

ACTA CLASSICA UNIV. SCIENT. DEBRECEN.	XLVIII.	2012.	pp. 5–12.
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ÜBERLEGUNGEN ZU EINER THESEUS-DARSTELLUNG LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM E 264¹

VON GYULA LINDNER

Abstract: The British Museum E 264 amphora, assigned to the Oinante-Painter, has always been a much discussed vase in the history of Greek art. Three different points of view have been published so far, the first of which holds that the scene depicts the arrival of Theseus in Athens. The second maintains that the amphora pictures the departure of Theseus from Troezen. The third view is the least prevalent: it asserts that the Oinante-Painter depicted Theseus with his divine parents on the sea-bed. Here the ode of Bakchylides that relates the sea-voyage of Theseus in order to attest his divine descent can be of help. It was written in the 470's, when the Oinante-Painter was also active. The depiction of Theseus with his divine parents is a preferred topic in the vase-painter's works in these years, and this kind of vase-painting became widespread in this decade.

Keywords: British Museum, Oinante-painter, Theseus-iconography, Bakchylides, red-figured vase-painting.

In der griechischen Vasensammlung des British Museum befindet sich die rot-figurige Amphora E 264, die von Alexander Bonaparte (Prinz von Canino) im Jahre 1843 dem Museum geschenkt wurde, und worüber seit 1851, d.h. ihrer ersten Katalogisierung verschiedene Interpretationen erschienen sind (Anhang 1).

I. Die erste Interpretation behauptet, dass Theseus auf der Amphora mit seinen sterblichen Eltern d.h. mit Aithra und mit Aigeus auftritt. In diesem Fall ist die vierte Person ohne Zweifel Poseidon mit seinem Dreizack.² Diese Deutung besagt, dass die Amphora die Ankunft von Theseus in Athen nach seiner gefährlichen Reise auf dem Isthmos wiedergibt. Aigeus, der alte König hält eine verbundene Rolle, und berührt Theseus' Hand mit seiner Rechten. Aithra ist zwischen ihnen zu sehen, während sie mit ihren beiden Händen sein Kinn streichelt. Der Jüngling steht im Mittelpunkt des Bildes, trägt Kranz, Petasos, bzw. Chiton, und hält ein Lanzenpaar in seiner Linken.

¹ Ein besonderer Dank gilt meinem Professoren, György Németh, der mir mit seinen Ermutigungen bei meinen Überlegungen Hilfe geleistet hat. Im gleichen Maße bin ich András Patay-Horváth Oberassistent dankbar, der mit seinen wissenschaftlichen Bemerkungen meine Arbeit unterstützt hat.

² Nicol 1851, 252-253.

Vierzig Jahre später wurde die Amphora im Sammelkatalog auf gleiche Weise beschreiben, und auch von H. B. Walters gleichermaßen dargelegt.³ Im Jahre 1965 hat Gerhard Neumann in seinem Werk über die Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst behauptet, dass man in der Geste von Aithra eindeutig eine Begrüßungsgeste sehen könne, und die Szene deshalb die Ankunft in Athen darstelle.⁴ Im Zusammenhang mit dieser Konzeption meint Uta Kron, dass zwei verschiedene Versionen über Theseus' Ankunft in Athen überliefert seien: der Oinante-Maler habe die Version dargestellt, in dem Aigeus in der Anwesenheit von Aithra seinen Sohn freundlich begrüßt.⁵ Diese Interpretation kann aus folgenden Gründen nicht bestätigt werden:

Die Anwesenheit von Poseidon ist zweifellos, da der Dreizack eindeutig macht, dass die Figur der Meeresgott ist. Aber Aigeus und Aithra treten zusammen nur in zwei bekannten Vasenbildern auf. Das eine lässt sich zum Kodros-Maler zuschreiben, befindet sich in Bologna, und stellt Aigeus, Theseus, Phorbas, Medeia und Aithra dar (Anhang 12).⁶ Der junge Held trägt Petasos, Chiton, und in der Hand ein Lanzenpaar, während Medeia hinter ihm einen Helm hochhält. Von der rechten Seite schaut Aithra der Szene mit traurigem Gesicht zu. Die andere Wiedergabe lässt sich dem Aison zuschreiben, und stellt nur Aithra, Aigeus und Theseus dar (Anhang 13).⁷

In beiden Fällen sind die Inschriften von besonderer Bedeutung, da sie die eigentlich unspezifische Darstellung präzisieren. Der gemeinsame Auftritt beider sterblichen Eltern ist nämlich ziemlich selten, und darum hielten es die Vasenmaler wahrscheinlich für wichtig, die Namen beizufügen. Der bekannte Theseus-Mythos erzählt, dass Aithra den Jüngling in Troizen erzogen hat, der sich an der Schwelle des Erwachsenenalters auf einen langen, gefährlichen Weg macht, dann in Athen von Aigeus und Medeia misstrauisch empfangen wird (Apoll., *Epit.* 1,5; Plut., *Thes.* 12). Aus dem Mythos folgt, dass die gemeinsame Darstellung der sterblichen Eltern in der gleicher Szene grundsätzlich nicht zu erwarten bzw. nicht besonders wahrscheinlich ist, da die beiden Persönlichkeiten im Mythos zu verschiedenen Zeitpunkten auftreten.⁸

³ Smith 1896, 199; Walters 1927, 5.

⁴ Neumann 1965, 52.

⁵ Kron 1976, 135-136. Darüber hinaus siehe: Walter 1971; Scheibler 1987, 92-94. p. Kron 1981 a, 362,29, bzw. Kron 1981 b 46.

⁶ Bologna Mus. Civ. PU 273 = Kron 1981 a, 363,36 = Kron 1981 b, 424,48 = Beazley 1963, 1268,1 = Brommer 1973, 197,2.

⁷ Athen Nat. Mus. 1185 = Kron 1981 a, 363,37 = Kron 1981 b, 424,49 = Beazley 1963, 1176,26 = Brommer 1973, 259 B8

⁸ S. dazu: Robert 1919, 137-155; Giuliani 2003, 124.

Aigeus ist ziemlich selten mit grauen Haaren dargestellt. Wir kennen nur sechs Vasenbilder, auf denen der athenische König als alter Herrscher auftritt.⁹ Diese Anzahl ist wesentlich weniger, als diejenigen Vasen, auf denen Aigeus als König in den mittleren Jahren wiedergegeben ist.¹⁰

Wenn Aigeus und Aithra in der gleichen Szene auftreten, ist Aigeus in beiden Fällen schwarzhaarig, die grauhaarigen Darstellungen sind für Szenen charakteristisch, in denen Aigeus mit Medeia gemeinsam erscheint. Wir wissen von Plutarch, dass der athenische Herrscher ziemlich alt war, und an Kinderlosigkeit gelitten hat. Deshalb hat sich Medeia entschlossen, den König von dieser Krankheit zu heilen (Plut., *Thes.* 12).¹¹

Wenn Aigeus und Aithra in der gleichen Szene dargestellt werden, sind sie im Bild an antithetischen Punkte gestellt. Damit konnten die Vasenmaler betonen, dass sie sich in dem Mythos räumlich und zeitlich getrennt sind. Aber wir sehen die Frauengestalt auf der Amphora E 264 zwischen dem alten Mann und Theseus, als ob sie zueinander gehörten.

Gegen diese Interpretation spricht auch, dass Poseidon, Aigeus, Aithra und Theseus ausschließlich auf diesem Vasenbild zusammen auftreten würden.

II. Die zweite Gruppe der einschlägigen Fachliteratur behauptet, dass die Szene den Aufbruch des Theseus von Troizen darstelle.¹² In diesem Fall ist die alte Gestalt Pittheus, Aithras Vater, der – laut Plutarch – Theseus von der gefährlichen Reise dringlich abzuraten versucht (Plut., *Thes.* 6).¹³ Neulich hat H.A. Shapiro erklärt, dass das Werk des Oinante-Malers den Abschied von Aithra und Pittheus abbildet, und mit einer anderen Abschiedsszene verknüpft werden kann.¹⁴ In der Hermitage befindet sich die Makron-Kylix, die nur Aithra und Theseus darstellt. Der Jüngling zückt das Schwert gegen Aithra,

⁹ New York MMA 56.171.48 = Kron 1981 a, 360,6 = Beazley 1963, 1057,104 = Brommer 1973, 255 B 47; Ferrara Mus. Naz. T 18 = Kron 1981 a, 361,18 = Beazley 1963, 882,35; Adolphseck, Schloss Fasenerie 179 = Kron 1981 a, 362,23 = Brommer 1973, 213 D 1; Hermitage B 721 = Kron 1981 a, 362,32 = Beazley 1963, 1209,48 = Brommer 1973, 213 B 8; Milano, H.A. 377 = Kron 1981 a, 362,21; Münster Universität 714 = Neils 1994, 938, 200 = Beazley 1963, 194,3.

¹⁰ Kron 1981 a

¹¹ „Μήδεια γὰρ ἐκ Κορίνθου φυγοῦσα φαρμάκοις ὑποσχομένη τῆς ἀτεκνίας ἀπαλλάξαι Αἰγέα συνῆν αὐτῷ. προαισθημένη δὲ περὶ τοῦ Θησέως αὕτη, τοῦ δ' Αἰγέως ἀγνοοῦντος, ὄντος δὲ πρεσβυτέρου καὶ φοβουμένου πάντα διὰ τὴν στάσιν”.

¹² Fittschen 1974, 792; Pollitt 1987, 11; Neils 1994, 925,31; Servadei 2005, 25-26.

¹³ „ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν πέτρην ὑπέδω καὶ ῥαδίως ἀνέωσε, πλεῖν δ' ἀπεέγνω, καίπερ οὔσης ἀσφαλείας καὶ δεομένων τοῦ τε πάππου καὶ τῆς μητρός.”

¹⁴ Shapiro 2010, 89-93.

während die Mutter Theseus' Kinn berührt, auf gleiche Weise, wie auf der Amphora (Anhang 2).¹⁵

Diese Geste könnte der Hauptbeweis für die obige Meinung sein, weil Aithra – ähnlich wie auf der Amphora E 264 – das Kinn des Jünglings berührt, und somit wahrscheinlich versucht Theseus im Zusammenhang mit der Reise zur Vernunft zu bringen. Aber es muss berücksichtigt werden, dass die gefühlsvollen Gesten in dem Werke von Makron nicht die einzigen sind. Auf einer Schale, die sich in Boston befindet, nähert sich eine Hetaira zweimal einem Mann mit einer ähnlichen Gebärde (Anhang 4-5).¹⁶ Wenn wir es beachten, scheint es nicht mehr überraschend zu sein, dass Makron auch eine passionierte Geste auf die troizenische Abschiedsszene gemalt hat. Daher ist es m.E. nicht angebracht, mit dieser Begründung die Amphora in London zu deuten.

Es ist auch bemerkenswert, dass Theseus auf der Amphora in London einen Kranz trägt, da wir die gleiche über die Makron-Kylix nicht sagen können. Darum ist es m.E. angebracht, nach anderen Mythen bzw. Episoden zu suchen, in denen der Kranz und die gefühlsvolle Geste eine angemessene Erklärung finden. Die dritte Interpretation könnte eine solche darstellen.

In den Vasenbildern, die den Aufbruch eines Kriegers wiedergeben, ist das Trankopfer ein unvermeidlicher Teil der Szene. Shapiro betont im Zusammenhang mit der anderen Seite der Amphora, dass es darauf eine Abschiedsszene zu sehen ist (Anhang 3). Wir sehen Nike, die sich für die Spende vorbereitet, während sich ein Mann auf der rechten Seite von dem Jüngling mit seiner Hand verabschiedet. Wenn die Londoner Amphora den Aufbruch des Theseus' darstellte, wären andere Frauengestalten in der Szene zu erwarten, die das Trankopfer durchführen, aber wir sehen nur Aithra, die das Kinn des Jünglings berührt. Ein schönes Beispiel der Abschiedsszenen ist auf dem Krater des Niobiden-Malers zu beobachten, der Achilleus beim Abschied von den Töchtern des Lykomedes darstellt. Die Frauengestalt, die die Spendegeräte hält, fasst nur die Hand des Jünglings an (Anhang 6).

Wenn wir nur die Grabungen auf dem Agora zwischen 1931 und 1967 berücksichtigen, können wir zahlreiche Abschiedsszenen auf den Vasenbildern finden: ohne Ausnahme stellen alle eine Trankopferspende dar, die in den meisten Fällen von Frauengestalten durchgeführt werden.¹⁷ Aber sie umarmen die Krieger nicht, sie fassen nur die Hand des Kriegers an, oder eventuell auch nicht. Im Beazley-Archiv kann man 780 Kriegerabschiedsszenen finden, die

¹⁵ Hermitage 649 = Kron 1981 b, 423, 25 = Beazley 1963, 460, 13.

¹⁶ Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.8022 = Beazley 1963, 149.

¹⁷ Moore 1997, 323, 328, 329, 331, 1422.

den Aufbruch in irgendeinem Kontext wiedergeben.¹⁸ In den meisten Fällen ist der Spendevorgang auf der Szene zu sehen.

Auf den Vasenbildern, die den Aufbruch des Theseus darstellen – sei es zur Fahrt nach Kreta oder zur Bekämpfung des marathonischen Stieres – kommt das Trankopfer immer vor.¹⁹ Also die Vasenmaler, die den Theseus beim Abschied dargestellt haben, waren der Tradition bewusst, die in solchen Fällen das Trankopfer verlangt. Nachdem sich der Oinante-Maler in dieser Zeit tätig war, kann davon ausgegangen werden, dass er sich dieser ikonographischen Tradition hätte anpassen müssen (Anhang 8, 9).²⁰

Die übermäßig direkte Geste von Aithra spricht auch gegen den troizenischen Schauplatz, da bei anderen Abschiedsszenen kaum solche gefühlsvollen Gebärden vorkommen. Viel passender erscheint dagegen diese passionierte Geste an den Heimkehrszenen, wie wir es auf der Kylix des Brygos-Malers sehen, die den heimkehrenden Paris und Hekabe darstellt. Die Mutter armt den Jüngling um, während sich Hektor die Hand seinem Bruder zu geben anschickt (Anhang 7).²¹

Es ist ebenfalls erwähnenswert, dass Nike auf der anderen Seite der Amphora das Trankopfer besorgt. Die rotfigurigen Vasenbilder lassen – im Unterschied zu den schwarzfigurigen – mehrere Gestalten im Rahmen der Abschiedsszene auftreten. Teil des sich verbreitenden Figurenrepertoire ist das Erscheinen von Nike in den Abschiedsszenen. Falls beide Seiten der Amphora eine Abschiedsszene wiedergeben würde, wäre es ziemlich erstaunlich, dass Aithra kein Trankopfer durchführt, mit Rücksicht darauf, dass der Spendevorgang der bevorzugteste Teil der Abschiedsszenen ist und Nike in dieser Zeit eine besonders spezifische Gestalt ist, deren bloße Anwesenheit das Trankopfer verlangen würde.²²

Wie im Zusammenhang mit der ersten Interpretation, kann man hier auch äußern, wenn die Amphora den troizenischen Schauplatz wiedergibt, steht keine Paralleldarstellung zur Verfügung.

III. Die dritte Interpretation unterscheidet sich ganz wesentlich von den beiden anderen. Sie wurde zuerst von Luigia A. Stella angedeutet. Sie behauptete nämlich in ihrem Werk *Mitologia greca*, dass die Amphora des Oinante-Malers Nereus, Thetis und Poseidon wiedergibt.²³ Stella erwähnt den Krater des

¹⁸ www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/xdp/DataSearch.asp 2011.11.21. s. Spiess 1992, 172.

¹⁹ Neils 1994, 935, 163-169.

²⁰ Neils 1994, 935, 163-164.

²¹ Tarquinia RC 6846 = Beazley 1963, 369, 4.

²² Spiess 1992, 174-180.

²³ Stella 1958, 710.

Harrow-Malers als mögliche Parallele, der sich im Arthur Sackler Museum befindet, und Theseus mit Poseidon, Amphitrite, Nereus und einer Nereiden auf dem Meeresgrunde darstellt (Anhang 10).²⁴ Dieser Vorschlag wurde im Allgemeinen nicht erwähnt, neulich wurde er aber von Thomas Mannack aufgegriffen. Er behauptete, dass der Oinante-Maler dieselbe Figuren dargestellt habe, wie der Harrow-Maler. Aber Mannack hat sich in seinem Aufsatz mit den zwei anderen Interpretation nicht beschäftigt.²⁵ Zur Bekräftigung dieser Konzeption können aber m.E. noch weitere Argumente hinzugefügt werden.

Im Theseus-Mythos gibt es auch eine Gestalt, deren graues Haar das Attribut der sprichwörtlichen Weisheit und des Ansehens war. Er ist Nereus, der weise Meeresgott, dessen Töchter Theseus mit ihrem Tanz erfreut haben, wie Bakchylides in seiner Ode besonders anschaulich vorgeführt hat (Bakch., 17, 101-108).²⁶ Obwohl der Mythos über die Seefahrt zuerst auf der Euphronios-Kylix (um 500-490 v. Chr. datiert) dargestellt wurde, dennoch wird die Darstellung der Begegnung mit den göttlichen Eltern erst in den 480er Jahren ein beliebtes Thema der attischen Vasenmaler.²⁷

In den Darstellungen des Nereus ist das graue Haar ein dominantes Element. Zahlreiche Bilder zeigen Nereus als alten Meeresgott in der Gesellschaft von jungen Heroen.²⁸ In einem Neapler Vasenbild werden sowohl der grauhaarige Nereus als auch Poseidon, der Amphitrite verfolgt, gemeinsam dargestellt. (Anhang 14).²⁹

In der Londoner Darstellung trägt Theseus einen Kranz, während eine Frauengestalt das Kinn des Jünglings mit beiden Händen berührt. Diese Geste kann m.E. auf ein Detail hindeuten, das bei Bakchylides beschrieben wird: dort steht es ausdrücklich, dass der junge Heros in Poseidon's Palast von Amphitrite empfangen und mit einem Kranz beschenkt wurde (Bakch., 17, 97-100; 109-114).³⁰ Wenn wir die Frauengestalt als Amphitrite betrachten, dann können wir

²⁴ Harvard, Arthur Sackler Museum 1960.339 = Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1981, 731,78 = Beazley 1963, 274,39.

²⁵ Mannack 1995, 109-111.

²⁶ „Τόθι κλυτὰς ἰδὼν ἔδεισε Νηρέος ὀλβίου κόρας· ἀπὸ γὰρ ἀγλαῶν λάμπε γυίων σέλας ὥτε πυρός, ἀμφὶ χαίταις δὲ χρυσεόπλοκοι δίνηντο ταινίαι.”

²⁷ Brommer 1982, 75-82; bzw. Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1981, 731,75-79, Neils 1994, 939, 219-22.

²⁸ London E 162 = Pipili 1992, 828,42 = Beazley 1963, 209,165; Ferrara Mus. Naz. 1087 = Pipili 1992, 828,44 = Beazley 1963, 292,34; Bologna Mus. Civ. 196 = Pipili 1992, 828,46 = Beazley 1963, 537,8; Athen, Nat. Mus. 2192 = Pipili 1992, 828,48. = Beazley 1963, 863,32.

²⁹ Neapel, Mus. Naz. 146720 = Pipili 1992, 832,101 = Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1981, 729,42.

³⁰ „Φέρον δὲ δελφῖνες {έν} ἀλιναιέται μέγαν θοῶς Θησέα πατρός ἱππίου δόμον· ἔμολέν τε θεῶν μέγαρον.” bzw. Εἶδέν τε πατρός ἄλοχον φίλαν σεμνὰν βοῶπιν ἐρατοῖσιν Ἀμφιτρίταν δόμοις· ἃ νιν ἀμφέβαλεν αἶονα πορφυρέαν, κόμαισί τ' ἐπέθηκεν οὐλαῖς ἀμεμφέα πλόκον.”

den alten Mann auch besser erklären: er ist Nereus, der Vater der Amphitrite. Sie gehören als Vater und Tochter zusammen, darum hat der Oinante-Maler sie nebeneinander abgebildet. In diesem Punkte können wir die Beweisführung von Neumann anwenden, der eine eindeutige Begrüßungsgeste in der Gebärde der Frauengestalt gesehen hat.³¹ Damit wird die Geste von Amphitrite auch klar, weil sie den Jüngling nach einer gefährlichen Fahrt empfängt.

Die Bakchylides Ode bietet in einem anderen Fall ebenfalls Hilfe zur Interpretation des Bildes: laut des Chorliedes begegnet Theseus seinem Vater nicht. Das kann erklären, warum der Jüngling auf dem Vasenbild Poseidon den Rücken zuwendet, und nur Amphitrite in seine vertraute Nähe lässt. Die Methode des Oinante-Malers ist nicht außergewöhnlich: der „ferne“ Poseidon ist auch auf der Kadmos-Kylix zu sehen, die sich in Bologna befindet, und die Theseus in der Hand des Tritons vor Amphitrite wiedergibt, während die Szene von dem Meeresgott aus der Ferne beobachtet wird (Anhang 11).³² Das Chorlied und die Amphora sind auch in dieser Sicht in Parallele zu setzen.

Wie schon oben angedeutet, ist auf der Amphora keine Inschrift zu sehen, die uns bei der Deutung der Szene Hilfe leisten könnte, obwohl auf den Vasenbildern, die Aigeus und Aithra zusammen darstellen, die Namen der Gestalten die Auslegung erleichtern. Der Oinante-Maler erweckt damit den Eindruck, dass die Deutung des Vasenbildes eindeutig ist und die auftretende Gestalten leicht zu erkennen sind. Deshalb muss die Szene auf Grund des Theseus-Mythos eine solche Geschichte darstellen, die in den 470er Jahren besonders populär war. Dieses Argument verstärkt die Wahrscheinlichkeit der Darstellung der Meeresgrundfahrt, da kein Mythos Aigeus, Aithra und Poseidon zusammen auftreten lässt, und die Popularität der mythischen Darstellungen der göttlichen Eltern in dieser Zeit zunimmt.

Der Kranz ist auch in anderen Vasenbildern zu sehen, die Theseus in der Gesellschaft seiner göttlichen Eltern wiedergeben (Anhang 15).³³ Die verbundene Rolle kann auch als göttliches Geschenk betrachtet werden. Es muss gleichfalls bemerkt werden, dass der Apfel, der auf dem Harvard-Krater zu sehen ist, etwas ähnliches bedeuten könnte.

Zusammenfassend kann festgestellt werden, dass die dritte Interpretationsmöglichkeit im Gegensatz zu den zwei anderen wegen der ähnlichen Parallele –

³¹ Neumann 1965, 52.

³² Bologna, Mus. Civ. 303 = Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1981, 731,79. = Beazley 1963, 826,24.

³³ New York MMA 53.11.4 = Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1981, 731,76 = Beazley 1963, 406,7; Paris, Cab. Med. 418 = Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1981, 731,77 = Beazley 1963, 260,2; Kopenhagen, Ny. Carlsberg. Glyptothek 2695 = Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1981, 731 = Beazley 1963, 362,19. Bologna, Mus. Civ. 303 = Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1981, 731,79 = Beazley 1963, 826,24.

d. h. des Harvard-Kraters – viel wahrscheinlicher ist. Aigeus, Aithra, Poseidon, wie Aithra, Pittheus und Poseidon treten niemals zusammen auf. Andererseits ist die Geschichte über den Besuch von Theseus auf dem Meeresgrund in den 470er Jahren populär geworden. Deswegen sollen also m.E. die allgemein verbreiteten Interpretationen in Frage gestellt werden.

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(ISSN 0418 – 453X)

<i>ACTA CLASSICA</i> <i>UNIV. SCIENT. DEBRECEN.</i>	<i>XLVIII.</i>	<i>2012.</i>	<i>pp. 13–24.</i>
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ADDITION TO THE DEMOTIC PAPYRI FROM GAMHUD¹

BY ZSUZSANNA SZÁNTÓ

Abstract: The first Hungarian excavation in Egypt started in 1907 with Fülöp Back's sponsorship. A cemetery from the Ptolemaic period was excavated in Middle Egypt, near Gamhud. Today most of the excavated coffins and funerary equipment are owned by the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest. Besides objects of value, many papyri were found: most of them are written in Greek, but some fragments are in Demotic. These papyri – which were recycled to prepare cartonnages – are mainly administrative documents and give us a picture of the economic life in the Egyptian *chora*. This paper will examine the Demotic papyri hitherto published, and will also present a new fragment. By reviewing the economic and social situation of the Ptolemaic era, I endeavour to insert the papyri from Gamhud into the framework of this period and to ascertain what additional information they provide.

Keywords: cartonnage, cleruch, epigraphé, Fülöp Back, Gamhud, γῆ βασιλική, γῆ ἐν ἀφέσει, κατ' ἔθνη, register, lesonis, papyrological archive, religious community.

The pioneer of Hungarian excavations in Egypt was without doubt Fülöp Back, a rich Hungarian merchant and banker. During the excavation initiated in 1907 he and his team found a cemetery from the Ptolemaic period in Middle Egypt, near Gamhud.² Several of the excavated coffins and other funerary equipments were donated to the Hungarian National Museum by the Egyptian Museum of Cairo, while some other pieces were sent to Vienna and Krakow. In 1934 this group of objects was incorporated in the newly created Egyptian Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, and it still can be found there today. The masterpieces of the group are part of the permanent exhibition.³

Besides the valuable funerary equipments, hundreds of papyri were found which belonged to the cartonnages of the mummies. For mummy cartonnages, the Egyptians used recycled papyri that they no longer needed; these papyri served as official documents previously. After carefully detaching the cartonnages – they were made by gluing papyrus layers together – the museum gained

¹ I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Luft Ulrich for his constructive suggestions during this work of research. I am also grateful to the Museum of Fine Arts for the opportunity, without its support this paper would not have been possible.

² Concerning the Egyptian excavation sponsored by Fülöp Back see Wessetzky 1991, Györy 1998, Gaboda 2002, Györy 2007.

³ See the guide to the Egyptian Collection: Nagy 1999.

a large number of valuable administrative documents. Most of them are written in Greek, but some Demotic and bilingual Greek-Demotic ones can be found too.⁴ In this paper I will examine the Demotic papyri including also a new, unpublished fragment whose verso is written in Demotic. Those texts which have been discovered and published until now can be regarded as little mosaics in an image which does not have an unambiguous interpretation yet. However, our image of Hellenistic Egypt has become much more detailed thanks to the work of some papyrologists who have edited and published many papyri corpuses in the past years. In this essay I will attempt to insert the Demotic papyri from Gamhud in this framework and will study the information they add to our knowledge of the economy and society of Ptolemaic Egypt and consider how we can include them in our recent image of this period.⁵

The edition of the Demotic papyri has always been less dynamic than that of the Greek ones. In the first half of the 20th century the study, edition and publication of the Greek papyri was already in process,⁶ while the Demotic ones were put aside. Consequently, – even if very important works were published in the 1930s and 1940s about the economy and society of Hellenistic Egypt – there was no possibility to take Demotic papyri into account.⁷ However, the key to understand this period of the Egyptian history resides in its bilingualism and cultural duality. Although Greek became the official language of the state, in the local administration – where the majority of officers and scribes were still of Egyptian origin – they continued to use their own language, the Demotic. With time, Greek language gradually started to spread in the countryside too and the Demotic generally became less and less used, but it was still in use until the end of the 2nd century AD. Consequently we have every reason to assume that these Demotic papyri must be definitely taken into consideration. Recently we can notice a sort of upswing in this field because many monographs have been published which seek to fill this gap. With the help of these works we have the possibility to have a much detailed picture in the subject.⁸

⁴ The Demotic papyri of the collection have been published by Ulrich Luft: Luft 1994, 191-195, Luft 2004, 407-411, Luft 2006, 489-491.

⁵ About the interpretation of papyri as historical sources see Bagnall 1995.

⁶ The first published documentary papyri are *P. Petr.* I: Mahaffy 1891.

⁷ Apart from this fact several summaries defining the future research have been published, the principal ones are: Préaux 1939, Rostovtzeff 1922, Rostovtzeff 1941. In the latter Rostovtzeff already pointed out the importance of the Demotic papyri even if his knowledge was limited about their content.

⁸ The following works rely partly or entirely on the Demotic material, they also emphasize its importance in research: Clarysse 2010, 47-72, Johnson 1987, 141-149, Manning 2003, Manning, Morris 2005, Turner 1984², 118-174.

The bilingualism of this period is very well reflected in different archives as well; in addition to the Greek archives we can find several bilingual ones. Clarysse has recently analyzed the bilingual papyrological archives, and he has pointed out that Greek was the most common language, but the proportion of Greek-Demotic bilingual archives was also considerably high, while monolingual Demotic ones are quite rare.⁹ Within the group of bilingual corpuses he also made a classification based on the frequency of the languages used. Based on this classification we can find the *archive of the Theban choachytes*¹⁰ and the *nekrotaphoi of Hawara* in the group of “Demotic archives including Greek texts”, while the *archive of Zenon* is classified into the group of “Greek archives containing Demotic texts”. The papyrus corpus from Gamhud falls into the latter group as it contains mostly Greek fragments and additionally some Demotic ones too.

From these Demotic papyri two little fragments were published first, the papyri P Bud.E. 51.2172 and P Bud. 72.2.E.1. The first one is part of a fixed-term work contract in which a certain Patiher(?), an artist of the Oxyrhynchos temple, had a contract with the priesthood of *Ta-helet*.¹¹ The name of the village is probably the same as the Greek Tholt (ΘΩΛΘΙΣ) which is today's Gamhud in Middle Egypt. Therefore the text of the papyrus supports the hypothesis that these fragments originate from Gamhud. The contract can be dated back to “regnal year 33, month Athyr 22”, and it tackles certain ongoing works in a Horus temple which is no longer identifiable. The second papyrus (P Bud. 72.2.E.1) was written in “year 31, month Thot” and it is some kind of grain-lease which indicates the names of the contractors too.¹²

The next fragment is the P Bud. E.56.58/2 and it is dated back to year 34, Pharmouthi 10.¹³ This text concerns a certain grain-account which lists different amounts of grain arrived to Appllonios's stock, shipped by Pa-weret. It can only be supposed that the purpose of the transport was to pay rent, in this case, the document is an *ἐπιγραφή* confirming the payment. The text contains the entire delivery of the 10th and the 22nd day.¹⁴

⁹ Clarysse 2010, 59.

¹⁰ The choachyte, „dispenser of water” was a priest in cult of the dead.

¹¹ Luft 1994, 192-193.

¹² Luft 1994, 194.

¹³ Luft 2004, 407. Taking into consideration the different circumstances and conditions Luft has thought that Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (170-116 BC) could be a possible king, according to this the papyrus should have been written in 136 BC.

¹⁴ Luft 2004, 409. The list is probably not full, but the other part of the papyrus fragment is missing.

- (1) Year 34, month 4 of *peret*-season, (day) 10. The grain that arrived at the stock
- (2) (to) Apollonius, the prophet by Pa-weret, by the son of Nachtu.
- (3) Day 10: wheat 172 specification: measuring interest 1, in two baskets
wheat 3 1/4 1/6
- (4) Chaff wheat 1 2/3 1/12 wheat 5 1/60
- (5) Requirement wheat 102 1/4 ?? 1/60
- (6) Day 22: emmer 305 specification: measuring interest 1 emmer 5
2/3 1/12 1/60
- (7) Chaff emmer 1 2/3 1/30 1/60 emmer 11 2/3 1/12
- (8) Requirement emmer ?? 3 1/4

It can be concluded that this is the receipt of a grain shipment – arrived in several parts – in which the followings are listed: type of grain, the amount of the grain and also some other values of which we cannot decipher a definite meaning. The quantity of the amounts is not indicated anywhere, but it undoubtedly should be understood in *artaba*, as it was the usual measuring unit of dry goods during the Ptolemaic period.¹⁵ It is an interesting detail that on the 10th and the 22nd day different types of grain were delivered to the stock. The question is whether it was an exceptional case or a general phenomenon and also if it is of any significance. To find the answer for this question we need to review the economic framework of the period.

The Ptolemies not only introduced coinage but established several economic institutions as well. They tried to transform and monetize their economy as much as possible, but as we are talking about Egypt – where the grain economy had age-old traditions – it was not possible to apply the rules of cash economy entirely. In correspondence to this a certain heterogeneous system was created in which some monetized elements were applied, but basically it remained faithful to the traditional Egyptian grain economy, and the grain continued to be the measure of value.¹⁶ That is why it was still possible that some parts of the rents and taxes were paid in kind.

During the Ptolemaic era there were two land categories: firstly *γῆ βασιλική*, which was royal land and subject to rents, secondly *γῆ ἐν ἀφύσει* which

¹⁵ *Artaba* was a measure of dry capacity, in course of the Ptolemaic period 1 artaba was about 27 liters.

¹⁶ There were several reasons to preserve grain economy: Alexandria like any other highly populated city needed a big quantity of grain to feed the people; Egypt was a country poor of precious metals, so they had only grain to export (in exchange for silver – necessary for mint money); the control of the Ptolemies was strong enough only in the northern part of the country, in other areas there was not sufficient background to monetize the economy. See Von Reden 2007, 118-129.

was private property. Royal land – as its name indicates – belonged to the king, but obviously the state could not cultivate the whole area, so it was cultivated by tenants. The majority of the state's revenue originated from lands¹⁷ by releasing parcels for which the crown tenants had to pay rent (*ἐκφόρια/ἐπιγραφὴ*). Rents on the grain-land were to be paid in kind, the amount of the rent was fixed in a certain kind of grain by royal *διάγραμμα*. The Ptolemies usually indicated the amount of rents in durum wheat (*σῖτος/πυρός*), but it was possible to exchange it into another crop or into cash at the exchange rate decided by the royal bank.¹⁸ If someone reviews the papyrus P Bud. E56.58/2 from this point of view, it is more understandable why different kinds of crops were transported to the stock. It was, thus, not a unique but a general phenomenon: the state fixed the rent in a certain crop – this was the crop needed for selling and exporting – but if the tenants did not possess this kind of crop, he had the possibility to change the amount to the crop he produced. The state generated considerable profit with these transactions as well. That is why it seems to be likely that this papyrus records a delivery of this nature, but unfortunately we don't know if it was also subject to legal process.

In case of non-grain land the practice was different: rents on vineyards and orchards were mostly collected in cash. Moreover, these lands belonged to a specific category because they were exempted from paying rent during two years after the planting as they did not produce any crop.¹⁹

Now let me give you a brief overview of *γῆ ἐν ἀφέσει*. This kind of land was let to landlords. In this category three kind of land can be distinguished: land of temples (*ἱερὴ γῆ*), land of military settlers (*κληρουχικὴ γῆ*) and land of high officials (*γῆ ἐν δωρεᾷ*).²⁰ These lands were subject to taxation, their rate was also fixed by the state. The landowner had the right to lease his land or part of it to a tenant who paid rent to the owner for using this. This was very common especially if the land was too large for one family. In case of taxes the same duality can be observed. It seems that from the 2nd century BC on grain lands the so-called *artaba*-tax had to be regularly paid in kind even if the land was not cultivated. The rate of this fluctuated between ½ and 2 artaba of grain per *ἄρουρα*.²¹ The practice in the case of the so-called *ἐπαρούριον* was similar, it was collected on vineyards and orchards in cash per aroura. Any other

¹⁷ Manning 2010, 123. He used for Egypt a model made for the Hellenistic states in general. In fact it is true that the most valuable source of income for the country was always land and grain.

¹⁸ Von Reden 2007, 122.

¹⁹ Von Reden 2007, 125-126.

²⁰ Von Reden 2007, 88.

²¹ Manning 2003, 60. The aroura was measure of land, one aroura was about 2700 m².

kind of taxes relating to lands – as *χωμάτικον* (dyke-tax) or *φυλακίτικον* (guard-tax) – had to be paid in grain or cash depending on the nature of the land: in kind on grain land, in cash on non-grain land.

In Egypt the entire taxation system was based on two things: land registrations and tax censuses. This last could be considered a population census as in each house every free and non free adult was counted with their children and even their taxable animals were registered. Then these registers were summarized village by village and through many administrative levels they arrived at Alexandria.²² There was also a special type of register, the so-called *κατ' ἔθνη* register. In this register every person was listed by his profession. We find the profession's name at the top of the table then the list of males belonging to that profession household by household with their family members. The papyrus P Bud. E.56.58/1 is a record of this type.²³

Col. 1

- 1 3s. [
Petobastis
3, of whom 1 (male)
The Persians
- 5 *Ta-p3-rt* daughter of *Pa-mn*
total 1 (female)
the herdsmen
Amenmosis (?) son of Paueris (?)
Belles his wife
- 10 Nebouotis his mother
Petosiris son of Harbekis
Semtheus son of Amenmosis (?)
Ta-n3-hr.s-n=f
Ta-p3-rt daughter of Pnas
- 15 7, of whom 3 (male)

Col. 2

- 16 Menches his [
Abykis
Peteesis son of [

²² Von Reden 2007, 103.

²³ Luft 2006, 489-491.

- Nechthakes son of [
 20 Amortais son of Horos
 17, of whom 10 (male)
 the brewers
 Horos son of Petosiris
 Obostortais his wife
 25 Hakes his son
 Tahakes his daughter
 Nechtenibis [
 Horos son of Herieus
 Tekysis his wife
 30 7, of whom 4 (male)

The different professions are carefully distinguished. Three groups can be highlighted: the Persians, the herdsmen and the brewers, we can also see the second part of another fourth group in lines 16-21 but unfortunately the name of the profession is missing. The category of the “Persians” as such is an interesting one because unlike the other categories it is not an occupation but an ethnic name, and there is only one woman listed here. This raises the possibility that this *Ta-p3-rt* is identical with the *Ta-p3-rt* belonging to the herdsmen as the reading of the two father’s name is not certain, it could even be the same.²⁴ So it is possible that she belonged to the herdsmen but since she was of another ethnic group she also had to be figured in a separate group according to her ethnicity. The names are grouped by households within one occupation always beginning with the male then the wife and finally the children if there were any. At the end of each category the number of males is summarized.

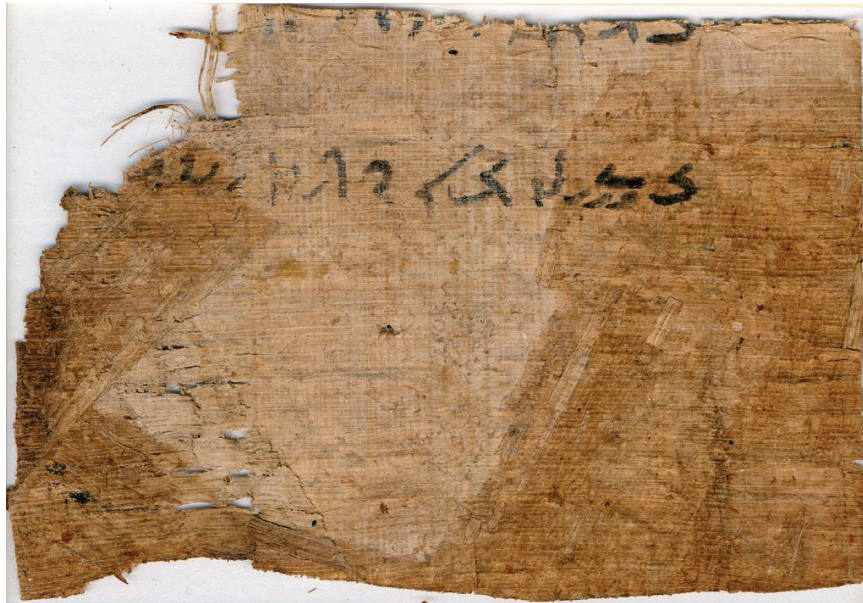
What could have been the use of a *κατ’ ἔθνη* list? It certainly served as a basis for claiming a type of tax, but for this purpose it would have been enough to list the people by household.²⁵ The question is why a list based on occupation was needed. In addition to general taxes some other kinds of specific taxes existed as well, these taxes did not apply to the whole society but only to certain groups. Some examples are: *νιτρική* (natron-tax), *ζύθηρα* (beer-tax),

²⁴ Luft 2006, 490.

²⁵ Lists enumerating people by household were very common in this period to claim salt-tax (*ἀλική*) and *ὀβολός-tax*. The salt-tax was introduced in 263 BC and every adult was obliged to pay it in cash. This tax was one of the major tools of the Ptolemaic monetary economy as it affected the whole society and assured a minimal coin usage in the state. The *ὀβολός-tax* appeared in 243 BC and only men were required to pay 1 obolos per person. See Von Reden 2007, 102-109.

βαλανεῖον (bath-tax) τετάρτη (25% tax) ἐπώνια (commercial tax).²⁶ These were all certain types of commercial taxes which were to be paid to the state after any income coming from selling certain products or from providing services. Each profession and any source of income had its own tax to be paid which applied only to those who practiced that occupation. Now it is understandable why κατ' ἔθνη registers listed taxable people having the same profession. It consequently follows that they served as a basis for the monetary taxation of production, transportation, selling and consumption.²⁷

The Ptolemies did not only try to increase their income and control over the state by creating registers and by introducing taxes but in other ways as well. Let us evaluate the last fragment from Gamhud, the papyrus P. Bud 56.95.A. This papyrus comes from a cartonnage and probably dates from the same period as the others. The central part of the papyrus has a bright stain and it was most likely the lower right corner of a large arch, in which only a half-line is legible. Above the last line some signs' bottom parts are visible but they are illegible. The *verso* is written in demotic.



²⁶ Von Reden illustrates the existence of these taxes and their relation to κατ' ἔθνη registers based on P. Köln VII 315. Von Reden 2007, 102-109.

²⁷ Von Reden 2007, 106.

Transcription: *jr-tj wr mr-šn.(w)*

Translation: The measuring was made by the chief²⁸ lesonis.

The information we receive from this fragment is that a certain lesonis did a measuring. The lesonis (*mr-šn* in Demotic) was an official elected to manage and control the economic and financial affairs of a temple. On one hand he was in charge of collecting taxes and on the other hand he was responsible of checking the outgoing payments required by the state.²⁹ It seems that this line was the lower line of a text, probably a list. It could have been a document indicating a grain measuring with its quantities and at the end of it the measurer's or the inspector's name is written. It is highly possible that this person was the lesonis as he was responsible for the economical and financial processes of the temples. In this case, it may have been a certificate testified by the measurer.

The "lesonis" was therefore a state and church title because the person who possessed it had administrative and religious functions as well. This title derives from earlier periods, in Egyptian texts it appeared in the form of *mr-šn* for the first time during the 22nd dynasty.³⁰ The duality of the title can be seen well in the Demotic sources in which a certain lesonis is mentioned. For example the papyrus P. Berl. Dem 3115 is a document listing the rules of a religious community.³¹ The text dates from the 2nd century BC. In the first part of it, a complete list of all the people concerned is given, then in the second one rules, prohibitions and penalties – the consequences of breaking the regulations – are enumerated. It must be noted that two different groups of people are distinguished: the first one contains those people who were "registered" with the community, the second one contains the members. The lesonis is presented in the first group together with his assistants and companions. It means that they belonged to the community but they weren't members because they were separated from it from a certain point of view. This confirms also the supervisor-function of the lesonis as he was responsible for the community as well as for the state.

²⁸ The word *wr* could be translated in different ways. In this case the adjective „chief" or „great" would be the most suitable as it is related to a title. Another option is to interpret it as a possessive form in which the direct possessive marker *n* and/or the definitive article *n3* are missing: *wr (n) (n3) mr-šn(w)*, this occurs on other papyri too (P. Berlin 23503 for example), in this case it could be translated as „the greatest of the lesonis".

²⁹ Manning 2010, 136. For its forms see Johnson 2001-, 133-138.

³⁰ Zauzich 1980, 1008-1009. Concerning the original hieroglyph transcription see Gardiner 1959, 15.

³¹ De Cenival 1972, 18-19.

To be a member of a religious community meant a special life style. All assignments, titles and rules were valid for one year, and afterwards the titles were redistributed while the rules were codified again in unchanged or in modified form. Every member had to contribute financially to the costs of the community. It was in fact a kind of membership fee and the amount of this fee varied according to the person's position. Priests belonging to the leaders like the community leaders or the prophets had to pay a higher fee due to their specific position while the majority of the members had to pay only a basic fee.³²

In addition to the cult service of deities which was the most important role of the temples and communities, it is necessary to highlight that they had important economic and social functions too. In social terms the importance of belonging to a community should be emphasized, because all members had to take part in a number of communal feasting and drinking, this contributed to the cohesion of the community. In case of a member's death the community contributed to the funeral costs, and thereby helped the deceased's family.³³ Perhaps it was even more important that interpersonal relationships were regulated by written rules. Anybody who insulted another member physically or mentally was punished severely. This was the most effective way to avoid conflicts within the community and to create a sense of security. In economic terms the association gave a kind of social security to the members because according to the rules if somebody had financial problems, the community was obliged to help him.

If we take the state's point of view it is clear that the most important thing for them was that payments and taxes arrive accurately and regularly to the treasury. At the beginning of the Hellenistic era a large part of the country's arable land was occupied by temples, they were thus in a strong position. The Ptolemies gradually developed the new system but they also needed new areas as they could not take the lands from the temples in service.³⁴ During the 3rd century BC – especially in Upper Egypt – the separation or sometimes the opposition of the temples to the kings can be still felt, but the state gradually managed to include them in the new economic system and subordinate them to royal bureaucracy. The duty of *lesonis* could be considered as a facilitator-role of the process because they controlled, directed and managed the financial affairs of a temple. The importance of this position is also supported by some sources from the Persian period. Three letters should be mentioned, each of

³² Monson 2005, 4.

³³ Monson 2005, 9.

³⁴ The extension of the Fayum oasis by placing surrounding desert area under cultivation is due to the Ptolemies. By gaining new territories they could give lands to the cleruchs.

them date back to Darius's reign, 493/493 BC.³⁵ The subject of these letters is the appointment of the *lesonis* of Khnum's temple at Elephantine. In the – chronologically – first letter (P. Berlin 13539 – 493 December BC) the priests of Elephantine informed the Persian satrapa Pherendates that they have appointed Eskhumpemet, son of Horkheb the new *lesonis*. Then in the reply letter (P. Berlin 13540 – 492 April BC) Pherendates emphasizes that the newly chosen *lesonis* should be selected in accordance with Darius, the great king. It was thus not enough to be appointed by the priests of Khnum, but his appointment had to be approved by the satrapa too as he was the representative of the Persian Empire in the country. From the third letter (P. Berlin 13572 – 492 June BC) we learn that the candidate has been proved to be appropriate because the addressee of the letter is “*lesonis* Eskhumpemet” in which the sender says thanks to him for a certain sum of money paid. It is true that these letters do not come from the Ptolemaic period but they provide some insight into the importance of the *lesonis*. For the state it was never negligible who possessed the title of *lesonis* in the Egyptian temples. If it was so important in the Persian era, we can suppose that it was the same during the Ptolemies too. Certainly he must have been a loyal person who took full responsibility for collecting regularly taxes from the temples.

The Demotic papyri from Gamhud hitherto published correlate well with the Ptolemaic-era image already known from the corpuses and individual texts published from the beginning of the 20th century onwards. Every piece can add or modify something in this image. Hopefully additional papyri from Gamhud will be published and they will provide further valuable information about the functioning of contemporary economy.

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³⁵ P. Berlin 13539, 13540, 13572. Concerning the edition and translation of the letters see Martin 1996, 289-295, Fried 2004, 81-84, Kuhrt 2007, 852-854.

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(ISSN 0418 – 453X)

<i>ACTA CLASSICA</i> <i>UNIV. SCIENT. DEBRECEN.</i>	<i>XLVIII.</i>	<i>2012.</i>	<i>pp. 25–34.</i>
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A SHORT NOTE ON LEX MAMILIA¹

BY LEVENTE TAKÁCS

Abstract: When dealing with boundary disputes, Roman land-surveyors often refer to a law known as the *lex Mamilia*. References make clear that the law lays down a prohibition, namely that strips of land 5 or 6 feet broad cannot be acquired by *usucapio*. It referred to disputes where the breadth of the land in question did not exceed the above-mentioned limit. In the *Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum* we find three short fragments that bear the name *lex Mamilia Roscia Peducaea Alliena Fabia*. This law deals with questions related to boundary signs situated between plots as well as with the duties of the magistrates of a *colonia*. The present study seeks to examine the relationship between the two laws and to consider how the surviving fragments can be interpreted in relation to each other.

Keywords: Roman land surveying, boundary disputes, *lex Mamilia*, *usucapio*, municipal laws.

One of the major tasks of Roman land-surveyors was to participate in settling land tenure disputes, either as experts or, more rarely, as judges. Therefore it seems reasonable that in the surviving collection of their works entitled *Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum* there are as many as three works dealing with the conflicts arising from disputed boundaries. The works that could be summarized as *de controversiis* were written by Frontinus, Hyginus and the late antiquity writer Agennius Urbicus.² They all were followers of Roman casuistic law and thus treated land tenure disputes in groups of cases. Frontinus set up two major groups. One of them was related to the problem of *finis*, while the other was connected to *locus* (*materiae controversiarum sunt duae, finis et locus*).

¹ I wish to thank the Foundation *Non Omnis Moriar* and its *István Hahn Award* for the indispensable help in making it possible to write the present study.

² The title of the three times consul (73, 98, 100 AD) Frontinus' work is *de controversiis* (4C). The next chronologically is Hyginus, whose work is entitled *de generibus controversiarum* (90C). At the beginning of the presumably late antiquity writer Agennius Urbicus' work we can find the title *de controversiis agrorum* (16C). On authors: Campbell 2000, xxvii–xxxvii and Castillo Pascual 1998.

However, he treated altogether 15 types of cases without defining the relationship between the two major groups and the 15 cases treated (Frontinus 4C).³

Hyginus, however, defines only six groups: *de alluvione, de fine, de loco, de modo, de iure subsicivorum, de iure territorii* (Hyginus 90C). At the end of his work he also considers some further possible categories which he does not detail but treats as pertaining to the field of law. Urbicus begins to describe his own grouping system by presenting abstract categories, but following a theoretical and philosophical introduction, he also deals with land disputes in terms of categories that are similar to the ones used by his predecessors mentioned above.⁴

The first group of cases was presumably the *de positione terminorum*. Frontinus mentions this first of all. Hyginus does not deal with this category, but Urbicus also regards it as the most important one. Urbicus' text is fragmentary at this particular point but on the basis of the surviving parts we can assume that he also started to present disputes with *de positione terminorum* (Frontinus 4C; Urbicus 26-28C).⁵ Both Frontinus' and Urbicus' descriptions show that the *de positione terminorum* was in the first place a preliminary procedure which decided on factual questions. The starting point of the procedure was the discrepancy between the location of boundary signs and the latest property description (*secundum proximi temporis possessionem non conveniunt*). The *agrimensores* had to define the initial correct location of these boundary signs and also to suggest how the signs could be repositioned in the right place. Consequently the procedure only made a statement of fact and it was a further procedure that clarified the legal situation. It is not by chance that Urbicus calls it *anticipalis* in nature. In terms of procedural law this is a *praeiudicium*, the results of which will be taken into account in the next trial. Naturally, the *agrimensores* give us an account of how the case went, but before that we should have a look at legal sources.

In Book 47 of the Digest we can read about the *actio de termino moto*, the name of which seems to be closely related to the following words of Urbicus: *haec controversia moti termini*. However parallel the two texts might seem, it is only the basic facts that are the same. In both cases regulation is based on the

³ The lack of explanation is mainly due to the uncertainty connected to Frontinus' works. Altogether 4 shorter works of his have been preserved, namely *de agrorum qualitate, de controversiis, de limitibus, de arte mensoria*. These works (in Campbell's edition are no longer than 7 pages (2-15C). We cannot decide whether they are four fragments of a larger piece of work or extracts from four different works Cf. Dilke 1971, 105-108.

⁴ Campbell 2000, 337.

⁵ Cf. Campbell 2000, 338.

fact that the location of boundary signs can be changed as a result of human activity, which affects land and tenure rights. While land surveyors' writings mainly refer to private lawsuits, the Digest tends to feature criminal law regulations.

Callistratus refers to two pieces of *lex agraria* (C. Caesar, Nerva), and Hadrian's *rescriptum* when presenting the rules. Hadrian ordered that if people from the higher ranks of society (*splendidiores personae*) committed such an act in order to occupy others' land, they were to be sent in exile for a period that was inversely proportional to their age. Those who moved boundary signs while performing some (other) task had to do hard labour for two years. Presumably this was the category into which land surveyors also fell. Those who committed such an act only by chance, or out of ignorance, were simply whipped.

The name Caius Caesar may refer either to Julius Caesar or Caligula. No matter whom the name referred to, the law containing his name is at least hundred years older than Hadrian's *rescriptum*. It stipulates that people who, *dolo malo*, change the location of boundary signs will have to pay fifty aurei per boundary sign. The procedure could be started by anyone, thus it was an *actio popularis*. Nerva's law added that slaves committing this act should be sentenced to death.

The development of sanctions is important from a sociological perspective as well. The offence was already punishable by a significant fine, although it seems rather to have been a compilation.⁶ Exile and hard labour, however, were much more serious threats for offenders. It must have been the growing number of land occupations (as a result of boundary mark movement) that prompted emperors to introduce more severe sanctions.⁷ This assumption is backed by the fact that Hadrian treats offenders coming from the higher ranks of society differently, and threatens to punish them more severely. The reason behind this is that it was precisely these social groups that enlarged their lands using such methods, without fear of punishment. It was the result of social processes that Modestinus (despite earlier laws) does not allow financial penalties, and provides for sanctions in concordance with Hadrian's provision.

After finishing the procedure of *de positione terminorum* the land owners concerned faced a further procedure. As Frontinus (4, 14-15C) puts it: *ab integro alius forte de loco alius de fine litigat*. Thus the real lawsuit following the settlement of the *de positione terminorum* problem had to decide on either *de loco* or *de fine*. Urbicus treats *locus* and *modus* as the subject of the next dis-

⁶ Crawford 1989, 185.

⁷ Urbicus 26, 33C also thinks that boundary marks are moved *usurpandi finis causa*.

pute, but after *de positione terminorum* he also writes about *finis*, treating it as a separate type of case. *De fine*, *de loco* and *de modo* also appear in Hyginus' work.

In *de fine* procedures agrimensores are concerned with what forms the boundary between two plots. They mention boundary stones such as marks, marked trees and alleys, ditches, streams, hilltops etc. They describe in details what circumstances and conditions land surveyors had to consider. For example on the basis of the marks on trees they had to decide whether the boundary marking tree was common or belonged to one of the owners only. Similarly, ditches also had to be examined carefully to decide who they belonged to and whether they were situated on the border line or not. A solution to the latter question is sought by Urbicus, who in fact does not deal with the question of ditches separating plots because that part of his work must have been lost. However, when analysing *termini sacrificales*, he tells us that the so-called boundary signs were not necessarily placed at the physical boundary of plots, but their placement could sometimes be influenced by *opportunitas* and *commoditas*. Both these words can be interpreted as religious and practical terms at the same time. The above mentioned aspects could also have been taken into consideration when designating the place for other boundary sign as well. When digging ditches, it was the soil parameters and facilitation of drainage that played the most important role.

Besides practical pieces of advice land surveyors also make some references to the legal nature of such boundary disputes. Frontinus specifies that the procedure is subject to *lex Mamilia* providing that the boundary dispute originates from *de rigore*. Their legal status is the same as that of conflicts arising from *de fine* causes. The only difference is that while *rigor* refers to a boundary line without any extension, *finis* is a border having some extension. According to land surveyor specialists both types of boundaries shall be analysed as subject to *lex Mamilia*. That may be the reason why, following the description of *de positione terminorum*, it is the case of *finis* rather than that of *rigor* that is paid great attention to besides *locus*, because borders with some extension were significant for practical reasons as well. The difference between disputes connected to *locus* and procedures *de fine* was that in the case of *de loco* procedures debate was about a territory or strip of land which was broader than the extent specified by law. It could also be relevant from the point of view of farming, in contrast to the strip of land determined by *lex Mamilia*, which was important mainly for transport. According to Hyginus (92, 11-12 C), who fails to mention the text of the law, the five or six feet wide strip of land was used by land owners to get to their plots (*iter culturas accedentium*), or it served as a place to turn the plough round (*circumactus aratri*).

Land surveyor specialists refer to this Mamilian law on several occasions. Frontinus states that it is the procedure connected to disputed plots or boundary lines not wider than five feet that are subject to the law mentioned above. Urbicus considers it important to mention in connection with this law that even legal scholars have doubts about how to interpret the measures specified by the law because its text is archaic (*antiqui sermonis*). The other uncertainty related to the law was the width of 5 or 6 feet (appr. 1.6 – 2 m) specified in the *lex*. What is most important from the legal point of view is the fact that in order to preserve this strip of 5 or 6 foot wide land for common use there was no possibility for its *usucapio*.⁸

Among the texts of *Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum* we can find three short fragments from a law which bears the name of *lex Mamilia Roscia Peducaea Alliena Fabia* in the collection.⁹ The obvious question that arises is what the relationship between the two laws was.

The first fragment of *lex Mamilia Roscia Peducaea Alliena Fabia* states that it is the obligation of the plot owner/user (*cuius is ager erit*) to make up for the missing boundary lines (*terminum restituendum curato*). Meanwhile, their control falls within the scope of local magistrates. The second fragment sets out payment of a sanction for those who change the located boundary lines in any way, e.g. by ploughing them away or filling up the ditches. The third fragment also refers to the consequences of moving boundary lines by describing the procedure to be followed. The duty of the magistrates of *coloniae* was to appoint a judge to clarify and decide on the disputed case. The only means of proving one's right (in the fragment) is taking evidence, and also threatening to make the guilty party pay a fine. The fact that the authenticity of boundary lines was of community interest is shown by the following: the fine was collected with immediate execution (*primo quoque die exigit*), and half the amount was given to the person who initiated the case (*partem dimidiam ei cuius unius opera maxime is condemnatus erit*), who was probably one of the adjoining owners.

In relation to the latter mentioned law research has mainly been preoccupied with dating. The first fragment can be found word for word in the text of *lex Coloniae Genetivae*, while a part of the third in that of the Digest (XLVII 21, 3). The latter fragment – as we have already mentioned – is referred to as the law of a C. Caesar in connection with *de termino moto*. On the basis of the limited data at our disposal research has made several attempts to date the

⁸ Frontinus 4C; Urbicus 22-24C and 30C; Commentum 60C; Siculus Flaccus 110C; Hyginus Gromaticus 136C. On the basis of the definition the above mentioned Hyginus 92C can also be referred to here.

⁹ 216-219C. The text is quoted by Hardy 1925, 185 and also Crawford 1989, 180-181.

law.¹⁰ If we do not take into consideration the – as yet unreflected – view which dated the issue of *lex Mamilia Roscia Peducaea Alliena Fabia* back to the age of the early Empire after identifying the C. Caesar mentioned in the Digest with Caligula, we can say there are basically two different views on its dating. The first view considers this law to be part of the numerous judicial acts that started after 111 BC as a counter reaction to Gracchus' measures, and thus could be dated back to 109 BC. In this case the law can be linked to C. Mamilius Limetanus, who was also known for his actions against the abuse associated with Jugurtha (Sall., *Jug.* 40. Cic., *Brut.* 127).¹¹

The other view considers that *lex Mamilia Roscia Peducaea Alliena Fabia* was introduced at the time of Caesar's agrarian laws or colony founding program. Furthermore, there is disagreement concerning the exact year, even among those who date the law back to Caesar's age. Among the possible years 59, 55 and 49 have all been mentioned, together with the period between 47 and 44.¹²

So far, research has hardly dealt with clarifying the connection between the two laws mentioned by land surveyors. Kroll – though in an unspoken fashion – identifies the two laws as one when he uses Agennius Urbicus' (24C) statement on the archaisms found in *lex Mamilia* to date the other law.¹³ Crawford, however, establishes two groups: the fragments of *lex Mamilia Roscia Peducaea Alliena Fabia* on the one hand, and the references of land surveyors to *lex Mamilia* on the other.¹⁴ The basis of his argument is that the latter (i.e. the comments of land surveyors) mainly refer to problems governed by private law, while the former (law fragments) are part of public law.

