

ARCTOS

ACTA PHILOLOGICA FENNICA

NOVA SERIES

VOL. VI

1969

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NOVA SERIES
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NOVA SERIES

VOL. VI

HELSINKI 1969 HELSINGFORS

ARCTOS

ACTA HISTORICA PHILOLOGICA FENNICA

VOL. I—II A. 1930—1931 EDITA

EDITIO TOTA EXHAUSTA EST

ARCTOS

ACTA PHILOLOGICA FENNICA

NOVA SERIES

VOL. I—V A. 1954—1967 EDITA

SUPPLEMENTUM I 1968

MANDATU SOCIETATIS

»KLASSILLIS-FILOLOGINEN YHDISTYS —
KLASSISK-FILOLOGISKA FÖRENINGEN»

VOL. VI EDENDUM CURAVERUNT

HENRIK ZILLIACUS

HEIKKI SOLIN

MAARIT VUORENJUURI

Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Kirjapaino Oy

Helsinki 1969

CLEDONOMANCY AND THE GRINDING SLAVE,
Od. XX, 91—121

K a a r l e H i r v o n e n

The utterance of the grinding slave woman in answer to Odysseus' prayer for an omen has aroused considerable comment.¹ Ever since BEKKER published his study in 1853, this song has been regarded as the weakest in the whole of Homer. A closer study of its philological, aesthetic and historical aspects offers a good opportunity to follow the working methods of the Homeric bard. Here are the episode and the passages linking it to the rest of the song:

ὥς ἔφατ', αὐτίκα δὲ χρυσόθρονος ἤλυθεν Ἡώς.
τῆς δ' ἄρα κλαιούσης ὅπα σύνθητο δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς·
μερμήριξε δ' ἔπειτα, δόκησε δέ οἱ κατὰ θυμὸν
ἤδη γινώσκουσα παρεστάμεναι κεφαλῆφι.
γλαῖναν μὲν συνελὼν καὶ κόεα, τοῖσιν ἐνεῦδεν, 95
ἔς μέγαρον κατέθηκεν ἐπὶ θρόνου, ἐκ δὲ βοεῖην
θῆκε θύραζε φέρων, Διὶ δ' εὖξατο χεῖρας ἀνασχών·
“Ζεῦ πάτερ, εἴ μ' ἐθέλοντες ἐπὶ τραφερῆν τε καὶ ὕγρην
ἦγετ' ἐμὴν ἔς γαῖαν, ἐπεὶ μ' ἐκακώσατε λίην,
φήμην τίς μοι φάσθω ἐγειρομένων ἀνθρώπων 100
ἔνδοθεν, ἔκτοσθεν δὲ Διὸς τέρας ἄλλο φανήτω.”
ὥς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος· τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε μητίετα Ζεὺς,
αὐτίκα δ' ἐβρόντησεν ἀπ' αἰγλήεντος Ὀλύμπου,
ὑπόθεν ἐκ νεφέων· γήθησε δὲ δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς.
φήμην δ' ἐξ οἴκοιο γυνὴ προέηκεν ἀλετρις 105
πλησίον, ἐνθ' ἄρα οἱ μύλαι εἶατο ποιμένι λαῶν.
τῆσιν δώδεκα πᾶσαι ἐπερρώοντο γυναῖκες
ἄλφιτα τεύχουσαι καὶ ἀλείατα, μυελὸν ἀνδρῶν·
αἱ μὲν ἄρ' ἄλλαι εὔδον, ἐπεὶ κατὰ πυρὸν ἄλεσσαν,

¹ General comments on omens in Homer are presented in H. STOCKINGER O.S.B., *Die Vorzeichen im homerischen Epos. Ihre Typik und ihre Bedeutung*. Diss. Munich, 1959, which contains a list of recent literature on the subject, and in G. E. DUCKWORTH, *Foreshadowing and Suspense in the Epics of Homer, Apollonius and Vergil*. Diss. Princeton, 1933.

ἤ δὲ μί' οὐ πω παύετ', ἀφανροτάτη δὲ τέτυκτο· 110
 ἤ ῥα μύλην στήσασα ἔπος φάτο, σῆμα ἄνακτι·
 “Ζεῦ πάτερ, ὅς τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισιν ἀνάσσεις,
 ἤ μεγάλ' ἐβρόντησας ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος,
 οὐδέ ποθι νέφος ἐστί· τέρας νύ τεω τόδε φαίνεις.
 κρηῖνον νῦν καὶ ἐμοὶ δειλῆ ἔπος, ὅτι κεν εἶπω· 115
 μνηστῆρες πύματόν τε καὶ ὕστατον ἥματι τῶδε
 ἐν μεγάροισ' Ὀδυσῆος ἐλοίατο δαῖτ' ἐρατεινήν,
 οἳ δὴ μοι καμάτω θυμαλγείῃ γούνατ' ἔλυσαν
 ἄλφιτα τευχούσῃ· νῦν ὕστατα δειπνήσειαν.”
 ὣς ἄρ' ἔφη, χαῖρεν δὲ κληιδόνη δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς 120
 Ζηνός τε βροντῆ· φάτο γὰρ τείσασθαι ἀλείτας.
 αἱ δ' ἄλλαι δμῶαὶ κατὰ δώματα κάλ' Ὀδυσῆος
 ἐγρόμεναι ἀνέκαιον ἐπ' ἐσχάρη ἀκάματον πῦρ.
 Τηλέμαχος δ' εὐνήθεν ἀνίστατο, ἰσόθεος φῶς,
 εἶματα ἐσσάμενος, περὶ δὲ ξίφος ὄξυθ' ἐθέτ' ὤμω, 125

a. Philological observations

The passage was not doubted by the ancients. Modern scholars regard only line 104¹ as an interpolation — but a remarkably clumsy one for all that.

Contrary to the epic rule, line 92 contains a *positio debilis*, ἄρα κλαιούσης.²

The digamma effect was disregarded in composing line 112, ἀνθρώποισιν ἀνάσσεις, although it had been taken into account in ἴφι ἀνάσσεις (A 38, 452),³ which obviously served as its model.

Neither this word nor ἔπος (111, 115), however, offer definite criteria owing to the differences in their mode of use.⁴

ἐβρόντησε (103), in which the augment is a *hapax*, is a late form; it appears three times without the augment (Φ 56, μ 415 = ξ 305). ἐβρόντησας (113) appears nowhere but here; without the augment it is found in Θ 133. As they are preceded by elisions, of course, the augments may have been added later by copyists.

¹ V. BÉRARD, L'Odyssee, I (Paris, 1924), 97. K. F. AMEIS and C. HENTZE, Anhang zu Homers Odyssee, IV (Leipzig, 1900), 36, 38 states that the scholars have doubted the following lines: SCOTLAND 56–94, 98–101, 105–21, 124–46; DÜNTZER 108 f., 118 f.; NAUCK 118 f.

² E. SCHWARTZ, Die Odyssee (München, 1924), 296.

³ P. CHANTRAINE, Grammaire homérique, I (Paris, 1942), 126.

⁴ *Ibid.* 133.

The passage includes only two standard lines. One of these is the first line (91), which provides the link with what has gone before. It is found in three other passages in the *Odyssey* κ 541, μ 142, \omicron 56. The second standard line is a common way of ending a prayer (102 = *II* 249, Ω 314). With slight modifications, it appears four times in the *Odyssey* and nine times in the *Iliad*. Compared with the standard »rosy-fingered» Eos¹ of the *Odyssey*, line 91 displays a more inventive turn of phrase. It generally concludes nocturnal consultations and leads flexibly into the following day's activities. Obviously it was inspired by the passages mentioned above, describing the nightly consultations of Circe and Odysseus. The same pattern is followed on another occasion when Telemachus and his companion are planning their departure. Here Penelope laments her lot alone; she does not rise to perform her daily duties, and no one comes to see her.

Visions in dreams usually appear $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho$ κεφαλήης (*B* 20, Ψ 68, δ 803, ζ 21), but here we find κεφαλήφι (94), encountered elsewhere only in song *K* 496 of the *Iliad* which has long been considered the most doubtful song in Homer.

The word κῶας (95) is obviously old, as it is used in the »Argonauts». For all that, it appears only once in the *Iliad* (*I* 657) and 12 times in the *Odyssey*, whereas χλαῖνα is a typical Odyssean word found 50 times in the *Odyssey* and seven times in the *Iliad*.

Untanned ox-hides seem almost to have been an obsession for the composer of song *v* (2, 96, 142). βοέη, βοείη is found nowhere else in the *Odyssey*, except in χ 364, where the messenger Medon hides himself in one during the blood bath. The source of the hide — the sacrifice of a heifer — is mentioned in ρ 181. It might be a survival of shamanism (see p. 17 n. 2).

In both *v* 98 and 112 the initial line of the prayers reflects traditional solemnity. Line 98 has a common beginning, a hapax middle part, and an end encountered only once elsewhere (*h.Cer.*43). It faithfully reflects Odysseus' state of mind after his trials and tribulations on land and sea. Apart from *v* 99, the verb κακῶω appears only in *A* 690 and π 212. The imperatives in lines 100 and 101 are unique. On the other hand, the expressions for a miracle, a prayer and its hearing (101 f.) have been taken from similar lines elsewhere.

In response to the invocation Zeus »thunders from gleaming Olympus» in

¹ In the *Odyssey* the morning dawns twenty times with the stock line ἤμος δ' ἠριγένεια φάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἥως (β 1, γ 104 etc). The *Iliad* has it only twice, in the initial and the closing song (*A* 477, Ω 788). In a written epic, Firdausi's *Book of Kings*, fifty dawns are described in as many ways.

v 103. Otherwise this expression appears only twice in the Iliad — upon Thetis' departure in A 532 and in a simile that seems to be of late origin (N 243 — Idomeneus' shining armour). *ὕπόθεν ἐκ* is found only in the Odyssey, when referring to a mountain top (*β* 147), a rock (*ρ* 210), a roof (*χ* 298), and here to the clouds.

Seeing that only half of the omen had as yet been given, Odysseus' rejoicing seems premature and the passage must be regarded as irrelevant poetizing, but not necessarily as an interpolation. It was prompted by the initial words of the three lines just mentioned and by the stock phrase for joy.¹ *ἐκ νεφέων* occupies the same position thrice in the Iliad, but these lines begin with different dactyls or spondees.

In lines 100 and 105, *φήμη* denotes »an omen«. Elsewhere it is found only in *β* 35 and not at all in the Iliad. *ἀλετρις* is a hapax, as also is *ἄλεσσαν* (109).

v 108 is the only line in Homer in which *ἀλείατα*, (wheat meal) is mentioned in addition to *ἄλφιτα*, the barley meal commonly used in sacrifices. The epithet *μυελὸς ἀνδρῶν*, which elsewhere appears only in *β* 290, was probably used to give this novelty an archaic veneer. The age-old delicacy, bone marrow, is mentioned as food for a child and for the cannibal Cyclops in X 501 and *ι* 293.

ἄφραυροτάτη is a hapax in the Odyssey. In the Iliad the adjective appears four times.

The prayer of the grinding woman begins with the usual formula (112). The bard may have had in mind A 503 and T 270, which end in a metrically fitting form of a verb, but which he replaced by the easily remembered end, *ἀνάσσεις* of Chryses' prayer as mentioned above in connection with the digamma. It is an impressive line, but as it sounds like a later description of Zeus' supreme deity, it seems strange coming from a slave woman; women usually prayed to goddesses — particularly to Demeter and Kore.

Line 113 contains the hapax verb form already mentioned. *οὐρανοῦ ἀστεροέντος* at the end of the line occurs four times in the Iliad. It also appears twice in the hymns, where it refers to Uranus. The thunder coming from 'cloudless sky' in the following line is ordinary prophecy technique, and the passage can hardly be taken as evidence that line 104 was interpolated.

The woman's wish to see the suitors destroyed (116—19) has been doubted.²

¹ F. FOCKE, *Die Odyssee* (Stuttgart, 1943), 341 nn. 3, 4: »just a high-sounding phrase; no convincing motive for interpolation.« According to STOCKINGER 137, 146, line 104 disturbs the symmetric, cohesive construction of the omen scene.

² AMEIS-HENTZE IV 38. STOCKINGER 144 ff. concerning the cursing prayer.

According to REICHERT, lines 116 f. served as a model for line δ 685. DÜNTZER believes 118 f. to be a later addition and regards *νῶν ὕστατα δειπνήσειαν* as bad rhapsodic tautology.

The tautology in the passage cannot be denied, for the meaning is adequately expressed in lines 116—117. *ὑστατα καὶ πύματα* in line 113 has already served to create the atmosphere of doom. The passage would not be credible had it not been motivated by the grinding woman's fatigue. It is possible that the bard, seeking words to put in the mouth of the slave woman, resorted to her mistress's wish uttered in exasperation, for the suitors to eat their last meal (δ 684 f.). The psychological motivation for this called for elaboration, but it weakened the drama. The idea was excellent: the forced entertainment had been painful to both parties, though for different reasons. The idea of the fatal meal is repeated at the end of the song.

ἐλοίαιτο in line 117 is a hapax; there are one or two examples in the *Odyssey* of the sort of weariness described in the following line, but the use of *θυμαλγής* in this connection is exceptional; in general the concept it qualifies is a word, rebuke or anger. 'Loosening the limbs' is a well known topos.

This passage contains a new expression for an 'omen' *χαῖρον δὲ κληθρόνι κτλ.* (120) and the kind of omen it describes is unique in Homer. The line in which it appears has almost the same form as in the boxing scene, where Odysseus regards the gratitude and good wishes of the suitors as a good omen (σ 117).¹ In the form *κληθρόνα* (δ 317) the same word simply means 'news'.

The model for line 121, *τείσασθαι ἀλείτας* may have been vengeance on the suitors (γ 206) and on Paris (*I* 28).

In lines 122 f., describing the morning tasks of the female servants, rarely seen parts of lines have been combined and modified accordingly. This combination of line parts in the whole scene is a frequent story-telling technique and is quite normal.

The general impression gained is that the passage contains more than the usual number of late forms, rare and even unique words, and new concepts, combined with deliberate attempts at archaism to offset the neologism. The result is a quick-moving concise narrative, free of the old patterns but marred by clumsy archaisms with which the bard attempted to hide or offset his inability to express himself in the traditional style that his audiences expected

¹ Certain scholars regard parts of the boxing scene as interpolated and BÉRARD believes the whole scene to be an interpolation (σ 1—157), *op.cit.* 50. But no one except BÉRARD and BERGK holds this opinion in regard to line 117, *ibid.* 54, 69.

of him. All this is typical of late (perhaps written) composition.¹ On the other hand, it contains none of the strange grammar, anachronism and tastelessness, owing to which the rest of this song has been regarded by scholars since BEKKER as one of the poorest parts of Homer.² Only *μύλαι εἶατο* (106) has been condemned on such grounds. In fact, even the ancient grammarians considered it so strange that they coined *εἴατο* to replace *εἶατο* (cf. Heraclit. in Eustath., BEKKER 126).

Besides the absence of major defects the passage reveals a comparatively advanced technique of story telling. Thus it also deserves special study from an aesthetic point of view.

b. E s t h e t i c a s p e c t s

The Odyssey is basically a spy story, in which the 'secret agent' fights alone against superior forces of the enemy in his own headquarters.³ This being said, however, the treatment of detail differs entirely from that of a modern thriller. 'Character development' — a major feature of the contemporary novel — is only incidental here; instead, as in the later Greek tragedies with their oracles, suspense in the epics is built up by piling omen upon omen.⁴

The previous evening, Odysseus had interpreted Penelope's dream as favourable (*τ* 555 ff.). This was followed by the avian omen in *v* 241 ff. which induced the suitors to abandon their plot to murder Telemachus, and the maniacal laughter elicited by Athene (*v* 345 ff.), as interpreted by the terrible vision of the seer Theoclymenus. At his point, even the bard seems to have realised that this treatment had worn thin, for he developed a new approach: Odysseus himself requests an omen, as did Priam in *Ω* 315 ff. and Nestor in *γ* 168 ff., and he receives it simultaneously from home and afar, from on high and from the lowliest source imaginable. These two scenes the bard has linked to the plot with great skill.

¹ M. PARRY, *L'Épithète traditionnelle dans Homère* (Paris, 1928), 219.

² I. BEKKER, *Homerische Blätter* (Bonn, 1863), 123—32 U. v. WILAMOWITZ-MÖLLENDORFF, *Heimkehr des Odysseus* (Berlin, 1927), 86 ff. P. VON DER MÜHLL in *RE Suppl.* VII (Stuttgart, 1940), 750.

³ According to Telemachus, the suitors numbered as much as 108 (*π* 245 ff.) and had ten servants. W. ALLEN, JR., »The Theme of the Suitors in the Odyssey,» *TAPhA* LXX (1939), 104—24, esp. 113 f.

⁴ In the Cypria, according to Proclus, both Helenus and Cassandra foretell coming events even before Paris sets off to abduct Helen, T. W. ALLEN, *Homeri Opera*, V (Oxford, 1951) 102 f.

The most obvious sequence to the standard line 91 would have been for Penelope to resume her housework, receive a visitor, or at least wake up. Nothing in this pattern follows until Telemachus rises (124). Instead, the latest bard has composed (or borrowed) a scene to his own liking: Penelope's dream words lead straight into the next scene (92 ff.), just as in a modern film or radio play. They awaken Odysseus and cause him to muse upon his wife. Similar transference and telepathy are encountered elsewhere in the *Odyssey*, in ρ 492, α 328, ν 387 ff., cf. δ 677, π 412 (RE Suppl. VII, 751).

Lines 88 ff. and 93 f. hint that in the concise version which the bard used as his source, husband and wife had recognized each other by the foot bath (τ 467 ff.). They may even have planned the massacre of the suitors, as insinuated by the spirit of Amphimedon (ω 167 f.) and as believed by many scholars since B. NIESE (1882, *ibid.* p. 699). The elaboration of this version and postponement of mutual recognition have led to the reiteration of such lines hinting at recognition, and to the repetition of scenes of anguish, falling into sleep and awakening similar to those in ν 1—90. It is these scenes that have given this song its reputation for poor patch work.

Had the plot been straightforward, Odysseus would have made a plan once the archery contest had been decided upon. Instead, he fretted irresolutely, and had to be comforted by Athene (ν 30—55). He could, of course, have asked the gods to confirm his plan by signs, and started removing the weapons from the megaron as a first step here, instead of at the beginning of song τ . Instead, the scene of the omens is followed by a rather footling description of Telemachus, the young nobleman, being educated in the duties of hospitality, and then going out to the marketplace with his hounds (ν 124—46).¹

Undeniably, therefore, the scene we are studying forms a part of an entity that is poor epic artistry. Taken by itself, however, it is a credible effort to strengthen the hero's confidence before the final issue, fits in with the plot and the arrangement of the palace rooms. To some extent it even makes sense to a modern psychologist. Unfortunately, this does not apply to the words of the serving woman. Instead of speaking in character, she is merely a mouthpiece of the bard, reflecting his naive bombast and obvious striving to please those of his listeners who indentify with Odysseus (ν 112—19).

Here, however, the flaws of logic are of greater interest. In principle it can

¹ FOCKE 342 f., 385 believes that the scene was taken from the *Telemachia*. Lines 124—46 are considered interpolations by SCOTLAND, and lines 126—61 by KAMMER and CZYCKIEWICZ, AMEIS-HENTZE, IV, 38.

be assumed that they would have been less numerous if the scene had been part of a larger unit, but more numerous if it had been a late, haphazard interpolation.

The bard seems entirely to have overlooked the fact that day had already dawned at the beginning of the scene, the grinding woman says that the thunder has come 'from the starry sky, yet nowhere is there any cloud' (113 f.). It contradicts his statement that the thunder had sounded from 'high above the clouds'. This has been explained away as a Homeric nod (or interpolation, but see p. 8 n. 1), but it should be noted that line 114 stresses the miraculous nature of this cloudless thunder. The most natural sequence would have been to set the scene at night, when a physically weak slave woman may have had to go on working an hour or two after the others. Of course, it would have been senseless for her to continue working until the following morning; how then could she have managed the day's tasks?¹ At all events, this lonely woman and the morning must have been in the mind of the bard, as attested by the awakening of the other slave women αἰ δ' ἄλλαι δμῶαὶ κτλ. (122 f.). Accordingly, the entire scene must have been composed as an entity. The exceptionally hard work performed at night could have been explained by the preparations for the great feast.

But the bard was striving for esthetic effect, not realistic detail. A noisy, bustling and morning-fresh motley of slave women and the shrieking of the grindstones heard far away (Ath. VI 263 b) would not have been compatible with the nocturnal and foreboding atmosphere he desired. One slave woman sufficed, and as such she became a perfect example of the «exploitation prevailing in a slave-owning society». Of course the passage was not intended to convey any social 'message', still less to inculcate class consciousness.² But the atmosphere of loneliness and abandonment is almost as poignant as the description of Elpenor breaking his neck while drunk (λ 51 ff.), though the characterization is not so masterful; Elpenor was 'the youngest of all, not over valiant in war nor sound of understanding' (≈ 552 f.). Sympathy with the poor, the weak and the unsuccessful, and the strong feeling of loneliness

¹ JA. A. LENCMAN, *Die Sklaverei in mykenischen und homerischen Griechenland*, transl. (Wiesbaden, 1966), 294, assumes that the other slave women had also been grinding at night but had finished their share before morning. In my opinion, the only object of night work was to make full use of a flour mill run on an industrial scale. Otherwise a sufficient number of hand-stones could have been acquired for grinding to be done during the daytime alone.

² On «patriarchal» slavery in Greece (τ 45, ρ 401 f.) see LENCMAN, 296 f. J. B. GITTNER, *Social Thought among the Early Greeks* (Athens, Ga, 1941), 20 f., 31. X. *Mem.* II 3,3. *Slavery in Classical Antiquity*, ed. by M. I. FINLEY (Cambridge, 1960), 18, 25, 93.

created with a few strokes is typical of this Odyssean bard, whom scholars have assigned to a different stratum. In fact, all agree that this passage is an isolated pearl in a muddy setting. It has always been considered to be the work of an earlier and better bard than the hypothetical B (Bearbeiter), who was responsible for the present complete version of the *Odyssey*.

At all events it is B, the creator of the latest stratum and compiler of the final version in its entirety, who can be blamed for the profusion of omens mentioned earlier. An ambitious streak led him to include more than was absolutely necessary. He aimed at archaic expression coloured by superstition, but was unable to conceal the emergent moral attitude and feeling for justice. He revealed a taste for speculative observation, generalizations and sensationalism. So this late rhapsodist with a thirst for miracles could well have combined a presage from home and a miraculous sign from afar.¹

Bearing in mind the late and decadent stage of the epic, it is interesting to note that Hesiod, who preceded bard B, knew that even the muses could tell lies — making for constrained epic (*Th.* 22 ff.).² In addition to an authentic belief in miracles, these »unnecessary» miracles could be thought to have been a typically primitive and an unconscious refinement at a time when poets were ceasing to believe in miracles.³

c. Notes on grinding

To create the necessary impression of credibility the poet had to invent a person who was awake at that hour. Neither Penelope nor Telemachus would do, as they were Odysseus' closest relatives and had already appeared in the dream and sneezing omen (*ρ* 530—48).⁴ The suitors spent the night in other quarters and only came to the palace during the daytime (*ν* 248). The male slaves, too, were said to sleep elsewhere (*π* 318, *ν* 162, 173 f., *ω* 205, 387 ff.). This left only the slave women, and grinding was certainly a credible reason for staying up late at night.

No mill is mentioned before the *Odyssey*. In the *Iliad* the heroes merely threw stones at each other, said to resemble millstones in size and appearance

¹ WILAMOWITZ 87, 90; SCHWARTZ 117 f., 275; FOCKE 209 f., 341 f.; MERKELBACH, *Untersuchungen zur Odyssee* (München, 1951), 104, 235; RE 678, 751.

² E. R. DODDS, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley, 1951), 81.

³ *Idem.* 14, 24 n. 90.

⁴ BÉRARD, III, 45 regards the passage as interpolated. Xenophon relates a similar sneezing omen (*An.* III 2,9).

(M 161, H 270), like those used in the war between the frogs and the mice (Batr. 213 a).¹ Mills and grinding women are found in η 104, in the palace of Alchinous, but their number was not stated. In Ithaca there were twelve women to grind both barley and wheat meal — twelve being the general standard number. The stones were evidently of the most primitive type. The upper stone was moved to and fro by a person kneeling over the stones, as illustrated in Egyptian sculpture.² Grinding appears to have been women's work; grinding stones of this kind have been found in the graves of Egyptian women.

Contrary to earlier beliefs, grinding stones and mills seem to have undergone development relatively late. The lever-mill represents the most important specifically Greek contribution, and it is known in the early sixth century B.C.³ The present scene seems to be set in a mill-room with several saddle-querns, or else stones that were moved back and forth by horizontal levers (106, 111).⁴ At all events, grinding was a back-breaking task with little to show for the effort. As such it was lowly esteemed in Greece, as elsewhere, and was left to the cheapest labour — slave women and prisoners.⁵ The work went on day and night. Sometimes the grinders were chained and had a projecting collar to prevent them from eating the meal. Thus it could be the forced labour of worst kind and could well have involved unreasonable overtime. Women grinding early in the morning are specifically mentioned twice in

¹ G. FINSLER, *Homer* (Leipzig, 1908), 278 believes *μόλακες* M 161 to be real mill stones. Being women's weapons used against besiegers, they were despised, cf. death of Abimelech, Judges 9: 53 f. Some mythical hero was perished by a millstone, Alc. fr. 1,31.

² *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, VII (Berlin, 1926), pl. 122 a. L. A. MORITZ, *Grain-Mills and Flour in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford, 1958), pls. 1a, 2a.

³ MORITZ 47, 51 f., 56 f., Figs. 3, 4 and plate 3 on »advanced hopper-rubbers» from the ruins of Olynthus (destroyed 348 B.C.).

⁴ The rotary mill was probably invented somewhere in the western part of the Mediterranean basin while Rome was struggling with Carthage, *ibid.*, p. 116. The donkey-mills and rotary hand-mills found on Delos go back to the second century B.C., p. 109. The water-mill must have existed by Augustus's time, and probably half a century earlier, p. 134. The existence of a combined commercial mill and bakery is certain at Athens in the fifth century B.C., p. 35. Xenophon mentions an area in Mesopotamia where the upper mill stones were made. (*An.* I 5,5), Cf. MORITZ 10 ff. LENCMAN 162 f. interprets some words of Linear B to apply to grinding women. Mills in the Mycenaean culture, L. A. STELLA, *La civiltà micenea nei documenti contemporanei* (Roma, 1965), 127 f., 179 f., 188 f.

⁵ RE XVI, 1067 ff. Two impoverished young philosophers worked every night in a mill (Ath. 168 b). Slaves were sent to the mill for punishment, LENCMAN 294 n. 24. Using a primitive saddle stone, a Sudanese slave working from morning to night could make for eight persons for one day. *Am. Anthropol.*, LV (1953), 440. An 18th century quern was at least twelve times as productive. A modern miller can produce enough flour in 20 minutes to feed a man for a year.

Ath. VI 263 b, Anth. Pal. IX 418. Odysseus' slave women, however, began their other duties in the morning (*v* 123).

Singing in time to the work was an old tradition in this as in other tasks, but it did not fit in with the atmosphere of this scene.¹

Grinding slave women are not classified as a separate group in the epic, though obviously they were lower in status than the female servants who served with the mistress and were considered fit to be her ladies-in-waiting.² Consequently, the bard takes two attitudes towards them as towards the other serving women. On the one hand, the serving women were under suspicion and it was decided to keep an eye on them (π 304, 316 f.; τ 16, 498). Their impertinence and immorality are described in σ 321 ff., τ 65 ff., and *v* 6 ff. On the other hand, they were said to have been assaulted and raped by the suitors, but this occurred in passages suspected of being interpolated (π 108 f., *v* 318 f., χ 37 f.). The character description of Melanthe is a good example of the bard's creative power. In the case of the grinding woman, however, he made no attempt at characterization. Here his aim was entirely different.

d. C l e d o n o m a n c y, a n e w f o r m o f p r o p h e c y

All the flaws and merits of the episode are due to the fact that its purpose was to present a new method of prophecy in which the bard was interested. Cledonomanancy might even have been a private obsession of this bard, just as cremation was for another of the Homeric bards. As remarked by STOCKINGER (p. 75), the passage contains an exceptional double omen (elsewhere only in τ 535 ff., *v* 345 ff.), in addition to a plea for a sign, mentioned earlier (p. 50 n. 93.). Zeus' thundering was simply an august tradition, included to lend respectability to this novel method. Like animal manifestations, natural phenomena and involuntary personal actions,³ human words are used here to express a divine message without the knowledge or will of the speaker. As the grinding woman was understood to be merely the tool of a superhuman power, temporarily in possession of her, the human word and the divine voice

¹ C. M. BOWRA, *Greek Lyric Poetry* (Oxford, 1961), 132, regards the fragment *ἄλει, μύλα, ἄλει· / καὶ γὰρ Πιπτακὸς ἄλει, / μεγάλας Μυτιλήνας βασιλεύων* as the work of Alcaeus and politically, if not erotically, equivocal. The exercise Pittacus took was grinding corn, D. L. I 81.

² LENCMAN, 286, 292. The host ground himself, likewise the mistress, Ath. 263 a—b.

³ Such as Telemachus' sneeze mentioned above (*q* 541; cf. comical performance h. Merc. 295 ff.) and the suitors' sardonic laugh (*v* 345 ff.). Sneezing was a favourable sign for the Greeks but an unfavourable one for the Romans. For parodies, see STOCKINGER 71 n. 54.

were considered fully compatible (α 282 f.), though of course the direct voice of a god bore more weight (B 41 f., Y 129 f. ξ 89). The interpretation of human words as prophecy has earlier precedents in the *Odyssey*, when Aegyptus blessed the unknown summoner to the meeting (β 33 f.), and when the suitors congratulated Odysseus on thrashing Irus (σ 112). Here, the word *κληδών* has already acquired its final meaning (σ 117), as also in the *v* 120.

So it seems that the entire modern concept of cledonomanancy — *μαντική ἀπὸ κληδόνων* (Paus. IX 11,7) — originates in the literature in these passages.¹

Here are a couple of examples that shed light on the technique and stage of development of the grinding woman's prediction. Cicero (*Div.* I 46) writes that Cecilia Metalla, whose niece was to be married, went to a temple by night to hear a prophecy. The procedure is illustrated by the cult of Hermes Agoraeus practiced in Pharai, Achaea:² having sacrificed and paid his fee, the inquirer presented his question to the statue of the deity, covered his ears with his hands and left the temple. Outside the square he let his hands fall, and the first words he heard were the god's answer (Paus. VII 22,2—3). The Romans, who shunned frenzied enthusiasm, found this form of prophecy specially to their liking. After the voices of the gods, random words spoken by strangers were the most significant omens.³

Once the human voice had become a medium of prophecy, the usual polarization set in. Persons selected and trained in a certain way were found to express the will of the gods most clearly and completely as oracles. On the other hand, the trust prophecies were considered to come from people who had

¹ L. A. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité*, I—IV (Paris, 1879—89), I, 154—57. RE XI, 584 f. Belief in oracles attained its peak between the seventh and fifth centuries B.C. H. LE BONNIEC in *Lexikon der alten Welt* p. 2142.

² BOUCHÉ, II, 399 f. RE XIV, 1279.

³ BOUCHÉ IV, 134, on the »technical terms»: *σῆμα* a general word, STOCKINGER 153, *κληδών*, *φήμη* *ibid.* 144 f., 155, BOUCHÉ I, 155, *ὄμφή*, *ῥσσα*, BOUCHÉ I, 154. Crucial days in the *Iliad* also begin with omens: *A* 1 ff., *Y* 56 ff., STOCKINGER 75.

The idea that the passage was composed in an early stage of prophecy by words, (as opposed to dreams, animals, natural phenomena or drawing lots) and thus also of the late oracle institution, is in seeming contradiction to the fact that *εὐφημηῆσαι* is to be found in *Iliad I* 171. It should be noted, however, that as far as language and thought are concerned, song *I* specifically represents the latest stratum of the *Iliad*, cf. K. HIRVONEN, *Matriarchal Survivals and Certain Trends in Homer's Female Characters* (Diss. Helsinki, 1968), 100 ff., 151. Besides, the verb here does not mean 'use words of good omen', but, on the contrary, 'avoid all unlucky words' and hence: 'keep religious silence' (L & S s.v.). Cf. the procedure of the oracle at Delphi: the enquirer was warned to 'think pure thoughts and speak well-omened words', thus he was silent so as to avoid the risk of ill omens, Plu. 2, 378 d. H. W. PARKE and D. E. W. WORMELL, *The Delphic Oracle*, I (Oxford, 1956), 33.

no understanding of the matters in question — i.e. from strangers or children.¹ This type of advanced cledonomanancy was highly acceptable to sophisticated Greeks. It is not found in the *Iliad*, and, as we have seen, only in budding form in the *Odyssey*. The culminating tragic irony — the unconscious prediction of one's own doom — is sometimes read into lines σ 115—16, in which the suitors tell Odysseus that they are going to send Irus to the tyrant king Echetus (i.e. Hades). In my own opinion, however, Odysseus was simply pleased by the wish expressed in lines σ 112—13 that his dreams would come true. As in the case of the grinding woman, the bard here again tried to explain why the suitors expressed a favourable omen to Odysseus. And here, too, a climax was sought by repeating a previous line (σ 116 = 85 and φ 308).

The composer of the passage now under study appears to have had adequate grounds, considerable skill and an urgent need to present this new manner of prophecy more clearly and thoroughly than earlier. But how did he come to invent it?

e. Possible precedents and motives

The common belief of the ancients in omens, which continued unshaken until the advent of the sophists, is expressed by Xenophon: »gods grant signs to men of all that concerns man» (*Mem.* I 1,9). He considered it quite natural to rely on augury, oracles, coincidences and sacrifices (*Mem.* I 1,3). The oldest media of prophecy seem to have been natural phenomena — the whispering of the oaks at Dodona, the behaviour of birds and other animals, the shape of the entrails of sacrificial beasts, and the utterings of shamanistic soothsayers, such as Tiresias.² Temples of prophecy, such as Pharai mentioned above, which were a part of the cult of Hermes, naturally seemed very ancient to Pausanias (fl. c.A.D. 150) even though they were no more than 700 or 800 years old and thus no older than the *Odyssey*. This manner of prophecy appears to have been new and still under development in the *Odyssey*.

The *Ilias Parva* (seventh century? — probably by Lesches, OCD) included a similar scene when Ajax and Odysseus were disputing as to who was the

¹ BOUCHÉ I, 156 f. Cf. Psalms 8: 3, Matthew 21: 6: Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings, and the Greek proverb *οἶνος καὶ παῖδες ἀληθεῖς*. AP. XII 49. STOCKINGER 106 n. 62.

² E. A. S. BUTTERWORTH, *Some Traces of the Pre-Olympian World* (Berlin, 1966), 147 f. Fresh ox-hides may have been an old tradition: Celtic shamans ate raw meat, drank blood and lespt wrapped in an ox-hide in order to have a dream omen, M. ELIADE, *Le chamanisme et les techniques archaïques de l'extase* (Paris, 1951), 344. Likewise Latinus on sheep-skins, Verg. *Aen.* VII 93 ff.

greater hero and thus worthy to inherit the slain Achilles' accoutrements. Nestor advised them to send spies to find out what the Trojans thought. The eavesdroppers overheard an argument between some girls, one of whom said that Ajax was by far the better man because he had carried Achilles' body from the battle field, while Odysseus had refused to do so (he was covering the retreat). But by Athena's contrivance another girl answered: *καί κε γυνή φέροι ἄχθος, ἐπεὶ κεν ἀνὴρ ἀναθείη*. (Ar. *Eq.* 1056).¹

This episode in the *Ilias Parva* represents a more advanced form of cledonomanancy and is thus of later origin. No longer are the gods asked for a direct solution (though this was expected of them). Instead Nestor acted as an oracle. The subject is treated dramatically in the Trojan girls' dialogue and the climax is achieved with great skill. This is cledonomanancy at its best — a credit to both Athena and the bard. By comparison, the words of the grinding woman seem primitive, pious, and naive.

Nevertheless, the scene in the *Ilias Parva* was clearly referred to when Ajax and Odysseus met in Hades: *παῖδες δὲ Τρώων δίκασαν καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη* (λ 547), though here, according to BLASS (130 f.), were discussing male Trojans, i.e., captives, and the passage is an interpolation. It was rejected by Aristarchus and, in any case, the whole Necyia is generally believed to be a late addition. Internal criticism supports the external criticism. In fact, the anecdotal form of the climax bears the impression of late origin.

Returning to the hypothesis that the poet felt he was inventing something new and excellent, the point of issue (after the exceptional facts mentioned above, — the request for, and dual nature of, the omen) is the polarization: from far away and from home, from above and from below. In contrast to Zeus was the grinding woman. Slave status was no impediment to a good omen, any more than it was to a bad one in E. *Ion* 1187 ff. Neither did sex have any effect (as opposed to the modern fisherman's superstition in Finland that fishing will be poor if the first person he meets is a woman). On the other hand the god's supreme wisdom is contrasted with the grinding woman's stupidity and idle chatter.² This leads to some interesting conclusions.

In the myths, wisdom, wiles and deceitfulness — all qualities admired by

¹ True to his habit, Aristophanes inserted his own comments: *ἀλλ' οὐκ μαχέσαιο· χέσαιο γάρ, εἰ μαχέσαιο* (1057). F. BLASS, *Die Interpolationen in der Odyssee* (Halle a.S., 1904), 130 f., holds the scholiast's mention of the captives' opinion more probable or actually the verdict of the camp meeting in the original poem.

² *μυλακρίζ* 'cockroach' was a nickname for the maid who ground the family corn, Poll VII 180.

the ancients — were female inventions (Gaea, Hes. *Th.* 469 ff., Metis 886 ff.). This attitude can still be found in the *Odyssey*, in which Helen, Penelope and Arete were nothing less than *maîtresses de salon*.

But in all probability, the epics no more reflected the real contemporary outlook than the mediaeval troubadour and court poetry mirrored the misogyny of the priesthood and the bourgeoisie. The common attitude at the time the bard was singing his songs could well have been similar to that of Hesiod and Semonides of Amorgos.

Proverbs are generally stable and widespread mirrors of attitude. Though the Greeks seem to have had no specific proverbs on grinding women, they had several belittling the intelligence of women in general:¹ *Γυναικὸς φρένες* (D. IV, 3). *Ἄνδρῶν μὲν τὸ ποιεῖν, γυναικῶν δὲ τὸ λαλεῖν*. (Eustath.) *Γυναικὶ μὴ πίστευε, μηδ' ἂν ἀποθάνῃ* (D. IV, 4). And such were grinding women. They had a female's intelligence — or lack of it. They gossiped and, above all, they were unreliable. This attitude seems to have become more firmly established in the Orient than in Greece. An Accadian proverb states: »Where servants are there is quarrel, where cosmeticians are there is slander» (ANET 425 f.). An Egyptian text, the Admonitions of Ipu-Wer, complains thus: »Why really, do all maid-servants make free with their tongues» (ANET 442). And the vizier Ptah-Hotep taught his son: »Take counsel with the ignorant as well as the wise . . . Good speech is more hidden than the emerald, but it may be found with maidservants at the grindstones» (ANET 412).

Grinding women, whose work was extremely monotonous, appear to have been proverbial for their gossiping. It should be noted, however, that 'good speech' to the Egyptian or African means rhetoric ability, not, as in the Greek-Western view, *le bon mot*,² which is an isolated flash of wisdom on life. The quoter, of course, understands and interprets such expressions in his own way. It has now become established that improved communications with Egypt had a strong influence on the *Odyssey*. Thus it is quite possible that the bard was influenced by a saying such as that last quoted, even though he made no effort here to point out the paradox of Odysseus' receiving the god's reply from such a prototype of stupidity.

¹ *Paroemigraphi Graeci*, I—II, Ed. by E. L. v. LEUTSCH (Göttingen, 1839—51), s. vv.

² H. GRAPOW, *Wie die alten Ägypter sich anredeten, wie sie sich grüssten und wie sich miteinander sprachen*. 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1960), p. 202, and personal communication of Mr. ROSTISLAV HOLTHOER, M.A.

f. S u m m a r y

It seems clear from the above that *v* 91—121 are not interpolated. Even the most doubted line (104) could well have been an example of the normal technique of composition with all its illogical features. The atmosphere calls for night work, whereas its connection with the plot presupposes the morning. The inconsistency is explained by the generally accepted view that the compiler took this meritworthy passage from one of his predecessors. On the other hand, I feel that the passage under study has been generally overrated. Possibly, the novelty of cledonomanancy and the combination of the two signs induced the bard to revise and add lines that weaken the characterization of the grinding woman, as compared to that of Elpenor and Melantho, for example. On the other hand, it clearly excels in quality both the preceding and the following passages.

Both the grinding and the slavery give the impression that what the bard had in mind was some kind of milling plant of his own time, where work was also done at night.¹ In attempting to apply it to the Mycenaean era, he created a contradiction between the working habits of ancient slave women and the strict industrial slavery of the later period.

The abundance and variety of omens can be attributed primarily to the bard who gave the epic its final touches. He was either giving way to his own preferences or making a deliberate concession to the increasing superstition of the period, as in the case of the Cyclic Epics. The dual nature of the omen and the fully developed cledonomanancy devoid of any intellectual climax or tragic irony point to a new phase in the development and popularization of prophe-sying, and possibly also of the oracle institution.

The best explanation for all these features is probably that given by SCHWARTZ and VON DER MÜHLL concerning a »B bard» or rhapsodist, who lived in Athens after 600 B.C. or even as late as the time of Pisistratus, and who composed song *v* while compiling the *Odyssey* in its present form. The episode of the grinding slave woman, however, was taken from the *Odyssey* of an earlier, better bard who possessed a more personal touch — though VON DER

¹ In the light of evidence presented above and based on MORITZ, lever-mills, 'hopper-rubbers' of the Olynthian type, and mills and bakeries big enough for palaces may have been in existence by 600—550 B.C. According to earlier opinions pushing mills of this kind originated in Asia Minor and Syria as early as the end of the second millennium, i.e., in the Mycenaean era described in the songs. *Reallexikon VIII*, 324. R. J. FORBES, »Chemical, Culinary, and Cosmetic Arts,» *A History of Technology*, I (Oxford, 1954), 274.

MÜHLL believes that the B bard added omens himself, leaving only the initial lines of the A bard untouched. Judging from the cledonomanicy, the episode was composed before the *Ilias Parva*, whereas the B bard was also acquainted quite late epic poetry, which he used as a model. On the other hand, not even the scholars who claim to distinguish not just two, but three or more strata in the *Odyssey*, regard this beautiful, strange and even significant passage as belonging to the very oldest stratum.

THE NOMINATIVE SINGULAR IN -I OF LATIN GENTILICIA

J o r m a K a i m i o

The appearance of the form

The doublet ending *-i* of the nominative singular of gentilicia is often very difficult to distinguish, this form being similar to the genitive form. The decision as to the use of either nominative or genitive can be made when several names occur together, some of them disclosing the endings of the others, when the name has a syntactic position in the sentence, e.g. *N.N. dedit, N.N. N.N. curaverunt*; and furthermore, in inscriptions whose nature demands a certain case, e.g. in milestones and coins. In epitaphs, however, of which our main material consists, the decision often remains uncertain. Within greater close inscription groups, the frequency of epitaphs in the genitive can be concluded from the feminine forms, but the detached cases often have to be excluded from this scrutiny as being uncertain.

The oldest great inscription group with the ending *-i* consists of the *cippi* of Praeneste (CIL I² 64—357, 2445—2483). These *cippi* cannot be exactly dated, but artistic and archeological criteria argue that the oldest belong perhaps to the third century B.C.¹ The onomastic *formulae* are similar to the Roman *formula* with the exception of the feminine praenomen, which appears 32 times; there is no certain evidence for the appearance of *tribus* which is possible after 90 B.C., when Praeneste received Roman citizenship. Neither are there any traces of the Latinization of the nomenclature, consequent chiefly upon Sulla's policy.² Dialectal features have to be distinguished from archaisms.³ Some late features in the onomastic *formulae*, e.g. the wider use of the cognomen, may indicate that the *cippi* extend to the beginning of the first century B.C.⁴ The endings of male gentilicia can be divided as follows:

¹ See DESSAU CIL XIV p. 328—329.

² A. DEGRASSI Epigraphica IV, *Mem.Acc.Linc. S. VIII Vol. XIV* (1969) 113—116.

³ See A. ERNOUT, Parler de Préneste, *Mem.Soc.Ling.* 13 (1905—06) 295.

⁴ ERNOUT *art.cit.* 294 dates approximately up to the third cent., LOMMATZSCH CIL I² p. 391 up to the third and second, perhaps up to the first cent. B.C.

Freeborn: -i	70 ×	Liberti: -i	8 ×	
	-io	62 ×	-io	16 ×
	-ius	28 ×	-ius	2 ×

The possibility of the genitive is not taken into consideration, but will be investigated later in this paper; only a rather small number of the endings *-i* is due to the genitive.

The *cippi* of Caere form a group almost equal in number (about 300), although one third of the inscriptions is Etruscan.¹ The dating of the Caere *cippi* is not less difficult. MENGARELLI has excavated the greatest part of them in this century, but in fact archaeology affords very little assistance.² MENGARELLI, however, noticed that the tombs in front of which the *cippi* were found were usually quarried in the fourth century B.C. and that both Etruscan and Latin *cippi* were found side by side.³ On that basis he dated the oldest Latin *cippi* as belonging to the fourth century B.C. On the other hand, the *cippi* are considered as existing as late as the Claudian age on ground of a discovered $\text{Ĳ} = V$,⁴ though the letter is surely *L*.⁵ I am convinced that MENGARELLI'S dating⁶ is some centuries too early. Especially the onomastic *formulae* show clear features from the second and first centuries B.C.: the cognomen coming into common usage, the lack of Etruscan influence and, above all, the praenomen of *liberti* which since the first century B.C. was identical with that of *patronus*:⁷ at Caere the praenomina are identical 37 times, and only four or five times they are different.⁸ The nominative endings for men can be divided as follows:

Freeborn: -i	75 ×	Liberti: -i	32 ×	
	-ius	7 ×	-ius	7 ×

Again, the possibility of the genitive will be considered later in this paper.

¹ The inscriptions are published in CIL I² (1931—1986, 2546—2627, 2721—2763) by LOMMATZSCH, in *N.Sc.* 1915 and 1937 by R. MENGARELLI and in *St.Etr.* 34—36 (1966—68) by M. CRISTOFANI, who has prepared for CIE the first complete publication.

² The reconstruction of the archeological material excavated by MENGARELLI is attempted in *Mon.Ant.* 42 (1955) by G. RICCI.

³ MENGARELLI *N.Sc.* 1915, 364, 1937, 359, *Atti II^o Congr. naz. st. rom. I* (1931) 415—420, *St.Etr.* 11 (1937) 92—93.

⁴ MENGARELLI *N.Sc.* 1937 365, E. VETTER *Glotta* 28 (1939) 129.

⁵ Autopsy 13. 6. 1969; *L. Seterna L.I.* is required also by the fact that the freedmen of the *cippi* nearly always have the praenomen of their patrons.

⁶ Accepted by DEGRASSI ILLRP II p. 211, A. J. PFIFFIG *Ausbreitung d. röm. Städtewesens in Etruria*, Firenze 1966, 11—12, and many others.

⁷ VITUCCI *Diz. Epigr.* VI 910—911.

⁸ Noticed already by E. FIESEL *Das Grammatische Geschlecht im Etruskischen*, Göttingen 1922, 83.

The *ollae* found in the vineyard of S. Cesareo CIL I² 1015—1195 form the third large group. These *ollae*, which in vulgar language have much of dialectal and Greek influence, probably date from the second century B.C.¹ The masculine nominative endings can be divided as follows:

Freeborn: <i>-i</i>	45 ×	<i>Liberti: -i</i>	11 ×
abbreviated	24 ×	others together	5 ×
<i>-ius</i>	7 ×		
<i>-is</i>	7 ×		

The Roman republican coins should be separated into the next large group. In the names of *monetales* *-i* is extremely common from the third century B.C. to the end of the Republic. I counted 102 forms in *-i* from the 370 coins from *Appendix nummorum* of CIL I², many even lacking the name of the *monetalis*.

The situation is much less clear in the republican *instrumentum domesticum*, *terra sigillata* and brick stamps. On one hand the genitive is much more probable, on the other, the names are nearly always abbreviated. Anyway, the ending *-i* when compared with the other abbreviations and the ending *-ius* does not have as clear a position as it does in the above-mentioned groups.

Most of the scattered forms are found in Etruria, i.e. *-i* appears there as often as in all the other inscriptions of CIL I² together, if we exclude the above-mentioned groups. The largest number, about 40, comes from Clusium, 7 from Perugia, 3 from Volaterrae and Tuscania, 1 from Visentium and Saena. The inscriptions date in all probability from after 90 B.C., when all Etruscans had become Roman citizens and the Romanization of Etruria had begun. Almost without exception, these inscriptions are either Etrusco-Latin bilinguals or include Etruscisms, i.e. are written in a mixed language.

Apart from the coins, there are some inscriptions with the ending *-i* which can be dated exactly. The oldest of them, CIL I² 607, is a votive altar erected by *M. Minuci C.F. dictator*, i.e. in 217 B.C. In *Sen. Cons. de Bacch.* CIL I² 581 from 186 B.C. the names of scribes have the ending *-i*. An important piece of evidence against the vulgarity of the form is its appearance in the epitaph of a certain Scipio, the quaestor of 167 B.C., CIL I² 12. In addition to these, *-i* appears in the names of prominent persons CIL I² 658, a votive basis from 122 B.C., and 661, a milestone from 117 B.C.; elsewhere the names of consuls are always written with *-ius*. The only *Fastes* with *-i* are the *Fastes* of Antium,

¹ MOMMSEN CIL I p. 210.

