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Die *Historia Augusta*, die Proskriptionen des Severus und die *curatores operum publicorum**

CHRISTER BRUUN

Die bekannte Proskriptionsliste in HA, v. Sev. 13,1–9, die 42 Namen von Senatoren, die angeblich im J. 197 von Severus hingerichtet wurden, nennt, ist mehrmals von Géza Alföldy ausführlich erörtert worden. Zehn der Namen können mit Sicherheit als Erfindungen betrachtet werden, aber Alföldy hat gezeigt, daß es sich in rund 30 Fällen um bekannte Senatoren oder zumindest um Personen handelt, die wahrscheinlich wirklich existierten.¹

Im folgenden sollen einige Gedanken über Identifizierungen geäußert werden, die den Ansichten von Alföldy und anderen Forschern entgegenlaufen. Damit ist aber natürlich nicht beabsichtigt, die allgemeinen Schlüsse anzugreifen, die das Verhältnis zwischen Septimius Severus und den Senatoren betreffen: Severus war kein "Erzfeind" des Senats, sondern stützte sich auch auf einen Teil der Senatoren, genauso wie seine Gegner es taten. Die neuere Forschung hat gewiß keine Gründe gegeben, diesen Schluß zu ändern, wie Alföldy in einem ausführlichen Nachtrag

* Für freundliche Hinweise möchte ich Herrn Prof. Géza Alföldy bestens danken.

¹ G. Alföldy, Septimius Severus und der Senat, BJ 168 (1968) 112-60; ders., Eine Proskriptionsliste in der *Historia Augusta*, Bonner HA-Colloquium 1968/69, Bonn 1970, 1-11 jetzt in ders., *Die Krise des Römischen Reiches* (HABES 5), Stuttgart 1989, 164-74 mit Nachträgen 174-78.

zu seinen früheren Forschungsergebnissen zeigt.² Es wird hier jedoch nicht nur beabsichtigt, Einzelheiten zu berühren, sondern es sollen auch einige Gedanken über die stadtrömischen *curae*, von vielleicht weiterem Interesse, angeführt werden.

1. Sellius Clodianus und Asellius Claudianus

Ein gewisser "Asellius Claudianus" erscheint in HA, v. Sev. 13,1, wo die nach dem Sieg von Septimius Severus im J. 197 umgebrachten Senatoren aufgezählt werden. Ursprünglich wurde er als Sohn des bekannten Parteigängers von Pescennius Niger, Asellius Aemilianus (*cos. suff.* um 179), angesehen.³ Eine neugefundene Inschrift aus Rom (AE 1974, 11), die einen Sellius Clodianus am Anfang des Jahres 193⁴ als [*curator*] *operum locor[umq. publicorum]* nennt, hat aber jetzt zur Hypothese geführt, daß in der HA-Stelle dieser (A.) Sellius Clodianus gemeint sei. Dieser ursprünglich von G. Molisani vorgebrachte Vorschlag wurde von sowohl P. Leunissen als auch von Alföldy übernommen.⁵ Nach der Argumentation von Molisani muß angenommen werden, daß der *curator oper. publ.* Sellius Clodianus im Sommer 193 hingerichtet wurde, weil wir später im selben Jahr die zwei Senatoren Seius Superstes und Fabius Magnus als (dem Anschein nach) *curatores operum publicorum* finden, von denen der erstgenannte der ehemalige Kollege von Sellius ist (CIL VI 1585b = D 5920).

² Siehe Alföldy, Die Krise, 174-76. Auf den Seiten 176f. geht hervor, daß sich die Untersuchungen Alföldys über die Proskribierten auch in den Einzelheiten nur in wenigen Fällen berichtigungsbedürftig erwiesen haben.

³ PIR A² 1211; RE II (1896) 1531.

⁴ Konsuldatierung nach den *ordinarii*, *Falcone et [Claro]*. Aus Cass.Dio 74,17,3 ist im Mai/Juni des selben Jahres Silius Messalla als Konsul bekannt, vgl. A. Degrassi, *I fasti consolari* (1952), 53.

⁵ G. Molisani, ZPE 13 (1974) 8ff. Alföldy, Die Krise, 177. Er verweist dabei auf eine mündliche Mitteilung von P. Leunissen (jetzt in P. Leunissen, *Konsuln und Konsulare in der Zeit von Commodus bis Severus Alexander*, Amsterdam 1989, 313f. und 400-402). Von der Identifizierung nicht ganz überzeugt W. Eck, RE S XIV (1974) 657f.

Aus verschiedenen Gründen ist dieser Schluß bedenklich. Will man die These einer Hinrichtung auf die Liste in v. Sev. 8 stützen, stößt man auf Probleme. Erstens geht es um die Chronologie. Die HA behauptet, daß die 42 Opfer des Severus alle nach dem Sieg über Clodius Albinus hingerichtet wurden, also wohl im J. 197.⁶ Alföldy hat dafürgehalten, daß in drei Fällen falsche Datierungen vorliegen; Ceionius Albinus und Valerius Catullinus seien schon im J. 193; Cingius Severus aber erst nach 197 getötet worden.⁷ Von diesen Personen muß jedoch "Ceionius Albinus" als fiktiv betrachtet werden.⁸ Valerius Catullinus wurde von Didius Julianus nach Pannonien gesandt, um Severus dort als Statthalter abzulösen; sein Schicksal war wohl damit besiegelt. Er ist damit das einzige Zeugnis dafür, daß am Anfang der Regierung hingerichtete Senatoren unter dem Jahr 197 angeführt wurden.

Die HA erzählt anderorts (v. Sev. 8,16), daß auch (Asellius) Aemilianus im J. 193, nach dem Sieg über Pescennius Niger, hingerichtet wurde. Aber damit kann man höchstens die Hypothese begründen, daß ein Senator Namens Asellius Claudianus auch zur selben Zeit getötet worden sein kann. Die Person in der stadtrömischen Inschrift, Sellius Clodianus, kann mit diesen Ereignissen jedoch nicht in Zusammenhang gebracht werden.

Von Bedeutung ist die Frage, ob es wahrscheinlich ist, daß die HA aus Sellius Clodianus einen "Asellius Claudianus" gemacht haben kann. Wie vor einiger Zeit T.D. Barnes bemerkt hat, gibt es drei mögliche Erklärungen für korrupte Namen in der HA: 1. Die ursprünglich richtige Namensform der HA wurde in den Handschriften verdorben; 2. Der Verfasser der HA kannte den richtigen Namen, hat ihn aber selber geändert; 3. Die HA hat den Namen in einer Vorlage schon verdorben vorgefunden.⁹

⁶ T.D. Barnes, *The Sources of the Historia Augusta* (Coll. Latomus 155), Bruxelles 1978, 87 hält, daß die Schlacht von Lugdunum schon im J. 196 stattfand. Aber Alföldy, *Die Krise*, 162. 175 sieht keinen Grund, die traditionelle Datierung des Sieges von Severus aufzugeben. So auch A.R. Birley, *Septimius Severus the African Emperor* (2. ed.), 1988, 121-28.

⁷ Alföldy, *Die Krise*, 177.

⁸ So jetzt Alföldy, *Die Krise*, 176f. der Meinung von R. Syme, *Historia Augusta Papers*, Oxford 1983, 117. 121 (und anderswo) beistimmend.

⁹ Barnes 33-37 mit Beispielen.

In unserem Fall will man "Asellius" offenbar als A. Sellius auffassen, den Fehler also auf die Manuskripttradition zurückführen.¹⁰ Es kommt natürlich oft vor, daß Vornamenabkürzungen und Gentilizien in Handschriften (wegen der *scriptura continua*) fälschlich zusammengezogen wurden.¹¹ Wurden aber die Senatoren in der Proskriptionsliste in der HA überhaupt mit Vornamen genannt? In der handschriftlichen Überlieferung kommen höchstens ein paar Fälle vor, nämlich erstens ein "L. Stilo", der aber seit langem als Korruptel für "Iulius Solon" angesehen wird.¹² Zweitens findet sich ein "Marcus Asellio" in v. Sev. 13,7; ein gefälschter Name,¹³ von dem man annehmen möchte, daß mit "Marcus" ursprünglich "Marcius" gemeint war.¹⁴ Dies bedeutet, daß wir keinen Grund haben anzunehmen, daß die Senatoren in der Proskriptionsliste jemals mit den *tria nomina* genannt wurden. Dies spiegelt die allgemeine Praxis der HA wider, denn eine Kontrolle (die jedoch nicht vollständig ist) zeigt, daß der Verfasser eigentlich nie die Pränomina gebraucht.¹⁵

Aus einem "Asellius" läßt sich also nicht, mit Hinweis auf eine handschriftliche Korruption, ein "A. Sellius" machen. Wir müssen mit zwei verschiedenen

¹⁰ In diesem Zusammenhang ist das Cognomen von geringerer Bedeutung. Besonders wenn die HA eine griechische Vorlage benutzt hat, kann aus "Clodianus" ein "Claudianus" gemacht worden sein.

¹¹ Einige Beispiele für Mißverständnisse, die der antike Gebrauch von Vornamensabkürzungen in der Überlieferung verursacht hat, finden sich bei F. Kolb, Untersuchungen zur Historia Augusta (Antiquitas 4.20), Bonn 1987, 135-37. Die aus der HA entnommenen Beispiele zeigen, daß was man als Pränomen auffaßte, normalerweise weggelassen wurde. Ein weiterer epigraphischer Fall ist von F. Eckhardt, ZPE 27 (1977) 210 präsentiert worden. Zufälligerweise handelt es sich auch um einen *curator aed. sacr. et oper. publ.*, dessen Name in CIL VI 857 als "Caelius [-]illianus Maximus" gedeutet wurde. Andere epigraphische Funde haben jetzt gezeigt, daß es sich um einen "C. Aelius" handelt.

¹² Alföldy, Die Krise, 177 (wo die Zustimmung von A. Birley registriert wird; s. jetzt Birley, Septimius Severus², 128 A. 20).

¹³ Alföldy, BHAC 1968/69, 3. Hierzu schreibt Alföldy, Die Krise, 166 m.E. ganz richtig: "Die Fälschung wurde wohl durch den Namen der Asellii ... angeregt". Als Vorbild muß man Asellius Claudianus ansehen, nicht den in v. Sev. 8,15-16 genannten (Asellius) Aemilianus, denn dieser kommt nur als "Aemilianus" vor.

¹⁴ Schon von O. Hirschfeld vorgeschlagen, verzeichnet von Hohl im apparatus criticus der Teubner-Ausgabe.

¹⁵ Auch Eck, RE S XIV (1974) 658 fragt, warum Asellius Claudianus als einziger mit Pränomen genannt sein sollte.

historischen Personen, Sellius Clodianus und Asellius Claudianus, rechnen, falls "Asellius" nicht eine Fälschung der HA ist.¹⁶

Will man annehmen, daß Asellius Claudianus und Sellius Clodianus die gleiche Person sind, muß man entweder von einer absichtlichen Änderung des Verfassers der HA ausgehen oder von einem Fehler in den Quellen der HA. Die vielen unsicheren Faktoren machen eine eingehende Diskussion unzweckmäßig;¹⁷ jedenfalls hat man bisher nur wenige Fälle nachweisen können, wo der Verfasser in der Proskriptionsliste eine Änderung eines Namens vorgenommen hätte (wogegen, wie gesagt, mehrere Namen gänzlich erfunden sind).¹⁸ Falls die Phantasie des HA-Verfassers hier mit eine Rolle gespielt hat, ist es natürlich möglich, daß der Name Sellius Clodianus als Vorbild gestanden hat. Aber auch dann hat, streng genommen, die HA-Stelle nichts für unsere Kenntnis über das wirkliche Schicksal des Sellius zu bedeuten. Es gibt keinen Grund mehr anzunehmen, daß er überhaupt hingerichtet wurde.

2. Die *curatores operum publicorum* in Rom: Anzahl und Amtsdauer

Wie oben erwähnt, hat man aber noch ein anderes Argument für die Hinrichtung von Sellius Clodianus herangezogen, das sogar bedeuten soll, das dieses Ereignis im J. 193 geschah. Wir kommen hier zur Frage nach den *curatores aedium sacrarum et operum locorumque publicorum* im 2. Jh.

¹⁶ Die Ähnlichkeit der Namen sollte uns nicht befremden. Das Buch von Alföldy ist dem 85. Geburtstag des neulich verschiedenem Sir Ronald Syme gewidmet, dessen Zitat "The nomenclature of Italy is startling, fantastic and myriad in its manifestation" (JRS 1949, 6) man hier anführen kann.

¹⁷ Die Quelle die der Verfasser der HA für die echten Namen der Proskriptionsliste benutzt hat, dürfte von guter Qualität gewesen sein; Alföldy, Die Krise, 178f. denkt an Cassius Dio, während für "Ignotus, the good biographer" oder Marius Maximus von anderen Forschern argumentiert wurde.

¹⁸ Alföldy, Die Krise, 166f. verzeichnete von den 42 Namen der Proskribierten ursprünglich fünf als hierher gehörend, die nämlich als "so gut wie sicher als echt zu betrachten sind, da sie sich als verdorbene oder ungenau wiedergegebene Namen bekannter historischer Persönlichkeiten erwiesen". Aber von diesen ist "Ceionius Albinus", wie oben genannt, doch unhistorisch. Bei den vier weiteren handelt es sich in einem Fall um eine handschriftliche Korruption ("L. Stilo" für "Iulius Solon"), in einem Fall ist der Name richtig wiedergegeben

In der zweiten Hälfte des Jahres 193 hatten Seius Superstes und Fabius Magnus eine Position inne, die es sehr wahrscheinlich macht, daß sie *cur. operum publicorum* waren (CIL VI 1585b = D 5920). Anscheinend hat also der Kollege Se[-] von Sellius Clodianus in AE 1974, 11 sein Amt weiter innegehabt, während von Sellius keine Spur mehr zu finden ist. Dies wird mit der Theorie der Hinrichtung erklärt.¹⁹ Aber ein solcher Schluß ist keineswegs zwingend, eher unwahrscheinlich.

Hier wird nämlich von spezifischen Regeln für die *cura operum publicorum* ausgegangen, über die wir aber nichts Genaues wissen.²⁰ Erstens wird angenommen, daß zwei Kuratoren regelmäßig zusammen ernannt wurden und paarweise amtierten. Wahrhaftig kommen in den *adsignatio*-Inscriptionen, aus welchen wir über die Hälfte aller Kuratoren kennen, überwiegend zwei Namen vor. Es gibt aber auch zahlreiche Fälle, wo Kuratoren allein auftreten.²¹ Ganz besonders muß betont werden, daß wir keine Beweise dafür haben, daß die Amtsperioden für zwei Kollegen immer gleich lang waren.²² Unter den *adsignatio*-Inscriptionen gibt es

(Iulius Rufus), und so auch falls "Claudius Sulpicianus" derselbe ist wie Flavius (Claudius) Sulpicianus, *praef. urbi* 193. Nur bei "C(a)erellius Macrinus" (v. Sev. 13,6), womit Caerellius Marcianus gemeint sein soll, haben wir es mit einem Fall zu tun, wo der Verfasser möglicherweise den Namen selber verdorben hat. Es ist natürlich möglich, daß mehrere ähnliche Fälle sich unter den 22 Namen verbergen, die Alföldy aus prosopographischen und onomastischen Gründen als echt ansieht, ohne daß die Personen aus anderen Quellen bekannt wären.

¹⁹ Siehe A. 5 oben.

²⁰ Die bekannten *curatores aedium sacrarum et operum locorumque publicorum* wurden ausführlich mit Quellen präsentiert von A.E. Gordon, Univ. of Calif. Publ. in Class. Arch. 2:5 (1952) 283-304. Seitdem sind die folgenden Inscriptionen hinzugekommen: AE 1955, 123; AE 1957, 161; AE 1961, 302; AE 1966, 18 (ein unbestimmter stadtrömischer Kurator); AE 1968, 25; AE 1968, 145; AE 1971, 28; AE 1973, 36; AE 1973, 72 (s. jetzt G. Molisani, *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio I*, Roma 1982, 496f.); AE 1974, 11. Die Kuratoren für die Zeit 138-180 sind bei G. Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen*, Bonn 1977, 289f. verzeichnet, für die Zeit 180-235 bei Leunissen 313-15.

²¹ CIL VI 814: ... *in loco qui designatus erat per Flavium Sabinum, operum publicorum curatore* (sic) von ca. 80 n.Chr.; AE 1917/18, 111: [-]us C.f. Pap. Sabinus [*curat*]or operum publicorum [*d.*] d. von ca. 152 n. Chr.; CIL VI 857 mit C. Aelius [.jillianus Maximus aus dem J. 159; CIL VI 360 = D 366: *permissu Maeci Rufi curat. aedium* aus dem J. 166; AE 1971, 28: *iusso (!) Caecilio (!) Servilliano c(ur.) o(per.) <p>(ubl.)* vom J. 196; CIL VI 1352: *per T. Arrio Bassiano, c. v. cur. oper. publicorum* im J. 199.

²² Man könnte sogar eher vermuten, daß die Kuratoren oft nicht gleich lang im Amt waren, denn einiges spricht dafür, daß die *cura aedium sacrarum et operum locorumque publicorum* manchmal geteilt war, so daß ein Kurator für die *aedes sacrae* verantwortlich war, ein anderer

keinen einzigen Fall, wo dieselben Kollegen nochmals vorkämen.²³ Sellius Clodianus kann also sehr wohl sein Amt aus natürlichen Gründen früher als Seius Superstes verlassen haben.

Die Frage, ob zwei Kollegen gleich lang im Amt waren, hängt natürlich damit zusammen, was man allgemein über die Amtsperioden der *curatores aed. sacr. et oper. publ.* sagen kann. Hierüber gibt es keine eindeutigen Quellen. Gordon verwies auf frühere Forscher, die (auf sehr schwachen Gründen) eine Amtsperiode von drei Jahren angenommen hatten, während er selber schrieb: "The duration of the curatorship is impossible to define".²⁴ Alföldy schlägt (für die antoninische Zeit) ein Jahr vor,²⁵ aber Syme denkt eher an zwei Jahre.²⁶

In diesem Zusammenhang ist es interessant, die zeitweilige Anhäufung von Kuratoren zu beachten, so in den Jahren 150-152 (4 Kuratoren),²⁷ 159-161 (4 Kuratoren)²⁸ und auch in den Jahren 166-168 (3 Kuratoren).²⁹ Die Situation für die Jahre 192-193 ist noch mehr verworren. Im März 192 waren Suellius Marcianus und ein *Ignotus* zusammen *curatores aed. sacr. et oper. locor[q. publ.]* (CIL VI

aber für die *opera publica*. Diese Frage wird von Gordon 281f. erörtert. Kurz auch G. Molisani, RAL 26 (1971) 808.

²³ Wie man aus Gordon 283ff. und den späteren Inschriften (A. 20 oben) sieht, gibt es drei Kuratoren, die in zwei verschiedenen *adsignatio*-Inschriften auftreten. Leider ist aber in diesen Fällen der Name ihres Kollegen nicht in der zweiten Inschrift erhalten: aus hadrianischer Zeit Ti. Iulius Iulianus und M. Ma[-] in AE 1973, 36 und Iulius Iulianus in CIL VI 31718, nach einem Vorschlag von H. Halfmann, Arch. Vestn. 28 (1977) 153-62; Salvius Iulianus und Popilius Pedito in CIL VI 855 aus dem J. 150, Salvius Iulianus et [-] in AE 1968, 25; [Catus S]abinus und Aelius Romanus in CIL VI 864 aus dem J. 210, [-] und Catus Sabinus in CIL VI 31128 aus demselben Jahr.

²⁴ Gordon 281.

²⁵ Alföldy, Konsulat u. Senatorenstand, 26.

²⁶ R. Syme, ZPE 56 (1984) 183 = Roman Papers IV, 407f.; Athenaeum 62 (1984) 57 = Roman Papers IV, 321 und anderswo.

²⁷ Gordon 289f. Nr. 25-27. Besonders AE 1917/18, 111 ist interessant, weil auf demselben Stein drei Kuratoren vorkommen. Auf der Vorderseite verrichten zwei Kuratoren eine *Adsignatio*, links ist die Datierung in das J. 152, und rechts ist die Inschrift, wo ein dritter Kurator [*d(onum)*] *d(edit)* oder Ähnliches tut. (Hierzu G. Lugli in NSA 1916 und bes. Maria Marchetti in BCAR 1916, 39ff. und 234)

²⁸ Gordon 290f. Nr. 29-31.

²⁹ Gordon 291 Nr. 32-34.

3702 = 30967).³⁰ Anfang 193 finden wir aber Sellius Clodianus und Se[-], und dann am Ende desselben Jahres Seius Superstes und Fabius Magnus. Außerdem müssen wir mit M. Valerius Bradua Mauricus rechnen, der im J. 191 *cos. ord.* war und dessen *cursus*-Inschrift CIL V 7783 = D 1128 das Amt *cur. operum publicorum* nennt. Dieses Amt wurde neulich von Leunissen ins Jahr 191, also unmittelbar nach dem Konsulat, angesetzt. Diese Datierung, die ein oder einige Jahre früher ist als bei anderen Forschern, beruht darauf, daß es nach Leunissen in den Jahren 192-194 keinen Platz für einen weiteren Kurator mehr gibt.³¹ Streng genommen handelt es sich um einen aprioristischen Schluß, der davon ausgeht, daß es bei den Kuratoren für *aedes sacrae* und *opera publica* strikte Regeln gab, die in diesem Fall die Anzahl der Kuratoren betrafen.

Es muß eingeräumt werden: Was wir allgemein über den senatorischen *cursus honorum* seit etwa Hadrian bis zum Ende des zweiten Jhs. wissen, könnte auf strikte Regeln deuten, denn während dieser Zeit hat die senatorische Laufbahn ihre größte Institutionalisierung erlebt.³² Aber man hat die stadtrömischen *curae* schon immer als einigermaßen abweichend angesehen, u. a. weil ihr Platz in vielen *cursus honorum*-Inschriften Unregelmäßigkeiten aufweist.³³ Des weiteren gab es im 2. Jh. auch Aufträge, von denen wir wissen, daß sie eine unbestimmte Zeit dauern konnten und auch nicht regelmäßig vergeben wurden, nämlich die Ämter der *curatores rei publicae* und vielleicht auch der *praefecti alimentorum* in Italien.³⁴ für das Funktionieren des Staates war es nicht unbedingt notwendig, solche Posten immer besetzt zu halten (obwohl man wohl kaum von Sinekuren reden kann),

³⁰ Neulich über Suellius Marcianus s. G. Camodeca, *Epigrafia e Ordine Senatorio I* (Tituli 4), Roma 1982, 536-39.

³¹ Leunissen 313.

³² Alföldy, *Konsulat u. Senatorenstand*, bes. 125-133; ders., *Die Laufbahn der Konsuln und die Erbllichkeit des Konsulates unter den Antoninen*, *Die römische Gesellschaft* (HABES 1), Stuttgart 1986, 139-61 für die Zeit von Pius bis Marcus. Für das Ende des 2. Jhs. s. Leunissen, *passim*.

³³ So z.B. M. Torelli, *JRS* 58 (1968) 173 (betreffend AE 1968, 145). Der Schluß steht fest auch nach der verbesserten Lesung der Inschrift von M. Heil, *Chiron* 19 (1989), bes. 170. Siehe auch Syme, *ZPE* 56 (1984) 183 = *RP IV*, 407f. und AE 1924, 74.

³⁴ Wie es von W. Eck, *Die staatliche Organisation Italiens in der hohen Kaiserzeit*, München 1979 gezeigt worden ist. Die Unregelmäßigkeit kommt auch so zutage, daß die Amtsbezirke der Beauftragten von Fall zu Fall verändert wurden.

wogegen das Ausbleiben der Ernennung eines Prätors, *legatus legionis*, Prokonsuls usw. sofort negative Konsequenzen für die staatliche Herrschaft gehabt hätte.

Ihrer Natur nach könnte man die stadtrömischen Kuratelen mit den oben genannten Ämtern vergleichen. Die wohlbekannte These, daß es sich in Wirklichkeit um "paid leave" handelte, also um eine Art Sinekure, die einem Senator erlaubte, für einige Zeit in Rom in relativer Müßigkeit zu verweilen, geht auf E. Birley zurück und wurde besonders oft von R. Syme verfochten.³⁵ Die stadtrömischen Kuratoren, zu denen auch der *curator aquarum* und der *curator alvei Tiberis et cloacarum* gehörten, standen zwar (formell) an der Spitze lebenswichtiger Ressorts, aber man muß jedoch annehmen, daß es in der Administration kaiserliche Freigelassene und Sklaven gab, die für die Kontinuität sorgten.³⁶

Diese Betrachtungen über die Natur der *cura oper. publ.* haben auch für die Anzahl der Kuratoren Konsequenzen. Wenn man ohne vorgefaßte Meinung die Liste der *curatores oper. publ.* betrachtet, würde eigentlich der Schluß naheliegen, daß ihre Anzahl veränderlich war. Manchmal scheint nur ein einziger im Amt gewesen zu sein, während man besonders in den Jahren 192-94 zeitweise mit mehr als zwei Kuratoren rechnen sollte. Außerdem darf man nicht vergessen, daß wir nur eine Minderheit der Kuratoren kennen.

Die These, daß es gleichzeitig mehr als zwei *curatores aed. sacr. et oper. publ.* gab, ist zwar m.W. niemals vorgebracht worden, aber nichts scheint dagegen zu sprechen. Die Aufgaben der Kuratoren, in dem Maße wie sie erfaßbar sind, bestanden in der *adsignatio* von öffentlichem Boden in Rom zu verschiedenen Zwecken. Dieses taten die Kuratoren allein oder zu zweit. Nichts hindert uns daran anzunehmen, daß man jeweils unter mehreren Kuratoren hat wählen können. Ein solches System wäre sehr wohl mit dem Charakter eines "paid leave"-Auftrag zu vereinbaren. Aber auch wenn die *cura operum publicorum* doch anspruchsvollere Aufgaben umfaßte, könnte es wohl möglich sein, daß man nicht immer dieselbe Anzahl Senatoren ernannte. Ohne näher darauf einzugehen, kann man auf die

³⁵ E. Birley, Proc.Brit.Acad. 39 (1953) 209; Syme siehe z.B. HSCPh 86 (1982) 194f. = RP IV, 34 und Athenaeum 62 (1984) 57 = RP IV, 321.

³⁶ Präsentiert von O. Hirschfeld, Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten (2. Aufl.), Berlin 1905, 265-72. Es gibt deren sonderbarerweise nicht viele, und seit Hirschfeld sind nur wenige dazugekommen.

Situation bei den *curatores aquarum* und den *curatores alvei Tiberis* verweisen, wo man auch eine veränderliche Anzahl von Beamten vorzufinden scheint.³⁷

Ganz besonders ist eine veränderliche Anzahl von Kuratoren möglich, falls der Auftrag auch mit der Bautätigkeit in Rom, z.B. mit der Lieferung von Ziegeln, zu tun hatte, wie es neulich von E.M. Steinby vorgeschlagen wurde.³⁸ Obwohl die einzigen Quellen, die über die Aktivität der Kuratoren berichten, aus Adsignationen bestehen, ist die Hypothese attraktiv, bedarf aber weiterer Forschungen.³⁹

* * *

Als Zusammenfassung des zweiten Teils dieser Arbeit kann gesagt werden, daß die oben behandelten Inschriften aus dem J. 193 nicht als Beweis dafür benutzt werden können, daß der *cur. oper. publ.* Sellius Clodianus im selben Jahr hingerichtet wurde. Er mag aus anderen Gründen sein Amt verlassen haben, aber die Untersuchung weist auf die Möglichkeiten, daß manchmal mehr als zwei Kuratoren im Amt war und daß überhaupt die *cura aedium sacrarum et operum publicorum* weniger geregelt war als die meisten senatorischen Ämter. Die Gründe dafür müssen noch erforscht werden.

³⁷ Über die *curatores alvei Tiberis* s. J. Le Gall, *Le Tibre fleuve de Rome dans l'antiquité*, Paris 1953, 135-147. Obwohl nach Frontin. aq. 102 immer nur ein *curator aquarum* im Amt war, nennt die Inschrift CIL VI 1248 aus claudischer Zeit einen frontinischen Beamten mit zwei Kollegen, die alle *curator aquarum* genannt werden. Unter Domitian und Trajan gibt es Bleirohrstempel, wo mehrere Senatoren eine undefinierte *cura* innehatten. Zur Natur ihrer Aufgabe zuletzt W. Eck, ANRW II.1 (1974) 208f. und R.H. Rodgers, HSCPh 86 (1982) 171-80. Dagegen kennen wir für das übrige 2. Jh. keine *curatores aq.*, s. R. Syme, HSCPh 86 (1982) 195 = RP IV, 34: "After the reign of Trajan the government may have allowed the *cura aquarum* to lapse" und Chr. Bruun, *What Happened to Rome's curatores aquarum ...?*, in: *Roman Eastern Policy and Other Studies in Roman History* (eds. H. Solin & M. Kajava), Helsinki 1990, 133-41.

³⁸ E.M. Steinby, *L'edilizia come industria pubblica e privata*, Anal.Rom.Inst.Dan. Suppl. 10 (1983) 220f.

³⁹ Wie ich von Dr. Steinby erfahre, arbeitet sie zur Zeit an diesem Thema. Einiges dazu hoffe ich bald in einer Arbeit über die Verwaltung der Wasserversorgung Roms vorlegen zu können.

Portuensia. Nove iscrizioni sepolcrali dell'Isola Sacra (Porto)

ANNE HELTTULA

Queste osservazioni su nove iscrizioni sepolcrali dell'Isola Sacra sono i primi frutti dello studio, iniziato da me insieme ai miei allievi nell'aprile 1990, del materiale epigrafico della necropoli, per una riedizione e una serie di commenti su argomenti vari. In questo lavoro, gentilmente concesso dalla Soprintendenza Archeologica di Ostia agli studiosi dell'Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, avremo l'occasione di collaborare col gruppo archeologico di Ida Baldassarre che dal 1973 sta conducendo scavi nella necropoli.¹

Alcune delle iscrizioni dell'Isola Sacra si trovano ancora *in situ*, ma la parte maggiore è conservata nei magazzini o nei lapidari a Ostia. Le iscrizioni trattate in questo articolo, pubblicate nel 1952 da H. Thylander (=Thyl.),² furono tutte rilette

¹ I. Baldassarre, La necropoli dell'Isola Sacra, in: Un decennio di ricerche archeologiche, Quaderni de "La ricerca scientifica" 100 (1978) 487-504; Una necropoli imperiale romana: proposte di lettura, Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, sezione di Archeologia e storia antica 6 (1984) 141-149; La necropoli dell'Isola Sacra (Porto), in: Römische Gräberstrassen, München 1987, 125-138. I. Baldassarre, I. Bragantini, A.M. Dolciotti, C. Morselli, F. Taglietti & M. Taloni, La necropoli dell'Isola Sacra. Campagne di scavo 1976-1979, Quaderni de "La ricerca scientifica" 112 (1985) 261-302.

² H. Thylander, Inscriptions du Port d'Ostie, Lund 1952 (Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae, ser. in 8:o, IV:1). Alcune già pubblicate in G. Calza, La necropoli del Porto di Roma nell'Isola Sacra, Roma 1940 (=Calza). Le iscrizioni greche dell'Isola Sacra sono state pubblicate di G. Sacco (Iscrizioni greche d'Italia: Porto, Roma 1984).

da noi nella primavera 1990.³ Ho scelto nove iscrizioni frammentarie, consuete oppure parzialmente cancellate o riscritte che presentano problemi di integrazione e di interpretazione. Gli argomenti trattati saranno le persone menzionate (i loro nomi, luoghi di provenienza e relazioni con altre persone), le tombe (i diritti sepolcrali e di proprietà), la datazione e la ricollocazione delle lapidi, non trovate *in situ*, nelle rispettive tombe. Voglio precisare che si tratta di appunti preliminari, tentativi di illustrare, anzi tutto, la varietà dei problemi emersi e i modi di affrontarli, ma anche di suggerire argomenti da approfondire.⁴

I. Nomi vari

Inizio con tre nomi di persona, di cui due sono frammentari e uno è stato deliberatamente cancellato. Per uno il Thylander propone un'integrazione colla quale non concordo; per due, nessuna.

1. Thyl. A 99 (Pl. XXXI:1). Un frammento marmoreo. Luogo di ritrovamento non conosciuto. Collocazione attuale: il lapidario del Piccolo Mercato.

D(is) Fabia[e ?An- M(anibus)]

driae co[iugi]

Fabio Par[the-]

nopaeo fil[io]

5 *Fabius P[ar-?]*

t[henopaeus f(ecit)?]

³ La maggior parte del materiale epigrafico della necropoli fu riletta da me nel 1983 e 1985. Al controllo di 56 iscrizioni, parte del materiale attualmente conservato a Ostia nella Galleria lapidaria della Via tecta e nel lapidario del Piccolo Mercato, hanno partecipato Heikki Ahvenjärvi, Jouko Harjunen, Marja-Leena Hänninen, Maijastina Kahlos, Reija Pentti, Pekka Tuomisto, Raija Vainio e Nina van Yzendoorn.

⁴ Ci sarà utile anche lo studio che Pasi Ojala, un giovane studioso dell'Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, sta svolgendo sulla classe dirigente di Ostia.

Il cognomen della moglie non è chiaro. Thylander propone [*Alexan*]dria. Ma la sua lettura *Par[the]/nopaeo* in r. 3-4, che certamente è corretta, dimostra che a destra mancano al massimo 3-4 lettere. Propongo di leggere *Andria* (o *Hydria*, sim.) invece di *Alexandria*, che è un nome molto più comune ma troppo lungo per lo spazio disponibile.⁵ Il nome del padre rimane ipotetico.⁶ I resti della lettera all'inizio della riga 6 sono possibilmente di una T (oppure di una E o F).⁷

La nostra è probabilmente una famiglia di liberti. I Fabii, assai numerosi a Ostia, erano una delle famiglie dirigenti ostiensi della prima età imperiale che giunsero fino al consolato nel II secolo d.C.⁸

2. Thyl. A 211 (Pl. LIX:4); Calza p. 290. Lastra marmorea frammentaria di cui manca la parte superiore, *in situ* sopra la porta della tomba 13.

Nonostante i resti di lettere abbastanza chiari, visibili anche nella fotografia, il Thylander non ha tentato di completare la prima(?) riga che è, però, leggibile con ogni probabilità:

[Ro]scia Selene⁹
 fecit sibi et M. Roscio
 Sentiano filio et
 libertis libertab(us) poster(is)q(ue) eorum.
 5 H. m. h. e. n. s.¹⁰

⁵ Nel Namenbuch di H. Solin (Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom. Ein Namenbuch, Berlin 1982) troviamo 96 esempi di *Alexandria* (621sq.; 1355). C'è una sola *Andria*, datata dal Solin alla prima metà del II sec. d.C. (Aelia Andria; AE 1945, 134; Namenbuch 1197) e tre esempi di *Hydria* (I-III sec.; Namenbuch 1163).

⁶ *Parthenopaeus* è un nome ben conosciuto; il Solin (Namenbuch 510) ne conosce 42 esempi. Cf. p.e. CIL VI 10758, dove troviamo due T. Aelii Parthenopaei, padre e figlio.

⁷ Si potrebbe supporre un nesso TH sia nel nome del figlio (*Par[the]/nopaeo*) sia in quello del padre (*P[ar]/thenopaeus* o *P[arth]/enopaeus*).

⁸ Cf. R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, Oxford 1960, 192sq., 195 e 199.

⁹ Il Solin ha 15 esempi di *Selene* (Namenbuch 384; 1367).

¹⁰ *H(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) e(xterum) n(on) s(equetur)*.

Il gentilicium della madre non può essere *Sentia*. Il cognomen del figlio (illegittimo?) *Sentianus* fa, però, pensare che ella era in qualche modo collegata con i Sentii, una delle nuove famiglie dirigenti emerse dalla "rivoluzione sociale" del periodo flavio, o con loro liberti.¹¹

3. Thyl. A 259 (PL. LXXV:1). Lastra marmorea. Luogo di ritrovamento non conosciuto. Collocazione attuale: Piccolo Mercato.

Il Thylander legge:

*D(is) M(anibus)*¹²
M. Ulpius Philetus
 [[.....r]]
T. Flavius Onesimus
 5 *fecerunt sibi et suis*
libertis libertabusque
posterisque eorum.
Et M. Vipsanius Felix.

La terza riga, che doveva contenere un altro nome di persona, è accuratamente cancellata. Si vedono, però, i resti dell'ultima lettera che è sicuramente una R. In condizioni particolarmente favorevoli sono riuscita a decifrare una parte del nome abraso. I resti del praenomen e del nomen (*T. Flavius*) sono sicuri. Il cognomen è meno chiaro; i resti visibili si accordano con (p.e.) *Celtiber*.¹³

I tre uomini erano parenti, amici o compagni di lavoro della stessa corporazione? Il motivo della cancellatura del secondo nome ci sfugge.

¹¹ Il padre di M. Roscius Sentianus era forse un servo o liberto (o un dipendente libero) della famiglia di Cn. Sentius Lucilius Gamala Clodianus, *duovir* del 102 d.C., figlio adottivo di Cn. Sentius Felix? Quest'ultimo era uno spediziere marittimo che trasportava vino, e *patronus* di numerose corporazioni commerciali (CIL XIV 409 = Thyl. B 339). Cf. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, 200sq.

¹² C'è una foglia di edera fra D e M, non segnalata dal Thylander.

¹³ I. Kajanto (*The Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki 1965, Soc. Sc. Fenn., Comm. Hum. Litt. 36:2, 198) ha trovato 7 esempi di *Celtiberlia* (5 uomini e 2 donne) in CIL II più uno in CIL VIII (Numidia). Cf. ThLL Onom. II C 310, 26sq. (10 esempi, di cui 2 donne).

L'ultima riga (*et M. Vipsanius Felix*) è stata aggiunta al testo già completo. Da identificare con l'ostiense Vipsanius Felix (o il suo liberto omonimo; CIL XIV 1780)? Una Vipsania Fortunata si trova in CIL XIV 1782.¹⁴

II. Luogo di provenienza

Incontriamo nelle iscrizioni dell'Isola Sacra persone di cui la provenienza è chiaramente indicata. Ci sono *peregrini* come Aristida da Rodi (A 27), di cui parleremo fra poco, e cittadini romani delle provincie, p.e. C. Annaeus Atticus di A 13, originario da Poitiers, specificato nell'iscrizione come *Pict(o) ex Aquitanica pro(vincia)*.¹⁵ In altri casi possiamo tentare di dedurre il luogo di provenienza di una persona dal suo nome o da qualche altro elemento dell'iscrizione. Sarà lecito presumere che a Ostia e a Porto si trovassero numerose persone provenienti dalle provincie con cui la città tradizionalmente aveva i rapporti commerciali più stretti, cioè da quelle occidentali (Africa, Hispania e Gallia).

4. Thyl. A 310 (Pl. LXXXVII:1). Un frammento marmoreo. Luogo di ritrovamento non conosciuto; attualmente conservato nel lapidario del Piccolo Mercato.

[D(is)] M(anibus)

[?M. Bo]nbio Marti[ali]

[marit]o incomparab[ili]

[-----] C̄rementia

5 [-----] fec[it].

Il Thylander lascia indeciso il gentilicium del marito e interpreta il cognomen della moglie come *Clementia*. Ma i resti di una R frammentaria (assolutamente non di una L) mi sembrano abbastanza sicuri. Nel materiale del Kajanto il cognomen

¹⁴ In CIL XIV troviamo solo 7 Vipsanii ostiensi. Da Porto conosciamo un C. Vipsanius Saturninus e una Vipsania Primilla (CIL XIV 1781 = Thyl. B 169).

¹⁵ G. Becatti, RFIC 1941, 74, e Thyl. ad locum. Calza p. 285 scioglie *pic(tor)*.

Crementius si trova in Africa (9 uomini + 4 donne)¹⁶ più una volta a Ostia (Modius Felix Crementius CIL XIV 5357,2,7; 262 d.C.).¹⁷ Sempre secondo il Kajanto, anche *Martialis* è un cognomen tipico dell'Africa: 324 casi dal totale di 771, quasi la metà del suo materiale, sono di provenienza africana.¹⁸ È per questo che ho suggerito il gentilicium *Bombius* invece di *Ambius/ Cambius/ Lumbius/ Rombius(?)* (che sono anche molto meno comuni).¹⁹ Quasi tutti i Bombii che conosco sono africani (CIL VIII Suppl.: 12 persone) o portuensi:²⁰ a Porto abbiamo anche un *Bombius Felix, faber navalis* (CIL XIV 256,263 = Thyl. B 344,263), e una *Vonbia Saturnina* (Thyl. B 248 = CIL XIV 1969).²¹

I Bombii africani erano forse discendenti di un commerciante trasferito nella provincia dall'Italia nell'età repubblicana? Anche a Delo incontriamo un *Bombius* (L. *Bombius M.f.*; CIL I² 2246). Il commercio aveva forse riportato alcuni discendenti o liberti di questa famiglia in Italia, a Porto.

5. Thyl. A 199 (Pl. LVII:3). Una lastra marmorea, non trovata *in situ*; nel 1983 attaccata al muro esterno di una tomba, poi trasferita nel magazzino.

La superficie della lastra era molto corrosa già quando la vide il Thylander, e deve essere ancora peggiorata col tempo. Le tre prime righe sono di lettura difficile. Cito il testo del Thylander:

¹⁶ 5 volte usato come supernomen; Kajanto, *Cognomina* 234. Da Roma conosce una sola *Crementia* (cristiana; SICV 312).

¹⁷ Anche il gentilicium *Modius* è particolarmente comune in Africa (in CIL VIII, 100 esempi; in CIL VI ne sono 55 e in CIL XIV, venti).

¹⁸ Kajanto, *Cognomina* 212.

¹⁹ Citati in H. Solin - O. Salomies, *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum*, Alpha-Omega A LXXX, 1988. L'unico esempio di *Rombius* (C. *Rombius Felix*, dendroforo africano; AE 1961, 201) potrebbe essere un errore per *Bombius*; nella stessa iscrizione troviamo anche una *Satbia* = (prob.) *Satria*.

²⁰ Di questi 12 Bombii uno è da Mauretania Caesariensis e gli altri sono da Numidia. Di origine africana potrebbe essere anche Marcus *Bombius Rusticus* PIR² B 143, *vir egregius* e *patronus provinciae (Tarraconensis)*; AE 1930, 148 (III-IV sec.). Il praenomen del nostro *Bombius* rimane ipotetico; quelli portati dai Bombii di CIL VIII sono C., M., e Sex.

²¹ Il Thylander, che non ha mai visto l'iscrizione, propone di leggere *Rubonia* invece di *Vonbia* (seguendo Diehl, ILCV 760 adn.).

L. Plotius Primus sibi et coi-
ugi [-----]e [-----] M A
et libertis libertabu- f(ecit)
sque posterisque eoru-
*5 m. H. m. e. f. r. n. s.*²²

Non sono ancora riuscite a decifrare il cognomen di L. Plotius. Il Thylander ammette che la lettura *Primus* non è del tutto sicura. I resti di lettera dopo il gentilicium, visibili anche nella fotografia, sembrano essere quelli di una O (oppure di una C o una Q) e non di una P.

L'iscrizione non contiene la dedica D M. Sotto il testo è invece graffita la figura di uno strumento, di cui il Thylander dice soltanto che non è un'ancora cristiana. Certamente non si tratta di un'ancora, ma di un'*ascia*, simbolo trovato frequentemente in iscrizioni sepolcrali galliche, specialmente in quelle della Gallia Lugdunensis, ma anche dell'Aquitania e della Narbonensis; d'altrove conosciamo soltanto casi molto sporadici. Si usa anche la formula *sub ascia dedicare*.²³ Vengo alla conclusione che con ogni probabilità il nostro L. Plotius era originario della Gallia; portava forse un cognomen gallico?

III. Proprietà delle tombe e diritti sepolcrali

Il materiale epigrafico dell'Isola Sacra è particolarmente ricco di informazioni sulle tombe stesse. Durante il periodo dello sviluppo più intenso della necropoli (II-III sec. d.C.)²⁴ la tradizionale tomba di famiglia non ereditabile, destinata dal proprietario ai suoi discendenti e liberti portatori dello stesso nomen gentilicium, era in crisi. Ne sono testimonianze le numerose iscrizioni in cui si vieta categoricamente

²² R. 4-5: Probabilmente *eoru/m. H(oc) m(onumentum) e(xterum) r(edem) n(on) s(equetur)*.

²³ Cf. p.e. gli indici di CIL XII p. 965 e XIII:5, p. 205 (per la figura e la formula); E. De Ruggiero, Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane I, Roma 1895, 712sq.; J.B. Keyne in RE Suppl. III (1918), 166sq.; J.J. Hatt, La tombe gallo-romaine, 2. ed. Paris 1986, 84sq.

²⁴ Cf. I. Baldassarre 1984, 142.

la vendita o donazione agli estranei della tomba (o della sua parte) già chiaramente indicata come familiare. D'altra parte ci sono numerose tombe in cui i posti individuali di sepoltura sono stati o acquistati o ricevuti in dono: in questi casi va accuratamente indicato il diritto di proprietà e l'esatta posizione dei posti nel monumento. Questo sviluppo può essere spiegato dal cambiamento della struttura sociale e dall'instabilità della popolazione di Porto in questo periodo.

6. Thyl. A 25 (Pl. X:2); Calza p. 337. Lastra marmorea *in situ* (tomba 79).

Il carattere familiare della tomba è definito dal proprietario Q. Appius Q.f. Saturninus con la solita formula (*sibi et et liberis libertis libertabusque posterisque eorum*). Segue la precisazione che la tomba non può essere ereditata (*hoc monumentum heredem non sequetur*), più altri divieti:

*D(is)*²⁵ *M(anibus)*.

Q. Appius Q. f. Saturninus fecit sibi et Anniae Donatae coiugi suae

5 *bene merenti et liberis libertis libertabusque posterisque eorum. Hoc*

monimentum heredem non sequetur neque his quibus reliqui

10 *vendere donandi in eo ius habere liceat.*

In front(e) p(edes) X, in agro p(edes) XII.

(Thyl. r. 10: VENDERE DONATBEINEOIVS HABERE LICEAT)

Le lettere BE nell'assurdo DONATBEINEOIVS sono l'invenzione del Thylander, che le interpreta come errore del lapicida per *aeve*, e legge *Donataeve in eo ius habere*. Ma che senso ci sarebbe nell'esclusione della moglie chiaramente inclusa prima?

La soluzione è molto più semplice. Il lapicida ha scritto per errore DONATI · IN,²⁶ poi l'ha corretto in DONANDI IN trasformando TI · I in ND (nesso) e N in

²⁵ Una foglia di edera.

²⁶ Il lapicida era forse influenzato dalla formula *vendere aut donationis causa mancipare?*

IN (nesso). Il punto è rimasto dentro la D, che nella fotografia può essere interpretata erroneamente per una B. Bisogna allora leggere DONANDI IN EO IVS.²⁷ Si tratta del divieto di vendere o donare ad un estraneo un posto di sepoltura in una tomba di famiglia.

7. Thyl. A 207 (Pl. LIX:3). Frammento marmoreo. Luogo di ritrovamento non conosciuto. Collocazione attuale: Piccolo Mercato.

Non sappiamo quante righe mancano all'inizio. Il frammento contiene soltanto la parte sinistra delle ultime righe, con le specificazioni riguardanti i posti sepolcrali appartenenti alla persona cui non conosciamo il nome, e forse anche i nomi delle persone che glieli hanno venduti o donati:

| (resti di 1-2 lettere non identificabili) | (Thyl.) |
|---|----------------------------|
| <i>de s[uo fecit?-----]</i> | <i>Dis [Manibus -----]</i> |
| <i>Prisci[----- par-]</i> | <i>Prisci[-----]</i> |
| <i>tem dim[idiam intranti-]</i> | <i>tendim[-----]</i> |
| 5 <i>bus dext[ra-----]</i> | <i>bus dext[-----]</i> |
| <i>L. Pompo[ni-----]</i> | 5 <i>L. Pompo[-----]</i> |
| <i>L. Pom[poni-----]</i> | <i>L. Pom[-----]</i> |
| <i>lib[-----]</i> | <i>lib[-----].</i> |
| <i>T[-----]</i> | |

Nel suo contenuto generale il testo è abbastanza chiaro. Il proprietario definisce l'esatta posizione nel monumento delle urne o dei sarcofaghi che ha fatto con i propri mezzi; per esempio: *de s[uo fecit in monumento] Prisci[ano donatam sibi (o: comparatam) par]tem dim[idiam²⁸ intranti]bus dext[ra cum ollis (tot) a] L. Pompo[nio et] L. Pom[ponio].*

²⁷ La lettura corretta del Calza (DONANDI; p. 337; accettata da R. Meiggs, CR N.S. 4 [1954] 158) fu respinta dal Thylander. Cf. anche A. De Grassi, Gnomon 26 (1954) 105.

²⁸ Si tratta di una formula sepolcrale nella forma di un accusativo assoluto, di cui abbiamo a Porto anche altri esempi; cf. A. Helttula, Studies on the Latin accusative absolute, Helsinki 1987 (Soc. Sc. Fenn., Comm. Hum. Litt. 81), 95sq.

IV. Ricollocazione delle lapidi nelle tombe

La massima parte delle iscrizioni della necropoli è stata trovata fuori posto. Tento di riportarne due nel loro contesto originale.

8. Thyl. A 85 (Pl. XXVII:3). Si tratta di un frammento del coperchio di un sarcofago, riutilizzato per A 171²⁹ e trovato (fuori posto?) dentro la tomba 19. Collocazione attuale: Piccolo Mercato.

L'iscrizione è da collegare con i Coccei della tomba 75.³⁰ La tomba è stata eretta (ca. 125-130 d.C.; Thyl.)³¹ da M. Cocceius Daphnus per la sua famiglia e per quelle di M. Antonius Agathias e M. Ulpus Domitus (A 83; *in situ* sopra la porta).³² Sappiamo da A 16, *in situ* sopra la porta della tomba 76 costruita dentro la tomba 75, che M. Antonius Agathias era erede di Daphnus.³³ È più che probabile, allora, che lo fosse anche M. Ulpus Domitus. Propongo che si tratti di due generi di Daphnus, che forse non aveva figli maschi. Una delle figlie di Daphnus (= moglie di Domitus) poteva essere la Cocceia Secunda di A 85:

[?M. Ulpus Domi]tus³⁴ et Cocceia Secunda
[M. Ulpio -----] nepoti, q(ui) v(ixit) an(nos) XVII, m(enses) VIII, d(ies) V.

²⁹ Non A 166, come dice il Thylander ad loc.

³⁰ Cf. la descrizione di F. Taglietti in I. Baldassarre et alii (1985) 288sq. (tombe 75-76).

³¹ I bolli laterizi trovati *in situ* nella tomba 75 sono CIL XV 122 b (Thyl. A 351,6: inizio del regno di Adriano, anteriore al 123 d.C.) e 1037 (Thyl. A 351,15; H. Bloch, I bolli laterizi e la storia edilizia romana, Roma 1947, 320 n. 256: anteriore al 123 d.C.).

³² A 83 (Calza p. 333): *D.M. / M. Cocceius Daphnus / fecit sibi et suis et libertis libertabusque / posterisque eorum et / M. Antonio Agathiae et suis / et libertis libertabusque posterisque eorum et / M. Ulpio Domito et suis / et libertis libertabusque posterisque eorum. / Per fronte pedes XL in agro pedes XL.*

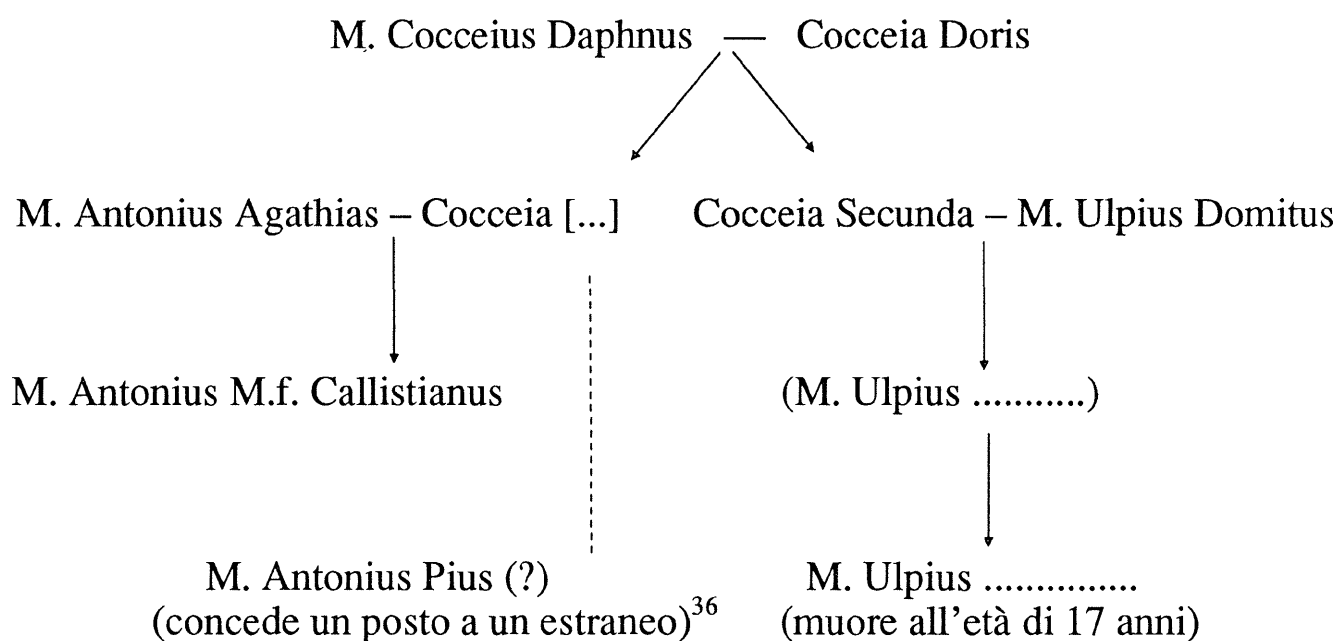
³³ A 16 (Calza p. 333): *D.M. / M. Antonius Agathias / aediculam puram ex sepulchro / M. Coccei Daphni cuius heres est / facta divisione inter se et coherdes suos / adiecto de suo pariete medio et ostio libero / facto fecit sibi et / libertis libertabusque posterisque eorum.*

³⁴ I resti della lettera davanti a VS, non indicati nell'edizione del Thylander, sono sicuramente di una T.

Per conseguenza possiamo calcolare almeno quattro generazioni sepolte nella stessa tomba. Allora la datazione di A 171 (sul rovescio di A 85) va spostata dal II (Thyl.) al III secolo d.C.

La Cocceia Doris di A 84 (*in situ* dentro la tomba 75), nonna di M. Antonius M.f. Callistianus,³⁵ era forse la moglie (e *colliberta*?) di M. Cocceius Daphnus, e Callistianus figlio dell'altro erede (e genero?) di quest'ultimo, M. Antonius Agathias (A 16; tomba 76)?

L'albero genealogico ipotetico:



9. Thyl. A 196 (Pl. LVI:2), composta di quattro frammenti combacianti di una lastra marmorea. Non conosciamo il luogo di ritrovamento. Attualmente conservata nel lapidario del Piccolo Mercato.

³⁵ A 84 (Calza p. 331): *D.M. / Cocceiae / Doridi M. / Antonius / M.f. Callistianus avie / pietissimae / fecit / ipse qui vix(it) an(nos) XXI m(enses) II.*

³⁶ M. Antonius Pius ha concesso un posto di sepoltura nella tomba 76 a Aemilia Maiorica e Cominius Silvanus; Thyl. A 17 (Pl. VI:2); Calza p. 334.

Petronia Erotis sibi et

*T. Flavio Pharnaci kariss[imo]
coniugi suo fecit et is quibus id³⁷ ius pos-
sidenti testamento suo legavit*

*5 posterisque eorum l(ibertis) liberta-
bus.*

In fronte p(edes) [XXV] in agro p(edes) XXV.

*A. Pet(ronius) Zethu[s Aristidae Artem]idori filio Rhodio itum ambi-
[tum adi]tu(m) donav(it).*

L'integrazione delle ultime tre righe è mia. L'esatto significato delle righe 8-9, aggiunte in un momento posteriore per dare un'informazione supplementare al testo precedente, è sfuggito al Thylander, che legge A · P · ET · ZET · H e traduce: "A P(ublius?) et Zeth..... Rhodius, fils de [Artem]idorus, ils ont donné l'entrée et le circuit." Nonostante quello che si vede nella fotografia non ci sono punti in r. 8 fra P e ET e fra ZET e H. Non è accettabile nemmeno l'integrazione del Solin, che si è basato sulla fotografia,³⁸ e che interpreta: *a(nimo) p(io) (?)*; col riferimento a T. Flavius Pharnaces) *et Zethi[oni Artem]idori filio Rhodio.*³⁹ La sua integrazione è anche troppo corta per lo spazio disponibile.

L'integrazione che ho proposto corrisponde perfettamente allo spazio disponibile. Dà anche un buon senso: un A. Petronius Zethus,⁴⁰ in qualche modo collegato con Petronia Erotis e legatario di *ius possidendi*, dà il diritto di *itus aditus ambitus*⁴¹ a un *peregrinus* Aristida, proveniente da Rodi, che figura anche in A 27 (trovata nella tomba 114). Sappiamo da A 27 che Aristida ha fatto erigere una tomba alla moglie Petronia Hygia e al figlio Petronius Dexter.⁴² Incontriamo la coppia Petronia

³⁷ ID: manca in Thyl.

³⁸ H. Solin, *Analecta epigraphica*, *Arctos* 21 (1987) 124 n. 11.

³⁹ D'altra parte il Solin ha ben visto che non si può trattare del dativo *Zetho*: i resti della lettera visibili dopo la H non possono essere di una O.

⁴⁰ A. Petronii, forse collegabili col nostro, si trovano anche a Ostia: A. Petronius Crescens e A. Petronius A.l. Victor (CIL XIV 1458).

⁴¹ Si potrebbe leggere anche *itum ambi/tu donav(it)*; ma per la simmetria del testo è più probabile la formula più lunga.

⁴² A 27: *Dis Manibus / Aristida Artemidori fil(ius) Rodi(us) fecit / sibi et Petroniae Hygiae coniugi bene / merenti cum qua vixit ann(is) XXXIX m(enses) XI / et Petronio Dextro f(ilio) piissimo et libert(is) libertabusque suis posterisque eorum.* Cf. A. Ferrua, *RAC* 29 (1953) 246;

Erotis e T. Flavius Pharnaces⁴³ di A 196 anche in A 110, trovata presso la tomba 116.⁴⁴ Le tombe 114 e 116 furono costruite nel recinto le cui misure corrispondono a quelle indicate in A 196 (25 x 25 piedi romani).⁴⁵ Si conclude che A 196, con ogni probabilità, era l'iscrizione originale sulla facciata di questo recinto.

* * *

Ho tentato di dimostrare la varietà dei problemi già emersi dallo studio preliminare delle iscrizioni. Per capire meglio lo sviluppo della necropoli e della sua "popolazione" in relazione alla storia di Porto e di Ostia, è necessario riesaminare tutto il materiale epigrafico nel suo contesto archeologico e storico. L'occasione favorevole di farlo è proprio adesso, quando i nuovi scavi hanno portato alla luce nuovi dati notevoli. Mi auguro che la collaborazione fra noi e il gruppo di Ida Baldassarre possa contribuire alla conoscenza migliore del complesso importantissimo dell'Isola Sacra.

A. De Grassi, *Gnomon* 26 (1954) 105. Il nome di Aristida è stato sostituito al nome (?) precedente, cancellato; cf. la fotografia di Thylander (Pl. XI:2).

⁴³ Bisogna leggere *Pharnaces*, non *Pharnax* (Thyl.), come osserva giustamente il Solin (*Arctos* 21 [1987] 123 no. 8).

⁴⁴ A 110: *T. Flavio Aug.l. Pharnac(i) / fecit / Petronia Erotis carissimo / viro suo.*

⁴⁵ Se si accetta la mia integrazione della riga 7.

Der jüngere Sokrates

TUIJA JATAKARI

Nach den Humanisten Allatius und Jonsius¹ haben A.E.Taylor, E.Kapp, D.H.Th.Vollenhoven und einige andere eine Theorie über "den jüngeren Sokrates" entwickelt, die neuerdings von H.Schmitz und F.Lasserre erweitert worden ist.² Nach Lasserre wäre der jüngere Sokrates, der Lehrer des Aristoteles, ein wichtiger Mathematiker und nach Schmitz eine wichtige meinungsbildende Persönlichkeit unter den jüngeren Ideenfreunden der Akademie gewesen, welche die von Platon vorgelegte Ideenlehre kritisierten. Ich möchte in diesem Aufsatz darauf aufmerksam machen, daß diese Theorie keineswegs unproblematisch ist.

¹ Allatius, *De scriptis Socratis dialogus. Socratis, Antisthenis, et aliorum socraticorum epistolae*, Paris 1637, 113-126, erwägt, wie Platons Lehrer Sokrates noch Aristoteles habe lehren können, und Jonsius, *De scriptoribus historiae philosophicae libri IV*, Frankfurt 1659, 37, 315 löst diese Frage damit, daß es in Wirklichkeit zwei Sokrates gegeben habe: der eine sei Platons Lehrer gewesen, der andere der des Aristoteles. K.Fr. Hermann, *Geschichte und System der Platonischen Philosophie I*, Heidelberg 1839, 661, Anm. 504 kritisiert jedoch zu Recht diesen Gedanken.

² Taylor, *Varia Socratica*, Oxford 1911, 43; Kapp, *Sokrates der Jüngere*, *Philologus* 79 (1924) 225-233 und *Σωκράτης ὁ νεώτερος*, *RE III A* (1929) 890-891; Vollenhoven, *Geschiedenis der wijsbegeerte I, inleiding en geschiedenis der grieksche wijsbegeerte voor Platoon en Aristoteles*, Wever 1950, 482-486; Schmitz, *Die Ideenlehre des Aristoteles, II. Band: Platon und Aristoteles*, Bonn 1985, 137-156; Lasserre, *De Léodamas de Thasos à Philippe d'Oponte. Témoignages et fragments*, *Istituto italiano per gli studi filosofici*, Napoli 1987, 503-510.

Was wissen denn die antiken Quellen von dem jüngeren Sokrates zu berichten? Aristoteles, der allein die Benennung Σωκράτης ὁ νεώτερος gebraucht, kritisiert an einer "Parabel" des Sokrates über das Lebewesen (etwa "Applizierung der Formen auf Lebewesen"), sie sei nicht richtig, denn sie führe von der Wahrheit weg und mache denken, daß es einen Menschen gäbe ohne seine Teile, wie einen Kreis ohne Erz. Aber der Fall sei nicht gleich. Das Lebewesen sei etwas Sinnliches, und man könne es nicht ohne Bewegung und Teile von bestimmter Beschaffenheit definieren: nur die lebendige Hand sei ein Teil des Menschen (Metaphysik 1036b 24-32: καὶ ἡ παραβολὴ ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ ζῴου, ἣν εἰώθει λέγειν Σωκράτης ὁ νεώτερος, οὐ καλῶς ἔχει· ἀπάγει γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς, καὶ ποιεῖ ὑπολαμβάνειν ὡς ἐνδεχόμενον εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἄνευ τῶν μερῶν, ὡσπερ ἄνευ τοῦ χαλκοῦ τὸν κύκλον. τὸ δ' οὐχ ὅμοιον· αἰσθητὸν γάρ τι τὸ ζῶον, καὶ ἄνευ κινήσεως οὐκ ἔστιν ὀρίσασθαι, διὸ οὐδ' ἄνευ τῶν μερῶν ἐχόντων πῶς. οὐ γὰρ πάντως τοῦ ἀνθρώπου μέρος ἡ χεὶρ, ἀλλ' ἡ δυναμένη τὸ ἔργον ἀποτελεῖν, ὥστε ἔμψυχος οὐσα· μὴ ἔμψυχος δὲ οὐ μέρος).

