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Table of contents

Table of contents V

Introduction (Barbara E. Borg)..... 1

I Beyond Greek Identity and the Sophists 11

Multiple identities in the age of the Second Sophistic (Christopher P. Jones) ... 13
Identities and empire: Local mythology and the self-representation of Aphrodisias (Bahadir Yildirim) 23
Artemidorus and the Second Sophistic (Glen W. Bowersock) 53
The geography of the Second Sophistic: Cultural variations (Ewen Bowie).....65

II Modes and Media 85

Alciphron's letters as a sophistic text (Thomas A. Schmitz) 87
Horror and amazement: Colossal mythological statue groups and the new rhetoric of images in late second and early third century Rome (Ralf von den Hoff) 105
‚Klassiker' im Gymnasion. Bildnisse attischer Kosmeten der mittleren und späten Kaiserzeit zwischen Rom und griechischer Vergangenheit (Ralf Krumeich) 131
Glamorous intellectuals: Portraits of *pepaideumenoi* in the second and third centuries AD (Barbara E. Borg) 157
Städtische Münzprägung und zweite Sophistik (Peter Weiß)..... 179

III Paideia and the Human Body 201

Athletics and *paideia*: Festivals and physical education in the world of the Second Sophistic (Onno van Nijf) 203
Men, muscle, and myth. Attic sarcophagi in the cultural context of the Second Sophistic (Björn C. Ewald) 229
Aelius Aristides: A suitable case for treatment (Manfred Horstmanshoff)..... 277

IV Public Places of Paideia 291

Aspekte öffentlicher Bibliotheken in der Kaiserzeit (Richard Neudecker) 293
'Creating religious identities': *Paideia* e religione nella Seconda Sofistica (Marco Galli) 315

V Paideia and Patronage 357

Sophists and emperors: A reconnaissance of sophistic attitudes (Jaap-Jan Flinterman) 359
The Cretan lyre paradox: Mesomedes, Hadrian and the poetics of patronage (Tim Whitmarsh) 377
Sophisten und Archonten: *Paideia* als gesellschaftliches Argument bei Libanios (Carsten Drecoll) 403

Bibliography 419
General index 455
Index of names 469
Index of ancient texts 477
List of figures 491

Introduction

The High and Late Imperial periods have, for most of the 20th century – not to mention the 19th – attracted little interest in classical scholarship. Even after attention shifted away from an approach to literature and material culture predominantly directed at their respective qualities as art, both Classical Archaeologists and Classicists tended to limit themselves to the study of the 'classical' periods – pre-Imperial or, even better, pre-Hellenistic Greek culture on the one hand, and Roman culture from the first century BC to the first century AD on the other. Studies of the High and Late Imperial periods concentrated above all upon those objects and questions which involved political history in a narrow sense, the history of events, and state 'propaganda,' such as state reliefs, portraits of the Emperors, self-representation of the élites, specific inscriptions or texts by ancient historians (the exceptions confirm the rule). As for the rest of the material and literary remains, in the best cases scholars tended to present these in editions and catalogues, but still to accord them relatively little consideration beyond that, because of their (allegedly) low artistic or literary quality and because of the (allegedly) limited historical value of the information they supplied.

However, this has changed considerably within the last 15 to 20 years. Scholars increasingly recognize that much of what used to be considered epigonal and unoriginal, merely an expression of alienation from the world or of a general retreat into the private domain, in fact occupied a central position within the symbolic capital of Imperial society. This communication on a symbolic level functioned not merely as the representation or image for other, more vital domains but was itself a decisive and active factor in the discourses of power. *Paideia* as knowledge about the past and about tradition means "knowing the world", as Marco Galli phrased it, and thus means knowing what is important in the present. Representing the past, either in words or in images, has a vital significance. It is from this point of view that Imperial Greek literature in particular, which re-appropriates the Greek traditions of the Classical age of the fifth and fourth centuries BC, has been 'discovered' in recent scholarship. Works from this period, be they 'literary' in the narrow sense, or historical, medical, physiognomic etc., are thereby often discussed with regard to a phenomenon, to which the name 'Second Sophistic' has first been assigned by Philostratus. Even now the exact meaning of the term remains controversial, in Philostratus himself and

in the usage of his contemporaries, as well as in modern discussions. Regardless of such terminological disagreements, however, recent scholarship has made it clear that (1) texts by some authors whom Philostratus does not mention likewise possess formal, thematic, and functional qualities in common with the productions of the Philostratean sophists, and that (2) what is involved is not a purely literary phenomenon, but a value system and mode of thought which is expressed in a variety of ways.

Yet, these statements, as familiar as they may sound by now, have consequences which have not yet been entirely appreciated. If it is indeed the case that the concepts and evaluations which lie behind the texts of the Second Sophistic, correspond to a general ideal or even a common élite *habitus* in Bourdieu's sense of the word, as Thomas Schmitz has most forcefully argued, a number of questions spring immediately to mind. First, what media and cultural spheres were involved? We should expect to find these concepts and value systems not only in texts (let alone texts just of particular genres) but in material from various aspects of life and in different media. Despite some recent and most encouraging studies, 'art' and material culture in general have received particularly little attention in this connection. But these areas should play a crucial role when we explore the scope of the phenomena at stake here and even in the realm of texts, various genres have been much neglected so far. Second, how might this mode of thought and this *habitus* be more precisely described? What exactly are the common points which the various genres share, over the course of a long period of time, in different regions of the Empire? On the other hand, what are the differences arising from individual generic requirements, from varying contexts of production and reception, from different functions, from the personal preferences of producers or patrons, or from regional peculiarities? Third, what purpose did this *habitus* – if indeed it was a *habitus* – serve? Or, to put it more carefully, what were its results? It has been argued that the Second Sophistic was primarily about Greek identity. But whether or not we agree to apply the term Second Sophistic to texts (as well as images and actions?) concerned with Greek identity alone, there are many phenomena quite typical of the sophists and their writings which, at the same time, have nothing to do with this notion and which are accepted even by individuals and groups of people without any interest in Greek identity at all.

It goes without saying that these questions cannot be answered by any single scholar since it is indeed the "*World* of the Second Sophistic" which is at stake here. In March 2003, Angelos Chaniotis, Glenn W. Most and I invited a group of experts on various fields concerned with this world to a conference held at the University of Heidelberg. Most of the contributions to this volume are based on

papers given on the occasion. Some participants chose not to publish their papers and some central questions were not addressed at the conference. So, it seemed appropriate to round off the publication by inviting a few additional scholars to provide contributions. Though it was clear from the start that the present volume would not be able to provide a manual to the "World of the Second Sophistic", or to cover the period as a whole, the following chapters aim to clarify the connections between individual phenomena shaping this world – the complexity of their interrelations as well as the historical impact of contemporary symbolic discourse.

The first chapter, "Beyond Greek Identity and the Sophists", includes contributions exploring the margins of the Second Sophistic, while also questioning some of the widely held opinions concerning what it is all about. Christopher Jones takes a fresh look at the issue of ethnic identity. He argues that the preoccupation in recent scholarship with a perceived opposition between Greek and Roman resulting in Greek patriotism (sometimes identified with Hellenism), has distracted scholars from recognising various other loyalties. Taking Pausanias and Aelius Aristides as examples, he demonstrates that the central common element in their writings is not Hellenism but antiquity and tradition. The real identity of these *pepaideumenoi* proves to be a complex affair, in which Hellenic identity is just one kind among others. Local patriotism as well as civic, regional, and even barbarian loyalties are anything but mutually exclusive and instead create multi-faceted identities.

Bahadir Yildirim's contribution supports these conclusions, showing that not only individuals but also entire cities proudly present multi-faceted identities. The mythological reliefs decorating the basilica of Aphrodisias, a prominent building within the city, are far from being just illustrations of foundation narratives. Yildirim reads them as part of the civic diplomacy of Aphrodisias and as a "visual encomium" for its people and lands. The reliefs claim for themselves the virtues and value systems common to the entire civilised (i.e. Greek) world corresponding to topoi known from encomiastic literature, including *eugeneia* and great antiquity. At the same time, they boast their local identity, with its strong ties to the Near East through founders like Semiramis, Ninos and Gordios. The inextricable connection between these double loyalties is highlighted by the fact that Semiramis and Ninos are presented as the exemplary couple of civic benefactors.

Glen W. Bowersock locates an outsider like Artemidorus in the context of the Second Sophistic as an important witness of his age. After proposing a late second to early third century date for the *Oneirokritika* on the basis of the personal names referred to in book 4, he examines two sorts of dreams, those refer-

ring to things particularly Roman, and those referring to the sophists' public performances before finally studying Artemidorus' language. Bowersock shows that Artemidorus' view of the Second Sophistic is exceptional in that he distances himself deliberately not only from the practitioners of the occult sciences but also from sophists, orators, and other theatrical performers all of whose arts he regards as arts of deception. Though Artemidorus is both a learned figure and a good orator, his language clearly deviates from the norms of high sophistic rhetorical Greek, referring instead to local forms of *paideia* based in Asia Minor. His view on Hellenized Roman culture and what it has to offer is both knowing and uniquely critical, introducing us to a perspective on the world of the Second Sophistic which may have been more widespread than we can know.

Ewen Bowie's contribution might seem not to fit the rubric of this chapter exactly, since it certainly does not go 'beyond the sophists' and it results in a quite coherent picture. However, this is not what he had asked for. Rather, the question he poses is about the regional differences and cultural variations to be expected within a real world *as opposed* to what, in Philostratus, appears to be a coherent and unified sophistic whole. Bowie analyses three aspects of sophistic activity, relating them to the sites where sophists are recorded to have been born or buried, to places where they have performed, or been honoured etc.; he also provides some interesting statistics and new data. He begins with an exploration of the linguistics and stylistic preferences in, as well as attitudes towards Attic purity, and proceeds to examine the types of declamations and particularly the declamatory subjects chosen, before finally looking at the literary genres preferred by the sophists in general. In all three respects, Bowie finds less variation than he had expected. The variations which he does find seem, with the exception of the novel, to be determined not particularly by geographical factors but by the idiosyncrasies of certain sophists.

The second chapter on "Modes and Media" includes contributions which seek to extend the corpus of material and phenomena relating to the Second Sophistic and its major features. Thomas Schmitz aims to rehabilitate the fictional letters of Alciphron, not as literary master pieces but as telling caricatures of sophistic habits. Presenting us with letters by such marginal characters as fishermen, country-folk, parasites, and courtesans, all surprisingly knowledgeable in Athenian history and topography and strangely using techniques and topoi known from rhetorical handbooks, Alciphron unmasks the Athens of the sophists as a sort of "fairy-tale land where even simple country-folk are Atticists and sophists." Through his self-reflexive, unmistakably artificial texts, so Schmitz argues, Alciphron offers a meta-commentary on declamations and *prolaliai* com-

parable only to Lucian's dialogues, and on sophistic literary production in general.

As might be expected from both the preoccupations of current scholarship and the objectives of this chapter, the majority of these papers refer to material culture of some kind. Ralf von den Hoff studies a strange group of mythological sculptures showing horrible acts of violence in colossal form like Medea with her dead children, Achilles with the bloodstained body of Troilos, or the punishment of Dirke, who was dragged to death by a bull. These sculptures clearly do not illustrate normative *exempla* like so many other sculptures did, but rather, in public buildings like the huge imperial baths of Rome, they are displayed as aesthetic objects, as masterpieces of artistic *techne* which overcome the restrictions posed by the material, not only in creating oversized and highly complex sculptures but also in being able to make "real *furor* […] appear in the viewer's mind via immovable stone." In their emotionalised themes as well as in their 'rhetorical' techniques, von den Hoff argues, they closely parallel features also found in (epideictic) rhetoric and literary ecphrasis.

Ralf Krumeich introduces one of the most prominent features of Imperial age material culture, namely portraiture. If it is indeed true that some of the central ideas we find in the sophistic texts shaped the *habitus* of a much wider élite, we should find them also in *the* medium of individual self-representation of the age. Krumeich's study examines a small group of portraits, which have the rare advantage of coming from a common context, the Diogenes gymnasium near the Roman agora at Athens, and of representing identifiable individuals, *kosmetai* and other officials of this institution. While, through their office in the very centre of Greek education and identity, *kosmetai* were particularly connected with *paideia*, at the same time they were neither teachers nor specialists of any kind but members of the local élite taking over the office for a certain period of time only. According to Krumeich's analysis, the portraits belong to one of three typological groups referring to the imperial fashion or else to a greater or lesser extent to styles and even particular portraits of poets, philosophers, historians, or orators from the Classical and Hellenistic age of Greece. None of them indicates a personal preference for a particular historical person, but they refer more generally to a great tradition of *paideia*, not opposed to, but clearly compatible with, praise of the emperor and ambitions within the Roman social system, which are also apparent in the inscriptions for these same persons.

My own contribution widens the scope of this investigation to portraits of emperors and unknown private individuals, but focuses mainly on the city of Rome. Taking a stand in the highly controversial debate about whether 'intellectual' ambitions are expressed in portraiture at all, and if so, how this can be es-

tablished and what kind of 'intellectualism' patrons of portraits refer to, I argue (1) that portraiture does indeed reflect the ideal of being a *pepaideumenos*, and (2) that portraiture can demonstrate perfectly how widespread this ideal was in terms of both time and space, especially if we include portraits on sarcophagi. I suggest (3) that the *paideia* referred to is usually not a specific one (like philosophy, as has often been suggested), but that through the iconography chosen the patrons take care both to promote a rather wide range of knowledge and to present themselves self-confidently, sometimes even with ostentation, as full members of an ambitious Roman citizenry.

Peter Weiß introduces another vast class of materials into the discussion, namely coins. He presents a synopsis of how the cities of the Imperial East and their élite employ the local mints to promote their respective virtues, using coins as a mass medium for a kind of visual panegyric. As in the first two papers, a picture emerges which shows various interconnected loyalties. According to the analysis of Weiß, three of them are particularly prominent – the Roman Empire, the norms of Hellenic culture, and the network of competitive cities of Asia Minor which proudly boasts local identities. Reference to a great past and to foundation myths is as important a part of topical praise of cities as the achievements of these cities and their élite in the present, and both can be closely connected with and supplemented by the praise of an emperor.

Three papers are particularly concerned with the human body either as a focus of sophistic writing or as a major component of Greek élite identity. These are, accordingly, grouped together in the third chapter. Onno van Nijf argues strongly against the view that physical education in the Greek East was in decline while, at the same time, literary paideia became 'the hallmark of élite identity'. Focussing on the case of Oinoanda in Lycia without, however, limiting his study to this site, he demonstrates the crucial role of athletics for the self-esteem of members of the local élites, a role not opposed to that of literary *paideia* but complementing it as a mark of Greek as well as local identity. Basing his argument primarily on epigraphic evidence, van Nijf goes on to suggest that, in reality, athletics and athletic victories were of even more interest to the local élites than literary education since the former was one of the rare fields in which the young could demonstrate their *philotimia* while the latter was not only less attractive to this age group but also to a great extent in the hands of specialists.

Björn Ewald, too, finds athletics at the heart of the Greek value system when he analyses the iconography of sarcophagi produced in Athens. In a systematic comparison of Attic and Roman sarcophagi, he discovers that the ideal of *paideia* as knowledge of tradition serves as the common framework for the whole of Mediterranean society, with myth being the common mode of expression. Con-

tent, however, differs dramatically and tellingly. Roman sarcophagi present a much wider range of subjects using myths as *exempla* for personal experiences (in particular the severe feeling of loss caused by the death of a loved one) or for virtues their patrons claim for themselves. Attic sarcophagi, on the contrary, show a restricted and much less personalised range of subjects all concerned with the social norms, roles, and institutions particularly relevant to a Greek or even Athenian identity. This relates to the subjects chosen, like battle scenes and in particular the Trojan War or the battle at Marathon as parts of the great myth-historical past, but it also refers to the ways these and other subjects are presented. Mythological scenes are conspicuously lacking in narrative elements but are, instead, preoccupied with the presentation of the male body and on what it can achieve. A considerable part of the decoration thus focuses on an Athenian (and/or Greek) identity constructed through the male body, referring, so Ewald argues, to the old and still important institution of *ephebeia*.

In Manfred Horstmanshoff's contribution, the body also plays a major part, although his interest is directed at medicine and its position in the world of the Second Sophistic. He explores the role of Hippocratic medicine and its close connections with in the religious sphere during the imperial age, taking Aelius Aristides, the "professional patient" as his example. Although he discerns certain differences between temple medicine of 4th century Epidauros and Aelius Aristides' conception of medicine (in particular in the *ways* in which the god is believed to contribute to the healing process), Horstmanshoff demonstrates that there was no 'progress' towards a more 'enlightened', rational, or 'scientific' form of medicine in the 2nd century AD. By contrast, it appears (1) that medical knowledge and religion were interwoven, not only for Aelius Aristides but for doctors of the imperial age in general, who typically practised in sanctuaries of Asklepios, and (2) that both medicine and religion were a central feature of intellectual activities in the age of the Second Sophistic.

The two papers in the fourth chapter are particularly concerned with places and spaces providing the physical framework for *paideia*-related activities. While the functions of public libraries might seem to be self-evident, Richard Neudecker's study sheds an interesting light on the the ways their architecture and organisation encouraged particular kinds of intellectual activities – and one which we might not necessarily have expected. Public libraries, so Neudecker argues on the basis of archaeological, epigraphical, and literary evidence, were everything but places of *otium*, of reading or writing poetry or of learned conversation. They would provide neither the appropriate architectural framework, nor the books required for such activities, since they housed, besides books on poetry, philosophy or rhetoric, many of the archives of the imperial (or local) administration.

They were places for the investigation and the compilation of knowledge. Their very organisation contributed to the sort of intellectual activities depicted for instance in Athenaios' *Deipnosophists* and to other sorts of writings so typical of the Second Sophistic. Entry to these libraries was restricted, and they were run and controlled by members of the *familia Caesaris* or the local governor, thus making it clear that knowledge and cultural identity were both under state control. This is in perfect accordance with the fact that *paideia* had become a crucial factor in the struggle for status and positions, and that dedications of libraries made by important figures could be used as a perfect means for their own self-representation.

Marco Galli focuses on Greece and explores the transformation of religious space. He draws attention to the often overlooked or even disregarded architectural changes in the most important religious centres of Greece – Epidauros, Olympia, Delphi and others – showing that these building activities, often resulting in dramatic changes in the overall picture of the sanctuaries, were organised and purposeful, and that two particular groups of people, the rich and powerful *euergetai* including the emperors, and the *collegia,* took a leading role in shaping them. Buildings for the meetings of these *collegia* turn out to be a prominent feature. Galli regards the sanctuaries as micro-societies, in which *paideia* as knowledge of myths, ritual objects and narratives is not a sign of antiquarianism but a central part of the symbolic discourse negotiating power structures. The buildings for the *collegia* were used as spaces for social networking and for controlling knowledge, being controlled in turn by important and powerful *euergetai.*

The last chapter, "Paideia and Patronage", deals with the special function of *paideia* in the social hierarchy and in shaping social relationships. Jaap-Jan Flinterman demonstrates that the results of Johannes Hahn's study on early imperial concepts of philosopher and sophist hold true for the High Empire as well. Drawing primarily on Philostratus' *Bioi* and the writings of Aelius Aristides, he first describes the ideal conception of the philosopher, which is based on the assumption (not always met by reality) that the philosopher takes care to demonstrate his independence from the rich and powerful – even from the emperor –, and remains disinterested in status and any material gains, thus retaining his liberty to exercise *parrhesia.* While some of the sophists approve of similar ideals, most of them prefer not to stand at the margins of society. Instead, they seek close relations with the emperor, accepting his opinion on various matters, even including their intellectual performance. They try to use their *paideia* and their good relationship with him for improving their own reputation and for gaining material favours both for themselves and for their hometowns.

Tim Whitmarsh approaches the subject from a literary perspective, taking literature as a medium for class definition. Through the poems of Mesomedes he explores more sophisticated kinds of patronal literature, while refuting the modern bias towards prose literature. He argues that poetry can be patronal even if it is neither openly encomiastic nor dealing explicitly with the relationship between poet and emperor. His analysis of Mesomedes' hymns and their presumed choral performance results in the overall picture of an ordered and well governed *cosmos* referring to Hadrian and his reign not in the sense of an allegorical, underlying 'real' meaning, but through allusions. The fact that the poems do not take a more direct line but remain open to various interpretations, he explains by the two distinct audiences patronal poetry must address, the patron himself and the wider public. The result is a triangle of relationships between these two and the poet in which all participants need to recognise each of the other two.

Finally, Carsten Drecoll takes us into Late Antiquity, showing how some central aspects of the social role *paideia* plays during the age of Philostratus' Second Sophistic continue to be important for much longer. Taking a close look at Libanios' correspondence with Anatolios of Berytos, Drecoll demonstrates that Libanios establishes his friendship with the powerful *archon* by referring to common ideals regarded as the essence of *paideia*. *Paideia* not only serves as a sort of *lingua franca* in their communication, but also has strong moral implications, putting both parties under an obligation to behave exactly according to the rules implicit in this concept. *Paideia* and being a sophist are the virtues of any good holder of office while at the same time protecting the less powerful from despotism and injustice.

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the event, to provide papers fitting the special scope and idea of the book. Special thanks go to Frieda Klotz for improving the English of some of the contributions, including my own. The editor is also grateful to the all museums, institutions, and individuals which have supplied photographs. Since it is not only scholarly input that makes a project successful, I would also like to thank those who helped organise the practical side of the conference, in particular Emanuel Mayer, and especially Britta Bock, Ivana and Andrej Petrovic as well as Julian Duvernoy for carefully reading the proofs, indexing, adapting bibliographical references to a common standard and carrying out similarly demanding tasks. Angelos Chaniotis and Diamantis Pangiotopoulos are gratefully acknowledged for having made part of this logistical support available to me. The book is among the first supplementary volumes to the new periodical *Millennium*, and both start their joint appearance in autumn 2004. I am very grateful to the editors, in particular to Peter von Moellendorf and Helmut Krasser for accepting the publication for this series. Finally, I owe special thanks to Dr. Sabine Vogt, Peter Franzkowiak and Angelika Hermann from de Gruyter for their support and indicious treatment of all matters concerning the actual production of this book.

CHAPTER ONE

Beyond Greek Identity and the Sophists

Multiple identities in the age of the Second Sophistic

CHRISTOPHER P. JONES

In recent years much attention has been paid to the question of 'Greekness' or 'Hellenicity.' In the period of the Roman Empire, especially the 'High Empire' of the second and third centuries, a view often implied, if not always expressed, is that 'Greek' and 'Roman' are words expressing fundamental opposites. 'Greek identity,' it is claimed, 'had always been articulated through the opposition of Greeks and non-Greeks, who were called *barbaroi*… The intensified claim of the Greeks in the second sophistic period to be Greek is a reaction to Roman control.'[1] Scrutiny has thus been turned on the cultured intellectuals, often dubbed the *pepaideumenoi*, whom we glimpse in Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists*, for example Dio of Prusa and Aelius Aristides, or on others who appear to share their cultural attitudes, for example Pausanias.

These Greeks, it is sometimes held, were openly or covertly hostile to Rome. Thus Dio Chrysostom was 'un patriote hostile aux Romains… Son amertume est celle de beaucoup de ses compatriotes.'[2] Pausanias 'may not display open hostility towards the Romans, but he does show plenty of resentment and animosity.'[3] Appeal is made to inferences that can be read between the lines, to the 'secret' thoughts of the authors in question, or their 'actual' beliefs as opposed to those they appear to express. Thus Pausanias reveals his 'disgust' when he observes that the Athenians have replaced the names of Miltiades and Themistocles with names of Romans; there is no expression of disgust in the text, true, but rather 'une amertume sécrète.'[4] Aelius Aristides may appear to voice favorable sentiments in speeches like the one *To Rome*, but 'it would be credulous to suppose he actually believed this picture.'[5]

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1 Swain, 1996, 411.

2 Veyne, 1999, 514 n. 10; 516.

3 Habicht, 1985, 120.

4 Habicht, 1985, 137 n. 79, referring to 1.18.3; Heer, 1979, 68, quoted with approval by Habicht, 1985, 120 n. 11.

5 Swain, 1996, 283, cf. 279: 'It is unnecessary to suppose that [he] believed all this'; Swain, 1996, 280: 'There is no need to make him believe what he says.'

One consequence of such inferential readings is that they lead to directly contrary conclusions. Plutarch's observations about Rome as a guarantor of stability and peace 'have to be relativized against the background of the loss in freedom for the world of Greek states and in Greek values,' though Trajan's successors 'brought about a higher estimation for Roman rule in the eyes of Aelius Aristides, Pausanias and Lucian.'[6] On another view Aristides praises Rome merely because he was 'hired,' 'performing for the benefit of ticket holders in auditoriums' (it is apparently unnecessary to supply any evidence for such 'ticket holders').[7] On one interpretation Pausanias 'nowhere gives the slightest hint that Roman rule in Greece was anything better than tolerable,' on another he 'sees the peak of Greece's fortunes as occurring in his own lifetime.'[8] As for his views of history, we are told that 'for [him] Greek history stopped with Philip II, and the world that he describes corresponds to classical Hellas, of which he has a idealized vision': yet on another interpretation 'the reader is led to the impression that the Greeks of today are not much different from the Greeks of the past... A reader of the text can now (and could then) place it in cultural opposition to Rome.'[9] By contrast, a careful review of 'Pausanias and the Roman emperors' concludes: 'It does not seem that [he] embodies a resistance to Rome… The modern tendency to see in Pausanias the hero of a cultural resistance… tends to force the text.'[10]

It might seem, then, that the debate has been conducted in terms too vague to permit any useful, or at least verifiable, answers. In the present paper, I want to suggest that this supposed Hellenic patriotism, sometimes assumed to be equivalent to Hellenism, is a chimera. Instead, I will suggest that the real 'identity' of these *pepaideumenoi* is something complex and multi-layered, of which their identity as 'Hellenes' is only a part. I do not refer only to affection for the *patris*, such as Plutarch's for Chaeronea or Dio's for Prusa, but those layers of attachment – civic, regional, and sometimes 'barbarian' – that co-exist with Hellenism in the self-consciousness even of fully 'Hellenic' writers. For the purpose, I will take two writers in particular, Aelius Aristides and Pausanias.

To begin with a work of Aristides other than his celebrated panegyrics of Rome and Athens, the twenty-third speech concerns the quarrel for 'first place' between the three leading cities of the province of Asia, Pergamon, Smyrna, and

6 Halfmann, 2002, 95.
7 Habicht, 1985, 125-126. These 'ticket-holders' also turn up in Veyne, 1999, 564 n. 300.
8 Habicht, 1985, 124; Arafat, 1996, 215.
9 Sánchez, 2001, 462; Sidebottom, 2002, 497.
10 Jacquemin, 1996.

Ephesos. Though he is concerned to allay the discord (*stasis*) between the three, he casts his entire argument in terms of precedence and superiority. A precedence in which all three share is that of the province. As such, Asia 'is by general consent superior to all others, both in the judgment of the rulers and virtually everyone else' (8). It has taken the name of the whole continent for itself (11). The appeal to 'the judgment of the rulers' clearly refers to the position of Asia in the Roman provincial system, as one of only two provinces to be governed by consular proconsuls.

Within the province, the three cities addressed are similarly the first, and each has its own claim to superiority. Pergamon, where the speech is given, was founded not once but twice, the first time by Arcadians led by Telephos, the second time when the cult of Asclepios was established there, 'in dignity and influence by far the most venerable (*presbutatê*) of all settlements (*apoikiai*)' (15). Being founded by Arcadians makes the city autochthonous, but the other two can claim the same title as foundations of the Athenians (26). Yet pride in Greek descent by no means makes old Greece an example to be followed. In the first place, its history from the time of the Persian Wars on shows the evil effects of discord (48-52). Rivalry between Athens and Sparta, later also involving Thebes, ultimately made Greece subject to the Macedonians (51), though Aristides will 'pass over' Alexander, doubtless remembering that Smyrna claimed him as a founder. 'A small remnant of Greece,' he concludes, 'has luckily come down to our time, restored by the excellence of the present rulers' (51).

Aristides can take a more positive view of old Greece when the circumstances require it, as in his Panegyric of Athens. But there is no sign that, when addressing so serious and real a problem as that of inter-city discord,[11] he was speaking as a mere 'hireling' for the amusement of 'ticket-holders.' Similar views, though expressed in much more detail, appear in Pausanias. An admirer of Old Greece if ever there was one, Pausanias can also be read as having views that closely echo those expressed by Aristides, without any appeal to implicit or 'secret' attitudes.

In recent years Pausanias has been characterized as a 'Greek pilgrim' and as 'a hierophant of all things Greek.'[12] He is of course a Greek, but in what sense and how completely? Let us begin with his manner of self-reference. The first person plural in his text refers almost always to himself, the so-called authorial 'we.' It occasionally refers to the community of Greek speakers, when he discusses the Greek word for something. Otherwise 'we' are not the Greeks in gen-

11 The classic study is that of Robert, 1977.

12 Pilgrim: Elsner, 1992 = Elsner, 1995. Hierophant: Swain, 1996, 356.

eral but a more restricted group, the Lydians. Thus the subject of the tomb of Pelops at Olympia leads him on to the subject of Pelops' origins.

> That Pelops and of Tantalus once dwelled among us is shown by many proofs that still survive. Tantalus has the lake bearing his name and a remarkable tomb, while Pelops has a seat on Sipylos at the summit of the mountain above the sanctuary of the Plastene Mother. When you cross the River Hermos (there is) a cult-statue of Aphrodite at Temnos made from full-grown myrtle, and we have a tradition (*pareilêphamen mnêmê*) that Pelops dedicated it to win the goddess's favor and to ask that he might obtain marriage with Hippodameia. (5.13.7)

This passage strongly supports the identification of Magnesia by Sipylos as Pausanias' *patris*, since all these monuments are in the region of that city.[13] But his word 'we' also seems to include Temnos, Magnesia's neighbor to the northwest, and to suggest a kind of Lydian expansionism that he displays elsewhere, as when he claims Temenouthyrae, normally placed in Phrygia, for Lydia (1.35.7).[14] So also he asserts that those living in the region of Ephesos when the Ionian founder Androklos arrived were mainly Lydians; this coincides with a tradition mentioned in Tacitus that Heracles had ruled Ephesos as king of Lydia (7.2.8; Tac. *ann.* 3.61.2).

Pausanias displays a similar attitude when he arrives at historical times. Discussing the ill-fated Lamian War of 322, he claims to know of 'a Lydian called Adrastos who helped the Greeks privately and not as part of the Lydians generally; the Lydians put up a bronze statue of this Adrastos before the sanctuary of Persian Artemis' (7.6.6). This 'Persian Artemis' recurs elsewhere in the text, at least if an emendation of Karl Buresch is correct (5.27.5-6). Here Pausanias describes the cult of this goddess in two cities of Lydia, Hierocaesarea and Hypaepa. The services were still conducted by a *magos* in a language 'barbarous and incomprehensible to Greeks,' that is, in some form of Persian. As Louis Robert showed in an illuminating study, coins and inscriptions confirm Pausanias' testimony, and document the remarkable survival of this ritual from the time of the Persian occupation.[15]

By contrast with this Lydian particularism, Pausanias never, so it would appear, talks of the Greeks as 'us,' but always as a third-person entity. Thus 'the most impious of sins, betraying one's ancestral city and its inhabitants for personal profit, was fated to begin the misfortunes of the Achaeans, and has never been absent from Hellas from the beginning of time' (7.10.1). Similarly he justi-

13 Habicht, 1985, 14-15.

14 Drew-Bear, 1979, 277.

15 Robert 1975a, 28-29 = Robert, 1969-1990, 6.140-141, citing Buresch, 1898, 66 n. ***. M.H. Rocha-Pereira (1973-1981, 2.72) overlooks this suggestion in her edition of Pausanias.

fies his long digression on Sardinia with the observation that 'the Greeks have been in no small ignorance about this island too' (10.17.13).

It might be said that all this, his objective view of Greek history, his consciousness of being born on the periphery of the true Greece, only makes him more like his model Herodotos. But just as Herodotos as a Halicarnassian is both inside and outside the Greek world, so Pausanias' Lydian identity contributes to his remarkably cool appraisals of Greek history. Rather than having 'an idealized vision of classical Hellas,' Pausanias shows little sympathy for the supposed heroes of classical Greece, and much admiration for those of the early Hellenistic period. On Philopoemen he observes that he was the last of 'the crop of good men and true (*andres agathoi*) that Hellas produced.' He then reviews the series. It begins with Miltiades at Marathon, the first benefactor of Hellas 'in general.' 'Those before Miltiades performed great deeds, such as Codrus the son of Melanthos [and others], but it is clear that each of them benefited their own cities (*patrides*) and not Hellas in general.' The list continues with Themistocles and Leonidas, but excludes Aristides or the Spartan Pausanias, since the latter's behavior after Plataea, the former's imposition of tribute, 'made it impossible for them to be called "benefactor of Greece."' Xanthippos the son of Ariphron (and incidentally the father of Pericles) and Cimon also deserve praise, but 'those in the time of the Peloponnesian War against Athens, and especially the celebrated ones among them, one might call murderers and practically wreckers of Hellas.' After the war, Pausanias' catalog includes only Conon, Epaminondas, Leosthenes, the hero of the Lamian War, and Aratos (8.52.1-2). Even if we understand him to be talking merely of military leadership, this list is remarkable by its omissions: Pericles, Nicias, Alcibiades, Epaminondas, Pelopidas, all of whom receive biographies from Plutarch.

Two interrelated passages are no less remarkable, the long excursus on the Gauls near the very beginning of Pausanias' first book (1.4) and the regular setpiece that he devotes in his last to the Gallic invasion of 279. It is from this attack that he introduces the digression in Book I, starting from an incidental mention of Callippos, the leader of the Athenian contingent against the Gauls.[16] The full story, however, he reserves for his account of Delphi, because

> 'it was here that the greatest of Greek achievements against barbarians was performed. The courage of the Greeks had completely failed them, but the strength of the danger forced them to defend Greece. For they saw that the struggle facing them was not about freedom, as once it had been in the time of the Mede, and merely giving water and earth [a reference to Xerxes' famous demand] would not bring them

16 On Pausanias' exaggerated picture of the Athenian role in these events, Habicht, 1997, 131-132.

> security… They must either perish or prove the victors, such was the feeling of every man individually and of every city collectively' (10.19.5, 12).

In both these instances, Pausanias' review of Greece's benefactors, and his exaltation of its resistance to the Gauls, the common factor is collective action. Giants of Greek history who merely benefited their own cities, Pericles or Brasidas for example, are less admirable than the lesser-known heroes who stood together and resisted the Gallic advance, not without signal help from gods such as Apollo. It might perhaps be argued that this passage does not show the 'real' Pausanias, that he has merely used the pretext of this event to write a few chapters of Herodotean narrative, complete with a second Leonidas and a second Thermopylai. But because Pausanias imitates Herodotos, it does not follow that he is being 'insincere' or 'artificial': rather, he gives significance to the event by dressing it in Herodotean colors.

A reason for Pausanias' interest is not hard to find. These same Gauls who invaded Greece in 279 crossed over into Asia soon afterwards, as he relates in the digression of Book I (1.4.5-6). In his account of Delphi he alludes twice to the havoc that they caused in Asia, at Apamea Celaenae and at Themisonion south of Laodicea, 'when the army of the Celts was plundering Ionia and the places bordering on it' (10.30.9; 32.4). This last phrase clearly refers to the Lydo-Ionian borderland from which he himself came, and an inscription from Thyatira, a day's journey away from Magnesia by Sipylos, is contemporary evidence for the invasion.[17]

Pausanias' consciousness therefore has, as it were, not only a Hellenic level, but also an Asian one, a regional one centered on Lydia, and a local one centered (probably) on Magnesia by Sipylos. These spheres are not mutually exclusive. Lydia had strong ties to old Hellas, since Pelops colonized the Peloponnese, and his descendent Heracles founded a line of Lydian kings.[18] It is not accidental that these two are the heroes most often mentioned in the Periegesis. Magnesia must also have had a mythic connection with Magnesia in northern Greece, even if it is now irrecoverable. With all these links, however, this supposed 'hierophant of all things Greek' has sympathies and interests that are distinctly un-Greek.

Nor is Pausanias atypical in his consciousness of a pre-Greek or non-Greek past, even in the period of the Second Sophistic. One 'barbarian' culture that has left considerable traces is that of Persia itself. Louis Robert many times drew attention to the persistence of Iranian elements in the Asia Minor of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Pausanias' Magnesia lay on the edge of the Hyrcanian

17 *Tituli Asiae Minoris* V, 2, 881.

18 Paus. 1.35.7-8; 2.21.3 etc.

Plain where (as its name shows) the Persians had settled many of their own natives as colonists.[19] As already mentioned, Pausanias preserves a valuable account of the flourishing cult of Anahita, Hellenized as 'Artemis Persikê' or 'Anaitis,' at Hierocaesarea in the same plain. In the second century of the Christian era, Sardis, the old satrapal capital and the metropolis of Roman Lydia, undertook to recarve a text of Persian date with regulations protecting the cult of Zeus Ahuramazda against contamination.[20] In the same century the other Magnesia, situated on the Maeander, also inscribed a letter in which Darius the Great scolds his servant Gadatas for taxing the sacred gardeners of Apollo.[21] Doubts have been expressed about the authenticity of both texts, but the second century clearly thought them genuine, and worthy to receive monumental form.

At the same time, there does not seem any tradition of Persian city-foundations, for example of local ambassadors citing Persian founders when defending the inviolability of their sanctuaries. The emphasis is largely religious: Zeus Ahuramazda at Sardis, 'Persian Artemis' not only in Lydia but also at Amyzon in Caria and at the greatest of Artemis' cult-centers, Ephesos. The explanation may simply be that the Persians did not found cities, but lived rather on fortified estates and in military colonies; perhaps also, since the Parthians were seen as their continuators, identification of whole cities with Persia would have been diplomatically unprofitable. But an important element in the emphasis on ritual must have been the perceived piety of the Persians, with their elaborate cults protected by the kings and maintained by priestly families.

By contrast, Assyria does not seem to have carried the same kind of negative charge. It is well known that authors of the imperial period actually prefer the term 'Assyrian' to 'Syrian,' and hence Philostratos can count two of the leading philosophers of the Second Sophistic, Isaeos and Hadrianos, as 'Assyrian', and Lucian makes the same claim for himself. Though we do not have Herodotus' promised Assyrian *logos*, we do have Diodorus' summary of the elaborate account, or rather fantasy, of Ctesias (2.1-20). In this the leading figures are Ninos, the supposed eponym of Nineveh and conqueror of Asia Minor, and his consort, later his widow, Semiramis. The latter in particular was associated with the various artificial hillocks or *höyükler* that dot the peninsula of Asia Minor. At least two cities, Tyana in Cappadocia, the home of the philosopher Apollonios, and

19 Robert, 1975a, 326-328 = Robert, 1969-1990, 5.505-507, especially n. 72; Robert, 1982, 371-373 = Robert, 1987, 333-335; Robert, 1983 = Robert, 1987, 349-353; J. and L. Robert, 1983, 115-117. On the Hyrcanian Plain, Strab. 13.4.13, C. 629.

20 Robert, 1975a = Robert, 1969-1990, 5.485-509. For further discussion, *SEG* 29, 1979, 1205; 40, 1990, 1071; 46, 1996, 1531.

21 Meiggs – Lewis, 1969, no. 12; recent bibliography in *SEG* 46, 1996, 1470.

Zela in Paphlagonia, were supposed to have been founded on 'mounds' of Semiramis. Aphrodisias in Caria was also situated on a prehistoric mound, and this may have provided the basis for that city's claim to go back to Ninos and Semiramis.[22] This vogue for an Assyrian past has also set a curious trap for translators of Philostratos, who suppose that Damis, Apollonios' alleged disciple, was from Assyrian Nineveh east of the Tigris. The geography of Apollonios' travels shows that he met Damis in Syrian Hierapolis, which Philostratos calls 'Ninos,' doubtless attributing the foundation to the Assyrian king.[23]

Greek institutions, traditions and values constitute a recurrent subject in works such as Philostratos' *Life of Apollonios*. But I have argued here that even the literature of the High Empire reveals a much more complex web of attachments and loyalties than can be attributed to 'Greekness' or 'Hellenicity.' When we pass out of the world of literature into the actual world in which these people moved, the home-city, the *patris*, is a central, perhaps the central, focus of loyalty and cultural memory. This unit is in its turn overlaid with other ones, regions such as Boeotia and Lydia, or wider groupings such as provinces or even continents (old Greece as against the new Greece of Asia Minor). Within these larger groupings the word 'Hellene' itself carries different connotations in different places. To be a Hellene in Egypt, to have passed the *epicrisis* and to share in the gymnastic culture of the elite, was different from being one of the Hellenes of Asia or Bithynia, who found political expression in their provincial council.

Despite this fracturing a common element is visible, which is not Hellenism but rather antiquity. This is not the same as 'archaism,' which implies the deliberate resurrection of dead or dormant forms of discourse, whether linguistic or artistic. The search for antiquity is also expressed, for example, in the competition for first place, *prôteia*, which underlay Aristides' speech to the three cities, for this competition is really about priority of a different kind, priority in time. Hence the pride not only of the three leading cities of Ephesos, Smyrna and Pergamon, but also of Sardis, the capital of Pausanias' Lydia. This rejoiced in the title of 'autochthonous' or 'protochthonous,' later adding 'most ancient (*presbistê*), mother city of Asia and all Lydia'; this last epithet implies both antiquity and the reverence due to age, 'most august.'[24] This same insistence on age as a title of precedence also explains what seems at first surprising in a letter of Hadrian to Cyrene. When both Cyrene and Ptolemais-Barca are admitted to Hadrian's Pan-

22 Strab. 12.2.7, C. 539 (Tyana); 12.3.37, C. 559 (Zela). Ninos and Semiramis at Aphrodisias: provisionally, Erim, 1986, 100-101. The reliefs are to be published by Bahadir Yildirim, see also Yildirim, this publication.

23 Philostr. *VA* 1.3; 1.19. See now Jones, 2001, 187-190.

24 Robert, 1975b, 169-170 = Robert, 1969-1990, 7.201-202; Herrmann, 1993.

hellenion, the result is not satisfaction in a shared Hellenism, but rather a quarrel between the two cities about the number of delegates to be assigned to each. Hadrian replies, clearly in answer to a complaint from Cyrene, that the Barcaeans are Greeks by direct descent, but nonetheless are asking too much when they desire parity with Cyrene.[25]

The preoccupation with Greek identity, it may be argued, has led to neglect of Pausanias' Lydian sympathies, and of the complicated ties that bound Aristides to his province of Asia, to his native Mysia, and to the two cities of his adulthood, Pergamon and Smyrna. It has also created an artificial barrier between more obviously Greek authors such as Pausanias and Aristides, and those such as Josephos who use the Greek language but insist on the priority of their own culture and literature. If we turn our attention away from a perceived opposition between Greek and Roman, we may get a truer idea of what being Greek in the Roman Empire actually meant.[26]

25 Jones, 1996, 47-53.

26 I am grateful to Glen Bowersock for discussion and advice, and also to those who commented on the spoken version of this paper at Heidelberg.

Identities and empire: Local mythology and the self-representation of Aphrodisias

BAHADIR YILDIRIM

Louis Robert's pioneering studies of cities of Asia Minor revealed the wide extent and complexity of the use of local mythology in the cultural production of these communities, particularly during the Roman imperial period.[1] His research laid the groundwork for later studies of this phenomenon, such as those of Peter Weiss on the coinage of these cities, which interpret depictions of local mythology as a form of self-representation and associate this prominent use of the past in daily life as a distinctive feature of the culture of the so-called Second Sophistic.[2] The glimpses of the self-image of communities of Asia Minor fashioned in the guise of myth on their local coinage coalesce into a remarkable portrait of a polis community in the Hellenic East at the dawn of the period of the Second Sophistic on a series of reliefs that decorated a Roman civil basilica at Aphrodisias in Caria. Based on an analysis of the iconography of the depictions of foundation legends and the 'self-representation' of the founders on the reliefs of the basilica, it will be argued that the reliefs functioned both as a form of diplomacy that claimed the preeminence of the peoples, cults and lands of Aphrodisias, and as a visual encomium that celebrated their membership in the wider Hellenic world of the Roman Empire and their unique identity within that world in the past and present.

The basilica and its reliefs

Around the turn of the first century AD, benefactors at Aphrodisias brought the urban landscape of the civic center of the polis up to date by building a large Roman civil basilica (c. 29 x 136 m) at the southwest corner of the city's South

1 Robert, 1975; Robert, 1980; Robert – Robert, 1954.

2 Weiss, 1984; Weiss, 1990; Weiss, 1992; Weiss, 1995; Harl, 1987, 21-30; Strubbe, 1984-1986; Scheer, 1993; Lindner, 1994.

Agora (fig. 1). Excavations have uncovered two-thirds of the building.[3] Its well-preserved remains permit a fairly accurate reconstruction of its elevation. The reliefs that are the focus of this study decorate the upper story of the marble colonnades (H. c. 14.3 m) of its nave (fig. 2).[4] The colonnades extend c. 110 meters and consist of an Ionic lower story with a mask and garland frieze, and a Corinthian upper story made up of a plain base course, piers with engaged fluted half-columns that face onto the nave, the relief panels, and flute-and-acanthus Corinthian capitals. The relief panels are not contiguous and each panel (c. 2.33 x 0.96 m) fills a single intercolumniation of the upper story, much like a series of balustrade reliefs. Their main architectural function is to mask the connection between the colonnades of the nave and the lower sloping roof of the aisles. Light entered the nave through openings above the relief panels, which were probably fitted with wooden screens. The paratactic compositions of the reliefs form a frieze-like course designed for legibility from the nave about nine meters below. [5]

Forty-six of the seventy-six relief panels that adorned the upper story of the nave have been found in various states of preservation. The reliefs of the east colonnade are better preserved than those of the west colonnade, of which very little remains south of the fourteenth intercolumniation, counting from north to south (ill. 2). The reliefs depict a large number of acanthus motifs (pinwheels, rosettes, scrolls in various states of bloom), as well as palmettes, flowers and garlands; objects of the Dionysian realm (kantharos, satyr heads, thyrsoi) as well as a shield, cornucopia, bow and quiver case, and wreath; animals of sea, land, and air (hippocamp, dolphins and fish, panther, donkey, hare, wild boar, eagle,

3 Smith – Ratté, 1995, 46-48 figs. 19-21 pl. 2 no. 17; Smith – Ratté, 2000, 231 fig. 10; 233 pl. 2 no. 17; Ratté, 2001, 119-122 figs. 5-3; 5-4. The basilica is dated between the Flavian and Hadrianic periods based on style of architectural ornament and epigraphic finds. Epigraphy: Reynolds, 1987, 83, dedication to Titus(?). Architecture: Waelkens, 1987, 124; Vanderput, 1997, 134-136; de Chaisemartin, 1987, 138. The architecture of the basilica is now being studied by Phil Stinson. The basilica at Aphrodisias is one of the earliest examples in Asia Minor: Gros, 1996, 235-260, esp. 245-248 on basilicas in Asia Minor.

4 The reliefs were considered to date to the second half of the third or early fourth century AD: Erim, 1986, 26-27; 99-101, note the date given on 26, "second half of the third century BC [sic]."; Erim, 1989, 49-51. They have recently been re-dated to the time of the construction of the basilica in the late first or early second century AD: Yildirim, 2001, 46-55.

5 The elevation of the basilica at Aphrodisias is similar to civil basilicas at Ephesos (11 AD) and Aspendos (early 3rd c. AD). Ephesos: Fossel-Peschl, 1982, 5; 13-14; 47 pls. 3; 8; 10. Aspendos: Smith – Ratté, 1995, 47-48; Lauter, 1970, 77-101; Lanckronski, 1890, 98. Compare with Hellenistic balustrade reliefs at Pergamon: Bohn, 1885, pls. 23; 43; Winter, 1908, 282-285; Hoepfner, 1996, mythological reliefs reconstructed in intercolumniations of royal peristyle near Athena Temple precinct; Radt, 1999, 159-161.

swan, griffin); Erotes, mythological and legendary figures (Leda, Ninos, Semiramis, Gordis, Bellerophon, Corybantes, Silenos, Young Herakles); gods (Aphrodite of Aphrodisias, oracular Apollo, Asklepios and Hygeia); as well as a victorious athlete and rustic peasant-like figure. Based on the find-place information of the reliefs, the more decorative subjects, such as acanthus scrolls, Erotes carrying garlands, and Satyr heads, are concentrated at the north and south ends of the nave, while scenes of mythological and legendary figures predominate at the middle of the nave.

Founder reliefs

The three panels at the middle of the length of the east colonnade of the nave were considered important enough to have inscribed labels added in a later period. The figures on the central panel of this group would have been easily recognizable as Pegasos, Bellerophon, and Apollo, even without their labels. But labels are essential for our identification of the figures on the reliefs flanking this panel: Semiramis and Gordis on the left panel, and Ninos on the right one. A brief description of these three reliefs follows:

Semiramis Relief (fig. 3): At the left half of the panel, a veiled female figure wearing a peplos and himation stands holding a staff and a leafy branch, which she extends toward an altar at the center of the scene. The figure is identified as **CEMEIPA|MIC** by an inscribed label on the background just below the molding. A cuirassed male figure stands at the right pouring a libation at the altar. The figure is named **ΓΟΡΔΙC** by an inscribed label on the background next to it.[6]

Bellerophon Relief (fig. 4): A winged horse and two figures are identified from left to right by labels inscribed just below the molding at the right of each figure: **ΠΗΓΑCOC**, **ΒΕΛΛΕΡΟΦΟΝΤΗC**, **ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ**. At the center of the scene, the frontal nude standing figure of Bellerophon wearing a chlamys holds the bridle of Pegasos with his outstretched right arm. The remains of the left hand of the figure held a rectangular object, perhaps a sword or tablet. At the right end of the panel, a smaller nude figure of Apollo stands on a rocky ground and rests its left hand on a tripod around which is wound a snake. The right arm down at the side of the figure of Apollo probably held a laurel branch.

Ninos Relief (fig. 5): At the center of the scene, a figure identified by an inscribed label as **NINOC**, wears a chiton and himation and holds a long scepter across his body while sacrificing (most likely pouring a libation) at an altar upon

6 Smith – Ratté, 2000, 233 n. 17 (phiale and hand fragment).

which is perched an eagle next to a barren tree with three large branches. At the right end of the scene a cuirassed male figure wearing a chlamys looks on while sprinkling offerings on a smaller altar.

The Semiramis, Bellerophon, and Ninos reliefs have been interpreted as representing heroes, gods, and legendary figures of foundation legends of Aphrodisias and of communities in the vicinity who were also associated with its origins. The identifications of these founder reliefs has been based primarily on epigraphic, numismatic and textual evidence.[7]

The Ninos relief is considered to be an attestation of the only textual evidence of the foundation legends of Aphrodisias which is preserved in entries of the *Ethnica* by Stephanus of Byzantium that most likely rely on the *Carian History* by Apollonios of Aphrodisias of the imperial period.[8] The entry for Ninoe states that Aphrodisias in Caria was founded by the Pelasgians Leleges, and called Lelegon polis, after which it was called Megale polis and then named Ninoe after Ninos. The entry for Megale polis states that the Carian city, now called Aphrodisias, was earlier called Lelegon polis, and, on account of the greatness of the city, was called Megalopolis, and then Ninoe after Ninos.[9] The Ninos of the foundation legends of Aphrodisias and the figure on the Ninos relief are most likely to be identified with the legendary Assyrian king, who ruled Asia, including Caria, according to the universal histories, most notably that of Diodorus Siculus (1 c. BC), and whose queen was Semiramis, who is also depicted on a basilica relief.[10]

Louis Robert identified the figure of Gordis on the Semiramis relief as Gordios, a legendary Phrygian king referred to in the foundation legend of Gordiouteichos preserved in the *Ethnica* by Stephanus of Byzantium, which claims that Midas founded the city and named it after Gordios.[11] The settlement of

7 Robert, 1980, 334 n. 66; 409 n.70; Roueché, 1981, 118-119; Erim, 1986, 25-27, 99-101; *LIMC* 4, 1988, 283-284, s.v. Gordios, no. 1* (K.T. Erim); Augé, 1990, 59-61; MacDonald, 1992, 32-33; *LIMC* 6, 1992, 907-908, s.v. Ninos, no. 3 (P. Linant de Bellefonds); *LIMC* 7, 1994, 726-727, s.v. Semiramis, no. 4* (P. Linant de Bellefonds); Smith, 1996, 54-56; Jones, 1999, 128-129; 143.

8 Erim, 1986, 25-26. On imperial dating of Apollonios of Aphrodisias: Chaniotis, 2003, 79-80 n. 58 (late 2nd or early 3rd c. AD); Pierobon, 1987, 39-40.

9 St.Byz. s.v. Ninoe; s.v. Megale polis.

10 Robert, 1980, 333-334; D.S. 2.1-20; 2.21.8; Ninos and Semiramis are known initially from Greek and later also from Latin sources: Roscher 3/1, 1965, 369-371 s.v. Ninos (Wagner); Roscher 4, 1965, 678-702 s.v. Semiramis (C.F. Lehmann-Haupt); *RE* 17/1, 1936, 634-643 s.v. Ninos (E.F. Weidner); *RE Suppl.* 7, 1940, 1204-1212 s.v. Semiramis (T. Lenschau); Pettinato, 1988, 9-51, 305-308.

11 St.Byz. s.v. Gordiou teichos; Robert, 1980, 409 n. 70; *LIMC* 4, 1988, 283-284 s.v. Gordios (K.T. Erim) prefers to identify the Gordios in the foundation legend of Gordiouteichos as a

Gordiouteichos is thought to be located near Aphrodisias and is only known from its late Hellenistic coinage and an inscription found at Aphrodisias.[12] Robert's identification of the figure on the basilica relief as Gordios, the eponymous hero of Gordiouteichos, relied on a bearded cuirassed figure on the late Hellenistic coinage of the city and a bearded figure with helmet on the south frieze of the late Hellenistic temple of Hekate at Lagina.[13] However, the remains of the edge of the head of the cuirassed figure on the Semiramis relief suggest that it did not have a beard. Based on the foundation legend of Gordiouteichos, it has been suggested that the cuirassed figure on the Ninos relief is Midas, but the figure lacks any similarity with known depictions of Midas.[14] This figure may represent an indigenous king of the region allied with Ninos or a ruler of the local settlement before it became Ninoe.[15]

Evidence of the role of Bellerophon in the origins of Aphrodisias was found recently in an inscription of the imperial period at Aphrodisias on a molded element that indicates that the Demos honored Bellerophon with a statue as a founder (*ktistes*): ΒΕΛΛΕΡΟΦΟΝΤ[ΗΝ] | ΚΤΙΣΤΗΝ Ο ΔΗΜ[ΟΣ].[16] C.P. Jones has suggested that Bellerophon's relative Chrysaor played a role in the foundation legends of a city considered to be located near Aphrodisias, named Plarasa, which was closely linked to its historical origins. Aphrodisias first appears in a sympolity with Plarasa in the late second or early first century BC. Plarasa was the preeminent city of this sympolity, and its legends, according to Jones, may have been incorporated into those of Aphrodisias when its community was 'absorbed' by Aphrodisias in the early first century AD.[17]

The scenes depicted on the reliefs are, however, unattested. A closer analysis of the representation of the gods, heroes and legendary figures on the reliefs

son of Midas and not his father; Roueché, 1981, 118 n. 104 suggests the more famous Gordios, founder of the Phrygian kingdom.

12 Drew-Bear, 1972, 439-441.

13 Robert, 1937, 552-555 pl. 2.1; Mendel, 1966, Vol. 1, 478-480; Jones, 1999, 64. Compare with figure identified as Ares on Plarasa/Aphrodisias coinage: MacDonald, 1992, 67 R55 pl. 2 (c. 88-40 BC).

14 Midas: Erim, 1978, 324-325; *LIMC* 4, 1988, 284 s.v. Gordios (K.T. Erim); *LIMC* 8, 1997, 847 s.v. Midas no. 3* coin of Midaion, Phrygia (161-69 AD) featuring Midas as a founder (M.C. Miller).

15 Native-born kings: D.S. 2.1.4. Ninos leading Greek and Carian troops and making alliances: D.S. 2.1.4-2.2.4; Stephens – Winkler, 1995, B2-B3 (Ninos novel).

16 Smith, 1996, 54-56 fig. 51 (inv. 91-92).

17 Jones, 1999, 142-143; Reynolds, 1982, 1-16 no. 2, which provides 88 BC as a *terminus ante quem* for the sympolity. See absorption of legendary heroes in synoicism of Nysa: Strab. 14.1.46; Malkin, 1987, 248; 258.

reveals how their local significance was conveyed visually. Since there was no ritual specific to a foundation of a city, or, distinctive attribute of a founder in Hellenic culture, the identification of these reliefs as depictions of local foundation legends requires knowledge of local legends and *topoi*, such as oracles, omens, and sacrifice, in foundation literature, as well as types that had developed to represent founders and foundation episodes.[18] Just as the paratactic design of the reliefs emphasizes visibility from the nave, the didactic manner of the use of foundation legend *topoi* and local cultic iconography on the founder reliefs enables the viewer familiar with them to more easily recognize the subjects and their local significance.

Oracles: Oracles of Apollo are the most common in foundation stories, especially the oracle at Delphi, which played a major role in the period of Greek colonization during the archaic period.[19] Consultation of an oracle was a *topos* in foundation literature since it was often the *aition* that initiated foundations and identified the founder.[20] An oracle of Apollo appears to be represented on the Bellerophon relief in the guise of Apollo with oracular attributes (tripod and snake). The figure of Apollo is smaller in scale than the figure of the hero, indicating it is the god's statue or cult image.[21] The rocky ground on which the oracular figure of Apollo stands acts both as a base for the statue of Apollo that increases its visibility from the nave below and as a topographical feature that places the oracle in a specific location, probably at Delphi.[22] The oracle of Apollo on the relief can be understood as a visual 'modifier' identifying the hero's local identity as a founder, much like the epithet, *ktistes*, on the inscription found at Aphrodisias. The juxtaposition of Bellerophon with an oracle of Apollo

18 Schmid, 1947; Strosetzki, 1954; Vian, 1963. Typology of representation on coinage of cities of Asia Minor: Weiss, 1984, 186-187.

19 Schmid, 1947, 148-166; Leschhorn, 1984, 114-116; Malkin, 1987, 112-113; Paus. 7.2.1 for oracle of Apollo in Ionian colonization.

20 Schmid, 1947, 154-167, esp. 157-158; Vian, 1963, 76-77; Malkin, 1987, 104-105. See scene of consultation of Pythian Apollo on a Sebasteion panel at Aphrodisias: Smith, 1990, 100 fig. 10 right.

21 *LIMC* 2, 1984, 294 s.v. Apollon no. 919 (W. Lambrinudakis).

22 Similar to late Classical Apollo Lykeos type but unusual in its combination with a rocky setting: *LIMC* 2, 1984, 324 s.v. Apollon (W. Lambrinudakis); 440 s.v. Apollon/Apollo (E. Simon). Rocky Delphi: Lib. *Or.* 11.15; *BMC*, Central Greece pl. 4, 20 Hadrianic coinage of Delphi; Unpublished relief panel of the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias: Orestes at Delphi (inv. 70-107, 85-114).

on the basilica relief indicates the guiding role of the god in the wandering hero's foundation.[23]

Omens: The patron deity of a foundation typically does not appear directly to the founder but communicates through oracles as on the Bellerophon relief, or, through omens. Omens appear in foundation legends and in representations on the coinage of cities of Asia Minor during the imperial period often in the form of animals, such as the eagle, that guide the founder to the place of settlement and identify the patron deity of the foundation.[24] The prominent eagle on the altar on the Ninos relief with wings spread as if in flight turns its head toward the figure of Ninos. The feathers at the tip of its left wing are extended further toward Ninos as well. The eagle most likely represents a "prophetic sign" of Zeus that signaled the foundation of Ninoe to the founder Ninos.[25]

Sacrifice: All of the figures on the Semiramis and Ninos reliefs are depicted in the act of sacrifice at an altar. This is a common format for depictions of founders on the local coinage of Asia Minor during the imperial period. [26] This conventional choice reflects the importance of local cults in foundation legends. The establishment of cult was one of the first and most significant acts of the founder of a city, who was vested with the power of designating sacred space in the new settlement.[27] Existing sacred *loci,* such as trees, were often chosen as places to establish cult and a settlement in foundation legends.[28] The barren tree, pair of altars, and eagle on the Ninos relief are part of the iconography of a local cult at Aphrodisias. The tree and pair of altars reappear on the coinage of Aphrodisias in the later second and third centuries AD without the eagle and figures depicted

23 Malkin, 1987, 142-143; Leschhorn, 1984, 10-11, 360-363; Jones, 1999, 143 proposes that the figure of "oracular Apollo" on the panel could refer to "his role of 'archegetes', the 'initiator' of colonies." On *archegetes*: Malkin, 1987, 242-250.

24 Vian, 1963, 76-82, esp. 78. On bird divination and favorable omens: Malkin, 1987, 108-111. Weiss, 1984, 184-185 pl. 1, 7 (foundation omen); pl. 2, 2. 10.

25 Downey, 1959, 663; 682; Lib. *Or.* 11. 85-88 (prophetic sign). The Ninos relief of the basilica is similar to a relief on a Sebasteion panel at Aphrodisias: Smith, 1990, 100 fig. 10 centre (Sacrifice).

26 Weiss, 1984, pls. 1, 7; 2, 2. Compare Aeneas sacrificing on the Ara Pacis: Zanker, 1988, 204 fig. 157. See also the depiction of the hero Telephos building an altar on the Telephos frieze of Pergamon: Smith, 1991, 180 fig. 199, 6; Scheer, 1993, 137.

27 Price, 1999, 47-48; Malkin, 1987, 104-106; 142-154.

28 Malkin, 1987, 75; 79; 224-227; Price, 1999, 54-55; Apoll. Rhod. 2.846-850. Foundation of Rome: Liv. *Epit.* 1.10.5-7; Zanker, 1988, 203-206, figs. 157-158. Re-foundation of Smyrna: Paus. 7.5.1; *BMC* Ionia, 1892, pl. 29, nos. 9, 14, 16 (second century AD); Weiss, 1984, 183 n. 23, pl. 2, 4.

on the Ninos relief.[29] L. Robert identified the cult to which Ninos sacrifices as that of Zeus Nineudios, a cult of Zeus attested at Aphrodisias on inscriptions of the first century BC and AD.[30] On the Ninos relief, this cult is associated with the barren tree, which localizes the figure of Ninos at a sacred landmark of the legendary topography of ancient Aphrodisias.[31]

Founders: The type of the standing nude hero, such as Bellerophon, or the armored warrior, such as the figures on the Ninos and Semiramis reliefs, were formats used on the coinage of cities in Asia Minor in the Hellenistic and imperial periods to depict local founders.[32] The armor of both cuirassed figures on the Ninos and Semiramis reliefs have elements that associate them with those worn by legendary figures.[33] The depictions of the figures of Ninos and Semiramis on the basilica reliefs will be examined in detail in the discussion of the reliefs as visual encomium since they are a less conventional format for legendary founders than those of the other figures on the reliefs.

Other scenes of origins on the basilica reliefs: The figured panels near the central group of founder reliefs include: a panel of a nude hero with spear confronting a wild boar (fig. 6); fragments of a panel with a tree and flying eagle clutching a hare; fragments of a panel of three Corybantes, Silenos, and probably a baby Dionysos; and a fragment of a panel of a peasant tending a donkey. These reliefs feature 'rustic' subjects that are related more to the *chora* than to the civic scenes

29 MacDonald, 1992, 32-33; 86 R217-218 pl. 8 (161-169 AD); 88 R224, O[R sic.] 225 pl. 9 (c. 161-169 AD); 99 R262-270 pls. 12-13 (late 209 to early 211 AD); 110 R 332 pl. 15 (c. 200-250 AD); 111 R339-347 pl. 16 (c. 200-250 AD); 116 R371-374 pl. 17 (c. 200-250 AD); 138 R462-3 pl. 24 (c. 250-255 AD); 140 R468-469 pl. 25 (c. 255-258 AD).

30 Robert, 1980, 333 nn. 60-61, 334 n. 66; Smith, 1996, 50-51 fig. 44; *MAMA* 8, 75-76 no. 410 pl. 18; Paris – Holleaux, 1885, 79-80 no. 10. Dedication (ca. 1 c. BC) to Zeus Nineduios at Aphrodisias has remains of a sculpted eagle: Inv. I 99.002 (A. Chaniotis).

31 The barren state of the tree has been interpreted as a result of a lightening blast, which could have made it sacred to Zeus: MacDonald, 1992, 32-33; MacDonald, 1990, 45 figs. 2-4; Augé, 1990, 59-61. On lightening-blasted trees and Zeus: Cook, 1925, 680-682. On lightning struck sites as sacred: Malkin, 1987, 142; Paus. 5.20.6-7. The foundation legend of Ninoe was probably spun around the name of the original settlement (Nineudos?) that worshipped this god: Chaniotis, 2003, 71. Divine epithets as place-names: Chaniotis, 1998, 249; Pierobon, 1987, 42 n. 28. Ninos legend as invention for Nineveh: Momigliano, 1969, 181-212, esp. 191.

32 Weiss, 1984, 185 n. 48; 186 n. 56 on local warrior heroes on coinage misidentified as Ares; Strubbe, 1984-1986, 259 n. 31; Paus. 7.2.9 (cuirassed statue of Androklos, founder of Ephesos). Harl, 1987, pl. 34, 9-10 on cuirassed, legendary local heros on coinage of cities in Asia Minor in the imperial period.

33 The cuirass type of the figure of Gordios: Hallett, 1998, 67-68 nos. a-e; 86. The boot type of the figure of Gordios: Goette, 1988, 401-464, esp. 443-444; 448 and 409-410 n. 27 on frieze of Basilica Aemilia (1c. BC). Molded shoulder element of cuirassed figure on Ninos relief: Koch – Sichtermann, 1982, nos. 414; 418; 421; 439 (sarcophagi 3rd c. AD).

of cult at the center of the series, and could be interpreted as *aitia* episodes commonly featured in foundation legends in the form of hunts, omens, and births of gods.[34]

The basilica reliefs as diplomacy

The prominence of local mythology on the reliefs of the basilica at Aphrodisias can be understood as a legacy of a long tradition of kinship diplomacy in Hellenic culture.[35] Myths, heroes, and their genealogies were a flexible and venerable medium for rooting the identity of a community in a complex network of relationships.[36] A tradition of commemorating legendary founders and these mythological relations on public monuments also existed in Hellenic culture.[37] However, the use of the distinctly Roman building type as a venue for this type of subject was not an innovation of the benefactors at Aphrodisias. The Basilica Aemilia on the Forum at Rome featured the foundation legends of Rome on a frieze (first century BC) that decorated its nave. The basilica may have originated in Rome as a 'forum' for the diplomacy of the Romans with the Greeks in the Hellenistic period, which, according to K. Welch, could explain the use of depictions of local foundation legends in basilicas.[38] Those who commissioned the basilica reliefs at Aphrodisias may have been aware of this association, but they were not the first in their community to recognize the power of kinship diplomacy with Rome.

The fortuitous kinship of Aphrodite with Aeneas and the Julio-Claudian dynasty must have been an important factor in maintaining the renewal of the privileged status of Aphrodisias in the imperial period as a free city immune from taxes and with asylum rights for its cult of Aphrodite.[39] The change in the self-image of Aphrodisias to address these circumstances is clear in its local coinage

34 For hunts as omens in foundation legends: Weiss, 1984, 195 n. 118; Thür, 1995, 64-74. Birds: Vian, 1963, 76-82; Schmid, 1947, 61-62 (Zankle), 96 (Magnesia on the Meander), 159-165; Strosetzki, 1954, 19; 36; 58-59. Malkin, 1987, 108, as an early Hellenistic tradition. Birth and rearing of gods: Isager, 1998; Lindner, 1994, 118-119; 171-198, esp. 183-184 (Akmonia); Weiss, 1995, 103-109, esp. 108. Peasant: Legends of Gordios and Midas in Iust. 11.7.5 ff.; Arr. *An.* 2.3.2-6.

35 Jones, 1999.

36 Prinz, 1979; Weiss, 1984, 193-194; Strubbe 1984-1986; Scheer, 1993, esp. 67-70; 337-343; Curty, 1995.

37 For the Roman imperial period in Asia Minor: Lindner, 1994, 1-24.

38 Welch, 2003, 5-34, esp. 30-31.

39 Reynolds, 1982, 38-41; Jones, 1999, 94-95; 101-104; Tac. *Ann.* 3.60-62.

from the pre-imperial to imperial periods. Representations of Zeus, particularly in the form of the eagle, which predominate on the pre-imperial coinage of the sympolity of Plarasa and Aphrodisias, all but vanish along with the name of Plarasa from the coinage by the early imperial period, when the local cult image of Aphrodite of Aphrodisias begins to dominate the coinage of Aphrodisias.[40] The grandest visualization of the special relationship of the community's goddess with Roman power is found in the sculptural decoration of the Julio-Claudian Sebasteion, begun during the reign of Tiberius and completed at the beginning of Nero's reign. The triple-storied North and South buildings of the imperial cult complex each contained at least ninety relief panels and extended about ninety meters along a narrow paved area in front of the imperial cult temple.[41] The reliefs of the South building of the Sebasteion formulated the power of imperial rule from a Hellenic perspective: the imperial family is equated with the Olympian pantheon in the upper story, and with the Hellenic myth-history that preceded it on the second story. This myth-history included figures and scenes from the foundation legends of the Romans, such as Anchises, Aeneas's Flight from Troy, Romulus and Remus suckled by the she-wolf.[42] But interestingly, the Aphrodisians appear to have been scrupulous in maintaining that they were not themselves descendants of Aphrodite.[43]

The origins of the community of Aphrodisias are not as evident on the Sebasteion reliefs as they are on the basilica reliefs, even though the most parallels for the subjects on the basilica reliefs at Aphrodisias are found on the reliefs of the second story of the South building of the Sebasteion: gods (cult image of Aphrodite of Aphrodisias, Zeus in the guise of an eagle, oracular Apollo, Asklepios and Hygeia, Eros, and probably also baby Dionysos), mythological figures and scenes (Leda and the Swan, the young Herakles, Bellerophon and Pegasos, Silenos, and hero with wild boar), and a victorious athlete. The reliefs of the basilica draw upon strands of the network of Hellenic myth-history depicted on the Sebasteion to emphasize in a more didactic manner the role of the peoples

40 MacDonald, 1992, 27; 71-73 R68 pl. 3 last depiction of eagle on the local coinage (1 c. BC) until the 3rd c. AD when it reappears less frequently, 117 R381 pl. 18. Local cult of Zeus of Plarasa absorbed by Aphrodisias: Laumonier, 1958, 480; 503-504.

41 Smith, 1987, 89-95.

42 Smith 1987, 95-97; 135-136; Smith, 1990, 95-100.

43 Jones, 1999, 101-104. But see de Chaisemartin, 1997, who argues that oriental figures with Phrygian caps decorating the architecture of the 1 c. AD at Aphrodisias are an indication of kinship between Aphrodisias and Rome through the myth of Troy.

and cults of Aphrodisias in the 'history' of the Hellenic world and empire, both in the past and the present.[44]

The selection of subjects and the manner of their representation on the basilica reliefs can be understood as an attempt to use myth to assert the preeminence of the community and its elite in the changing cultural, social, and political climate of the post Julio-Claudian period. During this period evidence of inter-city rivalries intensifies in the archaeological record.[45] Local cults, foundation legends, oracles, and other 'documents' such as monuments were used as evidence in claims made by communities competing for privileges from Rome, such as asylum rights for local cults, or, civic titles that included *neokoros*, metropolis, and most ancient (*archaiotate*).[46]

Metropolis: Although Aphrodisias officially becomes a metropolis of the region, perhaps as early as the mid third century AD, the claims that lead to this elevated status were being made several generations earlier on the basilica reliefs at the beginning of the period of the so-called Second Sophistic.[47] The discussion of the founder reliefs has shown that the origins of Aphrodisias incorporated those of other communities with which it was closely related, namely Plarasa and Gordiouteichos. The close ties between them are attested mainly in the pre-imperial period. A late Hellenistic coin type issued by all three communities in the first century BC depicts a head of Zeus on the obverse and the Aphrodite of Aphrodisias on the reverse and attests to their veneration of the local cult of the eponymous goddess of Aphrodisias.[48] Robert has argued for the identification of a group of three figures on the south frieze of the late Hellenistic temple of

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44 The basilica reliefs as part of the historical component, *"Geschichtsbewusstsein",* of the identity of Aphrodisias: Chaniotis, 2003, 79-81. On didactic presentation of myths: Zanker, 1988, 206-207, which notes the more didactic character of Augustan foundation imagery in relation to Hellenistic depictions; Welch, 2003, 31 on the didactic role of friezes of foundation legends in basilicas.

