia and the Liberalia (the probable genetic-historical relation between the gods Dionysos and Liber, the spectacular and public character as well as the temporal coincidence of their festivals) justify us in postulating that rites concerning those faced with the military training and entering the world of social adulthood, and, more generally, the idea of the renewal of the community were more pertinent in the Athenian cult than the available evidence at first sight seems to suggest.

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41 For further details, cf. Piccaluga (n. 40), 147-152; Mastrocinque (n. 38), 254-262; Montanari (n. 38), 118-119.

42 Cf. the latest discussion in M. Torelli, 'Riti di passaggio maschili di Roma arcaica', MEFRA 102 (1990) 95-99. The Roman *Salii* would be, then, largely correspondent with Winkler's proto-chorus of Athenian drama (cf. n. 32 above).

43 Both words have been derived from the root *leudh-* (cf. Germ. *Leute*). The Etruscan name for Dionysos, Fufluns, expresses the same idea being formed from the root *pupl-* (cf. Lat. *populus*). See e.g. E. Benveniste, 'Liber et liberi', REL 14 (1936) 51-59; G. De Simone, 'Gli Etruschi a Roma: evidenza linguistica e problemi metodologici', in Gli Etruschi a Roma. Studi in onore di M. Pallottino, Roma 1981, 93-101. For *e-re-u-te-re/i* in the Mycenaean texts from Pylos, cf. J. Puhvel, 'Eleuther and Oinoatis. Dionysiac Data from Mycenaean Greece', E. Bennett (ed.), Mycenaean Colloquium for Mycenaean Studies, Univ. of Wisconsin Press 1966, 51-62.

44 J.-P. Morel, 'La *iuventus* et les origines du théâtre romain (Tite-Live, VII, 2; Valère Maxime, II, 4, 4)', REL 47 (1969) 208-252.

Returning to Athens, it may be noticed *en passant,* and without taking any definite position, that the view outlined above of the Dionysia as a 'political' (from *polis*) occasion for the citizens (of the male sex) including the theme of renewal and reintegration of the *polis* (which is constituted by the citizens) automatically speaks in favour of the absence of women (excluded from citizenship) in the dramatic performances of classical Athens.[45]

9. At the end of section 7 we established the temporal, spatial and 'mental' in-between state, or liminality as we called it, as fundamental notions in the Dionysos cult of the Great Dionysia. In section 8 I hope to have established yet another liminal aspect, namely the ritual participation in the festival of young men between childhood and adulthood. Since Dionysos is a god who brings a transformation, he is likely to appear in contexts where initiation and transition themes can be traced. In these contexts the god figures often in conjunction with Artemis.[46] We have this conjunction also in Athens: Pausanias reports that the small temple of Dionysos from which the statue was annually taken to the city was situated near the sacred precinct of the goddess.[47]

In general the suspension of the normal order and the ritual license that characterized the Dionysia[48] resemble that which takes place in Greek

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[45] This is an old and vexed problem without no conclusive evidence in either direction. Recently I participated in a seminar held by Oliver Taplin (University of Helsinki, September 1992) where he quite persuasively argued for the absence of women, mostly on the basis of the texts of the plays, but also referring to the political character of the institution. For references to earlier discussion and ancient testimonia, cf. A. Podlecki, 'Could Women Attend the Theater in Ancient Athens?', Ancient World 21 (1990) 27-43. Two things must be remembered in this connection: 1) women usually played an important part in the Dionysos cults and 2) they undoubtedly attended the ritual procession organized at the beginning of the Dionysia. So, if they were absent, such absence was only during the dramatic performances. Certainly the absence of women would not have been regarded as such an embarrassment in fifth-century Athens as it would be in our contemporary western societies (and as it has been among modern scholars). We have tried to argue in this article that Greek drama was a religious phenomenon and in religious matters there often is a distinction between the male and female spheres. The performances within the Dionysos cult as a male occasion might be compared to the all-female rites in honour of Demeter during the Thesmophoria. (Also this festival was a highly 'political' event in that it aimed at the securing of the birth of new citizens.)

[46] M. Massenzio, 'La festa di Artemis Triklaria e Dionysos Aisymnetes a Patrai', SMSR 32 (1968) 101-132; Brelich, Paides e parthenoi (n. 32), 276-277, 477.

[47] Paus. 1,29,2.

[48] The ritual license in various Dionysos cults has been recently discussed by Hoffman (n. 30).

as well as in other cultures in periods of seasonal change, especially in the New Year. But here it is more important that dissolution, obscenity, transvestism, merry-making and wine-drinking, all typical of these festivities, are features attested in many cults of Dionysos as well.[49] The inclusion of the Great Dionysia in the festival calendar of Athens precisely in this period of the year only strengthens the possibility of reversing the day-to-day reality. The reactualization of the irrevocable mythical past through tragedy or the visualization of the invalidation of prevailing values through comedy were an integral part of this ritual license which was only meant to be temporary and unthinkable outside the sacred time and place of the Dionysiac festival.

10. I would like here to add some substantial cultic facts attested outside Athens but which present striking parallels to the Athenian cult and confirm that there is an intimate link between Dionysos, the drama performances, the theme of dissolution and subsequent re-establishment of the normal order of things, and the annual periodicity.

Pausanias tells about the Dionysiac cult complex in the Corinthian city Sikyon: *once a year* the votaries transported *in procession two statues of Dionysos into the temple of the god,* which is situated *near the theatre.* The statues are called *Bakkheios* and *Lusios* respectively.[50] Now, these epithets can be interpreted as relating to two phases in the Dionysiac experience: to the enthusiastic frenzy (the altered state) and to the

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[49] The merry-making at the Dionysia festivals has sometimes been seen as an indication of their "profanity". This is however dangerously misleading since the incompatibility of the revelry with the category of the "sacred" is a product of a Christian world-view particularly present in northern Christian cultures and not universally valid.

[50] Paus. 2,7,5-6. The whole situation has been analyzed by G. Casadio, 'Antropologia orfico-dionisiaca nel culto di Tebe, Corinto e Sicione', in Sangue e antropologia. Riti e culto (Atti della V settimana di studi), Roma 1987, 191-260. Two statues of Dionysos, *Bakkheios* and *Lusios,* were also exposed together in the agora of the nearby Corinth (Paus. 2,2,6). In Thebes we have Dionysos *Lusios* near the theatre and the cult is celebrated once a year (Paus. 9,16,6). The presence of Dionysos *Bakkheios* in the same place has sometimes been postulated, cf. Casadio, 236. On Naxos we hear of the masks of Dionysos *Bakkheios* and *Meilikhios* (Athen. 3,78c = Aglaosthenes in FGrHist. 499 F 4) obviously manifesting the same idea of two phases in the Dionysiac event.

necessary deliverance from it (the reintegration into the normal state).[51] In fact, the statue of *Bakkheios* was brought at the head of the procession, while that of *Lusios* followed. Here we find represented the two faces of Dionysos which we supposed to have been in action in Athens too when, during the festivities and dramatic performances, the normal order is altered to be subsequently re-established. It is hardly a coincidence that the city of Sikyon is actually mentioned among the scarce and elusive information that has come down on the origins of tragedy: Herodotus mentions the "tragic choruses" at Sikyon which the tyrant Kleisthenes (ca. 610-570) gave back to the cult of Dionysos from that of the hero Adrastos.[52]

As regards the epithet *Lusios* "Liberator", we may refer to a gloss by Photius: Λύσιοι θεοί· οἱ καθάρσιοι.[53] Should we then, after all, seek the origin of the concept of *katharsis* in the Dionysiac sphere as meaning the relief felt in the reintegration into the normal state after the dramatic experience, which - as was suggested above - showed to the participant of the rite something threatening to be avoided, and not in the medical terminology as seems to be the commonly-held view nowadays? [54]

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[51] This has been done as early as E. Rohde, Psyche. Seelencult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen II, Freiburg 1898 (2d ed.), 50 ("als Bakcheus weckt Dionysos den heiligen Wahnsinn, den er selbst durch dessen höchste Steigerung zuletzt, als Lysios der Lösung und Besänftigung zuführt"). The opinion of M.P. Nilsson, Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung, Leipzig 1906, 302, that *Lusios* provokes the breaking of the normal state, has been influential. I find, however, Rohde's line of interpretation adopted by many recent studies, e.g. W. Burkert, Ancient Mystery Cults, Harvard UP 1987, 170 n. 130; Casadio (n. 50), 238-239 (with discussion and references); Detienne (n. 26), 25.

[52] Hdt. 5,67. I follow the opinion of Casadio (n. 50), 209 that the tragic choruses had belonged originally to Dionysos. The Herodotean passage has often been interpreted in the sense that Kleisthenes transferred the choruses from their original context (the cult of Adrastos) to the cult of Dionysos.

[53] Phot. s.v. That we are here dealing with the Dionysiac realm is confirmed by another gloss: Λύσιοι τελεταί· αἱ Διονύσου (Phot. and Souda s.v.). Except for the expression *lusioi theoi*, as a divine epithet *lusios* is attested exclusively in connection with Dionysos. Both the verb *luein* and the noun *lusis* can be used of deliverance from somehing disturbing and negative, cf. LSJ s.vv.

[54] For the predominance of the medical interpretation: A.A. Long in The Cambridge History of Classical Literature I, 538 n. 1. Cf. also J. Pigeaud, Folie et cures de la folie chez les médecins de l'antiquité gréco-romaine, Paris 1987, 163-183. The concept of *katharsis* belongs to Dionysos (he causes it in Soph. Antig. 1144; according to Schol. in Pind. Pyth. 3,139 the god is a deliverer, *kathartikos*, from *mania*). A detailed discussion of these problems would, however, take us too far from the principal theme.

11. By way of conclusion, I shall emphasize schematically the main issues that emerge from these notes. I am convinced that the scholarly tradition has tended to overlook or belittle many questions which, in my opinion, call for a more serious assessment and, no doubt, for further investigation. In fact, my way to view the extraordinarily many-faceted phenomenon of Athenian drama is not intended to provide any definitive "truths". I concede that it is possible to apply a variety of other (and perhaps complementary) readings as well when evaluating this phenomenon in its religious and historical context.

1) The formal affinity of drama performances with the ritual competitions that took place in various religious festivals reveals that they can be seen as a particular application of that cult practice.

2) The whole dramatic phenomenon is a cultural creation of the Athenian *polis*. It represents institutionalized ritual myth-telling. This myth-telling - organized and regulated by the *polis* - can happen only once a year, during a time consecrated to Dionysos by the public calendar in a place consecrated to the cult of the same god. It forms thus an integral part of this specifically Athenian form of the Dionysos cult. Both the time (seasonal change) and the place (a zone detached from the normal civic and cultic activities) were connoted by what we might call "liminality".

3) The connection of drama with Dionysiac ideology seems in many respects more significant than is traditionally recognized. Notwithstanding the question of its origins, fifth-century drama, such as it is in the context of the Athenian *polis,* is very much a religious matter. It can be seen in the frames of the ritual license typical of the festivals of Dionysos in that it presents situations that could not (or at least should not) happen in the normal life of the civilized *polis*. Within the three-structured Dionysiac experience drama is situated in the liminal phase of dissolution or alteration of the normal order, which in this way is finally reinforced.

4) Consequently, the Dionysiac festival can be regarded as constituting a kind of passage leading to an annual renewal and consolidation of the community. Ultimately the dramatic performances reaffirm the common values and the 'politic' (from *polis*) ideology. The theme of passage is significantly echoed in the transition rites performed by the youth in connection with these performances.

Sappho Fragment 2 L.-P.: Some Homeric Readings*

Kai Heikkilä

Introduction

The relationship of Sappho's poems to Homer has been studied several times.[1] Fairly recently four fragments of Sappho, namely frs. 1, 16, 31, and 44 L.-P. have been studied by Leah Rissman as to their Homeric allusions.[2] Rissman's methodological approach to Homeric allusions in Sappho deserves attention as a model with which to highlight the purposes and method of this study. Rissman assigns the types of Homeric allusions in three general categories: repetition of a word or expression, adaptation thereof and similarity of situation. The effect of the allusions is produced if the audience thinks of Homer in the first place.[3] She rightly notes that this approach involves several difficulties: epicisms in archaic poetry can be coincidental, lyric formulae may arise from an independent tradition, and what seem to be allusions to epic poetry may in fact be allusions to other poems.[4]

The present study sets out to compare certain key themes of Sappho's fragment 2 L.-P. to similar themes in Homer. Although certain lexical and thematic parallels will suggest that Sappho has constructed her poem with similar Homeric themes in mind, certainty is often impossible, and the corrupt state of parts of fr. 2 further complicates establishing

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* Drafts of this paper have been read by Professor Jane Snyder at the Ohio State University and by Professor Maarit Kaimio at the University of Helsinki. I am grateful for their valuable comments and suggestions. All errors remain mine.

1 Generally, M. Treu, Von Homer zur Lyrik (Zetemata 12), 1955, 136ff. passim. On the use of formulae E. Risch, MH 3, 1946 and more recently, F. Ferrari, "Formule saffiche e formule omeriche", Ann. Scu. Norm. Sup. di Pisa XVI, 1986, 441-447. For an excellent study on a Homeric expression in Sappho fr. 2, see P. Wiesman, "Was heisst koma?", in MH 29, 1972.

2 L. Rissman, Love as War: Homeric Allusion in the Poetry of Sappho (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 157), 1983.

3 Rissman 1983, 15

4 Ibid. 14

exact Homeric borrowings. Yet even if direct Homeric influence could not be demonstrated, it can be safely assumed that Sappho and Homer work in the same tradition and make use of it for their own purposes. It should also be noted that most of Greek lyric poetry has a close relationship to Homer and the dominance of Homer in Greek culture and literature will have made it the most suggestive field of reference for the poets and their audience. Furthermore, the only surviving literary context, apart from some other lyric poetry, that is contemporaneous with Sappho or precedes her literary output is the epic tradition of Homer and Hesiod. Thus a comparison of Sappho to Homer is a matter of necessity dictated by the chance of survival. The purpose of this study is also to show that contrasting Sappho with the Homeric tradition will make the unique character of her work appear more clearly. Moreover, the Homeric parallels or allusions that can be plausibly identified often create a system of reference that Sappho uses to introduce different shades of meaning for a word, expression or image. How this system of reference emerges in fragment 2 and how it enhances the understanding of the meaning and artistry of the poem will be the main concern of this study.

Fragment 2 L.-P: The First Stanza

The basic structure of fr. 2 has been indicated in several studies.[5] The first stanza contains the address to a deity that is not mentioned, a plea that the deity come to a temple with a grove and an altar. The two following stanzas describe the grove in detail, and the fourth names the goddess Aphrodite and by asking her to perform a libation returns to the cletic and cultic setting of the first stanza. This establishes a tripartite structure for the poem (or the part of it that has been preserved) as well as the principle

[5] I have followed the text established by D. Page, Sappho and Alcaeus. An Introduction to the Study of Ancient Lesbian Poetry, 1955, 34. For older literature (mostly dealing with textual problems), see his notes at 35, for structural analysis, 39ff. Page's text is followed closely by D. Campbell, Greek Lyric Poetry, 1982, repr. 1990, 41-42. For further textual problems reference has also been made to the detailed study of the poem by G. Lanata in Studi italiani di filologia classica 1960, 64-90, to the edition by Eva-Maria Voigt (Sappho et Alcaeus, 1971, 33-35) and to the article by C. Gallavotti (L'ode saffica dell'ostracon, Bolletino dei Classici ser. 3, fasc. 1, 1980, 3ff.). On questions of completeness and the identification of the genre, T. McEvilley, Sappho Fragment Two, Phoenix 26, 1972, 323ff. Further H. Saake, Sappho Studien, 1972, 62ff. The poem has been studied relatively little recently. The latest major account by A. P. Burnett, Three Archaic Poets: Archilochus, Alcaeus, Sappho, 1983, 259ff. is indispensable for textual problems, interpretation and bibliography.

of ring-composition without lexical pointers which are often used to announce the ring.[6]

The wish that the deity would appear is expressed by δεῦρυ without the verb, if the word is not missing in the fragmentary first line.[7] The call upon the deity is followed by a short description of the locality: it is a holy temple (ναῦον ἄγνον)[8] where Aphrodite (as identified later in the fourth stanza) would find a pleasant grove (χάριεν ἄλσος) of apples with altars which have been perfumed with incense (βῶμοι τεθυμιάμενοι [λι]βανώτῳ). The key words temple, altar and grove have all been defined with adjectives and the grove with an additional μαλί[αν]. These words not only describe the place but also indicate by the addition of perfumed altars that a cult is being practised. These notions of locality and activity anticipate the following stanzas so that an introduction is created which already indicates the structure and the basic ideas of the poem. A thorough analysis of the first stanza is therefore essential for a proper understanding of the poem as a whole.

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6 Whether the fragmentary line (numbered 1a by Voigt 1971, 33) that begins the text of the ostracon actually belongs to the poem is a vexed question. Page 1955, 35 points out that the text as it stands cannot belong to the ending of a Sapphic stanza, although the copyist is careless to the extent that it is difficult to assume anything on the basis of the metrical distortion. Burnett 1983, 261, note 86 evaluates earlier solutions rightly emphasizing the inconclusive nature of the evidence. The solutions to the problem ranging from the rather ambitious attempt to reconstruct a complete first stanza by Theiler and von der Mühll (Das Sapphogedicht auf der Scherbe, MH 3, 1946, 22ff.) to the complete rejection of line 1a Voigt (e.g. McEvilley 1972) have to remain tentative. At any rate the problems of metre and dialect that line 1a presents make it likely that it does not belong to the poem and that line 1 indeed represents the beginning. See further M. West, Maia 22, 1970, 315ff. and A. Rivier MH 5, 1948, 227ff.

7 Apart from δεῦρυ the interpretation of the first line is extremely uncertain. Most scholars have contended that the line contains a mention of Crete or Cretans (e.g. Page 1955, 36), but this has been contested. See Burnett 1983, 262, note 87 and Gallavotti 1980, p. 5f. for different theories. Gallavotti proposes a solution that would turn the word +κρητεσι+ (this reading by Lanata 1960) into a third person of the verb κρετημι = κρατέω and consequently would do away with the cletic element of the first line. This solution seems hardly tenable, however, in view of the fact that it presupposes the existence of an atematic κρετημι, not conclusively proven by the existence of the aorist infinitive κρετησαι in Sappho fr. 20, and for the extremely corrupt state of the text here that makes emendations more or less conjectural. Moreover, if we indeed assume that this line begins the poem, we would except a call of some sort upon Aphrodite, whose identity is subsequently revealed in the fourth stanza.

8 Here the form ναῦον adopted by Page 1955, 34 and Voigt 1971, 33 seems to be preferable to the word ἐναῦλον proposed by Gallavotti 1980, 5, note 4, since the latter needs a heavier and more controversial emendation, especially the addition of the beginning epsilon of which there is hardly any trace on the ostracon.

The aspect of cult of the first stanza of fr. 2 finds its Homeric parallel in the formulaic expression ἔνθα τέ οἱ τέμενος βωμός τε θυήεις, found several times in different contexts.[9] In Od. 8. 362f. Aphrodite moves from Olympus to her shrine (τέμενος) in Paphos where a fragrant altar (βῶμος θυήεις) awaits her and where the Charites will wash and anoint her body. The movement of the goddess from one place to another, the fact that she comes to her shrine and the fragrant altars there suggest strong similarity in theme and organization, the lexical connection being provided in the image of the fragrant altars. Both accounts move gradually deeper into the shrine to suggest the movement of the goddess, and the movement takes the same course in both: 1. Paphos - δεῦρυ, 2. τέμενος - ναῦος, 3. βῶμος - βῶμοι. Sappho gives a further lexical connection by describing the grove of the precinct as χάριεν (l. 2). In the Homeric passages describing Aphrodite's arrival at her temple she is assisted by Charites, who as personifications of erotic attraction are associated only with her.[10] Here Sappho seems to invite comparison between her poem and Aphrodite's advent scenes in Homer, although the goddess is not named by her until in the fourth stanza.

Despite the evident similarities, Sappho's first stanza is substantially different from its Homeric parallels. Already the function of Sappho's poem as a cletic hymn demands a different and more personal approach which is reflected in the cletic δεῦρυ and the use of the second person (τοι) when the goddess is addressed instead of the Homeric third person in οἱ.[11] The narrative purpose of Homer emphasizes the action and contains little of the descriptive and picturesque detail that decorate Sappho's account. Sappho's poem emerges as a curious mixture of personal address

9 Aphrodite's arrival at her precinct in Paphos in Od. 8. 362-6 and H. Ven. 59-63, the advent of Zeus at his shrine in Ida in Il. 8. 47-48 and the description of the shrine of the river god Spercheus in Il. 23. 148 (with ὅθι τοι).

10 The association of Charites and sexual love is more clearly developed in Hesiod than in Homer, and is likely to have sprung from their intimate association with Aphrodite. See Hes. Theog. 907ff., with comments in M. West's commentary (Hesiod, Theogony, 1966). For the coupling of Aphrodite and Charis, Hes Op. 65f: καὶ χάριν ἀμφιχέαι κεφαλῇ χρυσῆν 'Αφροδίτην / καὶ πόθον ἀργαλέον καὶ γυιοβόρους μελεδῶνας.

11 Second person address appears in Homer with the formula in Il. 23. 148 when Achilles addresses the river god. As for Sappho it should be noted that τοι is added in the lacuna by Page 1955, followed by Campbell 1982, 41, omitted by Voigt 1971 and Lanata 1960. Perhaps the existence of τοι in the Homeric formula gives some authority to Page's emendation, although it is unlikely that Sappho makes reference to Achilles' address to the river god.

and generalizing omissions: although the locality is elaborately described by Sappho the place of the shrine is not mentioned and the name of the deity addressed remains unknown for the time being. This creates two important effects that separate Sappho's poem from the Homeric account and the conventional form of a cletic hymn. The omission of the name of the deity creates suspense that is not released until in the last stanza, which gives Sappho's poem a forward impetus quite different from the Homeric linear narrative.[12] Moreover, the mention of the godhead's name is essential for a cletic hymn or invocation. The connection between the mortal and the god can be fully established through identification, as Sappho duly does in fr. 1 L.-P., which mentions Aphrodite in the first line with a characteristic epithet.[13] Thus the omissions of proper names for the locality and the godhead summoned can be regarded as a programmatic statement to indicate that Sappho's intentions are different than those of Homer and the hymnic genre.

The basic elements of Aphrodite's advent that appear in Sappho's poem were already present in the Homeric account: the holy precinct (τέμενος) and the fragrant altars. Sappho, however, developes the notion of holiness by adding the temple (ναῦον), describing it holy (ἄγνον) and giving the whole scene the dimension of nature with the addition of the pleasant grove of apples (χάριεν ἄλσος μαλί[αν]).

Ναός or ναῦος is usually a temple with the cult image, whereas τέμενος suggests the holy precinct in general.[14] By ναῦος Sappho brings us to the center of the cult where the existence of the temple suggests a permanent establishment for cult rather than just a holy precinct. The word ναῦος also indicates the connection between the goddess and mortals who have built the temple and perform the sacrifices. Whereas in Homer Aphrodite was attended by the Charites, in Sappho humans await her arrival. The adjective ἄγνον is an interesting choice to describe the temple. In Homer ἁγνός is used of places and things dedicated to gods and the word even otherwise always refers to what is particular to the

12 Probably the educated reader will have been able to supply Aphrodite's name by reference to the Homeric parallel, but Sappho still leaves room for ambiguity, which is not dissolved until in the last stanza. The reasons for this will be discussed below.

13 Cf. Alc. 34a L.-P., where Castor and Polydeuces are invoked with a mention of their name, common haunt and genealogy.

14 On ναός see W. Burkert, Greek Religion, 1985, 88f.

sacred.[15] But it is also the special epithet of virgin goddesses, especially of Artemis. Homer never uses the adjective of Aphrodite.[16] Burkert in fact thinks that the word means sacred and pure as opposed to things defiled (μιαρά), although this is a matter of some controversy.[17] Parker regards the term ἁγνός as too vague to mean pure or chaste without qualification from its context.[18] According to Williger the term when applied to gods conveys rather a notion of respect than purity.[19] Doubtlessly the term ἅγνον when it in Sappho's poem describes the temple conveys a sense of separation, holiness and awe, but the possibility of associating the adjective with Artemis and therefore the connotation of sexual purity and virginity cannot be ruled out since Artemis is the ἁγνή goddess *par excellence*, and she and her cult are especially connected with groves and meadows.[20]

In the first stanza the eroticism is represented by the presence of χάρις in the landscape, and those associated with the grove become part of

15 Od. 21. 258-9 (ἑορτὴ τοῖο θεοῖο ἁγνή); H. Merc. 187 (ἄλσος). Cf. Pindar Pyth. 4. 204 (τέμενος), Aisch. Suppl. 223 (ἐν ἁγνῷ) "on holy ground".

16 Artemis is often styled ἁγνή, e.g. Od. 5. 123; 18. 202; 20. 71, Persephone and Demeter less frequently: Od. 11. 386, H. Cer. 337 (Persephone), H. Cer. 203; 439 (Demeter). What Demeter's virginity consisted of is harder to assess. Perhaps she could be seen as a defender of Persephone's virginity, as she in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter tries to save her from Hades, who by abducting her when she is still a maiden threatens (and finally conquers) her virginity.

17 Burkert 1985, 270f. with bibliography.

18 R. Parker, Miasma, Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion, 1983, 147.

19 E. Williger, Hagios, Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten 19.1, 1922, 37ff. This is also the opinion of B. Gentili, Poesia e Pubblico nella Grecia antica da Omero al V secolo, 1984, 287f. He argues that the sense "ritually pure" develops for ἁγνός only after the archaic period, but his evidence is inconclusive. For instance it is very hard to assess whether in the passage of Simonides (fr. 577a P) that he cites the prevalent notion of lustral water is that of reverence or purity. In fact both aspects seem to be equally present.

20 Burkert 1985, 150, with bibliography. On Artemis' special relation with nature and growth see e.g. the ample evidence collected by K. Wernicke in RE 2, 1342f. (Artemis). In Homer ἄλσος is favored especially by the nymphs, so that the notion is already attached to the expression (e.g. Il. 20.8) Compare Athena's ἄλσος in Od. 6. 291, which in its structure is close enough to have served as a possible model for Sappho's description of the grove. Athena's ἄλσος contains a spring (κρήνη , cf. the second stanza in Sappho fr. 2), a meadow, a holy precinct (τέμενος) and lush vegetation, i.e. the elements of a hallowed *locus amoenus* that make up Sappho's garden. Athena's grove suggest virginity and Treu 1955, 213 in fact thinks that the inclusion of sexuality by the description of a holy grove as χάριεν seems to be a Sapphic innovation. See the chapter below on this question.

that χάρις.[21] Yet the erotic potentiality inherent in the Sapphic grove (χάριεν ἄλσος) first becomes real and tangible through the Homeric reference to Aphrodite (later confirmed in the fourth stanza) assisted by her Charites. Aphrodite brings in the notion of sensual love and by their association with Aphrodite the Charites suggest erotic attraction and sexual maturity.[22] The participants of the cultic celebration of Aphrodite who have perfumed Aphrodite's altar and in the fourth stanza invite her to pour the libation take in Sappho's poem the place of the Homeric Charites as the attendants of Aphrodite. Thus the Homeric reference not only activates the landscape, it also places those present there in their function and status.

Aphrodite's role as the goddess of physical sexuality and her suggested presence in the first stanza seem quite incompatible with the idea of purity and virginity also prominent in the stanza. It is also important to note that sexuality in general was banned from places of cult, which makes the Sappho's combination of eroticism and worship original and striking.[23] So even if the interpretation of ἄγνον as implying sexual purity here could not be regarded as conclusive, the contrast between sexuality and the sacred still persists. Such flowery meadows as the one in Sappho fr. 2. could of course include sexuality, even invite its violation, but what has usually escaped the scholars' attention is that in Sappho fr. 2 the meadow is a hallowed temple with all the trappings of cult and sacrifice and not merely described as "inviolate" (ἀκήρατος).[24] This Sapphic innovation to

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21 Saake 1972, 63: "Diese Erweiterung gipfelt einerseits in der Wahrnehmung der Charis des ganzen Menschen, anderseits in dem Wiederfinden eben dieser Eigenschaft in den natural objects in der Landschaft und Pflanzenwelt".

22 Ibycus 7 calls the beloved Eurualos Χαρίτων θάλος. Furthermore χάρις is according to Page 1955, 36 used by the Lesbian poets only of personal charm. If this indeed was so, Sappho's use of the word to describe nature must have sounded striking and given the grove an immediate ambivalence between nature and man. The grove could indeed be understood to refer not in the first place to nature but symbolically to human physis and emotion. Burnett 1982, 263-4, note 90, in fact emphasizes that the natural scene in fr. 2 is not natural at all with roses blooming and apples maturing at the same time. This can be seen as a confirmation of the symbolic character of the landscape and as a way to show that this is no ordinary garden but rather divine place where the rotation of seasons is no object.

23 Evidence on the exclusion of sexuality from cult is collected and interpreted by Parker 1983, 74ff.

24 Evidence on meadows and love has been gathered in the monumental work by A. Motte, Prairies et Jardins de la Grèce antique (Academie Royale de Belgie, Mém. Classe des Lettres, 61.5, 1973), see especially 147ff. For a more succinct treatment and evidence on the theme meadows and sexuality, see now J. M. Bremer, The Meadow of Love and Two Passages in Euripides' *Hippolytus*, Mnemosyne 28, 1975, 268ff, especially 271 that compares Sappho 2, Ibycus 5 and Eur. Hipp. 73ff. without noticing, however, how

combine purity, sexuality and the sacred points out her original genius, but creates problems for the interpretation of the passage. Therefore the following similarity that reconciles the concept of ἄγνος with both Homeric passages describing Aphrodite's advent and the aspect of sexuality in Sappho's poem should be considered.

Aphrodite's arrival at Paphos in Cyprus in the Odyssey is part of one of the most famous and original stories in the poem, the song of Demodocus.[25] The story is a parody of passion, adultery and punishment, where the adulterous couple Aphrodite, the wife of Hephaestus, and Ares are trapped *in flagranti* by the suspecting husband. Without further going into the details of the story, it suffices here to note that the main point of the story is sexuality, namely illicit sexuality, and the shame and ridicule that follows it.[26] What is important here is the fact that she leaves Olympus and Ares (who heads to Thrace), the scene and partner of her adulterous affair, to bathe in her shrine. Her departure from Olympus can be understood not only spatially but also as a symbolic separation from the sexual status of an adulteress she had put herself in during the affair.

Since Aphrodite's bathing happens in a holy precinct a comparison with ritual baths suggests itself. Ritual baths were a regulated ceremony before entering holy places and precede sacrifice and mysteries. In them a symbolic separation from the world outside and a transformation into different status or capacity took place.[27] Even here it could be suggested that Aphrodite's bath purifies her from the stain of her adultery and marks her transition to a new status, which also is sexual as can be seen from the rest of the Homeric passage: at 366 her clothes are described as

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different the Sapphic ναῦον ἄγνον is from what Ibycus and Euripides describe only with the adjective ἀκήρατος.

25 The bibliography to the song of Demodocus (Od. 8. 266-369) is very large. For older literature see W. Burkert, Das Lied von Ares und Aphrodite, RM 103, 130ff. and for a recent commentary and additional literature, see now J.B. Hainsworth's commentary (Omero, Odissea, vol. II, 1987, 269ff.).

26 Hephaestus calls the adulterous affair at 307 ἔργα γελατὰ καὶ οὐκ ἐπιεικτά, ridiculous and intolerable deeds, which neatly summarizes the tenor of Demodocus' song.

27 Parker 1983, 19 aptly states that "Without purification there is no access to the sacred". His account following this statement (in fact all of the first chapter [Purification: a Science of Division] of his book) well demonstrates the centrality of lustrations before dealing with the sacred and how purification was a liminal marker between the sacred and the profane. Older evidence is presented by M. P. Nilsson, Geschichte der Griechischen Religion I, 1951, 102, with more detail in L. Moulinier, Le pur et l'impur dans la pensée des Grecs d'Homère à Aristote, 1952, 71ff. For an expert study on bathing, see now R. Ginouvès, Balaneutiké, recherches sur le bain dans l'antiquité grecque, 1968.

captivatingly beautiful (ἐπήρατα) and a wonder to behold (θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι). What makes Aphrodite acquiring this status similar to a worshipper approaching ἁγνόν, is that in both cases purity and separation are the key elements. The bath itself shows that purity is not a concept incompatible with Aphrodite, yet Aphrodite's bath does not purify her absolutely, but marks her new sexual status. Similarly in the Homeric hymn to Aphrodite 61 the goddess is bathed by the Charites when she wants to seduce Anchises.[28] Here again the bath marks the preparation and the beginning of her new sexual mood and purpose. Of course Aphrodite's purity is by no means virgin purity, but for the interpretation of the Sappho 2 it is essential to note that the allusion to these Homeric passages brings in the idea of purity as a marker of an active sexual status and a limiting factor as regards other sexual statuses. The allusion colors the place of cult and the term ἅγνον by showing that the sexual purity they both imply here can be understood not as a sort of anti-sexuality but as an erotic mood.[29] Therefore the purity in this context need not be inconsistent with the sexuality that Aphrodite and χάρις imply, but rather a reflection of the Sapphic idea of the type of love connected with the grove. The virginity and purity suggest that the maiden, like the unmarried priestesses of Artemis,[30] was supposed to have no sexual contact with men. If we assume that the love celebrated in Sappho's temple of Aphrodite was strictly between women, the ἅγνον quality of the temple would not have been compromised.[31]

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28 Note also that Aphrodite at 82 approaches Anchises in the guise of a virgin maiden. Thus the idea of purification and virginity is already suggested in the hymn.

29 This is a striking modification by Sappho of the usual purpose of purification before cult and sacrifice. Normally the celebrant would exclude sexuality altogether while practising the cult and symbolize the exclusion by ritual washing, but in Sappho sexuality in a form defined by purity is an integral element of the cult.

30 A comparison between the celebrants of Aphrodite and priestesses seems justified since Sappho's grove is clearly a place for cult. Virgin priestesses are best attested for Artemis, see E. Fehrle, Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten 6), 98ff. More in Burkert 1985, 150 and Parker 1983, 90f. who finds the evidence on virgin priests and priestesses (especially for those of Demeter) difficult to interpret and stresses the idea that the abstinence from sex in cult was more often occasional than absolute.

31 This mood is again contrasted to other forms of erotic self-expression, as the idea of separation inherent in the term ἅγνον and expressed in the Homeric passages describing Aphrodite's bath shows. Therefore it does not seem plausible to see Sappho allowing any broad spectrum of eroticism in her poem, but instead a restricted form of sexuality. Compare Sappho fr. 94 L.-P.where the locality of the past (homosexual) love seems to

The idea of purity and sexuality combined can be further strenghtened by considering the apple-grove which is the center of activity. The symbolism and function of the apple-grove become fully clear only in the second and third stanzas, but the image has here suggestive power by itself. Apple-trees in the Odyssey in a garden setting with other trees represent abundance, wealth and the high position of their owners. This is clear in the way Alcinous' orchards in Od. 7.114f. stand for his wealth and the splendour of his court. Apples also figure among the gifts of nature Tantalus is denied as punishment (Od. 11.588ff.). The presence of apples in a holy grove of Aphrodite with its erotic implications and suggestions of purity obviously connects the apple to a different symbolic structure than was the case in Homer. Burnett has noted that the ambiguity of the grove is paralleled by apples which represent both virginity and its loss.[32] The connection of apples and ἔρως is made clear by Ibycus in fr. 6d where the sensually beautiful garden setting bears a striking resemblance to Sappho's fr. 2.

The problem that the apple presents is again the same as with the advent of Aphrodite to a setting that suggests virginity and sexual purity, a landscape that would be more suitable for Artemis, the pure (ἁγνή) goddess who loves to haunt meadows and groves.[33] Burnett notes that Aphrodite was associated with groves as well, but this might represent later tradition. Also her idea that virginity existed only to be lost seems forced in this context.[34] Rather if we assume, as suggested above, that the advent of Aphrodite and the eroticism of the landscape do not pose a threat to virginity, the goddess of love can enter with impunity a precinct that also exhibits attributes of Artemis. The fact that the name of the goddess is

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have included something holy (25: ἴρον) and a grove (27: ἄλσος), that is, the basic setting of eroticism present in fr. 2 as well.

32 Burnett 1982, 266ff. By not considering the Homeric parallels she nevertheless misses the subtle way Sappho already in the first stanza creates and dissolves the ambiguity by a masterly play with the Homeric passages.

33 Burkert 1985, 150f. He notes that Artemis' virginity is not asexuality, but the evidence he has gathered pertains more to her following than to the goddess herself. At any rate even her followers always fall victim to rape rather than have erotic adventures out of their own will. No such sexual intrusions can be found in Sappho 2. Nevertheless Burkert's idea of Artemis and sexuality is interesting in this context, as Sappho could be seen in her way to make good of such potential when she combines purity and sexuality. But the fact that the ἄγνον quality of the temple is respected excludes sexual excesses such as rape and abduction.

34 Burnett 1982, 269.

not mentioned leaves the reader/listener free to associate the scene with both Artemis and Aphrodite and to accomodate the oblique Homeric reference to Athena (Od. 6. 291, see above note 20). The virgin Artemis who only associates herself with women and Aphrodite the goddess of sexual love thus enter the scene to create a setting with a decidedly homoerotic flavor. The ambiguity of the apple is transformed in this grove to a coherence of sexuality and virginity, an ἔρως of distinctly Sapphic character, with suggestions of purity, holiness and Artemis controlling the loss of virginity associated with the apple.

Stanzas 2-4 of Fr. 2: Expansion and Conclusion

The image of the apple-grove of the first stanza is elaborated and expanded in the second and third stanzas. The flow of the cool water through apple branches, the shadows of roses, rustling leaves that create deep slumber and a flowery meadow with gentle breezes create a paradise-like atmosphere. This idea of a paradise is indebted or related to some Homeric passages, most notably the amorous encounter between Zeus and Hera in Il. 14.347-51, the description of the scenery around Calypso's cave in Od. 5.63ff. and the grove where Odysseus waits before he follows Nausicaa to the city (Od. 6.291ff.). In Calypso's abode trees, flowers, meadows and water are all present and an image of this kind is echoed in Sappho. Sappho's grove in fr. 2, however, has important additions and implications that form what Burnett has called a landscape of female sexuality.[35] Burnett further notes that Aphrodite's "best known attributes and parts are rendered by bits of landscape... to specify and reinforce the aspect of the divinity that the worshipper would meet."[36] It was suggested above that the Aphrodite worshipped in this garden represented the union of sexuality and purity. How do the details of the landscape agree with this?

The first feature of the grove that Sappho gives is the purling of cold water through the apple-branches. In Homer the only instance when water is called ψυχρὸν is when it comes from a spring in a garden of

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[35]Burnett, 1982, 266.

[36] Burnett 1982, 263. Saake 1972, 62ff. thinks that the topographical Ekphrasis replaces the Aretalogie that would have been at place in a cletic hymn. For more on this type of Αφροδίτη ἐν κήποις in art, see E. Langlotz, Aphrodite in den Gärten, 1954.

Nymphs (Od. 17. 205f.). Also the verb κελάδειν that in Sappho's poem describes the purling of the water is used in Homer of rivers (Il. 18.576). It is therefore plausible to assume that Sappho is describing a spring or a creek. Some of the apple-branches could have fallen into the water or could be long enough to reach it. As the above examples show, water in Homer is an integral part of a pleasant natural setting. But in fact the word ὕδωρ in Homer is most often associated with purification, especially the washing of hands (χέρνιψ). In the Iliad purification with water takes place in connection with oaths (3. 270), prayers (9. 171f.) and reception of guests.[37] Water thus purifies to prepare men for a contact with gods and marks the transition of the stranger into the status of guest. Nilsson notes that water was the most usual means of purification in several Greek cults.[38] The implications of purity, purification and virginity were already suggested for the first stanza. The sounding water in the second stanza can consequently be seen both as the limit between the holy and the profane and as a means of the purification that gives entry to the area marked pure and holy (ἄγνον) in the first stanza. On the whole the connection of the word ὕδωρ here to Homer shows how Sappho uses the epic parallel to create awareness of the expression she uses, but it also indicates the skill of Sappho to unite the most important aspects of the image in the parallels to a personal and effective synthesis.

In Sappho's poem the flow of water is intimately connected with apple-branches. Whereas water here can be seen to represent the purity and holiness of the grove, apples stand for virginity and sexuality. In the first stanza Sappho had tried to dissolve the inherent contradiction in the symbolism of the apple. In the second stanza Sappho emphatically returns to her interpretation of apple as an erotic symbol. The water that flows among the apple branches cleanses them of the residues of their ambiguous message (especially the loss of virginity) and brings them in line with the definition of their sexual symbolism already formulated in the first stanza.[39] This is in keeping with the Homeric qualities of water as a

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37 For more, see Nilsson 1951, 90.

38 Nilsson 1951, 102. Nilsson emphasizes that only water in motion is suitable. This makes one think of the verb κελάδει in Sappho's poem.