It is Cicero that gives us clues for dating *lex Mamilia*. In his dialogue entitled *de legibus*, which was presumably written around 53-51 BC, he traces back the prohibition of the usucapio of the five-foot wide boundary strip to the

¹⁰ For a short insight on possibilities cf. Kroll, RE 12, 2397.

¹¹ Cf. Hardy 1925, 186 sqq. Heurgon 1960, 221 sqq. Crawford 1989, 187. Heurgon also dates back another extremely disputed piece of *CAR*, the so-called Vegoia prophecy to the beginning of the civil wars. Cf. Heurgon 1959.

¹² Cf. Kroll, RE 12, 2397. Cary 1929, 115, argues for year 55, which he explains on the basis of the growing number of soldiers needed as a result of Caesar's conquest of Gaul. Crawford 1989, 184 and 187 sqq. connects the law to Caesar's legislation of 59, while Hardy 1925 sees a connection between the law in question and the period between 47-44. The substantial difference between the positions of the two authors is that Crawford identifies the known fragments with a single *lex Iulia agraria*, and dates *lex Mamilia, Roscia, Peducaea, Alliena*, and *Fabia* with unknown content to year 109, while Hardy proves that the law bearing this name had the content we know today.

¹³ We must not forget that Urbicus wrote in late antiquity. Therefore his comment on the law having ancient wording should be taken into chronological consideration accordingly.

¹⁴ Crawford 1989, 183. He is followed by Campbell 2000, 321-322.

Twelve Table Laws. He also adds that upon the principles of ancient laws three judges (*arbitri*) were required in the case of *de finibus* disputes, while Mamilius' law only prescribed one judge (Cic., *leg.* I 55).¹⁵ Mamilius' law, to which land surveyors refer, presumably dates back to the period before the second half of the 50's, and its source was the text of the Twelve Table Laws, which he changed at least with respect to the number of judges involved.¹⁶

The content of the fragments of the two laws that can be related to the name Mamilius is fairly different. One of them concentrates on the five or six feet wide boundary strip and the prohibition of usucapio of this land, whereas the other deals with the authority and duties of magistrates of towns and the procedure itself. However, the aim of the fragments was similar as both of them aimed at the stability of current ownership.¹⁷ When trying to clarify their relationship we do not necessarily have to think in terms of the public law and private law dichotomy. The law called *lex municipii Salpensani*, which dates back to Domitian's time, regulates the freeing of slaves and appointing of guardians.¹⁸ These regulations pertaining to the field of private law are naturally suitable to be part of the law of a municipium because, for example, the regulation of the conditions that made freeing a slave possible had a great impact on the whole community and influenced local civil law and other public law matters.

In the case of the two laws named after Mamilius we should differentiate on the basis of another distinguishing feature. The law named *lex Mamilia Roscia Peducaea Alliena Fabia* contains regulations of a procedural type, whereas the *lex Mamilia* preserved by land surveyors states a substantive type of provision: the usucapio of the boundary strip is forbidden. The common goal of both provisions was the prevention of land boundary disputes by maintaining the unobtainability of these boundary strips between plots. This was not only in the interest of the state (public regulation) but also of private parties (private law regulation). Therefore it is possible that the fragments belong to the same law instead of being fragments of two separate laws.

The regulation of land ownership is often part of the laws of towns. The laws of *lex Irnitana* and *lex Malacitana*, which date back to Domitian's age, contain provisions on the obligations of guarantors and witnesses, as well as on

¹⁵ Cf. Flach 1990, 27.

¹⁶ Cf. Crawford 1989, 183.

¹⁷ Cary 1929, 114 refers to something similar when treating *lex Mamilia Roscia Peducaea Alliena Fabia*, but his conclusions lead in a totally different direction. What is more, he does not consider the *lex Mamilia* referred to in connection with land surveyors.

¹⁸ *Lex Salpensana* XXVIII, XXIX (Dessau, ILS 6088).

real estate.¹⁹ These laws naturally included solutions for possible later disputes on land tenure. The law of the *municipium* of Irni says in its rubric number LXXVI that it is the duty of duumviri to make proposals to the town council on the examination of town boundaries, lands and territories providing tax to the town. The examination was carried out by walking through these territories with the aim of detecting abuses.²⁰ The law of the town of Urso dating back to the age of Caesar sets a prohibition on selling common lands, woods or buildings and also sets a time limit for rental of five years.²¹ In addition to these provisions laws also make it clear that magistrates should act in a way that shall not damage the interests of individuals. The remaining fragments of the laws of Tarentum, Urso and Irni all have sections that provide for taking into consideration the interests of individuals when establishing roads, ditches or channels (*sine iniuria privatorum*).²²

The prohibition of usucapio in *lex Mamilia* would not have sounded strange in the basic law of a *municipium* or *colonia*, although our standpoint cannot be considered indisputable due to the fragmentary nature of the preserved laws of towns. The protection of individuals' interests in the case of community investments suggests that these interests could also have been protected from other individuals by legal regulations. The Digest lists as a public service mission of town magistrates the termination of the usucapio of anything that is town property. (*Dig. L 4,1,4*). It does not seem impossible that the regulation of usucapio also referred to the boundary strips lying between individuals' lands and not only to public lands. The boundary strip – as we could see – was used as a road. The law called *lex Ursonensis* (LXXVIII) sets the following regulation: *Quae viae publicae itinerave publica sunt fuerunt intra eos fines, qui colon. dati erunt, quicumque limites quaeque viae quaeque itinera per eos agros sunt erunt fueruntve, eae viae eique limites eaque itinera publica sunt*. Referring to *limites* (boundary strips, boundaries between lands) and roads in the same passage and setting them under the authority of public law could be a good explanation for the prohibition of usucapio in *lex Mamilia* as well if we also consider that according to Hyginus (92C) boundary strips between plots

¹⁹ Lex Iritana LXIV; Lex Malacitana LXIII-LXV (Dessau, ILS 6089). Cf. Illés 2007, 45, who does not mention the parallelism provided by lex Malacitana.

²⁰ Illés 2007, 53.

²¹ Lex coloniae Genetivae Iuliae s. Ursonensis LXXVIII (Dessau, ILS 6087).

²² Lex municipii Tarentini 39 (Dessau, ILS 6086); lex Ursonensis LXXVII; lex Iritana LXXXII. Cf. Galsterer 1988, 84; Illés 2007, 57.

were meant to be used as roads.²³ It is not only by chance that it was the task of magistrates to keep an eye on them, and not only for the sake of town property. The stability of land ownership and transport was also a primary interest of the town community. It was the magistrates who possessed the public power that could preserve and guarantee the existing legal status. Furthermore, magistrates were also in possession of authentic, or at least reference, data in connection with plots. During the *census* they made surveys which they recorded in the so-called *forma censualis*, which contained the name of the plot, the owner of the land and of the two adjoining plots, the location of the plot within the local administrative units, its size and how it was cultivated (*Dig. L 15,4pr*).

The dating of *lex Mamilia* in relation to Cicero as a *terminus ante quem*, and the proposed dating of *lex Mamilia Roscia Peducaea Alliena Fabia* give us conforming dates. Urbicus' statement on the archaic language of the first law provides us only with a relative dating; and if we accept the idea that Urbicus wrote in late antiquity, his dating does not contradict our theory that *lex Mamilia* can also be considered as dating back to the first century B.C. The aim of the two laws, as we can deduce from fragments, is common: to guarantee that lot boundaries would not be disturbed. This is of paramount importance for individuals, the community and the state alike. Regulation on land tenure also appears in further municipal laws. All things considered we may draw the conclusion that the fragments are part of a single law and not two different ones.

²³ This is also emphasised by Hyginus Gromaticus 136C, according to whom: *linearum limites ... latitudinem secundum Mamiliam accipiunt. In Italia etiam itineri publico serviunt ... hos conditores coloniarum fructus asportandi causa publicaverunt.*

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(ISSN 0418 – 453X)

<i>ACTA CLASSICA</i> <i>UNIV. SCIENT. DEBRECEN.</i>	<i>XLVIII.</i>	<i>2012.</i>	<i>pp. 35–57.</i>
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I LUPERCALI DEL 44: UNA RIVISITAZIONE

DI LUIGI BESSONE

Abstract: Cicero's account of the Lupercalia is not complete, since he does not give the ending of the incident and unsatisfactorily makes Antony the sole protagonist. Among the other sources the best is Nicolaus of Damascus. Antony had no wish to crown Caesar; nor did Caesar seek to arrange it with Antony. Political opponents instigate a challenge to the *dictator perpetuus* and Antony intervenes to help Caesar out and save the opposing party.

Keywords: Lupercalia, diadema, Caesar, Antony, Nicolaus of Damascus.

Molti, prima e meglio di noi, hanno affrontato il ginepraio costituito dal noto episodio del 15 febbraio 44 a.C.; un autentico rompicapo se volessimo qui applicare la felice definizione da altri coniata per un problema ben più complesso¹. Siccome però non sempre *parva licet componere magnis* e nel nostro caso parecchi aspetti risultano in definitiva o sufficientemente chiariti, oppure al contrario destinati a rimanere inevitabilmente oscuri, non torneremo sul tracciato della corsa o sulle modalità di svolgimento, in gruppo, a scaglioni o in ordine sparso², ma ci soffermeremo di preferenza sul punto cruciale, compendiabile nel mommseniano *cui bono*, chiedendoci chi e perché avesse interesse all'incoronazione regale di Cesare, come e perché si sia scelta quell'occasione e insomma quale sia l'attendibilità delle fonti in proposito. Tutto ciò affronteremo assemblando i temi ora enucleati partitamente, non prima però di aver ribadito un punto ormai assodato, ma per noi essenziale: non si dimentichi e soprattutto non si trascuri che gli uomini impegnati nella corsa rituale indossavano un costume estremamente succinto, tale da definirli *nudi*, consistente in una sorta di perizoma di pelle di capra ridotta a corregge³. La nudità seppur non

¹ Sulla *vexata quaestio* dei quattro testimoni canonici circa il biologismo applicato alla storia di Roma, di "Kopfzerbrechen" parla Häussler 1964, 322, ripreso da Jal 1967, I, LXXIX, nota 2, a proposito di "un domaine aussi complexe".

² Differenti opinioni in Fraschetti 1985, 167-168; 171; 173; Ziolkowski 1998/99, 191-218 (il più aperto ad ogni soluzione, contemplando percorsi multipli, individuali e di gruppo); Valli 2007, 113-120; Ferriès 2009, 376.

³ Sulla 'nudità' dei luperci, attestata da Varr. *l. L.* VI 34 e comune alle nostre fonti latine e greche, che voleva integrale Holleman 1973, 260-268, seguito da Marchetti 2002, 89, vd. invece Porte 1976, 817-824; Fraschetti 1985, 173-174; Valli 2007, 119; Ferriès 2009, 375-376, giustamente concordi sul ricorso ad un gonnellino consistente in una striscia di pelle di capra.

integrale dei luperchi esclude, a mio avviso, l'insinuazione ciceroniana che Antonio si fosse portato il diadema da casa⁴, come d'altronde porta a respingere l'ipotesi che luperco fosse il suo asserito predecessore nel tentativo di incoronare Cesare re, il fantomatico Licinio del tradito damasceno⁵, l'unico a contemplare una pluralità di offerenti il simbolo della regalità ellenistica⁶ a colui che era stato appena insignito della dittatura vitalizia⁷.

Lasciando al momento Nicola di Damasco per concentrarci su Cicerone, la cui versione dei fatti riteniamo abbia condizionato in misura notevole le esposizioni successive⁸, la sua requisitoria relativa al diadema combina un dato oggettivo, l'offerta del distintivo regale, con l'insinuazione maligna di una manovra predisposta dallo stesso Antonio secondo il disinvoltto oratore, concertata con Cesare come riferiscono altri⁹, congetturando verosimilmente sul tradito ciceroniano. Sembra infatti improbabile che un'azione mirata a intronizzare Cesare, per di più ad opera di un personaggio così in vista come il suo collega nel consolato, potesse realizzarsi all'insaputa e senza il preventivo assenso dell'interessato¹⁰.

⁴ Cic., Phil. II 85 *Unde diadema? Non enim abiectum sustuleras, sed attuleras domo meditatam et cogitatum scelus*. Si segue l'ed. con traduzione e testo a fronte di Mosca 1996.

⁵ Nic. Dam. in Jacoby, *FGH* II 90, fr. 130, XXI, 71; trad. it., con commento per lemmi, curato da Scardigli 1983: poiché i §§ 71-75 appartengono al medesimo capitolo, ci si esimerà dal riportarlo ogni volta, così come la progressione dei paragrafi, indipendente dai capitoli, consente di eliminare regolarmente questi ultimi.

⁶ Vd. per tutti Alföldi 1970, 157; 263-265; Sordi 2002/03, 205; Cristofoli 2008, 140.

⁷ Vd. Sordi 2000, 305 sgg.; Zecchini 2001, 29 sgg.; Cristofoli 2008, 141.

⁸ Opinione ampiamente condivisa; vd., *ex gr.*, Rossi 1959, 46; Dognini 1996/97, 146 sgg.; Cristofoli 2004, 8 e 13, sulla "posizione esplicitamente ostile sia sul piano personale che politico" di Cicerone verso Antonio, sulla cui vita e carriera l'oratore proietta una "luce di assoluta negatività"; concorda Sordi 2003, 208; ribadisce Cristofoli 2008, 142-143; ampia rassegna in Matijević 2006, 29.

⁹ Testo riportato in nota 4; vd. su tutti Sordi 2000, *passim*; Sordi 2003, p. 207: "la smentita di Cicerone è la migliore conferma dell'antichità e dell'attendibilità della notizia ... già nota nell'autunno del 44 ... Essa era la versione di Antonio"; corrispondente al vero, aggiungiamo noi, se persino Augusto era disposto ad accettarla; che Antonio agisse di concerto con Cesare compare tra le ipotesi riferite da Nic. 73; cfr. Vell. II 56, 4 *insigne regium ... ab eo ita repulsum erat, ut non offensus videretur*; più drastico Flor. II 13, 91 *dubium an ipso volente*; altre testimonianze saranno riprese al momento opportuno.

¹⁰ Per una mossa concordata sembrano propendere nell'insieme Nic. 72; Plut., *Ant.* 12, che anzitutto evidenzia la buona fede di Antonio, il quale senza volerlo (*akon*) offre ai cesaricidi il pretesto più confacente, descrive Cesare non sorpreso ma ostentante il rifiuto (12, 4) e infine irritato presumibilmente non con Antonio (Nic. 75 attesta addirittura l'abbraccio finale tra i due), ma per la disapprovazione incontrata; cfr. Plut., *Caes.* 61, 6-7: tentativo concertato e smascherato, apposta *claque*; vd. Meier 1995, 86; Traina 2003, 40-41. Portano determinatamente in questa direzione Cass. Dio XLIV 12, 3 e parimenti il Cesare deluso e stanco di App., *Civ.* II 459, che lascia perdere ogni tentativo di investitura regale, nonché i dubitosi Velleio e Floro, citati in nota 9. A questa

Se si esclude la possibilità che Antonio recasse con sé il diadema nascosto in qualche modo, a maggior ragione cade la prospettiva di chi sostituisce alla semplice benda addirittura una corona con diadema incorporato; Plutarco e Dione sembrano dimenticare che Cesare era già *coronatus*, stando alla precisazione di Cicerone nella seconda *Filippica*¹¹. Alla *communis opinio* che Cesare recasse sul capo la corona d'alloro, che aveva il diritto di portare ovunque con l'abbigliamento pertinente ai trionfatori¹², si oppone il solo Cassio Dione, il quale prospetta Cesare in abito regale e con lucente corona d'oro sul capo¹³, il che significherebbe che Cesare aveva davvero rotto gli indugi e che la sua comparsa in abbigliamento da re preludeva alla imminente investitura regale per mano di Antonio in nome del popolo romano. Se così fosse, tuttavia, Cesare non avrebbe fatto le cose a metà assicurandosi una *claque* più consistente di quella registrata da Plutarco¹⁴ e, soprattutto, allertando Lepido onde evitare di trovarselo al dunque spiazzato ed esterrefatto.

Sulle reazioni di Lepido ai Lupercali ci ragguaglia Cicerone, probabile testimone oculare¹⁵ o almeno in possesso di notizie di prima mano, eppure scarsa-

considerazione, pur avvalorata da parecchie attestazioni antiche e ampiamente condivisa dai moderni, un'altra tuttavia si oppone: possibile che Cesare e Antonio, strateghi collaudati sui campi di battaglia, abbiano organizzato la pantomima dei Lupercali in maniera così maldestra?

¹¹ Cesare *coronatus* in Cic., *Phil.* II 85, comunemente inteso quale riferimento ad una corona d'alloro, rende assai problematica la versione di Plut., *Caes.* 61, 3; *Ant.* 12, 3. Non rileva la contraddizione con Cicerone, pur traducendo egregiamente il testo plutarco, "ricopri un diadema con un serto d'alloro" (Scuderi 1989, 333), nel documentatissimo commento alla *Vita di Antonio* in Plutarco, Scuderi 1984, 41-43. Del resto Plutarco non è nuovo a infortuni del genere: ad es., come rileva Cristofoli 2008, 146, *Ant.* 12, 7 reca un epilogo contraddittorio: Cesare, una volta rifiutato il diadema, non poteva certo farlo collocare su qualche sua statua.

¹² L'abbigliamento da trionfatore, con tunica purpurea, *toga picta* e corona d'alloro (Scuderi 1984, 41; nessuna precisazione in App., *Civ.* II 456-458, che si limita a collocare Cesare su un trono d'oro davanti ai rostri), Cesare poteva indossarlo sempre, essendo uno degli onori straordinari attribuitigli nel 45: Cass. Dio XLIII 43, 1; XLIV 4, 6 con aggiunta della *sella aurea*.

¹³ Più generico Nic. 71; Cass. Dio XLIV 11, 2 potrebbe intendersi come manifesto di Cesare per ricollegarsi agli antichi re di Roma e in specie alla dinastia etrusca dei Tarquinii; da notare, sulla scorta di K. Kraft, l'analogia della corona a foglie d'oro con quelle di pitture etrusche; in tal caso l'offerta del diadema potrebbe rappresentare l'alternativa di stampo ellenistico propugnata in ambiente cesariano, ma riesce difficile aderire a questa idea; sulla varietà di interpretazioni possibili, irrilevanti ai nostri fini, vd. orientativamente Rossi 1959, 35-37; Scardigli 1983, 157-158.

¹⁴ Plut., *Caes.* 61, 5-6; *Ant.* 12, 4-5; lo stesso ragionamento applicato a Cesare vale ovviamente anche per Antonio, se davvero avesse preparato in anticipo la messinscena; vd. Cristofoli 2008, 150.

¹⁵ La presenza di Cicerone ai Lupercali potrebbe evincersi da Cic., *Phil.* II 111 *ille* (il nonno paterno di Antonio, l'oratore) *numquam nudus est contionatus: tuum hominis simplicis pectus vidimus*; depone in tal senso anche Cass. Dio XLIV 30, 3; 31, 4 (discorso fittizio di Cicerone); parrebbe invece smentita da Cic., *Phil.* XIII 17 *vidit eius maestitiam atque lacrimas populus Romanus Lupercalibus; vidit quam abiectus, quam confectus esset Lepido*: in luogo di *vidit populus* ci si aspetterebbe ancora *vidimus*, a meno che si voglia qui prospettare il *populus* come entità

mente affidabile, sia in generale per la facilità di cambiare registro a seconda delle circostanze, sia nella fattispecie per l'acclarato spirito antiantoniano. Basti a esemplificare la prima caratteristica il tono ben diverso con cui parla via via di Dolabella¹⁶ e dello stesso Lepido, a seconda che gli sembrano utili o perduti alla sua causa¹⁷. Più lineare e reciso il rapporto di Cicerone con Antonio nell'ultima fase, non fosse altro perché costui gli suscita paure immediate, tanto da attaccarlo preferibilmente in sua assenza¹⁸, e d'altra parte sempre più nettamente Antonio va configurandosi come novello Cesare, tiranno da eliminare.

Va preliminarmente rilevato che Cicerone non risulta aver conferito particolare importanza a quanto verificatosi ai Lupercali, salvo poi rispolverare l'episodio in funzione antiantoniana nell'autunno del 44, quando compose a tavolino, entro il 24 ottobre, la "divina" *Filippica*, in risposta al duro attacco antoniano del 19 settembre¹⁹.

distinta dal senato, o meglio, chiamare enfaticamente a testimone la romanità intera. La dà per certa Cristofoli 2008, 142; la correda di un prudenziale "forse" Scardigli 1983, 158; "testimone privilegiato" definisce Cicerone Fraschetti 1985, 178.

¹⁶ Lasciando da parte i sentimenti personali, di sicuro turbati per il contegno di Dolabella verso Tulliola, si noti in prospettiva politica il passaggio dalle lusinghe di Cic., *Fam* IX 10-14, dei cruciali anni 45-44, all'apprezzamento per la repressione del moto di Amazio (*Phil.* I 5, 27; 29-30), all'esecrazione per l'assassinio di Trebonio, *Dolabellae ferum et immane facinus* di *Phil.* XIV 8 e cfr. XI 1-8; 15-16; XIII 5; 35-39.

¹⁷ Cfr. Cic., *Phil.* V 38 con *Phil.* XIII 16-17. Nel primo caso Cicerone dissocia Lepido da Antonio e da Cesare stesso, facendone un propugnatore costante della libertà civica: *semper ille populum Romanum liberum voluit*, rassegnatosi alla dittatura cesariana *temporum ... necessitate*; a riprova di quanto sostenuto, al gesto di Antonio ai Lupercali Lepido *se avertit gemituque et maestitia* manifestò tutto il suo *odium servitutis*. Successivamente (si passa dal 1 gennaio al 20 marzo del 43), constatato lo scarso *appeal* del richiamo agli ideali, Cicerone si appella a considerazioni più prosaiche: (Lepido) *suis amplissimis fortunis nisi nobis salvis frui non potest*; vd. poi, ai primi di luglio, la deplorazione con Cassio per il "voltafaccia scandaloso" (*scelere et levitate*: trad. G. Prugni) di Lepido in *Fam.* XII 10, 1.

¹⁸ A parte la seconda *Filippica*, destinata alla lettura in una cerchia di amici, nessun'altra orazione contro Antonio fu pronunciata in sua presenza; anche alla prima, del 2 settembre 44, presiedeva la seduta Dolabella, eppure si avverte ancora la preoccupazione dell'autore di non urtare troppo il console collerico e vendicativo, armato e intollerante di ogni dissenso (*Phil.* I 27-28). Cicerone alzerà i toni con Antonio sicuramente assente, prima in *tournee* ad arruolare truppe e poi all'assedio di Modena. Ricorrenti d'altronde le paure di Cicerone, per sua stessa ammissione: vd. Meier 1995, 185.

¹⁹ Secondo Mosca 1996, I 58, la pubblicazione avvenne forse fra il 12 novembre e il 9 dicembre; per fine novembre-inizi dicembre si pronuncia più genericamente Marinone 2004, 236. La qualifica in *Iuv. X* 125-126 *conspicuae divina Philippica famae / ... a prima quae proxima*. L'orazione fu elaborata come risposta stroncatoria al duro attacco "vomitato" contro di lui assente il 19 settembre: Cic., *Fam.* XII 2, 1 *omnibus est visus ... vomere suo more, non dicere*; cfr. la ripresa di Caleno in Cass. Dio XLVI 2, 3; 3, 3; vd. Mosca 1996, I 13-15; Cristofoli 2004, 7 sgg.; ivi, 4-5, discussione sulla genesi e sull'incidenza del titolo, non unanime ma alternativo a "scritti su /contro Antonio".

Vero è che l'epistolario ad Attico registra un intervallo abbastanza strano²⁰ proprio in coincidenza con il primo trimestre del medesimo anno 44, ma anche nelle *Familiares* l'unico accenno in proposito consiste in un frammento trasmesso da Quintiliano come esempio di aposiopesi controversa: *Inst.* IX 3, 61 *Data Luperkalibus, quo die Antonius Caesari*, con la scontata integrazione di un sottinteso *diadema imposuit*. In quel contesto, aggiunge Quintiliano, Cicerone *lusit* e la disposizione della frase in subordinata relativa, più che riflettere sdegno effettivo, suona piuttosto come accenno amaramente divertito a una delle tante buffonate e magari nefandezze, cui all'oratore è toccato di assistere nella Roma di Cesare e dei suoi accoliti, *in qua nihil sit quod videre possis sine dolore*²¹.

La riproposizione dell'episodio a distanza di mesi e in termini così melodrammatici, lungi dal fornire un resoconto inappuntabile, contrassegnato da distaccata obiettività, si connota come ispirato da preciso intento polemico e denigratorio. Un primo assaggio della tendenziosità ciceroniana si coglie già nel preambolo del racconto, ove l'oratore immagina un Antonio scosso, sudato, sbiancato in volto, all'annuncio che il suo avversario adesso tirerà in ballo, fra le tante accuse infamanti, *rem unam pulcherrimam*, l'abiezione in cui è precipitato ai Lupercali proponendosi quale *auctor regni*, per mettere alla prova la capacità di sopportazione del popolo romano proponendogli il dittatore come padrone²². Nessun'altra testimonianza antica è tanto severa con Antonio: al massimo gli imputa un'iniziativa sconsiderata, che avrebbe concorso a screditare Cesare, fomentando improvvidamente accuse, sospetti e speculazioni circa l'*affectatio regni* del dittatore. Antonio, e non Cicerone, sul quale il console aveva pretestuosamente rovesciato la responsabilità²³, è dunque il vero colpevole della fine di Cesare, del quale ha, magari involontariamente, accelerato l'eliminazione²⁴.

²⁰ Vd. Matjević 2006, 11-12, con esaustiva nota 3.

²¹ Cic., *Fam.* VII 3 dell'aprile 46 a Marco Mario; cfr. *Phil.* I 6 *Quae cum audire mallem quam videre*; la pensava così anche Marco Marcello, *ut abesse perpetuo malles quam ea quae nolles videre* (*Fam.* IV 7, 4), anche se Cicerone lo persuase alfine che è preferibile vivere male *domi* che in esilio: *ibid.* 8, 2; 9, 3-4; 12, 1.

²² Cic., *Phil.* II 84-85. L'intera vicenda dei Lupercali è riproposta in termini compendiosi ma efficaci, anche se per noi non del tutto condivisibili, da Tisé 2006, 162-164.

²³ Cic., *Phil.* II 25; 28; 30-31; vd. Cristofoli 2004, 15-19.

²⁴ Vd., in contrappunto al drastico Cic., *Phil.* XIII 41 *tu, tu, inquam, illum occidisti Luperkalibus*, la responsabilità di Antonio attenuata in Nic. 75: anche quest'evento contribuì ad accelerare l'azione dei congiurati; più duro Vell. II 56, 4 *Cui (= Caesari) magnam invidiam conciliarat Antonius*; Plut., *Caes.* 61 fa concorrere al discredito di Cesare non l'iniziativa di Antonio ai Lupercali, bensì il perseguimento cesariano dei tribuni, per lui successivo; il medesimo autore in *Ant.* 12, 1 abbina l'aggravante *euprepestaten profasin* con l'attenuante *akon*; vd. però 6, 4-7 per il 49; 9, 8-9 nel 47; Suet., *Iul.* 79 ridimensiona parimenti l'atto del 15 febbraio rispetto al precedente torto ai

Solo in Cicerone troviamo la deformazione caricaturale del console prostrato supplice ai piedi del dittatore, implorandolo di accettare il diadema dall'altro sdegnosamente respinto; altre fonti prospettano invece una sorta di contesa fra i due, con il recalcitrante Cesare addirittura sulla difensiva a fronte delle pressioni incalzanti dell'offerente²⁵. Incurante di vilipendere la dignità consolare²⁶ e avvezzo fin da piccolo a "subire"²⁷, Antonio si prostra quale aspirante servo ai piedi di Cesare adducendo di farsi portavoce e interprete della volontà del popolo romano. La precisazione di Cicerone, *a nobis populoque Romano mandatum id certe non habebas*, vale come smentita preventiva e quanto mai tempestiva della registrazione nei *Fasti* tosto riferita, che cioè l'offerta del diadema da parte di Antonio era avvenuta *populi iussu*, e parimenti dovrebbe sconfessare Cass. Dio XLIV 11, 3, il quale avverte che fu Cesare in persona a mandare il diadema a Giove Capitolino, asserito unico re dei Romani²⁸, e a dettare la formula testuale per il verbale della giornata.

Ben sapendo quanto codesta tesi sia minoritaria²⁹, lasciamo impregiudicata la questione, tanto più che, chiunque abbia dettato la formula, la sostanza non

tribuni; Flor. II 13, 91-92 annovera l'episodio, senza particolare rilievo, fra le troppe onorificenze tramutatesi per Cesare in bende sacrificali; la *Per. Liv.* CXVI 2 l'inserisce fra i tanti motivi di odio per il dittatore, sospettato di *affectatio regni*; altrettanto dicasi per App., *Civ.* II 449-453; Cass. Dio XLIV 11, 3 e parimenti lo stesso Plut., *Ant.* 13, 1.

²⁵ Così, compendiosamente, la più parte delle fonti delinea una prova di forza, quasi una scaramuccia fra Cesare e Antonio, in particolare Nic. 72-73; Plut., *Ant.* 12, 4-5; App., *Civ.* II 447-448, il cui *dierizonton* richiama immediatamente il *diamachomenon* plutarceo, ma già Cic., *Phil.* II 85.

²⁶ Cic., *Phil.* II 85 *ita eras Lupercus ut te consulem esse meminisse deberes*; cfr. Plut., *Ant.* 12, 3 *ta men patria chairein eiase*; lo giustifica Caleno rintuzzando l'accusa di Cicerone in Cass. Dio XLVI 5, 1-3; 17, 3.

²⁷ Cic., *Phil.* II 86 *ita a puero vixeras ut omnia paterere, ut facile servires*; cfr. 44-45 sulla famigerata relazione di Antonio con Curione figlio e 46 sull'intervento dell'oratore per sistemare la spinosa questione; ennesima battuta acida al § 50, sul tribunato di Antonio *ut in eo magistratu, si posses, viri tui similis esses*.

²⁸ L'invio del diadema a Giove Capitolino, di cui in Cass. Dio, *loc. cit.*, è già segnalato da Nic. 73; Suet., *Iul.* 79, 3; Plut., *Caes.* 61, 7; che esso sia invece finito su una statua di Cesare è annotazione che serve a Plut., *Ant.* 12, 7 per collegare più direttamente ai Lupercali il perseguimento dei tribuni della plebe Cesezio Flavio ed Epidio Marullo, che in *Caes.* 61, 8 viene semplicemente giustapposto all'episodio precedente. La validità del racconto dioneo in merito è quasi universalmente riconosciuta: vd. in ultimo Ferrary 2010, 28-29.

²⁹ Abbraccia determinatamente questa soluzione nella propria traduzione Mosca 1996, 215 *ad loc.*, fondandosi evidentemente sull'interpretazione generale del contesto; la dà per scontata Cristofoli 2004, 218 e 2008, 143; contraria la stragrande maggioranza fra cui Fraschetti 1985, 166; 178; Jehne 1999, 101; Sordi 1999, 152 e 2003, 207; Zecchini 2001, 18; Valli 2007, 116; 119 e l'elenco potrebbe allungarsi a dismisura. A nostro avviso l'annotazione nei *Fasti* citata da Cicerone, *Caesari dictatori perpetuo, M. Antonium consulem populi iussu regnum detulisse, Caesarem uti noluisse* va ascritta ad iniziativa di Antonio in quanto il nesso avversativo *at etiam*, col deciso

muta: o Antonio ha riportato nel testo le proprie parole, oppure Cesare le ha riecheggiate, a riprova del suo apprezzamento per la *trouvaille* del proprio collaboratore³⁰. Sarebbe comunque una prova della sostanziale attendibilità di Cicerone, se non che lo si coglie subito in fallo a proposito del consenso riscosso dall'iniziativa di Antonio. Cicerone azzera il plauso che altre fonti pur registrano sebbene in varia misura³¹, e lo tramuta invece in generale sconcerto e cordoglio, mentre all'opposto universalizza l'entusiasmo generale per l'irremovibile diniego di Cesare. Tale esagerazione, artatamente voluta, risponde a un duplice obiettivo, isolare il velleitario Antonio quale unico scellerato fra tanta gente dabbene e intanto preparare la stoccata decisiva: *iure interfectus* il dittatore, a detta di tutti, nonostante avesse rifiutato il diadema; tuttora vivo il più accanito fautore del *regnum*, per questo il più meritevole di essere messo a morte³². Di Cicerone resta valida la sequenza evenemenziale, corredata di qualche particolare inedito tipo la concione che Antonio avrebbe tenuto in un momento da lui lasciato imprecisato, ma rintracciabile con notevole sicurezza: l'arringa

trapasso dal congiuntivo *abiecerit*, riferito a Cesare, all'indicativo *iussit* con soggetto sottinteso (ma non si dimentichi che Cicerone parla a e di Antonio) e, non ultimo, la logica del passo depongono per siffatta interpretazione, avallata indirettamente dallo stesso Dione che a XLIV 11, 2 riporta la frase pronunciata da Antonio in quell'occasione; essa, "te lo dà il popolo per mio tramite", ricalca la formula trascritta in *Fastis ad Lupercalia* secondo Cicerone.

³⁰ Contegno di Cesare e reazione popolare sono oggetto di grosse divergenze, per cui ci si limita a quelle davvero inconciliabili. A Cic., *Phil.* II 85 *tu diadema imponebas cum clangore populi; ille cum plausu reiciebat*, si oppongono Nicola di Damasco e Plutarco, d'accordo sulle due anime popolari, la cui consistenza è vista peraltro in rapporto rovesciato: Nic. 72-73 insiste su un consenso maggioritario all'incoronazione (cfr. altresì 70), contraddetto in parte dall'applauso diffuso al rifiuto di Cesare, e conclude con un abbraccio di Antonio al dittatore, che dovrebbe implicare soddisfazione di entrambi; Plut., *Caes.* 61, 5-6; *Ant.* 12, 5-6 contrappone al plauso dei più per Cesare una minoranza precostituita per Antonio e soprattutto contraddice il lieto fine: Cesare *achthestheis* si alza e scostando la toga offre platealmente il collo a chi volesse ucciderlo. Il silenzio di Cicerone in proposito induce a considerare esagerati entrambi i racconti: troppo filo-cesariano il Damasceno e a rischio di abbaglio Plutarco, che ripropone la teatrale reazione di Cesare dopo la gaffe di fronte all'ambasceria senatoria: Plut., *Caes.* 60, 6.

³¹ Per Cicerone, Nicola e Plutarco vd. nota prec.; Suet., *Iul.* 79, 3 non fornisce ragguagli in merito, confermando per altro la reiterata (*saepius*) offerta antoniana; segue Plutarco App., *Civ.* II 456-458, che contrappone ai pochi plaudenti il dolore dei più, silenziosi per tutta la sceneggiata salvo esplodere in fragorosi applausi al rifiuto definitivo; nessun cenno a reazioni degli astanti in Cass. Dio XLIV 11, 2-3 che riduce il tutto ad un solo atto e vede Antonio in azione "insieme ai suoi colleghi sacerdoti" (trad. Norcio 2000, 21 *ad loc.*), ricalcando quanto asserito da Nic. 71 circa Licinio "sollevato dai colleghi". Noi tendiamo a escludere sia che Licinio fosse un luperco sia che Antonio avesse bisogno dei colleghi luperchi per issarsi fino a Cesare, in quanto egli salì direttamente alla tribuna, come attesta Cicerone; se poi egli stesso venne colto alla sprovvista, come ci pare legittimo ritenere, cade l'ipotesi che si fosse accordato preventivamente con qualcuno.

³² Cic., *Phil.* II, 86; cfr. Plut., *Comp. Demetrii et Antonii* 2, 1: Antonio volle asservire il popolo romano, appena sfuggito alla monarchia di Cesare.

precedette il tentativo antoniano di incoronare Cesare re, come si ricava da altro luogo delle *Filippiche* e come conferma il discorso di Fufio Caleno in senato, riportato da Cassio Dione³³.

Cesare dunque è assiso sul seggio dorato *in rostris*, con indosso “l’abito che una volta avevano indossato i re” (Cass. Dio XLIV 6, 1), e reca sul capo una corona d’oro o d’alloro: la prudenza è d’obbligo, date le notevoli differenze che ne conseguono; al termine del percorso rituale arriva Antonio seminudo, senz’altro unto d’olio e presumibilmente sudato, non certo ebbro come Cicerone si compiace di ritrarlo, quasi l’altro bevesse e vomitasse da mane a sera³⁴. Senza darsi una ripulita e tanto meno rivestirsi, il che suscita gli strali ciceroniani, Antonio pone in essere il suo piano: arringa il popolo e offre al dittatore il diadema quasi a incoronarlo re. L’imperfetto di conato implica un tentativo reiterato, attestato parimenti dalle altre fonti³⁵, concordi su localizzazione e dinamica dell’azione, che vede Antonio unico protagonista alle prese con Cesare, per una volta ridotto a comprimario.

L’unica voce fuori dal coro risulta quella di Cassio Dione, che situa Cesare entro la regia (*basileian*) invece che sui rostri, una divergenza che a ragione la moderna dottrina nemmeno prende in considerazione, tanto più che proviene da un luogo evidentemente corrotto³⁶. Di maggiore momento la situazione delineata da Nicola di Damasco, cui sarà giocoforza approdare una volta constatata l’inaffidabilità della versione canonica. Già si è notata l’impossibilità per Antonio o altro luperco di esibirsi munito di diadema e meno ancora di una corona d’alloro con diadema intrecciato sì da essere chiaramente visibile per tutta la durata della cerimonia, a meno di adottare la soluzione ingegnosa di E. Horst³⁷, che ha il solo difetto di non poggiare su alcuna fonte: “uno dei suoi fidi gli dà

³³ Cic., *Phil.* III 12; Cass. Dio XLVI 5, 3, dove tra l’altro Caleno conferma e giustifica la nudità di Antonio ai Lupercali rimproverata da Cicerone: 5, 1-3.

³⁴ Cic., *Phil.* II 84, con richiamo al noto episodio del vomito di Antonio alla *porticus Minucia* di cui a *Phil.* II 63; III 12; Plut., *Ant.* 9, 6; ridimensiona l’imputazione ad Antonio di essere crapulone Traina 2003, 9-10 e 46-47, riducendola alla pratica del simposio ellenistico e agli effetti della propaganda avversa.

³⁵ Al *saepius* di Suet., *Iul.* 79, 3 aggiungasi il *polyn chronon* di Plut., *Ant.* 12, 5; entrambi suggeriscono che sia accaduto qualcosa di più che non la semplice iterazione dell’offerta: la prosternazione supplichevole di Antonio, come vuole Cicerone, oppure l’effettivo lancio del diadema tra la folla, di cui parla Nic. 72? Lasciamo ai posteri l’ardua sentenza, dato che mancano al momento elementi decisivi in un senso o nell’altro.

³⁶ Cass. Dio XLIV 11, 2, ma vd. Norcio 2000, 20, nota 11: “il luogo è quasi certamente corrotto”.

³⁷ Horst 1982, 276, che tuttavia quanto ad arbitrarietà non regge il confronto con la ricostruzione assai fantasiosa di Carcopino 2001, 604, il quale tirava in ballo il Damasceno, stravolgendone peraltro il racconto.

un oggetto coperto che egli subito scopre e vuole consegnare al dittatore: è il bianco diadema regale cinto dall'aurea corona d'alloro".

Questa tesi va dunque respinta se non altro per insufficienza di prove ma, a ben vedere, anche perché mancano l'occasione e il movente. La dotta disquisizione in merito del compianto A. Fraschetti presta il fianco a più di un'obiezione; a suo parere, per preparare l'incoronazione di Cesare re si sarebbe scelta la festa dei Lupercali in quanto consentiva una "variazione di statuto" assunta consapevolmente e inserita "in una rappresentazione ... largamente condivisa, partecipe di un patrimonio del sapere comune alla gran massa dei presenti". Avendo egli medesimo escluso la sussistenza nel sentire comune dell'interpretazione originaria della festa, in qualche modo connessa con il potere regio e quindi particolarmente adatta "per la creazione di un re", non resta, a suo stesso dire³⁸, che sganciare i Lupercali da ogni pretesa di simbolismo regale e ridurre l'evento a un rito imperniato su "una corsa lasciva e scatenata". Secondo Fraschetti, la partecipazione di Antonio alla corsa non dipende semplicemente dalla sua nomina a capo dei *Luperci Iulii*³⁹, ma assume un significato recondito. Siccome nei nefasti *dies parentales*, in cui rientrano i *Lupercalia*, si chiudono i templi in segno di lutto ed i magistrati depongono le insegne vestendo da privati cittadini, ecco che il console Antonio "si spoglia del suo apparato magistratuale" e "mette in atto una variazione di statuto della sua persona ... cosciente e radicale". In quell'atmosfera di "lutto pubblico", si inserisce "la marginalità topografica del *Lupercal*", la grotta dall'incerto etimo⁴⁰ alle falde del Palatino, vale a dire "ai margini della 'città' di Romolo". Lì, nella *spelunca*, si celebrano i *sacra* che precedono la corsa di individui nudi, cioè senza la toga, l'abito romano per eccellenza, vietato a stranieri ed esuli⁴¹. Si sottolinea al riguardo, sulla scia del Dumézil, il contrasto "tra la mistica della *celeritas* e la morale della *gravitas*", per concludere che il rito ludico-purificatorio dei Lupercali si pone

³⁸ Fraschetti 1985, 165 sgg.: tutto il virgolettato è tratto da questo articolo, per certi versi imprescindibile in quanto l'impostazione complessiva del problema dipende in ogni modo dall'accoglimento o meno di codesta tesi; ciò valga a giustificare la nostra insistenza sul tema.

³⁹ Cass. Dio XLIV 6, 2; XLV 30, 2; XLVI 5, 2; Suet., *Iul.* 76, 2, donde si apprende che alle preesistenti sezioni di *Fabiani* e *Quinctiales* si aggiunse allora un terzo collegio, dei *Iuliani* o *Iulii*, capeggiati da Antonio. Vd. Carcopino 2001, 435; Scuderi 1984, 41, con ricca bibliografia sulla festività; Fraschetti 1985, 182, nota 9; aggiornamento bibliografico generale in Ferriès 2009, *passim*; più mirato al caso nostro in North 2008, 144 sgg.; vd. anche Cristofoli 2008, 130-131; 140.

⁴⁰ Secondo Servio, *ad Aen.* VIII 342, la grotta ai piedi del Palatino avrebbe preso il nome di *Lupercal* o perché la lupa vi avrebbe allattato i gemelli (ed è questa l'opinione più diffusa) o dalla purificazione tramite sacrificio del capro o anche perché dedicata a Pan Liceo, protettore delle greggi dai lupi; vd. Fraschetti 1985, 173.

⁴¹ Documentazione essenziale in Fraschetti 1985, 193, nota 21.

agli antipodi del modello di città composta e ordinata, per riportarci piuttosto allo stato di natura⁴²”.

Finché questo comporta di superare “il lungo dissidio tra un’interpretazione dei Lupercalia come rito di purificazione, come festa della fecondità, o addirittura come festa dei morti”, siamo d’accordo. Discutibile invece l’assunto tratto dalle considerazioni suddette. Combinando ingegnosamente la nota definizione dei Lupercali in Cic., *pro Cael.* 26, con un passo altrettanto noto dello stesso Cic., *Phil.* 3, 12, Fraschetti ne evince che *auctor regni* non fu Antonio quale console, ma Antonio fattosi luperco, “in quanto ritualmente escluso, quel determinato giorno, dalla comunità dei cittadini”, per aver scientemente adottato “uno ‘stile di vita’ radicalmente opposto a quello cui sono tenuti i cittadini stessi”⁴³. Scegliere appositamente un contesto del genere per proclamare Cesare re avrebbe, a mio avviso, screditato a priori il tentativo di *golpe*, anche nel caso di una riuscita immediata: latore della proposta un luperco seminudo, sudaticcio e cosperso d’olio; oggetto del contendere un diadema portato chissà come da chissà dove, presumibilmente ormai lercio e stropicciato; testimoni e possibili *supporter* cittadini privi al momento di statuto; teatro del tutto una cerimonia comportante la regressione allo stato di natura, con sospensione dell’usuale ordinamento civico e religioso.

Se alla succitata difficoltà tecnico-logistica circa il trasferimento del diadema si somma un dato oggettivo ed elemento decisivo, vale a dire la smentita alla tesi di Fraschetti nell’*inscriptio* riportata da Cicerone e Dione, ove si fa esplicito riferimento ad Antonio quale console e non in veste di luperco⁴⁴, ve n’è quanto basta per prendere le distanze da cotesta ricostruzione. Quale dunque che fosse il disegno di Antonio e/o di Cesare, la festa dei Lupercali mal si prestava all’uopo, proprio per il suo carattere trasgressivo. Vien comunque da chiedersi se almeno sia possibile appurare le reali intenzioni della coppia consolare del 44. Possibilisti per quanto riguarda Antonio, come si vedrà, su Cesare si può essere abbastanza sicuri che almeno per il momento non intendesse farsi proclamare formalmente re, pur comportandosi di fatto come tale. Gli antefatti

⁴² Calzanti gli esempi addotti, da Plauto, *Poenulus* 522-523 e da SHA (Ael.Lampr.), *Sev. Alex.* 42, 2 sulla *celeritas* servile, come assai pertinente il richiamo a Liv. III 26, 9 e Plin., *Nat.* XVIII 20 per chiarire l’alternativa *nudus / togatus*, cui si potrebbe aggiungere il consiglio di Verg., *Georg.* I 299 *nudus ara, sere nudus*, contrapposto alla nota definizione, ancora di Verg., *Aen.* I 282 *Romanos, rerum dominos, gentemque togatam*, ispirato verosimilmente da un precedente di Decimo Laberio, *ope nostra dilatatum est dominium togatae gentis* e divenuto proverbiale tanto da essere citato da Mart. XIV 124, 1; Suet., *Aug.* 40, 5; Aug., *Civ. Dei* III 13 e così via con Macrobio e Sedulio.

⁴³ Fraschetti 1985, 178-181; vd. tuttavia, per opinione diversa dal sottoscritto e piuttosto di assenso a Fraschetti, Valli 2007, 118-119.

⁴⁴ Il testo, discusso *supra*, è riportato in nota 29, in base alla versione ciceroniana; sul suo ruolo di *terminus ante quem* per la dittatura vitalizia di Cesare vd. in ultimo Ferrary 2010, 25-27.

sono tanto noti e discussi quanto significativi, le testimonianze divergono alquanto sulle modalità, ma concordano sostanzialmente nell'impostazione. Emblematica la risposta del dittatore, al ritorno dalle *Feriae Latinae*, a chi lo salutava col titolo di re: "Non sono re ma Cesare". Solo le fonti greche ricorrono al verbo "chiamarsi" e Appiano prospetta un sottile gioco di parole fondato sull'equivoco fra 're' e 'Re', cognome di una famiglia della *gens Marcia*, tra l'altro imparentata con i Giulii Cesari⁴⁵.

La testimonianza latina di Svetonio reca invece il verbo "essere", onde parrebbe ricavarsi che Cesare personalmente si considerava al di sopra dei re ellenistici, sudditi o vassalli di Roma, e ovviamente al di sopra dei Romani, di cui era ormai padrone incontestabile⁴⁶. La massima autorità concepibile nella Roma repubblicana era la dittatura, puntualmente assunta con forzature sempre più evidenti, dallo strappo 'sillano' alla regola della semestralità fino alla recentissima dittatura perpetua⁴⁷. Del resto, a quanto pare, Cesare stesso aveva espresso la sua preferenza per le magistrature tradizionali in luogo di innovazioni che comportassero totale rottura con i fondamenti della repubblica⁴⁸.

⁴⁵ Plut., *Caes.* 60, 3, con il medesimo participio di *Ant.* 12, 6 *achthestheis*, quasi a suggerire che Cesare fosse più irritato per il mancato consenso generale che non per il tentativo di incoronazione; App., *Civ.* II 450, con la curiosa approssimazione del ritorno di Cesare da qualche parte (*pothen*), che sappiamo da Plutarco essere Alba, dove Cesare si era recato per le *Feriae Latinae*, tornando a cavallo per dispensa del senato, una delle prerogative onorifiche appena conferitegli: Cass. Dio XLIV 4, 3; 10, 1 per il saluto e relativa risposta, su cui rinvio a Bessone 2011, 137 sgg.

⁴⁶ Suet., *Iul.* 79, 3; importante per la nostra interpretazione Nic. 64, che descrive Cesare ormai convinto "di essere più che un uomo"; identico concetto esprime a Cesare Cornelio Balbo in Plut., *Caes.* 60, 8, in un episodio confermato da Suet., *Iul.* 78, 1-2; App., *Civ.* II 445-446; Cass. Dio XLIV 8, 2, e che tutto il comportamento dell'ultimo Cesare vada in questa direzione dichiara App., *Civ.* II 453.

⁴⁷ Rivestendo nel 47 la dittatura oltre il semestre di prammatica, Cesare si ispirava senza dubbio a Silla, giudicato poi analfabeta per averla deposta volontariamente: Suet., *Iul.* 77, 1 *Sullam nescisse litteras qui dictaturam deposuerit*. Esaurita la parentesi della dittatura decennale dopo Tapso, concepita evidentemente come transitoria (già Carcopino 2001, 598 ne sottolineava l'"aspetto quasi monarchico", d'altronde riconosciuto da Antonio quale movente dei congiurati in App., *Civ.* III 67, insieme ai crescenti connotati semidivini), Cesare chiese ed ottenne la dittatura a vita, forse alla vigilia dei Lupercali, ma la data oscilla tra il 26 gennaio e il 14 febbraio; vd. per tutti Sordi 1976, 151; Cristofoli 2008, 131 e nota 7.

⁴⁸ Molto significativa la risposta di Cesare al popolo osannante in Nic. 70: egli preferiva ricoprire la più alta magistratura legalmente che essere re illegalmente; che si trattasse di puntigliosa attenzione alla forma, mentre tutt'altra era la sostanza, ben vide Cass. Dio XLIV 8, 4-9. Analoga cura per gli aspetti formali Cesare aveva dimostrato assumendo il secondo consolato quando *is enim erat annus quo per leges ei consullem fieri liceret* (Caes., *Civ.* III 1, 1) e altrettanto scrupolo formale, a mascherare i peggiori misfatti, su cui Hinard 2006, 254 sgg., dimostreranno i membri del secondo triumvirato: Bleicken 1990, 107.

Per nulla affatto ingenuo o digiuno di politica, come lo vorrebbe Nicola di Damasco⁴⁹, Cesare conosceva perfettamente la generale esecrazione per il *regnum* trasmessa nei secoli dal famoso giuramento di Lucio Bruto e di Publiocola⁵⁰ e poiché badava al sodo, si accontentava della supremazia su tutti, posizione appena suggellata dalla dittatura vitalizia, che mai avrebbe deposto volontariamente come quell' analfabeta di Silla⁵¹.

L'orrore romano per il *nomen regium* sfuggirà alla comprensione di Plutarco, il quale si interroga perplesso sulla contraddizione in termini di quanti, pur rassegnati alla sudditanza, rifiutavano tuttavia quel titolo, tombale per la libertà repubblicana⁵². A insistere su Cesare re erano in ugual misura i suoi sostenitori più entusiasti, veterani *in primis*, e i suoi avversari più accaniti, con scopi diametralmente opposti: glorificare Cesare, i primi, e invece screditarlo e renderlo insopportabile con l'accumulo di onori, i secondi. Cesare un po' abbozzava, temendo di offendere il senato, come precisa Cassio Dione⁵³, ed un po' recalcitrava, consapevole delle insidie insite in quel profluvio di onorificenze. Che badasse più alla sostanza del potere che alla forma, lo rivelano alcuni episodi, soprattutto l'intolleranza mostrata nel gennaio 44 nei confronti dei tribuni della plebe Epidio Marullo e Cesezio Flavio e, in data controversa ma per noi collocabile verso la fine del 45, il trattamento irraguardoso riservato al senato

⁴⁹ Nic. 67, ma vd. almeno, *contra*, il riconoscimento postumo di Cic., *Phil.* II 116 (su cui Canfora 2010, 175 sgg.) e cfr. Plut., *Ant.* 6, 1-3; per la difforme valutazione di Cesare politico nella critica moderna vd. la sintetica cronistoria di Zecchini 2010, 47-49; veduta d'insieme in Cogrossi 1975, 136 sgg.; Dobesch 2000, 89 sgg. e in genere Urso 2000; Cordioli 2007, 592 sgg.; Griffin 2009, *passim*; per il riferimento d'obbligo a Silla, ne illustra con acume caratteristiche comuni e differenze Giardina 2010, 31 sgg. con ricca bibliografia.

⁵⁰ Vd. Liv. I 59, 1-2; II 1, 9; 2, 5; 82; cfr. App., *loc. cit.*; sul caso nostro, Jehne 1999, 101 sgg.

⁵¹ Silla aveva deposto la dittatura "non sappiamo quanto volontariamente", annota Meier 1995, 169, secondo cui "una cosa del genere non poteva ripetersi. Qualche dubbio in merito alla testimonianza svetoniana, citata in nota 47, scaturisce dal fatto che fonte di Svetonio per il cap. 77, contenente il detto, è Tito Ampio Balbo, anticesariano accanito e scelto non a caso dal biografo per fornire esempi di tracotanza e di arroganza del dittatore: vd. Canfora 2005, 31; 125; Stroh 2010, 86 sgg.; Giardina 2010, 33-34.

⁵² Plut., *Ant.* 12, 5, spiegato con ironia da Scuderi 1984, 42: "vivendo bene in età imperiale"; per motivazioni ideologiche vd. Gabba 2000, 143; Canfora 2005, 233-240; Lintott 2009, 74-75.

⁵³ Cass. Dio XLIV 3, 3, frammezzo ad un'interessante disamina dei meccanismi perversi avviati dalla pioggia di onori assegnati a Cesare; Dione vede ugualmente in colpa chi li conferisce, in buona o cattiva fede, e chi accettandoli si attira odio e invidia. Affine al ragionamento dioneo Flor. II 13, 91, che individua una iniziale sincerità (*non ingratis civibus omnes unum in principem congesti honores*), la quale tosto si tramuta in *invidia* nonostante la *clementia* del capo (*gravisque erat liberis ipsa beneficiorum potentia*), per cui *nec diutius lata dominatio est* (92-93; Nic. 60-67). In che consistesse la tirannia cesariana esplica Eutr. III 25 *agere insolentius coepit et contra consuetudinem Romanae libertatis*; cfr. Nic., *loc. cit.*; di riconoscimenti straordinari parlano altresì Plut., *Caes.* 60, 4; Suet., *Iul.* 78, 1; App., *Civ.* II 440.

recatosi in processione al suo cospetto⁵⁴. Nel primo caso si opera un curioso rovesciamento, per cui pagano il fio non i trasgressori del tabù, ma gli assertori della legalità repubblicana⁵⁵. Così nemmeno lo schermirsi di Cesare, senza peraltro denotare sdegno autentico, a detta di Dione, valse a stornare dal suo capo rancore e sospetti.

Che Cesare avesse instaurato un governo assolutistico, deludendo chi, come Cicerone, aveva in cuor suo sperato in una prossima restaurazione della repubblica, una volta esaurita la guerra civile⁵⁶, si esplicitò formalmente, in un ambiente tanto sensibile alle apparenze, quando ricevette l'omaggiante corteo senatorio standosene seduto e mostrando di essere in tutt'altro affaccendato: oltraggio inconcepibile al sommo consesso repubblicano, su probabile istigazione di Cornelio Balbo⁵⁷, ma con piena e consapevole adesione personale. Nonostante le tempestive, seppur goffe scuse⁵⁸, l'emozione fu fortissima, a detta di più fonti e, possiamo aggiungere, tale da rinverdire esempi recenti di *mala gestio* della *res publica*, con assegnazione arbitraria di cariche e di province⁵⁹ e dispregio persino della normale rotazione dei *bini consules annui*, di cui proprio allora era in corso l'ennesima violazione⁶⁰.

⁵⁴ Il racconto in Nic. 78; Suet., *Iul.* 78; Plut., *Caes.* 60, 4; App., *Civ.* II 445-446; Cass. Dio XLIV 8, 2 sgg.; vi accenna persino Eutr. VI 25 *...nec senatui ad se venienti adsurgeret*. La datazione dipende da chi fosse alla testa dell'ambasceria, se Antonio, come puntualizza Nicola di Damasco, oppure "i consoli", come si legge in Plutarco e Appiano e come riteniamo preferibile anche sulla scorta di Rossi 1959, 34; Sordi 2000, 305: in tal caso si tratterebbe dei *suffecti* del 45, Fabio Massimo e Gaio Trebonio. Se il primo offeso fosse stato Antonio, anch'egli avrebbe covato risentimento contro Cesare, il che non risulta da alcuna testimonianza, anche se Gardner 2009, 60 non si sbilancia su Antonio "apparently restored to favor" di Cesare.

⁵⁵ Sintetica la conseguenza trattata da Cass. Dio XLIV 10, 4: Cesare biasimato per aver assolto i rei e punito i tribuni, i quali peraltro avrebbero approfittato del momento per lamentare insicurezza personale e privazione della libertà di parola, il che comporterebbe una loro protesta politica non registrata altrimenti se non in Nic. 69.

⁵⁶ Esplicito App., *Civ.* II 448-49; vd. Canfora 2005, 278-279; Stroh 2010, 84 sgg.; sulle presumibili intenzioni di Cesare vd. compendiosamente Rawson 1999, 461 sgg.; Jehne 1999, 99 sgg.; 2008, 131-133; Gabba 2000, 13 sgg.; Sordi 2000, 307 sgg.; Gardner 2009, 58 sgg.

⁵⁷ Così precisano Plut., *Caes.* 60, 9; Suet., *Iul.* 78, 2, concorde quest'ultimo con Cass. Dio XLIV 8, 1 e *Per. Liv.* CXVI 2 nel situare l'incontro sul pronao del tempio di Venere Genitrice (così pure, implicitamente, Nic. 78), contro Plut., *Caes.* 60, 4 e App., *Civ.* II 445, che piazzano Cesare sui rostri, intento ad amministrare la giustizia e non a mere faccende private.

⁵⁸ Plut., *Caes.* 60, 6-7: prima Cesare offre teatralmente la gola a chi, a suo dire, vorrebbe eliminarlo, poi spiega l'incidente con un attacco improvviso di mal caduco, che Cass. Dio XLIV 8, 3 banalizza in lotta alla dissenteria, voce divulgata dagli amici per difenderlo, ma non creduta, visto che Cesare si era allontanato a piedi, senza più bisogno di contenersi.