45 Jones, 1999, 105-113; 134-135; Chaniotis, 2003, 79-80; Friesen, 1995, 239-240.

46 Tac. *Ann.* 3.60-63; 4.55-56; D.Chr. 34.48; 34.51; 38.24; 38.38-39 on inter-city rivalries and titles; Weiss, 1984, 179-180; 188; Weiss, 1991, 353-377; Strubbe, 1984-1986, 254-256; 266-267; Jones, 1978, 74-75; Jones, 1999, 117-118; Friesen, 1995; Boatwright, 2000, 96-106. Lib. *Or.* 11.42 on historical treatises that corroborate his account of the origins of Antioch.

47 Erim, 1986, 32; 100-101; Roueché, 1989, 1-3 on revised date of 249/250 AD for the creation of the joint province of Caria and Phrygia and Aphrodisias as its metropolis, and 15-16; 21; 33-34 no. 17 on Aphrodisias as metropolis of province of Caria alone by 301-305 AD. See Roueché, 1981, 118 n. 99 on reference to attestation of Aphrodisias as a metropolis on an inscription from Claros of 170-180 AD.

48 MacDonald, 1992, 71, O65-67; R108-111 pl. 4, with head of Zeus on obverse and Aphrodite of Aphrodisias on the reverse; Drew-Bear, 1972, 439-443 fig. 2.

Hekate at Lagina as representing (Gordiouteichos, Plarasa and Aphrodisias).[49] The assembly of founders on the basilica reliefs renews these historical relationships in the guise of myth.[50]

There is no evidence relating the figures of Semiramis and Gordios in the preserved legends, but the figure of Semiramis on the basilica relief could function as a means of linking the community of Gordiouteichos founded by the Phrygian king Gordios to that of Ninoe founded by her spouse, Ninos.[51] The joint sacrifice of Semiramis and Gordios on the basilica relief could have reinforced the sense of the "independent 'diplomacy'" of the peoples of Aphrodisias since pairings of founders sacrificing jointly or shaking hands is a format that was used on coinage of cities of Asia Minor in the second and third centuries AD to express *'homonoia'* between communities.[52] The scenes of the founders of Ninoe and Gordiouteichos frame the central scene of the founder Bellerophon, who, as discussed above, may have figured in foundation legends of Plarasa. The legends of Gordiouteichos, Plarasa, and Aphrodisias-Ninoe depicted on the triptych of founder reliefs could be understood as absorption of the legends of these communities into those of Aphrodisias, but they could also illustrate the preeminent role of Aphrodisias in the region.

Aphrodisias was not the only community of the province of Asia during the imperial period that claimed Ninos and Semiramis played a role in their origins. Anineta on the ancient border of Lydia and Caria featured Ninos as a founder on their coinage of the second and third centuries AD. The legendary origins of Thyateira in Lydia featured Semiramis as an eponym of the city.[53] The role of

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49 Robert, 1937, 552-555 pl. 2, 1; Mendel, 1966, 478-480; Jones, 1999, 64.

50 Chaniotis, 2003, 79-84; Pierobon, 1987, 39-51, interprets the legend of Ninos as the founder of Aphrodisias as evidence of historical ties between Caria, Lydia, and Phrygia as early as the archaic period.

51 Semiramis was associated through legends of her divine origins with cults of Aphrodite and may have played a role in the origins of the local cult of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias: Brody, 1999, 75; Lucianus *Syr.D.* 1; Lib. *Or.* 11.59 (builder of temple of Artemis at Antioch on the Orontes); van Berg, 1972, 13-32; 73-74.

52 Weiss, 1984, 186 pl. 3, 2. 4 often with eponymous hero. Weiss, 1991, 363-364; 389 pl. 3, 1; Wörrle, 1988, 199; Harl, 1987, 77 pl. 9, 3 joint sacrifice of eponymous heroes Dorylaeus and Acamas. Homonoia between Aphrodisias, Plarasa, Tabai and Kibyra is attested in a late Hellenistic oath of alliance of the cities in the earliest inscribed document of Aphrodisias: Reynolds, 1982, 6 pl. I, 1.

53 Anineta: Robert, 1980, 332-333 figs. 8-9; *LIMC* 6, 1992, 908 s.v. Ninos 4a*, b* (P. Linant de Bellefonds). Thyateira: St.Byz. s.v. Thyateira; Robert, 1980, 334 n. 67; Pierobon, 1987, 43 n. 32; Strubbe, 1984-1986, 268; 282 n. 174. These examples may reflect a tradition recorded by Herodotus that claimed Ninos as an ancestor of the Heraclid dynasty of Lydia: Hdt. 1.7; Bickerman, 1952, 74 n. 80; van Berg, 1972, 18; 98-108.

Bellerophon and Pegasos in the region of Caria is more widely attested than those of Gordios, Ninos and Semiramis. By venerating Bellerophon as a founder, Aphrodisias would have claimed membership in a complex web of mythical kinship in the region.[54] Pegasos, Bellerophon and his relatives, especially Chrysaor, feature in the foundation legends of cities in Caria: Bargylia, Hydissos, Mylasa, Idrias (ancient Stratonicea), and Halikarnassos, with which kinship is attested in an honorific decree of the second century AD of the city of Halikarnassos for the poet C. Julius Longinus of Aphrodisias.[55]

Eugeneia: The founder reliefs feature how well-connected Aphrodisias was with its neighbors and the wider region, which would have been an important part of its diplomacy of claiming preeminence in this network. The claim of having noble origins (*eugeneia*) is another feature of this diplomacy.[56] Dio Chrysostom praises his own city of Prusa for being, "inferior to no city of distinction anywhere, whether in nobility of lineage or composition of population … and, what is most significant, having had as founders both heroes and gods."[57] Rivaling pressures to establish a venerable identity tailored to the concerns of the cultural politics of the Second Sophistic may have led to Bellerophon's primacy at the center of the east colonnade of the basilica.[58] Bellerophon would have satisfied the hierarchy of pedigree that favored origins from mainland Greece, especially from its Ionian, Dorian or Aeolian lands and their ancient colonies. This fashionable pedigree was emphasized in Second Sophistic writings and became a requirement for membership of communities in prestigious institutions such as the inter-provincial Panhellenion founded by Hadrian in 131/2 AD. [59]

54 The mythology of Bellerophon and Pegasos associates them with Lycia and Caria, where communities featured Bellerophon as one of their earliest kings: *RE* 3/1, 1897, 250 s.v. Bellerophon (E. Bethe); Scheer, 1993, 284-285.

55 St.Byz. s.v. Bargylia; Europus; Hydissos; Idrias; Xrusaoris; Mylasa. *RE* 3/1, 1897, 241-251 s.v. Bellerophon (E. Bethe); *RE* 3/2, 1899, 2484-2485 s.v. Chrysaor (O. Jessen); Roscher 3/2, 1965, 1741-1742 s.v. Pegasos (Bargylia, Stratonikea) (W. Lermann); *RE* 3/1, 1897, 247 s.v. Bellerophon (Bargylia) (E. Bethe); Chaniotis, 2003, 80 n. 61. Chrysaor: Jones, 1999, 60; 139-143; Laumonier, 1958, 206-207; 210; 504. The main evidence for Chrysaor at Aphrodisias is found in its use as a name: Roueché, 1981, 118 n. 103; Jones, 1999, 143. Halicarnassus: *MAMA* 8 no. 418b; Curty, 1995, 180-181 no. 73; Kinship is most likely through Bellerophon: Isager, 1998; Lloyd-Jones, 1999.

56 Strubbe, 1984-1986, 253-257.

57 D.Chr. 39.1. Nobility of lineage is a significant feature of the praise of cities: Lib. *Or.* 11.42.

58 Chaniotis, 2003, 80.

59 Jones, 1978, 75; Strubbe, 1984-1986, 260; D.Chr. 44.6 on preeminence of Athens, Argos, Sparta. Panhellenion: Spawforth – Walker, 1985, 81-82; Spawforth – Walker, 1986; Jones, 1999, 118-119.

Cities such as Magnesia on the Meander, Tralles, and Miletos became members of the Panhellenion.[60]

In this competitive context, the function of the oracle of Apollo on the Bellerophon relief of the basilica at Aphrodisias could be understood as authenticating the Hellenic component of their origins. Pronouncements of oracles deposited as 'authentic' documents in local archives or displayed in public contexts had a long tradition of being used as certification of a particular version of origin such as the 'fabricated' version of the origins of Magnesia on the Meander inscribed (c. 208/7 BC) at the west end of the south hall of its Agora.[61]

Great antiquity: Aphrodisias further distinguished itself by claiming origins of the greatest antiquity.[62] This aspect of the community's identity is highlighted in a letter of the emperor Gordian III to Aphrodisias (c. 239 AD).

> It befitted both your ancient origins and your goodwill and friendship towards the Romans, O Aphrodisias, that you should be so disposed to my kingship as you demonstrated in your decree to me. In response to this and in recompense for your pious (loyal) attitude, I preserved your secure enjoyment of all your rights, as they have been preserved up to the time of my kingship.[63]

The letter of Gordian III is the earliest preserved attestation of the claims of origins of great antiquity that were being commemorated several generations earlier on the basilica reliefs.[64] The letter inscribed among others on the so-called Archive Wall in the north parodos of the theater at Aphrodisias can be understood as a form of self-representation constructed out of a selection of correspondences with Roman emperors and magistrates that reveal the preeminence of the city in the region and the empire, a theme that also appears on the basilica reliefs.[65] Cities without a long historical past such as Aphrodisias, whose political identity as a polis emerged only in the late second or early first century BC, were able to acquire a noble pedigree of great antiquity through myth.[66] The foundation legends of Aphrodisias claim that the origins of the city belong to the earliest ages of history. The legendary Pelasgians and Leleges (sometimes equated with the ancient Carians) were considered to be indigenous peoples of the Ae-

60 Spawforth – Walker, 1985, 79-82.

61 Magnesia on the Meander: Chaniotis, 1988, 37-40 nos. T 5-8, 117-118; 100-101; Schmid, 1947, 94-101; Strubbe, 1984-1986, 284 n. 188; Spawforth – Walker, 1985, 82. See the role of the Pythian Apollo in the Ionian foundation legend of Ephesos: Rogers, 1991, 105-107.

62 Weiss, 1984, 188; Strubbe, 1984-1986, 266-267; Weiss, 1990, 226; Weiss, 1995, 88.

63 Reynolds, 1982, 131-132 no. 20 fig. 6 pl. 12.

64 Chaniotis, 2003, 79.

65 Chaniotis, 2003, 73; Reynolds, 1982, 33-37.

66 Strubbe, 1984-1986, 268. See the case of Pergamon in the Hellenistic period: Scheer, 1993, 133-151.

gean that belonged to a 'pre-historical' phase in the chronology of civilization in the Greek histories.[67]

The selection of founders on the basilica reliefs emphasizes this great antiquity. Ninos and Semiramis belong to one of the world's earliest empires and represent the entry of Aphrodisias onto the stage of world 'history' (long before the Trojan War in most accounts.[68] Gordios is related to one of the oldest kingdoms, Phrygia.[69] Bellerophon is of the period before the Trojan War, and represents a phase of colonization that would have preceded those of the Ionian settlement of Asia Minor, such as the colonization of Ephesos by Androklos, who figured prominently in the self-representation of the city in the second century AD.[70] As we have seen many communities in Caria claimed origins of great antiquity through Bellerophon, and in Lydia through Ninos and Semiramis.

Local cults were another means of claiming great antiquity. This type of claim had a long tradition. According to Herodotus, the autochthony of the ancient Carians was claimed on the basis of the ancient temple of Zeus Carios at Mylasa.[71] The great antiquity of the origins of Aphrodisias is conveyed on the Ninos relief not only by the association of the local cult of Zeus Nineudios with the figure of Ninos, but also by the representation of the cult as an open-air sanctuary with only the minimal cultic elements: altars and a sacred object in the form of the tree.[72] The *aition* that led to the tree's worship is probably repre-

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67 Hdt. 1.171 on Leleges as the early name of the Carians. *OCD* 1131 s.v. Pelasgians (A.R. Burn, A.J.S. Spawforth); *KlP* 4, 1972, 594-595 s.v. Pelasger (G.Neumann); 595-596 s.v. Pelasgos (H.v. Geisau.) with Argive and Arcadian origins; *KlP* 3, 1969, 551-552 s.v. Leleger (G.Neumann) Pelasgians associated mainly with Argos and Thessaly, and Leleges with West coast of Asia Minor; *RE* 19/1,1937, 252-256 s.v. Pelasgoi (F. Schachermeyr); *RE* 12/2, 1925, 1890 s.v. Lelegeïs on ancient Miletus (L. Bürchner); 1890-1893 s.v. Leleger (Geyer).

68 Greek universal history writers featured the empire of Ninos as one of the first world empires of recorded history: Bowie, 1974, 175-177. The Assyrians support the Trojans during the reign of the twentieth king after the rule of Ninyas, the son of Semiramis: D.S. 2.22.1-3. The reign of Ninos is dated to various periods from 1200 BC to as early as 2300 BC: Pettinato, 1988, 59-65; Bickerman, 1952, 70-75, esp. 72-73. The date of 1200 BC is much later than most accounts and is based on Herodotos (Hdt. 1.7), who claims Ninos is third in descent from Herakles placing him in the context of the Trojan war and the subsequent phase of colonization.

69 Hdt. 2.1-3; Men.Rh. 353.31ff.

70 Thür, 1995, 64-74; Rogers, 1991, 105-110.

71 Hdt. 1.171.

72 Compare with sacrifice scene of Aeneas on the Ara Pacis at a rock-altar by a tree: Zanker, 1988, 204 fig. 157; Depiction of cult of Zeus at Aizanoi: Mitchell, 1993, 19 n. 60. Eleans sacrificing in an antique style at the *altis* in Olympia: Paus. 5.15.10. Tree as earliest object of worship: Plin. *NH* 12.2.3. Sacred groves and trees: Krenn, 1996, 119-121; Birge, 1994, 231-245, esp. 232; Parke, 1967, 12-42; Price, 1999, 54-55.

sented on a series of coins of Aphrodisias issued in the third century, which show the tree flanked by figures in Phrygian garb (perhaps signifying indigenous inhabitants), one of whom threatens it with a double axe.[73] The evidence used by Ephesos to petition Rome for the preeminence of its local cults and the asylum rights of its sanctuary of Artemis included a sacred olive tree, which was claimed to be the tree where Leto gave birth to Apollo and Artemis.[74] A sacred tree like the one on the Ninos relief was most likely also visible as a relic of the 'age-old' cult of Zeus Nineudios at the time of the carving of the reliefs of the basilica.[75] The sacred tree's prominence on the Ninos relief and in later coin issues at Aphrodisias suggest it had an important role as proof of the claims of the preeminence and great antiquity of the local cult of Zeus and thereby the settlement that worshipped it.[76]

Empire: Although no Roman imperial subject matter is preserved on the series of reliefs from the basilica at Aphrodisias, they do feature the relationship of Aphrodisias with empire in the guise of Ninos and Semiramis: the legendary royal couple who Strabo described as having "gained the mastery of Asia."[77] As discussed above, they ruled one of the earliest of world empires according to the pedigree of empires found in universal history writing.[78] Ninos founded a vast Assyrian empire, and was the first recorded ruler of all the nations (*ethne*) of Asia (including Caria, Lydia, and Phrygia) except India and Bactria, according to the universal history of Diodorus Siculus.[79] Semiramis is described in this history as a great city and temple founder who expanded the empire established by Ninos.[80] Her innumerable foundations were still considered to be visible throughout Asia

73 MacDonald, 1992, 32-33; 98 R262-263 pl. 12 (late 209 to early 211 AD); 111 R347 pl. 16 (c. 200-250 AD); 116 R372-374 pl. 17 (c. 200-250 AD); 140 R469 pl. 25 (c. 256-258 AD). Compare with coins of Myra: *BMC* Lycia, 71 pl. 15, 6; Cook, 1925, 681 fig. 20; Augé, 1990, 61 fig. 2. Tree cutting episodes in myth: Call. *Hymn* 6.24-117; Ov. *Met.* 8.738-787; Cook, 1925, 683-684. A rich tradition of Zeus cults with sacred trees existed in Caria: Laumonier, 1958, 628-634; Bean, 1980, 18-19. The coin issues of the barren tree could be linked to rivaling claims with Stratonicea of being a metropolis of the region in the late Antonine period: Bowersock, 1995, 85-98 (Appendix 4).

74 Tac. *Ann.* 3.60-63. Paus. 7.2.6-9 on autochthonous founders of the cult of Artemis.

75 Sacred trees as evidence of ancient origins of cults: Athens: Paus. 1.26.6-7, 1.27.2; Hdt. 8.55; Price, 1999, 19-21; 48; Parker, 1987, 187-214. Samos: Paus. 7.4.4. Dodona: Call. *Hymn.* 4.284-285; Parke, 1967, 34-45.

76 Rural sanctuaries as prelude to the establishment of settlements: Mitchell, 1993, 16; Lib. *Or.* 30.9.

77 Strab. 16.1.2.

78 Aristides, *Panathenaicus* 335.

79 D.S.. 2.1.4-2.2.4; 2.14.3-2.19.

80 D.S. 2.1.4; 2.14.3-2.16; 2.16-1.19 on India campaign.

during the Roman imperial period and were called 'Works' or 'Mounds of Semiramis'.[81]

The representation of the respect and benefactions bestowed upon the peoples, lands, and cults of Aphrodisias by these earlier 'imperial' figures on the founder reliefs could have functioned as a form of 'historical' precedent to claim the continued preservation of their privileges.[82] As we have discussed above, the peoples of Aphrodisias celebrated the renewal of their special status by the Roman emperors in the inscriptions of the so-called Archive Wall of their theater. These imperial acts by kings, who ruled an empire (visualized on the North building of the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias) much greater than that founded by Ninos and Semiramis, are transformed on the founder reliefs of the basilica into emulations of a long tradition of recognition of the preeminence of the city and its cults by world rulers.[83] An inscribed statue base dedicated by the peoples of Aphrodisias to Vespasian (originally Domitian) and set up along with a series of similar dedications by the cities of Asia in the newly established provincial imperial cult precinct at Ephesos reveals in a similar way how the peoples of Aphrodisias empowered their political self-image by emulating the role of the Roman emperors in their relations with cities of the provincial *koinon* of Asia:

> …the people of Aphrodisias, devoted to Caesar, being free and autonomous from time past by the grace of the emperors, dedicated (this) in the provincial temple of the emperors at Ephesus, of their own grace, on account of their loyalty to the emperors and their goodwill to the city of Ephesus which is the temple-warden.[84]

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81 D.S. 2.7-2.14; 1.56.4-5 (Babylon in Egypt, founded by campaign of Semiramis); Plin. *NH* 6.8, 92, 145 (founder of cities in Cappadocia and Arabia); Lucianus *Syr.D.* 14 (reported as founder of temple in Hierapolis made for her mother, Derceto); Lib. *Or.* 11.59 (builder of temple of Artemis at Antioch on the Orontes). Mounds or Works of Semiramis: D.S. 2.14.2; Lucianus *Syr.D.* 14; Strab. 12.2.7; 16.1.2 (Mounds of Semiramis). During the early imperial period the peoples of Aphrodisias could have found evidence of remains of much earlier settlements of the site when the acropolis mound at Aphrodisias was being excavated to build the theater and part of the South Agora: Joukowsky, 1986, 74-176. Weiss, 1990, 227 n. 21 on settlement mounds and claims of great antiquity.

82 Tac. *Ann.* 3.60-63; 4.55-56.

83 North Building of Sebasteion: Smith, 1988. On the incorporation of Roman power in the myth-history of Ephesos as part of a process of self-definition: Rogers, 1991, 140-149. On negotiation of imperial power from a local perspective in the Hellenistic period: Ma, 1999, esp. chapter four 'Empire as Interaction'.

84 Reynolds, 1982, 167-168 no. 42; Friesen, 1995, 231-240; Jones, 1999, 114-115 on the use of mythical kinship to express hierarchical relationships between communities (Tlos and Sidyma).

The basilica reliefs as visual encomium

The political identity of Aphrodisias as a preeminent community in the region and empire is an important feature of its collective self-representation on the basilica reliefs. Another significant function of the reliefs is their role in fashioning a venerable self-image on the basis of cultural and social values that would have been recognized by a wider community versed in Hellenic *paideia* and polis culture. The best parallels for understanding how the reliefs could have functioned in this manner are found in the genre of encomiastic literature.[85] The important role of local mythology in praises of cities is best articulate by Dio Chrysostom at the beginning of his oration to Tarsus:

> Do you request me to discourse so that you expect to hear some laudation directed at yourselves, some patriotic hymn in praise of your city, all about Perseus and Heracles and the Lord of the Trident and the oracles that you have received and how you are Hellenes, yes, Argives or even better, and how you have as founders heroes and demigods-or, I should say, Titans? You may even, methinks, expect to hear a eulogy of your land and of the mountains it contains and of yonder Cnidus, how it is the most kindly of all rivers and the most beautiful…. Such praise is true indeed and you are *constantly* hearing it both from the poets in their verse and from other men also who have made it their business to pronounce encomia; but that sort of performance requires ample preparation and the gift of eloquence.[86]

Dio's address demonstrates the extent to which communities identified with their founders and foundation legends. An audience at Aphrodisias similar to that of Dio's at Tarsus, who were primed for such praises, could have understood the didactic presentation of local foundation legends as a visual encomium of the peoples, cults, and lands of Aphrodisias.

The selection of subjects and the multiplicity of founders on the basilica reliefs at Aphrodisias rank high on the scale of nobility (*eugeneia*) based on origins outlined in these praises of cities and their later formulations, such as the two treatises of Menander Rhetor.[87] Both the Hellenic and Barbarian founders featured on the basilica reliefs at Aphrodisias are of the most prestigious types according to these treatises: Bellerophon, a Hellenic hero of the courageous race of Aeolia of mainland Greece; and the most ancient of Barbarian rulers, Gordios, of the Phrygian kingdom, and Ninos and Semiramis of the Assyrian.[88] The

85 Jones, 1999, 128 describes the basilica reliefs at Aphrodisias as "a sculptural counterpart to Libanius' *Antiochene Oration*". See also the study of the coinage of Athens from the Hadrianic period to 267 AD as a form of visual panegyric: von Mosch, 1996.

86 D.Chr. 33.1-2 (Loeb transl.), emphasis added; Jones, 1978, 71-82.

87 Strubbe, 1984-1986, 253-257 n. 21; Weiss, 1984, 188 n. 76; 191-192; Jones, 1999, 135-136.

88 Men.Rh. 353.31 ff., 357.12-358.1; Aristides, *Panathenaicus* 335.

causes (*aitia*) of foundation depicted on the reliefs also confer nobility on the community since the omens and oracles prove the intervention of the gods and thus their *theofilotes* toward the settlement.[89] This *theofilotes* may be expressed visually in the pose of the eagle on the Ninos relief.

The praise of the country, which often precedes the praise of the city in encomia, demonstrates the love of the gods through the gifts they bestowed on the place of settlement such as the bounty of the land, abundance of water, and favorable climate and breezes.[90] The decorative subjects on the basilica reliefs – windswept acanthus pinwheels and scrolls in various states of bloom; mythical creatures and animals of the land, water, and air; and objects such as a cornucopia – could have been understood in a much less explicit way than the founder reliefs, as representing the blessed relationship between the gods and their chosen land.

An equally important function of encomia of cities is to comment on the relationship between the past and the present. Libanius explains this purpose of the encomium at the beginning of his *Antiochene Oration*:

> It is necessary, however, for me to do honor to the memory of those ancient times, and then to speak of them in such fashion that there will be shown to be harmony between the present circumstances of the city and those of former times, and so that it will appear that its present circumstances are owed to the same factors through which in antiquity it was preeminent, and that its brilliance today does not depend upon less important causes.[91]

Emulation of the good ancestors was considered essential to maintaining the harmony between the glorious past and present. Dio Chrysostum praised cities whose citizens emulated the civic virtues (polis patriotism, *euergesia*, *eusebia*) embodied by their ancestors.[92] The virtues venerated by Dio are part of the shared Hellenic *paideia* of the oligarchy for whom the polis was an integral part of their political, social, and cultural identity. These virtues are also a prominent feature of the self-representation of the elite at Aphrodisias, particularly on honorific decrees inscribed on statue bases of local benefactors. The mid first century AD honorific decree of the priest of Zeus Nineudios, Dionysios Papylos, praises his nobleness, piousness, righteousness, and lawfulness, polis patriotism, and lists his civic liturgies as *ephebearchon*, *agonothete*, priest of the imperial cult, ambassador,

89 Men.Rh. 361.20; 387.5-10 (*theofilotes*).

90 Men.Rh. 344.10-353.3. Aristides, *Panathenaicus* 8-23; Lib. *Or.* 11.12-41.

91 Lib. *Or.* 11.11 (trans. Downey).

92 D.Chr. 31.62-63; 31.75; 31.146.

general, and public advocate.[93] The honorific decrees on statue bases at Aphrodisias often include the phrase "a model of virtue," emphasizing the role of the life and image of the benefactor as an ideal to be emulated.[94] The achievements of such citizens were a major feature of the praises of cities as Dio Chrysostom notes in his address to Prusa, "…the greatest honor a city has is the praise its citizens receive."[95]

The encomium of a city was modeled on that of the individual.[96] In a similar manner, the designers of the founder reliefs of the basilica employed a traditional visual repertoire that was used to honor its citizens to fashion the 'self-representation' of their legendary founders. The figures of Semiramis and Ninos on the basilica reliefs are the earliest of the few representations of them known. The depiction of Ninos on the basilica relief at Aphrodisias is similar to the other examples of him: clean-shaven with rounded cheeks, Hellenic dress, and royal attributes (in this case a large staff or scepter).[97] "Semiramis, the most renowned of all women of whom we have any record,"[98] is paired with Ninos in the only other representations of her that have been identified: two mosaics near Antioch-on-the-Orontes, which depict Ninos gazing at a bust length veiled image of a woman, considered to be Semiramis.[99] A well-established iconography for the figure of Semiramis may not have existed since her figure on the basilica relief is copied from that of a figure of Demeter on a Sebasteion relief at Aphrodisias.[100] The ideal, matronly figure type of Demeter was considered the most appropriate for representing the queen as a matronly ruler in her own right. A close parallel for the type of Hellenic self-representation chosen for the royal couple that ruled Caria on the Ninos and Semiramis reliefs is that of the Hekatomnid dynasty

93 *MAMA 8*, 75-76 no. 410 pl. 18. He is named in a dedication to the emperor Claudius (?): Paris – Holleaux, 1885, 79-80 no. 10. Grandsons of this priest referred to in *MAMA* 8, 133 no. 561 pl. 25; Reinach, 1906, 272 no. 167.

94 Hallett, 1998, 89 n. 76: πρὸς ὑπόδειγμα ἀρετῆς.

95 D.Chr. 48.4 (trans. Loeb). On praising the achievements of cities: Men.Rh. 359.16 ff. Strubbe, 1984-1986, 253-254 on competition between cities as a reflection of the competition between elites in a community.

96 Russell – Wilson, 1981, xxiv-xxv; Men.Rh. 346.26 ff.

97 Robert, 1980, 332-333 figs. 8-9; *LIMC* 6, 1992, 907-908 s.v. Ninos nos. 1*; 2*; 4a*; 4b* (P. Linant de Bellefonds); D.S. 2.20.5 mentions the scepter as part of the royal costume of Ninos.

98 D.S. 2.4.1 (trans. Loeb).

99 *LIMC* 7, 1994, 726-727 s.v. Semiramis (P. Linant de Bellefonds) no. 2* mosaic from house of man of letters at Daphne, no. 3 mosaic from Alexandretta; Levi, 1944, 422 fig. 2 (Daphne mosaic); 423 fig. 4 (Daphne mosaic detail).

100 Sebasteion panel (inv. 79-136, 80-178). For the Demeter type: *LIMC* 4, 1988, 896 s.v. Demeter/Ceres no. 48* early imperial terracotta relief (S. de Angeli).

whose rulers featured themselves in similar fashion holding staffs as attributes of their royal status.[101]

The depiction of the Barbarian royal couple of Ninos and Semiramis in distinctly Hellenic guises on the basilica reliefs not only emphasizes their membership in the universal myth-history of the Hellenic world, but also transforms them into the representation of the ideal civic benefactors and couple *par excellence*.[102] The identification of the contemporary world of the elite with that of the past is more explicit in the self-representation of the figure of Ninos on the Ninos relief. His Hellenic dress is of particular significance since he wears a traditional 'Coan' type of polis costume that was the standard 'suit' used in the self-representation of aristocrats in the Hellenic East from the Hellenistic through the imperial period, including those at Aphrodisias in the first and second centuries AD.[103] The social hierarchies and civic virtues that these benefactors embodied are ennobled by representing the founder, Ninos, in the guise of a contemporary benefactor sacrificing.[104]

Contemporary elites of Aphrodisias could have conceived of Ninos and Semiramis as the exemplary urban couple by reading the Ninos novel (1 c. AD?).[105] This new genre of literature developed in the first century AD and focused on the romance of urban elite youth, fidelity through marriage, exotic

101 Angiolillo, 1997, 105-108 fig. 192 (relief of Ada and Idreius). Hornblower, 1982, 113; 115 n. 71; 44-45 on rule of Ada and Idreius, and 344-346 on role of Hekatomnids in Hellenization of Caria and their respect of local cults. Simon, 1998, 182 n. 32, associates the historical Carian dynasts Mausolus and Artemisia with the legendary figures of Ninos and Semiramis.

102 On Hellenic world view and Barbarians: Bickerman, 1952; Weiss, 1984, 193.

103 Pfuhl – Möbius, 1977-1979, 62; 111-113 nos. 272-281, esp. no. 273, pl. 51; Lewerentz, 1993, 58 n. 202; Kabus-Preishoffen, 1989, 130. The type is found at Aphrodisias on a statue of a priest dated to the early first century AD: Hallet, 1998, 69-76, esp. 72 nn. 15-16; 74 n. 25, figs. 12-17; 25 no. 2. See also examples of statues of priests wearing this type of dress at Aphrodisias in the mid-second century AD: Smith, 1998, 65-66 n. 52 pl. 5, 3-4.

104 Hallett, 1998, 88-89; Smith, 1998, 66 on the Coan dress as expression of "good old-style Greek". D.Chr. 31.163. The ideal format of the clothes of the figure of Semiramis on the basilica relief is less common for local civic benefactresses, but was used for empresses: see example in Lenaghan, 1999, 185-186 nos. 232 R13; Inan – Rosenbaum, 1966, 76 no. 42 pl. 30, 2. For an example of an ideal reference in the clothes of a local benefactress at Aphrodisias: Smith, 1998, 67 fig. 2 pl. 6, 2. The use of the Demeter format for the figure of Semiramis on the basilica relief may reflect the identification of the empress with the goddess by the local elites. A priestess of Thea Julia Nea-Demeter is attested in the 1c. AD at Aphrodisias: van Bremen, 1996, 123.

105 Swain, 1996, 424. Simon, 1998, 183 n. 35 suggests that since Gordios is depicted on the basilica relief at Aphrodisias with Ninos and Semiramis, it might be an indication that he played a role in the Ninos novel too.

lands, and plots set in the Classical and pre-Classical periods.[106] The veneration of Hellenic civic life that is visible in the self-representation of the couple on the basilica reliefs was a feature of the novel writing of Chariton, a member of the elite of Aphrodisias of the late first century AD.[107]

The choice of featuring both Ninos and Semiramis on the basilica reliefs could reflect the increased prominence of the couple in contemporary civic life by the second half of the first century AD.[108] The poses and formats of the figures of Ninos and Semiramis reinforce their identity as a couple at the pinnacle of their social hierarchy. Both participate as civic benefactors in the most sacred liturgies of their society. Their image would have resonated with elite couples, who by the second half of the first century increasingly took part in joint civic liturgies, most importantly as high priest and priestess of the provincial imperial cult.[109] The fact that all of the figures on the Ninos and Semiramis panels are depicted in the act of sacrifice reinforces the *eusebia* of these founders and their emulous descendants.[110]

The couple on the basilica reliefs frames the central figure of Bellerophon in a frontal statue-like pose, bringing the figures in all three scenes into a closer relationship. These founders could be conceived of as an ensemble of 'ancestors' much like an honorific family statue group. A family statue group set up near the bouleuterion at Aphrodisias in the early first century AD provides many visual and conceptual parallels with the group of founders on the reliefs (ill. 1).[111] The group has been identified by C. Hallett as representing the role of three generations of a family in various aspects of civic life (priestly, civil, agonistic, and martial) and has been reconstructed with a central figure of a priest, wearing a version of the traditional civic dress worn by Ninos on the basilica relief. The priest is paired with his grandfather featured in a heroic cuirassed military guise like those of the cuirassed figures on the Ninos and Semiramis reliefs. The next generation of emulous sons flanks the priest in a similar pairing: the elder son is in a heroic partially nude format referring to the agonistic world of the gymnasium

106 Swain, 1996, 102-109; 127; Bowersock, 1994, 22; 29; 124-125.

107 Aphrodisias as a novel writing center: Bowersock, 1994, 38-40; 41-42 (Chariton). See van Bremen, 1996, 156-163 on aspects of novel writing of Chariton that reflect contemporary civic life.

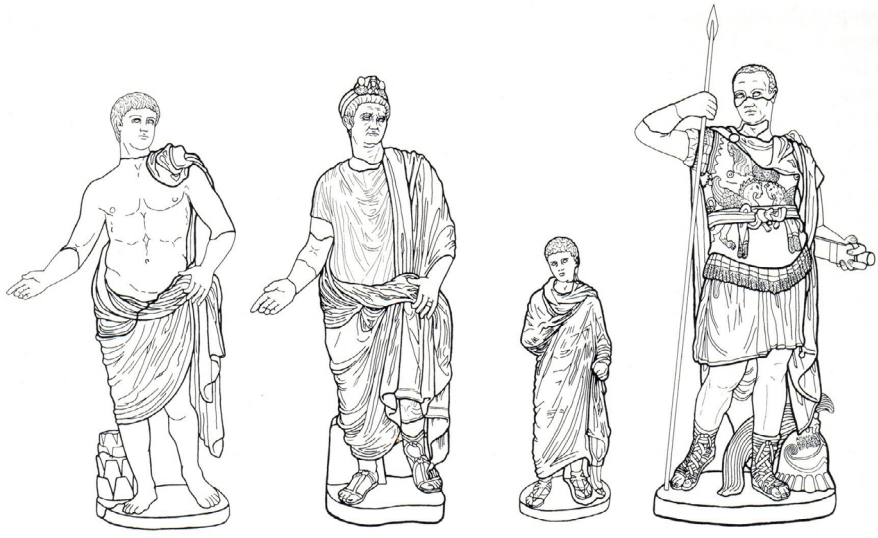
108 On Hellenistic and Roman imperial models for the self-representation of couples in civic life: van Bremen, 1996, 12; 115. Lib. *Or.* 11.128 praises euergetism of the wives of the elite of the Hellenistic phase of Antioch.

109 van Bremen, 114-141; 173-190. For honorific depictions of couples at Aphrodisias in the second and third centuries AD: Smith, 1998, 67-68 n. 64 figs. 1-2 pls. 6, 1-2; 7, 2-3.

110 Men.Rh. 361.20 (*philotheotes*).

111 Hallett, 1998, 84-86 fig. 25.

and Hellenic *paideia*, the younger son is fully draped in a civil guise and features a hairstyle that indicates his role in a cult.[112]



Ill. 1: Aphrodisias: family statue group from the bouleuterion (C.H. Hallett)

The same spectrum of polis culture is employed in the choice of 'self-presentation' of the group of figures on the founder reliefs, who represent the arête of the elite and their vital role in civic life. The founder reliefs demonstrate that this venerable urban culture was already a part of Aphrodisian civic life at the dawn of the 'history' of the Hellenic world and by extension of the Roman Empire. The reliefs also ensure that this culture continues by enabling future generations to emulate their illustrious 'ancestors', a function that Dionysios of Halicarnassos ascribes to his account of *Antiquitates Romanae*:

> … the present and the future descendants of these god-like men will choose not the pleasantest and easiest of lives, but rather the noblest and most ambitious when they consider that all who are sprung from an illustrious origin ought to set a high value on themselves and indulge in no pursuit unworthy of their ancestors.[113]

The harmony between past and present in the representation of the figures on the founder reliefs reflects the increased identification of the benefactor with the role of the founder and the more prominent role of the self-representation of an

112 Hallett, 1998, 86-89.

113 D.H. 1.6.3-5 (trans. Loeb). Zanker, 1988, 207 on the past and present related through the exemplum of the princeps.

elite oligarchy in polis culture.[114] The honoring of local benefactors with the title of founder (*ktistes*) is more evident during the imperial period.[115] The title added a layer of distinction in the hierarchy of polis society. Descendants of the historical founders at Aphrodisias distinguished themselves with this aspect of their identity.[116] The Hadrianic statuary group of the monumental south gate of Perge dedicated by Plancia Magna equates the benefactors of the present and the founders of the past in a more explicit manner than the founder reliefs of the basilica at Aphrodisias. Statue bases preserved from the gate indicate that her father C. Plancius Varus and brother C. Plancius Varus were honored as *ktistes* and their statues were set prominently in a register of niches in the gate perhaps as part of a family statue group along with a series of statues of legendary figures from the time of the Trojan War, who are also identified as founders: Kalchas, Labos, Leonteus, Machaon, Minyas, Mopsos and Rhixos.[117]

The 'decorative' objects depicted on the basilica reliefs can also be understood as part of the visual encomium of Aphrodisias. A victorious athlete in a crowning pose with a palm on a fragment of a basilica relief is represented like a decorative object next to a large acanthus rosette (fig. 7). The figure must have functioned as a reference to institutions associated with agonistic contests, as well as to the success of the citizens who participated in them.[118] Agonistic contests were occasions for the recital of local history and encomia.[119] The wreath, cornucopia, and shield on the basilica reliefs had a wide range of associations and appear in various contexts at Aphrodisias (cultic, civic, funerary) as part of an honorific visual repertoire that praised civic virtues such as *eusebeia*, *euergesia*, and *andreia*.[120] These objects on the basilica reliefs can be interpreted as part of a symbolic narrative honoring the civic institutions of Aphrodisias.

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114 Strubbe, 1984-1986, 253-254; van Bremen, 1996, 163-190; Jones, 1999, 112-113.

115 Strubbe, 1984-1986, 289-301, esp. 291 nn. 218-218a. On the title *ktistes*: Leschhorn, 1984, 1-4.

116 Reynolds, 1982, 164-165; Chaniotis, 2003, 80-81; Strubbe, 1984-1986, 293-294; 296 n. 254. Malkin, 1987, 250-254 on descendants of oikists and the cult of the founder.

117 Şahin, 1999, 134-147; Weiss, 1984, 181-182 pl. 1, 1; Strubbe, 1984-1986, 300.

118 Agonistic games attested at Aphrodisias by the 1 c. AD: Roueché, 1993, 161-164; Welch, 1998, 556. Agonistic representations at Aphrodisias: de Chaisemartin, 1993, 239-248 no. 94 pls. 22-23; (third century AD) no. 95 pl. 24; Agon on Sebasteion panel (inv. 79-132). Compare with representations of victorious athletes in a frieze that includes local myths on the theater of Hierapolis (205-210 AD): Chuvin, 1987, 98-100; Ritti, 1985, 64-71 pls. 3a; 5b; 6a.

119 Wörrle, 1988, 229-257; Boatwright, 2000, 95-98.

120 Funerary: Smith, 1993, 25-29 fig. 5; de Chaisemartin, 1993, 241 no. 94. Cultic: Brody, 1999, no. 3 fig. 22; no. 10 fig. 29. Civic: MacDonald, 1992, 63 R30-31 pl. 2 (first century BC); 79 R188-189 pl. 7 (69-81 AD); 48 R453a-b pl. 24 (249-251 AD), which contains a large 'A' that has been interpreted as referring to the claims of the status of the city as the 'first' or capital of the new province of Caria and Phrygia, or to asylum privileges: Roueché, 1989, 2-3. See also

Conclusion

The examination of the way in which the past and the present are woven in the depictions of local mythology on the basilica reliefs at Aphrodisias has demonstrated the power of such images as a medium for conveying multiple dimensions of meaning beyond simply illustrations of specific foundation narratives. Based on the iconography of the elements in the image, the contexts of their use in visual culture, and the *paideia* of the viewer, these images could function on many levels, much like visual metaphors, as a form of self-representation that reflects comments on and shapes the political, social and cultural identities of its audience.[121] In the context of the world of the Second Sophistic, the reliefs of the basilica at Aphrodisias could be understood as part of the diplomacy of the peoples of Aphrodisias with those of the outside world, and as an encomiastic 'self-portrait' of the peoples, cults, and lands of the city.

The reliefs formed part of a much wider web of associations with the past that made myth a living reality in daily life.[122] As a backdrop for processions associated with civic events such as agonistic games and festivals, the basilica reliefs, like the procession of C. Vibius Salutaris at Ephesos (104 AD), which featured the legendary origins and sacred identity of the city, would have provided ample opportunities for the entire community and visitors to the heart of the city to venerate Aphrodisias' preeminence and to learn about the nobility of its origins.[123] The honorific 'portrait' of Aphrodisias displayed on the reliefs, like the procession of Salutaris at Ephesos, also claimed to be the embodiment of the ideal Hellenic community living as 'a model of virtue' worthy of praise and emulation by its citizens and the wider Hellenic world of the Roman Empire, both in the past and the present.[124]

Ultimately, the claims of a special status in the empire made by the peoples of Aphrodisias were validated by its officially becoming an administrative center or metropolis of the joint province of Caria and Phrygia in the mid third century AD and of Caria alone in the early fourth century AD.[125] Perhaps it was on one

representations on grave stelai of the Hellenistic period in the Hellenic East: Smith, 1991, 189 fig. 220; Zanker, 1993, 218.

121 On interpretation of iconography: Zanker, 1994, 281. See also the interpretation of myth on Roman sarcophagi: Zanker, 1999.

122 Weiss, 1984, 182; Lindner, 1994, 1-24; D.Chr. 33.47 on founders being invisible but present at sacrifices and public festivals.

123 Wörrle, 1988, 195; 248-258. Ephesos: Rogers, 1991, 80-115.

124 Rogers, 1991, 41; 52; 68.

125 Roueché, 1989, 1-3; 15-16; 21; 33-34 no. 17.

of these occasions that the significance of the founder reliefs of the basilica at Aphrodisias was renewed in a more legible and permanent manner by the addition of their large inscribed labels, which would have proclaimed the preeminence of the community, its exemplary polis culture, and the long life of the Hellenic *paideia* expounded by figures of the Second Sophistic, most notably, Dio Chrysostom. This act would have echoed the sentiment of the praises by this 'voice of the city' in his address to his fellow citizens of Prusa:

> For though, in truth Homer has spoken many wise and divine words, he never spoke a wiser or truer word than this: "For naught is sweeter than one's native land."[126]

Acknowledgements

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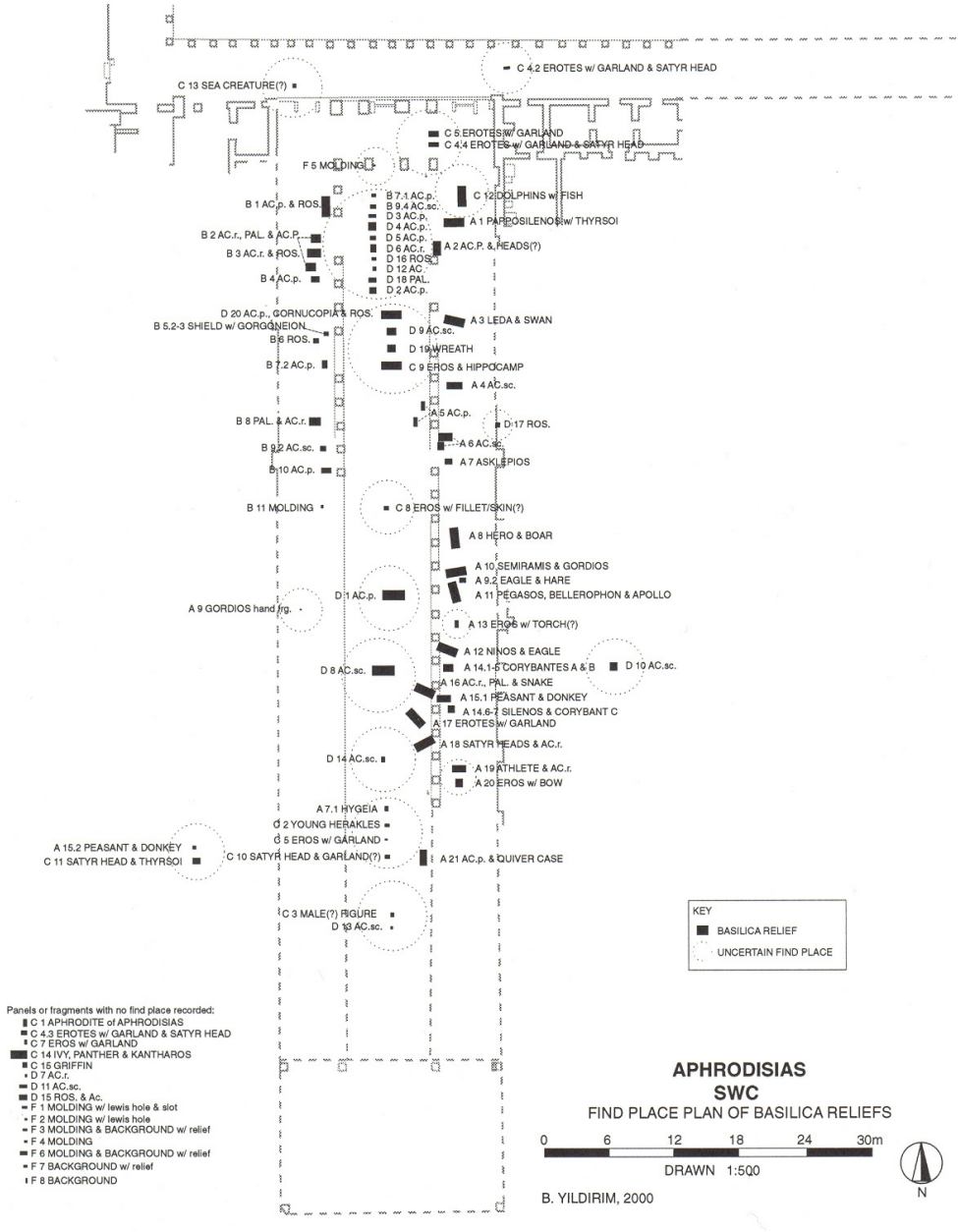
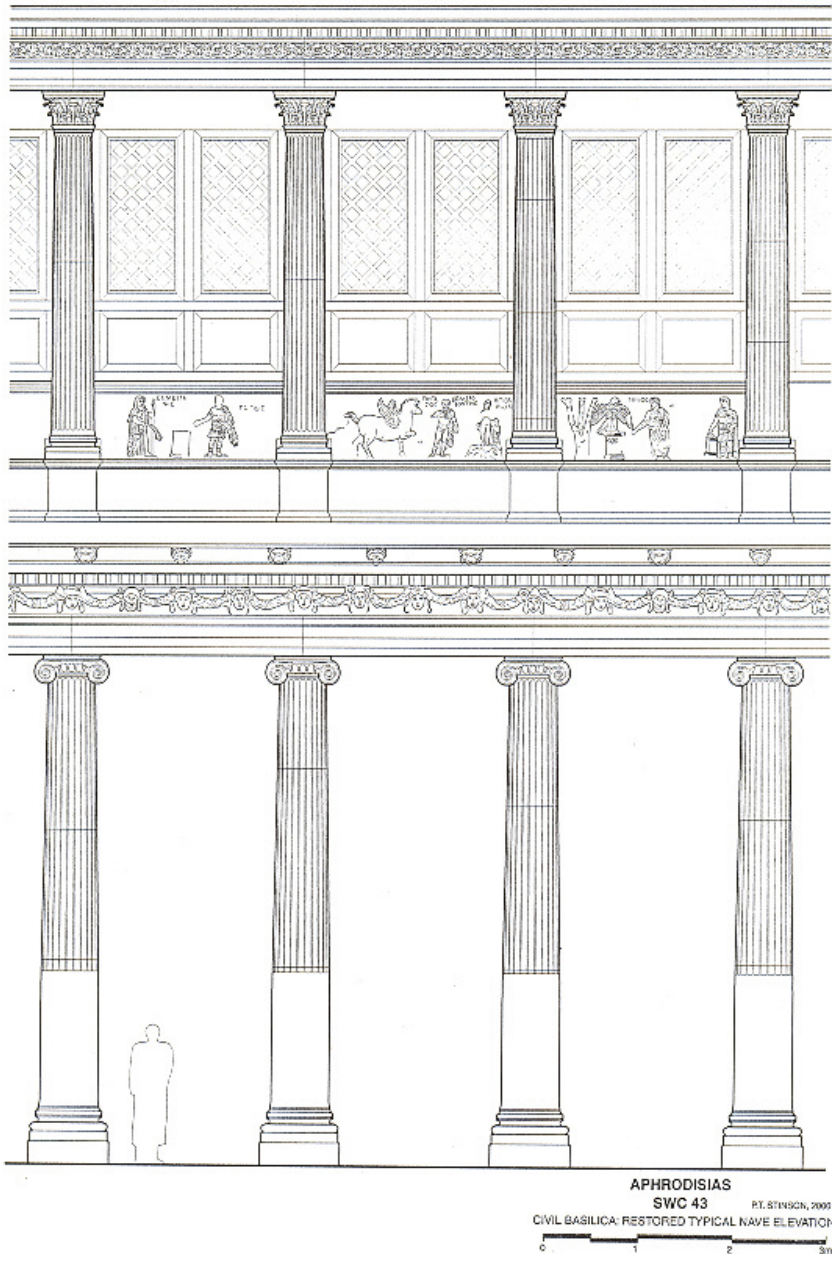
126 D.Chr. 44.1, quoting Hom. *Od.* 9.34. On 'voice of the city': Russell – Wilson, 1981, xvii.



1 Aphrodisias, Civil Basilica: find-place plan of basilica reliefs (B. Yildirim)



2 Aphrodisias, Civil Basilica: restored elevation of middle intercolumniations of east colonnade (P. Stinson)

3 Aphrodisias, Civil Basilica: Semiramis relief (NYU Excavations at Aphrodisias)

4 Aphrodisias, Civil Basilica: Bellerophon relief (NYU Excavations at Aphrodisias)

5 Aphrodisias, Civil Basilica: Ninos relief (NYU Excavations at Aphrodisias)

6 Aphrodisias, Civil Basilica: relief of hero with spear confronting wild boar (New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias)

7 Aphrodisias, Civil Basilica: fragment of relief of victorious athlete and acanthus rosette (New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias)

Artemidorus and the Second Sophistic

GLEN W. BOWERSOCK

Many of the authors who belonged to the world of the Second Sophistic without being, in any Philostratean sense, sophists themselves have by now received a due, or even excessive measure of attention. Galen entered the discussion at an early point,[1] and since Christian Habicht's book on Pausanias, the periegete and his observations have become the center of a minor academic industry.[2] Similarly Athenaeus and his deipnosophists have been brought out of the wings onto center stage,[3] and so has Maximus of Tyre.[4] The Greek novelists and even Tertullian have been placed in the context of the Second Sophistic.[5] But Artemidorus, that proud and self-consciously scientific interpreter of dreams, remains to be integrated into the overall picture.[6]

Artemidorus has rarely been used for more than raising a laugh by reference to one or another of his more bizarre dreams. But Louis Robert characteristically saw in the *Oneirocritica* reflections of the customs and personalities of Roman Asia Minor. His analysis of the δενδροφορία at Magnesia on the Maeander remains one of the most illuminating invocations of Artemidorus' testimony,[7] and his recognition that the mysterious Drouson of Laodicea was none other than L. Astranius Ruso confirmed an emendation of Hercher's and gave flesh to the

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1 Bowersock, 1969, with a chapter on "The Prestige of Galen." Heinrich von Staden has returned to this subject in a magisterial way in von Staden, 1997.

2 Habicht, 1985. For the Pausanias industry, see the discussion in Jones, 2003.

3 Braund – Wilkins, 2000.

4 Trapp, 1997.

5 For the novelists in the Second Sophistic, see Mazza, 1999, and Goldhill, 2001; for Tertullian the important study of Barnes, 1971, with its chapter on the Christian sophist.

6 Harris, 2003, deliberately marginalizes Artemidorus along with Aelius Aristides in his important new discussion of Roman opinions on dreams. This is a productive exercise, and he is quite right to observe on p. 20, "An elementary error to avoid is the presumption that everyone – or even very many – thought about dreams in the same way as the authors of the two most extensive dream-texts of the high Roman Empire, namely Artemidorus and Aelius Aristides (whose views we should keep separate)." It may be said that their writings reveal more about the world they inhabited than the popular opinion of dreaming.

7 Robert, 1978.

name.[8] Father Festugière prepared an excellent translation of the dream-book with detailed notes, for which he was in touch with Robert.[9] Simon Price wrote an excellent overview of Artemidorus in a paper published in *Past and Present*,[10] and the Hungarian rabbi, Istvan Hahn, explored the social realities of Artemidorus' world in a monograph that, if not altogether free of Marxist conceptualization, displayed an admirable command of the text of the *Oneirocritica*.[11]

It is time to give this man the attention he deserves as a witness of his age.[12] As he tells us himself, he traveled extensively in search of dream narratives from persons in the agoras and festivals of the Roman Empire, and yet at the same time he maintained close ties with his homeland in Asia. He came from Ephesus, but in an access of local pride he declared himself a man of the small town of Daldis on the strength of his mother's origin there. Like Plutarch of Chaeronea, he knew a larger world but preferred to identify himself with a smaller one, and he was probably not atypical in this disposition.

I propose to examine Artemidorus from four different but related perspectives: 1) persons named in his book and the latest dates they imply, 2) the Roman Empire as perceived through its capital city, its dress, and its citizenship, 3) rhetorical and theatrical performances, and 4) the Greek of the *Oneirocritica* in relation to the language of Artemidorus' contemporaries. These four topics should allow us to construct a new window through which to look at the Second Sophistic.

1. It is not clear on what criterion Artemidorus chose to attribute dreams to named persons since most of the dreams he describes are unattributed. Presumably he thought that his readers would recognize the names he mentions, particularly when he specifies a profession, and therefore some measure of fame can be assumed. Luminous names of contemporaries do turn up in the *Oneiro-*

8 Robert, 1969, 311-312.

9 Festugière, 1975.

10 Price, 1986.

11 Hahn, 1992.

12 In a discursive attempt to divide Artemidorus' public into two groups, Weber, 1999 insists, in opposition to Bowersock, 1994, 77-98 ("The Reality of Dreams"), that there were *die Kunden* and a broader readership, and that both of these categories included readers from many different levels of society, from slaves to the upper elite. Nowhere does Weber trouble to look at the people for whom Artemidorus is a witness. Even more gravely he omits to consider what kind of readers would have been able to understand and appreciate the Greek of the Oneirocritica. Certainly not slaves and laborers, or even the majority of the 'subelites', a class he borrows from Keith Hopkins: Weber, 1999, 226 n. 64. On the other hand, it will be seen from this paper that I now take a very different view of Artemidorus' readership from the one I espoused in 1994.

critica, although in several cases we cannot be certain that Artemidorus is referring to the most famous holders of them. The names occur almost entirely in Book IV and appear to represent a new form of documentation for the dream material. Fronto "the arthritic" (4.22) sounds very much like Marcus Aurelius' hypochondriac teacher, and Alexander "the philosopher" (4.33) could be the "Clay-Plato", whom we know from Philostratus.[13] The Plutarch (4.72) who dreamt that he was going up to heaven with Hermes as his escort might be the great man of Chaeronea. But in such instances as these we have no way of telling for sure. The legionary commander (4.24) who dreamt of an obscure code that foretold the Jewish uprising in Cyrene is unnamed, but the event to which his dream alludes evokes roughly the same general era as the names of Fronto and Plutarch. So does Artemidorus' allusion (1.26) to the first celebration of the Eusebeia competition in 138.

Other names, however, are more instructive and suggest how late into the sophistic age Artemidorus may have been writing. Philagros "the rhetor" (4.1) dreamt that he saw another rhetor called Varus taken ill. Judging this to be a premonitory dream, he stopped declaiming for a considerable time, contrary to his normal inclination (παρὰ προαίρεσιν). Philostratus gives an account of a sophist of this name, which is not a common one.[14] The man came from Cilicia and was famous for a fierce temper and uncontrollable outbursts. Hence the uncharacteristic restraint recorded by Artemidorus together with the name makes an identification in this case reasonably certain. Philostratus records that Philagros was a pupil of Lollianus, who was a prytanis at Athens in the early Antonine age. So Philagros probably belongs in the sixties or seventies, when he might have been, as Christopher Jones argued over thirty years ago, Lucian's target in the *Lexiphanes*.[15] Unfortunately the ailing Varus, who appeared in Philagros' dream, has a common name. Philostratus mentions two sophistic Vari, and there may well have been others.

Aristides "the lawyer" (ὁ νομικός, 4.2) dreamt that he was sick while wearing white clothing, and he died soon afterwards. As Artemidorus grimly remarks, the dead are carried to burial in white. Although Pack suggested in his Teubner edition that this Aristides was the famous sophist, it is inconceivable that he could ever have been called a νομικός. We have to do here with another Aristides. Although the name is not rare it would be reasonable to identify this man with Q. Aemilius Aristides, known from an inscription at Ephesus that concerns ar-

13 Cf. the commentary of Civiletti, 2002, 544-552.

14 Philostr. *VS* 2.8, with Civiletti, 2002, 557-564.

15 Jones, 1972.

rangements for his burial near the Magnesian gate. This Aristides is described as an *iuridicus* on an inscription from Sabratha, and Pflaum rightly assumed he was an equestrian career officer from the Greek East.[16] A second inscription from Ephesus shows the man as procurator there in 208-209. Artemidorus was particularly close to the Ephesians, and with Aristides the lawyer we seem to have someone from the Severan age.

Artemidorus reports that another νομικός, Paulus (4.80), dreamt that a certain Nikon was speaking in his support in a trial before the emperor. The dreamer in this case made a terrible mistake in inferring good fortune from Nikon's name instead of recognizing that Nikon himself had just lost a case, as Paulus himself was destined to do. This Paulus has sometimes been associated with Paulus of Tyre, a rhetor of the Hadrianic age mentioned in the Suda. But we have no reason to think that this man was a lawyer, anymore than the rhetor Aristides was, whereas in the Severan period there was a highly conspicuous figure of that name who was indeed a lawyer – Julius Paulus, assessor to Papinian as praetorian prefect under Septimius Severus.[17]

Philagros takes us to the later Antonines, and Aristides and Paulus would seem to point to a Severan context, thus towards the end of the sophistic age chronicled by Philostratus. Two other names might be invoked in support of this context, although they cannot provide decisive evidence. One is Cassius Maximus, to whom Artemidorus dedicated his work with fulsome tributes to his wisdom and eloquence. Since Cassius Maximus is said to be a Phoenician, scholars have, for a long time, contemplated the possibility of identifying this man with Maximus of Tyre.[18] If that is who he is, we should note that the Διαλέξεις of Maximus belong to the time of Commodus.[19] Another name that might be recalled is Alexander "the philosopher". If he is not the Clay-Plato, he might well be the great Alexander of Aphrodisias, whom a new inscription from his native city hails as one of the διάδοχοι at Athens, where he taught Aristotelian philosophy under Septimius Severus.[20] But whether or not Maximus and Alexander are the celebrated holders of those names, there is still enough in Artemidorus to locate his work in the late second and perhaps early third centuries of our era.

16 Pflaum, 1960, II, 677-678 no. 250, with the testimonia (*SEG* 4, 544 and *CIL* III. 14195 from Ephesus; *Inscr. Rom. Tripolitania*, 1952, p. 30 no. 10 from Sabratha).

17 *PIR*, 2nd ed., I 453.

18 Cf. Weber, 1999, 213.

19 Trapp, 1997.

20 Angelos Chaniotis will publish this important inscription in *AJA*, and I am very grateful to him for showing me the text of his commentary.

He would therefore have been a contemporary of Athenaeus the deipnosophist, another collector of curiosities.

2. Now Rome and its empire. Despite his travels for research in the field Artemidorus had a very clear sense of where he belonged. In a treatment of dreams about flying (2.68) he says that it is not good to dream of flying when one is in one's own homeland (πατρίς), because such a dream implies leaving it. The dreamer conceives of the πατρίς as inaccessible (ἄβατος). After this inauspicious interpretation of flying Artemidorus moves on to consider flights towards heaven and suggests that dreams of this kind imply involuntary emigration to Italy. Just as heaven is the abode of the gods, Italy is the abode of the emperors. For slaves the dreams of flying to heaven imply forced transfer to the imperial court. It is obvious from this account that Artemidorus does not look sympathetically on leaving one's homeland for residence, however prestigious, at Rome.

A comparably alien perspective on Roman society appears in Artemidorus' treatment of clothing in dreams. In two widely separated interpretations he considers the wearing of the Roman toga. In the first passage (2.3) the dream immediately follows observations on wearing barbarian clothes. Such clothes are only a good omen if the dreamer is about to visit a barbarian country. Otherwise, it foretells sickness and unemployment. An elaborate etymology for τήβεννος as a word for toga is introduced precisely at this point. The second passage (4.72) reports that a lyre-player, who was on trial for enslaving a boy, dreamt that he saw the god Pan sitting in the agora and dressed up in a Roman toga and Roman shoes. It turned out that the dream predicted that the lyre-player would lose his case. This was because the Greek Pan was properly a wild creature and had no business turning up as a Roman in a city square. Like the dreams of flying, the dreams of clothing introduce the unwelcome risk of losing one's proper place and identity.

This risk is even more obvious in a remarkable illustration that Artemidorus provides in his chapter (1.35) on dreams of decapitation. "I know of someone," he declares, "who dreamt he was decapitated, and being a Greek he then acquired the Roman citizenship. Thus was he deprived of his former name and reputation." The reference here to decapitation in connection with the Roman citizenship presumably owes something to the well-known Roman use of this form of execution as a more upscale punishment than crucifixion.[21] This is an incontrovertibly negative assessment of the implications of Roman citizenship

21 Lehmann, 1998, 164-165. I am very grateful to Christopher Jones for reminding me of the social implications of execution by beheading and by crucifixion.

for a native Greek. It complements the much better known text in Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius* where the sage at Smyrna rebukes the Ionians for issuing a decree with such names as Lucullus and Fabricius.[22] Apollonius condemns this practice as βαρβαρισμός, and his opinion is reflected in two letters that survive in the corpus of the letters of Apollonius. But the Apollonius texts are only concerned with the use of Roman *nomina* in documents from a Greek institution. They do not take a position on Greeks' holding the Roman citizenship. Artemidorus, by contrast, asserts that a Greek who took the citizenship necessarily lost not only his name but his reputation (ἀξίωμα) and that this is the fulfilment of a dream of decapitation.

The fundamental incompatibility of Roman and Greek identity seems equally to underlie a dream that Artemidorus ascribes to an unnamed doctor in Book IV (33). In general doctors emerge in the *Oneirocritica* as beneficent figures who are virtually interchangeable with lawyers. Artemidorus detects a close parallelism between litigation and illness, and therefore between those who help the prosecuted and those who help the sick. But when such persons themselves dream of giving advice on matters outside their professional competence (law or medicine), this is very bad for them. So when a doctor dreamt that he advised a Roman man not to marry a Greek woman, he subsequently had severe marital problems of his own. The doctor's advice appears fully consistent with other signs in Artemidorus that Greeks who associate themselves with Romans suffer deprivation or harm. The unfortunate outcome of the dream in no way invalidated the advice. It was ill omened because the doctor had ventured to give a non-medical opinion.

Overall Artemidorus' perspective on Rome and the Romans could not be farther removed from the upwardly mobile society of elites and sophists, who not only accepted the citizenship but pursued equestrian and senatorial careers. Apollonius, as Philostratus tells it, mocked aspirations and pretensions of that kind, but Artemidorus sees them as fundamentally destructive to Greek identity. Masses of elite Greeks took the Roman citizenship down to the moment of universal citizenship through the *Constitutio Antoniniana*. To be sure, they often chose not to parade their Roman names in Greek contexts, but rather to identify themselves by a local cognomen. Even so, there is no doubt that Mestrius Plutarchus, Aelius Aristides, Hordeonius Lollianus, Julius Africanus and scores of

22 Penella, 1979, 77 letter no. 71 with commentary on 127-128. Cf. Philostr. *VA* 4.5, which seems to refer to this letter. J.J. Flinterman kindly pointed out to me after the Heidelberg conference that he had discussed the parallel between the letter of Apollonius and *Oneirocritica* 1.35 in his doctoral dissertation of 1993, published in English as Flinterman, 1995, with comment on Artemidorus at 94-95.

others were Roman citizens. We can only infer that Artemidorus stood outside their milieu and disapproved of it. His view of the citizenship is consonant with his view of translation to Rome as a loss of national identity and the wearing of the Roman toga as ill-omened. The use of words such as βάρβαρος or βαρβαρισμός with reference to Romans had not been uncommon in Greek of the imperial era and cannot in itself be judged a prejudicial comment.[23] It appears without derogatory connotations in Strabo, Galen, Aristides, and others. But a comparison of Roman identity with decapitation is something else again. Oddly enough Artemidorus, who belonged to the age of the Second Sophistic but was not a part of the movement, is an explicit witness to the anti-Roman sentiments that others have claimed to detect as implicit in the writings of the sophists themselves.

3. The representation of sophists and performers in the *Oneirocritica* can help to define more precisely the attitude of Artemidorus to the sophistic culture around him. It is scarcely surprising to find that he takes a very dim view of rhetors and sophists in general, and it would therefore seem unlikely that such people would have shared his attitude to Rome and the Romans. He links rhetors with adulterers and forgers as persons whose art is deception – to make what is not the case appear to be so (1.51). He lumps together sophists as a group among all those who perform in the theater (2.69). They too make deception into a profession, according to Artemidorus, and it even becomes impossible to tell whether they are male or female. Hence sophists are linked with eunuchs. The vehemence of Artemidorus' language here, which displays three different terms for eunuch without using the word εὐνοῦχος itself, seems to reflect a strong distaste for the extravagant and effeminate posturing of some sophists, to say nothing of the notorious hermaphrodite Favorinus.

Public speaking for personal profit and prestige particularly vexed Artemidorus, and in Book 1.56 he explicitly condemned encomiasts (ἐγκωμιογράφοι) and all wordsmiths (λογοποιοί). He returned to the attack at the end of Book II (70) when he acknowledged that although he was himself accomplished in speaking ingeniously (ἐγκωμιογράφοι) he had no time for the specious effects of θεατροκοπίαι or the delights offered by word-merchants (λογέμποροι). All these remarks point directly to sophistic rhetoric and its practitioners. Artemidorus makes his view of sophistic performance explicit in another passage, where he lists those who work with their mouths (1.79 *ad fin.*). These are flute-players, trumpeters, rhetors, and sophists.

23 Cf. Bowersock, 1995.

Since Maximus of Tyre was undoubtedly one of these elegant rhetorical performers, identifying him with Artemidorus' patron poses problems. The vilification of word-merchants occurs precisely in a paragraph (2.70) devoted to extolling the virtues of Cassius Maximus, whose own virtues are given there as wisdom and intelligence (σύνεσις). The man's intelligence is also stressed in the first Book when Artemidorus initially addresses him, but in that passage his brilliance as a speaker is singled out (I. *Proem. ad fin.*). That particular point would obviously not be opportune in the later passage, which ends with the revelation that Cassius Maximus comes from Phoenicia. We seem to be left with the paradox that Artemidorus' fulsome praise is directed to an eastern rhetorician or philosopher who possesses the Roman citizenship and only Roman names. But since Artemidorus had asserted in Book I that none of the Greeks down to his time had been so clever as Maximus in speaking, he could conceivably have meant that Maximus was not a Greek but a Semite. That is by no means a necessary interpretation, and Artemidorus should perhaps be allowed the luxury of inconsistency where a patron is concerned. But his emphasis on Maximus' intelligence and wisdom seems carefully calculated to show that eloquence in his case did not reflect a talent for deception.

Artemidorus' allusions to sophists do not all concentrate on performance, and at several points he treats them, much more benignly, as teachers. They are linked with διδάσκαλοι and with παιδευταί.[24] According to Artemidorus it is a good thing for a sophist to dream of having ants in his ears (1.24) because ants represent pupils, and the dream foretells a large student following. On the other hand, although it is good for most people to dream of catching a large number of fish, it is bad for sedentary workers and for sophists (2.14 *ad init.*). The former will be out of a job because, being confined to their chair, they cannot go fishing at all, and the latter will have no students because fish have no voice. The unprejudiced view of sophists as teachers seems, in Artemidorus at least, to be quite distinct from the view of sophists as public performers. It is more than likely that this distinction accurately represents the reality of the time. Philostratus has, to some extent, affected our vision by concentrating on the great, flamboyant figures.

4. Finally if we consider Artemidorus' own use of the Greek language, which proved such a subtle and dazzling instrument in the Second Sophistic, we shall see once again that this is a sharp and critical observer who stands altogether apart. His own profession naturally separated him from rhetoricians, but he went out of his way to separate himself from other practitioners of the occult sciences

24 Artem. 2.12; 2.45; 4.13.

as well. For example, he had nothing good to say of physiognomists, necromancers, palm-readers, and the like (2.69), even though some of them could claim, as he did, to be working on scientific principles based on research. As we saw, Artemidorus readily acknowledged that he was fluent in speaking, and his book shows that he was no slouch in writing. This is by no means a work designed for a semi-literate readership. Its syntax can be complex, and its vocabulary rich.[25] But it is not the Greek of the international world of sophists. On the contrary it is a wilfully local and learned language, rooted in western Asia Minor and resistant to the fashions decreed by contemporary arbiters of language.

If we look again at the long chapter on dreams of flying (2.68), it will be apparent that Artemidorus repeatedly employs the verb ἵπταμαι instead of πέτεσθαι. He does this consistently and not to provide variation. Yet in two places Lucian reveals unambiguously that ἵπταμαι should be avoided at all costs, even though he admits in the *Lexiphanes* that many people use it.[26] Phrynichus in his *Ekloge* dictates that the simple verb is inadmissible although allowable in compounds.[27] Clearly Artemidorus was a contrarian by espousing the forbidden verb, and one can only assume he is staking out a position in doing so. With his broad experience in and out of Asia Minor and his high level of literacy, it would be difficult to maintain that he was unaware of the norms of the rhetorical establishment. Similarly in his discussion of clubs and associations he uses the word συμβιώσεις to describe them. As Louis Robert and others have shown,[28] this is a local term for clubs in western Asia Minor, well attested in inscriptions, but not found elsewhere. It was evidently a word that Artemidorus knew well and deliberately preferred. Robert has also called attention to his verb δενδροφορεῖν in connection with the rites at Magnesia on the Maeander. This again is a *vox propria* for the rite and it is taken directly from local usage. Artemidorus has a peculiar way of describing defeat in competitions or legal actions by the use of the passive of λείπω. It occurs ten times in Artemidorus in this sense, as Robert was the first to notice.[29] Yet this too is well documented in inscriptions from western Asia Minor as a quasi-technical term for losing. None of this language recurs in formal so-

25 This is the most powerful argument against the views of Weber, 1999, on the readership of Artemidorus as cutting across a broad range of social levels. Harris, 2003, 32 n. 92, remarks that Weber "struggles relentlessly to overstate the size of Artemidorus' likely readership." His skepticism, in the same note, about my views on the social distribution of interest in prediction is well taken.