39 Sappho fr. 105a provides an interesting parallel. The apple on the bough-top is not accessible to pickers and can be only seen. In fr.2 the apple is not only accessible but also defined by its association with the image of purity. The contrast between the actively pursuing apple-pickers in 105a and the passive reception of love in fr. 2 is also notable: love, the gift of Aphrodite, comes when it is mature and the setting is suitable for its

purifier but also as a means and marker of transformation. Moreover, the verb κελάδει can be seen as an oblique reference to Artemis, whose special epithet in Homer is κελαδεινή (sounding).[40] This lexical connection to Artemis again points out the particular virgin quality of the purity inherent in the landscape and in the image of flowing water (as well as expected of those entering the holy precinct), which was more vaguely expressed in the first stanza.[41]

The roses that cast their shadow on earth recall with their erotic implication[42] - which also other flowers can have - the scene in Il. 14. 347f. where lotus, crocus and hyacinth spring up under Zeus and Hera as they make love. The floral imagery reappears coupled with sweet breezes in the third stanza, but because of textual corruption the exact nature of these flowers remains unknown.[43] As it is the horse-rearing meadow expands on the rosy earth of the previous stanza. Even if it cannot be attested whether Sappho modelled her account on the famous Homeric passage, the fact that this passage is the only epic occurrence of extensive floral imagery in an erotic setting suggests the parallel.[44] The Homeric parallel makes it evident where Sappho's originality lies: roses do not occur in Homer except in the adjective ῥοδοδάκτυλον,[45] and the idea of the shadow is also alien to Homer apart from the formulaic description of how the dusk falls.[46] Sappho's garden of love preserves the already

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enjoyment. J. Winkler, The Constraints of Desire: The Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece, 1990, 183f. thinks the apple in fr. 105a is an image of the secure and unattainable nature of female sexuality which men cannot fully know or understand. Winkler's notion of the exclusivity and special nature of female sexuality in fr. 105a goes well with the general tone of fr. 2, although in fr. 105a the image of the apple ripening represents existing but not fully ready sexuality, whereas in fr. 2 sexuality is an active presence in an erotic landscape.

40 Artemis is styled κελαδεινή in Il. 16, 183; 20, 70; 21, 510; H. Ven. 16; 118; H. Diana 27. The scholiasts suggested that the name suggested the barking of his dogs, but neglected the connection of the term to images of nature and landscape.

41 The virgin quality of the landscape need again not be understood to exclude all but virgins, but should rather be seen to point out the female exclusivity of the sexual landscape. The water that flows through the apple-branches is not only a boundary between the pure and the stained, but also an active purifier that can create a sexual status suitable for the Sapphic temple and garden of Aphrodite.

42 Burnett 1982, 263, n. 89.

43 See further Page 1955, 38.

44 See E. S. Forster, 'Trees and Plants in Homer', CR 50, 1936, 100. Cf. D. A. Campbell, The Golden Lyre, 1983, 3.

45 Forster 1936, 100.

46 Treu 1955, 213ff.

Homeric idea of the flowery meadow of love but gives it a distinctly new colouring to mark the difference between her concept of pure and virgin love and the Homeric sexual union of the two gods.

The κῶμα, i. e. the state of total relaxation comes in Sappho's poem from the quivering leaves. Because of its association with the paradise-like garden of love, the Sapphic κῶμα is easily identified with the pleasant state of slumber (Il. 14.359) that covers Zeus after he has made love to Hera. The passage in the Odyssey where Athena covers Penelope with κῶμα (18. 201) also has erotic implications: Penelope is made more appealing to the suitors in her slumber. The positive connotation of the word seems to be retained in Sappho's poem: indeed Burnett has suggested that κῶμα suggests the consummation of love in Sappho's garden.[47] Since κῶμα in the Iliad follows Zeus' lovemaking and can be ultimately traced back to Aphrodite, it seems plausible to suggest that the κῶμα in Sappho's poem has an erotic flavor and is connected to Aphrodite. But κῶμα can be a negative occurrence as well. Wiesmann has suggested that the threatening side of κῶμα is already present in the verb καλύπτω which in Homer describes the onset of κῶμα but also the coming of death.[48] Hesiod (Theog. 798) speaks about a bad κῶμα that seizes the god who breaks his or her oath on Styx. The god can be revived from this state of paralysis only by nectar.

The link between κῶμα and nectar brings us to the last stanza of Sappho's fr. 2. Aphrodite is finally addressed, named, and asked to gently pour nectar with her golden cups among the festivities. Just as the gods in Hesiod could be awakened from coma and Hector's corpse in the Iliad 19.379 saved from putrefaction with nectar, it could be suggested that Aphrodite in Sappho's poem pours out nectar to ward off the possible bad effects of κῶμα. We need not take the nectar as an antidote against κῶμα itself,[49] whose pleasant nature is suggested by the setting and the parallel in the Iliad and from which no rescue is needed. Rather we can see Aphrodite using the nectar against the wrong kind of κῶμα, which might

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47 Burnett 1982, 272f.

48 Wiesmann 1972, 3ff.

49 Burnett 1982, 274 thinks that nectar revives the participants of the ritual from their coma.

even result from a flawed sexual union,[50] but also to bring the notion of the divine, immortal and eternally young among the festivities. Nectar belongs to the gods, and this notion of divine is further confirmed by the presence of the golden cups with which Aphrodite pours the nectar. The golden quality which is associated with Aphrodite's dwellings in Olympus in Sappho fr. 1.8 is in Homer often connected to other gods as well, as Page's note on the passage shows.[51] Thus Sappho makes it explicit that the participants of the ritual in the holy grove would by association acquire godlike qualities. These qualities were already suggested in the first stanza and elaborated in the second and third by paralleling the landscape of love to which initiated mortals can gain entry with that of Zeus and Hera in the Iliad. Here the theme grows into a vivid image of the consummation of the ritual which culminates in the realization of the godlike qualities in the beneficiaries of the Sapphic garden of love.

50 In Il. 14.216f. Hera prepares to trick Zeus into bed with her so she can work freely while Zeus slumbers. It should be noted that most of Sappho's Homeric parallels serve to define the concept of love and sexuality peculiar to fragment 2.

51 Page 1955 7 n. 8. Rissman 1983, 2 notes that the adjective χρυσέη is applied to Aphrodite ten times in Homer.

Die aesthetische Funktion der lyrischen und epischen Elemente in der griechischen Tragödie.*

Siegfried Jäkel

Die Epik, die Lyrik und das Drama haben sich von der Antike bis in unsere Zeit hinein als literarische Ausdrucksformen erhalten, die jeweils ihre spezifische Aesthetik entwickelten. Aus der archaischen Epik, als deren wichtigster Repräsentant Homer zu gelten hat, ist letztenendes der moderne Roman hervorgegangen, und die altgriechische Lyrik hat auch bereits jene zwei Spielarten entwickelt, die wir in unserer Zeit als Erlebnis- oder Gedankenlyrik zu bezeichnen pflegen. Aus der griechischen Tragödie hat sich unser modernes Drama entwickelt, unser heutiges politisches Cabaret hat seine Wurzeln bei Aristophanes und die moderne Komödie geht auf Menander und die Dichter der NEA zurück.

Es erscheint mir nicht unwichtig, sich diese über die Jahrtausende hinweg reichenden Beziehungen mindestens im Ansatz zu vergegenwärtigen, ehe man daran geht, die Frage nach der aesthetischen Funktion lyrischer und epischer Elemente in der griechischen Tragödie zu erörtern.

Das Phänomen der griechischen Tragödie - seit Aristoteles immer wieder der Gegenstand poesietheoretischer Erörterungen - ist in der Antike die erste schriftlich fixierte literarische Form von offizieller, d.h. von staatlich-religiöser Legitimation, die über ihre religiöse Funktion hinausgehend philosophisch-künstlerische Perspektiven eröffnet. Menschliches Handeln wird im antiken Drama durch die unmittelbare Nachahmung handelnder Menschen zu einer Art von Simultanerlebnis für den Zuschauer, der auf diese Weise in einer Direktheit angesprochen und in die Handlung des Stückes mit einbezogen wird, wie es die Gattungen der Epik und der Lyrik nie zu leisten vermochten. Die Aesthetik des Epos hat

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weitgehend narrativen Charakter, das bedeutet, daß ein Geschehen, das als Gegenstand der Erzählung dem Hörer vermittelt werden soll, in einer eklektischen Brechung dargeboten wird, so wie es dem Erzähler als wichtig erscheint. Mit anderen Worten: Epische Erzählungen sind in der Regel von monologischer Struktur, um einen Ausdruck des russischen Literatur-Theoretikers Michail Bahtin zu gebrauchen, denen - zumindest latent - bereits jene Deutungen inne wohnen, die der epische Berichterstatter durch seine spezifischen Akzente setzt, sodaß man in ihm die Autorität eines 'Vates' , eines Priester-Sehers zu sehen gewohnt ist.

Die Lyrik als Gattung hat zwei verschiedene Formen der Aesthetik entwickelt: Die Erlebnislyrik und die Gedankenlyrik. Die Aesthetik der Erlebnislyrik sucht gleichsam den Ewigkeitssekunden des Entstehens und des Vergehens eines Gefühls sprachlichen Ausdruck zu verleihen; man denke etwa an Sappho oder Alkaios. Demgegenüber hinterfragt die Aesthetik der Gedankenlyrik die unmittelbaren Gefühlserlebnisse, die das Leben zu bieten hat, aus der philosophischen Sicht einer übergeordneten Instanz. Als Beispiel hierfür diene etwa die berühmte Frage des Mimnermos: τίς δὲ βίος; τί δὲ τερπνὸν ἀτὲρ χρυσῆς 'Αφροδίτης; Mit dieser Frage nach dem Wert und dem Wesen des Lebens, hinter der die Frage nach dem Wert und dem Wesen der Liebe steht, wird immerhin zum Erleben der Liebe ein gewisser Abstand gewonnen: indem Mimnermos darüber zu reflektieren beginnt, gelingt es, sich dem unmittelbaren Zugriff der Liebe zu entziehen.[1]

Im griechischen Drama, speziell in der griechischen Tragödie, finden sich alle bis dahin entwickelten epischen und lyrischen Elemente nebeneinander in einer kaleidoskopartigen Bündelung, die ihre spezielle Aesthetik im dramatischen Zusammenhang eines Handlungsgeschehens in neuer Weise bestimmt.

1. In jedem Drama gibt es Teile der Handlung, die erzählt werden müssen, um die auf der Bühne vorgeführten Szenen dem Zuschauer verständlich zu machen, da ihre unmittelbare mimetische Darstellung aus bühnentechnischen oder aus aesthetischen Gründen sich von selbst verbietet. Das betrifft einmal die Vorgeschichte des Dramas, die in aller Regel vom Prologsprecher berichtet wird, und zum anderen den

[1] Es kann hier nicht darauf ankommen, auf die literaturtheoretischen Konsequenzen lyrischer Erscheinungen im allgemeinen näher einzugehen, es soll hier nur die lyrische Funktion im griechischen Drama angedeutet werden.

Botenbericht, der aus monologischer Sicht im Stil einer Chronik die Fakten eines bloßen Geschehens vermittelt, entweder weil es sich um Massenszenen handelt - wie der Untergang der persischen Flotte in den *Persern* des Aischylos - oder weil es das Ausmaß an Zumutbarkeit beim Publikum überschreitet - wie etwa die tödliche Jagd nach Frau und Kindern im *Rasenden Herakles* des Euripides.

Diese episch erzählenden Elemente des Dramas haben zwar den Charakter einer reinen Faktenvermittlung, sie gewinnen aber im Handlungsablauf des ganzen Dramas ihre spezielle Aesthetik in einer Deutungs- oder Interpretationsfunktion, die sie als Voraussetzungen oder als Resultate dessen erscheinen läßt, was im Brennpunkt der Handlung das Problem des Dramas ausmacht. Indessen haben die Botenberichte den Stil des Epos beibehalten, und hier wird man vor allem an Sophokles und Euripides zu denken haben. Demgegenüber wird die Hintergrundshandlung bei Aischylos noch vorwiegend von den Akteuren selbst dem Theaterpublikum berichtet, man denke nur an den Bericht, den Klytämnestra selbst von ihrer Tat dem Chor im *Agamemnon* gibt (Aesch. Agam. 1372 ff.) oder an den Orest der *Choephoren*, der nach der vollbrachten Tat des Muttermordes dem Chor als Beweis dafür den Zeugen seiner Tat, das Netz, mit einer gewissen Feierlichkeit ausbreitet.

Andererseits findet sich im mittleren Werk des Aischylos - soweit wir das aus seinen 7 überlieferten Dramen erschließen können - die Tendenz, den Botenbericht zum eigentlichen Handlungsträger zu machen, wenn man etwa an die *Perser* oder an die *Sieben gegen Theben* denkt, wo der Bote, der den Untergang der persischen Flotte berichtet, über mehrere hundert Verse auf der Bühne bleibt (249-514) und somit ein wesentliches Kernstück des Dramas ausmacht; und für die *Sieben gegen Theben* gilt Ähnliches: das epische Element des sogenannten 'Botenberichtes' hat hier den Charakter einer eigenen Handlung, die in der Beschreibung der 7 Tore der Stadt und der 7 feindlichen Heerführer gipfelt, die sich vor den Toren der Stadt zum Kampf rüsten. So bekommt dieser Botenbericht hier fast den Charakter einer 'Mauerschau', wie man sie aus der Ilias kennt.

Aus diesen Botenberichten in den *Persern* und in den *Sieben gegen Theben* sprechen auch bereits die Wertungen und Deutungen, die Aischylos selbst dem Geschehen zu geben beliebt: Hinter dem Botenbericht der *Perser* ist deutlich der Hybris-Gedanke zu erkennen, der den einen Eckpfeiler aischyleischer Religion ausmacht, und aus dem Botenbericht der *Sieben gegen Theben* spricht bereits das erst im Spätwerk ausgeführte

Phobos-Sebas-Denken, das Kernstück dessen, was Aischylos vor allem in seiner Orestie als Thesmos einer neuen Religion vorgelegt hat.[2] Jedenfalls sind diese epischen Erzählstrukturen bei Aischylos eng mit der Handlung verflochten, ja geradezu ein wesentlicher Teil davon.

2. Wenden wir uns jetzt den lyrischen Elementen und ihrer aesthetischen Funktion im griechischen Drama zu, und denkt man dabei etwa an das erste große Chorlied im *Agamemnon* des Aischylos, das von den Greisen von Argos gesungen wird und das die Vorgeschichte des Dramas, die Opferung der Iphigenie auf Aulis, berichtet, so wird man ausgehend von unserer Fragestellung feststellen dürfen, daß hier das lyrische Element durchaus epische Funktionen übernimmt, denn es hat weitgehend narrativen Charakter, indem ein Ereignis, das an und für sich schon den Stoff für eine eigene Tragödienhandlung bietet, über 200 Verse hinweg in aller Ausführlichkeit erzählt wird (Aesch. Agam. 40-255).

Fragt man nun nach der Qualität dieser Lyrik - ausgehend von den eingangs getroffenen Kriterien - so findet man in diesem narrativen lyrischen Chorlied sowohl Elemente der Erlebnislyrik als auch solche der Gedankenlyrik in Form von religiösen Reflexionen. Der erlebnislyrische Höhepunkt darin ist offensichtlich in der Schilderung von Iphigeniens Opferung zu sehen, und hier sind es die Verse 227-246, die man als Zeugnis dafür anführen kann. Sie lauten in der paraphrasierenden Übertragung wie folgt :

Auf ihr Flehen, ihre Vaterrufe
achteten nicht die kampfesgierigen Richter.
nach dem Gebet - auf des Vaters Geheiß
ward sie vom kräftigen Zugriff der Diener
auf den Altar gehoben, so wie ein Lamm,
gehüllt in Opfergewänder.
Und der Knebel - mit stummachender Gewalt -
preßte den lieblich geschwungenen Mund,
damit ihm kein Fluchen entfahre.
Zu Boden gleiten ließ sie das Safrangewand
und jeden der Schlächtergesellen traf
ihr unaussprechlich Gnade flehender Blick.
Schön lag sie da - wie ein Bild, das redet,

[2] vgl. Verf., PHOBOS und SEBAS in den Dramen des Aischylos, Eirene 1975, 43-77.

indem es schweigt.
Und früher hatte sie immer gesungen im Hause,
mit reiner Stimme, kindlich nach der Mahlzeit
im Gebet.

Das besonders Berührende dieser erlebnis-lyrischen Passage besteht darin, daß Iphigenie im Augenblick der Todeserwartung am Opferaltar durch den Knebel am Sprechen (oder wie man fürchten muß: am Fluchen) gehindert in einer besonderen Weise der Schönheit teilhaftig wird, sodaß der Dichter sie gar mit einem Werk der bildenden Kunst vergleicht, das - ebenso wie sie selbst - zwar keine Laute hervorbringen kann, durch seine bloße Erscheinung aber deutlicher spricht, als dies Worte vermöchten. Und dabei hören alle Anwesenden soweit sie Zeugen ihrer Kindheit waren, noch immer in Gedanken ihr kindlich-unschuldiges Gebetssingen im Hause des Vaters. Es ist die Sprache des beredten Schweigens, die diese lyrische Passage zum besonderen Erlebnis werden läßt.

Als ein Beispiel für Gedankenlyrik mit religiös-philosopischem Inhalt in diesem Chorlied ist das bekannte zentrale Zeusgebet anzusehen (16-183), das mit dem göttlichen Wissen des τῷ πάθει μάθος auch den Weg für die Deutung des Geschehens weist. Ein weiteres Beispiel für Gedankenlyrik mit religiös-spekulativem Inhalt findet sich im ersten Chorlied der *Choephoren* bei Aischylos: Nachdem der Chor der Weihegußträgerinnen das religiöse Spannungsfeld entworfen hat, in dem der Mensch zwischen dem Sebas göttlicher Eintracht einerseits und dem gottverlassenen Phobos andererseits steht, zeigt die darauffolgende Sentenz das Ziel seiner Suche nach Sicherheit und Glück an, wenn es heißt:

τὸ δ' εὐτυχεῖν,
τόδ' ἐν βροτοῖς θεός τε καὶ θεοῦ πλέον. (59-60)

3. Der Spezialfall 'Euripides': In der euripideischen Tragödie verlagert sich der Schwerpunkt des epischen Elementes im Drama mehr und mehr auf den Botenbericht, der verhältnismäßig knapp gehalten das Hintergrundsgeschehen - meist gegen Ende des Dramas - in lapidarer Form berichtet. Weiters gewinnt der Prolog als narrativ-epische Berichtform zunehmend an Bedeutung und außerdem entsteht bei Euripides eine neue Art der epischen Aussage, der innere Monolog einer handelnden Person, die vor einer Entscheidung zur Tat noch einmal alles

Für und Wider bedenkt, etwa der große Monolog in der *Medea* (1021-1080) oder der der Phädra im *Hippolytos* (373-430).

Ebenso erfahren die lyrischen Partien bei Euripides eine zusätzliche Nuance: Zum Phänomen der Gedankenlyrik und dem der Erlebnislyrik kommt bei ihm noch das hinzu, was ich hier einmal 'Bekenntnislyrik' nennen würde; Euripides benutzt die lyrische Stimme des Chores mitunter dazu, dem dort geäußerten Gedanken einen ganz persönlichen Stempel, seine 'Sphragis' aufzudrücken. Als Beispiel dafür kann das zentrale Chorlied aus dem '*Rasenden Herakles*' gelten, das der Chor singt, nachdem Herakles in letzter Minute doch noch zurückgekehrt ist, um seine Familie vor dem Zugriff des Tyrannen Lykos zu retten. Das Chorlied steht am Ende der ersten Dramenhälfte, und der '*Rasende Herakles*' steht im Gesamtschaffen des Euripides ebenfalls an einer Wende: Aufgeführt um das Jahr 420 v.Chr. fällt es so ziemlich genau in das 60. Lebensjahr von Euripides und das bedeutete damals, daß er fürderhin vom Kriegsdienst befreit war, daß er gleichsam als Soldat in den Ruhestand versetzt wurde. Hinter den Versen 673-679 dieses Chorliedes ist hingegen - wie in der Forschung schon oft angedeutet[3] - eine Art persönliches Bekenntnis des Dichters zu sehen, der - wenn auch zu keinem Kriegsdienst mehr verpflichtet - den Musendienst als lebenslange Berufung begreift, für die es keinen Ruhestand gibt. Die Verse lauten:

οὐ παύσομαι τὰς Χάριτας
Μούσαις συγκαταμειγνύς,
ἁδίσταν συζυγίαν.
μὴ ζῴην μετ' ἀμουσίας,
αἰεὶ δ' ἐν στεφάνοισιν εἴην·
ἔτι τοι γέρων ἀοιδὸς
κελαδεῖ Μναμοσύναν·

Fassen wir zusammen: Es kam darauf an, die epischen und die lyrischen Elemente - soweit sie im griechischen Drama integriert sind - in ihrer eigentümlichen Dynamik und Aesthetik anzudeuten. und an einigen Beispielen zu beschreiben.

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3 vgl. Verf., Der euripideische Herakles als ein Drama der Wende. Gymnasium 1972, 50-61.

Dabei zeigte es sich, daß bei Aischylos das epische Element des narrativen Botenberichtes noch als ein Kernstück des Dramas zu gelten hat, wohingegen in der euripideischen Dramatik die Funktion des Botenberichtes als episches Element nur mehr darin zu sehen ist, die Fakten einer Hintergrundshandlung in Kurzform zu berichten.

Unter den lyrischen Elementen im Drama ließen sich drei verschiedene Spielarten der Lyrik nachweisen, die Erlebnis-, die Gedanken- und die Bekenntnislyrik, wobei letztere eigentlich erst im euripideischen Spätwerk anzutreffen ist.

Was als Ausblick über den knapp gehaltenen Versuch bleibt, ist der Hinweis darauf, daß das Drama neben dem ebenfalls dem Epischen verpflichteten Prolog und dem Monolog oder dem selbstreflektierenden Gespräch, dem inneren Monolog, den wir hier nur kurz streifen konnten, darüberhinaus eine eigene, spezifische literarische Form enwickelt hat, nämlich die des Dialoges, der in seiner konsequentesten Ausprägung, der Stichomythie, die spektakulärste Form eines spontanen Gedankenaustausches zuläßt, bei dem sowohl rational-kalkulierende Überlegungen als auch emotional-unkontrolliertes Denken ihren unmittelbarsten Ausdruck findet, und die als Vorstufe philosophisch-dialektischer Erörterungen mindestens beim späten Sophokles und Euripides ihre schönste Ausprägung gefunden hat.

A Rhetorical Analysis of Ezechiel Spanheim's *Panegyricus* of Queen Christina

Iiro Kajanto

Among the great multitude of panegyrics in verse and prose, mostly in Latin, dedicated to Queen Christina, the *Panegyricus* delivered at the University of Geneva in 1651 by Ezechiel Spanheim has been particularly esteemed.[1] Spanheim, 1629-1710, is mainly remembered as a skilful diplomat in the service of the German Electors, but he was also a classical scholar, who did remarkable pioneering work in the study of ancient coins.[2]

In another connection I have dealt with one aspect of this remarkable oration, the arguments he mustered to counter the general idea of women's intellectual inferiority.[3] In Christina's panecyrics this was a favourite topic, and the arguments the young orator presented were not very original, culled as they were from the vigorous though still small pro-feminist literature of the age.

It is not because of the ideas, or to speak in rhetorical terms, because of the *inventio* that Spanheim's oration has been claimed to be "ein Muster in der panegyrischen Gattung".[4] In Latin oratory, especially in the baroque age, it was primarily the form that was appreciated. The virtues, qualities

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1 Panegyricus serenissimae et augustissimae principi Christinae... dictus in alma Genevensi academia ad XV. Kal. Octob. anno M.DC.LI. In the following year the author published a French version of the oration. The letter of dedication shows that he had been exhorted by personnes d'honneur & de condition to translate it into that language. The French version was reprinted in J. Arckenholtz, Mémoires concernant Christine reine de Suède 2, 1751, appendix seconde, 119-144.

2 V. Loewe, Ein Diplomat u. Gelehrter. Ezechiel Spanheim. Historische Studien 160, 1924; Allgemeine deutsche Biographie 35, 1893, 50-59. Spanheim's numismatic treatise De praestantia et usu numismatum antiquorum was published in Rome during his stay in the capital of the Pope, see J.E. Sandys, A History of Classical Scholarship 2, 1967 (reprint), 327. A new edition published in 1727 contains in Part Two a *vita* of Spanheim written by the editor, Isaacus Verburgius.

3 Queen Christina in Latin Panegyrics, to be published in the Acta of the Eighth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, Copenhagen 1991.

4 W.H. Graevert, Christina Konigin von Schweden und ihr Hof, 1837, 417.

and achievements for which the young sovereign was eulogized were usually the same from one publication to another. Besides the praise of the traditional princely virtues, which she shared with other rulers, the two unusual features of Christina, her interest in and patronage of learning, and the fact that the leader of a great warlike nation was a woman in a male-dominated society, constituted the staple of the majority of her panegyrics. The difference between them mainly lay in the more or less successful utilization of all the figures of diction and thought provided by rhetoric, the thorough teaching of which belonged to the school and university curricula throughout Europe.

At the time Spanheim composed and recited his panegyric, he had just been invited to occupy the Chair in Eloquence at the Calvinist *Academia* of Geneva.[5] In his native Netherlands, he had enjoyed the excellent teaching of such luminaries of classical scholarship as Daniel Heinsius and Claude Saumaise.[6] He was accordingly well equipped to deliver the panegyric on the Swedish queen on behalf of the city of Geneva.[7]

The *dispositio* or arrangement of the oration corresponds to the models established by ancient and carried on by later rhetoricians. After the preface (1-7),[8] in which with the conventional *modestia auctoris*[9] he explains the reasons for delivering the eulogy, there follows the *propositio* or the statement of his theme (7-8), which consists of Christina's outstanding qualities. The treatment of the theme is divided into a brief biographical part and into a much longer praise of her virtues. In the epideictic oratory, the biographical element was often reduced at the expense of the eulogy on the character of the person praised.[10] This was all the more natural in the case of Queen Christina, who at the time the

5 Ch. Borgeaud, Histoire de l'université de Geneve 1. L'academie de Calvin 1559-1798, 1900, 400.

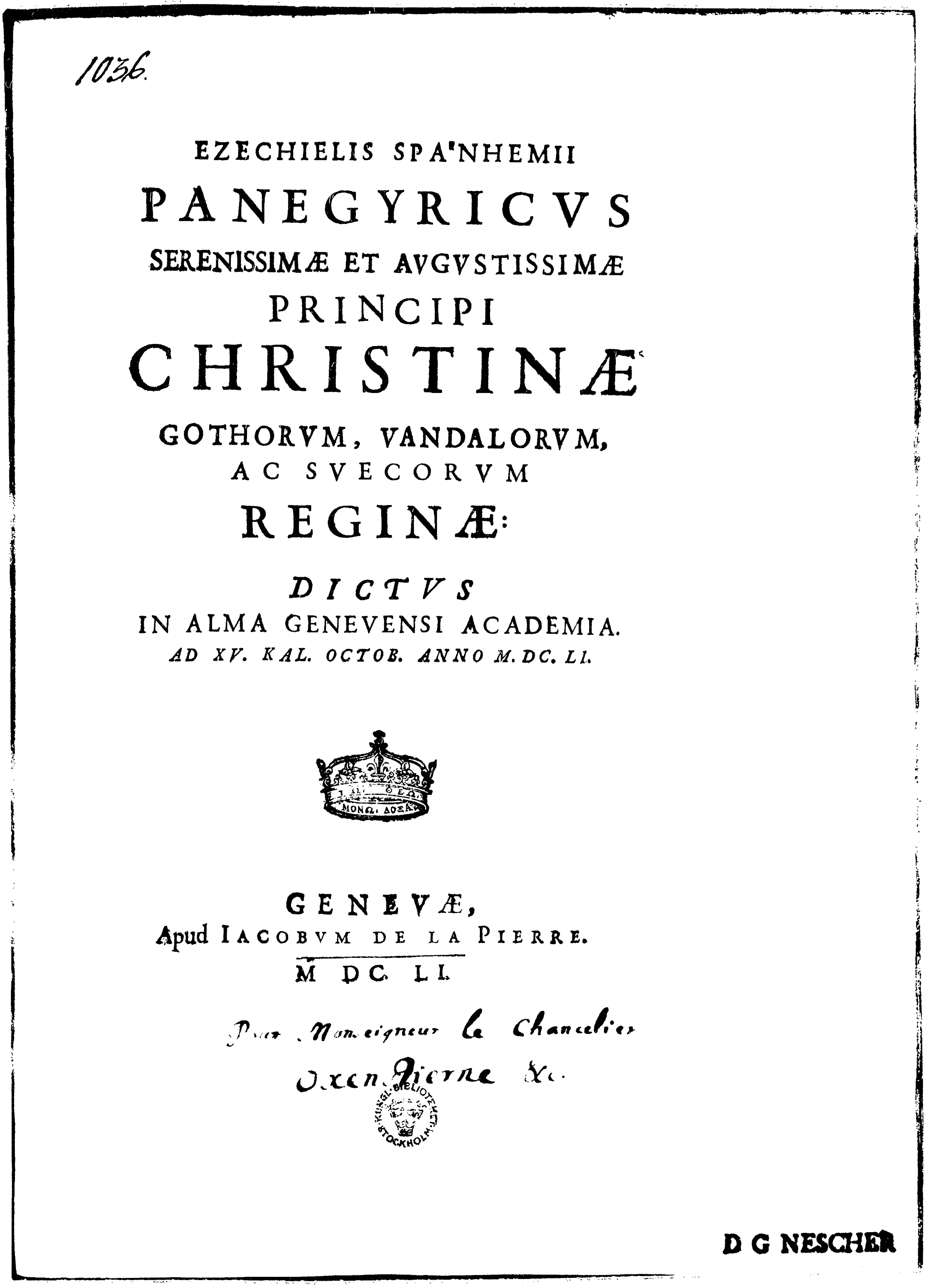
6 Cf. the *vita* (n. 2) p. VIII.

7 The Preface of the panegyric reveals that it was his father, Fr. Spanheim, who had first been entrusted with the task of panegyrizing Christina, but his death prevented him from executing it. His father had acquired a good name in Sweden by his history of the Thirty Years War, Le Soldat Suedois ou histoire veritable de ce qui s'est passé depuis l'avenue de Roy de Suede en Allemagne iusque à sa mort, 1634.

8 Unlike many other orations printed in the seventeenth century, Spanheim's panegyric has modern pagination.

9 For the *topos*, see Lausberg § 275 and Vossius pp. 107A-B.

10 See Kajanto 74-79.



1036.

EZECHIELIS SPANHEMII

PANEGYRICVS

SERENISSIMÆ ET AVGVSTISSIMÆ

PRINCIPI

CHRISTINÆ

GOTHORVM, VANDALORVM,

AC SVECORVM

REGINÆ:

DICTVS

IN ALMA GENEVENSI ACADEMIA.

AD XV. KAL. OCTOB. ANNO M.DC.LI.

GENEVÆ,

Apud IACOBVM DE LA PIERRE.

M DC. L I.

Pour Monseigneur le Chancelier Oxenstierne &c.

The frontispiece of the panegyric, with the author's dedication to Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna.

speech was made, on the 18th of September in 1651, had not yet celebrated her 25th birthday. Spanheim dedicated only seven pages to a description of Christina's childhood (8-15), after which he gave an account of her coronation in two pages (15-16).

The main section, the praise of virtues, opens with the assertion that Christina possesses all the virtues which make a prince perfect and which until now were not believed to be united in one person.[11] Bodily advantages, the mention of which Aristotle and other ancient rhetoricians recommended,[12] were dealt with first (18-20).

The virtues of Christina as a ruler were eulogized in ten pages. The following is a brief summary of the main points. Christina is adequate to the duties of ruling a military nation (21). She did not give the task of governance to others but took care of everything herself (22). But she also consults old and experienced counsellors, who readily agree with her reasoned views (23). Fate has made her the sovereign of a brave nation, the offspring of the ancient Goths (25). Modern Swedes carry on their exploits as vindicators of freedom and security (26). Christina captivates her subjects by love and kindnesses, and they vie in worshipping and revering her (27). Because of the devotion of her subjects, she needs no bodyguard or protection. She is approachable and friendly. She is also a good judge of character and able to see through the people who are admitted to her presence (29-30).

Spanheim, however, devoted more space to the encomium of Christina's love of learning (30-46). It is in this part that the panegyrist with obvious gusto pleads the equality of the sexes and vindicates women's right to and capability of learning. In the end of the section on virtues he pays the customary tribute to piety, which completes all the other good qualities of the queen.[13] The peroration is less conventional. Instead of praying for a long life and future successes, Spanheim expresses the hope that Christina would reconcile the warring Protestant sects, a feat which would win her eternal fame. It should be remembered, however that

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[11] *Explerent singulae (scil., virtutes) iustum Panegyricum, quae divisae augustissimos Heroas tot locis ac temporibus distinctos vix capientes, nunc conjunctae unius Pectoris angustiis coarctantur* (18,9-13).

[12] Aristotle, rhet. 1,5,6 and 11; cf. Kajanto 155.

[13] *Quam praeclare vero* AUGUSTA, *omnia illa in Te decora absolvit non ambitiosa aut affectata in Deum Pietas, quae ut virtutum aliarum mater ac altrix, ita prima in purpurae Tuae limbo refulget* (46,23-47,1).

Spanheim was a Calvinist and recited the panegyric in the heartland of Calvinism.

In this paper, I shall not be analysing the arguments Spanheim mustered for Christina's praise nor anything else that properly belongs to the *inventio*. Instead I shall deal in some detail with the *elocutio* or style of the oration. As I have already observed, it constituted one of its main claims to fame.

The **language** of the oration is lucid and almost purely classical. In this age, Latin poetry and oratory were normally more classical and Ciceronian than was the case in other literary genres, notably in scientific and philosophical prose, in which the use of non-classical terms was allowed and in which medieval syntactic features were often more or less common.[14] But this does not mean that there would not have been considerable variety in the quality of oratorial Latinity between different orators. Not a few of the panegyrics on Christina which I have studied contain almost unintelligible passages.

In the long oration of Spanheim, I have found only an insignificant number of syntactic unclassicisms, none of them flagrant.[15] *Propriis opibus* instead of *suis opibus* (26,18) and *tanquam* instead of *velut* (37,12 and 39,6) are minor offences against classical syntax.[16]

Unclassical words were equally rare. *Syllabus* (40,22), which has survived in English, first appeared in Augustine; *subluridus* (41,25), though unknown in ancient Latin, is a rather obvious formation on the model of *sublucidus* and other similar words; *apices* (43,22) and *litterator* (46,9) are only partly unclassical.[17] Only two words were clearly unclassical, *promiconda* (7,14), which Spanheim's French version renders by *le thresor*, treasure, and *redhostimentum* (7,16 and 26,5), recompense. I have not found these words in the dictionaries of medieval and later Latin, but because it is especially the neo-Latin coinages that are

[14] Cf. my discussion of Spinoza's Latinity, in Les textes de Spinoza. Etudes sur les mots, les phrases, les livres (forthcoming).

[15] I consider unclassical everything written before A.D. 200.

[16] L.H.S. 2, 179: *proprius* as a rival of *suus* belongs to Late Latin, whereas *tanquam* in the function of *velut* was already found in Seneca, ibid. 597.

[17] In Gellius 13,31,10 *apices* meant part of a letter. In medieval Latin, it came to signify an epistle, especially by a high-placed person, J.F. Niermeyer, Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus, 1976, s.v. For *litterator*, which Spanheim translates by *homme des lettres*, see Thes. 7,2,1530.

insufficiently registered, this does not mean that they would have been created by Spanheim.

Nor was Spanheim given to the erudite snobbery of bedecking his pages with rare words gleaned from a classical author. His vocabulary consisted of the common stock of classical words. Only once do we encounter a Ciceronian hapax, *myrothecium* (see below p. 76). *Germaniae Telamo* (10,9) is a term of architecture, a pillar of a male figure, found in Vitruvius. Further, phrases appropriated from classical authors were few, which is a sign of an experienced orator. Learning the expressions of Cicero and others by heart was a favourite didactic method, but it often resulted in writings that were wellnigh pastiches, consisting of borrowings which for the main part were unacknowledged.

In Spanheim's oration, there are only a few recognizable reminiscences, *Umbratili vita pallescere* (32,3) comes from Quintilian 1,2,18; the somewhat unusual expression *publicum egregium* (35,2), translated as *le bien Public*, may have been taken from Tacitus, ann. 3,70; finally, *ni mens laeva auguratur* (46,18) resembles Virgil, ecl. 1,16 *si mens non laeva fuisset*. Spanheim's Latinity is thus remarkably free from *bona aliena*, which we must consider one of the reasons for its general excellence.[18]

In **sentence structure**, Spanheim generally follows the pattern of periods composed of brief parallel clauses and completed by the main clause, which is usually longer than the other clauses. In praising the successful way Christina combines the virtues of both sexes, he writes, for example:

1. *Viris imperatura virilibus curis animum distringere;*
2. *sexus (*scil., female*) mollitiem frangere;*
3. *imbecillitatem exuere;*
4. *veneres mascula virtute temperare;*
5. *singula utriusq. decora in Te unam transfundere,*
6. *tam felici quam stupendo exitu aggressa es* (14,8-13).

The passage is also a typical example of the figure of enumeration, to which I shall return later on.

18 For a few borrowed metaphors, see p. 76.

Spanheim's predilection for parallel clauses may partially explain the most conspicuous feature of his rhetorical language, the remarkable frequency of anaphora. There is scarcely a page without a string of anaphoric clauses, and not a few pages have more than one group.

Anaphora is specifically a Latin rhetorical device, usually called *repetitio*, while the word *anaphora* came into use only in late Latinity.[19] Rhet. Her. 4,19 recommends the figure because it gives the discourse charm, impressiveness and vigour. In the Latin literature of antiquity, it was in favour among Silver Latin writers, such as Seneca the Younger, whose sentence structure was similar to that of Spanheim.[20] In classical Latin, though, anaphora was seldom as ubiquitous and almost obtrusive as it was in post-classical writers. Even such anti-rhetorical authors as Descartes and Spinoza were unable to avoid it.[21]

In Spanheim, the number of anaphoric clauses in a period varied from two to nine, but in the majority of cases their number was only two or three. The anaphoric words were usually adverbs, e.g. *hic, hinc, ita,* the interjection *o, si, sic, ut,* and *vix,* which was found in no less than nine passages; more rarely prepositions, *a(b), inter, post;* adjectives, *dignam, dignum, novus* and nouns, *dies,* while pronouns were more common, e.g. *id, qui, quae,* the indeclinable *tot* in eight passages. But the pronouns often agreed with their main words, producing the figure of polyptoton, *illud... illa... illud... illa... illa... ille... illa,* quoted below on p. 74.

Anaphoras sometimes seem almost excessive. In a passage in the Preface (6), where Spanheim elaborates the *topos* of the insufficiency of rhetoric for the task at hand (cf. above n. 9), there are three clauses beginning with *vel*, four with *sic*, two with *cujus*, and four with *hic*, quoted later on (p. 76).

Anaphoras consisting of two words were unusual. In Spanheim, however, we find *in illa.... luce, in illa... dignatione* (32,2-8). On the same page, there is the construction *illud est* followed by three *quod*-clauses, *illud ipsum est* with two *quod*-clauses, and finally *illud ipsum denique est,* a combination of anaphora and mounting *gradatio*.[22]

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19 Lausberg § 629; Martin 303.

20 L.H.S. 2, 695.

21 See my work mentioned in n. 14.

22 For *gradatio*, see Dupriez 200-201.

Because Spanheim utilized anaphoras throughout his discourse, it is not possible to maintain that they would have been a feature of particularly rhetorical passages. However, in eulogizing Christina's pious attribution of all her successes to God, the pronoun *illi*, to him, scil., to God, is repeated nine times: *illi tutelam regni, illi... illi... illi... illi... illi... illi... illi... illi unam denique tot decora sustinendi felicitatem transcribis* (47,23-48,6). All the clauses are parallel, and the main clause is placed last. Besides anaphoras, the passage is also marked by the figure of enumeration, which will be discussed later on. It is perhaps due to the importance of the passage, the encomium of Christina's piety, which precedes his concluding wish that Christina will be the conciliator of warring Protestant denominations, that made Spanheim employ an excessive number of anaphoras, which often served to heighten the emotional impact of a passage.

Syntactic **chiasmi** in Spanheim were less frequent than anaphoras,[23] but were not entirely absent. The ancient rhetoricians ignored the figure, the term itself only being coined in 1845.[24] Rhet. Her. 4,38 uses the word*commutatio* and Ouint. 9,3,85 the Greek word ἀντιμεταβολή , but they suggest antitheses more than chiasmi in the sense of the criss-cross order of syntagmas in juxtaposed clauses. In practice, however, Roman writers often employed the figure, especially to achieve a certain *inconcinnitas*.[25]

Spanheim's chiasmi were usually simple, *animi magnitudine, robore corporis* (9,21); *inter tot lubrica fortunae & tot laborum avocamenta* (42,19-20); *Roma faecunda miraculis & prodigiorum Parens* (40,8-9). It is only rarely that a sentence contains more than one chiasmus. Significantly, the most explicit passage occurs in the Peroration, which like the Preface was usually rhetorically more finished than the rest of the discourses. Spanheim assures that

1. *per omnes aetates proclamaberis Fidei iuxta ac litterarum Praesidium,*
2. *Sexus Tui Portentum,*

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23 Dupriez 95 defines the figure as "the placing in inverse order of the segments formed by two syntactically identical groups of words".