I. I. XIII: 3; these oldest of the *Fastes* found, probably from 67—55 B.C.,¹ regularly write the names of consuls with *-i*. This may as well be explained by the unofficial nature of the *Fastes* as by their age. In a *tabula athena* discovered in Rome, CIL I² 709 from 89 B.C., which includes the decision of Cn. Pompeius concerning Roman citizenship, the largest number of the names, 41, has the ending *-i*.

A group, important in the developing of nominative endings, is formed by the tables found at Capua, CIL I² 672—688, which tell us about the building works of magistrates. The following table describes the appearance of endings:

	Year (B.C.)	Freeborn		<i>Liberti</i>	
		<i>-i</i>	<i>-ius</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-ius</i>
I ² 672	112/1			2	
673	112/1			1	4
674	110	2	4		
675	108		12		
ILLRP 708	108	2	10		
I ² 677	106			7	6
678	106	1	5		
ILLRP 712	105		12		
I ² 679	104		12		
681	98			1	
ILLRP 723b	?	9	2		
	Together	14	57	12	27

In the later tables *-i* does not appear.

The inscriptions of the following list, which all include the form *-i*, cannot be dated: CIL I² 987 (Rome, two *lib.*), 979 (Rome, *lib.*), 990 (Rome, freeborn), 999 (Rome, *lib.*), 1002 (Rome, *lib.*, *ibid.* freeborn has *-ius*), 1247 (Rome, three *lib.*), 1263 (Rome, three *lib.*, one freeborn, *ibid.* also *-ius*), 1291 (Rome, *lib.*, also *-ius*), 1316 (Rome, two *lib.*), 1333 (Rome, *lib.*), 1358 (Rome, *lib.*), 1367 a and b (Rome, *lib.*, all freeborn *-ius*), 1394 (Rome, *lib.*), 1411 (Rome, *lib.*); 1425 (Ostia, three *lib.*), 1426 (Ostia, three), 1436 (Nemus Dianae, freeborn), 1455 (Praeneste, two), 1450 (Praeneste, freeborn and *lib.*), 1453 (Praeneste, freeborn), 1536 (Atina, freeborn), 1569 (Minturnae, freeborn), 1617 (Puteoli, *lib.*), 1618 (Puteoli, three freeborn, two *lib.*), 1763 (Antium, freeborn), 1835 (Trebula Mutuesca, *lib.*), 1884 (Amiternum, *lib.*), 1890 (Nursia, freeborn), 1894 (Hadria, two freeborn), 1898 (Hadria, two freeborn), 1899 (Hadria, three freeborn), 1902 (Interamna, *lib.*), 2108 (Spoletum, three *lib.*), 2131 (Ariminum, freeborn and *lib.*), 2268 (Hispania), 2269 (Hispania,

¹ DEGRASSI II XIII: 1, p. 159.

freeborn, *ibid.* two *-ius*), 2270 (Hispania, two freeborn, four *lib.*), 2435 (Capena, freeborn). But many new inscriptions including the same ending are found after the publication of CIL I².

The ending *-i* of the nominative singular extends as far as the imperial age, even if only exceptionally. In most volumes of CIL, the cases are enumerated in the grammatical index. In CIL VI, I went through one thousand epitaphs and found two forms in *-i*, which will give a fairly accurate picture of the appearance of the form in later inscriptions.

As for the chronology, one can say that the oldest examples of the nominative ending *-i* that we know of date from the end of the third century B.C. This does not necessarily mean that the ending in question should have arisen at that time: the epigraphic material from the earlier time is sparse. The chronology does not exclude even the possibility of the endings *-i* and *-ius* being coeval. The form is, even considering the increasing number of inscriptions, most common both before and after 100 B.C.¹ In the Iulio-Claudian time the ending rarely appears, although the exact dating of inscriptions is often difficult. Concerning the appearance of the ending one should mention that it seems to belong to certain inscription groups and has in this way probably been dependent on the epigraphic practice of certain localities.

Phonetic explanation

It is of the greatest significance for the explanation of the nominative in *-i*, if we can regard it as a result of a phonetic development from *-ios* in Latin or in dialects which have had an influence on Latin. If this phonetic development is possible, it is also the easiest way of explaining the rise of the form; the factors to be presented later have then established that this phonetic variant has in some cases become even more frequent than the original form in the republican inscriptions. There are two conceivable courses of development, either *-ios* > *-is* > *-i* or *-ios* > *-io* > *-i*.² However, the latter development and especially its last phase would be without any parallel in Latin and it may be regarded as phonetically impossible.³

Of the explanations of the ending *-is* in Latin, the Indo-European Ablaut

¹ DEGRASSI *Epigraphica* III, *Scritti vari di antichità* III, Padova 1967, 139–140, Area sacra di S.Omobono, *ibid.* 265.

² The latter is only presented by E. HÜBNER, *Hdb. d. Alt.wiss.* I², München 1892, 668, and W. LINDSAY, *Die lat. Sprache*, Leipzig 1897, 142.

³ See C. PROSKAUER, *Das auslautende -s auf lat. Inschr.*, Diss. Freiburg 1909, 34–35.

variation could explain the origin as being earlier than the other explanations provide. There exists in the *-io* -stems an old Indo-European variant *-i-* in the nominative and accusative. There is not, however, any support for the existence of this variation in Latin.¹ If we take *-ios* as the basic form, we have to investigate whether the syncope $\text{> } -is$ is possible according to the Latin phonetic laws. LEUMANN's answer is clear: it is question of provincialism;² SOMMER, too, supposes the same origin for the syncope.³ The Latin analogies are the firmest arguments for the explanation of the form on a Latin basis: the forms *alis* and *alid* for *alius*, and the parallel suffix *-aris* for *-arius*.⁴ The forms of *alius* have been explained by means of various hypotheses: an Indo-European parallel formation, an analogy, a phonetic development; however, it is probable that the form *alis* is quite late.⁵

In other Italic dialects the loss of *-o-* is characteristic of *-io*-stems. Oscan offers the richest material, having the following endings in the nominative singular: *-is*, *-iis*, *-iis* (Oscan alphabet), *-ις*, *-ιϵς* (Greek), *-is*, *-ies* (Latin).⁶ In Umbrian, the ending without rhotacism is *-is*, in Paelignian and in other lesser dialects *-is* and *-ies*.⁷ The differences in the endings must be explained by the two suffixes, *-io-* and *-īo-*, the former of which mainly belongs to prae-nomina, the latter to gentilicia; in this way *-io-* may originate in *-i-io-*, i.e. in gentilicia derived from praenomina including *-i-*.⁸

There are two ways of explaining the lack of *-o-* in these Italic nominatives: it is question either of the Indo-European Ablaut form mentioned above, or of the Italic syncope of the final syllable. Only v. PLANTA⁹ has taken the former possibility seriously; the syncope affords a much simpler explanation. When we consider the great influence of dialects on early Latin, above all on the language of the lower classes in which the ending *-is* in the main appears,¹⁰ one is quite justified in seeing the Oscan influence in this form.

¹ R. v. PLANTA, *Grammatik d. osk.-umbr. Dialekte*, Strassburg 1897, II. 127—133, considers that the decision in Oscan between Indo-European Ablaut and Italic syncope is impossible and regards the former as possible in Latin, too, but his theory is not accepted.

² M. LEUMANN, *Lateinische Grammatik I*, *Hdb. d. Alt.wiss.* II 2.1², München 1936, 94.

³ F. SOMMER, *Handb. der lat. Laut- und Formenlehre*, Heidelberg 1914, 337.

⁴ F. G. BENSELER, *De nominibus propriis et Lat. in -is pro -ius et Gr. in -ις, -ιϵ pro -ιοϵ -ιος, terminatis*, Diss. Leipzig 1870, 159, F. RITSCHL, *De declinatione quadam Latina reconditiore*, *Opusc. Phil.* IV, Leipzig 1878, 461—466.

⁵ See LEUMANN, *op.cit.* 94, SOMMER, *op.cit.* 337; as for the appearance, see *Thes. L.L.* I 1623.

⁶ v. PLANTA *op.cit.* 127.

⁷ v. PLANTA *op.cit.* 128.

⁸ v. PLANTA *op.cit.* 128—131.

⁹ v. PLANTA *op.cit.* 131—134.

¹⁰ SOMMER *op.cit.* 337.

Apart from this, Greek influence can be detected in the form *-is*. It is well-known that Greek often transcribes the Latin ending *-ius* by *-ις*, e.g. *Αὐρηλις* for Aurelius. Under the influence of Greek, the ending *-is* again became common in Latin Christian inscriptions.¹ MOMMSEN discerned Greek influence in the language of the *ollae* of S. Cesareo (there is one Greek inscription and one written in Greek characters), and combined the diverging nominative forms with it (see p. 25).² One objection can, however, be raised against Greek influence in republican inscriptions. In the Greek dialects, *-ις* for *-ιος* begins to appear in the third century B.C., probably as a result of contraction.³ However, the Greek transcription *-ις* for *-ius* does not appear earlier than the first century A.D.⁴ Thus, it is unlikely that the early epitaphs should have been influenced by the same factors as it was in the Christian times.

In any case, the nominative *-is* for *-ius* is documented in early Latin, although obviously more seldom than *-i*. Now, it is a decisive question as to whether the loss of *-s* in this ending is possible according to Latin phonetic laws. Our knowledge of the weak pronunciation of the final *s* is based on the one hand on the metre of early poets,⁵ on the other on early inscriptions. The phenomenon is peculiar in that the final *s* is restored to its position even during the republican era,⁶ and has then preserved its place very tenaciously in vulgar Latin and in some of the Romance languages.

C. PROSKAUER has studied the loss of the final *s* on the grounds of epigraphic material. She has observed that *s* weakened only after *o*; the cases after other vowels are analogous. Further, she considers that the restitution of *-s* can be connected with the change of *-o-* to *-u-*, so that the normal endings are *-o* and *-us*.⁷ There are only a few certain cases of the loss of *-s* after a long vowel. If we consider PROSKAUER's material, no longer complete, we shall notice that *-s* has vanished almost exclusively in the ending *-ios* of gentilicia. She presents many inscriptions, in which the gentilicia end in *-io*, but in other words the final *s* has been preserved.⁸ Her explanation of this state of affairs is complicated: not only the vowel before *s*, but the preceding sound, too, has

¹ See BENSELER, *op.cit.* 149—155.

² MOMMSEN CIL I p. 210, after him HÜBNER *art.cit.* 668.

³ SCHWYZER—DEBRUNNER, Gr. Grammatik I, *Hdb. d. Alt. wiss.* II.1.1, München 1939, 472, LEUMANN, *op.cit.*, 94.

⁴ BENSELER *op.cit.* 150.

⁵ PROSKAUER *op.cit.* 37, LEUMANN *op.cit.* 175.

⁶ PROSKAUER *op.cit.* 10, 38.

⁷ PROSKAUER *op.cit.* 31, 38.

⁸ PROSKAUER *op.cit.* 15.

influenced the preservation of *-s*, which has mainly vanished when *-o-* is preceded by a vowel.¹ If we separate the gentilicia into a group of their own, the loss of the final *s* in other cases is, as far as one can see, equally common after all vowels, even irrespective of the length of the vowels. That was also to be expected, because the preceding vowel can hardly have had any greater influence on the voicing and colour of *-s*. The rest of the material demonstrates with the metre that the final *s* has to some extent weakened during the republican period, but the loss cannot have had any value of a phonetic laws.

How then is the gentilicium ending *-io* to be estimated? The old theory of HAMMER insists that it is personal names that best reflect the familiar pronunciation, whereas other words preserve the scholastic spelling.² The hypothesis is absurd, when one considers traditionalism peculiar to onomastics. As far as I can see, it is simply a question of epigraphic practice, if such a general expression can be used. The origin of this practice is quite uncertain: the problem is, in fact, almost the same as that of the ending *-i*. The explanation may be phonetic and go back to earlier times or it can be due to an abbreviation. It is most important to notice that the spelling *-io* is rather a traditional practice, which has preserved its old vocalism, but it need not rigorously reflect the pronunciation of its time. It is natural that this practice is firmly established in personal names, which are often the sole element of old inscriptions, whereas in the other words the final *s* is written.

As to the nominative in *-i* and to its possible phonetic explanation, we have no certain way of determining the length of the transition stage *-is*³ However, it is possible in theory that this form can have developed on account of the weak pronunciation of final *s* to *-i*; this may have happened at Praeneste for example, where the form in *-i* is frequently documented, and where it is clear evidence for the loss of the final *s*. The difficulties are, however, nearly unsurmountable. First, the form in *-is*, which can probably be attributed to the influence of Oscan and other Italic dialects, is very rare, and does not appear even once at Praeneste, for example. Secondly, the phonetic loss of the final *s* is equally rare, if we do not take into consideration the ending *-io* established in epigraphic practice. However, the final outcome *-i* is nearly ten times more common than the former simpler form. It can be noticed that the form in *-i* is in theory phonetically deducible, although in a very difficult way. However, the factors to be presented later may have made a rare form common.

¹ PROSKAUER *op.cit.* 32—33.

² HAMMER, Die lokale Verbreitung frühester romanischen Lautwandlungen in Italien, Halle a. Saale 1834, 22.

³ Generally considered long, but see v. PLANTA, *op.cit.* 133.

M O R P H O L O G I C e x p l a n a t i o n

The most interesting explanation of the form in *-i* would be to consider it an old *casus indefinitus* of an individual name, which has acquired the function of the genitive in the Italic dialects.¹ This theory requires us to examine on one hand the origin of the Latin gentilicium, and on the other the origin of the Latin genitive ending.

The gentilicium *Marcus* is a patronymic adjective derived from the individual name *Marcus* with the suffix *-ios*, which indicates a belonging to something.² This kind of name formation is almost without parallel, the Italic *tria nomina* system being completely without parallel in Indo-European onomastics;³ the normal Indo-European onomastic *formula* is composed of an individual name, a patronymic, and possibly an indication of a home place. The contrast between Italic and Indo-European systems, however, becomes less severe, because we can trace the development of the Italic system from the Indo-European in Italy, and we can also find many modern parallels. *Marcus*' son *Quintus* has given *Quintus Marcus* as his name, 'Marcian Quintus', then the patronymic adjective has gradually become hereditary, perhaps, as REICHMUTH has supposed, because the power of the *pater familias* extended as far as the grandchildren.⁴ The necessity of forming a new patronymic with the genitive plus *filius* has then arisen. As the last stage, the cognomen has been assumed in order to separate branches of *gens* or individuals.

We may well consider the earliest patronymic to have had a variant, *Quintus Marci*. In this case *Marci* would be an important link in the scrutiny of the ending *-i* of the Latin genitive. That ending, appearing outside the Italic languages only in Celtic, is currently considered to be the Indo-European ending of the *casus indefinitus*, which indicates a belonging to something, and which has acquired the function of the genitive in these languages. The examples presented by HIRT still express a meaning close to the *casus indefinitus*: the genitive with *esse* and, above all, the expressions *Gnaei puer*, *Caecilia Metelli* = 'die metellische Caecilia'.⁵ The hypothetical type *Quintus Marci*, where

¹ I am indebted for this theory to my friend, TUOMO PEKKANEN, Ph.D.

² F. SOLMSEN—E. FRÄNKEL, *Indog. Eigennamen*, Heidelberg 1922, 139—140, FRÄNKEL RE XVI 1656—1658, K. MEISTER, *Lat.-gr. Eigennamen I*, Leipzig—Berlin 1916, 81—83, G. BONFANTE, *The Origin of the Latin Name-system*, *Mél. Marouzeau*, Paris 1948, 46, J. REICHMUTH, *Die lat. Gentilicia*, Diss. Zürich 1956, 85.

³ SOLMSEN—FRÄNKEL *op.cit.* 135—137, E. PULGRAM, *The Origin of the Latin Nomen Gentilicium*, *Stud.Cl.Phil.* 58—59 (1948), 163—164, REICHMUTH *op.cit.* 12.

⁴ REICHMUTH *op.cit.* 87—88.

⁵ H. HIRT, *Indog. Grammatik VI: Syntax I*, Heidelberg 1934, 117—119, see also LEU-MANN *op.cit.* 268—269.

Marci would have exactly the same meaning as the adjective *Marcios*, would be an excellent example of the use of *casus indefinitus*. As far as I can see, it is quite likely that the first patronymic associated with an individual name would have had a dual formation: *Marci* next to the adjective *Marcios*. Now, however, we have to decide whether the gentilicia with the ending *-i*, of which the first examples date from the third century B.C., can be relics of this original formation.

The date of the rise of the gentilicium cannot be exactly determined; the *fibula* of Praeneste has nothing but individual names, as is the case with the persons in the mythology of the foundation of Rome, but the Roman kings after Romulus already have the gentilicium.¹ In all likelihood the rise of gentilicium can be dated at about the sixth century. Not until about three centuries later do we have richer epigraphic name material. Can the doublet *Marci* have been preserved for so long beside the form *Marcios*? As far as I can see, the frequency of the form *Marci* in the last centuries of the Republic is greatly due to the epigraphic practice, to its applicability to concise inscriptions. We have no evidence that such epigraphic practice could have made the form common in earlier times; it is probable that the number of inscriptions was relatively small in earlier times. We have already noticed the solidity of the onomastic tradition, but another feature characteristic of Latin onomastics is unification: one example is the quick Latinization of the Etruscan ending *-na* to the form *-nius*. This background makes it improbable that the doublet *-i* could have preserved its position for so long. We cannot suppose that it would be later than *-ios*, because when the gentilicium became hereditary, its connection with individual names was not more conspicuous, and then a *casus indefinitus* of individual names would no longer have been possible. It is also noteworthy that there is not a single literary example or grammarian's mention of the ending *-i*; the former can naturally be attributed to the normalization of manuscripts.

Further, if *-i* were a *casus indefinitus*, it ought to be genus-indifferent; however, we have no examples of feminine gentilicia ending in *-i*. But it must be noticed that after the loss of feminine praenomen the distinguishing of sexes needed an other indication: under those circumstances the doublet *-i* would soon have been displaced by the ending *-ia*. Further, the forms in *-i* ought to be indeclinable, but we have no examples of it in the dative; however, this could be

¹ PULGRAM *art.cit.* 168—171, REICHMUTH *op.cit.* 13.

due to the paucity of our material and to the difficulties in the decision of the case.

One of the most interesting morphological features of gentilicia is the oldest genitive form of *-io*-stems in *-i*, not in *-ii*, as one would expect.¹ This has been documented from epigraphic material, of which the gentilicia naturally form a great part. No satisfactory phonetic explanation for this genitive has been presented. The genitive of the indeclinable *casus indefinitus* gentilicium in *-i* would afford one new possibilities of explanation: besides the nominative, this form was retained in the genitive, in which it prevails even in early times. This is explainable, in that in the genitive the form of the adjective in *-ios* has been so similar to *-i* that the claim of normalization has not been as strong as in other cases.

Our hypothesis, which considers the forms in *-i* as being old doublets in the gentilicium formation, is very uncertain, especially when we ask how the doublet can have been retained for centuries without trace. In any case it is certain that this form was not regarded at the time of our inscriptions as the genitive of an individual name. However, I should not consider the hypothesis quite unfeasible. In the task of explaining the origin of one epigraphic practice which has become common under the influence of other factors, we must perhaps be content with quite as unsatisfactory explanation: some stone cutter may have adopted for practical reasons a form which had either fallen into disuse or had been rare in a complicated development, as in the phonetic decision above.

T h e E t r u s c a n i n t e r f e r e n c e

The greatest number of *-i* endings comes from regions where the influence of Etruscan is discernible: from Etruria itself and from Praeneste.² Of our greater groups the ollae of S. Cesareo include dialecticisms, but no Etruscisms have been observed. The scrutiny of the evidence for the Etruscan interference must, however, begin from the masculine ending *-i* of Etruscan itself.

The suffix *-i* in Etruscan is for the most part due to the influence of the Italic *-io*-suffix. Expressly, the gentilicium suffix *-ni* will have developed from the *-na*-suffix characteristic of Etruscan under the influence of Italic.³ Of the

¹ As for the attempted explanations, see LEUMANN *op.cit.* 268.

² See ERNOUT *art.cit.* 294, 314.

³ So already G. HERBIG, *Indog. Sprachwissenschaft und Etruskologie, Ind. Forsch.* 26 (1910)

other names ending in *-i* the greatest number were borrowed from Italic.¹ The normal substitute in Etruscan for the Indo-European ending *-os* is *-e*; thus the gentilicium suffix *-ios* often has the form *-ie* in Etruscan; moreover, *-i* is documented. The variant can be explained in two ways: it either reflects the Italic variation *-ios/-is*, or it has developed in Etruscan itself *-ios* > *-ie* > *-i*.²

There are some bilingual inscriptions which offer the most suitable starting point for our investigation: CIE 1290: *au.fapi.larθial* | *A. Fabi Iucnus* (*oss.*, Clusian), and CIE 2965: *a.trepi.θanasa* | *Ar. Trebi Histro* (*teg.*, Cl.). The correspondence of gentilicia is in both cases complete except for the phonetic variation. The name *fapi* is documented in Etruscan only here, and is certainly the Etruscan form of the Latin *Fabius*.³ Also *trepi*, which appears more often in Etruscan as *trepu*, is of Italic origin.⁴ The uniformity of the Latin and Etruscan forms is so clear that it is reasonable to attribute the Latin form to the influence of Etruscan. In the Latin parts of bilinguals, *-i* appears in addition to those in CIE 1469, 2106, 2647, 4832 and TLE 462, all from Clusium. In these, the correspondence of endings is not, however, so clear, and the influence of Etruscan is improbable.

The other Latin forms in *-i* in Etruria can be divided into two groups according to the following facts: 1) does the form correspond to the Etruscan masculine ending of the same gentilicium, or 2) is the suffix changed by the Latinization or is the gentilicium without any Etruscan equivalent. In the latter case there is no reason to see in the ending *-i* the influence of Etruscan. Of the former group, the first example is the cognomen of the *gens Caecina*, *Tlaboni* CIE 22 and 154, the Etruscan equivalent of which is *tlapuni*, CIE 21, 36, 37. This name does not fit the Etruscan cognomen system,⁵ but *tlapuni* is already an extension that has been italicized from **tlapu*, and the Latinization

367–370, afterwards H. RIX, *Italische Einflüsse in etr. Personennamen*, *St. Onom. Monac.* IV (1961) 623–625, and *Das etruskische Cognomen*, Wiesbaden 1963, 296–297. Although the theory as a whole is acceptable, HERBIG, and partly RIX, founded it on misleading statistics. They count the frequencies in the archaic inscriptions of Orvieto and the late ones of Clusium: the former have nearly only *-na*, in the latter *-ni* is equally common; thus, its spread is late and due to foreign influence. However, it must be noticed that *-ni* never gained a footing in southern Etruria, like Orvieto: the comparison ought be carried out alongside the archaic inscriptions of North-Etruria.

¹ Examples by RIX, *Etr. Cogn.* 258–260, 264–265.

² HERBIG *art. cit.* 375–376, RIX *op. cit.* 219.

³ *φisi* = *Fisius* CIE 3063, *cazi* = *Cassius* CIE 378, both in bilinguals, do not appear elsewhere in Etruscan, RIX, *Personennamen auf etr.-lat. Bilinguen*, *BNF.* 7 (1956) 160–161, *Etr. Cogn.* 259.

⁴ RIX *op. cit.* 219.

⁵ See RIX *op. cit.* 126, 317–323.

has retained the Etruscan suffix. The correspondence between the Latin and Etruscan forms is further evident in the names *Proeni* CIE 790, 791 — Etr. *pruini*, *Petroni* 788 — Etr. *petruni*, *Pederni* 1138 — Etr. *petrni*. The praenomen-gentilicia characteristic of Etruscan are also noteworthy: *Cai* CIE 930 — Etr. *cai*, *Vibi* 2207 — Etr. *vipi*.¹ The gentilicium *Vetdi* ² of CIE 1606 has half-latinized phonetics from Etruscan *veti*, *Senti* 1433 — and perhaps 1058 ³ — correspond to Etruscan *senti*. All these gentilicia of Clusium may be of Italic origin, although they are characteristic of Etruscan, too. A name certainly Italic in origin appears in CIE 834 in the gamonymic *Paperis*, where it has the Etruscan ending of the genitive, and in 2508 *Papiri*; the Etruscan form of this name, *papris* is documented in CIE 2606. *Rufi* CIE 3469 from Perugia, in Etruscan *raufi*, is an Italic name, too. Most inscriptions in this group are still half Etruscan.

In some cases, Etruscan gentilicia have changed their ending *-e* to *-i* by Latinization. Thus, *Reusti* 2693 has had in Etruscan an equivalent **reuste*, derivable from the feminine *reustial*.⁴ *Larci* CIE 899 from Clusium corresponds to the Perugian *larci*, but at Clusium the normal form is *larce*.⁵ *Avini* CIE 1653 appears in the Etruscan form *avines* TLE 346. *Mari* CIE 1145 is already partly latinized from the Etruscan forms *marie*, **mare*.⁶

The suffix substitution by Latinization brings the following forms in *-i* still farther away from Etruscan: *Arri* CIE 710 and 1469 — Etr. *arntni*,⁷ *Vercili* CIL XI 7227 — Etr. *vercna*,⁸ *Acili* CIE 1291 — Etr. *acilu*, *aclna*, *Crespini* 896 — Etr. *crspe* (= Ital. *Crispus*), *crspnie* Ga. 667,⁹ *Volumni* 3372 — Etr. *velimna*.

There is no direct equivalent in Etruscan for the names *Gegani* CIL XI 2979, *Pisenti* CIE 1594, *Consili* CIE 2045¹⁰ and *Pupi* CIL XI 7137. The ending *-i* appears in an appellative CIE 3721: *Ar. Lenso La. fili*.

Some Latin forms with the ending *-i* from Etruria are uncertain on account of the loss of the inscriptions: CIE 58, 681, 1059. In addition to these, *-i* may

¹ The *tegula* corresponding to CIE 2207, CIL XI 2229, has the inscription *L. Vibius L. f. Arn.*

² Autopsy 13. 5. 1968.

³ The correction of Pauli in a lost inscription, but the form *Seini* of the copies is also possible.

⁴ RIX *op.cit.* 211.

⁴ RIX *op.cit.* 212, 261.

⁶ RIX *op.cit.* 214.

⁷ RIX *B.z.N.* 7 (1956) 167, *op.cit.* 259, considers that the Latinization is only due to the assonance, but a simplification of the suffix is also possible.

⁸ W. SCHULZE, *Zur Geschichte der lat. Eigennamen*, *Abh.Ak.Gött. N.F.* 5, Berlin 1904, 101, C. EGGER, *Latinitas* 6 (1958) 66.

⁹ RIX *op.cit.* 230 detaches *crspnie* from *Crispinus* too rigorously.

¹⁰ Bormann CIL XI 2316 corrects to *L. Consi(o) L. f. Attico*, hardly necessary.

in some inscriptions also be the ending of the genitive: CIE 754 1140, 1527, 2581, 3552, 4108, 4183, 4837, CIL XI 7146.

The *cippi* of Caere require a treatment of their own. The ending *-i* appears 107 times in all, of which 23 cases are certain nominatives. The language of the Latin *cippi* in general includes fewer Etruscisms than the inscriptions of the transition period elsewhere in Etruria. The scarcity of Etruscan onomastic material at Caere puts limitations on a comparative investigation of the Latin and Etruscan suffixes. We can, however, observe from the Etruscan *cippi*, that the names ending in *-i* are not at all as characteristic at Caere as they are in northern Etruria. The development *-na* > *-ni* is on the whole lacking. Besides the name *muni* (TLE 53 and MENGARELLI N.Sc. 1937 n. 42), with *-n-* belonging to the stem, there is only one exceptional masculine ending *-nia(s)* CIL XI 7635.¹ Other masculine forms in *-i* at Caere are *caθis* Ga. 824, *utacli* XI 7638 and *cipis* NRIE 959. The last name appears twice in the form *cipies* (NRIE 912 and CIL XI 7621), the ending *-ie* of which is the normal equivalent for *-ios* in South Etruria. The variation might testify to the development *cipie(s)* *cipi(s)* > Lat. *Cipi* (CIL I² 2567—2569, 2730²).

Some of the Latin forms in *-i* have direct equivalents elsewhere in Etruria, *Aulni* I² 2727 — Etr. *aulni*, *Gavili* I² 1952—1954, 2575, 2576 — Etr. *cavili*, *Caesi* I² 1936 — Etr. *ceisi*, *Tet(t)i* SE 35 p. 551, 554 — Etr. *teti*, *Titi* I² 2621 — Etr. *titi*, *Faltini* I² 1946, 1947, 2574 — Etr. *haltuni*. However, nearly 4/5 of the forms in *-i* at the Latin *cippi* of Caere lack Etruscan equivalents. In these cases we can observe a suffix substitution, if the Etruscan form of the gentilicium is documented, or else we can conclude nothing from the possible appearance of the gentilicium in Etruscan.

In Faliscan, the nominative in *-i* is sometimes documented, but again the uniformity with the genitive causes difficulties. GIACOMELLI's opinion is that if no other clear influence of Etruscan can be observed in the inscription, *-i* must be considered the ending of the genitive.³ As far as I can see, this view lays too much weight on the Etruscan origin of the nominative in *-i*. GIACOMELLI, too, must make one exception — in the name *neroni*, which often appears at Praeneste and must be considered Italic; she thinks that it has entered to Faliscan in its morphologic shape.⁴ In many other forms in *-i*, too, the explanation of Italic influence is more likely than that of the genitive.

¹ A possible parallel in the cognomen *rutania*, CIE 515—516, see RIX *op.cit.* 240.

² MENGARELLI, LOMMATZSCH: M. Cipio L. Arg. 1. Au [---], autopsy 13. 6. 1969: M. Cipi. O.I. Arclau[s].

³ G. GIACOMELLI, *La lingua falisca*, Firenze 1963, 131.

⁴ GIACOMELLI, *op.cit.* 142, G. HERBIG, *Falisca*, *Glotta* 2 (1910) 109—110.

We have noticed that the Etruscan masculine nominative in *-i* is due mainly to the influence of the Italic suffix *-io*. The normal equivalent of *-ios* is *-ie*, but doublet *-i* is also documented. Many of the Etruscan *-i*-endings appear in the gentilicia borrowed from Italic. Thus, it is possible that the Italic names changed their ending *-ios* to *-i* on the lips of the Etruscans. By the change of the language of Etruria *-i* often appears in the Etrusco-Latin inscriptions, but the forms seldom have a direct equivalent in Etruscan. More often the names have undergone a suffix substitution by the addition of onomastic elements characteristic of Latin, e.g. diminutive formatives. Hence, at Caere in particular, where the Etruscan masculine in *-i* is badly documented, this is the case. When the name of an Etrusco-Latin inscription directly corresponds to the Etruscan form, as in the bilinguals above, the Etruscan form has probably exercised an influence. But where the name suffix has been changed, or the name has no Etruscan equivalents, it is dangerous to see Etruscan influence. It would be even more dangerous to consider the Etruscan influence as expansive.¹ On the whole, the Etruscans have been more or less on the receiving end with regard to the Italians from the third century B.C. Thus, as far as I can see, the explanation for the nominative in *-i* on the ground of Etruscan must be abandoned except for some cases in North Etruria and at Caere. The rest of the forms of Etruria and Caere, nearly all the forms of Faliscan and Praeneste, must be considered as belonging to the Latin or to the Italic tradition.

It would be possible to think of the Etruscan variation *-ie/-i* as reflecting the Italic variation *-ios/-i*, so that, for example in the bilinguals mentioned above the Latin form would be original, and the Etruscan form would have been influenced by it. There are, however, some chronological difficulties, and it must be noted that the Etruscan *-i* is most common in North Etruria where the Italic influence has come mainly from Umbrian; in South Etruria where *-i* could have exercised influence, the form in *-ie* is normal.

The tendency towards abbreviation

SC de Bacch. (CIL I² 581, 186 B.C.) offers a good starting point, mentioning, at the beginning, the consuls *Q. Marcius L.f.*, *S. Postumius L.f.*, and, immediately after, the scribes *M. Claudii M.f.*, *L. Valeri P.f.*, *Q. Minuci C.f.* It is evident that

¹ Proposed by W. DEECKE, *Die etr. Bilinguen*, *Etr. Forsch. u. St.* V, Stuttgart 1883, 35, E. LATTES, *Intorno ai tipi delle epigrafi latine dell'Etruria*, *Rend.Ist.Lomb.* V: 6, (1872) 4, *Iscrizioni paleolatine dei fittili e dei bronzi di provenienza etrusca*, Milano 1892, 28, uncertainly by HERBIG, *Faliska* 110.

when the names of the consuls are complete, the less important scribes have their names in an abbreviated form.¹ The quality of our inscriptions makes the abbreviation explanation still more probable. The lack of space is self-evident in coins and bulls. Neither is there any greater space for the text in the *cippi* of Praeneste or Caere. Both groups include only the names of the deceased. In the *ollae* of S.Cesareo the date of death is also mentioned but greatly abbreviated; they, too, have quite a limited space for the text.

The tables of Capua, too, support the theory of abbreviation. As the table in p. 26 shows, the variation of endings cannot be explained chronologically, except for the final loss of the ending *-i*. The inscriptions themselves indicate the abbreviation to be one reason for the variation, e.g. CIL I² 674:

CORNELI.L.F.CORI	C.MAIVS.N.F.
NERIVS.M.F	M.VIBIVS.M.F.RV
	L.POMPONI.L.F.F
	L.OLIENV.S.L.F

or ILLRP 723 b:

N.VESVI.N.F	M.EGNATI.M.F
M.LOLI.Q.F	N.OPIVS.N.F
Q.SEXTI.C.F	M.TERONI.OV.F
L.LOLI.L.F	M.NERIVS.OV.F
C.STATI.M.F	CN.ARRI.CN.F
C.ARRI.V.F	

We notice that the shorter form is used mainly in the long names, either for aesthetic reasons or because of the lack of space.

Objections can be raised to the theory of abbreviation. First, it would make one expect abbreviations of other kinds, too, for example, the neglect of the whole ending *-ius*, and abbreviations in the feminine as well.² Besides, the abbreviation of two letters affords only little help in most cases: one would expect a longer abbreviation. In fact other abbreviations quite often appear in the *ollae* of S.Cesareo: $24 \times = 29 \%$ of all the male names. At Caere and Praeneste the number of other abbreviations is negligible. NEUE has considered the other abbreviations a sufficient proof for the theory of abbreviation, and

¹ LEUMANN *op.cit.* 94, SOMMER *op.cit.* 357, LINDSAY *op.cit.* 430, HÜBNER *art.cit.* 669, ERNOUT *art.cit.* 342, LATTES, *Iscr. paleolat.* 28.

² RITSCHL *art.cit.* 475—476.

he has convinced BÜCHELER, v. PLANTA and KÜHNER.¹ However, the share of other abbreviations remains very small compared with the ending *-i*, in fact about 1: 10. Thus, it seems evident that although the ending *-i* is mainly used because of its brevity, there must also be a philological explanation of its origin.

S y n t a c t i c e x p l a n a t i o n

Both in the *formula* and on its own *-i* can in some cases be considered to be a genitive. The gentilicium of the onomastic *formula* of freedmen and slaves is sometimes considered to be in the genitive (in the latter the genitive became predominant at the beginning of the Empire). Oxé, studying the names of slaves, sees the type *Eros Aureli(us) L.s.* follow the earliest type *Marcipor*; after that the genitive begins to appear in the first century B.C.; the name of *patronus* was first inverted, but during the Empire, the form *Eros L. Aureli (ser.)* is normal.² The development outlined by Oxé becomes still clearer by means of VITUCCI's explanation that the genitive is due to a confusion owing to the abbreviated form in *-i*.³ That would explain the inversion in the oldest genitive type. VITUCCI overlooks the genitive of gentilicium in the names of freedmen without giving any certain example. Inscriptions like CIL I² 1367, where all freeborn have the ending *-ius*, but the name of the only freedman is written *C. Publili C.l. Trupho* both in a and b, prove that the gentilicium of a freedman is sometimes considered to be a genitive. There are, however, only a few such cases. The question as to whether the ending *-i* of freedmen can to a greater extent be attributed to the genitive, can only be answered by statistics. If this speculation is true, the percentage of the endings in *-i* ought to be greater compared with certain nominatives in the names of freedmen than in those of the freeborn. The tables in p. 24—25 give the following picture: the freedmen of Caere, 48 altogether, have the ending *-i* 32 ×, *-ius* 7 ×, other certain nominative suffixes (*-na* etc.) 5 ×; the freeborn men, 108 altogether, have the ending *-i* 74 ×, *-ius* 7 ×, other suffixes 16 ×. The picture becomes still clearer in the *cippi* of Praeneste: There are only 26 freedmen, who have the ending *-i* 8 ×, *-ius* 2 ×, *-io* 16 ×; the corresponding numbers of freeborn are *-i* 70, *-ius* 28, *-io* 62 ×

¹ NEUE—WAGENER, *Formenlehre d. lat. Sprache* I³, Leipzig 1902, 119, BÜCHELER, *Grundriss der lat. Deklination*, Bonn 1879, 25, v. PLANTA *op.cit.* 140, R. KÜHNER, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lat. Sprache* I, Hannover 1877, 278.

² A. OXÉ, *Zur älteren Nomenklatur der röm. Sklaven*, *Rh.Mus.* 59 (1904) 114—117, 140.

³ VITUCCI *art.cit.* 909—910.

(160 altogether). In the *ollae* of S. Cesareo the freedmen have *-i* a little more often, but the material of 16 names is too small to demand conclusions. The proportions presented indicate that we cannot explain the ending *-i* of freedmen by a genitive, at least not at the places concerned, because the relative frequency of the ending *-i* is smaller in the case of the freedmen than in that of the freeborn.

The other possibility is to consider the whole epitaph genitival. The decision is in most cases impossible, the type *C. Campati C. f.* can be genitive as well as an example of the ending *-i*. In such cases, we must rely on the law of probability. The question between the genitive and the nominative can be decided in our concise epitaphs only when cognomen is preserved complete. Thus, we can ascertain from Caere one certain genitive in CIL XI 3634: [*T*]arquiti *C. f. Galli*. At Praeneste the cognomen does not indicate a single genitival inscription, but when it is complete, it always indicates that the ending *-i* belongs to the nominative. Elsewhere the only possibility is to study the frequency of genitival inscriptions on the ground of the feminines and the forms in *-ius*. The Latin *cippi* of Caere can in this way show us 102 certain nominatives, one certain genitive (CIL XI 3634), 103 cases, where it is impossible to arrive at a decision. At Praeneste six women have a genitival epitaph, the *-ai*-forms of which are explainable also as datives. Against those we have about 230 certain nominatives and about 100 undecided cases. On the whole, genitival epitaphs are quite rare in the Latin republican epigraphy.

However, even these few examples indicate that there was the possibility of writing a genitival epitaph. Now, we could think that the writer of the epitaph did not begin to analyse, as to whether in the ending *-i* he wrote that of the nominative or genitive. Hypothetically we could go still farther and consider that the nominative in *-i* for its part influenced the rise of the genitival epitaph. The current opinion is that the name of the deceased was originally in the nominative, only later were the genitive and dative to become common.¹ The genitive in epitaphs does not, however, become explicable until the epitaph gets wider contexts, i.e. 'ossa', 'monumentum' or the like are thought of in connection with the name of the deceased. It is very difficult to find evidence that the nominative in *-i* would have influenced the expansion of the genitive before the use of those words. CIL I² 1351 a: *Sex. Oppi T. l. Suri et Trebia Q. f.*

¹ R. CAGNAT, Cours d'épigraphie latine,⁴ Paris 1914, 280, J. E. SANDYS—S. G. CAMPBELL, Latin Epigraphy, Cambridge 1927, 60.

Tert(ia), where the name of the man is in the genitive, that of the woman in the nominative, could support this hypothesis, but the type is rare.

Apart from the genitive, the form in *-i* could also be the vocative. However, the epitaph with the name of the deceased in the vocative is quite badly documented, except in the *carmina epigraphica*. At Caere CIL I² 2551: *L. Atili C.f. Serane* is probably in the vocative.¹ It would also be possible to consider the ending of the cognomen Etruscan, corresponding to the gentilicia *Hatile*, *Pabate*, *Amerite* (CIL I² 1956, 1969, 2724) at Caere. This possibility, however, becomes unlikely by virtue of the fact that the deceased has belonged to the famous Roman senatorial *gens* of *Atilii Sarani/Serrani*. As such, a surprising discovery of a modest *cippus* belonging to a member of this *gens* at Caere would become still more surprising if his name had Etruscan features. For the further study of the possibility of the vocative CIL I² 2734: *A. Curvi A.Q.l. Pape* is important. If the cognomen is the Italic individual name *Papus*, the epitaph is perhaps again in the vocative. It is not totally impossible to consider the gentilicia with the ending *-e* mentioned above to be vocatives from nominatives in *-us*, although the Etruscan parallels, for example *Amerite-amriθe*, lead one to believe that the influence was Etruscan. The most surprising thing, although probably a mere chance, is that the over one hundred gentilicia in *-i* of Caere only once have a cognomen that cannot be in the vocative, CIL I² 2569: *C. Cipi C.f. Rufus*; in all the other cases the cognomen, when documented, is either abbreviated or forms a vocative similar to the nominative.

In our other groups there is nothing that could indicate the form in *-i* to be a vocative, but many *cognomina* testify to the contrary.

C o n c l u s i o n

It is evident that the ending *-i* of the nominative singular of gentilicia cannot be explained by means of one theory. It is a question of an epigraphic practice not only during the republican period, but partly later, too. The reasons for this practice are clear: because the form in *-i* was shorter, it was more useful in limited spaces, in some cases aesthetic reasons have also been the cause for the use of this form in longer names. Probably, too, the similarity of the form with the genitive, which was becoming more common in the epitaphs, had influence on its expansion. However, neither of those reasons seems convincing, when we search for the origin of the form.

¹ DEGRASSI ILLRP n. 838, LOMMATZSCH CIL I² Ind.

Apart from these, three theories of origin have been mentioned in this paper: the phonetic, the morphologic and the Etruscan interference. None of these seems to be sound. The phonetic explanation of the form is very complicated, the morphologic explanation would presuppose a long retaining of the doublet one has assumed as being in the formation of gentilicium. The interference of Etruscan may explain many cases in Etruria, but its influence outside Etruria is subject to query. The ending *-io*, as far as I can see, offers phonetically a good parallel: although the weak pronunciation of final *s* has been given as evidence, this ending forms the greatest number of the epigraphic examples. Thus, the phenomenon probably has a phonetic origin, but the epigraphic tradition has made the loss of *-s* common exactly in the ending of gentilicium. The ending *-i* must be understood in the same way: we can no longer analyse exactly the factors which have had influence on its rise; we can only state that this ending belongs to the tradition of certain close inscription groups.

TACITUS ON THE SLAVES

An interpretation of the *annales*, XIV, 42—45

I i r o K a j a n t o

T h e s t o r y

One of the most shocking examples of the callous brutality of a slave-owning society occurred in the year 61 A.D. The prefect of the city, Pedanius Secundus, had been murdered by one of his slaves. A *vetus mos* demanded that upon the murder of a master all his slaves should be put to death. But the number of the victims, and the indubitable innocence of most of them, roused the city populace, who began to riot and to besiege the senate house. A few senators pleaded for mercy, but the majority opposed any change in the *vetus mos*. The matter was finally settled by the old jurist C. Cassius. His speech, which is recorded by Tacitus in *oratio recta*, is marked by outspoken conservatism and by utter contempt for slaves. Cassius praises the wisdom of the *maiores* and denounces every change as a change for the worse, suggests that leniency in such matters exposes the masters to danger, ridicules the plea that the murder was due to provocation, observes that slaves are the dregs from all the corners of the world, to be governed only with intimidation, and winds up by arguing that the execution of innocents is justified in the public interest. Though the voice of pity was also heard in the senate, no one dared seriously to contradict Cassius, and the party in favour of the execution carried the day. The agitation of the city populace, ready with stones and torches, impeded the carrying out of the sentence, but after the emperor Nero had reprimanded the people by edict, the condemned slaves, among them children and women, were led to their death, probably by crucifixion, along streets lined with troops. One senator moved that the freedmen of the victim, who had lived in his house, be deported, but this was vetoed by the emperor, who did not want the *mos antiquus*, which had not been tempered by mercy, to be aggravated by cruelty.

Such is the horrible story in the fourteenth book of Tacitus' *annales*. Tacitus' description is cool and unemotional. Though he is our only authority on the incident, we have no reason to doubt the accuracy of the facts reported by

him. The debates of the senate were well documented. It is immaterial whether Tacitus himself scrutinized the records of the senate or whether he obtained his information from some earlier historian.¹

These chapters of Tacitus raise, however, some problems. The problems are in part legal, in part they concern Tacitus' own attitude to the punishment of the slaves. I shall take the legal problem first.

The legal problem

The senate acted in accordance with the Roman Law in passing the sentence. A *senatusconsultum Silanianum*, which is traditionally dated to A.D. 10, laid it down that on the death by murder of a master all his *familia*, who had been »under the same roof», had to be examined by torture, and all who could have helped him but had failed to do so, were to be put to death.² This decree could be stretched, as in the present case, so as to include all the slaves of a master. The decree had been made still harsher a few years before the incident, A.D. 57, by a *senatusconsultum Neronianum* or *Pisonianum*, which threatened with the same punishment the freedmen manumitted by the will of the victim.³

Tacitus does not, however, cite the *SC. Silanianum*. According to him, the senate followed a *vetus mos*.⁴ In Cassius' speech there are more explicit references to the current legislation. He points out that the *senatusconsultum*, which threatened the whole *familia* with death, had not been suspended. But at the beginning of his speech, and likewise in the middle of it, he suggests that this punishment of slaves had been prescribed by the *instituta et leges maiorum*.

If the *SC. Silanianum* was made in the year 10 A.D., there is some incongruity in Tacitus' account, for he calls it a *vetus mos*, and Cassius ascribes the rule to the *maiores*. Because of this, R. H. BARROW argues that Tacitus did not record the facts accurately: »The question was not whether the *vetus mos* was to be upheld, nor is Cassius pleading for its observance as current law; the point is rather whether the existing law, i.e. the *SC. Silanianum* and the *SC. Claudianum* (= *Pisonianum*, *Neronianum*), shall be suspended and replaced by the very *vetus mos* which had become obsolete. — — in a panic these noble senators cancelled the earlier decision of their own body. Rules made in the imperial age were thus set aside — —».⁵ BARROW has been followed by

¹ For the problem of the use made by Tacitus of the senate's *acta*, cf., e.g., M. L. W. LAISTNER, *The Greater Roman Historians* (Berkeley, 1963, paperback), 121 and 178, n. 35.

² Paulus, *Sententiae* III 5, 3 ff.; *Digesta* XXVIII 5.

³ Reported by Tacitus, *ann.* XIII 32.

⁴ XIV 42.

⁵ *Slavery in the Roman Empire* (London, 1928) 57.

R. SYME.¹ But BARROW's own idea of the legal basis of the senate's decision is confused. According to him, »there was an ancient tradition that, if any slave had murdered his master, then all his slaves should be put to death».² He believes that the *SC. Silanianum* was meant to soften this harsh rule: it »provided for the torture, not necessarily the death, of 'all the slaves within the house, or those outside the house who were present at the murder'; only the guilty were to be put to death.»³ This interpretation of the *SC. Silanianum* is hardly correct. The Roman jurists make it clear that the *SC.* demanded the torture and death of all the slaves who were unhappy enough to have been »under the same roof». Thus Modestinus writes: *Cum dominus occiditur, auxilium ei familia ferre debet — — quod si, cum posset, non tulerit, merito de ea supplicium sumitur.*⁴ It is also credible that the torture was meant to be part of the punishment, not just a means of extorting the truth.⁵ BARROW has here followed W. W. BUCKLAND, who seems to have made a similar mistake: »A *Sc. Silanianum* — — provided for the torture of slaves if there was reason to think the master had been killed by them. After the truth had been discovered by torture the guilty slave might be executed.»⁶ The confusion is due to the expression »the guilty slave». According to the *SC. Silanianum* all the slaves who had failed to protect their master were guilty, not only the assassin, who after all could be a total outsider.⁷

But if the punishment meted out by the senate to the wretched slaves of the prefect was in accordance with the existing legislation, how do we explain Tacitus' reference to the *vetus mos*? The easiest solution is to suppose that there really existed an ancient custom to put to death all the slaves of a murdered master and that the *SC. Silanianum* only made a law of this ancient practice. There is, unfortunately, very little evidence of such a practice in the republican period. BUCKLAND and BARROW cite a passage from Cicero's correspondence,⁸ but some other scholars, e.g. TH. MOMMSEN⁹ and SYME,¹⁰ are sceptical of its validity.

The passage is found in a letter from Servius Sulpicius Rufus to Cicero

¹ *Tacitus* (Oxford, 1958) II 564.

² *Op. cit.* 55.

³ *Ibid.* 56.

⁴ *Digesta* XXVIII 5, 19.

⁵ A. EHRHARDT, *Tormenta*, R. E., VIA, 1936, col. 1776, 39.

⁶ *The Roman Law of Slavery* (Cambridge, 1908) 95.

⁷ Cf., e.g., M. KASER, *Das römische Privatrecht I (Rechtsgeschichte des Altertums im Rahmen des Handbuchs der Altertumswissenschaft III 3, 1, München, 1955)* 245, fn. 2.

⁸ *Fam.* IV 12, 3.

⁹ *Römisches Strafrecht* (Leipzig, 1899) 631.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.* 564, fn. 3.

45 B.C., describing the murder of M. Claudius Marcellus, the consul of 51 B.C. Marcellus had been assaulted by his close friend P. Magius Cilo at Piraeus. The assassin committed suicide, and Marcellus died of his wounds before the dawn. The letter continues: *Ego tamen ad tabernaculum eius perrexi. inveni duos libertos et pauculos servos; reliquos aiebant profugisse metu perterritos, quod dominus eorum ante tabernaculum interfectus esset.* The slaves had run away out of fear, and their fear was due to the fact that their master had been murdered before the tent in which he, and presumably also his followers, had been residing. The slaves had no reason to fear an investigation as to who had committed the murder. The only rational ground for their terror was their belief that they would be punished for their failure to prevent the murder. Considering the cruel treatment of slaves in the republican period it is quite possible that vengeance was often meted out to the slaves of the victim in this way. The lack of further evidence may be due to the fact that the Roman writers rarely discussed the affairs of the slaves.