26 Lucianus *Sol.* 7, cf. *Lex.* 25.

27 Phryn. 325 Leb.

28 Robert, 1978; Bowersock, 1999.

29 Robert, 1960a.

phistic literature, and it contributes to the overall impression of Artemidorus as standing outside the world of international elites but inside his own world of highly literate locals.

Other words in the *Oneirocritica* seem to come from a rich arsenal of technical and possibly local diction. Striking among them is the *hapax legomenon*, πυξογραφεῖν (1.51), for writing on boxwood tablets. The synonyms for eunuch, mentioned earlier (in 2.69), are γάλλος, ἀπόκοπος, and σπάδων – all brought forth as if each described a somewhat different kind of eunuch. The Arabic translator of this text was sorely challenged by this triad of words and simply collapsed them all into one.[30] Yet the good Greek word εὐνοῦχος, which any sophist would have used, is conspicuous by its absence. The explicitly sexual vocabulary of Artemidorus is especially rich and surprising. Anyone who has read his account of dreams of sexual deviance will discover that he is not at all prudish about reporting acts of sometimes grotesque irregularity, and he does not hesitate to use a word such as δέφω ("masturbate").[31] But for sodomy, cunnilingus, and fellatio he uses, for some reason, the same word, ἀρρητοποιεῖν, although the context never leaves the reader in doubt as to what is going on. The verb occurs, in both active and passive forms, eight times in a few dozen lines on sexual dreams (1.79-80), and it is unknown outside of the *Oneirocritica*. The verbs λεσβιάζειν and φοινικίζειν are, like εὐνοῦχος, avoided. These terms may have been too literary for Artemidorus, and his avoidance of them may parallel his espousal of ἵπταμαι. Nor can one resist the suspicion that φοινικίζειν might have been a tactless choice of vocabulary in a work dedicated to a man from Phoenicia.

To conclude, Artemidorus' window on the Second Sophistic seems to be unlike any other. He prided himself on being unique. He distanced himself from all other practitioners of the occult sciences and even from all other dream interpreters. He distanced himself from sophists, rhetors, and all kinds of theatrical performers. He was good at public speaking but chose not to do it. He clearly knew enough about the norms of high rhetorical Greek to avoid systematically any replication of it. He clung to his roots in Daldis and Ephesus and wrote in a language that was as local as it was learned. The *Oneirocritica* is the only work from the ancient world that Wilamowitz might have cited, although he did not, in support of his view of Aristides and his age: *Dieser kürbiskopf, der mit seinen krankheitsgeschichten, klystieren und durchfällen götter und menschen unterhält, träumt sich*

30 Fahd, 1964, at 2.69.

31 Artem. 1.78.

als Platon + Demosthenes: das ist die selbstvergötterung einer inept gewordenen greisenhaften cultur.[32]

Above all, Artemidorus kept his distance from Hellenized Roman culture, and his readers, although necessarily cultivated and therefore probably elites of some kind, were not Greek senators and equestrians. He seems to write the Greek of contemporaries of Asia Minor and may therefore represent those hidden local elites who did not move into the imperial orbit by travel and upward mobility in the government. If Artemidorus possessed the Roman citizenship, he could not have been proud of it. In this respect he opens up a uniquely critical view of the world of the Second Sophistic. He brilliantly reflects a culture that he closely observed but never joined. The likes of Artemidorus had no Philostratus to write about them, and so it is hard to say how many others shared his outlook. But whatever their number, he alone has survived to speak for them.

32 Calder – Kirstein, 2003, 327.

The geography of the Second Sophistic: Cultural variations

EWEN BOWIE

A reader of Philostratus' *Lives* is offered a unified world of Greek sophistic culture, stretching from the Orontes to the Rhone, from Antioch to Arelate. Within that world we might expect some marked differences in the sophistic habit – in matters social, literary or linguistic. We might, for example, expect different cities or provinces to have different estimations of sophistic rhetors and rhetoric and different ways of recognising sophistic distinction; within sophists' rhetorical activity we might expect differing preferences in respect of genre or subject-matter; we might expect differences in how sophists constructed their Greek past:[1] we might also expect divergent stylistic preferences, and comment on the degree to which sophists achieved Attic purity of vocabulary, accidence and syntax or a convincing Attic pronunciation of their Greek. We do indeed find some indications of such differences in the *Lives*, but many fewer, to my mind, than are likely to have been detectable in the real world Philostratus describes; and neither in that real world nor on the pages of Philostratus are geographical factors most important in determining them.

Language

I begin with some linguistic issues.

First, style. Philostratus is much less sensitive to what modern scholars (following Latin writers and Dionysius of Halicarnassus) call 'Asianism' than either of these, and expresses at the most veiled disapproval, which contrasts strikingly with Dionysius' vituperative hostility. This is perhaps less surprising when we consider that Philostratus himself, like many of his sophists, often employed versions of an 'Asianic' style. But the point remains that attribution of certain

1 I discuss this issue in a paper delivered in Firenze in September 2003 and shortly to appear in conference proceedings.

features to Asiatic origins or training is not a significant element in his stylistic assessment. His most critical comment is that concerning Onomarchus of Andros, who (he says)

> being a near-neighbour of Asia caught – as one catches *ophthalmia* – the Ionian style, which was particularly in fashion at Ephesus: on this ground some people thought he had not even attended Herodes' lectures, but this accusation is false.[2]

On another occasion Philostratus has the Syrian sophist Isaeus criticise the excessive use of short rhythmical *cola* by his Ionian pupil Dionysius of Miletus: "Young Ionian, I did not train you to sing."[3] Philostratus follows this immediately with another anecdote in which Isaeus mocked the extravagant language of one of the Smyrnaean sophist's phrases admired by a young Ionian:

> And when a young Ionian conveyed to him his admiration for Nicetes' grandiloquent expression in his *Xerxes* 'Let us make fast Aegina to the King's ship' Isaeus laughed loudly and said 'You idiot! And how will you put to sea?'[4]

Philostratus does not make clear how far he would endorse Isaeus' position either on prose-rhythm or on hyperbole. At a different point he associates urbane wit with Ionia.[5] What we encounter, then, are hints at natural or cultural features of Ionian sophistic, but they are given remarkably little prominence.

Second, accent and pronunciation. Only rarely does Philostratus bring such matters up. When recounting how Marcus of Byzantium visited Polemo's school (presumably at Smyrna) *incognito*, Philostratus has it that Polemo recognised Marcus from his Doric accent or dialect:

> Marcus raised his voice, as was his habit, and threw his head back, saying 'I shall both propose a theme and declaim on it.' Picking up at that point and realising that he was speaking Doric …[6]

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2 πρόσοικος δὲ ὢν τῆς Ἀσίας τῆς Ἰωνικῆς ἰδέας οἷον ὀφθαλμίας ἔσπασε, σπουδαζομένης μάλιστα τῇ Ἐφέσῳ, ὅθεν ἐδόκει τισὶν οὐδ᾽ ἠκροᾶσθαι Ἡρώδου καταψευδομένοις τοῦ ἀνδρός·, *VS* 2.18.598. The view of Aegean geography here implied is curious, to say the least. Had Philostratus ever been to Andros?

3 "μειράκιον" ἔφη "Ἰωνικόν, ἐγὼ δέ σε ᾄδειν οὐκ ἐπαίδευσα.", *VS* 1.20.513. It would be interesting to know whether at this point Isaeus was teaching in Ionia or (as at some stage he certainly did) in Athens – in the latter case we might speculate that he was being careful to adopt an Attic posture.

4 νεανίσκου δὲ Ἰωνικοῦ θαυμάζοντος πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸ τοῦ Νικήτου μεγαλοφώνως ἐπὶ τοῦ Ξέρξου εἰρημένον "ἐκ τῆς βασιλείου νεὼς Αἴγιναν ἀναδησώμεθα" καταγελάσας πλατὺ ὁ Ἰσαῖος "ἀνόητε," εἶπεν, "καὶ πῶς ἀναχθήσῃ;" *VS* 1.20.513.

5 πρὸς φύσεως μὲν γὰρ τοῖς Ἰωνικοῖς το ἀστείζεσθαι, *VS* 1.21.519.

6 ὁ Μάρκος ἐπάρας τὴν φωνήν, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, καὶ ἀνακύψας "καὶ προβαλῶ" ἔφη "καὶ μελετασεῦμαι." ἔνθεν ἑλὼν ὁ Πολέμων καὶ ξυνιεὶς δωριάζοντος …, *VS* 1.24.529. The Doric forms are Cobet's conjectures for the Attic forms offered by the MSS προβαλοῦμαι … μελετήσομαι, which are printed (perhaps correctly) by Kayser.

He also refers to the unpleasant Cappadocian burr of Pausanias of Caesarea, who

> delivered his orations with a thick accent and in the tones habitual for Cappadocians, bringing his consonants into collision and shortening syllables which are lengthened and lengthening those that are short.[7]

How different from the speech of the two lisping children from the Attic deme Collytos whom Herodes included in his munificent presents to Alexander of Seleuceia, presumably to help the incoming imperial secretary to correspond in the best Attic Greek and not simply because Alexander liked under-age voices.[8]

Philostratus is, of course, alert to the importance of speaking correct Attic Greek, and in an account of Herodes' child of nature Heracles or Agathion – at least some of which Philostratus claims to derive from a letter of Herodes himself – he has this uncorrupted rustic criticise the way the Attic of the city of Athens has been deformed by the overseas students from Thrace and Pontus:

> The *mesogeia* of Attica is a good school for a man who wants to discourse: for the Athenians in the city welcome for their fees teenagers from Thrace and Pontus and ones who have flooded in from other non-Greek countries and sustain from them more linguistic debasement than they contribute to these incomers' correctness of speech. But the *mesogeian* accent is untainted by non-Greeks and so is healthy, and the language has a twang of high Attic.[9]

So Agathion – quoted by Herodes – quoted by Philostratus. But elsewhere Philostratus has hardly anything critical to say about the Attic or the accent of sophists or their students from Thrace, Pontus or any other part of the Greek diaspora (note, however, his remark about Polux's Atticism discussed below, p. 69). If he recognises it as a serious issue he is careful to confine it to his reported cameo and not to let it subvert his dominant picture of a homogeneous culture speaking high Greek. To determine whether it really was an issue we must look elsewhere. Philostratus presents Herodes as being as keen as any overseas Greek to base his Attic on that of fifth and fourth century texts, and it was to assist such efforts that Attic lexica were compiled. It may be significant that some lexicographers are from more recently hellenised parts of the eastern Mediterranean – Phrynichus from Bithynia or Arabia, Pollux from Naucratis, Herennius Philo from Byblos. But Aelius Dionysius is from a city with a much longer Greek pedigree, Halicarnassus, and so far as I know the origins of Moeris are unknown. It would be rash to see Attic lexicography as an industry run by outsiders for outsiders.

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7 ἀπήγγελλε δὲ αὐτὰ παχείᾳ τῇ γλώττῃ καὶ ὡς Καππαδόκαις ξύνηθες, ξυγκρούων μὲν τὰ σύμφωνα τῶν στοιχείων, συστέλλων δὲ τὰ μηχυνόμενα καὶ μηχύνων τὰ βραχέα, *VS* 2.13.594.

8 *VS* 2.5.574.

9 *VS* 2.1.552-554.

But another well-known phenomenon is highlighted by Philostratus' anecdote: one aspect of the second sophistic that did involve geographical differences was the prominence of a few cities as centres of excellence in declamation and teaching. Although scores, perhaps hundreds, of cities will have had sophists, as is implied by the legislation on immunities and by Philostratus' narrative, and is very occasionally documented by epigraphy, the cities in which Philostratus' sophists dispensed and received rhetorical training were not numerous:[10] Athens, Ephesus, Pergamum, Smyrna and Rome are the big five; a sophist might attend another city to seek out a particular star, as Philostratus claims that Polemo sought out Dio in Bithynia – Philostratus does not demean his account by mentioning the relatively undistinguished city of Prusa[11] – or a man who had achieved eminence in one of the ivy league cities might go back to do some teaching in his place of origin, as perhaps Antiochus of Aegeae.[12] We also know that at least one sophist, Dionysius of Miletus, taught in the less prestigious city Mytilene (again Philostratus specifies Lesbos, 1.22.526, but Mytilene must be meant) before getting a foothold in Ephesus (the phenomenon is familiar in some modern academic communities): Alexander of Aegeae's declaiming in Tarsus, perhaps before moving on to Antioch, may fall in the same category. Further-more the great masters could be heard outside the main centres when they went on tour, as did Alexander of Aegeae[13] and Aristides of Hadrianoutherae in Egypt. For the extent of Aristides' Egyptian tour we should note the statue erected in Alexandria by representatives of Alexandria, Hermoupolis Magna, Antinoopolis, Greeks in the Delta and Greeks in the Thebaid.[14]

Although the big five outshone the rest, and within them the establishment of chairs at Athens and Rome – but not, as far as I can tell, in any other city[15] – gave the edge to these two cities, at least in Philostratus' eyes, the nature of the rhetorical education provided did not differ from that in smaller centres nor, as far as one can see, between members of the big Five: there was no question of seeking out Cambridge Mass for a sound philological training or Cambridge England for a flirtation with structuralism or post-modernism.

Nor were the modes of recognition of eminence diverse. Consider, for example, honorific statues, whether in bronze or (less prestigiously) marble. As is

10 See the column headed ‚student' in Table 1.

11 *VS* 1.25.539.

12 *VS* 2.4.568.

13 *VS* 2.4.568.

14 *OGIS* 709.

15 Or were the honours voted by Ephesus to Soterus or Heraclides' move to Smyrna (*VS* 2.26.613) in some way the conferring of a chair? Philostratus does not hint that the latter was.

clear from my table (based upon a combination of epigraphic evidence[16] and of the testimony of Philostratus) no city or cult centre is known to have had more than a handful of sophists' statues, and at the same time there is no place where our evidence allows us to claim that there were proportionately more or fewer sophists' statues than were to be found in other places of comparable size. Nor on our even more exiguous evidence (since our epigraphic evidence is of course for the statue bases, not the statues themselves) can we even begin to say whether certain statue types were more favoured in one place than another.

Another form of official civic recognition was to offer free participation in public dining by a select group.[17] Only places which already had that practice could confer that honour, and in the imperial period the only cases relating to sophists that are known relate not to Athens, where the long-standing honour of dining in the *prytaneion* was still being conferred on esteemed individuals, but to the Museum at Alexandria, where the dispensation of the privilege of σίτησις lay not in the hands of a local body or official but in those of the emperor himself.[18]

The grant of σίτησις in the Alexandrian Museum to sophists from the province Asia draws attention to one divergence from the prevailing pattern that continues to puzzle me: the virtual absence of sophists from the undeniably learned city of Alexandria, and by contrast the remarkable clutch of four Philostratean sophists from late second and early third century Naucratis. I do not think we yet know enough about imperial Naucratis to explain why these sophists emerge, and how they relate to that rather different sort of scholarly figure, Athenaeus. It may be relevant that the father of Pollux was a literary critic (κριτικός, *VS* 2.11.592) – a role Philostratus tells us that Pollux himself also learned to play, precisely from his father. Yet it is also matter for surprise and speculation that Philostratus refers only briefly and allusively to Pollux's lexicon, noting that "if one considers his *Names* his tongue was adequately trained in Atticising speech, but if one looks carefully at the style of his declamations he Atticised no better than anybody else."[19]

16 Usefully assembled and briefly discussed by Korenjak, 2000.

17 On public dining in the *prytaneion* cf. Schmitt Pantel, 1992, 168-177.

18 Cf. *VS* 1.22.524 and 1.25.532 for Hadrian's grant of σίτησις to Dionysius of Miletus and Polemo of Laodicea. Wright's note in the Loeb *VS* suggests that the phrase at 2.15.596 refers to Ptolemy of Naucratis being 'admitted to dine at public expense', which would attribute the privilege of σίτησις to a religious institution in Naucratis. It seems more likely that the characteristically imprecise term refers to Ptolemy's belonging to a priestly family which had ancestral involvement with the Hellenion, or with one of the many temples epigraphically attested in Naucratis.

19 ἐνθυμουμένῳ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ ὀνόματα ἱκανῶς ἐγεγύμναστο τὴν γλῶτταν τῆς ἀττικιζούσης λέξεως, διορῶντι δὲ τὸ ἐν ταῖς μελέταις εἶδος οὐδὲν βέλτιον ἑτέρου ἠττίκισεν, Philostr. *VS* 2.12.592.

As to Alexandria, the Demetrius known from Galen and apparently the same as the Aelius Demetrius,[20] shares with Achilles Tatius the distinction of being one of very few Alexandrians to be termed sophist.[21] Like sophists in Greece and Asia Minor, Aelius Demetrius seems both to have taught[22] and participated in political life either in Alexandria or in Ptolemais.[23] Why did a city so large as Alexandria, and one in which so many branches of learned activity were represented, produce no sophist whom Philostratus thought worthy of mention? My guess is that part of the explanation should be sought in the fact that the city's political structure and consequently the dynamic of its social and political élite were quite different from those of the Greek cities of other provinces. But the case of Demetrius, if indeed it was in Alexandria and not Ptolemais that he was honoured by the πόλις, might be thought to count against that suggestion. And certainly sophists from elsewhere did go to Alexandria to perform: that could have been one of the motives that took Dio of Prusa there, and was certainly among the reasons for the visit of Aelius Aristides, who was honoured with a statue by Greeks from Alexandria and other places in Egypt.[24]

I turn finally to what might in principle have been an observable regional difference in the sophistic pattern, viz. the types of literary activity in which a sophist engaged. The discussion can be divided between forms of declamation and other literary production.

Declamation

Philostratus' account of the favoured or celebrated themes of individual sophists is not systematic. Like so much of the evidence already reviewed, it hardly suffices as the basis of a balanced analysis. Furthermore, in many cases Philostratus gives us no indication of the locations in which a celebrated declamatory theme had been handled; when he does, that location is mostly Athens,[25] but this largely reflect the dominance in the *Lives* written by Philostratus the Athenian of anec-

20 Gal. 14.629 Kühn, cf. Jones, 1967.

21 Note also the writer of τέχνας ῥητορικάς Demetrius, called σοφιστής by D.L. 5.84.

22 *OGIS* 712: Αἴλιον Δημήτριο[ν] τὸν ῥήτορα [ὁ]ι φιλόσοφοι [Φ]λαουίου Ἱέρακος [το]ῦ συσσίτου ἀναθέντος [τὸν διδάσκαλ]ον καὶ πατέρα.

23 *AE* 1903, 227 from either Alexandria or Ptolemais: Ἡρακλεῖ καλλινίκου ἡ πόλις διὰ Αἰλίου Δημητρίου υἱοῦ Αἰλίου Σεραπίωνος [ῥ]ήτορος.

24 *OGIS* 709.

25 E.g. Hadrianus: *VS* 2.10.588-589. Exceptions are Marcus in Smyrna, *VS* 1.24.529, and Polemo's declamations specially delivered for Herodes Atticus in Smyrna: *VS* 1.25.538.

dotes concerning sophistic performances in Athens or centred on holders of the Athenian chairs.

This might also partly explain why the largest single group of declamatory subjects noted by Philostratus is set in the context of fourth-century Athens' resistance to Philip and Alexander of Macedon. Such themes are attested for ten sophists originating from ten different cities and six different provinces of the empire.[26] The next largest group is also Athenocentric, but concerns the Persian Wars: six sophists from five different cities and four provinces are mentioned by Philostratus,[27] and the two surviving declamations of Polemo in the *personae* of the fathers of Callimachus and Cynegirus each arguing for his son's claims to the *aristeia* in the battle of Marathon both confirm that he tackled such themes and display how he did so. Perhaps it is significant that all four regions from which these sophists came were within the Persian empire under Dareius and Xerxes: Ionia (in Roman *provinca Asia*) the origin of Scopelianus and Polemo, Cilicia of Alexander, Pamphylia of Varus, and Egypt of Pollux and Ptolemy. But it perhaps paradoxical that no sophist whose origin was mainland Greece is documented as having chosen a Persian war theme: on the other hand some at least of the declamations cited by Philostratus are likely to have been delivered at Athens. The third discernable group concerns the Peloponnesian Wars. Philostratus attests Peloponnesian War themes for four of his sophists.[28] Two of these take Athens as their point of reference, and it may or may not be relevant to Marcus of Byzantium's choice of a Spartan perspective that he is also said by Philostratus to have intervened at Megara to persuade the Megarians to abandon hostility to Athens dating back to the Megarian decree that preceded the Peloponnesian War.[29]

Aristides' surviving declamations support rather than undermine the pattern suggested by Philostratus for his sophists in general.[30] Four are set in the Peloponnesian wars: orations 5 and 6, supposedly arguing to a Athenian assembly for

26 See Table 2. Isaeus the Syrian: *VS* 1.20.514; Dionysius of Miletus: *VS* 1.22.522; Lollianus of Ephesus: *VS* 1.23.527; Polemo of Laodicea: *VS* 1.25.538; Philagrus of Cilicia: *VS* 2.8.580; Aristides of Hadrianoutherae: *VS* 2.9.584; Hadrianus of Tyre: *VS* 2.10.589; Ptolemy of Naucratis: *VS* 2.15.595-6; Apollonius of Athens: *VS* 2.20.601; Hippodromus of Larisa: *VS* 2.27.620.

27 Scopelianus of Clazomenae: *VS* 1.21.519-520; Polemo of Laodicea: *VS* 1.25.541 (by implication); Alexander of Seleuceia: *VS* 2.5.575; Varus of Perge: *VS* 2.6.576; Pollux of Naucratis: *VS* 2.12.593; Ptolemy of Naucratis: *VS* 2.15.595-6

28 Marcus of Byzantium: *VS* 1.24.528; Polemo of Laodicea: *VS* 1.25.538; Alexander of Seleuceia: *VS* 2.5.525; Hippodromus of Larisa: *VS* 2.27.620.

29 *VS* 1.24.529.

30 See table 3.

and against sending reinforcements to Sicily in 413 BC; oration 7, supposedly addressed to Athenians in 425 BC and arguing for making peace with Sparta; and oration 8, supposedly set in Sparta in 405/4 BC and arguing for granting Athens a generous peace settlement. His five Leuctran orations (11-15) are set in 371 BC and make various cases for whether Athens should now support Sparta or Thebes; finally orations 9 and 10 supposedly address the Thebans in 338 BC and make different cases for Thebes supporting Athens. There is nothing to show where these declamations were delivered (if indeed they were in fact delivered) but it was more probably in the province Asia (where he spend most of his life) than in Athens (which he presumably visited to deliver the Panathenaic oration, but where nothing else specific locates him at any point in his career).

Aristides' surviving speeches, as well as offering this degree of corroboration of the Philostratean picture, also remind us that there were a few declamatory topics that did not fall within these three major categories. Aristides' speech for an Achaean ambassador to Achilles (oration 16, for the situation set out in *Iliad* Book 9) had its only second sophistic precedent in Dio of Prusa oration 11, though Philostratus notes that in the fifth century BC Hippias had composed a dialogue in which Nestor advised Neoptolemus.[31] Other outriders concern Solon and Socrates – Polemo had themes that were repectively 'Solon demands that his laws be rescinded after Peisistratus has obtained a bodyguard' and 'Xenophon refuses to survive Socrates'.[32]

There seems, then, to be a preponderance of Athenocentric themes even in the repertoire of sophists who declaimed less often in Athens than elsewhere. There is no trace, so far as I know, of (for example) sophists from Lycia or Tarsus opting for themes involving local myth or history like Bellerophon, and it may be sheer coincidence that the two sophists known to have handled Trojan War themes, Dio and Aristides, hailed from parts of the Asia Minor mainland that were not far from Troy. Like the canon of French, German and Italian opera in theatres throughout the modern world, or like the provision of food and lodging in Macdonalds, Starbucks and Holiday Inns, a sophistic declamation might be expected to be similar in form and content wherever in the Greek world its audience was gathered: what made the difference was the individual's virtuoso performance.

31 *VS* 1.11.495.

32 *VS* 1.25.542. I do not include here the anti-Platonic works of Aristides, *orations* 2-4, since it seems to me very unlikely that they were ever delivered.

Other literature

Almost all other types of literary activity betray no regional bias. The genre attested for the largest number of sophists is historiography – a genre, of course, to which well-educated men from the political élites of both the Greek and the Latin speaking parts of the empire regularly turned their hand. As often, Philostratus' mentions turn out to be haphazard. He notes a Γετικά by Dio of Prusa, which he relates to his exile among the Getae and classifies as a history (ἱστορία)[33] He also commends (particularly for its display of language and – if the text is correct – θεωρία) a history (ἱστορία) by Antiochus of Aegeae[34] and compares the qualities of Antipater of Hierapolis in declaiming and writing history (ξυγγράψαι) unfavourably with his distinction as a letter-writer.[35] But there was surely much more. From Phrynichus we know that Polemo wrote history.[36] Some decades after Philostratus we know from the Suda of a ten-book history of (it seems) the Ptolemies (περὶ τῶν κατ᾽ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἱστορίαι) by Callinicus of Petra, dedicated to a Cleopatra who has been identified with Xenobia.[37] Although it happens that this list includes no sophist from mainland Greece it would be rash to suggest that historiography was a genre that only sophists from Asia Minor and Arabia undertook.

The same must be said of poetry. Although Philostratus attests the composition of poetry only for Nicetes of Smyrna (tragedy) and Scopelianus of Clazomenae (all sorts of poetry, among them both tragedy and epic)[38] his own *Heroicus* shows Philostratus himself rising to the challenge of writing poetry: epigraphy adds other cases of sophist-poets, notably Herodes Atticus and Aelian of Praeneste, and provides some poetry by Aristides of Hadrianoutherae to supplement what he cites in his *Sacred Tales*.[39]

The third literary genre that seems to have attracted sophists was epistolography. Philostratus knows a number of letters written by Herodes Atticus to (perhaps, but the text is uncertain) a Varus: this might suggest that a collection

33 *VS* 1.7.487 cf. *FGrH* 707.

34 *VS* 2.4.570, cf. *PIR* A 730, *FGrH* 747.

35 *VS* 2.24.607.

36 271 Lobeck.

37 Suda s.v. Καλλίνικος, cf. *PIR* C 229, *FGrH* 281. It is possible that the work entitled Πολυμυθία by the sophist who flourished under Marcus, T. Aurelianus Nicostratus (cf. *PIR* A 1427), was also historical, but more probably it and his Δεκαμυθία were part of the growing genre of *Buntschriftstellerei*.

38 *VS* 1.21.518.

39 See Bowie, 1989.

was published by Herodes.[40] His commendation of Flavius Antipater of Hierapolis and condemnation of Aspasius of Ravenna in connection with their tenure of the office *ab epistulis graecis* seems to hint at more epistolography than that generated by official duties alone.[41] Aelian of Praeneste wrote *Rustic letters* (ἀγροικικαὶ ἐπιστολαί) of which a slim collection (twenty letters) survives, and Philostratus himself a similarly slim volume of *Love letters* (ἐπιστολαὶ ἐρωτικαί) – our collection adds a few letters of a different sort to the core of 64 love letters. These few cases might hint at more epistolography west of the Aegean than east of it, but again they are too few to support a generalisation.

Are there, then, as few indications of cultural variation in the second sophistic in the sophists chosen genres of literature as there seem to be in all other aspects? There is perhaps one exception, the ideal Greek novel. I have argued recently elsewhere[42] that two of the earliest generation of Greek novelists, Chariton and the author of the *Ninus*, were from Aphrodisias (in my view Aphrodisias of the (40s-60s AD), and it seems very probably that Xenophon, writer of the *Ephesiaka*, was from Ephesus, a city some 200 km from Aphrodisias, with which it had links of various sorts. Slightly later (probably around the 90s AD) we find Antonius Diogenes, demonstrated by Bowersock[43] to be almost certainly from Aphrodisias, elaborating a quirky variant on the ideal novel, and then some decades later (and not later than AD 150) Achilles Tatius writing a semi-parodic masterpiece based on the Chariton-Xenophon type: Achilles himself is said by the manuscripts of his novel to be a sophist, and from Alexandria, but his novel's settings and the knowledge they display are as much linked with Ephesus as with Alexandria. Over that hundred years there is no evidence of Greek novels being written in any part of the Greek world other than Aphrodisias, Ephesus and (if that is really where Achilles was writing) Alexandria, though it is clear from papyri that they were read in Greek cities in Egypt and from Petronius and (disputably) Persius that at least one example was known in Neronian Rome. At no time then or later do we find novels attributed to writers from Smyrna, Pergamum or Athens; and the Athenian Philostratus is notoriously dismissive of Chariton.[44] It might, of course, be objected that the Greek novel is not composed only by sophists or is not a wholly sophistic phenomenon. On the matter of its writers one can only say that Chariton, claiming to be the secretary

40 *VS* 1.25.537.

41 *VS* 2.24.607; 2.33.628.

42 Bowie, 2003.

43 Bowersock, 1994, 38-40.

44 *Ep.* 66.

(ὑπογραφεύς) of a ῥήτωρ, is at least from a sophistic stable; about the author of the *Ninus*, if he is indeed not Chariton, we can only guess. We might prefer to think that an author capable of some of the sloppiness we find in Xenophon was not trained as a sophist, but again, as with Antonius Diogenes, we do not know. On the question of the sophistic nature of the novels, many scholars have seen the later novels as markedly sophistic, and more recent assessments of Chariton have reduced the gulf once seen between them and him. Though Philostratus mentions no sophist from Aphrodisias, nor even the city's name, there is some chance that it was by sophistic writers from there, taking their cue perhaps from the city's major cult, that of Aphrodite, that the form of the ancient ideal novel was created.

Table 1 (continued horizontally on p. 77 and vertically on the following pages)

	Πατρίς	Student	Teacher
ACHAEA			
Apollonia	Cestianus		
Andros	Onomarchus		
Athens	Secundus Herodes Theodotus Apollonius Zeno Nicagoras Herennius? Apollonius Herennius Ptolemaeus Sospis Glaucus ? Soterus	Dionysius Herodes Theodotus Aristides Hadrianus Amphicles Sceptus Chrestus Diogenes ? Pollux Pausanias Athenodorus Rufus Onomarchus Apollonius of Naucratis Apollonius of Athens Proclus Phoenix Antipater Heraclides Aspasius Philostratus of Lemnos Sospis Glaucus	Favorinus Lollianus Secundus Herodes Theodotus Philagrus Hadrianus Pollux Pausanias Apollonius of Naucratis Apollonius of Athens Proclus Phoenix Zeno Heraclides Hippodromus Philiscus
Chalcis	Amphicles		
Corinth	Sceptus Sospinus		
Delphi			
Hypata	Phoenix		
Larissa	Hippodromus ? Philiscus		
Olympia			
Tanagra			
ARABIA	Heliodorus		

Declaimer	**Θρόνος**	**Εἰκών**	**Burial**
Scopelianus ? Dio Lollianus Herodes Theodotus Alexander Philagrus Aristides Hadrianus Pollux Pausanias Apollonius of Naucratis Apollonius of Athens Proclus Phoenix Antipater Heraclides Hippodromus Philiscus Glaucus	Lollianus Theodotus Hadrianus Pollux Pausanias Heraclides Hippodromus Philiscus	Favorinus Lollianus (x 2) ? Herodes Theodotus Nicagoras Apollonius Herennius Ptolemaeus (x 2) Glaucus	Secundus Herodes ? Onomarchus Apollonius of Naucratis Apollonius of Athens Proclus Phoenix Philiscus Glaucus
		Favorinus Sospinus Cestianus	
		Phoenix Alexander Apollonius Aur.Phil… of Byblos Soterus	
			Hippodromus
		Philostratus Phylax	
		Anonymus *IG* 7.573	

	Πατρίς	Student	Teacher
ASIA			
Aphrodisias	Chaereas Lysimachus		
Clazomenae	Scopelianus		
Cnidos	Theagenes		
Ephesus	Lollianus Damianus Menander	Antiochus Alexander Philagrus Damianus Menander	Dionysius Hadrianus
Hadrianoutherae	Aristides		
Hierapolis	Antipater		
Laodicea	Polemo Varus		
Miletus	Dionysius		
Mytilene			Dionysius
Pergamum	Aristocles Quadratus Nicomedes	? Varus Aristides Athenodorus Euodianus Rufus Nicomedes Heraclides?	Aristocles
Phocaea	Hermocrates		
Rhodes			
Smyrna	Euodianus Rufinus	Scopelianus Hermocratus	Scopelianus Polemo Heraclides
BITHYNIA & PONTUS			
Amastris	Diogenes		
Nicomedeia	Quirinus		
Prusa	Dio	Polemo	
CAPPADOCIA			
Caesarea	Pausanias		
Cilicia	Philagrus		
Aegeae	Antiochus	? Antiochus	? Antiochus
Seleuceia	Alexander		
Tarsus	Hermogenes		Alexander
EGYPT			Alexander
Alexandria			
Naucratis	Pollux Ptolemy Apollonius Proclus	Ptolemy	Ptolemy Proclus

Declaimer	**Θρόνος**	**Εικών**	**Burial**
Rufus			Aristides
		Chaereas Lysimachus	
Dionysius Hadrianus Menander		Dionysius Lollianus' daughter	Dionysius Damianus
			Polemo
Aristocles Aristides		Dio (bust) Nicomedes Hermocrates Diodotus	
Hermocrates			
		Nicostratus	
Scopelianus Polemo Aristides Rufinus		Polemo Aristides	
			Quirinus
Dio			
Alexander			
Alexander Aristides			
		? Aristides	Ptolemy
Proclus			

	Πατρίς	Student	Teacher
GALLIA Narbonensis			
Arelate	Favorinus		
ITALIA			
Roma		Aristocles Philiscus	Alexander Hadrianus Pausanias Euodianus
Praeneste	Aelianus		
Ravenna	Aspasius	Aspasius	
LYCAONIA			
Laranda	Heraclitus		
LYCIA	Heraclides		
MACEDONIA	Nicostratus		Apollonius of Naucratis
PAMPHYLIA			
Perge	Varus		
PHOENICIA			
Gadara	Apsines		
Sidon			
Byblos	Aspasius		
Tyre	Hadrianus		
SYRIA	Isaeus Dardanus		
Antioch			Alexander
THRACE			
Aenos	Athenodorus		
Byzantium	Marcus Chrestus Aristaenetus	? Athenodorus Aristaenetus	
Pautalia			
Perinthus	Rufus		

Declaimer	**Θρόνος**	**Εικών**	**Burial**
Rufus			
Favorinus ? Dio Alexander Aristides Hadrianus Pausanias Euodianus Heliodorus	Philagrus Hadrianus Pausanias Euodianus Aspasius	Heraclitus of Laranda Iul. Cnosus (herm) Aristaenetus	? Philagrus Hadrianus Pausanias Euodianus
		Varus	Varus
Alexander			
		Unidentified	

Table 2: Distribution of sophistic declamatory themes by historical period

	Athens and Philip or Alexander of Macedon	**Persian Wars**	**Peloponnesian War**	**Other**
Isaeus	Python [?Leon] of Byzantium 1.20.514 Wall Sparta? 1.20.514			
Scopelianus		Dareius, Xerxes 1.21.519		
Dionysius	Dirge for Chaeroneia, Arcadian mercenaries 1.22.522			
Lollianus	c. Leptinem, Should Athens sell islands? 1.23.527			
Marcus of Byzantium			Sphacteria captives 1.24.528	
Polemo of Laodicea	Demosthenes' bribe 1.25.538 3 Demosthenic: Chaeroneia; Harpalus; Should Athenians flee on triremes 1.25.542	? Dareius, Xerxes 1.25.541 [but here Polemo addresses another unidentified sophist]	Aegospotamoi; 404 BC Trophies 1.25.538	Solon on bodyguard of Peisistratus; [Xenophon refuses to survive Socrates 1.25.542]
[Herodes Atticus]				?Thessaly [περὶ πολιτείας; not *VS*]
Alexander of Seleuceia		Dareius to bridge Danube, Artabazus dissuading Xerxes 2.5.575	Ath. Wounded in Sicily 2.5.574 Pericles backs war 2.5.575	
Varus of Perge		Xerxes at Athos & Hellespont 2.6.576		
Aristides	Isocrates against Ath. sea power 2.9.584 Aeschines & Cersobleptes 2.9.585		Arginusae; Sicily 2.9.584	Should Sparta have walls? [?Areus, ?Nabis] Attack on Alexander 2.9.584

	Athens and Philip or Alexander of Macedon	**Persian Wars**	**Peloponnesian War**	**Other**
Hadrianus of Tyre	Hyperides & Demosthenes 2.10.589			
Pollux of Naucratis		Eunuch boy Greek writes to father; 2.12.593		
Ptolemaeus of Naucratis	Alexander's sack of Thebes 2.15.595-6	? Marathon 2.15.595		
Apollonius of Athens			Callias against burning Athenian dead 2.20.601	
Hippodromus of Thessaly	Demades against Athens revolting from Alexander in India; 2.27.620		Catanians (? debate fleeing Etna eruption) 2.27.620	

Table 3: Aristides' surviving declamations

Aristides' surviving declamations	**Athens and Philip or Alexander**	**Persian Wars**	**Peloponnesian War**	**Other**
1 Panathenaic		Large section		
[2 pro oratory]	–	–	–	[Not historical]
3 defence of the four		Much on Persian wars	Some on Peloponnesian war	Some on Pentekontaetia
[4 To Capito]				[Not historical]
5 & 6 pro & con Sicilian reinforcements			Setting 413 BC, Athens	
7 pro peace with Sparta			Setting 425 BC, Athens	
8 pro mercy to beaten Athens			Setting 405 BC, Sparta	
9-10 Demosth. seeks Theban allies v Philip	Setting 338 BC, Thebes [2 cases]			
11-15 various cases whether Athens should back Sparta or Thebes				Setting 371 BC [after Leuctra], Athens
16 speech for the embassy to Achilles Il.9				Setting 10th year of Trojan War, Achilles' tent

CHAPTER TWO

Modes and Media

Alciphron's letters as a sophistic text

THOMAS A. SCHMITZ

Fictional letters were one of the favorite genres of the first centuries CE; about thirty such collections have been transmitted to us. Yet for a long time, scholars have not been too interested in these texts. To a large extent, this may be due to Bentley's famous destruction of the *Letters of Phalaris*.[1] Bentley made two main objections against such letters: they were morally reprehensible because their authors had tried to deceive their readers, and they were bad literature. Ever since, most scholars have considered the ancient fictional letters as forgeries, hence as ethically dubious products.[2] The last years, however, have witnessed a spectacular renaissance of these texts: new editions (some of them with scholarly commentaries) have made a number of the letter-collections available for scholarly work, most of them for the first time since Hercher's edition of 1873; two recent anthologies will finally make it possible to study Greek letters in the classroom, and Patricia Rosenmeyer's penetrating study offered the first sophisticated literary analysis of the genre to appear in many years.[3]

The corpus of letters that will be the subject of this paper is still awaiting its rediscovery. There is no satisfactory modern edition of,[4] let alone scholarly commentary on Alciphron's writings. We possess absolutely no certain information about the author. Although the arguments are not too strong, most scholars

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1 Bentley, 1699.

2 Holzberg, 1994a, XI.

3 For new editions, see, e.g., Gösswein, 1975, and Cortassa – Gastaldi, 1990; anthologies: Costa, 2001 and Trapp, 2003; Rosenmeyer, 2001; a renewed interest in the pseudepigraphic letters can be seen in Holzberg (ed.), 1994; cf. the bibliography in Beschorner, 1994. Sykutris, 1931 is still an immensely useful mine of information.

4 The only modern critical edition, Schepers, 1905, is now a century old. The Loeb edition of Benner – Fobes, 1949, is immensely useful because of its notes, yet is not based on independent examination of the manuscripts. There have been some bilingual editions of the entire collection (Ruiz García, 1988) or parts of it (Avezzù – Longo, 1985) and a new French translation (Ozanam, 1999), yet Benner – Fobes, 1949, 31-32 n. 1 still applies: "Great as Scheper's services to Alciphron have been, a new critical edition is much to be desired." In this paper, quotations will be according to Scheper's edition; translations will be after Benner – Fobes, 1949, with adaptations, where necessary.

assume that Alciphron was influenced by Lucian's dialogues and that he in turn influenced Aelian and Longus; this would suggest that he wrote at the end of the second or the beginning of the third century CE.[5]

What we have are 123 fictional letters attributed in our manuscripts to Ἀλκίφρων ῥήτωρ. In order to understand the difficulties we face when interpreting these texts, we will have to take a brief look at the transmission, which is rather intricate. Scheper's edition is based on twelve independent manuscripts, written between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. All of these manuscripts present the collection in differing order; none of them has the full corpus. The fictional writers of these letters can easily be seen to fall into four categories: they are fishermen, farmers, parasites, or courtesans; in some of the manuscripts, the letters are grouped according to these categories, and these groups bear different titles such as ἐπιστολαὶ παρασιτικαί or ἐπιστολαὶ παρασίτων. Hence, J.A. Wagner in his edition of 1798 had already proposed a systematical arrangement of all the letters according to these categories; Scheper's edition follows this suggestion and presents the letters in four books: book 1 contains twenty-two letters of fishermen, book 2 thirty-nine letters of farmers, book 3 forty-two letters of parasites, and book 4 nineteen letters of courtesans. However, we should emphasize that there is no firm evidence as to who took the decision to arrange the letters in this way – was it the author or was it some Byzantine editor?

This makes literary appreciation of the letters extremely difficult: since we are ignorant of the principles which guided the arrangement of the letters when they were first published, we are unable to interpret the collection as a meaningful entity. This appears to be a significant loss: we get some clear hints that the author thought of his collection as a structured whole. On occasion, Alciphron has carefully brought the different groups of letter-writers into contact with each other:[6] in 1.3, a fisherman suggests to his wife that they become farmers; in 1.9, another fisherman asks to be taught the art of parasitism. The clearest examples can be found in letters which bring farmers and parasites together: 2.32 is written by a parasite who wants to become a farm hand; 3.34, in turn, is written by a former parasite who had worked on a farm for a while and could not stand this toil. Since he was now too uncouth to be a parasite, he was forced to make himself a highway robber instead. It seems evident that these two letters are companion pieces; when we read 3.34, we are expected to remember 2.32, a letter we had presumably read earlier in the collection. The second letter lets us see the

5 The evidence and references to modern studies can be found in Anderson, 1997, 2194-2199, who rightly remains skeptical; cf. Rosenmeyer, 2001, 257 n. 4.

6 Cf. Rosenmeyer, 2001, 270-271; 285-290.

further development of the story line adumbrated in 2.32. This would suggest that Alciphron thought at least of the letters of fishermen, farmers, and parasites[7] as forming a coherent, interconnected work, but we cannot say to what extent other meaningful connections were implied by the skilful arrangement.[8]

While all the letters share common features, the letters of courtesans are markedly different from the rest of the collection.[9] A number of letters in this book is written in the name of famous courtesans of early Hellenistic Athens such as Phryne, Glycera, or Thaïs, and their lovers (who write some of the letters themselves) are well-known historical figures such as Demetrius Poliorcetes the general, Praxiteles the sculptor, or Menander the poet. Other celebrities (like Epicurus or Hyperides) are mentioned as taking part in the action narrated by the letters. Hence, the interest of these letters seems to be the same as in other pseudonymous collections: not unlike historical novels of our time, they present the great men and women of history, literature, and the arts in an everyday setting, they portray their intimate life, their private feelings and words, thus allowing their readers privileged access to the world of the past. It is significant that this past is precisely the Athens of the fourth century BCE: for educated people in the Roman Empire, this city had become an intellectual home; it was perceived as the venue of the great heroic age that was the base of cultural identity for all those who considered themselves Ἕλληνες.[10]

The other letters are different: although the scene is still set in Athens, their fictional writers are not well-known historical figures, but humble fishermen, farmers, and parasites. The letters depict their modest lives with their woes and delights. To our (post-) modern taste, which appreciates such "sound bites" (no letter is longer than one Teubner page; many are just a few lines), these glimpses of the lower strata of ancient society are immediately appealing. Readers are made to share the everyday life of social groups that are barely visible in other ancient documents: fishermen are happy because they think they have found an enormous amount of fish, yet when they pull out their nets, all they find is the cadaver of a camel (1.20). A farmer relates that he had set a trap for the foxes that ate his wine grapes, yet the trap killed a puppy that had been raised as a pet for his master (2.19). A parasite writes about a barber who gave him an uncouth

7 There are no similar connections between the letters of courtesans and the other books.

8 Rosenmeyer, 2001, 267 misses the point when she speaks of "the opening letter of each book" and expects it to be "programmatic for the rest of the book": neither the grouping in books nor the arrangement of the letters within the "books" can claim any authority.

9 See Bowie, 1985, 680; Rosenmeyer, 2001, 267, and above, n. 7.

10 See Schmitz (forthcoming); for the uses and abuses of the "classical" "Greek" past in imperial literature see Said, 1991; Whitmarsh, 2001; Goldhill, 2001.

haircut which made him look ridiculous when he showed up for dinner; the parasite complains that this poses a serious threat to his professional competence (3.30). Most letters offer just such short glimpses; occasionally, we have a letter with its reply, e.g., when a farmer invites his neighbor to a party and the neighbor replies that he is unable to come (2.15-16).[11]

Several aspects of Alciphron's letters have been studied by Rosenmeyer in her recent book.[12] Rosenmeyer's contribution is particularly valuable because of her analysis of the 'epistolarity' of Alciphron's letters, the effects and consequences that the form of fictional letters entails for the reading process and the interpretation. This paper will attempt to take Rosenmeyer's argument one step further. I propose to look at Alciphron's letters as sophistic texts. I want to argue that Alciphron's letters are not only sophistic in the sense that they employ a number of devices and topoi that are typical for writers of the Second Sophistic, but also because they are highly self-conscious about this aspect. I will try to demonstrate that by thus drawing attention to their own cultural context, the letters explore and destabilize the status of sophistic writing, thus providing a metacommentary on sophistic declamations and προλαλιαί that is comparable to Lucian's dialogues.

As has often been seen,[13] Alciphron's letters partake of the rhetorical technique that was typical for sophistical declamations, ἠθοποιΐαι: the writer and/or performer adopts a certain character and portrays him or her in a given situation. This type of performance demanded consistency of character, yet also subtle variations depending on the situation depicted in the declamation. Most of the time, sophistical performances, so-called μελέται, would picture well-known figures from fifth-century and fourth-century Greek (or rather Athenian) history, yet rhetorical handbooks such as pseudo-Hermogenes's *Progymnasmata* show that there were also "undefined" *ethopoiiai*:[14]

> Γίνονται δὲ ἠθοποιΐαι καὶ ὡρισμένων καὶ ἀορίστων προσώπων· ἀορίστων μέν, οἷον ποίους ἂν εἴποι λόγους τις πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους μέλλων ἀποδημεῖν, ὡρισμένων δέ, οἷον ποίους ἂν εἴποι λόγους Ἀχιλλεὺς πρὸς Δηιδάμειαν μέλλων ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξιέναι. […] εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ μὲν

11 Cf. Rosenmeyer, 2001, 293-295.

12 Rosenmeyer, 2001, esp. 255-307.

13 See Rosenmeyer, 2001, 259-261.

14 Hermogenes (?), *Prog.* 9; translation in Kennedy, 2003, 85. Almost identical definitions can be found at Aphthonius, *Progymnasmata* 10.34 Rabe (Kennedy, 2003, 115). Some ancient authorities on rhetoric distinguish between ἠθοποιΐα (known character, fictitious situation) and προσωποποιΐα (both the character and the situation are fictitious), but the terminology was muddled; see Nicolaus, *Progymnasmata* p. 65 Felten (Kennedy, 2003, 164-165) and Kennedy, 2003, 47.

ἠθικαί, αἱ δὲ παθητικαί, αἱ δὲ μικταί· ἠθικαὶ μέν, ἐν αἷς ἐπικρατεῖ διόλου τὸ ἦθος, οἷον τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους γεωργὸς πρῶτον ἰδὼν ναῦν.

There are characterizations of both definite and indefinite persons; of indefinite, for example, what words someone would say to his family when about to go away from home; of definite, for example, what words Achilles would say to Deidamia when about to go to war. […] Some personifications are ethical, some pathetical, some mixed. Ethical are those in which the characterization of the speaker is dominant throughout; for example, what a farmer would say when first seeing a ship.

Aelius Theon, in his *Progymnasmata*, provides examples that come very close to what Alciphron does in his letters:[15]

Προσωποποιΐα ἐστὶ προσώπου παρεισαγωγὴ διατιθεμένου λόγους οἰκείους ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις πράγμασιν ἀναμφισβητήτως, οἷον τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους ἀνὴρ πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα μέλλων ἀποδημεῖν, ἢ στρατηγὸς τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπὶ τοὺς κινδύνους.

Personification (*prosôpopoiia*) is the introduction of a person to whom words are attributed that are suitable to the speaker and have an indisputable application to the subject discussed; for example, What words would a man say to his wife when leaving on a journey? Or a general to his soldiers in time of danger?

It is obvious that these forms of rhetorical declamations are quite similar to what Alciphron's letters aim to achieve. G. Anderson is therefore right to describe these letters as 'miniature *meletai*.'[16] Moreover, the rhetorical handbooks prove that letters were a form in which such *ethopoiiai* were practiced in schools. Aelius Theon continues the passage just quoted with these words: ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ γένος τῆς γυμνασίας πίπτει καὶ τὸ τῶν πανηγυρικῶν λόγων εἶδος, καὶ τὸ τῶν προτρεπτικῶν, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐπιστολικῶν. "Under this genus of exercise fall the species of consolations and exhortations and letter writing."[17] Alciphron's letters, then, are a typical example for a general trend that can be observed in the Second Sophistic: rhetorical forms that had originally been at home in the classroom become popular and are used for public declamation or for published literary works.[18]

Another trait typical of the Second Sophistic is the Atticism of Alciphron's letters. Although the corrupt transmission makes it difficult to decide just how consistent and successful our author was in using classical Attic vocabulary and morphology,[19] we can nevertheless distinguish some features: Alciphron uses the

15 Theon *Prog.* p. 115, 12-22 Sp.; translation Kennedy, 2003, 47.

16 Anderson, 1997, 2203.

17 Translation Kennedy, 2003, 47. I am not certain what made Kennedy translate τὸ τῶν πανηγυρικῶν λόγων εἶδος as "consolations."

18 See Boulanger, 1923, 70; Schmitz, 1997, 17-18.

19 See Schepers (ed.), 1901, xix-xxi.

dual number and optative voice,[20] both long obsolete in his period. Even more striking is the fact that the fictional letter writers themselves draw attention to their use of classical Attic vocabulary:[21]

> Χρηστὸν ἡ γῆ καὶ ἡ βῶλος ἀκίνδυνον· οὐ μάτην γοῦν ἀνησίδωραν ταύτην ὀνομάζουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνιεῖσαν δῶρα δι' ὧν ἔστι ζῆν καὶ σώζεσθαι.
>
> The earth is kindly, and there's no danger in its soil; not idly do the Athenians call it 'bounteous giver,' since it gives bounteously the gifts by which life and the preservation of life are possible.

This reference to the language of "the Athenians" only becomes comprehensible in the context of imperial culture: like a proud sophist who wants to demonstrate his superior knowledge of classical words, our fishermen, farmers, and parasites make a parade of their Attic vocabulary, something which would not have occurred to any real-life Attic farmer.[22]

Related to this linguistic Atticism is a phenomenon that we could call material classicism. Time and again, Alciphron goes out of his way to provide local color, to drive home the fact that the action of these letters takes place in classical Athens. At the most fundamental level, this is achieved by giving details of Attic topography: such well-known landmarks as the Dipylon gate or the Cerameicus are mentioned over and over again.[23] The frequent allusions to Attic festivals provide a similar 'effet de réel.'[24] Such references can be transformed into small digressions. When a fisherman finds gold coins in his nets, these coins must be connected with the battle of Salamis, and in passing, he will provide a brief history lesson by reminding his addressee who fought this battle, not even stopping short of naming Themistocles' father (1.5.1):

> σοὶ μὲν γὰρ ὁ βόλος ἤνεγκε πρῴην χρυσοῦς κόμματος Δαρεικοῦ, τῆς ἐπὶ Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίας ἴσως λείψανα, καταδύσης οἶμαι νηὸς Περσικῆς αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ αὐτοῖς χρήμασιν, ὅτε ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ τοῦ Νεοκλέους ἤρατο τὸ μέγα κατὰ Μήδων τρόπαιον.

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20 Not only the almost formulaic ποδοῖν "two feet" (2.1.2 and 3.31.2) and χεῖρε "two hands" (2.2.2 and 2.16.2), but also more recherché forms such as ἡ δυοῖν θαλάσσαιν ἐν μέσῳ κειμένη πόλις "the city that lies between two seas" (3.24.3). Examples for the optative are too numerous to be quoted; I provide two examples only: ἀποσταίην in 1.22.1; διατεθεῖεν in 4.8.1.

21 1.3.1, cf. 3.24.2. Schepers follows Meineke in excising the words οὐ μάτην σώζεσθαι; I see no reason for this deletion.

22 For similar phenomena in sophistic declamations, cf. Schmitz, 1997, 200-205.

23 2.22.2; 3.12.3; 3.13.2; 3.28.3; cf. 3.6.2; 3.15.4; 3.33.1.

24 See 1.4.2; 1.9.3; 1.11.1; 2.37.1; 3.10.1; 3.31.1. For the "effet de réel," see Barthes, 1994, 479-484 (first published in 1968).

> Not long ago a lucky cast brought you up some coins of a golden mintage of Darius, perhaps relics of the sea-fight off Salamis, where, I suppose, a Persian ship was sunk, men and treasure and all. This happened in the time of our ancestors, when Themistocles, the son of Neocles, raised the great trophy to signalize his victory over the Medes.

It is especially the emphatic reference to "the time of our ancestors" (ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων) that betrays the author's eagerness to make his fictitious letter-writers "authentic Athenians."

These effects are similar to what we can observe in Lucian:[25] seen from the historical distance of half a millennium, classical Athens was a very small world where all great cultural heroes of Athenian history, literature, and philosophy rubbed elbows. Therefore, Alciphron is somewhat lavish with his classical allusions: in his letters, the Athenians do not just send ships abroad, these ships must of necessity be the famous flagships, the Paralus and the Salaminia (1.14.1). When somebody is asked to be silent about a matter, he must be "more tight-lipped than an Areopagite" (1.16.1: γενοῦ μοι τὰ νῦν Ἀρεοπαγίτου στεγανώτερος), and you don't just run to a banker to sell a gold chain (1.13.4):

> οἴκαδε ἀποτρέχω καὶ τὸ χρυσοῦν ἁλύσιον, ὅπερ ποτὲ εὐπορῶν τῇ γαμετῇ κόσμον εἶναι περιαυχένιον ἐπεποιήκειν, ἀποσπάσας τοῦ τραχήλου, ὡς Πασίωνα τὸν τραπεζίτην ἐλθὼν ἀπημπόλησα.
>
> I ran home and, tearing from my wife's neck the gold chain I had made to be an ornament about her throat when I was well to do, hurried to Pasion the banker and sold it.

Pasion was of course familiar to any πεπαιδευμένος of the second century CE because he was so prominent in a number of speeches in the Demosthenic corpus.[26] The number of examples for these procedures could be multiplied, but I hope the emerging picture of Alciphron's fictional Athens is clear enough: it is precisely the 'overkill' in topical allusions, the exaggerated efforts at being authentic that make readers aware that these are not authentic letters. We can again compare modern historical novels where, e.g., the main character is a lowly maid, but will inevitably bump into every major historical figure of the period that she is living in.

These characteristics of Alciphron's letters have often been seen as inconsistencies, and they may be one of the reasons why many critics have expressed doubts about their literary quality: while the writers of these fictional letters are supposed to come from the lower strata of Athenian society, they display a dis-

25 See Schmitz (forthcoming); on this kind of antiquarian classicism in general, see Delz, 1950.

26 On Pasion, see Trevett, 1992, 1-49.

quieting amount of precisely the kind of knowledge that πεπαιδευμένοι of the imperial era were expected to have. In several cases, Alciphron is careful to point out how they obtained this knowledge. When a farmer makes a sophisticated allusion to the Cretan shaman Epimenides, he quotes his sources (2.36.2):

> ἐσθίει μὲν γὰρ τεσσάρων σκαπανέων σιτία, ὑπνοῖ δὲ ὅσον ἤκουσα τετυφωμένου σοφιστοῦ λέγοντος Ἐπιμενίδην τινὰ Κρῆτα κεκοιμῆσθαι, ἢ ὡς ἀκούομεν τὴν Ἡρακλέους τριέσπερον.
>
> He eats as much as any four ditch-diggers; and he sleeps as long as I have heard a windbag of a sophist say a certain Epimenides of Crete slept, or as long as that famous three-twilight night of Heracles of which we hear.

In other passages, the letter-writers will refer to "my old schoolmaster Autochthon" (3.42.2) or "one of those unshod, cadaverous fellows that pass their time in the Porch" (1.3.2).

Yet Alciphron is not consistent in this procedure. Sometimes, his writers betray refined knowledge that is clearly out of character without quoting their 'sources.' In the first of a pair of letters, a young girl, the daughter of a fisherman, threatens suicide if she is not allowed to marry the young man she is in love with (1.11.4):

> ἢ τούτῳ μιγήσομαι ἢ τὴν Λεσβίαν μιμησαμένη Σαπφὼ οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς Λευκάδος πέτρας, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν Πειραϊκῶν προβόλων ἐμαυτὴν εἰς τὸ κλυδώνιον ὤσω.
>
> I intend to have this man, or, if I can't, I shall follow the example of Lesbian Sappho: not indeed from the Leucadian cliff but from the rocks of the Peiraeus I shall hurl myself into the surf.

Despite her suicidal grief, this innocent and somewhat naïve girl will nevertheless give a summary of the legend of Sappho, complete with the fine point that she is not herself going to jump off the Leucadian rock in Lesbos, but from the rocks of Peiraeus, thus again emphasizing the Attic setting of her story. It is hard to believe that a fisherman's daughter would write such a letter which smacks so heavily of second-century παιδεία. This incoherence between the liveliness and realism of the depicted situations on the one hand, and the artificiality and sophistication of the language and style has been reproached to Alciphron several times, most recently by E. Bowie.[27] However, as Rosenmeyer has shown, this inconsistency is an unavoidable feature of the epistolary form:[28]

> The primary narrative complication of epistolary fiction […] is that the author must make the narrator/letter writer speak to an addressee in order to communicate to us as readers. These multiple levels may provoke tension between the exigencies of fic-

27 Bowie, 1985, 680.

28 Rosenmeyer, 2001, 248.

tive discourse (letter writer to addressee) and the necessity to clarify the plot for an external audience (author to reader).

In what we have observed so far in Alciphron's letters, the complication arises not so much from the need to clarify the plot as from the fact that Alciphron seems to have felt an unquestioning need to show his credentials as a true πεπαιδευμένος. Most interpreters have regarded these inconsistencies as an artistic failure of the author.[29]

However, a different interpretation might be given of these inconsistencies in Alciphron's letters. Let us begin by looking at a feature that has also been criticized: one aspect that may appear artificial or even ridiculous in these texts is the implausibility of letter-writing in many of the situations depicted. Why, to use an example already quoted above, should the daughter of a fisherman write a letter to her mother, why should her mother respond in writing (1.11-12)? Again, this is a problem that every fictional text in the form of letters will encounter: how can readers be made to accept that the protagonists will write so many letters that the storyline can be reconstructed without difficulty? Yet even if we are willing to accept this premise of the letters, some of the situations in Alciphron verge on the absurd.[30] 2.16 is the second in a pair of letters. In 2.15, a farmer invites his neighbor over to his house to celebrate his son's birthday. In 2.16, the neighbor replies that he has to decline the invitation, and he gives good reasons for this:

> ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν κλῶπα φωράσας, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ πάλαι ἤσχαλλον […], ἔχω παρ᾽ ἐμαυτῷ τοὺς κωμήτας ἀναμένων ἐπικούρους. νῦν γὰρ οὐκ ἐδοκίμαζον ἀσθενέστερος ὢν καὶ μόνος τὼ χεῖρε ἐπιβάλλειν αὐτῷ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ δριμὺ βλέπει καὶ τοξοποιεῖ τὰς ὀφρῦς καὶ σφριγῶντας ἔχει τοὺς ὤμους καὶ άδρὰν τὴν ἐπιγουνίδα φαίνει· ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πόνων καὶ τῆς δικέλλης κατέσκληκα, καὶ τύλους μὲν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχω, λεπτότερον δέ μοι τὸ δέρμα λεβηρίδος.
>
> I have discovered the thief I've been worrying about for so long […]; I've got him here in the house, and I'm waiting for my fellow-villagers to help me. Not being very strong, and being alone, I thought I'd better not lay hands on him just now. He has a fierce look and arching eyebrows, his shoulders are brawny, and he shows a sturdy thigh; whereas I am worn to a skeleton from hard work and the use of the mattock, and my hands are calloused, and my skin is more delicate than the slough of a snake.

29 For negative judgments on Alciphron's artistic abilities, cf. Vieillefond, 1979, 121-122. Trapp, 2003, 32 suggests that this "gap" "added to the fun."

30 One feels reminded of Ovid's *Heroides*, where the "epistolary situation" can also be quite implausible, see Heldmann, 1994, 191. At 217, Heldmann quotes a wonderful example written by a Neo-Latin imitator of Ovid, Ronald A. Knox (1888-1957): Knox has Ulysses write a letter to Penelope from inside the Trojan horse.

How are we to imagine the situation described in this letter? Is the farmer using his left hand to fight off this dangerous fellow while writing this polite letter with his right? Is this another example of Alciphron being not quite able to produce a credible, natural fiction? I would argue that Alciphron takes these implausibilities to such extremes that readers cannot help realize what is going on.

A similar technique can be seen at work in other aspects of the letters: even when the epistolary situation does not seem implausible for external reasons, we might still wonder why these fishermen, farmers, and parasites would wish to write a letter at all. Would a fisherman bother to write his colleague that he caught some fish?[31] Again, Alciphron draws our attention to this aspect of epistolary fiction. In 2.9, a shepherd gives an elaborate account of a hot summer noon that he spent playing the pipe for his goats. Again, we could complain that this does not sound very convincing for any 'real' shepherd. But Alciphron is not trying to conceal this implausibility; instead, he points it out in the last sentence of this letter (2.9.2):[32]

> ταῦτά σοι οὖν εὐαγγελίζομαι, φίλον ἄνδρα συνειδέναι βουλόμενος ὅτι μοι μουσικόν ἐστιν τὸ αἰπόλιον.
>
> Now I am telling you this as a piece of good news, for I wish my friend also to know that my herd of goats love music.

If Alciphron's intention had been to produce a plausible fictional situation, he would have avoided to make his readers alert to the inherent difficulties – the less said about the shepherd's motivation to write this letter, the better. But Alciphron does exactly the opposite; the closing remarks of 2.9 almost amount to "within the fictional world of farmers and shepherds, there is no plausible motivation for this letter, but you, dear reader, know why it was written: it is a nice bucolic showpiece that will make you think of Orpheus and Theocritus and admire my skill in handling such stock themes."[33]

We thus begin to suspect that Alciphron may not be the inept and clumsy writer that many modern scholars see in him; much rather, he may be playfully exploring and exploiting the 'double vision' that is inherent in the fictitious epistolary situation. This impression is strengthened when we observe that his para-

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31 Cf. the analysis of 1.1 in Rosenmeyer, 2001, 268-269.

32 Rosenmeyer, 2001, 278-279 reaches similar conclusions.

33 For Theocritean influences in Alciphron, see Anderson, 1997, 2193. A similar flourish can be found at the end of 3.39: a parasite tells his colleague that he managed to eat a piece of a particularly dainty cake. He ends his letter thus: ταῦτά σοι γράφω οὐ τοσοῦτον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡδέσιν ἡσθείς, ὅσον ἐπὶ τῇ παρολκῇ τῆς βραδυτῆτος ἐκτακείς. "This I write to you, not so much delighted with the delicious food as exhausted by the long-drawn-out delay."

sites, farmers, and fishermen sometimes betray a disquieting degree of self-consciousness, that they are too concerned about their own status and character. It is all too often that his farmers refer to the fact that they are just that – simple farmers:[34]

> […] τοῖς φίλοις κοινωνεῖν τοὺς ἐν περιουσίαις ὄντας ἀγροικικῇ πρέπον ἐπιεικείᾳ, οἵους ἡμᾶς ἡ φιλτάτη γῆ ἁπλοϊκοὺς καὶ φιλαλλήλους τοὺς ἑαυτῆς τροφίμους ἀνεθρέψατο.
>
> […] it suits the farmer's sense of fairness that those who have a superfluity should give their friends a share: that's the kind of people we are whom dearest earth has nurtured – a simple folk loving one another, her own foster-children.

At least since the advent of bucolic poetry, the simple life in the countryside and its uncorrupted people have been a stock theme of Greek literature, and it is clear that Alciphron is exploiting its topoi.[35] Readers' reactions to these simpletons (ἁπλοϊκούς) may oscillate between mild amusement about their unrefined life (when a fisherman refers to "a certain Aratus," 1.3.2, thus betraying his ignorance of the finer points of Greek literature) and a sentimental longing for their wholesome nature. In any case, author (Alciphron) and audience will share a common point of view which sets them apart from the fictional letter-writers. However, this deceptively clear picture is undermined when these fictional characters themselves comment on their own situation: when simple country folk keep saying "we are just simple country folk," we begin to suspect that they might not be so simple after all.

The suspicion that something might be wrong with these farmers and fishermen is reinforced when we read passages where they emphasize that they really are much more than just country bumpkins. Take letter 3.29: in it, a parasite waxes poetic when he describes a rich merchant who has just arrived in Athens. This man was so generous that he invited all parasites of the city. This is how the letter ends:

> […] τὴν Πειθὼ τῷ στόματι ἐπικαθῆσθαι εἴποις ἄν· προσπαῖσαί τε γλαφυρὸς καὶ λαλῆσαι στωμύλος "οὔνεκά οἱ γλυκὺ Μοῦσα κατὰ στόματος χέε νέκταρ." εἰπεῖν γὰρ οὐ χεῖρον κατὰ τοὺς παιδείᾳ σχολάζοντας ‹τὸν› ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ὁρμώμενον, ἐν αἷς οὐδὲ εἷς τούτων ἄγευστος.
>
> […] you might say that Persuasion sits upon his lips. He has a smooth wit and his speech is fluent, 'because the Muse still dropped sweet nectar on his lips.' Surely, it's just as well to speak after the fashion of literary folk if one comes from Athens, where there isn't a man who has not had experience of letters.

This final phrase, with its elegant allusion to a well-known phrase of the comic poet Eupolis (frg. 102.5 PCG) and its quotation from Theocritus (7.82), could

34 2.29.2; cf. 2.12; 2.33.2; 3.34.1.

35 For the prominence of this theme in sophistic literature, see Whitmarsh, 2001, 102-104.

again be interpreted as Alciphron forgetting in whose character he is writing, were it not for the fact that he is again careful to point out this incongruity: why should a parasite be capable of using this sophisticated language and style?[36] Because he is from Athens, where everybody has some knowledge of literary matters (οὐδὲ εἷς τούτων ἄγευστος). This can be interpreted as a hint that the Athens where everybody has part in παιδεία is not any real landscape; instead, it is located in the nostalgic imagination of the πεπαιδευμένοι of the Second Sophistic; it is a fairy-tale land where even simple country-folk are Atticists and sophists.[37] Again, we see that Alciphron makes the inconsistencies of his fictional world so conspicuous that readers cannot simply choose to ignore them; they are forced to realize that these letters make no claim to depict any "real" world.

We have already seen that the fictional writers occasionally emphasize their use of pure classical Attic (3.24.2):[38]

> […] ὁ δὲ τὰ ἔλυτρα τῶν καρύων ἐπολυπραγμόνει μή πού τι τῶν ἐδωδίμων ‹ἐν›απομεῖναν διέλαθεν, ὁ δὲ τῶν ῥοιῶν τὰ περικάρπια, ἃ σίδια ἡμῖν τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς προσαγορεύειν ἔθος, ἀπέγλυφε τοῖς ὄνυξιν εἴ πού τι τῶν κόκκων ἔτι δράξασθαι δυνηθείη.
>
> […] another would examine the nutshells to make sure that none of the edible part was left anywhere and had escaped notice, another would scrape with his fingernails the pomegranate rinds (which we in Attica are accustomed to call *sidia*) to see whether he could glean any of the seeds anywhere.

After our observations of related techniques in other areas, we will no longer see these passages as clumsy attempts of a ham-fisted author to demonstrate his Atticist expertise even if it means breaking the illusion of his fictional situation; much rather, they should be read as playful reminders that these letters have no real addressee – or rather that they have two addressees, one in the fictional world of the letters, one being the actual reader of Alciphron's work. This reader, of course, would be a πεπαιδευμένος of the imperial period, would be able to appreciate and admire this sophisticated use of language.

A related argument can be made for another feature of these letters which at first sight might appear to be a pretty heavy-handed revealing of their artificiality.

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36 We can compare a similar technique in Philostratus' *Her.*; see Whitmarsh, 2001, 104.

37 Alciphron draws here on a myth that appealed to the imagination of second-century Atticists, that there was such a thing as a natural, "unlearned" Atticism which could manifest itself in special people like Apollonius of Tyana or Agathion, the Heracles-like figure whom Herodes Atticus befriended; cf. Gleason, 1995, 145; Swain, 1996, 82-83; Schmitz, 1997, 190-193; Whitmarsh, 2001, 106-108.

38 3.24.2; cf. above, n. 21. σίδια occurs in several lexica and grammatical treatises as a specific Attic word; cf. Hsch. σ 598, *Lexicon Seguerianum* 364.8, *Suda* σ 381, and the scholia on Aristophanes, *Clouds* 881.

All of Alciphron's letters are introduced by the formula "X writes to Y" (ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι), where the names of the sender and of the addressee are given. All the fishermen, farmers, and parasites unfailingly have 'redende Namen,' names that reveal their bearers' profession and/or character. To quote just a few, arbitrarily chosen examples: fishermen will be called "Skipper" and "Surfman" (Ναυβάτης and Ῥόθιος; 1.5); farmers "Grover" and "Vinelander" (Πολύαλσος and Εὐστάφυλος; 2.19), and parasites "Hunger-Gut" and "Never-Chews" (Λιμέντερος and Ἀμάσητος; 3.23). I think most modern readers will feel that the repetition of these playful names carries the joke a bit too far: a dozen or so of these names might have been funny, but there are hundreds of them in Alciphron. Again, I would argue that by using this device to such excess, Alciphron wanted to raise his readers' awareness of the absolute artificiality of this procedure; or, to put it bluntly, he wished to alert us that these are not real letters written by real people. An argument for this reading can be made because Alciphron is again not trying to conceal this artificiality, but pointing at it. In letter 3.25, the writer explains that he was the son of wealthy parents, but that he lost his father's property and was thus reduced to becoming a parasite. This also entailed a change of name (3.25.3-4):

> λυπεῖ δέ με οὐχ ἥκιστα πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ἡ τῆς προσηγορίας ἀποβολή. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πατέρες Πολύβιόν με ἔθεντο καλεῖσθαι, ἡ τύχη δὲ ἀμείψασα τοὔνομα Σκορδοσφράντην πρὸς τῶν ὁμοτέχνων ἠνάγκασε προσαγορεύεσθαι.
>
> And what distresses me not least of all, added to my other grievances, is the loss of my proper name; my parents named me Polybius, but Fortune has changed my name and has compelled me to answer to 'Garlic-Sniffer' – which is what my confrères call me.