24 Lausberg 2,893. Cf. § 801.

25 L.H.S. 2, 697.

3. *Victrix Masculi,*
4. *Stupor Gentium,*
5. *orbis Arctoi Miraculum,*
5. *Tuorum Delicium,*
6. *Decus & Gaudium Seculi* (51,12-16).

Marking the genitive with 'a' and the main word with 'b' we accordingly have the series a - b, a - b, b - a, b - a, a - b, a - b, b - a. By this means he could somewhat reduce the monotony resulting from an excessive number of brief parallel clauses.

Antithesis or the contrasting of two ideas,[26] which was a notable figure of baroque literary style, particularly in what are called lapidary compositions,[27] are inconspicuous in Spanheim's discourse. There are only a few and perhaps unintentional antithetical passages. Spanheim argues that Christina paid little attention to external luxury. Hence her uncared-for royal palace suggested *imperantis non ocium aut luxum, sed curas & frugalitatem* (12,1-3), where both pairs of words are antithetically contrasted. The historical veracity of the assertion is questionable, but in a panegyric, especially in the baroque age, this did not always matter. .

Besides anaphora, the other frequently used figure was **hyperbaton**.[28] The ancient rhetoricians, Rhet. Her. 4,44 and Quint. 8,6,62 recommended it to avoid harsh compositions and to aid prose rhythm. But they were equally well aware of the risks of its excessive use, which could render the thought obscure.[29] In post-classical Latin oratory, there was often veritable abuse of hyperbaton, which may have contributed to the discrediting of Latin oratory during the Age of Reason. Certainly, splitting a syntagma by a long chain of other words did not always make it easy to grasp the meaning of a period. In delivery, though, a hyperbaton could be distinguished by stressing it differently, but to my knowledge we have little information about this aspect of delivery.

Few pages of Spanheim did not carry at least one hyperbaton, and not a few had several. The opening period of the oration has one of the

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26 Dupriez 50.

27 See my discussion in On Lapidary Style in Epigraphy and Literature in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, due to appear in Humanistica Lovaniensia.

28 Lausberg §§ 716-18; Martin 308-10; the Latin term was *traiectio.*

29 Rhet. Her., loc. cit.; Quint. 8,2,14 *Quare nec sit... traiectione tam tardus ut ultra modum finis ejus differatur.*

longest: *si Regiae Tuae* (... 12) *fores* (... 4) *non cunctabundus pulso* (1,4-7). But this is greatly surpassed by a period in the next page, which amplifies the idea that it would be a shame if Geneva kept silent about Christina's praises: *Turpe inquam fuisset ac absonum, Genevam nostram, qua non Urbs alia* (... 7); *non alia gloriae Tuae* (... 12) *magnitudini* (... 3) *impensius favet, in illa* (... 6) *populorum turba non agnosci* (2,14-22). The main clause is underlined. It is separated by no less than 43 words, which include other hyperbatons. The example is, however, untypical. In Spanheim's hyperbatons, the syntagmas were usually separated by less than ten words.[30] Again, the words constituting a hyperbaton were usually the attribute or genitive and the words they modify, whereas here it is the accusative or the subject and the infinitive or the predicate that are placed at the beginning and the end of a period. In the first example quoted above (p.70), it is the genitive and in the last an attribute: *illa... turba*, that make up the hyperbatons. Besides pronouns, adjectives and participles could also be separated from their modificands, e.g. *inter perpetuas* (... 8) *destinationes & curas* (34,20-22).

For Spanheim, hyperbaton clearly seems to have been more a figure of higher rhetoric than was anaphora. Whereas anaphoras were found throughout the discourse, though with a certain intensification in the Preface and Peroration, conventionally the rhetorically most elaborate sections of an oration, hyperbatons showed a still more marked frequency in these parts, especially in the Preface.

In not a few orators, the extravagant and unskilful use of hyperbaton justifies the warning of rhetoricians against the injudicious employment of the device. Spanheim, however, seldom obscures his discourse by overlong and complicated hyperbatons. The example quoted from the Preface is exceptional not only in the number of the separating words but also in the fact that the syntagma split by the hyperbaton represents the subject and the predicate, which in an ordinary Latin sentence could be placed at the beginning and at the end.

Language, sentence structure and rhetorical figures do not, however, make up the essence of oratory. They could be, and were often found in other literary genres, even in philosophical prose.[31]

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30 I have omitted the cases in which syntagmas were split by only one or two intervening words.

31 *Stylus Philosophicus*, which comprehends Latin in scholarly and scientific works, normally shunned the conspicuous use of rhetorical devices, see Kajanto, Johannes

Amplification or to use the definition of Dupriez, "the grandiloquent development of ideas so as to make them more richly ornamented, broader in scope, or more forceful",[32] was the kernel of rhetorical discourses and in particular of epideictic orations.[33] The content of an oration was often in adverse relation to its length. But it is unjustified to dismiss Latin oratory in the baroque age, as Sven Lindroth does, with the disparaging remark that its purpose was "to say little in many words".[34] What mattered was *how* it was said. In the baroque age, the beauty of form was appreciated as never before.

Ancient and modern rhetoricians gave abundant advice about how to amplify a discourse.[35] Comparisons, digressions, accumulation of synonyms or synonymous expressions, enumeration, quotations etc. were favourite means of amplification.

Spanheim did not make an indiscriminate use of all these devices. Unlike many less accomplished orators, he did not expand his discourse by quotations from ancient authors. Nor were there any digressions. On the other hand, he is a most diligent citer of historical *exempla,* 53 in all, the largest number among the panegyrists of Christina. Especially in the passages which pay tribute to Christina's learning, he records a great number of ancient and later women distinguished for their erudition.[36] One example of Spanheim's historical comparisons will be quoted on p. 75.

Besides comparisons, Spanheim's favourite methods of amplification were enumeration and redundancy. **Enumeration** or dividing a whole into its constituent parts were well-known to the ancient[37] as well as to later rhetoricians.[38] I shall quote as an example of Spanheim's

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Schefferus on the *imitatio veterum,* Arctos 24, 1990, 77. Nevertheless, rhetoric was such an inseparable part of Latin education that in practice it left some modest impact on learned Latin, too; see my discussion of Spinoza's style in the work mentioned in n. 14.

32 Dupriez 32.

33 Aristotle, rhet. 1,9,38-40 recommends it as most suitable for epideictic orators.

34 Svensk lärdomshistoria 2. Stormaktstiden, 1975 (1991), 187-88. Lindroth was, it is true, referring to students' orations.

35 Quint. 8,4 deals with the various methods of amplifying a discourse; cf. Lausberg §§ 400-406.

36 I shall discuss Spanheim's exemplification in a future treatise on Historical *Exempla* in the Panegyrics of Queen Christina.

37 For the ancient doctrine, see Rhet. Her. 4,47 *Distributio est cum in plures res aut Personas negotia quaedam certa dispertiuntur;* Lausberg §§ 669-74.

38 Vossius 4,8,3, pp. 258A-259A.

enumerations the passage in which he itemizes all the services which Christina's father, Gustavus Adolphus, had done to all and sundry:

1. *cui tot Principes profugi & extorres sceptrum ac splendorem assertum,*
2. *tot privati salutem,*
3. *tot populi quietem,*
4. *Germania vindicatam libertatem,*
5. *Europa sublatum servitutis metum,*
6. *Duces inauditas bellandi artes,*
7. *subditi late prolati imperij fines,*
8. *seculum denique maximi omnis aevi Herois gloriam & exemplum debet* (9,11-19).

The period is composed of eight clauses. Each of the clauses 1 - 7 records some particular aspect of the king's services, while the last clause sums up all his heroic glory. Further, they represent rulers and private people, Europe in general and Germany in particular, and the generals and subjects of Sweden, who are indebted to the king for their safety, freedom, and warlike glory, respectively. The period also observes mounting *gradatio* in that the last clause pays the Swedish sovereign the greatest possible tribute.

Enumerations were found throughout the discourse, but they were not as conspicuous as anaphoras and hyperbatons. A few of them have been referred to above, such as the long chain of anaphoric clauses in which Spanheim makes Christina attribute all her successes to God (p. 69).

The usual form of **synonymy,** the combination of two words of similar import, was a general feature of Latin since the preclassical age.[39] It is therefore scarcely to be considered a peculiarity of rhetorical style. In Spanheim's discourse, this type of synonymy was found in almost every page, *spirantem semper ac immortalem* (10,15-16); *rescindere... ac antiquare* (16,18-19); *cum foenore & auctario* (21,2-3), etc. As a matter of fact, they did not greatly contribute to amplification.

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39 L.H.S. 2,785-90.

Redundancy, defined by Dupriez as "repetition of an idea in two or more closely rephrased forms",[40] was a more serviceable method of amplification. In Spanheim, it is fairly common, e.g. *Quorum* (scil., the exploits of the Swedes) *beneficio tot lacrimae abstersae, tot gemitus repressi, tot querelae extinctae* (26,10-12), in which each of the clauses repeats the same idea. A similar case is e.g. the passage in which the panegyrist describes the intellectuals' veneration for their patron: *Tibi ut litterarum praesidi, ut tutelari Numini, ut sacrorum suorum Antistiti religiosa passim veneratione assurgunt* (32,19-21). The expressions were taken from religious language, but all of them meant the same. Notice that both quotations also show parallelism and anaphoras.

Enumeration and synonymy or redundancy are not, however, always easy to distinguish. In ancient rhetoric, they were often combined.[41] The following passage, which paid tribute to Christina's physical advantages, shows both enumeration, redundancy and synonymy:

1. *Quam pulcher enim illud oris decor,*[42]
2. *illa frontis majestas,*
3. *illud oculorum lumen igneum simul ac verecundum,*
4. *illa species nec fracta nec superba,*
5. *illa venusta simul ac torosa membrorum omnium compages,*
6. *ille totius corporis habitus citra sordes & mollitiem cultus,*
7. *ac illa denique, quae pingi non possunt, fulgetra fulguraque,*
8. *dignum magno hospite domicilium, & coelestissimae mentis delubrum ostentant* (18,23-19,7).

The passage voices the ancient idea of the correspondence between a beautiful body and a beautiful soul.[43] In the case of the Queen of Sweden, though, the praise was singularly misplaced, for her countenance was not attractive and her body somewhat misshapen. But Spanheim saw Christina

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40 Dupriez 282. In ancient rhetoric, the figure went by the name of *expolitio*, cf. Rhet. Her. 4,54; Vossius 4,2,5, p. 229A repeats the definition: *cum orationes idem significantes coniunguntur.*

41 See Lausberg § 674.

42 The printed oration has *adcor*, corrected by ink to *decor*. The correction was no doubt made by the author, for the copy which I have used, now in the Royal Library in Stockholm, carries on its title-page the dedication Pour Monseigneur le Chancelier Oxenstierne.

43 Cf. my Discussion in Kajanto 155.

in person only during her Roman days. Moreover, extravagant praise was a hallmark of epideictic oratory.

The passage enumerates various components of Christina's physical appearance, but clauses 1 - 2 repeat the same idea of an imposing countenance, clauses 3 and 7 refer to her sparkling eyes, and the clauses 5 - 6 describe her body. In the main clause, *domicilium* and *delubrum* are a typical pair of synonyms.

In some cases, Spanheim tried to avoid the monotony which long enumerations composed of parallel clauses may occasion by varying the verb. In a passage he claims that Christina challenges and surpasses celebrated ancient rulers in the possession of royal virtues. I shall not, he maintains, in my brief oration praise

1. *iustitiae famam, qua Augustos et Trajanos <u>provocas</u>;*
2. ... *Clementiam, qua Caesares ac Titos <u>lacessis</u>;*
3. ... *Munificentiam & Liberalitatem Regiam, qua Alexandros & Philadelphos <u>vincis</u>;*
4. ... *mansuetudinem ac temperantiam, qua Cyros & Scipiones <u>transcendis</u>* (17,24-18,5).

To profess that one will not speak about something but actually does so is a well-known rhetorical figure, which Rhet. Her. 4,37 calls *occultatio*. Modern English uses its Greek equivalent paraleipsis or preterition.[44] It is a device by which still more attention is drawn to the things allegedly omitted. The passage also illustrates Spanheim's historical citations (see p. 72). Finally, the period has the usual structure of parallel clauses and anaphoras.

Similes from olden times belonged to rhetorical embellishment although ancient rhetoricians advised some restraint in their use. Aristotle, rhet. 3,4 argues that they should not be too frequent because of their poetical flavour. Rhet. Her. 4,62 and Cicero, inv. 1,49 discuss the figure without comment whereas Quint. 5,11,24, too, recommends some caution in citing them. There was no sharp difference between similes and metaphors. According to Aristotle, loc. cit., a simile differs from a metaphor only by the addition of the word "like". The Roman rhetoricians,

44 The latter term is used in Dupriez 353.

Cicero, orat. 92 and Quint. 8,6,6 argue that metaphor, *translatio,* could be resorted to if a proper term was lacking or for the sake of embellishment.

There was remarkable difference between orators in their use of similes and metaphors. Panegyrists with a certain skill at poetry could easily coin fresh comparisons from keen observation of nature while others, if they cited them at all, were content with old similes and trite metaphors, which were scarcely felt to be metaphors at all. Spanheim seems to belong to the latter more than to the former category. In contrast with the multitude of historical *exempla*, his similes were few and seldom expressive. Comparing the queen to the sun (20,1-2; 41,25-42,5) or to a new and benign star (11,3-4) is anything but original. Nor were similes borrowed from the race-course very fresh:[45] your excellencies are so immense that after almost exhausting my strength in praising them, I have scarcely come to the *lineas et carceres,* the starting line (30, 19-22), which is also an example of the *topos* of *modestia*, the orator protesting his inadequacy to the task. He uses the same simile in praising the young sovereign's intellectual gifts: in a brief time you have covered such a vast field of learning that the impulse which had drawn you to the starting line soon took you to the *meta,* the winning post (33,13-15).

For the sake of redundancy, Spanheim sometimes accumulates metaphors In lamenting the insufficiency of rhetoric to the eulogy of Christina, he exclaims:

1. *Hic enim jejunas agnoscimus Rhetorum regulas;*
2. *hic primum exhausta illorum myrothecia;*
3. *hic infantem eloquentissimorum hominum eloquentiam;*
4. *hic accisas ejus vires, & sine toris ac nervis languidam, maciem suam ac squallorem ostentantem* (6,15-20).

Clauses 2 and 4 are clear metaphors, and the latter clause contains two pairs of them. None of the metaphors was original. They had been exploited for describing styles by Cicero,[46] Pliny the Younger,[47] and

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[45] See Thes. 3,434: carcer translate i.q. initium.

[46] Att. 2,1,1 *Meus autem liber... totum Isocrati mvrothecium ... consumpsit.*

[47] Epist. 5,8,10 *hanc* (scil., *historiam) saepius ossa, musculi, nervi, illam (*scil., *orationem) tori quidam et quasi iubae decent.*

Quintilian.[48] But because *imitatio* of classical Latinity was the guiding principle of humanist writers, and nowhere more so than in panegyrical oratory, they were more often than not content with the inventions of the ancients.

Metonymy was another means of giving discourse vividness and variety.[49] In Spanheim metonymy is not commonly used, excepting such common metonymies as Mars for war (10,7) and Pallas et Musae for learning (31,10; 32,8-9). In a number of passages, he elaborates the well-known metonymy of *purpura* for royal power.[50] The royal virtues, which the past admired in great princes, are embroidered on your purple, sparkling with ever new ornaments (17,5-8).[51] The image is, however, flat, and juxtaposing abstracts like virtues with concrete things like ornaments, not particularly felicitous. In two other passages, the metonymy is more conventional: excessive dependence on your counsellors would dim the splendour of your purple (23,6-9); the splendour of all other learned women is obscured by the brilliance of your purple, followed by the synonymous but non-metonymical expression AUGUSTA *pulchritudo* (42,5-8).

But all in all, figurative language was not one of the strong points of Spanheim's masterpiece of oratory.

To conclude, although Spanheim's syntax and vocabulary, with few exceptions, were classical and Ciceronian, his style was to a certain extent anti-Ciceronian. With its predilection for strings of parallel clauses, more often than not distinguished by anaphoras, it showed marked affinity with the style of Silver Latin authors.

ABBREVIATIONS

Dupriez = Bernard Dupriez, A Dictionary of Literary Devices, translated and adapted by Albert W. Halsall (original in French), 1991.

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48 *Macies* in 2,4,9; cf. Tacitus, dial. 21,1; *squalor* in 2,5,23.

49 Lausberg §§ 565-71.

50 E.g. Verg., georg, 2,495-96 *illum non Populi fasces. non purpura regum / flexit.* Lausberg § 568,5 describes this kind of metonymy as Symbol-Beziehung.

51 There is a variety of the same metonymy in 46, 25-47, 1: quoted in n. 13.

Kajanto = Iiro Kajanto, Humanism in a Christian Society II. Classical Moral Philosophy and Oratory in Finland 1640-1713, 1990 .

Lausberg = Heinrich Lausberg, Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik 1-2, 1960.

L.H.S. 2 = Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr, Lateinische Grammatik 2. Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik, 1965.

Martin = Josef Martin, Antike Rhetorik. Technik und Methode, 1974.

Vossius = Gerardus Johannes Vossius, Commentariorum rhetoricorum sive oratoriarum institutionum libri sex, in Opera omnia III, 1697 .

Lateinische Quellen einiger mexikanischer Predigtsammlungen

Bengt Löfstedt

Untersucht werden im folgenden zwei Predigtsammlungen: die Juan Bautistas v.J. 1606 und die Juan de Mijangos' v.J. 1624. Die Predigten sind in einer Indianersprache abgefaßt (Náhuatl). Aber hier und da, im Texte oder am Rande, werden Zitate auf Latein gedruckt, und zwar gewöhnlich ohne nähere Angabe der Quellen. Sie sind zum größten Teil den Kirchenvätern entnommen, und die von mir identifizierten werden unten verzeichnet; es ist m.E. von Interesse festzustellen, was in den Priesterseminarien Mexikos am Ende des 16. und am Anfang des 17. Jhs. gelesen wurde.

1. Juan Bautista, Sermonario en lengua Mexicana (Mexiko 1606); zum Autor vgl. J. G. Icazbalceta, Bibliografía mexicana del siglo XVI (Neudruck 1954) S. 470ff.; zum Texte ib. S. 474 und Ascensión H. de León-Portilla, Tepuztlahcuilolli impresos en Nájhuatl (Mexiko 1988) Bd. II S. 51 Nr. 342.

S. 87: *Uno die bibunt multorum dierum labores*: Ambr. Hel. 12, 42 (PL 14 S. 746).

S. 90: *Quia vino mens pervertitur ebriosi, non meminit regis nec magistratus*: Ambr. Hel. 15,54 (PL 14 S. 751).

S. 100: (*Diabolo*) *nemo magis amicus est quam qui delitiis et ebrietate maculatur. Hic enim fons atque origo vitiorum omnium est...*: Ioannes Chrysostomus, In...evangelium sec. Matthaeum commentarii (Antwerpen 1556) S. 379r.

Esus carnium et potus vini ventrisque saturitas seminarium libidinis est: Hier. adv. Iovin. 2,7 (PL 23 S. 310 A).

S. 101: *Libenter carebo poculo, in quo suspicio veneni est*: Hier. epist. 52,11.

S. 109: *Nolite pati peiores bestiis homines fieri; nihil enim ultra quam opus est illae desiderant; isti autem mediocritatis terminos excedentes irrationabiliores illis constituuntur. Quanto enim melior asinus ebrioso est,* *quanto canis praestantior? Omnes certe animantes, quae rationis expertes sunt, cum bibunt aut comedunt, ultra quam satis est, etiam si mille homines cogerent, numquam elabuntur. Peiores igitur irrationabilibus vos estis, qui inebriamini*: Ioannes Chrysostomus, In...evangelium sec. Matthaeum commentarii (Antwerpen 1556) S. 380r.

S. 165: *Praesentia gaudia sequuntur perpetua tormenta*: Greg. M. in evang. 11,5 (PL 76 S. 1117 D).

S. 277: *Si ergo, fratres charissimi, divites esse cupitis, veras divitias amate*: Greg. M. in evang. 15,1 (PL 76 S. 1132A).

S. 411: *Non licet intueri quod non licet concupisci*: Greg. M. moral. 21,2,38 (CC 143 A S. 1066,38 f.).

S. 425: *Voluntas Dei est aliquando ut sanus sis, aliquando ut aegrotes. Si quando sanus es, dulcis est voluntas Dei; quando autem aegrotas, amara est. Non es recto corde, quia non vis voluntatem tuam ad Dei dirigere voluntatem, sed e contra*: Aug. in psalm. 35,16 (CC 38 S. 334,4ff.).

S. 426: *Surgunt procellae stagni huius, vides malos florere, bonos laborare. Tentatio est, fluctus est. Et dicit anima tua: O Deus, Deus, ipsa est iustitia tua, ut mali floreant, boni laborent?. Dicis Deo: Haeccine est iustitia tua? Et Deus tibi respondet: Haeccine est fides tua? Haeccine tibi promisi, aut ad hoc Christianus factus es, ut in saeculo floreres?*: Aug. in psalm. 25,2,4 (CC 38 S. 144,9 ff.).

S. 440: *Nihil eo infelicius, cui nihil evenit adversum. Argumentum est a Deo illum contemni ut imbellem et ignavum. Ignominiam iudicat gladiator cum imbelle componi; scit enim sine gloria vinci, qui sine periculo vincitur. Idem facit Dei providentia: Fortissimum quemque aggreditur, adversus quem suam vim intendat. Ignem experiebatur in Mutio, paupertatem in Fabricio, exilium in Rutilio, tormenta in Regulo, venenum in Socrate, mortem in Catone*: Sen. dial. 1,3,3-4 (ed. E. Hermes S. 6,27-29 und S. 7,9-17; p.a.l.; *Dei providentia* statt des heidnischen *fortuna*).

S. 509: *Qui erexit hominem lapsum, dedit stanti Angelo, ne laberetur; sic illum de captivitate eruens, sicut hunc a captivitate defendens. Et hac ratione fuit aeque utrique redemtio: solvens illum et servans istum. Liquet ergo sanctis Angelis Dominum Christum fuisse redemptorem*: Bernard. serm. cant. 22,6 (ed. Leclerck Bd. 1 S. 132,26 ff.).

S. 537: *Gaudet piscis, qui hamum invenit et escam devorat. Sed cum piscator eum traxerit, torquentur viscera eius*: vgl. Aug. agon. 7,8 (CSEL 41 S. 110,18 ff.)

S. 593: *Iudaei filii erant diaboli imitando, non nascendo*: Aug. in evang. Ioh. 42,10 (CC 36 S. 369,24 f.).

S. 594: *Diabolus verbum malum seminavit et hominem occidit. Non ad eum venit ferro accinctus; ne ergo putes non esse homicidium, cum fratri tuo mala persuades*: Aug. in evang. Ioh. 42,11 (CC 36 S. 370,14 ff.;p.a.l.).

S. 594 f.: *Non omnis, qui mentitur, est pater mendacii, sed qui aliunde mendacium non accepit, ut diabolus*: Aug. in evang. Ioh. 42,13 (CC 36 S. 371,21 ff.; p.a.l.).

S. 600: *Angelis bonis Dei qua sanctificantur, Charitas chara est, prae cuius incommutabili et ineffabili pulchritudine, cuius sancto amore inardescunt, omnia, quae infra sunt, et quod illud est non sunt, seque ipsos inter illa contemnunt, ut ex toto quod boni sunt eo bono, ex quo boni sunt, perfruantur*: Aug. civ. 9,22 (CC 47 S. 268,1 ff.).

S. 627: *Non iudicat personaliter, qui diliget aequaliter*: Aug. in evang. Ioh. 30,8 (CC 36 S. 293,1).

S. 632: *Excusa intentionem, si opus non potes*: Bernard. serm. cant. 40,5 (ed. Leclerk Bd. 2 S. 27,24).

Im vorhergehenden habe ich mich darauf beschränkt, die benutzten Quellen nach heutigen Ausgaben zu zitieren. Glücklicherweise sind aber einige Hundert Bände der ältetsten Bibliothek der Neuen Welt in der Sutro Library in San Francisco gelandet; sie stammen aus dem ursprünglich für die Ausbildung der Eingeborenen i.J. 1536 gegründeten Priesterseminar Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco. Wir wissen, daß Juan Bautista vom Jahre 1597 bis zu seinem Tod 1613 in dieser Bibliothek gearbeitet hat (s.W.M. Mathes, The America's First Academic Library: Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco [Sacramento 1985] S. 36 f. und Icazbalceta a.O. 470). Bei einem Besuch in der Sutro Library habe ich versucht festzustellen, ob Juan Bautista einige der dort vorhandenen Bände benutzt hat. Beweisen kann man es nicht, aber in einigen Fällen ist eine Benutzung wahrscheinlich:

S. 90: *S. Basil. Hom.* 14 *in ebrietatem et luxum: Sicut aqua igni est adversa, sic vinum immodicum rationem supprimit*; dies stimmt wörtlich mit der im folgenden Bande vorhandenen lateinischen Basiliusübersetzung überein: Divi Basilii Magni Omnia quae in hunc diem Latino sermone donata sunt opera (Antwerpen 1570) S. 186 A; diese Ausgabe wird von Mathes in seinem Katalog der in der Sutro Library vorhandenen aus Santa Cruz stammenden Bücherbestände S. 65 verzeichnet.

S. 101: Ioh. *Chrysostom. Hom.* 44 *in Ioh.*: *Nihil gula perniciosius, nihil ignominiosius. Haec obtussum et crassum ingenium, haec carnalem animam reddit, haec caecat intellectum, nec sinit ut quicquam perspiciat*: Ioannes Chrysostomos, Opera omnia (Venedig 1574) Bd. 3 S. 72^{r} (von Mathes merkwürdigerweise nicht verzeichnet, aber in der Sutro Library unter den Büchern aus Santa Cruz vorhanden, und zwar mit dem Sigel BS 2615. 4 C 57 L 3 1574).

S. 109: *Chrysost. hom.* 57 *ad popul. Antiochen.*: *Ubi ebrietas, illic demones choreos agunt:* Joannes Chrysostomus, Opera in quinque tomos digesta (Venedig 1583) Bd. 5 S. 309^{rb} (Mathes a.O. S. 69).

S. 595: *Plutarchos, De educatione puerorum*: *Praeter haec omnia, id quod sanctissimum est, pueri vera praeferre consuefiant. Mentiri enim servile vitium est et a cunctis mortalibus odio insectandum nec quod apud mediocres etiam servos veniam promereatur*: Plutarchus, Ethica sive moralia opera (Basel 1552) S. 43^{vd} (Mathes a. O. S. 61).

2. Juan de Mijangos, Primera parte del Sermonario Dominical y Sanctoral en lengua Mexicana (Mexiko 1624). Vgl. de León-Portilla a.O. S. 275 Nr. 1885; V. de P. Andrade, Ensayo bibliográfico Mexicano del siglo XVII (2. Aufl., Mexiko 1899) S. 160 ff. Nr. 116.

S. 173: *Ut pretioso sanguinis illius balsamo meis medeatur vulneribus*: Bernard. serm. nat. 3,4 (ed. Leclerck Bd. 4 S. 260,23 f.).

S. 203 f.: *Recte charitas vestis nuptialis vocatur, quia hanc in se conditor noster habuit, dum ad sociandae sibi Ecclesiae nuptias venit*: Greg. M. in evang. 38,9 (PL 76 S. 1287 C).

S. 215: *Vocatur caro, quod non capit caro, et ideo magis non capit caro, quia*: Aug. in evang. Ioh. 26,13 (CC 36 S. 266,6 ff.).

S. 216 f.: *Sed manducant Angeli, manducant superne virtutes, manducant caelestes spiritus; et manducant et saginantur, et integrum manet, quod eos satiat et letificat... Quis autem homo posset ad illum cibum?... Oportebat ergo, ut mensa illa lactesceret et ad parbulos perveniret*: Aug. in psalm. 33,1,6 (CC 38 S. 277,10 ff.).

S. 217 f.: *Unde autem fit cibus, lac unde omnibus lac convertitur, nisi per carnem traiiciatur? Nam mater hoc facit; quod manducat mater, hoc manducat infans. Sed quia minus idoneus est infans, qui pane vescatur,* *ideo ipsum panem mater incarnat et per humilitatem mamilae et lactis succo de ipso pane pascit infantem*: Aug. in psalm. 33,1,6 (CC 38 S. 277,15 ff.).

S. 239: *Ut panem Angelorum manducaret homo, creator Angelorum factus est homo*: Aug. in psalm. 109,12 (CC 40 S. 1611,18 ff.; auch anderswo).

S. 258: *Pauca dedisti, plura sume; terrena dedisti, caelestia sume; temporalia dedisti, aeterna sume*: Aug. serm. 38,8 (CC 41 S. 484, 188 ff.).

S. 448: *Ille in amore Dei maior est, qui ad eius amorem plurimos trahit*: Greg. M. moral. 14,48,56 (CC 143 A S. 731,18 f.).

S. 457: *Quia preceptum Domini est, etsi solum fiat, suficit*: Hier. in Gal. 3,5 (PL 26 S. 462 C).

S. 458: *Minus proximum amare convicitur, qui non cum eo in necessitate illius etiam quae sibi sunt necessaria partitur*: Greg. M. in evang. 20,11 (PL 76 S. 1165 B).

S. 42: *Greg. Naz. Perfecta vita est meditatio mortis*: Gregorius Nazianzenus, Opera omnia (Antwerpen 1570) S. 57 A und S. 690; diese Edition wird von Mathes a.O. S. 65 verzeichnet, und es ist möglich, daß sie de Mijangos in Santa Cruz benutzt hat.

The gluttonous *genius*: yearning for vitality and fertility

Sari Mattero

In Latin literature the *genius* of an individual often appears as a spirit, or as the part of the human soul, which is primarily interested in plentiful meals, good wine and all sorts of feasts and luxuries. Whoever is inclined to enjoy himself without concern for the cost of these very material pleasures, is "indulging" his *genius* (*indulgere genio, sapere ad genium, genio bona facere*), whereas the miser "defrauds" his *genius* (*genium defraudare*). Above all Plautus - whose plays contain the earliest literary allusions to the *genius* - but also Lucilius, Terence, Persius, Horace, Juvenal, Martial, Seneca, Tacitus and Servius all refer to this conception of the *genius*.[1]

But what do these pleasures and luxuries, yearned for by the *genius*, actually consist of? And above all, how should we interpret them - what do they tell us about the *genius*? Now, it seems that the pleasures of the *genius* are indeed of a very concrete and material kind, that is: wine and food. As is evident, feasts and banquets can also easily be reduced to these basic components.[2] Thus it would not seem justified to conclude, as has been done at times, that the *genius* is avid of sensual pleasure in general - sexual pleasure, for example, is not mentioned in connection with the *genius*, but with the *animus* [3]- but of food and wine specifically.

This fact suggests a very simple and "primitive" interpretation of the *genius*: it could, in these contexts, simply represent the vital energy, i.e. life itself, which depends on nourishment. With this elementary

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[1] See e.g. Plaut. Aul. 724a-725, Truc. 181-182, Capt. 290-292, Persa 108 and 263, Stich. 621; Ter. Phorm. 43-46; Lucil. 26,618; Pers. 4,27 and 5,151-153; Hor. carm. 3,17,14-16; Iuv. 4,66-68; Mart. 7,78; Sen. epist. 95,41; Tac. dial. 9,5; Serv. georg. 1,302.

[2] One could perhaps also think that the *genius* had a "sociable" aspect and that for this reason, too, it would be fond of feasting, but this opinion would probably rest too heavily on conjecture, as such a "sociable" aspect is not explicitly evident in the passages mentioned above.

[3] See e.g. Plaut. Amph. 290 and 995. The *animus* seems to be the seat of both physical desire and of love in general also in Ter Eun 142-143, 193-197 and 295; Plaut Epid. 45f.; Apul. met. 2,16 f . Ov ars 1, 237; Publil sent. A 5,41 ,43 ,52 etc.

interpretation I certainly don't mean to exclude other more complicated or "refined" interpretations of the *genius* in different contexts, which, moreover, can often easily be reconciled with or derived from this basic significance. I wish simply to show that it is in no way necessary to see in this Plautine[4] *genius* any such abstract and modern concept as the "personality"[5] or anything as vague as "natural optimism" or the "faculty for enjoyment".[6]

The special feast of this feasting *genius* was the birthday of its "master", the rites of which are described most vividly by Tibullus.[7] According to him the *genius* was to be celebrated by games and dancing and with offerings of wine, ointment, wreaths of flowers, incense and cakes. We also learn from other sources that the offerings to the *genius* consisted mostly of wine, and in some cases also of flowers and incense.[8] After birthday offerings it was customary to make wishes to the *genius*, and in the poems of Tibullus requests are made for progeny, marital felicity and a long life. These wishes could be conditioned by the literary genre or by the addressees of these particular poems, but they could also easily be attributed to the character of the *genius* as the spirit not only of vitality, but also of virility and fertility.

Such an interpretation of the *genius* is supported by, among other things, its iconography. The usual attribute of the *genius* is the cornucopia,

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4 Plautine ,because it is common above all in Plautus, whose plays, as mentioned already, contain the earliest literary allusions to the *genius*. Therefore it also seems justified to consider this Plautine *genius* to be the "original" form of the literary *genius*.

5 This interpretation has often been offered by various scholars, see e.g. A. Negrioli, Dei Genii presso i Romani, Bologna 1900, 7; G. Wissowa, Religion und Kultus der Römer, Zweite Auflage, München 1912, 175; G. Dumézil, Encore Genius: Hommages à R. Schilling, Paris 1983, 87-88.

6 See e.g. Negrioli 7 and Th. Birt, Roschers Lexikon, Band I.2, Leipzig 1886, 1616.

7 1, 7, 49-64 and 2,2.

8 See e.g. Hor.epist.2,1,143-144; Pers.2,3; Cens.2,1-3; COD.Theod.16,10,2. Also the paintings of the Pompeian house shrines, as well as the bronze statuettes representing the *genius*, bear witness to the offering of wine and incense, as in the hands of the *genius*, represented as making an offering to himself, we usually see the *patera* for wine and/or the *acerra* for incense, in addition to the usual cornucopia (see the plates in H. Kunckel, Der Römische Genius, MDAIR, Ergänzungsheft 20, Heidelberg 1975, and T. Fröhlich, Lararien- und Fassadenbildern den Vesuvstädten, MDAIR, Ergänzungsheft 32, Mainz 1991). However, in these paintings we often see a little pig, too, being led towards the altar of the *genius* - a fact that seems to contradict the words of Censorinus, often repeated by the scholars, according to which the slaying of victims was to be avoided in the case of the *genius*, as the spirit of birthday and thus of birth and life. Also Horace (carm.3,17,14-16) mentions a piglet in connection with the *genius*, but the passage seems to refer to a feast instead of a real offering.

a well-known symbol of fertility and abundance, and the paintings of the house shrines almost always also present a serpent or two serpents, either entwined around the altar of the *genius* or creeping towards it, or with their own altar in a separate zone beneath the principal painting. Now, the serpent as a symbol is notoriously ambiguous and multiform, also in the paintings of the house shrines its significance has been explained in different ways or been held to be too vague to be explained. Even its traditionally accepted connection with the *genius* has sometimes been contradicted, partly because the serpents do also appear on their own or in the company of deities other than the *genius*.[9] I, however, feel inclined to accept, in most cases, the traditional connection of these serpents with vitality, fertility (both in the concrete sense and in a more abstract one, as abundance and success) and rebirth, combined with a protective and apotropaic function, which, of course, above all the serpents of the facades perform.[10] It also seems plausible that at least some of these serpents are connected with the *genius*, not only because they expressly eat from his altar, but also because they seem to symbolise the same things as the *genius*, i.e. vitality, fertility and protection. It is difficult to see why the various connotations and connections of the serpent, and its being a divine and portentous animal as such, should deny its obvious connection with the *genius*, too.

The connection of these serpents with both fertility and the *genius* is further supported by the details of various paintings; on the altars of the serpents we almost always see a pine cone and an egg or two eggs, and these same objects can sometimes be seen on the altar of the *genius*.[11] Even the cornucopia of the *genius* fairly often contains a pine cone and sometimes even what look like eggs.[12] Strangely enough, these details seem

9 See e.g. Fröhlich 56-61, and G. Boyce, Significance of the Snakes on Pompeian House Shrines, AJA 46 (1942) 13-21.

10 This combined symbolism of fertility and protection in the form of a serpent does not seem too unlikely, when we remember that the phallus also seems to combine these two aspects, i.e. fertility symbolism and apotropaic protection, being in addition a symbol of power. The assumed phallic nature of the serpent will not be discussed here.

11 See plates 3,1; 5,2 and 24,1 in Fröhlich. Also in the painting of the house shrine of the house I 8,8 in Pompeii there is a pine cone and an egg on the altar of the *genius*, although this can not easily be seen on the plate 2,1 in Fröhlich.

12 See plates 71,3, 75,4 and 89,2 in Kunckel, and 25,1 and 14,2 in Fröhlich In the last mentioned painting the cornucopia contains something that in colour and texture looks like a pine cone, but has a different (phallic?) form, flanked on both sides by what look like two eggs (unfortunately these details are not easily discernible in Fröhlich's plate). Similar phallic (?) compositions can sometimes be seen on the altars of the serpents (see e.g. plate

to have gone unnoticed by Boyce and Fröhlich, who actually present the difference between the "offerings" of the serpents and those of the *genius* as evidence against their connection.[13] Now, instead of real "offerings" these objects should certainly be seen as symbols, or at least as offerings with a symbolic significance. Both the pine cone and the eggs contain the principle of new life and so it seems more than natural to see them as symbols of vitality and fertility, and of the course and continuity of life.[14] In funerary art, where these same symbols appear, they have been interpreted by Cumont[15] as symbols of immortality and rebirth, which again, of course, can very easily be connected to the above interpretation of them as meaning vitality and fertility and the continuity of life. In this context, unfortunately, it is impossible to discuss fully the relation of the *genius* to these symbols or to fertility in general.

We have seen that the gluttonous and wine drinking *genius* of Plautus and others can, also on the basis of the iconography of the house shrines and of the offerings made to the *genius* (as we shall see later), be interpreted as signifying vitality and fertility. We have also seen that the wishes made to the *genius* seem to support this interpretation. Indeed, the fairly obvious connection between the *genius* and fertility and procreation[16] has been admitted and discussed by most scholars, though not all. What, however, has not been seen or discussed in most studies is the rather natural connection between these two aspects of the *genius* -

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30,2 in Kunckel, plates 25,3, 35,1 and 39,2 in Fröhlich, and p.763 in Pompei, pitture e mosaici, vol.II, Milano 1990), though with the pine cone in its proper shape. In one case (plate 49,1 in Fröhlich) the altar of the serpents is flanked by two horns of plenty, which contain a phallic(?) composition of fruit.

13 See Boyce 20-21 and Fröhlich 59-61.

14 And indeed in many parts of the world the pine appears as a symbol of immortality, vital force, longevity and fertility. It also plays a part in the cult of Cybele and Attis, and the pine cone appears in the iconography of Dionysos. The egg, too, is a universal symbol of creation and birth, life and fertility, of the periodical renewal of nature, of resurrection etc. See Chevalier-Gheerbrant, Dizionario dei Simboli, Milano 1989 (orig. Paris 1969), vol.II, 223-225, 520-524. See also S. Fasce, Eros. La figura e il culto, Genova 1977, 99-100, for the egg and its symbolic significance in connection with Eros, and J. Harrison, Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, New York 1957 (orig. 1903), 625-629, for the Orphic world-egg and for the egg in the rites of Dionysos and Liber and in the cult of the dead.

15 F. Cumont, Recherches sur le Symbolisme funeraire des Romains, Paris 1966 (orig. 1942), 219-221, 396.

16 Supported also by the etymology of the word, by the name *lectus genialis* for the marital bed, by several definitions of the *genius* by Latin authors etc. I hope to discuss all this material in another context.

gluttony and wine-drinking on the one hand and fertility and procreation on the other. Indeed, as already mentioned, the Plautine *genius* which has not often been an object of detailed analysis, has mostly been interpreted in a fairly abstract and vague manner. Only R.B. Onians[17] seems to have connected these two aspects interpreting them in a very concrete way. He associates the Plautine *genius* with the very concrete idea of the "juice" or "sap" of life (*sucus, umor*), on which depends the vitality of the body.[18] The quantity of this "sap", and thus the degree of vitality, then depends not only on the age of the person in question, but also on the nourishment he takes and on the quantity of wine he consumes. Old people, and particularly the old misers so common in Plautus, are "dry" (*aridi, sicci*), and so are the poor, the thin, the hungry, the thirsty and the sober.[19]

The "dryness" of old age then is often compared to dryness in the vegetable world, dry leaves etc,[20] which again reflects the close connection between the human and the vegetal "sap".[21] Illuminating in this respect are also the words of the carmen Priapeum 32. When describing a thin girl, "*uvis aridior puella passis*", they seem to express both the identification of the human and the vegetable "sap" and the connection between "sap" and wine, in the form of the juice squeezed from the grapes. This idea might be present also in Horace, carm. 4,13,1-12, where the aged and withered Lyce tries to seem younger (i.e. increase her diminished "sap"), and to invite the reluctant Cupid, by drinking excessive amounts of wine.