Im allgemeinen glaubt man (nach dem 10. Kapitel und dem Beginn des 11. Kapitels zu schließen), Aristoteles enthülle hier den Inhalt dieser Parabel: Der jüngere Sokrates setze hier das Verhältnis der Idee des Menschen zu Fleisch und Knochen mit dem Verhältnis des Kreises zu Erz gleich. Aber Aristoteles' Weise, auf die "Parabel" hinzudeuten, ist etwas befremdlich. Eigentlich erzählt er sie nicht, sondern sagt, daß sie *von der Wahrheit wegführt und auf den Gedanken bringt, daß es einen Menschen gäbe ohne seine Teile, wie einen Kreis ohne Erz*. Diese Feststellung kann nur Aristoteles' eigene Ansicht dazu wiedergeben, welche Folge diese παραβολή hat, nicht unbedingt, was sie enthält.³ Aristoteles' Bemerkung, daß der jüngere Sokrates diese Parabel vorzuführen pflegte, kann darauf hindeuten, daß er sie oft gehört hat⁴ und auch seine Leser sie gut kannten. Es war also nicht nötig, sie noch einmal im Detail zu wiederholen.

Kapp glaubt, daß der jüngere Sokrates zu jenen gehöre, von denen Aristoteles am Anfang der Stelle 1036b 7-13 spricht.⁵ Diese τινες dürften doch wahrscheinlich die alten Pythagoreer des 6. Jh. v. Chr. sein, weil sie alles auf Zahlen zurückführen

³ Mensch und Kreis oder eine andere geometrische Figur scheinen Aristoteles' eigenes Beispiel auch im 10. Kapitel und am Anfang des 11. Kapitels zu sein.

⁴ So auch Kapp, Sokrates der Jüngere 225 und Schmitz 144.

⁵ Kapp, Sokrates der Jüngere 232-233 meint, daß die Parabel des jüngeren Sokrates nur ein Mittel zur Darstellung einer mathematischen Definition sei. S. auch A.E. Taylor, Platon. The

(12). Aber eher könnte der jüngere Sokrates zu der einen oder anderen im folgenden erwähnten Gruppe von Anhängern der Ideenlehre in der Akademie gehören (14-20): zu jenen (οἱ μὲν) die sagen, daß die Zweiheit die Linie an sich sei, oder zu jenen (οἱ δέ) die sagen, daß die Zweiheit die Form der Linie sei. Aber weil wir so wenig von den Verhältnissen der Akademie wissen und nicht mit Sicherheit sagen können, welche Gruppen damit gemeint waren oder zu welcher von beiden z.B. Platon selbst gehörte,⁶ bleibt auch die dogmatische Stellung des jüngeren Sokrates ganz im dunkeln. Offensichtlich hat seine Parabel doch etwas mit der Idee des Lebewesens zu tun gehabt.

Gewöhnlich hat man diesen Sokrates mit dem in Platons Dialogen Theaitetos und Sophistes erwähnten und im Politikos als Gesprächspartner des eleatischen Fremden auftretenden jungen Sokrates identifiziert. Am Anfang des Theaitetos, des ältesten der genannten Dialoge,⁷ macht Theodoros von Kyrene, ein bekannter Mathematiker, Sokrates mit einem begabten jungen Mann namens Theätet bekannt, dessen Gesichtszüge (stumpfe Nase und hervorstehende Augen) Sokrates ähneln (143d-144e). So wird er Sokrates' Gesprächspartner und bemerkt bald, daß dieser offensichtlich nach derselben Sache fragt, auf die er und Sokrates' Namensvetter (ὁμόνυμος) kürzlich gestoßen waren. Auf Sokrates' Bitte berichtet er dann, wie sie zusammen ein mathematisches Problem lösten (147d-148b).⁸ Nichts weiteres hören wir hier von dem jüngeren Sokrates. Er bleibt ein stummer Zuschauer – oder sagen wir Mitarbeiter?

Die später geschriebenen Dialoge Sophistes und Politikos berichten uns noch einige Details.⁹ Im Sophistes (218b) schlägt Theätet vor, daß Sokrates'

Sophist & The Statesman, ed. by R. Klibansky and E. Anscombe, London 1961, 190-191. Nach Vollenhoven 482-486, der den jüngeren Sokrates nicht für ein Mitglied der Akademie zu halten scheint, hätte dieser mit der Philosophie der Pythagoreer operiert, Theorien über das Verhältnis Seele-Körper dargelegt und die Philosophie des Anaxagoras und der Pythagoreer zu vereinigen versucht. Diese Theorie ist eine rein spekulative Konstruktion.

⁶ M.Frede-G.Patzig, Aristoteles "Metaphysik Z" II. Kommentar, München 1988, 208.

⁷ Hier werde ich für die zum Corpus Platonicum gehörenden Werke die von H. Thesleff, Studies in Platonic chronology, Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 70, Helsinki 1982, und Platonic Chronology, Phronesis 34 (1989) 1-26 vorgelegte hypothetische Datierung benutzen. Nach Thesleff, Studies in Pl. chr. 153-154, 188; Platonic Chr. 18 ist die endgültige Textform dieses Dialogs vielleicht 367 v.Chr. für die Mitglieder der Akademie geschrieben.

⁸ Näheres bei Thesleff unten S. 154.

⁹ Diese sind vielleicht um 356 v.Chr. vor allem für die Mitglieder der Akademie geschrieben (Thesleff, Studies in Pl. chr. 198). Die Serie hätte dann der ungeschriebene Dialog Philosophos

Namensvetter für ihn als Gesprächspartner einspringen solle, sollte er selbst ermüden. Als neue Nachricht hören wir, daß dieser Sokrates Theätets Kamerad (ἡλικιώτης καὶ συγγυμναστής) ist, gewohnt mit Theätet zusammenzuarbeiten. Vom exakten Alter ist hier nicht die Rede: beide sind "jung" – vom Standpunkt der alten Männer aus gesehen. Im Politikos (257c) schlägt der eleatische Fremde dann vor, daß Theätet ausruhen und dieser Sokrates, der συγγυμναστής des Theätet, an seiner Stelle als Gesprächspartner fungieren solle. So beginnt der junge Sokrates mit Hilfe des eleatischen Fremden die Eigenschaften eines Staatsmanns zu definieren. Während des Gesprächs deutet der Fremde auf ein gemeinsames Interesse der jungen Männer hin, die Geometrie (266a).

Im allgemeinen wird angenommen, daß auch der pseudoplatonische 11. Brief etwas von dem jüngeren Sokrates erzähle. Jetzt wäre er allerdings schon ein älterer Mann. Unter Laodamas, dem Empfänger des Briefes, versteht man gewöhnlich den Mathematiker Leodamas von Thasos,¹⁰ und die fingierte Briefsituation datiert man aus geschichtlichen Gründen gewöhnlich auf das Jahr 360 oder 359 v.Chr. Es geht daraus hervor, daß Platon und Laodamas schon früher miteinander korrespondiert haben, und Laodamas hat Platon ersucht, ihm bei den Gesetzgebungsproblemen im Zusammenhang mit der Gründung einer Kolonie zu helfen. Platon hat ihn daraufhin gebeten, nach Athen zu kommen und da mit ihm zu diskutieren. Laodamas hat darauf geantwortet, er könne nicht nach Athen reisen. Statt dessen hat er gewünscht, entweder Platon oder Sokrates möchten ihn besuchen. Im 11. Brief antwortet Platon, Sokrates sei krank, er leide an Strangurie (358de: νῦν δὲ Σωκράτης μὲν ἔστιν περὶ ἀσθένειαν τὴν τῆς στραγγουρίας).¹¹ Er selbst, Platon, wolle nicht mehr reisen, weil er schon alt sei und die Reise gefährlich wäre.¹²

komplettiert, auf den hingedeutet wird (z.B. Sophistes 217a, 254b). Vielleicht hätten wir darin eine sehr eigenartige Diskussion des jungen Sokrates mit dem alten Sokrates lesen können.

¹⁰ Diog. Laert. III 24; Proklos, Eucl. 1, 211.

¹¹ Nach J.Souilhé, Platon. Oeuvres complètes XIII:1. Lettres, Collection des Universités de France, Paris 1926, xcvi zeigen schon diese Worte (pro ἔστιν ἀσθενής) die Unechtheit des Briefes. S. dazu das nicht ganz schlüssige Gegenargument von Schmitz (137, Anm. 210).

¹² Es wird u. a. erklärt, daß Platon nicht reisen möchte, weil er kürzlich seine dritte mißlungene Reise nach Sizilien (361-360 v.Chr.) beendet hätte. Den Grund für die Echtheit des Briefes sieht man in der Sachkenntnis des Schreibers (Gefährlichkeit der Reise wegen des Alexandros von Pherai und seiner Piraten).

In der Tat ist dieser pseudoplatonische Brief äußerst problematisch. Wir wissen nicht, ob Laodamas wirklich der Mathematiker von Thasos ist, und die Kolonie, von der er spricht, bleibt ganz unbestimmt. Es kann Zufall sein, daß wir gerade eine Stadt Datos/Daton¹³ oder Krenides¹⁴ kennen, die die Bewohner von Thasos an der thrakischen Küste im J. 360 oder 359 v.Chr. gründeten. Auch die Person des "Sokrates" bleibt im dunkeln. Er scheint jedoch ein wichtiger Mann gewesen zu sein, weil auch sein Rat Laodamas willkommen war. Man vermutet, dieser Brief enthüllt, woran der jüngere Sokrates starb.¹⁵ Aber die Todesursache war nicht unbedingt die Strangurie, weil sie gewöhnlich nicht tödlich ist.¹⁶ Dagegen sind oft sehr alte Männer davon geplagt.¹⁷ Könnte der Schreiber dieses Briefes nicht Sokrates, den sehr intelligenten Lehrer des Platons, gemeint haben? Natürlich ist das ein unbeholfener Anachronismus,¹⁸ der aber den Eindruck verstärkt, daß der Verfasser mit punktuellen Kenntnissen eine quasi-realistische Situation konstruiert hat. Die Kürze und der Inhalt des Briefes (Vertraulich-Privates) lassen darauf schließen, daß der 11. Brief eher zu einem hellenistischen Briefroman gehört hat und vielleicht nichts von dem jüngeren Sokrates berichtet.

Können dann vielleicht die Aristoteles-Biographien (die Vita Marciana, Vita Vulgata und Vita Latina – alle im 5. Jh. n.Chr. unter den Neuplatonikern entstanden)¹⁹ etwas über den jüngeren Sokrates mitteilen? Nach der Vita Marciana (5) kam Aristoteles siebzehnjährig auf den Rat des delphischen Orakels hin nach Athen. Zuerst war er eine kurze Zeit Sokrates' Schüler bis zu dessen Tod und danach 20 Jahre Platons Schüler bis zu dessen Tod (ἐτῶν δὲ γεινόμενος ἑπτακαίδεκα τοῦ Πυθοῦ θεοῦ χρήσαντος αὐτῷ φιλοσοφεῖν Ἀθήνησι φοιτᾷ Σωκράτει καὶ συνῆν αὐτῷ τὸν μέχρι τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ χρόνον † πλὴν ὀλίγον ὄντα †. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον φοιτᾷ Πλάτωνι καὶ συνῆν τούτῳ τὸν μέχρι τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ χρόνον εἰκοσαετῆ τυγχάνοντα, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐπιστέλλων Φιλίππῳ

¹³ Skylax von Karyanda, Periplus 68 (GGM I, 54).

¹⁴ Diodor. Sic., Bibl. 16, 3, 7.

¹⁵ Kapp, Sokrates der Jüngere 227-228; Schmitz 137; Lasserre 505. S. auch unten Anm. 53.

¹⁶ Hippokrates, Περὶ παθῶν 28.

¹⁷ Aristophanes, Vespaie 809-810.

¹⁸ So Souilhé xcvi.

¹⁹ I. Düring, Aristotle in the Ancient Biographical Tradition, Göteborgs universitets årsskrift LXIII, 2, Göteborg 1957, 469.

λέγει). Kapp hält diese Stelle für ein echtes Fragment aus einem von Aristoteles an Philippos II. von Makedonien geschriebenen Brief. In dem hier erwähnten Sokrates sieht er den jüngeren Sokrates, auf dessen Tod der Schreiber des 11. Briefes hingedeutet hätte.²⁰ Doch ist diese Stelle zumindest bedenklich. Ich möchte dazu Folgendes erwähnen.

Die Schülerzeit bei Sokrates ist in der Vita Marciana in unbestimmter Weise korrupt. Die Vita Vulgata (4) und Vita Latina (5) berichten, daß Aristoteles drei Jahre Sokrates' Schüler gewesen wäre. Diese drei Jahre können aber ein Resultat der Rechenoperation des Schreibers der Vita Vulgata sein,²¹ oder ein Schreiber der Biographie hat vielleicht an eine dreijährige zweite Reise Platons nach Sizilien denken können: erst nach dieser Reise hätte Aristoteles Platon getroffen. Eben wegen Platons Reise halten Schmitz und Lasserre die Nachricht "drei Jahre" für richtig.²² Diese Jahre wären eigentlich schon in den 20 Jahren bei Platon enthalten, weil auch der jüngere Sokrates zur Akademie gehörte. Der Schreiber der Vita Marciana oder der seiner Quelle hätte die Erwähnung dieser drei Jahre

²⁰ Es gibt doch einen Widerspruch zwischen den Nachrichten der Biographien und des 11. Briefes bzgl. der Sterbezeit des jüngeren Sokrates. Kapp, Sokrates der Jüngere 226-227 und Vollenhoven 482 lösen das Problem so, daß der jüngere Sokrates bald nach der Ankunft des Aristoteles (367 oder um 366 v.Chr.) starb, wie die Vita Marciana berichtet, Schmitz 137 so, daß er bald nach dem Jahr 360/359 starb, worauf der 11. Brief deutet, und Lasserre 505 so, daß er im J. 365/4 starb, wie Vita Vulgata und Vita Latina es überliefern.

²¹ Der Schreiber der Vita Marciana (10) erwähnt die richtigen Archonten, zu deren Zeit Platon und Aristoteles gestorben waren, sagt aber, daß Aristoteles Platon 23 Jahre überlebte: nach den Archonten zu schließen, wären es 26 Jahre. Vielleicht hat der Schreiber der Vita Vulgata festgestellt, daß 17+20+23 nicht 63 Jahre ergeben, und hat drei Jahre hinzugefügt (Düring, Aristotle 108, 118). O. Gigon, Vita Aristotelis Marciana, Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen 181, Berlin 1962, 42-43 vermutet, daß die Erwähnung von drei Jahren in der Tat schon in einer Vorstufe der Vita Marciana zu lesen ist, weil jemand die Form des Textes εικοσαετής τυγχάνων am Rande in εικοσαετή τυγχάνοντα korrigiert hat. Nach Gigon 45 hätte man in der Biographietradition zwei verschiedene Rechnungsarten vermischt: nach der einen kam Aristoteles als zwanzigjähriger zu Platon und lebte nach dessen Tod noch 23 Jahre, nach der anderen kam er als siebzehnjähriger und lebte noch 26 Jahre. Weiteres unten.

²² Lasserre 503 nimmt zwar an, daß die Reise nur ein Jahr dauerte, glaubt aber, daß der jüngere Sokrates sowohl vor als auch nach der Reise Platons Aristoteles' Lehrer gewesen sei, weil Platon mit anderem beschäftigt war.

weggelassen, weil der jüngere Sokrates als Namensvetter gegen Sokrates zurückzustehen hatte und in Vergessenheit geraten sei.²³

Nach Kapp wird der jüngere Sokrates sowohl in den Biographien als auch im 11. Brief nur "Sokrates" genannt, weil alle ihn kannten. Es bestand keine Notwendigkeit, die Ergänzung νεώτερος mitzuerwähnen. Aber für die Leser der Metaphysik mußte man sie hinzufügen, um eine Verwechslung der beiden Sokrates zu verhindern. Eine entsprechende Ergänzung sehen Kapp und Lasserre in Platons 7. Brief, in dem Platon seinen Lehrer "den älteren" benenne (324e: φίλον ἄνδρα ἐμοὶ πρεσβύτερον Σωκράτη).²⁴ Im allgemeinen und mit Recht – Platon spricht ja von seiner Jugendzeit (324bff.) – wird diese Stelle doch "einen mir lieben älteren Freund, Sokrates" übersetzt. Schmitz erwähnt auch einige andere Stellen, in denen man Platons Lehrer von dem des Aristoteles mit einer Ergänzung im Namen unterschieden haben soll. In der Eudemischen Ethik wird Sokrates sowohl "der Alte" (ὁ πρεσβύτης 1216b 3) als auch "der Greis" (ὁ γέρων 1235a 37) genannt. Der Komparativ fehle, weil Aristoteles wahrscheinlich an Platons Politikos denke, in dem der jüngere Sokrates noch ganz jung und der ältere Sokrates schon ein Greis ist. Aristoteles habe die Eudemische Ethik nicht für die Leser in der Akademie,²⁵ sondern für die in der Philosophenschule in Assos geschrieben, wo die Schüler des jüngeren Sokrates, Erastos und Koriskos,²⁶ ihren Lehrer so bekannt gemacht hätten,

²³ Schmitz 144-146; Lasserre 504. Kapp, Sokrates der Jüngere 226, Anm. 2 nimmt an, daß Apollodoros die Erwähnung der Vita Marciana von dem jüngeren Sokrates als Aristoteles' Lehrer weggelassen habe, weil diese Sache chronologisch nicht von Bedeutung war.

²⁴ Kapp, Sokrates der Jüngere 227; Lasserre 503.

²⁵ Vgl. I.Düring, Aristoteles, Bibliothek der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaften, I. Reihe, 2, Heidelberg 1966, 50, der denkt, daß Aristoteles die Eudemische Ethik in der Akademie schrieb. Die Ergänzung ὁ πρεσβύτης steht auch in der Magna Moralia (1200b 25), die Aristoteles nach Düring ursprünglich auch in der Akademie verfaßt hätte.

²⁶ Schmitz 148 hält die beiden für Schüler des jüngeren Sokrates, weil sie und Neleus, Sohn des Koriskos nach Strabon 13, 1, 54, Sokratiker waren, aber zu jung seien, um Sokrates' Schüler zu sein. Es ist jedoch nicht nötig, diese Benennung so einseitig zu interpretieren: auch Platons Schüler konnte man teilweise als Sokrates' Schüler betrachten, weil sie durch Platon Sokrates und sein philosophisches Erbe kannten (s. auch unten). Statt dessen scheint es zumindest zweifelhaft, ob der jüngere Sokrates so wichtig geworden wäre, daß man auf seine Schüler dieselbe Benennung verwandt hätte wie auf die des Sokrates. Nach Schmitz 148-149 soll auch der Redner Aischines ein Schüler des jüngeren Sokrates gewesen sein, weil Demetrios von Phaleron ihn sowohl für Sokrates' als auch Platons Schüler hält. Hier geht es

daß Aristoteles diesen und Platons Lehrer mit einer passenden Ergänzung voneinander habe unterscheiden müssen.²⁷

Die Nachricht der Biographien, daß Sokrates Aristoteles' erster Lehrer war, hat man auch ohne den jüngeren Sokrates erklären wollen: in der Vita Marciana hätte ursprünglich die kollektive Benennung "die Sokratiker" stehen können, die anderen Mitglieder der Akademie hätten also vor Platon Aristoteles gelehrt,²⁸ oder in der Biographietradition hätte man ursprünglich von Xenokrates, einem der Mitglieder,²⁹ oder von Isokrates gesprochen.³⁰ Alle diese Theorien bedienen sich derselben Erklärung: der Name sei in die Form "Sokrates" verderbt, und so sei eine Sokrates-Legende entstanden.

Es könnte aber auch eine Dittographie in Frage kommen, was die Wiederholung des φοιτᾶ-Satzes in Verbindung mit einer Textkorruptel andeutet. Jemand hat vielleicht zuerst versehentlich den Namen "Sokrates" an Stelle von Platons Namen in der Vita Marciana geschrieben und ist danach mit Platons biographischen Nachrichten fortgefahren (χρόνον ἔτη κ' τυγχάνοντα). Ein anderer Schreiber hat dann vielleicht angenommen, daß hier eigentlich von Sokrates die Rede ist, und die obengenannte Stelle als χρόνον πλὴν ὀλίγον ὄντα gelesen (u.a. können die Buchstaben τ und λ ja leicht verwechselt werden). Dann hätte er die Wörter μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον hinzugefügt und mit dem ursprünglichen Text (φοιτᾶ Πλάτωνι...)

vielleicht doch um einen Anachronismus, wie Andrea Wörle, Die politische Tätigkeit der Schüler Platons, Göppinger Akademische Beiträge Nr. 112, Darmstadt 1981, 52-54, denkt. S. auch Lasserre 504, dem zufolge auch Philippos von Opus ein Schüler des jüngeren Sokrates gewesen sei, weil dieser nach Hesychios von Milet (Suda Φ 412) sowohl ein Schüler von Sokrates als auch von Platon gewesen ist. Diese Nachricht kann aber aus der Sokrates-Legende der Aristoteles-Biographien resultieren.

²⁷ Schmitz 151-154.

²⁸ A.-H. Chroust, Aristotle I, London 1973, 339-340, Anm. 34.

²⁹ So z.B. F. Jacoby, Apollodors Chronik, Philologische Untersuchungen, 16. Heft, Berlin 1902, 323, Anm. 13. Vgl. II Vita Arabica 10, nach der Aristoteles einen so guten Eindruck auf Platon machte, daß dieser nicht zuließ, daß Xenokrates ihn lehrte, obwohl er die anderen Schüler hatte lehren dürfen.

³⁰ So vor allem Chroust 57-58, 98-103, 252, 313, Anm. 22, 340, Anm. 41. Schon U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Aristoteles und Athen I, Berlin 1893, 318-319 hat von Isokrates gesprochen und Jacoby 323, Anm. 13 hat diesen Gedanken kritisiert. Kapp, Sokrates der Jüngere 227 hält es für unmöglich, hier an Isokrates oder auch an Xenokrates zu denken, und Schmitz 146, Anm. 215, der alle anderen Erklärungsversuche außer den mit dem jüngeren Sokrates für unbeholfen hält, kritisiert vor allem Chrousts Isokrates-Theorie.

weitergemacht. So könnte man auch eine hinreichende Erklärung für das korrupte πλὴν ὀλίγον ὄντα finden.³¹

Die Legende über Sokrates hat man auch für eine Fiktion erklärt. A. Busse hat vermutet, daß Olympiodoros im 6. Jh. n.Chr. der Vita Marciana diese Legende hinzugefügt hätte, weil er in seinem Kommentar zu Platons Gorgias sagt (S. 391 Jahn): ὁ Σωκράτης πολλοὺς καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἐποίησε, Κέβητα, Πλάτωνα, Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους.³² Aber I. Düring denkt, diese Nachricht könne schon von einem Ptolemaios aus dem 4. Jh. n.Chr. stammen,³³ dessen verlorengegangene Aristoteles-Biographie oder eine danach zusammengestellte Epitome wahrscheinlich der Vita Marciana, Vita Vulgata und Vita Latina, zwei syrischen und vier arabischen Biographien als Quelle gedient hat. Nach Düring wollte er in seiner Biographie Aristoteles auf jede nur mögliche Weise preisen. So konnte er ihm auch etwas zuschreiben, was zwar nicht wahrheitsgetreu war, aber gut zu seinen Absichten paßte, wie z.B. die Legende über das Orakel von Delphi und Sokrates.³⁴

Ich bin davon überzeugt, daß die Theorie über den jüngeren Sokrates als dem ersten Lehrer des Aristoteles von den Aristoteles-Biographien keine Stütze bekommt. Ganz sicher geht es um eine Sokrates-Legende, nur die Entstehungsart (Dittographie oder eine Erfindung z.B. des Ptolemaios?) bleibt unsicher.

³¹ Diese Möglichkeit hat H. Thesleff bemerkt und mir freundlicherweise mitgeteilt. Vgl. oben Anm. 21.

³² Busse, Die neuplatonische Lebensbeschreibung des Aristoteles, Hermes 28 (1893) 275.

³³ Dieser Ptolemaios war wahrscheinlich ein Mitglied der neuplatonischen Schule des Porphyrios und Iamblichos (Stobaios I 39 [904] 7) und wurde in der arabischen Tradition vom bekannten Ptolemaios (2. Jh. n.Chr.) mit dem Namen "Ptolemaios-el-Garib" (=der unbekannte Ptolemaios) unterschieden (Düring, Aristotle 208-210). Zu Ptolemaios s. auch A. Dihle, Der Platoniker Ptolemaios, Hermes 85 (1957) 314-325.

³⁴ Düring, Aristotle 118, 469-471. Gigon 42 ist der Ansicht, daß die Nachricht von Sokrates als dem Lehrer des Aristoteles schon daraus habe entstehen können, daß entweder Aristoteles selbst, vielleicht in seinem Dialog Menexenos, oder sein Schüler Demetrios von Phaleron in seinem Dialog Phaidondas (Diog. Laert. V 81) mit chronologischer Freiheit zusammen von Sokrates und Aristoteles gesprochen hätte, vielleicht auch von Sokrates' Tod, dessen Augenzeuge Aristoteles gewesen wäre.

Die Gestalt des jüngeren Sokrates kann man tatsächlich für fiktiv erklären und Theorien über ihn kurzerhand ablehnen. Der pseudoplatonische 2. Brief,³⁵ und der ihn nachahmende 15. Sokratiker-Brief³⁶ berichten uns auch von einem Sokrates. Als Quelle des 2. Briefes, dessen Adressat Dionysios ist, hat der Verfasser deutlich den echten 7. Brief (341bc) des Platons benutzt, übertreibt aber Platons Gedanken. Er läßt Platon Folgendes sagen (314bc): Man schützt sich am besten davor, wenn man nichts niederschreibt, sondern es auswendig lernt, denn alles Geschriebene läuft Gefahr, an die Öffentlichkeit zu gelangen. Darum hat er noch nie etwas über diese Dinge geschrieben: Es gibt keine Schriften von Platon und es wird nie welche geben. Was aber jetzt diesen Namen trage, stamme in Wirklichkeit von dem schön und jung gewordenen Sokrates (Σωκράτους ἐστὶν καλοῦ καὶ νέου γεγονότος).

Kürzlich hat Lasserre den schon früher vorgeführten und auch verworfenen Gedanken³⁷ wieder aufgegriffen, daß dieser Sokrates der jüngere Sokrates wäre. Aber weil der Brief apokryph ist, wäre er kein Beweis dafür, daß dieser Sokrates etwas geschrieben hätte. Der Brief würde nur bezeugen, daß Sokrates während Platons zweiter Reise nach Sizilien der Akademie vorgestanden hätte.³⁸ Lasserre versucht die Stelle Σωκράτους ἐστὶν καλοῦ καὶ νέου γεγονότος ohne das Perfekt zu übersetzen. Aber dieses Perfekt ist unbedingt durativ mitzuübersetzen.³⁹ Diese Worte müssen etwas anderes bedeuten als *"den jüngeren Sokrates, als er jung und schön war"*. Ich sehe kein Hindernis für die Annahme, daß dieser Sokrates nicht ein Hinweis auf Platon sein könnte, wie man im allgemeinen annimmt. Platon, als schön und jung gewordener Sokrates, hat die Gedanken seines Lehrmeisters weitergeführt, ist der Sinn dieser Worte.

³⁵ Thesleff, *Studies in Pl. chr.* 233 hält diesen Brief für einen Teil von dem in der Akademie entstandenen Briefroman, der um 350 v. Chr. geschrieben wurde.

³⁶ J. Sykutris, *Sokratikerbriefe*, RE Suppl. V (1931) 985 und *Die Briefe des Sokrates und der Sokratiker*, *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums*, 18. Band, 2. Heft, Paderborn 1933, 121 datiert diesen Brief mit unsicheren Gründen in das 3. Jh. n. Chr. H. Dörrie, *Sokratiker-Briefe*, *Kl. Pauly* 5 (1979) 257 spricht von der frühen Kaiserzeit oder dem ersten Jh. v. Chr.

³⁷ Howald, *Die Briefe Platons*, Zürich 1923, 188.

³⁸ Lasserre 503-504, 508-509. Lasserre verwirft völlig den Gedanken, daß Eudoxos, wie oft angenommen wird, während der Reise des Platons das Haupt der Akademie gewesen wäre.

³⁹ So auch H. Raeder, *Über die Echtheit der platonischen Briefe*, *Rhein. Mus.* 61 (1906) 535, Anm. 1.

Als indirekten Beweis für diese Auslegung kann man vielleicht den 15. Sokratiker-Brief heranziehen, der den Gedanken des 2. Briefes (und mittelbar auch den des 7. Briefes) wiederholt. Xenophon (2) ist der Ansicht, daß die Schüler und Freunde des Sokrates die Pflicht haben, alles darüber zu schreiben, was Sokrates gesagt und getan hat. Das werde die beste Verteidigung für ihn sein und seine Tugendhaftigkeit zeigen. In Megara sei ihm schon eine von Platon geschriebene Schrift mit Sokrates' Namen und einem wichtigen Gespräch in die Hände gekommen. Von sich selber sagt er, daß er kein Dichter sei wie Platon,⁴⁰ obwohl dieser seine dichterische Begabung leugne: er tue nämlich den schönen Jünglingen gegenüber spröde und sage, es gebe überhaupt kein Werk von ihm, sondern diese Werke seien von Sokrates, der jung und schön sei (Σωκράτους μέντοι νέου καὶ καλοῦ ὄντος).

Vielleicht hat der Schreiber dieses Briefes noch gewußt, daß der Sokrates des 2. Briefes Platon war. Aber überraschenderweise kann dieser Brief noch etwas anderes enthüllen. Wie angenommen wird, sind seine Adressaten Eukleides und Terpsion von Megara, und der Dialog, auf den Xenophon deutet, ist natürlich Platons Theaitetos,⁴¹ in dessen Rahmenerzählung wir dieselben Männer treffen und im Dialog selbst den jungen Sokrates. Jener Sokrates, der im pseudoplatonischen 2. Brief, 15. Sokratiker-Brief und im Theaitetos, Sophistes und Politikos erwähnt wird, bekommt also immer mehr platonische Züge.

Der pseudoplatonische Dialog Hippias Maior, den wahrscheinlich ein Schüler von Platon unter seiner Leitung oder mit seiner Zustimmung geschrieben hat,⁴² kann teilweise erklären, was die Rede von dem jungen Sokrates im platonischen Kreise bedeutet. Dieser Dialog enthält ein Gespräch des Sokrates und des Sophisten Hippias über das Schöne (τὸ καλόν). An diesem Gespräch nimmt auch ein merkwürdiger dritter Mann teil, der sowohl Hippias als auch Sokrates grob verletzt. Während des Gesprächs fragt Hippias immer wieder, wer der ärgerliche Mann ist, und sein kritischer, wahrheitsliebender Charakter wird nach und nach deutlicher (288d, 289e, 290e, 292a, 293ac). Zuletzt offenbart sich, daß er der Sohn des Sophroniskos (des Vaters von Sokrates) ist (298b), ein naher Verwandter des

⁴⁰ S. z.B. Diog. Laert. III 37; Athenaios XI 505de.

⁴¹ Sykutris, Die Briefe 58, 64 und Anm. 5.

⁴² Also um 360 v.Chr. nach Thesleff, Studies in Pl. chr. 226; Platonic Chr. 9, 22-23.

Sokrates (μοι τυγχάνει ἐγγύτατα γένους ὄν), der in seinem Haus wohnt (304d). Der dritte Mann scheint also Sokrates' Alter ego zu sein,⁴³ mit einer deutlichen Reminiszenz an sein Daimonion (Apologia 40bc). Allerdings ist dieses Alter ego redseliger als das Daimonion, das nur zu warnen pflegte.⁴⁴

Parallelen zu einer solchen Dihärese des Sokrates wie im *Hippias Maior* bieten auch *Theaitetos*, *Sophistes* und *Politikos*. An diese schließt sich nahtlos auch der *Parmenides* an,⁴⁵ in dem wir Sokrates als jungen Mann im Gespräch mit dem etwa fünfundsechzigjährigen Parmenides erleben (127b). Weil dieses Gespräch wahrscheinlich fiktiv ist, können wir annehmen, daß hinter Parmenides eigentlich Platon selbst steht.⁴⁶ Parmenides fragt den jungen Sokrates, ob es sein eigener Gedanke gewesen sei, die eigentlichen Ideen von dem Seienden zu unterscheiden, das der Ideen teilhaftig ist und ob er der Meinung sei, daß es etwas solcherart gebe, wie die Gleichheit an sich getrennt von der Gleichheit in einem Menschen. Und Sokrates bekennt, darauf gekommen zu sein (130b). Eben diese Stelle enthüllt einen Teil der Persönlichkeit des jungen Sokrates. Denn es ist klar, daß er von Platons Ideenlehre spricht, deren verschiedene Auslegungsweisen im *Parmenides* kritisch betrachtet werden.⁴⁷ Wie gewöhnlich angenommen wird, repräsentiert der junge Sokrates hier Platons eigene frühere Ansichten und Parmenides wenigstens teilweise seine spätere Position. Wenn Parmenides mit dem eleatischen Fremden des *Sophistes* und *Politikos* identifiziert wird (vgl. besonders *Sophistes* 217c) und der junge Sokrates des *Parmenides* mit dem jungen Sokrates der anderen Dialoge,

⁴³ S. auch Benardete, *The Being of the Beautiful. Plato's Theaetetus, Sophist, and Statesman*, Chicago 1984, XXIV-XXV und Th. A. Szlezák, *Platon und die Schriftlichkeit der Philosophie*, Berlin 1985, 91-106, der in diesem geteilten Sokrates einen aporetischen und einen dialektischen Aspekt sieht.

⁴⁴ Woodruff, *Plato. Hippias Major*, Oxford 1982, 81, Anm. 157.

⁴⁵ Nach Thesleff, *Studies in Pl. chr.* 158, 188; *Platonic Chr.* 19 hat Platon Parmenides um 362 v.Chr. geschrieben. Der zweite Teil des Dialogs stammt vielleicht nicht von ihm.

⁴⁶ Thesleff, *Studies in Pl. chr.* 158. Der im Dialog erwähnte Aristoteles seinerseits ist wahrscheinlich Platons Schüler (Thesleff 159, Anm. 158), der im J. 362 etwa 22 Jahre alt war.

⁴⁷ So führt Sokrates auch in den anderen Dialogen Platons Ideenlehre vor, während sie nach Aristoteles Platons eigene Theorie ist (s. *Metaphysik*).

zeigen sich Platons Züge sowohl in diesem jungen Sokrates als auch in dem eleatischen Fremden.⁴⁸

Sokrates' eigenartiger Verjüngungs- und Teilungsprozeß beginnt im Theaitetos und Parmenides und wird im Sophistes und Politikos fortgesetzt. In der Akademie hat wahrscheinlich eine Art Witz über Sokrates' Verdoppelung kursiert,⁴⁹ aber in diesen Dialogen hat man ihn anders aufgefaßt als im Hippias Maior. Wir treffen nicht das quälende und verletzende Alter ego des alten Sokrates, sondern das ziemlich stille Alter ego des verjüngten Sokrates, der kein Fragender, sondern ein Antwortender ist.

Man hat sich oft darüber gewundert, warum der junge Sokrates im Theaitetos nicht am Gespräch teilnimmt, sondern nur beiläufig erwähnt wird. Nach Schmitz bleibt der jüngere Sokrates, eine wichtige meinungsbildende Persönlichkeit unter den Ideenfreunden der Akademie, darum stumm, weil in diesem Dialog nichts von den Ideen gesprochen wird. Während er im Parmenides die Gedanken seiner Gruppe habe verteidigen müssen, sammle er jetzt still seine Kräfte für eine neue Verteidigung.⁵⁰ Das ist nicht überzeugend, vielmehr könnte es so sein, daß die Erwähnung des jungen Sokrates in diesem Dialog erst später hinzugefügt wurde, als jene Diskussionen in der Akademie begannen, auf Grund deren die Dialoge Sophistes und Politikos verfaßt wurden und als man im Scherz über Sokrates' Verjüngung und Teilung zu sprechen begann.

Theätet, im gleichnamigen Dialog eine sehr farbenreiche Persönlichkeit, wird im Sophistes eine ganz unpersönliche Gestalt, die nichts mehr mit dem historischen Theätet zu schaffen hat. Das können wir schon darin sehen, daß er dem eleatischen Fremden ganz kurz und teilnahmslos antwortet, ähnlich dem jungen Sokrates im Politikos. In diesen zwei Dialogen wird die dihäretische Teilungs- und Vereinigungsmethode angewandt, die in der Akademie wahrscheinlich seit den 70er Jahren des 4. Jh. entwickelt wurde, und es ist naheliegend, daß der Scherz über Sokrates' Verjüngung und Verdoppelung in engster Verbindung mit dieser

⁴⁸ Vgl. aber Schmitz 175-178, der im Parmenides und dem eleatischen Fremden Eukleides von Megara und im jungen Sokrates den jüngeren Sokrates sieht.

⁴⁹ Thesleff, *Studies in Pl. chr.* 194, Anm. 42.

⁵⁰ Schmitz 143.

Methode steht: Sokrates wird in Theätet (Aussehen) und Sokrates (Name) geteilt, aber diese werden auch umgekehrt wieder mit Sokrates verschmolzen.⁵¹

Der Schilderung von Sokrates' Alter ego, dem nahen Verwandten im Hippias Maior, entspricht eine Stelle im Politikos (257d-258a): Als der eleatische Fremde vorschlägt, daß an Theätets Stelle Sokrates' Namensvetter am Gespräch beteiligt werde, entgegnet Sokrates, es scheine ihm, als ob die beiden Jünglinge mit ihm verwandt wären (ἄμφω ποθὲν ἐμοὶ συγγένειαν ἔχειν τινά). Die Anwesenden (ὕμεῖς, vgl. Theodoros im Theaitetos) stellen fest, daß der eine ihm ähnlich sehe, der andere dagegen denselben Namen habe wie er, so als ob sie gewissermaßen Verwandte wären (ἢ πρόσρησις παρέχεταιί τινα οἰκειότητα). Als der junge Sokrates dann auf die Fragen des eleatischen Fremden zu antworten beginnt, verschmilzt Theätet (das Aussehen) völlig durch die zur Dihärese gehörende Vereinigungsmethode mit Sokrates' Namensvetter (dem Namen). Im Politikos gelangt man schließlich zu jenem jungen Sokrates, den der Parmenides beschreibt. Und von hier aus würde wohl der alte Sokrates auftauchen, wenn der Scherz fortgesetzt würde. Aber obwohl bis zu einem gewissen Grad als Resultat der Vereinigungsmethode der verjüngte Sokrates des Parmenides Gestalt gewinnt, kann man diesen und den jungen Sokrates des Politikos nicht völlig identifizieren. Der letztgenannte bleibt trotz allem relativ unpersönlich, weil der Sokrates im Parmenides Platons eigenes Geschöpf, der Sokrates im Politikos aber offensichtlich das von Platons Schülern ist.

Man könnte vielleicht trotz allem annehmen, daß Sokrates' Namensvetter auf dieselbe Weise wie Theätet eine historische Person gewesen ist. Doch durften beide dem verjüngenden und sich teilenden Sokrates ihre Gestalt leihen, und in der Tat bleibt der junge Sokrates in diesem Prozeß schon am Anfang (im Theaitetos) viel unpersönlicher als Theätet. Das könnte darauf hindeuten, daß wir hier doch eine fiktive Person vor uns haben, und dieser Eindruck verstärkt sich noch in den folgenden Dialogen.

⁵¹ Thesleff, *Studies in Pl. chr.* 155. S. auch Benardete III.150, Anm. 3. Vielleicht könnte die Erwähnung des jungen Sokrates nur als Sokrates' Namensvetter irgendwie – als eine Phase der dihäretischen Methode – die Ideenwelt repräsentieren und Theätet die Sinnenwelt (vgl. Thesleff 121, Anm. 11). In jedem Falle dienen Theätet (das Aussehen des Sokrates) und der junge Sokrates (der Name des Sokrates) als Beispiel im Unterricht der Akademie (s. Theaitetos 188b, 191b, 203a, 207e-208a, 209ac).

Im Theaitetos stellt Sokrates fest, daß Theätet, wenn er auf eine ihm gefällige Weise antwortet, schön (καλός) und nicht häßlich ist, wie Theodoros behauptet hatte. Wer nämlich schön sprechen kann, der ist auch schön und gut (185e, s. auch 194c). Vielleicht hat diese Feststellung etwas mit dem genannten Scherz zu tun, weil der Schreiber des 2. Briefes besonders von dem schön und jung gewordenen Sokrates spricht. In jedem Falle hat er diesen Scherz über Sokrates' Verjüngung, Teilung und Schönwerden gekannt. Mit dem Gedanken vom schön gewordenen Sokrates muß sich sowohl eine Anspielung auf die physische Schönheit versus Sokrates' Häßlichkeit als auch auf die philosophische Symbolik verbinden, weil das Schöne ein philosophischer Begriff und die höchste Idee z.B. im Symposion (vgl. Staat 486cff.) ist, und u.a. gerade Hippias sich über dieses Thema mit Sokrates und Sokrates' Alter ego unterhält.⁵²

Auch der von Aristoteles erwähnte jüngere Sokrates kann ein Pseudonym für Platon sein. Aristoteles war ja eben in jenen Jahren Mitglied der Akademie, in denen Parmenides, Sophistes, Politikos, Hippias Maior und der 2. Brief geschrieben wurden und kannte natürlich diesen Scherz über Sokrates' Verjüngung, Teilung und Schönwerden – er gibt ja auch selbst als Beispiel τὸν Σωκράτην..., ὅταν γίγνηται καλὸς ἢ μουσικὸς (Metaphysik 983b 13-14), das W.D.Ross für eine Art Witz hält,⁵³ und oft erwähnt er die stumpfe Nase des Sokrates. Schon Alexandros von Aphrodisias scheint als eine, zwar sekundäre, Möglichkeit angenommen zu haben, daß dieser jüngere Sokrates Platon wäre.⁵⁴

Aristoteles kritisiert die Parabel oder "Applizierung" der Formenlehre des jüngeren Sokrates, erklärt sie aber doch nicht, weil er wahrscheinlich annimmt, daß seine Leser sie kannten. Es ist naheliegend, daß er auf einen von Platon oft vorgebrachten Gedanken verweist. Hier in der Metaphysik scheint ein deutlicher Hinweis auf den mündlichen Unterricht oder auf Diskussionen in der Akademie

⁵² Vgl. auch Olympiodoros Worte oben S. 37.

⁵³ Ross, Aristotle's Metaphysics II, Oxford 1924, 129. Vgl. Taylor, Varia Socratica 43-44; Platon 191-192, dem zufolge die philosophischen Beispiele des Aristoteles Σωκράτης ἐστὶ λευκός und Σωκράτης ἐστὶ μουσικός auf den jüngeren Sokrates deuten, und λευκός auf die Blässe des kränklichen und bald sterbenden Sokrates in Platons 11. Brief.

⁵⁴ CAG I, 514, 4-6 (Hayduck): νεώτερον δὲ Σωκράτην ἢ τὸν Πλάτωνα λέγει, ἢ, ὃ καὶ μᾶλλον, τὸν ὁμώνυμον τῷ τοῦ Πλάτωνος διδασκάλῳ Σωκράτην. (Das erste ἢ ist nicht komparativ.) Noch im Jahre 1615 erwähnt P. Fonseca, Commentariorum In Metaphysicorum Aristotelis Stagiritae Libros, Tomus III, Köln (Reprografischer Nachdruck der Ausgabe des Fonseca, Darmstadt 1964) 351, beide schon von Alexandros erwähnte Möglichkeiten.

vorzuliegen, denen Platon im 7. Brief (341bff., vgl. auch Phaidros 275cff.) den Vorzug gibt. Die von dem jüngeren Sokrates oder Platon angeführte "Parabel" wird man also nicht *expressis verbis* in Platons Dialogen finden, aber Hinweise und Parallelen dazu kann man vielleicht erkennen – vor allem, wenn man bedenkt, daß die Parabel von einer geometrischen Figur ausgeht. Eben im 7. Brief benutzt Platon als Schulbeispiel (πολλάκις μὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ πρόσθεν ῥηθείς 342a, vgl. Metaphysik 1036b 25: ἦν εἰώθει λέγειν Σωκράτης ὁ νεώτερος) einen Kreis (allerdings keinen bronzenen wie Aristoteles in der Metaphysik), und zwar in einer zum philosophischen Exkurs gehörenden Stelle (342a-344d), und versucht mit diesem Beispiel zu beleuchten, was von einem Lebewesen und von allem anderen Seienden wahr ist. Die geometrischen Figuren schließen sich bei Platon auch anderswo an das Modell der zwei Ebenen an, z.B. im Staat 509d-511e, im Liniengleichnis.

Aristoteles kann hier auch besonders an Parmenides denken.⁵⁵ Gerade in diesem Dialog spricht man über die Ideenlehre des jungen Sokrates oder Platons (130bff.), und es wird angedeutet, daß dieser sich mit Aristoteles über die Ideen unterhielt (135d). Es stört nicht, daß es hier keine deutliche Parallele zur Parabel des jüngeren Sokrates des Aristoteles gibt: auch Aristoteles schweigt über Details der Parabel, und die "Ausdehnung" der εἶδη auf Lebewesen gilt sowieso als problematisch (130c 1-3).

Als Beweis für Platons Identität mit dem jüngeren Sokrates könnte man auch die Tatsache heranziehen, daß Aristoteles selten diejenigen Akademiker beim Namen nennt, von denen er spricht, und wenn er Platon erwähnt, offenbart er gewöhnlich nichts von seinem Verhältnis zu ihm.⁵⁶ Es wäre in diesem Sinne sonderbar, daß er hier gegen diese Gewohnheit verstoßen und den jüngeren Sokrates namentlich erwähnen würde, wenn er etwas von seinen Studien in der Akademie enthüllt. Jedenfalls hätte er ihn ja nicht lange gekannt, wenn wir annehmen wollen, daß der jüngere Sokrates wirklich Aristoteles' Lehrer war. Platon kannte er doch eine viel längere Zeit, als Lehrer und Kollege. Die einzige plausible Erklärung ist, daß Aristoteles den Namen "der jüngere Sokrates" als

⁵⁵ Vgl. Lasserre 507-508.

⁵⁶ Die einzige Ausnahme bildet die Nikomachische Ethik 1096a 12-17, in der Aristoteles mit inniger Wärme von Platon spricht.

Pseudonym für Platon angewendet hat. Es sei noch hinzugefügt, daß Aristoteles ja bei seiner Diskussion der Dialoge gewohnt war, Platon als Sokrates zu präsentieren, auch wenn er gewußt haben muß, daß die betreffenden Ansichten nicht dem historischen Sokrates, sondern Platon zuzuschreiben waren.⁵⁷

Den Versuch, den "jüngeren Sokrates" als den ersten Lehrer des Aristoteles und damit einen wichtigen Philosophen oder Mathematiker der Akademie zu sehen, darf man als eine Serie von Mißverständnissen verstehen. Wenn der pseudo-platonische 11. Brief nichts von ihm berichtet, haben wir als einzige Quellen Aristoteles' Metaphysik und die platonischen Dialoge Theaitetos, Sophistes und Politikos. Danach können wir nur sagen, daß dieser Namensvetter des Sokrates als junger Mann mit seinem Kameraden Theätet Geometrie, Philosophie und Sport getrieben hat, daß er im Politikos zum Gesprächspartner gemacht wurde und später oft, vielleicht in der Akademie, seine "Parabel" über das Lebewesen vortrug, die etwas mit der Ideenlehre zu tun hatte. Aber wenn wir Parmenides miteinbeziehen, kann der jüngere Sokrates nicht der von Schmitz behauptete jüngere Sokrates sein, weil der Sokrates des Parmenides deutlich eine Maske für Platon, den Vater der Ideenlehre, ist, der auch mit Aristoteles über die Ideen gesprochen hat.

Ich bin also der Ansicht, daß Platon, am Anfang des 4. Jh. ein guter Freund des Theätet und später Lehrer und Kollege des Aristoteles, wirklich der jüngere Sokrates ist, mit dessen Ideenlehre sich Aristoteles kritisch in der Metaphysik auseinandersetzt.

⁵⁷ In Pol. 1265a 2ff. werden sogar Gedanken aus den Gesetzen als "sokratisch" vorgestellt. Auf die seit Bonitz geführte Diskussion über die Möglichkeiten, bei Aristoteles den historischen Sokrates vom platonischen zu unterscheiden, kann hier nicht näher eingegangen werden.

Comic Violence in Aristophanes

MAARIT KAIMIO *et alii**

Everybody knows that violence is funny – that is, if it happens to someone else, if it does not really hurt, and if it is part of a show. Violence has been a characteristic of comic acting throughout the ages, especially in the type of comic show nowadays called farce.¹ Farcical scenes containing violence such as hitting, beating, kicking, pushing and pulling were apparently common in the Athenian Old Comedy, too, although Aristophanes himself sometimes takes a critical attitude towards such vulgar slapstick² and although – perhaps partly following his lead, partly because

* This paper is the product of a project group studying Aristophanes in the University of Helsinki in the autumn term of 1989 under the guidance of Maarit Kaimio. The other contributors are Sirkka Castrén, Kimmo Granqvist, Kai Heikkilä, Arto Kivimäki, Saara Koskinen, Annika Peltonen, Jari Pylkkänen, Liisa Savioja and Marienne Tapanainen.

¹ Concerning the use and effect of violence in farce, see A. Bermel, *Farce: A History from Aristophanes to Woody Allen*, New York 1962, 22ff., E. Bentley, *The Life of the Drama*, London 1965, 219ff.

² Nub. 537ff., Pax 739ff. Farcical elements in Aristophanes have been studied recently by C.T. Murphy, *Popular Comedy in Aristophanes*, *AJPh* 93 (1972) 169-89, D.M. MacDowell, *Clowning and Slapstick in Aristophanes*, in *Themes in Drama Vol. 10: Farce*, Cambridge 1988, 1-13, and G. Dobrov, *The Dawn of Farce: Aristophanes*, *ibid.* 15-31.

of our own different cultural environment – it has often been difficult for modern commentators to admit domiciliary rights to this kind of humour in his creation.³

We hope in this paper to elucidate the comic violence in Aristophanes mainly from three points of view: how much violence was acted out on the comic stage, what was the audience's reaction to it, and how these scenes of violence were integrated into the comedy in question. As a result we also hope to make clearer the differences in the use of violence on the comic and the tragic stage.

The problems of staging and performing of Greek drama have been much discussed lately.⁴ Mostly the discussion has been centred on the interpretation of Greek tragedy. N.J. Lowe has recently called attention to the great differences between the stagecraft of tragedy and comedy.⁵ It seems that most scholars agree at least in accepting that the Old Comedy allowed all kinds of gesture and movement to the actor,⁶ and that these are often reflected in the text, not only by actors describing what they are doing – this does not unequivocally mean that they really do it, see below p. 58 – but by the reactions of the supporting actor, who often uses such expressions typical of comedy as οὗτος, τί ποιεῖς; or μαρτύρομαι or

³ Murphy (see n. 2) speaks of popular entertainments "from which he (sc. Aristophanes) borrowed material to season, so to speak, his literary comedies and make them more acceptable to the 'groundlings' in his audience" and continues: "The possibility, however, cannot be ruled out that he used this type of material because he himself enjoyed it and thought it funny" (169). Dobrov (see n. 2) feels there is a clash between "the rebellious Dionysian *pharmakos* of farce" (29) and *logos*, the synthetic myth of comedy, which is the creative product of an individual poet (27ff.). Even MacDowell (see n. 2), who is positive about the power of such scenes to amuse an audience, admits that these scenes when read or discussed in a lecture-room sometimes seem unfunny or even coarse (7ff.).

⁴ See e.g. D. Wiles, *Reading Greek Performance*, G&R 34 (1987) 136-51, who, starting from the views proposed by O. Taplin, *The Stagecraft of Aeschylus*, Oxford 1977, and S. Goldhill, *Reading Greek Tragedy*, Cambridge 1986, tries to find a way which "will allow new approaches to language and new approaches to stagecraft to converge" (137), and the reply by S. Goldhill, *Reading Performance Criticism*, G&R 36 (1989) 172-82. See also M. Kaimio, *Physical Contact in Greek Tragedy: A Study of Stage Conventions*, Helsinki 1988, 5-11 with references to more literature.

⁵ N.J. Lowe, *Greek Stagecraft and Aristophanes*, in *Themes in Drama Vol. 10* (see n. 2), 33-52. See also O. Taplin, *Fifth-century Tragedy and Comedy: A Syncretism*, JHS 106 (1986) 163-74.

⁶ See A.W. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, 2nd ed. Oxford 1968, 176.

abundant deictic expressions, as in Ach. 111 ἄγε δὴ σὺ φράσον ἐμοὶ σαφῶς πρὸς τουτονί.⁷ When discussing the use of violence in Aristophanes we have tried to establish in each case as far as possible what is actually happening on the stage, and our main concern is such scenes where real physical violence takes place. These are generally held to be very frequent in Aristophanes and one has the impression that that is why they have not received the attention they deserve.⁸

A generally held view is also that the audience's reaction to such farcical violence has been more or less the same throughout the centuries⁹ – as incidentally the typical gags of comic violence seem to be.¹⁰ One must, however, take into account that although the natural reaction to laugh at seeing somebody – preferable someone superior to oneself – suffering violence and humiliation is probably universal in

⁷ The general agreement in the interpretation of such passages is apparent in the modern commentaries and translations of Aristophanes. Naturally, in more complicated cases there may be different interpretations, but the principle that the words reflect gestures actually seen on stage is clear. This attitude is also seen in many remarks of the scholia bearing on gestures on stage; sometimes such remarks are apparently correct (e.g. schol. vet. Ach. 926a), sometimes not (e.g. schol. vet. Tr. Ach. 111, vet. Equ. 453a).

⁸ "Beating scenes in Aristophanes (especially in driving off 'intruders' or pests) are so frequent that they need no listing" (Murphy 172), "The commonest and most basic type of clowning in Aristophanes is hitting" (MacDowell 7), "Beating scenes are almost too numerous in Aristophanes to cite" (Dobrov 22; see n.2). It is to be noted, however, that the two examples which Dobrov cites here are both from scenes where beating is *not* seen on stage. In the beginning of Equ., the slaves complain that they *have been beaten* by their master, and in the lines Equ. 364-70 the Sausage-seller and the Paphlagonian are hideously threatening each other, but certainly not doing exactly what they say (e.g. making a thief's purse from the other's skin), see below p. 58.

⁹ Cf. e.g. MacDowell (see n. 2) 12: "In this matter I see no reason to suppose that there was any great difference between an ancient audience and a modern one, and I believe that we can attempt to answer the question by observation of modern audiences, including ourselves when we go to see a farce."

¹⁰ It is amusing to note many parallel scenes – *mutatis mutandis* – in e.g. Aristophanes and Charlie Chaplin's films. In addition to the common beating and custard-pie scenes (as Ar. Lys. 381ff.) cf. e.g. the barbering scenes in Ar. Thesm. 215ff. and Chaplin's *Sunnyside* (1919; this scene, with Albert Austin as the man shaved, was not included in the final version) and *The Great Dictator* (1940), and the final scene with a house falling to pieces on somebody's head in Ar. Nub. 1485ff. and Chaplin's *Behind the Screen* (1916).

human beings,¹¹ there are cultural features which may have conditioned the Athenian audience to react in different ways from our own. Two questions are briefly taken up here: the possible influence of comedy's ritual prehistory, and the Athenians' way of confronting and controlling violence in their society.

It has been customary from Aristotle (Poet. 1449a10-13) onwards to link the development of Attic comedy with certain ritual or folklore origins. In our century, the most influential proponents of this view have come from the so-called Cambridge school of anthropologists. Their views and the criticism which they have received have recently been discussed in an illuminating essay by Rainer Friedrich.¹² Certainly there existed in several parts of the Greek world many folk traditions, most of them probably originally connected with ritual, which included verbal or physical violence,¹³ and they may have been the germs of – or parallels of – dramatic comic performances. However, with regard to the reactions of Aristophanes' audience, the main point is whether these ritual origins or parallels were in any sense relevant to them. Contests of comedy had, after all, been organized at the Dionysia from 486 BC, at the Lenaia from about 442, and plays had probably been performed at private cost earlier than that.¹⁴ There was accordingly a tradition of about sixty years of organized comic performances before Aristophanes began to write comedies, and probably the forms and conventions created during that time counted for more in the forming of the audience's expectations than any remote ritual origins.¹⁵

¹¹ This is the basic assumption in many theories of humour; see V. Raskin, *Semantic Mechanisms of Humor*, Dordrecht, Boston and Lancaster 1985, 21f., 36f. Cf. Bentley 229, MacDowell 7ff.

¹² R. Friedrich, *Drama and Ritual*, in *Themes in Drama Vol. 5: Drama and Religion*, Cambridge 1983, 159-223. See especially F. Cornford, *The Origins of Attic Comedy*, London 1914, and the literature given by Friedrich 212 n. 2.

¹³ See F.R. Adrados, *Festival, Comedy and Tragedy: The Greek Origins of Theatre*, Leiden 1975 (original edition in Spanish 1972), 68ff., 278ff., K. Reckford, *Aristophanes' Old-and-New Comedy Vol. 1*, Chapel Hill and London 1987, 441ff.

¹⁴ See Pickard-Cambridge (see n. 6) 82.

¹⁵ Cf. the discussion of Aristophanic satire by S. Halliwell in *The Yearbook of English Studies Vol. 14: Satire Special Number* (1984) 6-20, esp. 7f.

On the other hand, in some cases the violent scenes of Aristophanes have a direct reference to contemporary Athenian ritual practices. Vulgar, obscene and insulting speech formed a part of the traditional elements in several Athenian festivals, especially in those connected with Dionysus and Demeter.¹⁶ In Thesmophoria, the women may have hit each other with knotted whips.¹⁷ During Thargelia, two φάρμακοι were beaten with branches of fig and squill and driven out of the city.¹⁸ But even existing rituals could have lost their significance for the common Athenian – Aristophanes, for instance, makes fun of the odd ritual customs of Dipolieia in *Nub.* 984f. In any case, the carnival spirit of the Dionysiac festival gave occasion to licens mockery, obscenity and violence in comedy.¹⁹

To understand the nature of violence in Aristophanes and the reaction of his Athenian audience to the comic scenes involving violence, it is necessary to examine the social and legal aspects of violence in the society of classical Athens. This enables us to avoid, at least to a certain extent, anachronistic conclusions made on the basis of our own, potentially different view of violence. The legal aspects of violence are often used by Aristophanes to characterize violent scenes and the persons involved in them. One has only to consider the many passages where a person under threat of violence asks the bystanders to bear witness to the insolence in view of later evidence in court.²⁰ The main difference between Athens and our modern society in attitudes towards violence lies in the nature and extent of acceptable self-help. In Athenian society, the individual had to rely on self-help and the forces he could muster himself in order to execute many acts which are now done for him by the state.²¹ Self-defence was given ample scope in Athenian

¹⁶ This is so in Anthesteria, Thesmophoria, Haloa, the Eleusinian Mysteries, see H.W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians*, 86, 98, 109, W. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, Cambridge, Mass. 1985 (original edition in German 1977), 238, 244f., 287.

¹⁷ See Hesych. s.v. μόροττον.

¹⁸ See L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, Berlin 1932, 179ff., Parke (see n. 16) 146f., Burkert (see n. 16) 82ff.

¹⁹ Cf. K.J. Dover, *Aristophanic Comedy*, 31ff., Halliwell (see n. 15) 8, 15f.

²⁰ E.g. *Nub.* 1297, *Vesp.* 1436, *Av.* 1031, 1047f., *Ran.* 525ff.; other references to legal processes e.g. in *Ach.* 566ff., *Equ.* 255ff., *Nub.* 1322f., *Vesp.* 42ff.

²¹ See A. Lintott, *Violence, Civil Strife and Evolution in the Classical City 750-330 BC*, London and Canberra 1982, 26.

law, which placed the responsibility on the one who had started the violence.²² This way of thinking about self-help might justify even such scenes of comic violence which a modern observer would consider at least morally suspect, if not altogether criminal.

In provisions against criminal violence Athenian law and custom emphasized different factors from modern legal thought and social practice. An assault case, *δίκη αἰκείας*, consisted principally of finding out who was the first to hit rather than of estimating what damage was done in the assault.²³ Occasionally what we would consider an excusable misdeed or harmless slapping ended up in court with severe penalties inflicted for the deed. This is in part explained by the absence of many extenuating circumstances which are nowadays taken into account, such as anger or even insanity.²⁴ The intention to commit violence was also of significance. This could be established on the basis of e.g. known enmity between the parties concerned and could lead to an indictment for attempted murder even if the injuries suffered were not very serious.²⁵

Some forms of violence were held to concern the community as a whole although violence was done to a private person. *Ἀγραφὴ* procedure could be invoked against *ὑβρις* and *κάκωσις*. Here any Athenian was allowed to bring a charge against the suspect and refer the matter to the court of *θεσμοθέται*. The public character of these charges is also indicated by the fact that the indemnities were payable to the state whereas in *δίκη αἰκείας* it was the plaintiff who was compensated. The nature of *ὑβρις* has been much discussed, but its socially most important feature seems

²² This is illustrated e.g. by *Lys.* 3, especially 3,39, where it is argued that the plaintiff did not sue at once, but only after four years, because he had himself started using violence. In fact, *Lysias'* speech tries to show that the defendant resorted to violence only to protect his friend whom *Simon* tried to drag away. Cf. *Dem.* 23,50.

²³ On *αἰκεία* see *Lintott* (see n. 21) 174, *J.H. Lipsius*, *Das attische Recht und Rechtsverfahren*, Leipzig 1905, 645.

²⁴ Cf. *K.J. Dover*, *Greek Popular Morality in the Time of Plato and Aristotle*, Oxford 1974, 147f. Cf. *Lys.* 10,30, where verbal slander is the issue.

²⁵ On this charge, called *τραῦμα ἐκ προνοίας*, see *Lysias'* speech on the subject (4) and *Aristot. Ath. Pol.* 57,3; cf. *Pl. Leg.* 9.877a-b, *L. Gernet*, *Recherches sur le développement de la pensée juridique et morale en Grèce*, Paris 1917, 359.

to be that it humiliates and dishonours its object.²⁶ This might be understood as a threat to the social order and public morality of the city – if a citizen's social standing and reputation were challenged, the established structures of the community might eventually be in danger. A charge of *κάκωσις* could be occasioned by abuse of parents by their children or protégés by their guardians, and the morally dubious character of the offence is clear from its definition.²⁷ A person guilty of *κάκωσις* undermined the basis of some of the most important social relationships and deserved to be punished accordingly.

The class-consciousness of the Athenian society is reflected also in the legal treatment of violence. Equality before the law existed only between citizens; metics and slaves were in a far weaker position in conflicts with a citizen, and slaves were subjected to institutionalized forms of violence which citizens were exempted from. These included e.g. torture in court and violent coercion by the the slave's master.²⁸

The scenes in Aristophanes where violence occurs are rather heterogeneous. There appear, however, clear types of scenes, which can be roughly divided into two groups: scenes which belong organically to certain formal parts of comedy, and those which can appear in different parts of the play where the common factor lies more in the type of person subjected to violence. The first group comprises scenes of violence in the *parodos* and *agon* as well as the expulsion episodes in the second part of the comedy after the *parabasis*; in the second group one can include the maltreatment of officials and other authorities, beatings of slaves and scenes of violence parodying tragedy. We shall discuss the types of scene in this order.