But though this may help us to understand Tacitus' citing of the *vetus mos*, it does not solve all the difficulties of the text. Cassius, as we have seen, intimated that the decree belonged to the *instituta et leges maiorum*. It was, then, not just an unofficial rule. One could naturally argue that Cassius' praise of the forefathers as the makers of the law was rhetorical exaggeration, but this explanation may seem far-fetched.

The apparent incongruity can be best accounted for by r e d a t i n g t h e *SC. Silanianum*. The ancient jurists do not tell us when it was enacted. Our only clue to its date is its name, *Silanianum*. The jurists of the Later Empire had started the practice of naming the *SCta* after one of the consuls of the year, after the emperor who proposed the decree, or even after the senator who directed the public attention to the subject.¹ We have a precise *terminus ante quem*, A.D. 11, when the senate passed a minor modification of the *SC. Silanianum*.² Because one of the consuls of the preceding year was C. Iunius Silanus, it has been assumed that this was the year in which the *SC.* was made. But it seems somewhat odd that a *SC.* should have been amended only a year after it had been passed. The next amendment, the *SC. Pisonianum* or *Neronianum*, did not come until A.D. 57.

If we presume that the *SC. Silanianum* had been named after a consul, we have several Iunii Silani to choose from, 109, 62, 25 and 17 B.C., and 10 A.D.

¹ O' BRIEN MOORE, *Senatus consultum*, R. E., Suppl. VI, 1935, col. 801, 29.

² *Digesta* XXVIII 5, 13.

Excluding the republic proper — no datable republican *SC.* had been named in this way — we still have some early dates left, 25 and 17 B.C., which were separated by a period of 86 and 78 years, respectively, from the year 61 A.D., in which the senate debated the fate of the city prefect's slaves. A senator, looking back to that relatively distant time, could properly ascribe a law made then to the *maiores*. Tacitus, it may be noticed, uses the word *maiores* also for people who were living two or three generations earlier.¹

Scholars have been reluctant to give the *SC. Silanianum* so early a date as I suggest probably because of a story recorded by Seneca the Younger: Augustus had refused to take vengeance upon the slaves who had murdered their abominable master, the rich and greedy Hostius Quadra.² This seems to imply that there was as yet no law. But Seneca does not give the incident any date. It may have taken place in the early days of Augustus' rule. It is also possible that, provided the *SC.* had already been enacted, Augustus simply suspended it because the man seemed to him to have earned his fate.

There is thus no confusion in Tacitus' presentation of the legal facts. Both an ancient custom and the *SC. Silanianum* regulating it demanded the torture and execution of all the slaves of a murdered master who had been »under the same roof» and had failed to help him.

One further point needs clarification. After Cassius' view had prevailed and the slaves were condemned, one senator, as stated, proposed the deportation of the prefect's freedmen who had been »under the same roof». L. HERRMANN argues that this is in contradiction with the decree passed by the senate in 57 A.D. Because of this, he suggests that *ann. XIV* 42—45 should be placed between *XIII* 31—32.³ But even disregarding the difficulties of such a re-arrangement of Tacitus' chapters, there need be no incongruity between *XIII* 32 and *XIV* 45. In the former passage it was stated that the punishment affected the freedmen »under the same roof» who had been manumitted by the will of the victim and who were thus slaves during the murder, but in *XIV* 45 nothing indicates that the freedmen were those manumitted by the will: *liberti quoque qui sub eodem tecto fuissent*. They were already freedmen.

¹ Cf. *ann. 53 castra Antonii cum recordatione maiorum suorum adiit* (scil. Germanicus); this took place in A.D. 18, 49 years after Actium; Marc Antony was his mother's father. *XIV* 40 *Marcellum memoria maiorum — — poenae magis quam infamiae exemere*; he was famous because Asinius Pollio (died A.D. 5) was his great-grandfather. *Hist. IV* 73 »an vos cariores — — transhenanis gentibus creditis, quam maioribus eorum patres avique vestri fuerunt?»

² *Nat. quaest. I* 16.

³ »La genèse du senatusconsultum Silanianum», *Archives d'histoire du droit oriental — Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité I*, 1952, 495—505. HERRMANN asserts that the *SC. Silanianum* was passed A.D. 57 and that this *SC.* and the *SC. Pisonianum* were one and the same.

T a c i t u s ' a t t i t u d e t o s l a v e s

A more important problem remains to be solved. What did Tacitus himself think of the cruel punishment of the city prefect's slaves? Did he share the view of the jurist Cassius? Before this problem can be properly solved, the origin of Cassius' speech must be discussed.

C. Cassius Longinus is a well-known historical figure, the *consul suffectus* 30 A.D., the proconsul of Asia 40—42, the imperial legate in Syria ca. 45—49. He also wrote books on Civil Law. These works are vanished, but they were used in an excerpted form for the *Digesta*.¹ Though no other ancient writer has told us anything about the incident of 61 A.D., there can be no doubt that Cassius really spoke in the senate in opposition to clemency. Because Tacitus had the *acta* of the senate at his disposal, either directly or through earlier historians, it is improbable that he had fabricated a speech made in the senate.

Tacitus, in accordance with the general practice of ancient historians, naturally elaborated the speeches he found in his sources to make them conform to his own stylistic ideas. We have one example of Tacitus' method in regard to historical speeches, Claudius' oration in the senate in 48 A.D., in which he pleaded the right of the Gauls to be admitted to higher offices. The main part of the speech was found at Lyon inscribed on a bronze tablet.² Tacitus gives the same speech in *oratio recta*.³ A comparison of the two speeches proves at first sight baffling, for the differences in style and in the disposition are very great. A detailed analysis, however, shows that Tacitus retained the basic ideas of the emperor. What he did was to improve the tortuous style of Claudius and to give the gist of his speech in a clearer form.⁴

SYME contends that Tacitus remodelled Claudius' speech heavily because he disliked the man and his style. On the other hand, he probably touched Tiberius' speeches with a light hand because Tiberius was a thoughtful orator and his style congenial to Tacitus.⁵ A similar line of reasoning can be applied to Cassius' speech of 61 A.D. Because he, a professional lawyer and writer, was no doubt a fluent speaker, there is no reason to think that Tacitus subjected his

¹ JÖRS, C. Cassius Longinus, R.E. III, 1899, col. 1736—1738.

² DESSAU, *Inscriptiones latinae selectae*, No. 212.

³ *Ann.* XI 24.

⁴ For modern literature on the subject, cf. E. KOESTERMANN, *Tacitus, Annalen, Band III* Heidelberg, 1967) 77—82.

⁵ *Op.cit.* 319.

speech to a thorough revision. As was always the case, he gave the original discourse a new stylistic shape and perhaps rearranged and certainly condensed the arguments, for Cassius' speech must have been considerably longer than the one and a half pages, about five minutes when read aloud, which Tacitus allots to it. But the core of the speech surely goes back to Cassius.

It is, then, probable that Tacitus did not use Cassius speech as a vehicle for his own ideas about the proper treatment of slaves. The problem must be stated thus: were Cassius' arguments acceptable to the historian? Did he himself despise slaves and set a low value on their lives? To answer these questions, it is necessary to discuss some points at greater length.

First, Tacitus obviously held Cassius in considerable esteem. The very facts that this man belonged to the aristocratic opposition, fell a victim to Nero's tyranny and was, moreover, a descendant of Cassius the tyrant-slayer, were likely to earn him the sympathy of the historian. Again, it is evident that Cassius' character was congenial to Tacitus. When he first presents the man, he praises his military talent: *Ea tempestate Cassius ceteros praeminebat peritia legum: nam militares artes per otium ignotae, industriosque aut ignavos pax in aequo tenet. ac tamen quantum sine bello dabatur, revocare priscum morem, exercitare legiones, cura provisu perinde agere ac si hostis ingrueret.*¹ Every reader of Tacitus will have noticed that he sets a high value on war and conquest, stern discipline and soldiery behaviour.² The tribute he pays to Cassius is accordingly particularly significant. He suggests that Cassius would have been a good general if he had had an opportunity to wage war. But though there was no war, he did his best to revive the old military discipline and to make his troops fit for war. Cassius was here as much to his liking as that other military hero of his, Corbulo. Recording Corbulo's severity towards his soldiers, Tacitus remarks: *ceterum is terror milites hostisque in diversum adfecit: nos virtutem auximus, barbari ferociam infregere.*³ In another connection he likewise praises the beneficial results of Corbulo's stern discipline.⁴ Clearly Tacitus valued Cassius and Corbulo as exemplary disciplinarians, who tried to counteract the relaxing effects of a prolonged peace.

¹ XII 12.

² Besides the passage quoted, cf., e.g., *ann.* VI 32, where Tacitus envies the republican historians, who could write on *ingentia bella, expugnationes urbium*, while perpetual peace makes his own work *in arto et inglorius*. He thought glory was more important than life, IV 50. A soldier's uncouth, forceful last words deserve publicity as well as those of Seneca, XV 67.

³ *Ann.* XI 19.

⁴ *Ann.* XIII 35 *idque* (scil., *severitas*) *usu salubre et misericordia melius adparuit.*

Cassius' excessive severity led him to trouble at Puteoli, where he had been sent to restore order after the conflicts of the local aristocracy and the *plebs* had provoked the danger of blood-shedding, but Tacitus belittles his failure: he writes that Cassius asked to be relieved of his task because the Puteolans did not stand his *severitas*.¹ He does not blame Cassius for his sternness. On the contrary, his attitude is here one of ostensible objectivity.

Cassius' praise of the *maiores*, who were wiser than the present generation, must also have appealed strongly to Tacitus. Like most Romans, he admired the past and conceived of history as a process of continual degeneration. The idea of progress was, in general, alien to classical writers.² Tacitus, who disliked the imperial system and felt a nostalgia for the republic, must have been a particularly keen admirer of the ways and institutions of the forefathers. I shall cite a few examples. A shocking fratricide in the Civil War of 69 A.D. makes Tacitus recall a similar incident from Sulla's time, when the slayer killed himself and did not claim a reward, as in the present case. Tacitus adds that he will record similar ancient stories whenever the context demands *exempla recti aut solacia mali*.³ Recording Vitellius' lavish gifts to his troops, he remarks that the *maiores* did not corrupt their soldiers with *luxus* and *pecunia* but relied upon *virtus*.⁴ The present age, he once writes, was thoroughly corrupted.⁵ But the forefathers were praiseworthy not only because of their rectitude and harsh virtue. Tacitus could also cite them as examples of a more humane attitude. Thus, when blaming Augustus for his disproportionate severity towards the common vice of *adulterium*, he observes that the emperor overstepped the *clementia maiorum* and his own laws.⁶

There is, it is true, one significant passage in which the historian grants that, provided everything was moving in a cycle so that social customs could change like seasons, the present could in some respects be superior to the past.⁷ But apart from the fact that Tacitus does not here represent the idea of progress but a diluted version of the ancient conception of world-cycles, the whole passage is hypothetical: *nisi forte . . .*, and its significance should not be over-

¹ XIII 48.

² Cf. *ann.* III 26–27, where Tacitus records the common view of a »golden age» and of the subsequent degeneration of the human race. For the theory, cf. J. B. BURY, *The Idea of Progress*, (New York, n.d.) 8–20.

³ *Hist.* III 51.

⁴ *Hist.* II 69.

⁵ *Hist.* II 37.

⁶ *Ann.* III 24.

⁷ *Ann.* III 55.

stated. Tacitus was an eclectic in philosophical problems, citing many theories but not pondering their deeper implications.¹

Because Tacitus thought highly of Cassius, and because he admired the forefathers, who had instituted the *vetus mos*, one could contend that the arguments given by Cassius in his speech corresponded to those of Tacitus: the harsh treatment of slaves was to be upheld because it had been decreed by the *maiores*. But we are not yet entitled to draw such a conclusion. Seneca the Younger, who like Tacitus praised the ancient harsh Romans,² was an unequivocal critic of his countrymen's brutality towards slaves. What is of decisive importance here is Tacitus' own attitude toward the slaves.

Tacitus was living in an age when the governing and educated classes were at last giving some attention to the horrible lot of the slaves. In ancient society, slavery was normally accepted as a fact, its justification seldom questioned, and its abolition never thought of. The origin of slavery in war makes this attitude understandable. War was in prehistorical times the normal state between tribes and nations. Every stranger and prisoner-of-war became a slave, unless he was put to death. A slave was thus, by definition, without any rights whatsoever, a piece of chattel.³ We should not idealize ancient slavery. Unlimited power over other people leads to brutality and corruption, especially in a society largely unpermeated by humanitarian ideas. Cultural and racial differences between masters and slaves intensified the feelings of aversion and superiority. Again, the large numbers of slaves and the well-grounded suspicion of their lust for vengeance fostered fear, and fear fostered hatred. And the philosophers of the Greeks, especially Plato and Aristotle, taught them that slavery was an inseparable part of social order and that slaves were morally and intellectually inferior to free men.⁴

The humanitarian movement began in Greece, at first among the sophists. The sophist Alcidamas, a pupil of Gorgias and a contemporary of Isocrates, applied the sophistic antithesis between natural and conventional right (*φύσις* and *νόμος*) to slavery, too: it was not natural, not based

¹ Cf. *ann.* VI 22, the discussion of the problem of Fate, which is nothing but a summary of the philosophical doctrines current at his time. I agree with E. FRAENKEL, »Tacitus«, *Neue Jahrbücher*, 8, 1932, who warns us of exaggerating the importance of such »halbgelehrtes Beiwerk.«

² Cf., e.g., *epistula* LXXXVI.

³ H. LÉVY-BRUHL, »Théorie de l'esclavage«, reprinted in M. I. FINLEY, *Slavery in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1960), 156 and 164.

⁴ R. SCHLAIFER, »Greek Theories of Slavery from Homer to Aristotle«, reprinted in FINLEY, *op. cit.* 93—132.

upon human nature, but entirely man-made: *ἐλευθέρους ἀφῆκε πάντας θεός. οὐδένα δοῦλον ἢ φύσις πεποιήκεν*.¹ But even his point of view was limited. He pleaded for the delivery of the Messenians from being subjected as helots to Sparta. At any rate, there must have been others, too, who held similar views of the origin of slavery, for Aristotle, in his *Politics*, at the beginning of the chapter on slavery, states that a few people »maintain that for one man to be another man's master is contrary to nature, because it is only convention that makes the one a slave and the other a freeman and there is no difference between them by nature, and that therefore it is unjust, for it is based on force.»² In philosophy, however, the powerful influence of Plato and Aristotle made a temporary end to attempts to find a theoretical justification for the equality of slave and freeman. But that the ideas represented by Alcidamas and by the unnamed philosophers alluded to by Aristotle had gained some currency is shown by the fact that the contemporary of Menander, Philemon, in a fragment denies that a man could be born a slave: *κἂν δοῦλος ἦ τις, σάρκα τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει. / φύσει γὰρ οὐδεὶς δοῦλος ἐγενήθη ποτέ, / ἢ δ' αὖ τύχη τὸ σῶμα κατεδουλώσατο*.³

The Greek criticism was thus almost exclusively against the theory of natural slavery, which taught the doctrine that a man could be a born slave and that slavishness was innate in his very character.⁴ Slavery as an institution was not called in question.

This attitude did not change with Stoicism, although the Stoics advocated the idea of the fundamental equality of all human beings: all men were equal in that all of them had reason and the same physical and psychic make-up.⁵ But the Stoic insistence on »inner freedom», on the disposition of mind, made the distinction between slave and free immaterial for them. Even a slave could be free if he was free from passions, following only his logos and if no man could dictate his thinking and feeling.⁶ The antithesis between the wise man and the fool was more significant for the Stoics than any differences of class.⁷

It was this Stoic idea that came to have a great influence on the Romans.

¹ *Scholia ad Arist. rhet.*, 1375b 18.

² I 2, 3 (translated by H. RACKHAM, *Loeb Classical Library*).

³ Frg. 95 K (II 508).

⁴ SCHLAIFER, *op. cit.* 128—129.

⁵ M. POHLENZ, *Die Stoa* (Göttingen, 1959, 2. Auflage) 135—136.

⁶ POHLENZ, *Der hellenische Mensch* (Göttingen, n.d.) 394—395.

⁷ H. C. BALDRY, *The Unity of Mankind in Greek Thought* (Cambridge, 1965) 158.

During the republic, however, the Romans did not yet change their ideas of slavery. Though Cicero seems to have adopted the Stoic notion of the unity of mankind,¹ it did not much affect his attitude to the traditional divisions of ancient society. Indeed, one finds in Cicero few theoretical remarks on slaves. In *De officiis* he argued that slaves were lowly creatures but that justice should be observed in their treatment, too.² This is naturally an echo of Panaetius.³ But in *De re publica* he reproduced Aristotle's idea that the master held a sway over his slaves as reason held over the body and over the soul's evil and weak elements.⁴ His ideas were as inconsistent in practice, too. He showed genuine affection for his trusted Tiro,⁵ argued that slaves should be allowed their own emotions,⁶ and demanded that the welfare of slaves should also be attended to.⁷ On the other hand, he suggested that it was not becoming to grieve too much at a slave's death,⁸ remarked that in depraved houses the slaves enjoyed excessive freedom,⁹ and warned that not even faithful slaves could be trusted in public affairs.¹⁰ Clearly Cicero had not begun to consider seriously the question of slavery. He was living in the hey-day of ancient slavery, and accepted without questioning the traditional views of ancient society.

It was during the Empire that a change in attitude became evident. From a practical point of view it was significant that a series of legislative enactments gave the slaves some protection against the wilfulness and brutality of their masters.¹¹ The *SC. Silanianum* was only apparently in contradiction with this tendency of legislation to greater humanity, for it did nothing but regulate a practice which, with all probability, went back to the republican period. It is a vexing question whether this tendency to give the slaves legal protection was due to Stoicism or not.¹² Later Roman Law, at any rate, denied the existence of natural slavery: *servitus autem est constitutio iuris gentium, qua quis*

¹ Cf. *leg. I* 22—32; see BALDRY, *op. cit.* 200—201.

² *I* 41.

³ POHLENZ, *Antikes Führertum. Cicero De Officiis und das Lebensideal des Panaetius* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1934) 34.

⁴ *III* 37.

⁵ *Fam. XVI* 16, 1.

⁶ *Fam. XI* 28, 3.

⁷ *Quint. I* 1, 24.

⁸ *Att. I* 12, 4.

⁹ *Cael.* 57.

¹⁰ *Quint. I* 1, 17.

¹¹ For these Imperial enactments, cf. W. L. WESTERMANN, *The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity* (Philadelphia, 1955) 114—115.

¹² The Stoic influence is denied by WESTERMANN, *op. cit.* 116.

dominio alieno contra naturam subicitur.¹ The Roman emperors and magistrates were probably actuated by the infiltration of Stoic ideas concerning the fundamental equality of all human beings, and even more by the practical necessity to attend to slaves in a period when their supply through war and piracy was becoming more scarce.

In literature, too, slavery was finally subjected to a serious discussion. It was Seneca who in several connections voiced the ideas which may have been rather common in his day. In his famous *epistula* XLVII he advocated a kind and considerate treatment of the slaves; in *De beneficiis* he argued that slaves, too, could give benefits to their masters, and so were entitled to earn his gratitude.² Seneca justified these ideas by the usual Stoic contention that all human beings were equal, regardless of the barriers of society: *vis tu cogitare istum, quem servum tuum vocas, ex isdem seminibus ortum eodem frui caelo, aequae spirare, aequae vivere, aequae mori*.³ In *De beneficiis* he contended that virtue was open to all, to slaves as well as to kings,⁴ and declared that slavery affected only the body of a man, not his soul, which was its own master.⁵

These were typical Stoic ideas. It is thus not possible to hold, as has recently been done, that Seneca's humanity towards slaves was due, not to Stoicism, but to a general awakening, under Greek non-philosophical influence (Euripides, Philemon, etc.), of a more humane attitude to the slaves.⁶ This cannot be true of Seneca, the professed Stoic. Rather his pioneer advocacy of a better treatment of slaves may be ascribable to the common sense of a Roman to translate abstract philosophical ideas into practical policy.⁷

The other writers who deserve attention here are Tacitus' contemporaries, Juvenal and Pliny the Younger. Juvenal did not write much of slaves. His bitter attacks upon freedmen may be due to the experiences of an impoverished freeborn client,⁸ but they do not reveal anything of his attitude to slavery. One can, however, find a note of genuine sympathy in the sixth satire, in his memorable description of the cruel treatment meted out by some noble ladies to their slaves and handmaids.⁹ In the fourteenth satire, in discussing the evil

¹ *Corpus Iuris Civilis, instit.* I 3, 2.

² III 18—22.

³ *Epist.* XLVII, 10.

⁴ § 18, 2.

⁵ § 20, 1.

⁶ W. RICHTER, »Seneca und die Sklaven«, *Gymnasium* 65, 1958, 196—218.

⁷ RICHTER, *op. cit.* 212—213.

⁸ Cf. G. HIGHET, *Juvenal the Satirist* (Oxford, 1962, paperback edition) 233.

⁹ Lines 474—495.

influence which the parents can have on their sons, he described a Rutilus, who delighted in inflicting torture on his slaves, and echoed the Stoic doctrine that slave and free were made of the same stuff.¹

Pliny the Younger, unlike Seneca, does not discuss the theoretical aspects of slavery. That cannot be expected from him, for he was no philosopher. He can be more properly compared with Cicero, although his attitude towards slaves is more humane than that of Cicero. He permits his slaves to make wills and sees to it that the wills are executed as though they were legally valid.² There is even a touch of sentimentality in Pliny's assertion that the deaths of his slaves affect him deeply, and he defends himself against those people who think misfortunes of that kind are nothing but »pecuniary losses»: *hominis est enim affici dolore, sentire*.³ The difference between Cicero and Pliny may well be due to a difference in character and temperament, but it is equally permissible to see in Pliny's greater *humanitas* (a word he himself uses) a reflection of the changing attitude towards the slaves in the Imperial age.

This is the background against which Tacitus' position must be reviewed. The humanitarian movement was primarily ascribable to Stoicism, but the idea of the equality of all human beings and the advocacy of a kinder treatment of slaves had certainly infiltrated far and wide and lost their Stoic label.

Tacitus was not another Seneca. As stated earlier, nothing indicates that he had pondered deeply on philosophical problems. On the contrary, he looked askance upon philosophers, especially upon Stoics, and made occasionally fun of their ostentatious virtue.⁴

But Tacitus was not another Pliny, either. He seems to have been largely untouched by the humanitarian and equalitarian ideas of the times. Instead, he might be called an illustrious example of ancient social prejudices. It must be admitted, however, that Tacitus had a sombre view of human nature, both of the aristocrat and of the common man. His fellow senators did not escape his scathing comments. Grovelling servility before the emperors was the vice he most often derided in the Roman senate. *Actae insuper Vitellio gratiae consuetudine servitii*,⁵ is a typical expression. *At Romae*

¹ Lines 14—24; cf. lines 16—17: *animas servorum et corpora nostra / materia constare putat paribusque elementis.*

² VIII 16, 1.

³ Ibid. § 3.

⁴ Cf. SYME, *op. cit.* 553—554.

⁵ *Hist.* II 71.

ruere in servitium consules, patres, eques,¹ is a statement put at the beginning of his description of Tiberius' rise to power. Tacitus quotes with evident relish Tiberius' contemptuous words of the Roman senators: *o homines ad servitutem paratos*.² Tacitus' irony and his brilliant style are at their best in his description of the massacre of the Pisonian conspirators: men who had lost their sons or brothers or near relatives or friends, and still thanked the gods, decorated their houses with laurel, kneeling before the emperor and incessantly kissing his right hand.³

The historian cannot thus be expected to entertain any high opinion of the commons and of the slaves. His attitude to them is in fact one of undisguised contempt. In addition to the adulation of the emperors, a vice they shared with the aristocracy,⁴ they had defects and vices of their own. The common people, *vulgus*, did not care for public affairs; indeed, the only national concern in which they took some interest was the distribution of free corn.⁵ They were instead addicted to the theatre and the circus,⁶ and the emperor who shared these pursuits of the public could always count on their favour.⁷ The intellectual level of the commons was low. They were credulous, and did not care for the truth or justice.⁸ They were superstitious and thought natural phenomena were prodigies sent by the gods.⁹ Clever leaders could consequently work upon their superstitious fears.¹⁰ Sudden changes of mind were characteristic of the *vulgus*, and they were as ready for excessive joy as for excessive brutality.¹¹ This inconstancy of the common people made it easy for them to change the

¹ *Ann.* I 7.

² *Ann.* III 65.

³ *Ann.* XV 71.

⁴ Cf., e.g., *hist.* I 32 *tradito more quemcumque principem adulandi*; I 90 *imperatorem Augustum prosequerentur — nec metu aut amore, sed ex libidine servitii*.

⁵ *Hist.* IV 38 *vulgus — cui una ex re publica annonae cura*; cf. *ann.* XV 36.

⁶ *Hist.* I 4 *plebs sordida et circo ac theatris sueta*. Tacitus makes several remarks on the *lascivia* and *licentia* of the crowds in the theatre and in the circus: *hist.* I 72; *ann.* XI 13; XIII 24, 25.

⁷ *Ann.* XIV 14 *ut est vulgus cupiens voluptatum et, si eodem princeps trahat, laetum*; *hist.*, II 91 *omnem infimae plebis rumorem in theatro ut spectator, in circo ut fautor adfectavit* (scil., Vitellius).

⁸ *Hist.* II 90 *Vulgus tamen vacuum curis et sine falsi verique discrimine*; IV 49 *Vulgus credulum ruere in forum — gaudio clamoribusque cuncta miscabant, indiligentia veri et adulandi libidine*; a similar remark in I 32.

⁹ *Ann.* XIV 22 *Inter quae sidus cometes effulsit; de quo vulgi opinio est tamquam mutationem regis portendat*. In *hist.* II 61 Tacitus observes that when a rebellious Gaul was thrown to the beasts, escaping alive, *stolidum vulgus* believed him inviolable, until he was put to death in the presence of Vitellius.

¹⁰ There is a famous instance of this in the rebellion of the Pannonian legions, which was finally quelled after the soldiers believed that an eclipse of the moon was a sign of heavenly disapproval, *ann.* I 28.

¹¹ *Hist.* I, 69 *vulgus mutabile subitis et tam primum in misericordiam quam immodicum saevitia fuit*. Cf. II 29.

object of their adulation,¹ and to abuse a dead emperor as foully as they had flattered him when he was living.² Again, the corrupted and frivolous masses were always ready to riot or revolt,³ and it was the civil convulsions that exposed their worst qualities. Tacitus wrote an ingenious analysis of the behaviour of the urban population in the Civil War of 69 A.D.: the people of the capital followed the battle as if it were a showpiece, they were cruel and unfeeling, delighting in bloodshedding, and snatched the *spolia* for themselves while the soldiers were fighting. Meanwhile debaucheries of every kind were going on.⁴

When Tacitus speaks of the *vulgus*, he does not make it clear whether he refers only to the *plebs ingenua*, or whether it embraces freedmen and the slave population, too. He probably did not make any subtle distinctions in these cases. It can be assumed that the censure passed by him on the moral and intellectual poverty of the *vulgus* bore upon the slaves, too.

Some passages, however, suggest that Tacitus valued freedmen and slaves even less than he did the *vulgus*. He remarks that the *plebs ingenua* was becoming rarer every day, while the *familiae* were growing immense.⁵ It is in troubled times that freedmen take part in public affairs.⁶ According to the historian, even the barbarians sneered at an army who obeyed the orders of a slave, in this case Nero's freedman Polyclitus.⁷ It is especially the adjective *servilis* which has a strong negative connotation in Tacitus, suggesting baseness of character. *Servilis animus* was ready for betrayal because of riches and power.⁸ The mighty Narcissus, Claudius' freedman, showered *servilia probra* upon Messalina when she was being executed.⁹ The freedman Antonius Felix, procurator of Judea, misused his position *servili ingenio* for brutalities and sensual pleasures.¹⁰ If a slave did something brave and courageous, he was thought to have acted *non servili animo*. This was Tacitus' judgement of the slave who tried to liberate Postumus Agrippa.¹¹

¹ *Hist.* III 64.

² *Hist.* III 85: Vitellius.

³ *Hist.* I 83 *vulgus et plures, seditioibus et ambitioso imperio laeti; ann.* XV 46 *ut est novarum rerum cupiens pavidusque.*

⁴ *Hist.* III 83.

⁵ *Ann.* IV 27.

⁶ *Hist.* I 76.

⁷ *Ann.* XIV 39.

⁸ *Ann.* XV 54.

⁹ *Ann.* XI 37.

¹⁰ *Hist.* V 9.

¹¹ *Ann.* II 39.

Yet there are a few cases in which Tacitus seems to break through the social barrier and to recognize virtue when he sees it. Enumerating at the beginning of the *Historiae* the evil and the good witnessed during the period of the Civil War, he records among the latter the refusal of many slaves to betray their masters even in the teeth of torture.¹ Still more significant is a story from the time of Nero's persecution of the followers of Piso the conspirator. One of the victims was a *libertina mulier*, who, in spite of horrible tortures, did not betray her associates but committed suicide to balk the renewed efforts of her torturers. Tacitus praises this freedwoman, who protected people strange to her at a time when freeborn men, knights and senators, who were safe from tortures, betrayed their nearest and dearest.² The significance of this passage is, however, somewhat reduced by the fact that stories of the fidelity of slaves were rhetorical commonplaces.³ Tacitus may have made much of the story to throw the worthlessness of the Roman gentlemen into sharper relief. At any rate, I do not think this one passage justifies one to conclude that Tacitus did not attach much importance to social distinctions.

Considering that Tacitus had a very low opinion of the common people and of slaves, it is probable that the fate which the senate prepared for the city prefect's *familia* did not grieve him overmuch. Tacitus, in fact, sometimes suggests that the blood of slaves and gladiators was cheap for him. Tiberius' son, Drusus, took a great delight in gladiatorial shows, according to the historian *quamquam vili sanguine nimis gaudens*.⁴ He records, without comment, a *senatusconsultum* to deport 4000 freedmen, tainted with Egyptian and Jewish superstitions, to Sardinia; if they should perish because of the severe climate, the loss would be light: *vile damnum*.⁵ Tacitus seems also to countenance the ruthless punishments of the Christians, the enemies of mankind and adherents of a deadly superstition: *unde quamquam adversus sontes et novissima exempla meritos miseratio oriebatur*; the words *sontes* — *meritos* represent Tacitus' own verdict upon the Christians, not that of the spectators, among whom Nero's cruelty provoked a sense of pity.⁶

The cool objectivity of Tacitus in his description of the murder of Pedanius

¹ I 3.

² *Ann.* XV 57.

³ J. VOGT, *Sklaventreue*, in »Sklaverei und Humanität«, *Historia, Einzelschriften, Heft 8*, 1965, 83—96.

⁴ *Ann.* I 76.

⁵ *Ann.* II 85.

⁶ *Ann.* XV 44. In the interpretation of this much-discussed passage I have sided with A. MOMIGLIANO, *Cambridge Ancient History*, X, 1934, 887.

Secundus should not deceive us. Tacitus does not fail to show his sympathy and compassion when innocent people were murdered, but it was only so if the victims belonged to his own social class. Any one who reads the lines he wrote upon the massacre of the associates of Sejanus,¹ his comment upon the pitiable fate of Britannicus,² his description of the last sad days of Octavia,³ or of the suicide of Lucius Vetus and his daughter and mother-in-law,⁴ will be convinced of his capacity for human sympathy. But Tacitus was evidently unable to see beyond social barriers in such cases. The scene of the inflamed masses besieging the senate house and demanding the liberation of hundreds of innocent victims, would have provided a magnificent opportunity for a writer wanting to contrast the callousness of the aristocracy with the humanity of the commons.

WESTERMANN ascribes the rioting to a community of interest between the poor free, the freedmen, and the slave populations, brought about by »a leveling of the standards of living as between the poor free and the slave group.»⁵ But this explanation seems to be too narrowly rational. Only a deep sense of injustice could provoke the masses to such anger. It is possible that, in general, the common people were marked by a more humane attitude to the sufferings of their fellow-men than were the upper classes. Tacitus himself once remarks that pity was a characteristic of the low and the humble. Describing the meeting of Corbulo's troops with the wretched survivors from the catastrophe in Armenia, Tacitus says that rivalry in valour and ambition for glory were now forgotten. Pity was the prevailing emotion, especially *apud minores*.⁶ On the whole, however, Tacitus failed to appreciate a quality of the common people which he himself possessed.

C o n c l u s i o n

Because Tacitus valued severity and discipline, admired the ways and institutions of the forefathers, cared little for the common people and for the slaves, and obviously held Cassius in high esteem, and finally, because he in no way suggested that the cruel order to execute the slaves was to his distaste, it

¹ *Ann.* VI 19.

² *Ann.* XII 26.

³ *Ann.* XIV 63—64.

⁴ *Ann.* XVI 11.

⁵ *Op. cit.* 114.

⁶ *Ann.* XV 16.

must be assumed that Tacitus' own ideas of the proper treatment of slaves were not unlike those Cassius put forth in his speech. Accordingly, Tacitus probably regarded the execution of the slaves as a just punishment.

It will transgress the limits of the present modest contribution to Tacitean studies to try to find an explanation for Tacitus' reactionary position. One could argue that Tacitus represented the views of the Roman aristocracy, but this is a too mechanical explanation. Pliny's letters and the humanitarian laws passed in the Hadrianic age suggest that the new ideas had gained some ground among the Roman nobility, too. It was perhaps the combination of an aristocratic upbringing, a historian's admiration of the ways and institutions of the past, and a sombre conception of the human mind, which made Tacitus so prejudiced and, in our eyes, old-fashioned in regard to social divisions in general and the institution of slavery in particular.

ON THE NATURE OF PLINY'S LETTERS

S a a r a L i l j a

The most recent studies dealing with the letters of Pliny the Younger are Klaus ZELZER's paper »Zur Frage des Charakters der Briefsammlung des jüngeren Plinius« in *Wiener Studien* 77, 1964, 144—161, and A. N. SHERWIN—WHITE's historical and social commentary on *The Letters of Pliny*, Oxford, 1966, where the first two chapters of the Introduction deal with the authenticity of the letters as correspondence.¹ Since ZELZER gives a lucid and soundly critical account of the earlier work done on the subject (pp. 144—149), no details are needed here. In short, the great majority of modern scholars think that the letters of Pliny — the private letters included in Books I—IX, as distinct from the official letters of Book X — are purely literary, intended for publication from the very beginning and, accordingly, written for a large audience. This view is represented by SCHUSTER, in his RE article on Pliny the Younger, and by many writers on the history of Roman literature.² Of the very few scholars who regard Pliny's letters as genuine private letters, written and sent to a particular correspondent, HANSLIK should be mentioned first.³

In a study which deals with the character of letters the fundamental question is how to define a letter. Let us for the present be content with making the rough distinction indicated above between normal (i.e. real, genuine) letters of an intimate character, which the writer sends to a particular person for a particular purpose, and purely literary (i.e. fictitious, invented) letters meant to be pieces of literature, which the writer composes solely with regard to a large audience. If letters of the former type, for example Cicero's letters to Atticus, are published, they constitute works of literature, but they do not

¹ There are important notes on the character of the letters scattered in the Commentary as well.

² For example SCHANZ and HOSIUS, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* II, 4th ed., Munich, 1959 (*Handb. d. Altertumswiss.*, VIII 2), 663, 669 and 851. SCHUSTER's article can be found in RE XXI (1951), 439—456; see esp. col. 448.

³ In addition to his »Forschungsbericht« in *Anzeiger f. d. Altertumswissenschaft* 8, 1955, 1—18 (esp. col. 1), see now also his article on Pliny the Younger in *Lexikon der Alten Welt* (1965), 2377 f.

become fictitious on that account. The very concept of 'fiction', however, consists of many nuances: Ovid's mythological verse letters, *Heroides*, are purely fictitious, whereas his *Epistulae ex Ponto* are addressed to his friends, but intended for publication from the very beginning. The fact that a letter is poetical does not determine its character decisively — at least not when we are concerned with an author like Ovid, to whom the writing of poetry was easier than that of prose, as he says in his autobiography (*Tr.* IV 10, 23—26).¹ It is even more difficult to find precise criteria for defining a prose letter as literary or non-literary. We may consider Plato's and Seneca's letters as indisputable instances of a scientific treatise in the letter form, but in the case of Pliny we have to ask where the lines of demarcation lie. The matter has further complications — to which KOSKENNIEMI refers² — in that the ancients did not clearly distinguish between the genuine private letter and the literary letter. ZELZER, in the above-mentioned paper, puts special emphasis on this attitude (p. 146), and still proceeds to prove that Pliny's letters are part of a genuine correspondence (p. 161). This slight inconsistency is justifiable, for we must not be content with ancient classifications should they fail to bring out all the necessary details and differences.

SCHANZ and HOSIUS define Pliny's letters as purely literary, because »der Adressat steht nur selten in einem Verhältnis zum Gegenstand des Briefes» (*Gesch. d. röm. Lit.* II, p. 851). An investigation into the relations between the recipient of a letter and its subject can be expected to elucidate the character of the letter, though it should be remembered that genuine letters by no means always take into special consideration the addressee — and that the possible 'consideration' may be an invention. DRAGIĆEVIĆ, in his doctoral thesis *Essai sur le caractère des Lettres de Pline le Jeune* (Mostar, 1936), analyses the largest groups of Pliny's letters and shows that his letters to Tacitus (eleven) and Suetonius (four), those to his wife's grandfather (nine) and those to his wife (three)³ are personal in tone and different in character, appropriate to the different addressees. The letters to Voconius Romanus (eight), on the

¹ What about this invented situation: I compose a little poem, by no means intended for publication, and send it in an envelope to a friend. Is it a letter or a poem or both?

² Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des griechischen Briefes bis 400 n. Chr., Helsinki, 1956 (*Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae*, B: 102,2) 50 f.; the influence of the Greek rhetorical theory on the Roman letter is discussed on pp. 31—33.

³ These letters are compared with the elegy in an interesting way (pp. 103—107); cf. GUILLEMIN, *Pline et la vie littéraire de son temps*, Paris, 1929 (Collection d'Études Latines, 4), 139—141. Pliny may have used the very same themes in his own poems, which Calpurnia so well knew, as we see from IV 19,4.

other hand, are impersonal and highly stylized — all but one, IX 28, in which Pliny praises his correspondent's skill and elegant style in letter-writing, as he does in II 13,7. Thus, even in this group of letters Pliny seems to have been influenced by the addressee's tastes and inclinations.¹ ZELZER, too, examines Pliny's relations to his correspondents, discovering further individual differences in characterization.²

SHERWIN—WHITE has presented a good deal of new material in his masterly commentary on the letters of Pliny, and now it would be possible for investigations into the relations between letters and their recipients to be carried on. There is, however, another aspect of the problem which might turn out more fruitful. I mean an examination of those passages in Pliny's letters where he himself gives some hints as to their character. Such passages have perhaps been misinterpreted, or even entirely escaped the scholars, so far. Furthermore, the question is worth considering as to whether the private letter was in Pliny's time already regarded as an established genre of literature; if it was, there would be more ground for supposing that his letters are purely literary.

Pliny's teacher Quintilian mentions the letter in passing in *Inst.Or.* IX 4,19: *est igitur ante omnia oratio alia vincta atque contexta, soluta alia, qualis in sermone et epistulis, nisi cum aliquid supra naturam suam tractant, ut de philosophia, de re publica similibusque*. The important conception here is *natura sua*. While the plain style, *oratio soluta*, naturally belongs to normal letters, a more developed style, *oratio vincta atque contexta*, is required when the letter deals with something *supra naturam suam*. This passage shows that, after all, a certain difference was felt between the genuine private letter and the literary letter. The literary letters which deal with philosophy (*ut de philosophia*) remind us of what Quintilian says about Seneca (*Inst.Or.* X 128 f.): *tractavit etiam omnem fere studiorum materiam, nam et orationes eius et poemata et epistulae et dialogi feruntur*. Here *epistulae*, literary letters on philosophical topics, are mentioned as a particular genre of literature.

Pliny twice speaks of the letter as belonging to the autonomous genres of literature. In VII 9 his young friend Fuscus gets advice on how to pursue his stylistic studies during his leisure time away from Rome. After recommending

¹ For all details as to these groups of letters see DRAGIĆEVIĆ 67—116. GUILLEMIN's remark to prove the conventional nature of Pliny's letters, «on trouve dans le recueil presque autant de dédicataires qu'il y a de lettres» (Pline 58), is exaggerated, for there are 247 letters, but not many more than above one hundred addressees.

² ZELZER's study has been mentioned in the opening sentence of the present paper.

several exercises, such as translation, Pliny continues: *poteris et quae dixeris post oblivionem retractare* (5). The words *quae dixeris* probably refer to a forensic *actio*, which, when revised, becomes an *oratio*.¹ History and letter-writing are mentioned together: *volo interdum aliquem ex historia locum adprendas, volo epistulam diligentius scribas* (8). History is important because the orator must often employ the historical style, and letters teach him *pressus sermo purusque*, the equally important concise and plain style. Last comes poetry: *fas est et carmine remitti* (9).² In I 16 the genres of literature in which Pompeius Saturninus excels are the same. Pliny first sounds his friend's praises as a forensic orator: *audivi causas agentem . . . polite et ornate* (2) and *placent si retractentur . . . orationes eius* (2 f.). Then come history and poetry: *idem tamen in historia magis satisfaciet . . . praeterea facit versus* (4 f.). Immediately after a description of Saturninus' poems Pliny says: *legit mihi nuper epistulas; uxoris esse dicebat* (6). These letters³ are so splendid that he is inclined to believe that Saturninus has written them himself.⁴ In any case, he adds politely: *pari gloria dignus, qui aut illa componat, aut uxorem . . . tam doctam politamque reddiderit*. The qualifiers *doctam politamque* certainly characterize the letters as well, of which Pliny says that he thought *Plautum vel Terentium metro solutum legi*. Saturninus, *veterum aemulus*, uses *verba antiqua* in his forensic speeches (2 f.) and in poetry imitates Catullus and Calvus as his great masters (5), so that he became a predecessor of the archaizing movement which was prevalent in later times. Pliny mentions both Plautus and Terence as the archaic representatives of the plain style, *oratio soluta*, which Quintilian, as we have seen, prescribes for letter-writing — we are used to associating the *sermo purus* (VII 9,8 quoted above) only with Terence.

In the first of these letters, VII 9, the *epistula* is recommended, together with oratory, history and poetry, as a rhetorical exercise for improving the style. It is to be noted that Quintilian does not mention letter-writing among such stylistic exercises.⁵ In I 16 the letter seems to be considered as a particular genre of literature after the others, which again are oratory, history and

¹ For the distinction between *actio* and *oratio* see I 16,2 f. (quoted later on in this paragraph) and especially I 20,9 f.

² What Pliny in this letter says of the difficulty of writing poetry as compared with prose is typically Roman: *inest . . . carminibus utilitas, quod metri necessitate devincti soluta oratione laetamur, et quod facilius esse comparatio ostendit, libentius scribimus* (14). Ovid was one of the exceptions (see above, p. 62).

³ Or 'this letter'; the neuter plural in *qui aut illa componat* perhaps places first the possibility of *epistulas* being a *plurale tantum*.

⁴ He was a busy letter-writer, as *aliis super alias epistulis* in VII 8,1 shows.

⁵ This may mean that the Greek method (see KOSKENNIEMI, Studien 29) was now gaining ground more decisively.

poetry. However, the sentence *legit mihi nuper epistulas; uxoris esse dicebat* can be interpreted in a simpler way: Saturninus' wife may have been away from Rome and she may have sent her husband letters so well written that he wants to boast of her skill to Pliny. To the modern mind it is indiscreet for a husband to show his wife's letters to a third person, but the ancients were not so particular about it — Pliny, for instance, published three letters he had written to Calpurnia.¹ The word *mihi* in the above sentence is important: Saturninus read the letter(s) only to his friend. In fact, Pliny never refers to a public recitation of letters, not even a less formal one held for an inner circle of intimates.

One might object that, according to VII 17, the recitation of speeches, a practice introduced by Pliny, was also something new, and that until then only history, tragedy and lyric poetry had been recited publicly: *horum recitatio usu iam recepta est* (3). Pliny, however, defends his innovation by remarking that *orationes quoque et nostri quidam et Graeci lectitaverunt* (4). After briefly stating why he wants to recite his works before publication — *ut si quid me fugit . . . admonear*² — he expounds in detail later on in the same letter his various methods of revising: *primum quae scripsi mecum ipse pertracto; deinde duobus aut tribus lego; mox aliis trado adnotanda, notasque eorum, si dubito, cum uno rursus aut altero pensito; novissime pluribus recito, ac si quid mihi credis tunc acerrime emendo* (7). Pliny's passion for revision is revealed in many other passages,³ but never does he speak of correcting and recorrecting his letters before publication. The thin expression *collegi* in the dedication to Septicius (I 1) of the first collection of letters does not allude to any complicated procedure of revision.⁴ SHERWIN—WHITE has sought for possible juncture-points in Pliny's letters, but there are few that are detectable.⁵

On the other hand, when Cicero was planning to publish a collection of his

¹ He certainly wrote more (*cottidie singulis vel etiam binis epistulis* in VI 4,5 indicates lively correspondence), but perhaps they were more personal in character. For the fact that the ancients did not know the letter secrecy, see PETER, *Der Brief in der römischen Litteratur* (*Abh. d. Kgl. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch., phil.-hist. Kl.*, 20: 3, 1901) 40.

² In V 3,8 he gives the following reasons for reciting his verses: *primum quod ipse qui recitat aliquanto acrius scriptis suis auditorum reverentia intendit; deinde quod de quibus dubitat, quasi ex consilii sententia statuit*. See also V 12,1 and VIII 19,2.

³ Very seldom is there a warning like *nimia cura deterit magis quam emendat* (IX 35,2); cf. V 10,3 and VIII 21,6. The remark in VII 12,1, *tempus emendandi . . . id est disperdendi*, is a special case being directed against an extreme Atticist.

⁴ Note, however, that it is the dedication of only the first collection — even perhaps, if we think of Pliny's general cautiousness, only the first book.

⁵ Or did Pliny so carefully follow his own advice to Fuscus *nova velut membra peracto corpori intexere nec tamen priora turbare* (VII 9,6)?

letters, he wrote to Atticus: *eas ego oportet perspiciam, corrigam; tum denique edentur* (XVI 5,5). How can we explain the fact — if it is a fact — that Pliny, who was so passionate in correcting his speeches, did not revise the letters before publication? DRAGIĆEVIĆ answers: »les lettres de Pline n'ont pas besoin d'être corrigées, elles sont du premier coup *accuratius scriptae*» (Essai, p. 36). But Pliny's elaborate method described above (VII 17,7) went on far beyond the stage of speeches being *accuratius scriptae*. Why did Pliny not revise and polish his letters in collaboration with others before publication? I am tempted to answer: because the genuine private letter was not yet recognized as an autonomous genre of literature.¹ This answer would also explain Pliny's complete silence about the public's reception of his letters — and yet he seized every opportunity to speak of the successes of his speeches and verses. DRAGIĆEVIĆ assumes that Pliny's silence about his letters bears evidence of their unfavourable reception (Essai, pp. 11 f.), but then the publication of ever new collections would be difficult to account for.

DRAGIĆEVIĆ has gathered all passages in Pliny's letters which, in his opinion, show that Pliny considered his letter-type as a fully established genre of literature. The most important of them, in my opinion, gives evidence against that view: *aliud est enim epistulam aliud historiam, aliud amico aliud omnibus scribere* (VI 16,22). The only natural way of understanding this sentence is that a historical work — VI 16 on the eruption of Mount Vesuvius was sent to Tacitus to provide him with material — is written *omnibus*, for a large audience, and a letter *amico*, to a friend. Pliny could not have revealed more clearly the essentially intimate character of his letters. His remark *haec nequaquam historia digna* (VI 20,20) at the end of the other Vesuvius letter means that he and his mother had not done anything outstanding, suitable for narration by Tacitus.² What he jocularly adds, *tibi scilicet qui requisisti imputabis, si digna ne epistula quidem videbuntur*, simply expresses his fear to have disturbed his learned friend with a long story which may not interest him at all.³ At the beginning of III 14, *rem atrocem nec tantum epistula dignam Larcius . . . a servis suis passus est*, the words *nec tantum epistula dignam* can be explained as referring to the very limited audience of a letter (cf. *amico* above); what has happened is so extra-

¹ Which did not prevent the letters of Pliny, not speeches, from becoming his lasting contribution to literature; cf. GUILLEMIN, Pline 49.

² Compare *interim Miseni ego et mater — sed nihil ad historiam* in VI 16,21.

³ Pliny's apologies for undue length are discussed below, pp. 74—77. Though he wrote the two Vesuvius letters only *amico*, they are stylistically excellent and show that he might well have followed his friends' advice to write a historical work (V 8,1).

ordinary that it is worth becoming known more widely (*omnibus*) in a literary form. This letter should be compared to the dolphin story, a poetical theme proposed for Caninius Rufus: *incidi in materiam veram sed simillimam fictae, dignamque isto . . . poetico ingenio* (IX 33,1).¹

These passages gathered by DRAGIĆEVIĆ cannot be said to prove that Pliny considered his letter-type as a particular genre of literature. One passage is yet to be discussed. Pliny has told Rufinus *omnes fabulas urbis* and wishes for a reply: *invicem tu, si quid istic epistula dignum, ne gravare* (VIII 18,11). DRAGIĆEVIĆ does not notice that the conception *epistula dignum* is explained in the sentence that follows: *nam cum aures hominum novitate laetantur, tum ad rationem vitae exemplis erudimur* (12). Pliny is here concerned with the purpose of the letter. At the beginning of the present paper I roughly defined genuine letters as those that the writer sends to a particular person for a particular purpose. A subject which is *epistula dignum* ought to be important either to the writer or to the addressee or to both.² My next task is to examine what Pliny says of the purpose of his letters, because it can be expected to illustrate their character — provided that he does not place himself in a fictitious situation as a letter-writer in order to pretend that his letters are real.

