

# ARCTOS

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## ARCTOS. ACTA PHILOLOGICA FENNICA

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# Jerome and Women

Antti Arjava

Women are no longer a forgotten chapter in the history of the Early Church. The first Christian heroines are at least as popular in modern research as the Church Fathers, who are made to pay for their past chauvinist statements. Few of them have escaped the revaluation – not even Jerome.

If one wants to show that someone is a misogynist, it is not difficult to present a suitable collection of his sayings and writings, especially if he was writing around 400 A.D. and was as productive as Jerome. But what is more surprising is that some have conjectured that no positive statements about women have ever been found in the works of the Church Fathers.<sup>1</sup> There is additionally a terminological problem: what is a misogynist? From the modern perspective, most of human history, religion and literature is misogynous – in which case the word itself is of little avail. It might be more accurate to apply the term *misogynous* only to such persons and works that deviate from the mainstream of their society.

What I propose to do in this article is to look at Jerome's production as a whole in order to assess whether his contemporaries would have had reason to view him as a misogynist. Whether they actually posed themselves this question or not, is irrelevant from my point of view.

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<sup>1</sup> Mary Daly, *The Church and the Second Sex*, New York 1975, 23.

Jerome's attitudes to women have been the object of some earlier studies.<sup>2</sup> Despite their obvious merits, these works have merely touched upon parts of the available evidence. Thus, their results, too, present only a partial picture.

In his relationship with women Jerome was unlike all the other Church Fathers. Tertullian had a wife and Augustine a concubine and an influential mother, but no one had a circle of so many female friends as Jerome. That is why his views are of some interest even for those who are not attracted to the study of his theological thought.

In his student days in Rome Jerome lived a fast life. As he later indirectly admitted, that included intimate relationships with women, though whether with prostitutes and slaves or with a respectable concubine, we do not know.<sup>3</sup> However, this is a matter of only secondary importance, as nothing indicates that the experiences of his youth in any significant way affected Jerome's later views on sexuality and women.

Before Jerome came back to Rome in 382 he had spent several years in the east as an ascetic studying Christian and

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<sup>2</sup> G.J. Campbell, *St. Jerome's Attitude towards Marriage and Women*, *Amer. Eccl. Rev.* 143 (1960) 310-320, 384-394; D. Wiesen, *St. Jerome as a Satirist*, (*Cornell Stud. Class. Philol.* 34), Ithaca N.Y. 1964; M. Turcan, *Saint Jérôme et les femmes*, BAGB 1968, 259-72; Elizabeth A. Clark, *Jerome, Chrysostom and Friends, Essays and Translations* (*Studies in Women and Religion*, vol. 2), New York 1979; Jane J.S. Barr, *St. Jerome's attitude to women as an influence on the Vulgate Old Testament, Ou testamentiese werkgem. in Suid-Afrika* 20+21 (1978-79) 1-20 (a shorter version in *Studia Patristica* 17 [1982] 268-73). Of these, Turcan's is the most balanced view. Clark's discussion is also useful, but she concentrates on Jerome's actual friendships.

<sup>3</sup> *Epist.* 3,1; 7,4; 22,7 and 47,20. He could even have indulged in some unlawful affair, cf. *Aug. conf.* 2,3,7 CChr 27,20.

In Jerome's letters I refer to the text in *Saint Jérôme, Lettres I-VIII, Texte établi et traduit par J. Labourt, Coll. Budé, Paris 1949-63*. In references to Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, the column numbering is that of the 1883 (vol. 23) and 1884 (vol. 26) editions.

classical literature, as well as Greek and Hebrew. He was respectfully received and employed in the secreteriat of Pope Damasus. At the same time there gathered around him a circle of aristocratic women led by two rich widows, Marcella and Paula. These two women, who of Jerome's acquaintances we know best, were highly intelligent and well versed in both Biblical languages and in theological learning. Consequently, they were able to discuss the most difficult exegetical questions with him.<sup>4</sup> Modern observers have called Paula his dearest friend, probably with some reason.<sup>5</sup> We have no grounds for believing that the relationship ever went beyond the limits of platonic friendship. If there were sexual overtones, they probably remained concealed even to the persons themselves.<sup>6</sup>

Jerome was a ferocious proponent of asceticism and a sharp-tongued satirist who inevitably made himself enemies among the secularised Christians of Rome. In the papal election of 384 he was passed over and evidently lost some of his influence. He gave up politics and went again to the east with Paula. With her money an ascetic community was established in Bethlehem. There Jerome spent the rest of his life absorbed in his literary work and in doctrinal disputes.

It is not uncommon for scholars to claim that they are discussing Jerome's attitude to women when they are actually speaking about his attitude to marriage and virginity.<sup>7</sup> These are

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<sup>4</sup> Cf. J.N.D. Kelly, *Jerome, His Life, Writings and Controversies*, London 1975, 91-103.

<sup>5</sup> Wiesen, *op.cit.* 142; Kelly, *op.cit.* 97 and 278; Barr, *op.cit.* 4. Cf. e.g. Paula's obituary, *epist.* 108, and *vir. ill.* 135.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Kelly, *op.cit.* 91. As Turcan, *op.cit.* 261-262, remarks, we should not be deceived by the picture of an old monk crouching over his books. Both Jerome and Paula were under forty at that time and many of the other women considerably younger. For serious difficulties in determining Jerome's age, see Kelly, *op.cit.* 337-39.

<sup>7</sup> This applies e.g. to the above-mentioned articles of Jane Barr.

two related but by no means identical questions. Modern readers have perhaps projected the themes of some contemporary or later philosophizing into Jerome's writings. Many of his fellow Christians (and others), notably Augustine, pondered upon the nature of woman – i.e. her natural inferiority – and saw virginity and the renunciation of her sex as her only refuge. In such logic the attitudes to women and the attitudes to virginity were closely linked, but such thinking was not typical of Jerome.<sup>8</sup>

For him ascetism was a principle that was not determined by sex. In a few somewhat inconsistent passages he stresses the special benefits of virginity to women.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, most of the letters propagating virginity were addressed to women, and consequently they received the majority of exhortations. But the examples offered were often male, and Jerome gave repeated reminders that his advice applied to men as well.<sup>10</sup> In fact, he remarked that in the Old Testament virginity was confined to males.<sup>11</sup>

Virginity was Jerome's foremost obsession and an end in itself. If necessary, he was prepared to use any arguments to support it, irrespective of their logic. According to one of his main justifications asceticism made room for prayer and spiritual studies – for both sexes. In his vast production the connection between virginity and female inferiority is found only in the most isolated passages, cited above, so much so that they are virtually nonexistent.

Thus, Jerome's attitudes to virginity and his attitudes to women should not be confused. But it does not follow that he considered the sexes to be similar. For him a woman was *vas*

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<sup>8</sup> Cf. Clark, *op.cit.* 48-59, who appears to have a different opinion.

<sup>9</sup> Epist. 22,21; 65,1; 71,3; virg. Mar. 20 PL 23,214 and especially in Eph. 3,5,28-29 PL 26,567.

<sup>10</sup> E.g. epist. 128,3.

<sup>11</sup> Epist. 22,21.

*infirmius, sexus fragilis*.<sup>12</sup> He was following age-old traditions, for *infirmitas sexus* and *levitas animi* were ancient concepts, which could be found even in Roman law.<sup>13</sup> The prevalent belief in the feminine character appears in some other expressions, too, and he quotes from Vergil at least twice: "*Varium et mutabile semper femina*."<sup>14</sup>

In his exegeses Jerome agreed readily with the apostles about hierarchy within the family: the husband had to be considered "the head of the wife",<sup>15</sup> But it should be clear that there was nothing peculiarly Christian in this idea. One could cite Plutarch as a particularly good pagan parallel.<sup>16</sup> The patriarchal structure of the family was a fact that hardly anyone questioned in antiquity – except for Jerome himself, as we shall see later.

Naturally, there were also issues that were typical only of the Church, the right to teach theological matters, for example. Again Jerome's views were perfectly in line with those of the majority of his contemporaries. It was, of course, disgraceful to hear women teach men – but they could teach each other.<sup>17</sup> And if women were allowed an influence in choosing clerics it would be

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<sup>12</sup> E.g. epist. 65,1; 128,3; in eccles. 2,8 CChr 72,266; in Mich. 2,7,5/7 CChr 76,511; in Soph. prol. CChr 76A,655.

<sup>13</sup> Gaius inst. 1,144; Ulp. reg. 11,1; Marcian. dig. 49,14,18pr; Cod. Iust. 5,35,1 etc. *Fragilitas* was used from the 5th century onwards, Cod. Theod. 2,16,3 int; 3,5,3 int; 4,14,1,2; Cod. Iust. 5,3,20,1; 9,17,12. *Vas infirmius*, the weaker vessel, is found in 1 Petr. 3:7.

<sup>14</sup> In eccles. 7,28/30 CChr 72,312; in Mich. 2,7,5/7 CChr 76,511 (= Aen. 4,569-70). Other examples are *muliebre iurgium*, in Gal. 3,5,19-21 PL 26,444 and *dissolutio feminarum* (as opposed to *virilis duritia*), in Is. 2,3,16 CChr 73,55.

<sup>15</sup> In Mich. 2,7,5/7 CChr 76,511; the same principle with some personal weighting in the argumentation, in Tit. 2,3-5 PL 26,617.

<sup>16</sup> E.g. Coniug. praec. 11 and 33.

<sup>17</sup> Epist. 53,7; 65,1; adv. Pelag, 1,25 PL 23,542; in Tit. 2,3-5 PL 26,616; cf. Stat. eccl. ant. (c. A.D. 475) c.37/41/100 CChr 148,172/173/184. In some god-forsaken place in Gaul women had been ordained priests, but it was a shocking exception, Conc. Nemaus. (A.D. 394/6) c.2 CChr 148,50.



frankly stupid, or as Jerome says, a case of "pearls before swine".<sup>18</sup> His position was consistent, but not his practical behaviour.

One of Jerome's favourite biblical citations was 2 Tim. 3:7, which singled out those particularly vulnerable to heretical teaching:

*...mulierculas oneratas peccatis, quae ducuntur variis desideriiis: semper discentes, et numquam ad scientiam veritatis pervenientes.*

He used this passage, sometimes combined with Eph. 4:14, at least ten times, mostly to attack rival teachers and sects.<sup>19</sup> Thus, it was an essential and perhaps an effective part of his invective against them. Such an image of ignorant female Christians certainly had some equivalent in real life, even more so in the minds of his audience.<sup>20</sup> Some of these writings were addressed to women, which makes us suspect that he did not think all his sisters in Christ were of the same kind.

A few passages might lead us to an opposite conclusion. When Solomon in his Ecclesiastes informed the readers that woman is the cause of all evil, Jerome rather automatically agreed:

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<sup>18</sup> In Is. 2,3,12 CChr 73,52 and in Is. 16,58,10 CChr 73A,670. On similar themes in John Chrysostom's writings, see Clark, op.cit. 10 with references.

<sup>19</sup> E.g. epist. 130,17; 133,4; c. Vigil. 3 PL 23,356; in Is. 16,57,6 CChr 73A,646.

<sup>20</sup> Ignorant male Christians are not a recognizable group in Jerome's writings, at least not as identified by sex. However, there is no doubt that in his opinion most of his contemporaries were totally ignorant in theology and in Biblical studies – and one is tempted to agree.

*Non putemus temere hanc Solomonem de genere mulierum protulisse sententiam; quod expertus est, loquitur.*<sup>21</sup>

In the next chapter he states: *Facilior ad casum est mulier.*<sup>22</sup> And in a letter (130,17) to a woman (!):

*Sed si quidem in viris periculosa est (vita solitaria)... quanto magis in feminis, quarum mutabilis fluctuansque sententia, si suo arbitrio relinquatur, cito ad deteriora delabitur!*

The first statement is perhaps the only one in Jerome's works that can be called truly misogynous. The two last-mentioned passages could quite conveniently be placed under his conception of *vas infirmius*.

In his Biblical exegeses Jerome was naturally tied to the main text. If the Scripture contained a statement hostile towards women, he could not reject it out of hand. The best he could do was to circumvent it through an allegorical explanation, though usually in the form "*alii dicunt ...*". His commentary to Ecclesiastes offers some particularly clear examples of this.<sup>23</sup> In that kind of interpretation the feminine stands for matter and body, while the masculine denotes soul. The comparison was hardly flattering from a woman's point of view and its appositeness should be questioned, although it was typical of Late Ancient philosophy. Jerome, however, gave it in cases where the literal interpretation would have been even less favourable to women.

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<sup>21</sup> In eccles. 7,26,27 CChr 72,311.

<sup>22</sup> In eccles. 7,28/30 CChr 72,312.

<sup>23</sup> In eccles. 2,8 CChr 72,266; 7,26,27 and 7,28/30 CChr 72,311/313; see also in Is. 2,3,16 CChr 73,55 and in Eph. 3,5,33 PL 26,570.

In his letters Jerome was allowed a degree of latitude and could aim his thrusts where he thought them appropriate. And anything that promoted asceticism was appropriate. He had to convince his prospective virgins of the blessings of their chosen state. The vexations of a married woman had to be emphasized,<sup>24</sup> and sisters who had chosen worldly goods had to be painted black. Jerome eagerly described what he saw as the luxury, self-indulgence and ambition of the noble Roman matrons.<sup>25</sup> Again, his view evidently to a certain degree corresponded to reality. Nevertheless, the passages were not intended, and should not be treated, as an attack against women but as a part of his grand strategy: the defence of the ascetic life.

This is how we should also understand the most famous "misogynous" passages of Jerome in his tract against Jovian. Jovian was a monk who had publicly defended several theses that were to Jerome the purest heresy and blasphemy. Not the least among them was the claim that marriage was no less sacred than sexual continence.

Jerome attacked him fiercely drawing on all the imaginable disadvantages of marriage, and this time he wanted expressly to convince a male audience. Leaning on Solomon's Proverbs Jerome assured his readers that a quarrelsome wife was one of man's worst plagues and even an amiable one only exhausted the husband with her love.<sup>26</sup> When proceeding to Graeco-Roman history, drama and mythology he found irrefutable arguments in favour of virginity, as well as catastrophes caused by women. He continued by quoting at length Theophrastus' treatise on marriage, of which the original text has not been preserved. Here all the wives' faults were listed, from adultery to endless

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<sup>24</sup> Epist. 22,2; 49,18; virg. Mar. 20 PL 23,214.

<sup>25</sup> E.g. epist. 38,3-4; 45,4-5; 107,4-5; 125,3; 130,18.

<sup>26</sup> Adv. Iovin. 1,28 PL 23,260-62.

complaining and quarreling. As a finishing touch, the venerable Church Father even qualified Epicurus as an authority.<sup>27</sup>

Jerome's aims in this attack are quite clear, as in many instances are the models for his arguments. Apart from those he explicitly names, quotations from e.g. Seneca, Plutarch and Porphyrius have been detected. There is no agreement whether Juvenal is used or not, even though many arguments would fit the tone of his sixth satire. Of Christian antifeminists, Tertullian is represented.<sup>28</sup>

Jerome was well aware of the satirical nature of his style. Once he described the behaviour of a wealthy lady and declared that he did not mention her name, lest the readers should think he was writing a satire.<sup>29</sup> He was even more explicit in his polemic tract on Mary's virginity. After having once again caricatured a wife's life in a long passage, he admitted in the end: *Rhetoricati sumus et in morem declamatorum paululum lusimus*.<sup>30</sup> But he did not let this awareness restrain his bitter tongue.<sup>31</sup>

So far we have treated mainly those passages of Jerome's works which have earned him ill fame as a misogynist – somewhat unjustly, as I have tried to stress. I will next turn to another, more philogynous, feature of his writings. Hitherto it has attracted much scantier notice among the scholars studying Jerome's attitudes towards women.

It is quite revealing that Jerome was frequently accused of discussing theological matters with women and of excessively extolling their merits. As always, he defended himself firmly. These passages show us another Jerome:

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<sup>27</sup> Adv. Iovin. 1,41-48 PL 23,282-93.

<sup>28</sup> Kelly, op.cit. 12, 108 and 184; Wiesen, op.cit. 8-10, 14 and 152-158.

<sup>29</sup> Epist. 22,32.

<sup>30</sup> Virg. Mar. 22 PL 23,216; cf. also epist. 49,18.

<sup>31</sup> Jerome's own view of his satire is discussed by Wiesen, op.cit. 247-64.

*Rideat forsitan infidelis lector, me in muliercularum laudibus inmorari, qui, si recordetur sanctas feminas, comites Domini Salvatoris ... se potius superbiae, quam nos condemnabit ineptiarum, qui virtutes non sexu sed animo iudicamus.*<sup>32</sup>

*(Non considerantes) ... in servitute Christi nequaquam differentiam sexuum valere, sed mentium.*<sup>33</sup>

This time he adduced examples of revered women in the past. His list included not only heroines from the Jewish and Christian traditions, but also pagan figures like Aspasia, Sappho, Themista, Cornelia and Porcia.<sup>34</sup>

Thus, in his defence Jerome pleaded mainly the spiritual equality of the sexes. But he could not help making a sarcastic remark that if men were interested in the Scripture, he would not have to talk to women.<sup>35</sup> Though hardly a compliment from the latter's point of view, this was clearly a taunt thrown at his male critics rather than his female friends and as such very typical of Jerome.

We might suspect that Jerome again only reacted to an attack and that his egalitarian views did not spring from a deep conviction but from an acute need to defend himself. Obviously this was not the case. He made similar statements on occasions where no similar need existed:

*Neque enim fieri potest, ut in spiritalibus donis sit sexus ulla diversitas, cum in Christo Iesu non sit vir et mulier.*<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Epist. 127, 5.

<sup>33</sup> In Is. 12 prol. CChr 73A, 465-66.

<sup>34</sup> In Soph. prol. CChr 76A, 655.

<sup>35</sup> Epist. 65, 1.

<sup>36</sup> In Is. 15, 56, 6. 7 CChr 73A, 634.

*Non tamen arbitrandum sit, quod uxor, quae corporis vasculum habet infirmum, statim et anima infirmior sit.*<sup>37</sup>

Such views were extremely rare in antiquity. In one passage Jerome was even led to express thoughts that are, as far as I know, unique in Latin literature. He was expounding Paul's letter to the Ephesians, in which the Apostle, after having ordered wives to be subjugated to their husbands, wound up with a sentence that in Latin translation runs (Eph. 5:33): *Uxor autem timeat virum suum*. Jerome was surprised at the word *timere*, because of its common meaning 'to fear'. He found it quite unsuitable and, having considered the possibility of an allegorical explanation, concluded that its proper sense here was 'to revere'. However, it was his arguments that were particularly notable:

*cum frequenter multo meliores maritis inveniuntur uxores et eis imperent, et domum regnent, et educent liberos, et familiae teneant disciplinam: illis luxuriantibus et per scorta currentibus. Hae viros suos utrum regnare debeant an timere, lectoris arbitrio derelinquo.*<sup>38</sup>

There is no doubt that Jerome highly valued his female friends, and he unhesitatingly extolled their intelligence in their obituaries.<sup>39</sup> He mentioned especially their speed of learning and their shrewd questions. In Marcella's obituary Jerome informs us of the rather surprising fact that after his departure from Rome

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<sup>37</sup> In Tit. 2,3-5 PL 26,615.

<sup>38</sup> In Eph. 3,5,33 PL 26,570. The same themes but not the same conclusions are found in Joh. Chrys. hom. quales duc. s. uxores 4 PG 51,230-31.

<sup>39</sup> Blaesilla, epist. 39,1; Paula, epist. 108,26; Marcella, epist. 127,7.

she was frequently used as an authority in Biblical questions. But she exhibited proper behaviour and tried to perform her expected role:

*sic interrogata respondebat, ut etiam sua, non sua diceret, sed vel mea, vel cuius libet alterius, ut et in ipso quod docebat, se discipulam fateretur. Sciebat enim dictum ab Apostolo: "Docere autem mulieri non permitto"; ne virili sexui, et interdum sacerdotibus, de obscuris et ambiguis sciscitantibus, facere videretur iniuriam.<sup>40</sup>*

This paradox illustrates Jerome's ambivalent position well. He bravely defended the spiritual equality of women but found more than enough examples of their disastrous influence. He adopted Paul's views on patriarchal hierarchy inside the family and Church but admired the strong and intelligent Roman ladies who could enlighten priests. What did he really think?

It would be a serious mistake to treat Jerome's writings as a logical whole. What other merits he may have claimed, consistency was not one of them. He was never an original philosophical thinker and did not even strive for a coherent picture of the world around him. That is why we have to resolve his attitude to women into its component parts. It also explains why so many different interpretations are possible.

First, it is beyond dispute that Jerome had absorbed the old pattern of thought – common to both the Jewish and the Greco-Roman world where he was born – according to which women were a weaker variety of the human race, without citizenship and without equal rights, with lesser talents and with graver faults. This view was accepted in his secular and ecclesiastical

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<sup>40</sup> Epist. 127,7.

surroundings and was as natural an inheritance to him as to anyone else.

Second, he had overriding aims like asceticism, which he was eager to propagate in Roman society at any cost. He used his sharp pen wherever he saw a weak spot in his adversaries and heaped ridicule on them with a most unchristian zeal. In the heat of the fight he satirized both men and women without regard to logic or to any contrary opinions which he voiced in a calmer mood.

Finally, he had a close personal relationship with several intelligent women. Their intellectual equality with men was a practical fact, which was reflected in Jerome's theoretical writing, as well.<sup>41</sup> It is no wonder that these different elements produced very inconsistent attitudes towards women in his works. He did not need to notice it himself. For him there was no "feminine question" which would have led him to consider this part of his production as a unity. The same applied to his contemporaries.

But it was precisely the third, more positive aspect of his attitudes, which separated him from the common opinion of his time – and of a long time before and after him. Was he an exception by pure chance? In a way, probably, yes. However, I have argued that his sympathetic disposition was based on personal relationships, which enabled him to see the mental capacities of women when they were not restricted. And I think we have here the clue to our question.

A married woman in classical Antiquity, as in all times, was in the shadow of her husband. While running his household, she could hardly lead an independent life or devote herself to serious literary study. It was only in the late fourth century that a new custom penetrated the Roman nobility. Then some women,

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<sup>41</sup> Cf. Clark's conclusion, *op.cit.* 78-9, though she is less concerned with Jerome's writings than with his practical behaviour.



virgins and young widows, remained unmarried and, motivated by their new creed, redirected their energy to learning and spiritual questions. Thus, an unsociable monk, cut off from male friends, found the circle of Roman ladies in a highly exceptional situation. Without sexual intentions, he was able to form a spiritual bond with them and to see them as only a few males could.

But there was no room for intellectual women in the world of men. Jerome himself propagated a change. Ascetic communities in the cities were transferred to monasteries, and learned virgins were shut behind the walls. This was the case for most of the Middle Ages.

In spite of his wealthy friends and his extensive correspondence, Jerome was never a leader of masses. His attitudes to women are a curiosity, not an illustration of the general tendencies of his time.<sup>42</sup> However, besides his personal feelings his letters offer much useful information about contemporary Roman family and women. Combined with other evidence, such as Late Ancient legislation, they shed some light on the realities of life in the late 4th and early 5th centuries. The results of this separate survey will, I hope, appear later in a more comprehensive work.

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<sup>42</sup> From this viewpoint both Turcan's concluding statements, *op.cit.* 272, and Clark's optimism, *op.cit.* 79, appear somewhat exaggerated.

# Il culto arcaico nel *Tarentum* a Roma e la *gens Valeria*\*

Jaakko Aronen

## I

Con il toponimo *Tarentum* i Romani intendevano l'area situata in *extremo Martio Campo* presso la riva del Tevere.<sup>1</sup> Nonostante la scarsità della documentazione letteraria e archeologica per la parte occidentale del Campo Marzio, i recenti studi topografici di Filippo Coarelli, Stefania Quilici Gigli e Eugenio La Rocca permettono di localizzare, ancorché sommariamente, il *Tarentum* nell'area tra ponte Principe Amedeo e ponte Vittorio Emanuele presso la chiesa di S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini da dove si estendeva verso nord-est.<sup>2</sup>

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\* Conferenza tenuta a Villa Lante, sede dell'Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, il 19 aprile 1989. Per incoraggiamenti e commenti sono grato a Giovanni Casadio, Nicholas Horsfall, Outi Merisalo, Walter Pagnotta, Ida Paladino ed Eva Margareta Steinby.

<sup>1</sup> Raccolta delle fonti antiche: F. Castagnoli, *Il Campo Marzio nell'antichità*, Mem.Acc.Linc. 8.1 (1947) 155-156.

<sup>2</sup> F. Coarelli, *Navalia, Tarentum e la topografia del Campo Marzio meridionale*, Quad.Ist.Top.Ant.Roma 5 (1968) 27-37; Id., *Il Campo Marzio occidentale. Storia e topografia*, MEFRA 89 (1977) 837-846; S. Quilici Gigli, *Estremo Campo Marzio. Alcune osservazioni sulla topografia*, Anal.Inst.Dan., Suppl. 10 (1983) 47-57; E. La Rocca, *La riva a mezzaluna. Culti, agoni, monumenti funerari presso il Tevere nel Campo Marzio occidentale*, Roma 1984, XII-XIII, 57, 69. Cfr. anche P. Di

Quanto all'origine del nome *Tarentum*, è estremamente difficile stabilire, in questo senso, un rapporto di questo luogo con l'omonima città della Magna Grecia che giustifichi la derivazione. Più verosimilmente si tratta, come è stato proposto, o di una radice etrusca *tar-*, riscontrabile ad es. nel nome *Tarquinius*, o di una radice preindoeuropea comune a molti nomi dei luoghi vicini a corsi fluviali.<sup>3</sup>

La vita religiosa nel *Tarentum* fu, forse dalla tarda età regia, incentrata su un culto privato della *gens Valeria* di origine sabina. Qui si svolgevano anche i c.d. *ludi Tarentini* officiati dalla stessa *gens*. La situazione cambiò nel 249 a.C. quando il complesso cultuale fu reso pubblico e i *ludi* si trasformarono in *ludi saeculares*, celebrati per la prima volta proprio quell'anno.

Il cambiamento fu dovuto alla richiesta, da parte del senato, ai *decemviri sacris faciundis* di consultare i Libri Sibillini. Questa procedura era normale in casi di estremo bisogno nazionale e significava spesso l'introduzione dei riti e culti di origine non romana.<sup>4</sup> In questo specifico caso si deve ricordare che siamo all'epoca della prima guerra punica e che, inoltre, le fonti menzionano come motivazione anche il prodigio di un fulmine che aveva colpito una parte delle mura della città. I Libri Sibillini prescrivevano sacrifici di vittime nere, presso un'ara sotterranea nel *Tarentum*, ad una coppia di divinità inferie di origine greca, a Dis Pater e Proserpina (Hades e Persephone)

Manzano, Note sulla monetazione dei Ludi Secolari dell'88 d.C., Bull.Com. 89 (1984) 297-304.

<sup>3</sup> Per le diverse etimologie proposte, cfr. Castagnoli (n. 1), 98-99 e L. Polverini, Ludi Tarentini, in De Ruggiero, Diz.epigr., IV (1978) 2134-2135.

<sup>4</sup> Per i Libri Sibillini e i *decemviri*, cfr. J. Scheid, La religione a Roma, Roma-Bari 1983, 52-53; C. Santi, I Libri Sibyllini e i decemviri sacris faciundis, Roma 1985; A. Momigliano, Saggi di storia della religione romana, Brescia 1988, 185-189; D. Sabbatucci, Divinazione e cosmologia, Milano 1989, 165-183.

nonché celebrazioni, in tre notti consecutive, dei *ludi* che dovevano ripetersi ogni cento (o ogni centodieci) anni.<sup>5</sup>

I vecchi rituali gentilizi del *Tarentum* formavano probabilmente la base per i *ludi saeculares*, ma vennero gradualmente sostituiti da altre cerimonie. Una parte di queste continuava comunque ad essere eseguita sempre nel *Tarentum*, ma, dopo la totale risistemazione dei *ludi* da parte di Augusto, nei rituali festivi non c'è più traccia di un culto di Dis e Proserpina.

Le fonti lasciano capire, in genere, che l'introduzione del culto di Dis e Proserpina ebbe luogo solo nel 249 in occasione della statalizzazione del culto gentilizio dei Valerii. Esistono, però, altre tradizioni che fanno risalire la consultazione dei Libri Sibillini all'inizio della repubblica e l'attribuiscono a Publio Valerio Publicola, illustre membro della *gens Valeria* e primo console di Roma.<sup>6</sup> Se questo culto fu introdotto nel 249 a.C. o prima, facendo già parte della religione dei Valerii, è una questione sulla quale avremo modo di ritornare nel corso di questo articolo.

Tutti gli ingredienti del culto (la coppia infera Dis e Proserpina, l'ara sotterranea e le vittime nere) alludono ad un carattere infero dell'area del *Tarentum*.<sup>7</sup> Il fatto che il culto è, in ogni caso, importato dal mondo greco (ovviamente dalla Magna

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<sup>5</sup> Varrone in *Censor. de die nat.* 17,8; Verrio Flacco in *Ps.Acr. ad Hor.carm.saec.* 8; *Liv. per.* 49 ecc. Tutte le fonti relative ai *ludi saeculares* sono state raccolte in G.B. Pighi, *De ludis saecularibus populi Romani Quiritium libri sex*<sup>2</sup>, Amsterdam 1965. Cfr. anche P. Brind'Amour, *L'origine des Jeux séculaires*, ANRW II.16.1 (1978) 1334-1417.

<sup>6</sup> *Plut. Popl.* 21; *Censor. de die nat.* 17,10. Cfr. *Zos.* 2,3 (v. sotto).

<sup>7</sup> Questo carattere infero della zona, anche se non viene più accentuato nelle cerimonie dei *ludi saeculares* dopo Augusto, non sembra però esser caduto totalmente in oblio: nell'*Apocolocyntosis* di Seneca (11,6; 12,1; 13,1) il luogo è ancora considerato come via di comunicazione con gli Inferi.

Grecia) ha indotto gli studiosi a sostenere con più o meno validi argomenti, ma praticamente unanimemente, che Dis e Proserpina abbiano sostituito un qualche culto arcaico, anch'esso connotato da valenze infere. Due altre coppie sono state nominate come possibili candidati: Soranus e Feronia (due divinità sabine o falische)<sup>8</sup> e, d'altra parte, Volcanus e Terra.<sup>9</sup> Si è parlato anche di Vesta, Tiberinus e Manes.<sup>10</sup>

Recentemente H.S. Versnel si è espresso a favore di Mars,<sup>11</sup> mentre E. La Rocca opta per una dea ctonia che sarebbe, allo stesso tempo, una dea matronale e nutrice – una dea *kourotrophos*. Questo tipo di divinità avrebbe un ruolo funzionale nel quadro dei vari riti di iniziazione dei giovani che secondo lo studioso si sarebbero svolti nei pressi del *Tarentum*.<sup>12</sup>

## II

Senza soffermarci a commentare le varie teorie presentate, vorrei tuttavia far notare che, in verità, abbiamo una descrizione sulla situazione arcaica nel *Tarentum*, anche se questa non ha mai ricevuto l'attenzione che merita,<sup>13</sup> forse perché si trova solo in

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<sup>8</sup> G. Pinza, Sopra l'origine dei ludi Tarentini o Saeculares, Bull.Com. 24 (1896) 206-225.

<sup>9</sup> P. Wuilleumier, Tarente et le Tarentum, REL 10 (1932) 132-139.

<sup>10</sup> Pighi (n. 5), 8-9.

<sup>11</sup> H.S. Versnel, Die neue Inschrift von Satricum in historischer Sicht, Gymnasium 89 (1982) 217-219; Id., Apollo and Mars One Hundred Years after Roscher, Visible Religion 4-5 (1985-86) 147.

<sup>12</sup> La Rocca (n. 2), 3-55. Un'altra teoria sul carattere iniziatico dei riti nel *Tarentum* è formulata in J. Gagé, La chute des Tarquins et les débuts de la république romaine, Paris 1976, 101-102.

<sup>13</sup> Spesso ne è stato negato ogni valore storico e religioso, cfr. ad es. G. Wissowa, Religion und Kultus der Römer<sup>2</sup>, München 1912, 309; M.P. Nilsson, Saeculares ludi, in RE IIA (1920) 1701-1702; G. Giannelli, Culti e miti della Magna Grecia<sup>2</sup>, Firenze 1963, 34.

due fonti piuttosto tarde quali Valerio Massimo (I sec. d.C.) e lo scrittore greco Zosimo (V sec. d.C.). Lo scopo del presente articolo è quello di valorizzare questo racconto che è, in sostanza, un autentico mito sull'arrivo dei primi Valerii a Roma e sulla fondazione del culto familiare di questa *gens*. Il racconto è situato in un tempo non precisato, comunque in un tempo diverso, in un'epoca anteriore in cui a Roma i Valerii ancora non c'erano. E questa è una realtà differente dalla realtà del momento in cui il mito veniva narrato e tramandato, in una Roma, cioè, dove la *gens Valeria* costituiva un elemento integrante della società, partecipando alla vita politica e religiosa.<sup>14</sup>

Dal punto di vista di un'analisi in chiave storico-religiosa non è rilevante la questione se le vicende narrate siano 'realmente' accadute, se, cioè, siano storiche oppure no. Ciò che interessa di più è, invece, il fatto che questo racconto esiste in un determinato ambiente storico-culturale che lo considera tale da essere conservato nella tradizione. Nel nostro caso è logico supporre che il mito originariamente faceva parte delle tradizioni gentilizie dei Valerii, ma in una fase successiva fu reso parte del patrimonio religioso dello stato – un processo analogo, e forse contemporaneo, alla statalizzazione dei riti privati della stessa *gens* nel *Tarentum*.

Non c'è dubbio che le nostre fonti, Valerio Massimo e Zosimo, poggiano sull'antica tradizione annalistica riportata dagli autori tardorepubblicani quali Varrone e Valerio Anziato. Inoltre constatiamo che la narrazione di Zosimo è più lunga e particolareggiata e non può, quindi, derivare da Valerio Massimo.<sup>15</sup> Si deve tenere presente anche che nel racconto, nella

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<sup>14</sup> Per la diversità del tempo del mito rispetto a quello attuale, cfr. le considerazioni in A. Brelich, *Introduzione alla storia delle religioni*, Roma 1966, 9-10.

<sup>15</sup> È probabile che Zosimo abbia attinto direttamente dall'unica fonte greca a sua disposizione: Flegonte di Tralles (II sec. d.C.) scrisse l'opera *Περὶ*

sua versione a noi nota, in teoria si possono scorgere diverse modifiche e strati cronologici dovuti a vari fattori. Ma prima di approfondire questo argomento conviene dare un riassunto del racconto in questione.<sup>16</sup>

Si parla di un certo Valesio, capostipite della *gens Valeria*, un ricco uomo sabino che abitava nella città di Eretum. Essendosi ammalati di peste i due figli e la figlia femmina (Zosimo menziona solo i figli, παῖδες, senza precisazioni), Valesio pregò al suo focolare i Lares familiares (Vesta in Zosimo, ma questo, come vedremo, potrebbe essere un malinteso), dichiarandosi pronto a morire insieme con la moglie, per salvare la vita dei figli. Subito udì una voce dal bosco che gli ordinava di portare i figli lungo il Tevere fino al *Tarentum*, quindi di riscaldare dell'acqua attinta dal fiume e farne bere ai figli presso l'ara di Dis e Proserpina. Zosimo aggiunge ancora che prima della preghiera e della voce c'era stato un prodigio allarmante: un incendio, nato da un colpo di fulmine, aveva devastato il vicino bosco. Questo era stato interpretato dagli indovini come segno della collera divina.

Partiti con una barca, Valesio e i figli sbarcarono di notte, quasi per caso (per mancanza del fuoco secondo Valerio Massimo, e per la febbre dei figli secondo Zosimo) al Campo Marzio. Luogo che, a seconda delle fonti, apprende dai pastori o dal suo pilota essere chiamato il *Tarentum*. Qui Valesio fece riscaldare dell'acqua presa dal Tevere. Dopo averla bevuta i figli si addormentarono e videro nel sogno una divinità maschile a loro ignota che ordinava loro di immolare vittime nere sull'altare di Dis e Proserpina e di celebrare giochi notturni in tre notti consecutive. Quando i figli si svegliarono, erano guariti (secondo Valerio Massimo la divinità li guariva detergendo con

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τῶν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἑορτῶν nella quale esponeva tutta la storia dei *ludi saeculares* dalle origini fino ai *ludi* di Domiziano, cfr. Pighi (n. 5), 43.

<sup>16</sup> Val. Max. 2,4,5; Zos. 2,1-3.

la spugna i loro corpi). Valesio volle subito costruire l'altare richiesto ed i servi, scavando il terreno per le fondamenta, trovarono a venti piedi di profondità un altare già pronto fornito da una dedica a Dis Pater e Proserpina.

A questo racconto seguono altre due notizie sulle vicende dell'altare. La prima, riferita dal solo Zosimo, spiega la sua preesistenza nel luogo in quanto, in occasione di una guerra contro gli Albani, ai Romani era apparso un uomo grande di aspetto mostruoso, che ordinava di fare un sacrificio sotterraneo a Dis e Proserpina. I Romani, dopo aver costruito l'ara per questi dei, l'avrebbero nascosta sotto terra per impedire che venisse a conoscenza dei non-Romani.

L'altra notizia tratta del primo console di Roma, Publio Valerio Publicola, che successivamente all'episodio del suo antenato Valesio e dei suoi figli, evidentemente durante il suo primo consolato nel 509 a.C., per liberare i Romani da una epidemia di pestilenza, indisse giochi e sacrifici neri per tre notti di seguito presso l'altare riscoperto per questa occasione.

### III

Vediamo che, secondo la tradizione, le vicende del culto di Dis e Proserpina si articolano su tre piani cronologici.

La prima fase, che potremmo nominare "la fase mitica" contiene due momenti: la costruzione e l'occultamento dell'ara da parte dei Romani e la sua riscoperta da parte del sabino Valesio, capostipite della *gens Valeria*. Valesio è sicuramente un personaggio puramente mitico; lo dimostrano la collocazione delle sue azioni in un tempo staccato dal normale ordine cronologico, gli interventi divini e il fatto che, stando a Zosimo, dopo la scoperta dell'ara e l'esecuzione dei riti richiesti egli fu chiamato *Manius Valerius Tarentinus*. Questo nome contiene in



*nuce* tutte le valenze attribuite all'area del *Tarentum* nel mito che abbiamo analizzato poc' anzi: il prenome *Manius* veniva connesso etimologicamente ai Manes,<sup>17</sup> il gentilizio *Valerius* si faceva derivare dal verbo latino *valere* 'essere sano'<sup>18</sup> e il cognome *Tarentinus* non può non derivare dal toponimo *Tarentum*.<sup>19</sup>

Nella seconda fase che chiamiamo "mitistorica" entra nel quadro un personaggio ovviamente storico, ma, come è noto, fortemente mitizzato dall'annalistica romana, il console Publio Valerio Publicola il quale ripete i riti stabiliti dal suo antenato.<sup>20</sup>

La terza fase sarebbe quella propriamente "storica" alla quale si è accennato all'inizio di questo articolo, la trasformazione, cioè, del culto gentilizio in culto statale e l'introduzione o semplice riaffermazione del culto di Dis e Proserpina nel *Tarentum*.

In tutte queste fasi la motivazione per indirizzare un culto a Dis e Proserpina è simile. Si tratta sempre di situazioni di crisi: di guerre o di epidemie di pestilenze, e sullo sfondo è presente, più o meno esplicitamente, il bisogno di assicurare la continuazione della stirpe.

Torniamo ora al problema se il racconto tramandatoci da Valerio Massimo e Zosimo possa essere considerato cronologicamente stratificato. Si ha l'impressione che il culto greco di Dis

<sup>17</sup> Zos. 2,3,2 ἐκλήθη Μάνιος Οὐαλέριος Ταραντίνος· τοὺς τε γὰρ χθονίους θεοὺς μάνης καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ τὸ ὑγιαίνειν βαλῆρε. Cfr. H. Volkmann, in RE VIIIA, s.v. Valerius (Nr. 351). Cfr. anche il caso di Manius Curius Dentatus: I. Paladino, Manius Curius Dentatus e le rape, in Perennitas. Studi in onore di A. Brelich, Roma 1980, 362-363.

<sup>18</sup> Cfr. Zos. 2,3,2 cit. alla nota precedente e F. Münzer, De gente Valeria, Diss. Berlin 1891, 5.

<sup>19</sup> Zos. 2,3,2 Ταραντίνος δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ Τάραντι θυσίας.

<sup>20</sup> Secondo Plutarco (Popl. 21) Valerio Publicola avrebbe eseguito queste cerimonie non durante il suo primo consolato (nel 509) per fare cessare una grave pestilenza come dice Zosimo (2,3,3), ma durante il quarto (nel 504) quando l'ordine dello stato fu minacciato dalla coalizione dei Sabini e dei Latini e, inoltre, da una epidemia che causava un gran numero di aborti.

e Proserpina fosse generalizzato come appartenente ad ogni fase cronologica. È un pò difficile supporre un tale culto greco nel sesto secolo a.C., quando i riti dei Valerii probabilmente esistevano già nel *Tarentum*. Si potrebbe dunque ipotizzare una voluta proiezione nel passato di una più recente situazione culturale. Se questa proiezione accadde nel 249 a.C. o prima, è una questione alla quale non è possibile dare risposta. Ci accontentiamo di ritenere probabile questo tipo di ritocchi nel corso della trasmissione del mito e che forse dobbiamo distinguere il nucleo sull'arrivo di Valesio e dei figli nel *Tarentum* dall'altro materiale mitico magari più recente, ma comunque, a mio avviso, risalente almeno al momento della statalizzazione dei *sacra* dei Valerii nel 249 a.C.

È da sottolineare, difatti, che, anche nella versione a noi nota, il mito non risulta una compilazione di elementi eterogenei bensì un racconto coerente, connotato da un valore sacrale in quanto la sequenza degli avvenimenti ha un significato ben preciso e, in qualche modo, fonda la 'romanità giustificata' dei Valerii: prima l'altare di Dis e Proserpina che i *Romani* nascondevano sotto terra perché non volevano farlo vedere a nessun non-Romano. Lo ritrova, poi, comunque, uno *straniero*, il sabino Valesio condotto lì da un oracolo. Egli *diventa* dunque *Romano* per volontà divina. Si è anche visto che adotta subito una nomenclatura tipicamente romana: Valesius diventa Manius Valerius Tarentinus. Infine, il suo discendente Valerio Publicola si dimostra un *Romano per eccellenza* salvando, attraverso questo stesso culto, i Romani dalla pestilenza. Agisce ὑπὲρ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐλευθερίας, parole che, secondo Zosimo (2,3,3), egli stesso fa incidere sull'altare.

## IV

A questo punto accantoniamo Dis e Proserpina e cerchiamo di esaminare se il nostro mito contiene elementi che alludono ad altri contesti mitici e culturali.

Le entità extraumane figurano nel modo seguente: 1) la preghiera iniziale di Valesio fu indirizzata ai Lares (Val. Max.) o a Vesta (Zos.); 2) la successiva risposta divina, prendendo forma di una audizione, dava istruzioni per la guarigione dei figli ordinando il viaggio al *Tarentum*, dove 3) una divinità maschile appare nel sogno ai figli, li guarisce e dà ordini circa i sacrifici e l'esecuzione di giochi; 4) nella prima fase del culto del *Tarentum* quando i Romani costruivano l'altare originale questo fu prescritto da una divinità maschile che appariva loro.

Abbiamo, dunque, a che fare con una preghiera, un'audizione e due visioni.

La prima questione nasce automaticamente. Dobbiamo dare la preferenza ai Lares o a Vesta quale titolare del culto domestico di Valesio? Nella mitologia romana Vesta e i Lares hanno alcune sfere in comune, soprattutto quella del focolare. Qui non è comunque escluso un'equivoco dovuto alla difficoltà di tradurre in greco il concetto *Lares*. Questa parola non è attestata nella lingua greca e il concetto veniva di solito tradotto con δαίμονες o ἥρωες.<sup>21</sup> La parola greca ἑστία significa anche semplicemente 'focolare' e Valerio Massimo dice che Valesio pregava i Lares proprio mentre prendeva l'acqua dal focolare (2,4,5 *aquam a foco petens... Lares ... oravit*). Quindi dovendo scegliere tra Vesta e i Lares sembrano preferibili questi ultimi.

L'audizione e le visioni non sono nominalmente attribuite ad alcuna divinità. Si può rilevare comunque che, nonostante il suo riserbo riguardo a questi interventi divini, il racconto

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<sup>21</sup> G. Wissowa, Lares, in *Lex. Myth. Roscher*, II.2 (1894-1897) 1869-1870.

presenta in realtà parecchi indizi che ci consentono di individuarvi una sola entità e considerarla Faunus.

Nel dossier relativo a Faunus gli elementi più significativi per noi sono i seguenti:

1) Faunus è un dio oracolare. Il suo modo più tipico di profetizzare è fare sentire solo la sua voce dal bosco, senza apparire.<sup>22</sup> È esattamente questo quello che accade nel mito: Valesio sentì dal vicino bosco la voce che gli ordinava di andare al *Tarentum*.

2) Un'altra caratteristica di Faunus è di essere particolarmente attivo nei momenti di imminente catastrofe (cfr. l'epidemia della pestilenza e le situazioni di guerra).<sup>23</sup>

3) Ha anche a che fare con la fondazione dei culti (come accade nel nostro caso).<sup>24</sup>

4) Oltre le voci di origine invisibile, per le quali fu chiamato anche *Fatuus*, *Fatuclus* o *Aius Locutius* (nomi tutti derivati dai verbi significanti, appunto, 'parlare'),<sup>25</sup> un altro modo in cui Faunus si avvicina alla gente sono le visioni. Per questo è chiamato anche *Incubus* o *Incubo*.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Cfr. i dati raccolti da W.F. Otto, *Faunus*, in RE VI (1909) 2058-2059 e da A. Brelich, *Tre variazioni romane sul tema delle origini*<sup>2</sup>, Roma 1976, 67-68.

<sup>23</sup> Ad es. Cic. de div. 1,45,101 *Saepe etiam in proeliis Fauni auditi et in rebus turbidis veridicae voces ex occulto missae esse dicuntur*. Altri dati in Otto (n. 22), 2058.

<sup>24</sup> Ad es. Prob. georg. 1,10 *et primus loca certis numinibus et aedificia quaedam lucosque sacrauit* e le considerazioni in Brelich (n. 22), 63, 71, 78-79.

<sup>25</sup> Ad es. Serv. Aen. 8,314 *Hos Faunos etiam Fatuos dicunt quod per stuporem divina pronuntient*. Cfr. Brelich (n. 22), 67-68 e J. Aronen, *Iuturna, Carmenta e Mater Larum. Un rapporto arcaico tra mito, calendario e topografia*, *Opusc.Inst.Rom.Finl.* 4 (1989) 72-73, 80.

<sup>26</sup> Serv. Aen. 6,775; Isid. orig. 8,11,104 ecc. Cfr. Otto (n. 22), 2060-2061 e Brelich (n. 22), 68-69.

5) Nelle visioni Faunus appare in diverse forme spaventose e, in genere, la sua presenza suscita facilmente paura e inquietudine.<sup>27</sup> Ricordiamo a proposito che Zosimo (2,3,1) caratterizza il dio apparso con le parole *τερατώδης τὴν ὄψιν* 'di aspetto mostruoso'.

6) Zosimo descrive anche l'abito del dio che appare: *ἡμφιεσμένος δέρματι μέλανι* 'cinto da una pelle nera'. La descrizione si addice bene alla iconografia di Faunus come la attesta una descrizione della statua del dio: *nudum caprina pelle amictum* 'nudo cinto da una pelle di capra'.<sup>28</sup>

7) Il colore nero del vestito allude senz'altro al mondo dei morti e, infatti, non mancano a Faunus le valenze infere. Per dare un solo esempio, dice di lui Servio: *Infernus deus dicitur et congrue*.<sup>29</sup>

Ci sono anche testimonianze circa il vero e proprio rito oracolare ad *incubatio* nel culto di questo dio. A ben guardare, nel *Tarentum* si attua un tipico rito di *incubatio*, ove il dio

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<sup>27</sup> Ad es. Dion.Hal. 5,16 (*φάσματα δείματα φέροντα*); Plut. Numa 15 (*φάσματα φοβερὰ*). Cfr. Brelich (n. 22), 67.

<sup>28</sup> Iustin. 43,1,7. Questo nesso tra il dio che appare e la sua statua non è fortuito. L'idea che gli antichi avevano dell'aspetto fisico degli dèi si basava in gran parte sulle rappresentazioni artistiche. Di conseguenza, nelle epifanie le divinità potevano assumere l'aspetto che avevano nelle statue o nei dipinti. A questo riguardo sono interessanti le osservazioni di H.S. Versnel, *What Did Ancient Man See when He Saw a God? Some Reflections on Graeco-Roman Epiphany*, in *Effigies Dei. Essays in the History of Religions*, ed. D. van der Plas, Leiden–New York–København–Köln 1987, 46. Zosimo (2,3) descrive l'epifania usando la sequenza tradizionale: definizione della situazione, apparizione, descrizione dell'aspetto e dei vestiti di chi appare, ordini enunciati, repentina sparizione, perplessità finale dei visionari. Per questi topoi, cfr. J.S. Hanson, *Dreams and Visions in the Graeco-Roman World and Early Christianity*, ANRW II.23.2 (1980) 1405-1411 (con bibl.). Cfr. anche J. Aronen, *Marianus' Vision in the Acts of Marianus and Jacobus*, WSt. 97 (1984) 183-185.

<sup>29</sup> Serv. Aen. 7,91. Altri dati e argomentazioni in Brelich (n. 22), 80.

guarisce i figli di Valesio nel sogno. Ci sono conservate le descrizioni di Virgilio e di Ovidio sull'oracolo di Faunus,<sup>30</sup> descrizioni che, nonostante l'atteggiamento ipercritico di alcuni studiosi anche recenti,<sup>31</sup> evidentemente ripetono la struttura dell'antico rito.

Confrontando complessivamente queste descrizioni con il nostro mito troviamo significanti punti di contatto. Sia in Virgilio che in Ovidio la consultazione di Faunus è preceduta da una situazione di crisi. In Virgilio, inoltre, c'era un prodigio dell'incendio, come nel caso di Valesio quando il colpo di fulmine devastò il vicino bosco. Il rito ha luogo sempre di notte e in un luogo isolato e disabitato. Si riscontra inoltre la presenza dell'acqua (una sorgente in Virgilio e Ovidio) che, però, non era bevuta come invece nel mito su Valesio; in Ovidio ci si bagna il capo con l'acqua.

Nella descrizione di Virgilio ci sono ancora due particolari comuni con il nostro mito. La voce di Faunus si sentiva provenire da un bosco: Aen. 7,95 *ex alto vox reddita luco est*, cfr. Zos. 2,1,3 ἀποβλέπων εἰς τὸ ἄλλος ἀκούειν φωνῆς ἔδοξεν.

Un dettaglio del paesaggio è degno di particolare attenzione: Virgilio menziona le esalazioni sulfuree del suolo (Aen. 7,84 *saevamque exhalat ... mephitim*). Esse accadevano anche nel *Tarentum*. Così, infatti, si deve interpretare il passo di Valerio Massimo, altrimenti poco comprensibile, includente la menzione del fumo che spinge Valesio cercare il fuoco del quale non riesce comunque trovare alcuna traccia (Val.Max. 2,4,5 *inque solo magis fumante quam ullas ignis habente reliquias*).

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<sup>30</sup> Verg. Aen. 7,81-106; Ov. fast. 4,649-666. Cfr. anche Prob. georg. 1,10. Il culto mantico del quale parla Virgilio è stato localizzato nelle vicinanze di Lavinio, nel c.d. santuario di Tor Tignosa, cfr., da ultimo, F. Castagnoli, Albunea, in *Enciclopedia Virgiliana I*, Roma 1984, 84-85.

<sup>31</sup> Cfr. ad es. D. Porte, *L'étiologie religieuse dans les Fastes d'Ovide*, Paris 1985, 160-167.

Altri studiosi precedenti hanno interpretato questo in relazione con i fenomeni ignei del suolo e, addirittura, postulato qui il culto di Volcanus,<sup>32</sup> senza essersi resi conto del fatto che Valerio Massimo dice esplicitamente che nel suolo non c'erano tracce del fuoco.<sup>33</sup>

Il suolo fumante deve, invece, significare proprio esalazioni sulfuree che anche altrove nella letteratura latina sono descritte usando lo stesso verbo *fumare* e che spesso facevano parte del paesaggio in cui si trovava la comunicazione con gli Inferi.<sup>34</sup>

Da quanto si è esposto finora, si può concludere, a mio avviso, che il racconto mitico sull'arrivo della *gens Valeria* a Roma presenta una notevole quantità di elementi che convergono tutti verso la stessa direzione, al culto oracolare di Faunus per l'appunto, anche se il nome del dio non viene menzionato nelle versioni di Valerio Massimo e Zosimo che sono le uniche a noi pervenute.

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<sup>32</sup> Per il culto di Volcanus, vd. n. 9, sopra. In manifestazioni vulcaniche credono, fra molti altri, H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* II, Berlin 1871, 477; J. Gagé, *Recherches sur les jeux séculaires*, Paris 1934, 20; F. Paschoud, *Zosime. Histoire nouvelle. Tome I. Livres I-II (CUF)*, Paris 1971, 182.

<sup>33</sup> Nell'iscrizione che secondo Zosimo (2,3,3) Valerio Publicola fece incidere sull'altare di Dis e Proserpina il luogo dove si trova il *Tarentum* è caratterizzato come πυροφόρον πέδιον. Non si tratta di una formazione da πῦρ 'fuoco' e φέρω (come si è ritenuto spesso), bensì (come ha osservato giustamente Castagnoli [n. 1], 99-100) da πυρός 'grano' e φέρω. Πυροφόρον πέδιον significa dunque 'campo ferace di grano'. Questo è consona alla tradizione che sottolinea la fertilità del Campo Marzio primitivo (Liv. 2,5,2; Dion.Hal. 5,13; Plut. Popl. 8 ecc.).

<sup>34</sup> Ad es. Lucr. 6,747-748 *sulpure montes ... fumant*; Sil.It. 10,362 *lati fumabant sulphure campi*. Altri dati in S. Lilja, *The Treatment of Odours in the Poetry of Antiquity*, Helsinki 1972, 200-205. Il nesso tra questo tipo di fenomeni e l'ingresso agli Inferi non può essere più chiaro che in Serv. Aen. 7,563 *habet aquas sulphurèas ... ideo autem aditus esse dicitur inferorum*.

Su questa base, pertanto, ci si può chiedere se nell'età arcaica il *Tarentum* fosse stato un luogo di culto di questo dio. O, piuttosto, si deve pensare che il racconto fu per qualche motivo modellato su quello che si sapeva del culto di Faunus?

## V

Per approfondire questa problematica e l'eventuale rapporto tra Faunus, il *Tarentum* e la *gens Valeria*, dobbiamo, dapprima, richiamare l'attenzione su altri due miti gentilizi dei Valerii, anch'essi di probabile origine arcaica. Il primo di questi è stato conservato solo in un passo parzialmente corrotto di Pseudo-Plutarco.<sup>35</sup> Tuttavia, il nucleo del racconto è chiaro: un certo Valerio di Tusculum si unisce a sua figlia. Dall'unione nasce una creatura mostruosa che lo scrittore greco chiama *Aigipan* e aggiunge che in latino questo nome sarebbe *Silvanus*.<sup>36</sup> Ora, se teniamo presente che la traduzione greca di Faunus è sempre Pan e che *Silvanus*, come si ritiene generalmente, è praticamente solo un altro nome di Faunus,<sup>37</sup> possiamo constatare che dall'unione del padre Valerio con la figlia Valeria nasce un Faunus. Forse non è completamente fuori luogo ricordare ancora a questo proposito che lo stesso motivo mitico sul rapporto incestuoso si trova anche nella mitologia di Faunus tra il dio e sua figlia Fauna.<sup>38</sup>

La protagonista dell'altro mito si chiama Valeria Luperca, la quale, guarda caso, guarisce la gente da una grave epidemia di pestilenza colpendo i malati con un martellino portatole miracolosamente da un'aquila e dicendo ogni volta, secondo la

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<sup>35</sup> Ps. Plut. parall. min. 22B = FGrHist. 286 F 5.

<sup>36</sup> Ἐγέννησεν Αἰγίπανα, κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων φωνὴν Σιλουᾶνον.

<sup>37</sup> Ad es. Wissowa (n. 13), 213; Brelich (n. 22), 66-67.

<sup>38</sup> Macr. Saturn. 1, 12, 24.



fonte greca, "ἐρρῶσθαι" cioè "vare" in latino.<sup>39</sup> Due sono i punti significanti: la funzione guaritrice associata ad un membro della *gens Valeria* e il nome Luperca che deriva dalla parola *lupa* e collega la persona con la sfera di Faunus. Faunus fu talvolta teriomorfizzato in lupo. In aggiunta, la tradizione lo poneva in rapporto con la festa dei *Lupercalia*: la festa sarebbe stata istituita dietro il suo consiglio e lui stesso fu in certo modo il prototipo dei Luperchi.<sup>40</sup>

Su questo sfondo può essere visto anche un dato mitistorico che collega l'attività oracolare di Faunus e l'operazione militare di Publio Valerio Publicola contro gli Etruschi di Tarquinio: dalla *silva Arsia*, di notte, la voce del dio annunciava la futura vittoria dei Romani.<sup>41</sup>

Tutti questi dati mostrano un legame tra la *gens Valeria* e il mondo di Faunus, cosa che rafforza l'impressione che il dio facesse parte anche del mito su Valesio. Inoltre, la funzione guaritrice di Valeria Luperca rivela che questo elemento svolge un ruolo ben preciso nella mitologia dei Valerii che derivavano il loro nome dal verbo *valere*.

Il nome della mitica Valeria, Luperca, è attestato anche come nome della nutrice di Romolo e Remo.<sup>42</sup> Questa Luperca deve essere più o meno identica ad Acca Larentia che più spesso viene menzionata come nutrice dei gemelli e, come è noto, fu

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<sup>39</sup> Ps.Plut. parall.min. 35B = FGrHist. 286 F 10. Per questo mito e per la sua autenticità, cfr. Th. Köves, Valeria Luperca, Hermes 90 (1962) 214-238 (= Th. Köves-Zulauf, Kleine Schriften, Heidelberg 1988, 29-53).

<sup>40</sup> La letteratura riguardo ai *Lupercalia* è sterminata. L'interpretazione più recente si trova in D. Sabbatucci, La religione di Roma antica, Milano 1988, 53-66. Cfr. anche C. Ulf, Das römische Lupercalienfest, Darmstadt 1982 (con bibl.).

<sup>41</sup> Liv. 2,7; Dion.Hal. 5,16.

<sup>42</sup> Varrone in Arnob. adv.nat. 4,3.

chiamata anche *lupa*.<sup>43</sup> Inoltre, *Acca Larentia* fu considerata la madre dei *Lares*. Insieme ai *Lares* (ricordiamo, per inciso, che i *Lares* figuravano anche nel mito su *Valesio*) appartiene per moltissimi aspetti allo stesso mondo mitico di *Faunus*.<sup>44</sup>

Nel complesso mito di *Acca Larentia* ci sono elementi che già molti studiosi precedenti hanno messo in relazione con l'area del *Tarentum*.<sup>45</sup>

Il nome del ricco marito etrusco di *Acca Larentia* è *Tarutius*. Alla sua morte *Acca Larentia* ereditò tutti i suoi beni terreni. A sua volta, quando morì lasciò questi beni in eredità al popolo romano. Uno dei quattro campi in questione fu chiamato l'*ager Tarax*. Si è notato che la radice *tar-* è comune al nome del marito e al nome del campo e si è anche identificato questo *ager Tarax* con il *Tarentum*.

Anche *Acca Larentia* avrebbe, dunque, una relazione mitico-culturale con il *Tarentum*? Questa ipotesi sembrerebbe confermata da un passo, purtroppo molto corrotto, di *Varrone* (ling. 6,23) dove troviamo le parole *diem tarentum accas tarentinas*. Il testo è stato emendato in diversi modi, di solito cambiando, forse inutilmente, il concetto *Acca Tarentina* in *Acca Larentia*. Questa *Acca Tarentina* s'inserirebbe bene nella atmosfera infera dell'area del *Tarentum*; il sicuramente noto luogo di culto della dea fu situato al limite fra il Foro Romano e

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<sup>43</sup> Liv. 1,4,7; Lact. inst. 1,20,1 ecc. Cfr. E. Tabeling, *Mater Larum. Zum Wesen der Larenreligion*, Frankfurt a.M. 1932, 46-48, 53-54.

<sup>44</sup> Tabeling (n. 43), 47-54; Aronen (n. 25), 71-75, 80, 85.

<sup>45</sup> Ad es. C. Pascal, *Acca Larentia e il mito della Terra madre*, Bull.Com. 22 (1894) 348-350; Wuilleumier (n. 9), 134-135; U. Pestalozza, *Mater Larum e Acca Larentia*, Rend.Ist.Lomb. 66 (1933) 943-944; St. Weinstock, *Ludi Tarentini und Ludi Saeculares*, Glotta 22 (1933) 44-45; Castagnoli (n.1), 101-104; La Rocca (n. 2), 7. Per il mito di *Acca Larentia* in genere: D. Sabbatucci, *Il mito di Acca Larentia*, SMSR 29 (1958) 41-76; F. Coarelli, *Il Foro Romano. Periodo arcaico*, Roma 1983, 261-282; I. Paladino, *Fratres Arvales. Storia di un collegio sacerdotale romano*, Roma 1988, 236-260; Aronen (n. 25), 71-72, 80-81.

il Velabro, nella zona caratterizzata da molteplici valenze infere e funebri, dove si trovava probabilmente un ingresso agli Inferi e dove ritroviamo anche la presenza di Faunus.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Aronen (n.25), 79-82. La forma *Accas Tarentinas* in Varrone potrebbe essere interpretata come un genitivo arcaico (cfr. ad es. CIL I<sup>2</sup> 975 = VI 96 = ILLRP 69: *Devas Corniscas* = *Divae Corniscae*, I. Kajanto, Contributions to Latin Morphology, Arctos 5 [1967] 67-72) conservatosi in qualche tradizione risalente a tempi notevolmente più antichi di Varrone. – Da ricordare ancora l'esistenza di una Gaia Taracia, menzionata, con riferimento ai vecchi annali e nello stesso contesto con Acca Larentia, in Gellio (7,7,1-2; cfr. anche Plut. Popl. 8 e Plin. nat. 34,6,11). Questa sarebbe stata una vestale che avrebbe donato al popolo romano un'area chiamata, secondo Gellio, *Campus Tiberinus sive Martius*. Si tratta del *Tarentum* in quanto il nome *Taracia* mostra un legame con l'*ager Tarax*, che si identifica generalmente con questo luogo? Gaia Taracia sarebbe dunque un doppione di Acca Larentia o, meglio, Acca Tarentina? Molte sono le opinioni circa questa problematica, cfr. ad es. quelle di A. Momigliano, Tre figure mitiche: Tanaquilla, Gaia Cecilia e Acca Larenzia, in Quarto contributo alla storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico, Roma 1969, 463-470 (= Misc.Fac.Lett.Filos.Torino, ser. 2 [1938] 2-28). Per ulteriori chiarimenti rimando allo studio di I. Paladino, Acca Larentia e Gaia Taracia. Commento a un passo di Aulo Gellio, attualmente in corso di stesura. A questo punto saranno lecite alcune considerazioni decisamente ipotetiche. Siamo di conoscenza di un culto di Gaia, ma non nel Campo Marzio bensì nell'Isola Tiberina. Secondo la tradizione l'Isola fu formata dalle messi del Campo Marzio che furono tagliate e gettate nel fiume dopo la cacciata dei re. È alquanto sorprendente trovare nell'Isola anche il culto di Faunus (nulla impedisce di supporre qui un culto preesistente alla fondazione del tempio nel 194 a.C.), come se Gaia e Faunus, originari dell'*ager Tarax/Tarentum*, fossero gettati nel Tevere insieme con le messi. Si potrebbe dire che l'Isola Tiberina funse da discarica del Campo Marzio non solo materialmente ma anche sacralmente. Forse in una certa fase la presenza di Faunus, in quanto dio che agisce e deve essere tenuto fuori dal mondo ordinato e regolare, diventa imbarazzante e, addirittura, inadatta per il carattere generale del Campo Marzio, mentre, invece, l'Isola Tiberina appare un luogo idoneo per questo tipo di divinità. Altri antichi culti dell'Isola rappresentano tutti qualcosa di 'anormale', estraneo all'ordine normale delle cose. Si pensi a Vediovis e, soprattutto, al culto di Aesculapius, connesso con la sfera della malattia e morte, e contenente – ed è questo solo una coincidenza? – il rito dell'*incubatio*. Per il valore

In ogni caso abbiamo potuto individuare un contesto mitico in cui sono presenti Faunus, Acca Larentia e i Lares, i quali tutti hanno una qualche connessione con il *Tarentum* o con il mito sull'arrivo dei primi Valerii in quel posto.

Infine, notiamo brevemente, senza addentrarci nei vari problemi coinvolti, l'appartenenza di Mars a questo stesso contesto. Per fare solo due veloci accenni menzioniamo che secondo una tradizione, Faunus fu appunto figlio di Mars, e Acca Larentia entra in rapporto con il dio già nel suo compito di nutrice di Romolo e Remo, figli di Mars.<sup>47</sup>

Questo legame diventa importante se ricordiamo che il *Tarentum* fu parte del *Campus Martius* e che evidentemente i Valerii avevano uno specifico rapporto anche con questo dio; un indizio a questo riguardo è la famosa iscrizione di Satricum (databile intorno al 500 a.C.) dove i sodali di Poplios Valesios (si tratta probabilmente del primo console di Roma, Publio Valerio Publicola, del quale si è già parlato in precedenza) fanno una dedica al dio Mars.<sup>48</sup>

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dell'Isola Tiberina come spazio religioso, cfr. le acute osservazioni di G. Piccaluga, *Miti, culti, feste, cerimonie, in relazione al Tevere nell'antichità, in Tevere, un'antica via per il mediterraneo* (catalogo della mostra), Roma 1986, 97-98.

<sup>47</sup> Per tutti i particolari, cfr. Otto (n. 22), 2054-2056; Tabeling (n. 44), 63-68, 96-97; A. Brelich, *Osservazioni sulle "esclusioni rituali"*, SMSR 22 (1949-50) 9-11 e, ultimamente, ad es. P.M.W. Tennant, *The Lupercalia and the Romulus and Remus Legend*, Acta Classica 31 (1988) 85-90.

<sup>48</sup> CIL I<sup>2</sup> 2832a (con bibl.). Mars, l'elemento 'lupino', la giovane età dei figli di Valesio, il luogo isolato del *Tarentum* nonché l'aspetto agonistico dei *ludi Tarentini* ivi fondati, sono indizi che possono, nel loro insieme, alludere ai riti di iniziazione. L'argomento non è stato sviluppato in questo articolo il cui scopo principale era quello di porre in risalto il nucleo mitico dei racconti di Valerio Massimo e di Zosimo. I due tentativi fatti in precedenza (vd. sopra n. 12) risultano comunque troppo confusi. Basi più solide per un approfondimento della questione potrebbero offrire ad es. le osservazioni di J.N. Bremmer sul ruolo di Mars e dei lupi in contesti iniziatici, in J.N. Bremmer - N.M. Horsfall, *Roman Myth and*

## VI

Per concludere, ripetiamo che dal riesame del racconto mitico sull'arrivo dei primi Valerii a Roma e sulla successiva fondazione del loro culto gentilizio nel *Tarentum* emerge una struttura relativa ad un culto oracolare contenente il rito dell'*incubatio*, che, alla luce della comparazione, sarebbe attribuibile a Faunus, anche se il nome della divinità nelle due narrazioni del mito a noi giunte non viene menzionato. Su questa

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Mythography, London 1987, 43. Sembra significativa anche la presenza dei Lares in una fase di transizione dall'adolescenza alla condizione di adulto (i Lares accompagnano certi importanti passaggi nella vita umana, cfr. G. Piccaluga, *Elementi spettacolari nei rituali festivi romani*, Roma 1965, 148-150; Aronen [n.25], 72). In aggiunta, Faunus, quale dio associato al mondo di fuori e alla sfera estranea all'ordine normale, è adatto alle necessità di questo momento di 'margine'. Richiamiamo l'attenzione sul nesso che, nel tempo, unisce l'azione rituale dei *Luperci* che agiscono a servizio di Faunus in febbraio ("mese di Faunus", vd. Brelich [n.22], 72-74; Aronen [n.25], 68), un periodo che ha tutte le caratteristiche di una fine d'anno, e quella dei *Salii*, sacerdoti di Mars, che agiscono in marzo (mese di Mars) all'inizio del nuovo anno, e citiamo a proposito una frase di Brelich (n.22), 121 n.35 "... se i Luperci rappresentano la fase del noviziato nel bosco, i Salii sono i neo-iniziati atti alle armi". Potremmo, dunque, trovare un notevole riscontro sul piano mitico nel fatto che, stando alla nostra interpretazione, fu proprio Faunus a condurre i giovani Valerii alla sfera di Mars (il *Tarentum* concepito come parte del Campo Marzio). Notiamo ancora, a questo riguardo, la possibilità di individuare nell'episodio tre momenti successivi che possono essere analizzati utilizzando il noto schema di A. van Gennep (*Les rites de passage*, Paris 1909, trad.ital. Torino 1981): 1) 'separazione' (la partenza da Eretum, il viaggio lungo il Tevere, la malattia dei giovani Valerii, i Lares, Faunus); 2) 'margine' (il luogo isolato del *Tarentum*, la bevanda, il sonno, la visione, la guarigione dei giovani, Faunus); 3) 'aggregazione' (il Campo Marzio, la salute e lo status adulto dei Valerii, Mars). Vari paralleli etnologici sembrano confermare l'autentico carattere religioso di molti elementi in questo pattern, cfr. ad es. gli articoli di Å. Hultkrantz e E. Monaco in U. Bianchi (ed.), *Transition Rites. Cosmic, Social and Individual Order*, Roma 1986.

base si potrebbe prendere in considerazione la possibilità di un culto di Faunus nel *Tarentum* in epoca arcaica anche perché nella mitologia gentilizia dei Valerii si possono individuare, più in generale, alcuni motivi mitici che alludono al mondo di questo dio. In ogni caso appare chiaro che la tradizione mitica voleva situare l'attività oracolare di Faunus proprio in quel luogo.

Riguardo alla ragion d'essere del mito per la *gens Valeria* diremmo che il mito fonda la realtà di questa *gens* a Roma nei seguenti fatti, cioè, 1) che i Valerii sono Romani anche se sono di origine sabina, e sono diventati Romani addirittura per divina volontà; 2) che si chiamano proprio Valerii (nome adottato dal mitico capostipite Valesio e che facevano derivare dal verbo *valere*); 3) che hanno un rapporto privilegiato con il *Tarentum* dove si svolgono i loro *sacra* gentilizi.



# The Name and Possessions of Nero's Freedman Phaon\*

Christer Bruun

A freedman at Nero's court called Phaon is mentioned by both Suetonius and Dio.<sup>1</sup> But we do not learn very much about him, for instance not even his *nomen*, which will be one topic in this paper, nor are we told what his position at the imperial court was. It has been surmised that he held the post (or one of the posts) of *a rationibus* because an amphora stamp from Carnuntum is inscribed *Phaontis Aug. lib. a rat(ionibus)* (CIL III 14112,2).<sup>2</sup>

This identification has been made without much hesitation on the grounds that Phaon is an unusual cognomen.<sup>3</sup> This is true up to a point; e.g. in the Index to CIL VI, Vidman has collected

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\* I wish to express my gratitude for having had access to Prof. H. Solin's files for the Supplement to CIL X, which greatly facilitated the study of some of the inscriptions discussed in this paper. For advice and comments I am grateful to Mr. M. Kajava, Prof. F. Millar, Prof. H. Solin, and Ms. E.M. Steinby, and for important information I thank Prof. E. Weber.

<sup>1</sup> Suet. Nero 48-49; Dio 63,27,3; Ps. Aur. Vict. epit. 5,7.

<sup>2</sup> A. Stein in RE XIX (1938) 1795f.; K. Wachtel, *Freigelassene und Sklaven in der staatlichen Finanzverwaltung der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Berlin 1966, 118; G. Boulvert, *Esclaves et affranchis impériaux sous le Haut-Empire romain*, Napoli 1970, 97 n. 37; P.R.C. Weaver, *Familia Caesaris*, Cambridge 1972, 259.289; F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World*, London 1977, 77.

<sup>3</sup> Boulvert, loc.cit.



only four cases, while Solin lists six items from Rome.<sup>4</sup> In two inscriptions we actually find imperial freedmen; in CIL VI 10761 a P. Aelius Aug. lib. Phaon is mentioned, while CIL VI 24062 gives the text *D. M. S. Phaon et Epictesis Aug. lib. cum Phaonte et Epictesi filiis fecerunt sibi vivi item libertis libertabusque ...etc.*

The fact that the cognomen Phaon can after all be shown not to have been especially rare within the *familia Caesaris* raises some doubts over the identification of the Neronian Phaon with the *arationibus* known from the stamp in Carnuntum. To clarify the matter an investigation of the *nomen* of Nero's Phaon is necessary, the result of which will be that Phaon was after all not an *Augusti libertus* at all, and therefore cannot be the man known from Carnuntum.

In recent times not much attention has been devoted to what family name the Neronian freedman bore. This is perhaps understandable, since one would automatically assume that he was a Ti. Claudius (which would have been the case even if Nero had inherited him from Claudius). However, for a long time two inscriptions have been known that could give reason for further thought, and which have been neglected in respect to Phaon except for brief treatments by Arthur Stein many years ago, and a short note by H. Chantraine.<sup>5</sup>

The first inscription comes from Fundi and is easily accessible in AE 1914, 219 (originally published in *Ausonia* 6 [1911] 71 ff.); it has recently been reedited by G. Pesiri in *Epigraphica* 40

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<sup>4</sup> H. Solin, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom. Ein Namenbuch*, Berlin – New York 1982, 524.

<sup>5</sup> A. Stein, *RE* XIX (1938) 1795f. Phaon Nr. 2; see also his comment in *PIR*<sup>2</sup> vol. III, p. 51. Recently some of the evidence has also been put together by H. Chantraine in *Studien zur antiken Sozialgeschichte* (Festschr. Vittinghoff), Hrsg. W. Eck, H. Galsterer, H. Wolff, Köln – Wien, 409 n. 76.

(1978).<sup>6</sup> For the sake of clarity it will be cited in full; we are dealing with a text which, with minor individual differences, was originally inscribed on eight cippi:

*Hic locus maceria clusus cum eo quidquid in eo est cum hac maceria sacer sanctus religiosus est neque veniri potest neque donari neque mancipari. Ius autem morandi in eo loco is erit quicumque ex domo Domitiae L. f. Lepidae erunt Domitive aut Domitiaeve vocabuntur. Praeterea huic loco via libera datur ex publica usque ad introitum in eum locum. Item aqua promiscue licebit uti ex hoc fundo villaque is qui in eo loco morabuntur. Haec sic praestari sine dolo malo iussit permisitque L. Domitius Phaon cuius uterque locus fuit in omne tempus posterum. Cippis octo positus. XII K. Iul. L. Aurelio Prisco L. Iulio Rufo cos. (= AD 67)*

This inscription marked a tomb for the household of Domitia Lepida, the paternal aunt of Nero, and the descendants of her slaves and freedmen. The tomb was given by a man who is called L. Domitius Phaon, in AD 67, when the cippi presumably were inscribed as well. An important question for the present inquiry is whether Domitius Phaon was dead himself at the moment of the erection of the cippi. If that was the case, clearly no identification with Nero's last companion can be made, as that person was still alive in the autumn of 68.

Earlier students of this inscription have considered it to indicate Phaon's tomb.<sup>7</sup> It is rather obvious that Phaon was

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<sup>6</sup> G. Pesiri, *Iscrizioni di Fondi e del circondario*, *Epigraphica* 40 (1978) 162-84, esp. 175-81.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Pesiri 176, "nel sepolcro di" L. Domitius Phaon; Stein (RE XIX) "L. Domitius Phaon...dessen Grabanlage"; cf. H. Solin, *Zu lukanischen*

intended to be buried in the tomb of Domitia Lepida's house, but I do not know what would compel us to assume that he himself was dead at the erection of the cippi. Nothing in the inscription indicates that his heirs acted according to his testament, and it is well-known how common it was to construct tombs *se vivo*.

I think this argument can be strengthened by pointing to a second inscription (CIL X 444 = D 3546 from Caposele in Lucania) which belongs under Domitian since it contains a vow for the emperor. It is very long, and the text will be given only in part:<sup>8</sup>

*Silvano sacrum, voto suscepto pro salute Domitiani Aug. n., L. Domitius Phaon ad cultum tutelamque et sacrificia(!) in omne tempus posteru(!) iis qui in collegio Silvani hodie essent quique postea subissent, fundum Iunianum et Lollianum et Percennianum et Statuleianum suos cum suis villis finibusque attribuit, ...*

*...et via aditus ad Silvanu(!) per fundum Qaesicianum(!) omnibus patebit. Lignis quoque et ex fundo Galliciano et aqua sacrificari causa et de vivario promiscue licebit uti. Haec sic dari fieri praestari sine dolo malo iussit permisitque L. Domitius Phaon, cuius omnes(!) locus fuit.*

Stein states that the two Domitii Phaontes in AE 1914,219 and CIL X 444 are separate persons,<sup>9</sup> whereas Pesiri mentions

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Inschriften, Helsinki 1981 (Comm.Hum.Litt. 69), 22 "...an seiner Grabanlage in Fundi".

<sup>8</sup> This inscription has in fact been edited many times, most recently by V. Bracco in *Inscr.Ital.* III,1, Roma 1974, nr. 7 (with photo and bibliography). Comments are given by Solin 1981, 22.

<sup>9</sup> Stein 1795 and it would seem Solin agrees (*loc.cit.*), „auf einen anderen L. Domitius Phaon hinweisen...". But according to Solin the man from Caposele was Nero's Phaon, and Stein (*loc.cit.*) thought along the same lines „er könnte identisch sein". Thus also in *PIR*<sup>2</sup> vol. III (1943) p. 51

the Lucanian inscription in a footnote without making identifications but pointing out that "il ... testo contiene alcune formule simili a quelle presenti nel nostro".<sup>10</sup> The end of both inscriptions are indeed similar, but one must of course remember that we are dealing with juridical formulas which obey certain patterns.

However, it would all in all seem to be rather farfetched, without specific reasons, to assume the existence of two L. Domitii with the not very common cognomen Phaon, active as landowners in Italy within only some two decades.<sup>11</sup> The approximative date of the second inscription results from the fact that the birthdays of Domitian and the empress Domitia are to be celebrated. I think we can safely assume that the same L. Domitius Phaon is active in both Fundi and Caposele, and that the first inscription should not be interpreted as meaning that Phaon was already dead at the construction of the tomb.

Before continuing, brief consideration should be given to CIL VI 24062 mentioned above (p. 1), where we in fact have two generations of persons called Phaon, the elder one an imperial freedman at that. But this inscription has no relevance for the present argument, as it mentions the family tomb in Rome, and therefore the Phaon in VI 24062 cannot be the L. Domitius Phaon from Fundi.