In four of the extant plays of Aristophanes, namely in *Ach.*, *Equ.*, *Vesp.* and *Av.*, there is a battle scene in the *parodos* in which a conflict is built up between an actor/actors and the chorus or between two actors, one of whom the chorus supports. In the battle scene the chorus attacks its opponent. The chorus is thus an active participant in the action, its purpose being to punish an actor for a deed already

²⁶ From the relevant literature may be mentioned D.M. MacDowell, *Hybris in Athens*, G&R 23 (1976) 14-31, N.R.E. Fisher, *Hybris and Dishonour* i-ii, G&R 23 (1976) 177-93 and G&R 26 (1979) 32-47. See also Dover (see n. 24) 54, 147.

²⁷ Different types of *κάκωσις* are listed by Aristotle in *Ath.Pol.* 56,6.

²⁸ See Lipsius (see n. 23) 888ff., D.M. MacDowell, *The Law in Classical Athens*, London 1978, 245ff.

done or to prevent an actor from doing something that is not to its liking. As soon as the actor manages to persuade the chorus to listen to his arguments, the chorus loses the initiative in the situation and is put into the background for the rest of the play.²⁹ The pursuing of the hero may have its origins in the ritual hunting of a fleeing victim or in expelling a scapegoat, but the type of scene has obviously long before Aristophanes found its stylized form in the comic tradition of a heated *parodos* followed by a formal speaking contest, the *agon*.³⁰ This scheme is treated in a variety of ways by Aristophanes, both with regard to the degree and the type of violence used.

In *Ach.*, the chorus enters the empty stage on its own initiative in pursuit of its opponent (204). The old men are in a very ferocious mood, but doomed to failure, as is implied by their own complaints of their lost youth and vigour.³¹ The pursuit is interrupted by a surprise element as the chorus steps aside into "hiding" at 239f., when *Dicaeopolis* appears with his small cortège of Rural *Dionysia*. After this interlude, the chorus' sudden renewed attack must come as an expected, but yet pleurably surprising effect for the audience. The chorus uses second person imperatives *βάλλε, παίε* (281f.), apparently common in military attacks.³² It is impossible to know for sure whether the chorus actually stoned *Dicaeopolis* on the stage, but he certainly acts as if it did, as he complains of the damage caused to his pot (284), which he may have used to protect himself, thus adding a comic touch to this threatening situation. The threats become more urgent (319f., 325) until *Dicaeopolis* takes refuge in the counter-attack with the parody of the altar scene from Euripides' *Telephus* (see below p. 68). After that, the chorus surrenders and lays down its arms, i.e. the stones, dancing to a little song in a way that humorously combines quick movements and the rolling of stones (344ff.).

In the *parodos* of *Equ.* one of the actors calls the chorus to help, and it is immediately involved in a very lively action. There seems to be a sudden general

²⁹ Cf. B. Zimmermann, *The Parodoi of Aristophanic Comedy*, SIFC ser. 3: 2 (1984) 15.

³⁰ Cf. Reckford (see n. 30) 239f., 489ff.

³¹ See M. Silk, *Pathos in Aristophanes*, BICS 34 (1987) 78-111 for the frequent pathetic descriptions of old men; on *Ach.*, p. 89f.

³² Cf. Xen. *Anab.* 5, 7, 21 and 28. On the use of such imperatives in Greek drama, see M. Kaimio, *The Chorus of Greek Drama within the Light of the Person and Number Used*, Helsinki 1970, 129ff.

confused chase going on on the stage. The Paphlagonian appears at the door and at first intimidates the Sausage-seller into flight, which, however, is reversed when first the slave, then the chorus incite the latter to attack.³³ The Paphlagonian may have run before his pursuers to the outer edge of the orchestra, as he complains to the audience that he is being hit by conspirators (255ff.).³⁴ The conflict seems, however, to remain mostly on the verbal level until at ll. 271ff. there may be some comic scuffle, since the speaker³⁵ threatens to strike the Paphlagonian if he tries to break through on one side, and to put his leg in the way if he tries the other side, and the Paphlagonian shouts (273) ὦ πόλις καὶ δῆμ', ὑφ' οἴων θηρίων γαστρίζομαι. However, the physical encounter is quickly turned into a shouting and insulting contest between the Paphlagonian and the Sausage-seller (284ff.), and the chorus' part in the conflict is over.

In *Vesp.*, the chorus has no hostile intentions when it enters, but reveals its waspish nature only when appealed to by Philocleon (400ff.) and provoked to anger by the sight of Bdelycleon and his slaves keeping Philocleon tightly in their grip (451ff.). Much humour is derived in this scene from the verbal play of blending together military commands and expressions referring to real wasps (422ff., 430ff.) and also from the costumes of wasps contrasting with the masks of old men. The chorus seems to get the upper hand with its threats, as Bdelycleon calls some more slaves to hold Philocleon and retires into his house – the audience cannot know what he is up to. When he emerges again armed with a stick and a smoking-pot (456),³⁶ he makes a quick and effective attack with his slaves, and the chorus is routed (460).

In *Av.* the chorus enters the stage (294ff.) without knowing what is going on, only gradually finds out, and then proceeds to act according to its own natural impulses. The battle array, military language and mixing of human and animal features, which Aristophanes had already made use of in *Vesp.*, is here built up to be the main source of comic effect both on the verbal level and in the movements

³³ The imperatives of the chorus in 247 seem to be ambiguous, since they are typical attack cries (see n. 32), but in 251f. they are clearly addressed to the Sausage-seller.

³⁴ Cf. C.W. Dearden, *The Stage of Aristophanes*, London 1976, 149, W. Kraus, *Aristophanes politische Komödien*, Wien 1985, 130.

³⁵ The lines 271-2 are given to the chorus in the MSS., to the Sausage-Seller by Willems.

³⁶ Columella, *De re rust.* 9, 15, 5-6 describes a smoking-pot used against bees; cf. A. Sommerstein in his commentary on *Wasps* (Warminster 1983) ad loc.

(343ff., 352f., 364f.). On the side of the humans, the use of domestic utensils for military purposes, already seen in passing in Ach., is similarly comically elaborated (357ff.). In the midst of these amusing battle arrangements, the battle itself is stopped before it has really begun. As soon as the birds start to attack, the Hoopoe intervenes (366) and gradually pacifies the birds, getting both sides to put down their arms, again with much verbal humour derived from the oddity of their weapons (386ff., 400ff.).

We can see how Aristophanes in these parodos scenes varies the traditional elements of pursuit and violence and reduces the actual battle mainly to quick movements and threatenings full of verbal humour. The violence of the chorus does not solve the conflict, but the solution depends on the rhetoric of the hero following these battle scenes. The purpose of the chorus' violence is, in view of the structure of the scene, to force the hero to defend his stand, and in view of the comic effect, to give extra flavour to the scene.

Violence between semichoruses is presented in two of the plays. In Ach. the first semichorus, outraged by Dicaeopolis' speech, threatens him and tries to attack him, but is stopped by the second semichorus (563f.). The words ἀρθήσει (565) and ἔχομαι μέσος (571) are wrestling terms and may indicate real physical contact imitating wrestling between the members of the semichoruses (or their leaders), although the latter idiom is often used metaphorically, too.³⁷ The first semichorus' reaction – calling General Lamachus for help – shows in any case that they consider themselves to be in danger of violence. With this appeal, the entrance of Lamachus is integrated into the plot.

In Lys. the male and female semichoruses play a more important role, because their confrontations offer a handy way to dramatize the conflict between the sexes, a central feature of this play which is realized both in the orchestra, in the parts of the chorus, and on the stage proper between the actors. The first conflict flares up in the parodos and thus corresponds to the scenes discussed above. The men are presented as acting under false assumptions and as inadequately prepared, being easily surprised and humiliated by the righteous and strategically superior women.³⁸

³⁷ E.g. in Nub. 1047.

³⁸ See the analysis of this parodos in the commentary of J. Henderson, *Aristophanes' Lysistrata*, Oxford 1987, 98f. at ll. 254-386.

The semichoruses exchange insults and threats, and their movements probably included many threatening gestures, which were sometimes emphasized by the use of the objects brought onto the stage, such as wood (357) and torches (376). This threatening scene consists of two phases: at first, the choruses use very violent language, but their bark is worse than their bite (360ff.); then, from 370 onwards, where the women again raise their pitchers from the ground, the words become full of real intention. The violent action culminates in 381ff., where the men attempt to singe the hair of the women with their torches and the women answer by dousing the men with the water contained in their pitchers.³⁹ Aristophanes prepares this moment with a series of hints and jokes (375, 377, 378), so that the audience waits in delighted suspense whether the women really will do what they threaten. And they do. The lines give a clear picture of what happens on stage: σὸν ἔργον, ὦχελῶε (381) and ἄρδω σ' (384) describe the dousing, and the victims react with exclamations like οἴμοι τάλας (382) and οὐ παύσει; (383). Verbal mockery also plays a part in the humiliation. The women show ironic concern: μῶν θέρμον ἦν; (382) and hint that the old men are looking withered: ὅπως ἀμβλαστάνης (384).

The conflict of men and women is continued in the parabasis, which is nearly an agon itself. Each epirrhematic part of the parabasis ends with a threat (634f., 656f., 680f., 704f.). The semichoruses use in turn threatening gestures but hardly come to grips with each other – probably the men's threat of putting the women's necks through a hole in a plank is, in spite of the deictic τουτονὶ τὸν ἀύχένα (681), as imaginary as the women's more ferocious countermove (704f.). A very similar sequence of mutual threats is found in the choral interlude 781ff., which is a kind of miniature second parabasis.⁴⁰ Here slapstick is combined with bawdry when the men perform a kick (799), which lifts their garments and reveals their pubic hair to the women (800), who in turn ask if they should kick the men (823). The men remind them of what they might expose (824). Both assert the excellent condition of their genitals as a sign of valour (801ff.) and youthfulness (825ff.). In

³⁹ Henderson (see n. 38) suggests that for practical reasons the pitchers probably contained just enough water to douse the men, but were not completely filled (107 at ll. 319-49, 116 at l. 381). The dousing may be an old slapstick trick, as he says, but Pax 969-72 is not really a parallel to this hilarious piece of custard-pie comedy, since there the audience is sprinkled with lustral water, but probably not made soaking wet, which certainly is the effect aimed at here, however much real water might be used in the process.

⁴⁰ Henderson (see n. 38) 189 at ll. 781-828.

the reconciliation scene these violent encounters are balanced by more tender physical contact, when the women put the cloaks back on the men's shoulders (1021; both parties had stripped for the battle, cf. 615, 637, 662), pretend to extract a gnat from their eyes (1030f.), wipe away their tears and kiss them (1035f.) in spite of their mild protests. Thus the physical encounters starting with violence form a coherent, logical and in its strict parallelism a very formally organized whole throughout this drama and at the same time reflect the similar encounters going on between the actors (see below pp. 62, 65).

As we remarked above, the violent attack of the chorus in the *parodos* generally soon gives way to a formal *agon* or speech by the actor, in which the skills of persuasion are what counts. However heated the argument in a comic *agon* is, we rarely meet physical violence there. An exception is the *agon* between the Sausage-seller and the Paphlagonian in *Equ.* This is in line with the systematic use of invective attacks and threatenings with violence seen in this comedy.⁴¹ The common opinion of Aristophanes' motives in writing *Equ.* in 424 BC is that it is a protracted personal attack upon the Athenian demagogue Cleon and his policies, and this makes it rather a serious comedy.⁴² There is, however, another view, which links *Equ.* not with Aristophanes' personal animosity but with the old iambic tradition and its conventions.⁴³ In this tradition, invective was clearly regarded as the outstanding feature of the genre,⁴⁴ which also contained obscenities and picaresque tales and had in Athens clear connections with the cults of Dionysos and Demeter.⁴⁵ It is clear that most of the hair-raising threats uttered throughout the play belong to this tradition and do not presuppose the realisation of the words on stage any more than e.g. Hipponax's violent utterances, which are very similar.⁴⁶ Of course, as *Equ.* is a dramatic work, such words were probably accompanied with

⁴¹ On the vindictive violence of *Equ.* see e.g. C.H. Whitman, *Aristophanes and the Comic Hero*, Cambridge 1964, 80f.

⁴² See e.g. R.G. Ussher, *Aristophanes*, Oxford 1979, 15.

⁴³ See e.g. R.M. Rosen, *Old Comedy and Iambographic Tradition*, Atlanta 1988, 2f., 59ff.

⁴⁴ M.L. West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus*, Berlin 1974, 22.

⁴⁵ See Rosen (see n. 43) 3ff., West (see n. 44) 32ff., Reckford (see n. 13) 461ff., and above p. 51.

⁴⁶ For parallel threats of physical violence in Hipponax, see Rosen (see n. 43) 70.

fierce gesturing. However, in this play the agon exceptionally culminates in physical, not merely verbal violence. The insults and threats of the opponents are twice raised to the pitch of a quickened altercation (284ff., 367ff.) and at the end of the agon this happens for the third time (443ff.). At the point when this dialogue becomes even more hectic with the use of *antilabai* (450), the First Slave tells the Sausage-seller to hit the Paphlagonian (451) and the latter reacts by wailing *ιοὺ ἰοὺ, τύπτουσί μ' οἱ ξυνωμόται* (451f.). Then the Sausage-seller is again told to beat, punch and punish him with guts and colons (453ff.), which he apparently has with him as props suitable to his *métier*. It should be noted that the coarse physical fight which apparently takes place on the stage is accompanied with a subtle if not refined verbal play between *κόλον* and *κολάζω*. Violent action is thus the decisive factor in bringing victory to the Sausage-seller in this agon, and this makes the chorus' congratulations sound somewhat ironic: (459) *ὡς εἶ τὸν ἄνδρα ποικίλως τ' ἐπῆλθεσ ἐν λόγοισιν*.

After the parabasis, a type of short scene very commonly used by Aristophanes is the expulsion of a disturbing or irritating person by the hero. The hero has acquired his fantastic goal, and now the *alazones* appear.⁴⁷ Very often they are expelled from the stage by the use of violence.

The persons thus rejected are types which the audience probably liked to see humiliated. Sycophants are favourite victims.⁴⁸ They were generally disliked because of their way of earning a living at the cost of their fellow-men, and by showing them treated violently and by condemning the institution of sycophancy Aristophanes was likely to have the sympathies of his audience on his side. Another common type of victim is a person who in real life has authority over the common man – either because of his official position, his intellectual ability or religious sanction.⁴⁹ Here the inverted world of the carnival licence of comedy is clearly

⁴⁷ See K. McLeish, *The Theatre of Aristophanes*, London 1980, 75.

⁴⁸ Ach. 824ff., 925ff., Av. 1464ff. Cf. also the treatment of a sycophant by Aristides in Eupolis' *Demoi* (PCG frg. 99, 102ff.).

⁴⁹ E.g. the inspector Av. 1010ff., the dealer of decrees Av. 1035, the creditors Nub. 1214ff., the wronged persons Vesp. 1388ff.; the astronomer Meton Av. 992ff., the poet Cinesias Av. 1373ff.; the priest Hierocles Pax 1052ff., the soothsayer Av. 959ff., the goddess Iris Av. 1202ff.

seen. But it is not a mere Punch and Judy show. Such scenes represent the culmination of deep conflicts in attitudes and interests presented in the first part of the comedy, as in Ach. Dicaeopolis' frustration with the war politics with all its unpleasant consequences or in Av. Pisthetairos' disgust at the Athenian society.

It is to be noted that many of these insulted persons really do have good legal claims on the hero, such as the creditors of Strepsiades in Nub. 1214ff. and the persons wronged by Philocleon in Vesp. 1388ff., and often when they are treated violently by the hero, they make a quite legal claim concerning their bad treatment, like the inspector in Av. 1031 μαρτύρομαι τυπτόμενος ὧν ἐπίσκοπος. In the world of comedy, however, such legal claims count for nothing, and the light-hearted violence of the hero triumphs.

The violent ending of many of these scenes is clearly seen in the text. Often the hero gives straightforward orders to his assistants, as in Ach. 926 ξυλλάμβαν' αὐτοῦ τὸ στόμα or Pax 1119 ὃ παῖε παῖε τὸν Βάκιν. The reactions of the victim often show that violence has been done to him – he expresses his disagreement e.g. with the stereotypic μαρτύρομαι or with cries of pain.⁵⁰ Strong imperative expressions, like Nub. 1299 ὑπάγε or Av. 1258 οὐκ ἀποσοβήσεις; οὐ ταχέως; εὐράξ, πατάξ, are often used by the hero in the end.

As the pattern of these scenes is necessarily very similar, Aristophanes takes every opportunity to offer variation. Thus the audience has the double pleasure of the expectation of a sure climax and surprise in the manner of presentation. This is especially important in Av., where there are three series of expulsion scenes.⁵¹ From our point of view, we can note that Aristophanes sometimes heightens the humorous effect of violence with the use of unusual weapons instead of the habitual sticks, thus creating visual humour relevant to the situation. E.g. in Av. 1397ff. Pisthetairos drives Cinesias off, hustling him with a pair of wings, wings being just what Cinesias had come to ask in order to sing like a nightingale and fly after the airy dithyrambs, and in Ach. 824ff. Dicaeopolis turns the sycophant out with the help of his ἀγορανόμοι, real leather strips which were brought on stage as props to be ready in case the peace of the market should be disturbed (723ff.). Often

⁵⁰ Nub. 1297, Vesp. 1436, Pax 1119, Av. 990, 1019, 1031, 1466.

⁵¹ See T. Gelzer, Some Aspects of Aristophanes' Dramatic Art in the *Birds*, BICS 23 (1976) 9ff., who analyses the many types of variation used by Aristophanes including the methods used by the hero, the types of the intruders, the style and diction, the length and grouping of the scenes, the tempo of the whole series.

Aristophanes carefully prepares the joke of the expulsion. In Av. 981 Pisthetairos answers to the Oraclemonger by inventing an oracle of his own, where a beating is promised to any ἀλαζών (985), and proceeds to hustle him with a papyrus roll in imitation of his own words λαβὲ τὸ βίβλιον (986, 989) – the Oraclemonger's wails (990) show that he is subjected to unpleasant measures. In the following scene, Meton is given the "friendly" advice that there is much trouble afoot in the city (1010ff.) as well as the danger of getting beaten (1014). He begins his retreat, but too late – he gets beaten: 1017 νῆ Δί', ὡς οὐκ οἶδ' ἄν εἰ φθαίης ἄν· ἐπίκεινται γὰρ ἐγγύς αὐταί. – οἴμοι κακοδαίμων. – οὐκ ἔλεγον ἐγὼ πάλαι; Really elaborate jokes in connection with violence are those used by the drunken Philocleon. He makes fun of the lessons of civilized conversation given to him by his son (Vesp. 1186ff., 1190ff., 1258ff.) and tells the story of the victorious old pancratiast while punching his son to the ground (1381ff.),⁵² and a Sybaritan story of the breaking of a vase (1436ff.) when smashing the man calling him to court (note the victim's reaction 1436 ταῦτ' ἐγὼ μαρτύρομαι).

The expulsion of the sycophant is made a special show in Ach. 927ff.⁵³ In a way typical of Aristophanes, metaphor is given a visual form on stage, when Nicarchus, that κρατῆρ κακῶν, τριπτῆρ δικῶν (937), is wrapped up as a vase.⁵⁴ The moment of violence is carefully prepared by hinting at what will happen to him already before he comes to stage (904f.). At 925, the pace of stage action quickens. Dicaeopolis is outraged by Nicarchus' insolence, Nicarchus calls witnesses, and next Dicaeopolis orders somebody – probably his slave – to gag him. During the little song that follows, the sycophant is bound with some padding like a fragile earthenware vase, and many verbal and practical jokes are made from this metaphor, apparently including some rough knocking, which causes him to mumble through his gag like a broken vase when sounded (932ff.). At the corresponding lines of the antistrophe, the wrapped sycophant is thrown upside down (943ff.) and finally loaded on the Theban slave's back (954).

⁵² It seems plausible that he attacks Bdelycleon at 1385 ὁ πρεσβύτερος κατέβαλε τὸν νεώτερον, as Bdelycleon at 1387 admits that he had learned the lesson thoroughly.

⁵³ Cf. the dressing up of the sycophant in Pl. 926ff., see p. 65.

⁵⁴ See J. Taillardat, *Les images d'Aristophane*, Paris 1962, 412f., P. Thiery, *Aristophane: Fiction et dramaturgie*, Paris 1986, 104ff.

We now turn to those instances of violence which do not have such a clear connection with certain traditional parts of the comedy, but which can occur in different phases of the dramatic structure. A type of scene related to the expulsion scenes of intruders is such where authorities, especially the representatives of legal force, are treated badly. These are not, however, limited to the expulsion episodes, but may occur in any part of the comedy.

In Athens, the executive police force was in the hands of Scythian archers, who were slaves owned by the state and directed by public officials. They were a favourite target of comedy, both because they represented a legal violence which was not very well accepted by the citizens, and because they were barbarians.⁵⁵ They were normally used as mute extras. They appear in Ach. 54 at the order of the herald to drag off Amphitheos from the speaker's platform. Amphitheos cries for help – not from fellow-citizens, but from fellow-gods – and Dicaeopolis blames the *prytaneis* for wronging the assembly. The archers are here seen doing their well-known duty,⁵⁶ and it is difficult to say if the audience saw anything amusing in that; the funniness of the scene may have lain mainly in the divinity of Amphitheos, his pedigree and divine helpers.

In the other archer scenes of Aristophanes, the situation is different. There they are presented as funny because they fail to do their duty. In Lys. 387ff. the *Proboulos* comes with the archers to arrest Lysistrata, and when he tells the four archers one by one to seize her, each is put to flight by a woman appearing to support the attacked one, as is made clear by the impatient orders of the *Proboulos* (437, 441, 445, 449). The climax comes when he orders the full troop to charge at the same time⁵⁷ and to tie the women (451f., 455), and Lysistrata summons a host of market women from the Acropolis to her aid. Together they easily rout the archers – the battle is over in three lines (459-61). The scene is made funny by the rapid succession of beaten archers and threatening women and by the final tumult, which, though short, was probably quite a violent encounter.

⁵⁵ See E.M. Hall, The Archer Scene in Aristophanes' Thesmophoriazusae, *Philol.* 133 (1989) 47.

⁵⁶ Which is referred to by Aristophanes also in Eccl. 258f.

⁵⁷ It is not necessary to think that he orders additional archers to the four who have been rebuffed, as Henderson (see n. 38) at ll. 449-52a suggests. The market women are necessary because the archers are now charging all together – Lysistrata and her three helpers have succeeded in rebuffing them one by one.

In *Thesm.*, the archer's first appearance is in the traditional mute role, and he silently obeys when the *Prytanis* commands him to take Euripides' relative away, tie him to a plank and watch him carefully with a whip (930ff.). The orders are given in a harsh tone and lead us to understand that the archer is a dull, lazy boor. But when he appears again on stage with the Relative (1001ff.), Aristophanes provides a surprise: the archer now has a speaking part, and a very funny speaking part, too, with his broken Attic accent. At first, the archer shows some brutality in tightening the Relative's bonds on purpose (1004ff.), but soon he is ridiculed in every way so heavily that the roles are again turned upside down, as in *Lys.* It is to be noted that the legal forces – the heralds, the *prytaneis*, the *probouloi*, the archers – are never on the same side as the heroes of the comedy: they are always the losers, the ridiculed ones.⁵⁸ There are also scenes where other normal relationships of authority are violently overturned. One is the rather prolonged scene of *Eccl.*, where a young man is subjected to the love-making of three old hags (976-1111). Here the existing order of the society has already been overturned in the comedy and the old women act legally when they coerce the young man, as they repeatedly confirm (1015ff., 1049ff., 1077f.). Thus it is logical that they win their way. The poet again and again makes fun of the poor man who is literally dragged by the old women, generally in two directions at once (1037, 1049f., 1054ff., 1065f., 1074ff., 1083ff., 1093f.).

The most remarkable scenes involving the violent overturning of authorities occur at the end of *Nub.*, where Strepsiades is beaten by his son and Socrates' house is burnt. The two scenes are dramatically linked together, as the iniquity suffered in the former provides the motive for the latter deed.

As mentioned above, physical violence against one's parents could lead to a *γραφή κακώσεως*. It is probable that Aristophanes did not show the beating on stage. Strepsiades rushes out from the house, where he has been celebrating the graduation of Pheidippides from Socrates' school, and wails on account of the beating he has received. This entrance with its cries *ιοὺ ἰοὺ* (1321ff.) much resembles the apparently stock-in-trade entrances of beaten slaves (as in *Vesp.*

⁵⁸ Cf. Michail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, Cambridge, Mass. 1968, 90: "The serious aspects of class culture are official and authoritarian; they are combined with violence, prohibition, limitations and always contain an element of fear and of intimidation. - - - Laughter, on the contrary, overcomes fear, for it knows no inhibitions, no limitations. Its idiom is never used by violence and authority."

1292); this underlines the outrageous treatment suffered by Strepsiades. In the following dialogue of the father and the son, the beatings are referred to either in the past tense (1332, 1375f., 1387) or in the present tense, which could well refer to the act generally and not to any special bursts of violence that have just occurred (1325f., 1331). Also the tone of Pheidippides' replies is more nonchalant than violent.

The scene is at one and the same time very funny and very serious. As K. Reckford says, "Aristophanes' father-beating scene skates over dangerous waters, deep human anxieties about sex, family and life."⁵⁹ But there is worse to come. The last straw for Strepsiades is when Pheidippides promises to beat his mother, too, and prove that it is right to do so. There is no evidence that maltreatment of the mother was legally a more serious crime than that of the father, but Strepsiades seems to feel that morally it is so. Perhaps this was because of the weaker and dependent social position of women. Anyway, this totally unmoral suggestion causes Strepsiades first to turn to the Clouds, then to Hermes and on his advice, to burn the house of Socrates.

The arson scene has recently been discussed by E.Chr. Kopff and F.O. Harvey.⁶⁰ The stage action is clear in so far as Strepsiades tells his slave to bring a ladder and a mattock, climb to the roof and tear it to pieces (1485ff.), and follows himself with a torch (1494, 1496, 1502f.). What is in doubt are the final movements of these persons. Does Socrates with his pupils remain in the house and perish with them, as Kopff suggests, or do they erupt from the house and flee, with Strepsiades at their heels, as Harvey thinks? The verbs ἀποπνιγήσομαι and κατακαυθήσομαι (1504f.) certainly speak for the former alternative, but on the other hand the imperatives δῖωκε, βάλλε, παῖε (1508) would more naturally point to the latter, although they could be taken in the general sense of lynching cries, shouted by an angry crowd, as Kopff remarks.⁶¹ But it is not very credible that these cries should be given to the chorus,⁶² who would thus suddenly have a single rejoinder in this

⁵⁹ K. Reckford, *Father-beating in Aristophanes' Clouds*, in *The Conflict of Generations in Ancient Greece and Rome*, Amsterdam 1976, 95. Cf. the other references to father-beating in Aristophanes in the dream-world of *Av.* 757, 1347ff. and the inverted world of *Eccl.* 638ff.

⁶⁰ E.Chr. Kopff, *GRBS* 18 (1977) 113-22, F.D. Harvey, *GRBS* 22 (1981) 339-343; both papers bear the title *Nubes* 1493ff.: *Was Socrates Murdered?*

⁶¹ Kopff (see n. 60) 118, 119.

⁶² Kopff (see n. 60) 119; Harvey (see n. 60) 341 gives l. 1508 to Strepsiades.

dialogue just before its official closing remark. Similarly, the concluding words in 1509, giving the motive for the arson, are much better in the mouth of Strepsiades. Neither is Kopff's stage direction of the exit of Strepsiades convincing: according to him, Strepsiades stays with his slave on the roof until they exit down the ladder at the back of the *skene*.⁶³ In that case, it would not be clear to the spectators that they themselves were not burnt with the house. Strepsiades' and Socrates' fate must be clearly differentiated in the end. The imperatives at l. 1508 may be quite sufficient to show that Socrates and his pupils rushed out of the house, and the traditional exhortation of the chorus 1510 ἠγεῖσθ' ἔξω suggests that Strepsiades and Xanthias are again on the stage and moving off.

Certainly the scene is a powerful and sombre attack on Socrates. For once, the hero seems to have "right" on his side, as the only thing that prevents him from raising a γραφή⁶⁴ is the conviction that Socrates with his immoral rhetoric would triumph in any court (1481ff.). On the other hand, it is doubtful if Aristophanes and the audience would consider this degree of self-help as possible and justifiable. But it is perhaps not right to force Aristophanes to take a definite stand in the trial of Socrates, which happened several years after his comedy had been presented or reshaped.⁶⁵

An authority or a disgusting person is often humiliated in comedy by being forced into strange clothes. This kind of jesting is more a form of mental than of physical cruelty, but it is often accompanied by violent measures. In *Lys.*, the *Proboulos* is finally forced to retreat, after he has in two parallel scenes been showered with humiliating attributes by the women: first he is covered with a woman's veil and given a woman's handwork basket (521ff.) and then he is showered with funeral ribbons and wreaths like a corpse (599ff.). In both scenes, there is a great deal of verbal play connected with the dressing up. Similarly, the friends of Plutus get rid of the sycophant by undressing him violently (*Plut.* 926ff.) and then redressing him with Plutus' old beggar clothes (935ff.); he apparently just escapes before Plutus' worn-out sandals are nailed upon his forehead (942ff.). Transvestism and other

⁶³ Kopff (see n. 60) 118.

⁶⁴ Several kinds of γραφαί have been suggested as possible in this situation, see Kopff (see n. 60) 114 n. 11.

⁶⁵ Hypothesis I and schol. *Vesp.* 543 say that this ending was not found in the first version of *Nub.*; cf. K.J. Dover, *Aristophanes' Clouds*, Oxford 1968, xciiiff.

kinds of strange dressing up are a well-known feature in cult practices, especially in initiation rites,⁶⁶ but these should not be brought in to explain such scenes in comedy, where the function of the dressing up is purely to humiliate the victims and amuse the doers (and the spectators). Nor do the victims go through any reintroduction into society after their "liminal" experience.

There are other scenes where clothes are changed in which the purpose is not to humiliate the person being dressed up nor to oppress him with violence, instead the humorous effect of the scene derives largely from the fact that the victim is unwilling and protests in vain. So Bdelycleon must rely on force when he dresses his protesting father in fashionable party clothes in *Vesp.* 1122ff., and when the Relative is dressed up as a woman in *Theesm.* 213ff., he is, in spite of his willingness in theory, often during the process terrified in practice, fearing especially the shaving and depilating (*Theesm.* 220ff., 236ff.).

A clear group of scenes involving violence is formed by the beatings of slaves. Aristophanes dissociates himself from such vulgar scenes in the parabasis of *Pax* 743, which does not hinder him from using them in his plays. Apparently hitting and bullying one's slaves were slapstick routines common in Greek comedy.⁶⁷ What was funny about them? Beating one's slaves was quite normal and, as we saw above, legal in Athenian society. In comedy, it could not have the delicious effect on the audience which the beating of superior authorities gives. Was it merely the brutal joy of showing one's own superiority over helpless victims? If so, it is no wonder that Aristophanes takes a critical position. In fact, there are several scenes in Aristophanes where the masters of the slaves behave in just that way – but in these cases, Aristophanes uses these beatings to characterize the said masters as brutes. So in the beginning of *Equ.* we hear the slaves complaining of the beatings they have received (1ff., 27, 64ff.) and when the Paphlagonian appears, he hideously threatens his fellow-slaves, posing as their master in the name of Demos

⁶⁶ See A. Brelich, *Paides e parthenoi*, Roma 1969, 31 with n. 60 on p. 72, 164 n. 156, 443 n. 2.

⁶⁷ Cf. such scenes on vase painting as "punishment of slave" in the Lucanian calyx-crater Berlin F 3043 = A.D. Trendall – T.B.L. Webster, *Illustrations of Greek Drama*, London 1971, iv, 15, and "punishment of thief" in the Apulian calyx-crater New York 24.97.104 = Trendall – Webster iv, 13.

(239). But this is, of course, in order to characterize the Paphlagonian. Similarly, Polemos boxes his slave's ears in *Pax* 255f., and Philocleon's drunken behaviour is described in *Vesp.* 1292ff. and his appearance in 1331 thus anticipated. Also in *Nub.* 58 the threat to the slave is well motivated by the dramatist. Behind it lies the personal frustration and dissatisfaction of Strepsiades, who has just gone over his troubles in his mind and is suddenly recalled to harsh reality by the light of the lamp dying out. What is more natural than to blame somebody else, preferable one's slave, who is always handy? It may be noted that in all these beatings or threatenings of slaves the language is very simple, of the type *κλαύσει μακρά*, without any pretensions to jokes.

There are very few beatings of slaves where the beating seems to be there only for the sake of slapstick. Such is perhaps the scene in *Lys.* 1216ff., where somebody coming out of the Acropolis' gate hustles another person out of his way with a torch – probably a scene of everyday realism. Another occurs in *Av.* 1323ff., where the chorus and Pisthetairos join in bullying the slave Manes, who is fetching wings for the would-be citizens from the house. We cannot be quite sure what is the gist of the comic scene here. Is it that Manes, who is repeatedly accused of slowness and threatened with beatings (1323, 1326ff., 1329, 1335f.), is actually scurrying in and out in great speed? Pisthetairos' bullying may be meant by Aristophanes to show his self-importance as the new master of Cloud-cuckoo-land, but the interlude mainly gives the impression of pure slapstick.⁶⁸

There is one scene of beating a slave which stands out for its elaboration and originality: the beating trial of Dionysus and Xanthias in *Ran.* 605ff. There is much violence in the scene: first, Aeacus' henchmen grab Xanthias, who is supposed to be Heracles, and take away his club (605, 608ff.) and then Xanthias offers his "slave" for torture to prove his innocence, revelling in the thought of the various tortures in store for his master Dionysus (616ff.). Aristophanes derives much humour out of the legal procedure of torturing slaves by letting Xanthias decline the customary compensation due to the master in the case of a slave being permanently injured by the process.⁶⁹ As Dionysus now discloses his divine

⁶⁸ These beatings of slaves seem to have a counterpart in satyr plays, where the chorus of satyrs is sometimes threatened or beaten (e.g. Aesch. *Theoroi* TrGF frg. 78c, 41, Soph. *Ichn.* TrGF frg. 314, 168, Eur. *Cycl.* 210f.) and their habitual cowardice is thus emphasized. Cf. Seaford in his commentary on Eur. *Cyclops*, who at l. 210 points out that Heracles clubbing the satyrs seems to have been an early theme of satyric drama.

⁶⁹ Cf. Lipsius (see n. 23) 891, MacDowell (see n. 28) 246 with n. 558.

identity, Xanthias, who is one of those witty and intelligent slaves typical of later comedy, comes up with a new variation of the torturing process: they should see which of them cries first and thus discloses who is a man and who is a god. There follows the trial with due beatings in turn, and much verbal humour is developed out of the attempts of the victims to disguise their cries of pain (644ff.). Thiery probably goes too far when he sees in this scene an initiation of Dionysus by torture – the starting point is in any case the normal legal procedure used for acquiring evidence from slaves.⁷⁰ But the idea of subjecting the disguised god of theatre to a humiliating torture reserved for slaves is certainly startling. However, this is not a usual case of the world turned upside down, either. Here god and man, master and slave are placed on the same level, without distinction, instead of completely reversing their positions.

Finally, there are some scenes in Aristophanes where scenes of violence from tragic plays are parodied. The altar scene from Euripides' *Telephus* is used in two plays, *Ach.* and *Thesm.* The conventional view has been that the seizing of Orestes was not shown on stage in Euripides' play, but only related by a messenger.⁷¹ This view has been criticized on the basis of the very great frequency of this scene in vase-paintings and of the existence of comic parodies.⁷² It could well have been acted on stage, as threatenings with arms as well as flights to the altar belong to the conventions of the tragic stage.⁷³ In *Ach.* the parody begins when the situation becomes so urgent that the chorus threatens to kill Dicaeopolis (325). He adopts the stratagem of *Telephus* and fetches his hostage, a hamper full of charcoal, from his house. Threatening to kill this "baby" with his sword he soon gains a hearing (331ff.). The episode is short and gains its comic effect more from the incongruity of the stage prop with the baby it is supposed to represent than from close parody

⁷⁰ See Thiery (see n. 54) 317 and criticism opposing this view by MacDowell, *CR* 37 (1987) 153.

⁷¹ See e.g. T.B.L. Webster, *The Tragedies of Euripides*, London 1967, 47.

⁷² See P. Rau, *Paratragodia: Untersuchung einer komischen Form des Aristophanes*, Munich 1967, 25 n. 21, A. Kossatz-Deissmann, *Telephus travestitus*, in *Tainia: Festschrift für Roland Hampe* (1980) 288, O. Taplin, *Phallology, Phlyakes, Iconography and Aristophanes*, *PCPhS* 33 (1987) 96-104.

⁷³ Cf. Kaimio (see n. 4) 65ff.

of the original scene.⁷⁴ In addition to the comic effect, the scene prepares the ground for the larger exploitation of Telephus beginning at 383.

In *Thesm.* the capturing scene (689ff.) apparently resembles the original more closely. Euripides' relative suddenly seizes the First Woman's baby and takes refuge at the altar, threatening the baby with his sword (694f.).⁷⁵ The women react with tragic wailings (699ff.). Here the tragic agitation of the seizing scene in Telephus is obviously parodied.⁷⁶ After the Relative's threatenings in high tragic vein (730ff.) the dramatic scene is resolved in a ridiculous fashion; parody changes to travesty as the baby turns out to be a sack of wine (733). Departing from the original, the Relative slaughters the victim by piercing the wine-skin with his sword while the First Woman holds a crater (a mock *σφραγεῖον*) underneath to save the drops of wine. This is a brilliant piece of comic violence, made harmless by the ridiculous props used.⁷⁷

Another passage parodying tragic violence is in *Thesm.* 1001ff. The tragedy parodied in the following scene is Euripides' *Andromeda* (produced 412, i.e. shortly before *Thesm.*), but the entrance of the Scythian archer with Euripides' relative tied to a plank cannot be directly borrowed from this tragedy, as it apparently began with *Andromeda* already tied up on the stage wailing and singing a duet with the echo. On the other hand, in Sophocles' *Andromeda* the heroine was led onto the stage by two negro attendants and tied to the posts there.⁷⁸ A similar scene also opened *Prometheus Vincit*, to which there is some similarity in the Archer's malicious tightening of the ropes (1003ff., cf. PV 58f.). Thus, the violent opening of the scene is clearly related to tragic stage effects,⁷⁹ but at the same time made ridiculous by the figure of the archer and the plank, which both clearly belong to the everyday world of contemporary Athens.

⁷⁴ See Rau (see n. 72) 28.

⁷⁵ The nearest parallel in the extant tragedies is Eur. *Or.* 1567ff., where Orestes stands on the roof keeping his sword at Hermione's throat, see Kaimio (see n. 4) 75f.

⁷⁶ Cf. Rau (see n. 72) 48.

⁷⁷ There is also an iconographic parody of this parody scene in the Würzburg Telephus -vase (Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner Museum H5697) as Taplin (see n. 72) 96ff. shows.

⁷⁸ See Webster (see n. 71) 193.

⁷⁹ Hall (see n. 55) 41ff. suggests that the scene is "a travesty of a type of dramatic plot, the category of escape-drama especially associated with Euripides."

A special case of parody, this time not of tragedy but of mythology, is seen in the comic treatment of Heracles. This hero with his enormous appetite was a favourite target apparently both in satyr plays and in comedy, and Aristophanes himself claims to have put an end to the presentations of the voracious Heracles, so well loved by his rivals (Pax 741f.). Because of his well-known club, Heracles must also have been a favourite figure in scenes involving violence.⁸⁰ Aristophanes presents him as both a greedy and a violent brute in the scene of the embassy of the gods in Av. 1565ff., where he gives a fine specimen of violence used in diplomacy in Av. 1628, frightening Triballos with his club.

In conclusion, it is obvious from the text of Aristophanes that a fair amount of violence is acted out on his stage. It is, however, impossible to know whether there was more violence going on on stage than is reflected in the text. In tragedy, we may have some support for the argument that all significant stage action was reflected in the text,⁸¹ but in comedy with its different dramatic conventions the issue may be different. We may, however, postulate that the violent actions which the author especially hoped to have a humorous effect on the spectators were realized both in actions on stage and in words, which we now have as our text.

Aristophanes is not contemptuous of such a good source of humour as violence. His violent scenes are not something plastered upon the texture of the comedy in order to flatter the low tastes of the mass of people, but they are well integrated into the formal structure and the mental world of comedy. Often they appear in the fixed formal elements of comic tradition, such as parodos, agon, strings of short episodes, which in turn reflect long traditions of e.g. iambic abuse and ritual pursuit. Confronted with such scenes, the audience at a comic performance knew to expect some kind of violence. To secure the comic effect, it was essential to present the traditional violence with some novelty. Therefore Aristophanes displays great variety in apparently similar situations of violence – it may be a new twist in the handling of the motif, a witty verbal comment, use of special props etc. The scenes of violence are also an essential part of the carnival spirit of comedy. They overturn and ridicule the hierarchies of normal society, for instance bureaucratic authorities,

⁸⁰ For Heracles using his club in satyr plays see n. 68.

⁸¹ Cf. Q. Taplin, Significant Actions in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, GRBS 12 (1971) 30f., 39, Kaimio (see n. 4) 6ff.

priests, and different groups of superior social standing, age and sex. The amount of violence used in self-defence is often grotesquely exaggerated, the raging hero going without punishment, while the legal claims of opponents fall flat.

In the parabasis of *Nub.* and *Pax* Aristophanes talks disdainfully of the vulgar tricks used by other playwrights to court their public. Violent slapstick is one of the things he dissociates himself from: he does not let an old man hit those present with a stick in order to cover his bad jokes (*Nub.* 541f.) and he does not use slaves who run out of the house wailing at the beating they have received (*Pax* 743ff.). It is of course easy to cite examples from Aristophanes to show that this cannot be taken literally, and we have so little left of the works of the other comedians that we cannot say whether Aristophanes' criticism was justified that they used more violence and in a coarser form than he. But there may be some truth in Aristophanes' jeering statements. We have seen that he has very few scenes involving violence which are mere slapstick, but that he usually elaborates these scenes with witticisms and variation – although it may be a matter of taste whether his jokes connected with violence are *πονηρὰ σκώμματα* or not. But let us take two examples of the kind of violence he says he abhors and see what he has made of it himself. What an exhilarating personality he has created in Philocleon, the type of the old man who lashes out with his stick. Take, for example, the scene where Philocleon returns from the party and routs everybody who complains about his violent actions by applying more violence, at the same time telling some jolly good stories (*Vesp.* 1326ff.). Note, too, the manifold variations on the beaten slave theme: in the beginning of *Equ.*, the traditional motif is introduced immediately and used extensively, not simply to amuse the spectators, but to characterize the rule of the Paphlagonian over Demos; in *Nub.* 1321, it is not a slave who rushes to the stage wailing because of the beating he has had, but the old father beaten by his son; in *Ran.* 637ff., the slave and his master, the god Dionysus, are both beaten on equal terms.

It follows from the nature of the violent scenes of comedy, rooted in the formal and spiritual traditions of the genre, that they are for the most part totally different from the scenes involving violence acted on the tragic stage.⁸² In tragedy, the most frequent form of violence is the entrance or exit of an actor under arrest, usually held fast or guarded by mutes. This convention is not used in the extant comedies

⁸² For violent physical contact in tragedy, see Kaimio (see n. 4) 62-78.

of Aristophanes, except in a passage parodying tragedy (Thesm. 1001ff.).⁸³ In tragedy, threatening with violence is common – sticks are raised, swords drawn – but generally the persons involved stop short of actually using violence. In comedy, the threatening takes much more drastic forms: the choruses are involved in lively action against the actors they are threatening, even if they stop before taking ultimate steps against them, and the actors often actually come to grips with each other – not to speak of the somewhat peculiar ways in which this often happens (e.g. in Ach. 926ff. and Equ. 451ff.).

Of course, some scenes can be found which show a superficial resemblance between the use of violence in comedy and tragedy – e.g. the scene in Sophocles' Oedipus Tyrannus (OT 1154ff.) where Oedipus interrogates the Old Man and, when he is reluctant to answer, orders his hands to be bound prior to torture, and the scene in Aristophanes' Plutus (56ff.), where Carion and Chremylus extract from Plutus the truth of his identity by taking hold of him on both sides. We can also note in some tragedies, especially from the end of the fifth century, a tendency to freer use of physical contact than earlier. This seems to point to a new manner of gesticulation gaining ground in acting, which may be influenced by the apparently much more lively acting seen in comedy. E.g. the doorkeeper scene in Eur. Hel. 445ff., where Menelaus is turned out by an angry old woman, is more reminiscent of comic scenes than of tragic conventions,⁸⁴ and the scene of the Phrygian slave pursued by Orestes with his sword (Eur. Or. 1369ff.) may call to mind the lamenting slaves of comedy. The scene, however, is at the same time in accordance with tragic conventions as it functions as a messenger scene.

In general, however, it is clear that both tragedy and comedy have their own and different conventions with regard to violence shown on stage. The spirit of such scenes is different as well; in tragedy, the threatening and violence is mainly directed against the oppressed, the helpless or at least temporarily weak persons (as Philoctetes and the blind Oedipus), whereas comedy delights in pulling down the authorities of real life.

⁸³ Cf. the parody of this tragic stage convention on the Apulian bell-crater (St. Agata dei Goti, former Rainone coll. 1 = Trendall – Webster (see n. 67) iv, 33), where a guard escorts "Antigone" with violent gestures to Creon.

⁸⁴ See Kaimio (see n. 4) 73.

Johannes Scheffer on the *imitatio veterum*

IIRO KAJANTO

During the seventeenth century, Latin still dominated as the *lingua erudita*, the language of scholarship, philosophy, and science, especially in countries whose native languages were little known elsewhere. As I have remarked in an earlier study, Spinoza, for example, whose native language may have been Portuguese but who was also fluent in Dutch, wrote almost exclusively in Latin, whereas his contemporaries Descartes and Hobbes, a Frenchman and an Englishman, used their native languages along with Latin.¹

The Latin used and taught in the seventeenth century usually goes by the name Neo-Latin.² It was a creation of the humanists, who had made an attempt to revive the ancient purity of Latin by imitating the usage of the best Roman authors, *auctores probati*. The language was purged from the grosser solecisms and barbarisms of medieval Latin. But except for what might be called luxury use, chiefly in oratory, and for a number of enthusiastic "Ciceronians", ridiculed by Erasmus in his *Ciceronianus*, Neo-Latin was never genuinely classical. For one thing, although classical Latin morphology had survived with little change even in

¹ Kajanto, *Aspects of Spinoza's Latinity*, *Arctos* 13 (1979) 49-83.

² For the general character of Neo-Latin, see J. IJsewijn, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies I*, 2nd Edition, 1990, 27-38.

medieval Latin, and its orthography, excepting some persistent misspellings,³ had been restored to classical standards, its vocabulary included a large number of unclassical words or old words which had acquired new meanings.

In regard to syntax and style, the situation was more complex. The scientific study of Latin syntax was still undeveloped and the rules given in normative grammars were scanty, imprecise and sometimes confusing.⁴ Syntax had to some extent to be learnt by ear, by reading the classical authors and by trying to imitate their usage. Obviously there were considerable differences between one writer and another in the ability to recapture the niceties of classical syntax.

Things were somewhat better with regard to style. The Roman rhetors gave any number of rules concerning tropes and figures and composition, which the great contemporary textbooks repeated. But here, too, imitating the style of the ancient masters was of great importance.

In the teaching of Latin, it was accordingly crucial to see which authors were well suited for *imitatio*, and for what reasons. The present paper is concerned with the relevant recommendations of a well-known and influential classical scholar, Johannes Scheffer (Latinized Schefferus). His *De stylo* was originally published in 1653 and reprinted several times. I have used the edition which was printed in Jena in 1678 together with his *Gymnasium styli* and Johannes Boecler's shorter treatise *De comparanda Latinae linguae facultate*.

Scheffer was born in 1621 in Strasbourg, where he also received his primary education.⁵ But as was usual in this age, he studied in several other universities, especially at Leiden, which was then a leading university in classical scholarship.⁶ Of his teachers he especially mentions Boecler, only ten years his senior, who had instructed him in Latin in the *Gymnasium* and later at the university of Strasbourg.⁷

³ Such as *-ci-* for *-ti-*, e.g. *nuncius*.

⁴ E.g. G.J. Vossius, *Latina grammatica... in usum scholarum adornata*, Amsterdam 1648, describes what we know as the accusative and infinitive construction thus: *Post verbum finitum sequitur fere infinitivus habens ante se accusativum, qui resolvitur per nominativum, et conjunctionem quod, vel ut* (62). The complicated syntax of *ut* confuses *ut causale* and *ut consecutivum* (90-91), etc.

⁵ Scheffer composed an autobiography in the early 1670s. The work, *Ioannis Schefferi Argentoratensis Vita*, was first published in 1915, *Uppsala universitets årsskrift 1915*, Band 2, 5-35.

⁶ Scheffer, *Vita* 13; 15-16.

⁷ Scheffer, *Vita* 14.

In 1648, Queen Christina invited Scheffer to Uppsala, where he stayed to the end of his life in 1679. A typical polymath, Scheffer produced important works not only in classical studies but also in Swedish history and ethnography.⁸ His best-remembered works today may be *Lapponia*, 1672, which has been translated into several languages, and *Svecia literata*, posthumously published in 1680.

Scheffer's *De stylo* bears the unmistakable imprint of humanist writing. The pages are packed with classical quotations. Like almost everything in humanism, Scheffer's stylistic doctrine originates from antiquity, especially from Cicero and Quintilian.

The treatise begins by defining *stylus* and explicating its etymology, the customary method in learned works of the time. Scheffer defines style as the ability to express one's ideas clearly and fluently.⁹ There are individual differences in style. Thus a young man expresses himself differently from an old man, etc.¹⁰ In the formal respect, style is divided into *gravis*, *humilis* and *medius*, which are well-known from rhetoric, and according to the subject matter into *poeticus*, *historicus*, *philosophicus*, and *oratorius*.¹¹

Scheffer characterizes each of these five styles with obligatory classical references. His explications have, however, some relevance to contemporary uses of Latin. He is emphatic on the subject of keeping the styles of different literary genres separate. Following Quintilian and Cicero, he describes the poetic style as *in verbis liber...in figuris licentiosus, totus ad ostentationem comparatus*,¹² citing as examples composite words like *flammiger* and *horrifer*, and figurative use of words like *cretata ambitio*,¹³ "white-dressed seeking of office".

Scheffer does not seem to have always correctly understood his sources. Quoting Gellius, he records as poetical the words *inlatebrare* in Claudius Quadrigarius, and

⁸ See E. Wrangler, *Sveriges litterära förbindelser med Holland särdeles under 1600-talet*, 1897, 164-77; St. Lindroth, *Svensk lärdomshistoria 2. Stormaktstiden (1675=1699)* 206-12.

⁹ Scheffer, *De stylo* 4: *est in facili celeritate quadam exprimendi ea scripto, quae decenter sunt excogitata*.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 9-10.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 12-13.

¹² *Ibid.* 14-15.

¹³ *Pers.* 5,177.

lutescere and *opulescere* in Furius Antias, a poet from ca. 100 B.C.¹⁴ Though Gellius qualifies *inlatebrare* as poetic, according to him it was not, however, *absurdum* or *asperum*. On the other hand, Gellius did not himself comment upon the two last-named words. In fact, he polemized against Caesellius Vindex, a grammarian, who had found fault with these as well as with a few other similar coinages.¹⁵ Scheffer further observes that Julius Paulus had commented upon *triseclisenex*, *dulcissiloquus* (incorrect for *dulcioreloquus*) and *multigrumis* in Nonius. It is not clear what Scheffer meant by Nonius. These words were not found in Nonius Marcellus. They were in fact copied from the *Alcestis* of Laevius Melissus, a poet of the first century B.C., and it was Gellius who branded them as *nimum poetica, ex prosae orationis usu alieniora*.¹⁶ Iulius Paulus, an obscure poet,¹⁷ was only mentioned as Gellius' interlocutor. But in the seventeenth century, scholarship had not yet attained present-day accuracy.

Scheffer particularly condemns the use of the poetical words of the type of *triseclisenex*, which abound in late authors, Apuleius, Symmachus, Sidonius, Cassiodorus, etc., and which may captivate *imperitam juventutem*. This attitude to Late Latin coinages is characteristically humanist.

The definition of historical style¹⁸ is derived from passages lifted from Quintilian and Cicero:

Stylus historicus verbis utitur minus anxie quaesitis, figuras adhibet remotiores quidem, non tamen licentiosas,¹⁹ in oratione tota inest fusum quid, ac tractum, et aequabile.²⁰

Scheffer also quotes Lucian, who advises the use of common but respectable words and figures which are free from affectation.²¹ Scheffer illustrates the difference between the poetic and the historical style by quoting from Livy and

¹⁴ Gell. 17,2,3 and 18,11,3-4.

¹⁵ Gell. 18,11,1-2.

¹⁶ Gell. 19,7,12-16.

¹⁷ RE X (1919) 690.

¹⁸ Scheffer, *De stylo* 15.

¹⁹ Cf. Quint. 10,1,31 *verbis remotioribus et liberioribus narrandi taedium vitat*.

²⁰ Cf. Cic. de orat. 2,64 *fusum atque tractum et cum lenitate quadam profluens*.

²¹ *Quomodo historia conscribenda sit* 44.

Virgil two passages meaning "to fall dying from a horse" and "to thrust a sword through the body", respectively.²²

The discussion of the *stylus philosophicus*²³ has some significance in that it is the nearest approach to Latin as *lingua erudita* in the whole treatise. Otherwise Scheffer ignored the peculiar needs of learned Latin, especially in scientific writings.²⁴ But considering that his stylistic doctrine was wholly derived from antiquity, this was probably unavoidable.

Scheffer makes a point of the fact that the philosophical style avoids excessive rhetoric. He mainly leant upon Seneca, who in some of his *Epistulae morales* maintained that in philosophical discourse it is the subject that matters, not its stylistic form.²⁵ Scheffer quotes Seneca's advice to Lucilius: *quaere, quid scribas, non quemadmodum*.²⁶ But he seems to have made Seneca's aversion to an elaborate style in philosophy even more radical than it actually was. He opened the discussion on the philosophical style by quoting Seneca's Epistle 100, in which Seneca defended Papirius Fabianus, whose seemingly negligent style Lucilius had blamed. Scheffer may have quoted from memory. The quotation consists of two separate passages in Seneca, with omissions and changes.²⁷ The end of the quotation inverts Seneca's meaning. Seneca's *Sed totum corpus* (scil., of Fabianus) *videris quam sit comptum; honestum est* appears in Scheffer as *Sed totum corpus videris; quamvis sit incomptum, honestum est*. According to Scheffer, Fabianus' philosophical writings may have been unpolished but still possess distinction, while Seneca praised them both on account of their polish and distinction. It is not possible to tell whether the change is attributable to Scheffer or to a faulty edition of Seneca's *Moral Letters*.

²² Liv. 2,20,3 (the quotation is somewhat incorrect) and Verg. Aen. 11,668-69; Liv. 1,25,12 and Verg. Aen. 2,552-53.

²³ Scheffer, *De stylo* 16-18.

²⁴ Cf. M. Benner and E. Tengström, *On the Interpretation of Learned Neo-Latin* (*Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia* 39), 1977.

²⁵ Cf. epist. 75,1-7, e.g. 4: *Multum tamen operae impendi verbis non oportet... quod sentimus loquamur, quod loquimur sentiamus...* 5: *Non delectent verba nostra, sed prosint*. But this professed nonchalance did not prevent Seneca from giving considerable attention to rhetorical style!

²⁶ Epist. 115,1.

²⁷ Epist. 110,5 and 8.

Scheffer further cites Chrysippus for the philosophers' disparagement of *minutas Rhetorum praeceptiunculas* and for their occasional solecisms, which are a shame to others,²⁸ Philostratus for Apollonius of Tyana's ironical comment upon Dion's overly rhetorical discourse,²⁹ and Quintilian for the simplicity of the philosophical style.³⁰ Scheffer exemplified the difference between the poetical, oratorical and philosophical styles by quoting from Cicero poetical and oratorical equivalents for a philosopher's simple *irascor*.³¹ The discussion ends with Cicero's evaluation of the philosophical genre as *aequabile, temperatum, quietum*.³²

The treatment of the *stylus oratorius* is brief and composed of quotations from Cicero and Quintilian.³³ We may notice that Scheffer appreciates it more than he does the poetical style. Both are distinguished from the historical and philosophical style by the adoption of less common words and expressions and by the more extensive use of the resources of rhetoric. But while the poetic style is said to be *totus ad ostentationem* ("showing off") *factus*,³⁴ the oratorical style *totus factus est ad majestatem, vim, et efficaciam*. But this cannot imply that Scheffer looked askance at poetry as such. What he meant was probably the use of poetic language in prose.

In a textbook, it is essential to show the means of mastering the different styles. According to Scheffer, three things are necessary: *Natura*, the individual natural disposition, which is a gift of God; *Ars*, which denotes the rules handed down by the ancient grammarians and rhetors; *exercitatio*, for which we are ourselves responsible.³⁵ The rest of the treatise is concerned with exercise.

²⁸ Quoted by Plutarch, Stoic. repugn. 28 (1047B); cf. SVF 2, 298.

²⁹ Vita Apollonii 5,40.

³⁰ Quint. 11,1,33. Scheffer's quotation contains a mistake: instead of Quintilian's *maximeque ex affectibus* he has *maxime affectibus*, which does not, however, change the meaning.

³¹ A verse from Homer in Latin translation describing Achilles' rage, in Tusc. 3,18; a verse from Caecilius, quoted in Pro Caelio 38; for oratorical expression, *excandescio iracundia*, from Cicero's Correspondence which I have been unable to trace.

³² Cic. off. 1,3.

³³ Scheffer, De stylo 18-19.

³⁴ This idea of the poetical style is, however, a loan from Quint. 10,1,28: *Meminerimus... poeticam ostentationi comparatam*.

³⁵ Scheffer, De stylo 20.

It is here that Scheffer deals with the doctrine of *imitatio*. The humanists had learned to know it from Horace and especially from Quintilian.³⁶ It had been revived by the inaugurator of humanism, Petrarch.³⁷ Since then, *imitatio* was a main tenet of humanism, albeit with considerable disagreement concerning the mode and extent of imitation.

Scheffer defines exercise as:

*styli ad praecepta artis, et exempla veterum, per omne argumenti genus, crebra diligensque accommodatio*³⁸

He does not, however, favour servile imitation. Of the two components of exercise, rules are more important than *exempla*. Following Quintilian's caution with regard to *imitatio*, he argues that we should first select from *exempla aliorum* what is necessary, but after that swim *absque cortice*. Nevertheless, he attaches great importance to *imitatio veterum*.³⁹

Scheffer divides the exercise for acquiring a good mastery of Latin into five parts: *Lectio*, *Auscultatio* or listening to Latin texts being read aloud, *Judicium* or assessing the Latin authors, *excerpendi studium* or making notes from books perused, and *diligentia scribendi*. He admits, though, that many scholars omit *auscultatio* and *excerptio*.⁴⁰

Reading is even more necessary today than it was in antiquity for the obvious reason that Latin is no longer a living language. Scheffer distinguishes two types

³⁶ Hor. ars 268-69: *vos exemplaria Graeca / nocturna versate manu, versate diurna*, was often repeated. It was, however, Quint. 10,2: *De imitatione*, which gave the best exposition of the ancient theory of imitation, for which see E.N. Tigerstedt, *The Problem of Progress in Literature in Classical Antiquity*, in: P. Demetz & T. Greene & L. Nelson Jr., *The Disciplines of Criticism*, 1968, 604sqq.

³⁷ H. Gmelin, *Das Prinzip der Imitation in den romanischen Literaturen der Renaissance I* (1932) 118-25; A. Buck, *Italienische Dichtungslehren vom Mittelalter bis zum Ausgang der Renaissance*, 1952, 55-67; F. Ulivi, *L'imitazione della poetica del rinascimento*, 1959, 12.15; cf. Kajanto, *Poggio Bracciolini and Classicism*, 1987, 19-27.

³⁸ Scheffer, *De stylo* 21.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 22-23.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 24-25.

of reading, *legere rerum caussa, aut verborum*.⁴¹ In the first case, it does not matter even if the authors have written *barbare...ut Historici, Philosophi, Theologi superiorum temporum*, by which he probably means medieval writers. He is, however, now concerned with reading in order to acquire proficiency in Latin. This reading is in turn divided into *simplex*, which means gaining *sermonis...opes copiamque*, and into *imitatio* proper, the modelling of one's style upon classical authors.

In the former respect, the Latin authors are distributed into several groups suited to different stages, from beginners to more advanced students.⁴² Scheffer admits that grammarians are not unanimous as to the authors recommended. For his part, he recommends for beginners first Terence, then the Fables of Phaedrus, Cicero's *Ad familiares*, Ovid's *Tristia* and *Ex Ponto*, Plautus, and Varro's *De re rustica*. But I shall omit discussing his lists of set books any further.

In Scheffer's work, just as in other similar treatises, we may observe that little attention was given to the needs of a modern world for new words and expressions. Scheffer's lists of authors recommended for learning to discourse *pure et Latine*⁴³ do not contain any Neo-Latin author, not even Erasmus. To include post-classical authors in the canon of *auctores probati* would have done violence to the very idea of humanism, the return *ad fontes*. But because Latin was still the main language of learning, scientists, and many scholars, too, were very much on their own concerning *copia verborum*. They had to obtain the terms of their particular subject from other similar works. Hence there was great variety in the quality of learned Latin. Some treatises abound in new coinages and even scholastic words, which the humanists had banished from acceptable Latinity, while others, especially the writers in humanist disciplines, made an attempt at some kind of classical purity.

It is in the next chapter, *De lectione ad imitationem*, that Scheffer takes this central idea of humanist Latin for a more detailed discussion. He records three

⁴¹ Ibid. 28-29.

⁴² Ibid. 32-39.

⁴³ Scheffer took this definition from Cic. de orat. 1,144: the first requirement of good Latinity was *ut pure et Latine loquamur*. Scheffer explains these terms thus: *Porro illud pure maxime in verbis est, si e.g. nil obsolete proferamus; Latine in compositione, si illa inter se jungantur, quae conjungi solent a bonis Latinisque auctoribus*.

different attitudes to *imitatio*.⁴⁴ Many famous humanists and scholars have maintained that one should abstain from imitating the style of any particular author. He mentions Politian, Erasmus, and Lipsius as champions of this view, and also cites the relevant ideas of the ancients: in Cicero's *De oratore*, Caesar, C. Aurelius Cotta and C. Scribonius Curio are recorded as orators who relied only upon their own nature.⁴⁵

Scheffer, however, does not subscribe to this attitude. Although he does not countenance the position of extreme Ciceronians, such as Bembo, Longolius,⁴⁶ and Joachim Camerarius, *qui ne latum quidem unguem a vocabulis sententiisque Tullianis recedendum dicitur*, he proposes that we should imitate one good author, but supply from others what is wanting in him.⁴⁷

The principal authors selected as models should not only be intrinsically excellent but, as far as possible, conform to each one's *ingenium*, *studia* and *institutum*.⁴⁸ Here *ingenium* means the idiosyncracies of a writer, and the two latter words his particular subject and theme. Quoting Quintilian,⁴⁹ Scheffer argues that if one tries to imitate an uncongenial author, especially Cicero even if he is foreign to the imitator's particular talent, the results are unfelicitous. He cites as an ancient example Plato's alleged failure to discourse in a sublime style.⁵⁰

But it is equally, and even more important to select as a model an author who accords with *studia et institutum*. Scheffer distinguishes two main subjects, *politicum* and *scholasticum*, the world of learning.⁵¹ Although Cicero is a good model for both, he will recommend Livy and Curtius for the former, Pliny the Elder and Younger as well as Caesar for the latter.