We just saw that in VIII 18 a subject *epistula dignum*, worth being told to a friend in a letter, is *novitas*, but not a *novitas* of any kind. The important thing, as is expressed by means of *tum* after *cum*, is that it morally teaches the addressee by virtue of example: *ad rationem vitae exemplis erudimur*.³ In this letter Pliny tells Rufinus *fabulas urbis* and wants to know *si quid istic*, namely in the countryside, *epistula dignum*. Similarly, he says to Arrianus: *habes res urbanas; invicem rusticas scribe* (II 11,25).⁴ This time the *res urbanae* refer to what has taken place in the senate, while the friend has been away from Rome. At the beginning of the letter Pliny, showing consideration for the addressee, gives the following reason for his detailed account: *solet esse gaudio tibi, si quid acti est in senatu dignum ordine illo*. In III 20, which also deals with the senate, he explains: *haec tibi scripsi, primum ut aliquid novi scriberem, deinde ut non numquam de re publica*

¹ The words *dignam isto poetico ingenio* are explained at the end of the letter: *haec tu qua miseratione, qua copia deflebis ornabis attolles*.

² Cicero is content with the first two alternatives: *si quid esset, quod eos scire aut nostra aut ipsorum interesset* (*Fam.* II 4,1).

³ Here the virtuous example is Domitius Tullus, who has left a testament *quod pietas fides pudor scripsit* (VIII 18,7).

⁴ When Pliny has left Rome, it is his turn to write: *tu consuetudinem serva, nobisque sic rusticis urbana acta perscribe* (IX 15,3).

loquerer, cuius materiae nobis quanto rarior quam veteribus occasio, tanto minus omittenda est (10). We again see that *aliquid novi* is not a sufficient reason for a letter — news must be something out of the ordinary. Wanting, in IV 11, to know what has happened in the correspondent's town, Pliny inserts a similar remark: *solent enim quaedam notabilia incidere* (16).

A good example of Pliny's indifference to everyday home life is found in VI 2,10: *Nunc respiciamus domos nostras. Ecquid omnia in tua recte? in mea novi nihil.* In III 20,11 this indifference is pronounced very clearly and strongly: *Et hercule quousque illa vulgaris? 'Quid agis? ecquid commode vales?' Habeant nostrae quoque litterae aliquid non humile nec sordidum, nec privatis rebus inclusum.* It goes without saying that *fac sciam quid agas* is an important thing to know when friends live far apart: *Scribe . . . solum illud unde incipere priores solebant: 'Si vales, bene est; ego valeo.'* *Hoc mihi sufficit; est enim maximum.*¹ What Pliny means is that it should not be the only thing one writes to friends beyond distant and perilous roads; there ought to be something in a letter that is *notabile*. When Sabinus wishes for more and longer letters, Pliny gives the following reason, among others, for his silence: *praeterea nec materia plura scribendi dabatur* (IX 2,1).² He himself explains what *materia* here means: *neque enim eadem nostra condicio quae M. Tulli.* Sabinus well knows, as far as affairs of state are concerned, *nos quam angustis terminis claudamur*, when compared with Cicero.³

The essential purpose of letters to friends is communication not only of deeds and words, but also of thoughts and plans. Pliny's letter to Voconius Romanus, which deals with his possible measures against Regulus, ends with these words: *haec tibi scripsi, quia aequum erat te pro amore mutuo non solum omnia mea facta hictaque, verum etiam consilia cognoscere* (I 5,17). The very same reason — *omnes cogitationes meas tecum communicare* — is given in IV 24,7,⁴ but also *vel praeceptis vel exemplis monere*, which purpose is known to us from VIII 18,12 (see above, p. 67); it should be noted that in IV 24,7 Pliny uses the explicit formula *quae ratio huius epistulae fuit*. Admonition is stated as the purpose in many other

¹ These quotations are from I 11, which, in spite of its Ciceronian notes, can be a spontaneous piece of correspondence. What is more natural than communicating with a friend of whom one has not heard for a long time in this way? III 17 is a similar letter.

² The other reasons also illustrate the character of Pliny's letter-writing: *partim quia tuas occupationes verebar, partim quia ipse multum distringebar plerumque frigidis negotiis quae simul et avocant animum et comminuunt.*

³ This thought is familiar to us from III 20,10: *ut non numquam de re publica loquerer, cuius materiae nobis . . . rarior quam veteribus occasio.*

⁴ Further examples: *habes quid timeam, quid optem, quid etiam in posterum destinam* (I 22,12) and *haec ego tecum quae cottidie mecum* (IX 3,3).

letters: *quod tibi scripsi, ut te . . . praemonerem* (VI 22,7) and *quae tibi scripsi . . . ut te non sine exemplo monerem* (VII 1,7), to take just these examples.¹ Another type of communication is mentioned in V 1,12: *haec tibi scripsi, quia de omnibus quae me vel delectant vel angunt . . . tecum . . . loqui soleo*. Here it is his delight Pliny wants to share with the friend: *durum existimabam te . . . fraudare voluptate quam ipse capiebam*.² His purpose in VII 24, *gaudium scribendo retractare* (8), is more selfish, but he also shows consideration for his correspondent: *quia soles si quid incidit novi non invitus audire*.³ Similarly, after a detailed description of the wondrous lake at Ameria, Pliny says to Gallus: *haec tibi scripsi, quia nec minus ignota quam mihi nec minus grata credebam* (VIII 20, 10). The second of these reasons is explained by the remark *nam te quoque ut me nihil aequae ac naturae opera delectant*, the theme of the letter being in this way closely related with its recipient.⁴

We have seen that it is quite often that Pliny expressly states the reason — or reasons because he usually gives more than one — why he has written his letter, and that he does so by means of set phrases, such as *quae ratio huius epistulae fuit*, *haec tibi scripsi quia*, and *haec tibi scripsi ut* (or *ne*), which is often specified as *primum ut . . . deinde ut*.⁵ Is this peculiar feature to be understood as Pliny, intentionally placing himself in a fictitious situation as a letter-writer, trying to relate his literary letters with his addressees? I think that an entirely sufficient explanation is Pliny's systematical disposition trained by thorough studies in rhetoric and jurisprudence.

Cicero, when he speaks of *epistularum genera* in *Fam.* II 4,1,⁶ mentions first the original type, *illud certissimum, cuius causa inventa res ipsa est*, whose purpose is defined as follows: *ut certiores faceremus absentis, si quid esset, quod eos scire aut nostra aut ipsorum interesset*. In a wide sense, Pliny's *facta dicta consilia cogitationes communicare* belongs to this class. The simplest form of communication, and very natural in a correspondence between friends who live far apart, is ex-

¹ For some others see II 6,6, VII 26,4, VIII 24,1& 10, and IX 12,2.

² In VIII 16, which deals with those things that *angunt*, Pliny speaks of *dolendi voluptas . . . si in amici sinu defleas* (5).

³ This *novum* is combined with a moral teaching: *gaudeo enim pietate defunctorum*. We have had a parallel in VIII 18,12: *cum aures hominum novitate laetantur, tum ad rationem vitae exemplis erudimur*.

⁴ Note also how Pliny introduces the description of his Tuscan villa: *accipe temperiem caeli regionis situm villae amoenitatem, quae et tibi auditu et mihi relatu iucunda erunt* (V 6,3).

⁵ For example in III 20,10 (quoted above, p. 67), VI 33,7 and VII 1,7. The same formula *primum ut . . . deinde ut* (or more often, instead of *ut*, either *quod* or *quia*) is frequent in other contexts, too; a third member is added by means of *postremo*, *praeterea* or *in summa*.

⁶ For a detailed treatment see KOSKENNIEMI, »Cicero über die Briefarten (genera epistularum)«, *Arctos*, N.S. 1, 1954, 97—102.

pressed in the phrase *fac sciam quid agas*. Pliny has only few examples of this type which, *privatis rebus inclusum*, is discarded by him as *humile* and *sordidum*. To him, news — *aliquid novi, novitas* — means events which are somehow *notabilia*, preferably affairs of state. This type approaches Cicero's second class, *genus severum et grave*, which is above all represented by Pliny's letters of admonition (*vel praeceptis vel exemplis monere*). Admonition also forms the core in letters where Pliny's purpose is *delectare*. It is only seldom that we find something resembling Cicero's third class, *genus familiare et iocosum*. One of the few examples is VII 12, whose purpose is formulated very clearly: *ut inter istas occupationes aliquid aliquando rideres* (5).

Cicero's *epistularum genera* are thus applicable to Pliny's letters, but never does Pliny himself speak of a classification of letters. There is another difference to be noted. Cicero could send a letter without any particular reason — *non quo haberem magno opere quod scriberem, sed ut loquerer tecum absens*, he says to Atticus (VII 15,1) — whereas Pliny refrained from writing if there was no *materia* worth being told in a letter. To him the letter was a poor substitute for personal contact, as we see from his remarks *quantum tamen epistula consequi potero* (II 18,3), *quia non contigit coram, per epistulam* (VI 17,1), and *scribam vel (quod malo) coram indicabo* (VI 27,1).¹ Such remarks might be understood in a vaguely general sense, were it not Pliny himself who gives us an accurate interpretation: *sermonem vultus gestus vox ipsa moderatur, epistula omnibus commendationibus destituta malignitati interpretantium exponitur* (V 7,6). His outspoken opinion that writing was singularly difficult is clearly expressed in IX 29,2: *an ceteris artibus excusatio in numero, litteris durior lex, in quibus difficilior effectus est?*²

In order to avoid the *malignitas interpretantium*, the letter had to be written clearly. The rule of *σαφήνεια* was one of those prescribed by the rhetorical theory of letter-writing,³ but Pliny means something else, when he speaks of carefulness in writing a letter. What it is can be seen from VII 9,8, where *volo epistulam diligentius scribas* is mentioned as a rhetorical exercise for improving the style, and from I 1,1, where the phrase *si quas paulo curatius scripsissem* refers to those of Pliny's letters that are worth publishing. The words *diligentius* and *curatius* in these passages are concerned with the style more widely, not merely with the *σαφήνεια*.⁴ GUILLEMIN's translation in each case is »une

¹ Cf. VI 2,9, VIII 22,4, and IX 26,13.

² See also VI 17,5; Pliny's modesty rings true when he writes: *cum lego, ex comparatione sentio quam male scribam* (VII 30,4). Cf. SHERWIN-WHITE 333.

³ See KOSKENNIEMI, Studien 27 f.

⁴ Note that *diligens* in V 5,3 characterizes the style of Fannius' biographical work.

lettre d'art» (Pline, pp. 133 f.), but if we adhere to Pliny's words in I 1,1, we should simply speak of letters which have been written with a little more care than usual. These letters are in I 10,9 contrasted with *inlitteratissimae litterae*, which are nothing more than barren official letters. One passage, however, makes the matter more complicated: in IX 28,5 the *litterae curiosius scriptae* of Romanus is contrasted with his three other letters described by Pliny as *elegantissimae* (1).

A possible solution is found in VII 13, a reply to Ferox, who has complained of having no time for literary studies. Pliny is not ready to believe him, because his letter is *tam polita quam nisi a studente non potest scribi* (2), but if he is right, Pliny's conclusion is: *aut es tu super omnes beatus, si talia per desidiam et otium perficis*. Even if this were mere courtesy towards Ferox,¹ Pliny cannot have invented what slips from him unawares — that he was not able to write a polished (*polita*) letter in idleness, since to him writing meant continual stylistic exercises, *cura* and *diligentia*.² The use of *politus* in I 16 is interesting: Pompeius Saturninus makes his forensic speeches *polite*, and his wife, who writes letters in Plautus' and Terence's style, is called *docta* and *polita*.³ This same quality may suffice to make Romanus' above-mentioned three letters *elegantissimae* as distinguished from his *litterae curiosius scriptae* (IX 28); Pliny's praising comment on Romanus' letters in II 13,7, *ut Musas ipsas Latine loqui credas*, need not mean more than that they were 'elegant'. Pliny seems to make a certain distinction between the *polita, elegantissima epistula*, which is a friend's praise in general terms, and the *epistula curatius* (or *curiosius* or *diligentius*) *scripta*, which presupposes serious work.⁴ It is important to add that the special *diligentia*, the care given to the outward form, does not prove such letters to be fictitious. When the letter-writer had Pliny's rhetorical education and many years' practice as a forensic orator, his normal private letters must have been stylistically irreproachable.

Another difficult problem is: what Pliny does mean when, after complaining that he has no *materia* for long letters to Sabinus because the times they lived in are politically insignificant, he adds: *nisi forte volumus scholasticas tibi atque, ut*

¹ SHERWIN—WHITE remarks that »there is nothing to be said about this courtesy note» (417).

² In IX 32 Pliny also says that letter-writing was incompatible with idleness. For his view that writing was singularly difficult, see above, p. 70.

³ It may be noted that Pliny's appreciation of his own wife's letters was more emotional: *cuius litterae tantum habent suavitatis, huius sermonibus quantum dulcedinis inest* (VI 7,3).

⁴ Note, however, Pliny's judgement on Silius Italicus — *scribebat carmina maiore cura quam ingenio* (III. 7,5) — which can be understood in the light of his warning *nimia cura deterit magis quam emendat* (IX 35,2).

ita dicam, umbraticas litteras mittere (IX 2,3). Such letters were not befitting to Sabinus,¹ who was at the time living amidst *arma* and *castra* and all things that pertain to military life, *cornua tubas sudorem pulverem soles*. The word *soles* forms a contrast to the adjective *umbraticus*, which here has the same sense as Cicero's *umbratilis*.² In Pliny's description of the rhetor Isaeus' *vita umbratilis* (II 3,5 f.) — *adhuc scholasticus tantum est . . . schola et auditorium et ficta causa res inermis innoxia est* — the adjective *inermis* contrasts the *ficta causa* of the *scholasticus* with the forensic orator's activities *in foro verisque litibus*; in the same way *scholasticae litterae* are regarded as improper for Sabinus' *arma*. The phrase *ficta causa* brings to mind the idea that *scholasticae litterae* might mean fictitious letters, such as Seneca's treatises. SHERWIN—WHITE says that Pliny sharply distinguishes his own letters from »the Senecan essay in epistolary form, *scholasticas litteras*» (p. 3), but in his comment on IX 2,3 (p. 483) a similar remark »the letters of Seneca may serve as an example of *scholasticae litterae*» is followed up by the unexpected example »such as Pompeius Saturninus, or his wife, may have written». This example from I 16,6 is unexpected because the letters of Saturninus' wife are described by SHERWIN—WHITE (p. 124) as *epistulae curatius scriptae*, which is precisely how Pliny defines his own letters — and a type which Seneca rejects.³

The interesting passage in IX 2,3 is worth quoting once more in its context: . . . *nisi forte volumus scholasticas tibi atque, ut ita dicam, umbraticas litteras mittere. Sed nihil minus aptum arbitramur, cum arma vestra . . . cogitamus*. As a matter of fact, Pliny does not say that he never writes *scholasticas litteras*; he only says that it is improper to send one to Sabinus, who now, having a military commission, is living his life »in the midst of arms and encampments». I think that Pliny here happens to give us a clue as to the character of his letters: one type is the *scholasticae litterae*, impersonal and highly stylized letters, perhaps such as those addressed to Voconius Romanus. These letters, which also seem to have a clear relation with the addressee (see above, pp. 62 f.), would not interest Sabinus immersed as he was in a life of action.

ZUCKER, in his paper »Plinius epist. VIII 24 — ein Denkmal antiker Humanität»,⁴ gives two reasons for his opinion that all Pliny's letters are purely literary.

¹ The words *nihil minus aptum* clearly express Pliny's consideration for the addressee.

² The form *umbraticus* is used in a disparaging sense by Plautus, Petronius and Seneca, whereas Cicero's *umbratilis* has no pejorative nuance.

³ Sen. *Ep.* 75,1: *Minus tibi accuratas a me epistulas mitti quereris. Quis enim accurate loquitur, nisi qui vult putide loqui?*

⁴ *Philologus* 84, 1929, 209—232. VIII 24 is a letter of advice to Maximus, who was sent as imperial legate to Greece.

The first is that each letter is confined to a single theme and the second that an individual case is frequently treated from a general point of view (pp. 220 f.). The latter reason is easily explained if we think of Pliny's theoretical disposition fostered by his studies in jurisprudence and rhetoric.¹ The habit of treating one single subject in a letter has a certain connection with the third characteristic of Pliny's letters to which ZUCKER refers, namely the stylistic rule of brevity he had created for himself (p. 219). I shall first investigate what Pliny may himself have revealed concerning the themes of his letters.

In II 1, which is written in memory of Verginius Rufus, Pliny says to Romanus: *volo tibi multa alia scribere, sed totus animus in hac una contemplatione defixus est* (12). SHERWIN—WHITE remarks that Pliny here, when observing the rule of the single theme, makes a virtue out of necessity (p. 4). Pliny's words are, however, psychologically to be expected when one considers his close relations with the deceased: *praeterea* (after several other reasons) *quod ille mihi tutor relictus adfectum parentis exhibuit* (8). This same psychologically natural feeling is expressed in VIII 23, which celebrates the memory of Iunius Avitus: *in tantis tormentis eram cum scriberem haec ut haec scriberem sola; neque enim nunc aliud aut cogitare aut loqui possum* (8).² It is more difficult to interpret the following passage which is from III 14,6: *Verum haec hactenus. Quid praeterea novi? Quid? Nihil, alioqui subiungerem; nam et charta adhuc superest, et dies feriatus patitur plura contexi*. Does Pliny here jocularly imply that he would be bold enough to disobey the rule of the single theme, if there were some news to be related?³ In that case VIII 18,11 could also be explained in that Pliny playfully refers to the unity of the theme: *habes omnes fabulas urbis; nam sunt omnes fabulae Tullus*. For my part I would prefer to understand both these passages literally, without suspecting that the writer is making subtle hints at rhetorical rules.

It is well known that Pliny does have letters which are not confined to one subject. SHERWIN—WHITE analyses them briefly (pp. 3 f.), making several happy remarks about the unity of different themes, but there is something he overlooks. I pick out one example, V 14, on which he comments: »The account of Cornutus' career and that of Pliny's vacation are linked by a reference to Pliny's official leave of absence from his own post.» This is true, but does not give an accurate idea of the contents of the letter. After copiously expressing

¹ See above, p. 69. The playful beginning of IX 7 illustrates Pliny's desire to be rational in everything: *Aedificare te scribis. Bene est, inveni patrocinium; aedifico enim iam ratione quia tecum*. See also the end of the letter.

² The passage is textually uncertain, but the sense is clear. Compare the beginning of the letter: *omnia mihi studia, omnes curas, omnia avocamenta exemit excussit eripuit dolor*.

³ The fact that the anecdote Pliny adds concerns the principal character of the letter indeed supports that view. It is quite natural, though, that the ominous accident occurs to him.

his joy at his friend's new position, Pliny continues (§§ 7 f.): *In infinitum epistulam extendam, si gaudio meo indulgeam. Praevertor ad ea, quae me agentem hic nuntius deprehendit. Eram cum prosocero meo, eram cum amita uxoris, eram cum amicis diu desideratis, circumibam agellos, audiebam multum rusticarum querellarum, rationes legebam invitus et cursim (aliis enim chartis, aliis sum litteris initiatus), coeperam etiam itineri me praeparare.* These different topics form the very kind of chat about everyday home life, so common in letters in general, which Pliny normally shuns (see above, p. 68). DRAGIĆEVIĆ examines another letter with various subjects, I 7, and refers to its wealth of lifelike details (Essai, pp. 48 f.). Of course, all these details could have been invented for the purpose, but let us ask with DRAGIĆEVIĆ: «Pourquoi supposer que tout cela est inventé, alors qu'il est beaucoup plus simple et beaucoup plus naturel de supposer que les choses se sont passées comme Pline nous les décrit?» (p. 50).¹

Two passages in Pliny's letters show that speaking about the rule of the single theme may be justified, after all. In the description of his Tuscan villa Pliny says: *primum ego officium scriptoris existimo titulum suum legat atque identidem interroget se quid coeperit scribere* (V 6,42). The term *titulus* need not mean that Pliny used to invent actual titles for his letters, for he is here speaking of Homer, Vergil and Aratus. It is only later on that he modestly adds: *similiter nos ut 'parva magnis'*. The other passage is more important. After a report upon the prosecution of Varenus, before proceeding to deal with another criminal trial, Pliny inserts the following remark: *quid enim prohibet, quamquam alia ratio scribendae epistulae fuerit, de studiis disputare* (VII 6,8). This is, in my opinion, an undeniable proof of the existence of a rule that each letter had to have one single *ratio*² — not without exceptions, as we have seen. Before seeking for possible sources of this rule, I shall discuss the alleged convention against long letters.

Quite often Pliny speaks of the length of the letter. He himself wants to receive letters as long as possible: *plurimas et longissimas* (II 2,2), *aeque longam* (II 11,25), *quales istinc redire uberrimae possunt* (II 12,7), *non minus longa* (IV 11,16),³ *longiores epistulas* (IX 32), and *tanto mihi iucundior fuit quanto longior*

¹ SHERWIN—WHITE also points out that «the letters dealing with Pliny's business affairs and domestic arrangements are full of precise and particular details that can hardly have been invented» (p. 12). His comment on I 7,6 that *paene praeterii . . . accepisse me careotas optimas* «may be a literary convention» (p. 102) gives rise to the question as to whether it was so unheard of for Pliny to receive such gifts and thank the givers (cf. V 2,1, VII 21,4, etc.).

² For the part played by *ratio* in letters and all else, see above, pp. 69 and 73.

³ Note here the playful touch: *ego non paginas tantum sed versus etiam syllabasque numerabo.*

erat (IX 20,1). In the second of these passages Pliny takes for granted that Arrianus also wishes for long letters: *nisi aequae longam epistulam reddis, non est quod postea nisi brevissimam exspectes*. Sabinus is another one who likes letters to be long: *facis iucunde quod non solum plurimas epistulas meas verum etiam longissimas flagitas* (IX 2,1).¹ When Pliny apologizes for excessive length, his remark mainly springs from the situation, as in VII 9,16: *tam immodice epistulam extendi, ut dum tibi quemadmodum studere debeas suadeo, studendi tempus abstulerim*. Phrases such as *in infinitum epistulam extendam, si gaudio meo indulgeam* (V 14,7) and *finem epistulae faciam, ut facere possim etiam lacrimis quas epistula expressit* (V 21,6) are simply a neat way of finishing a letter. At the end of III 5 Pliny shows consideration for the addressee's wishes: *extendi epistulam cum hoc solum quod requirebas scribere destinassem . . . confido tamen haec quoque tibi non minus grata . . . futura* (20).²

Two passages, however, seem to support the view that there was a definite rule against excessive length in letter-writing: *iam finem faciam ne modum, quem etiam orationi adhibendum puto, in epistula excedam* (II 5,13) and *habes epistulam, si modum epistulae cogites, libris quos legisti non minorem* (IX 13,26). In each case the letter — also *epistularum angustiae* in IV 17,11 — is contrasted with the forensic speech.³ The length of the forensic speech is thoroughly discussed by Pliny in I 20. After a fictitious argument against excessive length — *optimus tamen modus est* — he vigorously brings forward his own opinion: *non minus non servat modum qui infra rem quam qui supra, qui adstrictius quam qui effusius dicit* (20).⁴ The other fictitious argument *at est gratior multis actio brevis* is warded off with this biting remark: *si hos in consilio habeas, non solum satius breviter dicere, sed omnino non dicere* (23). In letter-writing, on the other hand, we may note Pliny's desire to avoid loquaciousness: *vitasse iam dudum ne viderer argutior* (V 6,41) and *providendum est mihi, ne gratiam novitatis . . . epistulae loquacitate praecerpam* (V 20,8).⁵ One probable reason is that in the same way as there were many who disliked long speeches,⁶ there must have been many who disliked long

¹ Here, as in VII 2, Pliny expressly explains why his letters are shorter than usual. Note the end of IX 2: *est enim summi amoris negare veniam brevibus epistulis amicorum, quamvis scias illis constare rationem*.

² Similarly, in VI 20, he is afraid of having molested Tacitus with a long and perhaps uninteresting story (see above, p. 66).

³ A further instance is found in IV 5,4: *oportet enim nos in hac (sc. epistula) certe in qua possumus breves esse, quo sit excusatius quod librum . . . extendimus*.

⁴ Compare V 6,43, where Pliny says *brevis . . . uterque est quia facit quod instituit* of Homer and Vergil and *modum . . . servat* of Aratus.

⁵ See also VII 26,4 and VIII 16,5.

⁶ In addition to the fictitious argument in I 20,23, see II 5,4, VI 2,5 f., and VI 33,7. It is only once, in IV 16, that Pliny praises his audience's patience.

letters. The addressee's fictitious comment in III 9,27 — *non fuit tanti; quid enim mihi cum tam longa epistula* — strikes one as being typical.¹ Pliny defends the length of this letter by the remark *memento non esse epistulam longam, quae tot dies tot cognitiones tot denique reos causasque complexa sit*. In the description of the Tuscan villa we find a similar apology: *cum totam villam oculis tuis subicere conamur . . . non epistula quae describit sed villa quae describitur magna est* (V 6,44).²

When Pliny apologizes for the length of a letter, it is frequently, as we have seen, out of consideration for the addressee's precious time.³ Before seeking for sources of a particular *modus epistulae*,⁴ I refer to VIII 6,17, where the same phrase is used in a different sense: Pliny is afraid of having given vent to his indignation *ultra epistulae modum*. A similar instance is found in V 7,5, where the difficulties encumbering the written word are contrasted with the easier oral delivery: *verebam ne modum, quem tibi in sermone custodire facile est, tenuisse in epistula non viderer*. It is in several other things, such as *laudes* (III 11,8) and *cena* (III 12), that Pliny expects to have a definite *modus*.

GUILLEMIN rightly points out that the conception of the letter is different in different times: »elle est en grande partie affaire de mode et s'harmonise avec l'allure de la vie de société» (Pline, p. 128). Unfortunately, no other letters are preserved from Pliny's time, but we know from Martial how impatient the contemporary Roman public was, blaming as they did his — to us short — epigrams for excessive length.⁵ GUILLEMIN thinks that Pliny consciously took Martial's epigrams as a model for his letters, one of her arguments being that he adopted Martial's manner of repeating the opening line at the end of an epigram (Pline, pp. 147 f.). In letters, however, the final repetition of an important matter presented at the beginning⁶ is so natural that the adoption of this device may rather have moved in the opposite direction, from letter-writing into poetry.⁷ Besides, the occurrence of literary influences would not

¹ Note as well VII 2,3: *abunde est si epistulae non sunt molestae; sunt autem et ideo breviores erunt*. In II 5, which deals with a forensic speech, Pliny complains about *fastidium legentium deliciasque* (4).

² Compare what Pliny says in IV 5,4 about a forensic speech: *librum ipsum, non tamen ultra causae amplitudinem, extendimus*.

³ A jocosely variety is found in I 20,25, where Tacitus is permitted, if he agrees with Pliny, to answer *quam voles brevi epistula*, the difference of opinion calling for a *longissima epistula*.

⁴ For this phrase see II 5,13 and IX 13,26, both quoted above, p. 75.

⁵ Mart. *Epigr.* I 110, II 77, VI 65, X 59, etc.

⁶ A typical remark is *illuc enim unde coepi revertor* (III 11,8). See as well III 16,13, V 6,44, and VIII 24,10.

⁷ GUILLEMIN does note a kindred phenomenon — that the opening formulae of letters, such as *quaeris*, *rogas* and *petis*, were adopted by elegists and by Martial (Pline 145 f.).

prove the literary character of Pliny's letters. For one thing such instances might be occasional coincidences; for another even the true ones can equally well occur in real letters.¹ As regards Martial's influence in particular, Pliny's protective and even slightly supercilious tone in his *in memoriam* to the poet (III 21) does not give the impression that a disciple is paying homage to his master.

On several occasions we have noted how anxious Pliny was to show consideration for his correspondents' wishes. Such wishes tend to reflect the customs and habits of the society of the time, one of which conventions was the demand for brevity. It was all the more natural to follow the public's general taste in this respect, because the rhetorical theory of letter-writing had established the rule of *συντομία* on a par with that of *σαφήνεια*.² It seems to me, further, that this very tendency for brevity and conciseness sufficiently explains Pliny's preference to treat one single theme in a letter.³ There may be, however, an additional reason for that habit. Pliny's official letters included in Book X are also limited to one subject, and though the rhetorical theory clearly distinguished the private letter from the official one, some sort of interaction might be assumed, especially in the case of Pliny, to whom both categories were equally familiar.⁴

I have tried to show in the present paper that Pliny did not regard his letters as an autonomous genre of literature. Since he never mentions a recitation of letters, since he does not speak of revising his letters before publication, in collaboration with friends or alone, and since he is completely silent about the success of those of his collections that had come out, it is hard to believe that he would have written his letters with the sole object of publishing them.⁵ Pliny does not speak of the different *genera epistularum* which we know from

¹ See SHERWIN—WHITE 16—18. The reminiscences of Cicero to which GUILLEMIN refers (Pline 114—117) are not convincing, but Cicero's example in publishing letters certainly influenced Pliny, as DRAGIĆEVIĆ (Essai 35) and HANSLIK (Lexikon der Alten Welt, col. 2378) point out.

² For *σαφήνεια* see above, p. 70; *συντομία* is discussed by KOSKENNIEMI, Studien 28.

³ Pliny himself closely associates the theme with the length: *sciatque (sc. scriptor) si materiae immoratur non esse longum, longissimum si aliquid accersit* (V 6,42).

⁴ For the distinction between official and private letters see KOSKENNIEMI, Studien 48—50. Pliny describes his official letters as *inlitteratissimas litteras* (I 10,9), but many of those included in Book X are stylistically excellent.

⁵ I would like to repeat: with the sole object of publishing them. At the moment of writing a letter to a friend Pliny may have thought of possibly publishing it later on, just as Cicero may have done — but neither Cicero's nor Pliny's letters are purely literary on that account.

Cicero's letters, but he often expresses the function — or functions — of a letter. The use in this of set phrases, such as *haec tibi scripsi ut* (or *ne* or *quia*), reflects his theoretical mind and his inclination for systematization. Pliny's predilection for confining a letter to one single theme, assumed to prove the literary nature of his letters, can be explained as a consequence of the general tendency to brevity in letter-writing and, possibly, as an influence exercised by official letters, which were also limited to one subject.

The fact that Pliny often expresses the purpose of his letter by way of an explicit formula is understood by some scholars to mean that he artificially placed himself in the situation of a letter-writer in order to pretend that his fictitious letters are real. Without convincing proof such a forced interpretation must remain in the air. Similarly, if the wealth of lifelike details in Pliny's letters cannot be definitely proved to have been invented, it is simpler and more natural to assume that everything was as he describes it.¹ This assumption is also justified when we examine Pliny's consideration for his correspondents' inclinations and tastes. The significance of the absence of such 'consideration' in some letters must not be exaggerated, for people do not usually think very much of the person to whom they write — they are selfishly talking about things that interest themselves, only a couple of conventional phrases, at the beginning and end of the letter, having more direct reference to the addressee.

Although it is a dangerous practice to explain away difficult problems by speaking of 'simple' and 'natural' reasons, I take up one further 'obvious' argument for the view that Pliny's letters are real ones. His whole correspondence bears witness to the fact that in his time the writing of letters was a social custom even more firmly established than before.² Pliny had friends who lived far away in his native town of Comum or elsewhere in the vast empire; those who lived in Rome frequently visited their country-houses, as he did himself. Correspondence was the only means of communication between them in a time when travelling was difficult and there was neither telephone nor telegraphic communication. It would seem strange indeed if Pliny had purposely excluded from his collections all those real letters.³ SCHUSTER, in his RE article on Pliny, regards his letters as purely literary, since private letters »in formeller

¹ Of course, the use of *figurae extemporales* (see I 20,10) is possible in letters, too.

² This *consuetudo* (IX 15,3) was part of the system of *beneficia* (cf. *habesne quo tali epistulae parem gratiam referas* in IV 7,6), which is discussed by GUILLEMIN, Pline 8—12.

³ For the habit that letters received and copies of those sent to others were kept in family archives, see PETER, Der Brief 29—33. Pliny gives an interesting example in III 1,12: *idque iam nunc apud te subsigno ut . . . in ius voces ad hanc epistulam meam.*

und inhaltlicher Hinsicht völlig anspruchslos wären» (col. 448), but this is a very inadequate view of the nature of genuine letters. If the writer had Pliny's thorough rhetorical education and forensic practice of many years, his everyday private letters must have been carefully stylized, all the more because the recipient usually had the same rhetorical background.

Pliny's private letters included in the first nine books are for the most part real letters. I have suggested that the term *scholasticae litterae* (IX 2,3) might refer to more impersonal and stylized letters, such as those addressed to Vocius Romanus. It is, of course, very difficult to draw precise lines of demarcation between Pliny's everyday private letters and those of a more literary character. Only so much can be said here that in collections subsequent to the first we may expect to find a relatively greater number of letters that were originally intended for publication — but we do not even know how many books the first collection contained.¹

¹ Perhaps only one, as has been suggested above (p. 65, n. 4); cf. SHERWIN—WHITE 54.

WALDTERMINOLOGIE IM LATEIN

Olli Makkonen

Auf dem Gebiete der Waldwirtschaft und der Forstwissenschaften gibt es vieles, was so jung ist, dass darüber wenigstens im Altertum noch nichts gesprochen wurde. Z.B. von Forstökonomie im Kulturbereich des Römerreichs kann man noch nicht sprechen, obgleich u.a. Cato einige Hinweise auf den wirtschaftlichen Wert des Waldes macht. Die Waldabschätzung, die u.a. Berechnung des Rauminhalts und des Zuwachses der Bäume sowie Ermittlung des Bestandes auf einem gewissen Waldgebiete umfasst, entstand sowohl in der Praxis als auch als Forschungsgebiet erst in der Neuzeit. Auch Waldbau im heutigen Sinne des Wortes wurde im Altertum nicht betrieben, wenn auch Anbau von Bäumen recht verbreitet war. Die lateinische Waldterminologie begrenzt sich auch vorzugsweise auf allgemeine Waldterminologie, auf Ausdrücke für Hauung und Beförderung des Holzes sowie auf Termini betreffend Arbeiten in Pflanzschulen.

Ich fange mit der allgemeinen Waldterminologie an, und zwar mit dem Wort Wald, *silva*. Die Bedeutung des Wortes ist im allgemeinen eindeutig. Damit wurde eine ausgestreckte oder wenigstens ziemlich weite einheitliche Gruppe von nebeneinander wachsenden Bäumen gemeint, abgesehen von der Art, dem Alter und der Grösse der Bäume. Eine kleinere Baumgruppe mitten an einer offenen Stelle wurde *silvula* genannt. Vergil gebraucht das Wort *silva* an einer Stelle (*Bucolica* IV. 2—3), wo er deutlich einen Wald mit Bäumen von hohem Wuchs meint, als Gegensatz zu einem Strauchartigen Wald.

Non omnes arbusta iuvant humilesque myricae.

Si canimus silvas, silvae sint consule dignae.

Sowohl römische Poeten als auch Prosaisten gebrauchen das Wort *silva* auch metonymisch z.B. für einen aus dem Walde hergebrachten Astbündel oder auch sinnbildlich, wenn sie z.B. vom Spiessenwald der Feinde sprechen.

Es dürfte auch Anlass vorliegen, mit einigen Worten auch aus dem Wort *silva* abgeleitete Adjektive zu behandeln. *Silvestris* bedeutet zunächst zum Walde gehörend, den Wald betreffend, im Walde wachsend oder lebend, aber ab und zu auch waldbedeckt oder bewaldet. Das seltsamere Wort *silvosus* bedeutet wohl walddreich.

Von den Substantivableitungen des Wortes *silva* kann man das Wort *silvicola* nennen, welches Wort der gegenwärtige Forstfachmann sicherlich sehr gern als Waldanbauer übersetzen möchte. Etwas unwillig muss man jedoch feststellen, dass unter diesem Wort einfach einer, der im Walde wohnt, ein Waldbewohner verstanden wird. Das heisst, zu der Zeit, wo das Wort *silvicola* entstand, hatte bei dem Verb *colere* schon eine derartige metonymische Bedeutungsveränderung stattgefunden, dass man darunter statt des konkreten Anbaus oder der konkreten Urbarmachung nur allgemein das Wohnen zu verstehen begonnen hatte.

Und das Verb *silvescere*? Als ich zum ersten Mal diesem Wort begegnete, fiel mir sofort ein, dass obgleich Wälder schon im Altertum dermassen abgeholzt wurden, dass die Waldfläche immer kleiner wurde, konnten Äcker im Römerreich während langer Kriege so sehr vernachlässigt werden, dass sie sich bewaldeten, und zur Schilderung der Lage ein solcher Ausdruck benötigt wurde. Ich stellte jedoch bald fest, dass das Wort *silvescere* gar nicht eine solche Bedeutung hat. Man versteht darunter die verwilderung angebauter Bäume, so dass sie den im Walde wild wachsenden Bäumen ähnlich werden. Z.B. Cicero wendet das Wort *silvescere* in seiner Schreibung *De senectute* folgenderweise an (der Satz ist bedeutend abgekürzt, nur das wesentliche ist mitgenommen): *vitem serpentem ferro amputans coercet ars agrorum, ne silvescat sarmentis* (rankenden Weinstock bändigt die Kunst der Bauer mit Messer aufästend, d.h. die Bauer hindern den Weinstock geschickt daran, sich durch Sprossbildung zu verwildern). Ich vermute, dass die Römer das Verb von einem Menschen hätten anwenden können, der der städtischen Kultur überdrüssig wird und in tiefe Wälder siedelt.

Einige Sprachen, z.B. das Finnische, haben einen für einen Forstfachmann manchmal ärgerlichen Mangel. Es gibt nicht unterschiedliche Benennungen für wachsenden Baum und Holzmaterial, wie es z.B. in der deutschen Sprache die Wörter Baum und Holz gibt, in der englischen *tree* und *wood*. Auch das Lateinische ist in dieser Hinsicht dank der Wörtern *arbor* und *lignum* glücklicher als das Finnische.

Das Wort *arbor* ist ziemlich eindeutig, obgleich auch hier Metonymie vorkommt. Unter dem aus *arbor* abgeleiteten Wort *arbustum* versteht man meistens einen sog. Waldweingarten, genau gesagt ausdrücklich eigens angepflanzte Bäume, die den Weinstöcken zur Stütze dienten, manchmal aber auch einen Pflanzbestand zur Erzeugung von Holz, wie z.B. in einer Äusserung von Cato (*Rust. VII.1.*): *Fundum suburbanum arbustum maxime convenit habere; et ligna et*

virgae venire possunt, et domino erit qui utatur (es passt besonders gut, d.h. es ist sehr vorteilhaft, dass ein Landgut in der Nähe der Stadt eine Baumpflanzung (einen Pflanzbestand) hat; man kann dort Brennholz und Reisig verkaufen, und auch dem Wirt bleibt noch etwas übrig). — Dichter nehmen sich immer Freiheiten, und so gebraucht auch Vergil an der oben zitierten Stelle das Wort *arbustum* in der Bedeutung niedriger Wald, Gebüsch.

Das Wort *lignum* dürfte ursprünglich das Holzmaterial bedeutet haben. Weil aber die allgemeinste Gebrauchsweise des Holzes Verbrennen zur Erzeugung von Wärme war, wird damit meistens gerade Brennholz gemeint, während Bauholz *materia* oder *materies* heisst. Die netteste metonymische Anwendung für das Wort *lignum* ist meines Erachtens *lignum mobile*, tanzende Holzpuppe, Hampelmann.

Von den Ableitungen des Wortes *lignum* möchte ich zuerst das Wort *lignarius* zur Sprache nehmen, welches Wort meistens die Bedeutung Holzhändler hat. U.a. in Rom hatten die Holzhändler ihre eigene Strasse 'inter lignarios', die nahe Porta Trigemina an der Landstrasse nach Ostia lag. Livius erwähnt das zufällig im Zusammenhang mit einer ganz anderen Sache (XXXV. 41). Bisweilen bedeutete das Wort jedoch Bearbeiter von Holz oder Zimmermann, wie z.B. im folgenden Satz von Palladius (I.6.): *Ferrarii, lignarii, doliorum cuparumque factores necessario habendi sunt, ne a labore solenni rusticos causa desiderandae urbis avertat* (auf Landgütern müssen unbedingt Schmiede, Zimmerleute und Hersteller von Tonnen und Holzfässern sein, damit Landleute durch Verlangen nach der Grossstadt ihrer alltäglichen Arbeit nicht entwöhnt werden sollten).

Diese Ansicht scheint übrigens auch heute erstaunend aktuell. Darin spiegelt sich deutlich das Problem der Landflucht und der provinziellen Kleinindustrie.

Das Adjektiv *ligneus* ist vollkommen eindeutig: aus Holz, hölzern. Mit dem Wort *lignator* meint man eine Person, die in den Wald geht, um Holz abzuholen, d.h. eine Person, die die Bäume sowohl fällt, entästet und abschneidet als aus dem Walde abfördert. Als entsprechende Verbe, die das Tun bedeuten, kommen in der römischen Literatur folgende Ausdrücke vor: *lignari*, *lignatum progredi* und *lignorum causa progredi*.

Zunächst möchte ich mich mit einer Ableitung des Wortes *lignum* befassen, die im Lateinischen nicht vorkommt, aber von Varro in dem Werk *De Lingua Latina* (VII.33) erwähnt wird, nämlich mit dem Wort *lignicida*, Holzhauer, Holzfäller. Varro sagt folgendes: *qui lapides caedunt, lapicidas dici, qui ligna, lignicidas non dici* [diejenigen, die Steine hauen, werden *lapicida* (Steinhauer)

genannt, aber diejenigen, die Bäume hauen, werden nicht *lignicida* (Holzhauer) genannt]. Es sei erwähnt, dass das Griechische für das Wort Hauer viele Entsprechungen kennt, die ähnlich dem Wort *lignicida* abgeleitet sind, z.B. *δενδροτόμος*, Abhauer eines wachsenden Baumes, Holzabfäller, *ύλοτόμος*, Holzhacker, Anfertiger von Holzware und *ξυλοκόπος*, dessen Bedeutung mit der des vorstehenden Ausdrucks übereinstimmt. Etwas anders ist der Terminus, *ὄρεοτύπος*, Gebirgeabhölzer abgeleitet.

Über das Wort *lignicida* kommen wir zu dem Verb *caedere* und somit zu der eigentlichen Terminologie betreffend Haulung von Holz. Die ursprüngliche Bedeutung des Verbs *caedere* ist hauen, zuhauen. Später hat es die Nebenbedeutung umfällen bekommen. Ich möchte die Annahme vorlegen, dass das Verb *caedere* die Bedeutung umfällen deshalb erhalten hat, weil Bäume mit der Axt haulend gefällt wurden. Die Säge wurde nämlich beim Fällen der Bäume im Altertum gar nicht gebraucht. Wie bekannt, endete die Entwicklung der Nebenbedeutungen des Verbs *caedere* nicht mit der Bedeutung umfällen, sondern setzte sich folgenderweise fort: niederhauen, in der Schlacht umbringen, morden, schlachten.

In der Vulgata-Übersetzung des Alten Testaments werden vom Holzhauer die Ausdrücke *ligna caedens* und *lignorum caesor* angewendet. Nebenbei kann man feststellen, dass in der Bibel von Holzhauern recht geringachtend gesprochen wird, z.B. (5. Mose 29, 9—10): Ihr steht heute alle vor dem Herrn, eurem Gott, die Häupter eurer Stämme, eure Ältesten, eure Amtleute, jeder Mann in Israel, eure Kinder, eure Frauen, dein Fremdling, der in deinem Lager ist, dein Holzhauer und dein Wasserschöpfer,

Die Geringachtung beruhte wohl vor allem darauf, dass Holzhauer und Wasserträger in diesem Falle geknechtete besiegte Feinde waren. Andererseits zeigt aber das, dass gerade Sklaven mit diesen Arbeiten beauftragt wurden, welchen Wert man auf diese Arbeiten legte.

Verfasser der Vulgata-Übersetzung, Kirchenvater Hieronymus verhielt sich anscheinend noch untersetzender zu den Waldarbeitern und Wasserträgern, denn er übersetzte den letzten Satz der obenerwähnten Stelle »*exceptis lignorum caesoribus, et his, qui comportant aquas*» (ausgenommen die Holzhauer und Wasserträger), welche Deutung unter Zugrundelegung des Urtextes ganz offensichtlich fehlerhaft ist. Das kann natürlich ein zufälliger Fehler in der Übersetzung sein, aber man kann sich auch denken, dass er davon herrührt, dass Hieronymus die Holzhauer und die Wasserträger persönlich gar nicht als

dessen würdig ansah, vor Gott zu stehen. Diesartige Geringschätzung der Waldarbeiter dauerte wenigstens im Norden bis auf dieses Jahrhundert fort. Als ein Beispiel aus dem vorigen Jahrhundert kann man eine Äusserung von dem finnischen Staatsmann J. V. SNELLMAN anführen: Wo Wald vorkommt, dort gibt es auch Armut. Hauung und Abfuhr ernähren kaum jemand über einen Tag des Jahres. Es sind Arbeiten, die keine geistige Anstrengung fordern, nur Unwissenheit und Grobheit sind ihre Folgen.

Die nächste Arbeitsphase nach dem Fällen ist die Entästung. Vorzugsweise folgende Ausdrücke sind angewendet worden: *ramos amputare*, *ramos detruncare*. Auch die Wörter *putare* und *truncare* kommen in derselben Bedeutung vor. In Wörterbüchern aus dem Latein in irgendeine lebende Sprache gibt man dem Verb *putare* neben vielen anderen Bedeutungen die Bedeutung »entästen«, aber nirgendwo habe ich eine Erwähnung gesehen, dass man unter diesem Wort neben der Entästung auch die Reinigung des Baumes von der Rinde verstehe. Doch hat das Wort in einigen Zusammenhängen ganz deutlich beide Bedeutungen. Ich nehme ein Beispiel aus einem Text von Varro (*Rust. I.XXVII. 3.*): *Hieme putari arbores dumtaxat his temporibus, cum gelu cortices ex imbribus careant et glacie* (etwas kurzgefasst übersetzt: Bäume sollen im Winter gereinigt werden — ich wage es zu behaupten, dass man hier sowohl die Entästung als auch die Entrindung meint — doch während solcher Perioden, wo die Rinde nicht gefroren ist). Es ist eine bekannte Tatsache, dass Entfernen der gefrorenen Rinde wesentlich schwieriger ist als Entfernen der ungefrorenen Rinde. Die Entästung wiederum erleichtert die Kälte sogar, so dass es keine Ursache gab vor Entästung zu warnen, solange die Rinde gefroren war. Columella wendet den Ausdruck *exputare* an einer Stelle an, wo er von Anfertigung von Zaunpfählen spricht (*Rust. XI.II.12*): *Palos una opera caedere et exputatos acuere centum numero potest* (Ein Arbeiter kann täglich hundert Zaunpfähle fällen, reinigen und schärfen). Es ist ganz offensichtlich, dass die betreffenden Zaunpfähle entrindet wurden, weil sie sonst sehr schnell vermorscht wären.

Verbe, die ausschliesslich Entrindung bedeuten, sind *delibrare* und *decorticare*. Das Stammwort des erstgenannten ist *liber*, Bast. Unter diesem Verb verstand man wohl ursprünglich das Schälen einer Rinde mit zähem Bastzellgewebe zur Erhaltung von Bast wie z.B. die Linde solches Gewebe hat. Bast ist ja äusserst praktisch bei allerlei Bortenarbeiten, und es ist bekannt, dass Bast eine der ältesten Schreibunterlagen ist. Deshalb hat auch das Wort *liber* die Bedeutung »Buch« erhalten. Andere Ausdrücke, die im Lateinischen Entrindung

bedeuten, sind *corticem auferre* und *corticem demere*, welche Wörter jedoch eher Gemeinsprache als Fachsprache sein dürften.

Zunächst nehme ich zur Behandlung ein lateinisches Wort, dessen Entsprechung heutzutage in den nordischen Ländern im Sprachgebrauch der Forstfachmänner sehr allgemein ist. Ich meine das Verb *aptare*, im Finnischen *apterata*, auf schwedisch *aptera*. *Apterata* bedeutet in Finnland in erster Linie Überlegung, die beim Einteilen der Stämme zu Rundstücken nötig ist, wenn die Länge der Rundstücke abwechseln kann. Dies gilt besonders für die Aufarbeitung von Sägeholz in dem Sinne, dass jeder Block in seiner ganzen Länge qualitativ (vom Gesichtspunkt der Qualität der aus dem Stamm erhältlichen Sägeware) möglichst gleichmässig sein muss. So ist es z.B. ein Fehler, wenn in dem dünnen Ende des Wurzelblocks, des wertvollsten Teils des Stammes so ästiger Teil vom Stamm mitgenommen wird, dass das die Qualitätsklasse der zum grössten Teil astreinen Sägeware herabsetzt, das man aus dem Wurzelblock erhält. Der Ausdruck *apterata* bedeutet also im Finnischen vorerst die Erwägung beim Einteilen des Stammes zu Blöcken und die damit gebundene Messung der Länge der Blöcke, die ein ökonomisch möglichst vorteilhaftes Sägeergebnis erzielt. In den anderen nordischen Ländern bedeutet das Wort *aptera* auch Messung von Blöcken von Standardlängen. Der betreffende Ausdruck kann direkt aus dem Wort *aptare* — anpassen (z.B. nach der Länge) abgeleitet sein, aber meine Ansicht ist, dass schon Vergil das Wort ungefähr in der voran beschriebenen Bedeutung angewendet hat. Die diesbezüglichen Verse bei Vergil sind folgende (*Aeneis* I. 551—552):

*quassatam ventis liceat subducere classem
et silvis aptare trabes et stringere remos,*

Diesen Versen hat der Engländer FAIRCLOUGH in seiner *Aeneis*-Übersetzung in der Serie »Loeb Classical Library« folgende Form gegeben: Grant us to beach our storm-battered fleet, to fashion planks in the forests and trim oars, — — —. Unter Hinweis auf diese Stelle in dem Text äussert der Deutsche SEIDENSTICKER (*Waldgeschichte des Alterthums* I 1886, S. 308) als seine Auffassung: »Balken zimmern nannten die Römer 'trabes aptare'.« In Strengs lateinisch — finnischem Wörterbuch gibt man dem Ausdruck *silvis trabes aptare* die Bedeutung »Balken aus Waldbäumen beilen« und merkt an, dass das ein dichterischer Ausdruck ist.