The adjective *siccus* has an even more evident connection with wine, or rather with the lack of it, as it very often means "sober" or "thirsty".[22] Often it also means both "thirsty" and "hungry".[23] However, whereas the significance of *aridus* is always more or less negative ("stingy", "old", "too

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[17] The Origins of European Thought about the Body, the Mind, the Soul, the World, Time and Fate, Cambridge 1951.

[18] See Onians 192, 212, 224, and e.g. Ter. Eun. 317; Hor. carm. 3,27,53ff; Plaut. Capt. 80ff, Mil. 639f. and 787f.; Priap. 32.

[19] For *aridus* see e.g. Plaut. Aul. 294-296; Ter Heaut 526-527; Mart 10,87,5; Cic. S.Rosc 27,75; Priap. 32.

[20] For example in Hor. carm 1,25,17-20 and 4,13,1-12

[21] This might also be the meaning of the flowers offered to the *genius*, see Onians (217, 221, 227 note 6), who refers even to the fact that the flower was the "head" of the plant and contained the seed (for the connection of the *genius* with the head see below). Cfr. also the use of roses and violets in the cult of the dead, because of their blood-like colour.

[22] See e.g. Pers. 5,163-166; Plaut. As. 856-857, Persa 821-822, Curc. 116-118, Pseud. 182-184; Hor. carm. 4,5,38-40, epist. 1,19,8-9; Cic. ac. 2,27,88; Sen. epist. 18,3-4.

[23] See e.g. Hor. sat. 2,2,14-15 and 2,3,281, epist. 1,17,11-12; Verg. Aen. 2,356-358.

thin" etc.), *siccus* can have positive connotations, too, for example in the senses "sober" (see above), "healthy"[24] and "sensible".[25] It is evident of course that the idea of continence inherent in these positive connotations of *siccus* is more to the taste of philosophical writers and moralists, whereas for Plautus, Terence, Horace, Martial etc. both *siccus* and *aridus* practically always seem to have a negative significance, meaning "thirsty", "lacking wine and nourishment", "stingy", "old" and so on.

It would seem thus that the opposition between those who "defraud" their *genius* by denying it wine and nourishment, and those who "indulge" it by offering it plenty of wine and delicious meals, is also one of "dryness" and "sappiness", accentuated by the contrast between "dry" old age and "sappy" youth, as the Plautine and Terentian misers are usually old and the merry revellers young. Thus there seems to be an evident connection between the *genius*, the *sucus* and the vitality: what pleases the *genius*, also increases the *sucus* and consequently strengthens the vitality. Merry young men[26] are "sappy" and full of vitality, old misers are "dry" and lack vitality.

An amusing piece of evidence for this interrelation between the *genius*, the *sucus* and the nourishment taken seems to be the fact that the Plautine parasites sometimes use the words *genius meus* of their patron,[27] as if the patron by nourishing them and keeping up their *sucus* became their personal *genius*, whose task it is indeed to keep up life.[28] Plautus actually describes the condition of the esurient and thirsty parasites, when their patrons in the summer go away for holidays and leave them untended, as that of snails which in hot and dry summer weather have to

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24 See e.g. Catull. 23,12-20, though the tone of Catullus is of course very ironic. For the combination *siccus et sanus* see e.g. Cic. ac. 2,27,88, Brut. 53,202, opt.gen. 3,8. Cicero of course is discussing different speech styles, but his expressions are clearly applicable to people, too.

25 See e.g. Petron. 37: "*Est sicca, sobria, bonorum consiliorum.*"

26 The present discussion concentrates on the male sex, as the *genius* of an individual is primarily a male concept. It is evident, however, that the contrast between "dry" old age and "sappy" youth is just as applicable to the female sex, and actually several of the above literary examples of "dryness" and "sappiness" refer to women.

27 See e.g. Plaut. Curc. 301 and Men. 138.

28 Partly, of course, the *genius* may, in these contexts, appear in a more general sense as a tutelary spirit.

hide themselves in their shells and try to live on their own "sap" (*suo sibi suco vivunt*), as there is no dew or rain falling.[29]

This idea of young men being "sappy" and "genial" (in the sense of who know what pleases the *genius*) then brings in mind almost automatically the sexual aspect of the *sucus* and of the *genius*. It is commonplace in Latin literature for a nice banquet with a lot of wine to awaken sexual desire.[30] Apuleius[31] expresses the same idea even more clearly by describing a pair of lovers, who, during a long night of love-making, strengthen their bodies and refresh their desire by drinking more wine. The connection between the *sucus* and wine, and the role of wine as a life-giving liquid is evident,[32] but it is also evident that there is a connection between the *sucus* and the other, or rather, the real liquids of the body, that is, above all the blood and the spinal "marrow", and, connected with the latter, the brain or cerebral substance, all of which in ancient medical and philosophical literature have been considered to be the material from which semen is produced.[33] And so, according to the logic of these conceptions at the popular level, we may conclude that those who nourish themselves, and their *genius*, well with wine and food, developing

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29 Plaut.Capt.80-84: "*Quasi, cum caletur ,cocleae in occulto latent,/suo sibi suco vivont, ros si non cadit,/ item parasiti rebus prolatis latent/ in occulto miseri victitant suco suo/ dum ruri rurant homines quos ligurriant*". Very expressive is also the verb *ligurrire*, to "lick".

30 See e.g. Catull. 21,9 and 32,10; Hor. epist. 1,15,21; Ov. ars 1,229ff; Petron. 112. See also Onians 219 and 225.

31 Met. 2,16f.

32 See e.g. Onians 216-217, 227 and Petron. 34 "*vita vinum est*". Cfr. also the symbolic connection of wine with blood, and the many ancient and modern usages that combine wine with life and health, drinking a toast to somebody's health etc.

33 For semen as derived from blood and blood again as derived from nourishment, see Aristotle, gen. an.726a26, 737al9, 725bl etc. Onians concentrates above all on the connection between the *sucus* and the cerebrospinal marrow, as the material of semen, citing among others Alcmeon of Croton, Hippo of Samos and Plato, see Onians 115, 118-122, 212-213. M. Foucault, in Histoire de la Sexualité (vols.1-3, Paris 1976-84), vol.2, 146-150, describes various theories as to the origin of semen. According to the Hippocratian treatise "The Seed" it was either formed in the brain and descended then via the spinal marrow to the lower parts of the body, or it issued from the body as a whole, that is, from all the humoral fluid (*sucus*?) present in it. Plato again (in Tim. 73b-d) sees the origin of semen in the cerebrospinal marrow, and he also, in Tim. 9la-c, seems to see the spinal marrow and the canal by which the liquid drunk leaves the body, as connected to each other, a fact (not mentioned by Foucault), which might support the connection between the wine consumed and the semen produced. The medical writers of the Roman period more or less reflect the same ideas. For Galen, for instance, the semen is the product of two elements: a certain "coction" of the blood, taking place in the spermatic channels, and the presence of the *pneuma*, which is formed in the brain and flows in to the semen at the moment of ejaculation (see Foucault, vol.3, 131). Probably the popular conceptions mirrored the same ideas in a simplified form.

plenty of *sucus*, would as a consequence also have more semen and be more fertile and more active sexually, as the surplus of the *sucus*, and thus also of semen, would want to leave their bodies. This very evident connection between the bodily fluids, the semen (male and female)[34] and the interest in, or capacity for, physical love is reflected in many literary passages and popular ideas.[35]

It is obvious of course that this idea of the *sucus* as the basis of vitality and fertility mirrors a very simple and popular way of thinking. It is well known that in ancient medicine, with its humoral pathology, there existed a far more complicated complex of ideas concerning the humours of an organism, as well as its health and fertility, certainly not dependent on the quantity of the *sucus*, but on the balance of the different humours.[36] It is evident, too, that the "vitality" represented by the Plautine *genius* is definitely not to be identified with health or longevity. Diet and the regimen in general play a very important role in ancient medicine, and it must certainly have been well known at the popular level, too, that banquets and wine do not necessarily improve one's health or lengthen one's life. This popular "knowledge" is also attested by several sepulchral inscriptions, in which banquets and wine - together with bathing and love-

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34 Most ancient medical writers thought that the female, too, emitted semen, only the female semen was considered to be less elaborate and perfect, and thus to have a minor role in the formation of the embryo. This was still the opinion of Galen in the Roman period, see Foucault, vol.3, 129 and Galen, De usu partium 14,6.

35 See e.g. Plaut. Mil. 640-641: "*et ego amoris aliquantum habeo umorisque etiam in corpore,/ neque dum exarui ex amoenis rebus et voluptariis.*" See also *siccus* in the sense "void of love, sexually cold or bored" in e.g. Ovid, ars 2,685-688, where a girl during love-making "*siccaque de lana cogitat ipsa sua*", and in Martial, 11,81,2, where a frustrated girl remains "dry", "*iacet in medio sicca puella toro*", while a eunuch and an old man are trying to make love to her.

36 It might also be interesting to compare this popular idea of "sappy" and "wet" virility (and femininity), present in Latin literature, with the Greek idea of the male as dry and hot of nature and the female as wet and cold (see A. Carson, Putting her in her Place, in Before Sexuality, ed by M. Halperin, J.J. Winkler, F.I. Zeitlin, Princeton 1990). But the apparent contradiction between these conceptions probably depends simply on different contexts and points of view. The "dryness" of the male in the Greek conceptions seems to refer above all to the presumed superior intelligence and continence of the male as opposed to the "wet" and uncontrolled sensualism of the female (this at least is the idea that emerges from the article of A. Carson), whereas in the contexts in which appear the Plautine *genius* or the *sucus*, the intelligence or the continence, or their lack, are of no importance, and the sensual pleasures are unquestioningly seen in a positive light. It seems indeed that in these popular Latin conceptions and expressions discussed above there is no such distinction between male and female "dryness" or "wetness", but both male and female can be either "dry" (continent, controlled, non-sensual) or "wet" (incontinent, sensual) depending on the context and on the kind of attitude or condition that is being described.

making - are mentioned as pleasures, which give meaning to life, but which on the other hand may shorten it by causing a premature death.[37] And thus the "vitality" of the *genius* must refer to something far more irrational and "primitive" than the all too rational and modern concept of "health". It might even have something to do with a Dionysiac intensification of life,[38] which again would be in line with the idea of the *genius* as a spirit avid of banquets and wine, and which also, of course, suits the fertile and procreative aspect of the *genius*. This difference between the vitality of the *genius* and the concept of health surely is obvious even for the simple reason that the *genius* is a religious conception, whereas health is not, even though the distinction between religious and scientific ideas of course was not nearly so clear in the ancient world as it has become in modern times.

After all these considerations we must return to the fact, so often mentioned by the scholars, that this Plautine *genius*, in spite of its apparent sensuality, is not mentioned in amorous contexts. In Plautus for example, as already mentioned, the person who eats and drinks, is indulging his *genius*, whereas the person who makes love is being "obedient" to his *animus*.[39] This fact has been interpreted in different ways by various scholars. For those who nevertheless admit the fertile and procreative aspect of the *genius*, it usually means that the *genius*, despite its procreative function, is not otherwise "sexual".[40] This idea of the *genius* as connected above all to procreation, and thus to marriage, and not to love-making as such, in the sense of sexual pleasure or extra-conjugal adventures, is

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37 See e.g. CLE 1499, 1500 and 1923. See also I Kajanto, Balnea vina venus, Hommages à M. Renard, Bruxelles 1969, 365-366.

38 See A. Brelich, Aspetti della morte nelle iscrizioni sepulcrali dell' Impero Romano, Lipsiae 1937, 44-53.

39 "*Animo obsequitur*", e.g. in Amph. 290 and 995. For other examples of the connection of physical love with *animus* see note 3 above.

40 See e.g. F. Altheim, A History of the Roman Religion (1938, transl. by H. Mattingly, enlarged ed. of the author's Römische Religionsgeschichte, Berlin 1931-33) 61; H. Wagenwoort, Roman Dynamism, Oxford 1947, 191-192, and W.F. Otto, Die Manen, Darmstadt 1958 (orig.1923), 76-77. Otto, however, wisely uses the word "erotic" instead of the very generic "sexual". Onians seems to see the *genius* as both fertile and "sexual", for example when he takes the words *indulge genio* in Persius 5,151, as referring also to love-making, see Onians 225. He, nevertheless, notes the absence of the *genius* in amorous contexts, where it is usually replaced by *animus*. His explanation for this is that the *animus*, the conscious self, is the seat of every conscious desire, whether for the pleasures of the table or for sexual gratification, whereas the *genius* does not reflect the conscious self, see Onians 224-225. This may well be true, but it is also possible to find a far simpler and more straightforward explanation, as we shall see below.

perfectly credible, but should be analysed better and connected to the apparently "sensual" aspects of the Plautine *genius*. Moreover, modern terms and concepts, such as "sexual" and "sexuality", should be used with far more caution and clarity than is done by most scholars. It is obvious, and has been very instructively shown and discussed by Foucault,[41] that a modern and very generic term like "sexuality" can not be applied to ancient conceptions without modifications. Unfortunately, in practically every study of the *genius* these terms are nevertheless used in a very vague manner, sometimes referring both to procreation and to sex as pleasure, sometimes referring to only one of these aspects.

So, to some scholars the *genius* is fertile and procreative, but not otherwise "sexual", to others it is neither fertile nor otherwise "sexual". The last mentioned, too, naturally, base their opinion on the absence of the *genius* in amorous contexts. But of course they present other arguments, too, for example the detail, mentioned by Servius,[42] that, among the bodily parts, the forehead - and not the sexual organ - is sacred to the *genius*.[43] This argument, however, for several reasons, does not seem valid, to begin with the fact that the only witness seems to be Servius, who is often not too credible in his comments on the *genius*. However, be it as it may - and of course what Servius reports may also be perfectly true - this argument nevertheless does not in any way whatsoever prove the "non-sexuality" of the *genius* or eliminate its procreative aspect. On the contrary, the head can in many ways be related to vitality and fertility, and can also be considered to be the seat and symbol of life.[44] We have also seen that the brain, or rather, the cerebrospinal marrow, could be considered to be the source of semen. Thus it is clearly in no way justified to deduce - as has been done by Dumézil and others - that the connection of the *genius* with the forehead proves its relation to "personality" and denies its relation to procreation. One should not be too ready to give the different bodily parts their modern connotations - which, moreover, may even today be different for different cultures - but study carefully the possible ancient ones.

But then, if we admit the procreative character of the *genius*, how should we explain its absence in amorous contexts in Latin literature? The

41 In his Histoire de la Sexualité, passim, vol.1 in particular.

42 Aen. 3,607.

43 See e.g. Dumézil 87 and R. Schilling, RLAC 10, Stuttgart 1978, 57-58.

44 See Onians 111, 113-115, 123-127 and 153.

answer is already present in the question (and in all that has been said so far), as it is precisely the connection of the *genius* with fertility and procreation that explains its absence in amorous contexts. The *genius* is not the spirit of love or of sex as pleasure, but precisely the spirit of fertility (as a part of vitality) and thus of procreation and marital sex. And this, in general, is not a topic much considered in the amorous passages of Latin literature.[45]

But now there might seem to be a discrepancy between this "serious" *genius* of marital procreation and the merry and "sensual" *genius* of the banquets. This apparent discrepancy, however, is easy to eliminate, if we consider more closely the different relation that banquets, on the one hand, and procreation, on the other, have to vitality: food and wine increase the "life" and vitality (and the *sucus*) of the individual, whereas procreation, and the sexual act in general, diminish it, giving eventually part of it to the progeny. Even without considering procreation in such a concrete way, it is easy to see how wine and food "do good" to the *genius* or strengthen it, whereas physical love, at least momentarily, weakens it. The ancients often saw the sexual act as a dangerous loss of the vital force (that is, to the male partner, of course), almost as a kind of a death.[46] Latin literature also expresses the concrete idea that love diminishes the *sucus*, the bodily moisture, and thus the vitality, too. It is easy to see how this idea can be derived from the nature of the sexual act, but it seems to be applied to love in a more general sense, too: love goes to the marrow or to the blood and burns and diminishes them, "drying" and weakening the lover.[47]

In the light of these considerations, it is evident that the *genius* needs nourishment in order to be able to perform its function, that is, to maintain and to procreate life. It is in this sense that food and wine "please" the

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45 Otto, in Die Manen 76-77, is probably referring to the same thing, when he says that the "seriousness" of the concept, that is, the relation of the *genius* to reproduction and progeny, prevents its being mentioned in erotic contexts.

46 Also because the semen was thought to contain the strongest and most vital part of the humoral fluid, indeed the principle of life, see e.g. Foucault, vol.2, 146-147.

47 See e.g. Hor. carm. 3,19,28 and Prop. 2,12,13-17 and 19-20. In the Propertian passage the lover (in whose "*siccis medullis*" and "*sanguine*" Amor persistently lives and makes war) in the end becomes so dry that he is only a ghost, "*non ego sed tenuis vapulat umbra mea*". Life is clearly in the bodily fluids, *sucus*, blood and marrow. Strangely enough Onians, who so instructively discusses the interaction of *sucus*, cerebrospinal marrow and semen, and who also describes the diminishing effect of crying and sweating on the "life-fluid" (Onians 200-213) and mentions the idea of love as affecting the marrow (Onians 151-152), does not arrive at the above expressed conclusion, but gives a different explanation for the absence of the *genius* in amorous contexts, see note 40 above.

genius, whereas sex, as procreation, is its task, and therefore is not mentioned as a "pleasure". We can now see that the Plautine *genius* is not necessarily a "sensual" spirit keen on sensual pleasure in general, but avid of food and wine specifically, and that this drinking and gluttonous *genius* of the banquets can easily be related to the more solemn *genius* of procreation. We can also see that it is in no way necessary to see in the procreative *genius* the "original" significance of the concept, whereas the feasting *genius* of Plautus and others would be the result of a "later" modification and extension of the concept.[48] Both aspects together can form the "original"[49] concept, that is, vitality and fertility, life and procreation, which depend on each other and belong together.

[48] This theory is common among the scholars, see e.g. Wissowa 175; K. Latte, Römische Religionsgeschichte, München 1960, 89; J.C. Nitzsche, The Genius Figure in Antiquity and the Middle Ages, New York and London 1975, 10.

[49] The word "original" is in quotation marks, as there is no evidence prior to Plautus, whereas the concept probably dates from hoary antiquity. For this reason it seems rather pointless, however fascinating it may be, to discuss the "original" significance of the *genius*, which in the absence of evidence will remain obscure and rely heavily on conjecture. For the moment at least I prefer to regard the Plautine *genius* as the most "original" attainable form of the individual *genius*.

A Copy of the Praxitelian *Anapauomenos* in Finland

Leena Pietilä-Castrén

The Reposing Satyr, *Anapauomenos* by Praxiteles, probably dating from the mid fourth century BC,[1] was one of the most beloved statues of Greek and Roman antiquity, neither has its popularity diminished with the years. Its contemporary stature is demonstrated by the fact that a copy of it can be found in almost any European museum. Approximately eighty copies in full scale statues, torsos, heads, or statuettes are known to exist.[2]

We are fortunate enough to have one of the marble copies of the satyr in Finland. (fig. 1) This copy is in private ownership and it has only been exhibited semi-publicly, when, from the early forties up until 1980, it was on display in a banquet hall in Porvoo.[3] As more information about the interesting peregrinations of this exact copy have now become available, it might be rewarding to surmise about the course of its fate once again.[4]

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1 Attribution by stylistic and iconographic comparison; See e.g. G. Lippold, *Die griechische Plastik, Handbuch der Archäologie III:1*, 1950, 240-241 and more recently P. Gercke, *Satyrn des Praxiteles*, 1968, 66-69.

2 A thorough list of the Reposing Satyres is presented by Gercke, espec. 22-56. Outside Europe the extant copies are in Northern Africa: There is a statue in the Archaeological Museum of Tripoli which was originally discovered in Leptis Magna, as well as a torso and the statuette which was found in Sparta. Another statue is in Tunis, Bardo Museum, of unknown provenance.

3 The statue is owned by the AB Svenska Gården i Borgå, it having been bequeathed by the antique dealer Walter Sjöberg (1864-1937). There is a short note on the statue in *Finskt Museum* 1979, 111-112 by P. Korvenmaa. The height of the satyr is 1,69 m.

4 I am most grateful to Ms Lena Wikström, conservator, for turning my attention to this statue, as well as to Mr Magnus Björklund, (B.Econ.), from the Svenska Gården, for his kind permission to investigate the origins and destiny of the satyr. The Finnish Ministry of Education provided me with a scholarship for a trip to St.Petersburg. The staff of the Department of Ancient Art and Sculpture of the Hermitage in St.Petersburg and the Archangelskoe Museum in Moscow have kindly helped me by providing relevant information. I am most indebted to prof. Piero Alfredo Gianfrotta from the University of Viterbo, for helping me to trace the statue to Russia.

The original satyr by Praxiteles must have been some 1.7 m high and it was most probably made of bronze.[5] The statue represents a male satyr cosily leaning on a tree trunk in an elegant contraposto, carrying a skin of panther around his shoulders, breast and neck, as indeed becomes an associate of Dionysus. The curly hair is restrained in some copies, either with a bandeau or a *corona pineata,* or else it is left unbound. The simultaneous use of both of them is encountered only rarely. In the case of the Finnish satyr the hair was originally held together only with a bandeau. At a later phase[6] a crown with pine cones made of painted bronze was also added, most likely in order to conceal some damage caused by deterioration of the marble[7].(fig. 3) The general appearance of the statue resembles that of the Olympian Hermes with the child Dionysus, also generally attributed to Praxiteles, and it bears an even stronger likeness to the Praxitelian Apollo Sauroktonos.[8]

Through ancient sources we know that statues representing satyrs and attributed to Praxiteles existed at least in Megara[9] and Athens. The statue in Athens once stood at Tripodon Street which ran from the theatre of Dionysus[10], passing the odeum of Pericles and the monument of Lysicrates, a route where the choregic monuments were usually situated. The available information does not, however, allow us to connect these statues to the lost prototype of the reposing satyr. Later, Roman connoisseurs, greedy generals and other collectors also imported original Praxitelian statues to Rome. According to written sources no less than

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5 Gercke, 57, 63.

6 See pp. 103-104.

7 L. Wikström, in her report on the restoration, in print. The deterioration is especially strong in the hair, where some curls are missing and others have been treated with grinding. Additionally, some new curls made of gypsum have been added. The damage can be due to long exposure in the open when, for instance, rain had fallen strongly on the foremost part of the head.

8 Gercke, 66-67. See also the critique by H. v. Steuben in W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom II*, 1966 (4), 235.

9 In the temple of Apollo Patroos stood a statue of Parian marble, Paus. 1,43,5. Actually we now also attribute another satyr, the *einschenkend* type to Praxiteles. See Gercke, 1-21.

10 Paus, 1,20,1. Athenaeus probably discussed the same statue in 13,591 B. Gercke, 71-73.

fourteen of them had been imported by the end of the Hellenistic age,[11] this being considerably more than can be ascribed to any other Greek sculptor known to us. But neither of these is mentioned to have represented a satyr.

Yet, this satyr seems to have been one of the favourite subjects of Roman statuary during the imperial centuries which followed. The popularity of the satyrs is explained by their importance in the increasing enthusiasm for gardens. The Romans preferred to decorate them in accordance with the concept of nature mixed with certain amount of religious feeling, often inspired by the cult of Dionysus.[12] Satyrs as the deities of nature were thus actually an inevitable part of the real countryside. Particularly during the imperial period the gardens also became immensely important around those urban villas which had been fashioned into actual *horti*. The gardens which formed an integral part of the baths and gymnasia required extensive sculptural decoration and statues representing youthful, well formed bodies, such as that of the reposing satyr, were naturally suitable items.

Most of the known copies of *Anapauomenos* come from Italy, particularly from Rome or its immediate surroundings: five originate from Tivoli and eight are from the city itself.[13] The beginning of the second century seems to be the crucial time during which the many copies of this precise satyr flourished, since, with one exception, all the datings presented for the copies point to the second century.[14] That the explosive growth in the popularity of this satyr took place for the most part in the Roman context is further proved by the small number of copies of it discovered elsewhere or on actual Greek soil; we know of only five statuettes and one life size torso.[15]

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11 The list by J.J. Pollit in *Tapha* 108 (1978) 157, 170-172.

12 P. Grimal, *I giardini di Roma antica*, (1984), 1990, 318-321.

13 Gercke, 58. Grimal, 322-323. We may take it for granted that the examples in various Italian museums come from actual Italian soil.

14 According to Gercke: St. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 17, 18. T. 1, 4, 6, 7, 10, 13, 15. K. 6. See also P. Zanker, 'Zur Funktion und Bedeutung griechischer Skulptur in der Römerzeit' in *Le Classicisme a Rome aux Iers siècles avant et apres J.-C.*, 1979, 294-295.

15 Gercke, 41-42, 44, 46.

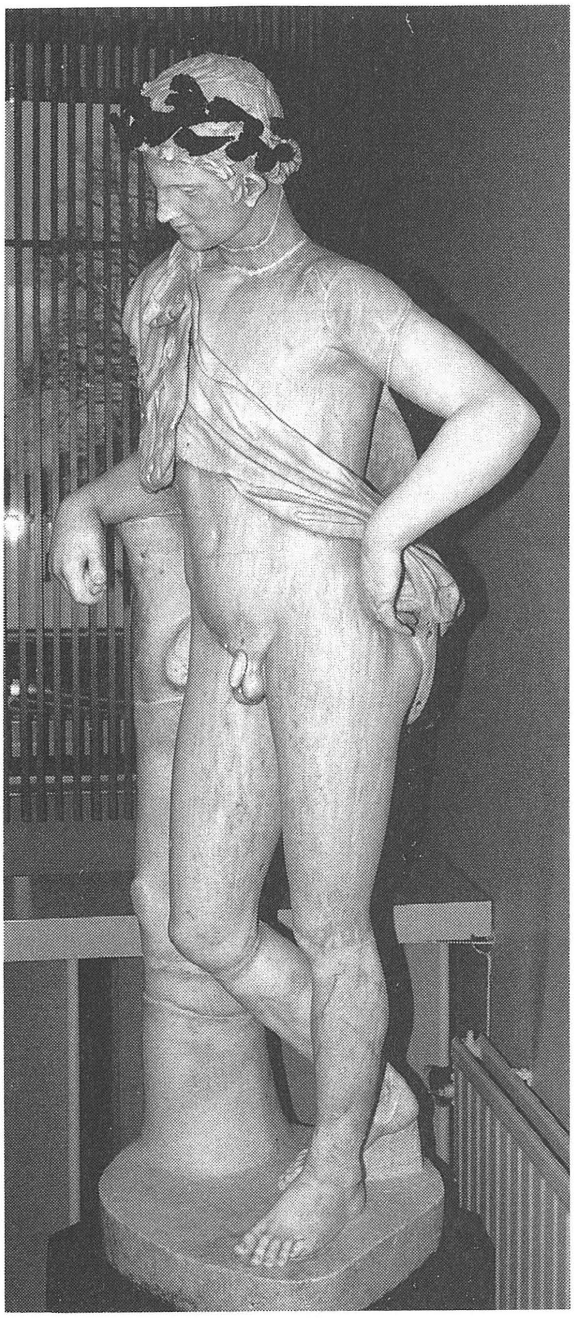

Fig. 1

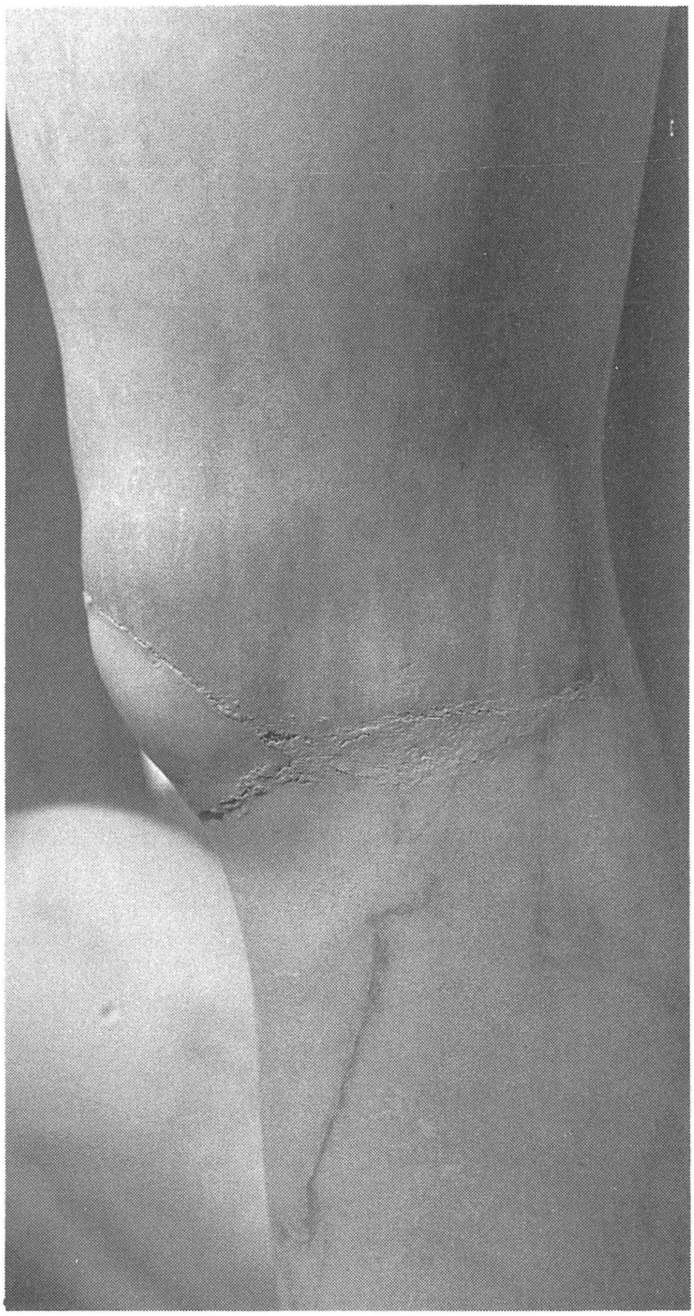

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

The Neo-classical revival

In the 1760s the enthusiasm for collecting ancient works of art climaxed, this development having been particularly noticeable in Rome as a consequence of the influence of J.J. Winckelmann and Cardinal Alessandro Albani. Archaeology was mostly understood as the history of ancient art, specifically the ancient statues, most of which had been either discovered by chance without systematic excavation or available since antiquity. The importance of antiquarian studies as an aesthetic value prevailed, although almost exclusively through Roman copies.

The Finnish satyr seems to be one of the many Roman copies which experienced their second vogue in this era during which many enthusiastic devotees were at large in Rome. It was apparently the Russian prince Nikolai Borisovich Yusupov (1750-1831),[16] a well-known bibliophile and collector of paintings and sculpture, who purchased our reposing satyr. According to the traditional view this must have taken place some time during the 1780s.[17] Prince Yusupov was accredited as the *ministre plénipotentiaire* to the court of Amedeo II in Turin from 1783 to 1788, and also to the Holy See from 1785 to 1788 when Pius VI was pope.[18] In 1810 the statue must have already been in Russia for some time, as it was removed to Yusupov's new estate at Archangelskoe, near Moscow, where he created a model palace provided with a gallery for ancient sculpture.[19]

Information which has been handed down orally has it that the statue was unearthed in the area of Villa Albani in Rome.[20] It was cardinal Alessandro Albani who established the new villa at the Via Salaria outside the walls in 1743-63, in order to create, among other things, an accommodation for the family's immense collection of sculptures. During antiquity the extramural site of the villa had been occupied by tombs on

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16 The Yusupovian family was of very old Tatar origin, rising with the name of Yussuf since the 16th century.

17 This is the view of Dr.V. A. Evdokimova from the Arkhangelskoe Museum, in Moscow. In Russia there are no documents extant concerning the purchase of the statue.

18 *Repertorium der diplomatischen Vertreter aller Länder 3*, 1965, 360, 364.

19 The modern *Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History*, 45 (1987) 92 and 2 (1976) 93.

20 Obviously expressed by Walter Sjöberg himself, published in the Finland-Swedish newspaper *Borgåbladet* in 16.2.1935. He also was of the opinion that the statue "was some two thousand years old", G. Christiernin, Alltid i farten - minnesbilder från 90 år, 1978, 229-230.

either side of the Via Salaria. The villa seems to have been the centre of Rome's cultural life, Winckelmann also lived and worked there, and the cardinal not only collected antiquities, but also exerted an influence on and mediated for the local art trade until his death in 1779.[21] In the collections of Villa Albani there are presently two copies of the reposing satyr: a full scale statue and a smaller statue with a pine wreath.[22]

The Villa Albani was constructed on the vineyards of Accoramboni Ercolani ed Orsi, which, for their part, were situated not far from the ancient remains of *horti Sallustiani* in the northeastern corner of the city, although within the walls. The gardens of Sallustius, created by the historian towards the end of the first century B.C. with their own thermae, obelisk, hippodrome, nymphaeum, temples and piscinae actually constituted a small city. In the following centuries the gardens were in imperial ownership and many emperors preferred to stay there. It was not until 410 that Alaric caused such damage to the area that it was not reconstructed.[23] For Yusupov's purchase of the satyr I would like to suggest an earlier date, some time between 1772 and 1781 when he was travelling extensively in Europe extending the collections of the Russian ruler as well as his own[24] . While in Italy from 1772 to 1774 he certainly made personal acquisitions, perhaps on the advice of Cardinal Albani. After becoming a senator back in Russia he is still known to have ordered at least some paintings from Paris and Rome,[25] though the political situation in the following decades must have created certain difficulties for cultural activities of this type.

The satyr of Yusupov seems to have started a real fashion for reposing satyrs in Russia. At their best their were seven different copies in St. Petersburg in various family collections. Three of them had been

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21 I. Insolera, Roma - *Immagini e realtà dal X al XX secolo*, 1980, 297 + n. 12.

22 Gercke 28, St. 12 and p. 44, Stte 12. H. v.Steuben in Helbig IV, 257, nr. 3286.

23 Grimal, 134-136.

24 N.B. Yusupov, *O rode knyazei Yusupovykh*, 1866, 145, 149-151. I thank Ms Outi Karvonen, M.A., for helping me with the texts in Russian.

25 Ibid. 152.

discovered in excavations on the Esquiline hill in 1822 or 1828,[26] once the site of the many gardens created in the beginning of the imperial era, basically on the initiative of Maecenas.[27] The newly discovered statues were sent off to Russia, either immediately or later in the 1850s. Seen against this background it is understandable that in 1837 the son of Nikolai Borishovich, Boris Nikolaevich, felt an urgent need to move his reposing satyr back to the family's palace at Moika, in St. Petersburg[28]. Our satyr does not, however, go back to the same prototype as the others in St. Petersburg. It has a nearer parallel in the copy in the Glyptothek in Munich[29] and is one of the copies of good quality.

The Satyr in the twentieth century

At the beginning of this century the satyr was in St. Petersburg in the now state-owned palace at Moika 94, where it made up part of the exposition which was open between 1919 and 1924. It definitely remained in that city under the authority of the State Museum Fund until 1930.[30] In January of 1932 it was transferred as a donation into the ownership of the Finnish antique dealer Walter Sjöberg, according to a document of the Antiquariat, a Russian firm for export and import active in St. Petersburg.[31] Walter Sjöberg had good relations of old to the Russian markets and was in this way rewarded for his decades of achievement. In

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26 The first copy in Gercke, 23, St. 3 is equal to nr. 119 in O.Waldhauer, *Die antiken Skulpturen der Ermitage II*, 1931, 23, Taf. XXIII, found in the Esquiline in 1828 and sent to Russia in 1851 by pope Pius IX. The second copy in Gercke, 34, T. 11 is equal to Waldhauer 22, nr. 116, Taf. XXII, of unknown origin. The third copy in Gercke, 42, Stte 5 is equal to Waldhauer 22, nr. 117, Taf. XXII, found in the Esquiline in 1822. The fourth copy in Gercke, 43, Stte 6 is equal to Waldhauer 23, nr. 118, Taf, XXIII of unknown origin. The fifth copy in Gercke 43, Stte 7, is equal to Waldhauer 23, nr. 120, Taf. XXIII, found in the Esquiline, not far from the S.Maria Maggiore; it is now on exhibition in Pavlovsk. I thank Ms Anna Trofimova, M.A., from the Ermitage for this information. The sixth copy in Gercke 30, St. 18, now in the Naradowe Museum in Warsaw, must be the one mentioned in the *Ermitage imperial, Musée de sculpture antique,* 1865 (2), 4, nr. 11; it was send to Poland in the 1920s.

27 Grimal, 148-150.

28 This piece of information is given by dr. V.A. Evdokimova.

29 Sk. 259.

30 Information given by V.A. Evdokimova.

31 The document in form of a letter is in the Archive of the Borgå Teaterföreningen. It speaks about an Apollo in marble, but the chaotic art business of the thirties in Russia can easily have confused a serene youth with another ancient godlike figure. The uncertainty of the statue's identification by others is further shown by its even being called a Dionysus.

Finland it was first placed in his mansion in Molnby, near Porvoo, and from 1937 onwards it has been in the city itself, gracing the banquet hall of the Swedish club (Svenska Gården).

The satyr underwent a cleaning and conservation in 1983. The statue consists of several parts: the torso was a single component, the head was cut into the neck, the lower limbs from the knees and arms from the shoulders in many points. Some of the parts were joined together with the aid of iron clamps, known to be used for the first time by Gianlorenzo Bernini for instance in the Fontana di Trevi[32] which was built between 1732 and 1762. After minero-petrographic and chemical analyses it became clear that the torso was made of Carrara marble, with the complementary parts, the legs, arms and tree trunk being of the same marble.[33] The darker veins of the different marble fragments show, however, that it cannot be a question of just broken limbs which were put together at some time, but rather these are totally new pieces of marble. (fig. 2) The resin used for the joints was colophony, the natural pine resin which was in general use in working with statuary from the 16th century up until the beginning of the present one.[34]

It was pope Pius IV Medici who in between 1559 and 1565 started the tradition of covering the genitals of nude figures with a fig leaf.[35] Our statue had one, too, of gypsum until it was removed during the conservation. The statue must have stood some time in its former career in a niche, as there are two quadrangular holes in the left side of the back of the torso, clearly showing that it had once been attached to a wall.

As a starting point for dating the different parts and later conservation of the satyr I assume that the torso proper originates from the second century, when there seems to have been great demand for copies of precisely this type. It stood in a niche and was fixed to the wall by quadrangular bars in some of the gardens on the Quirinale hill, not far

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[32] Information given by the sculptor Peter Rockwell, Rome.

[33] L. Lazzarini, Università degli Studi di Roma, Dipartimento di Scienza della Terra, in the examination report in 1983. The analyses were conducted twice. First it looked like some fragments could have been of Thasian marble, the quarries of which were actively in use at least until the third century during the antiquity, A. Dworakowska, *Quarries in Ancient Greece*, 1975, 92. In this sense there was no further help available for the dating of the original parts of the statue.

[34] Information given by L. Lazzarini, in Wikström's manuscript.

[35] Daniele da Volterra, for instance, was called by his colleagues "Braghettone", because he painted breeches for the nude figures in Michelangelo's *Giudizio universale*.

from the later site of the Villa Albani. It was unearthed badly damaged and in parts some time after the 16th century, but naturally before its purchase to Russia in the 1770s. It was conserved in Rome using colophony, and the iron clamps, as well as the fig leaf and some curls above the forehead in gypsum were added. The idea of adding the pine crown could have been inspired by another copy carrying a pine wreath, such as the statuette in the Albani collection. There must have been plenty of ancient statues in circulation, and parts of them such as the head, limbs, and tree trunk could be exploited as needed. Alternatively, completely new ones were made. The exploitation of fragments of another ancient statue would, however, better explain certain anomalies in the satyr's limbs as well as the peculiar downwards bending of the head, not so often verified in other copies. It was thus completely conserved and ground when it was sold to the prince Yusupov and taken to Russia.

The original satyr by Praxiteles may well have been exhibited in the vicinity of a theatre, whether in Athens, Megara or elsewhere. The existing copies of the Reposing Satyr are now, for the most part located in the galleries of various museums. Our satyr in Finland seems to be lucky enough to end up again in the old banquet hall, which will be also used as a theatre. The circle closes in the career of at least one of the companions of Dionysus.

Zur Namengebung der Konsuln in den handschriftlich überlieferten Konsulverzeichnissen für die Zeit 15-284 n.Chr.