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"L. Domitius Phaon, X 444 = D 3546 nescio an idem sit Phaon libertus" (v. PIR<sup>1</sup> P 248).

<sup>10</sup> Pesiri 181 n. 33.

<sup>11</sup> Admittedly, repetition of names seems to occur in slave households, notably the *familia Caesaris*, and it seems not to have mattered (perhaps on the contrary?) that somebody already bore the same name, cf. AE 1946,98 from Rome: *Dis manibus. T. Flavius Aug. lib. Philius cubicularius. Philius fratri optimo fecit*, discussed by P.R.C. Weaver, *Antichthon* 13 (1979) 73-76. For the two Phaontes, father (*Aug.lib.*) and son, see the remark below.

Is it then possible that the Italian landowner L. Domitius Phaon can be the same Phaon who appears in the entourage of Nero? The objections to overcome are two (now that it has been argued that the man from Fundi was not dead himself in AD 67): 1) Is it possible for a freedman at the court of Nero to carry the *nomen* Domitius? 2) Is it feasible that a freedman in imperial service would leave out his status indication and position at court?

Firstly, we can point to the fact that Nero bore the name L. Domitius Cn. f. Ahenobarbus before his adoption by Claudius in AD 50. Had he freed one of his slaves before that date, they would have become L. Domitii. This picture is given, notably, by H. Chantraine in his authoritative work on imperial freedmen. The same scholar also states that we seem to know only one such case; a Domitius Lemnus *procurator Germanici Caesaris*, who in another inscription is called *Aug. l.* Other scholars are of the same opinion.<sup>12</sup> But they all seem to have neglected what was stated as far back as 1938 by Stein, who objected to von Domaszewski's suggestion that the Domitius Phaon in CIL X 444 was a freedman of Nero, on the grounds that Nero, born in AD 37, had not yet in AD 50 reached the minimum age of 20 required by the *lex Aelia Sentia* for a manumissor.<sup>13</sup>

Stein's objection seems to be well taken.<sup>14</sup> His own interpretation of the case is that "L. Domitius Phaon als Sklave im

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<sup>12</sup> H. Chantraine, *Freigelassene und Sklaven im Dienst der römischen Kaiser*, Wiesbaden 1967, 65 with n. 15 for the case of Lemnus and again later *Id. Festschr. Vittinghoff* 408 n. 76; P.R.C. Weaver, *ILS* 1489. 1490 and Domitius Lemnus, *Historia* 14 (1965) 509-12. In agreement also M. Corbier, *Ti. Claudius Marcellinus et la procuratèle du patrimoine*, *ZPE* 43 (1981) 78.

<sup>13</sup> Stein, *RE* XIX (1938) 1795.

<sup>14</sup> If Stein is right, it means that we should not really expect to find any Domitii Aug.lib. who had been freed by Nero. This point has not been made in any review of Chantraine's work known to me (e.g. G. Prachner,

Vaterhaus Neros gelebt hatte und etwa von der Tante Neros, Domitia Lepida, freigelassen war" (on CIL X 444).<sup>15</sup>

At this point we must proceed to the second question above; whether it is imperative to find the epithet *Aug. lib.* in order to enable us to make an identification with the Phaon mentioned by Suetonius and Dio. If Stein is right, the omission of any status indication in our two inscriptions is actually easily explained. Since Domitius Phaon had not been freed by the Emperor, he had no reason to mention his status as ex-slave. But that he was of freedman status is rather apparent. Not just the Greek cognomen makes it probable, but also the omission of filiation in the inscription from Fundi, where we can observe that Domitia Lepida is *L(ucii) f(ilia)*.<sup>16</sup>

If we are right in assuming that Domitius Phaon had been freed by Domitia Lepida, there is still nothing to prevent him from advancing in the Emperor's service. One parallel is easily at hand; M. Antonius Pallas who held the post of *a rationibus* from Claudius until AD 55 was a freedman of Antonia.<sup>17</sup> In general, an emperor could surely have entrusted even important tasks in his immediate entourage to freedmen who had not been

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Gnomon 41 [1969] 173ff.; A.R. Birley, CR 19 [1969] 337ff.; W. Selb, ZSRG 85 [1968] 508-13).

<sup>15</sup> See n. 9 above. It can be noted that Chantraine, Festschr. Vittinghoff 409 n. 76 assumes the same situation for the Domitius Phaon from Fundi, whom he thinks is the companion of Nero, but without mentioning CIL X 444.

<sup>16</sup> The parallel is not exact, since for a woman from a senatorial family the filiation must be considered as an integral part of the name, therefore not easily left out (as pointed out by Prof. Solin).

<sup>17</sup> S.I. Oost, The Career of M. Antonius Pallas, AJPh 79 (1958) 113-39. That the brother of Pallas, the procurator Felix, actually was named "Ti. Claudius" is now argued by N. Kokkinos, "A Fresh Look at the *gentilicium* of Felix Procurator of Judaea", forthcoming in Latomus 1989. I am most grateful to Mr. Kokkinos for having had access to his paper before its publication.

freed by him, but by a family member, and who had later been placed under his patronage due to inheritance or confiscation. In the case of Nero's aunt Domitia Lepida, we know that she was executed during the last year of Claudius' reign, in AD 54. What happened to her considerable property we cannot say for sure; of the two children that are known, Valeria Messallina actually died before her mother, in AD 47, and Faustus Cornelius Sulla (cos.ord. 52) was forced into exile in AD 58 and was killed on Nero's orders in AD 62.<sup>18</sup> It is quite likely that her property, perhaps in part sooner, in part later, ended up in the emperor's possession.

It might be worth pointing out that on no occasion do the ancient sources expressis verbis say that Phaon was a freedman of **Nero himself**; Suetonius speaks only of *Phaon libertus* (Nero 48-49), whereas Dio uses the expression "Καيسάρειος" (63,27,3), which can be taken to mean generally "serving the Caesar", "belonging to the emperor's household", or the like, but is different from the terminus technicus "Σεβαστοῦ ἀπελεύθερος" for an imperial freedman.

At this point it is necessary to return to the amphora stamp mentioning a Phaon Aug. 1. *a rat(ionibus)* which so far unanimously has been connected to Nero's companion (cf. n. 3 above). Based on the present interpretation this now turns out to be impossible, since the Neronian Phaon should really have been a L. Domitius and no *Augusti libertus* at all.

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<sup>18</sup> For Domitia Lepida see now M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, *Prosopographie des femmes de l'ordre sénatorial (I-II siècles)*, Louvain 1987, 285ff. no. 326, who also gives references to what is known of *praedia Lepidiana* and other possessions. Also R. Syme, *The Augustan Aristocracy*, Oxford 1986, Ch. XII "Nero's aunts", esp. 164ff.; for Valeria Messalina see Raepsaet-Charlier 606f. and PIR V<sup>1</sup> 161, for Faustus Cornelius Sulla PIR<sup>2</sup> C 1464. That Phaon had been inherited by Nero from Domitia Lepida is indeed thought likely by Chantraine, *Festschr. Vittinghoff* 409 n. 76.

Can this argument be upset by the amphora stamp? Among other things it would be important to identify the type of the amphora and to date it. First it should be noted that the complete entry under CIL III 14112,2 gives the stamp LOGI as the main text, together with, upside down and "in collo", the text "Phaontis Aug. l. a rat.". Unfortunately it seems that none of these two amphora texts have been given any attention at all since their inclusion in the CIL III Suppl. 2 volume of 1902. They are not cited in Callender's *Roman Amphorae*, nor in any other work by amphora specialists known to me.<sup>19</sup> The mention in the CIL does not even give information about the form of the amphora, so it is not possible to determine what its content could have been.<sup>20</sup> On the whole, it seems impossible to say anything about the context of the amphora, since we have very few other amphora stamps from Carnuntum as comparisons.<sup>21</sup>

Generally speaking, it would of course be by no means improbable to find an Italian amphora in Carnuntum dating from

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<sup>19</sup> M.H. Callender, *Roman Amphorae*, London 1965 does not mention our stamps in the Index. The reason why they were omitted is not clear, since some other amphora stamps (which strangely enough are said to be unpublished) from present day Austria in the CIL III are included (e.g. CIL III 6007.3, 4, 6). Neither is any of the two texts mentioned in any specialized literature given in the following notes.

<sup>20</sup> The text at CIL III 14112,2 says "litteris pulchris. Carnunti rep. a. 1894 in fundo Huberi haud procul a castris inter meridiem et orientem ...iam Vindobonae in seminario archaeol.-epigraphico. Kubitschek descripsit". No mention is made of such a finding in H. Stiglitz-M. Kandler-W. Jobst, *Carnuntum*, ANRW II.6 (1977) 583-730. I am much indebted to Prof. Ekkehard Weber, Universität Wien, who kindly investigated the situation in Vienna and reported that no trace of the stamp could be found either at the Institut für Alte Geschichte or among the archaeological material.

<sup>21</sup> In CIL III we have only 12010,20 "LAEI" (cf. Callender no. 792) with addition on p. 2328<sup>54</sup>; 14371<sup>6b</sup> "TIMOT", and 14371<sup>9</sup> which is difficult to decipher. No amphora stamps can be found in the *Carnuntum Jahrbuch* volumes 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961/62, and 1963/64 which I was able to check in the University Library, Helsinki.



the middle of the I century AD; the evidence for exportation of goods from Northern Italy into Noricum and Pannonia is abundant.<sup>22</sup> But a stamp with a text such as ours is rather unique. We almost never find mention of the office or status of people appearing in amphora stamps. Are we to interpret our text as indicating that the freedman Phaon was acting as an official of the *rationes* of the emperor and not in a private capacity? As a matter of fact, some Roman emperors do appear in amphora stamps, which obviously indicates that the imperial *patrimonium* was responsible for the manufacturing of the amphora (and perhaps produced the content as well). However, the typology is totally different from our stamp; we find the stamps IMP. AVG. GER. (Domitian), IMP. NERVAE AVG., IMP. NER. TRA., IMP. HADRI. and then stamps which are still later, AVGGG., AVGGG. NNN. etc.<sup>23</sup> Also, chronologically it would be impossible to fit an hypothetical Neronian Phaon *a rationibus* into this picture, since the earliest stamp belongs under Domitian.

Only in two types of stamps do we perhaps find an official, namely in CIL V 8112,5, where IMPE. VECT. appears together with ANCHA., and in CIL V 8112,6 with IMP. and CLYMEN. Callender suggests that *Ancha(rius?)* and *Clymen(us?)* might have been *vilici*,<sup>24</sup> while others consider them as *officinatores*.<sup>25</sup> Again the chronological aspect is of crucial importance.

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<sup>22</sup> See e.g. the inventory by P. Baldacci, *Alcuni aspetti dei commerci nei territori Cisalpini*, Atti CeSDIR 1 (1967/68) 5-50, who lists amphora stamps originating in Northern Italy with some references also to finds in Noricum and Pannonia. The stamps in CIL III are to be found at nos. 6007. 12010. 13549. 14112. 14371. 15212. See also Callender, *passim*.

<sup>23</sup> See Callender 267f. and Baldacci 30f. Clearly CIL III 14112,1 belongs to this group as well, and should be read IM]P. AUG. GER., not -]M. AUGG. R(AT).

<sup>24</sup> Callender 268.

<sup>25</sup> L. Brecciaroli Taborelli, *Per una ricerca sul commercio nella Transpadana occidentale in età romana: ricognizione sulle anfore di 'Vercellae'*, Atti Convegno...centenario...L. Bruzza, Vercelli 1987, 143f.

Clymenus also appears on amphorae with stamps mentioning a C. Laecanius Bassus, commonly regarded as the consul of 64. This person died in AD 78, and it is thought that one of the Flavian Emperors inherited or confiscated his means for producing amphorae.<sup>26</sup> Therefore these cases are all post-Neronian and cannot constitute a parallel for the assumed appearance of a Neronian *a rationibus* in an amphora stamp.

The imperial financial administration also appears in another context on amphorae, namely on some items from Monte Testaccio in Rome. Here the texts are FISCI RATIONIS PATRIMONI PROVINCIAE BAETICAE resp. FISCI RATIONIS PATRIMONI PROVINCIAE TARRACONE.<sup>27</sup> Since these amphorae are considerably later than the first century, however, they are of little aid to us.

The result of these comparisons, unfortunately conducted on a general level, is that if the stamp *Phaontis Aug. l a rat.* indicates the execution of an official task, it would seem to be Flavian or later. Indeed we know several imperial freedmen who held the position of *a rationibus* under the Flavians as well as during the II century.<sup>28</sup> However, if Phaon appeared in the stamp in a private capacity (e.g. as owner of the manufacturing establishment, or as transporter of the goods, etc.), at present we have no grounds for excluding a Neronian date. But not even this case makes the argument above concerning L. Domitius Phaon impossible. Phaon was not too rare a name, and as stated above,

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<sup>26</sup> On the consul of AD 64, his economic activities and the imperial takeover, see F. Tassaux, *Laecanii. Recherches sur une famille sénatoriale d'Istrie*, MEFRA 94 (1982) 262-67. Recently M.B. Carre, *Les amphores de la Cisalpine et de l'Adriatique au début de l'Empire*, MEFRA 97 (1985) 222 n. 67 has suggested that the Laecanius Bassus who appears in the amphora stamps is the consul of AD 40.

<sup>27</sup> See F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World*, London 1977, 626f.

<sup>28</sup> Wachtel 118f. provides a list with 12 names from the Flavians to the late II century.

we know e.g. a Phaon belonging to the *familia Caesaris* in Rome from the second century (P. Aelius Aug. lib. Phaon, CIL VI 10761).

For these reasons I believe that we must dissociate the Carnuntine amphora stamp from the L. Domitius Phaon who evidently was one of Nero's last companions. On this Phaon's part we can summarize our knowledge as follows: First of all we must give up the notion that he held the office of *a rationibus* at the time of Nero's death. We actually do not know in what capacity he appeared at Nero's court.

We can now point to properties owned by Phaon in at least three different places (we cannot of course tell if they were held simultaneously) which once again reminds us of the economic position acquired by freedmen at the imperial court, which went hand in hand with their political influence (the large possessions once held by M. Antonius Pallas in Egypt is a telling example of this<sup>29</sup>). These three properties are:

- 1) The *suburbanum* between Via Salaria and Via Nomentana.<sup>30</sup>
- 2) The *fundus* with a villa in Fundi (some 100 km south of Rome).
- 3) The possessions mentioned in CIL X 444, which consisted of the *fundi* called Iunianus, Lollianus, Percennianus, Statuleianus, Quaesicianus(?), and probably Gallicianus as well, situated in Lucania. As regards the history of landownership in imperial Italy, however, these notices do not tell us anything further; we cannot tell how Phaon acquired his possessions nor can the names of the properties be traced to any families we

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<sup>29</sup> See the list of properties once held by Pallas in G.M. Parassoglou, *Imperial Estates in Roman Egypt* (Amer. Studies in Papyrology 18), Amsterdam 1978, 81.

<sup>30</sup> Suetonius tells that Nero fled to Phaon's *suburbanum...inter Salariam et Nomentanam viam circa quartum milliarum* (Nero 48).

know.<sup>31</sup> Nor do we know what happened to the land after the death of Phaon. One possibility is of course that the emperor took over as owner.<sup>32</sup>

There are indications that Phaon might have also been engaged in manufacturing activities. In connection with the tomb in Fundi, brickstamps have been found where the names L. Domitius Lupus and Apollonius appear. Perhaps we are dealing with the owner and an *offinator* of the brickworks.<sup>33</sup> Possibly our Domitius Phaon was connected to this activity in some way, but nothing certain can be said at the moment.

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<sup>31</sup> No connections result from a scrutiny of the senatorial families from Lucania mentioned by G. Camodeca in *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio* II, Roma 1982, 148-56. On what is known of landownership in general in the region, see A. Greco Pontrandolfo – E. Greco, *L'agro picentino e la Lucania occidentale, Società romana e produzione schiavistica I* (a cura di A. Giardina & A. Schiavone), Bari 1981, 137-49.

<sup>32</sup> We know that the emperor owned land in the neighbourhood of Fundi from the title of one Ti. Claudius Speclator Aug. lib. who had been *proc. Formis Fundis Caietae* (CIL VI 8563=D 1578), probably from the late I century.

<sup>33</sup> The brickstamps in CIL XV 2246, 2. For the occurrence at Fundi see Pesiri 175. The same Domitius Lupus appears on other brickstamps from various places in Southern Latium (CIL XV 2245. 2247. 2248 and cf. 2244).



# Zur Symbolik von dargestellten Händen\*

Björn Forsén – Erkki Sironen

Im Jahre 1981 hat F.T. van Straten als eine Beilage zu seinem Aufsatz „Gifts for the Gods“ einen Katalog über alle publizierten Gliederweihungen aus Griechenland veröffentlicht,<sup>1</sup> was man als einen großen Schritt zu besserer Kenntnis dieser Gegenstände der antiken Religion betrachten muß, für die man sich früher wenig interessiert hat. Gliederweihungen, die noch heutzutage in den südeuropäischen Ländern üblich sind, sind Abbildungen verschiedener Körperteile des Menschen, die an Gottheiten mit heilenden Kräften gegeben worden sind, entweder als Dank für eine Genesung oder als Bitte um eine Genesung irgendwelcher Krankheiten der abgebildeten Körperteile. Alle Abbildungen der Körperteile des Menschen sind trotzdem nicht als Gliederweihungen zu definieren – solche Abbildungen können auch andere funktionelle Bedeutungen haben, wie van Straten ganz richtig in seiner Beilage B – „Confusions and Exclusions“<sup>2</sup> –

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\* Dieser Aufsatz wäre nicht möglich gewesen ohne die Hilfe von Professor Dr. P. Castrén und Professor Dr. H. Solin. Wir sind auch dem Personal des Epigraphischen Museums (EM), des Nationalmuseums (NM) und des Archäologischen Museums in Volos Dank schuldig. Die finanzielle Unterstützung, die die Studienbesuche in den obengenannten Museen ermöglichte, haben wir O. Öflundin Säätö zu verdanken.

<sup>1</sup> F.T. van Straten, *Gifts for the Gods, Faith, Hope and Worship. Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World*, ed. by H.S. Versnel, Leiden 1981, 105-133.

<sup>2</sup> F.T. van Straten, *op.cit.* 143-146.

konstatiert. Unsere Absicht ist hier, uns die Abbildungen der Hände und der Arme, die van Straten als Gliederweihungen aufgenommen hat, nochmals anzuschauen und hiervon ausgehend, die Frage nach der Symbolik von dargestellten Händen und Armen zu behandeln.

Der größte Teil von Gliederweihungen in der Form von Händen und Armen aus Griechenland stammt aus Korinth, wo im Asklepieion 25 solche Abbildungen gefunden worden sind. Diese Gliederweihungen, alle aus Terrakotta in Rundskulptur, hängen herunter, mit den Fingern ein bißchen gebogen.<sup>3</sup> Das gleiche gilt auch für das schon von dem Earl of Aberdeen im Heiligtum des Zeus Hypsistos auf der Pnyx in Athen gefundene Marmorrelief mit zwei Armen.<sup>4</sup> Die Arme hängen herunter und sind von der Außenseite abgebildet. Ob die Hände auch einmal abgebildet gewesen sind, ist nicht festzustellen, da das Relief unten an den Handgelenken gebrochen ist.

Fast eben so viel wie die Abbildungen auf dem Relief aus dem Heiligtum des Zeus Hypsistos, ähnelt die Abbildung eines linken Armes auf dem kleinen Marmorrelief EM 2527 den in Korinth gefundenen Händen und Armen. Der linke Arm auf dem EM 2527 hängt nämlich auch herunter und ist von der Außenseite abgebildet. In diesem Fall ist es jedoch klar, daß die Hand nicht zusammen mit dem Arm dargestellt gewesen ist, da die Abbildung des Armes deutlich ein bißchen unter dem Ellbogen endet (Abb. 1). Svoronos hat 1903 zum ersten Mal ein Photo von diesem Relief veröffentlicht.<sup>5</sup> Van Straten benutzt Svoronos als

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<sup>3</sup> C. Roebuck, *The Asklepieion and Lerna (Corinth XIV)*, Princeton, N.J. 1951, 123-125, Nos 49-73, Pls. 36-40. Vgl. F.T. van Straten, *op.cit.* 124, Nos 15.49-15.73.

<sup>4</sup> A.H. Smith, *A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum, I*, London 1892, 369, No 806.

<sup>5</sup> I.N. Σβορώνος, *Τὸ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἐθνικὸν Μουσεῖον*, Ἀθήναι 1903, 672, πιν. 232,3.

Hauptquelle und versucht mit Hilfe von Svoronos' Photo die Inschrift auf dem Stein zu lesen.<sup>6</sup>

Es muß jedoch hervorgehoben werden, daß die Inschrift auf dem EM 2527 schon im IG II<sup>2</sup> publiziert worden ist, wo auch der Fundort, das Asklepieion in Athen, genannt wird. Im IG wird der Text "Αννιος | Ζήνω[νος] | [εὐ]χαριστήσας gelesen.<sup>7</sup> Auf der ersten Zeile ist heute nur αννι zu lesen und es ist zweifelhaft, ob es je in unserer Zeit etwas mehr auf dieser Zeile zu lesen gegeben hat. Von Sybel, der das Relief schon 1881, mehr als fünfzig Jahre vor dem IG, in seinem Museumskatalog für Athen beschreibt, liest nämlich auch nur αννι auf der ersten Zeile.<sup>8</sup> "Αννι[ος] muß wohl doch für die plausibelste Rekonstruktion gehalten werden, da es kaum Platz für mehr als zwei Buchstaben gleicher Größe nach αννι auf der ersten Zeile gibt. Sowohl Protz im IG als auch von Sybel rekonstruieren die letzte Zeile als [εὐ]χαριστή[σας]. Wir würden hier wegen häufigerer Gebräuchlichkeit [εὐ]χαριστή[ριον] oder χαριστή[ριον] vorziehen.<sup>9</sup>

Im Heiligtum des Pankrates und Palaimon ist auch ein Steinrelief mit einer Abbildung eines herunterhängenden Armes gefunden worden.<sup>10</sup> Dazu gibt es zwei kleine bronzene Dar-

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<sup>6</sup> F. T. van Straten, op. cit. 120, No 9.6 Van Straten liest ANN--|XHN---| ---PIET---

<sup>7</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 4765.

<sup>8</sup> L. von Sybel, Katalog der Sculpturen zu Athen, Marburg 1881, 213, No 2981.

<sup>9</sup> In Attika vgl. IG II<sup>2</sup> 3003. 4066. 4467. 4489. 4532. 4709. 4732. 4798 mit χαριστήριον; IG II<sup>2</sup> 2953. 4474. 4697. 4748 mit χαριστήριον/εὐχαριστήριον. Sicher ist die Lesung εὐχαριστήριον in IG II<sup>2</sup> 4751. 4782. 4818. Von εὐχαριστῶ gibt es nur einen Beleg, nämlich IG II<sup>2</sup> 4806.

<sup>10</sup> Der Arm auf diesem Relief (=F. T. van Straten, op. cit. 116, No 7.2.) ist von I. Μηλιάδης, 'Ανασκαφαὶ παρὰ τὴν κοίτην τοῦ Ἰλισοῦ, Πρακτ. 1953 (1956) 54-55 nur erwähnt worden. Für die Information, daß der Arm herunterhängend dargestellt ist, sind wir Dr. Βικέλα dankbar.



stellungen von Armen, die erste aus Oropos<sup>11</sup> und die zweite aus Mesembria in Thrakien.<sup>12</sup> Leider haben wir keine Möglichkeit gehabt, diese zwei zu sehen. Aus den publizierten Photos ist jedoch folgendes zu schließen: Der aus dem Amphiareion in Oropos stammende Arm ist wahrscheinlich in Rundskulptur dargestellt, der im Heiligtum der Demeter in Mesembria gefundene aus einer kleinen Platte in repoussé ausgeschlagen. Wenn man beachtet, wie die Schulter des Armes aus Mesembria dargestellt ist, scheint es, als ob der Arm herunterhängend abgebildet wäre. Dagegen kann man in dieser Hinsicht bei dem Arm aus Oropos leider keinen Schluß ziehen.

Fast alle die bisher beschriebenen Abbildungen von Händen und Armen sind herunterhängend abgebildet und in Heiligtümern von Gottheiten mit heilenden Kräften gefunden worden, was die Definition als Gliederweihungen sicherstellt. Es ist nämlich festgestellt worden, daß Hände, die erhoben dargestellt sind, wenn auch nicht immer, so doch oft eine andere Symbolik haben. Van Straten nennt auch in seiner Beilage B zwei solche Gruppen von Abbildungen – 'die Hand des Zeus Sabazios' und 'die Fluchhände'. Die einzelnen Hände, die Zeus Sabazios geweiht worden sind, können dadurch erkannt werden, daß sie die beiden letzten Finger eingeschlagen zeigen. Da es Abbildungen des Zeus Sabazios gibt, wo der Gott genau diese Geste macht, sind die einzelnen Hände, die Zeus Sabazios geweiht worden sind wahrscheinlich als Abbildungen der segnenden und wohltuenden Hand des Gottes zu betrachten.<sup>13</sup>

Die Fluchhände sind Abbildungen zweier erhobener Hände, mit den Flächen nach vorne ausgestreckt. Mit Hilfe der

<sup>11</sup> Β.Χρ. Πετράκος, 'Ο 'Ωρωπός και τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ 'Αμφιαράου. 'Αθήναι 1968, 127, ἀρ. 40, πιν. 51α.

<sup>12</sup> Α.Κ. Βαβρίτσας 'Ανασκαφή Μεσημβρίας Θράκης, Πρακτ. 1973, 79, πιν. 95β.

<sup>13</sup> Vgl. F.T. van Straten, op.cit. 145 mit ausführlichem Literaturverzeichnis.

Inschriften auf einigen Steinen ist es möglich gewesen, festzulegen, daß es sich um Rachegebete an die Sonne handelt. Die verwandten von Ermordeten oder sonst nur unerklärlich jung verstorbener Kinder haben auf diese Weise Helios, den Allsehenden gerufen, um Rache zu nehmen. Diese Fluchhände konnten auch apotropäisch wirken und sind auf Gräbern errichtet worden als Invokation an die Sonne, das Grab zu beschützen.<sup>14</sup>

Van Straten klassifiziert ein bißchen überraschend und ganz ohne eigene Motivierungen das Marmorrelief NM 2701 als eine Gliederweihung.<sup>15</sup> Dieser Stein, den Svoronos veröffentlicht hat,<sup>16</sup> doch ohne Maßangabe, ist 0,35 hoch, 0,255 breit und 0,055-0,06 dick, wovon die Relieferhebung 0,01 beträgt. Auf dem Stein sind zwei erhobene Hände in Relief abgebildet, mit den Flächen nach vorn gestreckt. Unter den Händen gibt es eine 0,10 hohe Platte, wahrscheinlich für eine Inschrift reserviert, obwohl solch eine nie gemacht worden ist. Der Stein ist an der Agia Trias in der Nähe von Kerameikos gefunden worden und 1922 von A. Conze ein zweites Mal mit Photo publiziert worden,<sup>17</sup> doch wieder ohne Maßangabe.

Conze, wie auch später F. Cumont,<sup>18</sup> klassifiziert den Stein als Grabstein, eine Behauptung die wir unterstützen. Es gibt keinen Grund, den Stein als Gliederweihung zu betrachten. Der Fundplatz, in der Nähe von Kerameikos und die obengenannte Tatsache, daß zwei erhobene Hände auf Grabsteinen gewöhnlich als Invokation an die Sonne zu betrachten sind, das Grab zu

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<sup>14</sup> Wichtig hier sind F. Cumont, *Il sole vindice dei dilitti ed il simbolo delle mani alzate*, *Atti Pont. Acc.*, Ser. 3.1.1 (1923) 65-80 und F. Cumont, *Deux monuments des cultes solaires*, *Syria* 14 (1933) 381-395. Für neuere Literatur vgl. F.T. van Straten, *op.cit.* 145-146.

<sup>15</sup> F.T. van Straten, *op.cit.* 120, No 9.7.

<sup>16</sup> I.N. Σβορώνος, *op.cit.* 649, πιν. 164.

<sup>17</sup> A. Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs IV*, Berlin 1911 (1922), 22, No 1812.

<sup>18</sup> F. Cumont, *art.cit.* 1923, 77, No 10.

beschützen, sprechen beide unserer Meinung nach klar für Conzes und Cumonts Klassifizierung.

Verschiedene Ansichten über die Symbolik von den zwei Händen auf dem Relief, das die IG-Nummer IG XII.5, 158 trägt, sind auch vorgebracht worden. Dieser Stein ist in Paroikia auf Paros gefunden und 1878 von M. Krispi publiziert worden.<sup>19</sup> Später hat Metaxa den Stein nach Athen gebracht und dem König als Geschenk gegeben.<sup>20</sup> Danach gibt es keine Information über das Schicksal des Steines. Die einzige Beschreibung, die es von dem, was auf dem Stein dargestellt war, gibt, ist die von M. Krispi. Laut ihm war auf dem Stein "δύο χεῖρας ἀναθηματικὰς γυναικείας πρηνεῖς μετὰ τῶν καρπῶν φυσικοῦ μεγέθους, καλῆς τέχνης, ὧν οἱ ἀντίχειρες ἐφάπτονται" abgebildet. Dazu war auf dem Stein ... | Ἴσμηνίου Ἀσκληπιῶ | καὶ Ὑγία eingeschrieben.

F. Cumont schließt den Stein aus Paros, zusammen mit einem ähnlichen aus Apulum in Dakien,<sup>21</sup> in seinen Katalog über zwei erhobene Hände ein.<sup>22</sup> Seiner Meinung nach handelt es sich hier um ein *ex voto*, das Asklepios geweiht worden ist als Bitte um Genesung oder als Dank für vom Gott erhaltene Hilfe. Cumont betont jedoch, daß es sich nicht um Gliederweihungen handelt, sondern daß die zwei erhobenen Hände als eine Abbildung und damit auch eine Verstärkerung der Bitte oder des Dankes zu verstehen sind. Diese Behauptung motiviert er damit, daß es unwahrscheinlich wirkt, daß jemand eine Krankheit an beiden Händen gehabt hätte und daß erhobene Hände gerade die Bitte an die Götter oder den Dank an diese symbolisieren.<sup>23</sup> Van

<sup>19</sup> K.M. Κρίσπη, Ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐπισταλεῖσαι ἐν ἀντιγράφοις, Μουσ. καὶ Βιβλ. τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς σχολῆς, 1876-78, 7, ἀρ. ρπς'.

<sup>20</sup> Im IG XII.5, 158 genannt.

<sup>21</sup> CIL III Suppl. 12558.

<sup>22</sup> F. Cumont, art.cit. 1933, 393, Nr. 7a und 394, No 20b.

<sup>23</sup> F. Cumont, art.cit. 1933, 389 mit Note 2.

Straten dagegen nimmt den Stein aus Paros als Gliederweiheung auf, jedoch ohne irgendwelche Begründungen.<sup>24</sup>

Cumonts Argumentation muß jedoch stark kritisiert werden. Erstens gibt es schon Fälle, in denen zwei Hände oder Arme auf einmal als Gliederweiheungen geopfert worden sind. Oben haben wir ja das Relief vom Heiligtum des Zeus Hypsistos genannt, dazu sind 5 von den 23 Händen und Armen in den Inventarverzeichnissen des Asklepieions in Athen als Paare aufgenommen worden.<sup>25</sup> Zweitens gibt es nichts in der Beschreibung von M. Krispi, das besagt, daß die Hände erhoben abgebildet waren. Im Gegenteil, *πρηνεῖς* ist eher als 'herunterhängend' zu übersetzen. Es handelt sich also um zwei Hände oder Arme,<sup>26</sup> die herunterhängend abgebildet sind und Asklepios und Hygieia geweiht worden sind. Das Relief aus Paros muß also als eine Gliederweiheung klassifiziert werden. Die zwei Hände aus Apulum sind dagegen überhaupt nicht beschrieben worden, und so ist es unmöglich, aus diesen irgendwelchen Schluß zu ziehen.

Van Straten schließt schließlich auch drei allein abgebildete erhobene Hände in seinen Katalog über Gliederweiheungen ein. Ehe wir etwas über die Symbolik einer allein abgebildeten erhobenen Hand zu sagen versuchen, ist es motiviert, zwei von den von van Straten erwähnten Händen uns nochmals gründlich anzuschauen,<sup>27</sup> da diese viele Male publiziert worden sind, manchmal mit Fehlern und ohne Kenntnis davon, daß es schon frühere Publikationen gegeben hat.

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<sup>24</sup> F.T. van Straten, op.cit. 133, No 31.1.

<sup>25</sup> Vgl. F.T. van Straten, op.cit. 109.

<sup>26</sup> In M. Krispis Beschreibung wird nicht gesagt, wo die Darstellung endet.

<sup>27</sup> Über die dritte, F.T. van Straten, op.cit. 143, 15 bis = Π. Θεμελής, 'Αρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Μεσσηνίας, 'Αρχ. Δελτίον 21 B 1, 1966, 164, πιν. 157 ist Themelis der Meinung, daß diese erhobene Hand eine apotropäische Bedeutung gehabt hätte.

Fangen wir mit der rechteckigen Platte, NM 2680, aus hartem grauen Stein,<sup>28</sup> an. Auf dieser ist im Relief eine erhobene geöffnete rechte Hand, mit den Fingern gespreizt, dargestellt. Über der Hand gibt es eine fein eingegrabene Inschrift. Diese wird von Svoronos, der den Stein zum ersten Mal 1903 veröffentlicht hat, als [Εὐ]νομία | ΔΙΙΤΥΧΟΣ(?) gelesen.<sup>29</sup> W. Peek zweifelt 1942, daß etwas nach Δί zu lesen ist, aber er hat wahrscheinlich nicht die Inschrift selbst gesehen, da er nur auf das von Svoronos veröffentlichte, ein wenig unscharfe Photo hinweist.<sup>30</sup> Ein besseres Photo ist jedoch von Keramopoulos 1923 publiziert worden. Er rekonstruiert den Text als [‘Α Εὐ]νομία | Διὶ τυχῶσα.<sup>31</sup> Das ‘Α ist unserer Meinung nach unwahrscheinlich, es gäbe kaum Platz dafür auf dem Stein. Die richtige Lesung des Textes auf dieser Platte, die ursprünglich in Kalamata gefunden worden ist,<sup>32</sup> scheint die schon im IG vorgeschlagene [Εὐ]νομία | Διὶ τυχῶσα zu sein.<sup>33</sup>

Als Nummer 19 in seinem Katalog, ohne Literaturhinweise, veröffentlicht van Straten die Stele E 185 des Archäologischen Museums in Volos. Auf der Stele aus Marmor ist eine rechte erhobene Hand von der Außenseite abgebildet, darüber gibt es eine dreizeilige Inschrift (Abb. 2). Van Straten liest diese Inschrift als Αὐλὶς Ἀρίστου ΑΕΙ | Α (?) εὐξαμένα καὶ | κατα-  
τυχοῦσα.<sup>34</sup> Diese Stele, die in den Ausgrabungen des Tempels

<sup>28</sup> Es handelt sich wahrscheinlich um Dombrianamarmor.

<sup>29</sup> I.N. Σβορώνος, op.cit. 649, πιν. 164.

<sup>30</sup> W. Peek, Attische Inschriften, AM 67 (1942 [1951]) 53, No 82.

<sup>31</sup> Α. Κεραμόπουλλος, ‘Ο Ἀποτυμπανισμός (=22 Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἐταιρείας), Ἀθήναι 1923, 91 mit Photo auf der Seite 89 (εικ. 15).

<sup>32</sup> Vgl. Α. Κεραμόπουλλος, op.cit. 90 mit der Anmerkung in Note 5 darauf, daß Π. Καστριώτης, Γλυπτὰ τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Μουσείου, Ἀθήναι 1908 doch Athen (wahrscheinlich falsch) als Fundplatz angibt. Vgl. auch die folgende Note.

<sup>33</sup> IG V.1, 1363. Auch hier ist Kalamata als Fundplatz angegeben.

<sup>34</sup> F.T. van Straten, op.cit. 126, No 19.

von Zeus Thaulios in Pherai gefunden worden ist,<sup>35</sup> wurde zum ersten Mal vollständig von Y. Bequignon 1937 veröffentlicht. Er liest auf dem Stein Αὐλῖς Ἀριστολάειλα εὐξαμένα καὶ ἰ κατατυχοῦσα,<sup>36</sup> was wir für richtig halten. Der viertletzte Buchstabe der ersten Zeile ist heute ganz zerstört, der drittletzte nur teilweise, und scheint ein Alpha zu sein. Ἀριστο[λ]αείλα ist also wahrscheinlich die richtige Lesung.

Einsame erhobene Hände mit allen Fingern gespreizt sind oft mit der heutigen μὸντζα- oder φάσκελο-Gebärde verglichen worden. Ihr wird damit eine apotropäische Bedeutung zugeschrieben.<sup>37</sup> So ist es auch mit dem NM 2680 und der Stele E 185 in Volos geschehen. Beide sind als apotropäisch erklärt worden, NM 2680 von Keramopoulos<sup>38</sup> und die Stele E 185 von Bequignon.<sup>39</sup> Wir können uns doch schwerlich Inschriften mit τυχοῦσα und εὐξαμένα καὶ κατατυχοῦσα auf Steinen mit apotropäischer Symbolik vorstellen. Diese Inschriften deuten eher darauf hin, daß es sich um Votivgaben handelt.

F. Cumont folgt, was das NM 2680 betrifft, der Auffassung, die schon im IG vorgelegt worden ist, das heißt, er deutet die erhobene Hand als Dank der Εὐνομία an Zeus dafür, daß ihre Gebete erhört worden sind.<sup>40</sup> Es war unter den Griechen üblich, zu den Göttern mit der rechten Hand oder manchmal mit beiden

<sup>35</sup> Α.Σ. Ἀρβανιτόπουλος, Φερῶν Θεσσαλίας ἀνασκαφαί, Πρακτ. 1924, 107-108. Die Benennung dieses Heiligtumes ist doch nicht gesichert, da in seinem Bereich ebensowohl Weihungen an Zeus Thaulios wie an Artemis Ennodia gefunden sind. (Siehe E. Kirsten, Pherai, RE Suppl. VII, 998-999).

<sup>36</sup> Y. Bequignon, Recherches archéologiques à Phères de Thessalie, Paris 1937, 86, No 49.

<sup>37</sup> Vgl. zum Beispiel N.T. Πολίτης, Ὑβριστικὰ σχήματα, Λαογραφία 4, 1913-14, 614ff. und A. Κεραμόπουλλος, op. cit. 87-96.

<sup>38</sup> A. Κεραμόπουλλος, op. cit. 90-91.

<sup>39</sup> Y. Bequignon, op. cit. 86-87.

<sup>40</sup> F. Cumont, art. cit. 1933, 389, Note 2. Auch I.N. Σβορώνος, op. cit. 649 deutet die Hand auf dem NM 2680 als ein Ausdruck des Gebetes.

Händen erhoben zu beten.<sup>41</sup> Laut Cumont könnten Abbildungen erhobener Hände als Motivgaben in zweifachem Sinn gedeutet werden, entweder als eine Verstärkung des Gebetes oder als Dank dafür, daß die Gebete von den Göttern erhört worden sind.

Van Straten klassifiziert als erster die drei Abbildungen erhobener Hände als Gliederweihungen. Diese Klassifizierung kann schon verteidigt werden, es handelt sich ja um Abbildungen von Körperteilen des Menschen, die als Motivgaben geweiht worden sind und wenn wir auch keine ähnlichen Abbildungen als Gliederweihungen aus Griechenland kennen, gibt es doch Parallelen zum Beispiel in Italien.<sup>42</sup> Es ist jedoch unsicher, Vergleiche mit italischen Gliederweihungen anzustellen, da diese sich in vieler Hinsicht von den griechischen unterscheiden. Dazu ist es nicht möglich, eine einzige der drei erhobenen Hände mit einer als heilend bekannten Gottheit zu verbinden. Van Stratens Klassifizierung scheint uns also etwas schlechter begründet zu sein, als die im IG vorgeschlagene.

Abbildungen von einzelnen erhobenen Händen, mit allen Fingern gespreizt, sind nicht besonders gewöhnlich. Außer den drei oben behandelten gibt es die erhobene Hand im Zusammenhang mit der Felseninschrift in Itanos auf Kreta, von

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<sup>41</sup> Siehe zum Beispiel Et. Boucher-Colozier, *Une Statuette grecque d'orante au musée d'Alger*, *Mon.Piot.* 47 (1953) 70ff. und F.T. van Straten, *op.cit.* 82-83 und Fig. 7, 8, 10.

<sup>42</sup> In Italien sind erhobene Hände oft zusammen mit Gliederweihungen gefunden worden. Vgl. zum Beispiel M. Fenelli, *Contributo per lo studio del votivo anatomico: I votivi anatomici di Lavinio*, *Arch.Cl.* 27 (1975) 225-226 und F. Coarelli et al., *Fregellae 2. Il santuario di Esculapio*, Roma 1986, 135-136. Für weitere Hinweisungen, siehe die Noten in M. Fenelli, *art.cit.*, und A. Comella, *Complessi votivi in Italia in epoca medio- e tardorepubblicana*, *MEFRA* 93 (1981) 718-803. Auch in Italien ist es nicht sicher, daß alle Abbildungen Hände Gliederweihungen sind. Einige Hände sind zum Beispiel mit Geschenken an die Götter (Früchte u. s. w.) abgebildet.

vielen<sup>43</sup> als apotropäisch erklärt, obwohl die Hand auch als 'zur Adoration geöffnet' beschrieben worden ist.<sup>44</sup> In Olympia ist eine erhobene rechte Hand gefunden worden, die als Schildzeichen gedient hat, und von E. Kunze auf Grund der Ähnlichkeit mit der heutigen  $\mu\omicron\upsilon\nu\tau\zeta\alpha$ -Gebärde als apotropäisch erklärt worden.<sup>45</sup> Zuletzt gibt es die vielen Miniaturabbildungen erhobener Hände, die meistens in Gräbern in Attika<sup>46</sup> und auf Rheneia<sup>47</sup>, aber auch im Delion auf Paros<sup>48</sup> gefunden worden sind. A. Laumonier, der die Terrakottafunde aus Delos und Rheneia publiziert hat, möchte diese als göttliche Hände mit einer beschützenden und prophylaktischen Bedeutung sehen.<sup>49</sup>

Bis jetzt gibt es zu wenig Vergleichsmaterial, um eine klare Antwort auf die Frage geben zu können, was die Symbolik einer einsamen erhobenen Hand gewesen ist. Die Frage wird natürlich nicht einfacher dadurch, daß es möglich ist, daß Abbildungen dieser Art verschiedene Bedeutungen gehabt haben. Unterschiede im Fundkontext, im Material, in der Größe, in der Datierung u.s.w. können vielleicht ausschlaggebend sein. Leider sind die Fundberichte und Publikationen oft mangelhaft, manchmal sind sogar Fehler gemacht worden. Wir haben in diesem Aufsatz

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<sup>43</sup> A. Κεραμόπουλλος, op.cit. 90-91 und N.T. Πολίτης, op.cit. 614ff., der letzte mit weiteren Hinweisen.

<sup>44</sup> F. Dümmler, Inschrift aus Itanos, AM 16 (1891) 129.

<sup>45</sup> E. Kunze, Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia V, Berlin 1956, 62-63.

<sup>46</sup> Vgl. R. Higgins, Catalogue of the Terracottas – British Museum 1, London 1954, 172, 183, Nos 687-690 und K. Kübler, Ausgrabungen im Kerameikos, AA 1935, 271-272, Abb. 6. Für weitere Hinweisen, siehe D.C. Kurtz and J. Boardman, Greek Burial Customs, London and Southampton 1971, 101-102 mit Noten auf Seite 356.

<sup>47</sup> A. Laumonier, Les figurines de terre cuite (=Exploration archéologique de Délos 23), Paris 1956, 98-101, Nos 230-238.

<sup>48</sup> O. Rubensohn, Das Delion von Paros, Wiesbaden 1962, 167, Nos 96a-b.

<sup>49</sup> A. Laumonier, op.cit. 99.



versucht, einige von diesen Fehlern und Unklarheiten zu korrigieren, aber auch zu zeigen, welche verschiedenen Deutungsvorschläge gemacht worden sind, um möglicherweise kommende Publikationen und Forschungen zu fördern.



Abb. 1. S. 56—57.



Abb. 2. S. 62—63.



# Thukydides als Historiker und Literat\*

Siegfried Jäkel

## I

Das Thema rührt an die Fragestellung nach den Möglichkeiten und Begrenzungen der sogenannten positivistischen — manche sagen auch objektiven — Historiographie im Allgemeinen. Deshalb scheint es zunächst nicht ganz abwegig zu sein, nach den Erscheinungsformen von Geschichtsschreibung im frühen Griechentum Ausschau zu halten. Dabei wird man unversehends an Homer zu denken haben, der mit seiner Ilias wohl auch das historische Geschehen eines trojanischen Krieges der Nachwelt zu vermitteln sucht — Thukydides selbst benutzt ihn in seiner Archäologie geradezu als historische Quelle — und es wäre sicher lohnend, einen Vergleich zwischen dem Kompositionsprinzip der Reden bei Homer und Thukydides anzustellen, da beide das Logos-Antilogos-Prinzip der Darstellung verfolgen, bei Thukydides sicher mit der Zielsetzung, das Objektive im Dialektischen aufzuspüren, bei Homer wohl mehr in dem Bestreben menschliche und göttliche Triebkräfte des Hand-

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lungsgeschehens im dialektischen Spiel von Rede und Gegenrede durchsichtiger zu machen.

Indessen lehrt ein Blick auf das Werk Hesiods, daß ihm ein noch ausgeprägteres historisches Interesse zugrunde liegt, wenn man etwa an die Darstellung der 5 Menschenalter denkt, die vom mythischen Geschehen ausgeht und im historischen seiner eigenen Zeit und Zeitgenossen gipfelt, indem er seine eigene historische Zeitgenossenschaft als das Ende einer Entwicklung erlebt, die im mythischen ihren Anfang nahm.

Zwischen Hesiod und Herodot steht Hekataios von Milet, der als erster ganz offen mit dem auftritt, was man heute den historischen Wahrheitsanspruch nennen könnte; zwar gebraucht er noch das Wort *μυθεῖσθαι* für *λέγειν* aber inhaltlich sucht er bereits die mythische Überlieferung historisch zu sichten und auszuwerten.

Ihm gegenüber steht nun in seiner Zielsetzung noch immer Herodot, der historisierende Geschichtenerzähler, der scheinbar ein weniger ausgebildetes Interesse an der historischen Wahrheit hatte, als vielmehr an dem Versuch, die Buntheit des Lebens in seiner vielgestaltigen und eben auch privaten Erscheinung festzuhalten. Es gibt auch heute noch ernst zu nehmende Stimmen von Forschern, die darin einen höheren Grad von objektiver Geschichtsschreibung erkennen wollen, als in der eher positivistischen, jede Privatheit ausklammernden und sich jedes persönlichen Urteils enthaltenden Art der thukydeischen Geschichtsschreibung.<sup>1</sup>

Aber werfen wir nun einen direkten Blick auf Thukydides selbst, auf den Passus im sogenannten Methodenkapitel, in welchem er dem Leser Einblick gewährt in sein Arbeitsprinzip, in die Werkstatt eines Historikers, so wie er ihn versteht. Im Kapitel 19 des ersten Buches hatte Thukydides die Gleich-

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<sup>1</sup> Vgl. etwa Hermann Strasburger, Die Entdeckung der politischen Geschichte durch Thukydides, Saeculum 1954, 395-428.

gültigkeit beklagt, mit der die Öffentlichkeit dem gegenübersteht, was er als die Wahrheit oder die Suche nach der historischen Faktizität bezeichnet, mit dem Hinweis auf die falsche Meinung hinsichtlich der Story, die sich um Harmodios und Aristogeiton in Zusammenhang mit Hipparch in der öffentlichen Meinung herausgebildet und durchgesetzt hatte. Er beschließt seine Richtigstellung mit dem Satz:

οὕτως ἀταλαίπωρος τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡ ζήτησις τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔτοιμα μᾶλλον τρέπονται.

In der Paraphrase: „So gleichgültig verhalten sich die meisten Menschen dem Anspruch gegenüber, herauszufinden, wie etwas wirklich gewesen ist, und sie neigen eher dazu, sich dem zuzuwenden (d.h. das für wahr zu halten), was andere schon für sie bereit halten (d.h. was als öffentliche Meinung für sie schon bereit liegt).“

Nachdem Thukydides im folgenden Abschnitt seine eigene Verfahrensweise von der der Dichter und Logographen absetzt, wendet er sich in dem vieldiskutierten Methodenkapitel einer genaueren Beschreibung seiner eigenen Verfahrensweise zu. Es ist hier nicht die Absicht, auf die unzähligen Interpretationsexperimente näher einzugehen, die sich mit diesem Kapitel 22 beschäftigen, vielmehr greife ich jene meines Erachtens nach wichtigste und folgenreichste Äußerung dieses Kapitels heraus, die bisher nicht in der ihr gebührenden Weise und in dem hier vorliegenden Zusammenhang entsprechend gewürdigt worden ist. Dabei handelt es sich um den § 3 dieses Kapitels, der folgendermaßen lautet:

... ἐπιπόνως δὲ ἠύρισκετο, διότι οἱ παρόντες τοῖς ἔργοις ἐκάστοις οὐ ταῦτα περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔλεγον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκατέρων τις εὐνοίας ἢ μνήμης ἔχοι.

Über die Schwierigkeit, die Reden der Politiker und Staatsmänner, die im peloponnesischen Krieg gehalten wurden, im Wortlaut wiederzugehen, ist sich Thukydides vollkommen klar, und er macht auch gar nicht den Versuch, dieses Ziel zu erreichen, selbst bei Reden, denen er persönlich beigewohnt hat; er will davon nur die Entwicklung der Argumentationslinie und die Grundtendenz der Reden wiedergeben, ihre σύμπασα γνώμη. Und obwohl er die Leichenrede des Perikles wahrscheinlich selbst gehört haben wird, ist gerade in ihr ein Beispiel für die literarisch-rhetorische Stilisierung solcher Reden durch Thukydides, den Schriftsteller und politischen Denker, zu sehen; denn die Struktur der Sätze, die Thukydides vorlegt, ist so komprimiert und dicht gedrängt, so hintergründig verschachtelt, daß wir kaum annehmen können, eine athenische Zuhörerschaft hätte einer solchen Rede mühelos folgen können.

Aber auch was die Auflistung der sogenannten ἔργα betrifft – im Sinne bloßer Faktizität – so wurde sich Thukydides zunehmend der Schwierigkeit bewußt, diese aufgrund von Berichten herauszufinden, die er sich von allen möglichen Seiten zu beschaffen verstand. Wir dürfen annehmen, daß er mit der Aufwendung von Mitteln dafür nicht gespart haben dürfte, da er finanziell wohl in bequemen, wenn nicht üppigen Verhältnissen lebte. Von der Schwierigkeit, auf die er dabei stößt, berichtet er in dem oben zitierten § 3 des 22. Kapitels des ersten Buches, wo er feststellt:

(in der Paraphrase) „Es war deshalb äußerst schwierig, herauszufinden, wie es wirklich gewesen ist, weil die Berichterstatter, die als Augenzeugen den jeweiligen Geschehnissen beigewohnt hatten, nicht immer dasselbe über dieselben Ereignisse berichteten, sondern so, wie es ihnen aufgrund ihrer Parteinahme und je nach dem,

was ihnen im Gedächtnis geblieben war, gut dünkte (scil. als wahr erscheinen wollte).“

Was Thukydides hier beschreibt, ist das Phänomen, des Eklektizismus, das jedem Bericht zugrunde liegt, der ein Ereignis mit den Mitteln der Sprache beschreiben oder ein Erlebnis wiedergeben will. Dabei mag es auf den ersten Blick so scheinen, daß nur εὐνοία in der Junktur εὐνοίας καὶ μνήμης das emotionale Element darstellt; man ist versucht, an das *'sine ira et studio'* des Tacitus zu denken, für den ira den Gegenpol zu studium darstellt, und der damit ganz im emotionalen Bereich bleibt, den er offensichtlich bei seiner Darstellung auszuschalten trachtet. Und andererseits hat es den Anschein, als ob μνήμη, das zweite Element, das Unsicherheit in die Sachlichkeit der Berichterstattung zu bringen vermag, im Bereich der rationalen Kapazität des Menschen bleibt. Doch inzwischen weiß man längst – mindestens seit Freud –, daß das menschliche Gedächtnis in seiner Effektivität ebenfalls emotional gesteuert ist, sodaß man sich letztenendes eben auch das besser behält, dem man ein persönliches Interesse abzugewinnen vermag, wohingegen Dinge, die einem nichts oder nicht viel sagen, entweder gar nicht bemerkt oder nur sehr oberflächlich registriert werden.

Also auch das zweite, scheinbar in der rationalen Kapazität wurzelnde Element des Gedächtnisses ist zumindest latent emotionalen Einflüssen unterworfen. So wird man auch die Tatsachenberichte des Thukydides, soweit sie sich auf das ihm gelieferte Material der Berichterstatter stützen, in zweifacher Weise emotional gefiltert lesen müssen: Einmal durch die Interessenbrille der Berichterstatter selbst, dann aber auch durch jene, gleichsam sekundäre des Historikers Thukydides, der naturgemäß bei seiner Auswahl der angebotenen Versionen eines faktischen Geschehens ebenfalls nicht frei von seiner persönlichen Interessiertheit eine Wahl getroffen haben wird, die



dann als historische Darstellung in seine Geschichtsschreibung Eingang gefunden hat.

In ähnlicher Weise hat man sich denn auch seine Wiedergabe der Reden zu denken, auch jener, die er selbst gehört hat. Auch wird man annehmen dürfen, daß er sie aus dem Gedächtnis nachher aufschrieb, aus dem Gedächtnis, das auch in seinem Fall latent emotionalen Präferenzen unterworfen gewesen ist, sodaß sich wohl auch darauf jener Begriff anwenden läßt, den er selbst im § 1 des 22. Kapitel des ersten Buches in die Debatte wirft, nämlich τὰ δέοντα.

Dieser Begriff τὰ δέοντα, der hier von Thukydides eingeführt wird, ist wohl somit als Schlüsselbegriff dafür anzusehen, was Thukydides in seiner historischen Darstellung an objektiver Faktizität zu leisten vermag. Man ist unversehends an das 9. Kapitel der aristotelischen Poetik erinnert, wo bekanntlich expressis verbis der Unterschied zwischen Dichtung und Geschichtsschreibung aus aristotelischer Sicht zu definieren versucht wird und wo es heißt:

ὁ γὰρ ἱστορικὸς καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς οὐ τῷ ἔμμετρα ἢ ἄμετρα διαφέρουσιν, ... ἀλλὰ τούτῳ διαφέρει, τῷ τὸν μὲν γινόμενα λέγειν, τὸν δὲ οἷα ἂν γένοιτο. Διὸ καὶ φιλοσοφώτερον καὶ σπουδαιότερον ποίησις ἱστορίας ἐστίν. ἢ μὲν γὰρ ποίησις μᾶλλον τὰ καθόλου, ἢ δ' ἱστορία τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον λέγει. ἔστι δὲ καθόλου μὲν τῷ ποίῳ ἅττα συμβαίνει λέγειν ἢ πράττειν κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἢ (κατὰ) τὸ ἀναγκαῖον, οὗ στοχάζεται ἢ ποίησις ὀνόματα ἐπιτιθεμένη. τὸ δὲ ἕκαστον τί Ἀλκιβιάδες ἔπραξεν ἢ τί ἔπαθεν.

Für Aristoteles zeigt sich der Unterschied zwischen dem Historiker und dem Dichter nicht in formal-sprachlichen Definitionskriterien, also nicht darin, ob jemand in gebundener, also metrischer Sprache schreibt oder in Prosa, vielmehr bestimmt er

den Unterschied zwischen beiden nach inhaltlichen Kategorien: die Ereignisse so darzustellen, wie sie wirklich gewesen sind, darin sieht er die Aufgabe des Historikers, hingegen habe der Dichter das Geschehene als ein mögliches, d.h. als Fiktion, zu erzählen. Geht man dabei von der aristotelischen Abbildtheorie aus, die jedes Kunstwerk – also auch das sprachliche – als eine Nachahmung handelnder Menschen oder menschlicher Handlungen begreift, und fragt man dann nach dem 'Vorbild' für den Dichter, so wird auf ein Handlungsmuster verwiesen, das – ausgehend von einer vorhandenen wirklichen Welt – aufgrund der Vorstellungskraft eines Dichters, d.h. seines Möglichkeitsdenkens, eine mögliche Wirklichkeit nachahmt, d.h. in Worte zu bringen versucht. Sprachlicher Ausdruck eines solchen Möglichkeitsdenkens ist der Optativ οἷα ἄν γένοιτο. In diesem Möglichkeitsdenkens der Dichter wird auch noch das 'philosophischere' Prinzip gesehen, im Vergleich etwa mit der Verfahrensweise der Historiker; das philosophischere Prinzip ist für Aristoteles aber zugleich auch dasjenige, das ernsthafter zu nehmen ist (σπουδαιότερον) und zusammenfassend heißt es dann noch einmal, das die Dichtung, indem sie dem Möglichkeitsprinzip folgt, eine wesensgerechtere Wirklichkeit zu schaffen versucht, als es die in diesem Sinne 'unvollkommene', nur wirkliche, sein kann, die vom Historiographen lediglich nacherzählt wird. Der sprachliche Ausdruck, den Aristoteles für den Gegenstand der Dichtung wählt, lautet τὰ καθόλου und er bildet sich aus auf der Basis der Wahrscheinlichkeit (κατὰ τὸ εἶκος) und der Notwendigkeit (κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον).

Zurück zu Thukydides: Nach all dem scheint das thukydideische τὰ δέοντα im 22. Kapitel des 1. Buches begrifflich in die Richtung dessen zu weisen, was Aristoteles in seiner Poetik als das τὰ καθόλου der Dichter definiert hatte. Die individuelle Handlung oder die Rede eines Politikers oder Staatsmannes wurde in der dichterischen Bearbeitung des Thukydides zum

Ausdruck für ihr Wesen, und in seinem Begriff des τὰ δέοντα kommt das εἶκός und das ἀναγκαῖον des aristotelischen τὰ καθόλου-Begriffes zur Deckung.

## II

Vor dem Hintergrund der hier angedeuteten historisch-literarischen Verfahrensweise des Thukydides will ich mich jetzt einem konkreten Beispiel zuwenden, einer konkreten Rede, nämlich der Leichenrede des Perikles. Auch darüber liegen Interpretationsexperimente vor, die zu würdigen und auf die näher einzugehen hier nicht meine Aufgabe sein kann.<sup>2</sup>

Ich gehe davon aus, daß Thukydides in seiner Leichenrede des Perikles – wie er selbst sagt – ihre σύμπασα γνώμη herausgefunden und in seiner Weise dargestellt hat, und mir scheint, daß sich bei ihrer Argumentationsanalyse zwei unterschiedliche Strukturen ergeben werden, eine semantische Oberflächen- und eine semantische Tiefenstruktur, wie ich sie hier einmal nennen möchte. Die semantische Oberflächenstruktur geht von dem formalen Anlaß der Rede aus, der darin besteht, die Gefallenen des ersten Kriegsjahres zu ehren, und der damit auch einen alten Brauch aufgreift. Die semantische Tiefenstruktur hat indes das Ziel, die vom Redner beabsichtigte demagogische Wirkung der Rede auf die Zuhörerschaft freizulegen; dabei wird sich zeigen lassen, wie die semantische Ambivalenz eines Wortes oder eines Begriffes eingesetzt wird, um dieses Ziel zu erreichen.

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<sup>2</sup> Vgl. dazu Konrad Gaiser, Das Staatsmodell des Thukydides. Zur Rede des Perikles für die Gefallenen, Heidelberg 1975, der darin einen guten Überblick über die bisherigen Forschungsergebnisse zusammenstellt. In diesem Zusammenhang verweise ich auch noch auf Hermann Rohdich, Thukydides II, 35, Rh. Mus. 1978, 226-239, der weiterführende Aspekte zu diesem Thema vorlegt.

Zunächst zum Ausgangspunkt der Rede und ihrer vordergründigen Motivation. Indem Perikles das Wort ergreift, folgt er einer althergebrachten Tradition, die er allerdings aus ihrer bloß konventionellen Funktion herauslöst und zu einer neuen Unmittelbarkeit erhebt. Die Logos-Ergon-Opposition, die Thukydides in seinem Methodenkapitel als grundlegend für seine Historiographie auseinandergesetzt hatte, legt er dem Perikles zu Beginn seiner Leichenrede in den Mund, und zwar so, daß er dem Logos des Redners den Gegenstand seiner Rede, das Ergon der Gefallenen, also gewissenmaßen ihre durch sein Wort zu preisenden Heldentaten gegenüberstellt, d.h. Wort und Werk in kritische Beziehung zueinander setzt; er fragt sich nämlich, ob es nicht zu riskant sei, die Würdigung der Heldentaten dieser Toten dem Wort, der Rede eines einzigen Mannes anzuvertrauen, je nach der individuellen Geschicklichkeit dieses Redners:

... ἐμοὶ δ' ἄρκοῦν ἂν ἐδόκει εἶναι ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργῳ γενομένων ἔργῳ καὶ δηλοῦσθαι τὰς τιμάς, οἷα καὶ νῦν περὶ τὸν τάφον τόνδε δημοσίᾳ παρασκευασθέντα ὁρᾶτε, καὶ μὴ ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ πολλῶν ἀρετὰς κινδυνεύεσθαι εὖ τε καὶ χεῖρον εἰπόντι πιστευθῆναι... (2,35)

So scheint ihm das Ritual der Totenklage als ἔργον wesentlich gemäßer zu sein, das ἔργον der Heldentaten der Gefallenen zu ehren. Und er gibt zugleich auch eine Begründung dafür, also für das Risiko, dem sich seine verbale Lobpreisung aussetzt: Der Erwartungshorizont der Zuhörerschaft ist bestimmt von ihren subjektiven Erlebnissen und Kriegserfahrungen, und je nach dem ob der eine oder andere unter den Zuhörern in dem, was er im Krieg selbst als Soldat geleistet hat, hinter dem zurückbleibt, was der Redner zum Lobe der Gefallenen sagt, oder ob er selbst weit mehr und Größeres geleistet haben mag, als das vom Redner verbal Gefeierte, wird er die Rede für übertrieben oder für

untertrieben halten. So wird also keine Rede dem Anspruch auf Wahrscheinlichkeit genüge tun können, und so wird nicht einmal der Schein der Wahrheit gewahrt bleiben können:

χαλεπὸν γὰρ τὸ μετρίως εἰπεῖν ἐν ᾧ μόλις καὶ ἡ δόκησις τῆς ἀληθείας βεβαιοῦται. (2,35,2)

Trotz dieser Schwierigkeit, auf die Perikles vorsorglich schon verweist, will er dem alten Brauch folgen und seine Rede zur Ehre der Gefallenen halten, spricht mit dem oben entwickelten Gedanken aber zugleich den Erwartungshorizont seiner Zuhörerschaft an, indem er die generelle Frage stellt nach dem, was die Zuhörer hören wollen (βούλησις) und nach dem, was sie glauben oder für möglich halten können (δόξη). Dieser Gedanke, der sich unter den späteren Historiographen als Topos eingebürgert haben mag – wir wissen zum Beispiel, daß Sallust ihn in Catil. 3,2 für sich und für die Glaubwürdigkeit seiner eigenen Geschichtsschreibung in Anspruch nimmt – hat im Bereich der semantischen Tiefenstruktur zugleich aber auch die Funktion, jede mögliche Kritik der Zuhörer an der Rede ihres Staatsoberhauptes vorwegzunehmen und die zerstörerischen Gefühle von Neid, Habsucht, Mißgunst und Ehrliebe im Keim zu ersticken.<sup>3</sup>

Danach wendet sich Perikles in seiner Rede der Vergangenheit Athens und seiner Vorfahren zu; er gibt hier gleichsam eine kleine 'Archäologie', und manche Ausdrücke erinnern auch an Formulierungen, die Thukydides in seiner

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<sup>3</sup> Wie H. Rohdich (aaO. passim) überzeugend gezeigt hat, versucht Perikles mit diesem Punkt seiner Rede den menschlichen Schwächen seiner Mitbürger zu steuern, als da sind φιλοτιμία, πλεονεξία und φθόνος, Eigenschaften, die bei den Nachfolgern des Perikles auch die großen politischen Entscheidungen bestimmt haben, die letztendlich – nach der Überzeugung des Thukydides – zum Untergang von Athen geführt haben.

Archäologie verwendet hatte,<sup>4</sup> vordergründig offenbar, um der Verlegenheit einer Gefallenenrede auszuweichen, in Wahrheit aber auf der hintergründigen Ebene der semantischen Tiefenstruktur dient ihm diese Thematik dazu, eine Gelegenheit zu finden, auf die einmalige Größe des athenischen Staates zu sprechen zu kommen, sodaß aus der Lobrede für die Gefallenen, ein Preis auf Athen wird. Damit gelingt ihm zweierlei: den Tod, das Opfer der Gefallenen zu rechtfertigen, denn sie haben ihr Leben für die größte Sache, den bedeutendsten Staat, gelassen, und zugleich einen Apell an die Lebenden, die Überlebenden, zu richten, ebenfalls ihr Leben dafür zu wagen und in die Schanze zu schlagen.

In 2,36 gibt Perikles also einen Abriß vom Werden Athens, von seinem Aufstieg und seiner besonderen Stellung im Vergleich zu seinem Nachbarn Sparta, sowohl was seine Leistungen im Krieg wie auch die im Frieden betrifft. In 2,37 kommt er dann auf das Besondere der politischen Verfassung zu sprechen, die er als einmalig und für alle anderen Völker als vorbildlich feiert, und deren Wesen vor allem darin bestehe, daß sie dem einzelnen Mitbürger einen individuellen Freiraum in seinem Privatleben zusichere, in dem er seiner ἡδονή in aller Ungezwungenheit leben könne; in Ansehen und Ehre stehe weniger der überkommene Adel oder der Reichtum einer Familie, als vielmehr die Leistung, die der einzelne für das Gemeinwesen erbringe:

μέτεστι δὲ κατὰ μὲν τοὺς νόμους πρὸς τὰ ἴδια διάφορα πᾶσι τὸ ἴσον, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀξίωσιν, ὡς ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ εὐδοκίμῳ, οὐκ ἀπὸ μέρους τὸ πλεον ἐς τὰ κοινὰ ἢ ἀπ' ἀρετῆς προτιμᾶται, οὐδ' αὖ κατὰ πενίαν, ἔχων γέ τι ἀγαθὸν δρᾶσαι τὴν πόλιν, ἀξιώματος ἀφανεία κεκώλυται. ἐλευθέρως δὲ τὰ τε πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. 2,36,1 τὴν γὰρ χώραν οἱ αὐτοὶ αἰεὶ οἰκοῦντες mit 1,2,6 ἄνθρωποι ᾧκουν οἱ αὐτοὶ αἰεὶ...

πολιτεύομεν καὶ ἐς τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὑποψίαν, οὐ δι' ὀργῆς τὸν πέλας, εἰ καθ' ἡδονὴν τι δρᾶ, ἔχοντες, οὐδε ἀζημίους μὲν, λυπηρὰς δὲ τῇ ὄψει ἀχθηδόνας προστιθέμενοι. ἀνεπαχθῶς δὲ τὰ ἴδια προσομιλοῦντες τὰ δημόσια διὰ δέος μάλιστα οὐ παρανομοῦμεν, τῶν τε αἰεὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντων ἀκροάσει καὶ τῶν νόμων, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν ὅσοι τε ἐπ' ὠφελίᾳ τῶν ἀδικουμένων κεῖνται καὶ ὅσοι ἄγραφοι ὄντες αἰσχύνην ὁμολογουμένην φέρουσιν.

Der demokratische Freiheitsbegriff (ἐλευθέρως) wird von Perikles vor dem Hintergrund der Opposition von τὰ ἴδια und τὰ δημόσια gesehen, vor der individuellen Handlungsfreiheit des einzelnen Bürgers einerseits und seiner politischen Verantwortung dem Gemeinwesen gegenüber andererseits. Im privaten Verkehr der Menschen im Gemeinwesen sollte Toleranz (ἀνεπαχθῶς) das Verhalten untereinander bestimmen, wohingegen das politische Verhalten der Bürger im Gehorsam den staatserhaltenden Gesetzen gegenüber durch die Furcht geregelt ist (διὰ δέος). Demgemäß sind die Gesetze aus der Sicht des Perikles in zwei Kategorien unterteilt; einmal sind es schriftlich fixierte Gesetze zum Nutzen und zur Erhaltung des Gemeinwesens, um auch den Einzelnen vor Unrecht zu schützen, aber dann gibt es für Perikles auch die sogenannten ungeschriebenen Gesetze (ἄγραφοι νόμοι), die vom Takt und von der Rücksicht der Bürger im Verkehr miteinander diktiert werden, und deren Verletzung zwar keine Strafe, aber doch öffentliche Schande und Ehrverlust zur Folge hat.

Nachdem Perikles im 38. Kapitel auf die kulturellen Leistungen seines Stadtstaates Athen eingegangen ist, auf die Feiern und Festspiele profaner und religiöser Art, die das Leben seiner Mitbürger über den Alltag erheben, und auf die Offenheit und die Genußfreudigkeit, die das Leben in Athen auszeichnen (auch fremde Güter aus östlichen Ländern finden Eingang und

allgemeinen Zuspruch und bereichern das Leben der Bürger), und nachdem er im 39. Kapitel die militärischen Potenzen Athens im Vergleich mit Sparta ins rechte Licht gerückt hat und damit auch in dieser Hinsicht das Selbstbewußtsein seiner Zuhörer über allen Zweifel erhoben ist, wendet er sich im 40. Kapitel dem Charakter und dem Menschenbild zu, das in einer solch idealen Verfassung wie die der athenischen Polis sich herausbildet. Es ist das Selbstbekenntnis des Atheners Perikles – und sicher auch das des Atheners Thukydides – mit dem Thukydides das 40. Kapitel seines zweiten Buches beginnen läßt, indem er seinem Perikles den folgenden Satz in den Mund legt:

φιλοκαλοῦμεν τε γὰρ μετ' εὐτελείας καὶ φιλοσοφοῦμεν ἄνευ  
μαλακίας.

Die philologische Forschung ist nicht müde geworden, in immer wieder neuen Interpretationsansätzen den immerhin als bedeutend empfundenen Satz zu erklären, d.h. in die Sprache unserer Zeit zu übersetzen, ein Unterfangen, das vor allem für die sogenannte historisch-kritische Methode seine Schwierigkeiten mit sich bringt, da es so recht an Parallelstellen zu den hier verwendeten Begriffsjunktoren fehlt; das Einzige, was sich als *communis opinio* herauszuschälen scheint, ist die Einsicht, daß es sich hierbei um das Bekenntnis zu Bildungszielen handelt, die eingeschränkt, begrenzt oder jedenfalls entschärft werden sollen.

Bei dem Versuch, diese bekenntnishafte Formel aus dem Kontext der Rede zu deuten und zu verstehen ergibt sich aus meiner Sicht Folgendes: Hinter der Liebe zur Schönheit – oder zum Phänomen des Schönen – (φιλοκαλοῦμεν) steht das, was Perikles zuvor immer wieder als das τὰ ἴδια bezeichnet hatte, d.h. das individuelle Interesse des Einzelnen. Solch individuelles Gefühl einer Schönheitsliebe neigt nur allzu leicht dazu, die



Menschen, die es packt, total zu beherrschen, sie bis zur Selbstaufgabe alles andere vergessen zu lassen. Mit der Begrenzung der εὐτέλεια, die Perikles den Athenern setzt, wird diese Gefahr in den Grenzen des Vernünftigen gehalten, sodaß es möglich wird, die Schönheit zu lieben, ohne ihr zu verfallen. Man ist versucht an Kants Definition der Schönheit zu denken, an den berühmten Satz: Schön ist, was ohne Interesse gefällt. Das ästhetische Erlebnis der Schönheitsliebe wird hier entpersönlicht, d.h. objektiviert und kann auf dieser Ebene der intellektuellen Kontrolle gefahrlos, d.h. ohne der Selbstaufgabe des Individuums genossen werden.

Eine entsprechende Ambivalenz entdeckt man in der zweiten Satzhälfte des perikleischen Bekenntnisses zum besonderen Lebensniveau der Athener. Perikles sagt: Wir lieben es zu philosophieren, d.h. über uns hinaus zu denken, ohne dabei weich zu werden, d.h. ohne darüber zu vergessen, welche ganz konkreten Ziele wir durchsetzen wollten. Dahinter steht die Haltung eines politischen Denkers, der zwar das kritische Denken, soweit es für den politischen Alltag folgenlos bleibt, fördert, der dieses Denken aber als intellektuelles Interesse in seiner Auswirkung auf den Denkenden selbst einschränkt, sodaß dieser darüber nicht sein eigenes elementares Lebens- und Machtinteresse vergißt; denn die Gefahr eines solchen Über-Sich-Hinausdenkens besteht ja darin, daß man auf einmal die eigene Existenz neben anderen denkbaren nicht mehr als die einzig wahre, die ausschließliche, erkennen würde, sondern eben auch nur als eine mögliche, die sich in der individuellen Existenz zu verwirklichen trachtet.

Hatte die erste Hälfte des Bekenntnisses der Schönheitsliebe, d.h. dem ästhetisch-individuellen Interesse gegolten, und der Warnung vor der Selbstaufgabe des Individuums, das sich ganz in der Liebe zum Schönen zu verlieren drohe, wenn ihm nicht Einhalt geboten, ihm nicht ein vernünftiges Ziel gesetzt würde (εὐτέλεια), so gilt die zweite Satz-Hälfte des Bekenntnisses dem

intellektuellen Interesse des Menschen, hinter dem sich seine Erkenntnisliebe – oder sein Erkenntnistrieb – verbirgt; diese Haltung läßt die überindividuellen, allgemeinen Aspekte mehr und mehr in den Vordergrund treten und führt von den individuellen Interessen ( $\tau\acute{\alpha}$  ἴδια) weg zu dem allgemeinen Interesse ( $\tau\acute{\alpha}$  δημόσια,  $\tau\acute{\alpha}$  κοινά) hin, eine Tendenz, die ebenfalls den eigenen Standpunkt nicht mehr mit der nötigen Härte verfechten läßt, und somit – wie die hemmungslose Liebe zur Schönheit – ebenso ins Reich der 'Ekstase' führt, des 'außer sich geratens'. Aber hier handelt es sich um eine 'intellektuelle' Ekstase, die den eigenen Standpunkt auch nicht mehr als den einzig richtigen begreifen kann und deshalb die sogenannte 'Lebenskraft' verliert und in einen vagen Relativismus mündet.

Man erkennt leicht, daß mit dieser bekenntnishaften Formel das elementare Interesse des Staatsmannes und Politikers verbunden ist, dem der scheinbar unmögliche Balance-Akt gelingt, im Bewußtsein seiner Mitbürger einen fruchtbaren und gesunden Ausgleich zwischen den individuellen Interessen des Einzelnen ( $\tau\acute{\alpha}$  ἴδια) und seinen gemeinschaftserhaltenden, politischen ( $\tau\acute{\alpha}$  δημόσια) herzustellen. Weder das ästhetische Erlebnis einer individuellen Schönheitsliebe noch das intellektuelle Interesse an einer Erkenntnis und einer Wahrheitsfindung im überpersönlichen Sinn soll verhindert werden, sondern eingeschränkt bleiben, sodaß es nicht zur Selbstaufgabe der Person oder zur Selbstaflösung des Gemeinwesens führt.

Es wurde schon angedeutet, und auch Gomme in seinem berühmten Kommentar spricht davon, daß die semantische Deutung von εὐτέλεια und εὐτελής an der hier behandelten Stelle auf gewisse Schwierigkeiten stößt, da man mit der über die historisch kritische Methode gewonnenen Bedeutung von 'Sparsamkeit' oder gar 'Geiz' geneigt ist etwas Negatives oder gar Minderwertig-Billiges zu verbinden. Dem aber widerspricht ganz offensichtlich der Kontext unserer Stelle: Womit muß man

bei der Liebe zur Schönheit sparsam sein, haushalten und sich gewissermaßen in Kargheit üben? Offenbar mit sich selbst, mit der eigenen Hingabe und Verfallenheit, zu der die Schönheit verleitet. Als mythisch vorgebildetes Exempel für diese Haltung kann man auf Odysseus und die Sirenen verweisen, denen Odysseus ja auch nicht verfällt, obwohl er die Schönheit ihres Gesanges bewundert. Um im Bilde des Vergleichs zu bleiben: Odysseus ist durch die Stricke und Fesseln an den Mast seines Fahrzeuges gebunden, für Perikles den Leichenredner, erweist sich diese Fessel, die vor den Gefahren der Schönheit schützt, als die rationale Kontrolle des eigenständigen kritischen Denkens. So ist wohl auch der Kernsatz des 40. Kapitels zu verstehen, der den Anspruch der Athener auf κρίσις enthält, auf die λόγοι, die den ἔργα voranzugehen haben, um diese gelingen zu lassen. Der Text lautet:

... καὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ ἤτοι κρίνομεν γε ἢ ἐνθυμούμεθα ὀρθῶς τὰ πράγματα οὐ τοὺς λόγους τοῖς ἔργοις βλάβην ἡγούμενοι, ἀλλὰ μὴ προδιδαχθῆναι μᾶλλον λόγῳ πρότερον ἢ ἐπὶ ἃ δεῖ ἔργῳ ἐλθεῖν. (2,40,2-3)

Hier stellt Perikles fest, was seiner Meinung nach die Athener allen anderen Griechen voraus haben: Sie sind selber fähig, ein unabhängiges – d.h. von ihren Emotionen unabhängiges – Urteil zu fällen (κρίνομεν), um danach den Plan zu entwerfen, um die Probleme zu lösen (ἐνθυμούμεθα ὀρθῶς), weil sie der Meinung sind, daß rationale Kalkulation (τοὺς λόγους) kein Nachteil bedeutet (οὐ ... βλάβην ἡγούμενοι), sondern daß eher darin ein Nachteil zu sehen ist, wenn man ohne sich vorher von rationalen Erwägungen leiten zu lassen unmittelbar zur Tat und zur Aktion schreitet.