⁴⁴ Scheffer, *De stylo* 39-40.

⁴⁵ Cic. *de orat.* 1,98: *Atque esse tamen multos videmus, qui neminem imitentur et suapte natura, quod velint, sine cuiusquam similitudine consequantur.*

⁴⁶ The champion of Ciceronianism, Nosoponus, in Erasmus' *Ciceronianus*, was modelled upon Longolius or Christoph de Longueil.

⁴⁷ Scheffer, *De stylo* 40-43.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 43-46.

⁴⁹ Quint. 10,2,19.

⁵⁰ Here Scheffer refers to the verdict of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Epist. ad Pomp.* 761.

⁵¹ Scheffer, *De stylo* 48-52.

It is a measure of the authority of Cicero even in the seventeenth century that Scheffer had to justify his refusal to propose Cicero *in exemplum omnibus*. He argues that Ciceronian eloquence is not always appropriate in different times and circumstances, citing in support Tacitus' argument in *Dialogus*.⁵² Political discourse requires a lucid, natural, and impressive style. For the *genus politicum*, he accordingly recommended Livy and Curtius as models political writers should imitate.

In this age, the position of Livy as the foremost Roman historian was already called in question. His place was being taken by Tacitus.⁵³ It was especially Justus Lipsius who raised Tacitus to esteem, putting Sallust after him and Livy in third place.⁵⁴ Although he acknowledges many good points in Livy, he maintains that Livy is also *supinus* (languid), *frigidus* (tedious) and ταυτόλογος. Scheffer does not endorse Lipsius' adverse judgement, which in his opinion no one in his senses would accept. He cites Quintilian's well-known praises of Livy's style, its *lactea ubertas*.⁵⁵ Quoting his teacher Boecler, he eulogizes Livy as a storehouse of political wisdom.⁵⁶

The pre-eminence accorded to Curtius as a political writer may seem odd today, having reduced him to a second or third rate position and characterizing him as an uncritical historian. But in an age which appreciated rhetorical skill more than a real grasp of history, Curtius' elaborate and vivid style was greatly admired. Erasmus praised his lucidity and polish in a passage quoted by Scheffer. Even Lipsius, though placing Curtius after Tacitus, Sallust, and Livy, found words to extol his style. If he had shortcomings, they were attributable to his monotonous

⁵² Dial. 19,2. In this age, the dialogue was not yet attributed to Tacitus. Scheffer refers to the author as *auctor de caussis corruptae Eloquentiae*.

⁵³ See J.H. Whitfield, *Livy > Tacitus*, in: *Classical Influences on European Culture A.D. 1500-1700*, ed. by R.R. Bolgar, 1976, 281-93. According to the author, 285, Tacitus began to shed his long-standing inferior position only after the 1530s.

⁵⁴ Lipsius, *Politicorum sive civilis doctrinae libri sex*, Antverpiae 1610, 17-18.

⁵⁵ Quint. 10,1,32 and 101.

⁵⁶ *Livium si omnis politicae promptuarium credideris, a vero nil alienum putabis*, in Boecler's *Diss. II de Eloquentia Politica*, which I have not been able to consult.

subject matter.⁵⁷ Boecler devoted several pages to his encomium.⁵⁸ In this country, Enevaldus Svenonius, in his encyclopaedia of humanist learning, raises Curtius above all the other Roman historians, especially Tacitus, whose language he finds fault with. *Unus Curtius noster... coeteros historiae scriptores, ut puritate et lepore provocat, ita acumine et perspicuitate vincit.*⁵⁹ Svenonius was an unoriginal compiler, who took his information about the Roman authors from other scholars, but this of course further enhances the significance of his eulogies of Curtius.⁶⁰

Scheffer's justification for recommending Livy and Curtius as models of political discourse is characteristic of the age:

Conjunxi autem istos duos, quia duplices politici: alii, qui in Regno versantur, alii, qui in Republica. Illis Curtius accomodator, quia cultior, quia brevior et argutior: his Livius, quia prolixior.

In a republic, one has to deal with the people, who have a limited understanding and hence prefer lengthy discourses, as Scheffer argues by quoting an apposite passage from Tacitus' *Dialogus*.⁶¹ But surely this implies that the discourses had to be conducted in vernacular? Uneducated people did not know Latin. Scheffer does not, however, even by a word advert to this. His treatise *De stylo* was *ex professo* concerned only with Latin. Again, Curtius is suitable in a kingdom where a few great and experienced men wield power. They appreciate *cultus* and have a need of *subtilitas*.⁶² Scheffer, living and teaching in arch-royalist Sweden, shared the aristocratic prejudices against the inerudite common people.⁶³

⁵⁷ Lipsius 18: *Quod si varium magis argumentum habuisset, fallor, aut variae Prudentiae eximium magis specimen praeuisset. Sed Alexander, quid nisi bella?*

⁵⁸ Boecler, *De comp. Lat.* 1. facult. 30-33.

⁵⁹ Svenonius, *Gymnasium capiendae humanae rationis*, Aboae 1662, 157-60.

⁶⁰ Thus he includes in the passage on Curtius a long quotation from Puteanus (Erycius van der Putten).

⁶¹ *Dial.* 19,2.

⁶² Similarly, Lipsius 18: *Sequuntur scriptores duo, velut propriij Principum, et assidue iis in manu sinuque habendi.* One is Curtius, and the other is Caesar.

⁶³ In a dissertation supervised by Scheffer, the privileged position of the nobility was vigorously upheld. Moreover, Scheffer took a hand in the education of noblemen's sons and wrote a special textbook for this purpose, *De generosi nobilisque informatione literaria*, 1678; see Kajanto, *Humanism in a Christian Society II*, 1990, 104. 107 n. 50.

Discussing the models to be imitated by *scholastici*, Scheffer explains that Caesar is suitable for teachers because of the simplicity, propriety, and lucidity of his style, whereas those who wish to dispute with others will profit from imitating the language of both the Plinys, which is marked by *vis, pondus, argutiae et frequentia sententiarum*.

We should, however, remember what Scheffer had earlier written about the philosophical style. Although Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis historia* and Pliny the Younger's *Epistulae* might be recommendable models, in practice greater latitude was allowed in the choice and even disregard of *exempla veterum*.

* * *

Scheffer's treatise on style, like many other similar works originating from the seventeenth century, reveals certain limitations which are characteristic of Neo-Latin and humanism in general. These limitations spelt its demise in the immediate future, though with some time lag in less advanced and more peripheric countries. There was little attempt to develop Latin to meet the requirements of the ever more developing world. It was the same classics which were presented as models to be assiduously perused, excerpted, and imitated. Words and turns of phrase had to be learnt from them. The preoccupation with style, which to a great extent influenced the evaluation of the classical authors, was falling out of tune with an age increasingly informed with the spirit of the Scientific Revolution. In fact, during the Age of the Enlightenment, rhetoric was discredited to such an extent that it never recovered.⁶⁴ Further, like the humanist writings in general, the discourse was larded with quotations from and references to the ancient writers. Modern scholars were cited only when they corroborated the ideas of the ancient masters.

⁶⁴ Cf. G. Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric and Its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times*, 1980, 240-1. In this country, the Professor of Eloquence for most of the seventeenth century, H. Hassel, held rhetoric in low esteem. He maintained that the *praecepta rhetorica* inherited from the Greeks and Romans were no longer appropriate to modern life. In a memorandum concerning education, he assailed previous teaching of rhetoric and proposed that eloquence should be taught only as far as it was useful to various offices and to general life, see Kajanto, *Porthan and Classical Scholarship*, 1984, 27.

Taxila

Indian City and a Stronghold of Hellenism

(concerning two recent books)¹

KLAUS KARTTUNEN

The city known as Taxila by the Greeks, and Takṣaśilā (Sanskrit) or Takkasilā (Middle Indo-Aryan) by the Indians, was and still is a famous place. In ancient Indian (especially Buddhist) literature it is known as a famous seat of learning, where religion and philosophy, literature and grammar, medicine, the art of war and many other subjects were taught by famous teachers.² In Classical literature it is known as a local capital which had been visited by Alexander and has preserved Hellenistic traditions ever since. Archaeology has shown that Philostratus' description of Taxila as a Hellenized city (Vita Ap. 2. 20ff.) is indeed not too far from truth. Although not a Greek city itself, Taxila is beside Ai Khanum and Charsadda one of the most important monuments of a Hellenistic presence in the far east. Some years ago two books were published about it by Pakistani

¹ Taxila and the Western World, Lahore 1984, by Saifur Rahman Dar, the director of Taxila Museum, and The Historic City of Taxila, Paris – Tokyo 1986, by Ahmad Hassan Dani, the veteran scholar of Pakistani archaeology. These two, as well as Marshall's Taxila. An illustrated Account of Archaeological Excavations carried at Taxila 1-3, Cambridge 1951 (repr. New Delhi 1975), and my own India in Early Greek literature (Studia Orientalia 65), Helsinki 1989, will be referred to merely by name of author and page(s). My thanks are due to Mr. M. Shackleton, Lic.Ph., who has again had the trouble of correcting my English.

² See Karttunen 62, and B.C. Law, Taxilā as a Seat of Learning in the Pāli Literature, JASB N.S. 12 (1916) 17ff.

archaeologists,³ and it is these books that provide the starting point for the present survey. At the same time, it is my intention to consider the position and importance of Hellenism in Taxila. This means that my discussion does not always fully consider other viewpoints. In the two above-mentioned books and in many others it is often strongly emphasized that Taxila was above all an Indian city, and as a whole the Western and Northern (Iranian, Greek, Near Eastern and Central Asian) elements were more or less peripheral. I still feel that my viewpoint is not without value.

Taxila is situated in Pakistan on the outskirts of present-day Islamabad by the little river of Tamra. Today, even the modern town is once again known by its ancient name, although it was wholly forgotten for many centuries. Here, however, we are not interested in the industrial centre of Taxila, but in its ancient ruins.

The archaeological history of Taxila is nearly as old as Indian archaeology. The French and Italian officers who were serving in Ranjit Singh's army visited the neighbouring site of Manikyala and brought the first real knowledge of the archaeological richness of the region and especially of its Indo-Greek and Buddhist antiquities.⁴ For a while it was supposed that Manikyala was the ancient city of Taxila itself, but the real site lies about 34 miles northwest.⁵ The first Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, Sir Alexander Cunningham (1814-93), was on the spot during the season 1863-64 and succeeded in identifying the ruins as ancient Taxila.⁶ He continued his work at Taxila 1872-73 and 1878-79. The classical work on Taxila was done by Sir John Marshall (1876-1958), who came to India fresh from excavations in Greece (Athens) in 1902 and was, in his own words, "filled with enthusiasm for anything Greek". This – "a bit of Greece itself" – he thought he had found in Taxila on his first preliminary visit there.⁷ Later

³ By Saifur Rahman Dar and Ahmad Hassan Dani, see note 1.

⁴ G. Ventura (?-1858) and A. Court (1793-?), see Court in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 3 (1834) 556-562 & 5 (1836) 468-482, and Prinsep *ibid.* 3, 313-320 & 436-456. A short summary is found in Dilip K. Chakrabarti, *A History of Indian Archaeology from the Beginning to 1947*, New Delhi 1988, 37f.

⁵ Unfortunately, the old issues of JASB and Cunningham's reports on Taxila (1871, 1875 and 1880) are not presently available for my use and I cannot check if some of the early archaeologists (read treasure-hunters) actually visited Taxila and its ruins.

⁶ See e.g. Chakrabarti, *op. cit.*, 66ff., and Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, London 1871 (repr. Varanasi & Delhi 1979), 88ff.

⁷ Marshall xv.

his opinion of Taxila became more objective. He conducted his excavations on Taxilan sites with some intervals between 1913 and 1936,⁸ and a monograph in three volumes gives a report of the results.⁹ In 1958 the Russian historian and Indologist Grigorij Fedorovič Il'jin (1914-1985) published a short summary of Marshall's results and historical researches on Taxila.¹⁰ In 1944 Marshall's illustrious successor as Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, Sir Mortimer Wheeler (1890-1976), selected Taxila as the site of his famous school of archaeology, where a whole generation of Indian and Pakistani archaeologists was educated in modern methods like stratigraphy.¹¹ His excavations, however, were never published, although this was strictly against his own principles.¹² More recent excavations (mostly by Pakistani archaeologists) will be referred to in the following pages.

Actually there is not one but several different cities in the area which is referred to as Taxila, although we do not know whether all of them were actually known as Taxila. For Marshall, Taxila consisted of three successive towns, Achaemenian Bhir Mound, Hellenistic Sirkap and Kushan Sirsukh. Later excavations have corrected and considerably widened Taxila's chronology. The first remains of human habitation begin as early as the fourth millennium B.C., when there are remains of microlithic hunters and in the second half of the millennium also of early sedentary agriculturists with Neolithic tools.¹³ Village occupation continued during the Bronze Age period. Then, after vague beginnings in the late second millennium

⁸ Chakrabarti, *op. cit.* 132ff.

⁹ Mentioned in note 1. Frequently his older book is also quoted, *A Guide to Taxila*, Calcutta 1918 and three further editions, last 1960.

¹⁰ *Drevnej indijskij gorod Taksila*, Moscow 1958.

¹¹ Chakrabarti, *op. cit.* 176ff., and Wheeler, *My archaeological mission to India and Pakistan*, London 1976, 27ff.

¹² Some remarks are given in his *Flames over Persepolis*, London 1968, 102ff. (especially 114f.). For another Hellenistic site excavated by Wheeler in 1958, see his *Charsadda, a Metropolis of the North-West Frontier*, Oxford 1958 and *Flames* 95ff. As in Taxila, here too not one city, but several subsequent ones have been found. Thus the remains of Bala Hisar mound, excavated by Wheeler, seem to correspond to ancient Peucelaotis/Puṣkalāvātī visited by Alexander, while in the Shaikhan Deri mound (excavated by Dani 1963-64) are the remains of a Hellenistic city, and the eastern mounds (excavated by Marshall 1902-03) belong to the Kushan period.

¹³ Dani 18ff.

B.C., the first city arose on the mound Haṭhiāl, where its first remains were excavated only recently (in the 1980s) by British and Pakistani archaeologists. The excavations are still to a great extent unpublished and only meagre trifles are offered to the curiosity of scholars.¹⁴ On the other hand, Taxila's existence lingered on after the supposed White Hun devastation (the termination point for Marshall) until the Mughal period, when the area underwent a process of ruralization. It still seems that the most glorious period of Taxila is found within the three mounds excavated by Marshall.

The first town in Taxila was situated in the Haṭhiāl mound in the southwest corner of the Sirkap site. It marks the slow beginning of the so-called second urbanization period (the first being the Indus civilization), which lasted here from the late second millennium until the Achaemenian period. The question of the Achaemenian presence in Taxila is rather complicated. From Herodotus as well as from Old Persian royal inscriptions we know that ancient Gandhāra (O.P. *Ga(n)dāra*) was part of the empire, and was perhaps conquered by Cyrus himself. With a certain geographical recklessness many have supposed, that as an important early centre Taxila must have been the capital of the Indian dominions of the empire. Taxila, however, did not belong to Gandhāra proper, which had a more westerly location, and elsewhere I have tried to show how it is well possible that Taxila never belonged to the empire.¹⁵ It has been noted that the culture of the Haṭhiāl period "has a markedly local Gandharan [in the wider sense] flavour; while that of the subsequent Bhir mound period appears to indicate the arrival of a much more urbane and widely diffused Gangetic character."¹⁶

Taxila of the Achaemenian period, however, was apparently not in the Bhir Mound (as supposed by Marshall and others following him), but in Mound B of the Haṭhiāl site. It seems to have been a fortified town and some finds (figurines and ceramics) are related to those found in the corresponding layers at more western sites like Charsadda and Swat.¹⁷ This was probably the capital of King Pukkusāti

¹⁴ Allchin, Bridget & Allchin, Raymond, *The Rise of Civilization in India and Pakistan*, Cambridge 1982, 314f., and Dani 36ff. and 81.

¹⁵ Karttunen 61f. Otherwise e.g. Dani 41ff.

¹⁶ Allchin & Allchin op. cit. 314f.

¹⁷ Dani 41.

of Takṣaśilā, mentioned in Buddhist sources as a contemporary of King Bimbisāra of Magadha and of the Buddha. Dani (and most scholars before him) locates him in the 6th century B.C., before the Achaemenian expansion, but, with the reduced chronology of the Buddha, he must clearly be a contemporary of the Achaemenids, perhaps a vassal king or even a satrap.¹⁸

The second city, known according to the place of excavations as Bhir Mound, was commonly dated to the late Achaemenian and early Hellenistic period.¹⁹ In this respect, Marshall's original chronology had to be revised, according to the new evidence excavated by Wheeler and Pakistani archaeologists.²⁰ Of the four strata of excavations, Bhir Mound IV and III seem to belong to the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C., II and I to the 2nd and 1st. With the strong eastern connections seen in its finds this was probably the Takkasilā gloried as a famous centre of learning in Buddhist sources, and here ruled King Omphis or Taxiles, who became an important ally of Alexander. To Alexander and his men it gave the first taste of Indian society. Here lived the naked Gymnosophists, whose asceticism and wisdom (with its Cynic colour given by Onesicritus) were then admired by Westerners for two millennia. Here the Macedonians saw the self-immolation of Indian widows, another theme which long fascinated philosophically-minded Westerners. Probably the community of Gymnosophists with its leaders and teachers and also its differences of opinion represents one of those colleges mentioned in Buddhist sources. The historians of Alexander give a clear impression of Taxila being an important and flourishing metropolis.²¹ On the other hand, there is no mention of any architectural splendour, and correspondingly the excavators have not found remains of any monumental buildings.²² But it must be kept in mind that the town

¹⁸ Dani 41 and 43, Karttunen 61ff., on Buddhist chronology Karttunen 151f. and more fully H. Bechert, *Die Lebenszeit des Buddha – das älteste feststehende Datum der indischen Geschichte?*, *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse* 1986:4.

¹⁹ On Bhir Mound in general, see Marshall 87ff. and Dani 81ff.

²⁰ Dani 44.

²¹ Unlike other Indian princes Taxiles was conscious of political developments in Persia and sent his envoy to Alexander when the king was still a long way from India in Sogdiana (Diodorus 17, 86, 4).

²² Marshall 19f. Wheeler (Flames 103ff.) perhaps goes too far in his characterization of Taxila as a muddy village, which in Greek eyes must have seemed a slum.

area was never restricted to Bhir Mound proper, which is rather well known thanks to the extensive excavations of Marshall. Somewhere outside it must also lie the administrative quarters of the Maurya period, when Taxila was an important provincial capital with a royal viceroy ruling the Northwest.²³ The Mauryan presence is seen, for instance, in the Aramaic inscription of Aśoka and in the eastern connections seen in the material finds like ceramics.²⁴

The excavations Marshall carried out at Bhir Mound were extensive enough to give rather a good idea of the town. According to Dani, it grew without any general plan in the manner still often seen in South Asian towns and villages, in a square pattern, where houses surrounding a square generally belonged to people who had the same profession. The squares were connected by streets and lanes. In addition to shops, workshops and residential buildings, a shrine, an administration building and a market plaza were found.²⁵

It is difficult to define clearly Taxila's position between east and west. As has already been mentioned, the archaeological material (e.g. pottery) refers mostly to the east. For the period before Alexander, Achaemenian antiquities are rare, but they are also rare in some more western sites (e.g. in Afghanistan), which were certainly parts of the empire, and in Taxila the levels properly belonging to the Achaemenian period are still unexcavated. On the other hand, there are good grounds to suppose that Taxila had an important place as an intermediary between India and Iran.²⁶ For such a role, a situation as an independent or semi-independent principality (as that found by Alexander) behind the borders of the empire would suit very well. We may also notice a fragment from Aristobulus describing some peculiar customs in Taxila, in which a clear mixture of Indian (widow-burning) and Iranian (leaving the dead to vultures) elements is seen.²⁷ There is, further, some evidence of a sun-cult in Taxila, which was probably a western element.²⁸

²³ Dani 50ff. According to Dani (47f.) the Taxila visited by Alexander is probably still unexcavated.

²⁴ Northern Black-Polished Ware dug up by S.M. Sharif 1966. Marshall erroneously called some similar finds Greek black ware (Dani 48).

²⁵ Dani 83ff.

²⁶ Such a role has been suggested for Taxila e.g. in introducing writing and coinage in India, see Karttunen 29ff. and 60ff. (with further references).

²⁷ Aristobulus F 42, discussed in Karttunen 223ff.

²⁸ Karttunen 219ff.

In the period after Alexander Taxila became a part of the strong Maurya empire and thus under stronger Indian influence. Still, it must be supposed that it preserved its position as an intermediary between east and west. There is an Aśokan inscription in Taxila, but it is written in the Aramaic language. The decline of the Mauryas again meant stronger western ties for Taxila, which became part of the Indo-Greek empire sometime in the early second century B.C. At that time, old Bhir Mound was still flourishing, but soon a new centre arose beside it.

Sirkap is an Indo-Greek city with Hellenistic town plan, fortifications, temples, architectural elements and material finds.²⁹ Dani's cautious summary shows how extremely complicated the political history of the period is – in most cases it relies solely on numismatic evidence – and there is no need to go into details now.³⁰ But in its material remains Sirkap can tell us a great deal about the Indo-Greek period. In its early phase it was contemporary with the Bhir Mound town, which seems to have been an Indian town, while the Greeks and other Hellenized people lived in Sirkap. Even in the Bhir Mound, western finds become more numerous in levels II and I,³¹ and Sirkap finds tell of a strong western influence, which can also be seen in other sites of the period in Pakistan and Afghanistan. This picture did not change when the Indo-Greeks were displaced by Scythian and Parthian dynasties. Especially the latter were known for their philhellenism here as well as in the West, and it was during the Parthian period when both Apollonius of Tyana and the apostle Thomas supposedly visited the place.³²

In the beginning of the Christian era, about 20-30 A.D., there was an earthquake which destroyed much of Taxila, and most of its buildings are either built or repaired after it. At the same time, international trade gained new impetus when the *pax Romana* put an end to the endless wars between the Hellenistic kingdoms

²⁹ On Sirkap in general, see Marshall 112ff. and Dani 88ff.; on Hellenistic elements Dar 29ff. and Dani 156ff.

³⁰ Among the many Indo-Greek kings Menander (whom Dani considers as a possible founder of Sirkap, as he seems to be the earliest Indo-Greek king whose coins are numerous in this site) and Agathocles and Pantaleon (who minted coins in local Taxilan style and with legends only in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī) seem to have been most closely connected with Taxila (Dani 62ff.).

³¹ For instance, pieces of jewellery, imported coins and new types of pottery are cited in this connection. See Dani 153ff.

³² Dani 66ff. To be exact, it is not said that the apostle visited Taxila, but the Parthian king he met, Gondophares, also ruled Taxila.

in the West (this was also the period when the maritime trade between Roman Egypt and India began to flourish). Correspondingly, the Hellenistic and Hellenizing finds, imports and local products as well, are more numerous in Parthian (and subsequent Kushan) levels than ever before.³³ Only in this period the decorative plates called toilet trays, with scenes varying from purely Western (like Apollo disrobing Daphne) to local ones, were introduced.³⁴ The local bead industry has very ancient traditions,³⁵ but now we also find numerous new types both of Western and of local character, made of glass, shell, semi-precious stones etc.³⁶ With pottery the Western element is represented by such finds as unguent flasks, inkpots and bell-shaped amphoras. Objects of metal (copper and iron), bone and ivory,³⁷ gold and jewellery can also be cited.

The city of Sirkap shows a mixture of Western (Greek and Iranian), Eastern (Indian) and local (Gandharan in a wider sense) elements both in its architecture and in material finds. City-planning is Western: regular straight streets running north to south and cutting at right angles by cross streets, houses arranged in regular block system – all this closely follows the Hippodamian pattern. But the houses themselves with rooms arranged round a central open courtyard follow the oriental pattern common both in local and in Indian tradition. In architectural detail we find again Western influence like capitals and bases of Ionian and Corinthian order. In Buddhist shrines these are combined with elements of Indian Buddhist architecture like Stūpa and Torāṇa gate.³⁸

³³ Curiously, the northern trade, illustrated so well in material finds in sites like Taxila and Begram, is very poorly attested by numismatic finds. See Paula J. Turner, *Roman Coins from India*, Royal Numismatic Society, Special Publication No. 22 / Institute of Archaeology, Occasional Publication No. 12, London 1989, 13f. and 17f., and Dar 143ff.

³⁴ Dani 159f. and pl. 46-49, Dar 97ff. See further H.P. Francfort, *Les palettes du Gandhara*, Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan 23, Paris 1979.

³⁵ For instance, etched carnelian beads already made in the bronze age were still common. See B. Allchin, *The Agate and Carnelian Industry of Western India and Pakistan*, Lohuizen-de Leeuw (ed.), *South Asian Archaeology 1975*, Leiden 1979, 91-105.

³⁶ Marshall 729ff., Dani 96.

³⁷ For instance, a beautifully carved comb, Dani 162f.

³⁸ The frequency of Buddhist remains in Sirkap is not against its Hellenistic character. Epigraphic evidence (many Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions) shows that a great part of the population was in any case local Prākṛit speaking people, and the Greeks themselves as well as more or less Hellenized Iranians living in the east often adopted Buddhism.

A special importance is to be given to the stucco heads found in post-earthquake levels in Sirkap (e.g. in the Apsidal temple) and also in various surrounding Buddhist sites. Their artistic inspiration is clearly west-oriented, although they represent Buddhist figures. Dani sees in them the direct origin of the famous Gandhāra art, which somewhat later combined Hellenistic or Hellenizing artistic motifs with Buddhist ideas.³⁹ The Buddhist sites of Kushan and post-Kushan periods in Taxila abound in this art, which was then flourishing in all Northwest India and had a counterpart in the similar Graeco-Bactrian art further in the Northwest (e.g. in Surkh Kotal and Termez). With Buddhism Gandhāra art was carried to the north and northeast and thus brought Hellenistic inspiration to Central Asian art. To a smaller degree it left some traces in the art of India proper, too.⁴⁰

Sirkap was extensively excavated by Marshall, although much remains in the wide area for future archaeologists, too, and therefore it is rather well known. The excavated area contains many streets, houses, shops and workhouses.⁴¹ The Greek temple of Philostratus (V. Ap. 2, 20) has not been found,⁴² but there are several splendid Buddhist shrines in Sirkap. The Apsidal temple with a Stūpa (Block D) follows more or less the pattern of Indian Caitya.⁴³ Block F contains the so-called Double-Headed Eagle Stūpa Shrine, a splendid example of mixed architecture with Corinthian capitals and Indian arches. In the construction, stones from older buildings were used, among them the marble piece containing the Aramaic inscription of Aśoka.⁴⁴ There is further Marshall's so-called palace (Block K),⁴⁵ and another complex building on the Mahal site. This, too, was identified by Marshall as a palace, but according to Dani it might have been a school or university.⁴⁶

³⁹ Dani 101 and 165, further Marshall 513ff., Dar 90f.

⁴⁰ See for instance H. Goetz, *Studies in the History of Religion and Art of Classical and Medieval India*, Schriftenreihe des Südasien-Instituts der Universität Heidelberg 16, Wiesbaden 1974, 3ff. (this article was originally published in 1959, and is somewhat antiquated with respect to the importance given in it to Roman influence).

⁴¹ For a plan, see Marshall pl. 10 and Dani pl. 2 and 2628.

⁴² Block E' contains a possible sun temple, see Dani 103. Marshall 183 identified it as a Stūpa.

⁴³ Marshall 150ff., Dani 100f.

⁴⁴ Marshall 163ff., Dani 103f. and pl. 54, Dar 203ff.

⁴⁵ Marshall 171ff., Dani 106f. and pl. 27.

⁴⁶ Marshall 214ff., Dani 108ff.

Among the most interesting architectural remains of Taxila clearly belong its temples. There are two Hellenistic temples in the Jaṇḍiāl site northwest of Sirkap. It is not surprising, that there should be such temples in Taxila. In his *Vita Apollonii* (2, 24 & 20) Philostratus described in some detail two Taxilan temples as they were in the first century, one inside the city wall (in Sirkap), one outside it (like Jaṇḍiāl). For a long time nobody believed in his account, but then Marshall excavated the big temple in the eastern or C mound of the Jaṇḍiāl site and announced that the details of Philostratus' account of Taxila correspond remarkably well with his finds.⁴⁷ On the western D mound another Hellenistic temple was found, but it is in a very poor state of preservation and only foundations remain. Dar has studied these temples again and presented a new interpretation of them.⁴⁸

According to Dar, Marshall's hypothetical un-Hellenistic ziqqurat or tower of silence in Jaṇḍiāl C should be wholly dismissed. Instead, the temple is a purely Hellenistic, Ionian style temple, which was probably dedicated to some local form of a Greek god. For the date, Dar confirms Marshall's final opinion⁴⁹ that it dates from the second century B.C. As to the temple described by Philostratus, Dar does not accept its identification as Jaṇḍiāl C (nor D, either), and remarks that Jaṇḍiāl C seems to have collapsed in the earthquake in 20/30 A.D., while Apollonius' supposed visit took place only in 44 A.D. Instead, he points to the small temple with Ionic columns found by Cunningham at the nearby Mohrā Maliārān site.⁵⁰ In the end, it seems that it is not possible to say definitely which particular temple was meant by Philostratus, but still it seems that his *Vita Apollonii* contains authentic information about Taxila in the first century (not necessarily just 44 A.D.).

Sirsukh, the last urban centre of Taxila, belongs to the Kushan period.⁵¹ Again it is contemporaneous with earlier sites. The reason for its existence seems to be military. Taxila was no longer a capital, but it was still an important city, where vital functions like administration had to be protected against the ravages of time.

⁴⁷ On the Jaṇḍiāl temple, see Marshall 222ff., on Philostratus, 63f., 139f., 175f. and 227.

⁴⁸ Dar 43ff., also Dani 112ff.

⁴⁹ Given in a postscript, Marshall 229.

⁵⁰ Dar 57ff., on Jaṇḍiāl Dar 53ff. See also Karttunen 221f. and on Mohrā Maliārān also Marshall 9f. and Dani 114.

⁵¹ On Sirsukh in general, see Marshall 217ff. and Dani 111ff.

Therefore a new centre was built north of Sirkap and Jaṇḍiāl and provided with strong fortifications. Lingering remains of Hellenism are still met here as everywhere in Northwest India, and now they were carried even further to Central Asia.⁵² The city of Sirsukh, however, is only poorly excavated,⁵³ and the Kushan and post-Kushan period are better, though one-sidedly, illustrated in several Buddhist monastery sites of Taxila area.

The most important Buddhist monastery and shrine of Taxila was without doubt the Dharmarājika, situated to the east of Bhir Mound, southeast of Sirkap. The ancient name is attested in an Indian silver scroll inscription found *in situ*. Xuanzang, the 6th century Chinese pilgrim, confirms that several Stūpas of Taxila were originally erected by Aśoka himself, and it might well be that he is the *dharmarāja* (pious king) who founded the Dharmarājika.⁵⁴ Another Aśokan foundation was the Kuṇāla Stūpa, connected with Kuṇāla, the blinded son of the king, and this might well be found in the remains of the Mohrā Morādu site. Present Islamic tradition still ascribes to the place the power of curing eye diseases.⁵⁵ Important Buddhist remains are also found in Kālwān (ancient name Chadaśilā inscriptionally attested) and Jauliān sites.⁵⁶ These Buddhist sites, too, with their monasteries, Stūpas and shrines, show the characteristic combination of Western

⁵² In addition to art (Gandhāra art with its descendants in Central Asia), numismatics offers an interesting case of the remaining Hellenistic inspiration. The coins of the various Indo-Greek dynasties were marked by their high artistic quality, and the same tradition was more or less followed by Kushans, although Indian and Iranian elements were more numerous in their coins (see e.g. R. Göbl, *System und Chronologie der Münzprägung des Kušanreiches*, Veröffentlichungen der Numismatischen Kommission, Sonderband, Wien 1984). Further, the Greek and Roman monetary terms were introduced and are found in many local languages, both ancient and modern: δραχμή in Middle Indo Aryan *drakhma*, *trakhma*, *damma*, in Late Sanskrit *dramma*, in Panjabi *damm*, in Hindi and Nepali *dām*; στατήρ in MIA *satera*, *sadera*, *šadera*, in Late Sanskrit *sadera* and in Uigur *satir*; μέδιμνος in MIA *milima* (Clauson, JRAS 1930, 203f.); *denarius* in Sanskrit *dīnāra*, *dīnnāra*, in Kashmiri *dyār* and in Khovar *drokhum*. See Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India* VIII:1, 1919, 3f.; Konow, AO 6 (1928) 255f.; Thomas, JRAS 1924, 671f. and 1926, 507; Töttössy, AAHu 25 (1977) 131f.

⁵³ Dani pl. 29 gives a plan of the excavated area.

⁵⁴ On Dharmarājika, see Marshall 230ff. and Dani 118ff. with pl. 31 and 57f.; on the inscription see also Dar 222f.

⁵⁵ Dani 116 and 140ff.

⁵⁶ On Kālwān Marshall 322ff. and Dani 133ff. (inscription quoted in Marshall 327 and Dar 223f.), on Jauliān Marshall 368ff. and Dani 144ff.

and Eastern architectural elements, and pieces of Gandhāra art are common. Although their original foundation might in some cases go back to the Mauryan period, all datable remains were built after the earthquake, or still later, often directly on the debris of older levels.

As my intention is to survey the importance of Hellenism in Taxila, the later history can be passed very briefly. After the downfall of the Great Kushans, Taxila was to some extent under Sassanian influence, but at the same time the rule of the so-called Lesser Kushans or more properly Kidāra Kushans (c. 340 – c. 450) brought new Indian elements, too. It was now that the Indian Brāhmī writing finally superseded the local Kharoṣṭhī. Coins and other antiquities also show that several sectarian Hindu deities like Viṣṇu, Śiva and Durgā entered Taxila in this period, when the great Gupta dynasty was ruling most of the Northern India.⁵⁷ The fifth century brought the White Huns to Taxila, but according to Dani, Marshall's hypothesis concerning the devastation they caused is based on very weak evidence; instead of being destroyers of monasteries, they seem to have been great patrons of religion.⁵⁸

In conclusion we may note that Taxila has an important place among the Hellenistic centres of the East, such as Begram, Hadda, Charsadda and Aī Khanum. Unlike some of them, Taxila was probably never a Greek polis in the proper meaning of the word, it was and remained in the first place an Indian town, where Buddhism was the main religion, and local Middle Indo-Aryan dialect the language of (at least) the majority of the population. But even so, it is important as it was no far-flung colony of foreign civilization, but a living place with deep roots in the local soil. As such it was able not only to adopt or copy the Western elements, but to absorb them into its own traditions, to give them new form and meaning, and to pass them on to others less capable of understanding the original. Therefore we are probably right to assign Taxila an essential role as transmitter of Hellenistic inspiration further to the east and north.

⁵⁷ Dani 73ff. and 152.

⁵⁸ Marshall 76f., Dani 75ff.

Zum Latein des Humanisten Otto Melander

BENGT LÖFSTEDT

Otto Melander wurde 1571 als Sohn des evangelischen Pfarrers Dionysius Melander in Hessen geboren und ist in Prag 1640 gestorben. Er was Jurist, aber er ist in erster Linie wegen seiner Anekdotensammlungen bekannt, von denen in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jhs. mehrere Auflagen gedruckt wurden. Näheres über ihn bei K. Goedeke, Grundriß zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung 2 (1886) 129 Nr. 33 und H. Hayn & A.N. Gotendorf, Bibliotheca Germanorum erotica 4 (1912) 471.

Die erste lateinisch abgefaßte Sammlung von Anekdoten erschien 1600 in Mühlhausen, eine deutsche Übersetzung 1603 in Lich (sehr selten). Der folgenden Untersuchung zugrunde gelegt wurden die Ausgaben 'Jocorum atque seriorum, tum novorum, tum selectorum atque memorabilium, Liber primus' (Lich 1604, 762 S. + Index), 'Jocorum atque seriorum ...Liber secundus' (Lich 1604, 173 S.), 'Jocorum atque seriorum ...Liber tertius, (Lich 1605, 215 S.). Die dritte Sammlung ist schwer aufzutreiben.¹

Auch in den gewöhnlich lateinisch abgefaßten Anekdoten gibt es viele Zitate, Sprichwörter und einzelne Glossen auf Deutsch. In der neuen Auflage des Grimmschen Wörterbuchs werden sowohl die deutschen als auch die lateinischen

¹ Ich habe die drei Sammlungen (in einem Bande gebunden) in Los Angeles gekauft. Mein Exemplar gehörte früher dem Bischof von Philadelphia Henry Conwell (1745-1842) und später dem Geschichtsschreiber Winthrop Sargent (1825-1870).

Versionen der Anekdotensammlungen zitiert (s. das Quellenverzeichnis, Leipzig 1971), die dritte lateinische Sammlung allerdings erst in einer späteren Ausgabe, Frankfurt 1617.² K.F.W. Wander, Deutsches Sprichwörter-Lexikon zitiert nur die zwei ersten lateinischen Sammlungen, und zwar in der Edition Schmalkalden 1611. Zweifelsohne ließen sich an Hand meiner Ausgaben von 1604-05 viele Verbesserungen und Ergänzungen bezüglich deutscher Wörter, Redensarten und Sprichwörter und ihrer Erstdatierungen machen. In diesem Aufsatz werde ich mich aber auf das Latein konzentrieren.

Melanders Latein ist im allgemeinen recht klassisch, so wie man es von einem Humanisten erwarten würde. Scholastische oder juristische Spezialtermini finden sich kaum. Archaische, klassische und spätlateinische Autoren werden ausgiebig zitiert, und er fürchtet sich nicht, auch nicht-klassischen Texten (besonders der alten Komödie) Ausdrücke und Wörter zu entnehmen, ebenso wie es z.B. Lipsius tut (s. Verf., Stud. Clasice 25 [1988] 73). Zitate werden gewöhnlich nicht identifiziert, und bisweilen ist es schwierig, zwischen bewußten Zitaten und dem allgemeinen humanistischen Wortschatz entnommenen Ausdrücken zu unterscheiden. Einige Beispiele: Der Ausdruck *cum pulvisculo* (*exsiccare* u.dgl.), der 1,634 u.a. begegnet, stammt aus Plaut. Rud. 845 und Truc. 19, ob aber direkt oder indirekt, läßt sich schwer entscheiden. Dasselbe gilt für 1,634 *titivilitium* (Plaut. Cas. 347 und Paul.Fest. p. 366 M); 3,190 *dente theonino rodere* (Hor. epist. 1,18,82); 1,677 *nuces relinquere* 'die Kinderschuhe ablegen' (Pers. 1,10); 1,48 *levidense munusculum* (Cic. fam. 9,12,2); 1,167 u.a. *ad ravim* (Plaut. und Fest.); 1,106 *cramben recoquere* (Iuv. 7,154; vgl. Otto³ 96); 1,57* *ut tota haec tandem in eos cudatur faba* (kursiv gedruckt; vgl. Ter. Eun. 381); 1,79* *Nunc quidem hercle sum exclusissimus* (Plaut. Men. 698); 1,738 *aquilae senecta (quod est in proverbio) praeditum esse* (Ter. Haut. 521); 3,198 *Stultitia est venatum ducere invitos canes* (Plaut. Stich. 139; vgl. Otto 71); 1,676 *trium literarum homo* (d.h. *fur*; Plaut. Aul. 325 f.).

Im folgenden gebe ich ein Verzeichnis unklassischer Schreibungen, Formen, Konstruktionen und Wörter bei Melander. Von Archaismen wird allerdings abgesehen, und ich erwähne sonst nur solche Charakteristika, die im Spät- und

² Für das Frühneuhochdeutsche Wörterbuch (hrsg. v. R.R. Anderson, U. Goebel, O. Reichmann, Berlin 1989 ff.) wurde Melander leider überhaupt nicht exzerpiert.

³ A. Otto, Die Sprichwörter der Römer, Leipzig 1890.

Mittellatein selten oder m.W. gar nicht begegnen; steht kein Literaturnachweis, handelt es sich m.W. um ein Hapax.

Orthographie

Man kann erwarten, daß *f*- und *v*- in lateinischen Texten aus Deutschland vermischt werden. Bei Melander finde ich: 1,69*⁴ *vestivus*; 3 Vorwort, 3. S. *facillans*.

s für *x*. 1,79 *permistus*. So auch bei Thomas Hobbes, s. Verf., *Arctos* 23 (1989) 134.

ab- für *ob*-. 1,224. 322 *abstupescere*. Zu dieser Präfixvertauschung s. Verf., *Der hibernolateinische Grammatiker Malsachanus* (1965) 99 Anm. 2.

Formenlehre

Hier sei nur auf die an sich klassischen, aber seltenen Formen auf *-ntor* (3. Pers. Plur. Pass. Imperat.) aufmerksam gemacht, die 1,737 auftreten: *ii quidem his lapidibus petuntor atque hac calce caeduntor*. Das Zitat ist einer parodistischen Imitation der Gesetzessprache entnommen, in der ja der Imperativus Futuri häufig auftritt (z.B. in der *Lex XII tabularum*). An der obigen Stelle handelt es sich aber um passivische, nicht deponentiale Formen, und passivische Imperative sind in der ganzen Latinität selten, s. B. Bergh, *On Passive Imperatives in Latin* (1975).

⁴ Zitiert wird hier und im folgenden nach Band und Seite der oben genannten Edition. Mehrmals zitiert Melander Anekdoten aus älteren Autoren und Texten; diese Zitate – im Gegensatz zu Melanders eigenen Geschichten – werden mit einem * gekennzeichnet.

Syntax

prohibere mit dem Dat. 1,82* *ego prohibeo meis omnibus, ne...* Vgl. Verf., 'Luthers Briefe'⁵ 28 und 'Luthers Predigten'⁶ 28.

1,728 *non paenitentes in optimarum artium studiis progressus fecisse*. Hier steht *paenitens* für *paenitendus*; zur Verwendung des Part. Präs. für das Gerundivum s. Hofmann & Szantyr⁷ 370.

Konjunktiv für den AcI im Hauptsatz der indirekten Rede. 1,484 *Artem mediusfidius sedentariam didicisset ille nullam, respondebat Mercator, sed rem certe, mercaturis faciendis, nostro quidem exemplo, quaesivisset*. Ähnliche Belege aus dem deutschen Humanistenlatein verzeichne ich in 'Tradition und Wertung. Festschrift für F. Brunhölzl' (1989) 304. Der Sprachgebrauch ist indessen nicht als ein reiner Germanismus zu betrachten, findet er sich doch auch in Texten aus anderen Ländern; vgl. etwa Verf., *Gnomon* 61 (1989) 298 f. über einen mittellateinischen Text aus Spanien.

adeo für *ideo*. 2,137 *Nae tu my sortita es, atque adeo ingeouinis et capitis quae sint discrimina nescis*. Vgl. 'Linnés Latein'⁸ 126.

quam primum für *ut primum*. 3,116 *quam primum ille redierit..., illi impudens os...obtures*. Vgl. 'Luthers Briefe' 30, 'Luthers Predigten' 29.

Gemination der Adverbien. Hofmann & Szantyr 808 f. bemerken, daß die emphatische Wiederholung im Lateinischen verhältnismäßig selten und besonders auf das Adverb beschränkt ist. Häufig sind nur die syndetischen Ausdrücke *magis magisque, iam iamque, etiam atque etiam*. Dieser Typus ist bei Melander mehrfach zu belegen, und zwar bei verschiedenen Adverbien: *longe longeque* 2,48; *mox moxque* 1,160. 187. 296. 319. 497. 580 usw.; *plane planeque* 1,696*; *probe probeque* 1,166. 272. 309. 329. 471. 602. 604. 620 usw.; *sancte sancteque* 1,289. 581; *strenue strenueque* 1,223. 605; 3,82. Etwas anders: *vix aut ne vix quidem* 1,85. 163. 570. 581. 606. 611. 722 usw. (auch häufig in Linnés Dissertationen, s. B. Löfstedt, Svenska Linnésällskapets årsskrift 1990); *nunc ante nunc* 1,38*.

⁵ Vetenskapssocieteten i Lund, Årsbok 1983.

⁶ Vetenskapssocieteten i Lund, Årsbok 1985.

⁷ J.B. Hofmann & A. Szantyr, Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik (1965).

⁸ Svenska Linnésällskapets årsskrift 1986-87.

Wortschatz

Präfixbildungen

archi-. 3,106 *archisylvanus* 'Oberförster'.

de- hat oft negative Bedeutung: *docere* 'lehren' - *dedocere* 'verlernen'. Bei John von Salisbury habe ich das scherzhafte *depraedicare quod praedicant* 'unpreach their preachment' belegt (Acta Classica 30 [1987] 78). Ähnlich ist bei Melander 1,692: *Pastor quidam, depastor* ('der Gegensatz eines Pfarrers') *propemodum dixeram...* - Vgl. auch *devitare* 'töten' 1,700*.

ec-. Im klassischen Latein gibt es einige Komposita mit *ec(ce)* + Interrogativum: *ecquando*, *ecquis*, *ecqualis* (s. Ernout & Meillet, Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine s.v. *ecce*). Melander hat diese Gruppe von Zusammensetzungen analogisch erweitert: *eccubi* 1,461. 561; *eccur* 1,350. 487. 635; 3,167; *eccunde* 1,483. 521. 606; 2,153; 3,202.

Suffixbildungen

Diminutiva. 1,758 *ambitiosulus* (bei Plezia⁹ a. 1531). - 1,340* *animalculum* (vgl. 'Luthers Briefe' 31 und 'Linnés Latein' 132). - 1,162 *magistellus*.

-aster. 2,164 *Dominaster*. Zu pejorativen Bildungen auf *-aster* im humanistischen Latein vgl. 'Luthers Briefe' 32.

-ax. 1,692 (in einer Geschichte von einem Studenten und Melanchton) "*Domine Praeceptor, profecto ego sum satis doctus, sed nimis sum timax.*" *Tum Philippus: "Nihil dicis, asine. Es enim, quemadmodum audio, non tam timax quam ignorax."* Zu diesen Augenblicksbildungen vgl. das in 'Luthers Briefen' 25 besprochene *scribax*.

-phagus. 1,349 *caponiphagus*. - 1,267 *galliphagus*.

⁹ M. Plezia, Lexicon mediae et infimae Latinitatis Polonorum, 1953 ff.

-*tergium*. 1,482. 690 *anitergium* (auch bei Du Cange¹⁰, Fuchs & Weijers¹¹, Bartal¹² und im böhmischen Wörterbuch¹³). - 1,482 *culitergium* (auch bei Fuchs & Weijers). - 1,702 *nasitergium*.

Gräzismen

2,52; 3,116 *coccysmus* < κοκκυσμός.

3,141* *empusa* 'Gespenst' < Ἐμπουσα. Auch bei Du Cange und Bartal.

3,141* *mormolycia* 'Gespenst' < μορμολυκία.

1,753 *neogamus* < νεόγαμος. Auch bei Bartal.

1,45* *oporapolis* < ὀπωροπόλης. Einmal *oporopolis* bei Bartal. Unser Beleg lautet: *ad fenestram fructuariae, sive Graece mavultis, oporapolidis*.

1,168 *philautos* und 1,163 *philautia* < φιλαῦτος, φιλαυτία. Bartal belegt *philauta*, MLWL¹⁴ *philautia* (15. Jh.).

1,112. 275. 369. 445; 3,81 *syncrusius (risus)* < συνκρούσιος.

Germanismen

In 'Luthers Briefen' 23 und 'Luthers Predigten' 36 habe ich zwei Gruppen von Germanismen unterschieden: erstens äußere Latinisierungen deutscher Wörter (bei denen einem deutschen Worte eine lateinische Endung beigefügt wird) und zweitens *calques linguistiques* (in denen eine deutsche Wendung Wort für Wort ins Lateinische übersetzt wird).

Zur ersten Gruppe gehören 1,694. 720*. 722. 724* *pfaffus* 'Pfaffe' und 3,137 *suermerus* 'Schwärmer' (in 'Luthers Briefen' 23 belege ich *suermerius*).

¹⁰ C. Du Cange & L. Favre, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, 1883-87 (Neudruck 1954).

¹¹ J.W. Fuchs & O. Weijers, *Lexicon Latinitatis Nederlandicae medii aevi*, 1977 ff.

¹² A. Bartal, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis regni Hungariae*, 1901 (Neudruck 1970).

¹³ *Latinitatis medii aevi Lexicon Bohemorum*, 1980 ff.

¹⁴ R.E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources*, 1965.

Die *calques linguistiques* kommen zahlreicher vor. Sie sind sprachlich interessant, weil sie von einer gewissen Sprachmischung zeugen und ferner weil man mit Hilfe einer derartigen lateinischen Wendung bisweilen die Erstdatierung eines deutschen Ausdrucks korrigieren kann (vgl. z.B. Verf., Mittellat.Jb. 18 [1983] 287 zu *ubi piper crescit* 'wo der Pfeffer wächst').

1,731 *Concionatores aliqui gloriantur se ex manica concionem excutere; 3,77 concionem manica (quod ipsi dicunt) excutiant*. Dies ist eine *calque* des deutschen '(eine Predigt) aus dem Ärmel schütteln', das in Grimms Wörterbuch erst 1783 belegt wird.

2,71 *Quamobrem inimicitias cum ipsa susciperet, facile mehercule inveniebat caussam, ac persaepe etiam de sepe (quod nostris est hominibus in proverbio) eam decerpebat*. Der deutsche Ausdruck '(einen Vorwand) vom Zaune brechen' findet sich u.a. bei Luther, s. Grimms Wörterbuch s.v. *Zaun* S. 409.

1,695 *sese juxta proverbium intra suam cuticulam continere*. Vgl. dt. 'in der Haut stecken' seit dem 16. Jh.

3,204 *demissis auriculis, quod est in proverbio, discedit*. Vgl. dt. 'die Ohren senken', das von Grimm Bd. 7 S. 1228 seit 1561 belegt wird, aber auch schon Hor. sat. 1,9,20 *demitto auriculas*.

1,458 *...perinde ut bos aliquis aut vacca in cavernam muris aliquam (quod nostris in proverbio est hominibus) subvolarit*. Dt. 'wie die Kuh in ein Mauselloch'; von Grimm Bd. 6 S. 1825 a. 1579 belegt.

1,633 *...ut hic rem faceret, oviculas suas (quod nostris hominibus est in proverbio) probe tonderet atque adeo amplas opes consequeretur*. Zum dt. 'scheren' im Sinne von 'prellen', 'überteilen' s. Grimms Wörterbuch Bd. 8 S. 2574.

Wie ersichtlich, verweist Melander oft auf einen entsprechenden deutschen Ausdruck mit dem Wort *proverbium*. Es gibt aber auch viele wirkliche Sprichwörter in unseren Texten; die meisten sind auf Deutsch zitiert, aber einige kommen in lateinischem Gewand vor:

1,448 *Quid canis in balneo?* Vgl. Wander s.v. *Hund* Nr. 1035 'Was soll ein Hund in der Badestube?'

1,621 *incus maxima non metuit strepitus*. Wander s.v. *Amboß* Nr. 9 'Ein tüchtiger Amboß achtet auch schwerer Schläge nicht'.

1,716 *Facis...proverbio isti fidem, Gallum in suo sterquilinio plurimum valere.*
Vgl. Wander s.v. *Hahn* Nrr. 10-12, 35.¹⁵

Andere Wörter

2,51 *bassista...uti vocant.* 'Bassist' wird im Deutschen Fremdwörterbuch schon 1517 belegt.

1,509 *bazio* 'Batzen': *neque enim litigatori ultra bazionem causidico suo numerare licet*; auch 1,620.

1,758 *compactor librorum* 'Buchbinder'. Auch bei Bartal, Latham¹⁶ (a. 1561) und Plezia (a. 1562).

1,609 *conspicillum* 'Brille'. Ein Beleg bei Fuchs & Weijers; bei Bartal *conspicillum*.

1,171* *curvicervix*.

1,53* *densim* (Adverb von *densus*). Einpaar Belege bei Latham.

2,23 *despumatorium (cochlear)*. Ein Beleg bei Latham.

1,23 *displosio*. Ein Beleg bei Bartal und einer bei Blaise.¹⁷

1,231 *episcopicus* 'bischöflich'.

3,148 *euphonismus* 'Psalm'. In der Bedeutung 'Metapher' bei Plezia.

1,525 *grobianus*. S. 'Luthers Predigten' 36.

1,192* *Martinista* 'Lutheraner'.

1,670* *missator* 'Priester'. Auch im MLWL a. 1523.

1,227 *papicola* 'Papist'. Auch bei Bartal.

1,229 *praecognomen* 'Titel'.

1,227 f. 297. 612 *propater* 'Pate'.

1,166 *quaestiosus* 'lohnend'.

1,252*. 385* *quisquiliatus* 'mit Tand'.

1,383. 621; 2,59. 72; 3,199 *recelliclunia* 'Hure'.

¹⁵ Auch anderswo, z.B. bei Montaigne, De l'expérience III: 13 "L'expérience est proprement sur son fumier au sujet de la médecine, où la raison lui quitte toute la place". W. Gottschalk, Die sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der französischen Sprache 1 (1930) 101 belegt 'être comme le coq sur le fumier' erst seit 1907.

¹⁶ R.E. Latham, Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources, 1975 ff.

¹⁷ A. Blaise, Lexicon Latinitatis medii aevi, 1975.

1,515 *resuffragari* 'helfen'.

1,607 *secerna* 'Sekret'.

3,109. 143 *stylus* 'penis'.

1,715 *stipendiarius* 'Stipendiat' (von einem Studenten): *Praefecerat eum Illustrissimus Messorum Princeps stipendiariis suis; sic autem vulgo appellantur studiosi illi, qui quidem Principis sumptibus istic literarum studiis dant operam.* Im Deutschen Fremdwörterbuch Bd. 4 S. 472 wird das Wort in diesem Sinne erst 1656 belegt.

1,309 *trimitrus*.

2,148 *vaenum venire* 'verkauft werden', für *venire*.

A Note on the Establishment of the Date of the Rain Miracle under Marcus Aurelius

OLLI SALOMIES

The exact date of the famous Rain Miracle under Marcus Aurelius in the time of the Marcomannic wars has been a matter of some debate.¹ But excavations in Carnuntum since 1970 have, so it is said, brought forth new evidence, on the basis of which the date has been established as 11 June, AD 172 by W. Jobst, *op. cit.* (note 1), esp. p. 23ff. This evidence consists of a group of dedications, all, or at least all those where the date has survived, dated to June 11th, from Pfaffenberg near Carnuntum. The inscriptions are reproduced in AE 1982, 778ff.; it will be of some use to have a quick look at them here:

- AE 1982, 778 (used and reproduced by Jobst, but published by D. Knibbe, JÖAI 54 [1983] 136ff. no.2): fragments with traces of Antonine imperial nomenclature (two emperors being named) and a consular date said to correspond to AD 172: the exact date, 11 June, and the dedication formula *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) K(arnuntino?)* have not been preserved, but are supplied by Jobst and Knibbe.

¹ See W. Jobst, 11. Juni 172 n.Chr. Der Tag des Blitz- und Regenwunders im Quadenlande (Öst. Ak. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl., Sitzungsber. 335), 1978, 7ff. and the bibliography given *ibid.* 8 note 2 (add e.g. H.Z. Rubin, Weather Miracles under Marcus Aurelius, *Athenaeum* 57 [1979] 357-380, who does not yet know Jobst's study, but argues for the date AD 172).

- 779: fragment with the text [II]I idus Iunias Max[imo et --- cos.], said to date from 172 (*Maximo et Orfito cos.*).
- 780: two fragments with the text III idus Iun[ias].
- 781: two fragments of an altar set up [*pro salute*] of an imperial lady with the title *mater castrorum*, thought by Jobst and others to be Faustina.
- 782: two fragments with the date III i. Iun. and a fragmentary Diocletianic(?) consular date.
- 783: fragments of an altar with the text I.O.M.K., *pro salute dd.nn.* [Di]ocle[tiani et Maximiani etc.], dated [III id. I]unias, AD 297.
- 784: fragments of an altar with the date [I]II idus Iuni. and a fragmentary Constantinian consular date.
- 785: several fragmentary altars, all with the identical text I.O.M.K.

On the basis of these texts it can surely be concluded that 11 June must have been the date of some important event, at least for Carnuntum.² But Jobst, as mentioned above, goes much further and suggests that 11 June must have been the date of the Rain Miracle and that it must have taken place in 172, basing his view on the fact that the texts come from a temple area dedicated to Jupiter, where a monument with a portrait of Marcus Aurelius was erected in the early seventies, and that the dedications form a series, the earliest of which are (according to him) dated exactly to AD 172, namely AE 1982, 778 and (probably) 779.

In establishing the date of the Rain Miracle the two texts allegedly from 172 are thus clearly of primary importance.³ Jobst's dating of them has not been

² The abbreviated additional attribute given to Jupiter Optimus Maximus in these texts, K(-), has been expanded to K(*arnuntius*) by Jobst (p. 30 ff.), which is possible but not at all certain. Jobst thinks that the addition of this attribute refers to the Rain Miracle; and a dedication from 168 indeed still has only [I.] O.M. (AE 1982, 777); but the fact remains that the earliest precisely datable text with I.O.M.K. is AE 1982, 783 from 297.

³ There is, of course, also the inscription from Aquincum, CIL III 3347, a better reading and a photo of which are given by Jobst, op. cit. p. 29 and Abb. 25, set up by two duoviri of Aquincum [I.O.M.(?) *pro salute I]mp. M. Aur. Antonini et L. Aur. Commodi et ordinis Aq(uincensium) ... III idus Iun. Orfito [et --- cos.]*. According to Jobst, the inscription is certainly from the year 172, because Commodus is not designated as *imperator*. But in 172 Commodus should have been called Caesar, and so those who want to date this inscription to 172 have to assume that this title has been omitted by mistake. But if the wording of this inscription is thus in any case faulty or at least misleading, one could, I think, equally well assume that *imp.* refers to two *imperatores*, being an abbreviation of *imp(eratorum)*. This

questioned,⁴ but there are good reasons for doing so; accordingly, submitting the dating of these texts to a new scrutiny is the object of this article. Other problems connected with the Rain Miracle and the fixing of its date shall not be dealt with. It should, however, be observed that I am in no way trying to deny that the Rain Miracle could have happened in AD 172; on the contrary, it seems to me most likely that it did happen in that year (cf. Jobst, *op. cit.* 16ff.); as pointed out above, it is solely the dating of the two inscriptions and the possibility of using them for a study of the date of the Rain Miracle that shall be dealt with.

Let us start with AE 1982, 779, where only the letters *MAX* have survived of the consular date. The original reading could in theory have been *Max[imo et Orfito cos.]*, corresponding to AD 172; but there are other years in which one of the consuls was called Maximus, e.g. 223 (*Maximo II et Aeliano*), 233 (*Maximo et Paterno*), 234 (*Maximo II et Urbano*), not to mention later years, and so there are many possible supplements of the consular date in AE 1982, 779. In fact, the dating of this inscription, where the consul called Maximus is named first, to 172 is much less probable than its dating to one of the other years enumerated above or to some later year, for in an inscription of AD 172 from Pannonia we should, as we shall see, expect to find the consuls in the order Orfitus, Maximus, not Maximus, Orfitus; on the other hand, in 223, 233, 234 (and 256 etc.) the consul called Maximus is as a rule named first.⁵

would take us to AD 178, and the consulate mentioned in CIL III 3347 would then be *Orfito [et Rufo cos.]* (in 178 Orfitus always comes first).

⁴ See D. Knibbe, *JÖAI* 54 (1983) 136; G. Fowden, *Historia* 36 (1978) 83 note 1, 87; M.M. Sage, *Anc. Soc.* 18 (1987) 154-7, these scholars accepting Jobst's dating of the dedications and his further conclusions (though Sage p.171 thinks that 11 June is the date of the dedication of the statue, not that of the Miracle); even scholars who doubt Jobst's conclusions nevertheless accept his dating of AE 1982, 778 to 172, cf. A.R. Birley, *Marcus Aurelius, A Biography* (1987) 252, cf. 267 ("the new evidence ... conclusively demonstrating that Commodus was at the front in 172"); G. Alföldy, *Die Krise des Imperium Romanum und die Religion Roms*, in: *Religion und Gesellschaft in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (ed. W. Eck, 1989), 92. H. Halfmann, *Itinera Principum* (1986) 214, accepts the dating of AE 1982, 778 to the time of Marcus Aurelius, but he thinks that this inscription "lässt sich ... nicht genau in das Jahr 172 datieren".

⁵ The order of the consuls' names in AE 1982, 779 in practice rules out the possibility that the inscription could be dated to AD 207, for although Degrassi's *Fasti consulares*, p.58, have the consuls in the order Maximus, Aper (the same order is given by P.M.M. Leunissen, *Konsuln und Konsulare in der Zeit von Commodus bis Severus Alexander* [1989] 135), the order used in inscriptions, papyri and other sources referring to this year is invariably Aper, Maximus.

But Jobst, too, only tentatively assigns AE 1982, 779 to AD 172 (op. cit., p. 26), his argumentation being mainly based on AE 1982, 778, an inscription which, according to him (p. 25), "zweifelsfrei in das Jahr 172 n.Chr. datiert werden muss". But if one assumes that AE 1982, 778 is from AD 172, grave problems arise. Let us have a look at the inscription as published by D. Knibbe (cf. above) and reproduced in the *Année Epigraphique*. The first three lines and the last line run as follows:

[I. O. M. K. pro salute] Imp. C[aes.]
 [M. Aurel. A]nt. Aug. [Parth. Max.]
 [et L.] Aurel. Ca[es. (etc.)]

[III idus Iunias Qui]ntilio e[t Orfito c]os.

First of all, it is most striking that Commodus should have been called simply *L. Aurelius Caesar*: for the omission of Commodus' main name there are, as far as I can see, no parallels at all. But perhaps even more striking is the alleged consular date. It is true that one of the consuls of 172 was called Quintilius Maximus, but it was certainly not usual – to say the least – to use the gentilicium, not the cognomen of the consul in a consular date, if only one name was used of each consul.⁶ But the nomenclature of the consul is not the only problem with the date; the order of the consuls' names, too, is problematic, for in an inscription of 172 from Pannonia one would prefer to find the order Orfitus, Maximus. To be sure, the year 172, unlike e.g. the year 207 (cf. note 5), belongs to those in which there is some variation in the order in which the consuls were named; but if one studies the consular dates of this year one observes that this variation is geographical: the order Maximus, Orfitus appears only in Italian inscriptions, whereas in the provinces only the order

⁶ I can find only the following examples of this from the second and third centuries: CIL XV 1435 from 129, *Iuventio* (i.e. *P. Iuventio Celso*) *II et Marcello II cos.*; CIL XV 733 from 148, *Sal(vio)* (i.e. *P. Salvio Iuliano*) *et Torq(uato) cos.*; ISM II 130 from 216, *Cornelio et Katio cos.*, the consuls meant being *P. Cadius Sabinus (II)* and *P. Cornelius Anullinus*. There are also some examples from the earliest Empire (but they cannot be used as parallels for a second century dating from Pannonia), e.g. (omitting, of course, cases where a consul is called by his gentilicium because he did not have a cognomen) the *Fasti Praenestini*, Inscr. It. XIII,2, 121. 133, where the consulate of *P. Sulpicius Quirinius* and *C. Valgius Rufus* in 12 BC is called *Quirinio et Valgio cos.*; CIL VI 10051 = ILS 5283, where *C. Sulpicius Galba* cos. AD 22 is called, as consul, simply *Sulpicius*; CIL IV 10718 (amphora), *Vitellio, Vipstano cos.* (AD 48).