Alciphron makes clear that there is an intimate connection between a person's name and his occupation. The writer of this letter was aptly called Polybius ("of wealthy life") when he was born to rich parents (his father was "the richest man in Athens," he tells us). When he had lost his property and had to resort to being a parasite, he also suffered a "loss of his name" (ἡ τῆς προσηγορίας ἀποβολή). Since Alciphron does not attempt to provide any plausible reason for this change, we realize the sheer artificiality of these names. We could compare the technique used by Alciphron to what the Russian formalists described as "laying bare the device": readers cannot fail to see that no real person could bear these *noms de guerre*, only fictional characters in the world of these letters. The effect this focusing on the incongruousness of the names produces is clear: it alerts readers to the fictionality of the letters and prevents them from a too willing suspension of disbelief. After readers have encountered this explanation, every heading with its 'speaking names' will remind them of the epistolary double vi-

sion and make them realize that somebody is carefully arranging these little scenes for our benefit, making sure that every character has a name that will allow us to understand immediately his or her place in this fictional world.

The last aspect of the letters that I want to analyze here is related to this choice of names and to the Atticism of the language. All the fictional letter-writers are characterized by their use of very specialized jargon. E.g., when we read the letters of fishermen, we will learn more about the names of Greek fish than we ever cared to know. J.-R. Vieillefond, in an excellent article published in 1979, has drawn attention to this feature of the letters, which he calls "verbal jugglery." Vieillefond is right to observe that this jugglery seems to verge on the baroque or even absurd.[39] Undoubtedly, to a certain extent, this use of specialized language is part and parcel of *ethopoiia*; every character had to employ λόγους οἰκείους ἑαυτῷ, as Aelius Theon put it in the passage from his *Progymnasmata* quoted above. But again, we get the impression that Alciphron is taking the artificiality too far. We are ready to believe that a fisherman will be using specialized vocabulary if he were to write a letter, but are we willing to accept that he will be using it exclusively? Our impression that something is not quite right here is strengthened when our letter writers use metaphors or make comparisons: these will inevitably and utterly be taken from their own sphere. When the daughter of a fisherman describes the young man she loves, this is how this description will sound (1.11.2):

> Καλὸς γάρ ἐστι, καλός, ὦ μῆτερ, καὶ ἥδιστος, καὶ βοστρύχους ἔχει βρύων οὐλοτέρους, καὶ μειδιᾷ τῆς θαλάττης γαληνιώσης χαριέστερον, καὶ τὰς βολὰς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐστι κυαναυγής, οἷος τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῶν ἡλιακῶν ἀκτίνων ὁ πόντος καταλαμπόμενος φαίνεται.
>
> He is beautiful, mother, beautiful, the sweetest thing, and his locks are curlier than sea-moss, and his smile is more charming than the sea in a calm, and the radiance of his eyes is like the dark blue of the sea, as it appears in the first moment of illumination by the sun's rays.

What we see here is related to the 'speaking names' that the writers carry: Alciphron's fishermen will forever be a "Skipper" or "Surfman," nothing else; and as such, their language, their entire being will be wrapped up in their profession.[40] Alciphron makes it clear that his fictional characters are prisoners in their fictional world, that they are unidimensional to an extent that no real human being can ever be, thus again emphasizing their fictionality.

Again, Alciphron alerts his readers to the artificiality of this device. A passage in one of the letters of farmers should be read as a *mise en abyme* of this proce-

39 Vieillefond 1979, 131: "cette jonglerie verbal, qui souvent […] confine au baroque."

40 Rosenmeyer, 2001, 261 aptly calls the girl's words "waterlogged."

dure. The writer complains about a soldier who put up in his house. When they talked to each other, the fellow was unbearably boring, a true *miles gloriosus*, and on top of it all, he annoyed all his interlocutors by his use of incomprehensible language (2.34.1):

> Χαλεπὸς ἦν ἡμῖν ὁ στρατιώτης, χαλεπός. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἦκε δείλης ὀψίας καὶ κατήχθη οὐ κατὰ τύχην ἀγαθὴν εἰς ἡμᾶς, οὐκ ἐπαύσατο ἐνοχλῶν τοῖς διηγήμασι, δεκάδας τινὰς καὶ φάλαγγας ὀνομάζων, εἶτα σαρίσσας καὶ καταπέλτας καὶ δέρρεις.
>
> He bored us, that soldier, he bored us. For, after arriving late in the afternoon, and, as bad luck would have it, putting up in our house, he never ceased making himself a nuisance to us with his yarns – using the words 'squads' and 'corps' and then 'lancias' and 'catapults' and 'mantelets.'

We see again that Alciphron is not attempting to hide away what he is doing. If he is a juggler, as Vieillefond has suggested, he is a juggler who seems to be giving away his tricks. We have seen the same procedure on so many levels of Alciphron's letters that by now, we will no longer believe that this happens because he is an incompetent and clumsy writer; instead, we will understand that this consciousness of the author's procedure is an essential part of the reading process. If Alciphron's fishermen, farmers, and parasites sound just like rhetorical exercises in semantic fields, this is because they are meant to sound this way. Alciphron's text forces us to understand that these characters are creatures of language, not flesh-and-blood people, that they come right out of rhetorical handbooks, linguistic treatises, and Atticist lexica.

Collecting specialized vocabulary of classical pedigree in a given semantic field had been one area of scholarship since the Hellenistic period; by Alciphron's time, writers and declaimers had come to rely on these tools in order to give vivid depictions of historical or fictional characters. A number of such handbooks has been transmitted to us; in Alciphron's time, every educated person had had some rhetorical training and had come to know several of these tools. To quote just one arbitrary example to illustrate this branch of scholarship: the *Onomasticon* of Iulius Polydeukes (or, in the Latinized form of his name, Pollux) of Naucratis in Egypt is such a collection of useful terms in several fields. Here is his thesaurus of expressions to describe fishermen and their attire, ships and their crew (1.96-98):

> καὶ πάλιν ἑτέρας χρείας ἁλιεύς, ἰχθυουλκός, ἀσπαλιευτής, ἀσπαλιεύς, πυριευτής, τριοδοντίᾳ χρώμενος, δικτυεύς, δικτυουλκός, πορφυρεύς, πορφυρευτής, σπογγοθήρας. τὰ δὲ ἐργαλεῖα αὐτῶν κάλαμοι, ῥάβδοι, λίνον, τρίχες ἵππειοι, ἄγκιστρα, ἀκιδωτά, ἀγκυλώματα, δίκτυα, ἀμφίβληστρα, πόρκοι, κύρτοι, γρῖφοι, πάναγρον λίνον, φελλοί, μολύβδαιναι. ἰχθυοθηρική, ἁλιευτική, ὑγροθηρική, ἀγκιστρευτική, ἑρκοθηρευτική, πυριευτική. ἐρεῖς δὲ νήχεσθαι, νεῖν, κολυμβᾶν, δύεσθαι, εἶτα νήκτης, δύτης βύθιος, κολυμβητὴς ὕφαλος, ὕφυδρος, ἐπιπολάζων,

> ἐπινηχόμενος ὑπονηχόμενος. τὸ δὲ ἔργον πλεῖν, ἐμπλεῖν, ἐκπλεῖν· καὶ ἔκπλους, ἀπόπλους, κατάπλους. ναυτίλλεσθαι, ἐρέττειν, κώπαις ἐλαύνειν, τριηριτεύειν, κωπηλατεῖν. κυβερνᾶν δὲ οἰακίζειν τὸ σκάφος καὶ κατευθύνειν, καλείσθω δὲ ὁ κυβερνήτης ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν οἰάκων καθήμενος, ὁ τῆς νεὼς ἡγεμών, ὁ τῶν ναυτῶν ἄρχων, ὁ ἐπὶ τοῖς οἴαξιν ἑστώς, καὶ κατ᾽ Ἀντιφῶντα ὁ ποδοχῶν, ἢ μᾶλλον κατ᾽ ἐμὲ ὁ ποδηγῶν· κέκληται δὲ ὑπὸ ποιητῶν καὶ ἡνίοχος τῆς νεὼς· καὶ τῆς νεὼς ὑποκυβερνᾶν, προκυβερνᾶν ἐπὶ τοῦ πρωράτου. καλοῦνται δέ τινες καὶ ναυτιλίαι βραχεῖαι καὶ ναυτιλίαι μακραί.

Pollux's fellow-citizen Athenaeus, in his *Deipnosophistae*, shows a similar rage for collecting Attic vocabulary in different fields: in the seventh book of this massive work, readers will find the names for hundreds of varieties of edible fish, complete with exhaustive comments on the qualities of each and references to where in classical literature information about them can be found. Alciphron's letters, by their ostentatious use of specialized vocabulary, will remind their readers of such textbooks, thus emphasizing the artificial and rhetorical nature of the fictional writers.

Let us sum up what we have observed in Alciphron's letters. We have seen that Alciphron makes no attempt at concealing the incoherent level of education betrayed by his seemingly naïve farmers and fishermen. Instead of glossing over the implausibility of the epistolary situations, he draws our attention to this feature of his letters and makes us aware of their fictional nature. The same method can be seen at work when the author alerts his readers to the strange nature of the professional pseudonyms that writers and addressees carry, or when the astonishing degree of self-consciousness of these Attic farmers and fishermen is put in evidence. Readers cannot fail to realize that these are not your run-of-the-mill farmers, but special creatures right out of a sophist's dreams. Finally, his self-conscious manipulation of the Atticist language should be read as a tongue-in-cheek metacommentary about his own mode of writing: by making the bookish, sophistic nature of his fishermen, farmers, and parasites so obvious, Alciphron invites us to reflect on the nature of the sophistic text in general that is always in danger of being entrapped in its own world of παιδεία and linguistic artistry. In all these aspects, Alciphron makes clever use of the double vision that Rosenmeyer has shown to be paramount in fictional letters: as it were, the author is constantly standing next to his fictional characters and winking at his readers, thus preventing them from forgetting that there is an unbridgeable gap between the fictional addressee and the real audience of the letters. Hence, Alciphron can be seen to destabilize the imaginary setting of the epistolary situation, thus making us aware that all these fishermen and farmers are just roles that a clever sophist is playing.

Alciphron's letters, then, should be read as reflections on the sophistic text in general since they force their readers to realize what is at the core of sophistic performances. Every declamation required that the sophist himself should try to vanish behind the subject of his μελέτη: he had to seek words that were "suitable" (οἰκείους) not to himself, but to the fictional character that he was adopting. At the same time, as recent research into the field of the Second Sophistic has made abundantly clear, sophistic was certainly not a form of escapism, but served precise purposes in the real political and social circumstances of the imperial Greek world. Paradoxically, a sophist was most successful when he was most invisible; at the same time, his success would make him conspicuous and let him reap very tangible rewards from his efforts.[41] Alciphron's letters can be read as a playful, yet sophisticated reenactment of this situation: their author is consciously exaggerating the techniques of self-effacement that were typical for sophistic declamations, thus presenting a mirror-image of their production.

We can only speculate as to what made Alciphron adopt such a stance. It may be significant that, like Lucian (whom he probably imitated), he is not mentioned in Philostratus' account of the great sophistic superstars and that we have no epigraphical evidence about him. One could suspect that both were in a similar situation: they were certainly competent Atticists and knew all the ropes of the trade, but they were somehow on the fringe of the sophistic movement. It may have been precisely this position on the marges that provided them the distance necessary for reflecting on the culture they were living in instead of blindly adopting its values. Lucian's satirical pieces such as his *Lexiphanes* or his *Pseudologista* make fun of the sophistic business while employing its very own textual devices; Alciphron's letters, by laying bare the sophistic techniques, destabilize and parody the sophistic text.

Alciphron, then, does not allow his readers to sit back and enjoy the show because we are never quite sure what part of this show we are supposed to watch: the puppets representing farmers and fishermen, or the man who is manipulating their strings and winking at us?[42] Of course, I am aware that my reading of the letters is not the only possible one. Even in Alciphron's time, most readers probably were just content with these stories of happiness and distress and enjoyed classical allusions as something that would appeal to their παιδεία, allowing them a nice sense of superiority over these naïve creatures. Yet the technique of "figured discourse" (λόγος ἐσχηματισμένος) was highly prominent in

41 See Schmitz, 1997, esp. 160-231.

42 Cf. Rosenmeyer, 2001, 307: "Unlike drama or dialogue, epistolary fiction does not want its reading public to lose itself in the literary illusion to the point of losing sight of its medium."

the Second Sophistic, and it could be argued that sophistic texts are always structured as challenges to the audience's abilities to grasp several layers of meaning.[43] We should not be surprised that the same holds true for Alciphron's parody of a sophistic text.

Last, but not least, a chapter in Alciphron's very modest *Nachleben* could be understood as bolstering my reading of the *Letters*. A corpus of fifty fictitious love-letters has been transmitted under the name of "Aristaenetus"[44]; these letters were most probably written in the late fifth century CE. The anonymous late antique author has two characters named "Alciphron" and "Lucian" exchange letters. It may be significant that "Aristaenetus" uses precisely these two names: he seems to have seen the common ground between these two authors, and his tongue-in-cheek device of using them as fictitious letter-writers demonstrates that he seems to have appreciated Alciphron's little game.

43 See Whitmarsh, 2001, 33.

44 The name is probably taken from the first letter in the collection, written by Ἀρισταίνετος Φιλόκαλος; see Arnott, 1982.

Horror and amazement: Colossal mythological statue groups and the new rhetoric of images in late second and early third century Rome

RALF VON DEN HOFF

Cultural phenomena of the second and early third century CE, which are conventionally placed in the category of 'Second Sophistic', have been studied both in terms of their socio-political implications, and as a discourse of identity construction, especially among the elites of the Greek east.[1] In this context, only some aspects of the visual arts have been analyzed as signs of a 'Greek Renaissance.'[2] In a broader sense and as far as the city of Rome was concerned, the nexus of visual culture and the Second Sophistic was only of minor interest.[3] Thus, it is still a *desideratum* to describe this relationship beyond references to *paideia* in the restricted sense of knowledge of Classical Greek culture and to concepts like 'Greek influences' or classicism, which were elements of Roman culture long before the second century CE.[4] It is clear that the Second Sophistic is also defined by new interests in elaborated form, rhetorical performances and entertainment. Hence, it is fruitful to compare visual and textual phenomena in terms of their modes of depiction and means of addressing the audience – that

1 See in particular: Bowersock, 1969; Bowie 1970; Anderson, 1993; Woolf, 1994; Swain, 1996; Schmitz, 1997; Bowie, 2000; Goldhill, 2001; Stephan, 2002, 199-222.

2 Walker, 1989; see also von Mosch, 1999 (for the relevance of coins); Galli, 2001 (for sanctuaries and images of *pepaideumenoi*); Baumer, 2001, 90-93 (for a new interest in classical votive reliefs); cf. now also Galli, 2002, and various contributions in this volume.

3 Although Rome has been called a „centre for sophists" (Bowersock, 1969, 29; cf. Fantham, 1998, 217-225; Grüner, in print) and although the relations to sophistic circles in the east were intensive, cf. Bowersock, 1969, 43-58; 76-88; Steinmetz, 1982, 110-113; Anderson, 1990, 98-99; Anderson, 1993, 31-35; for sophists and philosophers in Rome cf. Hahn, 1989, 46-53; 148-155; for Herodes Atticus in Italy see now Galli, 2002. – For phenomena of Roman art – especially in sarcophagi and portraiture – in relation to the Second Sophistic see, for instance: Müller, 1994, 139-150; Zanker, 1995, 198-268; Elsner, 1998, 5; 170-185; Smith, 1998; Fittschen, 1999, 78-107; Ewald, 1999a, 14-16; Danguillier, 2001, 215-218; Fischer-Bossert, 2001, 149-152; Borg – Witschel, 2001, 112-113; Zanker – Ewald, 2004, 29; 36-39; 260; cf. Schmitz, 1997, 16; Bowie, 2000, 903. – A critical comparison of Rome and Greece in terms of 'sophistic' phenomena: Bowie, 2000, 917-921; see now Grüner, in print.

4 See esp. Zanker, 1974; Zanker, 1979; for references to *paideia* in the arts see n. 3 above.

is: in terms of their rhetoric. This is the aim of my paper. Since a systematic investigation of the rhetoric of Roman art in the second and early third centuries goes beyond the scope of a single article, I shall focus upon a single previously ignored phenomenon of the Roman imagery of this period: the increasing number of colossal mythological statue groups in Rome. 'Mythological statue group' refers to a set of statues produced together and depicting figures acting with reference to one another, thus narrating a section of a myth – in contrast to action-less single statues or paratactic groups. The category 'colossal' refers to figure-sizes that go beyond what could still be taken as life-size from the usual viewing distance of a few meters; that is, beyond a height of 2.5 m per group approximately.[5] How do colossal mythological groups testify to a specific rhetoric of images? Can they be analyzed in relation to the contemporary debates and techniques of presentation which were important in the Second Sophistic?

Life-sized mythological statue groups had been familiar in Rome since the Hellenistic period, and remained on public display in sanctuaries and porticoes throughout the imperial period.[6] In imperial times, they also featured in state monuments, *thermae* and *horti*.[7] In contrast to this, the number of mythological groups in private, non-imperial Italian villas in the early imperial period is small.[8]

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5 This is slightly different from the ancient category 'colossal', which means multiple life-size (Fittschen, 1994, 612-613; cf. Cancik, 1990; Kyrieleis, 1996, 91-96), but fits real criteria of perception better.

6 See in particular the Greek originals: Achilles-Chiron and Pan-Olympos*:* Plin. *NH* 36.29; 36.37; Mart. 2.15.5-6; cf. *LIMC* 1, 1981, 48 s.v. Achilleus no. 50 (Kossatz-Deissmann, A.); Leibundgut, 1999, 373-374. – Pan-Olympos *luctantes*: Plin. *NH* 36.35. – Achilles receiving weapons from Thetis: Plin. *NH* 36.26; *LIMC* 1*,* 126 s.v. Achilleus no. 535 (Kossatz-Deissmann, A.). – Niobe and her children: Plin. *NH* 35.28. – Cf. also Pape, 1975; Vermeule, 1977, 45-64; Ridgway, 1985, 109-111. – Cf. Vorster, 2003.

7 For example: 1) Imperial monuments*: LIMC* 2, 1984, 860-861 s.v. Askanios A/B no. 1-8 (Paribeni, E.); de la Barrera – Trillmich, 1996 (Aeneas, Anchises and Askanius, Forum Augustum). – 2) Horti: Cima – La Rocca, 1998; Talamo, 1998, 113-169; Moltesen, 1998, 180-188 (Artemis-Iphigeneia; Niobe and her children; Leda-swan); Geominy, 1984, 30 (Niobe and her children); Vorster, 1993, 21 no. 3 (Marsyas); *LIMC* 6, 1992, 919 s.v. Niobidai no. 23 b2 (Niobe and her children) (Geominy, W.); cf. also Cima – La Rocca, 1986; Häuber, 1991; Andreae, 1993, 130; Graepler, 2002; Hartswick, 2004. – 3) Thermae: cf. Manderscheid, 1981, 73 no. 44-45; no groups and almost no testimonia from Rome itself; for the provinces see below n. 56. – See also the collections of art like Asinius Pollios' *monumenta* with the original of the 'Farnese Bull': Plin. *NH* 36.33-34; Pape, 1975, 177-179; La Rocca, 1998, 236-247; Kunze, 1998, 39-42; 92-93; Stähli, 1998.

8 Only one example in Neudecker, 1988, 44; 162 no. 21, 5 (Actaion, Lanuvio); one could add the small terracotta groups from Tivoli (Andreae*,* 1996, 200-207; 239 n. 4, 3) and Tortoreto (Andreae, 1996, 210-219; 244 no. 4, 5); I leave out dionysaic groups, which imply no distinct mythological narrative, cf. Neudecker, 1988, 47-54; 241-242; Stähli, 1999, 15-41, with further examples. – Later examples see below n. 18. – In villas, paintings or reliefs were used instead of statues to present narratives: Neudecker, 1988, 44.

However, it is interesting that, in the first century CE, these statue groups often appeared in very rich or even imperial *villae* or palaces.[9] Sometimes, as in Sperlonga, they were artificially embedded in the landscape, or grouped in cycles representing events from epic, thus expanding their narrative potential. Some of these groups reached colossal size. In the late Republic, the existence of over life-sized groups in rich Italian *villae* is shown by extant marble figures of Greek heroes in action, around 2.10 m high. As part of the Antikythera shipwreck they were destined for rich customers in Italy.[10] Collectively, these figures show that life-sized mythological statue groups were common in Rome's public sphere from the late Republic on, but remained rare in the private realm through the early imperial period. The display of elaborate, colossal examples was a peculiar feature of rich and/or imperial villas in Italy through the first century CE. These statues exceeded what was known in the public sphere.[11]

On the other hand, colossal single statues were nothing astonishing in the *urbs*: In keeping with Greek traditions, cult statues of gods and heroes were often of this size.[12] Likewise, portrait statues of the emperor could reach colossal proportions,[13] as could idealized statues in the realm of the emperor.[14] Hence in Rome, during the first century CE, colossal statue size was a privilege of images of gods and emperors, and of statues in the emperor's realm. Their colossality created an impression of power and divinity, surpassing the human sphere.[15]

The second century saw change in this system. Mythological statue groups were still common in imperial villas.[16] Even during the following decades, they

9 Rome, Palace of Titus (Laokoon): Plin. *NH* 36.37; Himmelmann, 1991; La Rocca, 1998, 220-228; Andreae, 2001, 188-194 pl. 182-183; Stewart, 2003, 494-513. – Subiaco (Niobids): Neudecker, 1988, 224 no. 63, 1-3. – Castelgandolfo: Neudecker, 1988, 44-45; 139-144 no. 9; Andreae, 1996, 332-341; 371; Gregarek, 1999, 253-254 no. E55. – Baiae: Andreae, 1996, 316-331; 366-369; Andreae, 1999, 225-241. – Sperlonga: Neudecker, 1988, 44-46; 220-223 no. 62; Himmelmann, 1995; Kunze, 1996; Andreae, 1996, 270-315; 346-364; Andreae, 1999, 177-222; Ridgway, 2000; Andreae, 2001, 121-131 pl. 98-102; 147-151 pl. 122-125.

10 Bol, 1972, 78-83 no. 28-31 pl. 44-50, 3; Himmelmann, 1995, 17; 35; 42 with n. 71 pl. 36-37.

11 Cf. Himmelmann, 1995, 17; 36-38, who rightly denies that colossal size was an imperial privilege.

12 Jucker, 1950, 44-48; Martin, 1987.

13 Nero: Bergmann, 1993; 1998. – Domitian: Stat. *Silv.* 1.1; Stemmer, 1971, 563-580. – Kreikenbom, 1992, with review: Fittschen, 1994.

14 Cf. the *colossi* from the Palatine: Belli Pasqua, 1995, 89-90 no. 37 pl. 42-44; 98-99 no. 55 pl. 57-60; Gregarek, 1999, 85; 210 no. D1 fig. 60; 98; 247 no. E20 fig. 88.

15 Cancik, 1990. – Colossal size had been a sign of heroic status since the Archaic period: Kyrieleis, 1996; cf. Philostr. *Her.* 7.9.

16 Villa Hadriana, Tivoli: Raeder, 1983, 31 no. I 2; 40 no. I 12; 43-44 no. I 18; 96 no. I 99; 102-103 no. I 118; 106 no. I 124; 143 no. III 3; 169 no. III 79; 170 no. III 85; Kunze, 1988, 220-221 (Niobids); Vorster, 1993, 77-81 no. 29 (Niobids); Andreae, 1996, 342-345; 372-375 (Scylla); Gregarek, 1999, 252 no. E51 (Niobids); *LIMC* 6, 1992, 919-920 s.v. Niobidai no. 23

did not vanish, as has been claimed.[17] Instead, they appeared more often in non-imperial *villae,* both in Italy and in the provinces.[18] These groups are rarely more than slightly over life-sized; but in the second century, colossal groups appear also for the first time in the public areas of Rome. The two marble Dioscuroi taming their horses which today dominate the Quirinal hill in Rome, reach 5.60 m of height.[19] Stylistically they have recently been dated to the end of the second century CE. Hercules wrestling Antaios (fig. 2) is a colossal mythological group (around 2.90 m high) from around 200 CE. It came from Rome to the Palazzo Pitti in Florence.[20] Although we do not know the provenance of the second century colossal fragments of a satyr and a maenad in Venice, they provide additional evidence for the now increasing number of such groups.[21] Other colossal statue groups come from a single archaeological context: the Baths of Caracalla (211/2–217 CE).[22] The 'Farnese Bull' (fig. 4) is the most spectacular.[23] Measuring

a3, b4, c4, e1 pl. 615, e2, k5, n pl. 616 (Geominy, W.); cf. also the imperial villa in Anzio (Neudecker, 1988, 133 no. 2.16; 2.17; Gregarek, 1999, 254 no. E57); cf. for sculptural display in Hadrian's villa now: Newby, 2002b.

17 Andreae, 1993, 123; 130: „Auslaufen dieser Kunstgattung unter Hadrian."

18 Examples: 1) Italy: Neudecker, 1988, 134 no. 3. 1; 3. 6; 169 no. 25. 6; 25. 10; 213 no. 54, 6; 187 no. 37, 19 (Triopion of Herodes Atticus; cf. Galli, 2002, 110-143); 215 no. 56, 1; 212 no. 53.2; 53.3 (possibly imperial; cf. Moreno, 1995, 366-369 no. 6.11.3; 6.11.4); 182 no. 35, 16. – 2) Provinces: Luku: Spyropoulos, 2001, 131-132 no. 1 pl. 5-8; for other finds from this *villa* and from other *villae* of Herodes Atticus cf. Tobin, 1997, passim, esp. 333-354; Galli, 2002, passim. – Valdetorres: Gregarek, 1999, 169 no. A1, A2; 253 no. E 52; 244-245 no. E10; De Nuccio – Ungaro, 2002, 305-307 no. 6-7. – Cf. also: Neudecker, 1988, 43-44 with n. 424 (group of Adonis and Aphrodite from Montmaurin/Gaul), Apul. *Met.* 2.4.10 (imagined group of Diana and Actaion in a Roman house in Greece).

19 Lorenz, 1979, 46-47; Geppert, 1996a, 64-68; 156 no. P 32; Geppert, 1996b, 133-147 pl. 78-92 (with convincing date). – Cf. the Capitoline Dioscuroi (Lorenz, 1979; Geppert, 1996a, 41-44; 155-156 no. P 31; Geppert, 1996b, 121-133 pl. 67-77).

20 Möbius, 1970, 39-47 pl. 34-37; *LIMC* 1, 1981, 808 s.v. Antaios I. no. 60 pl. 656 (Olmos, R. – Balmaseda, L.J.).

21 Venice, Museo Archeologico inv. 39; 63: Traversari, 1986, 70-77 no. 22-23; Geominy, 1999, 142 with n. 18; R.M. Schneider has discussed them in his unpublished 'Habilitationsschrift' (Heidelberg). – Cf. also the colossal Roman Marsyas (?, from a group?) in the Villa Borghese: Arndt, 1893-1939, no. 2712; Helbig[4] II no. 1944, with a replica in Antalya from Perge (unpublished: I owe these references to Adrian Stähli and Sascha Kansteiner).

22 DeLaine, 1997; Piranomonte, 1998; 1999. – Sculptural finds: Vermeule, 1977, 58-63; 109-113; Manderscheid, 1981, 73-76; Marvin, 1983; Gasparri, 1983-1984; Jenewein, 1985; 1986; 1996; Di Mino, 1991; DeLaine, 1997, 265-267. – A marble gigantomachy adds to the mythological groups (below n. 23, 26, 27): Jenewein, 1985, 18-22 no. 2-3 fig. 3-6. – I plan to discuss the sculptures from the Baths of Caracalla in detail elsewhere.

23 Naples, Museo Nazionale inv. 6002: Vermeule, 1977, 109 no. 2; Manderscheid, 1981, 75 no. 63 pl. 18; Marvin, 1983, 367-368 fig. 20; Kunze, 1988, 222-224; Pozzi, 1991; Himmelmann, 1995, 33 with n. 59; DeLaine, 1997, 266 no. 14; La Rocca, 1998, 239-274; Kunze, 1998 (with bibliography); Andreae, 2001, 160-163 pl. 135-137; Kunze, 2002, 58-60; Stewart, 2003, 510-513.

3.70 m in height, it shows the dramatic punishment of Dirke: Amphion and Zethos are tying her to a bull, which will drag her to death, because she had planned to murder the brothers' mother, Antiope. The 'massif in marble' is carved – sensationally – out of a single piece of marble, something only the emperor could afford. The group is most probably a Roman copy produced for the baths.[24] While the 'Farnese Bull' stood in the eastern *palaestra*,[25] the corresponding position in the baths' western *palaestra* was filled by another colossal group. Evidence for its existence can be derived from an anecdote about fragments of a big marble ship and 'island' found in this area. Scylla and Odysseus' ship or the ship of the Argonauts are possible explanations.[26] In 1901, a colossal left hand clasping a child's left foot was found beneath the floor of the central hall (*frigidarium*). It belongs to the almost 2.90 m high marble statue of a warrior holding a child by the foot, slung over his back (fig. 5-6). This statue, now in Naples, has been known since the 16th century, when its head, arms and legs were restored.[27] The left hand confirms the statue's provenance and makes minor changes to the old reconstruction necessary (ill. 1). The group's late second or early third century date is undisputed. The warrior depicted possibly held a sword in his right hand. On the child's right side, blood oozes from a wound (fig. 6). Miranda Marvin recognized Achilles and the dead Troilos, because Astyanax, who is often depicted in the same manner in classical art, was not dead when Neoptolemos threw him from the walls of Troy.[28] But for an ancient viewer, looking at the main figure's front (ill.1; fig. 5), neither the wound nor the closed eyes of the boy could be recognized. Not until he walked around the statue, would the impious nature of the scene become clear (fig. 6):[29] The corpse of a small boy, already dead, is being dishonored. Presenting *furor* as an intense visual experience, and evoking the viewer's activity by making him walk around in order to understand

24 Marvin, 1983, 380-381; Kunze, 1998, 36-38, *contra* Andreae, 1993; La Rocca, 1998 (with bibl.).

25 Its exact location in the *palaestra* is disputed: Marvin, 1983, 367-368; Zanker, 1991, 43-44; Kunze, 1998, 5-6 pl. 4 b.

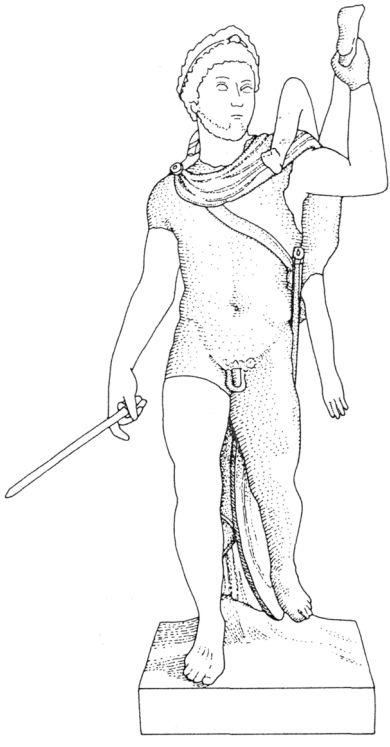
26 Vermeule, 1977, 109 no. 4A; Marvin, 1983, 368; Zanker 1991, 46; Kunze, 1998, 5-6.

27 Naples, Museo Nazionale inv. 5999: Welcker, 1849, 371-374; Rossbach, 1895, 240-243 pl. 4; Savignioni, 1901, 252-253 no. 3 fig. 3 (left[!] hand with foot); Arndt, 1893-1939, no. 2941-2942; Künzl, 1968, 94-97 fig. 12; Künzl, 1969, 390 fig. 37; Vermeule, 1977, 109 no. 4; Manderscheid, 1981, 75-76 no. 64 pl. 18; Marvin, 1983, 358-363 ill. 5-6; fig. 8-11; Di Mino, 1991, 18 fig. 7-8; Gallottini, 1995, 56-58 no. 25; DeLaine, 1997, 266 no. 4; Kunze, 1998, 38 n. 173; *LIMC* 4, 1988, 489 s.v. Hektor no. 52 (Touchefeu, O.).

28 Neoptolemos hurling Astyanax*: LIMC* 1, 1984, 931-933 s.v. Astyanax I (Touchefeu, O.). – Achilles hurling Troilos: *LIMC* 1, 1981, 87-88 s.v. Achilles, especially Achilles no. 359 pl. 93; no. 367 pl. 94 (Kossatz-Deissmann, A.). – Cf. von den Hoff, in print.

29 Cf. Künzl, 1968, 96-97.

the image, were the aims of this group. Previously, such a scene had not been depicted in sculpture, to say nothing of its colossal size and public display.



Ill. 1: Achilles hurling Troilos (?). Marble, early third century CE. Naples, Museo Nazionale 5999. Reconstruction drawing: Marvin, 1983, 360 ill. 5.

Two unpublished marble fragments of colossal proportions provide further evidence for the growing number of colossal mythological statue groups in the late second/early third century. Originally from Rome, they are now in the collection of Schloss Fasanerie in Eichenzell near Fulda.[30] The larger fragment is the body of a dead boy, whose lifeless arms and legs are hanging down (fig. 8-9). A left

30 Eichenzell, Schloss Fasanerie AMa 41 (left hand, measuring 0.27 m between thumb and little finger, with boy) and AMa 42 (right hand, preserved length 0.40 m), bought by Prince Philipp von Hessen in Rome in the early twentieth century. The deep drill-holes in the boy's hair are typical features of late second and early third century workmanship, cf. Fittschen – Zanker, 1985, no. 80 pl. 98; no. 82 pl. 101. The publication of these fragments in a catalogue of ancient sculpture in Schloss Fasanerie is in preparation.

hand, more than double life-size, is holding the limp corpse. Along with this fragment, a right hand of the same marble and size was acquired. A dowel hole in its palm is evidence that an attribute was originally attached. The only exact iconographical *comparandum* for the larger fragment is a Faliscan bell-krater of the fourth century BCE showing Medea fleeing in a chariot with both her murdered children in her hands (fig. 10)[31] – Detailed arguments for the reconstruction have to be postponed until its final publication. But considering the vase-image and other depictions of Medea, like those on Roman sarcophagi of the late second century CE (fig. 11)[32], it appears that the Fasanerie fragments belonged to a group of around 3 m in height depicting Medea, who stood free with one of her murdered sons in her left hand and a sword in her right. The other boy was either lying dead on the ground, or standing beside his mother, about to be killed. Hence, Medea, in the middle of her *furor* and before she finally abducts the corpses, was staged here.

Medea was a common subject of Roman mythological imagery. In wall paintings from Pompeian houses, the moment before the children's murder was illustrated, adopting the theme of a famous painting by Timomachos in the Forum of Caesar.[33] Epigrams indicate that Medea's hesitation between vengeance on Jason and parental affection was the most admired feature of this painting: suspense in a moment of indecision. Later, in the second half of the second century, on the Roman sarcophagi mentioned above, we see Kreusa, Jason's new wife, and Kreon, her father, both dying as a result of Medea's poisoned gift. In

31 Red-figured Faliscan bell-krater, St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Б 2083: *LIMC* 6, 1992, 392 s.v. Medeia no. 39 pl. 199 (with further bibl.) (Schmidt, M.); cf. the south-Italian statuette fragment in Bonn: *LIMC* 6, 1992, 392 s.v. Medeia no. 40 pl. 199 (Schmidt, M.). – The identification of other infanticide scenes is difficult because of completely differing iconographies, such as Niobe (*LIMC* 6, 1992, 910 s.v. Niobe no. 3-9 pl. 609-610 (Schmidt, M.); *LIMC* 6, 1992, 914-929 s.v. Niobidai (Geominy, W.), Opheltes (*LIMC* 2, 1984, 473 s.v. Archemoros no. 9 pl. 357 (Pülhorn, W.)), madness of Heracles (*LIMC* 4, 1988, 835-836 s.v. Heracles no. 1684-1689 (Boardman, J.)), madness of Lycourgos (*LIMC* 6, 1992, 311-313 s.v. Lykourgos I no. 12-30 pl. 158-160 (Farnoux, A.)), Achilles with Troilos and Neoptolemos with Astynanax (above n. 28) or Athamas and Lykophron (*LIMC* 2, 1984, 951 s.v. Athamas no. 5-7 [Schwanzar, C.]). – On an Apulian vase fragment we find an almost comparable motive, but it is too fragmented to identify the myth: Cambitoglou – Chamay, 1997, 296-297 no. 130 (Opheltes?, certainly not Medea).

32 *LIMC* 6, 1992, 393 s.v. Medeia no. 50-60 pl. 200-201 (Schmidt, M.); Gaggadis-Robin, 1994; Zanker – Ewald, 2004, 82-84; 336-341.

33 Wall-paintings and Timomachos: Plin. *NH* 35.136; *AP* 16.136; Simon, 1954, 216-221; Gaggadis-Robin, 1994, 171-172; *LIMC* 6, 1992, 388-389 s.v. Medeai no. 7-14 (Schmidt, M.). – Cf. other epigrams on images of Medea: *AP* 9.593; 16.135-143; *Anthol. Lat.* 102 (91 ed. Shackleton Bailey); cf. Schneider, 1998; a painting of Medea is imagined in Lucianus *Dom.* 31. – Cf. Medea in ancient literature: Arcellaschi, 1990; 1996; Clauss, 1997; Corti, 1998; Gentili – Perusino, 2000.

addition, Medea is shown before her children's murder, and while fleeing with her dead children (fig. 11). Here, in a funerary context, she is bringing multiple and sudden death. The moments before and after her *furor* and its consequences are focused upon.[34] On the other hand, we know of only two Roman images depicting Medea actually carrying out the murder: an early imperial ringstone, and a high imperial relief from a grave monument in Gorsium/Moesia.[35] It appears that this brutal scene was avoided in Roman sculpture. Thus, like the Achilles-group, the Fasanerie-group represented something completely new. Medea in the midst of her *furor* must have challenged the viewer, who had to come to terms with this situation of horror, rather than with the problem of her indecision as depicted in earlier images.[36]

Both the dimensions of the Fasanerie Medea and its provenance from the city make it highly plausible that a public place or building such as the *thermae* was its original location.[37] Considering the above mentioned groups of this period, the question arises concerning what the reasons were for setting up statues of this size and of such horrific scenes in the public sphere. To begin with the colossal scale, as we have argued above, colossal mythological groups had previously been the privilege of luxurious and often imperial *villae*. *Colossi* had an aura of power and divinity. Thus, to present such groups in public meant to bring hitherto exclusive *luxuria* to the *plebs* and, compared with life-size statues, to enhance the awe everyone would feel regarding these sculptures. The fact that Rome's *thermae* were imperial donations meant that it was the emperor himself who provided these objects. Thus, the Baths of Caracalla became a highly expensive imperial palace for the public.[38] By the same token, architecture and sculp-

34 Fittschen, 1992; above n. 32.

35 Ringstone, London Bitish Museum 1385*: LIMC* 6, 1992, 391 s.v. Medeia no. 32 pl. 198 (Schmidt, M.). – Relief, Gorsium: *LIMC* 6, 1992, 392 s.v. Medeia no. 33 pl. 198 (Schmidt, M.). – The murder appears much more often in the art of the fourth century BCE. (*LIMC* 6, 1992, 391-392 s.v. Medeia (Schmidt, M.), possibly due to the funerary use of these images.

36 It is revealing that Medea's *furor* is explicitly highlighted by the presence of Oistros, the personification of *furor*, in a third century (?) mosaic from Torre del Palma: Muth, 1998, 260; 446-448 pl. 39; *LIMC* 7, 1994, 29 s.v. Oistros no. 3 (Müller-Huber, B.) = *LIMC* 6, 1992, 391, s.v. Medeia no. 33 a (Schmidt, M.).

37 A statue of Medea is recorded in the *thermae* of Antioch at the Orontes: Manderscheid, 1981, 100 no. 262, but we do not know what exactly was depicted. Infanticide (Athamas-Learchos) was possibly also represented in *thermae* at Ephesos: Manderscheid, 1981, 87 no. 166.

38 Zanker, 1991, 46; Andreae, 1993, 130; DeLaine, 1997, 79-80. – Their location was near the *horti Asiniani*, thus relating public baths with the luxury of such *horti*, cf. La Rocca, 1998, 205-207 (for *horti* as evidence for the spread of luxury to the city); 236-239, and below n. 48.

ture maintained the emperor's power, by providing spectacular visual experiences and luxurious leisure objects, thus adding to his prestige.[39]

Further, in Caracalla's baths colossality was a leitmotif. These were the largest *thermae* (and almost the largest piece of public architecture) in Rome.[40] In addition to the Achilles group, more colossal statues dominated their largest central room, the *frigidarium*: the 'Hercules Farnese' (fig. 1) and the 'Hercules Caserta' (ht. 3.17 m), another crowned Hercules, a gilded colossal Aesculapius and an unidentified male figure.[41] The exact findspots of the other colossal sculptures are unclear.[42] Hence, the Baths of Caracalla were not only the *thermae* of Rome with the greatest number of statues on display (there were around 110 niches for statues), but also those containing the largest statues, with the spectacular *frigidarium* as the 'centre of *colossi*'. Indeed, this connected them with the imperial palace on the Palatine.[43] Games with colossal size also played a role in other features of the baths' sculptural design. The four central columns of the *frigidarium* were crowned with elaborate figure-capitals (ht. 1.10-1.20 m). One of them replicated the figure of the 'Farnese Hercules' in relief (ht. ca. 0.80 m; fig. 3).[44] What one saw as a colossal statue on the ground emerged as part of a capital high above (and thus appeared small). It seems that confusing the eye and ex-

39 DeLaine, 1997, 83-84; 207-224; cf. Marvin, 1983, 380-381. – During the second century CE, colossal single statues also appear in *thermae* outside of Rome, for instance: Gregarek, 1999, 232 no. D134 (Perge).

40 DeLaine, 1997, 46 n. 2; 60-61; 242.

41 'Hercules Farnese', Naples, Museo Nazionale 6001: Vermeule, 1977, 109 no. 1; Manderscheid, 1981, 74 no. 51 pl. 17; Marvin, 1983, 355-357 fig. 1-2; Krull, 1985, 10-22 no. 1 pl. 1-4; Di Mino, 1991, 11 fig. 3; DeLaine, 1997, 80 fig. 47; 266 no. 1. – 'Hercules Caserta', Caserta, Palazzo Reale: Vermeule, 1977, 113 no. 23; Manderscheid, 1981, 74 no. 52; Marvin, 1983, 357 fig. 3; Krull, 1985, 191-197 no. 92 pl. 9; DeLaine, 1997, 266 no. 2. – Head of Aesculapius (gilded), Rome, Museo Nazionale 11614: Vermeule, 1977, 110-111 no. 11; Manderscheid, 1981, 73 no. 46 pl. 16; Di Mino, 1991, 82-83 no. 12; DeLaine, 1997, 266 no. 5; Marvin, 1983, 363-364 fig. 12 postulates a colossal statue of Hygieia as pendant. – Head of a male youth, Rome, Museo Nazionale 11615: Vermeule, 1977, 110 no. 10; Manderscheid, 1981, 75 no. 60 pl. 18; Marvin, 1983, 364-365 fig. 14-15; Di Mino, 1991, 80-81 no. 11; DeLaine, 1997, 266 no. 6. – Crowned Hercules, lost: Gasparri, 1983-1984, 139 n. 55; DeLaine, 1997, 27.

42 Nude male figure, Naples, Museo Nazionale 6000: Marvin, 1983, 372 pl. 53 fig. 26-27; DeLaine, 1997, 267 no. 18. – Athena, Naples, Museo Nazionale 6319: Vermeule, 1977, 110 no. 4C; Marvin, 1983, 372 pl. 53 fig. 25; DeLaine, 1997, 266 no. 17. – Hand with cup, lost: Marvin, 1983, 366; DeLaine, 1997, 267 no. 21. – Jenewein, 1985, has identified fragments of further colossal statues.

43 Cf. above n. 14.

44 Von Mercklin, 1962, 158-160 no. 385 a-d Abb. 751-758; DeLaine, 1997, 71 fig. 43; Piranomonte, 1998, 7 fig. 5; 10 fig. 9. – Capital with Hercules: von Mercklin, 1962, 158-159 no. 385 a Abb. 751-753; Krull, 1985, 190 no. 91; DeLaine, 1997, 81 fig. 48; Piranomonte, 1998, 38 fig. 42.

ploring visual experiences was a main purpose of the baths' design.[45] By the same token, the viewer would be invited to admire the achievements of the sculptors. The colossal 'Hercules Farnese' in the *frigidarium* (fig. 1) has the name of Glykon inscribed, the Athenian sculptor of the marble copy. Further motivation to investigate this statue as an aesthetic object was provided by the fact that another very similar, though not identical statue, the 'Hercules Caserta', stood in the pendant intercolumniation. Would a viewer have looked for differences? [46] In addition, gilded statues appeared beside marble and/or colored ones. The 'Farnese Bull' in the *palaestra* further contributed to such effects (fig. 4).[47] First, it was a copy of a model, which had itself been on display in Rome since the first century BCE – an invitation to compare original and copy, both of which were carved sensationally from a single piece of stone.[48] Second, standing in front of this 'massif in marble', one would not only appreciate the colossal statues, but also the small relief figures and plants on the group's marble base, which were additions made by the imperial sculptor.[49] The diminutive size of these figures, the normal human size of the viewer, and the bigger scale of the mythological figures above asked to be set in relation.[50] One of the small figures is a young shepherd, seated (fig. 7).[51] Amazed by what he is seeing above, he has raised his head, with his mouth open. His dog is jumping up nervously.[52] It is the colossal size of the statues and the liveliness of the main scene which is explicitly commented here. The real viewer's amazement is anticipated by (as well as being

45 The portrait-statue of a physically deformed dwarf (restored ht. around 1.00 m) in Rome, Villa Albani 964 (Bol, 1989, pl. 126-129; Stemmer, 1988, 43 no. D10 [S. Potthoff]), was also found in Caracalla's baths (I owe this reference to A. Grüner). Such an unconventional, small statue of a hunchback (an imperial entertainer?, certainly not Aesopos, as originally supposed) obviously added to the game of size- (and body-) comparison in an almost macabre manner as an additional demonstration of imperial luxury provision, cf. *Hist.Aug. Alex. Sev.* 34.2-4; Garland, 1995, 48-58. I plan to discuss this figure and its context elsewhere (see above n. 22).

46 Marvin, 1983, 356-357; cf. for pendants in sculpture: Bartman, 1988.

47 Two letters inscribed on the Dirke group seem to be modern rather than an abbreviated artist's signature: Kunze, 1998, 24.

48 Cf. Kunze, 1998, 42. – Plin. *NH* 36.33-34 for the model of the group in Asinius Pollio's *monumenta*. If the statues of this collection from the late second century stood in the *horti Asiniani*, owned by Pollio's family, which were close to Caracalla's baths (cf. Haselberger, 2002, 142; La Rocca, 1998, 236-274, but based on a first century BCE date of the preserved group), then original and copy were, indeed, set up near one another. This would also define the baths as successors of the *horti*.

49 La Rocca, 1998, 240 fig. 46-49; Kunze, 1998, 60-69 esp. 64-68 (partly *contra* Andreae, 1993, 119-120).

50 For figures of different sizes in one sculpture cf. Kunze, 1998, 67.

51 La Rocca, 1998, 240 fig. 42-45; Kunze, 1998, pl. 15 c.

52 Partly restored; cf. Apul. *Met.* 2.4 about the "barking" dogs of a statue of Diana. – For the dog as part of the Dirke group's composition: Andreae, 1993, 119.

represented in) the smaller marble viewers on the base. The 'internal viewer' draws the real viewer into the scene, which would otherwise be distanced by its colossal size.[53] The statue group aimed at being appreciated as a kind of a game, with multiple and intense visual experiences.[54]

In approaching the narrative contents of the colossal groups, one must bear in mind that, ever since the early imperial period, the sculptural design of Roman baths reminded visitors of the *opera nobilia* of Greek art, and of the *thermae* as places of physical training, health and happy life, evoking ideals of *paideia*, *virtus* or luxury.[55] Mythological statue groups could well be erected in baths, though, as far as we know, not those of colossal proportions.[56] Thus, sculptures in baths represented either normative *exempla* of classical culture, or an imaginary world of fantasy. The same was true of statues in *villae* and *horti*. Of course, exemplarity was the *credo* of programmatic sculptures adorning imperial monuments.[57] While the Dioscuroi, Hercules and Antaios (fig. 2) or the (just) punishment of Dirke (fig. 4), as well as other conventional sculptures in the baths of Caracalla – from Hercules (fig. 1) to Discoboloi – can still be understood in these terms, Medea (fig. 8-9) and Achilles (fig. 5-6) represent something different: human *furor* leading to the violation of the accepted norms of *pietas*. And it is this violation (and not its punishment, or a distanced 'Gegenwelt') which is staged. Of course, no one would have taken these images as positive *exempla*. Furthermore, they cannot be compared to similar images in the private funerary sphere, where they had a different function. Rather, it appears that, in the public sphere, new standards were introduced for choice of subject matter. Exemplarity was no longer the main point. But what was the new appeal of these images? First, one can think of Plutarch's words regarding paintings of Medea and other murderers: what he admires is "not the action (*praxis*) which is the subject of the imitation, but the art (*techne*)." (*Mor.* 18B). The appeal of the statue groups would have been on an aesthetic, rather than on a didactic and paradigmatic level. Another explanation is

53 Zanker, 1991, 43-44.

54 Marvin, 1983, 380.

55 Manderscheid, 1981; Marvin, 1983, 377-380; Neudecker, 1985.

56 Unfortunately, we lack records from Rome (cf. Manderscheid, 1981, 30-46 fig. 9) and in detail, cf. for instance: Manderscheid, 1981, 87 no. 164-168 (Ephesos); 99 no. 250-251 (Aphrodisias); 100 no. 262 (Antioch); 100 no. 263-264 (Apameia); 105 no. 303 (Leptis Magna); 123-124 no. 489-497 (Lambaesis); Gregraek, 1999, 42 Abb. 5; 184 no. B30 (Samos); Goethert, 2000 (Trier).

57 See, for instance, the mythological groups in the Forum Augustum (above n. 7), cf. Himmelmann, 1995, 12-13, who maintains the difference between such statue groups and Classical or Hellenistic examples. – For villas: Neudecker, 1988.

indicated by an imperial epigram of the *Anthologia Graeca* (16.142), describing a statue of Medea:

> Frenzied you are (*mainei*) though of stone. The fury (*thymos*) of your heart
> has hollowed your eyes and made them meet to express your anger (*cholos*).
> Yet not even your base shall hold you back, but in your wrath (*thymos*)
> you will leap forward, mad (*mainomene*) because of your children.
> Oh! Who was the artist or sculptor who moulded this,
> who sent a stone mad (*eis manien)* by his skill (*eutechniei*)?

Although the statue was an immobile Medea in the moment of hesitation before the murder, the author imagines her extreme *mania*. It is this fantasy which appeals to him, and not the outcome of her terrible decision. Furthermore, he highlights explicitly that this statue is a Medea made of stone. But it is the imagination of the sculpture's (un-)real movement which gives it charm. This double fantasy of (e-)motion sets the pace for the act of viewing. Further, it is not by chance that *mainei* is the first, while *eutechniei* is the last word of the epigram. The artist's skill (*techne*) is the most admirable feature, which enables real *furor* to appear in the viewer's mind *via* immovable stone.

Now let us reconsider the colossal groups in the context of these texts. Indeed, the display of artistic skill was an important feature, as their size and complicated workmanship in being carved from a single piece of marble testifies. But earlier sculpture had also been admired because of its artistic qualities. What is significant is that, as we have seen, some of the new groups were the first existing sculptural representations of the myth they depicted (fig. 5-6; 8-9). Sculptors transferred motifs from paintings or reliefs into the round and on a colossal scale, thus creating revolutionary novelties. A comparable technique has been claimed by Nikolaus Himmelmann for late Hellenistic and early imperial mythological groups.[58] Compared with these examples, what remains new in the late period is the colossal size, combined with the address to a broader public than before. Another impressive feature is the dynamics of composition of these new groups. The punishment of Dirke, Hercules and Antaios, and the slayer of Troilos (fig. 2; 4; 5-6), reveal emotional drama through the physical movements of their protagonists. All of these groups evoke (or copy) Hellenistic models.[59] The Hellenistic taste for pathos and movement, which required complicated sculptural responses, obviously underwent a renaissance in the late second and early third century.[60] This links the statues to phenomena of the Antonine 'Stil-

58 Himmelmann, 1995, 19-21; 23; 28-29; 33-34; 40-42.

59 The punishment of Dirke is a copy; for other groups this has been claimed: Künzl, 1968, 94-97 (Achilles-Troilos); Möbius, 1970, 39-47 (Hercules-Antaios).

60 Marvin, 1983, 381; Kunze, 1998, 104-105.

wandel' in Roman art of the late second century.[61] It is interesting to compare the description of a battlefield in Philostratos' *Imagines* (2.5):

> The blood and also the bronze weapons and the purple garments lend a certain glamour (*anthos*) to the battlefield, and a pleasing (*charieis*) feature of the painting is the men who have fallen in different postures, and horses running wildly in terror.

This is horror as a form of entertainment. One is reminded of scenes on the column of Marcus Aurelius (fig. 12): of the diverse postures of dead bodies and of the dynamics of murder as illustrated in these reliefs.[62] Under these auspices, and bearing in mind the growth of interest in expressive movement in different artistic genres, it is plausible that it was related to new aesthetic tastes which demanded complicated compositions, rather than to ideological causes.[63]

The other feature mentioned above, implicit in the Medea epigram, is that the viewer's emotions are aroused by looking at the statue. How does this relate to the statue groups? There can be no doubt that this was relevant for both the 'Farnese Bull' and the Achilles, in that the figures elicit compassion by their dramatic movements (see also Dirke's astonished 'internal viewer'). Emotional engagement is another effect which Hellenistic sculpture aimed at and which is now revitalized. The compelling depiction of emotions is also a typical element of late Antonine 'Stilwandel'.[64] The 'Fasanerie Medea' (fig. 8-9), on the other hand, lacks a sense of movement and emotion. Instead, as in the epigram, the statue is impassive. However, compared with earlier images of Medea, the shocking view of the mother in the midst of her *furor* as murderer of her children challenges the viewer emotionally. The viewer's feelings are confused; one is asked to explore *furor* as a state of mind on the edges of human passion (and not as a phase in the process of decision-making). A group like Achilles and Troilos (fig. 5-6) could aim at similar effects, as could the 'Farnese Bull' (fig. 4).[65] Looking at such statues became an emotional experience. This mode of appreciation re-

61 Pelikan, 1965, 29-68; Strong, 1976, 197-217; Jung, 1984, esp. 71-83 (with further bibliography); Pirson, 1997; Scheid – Huet, 2000; see also below n. 64.

62 Pirson, 1997.

63 As an additional visual effect, the use of different colored marbles in a single statue reached its zenith in the Hadrianic and Antonine periods (Gregarek, 1999, 111), and appears also in the baths of Caracalla: Vermeule, 1977, 113 no. 24-25; Marvin, 1983, 369-372 fig. 21-24; Jenewein, 1996; DeLaine, 1997, 266 no. 15-16; Gregarek, 1999, 231-232 no. D130-132; De Nuccio – Ungaro, 2002, 299-301 no. 2.

64 For the emotional intensity of Hellenistic sculpture and its reception in Roman art: Schalles, 1985, 85-87; Hölscher, 1987, 20-33; cf. also Stewart, 2003, 513 for Hellenistic rhetoric as related to art. Nevertheless, it has been noticed that, compared to Hellenistic sculpture, the Roman groups are de-emotionalized, Kunze, 1988, 224. – Emotions and *'Stilwandel'*: Hölscher, 2000, 100-102; see above n. 61.

65 Cf. Marvin, 1983, 381.

duced the gap between image and viewer, despite the horror and despite the distancing size.

Indeed, the Roman audience must have been very used to such horrific sights even before they saw the first of these groups in Rome. 'Fatal charades' of bloody killings in mythological masks had been common visual experiences for everyone in the arena since the first century CE: even, for instance, being dragged to death like Dirke.[66] Entertaining as these spectacles were in the flesh, they must also have been entertaining in stone form, at the baths. What is surprising is that, despite the real arena entertainments, such images had been avoided for so long in public imagery, and that they appear at this time. This supports the idea that, in the early imperial period, sculpture on public display was meant to provide visions of joy, exemplarity, and *paideia,* rather than shocking experiences and pure aesthetics of form. The colossal statue groups are revealing examples of changed ideals of viewing.

Finally, besides engaging the emotions, these groups encouraged physical and intellectual activity on the part of their viewers. The 'Hercules Farnese' (fig. 1) and the 'Hercules Caserta' were set up in the intercolumniations between two rooms of Caracalla's baths so that visitors would walk around the statues in order to see the apples in the hero's right hand: without them, the situation in which Hercules was depicted remained unclear. This was part of Lysippos' original fourth century conception of the statue, but was played out again in the Roman context.[67] We do not know how the Achilles-Troilos was positioned, but this statue, too, needed to be viewed from more than one side, as we have seen above (fig. 5-6). For the 'Farnese Bull' (fig. 4) it is clear that it was only by walking around the group that the viewer could understand all the figures fully. In this case the Roman sculptor has added base reliefs, figures like Antiope and ornamentation like a lyre or a *cista mystica,* to provide more narrative motifs in different vistas.[68] Thus, the sculptures offered diverse visual experiences. As far as intellectual activity was concerned, the groups invited the knowledgeable viewer to recognize the myth and to re-imagine the narrative. None the less, it was due to the narrative potential of some of these multi-figured groups (in contrast to non-narrative single statues) that what was depicted was easy to recognize, even without educated knowledge: brutal murders or fights. On the other hand, unusual iconographies, previously unknown in sculpture, could provide a

66 Coleman, 1990, 60-73; Wistrand, 1992; Morales, 1996, 198-199; Zanker – Ewald, 2004, 38.

67 DeLaine, 1997, 75-80; for the original concept of the late fourth century statue: Krull, 1985, 314-315; Cain, 2002.

68 Kunze, 1998, 60-69. – Changing perspectives were also typical features of Hellenistic sculpture: Schalles, 1985, 89-96; Kunze, 2002, 39-58 (with further bibliography).

starting point for very educated discussions. The theme depicted and artist's skill might inspire further debates. These different possible levels of interpretation reflect well the broad audience in public spaces like the baths: from the emperor himself to simple veterans (*Hist.Aug. Hadr.* 17.6-7) and to the educated elite, who might discuss Ennius while bathing (Gell. 3.1). The new sculptures focused upon inspiring appreciation, entertainment and wonder on different levels.

All in all, in the late second and early third century, colossal mythological statue groups were a new phenomenon in Rome's public sphere. They reflect a change in public sculpture, in that they did not focus upon exemplarity, but, through their unusual iconographies, they invited the viewer to explore extreme sides of human life, previously unknown in sculpture – to say nothing of their colossal size. They demanded aesthetic appreciation, but also catered for an uneducated understanding. They demanded active viewers. Their rhetoric was a rhetoric of superlatives, arousing shock and providing entertainment by formal features. They were games with the emotions, by playing on the sense of both distance from and intimacy with their audience.[69] By means of these sculptures, the baths of Rome became imperial palaces for the *plebs* (by featuring *colossi*) and arenas in stone (by staging scenes of horror). As benefactor, the emperor established his role as a powerful provider of luxury. The new groups were an effective way of indicating social distinction and achieving social integration through mass entertainment.

The rhetoric of these new sculptures can indeed be related to phenomena of contemporary literature and oral performance, that is, to phenomena of the Second Sophistic. Here, I can only sketch some suggestions as propositions for further debate. Three categories of comparison will be touched on: the choice of *themes*, *rhetorical techniques*, and the competition between visual and literary arts as explored in *literary ekphraseis*.

Firstly the *themes*: since the second century, a growing fascination with the description of horror and *furor* in Roman literature[70] was combined with a particular interest in the presentation of gruesome and horrific scenes:[71] for instance in Philostratos' painting of Phorbas, who cuts off his opponent's heads and leaves "some … withered and others fresh, while others have shrunken to bare skulls"(*Im.* 2.19.2), or in the same author's horrible images of the dead children of Hercules (2.23.2), or of Abderos' body parts (2.25.1). One could also consider Achilles Tatios' bloody painting of Prometheus with the eagle (*Leucippe and Clito-*

69 Marvin, 1983, 382-383.

70 Hershkowitz, 1998.

71 Steinmetz, 1982, 249-250; Anderson, 1993, 145.

phon 3.8.1-2).[72] Descriptions of such horrific images served as *ouvertures* in texts, like the 'blood-and-corpses' scene described at the beginning of Heliodoros' *Aithiopica*. Apuleius in his *Golden Ass* explores them ironically.[73] Obviously, this is not intended to create suspense, but rather represents an aesthetics of horror.[74] The same could be said about Medea or Achilles in the groups discussed above. The appeal of horror, long familiar from arena spectacles, now made its way into public entertainment – and into the visual culture. Further, it is well known that the exploration of emotions was a focal theme of the same novels which were also full of the horrific scenes mentioned above.[75] While their protagonists' love-troubles aimed at creating a sense of intimacy with the reader, the 'aesthetics of horror' evoked fascination on another, equally emotional level. This is also true for some of Philostratos' *Imagines*, for instance, when Hercules' *mania* is explored in detail (2.23.4), or when the fictional viewer is looking at a love-story in a boar hunt, overwhelmed by his own desire (1.28).[76] The new statue groups and the literature of the late second and early third century both had as their common purpose the evocation of psychological compassion. This was achieved by drawing the audience emotionally into the situation depicted/described, by choosing horrific or emotionally loaded themes. As far as *rhetorical techniques* are concerned, further parallels between oral and visual arts can be observed. Thomas Schmitz has suggested that the techniques of sophistic orators to evoke sympathy can be construed as a result of their concern with establishing social distinction.[77] Sophists played a balancing game: on the one hand, the ideas of *paideia* were open to all, while on the other, elite distinction was demonstrated by the use of psychagogic strategies. A comparable game of distance and proximity is played out in the colossal groups. In this case, the audience is attracted by spectacular artistic skill and emotionally shocking scenes, thus bridging the gap established by the statues' colossal size, and by the fact that the emperor was the benefactor. Thus, the groups functioned both to monopolize the discourse of entertainment and to negotiate social distinction: social distinction between the emperor and the *plebs,* and between *pepaideumenoi*, who would understand the sculptures completely, and those viewers shocked only by theme and size.[78] Further, these sculptures would inspire discussion on different levels: from Medea's *furor* to the iconography of

72 Cf. Bartsch, 1989, 57-58.
73 Apul. *Met.* 1.13.4-6; 4.10.3-11.3.
74 Earlier debates about such horrific scenes in art: Morales, 1996.
75 Schmeling, 1996; Swain, 1996, 101-131; Holzberg, 2001.
76 Cf. also Philostr. *Im.* 2.23.1.
77 Schmitz, 1997, 160-196; cf. Korenjak, 2000, 41-65.
78 Korenjak, 2000, 52-65; cf. the two groups of audience mentioned in Lucianus *Dom.* 2.

Achilles' cruel deed – as we know, provoking such discussions was also a goal of the Second Sophistic oratory.[79]

In addition, the prestige of formal elements (in contrast to content) was typical of sophistic oratory. The brilliant rhetorical performances of this period aimed primarily at virtuosity and applause.[80] This is what we have also observed in the mythological groups – it was less important for the visual arts of the early imperial period, compared with exemplarity of content and the imitation of classical models. It appears that, in this sense, the category of *epideixis*, which well describes the characteristics of Second Sophistic oratory, could be applied to the groups discussed.[81] *Epideixis* as a mode of speech does not aim at evoking decision about content, but rather at activating the audience's judgment about the speech's rhetorical and artistic quality. Philostratos also calls his descriptions of paintings *epideixis* (*Im.* 1 *praef.*). This perfectly matches the rhetorical technique of the colossal groups. Even though arousing the viewer's amazement and formal appreciation had long been the purposes of Roman idealized sculpture, it is the prominence of such 'epideictic images' and the extent of this interest, which defines the new quality of the colossal statue groups from the later second century CE on.[82]

One literary genre especially invites comparison with such a new rhetoric of statues: *literary ekphrasis*.[83] Imaginary descriptions of images are a useful means of gaining an insight into how real images might have been looked at and appreciated in a particular epoch.[84] The period under investigation here saw the emergence of an autonomous literary genre of *ekphraseis* of works of art, as in Philostratos' *Imagines*.[85] Previously, descriptions of art objects had been found either in short passages of larger literary works, or were mere exercises in the rhetorical

79 Korenjak, 2000, 120-124.

80 Bowersock, 1969, 13; Steinmetz, 1982, 188-192; Russell, 1983; Anderson, 1993, 55-68; Korenjak, 2000, 21-40.

81 Lausberg, 1973, 129-138 §239-254; Martin, 1974, 177-210; Rüpke, 1997; Korenjak, 2000, 13-14; 23-24; cf. Quint. *Inst.* 3.4.12-16 and Arist. *rh.* 1.3 p. 1358b for the definition of this rhetorical genre.

82 Another common technique of the Dirke group and Apuleius is drawing viewers/readers into the depicted/described scene, cf. Slater, 1998, 36-37.

83 Bartsch, 1989, 4-39; Heffernan, 1993; Boehm – Pfotenhauer, 1995; Graf, 1995; Reitz – Egelhaaf, 1997; Zumbo, 1998; Fowler, 2000, 64-85 (= Fowler, 1991), all with further bibliography; see also below n. 86.

84 Goldhill, 1994. – Cf. for the Geometric period now Giuliani, 2003, 39-46; for Hellenistic Art: Zanker, 2004. – *Ekphraseis* and Roman Art: Elsner, 1995, 21-48; Amedick, 1998; Noack-Hilgers, 1999; Elsner, 2000; Newby, 2002a; further bibliography below n. 86; cf. also Altekamp, 1988, for later *ekphraseis*.

85 Michel, 1974; Anderson, 1986; Beall, 1993; Elsner, 1995, 21-48; Schönberger, 1995; Boeder, 1996, 137-170; Elsner, 2000; Leach, 2000; Abbondanza, 2001, each with further bibliography.

training.[86] But *ekphraseis* have their heyday in this period.[87] In novels, they could even function as a starting point for the story as in Longos' *Daphnis and Chloe* or in Achilles Tatios' *Clitophon and Leukippe*. This emergence of *ekphraseis* in itself reveals the specific importance of images as media of cultural discourse in high imperial Rome.[88] Thus, comparing the rhetorical strategies of these descriptions of images with the rhetoric of 'real' imagery should be profitable. It has been observed, for instance, that both the detailed process of viewing images, as described in literature, and the often anti-narrative character of these descriptions, go hand in hand with the growing importance of single attributes, motifs and the decorative detail of collective statue groups, like the punishment of Dirke or the (now descriptive rather than narrative) reliefs on Roman sarcophagi.[89] This suggests common ways of reading images and *ekphraseis*. Furthermore, following John Winkler's *Auctor & Actor*, Shadi Bartsch has analyzed the rhetorical functions of *ekphraseis* in novels.[90] They serve as keys to the narrative, presenting interpretative clues for the developments that follow, and thus stimulating the readers' "hermeneutic activities" through their participation in a game of interpretation.[91] But often, how they should be understood remains ambiguous. Thus, they undermine the idea of a single, correct meaning for an image. Philostratos also aims at teaching readers "to interpret paintings and to appreciate what is esteemed in them" (*Im.* 1 proem. 3) – but this appreciation is multiple and never focuses upon a precise message beyond the narrative itself. Thus, comparable to the statue groups, *ekphraseis* evoke a process of emotional and active viewing, which result in a very personal experience for each reader.[92] And, like the groups, they allow the audience to explore their (visual, emotional and aesthetic) experiences.

A final, possibly more direct, relation between literary *ekphraseis* and colossal mythological statue groups can be suggested here. Again, Philostratos' *Imagines* are the starting point for the argument. Since the author/narrator/viewer deals exclusively with paintings, it is understandable that he argues for the preeminence of the art of painting (*zographia*) over the plastic art (*plastike*, *Im.* 1 praef. 1-2). Painting "permits the observer to recognize the look, now of a man who is

86 For rhetorical exercises (*progymnasmata*): Kennedy, 2003.

87 Bartsch, 1989; Slater, 1998, with further bibliography.

88 Graf, 1995, 152-153.

89 Zanker, 1991, 43-44; Kunze, 1998, 68; Zanker – Ewald, 2004, 253; cf. also Apuleius' group of Diana with Aktaion (*met.* 2.4): Slater, 1998. – For the categories 'descriptive' and 'narrative' cf. Giuliani, 2003.

90 Bartsch, 1989; Winkler, 1985; cf. also Slater, 1998.

91 Bartsch, 1989 passim; cf. Winkler, 1985, 11-14; Slater, 1998.

92 For instance, in contrast to Vergil's message-focused *ekphraseis*: Eigler, 1998; Österberg, 1999.

mad, now of a man who is sorrowing or rejoicing." Sculpture, on the other hand, is the least effective of the imitative arts, as far as such emotions are concerned. As Letizia Abbondanza has argued, the *Imagines* were obviously embedded in a discourse about the competing qualities of the different artistic genres.[93] Archaeological evidence contributes to this idea. For instance, in Herodes Atticus' villa in Luku, Achilles and Penthesilea were set up as a marble sculpture in a room, along with a colored mosaic depicting the same situation with the same iconography. Of course, this installation invited the viewer to compare both genres.[94] If such a discourse was indeed of growing importance in this period,[95] establishing *ekphraseis* as an autonomous genre of literature would not be the only result; the emergence of the new colossal mythological groups in the Roman public sphere could also be seen as an attempt to explore new effects and ways of convincing the viewer of a valuable (and prestigious) source of visual entertainment. It is noteworthy in particular that the expressions of emotion and feeling, which Philostratos denies to the plastic arts, are exactly what is present in the new colossal statue groups. And it is movement (*motus*) which is explored by some of the groups, a quality absent from paintings, as Apuleius says (*Apol.* 14). The statue groups would thus aim at proving the particular achievements of sculpture, and establishing their high quality compared with paintings.[96]

It remains open as to whether this competition was direct, and if the imperial court, to which Philostratos was related and which was responsible for at least some of the statue groups, played an active role in encouraging it. What I have tried to demonstrate is that in an atmosphere of competition between the arts, the emergence of colossal statue groups in the late second and early their century CE not only signifies a search for new kinds of visual rhetoric by creating 'epideictic images' and new opportunities of visual amazement in sculpture by an aesthetics of horror which played on the emotions. Also, on a social level, they reveal the interest of the emperor in controlling visual culture, maintaining distinction by granting luxury, and gaining prestige by providing new forms of entertainment. This interpretation relates the statues to aesthetic and social phenomena of the Second Sophistic. It appears that exploring brilliant effects and breaking 'classical' standards by references to Hellenistic tastes were important

93 Abbondanza, 2001, 121-133.

94 Tobin, 1997, 353 no. 12; Spyropoulos, 2001, 129-130 pl. 5-9; cf. Galli, 2002, 205; above n. 18; it is still open as to whether there was also a copy of the Pasquino group: Tobin, 1997, 344 no. 1; 353 *ad* no. 12.

95 Cf. also D.H. *Orat.Vett.* 12; Klauck – Bäbler, 2000.

96 Cf. Slater, 1998, 41-44. – Other phenomena of the Antonine *'Stilwandel'* need further investigation in this sense, too.

factors of change in the visual culture of Rome in the late second and early third century CE, rather than stemming purely from an interest in the demonstration of *paideia* as a knowledge of classical Greek culture.