⁵⁹ Nic. 63-64; 67; Plut., *Caes.* 57, 1; *Brut.* 7, 7; 10, 6; Flor. II 13, 91-93; Cass. Dio XLIII 45, 1.

⁶⁰ Ricordiamo almeno i consoli del 47, Vatinius e Calpurnius, nominati solo in settembre, al rientro di Cesare dalle campagne d'Oriente; il consolato di Cesare senza collega nel 45, ceduto in autunno

La dicotomia fra parole ed atti di Cesare è evidente e spiega perché si diffidasse di lui: ai ripetuti dinieghi di voler essere re facevano riscontro comportamenti da sovrano, che attizzarono l'opposizione prima e i suoi stessi fautori poi, il che ci riporta ad Antonio.

Due fatti tra loro correlati risultano incontrovertibili: l'abboccamento con Trebonio a Narbona⁶¹ e la sorte riservatagli dai cesaricidi. Da parte loro si era ipotizzato di cooptarlo nella congiura, ma ne furono dissuasi dalla confidenza di Trebonio sull'abboccamento precedente; allora Cassio Longino propose di eliminarlo, magari con Lepido, ma si oppose Marco Bruto affinché l'operazione concepita come tirannicidio benemerito non passasse per vendetta pompeiana⁶².

Stando così le cose, vien da escludere la teoria ciceroniana e di quanti sulle sue orme hanno visto nella sceneggiata dei Lupercali l'estremo conato di Antonio, di proclamare Cesare re; d'altro canto, cade parimenti l'ipotesi che il suo intervento mirasse a far recedere Cesare dal sogno di farsi incoronare⁶³: Cesare non risulta direttamente interessato ed il rischio eccessivo; inoltre, sarebbe comunque rimasto appiccicato ad Antonio il marchio di cesariano di ferro, di fido luogotenente che evita passi falsi al proprio comandante. A Narbona Antonio aveva lasciato cadere le *avances* di Trebonio, senza tuttavia farne parola a Cesare; i congiurati, e noi al seguito, ne dedussero che non fosse disponibile per un attentato ad dittatore, ma neppure assolutamente irrecuperabile alla loro causa; probabilmente, anzi, contavano su di lui per controbilanciare Lepido, che i suoi cognati Bruto e Cassio sapevano cesariano fino al midollo; per questo

ai due *suffecti* Gaio Trebonio e Fabio Massimo; il subentro di Caninio Rebilo al defunto Fabio l'ultimo dell'anno; vd. Bruhns 1978, 141-146; Jehne 1999, 97; Gardner 2009, 58-60.

⁶¹ Cic., *Phil.* II 34 sgg.; Plut., *Ant.* 13, 2-4; vd. Cristofoli 2008, 155-157; 165.

⁶² App., *Civ.* II 478: Marco Bruto sostiene che bisogna uccidere il solo Cesare, affinché l'azione non sappia di vendetta pompeiana; secondo Cass. Dio XLIV 19 l'uccisione anche di Antonio e Lepido avrebbe comportato per i congiurati non più il merito del tirannicidio, bensì la taccia di essere bramosi del potere; Plutarco offre tre diverse prospettive: in *Ant.* 13, 3-4 M. Bruto vuol risparmiare Antonio per scrupoli legalitari, ma i congiurati ne temono forza e prestigio, per cui lo trattengono a colloquio fuori della curia; in *Brut.* 18, 3-5 i congiurati temono Antonio in quanto console con grande ascendente sui soldati (cfr. Scuderi 1978, 117 sgg.), per di più *monarchikon* e *hybristen*, ma Bruto spera ancora in un suo ravvedimento alla causa della *libertas*; in *Caes.* 62-63 si rimarca l'assoluta fiducia di Cesare in Antonio (confermata da Ottaviano che in App., *Civ.* III 60 definirà Antonio "il più vero amico di Cesare"); quando alcuni congiurati convincono Cesare a recarsi in senato, non sarebbe Trebonio, bensì Decimo Bruto a trattenere Antonio fuori della curia: unica voce discorde su questo particolare.

⁶³ E' questa la giustificazione addotta da Fufio Caleno in Cass. Dio XLVI 17, 4-8, dove al § 6 non si esclude neanche la possibilità che Cesare abbia incaricato Antonio di esperire quel sondaggio; contro la *communis opinio* e in particolare la tesi di Kraft 1952/53, 55 sgg., vd. Cristofoli 2008, 149-152, con bibliografia mirata.

incaricarono Trebonio di sottrarlo alla mischia, in cui era destinato ad avere la peggio nonostante la stazza e la forza⁶⁴: ai congiurati il console serviva vivo, quale interlocutore privilegiato. Ci si è forse spinti troppo oltre, a costo di illazioni, che abbisognerebbero di fondamenti ulteriori, anticipando ipotesi tuttora in corso di verifica; è perciò l'ora di riprendere determinatamente il discorso su cosa avvenne il 15 febbraio 44.

Si è escluso in precedenza che Cesare fosse allora interessato all'intronizzazione, che Antonio sia intervenuto di proposito, con mossa preordinata o peggio concertata col dittatore, e che la scelta di quel giorno fosse mirata, per l'occasione trasgressiva che presentava. Ultima ipotesi risulta quindi la tesi di S. Weinstock, cioè che la pantomima ai Lupericali abbia avuto altra origine, accidentale per chi poi ne assurse a protagonista⁶⁵. Esclusi Cesare e Antonio quali orditori della trama, occorre por mente al racconto, corposo per essere un escerto, di Nicola di Damasco.

Egli presenta uno scenario occupato preliminarmente da altri personaggi che avrebbero preceduto Antonio nel tentativo di incoronare Cesare re⁶⁶. Due di essi, Cassio Longino e Publio Casca, sono ben noti quali prossimi cesaricidi, a distanza di appena un mese, per cui il loro atto si connota inequivocabilmente come provocatorio. Esso precede l'entrata in scena di Antonio e segue a quella di un tale che con la consueta approssimazione la fonte greca denomina Licinio⁶⁷. Sarebbe importante appurare se Cassio e Servilio intervennero a supporto di costui, oppure se la loro fu un'azione di disturbo fra due seri tentativi di fare Cesare re. Nel primo caso Licinio, fra i tanti papabili, potrebbe corrispondere a Marco Lucullo, che compare dalla parte dei congiurati dopo le idi di marzo ed è quindi classificabile come anticesariano, nel secondo s'impone la candidatura

⁶⁴ Sull'imponente struttura fisica di Marco Antonio, ricavabile in genere dalle *Filippiche* e dalle annotazioni plutarchee, vd. espressamente Plut., *Ant.* 4, 1-3, con la nota 17 di Scuderi 1989, 17; la sua forza incute paura ai congiurati: 13, 4; sulla pretesa discendenza da Ercole 36, 7; 60, 5; App., *Civ.* III 72; vd. Traina 2003, 8.

⁶⁵ Weinstock 1971, 332 sgg.; vd. Fraschetti 1985, 168; 182, note 7-8.

⁶⁶ Nic. 71-72; naturalmente non condividiamo in toto il parere di Cristofoli 2008, 147, nota 45, il quale giudica "sorprendente il fatto che non pochi autorevoli studiosi abbiano privilegiato proprio la testimonianza di Nicola di Damasco"; a Cristofoli, tuttavia, dobbiamo molti, efficaci spunti sui problemi connessi con Antonio; resta il rammarico di non aver ancora potuto fruire del suo ultimo saggio, Su Cicerone e Cesare, sicuramente ricco di utili spunti e di preziosa informazione.

⁶⁷ Esempi eclatanti delle difficoltà per i Greci di districarsi nell'onomastica latina offrono lo stesso Damasceno, chiamando con il solo diffuso *praenomen* "Lucio e Gaio" i due tribuni vittime di Cesare (69), i quali così resterebbero inidentificabili senza l'apporto di altre fonti, che li chiamano giustamente Cesezio Flavo ed Epidio Marullo; e altresì Cass. Dio XLIV 14, 3 commentando in maniera confusionaria i quattro nomi di Decimo Giunio Bruto Albino; vd. parimenti Cass. Dio XLIII 42, 1: "Fabio e Quinto", a indicare Quinto Fabio e Quinto Pedio.

di Licinio Denticulo o similari, amico di Antonio e suo compagno di divertimenti⁶⁸.

Ipotesi questa da scartare, a nostro avviso, per una serie di motivi: il Licinio cesariano, come del resto chiunque nel partito, non si sarebbe assunto una responsabilità del genere senza interpellare il diretto interessato o almeno il suo *entourage*; un conto era il saluto occasionale a Cesare re, com'era avvenuto il 26 gennaio, e tutt'altra cosa un'acclamazione pianificata, da realizzare *coram populo*. Ora, il succitato contegno di Lepido è già di per sé eloquente; Cesare sembra colto di sorpresa e comunque, se d'accordo, non avrebbe omesso di preparare adeguatamente il colpo, come rilevato in precedenza; Antonio, per noi estraneo all'iniziativa, se messo al corrente e consenziente, difficilmente si sarebbe ritagliato un ruolo di supporto ad altri, col rischio di arrivare a cose fatte e di essere travolto dagli eventi.

Che poi Denticulo abbia fatto scientemente da apripista per Cassio e Casca, di sua iniziativa o su mandato di Antonio, catalogabile allora come anticesariano, è pura fantascienza. Ben più convincente per noi la prospettiva di un Licinio, in tal caso probabilmente Marco Lucullo, vessillifero di una fronda anticesariana, che volle approfittare della prima uscita ufficiale di Cesare da dittatore perpetuo per invitarlo provocatoriamente a compiere l'ultimo passo nella scalata al potere assoluto, gettando definitivamente la maschera di apparente legalità: da un punto di vista formale, anche la dittatura a vita gli era stato debitamente conferita, presumibilmente in risposta al suo rilievo che poteri e privilegi andavano semmai concentrati nella sua persona e non moltiplicati⁶⁹.

Diviene in tal modo facile ricostruire lo svolgimento dell'intera sceneggiata, progettata e attuata con una certa logica non da cesariani, bensì da avversari politici: "una messa inscena dell'opposizione per costringere Cesare a confessarsi *rex* davanti al popolo", secondo la felice definizione di Sordi 1976, 153, nota 21. Un gruppetto di contestatori si piazza sotto i rostri; al culmine della celebrazione, mentre Cesare aspetta i reduci dalla corsa intorno al Palatino, Licinio Lucullo, corifeo della protesta, si inerpica sui compagni e riesce a deporre ai piedi di Cesare il diadema, o magari corona diademata, non importa purché sia un oggetto pulito, che non disgusti un raffinato come Cesare, un oggetto predisposto e proveniente direttamente da casa; per questo l'offerente non può essere un luperco che, anche se fosse riuscito a celarselo addosso, l'avrebbe impregnato di polvere, sudore e puzza.

⁶⁸ Su Licinio Lucullo vd. determinatamente la voce *Licinius* n. 110 del Münzer in *RE*, alla quale si rifà la dotta disquisizione di Scardigli 1983, 157-158; a Licinio Denticulo, detto anche Denticula o Lenticula, accenna Cic., *Phil.* II 56 *de alea condemnatum, conlusorem suum* (di Antonio), su cui vd. Mosca 1996, 257, nota 105.

⁶⁹ Vd. Sordi 2002/2003, 206; Bessone 2011, 150, nota 64.

Cesare non lo raccoglie nonostante gli incitamenti, né tampoco glielo mette in testa Lepido, il *magister equitum* in tribuna al suo fianco; non è fuor di luogo immaginarli entrambi perplessi⁷⁰. La loro esitazione attiva Cassio e Casca; più agile sia per i trascorsi militari sia indubbiamente per la magrezza, Cassio arriva a porre il diadema sulle ginocchia di Cesare, il quale evidentemente non può tenercelo in grembo: non gli rimane che gettarlo tra la folla; qualsiasi altra soluzione avrebbe fatto il gioco dell'opposizione, essendo interpretabile come segno di aspirazione al *regnum*. Sopraggiunge frattanto Antonio, giusto in tempo per cogliere l'ultimo atto del fuori programma. Sente di dover trarre d'impaccio Cesare, come successo altre volte in passato, ma in maniera tale da lasciare un contatto con il partito avverso, con il quale risulta aver quasi sempre cercato buoni rapporti⁷¹.

Eccolo dunque salire sui rostri, senza bisogno di braccia che lo sollevino, e arringare il popolo. Di questo discorso improvvisato altro non resta tranne gli accenni cursori e malevoli di Cicerone il quale, se ne avesse avuto il destro, non avrebbe mancato di citarne, secondo consuetudine, qualche espressione particolarmente squalificante. La totale mancanza di spunti in proposito rende lecito supporre che quell'intervento del console non sia stata così bassamente servile come vorrebbe l'Arpinate. Indi Antonio pone il diadema sul capo di Cesare, che lo respinge per due volte: non poteva fare altrimenti, dopo aver opposto diniego a Licinio e a Cassio. Il preteso sondaggio sugli umori del popolo riguardo alla sua incoronazione a re di Roma era già fallito in pratica per tali iterati rifiuti, che scagionano vieppiù Cesare da ogni sospetto: curiosa e indecifrabile sarebbe la sua regia, mirata da subito al *flop* del teatrino organizzato appositamente e ben avviato grazie all'asserito dal Damasceno plauso popolare al conato di Licinio.

⁷⁰ Entrambi conoscevano o intuivano il vero sentire di Cassio; che Cesare diffidasse di lui lo dimostra il noto aneddoto di Plut., *Ant.* 11, 6; *Brut.* 8, 2; *Caes.* 62, 10, sul confronto tra grassi e magri del suo *entourage*; quanto a Lepido, non poteva ignorare i sentimenti libertari del cognato (erano entrambi sposi di due sorellastre di Bruto) e il suo risentimento particolare verso Cesare per antichi torti, come spiega Plut., *Brut.* 8, 5-9, 4.

⁷¹ Con quest'asserzione, che meriterebbe maggiore spazio per una congrua spiegazione, anticipo un convincimento in me maturato dalla consultazione di gran parte della biografia antoniana, che mi riprometto di esporre in separata sede; mi limito qui ad accennare a qualche momento essenziale in cui Antonio si attiene al principio cesariano di non rompere i ponti con nessuno finché possibile: l'atteggiamento di Antonio verso Cicerone ai tempi della candidatura alla questura; i suoi buoni rapporti con Bruto e Attico; la nomina di Lucio Cesare alla *praefectura urbi* nel 47 e l'opposizione all'estremismo di Dolabella e Trebellio; il rapporto stesso con Ottaviano ci portano a dissentire da Cristofoli 2008, 124 su Antonio "inviso agli ottimati", o almeno a ridimensionarne la portata; più prudente Traina 2003, 47 e 100 sgg.

Unde diadema? La versione antoniana circolante a Roma e da Cicerone preventivamente respinta, a nostro avviso non fu costruita a posteriori, ma risponde a verità. Si deve ammettere che Nicola di Damasco piazza la reazione plateale di Cesare, che getta il diadema in mezzo alla folla, dopo e consequenzialmente alla profferta antoniana, ma la sua versione non regge: mentre Antonio concionava, Cesare sarebbe rimasto come inebetito col diadema in grembo, come solo suggerisce la *Per. Liv.* 116, 3 *in sella*, attendendo che qualcuno decidesse per lui, salvo poi riscuotersi e reagire bruscamente quando finalmente Antonio glielo pose sul capo. Il comportamento di Cesare suonerebbe allora davvero strano: a Cassio, del quale pur diffidava, si limita ad opporre un rifiuto, netto quanto si vuole ma sostanzialmente corretto; con Antonio, da poco riaccolto quale figliol prodigo, reagisce villanamente, buttando il diadema tra la folla.

Lì invece pare più verosimile che Cesare l'abbia scagliato in segno di insofferenza e dissociazione dall'intrusione di Cassio e che da terra l'abbia raccolto Antonio al termine del suo percorso rituale. Non è da escludere, naturalmente, che Cesare, capace di controllarsi con Licinio e Cassio/ Casca, sia poi esploso con il malcapitato Antonio: gli era già successo, ma a giorni di intervallo, in gennaio, nei due *round* con i tribuni della plebe incriminati⁷². Questa prospettiva, aggiunta all'ipotesi di Antonio a capo dell'ambasceria senatoria clamorosamente vilipesa, spiegherebbe un estremo voltafaccia nei confronti di Cesare da parte di Antonio, stufo di essere maltrattato, ma di tale rottura non sussistono tracce ed anzi risulta smentita dai fatti, prima e dopo le idi di marzo.

Tra i due conati antoniani Nicola inserisce al § 73 una panoramica di opinioni discordanti sulla vicenda. Allo sdegno di alcuni per l'esibizione di un potere esorbitante fa da contrappunto il tifo di altri per l'incoronazione; questi, convinti di fare cosa gradita a Cesare, sarebbero i più vicini ai rostri, mentre al rifiuto di Cesare plaudono quelli più discosti dal palco, come precisato al § 72. Questi *aficionados* parrebbero corrispondere ai pochi piazzati preventivamente all'uopo e plaudenti fiaccamente al conato di Antonio, tosto soverchiati dall'applauso dei più al primo diniego di Cesare. Ciò indurrebbe a postulare un'identità di fonte con Plutarco e Appiano, se non che smentisce l'assunto la precisa-

⁷² Nic. 69 prospetta un'unica sequenza della vicenda a metà gennaio: un diadema su statua d'oro di Cesare sui rostri, sdegno dei cospiratori (il che dovrebbe comportare un'iniziativa di cesariani), intervento dei tribuni e convocazione del senato, dove Cesare accusa Marullo e Flavio di malafede e complotto ai suoi danni, onde l'esilio; sulla stessa falsariga Suet., *Iul.* 79, 1-2, che però sposta la vicenda al 26 del mese; invece App., *Civ.* II 449-452 e Cass. Dio XLIV 9, 2-10, 3 distinguono nettamente i due momenti, che Plut., *Caes.* 61, 9-10 piazza maldestramente in calce ai Lupercali, ignorando l'intervento dei tribuni nel saluto a Cesare re del 26 gennaio, pur registrato in *Caes.* 60, 3; vd. *supra* e nota 28.

zione di Nicola che erano molti a voler Cesare re senza indugi, al punto da acclamarlo come tale al secondo tentativo antoniano di incoronarlo⁷³. Arduo risulta districarsi fra queste varianti, che almeno concordano nel confutare la tesi ciceroniana di Antonio unico fautore della regalità di Cesare, come resta problematico individuare chi abbia messo in giro la voce che Antonio avesse concordato con Cesare la sceneggiata; per parte nostra è da ritenersi infondata, ma la riporta anche Nicola di Damasco⁷⁴, il quale poi concorda con i più circa il bis della profferta antoniana del diadema.

L'annotazione cursoria sulle voci d'ogni genere circolanti tra la massa lascia supporre un accenno generico a quanto meglio precisato da altre fonti, ivi compresa la famosa profezia divulgata ad arte, secondo cui i Parti potevano essere vinti solo da un re. Le speculazioni anticesariane in merito, l'aspettativa generale per la seduta senatoria del 15 marzo, giorno previsto per l'intronizzazione di Cesare a opera del decemviro Aurelio Cotta e, non ultima, l'ammissione di Cicerone circa l'infondatezza del preteso oracolo sibillino⁷⁵, denotano a chiare lettere che tutto concorreva a formare la miscela esplosiva di cui Cesare stava per cadere vittima.

Da questo punto di vista e ad onta di quanto già asserito dalla storiografia antica, improntata alla drammatizzazione ciceroniana, i Lupercali sembrerebbero piuttosto la classica ciliegina sulla torta che non la goccia che fa traboc-

⁷³ Nic. 70 non ha praticamente riscontro in altre fonti, specie per l'inopinato richiamo al volere del *demos*, che altre testimonianze presentano invece come perplesso, se non allibito: Plut., *Caes.* 60, 3; App., *Civ.* II 450; Cass. Dio XLIV 10, 1; coerentemente con l'assunto precedente, Nic. 73 pone in relazione con il secondo tentativo di Antonio di imporre il diadema su Cesare il saluto corale "salve, re", spostando ai Lupercali quanto invece verificatosi il 26 gennaio ad opera di una ristretta minoranza; cfr. Scardigli 1983, 160. Che comunque l'episodio dei Lupercali con protagonista Antonio abbia destato l'attenzione degli storici anche minori in genere, lo conferma l'eco puntuale dell'anonimo *De viris illustribus* 85, 1 *Lupercalibus diadema ei imponere tentavit*, collegabile anche per il linguaggio alla *Per. Liv.* CXVI 2 a *M. Antonio ... diadema capiti suo impositum*, che non cita espressamente la festa, ma la richiama con l'apposizione *consule, collega suo, inter Lupercos currente*.

⁷⁴ Nic. 73; cfr. Cass. Dio XLIV 11, 3; che si trattasse di una messinscena suggeriscono altresì Plut., *Caes.* 61, 3-4 e App., *Civ.* II 457; vd. discussione e bibliografia orientativa in Scardigli 1983, 160-161, della quale condividiamo appieno che sarebbe "difficile giustificare come semplice iniziativa di Antonio un'azione così compromettente", che infatti noi escludiamo optando per una situazione creatasi indipendentemente dalla volontà e ancor meno pianificazione di entrambi.

⁷⁵ Plut., *Caes.* 60, 2: voce diffusa da partigiani di Cesare; Suet., *Iul.* 79, 5: in ottemperanza ai *fatalibus libris* il quindecimviro Lucio Cotta avrebbe predisposto il 15 marzo in senato l'attribuzione a Cesare del titolo di re; App., *Civ.* II 460-461: in base alla profezia, proposta compromissoria rifiutata da Cesare; Cass. Dio XLIV 9, 1-2 assegna genericamente l'iniziativa ai congiurati, che salutano provocatoriamente Cesare re e così lo definiscono parlando fra loro: il dittatore li rampogna senza però mostrare autentico sdegno. Quanto alla consistenza dell'oracolo sibillino, basti Cic., *Div.* II 110, con preciso riferimento al caso in questione.

care il vaso, vale a dire l'elemento scatenante la crisi di rigetto culminata nel cesaricidio⁷⁶. La conclusione della vicenda nel Damasceno è la stessa riferita da Dione, che peraltro non contempla l'iterazione del conato antoniano: Cesare manda il diadema al tempio capitolino, l'unica sede conveniente dato che solo Giove era re dei Romani⁷⁷. Nicola annota che ciò avvenne tra gli applausi di chi già aveva applaudito al primo diniego, mentre Dione tace del tutto sulla reazione degli astanti. Nella versione sin qui seguita, la fonte adombrava l'ipotesi di una previa concertazione fra Cesare e Antonio; ora se ne affaccia un'altra, evidentemente d'origine diversa, prospettante una iniziativa personale di Antonio per ingraziarsi Cesare, con l'intima speranza di essere da lui adottato. Se la prima versione appariva debole, come si è visto, quest'ultima risulta destituita di fondamento: Antonio è già nelle grazie di Cesare, che ne ha congelato il debito con l'erario fin dalla campagna d'Africa⁷⁸, l'ha accolto a braccia aperte dopo Munda, reintegrato e promosso in carriera al pari dei fratelli; quanto alla speranza di adozione, Antonio ci contava ed anzi ne era sicuro fin dall'autunno 45, quando Cesare depositò l'ultimo testamento presso la Vestale massima⁷⁹.

⁷⁶ Vd., *contra*, Sordi 2000, 312-313: complicità, forse casuale, di Antonio con i congiurati; riteniamo piuttosto, con Cristofoli 2002, 7, che il comportamento di Antonio ai Lupercali abbia influenzato in misura decisiva "la scelta ... di non associarlo al destino di Cesare, poiché la sua presenza ... avrebbe determinato – controbilanciando il potere di Lepido – la sussistenza di una dialettica politica nella quale i cesaricidi avrebbero potuto inserirsi", prospettiva impensabile se Antonio fosse stato considerato più cesariano dello stesso Lepido, nonostante App., *Civ.* II 496 e 599 asserisca il contrario.

⁷⁷ Nic. 73; Cass. Dio XLIV 11, 3; da notare però che Nicola di Damasco conosce anche un'altra versione (75), secondo cui Antonio avrebbe passato la corona agli astanti perché la ponessero sul capo della vicina statua di Cesare; fondandosi su questa versione Plutarco, in *Caes.* 61, 4; *Ant.* 12, 4, sutura ai Lupercali l'episodio dei tribuni. Poiché incoronare la statua segnalava il proposito di fare Cesare re (vale quanto detto in nota 11 per Cesare), come dimostrano i fatti di metà gennaio, e Cesare si era sempre opposto, è da escludere che Antonio si sia regolato in questo modo, oltre tutto contravvenendo ad una precisa disposizione del dittatore.

⁷⁸ Chiara e dettagliata esposizione della questione finanziaria in Cristofoli 2008, 107 sgg.; efficace sintesi in Rossi 1959, 22-23. La soluzione definitiva del debito di Antonio avverrà con il versamento all'erario di una parte del denaro pubblico sottratto dal tempio di Opi e incamerato dal console dopo le idi di marzo; vd., malizioso sulla coincidenza, Cic., *Phil.* I 17; II 93; cfr. Mosca 1996, I, 261, nota 182; Traina 2003, 45-46.

⁷⁹ Sul contenuto del testamento e modalità di apertura, le fonti vengono puntualmente indicate in Magnino 2001, 396, nota 147. Che Antonio si sentisse erede *in pectore* si ricava da Cass. Dio XLIV 36, 2, sul duplice discorso spettante ad Antonio quale *archonti* e *kleronomo gegrammeno*; cfr. Flor. II 14, 4 *dum Antonius varius ingenio ... successorem Caesaris indignatur Octavium*. In realtà Cesare aveva già puntato su Ottavio fin dalla campagna d'Africa, e lo teneva come un figlio non solo per il legame di parentela, ma perché ne apprezzava la *virtus*; tuttavia aveva deciso di adottarlo senza dirglielo e senza che la voce si spargesse, per tema che il giovane così promettente si corrompesse: Nic. 17; 30; 48; 51. Infatti la designazione di Ottaviano quale primo erede colse tutti di sorpresa e avvenne "contro ogni aspettativa": Fezzi 2006, 11.

Eccolo dunque regolarsi di conseguenza ai Lupercali; la mossa dell'opposizione, di proporre il diadema a Cesare, gli consente un intervento risolutore, dal quale non ha nulla da temere o da perdere. In teoria, se Cesare avesse accettato il diadema, Antonio ne sarebbe divenuto automaticamente il braccio destro o primo ministro, nonché il delfino, successore *in pectore*; l'eventuale rifiuto non avrebbe tolto comunque ad Antonio di fronte all'opinione pubblica e ai difensori della *libertas* repubblicana il merito del chiarimento definitivo e *coram populo* delle reali intenzioni di Cesare. In pratica, per quanto opinabili possano essere gli autentici disegni cesariani, di cui Antonio è da presumere abbastanza al corrente, in quel momento Cesare anche volendo, non avrebbe potuto rimangiarsi platealmente, per semplice cambio di offerente, il diniego opposto in precedenza, per cui Antonio sa già come andranno le cose. Sua preoccupazione, apprezzata dall'opposizione al punto che i congiurati penseranno di cooptarlo, diventa allora scagionare i varii Licinio e Cassio da ogni sospetto o accusa di fronda e sfida provocatoria. Per non compromettere gli artefici della piazzata, offre il diadema a nome del popolo romano, facendo così anche di coloro che l'avevano preceduto gli interpreti del presunto assenso popolare all'idea di Cesare *rex*, scandalosa specie per la *nobilitas*.

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(ISSN 0418 – 453X)

<i>ACTA CLASSICA</i> <i>UNIV. SCIENT. DEBRECEN.</i>	<i>XLVIII.</i>	<i>2012.</i>	<i>pp. 59–68.</i>
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OMNIS ARS NATURAE IMITATIO EST.
SENECA AND THE FINE ARTS

BY CSILLA SZEKERES

Abstract: The highly influential idea that the artist's task is to represent and copy nature as closely as possible became well-known in Seneca's wording (*omnis ars naturae imitatio est*). By investigating this formula, the present study aims to find answers to the question whether it was really this idea that Seneca regarded as the purpose and essence of a work of art. Comparing Seneca's texts with other Stoic sources, the paper gives an analysis of the meanings of the concepts *technē/ars*, including the fine arts as we know them today, and *mimesis/imitatio*. Seneca's negative value-judgement of the fine arts is relativized by being embedded in the interrelationships in his philosophy; nor can *imitatio* be interpreted in the fields of sculpture and painting as the passive reflection of reality, as mere copying.

Keywords: *technē, ars, natura, mimesis, imitatio*, Stoics, Seneca, fine arts.

The notion – *ars naturae imitatio est* –, which became an integral part of European thinking in Seneca's words¹, served as the theoretical underpinning for lifelike portrayal for a number of centuries. According to this, the artists' task is to represent: imitate, copy and reflect nature as close as possible.² But is this really what Seneca regarded as the essence of fine arts as we know them today, and above all, of sculpture and painting? This is a group of issues encompassing several problems which largely derive from the fact that the terms making up the apparently clear and unambiguous definitions carry highly complex meanings depending not only on the philosophical context (Platonist, Aristotelian, Stoic) but even within the philosophy of Stoicism, too.

The first, most obvious task is to investigate those places in Seneca's works where the Stoic philosopher defines his position on the function and value of arts and on the place they occupy in human life. We need to see that the question which is so important to us had marginal importance for Seneca, as did for other philosophers in Antiquity. Art belongs in the extremely broad category of

¹ Sen., *Ep.* 65,3. On the Platonic and Aristotelian roots of topos, see Solmsen 1963; Close 1971, 163-175; Büttner 2006, 62; Inwood 2007, 139.

² Cf. Büttner 2006, 11ff.

ars, which, like Greek *techne*, encompasses all kinds of theoretical and practical abilities, skills, and knowledge. It seems that Seneca does not mark out the exact place of the fine arts in the system of *artes*. In Letter 88 (§§ 21-22), quoting Posidonius, he divides them into four groups (*artes vulgares et sordidae, ludicrae, pueriles and liberales*), however, fine arts are not represented among the concrete examples.³

It is certain that he excludes them from among the *artes liberales*⁴ thus they are most likely to be grouped among the *artes ludicrae*.⁵ Their value, or rather their lack of value, is basically determined by the fact that, according to the teaching of the philosophy of Stoicism, all the goods lying between the final good (virtue) and its opposite are indifferent. Nevertheless, within the *artes* belonging to the indifferent things *artes liberales* should be preferred, which, even though they do not belong to virtue, assist the man who wants to reach the final good as a propedeutic.⁶ However, sculpture and painting as *luxuriae ministri* definitely cannot be classified among these. The stance of Seneca the philosopher on judging arts, thus seems definite and clear: as servants of luxury and pleasure, they are not only useless and superfluous but unambiguously harmful, too.⁷ The question is, on the one hand, whether this value judgement is in agreement with the Stoic outlook, and on the other hand, whether it can be brought into connection with the manner of the creation of works of art designated by the term *ars naturae imitatio est*.

Contrary to the above, *ars (techne)*, comprising also fine arts and the craftsman (*artifex, technites*) are concepts of central significance both generally in the philosophy of Stoicism and for Seneca, too. This is not merely about the

³ In *Consolatio ad Marciam* (18,7) he distinguishes three groups of *artes*: quae vitam instruant, quae ornent, quae regant.

⁴ *Ep.* 88,18 non enim adducor, ut in numerum liberalium artium pictores recipiam, non magis quam statuarios aut marmorarios aut ceteros luxuriae ministros.

⁵ *Ep.* 88,21 vulgares (sc. artes) opificum, quae manu constant et ad instruendam vitam occupatae sunt, in quibus nulla decoris, nulla honesti simulatio est. ludicrae sunt, quae ad voluptatem oculorum atque aurium tendunt. For the latter, however, he does not bring works of fine art as examples, rather, structures whose functioning arouses admiration in the ignorant, the incompetent. Cf. Democritus' distinction between *techne* stemming from needs and unnecessary: DK 68 B 144 (Philodemus, *De mus.* 108,29ff. Kemke).

⁶ *Ep.* 88,20 (sc. artes liberales) animum ad accipiendam virtutem praeparant. Cf. *Ep.* 62,1 on the value of *studia liberalia*: mentiuntur, qui sibi obstare ad studia liberalia turbam negotiorum videri volunt: simulant occupationes et augent et ipsi se occupant; *Nat.* VII 32 quis philosophiam aut ullum liberale respicit studium, nisi cum ludi intercalantur, cum aliquis pluvius intervenit dies, quem perdere libet. Cf. Costa 1992, 190ff.

⁷ Also in Letter 88., Seneca draws a comparison between the exaggerated cultivation and the senseless collection, hoarding of valuable, otherwise useless things (most likely art treasures) of *artes liberales* (§§36-37).

artist analogy considered a topos in Stoic texts as well, used to elucidate the most diverse philosophical theories.⁸

In Stoic physics, one aspect of god defined in several ways is the craftsman, who forms *kosmos* from matter (*hyle*).⁹ Zeno called god „a designing fire which methodically proceeds towards the creation of the world”.¹⁰ In the process of creation the god creates its creation, that is, nature, with which it is identified¹¹ as reason (*logos*).¹² According to Cicero, there is no substantial, only quantitative difference, between the craftsman-like fire, that is, nature and human *artes*: the former’s activity is „much more artistic”, this is how it can be the master of all other crafts.¹³ There are, however, other limitations to the parallel between god as *artifex* and human creation. Greek philosophy, starting with Xenophanes to the contemporary Epicureans unanimously rejected the thought of divine action involving effort,¹⁴ thus, in the continuation of the above Cicero text, Balbus stresses that effort is alien to god, as is Epicurean idleness.¹⁵ In addition, the immanent divine craftsman works away on natural things not from the outside and superficially but from the inside, totally pervading them.¹⁶ Unlike the human craftsman, he cannot create something such that in the meantime he „copies” it onto some external object as if looking at a model: he cannot pay attention to anybody else but himself in the same way as creator and creation are the same: nature/god is simultaneously *natura naturans* and *natura naturata*.¹⁷

The valuelessness of fine arts was contradicted by the fact that *technai* appeared rather intriguing to the Stoics, of whom Zeno, Cleanthes, and Chrysip-

⁸ Cf. SVF III 301 (Phidias’ art exemplifies the unity of *sophia* and *techne*); SVF II 1132 (nature strives for profit, advantage and delight, as is clear from human craft), SVF III 311 (the analogy of dynamis pervading hyle and the bronze sculptor). Wildberger 2006 I, 15-16.

⁹ LS 44 B.

¹⁰ LS 46 A (= SVF II 1027), SVF II 1133, 1134, cf. SVF II 423, LS 46 D (= SVF I 120).

¹¹ Stoic God is present in his own creation, cf. SVF II 323, 1044, 1135; Wildberger II 482-3, note 104.

¹² Cf. SVF I 530, 532, II 1025.

¹³ Cic., *N. D.* II 57 Zeno igitur naturam ita definit, ut eam dicat ignem esse artificiosum, ad gignendum progredientem via. Censet enim artis maxime proprium esse creare et gignere; quodque in operibus nostrorum artium manus efficiat, id multo artificiosius naturam efficere, id est, ut dixi, ignem artificiosum, magistrum artium reliquarum. (58) natura non artificiosa solum, sed plane artifex ab eodem Zenone dicitur.; Cic., *Leg.* I 26 (SVF II 1162).

¹⁴ Not even movement befits (*epiprepei*) the god of Xenophanes: DK 21 B 26; Epikuros: KD 1.

¹⁵ Cic., *N. D.* II 59 appareat multitudo nec cessantium deorum nec ea, quae agant, molientium cum labore operoso ac molesto.

¹⁶ SVF II 1044, 323, 1135; cf. Nesselrath 1985, 203-204; Wildberger 2006, II 482-3, note 104; Bénatouil 2009, 25-26.

¹⁷ Cf. Solmsen 1963, 496; Zagdoun 2000, 11.

pus wrote books with the same title.¹⁸ According to Nesselrath, it was the Stoa itself that systematised the concept of *techne* – vis-a-vis that of Aristotle – into an improved system, thereby giving it the form which made it decisive for the entire later Antiquity.¹⁹ In Stoic philosophy, *techne*, with an extended content,²⁰ includes virtue (*arete*) and the individual types of virtue, *episteme*, and philosophy itself (*techne peri ton bion*). Its value is unambiguously marked by the fact that it was ranked among the things to be preferred (*proegmena*), due to its usefulness (*chreia*).²¹

The concept of *techne* is closely linked with the theory of *oikeiosis*, the pillar of Stoic ethics. In accordance with this, nature endows living beings with *artes* itself: this is why the spider, for example, is able to make a web.²² Nature provides for people in a different way: it teaches them such that *ratio* should invent *artes*, and, together with them, invents things necessary for life, imitating nature.²³ From all this it does not follow, however, that usefulness would be the exclusive criterion of *artes*, nor is it the only criterion for the divine creator: the only function of the tail of a peacock, the feathers of a bird or the beard of men can be beauty.²⁴ By the same analogy, an instance of delighting can be equally regarded as the purpose of human creation. If the divine master can portray something merely for its beauty, then why should we reject the same thing in the case of the human master as an utterly useless thing?

Seneca gives a detailed account of the essence of *artes* and its place in human life in his letter 90., written to and polemizing with Posidonius.²⁵ Contesting the views of the Rhodes philosopher about the origin and development of culture, Seneca expresses strikingly opposing views on *artes*, too. While according to Posidonius, *artes* were invented by wise people (*sapientes*), Seneca keeps *artes* employed in everyday life definitely distinct from philosophy,²⁶

¹⁸ Cf. SVF I 41, 481, II 16, 17.

¹⁹ Nesselrath 1985, 138.

²⁰ For a definition see. SVF I 490, 73.

²¹ SVF III 127, 136, 516, 189 (=Cic., *Fin.* III 18 *artes etiam ipsas propter se assumendas putamus, cum quia sit in iis aliquid dignum assumptione, tum quod constant ex cognitionibus et contineant quiddam in se ratione constitutum et via*). Cf. Nesselrath 1985, 142, 183.

²² Sen., *Ep.* 121, 22.

²³ SVF II 1162 (Cic., *Leg.* I 26 *Artes vero innumerabiles repertae sunt, docente natura. Quam imitata ratio res ad vitam necessarias sollerter consecuta est*).

²⁴ SVF II 1165 (Cic., *N. D.* I 47), SVF II 1166 (Cic., *Fin.* III 18), SVF II 1167 (Lact., *Inst. div.* II 10).

²⁵ Cf. Pfligersdorff 1982; Costa 1992, 203-213; Szekeres 1995, 58-78.

²⁶ *Ep.* 90,7 *artes quidem a philosophia inventas quibus in cotidiano vita utitur non concesserim*; cf. §11.

linking them to *luxuria*.²⁷ *Artes* attributable to human ingenuity (*sagacitas*), like inventions, create goods which are considered indifferent (*adiaphora*) as they have nothing to do with the final good realized in virtue, the ultimate purpose of human life (*telos*). All *artes* are concerned with the body which was once the servant of them, however, by now the body has become their lord, their master (§19.). The goods attributable to the crafts (*artes*) do not cater for real human needs, are thus entirely unnecessary and only serve meaningless luxury.²⁸ He supports his argumentation with this obviously Epicurean notion: real needs are taken care of by nature itself.²⁹ Nature, one of whose aspects is providence (*pronoia*) in Stoic philosophy, does not expect man, like any other living beings, to make great effort to sustain life.³⁰ *Ars* being a synonym of *luxuria* in Seneca's terminology and *luxuria* being the opposite of *natura*, it seems self-evident to him to strikingly oppose nature *artes*.³¹ We need to stress that all this applies to the crafts serving the body, whereas the letter reaches its climax in its portrayal of the *ars* whose value is undeniable and which leads to virtue.³² The real *artifex* is *sapientia*, as life's creator or craftsman (*artifex vitae*),³³ which is served by all *artes*.

To sum up the above: in contrast with the Stoic view somewhat generously labelled general that there is a close relationship between *techne* and *physis*, *techne* being useful and *techne* being teachable-learnable, Seneca accepts only the latter as valid for all *artes*. The *artes* linkable to the body are not useful and

²⁷ *Ep.* 90, 9 mihi crede, felix illud saeculum ante architectos fuit, ante tectores. ista nata sunt iam nascente luxuria; §19. a natura luxuria descivit, quae cotidie se ipsa incitat et tot saeculis crescit et ingenio adiuvat vitia.

²⁸ Cf. Sen., *Helv.* 11,4-5.

²⁹ *Ep.* 90, 15 posse nos habere usibus nostris necessaria si contenti fuerimus iis quae terra posuit in summo; §§16-18; cf. Sen., *Ep.* 4,10-11; 60,3; 110,10-11; *de vita beata* 8,2; *Epic., ep. Men.* 130; *KD XV*.

³⁰ *Ep.* 90, 18 non fuit tam inimica natura ut, cum omnibus aliis animalibus facile actum vitae daret, homo solus non posset sine tot artibus vivere (...) ad parata nati sumus (...) sufficit ad id natura quod poscit.

³¹ *Ep.* 90, 16 Non desiderabis artifices: sequere naturam. In his Letter 121 discussing the theory of *oikeiosis* (*conciliatio*) (§§22-24.) Seneca distinguishes those abilities of animals with which provident nature endowed them to help their survival (*artes*) and the learned crafts of man: *nascitur ars ista, non discitur*. He considers human *artes* definitely lower than the innate *artes* of animals imposed on them by nature, with which man cannot compete: *non vides, quam nulli mortalium imitabilis illa aranei textura?* (§22.) Later Marcus Aurelius XI 10 argues, from a reverse angle, for the fact that nature cannot lag behind artistic creation.

³² *Ep.* 90,44 Non enim dat natura virtutem: ars est bonum fieri.

³³ *Ep.* 90, 27; cf. *Ep.* 29,3; 31,6; 95,7-8; 117,12, *Vit. beat.* 8,3.

are contrary to nature. Based on Seneca's argumentation, *ars* proper, which meets every single criterion, is exclusively striving towards virtue (§44).³⁴

In Seneca's works we find several texts where god is *artifex* and divine activity is *ars*.³⁵ The basis question, however, is *how* god carries out creation, what the object and purpose of his creation is and whether all this can be related to the activity of human craftsmen (*artifices*)?

It seems obvious to draw a comparison between the activities of the divine and human craftsman. However, in accordance with the Stoic outlook, the object of god's creative activity, as a consequence of the identity of god and nature, is itself.³⁶ This automatically excludes the possibility of describing the process of creation in the case of divine and human *artifex* alike as *imitatio* (*mimesis*), as was customary in antiquity, irrespective of philosophical standing.³⁷ *Mimesis*, however we define it, presupposes an external reality independent of the creator which he, according to the general mindset, somehow reflects in his work. Still, the concept of *imitatio* can often be found in Seneca's works, however, it is not primarily used to serve the characterization of the activity of *artifex*. With Seneca, *imitatio* is above all the *imitatio* of god: man striving towards the *perfecta virtus* intends to reach his goal "imitating", following god, competing with him.³⁸ God, from another aspect, nature, is rational through and through,³⁹ his reason is perfect at that. Reason (and far from being *perfecta ratio*) is only one part of man, but even that makes him, uniquely among all living things, capable of understanding the world and „imitating" it.⁴⁰ All this is thus made possible by the substantial relationship between god and man, the

³⁴ For the teachability of virtue, see *Ep.* 88,32; 95,56; 123,16.

³⁵ *Ep.* 58,28; 71,14; *Prov.* I 5,9; *de Otio* 4,3; *Nat.* II 45,1.

³⁶ Sen., *Ben.* IV 8,2 Quocumque te flexeris, ibi illum videbis occurrentem tibi. nihil ab illo vacat: opus suum ipse implet. Cf. Wildberger 2006 II, 482-3.

³⁷ From the extensive literature on *mimesis* see recently: Halliwell 2002.

³⁸ Sen., *Ep.* 95,50 Vis deos propitiare? bonus esto. satis illos coluit, quisquis imitatus est; *Ep.* 104,23 magnanimos nos natura produxit et ut quibusdam animalibus ferum dedit, quibusdam subdolum, quibusdam pavidum, ita nobis gloriosum et excelsum spiritum, quaerentem ubi honestissime, non ubi tutissime vivat, simillimum mundo, quem, quantum mortalium passibus licet, sequitur aemulaturque. According to Wildberger 2006 I, 271: "Während Seneca sehr oft davon spricht, daß man *Gott* nachahmen und sich ihm angleichen müsse (...), findet man solche Gedanken für andere Stoikern seltener belegt." At the same time the idea shows close affinity with Plato (*Theaet.* 176b). Cf. Fischer 2008,14-5., Sedley 2005, 132.

³⁹ Sen., *Nat.* I praef. 14.

⁴⁰ Sen., *de Ira* II 15,2 Quid est autem cur hominem ad tam infelicia exempla revoces, cum habeas mundum deumque, quem ex omnibus animalibus ut solus imitetur, solus intellegit? Cf. Cic., *Tusc.* V 70.

fact that the human soul is, in fact, an offshoot (*apospasma*) of god.⁴¹ Thus *imitatio naturae* is identical with *imitatio dei*, of which *ratio*, is a means on the one hand,⁴² and the goal on the other, since the final good – living in accordance with nature, that is, with god – is identical to perfect agreement with divine reason, to acquiring the perfected reason (*perfecta ratio*).⁴³ Consequently, for Seneca *naturae imitatio* can by no means mean mere copying in the field of ethics since its condition is the *understanding* of the world (nature, god). But it cannot mean this in the realm of human crafts, – implicitly, the fine arts –, either.

Referring to Posidonius in Letter 90, Seneca gives a detailed account of the birth of the two *artes*: that of a baker's trade (§§22-3.) and of sailing (§24.). Both came into being as a result of the *imitatio* of nature, with man himself being the model in the former, more precisely, the processes of chewing and digestion, and the movement of fish in the water in the latter. *Imitatio* means the interpretation and modelling or independent *recreation* of two natural phenomena or mechanisms.⁴⁴ Maybe we are not rash in concluding from this that the likeness of a painting to the portrayed object does not necessarily mean mechanical copying, mirror-like correspondence, either.⁴⁵ In letter 9, (§7) we can read a highly interesting remark about the fact that for the painter, painting itself represents greater joy than the finished work,⁴⁶ which conjures up in us

⁴¹ Sen., *Ep.* 92,30 Quid est autem cur non existimes in eo divini aliquid exsistere, qui dei pars est? totum hoc, quo continemur, et unum est et deus: et socii sumus eius et membra. Cf. Cic., *Tusc.* V 38 humanus autem animus decerptus ex mente divina; LS 53 X; Rist 2010, 264-5.

⁴² Sen., *Ep.* 66,39 bonum sine ratione nullum est: sequitur autem ratio naturam. "quid est ergo ratio?" naturae imitatio; Cf. Vit. II 1,6; Inwood 2007, 175.

⁴³ Sen., *Ep.* 92,2 in hoc uno positam esse beatam vitam, ut in nobis ratio perfecta sit. On Seneca's definition on *telos* see also *Ep.* 5,4 propositum nostrum est secundum naturam vivere; *Ep.* 66,39 "quod est summum hominis bonum?" ex naturae voluntate se gerere; *Vit. beat.* 8,1 natura enim duce utendum est. hanc ratio observat, hanc consulit. Idem est ergo beate vivere et secundum naturam; *Ot. sap.* 5,1. Cf. Börger 1980, 9-15.

⁴⁴ A similar conclusion is reached by Köller 1975, 190-1., who believes that in Seneca's artistic interpretation, instead of Plato's concept of *mimesis*, its older meaning also determining the Aristotelian concept of *mimesis* ("portrayal") is reflected. According to this, "*mimesis* bedeutet nicht: illusionistisch gespiegelt, sondern in der Handlung als eine den Menschen angehende Wahrheit vergegenwärtigt." Cf. Solmsen 1963, 486ff. It should be noted that the *mimesis* = reflection theory, traditionally based on Plat., *Rep.* X 596b-598d, should be called the theory *attributed* to Plato. On Plato's differential interpretation of *mimesis* see Halliwell 2002 *passim*, especially 58ff; 118ff.; Büttner 2006, 13ff.

⁴⁵ Sen., *Ep.* 71,2 nemo, quamvis paratos habeat colores, similitudinem reddet, nisi iam constat, quid velit pingere. Cf. Kölle 1975, 172ff.

⁴⁶ Attalus philosophus dicere solebat: "iucundius esse amicum facere quam habere. quomodo artificii iucundius pingere est quam pinxisse." Illa in opere suo occupata sollicitudo ingens oblec-

the image of the industrious divine *artifex*⁴⁷ as well as that of the Stoic philosopher toiling unrelentlessly until the end of his life.⁴⁸ If the comparison holds, then, for the human *artifices* creation itself is an activity which resembles the divine activity that shapes the world and brings joy, whose valuable nature can hardly be questioned. And the much-studied Letter 65⁴⁹ reveals the fact that Seneca's interpretation of Plato also contradicts the theory of *mimesis* = mirror-like correspondence.

In the letter Seneca uses the well-known sculptor analogy to elucidate the relationship between Stoic cause (*causa*) and matter (*materia*) (65,3): *Omnis ars naturae imitatio est. itaque quod de universo dicebam, ad haec transfer, quae ab homine facienda sunt: statua et materiam habuit, quae pateretur artificem, et artificem, qui materiae daret faciem. ergo in statua materia aes fuit, causa opifex*. In the continuation, confronting Stoic theory with Aristotle's and Plato's *turba causarum* (§11.), he names *idea* (§7.) as the fifth one in the line of Plato's causes: *His quintam Plato adicit exemplar, quam ipse 'idean' vocat: hoc est enim, ad quod respiciens artifex id, quod destinabat, effecit. nihil autem ad rem pertinet, utrum foris habeat exemplar, ad quod referat oculos, an intus, quod ibi ipse concepit et posuit. haec exemplaria rerum omnium deus intra se habet numerosque universorum, quae agenda sunt, et modos mente complexus est: plenus his figuris est, quas Plato 'ideas' appellat, immortales, immutabiles, infatigabiles*.⁵⁰ The text regarded as a valuable source of the early history of Middle-Platonism⁵¹ is interesting to us for several reasons. By suggesting the possibility that ideas do not have transcendental existence only but are present in god's mind, he sheds new light on Plato's demiurge activity, too. Since he looks at ideas not as models outside themselves, the process of creation interpreted as *mimesis* cannot mean mere copying, either. On the other hand, this kind of interpretation of ideas makes it possible to draw a closer parallel between Plato's demiurge and the Stoics' immanent god.

In conclusion we can say that for Seneca in the case of *ars* belonging to the soul (*bonum fieri*) *imitatio naturae* involves striving to achieve complete ac-

tamentum habet in ipsa occupatione. non aequè delectatur, qui ab opere perfecto removet manum. iam fructu artis suae fruitur: ipsa fruebatur arte, cum pingeret. Cf. Kölle 1975, 157.

⁴⁷ On this question and on the issue of divine activity in *ekpyrosis* see Bénatouil 2009.

⁴⁸ *De Otio* 1,4 certe Stoici nostri dicunt: usque ad ultimum vitae finem in actu erimus, non desinemus communi bono operam dare, adiuvere singulos, opem ferre etiam inimicis senili manu. nos sumus, qui nullis annis vacationem damus (...).

⁴⁹ Cf. Sedley 2005, 134ff. Comments on the letter and literature review, Inwood 2007, 107-111; 136-155.

⁵⁰ Cf. Cic., *Orat.* 8-10.

⁵¹ Cf. Halliwell 2002, 316, note 6; Lowenstam 1998-1999.

cordance with nature (god). This accordance can be achieved with the help of philosophy, with the acquisition of correctly-judging perfected reason (*recta ratio*). Only the wise, the perfectly moral man (*sapiens*) possesses *recta ratio*, the ideal man who is hardly exemplified in real life. For the man who wants to achieve the greatest human good, virtue, the result of *imitatio naturae* cannot be complete likeness to nature, perfect accord with it,⁵² since he *is only trying* to understand the ever-changing world governed by divine *ratio*. All other *artes* are indifferent from the point of view of the final goal, virtue. What is more, the *artes* serving the body as servers of luxury and greed are downright harmful. The reason for this, however, is not the mode of the work of art as *imitatio*, rather, the simple fact that the *artes* belong to the body in sharp contrast to the soul.⁵³ This way, the negative judgement of the fine arts, embedded in the inter-related system of Seneca's philosophy is merely relative, it becomes sound exclusively when contrasted with *ars*, leading to *telos*, the ultimate goal of human life. Imitation, on the other hand, serving to characterize the mode of creation is an exquisite activity, which in some sense can be likened to that of the divine creator, with *ratio* as its means.

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⁵² Cf. *Ep.* 90, 27 Dis (...) immortalibus solis et virtus et beata vita contingit: nobis umbra quaedam illorum bonorum et similitudo. accedimus ad illa, non pervenimus.

⁵³ *Ep.* 65, 16 corpus hoc animi pondus ac poena est: premente illo urgetur, in vinculis est, nisi accessit philosophia. With this Seneca represents a view whose Platonist origin is undeniable. Cf. Lowenstam 1998–1999, 69 ff.

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(ISSN 0418 – 453X)

<i>ACTA CLASSICA</i> <i>UNIV. SCIENT. DEBRECEN.</i>	<i>XLVIII.</i>	<i>2012.</i>	<i>pp. 69–74.</i>
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DER SEIN PFERD FÜHRENDE JÜNGLING

VON TAMÁS GESZTELYI

Abstract: The Sebasteion at Aphrodisias in Asia Minor was decorated with dozens of panels depicting mythological scenes. The 7th panel on the South Portico depicts a young man with his horse, dogs, and weapons. This type of design resembles the representations of some mythological heroes (Dioskuroi, Meleagros, Hippolytos); furthermore, in the 2nd century B.C. it was widely used on burial reliefs in Asia Minor, often as the heroic representation of the deceased. Nevertheless, its identification on the basis of sculptural analogies is impossible because it does not match exactly either of the above. On the other hand, if we interpret it in the context of the neighbouring panels, it is possible on the basis of the Aeneid to interpret it as the scene in which Aeneas' new weapons are delivered.

Keywords: Aphrodisias, Sebasteion, hunterheros, heroic representation, lionskin cover, Aeneas.

Ausgangspunkt unserer Untersuchung ist eines der 90 erhalten gebliebenen Reliefs aus dem Sebasteion in Aphrodisias (Figur 1). Dieses Monument birgt mit seinen 190 Originalreliefs das reichhaltigste Ensemble der Gebäudebildhauerei der julisch-claudischen Zeit. Dies ist sicherlich auch ein Grund dafür, dass ihre Auswertung sich immer noch im Stadium der ersten Schritte befindet. Über das uns interessierende Relief schreibt R. R. R. Smith, der Entdecker des Gebäudes, nur so viel: „Hunter/hero with horse and dogs (not further specific iconography).“¹ Die Ausstellungsaufschrift des Museums ist da schon beredter: „Royal hero with hunting dogs: ... diademed youth stands with his horse and two dogs. At the left, an oval (foreign) shield hangs from a leafless tree, against which leans a long thin club.“ Diese Aufschrift wirft doch Licht auf einige ikonographische Besonderheiten: am Seitenast eines vertrockneten Baumstammes hängt ein ovaler Schild und an diesen ist eine lange, dünne Keule angelehnt.

Aber auch diese Beschreibung ist nicht vollständig. Der nackte Jüngling hält in seiner Linken ein in die Scheide gestecktes Schwert und seinen aufgerollten Mantel. Über den Rücken des Pferdes ist ein Löwenfell gelegt. An den Baumstamm ist keine Keule angelehnt, sondern ein Speer mit knorrigem Schaft, eine für die Wildschwein Jagd verwendete Saufeder (Figur 2).²

¹ Smith 1990, 100.

² Vgl. Grassinger 1999, Nr. 65, 219.

Der Ausdruck „not further specific iconography“ ist nur insofern richtig, als kein Heros allgemein bekannt ist, der die aufgezählten Attribute tragen würde. Die am häufigsten vorkommenden Reiterheroen waren die Dioskuren. Diese verfügten aber einerseits über spezifische Attribute, die hier fehlen: die kegelförmige Kappe (pileus) mit dem Stern darüber, sie wurden andererseits nicht von Hunden begleitet und benützten keinen schweren Speer und keinen Schild. Auf Grund der Saufeder könnten wir in erster Linie an Meleager denken, doch der jagte ohne Pferd und verwendete weder Schwert noch Schild. Sein spezifisches Attribut aber war der Eberkopf. Nur auf Sarkophagen der römischen Kaiserzeit erscheinen zwei Heroen, Adonis und Hippolytos als Eberjäger. Adonis kämpft ähnlich wie Meleager ohne Pferd nur mit einem schweren Speer gegen den Eber, mit Ausnahme einer Sarkophaggruppe, von der angenommen werden kann, dass sie unter dem Einfluss der Hippolytos-Sarkophage entstanden ist.³ Die meisten Elemente des Reliefs aus Aphrodisias stimmen schließlich mit den Hippolytos-Darstellungen überein: die Saufeder, die Jagdhunde, und darüber hinaus sind nicht nur das Pferd, sondern auch die über dieses gebreite Panter- oder Löwenfelldecke für seine Darstellungen charakteristisch. Dieser Typus erscheint aber nicht nur erst Ende des 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.,⁴ sondern kommt zudem nur ohne Schwert und an den Baum gehängten Schild vor. Wir müssen also darauf verzichten, die dargestellte Gestalt mit einem bekannten Heroentypus zu identifizieren.

Zugleich ist das Grundmotiv – der neben seinem Pferd stehende Jüngling – auch von klassischen Motiv- und Grabreliefs gut bekannt, auf denen meist irgendein namentlich nicht bestimmbarer Heros aus der Vergangenheit dargestellt wurde.⁵ Bald aber wurde diese Darstellung auch benutzt, um die Verstorbenen der Gegenwart abzubilden (vgl. süditalische Grabvasen). Das Pferd stand in diesem Fall nicht für die jenseitige heroische Existenz, sondern für den gesellschaftlichen Status des Verstorbenen. In hellenistischer Zeit wurde es allgemeine Praxis, die Bedeutung der klassischen Heroenreliefs rückhaltlos auf die Grabreliefs zu übertragen: jeder Tote konnte als Heros dargestellt werden.⁶ Der Tote konnte entweder in einem kurzen Chiton und einem langen Chlamys – was auf seine Soldatenkarriere verwies – oder in heroischer Nacktheit mit über die Schulter gelegtem Chlamys, oder in einem Brustpanzer erscheinen (Figur 3).⁷ Alle drei Typen verbreiteten sich besonders in der 2. Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. in Smyrna, kamen aber auch auf anderen Gebieten der kleinasiatischen Küste vor.

³ Grassinger 1999, 79.

⁴ Linant de Bellefonds 1990, 461.

⁵ Berger 1990, 265.

⁶ Berger 1990, 267.

⁷ Schmidt 1991, 17-18.