Orfitus, Maximus is used. There is some overlapping only in the case of the votive inscription from Asculum Picenum set up by a slave, CIL IX 5177 = ILS 5450, where the "provincial" order Orfitus, Maximus is used.⁷

Faced with these problems, it seems opportune to try to find other supplements (and some other date) for AE 1982, 778, which is in fact not very difficult. In trying to date the inscription Jobst looked only for consuls called Quintilius; but there is another possibility, namely looking for consuls called Quintillus: the letter *l* looks like an *i* in many inscriptions, especially the second *l* in names ending in *-llus* or *-lla*, and thus some inscriptions mentioning consuls called Quintillus are in fact reported to have the reading *Quintillus*.⁸

Now, there were two consuls called Quintillus, Plautius Quintillus in 159 and M. Peducaeus Plautius Quintillus in 177. The latter held the consulship along with the emperor Commodus, and is accordingly always named after his colleague in consular dates; he cannot thus be thought of in supplementing the consular date in AE 1982, 778. But if we choose Quintillus cos. 159, the problems surrounding this inscription are solved and we are faced with a text where nothing is objectionable: the problem with the date disappears if we supply [*Qui*]ntilio (or perhaps rather [*Qui*]ntillo) e[*t Prisco c*]os. as the consular date, for Quintillus is the consul's cognomen, not his gentilicium, and the order of the consuls in 159 is invariably Quintillus, Priscus; and if the inscription is from 159, the problem of Commodus' nomenclature disappears, for we would then be dealing not with Commodus but with Marcus Aurelius as Caesar, who is in fact, under Pius, most often called *M. (Aelius) Aurelius Caesar* (see PIR² A 697). I thus suggest the following reading for the first three lines:

⁷ The order Maximus, Orfitus: CIL VI 1978 (=ILS 5024). XVI 246. 3601 (= Inscr. It. IV,1, 115 = ILS 1101). 3643 (= Inscr. It. IV,1,149 = ILS 6235). IX 4109 (= ILS 4190); AE 1954, 168 (Capua); HA Comm. 11,14 (and note also CIL VI 32638, where 172 is designated as *Maxim(o) cos.*: when only the name of one consul is used, it is usually the consul who is as a rule named first). – The order Orfitus, Maximus: CIL IX 5177 (cf. above). XIII 1783. VIII 2464 cf. 17952; ISM V 64; ILJug. 3112; Ann. Inst. 1870, 188 no. 224 = ILS 8719 (quarry inscription of provincial origin). This order is also used in the manuscript fasti.

⁸ Cf. CIL VI 307 = ILS 3440; CIL IX 5823 = ILS 6048; AE 1971, 534 = IAMaroc 94 (the tabula Banasitana). Note also that female cognomina ending in *-lla* are often published as ending in *-ilia* (cf. e.g. the observations of H. Solin, *Arctos* 15 [1981] 109 and 18 [1984] 144; M. Leiwo, *Arctos* 16 [1982] 47 note 16).

[*I. O. M. pro salute*] *Imp. C*[*aes.*]
[*T. Ael. Hadr. A*] *nt. Aug. [Pii et]*
[*M.*] *Aurel. Ca*[*es. -----*]

The inscription is, however, so fragmentary that a definitive reconstruction of the original text is not possible. Perhaps this was not a votive inscription at all. In any case, what is, I think, beyond reasonable doubt is that the emperors named in the beginning are Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, that the inscription is from the year 159, and that it has nothing at all to do with the Rain Miracle. – It is, of course, of some interest to find Pius and the Caesar Marcus mentioned in an inscription of AD 159 from Carnuntum, but I will not pursue the matter further, this being the task of those engaged in studies concerning Carnuntum and Pannonia.

Oscan VAAMUNIM*

TIMO SIRONEN

*...ad vanum et inritum
victoriam redactam esse...*

Liv. 26,37,8

I. Introduction

One of the numerous Oscan hapax legomena is the noun VAAMUNIM,¹ which has been preserved – unfortunately enough – only five times in an identical archaeological / topographical context. Each example is painted in unusually high (38 cm) red letters on five columns of the southern and the eastern colonnades of the Forum in Pompeii. Below one of these a Latin painted inscription, also in red letters (h. 5,5 cm), reading *Victor* or *Victoria*, can be discerned with difficulty.²

* I am most grateful to Ph.D. Martti Nyman, who pointed out many aspects and insisted on examining everything more systematically and profoundly. I also wish to thank Prof. Paavo Castrén for his precious comments as well as Prof. Dr. Klaus Strunk (Munich) for his constructive criticism. The remaining faults and insufficiencies are of course mine.

¹ E. Vetter, *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte I*, Heidelberg 1953, no. 33. CIL IV 674. Rosalba Antonini, *Iscrizioni osche pompeiane*, SE 45 (1977) 337: only four of the inscriptions are left. My autopsy dates to 16 April 1988 and agrees with that of Antonini. There was no trace of the fifth inscription, which, according to Vetter, possibly might have had VAAMÚNIM with Ú.

² CIL IV 674 by Zangemeister (for *Victor*). Vetter read *Victoria* and I am inclined to agree with him, even though the last letters are extremely shabby.

I think it has never been seriously discussed whether the Oscan inscription and the Latin one are to be dated to the same period³ or not, and, furthermore, if both or at least one of them can be dated to a particular period, and perhaps even connected with some important historical event, e.g. the Social War 90-88 B.C. Naturally, we do have both a relative *terminus post quem*⁴ and an absolute *terminus ante quem*⁵ to rely on, but the margin would remain far too wide. It is probable, however, that both inscriptions belong to the period between the beginning of the 1st century B.C. and A.D. 79.⁶

Various interpretations of the meaning of VAAMUNIM have been proposed, most common of them being 'victory' as an exact equivalent (i.e. translation) of the Latin word *Victoria* immediately below.⁷ This combinatory method is obviously the most applicable, if we can suspect the inscription to be bilingual. Another interpretation is to take VAAMUNIM as a gentilicium name, '*Vamoniōrum*' (genitive plural), though in the first place we do not as yet know of

³ We do have Greek-Oscan bilingual graffiti even from Pompeii and an Oscan-Latin bilingual inscription on a tilebrick from Pietrabbondante in Samnium: P. Poccetti, *Nuovi documenti italici*, Pisa 1979, no. 120*ab* and no. 21*ab* (= CIL I² 3556a, actually originally from Venafrum or Bovianum). Cf. Poccetti, *op.cit.* no. 187*ab*, possibly a Greek-Oscan bilingual inscription, from Cirò (Brettii).

⁴ The construction of the columns (*porticus*) in tufa around the Forum, datable to the end of the Samnite period, i.e., conventionally, the end of the 2nd century B.C. Cf. A.& M. de Vos, *Pompei Ercolano Stabia (Guide archeologiche Laterza)*, Bari 1982, 32-33.

⁵ The definitive destruction in the disaster of A.D. 79.

⁶ Some inscriptions, such as election advertisements were restored during the Roman period at Pompeii. - H. Nissen, *Pompeianische Studien zur Städtekunde des Altertums*, Leipzig 1877, 509 ff., supposed that the VAAMUNIM inscriptions had served for the orientation of troops (as the so-called EITUNS inscriptions, Vetter nos. 23-28, found in various points on housewalls in Pompeii).

⁷ So first Fiorelli in *Monumenta epigraphica Pompeiana* p. 11, then followed by R. von Planta (and Vetter). - Even though the name of the Roman divinity *Victoria* and her cult was adopted by the Italians in the era of the Social War (attested VIKTURRAI in Poccetti, *op.cit.* no. 16, from Pietrabbondante in Samnium), it could not have abolished the proper Oscan word meaning 'victory' nor alter the semantic field concerned. I wonder why the supporters of the 'victory'-hypothesis never brought forth the passage of Vell. 2,27,6: *Felicitatem diei, quo Samnitium Telesinique pulsus est exercitus, Sulla perpetua ludorum circensium honoravit memoria, qui sub eius nomine Sullanae Victoriae celebrantur*. Note the words *perpetua memoria* and *Sullana victoria*. Though it is quite improbable that there was any commemoration of the Sullan victory at Pompeii, with ceremonies such as a procession through the Forum, not to mention games, probably organized exclusively at Rome.

any *Vamonius* either in Latin or in Oscan onomastics, and in the second, the ending -IM would be irregular.⁸

Another interpretation could be seen in *vadimonium*, as a loanword from Latin. This will be briefly discussed below in paragraph II: there are some phonetic difficulties, even if not insuperable.⁹

Reconstructing an earlier form of VAAMUNIM we would have an Italic **vāmōnīom*, if we can take for granted that the word is not abbreviated. We can discern an obvious or, at least, a plausible (deverbative) suffix **-mōnīom*. This suffix is well known and fairly common in Latin. The difference between deverbative and denominative *-mōni-* seems not to be totally clear according to M. Leumann,¹⁰ even though most of them are denominative in Latin. In the scarce material of the Italic dialects, we possess only a few cases of the parallel suffix *-mōn-*: in Umbrian *ARMUNE* and *PUEMUNE(S)*, in Vestinian *poimunie-n* and in Paelignian *semunu*, possibly corresponding to Umbrian *SEMENIE(S)*. But all of these are proper names and quite irrelevant for the semantics of the abstract suffix **-mōnīom*.¹¹ Thus VAAMUNIM remains the only case in which the suffix is clearly identifiable and the word is probably not a proper name, but rather an (abstract) general noun.

⁸ One would expect to have -IUM; Zangemeister in CIL IV 674

⁹ Actually, as it seems, this has never been proposed *expressis verbis*, cf. though R. von Planta, *Grammatik der oskisch-umbrischen Dialekte*, Strassburg 1892-97, II § 266.3 on p. 67-68 (on the suffix *-men*). Cf. also J. Perrot, *Les dérivés latins en -men et -mentum*, Paris 1961, esp. p. 25.

¹⁰ M. Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*, München 1977, § 276 B 1 and 3 on p. 297, though only two deverbative examples, *alimonium* and *querimonium*, are mentioned to exist. – Anyway, the suffix *-mōnīum* was first connected with VAAMUNIM by F. Bücheler in *RhM* 33 (1878) 50. Cf. the possible parallel suffix *-μωνωμ* in Vetter no. 181c (= Poccetti no. 157) from Rossano di Vaglio.

¹¹ Cf. von Planta, *op.cit.* II § 276.3 on p. 68. There is a possible interference phenomenon of suffix from Latin to Oscan, cf. Oscan *TRÍSTAAMENTUD* (Vetter, *op.cit.* no. 11 from Pompeii) from Latin *testamentum*.

II. vadimōnium

The temptation to explain VAAMUNIM as a Latin loanword is great. Despite a minor phonetic difficulty the semantics and the topographical context – possibly even the institutional circumstances – would fit in quite well. As regards phonetics, we must suppose that first a syncope took place: **vadimōnium* > **vadmōnium*, creating a phonotactically unacceptable *-dm-*sequence, which was got rid of by pronouncing **vammōnyem* or **vāmōnyem*.¹² It is not at all impossible to see in VAAMUNIM another Latin loanword such as several other institutional loans,¹³ particularly as probably some kind of a lawcourt was situated nearby the Forum, like the Basilica.¹⁴ Thus, VAAMUNIM could be translated 'surety', 'place to present oneself in court', 'guarantee that a defendant will appear before the magistrate at an appointed date', 'bail' or 'security'; in Greek it would correspond to ἐγγύη, πιστόν, παρουσία or ἐγγυᾶσθαι κριθῆναι.

In any case, an Oscan vadimonium would be an institutional novelty, be it coined as a direct Latinism or as an institution of Hellenistic influence present in Campania. But unfortunately enough, it must be noted that there is no trace of a Latin (painted) inscription with a similar indication,¹⁵ and so it remains a mere hypothesis.

¹² This kind of "secondary lengthening" is not common on Oscan (though our material is quite scarce) and would indicate that the possible borrowing is to be dated to an early period. I would not dare to say that the so-called Italic initial accent, if it ever existed at all, could have also contributed to this particular "lengthening" of /a/ (cf. C.D. Buck, *A Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian*, Boston 1928², § 77.2).

¹³ This is quite evident e.g. in the text of the Tabula Bantina and elsewhere just before the definitive Romanization: AÍDIL, KENZSTUR (?), LÍGAT-, KVAÍSSTUR/κφαιστορ, SENAT-/σενατ-, *praefucus*, *pr(aetor)*, *q(uaestor)*, *tr(ibunus) pl(ebis)* and MÚLTASIK-/molto plus *dolom*; cf. E.T. Salmon, *Samnium and the Samnites*, Cambridge 1967, 88-90. It must be noted, though, that the text of the Tabula Bantina contains an unusually high amount of administrative and juridical terminology of Latin origin, as is natural in connection with the Romanizing census.

¹⁴ The Basilica can be dated to 130-120 B.C., cf. de Vos, *op.cit.* 35-37. On the walls there have been found Oscan graffiti and tilebrick stamps NI.PUPIE. We can also suppose that the South-Eastern corner of the *porticus*, near the *Comitium* (cf. de Vos, *op.cit.* 38-39, dating it to the end of the Samnite period) was used for juridical affairs; or possibly all took place in the open air.

¹⁵ Probably there was no need for this kind of indications at all, everybody knew where to go in these affairs.

III. < *uā-mōniom

I would be inclined to support the most common interpretation, i.e. 'victory' (or rather its semantic opposite, as will be seen further below), as the most probable explanation, but it needs further argumentation, both etymological and historical, in order to render it yet more convincing and precise, on a more interdisciplinary basis.

Firstly, I would not at all be too convinced that the word in question corresponds precisely to the Latin word *victoria/victor*, as regards the semantics, at least not necessarily. It could also mean exactly the opposite, '*clades*' or '*exitium*'. It is this what the etymology to be presented below would indicate; obviously, this requires the presentation of some facts regarding the historical context, not least for the synchronic meaning of the word.

But, first of all, we must examine the etymology of the verbal root which has so far remained without explanation. I would suggest the IE verbal root *uā-, 'to hit', 'to wound', even though it is attested only in the Greek and the Baltic branches,¹⁶ with the variant entry *uen- well attested in the German, the Celtic and the Slavic branches.¹⁷ Another, closely related etymology must be mentioned in this connection: the same *uā- / *eu- / *uə-, meaning 'empty', 'desolated', and attested in Indo-Iranian, Greek, Latin (cf. *vānus*, *vāstus*), German, Celtic and Baltic languages.¹⁸ The verb of this root in Sanskrit is particularly interesting: *vāyati*, 'is extinguished', 'is deprived of'.¹⁹ Thus we could assert that the meaning of VAAMUNIM would be something like 'hitting', 'wounding' or 'desolation', taken as a deverbative noun. Further semantic alternatives will be presented in English, Latin and Greek.

¹⁶ J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Bern 1959, I 1108.

¹⁷ *Idem* *ibid.*

¹⁸ *Idem* *ibid.* I 345-346. In laryngealistic terms *ueə₂*.

¹⁹ M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen I-IV*, Heidelberg 1953-1980, III 189-190.

IV. The historical context (reconstructed)

The most probable historical context of the Oscan VAAMUNIM inscriptions (and, naturally, that of the Latin *Victoria/Victor*) might be that of the Social War or of the Sullan era just after it, say 90-80 B.C.; I suppose the inscriptions in both languages are more or less contemporaneous. Anyway, if we do not accept VAAMUNIM as a Latin loanword deriving from *vadimonium*, we would have two or three possible explanations of the word and its context: either 'victory' (i.e. 'wounding of others'), 'defeat' (i.e. 'wounding by others') or, more generally, 'desolation', referring to the bitter battle of Italy between the rebel Italians and the Romans, in this case in Pompeii and its immediate surroundings.²⁰ VAAMUNIM could also have a concrete meaning, referring to a place where public executions took place.²¹

* * *

We can be quite sure that the VAAMUNIM inscriptions were written by an (Oscan-speaking) Italian, but less sure that *Victor(ia)* was written by a (Latin-speaking) Roman, if not by a Romanized (or Philoroman) Italian. Anyway, we cannot suppose a complete bilingualism even in Pompeii.²² It seems probable that

²⁰ We do not know in details what happened immediately after the Sullan siege in Pompeii. Probably some leaders were executed, but most of the residents were just confiscated of their real estates and properties. We know that Pompeii was among the rebel insurgents: App. BC 1,39; Diod.Sic. 37,2,4 counts it among Nola and its neighbour towns. In the spring of 89 B.C. we know that Pompeii was besieged by Sulla and as L. Cluentius, the South Campanian meddix, tried to come to the aid of the Pompeians, he was slain by Sulla near Nola: App. BC 1,50 (giving the incredible figure of one Roman and 50.000 Italic dead [not 23.000 as Salmon, op.cit. 366, mistakenly gives, obviously relying on the Loeb translation, which is incorrect]; the figure is naturally Sullan propaganda, but such a slaughter cannot be excluded to have taken place, in view of other Sullan slaughters on Samnites, such as the slaying of all the Samnite prisoners of the battle fought in the spring of 82 at Sacriportus [Plut. Sulla 28,8]; for the slaughter of the prisoners of the battle of the Colline Gate, cf. notes 23 and 24).

²¹ Naturally execution in such a public place as the Forum was better understood as a clear example which would serve as a warning.

²² We possess only one clearly Roman name written in Oscan at Pompeii: P. KUIÍRINIS (Vetter, op.cit. no. 59c) and perhaps another, MA. KASTRIKIÍEÍŚ (ibid. no. 25). Romans had naturally much less need of Oscan than Sabellians (or Italians) had of Latin, at least in

both inscriptions are documents of (civil) war propaganda of private citizens. VAAMUNIM would hardly have occurred in a resigned, self-ironical sense of 'surrender'. The meanings 'death-blow', 'fall', 'ruin(ous mischief)', 'doom', 'defeat', 'slaughter', 'massacre' and 'execution' will do in English. 'Clades', 'pernicies', 'exitium', 'plaga' and 'supplicium' would be Latin equivalents. In Greek we would have τιμωρία, ὄλεθρος, διαφθορά, φόνος, σφαγή, θανάτωσις and θάνατος. In fact, many of the historiographical sources use very strong expressions about the cruelties of Sulla on Samnites.²³

I wonder if VAAMUNIM or its Latin equivalents were yelled – if not even hastily written – in the battles around Pompeii, at Sacriportus, by the Colline Gate at Rome

official use and commerce, throughout Italy after, and partly even before the Social War. I am preparing a study on this subject.

²³ There are numerous sources, e.g. App. BC 1,82: ... λύμας καὶ θανάτους...καὶ ἀναίρεσιν ὄλως ἀθρόαν, *ibid.* 1,93; Plut. Sulla 30,2-3 and 31,1, further Dio fr. 109,4-9; Strab. 5,4,11 and Liv. epit. 88 plus [Victor] de vir. ill. 75. Some of the verbs occurring in these passages are: *trucido*, (ἀπο)σφάττω, κατακόπτω, διαφθείρω, ἀποκτείνω, φονεύω and κατακοντίζω. – That the battle of Porta Collina was held to be decisive can be read in Vell. 2,27,1-3 (the point of view of Pontius Telesinus): ...*dux Samnitium, vir...Romano nomini infestissimus, contractis circiter XL milibus fortissimae pertinacissimaeque in retinendis armis iuventutis... circumvolans ordines exercitus sui Telesinus dictitansque adesse Romanis ultimum diem vociferabatur eruendam delendamque urbem, adiiciens numquam defuturos raptores Italicae libertatis lupos, nisi silva, in quam refugere solerent, esset excisa. ..Telesinus postera die semianimis repertus est, victoris magis quam morientis vultum praeferens...*, together with Strab. 5,4,11: ... τούτους (scil. τοὺς Σαυνίτας) σχεδόν τι μόνους συμμένοντας ἑώρα...τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ κατέκοψε, κελεύσας μὴ ζωγρεῖν...ἅπαντας ἀπέσφαξε, προγραφάς τε ποιούμενος οὐκ ἐπαύσατο πρὶν ἢ πάντας τοὺς ἐν ὀνόματι Σαυνίτων διέφθειρεν ἢ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐξέβαλε· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς αἰτιωμένους τὴν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὀργὴν ἔφη καταμαθεῖν ἐκ τῆς πείρας ὡς οὐδέποτ' ἂν εἰρήνην ἀγάγοι. Ῥωμαίων οὐδὲ εἰς ἕως ἂν συμμένωσι καθ' ἑαυτοὺς Σαυνίται. The attitude of Sulla is quite totalitarian.

The ferocity of Sulla was condemned clearly by Florus, 2,9,5 (= 3,21,5) *Ultimo.....rabiem supergressum est...eo usque odiis saeventibus, donec deessent qui occiderentur* and *ibid.* 2,9,24 (= 3,21,24) *Quattuor milia deditorum inermium civium in Villa Publica interfici iussit*, as well as later by Orosius 5,21,1 *Sulla mox atque Urbem victor intravit, tria milia hominum, qui se per legatos dediderant, contra fas contraque fidem datam inermes securosque interfecit.*

and during or immediately after the executions following it.²⁴ In this sense the graffiti traditions are still alive in the modern world, wherever there are civil wars.²⁵

²⁴ Cf. Dio fr. 109,4: ...αὐτῶν...θνησκόντων πολὺς μὲν θόρυβος πολὺς δὲ καὶ θρῆνος οἴμωγαί τε καὶ ὀδυρμοί... Note the words describing the lamenting and wailing noise of the executed. Cf. also Plut. Sulla 30,3, using the word κραυγή, 'crying', 'screaming' or 'shrieking'. Probably there was some protest, if we may trust the last words in the passage of Orosius cited in the precedent note; but we do not know if it was any more possible to be expressed *per legatos*, in Latin, as the surrender three days before.

²⁵ Cf. e.g. *boia*, 'executioner', frequently on walls of modern Rome. The latest renaissance of this kind of graffiti tradition has been recently seen in Rumania.

Analecta epigraphica

HEIKKI SOLIN

CXXXIII. AE 1983, 324 AUS CORFINIUM. VERSUCH EINER INTERPRETATION

Die von G. Paci, *Epigraphica* 42 (1980) 46-64 mit ausgedehntem Kommentar publizierte Versinschrift aus Corfinium ist noch nicht befriedigend erklärt. Die kurzen Bemerkungen in AE 1983, 324 und die Edition von M. Buonocore, *Suppl.It. III Corfinium* 17 bringen nichts wesentliches Neues.

Die Inschrift besteht aus drei Teilen. Der obere Teil des Inschriftenfeldes trägt die Namen der drei Hauptpersonen, der untere beherbergt das Grabgedicht. Unten und oben in der Leiste wurde, vielleicht in einem späteren Moment, der Name von *T. Petiedius T.l. Nyctaeus* geschrieben; in der oberen Leiste wird noch sein Gewerbe des *ep(h)ip(p)iarus* angegeben.

Die Namen der Hauptpersonen werden nebeneinander in drei Spalten angeführt. Links steht *T. Petiedius T.l. Stephanio vivos sibi*; darunter auf einer etwas breiteren Fläche noch seine Stellung als *Augustalis d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*. In die Mitte war der Name der verstorbenen Frau gesetzt: *Luciliae D.l. Calybeni coniugi*; und rechts steht *C. Lucilius Ichimenus vivos sibi*. Dann folgt unter diesen Namen das Grabgedicht, in dem die verstorbene Lucilia Calybe spricht. Nach der üblichen, von Paci stammenden Auffassung soll Petiedius Stephanio der Ehemann und Lucilius Ichimenus Sohn von Lucilia Calybe gewesen sein; daß in dem letzteren in der Tat der Sohn des Ehepaares zu erblicken sei, lege *proque nato* 12 nahe, wie einhellig (aber sicher falsch, wie wir sehen werden) gelesen wird. Aus der Zeile 10

coniugibusque meis semper amanda fui gehe ferner hervor, dass Lucilia zweimal verheiratet war; der erste, unbekannte Mann sei Paci zufolge gestorben, worauf Lucilia Calybe mit Petiedius Stephanio eine neue Ehe eingegangen sei.

Diese Auslegung befriedigt nicht. An sich würde *coniugibusque meis* zwei aufeinanderfolgende Ehen nicht ausschließen, aber schon *semper amanda fui* paßt nicht ganz zu dieser Stimmung. Nun müssen wir, um dem Verständnis des Gedichts näher zu kommen, uns vergegenwärtigen, daß dieses Gedicht im ganzen genommen eine beachtenswerte Leistung darstellt. Große Poesie ist es freilich nicht, aber die Gedanken, mit zahlreichen Reminiszenzen versehen, sind klar und syntaktisch fehlerlos ausgedrückt. Auch metrisch ist es tadellos. Ein paar Schreibfehler, die uns begegnen, gehen auf Konto des Steinmetzen und dürfen den positiven Gesamteindruck nicht trüben.

Gegen diesen Hintergrund fragt man sich, ob die Lesung *proque nato* in 12 wegen des darin steckenden groben metrischen Fehlers aufrechterhalten werden kann; außerdem wäre der Ausdruck sprachlich schief. Ich nehme an, daß Paci recht hat mit seiner Konjektur *impensa facta a* (für FACTAM) mit Abl. abs., verstehe aber *impensa facta a coniuge utroque meo*. Aufgrund der winzigen Buchstabenreste, die auf dem mir von Paci zur Verfügung gestellten Photo zu sehen sind, ist *utroque meo* vollends möglich; *nato*, das Paci für sicher hält, kann ich am Photo nicht erkennen. *Utroque* hat gegenüber *proque* noch den Vorteil, daß es als etwas längeres Wort mit der Zentrierung der Zeilen besser harmonisiert, wie man gut anhand der vorigen Zeile sieht, denn *proque* würde deutlich eingerückt im Vergleich zu dem sicheren *amanda* beginnen und würde überhaupt die kürzeste Ergänzung im linken Teil des Gedichts bilden. Vor allem ist mein Vorschlag aber inhaltlich vorzüglich. Er paßt nicht nur mit *coniugibusque meis semper amanda* gut zusammen, sondern auch mit den folgenden Worten in 13 *quorum vita, precor, longo spatietur amore*, die eher an zwei Männer als an Mann und Sohn denken lassen.

Wenn mein Vorschlag zutrifft, müssen folgerichtig Petiedius Stephanio und Lucilius Ichimenus die zwei *coniuges* der Lucilia Calybe sein. Es gibt nicht wenige Beispiele dafür, daß zwei 'Ehemänner' einer Frau ein Grabdenkmal setzen. Treggiari und Dorken haben allein aus stadtrömischen Inschriften 23 solche Fälle zusammengestellt.¹ Und aus sonstigen Inschriften aus Italien lassen sich einige

¹ S. Treggiari - S. Dorken, Women with two living husbands in CIL 6, LCM 6 (1981) 269-272.

weitere Belege mehr finden; ohne ausgedehnte Nachforschungen angestellt zu haben, kann ich deren zwei anführen: CIL XIV 2676 aus Tusculum (*Anthusae Thalassus et Ionicus coniugi*) und CIL IX 706 aus Teanum Apulum (*Georgiae conservae v. Marsua ponder(arius), v. Epaphra saltuar(ius) coniuges fecer(unt)*).² Nicht ferne bleiben einige andere Fälle wie der bekannte des Grabgedichts der Allia Potestas CIL VI 37965, kürzlich von N. Horsfall, ZPE 61 (1985) 251-272 ausgezeichnet interpretiert, oder der des Grabgedichts einer Lesbia CIL VI 21200 = CLE 973, in denen von *duo amantes* der Frau die Rede ist. Vgl. ferner eine Inschrift aus Pompeji, hierher von Durry gestellt,³ der den Inschrifttext auf Mann, Frau und Liebhaber bezieht.

Solche Fälle lassen sich mit Treggiari am besten so erklären, daß die erste Verbindung in diesen Fällen immer ein *contubernium* war, das dann aus nicht durchsichtigen Gründen aufgelöst wurde, oft gegen den Willen der beiden, und daß die Frau dann eine dauerhafte 'Ehe' mit dem zweiten Partner einging.⁴ Auf unseren Fall bezogen würde ich in C. Lucilius Ichimenus den ersten 'Mann' der Lucilia Calybe sehen, der aus dem identischen Gentilicium zu schließen zum selben Gesinde gehörte wie Calybe und innerhalb der *familia* der Lucilii mit ihr in einem *contubernium* lebte. Aus Gründen, über die wir nichts wissen, endete dieses *contubernium*, und Lucilia Calybe ging eine neue Ehe mit T. Petiedius Stephanio ein, der als Augustalis (oder wenigstens als ein Augustalisanwärter) eine angesehene Stellung innehatte und so eine passende Wahl für Calybe nach dem zerbrochenen Verhältnis mit Lucilius Ichimenus war. Gemäß der aus den von Treggiari und Dorken zusammengestellten Inschriften belegten Sitte errichteten die Männer in bestem Einvernehmen gemeinsam das Grabdenkmal der Lucilia Calybe.

² Mit Photo publiziert von A. Russi, Teanum Apulum, Roma 1976, 99-103 Nr. 38.

³ M. Durry, *Réhabilitation des "funerariae"*, RA 1961 I, 13-15 = *Mélanges Durry*, REL 41 bis (1969 [1970]) 257f. Durrys Interpretation bleibt allerdings etwas hypothetisch. Der Text, den Durry selbst in Pompeji abgeschrieben hat, wurde später von P. Ciprotti, SDHI 29 (1963) 279f. mit juristischem Kommentar publiziert. Diplomatische Edition jetzt in A. D'Ambrosio - S. De Caro, *Un impegno per Pompei. Fotopiano e documentazione della necropoli di Porta Nocera*, Milano 1983, OS 23.

⁴ Treggiari - Dorken 270. Dagegen hatte B. Rawson, *Roman concubinate and other de facto marriages*, TAPhA 104 (1974) 279-305 derartige Fälle als Belege für Polyandrie vermutet, was angesichts der römischen Gesetzgebung schwerlich glaubhaft ist.

Sonst bleibt mir wenig zu sagen. Im Vers 19 zu Beginn der Zeile 15 muß [ho]c aus metrischen Gründen eliminiert werden. Vor TITVLO sehe ich am Photo nichts; daß die mit TITVLO beginnende Zeile etwas eingerückt ist, wundert nicht, denn sie endet auch beträchtlich früher als die vorigen. Es muß also *et tu quicumque es, titulo remorate legendo* gelesen werden.

CXXXIV. EIN LUKANER IN BRITANNIEN? ZU RIB 9

Nach der herkömmlichen Lesung lautet RIB 9 aus London folgendermaßen: *A. Alfid(ius) Pomp. / Olussa ex testamento her. / pos. annor. LXX / h. s. est.* Zwischen den zwei letzten Zeilen wurde mit kleineren Lettern *na(tus) Atheni(s)* hinzugefügt. Seit Mommsens Zeiten hat man in A. Alfidius Olussa einen in Britannien niedergelassenen *negotiator* aus Athen gesehen.

Diese Deutung wurde kürzlich von P. Simelon, *Latomus* 47 (1988) 863-867 kontestiert. Simelon sieht in der Nachfolge von A. Deman in A. Alfidius einen Bürger der lukanischen Stadt Atina, zunächst wegen der Tribus Pomptina, in der die Einwohner dieser Stadt eingeschrieben waren; ferner soll ihm zufolge *Olussa* nicht Cognomen des Alfidius, sondern der Name seines Erben sein.

Gegen diese neue Deutung erheben sich schwerwiegende Bedenken. Zuerst wäre es höchst überraschend, daß ein Italiker in der fortgeschrittenen Kaiserzeit mit Tribusangabe, aber ohne Filiation und Cognomen versehen genannt würde; zweitens wäre die Präsenz eines aus Süditalien gebürtigen Soldaten in Britannien recht eigentümlich. Es dürfte sich hier um einen Soldaten handeln, wie auch Simelon vermutet (doch nicht aus den von ihm angeführten Gründen), was der Wortlaut, vor allem der Ausdruck *her. pos.* nahelegt; Legionäre (und noch weniger andere in den Provinzen stationierte Soldaten) wurden in der fortgeschrittenen Kaiserzeit aber kaum nennenswert mehr aus Italikern rekrutiert (RIB 2148 ist ein Sonderfall). Was den ersten Punkt noch betrifft, so ist das Fehlen der Filiation vor der vorhandenen Tribusangabe an sich kein unbekanntes Phänomen, dabei handelt es sich aber vor allem um Bürger peregriner Herkunft, die auch keine Filiation hätten führen können (s. *Arctos* 21 [1987] 134f); wenn dabei zuweilen auch freigeborene Römer der Filiation neben der Tribusangabe entbehrten, so ist dieser Vorgang doch im ganzen weniger wahrscheinlich. Schwerer wiegt das Fehlen des Cognomens, das in der fortgeschrittenen Kaiserzeit nicht fehlen durfte. Zweifellos

hie der Verstorbene *A. Alfidius Olussa*, er war wahrscheinlich ein Soldat, wie der Ausdruck *her(edes) pos(uerunt)* nahelegt – so wrde ich die Abkrzung auflsen, denn es war eine bliche Praxis in den Soldatengrabschriften, die Erben summarisch durch *heredes* ohne Nennung der Namen anzugeben. *Olussa* ist wohl, wie auch Simelon ansprechend vermutet, ein keltischer Name. Der Mann war also ein aus keltischen Gebieten stammender Soldat peregriner Geburt (deswegen das Fehlen der Filiation), der in Britannien stationiert war. Man wird dabei zunchst an einen Legionr denken, und da vom 2. Jh. an die territoriale Konskription mehr und mehr vorherrschend wurde, fragt man sich, wie es mit der vermutlichen Herkunft des Alfidius Olussa aus Athen steht; diese Frage ist um so berechtigter, als keine der in Britannien stationierten Legionen frher in griechischem Gebiet gewirkt hatte, in welchem Fall die Prsenz der Griechen in einer solchen Legion leichter verstndlich wre. Ist die Lesung berhaupt sicher?

CXXXV. DREI FALSCHES UND ZWEI VERKANNTES NAMEN

1. *Aimus*. Dieser Name soll inschriftlich zweimal als Gentilicium aus dem nrdlichsten Italien belegt sein: CIL V 6899 = Inscr.It. XI 1,113 = A.M. Cavallaro - G. Walser, *Iscrizioni di Augusta Praetoria* (1989) 18 (mit Photo) vom Jahre 3 v.Chr. aus dem Kleinen St. Bernhard-Pass; und CIL V 6926 = I² 2141 mit Degrassis Addenda S. 1084 aus Valperga. In der letzten Inschrift wird die alte Lesung noch bei Lommatzsch, CIL I² 2141 wiedergegeben, die lautet *T. Aimus, / M. Avilliu(s)* usw., diese Lesung ist aber vllig abwegig, wie man leicht anhand des im letzten Supplement von Degrassi Taf. 107,2 publizierten Photos feststellen kann; Degrassi selbst schlagt *Primigelnia Velia(?)* vor, wobei wenigstens die erste Zeile von ihm richtig gelesen wurde. Jedenfalls verschwindet dieser Beleg des vermeintlichen Gentiliciums *Aimus*.

Und nun zur ersteren Inschrift. Sie wurde bisher einhellig folgendermaen verstanden: *Imp. Caesare Augusto XIII cos. desig. / C. Avillius C.f. (et) C. Aimus Patavinus*. Doch schon die Namensform *C. Aimus* ohne Filiation neben *C. Avillius C.f.* ist verdchtig; und nach der alten Kopie von Promis aus dem Jahre 1862 besteht zwischen C und AIMVS kein Punkt, whrend Punkte sonst als Worttrenner in der Inschrift regelmig gesetzt wurden. Es ist zweifellos *C. Avillius C.f. Caimus Patavinus* zu verstehen. Ein Cognomen *Caemus* war, soweit ich bersehe, bisher

nicht belegt, läßt sich aber leicht postulieren. Der Ausgangspunkt ist der Gentilname *Caemius*, der auch in Norditalien belegt ist. Diesem liegt zugrunde ein Individualname, der in etr. *cemu* überliefert ist.⁵ C. Avillius war also ein Paduaner; notiert sei, daß die gens Avillia in Padua auch sonst belegt ist (CIL V 2849. 2901).

2. *Palilia*. Diesen Namen hat A. Ferrua in seiner Publikation der Graffiti einer christlichen Katakombe in Castelvecchio Subequo im Territorium des antiken Superaequum an einer Wand erkennen wollen: RAC 26 (1950) 63f. Dazu gibt er folgende abenteuerliche Erklärung: "Palilia e non altro pare che fosse effettivamente il nome della bambina, derivato per certo da *Pales*, ma per una via poco regolare". Diese Deutung wurde von G. Pani, Inscr.Christ.It. III 11 und M. Buonocore, Suppl.It. V Superaequum 48 ohne Bedenken übernommen. Aber nicht nur ist Ferruas Erklärung abenteuerlich, auch die Lesung ist sicher unrichtig, wie man anhand der Photos bei Pani und Buonocore sehen kann (das bei Buonocore deckt einen größeren Teil der Schriftoberfläche ab und ist deswegen vorzuziehen). Auch existiert kein Name *Palilia* (der Hinweis auf CIL V 6130 *Palilius* hilft nichts, denn der Beleg ist suspekt und scheint außerdem ein Gentilicium zu vertreten, das hier ja nicht erwartet wird), und die Entstehung einer solchen Bildung wäre ganz undurchsichtig (Ferruas Hinweis auf *Pales* ist natürlich wertlos). Auf dem Photo könnte man vielleicht *filia* erkennen und davor das Schluß-*a* des Namens der Tochter.

3. Eine Ossuarieninschrift aus Jerusalem lautet ZHNAPOYTOC: V. Schultze, ZDPV 4 (1881) 11 Nr. 9 = P. Thomsen, ZDPV 44 (1921) 115 Nr. 191 b = Frey, CIJ 1303. Thomsen zufolge soll Lesung und Erklärung zweifelhaft sein; er fragt sich, ob vielleicht Βηρούτιος vorliege (ähnlich Frey, der Βηρούτιος als lat. *Verutius* erklärt). Wenn die Lesung stimmt, dann ist Ζηναροῦτος am besten als Genetiv eines Frauennamens Ζηναροῦς erklärlich. Mir sind keine sonstigen Belege von diesem Namen bekannt, der jedoch keinerlei Schwierigkeiten morphologischer Art bereitet. Wie allgemein bekannt, existiert in der griechischen Namensgebung seit alters ein beliebtes Frauennamensuffix -ᾶριον, das verschiedensten Wurzeln angehängt wurde, oft auch mythologischen Namen. Diese Bildungsweise war auch in römischer Zeit beliebt. Neben -ᾶριον haben sich offensichtlich andere Frauennamentypen entwickelt: -αρώ, -αρίς und der hier vorliegende -αροῦς. Sie

⁵ CIE 1988.

waren oft zu Götternamen gebildet, wovon die Sippe um Νίκη ein gutes Zeugnis liefert: Νικάριον, Νικαρῶ, Νικαροῦς.⁶ *-arus* war auch in der römischen Namensgebung verbreitet: Neben *Nicarus* kommen vor etwa *Cleoparus Isarus Lycarus*. Das Suffix *-oûς* konnte auch direkt dem Stamm des Götternamens angehängt werden: Βουβαστοῦς.⁷ Diese Namen folgten der heteroklitischen Flexion, so daß Ζηναροῦτος eine ganz regelrechte Bildung darstellt, es sei denn, daß die Lesung zweifelhaft bleiben mag.

4. RendLincei 1969, 58 Nr. 7 (A. Giannetti) aus Rocca d'Evandro im Territorium des antiken Venafrum wurde vom Herausgeber A. Giannetti folgendermaßen gelesen: *Q. [---]egri[o], viro carissimo, fecit*. Ich habe die Inschrift gesehen: *[---]egrio* muß durch *[---]l. Tigris* ersetzt werden. *Tigris* ist ein guter Name, überall verbreitet. Wird AE 1988, 241, wo hoffentlich die von mir mitgeteilte richtige Lesung übernommen wird.

5. CIL X 8059, 115, einst im Museum von Neapel gesehenes Signaculum soll nach dem einzigen Zeugnis (einem gewissen Milano) folgendermaßen heißen: T · CLAVDI · F / SYCHIDI. Mommsen im CIL versucht die korrupte Abschrift nicht zu heilen, ich würde aber hier den Namen *Euppsychus* sehen. Dies ist kein sehr üblicher Name, kommt immerhin sowohl in Griechenland als auch in Rom vor.⁸

CXXXVI. VERKANNTÉ IDENTITÄTEN

Es handelt sich diesmal ausschließlich um stadtrömische Inschriften.

1. CIL VI 7490 aus der Vigna Amendola gelangte später in die Vatikanischen Museen und wurde dort in der Galleria Lapidaria von Henzen abgeschrieben und in CIL VI 17086 publiziert. Die Lesung von Henzen ist richtig (für mich von Ivan Di Stefano Manzella kontrolliert). Der Text beginnt also *d.m. Eburio alumno felicissimo*, und nicht, wie in 7490 wiedergegeben, *d.m. Euborio*. Der falsche und schwer erklärbare Name *Euborius* verschwindet also aus der antiken Anthro-

⁶ Vgl. etwa Solin - Masson, Epigraphica 46 (1984) 155-158, wo weitere Literatur.

⁷ Moretti IGUR 395; vgl. Solin, ZPE 28 (1978) 75f.

⁸ Im griechischen Bereich z.B. IG XII Suppl. 1287 (Anaphe, kaiserz.). In Rom Frey, CIJ 337 mit Εὐψυχίς Moretti IGUR 556; *Euppsychus* AE 1985, 96. Leo M. epist. 39.

ponymie. Ich habe im Namenbuch 1223 diese Form unter *Euhodius* verzeichnet, der Beleg muß aber also entfallen. Auch *Eburius* ist eine neue Bildung, doch vollends verständlich neben Bildungen wie *Eburianus Eburinus Eburiolus Eburnus Eburnianus*; auch der Name des Elfenbeins selbst wurde metonymisch als Personennamen gebraucht: *Hebur* CIL VI 25744a und vor allem *Hebenus*, der ein üblicher Name in der kaiserzeitlichen Anthroponymie war (s. Glotta 51 [1973] 311-317). Das für die spätantike Namengebung charakteristische Suffix *-ius* darf nicht überraschen, denn die Inschrift läßt sich unschwer ins Ende des 2. oder ins 3. Jh. datieren.

2. CIL VI 35627 aus den Scheden des Kardinals Fea p. 306 vertritt eine schlechte und korrupte Abschrift von 14600, von Henzen in der Galleria Lapidaria der Vatikanischen Museen gesehen. Den von Fea als CAIHAE MIICILIAE wiedergegebenen Namen der Verstorbenen versucht der Editor von 35627 als *Caltiae Myrillae* zu heilen, der Stein hat aber *Cattiae Atticillae*.

3. *d.m. Fabricio filio* 17635, *d.m. Patricio filio* 23853, *d.m. Publicio filio* 25119. So beginnen drei Abschriften ein und derselben Inschrift, die also nicht weniger als dreimal im CIL VI publiziert wurde, ohne daß die Identität je vermerkt worden wäre. Die Inschrift findet sich heute in den Kapitulinischen Museen, wo sie von Henzen gesehen und 17635 publiziert wurde. Früher haben sie zuerst Ptolemaeus und später Lancellotti bei Marini Vat. 9120 f. 44 *in hortis Iustinianeis* gesehen; die Abschrift von Ptolemaeus wurde 23853, die von Lancellotti 25119 wiedergegeben. Schwierigkeiten bereitet die Festlegung der richtigen Namensform des verstorbenen *alumnus*; schon Henzen schwankte bei seiner Wiedergabe. Die Tatsache, daß der erfahrene Epigraphiker Henzen einen Namen zu erkennen glaubte, der kein Cognomen war (das ja hier erfordert wird) und auch als Gentilicium sich keiner besonderen Beliebtheit erfreute, könnte uns dazu verleiten, diesen Namen als eine Art *lectio difficilior* zu empfehlen. Dasselbe trifft für *Publicius* zu, während *Patricius* als eine regelrechte Cognomenbildung der späteren Kaiserzeit a priori für eine *lectio facilior* gehalten werden könnte. Ich habe den Stein nicht selbst gesehen, die Lesung wurde mir aber von Gian Luca Gregori verglichen, der mir mitteilt, daß heute nur RICIO zu erkennen ist; die Buchstaben FABR sind rubriziert, aber von FAB ist nichts übrig geblieben. Demnach kann zwischen *Fabricio* und *Patricio* letzten Endes nicht entschieden werden. Der Schrifträger ist ein Grabaltar, von D. Boschung, *Antike Grabaltäre aus den Nekropolen Roms*, Bern 1987, 92 Nr. 514 ans Ende des 2. Jh. n. Chr. angesetzt.

4. CIL VI 19288 = 33176 aus der Nähe des Statilierkolumbariums. Keine Divergenzen in der Lesung. Der Altar stammt aus dem Ende des 2. Jh. n.Chr., vgl. Boschung, op. cit. 110 Nr. 898.

5. CIL VI 25879 aus Manutius, Cod. Vat. Lat. 5237 f. 112 verschwindet. Sie steht viel besser 25722 aus Iucundus und Ligorius, der eine gute Fassung bietet. 25879 beginnt *d.m. Satrio Cae[---]* statt *d.m. Sabino Caes(aris)*. Man entferne also *Satrius Cae[---]* aus Bangs Gentilnamenindex. – Später wurde die Inschrift wiedergefunden und in NSc. 1919, 56 Nr. 6 als Ineditum publiziert.

6. CIL VI 37970 verschwindet, denn das Stück ist der rechte Teil von 26248a. Ebenfalls verschwindet das Fragment 30428, 2, das den unteren Teil von 1802 bildet.

CXXXVII. VARIA URBANA

1. CIL VI 10540 und 25283 gehören zusammen. Sie wurden im 16. Jh. in demselben römischen Haus von Knibbe gesehen, der sie zusammen in Cod. Berol. p. 62 publizierte; sie können demnach zu demselben Fundzusammenhang gehören. Jedenfalls ist von vornherein klar, daß der in beiden Inschriften vorkommende kaiserliche Sklave Acamazon ein und dieselbe Person ist. *Acamazon* ist kein sehr üblicher Name,⁹ und wird beidesmal in der Form *Acmaszon* geschrieben (in 10540 verkannt und völlig unnötig normalisiert). Außerdem wäre die Präsenz von zwei homonymen kaiserlichen Sklaven (zudem durch die identische Formel *Caesaris nostri servus* charakterisiert) in einem Fundkomplex etwas überraschend. Acamazon scheint zweimal verheiratet gewesen zu sein, wenn Pomponia Helpis in 10540 seine Genossin war. Leider geben die Namen der übrigen Familienmitglieder keine Hinweise auf die Identität, aber wie gesagt, halte ich sie für höchstwahrscheinlich.

⁹ Neunmal in meinem Namenbuch 665 belegt; doch wird die Zahl der Belege um einen vermindert: die Identität der dort als gesondert angeführten Belege Epigraphica 13 (1951 [1953]) 132 und Nsc. 1948, 150 wurde von mir verkannt.

2. Aus CIL VI 18824, 28615 und XI 3614 kennen wir einen *Vesbinus Aug.l.* Der letztgenannte wird zusätzlich noch als *Ulpus Vesbinus* angegeben. Bormann in XI 3614 meint, der dort Genannte sei identisch mit dem in VI 28615. Das kann sein; doch ist die Identität mit dem in 18824 gleichermaßen möglich; dieser kann wiederum mit dem von 28615 identisch sein, da wir die Frauen kennen, die sie bei ihrem Tod hatten. Auch die Identität des Ulpus Vesbinus in Caere mit einem von ihnen ist keineswegs sicher, aber angesichts der Seltenheit des Cognomens *Vesbinus* wohl möglich. Jedenfalls scheint das Cognomen *Vesbinus* gegen Ende des 1. Jh. sich einer gewissen Beliebtheit in der Namengebung des kaiserlichen Gesindes erfreut zu haben.

3. *Gavi Maximi Alexandri/ae coniugi suae carissimae / benemerenti fecit et sibi et suis / parentibus posterisque eorum et / Hagne conservae meae. / Locus impetratus a domina mea et Aeliae Aristobulae sorori Alexandriae.* So lautet CIL VI 18908 aus Accursius, Cod. Ambros. D, 420 f. 31 und Ligorius, Cod. Neap. I. 39 p. 254. Bang in seinem Nominaindex S. 92 unter Gavius Maximus (und wiederholt unter dem Prätorianerpräfekt M. Gavius Maximus) teil mit, der Name werde in den addenda postrema behandelt, die dann niemals erschienen sind. Sonst habe ich keine Stellungnahme zum Text der Inschrift gefunden. Er ist aber eine kurze Note wert, denn er wird sich nicht unmittelbar dem Verständnis erschließen. Am besten wird man davon ausgehen, daß von der Inschrift der obere Teil fehlt, in dem der Name des Sklaven des Gavius Maximus (oder eines Gavius Maximus) stand. Der anonyme Errichter der Inschrift scheint zwei Frauen gehabt zu haben, *Alexandria coniux* und *Hagne conserva*. Ich würde die Sachlage so sehen, dass der anonyme 'Ehemann' am Anfang der Inschrift den Namen seiner derzeitigen 'Frau' setzte, um das Grab für sie und sich selbst gehörig zu erklären; später führte er noch den Namen seiner früheren Lagergenossin Hagne an. Wenn dem so ist, müßten die beiden Frauen zum Zeitpunkt der Errichtung des Grabsteines noch am Leben gewesen sein. Das könnte seine Bekräftigung durch solche analoge, oben unter CXXXIII besprochene Fälle erfahren, in denen zwei Männer einer Frau den Grabstein setzen, ein Phänomen, das nicht sehr selten in stadtrömischen Inschriften bezeugt ist.¹⁰ Im letzten Satz beziehe ich *domina* auf Alexandria; in *domina* die Patronin des Anonymen zu sehen, empfiehlt sich nicht, da dieser Sklave von Gavius

¹⁰ Besprochen von S. Treggiari - S. Dorken, art.cit. (Anm. 1). Des weiteren vgl. oben unter CXXXIII.

Maximus war. Auch passen die Worte *locus impetratus* gut mit einer Aktion der Alexandria zusammen, die ja darauf zielt, im Grab auch (*et* verstehe ich als *etiam*) die Schwester der Alexandria beizusetzen. *Dominus* als Anrede zwischen Sklaven ist gut im grabinschriftlichen Jargon belegt.¹¹

4. CIL VI 20210 aus Ptolemaeus sched. 2, 271 ist folgendermaßen überliefert: C · IVLIVS C · L / PLVTA · Y PAVLVS. Für das Cognomen schlägt Mommsen die Konjekturen *Pluta[rch]us* vor, doch vollends unnötig, denn der Mann hieß *C. Iulius C.l. Pluta* (das haben schon Bang und Vidman in ihren *Nomina-* bzw. *Cognomina indices* gesehen). Das Y verstehe ich als dreieckigen Punkt, so daß *Paulus* sicher sein dürfte; dies ist entweder das zweite Cognomen des Pluta oder der Name einer anderen Person.

5. CIL VI 21580 aus Manutius, Cod. Vat. Lat. 5241 p. 182 und Amati, Cod. Vat. Lat. 9736 f. 14 druckt den Namen der Frau AELIA MTRATE. Ihr Cognomen scheint aber von Amati MYRALE wiedergegeben worden zu sein: M. Buonocore, *Epigraphica* 51 (1989) 218. Wenn dem so ist, haben wir hier wohl den griechischen Namen *Myrtale* vor uns. Dieser ganz übliche Name wurde versehentlich ohne T geschrieben (wenn denn nicht R und T im Original in Nexus geschrieben wurden), denn *Myrale* wäre kein Name; *Myrallis* in CIL VI 8603 ist wohl als *Pyrallis* zu verstehen, vgl. L. Vidman, *Philologus* 124 (1980) 264.

6. NSc. 1923, 373 T FLAVIVS CAIAGRATHVS ist zweifellos als *T. Flavius Catagraphus* zu verstehen. *Catagraphus* ist ein guter griechischer Name, bisher dreimal in Rom belegt (s. mein Namenbuch 1175).

7. NSc. 1933, 447 Nr. 22 wird vom Herausgeber R. Paribeni wie folgt publiziert: D M / B · A · D / BAIS / COIVG / INCONPAR / BNMB. Ihm ist entgangen, daß die Inschrift noch eine siebte Zeile hat: F, also *f(ecit)*. Und die vorige Zeile ist BNMRT zu lesen, also eine Kontraktion für *b(e)n(e)m(e)r(en)t(i)*. Zur Kontraktion BN = *bene* vgl. U. Hälvä-Nyberg, *Die Kontraktionen auf den lateinischen Inschriften Roms und Afrikas bis zum 8. Jh. n.Chr.*, Helsinki 1988, 237; zu MRT = *merenti* ebda 256, wo neben dieser Inschrift noch eine andere stadtrömische Inschrift nachzutragen ist: CIL XI 198* a 2 = Camposanto monumentale di Pisa. *Le antichità, Pisa* 1984, Nr. 108 (c. 3. Jh.). Ein harter Brocken ist der Anfang des Textes, wo der Name oder die Namen der beteiligten Personen vorkommen müssen. Ich verstehe sie nicht. Nun sind in 2 BAI und S voneinander getrennt, so

¹¹ Vgl. Solin, *QUCC* 18 (1974) 111 f.

daß S für sich stehen kann, wobei es zunächst *servus* oder *serva* bedeuten würde. Es ist in der Tat vorzuziehen, so zu verstehen (auch hat der Stein BAI S, nicht BAIS, wie Paribeni druckt), denn BAIS vertritt keinen Namen (der einzige mit diesem Ausgang versehene Name ist *Thebais*, der nicht in Frage kommt). Wenn BAI nicht abgekürzt wäre, könnte nur das Gentile *Baius* vorliegen: *Bai servus/serva*. Der dritte Buchstabe könnte aber auch ein L sein, wobei man an einen Namen wie *Bal(bus)* denken könnte. Würde BAL ein Cognomen vertreten, dann könnte man in A und D den Vor- und Gentilnamen des *Bal(bus o.ä.)* sehen. Das erste B würde den Namen des Sklaven/der Sklavin dieses A. D() *Balbus* beginnen, und sein Name wäre abgekürzt, vielleicht weil identisch mit dem Cognomen des Patrons oder daraus abgeleitet (Cognomina der Herren wurden nur selten auf Sklaven übertragen, aber ganz unbekannt ist dieses Phänomen nicht). Dieser hypothetische Vorschlag wurde aufgrund einer guten Photographie gemacht, die ich dem Institut für lateinische Epigraphik der Universität Rom verdanke. Andere Lösungen sind ebenfalls möglich. Olli Salomies vermutet *B(aia) A(---) D(ionysio o.ä.) Bai s(ervo)*, was meinem Vorschlag vorzuziehen sein dürfte.

8. Il Lapidario Zeri di Mentana, Roma 1982, Nr. 210: der Herausgeber hat hier den Namen *Syntrophus* verkannt. Er liest *Trophy[---]*, aber der letzte Buchstabe ist eher ein V, und vor T ist der Stein abgebrochen. *Syntrophus* war ein beliebter Name in Rom. In Frage kämen auch *Trophus* und *Eustrophus*, die aber nur ganz okkasionell in der römischen Namengebung vorkommen.

9. I. Di Stefano Manzella, *Iscrizioni inedite della Galleria Lapidaria, Bollettino Monumenti, Musei e Gallerie Pontificie* 8 (1988) 121 Nr. 28 *d.m. Rari exempli femine Melitineni, vixit annis XLIII, m. XI, Tecuse dulcissime*: man fragt sich, ob in TECVSE nicht eher ein Appellativum *tecusa = mater* vorkommt. In Rom kommt es vor allem in altchristlichen Inschriften vor;¹² sichere Belege aus heidnischen Inschriften fehlen.¹³ Außerhalb von Rom finden sich Beispiele in Afrika: CIL VIII 4692. 7152. 1050 (wenn nicht Cognomen). IRT 217.¹⁴ Das Wort *tecusa* scheint

¹² Mir sind folgende Belege bekannt: ICVR 1413(?). 3338. 3505. 9674. 10925; vielleicht auch SICV 206, wozu vgl. A. Ferrua, RAC 39 (1963) 161.

¹³ Vgl. jedoch CIL VI 7986 *d.m. Sullie Fortunat(ae) dom(inae) matri pie car(issimae) dul(cissimae) tec(usae?)*. Mystisch bleibt 20518 *d.m. Iulia Hilare coiugi fidelissimae et incomparabili ... Valerius Felix fecit TAECVSAE*.

¹⁴ Dazu noch eine altchristliche Inschrift aus Salona: CIL III 8752 = Diehl ILCV 280.

also zum Jargon der Grabinschriftlichen Diktion der späteren Kaiserzeit zu gehören, was gut damit zusammenpaßt, daß die vatikanische Inschrift recht spät ist; Di Stefano datiert sie ins 3./4. Jh., ich würde für eine etwas frühere Zeit optieren.

10. La Collezione epigrafica dei Musei Capitolini (1987) Nr. 132: die Editorin G. Vergantini will hier einen Namen *Alloe* erkennen. Ein solcher Name läßt sich aber kaum erklären: Vergantini weist auf den griechischen Pflanzennamen ἄλοή hin, das hilft aber wenig bei der Erklärung des Namens. Nach dem Photo zu schließen ist der Unterschied zwischen I und L minimal. Wenn man ALIOE liest und annimmt, daß der Name akephal ist und daß ferner zwischen O und E aus Versehen des Steinmetzen der Buchstabe P ausgefallen ist, kommt man auf den guten und beliebten Namen *Calliope*, hier ohne Geminatio geschrieben.

11. Zwei Bemerkungen zu C.R. Morey, *The Gold-Glass Collection of the Vatican Library, Catalogo del Museo Sacro della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana IV, Città del Vaticano 1959*:

a) S. 23 Nr. 94: *Pelete vivas parentibus tuis* wurde schon von Garrucci, *Storia dell'arte cristiana III Tav. 199, 5* publiziert. *Pelete* steht wohl für *Philete*.

b) S. 64 Nr. 391 in Oxford, Pusey House *Heracli. pa pie zeszes* muß wohl als *Heraclida, pie zeszes* verstanden werden.

12. RAL 1971, 783 Nr. 10 (= AE 1971, 54) ist schon CIL VI 24494.

CXXXVIII. MINIMA PRAENESTINA

CIL I² 3065, 4 [---]smo Magulni [-]s(ervus) kann nicht richtig sein, schon weil die römische Namengebung keine Namen auf -smo kennt. Der Erstherausgeber Gullini wollte einen winzigen Rest vom unteren Teil eines S erkennen, und Degrassi in seinem Supplement zu CIL I² beläßt die Sache dabei. Anhand des leider nicht sehr guten Photos in CIL Tab. 49,5 erkennt man jedoch die äußerste Fragilität der Annahme eines S. Ich lese und verstehe fast ohne Vorbehalt [Art]emo oder [Phil]emo, beides wohlbekannte Namen schon in der republikanischen Zeit.¹⁵ Zweifellos muß die bisherige Lesung verworfen werden. Daran ändert nichts, daß

¹⁵ In L'onomastique latine, Paris 1977, 108 und 128 sind von diesen Namen 5 bzw. 18 Belege verzeichnet.

in der griechischen Namengebung gelegentlich Bildungen auf -σμων begegnen, wie etwa Φλάσμων und einige Komposita (Bechtel HPN 457), die eine attische Eigenheit sind.

CXXXIX. BLATTFÜLLSEL

Eine Kleinigkeit zu der verdienstlichen Edition sizilianischer Inschriften von G. Manganaro, *Epigraphica* 51 (1989) 161-196: 165 Nr. 22 versteht Manganaro *M. Allianus*. Die Namenform ohne Gentile ist jedoch verdächtig. Da sich zwischen M und A kein Punkt findet (wenigstens auf dem Photo kann man nichts davon erkennen), ist es vorzuziehen, *Mallianus* zu lesen. Zu diesem Cognomen vgl. Kajanto *Latin Cognomina* 149 mit zwei Belegen, von denen der eine etwas unsicher bleibt; vgl. auch Μαλιανός Moretti IGUR 765.

The Names of Legionary Centuriae

M.P. SPEIDEL

Most legionary centuriae were named after their commander. A few however, especially in the third century, were named after their cohort and their rank. When reading the abbreviated names of such centuriae, most scholars add the word *cohors*. Hence names of centuriae like *7 VIII h. pr.* and *7 VIII p. poster.* were read *7(centuria) (cohortis) VIII(nonae) h(astati) pr(ioris)* and *7(centuria) (cohortis) VIII(nonae) p(rincipis) posterior(is)*.¹

Having shown that the old-fashioned centurions' titles like *quintus princeps posterior* or *sextus hastatus prior* were still in use during the empire, I concluded in an earlier paper that there was no need to insert the word *cohors* in the names of the centuriae.² I still think this is correct. However, in a well-researched, useful article in *Arctos* 22 (1988) Christer Bruun pointed out a newly found career of a centurion of whom it is said *fuit ordine in sexta hastatus posterior*. Bruun suggested that in this one case and two other, similar ones, one should insert *cohors*, after all, and read *fuit ordine in sexta (cohorte) hastatus posterior*.³

¹ See M.P. Speidel, *The Centurions' Titles*, *Epigr. Studien* 13 (1983) 43-61, nos. 27 and 5.

² *Ibid.* The use of the old centurions' titles shows up again in an inscription from Satala: T.B. Mitford, *Further Inscriptions from the Cappadocian Limes*, *ZPE* 71 (1988) 167-178, no. 2.

³ Chr. Bruun, *Caligatus, tubicen, optio carceris and the Centurions' positions; Some Remarks on an Inscription* in *ZPE* 71 (1988), *Arctos* 22 (1988) 23-40. The inscription is published by Mitford 1988, no. 12.

No doubt, Bruun is right in that the feminine ending of *sexta* implies a feminine noun to be understood. That word, however, should be *centuria* rather than *cohors*, to judge from a papyrus published not long ago, mentioning in 248 a soldier of the Egyptian legion II Traiana ἑκατονταρχίας δευτέρας ἀστάτου πρώτ[ου],⁴ i.e. *centuria secunda hastati prioris*.

Likewise, Prof. J.-Ch. Balty, Brussels, informs me that the correct text of an inscription from Apamea/Syria is *7 NONA PRI[N] POSTERI* which surely is to be read: *7(centuria) nona pri[n](cipis) posteri(oris)*.⁵

No doubt, this was a pattern,⁶ and it becomes clear that during the third century, an increasing number of legionary *centuriae* were identified by their number and place in one of the six battle lines (*ordines*):⁷

| Battle lines | Centuriae | | | | |
|--------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| pili | pilus prior pilus posterior | pilus prior pilus posterior | pilus prior pilus posterior | pilus prior pilus posterior | pilus prior |
| principes | princeps prior princeps posterior | princeps prior princeps posterior | princeps prior princeps posterior | princeps prior princeps posterior | princeps prior princeps posterior |
| hastati | hastatus prior hastatus posterior | hastatus prior hastatus posterior | hastatus prior hastatus posterior | hastatus prior hastatus posterior | hastatus prior hastatus posterior |

⁴ K.A. Worp, SPP XXII 80: Revidiert, Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer, Wien 1983, 368ff. The editor, following the traditional scheme, thinks *centuria* was written for *cohors* by mistake.

⁵ CIL III 187 = IGLS 1372. See my article, quoted above, no. 1.

⁶ It includes, as the Apamea inscription suggests, all *centuriae* of *legio II Parthica*. In my paper, quoted above, the ordinal numbers should thus be put in the feminine, in all cases save nos. 4, 6, 22, 25, 26, where *centurions* themselves are meant.

⁷ For battle lines as *ordines* see Veg. mil. 3,14. From the point of view of the 'Rangordnung' these lines are 'Staffeln' (A. v. Domaszewski, *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres*, Köln 1967², 90ff.) or 'Rangklassen' (K. Strobel, *Bemerkungen zur Laufbahn des Ti. Claudius Vitalis*, *Tyche* 2 [1987] 203-209; Idem, *Ein neues Zeugnis zur Rangordnung im römischen Legionszenturionat der Kaiserzeit*, *Epigr. Anat.*, forthcoming).