Perikles unterscheidet im Folgenden auch zwischen 'Tollkühnheit' und vernünftiger Tapferkeit, die auf der Basis

von ἐκλογίζεσθαι beruht – und auch in diesem Punkte sieht er seine Athener anders als die anderen Griechen, wenn er sagt:

ὁ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος, λογισμὸς δὲ ὄκνον φέρει.  
(2,40,3)

In der Paraphrase: „In dieser Beziehung bedeutet für die anderen Griechen das Nichterkennen der Situation (ἀμαθία) Kühnheit (θράσος), wohingegen das Durchschauen der Situation, d.h. das überlegende Kalkulieren (λογισμὸς) ein Zögern mit sich bringt.“ Man ist an dieser Stelle an den platonischen Laches erinnert, vor allem an die dort vorgebrachte Definition von ἀνδρεία, wo es heißt (Laches 194 e 195 a) Νικ. Ταύτην (ἀνδρείαν) ἔγωγε, ὦ Λάχης, τὴν τῶν δεινῶν καὶ θαρραλέων ἐπιστήμην καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν. Hinter der Forderung nach der richtigen Einschätzung dessen, was man fürchten muß und was man begründeter Weise wagen kann, liegt eben jenes Spannungsfeld des kalkulierten Risikos, das – thukydideisch gesprochen – zwischen ἀμαθία und λογισμὸς zu suchen ist. Aber Thukydides führt diesen Gedanken im folgenden Satz (2,40,3) in anderer Richtung weiter: ... κράτιστοι δ' ἂν τὴν ψυχὴν δικαίως κριθεῖεν οἱ τὰ τε δεινὰ καὶ ἡδέα σαφέστατα γινώσκοντες καὶ διὰ ταῦτα μὴ ἀποτρεπόμενοι τῶν κινδύνων. Damit spricht Perikles indirekt seine eigenen Landsleute an und der Optativ mit ἂν, den er verwendet, deutet die Richtung seiner Wünsche an, wie er den idealen Athener sehen möchte, als jemanden, der das, was zu fürchten ist (τὰ δεινὰ) und das, was ihm das Leben angenehm und 'süß' macht (τὰ ἡδέα) klar vor Augen hat, und der aus diesem Grunde keine Gefahren scheut. Im Grunde gibt Perikles hier seinen Athenern die Motivation ihres Handelns und Kämpfens an die Hand, indem er das persönliche Wohlergehen, das individuelle Glück des Einzelnen, seinen privaten Freiraum als τὰ ἡδέα bezeichnet, was er zuvor immer das τὰ ἴδια genannt hatte. Diesen privaten Frei-

raum indes billigt er denjenigen zu, die zugleich auch bereit sind, ihren Tribut dem Staatswesen zu zollen, also das zu leisten, was der Erhaltung des Gemeinwesens dient, und was Perikles immer wieder im Begriff der τὰ δημόσια zusammengefaßt hat.

### III

Es lohnt sich, an dieser Stelle einen Blick auf die Rede des Kleon im dritten Buch (3,37ff.) zu werfen, mit der er die Athener, die im Begriff waren, Milde gegen Mytilene walten zu lassen, wieder auf den harten Kurs des Vortages zu bringen versucht. Man erinnert sich, die Athener hatten den Befehl zur Ausrottung aller Männer der Insel gegeben – in ihrem Zorn über den 'Verrat' Mytilenes, wie sie es empfanden. Als sie am folgenden Tage Reue beschlich, griffen sie den Vorschlag einer neuerlichen Abstimmung in dieser Entscheidung freudig auf, nur Kleon sprach dagegen; er stellte sich mit seiner Demokratie-Definition in krassen Gegensatz zu dem, was Perikles einstmals verkündet hatte, und man hat im dritten Paragraphen des 37. Kapitels dieses Buches schon immer eine mehr oder weniger versteckte Antwort Kleons auf jenen Ausspruch des Perikles gesehen, den wir im vorigen Abschnitt etwas eingehender zu interpretieren versuchten (φιλοκαλοῦμεν τε γὰρ μετ' εὐτελείας καὶ φιλοσοφοῦμεν ἄνευ μαλακίας.)

Kleon führt aus, wie gefährlich es sein kann, einmal gefaßte Beschlüsse nachträglich umstoßen zu wollen, und überhaupt an den Gesetzen herumzuklügeln, und ihnen nicht einfach unbedingten Gehorsam zu leisten. Damit vertritt er im Grunde die starre Haltung preussisch-spartanischen Kadaver-Gehorsams und leitet damit auch eine neue Ära in der athenischen Innen- und Außenpolitik ein. Die Gesetze demokratischer Gesinnung – so führt er aus – könne man sich ohnedies nur innenpolitisch leisten,

aber eben auch mit der Einschränkung, daß das einmal Beschlossene zu gelten hat, und daß intellektuelles Klügeln bereits den Keim des Unterganges in sich trüge. Der entscheidende Satz, der sich wie eine Antwort auf den oben nochmals zitierten Grundsatz des Perikles liest, lautet wie folgt:

πάντων δὲ δεινότατον εἰ βέβαιον ἡμῖν μηδὲν καθεστήξει ὧν ἂν δόξη πέρι, μηδὲ γνωσόμεθα ὅτι χείροσι νόμοις ἀκινήτοις χρωμένη πόλις κρείσσων ἐστὶν ἢ καλῶς ἔχουσιν ἀκύροις, ἀμαθία τε μετὰ σωφροσύνης ὠφελιμώτερον ἢ δεξιότης μετὰ ἀκολασίας, οἳ τε φαυλότεροι τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τοὺς ξυνετωτέρους ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεόν ἄμεινον οἰκοῦσι τὰς πόλεις.

In der Paraphrase: „Von allem das Schlimmste jedoch ist es, wenn euch eine Entscheidung, über die ihr schon beschlossen habt, nicht fest steht, d.h. wieder ins Wanken gerät, wenn ihr nicht einsehen könnt, das ein Gemeinwesen, das auf zwar unzulänglichen, aber unerschütterlichen Gesetzen beruht, besser funktioniert als ein solches mit wohl eingerichteten Gesetzen, die aber nicht unerschütterlich sind, und (jetzt kommt die eigentliche Entgegnung des perikleischen Grundsatzes) daß eine gewisse geistige Beschränktheit, d.h. die Unfähigkeit selbständigen Denkens, gepaart mit dem Bewußtsein von gesunder Rechthaberei für den Staat nützlicher ist, als eine intellektuelle Gewandheit, die mit Auflösungserscheinungen einhergeht. Die im geistigen Sinne am meisten bedürfnislosen Menschen stellen in den meisten Fällen für den Staat die verlässlicheren Bürger dar.“<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Das Verständnis des Satzes ἀμαθία τε μετὰ σωφροσύνης ὠφελιμώτερον ἢ δεξιότης μετὰ ἀκολασίας... stößt auch auf gewisse Schwierigkeiten, wenn man von der historisch-kritischen Methode ausgeht. Auch hier hat man es mit einer semantischen Verfremdung zu tun, die erst aus dem Kontext deutlich wird. Die rhetorische Raffinesse Kleons besteht darin, daß er einen ethisch so anspruchsvollen Begriff wie den der σωφροσύνη mit einem eher pejorativen wie dem der ἀμαθία verbindet, und so diesen im

Perikles und Kleon – die Gegenüberstellung ihrer politischen Grundhaltungen ist ein Phänomen, das als ein echtes κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί bis in unsere Tage hinein seine Gültigkeit und seine Problematik bewahrt hat, und das auch in literarischen Werken der Neuzeit immer wieder bearbeitet worden ist, man denke etwa an den 'Prinzen von Homburg' von Heinrich von Kleist.

Thukydides als Historiker und Literat – zu diesem Thema tragen gerade die Ereignisse von Mytilene noch interessante Einzelheiten bei. Thukydides berichtet in den folgenden Kapiteln des 3. Buches, daß es Kleon dann doch nicht gelang, die Athener von ihrer Reue abzubringen, und daß der Beschluß des Vortages, der auf Liquidierung der gesamten männlichen Bevölkerung der Insel gelautet hatte, zurückgenommen wurde, und daß die Athener dann auch gleich ein Schiff mit diesem neuerlichen Beschluß in großer Eile abschickten, um nach Möglichkeit dem früher abgesandten Schiff mit dem Mordbefehl noch zuvorzukommen, was – wie Thukydides berichtet – denn auch tatsächlich gelang: Das zuerst abgesandte Schiff hatte es offensichtlich nicht sonderlich eilig, mit dem Mordbefehl anzukommen, wohingegen das zweite Schiff alles daran setzte, noch zurecht zu kommen, um das befohlene Massaker zu verhindern. Und so erreichte buchstäblich in der letzten Sekunde die rettende Botschaft die Insel Mytilene.

Wir haben es hier mit dem Bericht von historischen Ereignissen eines Historiographen zu tun, und zugleich findet man Erzählelemente, denen man beispielsweise auch im

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Bewußtsein des Lesers aufwertet, oder mit anderen Worten ausgedrückt: das semantische Licht von σωφροσύνη fällt auf das Dunkel von ἀμαθία und veredelt diese Lebensqualität. So würde ἀμαθία in diesem Zusammenhang in einer geistigen Stagnation einen Wert bezeichnen, der durch das Bewußtsein, im Recht zu sein (σωφροσύνη) legitimiert wird. Eine ähnliche semantische Verfremdung, welche gegensätzliche Werte aufhebt und damit einem menschlichen Mittelmaß das Wort redet, liegt auch in der zweiten Satzhälfte vor.

griechischen Roman häufig wieder begegnet, wie jemand, der zur Hinrichtung schon bereit steht, in letzter Minute durch eine Fügung der Τύχη noch gerettet wird. Hier berührt sich die reale Welt der Ereignisse mit jener anderen literarischen Welt der Fiktion: Die Bedeutung des Phänomens 'Zeit' ist sowohl beim Historiographen als auch im literarischen Kunstwerk des Romans in gleicher Weise entscheidend, wenn auch in der Fiktion der Literatur die Bindung an eine konkrete, historisch-politische Situation entfällt; aber im aristotelischen Sinn werden die Ereignisse auch hier erfaßt, freilich nicht καθ' ἕκαστον sondern καθ' ὅλου.

Darüberhinaus hat man in der Forschung immer wieder anklingen lassen, daß die Struktur der Ereignisse des peloponnesischen Krieges, so wie Thukydides ihn berichtet, gewisse Ähnlichkeiten aufweist mit den Kompositionsprinzipien der griechischen Tragödie, wie sie vor allem in der aristotelischen Poetik vorliegen, etwa Begriffe wie δέσις und λύσις oder die berühmte περιπέτεια u.ä. Es bleibe dahingestellt, und es wird nie zu erweisen sein, ob und inwieweit sich Thukydides bei der Abfassung seines Werkes von der Tragödienstruktur des attischen Dramas hat inspirieren lassen.

Eine andersartige Beziehung zwischen der Welt der griechischen Tragödie und dem thukydideischen Bericht ist allerdings weit eher verifizierbar. Zumindest was das Werk des Euripides betrifft läßt sich zeigen, daß nach einem bestimmten Zeitpunkt (ca. nach 425 v.Chr.) in der Komposition seiner Dramen gewisse Elemente auftauchen, die von den historischen Ereignissen, wie sie von Thukydides berichtet werden, gewisse Spuren hinterlassen haben. Man denke etwa daran, daß das religiöse Ritual der Hikesie mindestens seit dem 'Herakles Mainomenos' nicht mehr beachtet wird; Euripides zeigt in Lykos den Typ eines Tyrannen, der bereit ist, selbst die Hikesie-



übenden Familienangehörigen des Herakles vom Altar wegzu-  
reißen und sich über das religiöse Gebot hinwegzusetzen.

Ähnliches lesen wir bei Thukydides, etwa bei der Beschreibung der Vorgänge in Korkyra im 3. Buch, 81ff., wo in dem erbitterten Bürgerkrieg zwischen den Athen-verbundenen Demokraten und der Partei der Oligarchen selbst die Hikesie-übenden in den Tempeln nicht mehr vor der Vernichtung sicher waren; zwar nahm man immerhin noch Anstand, dieselben direkt im Tempel umzubringen, man versprach ihnen vielmehr freies Geleit für den Fall, daß sie herauskämen. Als die ersten das allerdings taten, wurden sie sofort getötet, sodaß die Zurückgebliebenen, die diese Vorgänge beobachtet hatten und nun die Aussichtslosigkeit ihrer Lage erkannten, sich gegenseitig im Tempel selbst umbrachten: ... οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἱκετῶν, ὅσοι οὐκ ἐπείσθησαν, ὡς ἐώρων τὰ γινόμενα, διέφθειρον αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἀλλήλους, καὶ ἐκ τῶν δένδρων τινὲς ἀπήγγοντο, οἱ δ' ὡς ἕκαστοι ἐδύναντο ἀνηλοῦντο. In der Paraphrase: „Die meisten der Hikesie-Flehenden – soweit sie den Versprechungen nicht glaubten, weil sie sahen, was tatsächlich geschah, töteten sich gegenseitig daselbst im Heiligtum, und einige erhängten sich auch an den Bäumen, so wie jeder einzelne es gerade vermochte, sich ums Leben zu bringen.“ Man ist bei der Lektüre dieser grauenvollen Szene unversehends an jene Szene in der euripideischen 'Andromache' erinnert, wo die Protagonistin, also Andromache selbst, das schützende Heiligtum verläßt, weil man ihr versprochen hat, daß man unter dieser Bedingung das Leben ihres Sohnes Molossos schonen würde, ein Versprechen aber, an das man sich nicht mehr halten will, nachdem Andromache dieser Bedingung nachgekommen ist (Eurip. Androm. 310-463). Doch noch einmal zur Leichenrede des Perikles. Nachdem er im Kapitel 41 und 42 des 2. Buches seine These von Athen als pädagogischem Vorbild für ganz Griechenland unter Beweis stellen will (es heißt ausdrücklich: (ξυνελών τε λέγω τήν τε πᾶσαν

πόλιν τῆς Ἑλλάδος παίδευσιν εἶναι), wendet er sich (2,43,1-3) an diejenigen Bürger Athens, die den Krieg bisher überlebt haben (τοῦς λοιπούς) und fordert von ihnen, daß auch sie nicht nur mit dem λόγος für ihren Stadtstaat einstehen sollen, sondern vor allem auch mit dem ἔργον, indem sie sich tagtäglich die einmalige Bedeutung und die Größe ihrer Stadt vor Augen halten sollten, sodaß sie selbst würden, was er an dieser Stelle ἐραστὰς γιγνομένους αὐτῆς (=πόλεως) nennt. Damit sind nicht nur die λόγοι mit den ἔργα zur Deckung gebracht, sondern damit wird auch die Identität von τὰ ἴδια und τὰ δημόσια erreicht. Gerade der Begriff des ἐραστής, im vorliegenden Fall angewendet auf den Staat, das Vaterland, begründet so etwas, was man mit 'Vaterlandsliebe' oder besser noch mit 'Vaterlandsleidenschaft' in das moderne Sprachbewußtsein bringen muß: ἐραστής τῆς πόλεως – auch hier liegt eine vom Redner bewußt gesuchte sprachliche Verfremdung vor, die geeignet ist, unter den Zuhörern eine patriotische Begeisterung zu wecken.

Es gibt unter den modernen Interpretationsexperimenten der klassischen Philologen Stimmen, die in der Tendenz der Leichenrede des Perikles eine Parallele zu der demagogischen Praxis moderner Diktatoren sehen wollen. Ich würde soweit nicht gehen, muß aber immerhin zugestehen, daß das Bild von Athen, das Perikles hier als Staatsideal entwirft, und das – wenn es sich verwirklichen ließe – es schon rechtfertigen würde, das private oder das individuelle Interesse des Einzelnen ganz im öffentlichen, d.h. in der öffentlichen Hingabe an den Staat aufgehen zu lassen, natürlich latent auch jenem Streben nach der Macht dienen soll, das Perikles noch gleichsam in intellektueller Verbrämung anbietet, das sich bei seinen Nachfolgern dann aber in aller ungeschminkten Nacktheit offenbart. In diesem Sinne ist jedenfalls das politisch-religiöse Bekenntnis zu verstehen, das die Athener im sogenannten Melier-Dialog Ende des 5. Buches ablegen, wonach das Recht, das ihrer Meinung nach die Menschen

beherrscht – und auch von den Göttern praktiziert und gebilligt wird – das Recht des Stärkeren sei, das 'Faustrecht'. Auch dieser Gedanke hat – wie so viele andere – in der griechischen Literatur der vorklassischen Zeit seine Quelle, bei Hesiod in jener Fabel vom Habicht und der Nachtigall (Werke und Tage 203-212). Hesiod allerdings läßt immerhin noch seine vernichtende Kritik an dieser Praktik des Faustrechts erkennen, das die Fabel auf eine Art Naturrecht zurückführt; demgegenüber bekennen sich die Athener in ihrem Dialog mit den Meliern offen und ohne Bedenken, ja ohne Scham dazu. Vor einem solchen Hintergrund muß auch die Leichenrede des Perikles in einem ambivalenten Licht gesehen werden, das zeigt, wie unvereinbar intellektuell begründete ethische Zielvorstellungen mit dem konkreten Machtstreben einer politischen Wirklichkeit sind, und wie sie sich im Versuch ihrer praktischen Bewährung als Illusion offenbaren.

# A Humanist Credo

## Poggio Bracciolini on the Meaning of Studia Humanitatis and Virtus

Iiro Kajanto

The moral philosophy of the early humanists can best be described as an eclectic amalgam of Peripateticism and Stoicism.<sup>1</sup> Aristotle's ethics had retained its pre-eminent position while Cicero and Seneca disseminated a knowledge of Stoicism. But although the manliness of Stoicism had considerable appeal, its rigidity was in general disapproved of.<sup>2</sup> Aristotelianism, which conceded that *eudaimonia* or *felicitas* required a modicum of the worldly goods, appeared to be both more humane and more practicable.

Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459) is no exception in this respect. He is in general not very inventive, neither is he a systematic thinker. But for this very reason he gives a good idea

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<sup>1</sup> Cf., e.g., P.O. Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought* 2 (1965) 20-68; Idem, *Die Stellung der Ethik im Denken der Renaissance*, *Quellen u. Forsch. aus Ital. Archiv. u. Bibl.* 59 (1979) 273-95; Idem, *Humanism and Moral Philosophy*. *Renaissance Humanism* 3, ed. by A. Rabil Jr, 1988, 271-309. J. Kraye, *Moral Philosophy*. *Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, 1988, 303sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Leonardo Bruni, describing ancient moral philosophies in his *Isagogicon moralis disciplinae*, in: H. Baron, *Leonardo Bruni Aretino: Humanistisch-philosophische Schriften*. *Quellen z. Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters u. der Renaissance* 1 (1928) 27, qualifies Stoicism thus: *nescio an vera, sed certe mascula atque robusta*.

of the prevailing ethical thought. In a letter to Archbishop Pietro Donato, in 1424, he explicates his ethical position: the Epicureans are overly dissolute, the Stoics too severe. The Peripatetics, on the other hand, observe the mean and do not repudiate riches or dignities. They should therefore be preferred.<sup>3</sup> Poggio maintains that the celebrated Stoic *sapiens* is extremely rare or non-existent.<sup>4</sup> Though others may appeal to lofty virtue, Poggio acknowledges that a human being cannot but be afflicted by his own and by his city-state's troubles.<sup>5</sup> This amounts to a disavowal of Stoic *apatheia*. So, although Poggio had endorsed the Stoic commonplace of *virtus* as the antidote to *fortuna*,<sup>6</sup> his moral philosophy was not one of unalloyed Stoicism.

Even though Poggio's ethical thought is not very original, there are several points which repay closer scrutiny. *Virtus* is one of the cardinal ideas of humanism. But *virtus* is a many-faceted, often ill-defined and ambiguous notion. Its meaning could vary from one writer to another. It usually signified moral excellence, the sum total of virtues, but it could also suggest

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<sup>3</sup> Lettere 2, 17 *Epicurei dissoluti sunt nimis, Stoici severiores, mediocritatem Peripathetici servant, admittunt divitias, dignitates non aspernantur; hos censeo amplectendos.*

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 184, A.D. 1433; Op. cit. 3, 54, A.D. 1447 *sapiens Stoicorum, qui adhuc nusquam est repertus*; De infelicitate principum, A.D. 1440, Opera Omnia 1, 411 and De miseria humane conditionis, A.D. 1455, ibid. 411, a similar remark.

<sup>5</sup> Lettere 2, 371, A.D. 1440. *Sed tum virtus rara est, nostra vero studia leviuscula, tum si homines sumus, necesse est, nisi stipites omnino velimus esse, nos rebus turbidis commoveri*; op. cit. 3, 467, A.D. 1440 *Non sum sapiens ille Stoicorum qui nullo amore, nulla affectione, nulla re adversa moveatur.*

<sup>6</sup> Kajanto, Fortune in the Works of Poggio Bracciolini, Arctos 20 (1986) 46-56. In De nobilitate, A.D. 1440, Opera Omnia 1, 83, he praises the Stoics: *Sapienter igitur Stoici, qui virtuti nulla re extra se posita opus esse iudicaverunt.*

human perfection, even will-power.<sup>7</sup> For Poggio, in the passages in which he specifies its meaning, *virtus* mostly represents temperance, the control of desire.<sup>8</sup>

However, I am not going to give a full and particular account of Poggio's concept of *virtus*. Instead, I shall inquire into his idea of the *causa efficiens*, or origin of human virtue, and of the means of acquiring it. This discussion has wider relevance because of its bearings upon the relations of paganism and Christianity: *Virtus* was conceived of differently by the pagan philosophers and by the Christians. Another problem concerns Poggio's idea of the *causa finalis* and of the rewards of *virtus*. Here too, pagan and Christian thought differed.

In studying Poggio's moral philosophy, there is one impediment. We have very little evidence of his ideas during his formative years. Regrettably, his early letters have been almost completely lost. One letter remains from 1406<sup>9</sup> and a couple of letters from 1416,<sup>10</sup> but it is only from the 1420s on, when he was over forty, that his correspondence begins to be extant. His first dialogue, *De avaritia*, dates from 1427. I have earlier tried to reconstruct Poggio's attitude to the Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns from quotations in Salutati's letters, but this does not resolve the issue under consideration.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Cf. Kajanto, *Classical and Christian. Studies in the Latin Epitaphs of Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, 1980, 110-13. But a comprehensive analysis of humanist *virtus*, *virtù* is still lacking. J.E. Seigel, *Virtù in and since the Renaissance*, *Dict. Hist. of Ideas* 4 (1974) 476-86, mainly discusses Machiavelli.

<sup>8</sup> See my paper (n. 6), 48, and below p. 106.

<sup>9</sup> *Lettere* 1, 219sqq.

<sup>10</sup> *Lettere* 2, 153 (another version, *ibid.* 444) and 157.

<sup>11</sup> Poggio Bracciolini and Classicism. A study in Early Italian Humanism, 1987, 7-15.

Available evidence, however, suggests that there was little development in Poggio's ethical thought. His principal ideas were already formed by 1416. In a letter from that year, addressed to his humanist friend Guarino Veronese, he maintains that nothing can be more delightful, pleasant and welcome to Guarino and other *doctissimi viri*, i.e., humanists, than the knowledge of things which make us more learned and – doubtless of greater consequence – *elegantiores*, more eloquent.<sup>12</sup> He is, of course, speaking of the knowledge of classical literature. In the following, Poggio quotes two important classical ideas. Firstly, nature has given mankind reason as an excellent guide *ad bene beateque vivendum*. This phrase comes from Cicero's *Paradoxa Stoicorum*, where it means a morally good life: *nihil est aliud bene et beate vivere nisi honeste et recte vivere* (15). Nature, then, has given man reason and thereby the fundamental moral principles. This idea was well-known in classical literature. Thus Cicero, following the Stoic Panaetius, argues in *De Officiis* that nature has presented man with reason, which distinguishes him from the beasts. Nature and reason have provided only man with moral sensibility (1,11-14). Secondly, Poggio mentions the equally classical idea that speech is perhaps nature's greatest gift to man. Without it, reason could accomplish nothing. By expressing the virtues of the mind, speech separates man from the animals.<sup>13</sup> He goes on to praise the inventors of the liberal arts and in particular rhetoricians.

Though the civilising influence of persuasive speech or eloquence had been eulogised by Isocrates,<sup>14</sup> it was no doubt in

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<sup>12</sup> Lettere 2, 153.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. *haud scio an sit omnium prestantissimum quod ea* (scil., *natura*) *nobis elargita est, usum atque rationem dicendi sine quibus neque ratio ipsa neque intellectus quicquam ferme valerent. Solus est enim sermo quo nos utentes ad exprimendam animi virtutem ab reliquis animantibus segregamur.*

<sup>14</sup> See Br. Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric*, 1988, 10.

Cicero's *De inventione* that Poggio and other humanists encountered this idea, which constituted a basic theme in humanism. Throughout the Middle Ages, *De inventione* was as well-known as *De officiis*. In the opening pages of the former work, Cicero applauds eloquence. He gives it as his considered opinion that wisdom without eloquence is of little use for the commonwealths while eloquence without wisdom is generally very harmful and never of any help.<sup>15</sup> Here primacy is given to wisdom, which is identifiable with moral philosophy. But Cicero by no means disparages eloquence. In a way similar to Lucretius (5,925sq.), he describes the miserable existence of the primitive man, who relied upon physical strength alone, not upon reason. Finally a great and wise man, aware of the latent power of reason, gathered men dispersed in woods to one place and taught them useful and honourable things, thereby transforming them from wild and savage into gentle and civilised people. But this would not have been possible without persuasive speech. How could men have learnt to observe justice and to fulfil their social and civic duties *nisi homines ea quae ratione invenissent eloquentia persuadere potuissent* (1,3)?

Wisdom or moral philosophy and persuasive speech or eloquence were accordingly closely linked. Taking *eloquentia* in a broader sense to embrace both the spoken and written word, we arrive at the cardinal humanist conviction of the study of classical literature, *studia humanitatis*, as the fountain of moral wisdom and of personal as well as of civil morality.

Poggio's ethical thought was first elaborated in 1424, in an important letter to his curial friend Antonio Loschi.<sup>16</sup> In an ear-

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<sup>15</sup> *Ac me quidem diu cogitantem ratio ipsa in hanc potissimum sententiam ducit, ut existimem sapientiam sine eloquentia parum prodesse civitatibus, eloquentiam vero sine sapientia nimium obesse plerumque, prodesse nunquam* (1,1).

<sup>16</sup> Lettere 2, 5-10.



lier paper I have discussed the letter concerning the notion of Fortune as the ruler of the external world and virtue as her antidote, also remarking that the theme of the future *De varietate Fortune* was already found here in embryo.<sup>17</sup> Here I shall raise a number of points which relate to the moral significance of *studia humanitatis*.

Poggio writes that he and his friend are separated from the common run of men by their devotion to humanistic studies. But of what use are they to us if we, like the majority of men, who cannot distinguish between virtue and vice, hanker after life's external goods, such as influence and status, power, pleasure and especially riches. These studies should above all teach us *honestas* and *decus*, moral rectitude.<sup>18</sup> The Stoic attitude is here unmistakable.

Poggio then particularises *studia humanitatis*. They comprise the perusal of poets, orators, and moral philosophers. Only history is missing from the vulgate humanist curriculum, but elsewhere, especially in the introduction to *De varietate Fortune*, Poggio acknowledges the significance of history as a supplier of *exempla* of moral behaviour.<sup>19</sup>

In addition to the idea of Fortune, this letter to Loschi contains many other ideas central to early Italian humanism. Firstly, Poggio is clearly an élitist. The common man, with little or no knowledge of Latin, was ipso facto deprived of the possibility of attaining true *virtus*. Élitism was a generic characteristic of the humanists. But it should be admitted that in his last dialogue, *De miseria humane conditionis*, 1455, Poggio evidences some sympathy for the suffering majority as opposed

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<sup>17</sup> In my paper mentioned in n. 6, 46-48.

<sup>18</sup> Op. cit. 6.

<sup>19</sup> According to the new transcription of Outi Merisalo, f. 1 *hec diligens custos et fida preteritarum memoria dicenda est, hec sola illustrium virorum facta, virtutesque nostras in conspectu ad imitandum proponit, hec detestatur vitia, et docet vitanda.*

to the happy few. As I have stated elsewhere, this is probably attributable, besides to increasing age, to Poggio's keen sense of life's realities.<sup>20</sup>

The second point to emerge from this and from innumerable other passages is the persuasion that knowledge should be useful. But the humanists' notion of utility is different from ours. They rejected natural philosophy because it did not bring anything that would profit human life. Mere theoretical knowledge was futile. The idea that Science could be used to improve the material conditions of life was still unknown: for this we had to wait until Bacon's age. But even medicine was depreciated. Nor did the study of poetry mean the cultivation of aesthetic sensibilities. The classics were read, or at least claimed to have been read, because they gave rules and models for the attainment of virtue.

Poggio's attitude to medicine as the foremost representative of science deserves a brief excursus because his position seems to have been misunderstood. Poggio's mentor Salutati, in his *De nobilitate legum et medicine*, of 1400, preferred the study of law to that of medicine on account of its greater usefulness to society.<sup>21</sup> And indeed the Dispute of the Arts was common in this age.<sup>22</sup> Disparaging medicine as more or less useless may appear strange to us, but contemporary medical science was undeveloped and of questionable value in the treatment of most illnesses.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, as part of natural philosophy, it smacked of scholasticism.

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<sup>20</sup> Op. cit. (n. 6), 50-56.

<sup>21</sup> Edited by E. Garin, Edizione nazionale dei classici del pensiero italiano 8, 1947.

<sup>22</sup> E. Garin, *La disputa delle Arti nel Quattrocento. Testi editi e inediti*, 1947, xiii-xviii.

<sup>23</sup> Salutati, op. cit., 152 *Utinam vexarent medicine vestre solum et affligerent egrotantes, non aggravarent aliquando morbos et, quod deterius est, non aliquando mortes, nec sepe mortis pericula prepararent.*

In 1450, Poggio in his *Disputationes convivales* published a dialogue about the rivalry of law and medicine.<sup>24</sup> But in contrast to E. Walser, I do not think that Poggio here prefers medicine.<sup>25</sup> The dialogue is a non-committal exposition of opposing views. Walser overrates the significance of a brief remark in the introduction to the discourse in which Poggio admits that he personally prefers medicine because it helps to maintain physical health. But he immediately corrects this by acknowledging that laws too are extremely beneficial because societies could not subsist without them.<sup>26</sup> Walser maintains that in his letters Poggio is averse to lawyers. But this too is only partially true. Poggio's letters sometimes express contradictory ideas for he could modify them to suit his recipient's known or anticipated position. His basic view is more in evidence in a letter to Bishop Francesco Pizolpasso, in 1424. Castigating various professions for being mere money-grubbers, he blames lawyers too for the same vice. Nevertheless, he praises the utility of jurisprudence.<sup>27</sup> The civil utility of a profession is not dependent upon the moral worth of its practitioners.

Poggio and the other humanists, then, made a point of the practical usefulness of *studia humanitatis* and of knowledge in

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<sup>24</sup> Opera omnia 1, 37-51.

<sup>25</sup> Poggius Florentinus. *Leben u. Werke*, 1914=1974, 253-58; similarly L. Thorndike, *Science and Thought in the Fifteenth Century*, 1963, 36.

<sup>26</sup> Op. cit., 37 *Tamen si altera carendum est, opus preferrem medicine, tanquam (causal) utilioris mortalium vite, cum sit velut instrumentum bone valetudinis... In legibus quoque versatur maximum vite presidium civilis, sine quibus neque cetus hominum institui, neque civitates conservari queunt.*

<sup>27</sup> Lettere 2, 43 *Neque vero... existimes me aliqua in re detrudere scientie iuris; est enim res egregia... quasi iustitie interpret et defensatrix, sine qua nec cetus hominum nec civitates esse potuissent.* Notice that the passage is almost identical with the one quoted in the preceding note. As early as 1417, in his funeral speech in memory of Cardinal Zabarella, Poggio had eulogised jurisprudence, Opera omnia 1, 256sq.

general. However, by utility they meant the moral education of the few who could read the classics and learn the rules of right living from them.

This leads us to two other questions, which are of paramount importance for the understanding of Poggio's and other humanists' ethical ideas. They concern the *causa efficiens* of *virtus* and the origin of the idea of classical literature as a guide to right action, both of which were already adumbrated in the letter from 1416.

According to Peripatetic and Stoic philosophy, reason and virtue were interconnected. The human mind, guided by correct reason, produced all the moral virtues, which together constituted τὸ καλόν or *honestum*, moral rectitude. Man was himself responsible for his moral character. The seeds of virtue were innate, but man had to develop them by habituation.<sup>28</sup>

In Christian philosophy, reason and virtue were interpreted differently. Augustine rejected the classical primacy of reason and maintained that human reason was incorrigibly depraved and redeemable only by God's grace. Hence he could not accept the pagan idea of *virtus* as an autonomous quality, in accordance with whose adoption man could lead a virtuous life. For him, virtues were God's gift.<sup>29</sup> Following the lead of Albertus Magnus,<sup>30</sup> Aquinas tried to combine Aristotelian and Christian ideas.

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<sup>28</sup> See, e.g., A. A. Long, *Hellenistic Philosophy*<sup>2</sup>, 1986, 179-209.

<sup>29</sup> *De libero arbitrio* 50 *meminisse te oportet non solum magna sed etiam minima bona non esse posse nisi ab illo a quo sunt omnia bona, hoc est deo... Virtutes igitur quibus recte vivitur magna bona sunt*; Enarr. in Ps. 83, 11 *Hic enim per gratiam multae virtutes dantur*, and after describing the four cardinal virtues: *Istae virtutes nunc in convalle plorationis per gratiam dantur nobis*; *De civ.* 4, 20; 11, 25; 22, 24. Cf. A. Michel, *Vertu*, *Dict. Théol. cath.*, 1950, 2745sq.

<sup>30</sup> B. Cunningham, *Albertus Magnus and the Problem of Moral Virtue*. *Vivarium. A Journal for Medieval Philosophy* 7 (1969) 81-119.

Everything originates primarily from God. Man, a being endowed with reason, is able to participate in the divine law, which is also called the natural law. By its light, he can distinguish between good and bad.<sup>31</sup> Aquinas divides virtues into *virtutes theologicae*, faith, hope and charity, which God had revealed in Scripture, and into *virtutes morales*, which indirectly proceeded from God because they are governed by reason and *quidquid regulatur ratione humana, regulatur etiam lege divina*.<sup>32</sup> The former virtues are necessary for salvation, the latter suffice for an imperfect happiness in this world.<sup>33</sup> Otherwise Aquinas' concept of the moral virtues is mainly Aristotelian.<sup>34</sup>

The early humanists offer an amalgam of classical and Christian approaches. Petrarch argues that the human mind is incapable by itself of attaining virtue, which is of transcendental origin. Only God can give it to him.<sup>35</sup> But as we shall presently

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<sup>31</sup> Summa Th. II-I q. 91 a. 2 *omnia participant aequaliter legem aeternam... talis participatio legis aeternae in rationali creatura naturalis dicitur... lumen rationis naturalis, quo discernimus quid sit bonum et quid malum... nihil aliud sit quam impressio luminis divini in nobis. Unde patet quod lex naturalis nihil aliud sit quam participatio legis aeternae in rationali creatura.*

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. q. 63 a. 2.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid. q. 62 a. 1 *Est autem duplex hominis beatitudo sive felicitas... Una quidem proportionata humanae naturae, ad quam scilicet homo pervenire potest per principia suae naturae. Alia autem est beatitudo naturam hominis excedens, ad quam homo sola divina virtute pervenire potest.*

<sup>34</sup> Thus the doctrines of *virtus moralis* as a habit, *ibid.* q. 55 a. 1, and as observing the mean, *ibid.* q. 64 a. 1, originate from the Stagirite. The division of non-theological virtues into moral and intellectual, *ibid.* q. 58, is also Aristotelian. But in the classification of moral virtues, Aquinas follows Cicero and Ambrosius, who had adopted the Platonic system of four cardinal virtues: prudence, temperance, justice, and fortitude, *ibid.* q. 61.

<sup>35</sup> *De remediis Utriusque Fortunae*, Dial. x, *Gau(dium): Nunquid non saltem licet de virtute gloriari? Ra(tio): Ut liceat, in illo tantum licet, qui virtutis & omnis boni auctor solus, atque largitor est.* See Kl. Heitmann, *Fortuna u. Virtus. Eine Studie zu Petrarca's Lebensweisheit*, 1958, 74-81.

see, this was not Petrarch's only idea of the origin of virtue. Salutati seems to have much pondered upon the nature of correct reason and virtue. He derived the natural law from the divine law but mainly considered it as the basis of justice.<sup>36</sup> As for the origin of virtue, Salutati agreed with Augustine more than with Aristotle: we are only God's instruments. All our virtues originate from God. Virtues are not acquired, as philosophers claim. They are a good quality of the mind, which only God effects in us.<sup>37</sup> On the other hand, Salutati also underscores man's own responsibility and the necessity of cooperation with God.<sup>38</sup>

In Poggio there are a few passages in which he seems to follow Petrarch and Salutati. In *De miseria humane conditionis*, Cosimo de' Medici argues that reason, the fountain of moral action, is derived from God:

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<sup>36</sup> Op. cit. (n. 21), 16 *Imprimit enim divina lex humanis mentibus naturalem, que quidem communis est ratio actuum humanorum, queve mentibus nostris impressa nos inclinatur ad ea, que lex illa immutabilis, divina et eterna, decernit*; cf. 160 and Garin's comment, 346: Salutati was following Aquinas.

<sup>37</sup> Epistolario a cura di Fr. Novati 2, 1893, 184 *Nam cum Dei instrumenta simus, nichil in his que facimus, imo que videmur facere, nostrum est... Laus igitur et gloria Deo sit... qui in te virtutes operatur et ostendit: virtutes, inquam, que licet sint habitus electivus consistens in medio, non ex operibus acquiruntur, sicut philosophi tradunt, sed sunt bona mentis qualitas, qua recte vivimus, qua nemo male utitur, et quam solus Deus in nobis operatur*. Similarly Epistolario 3, 1896, 94. This is somewhat illogical for virtue cannot be an elective, i.e. freely chosen habit and simultaneously be accredited to God as a gift. The passage *qua recte...* is a quotation from Augustine, *De lib. arb.* 50sq. For Salutati's moral philosophy, see E. Kessler, *Das Problem des frühen Humanismus. Seine philosophische Bedeutung bei Coluccio Salutati*, 1968, 117-21 and R. G. Witt, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, 1983, Ch. 13: Christian Aristotelianism.

<sup>38</sup> Epistolario 1, 1891, 270 *Reddit proculdubio ad virtutes natura nos aptos et ad illas latenter impellit; sed virtuosus non natura sed operibus efficitur et doctrina*; 3. 1896, 270 *Sola vero virtus nostra est et suo resplendet lumine*; for the necessity of cooperation, 1, 65.

*concessit nobis conditor omnium Deus, rationem rebus ceteris excellentiorem, ad quam tanquam munitam arcem confugeremus, cuius presidio fulti, consilioque parentes rebus modum statueremus, nec progredi longius quam eius prescripta patiantur sineremus nostras cupiditates.*<sup>39</sup>

Again, in the letter to Loschi, of 1424, he at one point mentions *ratio divinitus nobis data*, which teaches us to understand that it is only *virtus* which belongs to us while Fortune's goods are beyond our control and anyway perishable.<sup>40</sup> Whereas the letter from 1416 did not mention God (see p. 94), in another letter to Loschi, from 1425, Poggio argues that speech and reason were God's gift to man so as to institute social life.<sup>41</sup>

These passages are, however, few and somewhat conventional. Considering human reason to be a gift of God is not quite the same as deriving the moral dictates of reason from the divine law. In Poggio, *virtus* is almost entirely an immanent human quality attainable through *studia humanitatis*.

But this view should be qualified. In Poggio's last major work *De miseria humane conditionis* (1455), doubts are cast upon reason, which is often too weak to resist the assaults of vice and passions, and on the ability of philosophy, i.e., the very *studia humanitatis*, to make men wise and thus save them from misery.<sup>42</sup> In a dialogue it is, however, difficult to tell which protagonist represents the author's ideas. Thus the latter remark is expressed by the spokesman of traditional Christian views, Matteo

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<sup>39</sup> Opera omnia 1, 90sq.

<sup>40</sup> Lettere 2, 8.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid. 49 *Enimvero nihil est largitus nobis deus utilius sermone, nihil ratione melius, quibus solis ceteris animantibus prestamus, quibus servatur hominum societas, conduntur civitates et totius vite commoda comparantur.* Except for the reference to God, the passage is similar to the one in the letter from 1416, see n. 13.

<sup>42</sup> Opera omnia 1, 92 and 108.

Palmieri, but the former is spoken by Poggio himself, corresponding to his somewhat more sombre opinion of the human condition, written as it was in old age (see p. 97).

In both older and more recent studies it has been maintained that Poggio's moral philosophy was at least half Christian. The argument has been put forward by Walser and more recently by Ch. Trinkaus in his discussion of *De miseria humane conditionis*.<sup>43</sup> According to him, it is Matteo Palmieri's references to the Fall and grace that express Poggio's views.<sup>44</sup> But this is hardly warrantable. In an earlier study I have argued that it was more likely Cosimo de' Medici, who concludes the discourse, that speaks for the author, although Poggio, who was himself a *dramatis persona*, modified his overly optimistic beliefs.<sup>45</sup> In any case, even in this dialogue, which is a cavalcade of the miseries of the world, both natural and man-made, Poggio does not repudiate the claim of *virtus* to be able to face up to them.<sup>46</sup>

According to Walser, it was during his quasi-exile in England, between 1418 and 1422, that Poggio's moral philosophy deepened in a Christian spirit.<sup>47</sup> It is true that in his letters from this period his religious posture is patently obvious. But it is questionable whether this constituted a lasting spiritual basis of life. I think that his apparent adoption of religious views is explicable in a different way.

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<sup>43</sup> In our *Image and Likeness* 1, 1970, 258sq.

<sup>44</sup> *Op. cit.* 89: human suffering is due to Adam's fall; 101: God's grace has predestined a small number to beatitude in this and the next life. Trinkaus, *op. cit.* 259 maintains that "For the body of the dialogue he picks Cosimo de' Medici...as the antagonist and Matteo Palmieri as the spokesman of his own thoughts".

<sup>45</sup> *Op. cit.* (n. 6), 50-56.

<sup>46</sup> *Non est tam valida Fortune vis, ut a forti et constanti viro non superetur* (131).

<sup>47</sup> *Op. cit.* (n. 25), 71-83.



These letters from England were sent to his humanist friend Niccoli. In 1420, Poggio advises his friend as a Christian to forgive his enemies and to remember *nihil aliud boni nobis conferre sive divinam, sive humanam philosophiam, nisi ut per contemptum terrenarum pergamus ad meliora*.<sup>48</sup> The contempt for earthly things is a genuinely Christian and even monastic idea. Poggio then castigates the rich for being avaricious and depraved.<sup>49</sup> While this condemnation does not differ from his later views, e.g. in his dialogue *De avaritia* (1427), he sustains it here by quoting Jerome, St Paul, and Augustine. He concludes by asserting that it is above all else the sacred writings that constitute the basis of moral rectitude, *honeste iusteque vivendi*. This is quite different from his usual endorsement of *studia humanitatis* as the fountain of morality.

The clearest statement of a religious attitude is found in a letter from 1421. Poggio tells Niccoli that his daily reading of *libri sacri* has dampened his former enthusiasm for the humanities, which he now dismisses as empty, partly ambiguous, partly false, and throughout serving only vanity. *Eloquium sacrum*, on the other hand, is based upon the truth, i.e., of Christian faith, without which right action is not possible.<sup>50</sup>

I cannot, however, agree with Walser, who maintains that these years in England taught Poggio to combine the teachings of the Christian Fathers with the wisdom of the ancients. For one thing, when Poggio went to England, he was already forty. Though we do not know enough of his views during his youth and early manhood, at least the letter from 1416 suggests that his

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<sup>48</sup> Lettere 1, 13.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid. 14.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid. 36 *Mihi credas volo: libri sacri, quos legi et cotidie lego, refrixerunt studium pristinum humanitatis, cui deditus fui, ut nosti, a pueritia. Nam horum studiorum principia inania sunt, partim ambigua, partim falsa, omnia ad vanitatem. Sacri veri eloquii principium est veritas qua amissa nihil rectum tenere, nihil operari possumus.*

humanist philosophy was already firmly established by then (see p. 94). One does not usually substantially change one's views in more mature years.

Poggio's seeming adherence to the Christian world-view and rejection of the humanist one is better explained as the passing mood of an impressionable character. In England, which in the early fifteenth century was still untouched by humanism, Poggio did not have access to humanist books. He had to be content with perusing scholastic and patristic authors. He even complained that in the absence of humanist reading, his Latin had deteriorated.<sup>51</sup> It is possible that his disappointments at the Papal curia<sup>52</sup> as well as his loneliness in uncongenial surroundings and above all, his continual involvement with the sacred writings had depressed him and turned his thoughts to things Christian. But after returning to Italy and to the company of his humanist friends, he reverted to *studia humanitatis*. Afterwards the eulogies of sacred literature as the true font of morality were few.<sup>53</sup>

Throughout his long writer's career, Poggio repeated the same idea of literary studies as a prerequisite for virtue. In a letter from 1436, he asserts that *studia humanitatis* should be instrumental in *honestum ac decorum*, or moral rectitude. *Bone artes* were invented to teach us what to do and what not to do as well as to furnish us with *optimi mores*. Hence the wise men have

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid. 55.

<sup>52</sup> See Walser, *op. cit.* (n. 25), 71.

<sup>53</sup> In a letter to Bishop Francesco Pizolpasso, 1424, Lettere 2, 40, he argues that both pagan and Christian writers counsel a life according to virtue, but the latter are more perfect. Pagan philosophy considers only this life, whereas Christian philosophy *ita presentis vite rationem haberi concedit, ut sit tanquam viaticum future, ad quam et nati et instituti sumus*. But the letter was addressed to a bishop, which may explain the religious tone.

given primacy to moral philosophy.<sup>54</sup> In his funeral speech in memory of Niccoli, 1437, he says that Niccoli had early understood everything else but *virtus* to be perishable and temporary. Learning in general and *studia humanitatis* in particular were the best means of attaining virtue because they taught *honestum ipsum... ac melioris vite cultus*.<sup>55</sup> He is somewhat more specific when writing to Cardinal Ludovico Scarambo in 1449. Literary studies give us recreation and peace of mind. They abolish ambition and avarice and teach us that most difficult art, the restraint of our desires.<sup>56</sup> In the same year he tells Pope Nicholas V that his rise to papacy was attributable to his learning, which had taught him *virtus*.<sup>57</sup> The élitist and cerebral concept of the means of acquiring moral principles thus held good even for the head of the church.

Poggio insists that primacy should be given to virtue, without which literary studies would be useless and even harmful. His letter to Loschi in 1424 began with the complaint that the humanists did not follow the principles they learn in the classics (p. 96 above). In 1426 he writes to Leonardo Bruni that most people do not profit from the books they read because they do not live up to the *precepta virtutum* which they peruse. Poggio affirms that he rejects books *si nihil mihi sint ad vitam profuturi*.<sup>58</sup> A letter from 1427 advises the recipient that the only fruit to be gathered from literary studies should be the acquisition of *virtus* and a more perfect life. Otherwise they only teach vice and should be disregarded.<sup>59</sup> In giving advice to young

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<sup>54</sup> Lettere 2, 221.

<sup>55</sup> Opera omnia 1, 270sq.

<sup>56</sup> Lettere 3, 94.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid. 98 *quem... sola prestantissimarum doctrinarum scientia, sola litterarum studia, ex quibus virtutis fluxerunt incitamenta, ad eam, quam merito tenes, dignitatem pontificiam extulerunt.*

<sup>58</sup> Lettere 2, 61.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid. 277.

Battista Guarino (1456), he exhorts him to add *honesti cura* to his studies because learning beset with vice is useless and harmful.<sup>60</sup> In one of his last letters (1457), he writes that learning without good manners is of little use.<sup>61</sup>

Tracing the emergence of the conviction that literary studies serve as a school for virtue would require a more thorough discourse than is possible here. I can only attain the barest outline. But the idea was arch-classical and in this respect, if not anti-, then at least un-Christian. Ancient ethical thought was intellectual from the very beginning. Socrates argued that if man only had correct ideas, he would act correctly.<sup>62</sup> Another contributory factor was the persuasion that eloquence was needed to make the moral dictates of correct reason explicit.

That wisdom and eloquence should be welded together was one of Cicero's dearest convictions.<sup>63</sup> Above (p. 94) I have discussed Poggio's letter from 1416 in which this Ciceronian idea was clearly stated. In a letter from 1436, Poggio praises Cicero as *eloquentissimus, cum in iis que ad artem oratoriam spectant tum ad institutionem et doctrinam vite moralis*.<sup>64</sup> His rhetorical works, orations, and philosophical treatises should be studied to attain that unison of eloquence and wisdom that Cicero describes in his *Brutus*.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Lettere 3, 389.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid. 495.

<sup>62</sup> Plato, Protagoras 352B; Aristotle, Eth. Nic. 1145b.

<sup>63</sup> For this idea, see J. E. Seigel, *Rhetoric and philosophy in Renaissance Humanism*, 1988.

<sup>64</sup> Lettere 2, 214.

<sup>65</sup> Cicero, *Brutus* 23. Poggio's quotation is not literal. Cicero argues that *dicere enim bene nemo potest nisi qui prudenter intellegit; qua re qui eloquentiae verae dat operam, dat prudentiae*, which Poggio paraphrases as *qui studet eloquentie eum et prudentie operam dare. Non enim vir improbus aut imprudens esse aut haberi eloquens potest*.

The intellectual concept of learning as a way to virtue was encountered especially in Cicero's celebrated speech in defence of the Greek poet, Archias. Cicero admits that there have been many men *excellenti animo ac virtute... sine doctrina*. He even maintains that *saepius ad laudem atque virtutem naturam sine doctrina quam sine natura valuisse doctrinam*. Nevertheless, he asserts that if *ratio quaedam conformatioque doctrinae* conjoins natural excellence, the result will be something *praeclarum ac singulare* (15).

The idea of the competition or cooperation of nature and education has a long ancestry in Greek thought.<sup>66</sup> But what is pertinent to our enquiry here is Cicero's insistence upon the importance of *doctrina*, which arguably means the same as literary studies or more precisely moral philosophy.<sup>67</sup> The idea of literature cultivating the human mind, furnishing it with moral principles and thus producing an honest and excellent man, became a humanist tenet through this and similar passages in Cicero.

Seneca is somewhat ambiguous. He emphasises the significance of correct philosophical opinions for the attainment of virtue,<sup>68</sup> but he is also critical of the usefulness of the liberal arts because they do not teach virtue. At most, they prepare the mind for its reception.<sup>69</sup> The humanists' emphasis of the primacy of virtue over learning may owe something to Seneca.

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<sup>66</sup> See H. & K. Vretska, *Marcus Tullius Cicero pro Archia poeta*, 1979, 130sq.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.* 129sq., the word is argued to mean "système philosophique", which is hardly possible here.

<sup>68</sup> E.g. *Epist.* 89,4 *Sapientia perfectum bonum est mentis humanae. Philosophia sapientiae amor est et adfectatio.*

<sup>69</sup> He casts doubt on the usefulness of the main ingredients of literary studies, grammar, history, poetry: *quid horum ad virtutem viam sternit?* *Epist.* 88,3. He argues that *studia liberalia*, which are the same as *studia humanitatis*, are useful only because *animum ad accipiendam virtutem*

It is Petrarch who made these ideas common humanist doctrine. Though he still held the Christian view that *virtus* originated from God (see p. 100), he also argued that *prudentia* or practical wisdom, the guide of the other moral virtues, could be learnt from ancient moral writings, especially from Cicero and Seneca. Besides moral philosophy, history is also useful because it instructs us through *exempla*. But literature that does not contribute to the moral improvement of man is useless. According to Petrarch, *vir doctus* is equal to *vir bonus*.<sup>70</sup>

Petrarch's follower Salutati espoused the same views. In a letter from 1390 he maintains that the perfection of virtue, not an increase of knowledge, is the goal in life. Knowledge is a good thing only if it conduces to virtue.<sup>71</sup> In a letter from 1401, he defines *humanitas* as *virtus et doctrina*.<sup>72</sup> In one of his last letters – Salutati died in 1406 – he argues that wisdom and eloquence are human endowments which distinguish man from animals.<sup>73</sup> They presuppose each other, but primacy belongs to wisdom.<sup>74</sup> However, as a deeply religious man, Salutati does not forget faith. He advises the superaddition of Christian perfection to all this.<sup>75</sup>

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*praeparant*, *ibid.* 20. Cf. M. Rozelaar, *Seneca, Eine Gesamtdarstellung*, 1976, 425sq.

<sup>70</sup> See Heitmann, *op. cit.* (n. 35), 110-118.

<sup>71</sup> *Epistolario* 2, 1893, 274 *rectum esse sequitur ut appetas in virtute proficere; in virtute quidem, non qua magis scientes efficimur, sed qua meliores secundum virtutis habitum ordinamur.*

<sup>72</sup> *Epistolario* 3, 1896, 536.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.* 3, 599.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.* 602, *Optime quidem simul coalescunt sapientia et eloquentia, ut quantum illa capit tantum et ista pertractet. Quod si certamen utriusque fiat, que cui preoptanda sit, sapientie palmam dato.*

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.* 605 *Nec tamen putes me sic ad moralia illa Socraticaque te transferre, quin velim et ea que christiane perfectionis sunt adicias... ut prudenter vivendo graviterque scribendo perfectionem moralitatis, qua sine dubio doctrina Christi perficitur, amplectaris.*

In his *De studiis et litteris*, 1422-1429, Leonardo Bruni consummated the programme of *studia humanitatis*. Besides a good knowledge of classical Latin, they comprise sacred literature – a concession to the fact that the tract was addressed to a woman –, moral philosophy, history, oratory, and poetry. But Bruni insists that all these studies were only instrumental to the pursuit of religion and morality.<sup>76</sup>

While this essay may have been somewhat biased because of the peculiar requirements of women's education, Bruni's position is stated more unequivocally in his correspondence. Encouraging a youth to undertake literary studies, he argues that he should acquire a good knowledge not only of Latin but also of the things which belong to *vita et mores*. He gives a succinct definition of *studia humanitatis*. They are called thus *quod hominem perficiant atque exornent* and aim at the making of an honest man, *vir bonus*.<sup>77</sup>

Remarkably, Bruni does not quote Christian ideas at all in this letter, which could as well have been written by Cicero or some other ancient writer.

In eulogising *studia humanitatis* as the school of moral behaviour and in insisting on *virtus* as their final end, Poggio was thus advocating the accepted ideas of humanism.

What is important is the fact that this concept of moral philosophy was seemingly more pagan than Christian. The rules of morality were to be found in classical literature. Accordingly, both education in virtue and virtue itself were man-made, neither dependent upon God nor divine law.

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<sup>76</sup> Op. cit. (n. 2), 19 *religionis et bene vivendi studia mihi praecipua videri, cetera vero omnia tamquam adminicula quaedam ad ista referri, quae possint vel adiuvarere vel illustrare, eaque de causa poetis et oratoribus et scriptoribus aliis inhaerendum.*

<sup>77</sup> *Epistolarum libri*, ed. L. Mehus, 1741, Lib. VI, 49sq.

I have so far discussed, in Aristotelian-scholastic terms, the *causa efficiens* of *virtus*. Its *causa finalis* is equally consequential. In classical thought, the final end was *eudaimonia*, *felicitas*, though its definition varied.<sup>78</sup> In scholastic philosophy happiness was divided into perfect celestial and imperfect earthly happiness (see p. 100). Poggio's mentor Salutati also embraced this philosophy. Beatitude is the final end of man, but it presupposes God's grace. However, living according to natural law is also necessary for obtaining in the afterlife the happiness which we now have only *in spe*.<sup>79</sup>

Poggio, who disliked abstract philosophical debate,<sup>80</sup> seldom discusses the *finis* of *virtus*. In *De infelicitate principum*, 1440, by repeating Aristotle's definition, he argues that a life according to the exercise of virtues constitutes happiness.<sup>81</sup> In *de miseria humane conditionis*, Cosimo, who advocates classical and humanist moral philosophy, maintains that reason and virtue ensure happiness whereas stupid *vulgus* is deprived of virtue and hence doomed to wretchedness.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Cf. Bruni, op. cit. (n. 2), 24 *Sed ipsa felicitas, quid tandem sit? de eo sane inter se discrepant.*

<sup>79</sup> *De nobilitate legum et medicine* (see n. 21), 164sq. *Est igitur alius ultimus finis... que cum felicitas tum dicitur beatitudo, que quidem status est omnium bonorum congregatione perfectus, ad quem gratia, non iusticia, mortalis homo recipitur... Et quoniam nemo sine operibus salvus fiet... propter felicitatem oportet quemlibet operari... Beatus quidem, dum hic vivimus, spe; beatus vero, postquam lege vixerit, erit re.*

<sup>80</sup> In *De varietate Fortune*, f. 16, Poggio argues that Cicero is more useful than Aristotle. *Alter* (scil., Aristotle) *virtutum tradit diffinitiones quid ee sint. quasque in partes dividantur perquirens. Alter* (scil., Cicero) *virtutes ipsas in aciem atque in campum deducit* (transcription by Outi Merisalo). Poggio is, however, wrong in maintaining that Aristotle only theoretically discussed virtues, see, e.g., his *Eth. Eud.* 1216b.

<sup>81</sup> *Opera omnia* 1, 403 *Felicitatem esse vitam operationem* (misprint, possibly *vitae*) *secundum virtutem scribit Aristoteles, et exercitio virtutum comparari.*

<sup>82</sup> *Opera omnia* 1, e.g. 90, 99-100, etc.



Poggio is, however, not silent on the more tangible good consequences of *virtus*. The greatest of them, the ability to face and overcome Fortune, has already been mentioned (p. 92). Here I shall discuss two other rewards to which Poggio often refers. One of them is classical, the other Christian. Both are eloquently expounded in his funeral speech in memory of Bruni in 1444.<sup>83</sup>

Bruni has left an example both in his *virtutes* and in his *ingenii prestantia*. His moral and intellectual excellence should be imitated. Poggio firstly addresses unlettered citizens. They could imitate Bruni's virtues and serve their city-state through advice and action.<sup>84</sup> Poggio acknowledges that in antiquity and later there have been many people, who *absque ulla doctrina, excellenti virtute predicti* have done great deeds in war and peace. Because this closely resembles Cicero's argumentation in *Pro Archia* (see p. 108), it is not improbable that in writing this passage, he had Cicero in mind. Quoting the peripatetic doctrine according to which virtue consists in action, Poggio then suggests that the state may have greater need of men of action than of men of learning.<sup>85</sup> But if learning is added, it serves both as an adornment and makes people *ad res gerendas doctiores ac perfectiores*.

There can be no doubt that Poggio is here extolling Bruni both as a man of active life and as a scholar. Bruni was the leading representative of what H. Baron calls Civic humanism, active engagement in political life.<sup>86</sup> Bruni favoured *vita activa*, and Poggio is here paying tribute to this side of his life's work.

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<sup>83</sup> *Opera omnia* 2, 671sq.

<sup>84</sup> *Hortor eos, quorum vitae ratio est a litteris aliena, ut eius virtutem, continentiam, probitatem, caritatem erga patriam imitentur. Licet enim etiam sine litteris civem esse preclarum, et eum Rempubl(icam) tum consilio, atque opere iuvare.*

<sup>85</sup> *Et cum virtutis laus in actione consistat, continentiam, probitatem, innocentiam, animum in consulendo liberum, in agendo diligentem potius, quam scientiam civitas desiderare, atque appetere videtur.*

<sup>86</sup> See his celebrated *Crisis of the early Italian Renaissance*<sup>2</sup>, 1967.

But he balances the picture. Addressing the people who are bent on literary studies, Poggio advises them to pursue their course and thus to imitate Bruni. But Poggio adds a reservation. They should above all cultivate *virtus*, without which learning is useless and even harmful to the state and to the individual. Better to be *indoctus civis quam malus*, a theme already familiar to us.

The peroration sums up Poggio's idea of the recompenses resulting from a combination of *virtus* with *studia humanitatis*:

*Qui autem hec duo enixe amplectuntur, necesse, ut primum beata vita fruantur, que virtute et recte factis acquiritur; tum vero assequantur memoriam nominis sempiternam, postremo felicitatem future vite, que est vera et perfecta felicitas, quamque omnes debemus appetere, consequuntur.*

The idea of happiness springing from virtuous action is originally Aristotelian. But besides undefined *beata vita*, literary studies and a life according to virtue bring eternal fame and salvation.

Fame as the highest reward of virtue was one of Cicero's most cherished ideas. In *Pro Archia*, he first states that *trahimur omnes studio laudis, et optimus quisque maxime gloria ducitur* (26), and confesses that he has a pardonable desire for fame because *virtus*, in this particular case his suppression of Catilina's conspiracy, does not want any other reward for hardships and dangers than *laus et gloria* (28). He defines *gloria* as *laus recte factorum magnorumque in rem publicam fama meritorum, que cum optimi cuiusque, tum etiam multitudinis testimonio comprobatur*.<sup>87</sup> Recognition of one's honourable services to the commonwealth by the élite and the masses, or in

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<sup>87</sup> *Oratio prima in Marcum Antonium* 29; cf. *Pro Marcello* 26 *gloria est inlustris et pervagata magnorum vel in suos civis vel in patriam vel in omne genus hominum fama meritorum.*

Roman political terminology, by the senate and the people, thus constituted glory.

It is scarcely necessary to expatiate upon the importance of personal fame in humanism.<sup>88</sup> But it should be noticed that not only *vita activa* but also a scholar's and poet's life could reap the sweetness of other people's praise. Speaking at his poetic coronation in Rome in 1431, Petrarch quotes Cicero, Ovid, and Virgil and argues *glorie appetitum non solum communibus hominibus sed maxime sapientibus et excellentibus viris insitum (esse)*.<sup>89</sup> The incompatibility of a pagan love of glory with Christian humility was, however, recognized. At one point, Salutati wonders whether we should not prefer eternal glory in Heaven to worldly glory, which is dependent upon a fickle public. But he frankly admits that fame exerts a great pull upon him.<sup>90</sup>

Poggio's correspondence testifies to the great significance he attaches to fame and honour. Ciceronian reminiscences are conspicuous. In a letter from 1454, he defines renown as *vox recte iudicantium de aliqua excellenti virtute*, which is an almost literal quotation from Cicero,<sup>91</sup> and in another letter from the same year he writes that praise follows virtue like a shadow, a phrase which also originates from Cicero.<sup>92</sup> In an earlier letter, 1431, he maintains that praise and glory, as *sapientes* write, make up the prize of virtues.<sup>93</sup> By the "wise men" he refers to the ancients, and naturally above all to Cicero, who more than

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<sup>88</sup> Cf. my *Classical and Christian* (n. 7), 83-86.

<sup>89</sup> *Scritti inediti*, 1874, 318.

<sup>90</sup> *Epistolario* 3, 1896, 86 and 88.

<sup>91</sup> *Lettere* 3, 248; Cic. *Tusc.* 3,3 *est enim gloria...consentiens laus bonorum, incorrupta vox bene iudicantium de eccellente virtute*. The reminiscence is overlooked by Harth.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.* 227; Cic. *Tusc.* 1, 109; this reminiscence too is overlooked by Harth.

<sup>93</sup> *Lettere* 2, 126.

anyone else had committed the cult of honour and renown to posterity. In a letter to Guarino Veronese, 1455, Poggio acknowledges that in the thirst for *laus* and *gloria* the moderns were equal to the ancients.<sup>94</sup>

How deeply the cult of fame had pervaded Renaissance society is tellingly revealed by Poggio's letters to the Hungarian statesman and warrior János Hunyadi (1448), to King Alfonso of Aragon (1455), and to the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III (1456). Encouraging them to go to war against the Turks, he makes conspicuous reference to the eternal fame to be reaped from the enterprise.<sup>95</sup>

Fame was often considered to result from *virtus* and *studia humanitatis*. Besides the oration in memory of Bruni, the idea is found in the letter from 1454 quoted above (n. 91). In 1442, he writes to a friend, a bishop, that he does not regret having always preferred *litteras et virtutem* to money. Besides healing the troubles of the mind, they confer *laudem et gloriam honestam*.<sup>96</sup> He sums up these ideas in a letter to Cardinal Enea Silvio Piccolomini, a year before the latter's rise to papacy. *Studia humanitatis* are superior to other branches of learning because they teach us virtues and good manners and *in primis admonent nos esse homines, quos sola virtus efficiat clariores*.<sup>97</sup>

In Bruni's funeral speech Poggio also mentions the commonplace idea that renown is mainly won by war and by literary pursuits.<sup>98</sup> But military glory becomes lasting only if it

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<sup>94</sup> Lettere 3, 378.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid. 66, 325, 326sq., 382, 384, 385, 386sq.

<sup>96</sup> Lettere 2, 399.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid. 3, 462.

<sup>98</sup> Op. cit. 664 *duabus rebus, quibus honor et fama precipue acquiritur, semper claruit, militari gloria, et studiis litterarum*. There is a similar remark in a letter to Guarino Veronese, Lettere 2, 179, A.D. 1433. Cf. my Poggio Bracciolini and Classicism (n. 11), 33.

is immortalised by writers, which is another age-old idea.<sup>99</sup> Everything, then, hinged upon the humanists, the conveyors of ancient wisdom and panegyrist of great deeds.

Besides this classical and even pagan reward of virtue, there was another, which was Christian and unclassical. This was eternal life, salvation. In addition to the peroration in Bruni's memorial address, the idea arises in several letters. Explicating to Loschi his moral philosophy (see p. 95-6), Poggio argues that besides peace of mind, *virtus* also gives us *vitam immortalem*.<sup>100</sup> This can only mean eternal life. In 1424, he tells Bishop Francesco Pizolpasso that *optatus quietis portus* after the present life should be the aim of all our studies and actions.<sup>101</sup> In 1438, he assures Richard Petworth, the secretary of a cardinal, that only *virtus* follows us after death.<sup>102</sup> In the same year he tells a Papal chamberlain that nothing is more delightful than conversing with books, which teach us right living, contempt for the perishable and a love of the eternal.<sup>103</sup> In his letter to Pope Nicholas V (see p. 106), he argues that *virtus*, which is acquired through learning, besides healing the wounds of the mind and instructing in temperance, makes us think of the future life and of the salvation of the soul.<sup>104</sup> Even *laus*, the prize people give us for our services, is to be repudiated if it leads us away from

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<sup>99</sup> This is one of Poggio's and other humanists' favourite ideas, e. g. in his letters to Duke Leonello d'Este, *Lettere*, 2, 210sq., A.D. 1436 and to King Giovanni II di Castiglia e Leon, *Lettere* 3, 174., A.D. 1453; in *De infelicitate principum*, A.D. 1440, *Opera omnia* 1, 419; cf. my *Poggio Bracciolini and Classicism* (n. 11), 33.

<sup>100</sup> *Lettere* 2, 9.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.* 43.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.* 310.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.* 329.

<sup>104</sup> *Lettere* 3, 98 *Quod vero virtutis opus esse eximium solet, medentur (scil. books) animi morbis, monent modum cupiditatibus imponendum, arcendas voluptates, future vite incumbendum, consulendum anime saluti, unde venit, quo sit reditura, premeditandum.*

salvation, which is primary to everything else, as he asserts to Bishop Piero del Monte in 1454.<sup>105</sup>

Poggio's contention that virtue ensures salvation does not wholly agree with Orthodox Christian Ethics. According to Aquinas and other Christian philosophers, it was the theological virtues of faith, hope, and charity, which were required for salvation. The *virtus* of Poggio and other humanists is, however, wholly classical and independent of divine cooperation (see p. 102).

Poggio Bracciolini's moral philosophy then is at times unsystematic and sometimes even contradictory. Its conspicuous characteristic is its predominantly classical origin. Knowledge is virtue and ignorance is vice. Knowledge of moral rules and *exempla* are to be acquired by *studia humanitatis*, by reading the classics. *Virtus*, judging from the passages in which it is specified, represents the classical moral virtues. Despite his acquaintance with patristic and scholastic literature, his only reading matter during the long years in England, scholastic moral philosophy is inconspicuous in Poggio. Unlike Salutati, he does not consider *felicitas* of the present world as an imperfect anticipation of the perfect happiness in the hereafter. The *causa efficiens* of *virtus* is man himself and his reason. If happiness consists in living according to reason and the virtues and if man has free will to prefer them to a life uncontrolled by reason, man is the maker of his own happiness, an idea which is entirely classical.

This view is unquestionably somewhat qualified in Poggio's last dialogue, *De miseria humane conditionis*. Both reason and virtue are admitted to be often weak and preyed upon by many enemies. Poggio even quotes the power of passions over reason.

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<sup>105</sup> Ibid. 227.

But the basic idea of the ability of *virtus* to cope with external circumstances is not seriously shaken.

For all that, it is hazardous to conclude that Poggio and other humanists of his stamp, such as Bruni, would have reverted to paganism. Genuine disbelief in Christian faith had still to await the Enlightenment.<sup>106</sup> The apparent paganism of his moral thought is rather explicable thus: the admiration for classical antiquity in an age in which the religious zeal of the élite was at a low ebb, had forced the Christian ideas to the background but not effaced them.

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<sup>106</sup> Cf. P.O. Kristeller, *The Myth of Renaissance Atheism and the French Tradition of Free Thought*, *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 6 (1968) 233-243. Though his discussion mainly concerns Pomponazzi, it is a fortiori applicable to the early humanists.

# Cornelia Africani f. Gracchorum\*

Mika Kajava

In his Natural History Pliny the Elder gives an interesting testimony to Republican attitudes towards setting up female statues in Roman provinces, namely that Cato the Censor was strongly opposed to such a practice in 184 BC.<sup>1</sup> Pliny goes on to say that Cato could not prevent similar things from happening in the city of Rome, as is shown by the case of Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, and daughter of Scipio Africanus. Cornelia's statue, showing her seated and wearing strapless sandals, was first placed in the portico of Metellus. Later, it appeared in the *porticus Octaviae* of early Augustan date, which was a restored version of the previous construction. It is not clear when the original statue was manufactured, yet it was undoubtedly not before Cato's death in 149 BC. The construction of the *porticus Metelli* began in 146 BC, and the building complex may have been dedicated as late as in 131 BC.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Plin. nat. 34,31: *extant Catonis in censura vociferationes mulieribus statuas Romanis in provinciis poni* (now registered in G. Lahusen, *Schriftquellen zum römischen Bildnis I*, Bremen 1984, Nr. 2).

<sup>2</sup> Plin. *ibid.*: *nec tamen potuit inhibere quo minus Romae quoque ponerentur, sicuti Corneliae Gracchorum matri, quae fuit Africani prioris filia. Sedens huic posita soleisque sine ammento insignis in Metelli publica porticu, quae statua nunc est in Octaviae operibus.* For the site and its



A passage in Plutarch seems to provide more information. In 123 BC, at the beginning of his tribunate, C. Gracchus, obviously still having in mind the murder of his brother Tiberius, proposed a bill against M. Octavius, the tribune who had been one of Tiberius' most violent opponents. It is told that Gaius withdrew the legislation at his mother's request.<sup>3</sup> Plutarch goes on to state that the Roman people (δημος) respected Cornelia, not only on account of her father but also because of her sons; afterwards (ὑστερον), i.e. at some time after 123 BC, they erected a bronze statue in her honour with an inscription indicating that the statue represented Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi.<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately, we do not know exactly how many years Cornelia lived after the death of her son Gaius in 121 BC.<sup>5</sup> The statue was perhaps not posthumous,<sup>6</sup> and considering the

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date, cf. L. Pietilä-Castrén, *Magnificentia publica. The Victory Monuments of the Roman Generals in the Era of the Punic Wars*, Helsinki 1987, 130ff. The Plinian diction (*nec tamen potuit inhibere*, etc.) does not by itself exclude the possibility that the statue already existed in Cato's lifetime. But as will be seen, there is clear evidence pointing to a considerably later date. Moreover, a reference to the sons in the inscription (*Gracchorum*) would be somewhat strange at a time when they were still young boys (Tiberius was born about 163/162 BC, and Gaius nine years later).

<sup>3</sup> Plut. C. Gracch. 4, 2ff.; cf. also Diod. 34/35, 25, 2; D. Stockton, *The Gracchi*, Oxford 1979, 116f. For the *inimicitiae* between C. Gracchus and M. Octavius, see D.F. Epstein, *Personal Enmity in Roman Politics 218-43 BC*, London – New York – Sydney 1987, 2f., 115f.

<sup>4</sup> Plut. C. Gracch. 4, 4: ὁ δημος... τιμῶν τὴν Κορνηλίαν οὐδὲν ἦπτον ἀπὸ τῶν παίδων ἢ τοῦ πατρός, ἧς γε καὶ χαλκῆν εἰκόνα στήσας ὑστερον ἐπέγραψε Κορνηλίαν μητέρα Γράγχων.

<sup>5</sup> The account of her life after 121 BC given by Plut. C. Gracch. 19, 1-3 only shows that she may have lived for a further several years. The fact that it was Sempronia, sister of the Gracchi, and not their mother who identified a pretender called Equitius (in 100 BC he claimed to be a son of Ti. Gracchus [tr. pl. 133]) is often taken to show that Cornelia was already dead by 100 BC (cf. Val. Max. 3, 8, 6).

<sup>6</sup> At least there is no clear evidence to show that it was. Thus also G. Lahusen, *Untersuchungen zur Ehrenstatue in Rom*, Roma 1983, 96 n. 158

historical context one would not be rash in assuming that it dates from around the year 121 BC, or perhaps some time after that. It might, in fact, be possible to link Cornelia's monument chronologically with the events following Gaius' death: the Roman people set up statues for the Gracchi ἐν φανερόῳ, consecrated the places where they had been slain, brought offerings and made sacrifices to them, and prostrated themselves as they did before the sanctuaries of the gods.<sup>7</sup> But as F. Coarelli<sup>8</sup> has suggestively proposed, a later date might also be considered, most likely between 107 and 100 BC, when the *populares* began to gain more political power after a 15-year period in which the *optimates* had held sway. Coarelli, assigning Cornelia's statue more precisely to the year 100 BC, argues (p. 24) that its erection in the portico of Metellus was a conspicuous act of political provocation, as it is a well-known fact that the Metelli were strong opponents of the Gracchi.<sup>9</sup> But whatever interpretation is given, there is no reason

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("wahrscheinlich noch zu Lebzeiten der Cornelia"); *contra* e.g. J.P. Hallett, *Fathers and Daughters in Roman Society*, Princeton 1984, 56, who takes it for granted that Cornelia was "publicly identified in that way long after her death"; A.H. Bernstein, *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus. Tradition and Apostasy*, Ithaca – London 1978, 43 states somewhat ambiguously that a statue of her was *eventually* erected in Rome.

<sup>7</sup> Plut. C. Gracch. 18,3 (cf. esp. εἰκόνας τε γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀναδείξαντες ἐν φανερόῳ προὔτιθεντο, etc.); A. Alföldi, *Die zwei Lorbeerbaüme des Augustus*, Bonn 1973, 24 suggested that the statues of the Gracchi may have been placed at the *compita*. For the statue of Cornelia's husband (Ti. Sempronius Gracchus) in the Forum Augusti, see the new evidence provided by G. Camodeca, *Puteoli 7-8 (1983-84)* 65f.; Id., *Athenaeum* 64 (1986) 505ff.: it seems to have been set up in an intercolumniation of the forum.

<sup>8</sup> In: *Le dernier siècle de la république romaine et l'époque augustéenne* (Contr. trav. inst. hist. rom. Univ. Strasbourg, 1), Strasbourg 1978, 13ff. It seems to me that his theory is perhaps too clear-cut in that it excludes *a priori* an earlier date.

<sup>9</sup> That Cornelia's statue with its inscription (esp. the genitive *Gracchorum*) marked the political stand of the *populares*, reflecting their desire to represent Cornelia's loyalty to the political aims of her sons, is in fact an

to think that Cornelia would have had a public cult of her own after her death. The statue, which was primarily of honorific nature, and possibly (but not certainly) erected while she was still living, does not point to any such conclusion. And a passage in the much-discussed letter which Cornelia wrote to Gaius, shows that she had no greater expectations than a private family cult on the style of that of the *divi parentum: ubi mortua ero, parentabis mihi et invocabis deum parentem*.<sup>10</sup> Nor should the cult of Cornelia's sons be interpreted as indicating that they were worshipped as deified persons, or that they possessed divine powers. Rather, it manifested a spontaneous gratitude towards the two great benefactors, the sons of Cornelia. The cult of the Gracchi seems, in fact, to have remained a temporary phenomenon for no permanent cult of the family was ever established. It is sometimes claimed that the elder Africanus, Cornelia's father, also had a cult after his death. But the truth is that all the evidence that might support such an idea, is basically constituted of legends and family tradition, which later found their expression in poetry and rhetorical histories.<sup>11</sup> It is a different matter that Africanus himself accepted his remarkable position and the public esteem in which he was held in contemporary society. It is quite natural that Cornelia was regarded as one link in the legendary tradition of the Scipiones family, and so being

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old idea: thus e.g. Ed. Meyer, in: *Kleine Schriften I*<sup>2</sup>, Halle 1924, 370; J. Carcopino, *Autour des Gracques. Etudes critiques*, Paris 1967<sup>2</sup>, 109.

<sup>10</sup> *Nep. frg. 15* (= *HRR 2*, p. 39). For this, see C.J. Classen, *Gymnasium* 70 (1963) 324; S. Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, Oxford 1971, 295 n. 1; D. Fishwick, *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West I:1*, Leiden 1987, 53. For the relation between the original letter and the later stage(s) of reworking it, cf. N. Horsfall, *Athenaeum* 65 (1987) 231ff. (p. 230: "Cornelia may be the author of the excerpts' original; or she may not").

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Classen, *art.cit.* 320f.; H.H. Scullard, *Scipio Africanus: Soldier and Politician*, London 1970, 247f. n. 11; Weinstock, *op.cit.* 294f., opted for "a public cult however short-lived it may have been".

honoured with a statue could be partly explained by her ancestry. But what ultimately will have counted more, was the fact that she was the mother of the Gracchi, and for a period of many generations a highly esteemed *exemplum* of maternal love for her children.<sup>12</sup>

That a woman was publicly honoured with a statue at so an early date, was quite exceptional in Rome, as is also shown by the above-mentioned Plinian passage.<sup>13</sup> It is true that there is some evidence of similar honours to women from a still earlier period, but these cases were largely based on myth and legend, being primarily connected with important and decisive moments in the history of early Rome. Thus Cloelia, the female hostage praised for her achievements in the fights against Porsenna, is reported to have had an equestrian statue of bronze put up on the Via Sacra in her honour.<sup>14</sup> It is also said that Gaia Caecilia, wife of King

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<sup>12</sup> The ample literary evidence on Cornelia and her subsequent standing in antiquity is collected and discussed by B. Kreck, *Untersuchungen zur politischen und sozialen Rolle der Frau in der späten römischen Republik*, Diss. Marburg/Lahn 1975, 47ff.

<sup>13</sup> For this, cf. Th. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht I*<sup>3</sup>, Leipzig 1887, 448 n. 2. The evidence from the later Republican period is very scarce (by contrast, funerary *imagines* for senatorial women are now and then documented in literary sources); the passage of *Nep. Att.* 3,2, sometimes held to show that Pilia, wife of Pomponius Atticus, would have been honoured with a statue, is not relevant here; Lambinus' conjecture '*Piliae*' (for '*Phidiae*' and '*et fidae*' of the mss.) cannot evidently stand; '*effigies*' proposed by Wagner (*Hermes* 56 [1921] 439ff.) is very plausible. Moreover, the statues were not erected in Rome, but in Athens.