Über das Grundmotiv hinaus kamen meist weitere Figuren und Gegenstände vor, die zur weltlichen (z. B. Familienmitglieder, Diener, Waffen) oder zur sakralen Sphäre (z. B. Altar, Patera, Schlange) gehörten.⁸ Letzterer Zusammenhang fehlt auf dem von uns untersuchten Relief. Die weltlichen Gegenstände gehören meist entweder zum Soldatentum (Schwert, Schild, Panzer) oder zur Jagd (Saufeder, Löwenfelldecke, Jagdhund). Ihre Rolle wird von E. Pfuhl und H. Möbius folgendermaßen erklärt: „Krieg und Jagd sind verwandt und das vornehmste Geschäft des Mannes, daher auch die klassischen Jägerheroen. So ergab sich leicht die Übertragung von Hund und Eber auf die Reiterbilder gewöhnlicher Toter in Thrakien.“⁹ Daraus folgt, dass wir auch im Fall des Reliefs aus Aphrodisias nicht unbedingt an irgendeinen Jägerheros oder an eine konkrete Jagdgeschichte denken müssen, sondern an einen mythischen Jüngling, dessen Heroentum diese Kriegs- und Jagdgegenstände zum Ausdruck brachten.

Es scheint naheliegend zu sein, unter den Reliefs des Sebasteion – die mythologische Figuren oder divinisierte Mitglieder der kaiserlichen Familie darstellen – nur die Figur eines wohlbekannten Heros zu suchen. Die Aufschrift der Ausstellung schlägt dazu folgende Lösung vor: “The royal hero ... is probably a local founder – such as the Assyrian king Ninos, claimed as founder of their city by the Aphrodisians.” Dieser Vorschlag ist aber ikonographisch durch nichts zu begründen.

Obwohl es bisher nicht gelungen ist, für die erhalten gebliebenen mythologischen Reliefs des Sebasteion ein einheitliches Ordnungsprinzip zu finden, scheint dies für die ersten 9 Reliefs der Südseite möglich zu sein. Die erste Tafel verweist auf die Empfängnis des Aeneas, die zweite dürfte die bekannte Fluchtszene zeigen und die dritte die Ankunft in Italien. Die Bestimmung der weiteren Tafeln wartet zwar noch auf eine Lösung, das neunte Relief zeigt aber ohne Zweifel die Wölfin, welche die Zwillinge stillt. Mit Recht ist daher anzunehmen, dass wir auf den Tafeln dazwischen Ereignisse Staatsgründung in Italien zwischen den beiden Szenen zu suchen haben. Deren Hauptheld war – wie ja auch die ersten 3 Tafeln zeigen – zweifellos Aeneas. Die Betonung seiner Rolle ist auch deswegen verständlich, da er über seine Mutter das Verbindungsglied der beiden Städte Aphrodisias, der Stadt der Aphrodite, und des späteren Rom ist.

Können wir aber die Heroenfigur des Reliefs als Aeneas interpretieren? Auf Basis der Aeneis (VIII. Gesang) können wir hier kaum an eine andere Szene denken als an die, in der Aeneas seine eben von Venus erhaltenen neuen Waffen in Augenschein nimmt. Diese Szene ist auch in der Wandmalerei Pompejis

⁸ Pfuhl-Möbius 1979, 326-328.

⁹ Pfuhl-Möbius 1979, 312.

nicht unbekannt (Figur 4).¹⁰ Deren Ikonographie folgt dem Schema des seine neuen Waffen bewundernden Achill, während das Relief in Aphrodisias einen Typus der kleinasiatischen Heroendarstellungen benützt. Den aus diesem Muster übernommenen Attributen können wir hier eine konkrete Bedeutung geben. Die Anwesenheit des Pferdes kann mit der Erfüllung der Prophezeiung Apollos zusammenhängen. Aeneas wandte sich auf der Suche nach Verbündeten zunächst an Euander, der arkadischer Herkunft war und die Trojaner recht gern aufnahm. Er riet ihnen, nach Caere zu gehen, da sie auch dort auf Hilfe hoffen könnten. Die beiden miteinander sprechenden Helden werden ständig von zwei Hunden umgeben.

*Nec non et gemini custodes limine ab alto
praecedunt gressumque canes comitantur erilem.* (Aen. VIII 461-462)¹¹

Euander versieht die Trojaner nicht nur mit gutem Rat, sondern auch mit einer Reitertruppe und Pferden. So brachen sie nach Caere auf, bis sie an einem geeigneten Platz Rast hielten.

*Huc pater Aeneas et bello lecta iuventus
succedunt, fessique et equos et corpora curant.* (Aen. VIII 606-607)

Dies war der Augenblick, als Venus die Waffen, die ihr Mann Vulcan für ihren Sohn hergestellt hatte, an eine Eiche lehnte.

*arma sub adversa posuit radiantia quercu.
ille deae donis et tanto laetus honore
expleri nequit atque oculos per singula volvit* (Aen. VIII 616-618)

Unter ihnen war das beachtenswerteste Stück der Schild, der auch auf dem Relief eine betonte Rolle erhält, indem er am den linken Bildrand ausfüllenden Baum angebracht wurde, während er auf den kleinasiatischen Grabreliefs im Allgemeinen kaum wahrnehmbar in einer unteren Ecke des Bildes erscheint.

Bei der Interpretation des in der Szene ebenfalls eine bedeutsame Rolle spielenden Pferdes kann uns ein wichtiges Detail, die über den Rücken des Pferdes gebreitete Löwenfelldecke, zu Hilfe kommen. Diese kommt nämlich in der Beschreibung der Schenkung der Pferde ausdrücklich zur Sprache.

*Dantur equi Teucris...
Ducunt exsortem Aeneae, quem fulva leonis
pellis obit totum praefulgens unguibus aureis.* (Aen. VIII 551-553)

¹⁰ Pompeji, VI 9, 3-5: Venus und Aeneas. Cf. Strocka 2006, 296.

¹¹ Vgl. Odysseia II 11 (Telemachos).

Einen weiteren Teil der Szene bilden die zwei Jagdhunde und der an einen Baumstamm gelehnte lange, knorrige Schaft. Die Jagdhunde können – wie schon erwähnt – als die üblichen Begleiter heroisierter Figuren gesehen werden, hier können sie aber auch ein Rückverweis auf die Hunde des Euander sein.

Die Saufeder ist zweifellos ein ungewöhnliches Element in der Waffenübergabeszene. Sie kann aber ein Verweis auf ein weiteres wichtiges Ereignis im VIII. Gesang der Aeneis sein, nämlich auf die Opferung der lavinischen Bache, eine bestimmende Szene in der Geschichte der Staatsgründung. Diese drückt hier aber nicht die Jagd-Virtus von Aeneas aus, sondern seine Pietas gegenüber den Göttern, wie auch auf dem Relief der Ara Pacis. Auf einem fragmentarischen Sarkophag aus antoninischer Zeit erscheint aber neben dem das Sauopfer durchführenden Aeneas seltsamerweise die Gestalt der Virtus.¹² Die Hersteller des Sarkophags haben also diese Szene der Aeneis ihren eigenen Bedürfnissen entsprechend uminterpretiert. Die in der frühen Kaiserzeit noch die römische Identität symbolisierende Szene entwickelte sich schrittweise zum Symbol der Tugenden des Privatmannes. Dies ist ein ähnlicher Vorgang, wie wir ihn in hellenistischer Zeit auch im Fall der sein Pferd führenden Jünglingsgestalten beobachten konnten.

Zusammenfassend können wir feststellen, dass die hellenistischen bildhauerischen Traditionen in der römischen Kaiserzeit ziemlich kräftig weiterleben, besonders auf dem Gebiet Kleinasiens. Bei der Bestimmung der sein Pferd führenden Jünglingsgestalten müssen wir in erster Linie von der genauen Bestandsaufnahme der Attribute ausgehen, deren gültige Interpretation können wir aber nur unter Berücksichtigung des gesamten zeitlichen und räumlichen Kontextes geben.

¹² Canciani 1981, 396 Nr. 167; Grassinger 1999, 224 Nr. 70 (Rom, Palazzo Borghese).

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Illustrationen

- Figur 1. - Aphrodisias Museum. Der 7. Tafel der südlichen Seite des Sebasteion: Aeneas mit dem Schild. (Aufnahme des Verfassers)
- Figur 2. - Adonis mit Saufeder in der Hand. Nach Grassinger 1999, Taf. 53/2.
- Figur 3. - Sog. Makedon-Relief aus Basel. Nach Schmidt 1991, Abb. 43.
- Figur 4. - Aeneas erhält neue Waffen von Venus. Nach Strocka 2006, Abb. 21.

(ISSN 0418 – 453X)

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IALYSUS: THE LACK OF DESCRIPTION

BY ÁGNES DARAB

Abstract: Description, which sets out not only what can be seen in an artwork, but also what the image's effect is, has been a part of poetic texts from the *Iliad* onwards. Ancient prose, however, presents a different picture. The functional equivalent of *ekphrasis* in prose is one of the important instruments of rhetoric known as *enargeia*, or *illustratio / evidentia*. This did not denote a narrative mode of description, but what the Greeks called *phantasia*. Narrative descriptions seem to be almost absent in ancient prose writing until the *Imagines* of the Elder and the Younger Philostratos. These considerations set the context for the essay's research into texts written about Protogenes's painting, *Ialysos*, especially the short story included in *Nat. hist.*, which shows that the lack of description and the storytelling that takes its place may possess an important narrative function.

Keywords: *ekphrasis*, *enargeia*, Pliny the Elder, Protogenes, Ialysus, prose of the Roman Empire.

The famous line of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, "*ars adeo latet arte sua*" (*Met.* X 252) is a timeless formulation of the achievement of the sculptor Pygmalion's art, as well as the *ars* of the poet. Pygmalion's statue is a masterpiece of Ovid as well, who visualized the animation of the statue through the power of language: the metamorphosis of lifeless marble into a living human body. The description of an actual or a fictive visual work of art, or, in other words, "*giving voice to a mute art object*",¹ often embedded into a longer text and a narrative structure is the narrowest meaning of the poetic process of *ekphrasis*,²

This paper was written with the help of an OTKA (Hungarian Scientific Research Fund) scholarship (K81619), and was carried out as part of the TÁMOP-4.2.2/B-10/1-2010-0008 project in the framework of the New Hungarian Development Plan. The realization of this project is supported by the European Union, co-financed by the European Social Fund.

¹ Jean Hagstrum (*The Sister Arts: The Tradition of Literary Pictorialism and English Poetry from Dryden to Gray*. Chicago 1958, 18) quoted by Mitchell 1994, 153.

² For a brief summary of the various meanings of *ekphrasis* in Greek and Roman literature, see Fantuzzi and Reitz 1997, 942-947. Bartsch, Elsner 2007, I-VI and Webb 2010, 1-11. treat the subject in more detail. Goldhill 2007, 1-19, analyzes the topic in Hellenistic epigrams, whereas Boehm 1995, 23-40, and Mitchell 1994, 151-181, examine the theme beyond antiquity.

which has been present in the history of European literature ever since the artistic description of Achilles's shield.

Ranging from the *Iliad* to Hellenistic ekphrastic epigrams,³ Catullus's 64th *car-men* and the description of Aeneas's shield, description is an important part of the poetic language of the antiquity, while its presence and function in ancient prose works seems to differ. From the 1st century BC, *ekphrasis* was part of the basic level of rhetorical education: it was the culmination of the subjects and practices⁴ belonging to the *progymnasmata*, however its meaning did not include description. *Ekphrasis* was covered among the fourteen conventional types of speech practices of *progymnasmata*, and as the twelfth exercise it meant a paraphrase or an elucidation of a theme with the aim of widening the speaker's means of verbal expression, and which could also help the design of the *narratio* of later speeches.⁵ As Quintilian writes (*Inst.* I 9, 2): *versus primo solve, mox mutatis verbis interpretari, tum paraphrasi audacius vertere, qua et breviare quaedam et exornare salvo modo poetae sensu permittitur*.⁶

In terms of the Empire's rhetorical terminology, the functional equivalent of *ekphrasis* found in poetic works is *enargeia*.⁷ It means the clear visibility or sight of something, and the rhetorical term always occurs with the meaning of vividness, seeing through, lucidity and plasticity. Cicero always translated it as a term pertaining to images: *perspicuitas, illustratio, evidentia*.⁸ The function of *enargeia* is to render an emotional effect, which is evoked not through narrative means, with the power of description, but by evoking images. *At quomodo fiet, ut adficiamur?* asks Quintilian and concludes (*Inst.* VI 2, 29. and 32): *Quas παντασίας Graeci vocant (nos sane visiones appellemus) per quas imagines*

³ Myron's Cow is described by thirty six epigrams (*Anth. Pal.* 9, 713-742, 793-798), for an analysis of which in the context of ekphrastic epigrams, see Goldhill 2007, 15-19.

⁴ About *ekphrasis* in the context of ancient rhetorical theory and education, see Graf 1995, 143-155, and most recently Webb 2010, 131-165.

⁵ For a short summary of *progymnasmata*, see Kroll 1940, 1118-1119; Montefusco 2001, 375. For a more detailed account, see Webb 2010, 39-59.

⁶ Butler 1989⁸: they should begin by analysing each verse, then give its meaning in a different language, and finally proceed to a freer paraphrase in which they will be permitted now to abridge and now to embellish the original, so far as this may be done without losing the poet's meaning.

⁷ Boehm 1995, 35; Goldhill 2007, 3-6.

⁸ Boehm 1995, 35. As an example of Boehm's statement, we can cite Cic., *Part.* 6, 20: "Illustris autem oratio est si et verba gravitate delecta ponuntur et translata et superlata et ad nomen adiuncta et duplicata et idem significantia atque ab ipsa actione atque imitatione rerum non abhorrentia. Est enim haec pars orationis quae rem constituat paene ante oculos, is enim maxime sensus attingitur: sed ceteri tamen, et maxime mens ipsa moveri potest. Sed quae dicta sunt de oratione dilucida, cadunt in hanc illustrem omnia; est enim pluris aliquanto illustre quam illud dilucidum: altero fit ut intellegamus, altero vero ut videre videamur." (Emphasis added, Á. D.).

*rerum absentium ita repraesentantur animo, ut eas cernere oculis ac praesentes habere videamur. Has quisquis bene ceperit, is erit in adfectibus potentissimus. ... Insequentur ἐνάργεια, quae a Cicerone inlustratio et evidentia nominatur, quae non tam dicere videtur quam ostendere, et adfectus non aliter quam si rebus ipsis intersimus sequentur.*⁹

With the terms of narrating (*dicere*), exhibiting (*ostendere*), and being present (*quam si rebus ipsis intersimus*), Quintilian – by extending our interpretation beyond the borders of rhetoric – is writing about the pictorial power of language, its ability to describe images. An ability which in poetic *ekphrases* – ever since the description of Achilles’s shield – has laid the foundation for the unquestionable union of images and words, whereby both realms mutually illuminate each other. The convergence of images and words is the subject of many of Lucian’s short stories, such as the dialogues *Imagines* and *Pro imaginibus*, or *De domo*,¹⁰ which illuminates the connection between the visual and the verbal: “In the case of Achilles, the sight of his armour enhanced his anger at the Trojans, and when he put it on to try it, he was inspired and transported with the lust of battle. Then are we to believe that the passion for speech is not enhanced by beautiful surroundings?”¹¹

Like Cicero and Quintilian, Lucian focused on the relationship between the visibility of language and the narrativity of images primarily in a theoretical way – in the form of fictive dialogues –, although he also showed some examples of artistic *descriptios* in some parts of *De domo*. Even by keeping this in mind, it does not seem to be an oversimplification to state that we cannot see such artistic descriptions found in poetic *ekphrases*, which, beyond the description of an artwork, extend their attention to the artistic vocabulary and offer an explanation of the artistic effect these techniques convey, thus which would bring about the union of Quintilian’s *dicere*, *ostendere*, and *quam si rebus ipsis*

⁹ Butler 1985⁷: “But how are we to generate these emotions in ourselves, since emotions are not in our own power? There are certain experiences which the Greeks call φαντασῖαι, and the Romans *visions*, whereby things absent are presented to our imagination with such extreme vividness that they seem actually to be before our very eyes. ... From such impressions arises that ἐνάργεια which Cicero calls illumination and actuality, which makes us seem not so much to narrate as to exhibit the actual scene, while our emotions will be no less actively stirred than if we were present at the actual occurrence.” – About Quintilian’s view of *enargeia*, see Webb 2010, 88-97.

¹⁰ Simon 2009, 89-108 carefully analyses the competition between speech and sight in *De domo*.

¹¹ *De domo* 4. Trans. Harmon 1991⁸.

intersimus, in prose until the Elder and the Younger Philostratus in the 3rd century AD.¹²

For rhetorical theory, fine arts offered a parallel which could illustrate certain phenomena or processes of elocution. Drawing a parallel between the evolution of rhetoric and sculpture or painting,¹³ or its achievements¹⁴ was a popular method. These visual analogies limited themselves merely to the enumeration of the names of masters and the art historical evaluation of the themes or motifs they borrowed from different sources.¹⁵

The attention of philosophical prose strived for a wholly theoretical comparison between the possibilities and techniques of poetry and fine arts, even in such cases, when it evaluated real achievement, like Dio Chrysostom's text comparing Homer's and Pheidias's representations of gods (*Olymp.* 44-82). The descriptions found in the ancient novel, that is, in our approach, Petronius's *Satyricon*, rarely went beyond the mere enumeration of the paintings seen in a gallery by the protagonist of the adventures,¹⁶ or what scenes decorated the walls of a fascinating hall.¹⁷

The same can be said of scientific prose as well. Even in a work in which we might expect to find a detailed and complex description of at least some artworks, in the last five books of the Elder Pliny's *Natural History*, which gives the most comprehensive summary of ancient fine arts. Aiming for completeness, Pliny offers a chronological list of sculptors and painters from the various periods and many of their works classified from different perspectives. He also gives the theme of whole artworks (XXXIV 54)¹⁸ or some of their details (XXXVI 18).¹⁹ Sometimes he supplements these with an acknowledgement technical magnificence (XXXVI 18).²⁰ However, even in the more than hundred chapters of art history, we cannot find any image descriptions, which would give a narrative account of the work of art from a technical or an aesthetic perspective or which would even reflect these issues. Description is also

¹² Some critics think of the Elder Philostratus as the father of art criticism, which is an obvious exaggeration: Fairbanks 1979, XVI.

¹³ Cic., *Brut.* 70; Quint., *Inst.* XII 10, 3-9.

¹⁴ Cic., *Brut.* 71, 75, 76.

¹⁵ For the role of visual analogies found in rhetorical theories, see Darab 2010, 239-252.

¹⁶ Petron. LXXXIII.

¹⁷ Petron. XXIX.

¹⁸ Rackham 1984⁴: "Pheidias, besides the Olympian Zeus, which nobody has ever rivaled, executed in ivory and gold the statue of Athene."

¹⁹ Eichholz 1989³: "her shield, on the convex border of which he engraved a Battle of the Amazons, and on the hollow side Combats of Gods and Giants; and her sandals, on which he depicted Combats of Lapiths and Centaurs."

²⁰ Eichholz 1989³: "So truly did every detail lend itself to his art."

missing in the case of such crucial artworks like Protogenes's famous painting, *Ialysus*. Protogenes was a legendary painter in the 4th century BC, who was regarded, together with Aëtion, Nicomachus, and Apelles, as the culmination of painting by ancient art historians.²¹ *Ialysus* was his most famous artwork, a painting mentioned by many authors, and Pliny's narrative also returns to it in many different contexts.

The history of *Ialysus* and his descendants is connected to Rhodes.²² His grandfather was Helios, his mother was Cydippe, and her three sons, Cameirus, *Ialysus*, and Lindos divided the island among themselves and built the cities later named from them. Tlepolemus also needs to be mentioned here, as he arrived to Rhodes to be purified from his murderous guilt and whose fate was connected to the island in the *Iliad* as well (II 653-657): "And Tlepolemus, son of Heracles, a valiant man and tall, led from Rhodes nine ships of the lordly Rhodians, that dwelt in Rhodes sundered in three divisions – in Lindos and *Ialysus* and Cameirus, white with chalk. These were led by Tlepolemus, famed for his spear."²³

Thus *Ialysus* was one of the *heros eponymos* of Rhodes, and Protogenes, who was from Caunus, but spent most of his career in Rhodes, made a painting of him. Ancient authors, from Cicero to the Suda Lexicon²⁴ mention this painting, which indicates that the painting was known and famous in the period. Pliny explicitly states what the constant mentioning of the painting suggests: *Ialysus* was the best work of Protogenes.²⁵ Only one thing is left obscure: what the painting represented, as in this case, the allusions do not even name the scene described in the painting. The lack of description is so insistent that we do not know anything for certain except the theme: that the image represented one of the founding heroes of Rhodes. We can only guess the rest.

Pliny enumerates all the paintings of Protogenes, which include a painting of Cydippe and Tlepolemus.²⁶ As Cydippe, *Ialysus* and Tlepolemus – as we have seen – were all notable persons of Rhodes's mythic past, we might give credit to the theory advocated by H. Brunn and recently revived by W. Ehrhardt that we are talking not about three unrelated paintings, but a cycle decorating

²¹ Cic., *Brut.* 70.

²² For a summary of the mythical genealogy and aetiology, see Stoll 1890-1894, 12; Weiker 1916, 628-629; Conticello 1961, 68. and Macchiara 1990, 614.

²³ Murray 1988¹¹.

²⁴ See Overbeck 1868, 1914-1923 for the cited parts.

²⁵ *Nat.* XXXV 102: "*Palmam habet tabularum eius Ialysus.*"

²⁶ *Nat.* XXXV 106: "*fecit et Cydippen et Tlepolemum*".

the sanctuary of Dionysus in Rhodes.²⁷ It might be possible that Protogenes represented the hero as a hunter with his dog, and according to a famous anecdote, the foam on this dog's mouth was rendered realistically by a sponge cut by the painter especially for the sake of this scene.²⁸

What the authors found worthy of recording did not have much to do with art or aesthetics, as they mostly gave information about certain events. One of these was the placement of the painting. Cicero saw the *Ialysus* in Rhodes,²⁹ according to Strabo, the painting was in the *Dionysion* in Rhodes,³⁰ while in Pliny's age, the artwork could be found in Rome in the *Templum Pacis*.³¹ Plutarch gives an account of the painting's inglorious destruction (*Demetr.* 22): "This painting, then, crowded into the same place with the rest at Rome, the fire destroyed."³²

The rest of the information is about the making of the *Ialysus*, they give an account of the specific circumstances and the methods used by Protogenes. Plutarch and Aelianus claim that Protogenes worked on the painting for seven years,³³ while Fronto's version we find eleven years of work.³⁴ While working on the painting, the painter lived a very modest, almost ascetic life, subordinating everything to the undisturbed artistic pursuit.³⁵ The most fascinating part of the painting, the foam on a dog's mouth, he could only attain realistically by accident.³⁶ He put four layers of paint on the picture to protect it from damage and aging.³⁷

Lastly, a point most of the authors agree about: Demetrius Poliorcetes postponed the siege of Rhodes because of the *Ialysus*, in order not to destroy this unique work of art together with the city.³⁸

²⁷ Brunn 1889 II 159-160; Ehrhardt 2004, 323-324. Rumpf disapproves of this possibility: Rumpf 1957, 981-983.

²⁸ Brunn 1889 II 160; Rumpf suggests that Ialysus was depicted as a hunter, possibly in the tragic moment of his death, thus the painting's structure was inspired by Actaeon-iconography: Rumpf 1957, 982.

²⁹ *Verr.* IV 135; *Orat.* II 11.

³⁰ XIV 652.

³¹ *Nat.* XXXV 102.

³² Bernadotte Perrin 1988⁵.

³³ *Demetr.* 22; *Var. hist.* XII 41.

³⁴ *Epist. ad M. Caes.* II 2, 31.

³⁵ *Nat.* XXXV 102.

³⁶ *Nat.* XXXV 102-103. The anecdote survived in different versions. Dio Chrysostom (*Orationes* 63, 4) talks about a horse, not a dog, just like Plutarch, who recounts the case in connection with Apelles (*De Fortuna* 4, 9 B-C). Valerius Maximus does not name the artist painting the horse (8 II. ext. 7).

³⁷ *Nat.* XXXV 102.

³⁸ Plin., *Nat.* VII 126, XXXV 104-105; Plut., *Demetr.* 22; Gell., XV 31; Suda v. *Protogenes*.

The ancient accounts of the *Ialysus* are like a head and legs without a body, limbs without a torso:³⁹ they tell the story of its making, the place it was exhibited, and its end, its inglorious destruction. What should come between these, the description of the painting, or a descriptive narrative, Quintilian's *dicere* and *ostendere*, which would transform the readers into viewers of the painting to subject them to its effect, *quam si rebus ipsis intersimus*, is missing. Or, to be more precise, we can recognize a different narrative method of illustrating the magnificence of the work of art and the profound impact it had on the viewers.

Poetic *ekphrasis* reveals the image in such a way that it enables the speaker to let the scenes depicted by the artwork affect the reader through the details rendered by the narrative and visual power of the word. Or in such a way that the narrator dramatizes the description in order to explain the effect of the object from the perspective of the spectators.⁴⁰ Neither of these representational strategies are recognizable in the case of the *Ialysus*. Two stories take the place of the description: two anecdotes about how modestly Protogenes lived while working laboriously on the painting. Instead of transforming the reader into a viewer of the image and the interpreter of its effect, we also find an anecdote about how great an impression the painting made in its age: Protogenes's art, as it were, disarmed a conquering king. There is only one text which collects all the information and stories about the *Ialysus* as a structured textual unit: Pliny's *Natural History* XXXV 101-106, so it is justifiable to examine the peculiarities of descriptions written in prose – that they give narratives instead of descriptions – in this context.

The narrative part introducing Protogenes's painting career is an actual biographical short story, which makes it unique among the artist short stories in *Natural History*. It opens with dating and localizing the painter's pursuits, then states that his master is unknown, possibly he had no master even (XXXV 101). The short story continues with the phases of Protogenes's career as an artist – the long and difficult beginning (XXXV 101-103), then the period of acclaim (XXXV 104-105) – to conclude with the end of his career and life (XXXV 106).⁴¹

Running from the beginning to the end, this structure of the short story is combined with a peculiar use of an anticipatory technique. The text can be read

³⁹ Borrowing it from Keith Thomas, Assmann uses this phrase to illustrate the functioning of collective memory, Assmann 1992, 50: "wie Kopf und Füße ohne einen Körper, zwei Enden ohne Mitte." The lack of the *Ialysus*'s description could *also* be linked to this peculiarity of the *modus memorandi*.

⁴⁰ Fantuzzi 1997, 243.

⁴¹ XXXV 106: "*Novissime pinxit Alexandrum et Pana.* = Rackham 1984⁴: His latest works were pictures of Alexander and Pan."

to explore that aspect of the painter's career which is summed up by the closing sentence of the first chapter (XXXV 101): *ut appareret, a quibus initiis ad arcem ostentationis opera sua pervenissent*.⁴² The subsequent chapters illustrate precisely this. Protogenes, who lived as a ship painter until his fiftieth year, worked his way up to receive the assignment of decorating the propylaia of the Acropolis. King Demetrius did not only call off his siege of Rhodes because of the *Ialysus*, but honored the painter with his friendship as well (XXXV 105).

Apart from this, the short story has got a framed structure, which is constituted by factual information in the first (XXXV 101) and the closing (XXXV 106) chapters: when and where did Protogenes create his works of art and what these pieces were. This frame links a series of anecdotes. The anecdotes do not enumerate different events, like they do in the preceding short story about Apelles (XXXV 79-100), but they are all structured around a single theme, the *Ialysus*. This painting becomes the cause and aim of certain events. This centripetal structure builds the framed anecdotes on *Ialysus*, which becomes a point where all the stories converge, a cohesive force of the text. This structure, then, becomes a narrative expression of the fact that this painting is both the focus and the pinnacle of Protogenes's artistic achievement.

The short story thus not only states, but also expresses the outstanding artistic value of *Ialysus* through the narrative technique used. At the same time, we do not get to know anything else about the painting. Pliny's short story provides a plastic portrait not of the *Ialysus* nor Protogenes's art but of the painter's character.⁴³ This nature of the text deserves an explanation. If we accept the assumption that the *Ialysus*, *Cydippe* and *Tlepolemus* formed a cycle, then Protogenes's works as summed up by Pliny was constituted only by this monumental cycle, his famous satyr-painting⁴⁴ and some portraits.⁴⁵ If we also add that our chief source of knowledge⁴⁶ about Protogenes is based mostly on the sum total of information found in *Natural History*, which was organized by Pliny with an outstanding care, then we have to ask the question why this painter was so important for Pliny, and why he gave more emphasis to the painter instead of the painting.

⁴² Rackham 1984⁴: in order to show from what commencement his work had arrived at the pinnacle of glorious display.

⁴³ As Brunn has already argued, we only learn the fact of Protogenes's later fame from Pliny, without any reason given: Brunn 1898 II, 163.

⁴⁴ For the cited passages, see Overbeck 1868, 1907 and 1924-1926.

⁴⁵ *Nat.* XXXV 106. Quantitatively this modest achievement could be explained by the fact that according to Pliny, Protogenes painted ships for fifty years. This seems improbable, though, rather his poverty must have prevented him to learn with a master and gain fame at a younger age: Brunn 1889 II, 161.

⁴⁶ For the cited passages, see Overbeck 1868, 1907-1936.

The tireless labour, a life subordinated to work led to the painting of life-like⁴⁷ paintings created with an unmatched artistic care, and, as a final prize, acknowledgement by the power. These are the distinctive traits of Protogenes's character, art and career, which also made Lysippos and Apelles stand out of the host of portraits of sculptors and painters given by Pliny. His self-educated beginning resembles Lysippos's career, while Demetrius's visit to his workshop evokes the friendship between Alexander the Great and Apelles.

Pliny's account adds one more detail both to the commencement and the conclusion of Protogenes's career. It is only in *Natural History* that we read about the difficult fifty year long starting period, which exaggerates to a great degree the paradigmatic quality of this career. Pliny overstates even more when he writes about the friendship between Protogenes and Demetrius. The sources preserving the anecdote about postponing the siege of Rhodes tell only of the painting and Demetrius's admiration, and say nothing of the friendship between the king and the painter. In Plutarch's account (*Demetr.* 22), the artist and the king do not even meet each other, only the people of Rhodes send an emissary to the king with the request of sparing Protogenes's painting. Demetrius grants this request, saying that he would rather burn the portraits of his own father than a work created with so much effort, and which is said to have been painted for seven years. In Gellius's narrative (XV 31) Protogenes is not alive anymore when Demetrius wants to burn the public buildings standing outside the city walls, one of housed the *Ialysus*. The people of Rhodes send an envoy to the king here as well, asking him to spare the painting. Demetrius gives up the siege and thus no harm comes to the painting or to the city.

In the version found in *Natural History* (XXXV 105), instead of public buildings the house of the painter stood outside the city walls, near the enemy's camp. Demetrius was moved not by the creations of the painter, but his humane approach, when he saw that he did not break off his work even in the midst of war. Demetrius did not visit Protogenes but sent for the painter, who, after being asked what he has faith in, "replied that he knew the King was waging with the Rhodians, not with the arts."⁴⁸ This sentence returns in Gellius's account in the warning of the Rhodian emissaries, who cautioned the king from such a

⁴⁷ Others also emphasize this quality as the main virtue of Protogenes's art, for example Petr. 83: *Protogenis rudimenta cum ipsius naturae veritate certantia non sine quodam horrore tractavi*. = Heseltine 1987¹³: "and I studied with a certain terrified wonder the rough drawings of Protogenes, which rivaled the truth of Nature herself."

⁴⁸ XXXV 105: *respondit scire se cum Rhodiis illi bellum esse, non cum artibus*. Trans. Rackham 1984⁴.

disgrace as to wage war on the dead Protogenes after he was unable to beat Rhodes in battle.⁴⁹

Demetrius – in Pliny’s version – gave protection to Protogenes after this event and he visited the painter himself in order not to hinder him in his work. Demetrius does not converse with the painter, unlike how Alexander the Great talked to Apelles, but he protects him. *Natural History* emphasizes that aspect of the story in which the enemy general protects the artist: the king assigned guards (*tutelam*) to protect the painter and he was happy to defend (*servaret*) the hands that he himself spared (*pepercerat*). Finally, Demetrius did not visit the master to have his portrait made, but, forgetting his desire to win, regarded the artist himself (*spectavit artificem*).

Pliny takes an extraordinary care in introducing the locale where the scene happened. Protogenes lived and worked “in his little garden on the outskirts of the city.”⁵⁰ If we evoke the simplicity of Protogenes’s workshop (*officina*) with the old woman also described in Pliny’s story about the line-competition against Apelles (XXXV 81-83), then add his remark that *casa Protogenes contentus erat in hortulo suo* (XXXV 118),⁵¹ which moralizing comment went against the luxurious way of life fashionable in Pliny’s age, it becomes clear what placed Protogenes in front of all the other artists in the narrative.

By enumerating all the treasures of nature and by showing that nature as a nurturing mother supplies man with everything to satisfy his rational needs, *Natural History* conveys an ideal. An ideal of life which meant, for Pliny and many Romans, the past, their ancestors’ way of life, the simplicity of rural existence, the two main virtues of which were *simplicitas* and *rusticitas*, which mirrored the harmony of man and nature around him. Protogenes’s cottage in his little garden embodied this *simplicitas*.⁵²

However, simplicity showed not only in the painter’s way of life, but his main personality trait, modesty. Not even at the top of his career did he forget where he came from: “when he was decorating ... the gateway of the Temple of Athene, ... he added some small drawings of battleships in what painters call the »side-pieces« in order to show from what commencement his work had arrived at the pinnacle of glorious display.”⁵³

⁴⁹ XXXV 31: *ne turpe tibi sit, ... bellum cum Protogene mortuo gessisse*.

⁵⁰ XXXV 105: *Erat tunc Protogenes in suburbano suo hortulo*. Trans. Rackham 1984⁴.

⁵¹ Rackham 1984⁴: “Protogenes was content with a cottage in his little garden.”

⁵² Carey 2003, 102-103. For the meaning and significance of *hortus* in the *Naturalis Historia* and Roman thinking in general, see Beagon 1992, 79-91.

⁵³ XXXV 101. Trans. Rackham 1984⁴.

Finally, I find a further aspect of Pliny's portrait of Protogenes as important as the previous features: the painter's tireless labor. This fanatical⁵⁴ painter's life was work, *labor*, which was an essential part of the theme of idealized past in Roman literature, just like *vita parvo contenta*. From the perspective of art criticism it might be true that Protogenes's excessive care (*cura*), his distressed struggle to reach perfection sometimes deprived his works from that grace, *kharis*, through which Apelles surpassed him.⁵⁵ In Pliny's view this endless labor must have been an undisputable virtue.⁵⁶ This aspect is revealed in the fact that Demetrius in Pliny's narrative protected not the painting but the painter, and regarded not his paintings, but the painter himself. Demetrius's gaze, which was directed towards the painter (*spectavit artificem*), is in fact Pliny's gaze, who admires the unceasing effort, the creative man, whose *simplicitas* and *labor* raised him into the citadel of fame (*ad arcem ostentationis*).

Enargeia, the animating and demonstrating power of narrative, brings not the painting, but the painter alive in *Natural History*. The story given in place of a pictorial narrative directs our gaze and attention to Protogenes. Instead of focusing on the artwork, it gives a vivid portrait of the painter, who was Pliny's ideal and moral *exemplum* at the same time.

The *Ialysos*-narrative is special in the way that the significance of the painting in art history is exemplified by the narrative technique instead of a description, whose lack is made up for through storytelling, which includes such shifts in emphasis that reveal the original intent of the narrator: creating an ethical-moral *exemplum*. At the same time, the *Ialysos* also conforms to a general lack of description that has governed ancient prose literature for a long time. To understand this lack, we must evoke how the antiquity regarded fine arts and the relationship of words and images in general. From Gorgias to Augustine, we find a lot of passages documenting the general value judgment that works of art are futile things, because they only serve indulgence, *voluptas*, or even luxury.⁵⁷ The immortality of writing as opposed to the mortality of artworks suggested by Pindar was recurrent thought or even theme of both classical and paleochristian texts.⁵⁸

These remarks certainly did not stop the more well-to-do members of Roman society to adorn their villas with artworks. This ambivalent behavior is documented by Cicero's letter in which he asks the help of Atticus and a certain Fabius Gallus in decorating his *Tusculanum* with statues. These letters also

⁵⁴ XXXV 106: "*Impetus animi et quaedam artis libido in haec potius eum tulere.*"

⁵⁵ Overbeck 1868, 1921-1923, 1899, 1907.

⁵⁶ See *Nat. praef.* 19: *profecto enim vita vigilia est.*

⁵⁷ Pekáry 2002a, 31-41.

⁵⁸ Pekáry 2002b, 43-52; Pekáry 2002c 53-69.

reveal that Cicero did not have any aesthetic or other considerations when it came to art criticism. He only thought it important that the statues should match his personality⁵⁹ and the function of the room he calls *gymnasium*,⁶⁰ *Academia*, or *bibliotheca*.

In his letters Pliny the Younger gives a detailed account of his villas in Laurentum and Eretria,⁶¹ however, he does not mention any artworks at all. Just like a tour guide, he systematically guides the reader of his letters through all the rooms of his villa, but aesthetic pleasure is only derived from the natural environment and the sight of nature. It is well known that the villas of the period were rich in paintings and sculptures. We know of another letter of Pliny the Younger in which he gives an account of how he bought a Corinthian bronze statue (III 6), and that he, just like many in the period, was a collector of artworks. The villa descriptions do not reveal these internal decorations of the villas, but tell only of how splendid view the halls and rooms provided to the natural environment. *Natura*, the finest aesthetic, takes the place of *imagines*. The letters of Pliny the Younger – echoing the ideal of his uncle’s encyclopedia – in fact praise the harmony of the artificial and the natural environment, and the life within such harmony.

After both private and public indifference to works of art which governed prose literature until the late republic, Lucian’s descriptions brought some change. We can see significant change in the approach only in the works of the late 2nd and 3rd centuries, like Longus’s novel, or *Imagines* from the Elder and the Younger Philostratus.

In the *Prooemium* of *Daphnis and Chloe* (1-2) we read the following: “When I was hunting in Lesbos, I saw in the grove of the Nymphs a spectacle the most beauteous and pleasing of any that ever yet I cast my eyes upon.” Having enumerated the painted scenes, which name the most important turns in the plot of the novel, Longus continues: “When I had seen with admiration these and many other things, but all belonging to the affairs of love, I had a mighty instigation to write something as to answer that picture. And therefore, when I had carefully sought and found an interpreter of the image, I drew up these four books, an oblation to Love and Pan and to the Nymphs.”⁶² Here we can see everything that can be said about the relationship between images and words: beauty evoking a desire to speak, which is familiar from Lucianus’s *De domo*; the naming of the themes and scenes of the painting cycle; and what is

⁵⁹ Gesztelyi 1995, 49-55.

⁶⁰ For a much disputed definition of gymnasium in villa architecture, see Förtsch 1993, 69-73.

⁶¹ *Ep.* II 17; V 6. For a book length analysis of these two villa descriptions in an archaeological context, see Förtsch 1993.

⁶² Thornley 1989⁷.

new, the interpretation of the picture, because as Longus states, “I had ... found an interpreter of the image”. The novel following the *Prooemium* thus could be regarded as a lengthy *ekphrasis*.

Describing the paintings of an alleged villa in Naples, the 64 *ekphrases* from Philostratus the Elder and the Younger⁶³ mark a profound turn in the history of picture narratives. If we read the villa descriptions of Pliny the Younger in conjunction with the descriptions of *Imagines*, the degree of change can be spotted immediately: we can read only about the villa in the former, while the latter is only about murals decorating the building. In his *Prooemium* Philostratus the Elder states the novelty and the art historical significance of this aspect of his writing (*Imag. prooem.* 10): he is not interested in the painters and their lives, only in the works themselves. And he writes in such a way as to enable young people to learn how to interpret images, and how to sense their inner values. Philostratus’s image narratives not only name the painting’s theme, but describe, analyze and interpret its structure and the artistic means used in order to show how gestures, gazes, their directions and, most importantly, the colors tell a story that shows us what could not be seen at first glance.⁶⁴

The descriptions of the Elder and the Younger Philostratus are documents of the return of sophistic, and Gorgian rhetoric, when *ekphrasis* breaks away from the *progymnasmas* and becomes a separate literary genre⁶⁵ whose theme is entirely subordinated to the presentation: a certain *l’art pour l’art* rhetorical speech with the sole aim of entertaining the audience.⁶⁶ From the perspective of the history of visual description and analysis, this change is tremendously more significant. The collection of the *Imagines* borders on modern structural and shape analysis, these descriptions do not only re-verbalize the linguistic contents hidden in the paintings, but also tell of how visual meaning is made manifest.⁶⁷

⁶³ Fairbanks 1979, XV-XXVI. For Philostratus the Younger and visual description, see Pugliara 2004, 7-16.

⁶⁴ For example Philostr. iun., *Marsyas*. See Goretti 2004, 33-43.

⁶⁵ Anderson 2007, 339-353; Könczöl, Kiss 2008, 103.

⁶⁶ This type of speech, called “concert-orator” by Szilágyi, became one of the most popular forms of intellectual entertainment in Lucian’s period. For the relationship between the second sophistic flourishing in the 2nd century AD and concert-orator, see Szilágyi 1974, 739 and subsequent pages; Fairbanks 1979, XV; Anderson 2007, 341-342; Könczöl, Kiss 2008, 103.

⁶⁷ This requisite of visual description is suggested by Boehm 1995, 30.

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(ISSN 0418 – 453X)

ACTA CLASSICA UNIV. SCIENT. DEBRECEN.	XLVIII.	2012.	pp. 91–116.
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FINE ARTS AND EPIC POETRY: MIMESIS OF MIMESIS?

BY JÁNOS NAGYILLÉS

Abstract: The object of the body-representation of epic does not change from Homer to Lucan: it is the human being itself. The preferences and the techniques of representation do however change. Epic poetry is *mimesis*, just like every *poiesis*, whose purpose is the representation of the world around us: these techniques can be compared with artistic representations. The technique of literary representation is influenced by the development of the methods of rhetoric, especially by *enargeia*. The effect of aspects of the fine arts on epic representation cannot in theory be excluded: for this reason, at the end of the period in review, we can speak of the *mimesis* of *mimesis*. This can be found especially in the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, then in Lucan. However the number of body-representations decreases in comparison with the preceding period: it now takes on an *exemplum* function that is also typical of Roman portrait sculpture.

Keywords: *mimesis*, *enargeia*, representation of humans in the epos, body representation in the epos, Homer, Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautics*, Virgil, *Aeneid*, Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Lucan, *Bellum civile*, sculpture, Roman portray sculpture, Roman ancestor cult.

The Lucan philology has long been engaged in finding out the secrets of Lucan portrayal: how such mental richness and illustrative power can be concentrated in a single unit of epic hexameter? Be it a blood-soaked battlefield, the ghost of a goner emerging from the opening ground or the palace of Cleopatra, the descriptions of the poet are so vivid that the narrative almost appears visually in our consciousness. In his depictions, however, the narrative portrayed in an almost film-like animation can rarely be clearly separated from the moral message that unfolds from the comments of the poet and from the narrower or wider context of the narrative.

The examination of the expressiveness of Lucan's portrayal is inseparable from that of the epic heritage: two epics of Homer, *Argonautics* of Apollonius Rhodius, *Aeneid* of Virgil, *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. Within this, the present study deals only with one question of detail. A literary work is just one possible way of portraying the world around us, whose purpose – like that of other possible ways – is raising pleasure when reflecting and accepting reality in an artefact, which is the goal defined as the pleasure in *mimesis* by Aristotle. The object of *mimesis* is reality, regardless of age; as we can talk about alternating periods and styles based on changes of characteristics of representation in fine

arts, just like in literature, where there are also consecutive styles. If the object and purpose of artistic representation are identical in these two fields, it is obvious that their results are also comparable, since these artistic forms are not completely isolated from each other. No matter what kind of „raw material” is used, the „products” of *poiesis* act and react to each other, and inspire the creators of the different fields to find a more perfect way of portraying that more and more corresponds with the message to be transferred. And if we suppose that representation in fine arts and literature, as mimesis, are in such a close relationship with each other, then they are comparable and the trends of changes in styles in these fields hardly differ from one another.¹

Comparison is made more difficult by the fact that language is more suitable for the creation of long, coherent narratives than any other „raw material”,² this means that if we compare it with fine arts, we have to grab such features that do not exceed the facilities of artists working with physical material. No matter how stirring a painting, a relief, a sculpture or painting illustrating a mythological scene or person is, in a certain sense it can hardly compete with the possibilities of the linguistic representation of the same topic.³ The methods of rep-

¹ Whitman 1958, 291-292 draws a parallel between *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and the Geometric and the Proto-Attican style, and explains the differences between the two epic not only with thematic reasons, but also with a difference in approach about how part is related to the whole, the relation of ornamentation to the whole structure, the basic concept of human existence to its context (*non vidi*: quoted by Bloom 2005, 64). He also exemplifies this with depicting Eumaeus, 292-293: the author of *Odyssey* is interested in the completeness of the figure and the context of the whole, as it were, wants to fill in the contour. While the „geometric” *Iliad* hardly contains any detail of personal appearance, *Odyssey* does specify the bodily characteristics of its hero (Bloom 2005, 65).

² Regardless of theatre and film: I cover the similarities of ways of representation of film and epic later on.

³ The purpose of the artist, of course, is nothing but that of the poet. This can be seen in the Pygmalion story of Ovid (Ov., *Met.* X 243-269): despite the fact that Pygmalion knows that the formed woman is just a sculpture, he is waiting for that to come to life. (Ov., *Met.* X 252-255). Be it a statue or an epic description, it can only imitate nature (Quint., *Inst.* VIII 3, 71: *naturam sequi*; Ov., *Met.* X 253: *simulati corporis*), Plato does not make a difference though between the products of painting and poetry in the hierarchy of existence (Pl., *R.* X 595a-598d; Fuhrmann 1973, 71). This point of his precept of idea grabs the barriers of the possibilities of art works from a philosophical aspect: whose result cannot step to the next level, one step closer to the world of ideas (which may be the goal of today’s 3D films). Despite of this, the purpose of the artist – and the same thought is in the background of Quintilian’s views on *enargeia* – is to reach this level. The background of ancient narratives on the perfection of paintings might be the same (for the ancient concept of the relationship between similarity and beauty, cf. Gesztelyi 2001, 377-379; it is a recurring motive in ancient records about lifelike paintings that their likeness confused animals, cf. Gesztelyi 2001, 377-378; Matsier, 2009, 17-19, in his book about *trompe-l’œil* he mentions ancient anecdotes of artists and the motive of confusing animals, but as he wrote it, modern ethology has never proved the realities of this motive.

resentation and the results of the representation can also be examined, but now we are trying to find an answer to the question, whether fine arts and literature are connected to each other also in a way that a certain piece of fine arts becomes the object of mimesis in literature – explicitly or implicitly, namely, first of all not in a way that the object of the representation is a specific work of fine arts⁴, but in a way that the technique and the result of the composition is close to that of work of fine arts that may not have even existed.

The picture-like expressiveness of Lucan's way of representation was praised by many with regards to its feature that the psychological background of the visualization of figures is especially elaborated, and the – usually quite long – descriptions of events and figures are not free from the poet's comments. This feature of this period's literature is most probably an effect of rhetorics,⁵ and we can talk about the rhetorization of the poet's diction. What is exactly meant by this is highlighted by a passage on Lucan in Quintilian's literature catalogue:

Here, we have to mention the epic ecphrasis, that form representation in fine arts into a poetic narrative. In the epics examined in the present study there are several examples for the application of these: the shield of Achilles (Hom., *Il.* XVIII 478-534), the mantle of Hypsipyle (A. R. I 736-768), the embossment of Juno's church on the Trojan war (Verg., *A.* I 466-493) and the shield of Aeneas (Verg., *A.* VIII 625-731), the homespun of Arachne and Athene competing with each other (Ov., *Met.* VI 103-128 and 70-101). György Lukács is sceptic about the possibilities of a literary description: the competition of literature and fine arts is unproductive, a literary description of humans can only be a dead still-life, and only the tools of painting may grab the nature of human beings in its deepness (Lukács 1965, 88). My own concept is right the opposite of this, but whatever the truth might be, it is typical that in the antiquity, the productivity of both these ways of representation was measured on how they could work out the sensual and intellectual experiences expected from one another.

⁴ I do not refer to descriptions of works of art, but to the possible effects of 'non-literary' works of art, pieces of fine art known by the poet.

⁵ Rhetorics run across the complete education, and also affect all the fields of literature, what is more, some branches of literature tend to be counted as rhetoric *genos* (e.g. historiography). After rhetoric education has become general, poets were qualified in rhetorics and have started to apply rhetoric approaches on poetry. In the peripatetic school the examples of rhetoric rules are quotations of poets, and Cicero himself, also quotes with this goal on many occasions from Ennius, Terence, just like Quintilian from Virgil (Kroll 1940, 1134, 36-1135, 6). The prosaic paraphrases of poetic texts is a school practice (Quint., *Inst.* X 5, 4), but the formation of rules, in the way as they later have appeared in handbooks, can hardly be dated in the Hellenistic era: the poetic description, as epideictic text applies the prosaic rules of the genre (Kroll 1940, 1132, 4-26). The rhetorical genres tend to be mixed increasingly (this tendency started with Isocrates): poetry comes closer and closer to rhetoric epideixis, and this reacts to poetry. Oratory has become tinted with poetry by and by, which is told about by Tacitus (*Dial.* 20, 8 *exigitur iam ab oratore etiam poeticus decor, non Acii aut Pacuvii veterino inquinatus, sed ex Horatii et Vergilii et Lucani sacrario prolatus*), and oratory techniques prevail in poetic portrayal (Kroll 1940, 1135, 7-1135, 22).

Lucan ardens et concitatus et sentiis clarissimus et, ut dicam quod sentio, magis oratoribus quam poetis imitandus. (Quint., *Inst.* X 1, 90)

Lucan is fiery and passionate and remarkable for the grandeur of his general reflexions, but, to be frank, I consider that he is more suitable for imitation by the orator than by the poet. (transl. by H. E. Butler)

An exhaustive analysis of the content of Quintilian's judgement is not our goal; let us be pleased by what brings forward our train of thoughts. According to Quintilian, Lucan can rather be the model of rhetoricians than that of poets. However, it is obvious, that no matter how good rhetorician he is, if he creates a text as a poet, he is rather a poet than a rhetorician. Although he uses methods of rhetoric, as a narrative poet – besides the proper literary previews – it is not the whole of rhetoric that can help him, but the rhetoric theory of narration. The opinion of Quintilian on Lucan – despite the fact that it was phrased regarding *hexis* (Quint., *Inst.* X 1), or, in other words, in connection with the formation of the mental and lexical armoury of the orator, and evaluates the poet from this aspect – must most probably be read in its most general sense: Lucan, as a poet *also* functions as an orator, and applies rhetorical techniques. As these belong to the subject of *lexis* and *elocutio*, these are not far from each other in case of a poet and an orator, or at most in a sense that their poetic application leaves more freedom, *licentia*.

There is a much larger difference in the technique of the narration: in rhetorics this is described by the theory of *narratio*, and refers to narration as a part of the oratory speech, the *mimesis*-concept of *Poetica* from Aristotle can be considered as the relevant ancient description of poetic narrative. These two partially overlap one another, answering the question of how and to what extent cannot be the object of the present study, we have only touched upon this problem to be able to explain the doubled, rhetorical and poetic nature of our expectations and experiences of Lucan's diction as receivers: or to put it generally, the rhetorization in Lucan's narratives means that the text provides these two types of experiences to the reader *at the same time*, in other words, it creates a synthesis of these two. In this synthesis we have to search for the method from the creator, and the experience from the receiver that is typical of both poetry and fine arts.

Ut pictura poesis... as it is in the famous thesis of *Ars poetica* of Horace, but the basis of our further examination is the form of this thesis bound to Simonides by Plutarch (Plut., *Mor.* 346F), which also appeared in *Rhetorica ad Her-*

ennium: painting is silent *poiésis*, while *poiésis* is loud painting.⁶ Both carry out *mimesis* in their own fields, with their own tools, the major difference in accordance with the saying of Simonides is in the use of voice, language.⁷ Lucan is a 'painter' (or to put it more generally, he is an artist of fine arts) and a poet at the same time, but regarding the artistic use of language, he is also a representative of a third area, namely, rhetorics. In Quintilian's evaluation, he cannot get rid of him being a rhetor also as a poet: the topic of *narratio* strives to form a realistic and expressive performance.

One of the virtues of *narratio* is, as Quintilian wrote it (Quint., *Inst.* IV 2, 63: *sunt qui adiciant his evidentiam, quae enargeia Graece vocatur*), some say, *evidentia*,⁸ *enargeia* in Greek. He also cites the opinion of Cicero on the virtues of *narratio*, who expects six qualities from *narratio*, including *evidentia* (Quint., *Inst.* IV 2, 64: *planam et brevem et credibilem vult esse evidentem, moratam, cum dignitate*), then he grabs the essence of this system of virtues by clarifying the notions: *oratio morata* is a basic requirement, together with *dignitas* (Quint., *Inst.* IV 2, 64 *in oratione morata debent esse omnia, cum dignitate quae poterunt*), and he subordinates *evidentia* to *perspicuitas*,⁹ while *evidentia* means, according to this sentence in Quintilian, not the articulation (*non dicendum*) of certain parts of the truth (*quid veri*), but also a specific, picturesque representation of that at the same time (*sed quodammodo etiam ostendendum est*).¹⁰ In this approach *evidentia*, so that Quintilian also, really belongs under *perspicuitas* (*subici perspicuitati potest*), although this is debated, since

⁶ Negotiation of the Horatian form of the Simonides saying is not an object of the present study, newer thoughts on this problem: Sprigath 2004, 243-280. Its reception in Rome has started already before Horace: *Rhet. Her.* 4, 39.

⁷ This thesis can be extended to language in general, since Simonides probably means performed poetry.

⁸ In the translation of Tamás Adamik it is 'expressiveness'.

⁹ In the translation of Tamás Adamik it is 'brightness'.

¹⁰ The notion of *enargeia* / *evidentia* became a difficult problem by the age of Quintilian: it is clarified in the study of Zanker (Zanker 1981, 297-311), but from the point of the period examined by us, it is the concept of the 1st century AD that is significant. The place of *enargeia* in the system of ancient stylistics is determined by Lausberg 1990, 399-407 (810-819§), cf. Kemmann 1996, 40-41. The development of his theory is a later outcome, but also Aristotle has drawn attention to its importance: the properly bright style grabs a topic in the happening, and expressiveness is putting it to a linguistic form: „I mean that things are set before the eyes by words that signify actuality.” (Arist., *Rh.* III 11, 1411b, transl. by J. H. Freese). All these are proved right with Homer, who „depicts everything as moving and alive, since action is movement” (Arist., *Rh.* III 11, 1412a 8-9). In *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, *demonstratio* that corresponds to *evidentia*, is one of (Adamik 1998 112 ff.) the nineteen figures of thought (*Rhet. Her.* 4, 47-69), its application is described by *Rhet. Her.* 4, 68sq. This is also present in the stylistic handbook of Rutilius Lupus, newer about it: Horváth 2001, 196-99. For the history of development of *enargeia* as an oratory figure cf. Kroll 1940, 1111, 25-1112, 19.

by certain types of issues revealing the truth is downright desired, but this – as it is in the *ultima ratio* of Quintilian – is ridiculous, because for those who wish to visualize false statements as truth, expressiveness can be very useful, and here we can risk the translation 'obvious' for the phrase of *evidentissima*, this means that in the performance of such issues, the narration needs to be 'obvious' for the receiver, without any further thinking, which is in a close relationship with the *evident* nature of the narrative without any doubt. So, *evidentia* is a virtue of *narratio* that is subordinate to *perspicuitas*.¹¹

Quintilian approaches *evidentia* from a different angle in the chapter about provoking emotions: *evidentia* does play a role in mobilizing the emotions of the audience (Quint., *Inst.* VI 2). What is the reason behind it? Our emotions are generated by facing things that exist in reality; however, their images emerging in our imagination can also reach this effect. Thanks to these *phantasias* (*visiones* in Latin) „things absent are presented to our imagination with such extreme vividness that they seem actually to be before our very eyes” (Quint., *Inst.* VI 2, 29, transl. by H. E. Butler) – and because these are present, they cause an emotional effect. A good orator thus needs to be an *euphantasiōtos*, *qui sibi res, voces, actus secundum verum optime finget: quod quidem nobis volentibus facile continget*.¹² He has to evoke images in the audience, because together with these the emotions attached to them can be mobilized,¹³ but, as Aristotle's *Rhetorics* states: *Now the proofs furnished by the speech are of three kinds. The first depends upon the moral character of the speaker, the second upon putting the hearer into a certain frame of mind (this is pathos, enargeia helps in evoking it), the third upon the speech itself, in so far as it*

¹¹ The orator makes the audience an eyewitness by mobilizing imagination. This has the following tools besides the detailed representation (vö. Schem. dian. I ἐνάργεια *est imaginatio quae actum incorporeis oculis subicit, et fit modis tribus: persona, loco, tempore*): providing details on the whole of the object, using praesens, adverbs of place that evokes the feeling of personal presence, invocation and dialogue of people involved in the narrative (Lausberg 1990, 401 ff. [811§]). This also appears in the Christian theory: Augustinus explains that for a Christian orator *perspicuitas dicendi* and *evidentia* are more important than *eloquentia* (Aug., *D. Chr.* 4, 64; Adamik 1998, 272).

¹² Quint., *Inst.* VI 2, 30: *the possessor of this power of vivid imagination, whereby things, words and actions are presented in the most realistic manner (...) and it is a power which all may readily acquire if they will.* (Transl. by H. E. Butler)

¹³ Quint., *Inst.* VI 2, 32: *Insequentur enargeia, quae a Cicerone inlustratio et evidentia nominatur, quae non tam dicere videtur quam ostendere, et adfectus non aliter quam si rebus ipsis intersimus sequentur.* This is why Quintilian says in the chapter about style (*Inst.* VIII 3, 62): *Non enim satis efficit neque, ut debet, plene dominatur oratio si usque ad aures valet, atque ea sibi iudex de quibus cognoscit narrari credit, non exprimi et oculis mentis ostendi.* The effect of *evidentia* is highlighted by the opposition of *narrari* and *exprimi et oculis mentis ostendi*.

proves or seems to prove.”¹⁴ (Arist., *Rh.* I 2, 1356a, transl. by J. H. Freese). So Lucan, despite the fact that he is a poet, with his narrative he provides an evidence for his *argumentum* that are widely known from historic resources: thanks to the picturesque visualization (*enargeia*) he throws such light upon this fateful series of events that makes his audience feel the performance from his own point of view.¹⁵ The orator does the same, and what does it consist of? Quintilian describes this ingeniously with the help of *enargeia*: it mobilizes and focuses the continuously stirring pictures¹⁶ in our imagination, even in its calmness. To illustrate this, he shortly speaks about a murder that he makes believable by introducing *enargeia*:

Hominem occisum queror: non omnia quae in re praesenti accidisse credibile est in oculis habeo? non percussor ille subitus erumpet? non expavescet circumventus, exclamabit vel rogabit vel fugiet? non ferientem, non concidentem videbo? non animo sanguis et pallor et gemitus, extremus denique exspirantis hiatus insident? (Quint., *Inst.* VI 2, 31)

Finally Quintilian, among the figures of thought in the 9th book dedicated to stylistics, mentions *evidentia* that, as he says with reference to Cicero

sub oculos subiectio tum fieri solet cum res non gesta indicatur sed ut sit gesta ostenditur, nec universa sed per partis: quem locum proximo libro subieciimus evidentiae (Quint. *Inst.* 9, 2, 40);

then with reference to Celsus and others he approaches the definition of *evidentia* from the new effect of that:

¹⁴ τῶν δὲ διὰ τοῦ λόγου ποριζομένων πίστεων τρία εἶδη ἐστίν· αἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰσιν ἐν τῷ ᾗθει τοῦ λέγοντος, αἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ τὸν ἀκροατὴν διαθεῖναι πως, αἱ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ δεικνύναι ἢ φαίνεσθαι δεικνύναι.