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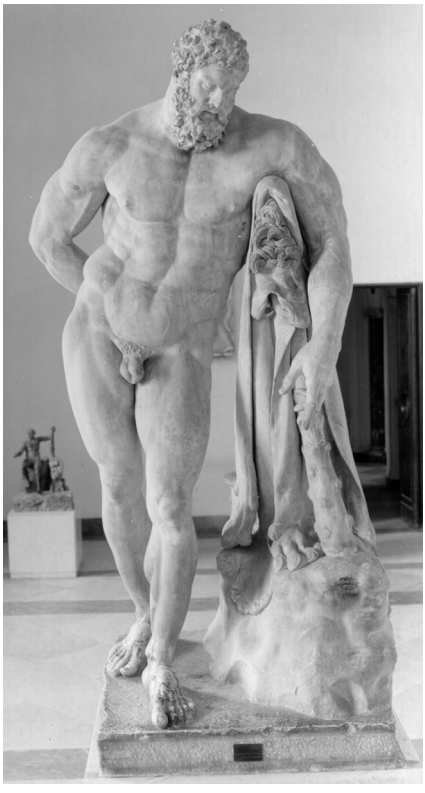
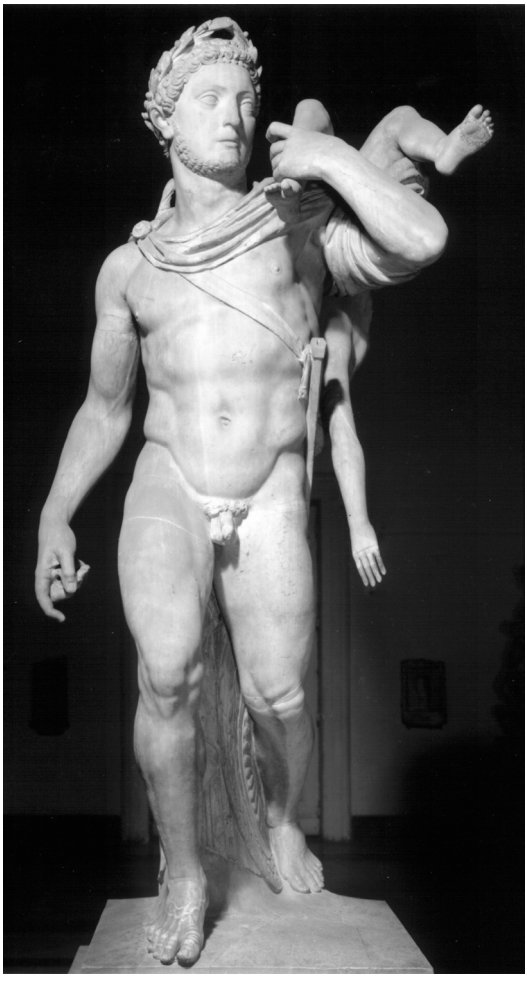


1 'Hercules Farnese'. Marble, early third century CE; copy after late fourth century BCE original. Naples, Museo Nazionale 6001.

2 Hercules and Antaios. Marble, around 200 CE. Florenz, Palazzo Pitti.

3 Capital from the Baths of Caracalla. Marble, early third century CE Rome.

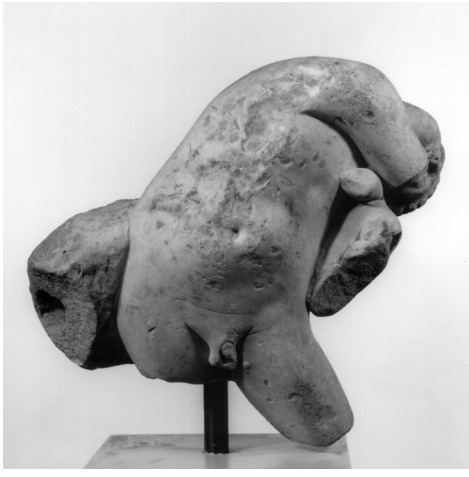
4 'Farnese Bull'. Marble, early third century CE, copy after Hellenistic original.



5 Achilles hurling Troilos (?). Marble, early third century CE. Naples, Museo Nazionale 5999.

6 Achilles hurling Troilos (?), detail.

7 Basis of the 'Farnese Bull' (fig. 4), detail.



8-9 Medea with one of her children (?), fragment of a group. Marble, late second or early third century CE. Eichenzell, Schloss Fasanerie AMa 41.

10 Medea with her children. Faliscan bell-krater, fourth century BCE. St. Petersburg.

11 Medea before the murder and fleeing with her children. Marble sarcophagus, second century CE. Berlin, Antikensammlung Sk 843 b.

12 Column of Marcus Aurelius, scene 50. Rome.

‚Klassiker' im Gymnasion. Bildnisse attischer Kosmeten der mittleren und späten Kaiserzeit zwischen Rom und griechischer Vergangenheit

RALF KRUMEICH

Im Jahr 1861 kamen bei der Abtragung eines im Osten des Turms der Winde gelegenen Teilstücks der spätrömischen Befestigungsmauer Athens unter anderem 33 unbärtige und bärtige Porträtköpfe der mittleren und späten Kaiserzeit zum Vorschein, die nach Ausweis der Inschriften auf sicher zugehörigen Hermenschäften zumindest in vier Fällen attische Kosmeten des 2. und 3. Jhs. n. Chr. darstellen.[1] Einiges spricht dafür, dass die Porträthermen und einige der im gleichen Kontext gefundenen Ephebeninschriften ursprünglich im Diogenes-Gymnasion aufgestellt waren, das wahrscheinlich im Osten der abgetragenen Mauer zu lokalisieren ist.[2]

Die aus vermögenden und angesehenen Familien Athens stammenden Kosmeten übernahmen jeweils für ein Jahr die Oberleitung der physischen und geistigen Ausbildung der 18-19jährigen Epheben in einem städtischen Gymnasion Athens und spielten somit eine wichtige Rolle in der Erziehung aristokratischer junger Athener und der als Epheben aufgenommenen Fremden.[3] Ikonographie

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Das Kürzel L verweist auf die Zählung der Kosmetenporträts durch E. Lattanzi (Lattanzi 1968). Für die Einladung, einen Beitrag zum Paideia-Band zu schreiben, sei B. E. Borg herzlich gedankt. Für Kritik und wichtige Hinweise danke ich N. Himmelmann, R. von den Hoff und R. Schmidt.

1 Die Köpfe L 2 und L 7-9 passen Bruch an Bruch auf vier ebenfalls in der Mauer gefundene Hermen mit Inschriften für Kosmeten.

2 Zum Diogeneion s. u. S. 133-134.

3 Zu Amt und Aufgabenbereich des Kosmeten vgl. *RE* 11/2, 1922, 1490-1492 s.v. Κοσμητής (F. Preisigke); Pélékidis, 1962, 104–106; Lattanzi, 1968, 18-20; *DNP* 6, 1999, 767 s.v. Kosmetes (1) (R. Hurschmann – P.J. Rhodes); s. auch die folgende Anm. Zum hohen Ansehen und sozialen Status der für dieses Amt in Frage kommenden Kandidaten vgl. Graindor, 1915, 247; Pélékidis, 1962, 105. – Generell zur Institution der attischen Ephebie, die sich von einer weitgehend militärischen Ausbildung aller jungen Athener seit dem Hellenismus zu einer körperlichen und geistigen Erziehung einer reichen Elite entwickelte: Nilsson, 1955, 17-29; Pélékidis, 1962; *KlP* 2, 1967, 287-291 s.v. Ephebia (O.W. Reinmuth); *DNP* 3, 1997, 1072-1075 s.v. Ephebeia (H.-J. Gehrke). Seit dem späten 2. Jh. v. Chr. wurden auch Nicht-Athener als Epheben zugelassen: Pélékidis, 1962, 186-196; Reinmuth a.O. 290; Gehrke a.O. 1074.

und Habitus ihrer am Ende des Amtsjahres von den Epheben errichteten Bildnisse verraten daher nicht allein viel über persönliche Vorlieben der Dargestellten, sondern dürfen darüber hinaus als aussagekräftig für die Ideale und Vorstellungen gelten, welche in der athenischen Aristokratie in dieser Zeit dominierten und im Gymnasion an die künftigen Generationen weitergegeben wurden.

Die Kosmetenporträts sind von guter bis durchschnittlicher Qualität und können in technischer und stilistischer Hinsicht als typische Erzeugnisse kaiserzeitlicher Werkstätten in Griechenland gelten.[4] In mehreren Fällen sind sie durch aktuelle Modefrisuren und -bärte sowie ‚Zeitgesichter' gekennzeichnet.[5] Bereits kurz nach der Auffindung der Bildnisse fiel jedoch auf, dass einige Köpfe in Frisur, Bartgestaltung und Physiognomie unverkennbar an griechische Bildnisse der klassischen und hellenistischen Zeit angelehnt sind.[6] Diese typologischen und ikonographischen Anspielungen wurden bisher, auch in den beiden zusammenfassenden Studien von P. Graindor (1915) und E. Lattanzi (1968), nur am Rande vermerkt oder aber isoliert von dem größeren Zusammenhang der gesamten Bildnisgruppe interpretiert.[7]

Im Folgenden wird versucht, einige Charakteristika der Kosmetenporträts herauszuarbeiten und die Bildnisse als kulturhistorische Dokumente für ihre Zeit zu interpretieren. Zu fragen ist beispielsweise, in welchem Umfang sich in der Serie programmatische Rückgriffe auf ältere griechische Porträts feststellen lassen, durch welche Mittel dieser Bezug visualisiert wurde und welche Bildnisse als Referenzen gewählt wurden. Da sich unter den Kosmetenbildnissen in ikonographischer Hinsicht Vertreter einer eher ‚römischen' und einer ‚retrospektiven' Richtung unterscheiden lassen, wäre auch zu untersuchen, in welchem Verhältnis diese beiden Gruppen zueinander stehen und ob sie eindeutig voneinander abzugrenzen sind. Von besonderer Bedeutung sind die in mehreren Fällen

4 Vgl. auch von den Hoff, 1994, 18. Zu den Eigenheiten der Produkte athenischer Werkstätten gegenüber stadtrömischen Bildnissen vgl. Zanker, 1983, 26-29; Goette, 2003, 549-556.

5 Generell zum Phänomen des ‚Zeitgesichts' bzw. der Angleichung privater Porträts an die Bildnisse des Kaisers und seiner Familie: Zanker, 1982; Fittschen, 1992/93, 445-463; Balty, 1991, 13-14; Fittschen, 1999, 78-79; 106-107.

6 Pervanoglu, 1861, 171.

7 Graindor, 1915, 266; 279-280; L'Orange, 1933, 10; Harrison, 1953, 88; 93; Lattanzi, 1968, 73-74; Fittschen, 1977, 90 Anm. 4; Schröder, 1993, 275; Meyer, 1991, 226-227; Fittschen, 1992, 117 mit Anm. 22-23; von den Hoff, 1994, 18; Meyer, 1994, 158-159; 162; Zanker, 1995, 209-212; Smith, 1998, 79-80; Danguillier, 2001, 222-223; Fischer-Bossert, 2001, 152; Papini, 2002, 659; Weisser, 2002, 666. Charakteristisch für die ältere Forschung zu den Kosmetenporträts ist der Versuch einer physiognomischen Interpretation der Bildnisse, die als getreue Wiedergaben von Vertretern der athenischen Oberschicht verstanden werden: Dumont, 1876, 247-248; Dumont, 1890, 219-220; Hekler, 1912, S. XLII; Graindor, 1915, 281-282; 287-289.

festzustellenden retrospektiven Züge dieser Porträts nicht zuletzt deswegen, weil es sich bei den Dargestellten nicht um spezialisierte Intellektuelle handelt, sondern um typische Vertreter der reichen athenischen Oberschicht, die vor und nach ihrer temporären Leitungsfunktion im Gymnasion zum Teil auch andere Ämter übernahmen.[8] Die vergangenheitsbezogene und offenbar an konkreten Vorbildern orientierte Stilisierung einiger dieser Personen ist daher symptomatisch für die Verbreitung retrospektiver Strömungen in weiten Teilen der Bevölkerung Athens in der mittleren und späten Kaiserzeit.

Fund- und Aufstellungskontext

Im Januar 1861 ließ die Griechische Archäologische Gesellschaft unter der Leitung von S.A. Koumanoudis ein etwa 65 Meter langes Teilstück der nach dem Herulereinfall (267 n. Chr.) entstandenen Befestigungsmauer Athens abtragen, das sich etwa 250 Meter östlich des Turms der Winde, direkt bei der 1861 bereits zerstörten byzantinischen Kirche Agios Dimitrios Katiphoris erhob.[9] Die um 280 n. Chr. errichtete Mauer enthielt in diesem Bereich als Spolien unter anderem zahlreiche Ephebeninschriften und Statuenbasen.[10] In den unteren Lagen der Mauerschalen waren die Schäfte der Kosmetenhermen verbaut, während die zugehörigen Bildnisköpfe als Füllmaterial im Inneren der Mauer dienten.[11] Da eine der im gleichen Kontext gefundenen Inschriftstelen die Vorschrift enthält, Kopien des Textes in Eleusis, im (unterhalb der Akropolis gelegenen) Eleusinion und im Diogeneion aufzustellen, liegt die Annahme nahe, dass ein beträchtlicher

8 Graindor, 1915, 247-248; Lattanzi, 1968, 19. Eine Replik des severischen Kosmetenporträts L 12 dokumentiert den hohen sozialen Status des Dargestellten: Athen, Nationalmuseum 394 (L 12); 336 (Replik; Fundort innerhalb Athens unbekannt). Lattanzi, 1968, 45-46 Nr. 12 Taf. 12; 34a; Rhomiopoulou, 1997, 59 Kat. 50; 106 Kat. 106; Danguillier, 2001, 101; 231 Kat. 19a-b; Kaltsas, 2003, 328-329 Kat. 690; 356-357 Kat. 758.

9 S. Koumanoudis, in: Γενικὴ συνέλευσις, 1861, 18-19; Graindor, 1915, 241-242; Lattanzi, 1968, 15; Petrakos, 1987, 42-43. Zu dem entsprechenden Abschnitt in der Ostflanke der postherulischen Mauer, der bis 1861 als Teil des Prytaneion galt, vgl. Breton, 1862, 261-262 mit Abb. auf S. 261; Travlos, 1988, 137-138. Zu der wahrscheinlich zwischen 1835 und 1861 abgetragenen Kirche Agios Dimitrios Katiphoris vgl. Mommsen, 1868, 78-81 Nr. 90; Travlos, 1960, 260 Taf. 12 Nr. 37. Generell zur postherulischen Mauer: Lattanzi, 1968, 30-32; Frantz, 1988, 5-11; Travlos, 1988, 125-141.

10 Graindor, 1915, 241-242. Darüber hinaus befanden sich in der Mauer freilich noch zahlreiche andere Spolien, die nicht in Zusammenhang mit der Ephebie stehen: Guidi, 1921/22, 46-53; *Archeion*, 1992, 67; 191-197.

11 S. Koumanoudis, in: Γενικὴ συνέλευσις, 1861, 19; Graindor, 1915, 242-243; Harrison, 1953, 91; Lattanzi, 1968, 23.

Teil des in der Mauer gefundenen Materials ursprünglich zur kaiserzeitlichen Ausstattung des Diogenes-Gymnasions gehörte.[12] Diese Stätte wurde im späten 3. oder frühen 2. Jh. v. Chr. von den Athenern zu Ehren des makedonischen Kommandanten Diogenes gegründet, der im Jahr 229 v. Chr. gegen eine Zahlung von 150 Talenten den Piräus und andere Festungen an die Athener übergeben und so maßgeblich zur Befreiung Athens von der makedonischen Herrschaft beigetragen hatte.[13] In der Kaiserzeit scheint sich das Diogeneion zu einem Zentrum der athenischen Ephebenausbildung entwickelt zu haben.[14] Auch wenn sich bisher keine Fundamente dieses Gymnasions gefunden haben, spricht die erwähnte Inschrift in Kombination mit dem Fundort der Spolien dafür, dass es nicht weit von dem abgetragenen Mauerstück zu suchen ist.[15] Ebenso wie das Gymnasion des Ptolemaios und anders als die weiter außerhalb gelegenen klassischen Gymnasien (Akademie, Lykeion und Kynosarges) wurde das Diogeneion daher offensichtlich relativ nahe am Stadtzentrum des antiken Athen eingerichtet.[16] Der genaue Aufstellungskontext der in der postherulischen Mauer gefundenen Kosmetenbildnisse und Inschriftstelen innerhalb dieses Gymnasions lässt

12 *IG* II/III² 1078, Z. 39-43; vgl. Lattanzi, 1968, 21; Frantz, 1979, 201; Travlos, 1988, 138. Zum Diogeneion: *RE* 5/1, 1903, 734-735 s.v. Diogeneion (C. Wachsmuth); Judeich, 1931, 92; 379; Delorme, 1960, 143-146; Pélékidis, 1962, 264-266; Frantz, 1979, 201-203.

13 Plu. *Arat.* 34.5-6; *RE* 5/1, 1903, 735 s.v. Diogenes (12) (J. Kirchner); Pélékidis, 1962, 160; 252; 264-265; Habicht, 1982, 83-84; Hammond – Walbank, 1988, 331-332; 340-341; Habicht, 1995, 182-183; *DNP* 3, 1997, 595 s.v. Diogenes (1) (L.-M. Günther). Das Gründungsdatum des Diogeneion ist nicht überliefert; im Jahr 106/5 v. Chr. war seine Umfassungsmauer jedenfalls schon reparaturbedürftig: *IG* II/III² 1011, Z. 41; Delorme, 1960, 143-144.

14 Plu. *Mor.* 736d; Delorme, 1960, 144; Pélékidis, 1962, 265; 267; *KlP* 2, 1967, 290 s.v. Ephebia (O.W. Reinmuth); Lattanzi, 1968, 21-23.

15 Dies ist die bisher nicht abschließend zu sichernde, jedoch nicht zuletzt durch die Konzentration der Ephebeninschriften in diesem Teilstück der spätrömischen Mauer nahegelegte *communis opinio:* Graindor, 1915, 242-244; Pélékidis, 1962, 265; Lattanzi, 1968, 21-23; Travlos, 1971, 281-282 mit Abb. 362; 577 Abb. 722; S. 579; Frantz, 1979, 201; zurückhaltend: Judeich, 1931, 379. Graindor, 1915, 242-243, verweist zur Stützung der Lokalisierung des Diogeneion darauf, dass die Hermenschäfte der Kosmeten und die Ephebeninschriften zumeist in den unteren Lagen der Mauer gefunden worden seien (so auch Lattanzi, 1968, 23). Nicht überzeugend sind die von Guidi, 1921/22, 42-46; 54 und Delorme, 1960, 144-146 vorgebrachten Einwände gegen diese Lokalisierung (vgl. richtig Harrison, 1953, 92; Frantz, 1979, 201).

16 Vgl. Willers, 1990, 14. Zu den Gymnasien der klassischen Zeit: Delorme, 1960, 51-59; Pélékidis, 1962, 260–263; von Hesberg, 1995, 14; 25 Abb. 3. Zum Gymnasion des Ptolemaios: Wycherley, 1957, 142-144; Delorme, 1960, 146-147; Pélékidis, 1962, 263-264; Schaaf, 1992, 73-83.

sich nicht mehr rekonstruieren; jedoch wird man davon ausgehen können, dass sie beispielsweise an Säulenhallen oder in der Palästra gestanden haben.[17]

Die Kosmetenporträts lassen sich durch stilistische Kriterien und die zum Teil erhaltenen Hermeninschriften mit einer Ausnahme in die Zeit zwischen 110/20 und 260/70 n. Chr. datieren.[18] Vier der 33 erhaltenen Bildnisse sind durch die zugehörigen Ehreninschriften als Darstellungen athenischer Kosmeten zu identifizieren; 26 weitere Porträts älterer oder bärtiger Männer werden ebenfalls Kosmeten oder aber Beamte zeigen, die unter der Leitung des Kosmeten für die Ausbildung der Epheben zuständig waren. In Frage kommen hier zum Beispiel Sophronisten, Paidotriben oder Antikosmeten (Assistenten des Kosmeten).[19] Drei Porträtköpfe unbärtiger Jünglinge scheinen dagegen eher reiche Epheben wiederzugeben, die das Gymnasion maßgeblich unterstützt hatten.[20] Auch wenn keine Sicherheit über die Identität der meisten dargestellten Männer mittleren und fortgeschrittenen Alters zu erlangen ist, werden diese im Folgenden ebenfalls als Kosmeten bezeichnet. Dies ist nicht zuletzt deswegen legitim, weil der Aufgaben- und Wirkungsbereich beispielsweise eines Sophronisten oder Antikosmeten im Rahmen der Ephebenausbildung zumindest teilweise demjenigen des Kosmeten entsprochen hat und auch diese Personen keine spezialisierten Gelehrten oder Sophisten waren.

Kosmetenfiguren auf Ehrenstelen für die Epheben

War es in der hellenistischen Zeit üblich, dass die Epheben ihrem Kosmeten am Ende seines Amtsjahres eine bronzene Ehrenstatue auf der Agora errichten lie-

17 Vgl. Lattanzi, 1968, 22 mit Hinweis auf *IG* II/III² 2037, Z. 1-2 (frühes 2. Jh. n. Chr.), wonach die Porträtherme eines Kosmeten in der Palästra (eines uns unbekannten Gymnasions) errichtet wurde.

18 Eventuell noch in die iulisch-claudische Zeit gehört der Kopf L 1: Lattanzi, 1968, 33-34 Nr. 1 Taf. 1; S. 65; Datsouli-Stavridi, 1985, 92-93 Taf. 137. Einen *terminus ante quem* für die jüngsten Kosmetenbildnisse bildet die Errichtung der spätrömischen Mauer (um 280 n. Chr.).

19 Graindor, 1915, 245; Lattanzi, 1968, 15; 30. Zu den verschiedenen Beamten des Lehrkörpers und ihren Aufgaben: Pélékidis, 1962, 106-110; *KlP* 2, 1967, 291 s.v. Ephebia (O.W. Reinmuth); *DNP* 3, 1997, 1073-1074 s.v. Ephebeia (H.-J. Gehrke).

20 Graindor 1915, 245. Für Ehrungen von Epheben vgl. *IG* II/III² 3733; 3748 (Basen aus der Mauer bei Agios Dimitrios Katiphoris). Reiche Epheben beteiligten sich in der Kaiserzeit zum Teil an den Kosten der Ephebenausbildung: *KlP* 2, 1967, 289; 291 s.v. Ephebia (O.W. Reinmuth).

ßen,[21] so scheint sich diese Praxis in der römischen Kaiserzeit grundlegend geändert zu haben: Nun veranlassten die Epheben mit staatlicher Genehmigung offenbar regelmäßig die Aufstellung einer marmornen Porträtherme im Gymnasion, auf deren Schaft sowohl die entsprechende(n) Ehreninschrift(en) als auch ein Katalog der Ephebennamen eingemeißelt wurden.[22]

Die Ehrung des Kosmeten durch die Epheben des entsprechenden Jahrgangs verbildlichen die figürlichen Reliefs einiger Inschriftenstelen des 2. und 3. Jhs. n. Chr., die zusammen mit den Kosmetenhermen in der spätrömischen Mauer bei Agios Dimitrios Katiphoris gefunden wurden und daher offensichtlich ebenfalls zur Ausstattung des Diogeneion gehörten.[23] Es handelt sich um insgesamt sechs 0,78–1,49 Meter hohe Marmorstelen, die von den Kosmeten am Ende ihrer Amtszeit zu Ehren der Epheben errichtet wurden. Ihre Inschriften enthalten einen nach Phylen geordneten Katalog des Jahrgangs und werden in einigen Fällen durch eine Ehrung des römischen Kaisers oder einen auf dessen *agathe tyche* bezogenen Segenswunsch eingeleitet.[24] Die Stelen dienten allerdings nicht allein dem Lob der Epheben, sondern zugleich der Ehrung des Kosmeten, wie einige Inschriften ausdrücklich hervorheben.[25] Seine bildliche Entsprechung findet dies in Reliefs, deren Figuren sich im oberen Bereich der Stele auf einer vorspringenden Standleiste oder aber in einem vertieften Bildfeld befinden (fig. 1; 4): Hier ist der frontal stehende Kosmet zu sehen, wie er von ein oder zwei Epheben bekränzt wird, die zumeist als anonyme Repräsentanten des gesamten Jahrgangs auftreten; in einem Fall sind die Jünglinge durch Namensbeischriften als Söhne des Kosmeten und zwei ihrer Synepheben identifiziert (fig. 4).[26] Die

21 Vgl. z. B. *IG* II/III² 1006, Z. 86-88; 95-96 (122/21 v. Chr.); 1008, Z. 62-63; 70-72 (118/17); 1009, Z. 41-42; 57-58 (116/15); 1011, Z. 42-43; 49-51 (106/5); Pélékidis, 1962, 207-208; Lattanzi, 1968, 20-21.

22 In einigen Fällen wurde der Kosmet auch durch das Volk, die Boule oder den Areopag durch Statuen oder Hermen geehrt: Graindor, 1915, 250.

23 Graindor, 1915, 251-264 mit Abb. 1-4; Lattanzi, 1968, 80-83 Taf. 35b-38; Rhomiopoulou, 1997, 46-49 Kat. 35-38; Kaltsas, 2003, 335-337 Kat. 709-712.

24 *IG* II/III² 2017-2018; 2044; 2050; 2208. Stelen mit einleitender Ehrung des Kaisers: *IG* II/III² 2017, Z. 3-4; Lattanzi, 1968, 80-81 Taf. 35b; Follet, 1976, 202, hier fig. 4 (97/98 oder 102/3-110/11 n. Chr.): [Αὐτο]κράτορα Τρα[ιανὸν] Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν Γερμανι[κὸν Δακικὸν][ὁ] κοσμητὴς τῶν [ἐ]φήβων Εἰρηναῖος Λευκίου Κυδα[θηναιεύς]. – *IG* II/III² 2044, Z. 1; Lattanzi, 1968, 83 Taf. 38a; Rhomiopoulou, 1997, 47 Kat. 36; Kaltsas, 2003, 336 Kat. 710 (139/40 n. Chr.): Ἀγαθῆι τύχηι αὐτοκράτορος Ἀντωνείνου. Zu dieser Weiheformel s. Larfeld, 1902, 591-593; Larfeld, 1914, 143; 306-307.

25 *IG* II/III² 2208, Z. 1-4; hier fig. 1.

26 *IG* II/III² 2017, Z. 19; Lattanzi, 1968, 80-81 Taf. 35b; Follet, 1976, 202 (97/98 oder 102/3-110/11 n. Chr.): Der unbärtige Kosmet Eirenaios (ohne Beischrift) wird bekränzt von seinen Söhnen Ar[isto]boulos und Leukios (vgl. *IG* II/III² 2017, Z. 6-7), die jeweils als Epheben mit

Epheben sind zumeist nur mit einer Chlamys bekleidet und durch einen Palmzweig in der linken Armbeuge als siegreiche Athleten gekennzeichnet; auf den Bereich der Palästra verweisen in einigen Fällen zwischen den Figuren stehende Amphoren oder eine Hydria.[27] Der geehrte Kosmet ist fast durchweg als ziviler Beamter charakterisiert; nur in einem speziellen Fall sehen wir ihn als bekränzten und mit Panzer, Paludamentum, Lanze und Schwert versehenen Offizier, der von einem mit Chlamys und Schild ausgestatteten Epheben mit einem weiteren Kranz geehrt wird.[28] In der Regel ist der Gymnasionsleiter dagegen mit einem Chiton und Himation bekleidet und hält gelegentlich eine Buchrolle in der linken Hand.[29] Wie sehr Belesenheit und Bildung des Beamten unterstrichen werden sollen, zeigt insbesondere ein im Jahr 211/12 n. Chr. entstandenes Relief, in dem zu Füßen des Kosmeten Aurelios Dositheos, der auch Thales genannt wurde, ein Bündel von Schriftrollen als Attribut des ‚Intellektuellen' zu sehen ist (fig. 1).[30]

Die Ehrenstelen der Kosmeten bilden einen wichtigen Hintergrund für das Verständnis der rundplastischen Kosmetenbildnisse. Zunächst ist die Ehrung der Epheben und des Kosmeten in mehreren Fällen eng verbunden mit dem Lob des jeweiligen regierenden Kaisers oder mit dessen *agathe tyche* − die Kosmeten geben sich also als Rom gegenüber loyale Athener. Die enge Verbindung der

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Chlamys auftreten. Dies ist zugleich das einzige Relief, in dem der Kosmet nicht nur von zwei Epheben gerahmt wird, sondern inmitten von vier Jünglingen steht. Die beiden äußeren Epheben heißen Dionysios und Glaukias, erscheinen ebenso wie der Beamte in Vorderansicht und sind als agonistische Sieger (mit Chlamys und Palmzweigen) repräsentiert; Dionysios trägt ferner eine Strigilis in der gesenkten rechten Hand.

27 Nur einmal erscheint einer der beiden Epheben im Himation: Lattanzi, 1968, Taf. 38a; Rhomiopoulou, 1997, 47 Kat. 36; Kaltsas, 2003, 336 Kat. 710. – Gefäße auf dem Boden: Lattanzi, 1968, Taf. 35b; 37; 38b; Rhomiopoulou, 1997, 46; 49 Kat. 35; 38; Kaltsas, 2003, 335-337 Kat. 709; 711; hier fig. 1; 4. Die Amphoren mögen zugleich an die materielle Unterstützung des Gymnasions durch vermögende Epheben erinnern, die einen Teil des Salböls finanziert hatten: Graindor, 1915, 254.

28 *IG* II/III² 2050; Lattanzi, 1968, 82 Taf. 36; Follet, 1976, 209 (143/44 n. Chr.). Rechts steht ein Ephebe, der im gleichen militärischen Kostüm wie der bärtige Kosmet auftritt und eine Patera in der gesenkten Rechten hält. Möglicherweise steht die militärische Ikonographie der Dargestellten in Zusammenhang mit einem durch den Kosmeten geleiteten Zug der bewaffneten Epheben nach Eleusis (so Graindor, 1915, 262; Lattanzi, 1968, 82).

29 Lattanzi, 1968, Taf. 35b; 37; 38a-b; Rhomiopoulou, 1997, 46-47; 49 Kat. 35-36; 38; Kaltsas, 2003, 335-337 Kat. 709-711; hier fig. 1; 4. Vgl. in diesem Zusammenhang auch die häufig von Ver-storbenen auf attischen Grabreliefs der Kaiserzeit gehaltenen Buchrollen, die ebenfalls auf die Bildung des Dargestellten abheben: von Moock, 1998, 59; 78.

30 *IG* II/III² 2208; Lattanzi, 1968, 81-82 Taf. 37; Follet, 1976, 104-105; Rhomiopoulou, 1997, 49 Kat. 38; Kaltsas, 2003, 335 Kat. 709. Ein entsprechendes Rollenbündel dient auf einem Grabrelief des 2. Jhs. n. Chr. als Berufsattribut eines Schreibers: von Moock, 1998, 81-82; 148 Kat. 327 Taf. 51a-b; für Buchrollenbehälter auf attischen Grabstelen der Kaiserzeit s. ebenda Taf. 9b; 15d; 48a; 67d.

attischen Ephebie mit Rom wird ferner verdeutlicht durch die in der gesamten Kaiserzeit belegte regelmäßige Teilnahme der Epheben an den Agonen zu Ehren des Kaisers oder eines beliebten Prinzen.[31] Die Repräsentation der Beamten mit Chiton und Himation und in einem an spätklassische Statuen erinnernden Figurentypus entspricht einem auch für die Wiedergabe der meisten männlichen Verstorbenen auf den attischen Grabreliefs der Kaiserzeit verwendeten Grundschema und weist die Dargestellten als Angehörige der griechischen Kultur aus.[32] Auffällig ist, welch großer Wert darauf gelegt wurde, die Kosmeten als gebildete Personen zu repräsentieren. Eine Orientierung an konkreten klassischen Vorbildern oder eine besonders auffallende retrospektive Tendenz lässt sich allerdings weder den Figurentypen noch den bartlosen oder kurzbärtigen Bildnisköpfen der Kosmeten ablesen.[33]

Die Porträthermen der Kosmeten

Bei den meisten in der postherulischen Mauer gefundenen Bildnissen handelt es sich um leicht überlebensgroße Porträtköpfe aus pentelischem Marmor, die in der Regel aus einem gemeinsamen Block mit Hermenschäften unterschiedlicher Höhe gearbeitet waren (fig. 2).[34] Porträthermen dienten im kaiserzeitlichen Athen und Griechenland auch sonst der Repräsentation von Mitgliedern der lokalen Elite und waren besonders geeignet zur Ausstattung eines Gymnasions.[35] Die auf den erhaltenen Schäften zu lesenden Inschriften liefern in zwei Fällen auch Angaben zum konzeptionellen Hintergrund des Bildnistypus: Die Hermen stellten zugleich eine Ehrung des Hermes dar, der als Schutzgott des Gymnasions und der Epheben fungierte, und unterstrichen die Nähe des Kosmeten zu

31 Follet, 1976, 321-328 (Germanikeia, Hadrianeia, Antoneia, Severeia u. a.).

32 von Moock, 1998, 58-59; vgl. auch Smith, 1998, 65-66.

33 Frisur und Barttracht der Kosmeten scheinen hier eher stadtrömischen Vorbildern zu folgen; deutlich ist dies bei der Sichellockenfrisur eines Epheben auf einem trajanischen Relief (Lattanzi, 1968, 80-81 Taf. 35b).

34 Für einen Überblick über die Maße der Hermen s. Graindor, 1915, 268-269: Die Gesamthöhe der vollständig erhaltenen Hermen variiert zwischen 1,975 und 2,36 m, während die Höhe der zugehörigen Köpfe mit 0,295-0,32 m relativ konstant bleibt. Der kleinste Kosmetenkopf (L 5) hat eine Höhe von 0,24 m. Eine Ausnahme in technischer Hinsicht bildet der Einsatzkopf des Kosmeten L 11, der aber ursprünglich wohl ebenfalls zu einer Herme gehörte: Rhomiopoulou, 1997, 60 Kat. 52; Kaltsas, 2003, 328 Kat. 689.

35 Kaiserzeitliche Porträthermen in Athen (Agora) und Griechenland: Harrison, 1953, 5; 35-37 Nr. 25; 52-53 Nr. 39 Taf. 17; 26; Wrede, 1986, 73-74; Smith, 1998, 83; 91 Taf. 12, 1. – Hermes- und Heraklesthermen im Gymnasion: Delorme, 1960, 364-365; Lattanzi, 1968, 25-26; Wrede, 1986, 34-36; 59-60.

dieser Gottheit.[36] Die Kosmeten erscheinen zumeist mit frontal ausgerichtetem oder leicht zur Seite gewendetem Kopf und im 2. Jh. oft mit nackten Schultern, d.h. in einer unrealistischen und idealisierenden partiellen Nacktheit (fig. 2; 5).[37] Seit der severischen Zeit ist mehrfach auch ein einfacher Mantel über die linke Schulter gelegt (fig. 13; 17);[38] in diesen Fällen waren die Honoranden − ebenso wie die Kosmetenfiguren der Inschriftenstelen − als zivile Beamte charakterisiert. Gelegentlich weisen die Bildnisse verquollene Ohren auf (fig. 19), die offenbar auf die Zeit der Kosmeten als aktive Schwerathleten im Gymnasion anspielen und diese Aktivität nun (gemäß einer alten Konvention) für uneingeschränkt positiv und vorbildhaft erklären.[39]

Hinsichtlich ihrer Ikonographie und damit ihrer Bildnisaussage bilden die Kosmetenbildnisse keine einheitliche Serie. Neben Vertretern einer ‚römischen' Richtung, die weitgehend der aktuellen stadtrömischen Mode folgen, sind mehrere ‚retrospektive' Bildnisse zu beobachten, die zwar auch römische Modeelemente aufweisen, darüber hinaus aber durch deutliche Anlehnungen an griechische Bildnisse der klassischen und frühhellenistischen Zeit gekennzeichnet sind.[40]

Bildnisse der ‚römischen' Richtung: Eines der frühesten Kosmetenporträts stellt die vollständig erhaltene Herme des Heliodoros aus Piräus dar (L 2), die nach Ausweis der partiell metrischen Inschrift im Jahr 115/16 n. Chr. von den Epheben zu Ehren des Hermes und des Heliodoros errichtet worden ist.[41] Mit seinem ernsten, deutlich von Alterszügen gekennzeichneten Gesicht, der zerfurchten Stirn, den kleinen schmalen Augen und den kurzen Haarlocken erinnert der Kopf noch deutlich an den Realismus der flavischen Porträtkunst und insbeson-

36 *IG* II/III² 2021, Z. 6-12; 3744, Z. 3-4 (Hermen des Heliodoros aus Piräus [L 2] und des Onasos aus Pallene [L 7); Harrison, 1965, 124-125; Lattanzi, 1968, 25-27; Wrede, 1981, 44-45; 275-276 Kat. 207; 209; Wrede, 1986, 74; hier fig. 2. Zur Verehrung des Hermes und des Herakles im Gymnasion: Delorme, 1960, 338-339.

37 Graindor, 1915, 270-271. Hermen mit nackten Schultern: L 2; 7-9; 14.

38 Vollständig oder partiell erhaltene Himatien sind zu sehen bei L 11-12; 15-16; 20-22; 24; 26; vgl. Graindor, 1915, 270.

39 L 3; 19; 21-23; vgl. Graindor, 1915, 305; 352-353; E. Weski in: Weski – Frosien-Leinz, 1987, 245.

40 Für einen ersten Ansatz zur Unterscheidung dieser beiden Gruppen s. Graindor, 1915, 279-281; vgl. auch Smith, 1998, 80.

41 Athen, Nationalmuseum 384 (H mit Basis: 1,975 m; H des Kopfes 0,29 m). *IG* II/III² 2021; Lattanzi, 1968, 24-26; 34-35 Nr. 2 Taf. 2; Rhomiopoulou, 1997, 50-51 Kat. 39; Kaltsas, 2003, 325-326 Kat. 683. Zur Datierung der Inschrift vgl. Follet, 1976, 203-204 (113/14-121/22); Kapetanopoulos, 1992-98, 224; 235 (115/16).

dere an die Bildnisse Vespasians.[42] Die ikonographische Orientierung der Kosmetenporträts an der stadtrömischen Bildniskunst ist nicht isoliert oder auf das frühe 2. Jh. n. Chr. beschränkt, sondern lässt sich bis zum Ende der Serie verfolgen.[43] Besonders anschaulich zeigt dies die im Jahr 141/42 n. Chr. errichtete und ebenfalls zur Gänze erhaltene Herme des Kosmeten Sosistratos aus Marathon (L 8; fig. 5).[44] Dieses Bildnis weist mit seinem ernsten Ausdruck, den großflächigen Wangen, dem mittellangen Bart und dem krausgelockten Haar nicht nur ein ‚Zeitgesicht' der frühantoninischen Zeit auf,[45] sondern scheint zudem das Porträt des Aelius Verus zu zitieren, der seit 136 als Nachfolger des Hadrian vorgesehen war und am 1. Januar 138 n. Chr. starb (fig. 6).[46] Deutlicher könnten die ‚moderne' Repräsentation dieses athenischen Kosmeten und seine Orientierung an Rom bzw. dem römischen Kaiserhaus nicht zum Ausdruck gebracht werden.[47]

Bildnisse der ‚retrospektiven' Richtung: Eine eigenwilligere Konzeption zeigen die Bildnisse der ‚retrospektiven' Richtung. Gemeinsam ist diesen Porträts eine mehr oder weniger ausgeprägte Orientierung an klassischen oder frühhellenistischen Vorbildern, die jeweils durch ikonographische Zitate, aber auch durch Stilisierungen der Mimik verdeutlicht wird. Lediglich ein hadrianischer oder frühantoninischer Kosmetenkopf mit einer der stadtrömischen Mode folgenden Sichellockenfrisur (L 6) weist eine allein mit stilistischen Mitteln vorgetragene retrospek-

42 Vgl. auch Graindor, 1915, 299-300; Lattanzi, 1968, 34; 65; Rhomiopoulou, 1997, 50 (nicht nachzuvollziehen ist die ebenda 50 angedeutete Assoziation des Porträts mit dem Bildnis des Aischines). Zum ‚Haupttypus' Vespasians vgl. Daltrop – Hausmann – Wegner, 1966, 73-75 Taf. 3; 8d; Bergmann – Zanker 1981, 332-333 mit Abb. 12a-c; Fittschen – Zanker, 1985, 33 Nr. 27 Taf. 27-28. Für die kurzen Haarlocken des Heliodoros vgl. die Bildnisse des Titus: Daltrop – Hausmann – Wegner, 1966, 87 Taf. 16a-b; 21a-b; Fittschen – Zanker, 1985, 33-34 Nr. 28-30 Taf. 28-32. Zur Langlebigkeit des ‚Zeitgesichtes', das noch Jahrzehnte nach dem Tod des nachgeahmten Kaisers bestehen kann, s. Zanker, 1982, 311.

43 Vgl. nur L 1; 3-4; 9-10; 15; 17; 24-27; 32-33.

44 Athen, Nationalmuseum 385 (H mit Basis 2,265 m; H des Kopfes 0,30 m). IG II/III² 3739; Lattanzi, 1968, 27-28; 41-42 Nr. 8 Taf. 8; Datsouli-Stavridi, 1985, 95-96 Taf. 141-142; Rhomiopoulou, 1997, 55-56 Kat. 45; Smith, 1998, 80 Taf. 9, 1; Goette, 2003, 554-555 mit Abb. 9-10; Kaltsas, 2003, 328 Kat. 688. Die Herme wurde von den Epheben im Archontat des P. Ailios Phileas errichtet: Follet, 1976, 208-209.

45 Graindor, 1915, 322; Lattanzi, 1968, 41.

46 So Fittschen, 1992/93, 455; 457 Abb. 8, 1-4. Zu den Bildnissen des Aelius Verus: Fittschen, 1999, 72-74 Taf. 115-121; vergleichbar mit dem Porträt des Sosistratos ist hier besonders die ebenda 73 Nr. 7 Taf. 119 behandelte Replik in Petworth. Zur Person des Aelius Verus: *PIR*² C 605; *DNP* 2, 1997, 1046 s.v. Ceionius (3) (W. Eck). Zur Angleichung bürgerlicher Bildnisse an die kaiserlichen Porträts in antoninischer Zeit vgl. Fittschen, 1999, 78-79; 106-107.

47 Darüber hinaus sind freilich deutliche stilistische bzw. technische Unterschiede zwischen stadtrömischen Bildnissen frühantoninischer Zeit und der in Athen hergestellten Herme des Sosistratos zu beobachten: Goette, 2003, 554-555; vgl. generell auch Zanker, 1983, 26-29.

tive Stilisierung auf (fig. 3)):[48] Sein Gesicht mit den entspannten Zügen und den vollen geschwungenen Lippen ist gekennzeichnet durch eine betont klassizistische und an Bronzeoriginalen des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. erinnernde Formensprache, die eine Vorliebe für die griechische Kunst der hochklassischen Zeit erkennen lässt. Denkbar ist, dass man sich beim Betrachten dieses Porträts auch speziell an die bronzene Statue des Perikles auf der Akropolis oder an ein anderes Bildnis der gleichen Zeit (um 430 v. Chr.) erinnert fühlte;[49] ein konkretes ikonographisches Zitat von Haar- oder Barttracht des berühmten Staatsmanns liegt allerdings nicht vor. So erscheint der Dargestellte zum einen als modisch frisierter Zeitgenosse, zum anderen aber als Kenner und Verehrer der griechischen Klassik, deren Stilformen sein Bildnis überhöhen und an die Blütezeit Athens erinnern.

Der Rückverweis auf die klassische Epoche bleibt beim Kosmetenkopf L 6 recht vage und ist − ähnlich wie bei klassizistischen Werken der zeitgenössischen Idealplastik[50] − auf die künstlerische Form eines sonst ‚modernen' Bildnisses beschränkt. Dagegen sind die Zitate älterer Vorbilder bei anderen Kosmetenporträts konkreter: Hier sind typologische und ikonographische Angleichungen an griechische Bildnisse der klassischen und frühhellenistischen Zeit zu beobachten, die durch spezifische Formen der Haar- und/oder Bartgestaltung bewirkt werden. Darüber hinaus wirken einige Kosmetenporträts aber auch in Physiognomie und Ausdruck vollkommen wie griechische Bildnisse des 4. oder 3. Jhs. v. Chr. und sind nur durch ihre technische Ausarbeitung als Produkte der römischen Kaiserzeit zu erkennen.

Die vollständig erhaltene, in späthadrianischer oder frühantoninischer Zeit entstandene Herme des Kosmeten Onasos aus Pallene (L 7; fig. 2; 7)[51] trägt einen Porträtkopf, der an spätklassische Bildnisse in der Art des zwischen 340 und

48 Athen, Nationalmuseum 416 (H 0,28 m; parischer Marmor). Lattanzi, 1968, 38-39 Nr. 6 Taf. 6; Datsouli-Stavridi, 1985, 94-95 Taf. 139-140; Meyer, 1991, 227 Taf. 139, 2; Meyer, 1994, 158 Abb. 30; Rhomiopoulou, 1997, 52 Kat. 41; Kaltsas, 2003, 326-327 Kat. 686.

49 So Graindor, 1915, 311; Lattanzi, 1968, 38; Meyer, 1991, 227; Meyer, 1994, 158; Rhomiopoulou, 1997, 52. Zum Perikles-Porträt: Richter, 1965, I 102-104 Abb. 429-441; Fittschen, 1988, Taf. 19; Krumeich, 1997, 118-125 Abb. 56-62; Krumeich, 2002a, 232-233 Kat. 127.

50 Klassizistische Idealstatuen der hadrianischen und antoninischen Zeit: Zanker, 1974, bes. 41-45; 117-119; vgl. ferner Meyer, 1991, 228-230.

51 Athen, Nationalmuseum 387 (H mit Basis 2,20 m; H des Kopfes 0,31 m). *IG* II/III² 3744; Lattanzi, 1968, 26-27; 39-40 Nr. 7 Taf. 7; Meyer, 1991, 226-227 Taf. 138, 1; Meyer, 1994, 157-158 Abb. 28; Rhomiopoulou, 1997, 52-53 Kat. 42; Danguillier, 2001, 106-107; Kaltsas, 2003, 326-327 Kat. 685. Nach der Hermeninschrift war Onasos Kosmet im Archontat des Klaudios Lysiades, dessen Amtszeit in das zweite Viertel des 2. Jhs. n. Chr. datiert werden kann: Follet, 1976, 454-455; 511; vgl. Oliver, 1980, 97-98.

320 v. Chr. entstandenen ‚Aischylos' erinnert (fig. 8).[52] Gemeinsam ist den beiden Porträts neben der länglichen Kopfform, der entspannten Mimik und der generellen Länge von Haupt- und Barthaar auch die Organisation des Haupthaares in mittellange Locken, die über der Stirnmitte nach links gelegt sind.[53] Obwohl die Lockenschemata von Haar und Bart der beiden Köpfe im einzelnen deutlich voneinander abweichen und die Barttracht des Onasos der aktuellen kaiserzeitlichen Mode verpflichtet ist,[54] wird der intentionale Bezug auf Kopfform und Physiognomie, vielleicht auch auf die Frisur des ‚Aischylos' oder vergleichbarer spätklassischer Bildnisse ganz deutlich. Eindrucksvoll ist ein severischer Kosmetenkopf mit zerfurchter Stirn (L 30; fig. 9; 11),[55] der einen der aktuellen Mode entsprechenden kurzen und nur eingeritzten Schnurrbart trägt, sich mit seinem auffallend langen, aus welligen Zotteln gebildeten Vollbart jedoch deutlich von zeitgenössischen Porträts unterscheidet und unverkennbar an den langen Bart des Platonporträts (350/40 v. Chr.) erinnert (fig. 10; 12).[56]

52 Vgl. auch Graindor, 1915, 315; Lattanzi, 1968, 40; Schröder, 1993, 275; von den Hoff, 1994, 18; Meyer, 1991, 226; Meyer, 1994, 157-158; Rhomiopoulou, 1997, 52. Zum Bildnistypus des ‚Aischylos' Farnese, der sehr wahrscheinlich einen berühmten griechischen Dichter, jedoch nicht mit Sicherheit Aischylos darstellt: Richter, 1965, I 121-124 Abb. 577-597; Fittschen, 1988, Taf. 56; Krumeich, 2002b, 545 Kat. 410. Ähnlich im Gesamteindruck, jedoch ohne das charakteristische Lockenmotiv über der Stirn, ist z. B. das Bildnis des Sophokles im Typus Lateran (so auch Graindor, 1915, 315-316; Lattanzi, 1968, 40): Richter, 1965, I 128-130 Abb. 675-688; Fittschen, 1988, Taf. 57; Vorster, 1993, 154-159 Kat. 67; Krumeich, 2002b, 542-544. Das Porträt des Epikureers Metrodor (280/70 v. Chr.) ist in der länglichen Kopfform, dem mittellangen Bart und der entspannten Mimik gut mit dem Bildnis des Onasos vergleichbar, weist aber über der Stirn eine andere Frisur auf: Richter, 1965, II 200-203 Abb. 1226-1258; von den Hoff, 1994, 63-69; 78-80 Abb. 21-32; 35-38; Schefold, 1997, 230-231 (als weiteres mögliches Vorbild des Onasos-Kopfes genannt von Graindor, 1915, 316; Lattanzi, 1968, 40, und Schröder, 1993, 275).

53 Ein lose vergleichbares, allerdings zumeist weniger kompaktes und zur Seite gelegtes Lockenmotiv über der Stirnmitte zeigen einige Porträts des Antoninus Pius (Fittschen – Zanker, 1985, Taf. 67-68; Beilage 39-49), und so mag dieses Element in der Frisur des Onasos allein kein hinreichendes Indiz für einen intentionalen Rückgriff auf klassische Bildnisse sein (vgl. Danguillier, 2001, 106). Kopfform, Bartlänge und Ausdruck des Kosmetenkopfes entsprechen dagegen in keiner Weise den Bildnissen dieses Kaisers, die daher keine „hinreichende(n) Parallelen" für das Porträt des Onasos bieten (so aber ebenda 106).

54 Danguillier, 2001, 106 mit Hinweis auf das Bildnis des Antoninus Pius (Fittschen – Zanker, 1985, Beilage 39-49); für die symmetrische Anlage des Kinnbartes vgl. ebenda Beilage 50-53; von den Hoff, 1994, 18; Danguillier, 2001, 107.

55 Athen, Nationalmuseum 396 (H 0,375 m). Lattanzi, 1968, 62 Nr. 30 Taf. 30; Bergmann, 1977, 88; Datsouli-Stavridi, 1985, 105 Taf. 158-159; Zanker, 1995, 209-210; Rhomiopoulou, 1997, 60 Kat. 51; Danguillier, 2001, 91-94 Abb. 38-39; Brandt, 2002, 172-173; Kaltsas, 2003, 334 Kat. 706.

56 Vgl. auch Graindor, 1915, 368, Lattanzi, 1968, 62; Schröder, 1993, 275; Zanker, 1995, 210; Danguillier, 2001, 92-94, und Brandt, 2002, 172. Platon (Typus Boehringer): Richter, 1965, II

Charakteristisch für die ‚retrospektive' Richtung unter den Kosmetenporträts ist ferner ein Kopf, der wahrscheinlich von einer Herme stammt, die den Dargestellten als zivilen Amtsträger zeigte (L 16; fig. 13).[57] Das Bildnis lässt sich aufgrund der tiefen Bohrungen in Haar und Bart in die severische Zeit datieren und erinnert mit seinem grimmigen Gesichtsausdruck und der charakteristischen Gestaltung des kurzen Schnurrbartes und des ausrasierten Kinns speziell an die Porträts des Caracalla im ersten Alleinherrschertypus (fig. 15).[58] Als Referenz für die Gestaltung des Kosmetenkopfes dienten allerdings nicht allein die Bildnisse des römischen Kaisers, sondern offenbar auch solche aus der griechischen Vergangenheit. Dies zeigen vor allem die auffälligen langen Strähnen des Haupthaares, die flach anzuliegen scheinen und nach rechts in die Stirn gekämmt sind. Eine solche Frisur ist in der severischen Zeit nicht üblich,[59] findet jedoch gute Parallelen bei Bildnissen des 4. und 3. Jhs. v. Chr. Den besten Vergleich bietet das um 340/30 v. Chr. entstandene Porträt des Xenophon, das über der Stirn ein entsprechendes (hier nach links gestrichenes) Lockenmotiv aufweist und dessen severische Replik in Madrid (fig. 14) hierin dem Kosmetenkopf L 16 sehr ähnlich ist.[60] Dieses Bildnis ist als zeittypisches Porträt mit einem severischen ‚Zeitgesicht' zu verstehen, das nur in der Anlage der Haupthaare ausschnitthaft auf das Bildnis des Xenophon (oder ein vergleichbares spätklassisches oder frühhellenistisches Porträt) zurückgreift, dieses absichtsvoll zitiert und auf diese Weise eine

164-170 Abb. 903-926; 930-953; 957-959; Fittschen, 1988, Taf. 47-49; Krumeich, 2002a, 235-236 Kat. 130. Auch die Kombination der aus kurzen flachen Locken gebildeten Haarkappe mit dem wallenden Bart verbindet den Kosmeten L 30 mit dem Bildnis Platons; der Kosmet wirkt wie ein Platon mit ausgeprägteren Geheimratsecken (ähnlich Danguillier, 2001, 93-94). Für den mächtigen Bart des Kosmeten vgl. auch denjenigen des ‚Krates' (340/30 v. Chr.): Richter, 1965, II 185-186 Abb. 1076-1078; 1080; 1083; von den Hoff, 1994, 126; Schefold, 1997, 172-173.

57 Athen, Nationalmuseum 411 (H mit Hals 0,385 m). Lattanzi, 1968, 49-50 Nr. 16 Taf. 16; Bergmann, 1977, 83; 88; Datsouli-Stavridi, 1985, 96-97 Taf. 144; Rhomiopoulou, 1997, 61 Kat. 53; Danguillier, 2001, 119; Kaltsas, 2003, 330 Kat. 693. Am Nacken findet sich der Rest eines Himations.

58 Vgl. auch Graindor, 1915, 343; Lattanzi, 1968, 50; Danguillier, 2001, 119. Caracalla: Fittschen – Zanker, 1985, 105-108 Nr. 91 Taf. 110-112; Beilage 71-77.

59 Ganz anders gebildet ist hier auch das Porträt Caracallas mit der waagerechten Linie von Buckellocken über der Stirn: Fittschen – Zanker, 1985, Taf. 110-112.

60 Vgl. auch Schröder, 1993, 275 und von den Hoff, 1994, 18 Anm. 14; Danguillier, 2001, 119 sieht lediglich einen allgemeinen Rückgriff auf griechische Typen des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. Xenophon: Richter, 1965, II 158 Abb. 882–887; Minakaran-Hiesgen, 1970, 113-141; Fittschen, 1988, Taf. 70-71; Schefold, 1997, 162-163. Kopie in Madrid: Richter, 1965, II 158 Abb. 885-887; Fittschen, 1988, Taf. 70; Schröder, 1993, 62-64 Kat. 5. – Für die Frisur über der Stirn vgl. auch das Porträt des Epikureers Hermarch (um 250 v. Chr.): Richter, 1965, II 203-206 Abb. 1268-1318; von den Hoff, 1994, 75-80 Abb. 47-54.

enge Verbindung zur als vorbildhaft empfundenen Vergangenheit Athens herstellt.

Noch ausgeprägter sind die retrospektiven Züge bei zwei typologisch verwandten Kosmetenbildnissen, die beide im zweiten Viertel des 3. Jhs. n. Chr. entstanden sind und deren Köpfe sehr ‚klassisch' wirken: Eine im Jahr 231/32 n. Chr. aufgestellte Porträtherme zeigt einen mit einem Himation über der linken Schulter versehenen bärtigen Kosmeten mit Alterszügen, hohen Geheimratsecken, Stirnfalten und verknorpelten Ohren (L 22; fig. 17; 19).[61] Der Kopf erinnert in Form, Physiognomie und Frisur deutlich an das Porträt des Aischines (um 320 v. Chr.; fig. 18; 20).[62] Vergleichbar ist hier neben dem Gesamteindruck und der fülligen Masse des Haupthaars, das die Ohren jeweils partiell verdeckt, insbesondere das Motiv der ausgeprägten Stirnglatze, die in der Mitte von einer Haarzunge kaschiert wird.[63] Ähnlich aufgebaut wie das Kosmetenbildnis L 22 ist der etwa in der gleichen Zeit entstandene Kopf L 23, der allerdings deutlich jünger wirkt und eine weniger hohe Stirn aufweist (fig. 16).[64] Dieses Bildnis kommt dem Porträt des Aischines in Physiognomie und in der über der Stirn spitz zulaufenden Haarzunge sogar noch näher als das zuvor genannte Beispiel. In beiden

61 Athen, Nationalmuseum 388 (H 0,70 m; H des Kopfes 0,31 m). *IG* II/III² 2241; Lattanzi, 1968, 30; 55-56 Nr. 22 Taf. 22; Fittschen, 1969, 230-236 (z. T. überholt); Bergmann, 1977, 83; 87; Datsouli-Stavridi, 1985, 100-101 Taf. 151-152; Zanker, 1995, 209-210; Rhomiopoulou, 1997, 65 Kat. 62; Smith, 1998, 80 Taf. 9, 2; Danguillier, 2001, 69-70 Abb. 25-26; Kaltsas, 2003, 332-333 Kat. 701. Die Herme wurde im Archontat des Kasianos aus Steiria, in der 29. Panathenais, errichtet (231/32 n. Chr.): Follet, 1976, 240; 287; 332.

62 So auch Schröder, 1993, 275; von den Hoff, 1994, 18; Smith, 1998, 80 und Danguillier, 2001, 69-70. Aischines: Richter, 1965, II 212-215 Abb. 1369-1376; 1378-1381; 1383-1387; Fittschen, 1988, Taf. 81; Schefold, 1997, 192-193. In kurzem Bart, Geheimratsecken und Gesamteindruck vergleichbar ist auch das Bildnis des Theophrast (um 300 v. Chr.; vgl. auch Zanker, 1995, 210): Richter, 1965, II 176-178 Abb. 1022-1030; Fittschen, 1988, Taf. 123; von den Hoff, 1994, 53-57; 59-62 Abb. 13-15; Schefold, 1997, 202-203. Anders als bei dem Kosmeten verdeckt hier eine breitere Lage von Haarsträhnen die Stirnglatze und sind die Ohren von den kurzgeschnittenen Haaren freigelassen. Vergleichbar ist ferner das wahrscheinlich im frühen 4. Jh. v. Chr. entstandene Porträt des Thukydides mit seinem kurzen Bart und der hohen Stirn (so auch Graindor, 1915, 351; Lattanzi, 1968, 55; Schröder, 1993, 275); diese wird hier allerdings, anders als beim Kosmeten L 22, durch eine durchgehende Lage kurzer Locken begrenzt: Richter, 1965, I 147-150 Abb. 825-836; Fittschen, 1988, Taf. 42-43; Angelicoussis, 2001, 118-119 Kat. 23 Taf. 44-45; 50.

63 Für das Motiv der eine Stirnglatze im Zentrum verdeckenden Haarzunge vgl. auch das Bildnis des Stoikers Zenon (270-250 v. Chr.): Richter, 1965, II 186-189 Abb. 1084-1105; Fittschen, 1988, Taf. 126; von den Hoff, 1994, 89-96; 111-112 Abb. 72-78; Schefold, 1997, 208-209.

64 Athen, Nationalmuseum 390 (H mit Halsansatz 0,35 m). Lattanzi, 1968, 56 Nr. 23 Taf. 23; Bergmann, 1977, 83-84; Datsouli-Stavridi, 1985, 101-102 Taf. 153-154; Rhomiopoulou, 1997, 63 Kat. 58; Danguillier, 2001, 69-70; Kaltsas, 2003, 333 Kat. 703. Wie der Kosmet L 22 weist auch dieser Kopf die zerquetschten Ohren des (ehemaligen) Schwerathleten auf.

Fällen wirken die Bildnisse in physiognomischer und ikonographischer Hinsicht auf den ersten Blick wie Kopien nach griechischen Bildnissen des späteren 4. Jhs. v. Chr.

Die attischen Kosmeten zwischen Rom und griechischer Vergangenheit

Die Bildnisse der Kosmeten bieten ein lebendiges Bild der Selbststilisierung maßgeblicher Repräsentanten der athenischen Aristokratie im 2. und 3. Jh. n. Chr. Unter den Kosmetenporträts können eine ‚römische' und eine ‚retrospektive' Richtung unterschieden werden, wobei diese beiden Gruppen jedoch nicht strikt voneinander zu trennen sind. In ihrer dezidiert an Rom und dem Kaiserhaus orientierten Konzeption haben die Bildnisse der ‚römischen' Richtung (fig. 5) Anteil an dem weit verbreiteten Phänomen der Angleichung von Privatporträts an das offizielle Herrscherbildnis. Die Dargestellten lassen sich als Rom gegenüber loyale Beamte bzw. (seit der *Constitutio Antoniniana* im Jahr 212) als modebewusste Bürger des Römischen Reichs repräsentieren; zugleich waren sie freilich durch den regionalspezifischen Repräsentationstypus der Herme, den Aufstellungskontext im Gymnasion und die Inschriften als vornehme und gebildete Athener zu erkennen.[65]

Vor diesem Hintergrund gewinnen die retrospektiven Züge von acht der 33 erhaltenen Kosmetenporträts ihre besondere Prägnanz und Aussagekraft.[66] Lässt man den hadrianischen oder frühantoninischen Kopf L 6 (fig. 3) als Beispiel eines auch sonst in der kaiserzeitlichen Plastik belegten rein formalen Klassizismus beiseite,[67] so handelt es sich durchweg um ikonographische und typologische Angleichungen an bestimmte klassische oder frühhellenistische Bildnisse. Diese Zitate sind innerhalb der Serie nicht auf eine bestimmte Zeit begrenzt,[68] sondern sowohl im 2. als auch im 3. Jh. n. Chr. zu beobachten. Das Spektrum der programmatischen Rückgriffe auf ältere Bildnisse reicht von isolierten Zitaten von Haar- und Bartfrisuren, die ein sonst weitgehend nach stadtrömischen Vorbildern aufgebautes Bildnis bereichern und auffällig von anderen Porträts der gleichen Zeit unterscheiden (fig. 13; 9), bis hin zu einer umfassenden Stilisierung

65 Zur Porträtherme als Ausdruck griechischer Identität vgl. Smith, 1998, 80; 91.

66 L 6-7; 16; 22-23; 30. Vgl. ferner L 18-19: Lattanzi, 1968, 51-53 Nr. 18-19 Taf. 18-19; von den Hoff, 1994, 19; Smith, 1998, 80 Taf. 9, 3; Danguillier, 2001, 80-82 Abb. 33-36; Rhomiopoulou, 1997, 63-64 Kat. 57; 60; Kaltsas, 2003, 331 Kat. 697-698.

67 Hierfür vgl. z. B. Zanker 1974, bes. 41-45; 117-119; Meyer 1991, 221-225; 234-235.

68 So aber Meyer, 1994, 162, wonach retrospektiv stilisierte Kosmetenporträts nur bis etwa 150 n. Chr. auftreten (ähnlich Meyer, 1991, 230).

von Kopfform, Frisur, Barttracht und Physiognomie der Bildnisse, die zu einer ganz klassisch wirkenden Ikonographie führen kann (fig. 7; 16; 17). Dass dies nicht etwa als Ausdruck einer im Diogeneion propagierten Resistenz gegen das Machtzentrum Rom zu verstehen ist, zeigen zum Beispiel die regelmäßige Teilnahme der Epheben an Agonen zu Ehren römischer Kaiser und Prinzen sowie die gelegentlich mit einer Rühmung des Kaisers eingeleiteten Ephebeninschriften. Das severische Kosmetenbildnis L 16 (fig. 13) veranschaulicht zudem, dass explizite Zitate eines klassischen Vorbildes zwanglos mit einer Angleichung an das Bildnis des aktuellen Kaisers verbunden sein konnten und daher keineswegs eine Abwendung von Rom darstellen.[69] Orientierung am offiziellen Herrscherbildnis und programmatischer Rückgriff auf die griechische Vergangenheit schließen sich gegenseitig nicht aus, sondern stellen im gesamten 2. und 3. Jh. unterschiedliche Optionen für die Stilisierung der Kosmetenporträts dar, die durchaus miteinander vereinbar waren und zu originellen Bildniserfindungen führen konnten.

Als nachahmenswert galten offenbar vornehmlich Bildnisse von Rednern, Dichtern, Philosophen und anderen ‚Intellektuellen' des klassischen Athen,[70] auf denen die kulturelle Identität der Stadt in hohem Maße beruhte: Zu erkennen sind Anlehnungen an die Bildnisse des Aischines, eines Dichters (‚Aischylos'), des Platon und des Xenophon (fig. 7-14. In allen diesen Fällen handelt es sich um herausragende intellektuelle Protagonisten, die im 5. und 4. Jh. v. Chr. in Athen lebten und an deren Wirken man sich an vielen Orten der Stadt noch in römischer Zeit lebendig erinnert fühlen konnte.[71] Die gleichen Geistesgrößen werden auch von den Vertretern der Zweiten Sophistik regelmäßig als Vorbilder bemüht und spielten in der Kaiserzeit mit Sicherheit eine wichtige Rolle in der Ausbildung der jungen Epheben im Diogeneion und anderen Gymnasien Athens.[72] Entscheidend für das Verständnis der retrospektiv ausgerichteten Kos-

69 Vgl. richtig auch Meyer, 1991, 225; Meyer, 1994, 158-159 (jeweils bezogen auf die hadrianisch-frühantoninische Zeit); Danguillier, 2001, 222; s. aber Zanker, 1995, 209, wonach die retrospektive Stilisierung „gelegentlich auch antirömische Untertöne" gehabt habe. – In der Kombination römischer Modebärte und ‚Zeitgesichter' mit Zitaten älterer griechischer Porträts unterscheiden sich die Kosmetenbildnisse grundlegend von einigen aus Italien stammenden kaiserzeitlichen Neuschöpfungen, die auf konkrete griechische Bildnisse zurückgreifen und vielleicht ebenfalls retrospektive Porträts von Zeitgenossen darstellen: von den Hoff, 1994, 18-20 Abb. 1-4 (römische Modeelemente sind hier nicht aufgenommen).

70 Vgl. auch Lattanzi, 1968, 74; 79.

71 Vgl. nur Cic. *Fin.* 5.1-5.

72 Zum Kanon der nachahmenswerten Klassiker gehörten nach D.Chr. 18.6-17 u. a. Euripides, Thukydides, Aischines und vor allem Xenophon; s. ferner Aristid. 50.57; 60-61 (Platon und Sophokles erscheinen dem Aristeides; zusätzlich wird Aischylos erwähnt); Philostr. *VS* 507-

metenporträts ist ferner, dass originale klassische und hellenistische Porträtstatuen der vorbildhaften ‚Dichter und Denker' in Heiligtümern und auf öffentlichen Plätzen Athens noch in der Kaiserzeit geradezu omnipräsent waren.[73] Wenn ein Kosmet im frühen 3. Jh. n. Chr. sein Bildnis in der Art des Platon-Porträts stilisieren ließ (fig. 9), wurde dies nicht allein von Gelehrten und ‚Insidern' bemerkt, sondern war auch für die Epheben und die übrigen, selbstverständlich mit den zentralen Orten und Denkmälern ihrer Stadt vertrauten Athener ohne weiteres erkennbar. Das geradezu museale Ambiente der Kulturmetropole Athen mit ihrer allgegenwärtigen Erinnerung an die ‚Klassiker' war von zentraler Bedeutung für Konzeption und Wirkung solcher Porträts.

Was aber bedeutete es genau, wenn ein Kosmet oder ein anderer Gymnasions-Beamter sich im Diogeneion durch ein Bildnis repräsentieren ließ, dessen Züge mehr oder weniger deutlich dem Porträt eines Protagonisten der ‚großen' Vergangenheit entlehnt waren? Diese Frage ist nicht mit Sicherheit und nur in Form vorläufiger Überlegungen zu beantworten. Zunächst kann jedoch negativ hervorgehoben werden, was eine solche Stilisierung kaum gemeint haben kann: Auch wenn sich die Kosmeten auf den Ephebenstelen gerne als belesene Beamte darstellten, waren sie keine Dichter, Philosophen oder Gelehrte im engeren Sinne und traten auch nicht als solche auf. Als ‚zweiter Platon' oder ‚neuer Xenophon' wollten sich die Kosmeten daher nicht rühmen,[74] die Zitate älterer Bildnisse hatten hier keinen identifizierenden Charakter. Die retrospektive Stilisierung einiger Kosmetenporträts muss also auf einer allgemeineren Ebene zu verstehen sein. Die entsprechenden Beamten scheinen sich als traditionsbewusste Träger der altehrwürdigen und immer noch lebendigen griechischen Kultur verstanden zu haben, für die Athen gerade in der Zeit seiner machtpolitischen Bedeutungslosigkeit berühmt war und die hier in der Kaiserzeit besonders bewusst und intensiv gepflegt wurde.[75] Der dezidierte Rückgriff auf klassische und

510 (Aischines als Gründer der Zweiten Sophistik); 570 (der Sophist Alexandros trägt den Spitznamen „tönerner Platon" [Πηλοπλάτων]); Eun. *VS* 452-453 (Xenophon als Philosoph). Vgl. Bowie, 1970, 8; 24-27; 35-36; Anderson, 1993, 69-85; 103; 130.

73 Perikles auf der Akropolis: Paus. 1.25.1; 1.28.2. – Platon im Musenheiligtum der Akademie: D.L. 3.25. – Statuen der drei ‚großen' Tragiker im Dionysostheater: [Plu.] *Mor.* 841f.; Paus. 1.21.1-2. Vgl. auch D.L. 2.43; 5.51 (Sokrates im Pompeion; Aristoteles im Museion des Lykeion). Auf Agora und Akropolis befanden sich zahlreiche weitere Bildnisse berühmter Athener, die als Vorbilder in Frage kamen. Zum musealen Charakter Athens in der Kaiserzeit vgl. Alcock, 2002, 66-67; 69-70.

74 Richtig auch Meyer, 1994, 162. Vgl. dagegen z. B. den Historiker Arrian, der als ‚neuer Xenophon' bezeichnet wurde: Bowie, 1970, 24-27; Oliver, 1972, 328.

75 Ähnlich Meyer, 1991, 227; Zanker, 1995, 209. Athen als Studienort aristokratischer Römer im 1. Jh. v. Chr. und als Kulturmetropole in der Kaiserzeit: Bowie, 1970, 28-30; Shear Jr., 1981,

frühhellenistische Bildnisse berühmter ‚Intellektueller' erfüllte im Kontext des Diogeneion und der Ephebenausbildung zusätzlich eine konkrete didaktische Funktion: An dieser wesentlichen Schnittstelle für die Erziehung der nachfolgenden Generationen wurde zweifellos regelmäßig auf die Literatur und Kultur der als vorbildhaft empfundenen klassischen und hellenistischen Epoche Athens verwiesen; und die Erinnerung an ebendiese Zeit und ihre herausragenden Vertreter transferierten die Bildnisse einiger Kosmeten auch visuell in den Bereich des Gymnasions. Es steht außer Zweifel, dass die partiell oder umfassend an die ‚Klassiker' des 5. und 4. Jhs. v. Chr. erinnernde Ikonographie der Bildnisse außerdem in hohem Maße geeignet war, Bildung und Geisteskraft des jeweiligen Kosmeten zu loben und seine Amtszeit als vorbildhaft zu präsentieren. Bemerkenswert ist, dass die im kaiserzeitlichen Athen in vielen Bereichen ostentativ vorgetragene Anbindung an die ‚große' Vergangenheit[76] nicht etwa zur Ausbildung eines allgemeinen Bildnisideals für attische Kosmeten geführt hat – eine einheitliche ‚Kosmeten-Ikonographie' gibt es nicht. Vielmehr standen in der gesamten Laufzeit der Serie (110/20-260/70) Hermen einer ‚römischen' neben solchen einer ‚retrospektiven' Richtung und waren die Übergänge zwischen diesen ikonographischen Ausrichtungen fließend.