<sup>14</sup> *Plin. nat.* 34,29, citing the testimony of Annius Fetialis, tells that it was Valeria, daughter of the consul Poplicola, likewise associated with the same heroic episode, who had an equestrian statue opposite the temple of Jupiter Stator; according to Plutarch (*Popl.* 19,5; *de mul.virt.* 14,250) there was uncertainty over whether an equestrian statue near the Via Sacra represented Cloelia or Valeria (for this, see J. Gagé, *La chute des Tarquins et les débuts de la république romaine*, Paris 1976, 74ff., 91, 191 n. 46, and the view of L. Arcella, *SMSR* 51 [1985] 33ff.). For the literary evidence, cf. esp. F. Coarelli, *Il foro romano. Periodo arcaico*, Roma

Tarquinius Priscus, had a statue dedicated to her in the temple of the Sabine deity Semo Sancus Dius Fidius.<sup>15</sup> A further example of honours given to a woman is provided by Pliny the Elder who wrote that a statue was erected to the legendary Vestal Gaia Taracia, because she had given the *campus Tiberinus* as a gift to the Roman people. The distinction given to her was all the more remarkable, as the statue was to be placed where Gaia herself wished.<sup>16</sup> Finally, there is the case of Quinta Claudia. When a ship carrying the holy symbol of Cybele to Rome ran aground in the Tiber in 204 BC, Quinta Claudia resolved the critical situation through her personal intervention. Afterwards, evidently on account of her deed, she received a statue *in vestibulo templi Matris*; in later times this statue was to remain miraculously untouched despite two fires in the temple.<sup>17</sup> In none of the instances mentioned above is there any evidence of inscriptions on the bases of the statues.

Cornelia's statue is no longer extant, in fact it may have already disappeared or at least been damaged in antiquity, either

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1983, 36 (with n. 11); Hallett, op.cit. 118f.; Lahusen, op.cit. in n. 6, 34, 56, 109; Id., op.cit. in n. 1, 17ff., Nrr. 86-9.

<sup>15</sup> Plut. quaest.Rom. 30; Fest. p. 276 (L). A more common tradition named Tarquin's wife Tanaquil. According to Plin. nat. 8,194 Gaia Caecilia (=Tanaquil) had her distaff preserved in the same temple. For Semo...Fidius and the various forms of his name, cf. G. Radke, Zur Entwicklung der Gottesvorstellung und der Gottesverehrung in Rom, Darmstadt 1987, 115ff.

<sup>16</sup> Plin. nat. 34,25 (who also reports Gaia Taracia's alternative name *Fufetia*; likewise Gell. 7,7).

<sup>17</sup> Val.Max. 1,8,11; Tac. ann. 4,64: *apud aedem matris deum*; cf. F. Münzer, RE III 2899, Nr. 435. As regards the legend of Quinta Claudia and her share in the introduction of the cult of Cybele to Rome in 204 BC, one should keep in mind that it was created considerably later; cf. J. Gerard, REL 58 (1980) 153ff., who opts for a period between 50 and 16 BC.

in the fire of AD 80, or later.<sup>18</sup> What is particularly interesting is that in 1878 a large statue base made of marble, measuring 80 cm x 112 cm x 135 cm,<sup>19</sup> was found in the *porticus Octaviae*, with a perfectly preserved inscription of Augustan date on its frontal face: *Cornelia Africani f. / Gracchorum*.<sup>20</sup> Another inscription, dating from the early third century AD, stands on a superior list of the same face: *opus Tisicratis*. There is no doubt that this is the monument which Pliny saw in *Octaviae operibus*. It has usually been thought that the original base of Cornelia's statue was replaced by a new one when the old *porticus Metelli* was restored and renewed, thus transforming the old *porticus* into the portico of Octavia. However, Coarelli (art.cit. in n. 8, 17f.), following a reasonable line of argument, has shown that the original base was never replaced: the Augustan base is in fact the original one. Only the inscription on the base was erased, being replaced by a new one in Augustan times (there are in fact some traces of erasure still visible on the surface of the stone). In Coarelli's opinion, the Severan inscription (*opus Tisicratis*), perhaps originally written in Greek, had from the beginning been directly connected with the statue itself, showing that the statue should be attributed to a Greek artist called Tisicrates, who was

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<sup>18</sup> Fires known to have affected the portico of Octavia were in AD 80 (Dio 66,24) and AD 191. Restoration work took place after the latter (CIL VI 31231 = 1034, dating from AD 203). For archaeological evidence, cf. H. Lauter, *Bull.Com.* 87 (1980-81) 37ff.

<sup>19</sup> The measures given by Degrassi (83x119x173) are not quite correct (note especially the thickness). I have seen and studied the base in October 1989.

<sup>20</sup> CIL VI 31610 (= 10043) = CIL I<sup>2</sup> p. 201, Nr. XXXIX = Eph.Epigr. IV 816 = ILS 68 = ILLRP 336 = Inscr.It. XIII,3,72 (with a photograph) = Helbig, *Führer*<sup>4</sup> (1966), Nr. 1679; cf. A. Stein, *Römische Inschriften in der antiken Literatur*, Prag 1931, 28. The base is preserved in the Musei Capitolini (Museo Nuovo, Passaggio del muro Romano; Catal. epigr. 6969), cf. G. Molisani, *La collezione epigrafica dei Musei Capitolini*, Roma 1973, 13 and *passim*.

active in Italy in the late 2nd century BC. Later, in the Augustan period, the artist's Greek signature would have been intentionally erased, a procedure reflecting the Augustan cultural policy which laid emphasis on ancient Roman habits at the expense of Greek "luxury" and philhellenistic ideas (Coarelli 19, 27). At the same time, the main text of the base was erased, and a new text was put in its place. If this is true, there was obviously some difference between the two inscriptions, because otherwise the later substitution would have remained practically useless. One cannot, however, totally exclude the possibility that the original text was faithfully copied and rewritten in Augustan times, but for what reason this might have happened remains very uncertain. Coarelli (15, 19) claims on the basis of Plut. C. Gracch. 4,4 (cited above in n. 4) that the original text was "*Cornelia Gracchorum*".<sup>21</sup> This may or may not be true; at any rate the Plutarchan passage, derived from an intermediate source, should not be regarded as indisputable evidence of "*Cornelia Gracchorum*" being the original inscription. Entering into even deeper speculation, one could also assume, in contrast to what Coarelli thought, that the base (which is still preserved) did not originally support the statue of Cornelia, but rather some other statue, and this base was reused in Augustan times. If this was the case, one must suppose that the base of Cornelia's statue had either been destroyed or it was not for some reason suited to the Augustan programme of building monuments. Needless to say, this theory remains pure guesswork. Turning to the artist's inscription, Coarelli (15ff., 19f.) argues that it was rewritten over the erasure in the Severan period, and this accords with the style of the inscription's lettering. He links the text with the

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<sup>21</sup> Thus also E. Cantarella, Pandora's daughters (originally published as "L'ambiguo malanno", 1981), Baltimore – London 1987, 130 n. 35 (where Dessau, ILS 68 is criticized without reason; moreover, he did not write "wife of Africanus").

restoration of AD 203, which set out to repair the damage the portico suffered in the fire of AD 191 (cf. above n. 18). It was in the Severan period in particular that the cultural inheritance in Rome was catalogued and classified by engraving the original artists' names on the monuments (p. 20). In the case of Cornelia's statue this would evidently mean, following Coarelli, that the statue still existed in the beginning of the third century. But whether this statue was the original or just a copy, remains uncertain. In later times Cornelia's statue, itself probably manufactured on the model of the sitting Aphrodite of Phidias (likewise preserved in the *porticus Octaviae*; Plin. nat. 36,15), was to be an important model for a great number of replicas representing Roman women down to the fourth century AD; among these statues the figure of the Empress-mother Helena is also represented (Coarelli 20f.).

Regardless of whether or not the filiation *Africani f.* followed the gentilicium in the original inscription, the text always seems to have shown the genitive *Gracchorum*. The Latinity of the inscription has caused much perplexity, because the noun *mater* is omitted. In the epigraphic usage the sole genitive following the filiation regularly denoted the woman's husband, but if one wanted to indicate the maternal relationship, the differentiating *mater* was needed. All editors and commentators have noticed this anomaly.<sup>22</sup> Inscriptions do not provide any parallels (so it is usually claimed), and there seems to be no comparable case from Latin literature either, as has been also recently confirmed by R.G. Lewis.<sup>23</sup> To solve the riddle, Lewis presents an interesting hypothesis: "Cornelia's statue was one of

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<sup>22</sup> See n. 20 (add J.J. Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie I*, Stuttgart 1882, 73). Cf. e.g. Bormann – Henzen, *Eph.Epigr.* IV 816: "maxime igitur mirum bona aetate opificem quod vellet ita non Latine expressisse".

<sup>23</sup> *Athenaeum* 66 (1988) 198-200. The author (p. 200) is perhaps right to reject the evidence of Val.Max. 6,7,1 (for stylistic reasons).



several famous Roman mother-figures displayed *ensemble*" (p. 200), which would mean that there was practically no need to insert the noun *mater* into the inscription; all the statues in the same group represented Roman mothers. That would be one manifestation of Augustus' idea of promoting the reverence for Roman *matronae* and maternal descent in general. In the present case the "mother-cult" (a term used by Lewis, as he says, "for want of a better one") would be combined with a characteristic feature of the Augustan cultural programme, that is, restoration and conservation of various monuments. Thus, the new *porticus Octaviae* would indeed be a suitable place for celebrating Roman mothers in statue form. Whether or not the hypothesis formulated by Lewis hits the mark, remains very uncertain. It is true that there seems to have been a clear ideological link between Cornelia's statue and the portico of Metellus/Octavia.<sup>24</sup> Cornelia was an exemplary mother who gave birth to twelve children, Metellus, father of seven children, was the author of a speech entitled *de prole augenda* from the year of his censorship (131 BC; Augustus himself is said to have read it to the Senate<sup>25</sup>), and finally, Octavia was the mother of Marcellus, Augustus' nephew, who had good prospects of becoming the Emperor's heir.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Of course, the places where honorific monuments were set up, were not chosen at random (see now Lahusen, *op.cit.* in n. 6, 7ff.). On the other hand, the reasons why a statue was placed in a certain site are often hard to discern; cf. in general, W. Eck, in: Caesar Augustus. Seven Aspects, Oxford 1984, 157 n. 45, referring to the illuminating case of Volusius Saturninus (cos.suff. AD 3): one of his statues was erected in the *porticus Lentulorum*, evidently as a token of Saturninus' ties with the Lentuli family; he was married to the daughter of a Cornelius Lentulus.

<sup>25</sup> Liv. perioch. 59; Suet. Aug. 89. Whether or not the speech, "delivered as if it had been written for the present day", was read verbatim, remains uncertain.

<sup>26</sup> However, Marcellus died in 23 BC at the age of nineteen. It is noteworthy that Octavia honoured her son's memory by founding a library in the same portico (Plut. Marc. 30,11). After her death in AD 11 she was

Certainly, the "mother cult" seems to have been intentionally emphasized in the building complex, and there are also obvious connections with contemporary legislation on marriage and morals (officially enacted in 18 BC after a campaign of several years).<sup>27</sup> However, concerning Lewis' theory, I would just like to note that there is no archaeological or literary evidence to show that a statuary group of mother-figures would have been displayed among the *opera* preserved in the portico of Octavia.<sup>28</sup> On present evidence at least, Cornelia was the only Roman mother to have been honoured with a statue in the portico. The fact that the female members of the Imperial family, including, of course, those who were mothers, were often honoured with statues in both Rome, Italy and the provinces (like Livia, the younger Antonia, and many others), is a different matter. Such statues were strictly connected with the emergence of the Imperial cult.<sup>29</sup> Therefore, it is somewhat imprudent to maintain that all mother-statues were expressions of the Augustan ideology. In brief, I am not quite convinced that the name form *Cornelia Africani f. Gracchorum* would really have been affected by the statuary context in the way proposed by Lewis. There seems to be another and very simple explanation.

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buried in the Mausoleum of Augustus by the side of Marcellus (AE 1928, 88); cf. PIR<sup>2</sup> C 925 and PIR<sup>2</sup> O 66; R. Syme, *The Augustan Aristocracy*, Oxford 1986, 83.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Coarelli, art.cit. 27. On the Augustan campaign in general and its visual expressions in Rome, cf. P. Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder*, München 1987, 161f., who also refers to a statue set up to a particularly fertile slave woman.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Lewis 220 n. 19, admitting that "no close connection can be discerned between any of the remnant epigraphic fragments and the statuary, known or surmised, of the Porticus Octaviae".

<sup>29</sup> For the cults and importance of the *whole* Imperial family in the Augustan political system, cf. F. Millar, in: *Caesar Augustus. Seven Aspects*, Oxford 1984, 55f.

As has been stated above, the problem with the name form *Cornelia Africani f. Gracchorum* is thought to be the fact that *Gracchorum* stands alone after the normal filiation, without the noun *mater*. But even if such a style were unique, it is still highly informative, the differentiating factor being the use of the plural instead of the singular. Of course, there was no danger that *Gracchorum* and *Gracchi* could be confused: the former could not indicate anything other than the children,<sup>30</sup> and the latter always denoted the husband. Cornelia could have used the form *Cornelia Africani f. Gracchi* as well, but in that case, the genitive would unmistakably refer to her consort, Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (cos. 177, II 163 BC), who died in 154 BC. In its present form the inscription must have been informative enough to anyone who was capable of reading it. Cornelia was such a well-known figure in Roman society, and not solely in her own lifetime but also for many subsequent generations, that only illiterates would have been unaware of Cornelia's identity when they saw her statue in Octavia's portico. What was obviously of great importance in the composition of an epigraphic document, was the clarity of the diction, so that the persons involved could be conveniently identified. This was especially true when the monument was a honorific one that was aimed at the general public. Furthermore, it would be somewhat strange if a public monument erected in a very noticeable and remarkable place presented an inscription with "incorrect" Latinity.

Cornelia's statue is, of course, a special case, because it publicly honoured a Roman mother at so an early date. True, such a practice was not totally unfamiliar to the Romans in the first century BC, but it occurred in the Greek East and not in Rome or elsewhere in the West. Among the inscriptions honouring Roman governors, administrators and their family

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<sup>30</sup> The Romans may also have conceptualized the plural to include the husband as well: "mother of the Gracchi and wife of a Gracchus".

members in the Republican and Augustan time, there are thus at least four instances from Asia Minor and one from Greece, showing that the mother of a Roman official received a statue from the local demos.<sup>31</sup> However, this phenomenon was, of course, in good accordance with Greek traditions, and it should not be directly confused with the very different epigraphic habits prevailing in the city of Rome during the first century BC.

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<sup>31</sup> In alphabetical order: *Baebia* (mother of L. Valerius L.f. Flaccus, proconsul, cos. 100 BC; I. Magnesia 144; cf. F. Coarelli, in: Epigr. ord. senat. I [Tituli 4], Roma 1982 [1984] 437ff.). *Nonia Polla* (mother of L. Volusius Saturninus, proconsul, cos. suff. AD 3; Alt. Pergam. VIII:2,427 = IGR IV 429). *Octavia* (mother of Sex. Appuleius, proconsul, cos. 29 BC; Alt. Pergam. VIII:2,419 = IGR IV 323 = OGIS 462). *Sempronia* (mother of M. Iunius Silanus, quaestor in Achaëa in 34/33 BC, cos. 25 BC; IG VII 1851-52+BCH 50 [1926] 440f., Nr. 76; Thespieae). *Polla Terentia* (mother of A. Terentius A.f. Varro, legate of L. Murena in 82 BC; LeBas-W 320 = ILS 8773; Euromus).

In I. Kyme 18 (=AE 1966,422) the people of Cyme honoured *Quinctilia*, her husband Sex. Appuleius (cos. 29 BC), their daughter Appuleia Sex.f. Varilla and probably also the son Sex. Appuleius Sex.f. (for the son's presence in the monument, cf. K. Tuchelt, Frühe Denkmäler Roms in Kleinasien I: Roma und Promagistrate [Ist. Mitt., Beiheft 23], Tübingen 1979, 53; *contra*: U. Weidemann, Arch. Anz. 1965, 452 n. 10, 463). – The inscription IG II/III<sup>2</sup> 4159a-b, where the Athenian demos honoured *Terentia Cn.f. Hispulla* and her son L. Valerius L.f. Catullus, might be as early as the Augustan age (cf. T.P. Wiseman, Roman Studies, Liverpool 1987, 339). As concerns I. Délos 1630, honouring *Minucia*, mother of a Q. [---], the identification of the son remains very uncertain.



# Notizen eines Latinisten zum Leviathan von Thomas Hobbes

Bengt Löfstedt

Die englische Fassung des Leviathan ist i.J. 1651, die lateinische 1668 erschienen, und Hobbes hat die letztere als eine Übersetzung der ersteren bezeichnet. Trotzdem sind mehrere Forscher zu der Auffassung gelangt, daß der lateinischen Version die Priorität gebührt, oder wenigstens daß Hobbes eine lateinische Fassung des Werkes als Skizze vor der englischen verfaßt hatte, wovon mehreres sodann in die endgültige lateinische Version eingearbeitet wurde; vgl. F. Tricaud in *Hobbes-Forschungen* (hrsg. v. R. Kosalleck und R. Schnur, Berlin 1969) 237ff.

In diesem Aufsatz werde ich die lateinische Version des Leviathan vom latinistischen Gesichtspunkt aus untersuchen, und zwar werde ich meine Aufmerksamkeit auf die Sprache und die Zitate (und Allusionen) richten; im Abschnitt über die Sprache werden uns u.a. die Anglizismen beschäftigen, aber es sei eingangs hervorgehoben, daß ihr Vorhandensein über die Priorität der englischen oder lateinischen Version nichts aussagt: da die Muttersprache des Verfassers Englisch war, sind Anglizismen sowieso zu erwarten. Was die Prioritätenfrage betrifft, stimme ich Tricaud a.O. bei, daß diese Frage insofern keine schlichte Lösung zuläßt, als bisweilen die eine, bisweilen die andere Fassung die ältere zu sein scheint. Eine genaue Untersuchung der beiden Versionen Kapitel für Kapitel und Zeile

für Zeile könnte uns erlauben festzustellen, wann die englische, wann die lateinische Fassung älter ist, und eine solche Untersuchung sollte m.E. unternommen werden; sie liegt aber ausserhalb des Rahmens dieses Aufsatzes. Ich zitiere im folgenden den lateinischen Leviathan nach der Ausgabe G. Molesworths in *Thomae Hobbes Opera philosophica quae Latine scripsit omnia*, Bd. 3 (London 1841), die englische nach dem Neudruck M. Oakeshotts (Oxford 1957).

## Zur Sprache

Was die Orthographie betrifft, seien ein paar unklassische Schreibungen notiert, die mehrmals auftreten und die somit nicht Druckfehler sind, sondern auf Hobbes selbst zurückgehen. Das Partizip (-)*mistus* für (-)*mixtus* (von (-)*miscere*) steht S. 243. 349. 496. Im ThLL 8,1079,1f. heißt es über diese Orthographie: „in codd. inde a s. VII vel VIII“, und es werden Belege aus Vulgata- und Vergil-Handschriften angeführt; F. Blatt, *Novum glossarium mediae Latinitatis* s.v. S. 595,32f. zitiert ein Beispiel. Aus derartigen mittellateinischen Quellen hat sich wohl die Schreibung ins Neulatein verbreitet. – Die Schreibung *vendicare* statt *vindicare* begegnet 236 und 425. In meiner Ausgabe von Zenos Predigten, Corp. Christ. ser. Lat. 22, S. 74ff. gebe ich mehrere Belege für diese Orthographie aus mittellateinischen und neulateinischen Texten.

In der Formenlehre bemerke ich den Genitiv *alius* 28 und 389 (*aliusmodi*); nach F. Neue & C. Wagener, *Formenlehre der lateinischen Sprache* 2 (1892) 532ff. ist er sehr selten.<sup>1</sup> – Nom. plur. *Cherubini* steht 482; Akk. Plur. *Cherubinos* 486. Nach

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<sup>1</sup> Im Neulatein ist er dagegen häufiger, vgl. z.B. E. Swedenborg, *Festivus applausus in Caroli XII in Pomeraniam suam adventum*, ed. H. Helander, Uppsala 1985, 29.; G. Stiernhielm, *Samlade skrifter*, Lund 1973, 164.

ThLL Onomasticon s.v. S. 390,19ff. ist die Flexion des Wortes nach der 2. Dekl. selten.

Über die Syntax gibt es mehr zu sagen. Wie ich mehrfach bemerkt habe, ist der Dativus agentis im Humanisten- und Neulatein auffallend häufig (vgl. z.B. über Luther Vetenskaps-societeten i Lund, Årsbok 1983 S. 28 und 1985 S. 28, zu Lipsius Studii Clasice 25 [1988] 75). Aus dem Leviathan notiere ich 369 ...*ut Paulo ante ostensum est*. – Zweimal wird *consequi* mit dem Dat. konstruiert: 19 *Signum est antecedenti eventui eventus consequens* und 452 *Eidem doctrinae consequens est...decretum*. Vielleicht ist die Konstruktion durch *antecedere* mit dem Dat. veranlaßt. – 320f. *nisi mandatum Dei violasset (sc. Adam), potuisset in aeternum vixisse*. Ähnliche Belege für Tempusattraktion notiere ich aus Luther a. O. 1983 S. 29 und 1985 S. 30.<sup>2</sup> – Die mittellateinische Konstruktion der verba dicendi mit *quod* (+ Ind. od. Konj.) statt eines Acc. c. inf. begegnet häufig, z.B. 63 *dixerunt, quod haberet daemonem*; 285 *dictum...est, quod viderunt*; 290 *colligitur, quod...erunt*; 330 *inferri non potest, quod...ardebunt*. – Unklassische consecutio temporum findet sich außnahmsweise 132 *Instituitur civitas, quando homines...paciscuntur, ut...obedirent*. – An der folgenden Stelle wird *ut* von einem Infinitiv begleitet: 139 *sequitur, ut quibuscumque verbis separari et aliis concedi videantur, nisi potestati...renunciatum sit, concessionem nullam esse*: die Konstruktion kann als eine Kontamination von *sequi* mit einem acc. c. inf. und *sequi* mit *ut* und Konj. betrachtet werden; andere ähnliche Belege für *ut* mit dem Inf. bei D. Norberg, Syntaktische

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<sup>2</sup> Birger Bergh macht mich darauf aufmerksam, daß diese Attraktion besonders gewöhnlich ist, wenn ein Plusquamperf. Konj. dem Inf. vorangeht, z.B. Birgitta Rev. 1 (ed. Undhagen) 10,30 ...*qui maluissent...pertulisse*; 20,4 *eciam si potuisses restitisse passioni mee*; 39,4 ...*licet potuissem...fecisse*; 5. (ed. Bergh) Int. 10,15 *potuissem...assumpsisse* (aber 16 *extimare potuisset*).



Forschungen (Uppsala 1943) 256ff. Der Indikativ begegnet mehrfach statt des Konjunktivs in indirekten Fragen, z.B. 159 *qua methodo id faciendum erat, intellexerunt*; 251 *quid faciunt, ignorant*. – Interessant und m.W. ohne Parallelen ist die Verbindung von *contingere* mit dem Ind. ohne *ut* 115 *contingit aliquando iniuriam alius, damnum, quod ab iniuria est, alius facit*. Ganz häufig sind Ablativi absoluti vom Typus *supposito* (*quod* od. *acc. c. inf.*) 114. 458. 468 (engl. Vers. S. 412 supposing), *concesso* (mit *acc. c. inf.*) 472 (engl. Vers. S. 416 granting that). – 321 steht *quam primum* als eine Konjunktion im Sinne von *ut primum*; andere Belege aus Humanisten- und Neulatein verzeichne ich Svenska Linnésällskapets årsbok 1986-87 S. 125 (aus Linné), Rivista di cultura classica e medioevale 27 (1985) 63 (aus Pirckheimer) u.a.<sup>3</sup> – 361 *Si porro quaeratur, quid, si iubeamur a principe nostro legitimo dicere, quod non credimus, obediendumne est?* Dies sieht wie eine Kontamination von indirekter und direkter Frage aus, aber wahrscheinlich ist nur die Interpunktion irreführend; zu drucken ist: *Si porro quaeratur: Quid, si...?*; vgl. 246 *Quid autem, inquiet aliquis, docendaene sunt universitates?* – 190f. begegnet zweimal der unklassische negierte Imperativ: *hoc fac vel non fac*. – Bemerkenswert ist schließlich die Tmesis 187 *Quanta autem cumque portio illa sit...*

Hobbes versucht klassisches Latein zu schreiben, und er scherzt bisweilen mit dem unklassischen Wortschatz der Scholastiker: so schreibt er S. 22 *...entitatem, intentionalitatem, quidditatem aliaque verba scholastica insignificantia*; 36 *...quando nominibus temere receptis nec quicquam significantibus utuntur, quales sunt transubstantiatio, consubstantiatio, nunc stans similesque voces scholasticorum*; 498 *essentiale, essentialitas, entitas, entitativum*. Nichtsdestoweniger ist sein eigener

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<sup>3</sup> S. jetzt auch J. Messenius, Chronologia Sanctae Birgittae, ed. A.-M. Jönsson, Lund 1988, 74.

Wortschatz alles andere als klassisch. Hier folgt ein Verzeichnis einiger von ihm verwendeten unklassischen Wörter: 42 *adaequate* (ein Beleg aus Albertus M. im Mlat. Wb.,<sup>4</sup> ein paar bei Latham<sup>5</sup>). – 37 *aliquousque* (engl. Vers. 29 a little way). – 495 *Aristotelismus*. – 99 (und 360. 433) *coercivus* (mehrere Belege bei Fuchs & Weijers<sup>6</sup>). – 34 *conceptibilis*. – 495 *daemonologia*. – 1 *ab elastris* (engl. Vers. 5 by springs; Oxford English Dictionary [= OED] s.v. belegt das Adjektiv *elasticus* und das Substantiv *elater* seit 1651). – 481. 488 *ethnicismus*. – 19 *extemporarius* (aber *extemporalis* begegnet früh). – 238 *extravasari* 'aus den Gefäßen fließen'. – 166 (und 361. 421) *frust(r)aneus* (Verf., Vetenskaps societeten i Lund, Årsbok 1983 S. 32, 1985 S. 33 und Svenska Linnésällskapetets årsskrift 1986-87 S. 130). – 22 *insignificans*. – 409 *legislativus*. – 45 *panicus terror* (panic fear, terror wird vom OED seit 1603 belegt). – 405 *pastoricus* (aus *pastor*; engl. Vers. 362 of the schoolmaster (!)). – 19 (und 81. 102. 119 usw.) *per consequens* (vgl. Verf., Vetenskaps societeten i Lund, Årsbok 1983 S. 38). – 182 *prorex* (engl. Vers. 157 viceroy; die klassische Bedeutung wäre 'Ex-König'). – 62 *realitas* (Belege bei DuCange<sup>7</sup> und Bartal<sup>8</sup>). – 133 (und 177. 180. 267 u.a.) *seorsim* (nach *coniunctim*; vgl. Verf., Vetenskaps societeten i Lund, Årsbok 1983 S. 35 und 1985 S. 35). – 337 *spiritualista*. – 140 *telescopium* (nach OED seit 1611 und 1613). – 337 *temporalista*. – Die oben verzeichneten Wörter *elastris* und *panicus* sind ja griechischen Ursprungs; Hobbes

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<sup>4</sup> Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch, München 1959ff.

<sup>5</sup> R.E. Latham, Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources, London 1975ff.

<sup>6</sup> J.W. Fuchs & Weijers, Lexicon Latinitatis Nederlandicae medii aevi, Leiden 1977ff.

<sup>7</sup> C. DuCange, Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis, Paris 1883-87/Graz 1954.

<sup>8</sup> A. Bartal, Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis regni Hungariae, Leipzig 1901/Hildesheim 1970.

verwendet auch andere krasse Gräzismen: 106 *athlotheta*; 422 *archicum...craticum...didacticum* (engl. Ver. 375 *archi-cal...cratical...didactical*).

Bei einer Darstellung eines neulateinischen Textes liegt die Frage nahe, ob das Latein durch die Muttersprache des Autors beeinflußt wurde. E. Löfstedt hat uns gelehrt,<sup>9</sup> bei derartigen Untersuchungen sehr vorsichtig zu sein: sowohl im Mittelalter als auch später war das Latein in ganz Europa überraschend einheitlich, und viele Ausdrücke, bei denen die Annahme des Einflusses einer gewissen modernen Substratsprache natürlich ist, tauchen auch in anderen Ländern auf. Dennoch muß der Versuch unternommen werden, und zwar besonders bei neulateinischen Texten: die gegenseitige Beeinflussung von Latein und modernen Sprachen in der Humanistenzeit und später stellt ein wichtiges Problem dar, und jeder Beitrag zu seiner Lösung ist willkommen; das hilft uns auch zu einer besseren Kenntnis des Neulateins, das immer noch ein allzu wenig erforschtes Gebiet ist.

Wenn Hobbes 167 schreibt *virtute petit legis praecedentis, non virtute potestatis summae*, liegt es nahe, Einfluß durch das englische *by virtue of* anzunehmen, zumal die englische Version 144 bietet: *the sovereign demandeth by force of a former law, and not by virtue of his power*;<sup>10</sup> aber Niermeyer<sup>11</sup> s.v. *virtus* Nr. 10 erwähnt die Bedeutung "(en parlant d'un document) *validité, légalité, force de loi*", und B. Bergh (Lund) macht mich auf den folgenden Beleg aus dem schwedischen Mittellatein aufmerksam: *Diplomatarium Suecanum X 65 a. 1371 (S. 51) virtute litterarum presencium*; die juristische Verwendung von

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<sup>9</sup> E. Löfstedt, *Late Latin*, Oslo 1959, 39ff.

<sup>10</sup> Auch 206 *Decreta populi Romani, quae leges primum erant virtute residentis in populo summae potestatis*: engl. Vers. 185 *These were laws, at first, by the virtue of the sovereign power residing in the people.*

<sup>11</sup> J.F. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis lexicon minus*, Leiden 1976.

virtue (OED s.v. Nr. 9 e) und der Ausdruck *by virtue of* (OED Nr. 8 und 10 e) ist wohl eher durch den oben genannten Gebrauch des lat. *virtus* als umgekehrt veranlaßt. – Ähnlich liegen die Dinge bei dem Worte *scribillare* 'kritzeln' 3. 242 und 508, das dem engl. *scribble* entspricht (im Abschnitt der englischen Version S. 221, der der S. 242 der lateinischen entspricht, steht in der Tat *scribble*); obgleich ich sonst keine Belege für das lat. *scribillare* kenne, muß wohl das engl. *scribble* auf ein mittel- oder neulat. *scribillare* zurückgehen; da die Zusammensetzung *conscribillare* bei Varro und Catullus vorkommt, lag die Rückbildung *scribillare* sehr nahe. – 82 *Ab eadem causa proficiscitur, ut...*: engl. Vers. 67 *From the same also it proceedeth, that...*; dieselbe übertragene Verwendung von *proficisci* findet sich auch 247 *Civium inaequalitas...a voluntate summi imperantis profecta est*: engl. Vers. 226 *The inequality of subjects proceedeth from the acts of sovereign power*; die Verwendung von *proficisci* im letzteren Beleg ist dem klassischen Gebrauch recht ähnlich: Oxford Latin Dictionary (= OLD) s.v. Nr. 4 a zitiert Rhet. Her. 3,28 *...an omnis (memoria) ab natura proficiscatur*; daraus konnte sich die Verwendung an der ersteren Stelle leicht entwickeln; der Ausdruck *sequitur, ut...* ist ja klassisch. – 235 *Ab horum librorum...lectione est, quod nonnulli homines regem suum interfecerunt*: engl. Vers. 214 *From the reading...of such books, men have undertaken to kill their kings*; trotz der kausalen Verwendung von *from* im Englischen kann man nicht von einem Anglizismus sprechen: zur kausalen Verwendung von *ab* s. OLD s.v. Nr. 15. – Im letzten Beleg ist auch die emphatische Umschreibung mit *est quod* bemerkenswert; sie findet sich auch 488 *A Romanis ethnicis etiam est, quod Papae sibi sumserunt nomen Pontificis Maximi*: engl. Vers. 433 *It is also from the Roman Heathen that the Popes have received the name and power of Pontifex Maximus*; hier hat also die Umschreibung im Englischen ihre Entsprechung, aber

diese Art emphatische Umschreibung kommt in vielen modernen Sprachen vor (vgl. z.B. frz. *c'est...qui*), und in den *Idg. Forsch.* 71 (1966) 259ff. habe ich lat. Belege, und zwar von Plautus an, verzeichnet.

Es gibt andere Fälle bei Hobbes, wo englischer Einfluß in Frage kommen kann, aber die meisten stellen keine eindeutigen Anglizismen dar. Ich bespreche die in Frage kommenden Belege in der Reihenfolge, in der sie auftreten: 68 *Potentia cuiusque, universaliter sumpta...*: engl. Vers. 56 The power of man, to take it universally; weitere Belege für diese übertragene Verwendung des Verbs *sumere*: 282 *Sumitur* (scil. das Wort *spiritus*)...*aliquando pro disputatione sive inclinatione*: engl. Vers. 257 sometimes it is taken for disposition or inclination of the mind; 296 *Vox profanum in Scriptura Sacra sumitur pro eo quod est commune*: engl. Vers. 271 And the word profane is usually taken in the Scripture for the same with common; ähnlich 255; vgl. aber auch frz. *prendre* 'deuten' (Littrés Wörterbuch s.v. Nr. 38). – 105 *Quando translatio iuris mutua non est, contrahentium autem alter ius vel rem transfert...*; vgl. ält. engl. *contrahent*; dieses Wort wird allerdings nicht in der engl. Vers. benutzt, und vgl. auch dt. *Kontrahent*, schwed. *kontrahent* (seit 1655) im selben Sinne. – 170 *corpora politica*: engl. Vers. 146 bodies politic (vom OED Bd. 1 S. 964 unter IV 14 seit 1528 belegt; das frz. *corps politique* belegt v. Wartburg, Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch Bd. 2:2 S. 1215 erst seit Montesquieu). – 466 *Locus alius qui videtur facere pro immortalitate animae naturali, ille est, ubi...*: engl. Vers. 410 Another place which seems to make for a natural immortality of the soul, is that, where...; zu dieser Verwendung von *facere* s. auch 472 *nihil tamen facit hoc pro purgatorio*, wo allerdings die engl. Vers. ein anderes Verb verwendet: 416 yet this concludeth nothing for purgatory. – 492 *semicocti Christiani*; vgl. das engl. Adjektiv *half-baked* im Sinne von 'unreif', 'unfertig',

'ungebildet', das OED s.v. seit 1621 belegt, und zwar lautet die erste Stelle *halfe-baked protestants*, was unserem *semicocti Christiani* ähnlich ist; vgl. auch dt. halbgebacken, schwed. halvdan im selben Sinne.

## Zu den Quellen

Am Ende des Leviathans gibt Hobbes ein kleines Verzeichnis einiger Bibelzitate, und zwar lautet der Titel: *Scripturae sacrae insigniora loca annotata, in Leviathane explicata aut adducta, quorum indicio multa alia se ultro oculis offerent*. Das klingt optimistisch. Weder in Molesworths lateinischer Ausgabe noch in den von mir eingesehenen englischen Versionen des Werkes ist dieser kleine Index erweitert noch werden an den betreffenden Stellen Quellenangaben der von Hobbes nicht identifizierten Zitate aus der Bibel oder aus klassischen Autoren hinzugefügt. Ich hoffe, daß in der geplanten neuen Ausgabe der lateinischen Version dem abgeholfen wird. Hier seien vorläufig einige der von mir identifizierten Zitate mitgeteilt:

43 *a iuvando iucunda*: vgl. Cic. fin. 2,4,14. – 53f. *Si Livio non credamus locutam esse bovem*: vgl. Liv. 3,10,6. – 68 *Potentiae enim natura hac in re famae similis est, eundo crescens*: vgl. Verg. Aen. 4,174f. – 208 *foedus meum inter me et te et semen tuum post te*: Gen. 17,7. – *ib. loquere tu nobiscum et audiemus; sed ne loquatur nobiscum Deus, ut non moriamur*: Ex. 20,19. – 251 *rex est filiorum superbiae*: Iob 41,25. – 261 *scrutatorem cordium*: vgl. Sap. 1,6. – 287 *apparitio vocatur angelus, quae facta est ad Agar per vocem*: vgl. Gen. 21,17. – 289 *Columba et linguae igneae in Evangelio, cum signa essent divinae praesentiae...*: vgl. Marc. 1,10 u.a. bzw. Act. (also nicht "Evang.") 2,3. – 303 *Mulier illa ab Endor, quae dicta est*

*suscitasse phantasma Samuelis per spiritum familiarem praedixitque mortem Saulis: vgl. I Reg. 28,7ff. – 326f. Corah, Dathan et Abiram vivos a terra absorptos: vgl. Num. 16,24ff. – 327 urbes Sodoma et Gomorra propter impietatem incolarum igne et sulphure e caelo consumptae erant: vgl. Gen. 19,24. – 348 rex Hezekias ab Isaiah (scil. reprehensus est), quod thesaurum regium ostendisset legatis Babylonicis: vgl. IV Reg. 20,12ff. – 355 Servator noster duodecim elegit apostolos, qui sedebunt super duodecim thronos et iudicabunt duodecim tribus Israelis: vgl. Matth. 19,28. – 356 Leprosos...extra castra Israelis custodiri iubebat lex: vgl. Num. 5,2. – 382f. Servator noster apostolis et discipulis mandatum dedit, ut praedicarent regnum Dei appropinquare; ut nationes omnes docerent et credentes baptizarent; ut ubi non reciperentur, pulverem eius civitatis pedibus suis excuterent: vgl. Luc. 10,9-11 + Matth. 28,19. – 383 Emisit illos Christus sicut oves ad lupos: vgl. Matth. 10,16. – 420 tota contentio est de lana caprina: vgl. Hor. epist. 1,18,15 (vgl. A. Otto, Sprichwörter der Römer 73f.). – 423 sacerdotem summum Abiatharum deposuit rex Solomon: vgl. III Reg. 2,27. – 440 legem docuisse non ut Scribae, sed ut qui haberet auctoritatem: vgl. Matth. 7,29. – 451 attenti spiritibus deceptoribus et doctrinis daemoniorum; per hypocrisin falsiloquorum, quorum conscientia est cauterisata: vgl. I Tim. 4,1-2. – 473 ...nisi prius reddiderit ultimum quadrantem: Matth. 5,26. – 502 iterum ad Troiam magnus mittetur Achilles: Verg. ecl. 4,36.*

## Zum Texte

In der Hoffnung, daß eine neue Edition des lateinischen Leviathan bald erscheint,<sup>12</sup> seien vorläufig zum Schluß einige

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<sup>12</sup> Oxford University Press teilt mir mit, daß Dr. Noel Malcolm, London, eine neue Ausgabe plant.

(Druck)Fehler in Molesworths Ausgabe korrigiert: S. 37 Z. 11 ist *consequentiarum nominum* statt *consequentarium nominum* zu drucken (vgl. engl. Vers. 29 consequences of names); 114,8 *ab initio* statt *ad initio*; 143,23 *saltem* statt *sautem*; 193,6 *resipiscite* statt *recipiscite* (da diese Schreibung mit *c* statt *s* einmalig ist, wird sie nicht durch assibiliierte Aussprache von *c* vor vorderen Vokalen zu erklären und beizubehalten sein); 207,7 *Leges positivae* statt *Lege positivae*; 215,17 *formidabiles multis fiunt* statt *formidabiles multus fiunt*; 234,14 *dominium civitatis* statt *dominium, civitatis*; 238,16 *perrumpat sanguis* statt *perrumpat sanguinis* (der von mir in *Arctos* 18 [1984] 41 belegte mittellateinische Nom. Sing. *sanguinis* ist dem Hobbes nicht zuzutrauen); 245,13 *coniugalis* statt *congugalis*; 464,3 *administrandum* statt *administrandum*; 497,2 *regulam* statt *regulum*.





# Scenes of Ancient Rome in a 19th Century Souvenir\*

Leena Pietilä-Castrén

One of the articles contained in a private collection in Finland is a bracelet with seven micromosaics. Each mosaic is framed in gold and inserted in aventurine glass. The frames are attached to each other at four points by small golden rings, the originals of which are indented. The fastening plate of the clasp is somewhat larger than the other six plates, measuring 2,0 x 3,1 cm. The dimensions of the other six plates are 2,0/2,1 x 3,0/3,1 cm. The actual state of the mosaic is satisfactory: two of the mosaic plaques are fractured, one of these being the largest plaque and the counterpart of the clasp. Each plate contains scenes depicting ancient ruined sites from the city of Rome or the surroundings.

This ornament was undoubtedly obtained before the era of the railways on a trip painfully made in a coach. Foreign travel was actually a part of an aristocratic man's education: The nature of the Grand Tour was "the peregrination through Europe, by

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\* I am grateful to Mrs. Ulla Tillander-Godenhielm for letting me study and photograph the bracelet, and to Seppo Hornytkyj F.G.A., from the Department of Electron Microscopy at the University of Helsinki, for his painstaking help regarding the technical questions of the bracelet.

which the wealthy young might become civilized by expose to European art, architecture and manners".<sup>1</sup>

In the following pages I want to give a short account of the buildings in their original ancient state as well as the outlines of their development until the 19th century. The plaques are also compared with other micromosaics or works of art with the same theme in order to determine as precisely as possible when the bracelet was produced and the degree to which the mosaicist faithfully depicted his subject matter.

## The City of Rome in the first decades of the 19th century

In Rome the acquisition of a souvenir of this kind must have been quite usual during the first decades of the nineteenth century, because already then micromosaics had long traditions. The early stages of the mosaic workshops in Rome extend to the end of the sixteenth century and the restoration of St. Peter's, begun during the age of Pope Gregory XIII (1572-1585). The production of the micromosaics, for its part, began during the last third of the eighteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

Around 1750 the first signs of the worldly themes appeared in mosaic art as a sequence of new archaeological finds. The subjects from the classical world became familiar to a wider and more heterogeneous public. The final impulse to the worldly tendency, however, came through the French revolution and

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<sup>1</sup> A.J. Burkart - St. Medlik, *Tourism. Past, Present and Future*, 1981<sup>2</sup>, 4. P. Hoffmann, *Campo Marzio III (Guide rionali di Roma)*, 1981, 36. The owner of the bracelet cannot give any other information except that it was once purchased in Rome.

<sup>2</sup> D. Petochi - M. Alfieri - M.G. Branchetti, *I mosaici minuti romani dei secoli XVIII e XIX*, 1981, 16.

more directly during the French occupation of Rome when the culture as a whole became more worldly.<sup>3</sup>

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the prevailing movement in arts was Romanticism, and this also held for the Roman mosaicists. Their technique came near virtuosity thus concealing the technique itself from the bare eye. At this period, while the themes and technique still advanced, the most popular subject by far came to be Roman monuments and sites.<sup>4</sup>

The romantic school loved ruins against a background of dusky hills, the clear atmosphere, and southern light. The originals on which the mosaicist based his work could be paintings or graphic art. In the latter case the mosaicist also had to create the colour. The technique was expressive, since the tesserae, as in our bracelet, were of various forms and chosen according to the detail.<sup>5</sup>

In 1809 Napoleon annexed the city of Rome to his empire. There were 140 000 inhabitants in Rome at that time. Up until the year 1814 Count Camille de Tournon governed the city in the name of Emperor and remarkable plans for the embellishment of the city and beginning archaeological excavations there were prepared.<sup>6</sup>

The public with sufficient purchasing power increased in number with the advent of these new cultural relations, particularly after the year 1810.<sup>7</sup> More opportunities to work also became available for the mosaicists. Until the year 1818 the

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 19.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 94, 124.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 146-147, 157. For the technique and production, see also C. Przyborowski, *The Technique and Characteristics of the Commesso in Hard Stones*, in *The Art of Mosaics, Selections from the Gilbert Collection*, Los Angeles 1982, 2, and the catalogue *Mosaici minuti romani del 700 e dell'800*, 1986, 21-22, 24-25.

<sup>6</sup> I. Insolera, *Roma. Le città nella storia d'Italia*, 1980, 323-326.

<sup>7</sup> Petochi - Alfieri - Branchetti 18.

salary proper was paid according to the amount of work performed.<sup>8</sup> The workshops and shops of the specialized traders were concentrated around the Piazza di Spagna, the cosmopolitan center of the city. The pilgrims from the north, later followed by artists and tourists, had long found their lodgings here, the area of the Campus Martius first to have international hotels.<sup>9</sup>

This was the time when Stendhal was intimately associated with Rome, as he made his first trip as early as 1802. His "Les Promenades dans Rome" was published in the 1820s; this work is a guide as well as a description of the relevant historical events,<sup>10</sup> and might well have been known to the Finnish purchaser of the bracelet as well.

After Napoleon's fall the Pope continued and finished plans which already existed such as the Piazza del Popolo, completed in 1831, and the new wing for sculpture museum at the Vatican, the Braccio Nuovo, completed in 1822, in the Romantic classical tradition. The most important building project, however, the rebuilding of St. Paul outside the Walls, was begun in 1825 and only completed in 1856. A disastrous fire took place in July 1823; the basilica was depicted soon after the fire in a micromosaic.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid. 27.

<sup>9</sup> P. Hoffmann, *Campo Marzio I*, 1981, 22, 29-30.

<sup>10</sup> Insolera, 355-356.

<sup>11</sup> Petochi - Alfieri - Branchetti 158, fig. 106. See also *The Art of Mosaics, Selections from the Gilbert Collection*, 152, fig. 59.

## The Description of the Micromosaics

### Amphitheatrum Flavium (fig. 1)

The building was dedicated by the Flavian emperors in 80 A.D. and named after them Amphitheatrum Flavium. The name Colosseum, which is also used nowadays, originated with the colossal statue of Nero in the vicinity. The building has also been a symbol of the eternity of Rome and, simultaneously, of the whole world, since the eighth century.<sup>12</sup>

The façade consists of four stories, the three first of which are arched. These, together with the uppermost one, formed a kind of closed attic. On the left edge of the mosaic the external circuit is preserved in its full height. In the middle is the second circuit with its two stories, and the three stories of the internal circuit are seen at the right edge of the mosaic. The amphitheatre is constructed for the most part of travertine with additions of bricks.<sup>13</sup> The visual angle of the mosaic is from the west, from the Forum Romanum and the arch of Titus.

In 1744 Pope Benedict XIV, remembering the still living tradition of martyrdom at the Colosseum, declared the site sacred and consecrated to the passion of Christ. In 1751 fourteen shrines were erected for the stations of the Via Crucis.<sup>14</sup> At the top of the second circuit a small white construction is clearly visible. It would be tempting to interpret this structure as some kind of a sign of these holy shrines. On the other hand, however, it must be

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<sup>12</sup> Beda, Excerpt. patr. (Migne) 144, 543: *Quandiu stat Colisaeus, stat et Roma: Quando cadet Colisaeus, cadet et Roma. Quando cadet Roma, cadet et mundus.*

<sup>13</sup> F. Coarelli, *Roma (Guide archeologiche Laterza)*, 1981, 183-185.

<sup>14</sup> R. Lanciani, *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, 1897, 379. C. Pietrangeli, *Celio I (Guide rionali di Roma)*, 1983, 22.

rather question of the mosaicist's misinterpretation of a window in the back wall or the outer circuit.<sup>15</sup>

With the beginning of the new century restoration of the building began on the order of Pope Pius VII (1800-1823). Giuseppe Camporese built the first of the great buttresses in 1808 in the eastern side, towards the Lateran. Later, in 1810 during the French occupation, the amphitheatre was completely isolated, and in 1822-26 G. Valadier built another buttress in the other circuit towards the west and the Forum.<sup>16</sup> It is not yet depicted in our mosaic.

During the first decades of the nineteenth century the Colosseum was one of the most beloved objects of romantic tourists, and the building was often admired in the moon light, this also being verified in other micromosaics.<sup>17</sup>

Until 1870 the Caelian Hill at the amphitheatre was sparsely settled. The hill itself was occupied by many cloisters and in the surroundings there were also villas and vineyards. The surrounding area was thus almost rural and at the outskirts of the actual city. The only urbanized zone was the Via di S. Giovanni in Laterano, the route used by papal processions advancing to the Cathedral of St. John.<sup>18</sup>

### The Round Temple in the Forum Boarium (fig. 2)

The Temple of Vesta, or rather the temple of Hercules Olivarius, lies in the Forum Boarium by the river Tiber and is the oldest of the still-existing marble buildings of Rome. It was dedicated at the end of the second century B.C. and was made of

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<sup>15</sup> Cf. p. 162.

<sup>16</sup> Pietrangeli, *Celio I*, 22-23.

<sup>17</sup> Petochi - Alfieri - Branchetti, 195, n. 13 and n. 14.

<sup>18</sup> Pietrangeli, *Celio I*, 14.

Pentelic marble. The temple is a Corinthian peripterus with twenty columns. The cella opened towards the east and was made of regular marble blocks. The structures from the epistyle upwards are destroyed.<sup>19</sup>

In the beginning of the twelfth century the temple was made into a Christian church, S. Stefano delle Carrozze al fiume,<sup>20</sup> and no later than the 17th century it became S. Maria del Sole according to an image of the Holy Virgin which was discovered in the river and deposited in this church. This name was retained until the beginning of the 19th century when the church was secularized.<sup>21</sup> Giuseppe Valadier isolated the building with its surroundings from later additions and alterations, the most visible of these being the closed intercolumniums. He also undertook the excavations and the restoration of the site in 1807-10.<sup>22</sup>

The round temple seems to be depicted in the mosaic according to the arrangements made by Valadier, since by 1817 the intercolumniums had been furnished with iron gratings. There is a veduta of the temple made after 1810 by an unknown painter lacking the gratings and another one by L. Rossini from 1820 depicting the gratings.<sup>23</sup>

In the left side of the temple a small part of a wall is visible. The same wall, although different in details, is also discernible in a water colour painting by Simone Pomardi, now with the gratings and probably datable to the 1810's, in the veduta by Luigi Rossini, in the veduta by the unknown painter (cf. above), as well as in the engraving by Antoine Coussin from 1802. The

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<sup>19</sup> Coarelli, Roma, 322.

<sup>20</sup> D. Gallavotti Cavallero, Ripa II (Guide rionali di Roma), 1978, 106.

<sup>21</sup> F. Rakob - W.-D. Heilmeyer, Der Rundtempel am Tiber in Rom, 1973, 14.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. 13, n. 90.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid. 13, n. 92, Tafel 44, 1 and 50, 2.



wall is seen quite clearly in the map by Falda updated in 1756 as well as in the map from 1864 by E. Tosti.<sup>24</sup>

On the right edge of the mosaic, actually to the north of the round temple, is the temple of the protector and patron of the port, Portunus, which is popularly called the temple of Fortuna Virilis. In late republican Rome this building represented Greco-Italian architecture, a tradition which is rare. It is a Ionian pseudoperipterus tetrastilus on a high podium.<sup>25</sup> It is still preserved very well.

In 872 the temple was made into a Christian church as S. Maria Egiziaca and all the intercolumniums were closed. In 1921 it was given to the Armenian immigrants who still have it at their disposal as their church.<sup>26</sup> Farthest in the rear in the mosaic, between the two temples, there the colonnade of the Casa dei Crescenzi is dimly visible. It was built in 1040-65 as a guard post for the ford of the river and a considerable amount of material from the ancient monuments was utilized in the construction. At the beginning of the 19th century it lay deserted in a ruined state, being used mainly as a stable until the Pontifical Government bought it in 1868.<sup>27</sup>

The three buildings of the Forum Boarium, all visible in the mosaic, make part of the city region of Ripa. The principal population in the beginning of the 19th century consisted mainly of the Jews of the ghetto to the north of the three buildings and of workers making their living from the river and living in huts.<sup>28</sup> The area had a clearly suburban and artisan stamp at the southern edge of the city proper.

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<sup>24</sup> Gallavotti Cavallero, *Ripa II*, 105. Rakob - Heilmeyer, *Tafel 43,2*. A.P. Frutaz, *Le Piante di Roma III*, *tav. 428* and *tav. 433*.

<sup>25</sup> Coarelli, *Roma*, 320.

<sup>26</sup> Gallavotti Cavallero, *Ripa II*, 102-104.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* 106-108.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* 10.

### The Pantheon (fig. 3)

The Pantheon is the best preserved large monument of ancient Rome. The building was erected by the Emperor Hadrian in the first decades of the second century. The good condition of the structure is due to the fact that the monument was donated by the Byzantine Emperor Phocas at the beginning of the 7th century to the Pope Boniface IV, who instantly transformed it into the Christian church of S. Maria ad Martyres.<sup>29</sup>

The Pantheon consists of a pronaos, the façade of which has eight columns well visible in the mosaic: The first six on the right are original monoliths made of granite, the two remaining were placed there in the 17th century. They are rose coloured marble and were originally in the nearby *thermae Alexandrinae*.<sup>30</sup> Between the pronaos and the cella proper or the rotunda there is an *avancorpo*. During the classical period the cylindrical part could not be discerned from outside, since it was covered by the surrounding buildings.

A Romanesque bell tower was erected above the apex of the pediment in 1270.<sup>31</sup> A market had already been created earlier and it was maintained far into the 19th century. Pope Urban VIII divested the *travature* of the pronaos of their bronze coating during the first decades of the 17th century, utilizing it in the canons of Castel S. Angelo and the spiral columns of the baldachin at the tomb of St. Peter. He also replaced the belfry with two new towers designed by Bernini.<sup>32</sup> During the French occupation the square was enlarged and embellished. Still later,

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<sup>29</sup> K. De Fine Licht, *The Rotunda in Rome. A Study of Hadrian's Pantheon*, 1966, 239-240.

<sup>30</sup> Coarelli, *Roma*, 294.

<sup>31</sup> C. Pietrangeli, *Pigna II (Guide rionali di Roma)*, 1977, 24.

<sup>32</sup> Pietrangeli, *Pigna II*, 26.

in 1854, the houses at the left side of Pantheon were demolished,<sup>33</sup> they gleam gray in the mosaic. In 1883 the bell towers were also demolished. Strangely enough, only one of these towers, the one on the right, is visible in the mosaic, and it only defectively: the base is shown without the actual bell tower and cupola.

In reality the tympanum consists of five courses of blocks, even though only three of them are reproduced in the mosaic. The number of these courses actually seems to vary in the scenes of Pantheon from different periods.<sup>34</sup>

The portal is discernible in one of the intercolumniums for one leaf only, normal at least nowadays, since only one leaf is usually ajar. In the upper doorway, above the lintel, there is a framed opening with a window divided into six rectangles,<sup>35</sup> one of which can be seen in the mosaic. The consoles of the pediment are somewhat emphasized. As a whole the pediment in the mosaic is too high with respect to the attic of the avancorpo.

A small black doorway is visible in the cylindrical wall of the rotunda: Inside the wall of the rotunda there are semicircular chambers with access only from the outside through corridors, the openings of which are in the façade. They are surmounted by a segmental tile arch and a relieving arch,<sup>36</sup> none of which are visible in the mosaic. Quite at the right edge the lighter pieces of the tesserae reflect the buildings of the Via della Rotonda.

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<sup>33</sup> Insolera, 325.

<sup>34</sup> See for instance, *De Fine Licht*, 238-239, figs. 232-235.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.* 126-127.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* 35.

### The Round Temple at Tivoli (fig. 4)

The waterfalls and rocky landscapes with the ancient temples of Tivoli form one of Italy's most celebrated scenes. The most important centres of ancient Latium Vetus after Rome were Tibur, the modern Tivoli, and Praeneste, the modern Palestrina. They both lie at the eastern border of the plain of Latium, Tivoli at the west bank of the river Anio in terrain precipitously rising towards the north. The slope is shown gray at the background of the two temples.

The beautiful landscape and the proximity of Rome appealed to the Roman nobility as early as the 2nd century BC. From then onwards luxurious villas and, most importantly, the two temples of the mosaic, the round and the rectangular, rose at the acropolis of Tibur. In the Middle Ages they were made into the Christian churches of S. Maria Rotonda and S. Giorgio.<sup>37</sup>

The view of the mosaic is rather strictly from south to north, the main object being the round temple. At the back of its colonnade the rear of the Ionian pseudoperipterus is visible against the mountain. In 1884 the sacred area was completely isolated and the ecclesiastic activities at S. Giorgio were ended.<sup>38</sup> The bell tower of the church is not depicted in the mosaic, it is omitted as in the case of Pantheon.

The round temple is a Corinthian peripterus on a high podium covered with travertine of opus quadratum. The entablature is well preserved: in the frieze there are garlands with

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<sup>37</sup> F. Coarelli, *Lazio (Guide archeologiche Laterza)*, 1982, 36, 38, 90. The bell tower is, however, depicted in some other mosaics: fig. 51 in *Selections from the Gilbert Collection*, 144, and in the catalogue *Mosaici minuti Romani*, fig. 2, p. 43 and fig. 8, p. 49.

<sup>38</sup> R. Delbrueck, *Hellenistische Bauten in Latium II*, 1912, 11.

bucrane.<sup>39</sup> The elaborate cornice is emphatically visible in the mosaic.

The staircase, although not the original one, is also depicted. The high portal with the frame of travertine is at the top of the stairs. At both sides of the portal there are windows, also framed with travertine; these are not, however, marked in the mosaic. In the wall of the cella at the place of the real window there is only a small black area, this probably indicating the window. The cella was made by opus incertum and once covered with plaster. It is interesting to note that the wall of the round temple in Forum Boarium, for its part, was made of marble blocks; the mosaicist has not noted this in his reproduction of the walls.

This round temple frequently tended to be called a temple of Vesta, on the analogy of the temple of Vesta in the Forum Romanum.<sup>40</sup> In reality, the temple was consecrated to Sibylla Tiburtina (Albunea), the rectangular temple, on the other hand, belonged to Tiburnus.<sup>41</sup>

### The Arch of Ianus (fig. 5)

At the eastern side of Forum Boarium, above a fork of Cloaca Maxima, stands the arch of Ianus or Arcus Quadrifrons. It is most likely an arcus honorarius of Constantine,<sup>42</sup> creating a covered passage between the Forum Boarium and the Velabrum in addition to forming the monumental landmark between the city regions.

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<sup>39</sup> Coarelli, Lazio, 91-92.

<sup>40</sup> Gallavotti Cavallero, Ripa II, 104.

<sup>41</sup> Coarelli, Lazio, 93-94.

<sup>42</sup> Coarelli, Roma, 325.

The central part consists of a cross vault. The nucleus is covered by marble and travertine. The high socle supports two stories of semicircular triple niches, separating the stories from each other by cornices.

In 1827 the well preserved tile attic was demolished, as it was presumed to be medieval. Fragments of the dedicatory inscription from the fourth century are to be found in the church of S. Giorgio in Velabro quite in the vicinity, in the portico as well as inside the church.<sup>43</sup> There is no reference at all to the surroundings in this mosaic.

### The Forum of Augustus (fig. 6)

Caesar Augustus erected his own forum northeast of the Forum Iulium, with the temple of Mars Ultor in back of it. The construction was dedicated in 2 BC.<sup>44</sup> The view of the mosaic depicts the northeastern part of the forum: of the eight Corinthian columns at the right side of the temple, three are visible and support part of the architrave in addition to the angular pillar.

Behind the temple and the square runs a thirty metre high fire wall separating the complex of Augustus from the district of Subura. It was made by opus quadratum of peperino and travertine. Quite at the right side there is a fornix with one opening only, which was the passage to the Subura quite from the right angle of the temple. Nowadays it is called Arco dei Pantani.

At the south side of the forum of Augustus there is the forum of Nerva or the Forum Transitorium, the Cloaca Maxima ran below it. In the early Middle Ages the Cloaca Maxima became clogged, and by the eleventh century it had stopped the normal

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<sup>43</sup> Gallavotti Cavallero, Ripa I, 72, 84.

<sup>44</sup> Coarelli, Roma, 104-105.

flow of waters from Viminal, Quirinal and Esquiline. The area of the imperial fora became a wide morass, this motivating its Italian name *pantano*.<sup>45</sup>

As early as the ninth century a church to St. Basil had been erected in the cella of the temple to Mars Ultor. In the twelfth century a bell tower was constructed above the colonnade. In 1542 the church was rededicated to S. Annunziata.<sup>46</sup> At the end of the same century the area was dried up and the ground level raised in places as much as four metres. The old name of Pantano was, however, retained<sup>47</sup> and the two streets were constructed, the Via Alessandrina and Via Bonella, but they no longer exist.

The differences in the ground level are quite obvious in the mosaic. In the top left there is a building with a temple-like pediment, this being the same building which is also clearly visible in a veduta by G.B. Piranesi,<sup>48</sup> as if part of the constructions of St. Basil. In the mosaic it seems instead to lie on the other side of the fire wall. There are more differences in other details as well: the number of the windows of the bell tower has been reduced in the mosaic, as also in the low building at the left side of and partially under the colonnade. This building belonged to the stone cutters.

In the 1810s excavations were made at the site on the accord of the French government. Later, in 1839 the belfry was demolished, it having been on the verge of collapsing.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> L. Barroero, *Monti IV (Guide rionali di Roma)*, 1984, 10-12. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the forum of Augustus was identified as the Forum Transitorium, see A. Nibby, *Roma nell'anno 1838*, II, 1839, 221-238.

<sup>46</sup> L. Barroero, *Monti IV*, 18.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.* 12.

<sup>48</sup> G.B. Piranesi, *Veduta degli avanzi del Foro di Nerva*, tav. 30.

<sup>49</sup> L. Barroero, *Monti IV*, 18. Actually, Antonio Nibby, in the second volume of his guide, p. 232, printed in 1839 and obviously written

## The Northwest End of the Forum Romanum (fig. 7)

The mosaic shows several buildings at the northwest end of the Forum: the building furthest to the front at the left side is the western part of the triumphal arch of Septimius Severus, it is followed by the façade of the temple of Antoninus and Faustina and by the rear-most building, the church of S. Francesca Romana.

In the foreground there are the three Corinthian columns from the temple of Vespasianus, and then in the middle of the Forum Romanum proper, the lonely column of Phocas. Quite in the rear a glimpse of the arch of Titus can be seen.

At the right side of the mosaic, along the Sacra Via, three columns of the left side of the temple to Saturnus can be seen. Then there is the brown wall of a low structure later built on the Basilica Iulia, and finally the three Corinthian columns of the temple to Castor and Pollux.

The systematic isolation of the ruins began in the beginning of the 19th century, particularly in the northwest angle of the Forum. In 1803 Pope Pius VII closed the market place and the first phase of the excavations was continued, even after the French occupation, until 1819.<sup>50</sup>

The temple of Antoninus and Faustina containing the church of S. Lorenzo in Miranda, has actually six Corinthian monolith columns in its façade. Only four of them are depicted in the mosaic. The Corinthian capitals are generally carefully indicated in all the seven mosaic plaques. Here, however, they are indi-

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somewhat earlier, says about the bell tower "che presto, o tardi lo farà crollare".

<sup>50</sup> C. Pietrangeli, *Campitelli III* (Guide rionali di Roma), 1979, 58. The enclosure, which is clearly visible in the mosaic, originates from the works carried out under Pius VII, A. Nibby, I, 484.



cated only as circles. Some research in front of the temple was conducted in 1810.

In 1811 the staircase to the temple of Vespasianus was repaired together with the podium of the temple.<sup>51</sup> The inscription of the pedestal identifying the column of Phocas was unearthed in 1813.<sup>52</sup> Accordingly, the intensive activity in the isolation had proceeded nearer the centre of the Forum by the middle of the decade.

Useful comparative material is provided by the scenes of the Forum painted by Luigi Rossini: The scene over the temple of Antoninus from the year 1821 shows the excavation level with the pedestals,<sup>53</sup> the same situation as in the mosaic. Another scene of the arch of Septimius from 1820 shows the same enclosure as the mosaic.<sup>54</sup> A third scene shows the excavation level of the column of Phocas and of the arch of Septimius.<sup>55</sup> In the early 1820s rather big trees were still left in the Forum; none of them, however, can be seen in our mosaic. Here we have the situation in the Forum in the 1810s and the model for the mosaic must also originate from this period.

For the chronology of the models of the mosaic plaques of the bracelet, the following dates can be added in reverse chronological order: The bell tower shown in the forum of Augustus was demolished in 1839, while the attic of the arch of Ianus underwent the same fate in 1827. The diagonal gratings for the external circuit of the Colosseum were built by Valadier at

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<sup>51</sup> Coarelli, Roma, 52.

<sup>52</sup> CIL VI 1200.

<sup>53</sup> Luigi Rossini, Veduta del tempio di Antonino e Faustina, tavola 68, Roma 1821.

<sup>54</sup> Luigi Rossini, Veduta dell'arco di Settimio Severo, tavola 83, Roma 1820.

<sup>55</sup> Luigi Rossini, Veduta dell'interno del tempio della Concordia, nel Foro Romano, tavola 64, Roma 1823; of course the question concerns the aedes Saturni.

1826 at the latest, they do not appear in the mosaic. In the round temple of Forum Boarium the gratings in the intercolumniums have not yet been added, they were only erected in 1817. Thus the prototypes for our mosaic plaques must go back to the 1810s, if we take for granted that the mosaicists did not use extremely old ones.

### Comparison of the Bracelet with Other Micromosaics

To my knowledge there is another bracelet in Rome from the same workshop. It has six mosaic plaques which are of the same dimensions, with the same kind of a clasp, aventurine, and gold frames. The themes are the Pantheon, the Doric temple of Cori, the Round temple of Forum Boarium, the Forum of Augustus, the Colosseum and the northwest end of Forum Romanum.<sup>56</sup>

There are some differences between the plaques with the same theme: The Pantheon, for instance, seems to be even more extended, the tympanum is made of five courses of blocks and the buildings at the eastern or left side of the mosaic are depicted more clearly.

The Cori temple represents one of the famous archaeological sites outside the city, and it was visited as frequently as Tivoli by the tourists of the past century.

In the round temple of Forum Boarium the window of the cella is clearly marked, the wall to the left is reduced in length and more of the temple of Portunus on the right edge is visible, instead.

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<sup>56</sup> Petochi - Alfieri - Branchetti, 211, n. 91.

In the forum of Augustus more is also shown of the fire wall on the right. The Colosseum gives the impression of a building with straighter walls, and the mystical white construction of the other mosaic proves to be an elevation in the rear circuit with some grass on it.

The northwest end of the Forum Romanum shows the Colosseum at the rear, the excavated spot around the column of Phocas is clearer and the whole scene is more reduced on both sides.

There should not be any doubt that these two bracelets originated from the same workshop. The question is whether they were made by the same person. It is my opinion that they were; the Finnish bracelet was produced at an earlier date, while the other in the Roman collection seems to be made by the same, still firm, hand.

## The Popularity of the Themes

The scene of the Forum was one of the most beloved themes of the micromosaics, and it was also one of the sites most frequently visited by tourists. Several parallels are known.<sup>57</sup>

Very few parallels, on the other hand, are known to the arch of Ianus; it could also be presented together with the round temple of the Forum Boarium.<sup>58</sup>

The Pantheon was very popular: the interpretation of the bell towers varies from one base to two, and even to the complete bell towers of Bernini. The most usual case was to depict only

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid. 123, fig. 51; 128, fig. 56; 196, n. 21 and n. 17; 199, n. 30 and n. 38; 234-236.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid. 208, n. 83; 87, fig. 87. See also Selections from the Gilbert Collection, 107, fig. 20.

one base. It must be question of the artists' desire to try to reconstruct the temple in its original appearance.<sup>59</sup>

The round temple at Tivoli was also very popular. In our mosaic this is the one which, more than any other, suffers because of the elimination of the surrounding landscape.<sup>60</sup>

The round temple at Forum Boarium was a very popular theme<sup>61</sup> as was the Colosseum.<sup>62</sup> The forum of Augustus, on the other hand, does not often seem to have inspired the mosaicists.<sup>63</sup>

We do not know whether the ornament was ready made, or if the purchaser of the bracelet could in any way influence the selection of the mosaic plaques according to her favourite Roman sites. It might seem natural to think that the actual prototypes for the mosaics were relatively contemporary, and that the bracelet was bought soon after it was finished in the workshop, in this case sometime in the 1820s. Other features of the bracelet, the composition of the gold alloy in the clasp, the mounting and the indented rings, as well as the exceptionally small copper particles of the striped aventurine glass, all seem to indicate a dating in the 1820s.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid. 87, fig. 8; 167, fig. 126; 196, n. 24; 199, n. 34 and n. 36; 203.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid. 86, fig. 7; 198, n. 28; 205.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid. 196, n. 20; 199, n. 31; 206; 209, n. 84.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid. 160, fig. 113; 192-195; 199, n. 32.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid. 210, n. 88; 87, fig. 8.

<sup>64</sup> I am indebted to Seppo Hornytkyj for this very valuable information.





Fig. 1.

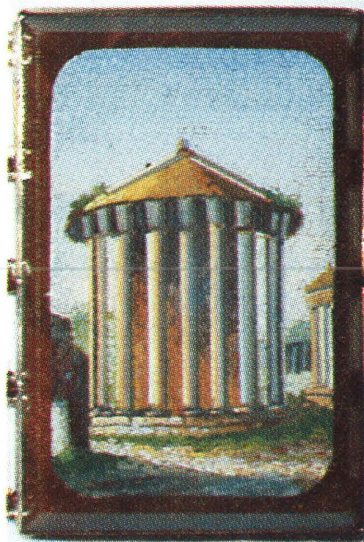


Fig. 2.

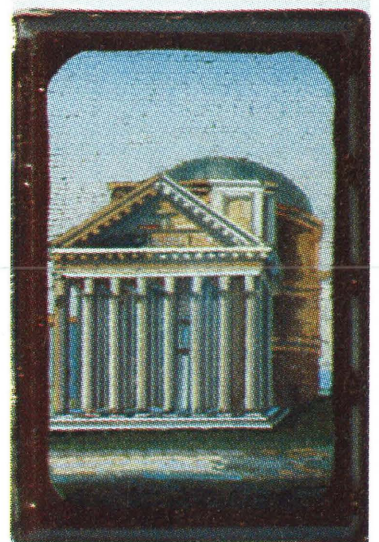


Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.

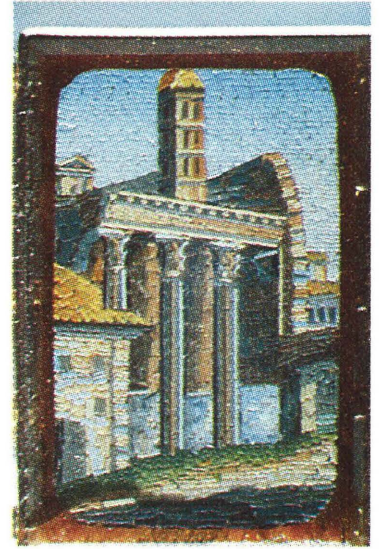


Fig. 6.



Fig. 7.

## Zu Konsuln der Jahre 115, 135, 195 n.Chr.

### Olli Salomies

#### 1. Zu einem Suffektkonsul des Jahres 115 n.Chr.

Außer den *consules ordinarii* des Jahres 115 n.Chr., L. Vipstanus Messalla und M. Pedo Vergilianus, sind uns auch einige *Suffecti* dieses Jahres bekannt. Von den *Fasti Potentini* (AE 1949, 23) und wohl auch von den *Fasti Ostienses* (hg. von L. Vidman, Prag 21982, 48) sind uns Fragmente bekannt, die sich auf dieses Jahr beziehen; dazu stehen uns noch das Diplom CIL XVI 172 (mit den Konsuln, die am Ende des Jahres amtierten) und die Inschrift AE 1911, 95 (vgl. E. Groag, JÖA1 29 [1935] Beibl. 190) aus Lanuvium zur Verfügung. Aus der zuletzt genannten Inschrift geht hervor, daß der zweite *Ordinarius* des Jahres, Pedo Vergilianus, durch einen *Suffectus* ersetzt wurde. Das Datum lautet folgendermaßen: [*L. Vips*]tano Messalla, [*T. Stat*]ilio Severo [*Hadria*]no *cos.* Daraus ergibt sich jedoch ein Problem: in den *Fasti Potentini* erscheint nach den *Ordinarii* als dritter Konsul des Jahres ein gewisser L. Iulius, von dessen Cognomen nur der Anfangsbuchstabe S erhalten ist.<sup>1</sup> Man hat angenommen, daß hier irgendwo ein Irrtum vorliegt; so schreibt W. Eck in RE Suppl. XIV (1974) S. 745 (unter Nr. 25a)

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<sup>1</sup> Nach dem Herausgeber der *Fasti Potentini*, N. Alfieri, ist der erste Buchstabe des Cognomens nicht ganz sicher; er meinte, daß man auch ein C lesen könnte (*Athenaeum* 26 [1948] 133). Mir scheint jedoch die Lesung S aufgrund des (freilich nicht sehr guten) Photos ziemlich sicher.

folgendermaßen: „Im J. 115 wurde er (Statilius Severus) Suffektkonsul, nach den Fasti Potentini wohl mit L. Iulius S[...], ...nach einer Inschrift aus Lanuvium ... jedoch eher an Stelle des M. Pedo Vergilianus mit L. Vipstanus Messalla.“ (Eck nimmt also an, daß in den Fasti Potentini Statilius Severus nach L. Iulius S... in der Lücke auf der zweiten Zeile des Jahres 115 genannt wurde.) An sich wäre es leicht, einen Irrtum in der Redaktion der Fasti Potentini anzunehmen, da es in diesen Fasti bekanntlich von Fehlern wimmelt; und man muß wohl sowieso mit der Auslassung eines Konsulnamens in diesem Jahr rechnen, s. u. (Dagegen ist es wohl nicht möglich anzunehmen, Vipstanus Messalla hätte nach Pedo Vergilianus zwei Suffecti nacheinander als Kollegen gehabt, da solches in dieser Zeit nur für Kaiser bezeugt ist<sup>2</sup>). Aber es ist vielleicht möglich, die Angaben der Fasti Potentini und der Inschrift aus Lanuvium miteinander zu vereinbaren, und zwar indem man annimmt, daß diese beiden Zeugnisse für den Kollegen des Vipstanus Messalla trotz der verschiedenen Namen sich auf denselben Suffectus beziehen.

T. Statilius Maximus Severus Hadrianus (der Name so in Ziegelstempeln, s. P. Setälä, *Private Domini in Roman Brick Stamps*, Helsinki 1977, 186-8; in RMD 14 kurz „Statilius Maximus“)<sup>3</sup> hatte im 2. Jh. mehrere Nachkommen; neben T. Statilius Maximus cos.ord. 144 und T. Statilius Severus cos.ord.

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<sup>2</sup> Trajan hatte als cos.II i.J. 98 fünf Suffecti als Kollegen (Fasti Ostienses, hg. v. L. Vidman, 45 mit CIL VI 32429. XVI 42; AE 1936, 66. 95), Hadrian bekleidete als cos.II i.J. 118 den Konsulat nach dem Ordinarius Pedanius Fuscus Salinator mit zwei Suffecti (CIL XVI 166. VI 2078; CIL VI 207, von Degraffi, *Fasti Consulares* S. 35 unter 118 n.Chr. angeführt, gehört dagegen nicht hierher, s. z.B. R. Syme, *Roman Papers* III 1161 Anm.14). Nichtkaiserliche Ordinarii, die mit mehreren Suffecti amtierten, findet man nur in der früheren Kaiserzeit (Faustus Sulla Felix, cos.ord. 52 n.Chr., bekleidete den Konsulat zuerst mit dem Ordinarius L. Salvius Otho, dann mit Q. Marcius Barea und mit L. Salvidienus Rufus).

<sup>3</sup> Bei diesem Konsul waren also zwei Cognomina gebräuchlich, Maximus und Severus; vgl. dazu Anm. 11.



171 gehört zu diesen sicher auch ein gewisser T. Statilius Iulius Severus, Legat von Moesia Inferior 159 n. Chr. (CIL III 12513; RE IIIA 2192 Nr. 21). Dieser ist nun ganz sicher identisch mit einem Legaten von Moesia Inferior i. J. 160, der in zwei Inschriften (CIL III 12371; ISM V 1) L. Iulius Statilius Severus, in drei Inschriften (ISM I 137. 378. V 158.) Iulius Severus genannt wird und der wohl mit L. Iulius Severus, cos. suff. 155 n. Chr. (CIL VI 2086) zu identifizieren ist.<sup>4</sup> Es ist zwar etwas auffallend, daß dieser Legat sowohl als Lucius als auch als Titus bezeichnet wird, je nach dem, welcher von seinen Gentilnamen zuerst genannt wird (Lucius gehört zu Iulius, Titus zu Statilius), aber dafür gibt es Parallelen; so ist z. B. in hadrianischer Zeit C. Valerius Flaccus Iulius Ursus (CIL XV 522) sicher mit L. Iulius Ursus Valerius Flaccus (CIL XV 521) identisch,<sup>5</sup> L. Aelius Helvius Dionysius im späten 3. Jh. vielleicht mit P. Helvius Aelius Dionysius (s. PIR<sup>2</sup> A 188). Hier haben wir also jedenfalls einen T. Statilius, der bisweilen auch L. Iulius genannt werden konnte. Ähnliches könnte es auch in einer früheren Generation gegeben haben: vielleicht führte schon der Konsul von 115 n. Chr. in seiner vollständigen Nomenklatur auch die Namen L. Iulius (in den Ziegelstempeln und in der Inschrift aus Lanuvium braucht nicht der vollständige Name des Konsuls angegeben worden sein) und wurde mit diesen Namen in den Fasti Potentini als Konsul bezeichnet (man könnte dort z. B. *L. Iulius S[everus]* ergänzen). Gegen diese Annahme ist freilich einzuwenden, daß Konsuln, die mehrere Gentilnamen und Cognomina haben, immer

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<sup>4</sup> L. Iulius Statilius Severus = T. Statilius Iulius Severus: so z. B. H. Nesselhauf, *Athenaeum* 36 (1958) 227; J. Fitz, *Die Laufbahn der Statthalter in der röm. Provinz Moesia Inferior* (1966) 19 (mit einer unnötigen Erklärung des Wechsels der Namen); G. Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen* (1977) 231; B. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidum* (1984) 135 Nr. 90.

<sup>5</sup> So E. Groag, RE X 881 Nr. 537; L. Petersen, PIR<sup>2</sup> IV,3 S. 298; P. Setälä, a. a. O. 135; R. Syme, *Roman Papers* V 579 Anm. 2.



einen aus normalerweise drei bis vier Namenteilern bestehenden „Hauptnamen“ haben, mit dem sie in Konsuldatierungen usw. bezeichnet werden und daß dieser „Hauptname“ immer der gleiche ist (so heißt z.B. C. Bruttius Praesens L. Fulvius Rusticus cos. I ca. 119, cos. II 139 als Konsul immer bloß (C.) Bruttius Praesens bzw. Praesens).<sup>6</sup> In diesem Fall ist dieser Einwand jedoch nicht ganz entscheidend; wir haben es hier mit den Fasti Potentini zu tun, deren Text, wie oben schon betont wurde, viele Fehler enthält; beachtenswert ist für meine Zwecke besonders, daß Ti. Iulius Candidus Marius Celsus cos. I 86, cos. II 105, dessen Hauptname Ti. Iulius Candidus lautet,<sup>7</sup> in diesen Fasti irrtümlich „M. Arrius Celsus“ (für Marius Celsus) genannt wird. Nehmen wir nun an, daß der vollständige Name des Statilius Maximus Severus z.B. L. Iulius T. Statilius Maximus usw. lautete (vgl. auch den Senator C. Ca[...] Statilius Severus Ha[drianus] in CIL VI 37067, RE Suppl. XIV 745f. Nr.31), wobei Statilius (wie Iulius bei C. Antius A. Iulius Quadratus cos.I 94, cos.II 105) der Hauptgentilname war, so könnte man dem gar nicht sorgfältigen Redakteur der Fasti Potentini sehr wohl zutrauen, daß er für seine Konsulliste aus seiner Vorlage bei diesem Konsul die falschen tria nomina auswählte.