Since the cohorts were lined up next to each other, the class and number of the centuriae stayed the same: the second centuria of the hastatus posterior is the same as the hastatus posterior centuria of the second cohort. It was the point of view that changed: the battle line mattered now more than the cohort. The reason for this change must have been the increasing specialization of the lines as each came to wield weapons different from those of the others.⁸

An interesting sidelight is shed thereby on the origin of legion II Parthica. When drafts from various legions were called up for campaigns and had to fight together, the different vexillationes needed to be classed by their battle field role. They thus referred to themselves in terms like *7(centuriae) VI(sextae) ha[st(ati) pr(ioris)]*, or *7(centuria) VIII(nona) h(astati) pr(ioris)*.⁹ Hence legion II Parthica which named all its centuriae by number and line, is likely to have been raised from such a mixed field army during Septimius Severus' first Parthian war.¹⁰

⁸ Thus Hadrian in his speech at Lambaesis addressed first the two battle lines of the pili (Dessau 9133; the men, not the centurions are meant). Even greater specialization: Veg. mil. 2,15: 3,14; E. v.Nischer, in: J. Kromayer, G. Veith, Heerwesen und Kriegführung der Griechen und Römer, München 1928, 523; E. Wheeler, The Legion as Phalanx, Chiron 9 (1979) 303-318; Speidel 1983, 50.

⁹ IDR II 327 and 328; Speidel 1984, nos. 23 and 5. Compare the identification of vexillations by cohorts: M.P. Speidel, Roman Army Studies I, Amsterdam 1984, 65-75. For field armies put together from drafts see E. Ritterling, s.v. legio, RE XII (1924) 1211-1829, esp. col. 1303ff.

¹⁰ For the origin of legion II Parthica see now D. Kennedy, The Garrisoning of Mesopotamia, Antichthon 21 (1987) 57-66. Legion II Traiana may also have been raised thus: see Speidel 1984, 47 for its pattern in naming centuriae; see further CIL III 151 and J.C. Mann, The Raising of New Legions, Hermes 91 (1963) 483-489, esp. 485; G. Forni, ANRW II:1 (1974) 380ff. and 388.

Les citations bibliques dans le *Morale Somnium Pharaonis*

LEENA TALVIO

Jean de Limoges est un des auteurs peu connus du XIII^{ème} siècle. Maître séculier à Paris, puis moine cistercien à Clairvaux il est l'auteur de plusieurs oeuvres de caractère religieux. Il est également l'auteur d'un miroir de prince, appelé *Morale Somnium Pharaonis*, qu'il dédia à Thibaut II, roi de Navarre peu avant 1270.¹

Il s'agit d'une oeuvre assez originale, au moins en ce qui concerne la forme, une correspondance imaginaire entre le Pharaon et Joseph. En même temps l'ordre des épîtres correspond à celui d'une dispute universitaire, c'est-à-dire que la *quaestio* est suivie d'une *responsio*, puis des *obiectioes*, enfin de la *determinatio*. Les épîtres, rédigées selon les règles de l'*ars dictaminis*, forment en outre une collection de vingt lettres-modèle. Le style de Jean est extrêmement rhétorique, caractérisé par des jeux de sons et de mots, de rimes et d'assonances, d'allitérations, de parallélismes et d'antithèses.

Nous nous proposons d'examiner ici les citations bibliques dans le *Somnium*. Notons d'abord que le nombre de celles-ci est très élevé: le *Somnium* qui, imprimé, compte 55 pages totalise 388 citations différentes (en plus, quelques-unes parmi

¹ Pour les problèmes d'identification et de datation, ainsi que pour plus de détails sur le contenu voir Leena Talvio, *Iohannis Lemouicensis Morale Somnium Pharaonis. Problemi di datazione*, *Arctos* 22 (1988) 163-177. Pour la bibliographie voir note 1 du même article. Notre thèse de doctorat qui est en préparation comprendra une nouvelle édition du texte du *Somnium*, ainsi qu'une étude sur l'auteur et son oeuvre.

elles se répètent), soit 7 en moyenne par page et 19 en moyenne par épître. Évidemment cela n'a rien d'exceptionnel; tout au long du Moyen Age la Bible a toujours constitué un recueil inépuisable d'exemples et d'idéaux.

Ces citations ne sont pourtant pas également réparties dans les différentes épîtres. La quatrième, où le Pharaon demande à ses conseillers de trouver quelqu'un qui soit capable d'interpréter sa vision, n'en compte que quatre. Deux épîtres de Joseph, porte-parole de Jean de Limoges lui-même, sont particulièrement chargées de références: la septième, adressée au Pharaon et contenant une tentative de refus, de la part de Joseph, de donner son interprétation de la vision pharaonique en contient 32, tandis que la dix-huitième épître où Joseph répond aux adulateurs du Pharaon en compte 29. Ce sont deux épîtres extrêmement rhétoriques, mais que l'on ne peut comparer du point de vue doctrinal. L'épître VII constitue pratiquement une longue lamentation où Joseph pleure son sort, tandis que, dans l'épître XVIII, il condamne certaines conceptions du rôle du roi, présentées dans l'épître XVII. Nous pouvons donc conclure qu'il n'y a aucune corrélation entre le nombre des références bibliques dans un passage et l'importance doctrinale de celui-ci. Au contraire. Le passage du *Somnium*, par exemple, où se trouve le "programme politique" de Jean de Limoges, contient relativement peu de citations bibliques, car la doctrine de Jean ne se base pas uniquement sur la Bible.²

Sur le total des citations scripturaires (388) 60 % (257) proviennent de l'Ancien Testament (qui représente 80 % de la Bible). Les différents livres vétéro-testamentaires sont pourtant très inégalement représentés. Ce sont les Psaumes qui viennent en tête avec 78 citations (30 % des citations vétéro-testamentaires), ensuite les Proverbes, avec 24 citations. Les Livres sapientiaux constituent ensemble 60 % des citations vétéro-testamentaires et 20 % de toutes les citations bibliques, ce qui ne surprend guère si l'on tient compte des intentions moralisatrices de Jean de Limoges.³

² L'épître XI du *Somnium*, ms. Troyes 556, f.162r-163r; Horváth, *Johannis Lemovicensis opera omnia* (3 vol. Veszprém 1932), t.I, 94-97.

³ En parlant du Manuel de Dhuoda, P.Riché constate que ce sont les Livres sapientiaux qui sont le mieux représentés parmi les citations bibliques. Un autre miroir de prince carolingien, *Via regia de Smaragde de Saint-Mihiel*, compte 147 citations vétéro-testamentaires dont 80 % proviennent des Livres sapientiaux. Voir P.Riché, *La Bible et la vie politique dans le haut Moyen Age*, dans *Bible de tous les temps*, t.4, *Le Moyen Age et la Bible* (sous la direction de P.Riché - G.Lobrichon), Paris 1984, 396. Ces comparaisons témoignent sans doute d'une culture biblique commune à tous ces auteurs.

Si les Livres sapientiaux étaient des livres privilégiés dans le milieu monastique médiéval il n'en allait pas de même du Pentateuque ni des Livres historiques.⁴ Parmi les citations vétéro-testamentaires de Jean de Limoges 9 % seulement proviennent du Pentateuque, 5 % des Livres historiques. En ce qui concerne les Prophètes ils représentent un bon quart des citations, 26 % (ce qui correspond d'ailleurs à leur part dans l'Ancien Testament). Ce sont surtout Isaïe et Jérémie qui sont cités (respectivement 42 % et 21 % des références aux Livres prophétiques).

Le Nouveau Testament est bien représenté si l'on tient compte du fait qu'il ne couvre que 20 % de la Bible. Ce sont les épîtres de saint Paul qui prédominent avec 46 % des citations néo-testamentaires, ce qui correspond à 15 % de toutes les citations bibliques. Parmi les Evangélistes, c'est Matthieu qui est le plus souvent cité et occupe 18 % des citations néo-testamentaires. Après Matthieu suivent Jean et Luc (respectivement 10 % et 8 % des citations néo-testamentaires), puis, avec quelques exemples seulement, l'Apocalypse et les Actes des Apôtres. Notons que l'Evangile de Marc n'est cité qu'une seule fois.⁵

Ces pourcentages se laissent aisément comparer avec ceux qui ont été relevés par Marie-Christine Chartier dans les règles et coutumiers monastiques,⁶ malgré la différence de genres. Les textes étudiés par Madame Chartier citent avant tout, comme le fait Jean de Limoges, les Livres sapientiaux, l'Evangile de Matthieu et les Epîtres de saint Paul, livres où l'on peut trouver les fondements de la morale chrétienne.⁷ La seule différence paraît être le pourcentage assez élevé des citations prophétiques chez Jean de Limoges.⁸

La Bible forme l'univers familier du moine, mais c'est un univers inégalement exploré et, aussi, déformé, car le moine utilise la Bible plutôt pour justifier une habitude, un comportement, quitte à s'appuyer sur une citation scripturaire prise en dehors de son contexte.⁹

⁴ Voir Marie-Christine Chartier, *Présence de la Bible dans les Règles et Coutumiers*, dans *Bible de tous les temps*, t.4, *Le Moyen Age et la Bible* (sous la direction de P.Riché-G.Lobrichon), Paris 1984, 309.

⁵ Cf. Chartier, 311.

⁶ Chartier, 308-312.

⁷ Chartier, 312-313.

⁸ Cf. Chartier, 309.

⁹ Chartier 325.

Nous allons maintenant examiner la façon dont Jean de Limoges, pour sa part, déforme la Bible. Nous n'allons pourtant pas analyser l'influence, bien sûr indéniable, de la Bible sur sa doctrine.¹⁰ Ce qui nous intéresse ici c'est l'emploi stylistique des citations bibliques dans le *Somnium* de Jean de Limoges.

Ce qui caractérise, tout d'abord, le style de Jean de Limoges c'est sa façon d'unir différentes expressions ou références bibliques, modifiées selon les exigences syntaxiques, pour en former des périodes plus ou moins longues.

L'exemple suivant provient de l'épître III où les "mages" s'excusent Pharaon de ne pas être capables d'interpréter sa vision:

Perlecta siquidem uestre serenitatis littera concaluit cor nostrum intra nos, et in meditatione nostra ignis aggratulationis exarsit, quia sicut elocutionis ipsius elegantia resonabat, deus scientiarum dominus studiositati uestre studiosum destinavit exenium in quo mira magnalia et magna mirabilia per speculum et in enigmate speculetur.

*Ceterum risus noster dolore miscetur et extrema gaudii grauis occupat luctus, pro eo quod dominationi uestre seruire quantum uolumus non ualemus. Quis enim dabit nobis tante scientie clauem, ut possimus clausi sermonis ostium aperire?*¹¹

Pour mieux montrer la technique de Jean nous donnons ici *in extenso* les passages bibliques correspondants:

Ps 38,4 *concaluit cor meum intra me et in meditatione mea exardescet ignis.*

1 Sm 2,3 *quoniam Deus scientiarum Dominus est.*

Ps 135,4 *qui facit mirabilia magna solus; Dt 34,12 magna que mirabilia quae fecit Moses coram universo Israhel*

1 Cor 13,12 *videmus nunc per speculum in enigmate.*

Prv 14,13 *risus dolore miscetur et extrema gaudii luctus occupat.*

¹⁰ Nous allons traiter ce sujet ailleurs, dans le cadre d'une étude générale sur l'idéologie politique de Jean de Limoges.

¹¹ Ms. Troyes 556, f.158r; Horváth, 76.

Lc 11,52 *Vae vobis legis peritis quia tulistis clavem scientiae.*

Col 4,3 *orantes simul et pro nobis ut Deus aperiat ostium sermonis ad loquendum mysterium Christi.*

Déjà ce premier exemple montre que Jean ne se soucie pas nécessairement du contexte original. Dans le Psaume cité au début (le Psaume de David) il est question d'une douleur incitant à la prière. En ajoutant le mot "*aggratulationis*", Jean change l'expression de la douleur en compliment éloquent. L'expression "*magna mirabilia*" renvoie ici sans doute à Dieu, comme c'est le cas dans le Psaume 135,4. Par contre nous pouvons constater que Jean forme un petit jeu de mots en ajoutant les mots "*mira magnalia*" juste devant. En général nous pouvons dire que son texte est composé à l'aide de différentes expressions ou passages bibliques, utilisées comme des pièces d'une mosaïque.

D'autres exemples vont illustrer davantage ce procédé. Dans le passage suivant, qui provient de l'Épître XV, Joseph exprime sa joie au Pharaon:

*Quapropter serenitati uestre a montibus eternis mirabiliter illustrate uehementer aggratulor, atque soli iusticie uultum suum super uos illustranti, et uestros per uos conprincipes collustranti medullitus condelector. Nam profecto qui de tenebris lumen fecit splendescere uos adduxit in admirabile lumen suum, ut reuelata facie contemplemini sompnialem significantiam et de claritate uisionis ymaginarie in uisionis intellectualis transformemini claritatem. Felix ymaginationis oculus qui tam salubre sompnum tanquam librum signatum uidere meruit, sed felicior oculus rationis, cui signacula celestia celitus sunt soluta, quorum solutionem dispensatione diuina dilatam fuisse conicio, ut cuius dilatio acrius uos afflixit, eius oblatio fortius uos confortet. Sane gaudens gauisus sum super litterarum uestrarum eloquia, sicut qui inuenit spolia multa, quoniam intellectu ueritati perhibuistis fidele testimonium, nec contenti haustis dogmatibus, adhuc hauriendis amplioribus aures bibulas obtulistis adinuenire uolentes uiam regiam, uiam pulchram, uiam pacificam, spurcicia uiciorum purgatam et moribus quasi marmoribus calciatam, quam regalis simplicitas confidenter perambulet de qua fumus infamie non exalet.*¹²

¹² Ms. Troyes 556, f.164v; Horváth, 104-105.

Ici, Jean se réfère aux passages bibliques suivants:

Ps 75,5 *inluminas tu mirabiliter de montibus aeternis.*

Mal 4,2 *et orietur vobis timentibus nomen meum sol iustitiae.*

2 Cor 4,6 *quoniam Deus qui dixit de tenebris lucem/lumen splendescere.*

1 Pt 2,9 *qui de tenebris vos vocavit in admirabile lumen suum.*

Is 29,11 *et erit vobis visio omnium sicut verba libri signati*; Apc 5,1; Dn 12,9

Apc 5,2 *quis est dignus aperire librum et solvere signacula eius.*

Ps 118,162 *laetabor ego super eloquia tua sicut qui invenit spolia multa.*

Prv 3,17 *viae eius viae pulchrae et omnes semitae illius pacificae.*

Ici s'impose une remarque sur le côté doctrinal du *Somnium*. Un des traits essentiels de l'enseignement de Jean de Limoges est son caractère ésotérique. Il s'agit d'une doctrine qui vient de Dieu et qui ne peut être interprétée que par une personne exceptionnelle, charismatique, c'est à dire Joseph. Cela explique notamment la présence d'un grand nombre de références à Dieu: l'origine divine de la doctrine et le caractère secret de celle-ci doivent être rappelés constamment.

Dans les trois premières citations il est question de Dieu aussi bien dans la Bible que chez Jean de Limoges. Par contre, si, dans le Psaume 118, v.162 le référent est encore Dieu, la phrase de Jean "*Sane gaudens gauisus sum super litterarum uestrarum eloquia, sicut qui inuenit spolia multa*" renvoie à la lettre de Pharaon reçue par Joseph. Jean a tout simplement ajouté le mot "*litterarum*". En plus la forme verbale "*laetabor*" a été remplacée par une expression rhétorique, "*gaudens gauisus sum*".

Retournons à la troisième citation. La phrase de Jean "*qui de tenebris lumen fecit splendescere uos adduxit in admirabile lumen suum*" représente, sous forme amplifiée, un passage biblique plus simple: "*qui de tenebris vos vocavit in admirabile lumen suum*". Cette espèce de paraphrase est encore un procédé typique de Jean.

L'exemple suivant provient de l'épître XVII, celle des adulateurs du Pharaon adressée à Joseph:

*Deinde decentius decernentes studiosum regem in concluso conclau penentrali impenetrabili diutius demorari scrutando scripturas, suscitando nouas questiunculas, et ueteres multiplicando querelas, girum celi meditationibus circinando, nubes orationibus penetrando, quam circa seruiles seu uiles operas occupari, turbine turbarum rugitu ruricularum turbari, ignotorum querimonias et notorum infamias prestolari. Sacius enim est quod minoratus actu scientis augeatur, quam ablactatus a lacte appulsus ab ubere litteralis scientie negociorum forensium inuolucris se inuoluat. Quis enim sic desipiat aut deliret, qui non sanctius sanciat militare diuinis ociis, quam secularibus negociis implicari?*¹³

Les passages bibliques correspondants sont les suivants:

Io 5,39 *scrutamini scripturas quia vos putatis in ipsis vitam aeternam habere.*

Sir 24,8 *gyrum caeli circuivi sola.*

Sir 35,21 *oratio humiliantis se nubes penetrabit.*

Lv 23,7 *dies primus erit vobis celeberrimus sanctusque / omne opus servile non facietis in eo.*

Is 28,9 *quem docebit scientiam et quem intellegere faciet auditum / ablactatos a lacte apulsos ab uberibus.*

2 Tm 2,4 *nemo militans implicat se negotiis saecularibus.*

Cet exemple montre particulièrement bien que souvent les références bibliques de Jean ne sont rien de plus que des expressions privées de toute allusion plus profonde au contexte biblique.

Jean amplifie les citations, y ajoute des mots, construit des jeux de mots, unit des expressions provenant de différents passages bibliques et les adapte au tissu rhétorique de son texte qu'il construit à la manière d'une mosaïque, change de référent ou bien le laisse tel quel. C'est une utilisation très libre de l'Écriture sainte.

¹³ Ms. Troyes 556, f.166r; Horváth, 111-112.

Malgré cette façon de "déformer" la Bible, on ne peut certes pas l'accuser de manque de respect: même lorsqu'il utilise la Bible comme recueil d'expressions qu'il combine de manière plutôt désinvolte son oeuvre est toute imprégnée d'esprit biblique. L'appel à l'autorité biblique reste toujours présent.

Theaitetos and Theodoros

HOLGER THESLEFF

The Athenian Theaitetos seems to occupy a secure position in the history of Greek mathematics ever since Eva Sachs, a pupil of Wilamowitz, established it in the beginning of this century.¹ I shall argue here that scepticism regarding his achievements, and a reconsideration of his function in Plato's dialogue, are warranted. The problem of Theaitetos, as I see it, offers very typical examples of the crystallizing of old hypotheses into quasi-facts later used for building new hypotheses, a process all too common in classical scholarship.²

Theaitetos is now generally thought to have lived ca. 414 - 369 B.C. The evidence is precarious apart from what can be deduced from Plato's *Theaitetos*. In Eudemos'

¹ Eva Sachs, *De Theaiteto Atheniensi mathematico*, Diss. Berlin 1914; independently, with similar conclusions, H. Vogt, *Bibliotheca Math.* III:10 (1909/10) 97-155; 14 (1913/14) 9-29; endorsed by Th. Heath, R.S. Brumbaugh, B.L. van der Waerden, and practically everybody who has written on Plato's *Theaitetos* since then. See also the comprehensive RE articles on 'Theaitetos' and 'Theodoros' by K. von Fritz, *V A* (1934) 1351 ff., 1811 ff., S. Heller's conspectus in *Sudhoffs Archiv* 51 (1967) 55 ff., and the recent discussion of Academic mathematics by K. Gaiser in the new *Ueberweg* (1983) and F. Lasserre, *De Léodamas de Thasos à Philippe d'Oponte, témoignages et fragments*, *La Scuola di Platone* 2, Napoli 1987.

² I have ventilated this set of problems before, notably in my *Studies in Platonic Chronology* (*Comm.Hum.Litt.* 70), Helsinki 1982, 152-57 (cf. *Phronesis* 34 [1989] 18 n. 67), without being able to shake the consensus about Theaitetos.

list of geometricians he is mentioned together with Leodamas of Thasos, a very shadowy figure, and Archytas of Tarentum, as belonging to the same generation as Plato.³ According to a confused piece of information in Hesychios and Suda (see below), he had been teaching in Herakleia, and Herakleia on the Pontos was the home city of Plato's pupil Herakleides (born not earlier than ca. 400 B.C.). And various sources attribute to him discoveries concerning irrational numbers and regular solids, which are reflected in Euclid, Books X and XIII, and consequently he is sometimes thought to have written essential parts of these Euclidean texts.

Though the dialogue situation of *Theaetetus* is very probably fictitious, we have no reason whatever to doubt that the presentation of the young Theaitetos approximates to historical truth. A nonsensical distortion of facts known to the readers (as, say, in *Menexenus*) would have been pointless here; but the reappearance of Theaitetos in the *Sophist* and *Statesman* has, of course, no pretensions to historicity. We may take it for granted that Theaitetos was a youngster of less than 17 years in 399 B.C.⁴

The fixing of the death of Theaitetos in 369 B.C. is mainly based upon the following four considerations:

- (a) The *Theaetetus*, at least in its present form and including its present prologue, is a fairly late dialogue.
- (b) The writing of the prologue was occasioned by Theaitetos' death.
- (c) The battle at Corinth referred to must be that of 369 B.C., not 394 B.C. as Zeller and others have suggested.
- (d) Theaitetos' achievements in mathematics, as reflected in Euclid and elsewhere, must have taken a long time to accomplish.

If, however, (d) does not apply, as I shall argue below, it is more natural to interpret (a) – (c) differently.

³ Proklos, In Eucl. *Elem.* I, Prol., II p. 64 ff. Friedl., Eudemos fr. 133 W; Lasserre 1987 argues that the list derives from Philip of Opus, not Eudemos.

⁴ This is the dramatic date of *Theaetetus* (142c, 210d). The implications of μειράκιον, beardlessness (168e), etc. are discussed by Sachs 1914:25 f., Lasserre 1987:462. If Theaitetos in reality was very much younger than this it is, apart from other difficulties, reasonable to ask why Plato takes so much trouble to explain the circumstances of Socrates meeting Theaitetos. Unlike *Parmenides* and *Timaeus*, the setting of the *Theaetetus* was within checking reach of contemporary readers; for 'Aristotle', see below, n. 7.

(a) It is true that *Theaitetos* as we have it cannot be an early dialogue. Clearly it links up with the 'critical' dialogues *Parmenides*, the *Sophist*, and the *Statesman*.⁵ But very probably it has been revised and re-written from an earlier draft of the *Charmides* type.⁶ And even if this were not the case, and we have the text as it was originally composed, Plato is much more likely to have introduced, as Socrates' partner, a long-since dead friend whom he saw from an idealizing perspective (indeed very much like Charmides), than a scholar from his own Academic environment whom many readers would know well. The only obvious counter-argument would be 'Aristotle' in *Parmenides*, but he appears in a 5th century disguise and is not really individualized at all.⁷

(b) A close reading of the prologue and the subsequent presentation of Theaitetos (to 148b) does not suggest to me that the writing of the dialogue was occasioned by the death of Theaitetos. Plato may have had other reasons for introducing him (below, p. 156). But if we assume as a possibility that one reason was his recent death, a date as late as the 360s would seem rather odd after all. A fact not often observed, which makes me suspicious from the start, is the remarkable vitality of Socrates' old friends, Eukleides and Terpsion (note 142a, 143ab): in 369 Eukleides may have been well over 80.⁸ And then there is nothing to indicate that Plato thought of Theaitetos as ever having reached the age of 45 or more. He reached manhood, to be sure (ἄνδρα 142b, ἡλικίαν [military age!] 142d), but ἐλλόγιμον in the

⁵ This is a consensus of post-Zellerian scholarship, which I am fully prepared to accept; cf. Thesleff 1982.

⁶ I argued this in 1982:152 ff.; cf. 1989:18. H. Tarrant (in a paper known to me from a draft) has added more arguments.

⁷ A play with masks is part of the game in Platonic dialogues; cf. the following note and the references in Thesleff 1982. For 'Socrates J:r', see note 23. In fact the *Theaitetos* reflects the beginning of the curious 'split' of Socrates in some later dialogues (including the *Hippias Maior*).

⁸ Obviously Plato avoids introducing living persons into his dialogues (Thesleff 1982:32, 154 ff.). Eukleides perhaps was still active about 370 B.C. (ibid. 155), though one may wonder about the long walks implied in the opening scene of *Theaitetos*. He is said to have made Socrates' acquaintance before the Peloponnesian War (Gell. 7,10); at any rate he is likely to have been much older than Plato. In *Parmenides* 127b the 65-year-old Parmenides is described as εὖ μάλα ἤδη...πρεσβύτης, and in *Epistle VII* 338c Plato considers himself a γέρων at that age. The Athenian of the *Laws* stands (and walks) closer to Speusippos than to Plato.

vaticinium of Socrates (142d) playfully alludes to his interest in ἄλογα, I believe (cf. again p. 156), and does not as such imply an advanced age.

(c) Eva Sachs⁹ made an effort to prove that the battle at Corinth (142a, τὴν μάχην 142b) where Theaitetos was mortally wounded, was a notorious one, and that it occurred in 369 when the Athenians were allied with the Spartans against Thebes. She made it plain, no doubt, that one of the battles in the Isthmian war of 369 was a more important event than earlier critics had thought, and that 45-year-old intellectuals could have taken part in this campaign. She notes that Xenophon (*Hell.* VI 5.49) describes the Athenians' enthusiasm and decision to assist Sparta πανδημεί. And there are additional circumstances which she does not mention but which may suggest that members of Plato's circle were engaged in these operations: Iphikrates assembled his troops in Akademeia (Xen. *ibid.*, somewhat differently Diod.Sic. XV 68); Chabrias took command (Diod. *ibid.*);¹⁰ and Dionysios of Syracuse supplied auxiliary forces (Xen. VII 1.20,28; Diod. XV 70).

Yet thinking of a battle in the Corinthian war around 390 B.C. seems more natural after all: Sachs sweeps this possibility aside on quite insufficient grounds.¹¹ We happen to know that there was a detachment of Athenian hoplites under Kallias cooperating with Iphikrates' mercenary peltasts in the famous battle when a Spartan regiment was completely defeated (Xen. *Hell.* IV 5.11-18, cf. Demosth. IV 24; Diod.Sic. XIV 86,91 ff. seems to confuse facts). Whatever Xenophon's πανδημεί may imply for the year 369, Theaitetos is somewhat more likely to be found among Kallias' hoplites. The chronology of the events around 390 has been subject to some dispute; today the Spartan disaster is dated not earlier than 392, and Iphikrates' subsequent operations on the Isthmus (Xen. *Hell.* IV 5.19) are thought to have extended to at least 390.¹² And Plato's τὴν μάχην of course refers to the battle

⁹ Sachs 1914:22 ff.

¹⁰ Chabrias seems to have been a personal acquaintance of Plato's, according to the anecdotes in DL III 20,23 f. Plato's alleged pro-Spartan sympathies should not be overrated: he was taken prisoner by the Spartans in 387 (see now Suppl. Plat. I [below, n. 35] 165 ff.).

¹¹ Her chief target was the view of Schultess and Zeller that the dialogue was an early work, and Zeller and his contemporaries dated 'proelium illud nobilissimum' in 394 B.C.

¹² The dating of the Spartan defeat in 392 by W. Judeich, *Philologus* 81 (1926) 147 A. 6, may still be too early; cf. G.T. Griffith, *Historia* 1 (1950) 252; S. Accame, *Ricerche intorno alla guerra corinzia* (Collana di studi greci 20), Napoli 1951, 108 ff.

where Theaitetos received his wounds, not to the fact that this battle was particularly famous.

(d) Although many mathematicians have reached their peak of brilliance at an early age – can we really trust a young geometrician of 25 years or less with all the discoveries and activities attributed to Theaitetos by the historians of mathematics? The consensus of modern scholarship would point to a simple "No".

I would insist, however, that this consensus is mistaken. "No other branch of history offers such temptations to conjectural reconstruction as does the history of mathematics."¹³ Students of Theaitetos have too readily yielded to such temptations.

Let us consider, first, what Plato tells us in the mathematical passage, *Theaitetos* 147c-148c.

Theodoros had been drawing (ἔγραφε) figures, showing (ἀποφαίνων) that lines whose squares have the area of three or five square foot, are incommensurable with the side of a one foot square; and he had proceeded from case to case until he reached the side of a seventeen square foot square where he "somehow met with complications" (ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ πως ἐνέσχετο).¹⁴ In modern times there has been considerable discussion about what Theodoros was in fact doing, how he 'proved' the irrationality of $\sqrt{3}$... $\sqrt{17}$ (except for the rational numbers, $\sqrt{4}$, $\sqrt{9}$, $\sqrt{16}$), and why he stopped at $\sqrt{17}$.¹⁵ I cannot see why he should have 'proved' anything at all. The easiest way to explain his procedure was suggested by H.J. Anderhub in a

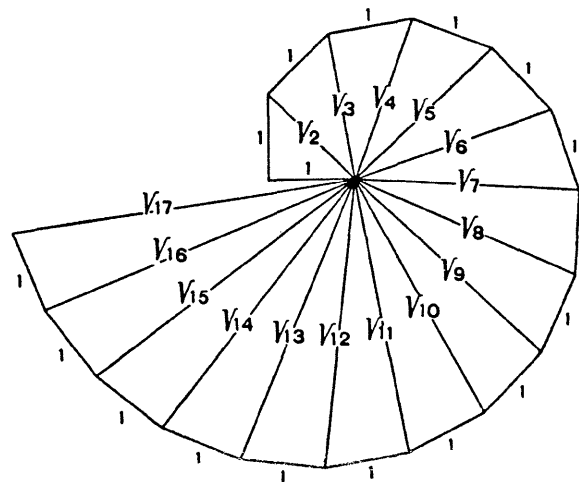
¹³ W. Burkert, *Lore and science in ancient Pythagoreanism*, transl. by E.L. Minar, Cambridge Mass. 1972, 404.

¹⁴ Cf. ἐνέχεσθαι ἀπορίησι Hdt I 190. The participle προαιρούμενος is curious: what did he choose? Should one read προαγόμενος? Cf. below, n. 29.

¹⁵ It is commonly and wrongly assumed that ἔγραφε means 'proved' (note also the imperfect tense). See the references in n. 1 and notably Heath's *History* I 202 ff. and van der Waerden's *Science awakening* (I have used the second German edition, *Erwachende Wissenschaft*, Basel 1966, 235 ff.); add S. Heller's comprehensive discussion in *Centaurus* 5 (1956) 1 ff.; further references in Anderhub (next note), Burkert 1972:463 n. 81 and Malcolm S. Brown, *JHPhilos* 7 (1969) 359 ff.

curious book called 'Joco-Seria' which, as a matter of course, has not been taken seriously by specialists.¹⁶

Anderhub interpreted the passage approximately as follows: Theodoros must have been well acquainted with the 'theorem of Pythagoras' and with the irrationality of $\sqrt{2}$ as seen in the relation of the side to the diagonal of a square.¹⁷ Making the diagonal of a one foot square one side of a right-angled triangle, and preserving one foot as the length of the other side, Theodoros was able to 'show' that the hypotenuse of this triangle must have the length of the side of a three square foot square (because $2 + 1 = 3$), and that the new hypotenuse could not be measured in terms of one foot. Remember: the Greeks did not normally operate with fractions. Then he drew the next right-angled triangle, using the former hypotenuse as one side and again a one foot line as the other side. Obviously this $\sqrt{4}$ foot hypotenuse measured 2 feet. And then he proceeded to draw a spiral-like figure where only $\sqrt{9}$ and $\sqrt{16}$ could be seen to be commensurable with one foot.



¹⁶ J.H. Anderhub, *Joco-Seria aus den Papieren eines reisenden Kaufmanns*, Wiesbaden 1941, 161-224; preliminary notes in *Wochenschr.f.klass.Philol.* 1918 (49/50) 598 f. Anderhub rightly insists that $\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\iota\nu$ cannot mean 'to prove'. The spiral was also drawn by S. Moraïtes in his *Modern Greek Plato* edition (1913) but he did not see the consequences (Anderhub 222). Heller 1956 adopts a variant of Anderhub's spiral as an illustration, but presumes that Theodoros had given a one hour's lesson on the subject of irrationality.

¹⁷ For the evidence, see now Burkert 1972:428 ff., 462 f.

He stopped at $\sqrt{17}$ because the $\sqrt{18}$ triangle would have intruded into his first triangle.¹⁸ I am sure Anderhub was right. There is an additional indication of this, never observed in this connection as far as I know. The only evidence we have of Theodoros' mathematical studies which is seemingly independent of this Platonic passage, is a somewhat cryptic statement on spirals in Proklos. Α ἔλιξ, Proklos says, is a mixed line which does not consist of parts, so Theodoros the mathematician wrongly took it to be a 'κρᾶσις based on lines'.¹⁹ Modern scholars do not seem to have noticed the connection with *Theaitetos*. Without knowing it, Anderhub drew the relevant figure illustrating what Proklos meant. Proklos probably had access to an old tradition about the historical Theodoros having studied triangle-based spirals and Plato having referred to such figures orally and in the dialogue. The Anonymous Commentator on *Theaitetos*, as usual, is not so well informed.²⁰

I also find it important to note that throughout the dialogue Theodoros is depicted as an adherent of φαivόμενα, and indeed of Protagoras, who is known to have opposed theoretical geometry.²¹ We should definitely not expect any 'proofs' from Theodoros. And shall I add that I am not a believer in the legend of Plato receiving instruction from him in Cyrene?²²

¹⁸ The sum of the inner angles of the $\sqrt{2}$ - $\sqrt{18}$ triangles would amount to 364.783 degrees, the $\sqrt{17}$ one reaching 351.150 (and certainly somewhat further, if drawn in sand). I am indebted to Henrik Segercrantz for these calculations.

¹⁹ Proklos, In Eucl. *Elem.* I, p. 117.25-118.8 Friedl., discussing the nature of curves. I understand κρᾶσις ἐπὶ τῶν γραμμῶν to mean a mixture made 'on the basis of' or 'out of' straight lines.

²⁰ Anonymer Kommentar zu Platons *Theaitetos* (Pap. 9782), unter Mitwirkung von J.L. Heiberg bearb. von H. Diels und W. Schubart, Berliner Klassikertexte II, Berlin 1905, Col. 25 ff., p. 18 ff. Various unreliable guesses are offered at Col. 34 ff., discussed and rejected by Anderhub 1941:183 f. Obviously Platonists in the 2nd c. A.D.(?) were bewildered by the passage.

²¹ Theodoros is old and intellectually lazy, though interested in 'appearances' (e.g. 143e, 144bc, 147d, 162ab, 168e, 177c, 180b; 162e is ironical in view of 165a), and he is called upon to defend the tenets of his 'friend', Protagoras (161b, 162a, 171c, 179a). – For Protagoras, see DK 80 B 7, Arist. *Met.* B 998a, cf. Plat. *Prot.* 318de. The outburst of 'Protagoras' in *Theaitetos* 162e about the need of proofs is certainly ironical from Plato's perspective.

²² DL III 6, cf. II 103 and Thesleff 1982:28.

Plato's *Theaitetos*, however, is a more theoretically and philosophically-minded person.

Since an infinite number of roots appeared (ἐφαίνοντο) to exist – the spiral could be made to grow *ad infinitum* –, he and the Younger Socrates (who probably stands for Plato)²³ looked for a common term for all irrational roots versus rational ones.²⁴ They divided all numbers into two classes,²⁵ square numbers (τετράγωνον, ἰσόπλευρον) and 'oblong' numbers (προμήκη, ἑτερομήκη), and returning to geometry, 'defined' (ὠρισάμεθα) the lines corresponding to square numbers as μήκος, and the lines corresponding to oblong numbers as δυνάμεις, because they are not arithmetically, but by their geometrical 'potency', commensurable with the lines of the former class. "And similarly with the solids", *Theaitetos* adds.

So Plato says, simply, that *Theaitetos* and his friend defined geometrical commensurability by means of a new generalizing classification of number, i.e. (as we would say) by introducing 'roots'. The old classification into odd/even was substituted by a more sophisticated one. Presumably, the Pythagoreans had operated with the notion of square and oblong 'gnomon' numbers long before the 390s,²⁶ but we have no reason to doubt that *Theaitetos* had a share in generalizing the concept of ἑτερομήκης ἀριθμός. Plato at any rate found the idea suggestive of his own metaphysical category of θάτερον versus ταῦτόν. I find it practically certain that the play with ἴσον and ἕτερον in *Theaitetos* alludes to the two Platonic principles of the Same and the Different (later linked up with Ἐν and Δύαξ), which constitute measure and knowability on various levels.²⁷

²³ See the article by Tuija Jatakari in this journal, p. 29 ff.

²⁴ This is clearly the implication of 147d8-e1 where ταῦτας refers to τρίποδος, πεντέποδος and ἑπτακαίδεκάποδος.

²⁵ Note the application of the method of διαίρεσις, cf. συλλαβεῖν d9.

²⁶ See in general Burkert 1972:427 ff., and for the terminology, Lasserre 1987:466 ff. with references.

²⁷ For ἴσον / ἕτερον cf. 143e, 144d ff., 148ab, 155a, 158c ff., 181c ff., 185b ff., 189a ff., 203e, 208d; μέγα / μικρόν 152d, 155a, 172bc; ἕν / δύο, πολλά, ἄπειρον 146d ff., 154cd, 156a, 185b ff.; κίνησις, δύναμις, ποιεῖν 147d ff., 152e, 156a ff., 181b ff. (ποιότης! 182ab), 185c ff., 197c; *Theaitetos* the γεννικός (γενναῖος) somehow representing 'generation' of numbers and λόγοι 144d, 146d, 149a ff., 156cd, 158e ff. Plato's world is a κρᾶσις of unequal opposites (cf. 152d and Theodoros' spiral); his 'two-level model' (Thesleff 1989:24 f.) is presented in the digression 172c-177c. – The *locus classicus* for the metaphysics of the Same versus the Different is *Timaeus* 35a ff., cf. the μέγιστα γένη *Sophist* 254cd. I shall not enter into the question of oral teaching, but note the abundant references to γράφειν 143a-c, as if

Theodoros and Theaitetos had been 'measuring' the sides of their triangles; finding a common μέτρον is a central topic in the dialogue.²⁸ The methods of geometrical measuring cannot have been very refined in those days, but Plato's contemporaries are likely to have used an approximative method sometimes called 'reciprocal subtraction'.²⁹

Then we have the interesting statements of Eudemos (in an Arabic text of Pappos, overlooked by Wehrli), which are sometimes thought to represent a tradition independent of Plato. There it is said in connection with a reference to the dialogue that Theaitetos "divided the most generally known irrational lines according to the different [i.e. geometric, arithmetic, and harmonic] means", perhaps using the terms μέση (medial), ἐκ δυοῖν ὀνομάτοιιν (binomial surd) and ἀποτομή (subtractive binomial surd); and that he "assumed two lines commensurable in square and proved that if he took between them a line in ratio according to geometric proportion (the geometric mean), then the line named the medial was produced, but if he took (the line) according to harmonic proportion (the harmonic mean), then the apotome was produced".³⁰

Plato wanted to remind his readers that the μεταξύ τῶν λόγων (c1) are indeed δυνάμεις in their own way (147e9). For an attentive interpretation of *Theaitetos*, where an attempt is made to give the mathematical passages their proper philosophical bearing, see Brown 1969 (above, n. 15) who, however, shares the conventional view of Theaitetos' achievements in geometry.

²⁸ Cornford's commentary (1935), useful in its time, is of little help in these matters; see notably P. Friedländer, *Platon III*², Berlin 1960, 151, and Brown 1969. For μετρητική, cf. *Protagoras* 356e-357b (with metaphysical allusions similar to *Theaitetos*!), *Statesman* 283c-287b, also *Gorgias* 508a ff.

²⁹ Cf. Eucl. X 2 ff. and see e.g. Heath I 206 ff., R.S. Brumbaugh, *Plato's mathematical imagination* (Indiana Univ. Publ., Humanities Ser. 29), Bloomington 1954, 54 f.; Heller 1956:23 ff.; G. Junge, *Class. & Med.* 19 (1958) 42-44; Burkert 1972:459; Brown 1969:363-365; Lasserre 1987:447 ff., 476 ff.; each making a somewhat different approach. An illustrative example is given by van der Waerden 1966:208. In Arist. *Top.* VIII 158b33 ff. ἀντανάιρεσις probably means the same as ἀνθυφαίρεσις in Euclid. The notions of ἔλλειψις (ἐνδεία) / ὑπεροχή (ὑπερβολή) belonged to geometry in Plato's days; cf. *Prot.* 357a, *Men.* 87a, *Rep.* VIII 546c, and the methods for 'squaring' the circle from Hippokrates of Chios onwards, and the 'Golden Section' (see esp. Burkert 1972:452 f.); cf. also the 'Divided Line', *Rep.* VI 509d ff. with its metaphysical διαίρεσις. Possibly the use of the verb προαιρείσθαι in *Theaet.* 147d7 has something to do with all this, but cf. above, n. 14.

³⁰ The Commentary of Pappus on Book X of Euclid's Elements, Arabic text & translation by W. Thomson with introductory remarks, notes [etc.] by G. Junge and W. Thomson (Harvard Semitic Series VIII), Cambridge Mass. 1930, p. 63 ff., 72 ff., 138 ff., and Junge's comments p. 15-17; frgs D 3-4 Lasserre 1987 (with comments, p. 467 ff.). For the terms, cf. Eucl. *Elem.*

It is doubtful what 'proving' means in the latter quotation even if the translation from Arabic is literally correct. Proportionals of the 'arithmetic' and 'geometric' type were easily obtained from Theodoros' triangles, and for the *apotome* one might think of the traditional construction of the 'Golden Section' by means of 'cut-offs' from a right-angled triangle though in fact the geometrical constructions needed for illustrating a harmonic mean ($2\sqrt{2}$ to $1 + \sqrt{2}$) by ἀποτομαί of three lines, $(a - b) : (b - c) = a : c$, are not very sophisticated.

Apparently it was known in the Academy that Theaitetos used to classify various combinations of surds, i.e. δυνάμει commensurable lines, in relation to the three means. But assuming this does not mean accepting that he systematized the doctrine of surds as we have it in Euclid.

In the dialogue, Theaitetos' function is to act as an intelligent discussion partner with Socrates (cf. the slave-boy in *Meno*), well versed in geometry and ἄλογα, and prepared to use λόγοι as well, potentially an ideal philosopher. But as far as I can see, Plato or Eudemos give no further hints about his achievements in the study of irrationals.³¹

Now Euclid's Book X, which contains the theory of incommensurability and surds, may indeed somehow represent the essentials of what the historical Theaitetos thought in this matter. Ancient sources seem to take this for granted, and it seems to fit in with other pieces of evidence which can be gathered from the historians of mathematics from Eudemos onwards.³² But to infer that Theaitetos 'wrote' Euclid X, or at least formulated the main part of its propositions and proofs,

X 21 ff., 47 ff., 73 ff.; cf. also Ps.-Arist. *De lineis insec.* 968b13 ff., which may reflect an earlier tradition. For the Pythagorean or at least pre-Platonic origins of the three 'means' as represented in *Timaeus* (31cd, 36a, cf. *Epin.* 991a), see Burkert 1972:440-42 and M. Brown, *Phronesis* 20 (1975) 173 ff. Von Fritz 1934:1354 ff. and some later critics (van der Waerden 1966:275 ff. among them, also Lasserre l.c. in spite of his generally cautious interpretation) have made too much of this notice in Pappos.

³¹ For λόγοι, cf. συλλαβαί 202b ff. (also συλλαβεῖν 147d), and ἄρρητα 152c, 155e, 156b (with ἄλογα, 202b ff.); cf. above, n. 27. Elsewhere in Plato no manifest allusions occur to Theaitetos' studies: see the critical remarks of Lasserre 1987:487 ff. (who, however, accepts *Laws* VII 820c and *Epin.* 990d as 'fragments').

³² After Sachs the evidence was recorded by von Fritz 1934:1353 ff. (who did not know Thomson's Pappos, above, n. 30). Cf. also the rather negative evidence of the Testimonia collected by Stamatis in his new B.T. edition of Euclid, Book X (1972).

is a modern idea.³³ I can see no reason at all for accepting this view. The Academy had fostered many prominent mathematicians before Euclid's times.³⁴ Supposing that Theaitetos died as a young man, surely Plato, the 'architect' of Academic geometry,³⁵ would have been able to transmit his dead friend's visions of irrationality and commensurability to younger generations who were capable of elaborating the theories and giving them a fixed written form. Perhaps, too, Plato was the only transmitter of the tradition about Theodoros' ἔλιξις.

Theaitetos' other speciality is said to have been the construction of the five regular solids. The evidence was discussed in detail by Sachs,³⁶ who argued a point later doubted by very few, namely that Theaitetos made his discoveries mainly after Plato had written the *Republic*, where (VII 528a ff.) Socrates remarks on the deplorable state of stereometry, and before the *Timaeus* where the theory of the solids is implied (31b-34a, 53c-55c, cf. *Epin.* 990d). Euclid's Book XIII would largely derive from Theaitetos' work on the solids. Again, I think, the moderns have gone far too far.

The brief reference to stereometry in *Theaitetos* (148b) certainly points to Theaitetos' activities in this field though, as such, it only implies that Theaitetos and his friend 'saw' that the same rule of δυνάμει commensurability must apply to the relation of the edges to the volume of cubes, pyramids, etc.³⁷ The rest of the

³³ Sachs 1914:11-13, 41-42. It is reflected very clearly in van der Waerden (e.g. 1966:271-91) with his tendency to dogmatic conclusions. Even the generally cautious von Fritz insists that Theaitetos offered Euclidean proofs (e.g. 1934:1358). Lasserre 1987:464 is wisely sceptical about the possibility of reconstructing Theaitetos' formulations.

³⁴ Menaichmos, Deinostratos, Athenaios, Hermotimos, Theudios (who actually published a book of 'Elements'), and Eudoxos, to mention just a few; see now Lasserre 1987. Eudoxos' relation to Theaitetos is a matter of conjecture. The sweeping statements of Proklos, In Eucl. *Elem.* I, p. 67 Friedl. 'Ερμότιμος... τὰ ὑπ' Εὐδόξου προηυπορημένα καὶ Θεαιτήτου προήγαγεν ἐπὶ πλέον (probably from Eudemos), p. 68 ...Εὐκλείδης...πολλὰ μὲν τῶν Εὐδόξου συντάξας πολλὰ δὲ τῶν Θεαιτήτου τελεωσάμενος (probably his own addition), have very little relevance.

³⁵ The new Dikaiarchos text published by K. Gaiser in *Supplementum Platonicum I*, Stuttgart 1988, comments on the development of mathematics and μετρολογία in the Academy, ἀρχιτεκτονοῦντος... τοῦ Πλάτωνος (Col. 1 Y.4 ff., p. 152) and emphasizing the role of Eudoxos in developing the ὀρισμοί (cf. *Theait.* 148a8 and Gaiser p. 348). Plato, of course, was not himself very active as a mathematician.

³⁶ Eva Sachs, *Die fünf platonischen Körper* (Philologische Untersuchungen 24), Berlin 1917, esp. 146 ff.; cf. Sachs 1914:40.

³⁷ von Fritz 1934:1360 seems to admit this.

ancient sources referring to Theaitetos' studies of the solids do not suggest more than that he was able to construct and explain the cube, the regular tetrahedron, the octahedron, the icosahedron, and the dodecahedron.³⁸

If no proofs or systematized theories are required, this is not so very remarkable. The theory of the cube (6 squares) and the tetrahedron (4 equilateral triangles) had been well known for a long time, the dodecahedron (12 regular pentagons) had been an object of wonder among the Pythagoreans and before,³⁹ and the octahedron (8 equilateral triangles) was easily, the icosahedron (20 equilateral triangles) possibly, derived from the tetrahedron. It is reasonable, however, to infer that Theaitetos applied his knowledge of reciprocal subtraction and ἀποτομαί to the construction of the icosahedron and the dodecahedron and, hence, to the regular pentagon.⁴⁰ But as far as I can see, there is no evidence of his producing the system of regular solids as we have it in Euclid XIII.

Plato's *Republic* took shape gradually, and I find it quite plausible that Glaukon's and Socrates' complaints about stereometry in Book VII reflect the state of affairs in the late 370s.⁴¹ But to force Theaitetos' alleged discoveries of the 'five Platonic bodies' in between that date and 369 B.C., is simply to overinterpret a series of hypotheses. And surely we should expect Plato, who was not afraid of anachronisms, to have made more than a casual reference to τὰ στερεά in *Theaetetus* if his friend had made such remarkable progress just before the dialogue was written.

³⁸ The evidence collected by Sachs is discussed with critical cautiousness by von Fritz 1934:1363 ff. and Lasserre 1987:492 ff. (who emphasizes the intermediary role of Hermotimos). The most explicit piece of information is a Scholium on Euclid, Book XIII, where it is stated that the octahedron and the icosahedron are Θεαιτήτου.

³⁹ Burkert 1972:460.

⁴⁰ See von Fritz 1934:1369-71; Junge 1958 (above, n. 29). The 'Golden Section' was used in antiquity for constructing the pentagon. The Anonymous Commentator, Col. 41 ff. (p. 28 Diels-Schubart), in explaining *Theaet.* 148b, starts from arithmetic (which is probably correct) but proceeds by guesses and hardly supplies historically reliable information.

⁴¹ *Rep.* VII 528b-d: Glaukon remarks that "this subject (i.e., of the third dimension) does not appear to have been investigated yet", and Socrates gives some reasons why this is so, one being that "the investigators need a director", and "as things are now, seekers in this field would be too arrogant to submit to this guidance" (transl. P. Shorey). This reproach surely would not apply to the promising young geometrician of *Theaetetus*. For the date of the *Republic*, cf. Thesleff 1982:138, 185.

In my view, it can be rather safely concluded that Theaitetos only laid the foundations for stereometry by trying to generalize the rules for square roots to cubic roots and by studying the properties of the regular solids. After the 380s, Eudoxos and some others actually built the system eventually laid out in *Timaeus*, *Epinomis*, in various Aristotelian passages, and in Euclid. And so Theaitetos the stereometrician will have to take a similar step backwards in history as Theaitetos the irrationalist. I am not, however, questioning his brilliance in relation to his contemporaries.

Finally, there is the odd notice in Hesychios and Suda about Theaitetos having taught in Herakleia.⁴² A mistake, similar to the emerging of 'Theaitetos of Rhegion',⁴³ is quite possible. Still, Theaitetos may have visited Herakleia in the 390s; he was a friend of Eukleides of Megara, and Herakleia was a Megarian colony. The awkward fact that Theaitetos is not mentioned in the Philodemic list of members of Plato's Academy traditionally known as the 'Academicorum Index', has sometimes been taken to indicate that he was working abroad and not in Athens.⁴⁴ My explanation of why he does not appear in the list is different.

I am inclined to think that Theaitetos lived ca. 415-390 B.C. and that the explicitness of his discoveries has been exaggerated by modern interpreters. Plato's reasons for introducing him and Theodoros in *Theaitetos* may be looked for along the general lines suggested by Malcolm Brown.⁴⁵

⁴² Suda ends by having two Theaitetoses, the Athenian who was an ἀστρολόγος etc., and a pupil of Socrates and who taught in Herakleia, and the Heracleote, who was a pupil of Plato.

⁴³ Iambl. *VP* 172; here Theokles is meant, cf. *ibid.* 130.

⁴⁴ Cf. Lasserre 1987:434. For the Academicorum Index, see now *Suppl. Plat.* (above, n. 35), Col. 5.32 ff., and Gaiser's comments p. 443 ff. (also p. 15 f., 90, on Lasserre's solutions). Nor does Dikaiarchos mention Theaitetos.

⁴⁵ In the article referred to above, n. 15. See also above, n. 27.

Pebbles, Points, or Ballots: The Emergence of the Individual Vote in Rome*

JYRI VAAHTERA

Anyone setting out to investigate the origins of the taking of a formal vote in Rome is faced with a very substantial problem. No adequate records survive. All our evidence derives from a much later period, and, as so often, in a dishearteningly sporadic and vague form. In part because of this, our traditional picture of the Roman voting procedure is too consistent; it does not allow of any variation. But to a great extent this consistency is also due to the very way in which we use the evidence. A critic might say that our reconstruction of the procedure is nothing but a concoction of all possible odds and ends which derive from different sources. However, insofar as we apply the resulting picture only to the later part of the Republic this 'method of concocting' is somehow defensible. With some confidence we may agree with Fraccaro, who considered it unnecessary to follow a chronological order in his presentation of the ancient descriptions of tribal voting; for early Rome our sources (and their sources before them) have relied completely on inference from later conditions, and thus, according to him, these descriptions

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«rappresentano soltanto l'idea che dei comizi tributari si facevano gli annalisti usati dalle nostre fonti.»¹ It follows, then, that a great part of the Republican period is a grey area as to the method of voting. And it is only by accident, often in form of ancient formulae, that unaffected pieces of information of any earlier procedure survive.

The only spot of colour in the greyness of our sources is the report of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. In the present paper particular questions that arise from the study of Dionysius are examined. It is not my purpose to discuss the voting procedure through and through, but to concentrate on his hitherto universally discredited account of the early method of voting. The sources for this study are scanty, and the information gained is, therefore, in great part conjectural. Nevertheless, I shall argue that Dionysius' report of the voting method has been misinterpreted by his modern critics, and that he may have been right after all.

Comments on traditional theory

The essence of the Roman *comitia* was the question (*rogatio*) placed before the people by the leading magistrate, and the vote (*suffragium*) which took the form of an answer to this question. Scholars have traditionally seen three different stages in the development of the method used to give this answer: (1) the acclamation, (2)

¹ Plinio Fraccaro, *La procedura del voto nei comizi tributari romani*, *Opuscula II* (1956) 240; Lily Ross Taylor limited her book *Roman Voting Assemblies*, Ann Arbor 1966, to consider only the period from the Hannibalic War to the dictatorship of Caesar because of the unreliability of the sources for the earlier period. The lack of information is admitted by Livy himself in the beginning of the sixth book (6, 1, 2): *res cum vetustate nimia obscuras, velut quae magno ex intervallo loci vix cernuntur, tum quod parvae et rariae per eadem tempora litterae fuere, una custodia fidelis memoriae rerum gestarum, et quod, etiam si quae in commentariis pontificum aliisque publicis privatisque erant monumentis, incensa urbe pleraeque interiire*. (Cf. also Plut. Per. 13, 12).

The surviving sources themselves give quite a good idea of the kind of information that could have been transmitted by literary tradition. The most laconic is Polybius who fails to give us any information at all concerning the procedural matters. Livy's comments are vague; in fact he does not once mention what the physical form of the vote was.

the oral vote, and (3) the written vote.² One may suspect, however, that this division presupposes quite unjustifiably that these would have been the only methods the Romans ever used, thus disregarding how ill-informed we are as to early Rome. The written vote is the only method adequately attested by our sources. And the reasons for this are obvious. In the first place, our sources all belong to the time period when this form of vote was used. Second, its introduction was a hot political issue because, for the first time, it brought secrecy into the Roman comitial voting.³

In theory we may indeed distinguish three stages of development, namely the collective vote, the open individual vote, and the secret vote. The emergence of each of these stages can be seen as a result of a certain political development. But there were also other changes and modifications in the method of voting which served no political purpose but were carried out simply in order to achieve some procedural benefits. Causes for such changes could have been for instance the growth of the citizen body, the emergence of electoral malpractice, or the need to facilitate the counting of votes. It is absurd to believe that a procedure would have endured centuries without undergoing any changes in course of time.⁴

Furthermore, to consider that the method by which the votes were taken would always have been uniform in all different assemblies, or indeed in all of their comitial functions, even of the same period, is clearly fallacious. Why should we believe that the Romans of the early Republic elected their magistrates in the same

² This division can be found (although not always in an explicit form) in every standard work. See for example E. S. Staveley, *Greek and Roman Voting and Elections*, London 1972, 157ff.

³ Cic. leg. 3, 33 *versabor in re difficili ac multum et saepe quaesita, suffragia in magistratu mandando ac de reo iudicando sciscendaque in lege aut rogatione clam an palam ferri melius esset.*; Plin. epist. 3, 20, 1 *meministine te saepe legisse, quantas contentiones excitaret lex tabellaria, quantumque ipsi latori vel gloriae vel reprehensionis attulerit?* On the written ballot see most recently W. Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, Cambridge, Mass. & London 1989, 168ff. and U. Hall, *Greeks and Romans and the Secret Ballot*, in 'Owls to Athens', *Essays on Classical Subjects Presented to Sir Kenneth Dover*, ed. by E. M. Craik, Oxford 1990, 191-199.

⁴ Admittedly the «constitutional, legal and religious institutions and practices» preserved in themselves much information about the past, and this is especially true of the religious institutions to the limit when the meaning of old practices and formulae had become unknown even to the priests themselves. However, I would be careful in considering the constitutional or legal «institutions and practices which survived into a much later period as self-evident fossils from the distant past» (Drummond, *CAH*² VII:2, 29) since in reality they must have gone through much more changes than our sources can tell us.

way as they passed their legal judgement, or voted on a bill? Suffice it to say for comparison that at Athens in the classical period the normal method employed in legislation was *kheirotonia*, but in some particular cases *psephoi* were used.⁵ So it may well have also been the case at Rome that more than one method of taking a vote was in use at the same time. In the late Republic the ballot-laws (*leges tabellariae*) were not introduced at once to all types of popular assemblies, but during one generation the oral vote coexisted with the written one.

When the Romans first started to give a formal expression of their will in an assembly it was probably through noisy applause in response to a proposal. This is suggested by the etymology of the word *suffragium* as well as by comparative study.⁶ It is impossible to say when this method of voting fell into disuse. It depends greatly on what functions and powers the early assemblies had, and whether any of these required the taking of votes individually from each citizen. The reason for this innovation, however, must have been the desire for greater accuracy in judging the outcome of the vote.⁷ The idea that this desire was felt especially in the judicial functions is attractive. It is difficult to conceive of the giving of the verdict by noisy acclamation in trials by popular assemblies.⁸ And it may be well to recall that at Athens from the earliest times an exact count was needed in trials, while in elections and voting on bills the form of voting employed was a show of hands (*kheirotonia*), where an exact count was never carried out.⁹ In any case, this fragmentation of the collective vote resulted the need to somehow ‘materialize’ the individual vote so

⁵ M. H. Hansen, *The Athenian Assembly*, Oxford 1987, 41-44.

⁶ About the etymology see the chapter on *suffragium* below. About the comparative study see G. W. Botsford, *The Roman Assemblies*, New York 1909, 152-157.

⁷ The taking of formal vote is often connected with the secret ballot; see for example J. A. O. Larsen, *The Origin and Significance of the Counting of Votes*, CPh 44 (1949) 164-181. This, however, was not the case at Rome, and almost certainly not even in Greece. For the use of *psephoi* as voting-tokens in an open balloting see A. Boegehold, *Toward A Study of Athenian Voting Procedure*, *Hesperia* 32 (1963) 366-374, esp. 369, and also Staveley 84f.

⁸ In addition to the desire for accuracy one might expect also some solemnity in the procedure. The verdict was associated with the lot or fate, which can be seen for instance in the name *sorticula* used sometimes of the ballots of the judges (see note 27; *Lex repetundarum*).

⁹ Hansen *loc. cit.* The fact that the formal resolution of the popular assembly was called *psephisma* might indicate that *psephoi* (i.e. pebbles) were originally used in all voting; see Staveley 84.

that it could be counted; and without some mechanical aid the counting of votes would have been impracticable.

According to the generally accepted theory, during the greater part of the Republican period votes were given orally. Each voter passed a teller (*rogator*) who marked off the vote on a tablet (*tabula*) with a point (*punctum*). This theory rests on no direct evidence, but instead on what we know about the casting (or rather the sorting) of the written ballot (*tabella*) in Cicero's time.¹⁰ Nevertheless, the theory has won such acceptance among modern scholars that today it can be found in all of the standard reference works and monographs presented practically as a fact. And even though the method seems quite laudable in itself and may well have existed before the introduction of the written ballot, it does not exclude the possibility that there might have been earlier a different kind of procedure about which the later historians knew nothing, and failed therefore to make mention of it – just as they failed to tell us about the voting by acclamation. Adding *puncta* on waxed tablets appears to be an incredibly sophisticated method for materializing a vote in a period, when popular assembly itself as a Roman institution was still in its infancy.

The pebbles

For the reasons mentioned above I would like to draw some attention to the report of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, which provides us with an alternative voting method for the earliest times, and which in my opinion deserves reconsideration. In some passages describing the voting procedure, Dionysius makes one understand that voters in early Republican times used some kind of balloting token (*psephos*),

¹⁰ Th. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, Leipzig 1887-8, III³, 404. Of the vote being oral our main evidence is Cicero who in his *De legibus* refers to *vocis suffragium*. These passages are Cic. leg. 3, 33 *ego in ista sum sententia...nihil ut fuerit in suffragiis voce melius*; 3, 34 *itaque graviora iudicia de potentissimis hominibus extant vocis quam tabellae*; 3, 36 *vocis suffragium*; 3, 39 *ut minus multos tabella condemnet quam solebat vox*.

which was put in an urn (καδίσκος, ἀγγεῖον).¹¹ This gave Mommsen the reason to conclude that «Dionysius scheint von der späten Einführung der Stimmtafeln nichts gewusst zu haben.»¹² The first ballot-law (*lex tabellaria*) was not introduced until 139 BC.

But did Dionysius mean by *psephos* a voting tablet in the sense of the later *tabella*, as has been taken for granted by modern scholars, or something quite different?¹³ To designate Dionysius' account anachronistic is the easy way out of this problem. The other solutions will necessarily present further complications. We need to ask for instance, why was he able to supply more detail of the early procedure than any of his Latin-writing colleagues? How well could Dionysius know the Roman system? Or, to what extent was he capable of describing it in Greek terms? As to the last question, it is true that Greek writers in translating the Roman institutions into their mother tongue were more concerned about the literary aspects than about the accuracy in describing the institutions themselves: the terms they used were those of the Greek institutions, which, naturally, fitted quite badly in the Roman world.¹⁴ But here we are not dealing exactly with this kind of problem: if Dionysius had used only a term such as *psephophoria*, or *kheirotonia*, one of course could not draw any conclusions about the procedure – that is whether the

¹¹ Such places are especially: ant. 10, 41 (τὰ ἀγγεῖα τῶν ψήφων); 11, 52 (where a καδίσκος was used). Furthermore, one finds such expressions as τὴν ψῆφον ἐπιφέρειν (2, 14; 7, 59), ἀναδιδόναι (4, 12; 4, 71; 7, 17), ἀναλαμβάνειν (5, 6), and ἀποτίθεσθαι (11, 52).

¹² Mommsen III³, 404 n. 2.

¹³ In addition to Mommsen, for example Taylor 11: «he represents the Romans of the beginning of the Republic making use of written ballots», and U. Hall, Voting Procedure in Roman Assemblies, *Historia* 13 (1964) 267-306, esp. 274, who vitiates Dionysius' whole account of the early voting procedure on the basis that he «believed that a written vote was in use from the beginning of comitial procedure». However, Dionysius' *psephos* has not always been interpreted as a *tabella*; e.g. Forcellini writes in his *Totius Latinitatis Lexicon s.v. suffragium*: «* Aliter de hac re, sed, ut nobis quidem videtur, rectissime statuit Wunderus in *praef. ad varr. lectt.* cet. p. 167 sqq. Etenim non duplicem, vel voce vel tabella, sed triplicem sententiae dicendae rationem ap. Romanos fuisse, i.e. antiquissimis temporibus *voce et calculis*; et latis deinde legibus tabellariis, *tabellis*. Quam sententiam primum quidem firmari recte putat elocutionibus *suffragium ferre, mittere in suffragia, inire vel ire in suffragium*, quae minime possent ad vocem referri. - - Alterum argumentum depromit ... ex multis Dionysii locis, ubi ratione antiquiss. temp. habita, de eo, qui comitia habuisset, ἀναδιδόναι et ἀποδιδόναι τὴν ψῆφον: contra de populo, sententiam declarante, τὴν ψῆφον ἀναλαμβάνειν, ἐπιφέρειν, φέρειν diceretur.»