Olli Salomies

Im vorigen Arctos (25 [1991] 107ff.) habe ich einige Beobachtungen zu den in den handschriftlich überlieferten spätantiken Konsullisten angegebenen Iterationen vorgelegt. In diesem Aufsatz soll das Thema "Konsullisten" weiter verfolgt werden, indem der Versuch gemacht werden soll, die Angaben dieser Verzeichnisse zur Namengebung der Konsuln etwas näher zu überprüfen. Die zeitlichen Grenzen der Untersuchung sind dieselben wie im vorausgehenden Aufsatz; ebenso die Abkürzungen bzw. Benennungen der einzelnen untersuchten Fasten (Chr[onographus anni] 354, [fasti] Vind[obonenses] pr[iores] bzw. post[eriores], Prosper, [consularia] Const[antinopolitana], Chr[onicon] Pasch[ale], [liber Paschalis codicis] Ciz[ensis], Theo, Stephanus [="fasti Heracliani"]; s. die Zusammenstellung in Arctos 25 [1991] 107-9, mit jeweils einer kurzen Charakteristik).

Obwohl die uns erhaltenen spätantiken Konsulverzeichnisse vieles gemeinsam haben, so wird trotzdem aus einer Betrachtung derselben in ihrer Gesamtheit ganz deutlich, daß man von einer Vorlage, auf die man sie zurückführen könnte, nicht sprechen kann. Aus der Variation der Angaben in den verschiedenen Listen bzw. in ihren Archetypen im Verhältnis zueinander und zu unseren anderen Quellen[1] scheint sich vielmehr zu ergeben, daß während der früheren Kaiserzeit im römischen Reich unzählige Konsullisten zirkulierten, die von Jahr zu Jahr auf dem laufenden gehalten wurden und die sich somit je nach dem, wo und von wem sie ergänzt wurden, von Jahr zu Jahr entwickelten; von solchen Listen sind dann einige Quellen für die uns erhaltenen spätantiken Verzeichnisse von Konsuln geworden.

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[1] Man beachte z.B., daß keine unserer handschriftlich überlieferten Konsullisten in völliger Übereinstimmung mit den Angaben zu Konsulaten im Codex Iustinianus ist.

Andererseits ist zu betonen, daß die einzelnen Konsullisten keineswegs einfach auf ebensoviele verschiedene Vorlagen zurückzuführen sind. Vielmehr scheint in einigen Fällen die Übereinstimmung zwischen einzelnen Listen, die gelegentlich auch von anderen Quellen geteilt wird, darauf hinzuweisen, daß unsere Listen unter Berücksichtigung anderer Konsulverzeichnisse bearbeitet werden konnten. Um hier bei Namen zu bleiben (vgl. aber auch etwa die doppelte Wiedergabe des J. 29 n.Chr. in mehreren Listen [s.u.]), so haben etwa die Fasten des Prosper einige auffallende Details mit den beiden Fasti Vindobonenses (die ihrerseits auf einen gemeinsamen Archetypus zurückgehen) gemeinsam (vgl. die Zusammenstellung von Mommsen in Chronica Minora I 255), und zwei Eigentümlichkeiten dieser Konsullisten kehren etwas überraschend im Geschichtswerk des Malalas wieder.[2] Und nicht nur Prosper und die fasti Vindobonenses posteriores (die priores sind hier nicht erhalten), sondern auch die Const. und das Chr. Pasch. haben alle für das J. 150 irrtümlich *Glabrio* anstelle von *Gallicanus*. In anderen Fällen sind dagegen Übereinstimmungen zwischen einzelnen Listen direkt auf die Quellen der Listen für die jeweiligen Jahre zurückzuführen. Wenn etwa die Fasten des Theo für mehrere Jahre zwischen 138 und 170 mit denen des Chronographen von 354 gegen die anderen Listen übereinstimmen,[3] so findet man dieselbe Variation auch in den sonstigen Quellen zu diesen Jahren. Jedenfalls sind die Listen, von den beiden fasti Vindobonenses einerseits und den Consularia Const. und dem Chronicon Paschale andererseits, die jeweils auf einen gemeinsamen Archetypus zurückgehen (aber auch Spuren späterer Bearbeitung aufweisen), nie für längere Perioden identisch.[4] Die Entstehungsgeschichte der einzelnen Konsullisten,

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2 *Turpilianus* für *Trachalus* i.J. 68 (bei Malalas 258 noch mit *Trachalus* kombiniert: Τολπιλλιανοῦ τοῦ καὶ Τροχέλου; vgl. u. Anm. 10) und *Rusticus* (= *Etruscus*) für den jüngeren Decius i.J. 251 (Malalas 260). Andererseits unterscheidet sich Malalas von diesen Fasti z.B. i.J. 117 (Malalas 277), indem er mit den Const. und der mit den Const. verwandten Konsulliste des Chr. Pasch. gegen alle anderen Quellen die Ordnung Apronianus, Niger hat. Nach A. Schenk von Stauffenberg, Die römische Kaisergeschichte bei Malalas (1931) 508 Anm. 2 ist das Quellenproblem der malalianischen Konsulliste kaum zu lösen.

3 So haben nur diese zwei Listen i.J. 138 den Konsul Camerinus, i.J. 141 den Konsul Severus und i.J. 170 den Konsul Cethegus an zweiter Stelle, und nennen Herodes Atticus, den Konsul von 143, *Atticus* (sonst: *Herodes*).

4 Zu den Unterschieden zwischen Prosper und den Vindobonenses s. Mommsen, a.a.O (dazu z.B. *Balbinus* i.J. 213 - richtig - Prosper, während die Vind. *Albinus* haben; s. auch u. zu den Jahren 238 und 263). Diese Unterschiede "obstant coniecturae per se facili laterculos reliquos ex Prosperiano interpolatos esse" (Mommsen, a.a.O.). Was die

wie wir sie jetzt vor uns haben, ist also ungemein kompliziert, und würde eine eingehende Untersuchung grösseren Umfangs verdienen. Dieser Aufsatz, in dem, wie in dem Aufsatz über die Iterationen im vorigen Arctos, einige mehr oder minder vorläufige Beobachtungen zu einem Aspekt der Konsullisten vorgelegt werden, soll als ein Beitrag zur Entstehung einer solchen Untersuchung verstanden werden.

Versucht man sich vorzustellen, wie die in der früheren Kaiserzeit im römischen Reich im allgemeinen Gebrauch zirkulierenden Zusammenstellungen von Konsuln so ungefähr ausgesehen haben könnten, und konzentriert sich dabei auf die Namengebung der Konsuln,[5] so ergibt sich aus einer näheren Betrachtung der uns erhaltenen Verzeichnisse, daß zumindest in der früheren Kaiserzeit von jedem Konsul Vorname,[6] Gentilicium und ein bis zwei Cognomina angegeben wurden. Normalerweise gebrauchen unsere Listen freilich von den Konsuln je ein Cognomen, aber unter mehreren Jahren findet man noch Spuren von Gentilicia und gelegentlich auch von Pränomina (s.u.); und daß von vielen Konsuln mit Namen vom Typus *A. Licinius Nerva Silianus* beide Cognomina in die jährlichen offiziellen Konsulverzeichnisse aufgenommen wurden (aus denen dann in die beim großen Publikum gängigen Listen entweder beide oder je nach der Liste eines von beiden Cognomina kopiert werden konnten) geht daraus hervor, daß unsere Listen sich bei den Cognomina gelegentlich voneinander unterscheiden und entweder das eine oder das andere Cognomen eines Konsuls mit zwei Cognomina angeben.[7] Wenn Konsuln kein Cognomen hatten, dann wurden sie bloß mit dem Vornamen und dem Gentilnamen bezeichnet, von welchen (natürlich) der Gentilname in die Listen übernommen wurde. Was Polyonymi mit zwei oder mehr Gentilnamen betrifft, so ergibt sich aus den handschriftlichen Listen, daß jeweils nur ein Gentilicium, und zwar das "Hauptgentilicium"

Unterschiede zwischen Theo und dem Chronographen von 354 betrifft, so werden etwa die Konsuln der Jahre 144, 151 und 155 in unterschiedlicher Reihenfolge angegeben.

[5] Zu anderen Fragen, z.B. zu der, ob Suffektkonsuln vorausgehender Jahre in den gängigen Listen aufgezeichnet waren, an anderer Stelle.

[6] Die Vornamen waren natürlich abgekürzt; dies ist nicht nur selbstverständlich, sondern geht auch daraus hervor, daß der Vorname *Tiberius* gelegentlich irrtümlich als *Titus* wiedergegeben worden ist (so Chr. 354 in den Jahren 18 und 42).

[7] Die Const. geben unter dem Jahr 58 sogar beide Cognomina des Valerius Messalla Corvinus an. - Im übrigen scheinen Inschriften darauf hinzuweisen, daß zumindest im späten 2. Jh. von einzelnen Konsuln gelegentlich sogar drei Cognomina aufgenommen werden konnten; vgl. etwa CIL X 1786 (L. Valerius Messalla Thrasea Priscus cos. 196) und Arctos 23 [1989] 176ff. (zu P. Iulius Scapula Tertullus Priscus cos. 195).

angegeben wurde;[8] *Libolo* in *Galba Libolo* Const. zum J. 33 ist kaum als eine korrupte Form von *Livius* in der vollen Namengebung *L. Livius Ocella Sulpicius Galba* (vgl. Salomies, a.a.O. [Anm. 8] 32f.) anzusehen, sondern ist anders zu erklären (s.u.). Was schließlich Filiationen betrifft, so scheint es, daß diese in der Kaiserzeit in Konsullisten nicht angegeben wurden: hätte es in der Kaiserzeit Konsullisten mit Filiationen gegeben, könnte man in Anbetracht dessen, daß republikanische Konsuln ohne Cognomina in den handschriftlichen Fasti gelegentlich mit dem Namen *Nepos* bezeichnet werden,[9] unter Umständen erwarten, daß zumindest bei cognomenlosen Konsuln Spuren davon zu finden wären. Man könnte allerdings vielleicht annehmen, daß *Vitellio Pulo* Const. zum J. 34 (Βετελλίου dagegen Chr. Pasch.) eine Korruption von *(L.) Vitellio P. filio* (zur Filiation s. RE Suppl. IX 1733 Nr. 7c) darstellen könnte, doch in Anbetracht dessen, daß die selben Fasti Lentulus cos. 25 (im Ablativ) *Lentulo Galva* (ähnlich Chr. Pasch.) und Galba cos. 33 *Galba Libolo* (vgl. oben) nennen, ist es wohl besser anzunehmen, daß der Konsul von 34, wie die von 25 und 33, irrtümlich mit einem zusätzlichen Cognomen versehen worden ist,[10] dessen Ursprung mir allerdings ein Rätsel bleibt (der Konsul von 25 hat vielleicht sein zusätzliches Cognomen auf irgendwelcher Weise von Galba cos. 22 erhalten, der Konsul von 33 vielleicht von Libo cos. 16).

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8 Inschriften geben freilich von einzelnen Konsuln ab und zu auch zwei Gentilnamen an, und zwar nicht nur in der frühesten Kaiserzeit, in der sich die Abkürzung von polyonymen Namen noch nicht richtig eingebürgert hatte, sondern auch später, und nicht bloß in der Hauptstadt, wo man sich leicht über die volle Nomenklatur der Konsuln informieren konnte; z.B. CIL XIII 1751 = ILS 4131 (Lugdunum) aus dem J. 160, *App. Annio Atilio Bradua, T. Clod. Vibio Varo cos.* (vgl. z.B. O. Salomies, Adoptive and Polyonymous Nomenclature [1992] 97, 99f., 102f., 106f., 108 usw.). Dies muß bedeuten, daß zumindest gelegentlich nach den Konsulwahlen in Rom, wenn die Namen der neuen Konsuln in die Städte und Provinzen des Reiches mitgeteilt wurden, diese in einer vollen, d.h. mehr als einen Gentilnamen enthaltenden, Form angegeben wurden. Fraglich ist aber, ob die Namen der Konsuln in dieser vollen Form auch in die auf dem laufenden gehaltenen, zur Zeitrechnung dienenden Konsulverzeichnisse eingetragen wurden. Die spätantiken handschriftlichen Listen, die ja auf solche Verzeichnisse zurückgehen müssen, weisen jedenfalls keine Spur von zweiten, "sekundären", Gentilnamen auf.

9 So Chr. 354 bei Q. Pompeius cos. 141 v.Chr. und M. Perperna cos. 130 v.Chr.; *Nepos* stammt aus der nicht nur den Vater, sondern auch den Großvater enthaltenden Filiation. Zu beachten ist allerdings, daß *nepos* in der Filiation cognomenloser Konsuln zumindest in den kapitolinischen Fasti ausgeschrieben wurde, so daß Irrtümer dieser Art eigentlich verständlich sind.

10 Ganz ähnlich hat bei Malalas Trachalus cos. 68 neben seinem eigenen auch das eigentlich einem Konsul des J. 61 zustehende Cognomen *Turpilianus* (o. Anm. 2).

Gehen wir nun über zur Betrachtung der Namen, die in den handschriftlichen Fasti in ihrer heutigen Form überliefert sind. Wie gesagt, bieten die Fasti normalerweise von der Namengebung einzelner Konsuln je ein Cognomen. Ab und zu findet man aber auch Spuren von Vor- und Gentilnamen, was, wie oben getan wurde, zur Rekonstruktion der Namengebung der Konsuln in den Vorlagen unserer Listen gebraucht werden kann.

Vornamen sind, abgesehen von Kaisern und Mitgliedern kaiserlicher Häuser,[11] nur ganz vereinzelt überliefert: der Cod. Ciz. hat i.J. 49 *Q. Veranio (Veranio* o.ä. die anderen), und die Const. und das Chronicon Pasch. nennen den Kollegen des Galba i.J. 69 *Tito Rufino*, was, wie ich glaube, nur eine korrupte Form von *T(ito) Vinio* sein kann.[12] Sonst gehört hierher vielleicht noch das Jahr 61, das in den Const. (das Chron. Pasch. ist hier nicht erhalten) *Lacio et Turpiniano* heißt. Da *Turpinianus* der Konsul P. Petronius Turpilianus ist, müßte mit *Lacius* der andere Konsul L. (Iunius) Caesennius Paetus gemeint sein: man könnte unter Umständen annehmen, *Lacius* sei eine korrupte Form von *Lucius*. Doch ist in Anbetracht dessen, daß in unseren Listen gelegentlich Konsuln irrtümlich mit Cognomina von Konsuln ganz anderer Jahre versehen worden sind, auch möglich, daß *Lacius* bloß eine korrupte Wiedergabe irgendeines Cognomens ist; was aber in diesem Fall damit gemeint sein könnte, bleibt mir allerdings unklar.

Gentilnamen findet man schon etwas öfter überliefert, und zwar in den folgenden Jahren.[13]

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11 Caligula etwa heißt C. (bzw. G.) *Caesar* beim Chronographen von 354 und im Cod. Ciz.; Claudius heißt in unseren Listen i.J. 42 außer *Claudius* (Const., Chr. Pasch.) auch *Tib. Claudius* bzw. *Titus Claudius* (vgl. o. Anm. 6) bzw. einfach *Tiberius*; der Sohn des Vespasian heißt (natürlich) überall *Titus*; für *L. Aelius Caesar* der Vorlagen zum J. 137 haben Prosper und die Vind. *Laelio (Lellio, Bellio)*. In einzelnen Fasti sind ferner noch in den Jahren 140, 161 und 167 Vornamen für Mark Aurel und Lucius Verus überliefert.

12 O. Salomies, Die römischen Vornamen (1987) 348 Anm. 25. Der Chronograph von 354 bietet *Galba II et Vinio*, während Prosper und die Vind. nicht Galba und Vinius, sondern Otho und seinen Bruder als die Konsuln des Jahres 69 bezeichnen (es handelt sich bekannterweise um ein besonderes Jahr). Die Hinzufügung des Vornamens *Titus* wiederholt sich im übrigen im Chr. Pasch. in auffallendster Weise in der Form *Titus Rufus* bei späteren Konsuln, die das Cognomen *Rufus* haben: Q. Petillius Rufus cos. 83, L. Minicius Rufus cos. 88 und L. Verginius Rufus cos. 97 werden alle in diesem Verzeichnis (im Genetiv) als Τίτου Ῥούφου bezeichnet. Die irrtümliche Beifügung des Vornamens *Titus* bei diesen Konsuln geht ohne Zweifel irgendwie auf die Namenform des Konsuls von 69 zurück und stammt aus einer späten Phase der Redaktion dieser Konsulliste.

13 In einigen Fällen ist der Erscheinen von bloßen Gentilnamen in unseren Listen vielleicht darauf zurückzuführen, daß in der frühesten Kaiserzeit Namen von Konsuln offenbar

29: Prosper und die Vind. post. haben *Fufio Gemino et Rubellio Gemino*; in den Const. und im Chron. Pasch. werden diese Konsuln mit bloßen Gentilnamen (in sehr korrupter Form) bezeichnet. In allen diesen Listen findet man daneben auch einen Konsulat *duobus Geminis* (*duobus Silanis* [sic! - vgl. das Jahr 189] Const., Γεμίνου καὶ Γεμίνου Chr. Pasch.), d.h. sie geben das Jahr doppelt wieder (dazu an anderer Stelle). Das Jahr 29 n.Chr. war für die christliche Spätantike von besonderer Bedeutung, da Jesus Christus angeblich in diesem Jahr gekreuzigt wurde. Entsprechend ist dieser Konsulat oft überliefert, zumeist in der Form *duobus Geminis*, aber auch als *Fufio* bzw. *Fufio Gemino* usw. (etwa Sulp. Sev. chron. 2,27,5; Hist. Brittonum, Chron. min. III 209).

30: *Longino Cassio* Const.

33: *Sulpicio* Prosper, Vind. pr. (die Vind. post. sind hier nicht erhalten): Ser. Galba, der spätere Kaiser.

50: *Silio* Vind. pr. (die Vind. post. sind hier nicht erhalten); gemeint ist M. Suillius Nerullinus (*Nerviliano* bzw. *Nerviniano* die anderen Fasten).

60: *Cornelio* Prosper, Vind. pr. (sonst: *Lentulo*).

93: *Pompeiano* Const. und Πομπήιου Chr. Pasch.; gemeint ist Sex. Pompeius Collega (*Collega* Chr. 354).[14]

146: Κλαύδιος Theo, d.h. Cn. Claudius Severus (*Severus* die anderen).

218: Ὀκλατῖνος καὶ Ἀλβέντος Theo; ähnlich

220: Βαλέριος καὶ Κωμάζων derselbe. Der Name des Elagabal ist also bei Theo in diesen Jahren gänzlich eliminiert und in auffallendster Weise mit den Gentilnamen der jeweiligen konsularischen Kollegen,

gelegentlich auch unter Unterdrückung der Cognomina publiziert, oder zumindest gebraucht werden konnten (vgl. z.B. mehrere Datierungen aus dem J. 23 n.Chr. in der Form *C. Asinio, C. Antistio cos.*: CIL VI 29681 [vgl. L.R. Taylor, MAAR 24, 1956, 14ff.], CIL X 895 = ILS 6394, Tac. ann. 4,1,1 [zur Form der Konsuldatierungen bei Tacitus vgl. auch W. Schulze, Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen (1904) 489f.]; vgl. *C. Asinius et C. Antistius* Cassiodor, Chron. min. II 136). Die Jahre, in denen es Konsuln gab, die ein Cognomen tatsächlich nicht hatten (30, 32, 34, 36, 45, 47, 49, 62, 69), bleiben hier außer Betracht, wie auch Konsulate von Kaisern, bei denen unsere Listen gelegentlich (auch) einen Gentilnamen angeben (so etwa in den Jahren 90, 118, 137, 140, 145, 161, 167, 203); auffallend ist, daß Hadrian, der ja als Kaiser sich nicht mehr *Aelius* nannte, als Konsul i.J. 118 im Chr. Pasch. Αἴλιος Ἁδριανὸς Αὐγοῦστος (*Hadrianus* dagegen Const.) heißt.

[14] Prosper und die Vind. haben dagegen *Silvano*, so daß der Konsul Collega in diesen Listen mit dem Cognomen des Flavius Silva cos. 81 (*Silvanus* in denselben Fasten und auch sonst) versehen worden ist.

Oclatinius Adventus und Valerius Comazon, ersetzt worden (für 222 hat Theo die Konsuln (Severus) Alexander und Modestus, wobei der Name des Kollegen aus dem J. 228 stammt). Das Jahr 219 lautet bei Theo allerdings Σακέρδως τὸ β' καὶ 'Αντώνιος τὸ β', doch wird Elagabal hier ausnahmsweise erst an zweiter Stelle genannt, was bedeuten könnte, daß die Identität des Konsuls 'Αντώνιος, der nicht, wie Severus Alexander i.J. 222, als αὐτοκράτωρ bezeichnet wird, mit dem Kaisers nicht erkannt worden war. (Im übrigen heißt auch Caracalla bei Theo 'Αντώνιος, nicht 'Αντωνῖνος.)

Gehen wir nun zu den Cognomina über. Konsuln mit (mindestens) zwei Cognomina, die in unseren Listen abwechselnd entweder mit dem einen oder mit dem anderen Cognomen bezeichnet werden, findet man in den folgenden Jahren.[15]

65: A. Licinius Nerva Silianus: *Nerva* (o.ä.) Chr. 354 und Const. (das Chr. Pasch. ist hier nicht erhalten), *Silvanus* Prosper, Vind. In Inschriften hat der Konsul normalerweise beide Cognomina (aber *A. Licinio Nerva cos.* CIL XI 1331).

81: (L.?) Asinius Pollio Verrucosus: *Pollio* Chr. 354, Const., Chr. Pasch.; *Verus* o.ä. Prosper, Vind. Der Konsul wird mit beiden Cognomina in den Acta der Arvalen (CIL VI 2059 Z. 17 u. 35), und in CIL VI 10243 bezeichnet, bei Dio 66,26,1 heißt er Πωλίων.

128: L. Nonius Torquatus Asprenas[16] (cos. II): *Asprenas* Chr. 354, *Torquatus* die anderen.[17] In Inschriften und Papyri[18] hat der Konsul

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[15] Auch hier lasse ich die Kaiser beiseite; Variation in der Namengebung von Kaisern findet man z.B. in den Jahren 140 und 145, in denen für Mark Aurel verschiedene Namenformen erscheinen; i.J. 226, unter welchem Stephanus den Severus Alexander Σευῆρος, die anderen Listen *Alexander* nennen; und i.J. 250 (Decius heißt bei Stephanus Τραιανός). Zu *Rusticus* (= *Etruscus*) i.J. 251 für Decius d.J. s.o. Anm. 2. Beiseite gelassen werden in den folgenden Bemerkungen auch Konsuln irrtümlich zugeschriebene Cognomina (vgl. Anm. 2 und 14).

[16] Die Cognomina erscheinen in umgekehrter Reihenfolge in den Fasti Ostienses (ed. L. Vidman p. 49).

[17] Auffallend ist, daß alle Fasten denselben Mann in seinem ersten Konsulat i.J. 94 *Asprenas* nennen.

[18] Eigentlich sollte P. Metilius Nepos seinen zweiten Konsulat in diesem Jahr bekleiden; er dürfte aber kurz vor dem 1. Januar gestorben sein (vgl. PIR2 M 545). In der Provinz Arabien datierte man freilich noch mindestens bis Mitte April 128 nach den Konsuln Metilius Nepos und Annius Libo (The Documents of the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters, hg. v. N. Lewis, 1989, Nr. 17, 18, 19 [16. April]) - ein interessantes Beispiel dafür, wie langsam sich im römischen Reich die Neuigkeiten verbreiteten (dazu R. Duncan-Jones, Structure and Scale in the Roman Economy [1990] 7ff.). Nach Ägypten kam die Mitteilung über den Tod des Metilius Nepos offenbar etwas schneller: CPL 151,

entweder beide Cognomina (CIL VI 10048, CIL XV 1433, SEG VI 59, CPL 151) oder eines von beiden (*Torquatus* z.B. CIL VI 32517, CIL VIII 8369. 18042. 18066, CPL 116; *Asprenas* z.B. Inscr. It. XIII 1, 335, CIL VI 31139, CIL XV 830. 1434).

135: L. Tutilius Lupercus Pontianus: *Lupercus* Chr. 354, *Pontianus* o.ä. die anderen. Inschriften gebrauchen entweder beide Cognomina (CIL VI 31125, AE 1969/70, 405 aus Condate in Gallien)[19] oder eines von beiden (*Lupercus* CIL XI 3899; *Pontianus* CIL XVI 82, CIL VI 31143, CIL III 1078 und sonst).

143: Ti. Claudius Atticus Herodes: Atticus Chr. 354 und Theo, *Herodes* o.ä. die anderen. In Inschriften findet man entweder beide Cognomina (CIL VI 20217. 24162. 29335, IGUR 741) oder eines von beiden (*Atticus* CIL VI 32520, CIL XIV 3692 = Inscr. It. IV 1, 189; *Herodes* CIL VI 31151, IGUR 236, CIL XIV 33, AE 1974, 207 [Collatia], Steinbruchinschriften aus Dokimeion).

158: Der Konsul Tineius heißt *Sacerdos* in den anderen Listen, bei Theo jedoch Κλημινος, womit das Cognomen *Clemens* gemeint ist. Dies ist deswegen interessant, weil dieser Mann als Konsul sonst nicht nur in den anderen Konsulverzeichnissen, sondern überhaupt in allen Quellen zu diesem Konsulat bloß *Q. Tineius Sacerdos* bzw. einfach *Sacerdos* genannt wird;[20] also muß die Vorlage des Theo für 158 aus einem besonders ausführlichen Konsulverzeichnis geschöpft haben. Daß der Konsul tatsächlich auch das Cognomen Clemens hatte ist im übrigen fast nur durch Theo bezeugt, da die sonstigen Belege für den vollen Namen nicht besonders befriedigend sind;[21] doch ist an diesem Cognomen nicht zu zweifeln, da die Söhne des Konsuls, Q. Tineius Sacerdos cos. 192, II ord.

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wo schon Torquatus Asprenas als Konsul i.J. 128 genannt wird, hat das Datum *idib. April.*

[19] In I. Ephesos 4101B wird dieser Mann nicht als Konsul, sondern als Prokonsul von Asia genannt (s. Arctos 23 [1989] 170ff.; H. Engelmann, ZPE 84 [1990] 89ff.).

[20] Inschriften mit dem Datum *Tertullo et Clemente* gehören in das Jahr 195, obwohl man einige von diesen irrtümlich auf das Jahr 158 bezogen hat (so ILJug. 331 mit Kommentar [dieses Datum wurde auch von E. Schallmayer, Corpus der griech. u. lat. Beneficiarier-Inschriften (1990) Nr. 338 akzeptiert], CIL XIII 7796).

[21] In der längst verschollenen Inschrift CIL VI 33860 ist *in his horreis privatis ... QI.IN.EIS. SACERDOTIS CLM...* überliefert, die Fistula aus Praeneste CIL XIV 3038 = CIL XV 7885 hat den Text *K. Ti. Sacerdotis Klm.*; H. v. Petrikovits, RE VIA 1382 Nr. 10 vermutet, daß mit *K.* nicht der Vorname *Quintus*, sondern *Kaeso* gemeint sein könnte, aber dies ist ganz ausgeschlossen.

219 (RE VIA 1380f. Nr. 8) und Q. Tineius Clemens cos. 195 (ebd. 1374f. Nr.1) ihre Cognomina jedenfalls vom Vater geerbt haben.

221: C. Vettius Gratus Sabinianus heißt bei Theo Σαβινιανός, die anderen haben *Gratus*. Daß der Konsul tatsächlich beide Cognomina, und zwar in der oben angegebenen Reihenfolge, hatte, ist durch Dio (ind. 80, etwas korrupt) und Synkellos (p. 406 Dindorf) bezeugt; in Inschriften und Papyri heißt er zumeist *Gratus* (CIL XVI 139, CIL VI 2009. 2105 und sehr oft sonst), aber vereinzelt auch *Sabinianus* (CIL XIII 1732 aus Lugdunum, ILAlg. II 12 aus Rusicade).[22]

230: Sex. Catius Clementinus Priscillianus wird in der modernen Literatur gewöhnlich so genannt (PIR2 C 564 usw.). In der Tat sind für ihn aber, von den sogleich anzuführenden Konsuldaten (anhand derer allerdings die korrekte Reihenfolge der Cognomina nicht zu rekonstruieren ist) abgesehen, nur die Namen Sex. Catius Clementinus bezeugt (s. PIR und, was die Belege für die Statthalterschaft von Germania superior betrifft, W. Eck, Die Statthalter der germanischen Provinzen [1985] 92f.). In den anderen Konsullisten heißt er, wie in den meisten Inschriften, wo er als Konsul genannt wird, *Clementinus* o.ä., bei Theo und Stephanus, d.h. in zwei Konsullisten "östlicher" Herkunft, jedoch Πρισκιλλιανός. Dieses Cognomen ist für den Konsul sonst nur ein einziges Mal bezeugt, und zwar in einer Votivinschrift aus Asciburgium in Germania inferior, CIL XIII 8588, die *Prisciliano et Agricola* datiert ist. Auffallend ist neben der Namengebung des Konsuls Catius in dieser Inschrift und in den Fasti des Theo und Stephanus auch die Tatsache, daß er an erster Stelle genannt wird; in den meisten Fällen wird L. Virius Agricola, der Kollege des Catius Clementinus, zuerst genannt.[23] Außer den Belegen, in denen unser Mann *Priscillianus* genannt wird, finde ich nur zwei oder möglicherweise vier weitere Texte, in denen ebenfalls nicht Agricola, sondern sein Kollege an erster Stelle genannt wird: die Votivinschrift CIL XIII 6681 aus Mainz und das Fragment CIL XIII 5038, 2 aus Riaz nördlich des Genfer Sees, zu welchen Belegen sich möglicherweise noch CIL XIII 5624 (ein bloß handschriftlich überliefertes

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22 Hierher gehört vielleicht auch das Datum(?) *Sabinia[no et ... cos.(?)]* in dem Fragment der Acta der Arvalen AE 1964, 70, vgl. J. Scheid, Homm. R. Schilling (1983) 224f.; doch ist zu beachten, daß in denselben Acta das Jahr 221 sonst als *Grato et Seleuco* bezeichnet wird (CIL VI 2105).

23 So etwa CIL XVI 144 = ILS 2009; CIL VI 1984 und zahlreiche weitere Inschriften; Cod. Iust. (ed. Krüger11 p. 492); Fragm. Vat. 28; CPL 143; SB 6260.

Fragment aus Thil-Châtel nördlich von Dijon) und CIL II 5992 = C. Veny, Corpus de las inscripciones Balearicas (1965) 144 (auf der Wand einer Höhle auf Menorca, wo auch weitere Konsuldaten zu erkennen sind)[24] gesellen. Insgesamt betrachtet scheinen die Belege für die Konsuln von 230 darauf hinzuweisen, daß ihre Namen prinzipiell in der Form *L. Virius Agricola, Sex. Catius Clementinus* publiziert wurden, daß es aber daneben auch vornehmlich in den germanischen Provinzen, in Spanien und im Osten zirkulierende Konsullisten gab, in denen der Konsul Catius zwei Cognomina hatte (oder möglicherweise z.T. sogar nur das Cognomen *Priscillianus*) und an erster Stelle genannt wurde. Ein Zusammenhang zwischen Namengebung und Reihenfolge von Konsuln läßt sich auch sonst beobachten;[25] zur Variation eines Konsulnamens je nach Provinz bzw. Region vgl. auch unten zu den Jahren 238 und 263.

231: Der immer an erster Stelle genannte und sonst als *Pompeianus* bezeichnete Konsul heißt bei Stephanus Κόμοδος. Diese keineswegs uninteressante Tatsache ist in der Forschung kaum beachtet worden.[26] Man hat diesen Konsul öfters für einen Sohn des Pompeianus cos. 209 gehalten;[27] von diesem kannte man bis in die sechziger Jahre nur das Hauptcognomen, aber aus neuerdings gefundenen Inschriften erfährt man, daß er auch die Namen *L. Aurelius Commodus* hatte.[28] Da nun das

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24 Von Veny wird der Text auf das J. 151 bezogen. Aufgrund des Photos würde ich jedoch die Lesung [*Catio Cleme*]*ntiano* (vor *tiano* scheint ein senkrechter Strich zu sehen sein) *et Virio* / [*Agricola c*]*os*. vorschlagen. (Das Cognomen erscheint in Inschriften aus dem J. 230 auch sonst ab und zu in der Form *Clementianus*; z.B. CIL XIII 8616, CIL VIII 826.)

25 So besonders i.J. 200 n.Chr.: der Konsul Ti. Claudius Severus Proculus heißt *Proculus* nur in solchen Datierungen, in denen er an zweiter Stelle genannt wird (CIL III 8237 = IMS VI 9; CIL XIII 7282a; Schallmayer, a.a.O. [Anm. 20] Nr. 169 [Osterburken]; IAMaroc II 350); zumeist wird dieses Jahr als *Severo et Victorino cos.* bezeichnet.

26 Bei A. Degrassi, I fasti consolari dell'impero romano (1952) 64 und P. Leunissen, Konsuln und Konsulare in der Zeit von Commodus bis Severus Alexander (1989) 136 heißt dieser Konsul bloß "Claudius Pompeianus" (der Gentilname ist aus CIL VI 2108 und XIV 2267 bekannt); ebenso etwa bei K. Dietz, Senatus contra principem (1980), Stammtafel 3 (nach S. 374).

27 Z.B. E. Groag, RE III 2843. 2870 (Stemma); H.-G. Pflaum, JS 1961, 33; Dietz, a.a.O. (Anm. 26) 125f. und Stammtafel 3; Leunissen, a.a.O. (Anm. 26) 374; vgl. auch G. Barbieri, L'albo senatorio da Settimio Severo a Carino (1952) 504.

28 AE 1978, 733 = 1979, 560; SEG XXXII 1149; RMD 73. Als Sohn des Ti. Claudius Pompeianus cos. II 173 (der mit Annia Aurelia Lucilla, einer Tochter des Mark Aurel, verheiratet war) muß er dazu auch noch das Nomen *Claudius* geführt haben. Zum Gebrauch des mütterlichen Nomens *Aurelius* als Hauptgentile (was aus den neuerdings publizierten Inschriften hervorzugehen scheint) s. O. Salomies, Adoptive and Polyonymous Nomenclature (1992) 70f.

zusätzliche Cognomen Commodus sowohl für Pompeianus cos. 209 als auch für den gleichnamigen Konsul von 231 bezeugt ist, scheint mir damit das verwandtschaftliche Verhältnis zwischen beiden bewiesen zu sein.

238: Pontius Proculus Pontianus heißt bei Prosper und Stephanus *Proculus*, die anderen haben *Pontianus* o.ä.[29] Auch in Inschriften wird dieser Konsul teils mit dem ersten, teils mit dem zweiten Cognomen bezeichnet (beide Cognomina erscheinen zusammen, in der oben angegebenen Reihenfolge, nur in CIL VI 2009 = ILS 466). Dabei kann man leicht beobachten, daß die Wahl des einen oder des anderen Cognomens keineswegs jeweils dem Zufall zugeschrieben werden kann. Vielmehr scheint hier eine geographische Verteilung zu beobachten zu sein. Soweit mir ersichtlich, heißt der Konsul (von CIL VI 2009 [s.o.] abgesehen) in Texten aus Rom, Italien, Noricum und den Ostprovinzen, ebenso wie, was nicht ganz ohne Interesse ist, im Codex Iustinianus und bei Censorinus, ohne Ausnahme Pontianus;[30] dagegen wird in Inschriften aus Baetica, Gallia Lugdunensis, den beiden Germaniae, den beiden Pannoniae, Moesia inferior und Thracia ebenfalls ohne Ausnahme[31] nur der Name *Proculus* gebraucht.[32] Daraus könnte man vielleicht folgern, daß der Name des Konsuls in Italien, Noricum und im Osten zumeist in der Form *(Pontius) Pontianus* bekannt gemacht wurde, in den sonstigen Westprovinzen und im osteuropäischen Teil des Imperiums dagegen vorwiegend in der Form *(Pontius) Proculus*. (Daß in der Hauptstadt beide Cognomina des Konsuls bekannt waren, verwundert nicht.) Entsprechend ist es, um wieder zu unseren handschriftlichen Konsullisten zu kommen, nicht auffallend, in diesen teils das eine, teils das andere Cognomen zu

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[29] Daß auch bei Theo, bei dem die Konsulate dieser Jahre in Verwirrung geraten sind, das Cognomen *Pontianus* lautete, geht aus dem nächsten Jahr 239 hervor, das bei ihm in der Form Γορδιανὸς καὶ Ποντιανός angegeben wird.

[30] Rom: CIL VI 816 (= ILS 1928). 3081. 32545, ICVR 1415. Italien: CIL IX 1609, AE 1922, 124 (Casinum). Noricum: CIL III 4812 (vgl. Anm. 31). 4820 (= Schallmayer, a.a.O. [Anm. 20] 259). Sonst: SEG XXXIV 1519 (Arabia), P. Dura 95. - Codex Iustinianus: ed. Krüger[11] S. 492; Censorinus, De die nat. 21,6.

[31] AE 1974, 500 (mit *Pontianus*) soll freilich aus Winden im pannonischen Teil Österreichs kommen; doch ist dieser Text identisch mit CIL III 4812 (nur ist in der Wiedergabe in AE 1974 eine Zeile irrtümlich ausgefallen), für welche Inschrift die Herkunft aus Virunum in Noricum gesichert ist.

[32] Baetica: CIL II 5521 = ILS 4139. Lugdunensis: CIL XIII 3162 = H.-G. Pflaum, Le marbre de Thorigny (1948) 7ff. Germania inferior: CIL XIII 7844. Germania superior: AE 1978, 528 = 58. BRGK 47 = Schallmayer, a.a.O. (Anm. 20) 174. Pannonia superior: CIL III 10820 = ILS 7116. Pannonia inferior: CIL III 10428 = ILS 2431, RIU 337. Moesia inferior: CIL III 12455. 14214,2, ISM I 347, IGBulg. 48. Thracia: CIL III 12336.

finden. Auffallend ist vielmehr einerseits, daß sich Prosper (mit *Proculus*) hier von den fasti Vindobonenses unterscheidet, was, von einfachen Irrtümern abgesehen, nicht sehr oft geschieht (vgl. aber gleich unten zum J. 263), und andererseits, daß auch die östlichen Listen, Theo (mit *Pontianus*) und Stephanus (mit *Proculus*), die ja etwa für 230 gegen alle anderen Listen und fast gegen alle anderen Quellen überhaupt übereinstimmen (s.o.), sich hier voneinander unterscheiden. Zumindest vorläufig ließe sich dies allerdings dadurch erklären, daß man annimmt, Prosper, ein Aquitaner, und Stephanus, der in Konstantinopel arbeitete, haben für dieses Jahr aus einem in den west- und osteuropäischen Provinzen geläufigen Konsulverzeichnis geschöpft, während die auf eine in Italien (Ravenna?) entstandene Vorlage zurückgehenden fasti Vindobonenses und Theo (der in Alexandria tätig war) eine in Italien und im Osten gebräuchliche Zusammenstellung für dieses Jahr als Quelle haben (vgl. die folgende Bemerkung zum J. 263).

263: Der regelmäßig an zweiter Stelle genannte Konsul - ich glaube nicht, es handele sich um zwei verschiedene Persönlichkeiten[33] - heißt bei Prosper *Maximus*, die anderen bieten *Dexter*. Auch die anderen, freilich nicht zahlreichen, Quellen bieten teils den einen, teils den anderen Namen, und zwar so, daß der Konsul in Texten aus Italien und Ägypten *Dexter* genannt wird,[34] in solchen aus Moesia superior und Asia *Maximus*.[35] Auch dieses Mal scheint es also, daß der Name eines Konsuls mit (mindestens) zwei Cognomina aus irgendeinem Grund verschiedentlich bekannt gemacht wurde; wie i.J. 238 unterscheidet sich Prosper auch dieses Mal von den Fasti Vindobonenses und hat die Namenform, die in einer Donauprovinz bezeugt ist, während die Vindobonenses (mit allen anderen Listen) die in Italien bezeugte Namenform bieten.

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33 An diese Möglichkeit denkt allerdings H. Solin, Tituli 4 (1982) 528; auch PLRE I 580 Maximus 1.

34 CIL X 6465 vgl. H. Solin, Tituli 4 (1982) 527f. (AE 1975, 272; Suppl. It. 6 [1990] Setia S. 17); P. Oxy. 3054; vielleicht auch ICVR 16007.