Wie die Konsulliste des Jahres 115 eigentlich aussah, bleibt freilich auch bei der Annahme, L. Iulius S... der Fasti Potentini könnte mit dem Statilius Severus der Inschrift AE 1911, 95 identifiziert werden, unsicher. In der modernen Forschung scheint man oft zu vergessen, daß aus AE 1911, 95 sicher hervorgeht, daß einer der consules ordinarii mit einem Suffektkonsul ersetzt wurde, und so hat man gemeint, daß nur ein Suffektkonsul des Jahres unbekannt sei (wobei es dann in diesem Jahr nur zwei Paare von Suffecti gegeben hätte), und zwar der Kollege des in den Fasti Potentini am Anfang der zweiten Zeile

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<sup>6</sup> Vgl. R. Syme, Roman Papers V 639-647.

<sup>7</sup> Vgl. R. Syme, Roman Papers V 641.

genannten L. Iulius S... (Der Kollege des am Anfang der dritten Zeile der Fasti Potentini genannten M. Pompeius Macrinus, T. Vibius Varus, ist aus den Fasti Ostienses und vielleicht auch aus CIL XVI 172 bekannt.) Diesen unbekanntem Kollegen des L. Iulius hat man mit P. Iuventius Celsus (so z.B. F. Zevi, DdArch. 7 [1973] 60) oder mit P. Afranius Flavianus (so z.B. L. Vidman, Fasti Ostienses 48) gleichgesetzt. Aber die Sache ist nicht so einfach; m.E. muß man ziemlich sicher damit rechnen, daß in den Fasti Potentini mindestens ein Konsul des Jahres ausgelassen worden ist,<sup>8</sup> da die Angaben dieser Fasti sonst nur mit der Annahme, daß im ganzen Jahr nur fünf Konsuln amtierten, mit der übrigen Evidenz in Einklang gebracht werden kann (dabei müßte man dazu noch annehmen, daß – wie oben getan wurde – L. Iulius S... mit Statilius Maximus Severus identisch war und daß das Konsulpaar M. Pompeius Macrinus, T. Vibius Varus in einer anderen Reihenfolge als in den Fasti Ostienses angegeben wurde, und zwar so, daß Varus gleich nach L. Iulius S... in der zweiten Zeile genannt wurde, und ferner, daß die Aufzählung der Konsuln in der dritten Zeile schon mit M. Pompeius Macrinus endete). Es ist aber m.E. nicht gerade wahrscheinlich, daß i.J. 115 nur insgesamt fünf Senatoren den Konsulat bekleideten, und deshalb scheint mir die obige Annahme erwägenswert, daß in den Fasti Potentini ein Konsul ausgefallen ist. Somit hätte die Konsulliste des Jahres folgendermaßen ausgesehen:

M. Vipstanus Messalla, M. Pedo Vergilianus<sup>9</sup>  
 M. Vipstanus Messalla, (L. Iulius) T. Statilius Severus  
 Ein Konsulpaar, von dem der eine Konsul in den Fasti  
 Potentini ausgefallen ist, der andere in der zweiten Zeile

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<sup>8</sup> In der Konsulliste des Jahres 88 fehlt in den Fasti Potentini (L. Scribonius o.ä.) Frugi, der Kollege des Q. Ninnius Hasta.

<sup>9</sup> Die ordinarii erscheinen in Datierungen auch in der umgekehrten Reihenfolge.

nach L. Iulius S... genannt wurde<sup>10</sup>

M. Pompeius Macrinus, T. Vibius Varus.

## 2. I.Ephesos 4101B: Konsulpaar oder Prokonsul?

Die ephesische Liste von Siegern in den großen Asklepieia JÖAI 53 (1981/82) 136 Nr.146 = SEG XXXI 954 = I.Ephesos 4101B (Quader aus weißem Marmor, von dem nur der Oberteil erhalten ist) lautet mit den Ergänzungen der Editoren folgendermaßen:

ἀγαθῆ] τύχη  
 Ἄτιλιανῶ καὶ Λο]υπέρκῳ Ποντιανῶ  
 ἐπὶ ἱερέως Τι. Κλ]αυδίου Δημοστράτου  
 Καιλιανοῦ] ἀσιάρχου usw.

Ti. Claudius Demonstratus Caelianus, der in der Zeit von Trajan bis Antoninus Pius lebte, ist aus vielen ephesischen Inschriften bekannt; die Ergänzungen der linken Seite der Inschrift ergeben sich daraus, daß jedenfalls in der vierten Zeile nur [Καιλιανοῦ] ergänzt werden kann und muß. Nach den Editoren enthält die 2. Zeile eine Datierung nach den Konsuln des Jahres 135. Dies scheint mir jedoch aus zwei Gründen sehr zweifelhaft.<sup>11</sup> Erstens

<sup>10</sup> In den Fasti Potentini wird in dem Fall, daß ein Konsul ordinarius durch einen Suffectus ersetzt wird, normalerweise so verfahren, daß dieser Suffectus auf der zweiten Zeile des jeweiligen Jahres zusammen mit dem ersten Konsul des nächsten Paares genannt wird; vgl. N. Alfieri, *Athenaeum* 26 (1948) 118. – Von dem Konsulpaar, das vor den Konsuln Macrinus und Varus amtierte, ist in den Fasti Ostienses das Ende –us des Gentilnamens des zweiten Konsuls erhalten (Vidman, *Fasti Ostienses* 48).

<sup>11</sup> Gegen die Annahme, es handele sich um das Konsulpaar, spricht dagegen nicht, daß (L. Tutilius) Lupercus Pontianus, der andere Konsul des J.135, mit diesen beiden Cognomina bezeichnet wird, da dieser zu den

ist es doch sehr auffallend und störend, daß nach den Namen der Konsuln die Angabe ὑπάτοις fehlt (am Anfang der dritten Zeile kann sicher nichts ergänzt werden). Für eine Konsuldatierung in dieser Form (die Namen der Konsuln im Dativ, sonst nichts) gibt es, soweit mir ersichtlich, in griechischen Inschriften überhaupt keine Parallele. Zweitens fällt auf, daß bei der Annahme, es handele sich hier um eine Konsuldatierung, diese Inschrift das einzige Beispiel dafür wäre, daß L. Tullius Lupercus Pontianus erst an zweiter Stelle genannt wird; sonst steht sein Name regelmäßig vor dem des P. Calpurnius Atilianus.<sup>12</sup> Es ist nun zwar bekannt, daß in vielen Jahren die Ordnung der Konsuln offenbar nicht festgesetzt wurde, so z.B. in der ersten Hälfte des 2. Jh. – um nur Paare von Ordinarii zu nennen – in den Jahren 110, 114, 115, 123, 127, 129, 131, 138, 141, 142, 144, 147, 148, in denen, soweit mir ersichtlich, die Namen der Konsuln ziemlich willkürlich abwechselnd an erster und zweiter Stelle stehen. Dagegen gibt es aber auch Jahre, in denen die Abfolge der Konsuln feststand. Zu diesen Jahren gehören natürlich die, in denen Kaiser und Mitglieder der Kaiserhauses den Konsulat

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Konsuln gehört, die in den gängigen Konsullisten zwei Cognomina führen; dies geht einerseits daraus hervor, daß er in einigen Konsuldatierungen beide Cognomina führt (so CIL VI 31125; AE 1969/70, 405), andererseits daraus, daß er in anderen Datierungen entweder einfach *Pontianus* (oft) oder einfach *Lupercus* (so CIL XI 3899; Chronograph des J.354) genannt wird.

<sup>12</sup> Es lohnt sich sicher nicht, hier die vielen Konsuldatierungen aus dem J. 135 aufzuzählen. Lupercus Pontianus wird an erster Stelle z.B. in dem Militärdiplom CIL XVI 82, in vielen Ziegelstempeln (CIL XV 246. 251. 341. 461 usw.) und in allen handschriftlichen Fasti (Monumenta Germ. Historica, Auctores Antiqui – im folgenden MGH AA – XIII 508) genannt. Dazu kommt, daß das Jahr 135 gelegentlich einfach als *Pontiano cos.* bezeichnet wird (AE 1930, 57; Dessau 8714); wenn in Datierungen nur ein Consulname gebraucht wird, so ist dieser Name im Normalfall der des sonst an erster Stelle genannten Konsuls (darauf kann in diesem Zusammenhang nicht näher eingegangen werden).

bekleideten; diese wurden selbstverständlich immer an erster Stelle genannt, ebenso wie Konsuln, die ihren Konsulat zum zweiten oder zum dritten Mal bekleideten. Neben diesen Jahren – die uns hier nicht weiter interessieren – gibt es aber auch Jahre, in denen die Konsuln theoretisch gleichrangig waren, in denen aber trotzdem die Abfolge der Namen feststand; zu diesen Jahren gehören in der ersten Hälfte des 2. Jh. 106, 108, 111, 116, 117, 122, 124, 130, 132, 133, 136, 143,<sup>13</sup> 149, 150.<sup>14</sup> Es ist hier nicht möglich, auf die Frage einzugehen, warum gerade in diesen Jahren die Namenfolge der Konsuln feststand; deutlich wird nur

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<sup>13</sup> Bellicius Torquatus soll nach einigen Quellen den Konsulat zum zweiten Mal bekleidet haben (s. etwa Degrassi, *Fasti consulares* 40). Aber CPL 116 (*Torquato II et A[nnio cos.]* – anstelle von *A[ttico]* – aber ist das *A* denn wirklich sicher?) bezieht sich auf das J. 128, vgl. L. Vidman, *ZPE* 43 (1981) 381f., während die handschriftlichen *Fasti* – Prosper, *Ital.* –, die *Torquato II* haben (MGH, AA IX 286. 425), den Konsul deswegen mit der Iteration versehen, weil sie die Konsuln des vorigen Jahres irrtümlich in der Form *Rufino et Torquato* (anstelle von *Quadrato*) haben und den Konsul von 143 mit dem des Vorjahres irrtümlich identifizieren (die soeben genannten *Fasti* haben auch das Jahr 136 in der Form *Pompeiano II et Commodo*, weil sie den Konsul Pontianus des vorigen Jahres irrtümlich Pompeianus nennen; vgl. auch die J. 152 – *Glabrione II* MGH AA IX 224. 427 wegen irrtümlich *Glabrione et Vetere* für das J. 150; 160 *Vero* – für *Varo – II et Bradua* bei Prosper, MGH AA IX 427 wegen irrtümlich *Vero et Sabino* für das J. 155). Die Inschrift IGBulg. 1953 schließlich, nach der ein Bellicius Torquatus [Teba?]nianus Konsul zum zweiten Mal gewesen sein soll, gehört m.E. eher in das Jahr 148, da es verständlich ist, daß fünf Jahre nach dem Konsulat eines gleichnamigen Mannes beide Konsuln irrtümlich identifiziert werden konnten und der Konsulat des späteren Jahres für einen zweiten Konsulat gehalten werden konnte.

<sup>14</sup> Die Ordnung der Konsuln des J. 105, Ti. Iulius Candidus, A. Iulius Quadratus, die beide zum zweiten Mal Konsuln waren, steht deshalb fest, weil Candidus seinen ersten Konsulat i.J. 86, Quadratus erst i.J. 94 bekleidete.

auf dem ersten Blick, daß Nobilität und Patriziat hier eine Rolle spielte.<sup>15</sup>

Die vielen Belege für das Jahr 135 machen es jedenfalls deutlich, daß dieses Jahr zu denen gehört, in denen die Namenfolge der Konsuln feststand – von L. Tullius Lupercus Pontianus wissen wir leider zu wenig um dies erklären zu können –, und somit deutet neben dem Fehlen der Angabe ὑπᾶτοις auch die unkorrekte Namenfolge der angeblichen Konsulnamen darauf hin, daß in der ephesischen Inschrift nicht ein konsularisches Datum angegeben wurde.<sup>16</sup> (Es sei hier übrigens auch darauf hingewiesen, daß in ephesischen Inschriften nicht oft mit Konsuln datiert wurde, während Prokonsuln oft in ephesischen Inschriften erwähnt werden, so daß man eigentlich sowieso vielmehr die Erwähnung eines Prokonsuls als eines Konsulpaares erwarten würde.) Deshalb soll hier der Vorschlag gemacht werden, die Inschrift anders zu ergänzen und sie auf einen sonst nicht bezeugten Prokonsulat von Asia des Lupercus Pontianus zu beziehen. Die 2. Zeile lautete m.E. vielmehr folgendermaßen: [ἀνθυπάτῳ Λο]υπέρκῳ Ποντιανῷ; der temporale Dativ, von

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<sup>15</sup> So stehen die Namen von Nachkommen republikanischer bzw. frühkaiserzeitlicher Nobiles immer an erster Stelle, wenn sie nicht noch feinere Kollegen haben; vgl. etwa C. Piso i.J. 111 (der Errichter der Votivinschrift AE 1937, 61 aus Rom, ein Sklave, hat in der Reihenfolge der Konsuln einen Fehler begangen), L. Fundanius Lamia Aelianus i.J. 116, M.' Acilius Aviola i.J. 122, M.' Acilius Glabrio i.J. 124, Ser. Scipio Orfitus i.J. 149.

<sup>16</sup> Ich muß freilich darauf hinweisen, daß in mehr oder minder inkorrekten Inschriften gelegentlich (irrtümlich?) eine sonst ganz feste Ordnung der Konsulnamen nicht beobachtet wird (vgl. schon oben Anm. 15 zu AE 1937, 61); so haben einige Ziegelstempel (CIL XV 1212 usw.) i.J. 130 die Reihenfolge Aper, Catullinus, während alle anderen Belege für diesen Konsulat (auch CIL XV 1436) die umgekehrte Ordnung haben; vgl. auch CIL XV 466 aus dem J. 150 (sonst überall die Reihenfolge Gallicanus, Vetus). Für das Jahr 153 hat nur eine Votivinschrift aus Moesia Inferior die Reihenfolge Rufinus, Praesens (CIL III 7466).

Dittenberger im Index der OGI (II S. 729) als "dativus temporis insolite usurpatus" bezeichnet, ist nicht so selten, wie Dittenberger offenbar meinte.<sup>17</sup> Außer der bekannten Tacitus-Inschrift aus Mylasa OGI 487 = I.Mylasa 365 mit [ἀνθυπάτ]ω Κορνηλίω Τακίτω findet man ihn zur Datierung nach Prokonsuln von Asia öfters in IGR IV, so in 1275 (TAM V 1051). 1279 (TAM V 1106). 1281 (TAM V 1142). 1282 (TAM V 1150). 1284 (TAM V 1084). 1285 (TAM V 1149). 1291 (TAM V 1151). 1313 (TAM V 1501). 1358 (TAM V 653). 1363 (TAM V 637). 1365. 1500 (TAM V 670). 1501 (mit ἀνθυπάτω vor dem Namen des Prokonsuls) und 1329. 1339 (= I.Magnesia/Sipylos 19 = TAM V 1372) (mit ἀνθυπάτω nach dem Namen des Prokonsuls; so ferner auch z.B. in MAMA IV 27 vgl. C.P. Jones, CPh 84 [1989] 130f.).

Diese Form von Datierung nach Prokonsuln findet sich aber auch, wenn auch nicht sehr oft, in Ephesos, was aus meinem Blickwinkel interessanter ist. In I.Ephesos 1397 ist jedenfalls mit den Editoren am Anfang [...]ιλίω [.../ ἀνθ]υπάτω, ἐπὶ πρυτα[νέως ...] usw. zu lesen, in I.Ephesos 1162 (mit Add.), wo derselbe Ti. Claudius Demonstratus Caelianus erwähnt wurde, ist am Anfang vor ἐπὶ ἱερέως usw. entweder [ἀνθυπάτω ...]ω oder [... ἀνθυπάτ]ω zu ergänzen (die Editoren denken an eine Datierung nach Konsuln). Und in I.Ephesos 5113 ist die Ergänzung [Τιβ. Ἰουλίω Κέλσῳ] Πολεμιαινῶ ὑπάτῳ, / [ἀνθυπάτῳ τῆς Ἀσί]ας usw. sicher. Die Annahme, die Inschrift I.Ephesos 4101B nenne den Prokonsul, nicht die Konsuln, ist also durchaus möglich, und, wegen der Schwierigkeiten, die bei der Annahme entstehen, es handele sich hier um Konsuln, m.E. sehr wahrscheinlich.

Wenn wir nun annehmen, L. Tullius Lupercus Pontianus – dessen cursus honorum uns ganz unbekannt ist – sei Prokonsul von Asia gewesen, so muß noch auf die Frage nach der Datierung des Prokonsulats kurz eingegangen werden. Jedenfalls muß er, da

<sup>17</sup> Vgl. auch etwa J. Keil – A. von Premerstein, in: Denkschr. d. ÖAW, Phil.-hist. Kl. 53 (1910) 68 (mit Beispielen).

er i.J. 135 Konsul war, um 150 oder etwas später Prokonsul gewesen sein.<sup>18</sup> In den Statthalterlisten von Asia sind aber alle Statthalteramtsjahre bis 152/3 nach der einstimmigen Meinung der Forschung besetzt,<sup>19</sup> die Jahre 151/2 und 152/3 freilich nur durch Angaben des Aelius Aristeides. Somit bleibt, wenn man die in der Forschung unbestrittenen<sup>20</sup> Datierungen der bei Aristeides überlieferten Prokonsulate des Pollio und des Severus nicht in Frage setzen will – was ich keineswegs tun möchte –, nur das früheste noch unbesetzte Jahr 153/4 für Tutilius Lupercus übrig. Dies würde ein Intervall von 18 Jahren zwischen Konsulat und Prokonsulat ergeben, das zwar ungewöhnlich, aber nicht unmöglich lang ist; so ist für P. Mummius Sisenna cos.133, procos. Asiae 150/1 ein Intervall von 17 Jahren, für P. Salvius Iulianus cos.148, procos. Africae 167/8 ein Intervall von 19 Jahren bezeugt, während bei mehreren Prokonsuln von Asia und Afrika um die Mitte des 2. Jh. ein Intervall von 17 bis 18 Jahren möglich bleibt.<sup>21</sup> Daß Tutilius Pontianus, wie es scheint, später als es normal war den Prokonsulat erreichte, braucht nicht darauf zu beruhen, daß er etwa von kaiserlicher Seite hinter bevorzugten Prokonsulkkandidaten zurückgestellt wurde; er kann zu der Zeit, in der er eigentlich hätte Prokonsul werden müssen, z.B. mit anderen Aufgaben beschäftigt<sup>22</sup> oder krank gewesen sein; dazu gibt es aber sicher noch zahlreiche weitere Gründe, mit denen die „Verspätung“ eines Prokonsulats erklärt werden

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<sup>18</sup> Vgl. die Angaben bei G. Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen* (1977) 111f.

<sup>19</sup> G. Alföldy, a. a. O. 214; R. Syme, *Roman Papers IV* 332-334. 346; B. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidum* (1984) 227f.

<sup>20</sup> Die Datierung des Prokonsulats des Iulius Severus in das Jahr 152/3 ist nach R. Syme, *Roman Papers IV* 334 "inexpugnable".

<sup>21</sup> S. die Liste bei G. Alföldy, a. a. O. 111f.

<sup>22</sup> Vgl. Alföldy, a. a. O. 116 zu C. Aufidius Victorinus und P. Salvius Iulianus.



kann, die uns unbekannt bleiben müssen und über die zu spekulieren es sich kaum lohnt.

### 3. CIL X 652\*: ein bisher unbeachteter Beleg für die Konsuln des J. 195

Die vollen Namen der Senatoren, die i.J. 195 n.Chr. den Konsulat bekleideten, sind erst allmählich bekannt geworden. Im 16 Jh. wußte man von diesen Konsuln nur, daß sie Tertullus und Clemens hießen (so die handschriftlichen Fasti, MGH AA. XIII 511; Cod. Iust. 9,1,1; Panvinius<sup>23</sup> meinte irrtümlich, daß die Konsuln mit ihren vollen Namen Q. Flavius Tertullus und T. Flavius Clemens hießen, mit der Begründung<sup>24</sup> „Q. Flavi Tertulli & T. Flavi Clementis frequens per haec tempora mentio est“). Später ist von diesen Konsuln etwas mehr bekannt geworden, und so heißen sie in den Fasti von Clinton<sup>25</sup> Scapula Tertullus und Tineius Clemens (mit einem Verweis auf eine Inschrift aus Ostia, jetzt CIL XIV 169). Vor dem frühen 20. Jh. ist weiterhin bekannt geworden, daß der Konsul Scapula Tertullus auch das Cognomen *Priscus* hatte, da er in CIL III 8184 und 14507 *Priscus*, in CIL III 12802 *Scapu[la] Priscus* genannt wird,<sup>26</sup> und somit haben die Zusammenstellungen des frühen 20. Jh. für das J. 195 das Konsul-

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<sup>23</sup> Onuphrii Panvini Veronensis ... Fastorum Libri V, Heidelberg 1588 (ursprünglich 1558) S. 41.

<sup>24</sup> A. a. O im Kommentarteil, S. 241.

<sup>25</sup> H.F. Clinton, Fasti Romani I (Oxford 1845) 196.

<sup>26</sup> Vor der Publikation der Inschrift CIL III 14507 i.J. 1900 (A. von Premerstein und N. Vulić, JÖAI 3 [1900] Beibl. 115) hielt man die Namengebung des Konsuls in CIL III 12802 für fehlerhaft, s. PIR S 191 (wo CIL III 8184 nicht berücksichtigt wird).

paar Scapula Tertullus Priscus, Tineius Sacerdos.<sup>27</sup> Schließlich sind auch die Vornamen und der Gentilname des Scapula Tertullus durch die Inschrift aus Ostia CIL XIV 4560 bekannt geworden, in der dieses Jahr als *P. Iul. Scapu[la], Q. Tineio Cl[emente] cos.* bezeichnet wird.

Aber die Vornamen der Konsuln und der Gentilname des Tertullus waren in der Tat schon viel früher bekannt, freilich ohne daß dies bemerkt wurde. Unter den „*inscriptiones falsae*“ in CIL X finden sich mehrere Texte, die aus den Werken eines bestimmten Advokaten Grossi aus Neapel (1756-1823) bekannt sind, in denen neben echten, aus anderen Sammlungen stammenden Inschriften mehrere Fälschungen mitgeteilt werden.<sup>28</sup> CIL X 652\*<sup>29</sup> ist ein Text angeblich aus Casinum, der zum Teil sicher gefälscht ist; aber das Datum ist interessant: *P. Iulio Scapula Tertullo, Citineo Clemente cos.* Mit der kleinen Verbesserung von *Citineo* zu *Q. Tineo*<sup>30</sup> bekommt man einen ganz korrekten Text. Diese Datierung stammt nun ganz sicher aus einer echten Inschrift;<sup>31</sup> nur so kann erklärt werden, wie Grossi oder seine Quelle die in dieser Zeit bloß als Scapula Tertullus und Tineius Clemens bekannten Konsuln mit den richtigen zusätzlichen Namen versehen konnte. Somit steht der Forschung eine neue Datierung aus dem J. 195 zur Verfügung, die in der Hinsicht von Bedeutung ist, daß nur hier der Konsul Tertullus, der wie hier

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<sup>27</sup> W. Liebenam, *Fasti consulares imperii Romani* (1909) 26; D. Vaglieri, in: *Diz. epigr.* II 1071. 1083 (s.v. Consules).

<sup>28</sup> Vgl. zu Grossi und zu seinen Arbeiten Mommsen, CIL X S. 511. 557; was „*solo Grossio auctore*“ überliefert ist, hat Mommsen mit Recht unter die „*falsae*“ relegiert (S. 557).

<sup>29</sup> Aus Grossi, *La scuola e la bibliografia di Monte Casino* (Neapel 1820) S. 13.

<sup>30</sup> Dagegen ist es nicht unbedingt notwendig, *Tineo* in *Tineio* zu korrigieren; vgl. CIL III 12802.

<sup>31</sup> Zum Gebrauch von Teilen echter Texte beim Fälschen von Inschriften vgl. etwa meine Bemerkungen in *Arctos* 20 (1986) 145ff.

normalerweise an erster Stelle genannt wird, mit insgesamt vier Namen bezeichnet wird. – Über die verschollene echte Inschrift, aus der das Datum kopiert sein muß, kann leider nichts gesagt werden; nicht einmal daß sie aus Casinum stammte darf man aufgrund der angeblich dort gefundenen gefälschten Inschrift zumindest ohne weiteres annehmen.

# New Readings on Four Athenian Inscriptions of the Imperial Period

Erkki Sironen

In the following a short series of new readings is presented on four Athenian inscriptions, which will not be included in my forthcoming collection of Late Roman inscriptions from Attica.<sup>1</sup>

## 1. IG II<sup>2</sup> 5210 (Fig. 1)

This piece of an epistyle of white Pentelic marble in the National Garden in Athens lies less than 100 yards north of the Zappeion entrance,<sup>2</sup> together with additional architectural members belonging to it. The epistyle itself has been broken on the left side, while the right side has been smoothly cut, possibly for reuse. The bottom is broken, the upper part has suffered partial damage, but the back seems to be original, roughly tooled. On top, four asymmetrical sockets for joining are visible.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The revised edition of some 100 pagan inscriptions dating between ca. A.D. 267-529 will be part of a series published by the Finnish Institute at Athens.

<sup>2</sup> It bears the inventory number 13 in the archives of the Third Ephory. I wish to thank the Ephory for their aid, and for granting me permission to republish the inscription.

<sup>3</sup> Preserved width 147 cm, preserved height 54 cm, original thickness 53 cm. Letter height in l. 1 varies between 8-8,8 cm, whereas in l. 2 (only E preserves the full height of a letter) letter height is 7,4 cm. L. 1 has been

The text of this inscription has been edited at least three times,<sup>4</sup> with the identical reading δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ θ'. Dittenberger maintained it belonged to an imperial inscription and to a building rather than to a mere honorary type of inscription or to a prescript of an imperial letter, based on the fallacious presumption of its being executed on one single line.

The archaeological members, including columns and entablature, are referred to in a study by C.C. Vermeule as belonging to a tiny building, perhaps a small stoa or portico, constructed by the Emperor Antoninus Pius.<sup>5</sup> The reading, however, has not been revised. I propose to read the two lines as follows:

δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ θ'  
] καὶ Φαυστείνης θεᾶς

Faustina could refer to the consort of either Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius. Until the present, reference to Marcus Aurelius has been considered improbable as Aurelius was only a Caesar under Antoninus Pius at the time of his ninth term as tribune in A.D. 154/155. Antoninus Pius' ninth term coincides with A.D. 145/146, when Faustina the Elder had been dead for six years, for which we would expect a titlature καὶ θεᾶς

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carved in the upper part of the inscribed surface, with a *vacat* of 6,3-6,5 cm above the letters and 9 cm below the letters. L. 2 is even nearer to its top with only 4,8 cm left free above the letters, except for Φ, which runs up all the way to the top of the lower (and presumably smaller) inscribed surface. Note the downwards slipping of the last two letters on l. 1, in an imperial inscription of otherwise high workmanship.

<sup>4</sup> Arch. Anz. Nr. 148 (April 1861, 179\*) in Arch. Zeitung 1861, by Ad. Michaelis; IG III 391 (1878) by Dittenberger on the basis of Velsen's copy; IG II<sup>2</sup> 5210 by J. Kirchner.

<sup>5</sup> C.C. Vermeule, Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor, Cambridge 1968, 268, 431.

Φαυστείνῃ rather than καὶ Φαυστείνῃ [θεᾶ]. So I would prefer to say that we have here Faustina the Younger, the daughter of Antoninus and newly wedded wife of Marcus Aurelius.<sup>6</sup> I would also regard this inscription as an honorary one, dedicated to the Emperor Antoninus Pius and his family members. A close parallel for this is IG X 2,1,36. There are also several other buildings in Athens associated with Antoninus Pius.<sup>7</sup>

## 2. Peek, Attische Versinschriften 126 (Figs. 2 and 3)

The three fragments of two separate sepulchral inscriptions of white Pentelic marble kept in the Epigraphical Museum<sup>8</sup> were edited by W. Peek as belonging to a single gravestone. EM 3671 (=Epigraphical Museum) and EM 2251 were joined by Peek, to which M. Mitsos had added another fragment, EM 3325. They do not, however, belong to the same tombstone, because the back of EM 3325 is roughly tooled, unlike EM 3671+2251, which is smooth and has marble which is less flakey in quality. The

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<sup>6</sup> I wish to thank Mr. M. Kajava for elucidating imperial women's titlature. The end of l. 2 could have either θεᾶ or Σεβαστῆ or θεᾶ Σεβαστῆ. (Note that the title Σεβαστή is documented for Faustina the Younger before her official elevation as *Augusta* on 1 December 147, cf. L. Vidman, *Fasti Ost.*<sup>2</sup> Pb 147,15 [+ p. 128]). Most probably Marcus Aurelius was mentioned in the beginning of l. 2.

<sup>7</sup> See C.C. Vermeule, *op. cit.* 266-268 and 431 (CIL III 549, IG II<sup>2</sup> 3183 and 3391).

<sup>8</sup> I wish to thank Dr. Peppa-Delmuzu and her assistant Dr. Charapa-Molisani of the Epigraphical Museum, along with the staff of the Museum for granting me permission to republish the inscriptions on the stones in the Museum, and for finding the (previously uninventoried) fragment EM 3325.

thickness also differs, being 3,5 cm and 4,2 cm respectively.<sup>9</sup> I propose a new reading as follows:

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 [x] ACΠI[-] με, τῆ[δε]  
 κείμεν[ο]ν μάθε[]  
 ἄλλο  
 ἄνθρωπε π[α]ῦσαι τοῦ λέγειν  
 5 [x]H [-] A  
 [x - - - x - -]ΩC  
 -----

It is theoretically possible to keep Peek's τῆ[δ' ὑπό-] as the prefix of the verb, but to me τῆ[δε] with the basic κείμεν[ο]ν sounds better and makes better sense than ὑπό | κειμε· π[ᾱ]ν μάθες. As to the form μάθε without C that Peek reads, it appears to me that the stone was damaged just after E at some time in the distant past. All the restorations done by Peek must remain as mere *exempli gratia* restorations, although there is no doubt that we have here the end of one epitaph and the beginning of another on the same tombstone. The date is hard to establish with any certainty, but I would guess it could be anything between the second and fourth century A.D.

EM 3325 does not entirely match the paleography of the preceding inscription: A, not considered by Peek, has a straight

<sup>9</sup> The additional dimensions for EM 3671+2251 are: height 12 cm, width 31,2 cm (only right edge original, slightly damaged). Letter height varies between 1,1-1,7 cm, the space between ll. varies between 0,6-0,9 cm. The end of the iambic trimeter seems to be inserted in l. 2 (probably also in line 5) by at least 4,5 cm to the right. This is also reflected in the right end of ll. 2 and 5, which end ca. 10 and 15 cm from the right edge, whereas ll. 4 and 6 are only 2-2,5 cm from the edge, representing the middle of the verse. For the dimensions of EM 3325, see n. 10 below.

right leg; N and Ω also differ slightly. The letter height of this minute fragment varies between 1,2-1,3 cm.<sup>10</sup>

— — — —  
 ]A[  
 ]NEN ζωοι[ or ]N ἐν ζωοῖ[σι]

This inscription is possibly metrical, as it seems to be an epitaph, datable to the second to fourth century A.D.

### 3. Peek, *Attische Versinschriften* 48 (Fig. 4)

Three adjoining fragments of white Pentelic marble<sup>11</sup> show the beginning of an at least 9-line poem, an honorary or dedicatory inscription in three fragmentary distichs. The left edge of the slab seems to be original, though battered. The upper edge is partially preserved, but the other edges of the stone have been broken. Shallow guide lines are visible. The most remarkable new reading concerns the dubious restoration of [Κρ]ῆ[τα (sic!) by Peek in the first line. I read as follows:

<sup>10</sup> Other dimensions: height 7,7 cm, width 11 cm, space between ll. 1 cm. The fragment is broken all around and has a space of 3,8 cm of unscribed face below the second line, suggesting that this was the last line on the stone. Further proof of this is the trace of an ornamental figure on the bottom left corner of the fragment.

<sup>11</sup> EM 2387+5469+5470. Height 20,2 cm, width 21,2 cm, thickness 5,2 cm. Letter height varies between 1-1,8 cm, and space between lines from 0,2 to 0,8 cm (no letters surviving in the beginning of l. 8). Top margin of 1,8 cm. The endings of the longer verses (hexameters) in ll. 2, 5 and 8 have an unscribed insertion area of 11,6 cm, more than 12 cm and 12,5 cm to their left.



τηλόσε ΦΡΗ[~ ~ ~ ~ ~ Κέκρο-]  
           πος ἄσ[τυ]  
 Μουκιανὸν κρα[τερὸν ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ x]  
 εἶσε τ[ὸ]ν εὐρίζον[~ ~ ~ ~ ~]  
 5          [...]*EINH*[?]  
 ἄνθος ἀκή[ρατον] ὄν[τ' ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ x]  
 πρεσβυτ[ατ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~]  
           [- ~]  
 [...]. *IAI* ὦ[~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ x]  
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The beginning of the last line remains obscure, since the exceptionally low letters are fragmentary and may indicate two punctuation marks.<sup>12</sup> When studying the traces of these letters on the actual stone, Peek's [μυ]ρίαι ὦ[ seems untenable. I would presume the date of this inscription to be either the second or the third century A.D.

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<sup>12</sup> The groove above the first surviving letters could be stone damage, not an accent, but the mark above Ω definitely denotes spiritus asper.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.



# Una rilettura e un'integrazione di due epigrafi osche di Ercolano (Po 124 e 126)\*

Timo Sironen

## Po 124

Sfogliando la documentazione già per varie volte edita delle iscrizioni osche di Ercolano poco prima del recente convegno di studi su Ercolano,<sup>1</sup> ho avuto forti dubbi sulle varie letture (e, di conseguenza, delle varie interpretazioni) dell'epigrafe dipinta,<sup>2</sup>

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\* Le fotografie e il disegno sono a cura di chi scrive.

<sup>1</sup> Convegno internazionale "Ercolano 1738/1988. 250 anni di ricerca archeologica. Capisaldi della cultura." Ravello-Ercolano-Napoli-Pompei, 30.10.-5.11.1988. Ho presentato la mia conferenza, dal titolo 'La documentazione epigrafica osca di Ercolano – Considerazioni e riletture', a Pompei il 4.11. in modo leggermente più divulgativo, la rilettura non ancora del tutto limata; per le considerazioni sulla scarsa documentazione epigrafica osca rimando all'articolo che è in corso di stampa negli Atti del convegno stesso. – Ringrazio il dottor Pier-Giorgio Monti per aver corretto il mio italiano.

<sup>2</sup> La segnalazione "*princeps*" è a cura di M. Della Corte, in Rend. Acc. Napoli *n.s.* 33 (1958) 266, n. 317-318, tav. II (tra le pp. 264 e 265). Vent'anni dopo compare la prima edizione in P. Poccetti, Nuovi documenti italici a complemento del manuale di E. Vetter, Pisa 1979, sotto il n° 124, con la lettura SPLAES.LÚV[?] e SPLAVS LÚV[?], senza troppi commenti né menzione di autopsia. Nella revisione della raccolta poccettiana, in SE 49 (1981), REI n° 23 (p. 336), si dà una rilettura (ma non si capisce a cura di chi): *spaaes.lúvi.* e *spaaes luvi.*; nel secondo elemento si riconosce *lúvikis.* – Infine, nella Guida archeologica di Pompei Ercolano Stabia, a cura di A. e M. de Vos, Roma-Bari 1982, 296, si parla

ripetuta due volte, incolonnata, sulla zoccolatura nel lato Sud del *vestibulum* della Casa Sannitica (V, 1). La mia autopsia risale al 28 settembre 1988 e al 1 ottobre 1989. Ho osservato i dipinti con accuratezza, partendo dal presupposto che siano identici. Ho potuto leggere SALAVS.LÚVI[-] e SALAVS.LÚVI[-], rispettivamente nel dipinto superiore e in quello inferiore (vd. le foto e il disegno, figg. 1-3).

Anziché di una misteriosa formula onomastica, siamo in fronte del saluto SALAVS, 'salve' in latino, attestato per ben quattro volte nell'osco (di cui due in dialetto marrucino, uno in osco campano e un'altro in osco lucano).<sup>3</sup>

Il color bianco dei dipinti è ormai leggermente consumato nella seconda e nella quarta lettera (in ambo i casi si tratta di A) che nel dipinto superiore si è conservata un po' meglio nella seconda lettera (N.B. la parte bassa del trattino obliquo che va addirittura oltre la "linea") e rispettivamente nella quarta lettera del dipinto inferiore. È stata proprio la A, ma anche la L, dell'alfabeto epicorico osco a trarre in inganno gli edito-

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del "nome della famiglia (della casa Sannitica, s'intende), forse deducibile dal graffito *spunes lopi*", la cui lettura mi pare per niente accettabile.

<sup>3</sup> Po 204 (= CIL IX 3032 = I<sup>2</sup> 3260) da Teate: *sacr]acrix/Herentatia. Vára/Sonti.salas.vali*. La mancanza di *v* in *salas* non è grave, cfr. il seguente. Po 205 da Torre dei Passeri (prov. di Pescara): *sacracrix/cibat.Cerrial/Licina.Salut/salavs*; cfr. il commento del Poccetti *ibid.* p. 152: "... di origine latina sono le formule finali di saluto tra il defunto e il lettore *salas vali* e *salavs*, attestate anche in osco" (nella n. 6 *ibid.*: "Su queste formule, E. Campanile, *La latinizzazione dell'osco*, Scritti Bonfante, Brescia 1975, p. 11."). – E. Vetter, *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte I*, Heidelberg 1953, n° 110 da Cumae: *STATIE/SILIE.S/SALAVS*. *Ibid.* n° 185 da Fonte S. Giovanni, nel Vallo di Diano in Lucania: ... *σαλαφσ.φαλε*. Tutte le quattro attestazioni finora note sono in contesto sepolcrale, quindi i nostri dipinti presentano una novità in quanto sono in contesto di ospitalità domestica. – Con la nuova rilettura è da cancellare dalla lista dei casi insicuri di prenomi italici nell'opera recentissima di O. Salomies, *Die römischen Vornamen*, Helsinki 1987, 110, n° 49.10.

ri/interpretanti precedenti: si è fatta confusione con la P e con la N. I tratti verticali, orizzontali e quelli obliqui sono consumati, ma non sempre.

Anche il contesto, o se vogliamo, la posizione dei due graffiti dipinti favorisce questa nuova rilettura: si trovano all'entrata nel vestibolo, esattamente all'altezza degli occhi di chi entrava e usciva, l'uno a cm 161 e l'altro a cm 166 dal pavimento (cfr. fig. 1, con la maniglia della porta moderna d'ingresso all'altezza di cm 149; i dipinti si trovano a 20 e 25 cm al di sotto del metrino). Non credo, nonostante il fatto che l'altezza media di un italico era sicuramente più bassa di quella odierna, che il dipinto inferiore, a cm 161, sia stato del tutto al di fuori di orizzonte di percezione.<sup>4</sup>

Il significato di SALAVS è sempre nell'ambito di salutare. Nell'ambito sepolcrale, cioè nell'ultimo saluto al defunto (ossia di quello del defunto che si rivolge al passante), si usa SALAVS, con o senza \*VALE, anche con i rispettivi etimi in latino.<sup>5</sup> Il significato del latino *salve/salvete* come "benvenuto/benvenuti" è accertato già da Plauto in poi, anzi, è frequente.<sup>6</sup> Si potrebbe arrivare pure al significato "arrivederci" o, semplicemente al più familiare "ciao". Quindi, corrisponderebbe benissimo al multi-

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<sup>4</sup> Non escluderei la possibilità che l'esecutore dei graffiti, chiunque esso sia stato (cfr. le nn. 15 e 16 sotto), abbia prima finito il dipinto superiore, ma dopo aver visto che non era ben visibile, non solo per l'altezza, ma soprattutto perché rimaneva in ombra sotto la cornice d'intonaco della zona superiore (la luce veniva nell'*atrium* dall'alto), avrebbe deciso di non risparmiare la superficie dell'ortostrato più alto della zona mediana e quindi vi eseguì il doppio. Non credo che si tratti di una copia dei nostri tempi. Cfr. fig. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Oltre alle attestazioni citate nella n. 3 sopra, cfr. le osservazioni di C. Letta-S. D'Amato, *Epigrafia della regione dei Marsi*, Milano 1975, 9-10, nn. 28-34.

<sup>6</sup> Cfr. ad es. C. Lewis-C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, Oxford 1951, s.v. *salveo* II.2. (p. 1623).

forme χαίρε in greco.<sup>7</sup> Per il momento non è attestato l'etimo corrispondente del latino (*h*)*avere*, "benvenire", in osco, ma certo non cambierebbe molto la distribuzione dei campi semantici di *salve*-SALAVS e di *vale*-\*VALE (attestato in grafia peligna *vali* e lucana φαλε), ambedue dalle medesime radici verbali.

Per quanto riguarda l'altro elemento del testo, cioè LÚVI[?], sono d'accordo che si tratta di un nome (o più). Visto che entrambi i dipinti non sono completi, vi sono varie alternative d'integrazione. Si potrebbe trattare di LÚVKIS, cioè del comune prenome osco,<sup>8</sup> con altri elementi della formula onomastica dispersi. Visto che non siamo in fronte di un'epigrafe di tipo ufficiale, potremmo aspettarci anche delle anomalie grafiche: l'oscillazione dei segni diacritici.<sup>9</sup> Quindi, non escludo

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<sup>7</sup> Cfr. M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca III*, Roma 1974, 322-329, 'Epigrafi della casa e degli oggetti domestici e personali': "...o augurali o apotropaiche...a volte eseguite a musaico...altre volte incise nelle soglie...proprio nei punti della casa in cui sembrava più opportuna la loro presenza per favorire l'ingresso del bene e impedire quello del male..." (p. 322). Inoltre, cfr. χαίρε, Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων (da Ampurias, *ibid.* p. 324). Cfr. Liddell-Scott-Jones, *A Greek-English Dictionary*, Oxford 1941<sup>3</sup>, s.v. χαίρω III. 1 e 2. – Per dei paralleli nell'epigrafia latina, cfr. la n. 5 sopra e CIL X 873 *c* e 874 (Pompei) nonché ILLRP 934, 960, 961 (bilingue), 962 e 965 più CIL IV Suppl. 4381 e 5386; inoltre, cfr. CIL II 6104 (Tarragona). Non ho voluto essere esauriente.

<sup>8</sup> Già menzionato nella edizione in SE 49 (1981), REI n° 23 (p. 336). Cfr. M. Lejeune, *L'anthroponymie osque*, Paris 1976, 87-88, con ben 26 attestazioni provenienti da tutte le parti dell'Italia centro-meridionale (manca del resto la menzione del n° 55). Ormai si ha un nuovo LÚVKIS nella dedica a Mefite dall'Irpinia: R. Antonini, *Dedica osca a Mefite Aravina dalla Valle D'Ansanto (AV)*, *Ann.Sem.StudiMondoClass.-Ist.Univ.Orient.Napoli, sez.Arch.StoriaAnt.* 3 (1981) 55-60. – Cfr. anche *Salomies* 34 e 155.

<sup>9</sup> Cfr. ad es. la *defixio* Ve 4,5/7: LÚVIKIS, nonché Ve 5 A 4/B 3: LUVK[IS] senza segni diacritici (come tutta la lunga *defixio* stessa).

le letture LÚVI[KIS-], LÚVÍ[KIS-] o LÚVḲ[IS-].<sup>10</sup> Più difficile, per non dire rischioso, sarebbe ascrivere la mancanza di una interpunzione tra la L e la Ú tra i fenomeni oscillanti di grafia.<sup>11</sup> Dunque, è meno probabile che si tratti di un L(ÚVKIS) ÚVI[IS]; finora conoscevamo altre due persone di nome LÚVKIS ÚVIIS.<sup>12</sup> Comunque sia, escludo un SALAVS.LÚV(Í)[KIIS-], in quanto ci si aspetterebbe una forma \*SALAVIS del prenome, del resto attestato sinora esclusivamente nei dialetti marso, peligno, vestino e marrucino;<sup>13</sup> inoltre, il gentilizio LÚVKIIS è abbastanza raro nella documentazione onomastica osca.<sup>14</sup> Credo che si tratti sempre di nominativo singolare, benché non fosse escluso il vocativo.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Trattandosi di un documento privato, è poco probabile che vi siano delle abbreviazioni: cfr. Lejeune § 63 *a e d + d1*-3), più il dato ricavabile dall'epigrafe irpina citata nella n. 8 qui sopra. – Comunque, l'ultima lettera è difficilmente una Ḳ.

<sup>11</sup> Cfr. ad es. la *defixio* Ve 5 senza neanche un segno diacritico, ma con delle interpunzioni eseguite irregolarmente. Non trovo nessuna traccia d'interpunzione nei nostri graffiti dipinti.

<sup>12</sup> Po 103 (Frentani, dal territorio di Vasto) e Ve 30 *e* (Pompei, dipinto elettorale) = Lejeune, n° 236 e 198.

<sup>13</sup> Perciò non ricorre nel Lejeune (cfr. *ibid.* § 2) per niente. Ve 205, 210 b (=CIL I<sup>2</sup> 3221), 217 AB e 219 (= CIL I<sup>2</sup> 3261) nonché Po 207, 210, 214 (=Ve 207 =CIL I<sup>2</sup> 3214) e 220 (=Ve 228 *d* =Letta–D'Amato n° 128. Cfr. inoltre Ve 228 *eg* e Letta–D'Amato n° 37 (= CIL I<sup>2</sup> 3210), 129, 147, 158 e 161 nonché EE VIII 174 e CIL IX 3812(?). Per l'onomastica latina, cfr. le osservazioni del Salomies 88-89 (però, manca Po 207) e 158-160. Normalmente viene abbreviato *Sa*. – Come gentilizio, SALAVIIS è attestato a Capua, Ve 96 = Lejeune, n° 206. – Cfr. Plut. Aem.Paul. 20, dove si ricorda un Σάλουιος che comandava Peligni nella battaglia di Pidna (168 a.C.).

<sup>14</sup> Lejeune, n° 29 (Nola) e 73 (magistrato federale eponimo in una emissione durante la Guerra Sociale).

<sup>15</sup> Cfr. Ve 110, citata nella n. 3 qui sopra. Allora si dovrebbe ricostruire \*LÚVÍ[KIE] [?] o LÚVK[IE] [?]. Comunque, non avrebbe senso che venisse salutata una persona sola, sia essa un ospite familiare (e quindi salutato dal padrone della casa?) sia il padrone della casa (salutato da un



In ogni caso penso che sia un LÚVKIS, con il gentilizio andato perso, senza filiazione espressa, riferentesi o al committente dei graffiti (e/o della pittura parietale stessa) e quindi al padrone stesso della casa o, meno probabilmente, all'artista;<sup>16</sup> sarà da escludere che una persona qualunque abbia potuto entrare nel vestibolo ad eseguire dei graffiti dipinti che (non) riferissero ad abitanti della casa; i dipinti potrebbero essere anche di un'epoca più tarda, cioè quando non vi abitava più (almeno stabilmente) il padrone, ma per esempio degli abusivi, ma, visto la relativamente buona tecnica di esecuzione, dei graffiti dipinti stessi, è improbabile.<sup>17</sup>

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ospite familiare, o, meno probabilmente, casuale, qualsiasi, invitato magari giusto una volta sola?). In breve, non sappiamo se si tratta del salutato o del salutante, data la incompletezza dei testi.

<sup>16</sup> Aspetterei una frase tipo ὁ δεῖνα ἐπό(τ)ησε(ν) o ...FAKETTED, ma purtroppo ambedue i testi sono incompleti. Tra l'altro, non abbiamo paralleli nell'epigrafia osca. L'artista era probabilmente ellenofono.

<sup>17</sup> La descrizione della guida archeologica dei de Vos dice, alla fine: "La vicenda della casa rispecchia la fortuna calante, nell'età imperiale, della popolazione indigena di Ercolano." (296). Il periodo di costruzione è il II secolo a.C.; il soffitto dell'ingresso è a cassettoni dipinti in secondo stile; "l'impluvio venne rivestito di marmo quando le pareti dell'atrio furono ridipinte in quarto stile, dopo l'aggiunta di un piano superiore raggiungibile per due scale...". (295). Quindi, la casa ha vissuto varie fasi durante il periodo romano. Probabilmente vi è passato un *dealbator* a coprire i graffiti dipinti, quando la casa aveva cambiato padrone (e lingua): non vi era motivo di far rimanere un saluto dei tempi passati. – Comunque, non è escluso che gli abitanti successivi della casa, non necessariamente abusivi, abbiano lasciato intatta la parete del vestibolo: non è un discorso ideologico, al limite solo un caso di scadute di tono. (Per questa aggiunta ringrazio la dottoressa Marinella Caputo Conner [Perugia]).

## Po 126

Questo altro caso di revisione è insicuro, soprattutto perché non ho potuto fare autopsia del documento, e dunque ho dovuto adoperare in base all'apografo eseguito dal Della Corte.<sup>18</sup> Si tratta del graffito su frammento di tegola, letto precedentemente [?..] LLIUNÍS<sup>19</sup> e [?] -illiunís [?].<sup>20</sup> Proporrei di poter leggervi, con una integrazione di sole tre lettere, [APP]ÍLLIUNÍS, cioè corrispondente alla forma canonica dell'osco campano-sannita del III-II secolo a.C. APPELLUNEÍS e a quella dell'osco meridionale *απελλουνηις*,<sup>21</sup> "Apollinis" in latino.

Si noti che l'alfabeto, anche se è ancora sinistrorso, sembra piuttosto tardo, possibilmente risalente all'età postsillana. Da notare sono soprattutto la N con il tratto obliquo, la S non più angolata, la Í "apicata" e le L ad uncino piuttosto breve: vorrei definire questo tipo di caratteri tendente al corsivo, che sono tipici in documenti privati, di esecuzione piuttosto trascurata. Questa trascuratezza si rivela anche sul piano grafico: alcune corrispondenze ai rispettivi valori fonetici appaiono approssimative, in rispetto ai documenti ufficiali del II secolo a.C.; possibilmente sono anche fenomeni tipici dell'osco cd. tardo.

Per cominciare, non saprei definire con certezza i valori fonetici esatti delle Í: il primo – di lettura insicura e quindi da controllare con autopsia – ne corrisponderà piuttosto a un /ǣ/

<sup>18</sup> M. Della Corte, *Rend. Acc. Napoli n.s.* 33 (1958) 276, n° 456, tav. IV (anziché IX come in SE 49 [1981]) (tra le pp. 280 e 281).

<sup>19</sup> Po 126. Si noti, però, che nell'indice, a p. 213, compare nella forma ...]ILLIUNÍS.

<sup>20</sup> SE 49 (1981), REI n° 25 a p. 336. – Attualmente la tegola dovrebbe trovarsi nei Magazzini Epigrafici del Museo Nazionale di Napoli; si spera che sia ancora ritrovabile.

<sup>21</sup> Attestate rispettivamente a Pompei, Ve 18 e a Messina, Ve 196.5: *α]πελλουνηι* e 197 a.2: *α]πελλουνηις*.

chiuso che a un /i̇/ aperto;<sup>22</sup> l'altro, invece, dovrebbe rendere la grafia – sempre trascurata ed approssimativa – di un dittongo monottonghizzato, cioè di /i̇s/ (di qualità piuttosto aperta, mentre la distinzione della quantità sarebbe già andata persa), con uno sviluppo /ěis/ > /ěs/ > /i̇s/ ricostruito.<sup>23</sup>

Invece, per quanto riguarda la sequenza -ÍLLIUNÍS con IU al posto della solita grafia U, non vi sono difficoltà: si tratterebbe di una palatalizzazione /illVn/ > /il(l)i̇Vn/, tipica, tra l'altro, nell'osco tardo, che talvolta si verifica nella grafia.<sup>24</sup>

La tegola stessa potrebbe esser stata o dedicata in qualche modo ad Apollo o, più probabilmente, appartenuta ad un edificio o recinto sacro di Apollo. Purtroppo finora non sappiamo niente del culto di Apollo ad Ercolano, né nella città né *extra muros*. Non è, però, escluso un culto privato, dato il carattere straordi-

<sup>22</sup> Cfr. C.D Buck, *A Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian*, Boston 1928<sup>2</sup> [=facsimile Hildesheim–New York 1979], § 38.1 e 4. nonché § 86.1 (in sillaba chiusa *prima* di labiale). Ultimamente G. Meiser, *Lautgeschichte der umbrischen Sprache*, Innsbruck 1986, §§ 21-23, "ursabellische Vokalverschiebung".

<sup>23</sup> Cfr. Buck, § 65, per l'umbro e Meiser, § 24.2. Nel nostro caso, però, difficilmente si tratta di un /ē/ originale, ma comunque, cfr. la nuova iscrizione bantina con *Zoveş*, M. Torelli, *Una nuova epigrafe di Bantia e la cronologia dello statuto municipale bantino*, *Athenaeum* 61 (1983) 252-257 e la n. 5 ("indebolimento"). Non credo che siamo in fronte di un *lapsus* grafico, cioè mancante una E tra la N e la Í: non abbiamo paralleli nell'epigrafia osca. – Per questa nota, cfr. R. Lazzeroni, *Varianti grafiche e varianti fonetiche nelle iscrizioni osche. Una questione di metodo*, in: *Lingua e cultura degli Oschi*, a cura di E. Campanile, Pisa 1985, 47-53.

<sup>24</sup> Cfr. R. von Planta, *Grammatik der oskisch-umbrischen Dialekte I*, Strassburg 1892, 531-533, § 242, "Moullierung" e Buck, § 56 (IU per U), § 162.1 nonché § 100.3 *ac* (più § 105.1). Inoltre, cfr. anche Meiser, 198, § 66, "Beispiele". – Non credo che vi sia influenza del colore vocalico del latino *Apóllinis*, palatale, cfr. R. Wachter, *Altlateinische Inschriften*, Bern 1987, 397-398, § 184 a.

nariamente adatto del posto per studi superiori; il culto poteva esser venuto anche da vicinissima Napoli o da Pompei.<sup>25</sup>

Comunque sia, mi pare che tra i tanti antroponimi oschi o latini non se ne trovi uno che possa esser integrato più facilmente, per non dire convincentemente, del teonimo che qui ho proposto.<sup>26</sup> Intanto, rimango in attesa di altre proposte di integrazione/interpretazione.

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<sup>25</sup> Il culto di Apollo era diffuso tra le popolazioni italiche: cfr. Festus p. 150 L., Ve 246 e 260 dall'area falisca nonché Po 218 dal territorio marso. Inoltre, cfr. E.T. Salmon, *Samnium and the Samnites*, Cambridge 1967, 171-172 e F. Costabile, *Il culto di Apollo quale testimonianza della tradizione corale e religiosa di Reggio e Messina*, MEFRA 91 (1979) 525-545, specialmente 535-537. – Si ricordi che i Mamertini erano originari della Campania; cfr. anche il toponimo Casapulla presso l'antica Capua, e il culto di Apollo nella vicina Puteoli.

<sup>26</sup> Nel repertorio del Lejeune, a prima vista, trovo n° 161-162, MUTTILLIIS, un gentilizio che assomiglia solo minimamente e basta. Per arrivare a un \*[MUTT]ILLIUNIS ci vorrebbe una strana formazione, con un suffisso nasale -\*ōn-. Altre possibilità con le quali teoricamente si potrebbe arrivare ad un simile cognomen sarebbero n° 195 AFILLIS, 110 ASILLI(IS), 179 BIVELLIS, 106-107 KAÍSILLIIS, 182 \*NÚVELLIS, 175 PAKULLIIS, 213-214 SILLIIS, 249 σταλλίεις e 36 VESULLIIS. Comunque, tra i pochi cognomina nell'osco non esiste il tipo suffissale -\*ōn-, il quale, invece, è abbastanza comune nel latino: cfr. I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki 1965, 163-165, ad. es. *Ofel(l)io*, *Pol(l)io*, *Tallio* e *Tullio* (su quest'ultimo, cfr. H. Solin, *Three Ciceroniana*, CQ 37 [1987] 521-522 e la n. 4). Però, è assai improbabile che su una tegola graffita in alfabeto osco sinistrorso si trovi un cognomen isolato, del tutto latino, anche se conosciamo una *gens* come gli *Ofillii* ad Ercolano. Altrettanto improbabile sarebbe un nome d'origine greca, come ad es. *Apellion*, *Bathyllion*, *Cyrellion* o *Thallion*.





Fig. 1. P. 185—190. La parete del vestibolo della Casa Sannitica di Ercolano.



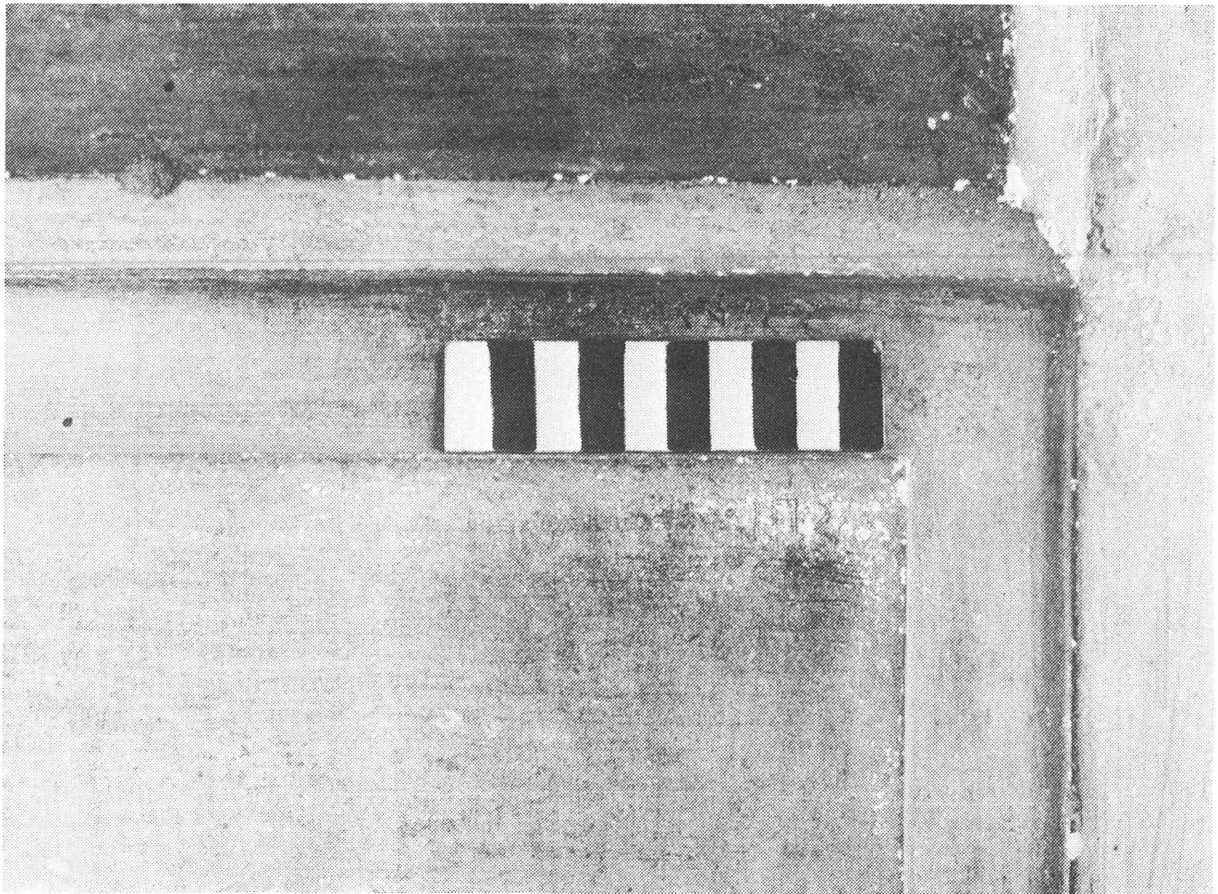


Fig. 2. P. 185—190. I dipinti in dettaglio, Puno al di sopra, l'altro al di sotto il metrino.

† 17 V · 2 10 10 2  
19 V · 2 10 10 2

Fig. 3. P. 185—190. Disegno dei dipinti Po 124 (*lectio* T. Sironen). Scala 1:1.

# Analecta epigraphica

Heikki Solin

## CXXVI. ZU DEN NOMENTANISCHEN FLUCHTAFELN

Manches harrt in der Edition und Erklärung der nomentanischen Fluchtafeln noch der Verbesserung. Sie wurden zuerst von L. Borsari, NSc. 1901, 207-210 publiziert und dann von Audollent, Defix. Tab. 133-135 teilweise mit besserer Textgestaltung vorgelegt; später sind noch einige einzelne Verbesserungen vorgenommen worden. Soweit ich unterrichtet bin, hat nach Borsari niemand die Tafeln am Original nachgeprüft, obwohl sie seit ihrer Entdeckung im Thermenmuseum aufbewahrt werden. Ich habe die Tafeln im Jahre 1974 verglichen und dabei auch Photographien verfertigen lassen. Leider konnte ich die Rückseiten von Audollent 134 und 135 weder besichtigen noch photographieren lassen. Unten folgen einige wenige Bemerkungen zur Lesung, Klärung und Datierung der Tafeln.

Beginnen wir mit der Datierungsfrage. Die Tafeln werden in der Forschung einhellig ins Ende des 2. oder in den Anfang des 3. Jh. datiert. Dieser Ansatz stammt von Audollent, beruht aber auf einer falschen Beurteilung des archäologischen Kontextes. Die Tafeln gehören in die früheste Kaiserzeit oder vielmehr in die spätrepublikanische Zeit. Dafür sprechen vor allem die Schrift und der Gebrauch der Namen; mehr dazu unten.



Zuerst die längste Tafel Borsari 1 = Audollent 135, von der Borsari ein ausgezeichnetes und getreues Apographon bietet. Mein einziger Zweifel gilt der Graphie *merilas* in Z. 8, denn der dritte Buchstabe scheint in seinem heutigen Zustand eher ein L zu sein; er ist dem folgenden L in demselben Wort sehr ähnlich. Vielleicht ist aber die obere Schleife des R, die Borsari hat sehen wollen, nur unsichtbar geworden; sie wurde vom Schreiber getrennt vom Schwanz eingekratzt und kann auch deswegen leicht verschwinden. Wenn dem so ist, bleibt die seit Niedermann, WKPh 23 (1906) 963f. vorherrschende Deutung von *merilas* als *medullas* bestehen (falsch versucht dagegen Wünsch, BPhW 25 [1905] 1078 hier *medulas* zu lesen). Was die alte Streitfrage angeht, ob hier Bewahrung eines ursprünglichen *r* (falls nämlich mit Thurneysen und anderen das Wort mit ir. *smi(u)r* usw. zu verbinden ist) oder ob vulgärlateinischer Wandel von *d* zu *r* vorliegt (vgl. etwa Walde-Hofmann, LEW II 58), ist wohl der zweiten Alternative der Vorzug zu geben; nur möchte ich bemerken (da Jeanneret, La langue des tablettes d'exécration latines, Thèse Neuchâtel 1916, 34 sich auf der späten Datierung der Tafel in die spätere Kaiserzeit stützend die erste Alternative ausschließt), daß gegen Ende der republikanischen Zeit in einer latinischen Stadt, nahe dem sabinischen Gebiet, vielleicht doch eine solche alte Form nicht ganz ausgeschlossen wäre. – Wenn *melilas* gelesen werden sollte, verstehe ich nicht, wie diese Form erklärt werden kann; als eine Art Fernassimilation?

Sonst bleiben nur die Namen der Verfluchten zu besprechen. Der Verfluchte von A war allem Anschein nach Malchio, Sohn des Nico. Man hat allgemein angenommen, *Malcio* sei ein Dativ (W. Havers, Untersuchungen zur Kasussyntax der indogermanischen Sprachen, Straßburg 1911, 227 sieht hier einen dativus sympatheticus), *Malcio* ist aber ein außerhalb der Syntax stehender erstarrter Nominativ, wie er oft auf den Fluchtafeln erscheint (so richtig von Jeanneret 133 erkannt).

*Nicones* ist natürlich gleich *Niconis* (Audollent mit seiner Deutung *Malcius Niconae filius* ist auf Irrwegen). *Nico* war Vater oder Herr des Malc(h)io, der wohl mit Sicherheit ein Sklave syrischer Herkunft war (zur Verbreitung des Namens im römischen Westen s. ANRW II 29 [1983] 634f. 637f. 677. 680f. 729 [dort hinzuzufügen Par.pass. 3 (1948) 179 aus Herculaneum]. 730 [dort hinzuzufügen IPO A 212]. 735f. 743. 750f. 758. 766). Theoretisch besteht zwar die Möglichkeit, daß Malchio und Nico Peregrine gewesen wären, praktisch scheidet sie aber aus, denn wir befinden uns im Sklavenmilieu, wie auch die Verfluchte der Rückseite, *Rufa publica* zeigt. Nico war als Träger eines griechischen Namens wohl auch selbst Sklave oder Ex-Sklave. War er ein Freigelassener, kann Malcio natürlich sein Sklave gewesen sein, ebenso gut kann aber Nico Malcios Vater gewesen sein; freilich ist die Namenform *Malcio Niconis filius* charakteristisch für die Peregrinennamengebung, doch kann auch ein Sklave durchaus mit dem Vatersnamen genannt werden (s. Arctos 19 [1985] 189). – Der Name der Verfluchten in B muß ohne weiteres als *Rufa publica* verstanden werden, Rufa war also Gemeindesklaavin. Alle übrigen vorgelegten Deutungsvorschläge sind zu verwerfen. Im übrigen steht die Deutung der Tafel in großen Linien fest; nur in B bleiben einige unklare Stellen, auf die ich später nach der Besichtigung der Rückseite zurückkommen zu können hoffe (in B 7 schlägt Wunsch, BPhW 25 [1905] 1078 statt (v)ulva[m] il(i)ae überzeugend qua(e)stum vor).

Borsari 2 = Audollent 134: A 3-4 statt *Fidustium / vius* ohne weiteres mit Wunsch, BPhW 25 (1905) 1078 *Fidusti(u)s mutus* zu lesen. Leider war es mir im Jahre 1974 nicht möglich, die Seite A dieser Tafel zu besichtigen, weswegen ich mich unsicherer Konjekturen zur Zeit enthalten möchte. Doch kann ich nicht der Versuchung widerstehen, einige Vorschläge schon jetzt vorzuführen: die nach *d(e)figere* einsetzende Liste könnte mit

*ex[t]am* und *umer[os]* beginnen. Von *exta* (belegt Audollent 229) existiert ein feminines Singular *exta* wie auch Plur. *extae* (s. ThLL V 2,1962); in *umeros* bleibt der Schlußteil etwas dunkel, aber aus dem Apographon zu schließen ist ein R wohl möglich, wenn auch weit vom Sicherem entfernt. *nesu* wird von Audollent und Jeanneret 111 als *nisus* verstanden, vielleicht mit Recht; wenn das Apographon hier exakt ist, kann nicht an *nasus* gedacht werden. *olaus*, wie es von Borsari und Audollent gelesen wird, könnte in Wirklichkeit *oclus* verbergen. Die letzte Zeile verstehe ich nicht.

In der Tafel werden drei Personen genannt. Die zwei ersten, T. Octavius und M. Fidustius führen kein Cognomen, was schon eine Datierung um Christi Geburt empfiehlt. Die dritte Person, *Irena Plotiaes* ist sicher Sklavin, nicht Tochter einer Plotia (wie Audollent als Alternative erwägt). Auch die Form *Irena* spricht für eine Frühdatierung, denn *Irena* erscheint vornehmlich nur in älteren Inschriften und wird später durchweg durch *Irene* ersetzt.

Die Rückseite habe ich am Original und anhand eines guten Photos verglichen und lese vielfach anders als Borsari und Audollent; jedenfalls ist die von Audollent aufgrund von Borsaris Apographon gebotene Lesung oft auf Irrwegen – es wäre zu empfehlen, sich solcher aus losen Buchstaben ohne Sinn bestehender Textform zu enthalten, denn sie kann weiteren Schaden stiften, wenn sie als Textus receptus zu zirkulieren beginnt. Nun hat der Schreiber seine Aufgabe nicht sehr gut bewältigt, weswegen manches für immer sich dem Verständnis verschließen wird, aber einiges glaube ich sicherstellen zu können. Die zwei ersten Zeilen lassen sich lesen *memra omnia, latus, / licua, ilatu, coria, talus*. Obskur bleibt nur das unten nochmals wiederkehrende *ilatu*, das man mit Audollent als *flatus* zu deuten versucht wäre (so auch ThLL VI 877, 56). *flatus* ferner CIL I<sup>2</sup> 1614 (Cumae). I<sup>2</sup> 2541 = IV 9251. *licua* ist *lingua*, wie

schon Borsari gesehen hat. Den Schlußteil der zweiten Zeile las Audollent *connatus* = *conatus*, doch fügt sich *coria*, *talus* besser den erhaltenen Resten ein. *coria* läßt sich leicht als ein Plurale tantum deuten, wie es oft bei eine zusammenhängende Masse bildenden Körperteilen erscheint (vgl. Plur. *cutes* Prop. 4,5,64, freilich wird das überlieferte *per tenues ... cutes* oft in *tenuem cutem* geändert). *talus*: Audollent 190. CIL I<sup>2</sup> 2520 (Rom).

Die dritte und vierte Zeile verstehe ich nicht. Könnte in 3 *ex(t)ae* (vgl. A 5), *unc(i)s* (für *ungues*), *viscres* (für *viscera*) verstanden werden? In 5 lese ich, freilich mit einigem Vorbehalt, *Ma. Trebonius quaestu* (TRE steht nicht im Widerspruch zu dem, was im beschädigten Blei zu sehen ist). Die Trebonii sind seit der republikanischen Zeit überall in Latium verbreitet. Da MA für *Marcus* keine übliche Abkürzung ist (*Marcus* wird auf diese Weise in älterer Zeit überhaupt nicht abgekürzt; MA für *Marcus* kommt nach Salomies, Die römischen Vornamen, Helsinki 1987, 38 nur in späten Inschriften vor [unsicher bleibt CIL I<sup>2</sup> 1989]), könnte auch der oskische Vorname *Maraeus*, *Marus* (mit anderen Varianten) vorliegen (vgl. *Pac. Staties Ma. (f.)* CIL I<sup>2</sup> 3175).

6 lese ich wie Audollent, aber in 7 verstehe ich *bona*, *[i]ram*. Zu *ira* ist zu vergleichen *impetus*, *nisus* (auch in diesen Tafeln), *voluntas* usw. (vgl. das Verzeichnis bei Jeanneret 111). Der Rest bleibt mir zur Zeit obskur. Videant meliores.

Borsari 3 = Audollent 133. Bei dem heutigen Zustand der Tafel läßt sich nicht mehr feststellen, ob mit Borsari *arvosarius* und *arvosaria* für *adv-* zu lesen sei. Jedenfalls ist *arv-* eine bestens bekannte Form (Jeanneret 49). Der wichtigste Punkt ist aber die Namensform *T. Octavius T.l.* ohne Cognomen. Da die Freigelassenen seit Anfang des 1. Jh.v.Chr. das Cognomen regelmäßig führten und die Zahl der Fälle, in denen die Freigelassenen in der frühen Kaiserzeit ohne Cognomen genannt werden, auf einige wenige Ausnahmen zusammenschrumpft (darüber demnächst Solin, ZPE), muß diese Tafel (und damit

auch die zwei übrigen) aus der frühesten Kaiserzeit oder vielmehr aus der spätrepublikanischen Zeit stammen, wollen wir nicht eine Nachlässigkeit in der Wiedergabe des Namens annehmen, was an sich in Urkunden dieser Art vollends verständlich wäre. Die zweite Person heißt *P. Fidustus*, entbehrt also auch des Cognomens. Sie kann wegen des unterschiedlichen Praenomens nicht identisch mit *M. Fidustus* Audollent 134 A sein, sofern nicht auch hier eine Nachlässigkeit vorliegt. – Am Anfang des auf den Kopf gestellten Textes könnten die Namen der Prozeßgegner stehen: *Pos[tumius]* oder *Pos[tumia]* und *Gavia*.

## CXXVII. NURSINA

Ein paar kleinere Bemerkungen zu Inschriften, die in den zwei sehr nützlichen, aber recht unübersichtlichen Werken von R. Cordella – N. Criniti, *Iscrizioni latine di Norcia e dintorni*, Spoleto 1982 (dazu vgl. Kajava, *Arctos* 18 [1984] 191f) und Dies., *Nuove iscrizioni latine di Norcia, Cascia e Valnerina*, Spoleto 1988 (ersch. 1989) enthalten sind.

*Iscrizioni* 1982, 41 (= CIL IX 4579). Ein Cognomen *Dofis* wäre ein Monstrum. Ich vermute *Doris*, das ein überaus beliebtes Cognomen vertritt (allein in Rom 55mal belegt: Solin *Namenbuch* 536-538, wo nachzutragen: *Bull.com.* 91 [1986] 788. *Lapidario Zeri* [1982] 157. *Rend.Pontif.Acc.Arch.* 55-56 [1982-1984] 424 Nr. 6). Am Photo läßt sich nichts Sicheres eruieren; die dort sichtbaren Striche vertreten wohl moderne Rubrizierungen, denn sonst würde man weder DOM der früheren Gewährsleute noch DOFIS der neuen Editoren verstehen. Ich möchte den Autoren die Bitte aussprechen, meinen Vorschlag anhand des Originals nachzuprüfen.

50 (= CIL IX 4595). Die Lesung der Inschrift ist an manchen Punkten problematisch, obwohl die Autoren im zweiten Buch 47 an der Richtigkeit der Lesung festhalten. Oberhalb des Inschriftenfeldes möchte ich um der Symmetrie willen *D M [S]* ergänzen. Sofort danach wollen die Editoren [*Suce*]ssa (?) erkennen, aber wenigstens anhand des Photos kann man nichts eruieren, und auch inhaltlich ist der Zusatz völlig unnütz. Besonders problematisch ist die Namenform *C. Septimio T.lib. Aeliano*, denn die Freigelassenen führen in der vorgerückten Kaiserzeit (die Inschrift datiert sich etwa ins 2. Jh.) äußerst selten ein anderes Praenomen als ihr Patron. Schon Salomies, *Die römischen Vornamen* 234, 219 zweifelt an der Lesung und schlägt vor, *T. Septimio* zu lesen, und zwar wohl zu recht; der Stein ist an dieser Stelle freilich schwer beschädigt, aber anhand des Photos könnte man vielleicht bei Bedarf das nötige T herausbekommen. Die Editoren mögen die Lesung nochmals am Original nachprüfen. Ferner wundert es einen, warum *T.lib.* deutlich eingedrückt ist; war die links befindliche Beschädigung da schon, als der Stein beschriftet wurde, und dieser Umstand der Grund für die Einrückung? – An die Lesung *C[alli]opus* kann ich nicht glauben. Die alten Gewährsleute haben freilich CALLIOPVS intakt sehen wollen, doch hat ihr Zeugnis keinen Wert, denn sie sind auch sonst oft auf Irrwegen (wie auch die Editoren an manchen Stellen richtig betonen). *Calliope* war ein gängiger Frauenname, daneben findet sich aber kein *Calliopus*, ganz wie es neben *Euterpe* kein *Euterpus* gibt oder neben *Musa* kein *Musus*. Den falschen Namen [*Call*]iopus in einer Inschrift aus Isola Sacra bei Ostia habe ich *Arctos* 19 (1985) 205. 20 (1986) 275 eliminiert. In unserer Inschrift ist das, was die Editoren gesehen haben, wohl sicher. Der Vater hieß wahrscheinlich *Calopus* oder *Canopus*. Der erstere Name ist in der römischen Namengebung selten (nur einmal in Rom belegt: CIL VI 21898), aber in der

griechischen Welt etwas üblicher. Beliebter war *Canopus* (5mal in Rom belegt: Solin, Namenbuch 623).

75f. *Sabda Iovi*. Es ist ausgeschlossen, daß der Namenträger ein Jude gewesen wäre. Er war ein syrischer Sklave, und mit Iuppiter kann er einen der zahlreichen syrischen Hauptgötter gemeint haben.

86. *Q. Octavius / VIIIvir II[vir(ali) pot(estate)]*. In der ersten Zeile muß die Filiation ergänzt werden, die in einer Urkunde dieser Art nicht fehlen darf. Sonst zur Inschrift vgl. das zweite Buch 66.

89. *C. Pompuedius C. l. LIB. Pompuedius* (wenn wirklich so zu lesen) ist ein neues Gentilicium für die römische Namengebung. Ein harter Brocken ist LIB, das die Editoren als *Libero*, *libens* oder *librarius* deuten. Da aber die Freigelassenen seit Anfang des 1. Jh.v.Chr. regelmäßig ein Cognomen führen (vgl. oben 199), wäre man versucht, in LIB ein abgekürztes Cognomen, etwa *Lib(o)*, zu sehen. Dem steht aber entgegen, daß LIB mit beträchtlich höheren Buchstaben geschrieben ist.

98. II scheint mir nachantik zu sein.

99. Könnte in der zweiten Zeile [---] *f. Aventi[nus]* verstanden werden? *Aventinus* ist ein übliches Cognomen, verbreitet vor allem außerhalb von Rom.

Nuove iscrizioni 1988, 83. Man wäre versucht, so etwas wie *locus concessus* o.ä. *ab C. Maecenate* zu verstehen, wenn dazwischen nicht CI überliefert wäre.

85. Ein Gentilicium *Olanus* existiert nicht. In Iscrizioni 1982, 22 = CIL IX 411\* ist wohl *[B]olanus* zu ergänzen. Vielleicht *Coian[ia]*. Ein Gentile *Coianius* war bisher freilich nicht belegt, vgl. aber die Gentilnamen *Coius* und *Coiedius* (Schulze ZGLE 155. 168).

86. *C. Cari(us) A*[---]. So die Editoren. Ich glaube am Photo *C. Carfa[nius]* zu erkennen.

87. [---] l. *Bar*[---], / [---] l. *Martha*. In 1 vermuten die Editoren *Barba*, das aber ganz selten als Sklavename auftritt (mir ist nur CIL I<sup>2</sup> 2077 aus Perugia bekannt). Wegen des semitischen *Martha* in 2 kommt einem ungezwungen ein Name aus der semitischen Sippe *Barnaesus* in den Sinn. Wenn die Zeilen auch annähernd gleichmäßig lang waren, sollte man einen möglichst kurzen Namen wählen, also *Barna*, der einen weiteren Kurznamen aus dem Typ *Barnabu* vertritt. *Barna* im römischen Westen: CIL VI 7219. 10407. 12245. 26497. XI 7153. 7722 d = I<sup>2</sup> 2611.

94. Wäre in 2 AQVIN möglich?

98. *Ca(io) Caesio T(iti) f(ilio)*. Die Editoren notieren die merkwürdige Abkürzung CA. In Wirklichkeit wäre sie einmalig; nach Salomies, Die römischen Vornamen 29 erscheint sie für *Gaius* nur auf späten griechischen Inschriften. Könnte dahinter ein alter lokaler Vorname stecken? Die Inschrift ist ja recht alt.

100. Anhand des freilich nicht guten Photos lese ich in 1 *Eridano*. Der Rest ist am Photo unleserlich. *Eridanus* 9mal in Rom: Solin Namenbuch 646. Auch sonst im Westen belegt: CIL II 2. XII 4888.