Die Kosmetenporträts der ‚retrospektiven' Richtung sind Teil eines größeren Phänomens in der mittleren und späten Kaiserzeit, das nicht auf Athen beschränkt war, sondern auch bei Bildnissen in verschiedenen anderen Städten Griechenlands und Kleinasiens sowie in Rom zu beobachten ist.[77] Auch wenn

357-358; Hahn, 1989, 119-136. Zum Respekt der Römer gegenüber der griechischen Kultur vgl. Plin. *Ep.* 8.24.

76 Vgl. Weisser, 2002, 666-667. Kaiserzeitliche athenische Bildnisse mit retrospektiven Zügen: Meyer, 1991, 227 Taf. 138, 2; von den Hoff, 1994, 18; Zanker, 1995, 225; 227 Abb. 130; Danguillier, 2001, 76-77; 83-85 Abb. 31-32; Weisser, 2002, 666; 672 Kat. 534 (antoninischer ‚Antisthenes'; severischer ‚Demosthenes'). Eine griechische Arbeit ist auch der antoninische ‚Sokrates' in der Münchener Residenz: E. Weski in: Weski – Frosien-Leinz, 1987, 245-246 Nr. 129 Taf. 169. Vgl. auch eine attische Grabstele der severischen Zeit, auf der der Verstorbene eine Frisur trägt, die an die Kosmetenköpfe L 22/23 und damit an das Bildnis des Aischines erinnert: Mühsam, 1952/53, 76-77 Taf. 21; von Moock, 1998, 44-45; 116 Kat. 179. – Der frühantoninische Bildnistypus des Herodes Atticus ist gut mit Köpfen auf attischen Grabreliefs des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. vergleichbar und evoziert daher die spätklassische Zeit Athens in allgemeiner Weise: Richter, 1965, III 286 Abb. 2044; 2047-2049; Zanker, 1995, 230-231; Bol, 1998, 118-126 Taf. 21-27; Smith, 1998, 78-79 Taf. 10; Danguillier, 2001, 128-131 Abb. 58. Ein Rückgriff auf ein *bestimmtes* klassisches Bildnis scheint hier jedoch nicht vorzuliegen (vgl. auch Danguillier, 2001, 129-131; Fischer-Bossert, 2001, 152); nicht nachzuvollziehen ist die von Smith, 1998, 78 postulierte Abhängigkeit des Porträts von der Statue des Demosthenes.

77 Für kaiserzeitliche Bildnisse mit Rückgriffen auf bestimmte griechische Vorbilder s. z. B. von den Hoff, 1994, 18-20; Fischer-Bossert, 2001, 151-152 mit Anm. 93; vgl. auch Fittschen, 1989,

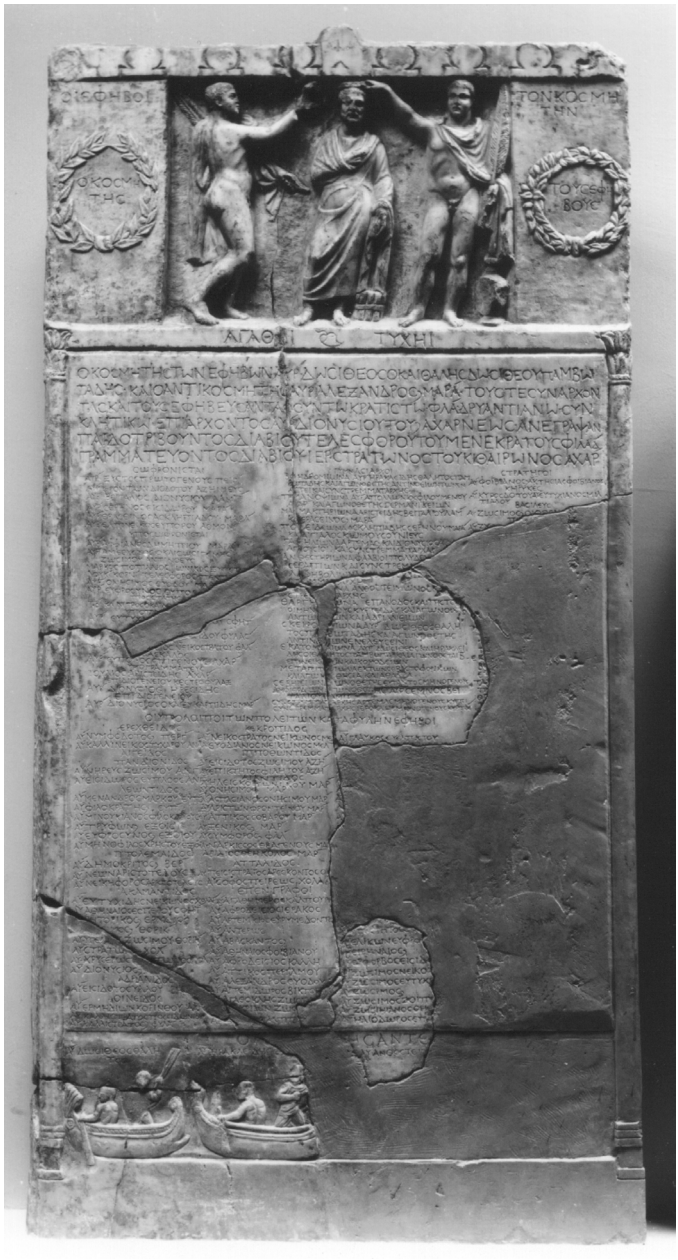
die Beweggründe für die Anfertigung solcher Porträts im Einzelnen unterschiedlich gewesen sein mögen, liegt es nahe, an einen engen Zusammenhang mit den Strömungen der Zweiten Sophistik zu denken.[78] Regelmäßig berief man sich hier auf die Protagonisten der ‚großen' Vergangenheit Athens und Griechenlands. Dass man dies nicht allein aus einer nostalgischen Stimmung heraus tat, sondern mit der Behandlung vorbildhafter historischer Gestalten und Taten durchaus gegenwartsbezogene Ziele verfolgte, ist in der Forschung der jüngeren Zeit zu Recht hervorgehoben worden.[79] Die Kosmetenbildnisse aus dem Diogeneion zeigen, dass programmatische Berufung auf die griechische Vergangenheit und bereitwillige Angleichung an das Herrscherporträt im Athen der mittleren und späten Kaiserzeit keinesfalls als Gegensätze verstanden wurden.[80] Die variantenreiche und im Einzelfall sicher auch auf (zeitgebundene) persönliche Vorstellungen des jeweiligen Beamten zurückgehende Ikonographie der Kosmetenhermen scheint sowohl politische als auch kulturelle Aspekte zu haben: In ihrer Gesamtheit führen sie den jungen Epheben im Diogeneion sowohl Loyalität gegenüber Rom als auch die im Gymnasion ständig praktizierte Orientierung an ausgewählten Vertretern der klassischen Epoche als vorbildhaft und nachahmenswert vor Augen.

108-113 (Zitate von Bildnissen Alexanders des Großen). Generell zum Phänomen: Meyer, 1991, 225-230; Zanker, 1995, 206-239.

78 s. o. S. 134 mit Anm. 72; vgl. ferner Lattanzi, 1968, 13-14; Schröder, 1993, 275. Minakaran-Hiesgen, 1970, 134-135 bringt die Existenz antoninischer Repliken des Xenophon-Porträts mit der vorbildhaften Rolle des Xenophon für die Zweite Sophistik in Verbindung.

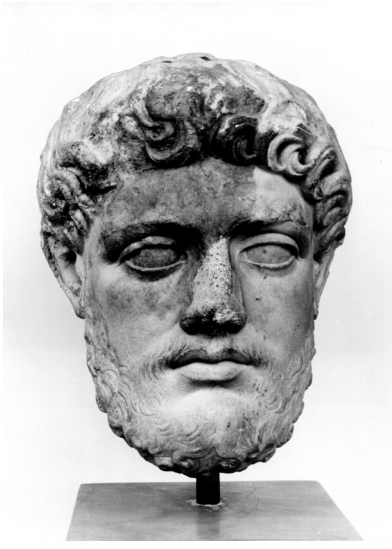
79 Bowie, 1970, 40-41; Anderson, 1993, 101; 119-126; Seeck, 1996, 116; 120-122; *DNP* 12/2, 2002, 854 s.v. Zweite Sophistik (E. Bowie).

80 Vgl. auch Smith, 1998, 61 zu den griechischen und römischen Identitätskomponenten in der städtischen Aristokratie der östlichen Provinzen des Imperium Romanum.



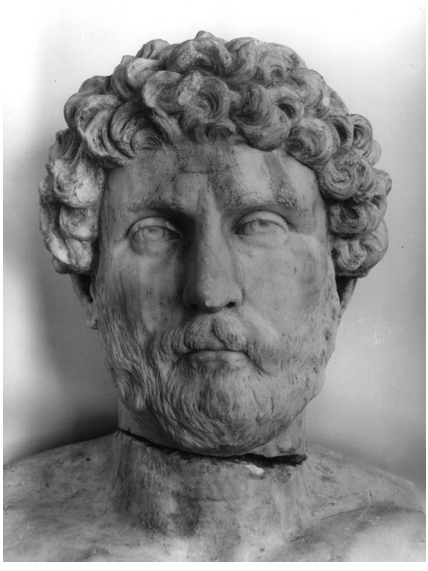
1 Der Kosmet Aurelios Dositheos wird von zwei Epheben bekränzt. Ehrenstele für die Epheben des Jahrgangs 211/12 n. Chr. Athen, Nationalmuseum 1465.

2 Porträtherme des Kosmeten Onasos aus Pallene (L 7). 125–150 n. Chr. Athen, Nationalmuseum 387.

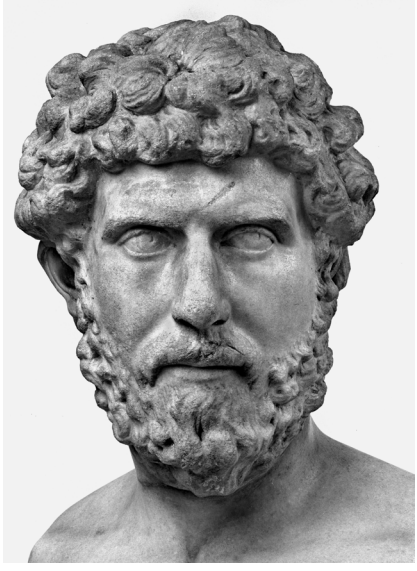


3 Kopf eines Kosmeten hadrianischer oder frühantoninischer Zeit (L 6). Athen, Nationalmuseum 416.

4 Ehrung des Kosmeten Eirenaios durch seine Söhne und zwei weitere Epheben. Ehrenstele für die Epheben (102/3–110/11 n. Chr.). Athen, Nationalmuseum 1469.

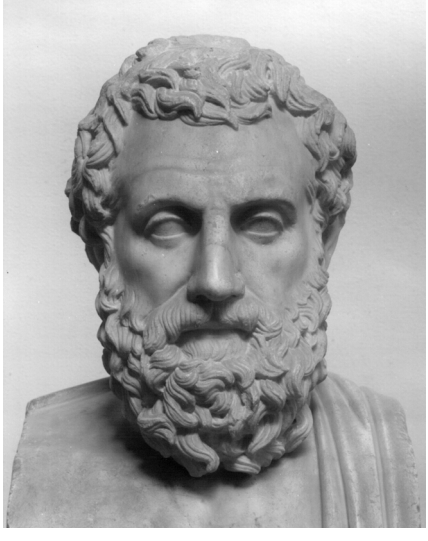


5 Kopf der Porträtherme des Kosmeten Sosistratos aus Marathon (L 8). 141/42 n. Chr. Athen, Nationalmuseum 385.

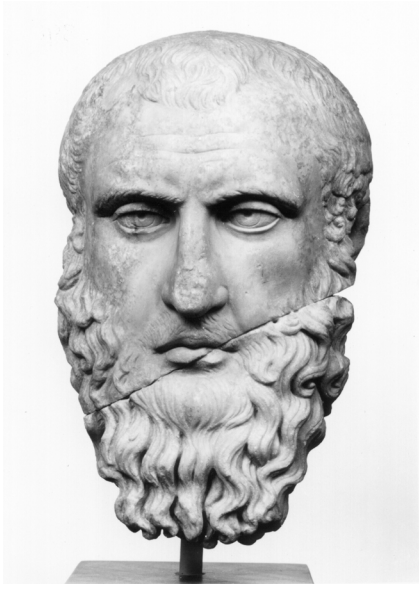


6 Aelius Verus (136–138 n. Chr.). Petworth, Slg. Leconfield.

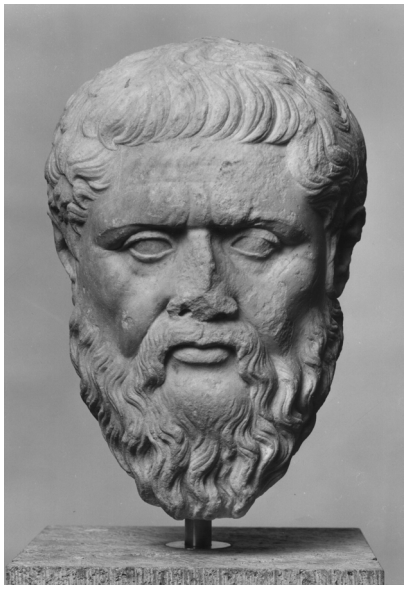
7 Porträtherme des Kosmeten Onasos aus Pallene (L 7). 125–150 n. Chr. Athen, Nationalmuseum 387.



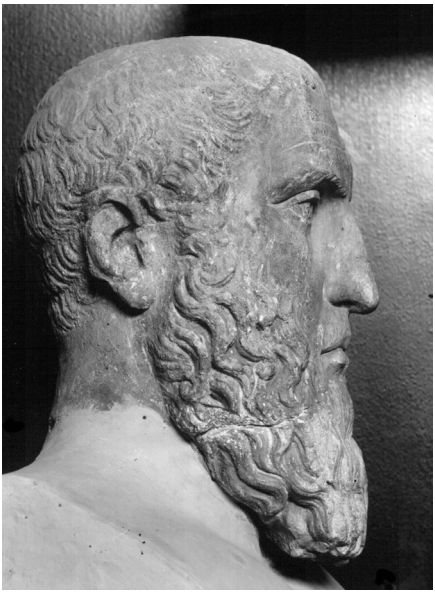
8 ‚Aischylos'. Römische Kopie nach einem Original der Zeit zwischen 340 und 320 v. Chr. Neapel, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 6139.



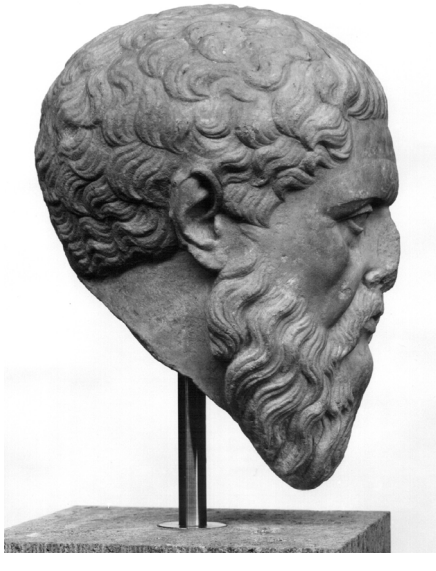
9 Kopf eines Kosmeten severischer Zeit (L 30). Athen, Nationalmuseum 396.



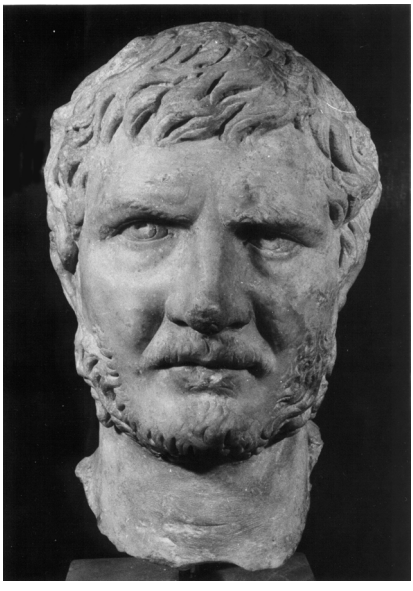
10 Platon (Typus Boehringer). Römische Kopie nach einem Original der Zeit um 350/40 v. Chr. München, Glyptothek 548.



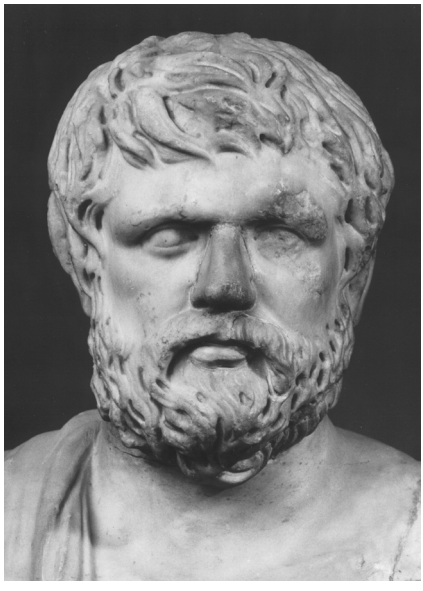
11 Kopf eines Kosmeten (wie fig. 9)



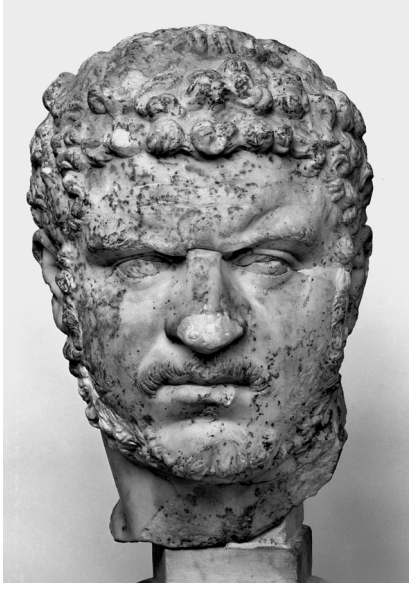
12 Platon (wie fig. 10).



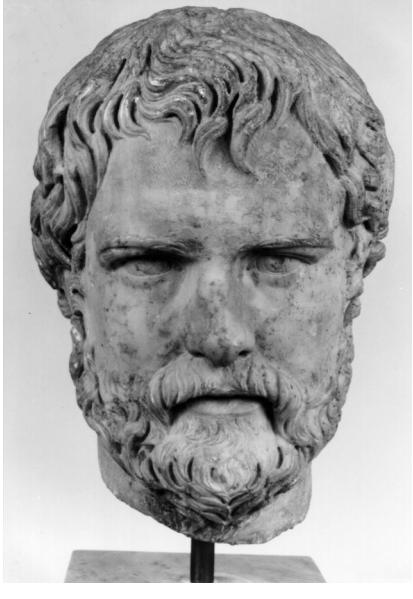
13 Kopf eines Kosmeten severischer Zeit (L 16). Athen, Nationalmuseum 411.



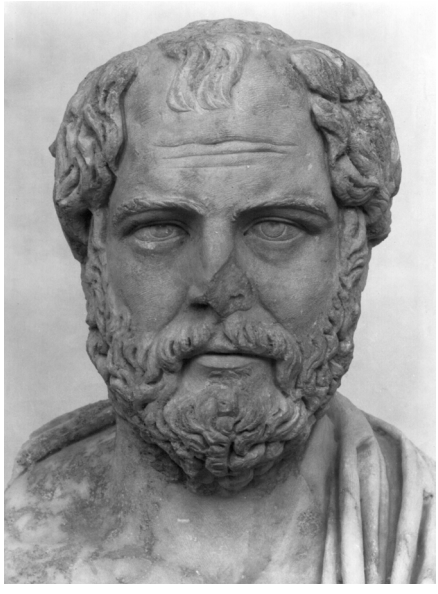
14 Xenophon. Römische Kopie nach einem Original der Zeit um 340/30 v. Chr. Madrid, Museo del Prado 100-E.



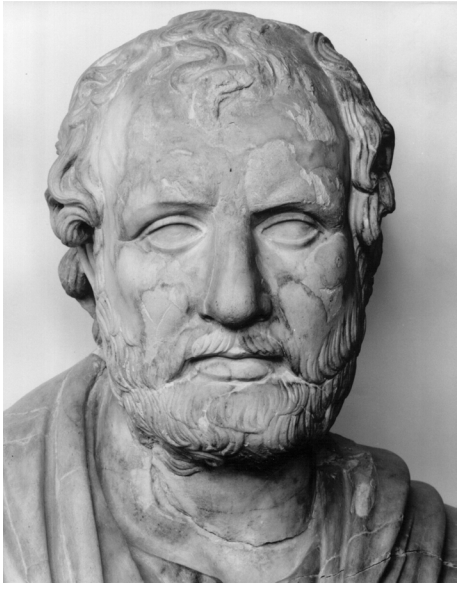
15 Bildnis des Caracalla (212–217 n. Chr.). Rom, Mus. Cap. 2310.



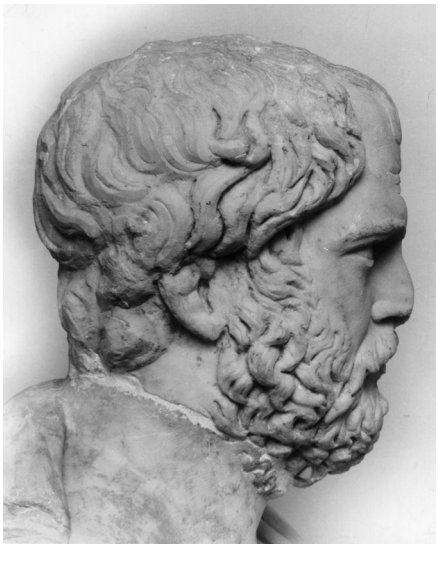
16 Kopf eines Kosmeten (L 23). 220–240 n. Chr. Athen, Nationalmuseum 390.



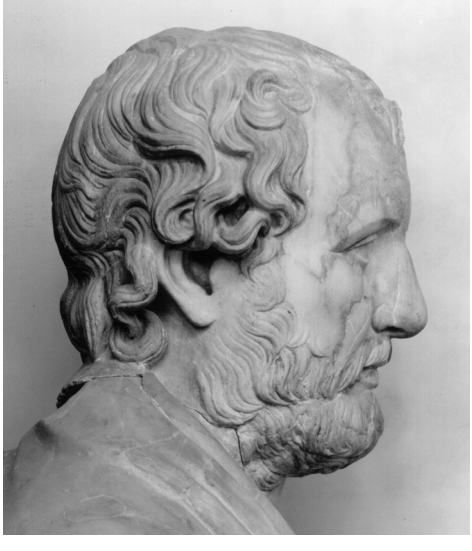
17 Kopf der Porträtherme eines Kosmeten (L 22). 231/32 n. Chr. Athen, Nationalmuseum 388.



18 Aischines. Römische Kopie nach einem Original der Zeit um 320 v. Chr. Neapel, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 6018.



19 Kopf der Porträtherme eines Kosmeten (wie fig. 17).



20 Aischines (wie fig. 18).

Glamorous intellectuals: Portraits of *pepaideumenoi* in the second and third centuries AD

BARBARA E. BORG

One of the most striking features of the Roman Empire is the importance given to the self-representation of members of the élite – and not just the élite – in statues and portrait images. Public places and buildings, as well as houses, villas, *horti*, and tombs, were filled with painted, sculpted, and cast portraits which could be dedicated by a city, province, *collegium*, friend or admirer, or a family member. The monuments themselves conveyed information about the person honoured, the reason for the dedication, his or her status, offices, virtues etc. Inscriptions, dress and posture, as well as the portrait head, all worked together to communicate their messages to the viewer. For the historian, such monuments are a highly valuable source of information about the norms and ideals on which the society was built. If it is indeed true that the strange intellectuals whom Philostratus called sophists and honoured with biographies, incorporated ideals accepted and acknowledged by the rest of the Roman élite, there should be a good chance of finding these ideals expressed in portraiture as well.

Paul Zanker, in his book *The Mask of Socrates*, has elaborated on the much older idea that the fashion of wearing a beard, made popular by the emperor Hadrian, demonstrated an affinity with Greek philosophy on the part of the person who wore it. Zanker began with the chronological coincidence of two phenomena. On the one hand, for a Roman of the first centuries BC and AD, Greek *paideia*, and in particular Greek philosophy, was a somewhat precarious occupation and acceptable mainly in the realm of *otium*. During this same period, portraits even of known intellectuals presented the same clean-shaven and austere look as that of any other distinguished Roman citizen (fig. 2).[1] This attitude changed over time, and with Hadrian (fig. 5-6), so he argued, both intellectual occupations and wearing a full beard became acceptable not only for adult men but even for the Emperor, so that, from then on, wearing a beard became a sign of ambition in the field of Greek *paideia*. Moreover, the fact that beards became

1 Zanker, 1995, 190-206.

longer and longer in the course of the second century AD, Zanker interprets not only as confirmation of his hypothesis (the intellectual's image becoming more consistent over time) but as evidence of a particular focus on philosophical education.[2] However, his line of reasoning encounters some methodological problems arising from two different aspects of the argument: interpretation of iconographical features on the one hand, and the concept of philosopher on the other.[3]

As R.R.R. Smith pointed out,[4] no single iconographical feature usually taken as an indication of philosophical ambition is as unambiguous as suggested, not even the beard, which is often interpreted as the most decisive signal. Although a Greek philosopher typically wears a beard, there is no indication that longer beards are more philosophical than shorter ones – think only of Aristotle. Men without any intellectual interest at all, like, for instance, Hadrian's successors Antoninus Pius or Lucius Verus (fig. 7), do wear beards as well. Even Hadrian himself was not particularly interested in philosophy, but in the Greeks and Greek culture in a much more general sense.[5] In his portraits (fig. 5-6), he neither wears the *himation* so typical of philosophers,[6] nor does he imitate any particular

2 Zanker, 1995, 206-221.

3 Cf. Smith, 1998, and Smith, 1999. I shall not repeat the whole discussion here but limit myself to those aspects particularly relevant for the present argument.

4 Smith, 1999, 453.

5 Woolf, 1994.

6 Quite often, a statue of Hadrian from the temple of Apollo in Cyrene (now London, British Museum no. 1381) is taken not only as the exception to the rule but as proof that emperors were indeed presented in the *himation* from Hadrian onwards (cf. Ewald, 1999a, 14; Zanker, 1995, 209 fig. 115). To this example should be added a statue of Nerva from the same temple (now London, British Museum no. 1404; for the two London statues see Rosenbaum, 1960, 46-48 no. 23 pls. 19 and 26, 3; 51-52 no. 34 pls. 26-27; 81-82 no. 123 pl. 67, 4) and a statue still in Cyrene representing Marcus Aurelius (Archaeological Museum, without no.?: cf. Bonacasa – Ensoli [eds.], 2000, 76). However, as Jane Fejfer kindly pointed out to me, all three statues seem to be late antique pasticci. Rosenbaum (loc. cit.) notes that the statues were restored from separate pieces and fragments but is not entirely clear about when this assemblage was made. Referring to Bagnani, 1921, 323, who suggests that the antique restoration of over 20 statues found in Cyrene was part of a larger Hadrianic restoration program after ravages during the Jewish revolt of 116 AD, Rosenbaum suggests a Hadrianic date for the restoration of Nerva as well. However, in the light of the restored statues of Hadrian and Marcus this is hardly likely. The case of Marcus is particularly telling. As noted in Bonacasa – Ensoli [eds.] loc. cit., the statue was assembled by using a good second century portrait of the emperor and a female statue reworked into something vaguely resembling a *himation* statue. That this reconstruction must have taken place in Late Antiquity, most probably in the second half of the fourth century, can be demonstrated by a very similar pasticcio: a reworked female statue was joined with an equally reworked head of Tiberius and turned into the portrait of the official Sufenas Proculus (Bonacasa – Ensoli [eds.], 2000, 126). Although these latter statues were not

Greek philosopher's hairstyle.[7] On the contrary, whereas these philosophers mostly wear their hair in a rather unassuming way, Hadrian's hair is styled in luxurious waves running from the back of his head to his forehead, where it is coiled up into neat and rather pretentious curls, doubtless with the help of curling-tongs. This hairstyle has its precursors in the Claudian and Neronian age, where it is typical of children and young people both male and female.[8] Nero's famous *coma in gradus formata* (Suet. *Nero* 51) is a variation of it (fig. 1), as is the coiffure *coma in anulos* with its tight curls instead of the curved strands around the forehead.[9] From Nero's time onwards, these hairstyles are sometimes combined with a beard, as in the case of Nero himself,[10] or, later, Domitian.[11]

In the first century, the conservative Roman élites looked upon this extravagant outer appearance with much scepticism and even criticism, just as they did other aspects of *luxuria* – Greek and otherwise.[12] Until the end of the first century, the hairstyles just described are typical of the *jeunesse dorée* of the Neronian and Flavian periods, condemned by Quintilian, Suetonius, Martial, and others, because of the time-consuming styling procedure which they required.[13] Accordingly, both Galba and the more fortunate Vespasian presented themselves with short-cropped hair, and without trying to hide their more or less advanced baldness.[14] The case of the beard is not as clear, but extant portraiture and the phrase

found in the same place as Nerva and Hadrian, all four may well belong to a Late Antique restoration program after the earthquake of 365 AD. However this may be, it should be noted that even if the Nerva and Hadrian in *himation* were genuine pieces from the second century they would be exceptions rather than the rule. On the significance of the *himation* see below.

7 For imitations of classical Greek hairstyles, cf. von den Hoff, 1994, 18-20; Krumeich, this volume.

8 Amedick, 1991; Cain, 1993, 58-68.

9 Cain, 1993, 70-74; on Nero's hairstyle see Bergmann, 1998, 148-149; 174-177, and the summary in Schneider, 2003, with bibliography.

10 Hiesinger, 1975; Cain, 1993, 102; Bergmann, 1998, 147-149.

11 Cain, 1993, 102. There are also earlier examples of portraits with beards but different hairstyles, but on young men only, cf. Cain, 1993, 100-102 with further references. It is therefore remarkable that from Nero onwards emperors as well as other men wear beards as adults as well, cf. portraits on the Flavian Cancelleria Reliefs (Bonnano, 1976, pls. 121-122; 125; 128), the Arch of Trajan at Benevent (Bonanno, 1976, pls. 158-159; 172-173; 175; 177) and *lictores* on a relief in Palaestrina (Musso – Pfanner, 1987, with fig. 2 pl. 1 [wrong way round]).

12 Petrochilos, 1974, 35-53; Balsdon, 1979, esp. 30-54; Beagon, 1992, 17-20 on Pliny; Wallace-Hadrill, 1990; Edwards, 1993, in part. 92-97. For the attitude towards other aspects of Greek culture during the Republican era see Gruen, 1990.

13 E.g. Quint. *Inst.* 12.10.47; Suet. *Nero* 51; Sen. *Ep.* 10.12.3; Mart. 8.52; cf. collection of sources in *RAC* 4, 1959, 619-650, particularly 632-633 (on hair styles) s.v. Effeminatus (H. Herter); cf. Cain, 1993, 89-92.

14 Schneider, 2003, 69-74 with bibl.

barbatuli juvenes indicates that wearing a beard was long regarded as a custom peculiar to the young.[15] The full beard of an adult associated with Greece, was apparently not acceptable at Rome, and even philosophers like Seneca did not wear beards (fig. 2).[16] With time, however, these conservative attitudes seem to have become less dominant. Already in the Flavian period, there is a considerable increase in the number of *coma in gradus* and *in anulos* coiffeurs in private portraits, and their presence in society became so natural that they figure quite prominently on Flavian and even on Traianic state reliefs (figs. 3-4).[17] With Hadrian, the moralising attitude of the conservative party lost influence to such an extent that the habit of wearing a beard and elaborate hairstyle became a general fashion for all strata and age groups of society.[18] While Hadrian's beard and hairstyle were connected primarily with luxury, this habit obviously did not – or rather, could no longer – contradict his position as emperor. The same holds true for his immediate successors and even for Marcus Aurelius, whose commitment to his duties as emperor is well attested, and whose luxurious style of hair and beard is equally unparalleled among Greek philosophers, in spite of his undisputed interest in philosophy (fig. 8).[19] Smith has therefore argued that Hadrian's outer appearance was in accordance not only with his *graecophilia* but also with his political choices, and in particular with his renunciation of Trajan's expansionism and preference for the military.[20] It represented the change from Trajan's traditional Roman *simplicitas* and military *virtus*, to Hadrian's urban *elegantia*, *urbanitas*, and *civilitas*.[21] From one of Artemidorus' interpretations of dreams

15 Cain, 1993, 100-104.

16 Zanker 191-192 fig. 107.

17 Cancelleria reliefs: Bonanno, 1976, pls. 131-133; Arch of Titus: Bonanno, 1976, pls. 147; 149; Arch of Beneventum: Bonanno, 1976, pls. 170; 176-177.

18 However, Smith, 1998, 83-87, rightly stresses that clean shaving was still an option well into the Antonine period.

19 Smith 1998, 90.

20 For a convenient summary see Bierley, 1997.

21 Smith, 1998, 62-63; 91-92 with due reference to the *Historia Augusta* in n. 187. However, I wonder whether the distinction between the circumstances in Rome and in the Greek East should really be carried as far as Smith wants, for the following reasons: (1) It may be no mere coincidence that the adoption of a beard by a wider sector of society already before Hadrian's reign, and a relaxed or even positive Roman attitude towards other practices and occupations regarded as Greek, occurred more or less at the same time, independently of Hadrian's motifs for wearing a beard. (2) Even if some portraits of the Eastern Greek élite may have displayed a beard already in the first century AD, it is again in the second that bearded portraits become popular in the Greek East. (3) Because of the antique prejudice that tends to identify luxury with Hellenism (and the other way round), it seems hard to separate the two. Thus, I can imagine that at the beginning, for Roman adults, opting for a beard may well have been facili-

we might infer that, in the second century, a luxurious style of hair and dress was also a status symbol:

> κείρεσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ κουπέως ἀγαθὸν πᾶσιν ἐπὶσης· ἐστι γὰς ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ καρῆναι καὶ τὸ χαρῆναι ἐκδέξασθαι κατὰ παραλλαγὴν στοιχείου, καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἐν περιστάσει πονηρᾷ ἢ συμφορᾷ τινὶ καθεστὼς κείρεται οὐδείς, ἀλλ᾽ οἷς μάλιστα εὐπρεπείας μέλει, οὗτοι κείρονται· μέλει δὲ εὐπρεπείας ἀλύποις τε καὶ οὐκ ἀπόροις.
>
> To have one's hair cut by a barber is good for all alike. For it is, as it were, from καρῆναι (to have one's hair cut) that we get the word χαρῆναι (to rejoice) by the substitution of a single letter. Furthermore, no man who is involved in an unfortunate situation or in a calamity has his hair cut. Rather, it is people who are especially concerned about their appearance who have their hair cut. And a neat appearance is the concern of those who are free from pain and are not in difficulty.[22]

At the same time, a decidedly philosophical style would not have been appropriate for an emperor at all. The only way to make a 'real' philosopher recognisable in a portrait would have been to follow the cliché of how such a person would look like. According to this stereotype, his outer appearance would have to show neglect for personal hygiene, in particular through his unkempt hair and wildly-growing beard – features hardly compatible with the position of an emperor or a member of the élite.[23] But even without this visual problem, a member of the élite would hardly have wanted to be looked upon as a 'real' philosopher. Johannes Hahn has shown that, independently of his school, a real philosopher was a person with an appropriate βίος, a lifestyle granting him a position at the margins of society. Only as someone who did not take part in the general competition for money, privileges and social status, could the philosopher live an exemplary life according to the highest ethical and moral standards, which would then allow him to exercise παρρησία, free speech and even criticism of social abuses.[24] This marginality, however, could hardly have been something the ordinary Roman citizen, let alone a member of the social élite or an emperor, would have desired. Such an impression is supported by Dio's comment that the *achiton en himatioi*

tated by the fact that the majority of the Greeks of the past whom they admired, and whose portraits filled the houses and villas of the élite, wore beards as well; but this was irrespective of their occupation and therefore not suggesting a particularly philosophical image.

22 Artem. 1.22; transl. R.J. White. There is, thus, no reason to doubt that the positive attitude towards an appearance indicating learning and elegance, which we find in the *Historia Augusta*, reflects contemporary thought of the second century AD; cf. Smith, 1998, 91-92 with n. 187 quoting *Hist.Aug.*, *Hadrian* 26; *Aelius* 5; *Pius* 2; *Verus* 10.

23 Hahn, 1989, 33-45; Smith, 1998, 80-81. There have been, of course, philosophical schools whose philosophers looked as civilised as everybody else. However, nobody would be able to recognise them except by an inscription mentioning their status.

24 Hahn, 1989, particularly 182-191; 206-207; Flinterman, 1995, 162-193; Flinterman, this volume; for Late Antiquity see. Brown, 1992.

costume provoked mockery and even insult (72.2). It may be for this reason that we know of no statue depicting an emperor in the *himation*, not even Marcus.[25]

Then again, Zanker was by no means completely mistaken. There are some obvious imitations of famous Greeks from the Classical age, and it is certainly not just by chance that they are mostly from the second century AD.[26] In the same period, portrait busts begin to show their patrons dressed in a *himation*, often even without an undergarment. In late Republican and early Imperial Rome, the *himation* was regarded not just as a Greek dress but also as a costume characterising a man as someone exercising a particularly Greek kind of learning. That the term *Graeci palliati* was used of philosophers teaching at Rome, makes this clear enough. For a Roman in Rome, the choice of *himation* as the dress for a portrait sculpture carried analogous connotations – even more so when there was no tunic underneath.[27] The bare chest could also signal ambitions towards *paideia* in the Greek East where the *himation* was the customary dress worn even by Roman citizens, though usually on top of an undergarment.[28] This 'intellectual' *habitus* was sometimes supplemented and emphasised by features which are more ambiguous but, in the context given, contribute to the overall picture. Facial expressions like the furrowed foreheads particularly common in the Antonine and Severan eras must represent some kind of thoughtfulness.[29] To be sure, this thoughtfulness is not necessarily a philosophical one. When shown on a portrait with military dress, it may well refer to the patron's seriousness and military foresight, whereas on a portrait with a toga, it may refer to his political concern and responsibility. But when depicted in combination with a bare chest and *himation*, its most obvious association will be with Greek *paideia*, and in this context also the beard will add to the overall picture of someone advertising his Greek education. The same is true of papyrus roles, so often depicted either carried in one hand or gathered in a bundle or in a box near the patron's feet. In a military context, like, for example, the *adlocutiones* on the columns of Trajan or

25 For the statues from Cyrene see n. 6 above; on private portraiture see below with n. 33.

26 Zanker, 1995, 209; 222-229 (I do not agree with Zanker's interpretation of his figs. 131-132); Krumeich, this volume; on a statue from Gortyn see also Smith, 1998, 81; cf. however Smith, 1998, 78-79 on Herodes Atticus' imitation of Greek citizens of around 300 BC (not intellectuals in particular) and the bust of the Platonic philosopher Theon of Smyrna in a similar guise (Rome, Museo Capitolino 529: Inan – Alföldi-Rosenbaum, 1979, 162-164 no. 115 pls. 95; 105, 2. 4).

27 Zanker, 1995, 196; 216-221; Ewald, 1999a, 14.

28 This view is supported by the fact that not only in the West but also in the East, statues of contemporaries without a *chiton* are hardly ever found. For a possibly non-intellectual bare-chested image, see Smith, 1998, 71-73 on the monument of Philopappus at Athens.

29 Zanker, 1995, 212-216.

Marcus, the *rotulus* will certainly refer to some military decree; in the hands of a togatus, it may well refer to some legal document.[30] When in the hands of a bare-chested man dressed in a *himation*, however, any viewer will most naturally interpret it as some document of erudition.[31]

Again, this erudition will not necessarily be of a philosophical nature. There are extremely few statues showing their patrons sitting on a chair in the hunched position typical of philosophers;[32] and it may be no mere coincidence that the *himation* on a bare chest appears almost exclusively on busts or herms where its connotations are toned down by the abbreviated form, to a symbolic sign and a partial quality.[33] For the Aphrodisian philosopher M. Aurelius Kallimedes, it was obviously sufficient to be acknowledged as a philosopher in the inscription on his sarcophagus, since he chose a non-philosophical civic image for his portrait.[34] Hardly any portraits with the unkempt hair and neglected beard of the archetypal philosopher have come down to us.[35] On the contrary, many of those who present themselves bare-chested and in *himation* sport the typically luxurious hair-

30 In *dextrarum-iunctio* scenes, it is most probably the marriage contract (Wrede, 2001, 50). For *togati* on fourth century senatorial sarcophagi, Wrede has proposed to interpret the *rotulus* – like the diptych – as some letter of official appointment (Wrede, 2001, 19 with n. 49; 88-89). The *scrinium* standing next to the patron's feet may refer to documents connected with his office in a more general sense, as the rotulus probably does, in scenes where the patron as magistrate is accompanied by an *apparitor*.

31 This is confirmed by the grave relief of Claudia Italia showing her with an open scroll in her left hand on which is written: πάσης μουσικῆς μετέχουσα, "she takes part in all musical things" (Paris, Louvre, depot: Marrou, 1938, 75-77 no. 71 pl. 3; Ewald, 1999a, 59).

32 Smith, 1999, 453.

33 Smith, 1999, 452 thinks that the scarcity of 'intellectual' statues is due to the fact that, in the Roman era, public statue honours were hardly ever granted for intellectual achievements. However, as Smith himself has pointed out on various occasions, inscriptions on statue bases reflect not just the meaning of the statue above but often both elements' meanings supplement each other. Accordingly, additional explanations must be provided. For an argument similar to my own see Smith, 1998, 64-65. – It is partly as a result of failing to recognise this important aspect (and for taking the Cyrene statues mentioned above n. 6 as proof of a general acceptance of the habit even in public representation of emperors) that Zanker (1995, 208-209) and Ewald (1999, 14) tend to overrate the philosophical component of *paideia*. Both do acknowledge that it is not just philosophers, but also poets, rhetors, teachers and others who wear the *himation*; and both are aware of the fact that the *paideia* comprised various fields of knowledge (Zanker, 1995, 205-206; Ewald, 1999a, 16-18). However, I do not agree that this warrants their often synonymous use of the terms 'intellectual', 'philosopher', 'sage', 'teacher' etc., and the dangers become clear when, in the end, the philosophical aspect appears as the central one in their analysis of particular monuments (cf. also the title of Ewald's book: *Der Philosoph als Leitbild*); cf. Raeck, 2002.

34 Hahn, 1989, 161-162; Smith, 1998, 81.

35 E.g. Zanker, 1995, 236-239 figs. 128; 130; cf. Smith, 1998, 80, who rightly reminds us of the fact that the lost busts or statues of these figures may still have downplayed the message.

style of the Hadrianic to Severan periods (fig. 10). This combination has puzzled modern scholars, and even led to condescending characterisations of these people as merely pretending to an interest in philosophy while 'actually' being interested instead in fashion.[36] Yet, in the light of recent research on Philostratus' sophists and the so-called Second Sophistic, these interpretations seem to be in need of some qualification. Interestingly enough, the outstanding characters whose lives Philostratus described in his *bioi sophiston* display the same combination of glamorous external appearance with serious, hard-earned learning. Rather unsurprisingly, for many decades they also met with disregard – if not blunt contempt – from modern classicists. More recently, though, scholars have argued that in antiquity they were highly regarded, with some of them even holding positions as senators, consuls and educators of emperors, like Herodes Atticus. The social status and success of these sophists is hardly understandable if their occupation was mere personal vanity, or if they were strange eccentrics fleeing from the real world, as some modern scholars have wanted to see them. Only if they served as positive role models and represented ideals (even if to an extreme extent), that they shared with the social elite of which they were a part, could they gain and maintain the position in society which they held.[37] Moreover, this was not an internal affair of the Greek East: the success of their strategies at the imperial court suggests their acceptance in Rome as well.[38]

In portrait sculpture of the second century, we often find exactly this same combination of ostentation in outward appearance with a predilection for Greek education (fig. 10). Accordingly, these portraits confirm the interpretation just summarised, since it seems sensible to assume that the patron of a portrait intends to be presented in a positive way.[39] Unfortunately, we know place and occasion of dedication for only a small percentage of sculptures. We may assume, however, that – at least outside Rome – a considerable number of them were set up in public places and some even on public commission.[40] In Philostratus, Polemo is praised for being an adornment for his hometown Smyrna just

36 Such a suspicion still shimmers through some of Zanker's labels, e.g. fig. 132 (= our fig. 10): "Büste eines philosophierenden Stutzers", "bust of a dandy with philosophical pretensions".

37 Schmitz, 1997.

38 Flinterman, 1995, in particular 38-45; Flinterman, this volume; Champlin, 1980 passim; Greg Woolf's statement of a systematic failure in communication thus needs some qualification (Woolf, 1994, particularly 132).

39 Contra Zanker, 1995, 230-233.

40 For Rome see Alföldy 2001; for honorary statues for sophists proper see Bowie, this volume; cf. n. 33 above.

like a splendid piece of public architecture would be, and this seems to be the ambition of the patrons of these portraits as well:

> πόλιν γὰρ δὴ λαμπρύνει μὲν ἀγορὰ καὶ κατασκευὴ μεγαλοπρεπὴς αἰκοδομημάτων, λαμπρύνει δὲ οἰκία εὖ πράττουσα, οὐ γὰρ μόνον δίδωσι πόλις ἀνδρὶ ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴ ἄρνυται ἐξ ἀνδρός·
>
> For just as its market-place and a splendid array of buildings reflect lustre on a city, so does an opulent establishment [with reference to Polemo's sumptuous style of travelling]; for not only does a city give a man renown, but itself acquires it from a man.[41]

A look at the sophists may also help our understanding of why there are so few clear signs of the kind of intellectual activity referred to. Although Philostratus' sophists tend to specialise in certain fields of erudition – as do those personalities counted among the sophists by modern scholarship –, they typically know Homer as well as Plato and Demosthenes. Hence, it is unsurprising that we find only very few specifically philosophical costumes in portraiture. This undecidedness regarding any particular field of education is in perfect accordance with the general ideal of the *pepaideumenos*.[42] Accordingly, Aulus Gellius, in the Antonine era, could still quote Ennius with approval:[43]

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41 Philostr. *VS* 1.532, transl. W. Cave Wright. For Latin sources in a similar tenor see e.g. Fronto, *Ad Amicos* 1.4, a letter of recommendation to his friend Aegrilius Plarianus for Julius Aquilinus: *Decet a te gravissimo et sapientissimo viro tam doctum tamque* elegantem *virum non modo protegi sed etiam provehi et illustrari. Est etiam, si quid mihi credis, Aquilinus eiusmodi vir ut in tui ornamentis aeque ac nostril merito numerandus sit.* ("A man so learned and so *cultured* should naturally find from a man of your serious character and wisdom not only protection but advancement and honour. Aquilinus is also, believe me, a man of such a character that he deserves to be accounted an ornament to yourself no less than to me." transl. C.R. Haines, emphasis B.E.B.); cf. the comment by Champlin, 1980, 33-34.

42 Therefore I do not agree with either Zanker, 1995, 230-233, or Smith, 1998, 80, that there are no sophistic-looking portraits but, on the contrary, I believe that the image of the *pepaideumenos*, of the citizen who uses his *paideia* as one of several elements of social distinction, corresponds to the sophistic image. On the unprivileged position of philosophy within the Roman conception of *paideia* see Champlin, 1980, 29-44; Hahn, 1989, 63-66.

43 Gell. 5.15.9 quoting Ennius (*Frg. scen.* 376 Vahlen); cf. Gell. 5.16.5 confirming his statement of 5.15.9 and Apul. *Apol.* 13. At one point even Dion Chrysostom advises the good ruler to take care to become a good orator and to study poetry, but not to carry philosophy too far; although this is not exactly in accordance with his general opinion that, in theory at least, the best ruler would be a philosopher (see Flinterman, 1995, 174 with references): τῶν γε μὴν λόγων ἡδέως ἀκούοντα τῶν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας, ὁπόταν καιρός, ἅτε οὐκ ἐναντίων φαινομένων, *ἀλλὰ συμφώνων τοῖς αὑτοῦ πρόποις*· He should, indeed, lend a willing ear to the teachings of philosophy whenever opportunity offers, *inasmuch as these are manifestly not opposed to his own character but in accord with it.* (2.26, transl. J.W. Cohoon; emphasis B.E.B.). Cf. Smith, 1998, 60; Champlin, 1980, 29-44 on the letters of Fronto; cf. Hahn, 1989, 63-66.

> Hos aliosque talis argutae delectabilisque desidiae aculeos cum audiremus vel lectitaremus neque in his scrupolis aut amolumentum aliquod solidum ad rationem vitae pertinens aut finem ullum quaerendi videremus, Ennianum Neoptolemum probabamus, qui profecto ita ait:
>
> > philosophandum est paucis; nam omnino haud placet.
>
> When I heard of these and other sophistries [i.e. propositions by Democritus and Epicurus], the revival of a self-satisfied cleverness combined with lack of employment, and saw in these subtleties no real advantage affecting the conduct of life, and no end to the inquiry, I agreed with Ennius' Neoptolemus, who rightly says:
>
> > Philosophizing there must be, but by the few;
> > Since for all men it's not to be desired. (transl. J.C. Rolfe)

On the other hand, portrait sculpture can demonstrate the wide acceptance of those values and ideas embodied to an extreme extent in Philostratus' sophists – and not only in the second century. The same preference for non-specialist *paideia* combined with an ostentatiously luxurious mode of dress continues well into the third and fourth centuries. To be sure, the long beard and ornate hairstyles of the Antonine era go rapidly out of fashion after Septimius Severus. However, at the same time, another, even more revealing kind of evidence steps in – sarcophagi. Their importance for social history and the history of ideas, and for the reconstruction of the ideals and outlook of Roman society, can hardly be overestimated. This is not just because of the large numbers of sarcophagi extant, but also because they continue to be produced through the second half of the third century, for which there is extremely little written evidence, whether literary, epigraphical, or even papyrological.

Already in the second century, sarcophagi with the nine muses document quite clearly the high esteem in which *paideia* was held, and, to be more precise, a *paideia* which incorporates a variety of fields (fig. 11). In contrast with the earlier Greek periods when the muses formed a more or less homogeneous chorus referring to poetry, from the fourth century BC onwards their characters are gradually differentiated until, in the Roman period, each of the muses can be associated with a certain field of competence, and has her own iconography representing her special area of expertise.[44] Among the earliest examples are eight of originally nine wall paintings from a house in Herculaneum now in the Louvre.[45]

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44 *LIMC* 6, 1992, 657-681 s.v. mousa, mousai (A. Queyrel); *LIMC* 7, 1994, 991-1013 s.v. mousa, mousai (L. Faedo); *LIMC* 7, 1994, 1013-1059 s.v. musae (J. Lnacha – L. Faedo); Wegner, 1966, particularly 93-110. This development seems important to me, although the differentiation is not always made explicit and the fields ascribed to a particular muse may vary.

45 Wegner, 1966, 96 Beil. 1-2.

Inscriptions inform us about the names of the muses as well as their fields of competence, which are also indicated by their adornments. Apart from those muses referring to the various literary genres, we also find Clio for history (**ΚΛΕΙΩ ΙCΤΟΡΙΑΝ**) and Urania pointing with a stick at a globe, designating astronomy. The nine muses on the sarcophagi represent a large variety of spheres of knowledge which the deceased claims for him- or herself.[46] On some of the short sides of these sarcophagi, we also find bearded males in *himation*, sometimes bare-chested, sitting, and/or carrying a papyrus role, supplementing the types of knowledge represented by the muses. Some of them carry gnarled sticks like the typical philosopher, and two sarcophagi even show recognisable philosophers, Socrates and Diogenes (fig. 9),[47] representing the philosophical aspects of *paideia*. However, their lateral, even marginal position in the decoration as a whole, indicates that philosophy has by no means a particularly prominent status, and it would be rash to call all the bearded men collectively philosophers as is often done. Most of them do not show any of the iconographical features unique to philosophers.[48] Some even wear a tunic or are accompanied by decorations such as theatrical masks, sundials or globes and thus refer explicitly to fields not at all, or at least not a central part of, a philosopher's occupations.

In the third century, there is an increase both in the number and the variety of *pepaideumenoi* depicted on sarcophagi.[49] The most comprehensive representations show all the nine muses in standardised iconography with their respective attributes and thus again underline the variety of fields of knowledge included in *paideia*.[50] When combined with older, bearded male figures, this may well suggest that the fields include philosophy, but perhaps also rhetoric and other disciplines, for which there is no muse available. Their more central position in the iconography may also indicate an increased importance of these spheres compared with the second century.[51]

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46 On these sarcophagi see Wegner, 1966; Ewald, 1999a, 29-53 with bibliography.

47 Paris, Louvre Ma 475: Ewald, 1999a, 135-136 no. A1 pl. 1; 2, 1-2; 3; Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AA.48: Ewald, 1999a, 136 no. A2 pl. 2, 3; for a discussion see Ewald, 1999a, 84-85.

48 The interweaving of terminological imprecision and confusing interpretation mentioned above n. 33 becomes clear when Ewald (1999, 31-33) calls these men philosophers, thinkers, and typified intellectuals all at the same time.

49 Zanker, 1995, 252-272; Ewald 1999 passim, who rightly stresses that the iconographies of the third century are also much more explicit than those on the mythological sarcophagi of the second century (pp. 77-79).

50 Cf. the inscription on a scroll mentioned above n. 31 stressing the patron's knowledge in *all* fields supervised by the muses.

51 Ewald, 1999a, 33-34 and passim.

Other patrons opt for abbreviations of this scheme, either for the sake of clarity or to make space for additional messages. When strigilated sarcophagi show, in the centre, a husband and wife in the typical marriage-*concordia* scene[52] or making a communal sacrifice, flanked by the wife as muse and the husband in *himation* on both outer edges (fig. 12), I find it hard to believe that this scheme refers only to the "philosophical counselling and moral conduct" on which the marriage is supposedly based.[53] There is nothing in the iconography of the *pepaideumenos* that identifies him particularly as a philosopher. Rather, the ideals and values the couple is most proud of are divided between the two, and expressed through the most simple and clear iconography: The wife must be a muse since muses are female, and, as a single muse, she comprises all the fields of competence the muses stand for.[54] The husband presents himself as *pepaideumenos* in the broadest sense, with the bare chest possibly hinting at the philosophical component of his education. His rhetorical skills, so central to any Roman's education, are expressed by the gesture of his hand, as in so many other cases.[55] Hence, I would prefer to see the two figures not as indicative of a reduction in meaning but as a kind of iconographical abbreviation, which incorporates a whole range of meanings and leaves space for other, complementary images.[56] The iconography is thus still in line with other examples of a reduction in the number of muses.

Some patrons even dispense with the muses altogether, condensing the motif of *paideia* into a single figure. The famous 'sarcophagus of the brothers' in Naples

52 For its significance cf. Wrede, 2001, 30-31; 34-35; 43-50 with bibliography; I do not, however, agree with his interpretation of the popularity of that scene as an indication of an increasing importance of private happiness.

53 Ewald, 1999a, 57 F1 pl. 68, 3-4; 69, 2; Ewald, 2003, 568-569; characterised as philosopher without any more detailed commentary in Wrede, 2001, 61. The narrow meaning given to the figures by Ewald (op. cit.) seems somewhat surprising in the light of his convincingly open interpretation of anonymous groups of bearded male 'Denker' sitting on a stool accompanied by a muse in Ewald, 1999a, 42-47. As will become clear in the following, I also do not agree with Zanker's general interpretation of third century images of *paideia* relating them not to public life but to "persönliche Überzeugungen" and "ein Sich-Bekennen zu einer Lebensform" (1995, 252-272, quote on p. 253), although this interpretation seems plausible for sarcophagi with bucolic elements (ibid. 267-272).

54 Ewald, 1999a, 36, who rightly observes that the iconographical type chosen for the wife-muses is very often that of Calliope, leader of the muses, and thus their "universellste Vertreterin". On the Munich sarcophagus pl. 8, however, the wife has the attributes of Urania, which lay an unusual stress on astronomy.

55 Cf. Raeck, 2002.

56 This interpretation may also help to explain the surprising fact that in many groups of an 'intellectual' with muse it is not the muse who inspires the *pepaideumenos* but the *pepaideumenos* teaching the muse who just listens to him; on these images see Ewald, 1999a, 44-45.

from the Gallienic period, presenting its patron in four different roles, is a good and well known case in point (fig. 14).[57] On the left, the largest scene, showing the patron in the most representative form of toga surrounded by two *lictores* and two more *apparitores*, makes it clear that the patron is most proud of his status as a high-ranking holder of senatorial office. On the right, we find the familiar scene of husband and wife in *dextrarum iunctio* embraced by Concordia in the background, flanked by Venus on the right and the Genius Populi Romani on the left. Marriage thus appears as an *exemplum* for *concordia* and as one of the most basic institutions guaranteeing the preservation of the Roman Empire. In the centre, the deceased appears again in two single figures, one dressed in a simple toga and the other in Greek *himation* with bare chest holding a papyrus role, as *pepaideumenos*. The *paideia*-motif is reduced to a single figure, in order to allow for other important aspects of the patron's status and personality to be illustrated. Its central position, however, demonstrates the importance of *paideia* even for high-ranking Roman officials. Its combination with other status-focussed images shows that this *paideia* is not a purely private accomplishment, but another status symbol, not (only) an element of *otium* but a prerequisite for the acquisition of any public office.[58]

While it may well be true that there was an increasing interest in philosophy and an urge for spiritual guidance,[59] not long before the mid-third century, some images show a particular preference for philosophy,[60] although the patrons of sarcophagi continue to favour a more urbane look for themselves. A sarcophagus in the Museo Torlonia, probably from the 240s,[61] presents, arguably, the most decidedly philosophical attitude that we can find on sarcophagi of the third century (fig. 13). On the front its patrons are surrounded by eight muses and six bearded men of advanced age. The latter are dressed in *himation* only: one has a gnarled stick, another carries a pouch (*pera*), and all of them display bodily features and wear their hair and beard in a way that indicates neglect for their outer appearance. Accordingly, they are rightly called philosophers. Their prominence

57 Ewald, 1999a, 54-56; 200-201 G9 pl. 88, 1; Wrede, 2001, 70-71 pl. 17, 1, both with bibliography.

58 Cf. Zanker, 1995, 264 with unwarranted reduction of the figure's meaning to the philosophical aspect; Ewald, 1999a, 55-56; 59 is more careful; Wrede, 2001, 75-76; 101-102.

59 Zanker, 1995, 252-272; Ewald, 1999a, 131-132 and passim with bibliography on the θεῖοσ ἀνήρ in n. 585; Ewald, 2003, 568-569; based on Veyne, 1987.

60 See in particular the *palliati* accompanying a magistrate, who, in the given context, may indeed be meant as the patron's personal philosophical advisor (Ewald, 1999a, 91-95) and all figures with decidedly Cynical iconography (Ewald, 1999a, 95-108 with my comment n. 62 below).

61 Rom, Museo Torlonia 424: Ewald, 1999a, 39-40; 95-101; 152 no. C1 pl. 24, 1-3; 25 with bibliography; Ewald, 1999a, 100-108 for sarcophagi with similar iconography.

in the representation demonstrates the importance of philosophy for the couple and in particular for the patron, L. Pullius Peregrinus, significantly rounding off the number of philosophers to the canonical number of seven.[62] Yet, he and his wife take care not to present themselves in the same guise as the figures they refer to. While the wife from the number of muses, the papyrus in her hand, and her Polyhymnia-pose, is obviously meant to be the ninth muse, her veiled head is in a decidedly Roman taste.[63] Her husband reads from a papyrus and wears a *himation*, presenting himself as *pepaideumenos* and, according to the number of philosophers, perhaps even as some sort of philosopher. But he wears a tunic as well, and the stool on which he is sitting is decorated and made more comfortable by a thick cushion. Apparently, he did not consider it appropriate for a *centurio legionis* of equestrian rank (which he was, according to the inscription on the lid) to present himself as a philosopher proper.

Others – and I would argue that this is the majority – still prefer to draw upon the whole range of aspects of *paideia*.[64] A sarcophagus in the Vatican from around 280, once even thought to belong to the Neo-Platonist Plotinus, is a case in point (fig. 15).[65] In the centre, the patron is portrayed sitting on a *kathedra* elevated by a platform. In his hands, he holds an open scroll, from which he has just stopped reading. A *scrinium* and a bundle of more scrolls lie beside his feet. On his right and left stand two female relatives with portrait heads, presented in the guise of Calliope and Polyhymnia respectively. Between the patron and the left 'muse' as well as at both outer edges, there are three anonymous elderly bearded men in *himation*. While it is obvious that the relief demonstrates the

62 Zanker, 1995, 256-258 fig. 147; Ewald, 1999a, 96-98 rightly stresses that in spite of their number they should not be identified with the Seven Sages because the number of seven was canonical for other types of 'intellectuals' as well (cf. Gaiser, 1980). But though Ewald, 1999a, 98-101 is certainly correct in saying that their iconography is that of Cynics (in three cases decidedly so), I would nevertheless hesitate to identify them as Cynics and to draw far-reaching conclusions from their supposed representation, on the acceptance of Cynics in Rome of the third century (Ewald, 1999a, 106-108). Rather, it simply happened to be the case that Cynical iconography became the dominant iconography for the stereotypical philosopher, and thus was the only way of marking philosophers off from other intellectual *palliati* (for some qualification of his statement quoted above see also Ewald, 1999a, 104-106).

63 Figures of this type are called 'Musen-Matronen' by Ewald, 1999a, 43.

64 This is, of course, not to deny any variation concerning particular preferences. Whereas a few sarcophagi do indeed show a clear preference for philosophy (e.g. the Torlonia sarcophagus just discussed or Ewald, 1999a, 57; 199-200 G5 pl. 66, 2), others seem to focus on poetry or even on particular forms of poetry (e.g. Ewald, 1999a, 49; 172-173 E2 pl. 50, 1. 3) or display a preference for astronomy (e.g. Ewald, 1999a, 49; 177 E 15 pl. 60, 1).

65 Rome, Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano 9504: Ewald, 1999a, 93-94; 167-169; no. D3 pls. 42, 1-2; 43, 1-4 with bibliography.

paideia of the patron and his family, the usual interpretation that the patron wants to be seen as a philosopher, or just as being particularly interested in philosophy, is much less evident. Again, the 'muses' refer to the whole range of their competence, and these associations in turn relate not just to the two ladies but also to the patron they are flanking. Of the three bearded men, only the left one wears his *himation* on a bare chest. Since his balding head also seems to be imitating the portrait of Socrates, he must be a philosopher. The other two, however, wear a tunic under their *himation*, and the hair and beard of the right figure at least are carefully curled. The contrast between these two and the philosopher on the left makes them appear even less philosophical, and marks them off as experts in different fields.[66] The pose and gestures of the patron in the centre clearly point to his rhetorical skills. Finally, the patrons again take care not to appear too philosophical, and appropriately Roman. Both 'muses' have their heads covered. The *pepaideumenos* on his *kathedra*, although his mantle is draped like a *himation*, not only wears a tunic underneath, but even substitutes the himation for the toga. On his feet, he quite clearly wears Roman shoes, demonstrating his equestrian rank.[67]

Conclusion

Our survey of portrait statues, busts and sarcophagi of the first three centuries AD has shown that self-representation in these media did indeed highlight their patrons' education and Greek *paideia*, as expected both from the general importance of self-representation in portraiture, and the significance of *paideia* for elite status which can be inferred from written sources. Four aspects concerning these references to *paideia* and its forms have also become apparent:

(1) The present survey, focussing on Roman monuments, has demonstrated that the ideal of *paideia* was by no means limited to the Greek East, but from the second century onwards was also accepted in Rome; a more comprehensive treatment would be able to show how widely so.[68]

66 Contra Zanker, 1995, 261-262 and Ewald, 1999a, 94 who want them to be philosophers of different schools.

67 Fittschen, 1972, 491-492, already observed that the figure type of the equestrian is taken from monarchical and magisterial representations, not from philosophical iconography. Quoted with approval and supplemented with further evidence by Ewald, 1999a, 38-42.

68 For the wide acceptance of this ideal among the members of society who could afford sarcophagi, see Ewald, 1999a. It would be extremely interesting to compare the situation in Rome with that in Greece and Asia Minor respectively. Yet, Roman portraits from Greece as well as sarcophagi from both areas still await an adequate publication and, at any rate, such a

(2) Including sarcophagi in the discussion has permitted us to extend the survey through the third century AD, despite a scarcity of written sources in its latter part. Contrary to the modern view that there was a decline in education and a lack of interest in it, the sarcophagi show both that a steady or even growing interest in *paideia* took place, and that a sophisticated and varied visual language developed.[69] Sarcophagi provide a link between the age of Philostratus' sophists and Late Antiquity, revealing the continuities between these periods which are so often treated as separate by modern scholarship.[70]

(3) The iconography, in the vast majority of cases, does not indicate any preference concerning one particular field of *paideia*. It is not our failure that we cannot distinguish between different types of 'intellectuals,' nor is it a failure of the ancient artist to mark these types off more clearly. Where there was a certain preference on the part of the patron concerning his *paideia*, this is demonstrated by the addition of figure types which were characterised more clearly as philosopher, poet, orator, astronomer etc.[71] However, it seems telling that such cases are rather rare. People knew what a Socrates, a Plato, and a Cheilon, a Euripides and Menander or a Demosthenes looked like, as is well demonstrated by copies of their portraits decorating houses, villas, and other places. Thus, it would have been easy to show a famous philosopher, poet etc. next to the deceased, either as a whole figure or as a tondo or herm portrait, just as they did in their private houses. But while some patrons of sarcophagi did indeed employ these devices, the majority chose not to do so. I am not suggesting that every single patron deliberately decided to 'have it all'. Rather, the very scarcity of cases where patrons emphasised a particular aspect of *paideia* suggests that the common ideal was *paideia* in a generalising sense, encompassing a variety of 'disciplines'. The indifference in iconography towards the exact content of *paideia* is thus both purposeful and adequate, since it includes all possible forms of *paideia* that a

project would have exceeded the scope of this paper. At first glance the material suggests that reference to *paideia* is indeed made, but that the actual manifestations of it differ from those in Rome. Cf. Ewald, this volume, on Attic sarcophagi, and Smith, 1998, on differences in portraiture of East and West (with a slightly different focus).

69 Contra Raeck, 2002, 65.

70 However, this applies predominantly to those scholars focussing on the High Imperial age whereas studies on Late Antiquity tend to be more aware of continuities. Cf. in particular Brown, 1992; most recently: Swain – Edwards (eds.), 2004, and Drecoll, this volume, both with further bibliography.

71 Cf. Ewald, 1999a, esp. 84-109.

patron might claim for him- or herself.[72] It is in perfect accordance with what we know from other sources about attitudes towards *paideia*, and the forms in which it was appreciated and practised by the Roman élite, whose educational ideal is a comprehensive one.

(4) One of the most remarkable and, for a long time, most controversial aspects of Philostratus' sophists is their combination of a high standard of *paideia* with glamorous public performances. Portraiture often presents us with exactly this same combination and thus supports the view expressed by Thomas Schmitz and others, that the sophists were not just a crazy bunch, but rather, were the exponents of an ideal, which formed part of the culture of the élite in general. While portraiture of the second century expresses elements of luxury and display through the time-consuming hair and beard fashions it depicts, third century sarcophagi often show the *pepaideumenos* well-dressed, sitting on a cushioned chair or standing in a representative pose. The patron of the so-called Plotinus sarcophagus (fig. 15), one of the largest and most splendid pieces that has come down to us, presents himself in a highly imposing posture, with the flanking figures serving as an appropriate framework. The sarcophagus thus shows the same preference for ostentation and luxury, combined with competence in a wide range of intellectual fields, as Philostratus' sophists did. The fact that the patron himself and the two relatives present themselves clearly in Roman attire as well (the ladies *capite velato*, the patron in toga and Roman shoes), makes it clear that this ideal was no prerequisite of the Roman East, but had also become an important marker of status in Roman society of the capital. Others employ different devices but express a similar attitude. The patron of the Naples' 'brother sarcophagus' (fig. 14), refers to his *paideia* through his depiction in the modest dress of himation on bare chest, while ostentation and luxury are added through the flanking scenes, with the most representative of all clearly being the left one showing him in the *toga contabulata* surrounded by *apparitores*. The ideal of Greek *paideia* had spread over to the Roman West as an important indicator of status and an indispensable attribute for any Roman citizen with public ambition – even senators.[73]

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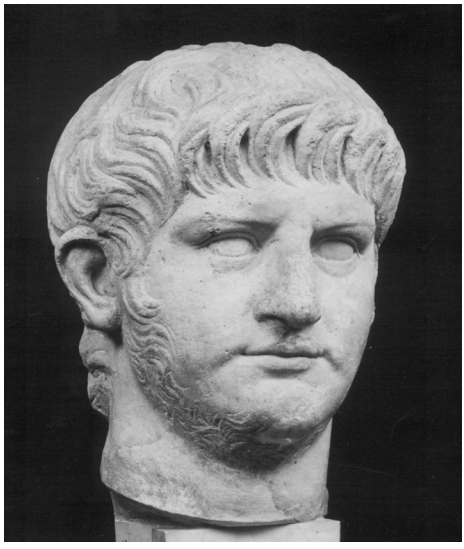
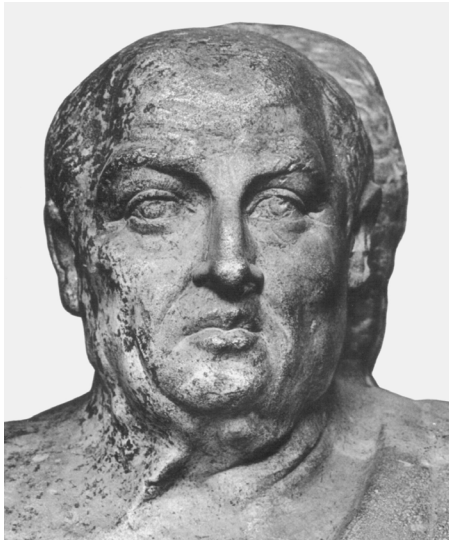
72 So Hölscher, 1982, 213-215 (quoted by Ewald, 1999a, 81) is still right even after a more comprehensive study of the relevant monuments, which he demands, was carried out by Ewald, 1999a. The latter was able to make some valuable qualifications however.

73 For the second century, cf. the letters of Fronto, for instance, who recommends various friends for high posts including that of judge, governor, and even military service; see Champlin, 1980, 29-44. Cf. also Ewald, 1999a, 106 quoting Hahn, 1989, 175-176 who assumed that the concentration of written sources in the Roman East may be mere coincidence.

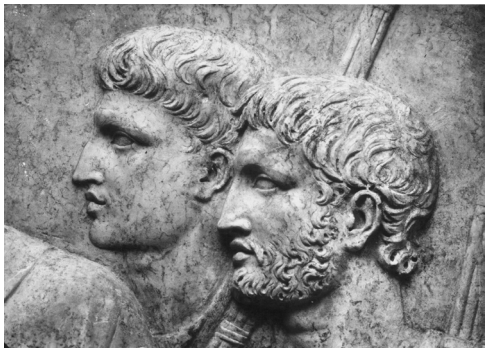
I would like to thank Frieda Klotz for improving my English.