Ich für meinen Teil möchte hier nicht gleich dichterisch sein. Es handelt sich um die von Aeneas angeführte und einem starken Sturm ausgesetzte griechische Flotte, von dem ein Teil auf die libysche Küste innerhalb des von

Königin Dido regierten Territoriums gelang. Aeneas wünscht, dass die Königin es ihnen gestattete, die von dem Sturm übel zugerichtete Flotte aufs Land zu ziehen und neue Ruder anstelle der im Sturm abgebrochenen zu verfertigen, damit sie dann nach Italien segeln könnten, um dort die ihnen von Göttern gegebene Aufgabe zu erfüllen und auf italienischem Boden ein Reich zu begründen, das in der Zukunft über die ganze Welt Herrschaft haben sollte. Ich deute den Ausdruck *silvis aptare trabes* so, dass er das Abschneiden der Stämme im Walde zu Blöcken von der Länge der Ruder bedeutet, welche Blöcke dann am Ufer zu Rudern angefertigt wurden. Da in einem Schiff mit Rudern in mehreren Schichten die Ruder in den verschiedenen Schichten von verschiedener Länge waren, hatte man die Längen der Blöcke wirklich nach den Längen der Ruder »anzupassen«. Man soll auch beachten, dass man mit dem Wort *trabs* einen abgeschnittenen Teil des Stammes, also einen Block oder in der Bauterminologie einen runden Tragebalken nennt, dagegen aber nicht einen gebeilten Balken. Soweit den Dichtern in solchen Angelegenheiten überhaupt zu trauen ist, kann man betreffend die Bedeutung des Wortes *trabs* eine Stelle in der *Aeneis*-Dichtung (VI. 179—182) anführen, die meines Erachtens auch sonst beachtenswert ist. Ich habe in der ganzen Weltliteratur nicht eine gleich lebendige, schlagende und geradezu monumentale, kurze Schilderung von Waldarbeiten gefunden.

*itur in antiquam silvam, stabula alta ferarum;
procumbunt piceae, sonat icta securibus ilex
fraxineaeque trabes cuneis et fissile robur
scinditur, advolvunt ingentis montibus ornos.*

(sie treten in einen uralten Wald, in hohen Aufenthalt der Bestien; Fichten fallen, es schallt die von Axt getroffene Steineiche, mit Keilen spalten sie Eschenblöcke und den Eichenbaum, der leicht zu spalten ist, und sie wälzen gewaltige Stämme der Mannaeschen die Berge hinab).

Von dieser Schilderung kann man zu Waldwerkzeugen übergehen, von denen der Keil schon genannt wurde. Es wurde oben auch schon gesagt, dass die Säge beim Fällen der Bäume im Altertum nicht gebraucht wurde. Das scheint überraschend, wenn man beachtet, dass das Prinzip der Säge schon im Steinalter bekannt gewesen ist, dass eine metallene Säge in Ägypten und in Mesopotamien bei Tischlerarbeiten schon seit dem dritten vorchristlichen Jahrtausend gebraucht wird, und dass die Säge schon zur Zeit des Römerreichs sehr weit entwickelt war. Ein Grund dazu, dass die Säge nicht als Waldwerkzeug gebraucht wurde, dürfte der Umstand sein, dass die Sägenzähne



sich ziemlich schnell abstumpften, und dass die Wiederherstellung des Sägeblattes recht schwierig war. Die Feile (Lat. *lima*) war schon bekannt, aber sie mag nicht besonders effektiv gewesen sein, weil z.B. Plinius folgendes weiss (*NH XXVIII.XLI*): *hircorum sanguini tanta vis est, ut ferramentorum scabritia poliatur vehementius quam lima* (Böcksblut hat eine solche Kraft, dass man die rauhe Oberfläche eiserner Werkzeuge damit wirksamer eben machen kann als mit der Feile). Allgemein meinte man, dass die Instandsetzung der Säge nur in der Schmiede möglich war.

Die Säge setzte sich letzten Endes erst ziemlich spät in der Neuzeit als Waldwerkzeug ein, z.B. in Finnland eigentlich erst in diesem Jahrhundert.

Bei Bauarbeiten war die Säge jedenfalls schon im Römerreich ein äusserst wichtiges Werkzeug. Meiner Meinung nach ist z.B. die Schrängung der Säge, d.h. leichte Biegung der Zähne abwechselnd in verschiedene Richtungen nach den Seiten, womit man es erzielt, dass die Schnittweite grösser wird als die Dicke des Sägeblattes, und die Säge somit nicht klemmt, in Plinius »Naturgeschichte« so gut dargestellt, dass die Stelle der Vorführung wert ist (der Satz ist wieder bedeutend abgekürzt): *Serrae dentes alterna inclinatione egerunt scobem* (abwechselnd in verschiedene Richtungen gebogene Sägezähne förderten das Sägemehl ab). Zum ersten Mal wurde die Schrängung in der Literatur jedoch von Theophrastos genannt.

Die Axt war das überlegen wichtigste Waldwerkzeug. Man nannte die Axt allgemein *securis*, aber wie vom Messer, wurde auch von der Axt das Wort *ferrum* angewendet, das das Material der Schneide angibt. Heutzutage wird weder Axt noch Messer Eisen genannt. Vom Schälensein dagegen kann man immer noch sprechen. Axt mit zwei Schneiden, *securis bipennis*, ging sehr bald einfach unter dem Namen *bipennis*. *Ascia*, Beilaxt und *dolabra*, die sog. Brechaxt, wie sie heute u.a. von Feuerwehren gebraucht wird, waren in erster Linie Bauwerkzeuge. Auf dem beigeschlossenen Bilde sieht man mancherlei Holzbearbeitungswerkzeuge, Spannsäge, Brettsäge für zwei Männer, gewöhnliche *securis* mit einer Schneide, *bipennis*, *dolabra* und *ascia*. Dieser Motivstein, der für Minerva aufgerichtet war und heute in dem Capitoliummuseum aufbewahrt wird, befand sich wahrscheinlich ursprünglich in dem Versammlungszimmer der Zunft für römische Zimmerleute (*collegium fabrum tignariorum*). Aus der Inskription auf dessen einer Seite geht hervor, dass der Stein während der zweiten Fünfjahrperiode des Daseins der Zunft aufgerichtet worden ist. Da man die Begründung dieser Zunft auf das Jahr 7 vor Christi Geburt hat verlegen können, trifft der Zeitpunkt für die Aufrichtung des Steines sehr nahe auf den Beginn unserer Zeitrechnung.

Am meisten überraschen einen auf diesem Relief die glockenartigen Dinge, von denen zwei auf Stiele der sich an die Wand lehnenen Werkzeuge gesetzt sind. Es ist schwierig irgendeine andere Erklärung zu finden, als dass Schutzhelme der Arbeiter, und zwar sogar mit Deckungen für den Nacken und die Ohren als Schutz gegen fliegende Späne, schon im Rom der Kaiserzeit bekannt waren. Wieviel hat sich der Arbeiterschutz eigentlich seitdem entwickelt? Die zwei untersten Helme scheinen ohne Deckungen sein, sodass man sich denken kann, dass sie Sägern gehört haben.

Der Kriegerhelm oben in der Mitte gehört zu den Symbolen Minervas, links davon ist der Krummstab der Auguren und rechts ein Opfermesser.

Vielleicht gehen wir zuletzt zur Terminologie betreffend Pflanzschulen über. Am Anfang wurde schon genannt, dass es u.a. im Finnischen nicht unterschiedliche Benennungen für wachsenden Baum und Holz gibt. Das Lateinische hat einen ähnlichen Mangel in dem Punkte, dass es nicht verschiedene Wörter für säen und pflanzen hat. In beiden Fällen wird das Verb *serere* = säen angewendet. Es ist jedoch zu bemerken, dass der Begriff Samen bei Römern, was Bäume anbelangt, sehr umfassend war. Z.B. Varro sagt folgendes (*Rust. I. 39.3*): *semina sunt fere quattuor generum, quae natura dedit, quae transferuntur e terra in terram viva radice, quae ex arboribus dempta demittuntur in humum, quae inseruntur ex arboribus in arbores* = Samen gibt es grob geteilt vier Arten: 1) die von Natur gegebenen Samen, 2) Wurzelsprosse, die umgepflanzt

werden, 3) Äste aus Bäumen, die in die Erde hineingesteckt werden, also Stecklinge, 4) Äste, die aus einem Baum in einen anderen hinübergeführt werden, oder Propflinge. Da das Wort Samen ein so weiter Begriff war, wurde das Verb *serere* auch von Anpflanzen der Pflanzen und Stecklinge angewendet.

Einigermaßen überraschend scheint es, dass Propfen schon im Altertum ziemlich allgemein war. U.a. weiss Vergil folgendes (*Georg.* II. 69—72): *Inseritur fetu nucis arbutus horrida | et steriles platani malos gessere valentis | castaneae fagus, ornusque incanuit albo | flore piri, glandemque sues fregere sub ulmis* = in einen wirren Erdbeerbaum wird ein Spross der Haselnuss eingepropft, sterile Platanen haben oft mächtige Äpfel getragen, eine Buche ist oft weiss von Kastanienblumen gewesen, ebenfalls eine Mannaesche von Blumen des Birnbauens, und Schweine haben unter Ulmen Eicheln gefressen. Propfen heisst also auf latein *inserere*, was ein recht treffender Ausdruck ist.

Ich will noch einen Saatfachaussdruck vorführen. Im forstfachmännischen Sprachgebrauch wird von Vollaat gesprochen, wenn die Samen der Bäume zur Hand auf den Waldboden ausgesät werden, wie das Getreide auf den Acker geworfen wird. Bei Vergil kommt ein Ausdruck vor, der Entstehung aus vollgesäter Saat bedeutet (*Georg.* II. 57—58): *Iam quae seminibus iactis se sustulit arbos | tarda venit, seris factura nepotibus umbram* = ein Baum, der aus Vollaat aufgekommen ist, wächst dagegen langsam und verleiht seinen Schatten erst unseren späten Nachkommen (der Vergleichspunkt ist hier ein durch Sprossbildung aufgekommener Baum). Der betreffende Terminus heisst also *seminibus iactis se tollere* (wortgetreu: sich aus geworfenen Samen erheben).

Zuletzt erwähne ich noch einen Rat von Cato, der das Einwurzeln von Bäumen betrifft, nicht so viel aus terminologischen Gründen, als deshalb, weil er es so deutlich klar macht, wie alt unser praktisches Wissen sein kann (*Rust.* CXXXIII. 3): *Quae diligentius seri voles, in calicibus seri oportet. In arboribus radices uti capiant, calicem pertusum sumito tibi aut quasillum; per eum ramulum trasserito; eum quasillum terra inpleto calcatoque, in arbore relinquito. Ubi bimum erit, ramum tenerum infra praecidito, cum quasillo serito* = wenn du das Anwurzeln sorgfältiger ausführen willst, soll es in Gefässern stattfinden. Auf dass die Äste an Bäumen Wurzel fassen sollten, nimm einen Tontopf mit Löchern im Boden oder einen kleinen Korb, stecke eine Ast dadurch, fülle das Gefäss mit Erde, die du dicht drücken sollst, und lass das Gefäss im Baum. Wenn das Gefäss zwei Jahre im Baum gewesen ist, schneide die zarte Ast unterhalb des Gefässes ab und pflanze sie mit Korb und allem.

DAS GESCHLECHT DES ATTIS BEI CATULL

P ä i v ö O k s a l a

Catulls »Attis« (c. 63) ist eine der genialsten, geheimnisvollsten und fesselndsten Schöpfungen des Dichters. Dessen ästhetischen Wert haben viele Forscher und Dichter schon von der Antike an betont (Martialis 2, 86,4: *luculentus Attis*). Die wilde, ekstatische Erlebnishaftigkeit des Gedichtes beeinflusst auch den heutigen Leser, der — nachdem er sich von der ersten Erschütterung erholt hat — nicht umhin kann, Catulls Meisterschaft in der Beherrschung der farbenreichen Stilelemente — nicht zuletzt des schnellen Galliambus — zu bewundern.

Die Problematik seelischer Ausnahmezustände — der Ekstase und der Geistesverwirrung — hat die Schriftsteller der Antike schon früh interessiert (z.B. »Herakles« und »Bacchen« des Euripides).¹ Das Hauptthema der Attis-Ballade ist der Widerstreit zwischen der unwiderruflichen Tat, der Entmanung, die in der von der Göttin Kybele hervorgerufenen Ekstase geschehen ist, und der bei klarem Sinn aufkommenden Reue, ein Widerstreit, der sich zum Äussersten spannt: zur Tragödie. Das Gedicht könnte man als tragische Ballade bezeichnen, deren Handlung zu drei Bogen gespannt ist: zu drei Akten.² Das dramatisch gegliederte epische Gerüst ist auch ausgefüllt mit lyrischen Elementen (besonders das Hymnische am Ende des Gedichtes), mit opernhaften Effekten zwischen Solist und Chor, mit kühnen Schnitten, die dem heutigen Menschen vielleicht filmisch vorkommen. Das frisch Erlebnishaftes des Gedichtes mag den Forscher dazu verleiten, zu kühne biographische Schlüsse zu ziehen.³ Aus dem Gedicht lässt sich natürlich nicht schliessen,

¹ V. ERRANTE (La poesia di Catullo, Milano 1945, S. 283—84) hat verwandte Züge zwischen einer Stelle der »Bacchen« (677—774) und den bacchantischen Partien des besagten Gedichtes von Catull festgestellt. — Die Tragödie des Euripides ist der wichtigste Ausgangspunkt der bacchantischen Topik in der griechischen Literatur.

² A. GUILLEMIN, La poème 63 de Catulle, *Revue des Études Latines* 27 (1949), S. 153.

³ E. MARMORALE (L'ultimo Catullo, Napoli 1952) vertritt die Ansicht, dass das Gedicht von einer persönlichen dionysischen Ekstase inspiriert sei und dass Catull zu den Anbetern der Kybele gehört habe. J. BAYET (Catulle — la Grèce et Rome — L'influence greque sur la poésie Latine, Genève 1953, S. 13) wendet sich gegen die erstere Behauptung. H. J. METTE (*Gnomon* 28, 1956, S. 37) kritisiert die letztere Behauptung.

dass Catull selbst Anhänger des Kybele-Kultes gewesen sei. Dagegen ist es direkt schwierig, sich der von dem Gedicht ausgehenden Herausforderung zu einer psychologischen Deutung zu entziehen. Ich glaube, dass wir methodisch auf festem Boden stehen, wenn wir uns damit begnügen, Beziehungen zwischen der Welt des Attis und der persönlichen Erlebniswelt in den kleinen Gedichten zu suchen.¹

Zentrale Bedeutung in der Tragödie des Attis hat die psychophysische, das Geschlecht betreffende Metamorphose der Hauptperson, die sich auch in der Wahl des grammatischen Geschlechtes bei dem Protagonisten widerspiegelt. Die damit verbundene textkritische Problematik steht in engem Zusammenhang mit der Analyse des tragischen Kerns des Gedichtes. Es stellt sich also die entscheidende Frage, ob das in den Handschriften bewahrte Schwanken des Geschlechtes zu akzeptieren ist, wie es O. WEINREICH in seinem ausgezeichneten Artikel befürwortet,² oder ob der Genusgebrauch logisch zu koordinieren ist, wie viele mehr den Verstand als die Handschriften achtenden frühen Textkritiker verfahren sind. Da die grundlegenden Gesichtspunkte, die WEINREICH schon 1936 vorbrachte, meiner Auffassung nach in den Veröffentlichungen nicht genügend Zustimmung gefunden haben, halte ich es für angebracht, hier ausgehend von WEINREICH einige Gesichtspunkte vorzubringen — nachdem ich jahrelang bezüglich der Lösung nicht sicher war.³

Damit die Lesarten der Handschriften nicht auf dem Altar des Systemzwangs geopfert zu werden brauchen, muss für die Synopsis der Handschriften eine *ratio* gefunden werden, die künstlerische Planmässigkeit oder vielleicht besser Zweckmässigkeit. Die Schwierigkeit ist ja kurz gesagt folgende: die Erzählung führt den Leser *in medias res*, und die Hauptperson ist ein Maskulinum, aber sofort nach der Entmannung ein Femininum. Dennoch kehrt das Maskulinum in den Handschriften übereinstimmend jeweils

¹ Diesen Weg haben eingeschlagen P. W. HARKINS (Autoallegory in Catullus 63 and 64, *TAPhA* 90 (1959) S. 107 ff.) und T. OKSALA (Catulls Attis-Ballade, *Arctos*, Nova Series III, Helsinki 1962, 199—213), von denen der letztere in der Attis-Geschichte eine Widerspiegelung der eigenen Liebestragödie Catulls in äusserst zugespitzter Form sieht. E. SCHÄFER (Das Verhältnis von Erlebnis und Kunstgestalt bei Catull, Wiesbaden 1966, S. 104—107) ist nicht damit einverstanden, wenn er auch einen allgemeinen persönlichen Erlebnishintergrund zugibt.

² Catulls Attisgedicht, *Mélanges Cumont* IV (1936), S. 463—500. — J. P. ELDER (Catullus' »Attis«, *AJPh* 68 (1947) S. 398 ff.) scheint zu den gleichen Gedanken zu kommen wie WEINREICH, obwohl er ihn nicht erwähnt.

³ Deshalb habe ich das Problem in meiner textkritischen Arbeit übergangen: *Adnotationes criticae ad Catulli carmina*, *Annales Academiae scientiarum Fennicae*, Ser. B. — Tom. 135,2, Helsinki 1965.

zweimal an drei Stellen wieder: *excitum* (42), *ipse* (45) — *hunc* (78), *qui* (80) — *tenerumque* (88), *ille* (89). Das Versmass würde es zulassen, dass sie in Feminina verwandelt werden. Das haben auch viele textkritische Autoritäten getan — angefangen von GUARINI und LACHMANN — und viele sind ihnen gefolgt,¹ allerdings nicht in den Versen 78 und 80. Die fraglichen Maskulina der Handschriften könnten also im Rahmen des Versmasses zu Feminina gemacht werden. Dagegen sind die femininen Stellen der Handschriften unanfechtbar, weil sie im allgemeinen des Versmasses wegen nicht in Maskulina verwandelt werden können. Dennoch lässt sich die vom Versmass diktierte Zweckmässigkeit beim Dichter nicht als Hauptgrund für die Wahl des Geschlechtes betrachten, höchsten als ein Teilfaktor.

In der kurzen Einleitung (vv. 1—11) wird die Tat des Attis durch Wechsel des Genus unterstrichen, dreimal Maskulinum: *vectus* (1), *stimulatus . . . vagus* (4), also ein Abstand von 2 Zeilen, und nach der Entmannung dreimal Femininum: *citata* (8), *adorta . . . tremebunda* (11), also ebenfalls ein Abstand von 2 Zeilen. Auch die Ausdrücke *niveis manibus* (8) und *teneris digitis* (10) betonen das Feminine, wenn sie natürlich auch nicht Folgen der Entmannung schildern. In den Versen 12—26 gebraucht Attis von seinen Gefährten die feminine Form: *Gallae*² (12) und deren Apposition *exsecutae* (15), also ein Abstand von zwei Zeilen, sowie später *Maenades hederigerae* (23).

In der Schilderung des Thiasos, der dem ersten Monolog des Attis folgt (27—37), ist die Hauptperson durchweg ein Femininum: der paradoxale Ausdruck *notha mulier*³ (27), *furibunda . . . vaga* (31), *comitata . . . Attis . . . dux* (32), auch die Naturmetapher *iuvenca* (33). Der von der Ekstase benebelte Attis befindet sich gewissermassen völlig in Einklang mit seinem neuen

¹ v. 42 *excitum*, v. 45 *ipse*, v. 88 *tenerumque*, v. 89 *ille* codd. V (O, G, R,) m et item Ellis 1867, 1889, Postgate 1899 (Oxford-apparatus 1962), Wetmore 1912 (1961), Klotz (solum duae lectiones priores) 1931, Schuster 1949, Schuster-Eisenhut 1958, Weinreich 1936, 1960, Helm (sane *teneramque* et *illa*) 1963, Schäfer 1966, Merrill 1923, Lenchantin de Gubernatis (sane *ipsa*) 1928, 1954, Ferrero (solum duae lectiones posteriores) 1955, Pighi 1961, Cazzaniga 1966, T. Oksala 1962.

v. 42 *excitam* Lachmann et v. 45 *ipsa* Guarini v. 88 *teneramque*, v. 89 *illa* Lachmann, Heyse 1855, Schwabe 1866, 1886, Haupt 1868, 1912, Riese 1884, Schmidt 1887, Friedrich 1908, Kroll 1923, 1929, 1959, 1960, Lafaye 1922, 1932, 1949, Herrmann (sane *ipse*) 1957, Mynors (dubitans) 1958, (Fordyce 1961), Eisenhut (cum versione) 1960.

² Dieser Name der Diener der Kybele, der von dem Gallos-Fluss herkommt (Plin. *nat. hist.* 31,9) ist bei Catull und Hephaestion (12,3) Femininum, aber bei Varro (fragm. 132 BUECHELER), bei Lukrez (2,598—660) und bei Ovid (*fasti* 4, 223 ff.) Maskulinum.

³ Cf. Ovid. *ib.* 455: *deque viro fias nec femina nec vir, ut Attis*; AP 6, 217, 9: *δείσας ἡμιγύναικα θεῆς λάτριν*. — Die Literatur betonte also im allgemeinen das paradoxale Schwanken des Geschlechtes des Attis.

Zustand, er spürt keinen zerreissenden Widerstreit. Auch die Gefährten sind natürlich Feminina: *rapidae . . . Gallae* (34) und *lassulae* (35).

Dieser Widerstreit tritt scharf in dem Abschnitt (38—49) hervor, in dem Attis aus dem Schlaf und gleichzeitig aus der Ekstase erwacht. Sofort beim Erwachen ist Attis in den Handschriften Maskulinum: *excitum Attin* (42), *ipse . . . Attis* (45), wieder zwei Zeilen Abstand. In ihm hat jetzt sozusagen die *ratio*-Seele das Übergewicht (ethos). Aber er bemerkt wozu die *mania* (pathos) ihn verführt hat, sobald er die Situation begreift (*sua facta recoluit*); nach dem Überdenken (*liquidaque mente vidit*) und in der Verzweiflung (*animo aestuante . . . lacrimantibus oculis*) ist er wieder Femininum: *allocuta maestast* (49). Das Schema in der Einleitung wiederholt sich hier gewissermassen: Maskulinum am Anfang, Femininum am Ende; hier allerdings nur zweimal. Meiner Ansicht nach begleitet hier der Wechsel des Geschlechtes wirkungsvoll das Erleben der Hauptperson (Attis erwacht, er erkennt seine Lage) und spitzt den tragischen Widerstreit zu.

In dem tragischen Monolog (50—73) denkt Attis an sein früheres glückliches Leben und im Gegensatz dazu an seinen jetzigen Zustand. Das Geschlecht scheint diesen Gegensatz widerzuspiegeln. So spiegelt sich im Ausdruck *ego quam miser* (51) der *status quo ante*, während die Attribute *furibunda* (54) und *remota*¹ (sc. *a domo*) (58) wohl den jetzigen Zustand des Attis meinen.² Das Adjektiv *miser ah miser* (61) bestimmt natürlich den Vokativ *anime*. Eine solche Anrede der eigenen Seele ist ein beliebtes Mittel (*θῦμε, θῦμε*), aber in diesem Zusammenhang drückt sie auch die Zerrissenheit des Attis aus (cf. *miser Catulle*). Die *ego*-Anaphora in ihrem Stakkato-Rhythmus intensiviert den Abschnitt, in dem Attis panikartig sein eigenes Ich analysiert; die neurotische Sprunghaftigkeit des grammatischen Geschlechtes darin ist psychologisch durchaus begründet: *ego mulier, ego adolescens, ego ephebus, ego puer* (63); *ego nunc deum ministra et Cybeles famula*³ *ferar?* | *ego Maenas, ego mei pars, ego vir sterilis*⁴ *ero?* (68—69). Von Bedeutung sind auch die zu den Naturmetaphern gehörenden Kompositionsepitheta *silvicultrix* (72) und *nemorivagus* (72), die in der Schilderung des Geschlechtsgegensatzes in der Natur die Hoffnungslosigkeit der Hauptperson betonen.⁵

¹ Nur ELLIS und FRIEDRICH verbinden *furibunda* mit dem Wort *latibula*, KROLL und die Oxford-Ausgabe *remota* mit dem Wort *nemora*.

² Die Worte *ipsa pupula* (56) sollte man nicht zur Genusfrage heranziehen, wie WEINREICH es tut, weil sie hier das Auge bezeichnen.

³ Varro *Sat.* 132: *tibi nunc semiviri teretem comam volantem iactant tibi famuli (galli codd.)*.

⁴ Mart. 9, 8, 8: *ne faceret steriles saeva libido viros*.

⁵T. OKSALA, op.cit., S. 206.

In Kybeles Befehl (78—83) ist Attis Maskulinum: *hunc* (78) und *qui* (80) — schon deshalb, weil sich die grausame Herrin nicht um die menschliche Tragödie kümmert oder weil Kybele ihren Partner als Maskulinum betrachtet (der Gott Attis nahm mythologisch dieselbe Stellung ein wie Adonis in den Sagen um Aphrodite). Psychologisch beachtenswert ist auch WEINREICHS¹ und ELDERS² Bemerkung, dass das maskuline Geschlecht die widerstrebende Haltung des Attis ausdrückt.

Nach dem von maskuliner Kraft strotzenden, mit r-Klängen bereicherten Angriff des männlichen Löwen entscheidet sich das Drama (87—90):

*at ubi humida albicantis loca litoris adiit
t e n e r u m q u e vidit Attin prope marmora pelagi,
facit impetum: i l l e demens fugit in nemora fera,
ibi semper omne vitae spatium f a m u l a fuit.*

Attis ist also zuerst Maskulinum: *tenerumque . . . Attin* (allerdings in den Augen des Löwen) und *ille*, wird aber am Ende zum Femininum: *famula*. So ist noch in den letzten Versen die tragische Metamorphose des Attis wiederholt und sein Schicksal wird besiegelt: *ille/famula*. Der Dichter will wahrscheinlich sagen, dass die elende Lage des Attis, also die Ambiguität im Geschlechte, weiter bestehen bleibt.

In summa: Das schwankende Geschlecht des Attis könnte man ganz allgemein als Ausdruck seiner Hilflosigkeit und Unsicherheit ohne einen weiter differenzierten Plan betrachten. Ganz braucht man dabei jedoch nicht stehen-zubleiben. Attis ist gewissermassen sowohl ein Mann als auch eine Frau, wie die antike Literatur es paradoxerweise betont. Catull hebt durch seinen Genuswechsel jedoch vor allem den durch die Tat des Attis hervorgerufenen tragischen Widerstreit hervor, der der durchgehende tragische Kern des ganzen Gedichtes ist — und als Schicksal der Hauptperson endgültig. Ein solcher schneidender Missklang ist sinnvoll und begründet in der Schilderung der Entmannung und des darauf folgenden Thiasos, in der Szene des Erwachens des Attis sowie in der Szene mit Kybele und dem Löwen, in der das Drama gipfelt. In dem Leidensmonolog des Attis, der als unmittelbares Erlebnis der Hauptperson gegeben wird und in dem das psychologische Drama gipfelt, ist das labile Geschlecht sehr gut motiviert. Catull hat meiner Ansicht nach aus dem paradoxen Genuswechsel viel mehr gemacht als eine

¹ O. WEINREICH, op.cit., S. 482.

² J. P. ELDER, op.cit., S. 399.

systematisch und logisch verwirklichte begleitende Figur. Die Handlung schreitet in drei sich verdichtenden Wellen voran: die Tat und ihre Folge (1—37), das Erkennen des Geschehenen (38—73), die Besiegelung des Schicksals (74—90); in allen diesen verwendet Catull den Wechsel des Geschlechtes, um den tragischen Widerstreit in der Hauptperson zu schildern und ihre Psychologie zu vertiefen. Aufgrund dessen möchte ich es als begründet ansehen, wenn wir uns an die Lesarten der Handschriften halten.

FINNICUS AFINIUS

T u o m o P e k k a n e n

In his treatise on the Finno-Ugric primary civilization in Europe EDGAR V. SAKS has tried to support with new evidence the hypotheses of several 19th-century scholars, who declared the pre-Celtic European civilization to be Finno-Ugric.¹ The final conclusion of SAKS is that ancient European history has been presented and elucidated without considering the strong underlying Finno-Ugric influence. According to him, »the existing theories of the philologists (M. A. CASTRÉN, E. N. SETÄLÄ) that the Finno-Ugrians migrated from the Volga, Oka and Kama river area in the 3rd Millenium B.C. to the shores of the Baltic, and some statements of the early archaeologists (J. AILIO) that the Finno-Ugrians came from Altai district, have to be classified as one-sided and erroneous, and not sufficiently founded on evidence, and not in conformity with the actual facts.»²

The views of SAKS, it is true, have been met with favour by several critics.³ Nevertheless, it seems to me necessary to draw the attention of scholars to one example of the pieces of evidence on which the Esthonian scholar bases his theories.

In several connections SAKS refers to coins of the Roman emperor Volusian, assuming that the name Finni repeats itself in them in connection with a remarkable event:

»Two coins of the Roman emperor Volusian in 253 A.D. have the following text: 'Imp. C. Va. F. Gal. Vend. Volusiano, Aug. (Other side) Marti Pacifero'. That means: 'Imperatorii Caesaris Vandalico, Finnico, Galindico, Vendico Volusiano Augusto. Marti Pacifero.' The coin with the Greek text lists similarly the nations Phinnikos, Ouendikos.»⁴

¹ Aestii, *An Analysis of an Ancient European Civilization* (Montreal-Heidelberg 1960) and *Esto-Europa* (Montreal-Lund 1966), *Studies in Ur-European History* I—II.

² *Op. cit.* II, 17.

³ ALEX. VON RANDA, *Salzburger Nachrichten*, Sept. 9, 1961, 29; NIKOLAUS VON PRERADOVICH, *Der europäische Osten* 78, Munich 1961, 252; GUSTAV MORF, *Montrealer Nachrichten*, Aug. 29, 1964.

⁴ *Op. cit.* I, 43; cf. I, 32 and II, 62, 212.

The conclusions drawn by him from this text read as follows:

»According to the text the Roman legions of Caesar Volusian met the combined forces of the V a n d a l s, F i n n s (Aestii), G a l i n d o s (a Lithuanian tribe) and W e n d s in a battle and achieved a victory, for which commemorations the coins were printed. All the nations recorded were living in the surroundings of the Vistula river, including the historical neighbours the A e s t i i (resp. Finnico) and the V e n e d i. The battle can not be considered a mere frontier skirmish, since the commemoration coins were struck. Out of question is also the possibility that by the Finns are meant the Lapps. The nations listed — Vandals, Finns (resp. Aestii-Estas) should all have had an advanced level of civilization at that time, to be able to combine their forces for a large scale battle. That was the case concerning the A e s t i i (in later records Estas and Sembi), whose forts and castles, belonging to the Roman time, fenced the right bank of the Vistula river. Under which guidance the alliance of four different nations worked is unclear, but the recording of the tribe of V a n d a l s as the first indicates that they had at that time a certain influence over the other tribes and were the leaders of the combined army.»

The first to suggest the reading *Vandalicus, Finnicus*, etc. was VAILLANT as early as 1688.¹ His views were accepted by the 19th-century scholars P. ŠAFARÍK² and Y. KOSKINEN.³ G. GERULLIS was also inclined to accept this interpretation.⁴

Since 1688, however, epigraphical research has revealed that the full name of the emperor in question was *C. Vibius Afnius Gallus Veldumnianus Volusianus*.⁵ In coins this was abbreviated to *C V A F G A L V E N D V O L U S I A N U S*.⁶ The correct interpretation of the legend was already given by H. COHEN,⁷

¹ Numismata aerea Imperatorum, Augustorum et Caesarum in coloniis et municipiis ex omni modulo percussa, Tom. II. (Paris 1688), 316—317.

² Slawische Alterthümer (transl. from the Czech by M. VON AEHRENFELD) I, Leipzig 1843, 73.

³ Tiedot Suomen suvun muinaisuudesta, Helsinki 1862, p. 114.

⁴ EBERT, Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte I, 1924, 337 s.v. Baltische Völker: »Früher ist die Macht der Galinder beträchtlich gewesen; denn abgesehen von der Notiz bei Ptolemaeus hielt Caesar Volusianus es für ehrenvoll, sich nach ihrer Besiegung im Jahre 253 auf einer Münze *Γαλίνδικος* zu nennen... Auch der Zusammenstoß mit Volusianus weist auf eine südlichere Heimat noch mitte des 3. Jh., vorausgesetzt, dass die Münze echt ist.»

⁵ Cf. e.g. *CIL* 2, 4787; 2, 4859 and particularly 3, 4741.

⁶ H. MATTINGLY — E. A. SYDENHAM — C. H. V. SUTHERLAND, The Roman Imperial Coinage IV: 3, London 1949, pp. 184—186 enumerates 27 coins with this legend.

⁷ Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'empire Romain, Tom. IV (Paris 1860), 287—302.

and later on K. MÜLLENHOFF sharply criticized ŠAFARÍK for his error in regard to the names in question.¹

The *Finnicus* of SAKS thus turns out to have been in reality *Afinius*, a name which the emperor Volusian took from his mother *Afinia Gemina Baebiana*.²

¹ *Deutsche Altertumskunde* 2 (1887), 100.

² *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* VIII A 2 (1958) s.v. *Vibius* 65.

ANALECTA EPIGRAPHICA

Heikki Solin

I. Provinzielles in Rom

Im Hofe des finnischen Instituts in Rom in der Villa Lante wird eine Grabstele aufbewahrt, die in aller Bescheidenheit einiges Interesse beansprucht. Die Inschrift ist, soweit sich nachprüfen lässt, unveröffentlicht,¹ ihr Fundort unbekannt. Feinkörniger Travertin. Das ganze Monument misst $0,85 \times 0,38 \times 0,12$ m, die Inschrift $0,35 \times 0,16$. Höhe der Buchstaben $0,03-0,05$, Dicke $0,005$. Oben ein grob ausgeführtes Frauenporträt in der Nische zwischen Pilastern, denen von oben in $1/3$ der Höhe drei Stäbe aufgelegt sind. Die Rahmen enthalten unten drei waagerechte Einschnitte als Basis. Der obere Teil der Nische ist abgebrochen; ob er ein Dreieck bildete, bleibt ungewiss. Unter dem Porträt die Inschrift in einer tabula ansata: ACVME· / ANNOS·VIX / XXX.

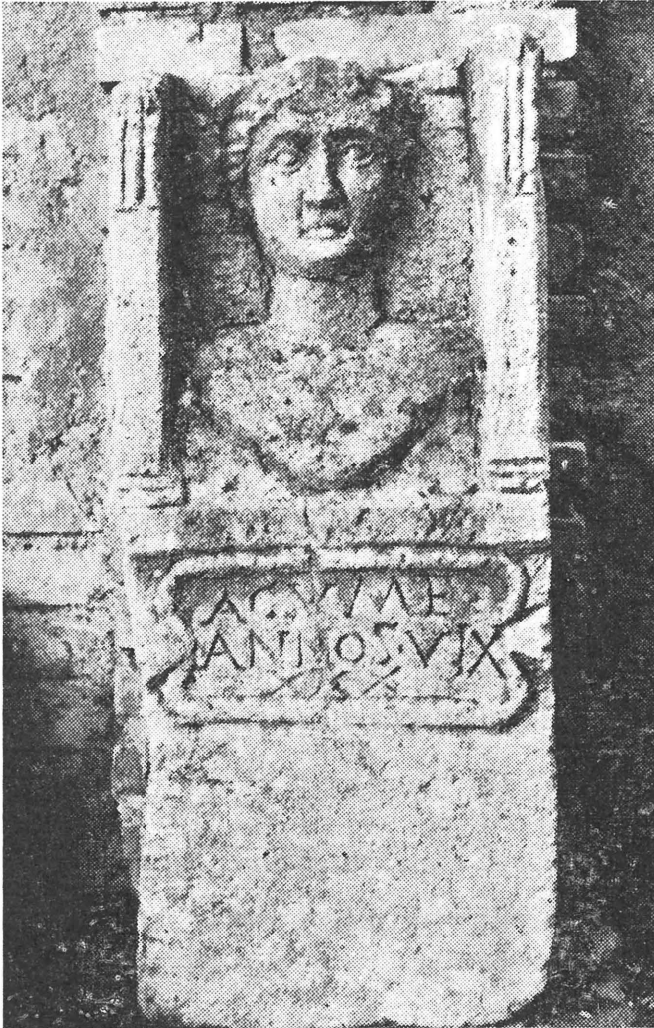
Dieser Grabstelentyp, so viel wir von dieser Monumentengattung wissen, scheint in Rom unbekannt zu sein. Soweit das bekannte Material Schlüsse zulässt, kommt das Stück am ehesten aus dem südlichen oder östlichen Italien, wohl aus Kampanien oder Südlatium. Solche Städte wie Benevent und Venusia scheinen ausgeschlossen zu sein.² Auch die gut bekannten capuanischen Stelen weisen wenigstens äusserlich deutliche Verschiedenheiten auf, zum Beispiel enthalten sie gewöhnlich ganze Figuren und ihr Text ist oberhalb des Porträts angebracht.³ An sich ist Capua aber nicht ausgeschlossen. Unser Grabstein scheint, um das Fazit zu ziehen, das typische Produkt einer mittelmässigen süditalienischen *officina lapidaria* zu sein.

Was die Zeit betrifft, so sind hellenistische Erinnerungen vorhanden, wie die

¹ Ich habe Dr. HELLMUT SICHTERMANN und Dr. MARIO TORELLI für freundliche Hilfe zu danken. Die Photographie des Steines verdanke ich Lic.phil. EVA MARGARETA STEINBY. — Die Inschrift ist in keinem der Bände des CIL oder in anderen Sammelwerken zu finden. Ich habe Dr. L. VIDMAN, Prag, der den Cognomenindex zu CIL VI vorbereitet, für die Mühe zu danken, die Belege von *Ac(u)me* durchgesehen zu haben; auch er konnte die Inschrift nicht finden.

² Mdl. Mitteilung von MARIO TORELLI, einem guten Kenner der Materie dieser Städte.

³ Vgl. dazu L. FORTI, *Mem.Acc.Napoli* 6 (1941/42) 45—76, 301—330 und M. FREDERIKSEN, *PBSR* 27 (1959) 94—107.



Formung der Rahmen und der volkstümliche Porträttyp, verbunden mit der Tradition der Votivplastik. Diese Züge sind aber stereotyp geworden, und wegen der Frisur und der Büstenform möchte man die Stele augusteisch—claudisch datieren.¹ Auch die epigraphischen Daten scheinen mir diese Zeit naheulegen. Ich meine zunächst die Angabe des Alters der Toten, die unter Augustus nur vereinzelt vorkommt und erst seit Tiberius in der epigraphischen Praxis durchgeführt wurde.² Die anaptyktische Form *Acume* ist chronologisch indifferent, von der Schrift ganz zu schweigen.

Wie ist die Stele nun nach Rom gelangt? Entweder ist sie tatsächlich eine stadtrömische Inschrift, wobei aber die nichtrömische Form

des Denkmals erklärt werden müsste. Oder sie ist durch den Kunsthandel oder über andere Wege nach Rom gelangt. Nun wissen wir, dass der berühmte Archäologe Wolfgang Helbig, der in der Villa Lante wohnte, viel in Kampanien gereist ist, so dass der Gedanke naheliegt, er habe den Stein irgendwo im südlichen Italien erworben.³

II. Republikanisches aus Ostia

D. VAGLIERI publizierte *NotSc.* 1913, 306 und Fig. 10 aus Ostia einen Gefässfund mit der Inschrift $\text{C}\cdot\text{I}\cdot\text{O}\cdot\text{V}$. Niemand hat, soweit ich weiss, auf

¹ Vgl. im allgemeinen zur römischen Porträtplastik O. VESSBERG, Studien zur Kunstgeschichte der römischen Republik (*Acta Inst. Rom. regni Sueciae*, ser. in 4°, VIII), Lund 1941; zur Haartracht M. STEPHAN, Haartracht, P.-W. Suppl. VI, 90—102.

² So nach den Rechnungen von I. KAJANTO, On the problem of the average duration of life in the Roman Empire, Helsinki 1968 (*Ann. Acad. sc. Fenn.* B 153: 2), 10 f.

³ Wie mir Dr. T. STEINBY mitgeteilt hat, befand sich der Stein in der Villa Lante schon, als sie an Finnland übergang, was so viel bedeutet, dass er wohl nur in Helbigs Zeit dahin gelangt sein kann.



die Inschrift hingewiesen, obwohl sie Merkmale eines hohen Alters trägt und daher der folgenden Note wert ist.

Das Stück wurde, wenn ich VAGLIERI richtig verstanden habe, auf dem Gelände des Forums vor dem Capitolium (von VAGLIERI noch 'tempio di Vulcano' genannt) im Sand gefunden, wo die späteren Ausgrabungen CALZAS weiteres Material des 4. und 3. Jh.s. zutage gefördert haben.¹ Der Weg zu einem Frühansatz für unser Stück steht, was die Fundumstände betrifft, demnach offen. Leider berichtet VAGLIERI nichts näheres über die Schicht, in der es gefunden wurde.

Nach dem Foto zu schliessen, scheint die Inschrift nach dem Brennen auf der Innenseite des Gefässes eingeritzt worden zu sein. Der Schrifträger selbst ist ein schwarzgefirnister Becher mit nach innen gebogenem Rand und kurzem ringförmigem Fuss.² Die genauere formengeschichtliche Einordnung des Gefässes scheint nicht möglich, so dass das Alter der Inschrift mit epigraphischen

¹ G. CALZA in *Scavi di Ostia I*, 1953, 74—76.

² Die folgenden Angaben verdanke ich meinem Freunde FAUSTO ZEVI, der mir ausserdem von den beiden Stücken Fotos angefertigt hat, die ich beifüge, da die Inschriften paläographisch von einigem Interesse sind. Unser Stück trägt die Inv. Nr. 5780 im Museum von Ostia. Das Material ist 'argilla depurata rosa-ocra; vernice buona, nero metallico'. Durchmesser: 5,7 cm, Höhe: 2,4; Höhe des L: 1,7, des V: 1,9. Ausführung der Schrift grob, mit stumpfem Griffel; der rechte Strich von V ist zweimal graviert worden.

Indizien bestimmt werden muss. Hauptsächlich drei Umstände verweisen sie tief in die republikanische Zeit hinein: 1) die Tatsache, dass es im Lateinischen keine Gentilnamen gibt, die mit *Lov-* beginnen, 2) der allgemeine Schriftzug, 3) die archaische Form des L. Zu 1: *Lou* muss die ältere Graphie für *Lu* wiedergeben; von Namen, die ursprünglich mit *Lou-* beginnen, kommt zunächst *Luci(li)us* in Betracht, vgl. CIL I² 2437 *Loucilios* (3./2. Jh.), 559 *Leisia Loucilia* (Anfang 3. Jh.), 1785 *Ter.Loucia L.l.* (2. Jh?). *ou* ist spätestens Ende des 3. Jh.s zu *ū* geworden; spätere Zeugen der alten Orthographie, wie *indoucebamus* CIL I² 586,6 (etwas vor 150) oder *iouus* 583,19 (123/2) sind Archaismen der Gesetzesprache.¹ Zu 3: die spätesten sicher datierten Belege für das archaische spitzwinklige L in Steininschriften sind meines Wissens CIL I² 1581 = Imagines 82 (etwas nach 133)² und 661 (nach LOMMATZSCH's Textwiedergabe zu beurteilen) aus dem J. 117; ein später Ausläufer im weiten Canusium, CIL I² 748 (Sepulchralgraffito aus dem J. 67). Dagegen bietet das Instrumentum einige Beispiele vom Anfang des 1. Jh.s.³ Im allgemeinen begegnet die spitzwinklige Form aber selten nach 150.⁴ Wegen der oben angeführten Tatsachen scheint es mir angebracht, das Graffito auf das 3. oder auf die erste Hälfte des 2. Jh.s. zu datieren. Dem widerspricht nicht, was wir über ältere Funde aus dem Boden des Castrum Ostias wissen. Wenn meine Datierung richtig ist, wäre dieses Graffito eines der ältesten beschrifteten Stücke, die bisher in Ostia gefunden worden sind, und wäre somit auch von einer gewissen Wichtigkeit für die Erforschung der älteren Handelsbeziehungen in der Kolonie, von denen wir noch recht wenig wissen. Das Veröffentlichen weiterer Funde der älteren Keramik würde unser Bild in dieser Hinsicht sicher vervollständigen.

Zugleich sei auf ein anderes von VAGLIERI *NotSc.* 1912, 203 publiziertes

¹ Gleichfalls hat in *Iuno Loucina* CIL I² 1581 (etwas nach 133) sakraler Konservatismus in der Orthographie mitgewirkt.

² Zudem ist zu bemerken, dass es sich um eine Votivtafel für *Iuno Loucina* handelt, in deren Namen eine archaische Form sich leicht behauptete.

³ Meistens in Stempeln, wo ältere Formen sich leichter behaupten als in den Graffiti: CIL I² 849, 872 (glandes von 90/89), auf Münzen App.numm. 215 (c. 90), 246 (91—88). Obskur 2329 f. (arretinische Vasen, die nach OXÉ, CIL I², p. 737 in die Kaiserzeit gehören). Diese Formen konnte ich nur an Hand von LOMMATZSCH's Text vornehmen, der sie nicht immer zuverlässig wiedergibt, indem er oft einen nur andeutungsweise hochragenden Querstrich als klar spitzwinklig angibt. Hier scheint also Vorsicht geboten.

⁴ Z.B. in den Ollen von San Cesareo, die allgemein in die zweite Hälfte des 2. Jh.s gesetzt werden (CIL I² 1015—1201), begegnen nur wenige Beispiele der älteren Form, und zwar 1029, 1030, 1035 (in allen drei beide Formen nebeneinander), 1042. H.-G. KOLBE, *Epigraphische Studien* 5 (1968) 173 will das spitzwinklige L in einigen Inschriften aus dem Fortunaheligtum in Praeneste sehen, die auf die Wende des 2. und 1. Jh.s gehören (zur Datie-

Stück hingewiesen, obwohl es schon in CIL I² 2379 registriert wurde,¹ da es paläographisch einiges Interesse hat. Der Schriftträger ist ein Fragment des unteren Teils einer schwarzgefirnissten campanischen Vase. Oberhalb des Fusses ist nach dem Brennen die Inschrift *L. Num<i>isio* verkehrt eingeritzt worden.² Die Paläographie sagt wenig für die Datierung aus, denn die Buchstabenformen sind chronologisch recht indifferent. Höchstens können das dreizackige S und das rhomboidale, unten getrennte O für die Datierung herangezogen werden. Einen zweiten Anhaltspunkt bietet die Tatsache, dass offenbar *Numisio* ein Nominativ ist, weil in republikanischen Urkunden dieser Art nie Dative allein verwendet werden. Demnach würden die epigraphisch-formalen Kriterien eine Datierung etwa auf das 3. Jh. oder auf den Anfang des 2. ergeben. Nun scheint aber die Vase selbst von dem Typ 'campana C' in der Klassifikation von LAMBOGLIA zu



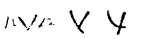

runge siehe zuletzt A. DEGRASSI, *Epigraphica* IV, Roma 1969 [MemLincei, ser. 8, 14,2], 111–127), aber die von KOLBE aufgeführten Beispiele sind weniger bezeichnend, indem der Querstrich in ihnen nur andeutungsweise hochragt. Auch in CIL I² 588 = Imagines 393 (78 v. Chr.) ist der Querstrich nicht sehr klar hochragend. — In Etrurien lebt die spitzwinklige Form noch im 1. Jh. v. Chr.; ob sie als etruskische Interferenz zu betrachten ist, steht noch dahin. In der Kaiserzeit begegnet diese Form kaum mehr in Etrurien; jedenfalls können viele von den Inschriften, auf denen solche Formen vorkommen (nach dem Druckbild des CIL XI zu schliessen), wie die Epitaphe auf Urnen und Ziegeln aus Clusium, die keine Aufnahme in den ersten Band des CIL gefunden haben, republikanisch sein, wie mir auch mein Freund JORMA KAIMIO (Helsinki) versichert, der darüber eine Studie vorbereitet. Ein schönes und deutliches Beispiel bietet CIL XI 2431 (Foto bei A. DONATI, *Epigrafia cortonese*, Cortona 1967 [Estratto dall' *Annuario Acc. Etr. Cort.* 13 (1965–1967)] Nr. 77, Tav. V), an deren republikanischem Alter ich keinen Zweifel hege: das zeigen der allgemeine Verlauf der Schrift und besonders die Formen von E, L, P, sodann der abgekürzte Nominativ *Senti(us)* und schliesslich das Metronymikon *Clepatras* mit seiner etruskischen Endung. Wohl die Tatsache, dass diese Fussnote so lang geraten ist, beweist am besten, wie wenig wir noch in der Geschichte der älteren römischen Schrift unterrichtet sind. Das wird am nächsten Stück noch deutlicher.