¹⁵ ἐνάργεια places the case before the eye of the audience, and by this helps them to believe the orator (Martin 1974, 84): its effect on convincing was discovered quite early (Kroll 1940, 1111, 25sq), therefore in some theories *evidentia* is added to the usual three, *virtutes narrationis necessariae* (Martin 1974, 4n93: Cic., *Top.* 26, 97; Quint., *Inst.* IV 2, 63). For the significance of expressiveness in rhetorics cf. Porter 2009, 102: „The arts of the imaginary require intense visualization (*enargeia*, *ekphrasis*, *evidentia*, *demonstratio*).” It also plays an important role in the portraits of Lucan, cf. Newmyer 1983, 251, „If the image of the epic serve to characterize, they serve at the same time to persuade and convince, to show the reader *how* he should feel.” It has a special significance in the epideictic rhetorics, which plays an important social-political role (Kennedy 1983, 23 ff. cf. Calboli 1991, 11), Kennedy shows its functioning in the funeral sermon of Pericles (Kennedy 1994, 22). Tamás Mészáros demonstrated the relationship of narration and proving in the structure of the speeches of Antiphon: there can be no borderline drawn between the two (Mészáros 2011, 124 n214). *Ethopoia* serving expressiveness, plays an important role in the proof strategy of the Athenogenes-speech of Hypereides (Horváth 2006, 35 and 35n7).

¹⁶ Quint., *Inst.* VI 2, 30: *nisi vero inter otia animorum et spes inanes et velut somnia quaedam vigilantium ita nos hae, de quibus loquor, imagines prosequuntur, ut peregrinari, navigare, proeliari, populos adloqui, divitiarum, quas non habemus, usum videamur disponere, nec cogitare, sed facere: hoc animi vitium ad utilitatem non transferemus?*

proposita quaedam forma rerum ita expressa verbis ut cerni potius videantur quam audiri.
(Quint., *Inst.* IX 2, 40)

This is why the expressive, picturesque representation is important for the creator of the poetic text, in the Quintilian description of this representation also the images of seeing.¹⁷ The poet moves within the limits of poetry, and validates two other aspects that are connected much closer to the literariness of the text: these are *imitatio* and *aemulatio*.¹⁸ We also cannot forget about another important statement of Quintilian related to *enargeia*: it does not form only the specific topic in a picturesque way in the audience's mind's eye, but also all the possible circumstances of that are mobilized in their imagination (Quint., *Inst.* VIII 3, 65-70). Therefore the effect of *enargeia* similar in the text, as that in the material of fine arts, and in the background of this „vividness” (Quint., *Inst.* VIII 3, 70 *manifesta*, transl. by H. E. Butler) – interpreted here as „sensitive visualization”, there is probability based on human experience (Quint., *Inst.* VIII 3, 70 *veri similia*).¹⁹ According to Quintilian this can be realized easily, if the orator, just like the artist, looks always at its model, nature (*naturam intueamur, hanc sequamur*), and represents, mimes, what he sees there.

Here I focus exclusively on the representation of body from among other possible objects of nature and life.²⁰ It is hard to add anything else to the poetic technique of *enargeia* after Homer: the leading role is incontrovertible from him also in this field.²¹ The ingredients of expressiveness form a different, unique mixture in case of each and every poet, and would be hard to make data of them. Now we try to do this with the representation of human body, to be able to set up statements on the relationship of the representation of body in fine arts and in literature. From this point of view Homer, Apollonius Rhodius,

¹⁷ The receiver must be made an audience by the creator of the text. Quintilian uses several expressions on seeing by the subgenus listed in the *evidentia* 8th book: (VIII 3, 62); *magna virtus res de quibus loquimur clare atque ut cerni videantur enuntiare* (VIII 3, 62); *a concipiendis imaginibus rerum; non solum ipsos intueri videatur et locum et habitum, sed quaedam etiam ex iis quae dicta non sunt sibi ipse adstruat* (VIII 3, 64); *ego certe mihi cernere videor* (VIII 3, 65); *Quid plus videret qui intrasset?* (VIII 3, 67); about metaphor as a tool of *evidentia*: *praeclare vero ad inferendam rebus lucem repertae sunt similitudines* (VIII 3, 70); fine arts metaphores can also be found in its texts: *Est igitur unum genus, quo tota rerum imago quodam modo verbis depingitur* (VIII 3, 63).

¹⁸ A newer overview of these two basic concepts of ancient aesthetics: Juvan 2008, 49-95.

¹⁹ Cf. Quint., *Inst.* VIII 3, 71: *Omnis eloquentia circa opera vitae est, ad se refert quisque quae audit, et id facillime accipiunt animi quod agnoscunt.*

²⁰ We used the notions of 'nature' and 'life' in the spirit of the referring statements of Quint., *Inst.* VIII 3, 71.

²¹ Also the narrative of *Ilias* is happy to spend some time by such details, like Tibor Szepessy has shown it in connection with Hector and Andromache or Paris (Szepessy 2009a, 29-30).

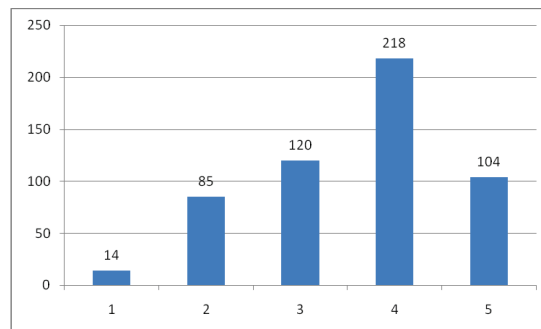
Virgil, *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, and *Pharsalia* of Lucan can be regarded as a representative sample. I registered such places of these texts where the poet, as Quintilian put it when describing the imagination of the functioning of *enargeia*, does not leave the imagination of the functioning of the human body described in action with the fantasy of the audience, but find important to name and highlight the body or specific body parts, while visualizing them on their own.

In the examined epics I registered the number and extent of occurrences on the basis of the following aspects:

- 1) complete body representation (by body I mean all the parts belonging to it);
- 2) complete body representation with outfit as well (equipments, clothing);
- 3) references to specific body parts, including certain body parts, roles of bodily symptoms in expressing emotions: the latter group, which was a separate viewpoint, was contracted with indicative references that are independent of expressing emotions;
- 4) description of elements that do not belong to the body biologically (e.g.: clothing, jewellery);
- 5) summarized evaluation of points 1-4.

The results of the examination are reviewed as below.

1) Occurrences of the whole body representation:²²

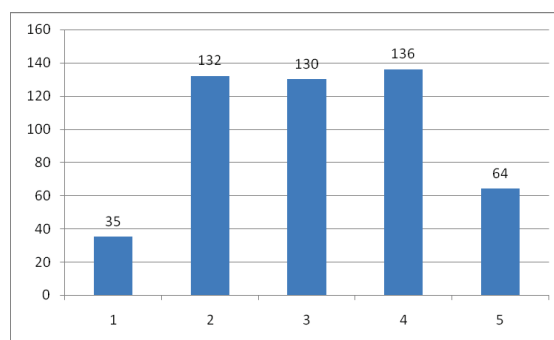


The ratio of complete body representation is the lowest by Homer, and the highest in *Metamorphoses*. The extent of the change is in line with the topic announced in the *propositio* of *Metamorphoses*: *in nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas | corpora* (Ov., *Met.* I 1sq).

²² The number of quoted lines compared to the total length of the epics is quite low, therefore the diagrams show the found ratios per thousand. The numbers of the diagram columns are: 1 = Homer; 2 = Apollonius Rhodius: *Argonautics*; 3 = Virgil: *Aeneid*; 4 = Ovid: *Metamorphoses*; 5 = Lucan: *Pharsalia*.

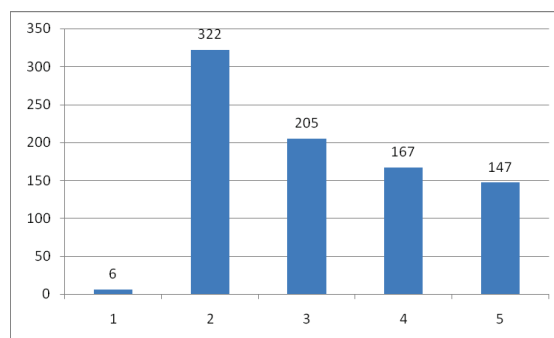
The values measured by Apollonius Rhodius, Virgil and Lucan are somewhere right between these two: the values are much higher by the father of poets, Homer, than most of his successors, and the value is outstanding by Ovid, where the change of the body is the topic. In the other three large epics, these values hardly differ from each other: the representation of the complete body takes up almost a tenth percent of the whole range.

2) Complete body representation with outer elements.



In this regard, the three epics, the middle one in chronological order, do not show any difference. The ratio by Homer quite low, and by Lucan it is double of Homer's values, it still is no more than half of the values of Apollonius, Virgil and Ovid.

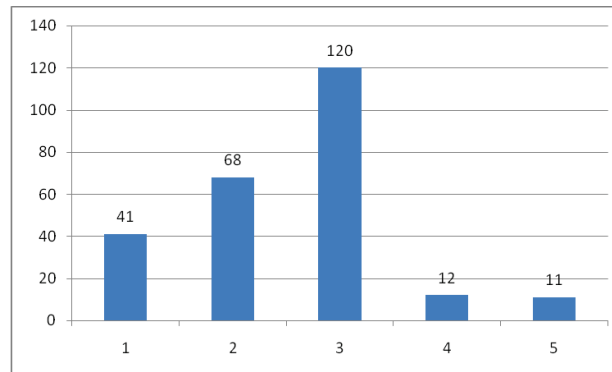
3) References to specific body parts.



Representing specific body parts, including physical signs of emotions, are most preferred by Apollonius Rhodius. Regarding the total length of the epos,

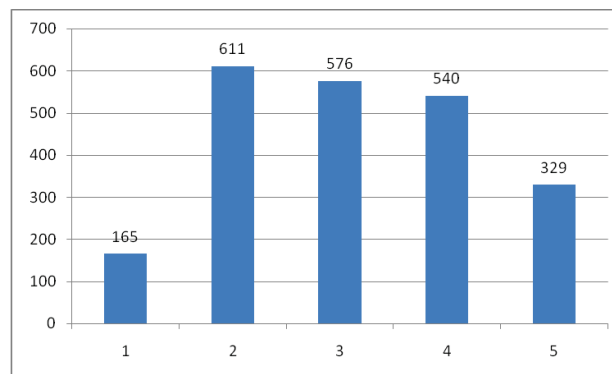
this is followed by at most 50 lines difference by Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, while this value of Homer is far below the ratio of his successors.

4) Description of elements that do not biologically belong to the body.



Homer has relatively high values in the representation of such elements, this value grows through Apollonius up to Virgil (it is three times as much as that of Homer), and by Ovid and Lucan it falls back to one third of the value of Homer.

5) Summary statistics on all the ways of representation.



If we consider all the methods of body representation, we get similar ratios as by the second measurement aspect, in other words, the values are approximately equalized: the poets after Homer are all more interested in the possible ways of portraying the human body, than Homer himself. By Lucan the ratio of body representations significantly falls back as opposed to his three predeces-

sors: the famously *euphantasiótos* epos of Lucan – at least in the field of human body representation – the total, just like each of the examined areas mean a step back as compared to his most important predecessors, Virgil and Ovid, consequently the application of a way of representation similar to his art work cannot be verified statistically. In this regard, however, not only the statistic data, but also the content and linguistic questions are important.

It is obvious that by this examination the places representing the statues are especially important. By Homer, in the workshop of Hephaestus the servants are made of gold (*Il.* XVIII 417-420), the palace of Alcinous is guarded by silver dogs (*Od.* VII 91-4), inside that there are golden torch-holders that form young people (*Od.* VII 100-102). In a metaphor of the 23rd song of *Odyssey* there is a piece of artisan work: Odysseus was made so beautiful by Athene,

„And as when a man overlays silver with gold, a cunning workman whom Hephaestus and Pallas Athena have taught all manner of craft, and full of grace is the work he produces, even so the goddess shed grace on his head and shoulders (Od. XXIII 159-162, transl. by A. T. Murray).

The metaphor also affects Virgil (*A.* I 589-93), but in my opinion it is not more than a metaphor in itself also in his case, it simply refers to the fact that the mentioned nice materials look even nicer with each other.

Apollonius Rhodius also reports about statues and statue-like objects. The copper bulls, presented by Hephaestus to Aietes, but these are reminiscent of statues only because of their material (*A. R.* III 230sq., 409sq). The Argonauts, on their way back home to Iolcus, saw Talus, the copper man defending Crete (*A. R.* IV 1638-48), who was frozen by Medea's magic, and fell helplessly from the cliff to the sea (*A. R.* IV 1686-88). But Talus, just like the copper bulls of Hephaestus is not a statue *per definitionem*.

By Virgil, there is hardly any similar representation, he merely mentions in an aetiological narrative the figureheads of the Italian fleet helping Aeneas.²³

Similar myths appear also by Ovid, in a more modern version with a psychological background. The myth of Niobe is such. While by Apollonius Talus is frozen to be a statue or at least helpless by Medea, Niobe of Ovid becomes a – let me quote here Dezső Kosztolányi²⁴ – „his own benumbed, unspeaking monument” (transl. by George Szirtes) because of unbearable pain.

²³ The figurehead of the ship of Abas, is a gold-plated Apollo statue, (*Verg.*, *A.* X 171), that of the Ligurs is a cliff-faulting centaur (*Verg.*, *A.* X 195-97), and that of Aulestes' is Triton blowing his seashell tress (*Verg.*, *A.* X 209-12).

²⁴ Kosztolányi, Dezső: *Funeral oration*, 1933.

To the assumption that by similar *metamorphoses* Ovid might have really thought of statues, we can find evidence from two directions.²⁵ One of these is the simpler case, the transformation of Aesculapius. The City turns to the son of Coronis nymph and Apollo, in the time of the Latium pestilence in Epidaurus, and because the people of Epidaurus are reluctant to get rid of the cult-statue of Aesculapius, the god appears in the dream of one of the members of the Roman embassy in the form of a statue, with a crampy stick in his left hand, touching his thick beard with his right hand, and tells him that he will not follow them as a statue, but a snake twining on his stick in the portrays will care about his *numen* getting to Rome (that appears also in reality the other day, slips through the city and disappears in a Roman barge: Ov., *Met.* XV 641sq.).

The story of Anaxarete is similar to the description of a god that appeared as his own statue (Ov., *Met.* XIV 698-771), this story is about the *aition* of the cult-statue of the *Venus Prospiciens* sanctuary. The girl from Salamis did not accept the court of Iphis, so Iphis hanged himself on the door of the beloved woman because of despair, but first he asked the gods to save his legend even after his death. Anaxarete feels pity about the boy, watches his catafalque from her window, and when she turns away from the window, the same happens to her as to Niobe, but without the emotional shock (since she is not shocked by the death of Iphis):

deriguere oculi, calidusque e corpore sanguis | inducto pallore fugit, conataque retro | ferre pedes haesit, conata avertere vultus | hoc quoque non potuit, paulatimque occupat artus, | quod fuit in duro iam pridem pectore, saxum (Ov., *Met.* XIV 754-758).

„her eyes stiffened at the sight and the warm blood fled from her pale body. She tried to step back from the window, but she stuck fast in her place. She tried to turn her face away, but this also she could not do; and gradually that stony nature took possession of her body which had been in her heart all along.” (Transl. by F. J. Miller)

Turned into a statue, that was honoured in the house of Venus, transformed into a sanctuary:

neve ea ficta putes, dominae sub imagine signum | servat adhuc Salamis, Veneris quoque nomine templum | Prospicientis habet (Ov., *Met.* XIV 759sq.) –

„And that you may not think this story false, Salamis still keeps a marble statue, the image of the princess. It has a temple in honour of the Gazing Venus also.” (Transl. by F. J. Miller)

²⁵ For the possible parallels of the ways of representation of *metamorphoses* with fine arts cf. Aczél 2007, 249-251.

We could go on with the Picus statue in the palace of Circe (Ov., *Met.* XIV 313-315) or with the short Ovidian description of Cragaleus transformed to a stone in the course of the debate for Ambracia (Ov., *Met.* XIV 313-315), and other poetic representations that are more stressful than these, also prove that Ovid considers his models as a sculptor in poetic narratives of myths. Our first example comes from the description of the battle of Centaurs and lapithas.²⁶ According to Ovid one of the young centaurs, Cyllarus is so beautiful – as he put it –

cervix umerique manusque | pectoraque artificum laudatis proxima signis, | et quacumque vir est
(Ov., *Met.* XII 397-399) –

„and his neck, shoulders, breast, and hands, and all his human parts you would praise as equal to an artist's perfect work.” (Transl. by F. J. Miller)

Later in the description the poet, as likely as not, refers to existing statues of horses *nec equi mendosa sub illo | deteriorque viro facies* (Ov., *Met.* XII 399sq.) – „His equine part, too, was without blemish, no way less perfect than his human part.” (Transl. by F. J. Miller). In the same place Ovid uses a metaphor to picture the sound of a clashing sword, also referring to a statue: *plaga facit gemitus ut corpore marmoris icto* (Ov., *Met.* XII 487) – „the blow resounded on the flesh as if on stricken marble.” (Transl. by F. J. Miller) Our third example from Ovid pictures such a status, in which the reader of the transformation-poem can't wait to see the heroine to turn into a statue as a consequence of an emotional trauma similar to that of Niobe, but in contrast to her, without a sin. The heroine is Hecuba, who finds the dead body of Polydorus, who was sent to Polymestor before the fall of Troy, on the seaside, after having sacrificed Polyxena. Hecuba almost turns into a stone in her pain, but in the end she gains power from her despair, and transforms – into a dog, only after a bloody revenge. So her transformation into a stone statue starts in line with the logic of transformations that we could earlier get used to, but it turns at one point:

Troades exclamant, obmutuit illa dolore, | et pariter vocem lacrimasque introrsus obortas |
devorat ipse dolor, duroque simillima saxo | torpet et adversa figit modo lumina terra... (Ov., *Met.* XIII 538-541)²⁷ –

²⁶ The interlocking of the scenes of the battle recalls dynamic visions of embossments of similar topics.

²⁷ For the transformation of Hecuba cf. Hopkinson 2000, 25-27.

„The Trojan women shrieked at the sight; but she was dumb with grief; her very grief engulfed her powers of speech, her rising tears. Like a hard rock, immovable she stood, now held her gaze fixed upon the ground...” (Transl. by F. J. Miller)

In the background of Ovidian transformations into a statue or a natural stone idol – like a human figure of course – as shown by the cases of Niobe and Hecuba’s almost transformation into a statue, there are psychological factors. The psychological reasoning of the transformation is hardly independent of the Greek and Latin linguistic metaphors that recall numbness, freeze attached to strong emotional effects, these also appear in poetry, by Homer.²⁸ Examples of these can be found in any genre; here I only highlight the most typical ones from epics in review.

In the Calypso episode of Odyssey, the shudder of surprise indirectly refers to the image of numbness: Calypso and Odysseus become numb with shudder when they hear the message from Hermes (Hom., *Od.* V 116 ῥίγησεν δὲ Κάλυψώ; Hom., *Od.* V 171 ῥίγησεν δὲ Ὀδυσσεύς). Penelope, who almost recognizes Odysseus, is stunned and staring (Hom., *Od.* XXIII 93 τάφος δέ οἱ ἦτορ ἴκανε). The power of the strong emotional effect causing helplessness, is mentioned by Apollonius Rhodius mainly in connection with Medea: when she is hit at heart (A. R. III 284 τὴν δ’ ἀμφασίῃ λάβε θυμόν) by Eros, she becomes ‘speechless’ because of the emotions breaking in upon her, it is a kind of numb daze, since Medea did not speak in the former part of the narrative. When Chalciope is questioning her, Medea comes to a similar status: virgin prim has stopped her in answering, although she wanted to answer: A. R. 3, 681sq. δὴν δὲ μιν αἰδῶς | παρθενίῃ κατέρυκεν ἀμείψασθαι μεμαυῖαν; the beauty of Iason freezes her (A. R. III 964sq. γούνατα δ’ οὔτ’ ὀπίσω οὔτε προπάροιθεν αἶραι | ἔσθενεν, ἀλλ’ ὑπένερθε πάγῃ πόδας as later Talus and her own magic: A. R. IV 1686-88 ὥς ὅγε ποσσὶν ἀκαμάτοις τείως μὲν ἐπισταδὸν ἠωρεῖτο, ὕστερον αὖτ’ ἀμενηνὸς ἀπείροني κάππεσε δούπῳ. Eventually, this frozen status can be caused by snake poison as well, as in case of Mopsus in Lybia (A. R. IV 1526sq. αὐτίκα δὲ κλίνας δαπέδῳ βεβαρηότα γυῖα | ψύχεται ἀμηχανίῃ. In *Aeneid* there is also an emotional shock that evokes such an effect, when the mother of Euryalus know that her son died (Verg. *A.* 9, 475 *at subitus miserae calor ossa reliquit*), the image of numbness is connected to the moment of the death of Camilla (Verg., *A.* XI 818sq. *labitur exsanguis, labuntur frigida leto | lumina, purpureus quondam color ora reliquit*) and Turnus (Verg., *A.* XII 951sq. *illi solvuntur frigore membra*), the representation of the mortal agony of Camilla is even richer: not only

²⁸ Representing the human beauty with statue likeness is already present in the Greek tradition, cf. Bömer comm. ad. Ov., *Met.* XII 398 *artificum signa*, with *loci* cited there.

the image of cold, but also that of paleness is present, which can also be typical of the material of a statue. Ovid also has portrayed the numbness as a result of an emotional effect: Ceres becomes numb, when she knows the fate of Proserpina (Ov., *Met.* V 509sq. *Mater ad auditas stupuit ceu saxea voces | attonitaeque diu similis fuit*);²⁹ Alcyone does the same when knows the fate of Ceyx (she also becomes pale similarly to the dying Camilla of Virgil: Ov., *Met.* XI 416-18 *cui protinus intima frigus | ossa receperunt, buxoque simillimus ora | pallor obit*). Ovid has expressly connected the exaggerated emotional mood that comes with helplessness to the image of a statue: this is the way how Narcissus is fascinated by himself forgetting about everything else, while being similar to a statue carved from marble from Paros island (Ov., *Met.* III 418sq. *adstupet ipse sibi vultuque inmotus eodem | haeret, ut e Pario formatum marmore signum*); this is also how Hecuba is harden into stone, when she sees the dead body of Polydorus: Ov., *Met.* XIII 538-41 *obmutuit illa dolore, | et pariter vocem lacrimasque introrsus obortas | devorat ipse dolor, duroque similima saxo | torpet et adversa figit modo lumina terra*.³⁰ Ovid also refers to the statue-like beauty of a body forced to a motionless position in the story of Andromeda: Ov., *Met.* IV 672-75 *quam simul ad duras religatam brachia cautes | vidit Abantiades, nisi quod levis aura capillos | moverat et tepido manabant lumina fletu, | marmoreum ratus esset opus*.

The poetical *topica* of expressing an emotional effect can also be found by Lucan. He interprets the myth of beheading Medusa in an unusual way, which is so typical of him. By Lucan Perseus does not need the mirror clear shield to be able to see Gorgo, but to let Medusa be paralysed by her own frightening look (Luc. IX 669-71), otherwise he would harden into stone, just like her victims around the farm of Gorgo (IX 649-51; cf. Ov., *Met.* IV 779-81). Going back to the numbness caused by an emotional shock: Cornelia reaches this stage when she sees Pompeius again (Luc. VIII 58-61 *obvia nox miserae caelum lucemque tenebris | abstulit atque animam clausit dolor; omnia nervis | membra relictas labant, riguerunt corda, diuque | spe mortis decepta iacet*). The other place also applies to Cornelia, where she is frozen in her worry for Pompeius (Luc. VIII 590-92 *prima pendet tamen anxiosa puppe, | attonitoque metu nec quoquam avertere visus | nec Magnum spectare potest*). In the end of the scenes Pompeius is killed, where Lucan uses the topos of portraying feelings in a new way: Pompeius is hardened by his self-control to be insensible to his

²⁹ Later his swooned pain is dissolved by this torment: *utque dolore | pulsa gravi gravis est amentia*... (510sq).

³⁰ For the literary premise on the emotional effect of hardening into stone: Bömer comm. ad. XIII 540b-541.

pain.³¹ he is able to be insensible as a stoic wise man barded against his emotions, what is more, against physical pain. This is not surprising at all from a stoic poet, whose protagonist, Cato forms the perfect Roman general and statesman as a perfect stoic, but Lucan's world is also shot with visualizations that can be connected to stoicism.³²

The epic representation of the strong emotional effects, as shown in our examples above, recalls the motionlessness of the human figures of fine arts, Lucan uses the technique found at his predecessors in a new way, when the body hardening is justified through stoic philosophy. This is how, by Lucan, the motionlessness of Pompeius in the last minutes of his life, the way he consciously lives death, turns into a wise behaviour, an *exemplum* for the after-ages.

But this is not the only one innovation of a description that could be analogous with works of fine art in Lucan's epos. As we could see his text is not full of the representation of the human body: for Lucan, it is not the body that would be the main topic, as opposed to its important premise, *Metamorphoses*. The action of the epos is a twine of a series of events breaking up into two major and sometime a few side-shows, these are followed more or less by the continuous phrase of the poet's reflection: this piece of poetry recalls a film, where the narrator reacts to the story from time to time. The internal statutory and the purpose of the narrative can be best compared to the narration technique of a film. The image visualization of telling a story in ancient times, is possible on specific works of art (blanket, shield, church door, ship stern) as consecutive pictures, but these are rather 'comics', since they consist of standing pictures. It is only the narrative poetry that is capable of a continuous, film-like representa-

³¹ Luc. VIII 615-21 *tum lumina pressit | continuitque animam, nequas effundere voces | vellet et aeternam fletu corrumpere famam. | sed, postquam mucrone latus funestus Achilles | perfodit, nullo gemitu consensit ad ictum | respexitque nefas, servatque immobile corpus, | seque probat moriens...* The description of beheading might have been influenced by this image, since the face of Pompeius is totally free from unintended reactions to pain (Luc. VIII 663-67): *at, Magni cum terga sonent et pectora ferro, | permansisse decus sacrae venerabile formae | iratamque deis faciem, nil ultima mortis | ex habitu voltuque viri mutasse fatentur | qui lacerum videre caput.* The cut head strangely enough, become alive after it is separated from the body, it turns to live from dead. This can be explained on the one hand by contemporary anatomy knowledge (this phenomena was also researched by modern medical sciences), and symbolically on the other hand: Pompeius has subjected himself to this especially shameful way of death for the matter of the republic, and his head that was separated from his body becomes his own portray (Luc. VIII 682-86): *dum vivunt voltus atque os in murmura pulsant | singultus animae, dum lumina nuda rigescunt, | suffixum caput est, quo numquam bella iubente | pax fuit; hoc leges Campumque et rostra movebat, | hac facie, Fortuna, tibi, Romana, placebas.*

³² In the background of the stoicism of Lucan, László Takács also highlights the role of Cornutus: Takács 2002, 135-136.

tion: it is understandable that the significance of expressiveness is so huge, thanks to the techniques of *enargeia*, the film shot by the poet appears on the movie screen of the consciousness of the receiver.³³ The events and the scenes of the epos follow each other with a changing dynamism as in a film, this means that we have to look for the main points of material representation, where the poet slows down the pace of the changing events: here he focuses on a figure or on the interaction of specific figures.

We can highlight three of the relevant features of Lucan's way of representation. The first is the cut head and the face, and the importance of the soundness of the face.³⁴ The human head and face are still today the basis of identification,³⁵ in the world of ancient epos, this is made up with the importance of

³³ The descriptions of ancient epics expressly translate a visual story into a textual narrative.

³⁴ This motive appears much more often as opposed to the predecessors of Lucan, to emphasise the inhuman behaviour of those fighting on behalf of Caesar. This is also present in quotations on the cruelties of the civil wars (Luc. II 123-25), and the old Roman tells, that after a battle they were trying to find out which head belongs to which body, not to cremate them anonymously (II 169-73). Caesar has encouraged his soldiers in his *adhortatio* in Pharsalus, to ruin the face of their opponents if they are their relatives so that they do not know who they are killing (VII 322), and at the looting after the battle, his warriors shall throw the cut head of their relatives away, so that looting will not be a large sin (VII 627-30), or they make these heads and faces unrecognizable (cf. VII 792sq. is). The head of Pompeius is especially important, since he is the 'head' of state, so beheading him means the realization of the linguistic metaphor. This is why this beheading is represented so naturally, and this why he gets back to it so frequently (VII 675sq.; VIII 663-73, 674-91, 709-11; 9, 1010-12, 1033sq.).

³⁵ The epics also refer to it. Identifying bodies based on the face and the body, is mentioned in *Odyssey* several times. (*Od.* I 208: The form of the head of Telemachos resembles that of Odysseus; *Od.* XIX 357-360 Penelope says to Eurycleia that the legs and hands if Odysseus must be like that of his guest, who is of course Odysseus, himself; *Od.* XIII 175 Penelope tells Odysseus that she does remember his look when he travelled). Apollonius Rhodius does not mention it at all, but Virgil indirectly mentions body and head in connection with identification: the head of Nisus and Euryalus fixed on a spear appear in this connection (*A.* IX 465-67; 471sq), and the heads cut in a battle count as a trophy, but only in the eye of the Italian enemies of Aeneas: besides the heads of Nisus and Euryalus, the head of Aeneas appears in the speech of Mezentius (*A.* X 862sq), and Turnus pinned the heads of two brothers, Amycus and Dioreas to his carriage (XII 511sq). In *Metamorphoses* (V 211-14) Phineus recognizes his people in the statues, the largest requisitum of the awful act of Agaue is the torn head of Pentheus (*Met.* III 725-28), gods are recognizable on the homespun of Pallas from their faces (VI 72-74), and the poet highlights that Arachne also represents the faces of the lovers of Neptunus (VI 121sq), in the end, about the face of Atalanta it cannot be decided if it is a boy or a girl (VIII 322sq). The similarities of blood-relatives can be found on the *Togatus Barberini* (Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, Roma; end of the 1st Century B.C.) depicted with the portraits of his ancestors (Kleiner 2010, 52). For the Roman the portraying of the face is very important, since Roman citizens are surrounded by the images of their famous ancestors' statues and paintings on public squares (O'Sullivan 2011, 14; illustration Cic., *de Orat.* III 221: *animi est enim omnis actio et imago animi voltus indices oculi*).

the surviving glory. Even the beheading of Priamus is emphasized with this overtone by Virgil (Verg. *A.* II 558: *avulsumque umeris caput et sine nomine corpus*): this is the worst of violation, the body without the head is not identifiable, and this way of dying deprives the victim from the opportunity of respect after death. For Lucan, this motive is so important that Pompeius appears as a repetition of the fate of Priamus by means of a Virgil allusion (Serv. *ad Verg. A.* II 557) that was discovered by Servius, and this topic returns several times.³⁶ Already at the beginning of the epos it turns up,³⁷ and in the description of the battle beheading and injuries of the face that makes later identification impossible, is mentioned on numerous occasions.³⁸ The significance of head and face is even more important in the world of the civil war, where the sin of the *cives* attacking each other is deeper, when they turn against their fellow citizens or even worse, their relatives. The poet takes advantage in his narrative of the possibilities provided by the motive of the head, returns to it many times, it shows how important this problem is for him.

From the human heads falling, it is that of Pompeius which is the most important to Lucan.³⁹ in his case he deals with the fate of the head separately. The Egyptians embalm it, and give it to Caesar as a sign of their subservience, and the body is simply thrown to the sea, one of his sometime soldiers find it and burn on a wretched pyre, and builds an honorary monument from materials he finds on the seashore. Contemporary readers of Lucan might come up with a question regarding the beheading on how the death-mask was made of the dead Pompeius. This question would not be a surprise knowing that we are talking about Roman culture, where families used to decorate their atria with the images of dead ancestors.⁴⁰ Human head is also sacred in this regard for Roman people; it is an *exemplum* of the excellence of the dead people, with a title listing their acts. Roman portray sculptors could receive the impulses of Greek patterns from the 2-3rd Centuries B.C. so openly based on this custom.⁴¹

³⁶ Narducci 1973.

³⁷ In the vision of the matron telling fortunes in trance (I 685sq): *hunc ego, fluminea deformis truncus harena | qui iacet, agnosco.*

³⁸ See n. 34.

³⁹ Beheading of Pompeius: Luc. VIII 663-91.

⁴⁰ Pliny the Elder described that the *atrium* was so much the 'property' of the ancestors, their reminder function attached to this part of the house so much, that they stayed in place even after the house was sold, and inspired the new inhabitants, who might not have been so meritorious, to follow their examples (Plin., *Nat.* XXXV, 7). These portrays are the backgrounds of the morning *salutatio* which is very important in the *cliens-patronus* relationship (Kleiner 2010, 54).

⁴¹ Both the geometric-static and plastic-dynamic part of the early Italian sculpture have affected the Roman (Gesztelyi 2009, 336), who insisted upon the veristic representation (Cagnat, Chapot, 1916, 508; Hölscher 2008, 246 ff.; Walker, Burnett 1981, 8-10), because of the role

The embalmed head of Pompeius was handed over to Caesar: to this the most hateful sins are attached in many senses. First of all, Pompeius is a Roman citizen, second, *princeps rei publicae*,⁴² this means that killing him offends the whole Roman state. Then, Ptolemaius, who joined Caesar as a henchman, ignores his fraternal right, which he owes the family of Pompeius,⁴³ and in the world of epos, he commits the offence harming Iuppiter directly, so that Caesar does not have to kill his son-in-law. (Luc. IX 1020sq.; 1025sq. 1031sq).⁴⁴

The representation of heads falling on the battlefield also have ethical consequences, and the narrative of Lucan stresses this as well: Caesar heartens his

played by the portray in the ancient-cult (which is also manifested in the *ius imaginum* right, reserved for the aristocracy, and the illustrious families carefully look after the memory of their ancestors [Kleiner 2010, 52]: cf. Sal., *Jug.* 85, 29sq. [Consul speech of Marius, no.107, whose important thought is that, as he is a *homo novus*, his home is not full of the images of his ancestors]) even in the classicizing period of their sculpture (Gesztelyi 2009, 340), when the portraying of the excellence of Roman public life was more wide-spread (cf. Plin., *Nat.* XXXV 9-14; Cagnat, Chapot 1916: 371-77; the use of portrays for this purpose became prevailing by the Roman [Thompson 2007, 29]). The genuin tradition (in connection with the tomb of older Scipio Liv. XXXVIII 56, 3-4) was mixed with Greek, especially Hellenistic effects in the development of Roman grave portrays (Cagnat, Chapot 1916, 515-522). The tomb decorated with the portrays of the ancestors provided a complex visual-cultural experience, picture and text served remembrance and *gloria post mortem* (Koortbojian 1996, 210 with texts quoted by him: *Digesta* XI 7, 6; Festus [Paulus] 123L; Plin., *Nat.* XXXV 17; Cic., *Man.* 7; Verg., *A.* VI 381; Thompson 2007, 29). The construction of the grave served also self-representation (Hölscher 2008, 135), while portray has held a message in connection with the represented person (246).

Polybios VI 53-54 tells about the role of the portray of the deceased by the funerals of aristocratic Roman families, in the funeral procession not only a wax image was held but also a list of the stations of the deceased in public life, later the mask was held in the house and was exhibited at feasts. The first statues on public squares in Rome that were erected as recognition, can be dated from 4th Century B.C., and this tradition of Greek roots has also affected Roman funeral rituals, including the tradition of the dead-mask made of wax, which also had a Greek premise (Hölscher 2008, 247; for the appearance of the *necropolis* from the late republican period cf. 211). The dead man's portray was made of a more lasting material from the late republican period, and Greek masters were trusted with creating them on many occasions (Thompson 2007, 35). The veristic Roman portray saves the memory of the deceased, makes it as if (s)he was present, and gives a picture to the viewer, who does not know the model (Stewart 2003, 80; cf. With the *loci* listed by him [80n3] : Stat., *Silv.* III 3, 201; Plin., *Nat.* XXXIV 17; CIL 6, 1727; CIL 5, 532; CIL 6, 30106; Hor., *Carm.* IV 8, 13sq.; Suet., *Aug.* 31, 5; Ov., *Pont.* IV 9, 105; Cic., *Fam.* V 12, 7; *Rep.* VI 8; Plin., *Ep.* II 7.) About the status of research on the Roman portray Fejfer 2008, 3-10 gives a newer overview.

⁴² Miltner 1952, 2183, 36-61.

⁴³ Miltner 1952, 2201, 56-68.

⁴⁴ Pompeius has engaged Iulia, the daughter of Caesar for political reasons in 59 B.C. Valerius Maximus (IV 6, 4) and Plutarch (*Pomp.* 53) has also mentioned that in the summer of 55 Pompeius returned home from the riots around the aedilis election in bloody clothes, and Iulia was in a stupor of dismay and had a miscarriage. She gave birth to their second child, but died soon after it, and a little later the baby also died (Münzer 1917, 894, 36-895, 56).

soldiers to ruin the faces of their relatives (Luc. VII 322 *vultus gladio turbate verendos*), and in the looting after the battle, they throw familiar heads away from the dead bodies (Luc. VII 627-630).

The representation of the body of Pompeius without a head can also be interpreted in this context: in his description the gruesome oxymoron of Lucan serves the highlighting of this:

pulsatur harenis, | carpitur in scopulis hausto per volnera fluctu, | ludibrium pelagi, nullaque manente figura | una nota est Magno capitis iactura revolsi. (Luc. VIII 708-711)

„He is tossed on the sands and mangled on the rocks, while his wounds drink in the wave; he is the plaything of Ocean, and, when all shape is lost, tho one mark to identify Magnus is the absence of the severed head.” (Transl. by J. D. Duff)

The dead body without a head also recalls a usual form of deterioration of ancient statues, but from Rome we do not know only about breaking the heads of statues, but also about the fact that portraits were fixed onto the former body of a statue.⁴⁵ We cannot exclude that the interpretation of the representation can be enriched with this possibility as well, besides drawing a parallel with the fate of Priamus.

Here we have arrived at the second element that needs to be mentioned related to the body-representation technique of Lucan. Lucan refers to the royal statues that became wide-spread in the state-cult in connection with the impeccable Cato. In the narrative of the Libyan expedition of Cato, the poet – with the help of motives from the Alexander the Great tradition⁴⁶ – portrays the perfect general. In Libya, Cato also gets to the future-teller place of Iuppiter Hammon, where, no matter how his soldiers want to see the future, he does *not* ask for a forecast. In the poet’s commentary attached to this scene, first we hear about the virtues of Cato as a general, then the poet contrasts the real, spiritually grand man – in a stoic Roman sense – with the general *felicitas* that is so very important in the eye of the Romans. This section ends in the following words:

ecce parens verus patriae, dignissimus aris, | Roma, tuis, per quem numquam iurare pudebit | et quem, si steteris umquam cervice soluta, | nunc, olim, factura deum es. (Luc. IX 601-604)⁴⁷

⁴⁵ This phenomena is most frequent in the eastern part of the Mediterranean (Stewart 2003: 80 ff., its important source is the speech of Dio Chrysostomos for the people of Rhodes [*Or.* 31]; and cf.: Cic., *Att.* VI 1, 26; Plut. *Ant.* 60; D. Chr. *Or.* 37, 40; Paus. II 17, 3; Ph. *Legatio ad Gaium* 134-6; [Stewart 2003, 79n4]). On the aesthetic views of Dio Chrysostomos cf. Szepessy 2009b, küll. 210-18.

⁴⁶ Borzsák 2001, 57.

⁴⁷ The Cato-encomion shows the political views of Lucan, which are manifested in his connection to the Piso conspiracy. (For this cf. Takács 2010, 140-149).

„Behold the true father of his country, a man most worthy to be worshipped by Romans; to swear by his name will never make men blush; and if they ever, now or later, free their necks from the yoke and stand upright, they will make a god of Cato.” (Transl. by J. D. Duff)

Let me emphasize only one aspect of the contemporary interpretation of the *locus* in accordance with the reader’s horizon: that Cato is worthy for an altar. This can hardly be separated from the devotional statue, and this way it forms a counterpart of the official, royal *consecratio*.⁴⁸ So Lucan does count with the possibility of statue representation in the contemporary Roman function of that, and he wrote his epic in such a Rome, where not the *parens verus patria*, but the antipodes’, Caesar’s and his successors’ statues were and are being erected on the altars of the homeland.⁴⁹

And last, as third, let me highlight a more general viewpoint, one that shows a relationship with the features that I have touched upon in connection with the plasticity of Ovidian representation. At the examined places of *Metamorphoses*, we have tried to demonstrate that in the background of certain hardenings to stone there might be statue representations. To this there are references both at a lexical and a narrative level, even if Ovid, as on the description of the tragic fate of Hecuba, sometimes plays with the expectations of the reader, and decides not to harden his heroine into stone. The signs of numbness are also alike, which are expressed both emotionally and physically. Our examples have shown that this feature of representation belongs to the strong emotional effects, but because it is even the most important predecessor of Lucan, Ovid associates this with the material transubstantiation worded in a mythic language, we cannot exclude patterns of fine arts or at least the validation of their approach in *Pharsalia*. In the epos there are several scenes like that. In the 1st song, *Patria* goddess, appears before Caesar, and warns him not to cross *Rubicon* (Luc. I 183-92). The appearance of the goddess can be compared to works of fine arts in itself, but from our aspect, even the reaction of Caesar cannot be neutral, his numb body hardens of fear, and Lucan represents it with the mentioned *topoi*:

tum perculit horror | membra ducis, rigueret comae gressumque coercens | languor in extrema tenuit vestigia ripa. (Luc. I 192-194)

„Then trembling smote the leader’s limbs, his hair stood on end, a faintness stopped his motion and fettered his feet on the edge of the river-bank.” (Transl. by J. D. Duff)

⁴⁸ Wissowa 1900, 901, 52-902, 40. Viansino 1995, comm. ad IX 601; 602.

⁴⁹ Cf. Schrempf 1964, 88-89.

Later, in the description of the Massilia sea-battle, on the Greek locals, the father of Argus, watches the death of his son. *Funere viso* (730), „seeing his death” from the other end of his ship

*saepe cadens longae senior per transtra carinae | pervenit ad puppim spirantisque invenit artus.
| non lacrimae cecidere genis, non pectora tundit, | distentis toto riguit sed corpore palmis.* (Luc. III 731-34)

„he made his way with many a stumble along the ship and past the benches, and found the body at the stern still breathing. No tears fell from his cheeks, no blows on his breast, but his hands flew wide apart and all his body became rigid.” (Transl. by J. D. Duff),

Then there was a black out for him, he lost his consciousness, did not recognize Argus, he is already in this state when Argus awakens once again:

*ille caput labens et iam languentia colla | viso patre levat; vox faucis nulla solutas | prosequitur,
tacito tantum petit oscula voltu | invitatque patris claudenda ad lumina dextram.* (Luc. III 737-40)

„At sight of his father the son raised his sinking head and failing neck; no words followed the unlocking of his throat: he could only ask a kiss with silent look and beg that his father's hand might close his eyes.” (Transl. by J. D. Duff)

The father who stood as firm as a statue till then, recovers himself from daze, does not realize that his son is alive and throws himself to the sea.

From the numerous possible examples, we close this list with one new example. After the Pharsalus battle Pompeius decides not to go to the east, but asks for shelter in Egypt. A seaside sloop takes him on, Cornelia suspects something wrong and freezes with fear (8, 591: *attonito metu*), and just as Anaxarete in the end of the story of Iphis:

attonitoque metu nec quoquam avertere visus | nec Magnum spectare potest. (Luc. VIII 591sq.)

„and panic fear prevented her either from turning her eyes away or from looking steadily at Magnus”. (Transl. by J. D. Duff)

Pompeius has moved on to the ship, the Roman legionary, serving the Egyptians, his later executioner, helps him, and essentially nothing but the murder happens, and the complaints of Cornelia (Luc. VIII 637-662), but he takes more than thirty lines (Luc. VIII 613-36 and 663-75). We can read it from the face of the motionless Pompeius that he blames the gods, he saved his sacred look, does not show fear from death, and covers his head, because he knows that his son, wife and their attendance are watching, and while he gives himself to fate,

servatque immobile corpus (620), we can hear his long monologue from the inside: he knows that the whole future is watching him, and he has to show an example even at his death.

In the examined parts of texts, numbness and motionlessness is connected with another key motive: the suffering victim, being wrongly mired for virtue or the homeland, someone is always watching closely or from the future. During reading the text the fate of Pompeius does appear in our imagination, we watch it and partake in his story. In these pictures it is realized what we stated about the slowing dynamics at the film-metaphor, and as we could see, this has motivic and linguistic requisitions as well. It can hardly be decided if these poetic pictures are in two or three dimensions, are plastic or painted works, as we also cannot know consciously if the pictures projected in the cinema in front of us are in two or three dimensions. One thing is sure: the poetic picture was made for us, the audience, with a technique that – in terms of *enargeia* – almost breaks through the barriers of material and mental reality and lets us know what was meant by Simonides with his oxymoron regarding poetry. The overview on the visualization of epic body-representation showed that Lucan, who closes the list of the examined authors, in his epos has less space left for body-representation, however, the way of representation is much more important than the numerical proportions. In other words, body-representation by Lucan is closely attached to the epic traditions, what is more, he even exceeds them: its significance goes beyond itself, the visualization of the body does not only let the audience see, but also remember – just like the statues in the public squares of the ancient Rome and the pictures of the ancestors in the family *atria* – the text-like representation of the body gives an exemplum-feature, just as the artistic visualization.

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(ISSN 0418 – 453X)

ACTA CLASSICA UNIV. SCIENT. DEBRECEN.	XLVIII.	2012.	pp.117-124.
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THE USE OF STATUES TO REPRESENT MORAL DECAY IN JUVENAL'S *SATIRES*

BY GERGŐ GELLÉRFI

Abstract: Juvenal in his *Satires* uses statues to depict the moral decadence of Rome. The statues that appear in the works can be divided into two basic types: the statue itself can represent moral crisis, or it can show how improperly people in Juvenal's day treated sculptures. These *loci* are connected with other Juvenalian passages: the poet uses them to attack, among others, contemporary poets, sacrilegious behaviour, or perfidious women. In addition, there is a common thematic element in these passages: Juvenal uses statues primarily to draw a contrast between the present and the past.

Keywords: Juvenal, morality, satire, Silver Age, statue.

The function of the statues in Juvenal's *Satires* can be divided into two basic groups: the statue itself can represent moral crisis, or it can stand for the victim of the people of Juvenal's age. The paper aims to discuss how statues appear in the works of Juvenal, it points out the common thematic element of these *loci*, and demonstrates the connection of them to other passages of the *Satires*.¹

Literature and sculpture appear together in two passages. In Satire 7, Juvenal attacks the poets of his age, who only write to get the symbols of recognition: laurel and a statue (7, 27-29). The negative attitude towards these poets is strengthened by the adjective *macra* used after the expression *imagine*. Juvenal apparently speaks about epic poetry here: the expression *vigilataque proelia* refers to a wartime epic.

One *locus* of Satire 1 connects sculpture with literature too, though this relation is much less direct, as it is mere satiric humour. According to Juvenal's description, talentless poets with their recitations are simply lacerating the trees and the statues (1, 7-14).² Juvenal here also speaks about epic poetry, which

¹ In this article, it is irrelevant, whether Juvenal's words reflect the poet's own opinion or not. However, based on the narrator's words, a coherent image unfolds.

² Here Juvenal uses *marmora* (12) that can also mean marbled wall, floor, or the whole portico (as in 3, 215 it refers to building material). The commentaries and the translations don't agree with each other: among others Friedlaender (Friedlaender 1895, 132), Weidner (Weidner 1873, 31) and Ramsay's translation (Ramsay 1961, 3) interpret the word as wall or portico. Courtney

becomes clear on the basis of the topics mentioned by the poet: the dwelling place of gods, Aeacus and the story of the Golden Fleece.

This scene is an integral part of the opening of Satire 1, in which Juvenal refuses to write works of mythological topics. In this poem, he often speaks about mythological epic and dramatic works; in the first six lines he mentions three works of this kind: he criticizes the quality of Cordus' *Theseid* and the length of *Telephus* and *Orestes*.³ After that, Juvenal takes up the question twice, whether he could also write mythological works instead of satires (1, 51-57 and 162-164). Moreover, in the second passage, he directly states that poets writing about the mythical past have much easier tasks, as their poetry disturbs nobody. But in the first passage, he already declared that until immorality is so widespread, he cannot be concerned with anything else but topics given by the streets of Rome.⁴

Claiming that Juvenal did not appreciate mythological literature would be a false conclusion, as a *locus* in Satire 6 puts the question in a new light. Here, Juvenal expresses his anger at the women dealing with the epics of Homer and Virgil. His opinion, though unexpressed, is obvious: contemporary women are unworthy of these great works and topics. Thus, it is not mythological literature that is inappropriate for the needs of the poet and the Roman society, but his age became unworthy of this kind of poetry.⁵ Accordingly in Satire 1, Juvenal explains with the nature of his age that he chose the genre of satire – however, in order to express his indignation effectively, he still gives place to mythology in this much less sublime genre. The rejection of mythological literature is explained by the characteristics of Juvenal's age, so in this manner the poet indirectly draws a contrast between the present and the past.⁶

This is not the only method of Juvenal to contrast his age with earlier times; there are several passages in the *Satires*, where he uses statues for this reason.

(Courtney 1980, 86) says that Juvenal probably talks about statues here, as the adjective *convolsa* is a term used for injured limbs, as we can see in Pliny: Plin., *Nat.* XX 36; XXII 79; et al. Of earlier commentators, for example, Wright also agreed: Wright 1901, 2-3.

³ On the basis of their title, *Theseid* could be an epic poem, while *Telephus* and *Orestes* probably *cothurnata*. The poet refers to *Theseid* again in line 53: *mugitum labyrinthi*. Apart from these works, Juvenal also mentions *togata* and *elegy*.

⁴ Courtney (Courtney 1980, 97) reminds us that the contrast between mythological literature and poetry about real life also appears in the works of Martial, and he also mentions Icarus in both epigrams (IV 49; X 4), as Juvenal in this Satire (54).

⁵ This interpretation cannot be rejected on account of the shortness of time between the age of Virgil and Juvenal, as the poet declares in Satire 13 that his age is even worse than the Iron Age, so he considers the events of the past few decades as fast moral decay. See also n. 10.

⁶ It is worth noting that the statue of Nero, the darkest character of Juvenal's *Satires*, also appears in a literary context in Satire 8 (224-230), where Juvenal attacks his lack of talent as a poet.

In Satire 6, while disclosing women's faults, Juvenal draws up the picture of an ideal woman, who is the complete opposite of contemporary women (6, 161-165). This imaginary woman decorates her house with the portraits of her ancestors. Since Juvenal characterizes the *digna femina* as being entirely the opposite of contemporary women, the passage indirectly suggests that women of his age do not give honour to their elders by displaying their portraits in decent places. The scene of the opening of Satire 8 is a statue hall, where the portraits of ancestors can be seen (8, 1-23).⁷ Juvenal states that the representative exhibition of these statues is in vain, as the portraits do not give *virtutes* to the vicious generation of the descendants.⁸ In this manner, Juvenal uses statues again to contrast the past and the present.⁹

In Satire 8, Juvenal returns to the motif of the ancestors' statue by stating: a crime is even bigger if it is committed by a person of high rank, and he gives the example of a forger who commits counterfeit in a temple built by one of his progenitors in front of his father's statue (8, 140-145). On the one hand, here Juvenal presents his unworthy generation again,¹⁰ and on the other hand, this passage is in connection with another typical Juvenalian topic: sins committed against religion.

Probably Satire 10 contains the most relevant passage for our topic, in which the poet depicts the demolition of the statue of the fallen Seianus (10, 56-64).¹¹ Considering other Juvenalian passages, we can regard the statue's destruction as a righteous act under the laws of Juvenal's world. In this world, this fate is unavoidable for statues representing morally reprehensible people, as it happens, for example, with the statue of Aemilius (7, 122-128) that is standing

⁷ According to Keane's observation, Juvenal "*seems to lead his audience through the statue filled atria of noble families, an effective backdrop for a lecture on the betrayal of ancestral virtues. Crumbling portraits of ancestors symbolically reflect the erosion of the virtues that they represent, and so the satirist may point to them as evidence.*" (Keane 2006, 34).

⁸ A similar thought appears in the opening of Satire 2, where Juvenal speaks about purchasing portraits of philosophers (2, 4-7).

⁹ Courtney understands this contrast even more concretely, when he states that "*the physical decay of these portraits symbolises the decline of the noble republican ideas and traditions.*" (Courtney 1980, 386).

¹⁰ It is worth to observe that Juvenal even mentions the previous generation as a positive example. This strengthens the fact that Juvenal considered the last times of Rome as fast moral declension, and this is supported by two passages reflecting to the Roman history: in Satire 6, he demonstrates the immorality of contemporary women by mentioning women living in the age of the Punic Wars (6, 287-291), while in Satire 2, he confronts the shades of great Roman heroes from the previous centuries with effeminate men arriving to the Underworld (2, 153-157).

¹¹ Anderson uses this scene for an example of personification: statues and even bronze or marble horses become living victims (Anderson 1960, 246).

in the house of the represented person, thus its deterioration cannot be caused by intentional damage.¹²

A word in the description of the statue's melting evokes two other passages. Everyday objects are made out of Seianus' monument; as these objects are listed, we can observe a kind of climax: the pitcher, the basin and the pan is followed by a much more vulgar object, a chamber pot. This recalls two passages describing how statues are defiled with urine. In Satire 1, an Egyptian officer appears, "*on whose statue it's fine to take not merely a piss*"¹³ (1, 127-131),¹⁴ while in Satire 6, the statue of *Pudicitia* is violated in this manner by the women attacked by Juvenal (6, 309-310).

Plaza understands the latter passage as a literary metaphor;¹⁵ she uses Richlin's opinion that urination in Juvenal's and Persius' works is the metaphor of the satire, so urinating on something is actually a satirical attack.¹⁶ Plaza takes the theory further, stating that "*It is symbolically significant that the women climb down from their height on the litters before attacking the effigy, so that their attack, like a satirist's, does not emanate from above.*"¹⁷ This parallel drawn by Plaza seems to be an over-interpretation, but the assumption of the literary metaphor is plausible, and does not contradict the moral interpretation of the passage.

Braund interprets this *locus* as the representation of women's attitude towards marriage and fidelity.¹⁸ The devaluation of marriage is a recurring motif in Juvenal's poetry. A mythological scene in this Satire, where the poet introduces Niobe, gives a good illustration of that. As Courtney observes, Amphion's supplication in line 172-173 is a fine example of Juvenal's special humour, since in the classical myth the father tries to defend his children, but in

¹² In Satire 7, two statues stand side by side: the portrait of Aemilius and one of his ancestors. According to Juvenal's description, Aemilius' statue is damaged, and one of its eyes is missing. Alexander proves that the lack of this eye is a damage, and originally the statue had two eyes (Alexander 1947, 124); among others Sturtevant (Sturtevant 1911, 325) and Friedlaender (Friedlaender 1895, 383-384) say the same, while Griffith understands *hastile* as a bow, and says that the statue "closed one eye" for better aiming (Griffith 1969, 382-383). While this statue is damaged, Juvenal does not mention any shortcomings of his ancestor's portrait. The difference between the statues is also a difference between the represented men: the flawed statue refers to flawed morals, so in this way Juvenal contrasts the noble ancestor with the unworthy descendant.

¹³ A. S. Kline's translation. <http://www.poetryintranslation.com/klineasjuvenal.htm>

¹⁴ This act is also mentioned by Trimalchio in Petronius' *Satyricon*: *praeponam enim unum ex libertis sepulcro meo custodiae causa, ne in monumentum meum populus cacatum currat* (Petr. 71, 8).

¹⁵ Plaza 2006, 152-153.

¹⁶ Richlin 1983, 187-207.

¹⁷ Plaza 2006, 153.

¹⁸ Braund 1992, 75.

this Satire he begs for his wife's death. Thus, Amphion represents an oppressed husband of Juvenal's age, who cannot stand his wife. In this way, the poet degrades the sublime mythological figure to an ordinary one.¹⁹

The hypothesis that Juvenal describes a contemporary phenomenon here can be illustrated by approaching the passage in another perspective. This mythological scene seems to be the most capable of demonstrating offense against the divine sphere, as in this story the most serious sin, the lack of respect for gods, results in the death of a mother's children. And if Niobe's guilt is the most serious sin, we can rightly say that the consequence is the most serious punishment, as one of the most important social roles of women was childbirth, so the punishment for Niobe is not only the death of her beloved children, but also her failure in her maternal duty. This story is indirectly applicable to the whole Satire: women revere new gods that Juvenal disapproves, and this means the neglect of their traditional gods too. They show disrespect for gods – just like in the story of Niobe –, and while women take part in immoral rituals of their new gods, they become negligent of their duty: giving birth to children.

Apart from the topics of marriage and childbirth, disrespect for the divine sphere connects the two passages. Offense against statues of gods appears in other satires of Juvenal as well; in Satire 13, the enumeration of thieves and robbers also contains the *sacrilegus*, who scrapes the gold from the statues of Hercules, Castor and Neptune (13, 150-153).²⁰

As it already could be observed by the demolition of Seianus' statue and the attack on the sculpture of Pudicitia, the treatment of a statue indicates the attitude towards the depicted person or god. In Juvenal's world, the religion lost its importance; violations against the religious traditions are also recurring elements of his *Satires*. Besides these, he also writes about the reprehensible religious acts of Rome and the Egyptian cultic practices. These passages contrast contemporary morality and the *mos maiorum* as well.

In Satire 6, Juvenal declares his opinion about the customs associated with Bona Dea's and Priapus' cults (6, 314-319). He does not dispute the ancientness of these gods, but expresses that these rituals neither belong to the Roman traditions nor to the ancient morals, as in the previous twenty lines the poet states that women in the age of the Punic Wars were much better, while the expression *peregrinos mores* (6, 298) firmly suggests that the reprehensible behaviour connected to these cults arrived from the outside of Rome. The disapproving attitude towards foreign cults appears in the peculiar Golden Age description of Satire 13. In my opinion, the lines stating that once Atlas' shoul-

¹⁹ Courtney 1980, 283.