35 CIL III 14549 = IMS VI 219; CIL III 417 = IGR IV 1467 = I. Smyrna 471 = ILCV 2869.

ANALECTA EPIGRAPHICA

Heikki Solin

Amicis Polonis

CXLV. POLONICA QUAEDAM

Inspiriert durch das Erscheinen des zweiten Bandes der polnischen Reihe des Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani habe ich während eines kurzen Aufenhalts in Polen im November 1992 die Lesung einiger Inschriften in Warschau und Krakau überprüft, dessen Früchte unten niedergelegt werden.[1] Ich beginne mit ein paar Inschriften, die im ersten Band des Corpus signorum stehen.[2]

Nr. 4. Von mir schon Arctos 12 (1978) 151 kurz behandelt. Grabrelief mit zwei Frauenporträts; unter den Porträts die Namen der Frauen, *Calpurnia Salvia* und *Calpurnia Hilara*. Unter den zwei Namen steht in scriptio continua nach der Lesung der Editorin A. Sadurska [*Sp*]*urius Nicepo*[*r hic es*]*t situs. Sibi et patro*[*nis*] *posuit Emagenes*. Diese Lesung ist aus drei Gründen Stein des Anstoßes: statt [*Sp*]*urius* würde man eher [*F*]*urius* ergänzen, denn *Spurius* ist nicht besonders üblich in Rom; *Emagenes* ist kein Name; die Struktur der zweiten Zeile bleibt in der Luft hängen. Entscheinend ist die Lesung und Deutung des letzten Wortes des Textes. *Emagenes* ist kein Name, und die von den Editoren der AE 1974, 22 gebotene Konjektur (*H*)*e*(*r*)*magenes* führt nicht weiter, denn in der sonst tadellos geschriebenen und aus früher Zeit stammenden Inschrift wäre eine solche Verschreibung recht auffallend, wie auch die Bildung des Kompositums mit *a* statt *o* einmalig in Rom wäre. Ich habe in der oben zitierten Stelle *imagines* vermutet. Eine Nachprüfung der Lesung des Textes im Museum Czartoryski in Krakau ergab aber als eindeutige Lesung EMAGENES. Dies wiederum muß aber für *imagines* stehen. Das

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[1] Für die Unterstützung beim Studium der Steine danke ich herzlich Jerzy Kolendo, Anna Sadurska und Jerzy Zelazowski in Warschau und Tomasz Polański und Stanislaw Stabryła in Krakau.

[2] Corpus signorum Imperii Romani. Pologne, I, par Anna Sadurska, Warszawa 1972.

kurze *i* konnte durch E wiedergegeben werden, wie es öfters in Inschriften vorkommt; vgl. *emaginifer* CIL VIII 9291 (unsicher bleibt die Ergänzung *imago non ‹emago›* in der Appendix Probi). Sadurska sieht in den zwei Frauen Schwestern, doch ist Calpurnia Hilara eher eine Freigelassene von Salvia. Der rechte Teil des Textes ist demnach zu verstehen *Calpurnia Hilara sibi et patro[nae] posuit imagines.* Furius Nicephor war anscheinend der Mann der Calpurnia Salvia; weil sein Porträt fehlt, wurde *hic situs est* hingefügt. Sein Gentilicium muß übrigens wohl mit Sicherheit *Furius* gelautet haben (oder höchstenfalls *Turius* oder *Lurius*) mit einer Ergänzung von nur einem Buchstaben, denn der Raum links läßt kein längeres Gentile zu, zumal noch der Vorname da stehen mußte. *Posuit imagines* vertritt einen oft belegten Ausdruck des stadtrömischen grabinschriftlichen Jargons.

Nr. 21. Der Errichter war ein *Caesaris n(ostri) ser(vus) ver(na) p(rae)p(ositus) pedisequis*; das darauf folgende F F löst Sadurska als *f(ieri) f(ecit)*. *Fieri fecit* wäre aber eine recht ungewöhnliche Wendung, und abgekürzt geradezu undeutlich. Man würde auch eine Angabe erwarten, in welchem Zweig der kaiserlichen Verwaltung diese *pedisequi* arbeiteten, denn es handelt sich ja um eine ansehnliche Gruppe unter Leitung eines *praepositus* (vgl. jedoch einen *qui praefuit pedisequis* CIL VI 33788 ohne nähere Angaben). Vielleicht *f(isci) f(rumentari)* oder *f(isco) f(rumentario)*; wir kennen eine ganze Reihe von beim fiscus frumentarius angestellten Beamten; wenn unter ihnen bisher keine pedisequi belegt sind, so ist das ein reiner Zufall. - In 5 *ser(vus)* statt *s(ervus)* zu schreiben. - In 7 druckt die Editorin *opt‹imae›*, man liest aber anhand des Photos *optumae.* - Die Lesung der letzten Zeile bleibt zweifelhaft, ich kann aber anhand des nicht allzu scharfen Photos keine bessere bieten.

Nr. 44. Das Grabmal scheint mir aus dem Osten zu stammen. Darauf deuten der Porträttyp, der thrakische Name *Teres* und die nachlässige Ausführung der Schrift hin, die eher in einer nichtrömischen Werkstatt denkbar ist. Dasselbe kann von dem obskuren Wortlaut gesagt werden, der keinerlei Hinweise auf stadtrömischen grabinschriftlichen Jargon enthält.

Dann zum zweiten Band des Corpus signorum.[3]

Nr. 8. Ich habe den Text nicht gesehen, aber anhand des Photos lese ich ohne Zögern *Culciae Zoeni* für *Culciae Zeni* der Editorin. Ein Dativ *Zeni* wäre auch undurchsichtig.

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[3] CSIR Pologne II 1, par Anna Sadurska (mit Mitarbeitern), Warszawa 1990.

Nr. 13. Zu den einleuchtenden Bemerkungen von Kolendo zu dieser sehr interessanten Inschrift bringe ich nur eine kleine Korrektur: der Freigelassene des L. Mummius Achaicus hieß *Dasius*, nicht *Dasus*. *Dasius* ist ein überaus häufiger illyrisch-messapischer Name.

Nr. 23 = CIL VI 16324. Der Anfang der Inschrift ist seit undenklichen Zeiten *Q. Cornelio Treponti* gelesen worden. Auffallend ist dabei der Name *Trepon*, den ich sonst weder aus der griechischen noch aus der lateinischen Dokumentation kenne; morphologisch wäre er freilich eine mögliche Bildung, wenn auch semasiologisch etwas ungewöhnlich. Ich habe den Text im Museum Czartoryski in Krakau kontrolliert und glaube eher *Preponti* lesen zu können. Vom ersten Buchstaben ist oben ein kleines Stück wegen der Beschädigung des oberen Teiles der Schriftoberfläche weggefallen, aber ich glaube einen winzigen Rest vom Bogen des P erkannt zu haben. Warum seit jeher *Treponti* gelesen wurde, bleibt mir ein Rätsel. Vielleicht war das die Vulgata, die auch von den Corpuseditoren gewählt wurde, die die Inschrift nicht gesehen haben. Von den alten Autoren haben die Inschrift Brunelleschi und Accursius gesehen, und als Fr. von Duhn den Text für die Corpuseditoren verglich, hat er einfach die Vulgata übernommen. - Zu schreiben *Apollinaris* mit zwei *ll*.

Nr. 33. Die Editoren erklären unverstänlicherweise das Stück für eine Fälschung. Kolendo zufolge soll die Inschrift falsch sein, und Sadurska hält die Urne für höchst suspekt. Ich habe sowohl den Schriftträger, also die Urne, als auch die Inschrift lange und sorgfältig im Museum Czartoryski in Krakau untersucht; ich muß bekennen, daß mir unbegreiflich geblieben ist, wie die Idee einer Fälschung den Editoren eingefallen ist. Die Urne scheint keine Elemente zu verbergen, die auf eine Fälschung hindeuten würden, sie muß aber geradezu echt sein, weil die Inschrift echt ist. Daran kann kein Zweifel bestehen. Die Buchstabenformen sind gut (vgl. z.B. das sehr "römische" M). Kolendos Zweifel an der Echtheit der Inschrift scheinen auf zweierlei Umständen zu basieren: darauf, daß die Angabe des kaiserlichen Herrn durch *Caes(aris) n(ostri)* sonst nicht in Rom vorkommen soll, was aber hinfällig ist, denn diese Formel kommt des öfteren in Rom vor (laut Chantraine, dessen Buch Kolendo benutzt hat, 25mal);[4] und darauf, daß die Sklavin mit einem freien Römer verheiratet ist, dessen Grabdenkmal mit seiner guten Qualität und Kostspieligkeit den Verdacht erwecke, der Mann hätte Geld gehabt,

[4] H. Chantraine, Freigelassene und Sklaven im Dienst der römischen Kaiser (1967) 200.

seine Frau freizukaufen - also ist der Text verdächtig. Ein sonderbarer Einfall. Aber der Mann, ein *M. Cocceius Litus* kann ein kaiserlicher Freigelassener, oder Freigelassenensohn gewesen sein, gehörte also eng zur familia Caesaris, und die Ehen von kaiserlichen Sklavinnen mit kaiserlichen Freigelassenen waren überaus häufig.[5] Kolendos Argumente haben also keinen Wert. Der Text ist und bleibt echt, und mit ihm auch die Urne.[6] - An der Lesung zu verbessern *Euprosyne* für *Euprosyna* und *M.* für *Marcus*.

Nr. 41. Am Ende das F F nicht *f(acere) f(ecit)*, sondern *f(ilio) f(ecit)*.

CXLVI. VERKANNTE NAMEN

Ampelus. So ist das Cognomen eines pompeianischen Calventius zu lesen, nicht *Amplius*, wie die Editoren A. D'Ambrosio und S. De Caro, La necropoli di Porta Nocera. Campagna di scavo 1983, in: Römische Gräberstrassen, München 1987, 217 Nr. 12 lasen (wird AE 1990, 138 d). Von mir und M. Kajava im Jahre 1988 gesehen.

Desgleichen muß in der auf S. 208 publizierten Inschrift aus derselben Nekropole eine Korrektur vorgenommen werden; der Verstorbene hiess *L. Lacellius Virillio*, nicht *Iacellius*, wie die Editoren lesen. Diese Korrektur ist insofern sehr wichtig, als beide Lesungen einen neuen Gentilnamen ergeben würden. L steht fest (Autopsie ebenfalls 1988). Die neue Bildung kann zu *Lacius* (vgl. Schulze, ZGLE 163) gestellt werden (*Lacius* in Südlatium in Casinum belegt: CIL X 5254). Morphologisch bereitet *Lacellius* keinerlei Schwierigkeiten; vgl. etwa *Trebellius* zu *Trebius* oder *Decellius* zu *Decius*, usw. - Auch das Cogno-men des Mannes verdient Beachtung. *Virillio* ist zwar kein Unicum in der römischen Namengebung, wird aber in der maßgebenden Darstellung, in Kajantos Cognominabuch 257 als keltisch angesetzt. Der pompeianische Beleg erhärtet aber die Annahme, daß wenigstens die Belege aus Italien eher rein

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[5] Vgl. P.R.C. Weaver, Familia Caesaris (1972) 172f. und sonst. Kolendo scheint zu implizieren, daß Cocceius Litus ein Freigeborener war, was durch nichts einleuchtet; nachweislich war er nur ein Freier, und wahrscheinlich nur ein Freigelassener oder ein Freigelassenensohn.

[6] Ein weiteres Argument für die Echtheit ist, daß M. Cocceius Litus identisch mit dem in CIL VI 200 II, 29 aus dem Jahre 70 n.Chr. erwähnten Bürger sein kann; wohlgemerkt ist *Litus* kein üblicher Name in Rom: in meinem Namenbuch 857 drei Belege, wozu noch Rend.Pontif.Acc.Arch. 55-56 (1982-1984) 425 Nr. 9.

lateinisches Namengut vertreten. Kajanto führt *Viril(l)io* mit *Viril(l)ianus* unter *Virilis* an, es wäre aber zu erwägen, ob *Virilianus* und *Viril(l)io* nicht eher zum Gentilnamen *Virillius* gehören, der freilich nur in keltischen Gebieten belegt ist, andererseits aber eine übliche Bildung aus dem auch in Süditalien beliebten *Virius* vertritt.

Himerus. In Suppl. It. n.s. 5 Forum Novum 45 ergänzt der Editor *Himeri[us]*, ich würde aber *Himeri* als Genetiv von *Himer(us)* auffassen, denn *Himerius* ist mit seinem für die spätantike Namengebung so charakteristischen Suffix *-ius* prinzipiell als ein später Name zu betrachten. Daran ändert nichts, daß in Rom zufälligerweise ein L. Pontius Himerius (CIL VI 24722) vorkommt, der zur frühen oder höchstens mittleren Kaiserzeit gehört.

Annibonius. Dieser Name liegt wahrscheinlich in der Mosaik-inschrfit aus Emerita *ex officina Anniponi* vor (zuletzt von M. Donderer, Die Mosaizisten der Antike, Erlangen 1989, A 47 und J. Gómez Pallarès, Epigraphica 53, 1991, 76 herangezogen). Zum Namen vgl. Solin - Salomies, Repertorium 293.

Zum Schluß eine kurze Bemerkung zu Suppl. It. n.s. 5 Rubi 4. Die nur in der Abschrift eines Lokalforschers bekannte Inschrift enthält mehrere Korruptelen; den Namen des Vaters faßt die Editorin als *[C]arita* auf, vielleicht zu Recht (*Charita* ist in Rom als Männername belegt, wenn auch eher als okkasionelle Bildung). Ebenso gut könnte man aber an *Areta* (= 'Ἀρετᾶς) denken, der zufälligerweise in der römischen Namengebung fehlt, aber eine gute griechische Bildung vertritt.

CXLVII. MINIMA AMITERNINA

Unten folgen ein paar Bemerkungen zu der ausgezeichneten Edition amiternischer Inschriften im Rahmen der Supplementa Italica durch S. Segenni in den Supplementa Italica (Band 9, 1992, 11-209). Unter anderem enthalten die neuen Inschriften viel aufschlußreiches Material für den Onomatologen, wie manche neue Gentilnamen. Ich übergehe hier solche Neuheiten und richte die Aufmerksamkeit der Leser auf ein paar Stellen, die noch der Erklärung bedürfen.

Nr. 16. Der Sklavenname *Aeto* kann nicht zu gr. ἀετός gehören, sondern vertritt Αἴθων, im Griechischen als mythologischer wie als Personenname in Gebrauch (Bechtel, HPN 25, 494). Das Fehlen der Aspiration in einer so frühen Inschrift ist nichts Außergewöhnliches. Der keltischgermanische Name *Aeto* (s. z.B. J. L. Weisgerber, Die Namen der Ubier, Köln 1968, 69, 365 und sonst) kommt hier kaum in Frage. Zu *Aethon* in der römischen Literatur und Namengebung vgl. ThlL I 1158, 7-29. - Die Editorin datiert die Inschrift aufgrund der onomastischen Formel *Aeto Helvi Q.s.* in die erste Hälfte des 1. Jh.v.Chr. Diese Art und Weise, Sklaven zu bezeichnen, ist noch zu Anfang der Kaiserzeit in Gebrauch; ich würde die Inschrift eher in die zweite Hälfte des 1. Jh.v.Chr. ansetzen.

18. Könnte es sich um ein *collegium negotiatorum vinariorum* handeln? Ich wage keine sichere Entscheidung, auch weil, aus dem Photo zu schließen, die Schriftoberfläche sehr verwittert ist.

30. Ich würde *idem* nicht als *iidem*, sondern als *item* auffassen; *item* ist der stehende Ausdruck in diesen Zusammenhängen. Und wie bekannt, wird *item* in Inschriften oft *idem* geschrieben (vgl. ThlL VII 2, 532, 39-42 usw.). Als Subjekt scheint auch in dem zweiten Teil *vicani* zu bleiben; wenn dem so ist, muß *vici* als Genetiv wohl zu *primae* gehören: sie wurde als erste aus dem *vicus* auf diese Weise geehrt.

58. Ich würde ohne Zögern *Aesuia* so lassen, wie es auf dem Stein gestanden haben mag, und nicht zu *Aes‹u›viae* verbessern.

79. Ich würde nicht in erster Linie *Vi[llus]* ergänzen, trotz des Aufkommens dieses Cognomen sonst in Amiternum (es handelt sich aber um ein Hapax!), sondern eher etwa *Vitalis Victor* o.ä.

83. Könnte das Praenomen *Publius* des Mannes, das gefordert wird, rechts in der zweiten Zeile stecken? Die Schriftoberfläche scheint verwittert zu sein.

95. Diese Inschrift ist onomastisch sehr interessant. Der Frauenname *Crine* scheint, soweit ich übersehe, ein Unicum in der römischen Namengebung zu sein. Wegen der Endung *-e* würde man an einen griechischen Namen denken, wobei sich die Möglichkeit einer Verbindung mit den Namen der Sippe Κρινο- bietet; bezeugt sind Kurznamen wie Κρινέας, Κρινῆς, Κρινώ, Κρίνων; warum neben ihnen nicht auch Κρίνη? Mit *Crine* könnte zusammenhängen noch der Männername *Crinus*, als Sklavenname ein paar Male belegt (CIL VI 4251. IX 5153). Gleichermassen rätselhaft ist *Lathimus*. Ich verstehe die Bildung nicht. Die von der Editorin hergestellte Verbindung mit *Lathymus* CIL VI 21546

bleibt hypothetisch, weil auch diese Bildung ein Unicum ist (das Griechische kennt keinen Vollnamen Λά-θυμος).[7]

100. Möglicherweise war der Gentilname eher *Helvenus*, denn *Hebenus* ist ein Cognomen (CIL VI 19164 ist ein Sonderfall). *Helvenus* stünde gut neben *Helvius* usw. - TV in 4 ist kaum in Nexus.

108. Wenn vor *-era* nur zwei Buchstaben standen, sind *Glycera* und *Philotera* zu lang. Warum nicht etwa *Vera*?

127. Ein Name *Panagius* wäre erst in der christlichen Namengebung möglich. Ich kenne aber einen solchen Namen weder aus griechischen noch aus lateinischen altchristlichen Quellen. Statt *Q. Pomponi(o) L.f. Panacio* verstehe ich *Q. Pomponi L.f. Panacio(nis)*. In dieser verthältnismäßig frühen Inschrift würde man anstatt des Dativs eher den Genetiv erwarten. *Panacio* könnte zu dem öfters in Rom belegten Frauennamen *Panacea Panacia* gehören.

139. *Pitia* kann nicht dem griechischen Πιτυα entsprechen, sondern ist gleich Πυθία.

141. Interessant ist die onomastische Formel *Tertia Oppia Mus*; vgl. Puteoli 11, 1987, 73-75.

142. *Turulus* ist kaum zu *Tyrus* zu stellen; vielmehr handelt es sich um einen "illyrischen Namen" (ähnliche Bildungen in H. Krahe, Lexikon altillyrischer Personennamen, 1929, 120f. Oder aber es liegt keltisches Namengut vor; vgl. Holder, Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz II, 1922, 2020.

156. Merkwürdig ist der Frauenname *Anagnostria*, wohl aber möglich, vgl. 'Αναγνώστης IG XII 5, 712, 79 (freilich spät, aus byzantinistischer Zeit).

162. Stimmt die Lesung *Ialisy*?

211. Der von einem unzuverlässigen Gewährsmann überlieferte Name REFLICIANVS scheint korrupt zu sein. Könnte *Q. R() Felicianus* verstanden werden?

CXLVIII. VARIA URBANA

1. L·CLAVDIVS·TILLOROBVS beginnt CIL VI 15259. Diese Lesung steht fest, wie mir Ivan Di Stefano Manzella freundlicherweise

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[7] Dagegen kennt das Griechische Λά-τιμος (ein sicherer Beleg aus Smyrna: CGC Ionia 240, 32; wohl auch Λαίτειμος, IG IX 1^2 759 hierher zu stellen). Vgl. noch die rätselhafte Bildung Λαθέμεια Peek, Neue Inschriften aus Epidauros (1972) 72.

mitteilt. Für das korrupte Cognomen ergibt sich die palmare Konjektur *Theodorus* von selbst. Man sieht, wie der wahrscheinlich analphabetische Steinmetz die absurde Form des Cognomen angerichtet hat: H ist zu IL geworden, E zu L, D zu R und R zu B, alles banale Fehler eines Analphabeten.

2. Zur Herstellung eines guten Wortlautes von der verschollenen Inschrift CIL VI 24357, um deren Text Henzen sich aufgrund divergierender Abschriften alter Gewährsleute bemüht hat, ist vor kurzem von A. Ferrua, Rend.Pontif.Acc.Arch. 60, 1987-1988, 236 Nr. 32 eine bisher unbekannte Abschrift von Armellini bekannt gemacht worden, deren Wert freilich, entgegen Ferruas Vermutung, nicht besonders groß ist, um das Verständnis des schwierigen Textes zu fördern. Im Gegenteil, sie erschwert weiter die Wahl des Gentiliciums der ersten Person; Henzen druckt *Plutius*, dabei ist aber das Fehlen des Vornamens anstößig (der im Namen des anderen in der Inschrift erwähnten Mannes da ist). Nun hat Manutius *L. Iulius* oder *M. Iulius*, wobei man die erste Version wählen würde (L und P können leichter verwechselt werden als M und P). Armellinis *P. Iulius* gibt aber zu bedenken, ob nicht diese Lesart zu wählen sei, da sie PLVTIVS nähersteht. Die Schwierigkeit bleibt aber, daß *Publius* sehr selten unter stadtrömischen Iulii ist; in CIL VI gibt es unter den zahllosen Iulii nur 17 P. Iulii, und auch von diesen sind fünf Soldaten der Vigilenkohorten, die auch aus den Provinzen stammen können, bei denen also andere Vornamen als die üblichen nicht so sehr überraschen würden. - In 6 kann man wohl *Iabolenae* als die Form des Steines ansetzen (Henzen druckt IABOLINAE, aber Armellinis IADOLENAE läßt *-enae* den Vorzug geben). Ich würde auch in 5 mit Armellini und anderen alten Autoren *Rasini* statt *Rasinii* schreiben.

3. An verkannten Identitäten sei diesmal nur angeführt, daß CIL VI 24380 = 36128. Die Identität wurde bisher nur von Bang in seinem Gentilnamenindex vermerkt.

4. Die im Sackler Museum in Harvard befindliche Inschriftensammlung hat kürzlich unter Leitung von J. Bodel eine eingehende und ausgezeichnete Behandlung in AJA 96, 1992, 71-100 erfahren. Mir seien zwei Einzelbemerkungen erlaubt. In Nr. 1 wird von CIL VI 9331 eine verbesserte Lesung gegeben, die nunmehr feststeht. Dagegen ist die Deutung des neuen Editors nicht richtig (aber auch Mommsen sündigte hier): VICARI muß als abgekürzt für *vicari(o)* genommen werden, denn die einzig mögliche Deutung ist, daß Athictus ein vicarius des Threptus

und Sohn des Hermes war, und nicht, wie hier angenommen wird, daß Hermes der vicarius sei. Der Text muß also heißen *Athicto Threpti Sallustiaes Lucan(aes) dispesator(is) vicari(o), Hermetis f(ilio)*. - THRHPTI für *Threpti* ist eine reine Nachlässigkeit des Steinmetzen und hat nichts mit Orthographie oder Aussprache zu tun, wie der Editor oder die Editorin denkt; hier ist nämlich E falsch als H wiedergegeben.

5. Die zweite Bemerkung zur Sammlung Harvard betrifft Nr. 6 = CIL VI 38985*a*. Man würde nicht an erster Stelle *Trophimus Isiadis* [*servus*] ergänzen, vielmehr war Trophimus Sohn der Isias. Außerdem kann man auf dem Photo nach ISIADIS einen winzigen Rest der unteren Serife eines Buchstabens erkennen, der kein S sein kann.

6. In Rend.Pontif.Acc.Archeol. 60, 1987-1988, 223 Nr. 5 Abb. 3 publiziert A. Ferrua folgende bizarre Inschrift: D M / EOLO GYMNE/ROTI MIMO / LO GO. Der erste Name war *Aeolus*, alles andere bleibt weniger klar. *Gymneros* könnte der Name einer weiteren Person sein, der ein Mime war; oder aber *Gymneros* könnte eine Art Zuname des Mimen Aeolus sein. *Gymneros* ist weder als Name noch als Appellativ bekannt und ist zweifellos als Name überraschend. Ähnliche Bildungen kommen aber besonders in römischer Zeit vor (vgl. meine Überlegungen zu einer solchen okkasionellen Bildung *Gymnochares* in ZPE 77, 1989, 101f.). Seinem Sinngehalt gemäß würde *Gymneros* vorzüglich als Zuname für einen Mimen passen; in dem Falle kann man zweifellos von einem sprechenden Namen sprechen. Auch *Mimus* könnte an sich ein Name sein, auch wenn dies weniger wahrscheinlich ist, denn *Mimus* war wohl ein sehr seltener Personenname (mir nur aus CIL VI 975 VI, 54 und 3059 bekannt). Die letzte Zeile ist wohl als *Logo* zu verstehen; es liegt also der Name eines weiteren Verstorbenen vor.

7. In der von U.M. Fasola, RAC 37, 1961, 248 Abb. 6 aus dem Coemeterium Maius publizierten altchristlichen Inschrift (jetzt ICVR 21603) ist der Name des Verstorbenen AVR TABVLA geschrieben. An der Lesung bestehen keine Zweifel. *Tabula* ist aber kein Name (auch Bildungen wie **Tabularius* sind nicht als Namen bezeugt). Es liegt höchstwahrscheinlich der beliebte thrakische Männername *Tarula* vor, der auch in Rom oft belegt ist. Die Verschreibung B für R seitens des Steinmetzen ist banal und kommt des öfteren vor.

CXLIX. AMATIANA

Ich habe in Arctos 24, 1990, 198f. die Edition der epigraphischen Kodices von Girolamo Amati durch Marco Buonocore (Codices Vaticani Latini 9734-9782) kurz besprochen. Hier noch ein paar weitere Worte dazu. Die Serie enthält nicht ganz wenige Inedita, an sich nicht sehr verwunderlich, denn manche Abschriften von Amati sind schlecht erhalten und auf losen Blättern angebracht und konnten so leicht der Aufmerksamkeit der Corpuseditoren entgehen. Besonders sparsam sind die Editoren des Berliner Inschriftenwerkes bei der Berücksichtigung der Falsae gewesen, von denen keine ihren Weg in den fünften Teil des CIL VI oder in entsprechende Sektionen anderer Bände gefunden hat. Hier ein paar Bemerkungen zu zwei Texten, die augenscheinlich Fälschungen sind.

Cod. Vat. Lat. 9768 f. 14v. Sicher ein Falsum, wie der ganze Wortlaut auf den ersten Blick verrät. Hat etwas mit dem jüdischen Triumph des Titus zu tun. Was der Verfasser des Textes mit der *porta triumpha[lis]* meint, womit er den Text beendet, ist nicht klar; für die Römer bedeutete sie das Triumphtor auf dem Campus Martius, das in Inschriften zu Ehren von Kaisern nicht gebraucht wurde; seine Erwähnung ist aber gar nicht das einzige Argument für eine Fälschung. Der Text hat wohl sicher auf dem Stein existiert; dafür leistet die Autorität von Amati Gewähr, der die Inschrift selbst nahe bei dem Titusbogen gesehen hat und versichert, die Buchstaben seien "certissimamente antiche e di buona età imperiale". Man wird zunächst an ein gut eingehauenes Produkt der Renaissancezeit denken.

Auch die in 9776 f. 215 angeführte Inschrift hat sicher einmal auf dem Stein existiert (Amati gibt die Maße an); sie wurde in Ceri (Caere) gefunden. Der Text ist aber nicht antik, wie schon das Nebeneinander des Amtes des septemvir epulonum und des caeretanischen Quattuorvirats zeigt. Interessant ist der Name des Geehrten, von dem *L. Horat. Pulv*[- - -] erhalten ist. Der Fälscher hat eine berühmte Figur der römischen Geschichte zur Ausschmückung seines Textes gewählt. Horatii Pulvilli sind nach dem Jahre 386 v.Chr. nicht mehr bekannt, so daß der Fälscher allein aus den römischen Annalen schöpft. Aufgrund des Vornamens zu urteilen kann als Muster der Militärtribun 386 v.Chr. L. Horatius Pulvillus gewirkt haben, auch wenn er nicht der berühmteste unter den Pulvilli war. Das Heranziehen berühmter Römer der republikanischen Zeit war ein nicht unbekanntes Mittel für die Fälscher, z.B. unter den stadtrömischen

Ligoriana begegnen uns Namen wie *Atilius Calatinus* (CIL VI 1309*; vgl. auch *A. Atilius Calatinus cos.* in der nichtligorianischen Fälschung 3422*), *Q. Horatius Cocles* (2016*), *M. Valerius Volesus* (2912*). - Diese Inschrift fehlt in CIL XI unter den Falsae.

DE EBRIETATE

Poèmes bachiques connus en Finlande au XVIIe siècle

Veikko Väänänen

De la multitude mouvante des proverbes, dictons et poèmes populaires, se détache dès le haut moyen âge une branche latine quasi-littéraire, la poésie gnomique. Celle-ci présente une idée condensée, principalement d'une allure goliardique c'est-à-dire satirique, érotique, bachique, souvent aussi railleuse ou badine. La forme est celle de sentence, soit un vers monostique (préférablement hexamètre) ou distique, soit plusieurs vers réunis en épigramme ou semblable, ayant d'ordinaire pour toute rime celle des deux hémistiches, dite rime léonine.

Dans les pays nordiques, où les langues vernaculaires demeuraient encore à l'époque de l'humanisme peu adaptées à l'usage littéraire, le latin continuait de garder ses positions. L'apprentissage du latin visait au but idéal de *grammatice fari, bene scribere, versificari.*[1] La traduction de proverbes populaires en faisait partie.[2] Les proverbes latinisés, ainsi que les vers latins passés en proverbes, circulaient au long et au large, rassemblés en nombreux recueils.[3]

Evidemment, par rapport à la poésie latine médiévale proprement littéraire, production savante et achevée, il n'y a pas de comparaison possible. Les vers et couplets gnomiques représentent, si l'on veut, un genre mineur. Cependant, vivaces par leur concision habile et leur pertinence, ces pièces anonymes (non anodines!) éclairent maints côtés de la vie intellectuelle et pratique d'antan.

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[1] Walther, Prov. 30840 et Werner S226, précédé du vers Sunt tria. quae nullus discet nisi conferat usus. Florilegium Gottingense 269, une formule équivalente en trois vers.

[2] Fr. Seiler, Deutsche Sprichwörterkunde, München (1922), 77. Handbuch des deutschen Unterrichts an höheren Schulen, begr. von A. Matthias, 5. Bd. Walther, Prov., Einleitung, p. XIII.

[3] Walther, Prov. t. I, Register I, une liste de mss. "mit grösseren Spruchsammlungen" (en tout, une centaine). Register III, collections imprimées (environ 160; sont inclus des traités parémiologiques avec petit nombre de proverbes; supplément dans les 8 tomes suivants).

La bibliothèque de la nouvelle Université de Turku conserve un rare volume qui réunit deux livrets publiés en 1669 par Johannes Gezelius père, évêque de Turku et vice-chancelier de l'Université, fondée en 1640 sous le nom de *Academia Aboënsis.* Gezelius est connu comme réorganisateur de l'enseignement scolaire et de l'instruction supérieure en Finlande. Soucieux de diffuser les connaissances utiles et édifiantes parmi écoliers, étudiants et clercs, il publia bon nombre de manuels et de livres de lectures. Les deux livrets jumeaux sont du nombre. L'un contient un choix de fables d'Esope (en grec et en latin), l'autre, des distiques de Cato Novus et d'autres moralistes (en latin). Ce volume n'aurait guère grand intérêt pour nous, n'était un manuscrit latin, avec quelques menus morceaux en suédois, de 53 feuillets, brochés à même les feuilles imprimées. L'écriture est une cursive assez soignée, celle usitée dans les pays nordiques aux XVIIe - XVIIIe siècles. La dernière pièce porte la date, de la plume du scribe, du 25 juillet 1683.[4]

Le manuscrit, que l'on nommera *Appendix Gezeliana*, est un centon hétéroclite et caractéristique de son temps. Une première partie relève du genre connu des nombreux florilèges que nous ont légués le moyen âge et l'humanisme. A part trois brèves citations classiques (Horace, Persius et Juvénal) et quelques épigrammes anonymes,[5] elle se compose d'environ 330 sentences, rangées en groupes selon les sujets sous 55 rubriques. Suit un chapitre en prose de 35 pages, une sorte de guide de composition latine et, en second lieu, suédoise. Ensuite vient une libre version en vers du fameux *Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum.* Enfin, une pieuse complainte qui paraît remonter au XIIe ou XIIIe siècle, intitulée *De fide erga Deum et homines in mundo fere extinctâ.* Plusieurs pages sont en blanc ou couvertes de signatures, noms de lieux, citations, etc.

Notre florilège s'ouvre - en frappant contraste avec les feuilles imprimées qui le précèdent - par une page dédiée, sous la rubrique *De*

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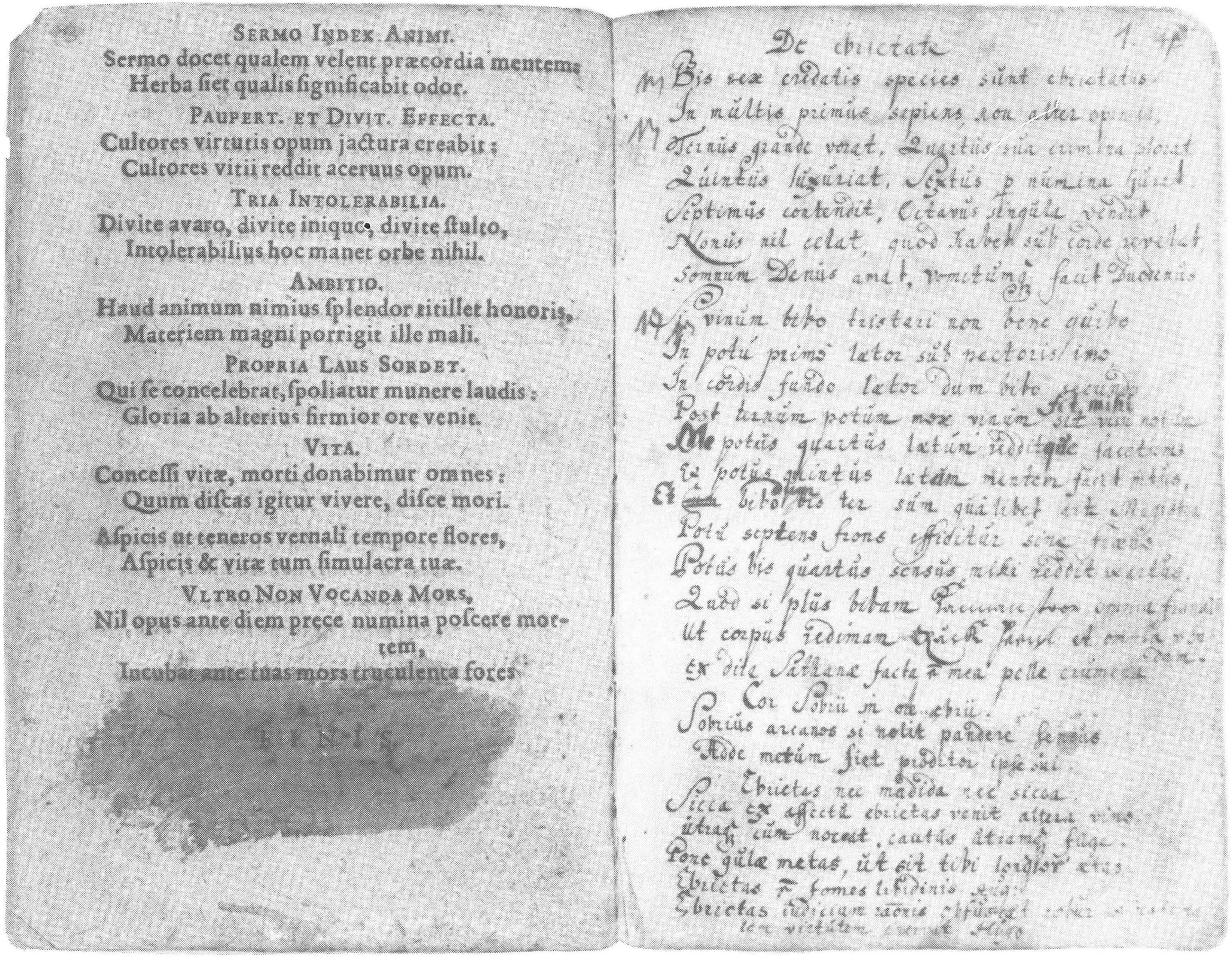
4 V. Väänänen, "*Appendix Gezeliana*"; unohdettu historiallinen dokumentti (un document historique oublié). Historiallinen aikakauskirja 2 (1991), 109-116. - Activité éditrice de Gezelius père: Aboa literata, par A. A. Stiernman, Stockholm (1719); éd. en fac-similé et traduction finnoise par R. Pitkäranta, Helsinki (1990), 69-77.

5 Strictement parlant, seul répond au genre d'épigramme *De triginta notis mulierum* (fol. 2r), éd. V. Väänänen, Mélanges Tauno Nurmela, Turku (1967), 127-134; *idem*, Recherches et récréations latino-romanes, Naples (1981), 355-364. - Les rubriques *In garrulum, Scommata mulierum, De maqistris nostris* et *De musica* réunissent en groupes - à l'instar des 55 rubriques de sentences (*infra*) - des vers plus ou moins homogènes.


SERMO INDEX ANIMI.
Sermo docet qualem velent præcordia mentem;
Herba fiet qualis significabit odor.
PAUPERT. ET DIVIT. EFFECTA.
Cultores virtutis opum jactura creabit;
Cultores vitii reddit aceruus opum.
TRIA INTOLERABILIA.
Divite avaro, divite iniquo, divite stulto,
Intolerabilius hoc manet orbe nihil.
AMBITIO.
Haud animum nimius splendor titillet honoris,
Materiem magni porrigit ille mali.
PROPRIA LAUS SORDET.
Qui se concelebrat, spoliatur munere laudis;
Gloria ab alterius firmior ore venit.
VITA.
Concessi vitæ, morti donabimur omnes:
Quum discas igitur vivere, disce mori.
Aspicis ut teneros vernali tempore flores,
Aspicis & vitæ tum simulacra tuæ.
VLTRO NON VOCANDA MORS.
Nil opus ante diem prece numina poscere mortem,
Incubat ante tuas mors truculenta fores.
FINIS.

La dernière page du livre de Gezelius et la première de l'*Appendix Gezeliana*.

ebrietate, aux heurs et malheurs de boire.[6] C'est une suite d'hexamètres à rime léonine, qui se partagent entre deux pièces distinctes (A1 et A2), respectivement de sept et de douze vers.

La popularité de ce thème bachique est confirmée par le nombre de manuscrits où il figure: à en juger par les *Initia* de Walther, ils sont une centaine, pour la plupart de provenance allemande, revêtant quelque vingt versions différentes.[7] Une filiation quelconque de celles-ci ne se propose guère. Ce sont de plaisants produits d'occasion, de forme peu fixe, que l'on se passait tantôt oralement, tantôt par écrit. Toutefois, certain groupement thématique se laisse discerner.

Une famille, de beaucoup la plus importante, a pour sujet le crescendo de l'état d'ivresse par rapport au nombre des "coups" (*potus, potiones*) absorbés.[8] Comme premier vers, celui de A1 l'emporte (25 cas).

I. Sources utilisées: A1 (base), G, M et S (voir Abréviations biblio- et paléographiques).

De ebrietate

Bis sex credatis species sunt ebrietatis.
In multis primus sapiens est, alter opimus,
Ternus grande vorat, Quartus sua crimina plorat,
Quintus luxuriat, Sextus per numina jurat,
Septimus contendit, Octavus singula vendit,
Nonus nil celat, quod habet sub corde, revelat.
Somnum Demus amat, Vndemus turpia clamat,
Et cum sit plenus, vomitumque facit Duodenus.

6 Vu la tenue relativement irrégulière de la page 1 et le verso laissé à moitié en blanc, on se demande s'il ne s'agit pas d'une feuille de garde utilisée après coup pour l'écriture.

7 Cf. B. Hauréau, Journal des Savants (1894), 405 (compte rendu de Fr. Novati, Carmina medii aevi, Florence, 1884): "Si l'on entreprenait de réunir tous les poèmes bachiques que contiennent les manuscrits de ces siècles, le XIIe, le XIIIe et le XIVe, on en formerait plusieurs volumes".

8 Le nombre des consommations absorbées varie d'un texte à l'autre. Celui de la Bibl. Nat. de Paris, ms. fr. 24436 fol. 73a (publié par A. Långfors, Romania 41 (1922), 214, ler v. *Ad primum morsum nisi potavero mort(uus) sum*), en a quatorze. Novati, Carmina medii aevi (*supra*), offre une pièce de Venise, qui coïncide avec M, fol. 213 et en partie avec le texte de Paris, arrivant au nombre dix. La bonne mesure s'arrête à trois, cf. *Fecunda Ratis* d'Egbert de Liège, du XIe siècle, éd. E. Voigt, Halle a. S. (1889), v. 401: *Pocula terna modum faciunt. superaddita rixas*; Walther, Prov. 16827 *Nil prosunt vina. nisi sint potacio trina*; cf. notre II,6. - V. Väänänen, TER BIBERE. Reflets d'une ancienne formule bachique, Neuphilol. Mitt. 75 (1974), 353-356, et Recherches et récréations, 349-353.