¹ Hier sei ein kleines Versehen des CIL korrigiert: oberhalb des M findet sich nichts, was zur Schrift gehörig wäre; die Hasta, die das CIL aus dem rechten Winkel hochragen lässt (als wäre da eine Ligatur), ist nur eine Beschädigung der Oberfläche.

² Gefunden im 'sottosuolo innanzi al grande abbeveratoio' auf dem Gelände von Piazzale della Vittoria. Der Fund gehört sicher zur Supellex eines Grabes, die demnach vorsullanisch datiert werden kann, da ja das Grab innerhalb des sullanischen Mauergürtels lag. Dagegen

sein,¹ was eine Datierung zwischen 150—50 v. Chr. ergeben würde — in unserem Fall engen die Fundumstände die Datierung noch vorsullanisch ein. Wenn dem so ist, müsste *Numisio* wohl zunächst doch ein Dativ sein und die archaische Schriftform wäre ein neuer Beweis dafür, dass die alten Formen länger gelebt haben, als man bisweilen geglaubt hat.

III. N O C H M A L S P O P A I U S S E N A T O R

Nachdem RUDOLF EGGER die berühmt gewordene Inschrift des Popaius Senator als die älteste Inschrift Österreichs erklärt und sie zwischen 113 v. Chr. und den letzten Bürgerkriegen angesetzt hatte,² womit er Zustimmung fand (der Text wurde auch von LOMMATZSCH in CIL I² 2823 aufgenommen), will jetzt DEGRASSI sie überzeugend einer späteren Zeit zuweisen.³ Ich möchte meinerseits ein gewichtiges Argument dafür beibringen, dass die Inschrift eher auf die spätere Kaiserzeit anzusetzen ist, und das ist die Form des U — ich bin erstaunt, dass hier die Paläographen geschwiegen haben. U als kursives Element, wie es EGGER erklärt, ist in einer republikanischen Inschrift eine Unmöglichkeit, denn die Kursive der republikanischen Zeit ist eine epigraphische Kursive, in der der letzte Buchstabe des Alphabets nur so geschrieben werden kann: , also immer in zwei Zügen, wobei die beiden Striche von oben nach unten gezogen wurden. Hier aber ist das U klar in e i n e m Zug mit einem »unzialen« Duktus  geschrieben worden, was in einer Steininschrift vor Ende des 2. Jh.s unerhört wäre. Ausser in einigen wenigen barbarischen Inschriften des 2. Jh.s. wie dem Soldatengrabstein CIL III 151 (Syrien)⁴

kann nicht mit Vaglieri an eine Hochdatierung a capanna gedacht werden; das wird auch von M. FLORIANI SQUARCIAPINO, in *Scavi di Ostia* III (1958) 236,1 zurückgewiesen. Jetzt im Museum von Ostia, Inv. Nr. 5784. Material 'impasto grigio, vernice nero inchiostro, poco brillante'. Das Fragment misst 6,1 × 3,8 cm; Höhe der Buchstaben 0,7 — 0,9 cm.

¹ N. LAMBOGLIA, Per una classificazione preliminare della ceramica campana, in *Atti del I Congr. Intern. di Studi Liguri* (1950), Bordighera 1952, 139—206.

(10)

² R. EGGER, *AnzAkWien* 75 (1938) 23—25 = *Römische Antike und frühes Christentum* I (1962) 205—207.

³ A. DEGRASSI, *Epigraphica* I, *MemAccLincci*, ser. 8, 11 (1963) 143—147 = *Scritti vari di antichità* III (1967) 6—12. Noch entschiedener in CIL I Imagines, S. VIII.

⁴ = 6666. Meine Beurteilung der Form U beruht auf dem Druckbild des CIL, das seinerseits auf einen Abklatsch von E. RENAN zurückgeht. In 6666 wurde ein zweiter Abklatsch von MORDTMANN verglichen, ohne dass etwas über die Schriftform geäußert wurde. — Die Datierung gewinnt man dadurch, dass der Verstorbene anscheinend G. *Ant(istio) Ve(tere) co(n)s(ule)* = 96 Soldat wurde und sein Tod nach 23 Dienstjahren, also im Jahre 118 erfolgte; vgl. E. RITTERLING, *RhM* 58 (1903) 476 f.

erscheint U erst seit etwa 200 vereinzelt vor allem auf stadtrömischen Inschriften.¹ Dieser Zeitansatz steht ganz in Einklang mit der Entwicklung der römischen Schrift im übrigen und bildet im Prinzip den terminus post quem für die Popaius-Inschrift.² Wahrscheinlich müssen wir an einen noch späteren Zeitpunkt denken, denn solche Formen werden erst in der Spätantike häufiger.³ Das E, bei dem die Hasta den untersten Querstrich überragt, ist keine archaische Form, wie es Egger erklären will, sondern offenbart nur eine kleine 'Nachlässigkeit' in der Ausführung. Ähnliches findet sich auf Inschriften des 6. und 7. Jh.s.⁴ So wenig man auch die Schrift als Datierungsgrundlage heranziehen darf, so scheint es mir jedoch schon theoretisch ausgeschlossen zu sein, dass die Popaius-Inschrift republikanisch oder frühkaiserzeitlich sein könnte. Die Graphie *Popaius* wiegt nicht schwer gegenüber diesen paläographischen Gegebenheiten. — Was schliesslich das letzte Wort *Senator* betrifft, so kann es gut ein Cognomen sein (wogegen man Einsprüche erhoben hat), ist jedenfalls als solches vor allem in keltischen Gegenden verbreitet.⁵

IV. Zur Votivtafel aus Caere CIL I² 2764

In dem Bericht über seine Ausgrabungen in Caere *NotSc.* 1937, 401 hat R. MENGARELLI eine Bronzetafel in der Form APOLONI SICININVS veröffentlicht und sie als Inschrift eines *Apoloni(us) Sicininus* erklärt. Ebd. S. 442 ist die Tafel von B. NOGARA erörtert, wodurch sie freilich nichts gewonnen hat. MENGARELLIS Deutung übernahm LOMMATZSCH in CIL I² 2764, nur ist ihm ein eindeutiger Fehler *Sicinius* statt *-ninus* unterlaufen.

Es ist diesen Forschern entgangen, dass es sich vielmehr um eine Votivtafel an Apollo handelt. Dass die Tafel eine Weihinschrift trägt, verrät zunächst das Material des Schrifträgers.⁶ Man könnte zwar annehmen, dass die Tafel etwa eine Defixio oder Tesseră hospitalis war, aber das sind Hypothesen, die

¹ HUEBNER *Exempla* S. LXVII.

² Das runde U, wie es in den Papyri schon viel früher erscheint, ist eine ganz andere Sache. Über diese Formen vgl. G. Cencetti, *Note paleografiche sulla scrittura dei papiri latini dal I al III secolo d.C.*, *MemAccBologna* ser. V: 1 (1950) 52f.

³ Beispiele bei E. LE BLANT, *Paléographie des inscriptions latines du III^e siècle à la fin du VII^e*, Paris 1898, 56–60.

⁴ Vgl. LE BLANT, a.O. 19–21.

⁵ In Gallia Cisalpina: 3 Belege; in den drei Gallien und Germanien: 4 Belege; in der Narbonensis: 2 Belege.

⁶ Die Fundstelle, das Weggelände zwischen der Nekropole von Banditaccia und der Stadt, besagt nur, dass die Inschrift, angenommen, dass sie dorthin nicht verschleppt worden ist,

ohne weiteres abzulehnen sind. Der Votivcharakter steht demnach fest. *Apoloni* als Namen des Gottes zu verstehen, empfiehlt sich vor allem, weil aus Urkunden dieser Art der Weihcharakter hervorgehen muss; sollte nun vor *Apoloni(us)* noch der Name der betreffenden Gottheit stehen, würde die Breite der Tafel, nach MENGARELLIS Apographon zu schliessen, ihre Höhe unproportioniert überragen. Rechts ist der Text sicher intakt, da kann also kein Dedikationswort gefolgt sein, auch nicht abgekürzt. Lautlich ist alles in Ordnung; *o* statt *i* gräzisierung, wie CIL I² 37 (3. Jh.), 399 (3. Jh?), ILLRP 54 (3. Jh.), mehrmals in den Hss des Livius etc. Dass die Doppelkonsonanz nicht bezeichnet wird, steht mit MENGARELLIS Datierung der Tafel ins 3. Jh. im Einklang; ob dieser Ansatz richtig ist, steht zwar dahin.

Auch der Name des Dedikanten erfordert eine Korrektur. Am Apographon MENGARELLIS lese ich statt *Sicininus* vielmehr *Licininus*, da das S am Ende unten nicht so weit nach rechts ausgezogen ist wie der erste Buchstabe. Ausserdem würde man kaum glauben, dass sich aus dem Nomen *Sicinius* schon im Laufe des 3. Jh.s ein Cognomen entwickelt haben kann. Anders bei der einflussreichen gens Licinia, davon zeugt M. Porcius Cato Licinianus, wohl der älteste Träger eines aus *Licinius* abgeleiteten Cognomens. Die von Nogara propagierte Herleitung aus einem Ethnikon *Sicininus* ist Nonsens. Es ist bemerkenswert, dass schon im Laufe des 3. Jh.s — sofern MENGARELLIS Datierung richtig ist — solche Ableitungen aus Gentilicia als Sklavennamen gebraucht werden — denn nur um einen Sklaven dürfte es sich handeln. Z.B. unter den Namen der minturnensischen Magistri finden sich keine derartigen Namen. Nebenbei sei vermerkt, dass *Licininus* neu ist.

V. P i l a t u s

Die von A. FROVA im Jahre 1961 in Caesarea Maritima entdeckte Inschrift hat mit Recht grosses Aufsehn erregt. Bringt sie doch erstmals auf Stein den Namen des Pontius Pilatus, sodann seinen Amtstitel und die neue Bezeichnung *Tiberieum*.¹ Aber auch in sprachlicher Hinsicht verdient die Inschrift Beachtung, indem sie die Frage, wie sich die Länge der ersten Silbe von *Pilatus* verhielt, endgültig zu lösen scheint. Mir sei daher folgende Bemerkung gestattet.

wohl kein Epitaph sein kann. Dies ist aber schon auch wegen des Materials wenig wahrscheinlich.

¹ Zuletzt ist die Inschrift ausgezeichnet gewürdigt von H. VOLKMANN, *Gymnasium* 75 (1968) 124–135. Dort weitere Literatur.

Schlägt man in KAJANTOS Latin Cognomina 354 nach, findet man, dass *Pilatus* nur bei drei Personen belegt ist (ausser dem Präfekten noch CIL X 7130, 18. XI 4396) und dass die Etymologie des Namens unsicher ist. KAJANTO meint, die griechische Schreibweise Πιλᾶτος (selten in den Hss des NT Πειλᾶτος) deute auf kurzes *i* hin, da lat. *ī* sehr oft im Griechischen mit *ει* wiedergegeben wird, andererseits aber Sedul.carm.pasch. 5, 116.157 langes *ī* fordere. Nun braucht gr. *ι* nicht unbedingt kurzes *i* vorauszusetzen, denn auch *ī* wurde ungehindert mit *ι* wiedergegeben, obschon in vielen Wörtern besonders im 2. Jh. die Graphie mit *ει* häufiger gebraucht wird als die mit *ι*.¹ Umgekehrt garantiert auch Sedulius ein langes *ī* nicht, denn ein so später Dichter konnte es sich ohne weiteres erlauben, die Silbe je nach dem Versbedürfnis kurz oder lang zu messen.² Die Frage nach der Quantität des *i* bleibt also nach wie vor offen. Dass aber Sedulius wirklich nach der Praxis der besten Zeit gemessen hat, zeigt die neue Inschrift, indem sie den Namen mit einer I longa versieht, die als blossen Schreibfehler oder Ornament zu erklären allzu leichtfertig wäre (das in derselben Zeile über andere Buchstaben hochragende T ist eine überaus häufige, aus Raumersparnis entstandene Erscheinung). In einer öffentlichen, den Mitgliedern der kaiserlichen Familie gewidmeten Inschrift dieser Zeit, um deren einwandfreie Fassung Pilatus allen Grund hatte bemüht zu sein, wäre eine uneigentliche I longa ein recht harter Brocken, enthält sie doch auch einen Apex an rechter Stelle (und einen zweiten wohl auch richtig gesetzten).³ Somit kann als sicher gelten, dass der Name von den Zeitgenossen *Pilātus* ausgesprochen und sehr wahrscheinlich als aus *pila* »Pfeiler« *pilare pilatus* abgeleitet empfunden wurde.⁴ Die Herleitung aus *pilus pilare* in der Bedeutung von *pilosus* wird also durch die neue Schreibung hinfällig, eine Etymologie, die schon an sich unwahrscheinlicher ist. Vermutlich gilt dieselbe Etymologie auch für die anderen Personen, die den Namen *Pilatus* tragen.

¹ TH. ECKINGER, Die Orthographie lateinischer Wörter auf griechischen Inschriften, Diss. Zürich 1892 = München 1893, 42–45.

² Wertlos Nonn. paraphr.ev.Joh., der stets (19 mal) Πιλᾶ- misst, geschweige denn Ps. Lact. carmen de passione Domini (CSEL 27, 148–151) 35 (nach BRANDT CSEL 27 S. XXIII um 1500 geschrieben) ebenfalls mit kurzem *i*.

³ Die Liste von J. S. und A. E. GORDON, Contributions to the Palaeography of the Latin Inscriptions, Univ. of California Publ. in Class. Arch. 3,3 (1957) 201 zählt nur drei Fälle von augusteisch-tiberischen stadtrömischen Inschriften, die eine falsche interkonsonantische I longa enthalten, und auch von denen muss das erste Beispiel *Malugin(ensis)* ausgeschieden werden: das Cognomen ist von einem Ethnikon abgeleitet, dessen Grundwort, der Ortsname, unbekannt ist; in der Tat beweist I longa, dass *-gīn-* ausgesprochen wurde. Die übrigen zwei Fälle sind leicht verständlich: AEDIFICI (hier hat vielleicht *aedi* mitgewirkt; zu vergleichen ist *aedeificandum* CIL I² 2542 add. p. 844) und TI (in einem Epitaph).

⁴ Mit *pila pilare pilatus* wird der Name auch von WALDE-HOFMANN LEW II 302 verbunden.

Eins bleibt noch zu sagen. Besonders häufig ist der Name *Πιλᾶτος* in Ägypten vertreten, ich kenne insgesamt 17 Belege, von denen die meisten aus byzantinischer Zeit stammen.¹ Älter sind nur P. Princ. 130 (2. Jh.) und SB 9254 (2. Jh., *Πειλ-*). Da unmöglich eine griechische Etymologie in Frage kommt und auch ein ägyptisches Substrat kaum vorliegt, bleibt nur übrig, hier lat. *Pilatus* zu sehen. Dass die Belege sich ungleichmässig auf Ägypten und das übrige Reich verteilen, könnte auf der Zufälligkeit der Überlieferung beruhen. *Pilatus* ist ja ein seltener Name, und es war jederzeit leicht möglich, von einem beliebigen Partizip ein Cognomen zu bilden. Andererseits legt sein häufiges Auftreten in byzantinischer Zeit den Gedanken nahe, dass Pontius Pilatus hier als Namensvorbild gewirkt hat. Und könnte man vielleicht die Verlegung des Namens eben nach Ägypten mit der Tatsache erklären, dass die äthiopische Kirche Pilatus als Heiligen im Kalender führt und die koptische Tradition ihn für Christus sterben lässt?

VI. Z u d e n n e u e n S a r k o p h a g i n s c h r i f t e n d e r g e n s C o r n e l i a

Es sei mir gestattet, einige Bemerkungen zu den Corneliersarkophagen zu machen, die 1956 auf der Via Marco Polo in Rom entdeckt wurden, zumal ihre wichtige Erstpublikation durch H. BLANCK in *RM* 73/74 (1966/67) 72—77, Taf. 32—34 (= *AE* 1967, 19), in historischer und epigraphischer Hinsicht an einigen Punkten korrekturbedürftig ist.

Der hauptsächliche historische Wert der neuen Inschriften besteht darin, dass durch den wichtigsten Text, den des Sarkophagkastens, *P. Cornelio P. f. Scapola pont(i)fex max.*² das Cognomen *Scapula* für die gens Cornelia endlich sicher bezeugt wird und so die u.a. von MÜNZER P.-W. IV 1425f. verfochtene These an Wahrscheinlichkeit gewinnt, in der Bestimmung des einen Consuls des Jahres 328 sei die livianische Tradition vor der der übrigen Quellen zu bevorzugen; wie bekannt, hat Livius *Cornelius Scapula*, sonst heisst des Consuls Cognomen *Scipio* (Hydatius, Chron.Pasch.) oder *Barbatus* (Chronogr. a. 354), was *P. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus* ergibt.³

¹ Siehe PREISIGKE Namenbuch s.v. Dazu P. Michael. 40; 42 (6. Jh.).

² Es ist Ansichtssache, ob *maximos* oder *maximo* aufgelöst wird. AE normalisiert *maximus*.

³ Die livianische Nachricht bezweifeln u.a. DEGRASSI, *Inscr. Ital.* XIII: 1, S. 104 und J. SUOLAHTI, *Eranos* 51 (1953) 144. Die neue Inschrift kann das Problem nicht endgültig lösen: es

Die Inschrift stellt auch ein wichtiges paläographisches Dokument dar, weil ihre Zeit ungefähr bestimmt werden kann. Von etwa 254 v.Chr. an bis nach Caesar mit Ausnahme einer kurzen Lücke 152—150 sind alle Pontifices maximi durch literarische Überlieferung bekannt, so dass Scapulas Pontifikat in die erste Hälfte des 3. oder ins Ende des 4. Jh.s fallen muss. Die Schrift spricht eher für das 3. Jh., aber das Ende des 4. Jh.s kann nicht ausgeschlossen werden, jedenfalls nicht mit dem Hinweis auf die Form des A mit waagerechter Querhaste, wie es BLANCK tut (eine solche Form hat schon die älteste lateinische Inschrift, die Manios-Fibel!).¹ Ich kann auch keinen Grund dafür sehen, warum die Schriftform der Inschriften des Sarkophagdeckels, der an der gleichen Stelle gefunden wurde, altertümlicher wäre. Die geringen Unterschiede des C, des N und des L (das N ist auf den Deckelinschriften nur um eine Kleinigkeit schräger, der Nachweis eines Gradunterschiedes des Winkels bei den L geht in den Bereich der Mathematik) beruhen nicht auf solchen graphischen Tendenzen, aus denen man irgendwelche Datierungsschlüsse ziehen könnte. Ob man den Deckel mit formgeschichtlichen Indizien als älter ansetzen kann, kann ich nicht entscheiden, aber mit epigraphischen Gründen kann man für die beiden Denkmäler keine zeitliche Zuordnung vornehmen.

Zu BLANCKs Identifizierung des bei Liv. 25, 5, 4 erwähnten Pontifex maximus P. Cornelius Calussa mit Scapula sei Folgendes bemerkt: a) Die Überlieferung bei Liv. 25, 5, 4 ist sicher intakt. Ein Blick auf eine photographische Abbildung des codex Puteanus, z.B. in *CLA*, vol. V, 562, hätte den Editor sicher vor der Behauptung bewahrt, S und P ähnelten sich so sehr, dass »SCAPVLA zunächst in das sinnlose SCASVLA und dieses wiederum in CALVSSA verändert wurde«. Puteanus, der älteste erhaltene Zeuge unserer Stelle, ist in Unziale geschrieben, die nicht die geringste Möglichkeit zur Verwechslung der beiden Buchstaben bietet. Dazu kommen alle textkritischen Einwände, die lectio difficilior etc. Demnach fällt ganz sicher die Möglichkeit

bleiben immer noch gewisse Schwierigkeiten, besonders der Dictator von 306 Cornelius Scipio Barbatus (er steht fest, weil ihn sowohl die Fasti als Livius nennen), für den ein Konsulat gefunden werden sollte, wozu nur das von 328 frei ist.

¹ Eine minutiöse Untersuchung an Hand eines ausgezeichneten Fotos, das mir liebenswürdigerweise Dr. BLANCK zur Verfügung stellte, ergibt sogar, dass der Querstrich des A ein wenig schräg steht, jedenfalls formal völlig mit dem der Manios-Fibel übereinstimmt. Die Vertikalisierung des Querstrichs ist ein kursives Merkmal; kein Wunder, wenn in einem Epitaph die Ausführung des A nach einem anderen Vorbild geschieht. Weitere alte Beispiele von A mit \pm waagerechtem Querstrich: CIL I² 2658 (5. Jh.), 580 (4. Jh.), 474 (4. Jh.), 401 (etwas nach 315/314).

aus, Livius selbst hätte *Scapula* statt *Calussa* geschrieben. Aus ähnlichen und anderen Gründen wird man auch kaum annehmen können, dass *Calussa* in den Text bei Livius' Vorgängern eingedrungen wäre. Vor allem, wie soll man einen solchen Namen erfunden haben? Er ist zwar singular, aber doch nicht suspekt. LATTES¹ und SCHULZE² deuten ihn als etruskisch. b) Die Behauptung BLANCKS, Scapola habe kein kurulisches Amt bekleidet, da kein solches auf der Inschrift erwähnt wird, und müsse daher identisch mit *Calussa* sein, weil dieser nach Livius als einziger Pontifex maximus zwischen 332 und 212 vorher kein kurulisches Amt bekleidet hatte, ist natürlich unhaltbar. Es gibt genügend Belege von Epitaphen der römischen Magistrate, wo der Tote nur mit einer Würde, wenn überhaupt, charakterisiert wird; so das Grabmal des Consuls vom J. 108, Ser. Sulpicius Galba, CIL I² 695 = VI 31617, der nur als *cos.* gerühmt wird, oder die Cippi des Hirtius, wo nur der Name des Verstorbenen steht: *A. Hirtius A.f.*, ILLRP 419. Die römische Brevitas lässt dies ohne weiteres verstehen. Eben das, was Livius sagt, zeigt doch deutlich, dass die höchste Priesterwürde sehr hohes Ansehen genoss. Die weltlichen Ämter neben diesem ohnehin schon abgekürzten Titel zu verschweigen, wäre demnach völlig verständlich.

Der Zeitansatz und die Identifizierung Scapolas bleiben also nach wie vor offen. Wir kennen jetzt aus dem Jahrhundert, das die zweite Hälfte des 4. und die erste des 3. Jh.s deckt, drei Pontifices maximi, den *Calussa* (wohl trotz der Anführungen BLANCKS seit etwa 332), Cornelius (Scipio) Barbatus (beiderseits von 304: Liv. 9, 46, 6) und *Scapula* (vor 254).³ Die Reihenfolge dürfte diese sein. Drei Cornelier innerhalb dieser Zeit sind ziemlich viel, weil in der überlieferten Liste der Pontifices eine Neigung zur regelmässigen Abwechslung der Familien herrscht, aus denen die Hohenpriester gewählt wurden. Aber einen aus der Liste zu entfernen, etwa dadurch, dass man Barbatus mit *Scapula* identifiziert,⁴ wäre eine zu gewaltsame Konstruktion. Von der Abstammung *Scapolas* kann nicht viel gesagt werden. Wegen des Praenomens könnte er Consul von 328 sein, oder doch lieber dessen Sohn.

¹ E. LATTES, *SIFC* 3 (1895) 237,2.

² SCHULZE, *Lat. Eigenn.* 326.

³ Der von Liv. 8, 9, 4 bei J. 340 als Sprecher der Devotionsformel für P. Decius Mus erwähnte M. Valerius ist wohl eine Erfindung der Annalisten.

⁴ Es steht ja fest, dass die Scipionen auf jede Weise den Ruhm ihres Geschlechts durch Erfindungen zu vergrössern und höher hinaufzudatieren versuchten, vgl. E. WÖLFFLIN, *Die Dichter der Scipionenelogen*, *SB AkMünchen* 1892, 204–206. Und da die ältesten *Fasti* keine Cognomina führten, könnte durch den Einfluss der Scipionen *Scapula*, was sicher kein Beinamen dieser gens war, durch einen scipionischen Beinamen ersetzt worden sein, den Livius in seiner Vorlage fand.

LEGATIO LIBERA

J a a k k o S u o l a h t i

As representatives of the Roman people and Roman authority the *legati* of the Senate enjoyed considerable privileges which facilitated their official journeys to different parts of the empire. They received a certain sum of money (*viaticum*) from the treasury to cover their expenses as well as those of their suite; a war-ship often transported them across the sea; the governors of the provinces put *lictors* at their disposal and saw to their accommodation etc. As representatives of the Roman state they received, and indeed, demanded all possible help and respect from private persons.¹ It is probable that this kind of position quite early tempted some men to put it to incorrect use. The line between the respect due to a *legatus* and that he thought himself entitled to was often quite impossible to draw. From the 3rd century on we know of certain glaring abuses which probably increased with the growth of Roman power.²

Presumably the *legati* very early conducted private business with official journeys, in so far as this was possible. Later, especially, when there were Roman citizens scattered all over the Mediterranean countries, nearly every senator was likely to have some affairs of his own or of his friends to attend to during his journeys. And usually there was time for all this in between his official business. Particularly when it was a question of fulfilling of a religious duty promised for example during a magistracy, it could be considered to form a sort of the official mission. It was to the benefit of the state, of course, that her magistrates were on good terms with the gods. Maintaining good relationships with the gods was convenient at times; two praetors were able to refuse the dangerous provinces delegated to them for the convenient reason that a religious vow kept them in Rome.³

¹ TH. MOMMSEN: *Römisches Staatsrecht II*³, Leipzig 1887, 85—87; A. v. PREMERSTEIN: *Legatus* (RE XII, 1925, 1133—1149), 1135; P. WILLEMS: *Le sénat de la république romaine, sa composition et ses attributions II*, Louvain 1883, 149; SOLDAN: *De reipublicae Romanae legationibus provincialibus et de legationibus liberis*, Diss. Marburg 1857; *Cic. Fam.* 12. 3. 2. (44)

² Liv. 29. 6—9; 16—22. (205); Q. Pleminius (RE 5); 42. 1. 7—12. (173)

³ Liv. 41.15.9—10; 41.27.2. (176); 42.32.1—3. (175)

Possibly religious promises, made during the term of office and thus in a way made for the state, gave birth to the so called *legatio libera*. It was only natural that the state should give all possible support for example to a victorious military commander who wanted to leave in order to fulfill a vow made to the gods on the day of battle. Possibly Scipio Africanus the Elder had made such a trip to Etruria in the year 187.¹

The Senate sometimes considered it beneficial to the state to send some faithful supporter of its away from the capital until the hatred of the people against him had died down. But entrusting him with an apparent mission it both protected a faithful supporter and preserved its own authority. Further unnecessary disturbances were also thus avoided. For political reasons the person thus concerned could not be trusted with any mission of importance, but the *legatio libera* guaranteed him an honourable and comfortable exile. The first recorded *legatio libera* was indeed of this type. In the year 132 the Senate sent P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica (RE 354), who was hated by the people because he had overthrown Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (RE 154), to Asia without giving him any official mission.² Ten years later his relative P. Cornelius Lentulus (RE 202), who had fought against C. Gracchus (RE 47) is said to have used the *legatio libera*.³ During the restless times that followed the Senate probably used this pretext quite often.

It was very tempting for a man in the position of an official *legatus* to look after his private affairs, such as the claiming of a legacy or debt. The senators of course gladly granted this opportunity to their colleagues, from whom they expected similar services in due course. However, other reasons may have influenced their decisions, too. It was considered right and proper that every senator who left for the provinces should travel in a way suited to a magistrate of Rome. For the young and those of small means this was only possible with the support of the state. Nor were their journeys useless to the state, since travelling added to their factual knowledge and made them more useful both as senators and future magistrates. In addition they brought the Senate fresh information from the provinces and Italy. This custom which had evolved gradually resulted partly from the efforts of the senators to profit by their power, and partly from the practice of combining official and private affairs.

¹ Liv. 38.56.8. (187); M. HOLLEAUX: L'Entretien de Scipion L'Africain et l'Hannibal (*Hermes* 48, 1913, 75–98), 94 note 1; TH. MOMMSEN: Die Scipionenprocesse (MOMMSEN: Römische Forschungen II, Berlin 1879, 417–510), 469 note 103.

² Plut. *Ti.Gr.* 21.4; VM. 5.3.2 e. (132)

³ VM. 5.3.2 f. (122)

At least by the end of the republic, almost the only period from which information is preserved concerning the *legatio libera*, the custom seems to be quite common. Even those who like Cicero disapproved of it, nevertheless made use of it.¹ Probably the most conscientious men were in principle against the misuse of state authority, but it was the abuses practised under its cloak that raised general resentment. Contemporary Romans naturally noted these points, but more detailed information concerning general features is rather scanty. Cicero, in whose works we find most of the references, presumed that his correspondents as well as the readers of his speeches knew of the *legatio libera* as well as he did.

The *legatio libera* meant, as is obvious from the title, the status of a *legatus* without any fixed official duty² but with the opportunity to take care of his private affairs. Probably only senators, who were also entrusted with the official *legatio senatus*, could be appointed to this position. There is no explicit reference to it extant, but all the known cases have been of senators.³ Indeed, as nominal prefects, the knights as well were able to enjoy the privileges of an official position while looking after their private affairs in the provinces.⁴

A senator who sought to obtain the *legatio libera* had to send an application to the Senate. As only magistrates, and above all the chairman of the Senate, had the right to present applications, the application was probably always addressed to him.⁵ Cicero for instance relates that in 44 he wrote about the matter both to his son-in-law Dolabella and, to be impartial, also to the other consul, Antonius, who was suspicious.⁶ In all probability it was usually sufficient to address the application to either of the consuls.⁷ In it at least the reason for the journey and also its probable duration were indicated.⁸ The latter was necessary in order to calculate how long the senator would be absent from sessions of the Senate. In the beginning the decision probably did not limit the time allowed, for it was only Cicero who in 63 finally succeeded in

¹ Cic. *Att.* 2.18.3. (58 June-July)

² Cic. *agr.* 1.8. (63); *Id.leg.* 3.9. (44); 3.18. (44); *Id.fam.* 12.21. (44)

³ Those which we are able to identify.

⁴ J. N. MADVIG: Quelques remarques sur les officiers dits 'praefecti' pendant les derniers temps de la république romaine (*Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes* NS. 2, Paris 1878—1880, 177—187), 184—186.

⁵ TH. MOMMSEN: Römisches Staatsrecht III, Leipzig 1887, 951—953.

⁶ Cic. *Att.* 15.18.1. (31. 5. 44)

⁷ Cic. *fam.* 11.1.2. (17. 3. 44)

⁸ *Ibid.*

limiting the *legatio libera* to one year,¹ which Caesar then confirmed by a new law.²

Cicero mentions the following reasons for the *legatio libera*: to fulfil a religious promise (*legatio votiva*),³ to receive legacy (*hereditates obire*)⁴ and to attend to one's creditor's rights (*exigere syngraphas*).⁵ The first was considered to be the most honourable.⁶ In all probability there were other valid and suitable reasons. Besides, one could find pretexts if one simply wanted to be away from Rome for political reasons⁷ or wanted to take a trip for pleasure. At least the leading politicians, such as Cicero, could tell the actual motive to their friends.

There is no information extant regarding the view the Senate used to take of the applications for a *legatio libera*. Most probably they were regularly granted, even if some men disagreed on principle. The number of those who could enjoy the *legatio libera* had of course to be limited for practical reasons — if only so as not to reduce the number of senators in the sessions of the Senate too much. In addition to the solidarity of their colleagues many senators could rely on the help of their followers and supporters. To get the approval of the Senate was naturally easy for a politician like Cicero. He is also known to have recommended an acquaintance of his, C. Anicius (RE 1), a lower magistrate, to the governor, and it is very likely that he also supported his application to the Senate.⁸

There are no detailed references if any duties were attached to the *legatio libera*. According to the letters of Cicero it is quite clear that those enjoying it had no official duties to perform; they looked after their private affairs only. And it was this fact that caused resentment in those opposing the custom.⁹

It is not clear what rights of a *legatus* were connected with the *legatio libera*. It is hardly probable that senators travelling only for private reasons received their travelling-expenses from the treasury.¹⁰ Instead Cicero emphasizes the

¹ Cic. *leg.* 3.18. (44)

² Cic. *Att.* 15.11.4. (44)

³ Cic. *Att.* 2.18.3. (58 June-July); 4.2.6. (57 Oct.); 15.18.1. (31. 5. 44); 15.11.4. (8. 6. 44); Plut. *Mari.* 31.1—2. (88)

⁴ Cic. *agr.* 1.8. (63); *id. leg.* 3. 18. (44)

⁵ Cic. *Flacc.* 86. (59); *id. leg.* 3.18. (44)

⁶ Cic. *Att.* 15.8.1. (31. 5. 44)

⁷ VM 5. 3. 2; Cic. *Phil.* 1. 6. (2. 9. 44); *id. Att.* 15. 11. 4. (8. 6. 44); *id. fam.* 11. 1. 2. (17. 3. 44)

⁸ Cic. *fam.* 12. 21.(44)

⁹ Cic. *agr.* 1.8. (63); 2.45. (63); *qui rerum privatarum causa legationes liberas obeunt; Id. leg.* 3.9. (44); *Rei suae ergo ne quis legatus esto;* 3.18. (44)

¹⁰ Cic. *agr.* 1.8. (63); *non maximis opibus neque summa auctoritate praediti.*

auctoritas they had in the provinces as representatives of the Roman state in spite of their very limited official powers.¹ This in itself helped them in their journey, but apparently they could, like ordinary *legati*, demand certain help and hospitality from the inhabitants of the provinces. Perhaps Cicero refers to this when he writes that the inhabitants of the provinces made complaints and were hardly able to endure the *legatio libera*.² Although he may have purposely exaggerated speaking of the misuse of the *legatio libera*, it seems certain that his words were founded on fact.³

To render the status of the *legatus* more effective the lower senators could ask a more powerful colleague for a letter of introduction to the governor of the province or provinces where they intended to go. Cicero's letter to Cornificius, the governor of Africa, in 44, in which he recommends his friend C. Anicius, is a typical example. He asks Cornificius to help Anicius in every possible way and to see that his private business is easily settled. But above all he urges the governor to see that the *auctoritas* of Anicius is respected, as this is most valuable to him, and provide him with *lictiores*, as he himself had done for all the senators in his own province.⁴

What a state representative, accompanied by the *lictiores*, could demand from the provincials, is shown by the extant fragments of the speeches of C. Gracchus in which he tells how a consul had had a municipal magistrate at a municipium flogged for a slight mistake, how a *praetor* had caused the death of two men, and how a young man, who had not even a magistracy, ordered a shepherd to be whipped to death for making a few trifling jokes.⁵

On the other hand it is obvious from the letters of Cicero that the *legatio libera* never gave its holder the same secure juridical status as the regular *legatio* or magistracy. Thus it did not, for instance, give protection against accusations levelled against the holder of an office.⁶ In all probability the position of the man enjoying the *legatio libera* was largely dependent on his own official status and on the attitude of the governor. In any case the position of the *legatio libera* was useful in managing private affairs and could be misused.

¹ Cic. *leg. agr.* 2.45. (63); *homines auctoritate tenui, qui rerum privatarum causa legationes liberas obeunt, tamen externae nationes ferre vix possunt. Grave est enim nomen imperii, atque id etiam in levi persona pertimescitur, propterea quod vestro, non suo nomine, cum hinc egressi sunt, abutuntur.*

² Cic. *leg.* 3.18. (44)

³ *Id. agr.* 1.8. (63); *quam graves eorum adventus sociis nostris esse soleant*; 2.45. (63); c.f. above note 1; Cic. *Q. fr.* 27.2. (55 February); *plena res nummorum.*

⁴ Cic. *fam.* 12.21. (44)

⁵ Gell. 10.3.1—2; cf. Cic. *agr.* 2.45. (63); *id. Flacc.* 86. (59)

⁶ Cic. *Att.* 2.18.3. (58 June); 15.11.4. (8. 6. 44)

Lacking all sources it is impossible to say how early the custom was formed and how it developed fully. In the year 63, at least, there is evidence of its misuse. It was in that year that Cicero proposed its abolition, but the veto of a tribune of the plebs prevented the passing of the proposal.¹ He succeeded, however, in securing a decision to the effect that the *legatio libera* would not be granted for a longer period than one year.² The powerful politicians then found the nominal office of *legatus*, which by means of their imperator friends showed their respect for them, a new and better way of looking after their own affairs free of all restrictions as to time. Cicero, for example, mentions the advantageous offices as *legatus* that were offered to him by Caesar, Pompeius and Dolabella³ and which enabled him to leave Rome or to stay there at will. Caesar renewed the restrictions to the *legatio libera* decreed by Cicero⁴, but he did not abolish it. The custom was continued far into Imperial times, though information about it is very scanty. E.g. Tiberius enjoyed it when a *praetor*.⁵

As late as about 200 A.D. Ulpianus explained that those enjoying the right of the *legatio libera* were not travelling on affairs of state but on those of their own.⁶

Probably the main point about the *legatio libera* in Imperial times lay in the fact that the senator concerned was permitted to stay away from the sessions of the Senate and from Italy; indeed, it was called a vacation (*commeatus*).⁷ Already in republican times permission to stay away from the sessions of the Senate was necessary, and during wars it was forbidden to leave Rome.⁸ As the senators were still entirely Italians and mostly members of the Roman aristocracy, they usually did not wish to stay away from the capital for longer periods. But as the number of the men from provinces in the Senate increased, it was found necessary to take steps to keep them in Rome, as many of the Imperial orders indicate.⁹ It was, for example, considered necessary to ascertain that only the senators absent by permission of the Emperor retained their domicile in Rome.¹⁰ The ruler had probably removed or at least greatly limited the official privileges attached to the *legatio libera*.

¹ Cic. *leg.* 3.9. (44); 3.18. (44)

² *Ibid*; *Id. Att.* 15.11.4. (8. 6. 44)

³ Cic. *Att.* 2.18.3. (58 June-July); 4.2.6. (57 Oct.); 15.11.4. (8. 6. 44)

⁴ Cic. *Att.* 15.11.4. (8. 6. 44)

⁵ Suet. *Tib.* 31; cf. Suet. *Claud.* 23.7.

⁶ (Ulp). *Dig.* 50.7.15.

⁷ SCHOL. BOB. 107 K-S (Cic. Flac. 86); *Eas* (sc. legationes liberas) *nunc commeatus appellamus*; M. ROSTOWZEV; *Commeatus* (RE IV, 1901, 718—722) 720—722; Thes. III, 1826.

⁸ Liv. 27.504. (207); 36.3.3. (191); 43.11.4. (170)

⁹ Suet. *Caes.* 42.1; Tac. *an.* 12.23; Dio 52.42; *Dig.* 1.9.11.

¹⁰ (Paul) *Dig.* 50.1.22.6.

This was, indeed, quite a natural development. The *legatio libera* had been thought up at a time when the empire was growing, when it was necessary to reserve for the members of the ruling class an opportunity to attend to their private affairs in all parts of the Roman state without any loss to the authority of the Senate. But the selfish class-consciousness apparent in the history of the senatorial class during the latter period of the Republic, transformed the necessary right into a misuse. The Emperor removed the features harmful to the state, but did not deprive the senators of the opportunity to attend to their private affairs in the provinces.

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GENITIVE ABSOLUTE AND PLATONIC STYLE

Holger Thesleff

According to our grammars, the genitive absolute is a normal and neutral part of the mechanism of Greek language. It is true that it occurs in all periods of ancient Greek, from Homer down to Byzantine times, and apparently in most genres of style. Yet, apart from the fact that its external form (concentration, assonance, etc.) and its pregnant meaning make it liable to employment for specific stylistic ends, there are great fluctuations in its frequency: it is preferably used in some types of context and avoided in others. This suggests that the GA is not, after all, stylistically neutral in itself — as neutral as, say, a possessive genitive or an *εἰ* clause. It may have inherent 'stylistic' overtones owing to the genres of style or the types of context in which it is normally used.¹

E. H. SPIEKER² has made the following general observations on the occurrence of the GA: Poetry is on the whole more restrictive than prose. Homer³, Hesiod and the elegists offer few examples. Pindar has 39 instances (8 of them doubtful). Sophocles has a total of 84 cases. Generally the frequency is low in drama, both in lyric and in trimeter parts. But Eur. *Alc.* (which has much narrative) has 16 examples in trimeter, *Med.* 9 examples, *Ba.* only 3. Aristophanes has a total of some 88 cases.⁴ Attic prose offers the highest percentages, and here, as later, the GA is particularly common in narrative. Thucydides, apparently like Herodotus, has an average rate of occurrence of about 1.5 per

¹ The most common classification of such generic shades of style in Greek is 'poetic', 'prosaic', 'vulgar'. But in the case of the GA this classification is far too vague and general. For some notes on generic shades of style, see my *Studies in the styles of Plato*, *Acta Philos. Fenn.* 20, Helsinki 1967, esp. p. 27 f.

² On the so-called Genitive Absolute and its use especially in the Attic Orators, *A.J.Ph.* 6, 1885, 310—343. The notes on the frequency (314—322) include information supplied by GILDERSLEEVE, MILLER, and GOODELL.

³ J. CLASSEN, *Beobachtungen über den homerischen Sprachgebrauch*,² Frankfurt a.M. 1879, 180—183, has counted 80 cases in Homer, doublets included. Cf. H. THESLEFF, *Arctos N.S.* 2, 1958, 187 ff.

⁴ Cf. 341.

Teubner page. In Antiphon and Andokides I the rate is less than 1, in the rest of the speeches of Andokides and in most of Lysias' speeches it is considerably more than 1; but Lysias XIII, probably owing to its plain style, has a remarkably low frequency. Isokrates uses GA freely in XVI—XIX, but less in the most elaborated works. Aischines II has more GAs than I and III. Demosthenes has a very high frequency in XII and LV, but the spurious XIII and LX on the other hand show a very low frequency. Lykourgos has one third of the instances in the myth of Kodros. The frequency of GA in Plato is described as low, owing to the predominance of conversation and argumentation; we shall return to him. Of the New Testament authors, John has considerably less instances than the rest of the gospels.

Thus, according to SPIEKER, the GA is mainly a narrative device which is not so much used in description or argumentation, nor in easy conversation. He infers¹ that spoken language only employed brief GAs, and mostly fixed formulae.

This picture has to be corrected on some points. It is true that historical narrative abounds in GA: e.g. Xen. *HG.*, which is not included in SPIEKER's statistics, has an average of about 2 per Teubner page in narrative parts. Even the earliest extant piece of prose narrative, the Abu Simbel inscription (Ditt. Syll.³ 1, first half of the 6th century), has one instance. But plain story-telling and simple 'mythic' narrative on the other hand appear to be rather restrictive. The brief fragments of the logographers of course offer no reliable basis for statistics, but it is perhaps significant that there are no examples of GA in Pherekydes of Syros,² Akousilaos, Hekataios,³ and Charon, whereas Pherekydes of Athens and Hellanikos, whose style is somewhat more sophisticated, have several examples each.⁴ The extensive mythic pastiche in Plato *Prt.* 320c—322d includes no narrative GA, whereas the brief 'historical' narrative of a naval battle scene in *La.* 183d—184a has three examples. It is true that the GA is quite common in the Aesopica,⁵ but their linguistic form is late and the style is deliberately condensed.

¹ Cf. 339—342. B. L. GILDERSLEEVE, *A. J. Ph.* 9, 1888, 137—157, has some additional notes on the *σεμνότης* sometimes produced by the GA.

² The end of Vors. 7 B 5 is not a direct quotation. — Cf. the low frequency of GA in Homer.

³ Disregarding two instances in description, Hdt. 2.71 and 73 (*FGrH* 1 F 324b). For the authenticity of these passages, see SAARA LILJA, *Arctos N.S.* 5, 1967, 85—96.

⁴ Pherekydes of Athens, *FGrH* 3 F 20, 22, 35, 82; Hellanikos *FGrH* 4 F 59, 79b bis, 169a bis. As to the stylistic differences in logographic prose, see SAARA LILJA, *On the style of the earliest Greek prose, Commentationes Hum. Litt. Soc. Scient. Fenn.* 41, 3, Helsinki 1968, esp. p. 98—100.

⁵ Cf. W. SCHMID, *Gesch. d. gr. Lit.* I, 1, 679 n. 10.

In argumentation the GA is by no means as rare as SPIEKER seems to think.¹ Leaving aside the early instances, the GA is remarkably frequent e.g. in the fragments of Anaxagoras² and Zenon of Elea,³ but not very frequent in *Hp.Aer.*⁴ There are many instances in the fragments of Hippokrates of Chios which, if authentic, are the earliest example of geometrical prose.⁵ In the orators it is easy to find argumentative passages with a high frequency of GA: choosing at random *Isae.* 3.45—51 (rather less than two Teubner pages), we can count in it four instances. — It may be noted in this connection that GAs are quite common in the condensed, systematic style of laws.⁶

Pure description naturally has little occasion to use GA, whether temporal, causal, concessive, or hypothetical. Hence the prose of geographical or technical description (e.g. geographical fragments, Simon, *Hp.Oss.*) has a very low frequency of GA.

Taking a somewhat closer view of the usage of comedy, one gets the impression that the GA was decidedly avoided in easy conversation, even more so than SPIEKER's view implies. *Ar.Ach.* has the following instances: 19 (*οὔσης κυρίας ἐκκλησίας*, ceremonious formula), 183 (mock-ceremonious), 355 (*ἐμοῦ 'θέλοντος*, mock-solemn formula), 503 (*ξένων παρόντων*, ceremonious formula), 538 (in speech of Dikaiopolis), 984 (in cretics of the chorus), 1159 (lyrics, hardly colloquial); in addition, with syntactic reference (cf. below p. 120): 67 (*ἐπ' Εὐθυμένους ἄρχοντος*, administrative formula), 302 (*σοῦ . . . λέγοντος . . . οὐκ ἀκούσομαι*, colloquial, cf. 337), 547—554 (extensive

Genitive absolute in Plato Table of statistics

The 'late group' has been distinguished from the 'early and middle groups' and the *spuria*.⁷ — In counting the instances of pure GA I have followed the same principles as SPIEKER (p. 320 n. 1): "Every case of a noun and an accompanying participle has been regarded as one example (including, of course, cases where the subject is omitted); where, therefore, several

¹ His view is probably biased by his assumption that the GA originated in a temporal genitive. In *Arctos N.S.* 2, 1958, 187 ff. I have argued that the GA is predominantly ablative (separative) in origin and, consequently, that the causal shade of meaning is old.

² Vors. 59 B 1, 4 (five instances, twice *τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων*), 5, 9, 13.

³ Vors. 29 B 2, four instances.

⁴ I have counted 19 instances, 8 of them in chapter 10.

⁵ Simpl. CAG 9, p. 60—60 (printed in MARIA TIMPANARO CARDINI's *Pitagorici*, II, 42 ff.); note *τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων* p. 65 bis. If not authentic, the fragments reflect the style of Eudemos whom Simplicius is quoting.

⁶ In the Laws of Gortyn (BUCK 110) e.g. 2.49, 10.35, 12.26, apart from formulae such as 5.2 *πατρὸς δόντος*, 11.49 *παριόντος τὸ δικαστᾶ*.

⁷ Cf. my Studies (above), 13—25.

participles accompany one noun, or vice versa, the whole has been treated as one example." Some allowance must be made of accidental omissions and subjectivity of judgment, especially regarding the question of 'syntactic reference'. — A Stephanus page and a consecutively printed Teubner page are approximately in the ratio of 5:4.

	Number of pure GA	Including instances with synt.ref. ¹	Average per 10 Steph. pages		Number of pure GA	Including instances with synt.ref.	Average per 10 Steph. pages
<i>Hp. Mi.</i>	2	(7)	1 (5)	<i>Ti.</i>	111	(130)	15 (18)
<i>Ion.</i>	5	(11)	4 (9)	<i>Criti.</i>	11	(12)	7 (8)
<i>La.</i>	9	(15)	4 (6)	<i>Sph.</i>	26	(29)	5 (6)
<i>Cri.</i>	14	(16)	13 (15)	<i>Plt.</i>	38	(47)	7 (9)
<i>Ap.</i>	14	(28)	6 (11)	<i>Phlb.</i>	22	(33)	4 (6)
<i>Mx.</i>	15	(18)	10 (12)	<i>Ep. 7</i>	32	(41)	11 (15)
<i>Grg.</i>	40	(72)	5 (9)	<i>Lg. I</i>	26	(30)	10 (12)
<i>Men.</i>	19	(25)	6 (8)	II	12	(14)	5 (6)
<i>Euthphr.</i>	5	(8)	4 (6)	III	26	(30)	10 (11)
<i>Cra.</i>	30	(36)	5 (6)	IV	15	(20)	7 (10)
<i>Ly.</i>	11	(15)	6 (8)	V	21	(23)	10 (11)
<i>Chrm.</i>	12	(23)	5 (10)	VI	27	(29)	8 (9)
<i>Prt.</i>	29	(42)	5 (8)	VII	35	(36)	10 (10)
<i>Euthd.</i>	10	(18)	3 (5)	VIII	22	(24)	10 (11)
<i>Phd.</i>	45	(69)	8 (11)	IX	25	(30)	9 (10)
<i>Smp.</i>	41	(60)	8 (12)	X	20	(27)	8 (10)
<i>Prm.</i>	18	(38)	5 (10)	XI	22	(25)	9 (10)
<i>Tht.</i>	21	(44)	3 (6)	XII	19	(21)	7 (8)
<i>Phdr.</i>	45	(59)	8 (11)	<i>Epin.</i>	19	(20)	10 (10)
<i>R. I</i>	5	(8)	3 (4)	<i>Just.</i>	—	—	—
II	8	(12)	3 (5)	<i>Virt.</i>	—	—	—
III	7	(10)	3 (4)	<i>Hp. Ma.</i>	9	(12)	4 (5)
IV	13	(20)	5 (7)	<i>Hipp.</i>	1	(3)	1 (4)
V	19	(24)	6 (8)	<i>Thg.</i>	5	(7)	5 (7)
VI	16	(23)	6 (8)	<i>Alc. 1</i>	23	(27)	7 (8)
VII	12	(14)	5 (6)	2	9	(17)	7 (13)
VIII	20	(24)	8 (9)	<i>Amat.</i>	7	(8)	10 (11)
IX	5	(12)	3 (6)	<i>Clit.</i>	3	(5)	6 (11)
X	11	(15)	4 (6)	<i>Sis.</i>	—	(1)	— (2)
				<i>Min.</i>	2	(4)	2 (5)
				<i>Erx.</i>	6	(8)	4 (6)
				<i>Ep. 1</i>	5	(5)	
				2	4	(5)	
				3	10	(11)	
				4	2	(2)	
				5	—	—	
				6	2	(3)	
				8	9	(11)	
				9	1	(1)	
				10	—	—	
				11	1	(2)	
				12	—	—	
				13	—	(1)	

¹ Cf. p. 120.

descriptive list, perhaps colloquial style overdone), 894 (pathetic). *Ar.Ra.*: 127 (βούλει . . . ταχέϊαν (sc. ὁδόν) σοι φράσω; — νῆ τὸν Δί' ὡς ὄντος γε μὴ βαδιστικοῦ, idiomatically colloquial, cf. below p. 123), 414 (lyr., hardly coll.), 815 (lyr., non-coll.), 820 (lyr., non-coll.), 1062 (anapests, hardly coll.), 1111 (lyr., with ὡς, possibly a colloquial phrase underlying), 1499 (lyr., hardly coll.); with syntactic reference: 88 (apparently colloquial), 361 (anap., hardly coll.), 1028 (anap.), 1071 (anap.), 1085 (anap.), 1118 (lyr., with ὡς, colloquial). *Men.Dysc.*: 14—15 bis (narrative of the prologue, hardly colloquial); with syntactic reference: 40 (prol., hardly coll.), 657 (pathetic). Thus it seems that instances of really absolute genitives, without overtones of literary or formal style, are extremely rare in comedy: no instance in *Ar.Ach.*, one in *Ra.*, and none in *Men.Dysc.* After all, was the GA ever productively current in colloquial Attic?