²⁰ The question whether line 153 is interpolated or not is irrelevant for us.

ders held fewer gods are not mere reference to an early period of mythical history (13, 46-49). Juvenal here uses a mythological picture to express his disapproval of the cults of new gods, who do not belong to the Roman religious traditions. By other gods, whom Atlas' carries on his shoulder, the poet does not refer to Roman gods, who are younger according to the mythology, but they are outlander, mainly eastern divinities and apotheosized emperors.²¹

The defacement of gilded god statues in Satire 13 is naturally disapproved by Juvenal. However, originally his attitude towards them is not positive either, as he clearly rejects their overdecorating. This becomes clear in Satire 11, when concerning the relation of Rome and Jupiter he recalls memories of an age, when Jupiter's statues were made of clay and were not defiled with gold (11, 114-116). The word *violatus* shows the poet's negative opinion, and that is strengthened by the mention of gold, as McDevitt observes: "*Materialism and preoccupation with gold is at the heart of the corruption of society, and auro here becomes a symbol of this corruption. Not only has the gold on Jupiter's statue failed to enhance relations with the gods, but it has actually worsened them.*"²² Considering the next lines, we can conclude that in Juvenal's interpretation the decay of religion is one of the main causes of moral decadence, as these lines are followed by a passage describing the intemperateness of feasts and adorned tables. In this manner, Juvenal draws a parallel between the overdecorating of the statues of gods and extravagance.

Thus, the statue becomes the reflection of the society: the gilded Jupiter is the cultic statue of a prodigal society.²³ The connection between the latter and morality is obvious, as prodigality is an indicator of other sins.²⁴ In the Golden

²¹ This also explains the use of pejorative expression *turba*. Ferguson is on the same opinion (Ferguson 1979, 297).

²² McDevitt 1968, 177. Here we should cite the disappointed exclamation of the *interlocutor* in Satire 13, where he states that he sees no difference between the statues of the gods and Vagellius (13, 113-119). This passage can be interpreted in two ways: in connection with the *locus* of Satire 11, it can mean that the god statues lack dignity. However, it is also a possible explanation that in this passage the statue and the depicted god become one, so the *interlocutor* states that gods can give him justice no more than Vagellius.

²³ There are three Juvenalian passages where the statue does not represent negative morality; it appears simply as one of the important symbols of wealth and luxury condemned by Juvenal. In Satire 3, statues are one of the donations given to a wealthy man, whose house has been destroyed by fire – while the poor gets nothing in a similar case (3, 208-222). In Satire 14, the statue is an element of the distinction between the rich and the poor: the former slave hires guards to protect his wealth, his statues, among others, while the poor do not have similar problems (14, 305-310). In Satire 8, Juvenal also mentions statues as a symbol of wealth and a target of plunder (8, 100-107).

²⁴ As Adamietz observes, Juvenal considers greediness (that is connected tightly to the prodigality) as the main cause of sin (Adamietz 1984, 473).

Age description of Satire 6, certain lines differ from the usual depiction of this mythological age: Juvenal emphasizes the primitiveness of the *modus vivendi* (6, 1-10). In my opinion, the poet argues that in the Golden Age – the only age when people lived with immaculate moral – living conditions were far from ideal.²⁵ Considering the passage in which Juvenal praises the morals of women living in the age of the Second Punic War (6, 287-291), we can conclude that he approves the morality of people, who live in hard conditions, so the main cause of sins is prosperity, and not poverty. Thus, the adorned god statue turns into the symbol of decadence in Juvenal's poetry.

Though in Juvenal's *Satires* we can neither find any detailed description of statues or *ekphrasis*, nor any Satire focusing on sculpture as its main topic, Juvenal's use of them is very complex, as the statues play in almost all of the *Satires* an important part of his apparatus for describing the decadence of his age. Whenever they appear, they suffer from immorality, sin and *sacrilegium*, or the statues themselves contain negative moral qualities.²⁶ Their representation is an indirect way for Juvenal to illustrate the decay of the society, and particularly the differences between the past and his age.

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²⁵ Of course, besides the obvious reason that Juvenal uses satirical tools even when he presents highly esteemed topics.

²⁶ Concerning one passage in Satire 7, scholars disagree whether Juvenal refers to portraits or works of the authors (7, 225-227). If we suppose that he talks about portraits here, this would be the only Juvenalian *locus* where statues are not used to represent something negative, thus in my opinion, Juvenal does not refer to portraits in this passage.

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(ISSN 0418 – 453X)

<i>ACTA CLASSICA</i> <i>UNIV. SCIENT. DEBRECEN.</i>	<i>XLVIII.</i>	<i>2012.</i>	<i>pp. 125–131.</i>
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BRIEFE AN THEODOR MOMMSEN AUS UNGARN EINE GRIECHISCHE INSCRIFT AUS VIMINACIUM

VON PÉTER KOVÁCS – PÉTER PROHÁSZKA

Abstract: This paper initiates publication of some letters written to Theodore Mommsen from Hungary in the second half of the 19th century that contain several unpublished and lost inscriptions. The letters were found by Péter Kovács in the archives of the CIL (BBAW). The present article publishes a new Greek votive inscription from Viminacium.

Keywords: Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Theodor Mommsen, Greek inscriptions, Viminacium.

Bei der Fertigstellung seinem monumentalen Werk der Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum wandte Theodor Mommsen an Archäologen, Wissenschaftler und Interessenten von altertümlichen Denkmäler verschiedener Länder um Hilfe bei der Materialsammlung.¹ Wie darüber oft berichtet wurde, führte er häufige Korrespondenz mit diesen Personen und auch beeinflusste ihre Arbeiten.² So korrespondierte Mommsen auch mit den ungarischen bzw. siebenbürgischen Fachleuten, wie zum Beispiel Flóris Rómer, Károly Tompa oder József Hampel.³ Einige seine Briefe an József Eötvös, János Érdy (Lutzenbacher) oder Iván Paur aus dem Mommsen Nachlass der Berliner Staatsbibliothek wurden schon veröffentlicht, welche aber meistens mit offiziellen Verhandlungen bzw. mit

¹ Zum Corpus siehe Alföldy, G.: Theodor Mommsen und die römische Epigraphik aus der Sicht hundert Jahre nach seinem Tod. *Epigraphica* 66 (2004) 217-245 = Theodor Mommsen és a római felirattal utolsó 150 éve. *Aetas* 19, 2004/2, 193-209, id., De statu praesenti Corporis Inscriptionum Latinarum et de laboribus futuris ad id pertinentibus. *Epigraphica* 57, 1995 (1996), 292-295 = XI Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina, Roma, 18-24 settembre 1997, Preatti, Roma 1997, 899-902, Schmidt, M.: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Berlin 2007. Als Mitarbeiter des Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum im Jahre 2009 hatte Péter Kovács die Möglichkeit die CIL III bezüglich Kisten von Mommsen durchzusuchen, wo er auch diesen Brief gefunden hat. Im folgenden werden wir diese Briefe getrennt herausgeben. Wir danken Herrn Dr. Manfred Schmidt für die Publikationserlaubnis.

² Téglás 1904, 19-20.

³ Téglás 1904, 20; Vollmann 1983, 15.

seiner Ungarnreise 1856 und 1866 in Verbindung standen.⁴ Im Mommsen Nachlass der Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften befinden sich zahlreiche Briefe, in welchen Mommsens Helfer über lateinische bzw. griechische Inschriften berichten. Obwohl die meisten in den Briefen beschriebenen Inschriften in den CIL Bänden veröffentlicht wurden, beinhalten die Berichte wichtige Angaben über römische Altertümer der Donauländer. Ein gutes Beispiel bietet dafür ein Brief von einem ungarischen Archäologen, welchen wir in diesem Beitrag vorführen möchten.

Der Verfasser des Briefes war Tivadar Ortway, ein Beamter des Ungarischen Nationalmuseums.⁵ Ortway ist 1843 in Banat befindlicher Ortschaft Csiklofalva in einer Montanistfamilie geboren und nach Beendigung seines Studiums wurde er katholischer Priester.⁶ Er studierte auch Archäologie bei Flóris Rómer an der Pester Universität, mit dessen Hilfe 1873 ein Beamter des Ungarischen Nationalmuseums wurde. 1875 wurde er schliesslich dem Professor der ungarischen Geschichte der Pressburger Rechtsakademie ernannt, wo er bis zu seiner Pensionierung 1906 unterrichtete.⁷ Er ist danach nach Budapest gezogen, wo er bis zu seinem Tod 1916 im akademischen Leben teilnahm.⁸

In seinem Brief von 13. August berichtet er über römische Inschriften, welche er bei seiner Reise nach dem Donaufürstentümer in Viminacium entdeckte. Dieser Reise musste wegen der Erwähnung seiner Antrittsrede noch 1875 passieren. In seiner am 3. Januar 1876 erfolgten Antrittsrede in der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften beschäftigte er sich mit den Quellen und der Lokalisierung von Margum und Contramargum.⁹ Wegen der Lokalisierung von Margum reiste Ortway zur Mündung des Flusses Morava.¹⁰ Über die in Viminacium entdeckten Inschriften bat er Mommsen eine Auskunft zu geben bzw. fragte nach der Deutung eines Satzes aus dem CIL. Ortway lernte Mommsen wahrscheinlich bei seinem Besuch 1874 im Nationalmuseum kennen, als der Professor die Steindenkmäler des Museums untersuchte.¹¹ Diese Bekannschaft sollte tiefe Eindrücke bei Mommsen hinterlassen, weil Ortway 1881 in seiner Berliner Wohnung besuchen durfte.¹² Leider diese Visite war für den ungarischen Gelehrten wegen einer groben Bemerkung Mommsens über die ungari-

⁴ Szilágyi 2005, 124-125, 133-139. vgl. Vollmann 1983, wer auch aus dem Mommsen Nachlass zahlreiche von siebenbürgischen Gelehrten geschriebene Briefe veröffentlichte.

⁵ Über das Leben Tivadar Ortway siehe: Szentkláray 1922.

⁶ Szentkláray 1922, 4 (104)-9 (109).

⁷ Szentkláray 1922, 12 (112).

⁸ Szentkláray 1922, 26 (126)

⁹ Ortway 1876.

¹⁰ Ortway 1876, 46-47.

¹¹ Téglás 1904, 20.

¹² Szentkláray 1922, 32 (132).

schen Archäologen wenig erfreulich.¹³ Trotzdem hielt Ortway nach dem Tod des berühmten Gelehrten die Denkrede über Mommsen in der Ungarischen Akademie. Leider reichte er sein fast vollständiges Manuskript nicht ein und so wurde es nicht veröffentlicht.¹⁴
Der Brief von Ortway lautet so:

Hochgeistlichster Herr Professor!
Euer Magnifizenz!

Zurückgekehrt von einem Ausfluge nach dem Donaufürstenthümer, bin ich so frei einige bisher unbekannte Inschriften zu übersenden mit der Bitte, wenn möglich ist mir über selbe einige Auskunft zu geben.

In Viminacium (Kostolacz) im Hofe des dortigen Geistlichen fand ich einem erst dahingebrachten Stein mit schöner Inschrift.

- D M
1. OHELIVVS PROB^{VS}
 2. VETLEG VII CL
 3. VIX AN. LIII
 4. H. S. E.
 5. PONTIA OPTATA
 6. CONIUGI SVO PI
 7. ENT. BENEMER. POS
 8. OHELIVVS OPTAT^{VS}
 9. PAR SVO PIENT
 10. 

die zehnte Zeile

konnte ich nicht lesen, da die Schrift sehr verstümmelt ist.

¹³ Szentkláray 1922, 32 (132). Nach Szentkláray verspottete und geringschätzte Mommsen die ungarischen Archäologen. Er sagte Ortway, dass die ungarischen Wissenschaftler solange als Barbaren betrachtet werden, bis sie ihre Arbeiten nicht auf deutsch veröffentlichen.

¹⁴ Szentkláray 1922, 28 (128).

Auf eben demselben Orte, eingemauert in die vordere Wand des Stalles fand ich folgende Inschrift:

1. D M
2. R A P I N A
3. VALENTIO VIX
4. ANNIS O VIII O
5. MER O RVFIMA E
6. EF EVA L O C I T I O
7. P B V M O E O

57 cm breite, 60 cm. Höhe.

Die sechste u. die siebente Zeile konnte ich nicht besser lesen.

Ebenda selbst kaufte ich mir einen kleinen Marmorpedestal auf der oberen Flachseite mit den Buchstaben:

*Handgegriffen künftige auf einer kleinen Marmorpedestal
mit der oberen Flachseite mit den Buchstaben:*
ONETPG
An der Seite aber: ABA°CEBHPOC°Λ III O I J MATH

An der Seite aber:

Weder Romer noch Pulszky u. Hampel waren in der Lage die Inschrift bis auf den Namen Severos zu entziffern.

Ich finde, daß die Epigrammen, welche auf den zwei ersten Inschriftsteinen vorkommen, in Corpus Inscriptionum nicht enthalten sind.

Zuletzt bin ich so frei Euer Magnifizenz ersuchen, hätten die Gefälligkeit mir anzudeuten, wie die Worte: *Nota stationem, in cuius honorem titulus positur est, fuisset in ripa Danuvii septentrionali* (Corp. Inscr. Lat. Vol. III. Pars I. pag. 264. Nr. 1647) zu verstehen sind. Kulitsch liegt auf der rechten u. nicht wie anzugeben auf der linken Donauseite. Ich bin aber in Begriffe eine Monographie über Margum u. Contramargum herauszugeben, respektiere der Antrittsrede in unserer Akademie der WW. vorzulaßen. Ich würde daher mit prachtem Dank verpflichtet sein, wenn mir eine Aufklärung zu Theil worden ließen.

Im Uibrigen zeichne ich mich mit auszuzeichneter Hochachtung Euer Magnifizenz

Budapest den 13ten August
Nationalmuseum

ergebenster
Dr. Theodor Ortway
Musealbeamter

Aufgrund des Briefes Ortways hat Mommsen die lateinischen Inschriften in der *Ephemeris Epigraphica* und im *CIL* herausgegeben (EE 4, 1881, Nr. 212 = *CIL* III 8121= *IMS* 2, 131¹⁵ und EE 4, 1881, Nr. 213 = *CIL* III 8133= *IMS* 2, 181 = *IDRE* 2, 309¹⁶). Die Grabsteine wurden wenig später auch Károly Torma¹⁷ und Zsigmond Ormós¹⁸ herausgegeben und sie existieren auch heute, deshalb sollen wir uns mit ihnen weiter nicht beschäftigen. Die griechische Inschrift ist leider unpubliziert geblieben, weil Mommsen meistens nur für die lateinische Inschriften der Donaprovinzen Interesse hatte.¹⁹ Das Steindenkmal ist inzwischen leider verlorengegangen, aber aufgrund der Beschreibung von Ortway kann es doch publiziert und studiert werden. Die Pädestal kann nicht

¹⁵ *D(is) M(anibus) / Q(uintus) Helvius Probus / vet(eranus) leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae) / vix(it) annos) LIII / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / Pontia Optata / coniugi suo pi(entissimo) ben(e) mer(enti) pos(uit) / Q(uintus) Helvius Optatus / [patr(i) s]uo [be(ne)] mer(enti) / [posuit].*

¹⁶ *D(is) M(anibus) / Rufina / Valenti(- - -) vix(it) / annis VIII / Mir() Ruf(i) mat(er) / et Val() Geti / p(ater) b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecerunt).*

¹⁷ Torma, C.: Inschriften aus Dacia, Moesia superior und Pannonia inferior. *AEM* 6 (1882) 133-134 Nr. 101-102.

¹⁸ Ormós, Zs.: Kirándulás Viminacium és Margum romjaihoz. (Ausflug zu den Ruinen von Viminacium und Margum). *Történelmi és Régészeti Értesítő* 3 (1878) 115, id.: Alterthümer von Viminacium. Temesvár 1878, 16-18.

¹⁹ Z. B. deshalb zwei griechische christliche Grabinschriften aus Sirmium unpubliziert geblieben sind: Kovács P., Prohászka, P.: Zwei verlorene griechische christliche Inschriften aus Sirmum. *ZPE* 164 (2008) 139-145 = *CIGP*³ 208-209.

mit der Base (und Statue) von Nemesis identifiziert werden, die auch von Ormós publiziert wurde (CIL III 8108 p. 2328⁹⁹=IMS 2, 37).

Die zweizeilige griechische Inschrift ist sicher falsch gelesen, die Buchstaben der ersten Zeile können fast sicher als [κατὰ oder διὰ] ὄνειρον ergänzt werden, d. h. es handelt sich um eine Votivinschrift. Die Dedikation am Anfang der Zeile wahrscheinlich fehlt. Viel schwieriger kann man die Buchstaben der zweiten Zeile interpretieren, die letzten sind sicher falsch gelesen. Die Abkürzungen A und BA (wenn Ortway die Interpunktionen richtig gezeichnet hatte) sind auch schwer interpretierbar, nur der Name Σεβήρος (Severus) ist sicher. Das Cognomen ist in Viminacium belegt, aber selten: IMS 2, 53, 102a. Die Buchstaben BA können wahrscheinlich zum Gentiliz des Stifters gehören, wahrscheinlich Βαλέριος (diese ungewöhnliche Abkürzung ist auch belegt: z. B. IG II² 3607. IGBulg V 5268, SEG 9, 128, ILGR 240) aber viele andere Gentilizen können in Betracht gezogen werden.²⁰ Das Gentiliz ist in Viminacium mehrmals belegt: IMS 2, p. 225-226. Die Inschrift kann wohl ins 3. Jahrhundert datiert werden. Die A kann vielleicht mit bei den Votivinschriften äusserst häufigem Verb ἀνατίθην (i. e. ἀ(νέ)θηκεν) erklärt werden und aufgelöst werden. Das letzte Wort der Zeile kann leider nicht interpretiert werden, weil die Buchstaben wahrscheinlich falsch entziffert wurden. Die erste Buchstabe war eine A oder eine Λ, die zweite und dritte ist III nicht interpretierbar, danach kam eine O und eine Ω, nur die letzten Buchstaben sind sicher: MATH. Das Wort ist in Nominativ oder in Dativ und es könnte zur Dedikation oder zum Name der Frau von Severus in Dativ oder zum Ethnonymikon des Stifters in Nominativ (mit dem Ende -ης, wie Δαλμάτης oder Σαυρομάτης) gehören.²¹ Es scheint wahrscheinlicher zu sein, dass das Wort gehört zu einem weiblichen Name mit dem Ende -ματη. In diesem Fall ist die ganze zweite Zeile geblieben und nur die Dedikation am Anfang der ersten Zeile fehlt. Das Problem liegt darin, dass ein solcher Name unbelegt ist. Der einzige weibliche Name, der nicht ausgeschlossen werden kann und wenn die Ω falsch gelesen ist, ist: Αὐτομάτη.²²

Aufgrund der obigen kann die Inschrift, wie folgt, ergänzt werden:

[--- κατὰ oder διὰ] ὄνειρον
ἀ(νέ)θηκεν Βα(λέριος) Σεβήρος +++ ΟΩMATH.

²⁰ Solin, H., Salomies, O.: *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum*. Hildesheim–Zürich–New York 1994, 196-198.

²¹ Siehe Kretschmer, P., Locker, E.: *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache* mit dem Ergänzungen von Georg Kisser. Göttingen 1977, 102, 250.

²² Pape, W., Benseler, G. E.: *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*. Braunschweig 1911³, 179.

Ziemlich wenige griechische Inschriften (noch weniger griechische Votivinschriften) sind aus Viminacium bekannt, die Stadt und das Legionslager war allgemein lateinsprachig²³ (aus den 315 sind die folgenden griechischen: IMS 2, 15, 39, 210-215, 219, 221-222, 233-235, 291-292, 311-315, SEG 44, 646/1-2), die durch diese Votivinschrift neue bereichert wurden. Der Inschriftsträger war eine „kleine Marmorpädestal“, also höchstwahrscheinlich eine kleine Statuenbase (die Statue ist wahrscheinlich abgebrochen). Mehrere ähnliche Steindenkmäler sind aus Viminacium belegt: IMS 2, 12, 36-37, 49, 309.

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(ISSN 0418 – 453X)

²³ Siehe Mócsy, A., *Gesellschaft und Romanisation in der römischen Provinz Moesia superior*. Budapest 1970, 145-158, IMS 2, p. 44-46, 57-59.

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TWO ALTARS – TWO *AURELII VALENTES**

BY LÁSZLÓ BORHY – DÁVID BARTUS – MÁTÉ STIBRÁNYI

Abstract: In 2008 and 2009 two Roman stone altars were found independently at two Pannonian sites (Baracs and Budaörs) that are some distance apart. Though the altars were dedicated to different deities (*Iuppiter Optimus Maximus*; *Liber Pater* and *Libera*), and though two of the dedicators, while bearing formally identical names (*Marcus Aurelius Valens*), are probably different persons, the common date of the objects and the fact that both inscriptions present unusual phenomena, repetitions, and even mistakes, justify examining and publishing them together, despite the lack of any direct link between the two votive monuments.

Keywords: Baracs, Budaörs, *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus*, *Liber Pater*, *Libera*, *Marcus Aurelius Valens*, altar.

1. Provenance and finding circumstances: The item was found at Baracs-Boldog-dűlő in 14 Oct 2009, during a preventive excavation lead by dr. Dávid Bartus at the Baracs-Boldog-dűlő stage of the M6 motorway, at site M6-F018B. Although the presence of a nearby Roman villa (dated to 3rd c. AD) is presumable, the altar was excavated from a pit during mechanical stripping of the topsoil, without directly built context (Fig. 1). A stone wall of a Roman age building is close by (Object 380), yet it has no verifiable direct connection either to the altar or to the pit in which it was put, only the lower third of the altar being buried, while the upper two-thirds was sticking out.

The limestone altar is well-fashioned on three sides, and roughly carved at the back. It has a richly moulded entablature and plinth (Fig. 2). It is 128 cm high, 53 cm wide equally at the greatest vertical measure of the entablature and the plinth, and 36 cm thick. In front, there are 4-4 ribbed corner acroteria on the conspicuously high abacus. The thin baselines (on which the inscription was written) are still visible in the first two lines of the inscription field (55 x 41 cm). The baselines for line 4-6 (if there were any) are smoothed out with a toothed chisel. The writing hints at a trained hand: the deep letters with V-shaped section

were roundly curved at the connection of lines in the case of letters “E” and “T”. The arrangement of the text is, however, far from perfect: the final “M” in line 2 did not find room after the congested letters “LI” ligated to “OR” and the lifted, miniature “V”, thus it was omitted;¹ in line 3 the scribe did not gauge the space for letters properly, since the last third of the line (aligned to left) was left empty. The sign of the interpunction (resembling the shape of a water-chestnut) is not always used consistently, but it is uniform.

The inscription reads as follows (Figs. 3 and 4):

I(ovi) • O(ptimo) • M(aximo)
Aureliôru(m)
Veri • et •
Valentis
 5 *ex voto*
v(otum) • s(olverunt) • l(ibentes) • m(erito)

Reading, resolving, and understanding this six-line-long inscription presents no problem at all. However, it is worth calling attention to some interesting phenomena.

On the one hand, the dedication to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus is followed by the common *nomen gentile* of the two dedicators in plural genitive form, which is unusual and makes the reader feel that something is missing from the text. Presumably, another dedication-formula was left out here, most likely *pro salute*. If so, then the solution of the text could be *I(ovi) • O(ptimo) • M(aximo) / <pro salute> / Aureliôru(m) / Veri • et • Valentis*.

* The Project is supported by the European Union and co-financed by the European Social Fund (grant agreement no. TAMOP 4.2.1/B-09/1/KMR-2010-0003).

¹ Bartus 2010, 139. It can be surmised that the omission of the word final ending „M” of the plural genitive – according to the error typology of Béla Adamik – might not be classified as a mere „technical mistake” and an „omitted letter” (1.2), but rather as „an error reflecting a change in spoken vulgar Latin” (2.3), since that time word final „m” was not pronounced anymore: Adamik 2010, 30-31. This phenomenon is well-attested in Pannonia: RIU 5, 126 – Ituraeoru(m); RIU 3, 896 – annoru(m); RIU 3, 923 – an(n)oru(m); RIU 6, 1387 = CIL III 10371 – Alpinoru(m); RIU 5, 150 = AE 1986, 579 – suoru(m). Herewith we express our gratitude to Béla Adamik (associate professor at the Department of Latin Studies, Faculty of Humanities, ELTE), who drew our attention to this solution and to the analogies. For more details, see: <http://lldb.elte.hu/> and Adamik 2009.

On the other hand, we have to highlight the contracted form of the *nomen gentile*, which is not unique but remarkable. The common *nomen gentile* (*Aurelius*) of the two dedicators is in plural genitive, whereas their specific *cognomina* are – as it is expected and correct – in singular genitive. The *praenomen* of both of them, though not written, was probably *Marcus*. Consequently, the complete name of the two dedicators was *Marcus Aurelius Verus* and *Marcus Aurelius Valens*.

The altar was erected as a pledge (*ex voto*), as it is specifically highlighted in line 5, and a line later it was repeated in the schematic closure *VSLM*. This content repetition may explain why the names of the dedicators are written in genitive. Namely, if we disregard the aforementioned possibility that *<pro salute>* is left out from line 2, we can suppose that the genitive form of the names refers to the *ex voto* formula of line 5, thus it means “from the pledge of *Aurelius Verus* and *Aurelius Valens*, they kept their vow”.

On the basis of the name form (*Marcus*) *Aurelius*, the inscription can be dated to the first third or perhaps the middle of 3rd c. AD.

2. Provenance and finding circumstances: In late December 2008, the then existing Field Service for Cultural Heritage (Kulturális Örökségvédelmi Szakszolgálat, hence: KÖSZ) was informed by a colleague² of the Budapest Forestry of Pilis Woods Ltd. (Pilisi Parkerdő Zrt., hence: PPBE) that an inscribed stone had been found in the outskirts of Budaörs, during the construction of a forest road, and that it had been transported to the centre of Pilis Woods Ltd. at Budakeszi Street. We examined and documented the stone monument and its provenance site together with Máté Stibrányi (colleague of KÖSZ) and Péter Szabó (Figs. 5, 6, 7).³ The monument was found at the border of the outskirts of Budaörs and Budakeszi, at the north side of the Csiki Forest, at the foot of Csiki Hill, at 210 m above sea level (recorded coordinates: x (NS): 640640; y (EW): 236520). The site is a hill-slope heavily inclining north, on which a wide, gravelly forest road was cut perpendicularly. The stone was uncovered at the meeting of an intermittent rain-wash and the south edge of the road. There were hardly any soil clods on the limestone altar, and though its remarkably good condition makes it unlikely that it had been exposed to water-courses, we cannot exclude the possibility that it

² We owe a debt of gratitude to the colleagues of the PPBE, especially to Péter Szabó, technical manager of forestry and hunting, for the notification and the kind cooperation.

³ Stibrányi 2010, 153.

was washed down from an upper part of the hill. We walked all over the area but found no other trace of archaeological phenomena. KÖSZ conveyed the item to the Roman Lapidary of Szentendre, where it is currently kept.⁴

The unadorned limestone altar is fashioned on three sides, simply articulated, damaged on either side, and has a deepened acroterium on its abacus. Its plinth, also broken at the bottom, is neatly articulated. The altar is 66 cm high, 31 cm wide, and 24 cm thick. The inscription field measures 21 x 32 cm. The letters were engraved simply into the surface, their size varying between 3 and 6 cm. The effort to thicken the endings of the letter lines is attested sporadically. All in all, the letters are modestly simple, almost fully undecorated, yet well-regulated, and the writing is organized. The words are separated by consistently used triangle-shaped interpunctuations pointing down.

The inscription consists of 10 lines and reads as follows:

LIBERO • PA
TRI • ET • LLB
ERAE • PRO • SA
LVTE • SVA • ET
5 SVA • ET • SVO
RUM • AVREL
VALENS • M
IL • LEG • II ADI • O
II • ET • MAXIM
10 COS

The simple but regularly carved letters and the organized format of the text stands in vivid contrast with the various mistakes the text includes. At first, there is an example of misspelling in lines 2-3, i.e. *LLB* / *ERAE*⁵ stands instead of *LIB* / *ERAE*; secondly, words in lines 4-5 (*SVA ET* / *SVA ET*) are erroneously repeated;⁶ and thirdly, the name of the first

⁴ We render thanks to Katalin Ottományi and Antal Mali, who allowed us to examine the altar in the above mentioned location.

⁵ In the “error typology” of B. Adamik, this would be classified within the category of technical (i.e. ordinal or scribal) mistakes as a “wrongly carved letter” (1.1.): see Adamik 2010, 30.

⁶ In the “error typology” of B. Adamik this is a “redundant letter”, and it could be even classified as dittography (inadvertently repeated syllables or words) (1.3): see Adamik 2010, 31.

of the two consuls was almost fully omitted, since only the word final -O of the ablative form remained,⁷ followed by the number *II* (referring to the second consulship) and the abbreviated form of the co-consul's name (*MAXIM*) in line 9.

The elimination of the first two mistakes is easily feasible, and the third one does not present exceptional difficulties, either. The ablative -O ending and the second consulship helps us find out the name of the first consul. According to the *Fasti Consulares*, there are two pairs of consuls, one of whose name is *Maximus*, whereas the other's name has an ablative -o ending, serving his second consulship together with *Maximus*. They are undoubtedly either the consuls of year 253 AD, namely the emperor *Volusianus* and *Lucius Valerius Poplicola Balbinus Maximus*⁸ and those of year 263 AD, namely *M. Nummius Ceionius Albinus* and *Maximus*.⁹ Consequently, the completion of the consular dating of the inscription is the following: either <Imp(eratore) Volusian>o / II et Maxim(o) /¹⁰ co(n)s(ulibus) or <Nummi>o / II et Maxim(o) /¹⁰ co(n)s(ulibus). The same dating, i.e. around 253 AD and 263 AD is confirmed by the *nomen gentile* of the dedicator (*Aurelius*), which is presented in the shortened form (*AVREL*), indicating that he is not a first generation Roman citizen but rather a descendant of one who had acquired citizenship due to the *Constitutio Antoniniana*. The name stands here without the presumable *praenomen Marcus*. Accordingly, the dedicator of the inscription was *Marcus Aurelius Valens*,¹⁰ soldier of *legio II Adiutrix* (*miles legionis II Adiutricis*)¹¹ garrisoned in Aquincum, who voted an altar to *Liber Pater* and to *Libera*¹² (*Libero Patri et Liberae*) for the safety of himself and those belonging to him (*pro salute sua et suorum*).

⁷ In the "error typology" of B. Adamik, it could be classified as "omitted letter" (1.2) due to scribal carelessness: see Adamik 2010, 30.

⁸ Degraasi 1952, 69. I render my thanks to Prof. Péter Kovács (Pázmány Péter Catholic University, Piliscsaba), who drew my attention to this option.

⁹ Degraasi 1952, 71. Consular dating of another altar dedicated to *Liber Pater et Libera Augusta* in Aquincum: TitAq Vol. I, Nr. 206 (230 AD).

¹⁰ Another *Marcus Aurelius Valens*, former *clavicularius* and later *veteranus* of the *legio II Adiutrix Antoniniana*, is mentioned on an altar inscription dedicated to *Nemesis Augusta* in 219 AD: TitAq Vol. I, Nr. 285. He is obviously non-identical with the other *Marcus Aurelius Valens*, who was referred to as an active soldier on the Budaörs altar half a century later.

¹¹ For the cult of *Liber Pater et Libera* in the army, from the age of Severi onwards, see: Domaszewski 1895, 54-55; Mayer 2009.

¹² For the cult of *Liber et Libera* in Pannonia, see most recently: Mráv 2008, cf. TitAq I, Nr. 203.

Consequently, the possibilities for the correct solution of the inscription and the reading of its text are the following:

- Libero • Pa-*
tri • et • L{l}<i>b-
erae • pro • sa-
lute • sua • et
5 *{sua • et} • suo-*
rum • (Marcus) Aurel(ius)
Valens • m-
il(es) • leg(ionis) • II Adi(utricis) • <Imp(eratore) Volusian>o
II • et • Maxim(o)
10 *co(n)s(ulibus)*
- or:
- Libero • Pa-*
tri • et • L{l}<i>b-
erae • pro • sa-
lute • sua • et
5 *{sua • et} • suo-*
rum • (Marcus) Aurel(ius)
Valens • m-
il(es) • leg(ionis) • II Adi(utricis) • <Nummi>o
II • et • Maxim(o)
10 *co(n)s(ulibus)*

In Aquincum, *Liber Pater* and *Libera* – addressed with various names such as *Liber*, *Liber Pater*, *Liber Augustus*, *Liber Pater Augustus*, *Liber et Libera*, *Liber Pater et Libera*, and *Liber Pater et Libera Augusta* – was widely worshipped among soldiers. According to our present knowledge, *Marcus Aurelius Valens* was the only simple soldier (*miles legionis*) among them, since all the others had some military rank or office.¹³ *Marcus Minicius Martialis*, who was probably a Roman equestrian,¹⁴ became the most successful from among them. In Pannonia,

¹³ Altars dedicated to *Liber*, *Liber Pater*, *Liber Augustus*, *Liber Pater Augustus*, *Liber et Libera*, *Liber Pater et Libera*, *Liber Pater et Libera Augusta* by soldiers in Aquincum: TitAq I, Nr. 199 (*primuspilus legionis II Adiutricis Piae Fidelis*); Nr. 201 (*ex decurione alae I Thracum*); Nr. 204 (*frumentarius legionis II Adiutricis*); Nr. 205 (*veteranus ex evokato*); Nr. 206 (*beneficiarius legati*).

¹⁴ Mráv 2008, cf. TitAq I, Nr. 203.

military units and ranks¹⁵ are mentioned on several altar inscriptions dedicated to *Liber Pater et Libera* (or to either of them) not only in Aquincum, but also in the legionary fortress of Brigetio¹⁶ and Carnuntum¹⁷ – and even a shrine of the above deities was excavated in the latter camp.¹⁸

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¹⁵ Even a Pannonian naval soldier is mentioned once: *trierarchus classis Flaviae Pannonicae* (CIL III 10343).

¹⁶ CIL III 4297 = RIU 2, 439: *veteranus legionis I Adiutricis*, with consular dating (202, 205, or 208 AD).

¹⁷ AE 1901, 246 = ILS 9104a = = CIL III 14356, 5a and ILS 9104 = CIL III 14356, 5b: references to *primuspili*.

¹⁸ Kandler 2001.

Abbreviations

AE – L'Année Épigraphique
CIL – Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
ILS – Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae
RIU – Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns
TitAq – Tituli Aquincenses

(ISSN 0418 – 453X)

<i>ACTA CLASSICA</i> <i>UNIV. SCIENT. DEBRECEN.</i>	<i>XLVIII.</i>	<i>2012.</i>	<i>p. 141–147.</i>
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AUDOLLENTIANA

BY GYÖRGY NÉMETH

Abstract: The archival bequest of Auguste Audollent, one of the most distinguished students of ancient *defixiones*, includes numerous drawings of North African curse tablets. His drawings are the only reliable sources for the shape and appearance of inscriptions that have been lost or have become illegible. *Defixiones* once owned by Audollent are now in the Musée Bargoin in Clermont-Ferrand. This study presents both groups of sources with one characteristic example from each.

Keywords: Audollent, *defixio*, lead container, Laelianus.

The archival bequest of Audollent

Auguste Audollent, one of the most distinguished scholars of ancient *defixiones*, died in 1943 in Clermont-Ferrand.¹ On 27 January 1972, his considerable written bequest was given to the Departmental Archive of Clermont-Ferrand (Archives Départementales du Puy-de-Dôme), where it is kept in Fond “19 J”.² Box Nr. 12 contains not only his notes and drawings that were made while he was working on his dissertation published in Latin in 1904³, together with the photos of some lead tablets, but also the drawings and/or photos of further *defixiones* published between 1905 and 1933. This material is of special significance, since most lead tablets have been either lost, or hidden, or have become

¹ I would like to thank the Archives Départementales du Puy-de-Dôme in Clermont-Ferrand for all due help and allowing me to publish the results. I would like to express my gratitude to the head of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Michel Amandry and his chief assistant, Mathilde Avisseau-Broustet, for allowing me to study the tablets in their collection and for giving me all the information they had in their records. I owe a debt of gratitude to Mme Chantal Lamesch, the conservateur of the Musée Bargoin, for her support of my research, and also to the mayor of Clermont-Ferrand, who consented to the publication of the photos taken from the finds, which are the property of the town. The photos of the container and of the Falernum *defixio* were taken by Marion Veschambre. This study forms part of OTKA [Hungarian Scientific Research Fund] programme no. K 81332 (Ancient magic, parallel researches: Curse tablets and magic gems), and the Zaragoza project titled *Espacios de penumbra: Cartografía de la actividad magico-religiosa en el Occidente del Imperio romano* (Ref. FFI 2008–01511 / FISO).

² For the bequest, see Németh 2011, 99–100.

³ Audollent 1904.

illegible due to corrosion.⁴ Audollent recorded the identification number (DTAud nr.) of the inscriptions from his book at the margin or on the back side of some of the drawings.⁵ This proved very useful, since besides outlining the contour of the tablet, which renders the exact measuring possible, Audollent usually copied occasional figural representations (demons, animals, human figures) on the tablets, but he merely marked the presence of inscriptions and of magic symbols (*charakteres*) with short lines, thus certain drawings offer only a few legible words, others none. He identified the photos only in certain cases, either by writing the DTAud number on the back side of the image, or by writing it onto a small slip of paper, which was partly put under the lead tablet, thus the photo itself includes the number as well (Fig. 8.). All these indicate that Audollent determined the exact position of individual inscriptions in his collection while he was processing the data. It took two years to match the unidentified inscriptions and photos with texts published in the *Defixionum Tabellae*. Identification was facilitated by particular words deciphered from certain drawings, the topic of the images (which Audollent always thoroughly described in his volume), and letters or words that remained legible on certain photos. The size of tablets could be used to confirm identification.⁶

Identifications rendered it possible to establish what tablets Audollent personally examined before publication, preparing a schematic drawing as well.⁷ It appeared that these items are North African *defixiones* without exception, mostly from Carthage (DTAud 215–262) and Hadrumetum (DTAud 263–304). However, his bequest does not contain the drawings of those Hadrumetum lamellae that he worked on several times recurrently (e.g. DTAud 276–285).⁸

I found only three drawings in Audollent's archival bequest that I could not match with any *defixio* of DTAud. One of these items, an inscription written in a *tabula ansata* in Latin alphabet on both sides is probably not a *defixio* but rather an amulet, the photo of which allows us to read significantly more than Audollent's drawing. The provenance of the amulet is unknown, yet by reason of the provenance of other items, it is presumably also from North Africa, more closely from Carthage or Hadrumetum.

⁴ See Németh 2011, 98–99.

⁵ I include the list at the end of the present study.

⁶ Audollent (1904) consistently recorded the size of each lamella, except for a few instances. On the basis of his drawings, these latter items measure as follows: DTAud 218: H. 0.07, W. 0.042; DTAud 222 A: H. 0.121, W. 0.09; DTAud 225: H. 0.0377, W. 0.029; DTAud 256: H. 0.079, W. 0.106.

⁷ In such cases, Audollent used the following formula in his publication: *legi et descripsi*. However, it does not mean that the drawing necessarily survived, since the description of e.g. DTAud 262 includes *legi et descripsi*, still, its drawing is not found in the bequest.

⁸ For more details, see Németh 2011.

Defixiones in the Musée Bargoin

Audollent did not only publish but also collected *defixiones*. He obviously acquired some items in North Africa, whereas others were sent to him for publication.⁹ These inscriptions are kept in Clermont-Ferrand either by the Musée Bargoin or by the Archive. In January 1972, Dominique Audollent, the son of the scholar bestowed 62 lead tablets of different physical condition upon the museum. A part of these items, especially the ones that had been rolled up, are so severely corroded that they are definitely unpublishable. Nevertheless, there are some (more or less) published lamellae that I would like to draw attention to. Two of these were found in the Fountain of Thousand Amphorae (Fontaine des milles amphores) in Carthage.¹⁰ Audollent dated these to the 2nd or 3rd c. AD. The two large, exceedingly thin lead lamellae were glued to a piece of brown paper, thus their back side cannot be examined. Inv. 72.1.275 contains a well-legible curse in Latin against the Falernian bath.¹¹ The bath, which its competitor tried to hamstring, was supposedly maintained by the waters of the Fountain of Thousand Amphorae (Fig. 1–3.).¹²

ARTHU LAILAM SEMESEILAM AEËIOYÔ BACHUCH BAKAXICHUCH MENE
BACHUCH ABRASAX¹³ BAZABACHUCH MENE BAICHUCH ABRASAX *Domini dei*
tenete detinete Falernas nequis illoc accedere possit obligate perobligate Falernaru(m) ba
*lineu(m) ab hac die nequis homo illoc accedat.*¹⁴

ARTHU LAILAM SEMESEILAM AEËIOYÔ BACHUCH BAKAXICHUCH MENE
BACHUCH ABRASAX BAZABACHUCH MENE BAICHUCH ABRASAX, **Lord Gods**, re-
strain and hinder the Falernian baths, lest anyone should be able to approach that place; bind and
bind up the Falernian baths from this day, lest any person should approach that place.¹⁵

A fragmentary *defixio* in Greek (inv. 72.1.276) was used against a Carthaginian chariot racer named Strabonianus and his horses, in order to hinder their victory (Fig. 2.).¹⁶

⁹ See Németh 2011, 99–100.

¹⁰ Inv. nr. 72.1.275 and 72.1.276. Inv. nr. 72.1.273 is problematic. On the basis of its size, I assume that this latter belongs to the same group of finds, though no writing can be traced on it.

¹¹ Measures 0.058 x 0.055 m.

¹² Gager 1992, 173–174

¹³ So far the spell is identical with a 4th c. AD curse tablet from Rome, which was prepared by a slave woman named Politoria against the leader of an ergastillon, Clodia Valeria Sophrone, see Gager 1992, 169–171.

¹⁴ Audollent 1933, 11.

¹⁵ English translation by Gager 1992, 174. Nr 82.

¹⁶ Audollent 1933, 4. SEG IX 838. Jordan 1985, Nr 119. Measures 0.13 x 0.17 m.

In the Musée Bargoin, there is also a lead container (height 0.08 m, diameter 0.05 m) from the collection of Dr. Louis Carton, leading archaeologist of the excavations in Carthage, whose widow gave the item (inv. 72.1.201) to Audollent.¹⁷ This fact leads us to the conclusion that the group of sources is from Carthage. The container contained a lead tablet broken into three parts (probably damaged when opened) and a 0.07 long, sharp bronze needle (Fig. 4–5.). The African mage obviously wrote down the inscription of the *defixio* with this needle.¹⁸ Accordingly, Dr. Carton’s bequest preserved a tool-kit of a wizard for us. The letters are rather blurred, yet the text seems to be written in Latin. A microscope could help to decipher considerable details of the writing. Nevertheless, Audollent published only the photo of the container but not the text of the *defixio*. Presumably, he could not make any sense of it, either. This find was unparalleled until a whole sequence of similar objects was excavated in 1999. The cave shrine of Anna Perenna was found in Rome, the fountain of which concealed 18 lead and 3 terracotta containers, which contained *defixiones* and 6 magic dolls of wax or flour. These items can be considered as the closest parallels of the magic container kept in the Musée Bargoin.¹⁹

DTAud 263

I found a well-preserved, perfectly legible lead lamella in an envelope among the documents of the archive (Fig. 6–7.). The lamella measures 0.039 x 0.043 m. The text of the 4-line inscription reads as follows:

*Laelianus
Saturninus
quos peperit
Aquila Satu-
rnina*

The *defixio*, which curses two sons of Aquilia Saturnina for unknown reason, is entirely identical with DTAud 263 in its text, and roughly the same in size as well.²⁰ According to Audollent, this inscription was found by General Paul Henri Goetschy in Hadrumetum, in the Roman cemetery that lies along the road towards Kairouan, and Goetschy donated the item to the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1903. The collection of the library made a list of *defixiones* from Hadrume-

¹⁷ Audollent 1933a, Plate II and III.

¹⁸ Audollent 1933a, 38. I could not find the needle in the collection of the Musée Bargoin.

¹⁹ See Piranomonte 2002; 2009; 2010. For the images of the containers, see Piranomonte 2010, Plate 9–11; 14–17; 20.

²⁰ Audollent determines its size as 0.035 x 0.045 m, see Audollent 1904, 362.

tum in 1906, yet DTAud 263 was not among them.²¹ Audollent probably forgot to send back the inscription to the Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, which lent him the whole sequence for publication. I found neither drawing nor photo of this lamella in Audollent's bequest. In his edition, he added the following remark: *Legit et descripsit Cagnat; una contulimus.*²² Cagnat did not publish DTAud 263 but sent his reading to Audollent in a letter.²³ I set forth my photo and drawing (both made in the archive) to present this enigmatic inscription to scholars of *defixiones*.

DTAud 259

The drawings and photos found in the archive do not merely produce a figurative manifestation of *defixiones* that had been known only in their texts. Sometimes they enable us to correct minor mistakes in Audollent's edition. I would like to present one example of this. A lead lamella (0.055 x 0.003 m), damaged at its bottom, was found in the cemetery of Carthage, presumably in the tomb of a magistrate of the imperial family. The tablet includes a peculiar illustration that Audollent interpreted as a sword or cross (Fig. 8–11.). In my view, the length of the horizontal hasta excludes the former option. According to Audollent's description, a dog or some other animal is depicted at the top of the vertical post (*ensis aut crux ita figuratur cum canis aut bestiae cuiusdam imagine in summa hasta*). The position of the animal is indicated by a lower case *x* on the rough sketch in the volume.

The drawing and the photo in the archive make it obvious that the letter *x* is ill-positioned on the sketch. The aforementioned beast is not sitting on the right side of the cross and within the arch but to the left of the cross, outside the arch, facing inwards. The photo also reveals that there is an owl-like creature placed on the right side of the horizontal hasta, yet it is not represented on the sketch. Traces of letters found on side B do not give us a meaningful text.²⁴ Anyway, the unfamiliar illustration and the lack of legible text queries interpretation of the lead tablet as a *defixio*. The item could well be an amulet. Today we have several examples for amulets written on lead tablets, which fact was not widely known or accepted in Audollent's time.²⁵

²¹ Németh 2011, 98.

²² For the details of the uncovering see Cagnat 1903, 264.

²³ Audollent 1904, 361.

²⁴ The identification of DTAud 259b on the back side of the drawing is incorrect. Audollent wrote 246. It is possible that the order of the items in the volume was not fixed yet when Audollent processed DTAud 259.

²⁵ Giannobile, Jordan 2006.

The complete edition of the drawings in the archive will be published in 2012 under the title *Supplementum Audollentianum*.

The list of photos identified by Audollent (DTAud)

215	232	245	255	273b
217	234	246b	256	274a
219	236	247	259	274b
220	237	248	260	293a
221	238	249	267	293b
223a	239	250a	271	294
225	242	250b	272a	304
226	243	251	272b	
229	244	252	273a	

The list of drawings identified by Audollent (DTAud)

218	239	249	259	293a
220	243	250a	261?	293b
221	244a	250b	271	294
223a	244b	251	272	299
226	245	252	273a	
232	246a	254	273b	
236?	246b	255	274a	
237?	247	256	274b	

Drawings erroneously identified by Audollent
246 (identical with drawing 259b)

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(ISSN 0418 - 453X)

Subpictures

- Fig. 1. Musée Bargoin 72.1.275. Audollent's drawing
- Fig. 2. Musée Bargoin 72.1.275. Photo
- Fig. 3. Musée Bargoin 72.1.276. Audollent's drawing
- Fig. 4. The lead container and the three fragments of the *defixio*
- Fig. 5. The open lead container
- Fig. 6. The photo of DTAud 263
- Fig. 7. A DTAud 263. Drawing by György Németh
- Fig. 8. The photo of DTAud 259a
- Fig. 9. DTAud 259a. Audollent's drawing
- Fig. 10. Edition of DTAud 259
- Fig. 11. Drawing of DTAud 259b

<i>ACTA CLASSICA</i> <i>UNIV. SCIENT. DEBRECEN.</i>	<i>XLVIII.</i>	<i>2012.</i>	<i>pp. 149–165.</i>
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DER ASTERISKOS ALS KRITISCHES ZEICHEN IN MAGISCHEN TEXTEN ACHT BEISPIELE IN PGM VII UND PGM XCIV

BY KIRSTEN DZWIZA

Abstract: The asteriskos as a critical sign is well-known from a number of ancient sources but research has been focused chiefly on literary papyri. I will discuss eight applications in two different magical papyri, seven of which appear in PGM VII = P.Lond. 121 (3. AD; col. XXIXf. 4. AD) and one in PGM XCIV = P.Ant. II 66 (5. AD). This brief paper seeks to provide an impulse for further investigations in this fringe area of research.

Keywords: Asteriskos, critical signs, Greek Magical Papyri, P.Lond. 121, P.Ant. II 66.

Einleitung

Aus griechischen magischen Papyri sind verschiedene mit textkritischen Zeichen versehene Stellen bekannt, eine ausführliche Untersuchung ihrer möglichen Funktionen sowie ihrer Interaktionen mit den Strukturen und Inhalten fehlt jedoch bis heute. Dass eine derartige Studie wertvolle Informationen zu den Tradierungsprozessen schriftlich fixierten magischen Wissens beitragen kann, hoffe ich mit diesem Aufsatz zu zeigen.¹

Die Verwendung des Asteriskos in nicht-magischen Kontexten

Eingeführt wurde der Asteriskos als textkritisches Zeichen von Aristophanes von Byzanz (3.-2. Jh. v. Chr.). Er verwendete ihn zur Kennzeichnung iterierter Verse (Homer-Ausgaben), bzw. zur Markierung eines Wechsels des Versmaßes (Alkaios-Ausgabe).² Einzelne Gedichte trennte Aristophanes mit einer *koronís*,

¹ Eine kurze Beschreibung kritischer Zeichen am Rande von Fluchtafeln gibt Curbera 1999, 163-164.

² F. Möbus in: Der Neue Pauly, Band 6, Spalte 854 s. v. Kritische Zeichen; s. hingegen ders. in: Der Neue Pauly, Band 2, Spalte 119 s.v. Asteriskos: „Unklar ist die Bedeutung, unter der es Aristophanes einführt; für Aristarchos zeigt es Wiederholungsverse an.“ und ebenfalls ders., Band 1, Spalte 1129 s.v. Aristophanes [4, von Byzanz]: „Er vermehrte Funktion und Zahl der kritischen Zeichen, die nunmehr integrativer Bestandteil der philol. Praxis waren: zum zenodo-

nach Rutherford markierte er allerdings ebenfalls den Beginn eines solchen mit einem Asteriskos³; einen Strophenbeginn markierte er mit einer Pr. Sein Schüler Aristarchos von Samothrake, der bekannte alexandrinische Grammatiker, verwendete den Asteriskos ebenfalls zur Anzeige eines neuen Gedichts⁴ sowie für „genuine Homeric lines found incorrectly elsewhere in the poem“⁵, den Asteriskos plus Obelos für „genuine lines that belonged elsewhere in the poem“⁶.

Hephaistions' Verwendung kritischer Zeichen in lyrischen und dramatischen Manuskripten mehr als 300 Jahre später im 2. nachchristlichen Jahrhundert „... is concerned strictly with marks that indicate divisions in poetic texts.“⁷ Er verwendete den Asteriskos, wenn er das Ende eines Gedichts markierte, allerdings in einer abgewandelten Form, nämlich als griechisches Kreuz anstelle eines St. Andreas-Kreuzes und mit fünf Kringeln anstelle von vier Punkten, der fünfte Kringel dabei auf dem Schnittpunkt der Geraden⁸.

Für die Verwendung des Asteriskos in Gedichten fasst Fowler zusammen: „Asterisks are occasionally used to mark the end or beginning of a poem, or the end of a triad. When marking the end of a poem they may be used by themselves or with coronides, or with the dipole obelismene.“⁹

Interessant, da in etwa zeitgleich mit PGM VII¹⁰, könnte für unseren Kontext die Verwendung des Asteriskos bei Origenes in seiner Arbeit an dem Alten Testament sein. Dazu kommentiert er selbst: „... was nämlich von der Septuaginta aufgrund der mangelnden Übereinstimmung in den Abschriften zweifelhaft war, das haben wir von den übrigen Ausgaben her beurteilt und das beibe-

tischen obelos kamen der asteriskos für iterierte Verse und das Paar sigma – antisigma für zwei aufeinanderfolgende Verse gleichen Inhalts hinzu.“

³ “Let us assume that in the Hellenistic archetype prepared by Aristophanes of Byzantium poems appeared with titles and some critical signs, including the asteriskos indicating poem beginning.” Rutherford 1997, 19; in Anm. 58 gibt er einen Verweis auf eine Zusammenstellung der Belegstellen an: W. J. Slater, *Aristophanis Byzantii Fragmenta* (Berlin, 1986), fr. 381. Zur Funktion des Asteriskos in lyrischen Gedichten s. auch: *Hephaestion, Peri Semeion* 74.8-14.

⁴ Möbus, F., Söllner, M. A. (Übersetzung). In: *Der neue Pauly*, Band 2, s.v. Asteriskos; s. auch Gudeman, *RE* XI 1921-4, s.v. Kritische Zeichen.

⁵ McNamee 1992, 9 Anm. 4.

⁶ McNamee 1992, 9 Anm. 4; In der Publikation finden sich ausführliche Auflistungen der Zeichen mit Angaben zu den Papyri, deren Herkunft, Datierung und Inhalt; s. auch van Thiel 1997, 17 und Anm. 33 und van Thiel 1992, Anm. 3 und Merkelbach 1974, insbes. S. 89f. und Anm. 1.

⁷ McNamee 1992, 11.

⁸ Bereits bei Simonides lässt sich diese Form im späten 1./ frühen 2. Jhd. n. Chr. nachweisen, s. P.Oxy. XXV 2430, Frg. 13 (b).

⁹ Fowler 1979, 28; Bsp.: Hesiod, P.Oxy. XLV 3224 (2. Jhd. n. Chr.); P. Lond. inv. 733 (um 100 n. Chr.).

¹⁰ S. Anm. 17 zur Datierung des Papyrus.

halten, was mit jenen im Einklang war, und dabei solche Stellen, die im Hebräischen nicht vorliegen, (wir wagten nicht, sie völlig zu tilgen) mit einem Obeliskus bezeichnet, andere aber, mit einem Sternchen versehen, hinzugefügt, um deutlich zu machen, daß wir, was sich in der Septuaginta nicht findet, aus den übrigen Ausgaben in Übereinstimmung mit dem Hebräischen hinzugefügt haben. Wer will, kann diese Stellen annehmen; wem so etwas aber anstößig ist, der mag (was ihre Annahme oder Ablehnung angeht) tun, was er will!“¹¹

Noch im 4./5. Jhd. n. Chr. verwendete Hieronymos den Asteriskos: “... to holy writ in the manner of the Greek Origen.”¹²

Der Asteriskos in magischen Kontexten: Zauberzeichen¹³ und Randzeichen

Bei den oben in Auswahl vorgestellten Beispielen für die Verwendung des Asteriskos als kritisches Zeichen handelt es sich um Vorkommen in Schriften nicht-magischen Inhaltes. Doch wo tritt er in magischen Kontexten auf, und wie wurde er dort verwendet? Das Zeichen kommt in magischen Papyri, auf magischen Gemmen, Lamellae, Defixiones und Instrumenten für magische Praktiken vor. Auf sämtlichen dieser Schriftträger tritt es als Zauberzeichen in Erscheinung¹⁴. Eine weitere Verwendung findet sich in Papyri: als Randzeichen mit bisher ungedeuteter Funktion. Diese Verwendung ist die seltenere der bei-

¹¹ Origenes, *Kommentar zum Evangelium nach Mattäus*, XV, 14; Übersetzung: Vogt 1990, 109; s. auch Wiles 1963-1970, vol. I, S. 457f.

¹² Jocelyn 1980, 396; s. auch Anm. 63 mit Beispielen: *Epist.* 106. 7, 112. 19, *Interpr. Pent. praef.*, 64 ff. ed. Rom., *lob* pp. 69 ff., 74 ff., *Psalt.* 3 f., *Salom.* 6, Augustine in *Jer. Epist.* 104. 3.

¹³ Der antike terminus technicus lautet „Χαρακτῆρες“ Zauberzeichen sind in vielen Fällen ein elementarer Bestandteil unterschiedlicher Zauberhandlungen, ohne dass ihre genaue Funktion bisher näher erklärt werden konnte. In wenigen Fällen werden sie unmittelbar als höhere Wesen angesprochen. Die überwiegende Mehrheit der Zeichen kommt nur ein einziges Mal vor. Die Zeichen sind – vorausgesetzt die Datierungen stimmen, welche in verschiedenen Fällen sicherlich einer erneuten Untersuchung bedürfen – erstmals gegen Ende des 1./ Beginn des 2. Jhd. n. Chr. auf Lamellae nachweisbar, z. B. aus *Augustoritum Lemovicum* (Limoges, FR) und *Segontium* (Caernarvon, GB). Ihre Verbreitung erstreckt sich – kurz gefasst – über das gesamte Römische Reich. Eine nachantike Verbreitung wurde noch nicht näher untersucht. Letztlich finden sich einige der Zeichen auch heute noch in magischen Praktiken wieder. Eine umfangreiche Studie über die Zauberzeichen befindet sich durch die Autorin in Arbeit.

¹⁴ Mit vier Punkten z. B.: Papyri: PGM VII. 579-590, 919-924, 925-939; Lamella: The Billingford Lamella, s. Tomlin 2004; Gemmen: Museo Archaeologico Florenz 72, Abb. in Michel 2004, Nr. 42.2.a, Taf. 21,1 Rückseite; Württembergisches Landesmuseum Stuttgart 5, Abb. in Michel 2004, Taf. 14, 5, Nr. 45.3.e; Es gibt das Zeichen zudem in der Variante mit kleinen Kreisen anstelle der Punkte, z. B. auf einer Fluchtafel aus Dahlheim, in dem Papyrus PGM Band II, P2a, inv. G 19889 Pap in der Nationalbibliothek Wien und in weiteren Varianten mit zusätzlichen Kringeln an den Enden des Kreuzes wie in PGM XC = P.Med. inv. no. 23, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore.

den und wurde in der Forschung bislang kaum beachtet. In der gebotenen Kürze möchte ich acht Beispiele dazu aus zwei Papyri vorstellen. Eine ausführliche Erörterung des Vorkommens und der Verwendung kritischer Zeichen in magischen Kontexten wäre in vielerlei Hinsicht wünschenswert, insbesondere bezüglich der zu gewinnenden Erkenntnisse einer grundlegenden komparativen strukturalen wie inhaltlichen Analyse magischer Texte und einer darauf aufbauenden Auseinandersetzung mit den Tradierungsprozessen selbst.

Der Asteriskos als Randzeichen in magischen Papyri

Während meiner Arbeit an einem Katalog der Zauberzeichen sind mir in zwei verschiedenen Papyri insgesamt sieben Stellen mit einem Asteriskos als Randzeichen sowie eine achte Stelle zwischen zwei Zauberanweisungen innerhalb einer Zeile aufgefallen. Der erste Papyrus ist P.Lond. 121 = PGM VII¹⁵, dessen Datierung in das 3., bzw. Kol. XXIXf. in das 4. Jh. n. Chr. umstritten ist¹⁶. Sein Fundort ist unbekannt, ein Zusammenhang mit der thebanischen Bibliothek magischer Texte, wie Preisendanz ihn sah¹⁷, lässt sich mittels der vorhandenen Dokumente nicht erschließen¹⁸. Aufbewahrt wird der Papyrus in der British Library in London. Er umfasst 66+1026 Zeilen und beinhaltet eine umfangreiche Formularsammlung an Zauberrezepten für die unterschiedlichsten Zwecke, wobei Offenbarungs- und Liebeszauber überwiegen. Die ersten sechs Recto-Kolumnen wurden mit Homerversen eines Würfelorakels beschrieben, der Beginn ist nur in Fragmenten erhalten.¹⁹ Der zweite Papyrus ist P.Ant. II 66 = PGM XCIV²⁰ = Suppl. Mag. 94²¹, seine Datierung in das 5. Jh.²² ist ebenfalls umstritten²³. Gefunden wurde er in Antinoopolis in einem antiken Abraumhügel, vergesellschaftet mit zahlreichen weiteren Papyrifragmenten²⁴. Heute befindet er sich im Besitz der Egypt Exploration Society, ebenfalls in London.