Rubrique *De XII speciebus ebrietatis* M - Proprietates *vinosi* S - *Item* (à la suite du titre *Ebrietas*) G

2 *In multis*] *Est vilis* G - *non alter* A1, corrigé d'après GMS

4 *Et quintus orat sextus criminalia jurat* M - *per omnia jurat* G - Vers intercalé entre 4 et 5 *Magnum quid fieri, rixas et bella moveri* S

5 *attendit* G - *incendit* MS

6 *nichil* M - *celat secretum quidque revelat* S

7 *Somnia* G

8 *Cum fuerit plenus. vomitum facit hic duodenus* S

II. A2 est une manière de paraphrase du verset, Vulg. Ps. 103,15, sur le vin qui réjouit le cœur de l'homme, voire qui - à en croire le versificateur - le rend maître en tous les arts, mais qui, dépassée la mesure, tourne au tapage à tout casser - à la lettre. Un accessoire cocasse vient rehausser le comique des deux vers terminaux, à savoir l'insertion de paroles vernaculaires, en A2 suédoises, ailleurs allemandes.[9]

Cette version se retrouve, avec de légères variations, en G 39r (moins le Ier vers) et dans un feuillet découvert à Breslau (B).

Si vinum bibo, tristari non bene quibo.
In potu primo laetor sub pectoris imo,
In cordis fundo laetor dum bibo secundo.
Post ternum potum mox vinum fit mihi notum,
Me potus quartus laetum redditque facetum
Et potus quintus laetam mentem facit intus,
Et bibo dum bis ter, sum qualibet arte magister.[10]
Potu septeno frons efficitur sine fraeno,

[9] Ce procédé n'est pas rare dans la poésie goliardique, par ex. Michael Neander, Ethice vetus et sapiens, Eisleben (1581), p.p. Seiler, 129:
Est merces ibi kranck, *ubi non datur nisi* hab danck.
Est bona vox: hole wein, *melior*: schenk, *optima*: trinck auss.
Est mala vox: rechne, *peior*: Geld, *pessima*: Rock aus!

[10] Ce vers est répété G 38v et 40r (infra); il se retrouve dans plusieurs mss.: Walther, Prov. 4037 b *Cum bibo*, 23458 *Quando bibo*; 6866 b *Ebibo dum vinum, loquitur mea lingua Latinum*; 6660:
Dum poto vinum, versum facio leoninum,
Dum poto fontem, securus transeo pontem.

Potus bis quartus sensus mihi tollit et artus.
Quod si plus bibam, kannan, stoop, *omnia frangam.*
Vt corpus redimam, råck, heem *et omnia vendam.*[11]
Ex dite Sathanae facta est mea pelle crumena.[12]

Rubrique *Ridiculi versus* B

1 manque G[13]

2 *In potu*] *In hausto* (sic) B - *Primo quando bibo, cupio plus gutturis imo* G

3 *laetor*] *jubilo* G

4 *Per ternum potum iam* G - *potum vinum modo fit* B

5 *Et potus quartus laetam reddit atque facetum* B - *Me potus laetum quartus facit atque facetum* G

6 *intus*] *meque* (sic) B

7 *Dum bibo bis ter* B - *dum*] *cum* G

8 *frons efficitur*] *velut equus sum* G

9 *mihi sensus* B - *mihi reddit* A2, corrigé d'après GB

10 *Quod*] *Sed* B - *kannen top* B - 10-12 omis G, remplacés par
In potu nono vini vix sentio quono,
In potu deno demens sum gutture pleno.
En revanche, G 40r lit
Dum bibo vinum, loquitur mea lingua latinum,
Dum bibo bis vel ter, sum qualibet arte Magister.
At plus si ipse bibam, Krauss, Glass & *omnia frangam.*

11 *Rock Hemede* B

12 Ce vers figure seulement dans A2; *dite*, corriger *ditis*?

A la fin de *De ebrietate*, se lit une suite de sentences plus ou moins assorties, partie en prose partie en vers:

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[11] Cf. *Vt vitam redimas, vestes ac omnia vendas* (G 114r; Seidelius, p. 63, noté *v(ersus v(ulgaris)*; Walther, Prov. 32630). C'est une réminiscence d'Ovide, Rem. 229 *Vt corpus redimas, ferrum patieris et ignes* . Cf. encore G 37r, sous *Ebrietas*: *Omnibus est notum, quod valde diligo potum./ Si possem, vellem pro potu ponere pellem.*

[12] Cf. le dicton français "loger le diable dans sa bourse" (n'avoir pas un sou vaillant).

[13] Walther, Prov. 29369.

Cor sobrii in ore ebrii[14]

Sobrius arcanos si nolit pandere sensus,
Adde metum: fiet proditor ipse sui.

Ebrietas nec madida nec sicca

Sicca ex affectu ebrietas venit altera vino.
Vtraque cum noceat, cautus utramque fuge.[15]

Pone gulae metas, ut sit tibi longior aetas.[16]

Ebrietas est fomes libidinis. Aug.[17]

Ebrietas iudicium rationis obfuscat, robur et naturalem virtutem enervat. Hugo[18]

Metro peccavi, sensum tamen insinuavi. Déclaration de versificateur médiéval, qui corviendrait pareillement à notre texte bachique. C'est notamment le cas de *bibo*, II,1 et 3, *bibam* II,10, la première syllabe mesurée longue. II,12 est un vers boiteux, d'ailleurs obscur, et sans rime interne. Il en va de même de l'hexamètre figurant dans le fragment final, *Sicca ex affectu,* etc.

Traits particuliers de langue: I,3 *grande* adv., Thes. l.L.VI,2, p. 2187; I,5 *singula* 'le tout'; I,6 *sub corde* 'au fond du cœur', II,2 *sub pectoris imo,* même sens; cf. Verg. Aen. 10,464 *sub imo corde.* Graphie inverse (hypercorrecte): II,8 *fraeno.* La lettre *u* est marquée d'un signe diacritique (voir photo).

14 Cf. Wegeler, Philosophia patrum, versibus praesertim leoninis, rythmis germanicis adjectis, iuventuti studiosae hilariter tradita, Koblenz (1877), 2617: *Quod in corde sobrius, id in ore ebrius.* Walther, Prov. 25831 *Ouod in animo sobrii. id in ore ebrii,* et passim.

15 Les deux distiques manquent dans les collections de Walther.

16 Gartner 30r, sous *De moderatione cibo*; Seidelius p. 56, *v(ersus) v(ulgaris).* Walther, Prov. 10499 *Gule pone m.*

17 La citation est de saint Ambroise, Cain et Abel 1,5,20. Walther, Prov. 2562 et 20949; Seidelius, p. 8.

18 *Hugo*? Seidelius, p. 27.

Mots suédois: II,10 A *kannan* 'le pot', *stoop* (mod. *stop*) 'canette'; II,11 A *råck* (mod. *rock*) 'habit', *heem* (mod. *hem*) 'maison', sans doute fausse interprétation de l'homologue allemand.
Mots allemands: II,10 B *kannen* 'pots', *top<f>* 'cruche'; II,12 B *rock* 'habit'; *hemede* (mod. *Hemd*) 'chemise' ; G 40r *kraus* 'cruche', *glas* 'verre'.

A titre de complément à notre texte bachique de Turku, voici une pièce, également de provenance nordique, qui représente une manière de voir différente, non sans une application littéraire.
F 230, N1, Sü 12-Cm 4, Archives de Reval/Tallinn, fol. 41b.[19]

Nunc attendatis quis sit status ebrietatis.
Ebrius atque satur hiis ecce modis variatur:
Hic canit, hic plorat, hic est blasphemus, hic orat.
Disputat hic, ille currit per compita ville.
Iste loqui nescit, hic cespitat, ille pigrescit.
Hic decium iactat socium fingendoque mactat.
Hic servit Veneri, somno solet ille teneri.
Hic est pacificus, hic est nullius amicus.
Hic est clamosus, hic est verbis viciosus.
Ebrietas prodit. quod amat cor sive quod odit.
Hic vomit, ille vorat: sic Bachi turba laborat.

Abréviations biblio- et paléographiques

Walther, Prov. = Hans Walther, Proverbia sententiaeque latinitatis medii aevi. Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters in alphabetischer Anordnung, Göttingen (1963-1986).

[19] Fr. Koehler, Ehstlandische Klosterlekture. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntniss der Pflege des geistigen Lebens in Ehstland im Mittelalter, Reval (1892), 112. - Koehler daterait ce ms. du XIIIe siècle. Cf. Gartner 37v (ler vers *Ebrius atque satur, his modis ecce vagatur)*, et Walther, Initia 12431.

Walther, Initia = H. W., Initia carminum ac versuum medii aevi posterioris Latinorum. Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der Versanfange mittellateinischer Dichtungen, Göttingen (1959).

Werner = Jacob Werner, Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sinnsprüche des Mittelalters aus Handschriften gesammelt, 2ème éd. par Peter Flury, Heidelberg (1966).

Seidelius = Caspari Seidelii Portula linguae Latinae, Aboae (1671).

G = Proverbialia dicteria, ethicam et moralem doctrinam complectentia, versibus veteribus rhytmicis, ab antiquitate mutuatis, una cum Germanica interpretatione, conscripta... tertio reuisa... per Andream Gartnerum Mariaemontanum, s.l. (1575).

M = *Codex Latinus Monacensis* 14831, fol. 171 (XVe siècle).

S = Ms. Sterzing, fol. 28b (fin XIVe siècle); I. V. Zingerle, Bericht über die Sterzinger Miscellaneen-Handschrift, Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien, Phil.-Hist. Classe, LIV,1 (1866), 318.

B = Feuillet in-octavo découvert à Breslau; Alvin Schultz, Anzeiger fur Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit, N. F. XVI (1869), 45 sq. Les *Ridiculi versus* sont précédés de trois vers pieux.

Ammianus' Route to Cologne

G. Michael Woloch

In A.D. 355, Ammianus accompanied his commander Ursicinus from Milan to Cologne (15.5.24), where they successfully countered the revolt of Silvanus. When he left Gaul in A.D. 357 (16.10.21) Ammianus accompanied Ursicinus to Sirmium (Sremska Mitrovica, Vojvodina, Serbia). The main aim of this article is to discuss how exactly we may reconstruct Ammianus' route on this campaign. In order to do this the present writer must mention some of our author's sources, both autopsy and literature.

The detailed description of the pass at Mont Genèvre in the Cottian Alps (15.10) is generally held to indicate autopsy in the late winter or early spring.[1] As our author tells us, the Mont Genèvre Pass route went through "Segusione" (Susa), past the "*stationem nomine Martis*" (Oulx) and by the "*Matronae ... uerticem*" (Mt. Genèvre). Looking at a map, the Cottian Pass does not seem to be the most direct route from Milan to Cologne, but Ammianus described it in 15.10 as the "[*uia*] *media ... et compendiaria magisque celebris*" ("the middle one, the short-cut and more frequented").[2] The forces of Silvanus in Cologne were mentioned as wanting to rush out of Germany by the Cottian Alps, where this pass lies (15.5.29). The present writer agrees with the general opinion that our author used this pass then. The fact that it was the quickest route at the time is a better proof than the accuracy of the description.

Where did Urscinus' forces go after that? It would be tempting to

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1 On Ammianus' autopsy of Mt. Genèvre, see E.H. Bunbury, *A History of Ancient Geography,* II, London, 1879, repr. Amsterdam, 1979, p. 680 and T. Mommsen, "Ammians Geographica," *Hermes* 16 (1881), cited as "Geographica," p. 622. E. Galletier and J. Fontaine call Ammianus' description of the route over the Mt. Genèvre Pass a "description très exacte," (eds. and transls.), Ammien Marcellin, *Histoire, I,* Paris, 1968, p. 261, n. 256.

2 Ammianus, transl. by J.C. Rolfe, I, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass., 1935. This translation is also used below. On the Mt. Genèvre Pass see W.W. Hyde, *Roman Alpine Routes,* Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, II (1935), pp. 50-55.

say that the route went through Switzerland because of the dramatic descriptions of Aventicum (Avenches), the Lake of Geneva and the Lake of Constance. Using roads marked on the maps in H. Bengtson and others, *Grosser historischer Weltatlas,*[3] one could construct a route back from Vienna to Lausanne on the Lake of Geneva and then to Avenches and Augst, before following the west bank of the Rhine to Cologne. The return route would have gone from Augst to Zurich and then the south shore of the Lake of Constance before heading south by the Julier pass.

The dramatic descriptions, however, do not necessarily mean than Ammianus passed through these places. With regard to Avenches, Ammianus said in 15.11.12: "*Alpes Graiae et Poeninae exceptis obscurioribus ... habent et Auenticum, desertam quidem ciuitatem, sed non ignobilem quondam, ut aedificia semiruta nunc quoque demonstrant* (The Graian and Pennine Alps, not counting towns of lesser note, have Avenches, a city now abandoned to be sure, but once of no slight importance, as is even yet evident from its half-ruined buildings)." T. Mommsen thought that Ammianus' vivid mention of the destroyed town of Avenches, using the word "[*de*]*monstrant* (is ... evident)" was a proof of autopsy,[4] but W. Sontheimer pointed out the similarity of the words Sallust used to describe Saguntum (Spain), with the word "*ostentabant* (showed)."[5] Thus, the description is only a literary formula.

About the Lake of Constance Ammianus said in 15.4.2-6, "*quodque est impendio mirum, nec stagnum aquarum rapido transcursu mouetur nec limosa subluuie tardatur properans flumen et confusum misceri non potest corpus; quod ni ita agi ipse doceret aspectus, nulla ui credebatur posse discerni*" ("If one's sight did not prove it to be so, one would not believe possible" the lack of mixing of the lake's waters with those of the Rhine). Ammianus also assigned the same phenomenon to the Lake of Geneva and the Rhone in 15.11.16. On the basis of these descriptions E.A. Thompson believed that our author actually saw the Lake of Constance and P. de

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[3] H. Bengtson and others, *Grosser historischer Weltatlas,* 6th ed., Munich, 1978, maps on pp. 40-41 and 45.

[4] Mommsen, "Geographica," p. 611.

[5] W. Sontheimer, "Der Exkurs uber Gallien bei Ammianus Marcellinus (XV,9-12)," *Klio* 20 (1926), p. 21; Sallust, *Histories,* frag. ii.64 (Maurenbrecher).

Jonge thought the same about the Lake of Geneva.[6]

These descriptions about the lakes are not really correct. If one observes the lakes just at the entrance of the Rhine or Rhone, one might have that impression, but such a route cannot be postulated on the basis of Bengtson's maps or Sheet L32 of the *Tabula Imperii Romani*.[7] In actual fact similar descriptions of the Lake of Geneva are found in the writings of the ancient geographers Strabo (4.1.11 p. 186) and Pomponius Mela (2.74.79),[8] and thus it is another literary formula. About the Lake of Constance, Ammianus wrote that the Rhine "*lacum invadit rotundum et vastum ... perque quadringenta et sexaginta stadia longum, parique paene spatio late diffusum* (enters a vast round lake ... four hundred and sixty stades long and in breadth spreads over almost an equal space)." Of course this lake is not at round, and to have that impression one would have to sit in a boat in the middle, while ignoring inlets on the east and west sides. The use of stades indicates that Ammianus was using a Greek source, probably a geographer but not Strabo.

One could argue that Ammianus actually saw these lakes but he described them incorrectly because he preferred the literary description over autopsy, as F. Lasserre implied in general terms in his critique of Pomponius Mela.[9] This is a judgment that one must make, and although Ammianus was not as accurate as Thompson thought,[10] still he was such a conscientious historian that he would not have done such a thing. Even though it was written long ago, Mommsen's assessment of Ammianus is correct: "ein ehrenhafter frei und hoch denkender Mann und ein scharfer und dennoch liebevoller Kündiger des menschlichen Herzens, ... aber mit allen seinen nicht geringen Unzulänglichkeiten und Fehlern dennoch weitaus der beste Geschichtschreiber ... [seiner] Epoche." [11] A proof that

6 E.A. Thompson, *The Historical Work of Ammianus Marcellinus,* Cambridge, 1947, cited as *Historical Work,* p. 4; P. de Jonge, *Philological and Historical Commentary on Ammianus Marcellinus XV* 6-13, Groningen/Djakarta, 1953, p. 71.

7 Union academique internationale, *Tabula Imperii Romani,* Sheet L32 (Milano), Rome, 1966.

8 The mixing of the river waters with the waters of the Lakes of Geneva and Constance is quite a complicated affair. For the most part, no mixing is evident. See P. Guichonnet, *Le guide de Leman,* Lyons, 1988, pp. 34-44.

9 F. Lasserre, *KP* IV (Munich, 1972) cols. 1039-1040.

10 Thompson *Historical Work,* p. 40.

11 Mommsen "Geographica," pp. 635-636; in agreement is G. Sabbah, *La Méthode d'Ammien Marcellin*, Paris, 1978.

our author did not pass by the Lake of Constance on this expedition is that Sheet L32 of the *Tabula Imperii Romani* shows the road on the south side as a minor road, and it would have been unsuitable for an army.

Since we cannot construct a route through Switzerland for our author and still we accept that he went out through Mt. Genèvre, his most likely route would have been on from Vienne to Lyons, the hub of Roman roads in Gaul, and then along the Saone and Moselle to Trier before reaching Cologne. Since we do not know which Alpine pass he used for his return trip and have a clue like Mt. Genèvre, his route back must remain more uncertain.

DE NOVIS LIBRIS IUDICIA

Theophrastus, De causis plantarum, Books III-IV (361 pp.) and V-VI (465 pp.). Edited and translated by Benedict Einarson and George K.K. Link. Loeb Classical Library 474, 475. USD 18.50 each.

With these two posthumously published volumes the De Causis Plantarum is now complete. The text is good, much better than its most recent predecessor, that by Wimmer in 1854, but it is still not a definitive one. It cannot, for example, stand comparison with the superb Budé edition of the Historia Plantarum by Suzanne Amigues.

Unfortunately, in none of the three volumes is there a more complete treatment of the transmission of this work, so it remains a task for future research to describe the manuscripts and to give a history of the text. The translation seems - as far as a non-native speaker of English can judge - to be clear and easy to follow.

Heikki Solin

Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. BSB B.G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, Stuttgart und Leipzig:

Apulei Platonici Madaurensis. Vol. I: *Metamorphoseon libri* XI. Edidit *R. Helm*. Editio stereotypa editionis tertiae (1931) cum addendis. 1992 VIII, 301 S. DM 44.
C. Iuli Caesaris Commentarii rerum gestarum. Vol. I: *Bellum Gallicum*. Edidit *Wolfgang Hering*. Editio stereotypa editionis primae (1937). 1992. XX, 180 S. DM 32.
Dares Phrygius. De excidio Troiae Historiae. Ed. *F. Meister*. Reprint der 1. Auflage von 1873. 1991. XXXIV, 129 S. DM 59.
Eutropii Breviarium ab urbe condita. Recognovit *Carolus Santini*. Editio stereotypa editionis primae (1979). 1992. XX, 88 S. DM 32.
Cornelius Nepos. Vitae. Ed. *P.K. Marshall*. 3. Auflage. 1991. XVIII, 122 S. mit 1 Bild. DM 32.
P. Ovidius Naso. Metamorphoses. Ed. *W.S. Anderson*. 5. Auflage. 1991. XXVIII, 419 S. DM 68.
C. Plini Caecili Secundi epistularum libri novem, epistularum ad Traianum liber, panegyricus. Recensuit *Mauritius Schuster*, editionem tertiam curavit *Rudolphus Hanslik*. Adiactae sunt duae tabulae. Editio stereotypa editionis tertiae (1958). 1992. XXX, 490 S. Kartoniert DM 39.

Die Wiedervereinigung des deutschen Volkes hat auch die zwei Teubnerschen Verlage unter ein Dach gebracht; die Leitung des altehrwürdigen Verlags sitzt jetzt in Stuttgart. Die erfreulichste Nachricht ist, daß die altbewährte Bibliotheca Teubneriana weiterlebt und floriert. Ein Zeichen dafür ist die große Zahl von Neudrucken, die im Laufe des vergangenen Jahres die Redaktion des Arctos erreicht haben. Hier soll die große Lieferung lateinischer Nachdrucke kurz gewürdigt werden. Abgesehen von der Ausgabe des Dares Phrygius durch Ferdinand Meister aus dem Jahre 1873 handelt es sich um Nachdrucke von Nachkriegseditionen (darunter freilich einige Augaben, deren erste Auflage vor dem letzten großen Krieg erschien).

Bei dieser Gelegenheit stellt sich die Frage nach der Bedeutung und Funktionalität von Nachdrucken dieser Art. Sehen wir von dem Dares Phrygius ab, von dessen Text trotz des hohen Alters der Meisterschen Edition kaum Ausgaben auf dem Büchermarkt im Umlauf sind und dessen Nachdruck sich schon dadurch rechtfertigt, handelt es sich bei den meisten übrigen Nachdrucken um viel gelesene und oft verlegte Autoren, und daher hängt der Bedarf eines Nachdrucks von der Qualität der betreffenden Ausgabe ab. Was nun unsere Nachdrucke angeht, begrüßt man freudig das Erscheinen von solchen glänzenden Ausgaben wie etwa Herings Gallischem Krieg oder Marshalls Nepos oder auch Zieglers Vom Staate. Andere Ausgaben, die zu ihrer Zeit sicher verdienstvoll waren, sind heute hoffnungslos veraltet; man denke etwa an die Helmschen Metamorphosen des Apuleius oder Martins Lucretius oder Schusters Pliniusbriefe, von solchen ungenügenden Ausgaben wie Kytzlers Minucius Felix oder Andersons Metamorphosen von Ovid ganz zu schweigen. Dagegen war es gut, den Eutrop von Santini neu drucken zu lassen, denn die Ausgabe ist gut und in den letzten Zeiten nicht allzuoft gedruckt worden.

Mein Wunsch an den Verleger lautet also: Bitte Nachdrucke von Ausgaben nur dann vorlegen, wenn es sich entweder um führende ältere Editionen oder um gute neuere Ausgaben handelt.

Heikki Solin

P. Ovidi Nasonis Fastorum libri sex. Recensuerunt *E.H. Alton†, D.E.W. Wormell, E. Courtney.* 3.Auflage. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. BSB B.G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, Leipzig 1988. XXIV, 185 S. M 44.

Der dritte Abdruck dieser ausgezeichneten Ausgabe enhält auf S. XV einen Nachtrag von 14 Zeilen mit drei Notizen zur hsl. Überlieferung und mit dem Hinweis auf einen Vorschlag, 3, 557-558 nach 574 umzusetzen. Sonst handelt es sich um einen bloßen Nachdruck der im Jahre 1978 erschienenen Edition.

Heikki Solin

Ronald Martin: Tacitus. B.T. Batsford Ltd. London 1989. 288 p. (Paperback).

Der äußerst kurze Titel des vorliegenden Buches umschreibt die Botschaft, die der Verfasser vermitteln will: "Tacitus is the greatest of all Roman historians" (z.B. S. 234). Der Verfasser richtet sich zudem bewußt an ein breites Publikum, was vor allem darin zum Ausdruck kommt, daß kein lateinisches Wort unübersetzt bleibt und die meisten Zitate ausschließlich in Englisch gegeben werden. Auch in seiner sonstigen Struktur ist das Buch am ehesten eine Einführung in Tacitus und sein Werk.

Nach einer vorläufigen Einschätzung des Historikers Tacitus im Vorwort wird daher auch zunächst die Entwicklung der Historiographie in Rom bis zu Tacitus' Zeit behandelt, um dann in zweiten Kapitel den Lebenslauf und situativen Kontext zu beschreiben. Danach geht der Verfasser über zur Behandlung der Schriften des Tacitus und zwar in der Reihenfolge ihrer Entstehung. Kapitel III behandelt die kleineren Schriften: Der Agricola und auch die Germania werden als eigenständige historische Studien charakterisiert, während bei der Behandlung des Dialogus de oratoribus die Autorschaft des Tacitus und Wiederspiegelung seiner eigenen Ansichten im Vordergrund stehen. Auch der Dialogus stehe im Dienste der Vorbereitung der größeren historischen Werke als "attempt to study and explain the nature of one area of political change" (S. 66). In den folgenden vier Kapiteln zu den Historien und Annales, diese unterteilt in Kapitel zu Tiberius, Claudius und Nero, zeigt der Verfasser bei der Inhaltswiedergabe an Schwerpunkten die Kompositionstechnik und Verwendung verschiedener Stilmittel durch Tacitus sowie auch Fragen der Verlässlichkeit der historischen Details auf, z.T. im Vergleich mit der entsprechenden Überlieferung bei Plutarch, Sueton und Dio. In der Forschung häufig aufgeworfene Fragen wie etwa die Anzahl und Verteilung der Bücher auf Historien und Annalen oder auch Probleme, die sich aus der Textüberlieferung ergeben, werden nur am Rande behandelt. In Kapitel VIII und IX versucht der Verfasser anhand der Untersuchung der Quellen des Tacitus zu zeigen, daß dieser nicht an moderner historischer Forschung gemessen werden darf, aber auch nicht - wobei der Verfasser die Auffassung von R. Syme entschieden zurückweist - nur eine einzige Quelle benutzt habe. Die Sclußfolgerung ist, daß er "within the canons of ancient history" sein bestes geleistet habe. Im X. Kapitel hebt der Verfasser für Tacitus' Stil im Gegensatz zum ciceronianischen Latein seine *brevitas*, das Vermeiden von symmetrischem Satzbau und sein psychologisches Interesse hervor. Die passim erwähnten Stilmittel werden hier nochmals zusammengefaßt, z.B. der Gebrauch von *oratio recta* und *obliqua*. Im letzten Kapitel schließlich verfolgt der Verfasser die Ûberlieferungsgeschichte der Handschriften und die Tacitusrezeptionvom "Tacitismus" im 16. Jahrhundert über die kategorische Unterscheidung von Tacitus als "schlechter" Historiker und als "guter" Stilist im 19. Jahrhundert bis hin zur Wiedervereinigung von beidem durch R. Syme.

Das Buch endet mit ausführlichen bibliographischen Angaben zu den einzelnen Kapiteln, einem Sachindex und einem Index der zitierten Stellen. Die Bibliographie ersetzt damit die manchmal im Anmerkungsapparat, der leider nicht als Fußnoten sondern im Anhang erscheint, wünschenwert scheinenden, weiterführenden Hinweise.

Uta-Maria Lierzt

Historia Apollonii regis Tyri. Edidit *Gareth Schmeling*. Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. BSB B.G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, Leipzig 1988. XXI, 143 S. M 45.

Die Historia Apollonii, ein Stück Unterhaltungsliteratur aus der römischen Kaiserzeit, ist ein äußerst undankbarer Gegenstand für einen Editor. Nicht nur steht die Abfassungszeit des ursprünglichen Textes nicht fest (man schwankt zwischen dem 3. und 5./6. Jh.); auch ist seine Überlieferungsgeschichte äußerst kompliziert. Die Schrift ist in drei verschiedenen Hauptfassungen, Redaktionen, wie der Editor sie nennt, erhalten (die ältesten Hss. stammen aus dem 9. Jh.), die RA, RB und RC bezeichnet werden. Der ursprüngliche Text ist also nicht erhalten und auch nicht wiederherstellbar, außer hier und da, wo alle Hss. übereinstimmen (Schmeling hat aber den unrealistischen Anspruch, dies erreichen zu können: er will die erhaltenen Redaktionen zurückführen auf R, der "forma veterrima quam nunc attingere possumus"; dieser Mißgriff hat dann weitreichende Folgen in Schmelings Editionsarbeit).

Über die handschriftliche Überlieferung gibt die lange Einführung ausführlich Rechenschaft und verdient so alle Anerkennung. Dagegen ist die Edition selbst sehr ungenügend. Erstens hat Schmeling sich keine rechte Vorstellung darüber gebildet, wie dieser Text eigentlich zu edieren sei. Er wählt freilich den einzig richtigen Weg, die drei Redaktionen gesondert zu edieren, ist aber nicht konsequent dabei und scheint die drei Versionen stellenweise miteinander zu kontaminieren. Noch schlimmer ist, da er des öfteren den Text völlig unnötig ändert, indem er viele für das Spätlatein charakteristische Eigentümlichkeiten aus dem Text entfernt. Wenn er z.B. *transiebat* in *transibat* "verbessert" oder *fugire* in *fugere*, so zeugt das von einer verblüffenden Ignoranz der historischen Grammatik des Lateinischen. Solche Fälle, die stutzig machen, lassen sich in großer Zahl finden. Leider haben wir es mit einer Ausgabe zu tun, die der altehrwürdigen Bibliotheca Teubneriana keine Ehre macht.

Heikki Solin

Epigrafia. Actes du colloque international d'épigraphie latine en mémoire de Attilio Degrassi pour le centenaire de sa naissance, organisé par le Comité promoteur des Rencontres franco-italiennes sur l'épigraphie du monde romain dans le cadre de la convention entre l'Université de Roma-La Sapienza et l'École française de Rome, sous le patronage de l'Association internationale d'épigraphie grecque et latine et avec le concours des Universités de Vienne, Trieste, Padove et de la Commission pour les Inscriptiones Italiae *auprès de l'Unione accdemica nazionale, Rome,* 27-28 *mai* 1988. Collection de l'École Française de Rome 143. Rome 1991. X+738 p. ITL 175. 000.

This volume is a worthy tribute to the great Italian epigrapher, born in Trieste in 1887. The rich content is dominated by works in fields of research where Degrassi himself made lasting contributions: Fasti and *elogia*, inscriptions from the Republic, and local administration.

Werner Eck leads off with the carefully documented "Consules ordinarii und consules suffecti als eponyme Amtsträger". When did the practice of dating official or private documents according to suffect consuls disappear? In official documents the dating according to suffect consuls can be followed up to Severus or perhaps Caracalla. But in private documents and in documents pertaining to local administration the *consules ordinarii* are used for dating purposes (after having left office) with increasing frequency from the early second century onwards. Consequently, the status of ordinary consuls increased.

The wax tablets from the so-called archive of the Sulpicii found near Pompeii in 1959 have proved a real treasure-trove not only for epigraphers but for Roman historians at large. The first publication appeared in time for Degrassi to see (and disapprove of) it: "non dobbiamo vedere altri 'saggi' come quello pubblicato" was his comment. Since the early 1980s Giuseppe Camodeca has been publishing new tablets and reediting old ones with admirable accuracy and energy. His "Novità sui fasti consolari" presents both new material and new discussions concerning the consuls from A.D. 26 to A.D. 61. Nobody who consults Degrassi's classic I fasti consolari for that period can afford to overlook this new study.

Silvio Panciera's paper discusses nothing less than some formerly unknown parts of *elogia* belonging to the Mausoleum of Augustus. Of difficult interpretation, they may, according to the author's preliminary suggestion, have been referring to Agrippa and Gaius or Lucius Caesar.

Other studies in this section include new fragments of the Acta Arvalia presented by J. Scheid, a discusion of the "Imperial Fasti" from Brescia by G. Di Vita-Évrard, and a discussion of the Augustan census figure in the Fasti Ostienses by Cl. Nicolet (suggesting an emendation of the text that brings it in line with the number of Roman citizens given in Augustus' *Res gestae*).

In the section on Republican inscriptions it is Heikki Solin's "Sul consolidarsi del cognome nell'età repubblicana al di fuori della classe senatoria e dei liberti", which looms largest. In accordance with its title, the paper investigates at what point common freeborn Roman citizens began using the *cognomen* in inscriptions, based on a very wide survey covering Rome, Lastium, Campania, and Delos. Early cases can be found as early as during the mid-second century B.C.

The implications of a new inscription found on the site of S. Omobono in Rome and originally belonging to an honourary monument, naming two (or three?) Cn. Domitii Cn. f., are discussed by Filippo Coarelli. Further contributions are by M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni on the nomenclature of local city magistrates in Latium and Campania, and by S. Demougin on ILLRP 549 from Asculum Picenum naming the *praef.fabrum* T. Satanus Sabinus.

The largest part of the Republican section (pp. 241-491) is however taken up by a very useful presentation of unedited (or almost) inscriptions, running to 154 numbers, and a survey of recently published ones.

The section on local administration contains contributions by R. Fauro Rossi on Venetia et Histria, M.S. Bassignano on the *praefecti iure dicundo*, E. Weber on cities north of the Alps, J. Gascou on *duumviri* and *quattuorviri* in the Narbonensis. There is also a paper by P. Le Roux on the concepts of *municipium Latinum* and *municipium Italiae* inspired by th *lex Irnitana*, by the late Fr. Jacques on *municipia libera* in *Africa proconsularis*, by M. Christol on the first century *pagus* of Carthage, and finally M. Corbier's "Cité, territoire et fiscalité".

In the concluding section labelled "Varia" Géza Alföldy presents one of his by now customary stunning epigraphic reconstructions. Fragments from the Area Sacra di Largo Argentina, which formerly were thought to derive from four epigraphic monuments, in fact belong to two inscriptions dedicated to M. Licinius Crassus Frugi (cos. 14 B.C.) by the *Damasceni*.

Finally, the volume contains a study by F. Paci dealing with measures taken by Titus after the Vesuvian eruption in A.D. 79, and studies of local inscriptions by A. Donati, L. Gasperini, and G. Sotgiu.

The many extremely valuable contributions in this volume are bound to achieve precisely what the organizers of the 1988 colloquium had in mind: that the name of Attilio Degrassi lives on in the work of future epigraphers and historians. The reviewer can think of just one problem. Considering the frequent use that will have to be made of the volume, a convenient title or abbreviation ought to be found, like we have "Epigrafia e ordine senatorio" for a similarly important Roman colloquium of the early 1980s. "Epigrafia", the name given the volume by the editors, seems to general; "Actes Degrassi" would make it difficult to retrieve the publication, considering its official name.

Christer Bruun

Lawrence Keppie: Understanding Roman Inscriptions. B.T. Batsford Ltd., London 1991. 158 p. GBP 14.99 (Paperback).

Knud Paasch Almar: Inscriptiones Latinae. Eine illustrierte Einführung in die lateinische Epigraphik. Odense University Classical Studies vol. 14. Odense University Press, Odense 1990. 569 p. DEK 328.

There are quite a few books on Latin epigraphy, some even of fairly recent date (see the bibliography in Keppie, p. 148f.; that in Almar, p. 518f., omits some titles of interest). The problem with these books is that it is hard to find an introduction to the subject of which one could say with confidence, addressing e.g. a student who says that he or she wishes to become an epigraphist, "read this; here's everything you need to know". On the archaeological side of Latin epigraphy there is, of course, I. di Stefano Manzella's *Mestiere di epigrafista* (1987), which I think is very good; but looking at the books which aim at being general introductions to the subject one cannot help thinking that the definitive book on Latin inscriptions is yet to be written. To take only two books published in the eighties, G. Susini's *Epigrafia latina* (1982), though offering much of interest and some elegant phrasing, is on the whole rather disappointing and has annoyingly no index at all; as for A.E. Gordon's *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy* (1983), it is certainly a useful book and one worth reading, but instead of saying things of general interest it concentrates perhaps a little too much on commenting upon those inscriptions - which are mainly from Rome and Italy - which were fortunate enough to be included in the selection; there is a "general" section, to be sure, but this does not (I think) tell the whole truth.

Of course, writing a good book on Latin epigraphy is a difficult task, though perhaps not as difficult as writing one on Greek inscriptions (at least if those of the Roman period are included): the concept "Latin epigraphy" covers a large field, both chronologically and geographically, to say nothing of all the different *types* of inscriptions, and there really is a significant difference not only between early Republican and late Imperial inscriptions, but also between those from, say, Gallia Lugdunensis and Africa, the "epigraphic culture" varying somewhat from region to region (on this specific point the existing handbooks are not, by the way, very good). And one should at least in theory say something - preferably something that is both pertinent and correct - not only on the contents of Latin inscriptions (on which very much indeed could be said), but also on archaeological aspects, palaeography, Roman names, etc. The fact that there does not seem to be a book which is satisfactory in every detail is obviously related to the magnitude of the task. (Perhaps, one cannot help thinking, the perfect manual on Latin epigraphy should be written by more than one author.)

As for the two books reviewed here, I must begin by saying that neither will become "The Definite Handbook on Latin Epigraphy". The more recent one by Lawrence Keppie, not a very long book, does not , of course, even aim to be that; as the author puts it, it is meant "to introduce the non-specialist reader to the subject" and to "get him or her to appreciate the significance of inscriptions as a resource for the historian and archaeologist anxious to know more about the Roman world" (p. 11). Bearing this in mind, I think the author has done a fairly good job. I greatly enjoyed reading the book, which has some personal touch and which seems well-written, at least to someone who is not a native speaker of English. There are good photographs, many of them of less familiar texts. Among the most interesting is surely the one of a papyrus from Oxyrhynchus, which seems to be a draft text for an inscription in honour of Diocletian and Maximian (p. 13). I also liked e.g. the photographs on p. 31 (showing a "group of archaeologists and visitors", among them not totally unknown names, at Birdoswald Fort in 1929) and on p. 41. The text, too, offers much of interest even to someone who has had something to do with inscriptions. (And there are not many mistakes; on p. 111 a simple date, *Domitiano* [erased] etc. *XV cos.*, has, however, been mistranslated as "when Domitian ... had been consul 15 times" instead of "when Domitian was consul for the 15th time" and it is, in my view incorrectly, asserted that "the names of the emperor ... served as a guarantee".) Of course the fact that the book is aimed at the "non-specialist reader" has had some consequences, much being said which I found too obvious or even banal (e.g. the note on the abbreviations B.C. and A.D. on p. 25), and many details are put somewhat vaguely (e.g. "some emperors" used the title *censor*: p. 45), but this may be explained by assuming that in England "non-specialist readers" include not only classical students who are unversed in epigraphy, but also people altogether outside the field of classical studies. As for the structure of the book, apart from the early chapters on some general points ("The Stonecutter and his Craft", "Reading Roman Inscriptions", etc.), this is in a way not really a book on Roman inscriptions at all, and certainly not a systematic handbook, but rather a book on the Roman Empire illustrated by, and with special reference to, Roman inscriptions. No doubt this book will interest a number of general readers, who will find a useful (but not exhaustive) bibliography on p. 148ff. should they wish to learn more.

The other book, written by the Danish scholar Knud Paasch Almar, is a much longer and more ambitious work, and is clearly conceived as a manual for students. There are sections dealing with almost every imaginable aspect of the subject. There are 261 photographs; a detailed list of Roman emperors and their titles; a 60-page list of abbreviations used in inscriptions (but even here I miss the abbreviation I like the best, *Vof.* for *Ouf.* in the Ephesian inscriptions of Vibius Salutaris); maps of the Roman provinces; a long bibliography; and much more. In spite of this wealth of information and illustration, this book cannot help leaving the reader somewhat unhappy. On one hand, the book does have many merits and is no doubt one which every epigraphist can turn to with profit. On the other hand, beside its merits the book also has quite a few faults, some of which - but by no means all - could easily have been avoided.

The main part of the book leads off with chapters dealing with subjects such as the palaeography of inscriptions, Roman numerals, ligatures, abbreviations, Roman names (a long chapter - about 60 pages), etc. After this follow chapters on different types of inscriptions ("Inschriftengattungen"): Tituli sepulcrales, tituli honorarii, tituli sacri, tituli operum locorumque publicorum, etc. Each chapter consists of a main text which is accompanied by photographs of inscriptions designed to illustrate the main text, each photograph being in turn accompanied by a short commentary.

Very much of what is said in the main text is of interest and is useful not only to the non-specialist; there are many photographs, most of them good, and one can use the commentaries on the individual inscriptions in most cases with some profit (although the commentaries sometimes seem to say obvious things, and sometimes again, in the case of difficult or at least long texts, seem to leave questions open; not enough is, I think, said on texts like no. 137 or 143, where a translation would have been helpful). But let us have a look at some of the problematical aspects of the book.

First of all, the selection of inscriptions. It seems that photographs are only provided of texts which the author has seen and photographed in various European museums, with the consequence that the inscriptions chosen to illustrate a point are not necessarily the most suitable (e.g. the selections of "senatorial" and "equestrian" inscriptions include some disturbingly fragmentary texts). Furthermore, the geographical distribution of the texts is, as the author himself admits (p. 7), not representative, especially Southern Gaul being clearly over-represented (cf. the concordances on p. 501ff.). Secondly, the presentation of the individual texts leaves much to be desired, to say nothing of the commentaries, which sometimes do not seem instructive enough (cf. above). There is only rarely a description of the monument on which a text has been inscribed (the archaeological aspects of epigraphy clearly do not interest the author); still worse, the place where an inscription comes from is hardly ever given (a reference to the standard edition of each text - e.g. to the Corpus - would in many cases have given a clue, but this information, too, is usually omitted). This may give the reader the false impression that Latin inscriptions are more or less similar throughout the Roman world, and that, to illustrate a point, one can choose a text from Italy as well as one from, say, Spain. But the main problem is that inscriptions or, better, epigraphic culture varied greatly from region to region and sometimes even from city to city (take, for example, in Greek world the unusual features of funerary inscriptions from Cyzicus). Where else but in Nemausus could one find inscriptions where the title of a *sevir Augustalis* precedes the name (no. 241)? In the commentary on no. 241 it is said that the man was *sevir* in Nemausus, which is better than nothing, but it should have been added that the monument was also found in Nîmes, and that the formulation of the text represents something found only in this city. A certain disregard for regional differences also emerges in other places; e.g. on p. 119, in a note on funerary inscriptions, I miss a reference to the fact that abbreviations such as *v(ivus) f(ecit)* or *t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit)* are much more usual in Northern Italy than elsewhere.