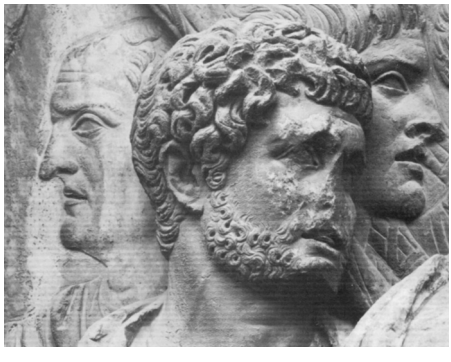
1 Portrait of the emperor Nero; Rome, Museo Nazionale 618



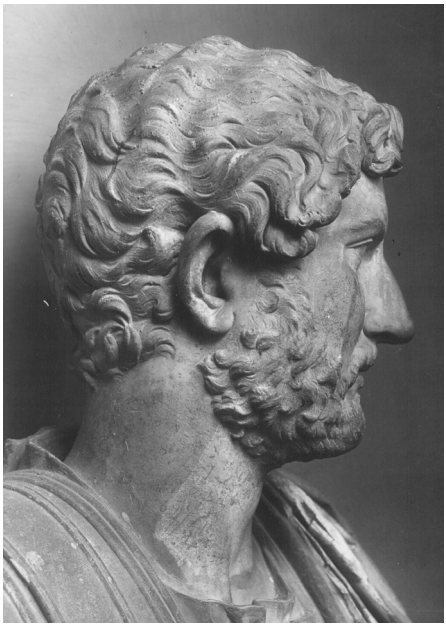
2 Portrait of Seneca, small double herm with Socrates; Berlin, Staatliche Museen 371

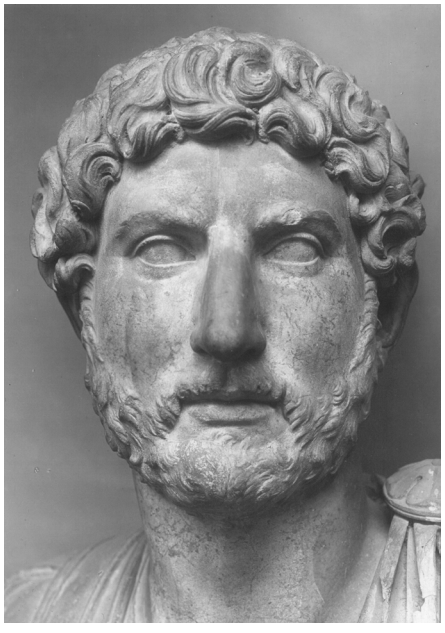


3 Heads of *lictores* on the Flavian Cancelleria Relief A

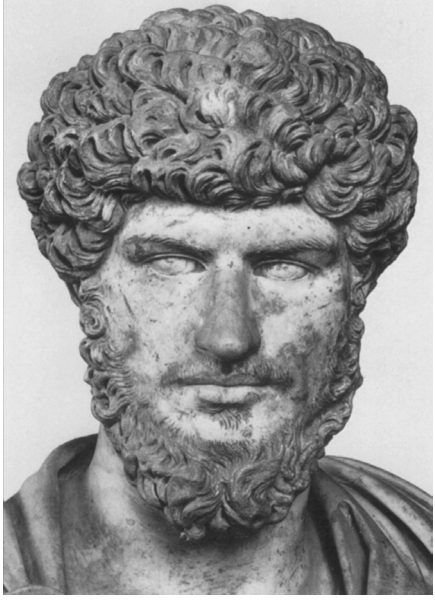


4 Officer behind the emperor on the Arch of Trajan at Benevento (NE front, lower panel)

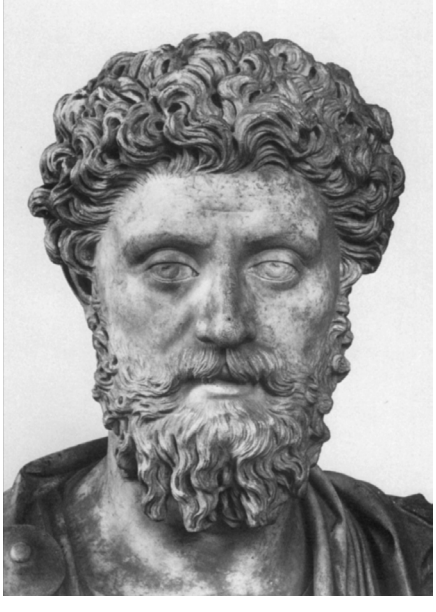




5-6 Portrait of the emperor Hadrian, Roma, Palazzo dei Conservatori 817

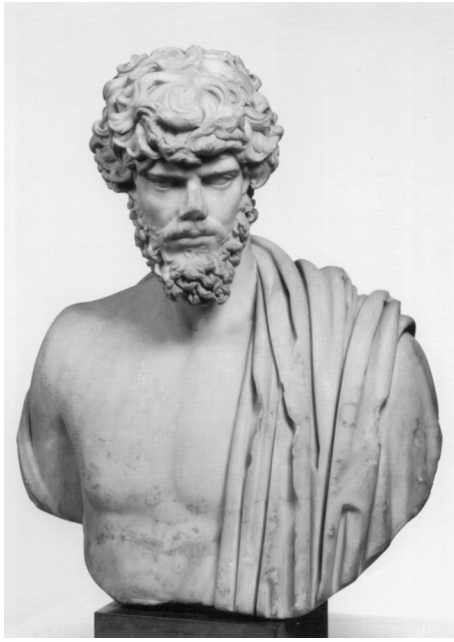


7 Portrait of the emperor Lucius Verus, Roma, Museo Capitolino 452



8 Portrait of Marcus Aurelius, Roma, Museo Capitolino 448

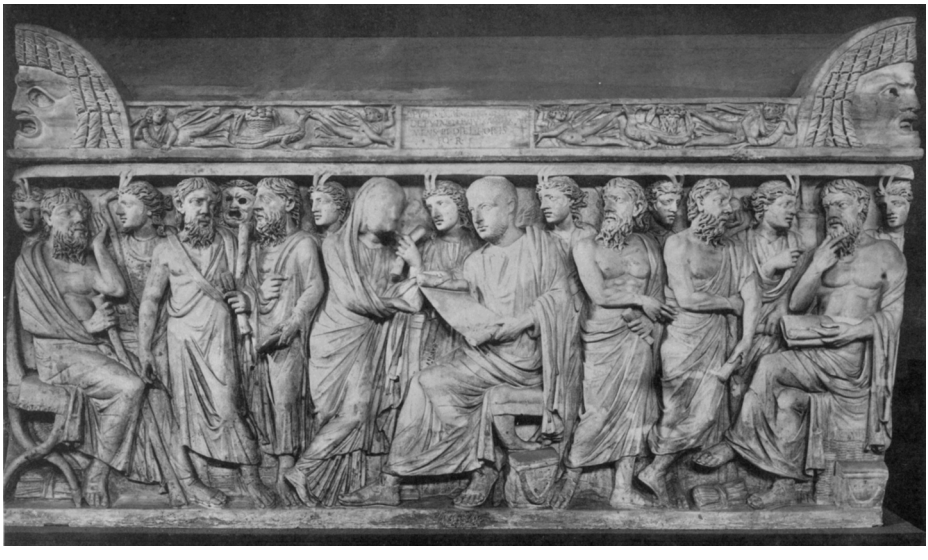
9 Short side of Sarcophagus with portrait of Socrates, Paris, Louvre Ma 475 (cf. fig. 11 below)



10 Bust of a joung man, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek I.N. 789

11 Sarcophagus showing the nine Muses, Paris, Louvre Ma 475

12 Sarcophagus of a couple: Munich, Glyptothek 533.



13 Sarcophagus of L. Pullius Peregrinus and his wife, with philosophers and Muses; Rome, Museo Torlonia 424.

14 Sarcophagus of a senator (?), so-called 'brother-sarcophagus'; Naples, Museo Nazionale 6603.

15 Sarcophagus of an equestrian and two family members, so-called 'Plotinus-sarcophagus'; Rome, Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano 9504.

Städtische Münzprägung und zweite Sophistik

PETER WEIß

Numismatik und zweite Sophistik, Paideia und Münzen – noch vor zwei bis drei Jahrzehnten wäre in der breiten wissenschaftlichen Öffentlichkeit kaum jemand auf die Idee gekommen, dass das sinnvolle Begriffsverbindungen sein könnten. Die Gründe liegen auf der Hand. Zu sehr war die Beschäftigung mit der zweiten Sophistik auf die Literatur fixiert, zu stark war die Numismatik in ihren traditionellen Bahnen verhaftet, zu gering war noch der Kontakt zwischen den altertumswissenschaftlichen Disziplinen allgemein und zu vernachlässigbar erschienen von ihrer Wertigkeit her sowohl die griechische Literatur als erst recht die griechischen Münzen der Kaiserzeit. In all diesen Punkten hat inzwischen ein gründliches Umdenken stattgefunden, geradezu ein Paradigmenwechsel. Das gilt besonders auch für die Beachtung und den Umgang mit der griechischen Münzprägung der Kaiserzeit. Man kann hier seit den frühen 1980er Jahren von einem richtiggehenden Boom sprechen, in der Corpusarbeit und in der Interpretation. Der Nachholbedarf war groß, denn nach einem ersten großen Schub in den Jahren vor und nach 1900, der vor allem mit dem Namen Friedrich Imhoof-Blumers verbunden ist, war dieses Material zunehmend in den Hintergrund getreten.

Es gab allerdings eine große Ausnahme in der anderen Richtung. Der französische Gelehrte Louis Robert, eine herausragende Autorität auf dem Feld der griechischen Epigraphik, erkannte die großen Erkenntnismöglichkeiten, die in dem riesigen Material stecken, er betonte gegen den Trend von den 1930er Jahren bis zu seinem Tod 1985 immer wieder die große Bedeutung dieser ungehobenen Schätze, und er wurde nicht müde, die kaiserzeitlichen griechischen Münzen für Interpretationen aller Art heranzuziehen. Er hat konsequent Ernst gemacht mit der Erkenntnis, dass ein disziplinübergreifendes Herangehen ganz neuartige Erkenntnisfortschritte bringt, und so hat er denn allenthalben auch die Literatur der Kaiserzeit und der Spätantike, bis Nonnos und Stephanos von Byzanz, herangezogen. Mehrere, gerade auch in Deutschland, sind ihm inzwischen auf diesem Weg gefolgt. Es sind aber noch immer nicht sehr viele. Eine solche ganzheitliche Herangehensweise, die auch in diesem Beitrag verfolgt wird, drängt

sich aber auf. Denn unsere Disziplingrenzen sind künstlich und das Ergebnis einer lange zurückreichenden wissenschaftlichen Spezialisierung. Bauten, Monumente, die zugehörigen Inschriften, die Münzproduktion samt ihrer Gestaltung und die Literatur waren Teile einer einheitlichen Lebenswelt, und es ist von daher zu erwarten, dass sich überall mannigfache Berührungen und Überschneidungen finden, auch gemeinsame Grundelemente und Grundtendenzen. Solche signifikanten Themen der kaiserzeitlichen Kultur des griechischen Ostens, die sich durch die verschiedensten Medien ziehen, hat bereits Robert herausgearbeitet und in vielen Einzelheiten beleuchtet, so die große Rolle und die Verbreitung der Agonistik und den hohen Stellenwert der Mythhistorie mit den damit verbundenen, oft eine große Gelehrsamkeit voraussetzenden Konstruktionen.

In diesem Beitrag sollen zwei Aspekte in den Vordergrund gestellt werden. Es geht zum einen um zentrale Gemeinsamkeiten in der Thematik und Gestaltung der Münzprogramme mit tragenden Grundelementen der Welt der zweiten Sophistik und um den Nenner, auf den sich beides bringen lässt. Zum anderen wird der Blick noch einmal auf ein Phänomen gerichtet, das im engeren Sinn mit *paideia* zu tun hat, nämlich auf die neuartige Qualität der Vergangenheit im Denken der Zeit, die Verbreitung solcher Vorstellungen und ihren Stellenwert in den Städten selbst, wie sich das in den Münzen darstellt. Denn auf diesen Elementen basiert die so genannte zweite Sophistik zu einem großen Teil.[1]

1 Frau Barbara Borg bin ich für die Einladung, auch die Münzen in das interdisziplinäre Gespräch einzubeziehen, dankbar, ebenso für ihr Zureden bei der Genese dieses Beitrags. Er will nur als eine hoffentlich nicht zu gewagte Skizze, allerdings zu grundsätzlichen Fragen und Phänomen, verstanden werden, bei der eine umfangreiche Dokumentation weder möglich ist noch sinnvoll erscheint. So beschränken sich auch die Literaturhinweise auf das Nötigste. Dabei mag man nachsehen, dass Beiträge aus der eigenen Werkstatt überproportional vertreten sind.

Die Abbildungen (um die sich von der technischen Seite her dankenswerterweise H. Mäkeler kümmerte), nur mit Material aus Kleinasien, sollen hauptsächlich als Illustration für Leser dienen, die mit den Städteprägungen nicht so vertraut sind. Eine gewisse Beliebigkeit bei der Auswahl war bei dem begrenzten Raum nicht zu vermeiden. Die Prägungen vor dem 2. Jahrhundert kommen dabei zu kurz. Zahlreiche Abbildungen findet man in dem nach Themen geordneten „Bilderbuch" von Franke, 1968, auch dort nur von Material aus Kleinasien (aus der großen Sammlung von H. v. Aulock, deren Publikation damals das Interesse wieder neu weckte). Zu den Schwierigkeiten und Möglichkeiten der Auswertung des Materials im interdisziplinären Rahmen und den großen Chancen siehe die beiden Einführungsbeiträge zum ersten internationalen Kolloquium zu den „Greek Imperials" (Nollé – Overbeck – Weiss) von Nollé, 1997 und Weiss, 1997. Ganz in den Vordergrund wurden die Münzen in der Monographie von Harl, 1987 gestellt, mit dem Ziel, die Bedeutung zahlreicher Themen für die östlichen Städte und die Kontinuitäten bis weit ins 3. Jahrhundert hinein herauszuarbeiten (mit zahlreichen Tafeln). Siehe dazu die kritische Rezension von Verf., *HZ* 249, 1989, 667-670. Die Städteprägungen wurden in jüngerer und jüngster Zeit nicht nur für größere Untersuchungen zur Regionalgeschichte (z.B. Dräger, 1993) und der Funktion des Mythos (z.B. Scheer, 1993)

Die kaiserzeitlichen Städteprägungen: ein epideiktisches Medium

Um verständlich zu machen, was die kaiserzeitlichen Stadtprägungen von den Münzen davor unterscheidet und worin ihre neuartige Qualität liegt, muss etwas weiter ausgeholt werden. Dabei sind Vereinfachungen unvermeidlich, wenn man das Typische herausarbeiten will.[2]

Nach dem Ende der Bürgerkriegszeit der ausgehenden Republik setzte unter Augustus in den Prägungen der Städte reichsweit ein deutlicher Wandel ein. Er ist zunächst einmal gekennzeichnet durch einen markanten Aufschwung der Prägeintensität, im Westen wie im Osten. Zahlreiche Städte prägten nach längeren Pausen wieder, viele erstmals, fast alle in unedlem Metall (Aes) und in kleinen Nominalen. Parallel zu der Zunahme der Prägeintensität veränderte sich das Erscheinungsbild der Münzen in einem entscheidenden Punkt: Fast überall wurde nun auf die Vorderseiten das Bild des Princeps oder von Mitgliedern der Domus Augusta gesetzt; die traditionellen Bezüge auf die prägende Stadt selbst finden sich dementsprechend fast nur mehr auf den Reversen. Diese Elemente, Intensivierung der Prägung, große Zahl der prägenden Städte, Bezugnahme auf den Kaiser auf den Vorderseiten, auf die Stadt auf den Rückseiten, sind typisch für die gesamte Prägung von Städten bis zu ihrem Abbrechen unter Gallienus (mit Ausläufern bis zu dem kurzlebigen Kaiser Tacitus, gestorben im Jahr 276 n. Chr.). Im Westen wurden städtische Prägungen schon nach Tiberius eingestellt (mit Ausnahmen noch unter Caligula), so dass also die genannte Häufung und die lange Laufzeit nur die Städte der östlichen Reichshälfte betrifft, in der peregrine Städte griechischer Sprache gegenüber römischen Kolonien mit gewaltigem Abstand dominierten. Diese elementaren Tatsachen sind mit ein Grund dafür, dass man die kaiserzeitlichen Städtemünzen schon seit längerem als Einheit betrachtet und diese riesige Gruppe von den hellenistischen Münzen klar trennt.

Dazu kommt aber etwas anderes und noch Wichtigeres. Die hellenistischen Münzen waren in ihrem Programm einfach und konventionell. Sie trugen typischerweise das Bild einer Stadtgottheit, eines Heros, der Tyche oder eines Herr-

erfolgreich herangezogen, sondern auch für Untersuchungen zu Mentalitäten und Identitäten mit modernen theoriegestützten Ansätzen, auch mit Einbeziehung der epigraphischen Evidenz: Schmitz, 1997; Stephan, 2002. Umgekehrt hat man bei einem im engeren Sinn numismatischen Kolloquium in Oxford 2002 nun auch dort das Thema „Identitäten" ins Zentrum gestellt: Howgego – Heuchert – Burnett (eds.), 2004. Dass es auch im vorliegenden Beitrag grundsätzlich um Fragen der Identität geht, wird überall implizit oder explizit klar. Angesichts des Rahmenthemas des Kolloquiums wurde aber von einem anderen Ansatz und einer anderen Perspektive ausgegangen.

2 Zum Folgenden bereits Weiss, 2003, v.a. 104-109.

schers auf dem Avers, auf dem Revers einfache Ganzfiguren von Gottheiten oder deren Symbole. Die Aussagen der Münzen waren also, gemessen an den Möglichkeiten dieses Mediums, sehr begrenzt. Schon in der augusteischen Zeit setzte hier, vor allem im westlichen und nordwestlichen Kleinasien, ein allmählicher, punktuell aber bereits stark ausgeprägter Wandel ein, der konsequent in eine bestimmte Richtung weiterging. Die Emissionen wurden typenreicher, es wurden gleichzeitig verschiedene Nominale geprägt, mit einem gefächerten Themen- und Bildprogramm, bis hin zu umfangreichen Serien. Parallel dazu ging man vielerorts auf die Prägung auch von größeren bis sehr großen Nominalen über, und man reizte ab dem 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr. vor allem in der Provinz Asia mit eindrucksvollen sog. Medaillons das Format bis an die Grenze des technisch Machbaren aus (siehe fig. 2-3). Angeregt waren diese Entwicklungen sicher auch durch die römischen Reichsprägungen, aber von Anfang an ist in einigen Städten auch ein genuines Bedürfnis zu verspüren, aus den Münzen mehr zu machen als bisher. Die gesuchte Typenvielfalt schlug sich natürlich vor allem bei den Reversen wieder, das heißt den Seiten, bei denen es vor allem um die Stadt ging, denn die Vorderseite mit dem Bild des Kaisers oder von Mitgliedern seines Hauses war *per se* wenig variabel. Diese Trends hatten ihr Zentrum von Anfang an in der Provinz Asia und in Bithynien, hauptsächlich in den großen Städten, und sie wurden, zum Teil mit größeren zeitlichen Verzögerungen, auch in den anderen Provinzen des Ostens aufgegriffen. Ihre volle Ausprägung hat die Entwicklung nach einem Aufschwung unter Domitian in Asia und Bithynien dann unter Hadrian erfahren, andere Regionen zogen erst im Verlauf des 2. Jahrhunderts nach. Spätestens unter Septimius Severus war eine solche Konzeption für Emissionen fast überall Standard geworden: im Gebiet von Pontos, in Thrakien, Niedermösien, Makedonien, im Süden Kleinasiens, Galatien, weiten Teilen von Syrien und Phönikien, sowie – soweit man dort prägte – im griechischen Mutterland. Nur im äußersten Osten, in Kommagene und Mesopotamien, nahm man an diesen Entwicklungen kaum Anteil.

Die gewählten Bilder sind äußerst vielfältig. Die Beispiele auf den Tafeln können nur einen sehr bescheidenen Eindruck davon vermitteln. Von den hellenistischen Prägungen wirkten als zentrale Elemente der Polisidentität weiter die Darstellungen der genuin städtischen Gottheiten, der πάτριοι θεοί. Die Zahl der von den einzelnen Städten herausgestellten Gottheiten des griechischen und des lokalen Pantheons wuchs aber tendenziell stark an, und die Ikonographie wurde sehr variabel (fig. 2-3; 6; 7). Schon das sind ganz neue Elemente für städtische Münzen. Zusätzlich erscheinen Heiligtümer aller Art und Form (fig. 7), mit teilweise elaborierten Architekturdarstellungen, desgleichen Szenen aus Göttermythen. In großer ikonographischer Vielfalt finden sich Bilder aus dem Bereich der

Gründungsgeschichten (fig. 18; 19). Berühmte Personen der Vergangenheit, die man für die Stadt vereinnahmte, gehören zum Repertoire, wie Homer (fig. 12), Hippokrates oder Chrysipp. Neben Heiligtümern wurden andere städtische Bauwerke dargestellt wie Nymphäen, Tore, Brücken, Türme, Plätze, die Stadtmauern und anderes.[3] Komplexe Stadt- oder Hafenansichten erscheinen (fig. 15), bei Hafenstädten sind Schiffsdarstellungen aller Art häufig. Mit Fluss- und Berggottheiten kombinierte man häufig den religiösen und den stadtspezifisch geographischen Aspekt. Personifikationen der Stadt oder ihrer Organe (Boule, Demos, Gerousia) erscheinen besonders in der Provinz Asia sehr häufig (fig. 9), auch auf den Aversen; sogar die Neoi werden genannt. Allgegenwärtig ist die Tyche. Ab dem 2. Jahrhundert wird die prestigeträchtige Agonistik ein großes Thema, mit einer Palette von Darstellungen, von Preiskronen, von Siegern und von detailreichen Szenen wie der Losung der Athleten (fig. 8). Die kaiserliche Sieghaftigkeit und der Bezug der Stadt zum Kaiser wird in vielen Formen thematisiert, mit Darstellungen aus dem Bereich des Kaiserkults, vor allem bei Neokoriestädten, d.h. Städten mit einem Kaiserkult für die gesamte Provinz (fig. 16). Man verwies auf die Gunst des Kaisers, wo es sich anbot, auf Privilegierungen wie einen neuen Agon, auf einen Kaiserbesuch oder die Übernahme eines städtischen Amtes durch den Herrscher, wie in den kilikischen Metropolen Tarsos und Anazarbos, wo auf den Vorderseiten Commodus, Caracalla und Elagabal in der örtlichen Demiurgentracht dargestellt wurden (fig. 10). Man huldigte dem Senat mit Büstendarstellungen seiner Personifikation in der Provinz Asia, man ehrte im Münzbild Statthalter (in der augusteischen Zeit).[4] Das Ideal der Homonoia wurde vielfach herausgestellt, der Eintracht im Kaiserhaus, in der Stadt und in der Beziehung zu anderen Städten (fig. 3; 4; 9).

Unterstützt und erweitert werden die Aussagen vielfach durch das Wort, durch begleitende Legenden oder Erweiterungen von traditionellen Legenden. Auch das ist ein neues Element. Vor allem sind das die in der Kaiserzeit beliebten Stadttitulaturen, die zu langen Reihen anwachsen konnten und die gleichzeitig auch auf die Münzen übernommen wurden; zwei Beispiele werden unten gegeben (siehe auch unter den Beschreibungen bei einigen abgebildeten Münzen). Sie nehmen Bezug auf die Vorrangstellung der Stadt, auf die Gunst durch den Kaiser, auf Größe, Schönheit und Ansehen, auf hohes Alter und vornehme Herkunft. Solche langen Titulaturen wurden schließlich sogar in aller Breite an-

3 Eine große Auswahl solcher Bilder bei Price – Trell, 1977, mit weiteren Listen 241-287. Das Buch ist in mancher Hinsicht kritisch zu benützen.

4 Dazu jetzt Erkelenz, 2002. Abzuwarten bleibt noch die Publikation der einschlägigen Habilitationsschrift von D. Salzmann.

statt von Bildern auf die Rückseiten gesetzt, umgeben von einem Ehrenkranz (fig. 17). Man öffnete die Rückseiten sogar für Akklamationen, wie εἰς αἰῶνα τὰ Πύθια (gemeint sind städtische pythische Spiele), εἰς αἰῶνα τοὺς κυρίους (Kaiser) oder Σεουήρου βασιλεύοντος ὁ κόσμος εὐτυχεῖ, μακάριοι Νικομηδεῖς δὶς νεωκόροι. Auch sie stehen oft in einem Ehrenkranz.[5]

Die Bilder und Legenden der Münzen als Produkte der Poleis haben in der Gesamtheit ein Ziel: die positiven Qualitäten und Energien der Stadt herauszustellen, und zwar in einem dreifachen Bezugsrahmen – dem segensreichen römischen Imperium, dem man angehörte, dem Geflecht der anderen Städte, von dem man ein Teil war, und den Normen der den ganzen Osten verbindenden griechischen Kultur.[6] Die Münzen waren also Träger einer durch und durch *epideiktischen* Programmatik. Sie waren es in dieser Deutlichkeit unter Augustus noch nicht, aber die Tendenz verlief allmählich in diese Richtung, und sie entfaltete sich etwa seit Domitian und vor allem Hadrian vielerorts voll. Die elementaren Gemeinsamkeiten mit der grundsätzlichen Orientierung und dem intellektuellen Habitus, den man mit dem Begriff der zweiten Sophistik benennt, liegen auf der Hand, auch was die zeitliche Kongruenz betrifft. Die Münzen weisen seither nahezu alle Aspekte auf, die für die Panegyrik kennzeichnend sind, für den Herrscherpreis und vor allem für das Städtelob. Man kann die epideiktischen rhetorischen Schriften von Menander Rhetor aus dem 3. Jahrhundert mit ihren Kategorien oder konkrete Reden von Aelius Aristides aus der Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts, also Paradefälle der griechischen Epideiktik, unmittelbar mit der Programmatik der Münzen parallelisieren. Ganz treffend ist deshalb der Titel einer neueren Monographie: „Bilder zum Ruhme Athens. Aspekte des Städtelobs in der kaiserzeitlichen Münzprägung Athens", in der bereits ausführlich auf einige dieser Zusammenhänge eingegangen wurde. Und es kommt nicht von ungefähr, dass man zur Perihegesis Griechenlands von Pausanias einen umfangreichen

5 Dazu ausführlich Nollé, 1998. Zur letzten Akklamation siehe unten Anm. 19.

6 Das sind Bezugspunkte kollektiver Identitäten der Elite, die Stephan, 2002 im Titel seiner Untersuchung herausstellte und die er 114-260 in dem umfangreichen Kapitel „Polis, Griechentum, Weltreich: Honoratioren zwischen lokaler, regionaler und imperialer Identität" um Kaiser und Imperium erweiterte. Die Identitätskategorie ‚Honoratioren, Elite', von der Stephan ausging, ist auch bei den Münzen implizit immer präsent, da die Boule es war, die die Ausgabe eigenen Geldes jeweils beschloss und für ein angemessenes Themenprogramm sorgte, das die Stadt nach innen und außen repräsentierte. Besonders gilt das dort, wo man die Münzen für die Nennung der verantwortlichen Personen mit Amt und sonstigen Würden oder gar für die Nennung von Euergeten, die die Prägung finanzierten, öffnete, wie das in Asia (und fast nur dort) vielfach der Fall war. Dazu Weiss, 2003, 98-104; 109 und ders., 2004, 61-68. Dort auch zu dem erschließbaren Procedere bei Prägebeschlüssen und zu der Tatsache, dass es nirgends spezielle ‚Münzbeamte' gab. Verantwortlich waren immer Mitglieder des Honoratiorenregiments oder (jedenfalls in Asia) Personen, die sich speziell engagierten.

numismatischen Kommentar schreiben konnte, vor allem mit Münzen aus der Kaiserzeit.[7]

Die in Regie der städtischen Eliten geprägten Münzen müssen an der Vertiefung und Verbreitung dieses Wertesystems, aus dem sich auch das umfangreiche, ausdifferenzierte Schrifttum der Zeit speiste, einen ganz erheblichen Anteil gehabt haben. Denn das Geld, das durch neue Emissionen mit dem gleichen Themenspektrum immer aufs Neue ergänzt wurde, hatten alle, jeden Standes, jeden Tag in der Hand, jeder hatte sozusagen ganze Bildergalerien im Kleinformat im Geldbeutel. Man konnte sich diesen Botschaften gar nicht entziehen. Sie wirkten täglich überall auf jeden ein, genauso wie die öffentlichen Bauten, die Statuen, die Reliefzyklen und die öffentlichen Inschriften, die allesamt in jeglicher Art auf die Dokumentation und Perpetuierung von Leistungen, Vorzügen, Ruhm und Ehre zielten. Die Rhetorik der Münzen speist sich aus allen Elementen dieses Systems, in Bild und Schrift. Die Darstellungen konnten klassische Vorbilder zitieren, andererseits bei Götterbildern dieselben Gottheiten als archaistische Kultbilder zeigen (fig. 7), sie konnten durch szenische Gestaltung, bei der nicht selten Kompositionen der großformatigen Kunst aufgegriffen wurden, Verlebendigung intendieren (fig. 18), sie konnten emblemhaft gestaltet sein (fig. 11), umgekehrt ein Thema wie „Herakles" zum Zyklus des Dodekathlos nach verbreiteten ikonographischen Mustern erweitern, ihre Wirkung ließ sich durch Großformat, durch Detailreichtum und durch einen besonders qualitätvollen Stil zusätzlich steigern. Es gab kaum eine Stadt, die nicht wenigstens einige der Möglichkeiten des Massenmediums „Münze" nutzte. Kleine Städte hatten nur ein begrenztes Arsenal zur Verfügung, große wie die Metropolen von Asia, Bithynien oder Kilikien dagegen ein sehr großes.[8] Der Verfasser eines Panegyrikus hat sich sicher vor der gleichen Situation gesehen.

Die römischen Einsprengsel im Osten, die Koloniestädte, hatten an diesen Entwicklungen bezeichnenderweise ebenfalls Anteil. Nur lag da der Akzent selbstverständlich zunächst woanders, nämlich im Herausstellen des Römertums und der rechtlich privilegierten Stellung. Der auch dort aufgefächerte Bilderschatz ist deshalb kolonietypisch (mit dem Gründer *capite velato* am Pflug, mit Vexilla, der Lupa Romana oder Marsyas als Symbol des *ius Italicum*) und die Sprache Latein. Teilweise schon sehr früh (wie in Korinth) griffen Kolonien dann

7 Athen: von Mosch, 1999; Pausanias: Imhoof-Blumer – Gardner, 1885. Athen als *die* Stadt des Griechentums prägte, im Gegensatz zu allen anderen Städten (außer Chios und Termessos in Pisidien), nie mit dem Bildnis der Kaiser auf den Aversen, und aus ganz anderen Gründen nur in sehr kleinen Nominalen.

8 Bezogen auf Side, der neben Perge wichtigsten Stadt in Pamphylien, hat das Nollé, 1990 eingängig und mit reichen Abbildungen dargestellt.

aber die Tradition ihrer griechischen Vorgängerstädte einschließlich des Mythos auf und setzten sie auf den Münzen in ein entsprechendes Bildprogramm um. In Alexandria Troas etwa war so über den lokalen Apollo Smintheus und seinen Mythos nicht nur Homer gegenwärtig, sondern, wie man ausgerechnet aus einer panegyrischen Beispielrede bei Menander Rhetor erschließen konnte (andere Quellen hat man dazu nicht), auch der Eponym und vermeintliche Gründer, die Lichtgestalt Alexander der Große.[9]

Mythos als Bildungsgut und Bestandteil des städtischen Profils: das Zeugnis der Münzen

Die Welt der Bilder und Legenden auf den Münzen setzte sich aus ganz unterschiedlichen Elementen zusammen. Die meisten reflektierten die vertraute Lebenswelt einer Polis im römischen Imperium bzw. einer römischen Kolonie im griechischen Umfeld. Mit ‚Bildung' haben die meisten Themen gar nichts zu tun. Bei der Gestaltung ist allerdings unübersehbar, dass man großen Wert auf einen guten Stil legte, den freilich nicht alle Stempelschneider, die für Städte arbeiteten, gleichermaßen erreichten. Besonders die großformatigen Medaillons aus der Provinz Asia gehören zum Besten, was in der Kaiserzeit auf dem Gebiet der Münzen produziert wurde. In diesem Stilempfinden besteht eine Gemeinsamkeit mit der gesuchten Distinguiertheit der rhetorischen Sprache bei den Vertretern der zweiten Sophistik, dort natürlich auf einer anderen, intellektuellen Ebene. Bei beidem geht es aber um Kategorien der Ästhetik und eine entsprechende Wirkung. Und dieser gemeinsame Zug ist kein Charakteristikum, das speziell auf das Erscheinungsbild der Münzen beschränkt war; das gleiche gilt bekanntlich auch für Architektur und Plastik. Κάλλος, Schönheit, ist eine Kategorie, nach der man in der Summe der einzelnen Elemente Städte insgesamt maß: die πρώτη, μεγίστη, καλλίστη zu sein war nicht nur für Tarsos und Anazarbos (so in den Stadttitulaturen seit der Severerzeit) der höchste Anspruch.

Die Städte bildeten sich, wie oben herausgearbeitet, in der Summe der Bilder und Themen in ihrer von den Honoratioren getragenen Münzprägung selbst ab. Es gab dabei nur einen Sektor, der mit Bildungswissen zu tun haben konnte: die Geschichte, konkret die Stadtgeschichte, und diese nur insoweit, als sie eine Kategorie für das Ansehen nach außen und die Selbstvergewisserung nach innen war. Diese Funktionen erfüllte der Mythos. Er führte an den Anfang der Stadtgeschichte und die Begründung der Bürgergemeinschaft, und er band sie

9 Dazu eingehend Weiss, 1996.

zugleich in den großen Rahmen von Ereigniszusammenhängen der Vergangenheit ein. Man weiß, wie intensiv im Hellenismus und in der Kaiserzeit an diesen Themen gearbeitet wurde, und welche Gelehrsamkeit aufgewendet wurde, um Zusammenhänge herzustellen, zu erweitern oder neu zu begründen. Und man weiß aus der Panegyrik, der gelehrten Prosa und der Dichtung (soweit sie erhalten ist), welch großen Stellenwert die Mythhistorie in der Kaiserzeit allgemein hatte.[10]

Da diese Thematik auch in der kaiserzeitlichen Münzprägung eine große Rolle spielte, tragen die städtischen Prägungen in besonderer Weise zur Beleuchtung des Phänomens bei. Münzen sind das einzige Quellenmaterial, das in annähernder Vollständigkeit vorliegt. Bisher unbekannte Prägungen tauchen kaum noch auf, und sie können das Gesamtbild nicht wesentlich beeinflussen. Man hat hier also die Möglichkeit, ein riesiges Gesamtcorpus systematisch nach verschiedenen Richtungen hin auszuwerten. Das kann in diesem Rahmen natürlich nicht geleistet werden. Arbeiten, die das komplette Material nach bestimmten Kriterien abfragen, liegen nicht vor. Es seien nur einige Aspekte angesprochen, wobei der folgende Überblick über die Entwicklung der mythologischen Thematik bis zur spätflavischen Zeit keinen Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit der Beispiele erheben kann.

Die Münzen sprechen bis ins fortgeschrittene 1. Jahrhundert n. Chr. hinein erstaunlich wenig von Mythen und Heroen. Dabei weiß man, dass die mythische Vergangenheit schon damals, wie gar nicht anders zu erwarten, ein bedeutendes Thema für die Städte war. Gesandtschaften von Sardes und von Smyrna argumentierten im Jahr 26 n. Chr. im Senat damit: die Sardianer mit den verwandten Stammeltern Lydos und Tyrrhenos (dem Stammvater der Etrusker), mit dem Lyder Pelops und seiner frühen Beziehung zur hellenischen, nach ihm benannten Peloponnes, die Smyrnäer mit Tantalos, Theseus und der Amazone Smyrna.[11] Auf der Basis von Puteoli (wenn sie in dieser Form tiberianisch ist) wird Ephe-

10 Nachdem man bis zu den 1980er Jahren dieses Thema wenig beachtete und schätzte und L. Robert lange der einzige Rufer in der Wüste war (mehrere seiner vorzüglichen Aufsätze sind wieder abgedruckt in dem nach seinem Tod erschienenen Sammelband Robert, 1987), hat es inzwischen stark an Aufmerksamkeit gewonnen. Als Phänomen der Kaiserzeit wurde es, auf L. Robert aufbauend, schon von Weiss, 1984 herausgestellt, um auf seine große Bedeutung aufmerksam zu machen (dort auch zahlreiche Hinweise auf den Pariser Gelehrten). Einige Angaben zu neueren Arbeiten bei Weiss, 1995, 86 Anm. 3; 1996, 157 Anm. 1. Einbezogen wurde es u.a. von Schmitz, 1997, passim und Stephan, 2002, 208-222, zum Gegenstand einer Monographie gemacht von Scheer, 1993. Dem mythologischen Szenario bei Nonnos und seinen gelehrten Hintergründen ging Chuvin, 1991 nach. Auch im *LIMC* hat man schnell ein Gespür für diese Thematik entwickelt, wie ich als Verfasser zahlreicher Artikel zu kleineren, kaum bekannten Heroen Weiss, die oft sogar gar nicht als Lemmata vorgesehen waren.

11 Tac. *Ann.* 4.55-56. Siehe dazu Weiss, 1984, 179.

sos durch eine Amazone personifiziert und Kibyra (Phrygien) durch einen jungen Kriegerheros, wohl den Eponym Kibyras aus Pisidien, der in der hellenistischen Prägung dieser Stadt der Haupttypus war.[12] In keiner dieser Städte gibt es aber bis Domitian einschlägige Münzdarstellungen, und für die anderen Städte der Provinz Asia und fast alle der anderen Provinzen scheint im 1. Jahrhundert wohl Ähnliches zu gelten. Nur in einigen Städten Bithyniens erscheint mit Herakles ein ‚panhellenischer' Heros, den diese Städte (wohl hauptsächlich über den Argonautenmythos) mit ihrer Geschichte in Beziehung setzten. Das heißt unter dem Strich, dass in der Präsentation auf Münzen stadtbezogene Mythen noch im 1. Jh. n. Chr. lange Zeit kein vorrangiges Thema waren, weder in den späteren Zentren der zweiten Sophistik noch da, wo solche Mythen seit längerem ein Teil städtischer Identität waren, und das muss vielerorts der Fall gewesen sein.

Die Idee, einen solchen Mythos auch im Programm der Münzen aufzugreifen, muss schon damals nahe liegend gewesen sein. Das zeigt sich deutlich in einer Prägung Milets aus neronischer Zeit, die bereits vieles der späteren allgemeinen Entwicklung vorwegnimmt und die hier etwas ausführlicher besprochen werden soll. Die einzige Emission Milets unter Nero erfolgte in Regie eines Ti. (Claudius) Damas, den man aus Inschriften als Träger höchster städtischer Würden kennt: Dieser *civis Romanus* war Archiprytanis und übernahm zweimal die Prophetie. Das Bildprogramm umfasst, verteilt auf verschiedene Nominale, das alte traditionelle ‚Wappen' von Milet (den Löwen mit Gestirn), die drei Hauptgottheiten der Stadt, Apollon und die Artemis Pythie von Didyma sowie Apollon Delphinios (*RPC* I 2712-2716), und auf einem der beiden größeren Nominale den Heros Miletos (ganz ungewöhnlich mit Namenbeischrift als Ersatz für das Ethnicum Μιλησίων), in der Ikonographie eines „seefahrenden Heros" (fig. 19; *RPC* II, Addendum 2712 A; I Suppl. S-2712 A). Ti. Claudius Damas war ein Mann, der in Inschriften mehrfach dafür gerühmt wurde, dass er alte Kultpraktiken für die Hauptgottheiten erneuert habe κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἔθη, oder wie auch in allgemeiner Form gesagt wird: ἀνενεώσατο τὰ πάτρια ἔθη bzw. ἀνενεώσατο τὰ πάτρια. L. Robert, der diese Serie ausführlich besprach (noch ohne Kenntnis des Typs mit dem Heros Miletos), hat überzeugend herausgearbeitet, dass das Programm der Emission auf Claudius Damas selbst zurückgehen muss.[13] Dazu passt sehr gut, dass dieser Mann, für den die πάτρια und die Vergangenheit Richtschnur waren, auch den eponymen Heros Miletos auf den Münzen herausstellte.

12 Siehe Weiss, 1984, 186, auch zur vermutlichen Benennung der Figur, und 201 Anm. 56 zur Benennung des Heros auf den hellenistischen Münzen, die L. Robert gelungen war. Vgl. ferner *LIMC* 6, 1992, 43-44 s.v. Kibyras (P. Weiss).

13 Robert, 1967, 47-52.

Man sieht hier also, dass das besondere Interesse einer bestimmten Person der lokalen Elite zur Aufnahme eines mythologischen Themas in die Münzprägung führte. Das war damals noch etwas ganz Neues. Von ähnlichen späteren Fällen in anderen Städten wird noch zu reden sein. Der Kreter Miletos, der vor Minos fliehen musste und Milet gründete, war aber vermutlich Produkt einer älteren Mythopoiie, und es ist kaum denkbar, dass man ihn erst damals für Milet entdeckte. Das bedeutet aber, dass er zwar auf gelehrter Konstruktion beruhte, dass diese Figur aber damals in der Stadt bereits verankert gewesen sein muss und dass Damas mithin etwas dort Bekanntes auf die Münze setzen ließ. Er griff also aus seinem besonderen Interesse an den πάτρια heraus wohl nur etwas auf und gab ihm in einer neuen Form, auf dem Medium der Münzen, Gewicht, ohne dass man ihm dabei eine besondere eigene Gelehrsamkeit unterstellen müsste – ein besonderes Interesse an diesen Dingen aber jedenfalls. Diese Feststellungen lassen sich wohl auf viele spätere Fälle übertragen, bei denen auf Münzen mythische Vergangenheit thematisiert wird, wenn auch sicher nicht auf alle. In Milet, dessen Bedeutung in der Kaiserzeit allmählich abnahm, blieb der explizite Hinweis auf Miletos unter Damas die große Ausnahme; gegen den Trend erscheinen dort später keine mythologischen Themen mehr. Aufgegriffen wurde Miletos als Heros eponymos später aber auf Münzen im mysischen Miletupolis, einer weit weniger bedeutenden und renommierten Stadt.[14]

Ein deutlicher Impuls lässt sich sowohl in Asia als auch in Bithynien unter Domitian feststellen, wobei die großen Metropolen im Zentrum stehen. Ephesos, das unter diesem Kaiser als dritte Stadt von Asia die begehrte Neokorie mit Tempel und Spielen erhielt, mit einem großen Echo in der Stadt und in der Provinz, prägte zwei Serien von Münzen, die die Homonoia mit einer der beiden anderen Neokoriestädte herausstellte, mit Smyrna.[15] Diese Homonoia, die Eintracht, wurde unter anderem versinnbildlicht durch zwei sich die Hand reichende Amazonen, die oben schon genannt wurden, die Amazone Ephesos und die Amazone Smyrna (fig. 4; *RPC* II 1080. 1087. 1088). Hier wählte man also zwei verwandte Gestalten des Mythos als Repräsentanten der Städte. Der Akzent lag also anders als bei der Prägung Milets unter Damas, und die Themenwahl hatte auch anders als dort einen konkreten Anlass. Gemeinsam haben die Prägungen, dass sie nichts mit einer besonderen Gelehrsamkeit der (in Ephesos nicht namentlich genannten) Veranlasser zu tun haben. Die Praxis, Gestalten des Mythos

14 *LIMC* 6, 1992, 568-569 s.v. Miletos (R. Vollkommer). Die Nr. 1 dort ist die eben genannte Prägung des Damas und gehört nach Milet, nicht nach Miletupolis.

15 Zur zwischenstädtischen ‚Homonoia', die ab damals erst stärker herausgestellt wurde, als einer Prestigethematik siehe die nächste Anm.

wahlweise statt städtischer Gottheiten oder Stadtpersonifikationen als Repräsentanten auf den Münzen abzubilden, war in der Folgezeit weit verbreitet, nicht nur bei sog. Homonoiaprägungen.[16] Erstmals überhaupt und gewiss nicht zufällig setzte man im gleichen zeitlichen Umfeld auch in Smyrna die eponyme Amazone mehrfach auf die Münzen (*RPC* II 1013. 1018. 1020; außerdem wird noch Herakles thematisiert), und auch in der ältesten und nobelsten Neokoriestadt von Asia, in Pergamon, findet sich nun in einer Emission ein Heros auf einer kleinen Münze, der Eponym Pergamos, in Form einer Büste mit Beischrift auf der Vorderseite (*RPC* II 924).[17]

Die bedeutendsten Städte in Bithynien waren Nikomedien, die Metropolis, und Nikaia, beide hellenistische Gründungen. Auch sie griffen unter Domitian das Thema der Gründungsgeschichte auf, Nikaia in besonders betonter Form. Dort setzte man gleich zwei Gründer ins Bild, Dionysos und Herakles, begleitet jeweils von einer Legende voll Stolz und Ehrerbietung: τόν κτίστην Νικαιεῖς. Der Stadtname ist zusätzlich versehen mit dem ambitionierten Titel πρώτοι Πόντου καὶ Βιθυνίας oder πρώτοι τῆς ἐπαρχίας (*RPC* II 637; 638; 639; 642-643). In Nikomedeia gibt es gleichzeitig ebenfalls zwei Prägungen mit mythologischem Hintergrund: einen seefahrenden Heros und eine Schlange auf einem Schiff, beide Male ohne zusätzliche Legende, aber auch hier mit einer Stadttitulatur, die Nikomedien von Nikaia steigernd abhebt: ἡ μητρόπολις καὶ πρώτη Βιθυνίας (καὶ Πόντου) (l.c. 662; 660; 661). Der seefahrende Heros müsste Astakos sein, der eponyme Gründer von Astakos, der zerstörten Vorgängersiedlung des hellenistischen Nikomedeia,[18] die Schlange auf dem Schiff ist wohl sicher als göttliche

16 Für die vereinfacht so genannten Münzen, die fast immer Teile größerer, normaler Serien sind, liegt jetzt ein Corpus vor: Franke – Nollé, 1997 (noch ohne Kommentar). Für Pergamon gibt es eine Monographie: Kampmann, 1996 (dazu die kritische Rez. von Verf., *Klio* 81, 1999, 554-555). Die Erklärungen, wie ‚Homonoia' konkret zu interpretieren ist, divergieren nach wie vor. Auf jeden Fall geht es immer um eine Prestigefrage; meist stehen wohl Fest- oder Gratulationsgesandtschaften, immer aber die Anerkennung durch andere im Hintergrund (Weiss, 1998). An eigene ‚Homonoiafeste' (so J. und M.K. Nollé), die nirgends bezeugt sind, wird man kaum glauben wollen.

17 Der Hintergrund, nämlich der Rangstreit der drei Metropolen Ephesos, Pergamon und Smyrna anlässlich der Verleihung der Domitian-Neokorie an Ephesos um das Jahr 84, der auf das ganze Koinon von Asia ausstrahlte, ist sehr gut untersucht: Dräger, 1993, 107-200. Er hielt durch die Verleihung weiterer Neokorien durch Trajan und Hadrian an und wurde geradezu sprichwörtlich. In diesem Rahmen entwickelten sich auch die Stadttitulaturen der drei Neokoriestädte (dazu Dräger, 1993, 119-121). Im Zusammenhang mit dem Privileg an Ephesos und dem öffentlichen Echo dürfte auch der prestigeträchtige Begriff Asiarches anstelle von Archiereus Asias für die Kaiserpriester der Neokorietempel an Boden gewonnen haben: Weiss, 2002, 253-254 (ausgehend von den ersten inschriftlichen Belegen in dieser Zeit in Ephesos und der dann stark ansteigenden Kurve).

18 *LIMC* 2, 1984, 902 s.v. Astakos (P. Weiss).

Führerin bei der Gründung zu verstehen. Auf was es in all den Fällen ankommt ist das, was sich mit Händen greifen lässt. Mit dem Herausstellen der Gründungsgeschichte untermauerten beide Städte ihren schon unter Vespasian erhobenen Anspruch auf die Vorrangstellung in der Provinz.[19] Alter und Prominenz der Gründer werden zu einem öffentlich propagierten Argument, und zwar gegenüber anderen Städten der Region, und deswegen wurde die Thematik jetzt so wichtig. Es ging um das Prestige. Die Fälle in Bithynien und Asia entsprechen sich somit.

Das Vorbild der Metropolen strahlte sofort aus. Jedenfalls prägte unter Domitian in Bithynien auch Prusias ad mare mit dem Bild des Herakles und einer identischen Legende wie Nikaia, τὸν κτίστην Προυσιεῖς (*RPC* II 625). Auch in der Provinz Asia prägten damals noch mehrere andere Städte mit einschlägigen Darstellungen, darunter Kyzikos erstmals mit dem u.a. aus Apollonios Rhodios' ausführlicher Erzählung in den *Argonautika* bekannten Heros Kyzikos (*RPC* II 886), Ilion mit der beziehungsvollen Darstellung der Flucht des Aineias (ebd. 895, die Datierung ist nicht ganz sicher) und Kolophon (mit der Orakelstätte Klaros) mit Leto (ebd. 1053). Bemerkenswert sind ferner zwei Darstellungen in der einzigen Emission unter Domitian von Kibyra in Phrygien, unter dem Archiereus Claudius Bias, mit der namentlich bezeichneten Büste der Ino auf einer Vorderseite und einer namenlosen Amazone auf einer Rückseite (*RPC* II 1267. 1266). Hier dürfte man in der Person eines prominenten Archiereus, eines Kaiserpriesters, wieder jemand fassen, der ein persönliches Interesse an der Verbreitung einer bestimmten mythologischen Thematik hatte.

Die Prägungen unter Domitian wurden aus mehreren Gründen breiter besprochen. Sie indizieren eine veränderte, nämlich präsentere Haltung gegenüber dem Mythos, die stark weiterwirkte, und sie lassen auch einen der wesentlichen Gründe dafür erkennen: Der Mythos wurde zu einem Prestigethema innerhalb der Provinz, und deshalb drang er zunehmend in die Thematik des Massenmedi-

19 Die heftigen Auseinandersetzungen der beiden Städte, die bis in die Severerzeit weitergingen und zu einem richtiggehenden Politikum wurden, hat L. Robert in einer glänzenden Studie untersucht, auf der Basis der Inschriften und Münzen (Robert, 1977). In diesen Zusammenhang gehört auch die oben S. 180 genannte Akklamation Nikomediens auf Septimius Severus; zuvor hatte Nikaia eine fast wortgleiche Akklamation für Commodus, seinen besonderen Gönner, auf die Münzen gesetzt. In diesem Aufsatz beleuchtete Robert auch umfassend den Hintergrund für den Anspruch Nikaias, eine Gründung des Dionysos zu sein: Grundlage war die später von Nonnos breit erzählte Geschichte von der Verführung der Nymphe Nikaia durch den Gott am nahe liegenden See, den er in berauschenden Wein verwandelt hatte. Zu Ehren der Nymphe gründete er eine Stadt, der er ihren Namen gab. Dionysos und die Nymphe Nikaia (mit einem dionysischen Kranz im Haar) sind im späten 2. und im 3. Jahrhundert ein häufiges Thema auf den Prägungen der Stadt. Dazu auch Chuvin, 1991, 148-154.

ums Münze ein. Nur aus dem Medium selbst lassen sich diese Zusammenhänge wieder erschließen. Auch die Zentren dieser Entwicklung, die sofort ausstrahlte, lassen sich erkennen: es sind die damals prominentesten Hauptorte in Bithynien und Asia.

Da es nun mythologische Stoffe jeden Alters, divergierenden Inhalts und von ganz unterschiedlichem Bekanntheitsgrad gab, ist zu fragen, auf welche Figuren, Stoffe und Vorgaben man sich in den Städten bezog. Das ist ein extrem schwieriges Feld, weil die umfangreiche Literatur jeder Art, in der von solchen Stoffen die Rede war, größtenteils verloren ist, die erhaltenen Zitate nur eine zufällige Auswahl darstellen und vieles erst in viel späteren Zeugnissen bis hin zu Nonnos und Stephanos von Byzanz belegt ist. Worauf ging in Nikaia die Geschichte mit dem Gründer Dionysos zurück, in Nikomedien (ebenfalls einer hellenistischen Stadt) mit Astakos, in Pergamon mit Pergamos, wer ist die Amazone in Kibyra und woraus ist sie genommen? Sind das Figuren, die schon länger zum städtischen Repertoire gehörten? Waren sie also, wie die Amazone Ephesos, wie Smyrna und wohl auch Miletos schon länger städtisches Allgemeingut, oder hatte man sie kürzlich erst aus gelehrter Literatur ausgegraben? Und welche anderen Traditionen wurden dabei möglicherweise zurückgedrängt?

Man kann davon ausgehen, dass zu dieser Zeit all diese Mythen, auch wenn sie zum ersten Mal in der Münzprägung auftauchten, in der Stadt selbst kein elitäres Wissen waren, denn die Botschaften der Münzen wollten verstanden werden. In Nikomedeia und bei der Amazone in Kibyra fehlen Legenden, was die Erwartung voraussetzt, dass man verstand, wer und was damit gemeint war. Auch bei den Prägungen mit Legenden, in Nikaia (Dionysos als Ktistes, Herakles als Ktistes) und Kibyra (Ino) muss bekannt gewesen sein, inwiefern man sie für die Stadt reklamierte. Das Interesse an mythologischen Stoffen muss schon vorher vorhanden gewesen sein, und auch die Bereitschaft, gegebenenfalls nach solchen Anknüpfungspunkten in der Literatur zu suchen oder selbst Verbindungen herzustellen. Wie das im Einzelnen geschah, entzieht sich unserer Kenntnis. Wir fassen nur das fertige Produkt. Wohin die Tendenz substantiell ging, zeigen die Prägungen von Nikaia und Nikomedeia deutlich. Es ging darum, über die jüngere hellenistische Geschichte hinauszukommen und die Stadtgeschichte in der Zeit der Götter und Heroen beginnen zu lassen, wie man das z.B. unter den Attaliden mit Telephos schon in Pergamon getan hatte. Auch in Kibyra ist eine ähnliche Akzentverschiebung festzustellen. Der früher herausgestellte eponyme Heros Kibyras war ein Pisider und gab der phrygischen Stadt damit wenig Nobilität; mit einer Amazone, deren Name wohl Kibyra war, erreichte man dagegen den Anschluss an die z.B. in Ephesos und Smyrna lebendige und in einen großen alten Zusammenhang führende Amazonentradition. Die pisidische Schiene führ-

te man aber fort, in Gestalt einer später sehr oft dargestellten θεὰ Πισιδική. Wie epigraphisch belegt ist, nahmen die Kibyraten zudem lakedaimonische Herkunft in Anspruch (über Amyklas und den sonst nicht bekannten Oikist Kleandros), was wenig später, unter Hadrian, zur Aufnahme in den illustren Kreis des neu geschaffenen Panhellenion führte und zu vereinzelten Wiedergaben wohl auch dieses Oikisten in der späteren Prägung.[20]

Seit Hadrian vervielfachten sich die mythologischen Bezüge in den Prägungen, und dieses Phänomen griff nun auch geographisch stark um sich. Das ging ungebrochen im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert weiter. Diese Entwicklung lässt sich hier nicht darstellen (und das wurde auch noch nie versucht), weil das Material aus den diversen Städten und Provinzen viel zu groß ist. Es erscheinen nun auch viele für uns neue mythische Personen, bis hin zu einem Eponymenpaar Aryas und Kandos im kleinen lykischen Arykanda;[21] Göttergeburten und –geschichten im Territorium spielen nun eine große Rolle;[22] die Berufung auf makedonische Herkunft und die Inanspruchnahme Alexanders d. Gr. wurden sehr geläufig. Die Münzen zeigen als Gesamtcorpus, wie verbreitet Gründungsgeschichten und der Mythos als Kategorie waren. Ganz Kleinasien (mit Ausnahme von Kappadokien) hatte daran Anteil, das griechische Mutterland, Makedonien, Teile Thrakiens (vor allem die alten hellenischen Küstenstädte) und von Moesia inferior (wo z.B. in dem von Ovid disqualifizierten Tomi ein Τόμος κτίστης erscheint), im Vorderen Orient sind Städte wie Antiochia,[23] Tyros, Sidon, Berytus (eine römische Kolonie), Joppe und Akko-Ptolemais zu nennen.

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20 Zu Kibyras oben Anm. 12, zu den anderen Personen *LIMC* 6, 1992, 42-43 s.v. Kibyra; *LIMC* 6, 1992, 65-66 s.v. Kleandros; *LIMC VII*, 1994, 909-911 s.v. Thea Pisidike (P. Weiss).

21 Man hat dieses sonst völlig unbekannte Paar erst vor einigen Jahren durch eine Münze der Zeit Gordians III. kennen gelernt. Dazu *LIMC* 8, 1997, 534-535 s.v. Aryas and Kandos (M.J. Price). Sie sind dargestellt wie die in Pisidien sehr häufigen Dioskuren.

22 Siehe dazu eine die Evidenz aller Genera zusammenführende Fallstudie von Weiss, 1995 zu Lydien, zur Zeusgeburt auf dem Tmolos bei Sardes, zur Kindheit des Dionysos am Paktolos und auf dem Tmolos und zur „Erfindung" des Weins dort. Viele andere Beispiele aus Kleinasien bei Nollé, 2003.

23 Siehe nur das ‚Wappen' der Stadt auf den häufigen Tetradrachmen seit dem 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr.: ein Adler mit dem Schenkel eines Opfertiers in den Fängen. Das Bild nimmt auf das Omen Bezug, das Seleukos Nikator zuteil wurde und das zur Gründung der Stadt führte. Siehe Weiss, 1996, 160-162 mit Abb. 10 und 11. Auf den Münzen des 3. Jahrhunderts und auf Gemmen von Antiochia (siehe *LIMC* 1, 1981, 848 Nr. 104-118 s.v. Antiocheia [J. Chr. Balty]) wird die Tyche des Eutychides oft von einem ‚Kaiser' bekränzt – es ist sicher kein Kaiser, sondern mit Balty der hellenistische König in Feldherrntracht als Ktistes (zu anderen ähnlichen Fehlinterpretationen bei Gründungsszenen durch hellenistische Könige Weiss l.c.). Die vielfältigen alten Traditionen, auf die Libanios im *Antiochikos* eingeht, wurden ausführlich besprochen von Wiemer, 2003. Auf die Lebendigkeit der Gründungsgeschichte in der Kaiserzeit, d.h. auf die Münzen und Gemmen, kommt er dabei nicht zu sprechen.

Mythos und Stadtgeschichte mussten aber nicht immer und überall in der Prägung thematisiert werden, und nicht immer im Bild. So schmückte zum Beispiel in Perge zwar seit hadrianischer Zeit eine Statuengalerie erlesener und für uns völlig überraschender, zum Teil ganz ausgefallener Ktistai das Stadttor,[24] in der überreichen Münzprägung fehlt aber jeder mythologische Bezug. Das phrygische Eumeneia, eine attalidische Gründung, benannt nach Eumenes II., nahm für sich (fassbar seit Hadrian) zwar achäische Herkunft in Anspruch, gehörte deshalb höchstwahrscheinlich sogar dem Panhellenion an und setzte dem Stadtnamen auf den Münzen (im Genitiv) regelmäßig Ἀχαίων hinzu – aber es fehlt jeder Hinweis auf den begründenden Mythos, in dessen Zentrum wohl der Heraklide Hyllos und sein εὖ μένειν am Ort stand.[25] Und in Sebaste und Stektorion, beide ebenfalls in Phrygien gelegen, war der Mythos auf den Münzen kein Thema, bis jeweils eine bestimmte Person in einer unter ihrer Regie geprägten Serie die Thematik aufgriff – in Sebaste der Archon Lucillius Antonius unter Septimius Severus,[26] in Stektorion gleich mit mehreren Bildern und Bezügen ein besonders prominenter Sohn der Stadt, der provinziale und städtische Archiereus Aurelius Demetrius unter Philippus Arabs.[27]

Es ist nun interessant zu prüfen, wie Personen aus dem Kreis der Sophistai selbst mit dem Stoff Mythos auf Prägungen umgingen, die ihren Namen trugen und die sie sogar selbst veranlassten. In Smyrna gibt es solche Fälle. Um das Ergebnis vorweg zu nehmen: Der Mythos spielt dort bei ihnen so gut wie keine Rolle; die eigene Profilierung als Stifter des publikumswirksamen Geldes steht im Vordergrund. Der berühmte Vertreter der zweiten Sophistik M. Antonius Polemon stiftete unter Hadrian als Stratege eine große Emission, bezeichnenderweise erstmals in der Stadtgeschichte mit prächtigen Medaillons und versehen mit der Legende Πολέμων στρατηγῶν ἀνέθηκε („hat es als Strategos gestiftet“) oder ἀνέθηκε Σμυρναίοις.[28] Die Münzen fallen neben ihrer hohen Qualität zwar da-

24 Weiss, 1984, 181-182; ausführlich dazu Scheer, 1993, 187-198. Wegen der Zeitstellung dieser Galerie und weil alle Ktistai nobler hellenischer Abstammung waren, sollte man erwarten, dass Perge Mitglied des Panhellenion war oder wurde. Denn bessere Argumente konnte man kaum haben. Soweit ich weiß, ist eine solche Mitgliedschaft dieser damals prominentesten Stadt Pamphyliens noch nicht diskutiert worden. Einer der „pamphylischen“ Heroen, der homerische Lapithe Leonteus, könnte sich mit seinem Gefährten Polypoites auch auf Münzen von Aspendos und Sillyon finden, siehe *LIMC* 8, 1997, 773-774 s.v. Leonteus (P. Weiss).

25 Ausführlich dazu Weiss, 2000, auch zum regionalen Ausstrahlen des Anspruchs, auf achäische (argivische) Heroen zurückzugehen, u.a. über Temenos und Perseus (630-636).

26 Weiss, 2000, 635.

27 Dazu Weiss, 2002, 245-247; *LIMC* 8, 1997, 861-862 s.v. Mygdon; *LIMC* 7, 1994, 1131 s.v. Otreus (P. Weiss).

28 Klose, 1987, 248-249 Nr. 19-36; 250-254 Nr. 13-21. 1-42.

durch auf, dass Antinoos, der verstorbene Geliebte Hadrians, überaus stark herausgestellt wird (fig. 13-14), sonst sind die Reverse aber konventionell. Auch sein Sohn M. Antonius Attalus tat sich unter Marc Aurel, nun sogar ohne offizielle Funktion, als Stifter einer Emission hervor, in völlig singulärer Weise für seine *beiden* Heimatstädte, Smyrna und Laodikeia.[29] Die Rückseiten zeigen aber nur konventionelle Personifikationen der beiden Städte; die Betonung liegt hier noch stärker auf der Legende, die verdichtet seine Prominenz jedem klar machte: Ἄτταλος σοφιστὴς ταῖς πατρίσι Σμύρ(νᾳ) Λαο(δικέᾳ). Diese beiden Sophisten benützten das Medium Münze, um sich als große Personen und Euergeten zu präsentieren, Polemon daneben, um seine und damit der Smyrnäer Loyalität zu Hadrian herauszustreichen, dem er durch besondere Gunsterweise auch für seine Heimatstadt verpflichtet war. Eine weitere Person bezeichnete sich in Smyrna auf Münzen noch als σοφιστής, Claudius Proclus. Die unter ihm als Strategos unter Marc Aurel herausgegebene Serie umfasst sieben Typen, und darunter ist als einer von vielen auch die Amazone Smyrna.[30] Das ist alles ganz konventionell. Dass damals auch ganz andere Akzente gesetzt werden konnten, zeigen die ebenfalls gestifteten Prägungen des Strategen Theudianus (ca. 147 n. Chr.). Dieser führte auf seinen beiden großen Nominalen erstmals Pelops mit Hippodameia[31] und die Traumszene mit Alexander d. Gr. ein, auf die nach Pausanias die Neugründung der Stadt zurückging.[32] So sieht man also in Smyrna, einem Zentrum der zweiten Sophistik, sehr schön, dass die Wahl mythologischer Themen nichts mit der Eigenschaft der Personen als explizit so bezeichneten Sophistai zu tun hatte.

Abgeschlossen sollen diese Beobachtungen mit einem Hinweis auf städtische Kleinobjekte werden, die in der Forschung immer noch kaum wahrgenommen werden und die zeigen, wie das Thema der städtischen Mythen in der fortgeschrittenen Kaiserzeit selbst in die banalsten Gegenstände eingedrungen war. Städtische Marktgewichte aus Blei, die es zu Tausenden gegeben hat, wurden von den herstellenden Agoranomen im westlichen Kleinasien bisweilen mit kleinen runden münzförmigen Kontrollstempeln versehen.[33] Diese trugen meist den

29 Klose, 1987, 328-330 Nr. 1-14.

30 Klose, 1987, 258 Nr. 15-17; 261-263 Nr. 12-26, 1-3.

31 Klose, 1987, 256 Nr. 9-19.

32 Klose, 1987, 257-258 Nr. 1-13. Siehe Weiss, 1984, 183; 199 Anm. 23. Dieselbe Szene wurde später mehrmals aufgegriffen.

33 Von diesem Material ist so gut wie nichts publiziert. Mehrere Stücke sind mir aus Privatsammlungen und Auktionskatalogen bekannt. Ein Gewicht mit gleich mehreren solchen Stempeln haben die Grabungen in Magnesia am Mäander erbracht (freundlicher Hinweis von O. Bingöl). Einige Bemerkungen zu Gewichten und solchen Stempeln (mit Lit.) bei Weiss, 2002, 144-145. Zum Kreis der Funktionsträger, die Gewichte herstellen ließen (neben den Agora-

Namen des Agoranomen und ein städtisches Wappen (*parasemon*), etwa das Bild einer Stadtgottheit wie der Artemis Ephesia, der Artemis von Magnesia oder der Kore, im typisch kaiserzeitlichen Stil. Das ist an sich schon neu und bemerkenswert. Denn die Gewichte waren in dieser Zeit fast überall bilderlos und nannten nur die für sie verantwortlichen Personen. Von den meist recht grob ausgeführten, einfachen Parasema der hellenistischen Zeit war man längst abgekommen. Auf einem solchen unscheinbaren Gewicht erscheint statt der Hauptgottheit aber das kleine Bild eines Heros, der mit einem Spieß einen Eber angreift (fig. 22), eine Darstellung, die auf Münzen von Samos im 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr. eine sehr enge Parallele hat (fig. 21). Vermutlich gehört das Gewicht deshalb auch nach Samos (der Heros wäre dann Ankaios oder Androklos). Das Bild hat hier dieselbe Funktion eines Parasemon. Gleiches gilt für einen anderen Kontrollstempel, sehr wahrscheinlich von einem Gewicht von Pergamon, einer kleinen Unze (fig. 23). Hier säugt ein Vierbeiner ein Kleinkind, fast sicher die Hindin den Telephos.[34] Das gleiche Motiv wurde in der Severerzeit auch für einen banalen pergamenischen Gegenstempel für Münzen gewählt.[35] So war ein großer Heros des Pergamonaltars im 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr. zum überall verfügbaren Logo für die Stadt geworden, wie die Lupa mit den Zwillingen für Rom und seine Kolonien. Ähnliches beobachtet man in Smyrna. Dort gestaltete man Marktgewichte aus Blei gar selbst in Form eines Emblems aus dem alten Stadtmythos, als Pelta der eponymen Amazone Smyrna (fig. 24).[36]

Schlussbemerkung

Es war zu beobachten, dass die Gestaltung des städtischen Geldes ab Augustus neue Tendenzen erkennen lässt, die dann in der spätflavischen Zeit in den Zentren von Asia und Bithynien sehr stark und geradezu schubartig in den Vordergrund traten. Der Auslöser waren Rangstreitigkeiten; es ging um die δόξα, das Prestige der Stadt in Konkurrenz zu den anderen Städten des provinzialen Koinon. Alle Elemente waren bereits lange vorher vorhanden, aber sie gewannen in

nomen), zu den verwendeten Formularen und zu Stiftungsformularen, die sogar hier erscheinen konnten, siehe Weiss, 2004, 66-67.

34 Zur Ikonographie vgl. *LIMC* 7, 1994, 862-864 Nr. 5-29 s.v. Telephos (M. Strauss). Meist ist das Kind sitzend in Rückenansicht dargestellt, wie hier auch; die „Kugel" unter der Hindin meint das stark stilisierte füllige Kindergesäß (vgl. besonders auch 863 Nr. 17).

35 Howgego, 1985, Nr. 318 mit pl. 13 (vgl. möglicherweise auch Nr. 318 auf Münzen Trajans, dort ist die Darstellung auf der Abbildung aber undeutlich). Howgego zog auch Amaltheia mit dem Säugling Zeus oder einen Wolf mit Kind in Erwägung.

36 Dazu mit einem neuen, hier stark verkleinert abgebildeten Exemplar Weiss, 2002, 143-146.

diesem Rahmen an Aktualität und waren seither präsenter als zuvor. Die Berufung auf die durch den Mythos geadelte Vergangenheit war ein Teil dieser Selbstdarstellung. Dass sich parallel dazu auch die zweite Sophistik in ihren verschiedenen Facetten herausbildete, ist demnach kein Zufall. Auch das unter Hadrian mit großem Echo geschaffene Panhellenion ist ein Produkt dieser Entwicklung, und es gab neue Impulse in dieser Richtung. Personen der Elite – fast immer privilegierte *cives Romani* und nicht selten große Euergeten – konnten seither den Weg als Sophistai gehen, um sich in der Öffentlichkeit zu profilieren (auch sie in Konkurrenz zu anderen), als überlegene Redner, Stilisten und Vertreter der griechischen Werte. Andere konnten das auf andere Weise tun, etwa indem sie wie der hochrangige Pergamener A. Claudius Charax, Suffektkonsul (im Jahr 147 n. Chr.) wie der große athenische Sophist und Euerget Herodes Atticus, umfangreiche historisch-antiquarische Werke von höchster Gelehrsamkeit verfassten,[37] oder indem sie wie später Peisander aus Laranda in Lykaonien ein gewaltiges Epos voller ausgefallener aitiologischer Erklärungen präsentierten.[38] Was immer an literarischen Formen vorgegeben war, alles ließ sich nun mit Stoffen füllen, die dem zeitspezifischen Leser- und Hörerinteresse entsprachen. Welches Bedürfnis danach bestand und wie stark und verbreitet dieses Interesse schließlich war, lassen die städtischen Münzen des römisch-griechischen Ostens in großer Deutlichkeit erkennen. Als ein von den Eliten gesteuertes Massenmedium sind sie dafür ein vorzüglicher Indikator.

37 Zu ihm Andrei, 1984. Sein Werk umfasste nicht weniger als 40 Bücher.

38 Zu Peisander zuletzt Weiss, 1990, 228; 232-233. Er wirkte in der späten Severerzeit und schrieb ein Epos Ἡρωικαὶ θεογαμίαι in 60 Büchern, in dem er in gelehrter Manier das Gesamtfeld der griechischen Mythographie und die ganze Ökumene abschritt. Schon sein Vater L. Septimius Nestor war ein angesehener *poeta doctus* und einer der *„poètes voyageurs"* (Weiss, 1990, 228-229).

1 Kultwagen (ἀπήνη ἱερά). Ephesos (Ionien), Zeit Severus Alexanders.

2-3 Av. Kore Soteira, Rv. Kore zwischen den beiden Nemeseis von Smyrna. Homonoia Kyzikos – Smyrna; Name des Strategos. Kyzikos (Mysien), unter Commodus. (verkleinert)

4 Amazonen Smyrna (l.) und Ephesos (r.) im Handschlag. Homonoia Ephesos – Smyrna. Ephesos (Ionien), Domitian.

5-6 Av. Septimius Severus, Rv. Dionysos in Pantherbiga. Name des Archon. Maionia (Lydien).