¹⁵ S. Preisendanz 1974², 1 ff.

¹⁶ Die Datierung ist umstritten und variiert zwischen dem 3. und 5. Jhd.; Maltomini 1995, 107 Anm. 1 dazu: "Concordo con la datazione proposta per la mano principale (le ultime tre colonne del verso recano sezioni di mani differenti) da G. Cavallo e M. Manfredi in CPF I 1**, p. v. Wessely [Wessely 1893, XLII.2] l'aveva assegnata al III/IV, Kenyon [Kenyon 1893, 83-115] e Preisendanz (vd. sotto n. 7) al III."

¹⁷ Preisendanz 1933, 93.

¹⁸ Auch Brashear 1995, 3403.

¹⁹ Preisendanz 1974², 1; Maltomini 1995; s. Betz 1996 für ausführliche Literaturverweise zu einzelnen Passagen.

²⁰ S. Betz 1996², 304 f.

²¹ S. Daniel, Maltomini 1991, 211 ff. Taf. XII.

²² Barns-Zilliaceus 1960, 47-49, Nr. 66.

²³ Daniel, Maltomini 1991, 211, Nr. 94, Anm. 1: 6. Jhd. n. Chr.

²⁴ S. Anm. 23.

Der fragmentarische Zustand des Papyrus erlaubt keine Rekonstruktion des ursprünglichen Umfangs. Erhalten geblieben sind verschiedene magisch-medizinische Anleitungen zur Herstellung von Amuletten und Phylakterien.

Vorkommen

1. PGM VII, linker Zeilenrand, vor Zeile 467, Beginn eines Liebeszaubers (Abb. 1a und 1b)

Der Asteriskos steht links neben Zeile 467 und unmittelbar unter einer kurzen Pr. zu Beginn eines umfangreicheren Liebeszwang-Zaubers (s. Abb. 1a). Dem Zauberspruch gehen zwei kurze und einander beinahe identische Liebeszauber voraus, wobei der erste der beiden am linken Rand mit einer Schlangenlinie gekennzeichnet und mittels diagonalen Striche durchgestrichen wurde (s. Abb. 1b). Links neben dem Asteriskos befindet sich ein weiteres Zeichen, bei dem es sich um eine Verschreibung eines Asteriskos handeln könnte, die durchgestrichen wurde²⁵. Der erste in PGM VII auftretende Randzeichen-Asteriskos stellt eine formale Variante des typischen Asteriskos dar, mit nur zwei anstelle von vier Punkten und einer waagerechten Linie.



Abb. 1a PGM VII, linker Zeilenrand vor Zeile 467

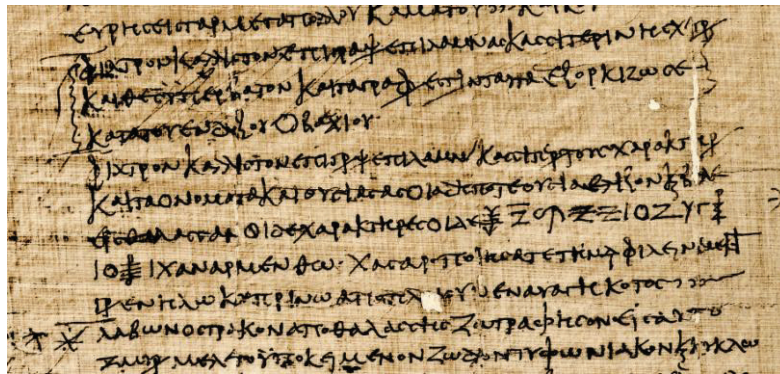


Abb. 1b PGM VII Durchgestrichener Liebeszauber (oben) und kritisches Zeichen (unten)

2. PGM VII, linker Zeilenrand zwischen Zeile 477 und 478; Beginn eines Offenbarungszaubers (Abb. 2)

²⁵ S. auch Preisendanz 1974², 21 Anm. zu Zeile 467.

Der Asteriskos befindet sich zwischen den beiden Zeilen 477 und 478 und mittig neben einer kurzen Pr. Unterhalb selbiger beginnt eine Forderung nach einer Offenbarung während des Schlafes. Das Zeichen unterscheidet sich formal von dem üblichen Asteriskos durch eine zusätzliche waagerechte Linie - die es mit dem vorherigen Zeichen teilt - und vier zusätzlichen Punkten.

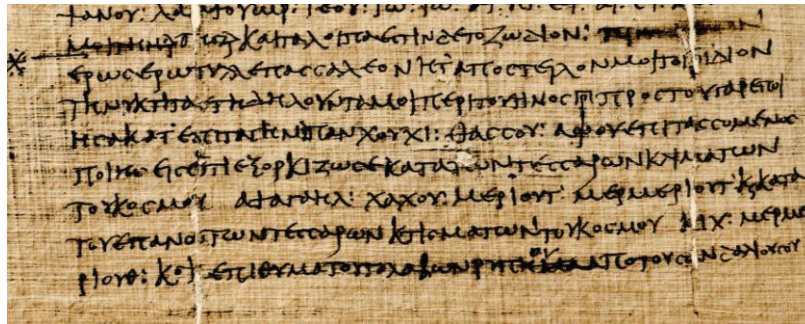


Abb. 2 PGM VII, linker Zeilenrand zwischen Zeile 477 und 478 (Kol. 13)

3. PGM VII, in Zeile 490, mittig in einer Zeile zu Beginn eines Schutzzaubers (Abb. 3)

Ein weiterer Asteriskos (Kol. 14) – in diesem Papyrus hier erstmals mit den formal typischen zwei gekreuzten Linien und vier Punkten - befindet sich am Ende dieser Anleitung, ungefähr mittig in einer Zeile und unmittelbar vor dem Beginn der nächsten Anleitung (ein Phylakterion) in derselben Zeile. Der dem Zeichen vorhergehende Doppelstrich, der in Zeile 528 noch einmal am Ende einer Anweisung vorkommt, wird für gänzlich unterschiedliche Zwecke verwendet. Preisendanz interpretiert ihn an verschiedenen Stellen als Wiederholung²⁶, er dient der Abkürzung²⁷, der Trennung einzelner Zauber²⁸, findet sich zwischen einzelnen Götternamen und Zauberworten²⁹ oder unmittelbar vor den zu verwendenden Zauberzeichen³⁰, er wird zur Trennung von Versen verwendet³¹ oder steht scheinbar ohne jede Struktur zwischen einzelnen Worten.³² In

²⁶ S. die Stelle in Zeile 528, Preisendanz 1974², 24, Anm. zu Zeile 528; PGM V, 484 und Preisendanz 1974², 198, Anm. zu Zeile 484.

²⁷ Z. B. in PGM X, 26 für λαβών.

²⁸ S. z. B. auch PGM VII, Kol. VI, Zeilen 208; 210.

²⁹ PGM XXXVI, , Zeile 42, nach jedem Wort.

³⁰ Ebenfalls PGM XXXVI, Kol. X, unmittelbar vor den Zauberzeichen.

³¹ S. Wien G 26786 Pap; Foto online auf den Seiten der Nationalbibliothek und in Schefzyk 2006, 94 no. 17.

einem Fall wird er sogar als Zauberzeichen interpretiert³³. Hier scheint er jedoch als Trennzeichen zu fungieren.³⁴ Eine mögliche Parallele findet sich ebenfalls in PGM VII, 528, Kol. 15. In dem zweiten hier besprochenen Papyrus PGM XCIV kommt gut sichtbar auf dem verso wiederholt ein Doppelpunkt als Trenner zwischen voces magicae vor.

Der Asteriskos kann an dieser Stelle nur schwerlich als Zauberzeichen interpretiert werden. Es fehlt die Erwähnung eines solchen innerhalb der Anleitung, auch gibt es in keiner der angrenzenden Anleitungen einen inhaltlichen Bezug zu der Verwendung eines Zauberzeichens, die auf den Asteriskos bezogen werden könnte. Eine Vergesellschaftung mit anderen Zauberzeichen fehlt ebenfalls. Zudem spricht die Position unmittelbar nach einem Doppelstrich und vor Beginn einer neuen Anleitung eher für eine editorische Verwendung denn für eine magische. Ich denke, der Asteriskos wird hier *innerhalb des Textes* als Marker für das Ende oder den Beginn einer Anleitung verwendet. Eine Praxis, für die mir bisher keine weiteren Belege innerhalb der magischen Papyri bekannt sind. Vielleicht deutet diese erste von sieben Verwendungen des Asteriskos als kritisches Zeichen in PGM VII auf die Initiative des Schreibers hin, der, mit noch nicht ausgereifter Idee, bestimmte Anweisungen auf besondere Weise kenntlich machen möchte. In dem Fall hätten wir es mit einer kritischen Behandlung eines Textes unmittelbar während dessen Niederschrift (Kopie?) zu tun.

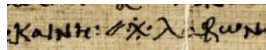


Abb. 3 PGM VII, in Zeile 490 (Kol. 14)

4. PGM VII, linker Zeilenrand zwischen Zeile 490 und 491, kurz nach Beginn eines Schutzzaubers (Abb. 4)

Der Asteriskos befindet sich mittig neben einer kurzen Pr. zwischen den Zeilen 490 und 491 und weist die übliche Darstellungsform auf. In der Zeile

³² P. Heid. Inv. Kopt. 685, Seite 18; dieser Doppelstrich kommt allerdings sehr selten in dem Zauberbuch vor, der Regelfall ist der Doppelstrich mit einer Laufrichtung von links oben nach rechts unten.

³³ PGM II 156 = P. Berol. inv. 5026. Auf dem sw-Foto in Preisendanz 1974², Taf. 1, Abb. 1 sieht es aus, als gäbe es einen waagerechten Verbindungsstrich am oberen Ende der beiden Striche. Dies ist jedoch nicht der Fall sondern liegt an der Photographie.

³⁴ In nicht-magischen Kontexten wird der Doppelstrich ebenfalls als kritisches Zeichen verwendet, z. B. P.Herc. 163 zur Markierung eines Zitats; Der Doppelstrich wird als Variante des einfachen Striches interpretiert, wobei der einfache diagonale Strich das häufigste kritische Zeichen in literarischen Papyri darstellt. S. McNamee 1992 u. a. S. 17 Anm. 44 für weitere Beispiele und Tabelle 2, D. Slash: / et sim.

oberhalb des Zeichens befindet sich der bereits in Beispiel 3 besprochene Asteriskos im Fließtext als Trenner zwischen zwei Anleitungen (Offenbarung im Traum und Phylakterion). Dennoch wird hier zusätzlich ein Randzeichen gesetzt. Es stellt sich die Frage, ob der Umstand, dass sich das Ende der einen Anleitung und der Beginn der folgenden Anleitung in derselben Zeile befinden, zu der Praxis geführt hat, den Asteriskos am Rand mittig zwischen zwei Zeilen zu platzieren. Dem widerspricht jedoch der Umstand, dass auch der vorherige Asteriskos zwischen den Zeilen positioniert wurde, obwohl hier das Ende einer Praxis mit dem Ende einer Zeile einhergeht. Die Entscheidung des Schreibers, den A. am Rand eher zwischen zwei Zeilen zu positionieren anstatt unmittelbar neben einer Zeile, kann durch den unmittelbaren Anschluss eines Zaubers an einen vorhergehenden innerhalb derselben Zeile nicht erklärt werden.



Abb. 4 PGM VII, linker Zeilenrand zwischen Zeile 490 und 491

5. PGM VII, linker Zeilenrand zwischen Zeile 504 und 505, vor Beginn einer „Empfehlung an den eigenen Dämon“, (Abb. 5)

Auch dieser Asteriskos befindet sich mittig neben einer kurzen Linie, die die Zeilen 504 und 505 voneinander trennt. Wie die beiden vorherigen Zeichen ist er formal identisch mit dem typischen Asteriskos. In der Zeile oberhalb des Zeichens endet das Phylakterion. Unterhalb des Zeichens beginnt mit einer zentriert positionierten Überschrift eine neue Anleitung: „Empfehlung an den eigenen Dämon“. Die Anleitung endet vor der Zeilenmitte, ein Doppelstrich folgt, bei dem Preisendanz als Bedeutung „zweimal“ vermutet.³⁵ S. dazu auch Beispiel 3. weiter oben.



Abb. 5 PGM VII, linker Zeilenrand zwischen Zeile 504 und 505

6. PGM VII, Kol. 15, linker Zeilenrand zwischen Zeile 528 und 529, zu Beginn eines Siegeszaubers (Abb. 6)

Dieser Asteriskos befindet sich – anders als die bisherigen – oberhalb einer kurzen Pr., und nicht daneben oder darunter. Er steht neben, bzw. leicht unterhalb Zeile 528, die Pr. trennt die Zeilen 528 und 529 voneinander. Das Zeichen besteht aus zwei gekreuzten Linien und vier Punkten, wobei leicht nach links versetzt neben dem unteren Punkt ein kurzer senkrechter Strich nach unten

³⁵ Preisendanz 1974², 24, Anm. zu Zeile 528.

verläuft. Wie bei Beispiel 3. PGM VII, 491 (Kol. 14) endet die Anleitung etwa mittig in der Zeile, die nächste - ein Siegesmittel - schließt sich unmittelbar an. Zwischen den beiden steht ein Doppelstrich wie in Zeile 491 Kol. 14³⁶ (s. auch weiter oben unter Beispiel 3 und 5), dem wird hier jedoch kein Asteriskos unmittelbar angeschlossen, wie dies in Zeile 490, Beispiel 3, der Fall ist. Es befindet sich kein weiterer Asteriskos am linken Rand, der nächste Zauber – ein Leuchterorakel - beginnt mit einer zentrierten Überschrift. Hier hat es durch die Platzierung des Asteriskos oberhalb der Pr. den Anschein, dass das Ende eines Zauberspruchs - oder vielleicht einer ganzen Gruppe an Zaubersprüchen, beginnend bei dem ersten Asteriskos - markiert wurde.



Abb. 6 PGM VII, Kol. 15, linker Zeilenrand zwischen Zeile 528 und 529

7. PGM VII, linker Zeilenrand zwischen Zeile 578 und 579 (Kol. 16) (Abb. 7)

Der letzte Randzeichen-Asteriskos in PGM VII befindet sich links neben einer Pr. zwischen, bzw. leicht unterhalb der Zeilen 578 und 579 am Ende des o.g. Leuchterorakels bzw. zu Beginn des folgenden Phylakterions. Das Leuchterorakel endet ca. in der Mitte der Zeile 578, es folgen keine Trenn- oder Füllzeichen, die Zeile bleibt bis zu deren Ende leer. Die nachfolgende Anleitung zur Herstellung eines Amulettes beginnt in Zeile 579. Dennoch wurde hier ein Asteriskos am Rand gesetzt.



Abb. 7 PGM VII, linker Zeilenrand zwischen Zeile 578 und 579 (Kol. 16)

8. PGM XCIV linker Zeilenrand zwischen Zeile 58 und 59³⁷ = P.Ant.66-verso 5. AD

Ein weiterer Asteriskos am linken Rand einer Zeile findet sich in dem Papyrus PGM XCIV, einem beidseitig beschrifteten Fragment aus dem 5. Jh. n. Chr., auf dem mehrere Sprüche zu unterschiedlichen medizinischen Zwecken erhalten geblieben sind. Das verblasste Zeichen befindet sich auf dem verso nach Zeile 15, unterhalb der Reste einer Pr. Der Papyrus ist nach Zeile 12 weggebrochen, nur noch ein vager Beginn der folgenden Zeilen ist erhalten geblieben. In dem gesamten Fragment lassen sich keine weiteren Asteriskoi erken-

³⁶ Preisendanz 1974² in seiner Anm. zu Zeile 528: „der Dopp. Str. kann δῖς bedeuten.

³⁷ Nach Barns, Zilliacus 1960, 48 Nr. 66 befindet sich der A. zwischen Zeile 58 und 59.

nen. Von dem Zeichen und dem Papyrus kann leider kein Foto beigefügt werden.

Zusammenfassung des Vorkommens

Fünf der sieben in PGM VII vorkommenden Asteriskoi stehen am linken Zeilenrand eindeutig zu Beginn einer neuen Anleitung, bzw. zwischen Ende und Anfang zweier Anleitungen, und in Verbindung mit einer kurzen Pr.; ein Asteriskos (Beispiel 6) könnte das Ende eines Zaubers markiert haben; einmal steht das Zeichen unterhalb, einmal oberhalb, viermal neben der Pr. Ein weiterer Asteriskos befindet sich innerhalb einer Zeile, hier steht das Zeichen zu Beginn einer neuen Anleitung.

Es fällt auf, dass der erste Rand-Asteriskos unterhalb einer Pr. platziert wurde, der sechste deutlich oberhalb einer solchen. Das erweckt den Eindruck, als wären bewusst mehrere Zaubersprüche als Gruppe abgegrenzt worden. Auf den sechsten Asteriskos folgt unmittelbar ein Siegeszauber, danach ein Leuchterorakel, letzteres ohne jegliche Markierung durch das Zeichen. Der letzte Asteriskos in PGM VII befindet sich ungefähr mittig neben einer Pr. zwischen dem Ende des Leuchterorakels und einem Schutzzauber.

Der einzelne Asteriskos in PGM XCIV kommt ebenfalls am linken Zeilenrand und unterhalb den Resten einer Pr. vor. Der Papyrus ist rechts des Zeichens großflächig weggebrochen, die Pr. ist allerdings ein guter Indikator, dass der Stern auch am Beginn einer neuen Anweisung steht.

Kurzvorstellung der Zaubersprüche in PGM VII und deren Häufigkeit (Liste 1)

Zunächst sei ein kurzer Überblick über das Vorkommen und die Zusammenstellung der Zaubersprüche in PGM VII gegeben. Der Papyrus wurde von zwei Schreibern verfasst und kann in zwei Teile unterteilt werden, von denen der erste wahrscheinlich in das 3. Jh. n. Chr. datiert, der zweite in das 4. Jh. n. Chr.³⁸ Der erste Teil ist der weitaus umfangreichere, er besteht aus einem Orakel mit Homerversen (Zeilen 1-66) mit daran anschließenden 73 Zaubern, einer Angabe von Orakelzeiten für Tage und Stunden und einem astrologischen Kalender für ungeeignete Tage zu magischen Handlungen (Zeilen 67-980). Der zweite und jüngere Teil (Kolumne XXIX f.) besteht aus vier unterschiedlichen Zaubern (Zeilen 981-1026).

Einen Überblick über die zusammengestellten Zaubersprüche gibt Liste 1. **Fett** markiert ist dabei der Zauberspruchttypus, der mit einem Asteriskos verse-

³⁸ S.o. Anm. 18 zur Datierung.

hen wurde; die Zahl dahinter in Klammern gibt die Nummer des beschriebenen Beispiels in diesem Aufsatz wieder.

Zauberspruchtyp	Häufigkeit
Offenbarungszauber (2)	16x + 1x 4. Jh.
Liebeszauber (1)	14x + 1x 4. Jh.
Medizinisch	12x: Fieber (3x), Husten (2x), Migräne (2x), Skorpion, Augenfluss, Verhärtung der Brüste, Geschwulst der Schamdrüsen, Gebärmertervorfall
Phylakterion (3+4; 7)	4x + 2x gegen Ungeziefer im Haus + 1x gegen wilde Tiere;
Siegeszauber (6)	5x + 1x 4. Jh.
Bindezauber	4x
Schlaflosigkeit zu bewirken	3x
Herbeirufungszauber	2x (1x einer übernatürlichen Macht; 1x ergänzt Preisendanz „Dämon“, es könnte aber auch ein Liebeszauber sein?)
einmalige Zauber (5)	10 + 1 Zauber mit diversen Anwendungen + 1x 4. Jh.
Diverses	3x; Homer-Orakel; Orakelzeiten für Tage und Stunden; Astrologischer Kalender für ungeeignete Tage zu magischen Handlungen

Liste 1: Kurzdarstellung der in PGM VII vorkommenden Zaubersprüche und sonstigen Texte

Am häufigsten wurden Offenbarungszauber separat aufgeschrieben (16x im älteren Teil + 1x im jüngeren), gefolgt von Liebeszaubern (14x im älteren Teil + 1x im jüngeren) und unterschiedlichen Rezepten, die sich alle dem medizinischen Bereich zuordnen lassen (12x im älteren Teil). Schutzmittel (hierzu wurden auch die beiden Hausschutzzauber gegen Ungeziefer und der Schutz gegen wilde Tiere gezählt) finden sich 7x im älteren Teil, Siegeszauber 5x im älteren und 1x im jüngeren Teil, danach folgen Bindezauber, ein Zauber, der Schlaflosigkeit bewirken soll, sowie Herbeirufungszauber jeweils in mehrfacher Notierung. Zauber, die nur einmal in dem Papyrus auftreten, finden sich 10x im älteren sowie 1x im jüngeren Teil, hinzukommt ein weiterer Zauberspruch, der diverse Anwendungen enthält („Kreislauf des Mondes“, Zeilen 285-299).

Mit einem Asteriskos versehen wurden ein Liebeszauber, zwei Schutzzauber (einer davon mit einem zusätzlichen A. innerhalb der Zeile zu Beginn des Zaubers) und ein einmaliger Zauber („Empfehlung an den eigenen Dämon“). Wenn der Asteriskos, der hier unter Beispiel 6 besprochen wurde, zur Markierung des Endes eines Zaubers oder einer ganzen Zaubergruppe verwendet wurde, dann kann er nicht als Markierung für den Beginn des nachfolgenden Siegeszaubers

verwendet worden sein, sondern muss an das Ende der „Empfehlung an den eigenen Dämon“ gehören.

Vergleich der mit Asteriskos versehenen Zaubersprüche mit den jüngeren Zaubersprüchen in PGM VII

In dem jüngeren Teil wurden vier Zaubersprüche vermerkt: ein Liebeszauber, eine Beschwörung eines Totendämons zu unbekannten Zwecken, ein Offenbarungszauber und ein Siegeszauber. Damit befinden sich hier mind. zwei, evtl. drei der vier Zauberspruchttypen, die in dem älteren Teil mit einem Asteriskos versehen wurden (fraglich muss der Siegeszauber bleiben). Bei einem Vergleich der jeweiligen jüngeren mit den markierten älteren Sprüchen, inklusive des Siegeszaubers, findet sich eine einzige inhaltliche Parallele bei den Siegeszaubern: in beiden wird Helios angerufen. Des Weiteren gibt es keine unmittelbaren Parallelen inhaltlicher, formaler oder ritueller Natur.

Vergleich der mit Asteriskos versehen Zaubersprüche mit den Zaubersprüchen innerhalb des älteren Teils von PGM VII

Die mit einem A. markierten Anweisungen können vier, evtl. fünf unterschiedlichen Zauberspruchttypen zugeordnet werden (Liebes-, Offenbarungs- und Schutzzauber sowie ein Zauber zur „Empfehlung an den eigenen Dämon“ und evtl. ein Siegeszauber). Mit Ausnahme der „Empfehlung“ gehören sämtliche dieser Zauber zu den häufigsten in dem älteren Teil vermerkten Zauberspruchttypen (s. Liste 1). Ein Vergleich der markierten Zaubersprüche mit ihren unmarkierten Pendanten gleichen Typs ergibt, dass sie keine auffälligen rituellen oder formalen Ähnlichkeiten aufweisen, abgesehen von ohnehin häufig vorkommenden Anweisungen wie dem Fixieren von Schrift oder Bild auf einem Schriftträger u.ä. Vergleicht man in einem nächsten Schritt die unmarkierten Zaubersprüche untereinander, bestehen zwar bisweilen Ähnlichkeiten innerhalb desselben Typs³⁹, im Gesamtbild ergibt sich jedoch eine sehr unterschiedliche Ausgestaltung der einzelnen Zauber, sowohl inhaltlich als auch rituell. Die Markierung eines Zauberspruchs, der eine explizite Abweichung von unter den übrigen Zauberspruchttypen eher homogen vertretenen inhaltlichen Bestandteilen oder rituellen Anweisungen aufweisen würde, kann nicht der Grund für die Verwendung des A. gewesen sein, da die Zaubersprüche keine derartige Homogenität aufweisen.

³⁹ Aufgrund der gebotenen Kürze kann an dieser Stelle nicht näher darauf eingegangen werden.

Dies führt uns zum nächsten Schritt, der Betrachtung der Verteilung der einzelnen Sprüche innerhalb des Gesamttextes und damit der Komposition.

Die Komposition

Den einzigen größeren Block zusammenhängender Anweisungen bilden die medizinischen Zauber recht zu Anfang des Papyrus. Des Weiteren gibt es mehrere Zweier- und Dreierblöcke gleicher Zauberspruchtypen, die immer wieder durch einzelne andere Zauber unterbrochen werden. Die Gesamtverteilung der Anweisungen unterliegt keiner erkennbaren systematischen Zuordnung, z. B. nach Inhalten. Auch der formalen Gestaltung liegt keine einheitliche Regelung zugrunde. Einige Überschriften werden zeilenmittig als Überschrift platziert, andere linksbündig, viele Zauber haben gar nicht erst einen Titel. Die Zauber selbst können unmittelbar nach Ende des vorherigen Zaubers in derselben Zeile begonnen werden, oder sie beginnen mit einer neuen Zeile. Leere Zeilenbereiche am Ende eines Zaubers können dekorativ ausgestaltet werden, um den Rest aufzufüllen, oder bleiben leer. Die Spruchsammlung wurde ohne eine übergeordnete, einheitliche formale Struktur angefertigt, eine Struktur nach inhaltlichen Kriterien fehlt ebenso. Als praktisches Nachschlagewerk eignet sich die Sammlung entsprechend nicht. Das wirft die Frage nach den Ursprüngen der Komposition des Gesamttextes auf.

Die größtenteils unstrukturierte Zusammenstellung des Gesamtwerkes auf der einen Seite und die stark variierende formale Gestaltung der einzelnen Zaubersprüche auf der anderen Seite, lassen an eine Kompilation von Zaubersprüchen aus unterschiedlichen Quellen durch eine einzelne Person denken. Auf das exakte Kopieren der Zaubersprüche scheint hierbei bis hin zu den stark voneinander abweichenden formalen Gestaltungsprinzipien großer Wert gelegt worden zu sein. Mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit haben wir in PGM VII keinen Text vorliegen, dessen Verfasser auch gleichzeitig der Urheber der Inhalte der Anleitungen war, sondern einen Text, der aus bestehenden Quellen zusammengestellt wurde. In diesem Fall gäbe es keinen direkten Hinweis auf den Autor, bzw. die Autoren, der Zauberanweisungen. Dies ist insofern relevant, da in der Diskussion um die Herkunft von Zauberzeichen - die in rund 20% der Anleitungen in PGM VII als Bestandteil der Ritualhandlungen vorkommen - bisweilen die Überlegung aufkommt, sie könnten spontan erfunden worden sein. Sollte es sich um eine Kompilation von Zaubersprüchen Dritter handeln, kann davon ausgegangen werden, dass auch die Zauberzeichen kopiert worden sind.

Davon ausgehend, dass es sich bei PGM VII um eine Zusammenstellung von Zaubersprüchen aus unterschiedlichen Quellen handelt, muss derzeit den-

noch ungewiss bleiben, ob hier eine Erstkompilation vorhandener Zaubersprüche vorliegt, oder die Kopie einer solchen. Der längere, vermutlich ältere Teil wird einer einzelnen Hand zugeordnet, ob ihn der Schreiber jedoch innerhalb kurzer Zeit als Abschrift verfasste oder über einen längeren Zeitraum einzelne oder kleinere Gruppen von Anleitungen zusammentrug, wurde m. W. noch nicht ausführlich untersucht. Hier ließe sich zumindest ein Hinweis auf die mögliche Entstehung der Komposition finden.

Zusammenfassung

In dem hier vorgestellten Papyrus PGM VII markieren die Asteriskoi den Beginn eines Zauberspruchs, möglicherweise mit einer Ausnahme (Beispiel 6), wo das Zeichen eventuell das Ende eines Zauberspruches, bzw. einer abgegrenzten Gruppe markieren könnte. Die Verwendung als Marker für den Beginn einer Anleitung kann für den zweiten Papyrus PGM XCIV angenommen, allerdings aufgrund des fragmentarischen Erhaltungszustandes nicht nachgewiesen werden.

Das regelmäßige Vorkommen des Zeichens in Verbindung mit einer Pr. schließt jedoch eine explizite Verwendung zur Trennung zweier Zauber oder zur Markierung des Beginns von Zaubersprüchen aus. Auch eine Verwendung zur Markierung spezifischer inhaltlicher oder ritueller Kriterien zur klaren Abgrenzung von den übrigen Zaubersprüchen konnte durch Vergleiche der einzelnen Zauber untereinander insofern ausgeschlossen werden, als dass die Inhomogenität und Diversität so groß sind, dass individuelle Praktiken nicht als etwas Besonderes, sondern als etwas Selbstverständliches auffallen.

Auffallend ist zudem die individuelle Platzierung der A. sowohl unterhalb, als auch oberhalb und neben Pr. Der erste A., der unterhalb einer Pr. steht, in Verbindung mit dem sechsten A., der oberhalb einer solchen steht, erweckt den Eindruck, dass eine bestimmte Gruppe an Zaubersprüchen gezielt eingegrenzt wurde. Der daran anschließende Zauber ist unmarkiert, der folgende erhält wieder einen Asteriskos. Könnte es sich hierbei um eine Abschrift einer vorhandenen Zauberspruchgruppe handeln, die aus nicht mehr zu rekonstruierenden Gründen als besonders wertvoll erachtet wurde?

Interpretation

Für das Vorkommen von Asteriskoi als Randzeichen in magischen Texten bietet sich als Erklärung die Verwendung als kritisches Zeichen an. Damit würde ein Hinweis auf die Übernahme einer textkritischen Praxis – bisher auf nicht-magische Texte konzentriert – für magische Texte vorliegen. Vielleicht

war der Schreiber der Asteriskoi in PGM VII zudem als Textkritiker tätig – die Homerverse zu Beginn des Papyrus könnten diese Überlegung bestärken – und hat von dieser Tätigkeit her bewusst das kritische Zeichen in die Edition der zusammengestellten mag. Texte übernommen. Doch zu welchem Zweck?

In Bezug auf die Verwendungsweisen des A. in literarischen Schriften konnten zwei, ggf. drei Parallelen festgestellt werden: für die Kennzeichnung zur Trennung einzelner Gedichte, für die Markierung des Beginns eines Gedichtes, und eventuell auch für die Markierung des Endes. Für die Verwendung des A. in religiösen Schriften sollen versuchsweise Origenes und Hieronymus herangezogen werden, die den Asteriskos zur Markierung von Hinzufügungen bei einem neu erstellen Text verwendeten. Wenn man das Verfahren auf PGM VII überträgt, würde das Zeichen solche Zauberformeln markieren, die aus einer anderen Quelle in die Abschrift einer vorhandenen Zusammenstellung eingefügt wurden. Das würde bedeuten, dass nicht nur einzelne Zauberanweisungen kopiert und individuell kompiliert wurden, sondern umfangreiche Werke zumindest in Teilen tradiert wurden⁴⁰. Allerdings wirft die Position der mit A. gekennzeichneten Zaubersprüche Fragen auf. Konsequenterweise würde man sie bei der vorliegenden Praxis erst nach der vollständigen Abschrift erwarten, was hier jedoch nicht der Fall ist. Doch Origenes erläutert seine Anwendung des A. noch detaillierter: „...um deutlich zu machen, daß wir, was sich in der Septuaginta nicht findet, aus den übrigen Ausgaben in Übereinstimmung mit dem Hebräischen hinzugefügt haben.“⁴¹ Dieses Verfahren kann eine eingeschobene Position innerhalb eines bestehenden Textes erklären. Es muss jedoch berücksichtigt werden, dass Origenes neben der Septuaginta weitere Paralleltexte zur Verfügung standen, mit denen er arbeiten konnte, und es ist fraglich, ob dasselbe für Sammlungen magischer Anweisungen angenommen werden kann. Ein wesentliches Charakteristikum dieser Sammelschriften dürfte ihre begrenzte Verbreitung aufgrund eines grundsätzlich restringierten Zugriffs gewesen sein. Ein Glücksfall der Überlieferung wie der Papyrus PGM XIII, für dessen Inhalt eine Tradierung über fünf Generationen rekonstruiert werden konnte, ist bisher einzigartig für die magischen Papyri. Ob daher ein Vorgehen wie das des Origenes, welches mehrere identische oder zumindest ähnliche Quellen als Grundlage für eine kritische Arbeit voraussetzt, überhaupt für derartige Sammelschriften praktikierbar gewesen wäre, ist mit dem derzeit zur Verfügung stehenden Material schwer, wenn nicht gar unmöglich herauszuarbeiten.

⁴⁰ S. dazu Smith 1984, 688 Anm. 1, der PGM XIII (*VIII Moses*) kritisch untersucht und ein Stemma rekonstruiert hat und zu dem Schluss gelangte: „*P.Leid.* J 395 is at least the fifth generation of a literary family.“

⁴¹ S. Anm. 10.

Eine gänzlich andere Verwendungsweise des Asteriskos wäre die Markierung individueller Zauberanweisungen - oder eines kleinen Korpus kopierter Anleitungen, um sie auf einem gesonderten Papyrus zu kommentieren oder zu überarbeiten, oder um sie einer eigenen Sammlung an Zauberanleitungen hinzuzufügen.

Ob anstelle des ersten Schreibers der zweite Schreiber für die Asteriskoi verantwortlich zeichnete, ließe sich am ehesten durch eine Untersuchung der verwendeten Tinten herausfinden.

Schlussbetrachtung

Der Asteriskos als Randzeichen und Trennzeichen in magischen Papyri wirft viele Fragen auf. Er macht aber auch deutlich, welche Bereiche es näher zu untersuchen lohnt. Für eine Rekonstruktion der Entstehungsgeschichte von PGM VII bietet das Zeichen neue Hinweise und Denkansätze. PGM XCIV kann dabei als ergänzende Quelle die Praxis seiner Verwendung bestärken.

Bei dem jetzigen Stand der Forschung können die angestellten Überlegungen nur spekulativ sein. Die untersuchten Stellen bieten jedoch einen interessanten Einblick in einen Bereich, der bei den bisherigen Untersuchungen mag. Papyri kaum berücksichtigt wurde. Eine umfangreiche Untersuchung der kritischen Zeichen in magischen Kontexten könnte durchaus Potential bieten für die Gewinnung neuer Erkenntnisse über die Entwicklungs- und Tradierungsprozesse magischer Textsammlungen. Ich hoffe, mit diesem Aufsatz die Aufmerksamkeit auf ein bisher wenig diskutiertes Thema lenken zu können.

BILDNACHWEISE

Sämtliche Bilder aus: Kenyon, Fr.: *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*. Catalogue with texts 1, 1893, 83-115, Faksimiles Taf. 57, 58, 59.

ABKÜRZUNGEN

PGM = Papyri Graecae Magicae, s. Preisendanz 1974²

Supl. Mag. = Supplementum Magicum, s. Daniel, Maltomini 1990 und 1991

Pr. = Parágraphos

A. = Asteriskos

ZZ = Zauberzeichen

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(ISSN 0418 – 453X)

<i>ACTA CLASSICA</i> <i>UNIV. SCIENT. DEBRECEN.</i>	<i>XLVIII.</i>	<i>2012.</i>	<i>pp. 167–173.</i>
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MILITES MAGISTRATUSQUE **A NEW CURSE TABLET FROM SAVARIA**

BY ANDREA BARTA

Abstract: A curse tablet was recently discovered on the site of the Iseum in Savaria. This paper presents what is now legible on the surface of the lamella and attempts to define its features.

Keywords: curse tablet, Savaria, Pannonia, execrating Roman power.

In 2009 a small, seven times folded lead sheet was discovered in Savaria, the religious, cultic center of Pannonia Superior. It was found in a very early stratum of the Iseum¹, on the north of the later 2nd period podium temple, characterized by a loam soil mixed up with daub and coal. The tablet came to light together with a Vespasian *as*, with a fragmentary bronze panther statuette, with fragments of a bronze tweezer and of a bronze needle. On the evidence of these finds, this layer can be dated to the early industrial period of this area, i.e. the end of the 1st century. As the layer is closed, it can be excluded that the tablet got there at a later time.



The *defixio* still folded

¹ Reports on the recent excavations in the Iseum: Sosztarits O.: A savariai Iseum újraindított kutatásáról. (The Recommended Excavations in the Iseum of Savaria) Ókor 2, 2003/4, 51-54. Sosztarits O., Anderkó K.: Ízisz istennő szentélye Szombathelyen. http://sirasok.blog.hu/2010/07/27/isis_istenno_szentelye_szombathelyen

The upper, straight end of the halfmoon shaped tablet bears traces of the act of cutting, while the lower round part is quite uneven, rubbed, damaged. Its dimensions: 15 × 5,7 cm at its longest and widest points, thickness: 0,1 cm. It was seven times folded, by roughly 6 equal units, whereas the outermost, smallest, 7th part has broken off after the unwinding. The folding was not constant, after the fourth unit the next ones were folded the other way. Finally, the lower part was turned up in order to get a nearly rectangular form. Thus, the tablet became so small that it could be enclosed even in a palm of the hand. The hole in middle (once the covering) unit suggests that the folded table was pierced with a nail².

The badly arranged appearance and the present state of the tablet makes the reading very difficult. At this moment just a few words can be read doubtlessly, though letters cover the entire surface of both sides of the tablet.



Obverse of the *defixio*

Obverse

- 1 ITAVIVSMANA [---] AXI [---]
- 2 SECVNDVSP[EL] [-] S [-] VB [---] RES [---] CTE
- 3 INAHIVITAN [---] HICN [---]
- 4 HICSEPTEIVSCRESCES
- 5 [--] AH [-] C
- 6 [--] E [-] H

Meaningful phrases

- Itavius* or *Ita vi(v)us*
Secundus
Ina(c)hi vita n[---] hic n[---]
hic or *hi Q. Sept(u)ei*
Cresce(n)s

² It's ambiguous when the hole was made, because no letters were destroyed by this hole, they seem to bypass it.

Reverse

- 1 [-] VERA [-] A VSI [-] AVLEA
- 2 VLEA [---] ATOMESESEAMEL
- 3 [---] AT [---]
- 4 MILITESMAGISTRATVSQ[VE]
- 5 LIA
- 6 VSSESENTAAIMV
- 7 ELL [---] AT [---]

milites magistratusq[ue]



Reverse of the *defixio*

The letters range from 4 to 15 mm in height. On the left side of the obverse, they are slightly larger in the first line which is not unusual on epigraphic evidences. Moreover, enhanced pressure was applied by a *stilus* to form the first letters. Most of the letters are consequently carved in the same way: *A* without transverse hasta, *C* is a less than a half ellipse, *D*, *P*, *R* and *G* are old Roman cursive letters. *E* and *V* can be confused easily, the only difference is the way how the left hasta meets or nears the other one. *M* is quite customary cursive, *N* has a special feature that is the two parallel hastae are drawn over by a transverse and rather circular line. *T* and *L* are formed widely, while the letter *S* is usually two or three times longer than the rest. There is a recurring letter which can be deciphered as *B* or *H*; due to the following – hardly discernible – letters OC (obv. line 3) or IC (obv. line 4) it rather can be regarded as an H. On the reverse there are some discrepancies (if our reading is right) concerning the letter *L* and *R*.

Line 1: In the beginning of the line ITAVIVSMANA[---] can be read without difficulties. As the interpretation is not obvious, the first possibility could be *Ita vi(v)us*³. The word *ita* before an adjective generally refers to degree and commensurateness⁴. Nevertheless, this kind of construction has not been attested on Latin curse tablets⁵. Most often *ita* was used (1) in persuasive analogies⁶ *ita uti ... sic*⁷; (2) in consecutive clauses⁸; (3) in the meaning 'in this way, thus, therefore'⁹. Moreover, *vivus* occurs in different context, as well: Mostly (1) when beseeching *per deum vivum*¹⁰; (2) one time as an attribute of a sacrificial cock¹¹; and besides (3) as a verb from the same root it was used only in prohibitive clauses¹².

As the interpretation *ita vi(v)us* would be without parallels, we cannot reject the alternative of a name, unknown as yet: *Itavius* - because of two reasons. Firstly, beginning words of cursetablets are often names referring either to a *defigens* or a *defixus*, *defixa*. Secondly, in the neighbouring provinces many forms of the name-root *Itt-* are attested¹³ (with geminated *-tt-*, mainly. The confusion of simple or double form of the letter T shows up frequently in inscriptions)¹⁴.

The rest of the letters which today can be seen in line 1 do not build any meaningful phrase due to damages or loss of the tablet.

Line 2: The only definite word is *Secundus* at the beginning of the line. It must be regarded as a cognomen due to similar reasons as mentioned above. *Secundus* is a frequent cognomen at any time and in any region of the Roman empire, thus it can be statistically expected in curse tablets, as well.

³ A The weakening of intervocalic consonants is a frequent sign of language changes in Pannonia, as well (s. Herman 2000, 45).

⁴ Oxford Latin Dictionary (1968): *ita* 3 and 13.

⁵ A recent collection of Latin language curse tablets: Kropp, A.: *Defixiones: dfx; ein aktuelles Corpus lateinischer Fluchtafeln*. Speyer, 2008. (cited as dfx).

⁶ a term from S. Tambiah, cited in Kropp 2008, 174-176.

⁷ it is a variant of the much more frequent construction *quomodo ... sic*; e.g. dfx 1.4.4/3 = ILS 8749. *Ita uti mortuus nec ad deos nec ad homines acceptus est, sic Rhodine apud Marcum Licinium accepta sit...*

⁸ dfx 1.5.3/2 = AE 1903, 349 (B) *Hos homines omnes inferis deis deligo ita ut nequis eorum quemcumque ...possit.*

⁹ dfx 1.5.3/2 = AE 1903, 349 (B) *Id dedico ... deis inferis, ut ea ita faciant.*

¹⁰ dfx 11.1.1/23 = DT 248 *adiuro te per deum vivum.*

¹¹ dfx 11.1.1/8 = DT 222 *huic gallo linguam vivo extorsi.*

¹² dfx 3.23/1 = AE 1975, 530 *neque ullam partem vivere sinas illius gentisve.*

¹³ *Itto* (ILLProN 1243; 1595; 785-788 – Noricum); *Itta*, *Itunus* (AE 1984, 0712 – Noricum), *Ittu* (ILLProN 1153; 1437); *Itta* (ILLProN 1294 – in this inscription a certain Adiectus is mentioned. The same name occurs in another curse tablet from Savaria, CIGP² 50).

¹⁴ Adamik 2010, 26-27.

Line 3: At the beginning of this line the letters INAHIVITAN are conspicuous. As the meaning is not doubtless again, reading it either from left to right or right to left, a spelling mistake must be supposed. The most plausible possibility could be *Ina(c)hi vita n[---]*, though generally the letter H was dropped off from a Greek aspirated letter when transcribing into Latin.¹⁵

Line 4 is readable almost in full length, but around the hole some damages can be noticed. It begins with three letters whose most plausible interpretation would be the pronomen *hic*. On the other hand, some slight scratches on the right of the third letter might suggest that this is a letter Q. This reading would fit into a *tria nomina*, considering that it is followed by two more names. The first name can be read as *Septeius*. It can be the variant or the deteriorated¹⁶ form of the nomen gentile *Septueius* known from Noricum¹⁷ and Dalmatia¹⁸. The second one is the frequent cognomen *Crescens*, where the first S is hardly discernible today, the second one is missing due to the general phenomenon of not marking the nasal sound in the cluster *-ns-*. If we accept this reading we might have a new piece of information about the Septueius family originating in Aquileia¹⁹ and later known from the mining industry in Noricum²⁰.

Line 5-6: as only fragments of letters are perceivable we reject to be reduced to conjectures.

The reverse is much more disordered than the obverse. The size and the formation of the letters and the space between them differ in a major grade. Sometimes no decision can be taken whether a letter has disappeared by now or there is only a larger space between two letters than usual. The letters in line 6 almost fall to pieces.

Despite this, it is unexpected to read so clearly the words: *milites magistratusq[ue]* in the very middle of the tablet. Besides, no other entire meaningful Latin word can be deciphered. At the end of the first line and at the beginning of the second one, VLEA is the last and first visible word part, respectively. It has almost disappeared, the preceding and the following letters cannot be seen. The letter L is not a majuscule as in *milites*, but a cursive one. The second and the sixth line is quite visible (ATOMESESEAMEL and VSSESENTAAIM), but without supposing any mistake (either intentional or unintentional) it is

¹⁵ Cf. *Hristo* instead of *Christo* on RIU 82. Adamik 2010, 32-33.

¹⁶ For the absence of V before an other vowel on inscriptions, s. Väänänen 1966, 41.

¹⁷ *Q. Septueius Valens* and *Q. Septueius Clemens* CIL 03, 04809 = ILLProN 151; this latter is on AE 1986, 538 again; *Q. Septueius Faustus* and *Q. Septueius Marinus filius* CIL 03, 05593 = ILLProN 1552; *Q. Septueius Adiectus* CIL III 5480 = ILLProN 1482.

¹⁸ *Septueia Ingenua* on a gravestone from Salona (ILJug 2728).

¹⁹ CIL V 8459 = InscrAqu I 404. cited in Scherrer 2002.

²⁰ See n. 12. For ancient mining, esp. the role of *Septuei* see: Hirt 2010, pp. 243 and 285.

difficult to interpret. All these facts mentioned above and the short half lines (marked as line 3 and 5) point to the assumption that maybe firstly *milites magistratusq[ue]* was written on the tablet, the rest was later carved in order to fill all the gaps, free spaces around²¹.

To mention soldiers and magistrates together in a Latin curse tablet is without parallel yet. Moreover, neither of these words can be read on them, except a *miles* in Britannia²².

On the other hand, there is a special group of curses characterized by attacking political representatives or those in power, either mentioning them by own names or referring to them generally²³. As F. Marco pointed out this group was created in a period of social change and uncertainty²⁴, and it was directed those who had allegedly benefited unfairly from new power's decisions.

The tablet itself fits well into the history of Savaria. It was found in the temenos of Isis, and can be dated *post quem* to reign of Vespasian which can be supported by the tablet's paleography. The cursetablets of Mainz²⁵ were discovered paralelly in the Isis sanctuary as well and they were made in the same period.

All the names mentioned in the tablet are either common names as *Secundus*, *Crescens*, or known from provinces which had strong connections with Pannonia in the area of migration, trade and economy.

In regard that Savaria was an important central town in a quite newly founded and organized Roman province, it is not unexpected to discover a curse tablet of a content referring to the Roman power.

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²¹ I am grateful to Celia Sanchez Natalias for this assumption.

²² dfx 3.5/1 = *Britannia* 25 (1994) 296-298, Nr. 2.

²³ Marco 2010.

²⁴ These tablets from Ampurias can be dated to reign of Vespasian, as well.

²⁵ Blänsdorf 2010.

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(ISSN 0418 – 453X)

<i>ACTA CLASSICA UNIV. SCIENT. DEBRECEN.</i>	<i>XLVIII.</i>	<i>2012.</i>	<i>pp. 175–177.</i>
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THE KEY OF THE UTERUS: ABOUT A MAGIC GEM FROM BUCHAREST

BY EDINA GRADVOHL

Abstract: In the Numismatic Collection of the Romanian Academy we find on gem no. 398 a key and a uterus in the shape of a cupping-glass. This gemstone is classed among the magic gems with which women sought to close and open their uterus.

Keywords: uterus gemstone, magical gems, the key of the uterus

Mihai Gramatopol published the catalogue of the Numismatic Collection of the Romanian Academy in 1974. It did not turn to the catalogue's profit that its photos of the gems were not of fine quality. The imagery of the A side of gem no. 398 is barely discernible.¹ I quote the description of this gem:

„398 Pierre avec l'inscription OPOE sur l'avvers, légende circulaire autour d'un

IOYΘ

symbole incertain: APAOTEMIΔW (Artemidoros ?) Magnetite ; format ovale : 8 mm. x 10 ; ép.: 2 mm. ; ... Inv. 584.”

The most common inscription on the “uterus”-gems is “OPWPIOYΘ”, that is we can find a deformed, more precisely a deficient version of this inscription on the Bucharest gem. The letter “P” was omitted, the pronunciation of “EI” was “I”, thus, in this case we face a case of simple itacism. On the basis of the name of the demon we are can make sure that a “uterus”-gem is kept in the Numismatic Collection of Bucharest and the „symbole incertain” could be a uterus.

The preeminent researcher, Mihail Gramatopol's widow, Viorica Gramatopol edited all his works. Among these works we can find the publication of his doctoral thesis written in Romanian in 1977. In this work there are excellent colour photographs of some pieces of the Bucharest collection of gems. We can

¹ Gramatopol 1974, 70, we can see the photo of the gem on the table XIX.

see the side A of the gem no. 398. on the table 15.² I made a drawing of this gem that I publish next to the photograph.

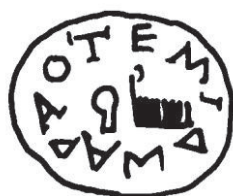


Fig. 1. The photo of 398a.

Fig. 2. The drawing of 398a.

Fig. 3. The drawing of 398b.

Next to a cupping-glass shaped uterus we can clearly see a key with which a woman could magically open and close her uterus.³ It is surprising that the excellent gem researcher, who did not see this gem only on photo, but could hold it in his own hands – decades after the publishing of the monograph of Bonner or Barb's detailed study – did not realize what the symbol on the gem stands for. This imagery was unidentified for a long time when in 1914 Delatte published a study in which she already gave an interpretation of it. Although Bonner reminds us that before Delatte's interpretation there were some researchers who had already identified it as a uterus.⁴ The Bucharest gem expands the group of the key-uterus representations by one more piece.

The interpretation of Delatte was disputed by Eleni Tsatsou in 2012.⁵ Tsatsou interprets the uterus symbol as a sun symbol and adds: „In my paper I will try to prove that the interpretation of the shape as uterus is wrong. I believe that these types of amulets are love amulets therefore should not be classified either among the healing amulets or those that protect motherhood.” Her interpretation has a vulnerable point, because love magic belongs to the group of binding magic, as it forces the loved person to love by means of hunger, insomnia and suffering. So far we have known that people used the magical gems to function as apotropaic that is in the form of an amulet. In order to be able to accept the

² Gramatopol 2011, on the table 15.

³ Barb 1953, 193–238; Gradvohl 2006, 58.

⁴ Bonner 1950, 18. S. Michael identified the uterus despite the poor quality of the photo, but he did not clearly see the key. Michel 2004, 334: „Schlüssel?” About the magical function of the uterus see Faraone 2011.

⁵ E. Tsatsou with the title 'Uterine amulets: amulets that protect the uterus or that reinforce erotic desire' held a lecture on 17/02/2012 at the Budapest *Magical Gems in their Context* Conference.

gems in the context of binding magic instead of the widely accepted womb-opening and -closing notion of Delatte, we need further conclusive evidence.

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ACTA CLASSICA UNIV. SCIENT. DEBRECEN.	XLVIII.	2012.	pp. 179–190.
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DIE „GABE DER ZUNGEN“, EIN MAGISCHES PHÄNOMEN IN EINEM CHRISTLICH-LITURGISCHEN KONTEXT¹

VON GONZALO FONTANA ELBOJ

Abstract: The “gift of tongues” is a phenomenon originating in well-known magical rituals in many cultures. In the case of early Christianity, it was introduced into the liturgies of communities in Corinth by new believers of Gentile upbringing whose religious experience already included it.

Keywords: gift of tongues, glossolalia, Paul, Corinth, Pentecost.

Diese Arbeit setzt sich zum Ziel, den Ursprung der „Gabe der Zungen“ zu beschreiben, ein Thema, das jedem, der schon einmal an einer christlichen Trauung teilgenommen hat, gut bekannt ist. Man denke nur an den berühmten Satz des Paulus im *Ersten Korintherbrief*: „Wenn ich mit Menschen- und mit Engeln redete, und hätte der Liebe nicht, so wäre ich ein tönend Erz oder eine klingende Schelle.“² (1Kor 13,1)³.

¹ Die vorliegende Arbeit wurde im Rahmen des vom Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación de España finanzierten Projekts FFI 2008-0511/FISO („Espacios de penumbra: cartografía de la actividad mágico-religiosa en el occidente del Imperio romano“) verfasst. El presente trabajo ha sido realizado en el marco del proyecto FFI 2008-0511/FISO („Espacios de penumbra: cartografía de la actividad mágico-religiosa en el occidente del Imperio romano“), financiado por el Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación de España.

² Die Bibelzitate sind der Lutherbibel in der Übersetzung von 1912 bei <http://www.bibel-online.net/> entnommen.

³ Die Frage nach dem Ursprung der Glossolalie ist in den letzten Jahrzehnten der Gegenstand verschiedener Werke gewesen, seit Behn 1949 auf die möglicherweise heidnische Herkunft des Phänomens hingewiesen hat. Nach Behn haben andere Autoren diesen Ansatz fortgesetzt. So bestätigt House 1983, 138: “the ecstatic tongues-speaking of the oracle and the subsequent interpretation by the priest at Delphi are widely known.” Schließlich befand sich das Zentrum der Religion Apollons in Korinth, und es ist, wie House selbst sagt, „not surprising that some of the Corinthians carried these pagan ideas in the church at Corinth.“ Im gleichen Sinn erläutert Mills: “We suggested, however, that certain aspects of this curious phenomenon [glossolalia] referred to these NT passages [Acts 2;10;19, and 1Corinthians 14], and sometimes present in its modern expression, may be related in specific ways to elements associated with ancient practice of ecstaticism.” (Mills 2001, 29). Sungenis (2005) erklärt ebenfalls, „tongue-speaking was not an entirely new phenomenon in the New Testament times.“ Im Gegensatz dazu streitet Forbes jede Beziehung zwischen den magischen Texten und der Glossolalie ab: “These invocations and

Allerdings sind diese „Engelzungen“ allem Anschein zum Trotz weder ein jüdisches noch ein christliches Phänomen⁴. Wir werden versuchen zu zeigen, dass es sich um ein Phänomen magischen Ursprungs handelt, welches von der Liturgie der frühen korinthischen Christengemeinde und möglicherweise auch anderer christlicher Gruppen der ersten Jahrhunderte übernommen wurde.

Der Begriff „Glossolalie“ stammt von dem von Paulus verwendeten Ausdruck „γλώσσας λαλεῖν“ ab:

„Wenn ich mit Menschen- und mit Engelzungen redete [ταῖς γλώσσαις τῶν ἀνθρώπων λαλῶ καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων], und hätte der Liebe nicht, so wäre ich ein tönend Erz oder eine klingende Schelle.“ (1Kor 13,1)

„Strebet nach der Liebe! Fleißiget euch der geistlichen Gaben, am meisten aber, daß ihr weissagen möget! Denn der mit Zungen redet [ὁ λαλῶν γλώσσῃ], der redet nicht den Menschen, sondern Gott; denn ihm hört niemand zu, im Geist aber redet er die Geheimnisse. Wer aber weissagt, der redet den Menschen zur Besserung und zur Ermahnung und zur Tröstung. Wer mit Zungen redet, der bessert sich selbst; wer aber weissagt, der bessert die Gemeinde. Ich wollte, daß ihr alle mit Zungen reden könntet; aber viel mehr, daß ihr weissagt. Denn der da weissagt, ist größer, als der mit Zungen redet; es sei denn, daß er's auch auslege, daß die Gemeinde davon gebessert werde. Nun aber, liebe Brüder, wenn ich zu euch käme und redete mit Zungen, was wäre es euch nütze, so ich nicht mit euch redete entweder durch Offenbarung oder durch Erkenntnis oder durch Weissagung oder durch Lehre? Verhält sich's doch auch also mit den Dingen, die da lauten, und doch nicht leben; es sei eine Pfeife oder eine Harfe: wenn sie nicht unterschiedene Töne von sich geben, wie kann man erkennen, was gepfiffen oder geharft wird? Und so die Posaune einen undeutlichen Ton gibt, wer wird sich zum Streit rüsten? Also auch ihr, wenn ihr mit Zungen redet, so ihr nicht eine deutliche Rede gebet, wie kann man wissen, was geredet ist? Denn ihr werdet in den Wind reden.“ (1Kor 14,1-9)

In den biblischen Texten wird der Begriff jedoch nicht eindeutig verwendet und dadurch das Verständnis der Natur dieses Phänomens erschwert:

incantations, which make up so much of the magical papyri, are not conceived as language, do not need, or receive, interpretation, and neither are they seen as in any sense revelatory. They are invocations, and (if inspiration is in view at all) they are part of the process intended to lead to inspiration; they do not result from it. Neither are they spontaneous: they are incantations to be recited or inscribed precisely as they are written” (1995, 153-154).

⁴ *“Although the OT [Old Testament] contains records of ecstatic religious speech, there is no Hebrew equivalent for the term glossolalia nor any use of the expression glossais lalein in the Septuagint [...] The singular glossa lalein dos [sic] appear in the Septuagint, but not in reference to glossolalia.”* (Spittler 2002, 670).

- a) Einerseits scheint es in *Markus* und in der *Apostelgeschichte* darin zu bestehen, unbekannte Sprachen dank eines Wunders statt infolge eines Lernprozesses zu sprechen:

„Die Zeichen aber, die da folgen werden denen, die da glauben, sind die: in meinem Namen werden sie Teufel austreiben, mit neuen Zungen reden [γλώσσαις λαλήσουσιν καιναῖς]. Schlangen vertreiben; und so sie etwas Tödliches trinken, wird's ihnen nicht schaden; auf die Kranken werden sie die Hände legen, so wird es besser mit ihnen werden.“ (Mk 16,17-18)

„Und es erschienen ihnen Zungen, zerteilt, wie von Feuer; und er setzte sich auf einen jeglichen unter ihnen; und sie wurden alle voll des Heiligen Geistes und fingen an, zu predigen mit anderen Zungen, nach dem der Geist ihnen gab auszusprechen. Es waren aber Juden zu Jerusalem wohnend, die waren gottesfürchtige Männer [ἄνδρες εὐλαβεῖς] (...). Da nun diese Stimme geschah, kam die Menge zusammen und wurden bestürzt; denn es hörte ein jeglicher, daß sie mit seiner Sprache redeten. Sie entsetzten sich aber alle [ἐξίσταντο], verwunderten sich und sprachen untereinander: Siehe, sind nicht diese alle, die da reden, aus Galiläa? Wie hören wir denn ein jeglicher seine Sprache, darin wir geboren sind? (...) Sie entsetzten sich aber alle [ἐξίσταντο] und wurden irre und sprachen einer zu dem andern: Was will das werden? Die andern aber hatten's ihren Spott und sprachen: Sie sind voll süßen Weins.“ (Apg 2,3-13)

- b) Andererseits jedoch beschreibt Paulus lange Zeit vor dem Entstehen dieser Texte eine ganz andere Realität. Bei ihm geht es darum, dass unverständliche Laute hervorgebracht werden, die einer Auslegung bedürfen:

„Denn der mit Zungen redet [ὁ λαλῶν γλώσσῃ], der redet nicht den Menschen, sondern Gott; denn ihm hört niemand zu, im Geist aber redet er die Geheimnisse.“ (1Kor 14,2)

Auch im *Römerbrief* sind vereinzelte Hinweise zu finden. Daraus geht ebenfalls hervor, dass es sich um unverständliche Laute handelt:

„... Denn wir wissen nicht, was wir beten sollen, wie sich's gebührt; sondern der Geist selbst vertritt uns aufs beste mit unaussprechlichem Seufzen [στεναγμοῖς ἀλαλήτοις].“ (Röm 8,26)

Die Schlussfolgerung liegt auf der Hand: Das Phänomen, das uns beschäftigt (und das wir nur durch die Hinweise des Paulus aus den 50er Jahren kennen), ist der frühen korinthischen Christengemeinde eigen und wurde Anfang des 2. Jh. auf ganz andere Weise neu gedeutet, nämlich als das Sprechen von Fremdsprachen.