¹⁴ See H. J. Mason, The Roman Government in Greek Sources, *Phoenix* 24 (1970) 150-159.

vote was by ballot, or by show of hands, or by some other means. But since he actually talks about ballots which were cast into the urns, we are not left in doubt as to what he believed had happened.

To the second question we could answer that Dionysius lived over two decades in Rome studying its past in order to write it down;¹⁵ if Livy, writing his own work at about the same time, was familiar with the *leges tabellariae*,¹⁶ why would these have escaped Dionysius' notice? In fact, it would be more likely to expect the contrary. To quote R. M. Ogilvie: «Dionysius' work is characterized by three special qualities. The first is the detailed research that went into it. Dionysius, unlike Livy, read voraciously, especially the earlier historians who, writing in Greek, had touched on Italian affairs – Pherecydes and Antiochus of Syracuse (fifth century BC) and Timaeus and Q. Fabius Pictor (third century). Again, unlike Livy, he had investigated at first hand the Roman antiquarians – men like Cato, Tuditanus and Varro, who collected the oddities of the Roman past whatever their bearing on actual history might be.»¹⁷ I believe this suffices to make the point. As compared with Livy, Dionysius proves to be «an extremely well-read and careful scholar».

Why, then, should we interpret Dionysius' *psephos* as a written ballot¹⁸ if it clearly militates against the facts known to us about the voting procedure? In the following I shall argue that the very same passages in Dionysius which are presented as proofs of anachronism, if studied more closely, give us a good reason to think the contrary.

In principle there are two basically different ways of expressing the choice when voting by ballot: (1) the ballots are all alike and there are different urns for each choice, or (2) there is only one urn, and the choice is expressed by the difference in ballots. The voting with *tabella* belongs, of course, to the latter group. The one passage dealing with these *psephoi* which is relevant to our argument is Dionysius' ant. 11, 52 where he quite explicitly mentions that there was a separate urn for each choice: Two towns, Aricia and Ardea, had a dispute over a piece of land, and in

¹⁵ Ant. 1,7,2-3.

¹⁶ This is suggested by Livy Oxy. Per. 54.

¹⁷ R. M. Ogilvie, *Early Rome and the Etruscans*, Glasgow 1976, 21-22.

¹⁸ In fact *psephos* was not 'a written vote'; Plutarch for instance when referring to a *tabella* employs the word δέλτος (Cato min. 46, 2). An other word for a written vote was πινάκιον (Plat. leg. 753 b).

order to solve it they asked the Romans to be their judges. In the Roman assembly, however, there were citizens who claimed that the territory in dispute really belonged to the Romans, and so a third urn was placed before each tribe for that choice:¹⁹

ταῦτα δὴ λογιζόμενοι καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντες τρίτον ἐκέλευσαν τεθῆναι καδίσκον ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως Ῥωμαίων καθ' ἐκάστην φυλὴν, εἰς ὃν ἀποθήσονται τὰς ψήφους.

Clearly the vote here was not by *tabella*. In another passage (ant. 10, 41) Dionysius describes how the young patricians interfered with the tribal voting (455 BC) and seized the urns (ἀγγεῖα τῶν ψήφων) from the officials. Since the tribes voted in succession in legislative assemblies the mention of the urns in plural supports the suggestion that there perhaps was a separate urn for 'aye' and 'no'.²⁰

The Greek word *psephos* finds its natural equivalent in Latin *calculus*.²¹ In the early days of Athenian popular assembly the vote was taken with the aid of pebbles.²² And later the *psephoi* were used in the *ekklesia* in cases which required a *quorum*, and in the popular courts.²³ In other words, when an accurate count was needed, pebbles were used to facilitate the counting of votes. For this purpose the pebbles were a natural choice since, as we know, both *psephoi* and *calculi* were used also as counters.²⁴

The idea that a person could be represented by a token of some kind for the counting purposes can be found in Rome also in another context. In his Roman

¹⁹ This incident took place in 446 BC. The same story is found also in Livy (3, 71, 3 - 3, 72, 7), who describes the *contio* at length, but mentions about the vote only that *vocatae tribus iudicaverunt agrum publicum populi Romani esse*.

²⁰ Admittedly, this second example is open to the objection that each tribe had its own urn. But I consider it more probable that Dionysius was describing a similar procedure in both cases.

²¹ Word *calculus* itself is a derivative of *calx* 'lime, limestone', and its original meaning is thus 'a small (lime)stone, a pebble'. Ernout-Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, 4. ed., Paris 1959, s.v. *calx* (2).

²² Staveley 84-86 and A. Boegehold 367-368.

²³ M. H. Hansen *loc.cit.*

²⁴ About the use of *psephoi* as counters see Boegehold *art. cit.* who makes a similar connection between counters and ballots. As for the *calculi*, their appearance in this function seems to

Antiquities (4, 15), Dionysius²⁵ supplies some detail concerning the *Paganalia* showing how the survey of the population was carried out with the aid of certain kind of tokens (νόμισμα),²⁶ which each inhabitant of the same district (*pagus*) gave to the men who presided over the feast. The men gave one kind, the women another and the children a third kind, so that by counting these tokens it was then possible to get the head count of the district by sex and age. The step from the idea of using tokens as substitutes in this manner into the voting by ballot is very small.

Thus far Dionysius. But how does this square with the other evidence? It should be mentioned at the outset that since the idea of voting with the aid of *calculi* in early Rome is not found in modern literature we may assume scholars have found no direct evidence of this method in Latin literature. Nevertheless, in order to know with certainty that they are right some investigation needs to be done.

The entry of *calculus* in *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* makes several references to the use of *calculi* as voting tokens for trials. But the examples are all very late. They become more frequent after the first century A.D. giving good reason to believe that the ballots used by the jurors were called *calculi* in imperial times. But in the late Republic the ballots were tablets, probably double-faced, the one side carrying the acquitting vote, the other the condemning vote. And before casting his ballot into the urn the juror erased the unwanted verdict.²⁷ These *calculi* on the other hand

be quite late. The normal word for counting was *computo*, and the derivatives from *calculus* ‘the counter’ such as *calculator*, *calculatio*, *calculo(r)* etc., are all creations of the imperial period. The counting with the aid of pebbles is, however, such a common and natural phenomenon, that there is no reason to believe that they were not used also in early Rome. Cf. the old custom of driving a nail into a wall of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, on which Livy remarks: ... *cum clavum, quia rarae per ea tempora litterae erant, notam numeri annorum fuisse ferunt* (Liv. 7, 3, 6).

²⁵ In this passage Dionysius mentions as his sources Fabius, Vennonius and Cato, and later also L. Piso. Cf. also Festus 272-3L.

²⁶ τὸ νόμισμα can mean ‘anything sanctioned by current or established usage; esp. current coin’ (LSJ).

²⁷ These wooden tablets were either waxed or the letters were written in ink. The latter is suggested by Mattingly’s restoration of the *Lex repetundarum* 51 based on the F fragment in JRS 59 (1969) 129-143, and now rediscovered and certified by A. Lintott (forthcoming): ... *sorticolam unam buxeam longam digitos IIII la[tam digitos ? ...scri]ptam atr[amento]...* The verdict was written in an abbreviated form: ‘L’ for *libero*, ‘A’ for *absolvo*, ‘D’ for *damno*, and ‘C’ for *condemno*. In modern literature these four legal terms are normally linked together in pairs *Libero – Damno* and *Absolvo – Condemno*, but J. Cody has argued in her article (The Use of *Libero – Damno* and *Absolvo – Condemno* in the Judicial Proceedings of the Late

were white and black pebbles, a white one being thrown into the urn to acquit and a black one to condemn the defendant.²⁸ The earliest reference to the white and black *calculi* we find in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (15, 38-41) in the founding legend of Croton. According to Ovid, Heracles appeared in a dream to Myscelus advising him to leave his hometown Argos and found a colony in southern Italy. At that time there were laws in Argos which forbade its citizens to move abroad, and Myscelus, who after some hesitation decided to obey Heracles' orders, was brought to court. The judges all condemned him by each casting a black pebble into the urn:

Mos erat antiquus *niveis atrisque lapillis*,
his damnare reos, illis absolvere culpae.
Nunc quoque sic lata est sententia tristis; et omnis
calculus in mitem demittitur *ater* in urnam.

Myscelus was saved miraculously by Heracles who made all the pebbles turn white. The passage is rather puzzling, since we do not find this version of the legend elsewhere.²⁹ According to a more common version Myscelus was an Achaean, a native of Rhyes, whom Apollo instructed through the Delphic oracle to found

Republic, CPh 68 (1973) 205-208) that in Republican usage they were not inseparable terms, and that there was no distinction in the use of these terms as to the trials held in the *quaestiones* and the trials held in the judicial *comitia*. In some cases also a third verdict was available: the tablet could be *sine suffragio* as seen in the *Lex repetund.* 54. There also seems to have been cases when each verdict had its own tablet (sometimes the third tablet was 'NL' for *non liquet*; e.g. Ps.-Ascon. Verr. p. 231), as in Suet. Aug. 33: *et cum de falso testamento ageretur omnesque signatores lege Cornelia tenerentur, non tantum duas tabellas, damnatoriam et absolutoriam, simul cognoscentibus dedit, sed tertiam quoque, qua ignosceretur iis, quos fraude ad signandum vel errore inductos constitisset.* Also Caes. civ. 3, 83, 3.

²⁸ Cf. English 'blackball', both verb and substantive. Black and white balls were used in England as tokens used for voting by ballot for or against a candidate for membership of a club or other association; hence *to blackball* is 'to exclude (a person) from a club or other society by adverse votes, recorded by the placing of black balls in the ballot-box, or in other ways' (OED s.v.).

²⁹ Excepting of course Ps.Lact.Plac. fab. Ov. 15, 1.

Croton.³⁰ Either of these versions produced the proverbial Μυσκέλλου ψῆφος, which later was certainly connected to the latter.³¹

But why talk about Greek mythology in a study which concerns Roman voting? True, the vote took place in Argos, and thus it is possible that this *mos* is to be found in the Greek world. Two observations, however, can be made. Strictly speaking Ovid's first remark is quite general («It was the custom in ancient times to condemn the accused with black pebbles, to acquit them with white.»), and only the second part of the citation refers to Argos («On this occasion, too, the stern verdict was given in this way»). Second, my attempts to find this custom in the Greek world have been futile. There are a few Greek writers who make mention of the black and white *psephoi* but they are not any earlier than the Roman ones.³² Moreover, when a Greek writer does refer to the use of white and black *psephoi* it is very difficult to interpret it as anything other than a metaphor.³³ Those who used this expression

³⁰ The earliest (c. 300 BC) writer known to give this version was Hippys of Rhegium (FGrHist. 554 F 3-5 = Zenob. prov. 3, 42). After him it is told by several authors, e.g. Diod. 8, 17; Strab. 6, 262 and 269, and scholiasts. For more details see Zwicker, Myskellos, RE XVI,1 1189-1191.

³¹ Mant. proverb. II 762 Paroem. Gr. explains Μυσκέλλου ψῆφος as Myscelus' choice of health instead of wealth; cf. Suda s.v. Archias 4104 and s.v. Myskellos 1473. Also Strab. 6,2,4: «They say that when Myscellus and Archias went to Delphi to consult the oracle, the god asked whether they preferred wealth or health. Archias chose wealth and Myscellus health, and the oracle then assigned Syracuse to the former, and Croton to the latter...». For the idea of placing the health (*hygeia*) first, see e.g. Plat. Gorg. 451e and Arist. rhet. 1394b.

³² Plut. Alkib. 22; Aelian. var. 13, 38; Lucian apol. 15; *id.* pisc. 21; *id.* harm. 3; cf. schol. in Lucian. apol. 15 and pisc. 21; schol. Aristoph. vesp. 106; Suda s.v. ψῆφος μέλαινα. The first Latin writers to mention the *calculi* as balloting tokens (excepting Ovid) are Pliny the Younger (epist. 1, 2, 5) and Quintilian (inst. 8, 3, 14).

³³ This is the case for instance when Plutarch places these in Alcibiades' Athens, (Alcib. 22, 2): 'But then someone recognized him again and said: «Have you not any reliance on your fatherland, Alcibiades?» He replied: «In everything else yes, but when my own life is at stake I wouldn't rely on even my own mother, in case she might unknowingly give the black *psephos* instead of the white (τὴν μέλαιναν ἀντὶ τῆς λευκῆς ἐπενέγκη ψῆφον)».' The same story is told also by Aelianus in his *Varia Historia* (13, 38) whose source was probably Plutarch. The vote by white or black pebbles is unknown to us at Athens, and therefore the allusion is either wrong or must be taken as a metaphor. Similarly also Lucian, who writes to some Roman called Sabinus (apol. 15): οὐκ ἐν παρέργῳ θέμενος τὴν λευκὴν (sc. ψῆφον) παρὰ σοῦ καὶ πλήρη μοι ἐνεχθῆναι. In this case the use is certainly metaphorical, since he refers both to a λευκή and to a πλήρης ψῆφος, which both meant the vote given for the defence but which belonged to the different voting methods. This metaphor of white

were closely connected with Rome: Plutarch and Lucian were both known to have held a post in the Roman administration,³⁴ while Claudius Aelianus was pontifex in Praeneste and taught rhetoric in Rome. Thus it is not unreasonable to assume that they were familiar with the contemporary custom of the Roman courts of justice to vote with the aid of black and white *calculi*. All this leads to the possibility that this custom was not Greek but Roman.

To return to Ovid's account, it remains obscure where he got this idea of voting with white and black pebbles. *Tabellae* were used for trials in Ovid's time.³⁵ Would Ovid have felt it necessary to explain the procedure, or talked about a *mos antiquus*, if these pebbles were used in some cases instead? Whatever may be thought of Ovid's mention of a voting procedure with pebbles, we may at least suspect that, for a Roman of the Augustan age, its use rang with the sound of antiquity. And it is noteworthy that Ovid's *calculi* are *lapilli*; the *psephoi* at Athens had not been pebbles any more for centuries. Perhaps the reason why he thought these pebbles had been white and black was the fact that at his time the *calculi* (used in the abacus, board games and calendars) actually were white and black.³⁶

As expected, the investigation of the *calculi* in Latin literature does not bring forward any decisive proof concerning voting with *calculi* in early Rome. But there is still one possible body of evidence left, which we have touched so far only in passing, namely some old Latin expressions or formulae which have to do with voting.

pebbles calls to mind a passage of Pliny the Younger, who in his letter to Arrianus Maturus (epist. 1, 2, 5) writes: *si modo tu fortasse errori nostro album calculum adieceris*.

³⁴ Plutarch taught at Rome, and according to Eusebius (Suda) Trajan and Hadrian gave him some office (perhaps procuratorship) in Achaëa. Lucian held a post under the Roman administration in Egypt.

³⁵ E.g. Suet. Aug. 33 cited above in n. 27. Also later e.g. Seneca benef. 3, 7, 7 *de quibusdam etiam imperitus iudex dimittere tabellam potest*; contr. 7, 8, 7 *quam tulit de reo tabellam*.

³⁶ Perhaps the most influential of the other uses was the alleged custom of the Thracians of putting a white or a black pebble every day in an urn to represent the happiness or unhappiness of that day. This way they could assess the happiness of their lives by computing the pebbles. (Plin. nat. 7, 131). Marking a day with a white or a black pebble is a common metaphor of a happy or unhappy day in Latin literature; e.g. Catull. 68, 148; 107, 6; Hor. carm. 1, 36, 10; Martial. 8, 45, 2; 9, 52, 4; 11, 36, 2; 12, 34, 5-7; Plin. epist. 6, 11, 3.

Suffrāgium

The basic question of this paper is, to what did the word *suffragium* refer in the early Republic? The original meaning-form relation signalled by *suffragium* is revealed by an etymological analysis of the word. The conventional view maintains that *suffrāgium* derives from the same root as *frāngo* ‘to break’ and *frāgor* ‘a noise of breaking’, ‘crash’. Thus the original meaning of the word would have been ‘a breaking into din in response (to)’.³⁷ This is in agreement with our knowledge of the earliest known form of the European popular assembly.³⁸ In view of the peculiar Roman practice of group vote and the plural form of the word *comitia* it is tempting to suppose that the Roman popular assembly was originally not one but in fact many assemblies. Consequently, a *suffragium* would not have been the vote of the whole Roman community, but the vote of a voting unit (originally a *curia*).³⁹ In support

³⁷ This derivation has been recently challenged by Oswald Szemerényi, *An dem Quellen des lateinischen Wortschatzes*. Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, Bd. 56, Innsbruck 1989, 31-33. According to him the derivation of *suffrāgium* from *frāngo* is quite impossible on phonetic grounds: *frāgor* has a short *ă*, while *suffrāgium* exhibits a long *ā*. Instead he connects it with *suffrāgō* ‘a joint in the hind leg of a quadruped, hock’ which also has a long *ā*. This again, according to him, is a derivative of an old name of a part of the body **frāg(o)-* ‘a rump, buttocks’. Thus the original meaning of *suffrāgium* would have been ‘etwas zum Hinterbug Gehöriges’, that is the strap which passes under the draught animal’s tail, ‘a crupper’. This strap became to mean ‘support’ or ‘help’, in which sense it got adopted into the political vocabulary, and finally it became a technical term in polling.

It seems to me, however, that Szemerényi has harnessed the horses, so to speak, behind the carriage. In the first place, I have not found any evidence of the existence of such cruppers in ancient harness-types. Later these can be found in a saddle, but this is certainly too late for this argument – and even then the name seems to have been *postela* or *postilena*. Second, Szemerényi cannot present a single example which would connect *suffragium* with the crupper; the fact remains that *suffragium* is always found in a political context. And finally, even though the change short/long is troublesome to linguists, there are also other examples such as *ambāgēs* (*amb+ăgo*) and *contāgium* (*con+tāngo*) which show the same change. For a more detailed discussion see J. Vaahtera, *The Etymology of Suffragium* (forthcoming).

³⁸ About the characteristics of this assembly see Botsford 152.

³⁹ Cf. R. E. A. Palmer, *The Archaic Community of the Romans*, Cambridge 1970, 202: «The most important aspect of the curiate constitution was the vote by discrete units which originally represented diverse peoples incorporated into the Roman state of the Quirites. Each *curia* met and conducted its own balloting.» The meeting of a *curia* was a *comitium*, and «...when the *curias* held meetings to decide matters touching all the *curias*, the sum of the meetings constituted a state assembly (*comitia curiata*).» Also G. Prugni, *Quirites*,

of this view is the phrase *sex suffragia*, applied to the six ancient centuries of knights, where we find *suffragium* in a transferred meaning ‘a voting unit’.⁴⁰ In later times when a vote had become individual⁴¹ also the old connotation gradually disappeared, but traces of this can still be seen in such expressions as *cunctis suffragiis facere*; e.g. Cic. Pis. 2: *me cum ... praetorem primum cunctis suffragiis populus Romanus faciebat*.⁴² This must have meant that someone became elected with the votes of every century (but not of every elector). When Livy mentions how the censors of 179 BC *mutarunt suffragia regionatimque generibus hominum causisque et quaestibus tribus descripserunt*, if we have not here a mention of a change in the method of voting, it must refer to the tribes.⁴³

In a very old context we have the word *suffragium* in the formula *ite in suffragium*.⁴⁴ *Suffragium* here has been translated as ‘the action of voting, the exercise of one’s vote’ (OLD s.v. *suffragium* (2)), and the whole phrase «proceed to vote» or «zur Abstimmung schreiten».⁴⁵ In this expression, however, *suffragium* must have originally referred to the place where the vote was given. Similarly we find also *in ius vocare*⁴⁶ and *ire in sacramentum*⁴⁷ referring to the place.

Athenaeum 65 (1987) 134: «Ma è molto più probabile a mio avviso ... che le curie e le assemblee curiate fossero in origine entità autonome anteriori alla nascita della *civitas*, costituendo una tappa fondamentale nel processo di superamento della frammentazione iniziale verso un assetto politico di tipo (con)federativo da cui con ulteriori passi in avanti sorse lo stato unitario.»

⁴⁰ Kübler’s *Stimmkörper* (RE IVa, 1931, 654-8 s.v. *suffragium*).

⁴¹ Kübler’s *Einzelstimme*.

⁴² Also Cic. fam. 15, 12, 1; Mil. 96; off. 2,59; p.red. ad Quir. 25; rep. 2, 35 and Vatin. 11.

⁴³ Livy 40, 51, 9. About this passage see L. Grieve, Livy 40, 51, 9 and the Centuriate Assembly, CQ 35 (1985) 417-429.

⁴⁴ E.g. Staveley 153, and Taylor 2-3 and 79. As a command in Livy: 31, 7, 14; 34, 2, 5. Also *redire in suffragium*: 26, 22, 7; 26, 22, 9; *inire suffragium*: 1, 17, 9; 2, 56, 10; 3, 17, 5; 3, 25, 4; 3, 71, 3; 4, 25, 12; 10, 13, 11; 24, 8, 2; 24, 9, 3; 26, 2, 9; 26, 22, 13; *mittere in suffragium*: 3, 64, 5; 31, 7, 2; 31, 8, 1; *vocare (revocare) in suffragium*: 4, 5, 2; 24, 8, 20; 25, 4, 4; 40, 46, 3. More rarely also with *ad*: 6, 35, 7 (*inire*); 6, 38, 4; 10, 21, 13; 10, 24, 18; 25, 3, 15; 45, 39, 20 (*vocare/revocare*).

⁴⁵ Staveley 153 and Kübler 655 respectively.

⁴⁶ *Lex XII tabularum* 1, 1: *Si in ius vocat, ito*; also 3, 2 *in ius ducito*. About the meaning OLD s.v. *ius* (6). Cf. Paul. dig. 1, 1, 11: *ius dicitur locus in quo ius redditur*. Plaut. Curc. 621 *ambula in ius*.

⁴⁷ See E. Benveniste, *Indoeuropean Language and Society*, London 1973, 393.

After the introduction of the written ballot, according to Mommsen, the expression for ‘to vote’ was *suffragium ferre*.⁴⁸ In making such statement he obviously was thinking, and I believe quite correctly, that *suffragium* must have referred to something solid and tangible in order to cause such a phrase; cf. e.g. *Tabula Hebana* 24: *qui senatores et eq(uites) in quamq(ue) cistam suffragium ferre debeat*.⁴⁹ Problems arise when we think of Livy’s use of this phrase. In his surviving books he is writing of periods before the introduction of the written ballot, and therefore we should not find this phrase there at all. Several explanations can be given. One explanation is that Mommsen was right, and Livy was wrong in using the phrase in his descriptions of early voting. For lack of texts from the time before the written ballot this view cannot be decisively disproved.⁵⁰ It is weakened, however, by two facts. First, we have the evidence given by Gellius 5, 19, 15-16 (=ORF² p. 126):

Animadvertimus in oratione P. Scipionis, quam *ensor* habuit ad populum de moribus, inter ea, quae reprehendebat, quod contra maiorum instituta fierent, id etiam eum culpavisse, quod filius adoptivos patri adoptatori inter praemia patrum prodesset. Verba ex ea oratione haec sunt: *In alia tribu patrem, in alia filium suffragium ferre*, filium adoptivum tam procedere, quam si se natum habeat; absentis censi iubere, ut ad censum nemini necessus sit venire.

Scipio Africanus the Younger held the censorship in 142 BC,⁵¹ that is to say three years before the first *lex tabellaria*. If Gellius really gives the words of P. Scipio, then we have here the evidence of the phrase *suffragium ferre* having been used before the introduction of the written ballot. Second, the surviving sources do not exhibit any other expression which meant ‘to vote’. If *suffragium ferre* was a relatively new expression, how did the Romans say ‘to vote’ before that? Thus Livy might have used this expression simply because there was no alternative. And if

⁴⁸ Mommsen III³, 400.

⁴⁹ Cf. Wunderus’ statement: «*suffragium ferre, mittere in suffragia, inire vel ire in suffragium, quae minime possent ad vocem referri*» (see note 13).

⁵⁰ The earliest text with *suffragium ferre* is the *Lex Latina tabulae Bantinae* (Bruns, Fontes⁷, no. 9): *Mag(istratus) queiquomque comitia conciliumve habebit, eum sufragium ferre nei sinito*. The exact date of this law is uncertain, but most probably it is later than 130 BC. About the problems concerning the identification and dating of the law see A. Lintott, *The quaestiones de sicariis et veneficis* and the Latin *lex Bantina*, *Hermes* 106 (1978) 125-138.

⁵¹ T. R. S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, vol. I, New York 1951, 474.

suffragium ferre is older than the ballot-laws, what then was the physical referent of *suffragium*? In fact, at the time of the written vote *suffragium* had become something intangible: it was not the *tabella* but something that was written on it. Hence a voting tablet was a *tabella suffragiorum* (*Tabula Hebana* 18-19), and if there was no vote on it, it was «*seine suffragio*». ^{52,53}

Conclusion

To sum up, Dionysius describes a voting method by tokens (*psephoi*) which could not have been *tabellae*. *Psephoi* were originally pebbles used at least in the Athenian popular assembly. From the semantic point of view *calculus* in Latin corresponds to Greek *psephos*. Thus it is natural to interpret Dionysius' *psephoi* as *calculi*. Another question, and far more difficult, is whether he was right in his view. Could this have been the method used in early Republican Rome? And if so, was it used only in judicial assemblies?⁵⁴ In addition to Dionysius' testimony there is an Ovidian passage, which seems to imply that the voting with the aid of pebbles had a sound of antiquity in it for a Roman of the Augustan age. Indeed, the Latin expression *suffragium ferre* would suggest that pebbles might have been used as balloting tokens. The use of pebbles would seem more 'primitive' a way of materializing a vote than points on waxed tablets.

⁵² *Lex repetund.* 54. Cf. also Cicero who writes in his *De legibus* (3,34): *tabella vitiosum occultaret suffragium*.

⁵³ It is not altogether impossible (though it seems to me unlikely) that *suffragium ferre* was a translation of the common Greek expression φέρειν τὴν ψῆφον (e.g. Aesch. Eum. 675 and 680; Plat. leg. 766b and 767d). After all, the first writers who might have provided our sources with some information about the voting method all wrote in Greek. Unfortunately we do not know what expressions the annalists used.

⁵⁴ In fact the use of pebbles would have been practicable in all balloting when votes were only 'aye' and 'no'. It is conceivable that the votes were recorded with *puncta* first in genuinely contested elections, that is in elections, where there were more candidates than open offices. This could have happened at the time when plebeians started to be elected, too. The first laws on *ambitus* are clear signs of real competition between the candidates.

These facts cannot be said to furnish any conclusive proof of the theory that there once was a vote by *calculi* in Rome. My conviction is, however, that since Dionysius' report seems probable and even slightly supported by other evidence, we should not disbelieve it. Therefore I suggest that there was an early period of voting by pebbles, the memory of which had been lost before the Romans started to write down their history in Latin.

Das Adespoton TrGF II F 123 b identifiziert

ROLF WESTMAN

Text und Apparat bei Kannicht – Snell lauten wie folgt:

123 b

σμικροῖς τὰ μεγάλα <—υ> πῶς ἔλοι τις ἄν
πόνουσιν; ἀμαθὲς καὶ τὸ βούλεσθαι τάδε

123 b Didym. Alexandr. de trinit. 1,36 (PG 39, 440 A)...γνώσκειν ἀξιωθέντες, ὡς καὶ τὸ μικρὸν οὐχ ἀλώσιμον τῇ διανοίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἀπίρως καὶ αὐτὸ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ὑπερφέρει ἐπιβολῶν – εἰ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ ἔργον, κἂν μικρὸν δοκῆ, μέγα ὡς θεοῦ· 'μικροῖς δὲ τὰ (δὲ vel τὰ secl. Merkelbach) – τάδε' | Cyrill. Alexandr. adv. Iulianum 9 (PG 76, 973 B) δυσκατόρθωτος γὰρ ἡ ἀρετὴ καὶ οὐ μικροῖς ἀλίσκεται πόνοις, ἄριστα δὲ μοι δοκεῖ φάναι τις τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησι ποιητῶν· 'σμικροῖς δὲ τὰ – τάδε'

Nach dem Fragm. adesp. 123 bei A. Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta* (2. Aufl. 1889) hatte B. Snell in seinem *Supplementum* zum Neudruck von Nauck (Hildesheim 1964) ein Fragment 123 a eingefügt; R. Kannicht und B. Snell haben in der neuen Sammlung *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta* (TrGF) vol. 2 (Göttingen 1981), S. 51 die beiden obigen Verse als 123 b aufgenommen.

Die Stellung eines Fragments im Adespota-Teil beruht bekanntlich auf der alphabetischen Reihenfolge der zitierenden Autoren. Hier haben die Herausgeber Didymos (den Blinden, RE Nr. 13) als den älteren gewählt. Ferner sieht man, daß sie auf jeden weiteren Kommentar verzichten: es gibt zu diesem Fragment ausnahmsweise keinen "unteren" Apparat.

Nun stellt jeder unvollständig zitierte griechische Vers – ob auf Stein, auf Papyrus oder auf literarischem Wege tradiert – eine Herausforderung an die Philologen dar: so steht es in unserem Falle mit dem ersten Vers.¹

Im Jahre 1990 habe ich zwei solche Herausforderungen angenommen, nämlich in dem Aufsatz "Rekonstruktionen zu tragischen Adespota", *Greek and Latin studies in memory of Cajus Fabricius*, Göteborg 1990 (*Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia* LIV), 90-96.

Überhaupt, wenn eine Supplierung eines altsprachlichen Textes aktuell ist, tut man gut daran, einem Rat zu folgen, den Kurt Latte 1951 (in seinem Oberseminar in Göttingen) erteilte: man solle sich jeweils *in seiner eigenen Sprache* vorzustellen versuchen, was im Textzusammenhang passend wäre. Offenbar (vorausgesetzt daß die Lücke richtig lokalisiert ist) geht es hier um ein Wort wie "Belohnung, Gewinn, Vorteil", und zwar im Plural. Man denkt leicht an ἄθλα oder κέρδη, aber diese sind metrisch unmöglich.² In Rost-Albrechts *Deutsch-griechischem Wörterbuch* (11. Aufl. 1889) fand ich unter "Belohnung" als erste Entsprechung δῶρον. Der Plural dieses Wortes stellt in der Tat eine einigermaßen plausible Ergänzung dar.

Anschließend fand ich in dem nützlichen, von mir schon für meinen erwähnten Aufsatz benutzten Artikel von Th.K. Stephanopoulos, *Tragica* I, ZPE 73 (1988) 207-247 auf S. 217 den Vorschlag, den ersten Vers von adesp. 123 b "e.g." so herzustellen: μικροῖσι γὰρ τὰ μεγάλα πῶς ἔλοι τις ἂν / πόνοισιν; Gleich nachher verweist St. für den *zweiten* Vers auf Eur. Tro. 965 und Eur. fr. 172,2.

Ebensowenig wie St. wußte ich im Augenblick des Lesens, daß er die Wahrheit (oder wenigstens eine Wahrheit) gefunden hatte.

Bald darauf trat eine Peripetie ein. (Die Verwendung dieses erlauchten Terminus sei durch Verweis auf Cicero, *Orator* 14 verteidigt: *parva enim magnis saepe rectissime conferuntur*.) Ich meine die einfache Tatsache, daß ich aus irgendeinem

¹ Herman Van Looy, in seiner Besprechung von TrGF 2, AC 52 (1983) 303 a.E., erwähnt 123 b unter den siebzehn oder achtzehn Adespota-Fragmenten "qui suscitent des doutes très sérieux". Es geht allerdings nicht hervor, worin diese Zweifel bestehen.

² Höchstens könnte man an μεγάλ' ἄεθλα denken, aber diese Form des Substantivs scheint den Tragikern fremd zu sein: einziger Beleg, soweit ich sehen kann, Soph. Trach. 505-6 ἐξῆλθον ἄεθλ' ἀγώνων (wie man sieht, in anderer Bedeutung). P.E. Easterling gibt in ihrer Edition (Cambridge 1982) keinen Kommentar zur Form ἄεθλα. Den für Mai 1990 angekündigten Trachiniae-Kommentar von Malcolm Davies (Clarendon Press) habe ich noch nicht gesehen.

Grunde die Verwendung des Verbs αἰρέω bei Euripides überblicken wollte. Da fand ich in J.T. Allen - G. Italie, A concordance to Euripides (Berkeley - Los Angeles - London 1954), S. 20, rechte Spalte gegen Mitte, die Form ἔλοι im Orestes belegt, und beim Aufschlagen las ich 694-695 als Teil einer Rede des Menelaos, in M.L. Wests Edition (Warminster 1987):

σμικροῖσι γὰρ τὰ μεγάλα πῶς ἔλοι τις ἄν
πόνουσιν; ἀμαθὲς καὶ τὸ βούλεσθαι τάδε.

Somit war die Identifikation unseres Adespotons eine Tatsache.

Einige abschließende Reflexionen

Es ist hier nicht der Ort, auf die Stellung unserer Verse innerhalb des Orestes einzugehen. Die Kommentare zu diesem Drama werden bei West S. 53 aufgezählt.³ Sie beschäftigen sich bei diesen Versen mit zwei Dingen: teils mit der Textkritik von 694,⁴ teils mit der Echtheitsfrage von 695. Hinsichtlich des letzteren Problems⁵ bietet C.W. Willink in seinem Kommentar (Oxford 1986) eine besonderes interessante Diskussion (S. 194 f.): er vermutet *zwischen* den beiden Versen Ausfall eines Trimeters wie <ποίοις δὲ τάνίκητα νικήσαιμεν ἄν>.

W. Biehl in seiner Teubneredition des Orestes (Leipzig 1975) führt zwar gewissenhaft die Stellen bei Didymos und Kyrillos in seiner Appendix altera (p. 120) auf, und demgemäß müssen diese auch Willink und West bekannt sein, deren Kommentare in den achtziger Jahren erschienen.

³ 1982 erschien in Coimbra eine mit Übersetzung und "notas" versehene Ausgabe des Orestes von A.F. de Oliveira e Silva (s. APh für 1982, Nr. 1665).

⁴ Denn die von West 1987 gedruckte und von Stephanopoulos 1988 für unser Adespoton unabhängig divinierte Textform wird keineswegs von allen Herausgebern akzeptiert.

⁵ Außer den Kommentaren wird es behandelt von M. van der Valk, Sur l'*Oreste* d'Euripide, REA 86 (1984) 183 (§ 10 Anf.); er tritt für Echtheit von 695 ein. – Ein Artikel des Jahres 1987 von M.J. O'Brien (s. APh für 1988, Nr. 1917), der die Verse 470-724 des Orestes behandelt, geht auf 694-695 nicht ein.

Die beiden Kirchenväter geben uns, wenn die lange Liste bei Biehl vollständig ist, in diesem im Altertum vielzitierten Drama die einzige indirekte Tradition für diese beiden Verse.⁶ Didymos führt das Zitat nur mit einem zwischen die zitierten Worte eingeschobenem φασί ein, und Kyrillos schreibt es "einem Dichter bei den Hellenen" zu: weder der eine noch der andere weiß offenbar, daß es sich um Verse des Euripides handelt. Und kein Euripides-Herausgeber, so viel ich sehen kann, weiß daß die Verse Orestes 694-695 seit dem Jahre 1981 als ein tragisches Adespoton veröffentlicht stehen.

Obwohl ein "Ergebnis" dieses Aufsatzes, ist die Identifikation natürlich nicht an sich bemerkenswert, wohl aber die Tatsache, daß es dem Jahre 1990 und einem bescheidenen Hyperboreer vorbehalten blieb, Trag. adesp. 123 b durch Zufall als Verse des Euripides zu erkennen.

⁶ Auf Papyrus gibt es sie ebenfalls nicht, s. L. Koenen – P.J. Sijpesteijn in ZPE 77 (1989) 261 n. 1. – P. Oxy. 11, 1370, ein längeres Stück mit Euripidesversen, enthält keinen Text zwischen den Versen 690 und 723 des Orestes.

DE NOVIS LIBRIS IUDICIA

Images of Authority. Papers presented to *Joyce Reynolds* on the occasion of her 70th birthday. Edited by *M.M. Mackenzie* and *C. Roueché*. Cambridge Philological Society, Suppl. Vol. no. 16. Cambridge 1989. 228 p. GBP 15.00.

This Festschrift contains twelve articles by former students of Prof. Joyce Reynolds at Newnham College, Cambridge. The common denominator in the articles is the notion of 'authority', whether it be considered political, religious or something else. Of particular interest to the present reviewer was Mary Beard's paper entitled 'Acca Larentia gains a son: myths and priesthoods at Rome' in that it fully recognizes the value of the religious tradition of the Romans themselves, which is too often dismissed as worthless and late fabrication especially by British and German scholars. In the field of Greek religion we may mention Anna Collinge's article on the characteristics of satyrs in the 6th-5th century B.C. literature and art. We have here a brief but useful morphology of the various traits of this mythical collective and the contexts in which satyrs appear. Agamemnon's *skeptron* in the Iliad is the subject of Pat Easterling. The thorough analysis of the relevant passages allows one to see in the essential fluidity of the image of the *skeptron* an example of the subtlety of Homer's narrative technique. The history of the object itself (Il. 2, 100ff.) could perhaps have been given a more mythological treatment, i.e. what do its previous owners signify in Greek mythology as a whole, and why was it that precisely these persons were grouped together here? Among the other no less interesting papers are Margaret Alexiou, Women, marriage and death in the drama of Renaissance Crete; Elizabeth Archibald, Fathers and kings in Apollonius of Tyre; Lucilla Burn, The art of the state in fifth-century Athens; Elizabeth French, Dynamis in the archaeological record at Mycenae; Janet Huskinson, Face to face with authority: some scenes in fourth-century Christian sarcophagi; Mary Margaret Mackenzie, Aristotelian authority; Sheila Murnaghan, Trials of the hero in Sophocles' Ajax; Janet L. Nelson, Translating images of Authority: the Christian Roman emperors in the Carolingian world; and Charlotte Roueché, Floreat Perge!

Jaakko Aronen

Cirene e i Libyi. Quaderni di Archeologia della Libia 12. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1987. 432 p., 554 fig., 11 tav. ITL 700.000.

Questo volume raccoglie contributi del simposio "Cirene e i *Libyi*" tenutosi in due sessioni nel 1981 all'Università di Roma "La Sapienza" e all'Università di Urbino. Dico subito che si tratta di un volume molto importante i cui contributi raggiungono, in gran parte, una notevole qualità scientifica; anche la stampa è impeccabile. Per dare un'idea della sua ricchezza, ne riproduco prima il contenuto: L. Braccesi, Antenoridi, Veneti e Libyi; S. Tinè, Ceramica prebattiaca nell'area cirenea; I. Baldassarre, Tracce dell'abitato prebattiaco ad Ovest dell'Agorà di Cirene; G. Pugliese Carratelli, KYPHNAIKA; A. Laronde, Isocrate et Cyrène; M.T. Jerrary, Some observations about local influence on Greek sculpture in Cyrene; Fr. Chamoux, Diodore de Sicile et la Libye; D. White, Demeter Libyssa, Her Cyrenean cult in light of the recent excavations; C. Dobias-Lalou, Noyau grec et éléments indigènes dans le dialecte cyrénéen; P. Pensabene, Statuine fittili votive della *χώρα* cirenea; M.L. Lazzarini, Libyi nell'esercito di Cirene; E. Livrea, L'episodio libyco nel quarto libro delle "Argonautiche" di Apollonio Rodio; S. Stucchi, Il Naiskos "di Lysanias" riconsiderato; E. Fabbricotti, Divinità greche e divinità libie in rilievi di età ellenistica; O. Masson, Remarques d'onomastique cyrénéenne: quelques noms masculins en -is; S. Stucchi, L'architettura funeraria suburbana cirenaica in rapporto a quella della chora viciniore ed a quella libya ulteriore, con speciale riguardo all'età ellenistica; J. Reynolds, Libyans and Greeks in rural Cyrenaica; E. Catani, Per un'iconografia di Libya in età romana; L. Gasperini, Echi della componente autoctona nella produzione epigrafica cirenaica; M. Luni, Il Santuario rupestre *libyo* delle "Immagini" a fronte (Cirenaica). Testimonianze della cultura *libya* in ambiente greco-romano: originalità e dipendenza; L. Bacchielli, La scultura *libya* in Cirenaica e la variabilità delle risposte al contatto culturale greco-romano; J. Reynolds - L. Bacchielli, Catalogo delle stele funerarie antropomorfe; G. Caputo, Sinesio di Cirene tra Costantinopoli e i *Libii*.

Vediamo quindi che i contributi sono storici, archeologici e filologici e che anche la documentazione epigrafica gioca un ruolo importante. La primaria importanza del volume consiste nella larga ed estesa discussione dei materiali archeologici, nella quale vengono trattati, come documenti di confronto, anche materiali da altre regioni del mediterraneo, mettendo così in risalto i legami artistici con le vicine province fino alla Siria. Ma questi legami si possono evidenziare anche tramite analisi storiche e filologiche. O. Masson, ad es., nel suo breve, ma importante contributo su nomi maschili in -ις a Cirene, ha potuto dimostrare similitudini dell'onomastica di Cirene con quella cretese e cipriota.

Heikki Solin

Aristoteles: Athenaion Politeia. Edidit *Mortimer Chambers.* Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. BSB B.G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, Leipzig 1986. XX, 84 S., 4 Taf. M 33.50.

Die aristotelische Schrift ist nicht allzuoft ediert worden. In der Teubneriana wurde sie zum letzten Mal 1928 (Nachdr. 1961, 1968) von Hans Oppermann vorgelegt. Durch seine früheren Arbeiten am Berliner Papyrus und an Fragen der Textkonstituierung war Chambers gut angewiesen, diese neue Ausgabe zu erstellen. So ist eine neue, handliche, vorzüglich gedruckte Edition zustande gekommen, der man weite Verbreitung wünscht. Ärgerlich sind nur ganz unnötig im Text gebliebene Druckfehler, wie ταῦτας 19,9, δικαστηρίον 27,12 oder ἡ τὲ τίμησίς ἐστιν 64,19 für ἡ τε.

Heikki Solin

Vettii Valentis Antiocheni Anthologiarum libri novem. Edidit *David Pingree.* Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. BSB B.G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, Leipzig 1986. XXI, 583 S. M 168.

Der Astrologe Vettius Valens aus Antiocheia verfaßte zwischen 152-162 n.Chr., wie aus den Horoskopen im Text hervorgeht, die neun Bücher Anthologiae. Das Werk erfuhr seit dem 3. Jh. verschiedenartige Überarbeitungen und Interpolationen. Es war bisher für die Philologen besonders durch die bekannte Ausgabe von Wilhelm Kroll zugänglich, und nun bietet David Pingree, der große Spezialist antiker Sternkunde, eine neue umfassende Edition innerhalb der Teubneriana. Diese Ausgabe ist gegenüber Kroll beträchtlich gewachsen, indem viele Additamenta und Appendices (von denen ein guter Teil hier erstmals publiziert wird) hinzugekommen sind. Man begrüßt freudig die neue, fachmännisch durchgeführte Edition, der man auch Leser außerhalb des engen Spezialistenkreises wünscht, denn das Werk ist als Zeugnis für Denkweisen seiner Zeit und in der Geschichte der Astrologie nicht ohne Interesse.

Heikki Solin

M. Tulli Ciceronis Scripta quae manserunt omnia. Fasc. 22: *Oratio pro P. Sestio.* Edidit *Tadeusz Maslowski.* Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. B.S.B. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, Leipzig 1986. XLVI, 83 S. M 34.

Die Rede für Sestius ist nicht uninteressant als Zeugnis für die schwierigen Jahre beiderseits um Ciceros Exil. Eine neue Ausgabe der Rede in der Teubneriana bedarf schon deswegen keiner Rechtfertigung. Es sei sofort gesagt, daß wir es mit einer hervorragenden

Editionsleistung zu tun haben. Ohne Zweifel liegt hier die derzeit beste Ausgabe der Sestiana vor, die etwa die von Cousin unlängst (1965) besorgte Budé-Ausgabe klar übertrifft. Schon die Einleitung, wo ausführlich über die Textgeschichte referiert wird, ist ausgezeichnet. Der Text selbst bietet nicht viel Neues oder Überraschendes; fünf eigene Konjekturen hat Maslowski in den Text aufgenommen. Ein paar von ihnen sind erwägenswert, nicht aber *Gavi Oleli hortu a calatis Gaviis* usw. in 72, die er als 'post alios' gewählt bezeichnet. *Olel(i)us* wäre als Name ein Monstrum und kann deswegen nicht so stehen. Im Apparat verbucht Maslowski eine Menge von verschiedenen Emendationsversuchen, scheidet aber nicht genügend zwischen Wesentlichem und Unwesentlichem; darüber hinaus sind die Angaben im Apparat nicht immer korrekt, so wird Shackleton Bailey die Konjektur *Olilli* zugeschrieben; dieser stellt aber ausdrücklich fest, daß *Olelus* "inspires no confidence" (Two Studies 41); vgl. auch Onomasticon to Cicero's Speeches, 1988, 52 ("the cognomen is very doubtful"); von einem von Badian stammenden, in Sh.Bs Two Studies angeführten an sich ingenüösen Vorschlag schweigt der Editor gänzlich. Vor allem aber zu beanstanden ist, daß Maslowski (wie auch alle übrigen modernen Editoren) den beachtenswerten Vorschlag von Cichorius, Römische Studien, 1922, 241ff. totgeschwiegen hat, der versteht *Alter vero, non ille Serranus ab aratro sed ex desertore Gavio Laelio a Caiati<ni>s Gaviis in Calatinos Atilios insitus*. Auch wenn Cichorius mit einigen gewaltsamen Änderungen operieren muß, ist die Konjektur a priori gar nicht zu verwerfen, sie wird u.a. von der epigraphischen Überlieferung der nordcampanischen Stadt Caiatia unterstützt. – Dies ist nicht der einzige Fall, bei dem der Apparat nicht ausgewogen aufgebaut ist. Aber das sind teilweise nur Quisquilien. Im ganzen handelt es sich um eine ausgezeichnete Leistung, die sich lange Zeit als die beste Ausgabe der interessantesten, aber leider wenig gelesenen Rede bewähren wird. Es ist zu hoffen, daß – unbeschadet des zukünftigen Schicksals der Bibliotheca Teubneriana – die Reden Ciceros in dieser Reihe bald komplett vorliegen werden.

Heikki Solin

Titi Livi Ab urbe condita libri XXVIII-XXX. Recognovit Patricius G. Walsh. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. BSB B.G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, Leipzig 1986. XV, 155 S. M 44.

Die Ausgabe der Bücher 28-30 des livianischen Geschichtswerkes durch Walsh ist eine vielleicht noch hervorragendere Leistung als seine Edition der Bücher 26-27 in der Teubneriana (vgl. Arctos 1986, 257f.; 1989, 261) und hat als derzeit führende Ausgabe dieser Bücher zu gelten. Sie ist im Urteil ausgewogener als die Oxforder Ausgabe von Conway und Johnson, u.a. in der Bewertung und Wahl der Lesarten zwischen dem Puteanus (dem er weniger Glauben schenkt als manche seiner Vorgänger) und der

Spirensischen Tradition. – Überhaupt ist der Apparat übersichtlich und kritisch aufgebaut.

Wie in seiner Ausgabe von 26-27 ist Walsh auch hier mit seinen eigenen Konjekturen nicht gerade sparsam. Viele von ihnen sind ausgezeichnet und sollten ihren Weg in den Textus receptus finden. Andere könnten besser in den Apparat verbannt werden. Aber insgesamt sind Walshs Konjekturen von guter Qualität, und die Zahl der unnötigen oder gar schlechten Konjekturen ist geringer als in seiner Ausgabe von 26-27.

Im ganzen eine hervorragende Leistung, ein Meilenstein in livianischen Studien.

Heikki Solin

Peter E. Knox: Ovid's Metamorphoses and the Traditions of Augustan Poetry. Cambridge Philological Society, Suppl. Vol. no. 11. Cambridge 1986. V, 98 p. GBP 12.50.

It is a pleasure to recommend this book, a condensed version of a Harvard doctoral dissertation submitted in 1982. It is no doubt among the best in the great flood of books on Augustan poetry which have appeared over the last two decades. The author asserts that there is a close relationship between the *Metamorphoses* and Ovid's elegies and pays attention to non-epic tradition and the background of the *Metamorphoses* (he connects it in various ways with 'Callimachean poetics' and neoterics and associates the poem of the *Metamorphoses* with that of the *Aitia* of Callimachus). Even if perhaps not all of his assertions are totally convincing, on the whole we have here a scholarly piece of work. The many sound stylistic and metrical observations are also useful.

Heikki Solin

Cornelii Taciti Libri qui supersunt. Ediderunt *Stephanus Borzsák* et *Kenneth Wellesley*. Tomus I, pars secunda: *Ab excessu Divi Augusti libri XI-XVI.* Edidit *Kenneth Wellesley*. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. BSB B.G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, Leipzig 1986. XXI, 201 S. M 45.

Nach dem Tode von Erich Koestermann hat seine bewährte Tacitusausgabe dasselbe Schicksal der Spaltung ereilt wie manche andere Teubnereditionen, wie etwa Horaz und Properz. Wie es in der Zukunft nach der Einigung Deutschlands weiter gehen wird, weiß wohl noch niemand, und ob die von Wellesley begonnene Ausgabe der historischen Bücher der Leipziger Reihe je zu Ende geführt wird, wird sich zeigen.

Die neue Ausgabe konnte kaum in bessere Hände gegeben werden. Wellesley hat sich durch lange Beschäftigung die sachliche und sprachliche Kompetenz eines profunden

Tacitus-Kenners angeeignet. Ein Vergleich mit der Stuttgarter Rivalin durch Heubner ist wohl am Platze und zeigt die Überlegenheit von Wellesleys Ausgabe in manchen Punkten. Was die Überlieferung betrifft, hat er die Idee von der Eigenüberlieferung des Leidensis (L), für die er einmal in vorderster Linie kämpfte, aufgegeben, und so bestehen mehr kaum nennenswerte Divergenzen im Urteil von Fragen der handschriftlichen Grundlegung der Ausgabe. Aber dann beginnen die Unterschiede. Schon der kritische Apparat ist in den zwei Ausgaben unterschiedlich aufgebaut, und erst recht der Text selbst weist große Unterschiede auf, denn im Vergleich mit der behutsamen Textgestaltung Heubners erweist sich Wellesley als deutlich konjekturefreudiger; dies trifft vor allem auf alte loci vexati zu. Mein Eindruck ist, daß Wellesleys Ausgabe frischer und avancierter ist als die von Heubner, ohne die Verdienste der letztgenannten schmälern zu wollen. Mit seiner Eigenwilligkeit und Konjekturefreudigkeit geht Wellesley bisweilen vielleicht etwas zu weit, so daß seine Ausgabe nicht die für lange Zeit maßgebende Standardausgabe geworden ist. Aber jedenfalls haben wir hier ein vorzügliches Arbeitsinstrument, das die Forschung um den Tacitustext durch interessante Anregungen in Schwung hält.

Heikki Solin

S.H. Braund: Beyond Anger: A Study of Juvenal's Third Book of Satires. Cambridge Classical Studies. Cambridge University Press, 1988. VIII, 302 p. GBP 25.00.

This book provides a fresh approach to Juvenal, correcting the one-sided picture of him as a poet of *indignatio*. Though the author analyses Bk 3, the satires 7-9, she first surveys Bks 1 and 2, showing that besides anger, they also evince irony and parody. In Bk 3, anger diminishes even further and irony grows stronger.

The author's strength lies in a minute analysis of the satires. Thus, in her discussion of satire 8, ostensibly a reiteration of the mainly Stoic commonplace of the superiority of personal *virtus* over inherited *nobilitas*, she maintains that in the poem there is much more than that. After reviewing all the possible sources for Juvenal's treatment of the antithesis of virtue and nobility – some of the possible sources seem to me rather far-fetched, while Cicero is overlooked – she argues that Juvenal had also incorporated in it ideas from the on-going discourse on the requirements of a good governor. But then she contends that Juvenal was not quite serious. He was after all not a moralist but a pseudo-moralist, who instead of stern moral advice supplied irony, parody, and even humour.

Though one may disagree with Ms Braund on single points, it cannot be denied that she has presented a good reinterpretation of the parts of the Corpus Iuvenale which are often dismissed. She has also on the whole successfully avoided the pitfalls of over-interpretation. Besides the detailed analyses, the author surveys the single Books as units.

Thus she asserts that Bk 3 had been carefully arranged as a poetic unity: Satires 7 and 9 thematically frame Satire 8, which is the longest and most weighty of them. In the concluding chapter, she gives an overview of Bks 4 and 5, in which ironical detachment and realistic and even cynical pessimism, combined with a humane attitude to mankind, become even more noticeable.

Iiro Kajanto

G.R. Evans: The Thought of Gregory the Great. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series, vol. 2. Cambridge University Press, 1986. XI, 164 p. GBP 25.00.

This seems to be a somewhat superficial piece of work. The author turns her attention to Adolf Harnack's argument that Gregory transmitted a diluted Augustinianism into the Middle Ages. But unfortunately she lacks familiarity and understanding of the substantial literature on Gregory's thinking. One seeks in vain for names of scholars familiar to the average classical scholar. Particularly strange are the pages dedicated to philological aspects of the subject. Gregory is a most interesting person to classical philologists and ancient historians, and it is to be hoped that classical scholars will deal in more depth with this eminent exponent of both Antiquity and the Middle Ages. There is much work to be done here.

Heikki Solin

Smaragdus: Liber in partibus Donati. Cura et studio B. Löfstedt, L. Holtz, A. Kibre †. Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis LXVIII. Typographi Brepols Editores Pontificii, Turnholti 1986. XCV, 313 p. BEL 4250.

A. Kibres Vorarbeiten (siehe S. v) bilden den Ausgangspunkt dieser Edition, die den ersten vollständigen, kritisch hergestellten Text des Traktats darbietet (zu den früheren fragmentarischen Ausgaben siehe S. v). Louis Holtz, der auch einen Teil der Handschriften kollationiert hat (ferner S. v), ist für die inhaltlich-kulturhistorische und stemmatologische Kapitel verantwortlich, während Bengt Löfstedt eine Übersicht über die Sprache gibt. Über die Editionsprinzipien "sei Folgendes mitgeteilt: Klassische Orthographie wird durchgeführt, wenn nicht die alten (mit Majuskeln bezeichneten) Handschriften einhellig eine unklassische Schreibung haben. – Von den jüngeren (mit Minuskeln bezeichneten) Handschriften werden nur *f*, *l* und *v* regelmäßig zitiert, und zwar in erster Linie wenn nur sie die richtige Lesart bewahrt haben oder ihre Lesarten mit denen einer oder mehreren alten Handschriften übereinstimmen (S. vi)." Ferner teilt

Prof. Dr. Löfstedt mit (S. v), daß Adele Kibre von den Hss. A und B vollständige Kollationen hinterlassen hatte, die er selbst "nochmals an Hand von Photokopien kollationiert (S. v)" habe. Die Hss. D E F H P (die aus dem 9. und 10. Jh. stammen) seien ausschließlich von Photokopien und Mikrofilmen transkribiert.

Outi Merisalo

Martini Dorpii Naldiceni Orationes IV. Cum Apologia et litteris adnexis. Edidit Iosephus IJsewijn. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. BSB B.G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, Leipzig 1986. XX, 145 S. M 46.

Martinus Dorpius (vulgo Maarten van Dorp), vir clarissimus, qui Naldovici (vulgo Naaldwijk) apud Hollandos natus est anno millesimo quadringentesimo octogesimo quinto, mortuus autem Lovanii anno millesimo quingentesimo vicesimo quinto, iuvenis studiis theologicis a bonis litteris aversus, tamen amicos grammaticos et poetas semper coluit, pietatis erga Erasmus, inter alios, haud quaquam immemor. Cura Henrici De Vocht Lovaniensis iam aliqua opuscula Dorpiana nostro tempore edita sunt (vide praesertim praefationis paginas IX usque ad XIV necnon Conspectum librorum novae huius editionis paginis XVIII-XIX contentum). Orationes autem nunc primum aetate nostra editione dignatur Iosephus IJsewijn, vir de studiis Neolatinis optime meritis, litterasque ad eas pertinentes necnon Apologiam utilissime lectoribus praebuit. Omnia adnotationibus indicibusque auctavit ad res historicas geographicasque intellegendas. Textum Dorpianum ex "uno vel duobus exemplaribus editionis antiquae" (p. XIV) eruit, "studii pretium non esse" putans "multam operam pecuniamque perdere evolvendis excutiendisque aliis etiam exemplaribus ut unam alteramve mendam in prisca typographia olim correctam" deprehenderet (ibid.). Ecce principia optima, quibus editiones plurimas longinquis sine laboribus conficiamus! Constat enim operam pecuniamque studiis non esse perdenda. In textu constituendo cum orthographia Dorpiana liberrime actum est – clarissimo enim editori notum est Dorpium "ea in re (sc. orthographica) neglegentiolem fuisse" (p. XV), praesertim cum certo de norma antiqua hoc sciamus: "quam si novissent litterati saec. XV-XVI, certo certius adoptavissent, quippe qui antiquorum exempla ceteris in rebus tam religiose suspicerent" (ibid.). Editor ergo omnia ea, quae cum norma antiqua nobis familiari non congruerent, correxit, ut "confusionem" (ibid.) deplorabilem *ae/e* caudata/*e*, *ci/ti*, *yi*, *qu/c*, *t/tt*. Erroribus Dorpianis typographicisque ita sublatis textum nitidum opera pecuniaque non perditis hominibus nostri temporis legendum praebuit. Vae viris illorum saeculorum obscurorum qui editionibus recte purgatis gaudere more nostro non potuerint.

Outi Merisalo

Rosalind Thomas: Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens. Cambridge Studies in Oral and Literate Culture 18. Cambridge University Press, 1989. X, 321 p. GBP 27.50.

This book re-examines literacy and the use of writing in Athens against the background of oral communication. It also analyses the character and process of Athens' oral traditions and their relation to written historiography in the light of more recent research results on literate and non-literate societies. The author examines literacy, written record and oral communication in ancient Greece, the role of family tradition, the intrusion of writing as far as genealogy and family tradition were concerned, polis tradition and the epitaphios, as well as the liberation of Athens and the 'Alcmaeonid tradition'. The author stresses the complex character of the relation between the general values of the society and the emphases and omissions of their traditions. This has to be taken into account when assessing and explaining the changes which occur in these traditions. The text is followed by an appendix on early Greek lists, as well as a chronological table from 1600 B.C. to 322 B.C., and a bibliography together with indices.

Outi Merisalo

Scena e spettacolo nell' antichità. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio (Trento, 28-30 marzo 1988), a cura di *Lia de Finis*. Teatro Studi e testi 7. Leo S. Olschki Editore, Città di Castello 1989. 322 p.

Questo volume di Atti, già eccezionale per il fatto che di esser uscito solo un anno dopo lo svolgimento del II Convegno di Trento, sotto gli auspici dell' Associazione Italiana di Cultura Classica (A.I.C.C.), riunisce i contributi di 18 studiosi di diversi paesi. Tra i temi trattati citiamo le strutture architettoniche e spazi politici nel teatro greco (O. Longo), diversi aspetti del coro (D. del Corno, F. Montanari), livelli di lingua, gestualità, rapporti di spazio e situazione drammatica sulla scena attica (L.E. Rossi), la musica nella tragedia greca (G. Comotti), tecniche teatrali (E. Pöhlmann), la funzione dei nomi dei personaggi nella commedia plautina e nella tragedia senecana (G. Petrone), il teatro bizantino (E.V. Maltese) e il teatro del Cinquecento (G. Moretti). Il valore di questa interessantissima rassegna di studi sarebbe stato ancora aumentato con l'aggiunta di indici, vista soprattutto la diversità degli argomenti trattati. Rimaniamo in attesa dei prossimi contributi trentini agli studi sul teatro antico.

Outi Merisalo

W. Sidney Allen: Vox Latina. The Pronunciation of Classical Latin. 2nd edition. Cambridge University Press 1989. XIV, 133 p. GBP 8.95.

The first edition of this useful book was published in 1965. It was reprinted in 1970, and in 1978 the author produced a new edition, which, however, consisted of an almost unaltered text with some 15 pages of addenda. Now this second edition has been reprinted; as far as I can see, there are no substantial alterations in the text.

Heikki Solin

Frédérique Biville: Graphie et prononciation des mots grecs en latin. Bibliothèque de l'Information grammaticale (Société pour l'Information grammaticale). Editions Peeters (Leuven), Paris 1987. 31 p. BEL 350.

Ce bref ouvrage constitue un *vade-mecum* qui, en une série de paragraphes consacrés aux voyelles, diphtongues, consonnes (ou signes consonantiques) du grec, propose au lecteur les grilles de correspondances, translittérations, ou adaptations, rencontrées en latin. Cet opuscule, comme le dit l'auteur lui-même, se veut avant tout pratique et accessible; il ne s'agit que de schémas récapitulatifs, visant à donner un aperçu d'ensemble de la variété des traitements graphiques et phonétiques rencontrés dans les mots latins d'origine grecque, et permettant de les comprendre et de les dater. Pour disposer d'explications plus abondantes, il faut attendre la publication de la thèse de l'auteur, "Les emprunts du latin au grec. Approche phonétique", soutenue en 1983, mais pas encore publiée.

En attendant la parution de cet opus magnum, il n'y a pas lieu ici de discuter sur des détails. Disons seulement que l'auteur a aussi tenu compte des anthroponymes d'origine grecque. Ici le traitement pourrait être approfondi. Par ex. dans le paragraphe consacré aux quantités vocaliques et au caractère intensif de l'accent en grec, p. 10, on pourrait ajouter une série d'attestations anthroponymiques de noms en -οια qui, dans la plupart des cas, sont écrits dans les inscriptions latines avec -ia: Εὔνοια > *Eunia*, Εὐπλοια > *Euplia*, etc.

Heikki Solin

Mustafa Sayar – Peter Siewert – Hans Taeuber: Inschriften aus Hierapolis-Kastabala. Bericht über eine Reise nach Ost-Kilikien. Mit einem Beitrag von James Russell. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte, Bd 547. Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 1989. 40 S., 20 Taf. mit 39 Abb. ATS 210.

This small collection sets out to be a report of an Austrian epigraphic expedition to eastern Cilicia in October 1988. The enterprise was a sequel to earlier epigraphic Forschungsreisen to Cilicia, which were undertaken in 1891-92, and in 1914 (R. Heberdey, J. Keil, A.D. Wilhelm; cf. *ÖJh.* 18 [1915] Beibl. 1-60). The results of the project are planned to be included in an epigraphic Corpus which will contain about 90 inscriptions from the Hierapolis-Castabala district (modern Bodrum Kalesi in the province of Adana). The present catalogue presents only 31 Neufunde from 1988. Eight inscriptions were found among the ruins of Hierapolis, the rest from the surrounding villages. On p. 34 the authors also report that they have been able to locate an aqueduct crossing the Pyramus some 5 kms north of Hierapolis.

The list begins with a fragmentary dedication to Faustina, Nea Hera. The editor (M.S.) is evidently right in that she was Faustina the Younger. It is also entirely possible that she was honoured either because she stayed in the region, or because she died at Halala in Cappadocia (subsequently called Faustino polis) on her way back from Antioch in A.D. 176. The editor proposes a date "wohl nach 176 n.Chr.". One cannot, however, exclude either that the Hierapolitans had paid honours to Faustina at some earlier event; in fact, any date following her official elevation as *Augusta* in A.D. 147 could be considered. The epithet "New Hera" is here for the first time epigraphically attested for Faustina (see p. 10 n. 14: on l. 5 write "Tranquillina", not "Tranquilla". Some further instances of "New Hera" may be found in E. Kettenhofen, *Die syrischen Augustae in der historischen Überlieferung* [1979] 118f., 155). – Inscr. 2 is a statue base for Caracalla which the editors (J.R. & M.S.) rightly assign to about A.D. 215. Is there a trace of a letter on l. 8 after the last sigma? – Inscr. 3 is a dedication to Gordian III. – In inscr. 4 Siewert restores the father's name as $\Lambda[\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\upsilon]$ on the basis of prosopographical evidence. This is indeed plausible. Moreover, the photograph (fig. 5) may give further support to his idea: it seems to me that the shape of the letters IOY is still discernible.