105. Könnte in der letzten Zeile *sib(i) et Cn. Fad[eno ---]* gelesen werden? *Cai'ae'* der Editoren entfernt sich unnötig von dem, was der Stein bietet, und das von ihnen als Alternative erwähnte *Caifas* ist ausgeschlossen. Aus dem Photo zu schließen scheint der Buchstabe nach C ein N und nicht ein A und der vermeintliche Querstrich nur eine Beschädigung des Steins zu sein. Die gens Fadena ist in Nursia und Umgebung gut belegt.

147. Die Editoren lesen *P. Petillus Homerus* und notieren die Ungewöhnlichkeit der Form des Gentilnamens, den sie mit *Petillenus* verbinden wollen (die Möglichkeit eines Schreib-



fehlers für *Petilius* wird beiläufig erwähnt). Doch kann man anhand des Photos getrost *Petilius* lesen.

158. Ich vermute *Sex. Aredi(us) Sex.l. Acast(us)*. Das Gentile *Aredius* ist in Reate belegt: CIL IX 4751.

159f. *Auctus* ist sicher das Cognomen des C. Marius und wurde aus Nachlässigkeit im Nominativ gesetzt.

164. Interessant ist der Name *Epidora*, hier wohl zum zweiten Mal im römischen Westen belegt (zuerst CIL IX 4826). Es handelt sich um einen guten griechischen Vollnamen (Bechtel HPN 157).

194. Die Inschrift ist stadtrömisch. Sie wurde von H.A. Sanders, Mem.Amer.Acad. in Rome 10 (1932) 73 intakt publiziert (der Schlußteil heißt *vilicus balin(ei) Caenidiani alumnae dulcissimae fecerunt*). Wie die Inschrift nach Visso gelangt ist, bleibt im Dunkeln; jedenfalls befand sie sich noch Anfang der dreißiger Jahre in Rom in einem Privathaus.

195. Diese Inschrift ist ihrerseits nomentanisch. Sie wurde in der Ortschaft Fosso Fonteciaia im Gebiet von Nomentum gefunden: C. Pala, Nomentum, Forma Italiae, regio I, vol. 12 (1976) 118, 130 (daraus AE 1976, 124).

196. Die Editoren haben den Textverlauf dieser sicher stadtrömischen Inschrift nicht verstanden. Sie lesen *<B>assae* und halten Torquatus für den Sohn des Paares oder eines Elternteiles. Die Inschrift ist aber auf folgende Weise zu verstehen: *Calpurniae Philiae, assae nutrici Torquati fili, Calpurnius Thybris coniugi b. m.* Zu *assa nutrix* vgl. Schol. Iuv. 14, 208, aus dem Leben CIL VI 29497. Torquatus scheint zur Familie der Nonii Calpurnii Torquati Asprenates zu gehören. Wegen des Zusatzes *fili* dürfte er Sohn ebenfalls eines Torquatus sein. Da die Inschrift nicht sehr früh sein dürfte (ich würde sie vor allem wegen der Formel *b. m.* etwa ans Ende des 1. oder ins 2. Jh. ansetzen), trifft die Wahl zunächst den L. Nonius Calpurnius Torquatus Asprenas, Konsul 94 und 128 (PIR<sup>2</sup> N 133), dessen

Vater ebenfalls ein Torquatus war, wie es scheint (PIR<sup>2</sup> N 127). Da wir aber diesen Zweig der Nonii Calpurnii besonders schlecht kennen (zu ihnen L. Vidman, LF 105 [1982] 1-5), könnte ebenso gut ein Sohn oder Enkel von ihm in Frage kommen (etwa PIR<sup>2</sup> N 134, sofern es sich um seinen Enkel handelt). Leider wissen wir nicht, ob die Freigelassenen dieses Zweiges sich *Nonii* oder *Calpurnii* nannten; im Namen des Konsuls 94 und 128 überwiegt *Nonius*. Nun brauchen die zwei Calpurnii in unserer Inschrift an sich keine Freigelassenen der Familie der Torquati zu sein, doch möchte man gern ein nahes Verhältnis zwischen der Amme und den Torquati annehmen (sehr oft führen die *nutrices* das Gentile der Familie, in der sie beschäftigt waren.). Eine andere Möglichkeit wäre, hier einen Bellicius Calpurnius Torquatus zu sehen, etwa den Konsul 148; *Torquatus* war in seiner Familie schon vor ihm sicher in Gebrauch. Doch ist die alte patrizische Familie der Nonii Torquati auf eine ganz andere Weise mit der Stadt Rom verbunden als die aus Gallien gebürtigen Bellicii, weswegen ich ohne weiteres für die erstgenannten plädieren würde. – Wenn man der Tatsache keine Bedeutung beimißt, daß die Amme eine Calpurnia ist, dann könnte noch an die Iunii Silani Torquati gedacht werden, denn im Namen ihrer Dienerschaft konnte *Torquatus* allein gebraucht werden: Im Mausoleum der Iunier begegnen wir einem *cocus Torquati* (CIL VI 7602) und einer *Iunia Stadio Torquati l.* (CIL VI 7636). Dabei käme in Frage zunächst D. Iunius Silanus Torquatus, Konsul 53, dessen Vater ebenfalls das Cognomen *Torquatus* führte. Bei dieser Annahme müßte die Inschrift freilich in die erste Hälfte des 1. Jh. datiert werden. Deswegen könnte auch an einen sonst unbekanntem Sohn des Konsuls 53 gedacht werden (sein Neffe L. Iunius Silanus Torquatus scheint keine Kinder gehabt zu haben).

211. Mask. *Calvia* bleibt nach wie vor mysteriös.

## CXXVIII. ZWISCHEN CAPUA UND ROM

In der Villa des Kardinals Santoro bei Caserta befand sich zu Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts eine ansehnliche Inschriftensammlung, die aus campanischen und stadtrömischen Inschriften bestand, deren Gesamtzahl 32 beträgt. Die Sammlung wurde bald aufgelöst. Ignazio Maria Como fand von ihnen im Jahre 1740 nur vier, Francesco Daniele (*Numismatica campana*, Neapel 1802, 96) keine mehr. Die meisten sind verlorengegangen, nur zwei von ihnen finden sich heute im Archäologischen Museum in Neapel (CIL X 4067. 4124; CIL VI 26824, auch dort aufbewahrt, war wohl nie bei Santoro, wie Mommsen unter CIL X 519\* zu verstehen gibt; dazu weiter unten). Von diesen Steinen veröffentlichte Mommsen in CIL X insgesamt 15 Inschriften, auch wenn er für mehrere von ihnen stadtrömische Herkunft vermutete. In CIL X 519\* verzeichnete er 17 Texte, denen er mit Sicherheit stadtrömische Provenienz zuschreiben wollte. Von ihnen gelang es mir, 16 in stadtrömischen Inschriftencorpora wiederzufinden. Sie sind: CIL VI 3470. 12560. 18359. 23359. 26199. 26824. 27541. 28359. 28364. 32673. 32802. ICVR 3561. 3686. 3784. 20894. 21291. Zu dieser Gruppe ist dreierlei anzumerken:

1) Trotz ausgedehnter Nachforschungen ist es mir nicht gelungen, die erste der von Mommsen CIL X 519\* verzeichneten Inschriften zu finden. Laut Mommsen soll sie mit *Ti. Claudius Ianuarius* beginnen und bei Orelli 3356 stehen. In Orellis Sammlung findet sich aber keine einzige Inschrift, die dieses Incipit hätte; nicht nur ist die Nummer 3356 falsch, sondern der ganze Hinweis auf Orelli. Auch in CIL VI findet sich keine Inschrift, in der ein (Ti.) Claudius Ianuarius erwähnt wird und die – laut den Angaben des CIL – als in Santoros Villa befindlich überliefert wäre. Mommsen ist ein Fehler unterlaufen, dem nachzugehen nur die Durchsicht der Papiere von Matteo

Girolamo Maza, die sich im Muratorianischen Archiv in Modena finden sollten, erlauben würde. Es sei mir aber gestattet, auf zwei Inschriften hinzuweisen, die mit dem Namelement *Ti. Claudius Ianuarius* anfangen und die im 16. Jh. in demselben Weingarten des Kardinals Carpensis (beide sind verschollen) wie die sofort zu besprechende Inschrift CIL VI 22467 = X 4221 gesehen wurden, nämlich CIL VI 9152 *Ti. Claudius O.l. Ianuarius* usw. und 15121 *d.m. Ti. Claudio Ianuario* usw.; außerdem werden 15121 und 22467 von einigen Autoren zusammen angeführt (von Torrentius in Kopie des Nicolaus Florentinus und von Knibbius). Wäre es möglich, daß 15121 die von Mommsen gemeinte Inschrift wäre, deren Wanderung nach Campanien den Editoren des CIL VI entgangen wäre?

2) Es ist nicht sicher, ob CIL VI 26824 *d.m. Statia Constituta* usw. überhaupt je in den Garten des Kardinals Santoro gelangt ist. Im Lemma von 26824 liest man, daß Maza als Aufbewahrungsort seinen eigenen Garten, nicht den des Kardinals Santoro angibt. Maza hatte eine große Menge Inschriften in seiner Villa in Posillipo bei Neapel gesammelt; von ihnen gelangten manche in das Archäologische Museum, darunter auch die unsrige. Fiorelli, *Catalogo del Museo Nazionale di Napoli. Raccolta epigrafica, II. Iscrizioni Latine*, Napoli 1868, 233 wiederum schreibt das Stück dem Museo Farnesino zu; das kann aber unmöglich stimmen, denn die Inschrift fehlt in dem in Palermo befindlichen Index der Farnesinischen Inschriften (über diesen Index s. etwa Puteoli 11 [1987] 62), und ferner trägt die Inschrift selbst keine Nummer der Farnesinischen Sammlung, wie es bei den Farnesinischen Inschriften sonst üblich ist. Es muß sich demnach um ein reines Versehen von Fiorelli handeln. Wer sich geirrt hat, Mommsen oder die Editoren von CIL VI, ließe sich nur aus den Papieren von Maza in Modena feststellen. Da nun die Inschriften der Villa Maza, die noch 1809 vorhanden waren, in das Archäologische Museum gekauft wurden, während

aus Santoros Villa Steine in das Museum nur ganz zufällig gelangten, würde man den Angaben im Lemma von CIL VI 26824 den Vorzug geben.

3) Nicht alle von Mommsen in CIL X 519\* angeführten Inschriften lassen sich dokumentarisch als stadtrömisch nachweisen; dieser Einwand gilt für CIL VI 12560. ICVR 3561. 3686. 3784. Sie wurden alle von de Rossi als stadtrömische altchristliche Inschriften angesprochen. Mommsen ist also insofern inkonsequent verfahren, als er diese Gruppe von Inschriften aus seiner Edition der capuanischen Inschriften in CIL X gänzlich ausschloß, während er die unten zu besprechenden heidnischen Inschriften, für die er stadtrömische Provenienz vermutete, mit in seine Edition einschloß, obwohl für beide Gruppen stadtrömische Provenienz auf gleiche Weise zwar möglich, aber dokumentarisch nicht nachweisbar ist. Hat die Autorität von de Rossi die Ausschließung der christlichen Inschriften bewirkt? Was ihre tatsächliche Herkunft angeht, läßt sich wohl keine letzte Sicherheit erreichen. Der Stil der kurzen Inschriften ist freilich sehr „römisch“, und in ihnen begegnen Termini, die der in Capua belegten altchristlichen grabinschriftlichen Diktion nicht eigen sind; z.B. das in ICVR 3561 gebrauchte *dormit* kommt in capuanischen altchristlichen Inschriften nicht vor. Ferner fehlen für Capua charakteristische Ausdrücke wie der Textanfang *hic requiescit in pace* o.ä. Das alles kann aber auf purem Zufall beruhen, denn die meisten capuanischen altchristlichen Inschriften sind längere, ansehnliche Texte, meistens durch ältere Gewährsleute wie Michele Monaco (aber auch durch andere) überliefert, die vielleicht nur solche 'wichtiger' aussehende Texte als der Aufnahme wert betrachteten. 'Kleine' altchristliche Inschriften durften in Capua aber nicht fehlen, auch wenn sie dort nur dürftig überliefert sind. Meines Erachtens dürfen diese Inschriften nicht anders beurteilt werden als die sofort zu besprechenden heidnischen

Inschriften. Einige von ihnen, oder auch alle, können stadtrömisch sein; da ihre wahre Provenienz aber dokumentarisch nicht feststeht, sollten sie mit gleichem Recht wie die folgende Gruppe ihren Platz unter den capuanischen Texten finden.

Und nun endlich zu den Steinen, die Mommsen in CIL X unter den capuanischen Inschriften publizierte. Es sind 15 an der Zahl: CIL X 3992. 4007. 4034. 4044. 4066. 4067. 4124. 4144. 4158. 4191. 4221. 4275. 4337. 6877. Einige von ihnen sind zweifellos capuanischer Herkunft, für die Mehrzahl vermutet Mommsen aber stadtrömische Provenienz. Dabei ist ihm (wie auch den Editoren des CIL VI) entgangen, daß für einen dieser Texte stadtrömische Provenienz gesichert ist, nämlich für 4221, die früher von Torrentius, Knibbe und Cittadini in Rom im Weingarten des Kardinals Carpensis gesehen wurde; aus diesen Autoren (und aus Ligorio) CIL VI 22467 (auch hier wurde die Identität also verkannt). Die der Textform von CIL X 4221 zugrunde liegende Abschrift von M.G. Maza (dem wir schon begegnet sind) weicht nur geringfügig von den römischen Exemplaren ab; zu wählen ist die in CIL VI 22467 gegebene Fassung, also METILIAE und PANNYCHIS als normale Schreibungen und LIBERTI ausgeschrieben.

Von dieser Gruppe von Inschriften sind sicher campanisch 4044, 4067 und 4124, weil früher im Territorium des antiken Capua gesehen; außerdem vertritt 4044 den Typ der capuanischen Stelen, in 4067 und 4124 begegnet die capuanische Tribus Falerna, und *Epidius* in 4124 ist ein für Campanien charakteristischer Gentilname. Als capuanisch zu urteilen ist sehr wahrscheinlich auch der Meilenstein CIL X 6877 und wohl auch 4158, über deren Provenienz jedoch nichts Sicheres feststeht (für lokale Herkunft könnte das für Capua passende Cognomen *Campanus* sprechen sowie die Tatsache, daß es sich vielleicht um eine capuanische Stele handelt). Für alle restlichen Inschriften vermutet Mommsen stadtrömische Provenienz, was gut möglich

ist. Die besten Chancen, eine stadtrömische Inschrift zu sein, hat 3992 mit der für die stadtrömische grabinschriftliche Diktion charakteristischen, aber in Capua gänzlich fehlenden Formel *sibi et libertis libertabusque posterisque eorum* (vgl. auch *sibi et suis posterisque eorum* 4066). Der Wortlaut restlichen Inschriften ist in dieser Hinsicht neutraler, doch haben sie einen gemeinsamen Zug darin, daß sie alle spät sind, datierbar ins 2./3. Jh. (4191 und 4337 datiere ich enger ins 2. Jh.). Auch die oben besprochenen sicher stadtrömischen Inschriften, die später in die Villa Santoro gelangten, sind durchweg späten Datums (etwa 2./3. Jh.) und stammen – soweit ihre nähere Provenienz bekannt ist (ungewiß bleibt sie nur bei CIL VI 32673. 32802 und den christlichen CIL VI 12560. ICVR 3561. 3686. 3784) – aus S. Agnese fuori le mura, also der Agnese-Katakomben. Die einzige Ausnahme bildet CIL VI 22467 = X 4221, deren Geschichte im Weingarten des Kardinals Carpensis beginnt. Santoro hat also römische Steine auch von einem römischen Kollegen gekauft (vgl. auch, was oben zu CIL VI 9152 und 15121 gesagt wurde).

Daß für keine dieser Inschriften stadtrömische Provenienz überliefert ist, beruht übrigens einfach darauf, daß sie schon früh nach Campanien gelangten, so daß nur die nicht zahlreichen Autoren des 16. Jh. sie in Rom hätten erwähnen können.

Bis auf zwei Ausnahmen (die capuanischen CIL X 4067. 4124, die sich im Archäologischen Museum von Neapel finden, wo auch CIL VI 26824 aufbewahrt wird, die aber nicht sicher zur ehemaligen Sammlung Santoro gerechnet werden kann) sind die Inschriften der Villa des Kardinals verlorengegangen. Zur Exegese dieser verschollenen Texte hänge ich hier eine einzige Bemerkung an: die korrupt überlieferte X 4007 wird von Mommsen überzeugend *Anatellonti et Feliclae Stattia(?) Anatole parentibus* emendiert, vor allem wegen der Bündelung der Namen *Anatellon* und *Anatole* (dieselbe Kombination in CIL VI 35275, nur ist *Anatole* umgekehrt die Mutter); nur *Stattia* für das

überlieferte NATIA bleibt unsicher. Der Text trägt übrigens keine Merkmale einer stadtrömischen Inschrift und braucht auch nicht ganz so spät zu sein wie die übrigen in der Reihe der vermutlichen stadtrömischen Inschriften der Villa Santoro.

Um das Fazit zu ziehen, Kardinal Santoro hatte in seiner Villa Inschriften verschiedener Provenienz gesammelt. Mit Vorliebe scheint er stadtrömische Steine gekauft zu haben, unter denen eine Gruppe deutlich hervorsticht, nämlich Inschriften der späteren Kaiserzeit aus S. Agnese an der Via Nomentana. Doch war es nur natürlich, daß die Sammlung auch campanische Stücke umfaßte. Deswegen wird man Mommsens Entscheidung billigen, wenn er alle diejenigen Texte im Corpus von Capua beibehielt, für die stadtrömische Provenienz nicht nachgewiesen werden kann. Aus Mommsens Corpus würde ich außer X 4221 nur 3992 und vielleicht 4066 entfernen.

### CXXIX. OSTIENSIA

Im Band XIII der *Miscellanea greca e romana* (1988) sind zahlreiche ostiensische Inschriften verschiedenen Inhalts enthalten. Ihnen sind die folgenden Bemerkungen gewidmet.

Auf S. 153-158 publiziert R. Palmieri einige neue Grabinschriften aus dem Gelände der Porta Laurentina. Der aufschlußreichste der Texte ist Nr. 3, den ich vielfach anders verstehe als der Editor. Ich schlage folgenden Wortlaut vor:

-----

[*Minuciae*] *Q. f. Maximillae*

[*fili*]ae et

[*Q. Minuc*]io *Hermaisco* [*f(ilio)*]

[*et Au*]cto viro piissimo et

5 [*Q. Mi*]nucio *Hermeti* li[*b(erto)*]



*benemerenti p(osuit) p(ecunia) s(ua).*  
*Aburiae Sex. Aburi Primigeni lib. Id[eni]*  
*p(iissimae) p(osuit).*  
*libertis libertabus [poste-]*  
 10 *risque eorum.*

Ich gehe davon aus, daß die Errichterin, deren Name den Anfang der Inschrift besetzte (wenn der winzige Rest oben rechts wirklich zu M gehört und so D M zu verstehen sei, wie Palmieri annimmt, dann muß auch D ganz am linken Rand gestanden haben und der Name der Frau zwischen den Dedikationssiglen), eine freie (vielleicht freigeborene) Frau und ihr Mann Auctus ein Sklave war. Daraus folgt, daß ihre Kinder und ihr Freigelassener dasselbe Gentile führten wie sie. Wenn Hermes Freigelassener der Mutter von Maximilla war, wie es scheint, dann ergibt sich als Gentile der Errichterin und ihrer Kinder *Minucius*, denn die ostiensischen Minucii führten oft den Vornamen *Quintus*. Ein anderes für Ostia charakteristisches Nomen ist *Tinucius*, aber das Praenomen der ostiensischen Tinucii war ausnahmslos *Titus* (aus purem Zufall ist in Ostia eine *Tinucia Maximilla* belegt: CIL XIV 1676). Einige Einzelheiten: 4 Es ist aus Zentrierungsgründen ein möglichst kurzes Cognomen zu wählen; *Auctus* ist ein typischer Sklavename und paßt auch deswegen gut (Kajanto, Latin Cognomina 350 verzeichnet 114 Sklavennamenbelege, und allein aus Rom findet sich *Auctus* nach meinen Sammlungen etwa 65mal als Sklavename). Die übrigen kürzeren Namen auf *-ctus* sind seltener. Üblicher ist nur *Fructus* (nach Kajanto 352 als Sklavename 34mal belegt, aber allein aus Rom rechne ich aus meinen Sammlungen 30 Sklavennamenbelege). Das von Palmieri aufgenötigte *Invictus* ist etwas lang und wäre sehr ungewöhnlich als Sklavename (ist auch sonst nur okkasionell belegt). – 6 Diese Zeile ist schlecht zentriert. Könnte P · P · S ein späterer Zusatz sein? – 7 Palmieri sieht hier eine weitere Verstorbene namens

*Aburia Primigenia*(!) und versteht *idem sua pecunia posuit*. In ID steckt natürlich der Anfang des Cognomens der *Aburia*, das wahrscheinlich *Ide* ist (die Form *Ideni* paßt raummäßig vorzüglich). *Ide* ist ein beliebter Name (24 Belege in Solin Namenbuch 639f.; dort nachzutragen ICVR 25267). – 8 P · P ist am Besten als *piissimae posuit* zu nehmen. – 9 Palmieris Ergänzung *libertabus[que poste-]* ist zu lang, denn MAXIMILLAE dürfte sich bis zum rechten Rand des Inschriftenfeldes erstreckt haben, um so mehr wenn die letzte Zeile auch annähernd zentriert war.

Nr. 4. Hier bekommen wir einen weiteren Beweis dafür, daß alle ostiensischen Träger des Gentiliciums *Salinator* den Vornamen *Marcus* führten. Die Freigelassenen und Nachkommen der Pächter der Salinen in Ostia haben die Namenkombination *M. Salinator* aus irgendeinem besonderen Grund bevorzugen müssen, und zwar vielleicht in Anlehnung an den Namen des berühmtesten Livius Salinator, der eben den Vornamen *Marcus* führte (Salomies, Die römischen Vornamen 246, 257).

Auf S. 181-216 folgt die Publikation von 51 neuen kommunalen Inschriften durch A. Marinucci. Ich sehe in diesem Zusammenhang von einer näheren Betrachtung dieser Texte ab und mache hier nur auf einige augenscheinlich falsche Lesungen und Interpretationen aufmerksam.

Nr. 3. Transkription und Photo stimmen oben rechts nicht überein. Der Editor hat es versäumt anzugeben, daß auf dem Photo ein weiteres Fragment fehlt. Schlimmer aber noch, daß er die letzte Zeile völlig mißverstanden hat. Er liest *cui monumento ad heret(em) adparatorium* und vermutet einen Schreibfehler für *heredem*. Es muß sein *cui monumento adheret adparatorium*. Vielleicht derselbe Q. Aquilius Dionysius CIL XIV 4562,1.

Nr. 7. 5 *lec(to)*.

Nr. 8. 1 warum sind die Buchstaben des Gentilnamens unterpunktirt? - 8 *s(equetur)*.

Nr. 15. 3 *Polytimus*. Die Namengebung ist interessant. Ein Freigelassener des A. Egrilius A.lib. *Polytimus* heißt *Egrilius Onesimus Polytimianus*. Da *Onesimus* Freigelassener des *Polytimus* ist, kann er sein zweites Cognomen nach üblicher Art nicht als Erinnerung an den früheren Herrn führen; wahrscheinlich hat *Polytimus* den *Onesimus* später gekauft, dem aus einer Laune das zweite Cognomen *Polytimianus* zugelegt wurde. Merkwürdig mutet das Cognomen *Farnassus* an (die Lesung scheint sicher zu sein). Vielleicht handelt es sich um eine Kontamination von *Pharnaces* und *Parnassus*.

Nr. 17. 7 Marinucci liest [---] *Stephano, Hermetis lib(erto), mei lib(erto)*. Es ist aber *Stephano Hermetis lib(erti) mei lib(erto)* zu verstehen.

Nr. 23. In der Transkription ist die dritte Zeile ausgefallen: *Titiae Pyralidi*.

Nr. 32. Hier würde ich einiges anders verstehen. In 3 bereitet das Cognomen Schwierigkeiten. Da die Länge der Zeile feststeht, kann man die Zahl der fehlenden Buchstaben in etwa berechnen. Aber die einzigen zur Verfügung stehenden Cognomina, die auf *-lla* enden und die am Anfang nach *Vi-* eine Vertikalhaste haben, sind *Vinilla* und *Vindicilla*, von denen das eine zu kurz, das andere zu lang zu sein scheint; außerdem sind sie unbekannt in Italien. Müßte man also eine Graphie für *Ve-* annehmen? – In 5 würde man nach *fecit* gern das Praenomen *C.* ergänzen; wenn dem so ist, kann in 6 nach *Ovinius* nicht die Filiation gestanden haben, wie der Editor denkt, denn man würde in dieser späten Inschrift ohne weiteres *C.f.* erwarten (in der vorgerückten Kaiserzeit führten ja die Familienmitglieder fast ausnahmslos dasselbe Praenomen). Entweder hat da ein kurzes erstes Cognomen gestanden (nichts hindert uns ja anzunehmen, daß *Antonianus* ein zweites Cognomen vertritt) oder aber die Tribusangabe *Pal.* (es ist nicht unerhört, daß vor der

Tribusangabe die Filiation fehlen kann [s. etwa Arctos 21 (1987) 134f]). – II 3 *Polycar[pus]*.

Nr. 33. 4 *Istimenniae* muß so bleiben, es darf also nicht in *Istimeniae* geändert werden. Dieser Gentilname wird des öfteren mit *-nn-* geschrieben (vgl. CIQ 1987, 521).

Nr. 34. Ich verstehe die Lesung der letzten Zeile von b + c nicht.

Nr. 44. Zweifellos [*Arte*]*misius*.

### CXXX. FALSCHES UND VERKANNTES NAMEN

1. Der falsche Name *Pelopea* kann jetzt endgültig eliminiert werden. In der brindisinischen NSc. 1899, 451 in der Form PELOI[---] publizierte Inschrift wollten die Editoren von AE 1978, 250 *Pelop[ea]* erkennen. Eine solche Bildung wäre aber undurchsichtig. Jetzt hat Fr. Paulicelli, Taras 6 (1986) 123-128 die Inschrift mit einem Photo neu publiziert (sie schleppt aber die falsche Lesung der AE weiter). Das Photo bestätigt meine in Arctos 19 (1985) 207 ausgedrückten Zweifel und zugleich meine Vermutung, es sei *Peloris* zu verstehen.

2. In der verdienstvollen Publikation terracinischer Inschriften durch P. Longo, Annali Fac.lett. e Filos. Perugia 21 (1983-1984) 1, Studi Classici, 315-341 lassen sich manche Bemerkungen vor allem onomastischer Art machen. Ich greife hier nur die Nr. 28 (S. 334) heraus, die Longo liest [---*Ve*]veius *Comus / Restio / Veveia Fausta uxor / [---] Restiturus*. Daraus AE 1986, 141. Ich habe die Inschrift mit Mika Kajava im Jahre 1983 aufgenommen und lese [- *Ve*]veius *Comus, / [--- Ch]restio, / Veveia Fausta uxor, / [--- Pro]futurus*. Da *Restio* ein sehr seltener Name ist, ziehe ich es vor, [*Ch*]restio zu ergänzen; jedenfalls muß links das Gentile ergänzt werden, denn *Restio* ist nicht, wie auch die Editoren der AE denken, ein zweites

Cognomen des Veveius Comus. *Restiturus* ist ein falscher Name. Vom Schlußteil des Namens ist TVRVS eindeutig, auch V davor plausibel und F möglich. Jedenfalls ist von allen Cognomina mit dem Ausgang *-turus* allein *Profuturus* ein gängiger Name.

3. Sotgiu, Iscr. Sardegna 304 *Ioilus* muß zweifellos als *Zoilus* verstanden werden. Entweder handelt es sich um eine Verschreibung, oder eher *i* für *z* läßt sich phonologisch erklären. Etwa eine Graphie wie *Iosimus* zeigt das Schwanken zwischen *i* und *z*.

4. Die letzte Note betrifft eine interessante neue Namenform. *d. m. s. C. Securio Vestigatori m(iliti) co(ho)r(tis) IIII Praet(oriae)* beginnt eine von M. Buonocore, *Misc. greca et romana* 13 (1988) 147 publizierte Inschrift aus der Regio V. Der Prätorianer führt ein für die gallischen und germanischen Provinzen charakteristisches Gentilicium, das außerhalb des gallisch-germanischen Raumes nur einmal in Moesia und ein paar Male in Afrika belegt ist (s. Salomies, in: *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum* 166). Der Mann war also zweifellos aus diesem Raum gebürtig und hat sich nach der Entlassung in Mittelitalien niedergelassen. Interessant ist auch sein Cognomen *Vestigator*, bisher nur in der Alimentartafel von Ligures Baebiani (CIL IX 1455 III, 24 vom Jahre 101 n.Chr.) und als Name eines Gemeindesklaiven von Iuvanum (CIL IX 6083, 164) belegt (an sich wäre *Vestigator* seiner Bedeutung gemäß passend als Soldatencognomen).

### CXXXI. VARIA URBANA

1. CIL VI 10223 und 15121 führen dieselben Personen an. In 10223 stiften Ti. Claudius Aug. lib. Ianuarius und seine Frau Avonia Tyche ein *solarium*, in 15121 errichtet Aonia Tyche den Grabstein seinem Mann Ti. Claudius Ianuarius. Daß *Aonius* nur

eine Nebenform von *Avonius* ist, ist von vornherein klar und wird durch diese Identifizierung erhärtet. – Daß ein kaiserlicher Freigelassener (wie ein Freigelassener überhaupt) die Angabe des Ex-Patrons weglassen kann, ist ein übliches Phänomen (vgl. z. B. QUCC 18 [1974] 122).

2. Ein ähnlicher Fall liegt in *Crispina Meroe* CIL VI 10055 und *Crispinia Meroe* 25692 vor. Freilich ist die Identität nicht ohne weiteres klar, aber wegen der relativen Seltenheit dieser Gentilnamenformen plausibel (*Meroe* dagegen war ein beliebter griechischer Name). Wenn dem so ist, dann liegt eine Nachlässigkeit des Steinmetzen vor, denn an sich müssen wohl *Crispinus* und *Crispinus* als zwei selbständige Gentilnamenbildungen betrachtet werden, *Crispinus* ist also nicht bloß eine graphische Nebenform von *Crispinus* wie *Aonius* von *Avonius* zu beurteilen.

3. In CIL VI 25244 muß *Pylade*, nicht *Pyladi* gelesen werden (am Photo verglichen). Der Dativ von griechischen Namen auf *-es* endet oft auf *-e* statt *-i*, obschon die letztere Endung vielfach üblicher ist.

4. CIL VI 25811 muß beginnen *dis manibus Salvillo*. CIL druckt *Salvilio*, das ist aber ein purer Lapsus, denn Muratori 2062, 7, der den Text über Ign. Como von unserem alten Bekannten Maza hat, gibt *Salvillo*. Auch Mommsen, IRN 3353, der aus Muratori schöpft, hat *Salvillo*. Man erwartet auch diese Schreibung, denn der Name heißt *Salvillus*. Mit Recht fragt Vidman in seinem Cognominaindex, ob nicht eher *Salvillus* vorliege.

5. CIL VI 37220, Grabinschrift eines Prätorianers, enthält einen Passus, der noch der Erklärung harrt, nämlich die Parenthese zwischen dem Namen des Verstorbenen und des Errichters: *cui rosam ponere deb(uerunt) opifices ACORTI*. Schwierigkeiten bereitet das bisher nicht erklärte ACORTI. Ich vermute *a cohorte*. Das Wort *cohors* wird in Inschriften sehr oft,

besonders in den obliquen Kasus, *cors*, *cortis* gekürzt geschrieben. *-i* für *-e* als Ausgang des Ablativs macht ebenfalls keine Schwierigkeiten. (ACORTI wird zwar ohne einen Trennpunkt geschrieben, während in der Inschrift sonst Punkte gebraucht werden; man kann sich aber denken, daß hier der Punkt ausblieb, weil *a* und *corti* so eng zusammengehören). Der Ausdruck *opifices a cohorte* folgt einem üblichen Schema und hat nichts Merkwürdiges. Diese waren untergeordnete Handwerker in der Prätorianerkohorte, zu deren Aufgaben es gehört hätte, einen Rosenkranz bei der Bestattung des Surlus Sabinus niederzulegen.

6. Der Erstling meiner epigraphischen Analekten galt der Grabstele *Acume annos vix(it) XXX*, die in der Villa Lante, dem Sitz des Finnischen Instituts in Rom aufbewahrt wird: *Arctos* 6 (1969) 101f. Ich kann jetzt die von mir geäußerte Vermutung bestätigen, die Stele könne aus Süditalien stammen. E. Le Blant (*CRAI* 1888, 105) publiziert den Text dieser Stele mit der Angabe, sie komme aus Tarent. Diese Angabe stammt zweifellos von Wolfgang Helbig, der ja damals in der Villa Lante wohnte. Er hat die Stele entweder in Rom antiquarisch gekauft oder sie aus Tarent mitgebracht.

7. Der Name des Errichters des Grabsteines *NSc.* 1933, 447 Nr. 25 wird vom Editor folgendermaßen wiedergegeben: *TI·CLAVDIus Ti. l. / GRAI·EROS*. Das wäre eine unmögliche Namenform. Ich habe im Herbst 1989 im Institut für lateinische Epigraphik der Universität Rom "La Sapienza" von der Inschrift eine gute Aufnahme gesehen und las ohne Bedenken *Ti. Claudi[us] / Crateros*. Silvio Panciera und Gian Luca Gregori, die dabei waren, bestätigten die Lesung. *Craterus* war ein gängiger Name in Rom (15 Belege in meinem Namenbuch 666). *-os* für *-us* in griechischen Namen ist nicht normal, bereitet aber keine Schwierigkeiten. Möglicherweise ist die Endung *-os* in Anlehnung an die beliebten und zahlreichen Namenkomposita auf

-eros gewählt; ein ähnlicher Fall ist *Glycerus*: neben *Glycerus* erscheint oft *Glyceros* (7mal in Rom: Namenbuch 34, wo nachzutragen Bull.com. 90 [1985] 418), das sogar *Glyceroti(s)* flektiert werden kann und demnach folgerichtig als ein Kompositum Γλυκ-έρως angesehen werden muß.

Dieselbe Inschrift verbirgt auch eine andere auffallende Form. Sie scheint mit den Worten *Epigono filia[e]* zu enden. Ist *Epigono* eine bloße Nachlässigkeit für *Epigone*, oder liegt hier ein Beispiel für den äußerst seltenen Brauch vor, bei aus adjektivischen Bildungen abgeleiteten Frauennamen die maskulinische Endung beizubehalten? Das Adjektiv ἐπίγονος ist ja Commune. Ein analoges Beispiel liegt in der kürzlich aufgetauchten Inschrift Lapidario Zeri (1982) 176 *Domitia Pausilypus* vor (von diesem Typus sind übrigens die spätantiken Frauennamen auf -ius fernzuhalten).

8. *d. m. Pothitae* beginnt eine von M.G. Granino Cecere, Misc. greca e romana 13 (1988) 65 publizierte Inschrift aus Grottaferrata, aber vielleicht stadtrömischer Herkunft. Die Editorin sieht hier den Namen *Potita*, ich würde eher für *Potheta/e* plädieren, denn das parasitäre *h* wäre sehr überraschend. *Pothete* in Rom CIL VI 19570.

9. *[dis] manibus / [---] Elaini / [---]one lib(erta) eadem / [coniunx]* usw. lautet eine von L. Chioffi, Misc. greca e romana 13 (1988) 217 publizierte Inschrift. Die Editorin will das Gentile des Mannes als *Volusius* ergänzen, weil *Elainus* bei den Volusii ganze drei Male vorkommen soll. Ein seltsamer Einfall. Schlimmer noch, daß all die drei Inschriften, in denen diese Namenkombination vorkommt, sich auf ein und denselben L. Volusius Elainus beziehen. Auch ist der Altar beträchtlich später als der aus CIL VI bekannte Volusius Elainus. – Derselbe Altar wurde etwa gleichzeitig auch von D.E.E. Kleiner, Roman Imperial Funerary Altars with Portraits (Roma 1987) 240 Nr.



103 publiziert, aber mit völlig falscher Lesung und unbrauchbarer Photographie.

10. *d. m. Filiae que vixit ann. tribus mensibus duobus minus dies septem*: A. Ferrua, RAC 62 (1986) 284f Nr. 8 aus einer römischen Katakombe. Bemerkenswert ist die Schreibung *Filia*, wenn man es denn mit Ferrua als Name nehmen muß. Denn *Philia* wird äußerst selten mit *F-* geschrieben, vor allem wegen der Gefahr der Verwechslung mit *filia*. Mir ist ein einziger Beleg auf *F-* bekannt, CIL VI 36151 (er dürfte sicher sein). Das ist nicht viel bei dem beliebten und durchschnittlich späten Namen (14 Belege im Namenbuch 1259; dazu noch La collezione epigrafica dei Musei Capitolini [1987] 132 und R. Cordella – N. Criniti, Nuove iscrizioni latine di Norcia, Cascia e Valnerina, Spoleto 1988, 196; meist aus der vorgerückten Kaiserzeit). Eben deswegen fragt man sich, ob nicht *filiae* verstanden werden könnte; der Name der Tochter kann wegen ihres jungen Alters weggeblieben sein (auch die Namen der Eltern fehlen). – Ferrua beurteilt die Inschrift als christlich; ich wäre vorsichtiger.

11. Die von A. Ferrua, Θίασοϛ τῶν Μουσῶν, Festschrift für J. Fink, 1984, 125f (= AE 1986, 43) publizierte Inschrift *Eutychaneti coniugi dulcissim(ae) bene merenti Epictetus maritus fecit* findet sich schon bei Mai Nova collectio V 460, 2.

## CXXXII. CHRISTLICHES AUS AQUILEIA

G. Cuscito, RAC 63 (1987, ersch. 1989) 167-192 publiziert eine Handvoll christlicher Inschriften aus Aquileia. Onomastisch aufschlußreich ist die Nr. 7 auf S. 179 (mit Photo Abb. 7), die vom Editor wie folgt wiedergegeben wird: *benemerites [Virgin?]/ie et nepoti Fo[rtunie? ---] /liai Hir[ene? et Eu?]/odius con[tra vo]/tum posu[erunt ---] / annos [---]*. So also der Editor. Schon die Ergänzung des ersten Wortes macht stutzig. *Virginus*

-a, ein übliches Wort im altchristlichen Grabinschriftlichen Jargon, ist nur ganz okkasionell als Personennamen belegt: *Virginus* ILT 818, vielleicht auch ICVR 23758. Dagegen ist *virg(inus)* in AE 1979, 235 nicht Eigenname, wie man im Kommentar der AE bestürzt liest; desgleichen ist *virginia* AE 1982, 411 kein Eigenname. Schwieriger zu beurteilen ist AE 1986, 48 *Birginie bene cesquenti compari F[---]; dep. VII Kal. Sep.:* in *F[---]* könnte der Name des Errichters stecken, und in dem Fall wäre *Virginia* ein Eigenname, ebenso gut kann aber mit *F[---]* der Name der jung verstorbenen Frau beginnen; auch dieser Beleg müßte also besser ausscheiden. Ein Personennamen *Virginus -a* wurde in der altchristlichen Namensgebung also praktisch nicht gebraucht. In unserer Inschrift soll man natürlich auf eine Ergänzung verzichten.

Der Name der Enkelin war nicht *Fortunia*, sondern ein Name, der mit *Fo-* begann und mit *-lia* endete (es ist übrigens, aus dem Photo zu schließen, *-liae* und nicht *-liai* zu lesen). Etwa *Fortunillia*; freilich ist ein solcher Name bisher nicht belegt, aber durchaus plausibel in der altchristlichen Namensgebung, aus *Fortunilla* (belegt RAC 36 [1960] 82 [Rom]) wie *Fulgentillia* (ICVR 17489 aus dem Jahre 385) aus *Fulgentilla* (an sich unbelegt) gebildet. Die Ergänzung *Hir[ene]* ist plausibel, denn die übrigen Namen auf *Hir-* sind seltene Bildungen; nur *Hirpinus* ist etwas üblicher, kommt aber kaum mehr in christlichen Inschriften vor. Die Schreibung *Hirene* kommt schon in der früheren Kaiserzeit vor (CIL VI 16656) und ist üblich in altchristlichen Urkunden. Plausibel ist auch *[Eu]odius* (wenn nicht ein anderer griechischer Name wie das übliche *Epipodius* oder *Calopodius*), aber möglich wäre auch etwa *Clodius* als Einzelname. – *nepos* öfters von der Enkelin in altchristlichen Inschriften: Diehl ILCV III S. 558.





Abb. 1. Audollett 135 A.





Abb. 2. Audollent 134 B a.



Abb. 3. Audollent 134 B b.



Inv. 52702

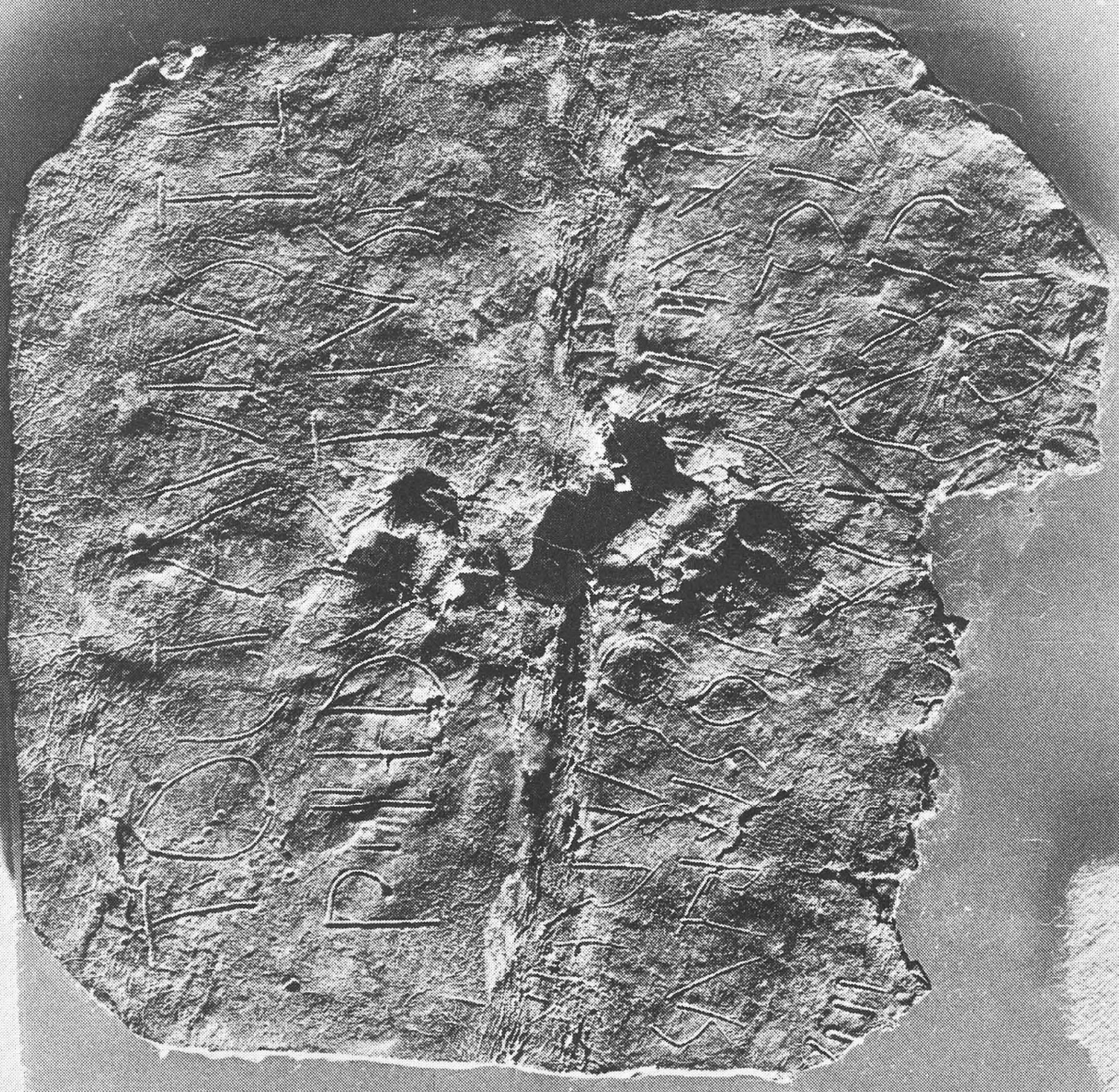


Abb. 4. Audollent 133.

# The Representations of the Capercaillie (*Tetrao urogallus*) and the Pheasant (*Phasianus colchicus*) in Romano-Campanian Wall Paintings and Mosaics

Antero Tammisto

Birds seem to have interested man throughout history. Such a statement is a commonplace, but this does not make it any less true. The reasons and explanations for this particular interest are many and have changed with men and times, but the abundance of avifauna in nature and their characteristic ability to fly seem to be the basic reasons at least for the permanent decorative value of birds.

In Romano-Campanian wall paintings, too, birds are the most abundant and prominent group of animal subjects, as well as being standard motifs in most Romano-Campanian wall paintings in general. In this respect it is not entirely anachronistic that even today it is very often precisely the birds that are chosen as some kind of emblems or "advertisements" of Romano-Campanian wall paintings: A Swallow (*Hirundo rustica*) from the garden paintings in the so-called Auditorio di Mecenate was chosen as the "cover-bird" for the catalogue of the exhibition "L'archeologia in Roma capitale tra sterro e scavo" in 1983, and a Little egret (*Egretta garzetta*) from the paintings in the Casa



del Menandro decorates the cover of the first volume of the "Rivista di Studi Pompeiani" published in 1987.<sup>1</sup>

Usually the birds in Romano-Campanian wall paintings are not as easily identifiable as these two. The birds may be intentionally fantastic ones, or free variations of certain models or combinations and/or confusions of several species. Without going into detail we can say that to be able to estimate the significance of various details as distinguishing marks (or not as such), a systematic study of a great number of bird motifs is necessary. This is clearly shown e.g. by the representations discussed in two articles published in two earlier volumes of the present journal (Arctos 19 [1985] and 20 [1986]), which emerge from my work on a comprehensive study of bird motifs in Romano-Campanian wall paintings. The comparison material has to be as large as possible because in some cases the "key" to identification and/or interpretations may be found in one or two representations only.

On the other hand, abundant comparisons and knowledge of many bird representations may in some cases misleadingly predetermine the way a given bird motif is seen. Being aware of this risk I used a lecture at the meeting of the ornithological society Tringa (Helsinki, 6.4.1989) to test some of my identification proposals against those made by several trained

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<sup>1</sup> The Rivista di Studi Pompeiani is reviewed elsewhere in this volume. On this occasion reference must also be made to the poster of the exhibition of the material from the Tomba François in 1987, which shows the detail of the augurial Swallow from the well-known paintings of that tomb. There is no doubt of the ornithological identification of this specimen, nor of its augurial character, which on the other hand does not justify its identification as a woodpecker as suggested by F. Coarelli, *Le Pitture della Tomba François a Vulci: una proposta di lettura*, in: *Ricerche della pittura ellenistica (Quaderni dei Dialoghi di archeologia, vol. 1)*, Roma 1985, 56-57 (fig. 10), who wants to see here the *picus martius* because it was an important augurial and mythological bird.

ornithologists who had not previously seen or been acquainted with birds in Romano-Campanian wall paintings. This identification test gave interesting, and in some cases surprisingly varying results which I hope to be able to publish in my forthcoming Phd. dissertation.

In the following, I discuss one illustrative case which led to the identification of the Capercaillie (*Tetrao urogallus*) in a Pompeian wall painting, which further supports the identification of another representation in a Pompeian mosaic as this species. As far as I am aware, these two cases are the only known representations of the Capercaillie in ancient art.

The bird in question is among the several birds which enliven the garden scene to the right of the famous megalography which has given the modern name to the Casa di Adone ferito (VI 7,18).<sup>2</sup> (See fig. 1 at the end of this article). The north wall of the viridarium (room no. 14) is divided into three panels by two painted red Ionic columns in front of which there are painted statues of Chiron teaching Achilles.<sup>3</sup> The megalography in the central panel shows the wounded Adonis being cured by amorines

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<sup>2</sup> I. Bragantini & al., *Pitture e pavimenti di Pompei II (PPP)*, Roma 1983, 150-153 with further references, of which particularly valuable is W. Jashemski, *The Gardens of Pompeii, Herculaneum and the Villas Destroyed by Vesuvius*, New York 1979, 66-67 and 83 giving a colour photograph (fig. 107). This photograph unfortunately shows only the central detail of the right panel.

<sup>3</sup> According to E. Moormann, *La pittura parietale romana come fonte di conoscenza per la scultura antica*, Assen Maastricht 1988, 170 (Cat.n. 198f.) the two statues though slightly different both represent a variant or copy of the statue of Chiron teaching Achilles known from Pliny to have been exposed in the Saeptra in Rome. This statue is known only from this and another Fourth Style wall painting from the so-called Basilica from Herculaneum (ibid. 102-103 cat.n. 019). In the latter Achilles and Chiron are represented as "living" figures whereas in the Casa di Adone ferito they are clearly shown as statues. Moormann suggests the left one to be closer to the original which was probably from the 2nd c. BC. (Ibid. 46 and 69).

and Aphrodite.<sup>4</sup> Of the garden painting in the left panel only minor traces of plants are preserved.<sup>5</sup> This is most unfortunate, since we can assume it to have been as spectacular as the garden painting in the right panel.

In fact, the whole decoration of the *viridarium* can be regarded as spectacular, though the house is relatively modest in size. This holds true for the composition as a whole, i.e. garden paintings on both sides of a large megalography with a mythological subject, which seems to have been relatively rare and presumably also somewhat exclusive. Among the numerous garden paintings in Pompeii such a combination is preserved in only two or three houses. The best known is the Orpheus with animals flanked by two garden panels in the Third Style wall paintings which have given the modern name to the so-called Casa di M. Vesonius Primus o di Orfeo (VI 14,20).<sup>6</sup> Orpheus with animals combined with garden paintings is also reported to have figured in the Fourth Style wall paintings which were in the Casa di Stallius Eros (I 6,13), but not enough is preserved to allow us to interpret these paintings.<sup>7</sup> Better preserved are the Fourth Style paintings in the peristyle garden in the so-called Casa della Venere in Conchiglia (II 3,3), where between the garden panels in the rear wall there is the famous scene with Venus in a shell.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> According to Jashemski 66 the Adonis is "today only faintly visible and known chiefly from the excavation report published in 1838." In reality the painting is surprisingly well preserved even today and its high quality is revealed also by some older photographs, see PPP II 152 for further reference.

<sup>5</sup> Jashemski 67 "could make out faint traces of oleanders with red blossoms and other barely visible plants painted against blue sky."

<sup>6</sup> PPP II 278-280 with further references.

<sup>7</sup> PPP I 39 with further references.

<sup>8</sup> PPP I 222-224 with further references.

The preserved garden scene in the Casa di Adone ferito is in most respects similar to garden paintings "in general", but shows some rare details, which support the suggestion of its exclusive character. One is the sleeping figure at the edge of a semi-circular rocky pool, which forms the central subject in the scene dominated by the dense vegetation – mainly Oleander and some Madonna lilies in flower – enlivened by a dozen birds. The young male figure has from Helbig onwards usually been identified as a Satyr. This is in deed the most likely alternative if the figure is leaning with its left hand against a skin as stated in earlier descriptions of the painting. In the present state of preservation this cannot be ascertained, though near the right hand there are remains which probably represent the mouth of such a skin. Because such skins are typical of representations of Satyrs, this identification is to be preferred to that of the Eros suggested recently by Moormann.<sup>9</sup> Should it be a skin it would be a further support for the identification of the figure as a fountain statue, though the colours and the very lively represented posture suggest that the painter might have intended the figure to represent a "living" one. Be the figure represented a statue or a "living" Satyr/Eros, in either case it is an exceptional one in Romano-Campanian wall paintings.<sup>10</sup> Though there are many

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<sup>9</sup> Moormann 170 cat.n. 198f. gives also a bibliography of earlier studies, but surprisingly enough does not even mention the possible skin which, used by an Eros would be unusual, see also B. Kapossy, *Brunnenfiguren der hellenistischen und römischen Zeit*, Diss. Bern 1969, 30-38 for statues of Satyrs (sleeping ones 33-34) and *ibid.* 40 for statues of sleeping Eros. Jashemski 67 mentions a wineskin, but the figure's right hand is not exactly clutching the skin as she states.

<sup>10</sup> Just as in real gardens, statues are frequently found in Romano-Campanian garden paintings. Usually the painted statues seem to be made of white marble, but also polychrome ones are known. It is noteworthy that the distinction between statues and "living" figures is not always clear in wall paintings (as shown by figures on bases represented like "living" ones). For statues in garden paintings, see Moormann 40-48, and for

garden paintings with birds on the brim of a fountain, like the two white Domestic pigeons here, such a pool is found only rarely; the lower part of it is destroyed.<sup>11</sup> Another fairly uncommon detail attesting the high quality is the twisted marble candelabrum on the top of which there is, over the vegetation, a pinax showing a goat being attacked by a feline (most likely a leopard).<sup>12</sup> In addition to the two Pigeons at the pool, among the vegetation there are ten birds, the identifications of which are given in the text for fig. 1.<sup>13</sup>

The majority of the avifauna are those occurring in numerous other garden paintings – doves, warblers and thrushes being standard species. The Purple gallinule is also known in some

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statues of Eros and Satyrs, *ibid.* 53-55. Polychromy and choosing of materials is discussed by Moormann 71-75. In my opinion the colour of the Satyr(/Eros) in the Casa di Adone ferito is brown instead of white as stated by Moormann 170 (cat.n. 198f.). It is, however, a different brown from the colour used for the clearly "living" figures in the central panel, resembling the colour of the nearby statue of Chiron (whereas the figure of Achilles being taught by Chiron is white). "Living" human figures (including mythological figures in human form) are quite exceptional in garden paintings. The only example where this is undoubtedly the case is an amorphe holding a double flute and flying with a Swallow, a Domestic pigeon and a passerine in the small viridarium (no. 9) in house IX 6,8, see PPP III 496 with further references. Though clearly an Eros this winged figure is not an actual parallel for the figure in the Casa di Adone ferito. The "love-story" in the central panel in the Casa di Adone ferito, as well as the pomegranate and the Kingfisher near the feet of the figure in the garden painting – if indeed love symbols (see here n. 15) – could be interpreted as a support for Moormann's identification of the figure as an Eros.

<sup>11</sup> The only similar one is represented in the garden painting in the Casa di Apollo (VI 7,23), see PPP II 157 and 160-161 with further references.

<sup>12</sup> According to Moormann 170 (cat.n. 198f.) the relief in the pinax would show the fight between Eros and Pan. Moormann adds that this part of the painting is now almost illegible, but at least in 1984 the feline and the goat could be distinguished without any difficulty.

<sup>13</sup> Jashemski's 67 description and identifications are in this case surprisingly inaccurate, cf. here notes 4 and 16.

other garden paintings, though it is clearly less common.<sup>14</sup> Unusual in this particular specimen is the posture in which the bird is very skilfully represented, seen from above and almost frontally. Several exceptionally accurate details in the execution of the other birds confirm the talents and ambitions of this painter. Work of this quality also seems to imply a keen observation of real birds. Such observation was not necessarily done by this particular painter himself, but even the choice of such peculiar models justifies his (or perhaps her?) characterization as an "ornithologically orientated" painter.

This also explains the presence of two species which are so far unique in garden paintings. One is the tiny but prominently represented Kingfisher at the foot of the pomegranate near the feet of the Satyr (/Eros). This has been discussed together with other representations of the species in an earlier article,<sup>15</sup> where

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<sup>14</sup> One Purple gallinule is represented among the numerous birds in the garden paintings from Livia's villa at Prima Porta, see M.M. Gabriel, *Livia's Garden Room at Prima Porta*, New York 1955, 53 n. 69 Pl. 34 erroneously identified as a dove species. In Pompeii a Purple gallinule is found in garden paintings in the summer-triclinium near the Palaestra (II 9,7), see PPP I 243-244 with further references, in the viridarium (h) of the Casa dei Ceii (I 6,15), and in the fragments of garden paintings probably from house VI 17,42. In 1984 I saw but had, however, no chance to study these fragments at that time under restoration. They seem very similar to those from the oecus from VI 17,42 recently restored, see PPP III 17-18 and *Riv.Stud.Pomp.* 2 (1988) 148-153 figs. 9-10.

<sup>15</sup> A. Tammisto, *Arctos* 19 (1985) 218-242. For the painting in the Casa di Adone ferito, see *ibid.* 240-241. A supplementary remark also has to be made about the Kingfisher, of which I stated in n. 67 that: "there is no need to see in it any allusion to "Gattenliebe und liebender Klage" referring to the famous megalography (in the panel to the left) with Aphrodite and the wounded Adonis cured by amorines." I had, however, not noticed that on the rock above Adonis' shoulder there are some fruit which according to F.P.M. Francissen are "a quince and pomegranates, the attributes of Venus, the goddess of love and nature." *Id.*, *Riv.Stud.Pomp.* 1 (1987) 114 fig. 5 (see also here fig. 1). Thus the pomegranate with the nearby

I proposed that the other exceptional bird to the right of the head of the Satyr (/Eros) most likely represents a Pheasant (see fig. 2 at the end of this article).<sup>16</sup>

The blue colour and the slim habitus with a fairly long neck seemed to be features deriving from the Peacock frequently represented in garden paintings. The long slim tail (top destroyed), however, clearly excluded the Peacock suggesting instead the Pheasant. Also the dark neck feathers, the light prominent bill, and particularly the red area around the eye could be interpreted as features of the latter species. Thus it seemed that the painter had aimed to represent a male Pheasant from memory, but being uncertain about the details he "borrowed" some features of the Peacock, the best known fowl at least in wall paintings. This explanation seemed the most likely one, as such confusion often occurs in wall paintings.<sup>17</sup>

The possibility of a Capercaillie seemed entirely unlikely as I could not recall any representations of this species; moreover, it is an inhabitant of remote woodlands (mainly coniferous), in southern Europe in hills and mountains. The specimen in the

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Kingfisher in the garden scene may suggest that this rare and particularly beautiful bird could also perhaps be a sophisticated love symbol.

<sup>16</sup> Tammisto, *Arctos* 19 (1985) 240-241 n. 67. Also in PPP II 153 the bird is called a "faggiano". Jashemski usually attempts to be accurate in the identification of flowers and birds using specialists when needed. It is thus surprising that in the description of the garden paintings in Casa di Adone ferito she states inaccurately and erroneously – perhaps based on hasty field notes(?): " A large white bird drank from the pool. Two peacocks could be made out at the right of the painting, and a marble *pinax*, perhaps two, farther back in the garden, and there were many birds throughout the garden."

<sup>17</sup> I refer here only to two birds in the paintings in ala (F) in the Casa dell'Ara massima (VI 16,15), see PPP II 358. The distinctive white peckles are a characteristic of the Guineafowl (*Numida meleagris*) but the other colours and the habitus of the birds are clearly those of a Purple gallinule.

painting in question was shown together with the Purple gallinule among the representations in the above-mentioned identification test in which answers were received from 21 members of the ornithological society Tringa. The slide was shown for c. 30 seconds for identification proposals which varied as follows:

Capercaillie ( <i>Tetrao urogallus</i> )	7
Peacock ( <i>Pavo cristatus</i> )	2
Pheasant ( <i>Phasianus colchicus</i> )	2
Black francolin ( <i>Francolinus francolinus</i> )	1
<i>Galliformes</i> sp.	1

Total 13 proposals

Moorhen ( <i>Gallinula chloropus</i> )	6
Purple gallinule ( <i>Porphyrio porphyrio</i> )	3
Rail species ( <i>Rallidae</i> sp.)	1

Total 10 proposals

The fact that over half the answers proposed a Capercaillie led me to reconsider this possibility. Even if the tail is somewhat too slim for this species, a closer examination of the colours of its uppertail coverts showed that the representation corresponds better to the colours of the Capercaillie than to those of the Pheasant. The bluish-grey (somewhat greenish shade) of the body is lighter than the dark grey of the male Capercaillie, thus resembling the colour of the Peacock, but together with the brown wings and back they correspond best to the Capercaillie. Noteworthy is the fact that the neck is dark, most likely aiming to represent the bird with erected hackles. The emphatically large bill also more likely refers to the Capercaillie than to the Pheasant. The Capercaillie also has red above its eye, though this detail in the painting remains more pheasant-like. The right leg is not clearly visible, but the left one seems to show that the feet



were also represented as feathered. If so, the representing of this distinctive detail would be remarkable evidence for an accurate autopsy.

Instead of the somewhat arbitrary suggestions of a combination/confusion of a Pheasant and Peacock, the bird must thus be a male Capercaillie. The colours and the feet, if indeed feathered, show that someone had closely observed the species. As stated above, however, this someone need not have been the painter himself. In fact, inaccuracies such as the pheasant-like slim tail and habitus with the red colour around the eye suggest that the painter himself had not seen the actual bird but worked from a model giving the essential characteristics only.

This model may also have been merely a verbal description. In addition to being a rarity attesting the ornithological knowledge of the painter and representing wild and remote nature the bird may be a specific wish by the commissioner, so impressed by the curious bird that he/she wished to have it in the garden scenes decorating his/her own viridarium. Among the paintings of this house there is also another detail supporting the suggestion that this (these) painter(s) based their work on keen observations of animals and had – or their commissioner had – high ambitions in choosing individual, or at least rare subjects. There is a still life on the north wall of the east portico of the peristylum (no. 13) representing an ordinary looking, but very well depicted dog. What the object(s?) to the right of it was (were), cannot be judged with certainty. The dog has several parallels in the numerous *cave canem*-like representations, but this kind of still life is, as far as I know, without parallel. Whether or not this subject has some symbolic content, other than a genre scene, has at present to be left for further studies.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> J.-M. Croisille, *Les natures mortes campaniennes* (Coll. Latomus vol. 76), Bruxelles 1965, 84 n. 2168, Pl. LXXXIII n. 162: "Chienne tournée vers la droite; plat posé sur un bloc. Helbig: *Scabellum* et 2 flutes(?)."

The rarity of certain subjects and species is, as we know, largely bound to the "Pompeian scale". With this reservation we may note that rarely represented birds are usually found in paintings of better quality. High quality in wall paintings does not, however, imply abundant use of bird motifs. Moreover, also among paintings with numerous bird motifs we can distinguish rare subjects which seem to imply a particular interest in bird motifs; we have described these painters as "ornithologically orientated". It is not surprising that the most outstanding examples are found among garden paintings in which the avifauna is particularly prominent. Without going into detail, we refer here only to the most monumental and best known example from Livia's villa at Prima Porta (now in the Museo Nazionale di Roma), and to the Pompeian garden paintings in the Casa dei cubicoli floreali (I 9,5) and in house VII 17,42. The two latter ones are by the same or a filial workshop, and they may be related to the above-mentioned decoration in the Casa di Orfeo.<sup>19</sup>

In addition to the garden painting in the Casa di Adone ferito discussed above, particularly interesting are those in the triclinium-nymphaeum in the Casa del Centenario (IX 8,3), which show unusually many species of fowl including such a rarity as the Guineafowl. There is also a Domestic cock (*Gallus gallinaceus*), which is otherwise very common, but very rare in garden paintings.<sup>20</sup> The faunistic ambitions of these painters are

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<sup>19</sup> For Livia's villa see Gabriel; for the houses in Pompeii see PPP I 94-102; PPP II 279-280; PPP III 17 (all with further references).

<sup>20</sup> For the viridarium (n. 33) in the Casa del Centenario see PPP III, 525-528 with further references. The Guineafowl in Romano-Campanian wall paintings can be identified with certainty in only three other cases: Casa dei Vettii (VI 15,1) atrium (c); fragment from Campania now in the Museo Nazionale di Napoli, inv. 9624; paintings from the Colombario di Villa Doria Pamphilij now in the Museo Nazionale di Roma. In five cases the Guineafowl is probably meant, but is not to be distinguished from either the Peacock or the Purple Gallinule. The only cock in a context related to

also shown by the animal hunts and the fish- and river-scenes in this room, and by the exceptionally abundant avifauna among the slender garlands in room no. 11 of the house, including the rarely represented Flamingo (*Phoenicopterus ruber*).<sup>21</sup>

Such "ornithologically orientated" painters evidently used pattern books with numerous bird subjects most likely deriving from illustrations of zoological works. Further evidence of such pattern books are the paintings from the Colombario di Villa Doria Pamphili (now in the Museo Nazionale di Roma), with numerous still lifes among the loculi. The still lifes are dominated by various birds, including such rarely represented species as the Pelican (*Pelecanus sp.*), Spoonbill (*Platalea leucorodia*), Guineafowl, Kingfisher and Hoopoe (*Upupa epops*). Together with the numerous Egyptian subjects in the paintings these argue for the Alexandrian origin of the models.<sup>22</sup> It has been suggested that scientific illustrations from the *Mouseion* in Alexandria served as models for earlier Nile- and fish-mosaics.<sup>23</sup>

Though figurative subjects in Pompeian mosaic pavements were largely replaced by mostly black-and-white geometric patterns during the time of the Second Style, there is one exception with numerous birds most likely deriving from pattern books as suggested above. This is the floor mosaic – usually dated the Third Style – in the atrium of the so-called Casa di Paquius Proculus o di Cuspius Pansa (I 7,1), which is divided into 50 squares. Except for one square in the centre of each side of the

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garden paintings is among the bushes decorating the plutea in the peristyle of Casa del Menandro (I 10,4), not mentioned in PPP I 113-115.

<sup>21</sup> The only other Flamingo in Romano-Campanian wall paintings known to me is near the feet of the Orpheus in the above-mentioned painting in the Casa di Orfeo.

<sup>22</sup> Tammisto *Arctos* 19 (1985) 234-237 with further references (notes 56-59). See also Z. Kadar, *Survivals of Greek zoological illuminations in Byzantine Manuscripts*, Budapest 1978, 84-90 and 113ff.

<sup>23</sup> P.G.P. Meyboom, *MNIR* 39 (1977) 51ff.

impluvium, each square shows a bird in white on a black background. Thirty-eight birds are preserved.<sup>24</sup> Most of them cannot be identified more closely because of the restriction to black and white and because of the clumsy execution. Thus the diversity – all 38 seem to represent different species – at first seems a result of rather occasional variation.<sup>25</sup> As such I also interpreted the features of the bird shown in fig. 3 at the end of this article. The identification of the Capercaillie in the wall painting discussed above led me to reconsider the identification of this bird too, and I now suggest that it is most likely representing this species. Most distinctive is the tail, which is in the characteristic courtship display. The overemphasized curved bill very likely aims to underline its large size. The legs are destroyed, and it cannot be ascertained whether there was also a crest or some tuft on the head. Some reservations also remain on account of the evident restoration of the mosaic. Because nothing can be said about the colours, we cannot completely exclude the possibility of a male Great bustard (*Otis tarda*), which also may hold its tail in a similar posture. The possible tuft would, moreover, point to the latter species.

The suggestion that here too the intention was to represent a Capercaillie is supported by the fact that apart from the clumsy execution in black-and-white of this mosaic, some of the birds can be identified as other distinctive species which are also rarely represented. In addition to the common Peacocks and a Ring-necked parakeet (*Psittacula krameri*) and a sacred ibis (*Threskiornis aethiopicus*), there is a Guineafowl and a Crane

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<sup>24</sup> PPP I 45-47 with further references. Symmetrically on both sides of the impluvium the space of two squares is occupied by a rhomb in which there is a polychrome Peacock. Green and red tessellae are also used in the figure of a Ring-necked parakeet.

<sup>25</sup> Tammisto, *Arctos* 19 (1985) 235 note 54. The identification of the Kingfisher was there left uncertain.

(*Grus grus*), the latter being the only one known to me in Romano-Campanian wall paintings and mosaics. The bird very likely representing a Kingfisher is another rarity, as is one which because of its emphasized "horns" most likely shows the Pheasant. In the light of these examples it seems that the unidentifiability of the other birds represented in this mosaic – most of which resemble passerines – is due to the clumsy execution and the black-and-white technique rather than free variation. It is plausible to assume that these mosaicists relied on polychrome pattern books, but that perhaps for economic reasons they had to execute their own work in the black-and-white technique.

On the basis of what we know of the Capercaillie and related species in ancient sources – literary as well as visual – it is improbable that there would have been a picture of it in Hellenistic scientific literature.<sup>26</sup> The above representations of the Capercaillie most likely derive – even if not directly – from observations of specimens kept in Roman aviaria. Here it must be underlined that the two representations do not seem to be based on a common source, at least judging by the fact that the bird in the wall painting is not shown in courtship display, as the one in the mosaic is. We now also have visual evidence confirming that the Capercaillie was known – though not very widely – to the ancient Romans, as attested by the literary sources to be discussed below.

We concentrate here on Pliny the Elder, who once again is not only the main source but actually the only one in which the Capercaillie can reliably be identified.<sup>27</sup> Under the name *tetrao*

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<sup>26</sup> Kadar 77-90 and 113ff. for the illustrations; for the literary sources see below.

<sup>27</sup> Plin. nat. 10,56-57. For the Greek literary sources see the discussion about the identification of the bird *tetrax* by Sir D'Archy Wentworth Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*, 1936 (2nd ed.), 282-283; see also

Pliny describes two species.<sup>28</sup> "...its gloss and its absolute blackness, with a touch of bright scarlet above the eyes" are clearly features pointing to the male Black grouse (*Lyrurus tetrix*), though the characteristic lyre-shaped tail is not mentioned. Consequently the other species (Pliny uses the word *genus*) which is mentioned to be larger than the vulture must refer to the male Capercaillie.<sup>29</sup> The observation of the bird's great weight is developed into a sort of *mirabilium* typical of Pliny with the statement that the bird can grow to "such a size that it is actually caught motionless on the ground."<sup>30</sup> In reality the Capercaillie is a rapid flyer, its noisy "take off" being a particularly characteristic and impressive feature.

There is no direct reference to the remarkable communal display habits of either species. However, Capponi may be wright in suggesting that Pliny's story of the Capercaillie caught motionless on the ground goes back to an observation of the

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J. Pollard, *Birds in Greek Life and Myth*, 1977, 22. For the Latin literary sources on the identification of birds called *tetrao(n?)* see F. Capponi, *Ornithologia latina*, Genova 1979, 483-484; see also *ibid.*, 484-485 s.v. *tetrax*. See also V. Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*, 1963 (reprint of the 8th ed. by O. Schrader 1911), 367-369, and O. Keller, *Die Antike Tierwelt II*, Leipzig 1911, 165; also a brief discussion by J.M.C. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life and Art*, 1973, 256 and by W. Richter, *KP I*, 730 s.v. "Auerhahn".

<sup>28</sup> Plin. nat. 10,56-57 (following the Tusculum-edition 1986): *decet tetraonas suos nitor absolutaque nigritia, in superciliis cocci rubor. alterum eorum genus vulturum magnitudinem excedit quorum et colorem reddit, nec ulla ales, excepto struthocamelo, maius corpore implens pondus, in tantum aucta ut in terra quoque immobilisprehendatur. gignunt eos Alpes et septentrionalis regio. in vivariis saporem perdunt. moriuntur contumacia spiritu revocato.*

<sup>29</sup> Translation cited from the Loeb-edition by H. Rackham (1967). See also F. Capponi, *Latomus* 21 (1962) 591-592.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* For "*mirabilia*", see M. Vegetti, *Zoologia e antropologia in Plinio*, in: *Plinio il vecchio sotto il profilo storico e letterario*, Como 1982, 117-131, particularly 119.

courtship display of the species. In the mating season, the cocks are very aggressive and may even attack men. In such cases, as well as during the ecstatic stage of the displays, the cocks may be an easy prey.<sup>31</sup> Very likely such occasions have indeed been used, if we can trust Pliny's comment that these birds were kept in aviaria. There were evident difficulties in so doing as can be judged from Pliny's statement that in aviaria "they lose their flavour, and obstinately hold their breath till they die."<sup>32</sup>

The representations of a Capercaillie as such are not evidence of the presence of the species in ancient Central or Southern Italy, particularly as Plin. nat. 10,56 states the *tetraonas* to be inhabitants of the Alps and northern regions. This well characterizes the distribution of the Capercaillie (as well as that of the Black grouse for that matter) in present-day Italy. The Capercaillie has, however, been said to have occurred in Central Italy until the 19th century.<sup>33</sup> Remote woods in mountainous areas would also be a potential habitat further south on the peninsula, e.g. in Apulia. This agrees with the suggestion that in ancient Italy the area of distribution of the Capercaillie was larger. If so, then perhaps its shyness and elusiveness influenced its characterization as a northern species. Without underestimating these observers, we may say that their knowledge of

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<sup>31</sup> Capponi, Ornithologia 483. Among the 94 species of birds which have been attested in finds from Roman Britain the Black grouse is found, but the identification of Capercaillie remains uncertain. At any rate it was not common game in Roman Britain. See, A.J. Parker, Oxford Journal of Archaeology 7 (1988) 197-226, especially 214.

<sup>32</sup> According to F. Capponi, Le fonti del X libro della "Naturalis Historia" di Plinio, Genova 1985, 295 n. 63 this statement might derive from a (vanished) work by Varro. See also Capponi, Ornithologia 483-484.

<sup>33</sup> So Keller II 165-166 referring to Bechstein. As early as in Keller's time the Capercaillie was found in Italy in southern Tyrol only, like today; see also P. Bricchetti, Atlante ornitologico italiano I, Brescia 1976, 159-160.

the distribution and provenience of animals was open to errors from many sources.

Capponi has rightly observed that the passage where Pliny treats the *tetraonas* together with the preceding *chenerotes* and the following *otidas* (Plin. nat. 10,56-57) has little in common with the themes of the preceding or following chapters (Plin. nat. 10,51-55 on geese and 10,58-60 on the cranes). Capponi suggests that the passage 10,56-57 was placed here as it provides further examples of large birds belonging to the group called *alites* in Plin. nat. 10,43.<sup>34</sup> According to Capponi, the statements about the economic and culinaristic value of the *chenerotes*, *tetraonas* and *otidas* in Plin. nat. 10,56-57, with information about their habitat, provenience and distribution, are taken from the same source as similar observations in Plin. nat. 10,132-135 discussing rare birds and their use (e.g. at table).<sup>35</sup> The information about the *tetraonas* in particular seems to fit Plin. nat. 10,133-134, where e.g. the *lagopus* (Ptarmigan, *Lagopus mutus*) is mentioned as a hare-footed alpine bird, which is tasty but difficult to keep "as it does not grow tame in habits and very quickly loses flesh."<sup>36</sup> Capponi suggests that the source for this digression on Alpine species is a *Corografia*, of which no more is known; but the gastronomic information may also be based on a lost work by Varro.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Capponi, Le fonti 295 n. 64. Plin. nat. 10,43: *Nunc de secundo genere dicamus, quod in duas dividitur species: oscines et alites: illarum generi cantus oris, his magnitudo differentiam dedit.*

<sup>35</sup> Capponi Le fonti, 295-297. For the identifications of the other birds see under the respective names Capponi, Ornithologia.

<sup>36</sup> Capponi, Le fonti 295-296. Translation cited from the Loeb-edition by H. Rackham, who erroneously translates *lagopus* as the Willow Grouse (*Lagopus lagopus*) instead of the Ptarmigan as Capponi, Ornithologia 311-312 rightly identifies it.

<sup>37</sup> Capponi, Le fonti 295-296 n. 63; L. Bodson, Aspects of Pliny's Zoology, in: R. French & R. Greenaway (eds.), Science in the Early Roman Empire: Pliny the Elder, his sources and Influence, London -



Varro is an important, though not the only source about Roman aviaria kept both for display and for profit, particularly from the early 1st c. BC. onwards. The Romans adapted and significantly developed the keeping and eating of tasty fowl and other birds, also as part of the luxurious life, as it was known and/or imagined, of the ruling class of the Hellenistic world.<sup>38</sup> Thus it is no wonder that particularly exotic fowl – Peacock, Pheasant and Guineafowl above all – appear in literary sources as emblematic of the *Tafelluxus* and of the luxurious life-style in general.<sup>39</sup>

This is also attested by the highly illustrative extravagance which Suet. Cal. 22,3 reports in regard of the cult which Caligula is said to have introduced for his own *numen*. His *aureum iconicum* was dressed each day in clothing corresponding to that the Emperor was using, and for each day of the week a different species of sacrificial bird was reserved which Suetonius characterizes as *excogitissimas hostias*, listing them as follows: "*Hostiae erant phoenicopteri, pavones, tetraones, numidicae,*

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Sydney 1986, 102-105 considers the treatment of Alpine fauna as "...an example of Pliny's original contribution to the description of the palearctic fauna...". According to Bodson, Pliny's "...statements about the ibex, marmot, mountain hare, ptarmigan, capercaillie and black grouse are so accurately and vividly written that they sound like eyewitness reports, supported by personal and careful observation in the field." Bodson refers to Steier's suggestion that Pliny may have made personal observations while on military duty from about 46 to 53/54 or 57/58 AD. Bodson also states that this was probably supplemented by "...further information collected in Rome, where several of these species were imported either for the circus parades and games, or for the aviaries, or as delicacies for some imperial banquet."

<sup>38</sup> For Varro's aviarium see G. Fuchs, RM 69 (1962) 96-105; see also F. Coarelli, *Architettura sacra e architettura privata nella tarda Repubblica*, in: *Collection de l'École française de Rome* 66 (1983) 191-217, particularly 206-215.

<sup>39</sup> Chr. W. Hünemörder, "Phasianus", *Studien zur Kulturgeschichte des Fasans*, Diss. Bonn 1977, 45-48, 52-63, 245-250.

*meleagrides, phasianae, quae generatim per singulos dies immolarentur.*" This was evidently expensive for the priests responsible for the costs, but the more exclusive the sacrifice, the better the chances to remain one of the Emperor's favourites – and the better also the tasty flesh of the birds!<sup>40</sup> What species Suetonius meant by *tetraones* cannot be ascertained, but very likely the same species that Pliny described. At any rate Suetonius attests the exclusiveness of the birds, now also confirmed by the representations discussed above.

Visual evidence completes that of the literary sources not only for the Capercaillie, but also for the other birds mentioned by Suetonius, which except for the ubiquitous Peacock are only rarely represented in Romano-Campanian wall paintings. As far as I am aware, the Flamingo is known in only two Pompeian paintings.<sup>41</sup> Similarly the Guineafowl is identifiable with certainty in only two Pompeian paintings and in two other Romano-Campanian paintings.<sup>42</sup>

The Pheasant, too is very rare, particularly as the supposed representation discussed here more likely denotes the Capercaillie after all. As already stated, the only Pheasant so far identifiable with certainty in Romano-Campanian wall paintings is in the Second Style wall paintings in room no. 15 in the so-called Villa di Oplontis. It is represented among spectacular architecture on the podium near a gate opening to a wood in which stands a monumental tripod. Though thus sacred to Apollon, the birds in the painting seem to have no particular

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<sup>40</sup> For the identifications of the birds mentioned by Suetonius, see Capponi, *Ornithologia* under respective names. Hünemörder 144-145 rightly criticizes Köberlein's erroneous reading and overinterpretation. Hünemörder does not mention that Thompson 283 earlier read the passage as "*tetraones numidicae*" (without a comma), identifying them as Guineafowl.