Beginnen wir also unsere Untersuchung darüber, was Glossolalie ist und wie Paulus sie beschreibt, denn offensichtlich ist die Beschreibung des Pfingstwunders reine Erfindung:

„Ihr seid aber der Leib Christi und Glieder, ein jeglicher nach seinem Teil. Und Gott hat gesetzt in der Gemeinde aufs erste die Apostel, aufs andre die Propheten, aufs dritte die Lehrer, darnach die Wundertäter, darnach die Gaben, gesund zu machen, Helfer, Regierer, mancherlei Sprachen [γέννη γλωσσῶν]. Sind sie alle Apostel? Sind sie alle Propheten? Sind sie alle Lehrer? Sind sie alle Wundertäter? Haben sie alle Gaben, gesund zu machen? Reden sie alle mancherlei Sprachen? [μὴ πάντες γλώσσαις λαλοῦσιν;] Können sie alle auslegen? [μὴ πάντες διερμηνεύουσιν;] Strebet aber nach den besten Gaben!“ (1Kor 12,27-31)

Paulus ordnet die Gaben des Geistes hierarchisch; an der Spitze stehen selbstverständlich die Apostel. Eine bekannte Behauptung der Soziologie besagt, dass jeder, der eine Rangordnung bzw. eine Hierarchie festlegt, dies zu dem Zweck tut, selbst auf dem höchsten Niveau zu stehen. Aber fahren wir fort. Danach kommen die Propheten, die Lehrer etc. Und an letzter Stelle, als die am wenigsten wichtige Gabe, steht die Gabe der Zungen.

Die Zungenrede war für Paulus nämlich etwas recht Verächtliches.

„Nun aber, liebe Brüder, wenn ich zu euch käme und redete mit Zungen, was wäre es euch nütze, so ich nicht mit euch redete entweder durch Offenbarung oder durch Erkenntnis oder durch Weissagung oder durch Lehre?“ (1Kor 14,6)⁵

Die Glossolalie, das Reden mit Engelzungen, war dem religiösen Hintergrund des Juden Paulus fremd. Es handelte sich vielmehr um ein Phänomen, das aus der ursprünglichen Erfahrung der neuen Gläubigen stammte. Das heißt, es war heidnischer Herkunft:

„Von den geistlichen Gaben [περὶ δὲ τῶν πνευματικῶν] aber will ich euch, liebe Brüder, nicht verhalten. Ihr wisset, daß ihr Heiden seid gewesen und hingegangen zu den stummen Götzen [τὰ εἰδωλα τὰ ἄφωνα], wie ihr geführt wurdet.“ (1Kor 12,1-2)

Vielleicht waren die Götzen stumm. Überhaupt nicht stumm waren dahingegen die aus dem Heidentum stammenden neuen Gläubigen. Hierzu eine der merkwürdigsten Passagen des Neuen Testaments:

„Da Petrus noch diese Worte redete, fiel der heilige Geist auf alle, die dem Wort zuhörten. Und die Gläubigen aus den Juden [οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς πιστοί], die mit Petrus gekommen waren, entsetzten sich, daß auch auf die Heiden die Gabe des heiligen Geistes [τὴ δωρεὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος] ausgegossen ward; denn sie hörten, daß sie mit Zungen redeten [λαλούντων γλώσσαις] und Gott hoch priesen. Da antwortete Petrus: Mag auch jemand das Wasser wehren, daß diese nicht getauft werden, die den heiligen Geist empfangen haben gleichwie auch wir? Und befahl, sie zu taufen in dem Namen des Herrn.“ (Apg 10,44-48)

⁵ „Ich danke meinem Gott, daß ich mehr mit Zungen rede denn ihr alle.“ (1Kor 14,18).

Der Vorfall ereignet sich in Caesarea. Petrus hält seine erste Katechese bei Nichtjuden. Plötzlich fallen sie in Trance und beginnen, in Zungen zu reden. Sie haben den Heiligen Geist empfangen, bevor sie getauft worden sind. Ich weiß nicht, wie die Theologie das Ereignis deutet, den Heiligen Geist vor der Taufe zu empfangen. Aus historischer Sicht ist es jedoch klar: Die zum frühen Christentum bekehrten Heiden hatten die glossolalische Trance bereits praktiziert, bevor sie zu Christen getauft wurden. Das heißt, diese Praxis gehörte, wie bereits gesagt, zum Bereich ihrer eigenen religiösen Tradition und wurde in die ersten chaotischen liturgischen Versammlungen übernommen, von denen nur der Fall von Korinth dokumentiert ist.

Tatsächlich ist die Glossolalie in zahlreichen religiösen Traditionen ein sehr gut bezeugtes Phänomen. So beschreibt es Hovenden (2002, 6-30) in Mari in der ersten Hälfte des zweiten Jahrtausends v. Chr., in Ägypten (ca. 1100 v. Chr.) und natürlich in Griechenland. Dahingegen scheint es in der jüdischen religiösen Tradition nicht vorzukommen. Mehr noch, hier wird es seitens der jüdischen religiösen Autorität streng verurteilt:

„Wenn sie aber zu euch sagen: Ihr müßt die Wahrsager und Zeichendeuter fragen, die da flüstern und murmeln [τοὺς κενολογούντας, οἱ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας φωνοῦσιν] so sprecht: Soll nicht ein Volk seinen Gott fragen, oder soll man die Toten für die Lebendigen fragen? Ja, nach dem Gesetz und Zeugnis! Werden sie das nicht sagen, so werden sie die Morgenröte nicht haben.“ (Jes 8,19-20)

Der Prophet Jesaja beschreibt die Glossolalie in einem Kontext der Magie und Wahrsagung, wodurch das Phänomen automatisch den von der Bibel eindeutig verurteilten Praktiken zugeordnet wird. (cf. Ex 22,17).

Das heißt, diejenigen, die merkwürdige Laute ausstoßen und niemandem Frucht bringen. So sah Paulus sie:

„Nun aber, liebe Brüder, wenn ich zu euch käme und redete mit Zungen, was wäre es euch nütze, so ich nicht mit euch redete entweder durch Offenbarung oder durch Erkenntnis oder durch Weissagung oder durch Lehre?“ (1Kor 14,6)

Letztendlich ist dies der deutlichste Hinweis auf den konkreten Ursprung des Phänomens unter den Gläubigen von Korinth. Sie hatten gelernt, durch die ekstatische Trance der Wahrsager und Magier ihres heidnischen Umfelds mit der Gottheit in Kontakt zu treten.

In der Tat liegen unzählige Beispiele dafür vor, wie magische Formeln von Aneinanderreihungen unverständlicher Laute begleitet werden; so beispielsweise

se der folgende Text der magischen Papyri, in dem eine glossolalische Formel erreichen soll, dass ein medial veranlagtes Kind die Zukunft vorhersagt:

„**Divination by means of a boy:** „After you have laid [him] on the ground, speak, and a dark-colored boy will appear to him [κατακλίνας (τὸν παῖδα) ἐπὶ τὸ ἔδαφος λέγε, καὶ φανήσεται αὐτῷ π(αῖ)δα μελάγκρουν]. **Formula:** „I call upon you, inhabitants of Chaos and Erebus, of the depth, of earth, watchers of heaven, of darkness, masters of things not to be seen, guardians of secrets, leaders of those beneath the earth, administrators of things which are infinite (...) BITHOURARA ASOUÊMARA <...> OTROUR MOURROUR APHLAU MANDRAROU ROU SOU MARAROU...“ (PGM VII, 348-358) (Englische Übersetzung von H. D. Betz, 127)

In der Tat, wenn die Glossolalie aus der eigenen Erfahrung der neuen Korinther Gläubigen stammte, wo hätten sie sie erwerben können, wenn nicht durch die Wahrsager ihres Umfelds?

Um genau zu sein, beschränkt sich das Phänomen nicht auf die volkstümlichen Wahrsager, sondern wird auch im Bereich der hohen Magie praktiziert. Dies bezeugt ein Zitat von Nikomachos von Gerasa (Ende des 1. Jh.):

„...las potencias eficaces que tienen la capacidad de iniciar en las realidades divinas. Por ello cuando los teúrgos honran a lo semejante con silbidos, chasquidos de la lengua y sonidos desarticulados y discordantes están invocando simbólicamente“ [σιγμοῖς τε καὶ ποππυμοῖς καὶ ἀναρθροῖς καὶ ἀσυμφώνοις ἤχοις συμβολικῶς ἐπικαλοῦνται].“⁶

Tatsächlich ist die Realität, die Paulus uns vermittelt, genau die gleiche, die wir vom berühmtesten Orakel des Altertums kennen: Delphi.

„Die Sibylle, die mit rasendem Munde Ungelachtes und Ungeschminktes und Ungesalbtes redet, [reicht mit ihrer Stimme durch tausend Jahre.] Denn der Gott treibt sie. [Σίβυλλα δὲ μαινομένη στόματι (καθ' Ἡράκλειτον) ἀγέλαστα καὶ ἀκαλλώπιστα καὶ ἀμύριστα φεγγομένη, χιλίων ἐτῶν ἐξικνεῖται τῇ φωνῇ διὰ τὸν θεόν]“ (Plut., *De Pith. or.* 6,397a)⁷.

⁶ Nikomachos von Gerasa. In: von Jan, C. (ed.): *Musici Scriptores Graeci*. Hildesheim 1962, 277. Indirektes Zitat aus F. García Bazán, in der „Introducción“ zu den *Oráculos Caldeos*. Madrid 1991, 17.

⁷ Man beachte, dass das Partizip „φεγγομένη“ genau auf den Begriff „ἀποφθέγγεσθαι“ verweist, der in der *Apostelgeschichte* (2, 4) vorkommt, und auch auf den Begriff, den der anti-markionitische Rhodon am Ende des 2. Jh. verwendet, um die markionitische Prophetin Philomela zu beschreiben: „Denn während Apelles, einer aus ihrer Schar, ein Mann, der sich seines Wandels und seines Alters rühmt, den Sprüchen einer besessenen Jungfrau namens Philumena folgend [πειθόμενος ἀποφθέγμασι παρθένου δαιμονώσης], nur ein einziges Prinzip annimmt, obwohl er die prophetischen Schriften aus einem diesem feindlichen Geiste erstehen läßt.“ (Rhodon *apud* Eus., *HE* 5,13, 3-5)

Es braucht nicht weiter betont zu werden. Die Sibylle gab unverständliche Laute von sich, die von den Priestern gedeutet werden mussten⁸. Genau das Gleiche, das wir im Fall der Besessenen in Korinth sehen (cf. *IKor* 14, 5). Und noch deutlicher wird es in dem Text, in dem Paulus die chaotischen Versammlungen von Korinth organisiert:

„... Wenn ihr zusammenkommt, so hat ein jeglicher Psalmen, er hat eine Lehre, er hat Zungen, er hat Offenbarung, er hat Auslegung. Laßt alles geschehen zur Besserung! So jemand mit Zungen redet, so seien es ihrer zwei oder aufs meiste drei, und einer um den andern; und einer lege es aus. Ist aber kein Ausleger da, so schweige er in der Gemeinde [ἐάν δὲ μὴ ᾗ διερμηνευτής, σιγάτω ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ], rede aber sich selber und Gott.“ (*IKor* 14, 26-28)

Es wäre interessant, sich die Frage zu stellen, wie viele dieser „Auslegungen“ in die heiligen Texte des Christentums übernommen worden sind. An dieser Stelle möchten wir jedoch nur verdeutlichen, dass die christliche Glossolalie von Korinth unseres Erachtens ihren Ursprung in den wahrsagerischen Ekstasen der griechischen Welt hatte.

Es war der einzige Weg, der den Christen heidnischer Herkunft zur Verfügung stand, um ihrer Verbindung zur Gottheit Ausdruck zu verleihen. Ihnen fehlte die nötige Bildung, um „weissagen“ zu können, das heißt, sie kannten die jüdische literarische Tradition nicht. So stand ihnen nur die Möglichkeit zur Zungenrede offen. Ebenso, wie die Magier und Wahrsager zu den Daimones in Kontakt traten, konnten sie zu den Engeln in Kontakt treten.

⁸ Dahingegen ist in anderen Beschreibungen aus der klassischen Epoche (z. B. Herodot) niemals von den Priestern als Auslegern die Rede. Vielmehr werden diesen zufolge die Orakel direkt von der Sibylle in Hexametern ausgedrückt. So führt V. Marsá aus: „*Se ha escrito mucho sobre si era la profetisa, los profetas o los sacerdotes quienes elaboraban las respuestas del oráculo. Si atribuimos a los profetas delficos la creación de los oráculos, hemos de tener en cuenta que su instrucción en cuanto a temas socio-políticos de la época era amplia; así pues, si las profecías se ofrecían en el acto, es decir, justo en el momento de la consulta, éstas debían ser redactadas antes de la consulta en el áditon. Es posible que la consulta se hiciera antes a uno de los sacerdotes y, a continuación, el oráculo se entregara a la Pitia para que esta respondiera como ellos creían conveniente; con esta suposición deberíamos descartar los oráculos emitidos con sonidos incomprensibles.*“ (Marsá González 2005, 48). Jedenfalls geht aus einer Passage Heraklits hervor, dass die Sibylle in der Tat inartikulierte Laute äußerte, die von den Priestern gedeutet wurden: „Der Herr, der das Orakel in Delphi besitzt, sagt nichts und birgt nichts, sondern er deutet an. [ὁ ἀναξ, οὗ τὸ μαντεῖόν ἐστι τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς, οὔτε λέγει οὔτε κρύπτει ἀλλὰ σημαίνει]“ (fr. 93 DK, *apud* Plut., *De pyth. or.* 21[404E]). Demzufolge waren die Worte der Sibylle von Anfang an „Zeichen“, die von den Priestern ausgelegt wurden.

Wie wir bereits gesehen haben, brachte Paulus dieser Praxis keine große Sympathie entgegen. Das ist darauf zurückzuführen, dass dieses Phänomen zu jener Zeit bereits in Verruf geraten war:

„Wenn nun die ganze Gemeinde zusammenkäme an einen Ort und redeten alle mit Zungen, es kämen aber hinein Laien [ἰδιῶται] oder Ungläubige [ἄπιστοι], würden sie nicht sagen, ihr wäret unsinnig?“ (1Kor 14, 23)⁹

In der Tat stand die wahrsagerische Ekstase im 1. und 2. Jh. in gewissen heidnischen Kreisen in sehr schlechtem Ruf. Dies geht beispielsweise aus der sonderbaren Beschreibung von Alexander von Abonuteichos aus der Feder Lukians hervor:

„Mit dem Frühesten des andern Tages rennt er nackt mit einem goldenen Schamgürtel um die Hüfte, und jenen krummen Säbel in der Hand, auf den Markt, schüttelt seine aufgelösten Locken, wie ein begeisterter [ἐνθουσιάζοντες] Priester der Cybele, besteigt einen hohen Altar, haranguiert das Volk, und spricht von dem außerordentlichen Glück, das dieser Stadt bevorstehe, den leibhaftigen Gott in ihre Mauern aufzunehmen. Alle Anwesenden – denn fast die ganze Bevölkerung der Stadt, Weiber, Kinder, Greise, waren zusammengelaufen – staunten, fielen auf die Kniee und beteten an. Inzwischen stieß der Mann viele unverständliche Worte aus [φωνάς τινὰς ἄσημους φθεγγόμενος], die wie Ebräisch oder Phöniciisch klangen [Ἑβραίων ἢ Φοινίκων], und auf die Menge einen um so stärkern Eindruck machten, weil sie, die Namen Apollo und Aesculap ausgenommen, die er einmal um das andere zwischenein tönen ließ, gar nicht verstand, was er sagte.“ (Luc., *Alex.* 13)

Möglicherweise ist ein Text von Lukian nicht die beste Quelle, um über das Ansehen, das die wahrsagerische Ekstase zu jener Zeit genoss, Aufschluss zu erhalten. Das Zeugnis Plutarchs jedoch steht weniger im Verdacht der Antipathie:

„οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ ἀλλαχόθι νῦν ἢ περὶ Λεβάδειαν ἢ Βοιωτία παρέχει τοῖς χρήζουσιν ἀρύσασθαι μαντικῆς, τῶν δ' ἄλλων τὰ μὲν σιγῇ τὰ δὲ παντελὴς ἐρημία κατέσχηκε.“ (Plut., *De defect. orac.* 5 [411 F])

An dieser Stelle können wir die Ursachen, die zur Beeinträchtigung des Ansehens der offiziellen Orakel führten, nicht näher untersuchen. Nicht an letzter Stelle zählte sicherlich der Umstand dazu, dass die griechischen Städte nach dem Verlust ihrer politischen Unabhängigkeit an Rom aufgehört hatten, deren Dienste in Anspruch zu nehmen, und damit auch, sie zu finanzieren. Letztendlich wurden die wichtigen Entscheidungen von einer Macht getroffen, die keine anderen Autoritäten neben sich zuließ. Dies bedeutet jedoch nicht, dass die Menschen nicht den Wunsch und das Bedürfnis verspürt hätten, einen Sinn ihres Lebens

⁹ Ebenso erklärt der Autor der *Apostelgeschichte* in aller Deutlichkeit, dass einige der Zuschauer die Apostel für betrunken hielten (*Apg* 2,13).

zu finden und ihr Schicksal in gewissem Grade in der eigenen Hand zu haben. Aus diesem Grund wuchs auch die Zahl der wandernden Wahrsager zu jener Zeit an. Den zeitgenössischen Beschreibungen zufolge kombinierten diese dabei in verschiedenen Proportionen Wunder, Schauspiel, Religion und Magie, je nach ihrem Publikum und den persönlichen Umständen des Wahrsagers selbst:

„Aber wir sehen doch wohl auch, dass die Leute, die auf den Märkten die berühmtesten Dinge zur Schau stellen und Gaben erbetteln, niemals zu einer Vereinigung verständiger Männer herantreten und auch nicht wagen würden, dort ihre Kunststücke zu zeigen. Wo sie aber junge Burschen und einen Haufen Sklaven und eine Schar vom Dummköpfen sehen, da drängen sie sich hin und machen sich schön.“ (Cels. *apud* Orig., *Cels.* 3,50)

Die Glossolalie verschwand schon sehr bald aus der christlichen Praxis, zumindest bei den Gruppen, die den Bibelkanon bildeten. Ihre Herkunft war nämlich sehr fragwürdig. Dies geht auch aus der Tatsache hervor, dass die Erzählungen aus dem 2. Jh. bereits keine Angaben mehr darüber enthalten und statt dessen vom göttlichen Wunder, in fremden Zungen zu sprechen, die Rede ist. Dies ist im Werk von Irenäus (Ende des 2. Jh.) zu sehen, in dem die Glossolalie nur im Sinne der Fähigkeit, fremde Sprachen zu sprechen, behandelt wird:

„Deshalb sagt auch der Apostel: „Weisheit reden wir unter Vollkommenen“ [*IKor* 2,6], indem er die vollkommen nennt, die den Geist Gottes empfangen haben und durch den Geist wie er selber in allen Sprachen reden [*IKor* 14,18]. Hören wir doch auch von vielen Brüdern in der Kirche, daß sie prophetische Charismen haben, in allerhand Sprachen durch den Geist reden [καὶ παντοδαπαῖς λαλοῦντων διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος γλώσσαις], das Verborgene der Menschen zu ihrem Vorteil ans Licht bringen und die Geheimnisse Gottes erklären. Diese nennt der Apostel auch geistig wegen ihrer Teilnahme am Geist [*IKor* 2,15] ...“ (Iren., *Adv. Haer.* V 6,1)

Dennoch scheint klar zu sein, dass das Phänomen im Gegensatz zu den orthodoxen Gruppen noch lange Zeit insbesondere in gnostisch orientierten Randgruppen überlebte. Dies geht aus folgendem Text aus dem *Ägypterevangelium* hervor:

„Aber von nun an durch den unvergänglichen Menschen Poimael und diejenigen, die der Anrufung würdig sind (durch) die Absonderung der fünf Siegel in der Quellentaufe, diese werden ihre Aufnehmer erkennen, wie sie über sie belehrt werden und sie durch sie erkennen (oder: erkannt werden). Diese werden den Tod nicht schmecken.“

IE IEUS EO OU EO OUA
Wirklich wahrhaftig,
oh Jesseus Mazareus Jessedekeus, lebendiges Wasser,
Kind des Kindes,
herrlicher Name!
Wirklich wahrhaftig,
seiender Äon,

III EEEE EEEE OOOO UUUU OOOO AAA!
 Wirklich wahrhaftig,
 EI AAAA OOOO,
 oh Seiender, der die Äonen sieht!
 Wirklich wahrhaftig,
 EEE III UUUUU OOOOOOOO,
 in alle Ewigkeit Seiender!
 Wirklich wahrhaftig,
 IEA AIO im Herzen,
 der Seiende
 UAEI EISAEI EIOEI EIOSEI!“ (*Ägypterevangelium* 66)

Dies ist ein Fragment des gnostischen *Ägypterevangeliums*, in dem der Sprecher in Ekstase gerät und mitten in der Trance seine Doxologie mit Engelslauten abwechselt, eine klare Übertragung der Götterstimmen, wie sie in den magischen Papyri bezeugt sind. Zumindest formal ist diese Art von Vokalisierung einigen magischen jüdischen Texten sehr ähnlich. Ein einziges Beispiel aus Pannonien soll genügen:

“ΗΗΟΙΙΙ | ΥΥΧΥΥ | ΩΥΙΣ || ό μέ|γας θεός|ς ’Αβραά|μ ’Ισ(α)άκ ’Ιακώ|β| | ΑΕΗΙΟΘΩ.” (*IGPannonia*, 48) Carnuntum (Panonia). 3. Jh. n. Chr.

Zum anderen macht Kelsos (der große Feind der Christen im 2. Jh.) deutlich, dass es Christen gab, die durch das Ausstoßen einer Reihe unverständlicher Laute in Ekstase gerieten und diese anschließend nach eigenem Gutdünken deuteten:

„Wenn sie diese Dinge drohend vorgehalten haben, fügen sie der Reihe nach unverständliche, verrückte und ganz unklare Worte hinzu [ταῦτ’ ἐπανατεινόμενοι προστιθέασιν ἐφεξῆς ἄγνωστα καὶ πάροιστρα καὶ πάντῃ ἄδηλα], deren Sinn kein Verständiger herausbringen könnte; denn sie sind dunkel und nichtssagend, geben aber jedem Toren und Betrüger in jeder Hinsicht eine Handhabe, das Gesagte so, wie er will, sich anzueignen.“ (*apud Orig., Cels.* 7,9)

Also ist es sehr wahrscheinlich, dass die unverständlichen glossolalischen Äußerungen sich nicht sehr von den bekannten „ὀνόματα βαρβαρικά“ unterscheiden, die typisch für die rituellen Formeln der Magie sind. Rufen wir uns hierzu die Verse des Euripides ins Gedächtnis: „ἄνωλόλυξε καὶ κατῆδε βάρβαρα / μέλη μαγέουσ’.“ (*IT* 1337-38). Auch Lukan liefert mit der Episode der Hexe Erichtho ein hervorragendes Beispiel für dieses Phänomen:

“tum uox Lethaeos cunctis pollentior herbis
 excantare deos confundit murmura primum
 dissona et humanae multum discordia linguae.
 latratus habet illa canum gemitusque luporum,

quod trepidus bubo, quod strix nocturna queruntur,
 quod strident ululantque ferae, quod sibilat anguis;
 exprimit et planctus inlissae cautibus undae
 silvarumque sonum fractaeque tonitrua nubis:
 tot rerum uox una fuit. mox cetera cantu
 explicat Haemonio penetratque in Tartara lingua.” (Luc. VI 685-694)

Man beobachte, wie diese Stimmen letztendlich auf einen Bereich völliger Andersartigkeit verweisen: bei Euripides sind es „barbarische Gesänge“, bei Lukan tierische Stimmen „*humanae multum discordia linguae*“ (687) oder ein Geheul, das die Macht des Sturms und des Unwetters beschwört¹⁰.

Die ersten korinthischen Gläubigen heidnischer Herkunft waren in eine Gruppe eingetreten, die ihnen die Möglichkeit bot, durch Visionen und mystische Erfahrungen direkt mit der Gottheit in Kontakt zu treten (cf. 2Kor, 12,1-5). Im Gegensatz zu den Bekehrten jüdischer Herkunft fehlten ihnen jedoch die nötigen Bibelkenntnisse, um einen Diskurs nach der Art der jüdischen Propheten zu konstruieren. Infolgedessen besuchten sie die glossolalischen Veranstaltungen der Wahrsager ihrer Umgebung. Zum Abschluss dieses Exposés muss jedenfalls darauf hingewiesen werden, dass die Glossolalie im christlichen Kontext eine andere Funktion als ihre ursprüngliche wahrnahm: in einigen der uns zur Verfügung stehenden magischen Texte, scheint es ein Verfahren zu sein, das dazu bestimmt ist, Eingebungen hervorzurufen, in anderen scheint es ein Teil festgelegter ritueller Formeln zu sein. Dies ist unseres Erachtens jedoch kein Hindernis, die wandernden Wahrsager, die Kelsos mit den Christen gleichsetzt (*apud* Orig., *Cels.* 3, 50), oder die professionellen Magier wie Alexander von Abonuteichos (Luc., *Alex.* 13) als eben die Vorbilder anzusehen, von denen die Heidenchristen aus Korinth ausgingen, um die mystische Trance ihrer wirren liturgischen Versammlungen auszudrücken.

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¹⁰ Eine Analyse der “*voces animalium*” in der Nekromantie des Altertums, in Bravo 2005, 127-156.

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<i>ACTA CLASSICA</i> <i>UNIV. SCIENT. DEBRECEN.</i>	<i>XLVIII.</i>	<i>2012.</i>	<i>pp. 191–205.</i>
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CRISIS OR TRANSFORMATION?

Klaus-Peter Johné (Hrsg.): *Die Zeit der Soldatenkaiser. Krise und Transformation des Römischen Reiches im 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr. (235-284)*. Akademie Verlag, Berlin 2008. Volumes 1–2, pp. 1409.

VON FERENC BARNA

The title of the publication presently under review^{*1} designates as its topic the era of soldier Emperors² while its subtitle defines therewith what the book means by this designation, namely the half century that falls between 235 and 284, that is the fall of the Severan Dynasty and the ascendance of Diocletian, in other words, the beginning of the age of tetrarchy. The monumental two-volume work makes an attempt at presenting this period, wishing to offer the reader a multi-faceted comprehensive picture of it based on the findings of scholarship in the past few decades.

Nevertheless, the central problem in the volumes emerges as early as the subtitle: can these decades be further regarded as a period of full-scale imperial crisis or is it more practical to interpret and characterize them rather as a stage of transformation or a period of transitional nature. This formerly relatively little studied half-century period³ of Roman History used to be traditionally regarded as one characterized mainly by military anarchy and a general crisis

* The present paper was made with funding support from TÁMOP-4.2.2./B-10/1-2010-0024 as part of the DENYDI classical philology program.

¹ All further references in the footnotes to the reviewed opus will henceforth be *Soldatenkaiser*.

² This designation (and its antecedents) had occurred in the classical authors. It was first used in modern times by J. Burckhardt, only to be generally used from F. Altheim onwards. In greater detail on this, see: *Soldatenkaiser*, 6.

³ The study of the period in question is rendered difficult by the limited number and fragmental nature of relevant written (mainly historiographical) sources. Moreover, this period of the 3rd century vanished for a long time from the focus of research as a transitional period between the early Empire and the late Imperial period. On the historiography of the period see in greater detail: *Soldatenkaiser*, 125-157.

permeating all spheres of life in the whole Empire.⁴ Studies in recent years⁵ have, however modified this earlier scholarly position – thus one can today form a more complex, more balanced and more detailed picture of the subject. But, a synthesis of the new findings has long been missing, that is, a comprehensive presentation with a uniform approach based on new research on the stormy middle section of the 3rd century is what the opus hereby reviewed has taken upon itself.

Such a monumental job as the comprehensive discussion of the era of soldier emperors extending not only to political history, both domestic and external policy matters but also economic and intellectual life, social history, as well as religious conditions, moreover extending to the presentation of territories adjacent to the borders of the Roman Empire does now exceed one man's faculties. The editor, K.-P. Johne, therefore enlisted the help of a whole range of acknowledged researchers so that they summarize the available knowledge from rather remote topical fields by exploiting the latest professional literature while also helping further research and orientation by offering comprehensive notations. More than two dozen researchers participated in this project including not only well-known classical historians of the Roman Empire, but also experts on the ancient Near East, numismatists, linguists and philologists, senior and junior scholars alike. Coordination of work, and securing the uniform framework of the book and its logical structure was undertaken by the editors, K.-P. Johne and his colleagues U. Hartmann and Th. Gerhardt.

The final outcome of all this work is a two-volume, monumental manual of over 1,400 pages, which discusses the conditions in the half-century period under scrutiny in ten chapters. These main chapters are thematic units often extending over several hundred pages within which there are series of subdivisions at various levels rendering the volume a lucid structure. One can establish at first sight that the first main chapter (13-157) musters up sources for the period and as such contains a historiographical survey. Then the second main unit (159-423) offers a detailed historical summary basically in chronological order, moving from Emperor to Emperor. This is followed by thematic

⁴ Pretenders' struggle for the throne, repeated offensives by the barbarians, demographical decline, epidemics, economic stagnation, inflation, the disappearance of former artistic forms of expression (and that of inscriptions and monumental public buildings) were usually quoted as attributes of the thoroughgoing general crisis of the Imperium Romanum. Accordingly, the 3rd century appears to be a period of crisis in A. Alföldi's works (such as Alföldi 1967, 312-374) while in relation to the sense of crisis of the contemporaries see e.g. Alföldy 1989, 273-318 – both volumes thus bearing reference to crisis in their titles, moreover Alföldy labels the period as "Weltkrise".

⁵ In this context the research studies of K. Strobel and Chr. Witschel need to be singled out.

chapters: the third major block (425-580) discusses major populations and lands adjacent to the Empire, while the fourth one (581-712) presents some significant elements of Roman state administration. Chapter V (713-813) addresses social conditions, while Chapter VI (815-860) deals with economic history and the history of coinages; then Chapter VII (861-924) depicts the problems of cultural and intellectual life, while Chapter VIII (925-1024) has the character of a religious history. To be followed by Unit IX (1025-1053), which rounds off and sums up the contents of the previous sections, making at the same time an attempt at offering an overall characterization. All this is joined by Chapter X (1055-1198), which is a kind of appendix, “Fasti”, containing chronological and prosopographical tables. The book is complemented with a list of abbreviations, a very detailed bibliography (1209-1358) and a few pictures as well.

The first main chapter devoted to the various types of sources and historiography (Quellen und Forschung) begins with a brief survey (U. Hartmann: Quellen, 15-17) that takes stock of sources related to the period under study, then, to be followed first by the discussion of written Latin and Greek records: texts of historiography and other literary works (U. Hartmann: Die literarischen Quellen, 19-44). The survey is very substantial but not only enumerates authors’ writings that originated in the 3rd century but also relevant written records authored by historians of late antiquity as well as those by the history-writers of medieval Byzantium: and not only those works extant in their full entirety or only in fragments but also works that had completely been lost and can only be traced back through other records in an indirect fashion. The presentation is succinct apart from a sketchy introduction to the piece (and its author, if known) and a list of the most important modern editions of the texts is also offered and so is a sketchy review of relevant literature even.

Sequel to this, the much disputed *Historia Augusta*, the most important one of the written records is presented (K.-P. Johne: Die *Historia Augusta*, 45-51), then follows the discussion of epigraphic relics and papyrus finds as well as the enumeration of the most significant works dealing with the numismatic material related to the period (K. Ehling, U. Hartmann: Die Primärquellen, 53-58).

The chapter on *Historia Augusta* is focused primarily on the difficulties of source criticism and the ever so numerous fictitious elements in the emperor biographies in the period under scrutiny, especially calling attention to the fully fictitious nature of the biographies of four usurpers⁶ out of the “thirty tyrants”

⁶ Saturninus, who was construed on the model of the pretender with same name rising up against Probus, as well as Celsus, Censorinus and the Anatolian insurgent Trebellianus.

rising up against Gallienus following the presentation of uncertainties concerning the author's person and briefly presenting various hypotheses.

Then follows the discussion of the archaeological material dated to the decades under study (K. Schade: *Die Archäologie*, 59-87).

The author relies primarily on the findings and views of Chr. Witschel⁷ – above all she points out the difficulties of interpreting archaeological finds⁸, makes an attempt at assessing on the basis of archaeological finds what construction activities can be verified in the studied period. On these grounds she tries to answer the question how far the crisis can be grasped in the archaeological material in certain areas of the Roman Empire. She systematically reviews the different parts of the Empire⁹, singles out a few examples from each part, then draws the conclusion that it is not at all justified to speak about such a general, pervasive crisis as had formerly been assumed. In spite of the devastation resulting from warfare, she puts the emphasis on the phenomena of continuity and survival whereas in some locations she appears to have found evidence of prosperity. The dramatic decline in erecting pieces of epigraphy and the disappearance of major public construction activity are not interpreted as the manifestations of a general crisis, but as a sign of change in the preferred social status representation of the elite, and the reader's attention is called to the large number of reconstruction activities, fortification projects and the construction of villas for the notables.

Schade's line of argument is basically convincing, but in certain respects, his position is one-sided, for extensive fortification and restoration work and giving up extramural residential areas observed in several cases¹⁰ yet bear witness to external peril and threat¹¹ and the fringe provinces had sustained serious

⁷ For example *Soldatenkaiser*, 60.

⁸ It calls attention partly to the risk that archaeological finds not easily dated will actually be dated to a chronologically close but better known period of Roman history (e.g. the time of the Severans or that of the tetrarchy). The research creating in this „artificial” way a kind of shortage in relevant finds. Nor must one forget the problem of what happens when researchers are lured into the trap of tautology while relying mainly on preconceptions emerging from the overwhelmingly literary sources in interpreting sets of archaeological finds.

⁹ It is true, however, that due to limited space the presentation is rather uneven and sporadic in some cases it is limited to a city or two within individual parts of the Empire. For example, only Athens is made mention of within the Greek-populated South Balkan areas.

¹⁰ *Soldatenkaiser*, 64 and 69.

¹¹ In a similar way W. Eck also points out the devastation of warfare, the incursions of Barbarians and the insecurity of the population when examining the surroundings of Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium although based primarily on epigraphical and numismatic arguments. (see: Eck 2007, 31-43). His study emphasizes first of all that although crisis phenomena did not affect the whole Empire uniformly, but owing to the close ties between various regions, local problems affected more remote regions, the whole of Imperium Romanum,

blows, even if their significance had not come anywhere close to what had been assumed with regard to the whole of the Empire. The author is presumably right in that the broad picture of the period is much more complex and varied and more determined by local factors than had been assumed by scholarship.

The second part of the chapter presenting the archaeological material analyses traits observed in portrait sculpture and sarcophagus carving and mosaicist activity where ensuing changes are interpreted rather as a sign of transforming public taste as well as that of the emergence of new needs and outlook rather than as symptoms of a general crisis in manifesting themselves in the field of art.

The next unit (E. Baltrusch, E. Kettenhofen, A. Luther: Die orientalische literarische Überlieferung, 89-107) addresses a relatively less familiar group of sources, the Near-Eastern records on the period under study: It gives a short introduction of various Syrian, Middle- and Neo-Persian pieces as well as works in Arabic, Jewish, Georgian and Armenian. It likewise introduces the chronicles, works in ecclesiastical history and documents of martyrdom – all the sources that could provide information on the Roman Empire (mainly, of course, its Eastern territories). The presentation follows the same method as had been before in the case of earlier Greek and Latin texts: a short introduction to be followed by major editions, translations and the enumeration of the most important items of literature.

In the rest of the chapter the reader can acquaint himself with a very special group of sources: the inscriptions and reliefs belonging to the Sassanian rulers' status representation. (Ph. Huyse: Die sāsānidischen Inschriften und Felsreliefs, 109-123). The presentation is undoubtedly interesting, yet appears slightly to be the "odd one out" for these inscriptions and reliefs are significant relics of the Sassanian rulers' legitimation and status representation, however, the bulk of them cannot be included among the sources of Roman history. Perhaps the only exceptions are I. Šābuhr's¹² epigraph found at Naqš-i Rostam (Res Gestae Divi Saporis) and five reliefs rendering his victories over the Roman Emperors. In the rest of the cases there is no direct bearing on Rome. The Sassanians are shown in the company of gods, amidst their courts or in the midst of hunting, being informed about their supreme skills at archery or – in the case of the epi-

moreover, their impact accumulated, multiplied and ultimately resulted in Empire-wide changes and crises as well as the disappearance of a sense of security on the part of the inhabitants (Eck 2007, 23-30).

¹² The names of Sassanian rulers crop up in a number of versions in modern research: the present review article will stick to the forms of names used in *Soldatenkaiser*.

graph of Narseh¹³ – we are told the story of their ascent to the throne. Therefore, the one-by-one introduction of these epigraphs and reliefs is rather unjustified – a more concise review of this group of sources would have been sufficient, or the whole chapter could have been placed elsewhere in the volume: in the third main unit, into the discussion of peoples and lands neighbouring on the Roman Empire as perhaps an excursion to the Sassanian Empire it would have fitted better the concept of the book.

As an end to the first main chapter there follows a review of research history (Th. Gerhardt: *Forschung*, 125-157), which extends from the beginning of modern historiography of Imperial Rome (E. Gibbon, J. Burckhardt) all the way to the latest professional literature available at the time of writing the book. The presentation can naturally not include all the fields of research for lack of space and is constrained mostly to the most comprehensive works of synthetic nature, as well as to those basic works and theories that, in turn, influenced scholarship for decades to come. This chapter highlights works by M. Rostovtzeff and F. Altheim, besides, substantively introduced are relevant works by A. Alföldi, H. Bengtson, G. Alföldy, K.-P. Johne and D. S. Potter and the views calling in question the traditional crisis-model (K. Strobel, Chr. Witschel), as well as monographs on individual Emperors (Chr. Körner, G. Kreucher).

The next is the most extensive unit of the book, which is a 260-page historical synopsis of events in the period, focused mainly on political and military events, turning points (*Die Ereignisse der Reichsgeschichte*). Five of the seven subchapters present in a chronological sequence the half century in question, the activities of the individual emperors from the ascent to the throne of Maximinus Thrax to the death of Carinus (U. Huttner: *Von Maximinus Thrax bis Aemilianus*, 161-221, A. Goltz, U. Hartmann: *Valerianus und Gallienus*, 223-295, U. Hartmann: *Claudius Gothicus und Aurelianus*, 297-323, K.-P. Johne: *Der "Senatskaiser" Tacitus*, 379-393, and G. Kreucher: *Probus und Carus*, 395-423). The two remaining parts forming a thematic block highlight the areas that temporarily freed themselves from the central administration; one is about Palmyra that temporarily controlled the eastern territories (U. Hartmann: *Das palmyrenische Teilreich*, 343-378) the other one is about the rival-emperors ruling in Gaul (A. Luther: *Das gallische Sonderreich*, 325-341).

Only a few more interesting elements in this chapter are to be highlighted.

¹³ Its presentation would, anyway, exceed the chronological boundaries of the present volume, for Narseh reigned between 293 and 302, that is, he was a contemporary and adversary of the tetrarchs.

One of the much disputed issues of the period is the chronology of the reigns of Valerianus and Gallienus, with special regard to the years around 260. The present volume dates Valerianus' Persian captivity in June 260, or early July, at the latest and dates in the summer of 260 both Postumus's usurpation in Gaul and that of Ingenuus along the Danube region¹⁴ - and related to the latter, the appearance of Regalianus as pretender to the throne is dated to the second half of 260.

Also interesting are the problems that emerged in relation to the reign of Tacitus. Classical authors testify to the passage of about half a year of interregnum prior to his ascent to the throne, but K.-P. Johne, the author of the relevant chapter negates its possibility (based primarily on the datings of Egyptian papyrus finds and assumes a transitional period of a few weeks (1-2 months) only. The other interesting issue is his traditionally close ties to the Senate. Classical historians characterized the senior ruler as one placed on the throne by the body from its own ranks. Contrariwise, the author assumes that Tacitus had had an equestrian military career and as a result of its successfulness he rose by an advanced age to become a member of the Senate or even one of the consuls – in the absence of direct evidence the analogy of the careers of other 3rd century people is used. The tradition of Tacitus being appointed by the Senate is explained by the fact that the most senior and respectable officer was not actually staying with some troops at the time of the sudden death of Aurelianus and his own imperial proclamation¹⁵, but in Italy, thus (singularly in his age) was in a position to follow the old tradition of the emperor's election confirmation by the Senate.

Next is the 3rd main unit of the opus that considers the peoples and states along the borders of the Roman Empire one by one (*Völker und Staaten an den Grenzen der Römischen Welt*). First of all along the European borders, on the outer banks of the Rhein and the Danube, there indigenous mostly Germanic groups are presented: (A. Goltz: *Die Völker an der nordwestlichen Reichsgrenze*, 427-447) and A. Goltz: *Die Völker an der mittleren und nordöstlichen Reichsgrenze*, 449-464). On the one hand, the ethnogeneses and the internal conditions, as well as the marauding incursions of the most important peoples, tribes (Franks, Alemans, Iuthungs', Goths, Vandals) are presented; while on the other hand we are offered an insight into the social changes explaining an increased scale of attacks (such as the institution of "military kingdoms" and the concomitant emergence of larger tribes) as well as into demographic

¹⁴ On the various researchers' approaches in this respect see e.g. Kovács 2008, 163-168.

¹⁵ Which may well have been initiated by the military and may have been a kind of compromise proposal.

movements and migrations, too. One can then acquaint himself with the African neighbours of the Empire (A. Gutsfeld: *Die Mauren*, 465-473, and A. Lohwasser: *Das meroitische Reich und die Blemmyer*, 571-580) as well as the Near Eastern areas and states located in the buffer-zone between the Sassanian Empire and Rome, not only the region of the Caucasus (E. Kettenhofen: *Die kaukasischen Reiche*, 475-500) and the Mesopotamian client-states (A. Luther: *Nordmesopotamien*, 501-509 and M. Schuol: *Die Charakene und die Juden Babyloniens*, 511-519), but the Arabs, too (U. Hartmann: *Die Araber*, 521-530). Finally a thorough survey is to be read about the great adversary of Rome, that is, the Persian Empire of the Sassanians (J. Wiesehöfer: *Das Reich der Sāsāniden*, 531-569).

This chapter is an undoubtedly instructive and useful reading and supplementary in nature. The study of ancient Rome cannot do without the knowledge of conditions of peoples and states bordering on the Empire, nevertheless often sadly neglected in research. This 150-page survey does, however, offer an introduction to the topic; descriptions generally being concise but thorough, - only rarely becoming overdetailed in an almost tiresome way (such as in the course of the presentation of Caucasian state-formations), at presenting the disputes surrounding research. To follow the line of presentations is, however, greatly aggravated by the absence of maps: only one can be found in the whole opus showing the entire Roman Empire in a page-size map, which is of little use, if any, in relation to the fringe areas. Some more detailed maps would have rendered it graphically more accessible and facilitated a better grasp – for the majority of readers do presumably not have abundant and thorough geographical knowledge of the Caucasian region.

The title of main unit IV of the book is “The Roman State” (*Der römische Staat*) – which accordingly addresses Roman state organization, the organs of governance and administration and their levels. One can read about the administration of individual provinces in the individual sub-chapters all the same as the structure of the military and about changes taking place in these spheres (T. Glas, U. Hartmann: *Die Provinzverwaltung*, 641-672, and M. P. Speidel: *Das Heer*, 673-690), as well as the administration of municipalities (Th. Gerhardt: *Die Städte*, 691-712) and the development of the Roman law (M. Schuol: *Das Recht*, 633-640) – primarily, however, the person of the emperor and the attributes of his power are under scrutiny (K.-P. John: *Das Kaisertum und die Herrscherwechsel*, 583-632).

The relevant subchapter first enumerates the changes concerning the personality of the emperors. The most outstanding of them all is that the dignity of emperors which had formerly been linked to the status of senatorial aristocracy had become available to individuals of equestrian background, moreover

to individuals of low birth who had worked themselves up into the equestrian order through their professional military careers. This trend is especially manifest after Gallienus and is closely related to the fact that the commanding posts of the military had got into the hands of experienced professional officers belonging to the equestrian order instead of the senatorial order. A further trait of significance is that the ties between the Emperors' power and Rome as the seat of the empire underwent some loosening in the period in question. The majority of emperors not only had come from the periphery of the Empire but also ascended to the throne from the commanding post of a province, and spent most of their time in the war away from Rome.

Another striking feature of the period is the instability of Imperial power: the frequent and violent transfers of power, and the repeated failure of establishing dynasties – the occupants of the throne would sometimes (within just a few weeks or months) typically meet a tragic end often to be shared by members of their family, too. The quick succession of emperors ascending to the throne could no longer point to their successful predecessors and their glorious feats in the course of laying the foundations of their authority and legitimacy – therefore one of the salient features of the period is the inadequacy of the ruler's legitimation. Various attempts were then made to correct this inadequacy. One major attempt purporting the founding of a new dynasty while the other aimed at an increased sacralization of Imperial power. The chapter follows up on these attempts. It enumerates the known sons of the emperors, their spouses and siblings if any – that is members of the family who got or could have got a role in dynastic politics; while endeavours aiming at linking the rulers' power to that of the divines are also presented. The latter tendency is particularly expressed in the case of Sol¹⁶ and similarly anticipating the age of tetrarchy as had been the assumed appearance of the ornamented imperial vestments in late antiquity in the case of Aurelian. Simultaneously, the legitimizing role of the Senate is declining. K.-P. Johne, author of the chapter, points out, that the last emperors in the period did not strive to obtain even the subsequent approval of their power by the Senate.

In this manner the chapter does equally emphasize the transitional character of the period, the transformational processes pointing towards late antiquity as well as the phenomena that render this period unique and which are most typical of this half-century.¹⁷ Since, however, the bulk of crisis phenomena were related to the instability of the emperor's power, this survey touches upon a

¹⁶ In greater detail on this: Berrens 2004, 61-139 and 205-228.

¹⁷ For example, the role of the emperors' spouses and their complex, gradually developing titulatory – in more detail see: *Soldatenkaiser*, 608-615.

good number of key momentums of the period and thus greatly facilitates the identification and reconstruction of interdependencies.

Main unit V – which is, at the same time, the opening chapter in volume II of the book – discusses social conditions in Rome (Die römische Gesellschaft) with a respective subchapter being devoted first to the Senatorial Order to be followed by one on the characteristic features and role of the *ordo equester* as well as the changes it underwent in the period (M. Heil: Der Senat, 715-736, and M. Heil: Der Ritterstand, 737-761). Sequel to it, insight is offered into the life of lower social strata as well as into their social tensions and problems (Th. Gerhardt: Unterschichten und soziale Konflikte, 763-789). Subsequent to the general discussion two regions of the Empire namely Isauria in Asia Minor and Egypt are given detailed introduction (K. Feld: Isaurien, 791-800 and Fr. Herklotz: Ägypten, 801-813).

It is perhaps worth calling attention to an interesting feature of the book, that is, the fact that the eastern half of the Empire is often given more attention in the descriptions than the western territories. Both highlighted regions presented in detail are to be found in the Eastern parts and in the subchapter discussing the lower stratum of society are mentioned only Gaul (more precisely in relation to the social unrest and riots unfolding by the 280's) and the Roman *plebs* in relation to the western half of the Empire. All this can be easily justified by quoting the conditions of sources for the respective regions: Egyptian papyrus finds, the greater written tradition of the more urbanized and developed Eastern regions, the information handed down in the legacy of the Greek authors centered in the Eastern Mediterranean offer greater possibilities for the study of social conditions than the few and sporadic data available for the western provinces.

Main unit VI of the book addresses financial issues and coinage (Wirtschaft und Münzwesen). All this is divided into two subchapters, the first, a somewhat longer one (K. Ruffing: Die Wirtschaft, 817-841), offers a general discussion of the economic features of the period, while the shorter second part (K. Ehling: Das Münzwesen, 843-860) focuses specifically on the questions of coinage and circulation. The two chapters are, however, closely related to each other for basically both rely on Strobel's ideas and findings and try to reconstruct the economic conditions of the period. Accordingly both call in question the validity of a comprehensive interpretation model for the general, empire-wide economic crisis and emphasize the need to depict a more detailed and balanced picture.

At the outset the first subchapter reviews some such theories¹⁸ that wish to characterize the 3rd century as the period of a general economic crisis – then followed by the refutation of the main element of these respective theories. K. Ruffing first puts under scrutiny the widely accepted theory of inflation brought about by the dramatic decline of the precious-metal content of coinages throughout the 3rd century. He calls in question the long-accepted direct relationship between the precious-metal content of the coins and their contemporary buying power and emphasizes that the buying power of money was secured in Imperial Rome primarily by a state guarantee and the public trust in the currency – accordingly intractable inflation is not related to the decline in precious-metal content, but rather to the shaken trust of the public in the state and its currency. This is dated on the basis of various Syrian and Egyptian finds (which permit an insight into the local price conditions) only to the time of Aurelian, that is, he dates the serious inflation devastating and paralysing economic life only to the final decades of the soldier emperors, instead of encompassing the entire 3rd century.

It is only after this that the author subjects demographic decline, the large scale decrease in the population of the Empire to close scrutiny as a possible explanation for the economic crisis. However, he soon comes to the conclusion that ancient sources on diminishing population are far from being convincing or of general validity as was formerly thought by scholarship and the reduced population as a result of epidemics and wars did not need to inevitably result in economic recession. The chapter places special stress on the fact that the formerly assumed radical shrinking in the number of slaves is not borne out by Egyptian sources. Thus it is not tenable to assume that this development was the cause of the economic crisis and the factor shaping conditions in late antiquity. Related to this is his enquiry into the hypothesis that only increased state expenses on the military and overtaxation resulted in economic crisis. He acknowledges that tax-collection took place in a more systematic manner than before and certain (extraordinary) taxes were more frequently levied, but no dramatic increase in tax-burden is deemed verifiable – in all, he dismisses every cause that is customarily mentioned as generative of the 3rd century crisis.

Further on, one can read a short survey of the economic conditions in the respective parts of the Empire. Ruffing does not question the negative economic impact of the political and military difficulties in the period, the inauspicious factors stagnation and decline being especially striking when compared with earlier, long-lasting prosperity, he, however, repeatedly calls attention to the

¹⁸ For example, the hypotheses of M. Rostovtzeff, Fr. Oertel, Th. Pekáry and Fr. De Martino – see: *Soldatenkaiser*, 817-820.

economically stable, sometimes even flourishing areas.¹⁹ He disputes the general nature of negative tendencies, and would rather direct attention to significant local differences, and strive in each possible case to emphasize continuity and economic survival and post-wartime reconstruction.

In sub-chapter 2 Ehling first surveys the most important features of coinage in the period (the increased number of mints, the radical decline in precious-metal content) then goes on to discuss the question of inflation. The author dates its emergence to the final decades of the age of soldier-emperors and sets the precondition of a dramatically increased quantity of money in circulation which can be observed from the end of the reign of Gallienus, from the time of Claudius Gothicus onwards. The cause of inflation is identified in Aurelian's mistaken attempt at financial reform.²⁰

All that one can read in these two subchapters is undoubtedly thought-provoking and convincing in several respects – albeit, at first reading, assumptions related to inflation appear to conform too much to modern opinions and economic theories. It must be noted at the same time, that all arguments put forth in order to support price stability up to the 270's are related exclusively to the Eastern half of the Empire (the Syrian region and Egypt). These regions were by- and large better-off, more stable economically and more urbanized. Compared with the western provinces (especially the fringe areas), we can thus assume that they managed better financially the hard times.²¹ Furthermore it needs to be pointed out, that these very regions and municipalities had a time-honoured tradition of local coinage, which, in turn, slowed and mitigated the local manifestation of financial problems – this would perhaps be necessary to examine if the findings were to be generalized. Sources taken from Dura Europos are – on top of it – related only to the first half of the period, their validity cannot be extended to later decades.

Similarly, the question arises, that providing that the stability of the currency depended on the trust of the population, what maintained public trust in such crucial conditions as the series of uprisings in the 260's? Why was it only at the time of Aurelian that the currency collapsed?

Definitive answer to it can only be expected as a result of further studies where systematic study of numismatic finds can be of assistance to scholarship

¹⁹ Such as certain regions in Asia Minor and some regions in Africa as well as Egypt.

²⁰ According to the author's hypothesis, seeing the enormous quantity of low-quality coins in circulation, Aurelian wanted to introduce monetary reforms in the course of which the old coins were to have been traded in for the new Antoninians at a 1:20 rate which, however, was not accepted by the population and the trust in the currency got shaken to its foundations.

²¹ How much more deeply shaken were poorer regions of less stable economic foundations, the case of Isauria is a good example: *Soldatenkaiser*, 790-800.

– for the finds presumably contain such coins that the contemporaries considered worthy of accumulating owing to their standard value.

Main chapter VII (*Bildung und Wissenschaft*) addresses issues of erudition and culture: it is education that is first discussed (K. Pietzner: *Bildung*, 863-891), then it is followed by another detailed presentation of historiography (as was introduced in the first main chapter of the book – U. Hartmann: *Die Geschichtsschreibung*, 893-916); and we can finally read about contemporary developments in philosophy (I. Männlein-Robert: *Die Philosophie*, 917-924).

Main unit VIII throws light on some interesting aspects of religious conditions in the period (*Die Religionen*). Following a very concise presentation of traditional Roman religion (M. Schuol: *Die paganen Religionen*, 927-935) there is a relatively detailed introduction to the emperor cult (Fr. Herklotz: *Der Kaiserkult*, 937-948) as well as that of Christianity and Manichaeism (K. Pietzner: *Die Christen*, 973-1007, and D. Durkin-Meisterernst: *Die Manichäer*, 1009-1024). We can also read a thorough analysis about the life of Jewry: about those in Palestine and those living in the diaspora respectively (E. Baltrusch: *Die Juden Palästinas*, 949-964, and M. Schuol: *Das Diaspora-Judentum*, 965-971).

All this is followed as it were, by a conclusive summary (which is main unit IX of the book) which is an attempt at rendering in a concise way and highlighting the most important observations of the opus, that is, the salient features of the period (K.-P. Johné, U. Hartmann: *Krise und Transformation des Reiches im 3. Jahrhundert*, 1025-1053).

The authors of the chapter do not find it substantiated that there was a general crisis permeating all facets of life all over the Empire in the 3rd century. As to the economic conditions they call attention to marked local differences, the simultaneity of war-torn and struggling regions (e.g. fringe provinces along the Rhein and the Danube, Isauria,) and the devastated but quickly recovering regions (e.g. the area of Syria) as well as the prosperous regions not affected by warfare (e.g. Africa). In the case of intellectual and artistic life, as well as in social and religious conditions they consider long-lasting transformational processes as more typical. Nevertheless, they emphasize the serious problems, political and military affairs, as well as the evidence for a crisis affecting the government sphere, the military and imperial power, too. The nearly simultaneous external attacks against various parts of the Empire brought to the surface the inner weaknesses of the system of the principatus. The increased burden of the Empire and the failures caused by it led, in turn, to repeated usurpations resulting in a quick succession of power transfers which attempts at establishing dynasties proved abortive: imperial power had become unstable – which, in turn, aggravated problems. The chapter gives a summary of both the symptoms

of crisis and the attempts at solving them which often point towards the tetrarchy of late antiquity. For all the reforms and changes, the desperate attempts of the soldier emperors of the 3rd century at finding the way out to solve the military crisis, even if not successful, were closely linked to the successful transformations performed during the tetrarchy preparing as it were, the ground to them: in this manner the period of the 3rd century can be regarded as the apex of a slow transition from the early Empire to late antiquity.

The book, however, does not come to an end at this point: first we find a more than 100 page appendix (Th. Gerhardt, U. Hartmann: *Fasti*, 1055-1198) (incorporating besides the enumeration of emperors, consuls, praefectus urbi and praefectus praetorio even the procurators of provinces – together with the most important literature related to them!) then supplemented with an also very substantial and thorough bibliography. Finally, there is an alphabetized index and a few pages of photos and a solitary map appear rather modest in view of the very pretentious and voluminous book.

After having reviewed all this one can establish that a very meticulous and solid summary has been put before him/her about the studied period in the 3rd century, an introduction that permits insight into various facets of the age and successfully synthesizes results in fields falling relatively wide apart from each other. The individual authors may well represent different approaches in many issues, yet the book does not appear to be fragmented or rambling, but it retains the uniformity of presentations throughout. As a result – and as intended – the book can serve as a useful introduction, a manual in the study of the period, while the notification system and the abundant bibliography will serve further orientation and deeper exploration in matters of detail.

It is, however, worth mentioning a few negative features, as well. A significant one among them is that the editors of the book deliberately gave up on the idea of systematically presenting the individual parts of the Roman Empire in any greater detail. Naturally no single overview can attain full comprehensiveness. There will always remain parts and aspects that are missing from such a volume, however, certain regions in the Empire could have been given an (at least sketchy) review in an opus of this scale. This imperfection is all the more striking, because the territories adjacent to the Empire's border regions are introduced: this gives rise to the paradox that one can read more in this book about the tribes resident along the borders of Rome than the provinces next door. The fact is thrown into even greater relief by the special feature of the book that the Eastern territories again receive closer attention than the western

provinces²² – thus we end up having hardly any word mentioned of Hispania or Britannia. The priority treatment of the Eastern territories is, of course, not unjustified, for their economic and political role is remarkable, and also sources on them are available in relative abundance – moreover, several of the book's authors take professional research interest in these regions.

All in all, we have a substantial thoroughly researched book, that can gainfully be used even if one is interested in the general picture or wishes only to obtain a swift overview of one of the partial issues. Whichever is the case, the book may provide a valuable point of departure in both.

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(ISSN 0418 – 453X)

²² Apart from the examples already quoted, one can again observe this tendency in the unit on the religions of the age, for the discussion of Christianity and Manichaeism as well as that of Judaism directs attention to the Eastern half of the Mediterranean.