Inscriptions 5-7 were dedicated to various deities: Asclepius and Hygieia (5), Helios (6), and Theos Pyretos (7). The last one is of particular interest as it shows the first epigraphic record of that deity.

Nos. 8-19 are "Rundaltäre", inscribed either $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\iota\varsigma$ or $\Sigma\epsilon\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ (once $\Sigma\epsilon\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ $\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota\varsigma$; this expression was hitherto known only from the 4th cent. A.D.). The date is probably between the late 2nd and the middle of the 3rd century A.D. One would imagine that such stones were not always used as altars in the proper sense of the word, but were rather boundary marks of a Sebasteion or of some other building serving for the Imperial

cult. In the Catalogue of Imperial temples and shrines in Asia Minor compiled by S.R.F. Price (The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor [1984] 249ff.), Hierapolis was still without an entry of her own.

From the remaining twelve funerary inscriptions nos. 20 and 21 deserve to be mentioned here. The first refers to a large sepulchral monument (heroon) erected by a certain Pompeianus in the 2nd or 3rd century A.D., and the other gives a new fragment of a metric funerary epigram of which the right side has been published in 1987 (G. Dagron - D. Feissel, *Inscriptions de Cilicie*, no. 122).

Summing up, what we have here is an accurate and professionally composed piece of work. The booklet concludes with useful indices. The photographs, however, leave a great deal to be desired. Often blurred, and taken without supplementary light, they are clearly not of a quality that one would expect in a first-class epigraphic publication. In some cases, parts of the text are not visible at all (see esp. the circular monuments, *passim*). – It would be a pleasure to see the epigraphic Corpus of Hierapolis-Castabala published in the near future.

Mika Kajava

Supplementa Italica. Nuova serie 4, 5. Unione Accademica Nazionale. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 1988, 1989. 343 + 261 p.

It is a great pleasure indeed to find that there are now two excellent new volumes of the now well-established series *Supplementa Italica*, published under the competent guidance of Professor Silvio Panciera. Vol. 3 was published as recently as 1987, and lately a new volume has been appearing each year. Nor, apparently, is the pace slowing down: vol. 6 has in fact already been published at the time of writing (late 1990). There is still a great deal of work to be done before the series is complete (cf. the interesting calculations of M. Guarducci and S. Panciera in vol. 5, p. 7f.), and as a result we are promised two new volumes a year in the future (vol. 5, p. 8). The prospects for the *Supplementa Italica* – and, accordingly, for those interested in Italian epigraphy – certainly look good.

Volumes 4 and 5 contain material from seven Italian cities as follows: from regio II there is Rubi (in vol. 5), dealt with by M. Chelotti; from regio III Regium Iulium (vol. 5) by M. Buonocore; from regio IV Sulmo (vol. 4) and Superaequum (vol. 5) by M. Buonocore, Trebula Suffenas (vol. 4) by M.G. Granino Cecere; and Forum Novum (vol. 5) by G. Filippi; from regio IX there is Albingaunum (vol. 4) by G. Mennella; and finally there are, from regio X, the two cities Bellunum (vol. 4) and Feltria (vol. 5), dealt with by L. Lazzaro. Trebula Suffenas offers the largest number of new inscriptions, no less than 134 (of these more than 50 are, however, insignificant fragments); next come Sulmo (100) and Forum Novum (95); at the other end there is Rubi with only 7 new texts to

offer. All contributions are of a high quality, and we are not only offered new texts, but also useful commentaries on them.

Again there is much of interest. Of those inscriptions not known earlier, or known only from publications which are not readily accessible, the most interesting is, however, surely Sulmo 58, a long text where the parents lament over the death of their six children. Only a grandson is left, *nepotulus noster Thiasus, qui est nobis derelictus ex Pudente filio inmaturus*; Thiasus is asked to take care of the tomb, *per tuorum maiorum misericordiam*. If someone should ask him *qui hoc comportarit*, he should answer: *Avus meas Murranus; nam ipsa miseria docet etiam barbaros scribere misericordias*. Murranus is, as it happens, a barbarian, for he comes from Pannonia, and as he is also a sick man he should be excused for possible mistakes: *et nunc rogo vos omnes natos nascentesque ut si quid la<p>sus me praeterit hominem barbarum natu Pannunium, multis ulceri<bu>s et malis perturbatum, ignoscatis rogo* (sic). The readers of William V. Harris' *Ancient Literacy* (1989) will note lines 41ff., [*hunc*] *titulumque quicumque legerit aut lege[ntem] auscultarit*.

Of course there are many other important or at least interesting texts, but let us just have a look at a few of the inscriptions.

Sulmo 65: *Lollia C.f.f. po(suit)*. The filiation is explained by M. Buonocore as being equivalent to *C.f. C.n.*, the reader being referred to the observations of S. Priuli, *NSA* 1979, 340f. (that *C.f.f.* should be interpreted as *Cai filii filius/filia = C.f. C.n.* is also, by the way, the idea of W. Seston, *Scripta varia* [1980] 322ff.). But Priuli (and Seston) are surely wrong, for this idea leads to quite impossible interpretations (Seston e.g., *op.cit.* 326, thinks that *Cn. Mucius C.f. Ste.* in *CIL IX 1042* is not the father but the grandfather of the two other *Mucii* mentioned in the inscription, *Rufus* and *Bassus*, both with the filiation *Cn.f.f.*; for the correct interpretation see my *Die römischen Vornamen* 224, 285). Their idea is refuted by the inscription from *Aquinum*, *Rend.Linc.* 1973, 477 no. 19 (incorrectly rendered in *AE* 1973, 187), where a *M. Clodius M.f.f.* is the son of *M. Clodius A.f.* A filiation like *C.f.f.* simply means that somebody was not only *C.f.* but the son (or the daughter) of a *Gaius* named in the same inscription or in an inscription set up in the vicinity; the funeral inscription of our *Lollia's* father, *C. Lollius*, must thus originally have been set up beside the daughter's.

Trebula Suffenas 13: Britannico, not Brita-.

Albingaunum 11: The man named first, of whose name only the cognomen [*B*]arbar[us] is still extant, is surely the son of *Lucretia* and *C. Virius T.f.* (for examples of sons of men without cognomina being given a cognomen, see *Die röm. Vornamen* 284ff.); accordingly, he should not be given the praenomen *T.*, but the filiation *C.f.*

Regium Iulium 8: I am not prepared to believe that the man honoured is the consul of 154 (and that the inscription is from the 120s or 130s); almost everything in this inscription points to a later date, the letter forms, the abbreviation *Sext.* of the nomen, the

form *Vetur.* of the tribe, the title *c.p.*; I think Barbieri was right in assigning this text to the consul of 197.

Forum Novum 25: The items *in Sabi[ni]s* and *Foro N[ovo]* must belong together, so that it is better not to put a comma between *Sabi[ni]s* and *Foro*.

Olli Salomies

Atti del Convegno di studi nel centenario della morte di Luigi Bruzza 1883-1983. Istituto di Belle Arti – Società storica Vercellese – Gruppo archeologico Vercellese. Cassa di Risparmio di Vercelli, 1987. 470 p.

Il padre barnabita Luigi Bruzza fu indubbiamente uno dei più grandi epigrafisti italiani del secolo scorso (cf. N. Parise in DBI 14, Roma 1972, 739-42). Alcuni dei suoi scritti sono stati ancora fino a poco tempo fa fondamentali per gli storici, per es. 'Iscrizioni dei marmi grezzi' apparso negli Ann.Inst. 42 (1870), e superato solo con J.C. Fant, *Cavum Antrum Phrygiae. The Organization and Operations of the Roman Imperial Marble Quarries in Phrygia* (BAR Int. S. 482), 1989.

L'interesse di Bruzza per le iscrizioni sul c.d. instrumentum domesticum non era ristretto ai marmi (su quale tema E. Dolci, Luigi Bruzza ed i marmi lunensi), ma toccava altro materiale come le anfore (in proposito si veda il lungo contributo di L. Brecciaroli Taborelli sulle anfore di Vercellae) e le fistule acquarie. A quanto pare, il suo studio sulle fistule con segni cristiani in BCAR 6 (1878) 132 costituisce ancora l'ultima parola su questo soggetto. Bruzza fu anche lo scopritore di alcune fistule stampate, e l'intervento di G. Paci, Gli interessi di Luigi Bruzza per le iscrizioni del territorio tiburtino, ne presenta alcune finora inedite, tratte dagli appunti del barnabita: [-]rtius *Plocamus fec.* e *T. Sabidius T.f.* [-].

In occasione del centenario della morte, l'opera di Luigi Bruzza ricevette attenzione in due occasioni, sia sotto forma di un convegno, sia con una "Tornata di studi epigrafici" organizzata dal gruppo di ricerca "Bartolomeo Borghesi" dell'Univ. di Bologna, con adesione dell'AIEGL. Nel presente volume sono pubblicati 25 contributi di entrambe le occasioni. Molti degli scritti presentano materiale rilevante per la figura di Luigi Bruzza sia come uomo che come studioso. Nel primo intervento G.P. Romagnani scrive su 'Luigi Bruzza e la cultura piemontese: archeologia, storia, politica', mentre altrove vengono trattate la corrispondenza e le relazioni di padre Bruzza con altri personaggi, per es. l'illustre G.B. De Rossi (di S. Pagano), Costanzo Gazzera (L. Levi Momigliano), Giuseppe Colombo (C. Barelli), Carlo Promis (L. Taborelli) e Camillo Leone (A. Rosso).

In altri interventi, alcuni dei quali menzionati sopra, viene più dettagliatamente trattato il lavoro epigrafico svolto da Luigi Bruzza. Tutto sommato, con la pubblicazione di questo volume si è degnamente onorata la memoria del padre barnabita. Gli studi qui presenti serviranno ai futuri studiosi, non solo a quelli interessati alla persona di Luigi Bruzza, ma anche a quelli che continuano a percorrere i suoi stessi interessi, per es. l'*instrumentum domesticum*.

Christer Bruun

La terza età dell'epigrafia. Colloquio AIEGL - Borghesi 86 (Bologna, ottobre 1986), a cura di *Angela Donati*. Epigrafia e antichità 9. Fratelli Lega Editori, Faenza 1988. 422 p. ITL 145.000.

In questo volume si pubblicano i risultati del V dei Colloqui promossi dal Centro di ricerche per le Officine lapidarie "Bartolomeo Borghesi". L'argomento del Colloquio, la "terza età" dell'epigrafia, si colloca convenientemente nella tradizione degli studi della Scuola epigrafica bolognese. Con il termine proprio di "terza età" dell'epigrafia, la cui definizione è dovuta a Gabriel Sanders, si presentano i limiti tematici del Colloquio stesso, destinato ad esaminare l'evoluzione dei linguaggi epigrafici tra l'antico e il medioevo, sia la loro caduta e sopravvivenza che il loro rinnovamento graduale.

L'abbondante e svariato contenuto di questi Atti si articola in 17 contributi, alcuni dei quali sono seguiti da interventi e repliche: A. Chastagnol, *Le formulaire de l'épigraphie latine officielle dans l'antiquité tardive* [elenco di varie formule onorifiche, titoli, signa, etc., utile soprattutto per la datazione delle iscr. tardoantiche]; A. Giardina, *Amor civicus. Formule e immagini dell'evergetismo romano nella tradizione epigrafica*; A.F. Bellezza, *Caratterizzazione epigrafica ed articolazione storiografica*; E. Ercolani Cocchi, *Epigrafia monetale dal tardo antico alla prima età bizantina*; C. Carletti, "Epigrafia cristiana", "epigrafia dei cristiani": alle origini della terza età dell'epigrafia; L. Pietri, *Pagina in parete reserata: épigraphie et architecture religieuse*; A. Sartori, *Formularii funerarii cristiani: la tradizione innovata*; G.G. Pani, *Forma, linguaggio e contenuti delle dediche epigrafiche nei titoli ansati (IV-IX sec. d.C.)*; A. Carile, *Titoli aulici e funzioni amministrative nelle epigrafi bizantine. Continuità e mutamento fra VII e IX secolo*; J. Arce, *Epigrafía de la Hispania tardorromana de Diocleciano a Teodosio: problemas de historia y de cultura*; E. Marin, *L'épigraphie chrétienne et l'épigraphie du Haut Moyen Age de Salone et de Split*; E. Popescu, *Traits caractéristiques de l'épigraphie dans les régions du Bas-Danube aux IVe-VIe siècles*; N. Duval, *L'épigraphie funéraire chrétienne d'Afrique: traditions et ruptures, constantes et diversités*; M. Silvestrini, *Epitafi pagani di età tardoantica: esempi dalla regio secunda*; L. Sensi, *La documentazione epigrafica di Spoletium: appunti*; G. Mennella, *Miliari tardo-romani sull'itinerario falisco della*

Flaminia; G. Sanders, La perennité du message épigraphique: de la communauté chrétienne élitaires du Bas-Empire au corps professoral de l'Université médiéval de Bologne. – Alla fine M. Le Glay dà conto dei risultati del Colloquio.

Mika Kajava

Codices Vaticani Latini. Codices 9734-9782 (Codices Amatiani). Recensuit Marcus Buonocore. Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codices manu scripti recensiti iussu Ioannis Pauli II Pontificis Maximi. In bibliotheca Vaticana, MCMLXXXVIII. CII, 171 p. ITL 140.000.

Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum quicumque adit, ei in plerisque voluminibus nomen Hieronymi Amati Savignanensis saepius occurrit, qui per multos annos, quibus Romae degebat, inscriptionibus antiquis indagandis operam dedit effusionibusque sua aetate institutis assidue adfuit. Servantur in codicibus Vaticanis 9734-9778 pugillares eius plurimi repleti inscriptionibus manu eius exaratis, maximam partem aut urbanis aut ad agrum Romanum civitatesque suburbanas pertinentibus; nec tamen desunt tituli aliarum civitatum Italicarum (aliquotiens etiam Graeciae inscriptiones memorantur). Ex quibus Amati ipse descripsit plurimas urbanas suburbanas, adiecit alias suppeditatas ab amicis Capranesio, Gerhardo, Odescalchio, Sartio, Vescovalio aliis. Commemorantur anni 1820, 1824-1829, 1833; lapides referuntur mille fere quingenti.

Hos codices Marcus Buonocore, Bibliothecae Apostolicae lector, iuvenis de rebus epigraphicis iam optime meritis, nunc edidit et diligenter illustravit (codices 9779-9782 ab eo item descripti ad artem epigraphicam non pertinent). Post perutilia prolegomena et comparisonem numerorum sequitur descriptio ipsorum codicum necnon indices nominum et rerum.

Titulos novos nonnullos continent codices, de quibus auctor p. CI-CII elenchum dat; removendus est autem 9734 f. 76, n. 130 DIIS / MANIBVS / SERGIVS / LAIS // DIIS MANIBVS / QVINTVS / MVTIVS, qui bis editus adhuc Romae in aedibus Mattei extat: A. Licordari, in: Palazzo Mattei di Giove: Le antichità, a cura di L. Guerrini, Romae 1982, p. 179 n. 43; Fr. Sinn, Stadtrömische Marmorurnen, Mogontiaci 1987, p. 151 n. 237. Ego Arctos 19 (1985) 310, titulum falsum diiudicavi, id quod nunc etiam ab Amatio confirmatur (deest nescio qua de causa inter inscriptiones urbanas falsas CIL VI fasc. 5). – Haud multum novi tituli inediti praebent, aliquid tamen non neglegendum, ut patet ex his observationibus:

9737 f. 50^V, 69 = 9776 f. 11, 17 C. *Craecani Urbani* novum gentilicium *Craecanius Graecanius* praebet.

9747 f. 44^V, 107 praebet novum cognomen *Senatrix* in quo agitur de forma feminina cognominis *Senator*. Magni momenti est novum testimonium quia monstrat Romanos

cognomen *Senator* cum appellativo *senator* colligasse, quamquam secundum dogma vulgatum *Senator* potius nomen Celticum esse debet.

9752 f. 1, 3: [---]HRODAS videtur esse *Aphrodas*, cfr. CIL VI 18443. Moretti, IGUR 1145.

9757 f. 90^V, 23 (titulus Samius): idem Meneclis fortasse Michel 899 A-D.

9758 f. 29, 52: pondus ex lapide Tiburtino (erat Romae) hoc textu praeditum *L. Ampius Aper, C. Sufenas Volasenna Severus*. In mentem venit C. Volasenna Severus, consul suffectus a. 44 p.Chr.n.

9762 f. 55^V, 45 ("Framm(ento) presso lo scarpellino al Tempio della Pace" Romae): [---] *Claro II* [---] / [---] *Dextra*[---]. Fortasse agitur de indicatione anni 146 quo Sex. Erucius Clarus consul II fuit.

9765 f. 31, 9: tessera gladiatoria nomen rarum *Chrysocomus* praebet.

9768 f. 14^V, 15 in me suspicionem movit, quamquam dicit Amati "lettere certissimamente antiche e di buona età imperiale".

9773 f. 20, 26 = 9776 f. 213, 390: hic titulus Caeretanus incipit M CLEPSINAS. Si M re vera praenomen est, sequitur, ut *Clepsinas* nomen gentilicium esse debeat. *Clepsina* adhuc cognomen tantum gentis Genuciae innotuit. Sed *Clepsinas* formatio gentilis originis Etruscae facilis intellectu.

9776 f. 11^V, 18 novum plumbarium M. Antonium Agathyrsum praebet. Fistula originis incertae, sed probabiliter Romae fuit.

9776 f. 19, 38: probabiliter *Veturius* legendum. Mirum videtur hominem ingenuum nullo cognomine praeditum seviratu fungi; fortasse inest error pro *IVvir*. Si titulus – quod fieri potest – Volsiniensis est, quattuorviratus plane cum eo municipio congruit.

9776 f. 215, 392 (Caere): D M S / FANNIAE LYSID[---] / QVAE V S[---] / ET CVR SEB H[---] / L HORAT PVLV[---] / VIIVIR EPVL IVVIR [---] / DIC Q VXOR [---] / B M. Plane falsus titulus. Nam Horatii Pulvilli post annum 386 a.Chr.n. noti non sunt, ut de honore septemviratus epulonum cum magistratibus municipalibus minime congruo taceam.

Heikki Solin

Rita Santolini Giordani: Antichità Casali. La Collezione di Villa Casali a Roma. Studi Miscellanei 27. Dipartimento di scienze storiche, archeologiche e antropologiche dell'Antichità. Sezione Archeologia greca, romana e tardoantica, Seminario di Archeologia, Università di Roma "La Sapienza". Anno accademico 1978-1979. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1989. 256 p., 31 fig., 57 tav. ITL 330.000.

Questo libro costituisce un'edizione completa e critica della nota collezione romana di antichità a cui diede avvio Giovanni Battista Casali, morto nel 1648, e che poi nel Settecento si sviluppò, nella villa celimontana della famiglia, ad un vero museo. Con l'estinzione della famiglia alla fine del secolo scorso, anche la collezione si è smembrata e dispersa.

L'autrice ha seguito con grande attenzione la storia della collezione ed ha cercato di rintracciare i vari oggetti che un tempo ne facevano parte. Così ci può offrire un'ottima edizione delle opere della raccolta, tra le quali non mancano veri cimeli d'arte antica. Poiché una gran parte dei pezzi della collezione è costituita da iscrizioni, mi si permetta di concentrare le mie osservazioni ai documenti epigrafici.

L'autrice offre di ogni epigrafe un lemma ben disposto accompagnato dal testo epigrafico completo (con abbreviazioni sciolte) e da vari rinvii bibliografici e, nel caso d'iscrizioni conservate, da tavole fotografiche. La presentazione delle iscrizioni è in sostanza buona, anche se l'abilità epigrafica dell'autrice lascia alquanto a desiderare, come si può notare sfogliando l'edizione. Il testo delle iscrizioni stesse, che sono tutte ben note attraverso pubblicazioni anteriori e comprese nel *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*, è stato dato di solito in modo soddisfacente; in questo lavoro l'autrice ha anche potuto giovare dell'appoggio di specialisti. Tuttavia sono rimasti casi che lasciano costernati. Che cosa dire di scioglimenti di abbreviazioni come *ab h(uic) m(onumento)* in 203 o *h(eredes) m(onumento) h(oc) n(on) s(equantur)* in 240! I commenti che accompagnano i singoli testi epigrafici, di solito sono fortunatamente brevi, anche se qua e là rivelano giudizio insufficiente. Ma i rinvii bibliografici sono troppo abbondanti e contengono molto spesso citazioni del tutto superflue. E quel che è peggio, l'autrice non ha sempre capito bene la sua fonte. Per es. in 107 dà un rinvio al noto libro di Chantraine sulla nomenclatura della servitù imperiale, ma d'altra parte scioglie la sigla C S N S in modo incomprensibile con *felix c(arissima) s(ibi) n(omine) s(uo)*, anche se proprio in Chantraine avrebbe trovato la forma esatta *Felix C(ae)s(aris) n(ostri) s(ervus)*; e il rinvio a AE 1983 p. 21 (sic!) è del tutto superfluo. E se in 154 rinvia ad una mia breve nota, le è sfuggito che non vi tratto della qualifica di medico otorino, bensì del nome *Aminias* che è formazione del tutto normale e non deve perciò essere accompagnata dal punto esclamativo.

Qualche altra quisquilia. 71: il prenome di Scaevius Hospes non è *Manius*, bensì *Marcus*. - 73: si legga *Uliade[s]*. - 106: si legga *Apphe* con nesso di P e H. - 146: come mai si sa che l'iscrizione sarebbe scritta "in caratteri di fine III inizi IV secolo d.C." se è

irreperibile? - 162: *pediseq(ua)*, non *pediseq(uo)*. - 171: si legga *C. Licinius C.l. Trupo*, Di Stefano Manzella, *Boll.Mon.Musei e Gallerie Pontif.* 7 (1987) 55 n. 7. - 193: il manomissore può essere stato anche Claudio. - 219: *Sy-*, non *Si-*. - 222: il commento mi è rimasto incomprensibile. Altrettanto misterioso è il rimando a Volpe. Ometto molte altre cose simili. Nonostante questi rilievi, in parte gravi, si tratta di un libro molto utile ed interessante.

Heikki Solin

Henrik Mouritsen: Elections, Magistrates and Municipal Elite. Studies in Pompeian Epigraphy. *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici, Suppl.* 15. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1988. 224 p., 10 pl. ITL 100.000.

The first of the four main chapters by Mouritsen, who must be one of the foremost experts on Pompeian inscriptions, is dedicated to "Pompeian epigraphy". Few earlier authorities come off well under the examination of this young Danish scholar, a prime target being Matteo Della Corte, whose method in the well-known *Casa e abitanti di Pompeii* is severely criticized. Many identifications of house-owners were based on seal-impressions, but Mouritsen now convincingly shows that such evidence must be treated with great care, and that Della Corte's identifications often cannot be correct.

In the second chapter the author presents a brief two-and-a-half page overall treatment of "Political institutions in Pompeii", which does not really differ much from the picture given by his predecessors. It seems that we still lack an exposition of what is known about *Pompeii itself*, without all the embellishment provided by comparative material (cf. R.P. Duncan-Jones, *JRS* 1977, 196).

The third chapter, "Programmata recentiora", contains several interesting points, it is e.g. argued that these electoral inscriptions were painted in daylight, not at night as is sometimes maintained, and that the house façades were considered part of the public street and were at the free disposal of the scribes, who were for the most part professionals. A general conclusion is that practically all electoral inscriptions originated on the candidates' own initiative; they were not spontaneous manifestations of the citizens' political interest. Mouritsen also thinks that the number of candidates per year was so large that there was real competition also between the *duumviri* candidates (while admitting that we know only two from A.D. 79). Therefore the *duumviri* were not selected beforehand by the *ordo*, as claimed by J.L. Franklin, *Pompeii: the Electoral Programmata, Campaigns and Politics* (1980).

Chronology plays a large role in this chapter, for one thing because Mouritsen tries to prove that practically all these later electoral inscriptions can be dated to exactly the period 62-79 A.D. That almost no inscriptions from before A.D. 62 should have survived does

not depend solely on the earthquake, but also on the assumption that walls were regularly redecorated and repainted. Here, as elsewhere, Mouritsen's reasoning is acute but while the result is, for the most part, convincing, he sometimes carries his criticism of earlier views too far. This is evident when he tries to disprove the conflicting results of P. Sabbatini Tumolesi, *Gladiatorum paria* (1980), who has argued that most of the *edicta munerum* are from *before* the earthquake. Mouritsen makes some good points, but he also "categorically rules out" that the inscriptions where D. Lucretius Satrius Valens is *flamen Neronis Caesaris Augusti filii perpetuus* should belong in A.D. 50-54, after Nero had been adopted but before he became emperor (p. 35; the title is given as *flamen Neronis filii Caesaris perpetuus* in n. 434 and n. 452, which is not the same thing). This will not do. Claudius was deified after his death, and one would clearly expect "Divus" if the inscriptions were later than A.D. 54, when Nero ought to have been called "Nero Claudius Caes. Aug." (On *divus* see A. Chastagnol, *Un chapitre négligé de l'épigraphie latine: la titulature des empereurs morts*, REL 62 [1984] 275ff.).

The argument is indeed sometimes marred by incomplete knowledge of Roman history in general. The mention on p. 66, for instance, of "very rare examples in Roman history of ... interference by private organizations in public affairs" sounds bewildering. What were the *publicani* if not private organizations?

Mouritsen's second chronological point is negative in character. He argues (against Franklin) that one can establish no absolute, nor even very much of a relative, chronology for the Pompeian magistrates, not even for the period 62-79. Franklin thought that by studying which election posters were found to overlap with others, a chronology could be established. Mouritsen argues that many candidates must have been running for the same office several times, and that overlays were produced during the same campaign. If this is the case then it brings havoc to all chronological attempts.

Much space is devoted to the *rogatores*, i.e. those persons who recommend candidates in the inscriptions. Here the investigations embrace larger portions of Pompeian society than just members of the *ordo* and candidates. Mouritsen reasonably enough concludes that most of the *rogatores* were clients and *amici* of the candidates, who by appearing in the *programmata* sought to enhance the candidates' reputation (But only 5.5% are expressly called *libertus* or *cliens*).

Onomastics plays an important role in the identification and social categorization of the *rogatores*, and it is here that Mouritsen is at his weakest. On p. 62f. he presents the stunning conclusion that 80% of the Romans known from sepulchral inscriptions must have been freedmen, but he misunderstands the onomastic results reached by H. Solin and I. Kajanto, since he does not include those which are *incerti* as to their social standing, and his calculations are better forgotten. Solin's conclusions (*Beiträge zur Kenntnis der griechischen Personennamen in Rom I*, 1971) have been turned into the virtual certainty that "Greek names were a sign of servile origin in the first or second generation" (p. 61, cf. 14f.), and moreover, Solin dealt only with Rome. There seems to be work left to do

on Pompeian onomastics, even if we have I. Kajanto, *Cognomina Pompeiana*, *Neuphil.Mitt.* 66 (1965) 446-60 and an Appendix with name statistics in P. Castrén, *Ordo Populusque Pompeianus* (*ActaIRF VIII*, 2nd ed. 1983) 262-64. The figures do not tally because Kajanto was using the *inscriptiones parietales*, while Castrén based his statistics only on persons carrying a *cognomen* combined with a family name.

The fourth chapter is a general discussion of "Pompeian magistrates and magisterial candidates in the period 80 B.C. - 79 A.D.". This is the main chapter, to which Castrén's book is the predecessor. Mouritsen is very much aware of this fact, and holds a very critical, sometimes exaggeratedly so, attitude towards Castrén's views. But in several cases his conclusions do make better sense. So, for instance (in n. 358) he rightly disposes of Castrén's (p. 95f.) interpretation of the Pompeians who had been *praef. fabrum* as similar to Nazi "Gauleiter", dispatched throughout Italy by the Augustan regime. This theory can probably be explained by the fact that Castrén here drew solely on J. Suolahti, *Junior Officers ... in the Republican Period* (1955), esp. 208f. Here as in Castrén's work one misses references to the fundamental study by B. Dobson, *The praefectus fabrum in the Early Principate*, in: *Britain and Rome*, Kendal 1967, to which now should be added D.B. Saddington, *Praefecti Fabrum of the Julio-Claudian Period*, *Festschr. A. Betz*, Wien 1985, 529-46.

Another of Castrén's theses, that of a "Claudian crisis" in Pompeian society in A.D. 40-52, is now also disposed of with good arguments. With the "Gauleiter-theory" and the "Claudian crisis" discredited, the development of Pompeian society looks much less "exciting", and appears rather to have been a steady process. That changes will have taken place among the ruling families during a period of 150 years is a priori clear, but how is one to describe and explain these changes without recurring to commonplaces in a work which is epigraphical and prosopographical, but leaves out other aspects of social history? Mouritsen concludes (p. 123) that while a few families managed to maintain their influence, "the structure of the upper class was accordingly characterized by a process of controlled change", where new families rose to relative prominence.

This book is an important contribution to many fields (scholars will wellcome the appendices: the "Catalogue of programmata recentiora" and the "Catalogue of individual and collective rogatores"), but the recent works by Castrén and others are still valuable in several respects when future research sets out to answer the open questions of Pompeian history.

Christer Bruun

Sestinum. Comunità antiche dell'Appennino tra Etruria e Adriatico. Atti del Convegno tenuto a Sestino (Arezzo) settembre 1983. Collana Volusenus. Testi e studi promossi dalla Biblioteca comunale di Sestino 2. Bruno Ghigi Editore, Rimini 1989. 272 p. ITL 45.000.

I testi di questo volume sono raggruppati sotto tre rubriche diverse. La prima parte è dedicata a Sestinum vero e proprio. Dopo una presentazione topografica (M. Luni) segue una presentazione del materiale archeologico: ceramica e laterizi (E. Catani e W. Monacchi), la terra sigillata (R. Mencarelli), i vetri (F.P. Maglie, con bellissime fotografie a colori. La tipografia del libro è generalmente di qualità altissima), le monete (G. Gori), la statuaria (M. Michelucci), e infine il contributo più lungo dove S. Stucchi tratta del monumento funerario ad edicola circolare di Sestino, databile all'età proto-augustea, con differenze nei particolari rispetto all'analisi di M. Verzar in MEFRA 76 (1974).

La parte seconda contiene studi di carattere più generale, ma sempre su Sestino: A. Donati tratta la produzione epigrafica, F. Cenerini scrive sulle famiglie notabili, e F. Galli presenta alcune novità epigrafiche. L'importante contributo di M. Corbier parte dalla nota iscrizione CIL XI 6016 = D 5758 menzionante tre fratelli Voluseni i quali *aquam adducendam ex d. d. c(uraverunt)*. A questo punto, bisogna rammaricarsi che i testi del convegno vengano pubblicati con un certo ritardo. Come l'autrice stessa precisa in un addendum, questo articolo, ma in una versione ampliata, è già stato pubblicato in REL 62 (1984) 236-74 sotto il titolo 'De Volsinii a Sestinum: cura aquae et évergétisme municipal de l'eau en Italie'.

Nella parte finale vari studiosi trattano di 'Culture antiche dell'Appennino', tra questi J. Šašel su 'La montagna romana: problemi e metodi della ricerca'. Gli altri contributi, spesso anche loro di interesse generale, sono di L. Bacchielli, C. Letta, V. Neri, A. Sabattini, G. Susini e L. Tondo.

Christer Bruun

Paula J. Turner: Roman Coins from India. Royal Numismatic Society, Special Publication No. 22. Institute of Archaeology, Occasional Publication No. 12, London 1989. VIII, 152 p.

The story of Roman coins from India is an old and important one. The first attested find (Nellore, South India) was made as early as 1786 and reported soon after in Calcutta in the pages of Asiatic Researches (2 [1790] 331f.). The total number of finds traced by Turner is no less than 75, and many further must have gone unreported. Classic studies in the field include Elliot's report of the Vellular hoard (1844), Madras Museum Catalogues (Bidie 1874, Thurston 1888, rev. 1894), and the pioneering study of Sewell

in JRAS (1904) 591-637. Sewell was already reconstructing the history of Indo-Roman trade according to coin finds, and later, in 1928, Warmington made an attempt to include the evidence from coins in his classic study (*The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*). Among more recent contributions, we can note the numerous articles by P.L. Gupta and the long study on Indo-Roman commerce by M. Raschke (ANRW 1978). Now, Dr. Turner has given us a new critical and systematic account of the field (with a full catalogue of finds from India and Pakistan).

As a general remark it must be emphasized that in many respects the author has subjected her material to a more thorough analysis than her predecessors and consequently has arrived at many interesting conclusions. Firstly, it is always important to take into account major geographical and chronological differences. It is natural that there should be a great difference between southern and northern finds, but it is somewhat surprising to note that the meagre northern finds fail completely to bear out the existence of trade between the Roman and the Kushan Empire. It is possible that the coins which may have arrived in the north were melted down and used in local issues. In the south, there are two concentrations of finds, one in the Coimbatore district, other on the Krishna in Andhra Pradesh. The finds are mostly hoards, very few coins come from archaeological sites. Coimbatore hoards come from the neighbourhood of ancient beryl mines and also of the Palghat gap, the major trade route between Tamil Nadu and the western ports of Kerala. Most of the coins are from the first century. No similar hoards are reported on the eastern coast (the famous Arretine ware was not accompanied by coins). This points to the conclusion that during this period Cape Comorin was still not (or only rarely) circumnavigated by western ships. This is further supported by the fact that there are virtually no finds of Julio-Claudian coins in Sri Lanka. In Kerala, there should be similar hoards from the west coast, but their rareness may be explained by the fact that the coast with its important ancient ports is archaeologically very poorly known. On the other hand, the Andhra hoards, although smaller in their number of coins, also include later issues.

As to the beginning of the trade, we learn that Republican issues are rare and always found in connection with Imperial issues. A further important feature in the first century hoards is that they split up into two clearly separated groups consisting either of silver or of gold. The *denarii*, which are much more numerous than the *aurei*, are mostly issued by Augustus or Tiberius, and there is not a single silver issue attested in India from the period after the Neronian reform. The *aurei* hoards are slightly later, consisting mostly of the issues of Tiberius and Claudius. The examination of the wear condition of the coins showed that the *aurei* are mostly worn, while the *denarii* were generally buried in unworn condition. It seems that the gold coins were circulating in India and buried only occasionally. A large number of coins were probably melted down and used for jewellery.

One chapter deals with slashed coins and imitations. We learn that slashing was much less common than is often supposed. Slashed silver has been found in only two hoards, both situated in Andhra Pradesh, far from the concentrated finds of the Julio-Claudian

hoards. Turner's attempt to explain it by reference to the proximity of famous Buddhist sites with more or less aniconic art is perhaps far-fetched, as there were no real iconoclastic tendencies in early Buddhism, and even the tendency to represent the Buddha by means of symbols rather than in his own form was already becoming antiquated. On the other hand, it is important to know that the slashing of silver is both geographically and technically a wholly different feature from the slashing of gold.

Generally, the South India hoards fall into three groups: early silver, early gold and second century gold. Finds of early metal base issues are not attested, and even later copper coins are rare. As in indigenous coinage copper was commonly used, and issues in gold or silver were rare, Roman *aes* was probably not needed. Turner concludes that only a few, well-known types of Roman coinage were accepted and hoarded as bullion. In the first period of trade, which began or at least made considerable progress in the latter part of Augustus' rule, *denarii* were used. Their silver was much better than that used in local issues, and it is easy to understand why post-reform debased silver was no longer acceptable. But even before Nero's reform, c. A.D. 54/55, *aurei* were introduced into India and displaced silver. The reform affected less the gold as it was in any case accepted for its weight as bullion, although lighter coins made Indian commodities more expensive to traders, and this might have reduced the amount of trade. After Nero and until Trajan there is a gap, which seems to indicate a lessening of trade, but in the second century it was again conducted by *aurei*, and the geographical scope of the direct trade seems to have widened.

The hoards are very complex, and there are several exceptions to the main pattern. In addition to the Andhra silver hoards, there is the amazing Kottayam hoard on the west coast, found c. 1847 and never fully reported. It seems to have contained thousands of *aurei*, and Turner suggests the possibility that it was not a local trader's collection but a deposit by a western trader. Another mysterious hoard was apparently found recently in the Lakshadweep Islands off the coast. It seems to have contained a large number of Republican coins, and might be the first "shipwreck hoard" found in India.

The Catalogue gives every single find of Roman coins in India (and Pakistan) traced by the author. Types of coins found are listed and accompanied by the number of coins and their weights. If possible, a reference to standard works on Roman coinage is given for each coin. Details of finding are told and bibliographical references given. A second Appendix deals with "the present location of Roman coins found in India" as far as they are in Indian or British museums, and a third is dedicated to the rich collection of the Madras Museum. Eight plates serve as illustration. Most are taken from the Madras Museum collection and are arranged according to hoards. Each plate contains 17-40 coins, but in the text a reference is given only to a particular plate. For a layman, it is very difficult to find out, for instance, which of the coins in pl. VIII is the counterfeit *denarius* referred to in p. 38.

The bibliography seems to be rather full. But for Sri Lanka, in addition to earlier sources used (Codrington's *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, Memoirs of the Colombo Museum 1924), R. Walburg's dissertation (*Antike Münzen aus Ceylon*, Münster 1980) should have been noted. Fortunately for the author, Walburg's thorough analysis confirms Turner's conclusions as most of the coins there are late (4th and 5th century) coppers. Other omissions are S.E. Sidebotham's recent study (*Roman Economic Policy in the Erythra Thalassa*, Leiden 1986, cf. *Arctos* 1988, 237f.) and P.L. Gupta's stimulating article in *S. Mookerji Vol.* (*Chowkhamba Sanskrit Studies* 69, Varanasi 1969, 169-180). Also missing is the curious imitation of a Ptolemaic coin included in the Karivalamvandanallur find of *aurei*, briefly discussed in R. Nagaswamy (ed.), *South Indian Studies I*, Madras 1978, 105-108. The bibliography contains rather a large number of misprints, but fortunately there are few in the actual text itself. At the very beginning the date of the earliest attested find (Nellore 1786) is erroneously given as 1796. But these are minor defects. Dr. Turner has produced a very interesting monograph which must be taken into account in any future study of the eastern trade of the Graeco-Roman West.

Klaus Karttunen

Serta Historica Antiqua II. Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto di Storia Antica e Scienze Ausiliarie dell'Università degli Studi di Genova XVI. Giorgio Bretschneider, Roma 1989. VI, 305 p. ITL 350.000.

Ecco il secondo volume della nuova serie di *Serta Historica* dell'attivo Istituto di Storia antica dell'Università genovese. Contiene interessanti contributi riguardanti il campo più prettamente storico, ma abbondano anche articoli papirologici e soprattutto epigrafici, rappresentando l'epigrafia uno dei maggiori punti d'interesse di questo Istituto.

Non essendo possibile analizzare in modo più approfondito tutti i contributi, mi limiterò a scorrere sommariamente alcuni che mi sembrano particolarmente interessanti e di cui posso permettermi un giudizio più approfondito. Mennella e Desderi pubblicano, corredandole con fotografie, iscrizioni urbane che si trovano in raccolte liguri, e più precisamente ad Albenga, Finale Ligure, Genova e Gorreto. Questa pubblicazione è un'eloquente testimonianza della ricca presenza di epigrafi urbane in Liguria, e non sono le uniche (va detto per inciso che il Mennella ha testé pubblicato altre iscrizioni di provenienza urbana esistenti a Genova: *Epigraphica* 51 [1989] 230 sgg.). Tra i testi qui pubblicati si trovano anche alcuni inediti, ad es. un'interessante epigrafe paleocristiana di un *Caristio* (n. 10), il cui nome non ricorre con frequenza. – Nell'articolo della Angeli Bertinelli troviamo uno sguardo d'insieme su personaggi femminili in iscrizioni lunensi, per lo più inedite (nell'iscrizione che comincia *d.m. Syceni Erennie*, non si tratta di un'anticipazione del cognome come prenome, bensì di un'inversione del gentilizio e

cognome, fenomeno non ignoto nell'onomastica femminile, o piuttosto di *Psyche*, schiava di una *Herennia*). – Il Mennella pubblica nuovi documenti sui Tigullii. – Tutto sommato, un volume di grande interesse.

Heikki Solin

J.S. Morrison – J.F. Coates: The Athenian Trireme. The History and Reconstruction of an Ancient Greek Warship. Cambridge University Press, 1986. XXIII, 266 p., 75 ill., 15 maps. GBP 7.95.

The exact structure of the Greek trieres has puzzled scholars for centuries and various attempts have been made to reconstruct the ship. John Morrison, a classical scholar, and John Coates, a naval architect, have perfected a design which they believe fulfils the essential structural requirements, basing it on a study both of the archaeological evidence and of the historical accounts of sea-battles. The life-sized triere they have built has cost enormous amounts of money. Morrison, who has been occupied with Greek ships since 1940, has realized his plans using English and later also Greek funds.

The book thoroughly deals with all questions essential for the reconstruction, including some sea-battles and other operations. Most attention is drawn naturally to the enigma of the triere, though other associated questions are introduced. As a non-specialist in the field, I do not feel I am competent to analyse all the details of the authors' arguments. The reader should himself read this exciting book. One remark might be made, however. On p. 115 we read that the oarsmen were specialists. The reviewer, who has spent his whole childhood in the archipelago of SW Finland and has had a lifetime's experience in rowing, is a little sceptical concerning that remark. And the fact that in some special circumstances the trieres were manned by hoplites and slaves (who were not naval "specialists"), suggests a most rapid training for a triere's crew.

Heikki Solin

Géza Alföldy: Die Krise des römischen Reiches. Geschichte, Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbetrachtung. Ausgewählte Beiträge (HABES 5). Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH, Stuttgart 1989. 541 S. DEM 98.

Nach den Sammelbänden "Die römische Gesellschaft" (1986) und "Römische Heeresgeschichte" (1987) erscheint jetzt "Die Krise des römischen Reiches", wo 20 weitere Beiträge des Heidelberger Althistorikers enthalten sind, die aber nur eine Auswahl und keineswegs alles repräsentieren, was der Verfasser zum Thema geschrieben hat. Darunter

gibt es zwei Erstveröffentlichungen, einen sympathischen und gewichtigen Beitrag im Anschluß an A. Demandts "Der Fall Roms", und einen anderen betitelt "Cleander und die römische Geschichtsschreibung". Die meisten Schriften sind jedoch nicht neu, sondern in den 60er und zu Anfang der 70er Jahren entstanden. Alle sind mit Nachträgen versehen worden, die manchmal recht lange Diskussionen enthalten. Z.B. erhielt die 18seitige Arbeit "Pannoniciani augures" von 1960 einen Nachtrag von 6 Seiten, und "Der Friedensschluß des Kaisers Commodus mit den Germanen" von 1971 ist von zwei Nachträgen, einem von 1979 (von einer Neuveröffentlichung veranlaßt) und einem neugeschriebenen, begleitet.

Alföldy ist u.a. als erstrangiger Epigraphiker bekannt, aber in dem vorliegenden Werk spielen epigraphische Untersuchungen nicht die primäre Rolle. Dagegen befaßt sich der Autor ausführlich mit den literarischen Quellen vom späten 2. Jh. bis zum Ende des 4. Jh. Der römischen Geschichte von Herodian wird dabei so viel Platz gewidmet, daß als Untertitel des Buches sogar "Herodianstudien und andere Aufsätze" nicht unpassend gewesen wäre. Es ist natürlich wohlbekannt, daß Herodian als Historiker weit unter seinem älteren Zeitgenossen Cassius Dio einzustufen ist. Aber in welchem Maße kann man ihm trotzdem Glauben schenken, und gibt es Fälle, wo man ihm den Cassius Dio vorziehen kann? Darauf sucht Alföldy die Antwort in vielen Aufsätzen und gelangt dabei grundsätzlich zu dem Schluß, daß Herodian eigentlich nie bessere Information als Dio liefert. Als Beispiel kann die gründliche Untersuchung über Cleanders Sturz dienen. Während z.B. C.R. Whittaker in seinem Aufsatz "The Revolt of Papirius Dionysius in A.D. 190", *Historia* 13 (1964) 348-69 in manchen Fragen Herodian vorgezogen hat, zeigt Alföldy jetzt, daß kein Grund dafür vorliegen kann.

Wenn schon Herodian als Quelle für historische Tatsachen so wenig zu bedeuten hat, könnte man vielleicht fragen, warum ein Historiker sich so eingehend damit befaßt. Erstens natürlich weil jeder Text an sich etwas bedeutet; so heißt es auf S. 325, daß Herodians Werk "our best source for the views of the lower social groups about history in the mid-third century" ist. Zweitens haben die Studien von Alföldy auch eine andere Dimension, die man "literarisch" nennen könnte. Die Arbeit von Herodian wird auch von ihrer literarischen Gattungszugehörigkeit her behandelt, wobei Alföldy von einem "historischen Roman" spricht und den Verfasser als einen "Belletristen" betrachtet (S. 117 und anderswo).

Natürlich werden auch andere schriftliche Quellen der späten Römerzeit behandelt, so z.B. in "Der heilige Cyprian und die Krise des Römischen Reiches". Viel Platz wird der *Historia Augusta* gewidmet (und dabei wiederholt dafür argumentiert, daß Cassius Dio als Quelle vom "Scriptor" benutzt wurde – eine Ansicht, die bisher nicht von allen geteilt wurde), wobei ein weiteres Interesse des Verfassers, nämlich die Onomastik, offenbar wird. Man findet hier die ausführliche Behandlung der "Ortsnamen in der *Historia Augusta*" und "Eine Proskriptionsliste in der *Historia Augusta*" (aber "Septimius

Severus und der Senat", zum selben Thema, aus dem J. 1968 ist nicht nachgedruckt. Zur Proskriptionsliste eine Bemerkung des Rez. in dieser Ztschr.).

Wer sich mit dem späten römischen Reich befaßt, wird versuchen, sich dieses Buch zu besorgen, denn Alföldy ist fast immer überzeugend, und seine Meinungen können nie außer acht gelassen werden.

Christer Bruun

Barry Cunliffe: Greeks, Romans and Barbarians. Spheres of Interaction. B.T. Batsford Ltd, London 1988. 243 p.

This work is intended as a contribution to the "decompartmentalisation" of prehistoric vs. classical archaeology, in aiming to bring together the results of research on the classical world of the Mediterranean and of the barbarian communities of southern and northern Europe. After a brief survey of themes and approaches, Mr. Cunliffe studies the relations between Greek culture in expansion and the Barbarians encountered. He passes on to Roman history and the contacts between conquerors and natives especially in Gaul, Britain and Germany, covering the period from 600 B.C. to A.D. 400. The illustrations consist of maps and diagrams, and the text is followed by an apparatus of notes, bibliography and indices.

Outi Merisalo

Thomas Grünwald: Constantinus Maximus Augustus. Herrschaftspropaganda in der zeitgenössischen Überlieferung. Historia, Einzelschrift, Bd 64. Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH, Stuttgart 1990. 320 S. DEM 76.

Es ist eine Freude, diese Duisburger Dissertation anzuzeigen. Nicht alle althistorischen Dissertationen sind von so guter Qualität und von neuen Erkenntnissen geprägt. Sicher macht sie den Lehrern des Verfassers Ehre.

Die Arbeit hat sich zur Aufgabe gestellt, die Herrschaftspropaganda zu untersuchen, mit welchen Constantin der Große seine Herrschaft zu untermauern versuchte – ein für ihn besonders wichtiges Anliegen, da er sie nicht auf legitime Weise übernommen hatte. Da hierbei neben literarischen Quellen auch die Inschriften eine wichtige Rolle spielen, verfolgt die Arbeit neben der historischen Fragestellung auch ein epigraphisches Anliegen, wovon der lange und wertvolle Anhang des Katalogs der lateinischen Inschriften Constantins des Großen Zeugnis ablegt. Aus dem inschriftlichen Befund konnte der Verfasser neue, über den gegenwärtigen Kenntnisstand zur Herrschafts-

propaganda Constantins hinausgehende Gesichtspunkte gewinnen. So ist ihm z.B. die Erkenntnis gelungen, daß das Epitheton *maximus* in die offizielle Kaisertitulatur nicht am 29. Oktober 312 aufgenommen wurde, wie allgemein angenommen wird (so noch in dem hervorragenden Werk *Römische Kaisertabelle* von D. Kienast, Darmstadt 1990, 295), sondern einige Jahre später, und zwar im Jahre 315.

In dem wertvollen epigraphischen Anhang sind alle lateinischen Inschriften Constantins des Großen zusammengestellt; dabei finden sich auch ein paar Inedita. Spezialisten einzelner Gegenden wäre es unschwer, auf kleinere Mängel hinzuweisen, das würde aber dem Verfasser nicht gerecht werden, der im ganzen ausgezeichnete Arbeit geleistet hat. Ein paar Bemerkungen: S. 217 Nr. 238 stammt nicht aus Ferentinum (das eine Hernikerstadt im südlichen Latium ist), sondern aus Ferentium; 221 Nr. 268: Marino liegt gar nicht bei Ostia; 234 Nr. 356: statt *L. Valerio Constantino* usw. ist zu lesen *Fl(avio) Valerio Constantino*, vgl. *Arctos* 14 (1980) 92.

Heikki Solin

Petros Dintsis: Hellenistische Helme. Bd I: Text. Bd II: Tafeln. *Archaeologica* 43. Giorgio Bretschneider, Roma 1986. XXI, 394 S., 83 Taf., 14 Beilagen, 22 Karten. ITL 900.000.

Dieser dicke und sehr teure Band stellt die leicht veränderte Fassung einer Wiener Dissertation vom Jahre 1982 dar. Sein hauptsächlicher Wert liegt in der möglichst vollständigen Erfassung der vorhandenen Dokumentation und der klaren Systematik in der Darbietung des Materials, was ihn zu den unentbehrlichen Standardwerken der Hellenismusforschung machen wird. Weniger gut finde ich die unzureichende Kritik der historischen Anordnung der vom Verfasser zusammengestellten Helme. Er untersucht vor allem Helme der hellenistischen Zeit, macht aber auch auf ihr Weiterleben in der Kaiserzeit aufmerksam. Untersucht werden boiotische Helme, tiaraartige Helme, Pilos/Konoshelme, korinthische, pseudokorinthische, attische, pseudoattische, chalkidische und Glockenhelme, Kappenhelme, ägyptische Kalksteinhelme, Gesichtsmaskenhelme und Kausia, die in 301 Lemmen zusammengestellt werden. Der Verfasser berücksichtigt sowohl reale Helme als auch auf Mosaiken, Malereien, Vasen, Münzen und Reliefs abgebildete Helme. Eine grundlegende Zusammenstellung. Auf dieser Materialbasis wird die Forschung weitere Fortschritte machen.

Heikki Solin

Annamaria Comella: I materiali votivi di Falerii. Corpus delle stipi votive in Italia I. Regio VII,1. Archaeologica 63. Giorgio Bretschneider, Roma 1986. XIII, 225 p., 86 tav. ITL 450.000.

Questo volume inizia una nuova serie, nella quale verranno presentate, in ordine geografico, le stipi votive dai santuari d'Italia. L'inizio è promettente e può funzionare da modello per volumi successivi (dei quali almeno due sono già usciti). Nel Catalogo vengono classificati i vari oggetti, a cominciare dalle terrecotte (senza terrecotte architettoniche), cui seguono poi oggetti di bronzo, di ferro, litici, basi di pietra, ceramica e monete. Nella seconda parte l'autrice si occupa della storia degli scavi e della topografia dei quattro santuari di Falerii nonché della tipologia dei culti. In un'appendice è esaminato lo sviluppo della coroplastica falisca dal V al II secolo.

Heikki Solin

Michaela Fuchs: Il teatro romano di Fiesole. Corpus delle sculture. Studia archaeologica 40. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1986. 122 p., 42 tav. ITL 180.000.

Questo volume costituisce un'edizione integrale dei fregi marmorei e delle sculture a tutto tondo rimastici del teatro di Fiesole. L'accurato catalogo del materiale è preceduto da un'introduzione in cui vengono esaminate questioni isagogiche quali la storia degli scavi, materiali provenienti dal teatro, per poi passare alle osservazioni concernenti i rilievi stessi e la loro collocazione originaria.

Heikki Solin

Paolo Liverani: Museo Chiaramonti. Guide Cataloghi Musei Vaticani 1. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1989. 139 p., 10 fig. ITL 40.000.

Questa nuova serie di guide si propone di provvedere agli studiosi e amatori gli strumenti necessari – e di facile maneggevolezza – per un esame dettagliato in situ delle collezioni vaticane, corredati da bibliografie scientifiche. I cataloghi monumentali anteriori (Helbig, Amelung, ecc.), oltre ad essere consultabili praticamente solo in biblioteca, non possono naturalmente dare indicazioni sui riordinamenti posteriori del materiale esposto. La serie inaugurata dal volume di Liverani è quindi particolarmente benvenuta a tutti gli habitués professionali dei Musei Vaticani. Le schede, redatte in uno stile chiaro e conciso, forniscono, oltre al commento descrittivo, anche un orientamento bibliografico per ogni oggetto. In appendice, l'elenco degli imperatori romani, un glossario succinto di termini

storici e architettonici, una tavola di concordanza tra i nn. del catalogo di Amelung, l'attuale posizione e i numeri di inventario dei pezzi esposti, una pianta del Museo Chiaramonti e l'indice. 10 illustrazioni completano la presentazione.

Outi Merisalo

Marisa Conticello De' Spagnolis – Ernesto De Carolis: Le lucerne di bronzo. Musei della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Inventari e studi 1. Città del Vaticano 1986. 102 p.

La Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana dispone anche di una quantità notevole di vari oggetti d'arte e di antichità. Da qualche tempo si attende alla pubblicazione, per gruppi tematici, dei vari fondi dei due musei della BAV, quello Sacro e quello Profano, e in questa rivista fu già recensito il ben riuscito volume sulle iscrizioni redatto a cura di M. Buonocore (M. Kajava, *Arctos* 23 [1989] 268 sg.). Qui si annuncia ora il primo fascicolo della serie *Inventari e Studi*, comprendente l'edizione delle lucerne di bronzo che costituiscono una piccola ma significativa collezione appartenente parte al Museo Sacro e parte al Museo Profano della BAV. Il fascicolo è stato curato da M. Conticello De' Spagnolis ed E. De Carolis, che erano quasi predestinati a compiere tale impegno, essendo gli autori del più ponderoso volume sulle lucerne del Museo Nazionale Romano (Roma 1983).

Oltre alle 40 lucerne dei musei della BAV, gli autori ne pubblicano 10 lucerne delle collezioni dei Musei e Gallerie Pontificie. Le lucerne sono in gran parte destituite di indicazioni di provenienza. Molte sono naturalmente romane, altre provengono da Ostia, una si dice rinvenuta ad Otricoli (n. 46). Cronologicamente sono in gran parte inquadrabili in epoca tardo imperiale. Particolare interesse riveste l'unica lucerna in piombo (n. 3 dell'inizio del I sec. d.C.) che reca sul corpo l'iscrizione ΚΕΛΣΕΙ, cioè *Celsi*, l'unica iscrizione antica nelle lucerne qui raccolte.

Heikki Solin

Lea Cimino: La Collezione Mieli nel Museo Archeologico di Siena. Archaeologica 48. Giorgio Bretschneider, Roma 1986. 250 p., 130 tav. ITL 350.000.

Il maggiore interesse della Collezione Mieli, formatasi a partire dalla metà del secolo scorso per iniziativa di Leone Mieli e donata nel 1882 al Comune e all'Università di Siena, sta nel fatto che è formata quasi tutta con i rinvenimenti effettuati presso Castelluccio di Pienza; per quanto decontestualizzati, i suoi materiali offrono uno spaccato significativo dell'evidenza archeologica in quest'area, contribuendo alla

ricostruzione della storia di una regione posta lungo un itinerario di cerniera fra zona costiera e zona interna dell'Etruria settentrionale.

Il volume è costituito da una nutrita introduzione e dal ponderoso catalogo, nel quale sono considerati 672 oggetti della totalità di 715 che comprende l'intera collezione. Un'ulteriore parte finì nel 1934 nel Museo di Chiusi ed andò distrutta nella seconda guerra mondiale. I materiali, che ci forniscono un'immagine della cultura materiale di un piccolo centro sotto l'influsso di Chiusi, appartengono, a prescindere dai ritrovamenti pre- e protostorici ed i pochi oggetti romani, ad un arco di tempo che va dall'età arcaica all'età ellenistica. Tutto sommato, un importante volume di cui ci si deve congratulare anche con la benemerita Casa Editrice Giorgio Bretschneider. Solo che, un'ennesima volta, devo ancora lamentarmi del prezzo troppo elevato.

Heikki Solin

Frank Sear: Roman Architecture. Batsford Academic and Educational Limited. First published 1982, revised edition, Plymouth 1989. 288 p. GBP 12.95.

This work is mainly intended as a university text book which aims more at being clear than being exhaustive. The author has selected what he regards as the most significant buildings of each era or province and attempts to put them into their historical or cultural context. The volume contains 183 illustrations, both photographs and plans, a glossary of architectural terms, a bibliography and a subject index.

Outi Merisalo

Raymond Chevallier: Roman Roads. Translated by *N.H. Field.* Batsford Studies in Archaeology. B.T. Batsford Ltd, London 1989. 272 p. GBP 14.95.

This is a revised paperback edition of the translation published by Batsford in 1976, and makes Chevallier's useful work accessible to an ever wider public.

Outi Merisalo

Oscar Belvedere: L'acquedotto Cornelio di Termini Imerese. Planimetrie e disegni di Cosimo Serio. Istituto di Archeologia dell'Università di Palermo. Studi e materiali 7. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1986. XXIX, 202 p., 72 tav. & 16 tav. separate. ITL 250.000.

This is a very interesting book for everyone concerned with the archaeology and technology of Roman aqueducts. The small town of *Thermae Himeræae* west of Palermo on the north coast of Sicily was supplied by an aqueduct called *Aqua Cornelia* in CIL X 1084*. Those who consider the inscription genuine have suggested various senatorial *Cornelii* from the late Republic as promoters of the aqueduct, but Belvedere considers some local magnate as a more probable alternative.

The main bulk of the present work consists in a description of the remaining traces of the aqueduct, conducted in a masterly fashion and bringing to mind the works of Lanciani and Ashby. Comparative material is also brought to bear, and the author is well acquainted with recent work on Roman aqueducts. This is particularly evident from the classified bibliography at the end of the book, which among other things contains a useful list of works dealing with single municipal aqueducts in Italy and another dealing with known siphons in the Roman world.

Two siphons are actually the most interesting features of the *Aqua Cornelia*. One of them is the common "inverted siphon" type, where the water crossed a valley in a closed terracotta pipeline. But for crossing the vallone Barattina a unique feature in Roman engineering was used, namely a real siphon in which the water was made to rise temporarily over its free fall level. Belvedere argues that this feature was intentional, since the differences in height are so great that they would have been clearly noticeable. According to Belvedere the siphon was able to function in theory, but he admits that several signs show that restructuring was undertaken, and there is also a parallel aqueduct branch, l'acquedotto di Figurella, which crossed the Barattina valley in a different direction, perhaps necessitated by a later malfunctioning of the siphon.

Belvedere also argues that the Barattina siphon used lead conduits, even though none have been found on the spot. If this is the case, it is interesting because of the diameter which is assumed for the pipes, c. 40 cm. I know of no Roman lead pipes larger than 30 cm., the siphon at Lyon and the *castellum* in Nîmes included (contrary to what Belvedere believes, the *fistulae* in Nîmes were not larger than 30 cm., see G. Hauck - R. Novak, AJA 92 [1988] 393-407). However, it should be noted that Belvedere mentions a lead pipe with a diameter of 38.7 cm. found inside the city in 1799 and later lost. One regrets the lack of further information on whether this measurement indicated the inner or the outer diameter, and what the minimum diameter of the necessarily pear-shaped *fistula* was.

A brief chapter presents material relating to the water distribution inside the ancient city. Altogether, the book is a most valuable addition to the literature on Roman aqueducts.

Christer Bruun

David Kennedy – Derrick Riley: Rome's Desert Frontier From the Air. B.T. Batsford Ltd, London 1990. 256 p. GBP 29.95.

The rapid progress made in Middle East archaeology between the two World Wars was unfortunately checked by political developments in the post-1945 period. As a result, the remarkable aerial researches of Père Antoine Poidebard and Sir Aurel Stein could not be continued by programmes of aerial reconnaissance comparable to those carried out or in progress in several parts of Western Europe. With this book, the authors set out to make some of the material on the desert frontier of the Roman Empire more easily accessible both to scholars and a wider public. A survey of the geographical and historical context is followed by a section on aerial photography and archaeological prospection, with a very interesting corpus of material both from the 1920s-1930s and of more recent origin, as well as a detailed examination of the sites (water supply, roads and communications, temporary camps and siege works, fortress cities, legionary fortresses, forts, towers, etc.). Apart from the photographs, the text is accompanied by maps, a toponymical glossary, a large bibliography, an appendix on Roman emperors and an index of subjects and names.

Outi Merisalo

Quaderni Ferraresi. Fasc. 1: *Anna Maria Visser Travagli: Il lapidario del Museo Civico di Ferrara*, 30 p. Fasc. 2: *Alessandra D'Agostini: Gemme del Museo Civico di Ferrara*, 61 p. Fasc. 3: *Giordana Mariani Canova, con un testo di Franco E. Adami: Ferrara 1474: miniatura, tipografia, committenza. Il 'Decretum Gratiani' Roverella*, 70 p. Fasc. 4: *Ranieri Varese: Arte e copia tra Otto e Novecento. I Mesi di Schifanoia nei dipinti e disegni di Giuseppe Mazzolani*, 109 p. Fasc. 5: *Anna Maria Visser Travagli: Ceramiche a Ferrara in età estense della Collezione Pasetti*, 81 p. Ferrara 1983, 1984, 1988, 1989, 1989.

Musei Ferraresi, Bollettino Annuale 15 (1985/1987). Comune di Ferrara. Assessorato alle Istituzioni Culturali. Musei Civici d'Arte Antica, Ferrara 1988. 190 p.

Il Comune di Ferrara ha cominciato, nel 1983, la pubblicazione di questi volumi, finora giunti al quinto volume. Sono libretti sottili che hanno come scopo principale di rendere più accessibili al pubblico colto le opere d'arte e le antichità contenute nelle ricche raccolte dei musei ferraresi.

Per i lettori di questa rivista sono interessanti soprattutto i primi due fascicoli, dedicati ad oggetti dell'antichità. Il primo fascicolo ci dà prima un sommario della storia del Lapidario Civico di Ferrara, istituito nel lontano 1735 nel Palazzo del Paradiso. Seguono interessanti considerazioni sulla cultura epigrafica, sul collezionismo, sui falsi, tra cui spiccano alcuni prodotti di Pirro Ligorio che soggiornò a Ferrara per qualche tempo come antiquario di corte del Duca Alfonso II d'Este. Nel Lapidario sono influite pietre anche da altre regioni, come da Pesaro o da Faenza, ed anche dalla stessa Roma. Un'interessante iscrizione romana (CIL V 182* = VI 24695a) viene riprodotta in fotografia a p. 16. È l'epitaffio di un *C. Pontanus Priscus* innalzato da sua madre *Pontiana Primitiva*. Da notare le diverse grafie del gentilizio. L'autrice passa poi a considerare il territorio, il popolamento e la società nonché le espressioni artistiche. Tutto sommato, un volumetto ben riuscito che contribuirà a rendere accessibili al pubblico colto alcuni aspetti dell'arte lapidaria romana.

Il volume 15 del Bollettino annuale non contiene contributi sull'età antica, ma molti articoli mi sono apparsi interessanti.

Heikki Solin

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