<sup>41</sup> See above, n. 21.

<sup>42</sup> See above, n. 20.

Apollonian association. Together with a blue passerine-like fantasy bird standing on the podium on the other side of the curtain, and the well-known splendid Peacocks on the curtains above, the Pheasant here rather represents exotic and luxurious fowl in general. This view is supported by the figure of a Black francolin in the paintings in room no. 23 in this villa.<sup>43</sup>

It is therefore all the more surprising that the Pheasant represents a female, the plumage of which is modest in comparison to the splendid male. The "horns" are a characteristic of the male, which evidently was considered so essential that they are here "transferred" to the female.<sup>44</sup> Similar "horns" on one of the birds in the floor mosaic in house I 7,1 make it probable that the bird is intended to denote the Pheasant, though this cannot be concluded with certainty.<sup>45</sup>

Some uncertainty also remains concerning the second probable presentation of the Pheasant, which is the one in the Fourth Style wall paintings from the so-called Praedia di Iulia Felix (II 4,3), now in the Museo Nazionale di Napoli (inv. 8611 A).<sup>46</sup> The bird is represented as dead, lying on a shelf. To the left of the hanging head is a splendid silver kylix. Most unfortunately the picture is only partly preserved and the tail, which could confirm the identification, has vanished. Because there is no wattle and because the neck is longer than that of domestic fowl the bird very likely represents a female (or a juvenile male)

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<sup>43</sup> A. De Franciscis, *La villa romana di Oplontis*, in: *Neue Forschungen in Pompeji*, Recklinghausen 1975, figs. 8, 24-27.

<sup>44</sup> The lack of such tufts in the bird in the *Casa di Adone ferito* confirms that it cannot refer to the Pheasant.

<sup>45</sup> Some fantasy birds in Second Style paintings have similar "horns", e.g. in the oecus (n. 22) in the *Casa del Criptoportico* (I 6,2), see PPP I 22-25. See also the fantasy birds in the exedra n. 25 in the *Casa del Menandro* (I 10,4).

<sup>46</sup> Croisille 30 n. 11 Pl. LVI n. 107 with further references. Hünemörder 431-432 with an erroneous date to the Third Style ("um 70 n. Chr. !").

Pheasant. Such details are very likely significant in a painting of such a high quality. A Pheasant would also better than a hen underline the *Tafelluxus* of the still life. Moreover, in representations of domestic fowl there is no hen depicted like this.

With the above reservations, we stick to this identification proposed by Chr. W. Hünemörder, though the bird shown in the above-mentioned identification test was identified as follows:

Domestic fowl ( <i>Gallus gallinaceus</i> )	7
Pheasant ( <i>Phasianus colchicus</i> )	5
<i>Galliformes</i> sp.	1
Little bustard ( <i>Otis tetrax</i> )	1
Total 14 proposals (from 21 participants)	

As far as I am aware, the representations of the Pheasant discussed above are the only ones in Romano-Campanian wall paintings, and in visual sources in general representations of the Pheasant are rare if not absent until late mosaics from the end of the 2nd c. AD onwards.<sup>47</sup> This is all the more surprising as the species has a particular position in cultural history. This is shown by the dissertation of Chr. W. Hünemörder in which he has collected – arranged according to various topics – what literary sources from antiquity to the present day say about the Pheasant. The material aims to be comprehensive only as regards the limited ancient sources.

In addition to its splendid plumage, the Pheasant had already been praised because of its tasty flesh by Greek authors, and in Latin sources – often together with the Peacock and Guineafowl – it became an emblem for the *Tafelluxus*, especially by those criticizing the *luxuria*, as is attested from Manilius onwards. Hünemörder considers the Pheasant so central as an

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<sup>47</sup> Hünemörder 432-511.

emblem of this kind that he interprets its absence in Horace's *Satirae* as evidence that Horace did not know the bird. And as it is then mentioned by Manilius, Hünemörder thinks he can date the introduction of the bird into Italy to about 8 BC – 19 AD!<sup>48</sup> Apart from the fact that this is an *argumentum ex silentio*, it is now also weakened by the representations discussed above. The representations alone do not imply that such birds were also introduced to Italy, but together what we know about aviaria, they support the possibility that the importing of the Pheasant most likely started at the same time as the more luxurious aviaria became popular in the 1st c. BC.<sup>49</sup>

The presence and popularity of both the Guinea fowl and the Pheasant in the 1st c. AD in Italy is well attested in literary sources, although these species are surprisingly rare in visual sources. The dominating exotic fowl in wall paintings is the Peacock, and the Domestic fowl – mainly cocks – is also common. Other fairly numerous "standard" fowls are partridges (*Alectoris* sp.) and to a lesser extent Quails. In later mosaics – from the end of the 2nd c. AD onwards – the Pheasant is also fairly numerous, as shown by the material collected by Hünemörder. He makes no attempt, however, to explain its rarity in earlier visual sources.<sup>50</sup>

At present I have no better proposal than the suggestion that probably the majority of painters used cartoons and/or pattern books with well-established and popular decorations and subjects, whereas only an exceptionally active and ambitious minority of painters created more significant innovations. When exotic birds with splendid plumage were needed, most painters depicted the usual Peacocks, Parakeets and Purple gallinules.

The Purple gallinule leads us back to the above-mentioned identification test, in which the specimen in the garden scene in

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<sup>48</sup> Hünemörder 106-107ff. and 245ff.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid. See also above notes 36-37.

<sup>50</sup> Hünemörder 432-511.

Casa di Adone ferito was also shown. Whereas the supposed Pheasant was subsequently taken to denote the Capercaillie, as the majority proposed, there is no need to revise the identification of the Purple gallinule, though in six of the ten proposals it was suggested to represent the Moorhen (three suggested a Purple gallinule and one a rail species). This is most likely due to the white stripe visible in the wing, which in this posture can be interpreted to denote the white colours of the Moorhen. All the other colours of this species, however, are absent. Moreover, the white stripe is not a distinguishing mark, but is used to emphasize the splendour of the bluish-green monocoloured plumage of the Purple gallinule, as it is usually represented in wall paintings. The long red feet and strong bill – here too curved because of the stylization – are further characteristics of the Purple gallinule.

## Conclusion

The two representations of the Capercaillie discussed above, which are the only ones preserved in Romano-Campanian wall paintings and mosaics, confirm the fact that even this elusive wilderness species was known – albeit as a rarity – to the ancient Romans. Presumably the species appeared in a larger area in ancient Italy than it does today, and there were also at least attempts to keep this rare species in aviaria.

The two represented specimens are both seen among many other birds, including other rarely represented species. These show that there were pattern books with numerous bird subjects, which at least some workshops could use either because of their own or their commissioner's avifaunistic interests. Though the illustrations of zoological works from the Hellenistic world, particularly Alexandria with its Mouseion, were an important

source for such pattern books, the Capercaillie is a species the representation of which most likely derives from specimens kept in Roman aviaria. We have also briefly discussed the few representations in Romano-Campanian wall paintings and mosaics that are identifiable as a Pheasant, together with related identification problems. In Latin literary sources the Pheasant is well-known as an emblem of luxuria from the 1st c. AD onwards, but its visual representations become more abundant only in mosaics from the end of the 2nd c. AD onwards.

### Figure texts

#### Fig. 1

Fourth style painting on the north wall of the viridarium (no. 14) in the Casa di Adone ferito (VI 7, 18) in Pompeii. The birds in the garden painting in the right panel are identifiable as follows (from the left to the right and lower ones first): Domestic pigeon or Stock dove (*Columba sp.*, *C. livia/C. oenas*); unidentifiable, most likely a Domestic pigeon (*Sp.*, *Columba livia*); Kingfisher (*Alcedo atthis*); Warbler species, most likely Whitethroat (*Sylviidae sp.*, *Sylvia communis*); unidentifiable (hardly visible in the photograph), Dove or Passerine species (*Sp.*, *Columba sp./Passeriformes sp.*); 2 Domestic pigeons (*Columba livia*); Passerine species, most likely a Warbler species (*Passeriformes sp.*, *Sylviidae sp.*); Song thrush (*Turdus philomelos*, hardly visible in the photograph); Capercaillie (*Tetrao urogallus*); Purple Gallinule (*Porphyrio porphyrio*); Domestic pigeon (*Columba livia*). The two latter specimens are not visible in the photograph. Photograph from 1924 by the Archivio Fotografico della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Napoli (Neg. n. 1403).



Fig. 1.





Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

Fig. 2

Detail of the garden painting on the north wall of the viridarium (no. 14) in the Casa di Adone ferito (VI 7,18) in Pompeii. To the right of the Capercaillie part of the Purple gallinule is faintly visible (its right leg and wing and tail). Photograph from 1950 by the Archivio Fotografico della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Napoli (Neg.n. 955=ex 8105=ex 966).

Fig. 3

Detail of the floor mosaic in the atrium (no. 3) in the Casa di Paquius Proculus o di Cuspius Pansa (I 7,1) in Pompeii. The bird is most likely identifiable as Capercaillie. Photograph from 1978 by the author.



## Six Notes on Q. Curtius

W.S. Watt

The following editions are referred to: H. Snakenburg (Delft 1724; with notes of N. Heinsius); C.T. Zumpt (Braunschweig 1849); T. Vogel (Leipzig 1880); K. Müller (München 1954).

*4,6,9 igitur ab ea parte quam oppidani conspicere non possent opus orsus, ut a sensu eius averteret, turrets muris admoveri iubet.*

The siege of Gaza: Alexander tries to divert the attention of the inhabitants from his tunnelling operations.

No doubt it is possible to supply *oppidanos* as the object of *averteteret*, but I suspect that *animos* should be inserted before *averteteret*, where its loss would be easy. For *animos avertere* cf. TLL 2, 1320, 9ff.; the phrase is particularly frequent in Livy.

*5,1,42 idem Amyntas adduxerat L principum Macedoniae liberos adultos ad custodiam corporis; quippe inter epulas hi sunt regis ministri idemque equos ineuntibus proelium admovent venantesque comitantur.*

The change from the singular *regis* to the plurals *ineuntibus* and *venantes* has been defended (e.g. by Zumpt) on the ground that Alexander was not the only or the first king of Macedonia to employ these young men on such duties; it was apparently an old custom, and the plurals include Alexander's predecessors on the throne. Most of the modern editors, however, have adopted Vogel's emendation *regibus*; parallels for the assumed corruption are listed by Müller on

p. 789. Against it, on the other hand, is the fact that nowhere else does Curtius have a certain example of *minister* construed with a dative; he has six examples of a genitive (including *saevitiae* at 10,1,8, which I take to be a genitive). I therefore suggest that *regii* would be a preferable change; the adjective is used by Curtius three times elsewhere (likewise preceding its noun) to designate these same young men: 5,2,13 *unus ex regiiis pueris*; 8,6,7 *puer nobilis ex regia cohorte*; 10,7,16 *puerorum regia cohors*.

In Snakenburg's edition Heinsius is stated to have proposed *regi*; I believe that this is a misprint (which has been reproduced in later editions) for *regii*.

6,9,6f. *fremitus undique indignantium querentiumque tota contione obstrepebat ...; Nicomachus deinde et Metron et Cebalinus producti quae quisque detulerat exponunt. nullius eorum indicio Philotas ut particeps sceleris destinabatur; itaque indignatione expressa vox indicum silentio excepta est.*

Alexander's disclosure of a plot against his life was greeted with cries of indignation from his assembled soldiers. Then three informers were produced, none of whom implicated Philotas.

"The evidence of the informers was not forced out of them by the indignation of the soldiers; they had given it already. ... The meaning is that the outcry which followed Alexander's speech was succeeded (*excepta*) by silence." So D.R. Shackleton Bailey, CR 31 (1981) 177f. Since *vox indicum* does not make sense, *indicum* must either be deleted as a misguided gloss (so Vogel, followed by Müller) or emended. As a possible emendation I suggest *militum*, which is palaeographically good (*m* and *in* are almost identical; so too are *il* and *d*; and *t/c* is the commonest of all interchanges); and the corruption has clearly been helped by the context (*indicio* just above). With Heinsius, I compare 9,3,1 *ne sic quidem ulli militum vox exprimi potuit*; 9,3,6 *non fictas tuorum militum voces verum necessitate ultima expressas*.

7,6,20 *statuerat autem [sc. Alexander] parcere urbi conditae a Cyro; quippe non alium gentium illarum magis admiratus est quam hunc regem et Semiramin, quos et magnitudine animi et claritate rerum longe emicuisse credebat.*

Curtius uses *emicare* three times elsewhere: 8,2,26, of *tela* (for the reading here see Müller's note on p. 749); 8,4,3, of *fulgura*; 9,5,10, of blood 'spurting out'. Nowhere else does he use it in the sense of 'excel'; not surprisingly, because this is a very rare sense in pre-Apuleian Latin (TLL 5,2,487,7 and 25 adduces only two instances). I would read *eminuisse*, a verb of which (in its various senses) Curtius is very fond; for the confusion of the two words see TLL ib. 483,50.

8,9,30 *feminae epulas parant; ab isdem vinum ministratur, cuius omnibus Indis largus est usus. regem mero somnoque sopitum in cubiculum paelices referunt patrio carmine noctium invocantes deos.*

The plural *noctium* is odd. Should we read *noctis*, on the supposition that the ending has been influenced by the beginning of *invocantes*?

8,10,18 *eadem felicitas ab Oceano revertentes temulentos comissantesque inter ora hostium textit.*

The good fortune of Alexander's army in not being attacked on its drunken return from the Ocean.

The only parallel for the phrase *inter ora* given by TLL 9,2,1086,70ff. is Verg. Aen. 2,681 *manus inter maestorumque ora parentum*. This is a description of the child Iulus being held by his mother up to his father, so that he is 'between the hands and faces of his parents'; it lends no support to the phrase in our passage. Perhaps *inter ora* should be changed to the common phrase *ante ora* (cf. TLL ib. 1087,18ff.).



## De novis libris iudicia

*Studies in Latin Literature and Its Tradition in Honour of C.O. Brink.* Edited by J. Diggle - J.B. Hall - H.D. Jocelyn. Cambridge Philological Society, Suppl. vol. no. 15. Cambridge 1989. IV, 145 p. GBP 15.

This volume, which contains papers and essays presented to C.O. Brink on his eightieth birthday in 1987, brings together ten scholars and covers several fields of study, from research on manuscript traditions to rhetoric. P. Grimal (Jupiter, Anchise et Vulcain: trois révélations sur le destin de Rome, 1-13) discusses references, in the three revelations contained in the Aeneid, to actual events and political intentions of Augustus in the decade following the battle of Actium, as well as possible indications concerning the order of composition of different parts of the poem. L. Håkanson (Zu den Historikerfragmenten in Seneca d.Ä., Suas. 6, 14-19) comments on Sen.ma. Suas. 6,15-27 from a text-critical point of view. J.B. Hall (Problems in Ovid's Tristia, 20-38) draws attention to the grave problem of the lack of an accurate apparatus criticus for Tristia in both Owen's and Luck's editions, and proposes conjectures in order to emend obscure or somehow "suspect" passages. H.D. Jocelyn (Romulus and the *Di Genitales*, 39-65) traces the history of the discussion on a verse attributed to Ennius by Servius (ad Aen. 6,763) and proposes to reconsider an old solution of the problem. D.S. McKie (Salutati, Poggio, and Codex M of Catullus, 66-86) gives an interesting discussion of the Marcianus (M), identified by Thomson and de la Mare as being the earliest surviving manuscript written by Poggio, contesting Thomson's arguments as to the conjectural origin of the 'R<sup>2</sup> early' variants of the Romanus (R, Salutati's copy, the model of M) and assigns all the variants entered by Salutati in R to one period of work only, instead of two, as suggested by Thomson. Furthermore, he astutely re-opens the discussion as to the identity of the scribe of M. R.G.M. Nisbet (Footnotes on Horace, 87-96) continues his discussion of the two recent Teubner editions. M.D. Reeve (The 'Vetus Carnotensis' of Livy unmasked, 97-112) identifies the Nancy fragments of Livy (from books 27, 29 and 30; Italy; 11th century) as the source of ms. L (Spirensian tradition), and proposes a new dating to some of the early conjectures entered in mss. of Livy, most of them assigned by



Billanovich to Petrarch. Sir Ronald Syme (Janus and Parthia in Horace, 113-124) provides an interesting series of comments on several passages of Horace. M. Winterbottom (Cicero and the Middle Style, 125-131) examines the problem of Cicero's attitude to epideictic oratory and the Middle Style associated with it. A.J. Woodman (Virgil the Historian, 132-145) again draws attention to similarities between Aen. 8,626-62 and Livy's first pentad, suggesting that Virgil's account should be interpreted as a criticism of the latter's description of early Roman history. We have here a volume full of interesting points of discussion both for classical philologists and for Neo-Latinists.

*Outi Merisalo*

*Cultura classica e cultura germanica settentrionale*, a cura di Pietro Janni, Diego Poli, Carlo Santini. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Università di Macerata, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Macerata - S. Severino Marche, 2-4 maggio 1985. Quaderni linguistici e filologici, 3. Università di Macerata 1985. XI, 449 p. ITL 60.000.

To understand the cultural identity of the western civilization it is repeatedly necessary to investigate the influences that the European peoples received from the classical and Christian cultures, and how they built on this foundation to contribute to the cultural unification of our continent and the construction of modern western civilization. In this constant process of giving and receiving, the share of the Scandinavian peoples is of conspicuous interest, although it has erroneously been considered by many scholars as marginal and secondary. The convention of Macerata and the publication of its papers is well motivated by these considerations. It is, however, strange that Swedish and Finnish scholars are totally absent from the 64 participants and lecturers, most of which are Italian, although Denmark, Iceland and Western Germany are represented by some names and papers.

The themes discussed at the convention present a great variety: a general confrontation of the two cultures by T. Pàroli, whose Fig. 1d of the solar wheel in a boat from Bohuslän is quite similar to the cavepainting of Ristiina (Finland), which has earlier been connected with the mysterious Sampo of the Kalevala; the German North in some Latin authors (G. Brugnoli, F. Stok); classical influences on the first grammatical studies in Iceland (A. Leoni, L. Melazzo); singular authors and works, such as *Disticha Catonis* in medieval Iceland (M.E. Ruggerini), *Honorius Augustodunensis* (P. Springborg), *Ovid* in Iceland (S. Pétursson), and the

Physiologus (C. Del Zotto Tozzoli); classical influences on the first Danish comedy (Castagnoli Manghi) and on Danish biographical writings (M. Pade); the Latin models of Saxo Grammaticus (K. Friis-Jensen); classicism and humanism in the *Crymogaea* of the Icelandic writer Arngrímur Jónsson (C. Santini); the transference of ancient legends and folk-beliefs in Scandinavia (P. Janni); the *Matheus Saga* Postola and the underlying Latin texts (D. Poli).

*Tuomo Pekkanen*

*Ovid renewed.* Ovidian Influences on Literature and Art from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century. Edited by *Charles Martindale*. Cambridge University Press, 1988. XIV, 298 p. GBP 29.50.

In his Introduction to this collection of essays, dedicated to the memory of L.P. Wilkinson, Charles Martindale finds Ovid a protean artist, whose writings in all their variety and extreme literariness have virtues which the modern reader could appreciate. His works can be regarded as a deconstruction of the unified Aristotelian epic (p. 17). As such Ovid is an important author even in the age of post-structuralism. Most of the essays in this collection are, however, more historically minded, tracing Ovidian influences in English literature. There are essays on Ovid's heritage in Chaucer (Helen Cooper), John Gower (Bruce Harbert), Spenser (Colin Burrow), Shakespeare and Elisabethan authors (Laurence Lerner, A.D. Nuttall), Dryden and Augustan literature (David Hopkins, Rachel Trickett) and T.S. Eliot (Stephen Medcalf). Jane M. Miller investigates some versions of Pygmalion, and Norman Vance Ovid's fate in nineteenth-century English literature. Taken together, these essays give a many-sided picture of the wealth and variety of Ovidian allusions in English literature.

There are also some studies whose scope falls outside English literature. C.W. Grocock investigates Ovid in a twelfth century poem by Gilo Parisiensis, who makes the Roman poet look like a Christian crusader. The collection also contains material for the historians of art. Nigel Llewellyn deals with the illustrations of Ovid's works. In other essays there are constant references to art history. The discussion of the Pygmalion theme in Burne-Jones' works (p. 213) would have profited from Richard Jenkyn's remarks on this theme in Victorian art, literature and drama (R. Jenkyns, *The Victorians and Ancient Greece* 1980, pp. 141ff.). The Appendix "Daedalus and Icarus in Art" (pp. 247ff.) by Niall Rudd is useful, but some further material can be found e.g. in Herbert Hunger's *Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*. For my part, to the section "Renaissance and After" I would like to add Daedalus

and Icarus by the symbolist painter Magnus Enckell (1870-1925), painted in his later post-impressionist period.

Along with Martindale's Introduction, the most interesting contribution for readers other than students of English literature comes from Niall Rudd, who in two essays concentrates on the myth of Daedalus and Icarus. The former deals with late antiquity and the Middle Ages, the latter some more recent versions of Ovid's tale. Rudd distinguishes in twentieth century literature four main interpretations of Ovid's tale, the artistic (Serge Lifar's ballet *Icare*), the communist (Brecht), the fascist (Lauro de Bosis, author of the play *Icaro*) and the psychological (William Wharton and his novel *Birdy*). These kind of classifications, which often rely on oversimplification, are fairly common in the *Nachleben* studies: cf. e.g. W.B. Stanford's characterization of the image of Ulysses in later literature (*The Ulysses Theme*, Ch. 1).

As an example of the first type (artistic), Rudd briefly analyses Ovidian echoes in Joyce's *Portrait of the Artist*, a novel with a motto from Ovid: *Et ignotas animum dimittit in artes* (the motto is taken from line 8,188 in *Metamorphoses*, not line 8,18 as given on p. 50; Joyce's epigraph also gives the wrong line-number).

One problem of the *Nachleben* studies, like those in this collection, is that the sources used by the later authors are often very heterogeneous, freely mingling the original Greek or Roman source with, say, Biblical themes or myths from other cultures. We know e.g. that Joyce, while applying the Ovidian tale of Daedalus and Icarus, was also acquainted with Richard Wagner's idea that the German mythical hero Wieland could be regarded as a Nordic equivalent to Daedalus, an idea also proposed by Jacob Grimm in his *Deutsche Mythologie* (see Vicki Mahaffy, Joyce, Wagner and Revolution, *James Joyce Quarterly* 28:2 [1988]). Niall Rudd is aware of Wieland's resemblances to Daedalus, as well as of Wagner's ideas on Wieland, but he does not mention Wieland in connection with Joyce's Daedalian imagery. Besides, Joyce also obtained some inspiration from a relief at Villa Albani in Rome, mentioned by Rudd in his Appendix.

A reliable basis for *Nachleben* studies is provided only through a careful reading of original ancient sources. In Martindale's collection of essays, there are good specimens of such readings of and remarks on Ovid's poems, such as Jane M. Miller's notes on the undercurrent eroticism in the Pygmalion tale (p. 206f.) or A.D. Nuttall's analysis of the story of Narcissus (pp. 141ff.). Particularly illuminating is Charles Martindale's analysis of the story of Salmacis and Hermaphroditus (pp. 11ff.), which fittingly anticipates Laurence Lerner's analysis of Francis Beaumont's expanded version of the tale (p. 132f.).

H.K. Riikonen

*Miscellanea Plutarchea*. Atti del I convegno di studi su Plutarco (Roma, 23 novembre 1985), a cura di *Frederick E. Brenk* e *Italo Gallo*. Quaderni del Giornale Filologico Ferrarese, 8. Ferrara 1986. 147 S. ITL 18.000.

Vorliegendes Werk ist nicht nur an sich interessant, sondern der Convegno von 1985 steht in der Tat in einer ganzen Reihe von wissenschaftlichen Zusammenkünften über Plutarch. Dies hängt z.T. mit der Gründung 1982/83 der 'International Plutarch Society' zusammen, einer Gesellschaft, der jetzt mehr als 500 Forscher aus 20 Ländern angehören und die das informative, zweimal jährlich in den USA erscheinende Mitgliedsblatt "Ploutarchos" herausgibt.

Aus den wenigen Jahren nach 1985 sind z.B. zu erwähnen: Convegno sulla tradizione manoscritta dei *Moralia*, Salerno 1986 (Atti gedruckt 1988); II Convegno della Sezione italiana ('Aspetti dello stoicismo e dell'epicureismo in Plutarco'), Ferrara 1987 (Atti gedruckt 1988); 'Character and responsibility in Plutarch' (sein Einfluß im 18. und 19. Jh.), Boston, Mass., 1988; I Symposion nacional de la Sección española de la I.P.S., Fuengirola 1988; III convegno della Sezione italiana ('Strutture formali dei *Moralia* di Plutarco'), Palermo 1989. Vorgesehen sind im Moment (August 1989) I.P.S. Conference, Oxford, September 1989, sowie II Symposion de la Sección española, Murcia, April/Mai 1990.

Diese Aktivität um Plutarch ist auffallend, denn aus den letzten Dezennien ist m.W. sonst nur der achte Kongreß der Association Guillaume Budé in Paris 1968 zu registrieren, dessen Thema neben dem Epikureismus "Plutarque" war (die Actes erschienen in Paris 1970; die Seiten 483-594 sind Plutarch gewidmet).

Der hier anzuzeigende Band beginnt mit zwei ausgezeichneten modernen "bibliographies raisonnées", von Barbara Scardigli zur Forschung über die *Vitae* 1974-1986(!) und von J. Barthelmess zu derjenigen über die *Moralia* seit 1969 (d.h. eben seit dem Budé-Kongreß). Scardigli geradezu grundlegend; die Forschungsbeiträge sind sogar mit kurzen Inhaltsangaben versehen (Griechenviten 23-41; Römerviten 42-59, wohl im Anschluß an S.s großen Forschungsbericht 1979); ein Reichtum an Plutarch-Literatur wird auch in der methodologischen Einleitung (7-21) angeführt. Aus Barthelmess' essayistischem Beitrag (61-81) hebe ich das die heutige P.-Forschung überhaupt kennzeichnende Bestreben hervor, 'to look at Plutarch's work, all of it, as the reflection of a single energy and purpose, endowed with an originality of its own' (62, vgl. 81).

Verdienstvoll in methodologischer Hinsicht ist auch C.B.R. Pelling, 'Synkrisis in Plutarch's Lives', mit ausgezeichnetener Erweiterung der

Perspektive (in der Nachfolge H. Erbses, *Hermes* 84 [1956]), sowie P.L. Donini, der in Polemik gegen J. Glucker (*Antiochos and the Late Academy*, 1978) überzeugende Präzisierungen zum 'Ammoniosproblem' bei Plutarch bringt. Silvia Maria Chiodi behandelt gut das hierogamische Thema des Dialogs *De Iside et Osiride*; mit einem ähnlichen Gegenstand befaßt sich (m.E. etwas abstrakt) Ugo Bianchi. Sowohl sein Beitrag als der von D. Tsekourakis über Vegetarismus bei Plutarch erschienen nachher ausführlicher auf deutsch in *ANRW II* 36:1 (1987) 350-365 bzw. 366-393; der von Chiodi, ebenfalls erweitert, in *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni (SMSR)* 52 (1986) 33-51. I. Gallo präsentiert am Ende das italienische Unternehmen "Corpus Plutarchi Moraliū" (leitende Herausgeber I. Gallo und R. Laurenti, Verlag M. D'Auria, Napoli; 4 Bände m.W. erschienen), über dessen Möglichkeiten, sich des Computers zu bedienen, N. Marinone kurz berichtet.

*Rolf Westman*

*Vivian Nutton: John Caius and the Manuscripts of Galen.* Cambridge Philological Society, Suppl. vol. no. 13. Cambridge 1987. IX, 117 p. GBP 12.50.

Dr. Nutton's study provides useful information on the textual history of the Galenic corpus that, as a whole, has still not seen a modern critical edition. The English medical humanist John Caius (1510-73) (who refounded the Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, in 1557), published both editions of Galenic texts in Greek and translations of them into Latin. His search for mss. took him to several libraries across Western Europe. Nutton's book concentrates on the considerable textual value of the mss. readings reported (over a period of *ca.* 20 years) especially in the margins of Caius' copy of the 1538 Basle edition of Galen (now *Eton Galen*, IV.286). The remarkable accuracy of the references makes it possible to identify a great number of mss. used (see pp. 50-76 and Appendix 2, pp. 106-109); in several cases, Caius' notes preserve information subsequently lost. Future editors of Galen will derive great advantage from the examination of these marginalia, as is concretely shown by samples produced in this book (see especially pp. 77-94 and Appendix 3, pp. 109-110).

Dr. Nutton's study contributes to filling in a gap in our knowledge of the textual history of Ancient medical writings. It also throws light on the text criticism of the medical humanists, who have been rather neglected by the more literary minded scholars of the Renaissance. It is to be hoped that both the study of Galen and of these doctor philologists will gain new

impetus from the results and perspectives of research offered by this very thorough and convincing piece of scholarship.

*Outi Merisalo*

*Eyjólfur E. Emilsson: Plotinus on Sense-Perception: A Philosophical Study.* Cambridge University Press, 1988. IX, 179 p. GBP 25.00.

Plotinian scholarship has during the last two decades been very active (see K. Corrigan's and P. O' Cleirigh's article in ANRW II 36:1 [1987] 571-623). Because Plotinus was a neoplatonist, the problems of his metaphysics have been approached in most treatises by the philosophical tradition preceding him. Thus there has been a danger that "Plotinus is being dissolved into his sources" as J.M. Rist has written. Although Emilsson emphasizes in his Introduction the value of tradition to the full understanding of Plotinus' views, his method in regard to especially Plotinus' system as a whole seems refreshingly "phenomenological". This book is a revised version (e.g. he has dropped 'and Historical' from the subtitle) of Emilsson's Ph.D. dissertation at Princeton University in 1984. In his concise first chapter on Plotinus' metaphysics, he starts from the preconceptions of Plotinus himself and especially of his time, for example the notions of 'unity' and 'living being'. These presuppositions partly explain why Plotinus formulated his ideas into a system which in many respects seems so strange to us. Instead of mere description Emilsson succeeds in creating a personal and coherent interpretation of Plotinus' sense-perception theory.

For what specific reasons is this aspect of Plotinus' philosophy – except for the sake of the sheer delight of knowledge – relevant to raise as the subject of a whole monograph? The sensible world represents in Plotinus' system the second last grade. From an epistemological point of view – which Emilsson does not deal with at all – sense-perception does not seem to be essential in Plotinus' thinking. Emilsson justifies his work by claiming that previous studies are characterized chiefly by theological or religious interest (which is true in respect of earlier but not of modern studies), and on the other hand the theory of sense-perception contains as an integral part Plotinus' theory of Forms. But according to Plotinus' view the sensible world by its beauty guides us to contemplate Forms and finally the One. This is an aspect which Emilsson does not pay attention to, although the very core of Plotinus' philosophy could be the protreptic function.

Emilsson opposes Blumenthal's view that Plotinus was an antirealist. Different essays exhibit a clear disagreement: Essay IV.6.[41] 1. are in

favour of realism and Essays I.1.[53] 7. and V.5.[32] 1. of antirealism. (N.B. Emilsson does not find it necessary to mark with brackets the chronological number of essays except in a very few cases.) Plotinus was not a representationalist so that we perceive only the appearances of objects. Our soul in a sense reaches or contacts the external object itself ('das Ding an sich'!).

Emilsson handles with commendable accuracy the contests of central notions: perception (αἴσθησις), affection (πάθος), judgement (κρίσις) and representation (φαντασία). Plotinus separates distinctly the acts of sense organs and that of the soul. Affection is connected to the former and judgement to the latter. As the knowledge in a sense has what is known, soul to be able to know sensibles must first acquire them. Affection can be defined as an assimilation to the external object or more accurately to the quality of it. And this very quality can be seen as an image of a form, namely the internal productive principle, which on its behalf is an image of real Form. We possess in our souls the unfolded Forms. The quality of external body is so to say "ontologically transformed so as to be accessible to our souls" (p. 143). Thus perception is receiving the Form of the object perceived. Transformation of Forms Plotinus explains by two notions: συμπάθεια and the omnipresence of Forms. However, perceiving is essentially judgement. When we have got the quality of an external object non-materially in our soul (as a kind of Form) we connect it with notions we already possess. This judgement leaves an intelligible representation of perception in the soul.

According to Emilsson the unity of sense-perception is the most original part of Plotinus' sense-perception theory, specifically for the sake of its justifications. Although we have many senses, the subject of perception is one, which means that this subject cannot be body but soul. Plotinus is also the first in western philosophy according to Emilsson who thinks that perception is an act which can go beyond the ontological boundary between mental and physical. Emilsson completes his work with an interesting discussion of Plotinus' dualism which was more sharp than that of previous thinkers. Why then was it possible for Plotinus to make that "category mistake" (G. Ryle's famous concept), and not his predecessors? Emilsson quotes M.F. Burnyeat: "One's own body has not yet become for philosophy a part of the external world". The pairs mind-body and internal-external were not analogical before Plotinus.

On the whole Emilsson's book gives stimulus by its good philosophical attitude. Finally a small critical note about the index: could it have been more comprehensive, and why have the crucial notions 'judgement' and 'dualism' not been elaborated?

*Tuula Korhonen*

*M. Terentii Varronis Saturarum Menippearum fragmenta.* Edidit *Raymond Astbury*. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. BSB B.G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, Leipzig 1985. XLII, 154 S. M 54.

Eine gute Handausgabe, freilich etwas unübersichtlich. Durch mehrere frühere Arbeiten hat Astbury sich als guter Kenner der varronischen Satiren ausgezeichnet. Schon seine Doktordissertation war ihnen gewidmet, und um von anderen zu schweigen, hat er die große kommentierte Ausgabe von Cèbe mehrfach hart attackiert; so war es an der Zeit, daß Astbury seine eigene editorische Fähigkeit ans Licht brachte. In der Einleitung gibt er Rechenschaft über die Handschriften des Nonius und eine Übersicht über andere Autoren, die varronische Fragmente bewahrt haben; ferner folgen Überlegungen zur Lex Lindsay, dessen Folgerungen A. sich anschließt, aber trotzdem die von Buecheler etablierte Ordnung der Fragmente beibehält, Überlegungen zu Erkennungsmerkmalen der Satiren und zur Metrik; angehängt ist eine reichhaltige Bibliographie. A. konnte noch nicht G.M. Pesce, *Tre nuovi frammenti varroniani?*, *Studi Noniani* X (1985) 231-240 kennen.

Die Textkonstitution ist vorzüglich. Unter dem Text stehen drei Apparate: über Quellen und Kontext des Fragments; über frühere von Varro gebrauchte Autorenstellen (dieser Apparat erscheint allerdings nur selten); über Lesarten und moderne Konjekturen. Loci desperati, versehen mit einer *crux critica*, erscheinen des öfteren, auch an Stellen, wo andere die betreffende Stelle als heil zu erklären bestrebt gewesen sind. Alles in allem eine handliche Ausgabe, die hoffentlich weitere Impulse für varronianische Forschungen geben wird.

*Heikki Solin*

*Titi Livi ab urbe condita libri XXVI-XXVII.* Recognovit *Patricius G. Walsh*. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. BSB B.G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, Leipzig 1989. XX, 113 S. M 31.

Die erste Auflage der Edition dieser Bücher aus der kundigen Hand von Peter Walsh erschien 1982. Für die zweite Auflage konnte Walsh einige Änderungen vornehmen, die auf S. XVI verzeichnet sind. Es freut den Rez. zu sehen, daß seine Vorschläge in *Arctos* 20 (1986) 257f. Berücksichtigung gefunden haben. Dem Verlag ist dafür zu danken, diese führende Ausgabe wieder zugänglich gemacht zu haben.

*Heikki Solin*



*Ghislaine Viré: Informatique et classement des manuscrits.* Essai méthodologique sur le *De astronomia* d'Hygin. Université Libre de Bruxelles, Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres. Sources et Instruments, VIII. Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1986. 100 p. BEL 730.

Ghislaine Viré étudie dans cet ouvrage la riche tradition manuscrite (88 témoins connus de l'auteur) du *De astronomia* d'Hygin. Après avoir esquissé une histoire textuelle de l'ouvrage, elle procède à une description détaillée, très pragmatique, de la préparation du matériel pour le traitement informatisé, des opérations effectuées par l'ordinateur et de l'interprétation philologique des résultats obtenus.

La présentation est caractérisée par une clarté remarquable et ne devrait guère présenter de difficultés même aux non initiés. V. souligne avec beaucoup de justesse d'une part l'importance de l'exhaustivité dans la critique textuelle, rendue possible grâce à l'utilisation de l'informatique; et de l'autre, le caractère auxiliaire de la machine, le philologue restant responsable du travail le plus important, c'est à dire de la préparation des données à introduire dans l'ordinateur et de l'interprétation des résultats.

Nous nous permettons ici quelques observations de détail:

1. Il paraît assez peu économique d'introduire dans l'ordinateur des variantes sous une forme normalisée, vu que pour l'établissement de l'apparat critique, il faudra plus tard introduire les variantes originales (cf. p. 34). Il serait préférable d'enregistrer tout de suite les leçons telles quelles et d'effectuer les modifications nécessaires à l'aide de l'ordinateur. L'emploi des PC portables a déjà révolutionné la collation et la transcription manuelles et éliminé, avec une phase de copiage, une des sources d'erreurs.

2. V. parle (p. 34 et 92) d'une "contrainte" de l'utilisation de l'ordinateur qui serait "dangereuse", en se référant au fait que, pour la machine, identité veut dire l'identité effective des signes. Il ne faut pourtant pas oublier qu'il est possible d'élaborer des programmes qui tiennent compte d'une diversification de graphies bien définie et que par exemple dans un système flexible comme l'Unix, avec la collaboration d'un bon informaticien, il n'y a guère de problèmes impossibles à résoudre.

On ne peut que recommander vivement la lecture de cet ouvrage à tous ceux qui s'occupent de la critique et de l'histoire de textes.

*Otti Merisalo*

*Gerd Haverling: Studies on Symmachus' Language and Style.* Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia XLIX. Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, Göteborg 1988. 295 p. SEK 200.

Curiously enough, Q. Aurelius Symmachus, very much admired by his contemporaries for his rhetorical skills, has so far not been very much drawn upon in Late Latin studies. The present work is aimed at filling this gap. G. Haverling examines Symmachus' vocabulary and syntax in comparison with Late and earlier Latin. His results can be summarised as follows: 1) the author's vocabulary is a mixture of archaic, poetic and typically Late Latin elements, as well as straightforward neologisms. It would seem that the Late Latin elements are much less frequent here than in Christian authors. 2) In morphology as well, there is a certain tendency to archaism. 3) As far as syntax is concerned, Symmachus seems to conform to the usage of the more conservative types of Literary Late Latin.

*Outi Merisalo*

*Claudii Claudiani Carmina.* Edidit John Barrie Hall. Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. BSB B.G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, Leipzig 1985. XXVIII, 454 S. M 119.

Nach dem 1969 in Cambridge erschienenen *De raptu Proserpinae* schenkt Hall uns jetzt den ganzen Claudian. Die frühere komplette Claudianausgabe in der Teubneriana stammt aus dem Jahre 1893, und so war es schon an der Zeit, sie zu ersetzen.

Die neue Ausgabe ist eine vorzügliche Leistung. Hall hat im Laufe von rund zwölf Jahren insgesamt 242 Handschriften durchgesehen und durch diese Arbeit die Konstituierung des Claudian-Textes auf eine neue Basis gestellt. Freilich referiert Hall in seiner Ausgabe nur äußerst kurz über die Textgeschichte, kann aber auf seinen ein Jahr später erschienenen "Prolegomena to Claudian" hinweisen.

Auch der Text ist vorzüglich. Nur bedauert man das Fehlen eines Similia-Apparates; die von Hall angeführten Gründe für die Auslassung der Angabe der loci similes überzeugen nicht. Aber insgesamt ist Halls Claudian jetzt als die führende Ausgabe zu betrachten.

*Heikki Solin*

*Erich Potz: Claudian. Kommentar zu De raptu Proserpinae Buch I.* Dissertationen der Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz, 65. Graz 1985. 171 S. ATS 108.

Potz hat in dieser Grazer Dissertation (die alle Merkmale einer Erstlingsarbeit trägt) Nützliches zusammengetragen. Da aber ein Großteil des im Kommentar enthaltenen Stoffes in der großen Ausgabe von Theodor Birt schon steht und da andererseits uns jetzt die glänzende Ausgabe von Hall zur Verfügung steht, wird der tatsächliche Nutzen des fleißigen Werkes jedoch etwas mager bleiben.

*Heikki Solin*

*Boethius.* Herausgegeben von *Manfred Fuhrmann* und *Joachim Gruber.* Wege der Forschung, Bd. 483. Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt 1984. VII, 466 S. DEM 104.

Increasing attention has recently been given to Boethius, one of the most influential spiritual fathers of the Middle Ages. The 483rd volume in the series *Wege der Forschung* contains reprints of 23 earlier articles discussing different aspects of Boethius' philosophy. With the exception of one Latin paper, all of them are in English or German, dating from any year between 1904 and 1977.

Like most other volumes in this prestigious series, the choice of articles is judicious. They are representative of modern views on Boethius. Four papers cover the biographical side, always an important topic because of the tragic circumstances of his death, two are devoted to the evaluation of his literary work in general, four discuss his logical writings and only two concern his theology. It is natural that Boethius' best-known and most seminal work, *De consolatione philosophiae*, should be allotted the most space. It is discussed in no less than eleven papers and special points such as epistemology, music, and poetry are covered. The book ends with a useful bibliography and an index of personal names.

In a brief review it is not possible to survey all the articles contained in the volume or even to name their authors. I will mention only a few which I have found interesting. Alfred Kappelmacher disproves the common idea that Boethius contemplated translating all Aristotle and Plato into Latin and moreover furnishing their works with his own commentaries. The much-discussed problems of Boethius' Christianity and of his real attitude to pagan philosophy are discussed by Ernst Hoffmann and Cornelia Johanna de Vogel. Hoffmann argues that Boethius was a typical intellectual of the age, at heart more given to Neoplatonism than to

Christianity, which was still chiefly the religion of the proletariat. The paper suffers somewhat from Marxist language but certainly deserves attention. De Vogel, in my opinion more convincingly, describes *Consolatio* as a syncretist blending of Stoic-Neoplatonist and Christian views. In the concluding contribution, Peter Dronke reviews Pierre Courcelle's well-known book on *Consolatio*. While praising this very learned work, he points out a number of overhasty conclusions and misinterpretations, e.g. regarding Boethius' idea of *Fortuna* – besides Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, with Macrobius' *Commentary*, Plato's *Timaeus* had also served as a model – and its *Nachleben* in the Middle Ages.

*Iiro Kajanto*

*David Furley: Cosmic Problems. Essays on Greek and Roman Philosophy of Nature.* Cambridge University Press, 1989. XIV, 258 p. GBP 27.50.

Furley's book consists of 18 essays, which except for two ("The Dynamics of the Earth: Anaximander, Plato and the Centrifocal Theory" and "Truth as what Survives the *Elenchos*") have been published before in journals. The treatise seems to be an interlude, but also a companion to Furley's earlier and forthcoming books *The Greek Cosmologists* Vol. 1 (1987) and Vol. 2. The interval between the essays goes back twenty years, the oldest being written in 1966 ("Lucretius and the Stoics"). Furley has not revised his essays except by making some additions to his notes. The essays have been arranged approximately in chronological order by subjects (from the Milesians to Lucretius). The starting point is mostly polemical as Furley himself admits. He begins with other scholars' opinions which he criticizes. For example, Chapter 14 (Knowledge of Atoms and Void in Epicureanism") opposes Bailey's view that Epicurus believed in direct knowledge of the external objects (*ἐπιβολή τῆς διανοίας*). According to Furley, Epicurus was a kind of empirist. Chapter 2 criticizes attributing to Anaximander the centrifocal theory (i.e. the Earth, which is the center of the cosmos, needs no underpropping because it is similarly related to the extremes). Furley claims that this is an abandonment of the archaic world view.

Regarding the title of this book, one may wonder at the inclusion of three essays, namely Chapters 3, 4 and 6 ("Notes on Parmenides", "Truth as what Survives the *Elenchos*" and "Antiphon's Case against Justice"). They belong to the fields of logic or semantics, and Chapter 6 also deals with questions of ethics. In his preface, which has quite illustrative

synopses of the themes of the chapters, Furley defends the inclusion of Chapter 6 as follows: "But the relevance of one's view of the natural world to human choice and action is also a theme for cosmology" (p. X). What kind of answers could natural science give to the problems of ethics? The question is also interesting if we transfer it to the contemporary situation. But it seems that quantum physics and the theory of relativity are so complicated to ordinary mind that to understand them completely you must master the language of mathematics – otherwise they remain nearly mere myths. Furley also notices how little cosmological problems are reflected in the other genres of literature during the classical period.

Thus Furley's book gives new viewpoints on and interpretations of quite detailed cosmological problems. The most interesting point in my opinion however can be found in the last chapter: "The Cosmological Crisis in Classical Antiquity". In this essay, Greek cosmologists are grouped into two classes: Atomists and Aristotelians. The division can be surmised in the other foregoing chapters of the book. It also corresponds to the division of "The Greek Cosmologists" into two volumes: the subtitle of Volume 1 is "The Formation of the Atomic Theory and its Earliest Critics" and the subtitle of Volume 2 will be "The Teleological World Picture and its Opponents" (see p. 226 n. 5). The division presents eleven pairs of items which are nearly in opposition to each other. When an atomist thinks that the cosmos is transient and the Earth is flat, an Aristotelian lives in an eternal or repeating cosmos and a spherical Earth. An atomist believes in evolution, a material soul, and accident, while an Aristotelian defends creation or eternity, an immaterial soul, and design. The linear dynamics of atomists has as an opposition the centrifocal dynamics of Aristotelians. Similarly, atoms opposed a continuum, the idea of many cosmos opposed the uniqueness of the cosmos, and matter-in-motion explanations are in contrast to teleological explanations.

Furley also discusses what could be the first guiding principle of this grouping, that is to say what makes an atomist and what makes an Aristotelian. Not divisions between theism-atheism, closed world-infinite universe, mechanism-animism, but a certain kind of epistemological preference which chooses between the theory of atoms and the theory of Forms. If this choice is an expression of basic personal intuition is a question which belongs to the scope of another treatise, as Furley concludes.

*Tuula Korhonen*

*Litteratur og lærdom.* Dansk-svenske nylatindage april 1985, redigeret af *Marianne Alenius* og *Peter Zeeberg*. Renæssancestudier 1. Museum Tusculanums Forlag, København 1987. 166 p. DKK 122.

This is a collection of papers read at the colloquium of Danish and Swedish Neo-Latinists in 1985. Since then, the study of Scandinavian Neo-Latin literature has been extended to cover all the five Northern countries. The papers are in Swedish and Danish but are provided with English summaries, many of them regrettably brief.

A few of the papers are dedicated to the general problems of Neo-Latin literature. Emin Tengström discusses the principles of the interpretation of Neo-Latin prose. These principles include textual criticism, linguistic and literary interpretation, the critical review of sources and aesthetic evaluation, which are well-known in classical scholarship. He also includes two methods which are something of a novelty, the analysis of the "ideology" and the social context, that is, the relations of the writer with his audience. Another Swede, Hans-Erik Johannesson, discourses upon the interpretation of Neo-Latin poetry. Besides recording the ideas of K.O. Conrady from 1955, he somewhat tentatively interprets a Swedish epithalamium from 1585. Bo Lindberg, in an illuminating paper, describes the position of Latin as a language of learning in Sweden in the 18th century, showing the difference between the appreciation of Latin as the vehicle of a humanist culture and its use, principally by scientists like Linné, as a mere means of international communication.

The other papers discuss special problems and authors. Women's studies are represented in two papers, one by Marianne Alenius, who argues that writings concerning women belong to a special category which she calls gynaecum-genre. They were, however, mostly composed by men. Those written in Latin were more appreciative of women than the ones written in Danish. Ruth Nilsson describes feminist ideas in Sweden. Marianne Pade takes up a subject that has been unduly neglected, funeral orations.

The Latin correspondence of two Swedes, Eric Benzelius and the lesser-known Jacob Hunterus, are analyzed by Eva Nylander and Erland Sellberg, respectively. Both studies are intriguing in showing that letter writing, a distinctive feature of humanism, was common in Sweden, too. Minna Skafte Jensen's analysis of the Danish poet H.J. Sadolin's lyric poems is a good example of philological and literary interpretation. Karsten Friis-Jensen discusses an epyllion of Saxo Grammaticus as an imitation of Virgil. Saxo, it is true, is chronologically outside the field of Neo-Latin, but the piece is an example of the classicizing tendencies apparent during the first renaissance of the 12th century. There are further

papers on individual authors by Johnny Christensen, by Ivan Boserup and Birger Bergh who both discourse upon Stiernhielm, the father of Swedish poetry, and by Peter Zeeberg, who talks about the occasional poetry of the great astronomer Tycho Brahe, highlighting his use of metaphors drawn from science in describing women in love.

Many of the papers emphasize the importance of Neo-Latin as a transmitter of classical traditions to nascent vernacular literatures. This is especially pointed out by Eric Jacobsen in the opening paper of the colloquium. Neo-Latin is not a mere curiosity but an important factor in the history of European civilization, not least in the Northern countries. This well-edited volume of informative articles simultaneously bears witness to the vitality of Neo-Latin studies in Scandinavia.

*Iiro Kajanto*

*Marco Buonocore: Le iscrizioni latine e greche.* Musei della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Inventari e studi, 2. Città del Vaticano 1987. 117 p. 45 tavv. ITL 20.000.

La catalogazione delle raccolte archeologiche della Biblioteca Vaticana continua qui con le cinquanta iscrizioni latine e greche ivi conservate (in questo momento tutto l'instrumentum è escluso). La maggior parte di esse proviene da varie parti di Roma; il luogo esatto del ritrovamento è tuttavia raramente conosciuto. Le epigrafi rinvenute oltre i confini della città eterna sono sette: Ostia (1,2), Ostia-Porto (9), Frascati (31), Sassoferato (12,13), Tebe in Egitto (14). Il materiale, pervenuto alla Biblioteca nel corso dei secoli, è tipologicamente molto vario, presentando sia iscrizioni "sacre", documenti giuridici e tavole di patronato, che semplici testi funerari. Alcune iscrizioni sono di notevole importanza storico-culturale, così ad esempio i nn. 7-8, frammenti di due tavole di bronzo riguardanti gli onori decretati alla memoria di Germanico (morto nel 19 d.C.). Insieme con analoghe *tabulae* (quella *Hebana* [AE 1949,215+1952,164], e la nuova *Siarensis* [AE 1984,508]) essi gettano uno sguardo di primo interesse sull'ideologia imperiale del tempo. Tra altri documenti va menzionata anche la copia romana di una statua ateniese del III sec. a.C., la c.d. "statua di S. Ippolito". Sulle fiancate del trono della statua assisa sono incise tre iscrizioni in greco, databili fra il 222 e il 235 d.C., che riportano il ciclo pasquale a partire dal 222.

Seguono qui alcune osservazioni sui singoli testi (sono inclusi anche gli errori di stampa da me notati): P. 9: des (non "der"; abbr. PW). – Nr. 2 (p. 17): La data è il 13 agosto 190 d.C. (non l'11). Il collega di Commodo nel consolato era Sura Septimianus (non Sura Mamertinus). L'iscrizione

stessa (XIV 65) è pubblicata anche in ILS 4212. Il nome *Nicomēs* (ll. 4/5 *Nico/mēs*) doveva piuttosto essere trascritto nella forma *Nicome<de>s*). – N. 8 (p. 35): sulla tabula Siarensis cfr. recentemente "Estudios sobre la tabula Siarensis. Anejos de Archivo Español de Arqueología IX; C.S.I.C. Madrid 1988" (con ulteriori addenda alla bibliografia offerta dall'autore). P. 37: *Herrscherkultes* (non "-kulte"; opera di Taeger); *Alföldi* (non "Alföldy", così anche a p. 36); JRS 66 (non "46"). – Nn. 9-10 (pp. 37sq): confusione nei numeri delle figure e delle tavole. Il n. 10 (= VI 1492 = ILS 6106) è adesso registrato anche in R.K. Sherk, *The Roman Empire: Augustus to Hadrian* (TDGR 6), Cambridge 1988, Nr. 193. P. 41: ...*Augustae im* (non "Augusta in"; opera di Temporini). – N. 11 (p. 43): *Reichsbeamten...spanischen* (non "Reichsbeamte...spanische"; opera di Alföldy). – N. 13 (p. 49): *Collegium* (non "Callegium"; art. di Sartori). – N. 14 (p. 51sq): il prenome del Dolabella Petronianus (cos. 86) era *Servius* (non *Sergius*; abbreviato *Ser.*). Non è necessario correggere la F nelle parole *f(ilius)* e *fixa* (int. ll. 1, 20, 22). – N. 19 (p. 61): *Antike* (non "Antiken"; opera di Laum). – N. 23: VI 12156 è anche ILS 8544. – N. 24 (p. 71): l. 3 da sotto: *Phoebe* (non *Phobes*). – N. 25: per ragioni di spazio non pare possibile che la parola [γ]λυκυ (l. 2) continuasse alla riga seguente. La polionimia (9 elementi onomastici nel nome della donna) rende assai improbabile una datazione al IV sec. d.C. La parola καί (l. 3) mostra che Philippa (PIR<sup>2</sup> A 1257; RE II 1604, Nr. 41) non fu l'unica persona ricordata nell'iscrizione (che sembra sia stata onoraria). – N. 29: non è del tutto certo che Bacchius fosse la medesima persona ricordata al n. 41. – N. 33: non è affatto certo che il cognomen della Domitia fosse *Aeliana* (ll. 1/2: ---]/λιανήν). – N. 46 (p. 97): *Apartment* (non "Apartament"; art. di Hermansen). P. 99: JRS 67 (non "47"). – N. 49: μηνῶ(v) [anziché μηνῶ<v>].

Tutto sommato, un catalogo che senza dubbio merita di essere consultato dagli epigrafisti. È sempre utile avere varie raccolte archeologiche facilmente accessibili. Il formato del volume è comodo da maneggiare, e le fotografie, benché a volte siano poco chiare, aumentano il valore documentario del libro. Avrei una sola domanda: è veramente necessario sciogliere le abbreviazioni epigrafiche, perfino quelle dei prenomi? In molti casi i lemmata sarebbero certamente meno complicati e più facili da leggere, se fossero privi di parentesi superflue. Lo stesso concerne tutte le abbreviazioni il cui scioglimento risulta assolutamente ovvio.

Mika Kajava



*La collezione epigrafica dei Musei Capitolini. Inediti - revisioni - contributi al riordino, a cura di Silvio Panciera. Tituli 6. Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, Roma 1987. 394 p., 364 ill. in 74 tavv. f.t. e 14 ill. n.t. ITL 100.000.*

Die Reihe Tituli, unter der kompetenten Leitung von Silvio Panciera herausgegeben, ist nun bei ihrem sechsten Band angelangt. Nach den Inschriften der Via Imperiale (Tituli 3, 1985) ist jetzt die Inschriftensammlung der Kapitolinischen Museen an der Reihe. Aus dieser Sammlung werden in diesem ausgezeichneten und sehr willkommenen Band nicht weniger als 182 Inedita herausgegeben; dazu kommen „revisioni“ zu einer beachtlichen Anzahl von früher bekannten Inschriften. Unter der Rubrik „Contributi al riordino“ findet man schließlich Bemerkungen über die heutige Kollokation im Museum vieler Inschriftssteine. Abgeschlossen wird das Buch durch die nötigen Indices und durch 78 Tafeln von guten Photos.

Obwohl es unter den Inedita keine Inschriften von erstrangiger Wichtigkeit gibt, findet man auch in diesem Band viele interessante Texte, so z.B. Nr. 24 (ein Sklave *a regionibus urbis, qui fuit sub cura Donati*), 36 (A. Postumius Tantalus *Russatianus Aquilonian(us) Noricianus*; die Interpretation der Editorin ist sicher richtig); 54 (Gedicht), 63 (seltsame Abkürzungen), 86 (Sklave eines C. Statilius Messalinus, der einen auffallenden Namen hat), 95 (Nachbildung eines Verspaares des Lucilius). Interessante Formulierungen und Ausdrücke findet man z.B. in Nr. 50 (u.a. *coniugi fa(v)orissimae*), 70 (*conlactia*), 72 (*hortum* neutr.), 81 (*Cyrati ... per qua(m)* – so ist zu schreiben – *viximus dies et annos dulces et hilares; desubito; catella*, wie es scheint, auf ein 10-jähriges Mädchen bezogen), 87 (Claudius Demetrius *tatas*). Paläographisch interessante Inschriften sind z.B. 97 und 112.

Wie in dem vorigen Band Tituli 3 sind für die einzelnen Inschriften verschiedene, zum Teil vielleicht noch nicht sehr erfahrene Autoren, Mitglieder des epigraphischen Seminars der Universität Roma – La Sapienza, verantwortlich. Daraus folgte, daß die Kommentare zum Teil etwas weitschweifig sind (Tantalus war "uno dei puniti dell'oltretomba omerico": Anm. 407, mit Verweis auf Homer und moderne Literatur): Jeder Autor wollte verständlicherweise die ihm anvertrauten Inschriften möglichst umfangreich interpretieren (abzulehnen ist m.E. der Brauch, Texte durch überreichen Gebrauch von Kommas in der Transskription zu „interpretieren“, wie z.B. in Nr. 146 *Decimia Nymphe, Cn. Turpilio Hespero, coniugi suo, et sibi et libertis libertabusque eorum, sua impensa, fecit*; ähnlich z.B. 47, 60, 91, 101). Und ist es wirklich notwendig, auch bei den banalsten Namen immer auf die Bücher von Schultze, Kajanto und

Solin und auf die Indices des CIL VI hinzuweisen? Bei Namen mit über 50-100 Belegen in Rom würde es m.E. sicher genügen zu sagen, daß der Name in Rom sehr verbreitet war, wenn man nicht selbst zusätzliche Information bieten kann (ich hoffe, nie Verweise vom Typus „circa la diffusione del prenome Marcus vd.“ usw. auf mein Buch über die römischen Vornamen sehen zu müssen). – Die in Tituli 2 bekanntgemachten Regeln über die Transskription der Texte, die auch hier beachtet werden (nur in Nr. 58 findet man einen „*L(ucius) Caecilius*“ anstelle von *L. Caecilius*), sind m.E. mustergültig. Nur die *i longae* bleiben noch ein Problem; wer wissen will, welche Buchstaben mit einer *i longa* versehen worden sind, muß immer den Tafelteil konsultieren, da so allgemeine Angaben im Kommentar wie „*I longae* nelle linn. 2 e 3“ (Nr. 149) kaum von Hilfe sind. Könnte man die *i longae* in der Transskription nicht z.B. mit Hilfe von Akzentzeichen bezeichnen?

Zu einzelnen Inschriften habe ich die folgenden Bemerkungen: Nr. 3: Vielleicht trotz allem *Iuli[us]*. Die Schreibung *Seilvano* hätte vielleicht mehr Beachtung verdient („*ei* in luogo di *i* è fenomeno relativamente diffuso e comune“). – Nr. 4: Die Überlegungen, ob mit *Patern-* ein Konsul gemeint sein könnte, sind unnötig, da hier nur ein Konsul ordinarius in Frage kommen kann und *Paternus cos. 233* jedenfalls ausgeschlossen ist. Der Sinn der Anm. 49 (*Caesii* und *Seii* „in ambito militare“ mit Beispielen aus Rom) bleibt mir unklar. – Nr. 19: In der Transskription ist auf Z.7 *suis* ausgefallen. – Nr. 25: Z.6 *sibi et [suis]*. – Nr. 36: *Belliciani* in *A. Postumi Celeris Belliciani* CIL VI 24858 ist ein zweites Cognomen, nicht „una sorta di patronimico“ (S. 102). – Nr. 52: Bei der Häufigkeit des Namens *Arrius* wären Formulierungen wie „liberta degli Arrii, forse di Arrius Antoninus“ zu vermeiden. – Nr. 55: P. Aurelius P.f. Q. Iulianus sieht wegen seines Vornamens, seiner Tribus und wegen der Form der Abkürzung des Tribusnamens wie ein Afrikaner aus. – Nr. 102: Die Bemerkung „l'uso dei tria nomina è elemento abbastanza probante per un loro inserimento in un periodo che va dalla fine del I sec. a.C. alla fine del I sec. d.C.“ ist natürlich unrichtig. – Nr. 111: *hor[is] II*. – Nr. 135: CIL XV 1409 stammt aus dem J.128 („intorno al 127 d.C.“ die Autoren). – Nr. 137: nach dem Photo ist am Ende der Z.3 noch mehr zu lesen. – Nr. 143: der Nominativ lautet *Chloe*, nicht *Chloes*. – Nr. 149: der Autor vergißt, daß es viele andere Namen auf *-veius* gibt, daneben aber auch viele Namen auf *-ueius*, z.B. *Septueius* (aber seine Ergänzung [*Se*]r. *Veius* scheint mir gut). – Nr. 150: daß ein Primigenius eine Tochter namens Fortunata hat, ist auffallend. – Nr. 226: vielmehr C. Eleurius Pantaenetus (dieser Gentilname in CIL VI 10244a,8 und in CIL XI).

*Supplementa Italica*. Nuova serie 3. Unione Accademica Nazionale. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 1987. 239 p. ITL 50.000.

Der neue, wieder einmal sehr willkommene und nützliche Band der *Supplementa Italica* enthält Beiträge von drei Forschern: V. Bracco behandelt Tegianum, Cosilinum, Atina, Volcei und Eburum, G. Mennella Genua (mit einer neuen Diskussion über die Grenzen des Territoriums mit Karte auf S. 230), und M. Buonocore, der sich in den letzten Jahren durch seine zahlreichen Publikationen um die epigraphische Forschung Italiens sehr verdient gemacht hat, das süditalienische Locri und das pälignische Corfinium. Wie in den früheren Bänden enthalten auch die Beiträge dieses Bandes einerseits Addenda usw. zu den in CIL und in anderen Corpora (einschließlich der *Ephemeris Epigraphica*) publizierten Inschriften, andererseits eine mit Photos usw. versehene Edition der später gefundenen Texte. Weitaus am längsten ist der Beitrag „Corfinium“ von Buonocore, der insgesamt 111 neue, zum Teil sehr interessante Texte aus dieser bedeutenden Stadt enthält. Die anderen Städte haben viel weniger Neues zu bieten; an zweiter Stelle folgt das ebenfalls von Buonocore behandelte Locri mit 21 neuen Texten (mit u. a. zwei neuen Belegen für den fast nur in dieser Gegend verbreiteten Gentilnamen *Vagellius*: wichtig für die Bestimmung der Heimat des Konsuls L. Vagellius); bei den anderen süditalienischen Städten ist freilich zu beachten, daß ihre Neufunde vor nicht langer Zeit von demselben Bracco in Band III,1 der *Inscriptiones Italiae* herausgegeben wurden und daß hier nur die nach der Publikation dieses Bandes gefundenen Inschriften enthalten sind.

Es wäre wichtig, für Publikationen dieser Art, die über längere Zeit als maßgebend gelten werden, nur kompetente Mitarbeiter auszuwählen. Das ist hier geschehen, und somit ist aus diesem Band, wie aus den früheren Bänden der Serie, ein verlässliches Arbeitsinstrument geworden, an dem der Benutzer nur wenig beanstanden kann. Einige Kleinigkeiten (Datierungen, über die sich streiten ließe, lasse ich beiseite): Cosilinum 6: *Manib(us)*. – Corfinium 8: Avelius Priscus kann nicht als „defunto“ bezeichnet werden (es handelt sich sicherlich nur um einen Lapsus). – Ebd. 15: vielleicht sollte nicht *Ca`l`lid`o`* usw. geschrieben werden, da die Zeichen `´ für spätere Ergänzungen vorgeschrieben sind und da kaum angenommen werden kann, der Steinmetz hätte zuerst bloß *Calid* eingehauen; daß das erste *l* und das *o* kleiner als die übrigen Buchstaben sind, beruht nur auf der *ordinatio* der Inschrift. – Ebd. 29: die Interpretation scheint mir zum Teil noch unbefriedigend; etwas Besseres kann ich freilich nicht bieten (man könnte z.B. denken, daß das überlieferte *I.P.VIEIDA* die Filiation und das Cognomen des C. Accaus

darstellen, und daß *Aca* - für *Acca*, Fem. von *Accaus* - *T.l.(?)* und *Dioclia* zusammengehören; aber dies bleibt ganz unsicher).

*Olli Salomies*

*Marco Buonocore: La tradizione manoscritta dell'epigrafia classica abruzzese nei codizi della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.* Deputazione abruzzese di storia patria. Studi e testi fasc. 8. L.U. Iapadre editore in L'Aquila, 1986. 205 p. ITL 18.000.

L'autore, nell'ambito del suo lavoro di sistemazione e catalogazione dei manoscritti epigrafici della Vaticana, ha potuto compiere un esame approfondito dei manoscritti relativi all'epigrafia abruzzese, con risultati interessanti esposti in questo volume. Com'è ormai noto, la Vaticana possiede un fondo importante di codici contenenti materiali epigrafici latini dell'età romana in Abruzzo. Dopo il lavoro monumentale del Mommsen (si vedano le *Inscriptiones Latinae Regni Neapolitani* e il *CIL IX*), l'autore riprende opportunamente la schedatura di tali manoscritti, visto che oltre alla correzione di numerose sviste mommseniane, ha potuto arricchire il corpus con gli acquisti posteriori della Vaticana relativi all'argomento. Dopo una prima parte consacrata alla storia del materiale, segue un catalogo dei codici accuratamente descritti; il volume si conclude con concordanze tra i nn. qui assegnati alle iscrizioni contenute nei codici esaminati e tra il materiale pubblicato, una concordanza topografica e diversi indici.

*Outi Merisalo*

*I romani di Chiusi.* Rivisitazione attraverso testimonianze epigrafiche, topografiche, archeologiche. A cura di *Giulio Paolucci*. Multigrafica editrice, Roma 1988. 175 p. 70 figg. ITL 80.000.

Dieses nützliche, freilich etwas eklektisch anmutende Buch, leider ohne jeglichen Index, enthält eine Sammlung von Aufsätzen unterschiedlicher Länge über das römische Chiusi (Clusium). Nach der „introduzione“ von G. Paolucci (S. 9) ist man auf die Idee, dieses Buch herauszugeben, dadurch gekommen, daß i. J. 1986 die Reste einer römischen Zisterne gefunden wurden. Neben der Publikation (durch A. Callaioli und anderen, S. 147ff.) dieser Reste soll dieses Buch eine „rivisitazione“ der schon länger bekannten archäologischen Monumente von Chiusi sein: Man wollte „puntualizzare le attuali conoscenze sulla Chiusi romana“ (ebd.), unter Berücksichtigung der Funde aus den neuesten

Ausgrabungen, von denen – außer der Ausgrabung der Zisterne – „notizie preliminari“ mitgeteilt werden (in dem Aufsatz von E. Pack wird auf viele neue Inschriften hingewiesen, von denen man eigentlich hätte noch mehr wissen wollen).

Neben dem Beitrag von E. Pack und der Publikation der Zisterne und der dort gemachten sonstigen Funde enthält das Buch die folgenden Aufsätze: G. Paolucci, „Chiusi: Archeologia e topografia urbana“ (S. 105-116), wo aufgrund archäologischer Funde versucht wird, Details der antiken Topographie der Stadt zu rekonstruieren; A. Rastrelli, „Gli scavi urbani degli ultimi anni“ (S. 117f.: Mauerreste usw.); M. Ciarini, „Lettura delle preesistenze antiche. Ipotesi su Chiusi romana“ (S. 119-131), wo der Plan des antiken Clusium mit Hilfe des heutigen bzw. in Karten des 16.-19. Jh. erscheinenden Straßennetzes rekonstruiert wird; A. Callaioli, „Agro chiusino: un emblema musivo da Monte Venere“ (S. 133-141); G. Zazzaretta, „Ritrovamenti di mosaici nel centro urbano“ (S. 143-6).

Weitaus am längsten und vielleicht auch am interessantesten ist jedoch der fast schon die Länge einer Monographie erreichende gelehrte und mit reichen bibliographischen Angaben versehene Aufsatz von E. Pack, „Clusium: Ritratto di una città romana attraverso l'epigrafia“ (S. 11-104), wo aufgrund der epigraphischen Hinterlassenschaft ein Bild des antiken Clusium gezeichnet werden soll. Man kann das überall sorgfältig die verschiedenen Alternativen erwägende Urteil des Verfassers nur bewundern, und dort, wo ihm das Material eine Entscheidung eines Problems zuzulassen schien, kann man ihm fast in allen Fällen nur folgen (s. etwa S. 16ff. zur angeblichen Sullanischen Koloniededuktion – anders immer noch A. Rastrelli, ebd. S. 117-; S. 34 zu dem Titel der duoviri; S. 54ff. zu der Inschrift CIL XI 2423, die sicher nicht mit dem Isiskult in Verbindung zu bringen ist; S. 60ff. zum nichtchristlichen Ursprung der catacomba di S. Caterina). Freilich ist zuzugeben, daß die Lektüre des Aufsatzes, wie die Lektüre der meisten Aufsätze mit einem ähnlichen Thema, trotz allem insofern dem Leser eine Enttäuschung bereitet, als das Material auch in diesem Fall zu einer allseitigen Rekonstruktion des Lebens in einer antiken Stadt eben nicht ausreicht. Das ist aber natürlich nicht ein Fehler des Verfassers, und jedenfalls ist klar, daß kompetente Surveys dieser Art trotz der zumeist im ganzen gesehen eher mageren Resultate der Forschung willkommen sein werden. – E. Pack weist in seinem Aufsatz oft auf unpublizierte Inschriften hin, ohne jedoch Texte oder Photos dieser Inschriften zu bieten; es wäre sehr zu hoffen, daß diese Inschriften so schnell wie möglich von einem kompetenten Epigraphiker, am liebsten von E. Pack selbst, dem Publikum zugänglich gemacht werden.

*Olli Salomies*

*Sylvia Diebner: Reperti funerari in Umbria a sinistra del Tevere* (I sec. a.C. - I sec. d.C.). *Archaeologia Perusina* 4. Giorgio Bretschneider, Roma 1986. 134 p. 47 tavv. ITL 250.000.

Die Verfasserin, der gelehrten Welt schon durch ihre verdienstvolle Untersuchung über die archäologischen Denkmäler der Städte Aesernia und Venafrum (1979) bekannt, legt hier eine Studie über die Graburnen und -stelen einiger Städte Umbriens vor. Berücksichtigt werden Monumente aus Asisium, Hispellum, Mevania, Fulginiae und Vettona, und ferner, um Vergleiche zu ermöglichen, aus dem etwas nördlicher liegenden Iguvium und dem etruskischen Perugia. Das Buch ist folgendermaßen aufgebaut: Zunächst werden die einzelnen Städte und ihre Denkmäler besprochen (Iguvium freilich erst auf S. 55ff.), darauf folgen kurze Zusammenfassungen über „stile“ und „tecnica dell'esecuzione“, woran sich (S. 45-50) eine „analisi delle iscrizioni“ anknüpft (dazu unten). Eine Zusammenfassung unter dem Titel „risultati e cronologia“ folgt auf S. 51ff. Einen großen Teil des Buches nimmt der Katalog der einzelnen Monumente ein. Alle heute noch erhaltenen bzw. auffindbaren Denkmäler sind photographisch abgebildet, aber der Katalog enthält auch Angaben über verschollene Urnen und Stelen; die Nützlichkeit dieses Verfahrens leuchtet freilich nicht ohne weiteres ein, zumal die Inschriften besonders in diesen Fällen oft in einer sehr korrupten Weise wiedergegeben werden (s. etwa ASS 85f., BEV 32). Abgeschlossen wird das Buch durch einen „indice epigrafico“.

Im ganzen gesehen handelt es sich hier um ein willkommenes Buch, das außer den Archäologen auch die Epigraphiker, die sich heutzutage immer mehr auch für die archäologischen Aspekte der epigraphischen Denkmäler interessieren, mit Nutzen lesen werden. Auch aus dem dürftigen Material lassen sich interessante Ergebnisse gewinnen, wie die Zusammenfassungen der Verfasserin zeigen. (Am lehrreichsten ist es aber vielleicht trotzdem, einfach den wertvollen Abbildungsteil durchzublütern.) Freilich findet man auch einiges Fragwürdige, besonders im Teil „analisi delle iscrizioni“, wo versucht wird, die Bevölkerung der einzelnen Städte aufgrund der Namen zu analysieren (im Kapitel „risultati e cronologia“ wird dann der Versuch gemacht, diese Analyse mit dem archäologischen Befund in Korrelation zu bringen). Denn obwohl diese Methode viel angewendet wird, scheint sie mir sehr dubios. Sind die Egnatii und die Castricii wirklich Kampaner, die Nonii und die Seii Päligner (S. 47), und kann man denn wirklich ohne weiteres annehmen, daß eine Attia „di origine etrusca“ ist (S. 49)? Es handelt sich um Geschlechtsnamen, die überall verbreitet waren.

Für den Epigraphiker ist es interessant, daß im Katalog auch einige Inedita bzw. in CIL XI nicht enthaltene Inschriften mitgeteilt werden; diese werden auf S. 9 aufgezählt, aber unverständlicherweise ohne Berücksichtigung der Denkmäler aus Iguvium, unter denen sich mehrere früher nicht bekannte Steine finden: GUB 1 (mit dem neuen Gentilnamen *Vaccilius*), 2, 5, 6 (der Gentilname lautet m.E. *Vedennius*). – An der Wiedergabe der Inschriften in dem Katalog wäre einiges zu bemängeln – natürlich darf man nicht vergessen, daß es sich hier nicht um eine Inschriftenedition handelt (die Archäologen könnten sich aber in diesen Sachen an die Epigraphiker wenden) –, aber ich begnüge mich hier zum Schluß mit den folgenden kurzen Bemerkungen: ASS 44: *C.l. Rufus*. ASS 46: *Me[v]ia?* ASS 65: [.] *Atiedius [C]hrestus*. ASS 74: *cohor. IX praetor. [(centuria)] Naevi*. BEV 8: [*S]alvena L.f.* BEV 17: *C. Alle[i]us T.[f.](?)*. FOL 5: [.] *Aufidius S[ex. f.]*

*Olli Salomies*

*Past Perspectives. Studies in Greek and Roman Historical Writing.* Papers presented at a conference in Leeds, 6-8 April 1983. Edited by *I.S. Moxon, J.D. Smart, A.J. Woodman*. Cambridge University Press, 1986. IX, 241 p. GBP 25.

This is the collection of papers presented at a conference on the Greek and Roman Historians, held at the University of Leeds in 1983, plus the critical epilogue written by the editors I.S. Moxon, J.D. Smart and A.J. Woodman. The volume consisting of ten articles of well-known scholars, gives an interesting overview of Greek and Roman historical writing.

J. Cobet, J.D. Smart and C.J. Tuplin approach the problem of the nature of war in the Greek historiography. In his article, "Herodotus and Thucydides on war", J. Cobet concentrates mainly on the conceptualization of war and the different explanations of its consequences. Herodotus thought that war was caused by human action and that consequently it could and should be avoided. Thucydides, however, had a different viewpoint. His response to the horrors of war were more stereotypical. This conclusion is, however, strongly criticized in the epilogue in which it is argued that Thucydides' analysis of the causes of war should be seen against the background of the tragical structure of his work.

J.D. Smart examines particular episodes in Thucydides and Hellanicus in order to find out the place and the meaning of war in their composition. He examines Thucydides' methods and the extent to which he was influenced by contemporary sophistic concern with physis.

In his paper on Xenophon's *Hellenica*, C.J. Tuplin discusses Xenophon's work and his treatment of military engagement. He argues that there are good reasons for accepting Xenophon's accounts. However, it should be remembered that historiography had functions other than to produce authentic documents covering important events: historians also sought to provide detailed description of battle-scenes to entertain their readers.

The following articles treat various aspects of Roman historiography, the question of reliability and the political and philosophical influences on the discipline. T.J. Cornell criticizes the old tradition of *Quellenkritik*, which had a strong influence on the generally-agreed view about the formation of the historical tradition of early Rome. He emphasizes the fact that, after all, the surviving accounts of Roman writers such as Cicero, Diodorus, Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, are in close agreement on all fundamental points. Moxon, Smart and Woodman, however, remind us that the existence of the living tradition is not a guarantee of its genuineness. However, we should remember that this does not make the tradition less important as a source of Roman history.

T.P. Wiseman approaches the historical tradition of Rome as a monument to preserve the glory of great deeds. He argues that defacing or destroying monuments was equivalent to destroying or distorting an historical record. Here we approach the very fundamental question concerning the meaning and function of *memoria* and monuments in Roman society. In her article on Cassius and Brutus, Elisabeth Rawson also discusses the question of memory. She analyzes the characters of the liberators Cassius and Brutus, and concludes that the Roman historians, whatever opinion they had, did not lose touch with reality.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus is often regarded as a second-class historian without any originality or literary merit. Clemence Schultze emphasises that Dionysius' work still has value for what it reveals about the interests and models of thought of its author and his audience. According to Schultze, historiography was regarded as one of the more popular genres of literature and its main function was to entertain readers. Nevertheless, Dionysius was one of the few historiographers who even discussed the theory and practice of historical writing.

T.J. Luce makes an interesting attempt to understand Tacitus' motives and methods in his account of Tiberius. First, he analyses Tacitus' works in order to find how and when we can be sure about what was the author's own opinion. In the second part of his article Luce discusses Tacitus' account of the deterioration in the reign of Tiberius, and his tendency to suggest alternative motives for individual action. In this



article, the question of the authors' opinion or intention is seen from a new viewpoint.

In his paper, "Plutarch and the Roman Politics", C.B.R. Pelling discusses Plutarch's conception of society, which is discernible especially in the "Gracchi", the "Marius" and the "Caesar". According to Pelling, Plutarch views Roman society in the light of the Greek dichotomy between *boule* and *demos*. Pelling claims that Plutarch's view of the political conflicts of the late republic as a contradiction between these two elements is the author's personal opinion, and not directly taken from earlier sources.

T.E.J. Wiedemann concludes the book with an analysis of Ammianus Marcellinus' descriptions of marginal places and peoples in terms of anthropological and literary conventions, and introduces the concepts of normal and abnormal, central and marginal. Through these dichotomies, Wiedemann tries to approach the *topoi* which were already known by Herodotus. On the other hand, we should remember that Herodotus himself was dependent upon oral traditions which were, however, in many cases no more reliable than the accounts of Ammianus. In any case, that does not make them uninteresting from the viewpoint of the historian.

"Past Perspectives" contains many important studies. The essential problems of classical historiography are discussed from a critical viewpoint. The excellent epilogue, in particular, helps readers to discover many new problems and fresh aspects which often throw new light upon conventional interpretations and standard views.

*Katariina Mustakallio*

*Serta historica antiqua*. Pubblicazioni dell'istituto di storia antica e scienze ausiliarie dell'Università degli studi di Genova, XV. Giorgio Bretschneider, Roma 1986. VII, 276 p. ITL 250.000.