It may be of some interest to see what support can be found in Plato to the suggestions made above. His wide register of styles may also offer some further clues to the stylistic shades of the GA and, vice versa, the results obtained may add to the interpretation of particular passages.¹

If it is true that the GA is a sophisticated device of literary or formal diction rather than a colloquial construction, we should perhaps expect it to be much more common in Plato's late works than in his early works. At a first glance the table of statistics does not seem to answer to such expectations. Obviously the GA is not a characteristic of Plato's 'late style'. On the whole there is a slight increase in its frequency, but there are considerable fluctuations, and distinct tops are reached in the early *Crito* and the late *Timaeus*.

However, a closer analysis of the instances in *Cri.* will remind us of the elusiveness of general statistics in the case of Plato who incessantly varies his style. Of the 16 instances 6 occur in the final speech of the *Laws* which is clearly rhetorical² The rest consist of the following: 43c ἢ τὸ πλοῖον ἀφίηται ἐκ Δήλου οὐ δεῖ ἀφικομένου τεθνάναι με; (grave, probably somewhat ceremonious, following a statement by Kriton in a similar style), 44c . . . ὡς σὺ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἠθέληκας ἀπιέναι ἐνθένδε ἡμῶν προθυμουμένων (Kriton, dignified, trying to persuade Socrates), 47d ἄρα βιωτὸν ἡμῖν ἐστι διεφθαρμένου αὐτοῦ; (intellectual argument), 48c ἐμὲ ἐνθένδε πειροᾶσθαι ἐξιέναι μὴ ἀφιέντων

¹ For Plato's variation of style, cf. the general observations made in my *Studies* (above).

² Cf. my *Studies* (above), 118. — The instances are: 52a, c bis, 53d, 54a bis.

^ρ *Ἀθηναίων* (probably solemn, note the lack of article), 48d εἰ πη ἔχεις ἀντιλέγειν ἐμοῦ λέγοντος (argumentative idiom, cf. below), 48e ὡς χρῆ ἐνθένδε ἀκόντων ^ρ *Ἀθηναίων* ἐμὲ ἀπιέναι (solemn, cf. above),¹ *ibid.* μὴ ἄκοντος (playful reference to the preceding instance), 49d ἀρχόμεθα ἐντεῦθεν βουλευόμενοι ὡς οὐδέποτε ὀρθῶς ἔχοντος οὔτε τοῦ ἀδικεῖν οὔτε τοῦ ἀνταδικεῖν (intellectual argument). With ὑπέρ 50b (rhetorical). Once with θαυμάζω: 50c εἰ οὖν αὐτῶν θαυμάζομεν λεγόντων (possibly colloquial).

The last two instances require a note. It quite commonly happens in Greek that a genitive with a participle attached to it seems to depend syntactically on another word in the context. SPIEKER (p. 327) is inclined to prefer the absolute interpretation of such instances in classical Greek. True enough, to some extent they must have suggested a GA, though the strength of the syntactic dependence of the genitive probably varied from case to case and may sometimes have been more significant than the absolute notion. Participles of λέγω are common in 'pure' GAs, and hence *Cri.* 50c naturally suggests GA, though the θαυμάζομεν inserted in it is certainly relevant. *Chrm.* 173b ἐκ δὴ τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων has very strong associations with the common GA formula τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων.² But for instance *Cra.* 390d νομοθέτου . . . (sc. ἔργον ἐστὶν ποιῆσαι) ὄνομα, ἐπιστάτην ἔχοντος διαλεκτικὸν ἄνδρα can hardly have suggested a GA in the first place, in spite of the fact that there is a predominantly absolute participle construction in a similar context just before: *ibid.* τέκτονος . . . ἔργον ἐστὶν ποιῆσαι πηδάλιον ἐπιστατοῦντος κυβερνήτου. It is often impossible for us to determine which notion, syntactic dependence or independence, was predominant. Those cases that seem to me somehow related to the absolute construction I shall class as 'GA with syntactic reference'.

Now, as we have seen that pure GA in *Cri.* appears to occur only in passages of rhetorical, argumentative or solemn style, we may with some confidence examine the rest of the early and middle dialogues from the same point of view. In general the stylistic variations are quite manifest in these writings,³ and so the colouring of the context may help in determining the shade of the GA. In the late works such variations are not so obvious.

First the speeches. *Mx.* has a high frequency of GA, evidently owing to its rhetorical style. It should be noted that the only GA in the dialogic introduc-

¹ ἐκόν and ἄκων will here be treated as participles.

² Examples from rhetorical prose in SPIEKER 339.

³ Cf. my *Studies* (above), *passim*.

tion has syntactic reference: 236a Ἀσπασίας δὲ καὶ χθρὲς ἡκροώμην περαινούσης ἐπιτάφιον λόγον (with a somewhat mock-solemn ἡκροώμην for ἡκονον). *Ap.* has a lower frequency; here Plato has introduced a certain degree of Socratic naïveté, but the GAs still sound rhetorical, e.g. 18c ἀπολογουμένου οὐδενός, d μηδενός ἀποκρινομένου, 32b καὶ ἐτοίμων ὄντων ἐνδεικνύσαι . . . τῶν ῥητόρων καὶ ὑμῶν κελευόντων . . . The more or less formal speeches inserted in the other writings often include what would seem to be rhetorical or argumentative GAs, e.g. *La.* 182a, 188b (Σωκράτους παρόντος), *Grg.* 464b bis, c, 465c, d, e bis, 483a, 484b bis, 508c (τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων), *Men.* 81c, *Chrm.* 156e, 157a, *Prt.* 313a, 325b bis, 350d, e, 355a (τούτου οὕτω ἔχοντος), d bis, e, *Phd.* 87a bis, c, d, 108a, c, 113d (τούτων δὲ οὕτως πεφυκότων), 180c, d, 184e, 185a bis, *Phdr.* 230e, 232b ter, 234a (v.l.), b, e, 237e, 238a, b, 239a, 240a, d, e, 241b, *R.I.* 340e, IV. 421c. In *Smp.* the speech of Pausanias has the largest proportion of this kind of GA (8 instances including 3 with syntactic reference). Similarly large proportions occur in *Phdr.* in the speech of 'Lysias' (9 instances, 3 with syntactic reference) and the first speech of Socrates (10 instances, 1 with syntactic reference). Plato evidently felt the GA to be appropriate to rhetorical argumentation.

In dialogue parts GA also quite often accompanies argumentation. On the whole argumentative passages which include GAs tend to concentration and abstraction rather than to conversational slackness or play. There are occasional examples of this in the early writings, e.g. *La.* 198a where Socrates resumes the elenchus after a very lively interlude: σὺ δέ, Νικία, λέγε ἡμῖν πάλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς . . . οὐκοῦν καὶ σὺ τοῦτο ἀπεκρίνω ὡς μόριον, ὄντων δὴ καὶ ἄλλων μερῶν, ἃ ξύμπαντα ἀρετὴ κέκληται; Cf. *La.* 192e, *Grg.* 498ab, *Men.* 78b, 85d, *Ly.* 217d, e bis, 218d, *Chrm.* 166a, 174d. In *Phd.* there are several examples, e.g. 80b τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων, 94b, 101b, 102d, 103d bis. The very abstract argument in the latter part of *Prm.* includes many instances such as 149b καὶ οὕτω δὴ αἰεὶ ἐνός προσγιγνομένου μία καὶ ἅψις προσγίγνεται, c οὐκ ἄρα ἔνεστιν ἀριθμὸς ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἐνός μὴ ἐνότος ἐν αὐτοῖς. *Tht.* and *R.* III—X also offer quite a number of examples, e.g. *Tht.* 152b, 154b, 155b, *R.* III. 409e, 410e, V. 450d, VI. 508e, 509b, 510c, 511d, X. 610b, 611a. — In *Cra.* the etymologies are often presented with a GA introduced by ὡς, e.g. 403a 412a, b, 413e. Here, too, the tone is argumentative and not markedly colloquial.

The type ἐμοῦ (σοῦ) λέγοντος (εἰπόντος, ἐρομένου) seems to have an

idiomatic use in lively argumentation, as *Grg.* 451c καὶ εἴ τις τὴν ἀστρονομίαν ἀνέροιτο, ἐμοῦ λέγοντος ὅτι . . . , οἱ δὲ λόγοι οἱ τῆς ἀστρονομίας . . . περὶ τί εἰσιν . . . , εἴποιμ' ἂν ὅτι . . . , *Euthphr.* 7c ἴσως οὐ πρόχειρόν σοί ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἐμοῦ λέγοντος σκόπει εἰ . . . , ἀρα . . . , cf. *Ion* 538d σκέψαι δὴ σοῦ ἐρομένου, εἰ ἔροίό με . . . , and further e.g. *Hp.Mi.* 369e, *Grg.* 458e, 460e, 469c, 481e bis, *Men.* 72b, 74c, *Prt.* 343d, 353a, *Tht.* 201d, *Phdr.* 243d, *R.* II. 370a, VI. 501e, VII. 523c. The idiom occurs both in colloquial passages and in contexts of abstract style. At any rate it is part of Plato's technique of argumentation.

In abstract argumentation there occurs further a specific type of GA with syntactic reference: *Grg.* 509c δυοῖν οὖν ὄντων, τοῦ ἀδικεῖν τε καὶ ἀδικεῖσθαι, μεῖζον μὲν φαμεν κακὸν τὸ ἀδικεῖν, cf. 477b, 478d, 490a, *Men.* 85a, 99b, *Ly.* 220c, *Prt.* 359a, *Euthd.* 281e, *Phd.* 71a, *Prm.* 129a, 143d, e bis, *Tht.* 187c, *R.* IV. 434b, etc.

Occasionally Platonic GAs clearly suggest other kinds of formal style: *Grg.* 521e κατηγοροῦντος ὀψοποιουῦ (play with forensic term), *Men.* 90a πατρὸς . . . Ἀνθεμίωνος, ὅς ἐγένετο πλούσιος οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου οὐδὲ δόντος τινός (mock-ceremonious, play with legal term), *Euthphr.* 4d ἀνδροφόνου γε ὄντος τοῦ ἀποθανόντος (Euthyphron, forensic), e τούτων οὕτω πραχθέντων (Socrates, mock-forensic), *Prt.* 319c κελευόντων τῶν πρυτάνεων (formal and ceremonious), *Phd.* 116c ἀναγκαζόντων τῶν ἀρχόντων (formal and ceremonious), *Smp.* 175a ἐμοῦ καλοῦντος (in formal reply by a slave), 223a Σωκράτους παρόντος τῶν καλῶν μεταλαβεῖν ἀδύνατον ἄλλω (probably a touch of solemn declaration),¹ *R.* V. 461b εἰάν τις . . . μὴ συνέρξαντος ἄρχοντος ἄπτηται . . . (legal).

The GA is sometimes employed in strict and formal narrative in Plato's early and middle works. As was mentioned above, Laches' brief account of a battle episode includes three instances of narrative GA, *La.* 183d, e, 184a. Note further *Smp.* 174c (mock-didactic narrative), 219c, 220b bis, e, 221a (all in the speech of Alkibiades),² *Phdr.* 228c (sophisticated narrative), *R.* III. 393e (report of the contents of Il.I in a formal style). Sometimes myths and similar pieces of visionary narrative have GAs: *Smp.* 209b (speech of Diotima), *Phdr.* 247e, 251b bis, 254b, d, 255a ter (all in the second speech of Socrates),

¹ Cf. 214d bis, where the first instance, in spite of its colloquial context, has a solemn tone: note ἢ θεὸν ἢ ἄνθρωπον. In 217c οὐδενὸς παρόντος is emphatic and pregnant, so also *Prt.* 309b παρόντος ἐκείνου, *Phdr.* 228e παρόντος δὲ καὶ Λυσίου, 244a παρόντος ἐραστοῦ.

² The first instance occurs in a pathetic passage addressing the 'judges', the rest occur in the narrative of Socrates' achievements in war.

259b bis (myth), 274d bis (myth), *R.* II. 359d, e bis (myth), III. 390b (myth), VI. 498b (visionary), X. 614b, d, 616a, 619b (concluding myth). But the extensive pastiche in *Prt.* and the eschatological myths in *Grg.* and *Phd.* have no narrative GA. It is also significant that the easy-going everyday style of the opening narrative in *Prt.* does not admit GAs. On the other hand, when the reporting narrative in the middle dialogues tends to concentration and strictness, as it often does after the opening scenes, GAs may occur in it. Mostly such GAs are of the type εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ, αὐτοῦ ἐρωτήσαντος, cf. *Ly.* 211c, 223b, *Chrm.* 155c, e, *Prt.* 334c, 337a, c, 339e, 348b, c, *Euthd.* 272e, 275b, d, 276b, 283d, *Phd.* 69e, 84c, 115b, 118a, *Smp.* 174d, 176a bis, 185c, 198a, 212c, 214a, 222c, 223b, c, d, *Prm.* 127a, d, 130a bis, 136e, *R.* I. 338a. Perhaps it can be inferred that narrative GA is a literary device.

When looking for examples of GA in obviously colloquial contexts, we may first note a very common type with syntactic reference: genitive and participle with ἀκούω and similar verbs, e.g. *Ion* 536d εἴ μου ἀκούσαις λέγοντος περὶ Ὀμήρου, *La.* 193e, *Grg.* 451e, *Euthd.* 285e bis. There is no reason for doubting that this usage was well-established in colloquial Attic.

It is, furthermore, reasonable to infer that GAs with syntactic reference to other words, and introduced by ὡς or ἄτε, were freely used in ordinary conversation. Such instances as the following sound rather colloquial: *Grg.* 489a . . . παρὰ σοῦ, ἄτε ἱκανοῦ ἀνδρὸς διαγινῶναι ὡμολογηκός, *Euthd.* 273e . . . περὶ ὑμῶν . . . ὡς τὸ πολὺ τοῦτο δεινοῖν ὄντων, 295d ἔπειτά μου ἤττον ἐπιμελεῖται ὡς ἀμαθοῦς ὄντος. Cf. e.g. *Grg.* 499c, 500b, *Prt.* 349e, *Phd.* 66a, 115e, *Smp.* 190b (speech of Aristophanes), *Tht.* 191a, *Phdr.* 242e, *R.* IV. 433 e.

Without syntactic reference, the type *Euthd.* 295b, *Prm.* 137c ὡς ἀποκρινομένου ἐρώτα ("ask me, I'll answer") is occasionally found in lively dialogue.¹ At the end of *Chrm.* there occur two successive instances, both with the imperative implied: 176b . . . ἦν ἐπάδειν παρέχης Σωκράτει καὶ μὴ ἀπολείπη . . . — ὡς ἀκολουθήσοντος . . . καὶ μὴ ἀπολειπομένου, c — βιάση ἄρα . . . ; — ὡς βιασομένου . . . πρὸς ταῦτα σὺ αὖ βουλεύου. Cf. *Cra.* 428a θαρρῶν λέγε . . . ὡς ἐμοῦ ἐνδεξομένου, *Grg.* 495c, *Chrm.* 165b, *Euthd.* 285d, *Phd.* 77e, 96a, 100c, *R.* I. 327c, V. 458b, 471e. This usage is clearly idiomatic, and its colloquial flavour is beyond doubt.

But apart from these usages GAs are extremely rare in colloquial contexts. This fact, together with the indications considered above, entitles us to try to

¹ Cf. KÜHNER—GERTH II 93 ff., SPIEKER 334 f.

interpret the remaining instances of GA in a colloquial or otherwise informal context as carrying a shade of literary or formal style.

In most cases such an interpretation seems to make good sense. For instance, in the opening of *Hr.Mi.*, σὺ δὲ δὴ τί σιγᾶς, ὦ Σώκρατες, Ἰππίου τοσαῦτα ἐπιδειξαμένον, the GA must be somewhat pompous. In *Ion* 541e πάλαι ἐμοῦ λιπαροῦντος, mock-pomposity adds to the pathos of the passage. In *La.* 180e the GA suits the dignified style of old Lysimachos, and a somewhat similar style is adopted by Socrates in the first part of the dialogue: this is reflected by the GA in 185a. In *Grg.* 461a the GA adds to the weight of the conclusion of the Gorgias episode. In *Men.* 76b κὰν κατακεκαλυμμένος τις γνοίη, ὦ Μένων, διαλεγόμενον σου, ὅτι καλὸς εἶ, the GA resumes the playful solemnity of κατακεκαλυμμένος. In *Men.* 89b οὐδὲς ἡμεῖς ἂν παραλαβόντες ἐκείνων ἀποφηνάντων ἐφυλάττομεν ἐν ἀκροπόλει, Socrates plays with political jargon. In *Euthphr.* 3b, ὡς οὖν καινοτομοῦντός σου περὶ τὰ θεῖα is more formal than Socrates' preceding words, ὡς καινοῦς ποιοῦντα θεοῦς. *Chrm.* 163d ὦ Κριτία, . . . καὶ εὐθὺς ἀρχομένου σου σχεδὸν ἐμάνθανον τὸν λόγον, ὅτι . . . is probably mock-solemn: Socrates refers to the impression that Kritias' speech has made on him. In the myth of Protagoras, 320d νείμαντος δέ μου, ἔφη, ἐπίσκεπαι, the GA adds to the 'archaic' concentration of the utterance. In *Prt.* 339c οἶσθα οὖν . . . ὅτι προϊόντος τοῦ ἄσματος λέγει που, Protagoras is speaking *ex cathedra* (cf. below, *Phdr.* 238d). In *Euthd.* 301a ἀλλὰ τίνα τρόπον, ἔφη, ἑτέρου ἑτέρω παραγενομένου τὸ ἕτερον ἕτερον ἂν εἶη; the abstract question of Dionysodoros makes a comical contrast to the colloquial context. In *Phd.* 117a . . . οἶμαι . . . γέλωτα ὀφλήσειν παρ' ἐμαυτῶ, γλιχόμενος τοῦ ζῆν καὶ φειδόμενος οὐδένοσ ἐτι ἐνόητος, the GA gives a special solemn emphasis to Socrates' last point. In *Smp.* 173a μὴ σκῶπτ', ἔφη, ἀλλ' εἰπέ μοι πότε ἐγένετο ἡ συνουσία αὕτη. κἀγὼ εἶπον ὅτι παίδων ὄντων ἡμῶν ἔτι, ὅτε τῇ πρώτῃ τραγωδία ἐνίκησεν Ἀγάθων, τῇ ὑστεραία ἢ ἢ τὰ ἐπινίκια ἔθνευ αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ χορευταί, the formal matter-of-factness of the reply stands out from the playful context; the reply is important: Plato wants to emphasize the distance which he is keeping to the events recorded. *Smp.* 194b offers a sequence of participles in mock-panegyric. In *Tht.* 151d Theaitetos adopts a solemn tone in answer to a speech of Socrates. In *Phdr.* 238d ὥστε ἐὰν πολλάκις νυμφόληπτος προϊόντος τοῦ λόγου γένωμαι, μὴ θαυμάσης, Socrates is likely to play with literary allusions.¹

¹ The type προϊόντος τοῦ λόγου or χρόνου occurs several times in rhetorical prose, see SPIEKER 340.

In addition to the idiomatic types already mentioned, I have found in Plato only one instance of a GA which obviously does not carry a shade of formal or literary style: *R. I.* 350d ἄτε καὶ θέρους ὄντος. The context is a piece of lively background narrative, and literary allusions are out of the question. Apparently this is a colloquial idiom corresponding to the formula χειμῶνος ὄντος which is found five times in Aristophanes (SPIEKER p. 340).

Though, as we have seen, the GA is not a characteristic of Plato's 'late style', it can be said to contribute to the solemn, rhetorical and intellectual traits of this specific diction. Already in *Phd.* and *R. II—X* the majority of instances occur in argumentative passages of heavy style. In the late works this is the rule. The high frequency of GA in *Ti.*, as compared with e.g. *Phlb.*, probably indicates that Plato felt the GA to be more appropriate to a continuous exposition than to dialogue.

The use of GA in the spurious works offers very little that is worth notice. Some of the dialogues, especially *Alc. 2*, perhaps conform to rhetorical standards somewhat more than Plato's early dialogues. Most of the letters are clearly rhetorical, and this seems to account for the high frequency of GA in them.

To sum up: In classical Greek the genitive absolute appears to be a device of formal or literary style. It is commonly employed in formal or strict narrative and in rhetorical or otherwise formal argumentation, and in various legal and ceremonious contexts. Most of the instances in Plato have to be interpreted according to these rules. Colloquial Attic admitted a free use of constructions resembling a GA in syntactic dependence of ἀκούω and similar verbs and, with ὡς or ἄτε, in syntactic dependence of other words. The type ὡς ἀποκρινόμενον ἐρώτα and occasional idioms such as (ἄτε) θέρους ὄντος, perhaps ἐμοῦ λέγοντος, are also colloquial. But on the whole the GA was not an organic part of everyday speech.

CICEROS BILDERSPRACHE UND DIE QUELLENFRAGE VON TUSC. DISP. I 26—81

Toivo Viljamaa

I

Über die Quellen des I. Buches von Ciceros *Tusculanae disputationes* wird seit dem vorigen Jahrhundert recht viel diskutiert. Es ist jedoch keine allgemein anerkannte Theorie vorgelegt worden, sondern die Meinungen der Forscher gehen beträchtlich auseinander. Anfangs behauptete man, die Quelle des Buches sei Panaitios. Diese Theorie ist allerdings von den Forschern unseres Jahrhunderts einmütig verworfen worden. Panaitios kann nicht die Quelle sein, denn Cicero kritisiert seine Lehren. Aufgrund der Vermutungen von O. HEINE (Progr. Weimar 1863) erklärte P. CORSEN¹ 1878 in seiner Dissertation, Cicero habe irgendein Werk von Poseidonios als Vorbild benutzt. Diese Dissertation erregte eine eifrige Diskussion über die Quellen. CORSEN scheint dem Poseidonios, den er für die Quelle von Ciceros ganzem Buch hielt, zu viel zuzuschreiben. R. HIRZEL², der scharfe Angriffe gegen CORSEN richtete, wollte ebenfalls eine einheitliche Quelle des Buches finden; er hielt dafür den akademischen Philosophen Philon. HIRZELS Begründung war die, dass der Grundcharakter des Buches, der akademisch und skeptisch ist, auch den Charakter der Quelle anzeige. Gerade dieses Prinzip hat meines Erachtens HIRZEL zu Fehlschlüssen verführt, zu dem Glauben, dass der Einfluss der Quelle sich in diesen Zügen äussere, die ebensogut von Cicero selber stammen. Cicero hatte zwar bei Philon die akademische Einstellung des Zweifels gelernt, aber er übernahm sie in alle seine philosophischen Schriften. Im Rahmen dieser seiner Einstellung konnte Cicero die Lehren der einzelnen Schulen »für und wider« darstellen. A. SCHMEKEL³ hielt wiederum Poseidonios für die Quelle des ersten Teils von Ciceros Buch. Als Beweise dafür legte er vor allem die Über-

¹ De Posidonio Rhodio M. Tullii Ciceronis in libro I Tusc. disp. et in Somn. Scip. auctore, Diss. Bonn 1878; darin erklärt er Poseidonios für die Quelle des ersten Teils von *Tusc.* I, später aber hat er seine Hypothese auf das ganze Buch ausgedehnt (*Rh. Mus.* 36, 1881, 506 ff.).

² Untersuchungen zu Ciceros philos. Schriften, Leipzig 1877—83, III 342—405.

³ Die Philosophie der mittleren Stoa, Berlin 1892, 342—154.

einstimmungen vor, die man zwischen den Fragmenten von Varros *Antiquitates rerum divinarum* und dem Buch Ciceros wahrnehmen kann. Vielleicht hat SCHMEKEL zu weitgehende Schlussfolgerungen gezogen, denn trotz der in diesen Werken deutlich sichtbaren Ähnlichkeit der philosophischen Einstellung lässt sich aus einigen kurzen Fragmenten nicht mit Sicherheit schliessen, dass dieselbe Quelle benutzt worden wäre. Jedenfalls war es verdienstvoll, dass er sich dem Standpunkt HIRZELS widersetzte. Ausserdem zeigte er, dass die andere Quelle von Ciceros Buch Krantors Werk *Περὶ πένθους* ist. Später ist SCHMEKELS Theorie u.a. von M. POHLENZ vertreten worden, dem vielleicht bekanntesten Erforscher der Stoa in unserer Zeit. In vielen seiner Schriften¹ hat er nachgewiesen, dass Cicero in seinem Buch die Lehren Platons benutzte, und zwar sehr wahrscheinlich durch Vermittlung des Poseidonios. K. REINHARDT² dagegen hat die Poseidonios-Hypothese verworfen, weil die den Kosmos betreffende Sympathietheorie dieses Philosophen nicht zu der von Cicero gegebenen Schilderung passt. Auch er ging von demselben Prinzip aus wie HIRZEL, nämlich dass aus dem Grundton des Buches gefolgert werden solle, welches dessen Quelle ist. Aufgrund dessen erklärte er den Eklektiker und Akademiker Antiochos für die Quelle Ciceros. Dagegen kann man einwenden, dass zwar beide, sowohl Antiochos als auch Cicero, wirklich Eklektiker waren, aber dieser Eklektizismus kein Abhängigkeitsverhältnis in den einzelnen Werken beweist. Andererseits fällt es schwer, die Verachtung des Körpers im ersten Buch der *Tusculanae disputationes* mit der von Antiochos ausgesprochenen Forderung nach Selbstbewusstsein in Einklang zu bringen, die bedeutete, dass man sich der Kräfte des Leibes und der Seele bewusst sein und die allseitige Befriedigung des Menschen als Ziel des Lebens ansehen sollte. REINHARDTS Hypothese ist nicht allgemein gebilligt worden. Danach hat man die Quellenfrage hauptsächlich auf zwei verschiedene Arten zu lösen versucht: Nach der Meinung der einen ist die Quelle für den ersten Teil von Ciceros Buch grösstenteils Poseidonios (I. HEINEMANN, W. THEILER);³ nach der Ansicht der anderen hat Cicero sein Buch recht selbständig abge-

¹ De Ciceronis Tusc. disp., Progr. Göttingen 1909: De Posidonii libris *περὶ παθῶν*, *Fleckeisens Jahrb.*, Suppl. 24 (1898), 535—634; Poseidonios' metaphysische Schriften, *Gött. gelehrte Anz.* 184 (1924), 161—187,

² Poseidonios, München 1921; Kosmos und Sympathie. Neue Unters. über Poseidonios, München 1926; die in diesen Werken geäusserten Gedanken wiederholt er dann in seinem Artikel über Poseidonios RE 22, 1 (1953), 575—586.

³ I. HEINEMANN, Poseidonios' metaphysische Schriften, Breslau 1921, 1928, II 378 ff.; W. THEILER; Die Vorbereitung des Neuplatonismus, Berlin 1930.

fasst, wenn es auch von Poseidonios übernommene Gedanken enthält (M. VAN DEN BRUWAENE).¹ Das Buch enthält zahlreiche Gemeinplätze sowie Lehren des Platon und des Aristoteles, so dass einige am ehesten gerade die Schriften dieser beiden Philosophen als Quellen ansehen (R. M. JONES, E. BIGNONE, A. BARIGAZZI) und andere erklären, man brauche an keinen Eklektiker als Vermittler zu denken (O. GIGON, A. J. KLEIJWEGT).²

Die Versuche, eine einheitliche Quelle für das ganze I. Buch der *Tusculanae disputationes* zu finden, sind fehlgeschlagen. Es ist denn auch offensichtlich, dass Cicero die Lehren, die er in seinem Buch darlegt, nicht nur von einem einzigen griechischen Vorbild übernommen hat. Das Buch enthält stoische und platonische Gedanken, und an einigen Stellen kann man auch den Einfluss der Lehren des Aristoteles bemerken. Deshalb muss man sich oft zwischen zwei Alternativen entscheiden: ob Cicero die Elemente seiner Lehren unmittelbar von Vertretern der früheren Philosophie erhalten hat, oder ob er sich irgendeines Vermittlers bedient hat. Ein Beweis für die letztgenannte Alternative ist, dass Cicero das Thema, das er sich gewählt hat, nicht sehr folgerichtig zu behandeln scheint. Das Hauptthema des Buches ist folgendes: der Tod ist nichts Schlimmes; mit anderen Worten, der Autor will die Behauptung *malum mihi videtur esse mors* (§ 9) als falsch erweisen; je nach dem, ob wir die Seele als unsterblich auffassen oder glauben, dass sie mit dem Körper stirbt, gibt es zwei Alternativen für das Leben nach dem Tode (§§ 18—25): A. die Unsterblichkeit der Seele wird bewiesen (§§ 26—81), B. selbst wenn die Seele mit dem Körper unterginge, wäre der Tod doch kein Unglück (§§ 82—111). Vom Standpunkt des Hauptthemas wäre es jedoch folgerichtig gewesen, dass Cicero bei der Alternative A dargelegt hätte, warum der Tod kein schlimmes, sondern ein glückliches Ereignis ist, wenn die Annahme der Unsterblichkeit der Seele zutrifft. Nun beweist er vorzugsweise, dass die Seele unsterblich ist. So erscheint der Hauptinhalt des Buches dem Leser gar nicht als objektive Darstellung, worin die verschiedenen Ansichten berücksichtigt werden, sondern die eine der beiden Alternativen, die den Untergang der Seele annimmt, bleibt im Hintergrund, während der Nachweis der Unsterblich-

¹ »Traces de Posid. dans le premier livre des *Tusc.*», *L'Antiquité class.* 11 (1942), 55—56.

² R. M. JONES, »Posid. and Cicero's *Tusc. disp. i 17—81*», *Class. Phil.* 18 (1923), 202—228; E. BIGNONE, *L'Aristotele perduto e la formazione filosofica di Epicuro*, Firenze 1936; A. BARI-GAZZI, »Sulle fonti del libro I delle *Tusc.* di Cicerone», *Riv. di Fil.* 26 (1948), 161—203, 28 (1950), 1—29; O. GIGON, »Die Erneuerung der Philosophie in der Zeit Ciceros», *Fondation Hardt: Entretiens* 3 (1955), 23—61; A. J. KLEIJWEGT, »Philos. Gehalt und die persönl. Stellungnahme in *Tusc. I 9—81*», *Mnemosyne* 4: 19 (1966), 359—388.

keit der Seele eine bedeutende Stellung einnimmt.¹ Diese Inkonsequenz erklärt sich durch die Annahme, dass Cicero im Abschnitt §§ 26—81 eine Quelle benutzt hat, die einen andern Zweck verfolgt als sein eigenes Werk.

Da die nur den sachlichen Inhalt betreffenden Argumente zu recht widersprüchlichen Antworten auf die Quellenfrage führen können, scheint es nützlich zu sein, auch Ciceros Darstellungstechnik sowie seine Sprache und seinen Stil zu betrachten. Deshalb unterziehe ich die Bildersprache Ciceros einer näheren Untersuchung, genauer gesagt, seine Anwendung von Vergleichen in dem Teil des I. Buches der *Tusculanae disputationes*, der die Unsterblichkeit der Seele behandelt (§§ 26—81). Indem ich diesen Abschnitt mit einigen anderen philosophischen Schriften Ciceros vergleiche und einige von ihm gebrauchte sprachliche Bilder genauer analysiere, versuche ich Licht in die Quellenfrage zu bringen. Grundlage der Untersuchung ist die Annahme, dass das in irgendeiner Darstellung benutzte Vorbild nicht nur den Inhalt, sondern auch Sprache und Stil beeinflusst, und dass dann, wenn die Sprache der Quelle nicht dieselbe ist wie die ihres Benutzers, gerade die Tropen und die Gedankenfiguren solche stilistische Züge sind, die am leichtesten übernommen werden.

II

Wer Ciceros philosophische Werke liest, wird leicht darauf aufmerksam, dass das I. Buch der *Tusculanae disputationes*, namentlich der Abschnitt §§ 26—81, reichlich Bildersprache aufweist. Obgleich der Gebrauch von Bildersprache für rhetorisch-philosophische Darstellungen typisch ist, zeigt der Vergleich mit Ciceros übrigen philosophischen Schriften, dass der Autor in diesem Abschnitt mehr sprachliche Bilder anwendet als gewöhnlich. Um genauere Beobachtungen über die Zahl der von Cicero gebrauchten Vergleiche bringen zu können, habe ich seine Werke *De nat. deor.* II, *De fin.* IV, *De fin.* V und *Acad.* II (alle ohne die jeweilige Einleitung) als Vergleichsobjekte gewählt. Eine Definition, mit deren Hilfe aus irgendeinem Text alle Vergleiche ausgesondert werden könnten, lässt sich schwer geben. Obwohl wir im allgemeinen verstehen, was der Begriff Vergleich bedeutet, fällt es oft im Einzelfall schwer zu entscheiden, ob irgendeine Stelle als Vergleich zu klassifizieren ist oder nicht. Cicero definiert den Vergleich folgendermassen (*De inv.*

¹ Vgl. POHLENZ' Argumente in der kommentierten Teubner-Ausgabe aus dem Jahre 1912 (Neudr. 1957), 28—29.

I 49): *Collatio est oratio rem cum re ex similitudine conferens*. Ähnlich, aber etwas genauer ist die Definition *Rhet. Her. IV, 59: Similitudo est oratio traducens ad rem quampiam aliquid ex re dispari simile*. Beim Vergleich ist also wesentlich, dass irgendeine Sache oder irgendein Vorgang a u s f r e m d e r S p h ä r e neben den eigentlichen Gegenstand gestellt wird. Ausserhalb dieses Begriffs bleiben die Beispiele (*exempla*), worunter Erwähnungen von Ereignissen aus der Vergangenheit oder von etwas, was als geschehen angenommen wird, sowie Auszüge aus der früheren Literatur verstanden werden (vgl. Quint. *Inst. or.* 5, 11, 6). Der Vergleich unterscheidet sich von der Metapher formal darin, dass eine aus fremder Sphäre genommene Sache n e b e n die geschilderte Sache g e s t e l l t wird und nicht anstatt dieser (vgl. Quint. *Inst. or.* 8, 6, 8).¹ Aufgrund dieser allgemeinen Prinzipien habe ich die Zahl der Vergleiche in den von mir genannten philosophischen Werken Ciceros errechnet. In folgender Tabelle sind die Vergleiche nach der Bildungstechnik gruppiert:

	<i>Tusc. I</i> 26—81	<i>Nat. II</i> 4—168	<i>Fin. IV</i> 3—80	<i>Fin. V</i> 9—96	<i>Ac. II</i> 13—148
<i>ut (ut si)</i>	2	4	7	2	2
<i>quasi</i>	8	15	4	5	8
<i>tamquam (— sic)</i>	7	9	1	3	1
<i>tam — quam</i>	1	—	—	—	—
<i>ut — sic (item)</i>	6	10	1	3	6
<i>quem ad modum — sic (item)</i>	—	—	—	2	1
<i>idem (quod)</i>	2	1	—	—	1
sonstige	3	14	4	2	3
insgesamt/Zahl der Paragr.	29/56	53/165	17/78	17/88	22/136
durchschn./20 Paragr.	10	6,4	4,4	4	3,2

Natürlich kann man sagen, dass die Feststellung der Zahl der Vergleiche in einigen wenigen Werken nicht genügt, um genaue Schlussfolgerungen zu ziehen. Andererseits kann jemand anders zahlenmässig etwas andere Ergebnisse erzielen. Es ist nämlich, wie oben gesagt, im Einzelfall schwer zu entscheiden, ob eine Stelle gerade als Vergleich zu betrachten ist, weil die Entscheidung nicht mit blossen formalen Kriterien gefällt werden kann. In einigen Fällen macht es Schwierigkeiten zu entscheiden, ob eine in Vergleichsform abgefasste Stelle zur eigentlichen Argumentation gehört, oder ob es sich um ein veranschaulichendes Bild handelt. Auch fällt es nicht immer leicht, ein

¹ Siehe H. LAUSBERG, Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik, München 1960, §§ 410, 558, 843—847.

Beispiel oder eine Metapher von einem Vergleich zu unterscheiden. Darum kann die Entscheidung oft der subjektiven Textauslegung des Lesers überlassen bleiben. Trotz diesen Vorbehalten geht meines Erachtens aus der Tabelle klar hervor, dass *Tusc.* I 26—81 bemerkenswert zahlreiche und auch *Nat.* II verhältnismässig viele Vergleiche enthält, wenn man ihnen die drei übrigen erwähnten Werke gegenüberstellt; als Quelle des Inhalts dieser drei werden übrigens im allgemeinen Vertreter der akademischen Schule angesehen. Es ist offensichtlich, dass der reichliche Gebrauch von Vergleichen in den beiden ebengenannten Werken den Einfluss der benutzten Quelle widerspiegelt. Beide Werke gehören zu denen, über die die Erforscher der Richtung des Poseidonios viel diskutiert haben. An einigen Stellen in *Nat.* II teilt Cicero eindeutig mit, dass er Poseidonios als Quelle verwendet. Es ist denn auch wahrscheinlich, dass das Vorbild, dessen Einfluss in *Nat.* II und *Tusc.* I verhältnismässig reichlichen Gebrauch von Vergleichen veranlasst hat, gerade Poseidonios ist, denn bekanntlich ist ein bemerkenswerter Zug seines literarischen Stils der Ausdrucksreichtum und die reiche Bildersprache. So haben die Forscher schon früh der Bildersprache in den Fragmenten und Reminiszenzen des Poseidonios Beachtung geschenkt.¹ Die von den Forschern der Neuzeit geäusserten Meinungen bestätigen die Beobachtungen, die man schon in der Antike an seinem Stil gemacht hat: Strabo III 2, 9 *Ποσειδώνιος . . . οὐκ ἀπέχεται τῆς συνήθους ῥητορείας, ἀλλὰ συνενθουσιᾷ ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς.*

Im folgenden unterziehe ich einige in *Tusc.* I 26—81 vorkommende Vergleiche einer näheren Betrachtung.²

III

1. G o t t, A u g e. *Nam cum Archimedes lunae, solis, quinque errantium motus in sphaeram inligavit, effecit, idem quod ille, qui in Timaeo mundum aedificavit, Platonis deus, . . . (Tusc. I 63). . . eademque (philosophia) ab animo tamquam ab oculis caliginem dispulit, . . . (Tusc. I 64). Nam ut illa natura caelestis et terra vacat et umore, sic utriusque harum rerum humanus animus est*

¹ Eine recht gründliche Darstellung der Bildersprache des Poseidonios gibt G. RUDBERG, Forschungen zu Poseidonios, Uppsala 1918, 156—240.

² Von der reichhaltigen Literatur, die die Metaphorik und Bildersprache bei Cicero behandelt (vgl. V. PÖSCHLS Bibliographie zur antiken Bildersprache, Heidelberg 1964, 123—129), werden nur diejenigen Werke berücksichtigt, die auf die Quellenfrage Licht werfen.

expers (*Tusc. I 65*). *Non valet tantum animus, ut se ipse videat, at ut oculus, sic animus se non videns alia cernit* (*Tusc. I 67*). Der Abschnitt, aus dem die obigen Zitate sind, enthält zwei Beweise für die göttliche Kraft, die den Kosmos und den Menschen beherrscht: einerseits Vorgeschichte und Entwicklung der Menschheit, andererseits die Tätigkeiten der Seele (*rerum inventio et memoria*) beweisen die Existenz dieser Kraft. Als Grundlage für die Beweisführung dient die Lehre von der göttlichen Natur (*vis et natura divina*), die von den Stoikern und besonders von Poseidonios hervorgehoben wird;¹ Cicero behandelt die Bedeutung dieser göttlichen Natur für die Unsterblichkeit der Seele in §§ 26—35. In einer Weise, die aus der von Poseidonios beeinflussten Literatur bekannt ist, zeigt er dort, dass wir, ebenso wie wir in der Natur die Existenz Gottes fühlen, auch die Existenz und Unsterblichkeit der Seelen empfinden (z.B. *Sen. Ep. 90* und *117*, *Sext. Emp. Adv. math. IX 28*). Die metaphorische Ausdrucksweise *sed nescio quo modo inhaeret in mentibus quasi saeculorum quoddam augurium futurorum* (*Tusc. I 33*) passt gut zu der Auffassung des Poseidonios von der Fähigkeit des Prophezeiens (vgl. *Div. I 63—64*). In diesem Zusammenhang gebraucht Cicero ein Beispiel, das er offenbar von Poseidonios hat:² *Quid enim Phidias sui similem speciem inclusit in clupei Minervae, cum inscribere nomen non liceret?* (*Tusc. I 34*). Poseidonios gebraucht gern Kunstwerke als Vergleiche, wenn er die Schönheit und Zweckmässigkeit des Kosmos schildert. Das von Cicero erwähnte Standbild des Pheidias erscheint nachher in dem pseudoaristotelischen Werk *De mundo* (399 b 33), das von Poseidonios beeinflusst ist. Zu einem ebensolchen Begriffskreis gehört der als erster zitierte Vergleich: Poseidonios vergleicht gern das Wirken der göttlichen und der menschlichen Vernunft (z.B. *Diog. L. VII 138*, *Philo, De opif. mundi 69*); als ein Beispiel dafür benutzt er hier — und Cicero ganz offensichtlich unter seinem Einfluss — die Weltsphäre des Archimedes (*Sext. Emp. Adv. math. IX 115*): *Nat. II, 88 Quod si in Scythiam aut in Britanniam sphaeram aliquis ulerit hanc quam nuper familiaris noster effecit Posidonius, . . . , quis in illa barbaria dubitet quin ea sphaera sit perfecta ratione? Hi autem dubitant de mundo, . . . , et Archimede m arbitrantur plus valuisse . . . quam naturam.*³

Bekanntlich war Poseidonios besonders interessiert für die Frühgeschichte

¹ Siehe C. J. DE VOGEL, *Greek Philosophy. A Collection of Texts with Notes and Explanations*, Leiden 1950—59, Nr. 1176.

² RUDBERG, a.a.O. 223 Anm. 1, betrachtet diese Stelle als wichtig für die Lösung der Quellenfrage.

³ Weitere Beispiele für den Gebrauch des Weltsphäre-Bildes in der Literatur s. die Anmerkung von A. S. PEASE zu *Nat. II 88* (Leidener Ausgabe 1957). Die Argumente von H. DIELS,

und Kulturentwicklung der Menschheit (vgl. Sen. *Ep.* 90, Vitruv. II 1, Cic. *Nat.* II 140); diese Entwicklung und die Kultur überhaupt waren für ihn Errungenschaften der Philosophen, der Weisen, die etwas von der göttlichen Vernunft besaßen.¹ Indem Cicero seiner Darstellung eine Lobpreisung der Philosophie einfügt und dabei sagt, dass er von der Lehre Platons abweicht, zeigt er deutlich, dass er Poseidonios als sein Vorbild ansieht: *Philosophia vero, . . . , quid est aliud nisi, ut Plato, donum, ut ego, inventum deorum* (*Tusc.* I 64). Die göttliche Vernunft hat die Menschen erweckt, so dass sie die Welt und das Weltall zu betrachten begonnen haben. Besonders anschaulich ist die Darstellung Ciceros, der hier dem Poseidonios folgt, auch hinsichtlich der Anwendung von Vergleichen *Nat.* II 140: *Qui (deus) primum eos (homines) humo excitatos celsos et erectos constituit, ut deorum cognitionem caelum intuentes capere possent. Sunt enim ex terra homines non ut incolae atque habitatores sed quasi spectatores superarum rerum caelestium . . . Sensus autem interpretes ac nuntii rerum in capite tamquam in arce . . . conlocati sunt. Nam oculi tamquam speculatores altissimum locum optinent . . . Vgl. Tusc. I 20 Plato triplicem finxit animum, cuius principatum, id est rationem, in capite sicut in arce posuit;*² *Tusc.* I 69 *hominem . . . quasi contemplatorem caeli (videmus).* Diese Stelle aus *De natura deorum* zeigt auch, dass Poseidonios zu den oben zitierten Augenvergleichen beigetragen haben kann. Solche Vergleiche sind auch aus der übrigen von Poseidonios beeinflussten Literatur bekannt, z.B. Sext. *Emp. Adv. math.* VII 93 *ὡς τὸ μὲν φῶς, φησὶν ὁ Ποσειδώνιος τὸν Πλάτωνος Τίμαιον ἐξηγούμενος, ὑπὸ τῆς φωτοειδοῦς ὄψεως καταλαμβάνεται, ἡ δὲ φωνὴ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀεροειδοῦς ἀκοῆς, οὕτω καὶ ἡ τῶν ὄλων φύσις ὑπὸ συγγενοῦς ὀφείλει καταλαμβάνεσθαι τοῦ λόγου.* Philo, *De opif. mundi* 53 *ὅπερ γὰρ νοῦς ἐν ψυχῇ, τοῦτ' ὀφθαλμὸς ἐν σώματι . . .* Für die Quellenfrage ist ausserdem von Bedeutung, dass Sextus Empiricus sagt, Poseidonios erkläre den *Timaios* des Platon, worauf auch Cicero in dem angeführten Weltsphäre-Vergleich hinweist.

2. Sonne, Meer. Es ist natürlich, dass Poseidonios, der Forschungsreisen unternommen hatte, um fremde Völker und die Natur anderer Länder kennenzulernen, auch Vergleiche aus der Menge der Naturerscheinungen nahm. Er

Elementum, Leipzig 1899, 3, und RUDBERG, a.a.O. 218, Anm. 1 (Erwähnung des Archimedes), dafür, dass Ciceros Quelle Poseidonios ist, kommen einem überzeugend vor.

¹ Vgl. RUDBERG, a.a.O. 51–87.

² Vgl. Plat. *Tim.* 70 a; W. W. JAEGER, *Nemesios von Emesa*, Berlin 1914, 22 Anm. 1, ist der Meinung, dass Cicero und Galen (*De plac. Hipp. et Plat.* II, S. 189 MÜLLER) diesen Vergleich von Platon durch Vermittlung des Poseidonios übernommen haben. — Über den Augenvergleich s. auch Cic. *Nat.* II 99 und 161. REINHARDT, Poseidonios 5, sagt, dass Poseidonios »der grösste Augendenker der Antike« gewesen ist.

hat auch ganze Werke über Naturerscheinungen geschrieben.¹ Kleomedes und Diodoros Siculus benutzten Poseidonios als Quelle für die von ihnen verfassten Loblieder auf die Sonne. Wahrscheinlich von Poseidonios inspiriert ist der von Cicero gezogene Vergleich der Seele mit der Sonne, deren Lichtstärke den Sinn des Forschenden blenden kann: *nisi idem nobis accideret diligenter de animo cogitantibus, quod iis saepe usu venit, qui acriter oculis deficientem solem intuerentur, ut aspectum omnino amitterent* (*Tusc. I 73*).² Dieses Vergleichsmotiv stammt von Platon (*Phaed.* 99 d), und Cicero gebraucht es in einem Zusammenhang, wo er auch sonst Platon paraphrasiert. Aber er bringt den Vergleich in anderer Absicht als dieser. Bei Platon sagt Sokrates, er habe gefürchtet, dass die unmittelbare Betrachtung der Dinge den Sinn blindmachen könnte, und deshalb eine mittelbare Betrachtungsweise angenommen (*εἰς τοὺς λόγους*). Der Umstand, dass bei Cicero die Anführung dieses Vergleichs eine Art von störendem Stehenbleiben in der den Gedanken Platons folgenden Darstellung zu verursachen scheint, dürfte beweisen, dass Cicero Platon nicht unmittelbar nachahmt.³ Bei Cicero dient der Vergleich zur Äusserung des für Poseidonios typischen Gedankens von der göttlichen Kraft der Vernunft und ihrem Sonnencharakter (vgl. VOGEL, Nr. 1192). In diesem Zusammenhang bringt Cicero einen Meeresvergleich unter, dessen Motiv ebenfalls von Platon stammt (*Phaed.* 85 d): *Itaque dubitans, circumspectans, haesitans, multa adversa reverens tamquam in rate in mari immenso nostra vehitur oratio* (*Tusc. I 73*). Er vergleicht also den Menschen, den die Vernunft (*oratio = logos*) im Weltall lenkt, und der mit seiner Vernunft das Weltall betrachtet, mit einem Floss, das auf dem gewaltigen Meer schwimmt. Beide Vergleiche werden in diesem Zusammenhang nur dann verständlich, wenn wir in ihnen den stoischen Grundgedanken von der göttlichen Vernunft und die Lehre des Poseidonios vom störenden Einfluss des Körpers auf die Tätigkeit der menschlichen Vernunft begreifen (vgl. *Tusc. I 44*; VOGEL, Nr. 1184). Hier scheint es sich gerade um das Ätiologisieren und um den Aristotelismus zu handeln, weswegen Strabon (II 3, 8) den Poseidonios tadelt und worin dieser von seinem Lehrmeister Platon abweicht:⁴ auch der Körper kann Forschungsobjekt sein, weil sich darin die Seele befindet. Cicero

¹ Siehe REINHARDT, RE 22, 1, 567—570.