Another problem with this book is that at places the information given on some detail is somewhat vague, making one suspect that the author is not totally in command of his material. I should think that the first thing which comes into one's mind from the heading "Angabe von *patria, natio,* und *domicilium*" would be inscriptions of soldiers, and perhaps also inscriptions from Spain. But under this heading (p. 107f.) there is no talk of soldiers or Spain, and the mention of the *patria*, which is said to occur occasionally, is illustrated by two inscriptions belonging to a rather marginal group, that of inscriptions of gladiators. And there are many other places where one could have told the whole story instead of giving just a vague hint (e.g. on p. 217 it is said that inscriptions of emperors occasionally mention not only the "father", but also further predecessors).

There are also quite a few clear mistakes. Some examples: P. 22: *Ambracia* (in CIL I^2 615) is said to stand for *Ambracia(m)*, but it is in fact an ablative (cf. R. Wachter, Altlateinische Inschriften [1987] 288f.), i.e. the statue or something presented by the consul Fulvius had been taken *from* that city. - P. 86: A Greek name like *Eupor* has nothing to do with Latin names ending in *-por*. - P. 165: *Vet(ere)* (not *Vet(o)*) *cos.*; and the date is 6 BC, not AD 7. - P. 251: The statement "während *patricii* sich nur um die aedilitas bewarben" is incorrect. - P. 253: The statement that since 13 BC there were always six pairs of consuls each year is incorrect. - P. 255: The formulation *q(uaestor) pro pr.* does not mean that someone acted as quaestor, "als Stellvertreter des prätorischen Statthalters". - P. 363: The nominative of *Nigro* is *Niger* (not *Nigrus*).

But to conclude, the fact that there are some parts in the book by Almar which are in some way or other less impressive should not obscure the fact that the book does have many merits. So much is being offered, and that by a single author, that occasional flaws would in any case have been practically unavoidable. Most of the book is both solid and useful (e.g. the long section on names is, except for the section on adoptive nomenclature, which concentrates too much on emperors, clearly better than what is usually offered), and it has the extra merit of being systematic and sober, avoiding altogether the temptation to plant over-ingenious abstract definitions and designations on a subject which requires careful reflection rather than learned abstraction (I did not notice the text of any inscription being defined as a "message" here). And so, comparing this book to others of recent date on the same subject, it would appear to be the best new book on its subject, at least as long as one wishes to have as much as possible of the subject covered within a single volume. Another question is whether the time has come to dispose of Cagnat's classic erudite manual. Not yet, I would say.

Olli Salomies

Supplementa Italica. Nuova serie. 6, 7, 8. Casa Editrice Quasar, Roma 1990-1991. ITL 70. 000, 70. 000, 70. 000.

It is a great pleasure indeed to find out that, after the publication of vol. 5 in 1989, three further volumes of the important series Supplementa Italica had appeared by the end of 1991. What is more, the pace of publication is apparently not getting slower: at the epigraphic congress in Nimes in October (1992) participants had the occasion to study a camera-ready manuscript of vol. 10. (No-one, so I was told, had remembered to bring along from Rome the manuscript of vol. 9, although this, too, does exist.)

Volume 7 is of a special kind, since it only contains indexes (see below). The other two represent the by now familiar type: several cities with their territories are treated in each volume, a separate chapter being assigned to each city. Each chapter includes, as always, a bibliography; a useful introduction on historical and other matters; notes, often of great importance, on inscriptions published previously in the Corpus or in some other major collection of inscriptions (EE, IG, Pais, Inscr. It.); and, finally, the publication of new material. As always, everything seems to be of high or at least of solid quality. The only reproach that one could make when looking at these volumes in general, is that the maps are not always very good; e.g those in the chapters on Tridentum and the Anauni are rather disppointing. On the other hand, e.g. the maps of Carreum Potentia (an obscure locality in regio IX) and Cingulum are useful and even give a tentative reconstruction of the boundaries of the respective *territoria*. (No scale is given for the map of Cingulum, however.)

The contents of these volumes are as follows. Vol. 6 includes Setia (by R. Volpe; in the introduction the author might, incidentally, have referred to the interesting fact that Setia, a minor place, may well have produced an equestrian officer in the time of Hadrian, if, as some scholars think, L. Ennius Marsus in M. Roxan, Roman Military Diplomas 34 is indeed defined as Setin(us)), Cingulum (G. Paci), Camerinum (S.M. Marengo), Vallis Tanari Superior (G. Cresci Marrone), Tridentum and the Anauni (by A. Buonopane). Vol. 8 offers us, along with a note on "segni diacritici" by S. Panciera (p. 9ff.), Barium (M. Chelotti), Aufidena (M. Buonocore), S. Vittore di Cingoli (G. Paci; according to Paci this may well have been the site of an unknown municipality), Caesena (F. Cenerini), Carreum Potentia (G. Cresci Marrone; in no.1, line 2, the reading should be *Claud(ialis)*), Brixia (A. Garzetti). The importance of Brixia and its epigraphic heritage in comparison to the other cities in these volumes emerges clearly from the fact that the Brixian chapter includes the largest number of new texts (i.e., 43), although only a few years ago, in 1984 - 86, the material from Brixia known up till then was published in the three handsome volumes of Inscr. It. X 5.

Again there is much to interest the epigraphist. There is a republican [. *Post*]*umiu*[*s Albi*]*nus consol* in Setia no. 3; Camerinum no. 2 is a somewhat problematic text recording a certain T. Vetilius Sino, *praef. quinquennalis Camerini*, but apparently holding other offices in Firmum (his cognomen, by the way, reminds me not only of a man mentioned in AE 1958, 313, but also of a character in *Aeneid* II); Tridentum no. 19 mentions a *fistulator*; Tridentum no. 20 is a funerary inscription (probably from the fourth century) of two children, the text beginning most remarkably with *ad II innocentes fratres*; in Barium no. 3 there is an equestrian son of a *patronus et curator kal*(*endarii*) *Barinor*(*um*) who died at the age of 17; Barium no. 7 is a marvellous funerary altar; and finally there are many important, or at least interesting, texts in the chapter on Brixia; no. 3, for instance, is a statue base honouring an equestrian officer and *proc. sacr(ae) annon(ae) civitat(e)* Veronensium, C. Bellicius C.f. Cl. Primus; the laudatory text, too, is interesting in that it offers some most unusual phrases: *ob insignem eius amicitiae fidem et aetern(am) concordiae laudem, ad memoriam tam boni nominis.*

Vol. 7, by I. di Stefano Manzella and C. Lega, is the first of a planned set of index volumes. This one offers us elaborate indexes to volumes 1-6, the volume leading off with a word index of the type "key word in context" and an index of the numerals (personal names being included in the word index). But this is not all: there follows the headings "tipologia dei supporti", "materiali", "technice di scrittura", "datazioni". In practice this means that one can trace, by using these indexes, e.g. all inscribed monuments included in volumes 1-6 which have the form of a *stele*; or all monuments for which marble has been used. The uses of these indexes are, I think, obvious. The volume is rounded off by detailed "conguagli bibliografici" and a list of those inscriptions which were previously unpublished.

That these volumes represent a "contributo sostanziale" not only to the study of Italian epigraphy, but also to the study of Roman Italy in general, as hoped for in the "presentazione" by Margherita Guarducci and Silvio Panciera (vol. 8, p. 8), is certainly not in doubt.

Olli Salomies

Marcella Chelotti &Vincenza Morizio & Marina Silvestrini (a cura di): Le epigrafi romane di Canosa II. Dipartimento di scienze dell'antichità dell'Università di Bari Sezione storica, Documenti e studi 7,2. Edipuglia, Bari 1990. XVI, 416 p. ITL 130. 000.

Il secondo, ricco volume dedicato alle epigrafi di Canosa (dopo Canosa I pubblicato nel 1980) inizia con un Addendum contenente una trentina di iscrizioni (frammenti inclusi), tra i quali alcuni inediti (altri testi seguono a p. 185). Fra i testi più interessanti si può segnalare la menzione di un *balneum publicum a Caesidio Proculum refectum* poi restaurata da parte della *res publica (Canusinorum)* (Add. 16). Seguono commenti ad alcuni testi già pubblicati nel primo volume, e trattamenti di epigrafi false o di controversa autenticità.

Intanto una delle parti principali del volume è costituita dal capitolo "Instrumentum" di V. Morizio, che dedica oltre cento pagine alle iscrizioni su laterizi di costruzione, anfore e coperchi d'anfore, doli, lucerne, vasellame da mensa, e infine bolli su fistule acquarie di piombo. Inclusi sono anche una vasca in marmo, un peso da telaio ed un *oscillum.* In tutto sono registrate 165 iscrizioni, edite in modo esperto ed accompagnate da fotografie e spesso anche da disegni (le tavole sono a parte, pp. 133-49).

Nei bolli il lettore incontrerà gentilizi noti sia dall'onomastica senatoriale che da quella locale (per es. *P. Libuscid.* sull'anfora Instr. 29, o C. *Graec(idius) R.* sul dolio Instr. 42). Per una discussione delle implicazioni delle iscrizioni sull'*instrumentum* bisogna però rivolgersi alla sezione finale, "L'analisi dei dati". Qui si trovano trattamenti per es. di storia ("La tradizione letteraria" di M. Pani), e topografia ed istituzioni locali nell'area dei ritrovamenti epigrafici ("La geografia amministrativa" di Fr. Grelle; "Topografia dei rinventimenti" di V. Morizio; "Istituzioni locali" di M. Silvestrini). Nel capitolo sulle *gentes* di M. Silvestrini (preceduto da una rassegna onomastica e giuridico-sociale di M. Chelotti) si trova invece una discussione dell'eventuale interesse di certe famiglie locali nella produzione ed esportazione di merci. A questo bisogna aggiungere ancora un altro studio della Morizio, "Instrumentum. Note sulle produzioni locali e le merci di larga circolazione" alla fine del libro. L'autrice presenta tra l'altro una rassegna della diffusione delle lucerne (p. 309-312, segnalando i trovamenti a Canosa, Ordona, Lucera e Bari), e soprattutto un'imponente tabella contenente la "Diffusione delle sigillate italiche" (p. 324-366: a Canosa, Ordona, Lucera, Teanum Ap., Arpi, Spinazzola, Gargano e Bari).

I capitoli appena citati contengono materiale di grande interesse per la storia sociale e politica. Si tratta di una discussione che dimostra l'importanza del materiale epigrafico, di un tipo che si spera possa sempre emergere da studi su questo campo. Il volume contiene però anche materiale utile per gli archeologi ("Tipologia dei monumenti" di M. Chelotti) e per i paleografi (ancora Chelotti). Infine bisogna far menzione del "Repertorio degli autori" (Silvestrini), dove vengono presentati tutti gli studiosi che hanno contribuito alla conoscenza del materiale epigrafico locale; una rassegna di valore per la conoscenza degli studi classici e antiquari.

Concludendo con una quarantina di pagine di indici e la bibliografia, Canosa II rappresenta senz'altro un'impresa che fa onore agli studiosi di Bari.

Christer Bruun

Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores. Colligere coepit *Ioannes Baptista de Rossi*, compleverunt et ediderunt *Danilus Mazzoleni* et *Carolus Carletti*. Nova Series, Vol. X: Coemeteria Viae Salariae Veteris et Viae Flaminiae. In Civitate Vaticana, Pont. Institutum Archaeologiae Christianae, Roma 1992. 262 p., tab. XXXVII. ITL 300. 000.

Segnaliamo l'uscita del decimo e penultimo volume delle ICUR comprendente le iscrizioni dei cimiteri della via Salaria vetus (la maggior parte del materiale proviene dal coemeterium Pamphili e dal coemeterium Bassillae ad S. Hermetem) e del cimitero di S. Valentino sulla via Flaminia. L'edizione delle epigrafi di S. Ermete (nn. 26661-27269) è stata affidata a Carlo Carletti che si è occupato anche in precedenza dello studio di questo materiale. Per il resto il volume è stato curato da Danilo Mazzoleni, apparso già insieme con Antonio Ferrua come curatore del volume IX. La pubblicazione segue i principi editoriali stabiliti nei primi volumi della serie. Una peculiarietà è che in molti casi il testo è dato solo nella forma del disegno della lapide senza che nessuna trascrizione venisse offerta. Una novità benvenuta rispetto ai volumi VI-IX è invece l'aggiunta di fotografie di molte iscrizioni come appendice. Qui non risultano però chiari i criteri di selezione. La scarsità degli indici è una nota caratteristica della serie, ma non costituirà un problema in quanto è stata prevista la compilazione di indici più completi di tutto il *corpus*. Con il presente volume la raccolta del patrimonio epigrafico di Roma paleocristiana sta per completarsi; le ICUR (con i futuri supplementi) formeranno uno strumento definitivo e indispensabile per vari indirizzi di studio (epigrafia, topografia, storia del cristianesimo, storia sociale, tarda latinità ecc.).

Jaakko Aronen

Otto Mørkholm: Early Hellenistic Coinage, from the accession of Alexander to the peace of Apamea (336—188 B.C.). Edited by Philip Grierson and Ulla Westermark. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1991. XXII, 273 p. GBP 60.00.

Hellenistic history is full of cases where numismatics can contribute a great deal to our knowledge of the past. Take, for instance, such cases as Hellenistic Susa or the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kingdoms of the Farther East. Therefore, the lucid and comprehensive survey provided by the volume under review is of use beyond the narrow boundaries of its special field. Originally the work was planned to cover the whole history of Hellenistic coinage until 30 B.C., but the author was only able to complete the first part (up to the early second century B.C.) before his premature death in 1983. However, what we are offered is a full and conclusive treatment, with, according to the Foreword, only minor alterations from the editors. The reader is not troubled by the fact that the long introductory chapter was originally meant to be for the whole work. An Epilogue, written by Mørkholm and Grierson, gives a summary of later Hellenistic coinage. Appendices (by Grierson) give lists of rulers, a chronological table, a glossary and a classified bibliography. Westermark has selected the excellent plates which illustrate the text.

Klaus Karttunen

G. W. Bowersock: Hellenism in Late Antiquity. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1990. XII, 109 p. GBP 19.50.

The starting point of these six essays is the close connection between Hellenism and paganism. While the response of Christianity to paganism has often been studied, the author is interested in the response of paganism to Christianity, in the nature of late paganism, in its strong Semitic (but not Judaic or Christian) element, and in the extent and persistence of Hellenization in the Near East. From this viewpoint Bowersock presents us with studies of the relation between paganism and Greek culture, on the conception of holiness, with an excursion on some Christian elements in the Alexandrian cult of 'Αἰών (virgin birth, with Persephone as the pagan Mary), on Syrian Hellenism, and on the importance of Dionysus in late paganism. In addition he deals with the peculiarity of Egypt and its traditions, with an interesting reassessment of such notorious figures as Horapollon and Dioscorus of Aphroditopolis. The last essay is dedicated to the problem of Hellenism and Islam. Convincingly he argues that the extent of Hellenization even in the countryside has been much wider than has often been supposed. On the other hand, even to the invading Arabian Muslims Hellenism was not strange. Greek was then officially used by early Umayyads, who also favoured Greek art despite its iconic tendencies, and among Eastern Christians the use of Greek persisted at least until the late eighth century.

Klaus Karttunen

Rosalia Marino: La Sicilia dal 241 al 210 a.C. (= Testimonia Siciliae Antiqua I, 12). Supplementi a "Kókalos" 7. Giorgio Bretschneider, Roma 1988. 213 p. ITL 200.000.

Ecco un ulteriore volume dell'importante serie "Testimonia Siciliae Antiqua". Il trentennio di storia sicula non presenta fatti di rilievo se non limitatamente al periodo compreso tra la morte di Gerone II (215 a.C.) e la caduta di Siracusa (212/211 a.C.) e di altri centri che fino al 210 opposero una fiera ma vana resistenza alle armi romane. Anche se il silenzio delle fonti letterarie, imputabile allo scarso interesse che animò la storiografia antica nei confronti della storia dell'isola i cui avvenimenti non fossero collegabili in qualche modo con quelli di Roma, c'impedisce di ricostruire un quadro organico in cui siano individuabili le linee di uno sviluppo storico dei centri dell'isola, il presente volume è tutt'altro che privo di interesse, ed esso colma un'autentica lacuna. Non resta altro che augurare all'edizione delle fonti della Sicilia un rapido - magari più rapido - completamento.

Heikki Solin

A Greek City of the Fourth Century B.C. by the Gorítsa Team. Co-ordinator S.C. Bakhuizen. Bibliotheca Archaeologica 10. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1992, 327 p., LIV Plates, 2 Maps. ITL 350. 000.

This massive book has been produced by a group of 31 Dutch scholars and students with the help of two Greek archaeologists and one Greek geologist. It is the result of a thorough field survey which was done during the years 1970-1981 on the Gorítsa hill on the slopes of Mount Pilion near the city of Volos, Greece. The book belongs for the most part to the field of Urban Geography, and at first sight it appears to be a work of great interest. Unfortunately, this interest fades out quite quickly on opening the book. It consists of seven parts: I Introduction (23-49), II Quarrying and Geology (51-80), III The Fortifications (89-165), IV The Town (167-245), V Loose Finds, Non-Architectonal (247-263), VI Drainage and Water Supply (265-286), VII Extra Muros (287-309), VIII Conclusion (311-315). The results of the long-term survey are stated in the conclusions as follows: "the survey and description of the interior of the Gorítsa fortress demonstrated that Gorítsa was a city" (314), whereas the previous assumption considered the settlement only a military base (315). The name of this city still remains unknown.

One has to ask oneself whether the group needed 327 pages to report these results. This question could be thought unfair and without justification, since the group lists minutely every different aspect of the survey, but the basic problem lies just there, in the analysis of the material. The book has a great deal of detailed information, drawings, maps and so on, but to the reader it would have been much more helpful if the co-ordinator had decided what is important and what is not. As it stands the book is like a vast appendix, and the reader has to leaf desperately through it to find some pieces of general information and results.

As a whole, the study of the Gorítsa hill has been important, since after the survey we now know that the city was abandoned after one generation in c. 294 B.C. (314), and it was not yet fully-grown or completed. Only a few cities of this kind are known to us and consequently the Gorítsa hill provides a good way of following the planning of a city with all its details and defence systems.

Martti Leiwo

Veder greco - Le necropoli di Agrigento. Mostra internazionale, Agrigento, 2 maggio - 31 *luglio* 1988. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1988. XXIV, 397 p. ITL 150.000.

Nel 1988 fu organizzata la mostra internazionale "Veder greco" e, collegata ad essa, una settimana di studio "Agrigento e la Sicilia greca", nel contesto di iniziative culturali connesse con il progetto Akragas. Il ponderoso volume consiste di due parti, di brevi articoli introduttivi scritti da nomi come Lorenzo Braccesi e Paolo Enrico Arias (che assicurano all'opera un fermo rilievo scientifico), ed un lungo ed accurato catalogo, corredato da una ricca documentazione fotografica. Senza dubbio questo ben riuscito volume contribuisce ad arricchire le nostre conoscenze della città siceliota nell'età classica e anche a volgere l'attenzione del pubblico colto ai momenti salienti della storia siculo-greca.

Heikki Solin

La Statua marmorea di Mozia e la scultura di stile severo in Sicilia, Studi e materiali 8, Istituto di archeologia, Università di Palermo. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1988. 140 p., XLVIII Tab. ITL 250. 000.

Salvo i bronzi di Riace, il ritrovamento più sensazionale di scultura classica degli ultimi tempi é stato il c.d. Giovane di Mozia, rinvenuto sull'isola di Mozia negli scavi condotti dall'Università di Palermo. La statua è alta circa m. 1,8 e rappresenta una figura virile eretta vestita di una lunga tunica, χιτὼν ποδήρης ζωστός, che è a sua volta trattenuta sul petto da una larga banda orizzontale. Le braccia e i piedi mancano. La scultura doveva essere originariamente dipinta in alcune sue parti. L'opera è di eccellenti qualità stilistiche e tra i capolavori dell'arte greca in occidente.

Negli anni successivi al ritrovamento essa divenne oggetto di numerosi studi e saggi, in cui le sue interpretazioni variavano dalla rappresentazione di un auriga a quella di un magistrato locale ancora a quella di una statua di culto. Anche le datazioni variavano fra l'inizio dello stile severo e il secondo secolo a.C.

La presente opera, che contiene le conferenze e gli interventi del convegno effettuato nel 1986 a Marsala, è la prima a rilevare i dati stratigrafici ed a presentare i risultati complessivi del ritrovamento nel suo contesto archeologico. Sei degli otto contributi del convegno presentano, rispettivamente, le interpretazioni personali degli studiosi, mentre nei rimanenti due si spiegano le fasi del ritrovamento in relazione alla conquista di Mozia dal parte di Dionigi di Siracusa nel 397 a.C., ed i caratteri geochimici del materiale, che sembra originario dell'Anatolia. Le opinioni si divisero su molti aspetti; l'accordo si raggiunse, comunque, sulla cronologia (seconda metà del quinto secolo), l'ambiente per il quale era stata creata (un santuario pubénico) e l'oggetto (un auriga).

La presente opera segue attentamente il programma del convegno, dai saluti alle relazioni agli interventi e alla conclusione. L'illustrazione, in bianco e nero, è eccellente: comprende lo scavo stesso, la statua da vari punti di vista e materiale parallelo. Il dibattito continuerà, ma gli acta presentano un'ottima conclusione della storia contemporanea dell'auriga di Mozia.

Leena Pietilä - Castrén

Istituto Nazionale di Studi Etruschi e Italici, Secondo Congresso Internazionale Etrusco (Firenze 26 maggio - 2 giugno 1985) Atti I-III, Supplemento di Studi Etruschi. Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, Roma 1989. LI + 1683 p. ITL 1. 200. 000.

Florence was clearly the place to visit in late May 1985. On the banks of the Arno the Second International Congress of Etruscology convened, 57 years after the first one in 1928. Among some 1,300 participants listed on p. xvii-xxxii one finds an impressive number of great names in the study of the ancient world. Many of these famous scholars have (so far) made their contributions outside the field of etruscology. Their presence in Florence is as good a proof as any of the great general interest generated by Etruscan studies during the last few decades.

The great names of Etruscan studies were certainly present as well, as the 116 papers published in these volumes testify. They are included under nine headings: "Storiografia e metodologia", "Storia e archeologia", "Urbanistica e architettura", "Arti figurative", "Economia, produzione e scambi", "Religione", "Epigrafia e lingua", "Vita pubblica e privata", and "Naturalistica".

This is not the proper place for an exhaustive discussion of the content of the papers. May it suffice to say that the aspects offered by so many experts on so many questions of general or more restricted interest will cause Etruscologists to return to these volumes time and again. A few scattered remarks may be able to show their usefulness. Who would have thought that one of the most valuable treatments of ancient lead poisoning published in recent years could be found here? This is "Nuovi metodi e prospettive nella paleoantropologia di età storica" by G. Fornaciari & F. Mallegni (III, 1445-80). The paper's title conveys no real picture of its content. Among other things the authors discuss lead poisoning in ancient societies, basing themselves on recent research not only in Etruria, but also around Rome, and elsewhere in the Roman empire. Interesting parallels to lead content in bones from modern societies are also given.

Another interesting paper, like the previous contribution from the section "Naturalistica", is the last but one in vol. III and may run the risk of being overlooked. In "The Portonaccio materials from Veii: a scientific analysis" W.M. Gaugler and R.A. Anderson present results based on a scientific analysis of the clay from a fragmented statue from Veii. The statue quite likely belonged to the same group as the famous Apollo, which once stood on the roof of the Portonaccio temple.

When the fragments from the Portonaccio statue were tested for thermoluminiscence, this gave a firing date between 503 and 257 B.C. (The precise date of 503 B.C. gives the impression of being an exact figure, but of course may be an approximation, in which case the consequences are less interesting. For more data on the scientific analysis, though not on the dating, see Gaugler & Anderson, AJA 84, 1980, 92f.)

It is often argued that it was Rome's last king Tarquinius Superbus who commissioned the cult image for the new Roman temple of Jupiter Capitolinus from the Veijan artist Vulca. (There are however multiple problems of interpretation; see e.g. M. Pallottino, EAA VII, 1966, 1206f.; O.-W. von Vacano, ANRW I.4, 1973, 524-529; A. Andrén, RPAA 49, 1976/77, 65; M. Cristofani, Prospettiva 9, 1977, 2-7; G. Colonna, PP 36, 1981, 56-59). As we know from ancient Roman chronology, and as has been stressed rather emphatically by many modern non-revisionist scholars, Tarquinius was expelled from Rome in 510 B.C. In 509 B.C. the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was dedicated.

Another assumption sometimes encountered is that Vulca is identical with the "Maestro dell'Apollo" who made the statues for the Portonaccio temple. Scholars holding this view commonly assume that Vulca worked first at Veii, and that he was called to Rome only after having proven his skills in his native city. If this is true, it seems that the cult image of Jupiter could not have been made before 503 B.C. at the earliest. Nor could the last king of Rome have been expelled and the Republic introduced until some time after the canonic date of 510/09.

As alternative explanations one might suggest that the fragments analysed by Gaugler and Anderson come from a statue not belonging to the same context as the famous Apollo. Or, indeed, that on chronological grounds Vulca and the "Maestro dell'Apollo" must be different persons. Further investigations would be welcome.

The papers mentioned here are intended to show that interesting results are found even behind unassuming titles. The three volumes on the Second Etruscology Congress are indeed well worth consulting also for scholars outside the discipline.

Christer Bruun

Stoddart Simon and Spivey Nigel: Etruscan Italy. An Archaeological History. B. T. Batsford Ltd, London 1990. 163 p. GBP 29.95.

We have here a versatile guide to the archaeological history of Etruscan Italy in 1200-400 BC. The authors have, to use their own words, attempted to map out the patterns of human existence and written essentials of Etruscan life. The first two chapters give a clear picture of the physical environment as well as settlement. They cover nearly one third of the actual text, reflecting thus their importance in the work as a hole. The practicality of the book is also reflected in the division of the rest of the chapters: such themes as technology, trade, the process of cultural change, ritusl, warfare and social organization are stimulatingly discussed. The authors quite rightly did not want to include any explicit survey on art as we already have a number of good recent studies. Indeed, they have an enviably clear picture of the spheres of archaeology and art, citing Oscar Wilde's "where archaeology begins, art ceases". This is quite a supportable attitude if one is content to see art only as an object of aesthetic excursus. The idea and actual contents of the book is interesting and rewarding. It is aimed at the general reader, who can gain something more than the basic information about the Etruscans through this book, and who may afterwards wish to visit the sites and museums. At the end of the book some practical advice and a glossary - useful, but meagre - are provided.

Some aspects of the lay-out are not totally satisfactory. The captions presented in the text itself could have been included in the list of contents and the subtitles and other intermediary titles are easily confused. The list of illustrations is completely unnecessary, as the scarce information given there also accompanies the actual maps and photos.

In the end, if one wants to get to know Etruscan life in a wide sense, Spivey's and Stoddart's book can be warmly recommended for scholars as well as laymen. It replaces Massimo Pallatino's work on Etruscology, which was first published as early as 1942 and which has been reprintes, revised and enlarged ever since.

Leena Pietilä - Castrén

Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum. France, 1. Paris - Musee du Louvre, fascicule 1. Par *Denise Emmanuel-Rebuffat.* "L'Erma" di Breschneider, Roma 1988. 206 p. ITL 250. 000.

Procede egregiamente la pubblicazione del monumentale Corpus degli specchi etruschi. Il primo volume francese è dedicato alla più grande raccolta di questo genere di documenti che esista nei musei francesi. Esso comprende 40 specchi, tutti muniti di figure incise, mentre altri specchi nella raccolta del Louvre saranno pubblicati in due successivi fascicoli. Dalla breve "Storia della collezione" si apprende che la maggior parte della raccolta finì al Louvre nel 1862 dalla famosa collezione Campana che comprende, tra l'altro, una grande quantità di iscrizioni. Di soli due pezzi si conosce la esatta provenienza (n. 12 da Preneste e n. 35 da Pontedera). In tutto, questo primo fascicolo comprende pezzi di grande interesse, qualche volta accompagnati anche da iscrizioni, e così attendiamo con ansia la pubblicazione dei due restanti fascicoli.

Heikki Solin

Edlund - Berry Ingrid E.M.: The Seated and Standing Statue Akroteria from Poggio Civitate (Murlo). Archaeologica 96. Roma, Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 1990. p. 256, tav. 28. ITL 550. 000.

Anubody puzzling over Etruscan art and sculpture cannot have missed their very original-looking statues with sombreros. The first fragments of these statues were found at the site of Poggio Civitate (Murlo), south of Siena as early as 1966. In the course of over twenty excavation campaigns the material has increased and one of the veteran researchers of the site, Ingrid E.M. Edlund - Berry, has now published an energetic and most detailed study of the seated and standing statue akroteria.

These statues once made part of the architectural decoration of an archaic building, formed of a series of rooms lined up on sides of a courtyard (outside dimensions 61 X 61 m). It served partly as a residence, but principally as a sacred gathering place for neighbouring communities, such as Chiusi, Arezzo, Volterra, Rusellae and Vetulonia, or ones closer by. This kind of use recalls southern equivalents in Voltumna as well as on a smaller scale in Acquarossa. The building was used from ca 600 until 525 B.C. when it appears to have been purposefully destroyed and ritually torn down: the architectural terracottas and other objects were buried in pits, sealed with a stone packing. The *damnatio* *memoriae* was so efficient that even the original name of the site remains unknown. The Murlo-material consists of seated and standing life-size terracotta statues, which preserve part of the curved base serving as a ridgepole tile. As statues modelled in the round they have their closest, though chronologically somewhat later parallels, in the statues from Portonaccio temple at Veii and in the sculptural decoration from the Forum Boarium in Rome, the famous Hercules and Minerva.

The Murlo statues probably represent - according to the author - divine figures. They were modelled by hand, not moulded, and were fired at the site. Over two hundred fragments have been discovered, of which some twenty or more statues, male and female, have been reconstructed. The majority of the seated figures were bearded males on stools with their hands clenched and resting on their knees. The most prominent features of the statues were the helmets or large printed hats with curved rims.

The statues represent a local artistic style, at one time considered provincial from the southern Etruscan point of view, from the first quarter of the sixth century BC. The artists at Murlo did not lack contact with the outside world; there have been theories about links with southern Etruria, especially with Chiusi, northern links extending all the way to Central Europe, and naturally there were contacts with the eastern world. Edlund-Berry, however, stresses the style of the statues as being basically local Murlo-style, and somewhat primitive, yet at the same time fitting excellently into the tradition of Etruscan art, which is both eclectic and innovative.

The book consists of six main chapters, the first being a short excavation and publication history of the statues. Here the information could have mainly taken the form of a summary without doing any violence to an understanding of the problems developed in the later chapters. The second and by far the longest chapter is a detailed report of the statues with a full bibliography and a minute description of each fragment, though the technical information might have been more appropriately included in the appendices. The fragmentary state of the statues has enabled the author to study the peculiarities and manufacturing process of the statues exceptionally well. This has been of utmost importance for the chapter on technical questions as well as for the reconstruction. Thus the stylistic analyses are well established, and the function and symbolism of the statues is carefully placed in connection with other material available at the site. In the final chapter the author makes links with the Murlo statues and archaic monumental buildings throughout Etruria, supporting her conclusions with wide-ranging archaeological and literary evidence.

Ingrid Edlund-Berry has accomplished a profound study of the seated and dtanding akroteria at Murlo. The text is illustrated with black and white plates, though the only reconstruction photo of the tile roof and the akroteria is unfortunately poor and out of focus. Even a single coöour plate would have been welcome for those unable to travel to the Palazzo Comunale in Siena to study the statues in situ. Finally, on an ecological note, could not the future publications of the Archaeologica series be published on recycled paper - surely the paper of volume 96 is unnecessarily thick!

Leena Pietilä - Castrén

Guglielmo Gatti: Topografia ed edilizia di Roma antica (ristampa anastatica di tutti gli articoli pubblicati dal 1934-1979). Studi e materiali del Museo della Civiltà Romana 13. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1989. XII+406 p., ITL 400. 000.

For students of Roman topography and history it is a real pleasure to encounter the papers of Guglielmo Gatti (1905-1981) collected in one volume. Descending from a family of great names in the study of ancient Rome (his father was Edoardo Gatti, his grandfather Giuseppe Gatti, names that meet the eye repeatedly in the *Bullettino Comunale* and in other journals from the 1880s up to the 1920s), his own merits were not lesser. How many topographers, past or present, can show accomplishments comparable to those of Guglielmo Gatti: the removal of the *Forma Urbis* fragment purportedly showing the *Saepta Iulia* and the *Cohors I vigilum* from along Via del Corso and its correct location as part of the *Horrea Aemilia* in the Testaccio area (1934); the identification of the actual *Saepta Iulia* on fragments of the *Forma Urbis*, and subsequently the topographical location of the building (1937), and the location of the Crypta and *Theatrum Balbi* (1960; he dedicated several papers to this topic)?

As can be gathered from these mentions, the Severan Marble Plan of Rome was a longstanding interest of Gatti. In 1960 the fruit of many years' work appeared, when he with Carettoni, Colini and Cozza published the standard edition of the ancient *Forma Urbis Romae*. His contribution in that volume is not reprinted among the 23 different papers here included.

Among other questions to which Gatti devoted his energy is the Mausoleum of Augustus, of which he presented a reconstruction that still merits serious consideration. In the study of ancient monuments, Gatti rightly appreciated the importance of brick-stamps, which is shown by some papers. For instance, Gatti's study of the bricks found on the famous ships of Lake Nemi made possible their dating to the reign of Gaius. His contribution in Uccello's *Le navi di Nemi* (1940) is included here, containing also a presentation of the lead pipe stamps from the ships.

There can be no doubt that Gatti was an important scholar in his time and that he deserved to have his papers published, albeit posthumously. The question is of course, whether the papers have value besides their contribution to the history of Roman topography? The answer is a plain affermative. Admittedly the imminent issue of the new and much enlarged "Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome" will provide scholars with easy access to much of the scattered discoveries of this century. Still, encyclopaedical entries can never cover all the aspets of a subject, and there will always be a need for returning to the sources. This is so not least in the field of Roman topography. The great upsurge of studies in the recent decades has created such an overgrowth of hypothesis and theories, that there is a risk of loosing sight of the basic facts.

It is therefore most welcome to have the possibility of returning to Gatti's meticulous studies. They might well contribute to the debunking of current orthodoxies in the way Gatti himself did it. The correct identification of the *Horrea Aemiliana* in the fragments of the Marble Plan seemed so obvious that he could not believe nobody had spotted it before: "Se un Maestro di topografia romana quale fu Rodolfo Lanciani si era accorto che le due planimetrie erano "simili" ma non aveva detto che erano la stessa cosa, evidentemente doveva esserci un valido motivo; e invece ... non c'era!" ("Io e la Forma Urbis. Confidenze autobiografiche" on p. 5).

The writings of Gatti contain more interesting observations and results then can possibly be mentioned here; the present writer found much of which he had so far been unaware. To mention just one case of general interest: Reference is often made to the *insula*-blocks discovered along Via del Corso (below present-day Galleria Colonna) - a rather unique feature in Roman archaeology and topography - but rarely does one come across anybody who can provide some real information on the subject. In fact it all goes back to Gatti's "Caratteristiche edilizie di un quartiere di Roma del II secolo d. Cr.", published in the not so accessible Quaderni dell'Ist. di Storia dell'Architettura of 1961, here on p. 283-300. The X Ripartizione del Comune di Roma has done Roman topography a real service by publishing this book (with forwords by Lucos Cozza and Gianlorenzo Gatti).

Christer Bruun

Kjeld De Fine Licht (mit Beiträgen von John Lund und Jørgen Hansen): Untersuchungen zu den Trajansthermen zu Rom 2. Analecta Romana Instituti Danici, Suppl. 19. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1990. 125 p. ITL 75. 000.

Some 15 years after De Fine Licht's first work on the Baths of Trajan the sequel now follows. Excavations carried out in 1981-83 on and near the great cistern, commonly called Sette Sale, are the main reason for its publication. Some excavation results, which are not repeated here but are occasionally referred to, were published in AnalDan Suppl. 10 (1983) 186-202.

The first part of the book is concerned with previous studies, and also reviews the information contained in old drawings, paintings or photographs of the ruins. Almost thirty pictures, sometimes in colour, of ancient works of art enlive the discussion. They sometimes reproduce parts of the structures that have since perished (23).

The two main chapters are devoted to a description of the Sette Sale complex and to a presentation of the 1981-83 excavation results. A following briefer section is concerned with the dating of the complex. Brick-stamps indicate a Trajanic date. The author convincingly refutes (103 n. 44) the suggestion by J.C. Anderson, AJA 89 (1985) 409-509 that the construction begun under Domitian. The proof that the cistern is Trajanic, and that it was indeed part of the Imperial Baths, is however provided by a lead pipe stamp: THER[-] TRAIAN. The lead pipe itself has long since disappeared, but an impression of the stamp is preserved in the mortar of a wall (94f.).

This work is generally of a high standard. The description of the cistern is detailed and illustrated with several drawings. The author touches upon many questions of more general interest, such as the existence of constructions on top of the cistern (p. 45; for storage or administrative purposes, or staff housing?), and the water supply of the cistern, which had a capacity of 7,000 cubic m (45ff.). So far, chemical investigations of the archeological remains have not been able to provide any certainty regarding which aqueducts brought water to the cistern (but the Aqua Traiana must have been one).

The chapter presenting the actual excavation (49-90) adheres to the same high standards. A wealth of information is presented, but the author laments the restricted size of the excavated area, on the west side of the cistern. While the reader catches many tantalizing glimpses regarding e.g. the waterflow in and around the cistern, or concerning the large building ("Westgebäude") between the cistern and the Baths, not much in the line of conclusions is presented. It was apparently felt that more excavation work is called for, before a synthesis can be presented. The present volume will constitute a good foundation for such a work.

The volume is rounded off with two separate papers. The first is a brief analyzis by John Lund of the terracotta lamps found during the excavations. The second paper is "Wasserleitungen aus Bleirohren" by Jørgen Hansen, who is well-known in this field for his work on the lead pipes from Vienne (Isère) in France. Following some general comments on the administration of Rome's aqueduct and the role played by the *curator aquarum* Sex. Iulius Frontinus (who acceded to his post in A.D. 97, not 96, and, contrary to Hansen's surmise, hardly left his post during the consulships he held in both A.D. 98 and 100), Hansen goes on to present a detailed analyzis of the large stamped water pipes found in the Baths in the 1930s (BCAR 1938, 244f. = AE 1940, 40). This presentation, based on careful personal inspection, is now the best there is, especially regarding the numerals on the fistulae (more complete than in the reviewer's *The Water Supply of Ancient Rome*, Helsinki 1991, 45f.). All remaining pieces of leadpipe carry the stamp *Therm(is) Traian(i)*. Hansen is right in stressing that it is beyond doubt that Trajan's Aqua Traiana carried water over the Tiber from the Trastevere side. One major reason must have been to supply the new baths with water. The presumed find spot of these pipes, in the southwestern part of the baths, does however in Hansen's opinion not conclusively prove that the conduit was in fact directed to the Sette Sale cistern. On the other hand, Hansen does not consider the implications of the stamp *Ther*[-] *Traian.*, found in the cistern itself and presented by De Fine Licht earlier in the book (94). Hansen's chapter would have been more useful still if all *fistula*-stamps from the Baths and the cistern had received the same careful treatment.

Christer Bruun

Donatella Mureddu - Donatella Salvi - Grete Stefani, Sancti innumerabiles. Scavi nella Cagliari del Seicento: testimonianze e verifiche. Editrice S'Alvure, Oristano 1988. 193 pp. ITL 60. 000.

Il 7 novembre 1614 ebbero inizio i lavori di scavo voluti dall'arcivescovo D'Esquivel all'interno della basilica di S. Saturnino a Cagliari, per ricercare, sulla scia dei ritrovamenti di Porto Torres, corpi di santi e martiri. Il presente volume è dedicato allo studio di questi ritrovamenti, ed ha preso il suo nome dalla scoperta di un frammento epigrafico marmoreo le cui poche lettere residuo furono lette come abbreviazione di *Sancti innumerabiles* ed interpretate con entusiasmo quale prova e incentivo ad ulteriori ricerche.

Questo complesso di ritrovamenti riveste grande interesse scientifico, perché nel corso dei secoli le notizie tramandate da scavatori e studiosi del Seicento sono state ripetutamente dichiarate sospette o addirittura falsificazioni. Basti pensare che il Mommsen, nella sua edizione del CIL X, relegò le iscrizioni provenienti dagli scavi seicenteschi come false. Lo scopo del presente volume è di dimostrare la veridicità di queste fonti paleocristiane, e infatti le autrici l'hanno fatto con grande successo. Personalemente posso permettermi un giudizio sicuro su epigrafi, e devo dire, per quanto successore del grande Mommsen quale editore del nuovo CIL X, che egli in questo caso è stato, fin dal principio, troppo severo, danneggiando così la scienza epigrafica in modo notevole, in quanto l'ha privata di una fonte di primaria importanza. Le iscrioni di S. Saturnino sono in gran parte autentiche, questo è stato dimostrato dal nuovo ottimo studio che le autrici hanno condotto. Congratuliamoci con loro.

Heikki Solin

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INDEX

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