The 15th volume in the Pubblicazioni of the Institute of Ancient History in the University of Genoa contains a series of articles from different fields: Gianfranco Gaggero, Considerazioni sulla legenda di Sesostri nella tradizione greco-romana; Giorgio Camassa, Una possibile traccia della presenza euboica nella Penisola salentina durante l'età arcaica; Rossella Pera, Tipi dionisiaci in Sicilia e Magna Grecia; Luigi Piccirilli, La prima moglie di Milziade; Carla Ferretto, Milziade e Egesipile. Un matrimonio di interesse; Mariella Galletti, Furono i *Persiani* di Eschilo un dramma filotemistocleo?; Luigi Santi-Amantini, La terminologia degli accordi di pace nella tradizione letteraria greca sino alla conclusione delle guerre persiane; Ugo Fantasia, Samo e Anaia; Maria Gabriella Angeli

Bertinelli, I Semiti e Roma: appunti da una lettura di fonti semitiche; Giovanni Mennella, Tra Libarna e Veleia. Nuove conoscenze epigrafiche sulla topografia e l'amministrazione del territorio; Adelina Arnaldi, Termini e dati monetari nelle biografie da Adriano a Caracalla nell'*Historia Augusta*; Eleonora Salomone Gaggero, La viabilità a Genova nel tardo impero: CIL V 8082; Mariagrazia Bianchini, Disparità di culto e matrimonio: orientamenti del pensiero cristiano e della legislazione imperiale nel IV sec. d.C.; Lia Raffaella Cresci, Lineamenti strutturali e ideologici della figura di Belisario nei *Bella* procopiani.

For a student of late ancient marriage law, Mariagrazia Bianchini's article offers a good treatment of restrictions placed on intermarriage between Jews and Christians. She compares them with the teachings of the Church Fathers, who usually condemned marriages not only with Jews, but also with pagans and heretics. She concludes that the legal intervention of the emperors was motivated less by theology than by a political antisemitism, which certainly received support from many bishops.

Bianchini also notes, quite correctly in my view, that before the fourth century the bishops' insistence that Christians should marry only inside their own small community was so dominant that even unions across social classes had to be tolerated if the believers were to marry at all. But this "liberal" view was apparently later rejected, when more and more noble families joined the faith. One would have wished to learn more about her views on this development, which is not particularly well-documented in our sources. Evidently Bianchini does not see the Christian doctrine as an independent, solid block that rolls through the ages influencing everything it hits, but rather as an ideology which, though based on an exceptionally authoritative book, is constantly subject to interpretation and adaptation in changing social conditions. This is an attractive attitude, if not very common.

*Antti Arjava*

*A.B. Bosworth: Conquest and empire. The reign of Alexander the Great. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1988. XIII, 330 p. GBP 9.95 (paperback).*

Few stories are fascinating enough to be told as often as this. After reading, say, Arrian, Diodor and Curtius as well as Wilcken, Tarn, and Schachermeyr, it must be confessed that a new version is opened with a certain suspicion. But on the other hand, it is a fascinating story. There are also many ways to tell it. After the somewhat unscholarly enjoyment one is bound to have when reading Tarn and Wheeler, this more sober

approach is at first rather dull. However, this is to be unfair to an author who has done very well in discarding the dramatic flight and personal commitment of a Tarn and choosing instead a dry, Arrianus-like style, which suits him better. For him, Alexander is neither hero nor villain, but an object of research whose career is traced strictly according to the sources.

The first half of the book follows Alexander's career by always selecting the most trustworthy tradition. The campaigns are illustrated with nine maps, where the route is marked only when known exactly. The different shades of grey make them sometimes a bit difficult to read. The second part is formed by "Thematic Studies" dealing with Greece in Alexander's reign, administration of the empire, the army, and the divinity of Alexander. Everything is concluded with two appendices and a good summary of ancient sources.

The book is well suited for the wider public for which it is intended: and as an introduction for students it will be happy choice. At the same time, the author's sober assessments will interest even the specialist, see e.g. chapters on satrapal government, the new foundations, and the use of oriental troops.

*Klaus Karttunen*

*Mauro Cristofani: Saggi di storia etrusca arcaica. Archaeologica 70. Giorgio Bretschneider, Roma 1987. 153 p. 18 tavv. ITL 200.000.*

In questo volume sono compresi sette saggi di uno dei più noti specialisti sul mondo etrusco, scritti e già pubblicati in varie sedi tra il 1981 e il 1985. Il discorso si muove nel periodo arcaico, un periodo dove i rapporti fra le diverse culture della penisola e di tutto il Mediterraneo continuano a suscitare un vivido dibattito.

Il primo capitolo è intitolato "I greci in Etruria" e tratta i primi contatti fra le due culture. Nel capitolo "Il ruolo degli Etruschi nel Lazio antico" si tocca la ben nota questione di come le influenze greche e quelle etrusche condizionavano lo sviluppo di Roma. Secondo l'autore, in una prima fase dell'espansione greca nel Tirreno, i *prospectors* greci avrebbero più facilmente potuto penetrare la valle del Tevere, mentre i centri più sviluppati dell'Etruria avrebbero resistito ai primi contatti. Più tardi invece la situazione cambia, l'interesse dei greci si rivolge verso l'aristocrazia etrusca ormai aperta alle influenze culturali. Intorno al 700 l'alfabeto esiste già a Tarquinia e Caere. Lo sviluppo urbanistico di Roma è invece da collegare a una influenza etrusca. Secondo il Cristofani non è un caso che

proprio in quel periodo (625-600) le fonti letterarie collochino l'avvento di Servio Tullio (Lucumone), figlio di Demarato.

I santuari di Roma arcaica costituiscono il più importante ambiente archeologico e storico per il VI secolo. Nelle decorazioni dei templi, specialmente verso la fine del VI secolo, il Cristofani vuole vedere un chiaro programma ideologico in chiave tirannica; un prestito culturale dall'aristocrazia etrusca (che da parte sua l'avrebbe adottato da Atene). Abbastanza attraente e suggestiva è la tesi che la figura di Herakles avrebbe assunto un significato ideologico pro-tirannide, e sarebbe stato usato come tale dall'ultimo dei Tarquinii, ma qualche dubbio sussiste. Questa ipotesi è originariamente basata su un'analisi della situazione ad Atene sotto i Pesistrati. Non è detto che il contesto del culto di Ercole fosse lo stesso a Roma. Ma il Cristofani non è senz'altro il solo a sostenere questa idea. Forse qui più che altrove sembra opportuno citare qualche parola di Massimo Pallottino, il quale dice di non condividere "...quasi la baldanza, con cui da non pochi studiosi, ..., si tende a proporre e ad imporre opinioni formate con diligente fatica, con brillante intuizione, con sincero amore per la scienza, ma spesso non più che opinioni personali." (Studi Etr. 53 [1985] 16).

Anche altri saggi trattano i contatti degli etruschi con altre parti della penisola: nel "Gli Etruschi in Campania" si dimostra come le vie di penetrazione fossero due; una via mare e un'altra lungo un percorso interno, seguendo i corsi dei fiumi Sacco, Liri e Garigliano. Con questo si spiegano certe differenze tra gli insediamenti etruschi nella Campania del VI secolo. Per es. un'analisi dell'onomastica arcaica di Capua mostra come all'inizio esistessero differenze in confronto con gli insediamenti etruschi sulla costa (Pompei, Stabia, Pontecagnano), il che si può spiegare con influssi venuti lungo la via interna. Al tema "Processi di trasformazione socio-economica in Etruria Padana" viene dedicato un'altro articolo.

"Nuovi spunti sul tema della talassocrazia" è forse uno dei contributi più importanti. Si discute sul ruolo degli etruschi sul mare, su come comprendere il ruolo di "pirati" e quello di mercanti. Alcune iscrizioni importanti vengono discusse, prima di tutto il c.d. *elogium* di Velthur Spurinna; il Cristofani segue l'interpretazione di Gabba e respinge sia la lettura che la datazione (IV secolo) di Torelli, proponendo l'inizio del V. In relazione con queste vicende viene trattata anche la dedica dei Tirreni a Delfi (Per questo si veda anche la recensione di M. Harari, *Athenaeum* 67 [1989] 324 ss. e M. Pallottino, sopra).

Altri contributi testimoniano della profonda conoscenza dell'autore in materia di iscrizioni etrusche. Il saggio "La formazione della scrittura" discute sulla funzione della scrittura nelle società arcaiche, e mostra come l'alfabeto greco venisse introdotto in Etruria in due varianti e in due tempi:

prima nelle parti meridionali (Caere, Veio), e più tardi nelle comunità settentrionali (ad es. Vetulonia) in una variante che meglio era adattata alla lingua etrusca.

Infine un saggio (da AION 3 [1981]) dedicato allo sviluppo del sistema onomastico bimembre tra gli etruschi, il sistema che ha portato all'introduzione del gentilizio. L'autore non è d'accordo con H. Rix e altri nella datazione di questo fenomeno; non prima del 700 ma soltanto dopo, e con variazioni locali e soprattutto variazioni sociali, questo sistema si sarebbe differito. È ben nota la spiegazione con la quale il Rix sostiene la sua analisi linguistica (v. ANRW I.2): la ragione per cui il gentilizio nacque in Italia sarebbe l'istituzione del *pater familias*. Il Cristofani vuole dare ancora un'altra dimensione socio-culturale al processo di trasformazione onomastica: dalle fonti risulta che solo negli ambienti urbani, e tra i ceti più alti, il gentilizio diventa comune, e solo nel corso del VII secolo.

Nessun contributo nuovo (ad eccezione di un breve Addendum al saggio sulla talassocrazia), nessuna sintesi o riassunto dei pensieri principali dell'autore. Ma come risulta dalla breve presentazione del contenuto, il libro merita certamente di essere letto e studiato. Se meriti anche di essere acquistato al prezzo indicato dall'editore, è più discutibile. Pagare ITL 200.000 per sette saggi di ca. 130 pagine (Appendice compresa) non sarà gradito a tutti. Certamente l'autore non è responsabile per il modo in cui il volume viene presentato. Invece di includere altri contributi dell'autore (tante sono le referenze ad altri articoli apparsi negli stessi anni!), viene usata carta di una pesantezza assolutamente assurda; così il libro sembra di contenere il doppio del materiale.

Al seguito del testo si trovano indici delle tavole, delle fonti, dei nomi personali e geografici. Il risultato di qualche occasionale uso dell'ultimo di questi indici è deludente.

*Christer Bruun*

*Jacques André – Jean Filliozat: L'Inde vue de Rome. Textes latins de l'Antiquité relatifs à l'Inde. Collection d'études anciennes publiée sous le patronage de l'Association Guillaume Budé. Société d'édition "Les Belles Lettres", Paris 1986. 461 p. FRF 350.*

Here we have at last the volume which has been anxiously awaited since the death of Jean Filliozat (1906–82). It is the major result of a fruitful collaboration which produced earlier the fine piece of commentary to Plin. nat. 6,46–106 (Collection ... G. Budé, 1980). The part dealt with in this earlier book is now left out. With this exception, the present work

professes to contain everything found in Latin literature concerning India. The end of the 6th century is taken as a boundary. Texts are given in Latin and French translation, and a minimum of apparatus is given only occasionally. A commentary is given in more than 600 notes, some of which are rather exhaustive.

A collection of this kind is difficult to make complete. But as the authors ask us to excuse only the occasional omissions among Christian texts, and state their desire to include even poetic banalities with no information worth noticing, it must be noted that there are further short references omitted here. Thus Padaeus in Tib. 3,7,146 belongs to India; and 3,2,92; 3,4,63 and 4,6,66 can be added to the many references in Statius' *Silvae*. Pomponius Mela also discusses India in his introduction (1,11). Pompeius Trogus is mentioned separately in the introduction, but the Prologues are apparently missing.

The book concludes with three useful indices. The list of authors (and anonymous texts) is indispensable, as the texts are given in chronological order. We may note the omission of *Divisio orbis terrarum*, p. 270, and the misprint Orose, p. 154 instead of 254, but the rest seems to be correct. "Index nominum et rerum" refers to the texts, the index of original (Indian) words to notes.

But these are only minor defects. The bulk of the work is scrupulous and thorough, which makes the collection a mine of information. For the first time we may form an exhaustive picture of what was known about the far East in the Roman West. And while for the most part Romans could use Greek sources as well, these Latin sources are those which the Middle Ages had access to, and from which the medieval conception of India was derived.

*Klaus Karttunen*

*Les provinces hellénophones de l'empire romain: de Pompée au milieu du III<sup>e</sup> siècle ap. J.-C. Recueil bibliographique à partir des analyses du BAHR (1962 à 1974). Groupe de recherche d'histoire romaine de l'Université des sciences humaines de Strasbourg. Association pour l'étude de la civilisation romaine, Strasbourg 1986. 515 p.*

Bibliographies are always welcome, even such as the present. The Strasbourg project, based on the thirteen volumes of the *Bull.anal.hist.rom.* (1962-74), is undoubtedly useful within the limits it covers. However, the problem is that different countries are unevenly represented, as the excerption of various periodicals in BAHR was carried

out so that certain countries were included only from a given year (Belgium, France, Luxemburg and Switzerland, 1962-, etc.). The result is that the English-speaking countries are not included at all, which is of course very regrettable. It is also a pity that many important periodicals published in the European socialist countries have not been considered (Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland). As regards the African countries, only Egypt and the other Arab states are included. Furthermore, considering the subject of this bibliography, i.e. the Greek-speaking provinces, it is very annoying that Cyprus, Greece and Turkey are represented only with articles that appeared between 1971 and 1974. Finally, in my opinion, a bibliography of this scale should include all the monographic studies as well, regardless of whether they are published in a scientific series or as independent books. In its present form the bibliography lists only a few such works (e.g. p. 35: J. Deininger, Provinziallandtage...[Vestigia 6 (1965)]).

The list of abbreviations reveals that a number of important periodicals are missing, either by accident, or because they printed no relevant items between 1962 and 1974. But even articles not directly concerned with the present subject might nevertheless contain information of interest. Moreover, reviews (and review articles) of the books dealing with the Greek East could also have been excerpted. Therefore, a look at e.g. the following periodicals, which are not, at least, recorded in the list of abbreviations, might have been of some use: *Atene e Roma* (Firenze), *Class. & Mediaev.* (Copenhagen), *Dial. Arch.* (Milano), *Epigr. Stud.* (Köln), *Eranos* (Uppsala), *Glotta* (Göttingen), *Hist. Zeitschr.* (München), *Hist. Jb.* (München), *Mel. Arch. Hist. Ec. Fr. Rome* (Rome), *Nuov. Riv. Stor.* (Milano), *Riv. Stor. Ital.* (Napoli), *Riv. Stud. Class.* (Torino).

*Mika Kajava*

*Judith P. Hallett: Fathers and Daughters in Roman Society. Women and the Elite Family. Princeton University Press, Princeton 1984. XIX, 422 p. USD 42.00.*

The central term in this book is what the author calls "filiafocality". By this neologism she seems to mean that Roman aristocratic daughters enjoyed a particular affection of their fathers. They would have derived their identity from their position as daughters to their fathers. In Hallett's mind, the high valuation placed on daughters on the part of their fathers encouraged strong sister-brother and mother-son ties as well.

Hallett's study is largely a compilation of examples from literature. In principle this method is valid, if it is adopted objectively and with great

care. Unfortunately, Hallett's way of treating the examples reported by Roman writers is anything but even. It is not acceptable to pay no attention at all to any evidence that is incompatible with one's theory. It is clear that the author underestimates the ties between father and son, and between brothers, not to mention the affection between husband and wife (to take only one example, a careful systematic analysis of the relations between various members of Cicero's family would have given a very different picture from that presented by Hallett; one wonders why Cicero's letters to Terentia are neglected, as are those of Pliny displaying love for Calpurnia). There are, of course, a great number of cases to show that the bond between husband and wife was highly valued; examples occur not only in literature but in inscriptions as well (it is regrettable that so little weight has been given to the epigraphic evidence, such as epitaphs and *laudationes*). In general, the author pays little attention to the literary context or to counter-evidence. It would have been very useful to Hallett to observe that it was largely the context and environment that counted in the way of identifying individuals. A look at various documents (of a formal, semi-formal or informal nature) shows that women could be identified in relation to either the father or the husband, or both. Furthermore, many anecdotal cases intended to show that the ties between father and daughter were especially strong (90ff.) are totally irrelevant. In addition to the literary sources, Hallett makes use of legal and linguistic evidence. Here, too, the approach is one-sided and at times awkward (cf. e.g. the very dubious arguments about the original meaning of *avus* and *avunculus*; 127ff.).

The greatest problem (and danger) with Hallett's book clearly lies in the uneven treatment of the evidence. It is exorbitant to require that a normal reader should be aware of every piece of counter-evidence (which Hallett usually neglects) to be able to know whether some arguments are valid or not. A typical example of Hallett's use of evidence is her claiming (190ff.) that in Roman society the relation between *patrui* and their nephews was much more distant and problematic than that between *avunculi* and their sisters' sons. A reader who is not familiar with the Roman literature, might very well agree with the author.

*Mika Kajava*



*Karl-Wilhelm Welwei: Unfreie im antiken Kriegsdienst. 3. Teil: Rom. Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei 21. Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH, Stuttgart 1988. 223 S. DEM 54.*

Dieser dritte Teil, über die römische Geschichte, schließt die Betrachtungen des Verfassers über den Gebrauch von Sklaven in den Kriegen der griechisch-römischen Antike ab (1. Teil "Athen und Sparta" 1974, 2. Teil "Die kleineren und mittleren griechischen Staaten und die hellenistischen Reiche" 1977).

Das Buch gliedert sich zuerst in drei Kapitel über die Landstreitkräfte, den Flottendienst und militärische Hilfsdienste. Der Einsatz von Fußvolk wird nochmals berührt in einem vierten Kapitel, wo als Sonderfrage der Gebrauch von Sklaven in den extremen Situationen der Bürgerkriege behandelt wird. Schließlich wird der Spätantike ein kurzes Kapitel gewidmet.

Das allgemeine Urteil kann nicht anders als sehr befriedigend lauten. Der Verfasser packt die Aufgabe mit großer Sorgfalt an, und es wäre ein Irrtum anzunehmen, daß seine Untersuchungen nur für diejenigen relevant sind, die sich mit der antiken Sklaverei befassen. Im Gegenteil, Welweis Behandlung von vielen bekannten Ereignissen der Republik und des Prinzipats zwingt den Historiker, manches zu revidieren. Der Gebrauch grosser Mengen von Sklaven sowohl in den Wirren der Bürgerkriege wie später während der Kaiserzeit wird nämlich meist als literarischer Topos entlarvt.

Erst für den zweiten punischen Krieg können wir mit Sicherheit feststellen, daß in der römischen Armee Sklaven benutzt wurden; es handelt sich um die sog. *volones*. (Alle Berichte von Sklavenaufgeboten während der Frühgeschichte Roms werden als legendär angesehen). Abgesehen von einigen Bürgerkriegsarmeen der Spätrepublik wurden später nur zweimal Sklaven eingesetzt, unter Augustus während der ernsthaften Krisen des Dalmateraufstands im Jahre 6/7 und nach dem Varusfeldzug im Jahre 9/10 u.Z. Dagegen argumentiert Welwei überzeugend dafür, daß die Historia Augusta-Stelle (Ant.phil 21,6-7) nicht glaubwürdig ist, wo vom Gebrauch von Sklaven im Heer des Mark Aurels berichtet wird. Die Stelle ist öfters von Historiker benutzt worden; im selben Zusammenhang wird z.B. auch davon berichtet, wie der Kaiser gezwungen war, Gladiatoren und dalmatische *latrones* zu enrollieren. Zu allen diesen Notizen muß man sich jetzt sehr kritisch stellen.

Einer gründlichen Untersuchung wird auch die Frage der Rudersklaven während der Republik unterworfen. Sie ist von Bedeutung als Hintergrund für die bekanntlich sehr komplizierte Frage nach dem rechtlichen Status der Mannschaften und der Offiziere der kaiserzeitlichen

Marine (freie Peregrine, Freigelassene oder Sklaven?). Welwei, der die frühere Forschung in dieser wie in anderen Fragen gut kennt (S. Panciera, XXXIII corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina, 1986, 343-48 konnte jedoch nur in einer Fußnote auf S. 47 berücksichtigt werden) findet keinen Beleg dafür, daß in der Mannschaft Sklaven gedient hätten. Er neigt zu der Annahme, daß die Kapitäne meist als freie Peregrine anzusehen sind, am Anfang aber auch einige Freigelassene unter ihnen waren. Manche Kapitäne müssen wahrscheinlich als Sklaven betrachtet werden, aber sie gehörten kaum zur Kriegsmarine, sondern befehligten eher Schiffe, die ausschließlich von der kaiserlichen Familie benutzt wurden.

Mit über 50 Seiten ist das dritte Kapitel "Militärische Hilfsdienste der Unfreien" das längste. Die Kategorien der *calones*, *lixae*, und *galearii* (die Benennungen wechseln zeitweilig und von Verfasser zu Verfasser), die ebenso wie die *mercatores* und *negotiatores* den römischen Armeen immer gefolgt sind, bilden einen oft wenig berücksichtigten Aspekt der antiken Kriegsführung. Worum es sich gehandelt hat, sieht man z.B. aus dem Bericht des Tacitus über die Schlacht bei Cremona (hist. 2,87 und 3,33): die Zahl der 60.000 Vitellianer und 40.000 Flavianer sei von der ihrer *lixae* und *calones* übertroffen worden!

Sorgfältig prüft Welwei die literarischen Quellen auf ihren Inhalt, und so wichtig wirkt die Untersuchung, daß man zuweilen sogar bedauert, daß es sich eigentlich um eine Arbeit handelt, die auf den Einsatz von Sklaven ausgerichtet ist, und deshalb vielleicht einige Aspekte nicht voll ausgewertet werden können (z.B. Kromayer-Veith, Heerwesen und Kriegsführung der Griechen und Römer, 1928, enthält fast nichts in dieser Hinsicht). Klar ist, daß die Zahl der Sklaven, welche die römische Armee begleiteten, immer ziemlich groß war. Die literarischen Zeugnisse sind primär, aber natürlich werden auch Inschriften beachtet, die über Soldaten und Offiziere als Sklavenhalter berichten. Ausgewertet wird außerdem archäologisches Material über *castra* und andere Stützpunkte, um die Anzahl der Pferdeburshen zu ermitteln. Hier vernachlässigt der Verfasser auch nicht das Problem der Interpretation der vielen Grabreliefs von Reitern. Er schließt, daß man nicht annehmen soll, jeder Reiter hätte einen eigenen Burschen gehabt.

Erwähnungen von *lixae* und *calones* sind in der Literatur sehr häufig. In epigraphischen Texten dagegen kommen sie fast nie vor. Die Frage ist vor kurzem von M. Speidel behandelt worden, der zu den spärlichen Zeugnissen eines *lixa* vielleicht ein neues vorgelegt hat (jetzt Roman Army Studies I, 203-07, früher ZPE 38 [1980] und 42 [1981], von Welwei auch besprochen [S. 85 f]). Ein kleines Problem entsteht indes vielleicht für die Darstellung Welweis: er nimmt im allgemeinen an, daß die *lixae* Sklaven

oder Freigelassene gewesen seien. Die (wenigen) epigraphisch bezeugten Fälle sind aber Freigeborne.

Im vierten Hauptteil wird die Verwendung von Sklaven als Soldaten in den verschiedenen Bürgerkriegen erläutert. Obwohl es aus der Darstellung Welweis jetzt klar ist, daß römische Sklaven sehr selten bewaffnet wurden, überrascht es nicht, daß dies trotzdem einige wenige Male in desperaten Krisensituationen von verschiedenen Bürgerkriegsparteien getan wurde. Davon kann hier nicht in Einzelheiten berichtet werden, aber wer sich damit befaßt, muß jetzt die kritischen, aber vernünftig erscheinenden Quelleninterpretationen des Verfassers berücksichtigen. Dasselbe gilt noch für die Spätantike: Das Bewaffnen von Sklaven ist ein Topos, und sicher angenommen kann es nur für das Jahr 406 werden, als der Ostgote Radagaisus das Reich bedrohte (aber den Sklaven, die sich als Soldaten einstellten, wurde Freilassung versprochen).

*Christer Bruun*

*Puteoli. Studi di storia antica. Vol. XI. Edito a cura dell' Azienda Autonoma di Soggiorno, Cura e Turismo di Pozzuoli. Redazione generale di Giuseppe Camodeca. Napoli 1987. 163 p. ITL 35.000.*

Il recente volume della rivista *Puteoli* è ricco soprattutto di studi epigrafici. Anzitutto bisogna segnalare due scoperte di G. Camodeca concernenti senatori puteolani. Da un frammento, a dire il vero minuscolo, esce fuori un nuovo senatore della prima età imperiale di nome L. Lim[bricius L.(?)f.] Fal. V[ - ] che ha coperto la carica di *leg(atu)s* [*legionis*]. Sulle restituzioni del gentilizio non c'è nulla da eccepire, anche se non bisogna dimenticare l'osservazione del compianto Sir Ronald Syme: "The nomenclature of Italy is startling, fantastic and myriad in its manifestation" (Personal Names in 'Annals' I-VI, JRS 39 [1949] 6). Ma *Limbricius* è praticamente l'unico gentilizio latino conosciuto che inizi con *Lim-*; per di più ricorre quasi solamente a Puteoli e a Capua (ora v. anche H. Solin & O. Salomies, *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum latinorum* [Alpha-Omega Reihe A], Mainz 1988).

Da frammenti di tavolette ercolanesi finora trascurati (THerc 85) il Camodeca è riuscito addirittura a trovare una nuova coppia consolare, a quanto sembra in carica nel 47 d.C. Si tratta di C. Calpetanus Rantius Sedatus, del quale si conosceva la carica di governatore della Dalmazia all'inizio degli anni 50, e di M. Hordeonius Flaccus, noto solo per le vicende intorno agli anni 68-69, quando fu governatore della Germania Superior. Segue un'indagine sulla *gens Hordeonia*, che vuole sostituire lo stemma di J.H. D'Arms (Historia 23 [1974]).

Il contributo più lungo è di H. Solin, che presenta commenti su ben oltre cento iscrizioni flegree, sempre nell'ambito del suo lavoro per il Supplementum al CIL X. La maggior parte delle iscrizioni sono già pubblicate e i commenti si riducono spesso a brevi informazioni o alla correzione di un dettaglio di lettura, ma sono alle volte erudite osservazioni di parecchie pagine. Si può segnalare per es. CIL X 3146 che menziona un C. Volusius C.l. Cassander. Secondo il Solin l'iscrizione è di chiara provenienza urbana (ma non è considerata in M. Buonocore, Schiavi e liberti dei Volusi Saturnini, Roma 1984).

Un caso interessante è costituito da CIL X 1729, già trattato in un articolo da P.R.C. Weaver (Cognomina, Supernomina and CIL X, 1729, Antichthon 5 [1971] 77ss). Il testo rilevante è *D. M. / Gregorio / M. Ulp. Nicephori Aug. lib. prox(imi) comm(entariorum) ann(onae) qui vixit ann(os) XVIII ... Nicephorus et Ulpia Profutura parentes miseri filio piissimo*. Basandosi su argomenti onomastici convincenti, il Solin non accetta tutta l'interpretazione del Weaver. Secondo la sua nuova proposta abbiamo a che fare con tre personaggi: Gregorius deceduto all'età di 18 anni, figlio di Nicephorus e Ulpia Profutura, e che è anche stato schiavo di M. Ulpus Nicephorus. Il Weaver voleva vedere solo due persone, il figlio Gregorius e il padre (M. Ulpus) Nicephorus, che sarebbe menzionato due volte. Mi sembra che anche la soluzione del Solin presenti un piccolo problema: l'autore assume che il padrone Nicephorus abbia dato il suo nome al proprio schiavo, il padre di Gregorius. A prima vista sembra un po' sorprendente, ma prima di poter giudicare definitivamente c'è bisogno di ulteriori ricerche sui "tabu" e sulla relazione nell'onomastica tra padroni e schiavi.

Anche questa volta viene presentata una importante reinterpretazione di un monumento archeologico dell'area. Si tratta del c.d. tempio di Giove sull'acropoli di Cuma, che invece dovrebbe essere stato dedicato a Demetra, secondo il contributo di M. Pagano. Materiale archeologico viene trattato anche da R. Adinolfi, "La facies protostorica e precoloniale di Pozzuoli e nuovi studi sulla fondazione di Dicearchia", e di G. Soricelli con "Appunti sulla produzione di terra sigillata nell'area flegreo-napoletana". G. Gasperetti presenta un fermaglio di bronzo da Quarto Flegreo.

Un breve contributo di M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni contiene "rilettura e revisione" di CIL X 1573 da Puteoli (dove è menzionato N. Cluvius M'.f., *IIvir* a Nola, *IIIvir quinquennalis* a Caudium e *IIvir quinquennalis* a Capua), mentre il volume come sempre viene chiuso da varie "Schede epigrafiche" con qualche novità.

*A.S. Esmonde Cleary: The Ending of Roman Britain.* B.T. Batsford Ltd, London 1989. XI, 242 p. GBP 19.95.

This work, intended both for the general reader and the specialist, covers the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., a crucial period of transition for Britain from the status of a Roman province to a patchwork of Celtic and Anglo-Saxon territorial entities. The author examines the transformation in European, i.e. not exclusively insular, terms; he particularly stresses the effect of the collapse of the late Roman economic system in Britain as a mainspring for de-Romanisation. He also calls for a severe criticism of later written sources, the importance of which has been paramount for study of the period due to the poverty of archaeological evidence, and presents a reassessment of the surviving material. The problem of the rôle of Anglo-Saxons in the destruction of Roman Britain is given fresh consideration, the author arguing that the end of the Roman era and the invasion do not in fact overlap, and that the traditionally accepted idea of continuity would actually have to be abandoned in its present form.

*Otti Merisalo*

*José Dörig: Les trésors d'orfèvrerie thrace.* RdA Supplementi 3. Giorgio Bretschneider, Roma 1987. 31 p. 14 figg. 12 pll. ITL 100.000.

M. Dörig examine 21 œuvres d'art thraces découvertes en Thrace, Russie méridionale et Grande-Grèce, "en cherchant à savoir s'il est possible d'y repérer des éléments stylistiques qui plaident en faveur d'une origine thrace" (p.6). Il est bien connu que la culture thrace n'a pas de littérature propre et c'est pourquoi nous ne la connaissons qu'à travers les récits des écrivains grecs et romains, c.à.d. des récits d'observateurs extérieurs. Cette situation particulière fait que ceux qui s'intéressent à l'histoire et à la culture thrace doivent dépasser l'interprétation hellène ou l'interprétation romaine, qui présentent toujours de la réalité thrace une image plus ou moins déformée, que ce soit délibérément ou involontairement. L'interprétation thrace (*Interpretatio Thracica*, comme l'appellent les thracologues bulgares) ne peut être obtenue que par un travail de juxtaposition de comparaison des sources et des nombreuses découvertes mises au jour par les fouilles effectuées dans les régions auparavant peuplées de Thraces. De plus, le manque de littérature dans la culture thrace rend très difficile l'interprétation historique de ces découvertes archéologiques et, chose plus importante encore, laisse la voie ouverte à des interprétations différentes. Ceci explique pourquoi dans la

littérature consacrée aux problèmes de la culture thrace coexistent des hypothèses très souvent contradictoires au sujet d'un seul objet d'art. Et chacune de ces hypothèses se justifie parfaitement dans la mesure où elle est fondée et n'entre pas en contradiction avec des faits déjà bien établis. A cet égard, le cas de la cruche-rhyton du trésor de Borovo (cf. p. 10-18 de l'œuvre présente) est tout à fait significatif.

Les savants bulgares proposent plusieurs interprétations différentes des deux frises qu'on voit sur ce rhyton. D'après Dimitar Ivanov la scène principale illustre les noces de Dionysos et d'Ariane en présence de Héraclès (cf. *Izkoustvo*, 1975, 3-4 - en bulgare). Ivan Venedikov présume que nous avons là l'unique représentation connue jusqu'ici de Zalmoxis, le dieu des Gètes. Il affirme que la grande frise inférieure représente Perséphone et que les deux personnages amoureux de la frise supérieure sont Orphée et Eurydice (cf. *Mednoto goumno na balgarite*, 1983 - en bulgare). Ivan Marazov avance l'hypothèse que les scènes de la cruche-rhyton de Borovo seraient une représentation des mystères des Cabires. D'après lui, la frise inférieure montre les noces de Cabire avec une déesse qui est identique à la déesse Bendis ou à la nymphe Cabiro et sur la frise supérieure, il voit le couple Mitos et Krateia (cf. *Izkoustvo*, 1986, 5 - en bulgare).

A toute ces hypothèses vient s'ajouter l'interprétation très intéressante de M. Dörig. D'après lui, nous avons devant nous "les représentations détaillées des mystères thraces de Cotys" (p.18 - NB Les autres variantes orthographiques du nom de la grande déesse thrace sont *Kotyttó* et *Kotys*). Sur la frise inférieure, l'auteur voit Musée, Euanthès et Maron, et sur la frise supérieure - la déesse Cotys elle-même avec son fils et son bien-aimé Attis. C'est une interprétation vraiment très originale qui cependant appelle quelques remarques. Par exemple, sur le grand cratère qui représente d'après l'auteur une source miraculeuse, figure une tête et non une protomé de panthère (ou de lion). Ainsi il est un peu difficile de considérer que le premier personnage ailé (cf. Pl. 4b), pris par M. Dörig pour Musée, porte dans sa main gauche un foie qui lui sert à prononcer un oracle. Il est évident que ce personnage porte dans sa main gauche une phiale et dans sa main droite une cruchette à une anse qui, en outre, a la même forme que la cruche-rhyton, sur laquelle est gravée la figure. D'autre part M. Dörig lui-même admet que la frise principale est celle du bas. Dans ce cas, comment expliquer que Cotys, la déesse honorée d'après M. Dörig, se trouve sur la frise moins importante, c'est-à-dire celle du haut? Pour terminer, je veux souligner que l'interprétation proposée par M. Dörig au sujet de la forme ovée du rhyton et de son rapport avec le chant du cygne mourant me semble un peu exagérée et hypothétique (cf. p.15-17). Nous ne

pouvons pas être sûrs que ce sont des cygnes qui sont représentés sur la partie inférieure du rhyton, il peut très bien s'agir de grues, par exemple.

Au problème de l'interprétation des scènes décorant les œuvres d'art thraces, vient encore s'ajouter celui des inscriptions qui y sont gravées. M. Dörig s'arrête en quelques mots aux trois vases du trésor de Borovo qui portent des inscriptions (p.10). A cet égard, il faut premièrement attirer l'attention sur le fait que les inscriptions qu'on lit sur ces trois vases sont: KOTYOS EEBEO (sur la cruche-rhyton), KOTYOS EEBEO (sur le rhyton en protomé de cheval), KOTYOS EBEO (sur le rhyton en protomé de sphinx - cf. Georgi Mihailov, *Arheologia* 1987, 3 - en bulgare avec un résumé en français). Cela signifie qu'il est impossible de trouver sur les vases de Borovo les inscriptions KOTYOS ETBEOY et KOTYOS EFBEOY, comme l'affirme M. Dörig. L'inscription KOTYOS ETBEO se trouve sur la phiale de Vraca (Mogilanska Mogila) et l'inscription KOTYOS EFBEO - sur la phiale d'Adighiol et aussi sur la phiale no. 439 du trésor de Rogozen (cf. Mihailov, art. cit. - généralement pour le trésor de Rogozen cf. P. Zazoff, *Antike Welt* 18:4 [1987]; *Arheologia* 1987, 3 - en bulgare et Al. Fol - Ivan Marazov, *The Rogozen Treasure* - sous presse). Ici, pour être honnêtes, il faut signaler que M. Dörig a très probablement été abusé par le catalogue "L'or des Thraces" (cf. Catalogue d'exposition du Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Genève, 22 nov. 1980 - 1 févr. 1981), qui contient effectivement des erreurs au sujet des inscriptions de Borovo.

D'après la théorie de M. Dörig, dans toutes ces inscriptions, avec le nom KOTYS, il faut comprendre la grande déesse thrace Cotys et non le roi thrace Kotys I (383 - 359 avant J.-C.), comme l'affirment les savants bulgares. Il convient donc de se demander comment expliquer, en ce cas, les inscriptions dans lesquelles au lieu de KOTYOS nous lisons ΣΑΤΟΚΟ (cf. phiale no. 480 du trésor de Rogozen) et ΚΕΡΣΕΒΛΕΠΤΟ (cf. phiale no. 474 du même trésor) - des personnages qui sont sans doute des membres de la famille royale des Odryses (Satokos, fils de Sitalkès et Kersebleptès, fils et successeur de Kotys I) et dont les noms n'ont rien à voir avec ceux des dieux ou des déesses. A la lumière de ces faits, je pense que l'hypothèse de M. Dörig devient difficile à soutenir.

Les inscriptions dont s'occupe M. Dörig posent encore un problème - le deuxième génitif. L'explication de ce génitif était très problématique aussi dans la thracologie bulgare jusqu'à la découverte en 1986 du trésor de Rogozen. Avant cet événement, l'opinion était que le deuxième génitif indiquait le nom de l'artisan qui avait fait le vase (cf. Ivan Venedikov, *Arheologia* 1972, 2). M. Dörig a raison de penser que cette théorie est peu probable, mais ce sont les 14 inscriptions contenant le nom de Kotys du trésor de Rogozen qui constituent un argument irréfutable. Grâce à ces nouvelles données il est clair que le deuxième génitif peut s'interpréter

comme la préposition EK- (ΕΞ-,ΕΓ-) et un toponyme au génitif (Apri, Beos, Geiston etc.) qui indique l'origine du vase.

Le deuxième centre d'intérêt de M. Dörig est l'amphore-rhyton de Panagjuriste. Après avoir présenté les diverses interprétations proposées jusqu'ici pour la frise figurant dans cette œuvre, l'auteur propose la sienne. D'après lui la scène gravée sur ce vase correspond au texte de Poliaïn, 7,5,5 qui raconte comment Midas a été déclaré tyran (p. 22). En s'appuyant sur la figure du petit garçon tenant dans ses mains deux serpents et sur les centaures des anses, M. Dörig conclut que l'amphore-rhyton de Panagjuriste "traite en plusieurs variations le grand sujet de la Vie et de la Mort" (p. 24). Les savants bulgares, quant à eux, acceptent l'opinion d'Erica Simon (AntK 3 [1960] 3ss.) selon laquelle la scène figure l'attaque des Sept contre Thèbes, en faisant remarquer que la destination du rhyton - pour accomplir la cérémonie de la fraternisation - est en parfait accord avec le sujet présenté.

En conclusion, ajoutons que M. Dörig aurait tout intérêt à dire clairement quel critère l'a guidé dans son choix des œuvres d'art thraces et de présenter autant que possible des documents iconographiques permettant d'établir des comparaisons pour ajouter à la crédibilité de ses interprétations très originales.

*Greti Dinkova-Bruun*

*Paul Zanker: Augustus und die Macht der Bilder. Verlag C.H. Beck, München 1987. 369 S. 260 Abb. DEM 86.*

Obwohl Augustus der ohne weiteres berühmteste Kaiser des römischen Reiches sein dürfte, war seine Person nicht so bekannt wie diejenigen einiger Dichter und Schriftsteller seiner Zeit. Man hat fast alles geglaubt, was er selbst in seinem Testament, in den Res gestae Divi Augusti, kundgetan hat. Eigentlich ist die wirkliche Augustusforschung erst in den 30er Jahren dieses Jahrhunderts wieder in Mode gekommen. Mit großem Pomp feierte man seinen zweitausendsten Geburtstag, und die europäischen Diktatoren, vor allem Mussolini, haben sich für seine Person, seine Politik und die Monumente und andere Dokumente seiner Zeit besonders interessiert. In der Tat ist es nicht unmöglich, daß Mussolini geplant hat, einmal als großer Sieger und Weltherrscher im restaurierten prächtigen Mausoleum des großen Kaisers begraben zu werden. In der Nähe hatte er ja auch den neu ausgegrabenen Friedensaltar, die Ara Pacis, aufstellen lassen.

Sir Ronald Symes "The Roman Revolution", das im Jahre 1939 erschienen ist, hätte ihm sicher nicht besonders gefallen, wenn er das



großartige Buch gründlich studiert hätte: Symes Augustus war nicht mehr nur ein Friedensfürst, ein vollkommener Vater des Vaterlandes, sondern der Verfasser stellt uns eine Entwicklungsgeschichte vor, die einen erst grausamen und rücksichtlosen Parteibonzen und seine Entwicklung zu einem ausgeglichenen, weisen und zurückhaltenden Staatsmann und Herrscher schildert. Daß nur die zweite Hälfte dieser Entwicklungsgeschichte und der Persönlichkeit des Augustus bekannt wurde, gehört zu den beachtlichsten propagandistischen Errungenschaften der Weltgeschichte.

Wer Symes Buch und seine Quellen mit Sorgfalt studiert hat, war vielleicht überzeugt, daß zu dem Augustusbild, das Sir Ronald uns geboten hat, nichts Wesentliches mehr hinzugefügt werden könnte. Das war allerdings ein Irrtum. Mit seinem neuen ausgezeichneten Buch "Augustus und die Macht der Bilder" hat Paul Zanker augenscheinlich bewiesen, wie wichtig es ist, daß auch die Historiker alles mögliche relevante Quellenmaterial so gründlich wie möglich beherrschen, unabhängig davon, in welcher Form das Material erhalten geblieben ist. Natürlich ist es ebenso wichtig, daß die Archäologen auch die relevanten schriftlichen und inschriftlichen Quellen kennen und verstehen können.

Zankers gründliche Beherrschung des bildlichen und gebauten Quellenmaterials hat es möglich gemacht, der Entwicklungsgeschichte des künftigen Kaisers Jahr für Jahr, oft sogar beinahe Tag für Tag zu folgen, und es ist wahr, wie Zanker selbst auch sagt, daß die Architekten und Bildhauer die Wünsche des Auftraggebers noch viel exakter einhalten mußten als etwa Dichter und Schriftsteller. Auf diesem Feld gab es in augusteischer Zeit sicher keine freien Künstler!

Zanker erzählt uns mit frappanter Genauigkeit, wie verschieden Octavians bildliche Propaganda und seine ganze Lebensführung während der 13 Jahre zwischen Caesars Tod und der Schlacht bei Actium von denjenigen des Antonius waren, der sich ganz zu schnell und gründlich eine orientalische Lebensweise zu eigen machte. Dem Geist der Epoche gemäß ließen sich beide Dynasten als Heroen oder sogar göttliche Figuren darstellen: während aber Antonius als asianische, dionysische Figur erschien, war Octavian klug genug, sich einer mehr abendländischen, apollinischen Figur anzugleichen. Zugleich war er ja auch der einzige Göttersohn unter den Triumvirn.

Besonders interessant ist Zankers Schilderung der Baukonkurrenz der 30er Jahre, an der auch die Anhänger der beiden Dynasten teilnahmen. Das Augustusmausoleum ist das berühmteste Monument dieser Epoche, bedeutend größer als sein kleinasiatischer Vorgänger, der allerdings zur Gruppe der sieben Weltwunder gehörte. Zanker interpretiert das Mausoleum eher als eine riesige Statuenbasis denn als ein Tumulus, wie

man früher behauptet hat, räumt indes ein, daß auch vereinigte Interpretationen möglich sind. Der Fall des Apollotempels lag schon anders: als er im Jahre 28 eingeweiht wurde, war solch eine ostentative Herrscherpropaganda weder mehr Mode noch nötig, und der Tempel wurde so ein andachtsvolles Zeichen einer wirklichen Devotion.

Die augusteische Revolution des Jahres 27 wird mit großartigen Zügen geschildert: es fallen einem leicht die modernen konservativen „coups d'états“ der Obersten ein, die oft gleiche oder ähnliche Ziele gehabt haben. Unter dem Vorwand der *securitas* begünstigen ja auch sie die vermögenden Schichten der Gesellschaft und behindern so eine normale soziale Entwicklung. Augustus aber war bedeutend schlauer: Auch die weniger Bemittelten sowohl in Rom als auch in den Kleinstädten hatten den Eindruck, daß sie jetzt einen größeren Anteil an der Regierung des Staates und an den staatlichen Ehren hatten als früher. Und wenn die Leute dies vermeinen, ist ja das Ziel der Propaganda glänzend erreicht worden.

Die augusteische Propaganda hat den Sinn und die Bedeutung der altrömischen Tugenden *fides*, *pietas*, *virtus*, *publica magnificentia*, *gravitas*, *mos maiorum*, usw. richtig verstanden und diese geschickt sowohl schriftlich als auch bildlich genutzt: Die verfallenen Tempel wurden ausgebessert, die Priesterschaften erneuert und die gesunkene Moral der Bevölkerung gehoben, allerdings mit wechselndem Erfolg. In der Propaganda wurde jedoch alles Begonnene schon als völlig Ausgeführtes dargestellt, eine Tatsache, die viele Antikforscher irreführt hat.

Wir müssen Paul Zanker sehr dankbar sein, daß er uns seine fast unübersehbaren Kenntnisse der römischen Kunstgeschichte, aber auch der Numismatik und der relevanten Literatur in so einer praktischen Form zur Verfügung gestellt hat. Nur ein Einwurf: Ein genauer Sachindex wäre unentbehrlich.

Paavo Castrén

*M. Fabbri - A. Trotta: Una scuola-collegio di età augustea. L'insula II di Velia. Archaeologia Perusina 7. Giorgio Bretschneider, Roma 1989. 129 p. 71 pll. ITL 280.000.*

The book is about a building complex generally known as the 2nd *insula* of Elea/Velia. This building has given cause to a long discussion which began in the early sixties, when a series of inscriptions and statues was found. The inscriptions were closely related to each other sharing at least one common detail: the name Οὐλίς, the hapax φώλαρχος, or the title ἱατρός. Most of the statues seem to belong to the Julio-Claudian imperial

family; there are also a statue in a toga and two acephalous herms which belong to φώλαρχοι, a herm of Parmenides, and some others.

After a review of the research on the 2nd *insula* at Elea/Velia (pp. 15-23) the book is divided in two parts: the monument (pp. 27-63), and the epigraphical and statuary material (pp. 69-118). Then follow the conclusions (119-128) and a short general index (129).

The monument itself is given a detailed examination and description, and the photographs are generally well chosen to illustrate the details. The structure is rectangular, and the dimensions are 71 x 35,50 and 36,70 metres. The access was in the north-eastern short side. The ground floor is wholly conserved with remains of walls up to three metres high. The *insula* consists of two different spaces: the first is a courtyard (c. 25 x 14 m) with columns on three sides, and the second comprises an elevated open-air garden surrounded by a *cryptoporticus* forming a U, the floor of which is about three metres lower than the garden. Chronologically the first phase of the walls is constructed in *opus incertum*, but other techniques are present in the later phases. The description of the structure is, as far as I can judge, done with care, but tends to be even too detailed, without actually adding to the final information.

In dating the *insula* the authors rely mainly on the brick stamps (p. 119). But here one must make some critical remarks. Unfortunately, M. Fabbri, who is responsible for this part, has a somewhat oversimplifying attitude towards brick stamps and prosopography. When he dates the bricks which have the name *M. Arri* stamped on them to the Augustan period, he refers (p. 63-64, fn. 95) to M. Steinby (1975, p. 19-20). It is true that these stamps seem to be rather early, but Steinby gives very rough datation for this type (i.e. a rectangular stamp with a name written in one line), and it cannot be used as definite evidence for an Augustan date: "Più a lungo sono rimasti in uso tipi...rettangolari; il tipo ad una sola riga e lettere grosse compare per le ultime volte all'inizio del II sec. (Steinby, op. cit.). A more serious point, however, is that the author definitely identifies (p. 64) this Velian M. Arrius with a M. Arrius Max(imus) attested in two stamps at Pompei, and one at Ponza. This is by no means certain. Further, he connects these with the two stamps in the Museo Nazionale di Napoli, which bear the same name but are written without abbreviation. At most I would accept that the M. Arrii Maximi in these stamps may really be one and the same person. However, it is more audacious to connect this probably one single M. Arrius Maximus with a namesake attested in an inscription from Anagni (CIL X 5011, where we must read l. 4: *pro prae(tore)* not *pro prae(tori)*, as the author does, and PIR<sup>2</sup> A 1099, not referred to by the author). This cannot be more than a guess, because the *gens Arria* is not very well known (see e.g. J. Andreau,

Les affaires de monsieur Jucundus (1974), and P. Castrén, *Ordo populusque Pompeianus* (1975), which are not included in the bibliography). There are also several M. Arrii mentioned in the indexes of CIL X. They are certainly not all identical, although they can sometimes be relatives. Furthermore still, the author connects all these Arrii with a text in Tab. Herc. ed. Maiuri, PP 1954-55, p. 79, which he cites: *A[ct] in Pompeiano in figlinis Arrianus Poppeae*... The text must be *in figlinis Arrianis Poppeae*. The name is a derivative of Arrius, but this person is hardly to be linked with one mentioned in a stamp on a *dolium* with a text *C. Arriani [A]mphiones*, or with a person in a text on an amphora from Pompei *de Arriano Dol. XV* (p. 64-65).

The group of inscriptions is discussed on pp. 69-77. Some comments are in order. The author (now A. Trotta) claims that the name Οὐλις is a hapax in the Greek nomenclature. Other examples exist, however, at Olbia in the territory of Massalia (Marseille) published by J. Coupry and M. Giffault in PP (1982); see now also O. Masson, *Le culte Ionien d'Apollon Oulios d'après des données onomastiques nouvelles*, JS 1988, 173-181. It is remarkable that Massalia, like Elea, was a colony of Phocaea. So that rather than being merely possible in Ionia, this form of name was most probably used at Phocaea, and had a genitive Οὐλιος, attested at Olbia, too. Moreover, the name need not be originally Carian (Masson, art.cit. 178).

The dates of the inscriptions of φώλαρχοι are discussed in pp. 72-73. Here one should stress that although Plato mentions Parmenides visiting Athens, it is purely a literary scene, and cannot be taken as a basis for dating Parmenides. I feel that the way the author speculates with the dates suggests only hypotheses. But later these dates are presented almost as facts (e. g. p. 125).

On p. 77 the inscription AE 1966, 108 (now lost) has some curious details. The deceased has a filiation, his *tribus* is mentioned, but is without a praenomen. His other gentilicium (or cognomen) is usually read as *Cae[pil]io* or *Cae[pil]ioni* and his daughter's name has come to us as *Valeria Caepilia*. The problem is that *Caepilius/ialio* is not attested as a gentilicium or a cognomen (see H. Solin – O. Salomies, *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum*, 1988). My suggestion is that we should read *Cae[p]ioni* and *Caepil'la* (see M. Leiwo, *Arctos* [1982] 47).

There are other small details which could be discussed, but I turn to the conclusions. Unfortunately, this study fails to give anything particularly new concerning the term φώλαρχος, and its meaning. The building itself is evidently a typical Hellenistic gymnasium which was used as they were in the Greek world. But why call the head of it a φώλαρχος? There is

one Latin inscription at Velia which mentions a *gymnasiarchus* (ed. Dito, Velia, colonia focese, 1891, p. 95; again Mingazzini, Velia. Atti e mem. Soc. Magna Grecia, 1954). But the inscription is problematic, because this part with the title has been written over the older text which was erased. If the building was used as a place for a medical school or a collegium, we have to depend totally on glosses in explaining the word *φώλαρχος*. So if the building itself was for some reason called a *φωλεόν*, the head of it was evidently a *φώλαρχος*. We have to be satisfied with that.

*Martti Leiwo*

*Daniele Manacorda: Archeologia urbana a Roma: il progetto della Crypta Balbi. – AA.VV., Un "mondezzaro" del XVIII secolo. Lo scavo dell'ambiente 63 del Conservatorio di S. Caterina della Rosa (Archeologia urbana a Roma: il progetto della Crypta Balbi, t.2). – AA.VV., Il giardino del Conservatorio di S. Caterina della Rosa (Archeologia urbana a Roma: il progetto della Crypta Balbi, t.3.1-2). Biblioteca di Archeologia Medievale 2-4. Edizioni all'Insegna del Giglio, Firenze 1982, 1984, 1985. 125, 179, 633 p.*

Quest'opera si colloca nella corrente di rinnovamento dei metodi di indagine archeologica per l'età classica in Italia, con l'applicazione di questi metodi a periodi più recenti. La sua originalità sta nel fatto di rappresentare il primo esperimento di "archeologia urbana" a Roma. Il progetto è volto a chiarire l'evoluzione topografica del quartiere e dei suoi monumenti chiave (teatro di Balbo e criptoportici) dai primi insediamenti fino ai giorni nostri. Questa iniziativa prevede anche, a scavo ultimato, un "recupero" urbano di tutta l'area degli scavi.

Il primo volume, quasi interamente opera di D. Manacorda, è dedicato a questioni di metodo, alla problematica storico-archeologica del cantiere di lavoro e sui primi dati riportati nel saggio del 1981 nonché ad aspetti organizzativi dello scavo.

Nel secondo volume viene dato un resoconto dello scavo dell'ambiente 63 del Conservatorio di S. Caterina della Rosa, con un'analisi di vari reperti che vanno dall'età romana all'età rinascimentale (monete, vetri, oggetti metallici, reperti osseologici, ecc.).

Il terzo volume è diviso in due parti. Nella prima le considerazioni generali sui metodi e risultati dell'indagine dello scavo nel giardino del Conservatorio di S. Caterina ad opera di D. Manacorda sono seguite da un'appendice "Forma e rappresentazione. I contributi della matematica alla sintesi della forma" di M.L. Conforto. Nella seconda parte vengono analizzati i ricchi reperti dello scavo.

*Heikki Solin*

*Il Palazzo del Quirinale.* Studi preliminari sulle collezioni di antichità. A cura di *Lucia Guerrini e Carlo Gasparri*. Collezioni romane di antichità. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1985. 98 p. 3 tavv. 27 figg. ITL 120.000.

Il presente volume costituisce uno studio preliminare, una specie di Prolegomena, del Catalogo delle antichità conservate nel Palazzo del Quirinale. Vi si parla delle sculture e del restauro, e gli autori sono, per le prime, Carlo Gasparri e Lucia Guerrini e, per il secondo, Pier Giovanni Guzzo, Paola Cinti e Nicolò Mario Gammino. Chi scrive ha osservato con interesse le poche notizie su iscrizioni (p. 30) e confessa di aspettare con impazienza la pubblicazione del Catalogo definitivo, in corso di preparazione, che certamente costituirà uno strumento di lavoro di primaria importanza. Da auspicare che anche le iscrizioni possano trovarvi una trattazione adeguata.

*Heikki Solin*

*Collezioni e Musei Archeologici del Veneto.* Collana diretta da *Gustavo Traversari*. Vol. 29: *Girolamo Zampieri: Bronzetti figurati etruschi, italici, paleoveneti e romani del Museo Civico di Padova.* 277 p. ITL 450.000. Vol. 30: *Gustavo Traversari: La statuaria ellenistica del Museo Archeologico di Venezia.* 175 p. ITL 350.000. Vol. 31: *Renato Polacco - Gustavo Traversari: Sculture romane e avori tardo-antichi e medievali del Museo Archeologico di Venezia.* 71 p. ITL 200.000. Vol. 32: *Luigi Sperti: Rilievi greci e romani del Museo Archeologico di Venezia.* 193 p. ITL 300.000. Giorgio Bretschneider, Roma 1986 & 1986 & 1988 & 1988.

Ho avuto già più volte modo di apprezzare i volumi di questa collana pubblicata dall'Editore Giorgio Bretschneider, e che ora viene egregiamente arricchita con quattro ulteriori volumi di grande interesse. L'attenzione dei lettori di questa rivista sarà attratta soprattutto dal volume di Luigi Sperti, che prende in esame 55 rilievi del Museo Archeologico di Venezia, per il fatto che spesso sono accompagnati da iscrizioni, greche o latine, di tutte le epoche. Molti dei rilievi provengono dalla Grecia o comunque dal mondo greco. Altri sono romani. Un paio di osservazioni sulle iscrizioni. La n. 17 è un altare cinerario proveniente da Roma (CIL VI 23566) di *A. Orcivius Hermes* (non si può scrivere *A. Orcivi(us) Hermes*). Interessante è la forma onomastica *A. Orcivi A. Pal. Hermetis*: evidentemente il lapicida ha ommesso la filiazione (sarà da intendersi piuttosto *A.f.* anziché *A.l.*) per mancanza di spazio, avendo calcolato male

quello che stava a disposizione. L'urna n. 19 viene ascritta dall'A. agli eredi di liberti claudio-neroniani, in base al testo epigrafico che è *d.m. Ti. Cl(audio) Charitoni, d.m. Claudiae Chelidoni*. Ma il gentilizio *Claudius* non può essere usato come criterio cronologico.

*Heikki Solin*

*Claudio Franzoni: Habitus atque habitudo militis*. Monumenti funerari di militari nella Cisalpina romana. *Studia archaeologica* 45. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1987. 151 p. 36 tavv. ITL 200.000.

L'importanza delle rappresentazioni figurali per le ricerche sull'esercito romano è ben nota. In questo libro il materiale è costituito da 71 monumenti funerari di soldati e ufficiali trovati nel territorio cisalpino. Cronologicamente il periodo va dall'era augustea fino al IV secolo. L'opera del Franzoni è nell'insieme interessante e utile, sia per la meritevole presentazione del materiale sia per il trattamento di problemi importanti, anche se qualche questione viene lasciata aperta.

Le prime cento pagine del libro contengono un catalogo dei monumenti che sembra includere soltanto quelli che, grazie a iscrizioni o basandosi sulla forma, si possono senza dubbio identificare come funerari. Probabilmente questa è la ragione per cui parecchi monumenti che chiaramente si riferiscono a militari compaiono solo marginalmente nella trattazione generale (v. a p. 106, per es. i rilievi con *ocreae* e scudi da Reggio Emilia [NSA 1940, 279ss.]). Praticamente tutte le opere erano già pubblicate anteriormente, ma a parte il fatto che è utile poterle studiare insieme, si può segnalare qualche caso speciale: N. 8: Altare di un *aquilifer*, ora al Teatro Romano di Verona. Questo monumento era noto a M.P. Speidel solo da un vecchio disegno al momento della pubblicazione di BJ 1976 (=Roman Army Studies I, 17 con Addendum p. 406). N. 21: Stele di un centurione da Aquileia (CIL V 914). Da Bianchi Bandinelli, *La fine dell'arte antica*, 130 fig. 105, il personaggio è considerato un mercante. N. 24: La statua frammentaria di un militare, attualmente incastrata nella muratura del castello di Cassacco (Udine); scoperto solo di recente, è forse un esempio molto antico di "stehender Soldat". N. 30: Il famosissimo monumento funerario (v. CIL V 3747) del centurione Q. Sertorius Festus e di suo fratello L. Sertorius Firmus, anche lui militare.

In qualche dettaglio l'autore forse non coglie nel vero: N. 5: Sarcofago del veterano M. Aurelius Sossius. Il Franzoni pensa che l'iscrizione *Ex aquil.* iscritta su una tabula indichi la provenienza, *Ex Aquil(eia)*. Ma questo è poco credibile; bisogna, con Dessau (ILS 2343) e

lo Speidel (Roman Army Studies I, 23 nr. 7), affermare che si tratti di un *ex aquil(ifero)*. N. 11: Sarcofago di un graduato con mansioni amministrative. Come ammette lo stesso autore, la trattazione contiene probabilmente qualche speculazione di troppo. Forse si tratta di un *curator fisici*, ma per "la scelta di offerta sacra" non conviene alludere al Rangordnung (2. ed.) di v. Domaszewski p. 22s., dato che la carica di *antistes sacerd. temp. Martis* (CIL VI 2256 = 32456 = D 2090) è assolutamente unica, e per di più anteriore all'epoca di questo monumento. N. 13: Stele di un legionario (CIL V 900). Il nome deve essere *Sud[icen]tius*, che è tracico (il CIL contiene un'errore ortografico). N. 19: La foto non buona (tav. V,4 - generalmente le tavole sono di buona qualità) di questo personaggio, identificato come centurione in base al bastone nella mano sinistra, non permette di seguire l'argomento dell'autore. Molto meglio invece in P. Noelke, Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms III (13. Limeskongreß), Stuttgart 1986, 218 Abb. 8. L'articolo di Noelke non è noto all'autore, ma contenendo un elenco delle raffigurazioni di militari romani con il "Ringschnallen"-cingulum, in questo caso sarebbe utile.

Anche se l'analisi dei dettagli viene svolta con cura, non costituisce lo scopo principale dell'autore, che invece vuole "seguire i differenti (o analoghi) modi in cui un gruppo sociale come quello militare si rappresenta ... lo scopo è quello di restituire l'immagine che una categoria socialmente determinata intende offrire di se" (p. 7). Nelle pagine conclusive che seguono al catalogo l'autore è in grado di presentare un quadro coerente dello sviluppo dei vari tipi di monumenti. Durante il I secolo il mezzo busto ma specialmente rappresentazioni di armi isolate sono piuttosto frequenti. Per le armi isolate si tratta di un tema ellenistico (tempio di Athena Polias a Pergamo, gli "anathemata" nei templi ellenistici e romani), che si trova in Italia centrale alla fine della repubblica. Per ovvie ragioni questo motivo dei monumenti pubblici diviene comune per quelli privati di militari. Una variante è costituita dalla rappresentazione di *dona militaria*.

Le "armi isolate" scompaiono dopo il I secolo, mentre le figure intere, vari tipi di "stehender Soldat", che occorre già prima, diventano molto comuni. Qui siamo di fronte a una questione che in precedenza ha sollevato tanta discussione. All'inizio del secolo sembrava che questo tipo di monumento fosse diffuso soprattutto lungo il Reno e nella Cisalpina (ormai si conoscono esemplari da varie parti dell'impero). Tra gli studiosi nacque il concetto di "Soldatenkunst" e si pensava che fossero stati i legionari a portare il linguaggio artistico romano oltre le Alpi. Più tardi questo concetto perse attualità quando si realizzò che il processo artistico era composto sia da committenti che da artigiani.

La questione che il Franzoni comunque cerca di risolvere è il rapporto tra la Cisalpina e il territorio renano. Anche se la qualità delle



singole opere nei casi migliori è superiore in quest'ultimo (statue di Annaius e di Flavoleius; v. l'opera di Rinaldi Tufi trattato accanto), l'autore pensa che il tema possa benissimo essersi sviluppato prima nella Cisalpina. Si potrebbe dire che "i soldati romani furono dei veicoli di questo modello iconografico", che però non vuole essere un risuscitamento del vecchio concetto di "arte dei soldati".

Cosa si può allora dire delle ragioni per cui questa "categoria socialmente determinata" sceglieva man mano una statua intera al posto del busto o di armi isolate? La questione è difficile, e sotto questo aspetto il lavoro non procede oltre qualche constatazione abbastanza ovvia, v. p. 113 dove l'iconografia del mezzobusto e della figura intera viene spiegata alludendo allo sviluppo generale della scultura nella Padana, un "indizio di un mutamento nella concezione del monumentum e delle pratiche funerarie ..." mentre la progressiva scomparsa del ritratto "può essere il chiaro segno della crisi ... di quella struttura culturale (e insieme economica) che determina e condiziona il processo di rappresentazione del cittadino...".

Nel complesso, per una migliore conoscenza della mentalità del soldato romano, il capitolo finale, con lo stesso titolo del libro intero (travestendo Apul. met. 9,39), non contiene novità. Sappiamo da sempre che il soldato romano, come certamente tutti i militari ovunque, celebrava volentieri la propria professione. Si può accennare a un dettaglio della trattazione, che evidenzia anche le difficoltà di tale tema. Per quanto riguarda le rappresentazioni iconografiche, l'autore nota che due erano le variazioni: o la figura era vestita di *tunica* e *sagum*, o indossava la *lorica*. Il tipo loricato sembra divenire più raro durante il II secolo, ma la spiegazione che l'esercito partecipava sempre di meno ad azioni militari - il mestiere di soldato sarebbe divenuto quasi un impiego civile - non convince tanto. Mentre per il tardoantico sappiamo che lo sviluppo era quasi opposto, che le varie cariche amministrative erano considerate come *militiae*, per il II secolo bisogna ricordare che a causa delle guerre di Traiano ancora durante Adriano una parte considerevole dei veterani potevano vantarsi di esperienze belliche. Praticamente solo il regno di Antonino Pio fu privo di campagne militari. Ma si può forse caratterizzare generalmente la società romana del II sec. come meno "militarista" di quella dei tempi precedenti e posteriori? Forse grazie a questa mentalità generale cambiava anche l'immagine del soldato? Il lavoro del Franzoni non si propone di risolvere questioni di tale dimensione.

Dopo il testo seguono gli indici. L'indice epigrafico dà solo le referenze alle iscrizioni trattate. Gli altri tre indici comprendono autori antichi, autori moderni e le illustrazioni. Bisogna rammaricarsi che più attenzione non sia stata data a questo aspetto, forse poco remunerativo per autore ed editore, ma non per questo meno importante per i colleghi che

vogliono usare un'opera scientifica. Che senso ha stampare un indice con i loci dove autori moderni sono citati, ma non pubblicare ad es. un indice con i termini militari che compaiono e vengono analizzati nei diversi monumenti? Un tale elenco doveva pur esistere, altrimenti risulta incomprensibile come l'autore abbia svolto la sua opera.

Questo ci porta ad un'ulteriore problematica che l'autore spesso tocca: il rapporto tra gli elementi figurativi e il rango del personaggio. Qualche volta l'iscrizione di un monumento non dice molto oppure è frammentaria o manca del tutto. In quale grado è lecito, in tal caso, fare deduzioni partendo dalla figura del defunto, dall'uniforme, dagli attributi e da eventuali "armi isolate"? Per es., per i centurioni la *vitæ* è da sempre stata ritenuta il simbolo più cospicuo di questo rango. Sfogliando le pagine di quest'opera ci rendiamo conto che in effetti un bastone appare in molti dei monumenti di centurioni esplicitamente nominati - ma bisogna notare che la forma cambia considerevolmente dal bastoncino del primo impero fino al "bastone a fungo" dei rilievi tardi. Basandosi però sia su monumenti trattati dal Franzoni che su altre scoperte si può ormai sospettare che bastoni fossero usati anche da altri militari, dai *principales* come l'*optio* (Arch. Class 31 [1979] 167) e forse da altri ancora (JRS 68 [1978] 22), mentre qui abbiamo per es. il nr. 31 e il nr. 33 (CIL V 3368), un *evocatus* che porta un lungo bastone. La problematica di come interpretare elementi figurativi richiede ulteriore studio, non solo per il bastone (Franzoni p. 80 dà un buon sommario) ma anche per altri oggetti come "l'astuccio" che talvolta si vede infilato tra la *tunica* e il *cingulum* (nr. 24) o per il *volumen* che alcuni tengono nella mano, mentre per il momento una certa cautela sembra richiesta nelle deduzioni. L'indizio più sicuro del grado di centurione sembra costituito dalle gambiere, le *ocreae*. (Un'eccezione M. Cincius Nigrinus, milite urbano [IGR I 779], v. DarSaglio V, fig. 7237).

Senza dubbio il libro del Franzoni sarà un punto di riferimento per gli studi futuri.

*Christer Bruun*

*Sergio Rinaldi Tufi: Militari romani sul Reno. L'iconografia degli "Stehende Soldaten" nelle stele funerarie del I secolo d.C. Archaeologica 92. Giorgio Bretschneider, Roma 1988. 93 p. 27 tavv. ITL 160.000.*

In questo breve volume vengono trattate 36 sculture funerarie di soldati romani. Certamente nessuna di esse è inedita, anzi sono state tutte già trattate varie volte in altre occasioni. Molte sono incluse nei fascicoli

del Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani, o sono trattate nell'importante lavoro di H. Gabelmann, *Die Typen der römischen Grabstelen am Rhein*, BJ 172 (1972), il quale si occupa per es. della stele di Annaius (CIL XIII 7507), di grande importanza nel lavoro del Rinaldi Tufi.

Ad una breve introduzione segue la presentazione dei monumenti funerari. Il testo è chiaro e lucido e non contiene nulla di troppo; le fotografie delle singole opere sono sufficientemente buone da permettere al lettore di seguire l'argomento. I commenti che seguono la presentazione costituiscono la ragione principale per la pubblicazione del libro.

In generale questo lavoro può dare spunti in due direzioni. Prima di tutto si tratta di un'analisi tipologica e sul lavoro artigianale, con i capitoli "Struttura delle stele", "Nicchie" e un riassunto degli "Elementi architettonici, decorativi e simbolici", ai quali segue una breve discussione sull'attività delle botteghe. Certe strutture sono riconoscibili, come il "gruppo di Annaius" di Bingen-Bingerbrück poco a nord di Mainz, il che non meraviglia dato che si tratta di prodotti artigianali abbastanza ristretti nel tempo e nello spazio. Comunque le conclusioni dell'autore vanno un po' contro altri studiosi che hanno voluto vedere una più grande influenza della bottega di Mainz. Il Rinaldi Tufi tende invece a una certa dissociazione da questa bottega per opere trovate altrove.

Un'altra corrente è costituita nel lavoro dall'analisi della raffigurazione dei militari, e da considerazioni su come spiegare questa particolare scelta iconografica. Anche se il materiale non è molto vasto, l'autore è in grado di trarre qualche conclusione dallo studio dell'equipaggiamento dei soldati. Bisogna rammaricarsi, con l'autore e con il mondo della ricerca in generale, che il lavoro di H. Ubl, *Waffen und Uniform des römischen Heeres der Prinzipatsepoche nach den Grabreliefs Noricum und Pannoniens*, Wien 1969 non sia mai stato pubblicato. Così risulta più difficile valutare l'importanza di un'analisi come la presente. Un risultato interessante è comunque il fatto che sembra esistessero solo poche differenze tra legionari e soldati ausiliari per quanto riguarda certi elementi dell'equipaggiamento (bisogna sottolineare che la trattazione è molto dettagliata). Si può notare che ambedue le categorie indossano la *tunica* "bogenförmig geschürzt", benchè altrove essa costituisca una prerogativa dei soli legionari e delle *alae*. Anche per lo *scutum* non esiste la chiara distinzione che ci si potrebbe attendere, cioè i legionari non sono rappresentati solo con lo scudo rettangolare, nè gli ausiliari con solo quello ovale. In genere, la qualità dei monumenti dei legionari non supera quella degli ausiliari; forse è vero il contrario.

Sembra indubbio che sotto alcuni *cingula* ci sia una "fascia annodata". (Su questo v. ora H. Ubl, *Was trug der römische Soldat unter dem Cingulum?*, *Roman Military Equipment: the Sources of Evidence*, BAR

Intern. Series 476 [1989] 61ss. In generale molto importanti per la discussione sull'equipaggiamento sono vari altri contributi delle conferenze su "Roman Military Equipment", v. BAR Int. S. 275. 336. 394). Sotto questa fascia si vede talvolta un oggetto, una tavoletta o una tessera. A proposito di questo s'impone però la domanda se l'oggetto sarà veramente stato usato per annotazioni o verifiche effettuate da sottufficiali di giornata, come recentemente è stato proposto? (v. D. Baatz, *Lederne Gürteltaschen römischer Soldaten?*, Archäol. Korresp.blatt 13 [1983]). Ma se questa affermazione coglie nel vero, è un ulteriore esempio di come le analisi iconografiche possono giovare agli studi dell'esercito romano.

Infine un breve e, a dire la verità, alquanto deludente capitolo dove si cerca di spiegare la scelta iconografica di "stehender Soldat", la impostazione di cui l'"Augusto di Prima Porta" è l'esempio più noto. Questo tipo di raffigurazione si potrebbe spiegare per es. con la voglia di rappresentare in modo completo l'armamento, i segni di riconoscimento ecc. Ma per questo scopo non c'era bisogno di una figura intera; ad esso invece avrà contribuito l'esigenza di una maggiore organicità. Ma all'autore la soluzione più probabile sembra che i committenti abbiano voluto avere una opera che assomigliasse il più possibile a una vera statua, ma a un costo più basso: un rilievo dentro una nicchia.

Resta ancora il problema dell'origine di questo tipo di monumento funebre. Gli ultimi anni hanno portato alla nostra conoscenza esempi di "stehende Soldaten" da varie parti dell'impero (ma alcuni certamente posteriori al I secolo d.C.), un fatto ben registrato dall'autore (v. JRS 1978, 21ss.; Arch.Class 31 [1979] 167ss.; RdA 6 [1982] 47ss. e anche M.P. Speidel, *Roman Army Studies I* [1984] 3ss. con tre esempi dall'Asia minore). L'autore sembra propenso a minimizzare il problema se il tema di "stehende Soldaten" sia originario dell'Italia settentrionale, come a volte è stato proposto, o sia nato nella zona renana. Notando che questa iconografia è molto più comune al Reno, bisogna anche ricordare che le legioni erano stanziata alla frontiera, non nella Cisalpina. Inoltre Rinaldi Tufi sottolinea che molti dei legionari rappresentati come "stehende Soldaten" erano originari dell'Italia settentrionale. Non liquet...

*Christer Bruun*

*Guy de la Bédoyère: The Finds of Roman Britain.* B.T. Batsford Ltd, London 1989. 242 p. 122 figs. 27 colour plates. GBP 19.95.

This book sets out to be a reliable and up-to-date general textbook for both scholars and amateurs on the archaeological material of the Roman period in Britain. The information is grouped according to functions (the

army, crafts, trades, industries, household life, personal objects, public and social life, religion, death and burial, Christianity, coinage), with abundant illustrations (both drawings and photographs). The main body of text is followed by appendices, a critical catalogue of museums with archaeological material in Britain, topo-chronological tables of events, fine wares, Samian and mortaria potters, brooch types, a survey of coin denominations, coin legends, obverse titles on coins, a bibliography and useful indices.

*Outi Merisalo*

*Rivista di Studi Pompeiani*, vol. I. Associazione Internazionale Amici di Pompei. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1987. 232 p. 219 ill. ITL 150.000.

Just as we can call Pompeii and its surroundings a sort of "must" for anyone interested in classical studies, likewise this series under review has all the possibilities of becoming an equal "must" among the various publications. This is not a minor achievement considering the increasing flood of information and specialization and that every word of welcome for a new publication is shadowed by the question of whether it really is needed. Because of the outstanding importance of Pompeii and this piece of research which it inspired the answer is undoubtedly positive. The more so if the series achieves its aim, which was formulated by Baldassare Conticello as follows: "La rivista vuole essere la *sede neutrale* presso la quale possa essere condotto un civile dibattito di idee, prima di tutto sui vari aspetti della *pompeianistica* in senso lato, ma anche, più generalmente, sulla scienza dell'antichità classica nei suoi diversi aspetti, non relativi alla sola Campania." (p. 7). We can only hope that the series will establish itself with more success than its predecessors (the first "Rivista di Studi Pompeiani" published by Emilio Magaldi in 1934-46, followed by the "Cronache Pompeiane" in 1975-79 and the only volume of "Pompei, Ercolano, Stabia" in 1983).

The first section is the "nucleo centrale della rivista" and consists of various independent articles. This volume contains ten articles altogether (pp. 11-130) occupying about one half of the total 227 pp. It is useful to have articles on Pompeian studies in one review, and one cannot but wish that future editions will contain at least the most important contributions in this field. Equally important – and in this volume just as extensive as the first section – is the second section consisting of a "Notiziario" (pp. 131-199) and of "Discussioni e recensioni" (pp. 201-227). Particularly welcome is the "Notiziario", which contains reports on the various

"Attività dell' Ufficio Scavi" of the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei as well as of other scientific field work. It includes reports from 1984-86 on work in Pompeii and its suburbs, Oplontis, Stabiae and Herculaneum. This is an excellent means of keeping the various friends of Pompeii – often far away from the site itself – up-to-date about the work done. In this respect, it is essential that the review be published annually, and that it contain as recent news as possible. Although such information is inevitably preliminary, there is no doubt about its usefulness.

This is also true of the articles (in the first section), most of which are, in fact, preliminary reports of larger work such as the "The Australian expedition to Pompeii" by J.P. Descoedres and F. Sear, or "Human Bones at Herculaneum" by S.C. Bisel. Some minor finds of more general interest are presented in brief contributions such as those by M. Conticello De Spagnolis and Ernesto De Carolis on bronze lamps from Pompeii and Oplontis respectively, or that by L.A. Scatozza Höricht on the origin of the Roman glass found in recent excavations in Pompeii. Epigraphists will be interested in Antonio Varone's "Nuovi *tituli picti pompeiani*". Promising "advertisements" of studies to come include P. Depoto's "Circolazione monetale a Pompei. Cenni su problemi di economia", and F.P.M. Francissen's "A Century of Scientific Research on plants in Roman mural paintings (1879-1979)". As this reviewer is preparing a study on the birds in Romano-Campanian mural paintings, it was a particularly happy surprise to see that the numerous plants are now receiving the scientific attention they undoubtedly deserve. Although it is a systematic study, Tatiana Warscher's "Flora Pompeiana" (D.A.I., Rome 1942) deserved at least a footnote in Francissen's presentation on earlier studies in the field.

In my opinion, one of the most interesting single contributions in the volume is Inge Weitzer's article "Diesmal keine Pygmäen. Die Zwergfiguren und ihre Partnerdarstellungen in der Casa del Labirinto" (pp. 51-74). The portraits under discussion are in the Second style wall paintings of the cubiculum (n. 46), which have long been well known, as is the fact that such a combination has no parallels in Romano-Campanian wall paintings. Surprising as it may seem, their singularity has so far been devoid of any convincing explanation. Wintzer now offers one, showing that the series of portraits of midgets, amorines and female figures refer to astrological beliefs originating in the belief in Hermes Trismegistos. The "Egyptian connection" in these paintings has already been pointed out by M. de Vos, *Egittomania in pitture e mosaici romano-campani della prima età imperiale* (1980), pp. 89-90, but Wintzer succeeds in showing that the midgets which have so far been called pygmies (or *grylloi*) derive from Ptah-Pataikos-representations and that they are often twelve in number: these apotropaic figures refer to the 12 *Stundenschutzgötter* and to the

Zodiac. The 11 amorines also have an astral meaning (emanation of Venus) as do the 10 female figures referring to the planets and decans.

Wintzer does not discuss these paintings in relation to those in the adjacent oecus (n. 43): considerable differences in execution suggest different painters and perhaps also another date. Nor does Wintzer mention the possibility that the so far unique Horus-falcon statues represented in the Third style garden painting in the calidarium of this house might also go back to the same or similar beliefs deriving from Hellenistic Egypt. Two minor inaccuracies need to be corrected here: the naval ships in the socle have not been ignored as Wintzer states (p. 52): they were mentioned by M. de Vos, *Egittomania*, pp. 89-90. The Second style painting now in the Museo Nazionale di Napoli (inv. 8594) comes from house VII 17,41 as shown by A. Allroggen-Bedel, and not from the Praedia di Iulia Felix, as Wintzer states in note 111.

It was indeed time for the work done in Pompeii and its surroundings to be presented and followed in a forum worthy of its importance. No longer do the friends of Pompeii have to rely only on the legendary guest book at the hostaria *Donnarumma* to see what has been done. The first volume makes a very promising start and one cannot but agree with the "Saluto" by Carlo Vizzini in which he states "La qualità degli articoli, la ricchezza del notiziario e la veste tipografica qualificata, nonché la vasta circolazione internazionale assicurata dalla Casa Editrice "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, fanno questa nuova rivista una delle più significative promesse fra le pubblicazioni archeologiche italiane." This is indeed a "significativa promessa".

*Antero Tammisto*

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