² Zur Textgestalt und syntaktischen Struktur der Stelle ausführlich S. LUNDSTRÖM, Vermeintliche Glosseme in den Tusculanen, Uppsala 1964, 299—304.

³ Die, nach deren Ansicht Cicero in §§ 71—73 nur Gedanken Platons referiert, müssen ihn wegen Inkonsequenz tadeln; vgl. die Anmerkung von POHLENZ zu § 73.

⁴ Siehe REINHARDT, Poseidonios 293.

zeigt denn auch kurz darauf, dass er zu derartigen Überlegungen übergeht: *Nam quid aliud agimus, cum a voluptate, id est a corpore, . . . sevocamus animum. . . , nisi animum ad se ipsum advocamus, secum esse cogimus maximeque a corpore abducimus?* (*Tusc.* I 75). Zwar behandelt Cicero die Trennung der Seele vom Körper aufgrund der Lehren Platons, aber das tat auch Poseidonios, der hinsichtlich des Selbstmordes im Gegensatz zu den übrigen Stoikern den Standpunkt Platons annahm: der Selbstmord ist kein dem Menschen zustehendes Recht, sondern der den Menschen beherrschende göttliche Geist kann der Seele die Aufforderung zukommen lassen, sich vom Körper zu trennen: *Vetat enim dominans ille in nobis deus iniussu hinc nos suo demigrare; cum vero causam iustam deus ipse dederit, . . . vir sapiens . . . tamquam a magistratu aut ab aliqua potestate legitima, sic a deo evocatus atque emissus exierit* (*Tusc.* I 74). Am Ende des ersten Teils von *Tusc.* I (§§ 77—81) richtet Cicero dann einen sehr deutlichen Angriff gegen die Stoiker im allgemeinen und gegen Panaitios im besonderen. Eine Art Einleitung zu diesem Abschnitt ist folgender Vergleich: *Stoici autem usuram nobis largiuntur tamquam cornicibus: diu mansuros aiunt animos, semper negant* (*Tusc.* I 77). Der Gebrauch eines Vergleichs mit der Krähe — die Langlebigkeit dieses Vogels war ja sprichwörtlich — kann an und für sich auf keine Quelle hindeuten, aber bezeichnenderweise steht der Vergleich in einem Abschnitt, in dem sich die Polemik des den Lehren Platons folgenden Poseidonios gegen die anderen Stoiker widerspiegelt. Obwohl wir keine genaue Kenntnis von der Eschatologie des Poseidonios haben, beweisen schon seine Äusserungen über die Teile oder Kräfte der Seele (Galen. *De plac. Hipp. et Plat.* S. 449—450 MÜLLER) und seine Anschauung von der Vernunft (*logos*) als dem wirklichen Wesen der Seele, dass er an die Unsterblichkeit der Seele glaubte (vgl. Sext. *Emp. Adv. math.* IX 73—74).¹

Auf den Meeresvergleich will ich nun noch zurückkommen. Poseidonios verglich gern die Gottheit mit dem Steuermann eines Schiffes und das Leben mit dem Seegang sowie demgemäss die Tätigkeit der Vernunft mit der Lenkung des Schiffes:² *Cic. Nat.* II 87 *cumque procul cursu navigii videris, non dubitare quin id ratio ne atque arte moveatur, . . . , mundum autem, . . . , consilii et rationis esse expertum putare?* Sext. *Emp. Adv. math.* IX 27 *καὶ ὃν τρόπον ὁ ἔμπειρος νεώς, ἅμα τῷ θεάσασθαι πόρρωθεν ναῦν οὐρίῳ διωκομένην πνεύματι καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἰστίοις ἐντροπιζομένην, συνήσιν ὅτι ἔστι τις ὁ κατευθύνων ταύτην καὶ εἰς τοὺς προκειμένους λιμένας κατάγων, οὕτως οἱ πρῶτον εἰς οὐρανὸν*

¹ Vgl. VOGELS Anmerkungen in Nr. 1192.

² Siehe RUDBERG, a.a.O. 207—208; vgl. auch R. E. WITT, *Class. Quart.* 24 (1930), 201.

ἀναβλέψαντες . . . ἐπεζήτουν τὸν δημιουργὸν τῆς περικαλλοῦς διακοσμήσεως . . . An diese Schau erinnert Ciceros Vergleich *Tusc.* I 45, wo er die Betrachtung des Meeres mit den Möglichkeiten der vom Körper befreiten Seele vergleicht, den ganzen Kosmos anzuschauen.

3. H a u s, F a s s, W a c h s. *Mihi quidem . . . multo difficilior occurrit cogitatio, multo obscurior, qualis animus in corpore sit tamquam alienae domi, quam qualis, cum exierit et in liberum caelum quasi domum suam venerit (Tusc. I 51); Nam corpus quidem quasi vas est aut aliquod animi receptaculum (Tusc. I 52); utrum capitatem aliquam in animo putamus esse, quo tamquam in aliquod vas ea, quae meminimus infundantur? . . . An inprimi quasi ceram animum putamus et esse memoriam signatarum rerum in mente vestigia (Tusc. I 61).* Der Vergleich mit einem Haus kommt oft in Ciceros übriger philosophischer Produktion vor, der Vasenvergleich aber sonst keinmal, während der Vergleich mit Wachs auch *Nat.* I 71 vorkommt.

Die zwei erstgenannten Vergleiche gehören zu einem Abschnitt, wo Cicero die Meinungen derer zurückweist, laut denen die Seele mit dem Körper untergeht. Er nimmt in seiner Beweisführung Platons Dialog *Phaidros* zu Hilfe und richtet besonders heftige und spöttische Angriffe gegen die Epikuräer. Dabei bedient er sich ironischer Fragen und sprachlicher Bilder: *animosque quasi capite damnatos morte multant . . . Quasi vero intellegant, qualis sit in ipso corpore; . . . casurusne in conspectum videatur animus, an tanta sit eius tenuitas, ut fugiat aciem? (Tusc. I 50); Licet concurrant omnes plebei philosophi (Tusc. I 55).* Bekanntlich stand Poseidonios den Epikuräern ebenso negativ gegenüber, ein Zug, der schon in der Antike bemerkt wurde: *Diog. L. X 4 ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ περὶ Ποσειδώνιον τὸν Στωϊκὸν (δυσμενῶς ἔχοντες πρὸς Ἐπίκουρον πικρότατα αὐτὸν διαβεβλήκασιν).* Poseidonios kritisiert nicht nur die Lehren Epikurs, sondern er spottet auch über ihn¹ (z. B. *Cic. Nat.* I 123; *Ach. Tat. Intr. Arat.* 13, wo auch der Leim-Vergleich angewandt wird;² *Sen. Ep.* 90, 35; *Cleomed. De motu circ.* II 1, 152, 19).

Paragraph 61 wiederum, aus dem wir zwei Vergleiche zitiert haben, steht am Ende eines Abschnittes, wo Cicero unter Hinweis auf Platons Lehren beweist, dass das Gedächtnis die Existenz von irgendetwas Göttlichem in der Seele der Menschen zeigt. Cicero weicht hier jedoch von der Lehre Platons ab. Nachdem er diese Lehre von der *recordatio* dargelegt hat, sagt er: *Ita nihil*

¹ RUDBERG, a.a.O. 30—44, gibt eine recht eingehende Darstellung von der Einstellung des Poseidonios zu den Epikuräern.

² Siehe VOGEL Nr. 1192 a.

est aliud discere nisi recordari. — *Ego autem maiore etiam quodam modo memoriam admiror* (*Tusc.* I 58—59). Das Wichtigste, was Cicero sagen will, ist die Tätigkeit des göttlichen Logos. Während Platon und im Anschluss an ihn die ältere Stoa das Gedächtnis als einen bleibenden, passiven Zustand auffassten, unterschied die jüngere Stoa, geführt von Poseidonios, den passiven Zustand des Menschen in der *φαντασία* und seinen aktiven Zustand in der *συγκατάθεσις* (*Sext. Emp. Adv. math.* VII 237).¹ Ebenso verzichtet Cicero auf den Begriff *τύπωσις* 'Eindruck', wie die obenzitierten Vergleiche zeigen, und erklärt, dass das Gedächtnis dynamisch ist: *Quae sit illa vis et unde sit, intelligendum puto* (*Tusc.* I 60).

Das Fass und das Wachs sind beliebte Vergleiche und Sinnbilder für die Seele gewesen, die die Vorstellungen in sich aufnimmt. Besonders Philon gebrauchte gern den Wachsvergleich.² In §§ 51—52 dagegen wird der Körper einerseits mit einer Vase, andererseits mit einem fremden Haus verglichen. Wie schon oben erwähnt, waren sowohl Cicero als auch Poseidonios interessiert für das Verhältnis von Körper und Seele. Cicero betont an vielen Stellen, dass der Körper für die Seele gleichsam ein Gefängnis oder eine fremde Heimstätte ist, von wo sie wegstrebt. Ausser den obenzitierten Stellen haben wir noch folgende: *nec tamen ulla vincula carceris ruperit* (*Tusc.* I 74)³; *cum illuc ex his vinculis emissi ferremur* (*Tusc.* I 75); *qui in compedibus corporis semper fuerunt . . . , qui ferro vincti multos annos fuerunt* (*Tusc.* I 75)⁴; *cumque corporis facibus inflammari soleamus . . . , profecto beati erimus, cum corporibus relictis et cupiditatum et aemulationum erimus expertes* (*Tusc.* I 44). Eine ebensolche Denkweise findet man in der von Poseidonios beeinflussten Literatur, z.B. Sen. *Ad Polyb.* IX 3 *nunc animus fratris mei, velut ex diutino carcere emissus, tandem sui iuris et arbitrii, gestit . . .*, Philo, *De somn.* I 624 *φυγοῦσαι . . . ὥσπερ ἐξ εἰρκτῆς, ἄνω κούφοις περοῖς πρὸς αἰθέρα ἐξαοθεῖσαι μετεωροπολοῦσι τὸν αἰῶνα*. In einen ähnlichen gedanklichen Zusammenhang gehört die Sinneswahrnehmungstheorie in *Tusc.* I 46—47, wo auch ähnliche Metaphorik und Bildersprache vorkommt: *viae quasi quaedam sunt ad oculos, ad auris, ad naris a sede animi perforatae. ; . . facile intellegi possit animum et*

¹ Nach der Meinung von HEINEMANN, a.a.O. I 203 ff., ist die Quelle des Sextus Empiricus hier Poseidonios.

² Beispiele für derartige Vergleiche bei Philon bringt P. GRONAU, Poseidonios und die jüdisch-christliche Genesisexegese, Leipzig 1914, 273.

³ Zur Textgestalt dieser Stelle s. LUNDSTRÖM, a.a.O. 354—359.

⁴ Zwar paraphrasiert Cicero Platon, aber es ist möglich, dass er das durch Vermittlung von Poseidonios tut.

videre et audire, non eas partis, quae quasi fenestrae sint animi . . . ; . . . quae numquam quinque nuntiis animus cognosceret, nisi . . . ; . . . foramina illa, terrenis concretisque corporibus sunt intersaepta quodam modo. Mit Redewendungen, die an Ciceros Schilderung erinnern, erklärt auch Sextus Empiricus (*Adv. math. VII 129—130*)¹ den Empfang von Sinneswahrnehmungen: offenbar haben beide dieselbe Quelle:² *ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ὕπνοις μυσάντων τῶν αἰσθητικῶν πόρων χωρίζεται τῆς πρὸς τὸ περιέχον συμφυΐας ὁ ἐν ἡμῖν νοῦς ἐν δὲ ἐγρηγόρσει πάλιν διὰ τῶν αἰσθητικῶν πόρων ὥσπερ διὰ τινῶν θυρίδων προκύψας καὶ τῷ περιέχοντι συμβαλὼν λογικὴν ἐνδύεται δύναμιν.* Vgl. auch Cic. *Nat. II 140 sensus interpretes ac nuntii rerum in capite . . . conlocati sunt.*

IV

Die Forscher haben, wenn sie die Frage der Quellen Ciceros lösen wollten, seine Anwendung von Vergleichen und überhaupt die stilistischen Züge seiner Darstellungsweise nicht berücksichtigt.³ Diese Dinge scheinen jedoch einen wichtigen Beitrag zur Klärung des Problems zu liefern. Der Gebrauch von Vergleichen spricht für die Möglichkeit, dass Cicero die Schriften des Poseidonios als Quellen für *Tusc. I 26—81* benutzt hat. Obgleich man keineswegs sagen kann, dass die von Cicero angewandten Vergleiche ausschliesslich dem Poseidonios eigen wären, gibt doch ihr verhältnismässig reichliches Auftreten Anlass zu der Annahme, dass der Einfluss des Poseidonios hier recht bedeutend ist.

Trotz den zahlreichen Untersuchungen, die über Poseidonios geschrieben worden sind, ist das Bild seiner Persönlichkeit und seiner Philosophie noch nicht völlig geklärt. Wir wissen, dass sein Einfluss auf die griechische und römische Kultur, insbesondere auf Philosophie und Literatur, beträchtlich war, aber wir müssen uns unsere Auffassung von ihm lediglich aufgrund von Zitaten (die es vor allem aus seinen philosophischen Schriften nur spärlich gibt), von Reminiszenzen und von Einflüssen auf verschiedene Autoren bilden. Aus diesem Grunde kann man die Möglichkeit, dass irgendein Werk im Geiste der Lehren des Poseidonios geschrieben ist, nicht mit der Begründung bestrei-

¹ Siehe REINHARDT, *Kosmos und Sympathie* 187 ff., wo nachgewiesen wird, dass Poseidonios die Quelle des Sextus Empiricus ist.

² HEINEMANN, a.a.O. II 393, ist der Ansicht, dass Poseidonios auch die Quelle Ciceros ist.

³ RUDBERG, a.a.O. 223 Anm. 1, weist zwar auf diese Möglichkeit hin.

ten, dass darin Auffassungen von Platon oder Aristoteles oder der älteren Stoa vorkommen. Dabei ist es von grösstem Wert, sich erstens ein Gesamtbild von der Persönlichkeit des Poseidonios vorzustellen (RUDBERGS Untersuchung ist in diesem Sinne beispielhaft) und zweitens sowohl die philosophische Einstellung des zu erforschenden Autors als auch die Grundzüge des Stils des zu untersuchenden Werkes zu berücksichtigen.

VOCATIVE SINGULAR ADDRESSING THE CHORUS IN GREEK DRAMA

Maarit Vuorenjuuri

The vocative¹ singular addressing the chorus rarely occurs in conversation between the actors and the chorus or in choral parts. It is only natural that the vocative is usually in the plural, or the vocative word is a collective noun,² since the chorus is a group consisting of several members. Referring to the chorus by the second person plural, including vocative plural forms, is common in all plays. Similarly second person singular verb forms, including imperatives, and also pronouns, are quite commonly used with reference not only to the chorus-leader but to the chorus as a whole. It may be of interest to examine the corresponding use of the singular vocatives and consider whether they can tell us something about the dramatic and psychological technique of the dramatists.³

The vocative singular referring to the chorus is never used in an actor's rhesis, but it is found in stichic dialogue between an actor and the chorus-leader once in Aeschylus, once in Sophocles and once in Euripides (A. *Th.* 262, S. *OC* 465, E. *Med.* 1310). E. *Ba.* 1033 is also very similar. In lyrical dialogue between the chorus and an actor, Aeschylus never employs the vocative singular, Sophocles uses it three times (*OT* 1321, *Ph.* 1169, *OC* 530) and Euripides four times (*Tr.* 182, *Or.* 146, 167, 186). Sophocles has, moreover, a vocative singular (perhaps addressing the chorus) in the final anapaests of the *Trachinian Women* (1275). A vocative singular addressed to the chorus by another chorus is found in E. *Supp.* 1124, a vocative addressed by the chorus to itself in E. *Supp.* 271 and in *Ion* 193. The vocative singular in tragedy is, accordingly, limited to fifteen instances. There is no reference to the use of proper names in the chorus.

¹ In this paper I use the term »vocative», besides actual vocative cases, of nominatives used instead of vocatives.

² Such collective vocatives are for instance S. *Ai.* 357 γένος, A. *A.* 855 πρέσβος τόδε, E. *Hel.* 192 θήραμα βαρβάρου πλάτας.

³ I am preparing a larger work which discusses the use of the singular and the plural in referring to the chorus.

In comedy, the only vocative singular addressed by an actor to the chorus is in *Ach.* 943. Otherwise only the leader of a half-chorus (seven times, *Ach.* 564, *Lys.* 371, 372, 378, 699, 797, 1017) or another chorus (eight times in *V.* 290ff.) employs this form. In these figures the vocatives of proper names are not included. From the fragments of satyr plays, Sophocles' *Ichneutae* 98, 177 ff., 191, 389, and Aeschylus' *Isthmiastae* 90 should be mentioned.

In stichic dialogue the actor usually has no need to use a vocative to address the chorus, because he normally uses a vocative as a greeting when he comes on to the stage or during his rhesis. However, the vocative, if it is used in stichomythia, can be in the singular. In all such cases the actor has focused his attention on the words of the chorus-leader. These vocatives occur in expressions where the actor is referring to the words which the chorus-leader has just spoken, and the contents of the leader's words arouse a strong emotional reaction in the actor. Thus, the actor's vocative to the chorus-leader reflects a sudden rise in the intensity of the dialogue. In the *Seven against Thebes*, for example, Eteokles, after some preparation, flings to the chorus-leader a vehement imperative: A. *Th.* 262 *σίγησον, ὦ τάλαινα, μὴ φίλους φόβει.* Similarly, in Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus*, Oedipus, when he has finally received from the Colonean elders a favourable answer to his requests, says gratefully: S. *OC* 465 *ὦ φίλατθ', ὡς νῦν πᾶν τελοῦντι προξένει.* Jason, having just heard from the chorus-leader that Medea has killed the children, exclaims: E. *Med.* 1310 *οἴμοι τί λέξεις; ὡς μ' ἀπόλεσας, γόναι.* Another near parallel occurs in E. *Ba.* 1032, although here the chorus-leader's words are partly in lyrics.¹ The messenger comes announcing Pentheus' death, the chorus-leader greets this message with an expression of great joy, and the messenger asks astonished: *πῶς φῆς; τί τοῦτ' ἔλεξας; ἦ ἢ πὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς | χαίρεις κακῶς πρᾶσσουσι δεσπόταις, γόναι;* The vocative plural does not occur in similar contexts. In A. *Pers.* 231 Atossa begins a stichic dialogue with the leader, but addresses the whole chorus in the vocative plural *ὦ φίλοι.* In A. *A.* 1299, 1315 Cassandra addresses the chorus as *ξένοι.* The contact between the actor and the chorus is not as strong in these latter instances as in those illustrated above. Cassandra in her ecstasy does not take much notice of anything else but her visions.

The metre naturally can influence the choice between singular and plural

¹ It is probable that the speaker is continually the leader, cf. E. R. Dodds, Euripides *Bacchae*, Oxford 1960, 207.

forms. However, it is not sufficient to explain the choice of the number primarily from the metre.¹ Sometimes it does not matter in the context which number is used, and in such cases metrical convenience has perhaps influenced the choice, but often the number chosen is really relevant in the context, sometimes very strongly indeed, and the other form could not have had the same effect. In iambic trimeter the nouns most commonly used in addressing the chorus fit the metre very well in both numbers, and might often be interchanged from a purely metrical point of view, as for instance *φίλα* and *φίλοι*, *φίλοι* and *φίλοι*. *γύναι* and *γυναῖκες* are both very easy to manage in iambs, and the usual addressing of the chorus as »strangers» offers in tragedy many possibilities — *ξένος*, *ξεῖνος*, *ξένη*, *ξέν'*, *ξεῖνη*, *ξεῖν'*, *ξένοι*, *ξεῖνοι* — all with or without the particle *ὦ*. As the plural forms are almost always, and with only few exceptions, used in trimeters, we cannot regard the choice of the singular to be mainly influenced by the metre.

In comedy, the vocative singular occurs in stichic dialogue under the same conditions — the chorus-leader's words or actions calling forth a strong emotional reaction from another person. Here the second speaker is not an actor, but the leader of the other half-chorus. In the *Acharnians* the half-choruses begin to disagree about Dikaiopolis at v. 557. One leader behaves threateningly, and the other tries to stop him, shouting (564) *οὔτος σύ, ποῖ θεῖς; οὐ μνεῖς*; In the *Lysistrata* the vocative singular occurs as a word of abuse: when the women raise their water-pots menacingly, the leader of the men says: 371 *τί δ' ὦ θεοῖς ἐχθρὰ σὺ δεῦρ' ὕδωρ ἔχουσ' ἀφίκου*; and the leader of the women answers: 372 *τί δαὶ σὺ πῦρ ὦ τύμβ' ἔχων*; The leader of the women threatens to give a bath to the men, to which the leader of the men says: 378 *ἐμοὶ σὺ λουτρον ὦ σαπρά*; Aristophanes also has the vocative singular as a term of abuse in *Lys.* 1017 and 699. The latter instance is not in a stichomythia, but in the trochaic rhexis of the leader, which, in this comedy, corresponds to the parabasis.

Similar instances are found in satyr-plays, too. In Aeschylus' *Isthmiastae* a person brings to the satyrs some »new playthings».² The leader in his iambic verse rejects them emphatically, suggesting that he should give them to some-

¹ Regarding the relation of the metre to the choice of words see the pertinent remarks of G. BJÖRCK, *Das Alpha Impurum und die tragische Kunstsprache*, *Skrifter utgivna av Kungliga Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Uppsala*, 39, 1, Uppsala 1950—52, 95.

² Perhaps small chariots, as K. REINHARDT suggested; for the interpretation of these lines cf. H. J. METTE, *Der verlorene Aischylos*, *Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissenschaft* 35, Berlin 1963, 168—69.

one else, and the first person says: 90 μὴ ἀπειπε μηδ' ὄρν{ε}νος οὐνεκ', ὦγαθέ. In Sophocles' *Ichneutae*, Kyllene and the leading satyr have a stichic dialogue. The satyr says something which astonishes Kyllene, and she answers: 389 τίς, ὦ πονήρ', ἔχει; I think that in all above-mentioned examples the fact that the speaking partner is only one person must have influenced the choice of the number, perhaps, indeed, have been the main reason for it, because we have seen how the vocative singular is mostly used explicitly in connection with an allusion to the words of the preceding speaker.

In comedy we have some passages where the third person singular is used about the chorus. This usage is even more rare than the vocative singular. In tragedy I have found no indisputable example: Though Athene in *A. Eu.* 950 says μέγα γὰρ δύναται πότνι' Ἐριώς, the vengeance-demons are here seen as an abstract power, and when in her following words she describes the concrete accomplishments of this power, Athene returns immediately to plural forms. Again, in *A. Eu.* 583—584 ὁ γὰρ διώκων πρότερος ἐξ ἀρχῆς λέγων / γένοιτ' ἂν ὀρθῶς πράγματος διδάσκαλος the word διώκων is a common technical law-term, which is naturally employed in the singular, although there are many accusers in this case, as the chorus-leader herself states in her next words. In tragedy there is never any reference to the words of the chorus-leader in the third person singular, but they are always thought of as the expression of the whole plural chorus. Aristophanes, on the other hand, has the third person singular in *Lys.* 352 ff., where the leaders of the half-choruses are arguing with each other — in the same situation where we have found the vocative singular. When the leader of the women threatens the men with a nuptial bath, their leader exclaims: 379 ἤκουσας αὐτῆς τοῦ θράσους; and in his next line he gives an order to his torch: 381 ἔμπρησον αὐτῆς τὰς κόμας. In the trochaic verses which in this comedy replace the habitual parabasis, the leader of the men imagines how he stands close by the statue of Aristogeiton, his fist clenched, and says: 634 + αὐτὸς + γὰρ μοι γίνεται / τῆς θεοῖς ἐχθρᾶς πατάξαι τῆσδε γραῶς τὴν γνάθον. This γραῶς can hardly be Lysistrata; it probably refers to the chorus of old women, to which there was also an allusion in the preceding strophe (622). Here, too, it is probable that the trochaic verses are spoken by the respective leaders of the half-choruses. Perhaps they are standing near each other, and so the words of the men's leader are directed mainly to the leader of the women, whom he threatens with his gesture.¹ The fact that the third person singular, referring to the

¹ Cf. U. VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF, *Aristophanes Lysistrata*, Berlin 1927, 161—62.

chorus, occurs only where it can really mean just one speaker, favours the view that the case with the vocative singular is also the same.

Similarly the actor is likely to address his words only to the leader in those dialogues where the chorus answers with one or two trimeters to the lyrical strophe of the actor. In the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, Oedipus comes at 1297 from the palace, and his appearance confirms the messenger's tale of his dreadful deed. The chorus, reciting anapaests, turns away from him (1303). Oedipus complains first in melic anapaests (1307—1311), probably taking some steps from the palace door towards the others. To his lament the leader answers with an iambic trimeter, possibly still not looking at him (1312 ἐς . . . οὐδ' ἐπόψιμον). Oedipus does not hear or take notice of this and starts his lyrical lament. The leader answers in trimeters, which he now addresses for the first time directly to Oedipus — by now he has probably also turned to him, because all his expressions in this dialogue contain an address to Oedipus. The leader's voice — the voice of one human being — at last brings Oedipus to take notice of the surrounding people and to burst into pathetically grateful words: S. OT 1321 ἰὼ φίλος, / σὺ μὲν ἐμὸς ἐπίπολος ἔτι μόνιμος· ἔτι γὰρ / ὑπομένεις με τὸν τυφλὸν κηδεύων. / φεῦ φεῦ· / οὐ γὰρ με λήθεις, ἀλλὰ γιννώσκω σαφῶς, / καίπερ σκοτεινός, τήν γε σὴν αὐδὴν ὄμωσ. Usually when the actor comes on to the stage, he addresses the chorus in the plural, because he sees a group of people before his eyes. Here Oedipus does not see, but hears, and since he hears only the voice of the leader, it is natural for him to address his words just to this one person. In this case the leader's words do not contain such meaningful information as we have seen in the vocative singular cases used in stichomythia in tragedy, but the mere hearing of a voice is enough to wake a strong reaction in Oedipus. At the beginning of the second strophe (1329) and in its antistrophe Oedipus again speaks to the chorus using the vocative plural φίλοι. After his first exceptional burst he thus returns to the conventional plural, thinking of the chorus-leader only as the representative voice of a larger group, which is also present.

In Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus* 510 f. the chorus tries in a lyrical dialogue to compel Oedipus against his will to tell about his crime. At last they themselves suggest that the worst has happened and seek his confirmation of it: 527 ἦ ματρόθεν, ὡς ἀκούω, / δυσώνυμα λέκτρ' ἐπλήσω; To this disclosure Oedipus exclaims: 529 ὦμοι, θάνατος μὲν τὰδ' ἀκούειν, / ᾧ ξεῖν'. We see the vocative singular used here in a similar situation as above: the actor reacts strongly to the words just spoken to him. Here, however, the question of the speaker is not so clear as before, because we have no sure way of knowing how

lyrical choral parts such as these were performed. It is better to start from the hypothesis that the strophic choral odes were sung by the whole chorus, since we have no evidence against it.¹ Such lyrical dialogues as this might, however, be performed by a single member of the chorus, i.e. the chorus-leader. As possible reasons for this there have been mentioned the similarity of the questioning theme to the questions generally posed by the chorus-leader in iambic parts, the rapid changes of speaker, the short answers which would be more appropriate to one person than to the whole body of the chorus, the fact that the actor's and the chorus' lines sometimes correspond to each other in strophe and antistrophe, which would speak for a similar method of delivery.² The vocative singular, compared with its use in the iambic stichomythia, could here be a possible indication of the same thing.

In Euripides' *Orestes*, when the chorus, sympathetic and curious, comes to the bed at which Elektra is watching Orestes' sleep, singular vocatives occur in a lyrical dialogue between the actor and the chorus. KANNICHT has recorded the fact that Elektra uses a second person singular imperative when she forbids the chorus to speak, but second person plural imperatives when she implies that the chorus should move.³ He suggests that this, perhaps, indicates that the leader alone is singing the answers to Elektra. The difference between the use of the singular and plural, however, really is not quite so easily defined. In 149 and 171 the imperatives ordering movements are in the singular. It is true that Elektra does not refer in the plural to the singing or speaking of the chorus, but KANNICHT does not mention that three times in this dialogue Elektra uses a vocative singular to the chorus when she gives orders about talking or singing: E. *Or.* 145 ἄ ἄ σύριγγος ὅπως πνοὰ / λεπτοῦ δόνακος, ᾧ φίλα, φώνει μοι. 167 σὺ γάρ νιν, ᾧ τάλαινα, / θωύξασ' ἔβαλες ἐξ ὕπνου. 186 οὐχὶ σίγα . . . ὕπνου χάριν παρέξεις, φίλα; Also in stichomythia, where the chorus-leader is speaking, one can see the tendency to use the imperative in the singular when referring to the conversation, but otherwise plural imperatives. It is of course impossible to reconstruct the choreography on the strength of some remarks in the text, but I think that

¹ Cf. A. PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, Oxford 1968², 245.

² These questions are discussed among others by U. VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF, *Herakles II*, Berlin 1895, 189—190, D. L. PAGE, *The Chorus of Alcman's Partheneion*, *Classical Quarterly* 31, 1937, 94—99, R. KANNICHT, *Untersuchungen zu Form und Funktion des Amoibaion in der attischen Tragödie*, Diss. Heidelberg 1957 (typed), V. DI BENEDETTO, *Responsione strofica e distribuzione delle battute in Euripide*, *Hermes* 89, 1961, 298—321.

³ *Op. cit.* 41.

the singular vocatives in this case speak in favour of KANNICHT's suggestion, and so Elektra's orders would give a rather clear picture of the movements. When the chorus enter the orchestra, Elektra bids them to stay away from the bed, and they obey (143—44). On hearing the chorus-leader's reply Elektra bids her to speak more quietly (145—46), the leader obeys (147—48) and Elektra is content (148). She then asks the leader alone to come nearer the bed and to tell her why they have come (149—50; in the last verse she mentions the leader alone as the representative of the chorus *λόγον ἀπόδος ἐφ' ὃ τι χρέος ἐμόλετέ ποτε*¹). During the following strophes the leader apparently stands quite near the bed — Elektra uses singular forms in 157, 167, 171, 173, and the leader could not otherwise comment on the smallest movements of Orestes (166, 169, 173). The text, however, gives no indication as to what causes Elektra's words in 181 *κτύπον ἠγάγετ'* (perhaps this refers to the noise of the chorus' movements) and *οὐχὶ σίγα*. Coming after her own song to the Night, these reproaches are rather odd. BENEDETTO thinks that this lullaby belongs to the chorus and not to Elektra.² In this case, the question of whether the passage is sung by the whole chorus or by one member only is still open. The vocative singular in 186 perhaps speaks for the latter possibility.

In the parodos of Euripides' *Troades*, Hekabe greets the first half-chorus with a vocative plural: 159 *ὦ τέκν'*, *Ἀργείων πρὸς ναῦς ἤδη*, but the second half-chorus with a vocative singular: 182 *ὦ τέκνον*, *ὀρθροῦον σὰν ψυχάν*. The verbs in the singular which the chorus uses in the preceding verses have perhaps influenced this vocative form, too. If here also the dialogue is between Hekabe and the leader, the vocative singular would be easier to understand. In both verses either the text or the distribution of the lines between the speakers is not certain.

In comedy we find in similar lyrical dialogues only two instances of the vocative singular. In *Lys.* 797 the men sing *βούλομαί σε γραῦ κύσαι* — this is in a stichic trochaic dialogue, which is strophic, and it is again possible to think that the delivery is by one person only. The actor does not address a vocative singular to the chorus anywhere except in *Ach.* 943, where Dikaio-polis says to the chorus *ἰσχυρόν ἐστιν, ὦγαθ', ὅστ' | οὐκ ἂν καταγείη*. There is a possibility that this is not addressed to the chorus but to the Boeotian,

¹ Cf. KANNICHT *ibid.*

² V. DI BENEDETTO, Euripidis *Orestes*, Firenze 1965, 41, and *Hermes* 89, 1961, 315—316.

while Dikaiopolis is offering him the wrapped-up informer. But his words seem to me rather to be a direct answer to the question of the chorus. This vocative is naturally a common idiom in everyday conversation, and then of course mostly used in the singular, which could account for the singular form here, too; however, it also occurs in the vocative plural — for instance in Aeschylus' *Isthm.* 23. In satyr-play we have a vocative singular in Sophocles' *Ichn.* 191 ἄ μιαιφόνε. The verses in this lyrical part are so badly mutilated that the sense and reference cannot be traced any more than the speaker. Anyway this is apparently a similar case of colloquialism.

In some cases the speaker is not an actor, or the opposing half-chorus as in the *Lysistrata*, but a separate second chorus. Thus, in Euripides' *Suppliant Women* the chorus consisting of the sons of the fallen heroes, as they bring the ashes of their fathers, sing to the chorus of mothers: 1123 φέρω φέρω, / τάλαινα μάτερ, ἐκ πυρός πατρὸς μέλη. It is quite unusual to address the chorus in the singular when one comes on to the stage and greets them. The very personal grief — the grief of a mother at her son's death — which is the subject of this song has possibly favoured the use of the singular. It is moreover possible that this song, too, is delivered only by one boy and one mother, because children usually are κῶφα πρόσωπα in tragedy and do not sing in chorus.¹ A corresponding dialogue is found in Aristophanes' *Wasps* 290 f., where the jurors and their sons are talking. On both sides we have several vocatives in the singular: ὦ παῖ, παιδίον, πάτερ, παππία (248, 252, 290, 293, 296, 297, 303).

In two cases in Euripides the vocative occurs in a choral part where there is no second chorus. In E. *Supp.* 271 ff. the chorus come to Theseus from the altar where they have begged Aithra for mercy: 271 βᾶθι, τάλαινα, ἱερῶν δαπέδων ἄπο Περσεφονείας, / βᾶθι καὶ ἀντίασον γονάτων ἐπι χεῖρα βαλοῦσα, / τέκνων τεθνεώτων κομίσαι δέμας, ὦ μελέα ἴγώ, / οὐδ' ὑπὸ τείχεσι Καδμείοισι ἀπώλεσα κούρους. MURRAY's text like the earlier HERMANN edition includes in this lyrical sequence several times the paragraphos indicating a change of speaker. Apparently he thought the first verses to be an exhortation by some members of the chorus to the others. The sentence ends, however, in the first person singular and it is, therefore, most natural to assume that the exhortations, too, are addressed to this person, i.e., here we really seem

¹ Cf. H. GRÉGOIRE, *Les Suppliantes*, 147, note 1, in Euripide, Tome III, *Collection des Universités de France*.

to have a »Selbstanrede«. This pitiful lament is very similar to some cases in Euripides, where an actor speaks to himself.¹

In the parodos of the *Ion* the women marvelling at the treasures of the temple of Apollo call on each other using the vocative both in the singular and in the plural: 193 φίλα, πρόσιδ' ὄσσοις, 208 ὦ φίλαι, ὦδε δευρόμεσθα. Apparently we have here the case of a chorus divided into several speakers, but we do not know whether there should be half-choruses, smaller groups or even individuals speaking.² If there are single speakers, the vocative could be influenced by this; if there are groups, the singular is only a variation instead of the more usual vocative plural.

The tendency to use the vocative singular principally when it is addressed to only one speaking partner could perhaps throw light on the following obscure passages in Sophocles. In *Ph.* 1169 ff. Sophocles uses a vocative singular in lyrical dialogue:

πάλιν πάλιν παλαιὸν ἄλ-
 γημ' ὑπέμνασας, ὦ
 λῶστε τῶν πρὶν ἐντόπων.
 τί μ' ὄλεσας; τί μ' εἴργασαι;

The situation is the same as before in so far as the actor, exasperated, refers to the words just spoken by the chorus. On the other hand this can hardly be addressed to only one member of the chorus. Even if the leader alone sings in the epode, which begins here, and the form of which is entirely different from the first part of the dialogue, the preceding strophe is probably sung by the whole chorus. The very strongly emotional vocative addressed suddenly to the chorus seems here to be a bit out of place. JEBB's explanation — »their words grieve him the more, because they have otherwise shown him so much sympathy, cp. 1125, 1165 f» — seems improbable to me, because Philoktetes has, before this, taken no notice at all of the words of the chorus. The preceding words of the chorus do not contain any clear allusion to Troy, and yet an allusion to Troy is commonly thought to be the cause of Philo-

¹ Usually one cannot explain for instance the singular imperatives of the chorus as referring to itself, »Selbstanrede«. We must always be aware of the plurality of the chorus, which prevents us from explaining its expressions in quite the same way as the single actors'. Real »Selbstanrede« occurs rather seldom in earlier Greek literature. Only Euripides' actors use it more commonly, cf. W. SCHADEWALDT, *Monolog und Selbstgespräch*, *Neue philologische Untersuchungen* 2, Berlin 1926, 201. Cf. for instance *El.* 112—113, *Med.* 1028, 1056—57.

² Cf. A. S. OWEN, *Euripides Ion*, Oxford 1939, 82.

ktetes' agitation.¹ However, even the chorus is at a loss when they hear his burst of emotions (1173).

I would like to change the usual punctuation a little:

πάλιν πάλιν παλαιὸν ἄλ-
 γημ' ὑπέμνασας. ὦ
 λῶστε τῶν πρὶν ἐντόπων,
 τί μ' ὄλεσας; τί μ' εἴργασαι;

In Sophocles a vocative as extensive and emphatic as this usually begins the clause instead of finishing it. More important, however, is the fact that if the vocative is linked with the verb ὑπέμνασας it does not make sense in the context. On the other hand it is in a logical connection with the questions τί μ' ὄλεσας κτλ. and so we have the contrast: »You, whom I thought to be so good, what have you done for me? Why have you ruined me?»² The question of what this παλαιὸν ἄλγημα is can be explained by Philoktetes' following questions and the vocative accompanying them: the treachery of Neoptolemos.³ Of course Philoktetes, when he explains this to the astonished chorus, mentions in particular the fact that Neoptolemos intended to take him to the hated Troy, but this concrete fact is hardly here the most important thing. What words, then, does the chorus in the preceding strophe use to arouse this reaction in Philoktetes? To such remarks as the chorus makes in the end — »you should come to your senses, it is your own fault, you could avoid destruction if you wished» — Philoktetes has made no answer before.⁴ But Philoktetes' words ὦ λῶστε τῶν πρὶν ἐντόπων seem to reflect the chorus' words 1164 ξένον . . . εὐνοία πάσα πελάταν. These words, it is true, have again

¹ This explanation has been given by the scholiast and also e.g. by JEBB in his commentary.

² I do not see any objection to this punctuation and interpretation from the point of view of the metrical construction of the verses. The particle ὦ concluding a colon, when the address continues in the next verse, occurs also e.g. in *S. Ai.* 697, *OT* 1194. An even stronger break in the continuity of the thought can occur in this way just before the end of a colon, as for instance in *A. El.* 847, *Ph.* 855, 1096, *OC* 1074, 1695. W. KRAUS (*Strophengestaltung in der griechischen Tragödie I, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philologisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte* 231, 4, Wien 1957) thinks that the period ends at 1171, but H. A. POHLSANDER remarks (*Metrical Studies in the Lyrics of Sophocles*, Leiden 1964, 129) that we have here no outward sign of the period-end. KRAUS has started his analysis from the contents and thought of the context, because in astrophic parts the periods tend to coincide with the thought units (28.) However, I think, as I said, that in this case the thought unit does not permit having the period-end at 1171.

³ Cf. the corresponding instances *S. Ant.* 857 and *E. Alc.* 878, where the actor's words »you have reminded me of a terrible pain» are instantly followed by an explanation of the nature of this pain.

⁴ For instance to the chorus' words in 1095—1100.

been explained and corrected in many ways. I do not see any reason to alter the text.¹ Also I do not think, as among others JEBB does in his commentary, that the chorus refer to themselves with these words and at the same time step forward to him — the expression would remain very obscure, even if we could see the action — but rather that it is most natural that this ξένος is Neoptolemos. In the lyrical dialogue the part played by Neoptolemos in the plot has not as yet been emphasized at all; Philoktetes has only complained about his lot and cursed Odysseus. The words ἄσκοπα κρυπτά τ' ἔπη δολεράς . . . φρενός in 1111—12 can refer to Neoptolemos, but the following imprecations and abuses are surely directed to Odysseus (1113—15, 1123—27, 1134—39). And yet, the very conflict between Neoptolemos and Philoktetes is the most important theme in the tragedy, and in the very next scene Neoptolemos has changed his mind and reveals the whole plot. The address in 1170 is, in regard to the position of the vocative and the whole construction and sense, exactly paralleled by Philoktetes' words to Neoptolemos in 927—29: ὦ πῦρ σὺ καὶ πᾶν δειῖμα καὶ πανουργίας / δεινῆς τέχνημ' ἔχθιστον, οἷά μ' εἰργάσω, / οἷ' ἠπάτηκας. His tone towards Neoptolemos has already turned from hate to grief by v. 971 οὐκ εἶ κακὸς σὺ.

I think, thus, that in this instance Philoktetes reacts to the chorus, which is present, only as a speaker who recalls to his mind Neoptolemos, and that the vocative is really addressed to the absent young man; the same would apply to the second person singular in 1174—75, though here of course the master and his crew merge together. The chorus do not understand whom Philoktetes means, and they ask astonished (1173) τί τοῦτ' ἔλεξας; They have before this, when Philoktetes curses Odysseus, already felt that he reproaches them and tried to convince him of their friendship. Philoktetes speaks for the first time really to the chorus in 1777, where he tells them to go away. I think that the vocative singular and the second person singular at the beginning of the epode are intentionally ambivalent. When we think of this as performed on the stage, it is very easy for the audience to understand this properly, assuming that when he is speaking Philoktetes does not take notice of the chorus, but speaks over their heads, as he has done before in this dialogue, when talking to the rocks and birds.

Sophocles has another problematic vocative singular in the concluding anapaestic verses of the *Trachinian Women*: 1275 λείπου μηδὲ σὺ, παρθέν',

¹ I prefer MAZON's punctuation εἶ τι σέβῃ ξένον, πέλασσον to PEARSON's εἶ τι σέβῃ, ξένον πέλασσον.

ἐπ' οἴκων / μεγάλους μὲν ἰδοῦσα νέους θανάτους. The manuscripts give these words either to the chorus (as do, for instance, MAZON and KAMERBEEK) or to Hyllos (as do JEBB and PEARSON), and the order is in commentaries thought to be given either to the chorus-leader (JEBB), other members of the chorus (MAZON, KAMERBEEK) or Iole (BOWRA).¹ If this is an order from the leader to the chorus, the vocative singular is exceptional, as JEBB says. On the whole Sophocles' chorus-leader very seldom gives any orders to his fellow-choreutai, contrary to the practice of Aeschylus and Euripides. JEBB's suggestion that Hyllos gives this order to the leader only does not make the singular less difficult; firstly, there should be no reason for Hyllos suddenly to take notice of only one member of the chorus — in his concluding speech! — because the leader has remained silent since she made a short remark more than a hundred verses earlier (1112); secondly, we have seen how very rare the vocative singular is even in a dialogue with the chorus-leader. From the fact that this form usually does not appear when the actor is speaking with the whole chorus, we cannot draw the conclusion that it positively could not exist. We must, therefore, consider this instance as an exception from the general practice of using the plural or think of Iole as the receiver of the order.

The vocative singular appears, moreover, in two alterations of Aeschylus' text. In A. *Supp.* 739 and 753 Danaos addresses his daughters with the vocative plural and the verb in the singular. This incongruity has induced SCHÜTZ to correct the vocative into the singular form τέκνον. This is approved for instance by MAZON and included in his text. We have, however, similar incongruities elsewhere, e.g. in the parodos of Euripides' *Heraclidae*, 75 ff. In view of the scarcity of the vocative singular it is wise to avoid unnecessary corrections which would produce it. In this instance of the *Suppliant Women* we cannot defend the singular by saying that Danaos speaks in the first place to the chorus-leader, who, it is true, has two iambic verses before the chorus' lyrics. In the former instance the chorus-leader and the chorus have expressed very similar emotions, but in the latter, Danaos' words are clearly a response to the preceding words of the chorus, not so much of the leader, and it is so

¹ C. M. BOWRA, *Sophoclean Tragedy*, Oxford 1944, 158 note 2. MAZON declines this possibility emphatically in his »Notes sur Sophocle», *Révue de Philologie* III, 25, 1951, 11. He says that Iole was taken to the palace as early as about v. 333, and in the text there is no indication of her coming back. Verse 1222, where the pronoun ταύτην refers to Iole, proves neither her absence (MAZON) nor her presence (as J. ANDRIEU says, *Le dialogue antique*, Paris 1954, 197).

after the other choric strophes, too. Similarly the vocative singular in A. *Th.* 225 γόναι which is in two Triclinian manuscripts (TURYN'S FT), is not in my opinion to be preferred to the reading of the Mediceus, γόνη. It is true that Eteokles here is again reacting strongly to the preceding words of the chorus, but then the vocative would not belong immediately to this reaction — the prohibition μὴ . . . βουλεύου κακῶς — but would appear in the middle of a proverb.

In comedy proper names are sometimes used in the vocative singular in addition to the cases already mentioned. In tragedy proper names are avoided. Aristophanes, however, uses them differently from other vocatives: they occur where one chorus is speaking, either the leader to his own chorus or the whole chorus in lyrical parts, but not like the common nouns between two half-choruses or two different choruses, as in the *Lysistrata* or the *Wasps*. Moreover, where the proper names occur, the motivation given by the preceding words is completely lacking: when the leader says to his chorus for instance in *Lys.* 254 χῶρει Δράκης, ἡγοῦ βάδην or in *Lys.* 370 αἰρώμεθ' ἡμεῖς θοῦδατος τὴν κάλπιν ὧ ῥοδίππη, there is no preceding situation where Drakes or Rhodippe would have appeared, as is the case when the vocative of a common noun is used. These proper names are said completely *exempli gratia*, and we need not think that the leader has in mind any special member of the chorus, for instance the parastates.¹

In the only passage where an actor uses proper names of the chorus, they have their special function: when Dikaiopolis asks Marilades, Anthrakyllos, Euphorides and Prinides if they have ever been to Ekbatana as envoys (*Ach.* 609 ff.). Again, when the chorus of the *Knights* is called in with proper names

¹ TH. ZIELINSKI, for instance, in his *Gliederung der altattischen Komödie*, Leipzig 1885, 270, seems to know exactly where each person mentioned by name in the chorus of the *Lysistrata* stood. WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF criticized this tendency in his commentary of the *Lysistrata* p. 138. Similarly the vocatives of the proper names and imperatives in the choral parts do not necessarily imply any dialogue between different members of the chorus. The person addressed is not in fact any better defined in these cases than when the second person imperative is used with πᾶς. This is apparent e.g. in *Lys.* 321 πέτον πέτον Νικοδίκη, | πρὶν ἐμπεροῆσθαι Καλύκη/τε καὶ Κρίτυλλαν, where the women named are only mentioned as two concrete examples of their friends on the Acropolis. No spectator knows anything more about them because they are not even seen in their fortress. It is easy to understand that proper names occur particularly often in the *Lysistrata* and the *Ecclesiazusae*, because proper names effectually emphasize the sex of the chorus, which is important in these dramas. This is very clearly seen in the parodos of the *Ecclesiazusae*, where the women with their artificial beards wander to the council meeting practising their parts by calling themselves with the vocative ὄνδρες (289) and fictitious masculine names until the vocative φίλοι accidentally slips from them and they hastily correct it into the masculine gender.

(242—34) ὦ Σίμων, ὦ Παναίτι', we need not necessarily think that the leaders of the half-choruses were thus named,¹ although the scholiast says that such men really were hipparchs in this year. Names of famous persons are also elsewhere used to heighten the comical effect. For instance Trygaios is seeing Lamakhos among those who are preventing the rescue of the Peace (*Pax* 473).

I am inclined to think that the vocative singular of common nouns in both tragedy and comedy may be a reflection of the delivery by one single member of the chorus. The method of delivery is not always certain, and at the first glance one might consider that it is equally possible to address the whole chorus with a vocative singular as to employ second person singular verb forms when referring to it; however, it is important to notice the special conditions which usually accompany the vocative form. We can see in comedy and satyr-play that the vocatives used in the singular are clearly colloquialisms — abusing or friendly terms like ὦ πονηρέ, ὦ γαθή. This, their colloquial nature, is probably one reason for the number; since they appear so often in the speech of everyday life in the singular, it is easy to slip into singular in such cases also when speaking to the chorus. Similarly, we can assume that the singular as the commonest number in everyday conversation influenced the usage of tragedy, because vocatives occur here only in lively and emotionally loaded conversation parts. The vocatives of proper names in comedy are treated differently from the vocatives of common nouns, and I think that the proper names are no indication that the words are addressed to one special member of the chorus.

¹ As VAN DAELE remarks in his translation of the *Knights* in Aristophane, Tome I, *Collection des Universités de France*, 91 note 1.

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ISSN 0570-734X
Helsinki 1969
Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Kirjapaino Oy