7 Kultbild der Artemis Pergaia. Perge (Pamphylien), Macrinus.

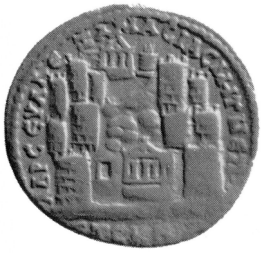
8 Losende Athleten, darüber Preiskrone, darunter **ΘΕΜΙ**C (Name des Agons). Prostanna (Pisidien), Gordian III.

9 Boule und Demos beim gemeinsamen Opfer. Tios (Bithynien), Zeit Elagabals.

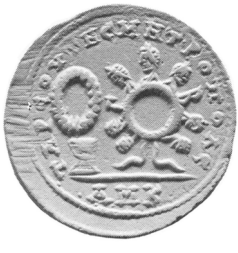
10-11 Av. Caracalla in der Tracht des städtischen Demiurgen, Rv. Löwe schlägt Stier. Stadttitulaturen, z.T. stark abgekürzt. Tarsos (Kilikien).

12 Büste Homers (Av.). Amastris (Paphlagonien), 2. Jh. n. Chr.

13-14 Av. Heros Antinoos, Rv. Stier, Stiftungslegende des Polemon. Smyrna (Ionien), Hadrian.



15 Stadtansicht von Amaseia. Stadttitulaturen und Datum. Amaseia (Pontos), 226 n. Chr.



16 Kranz des Demiurgen (l.) und des Kilikarchen (r.), mit Kaiserbüsten und stark abgekürzten Stadttitulaturen γ' (ἐπαρχειῶν προκαθεζομένη), β' (νεωκόρος); μητρόπολις, α'(πρώτη), μ(εγίστη), κ(αλλίστη). Tarsos (Kilikien), Elagabal.

17 Stadttitulatur in Kranz: ἀρχεοτάτη Παφλαγονία(ς), ἑστία θεῶν Γερμανικόπολις τῆς πρὸς Γάνγροις, ἔτ(ους) σδι'. Gangra/ Germanikopolis (Paphlagonien), 208/9 n. Chr.

18 Poseidon und Apollon vor der Mauer von Troia. Ilion (Troas), Marc Aurel.

19 Heros Miletos. Milet (Ionien), Nero.

20 Herakles Ktistes (Av.), (dorisch) τόν κτίσταν. Herakleia (Bithynien), Zeit Gordians III.

21 Heros im Kampf gegen einen Eber. Samos (Ionien), Zeit Gordians III.

22 Gewicht aus Blei, 2 (β') römische Unciae (Oberseite). Kontrollstempel: Heros im Kampf gegen einen Eber, oben Buchstabe A. Samos?, wohl spätes 2./3. Jh.

23 Gewicht aus Blei, 1 (α') römische Uncia (Oberseite). Kontrollstempel: Hindin säugt Telephos; Name des Agoranomos. Wohl Pergamon, spätes 2./3. Jh.

24 Gewicht aus Blei in Form eines stilisierten Amazonenschilds, ein römisches Pfund (*litra*/*libra*). Smyrna, wohl 1. Hälfte 3. Jh. (verkleinert)

CHAPTER THREE

Paideia and the Human Body

Athletics and *paideia*: Festivals and physical education in the world of the Second Sophistic[1]

ONNO VAN NIJF

Introduction: Two statues in Oinoanda

A third century visitor to the small city of Oinoanda, high up in the Lycian mountains, would have had to walk up a steep colonnaded street leading from the city gates into the city centre (fig. 1). Arriving at the agora, it would have been impossible to miss a set of honorific statues, located on his left hand side (fig. 2). One statue had been set up for a *grammatikos* – school teacher and local orator – Iulius Lucius Pilius Euarestos, who had been a major benefactor of the city in founding an agonistic festival that was named after him: the *Euaresteia*.[2]

> (A) Lucius Pilius Euarestus, Lover of his Fatherland, *grammaticus* with immunity from local liturgies, man of generosity, agonothete for life of his own foundation, which he himself created with his own money for all time; on the occasion of the fifth *pane-*

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1 I would like to thank Chris Dickenson, Johan Strubbe, Rolf Tybout, Sofia Voutsaki and Arjan Zuiderhoek for their help with this paper.

2 Hall – Milner, 1994, no. 18 (translation by the editors) = *SGO* 4 17/06/02: (a) Ἰούλιον Λούκιον Πείλιον Εὐάρεσ-|τον φιλόπατριν γραμματικὸν ἀ-|λιτουργητὸν καὶ μεγαλόφρονα ἀ-|γωνοθέτην διὰ βίου ἰδίας δωρεᾶς ἧς | αὐτὸς συνεστήσατο ἐξ ἰδίων χρη-|μάτων εἰς πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα πανηγύ-|ρεως πέμπτης κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν αὐ-|τοῦ διαταγὴν καὶ τὴν τῆς βουλῆς καὶ | [τ]οῦ δήμου κρίσιν, (v) ἡ πατρίς. (vac.). | (b) Αἰὲν ἀγ[ων]οθετῶν ἀέθλο[υς] σθε[ν]αροῖ-| (vac.) σιν ἔθηκα (vac.) | [ἐν σ]ταδίοισι κλυτοῖς γυμνάδος Ἡρακλέους, | [ἀ]λλὰ τὸν ἐγ Μουσῶν σφέτερον βίον ἀθρύσ‹α›ντ[α] | [ἐ]χρῆν καὶ Μούσαις δῶρα πορεῖν ἰδίαις. | τοὔνεκα δὴ πέμπτην τηνδεὶ θέμιν αὐτὸς ἀνύσας | καὶ θυμελαῖς ἀέθλους μουσοχαρεῖς ἐθέμην, | Λητοΐδου Φοίβου δὲ ταγαῖς ἱεραῖσι πιθήσας | Ἀλκεΐδῃ σθεναρῷ Μοῦσαν ἐπηγλάισα. | καί μοι τέκνα, πόλι‹γ›ῆν εὔχομαι ἀθανάτοισιν | αἰὲν ἀπημάντως τάσδε τελεῖν συνόδους. | σεῖο συνευνέτιδος κλεῖνος κάσις ἔγραφε{ν} ταῦτα, | (v) Φρόντων, ἀσκήσας νοῦν ἐὸν ἐν γραφίσιν. | (vac.) | (vac.) | τήνδε σοί, ὠ πάτρη γλυκερή, πέμπτην θέμιν α[ὐ]τὸ[ς] | [[αὐτὸς]] (v) Εὐάρεστος ἐγὼ γηθόμενος τέλεσα | καὶ πέμπτας τασδεὶ τίθεμαι πάλιν εἰκόνα[ς] αὐτό[ς] | χαλκείας, ἀρετῆς σύμβολα καὶ σοφίης. | πλεῖστοι μὲν γὰρ ἔθηκαν ἀέθλια καλὰ πόλες‹σ›ι | τεθνεότες, ζωὸς δ᾽ οὔτις ἐφημερίων· | μοῦνος δ᾽αὐτὸς ἐγὼν ἔτλην τόδε, καὶ ῥ᾽ ἐμὸν ἦτο[ρ] | γηθεῖ τερπό‹με›νον χαλκελάτοις ξοάνοις. | τοίγαρ μῶμον ἀνέντες ὅσοι φθόνον αἰνὸν ἔχουσ[ιν] | μειμηλοῖς ὅσσοις εἰσίδετ᾽ εἰκόν᾽ ἐμήν.

gyris, in accordance with his own instructions and by decree of the *boule* and *demos*, – the city (honoured).

(B) Agonothete for life, I have put up prizes for the strong in the famous stadia of athletic Herakles. But one who has earned his living from the Muses ought to have provided gifts for his own Muses; therefore having celebrated myself this fifth *themis*, I have put up prizes welcome to the Muses for artistic performances and, obedient to the holy command of Phoebus, son of Leto, I have adorned strong Alcides with the Muse. And I pray to the immortals that my children, my city and my country will always celebrate these festivals, unharmed. Your wife's famous brother wrote this, Fronto, having trained his mind in composition.

This is the fifth *themis* O sweet Fatherland, I Euarestos, have myself celebrated for you, rejoicing, and these are the fifth statues that I am erecting again in bronze, symbols of virtue and wisdom. Many have put up fair prizes for cities, after they were dead, but, in his own life, no mortal man. I alone dared do this, and it rejoices my heart to delight in the brazen images. So, abating your criticism, all those who have dread Envy, look upon my statue with emulous eyes.

Next to it another monument was set up for a local champion, the wrestler Poplius Sthenius Fronto.[3]

(A) (Statue) of Poplius Sthenius Fronto, son of Licinnianus, by gift.

(B) When Julius Lucius Pilius Euarestus was agonothete of the fifth panegyris [[…]] *Euaresteia*, which he himself founded with his own money, Poplius Sthenius Fronto, citizen of Oinoanda, son of Poplios Sthenius Licinnianus having been crowned in the men's *pankration*; open to all Lycians.

(C) First my Fatherland crowned me for the boys' wrestling and honoured me with a glorious statue in bronze; later, having carried off for my fatherland the men's *pankration*, (in the festival) open to all Lycians, I set up a lovely statue.

The statues themselves have been lost, but there was a fixed repertoire of acceptable images that the elites of the Roman east adapted for their statues. The choices tended to be on the conservative side and throughout the Roman East statues for intellectuals and athletes resembled each other closely, and often re-

3 Hall, 1994 #735, no. 1 (translation by the editors) = *SGO* 4 17/06/03. (a) Ποπλίου Σθενίο[υ] | Φρόντωνος | Λ[……]Λ[…] | δόσει | (b) Ἀγωνοθετοῦντος Ἰου-|λίου Λουκίου Πειλίου Εὐ-|αρέστου πανηγύρεως | ε᾽ [[[……..]Σ]] Εὐαρεστεί-|ων ἧς αὐτὸς συνεστέσα-|το ἐξ οἰκίων χρημάτων, | Πόπλιος Σθένιος Φρόν-|των Οἰνοανδεὺς υἱὸς Πο-|πλίου Σθενίου Λικιννια-|νοῦ στεφθεὶς ἀνδρῶν | πανκράτιον· κοινὸν | Λυκίων | (c) Παίδων μὲν τὰ πρῶτα πάλην | ἔστεψέ με πάτρη | καὶ κύδηνε κλυτῇ εἰκόνι χαλ-|κελάτῳ· | πανκράτιον δ᾽ἀνδρῶν κοινὸν | Λυκίων μετέπειτα ἀράμενος πάτρῃ θῆκ᾽ ἐρατὸν ξόανον. A third inscription Hall – Milner, 1994, no. 2, was set up in the same passage way for Aurelius Diogenes, a boxer who was a victor in the fifth edition of the *Euaresteia*.

ferred back to classical or late classical models. These statues will therefore have conformed to similar types found elsewhere.[4]

A schoolmaster and a wrestler. Some people might find them an odd couple, but they may have had more in common than we tend to think. I would like to use the monuments that were set up for this pair as a starting point for exploring the common ground that may have existed between them. Both the *grammatikos* and the wrestling champion must have frequented the *gymnasia* of Oinoanda, where they will each have aimed for perfection in one of two important ingredients in Greek cultural identity: sport or literature, athletics or *paideia*. In this paper I want to have a closer look at the world of the *gymnasion*, and discuss the relationship between these two quintessential ingredients of elite education. I wish to find out which of these disciplines had the greater impact on the young notables of this Lycian city. Put differently: who was the more popular role model, Euarestos or Fronto?

Reading though recent studies of the world of the Second Sophistic, it would seem a forgone conclusion that Euarestos would have won this particular context. It has been something approaching an orthodoxy (going back at least as far as Marrou) that in the Roman period Greek physical education was in decline, and that literary *paideia* was considered as the true hall mark of elite identity.[5] In this paper I want to modify this point of view. There can be little doubt that *paideia* was a crucial constituent in the *collective* self-fashioning of the Graeco-Roman elites, but we should perhaps not exaggerate its appeal. Literary sources may emphasise the importance of literature in elite self-fashioning, but epigraphic evidence points in another direction. In Oinoanda, as in many other cities of the Roman East, elite males were much more likely to seek commemoration for their athletic than for their literary skills.

Euarestos and Fronto

But let us first return to Euarestos and Fronto. Both seem to have belonged to the upper strata of Oinoandan society. The wrestler was, as his name suggests, a member of the prominent family of the Liciniani, a family of Italian immigrants, who had risen to prominence in Lycia. Incidentally, this family displayed a keen

4 For the statuary representation of intellectuals see Zanker, 1995, and Borg, this volume. A study of athletic statues of the Roman period remains to be written. For the earlier periods, see Serwint, 1987, and Rausa, 1994.

5 Marrou, 1965, 1; 197-200. Now vigorously reasserted by Gleason, 1995, and Schmitz, 1997.

interest in traditional Greek athletics. Apart from the 'famous wrestler Fronto', they counted also the *periodonikes* Flavillianos among their members.[6]

The *grammatikos* must also have been a wealthy man, as he was able to provide so generously for the establishment and later elaboration of his festival. There has been some debate as to how he made his fortune, without the question being completely resolved. He may have been a successful professional sophist. Some sophists indeed made a lot of money. However, Euarestos was no Herodes Atticus, and it seems therefore safer to think that he belonged to a wealthy family. In this context it is interesting to note that it has been suggested that he was related to the 2nd c. benefactor Demosthenes. He may on the other hand have been a social climber, who had only recently married into the elite, bringing little more to the marriage than the cultural capital of his literary and rhetorical skills.[7]

Be that as it may: he was on familiar terms with Oinoandan 'High Society', and he was certainly related to the wrestler Fronto, as is borne out by the epigram. In line 11 Fronto, the wrestler either addresses Euarestos, or he is addressed by him, depending on whether we have to take *Fronton* as a nominative or a vocative, as 'his wife's famous brother'. Fronto was also the star performer in one of the contests organised by Euarestos.[8]

If the two men had collaborated to bring their family name to the attention of the public, they could not have been more successful. The *Euaresteia* were among the most widely commemorated games in Oinoanda. So far we know of 18 inscriptions that commemorated the victories in the contests of Euarestos, and these were all found at prominent locations throughout the city: near the city gate, on or near the main Agora, and some in the upper agora (or Esplanade)[9] (fig. 1).

1 The world of the gymnasion

Euarestos declared that he 'earned his living from the Muses', which was a way of saying that he was professionally active as a *grammatikos* in the local *gymnasion*. The *gymnasion* had been a central institution of Greek cities since classical times. It had always been the place where physical skills were taught alongside intellec-

6 *IGR* III, 500 and Hall, Milner et al., 1996.

7 Hall – Milner, 1994, 26-27. Cf. Schmitz, 1997, 57.

8 Hall – Milner, 1994, 11.

9 The texts are collected in Hall – Milner, 1994, 8-26 nos. 1-18.

tual qualities. Modern studies have tended to emphasise the intellectual side, and have argued that in the Roman period the traditional Greek ideal of physical and intellectual excellence had gradually given way to a one-sided emphasis on literary *paideia*. Athletics and *paideia* are presented almost as separate worlds, and they are rarely studied together.[10] However, we have good reason not to exaggerate the distance between the two spheres.

In material terms the *gymnasion* had seen dramatic changes. In the classical period the *gymnasion* had been an open space, on the margins or even often outside the city; in the Hellenistic and Roman period the *gymnasion* became fully integrated in the urban landscape. The *gymnasion* was monumentalised, due to the efforts of city authorities, kings and benefactors. The scale and splendour of the buildings, and often its central position turned it into second agora, '*une seconde agora*' to borrow an expression of Louis Robert's. In Roman Asia Minor the *gymnasion* took on a distinct shape, in the form of bath-*gymnasion* complexes which reflected Roman as much as Greek influences. Apart from baths such complexes would normally be fitted with special facilities for the imperial cult, occasional auditoria, and frequently with latrines.[11]

In Oinoanda there were at last two bath-*gymnasion* complexes (Mi 1 with *palaestra* no. Mi 2 nearby; and building Mk 1; cf. fig. 1) that occupied a central place at the heart of the city. Their relatively modest scale does not compare to the more elaborate buildings that were found in larger cities, but they do testify to an active cultural and athletic life. Other athletic buildings have not been securely identified as yet.[12]

The increasing monumentalisation of the *gymnasia* did not mean a total reorientation of its social functions. Athletic facilities remained central to the functioning of the *gymnasia* throughout the Roman period. *Palaestrae*, and to a lesser extent, *xystoi* (running tracks) were found, and in some cases the *gymnasion* was located near a *stadion*, which would have facilitated common usage.[13] It was only

10 The classic survey of Greek education remains Marrou, 1965. Legras, 2002, is a brief and up-to-date survey with a realistic assessment of the place of physical education. Ziebarth, 1914, is still useful, although its main focus is on the Hellenistic period, more recently Gauthier, 1995. Recent approaches that have (over)emphasised the importance of rhetoric and literature include Brown, 1992, Gleason, 1995, and Schmitz, 1997.

11 For the physical history of the *gymnasion* see Delorme, 1960, and for the *gymnasia* and bath-houses of the Roman period Yegül, 1992, and Farrington, 1995. The expression of Robert can be found in Robert, 1960b, 298 [814] n. 3.

12 Yegül, 1992, 299; Farrington, 1995; Ling – Hall, 1981. One inscription (*IGR* III, 484) mentions a *boukonisterion* which may have been an athletic building of some sort (cf. Coulton, 1982, 58).

13 Yegül, 1992, 308-309.

in the fourth century that new bath-complexes were established that lacked *palaestrae* and other athletic facilities.[14]

Gymnasiarchs

The running of the *gymnasion* was entrusted to officially appointed *gymnasiarchs* and *paidonomoi*. There has been some debate about whether the *gymnasiarchia* was a magistracy or a liturgy; perhaps it is best to opt, with F. Quaß, for the term 'liturgical office' which acknowledges the crucial facts that these functions were integrated into the local hierarchy of liturgies and magistracies, and that they required a substantial outlay of money.[15]

In the Hellenistic period *gymnasiarchs* were repeatedly praised for their efforts to promote the intellectual as well as the physical qualities of the boys in their care, but in Roman times we no longer find such texts.[16] It seems likely that the *gymnasiarchs* no longer had much day-to-day experience with life in the *gymnasion*, and that they were merely required to meet the financial burden of running the *gymnasion*. The most expensive items on the bill appear to have been the supply of oil to the athletes, and in particular the provision of fuel for the new-style bath/*gymnasia*. *Gymnasiarchs* were therefore recruited from among the richest families, and even women – and the occasional boy – could be appointed.[17]

It was not only expected that the *gymnasiarch* would meet the costs of the function out of his own pocket, but also that he would 'spontaneously' offer other benefactions to the *gymnasion* as well. In the Hellenistic period we thus find a number of foundations for the free education of the children of citizen status, which also provided for the appointment of *grammatikoi*, but again this practice appears over time to have dried up.[18] In Roman Lycia we only find an 'Anonymous Benefactor' who provided generously for the *'paideia'* of the children of the citizens of Xanthos, but he seems to have been exceptional.[19] The great majority

14 Yegül, 1992, 313.

15 Jones, 1940, 221-222; Quass, 1993, 270-274; 286-291; 317-323; van Bremen, 1996, 66-73.

16 E.g. *IvEph* no. 6 ll. 17 f.: a gymnasiarch is praised for his efforts to instil the youth with physical and intellectual *philoponia* (φιλοπονίαν σωματικήν τε καὶ ψυχικὴν).

17 It is not very likely that female *gymnasia*rchs were expected to participate actively in the life of the *gymnasion*, see van Bremen, 1996, 66-73.

18 The most important examples are found in Teos and Miletos, cf. *CIG* 3080 = *SIG* (3) 578; and *Milet* I.3, 39 = *SIG* (3), 577.

19 *FdXanthos* VII, 67 = SEG xxx, 1535. Still, Men.Rh. (361.5) reminds us that the education of children (τὴν τῶν παίδων ἀγωγήν) was one of the achievements for which a city could be praised.

of the benefactions to the *gymnasia* of the imperial age however, concerned building activities, the provision of wood for heating the baths, and most of all the provision of free oil to the athletes.[20]

Teachers and trainers

In the *gymnasion* training and education was entrusted to the safe hands of specialists. Cities appointed *paidotribai* (trainers) to promote physical fitness and *grammatikoi* to teach the young notables the cultural power of correct speech. We should perhaps not exaggerate the distance between the *grammatikos* and the athletics trainer: both could be referred to as *paideutes*, instructor, and it is not always easy to differentiate between them in our sources. Whenever we are informed about their salaries they seem to have been remunerated at roughly the same level, even though schoolmasters appear to have received slightly more.[21] Socially the distance would not have been immense. Both trainers and teachers were of course the products (and the producers) of the culture of the *gymnasion*, so they were probably recruited from among the middling segment of society and upwards. Euarestos may, as we saw above, have belonged to the local elite, but trainers could be local notables as well, as was for example Publius Aelius Tertius who was a *paidotribes* and *bouleutes* from Smyrna.[22]

It may also be argued that in cultural terms the distance between trainers and schoolmasters was not always as great as some writers (ancient and modern) would have wished. Greek athletics continued to fascinate and preoccupy many of the writers associated with the Second Sophistic but it was not always an easy relationship.

Sophists as well as other writers who are associated with the Second Sophistic as for example the physician Galen often launched vitriolic attacks on athlet-

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20 Jones, 1940, 221; 351 n. 22. The list of benefactions to *gymnasia* in the Roman period would be long. My student Arjan Zuiderhoek who is preparing a dissertation on civic euergetism has compiled a preliminary list of more than 40 cases where benefactors offered to pay for (a part of) the building of the *gymnasion*, or for its embellishment. For older lists see: Frank, 1959, 717-793; Laum, 1914, 88-90; 105.

21 For the salaries of teachers and trainers see e.g. the foundation texts from Teos and Miletos: *CIG* 3080 = *SIG* (3) 578; and *Milet* I.3, 39 = *SIG* (3), 577. A passage in the Prices edict shows that levels of remuneration remained comparable in the Roman period: *ceromatitae in singulis discipulis menstruos den.quinquaginta* | κηρωματείτῃ ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου μαθητοῦ μηνιαῖα (δην.) ν’ | *paedagogo in singulis pueris menstruos den. quinquaginta* | παιδαγωγῷ ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου παιδὸς μηνιαῖ(α) (δην.) ν’. (Ed. Lauffer 7.65-66).

22 *IK* 23.1, 246 τὸ μνῆμα τοῦτό ἐστιν Ποπλίου Αἰλίου Τερτίου Σμυρ-|ναίου βουλευτοῦ, παιδοτρίβου.

ics and its practioners.[23] I have argued elsewhere that we should see these attacks not as a representation of a widely supported change in mentality, but rather as polemical and highly rhetorical arguments within a heated debate about the nature of elite education. These authors were at pains, of course, to persuade their audiences that there were other effective ways to fashion a masculine identity than through traditional Greek athletics. Rhetoric as well as exercises under the supervision of a physician are frequently presented as viable alternatives to athletics, and in this context it was in the interest of these authors to exaggerate the difference between these two domains. It is highly questionable, however, whether these statements reflected an actual dichotomy. The sophists may have convinced themselves in their efforts to present their own activities as a kind of 'top-sport', but we may wonder whether they succeeded in convincing the other habitués of the *gymnasion*. When sophists set themselves up as experts in 'making men', they must have realised that the great majority of the 'literate public' did not abandon physical training in the *gymnasion*.[24] In the Greek *gymnasion* of the Roman period we find physical training and rhetorical and literary education side by side.

There is, therefore, no reason to assume that gymnastics trainers really resembled the uneducated musclemen that we find in many of the literary sources. Incidentally, not all literary texts present the same picture. Philostratus no doubt presents an idealised image in his *Gym.* but this idealisation is telling:[25]

> the *gymnastes* ought to be neither talkative nor unskilled in speech, that the efficacy of his art may neither be injured by garrulity nor appear too crude, from being unaccompanied by good speech.

The image may not have been totally unrealistic. All disciplines that claimed to offer a socially worthwhile type of knowledge, or expertise, had to be able to persuade potential takers. Rhetorical ability was therefore crucial, especially with the kind of competition there was. Athletic topics were common in rhetorical school exercises; and if you had failed to pick the skill up at school, you could

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23 Galen was a particularly vicious contributor to this debate. He claims that athletic trainers exercises a 'perverted art' (*Thrasyboulos* 898), and insists that athletes were '*athlioi*', i.e. really sad cases. (*Exhortatio ad Artes Addiscendas* 11 [31]). On the agonistic nature of Greek intellectual debate in this period and the place of invective see: Barton, 1994b.

24 The tensions between sophists and their athletic competitors are discussed in Gleason, 1995. She is wrong I think, to take at face value the statements of the sophists that they were winning the hearts of the young men in the *gymnasia* in large numbers. I have discussed this debate in more detail in: van Nijf, 2002.

25 Philostr. *Gym.* 25: ἔστω δὴ ὁ γυμναστὴς μήτε ἀδολέσχης, μήτε ἀγύμναστος τὴν γλῶτταν, ὡς μήτε ἐκλύοιτο ὑπὸ τῆς ἀδολεσχίας τὸ ἔνεργον τῆς τέχνης, μήτε ἀγροικότερον φαίνοιτο μὴ ξὺν λόγῳ δρώμενον.

always turn to a handbook of rhetoric and still learn to beat the orators at their own game. A rhetorical handbook ascribed to Dionysius on Epideictic Speeches, contains specific instructions on how to write an 'exhortation to competing athletes' as well as how to write a speech on the occasion of a *panegyris*.[26]

We probably have to place the *Gymnasticus* of the sophist Philostratus in this epideictic tradition. We do not quite understand the nature of this text, and interpretations have varied from a handbook for trainers to an elaborate pastiche. In a forthcoming study Jason Köning has argued that we should take this text seriously as a sophisticated treatise on the value of traditional athletics for contemporary Greek *paideia* in a world that was dominated by Rome.[27] The text emphasises the educational value of athletic training and stresses the importance of a high morality of trainers and athletes alike. It refers to the glory that awaits the victorious athlete, warns against corruption, and of course appeals to the glorious Greek past, which was the stock in trade of the able sophist, using famous athletes as examples.

Using rhetorical handbooks or fashioning his text after such examples, the trainer could learn to make a deliberative speech through which he might hope to persuade an assembly or a group of magistrates to appoint him to the job – or perhaps an epideictic speech, that he might offer in response to a challenge by a sophist in the *gymnasion*.[28]

At any rate, such texts helped the trainer to establish himself as a *pepaideumenos*, a man of culture as well.

In the third century AD the world of athletics and the world of the sophists were not as far apart as we might think: sophists were interested in athletics, of which they claimed expert knowledge. And athletic trainers found ways to compete with the orators in their own field. Euarestos and Fronto were anything but an odd couple.

The *gymnasion* of Roman Oinoanda was still a place where an all-round education was on offer. Here young boys and adult citizens entered a rigorous programme of *askêsis* – physical and intellectual training and discipline *à la grecque*. Its educational programme was firmly directed towards turning boys into men, it provided ephebes with facilities for training and the *gymnasion* was a place where young adult men acquired and exercised the intellectual and the physical skills

26 D.H. *Rh.* 6.283-292, and 1.255-260.

27 König, 2000, ch. 7. I am grateful to Jason Köning for making his study available to me in advance of publication.

28 For the popular election of schoolmasters and trainers, Jones, 1940, 222. For an account of 'impromptu' arguments between Physicians and trainers see Galen's *Thrasyboulos*. It was of course in his interest to present the trainers as uncultivated boars.

that they needed as rulers of their cities. But would it be possible to tell which aspect of their education had made the greater impact? Perhaps the best place to start is the self-representation of the urban elites.

2 Paideia and the self-representation of the notables in the Roman East

Recent studies of the world of the Second Sophistic have emphasised the importance of literary *paideia* for the self-identification of local élites. The nexus of power and *paideia* has been analysed from various sides, most incisively by Peter Brown, Maud Gleason and Thomas Schmitz.[29] The latter in particular has argued forcefully that rhetoric was intimately connected with the political power-structure. He argues that it was by their *paideia* that the elite set themselves apart from the rest of the population. He also suggests that, in the intensely competitive climate of the time, individual notables frequently turned to *paideia* as a means to distinguish themselves from their peers and obtain individual glory.[30] Although I am in broad agreement with the first part of this thesis, I wonder whether *paideia* was indeed as important for the individual self-representation of the elites of Greek cities in the Roman East as Schmitz suggests.

That *paideia* played an important role is easily established. The very fact that Greek culture was taught and propagated, that cultural contests were being organised, and that some sophists seem to have enjoyed a high social standing seems to bear this out.

We can also see the high value put on *paideia* reflected at other places. An interesting indication is the popularity of names that imply a direct claim to Greek cultural identity and a 'taste for literature'. Louis Robert has pointed out in this context that names like *Philomousos* or *Philologos* were fairly popular throughout the Greek East.[31] However, names could also in another way refer to Greek cultural ideals. In families of this period it was fashionable in some parts of South-West Asia Minor to give children very 'Greek'-sounding names, like *Perikles*, *Atalante*, or *Plato*.[32] Moreover, sobriquets that referred to the world of Greek athle-tics were also common: in Oinoanda we find names like *Gymnasiarchos* and *Panegyrikos* that very probably reflect the enthusiasm of those families for the

29 Brown, 1992, Gleason, 1995, Schmitz, 1997.

30 Schmitz, 1997, 44-50; 101-110.

31 Robert, 1956, 45-56, on p. 47 we read *"le choix du nom témoigne du goût et de l'estime pour 'les lettres' chez les parents; il témoigne du goût de la* 'paideia' *comme les noms".*

32 For Greek names in contemporary Termessos see, the index in *TAM* III.1, 313-339.

Greek sporting ethos.[33] These trends suggest that nomenclature could be used in various ways as a statement about the cultural identity of notable families.

Yet, such names are not an unproblematic index of a complete Greekness of their bearers (or their parents). Many inhabitants of Oinoanda and Termessos had other names as well, which allowed them to emphasise different aspects of their identity without having to negate any one aspect. Cultural and personal identities were always multiple and situational.

Schmitz adduces another category of evidence to support his thesis that *paideia* was also important on the level of individual self-identification, namely honorific inscriptions. He argues that *paideia* was frequently mentioned alongside other traditional ingredients of elite identity, as e.g. *euergesia*.[34] Although the term does indeed appear in honorific inscriptions, this is largely limited to two specific contexts. One category consists of honorific monuments for individuals who were or had been active as orators, like sophists and politicians and lawyers, and whose rhetorical skills were very precisely highlighted as a reason for praise.[35] In such cases it is not surprising that these particular skills were singled out, but they cannot be used as support of the view that these qualities were universally shared.

A much larger category consists of funerary epigrams, posthumous honorific decrees and consolation decrees that were set up for prematurely deceased members of elite families. In such texts the term is used in a looser and more general sense.[36] Such cases present much stronger evidence for the social importance of paideia. A fine example of this genre was found in Oinoanda where the young Diogenes, alias Apollonius, was honoured as follows:[37]

> Diogenes alias Apollonios, son of the most honourable Marcus Aurelius Orthagorianos, son of Apollonios, and Sarpedonis, alias Diogeneia, having died before his time, a young man distinguished for his honour and literary ability. – in remembrance and in consolation to his parents, by decree of the *boule* and *demos*.

33 Hall – Milner, 1994, 14.

34 Schmitz, 1997, 101-110.

35 Examples in Kleijwegt, 1991, 83-88.

36 Cf. Kleijwegt, 1991, 83-88. The phenomenon was first identified by Louis Robert, cf. Pleket, 1994, and Strubbe, 1998.

37 Hall – Milner, 1994, no. 34, see also *SGO* 4, 17/06/05. [Δ]ιογένην τὸν καὶ Ἀπολ-|λώνιον, υἱὸν τῶν ἀξιο-|λογωτάτων Μάρκων [Αὐ]-|ρελίων Ὀρθαγοριαν[οῦ] | Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ Σαρ[πη]-|δονίδος τῆς καὶ Διογε-|νείας προμοίρως τε[τε]-|λευτηκότα νεανίαν ἀξι-|ώματι καὶ λόγων ἀ[ρ]ε[τῇ] | διαπρέψαντα, μνήμης ἕ-|νεκεν κ[αὶ τ]ῆς εἰς τοὺς | [γ]ονεῖς παραμυθία{ι}ς βου-|λῆς καὶ δήμου κρίσει. | LEAF | [Τ]ίς, πόθεν; ἔνθεν ἔφυν· – γενεὴ δὲ τίς; εὐκλεὲς αἷμα | ἐκ προγόνων πεύσει· τοὔνομα; Διογένης | ἔργα; λόγοι· τίς ἔτεισε; πάτρη· – τίνος εἵνεκα; πάτρη[ς]· | – πρὸς τί; φιλαίδημον· θῆκε τίς; οἱ τοκέες.

> Who? and from whence? I was born here. – What is your parentage? You will know my blood is noble from my ancestors. – The name? Diogenes.-Works? Literature. – Who honoured you? My fatherland. – On whose behalf? My fatherland's. – For what? My love of decency. – Who set this up? My parents.

Other examples would not be hard to find. This language of praise was to a large extent based on literary *topoi* that were also found in rhetorical handbooks. In the case of young deceased it was commonplace to say that "as regards education he showed that he was ahead of his contemporaries".[38] Such advice reflects a social ideal, but it is perhaps not so surprising that sophistic authors such as Menander or [Dionysius] recommended to emphasise rhetorical and literary skills over the physical skills that their subject may have had. But it can easily be shown that physical skills could be praised in similar terms. Again it is important to see these examples in their context. Many epigrams on stone for young deceased do not only mention their intellectual qualities, but also stress their physical abilities and in particular their athletic talents. An epigram from Ephesos, the epitaph of a young athlete, sums it all up:[39]

> My father Hêrôdes begot me, my mother Ammion bore [me], to whom I left sadness, having died. Three times seven years I had completed when I went to Hades, unmarried, without child, by name I was called Symmachos, whom my age group of fellow ephebes mourned, because I had to leave *techne* and *sofia* behind. I left the house of my parents empty, and I left behind things that I worshipped: the *gymnasion*, *technê*, and the age group with whom I grew up ...

The ideal product of the *gymnasion* had both: education and cultural skills had to be matched by a good physique and athletic skills. However, it would be unwise to assume that such texts offer a reliable index of the real achievements of these young notables. Funerary epigrams and honorific texts that were set up as a consolation for the bereaved parents idealised their subjects to a high degree, holding them up as a model or examples for all others. M. Wörrle has described this as *'ein gesellschaftliches Kunstprodukt, ein politisch-moralisches Wunsch- und Glaubensbild'*.[40] It was not a realistic image.

So epigrams and consolation degrees do not support the view that cultural skills were singularly important for the urban notables. Physical skills were not

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38 Men.Rh. II (420) Tr. Russell. ἐρεις δὲ τὴν παιδείαν, ὅτι ἐδείκνυε καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ προσχεῖν τῶν ἡλικίων.

39 *SEG* 48, 1998, 1362, cf. *SGO* I, 03/02/68 Σπεῖρε μὲν Ἡρώδης με πατήρ, μήτηρ δ᾽{ε}ε ἔτεκέν [με] | Ἄμμιον, οἷς ὀδύνας λεῖπον ἀποφθίμενος· | τρισσὰς ἑβδομάδας πλήσας ἐτέων δὲ πρὸς Ἅδαν | ἦλθον ἄνυνφος, ἄπαις, οὔνομα κληζόμενος | Σύμμαχος· ὃν δάκρυσεν ὁμηλικίη συνεφήβων | οὕνεκα καὶ τέχνην καὶ σοφίην ἔλιπον. | Ἠρήμωσα οἴκους γονέων, ἔλιπον δὲ τὰ σέμνα | γυμνάσιον, τέχνην, σύντροφον ἡλικίην. | Ἀλλὰ γονεῖς λήθεσθε γόων, τάδε μοῖρ᾽ ἐλόχευσεν| ἄ‹λ›γεα καὶ λυπρὴν ὥπασε δυστυχίην· | καὶ σύ μοι ὡς φθιμένῳ, παροδῖτα, σοφὸν στόμ᾽ ἀνοίξας | χαίρειν λέξον· ὅ δὴ πᾶσιν ἔθος φθιμένοις|.

40 Wörrle, 1995, 250 cf. Strubbe, 1998, #3134, 69.

less commonly praised than cultural skills, and in any case there may have been a gap between the idealised image that the parents may have wished to propagate of their sons, and their real achievements.[41] If we want to find out which quality was most appreciated by the urban elites we may have to turn elsewhere.

Culture and contests

One area were sport and literature came together was in the contests that were so common in this period. The 'world of the Second Sophistic' was full of festivals that contained athletic or literary contests, or both.

Cultural contests had of course been an integral element of the Panhellenic Pythian games, the programme of which was copied in large numbers by local festivals, but this kind of cultural competition was also integrated into the *gymnasia*. We know that ephebes in the *gymnasion* had to perform in competitions to demonstrate their athletic skills. Lists of victors in such *gymnasion* contests were frequently inscribed on the walls of the *gymnasia*, or on other public buildings, as they were in Termessos.[42] It is perhaps not so surprising that athletic skills were tested in competition, but it is quite revealing of the ideals behind Greek education that intellectual skills of young boys appear to have been tested in a similar way.

Such contests taught the boys and ephebes that intellectual excellence, like physical excellence, could be measured, and that it had to be demonstrated in a public *agôn*.[43] *Paideia* was also a 'spectators' sport. The evidence for such *gymnasion* contests is limited, and most of it can be dated to the Hellenistic period, but literary sources and a contemporary text from Roman Egypt suggest that the practice had not died out altogether.[44] Although we do not have direct evidence

41 Claims to athletic excellence may also have been exaggerated, although there were elegant ways out, as in Hall and Milner, 1994), no. 27, which praises a Valerius Hermaios, a young deceased member of a liturgical family, for "having taken part with distinction in the boys' wrestling" (ἀγωνισάμενον ἐνδόξως τὴν τῶν παίδων πάλην).

42 *TAM* III.1, 199-213.

43 Cf. Schmitz, 1997, 108-110; on p. 108 we read: „in solchen Wettkämpfen wurde die aristokratische Einstellung zum ἀριστεύειν und πρωτεύειν institutionalisiert".

44 For a more detailed discussion, see Ziebarth, 1914, 136-147. Some examples: *CIG* 3088 (Teos) with contests in: *hypobole, antapodosis, anagnosis, polymathia, zographia, kalligraphia, lampas, psalmos, kitharismos, kitharoidia, rhythmographia, tragoidia, melographia*; *SIG*(3), 960 (Magnesia ad Maeandrum) with contests *melographia, kitharismos, kitharoidia, zographia, arithmetike; SIG*(3), 959 (Chios) with contests for different age categories in: *anagnosis, rhapsodia psalmos, kitharismos, dolichos, stadion, diaulos, pale.* An inscription from Roman Egypt mention s a variety of contests, including a *logikos agôn* – a contest in rhetoric. (*I.Portes* 10).

from Oinoanda, we may assume that the pupils of Euarestos received ample opportunity to practice the skills that they had acquired while in his care. The civic festival that was founded by Euarestos would thus seem easily understood against the background of this educational model. Cultural contests would seem to offer a suitable setting for his (former) pupils – and his social equals – to play out their *philotimia* – desire for honour – on a public stage. But how successful his civilising offensive was remains to be seen.

Euarestos was neither the first Oinoandan benefactor to have set up cultural contests, nor the last. Some years earlier, Caius Iulius Demosthenes had already set up a *mousikos agôn* in Oinoanda with the explicit approval of the Philhellene emperor Hadrian. The foundation text was inscribed on a monumental inscription that was published by Wörrle at the end of the last century.[45]

Table 1

City	**Description**	**Reference**
Balboura	*mousikos agon*	*IGR* III, 467
Xanthos, Letoon	Isopythian Games	*F.Xanthos* 7, 37, no. 18
Oinoanda	Demostheneia	Wörrle, 1988, + Hall – Milner, 1994, nos. 19, 20
Oinoanda	*Euaresteia* (but only 'cultural' after 5th edition)	Hall – Milner, 1994, nos. 1-18
Oinoanda	*'Artemeia'*	Hall – Milner, 1994, nos. 22, 23
Telmessus	λογογράφων ἀγών	*TAM* II, 27
Olympos	Pythian Games	*TAM* II, 946
Termessos	paian dancing	*TAM* III.1 154
Termessos	ζωγραφία	*TAM* III.1, 333[46]

Euarestos may have wanted to imitate or emulate his kinsman, for the organisation of festivals could be an outlet for the agonistic impulses of the Graeco-Roman elite. A few years after Euarestos, Aurelius Artemon, and his wife Marcia Aurelia Polykleia, in a remarkable example of euergetistic one-upmanship set up another πανήγυρις θυμελική, an athletic and cultural contest that was open not only to the youth of Lycia as was the case in Euarestos' festival,

45 Wörrle, 1988.

46 A funerary epigram for a painter Hermaios indicates that he was a *zôgraphos hieroneikês*, although it is not clear that he won his prize in Lycia.

but to participants from Termessos (Pisidia) and Caesarea (Asia) as well.[47] There is some evidence for some more cultural contests that were set up in Lycia and neighbouring regions, which I present in Table 1.[48]

These cases show that there was certainly a taste for cultural contests among festival organisers in Lycia. We also know that the cultural competitions were valued relatively highly by this elite: festivals regulations, such as we have for Aphrodisias, or indeed for the second century AD festival of Demosthenes, set the prizes for cultural victories usually at a much higher level than the prize money available for the athletes.[49] Yet the public appeal of this type of contest may have been more limited. Demosthenes admits as much when he adds to his full cultural programme other types of entertainment 'that were to please the city'.[50]

Moreover, the monuments referring to cultural contests are relatively few in comparison with the evidence for contests with a more clearly athletic nature. Agonistic life in Roman Lycia is documented in a large number of inscriptions, most of which can be dated to the second and third centuries AD, even though some of the contests must have been older. Most of these games were *themides* (prize games) set up by local benefactors, which catered for a local or regional public. Most of the known victors can be identified as the scions of local elite families, and even of families that rank among the provincial aristocracy. I have presented the data in Table 2.

Cultural victories are relatively thin on the ground (fig. 3). It is a sobering thought that none of Euarestos cultural contests were won by a local boy, by one of his own pupils so to speak. The same, incidentally, had already been the case for the ambitious programme of Demosthenes, and no Oinoandan victor is known for the cultural competitions set up by Artemon and Polykleia either.[51] Their colleague Meleager in neighbouring Boubon had a similar experience.[52] In fact, the only Oinoandan student who seems to have been commemorated for his cultural skills, was the young deceased Diogenes, who we have met above,

47 Hall – Milner, 1994, no. 22.

48 Tables 1 and 2 are based on: Farrington, 1995.

49 Wörrle, 1988, 234.

50 Wörrle, 1988, l. 46. παραλαμβανομένων εἰς ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀκροαμάτω[ν] τῶν ἀρεσκόντων τῇ πόλει.

51 The first time we hear of local victors in the Demostheneia is more than a hundred years after its foundation, when a descendent of Demosthenes decided to make funds available for athletic statues, Hall – Milner, 1994, nos. 19 and 20.

52 Hall – Milner, 1994, 27-28.

but he does not seem to have won anything either.[53] It seems hard to avoid the conclusion that cultural contests were dominated by professionals: members of the travelling synod of Dionysiac artists, who on the whole do not seem to have bothered to register their victories in the small mountain towns of Lycia. The only professional performer that I could find who mentioned his victories in Lycian contests was a *biologos* a type of mime who states that he had been victorious in 25 contests in Lycia and Pamphylia, but even he does not bother to record the individual victories.[54]

Table 2

City	**Festival**	**Discipline**	**Reference**
Oinoanda	Euaresteia	boxing, *pankration*, wrestling	Hall – Milner, 1994, nos 1-18
	Demostheneia	Wrestling (added after 34th edition)	Hall – Milner, 1994, nos. 19-20
	Artemeia	–	Hall – Milner, 1994, nos. 22-23
	Pentaeteric Isolympic *Vespasianeia*		Hall – Milner, 1994, no. 21
	Androbeia	boxing?, and *pankration*	Hall – Milner, 1994, nos. 24-26
	Meleagreia	wrestling, *pankration*	Hall – Milner, 1994, no. 27-37
Boubon	*themis*	boxing, *pankration*	*IGR* III, 461, 462
Kadyanda	Isis and Serapis games	boxing	*TAM* II, 677
	unknown games	boxing	*TAM* II, 678-84; 687.
Kandyba	unknown	unknown	*TAM* II, 751
Kormi	annual sacred games	unknown	*TAM* II, 901
Gagae	Asklepieia	unknown	*IGR* 3, 746

53 See above n. 37.

54 *I.Tralleis*, 102. A metric epitaph from Patara states that the deceased was the 'best mime of Lycia' but he does not indicate at which contests he had won either. The *biologoi* were mimes who acted out scenes for everyday life. Strictly speaking such men were no proper representatives of traditional Greek *paideia*. They would not have appeared in the main programme of a festival, but be added as a popular side-show. Demosthenes of Oinoanda makes provisions for shows, but stipulates that they are hired, and that no prizes will be awarded. Wörrle, 1988, l. 44-46.

City	Festival	Discipline	Reference
Letoon	Isopythian Games		*F.Xanthos* 7, 37, no. 19
	Isolympia Letoa		*F.Xanthos* 7, 280-281, nos. 91-92
	annual *panegyris*	unknown	*F.Xanthos* 7, 133, no. 50
	unknown	*hiera lampas*	*F.Xanthos* 7, 40-41, no. 21
Myra	*panegyris* of Rome and emperor	unknown	*TAM* II, 905
Nisa	7th *themis*	boxing	*TAM* II, 741
Olympos	*panegyris* of Hephaestos and emperor	unknown	*TAM* II, 905
	7th *themis*	unknown	*TAM* II, 944
	Pythian games		*TAM* II, 946
Patara	Kasseia Koina Lykiôn	boxing	*TAM* II, 428
	panegyris of emperor	unknown	*TAM* II, 905
	unknown	unknown	Farrington, 1995, p. 147
Phaselis	games	boxing	*TAM* II, 428
Pinara	unknown	unknown	*TAM* II, 511
Rhodiapolis	Asklepieia	unknown	*TAM* II, 911
	unknown	unknown	*TAM* II, 914
Sidyma	unknown	unknown	*TAM* II, 189
	unknown	unknown	*TAM* II, 181
Sura	*panegyris* of Eleutheria	unknown	*IGR* 3, 714
Telmessos	*themis*	boxing, *pankration*	*TAM* II, 22-25; 27-28
Tlos	unknown	unknown	*TAM* II, 522
	Great *Kasseia*	ῥυθμικὸς δίαυλος	*TAM* II, 585
	unknown	boxing	*TAM* II, 586
Xanthos	1st *themis* of games	boxing	*TAM* II, 288; 310; 312
	3rd *themis* of games	boxing	*TAM* II, 303-06
	Antipatreia koina Lukiôn	boxing	*TAM* II, 307
	panegyris	unknown	*TAM* II, 207

Athletic victories, on the other hand were very widely commemorated in Oinoanda and beyond. The epigraphic landscape of Oinoanda even seems dominated by honorific monuments for the victors in the many wrestling and boxing competitions that were on offer. It could even be argued that commemoration in civic space of athletic skills was one of the main purposes of these festivals. The *agonothetai* of the various contests in Oinoanda made this explict by making special arrangements for the display of statues and inscriptions that commemorated local boys as heavy Greek athletes, thus showing what kind of self identification was really important to the Oinoandan elite.[55] As a result the streets and squares of Oinoanda (and other towns and cities) were gradually filled with monuments that drew attention to this dimension of its cultural heritage (fig. 4).

We may conclude from this that the 'civilising offensive' of Euarestos and his equals had only a limited success. The young boys of Oinoanda appear to have been only moderately attracted to the world of Greek 'high culture'. Not enough, at any rate, to have been successful in one of the many contests put up in their home town. The same would have applied to other cities of the Greek East. The epigram of a young boy from Hadrianoi in Mysia offers a – perhaps more honest – variation of the conventional topos that young men possessed a mix of intellectual and physical skills.[56]

> If you ask: "Who are you?" my name is Klados; and "Who brought you up?" Menophilos. "Of what did I die?" of fever. "And at what age?" thirteen. "So you did not like the Muses then?" not quite, they did not love me very much, but Hermes cared for me a great deal, for in contests I often received the praiseworthy garland for

55 Cf. Hall – Milner, 1994, no. 18 where Euarestos boasts in l. 15 -16 that he was the first to set up statues for *arete* and wisdom. Cf. no. 10, a public honorific statue for that emphasises that "he was the first in the city to open a contest...with both statues and prizes." (πρῶτον τῶν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι συνστησάμενον ἀγωνα … ἔκ τε ἀνδριάντων καὶ θεμάτων). No. 19 and 20 praise a descendant of C. Iulius Demosthenes for having added the statues and prizes of the athletic competition from his own pocket (τοὺς ἀνδριάντας καὶ τὰ θέματα τοῦ γυμνικοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐξ οἰκείας φιλοτειμίας παρασχομένυ). Two honorific statues for M. Aurelius Artemon and his wife Polykleia (Nos. 22 and 23) emphasise that they "put up prizes of statues and cash" (ἀνδρίαντων καὶ θεμάτων ἄθλα).

56 *SGO* II 08/08/10. I would like to thank Johan Strubbe and Rolf Tybout for this reference.
"τίς τίνος;" ἦν εἴρῃ, Κλάδος οὔνο-|μα· καὶ "τίς ὁ θρέψας;"
Μηνόφιλος· | "θνήσκω δ᾽ ἐκ τίνος;" ἐκ πυρε-|τοῦ·
"κἀπὸ πόσων ἐτέων;" τρισ-|καίδεκα· "ἆρά γ᾽ ἄμουσος;"
οὐ τέ-|λεον, Μούσαις δ᾽ οὐ μέγα φει-|λάμενος,
ἔξοχα δ᾽ Ἑρμείᾳ με-|μελημένος· ἐν γὰρ ἀγῶσιν
πολλάκις αἰνητὸν στέμμα | πάλας ἔλαχον·
Ἀπφία ἡ θάψασα δ᾽ ἐμὴ τροφός, | ἥ μοι ἔτευξεν
εἰκόνα καὶ τύμ-|βῳ σῆμ᾽ ἐπέθηκε τόδε.

> wrestling. Apphia, who has buried me, was my nurse, she has set up my portrait and placed this monument on my tomb.

It is my assessment that the young notables of Oinoanda when pressed, would have had to make a similar admission: very few of them may have conformed to the picture of the *pais teleios* that we find in so many epigrams. Euarestos must have realised this: after all – as his honorific inscription indicates – when he first offered his festival he had only planned for athletic contests. It was only late in his life that he apparently reconsidered his approach and decided to add the cultural contests as well. The reason may well have been that he realised that his compatriots were much more interested in commemorating their athletic successes, than their cultural achievements. Would it be possible to understand why this was?

Why athletics?

Athletic commemoration represented a conscious choice on the part of the local notables. Even if the young boys of Oinoanda were not very good at oratory or composition, it would have been easy enough to set them up as paragons of youthful wisdom, had the notables wished to do so. After all, local school contests were organised in literary subjects as we saw above, but these were apparently not widely commemorated with public inscriptions in the same way as athletic victories were. Apparently it was more attractive to the notables to draw attention to the athletic skills of their families than to their cultural skills. Why? Several – probably overlapping – factors may have played a part here. One cause may have been the 'simple fact' that young boys of all times and ages have always been more interested in sports activities than in their lessons at school, but this does not explain why it was culturally important to emphasise this; and it is more attractive to opt for another interpretation.

I have argued elsewhere that the desire to display their Greek cultural identity may have caused the elites to display publicly their skills and achievements in traditional Greek athletics. In this paper I want to contextualise this more and locate the importance of athletics within a wider cultural and political framework.

The political culture of the Greek city under Roman rule was marked by an increasing oligarchisation. Public life was a highly competitive arena, wherein families and individuals competed for status. Young members of elite families played an active part in this.[57] Young notables occasionally had the opportunity

57 Kleijwegt, 1991.

to shine as benefactors – even though the degree to which they could excel through *euergesia* was mainly determined by the size of their fortune, i.e. by factors beyond their immediate control. More personalised sources of individual glory would have been harder to find.

It used to be thought that young notables were frequently put in a position to prove their mettle by acting as magistrates and officials, but recent research has emphasised that such opportunities may have been limited. Young magistrates are in fact only found relatively rarely, and then largely in positions that were mainly liturgical.[58]

Young men and boys of an ephebic age, therefore, had few opportunities to engage in competition for honour and status outside the domain of the *gymnasion* and the athletic festival. Despite the cultural ideals that were propagated by the likes of Euarestos, athletic competition was the main area where young notables were able to display their *philotimia* to an admiring public.[59] This may have been a matter of simple preference for athletic on the part of the young, but in the grim demographic climate of the age, there may be an added benefit. Athletic contests were an opportunity for families to display their strong and healthy sons as a reservoir of human capital, which may have served as further support for their claim to rule.[60]

Conclusion and a sophistic perspective

I opened this paper with the juxtaposition of a wrestler and a schoolmaster, as the representatives of two complementary aspects of elite culture. I have argued that such men would naturally work together in the *gymnasion*, where the sons of the provincial elites were initiated in the hallowed traditions of Greek literary *and* physical culture. Epitaphs for young notables, which presented them as a classy combination of brawn and brain, summed up a widespread cultural ideal. It should not simply be assumed, however, that these ideals were always put into practice. Outside the *gymnasion* cultural skills do not seem to have been very im-

58 For the traditional view, i.a. Kleijwegt, 1991, recently J.H.M. Strubbe has challenged this position in a forthcoming paper, *Jonge Magistraten in het Romeinse Oosten* I would like to thank Johan Strubbe for allowing me to refer to this paper. He bases himself i.a. on articles by C. Laes, forthcoming, and M. Horster, 1996, neither of which I have been able to consult.

59 Cf. Schmitz, 1997, 109-110 is right to stress that boys and young men had only few opportunities to familiarise themselves with the ethos of *philotimia*. He overstates the role of *paideia*.

60 For a convincing account of the demographic fragility of local elites in the Roman East, see Tacoma, 2003.

portant in the epigraphic self-presentation of the Lycian elite – outside that is a group of cultural specialists like Demosthenes and Euarestos. Elite families were apparently much more interested in displaying and commemorating the athletic talents and achievements of their younger members, than their cultural achievements. In the cities of Lycia literary *paideia* may have been less important on an individual level than we would have expected on the basis of the writings of the sophists, or of modern scholars.

Yet, this observation is not incompatible, of course, with the idea that *paideia* was socially important. Schmitz has argued that the Greek elites of the Roman East were seriously interested in the cultural capital that Greek *paideia* represented, but elaborating on suggestions by Bourdieu and Veyne, he also allows for the possibility that these activities were somehow delegated to a small group of 'cultural specialists', and more specifically, to the professional sophists, who toured the *odeia* of the Greek provinces.[61]

It would seem then that people like Euarestos also played the part of cultural specialists, who were responsible for putting up collective displays of the cultural capital of the elite. The Dionysiac *technitai,* who were the star performers of his contests, should also be counted among this select number of cultural specialists.[62] The rest of the elite, and certainly their sons, may have taken a more passive role in these cultural contests, by forming the audiences that filled the seats in the *odeia* and theatres. I think that it would not be difficult to guess what a sophist who was hired for the occasion had to say about this division of labour. An anonymous handbook on writing epideictic speeches gives us some idea:[63]

> Different people make different contributions to festivals: from the rich come the expenditure of money, from the rulers splendour in the festival and an abundance of the necessary provisions; athletes do honour with their physical strength, the servant of the Muses and Apollo with their music. But a man who is concerned with literature, and has dedicated his whole life to it, may properly, I fancy, make his contribution to the splendour of the occasion by such means, pursuing his speech with art, so that it is not as the common herd might make it.

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61 Schmitz, 1997, 63-66.

62 This would also have applied to (professional) athletes who toured the great games and who were rewarded by civic honours that put them on a par with magistrates and benefactors. Cf. my remarks in van Nijf, 2001.

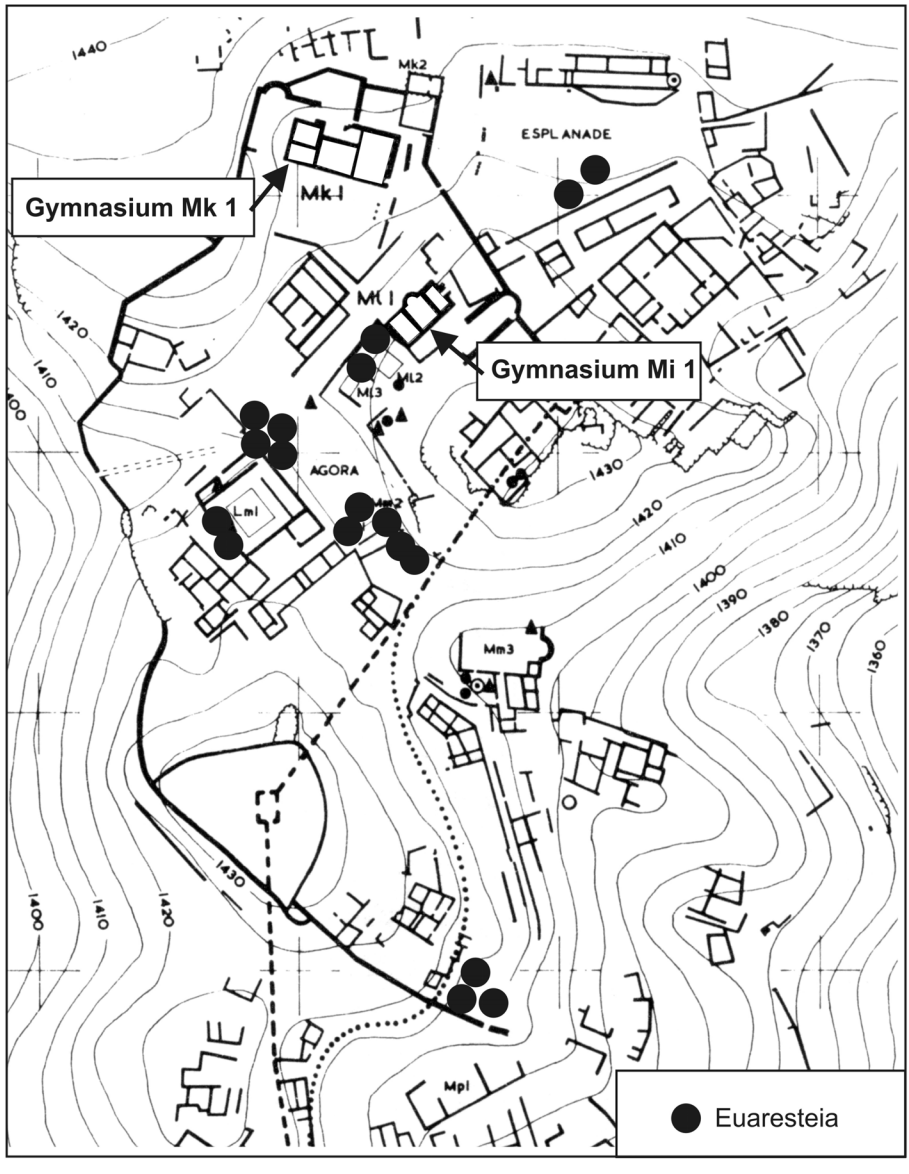
63 D.H. *Rh.* 1.255-256, translation Russell. συντέλεια δὲ ἡ εἰς τὰς πανηγύρεις ἄλλη ἄλλων· παρὰ μὲν τῶν πλουσίων δαπάναι χρημάτων, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων κόσμος περὶ τὴν πανήγυριν καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων εὐπορία· οἱ δὲ ἀθληταὶ τῇ ῥώμῃ τῶν σωμάτων κοσμοῦσι τὴν πανήγυριν, καὶ ὅσοι γε δὴ Μουσῶν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ὀπαδοί, τῇ μουσικῇ τῇ παρ᾽ ἑαυτῶν. ἀνδρὶ δὲ περὶ λόγους ἐσπουδακότι καὶ σύμπαντα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον ἀνατεθεικότι τούτοις πρέποι ἂν οἶμαι τοῖς τοιούτοις λόγοις κοσμεῖν τὴν πανήγυριν, τέχνῃ μετιόντι τὸν λόγον, ὡς μὴ κατὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς εἴη αὐτῷ γινόμενος.

The author admits that there are many ways to contribute to a festival, but it is clear where his preferences are. Still, at the end of the day, our sophist had to concede that even the smallest contest, with not much more than a Greek style wrestling contest on the programme justified a claim to Greek cultural identity.[64]

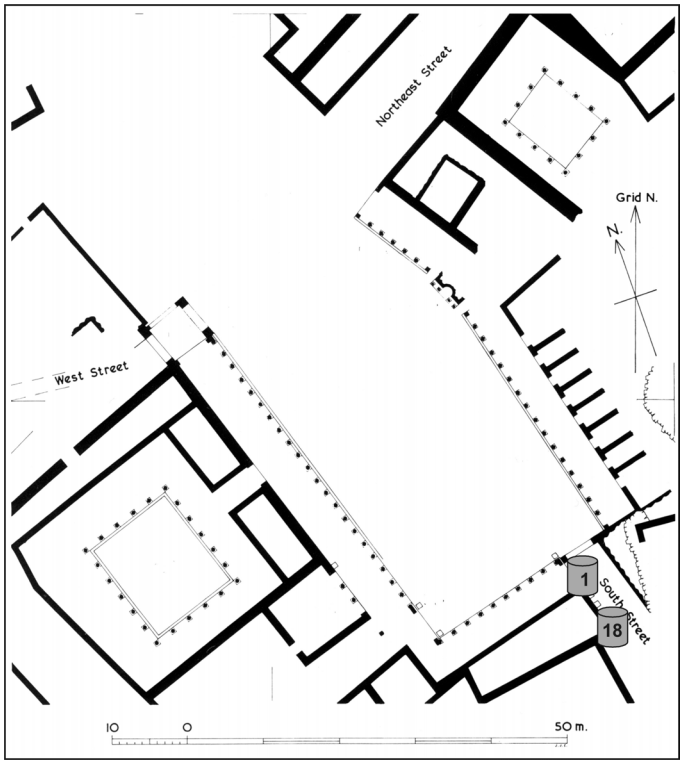
> If you have nothing more important to put forward, make the point that this is the greatest and most truly Hellenic foundation of patriotic ambition.

On hearing these words Euarestos, Demosthenes, or any other festival president may well have leaned back, satisfied with their efforts to bring Greek *paideia* to their home town, but deep down they must have harboured some uneasy feelings, about not having been able to convert more of their talented pupils to their brand of Greek culture.

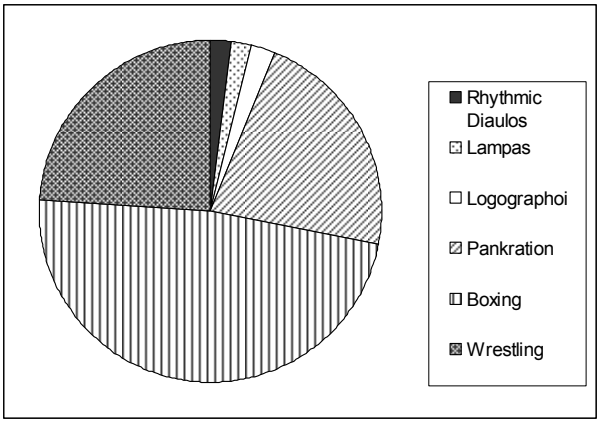
64 D.H. *Rh.* 1.259, translation Russell. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἄλλα ἔχεις πρεσβύτερα, ὅτι ἀρχὴ τῆς φιλοτιμίας τῆς περὶ τὴν πατρίδα μεγίστη καὶ Ἑλληνικωτάτη.



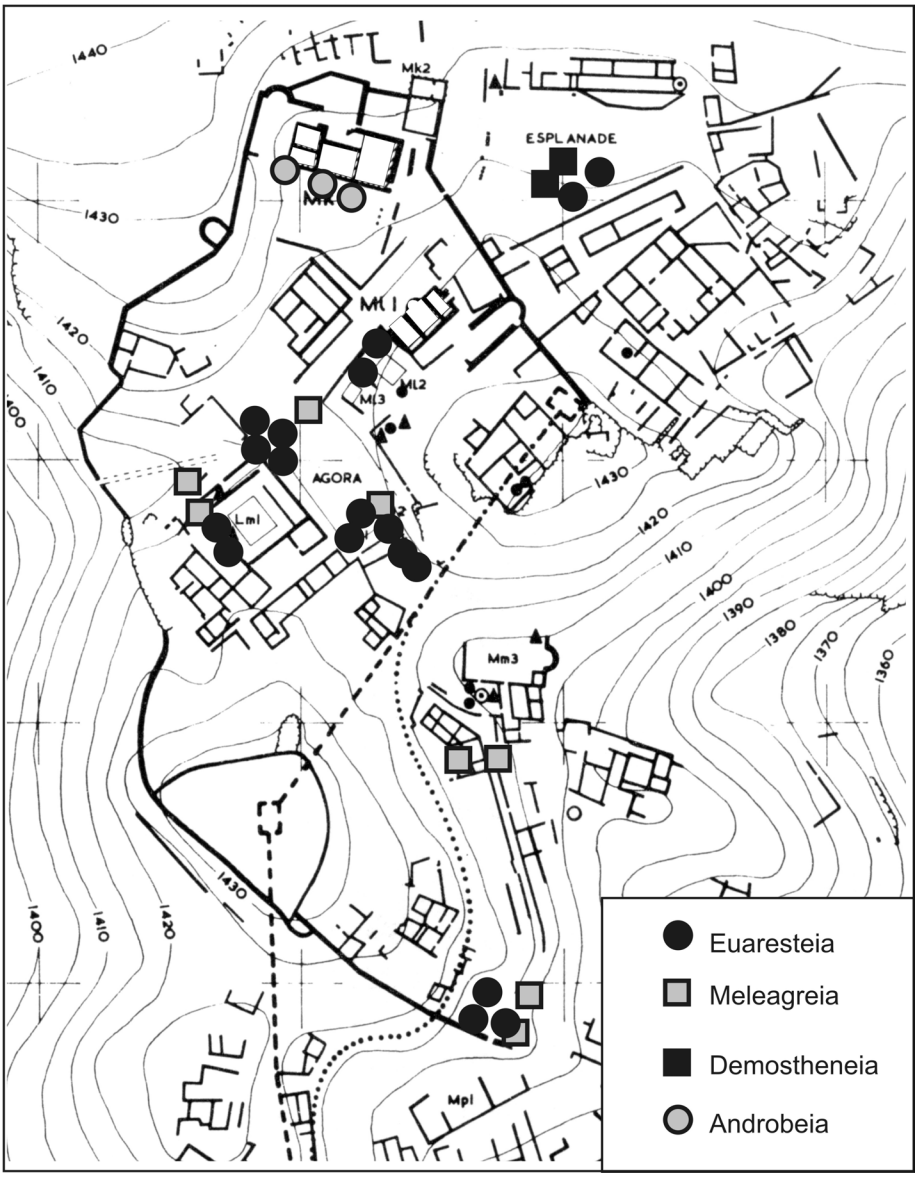
1 Map of Oinoanda with location of monuments commemorating the Euaresteia



2 Agora of Oinoanda with monuments for Fronao (1) and Euarestos (18)



3 Recorded victories in Lycia



4 Athletic victories in Oinoanda

Men, muscle, and myth: Attic sarcophagi in the cultural context of the Second Sophistic

BJÖRN C. EWALD

In memoriam Shilpa Raval

While research on the literary culture of the Second Sophistic has registered considerable successes in the last decades, research of the material culture and artistic production of Greece under the Roman Empire has lagged behind, despite a progressively improving state of publication. And while recent studies on issues of 'cultural' or 'social memory' and 'Greek identity' under Rome do include material evidence,[1] there is still ample room for in-depth studies of various bodies of material, including sculpture and funerary art. Although excellent pioneering work is available on honorific portraiture and statuary,[2] the appropriate methods and models of interpretation for other bodies of material are yet to be developed. Categorizations and interpretations that have proven themselves in research on Roman sculpture cannot be applied to Greek material unconditionally, even when treating – as in the case of sarcophagi – monuments which, viewed

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This paper presents some preliminary results of a broader study in the Second Sophistic and the visual culture of Roman Athens, with particular emphasis on funerary art (in preparation). In that study, the iconography of single sarcophagi as well as the complex issues of cultural memory and Greek identity raised only briefly in this paper will be discussed in greater detail. I have briefly sketched some of the questions I am trying to answer in this paper in a review article in *AJA* 103, 1999, 344-348. From the year 2000 on, I have had the opportunity to present my ideas at various universities in the United States and abroad and wish to thank the participants in discussions for their helpful contributions. I also wish to thank Yale University for supporting travel to Thessaloniki and Athens with a Griswold travel grant, as well as the directors and staff at the National Museum at Athens and the Archaeological Museum at Thessaloniki for allowing me to study the sarcophagi in their collections. I further thank V. Grimm, J. Dillon and P. Mazur for discussing earlier drafts of the manuscript, as well as M. McCarty for correcting the English of the final version. This paper is dedicated to the memory of my Yale colleague Shilpa Raval, who died on May 23rd 2004, at the age of 34.

1 Alcock, 2002 (with extensive bibliography); Woolf, 1994; Goldhill, 2001. Ample use of field survey records is made by Alcock, 1993. – On 'cultural memory' in particular, see Assmann, A. 1999; Assmann, J. 1988; Assmann, J. 2000.

2 Smith, 1998.

superficially, are closely related and belong to the same genre. In interpreting Greek works of art from the Roman Imperial period, there are two relations that must be considered most: on the one hand, the complex relation with the classical (and sometimes Hellenistic) models and the specific artistic choices this processing and re-inventing of the classical past involved; on the other hand, the relation with contemporary Roman models and the specific combination of adaptation and rejection that characterizes it. It is the tension between these two cultural and visual reference systems – one Classical Greek, the other Imperial period Roman – which creates the specific character, and the fascination, of the art of Roman Greece.

Archaeologists have learned to interpret material evidence not as reflections of essentialist concepts such as races, ethnicities or identities, but rather as remnants of cultural practices through which social identities, ethnic boundaries, cultural landscapes etc. are actively constructed. Funerary art, including grave stelai and the sarcophagi investigated in this paper, is ideally suited to be questioned from this perspective, since it offers unique insights into the construction of the self-image of patrons in East and West. The imagery of stelai and sarcophagi can illustrate how an ideal social persona – an *'imago'* that reflects the cultural standards, ideals and value systems of a society – is constructed in a crucial moment of transition: the moment in which a decomposing real body has to be replaced by an artificial body or image of the deceased.[3] Beyond that, the death of an individual could mean a moment of crisis and disorientation for a social group, when basic concepts of a culture have to be defined and reaffirmed. The imagery of sarcophagi can thus best be understood as a cultural matrix into which certain 'discourses' are 'inscribed'. These 'discourses', which vary greatly in Greece and Rome, are partially related to death and dying and the usual context in which the sarcophagi were seen, but also woven into these 'discourses' are others: in the case of Attic sarcophagi about 'Greekness', about gender and masculinity, and about some of the most basic concepts of Greek culture, such as *paideia* and *ephebeia*. Even though sarcophagi were usually made for private viewing in a funerary context, their imagery was part of a system of visual communication through which a heterogeneous elite reasserted their beliefs and values, as well as their classical nostalgia: They were, especially in the Greek East, media of social memory. For these reasons, funerary art deserves to play a role in current

3 Belting, 1996, 94; Macho, 2000, 99-105. – I am well aware of the fact that funerary monuments could also be ordered during lifetime and that honorific portraiture and statuary raise similar, though not identical, questions, but these issues shall not be discussed here.

discussions on Greek identity under Roman rule, as well as the self-presentation and self-image of local elites in East and West.

My contribution focuses on so called Attic sarcophagi – that is, sarcophagi made from Pentelic marble in one or several different workshops in second and early third century Athens.[4] About 1500 Attic sarcophagi and fragments are preserved, as opposed to over 10.000 Roman metropolitan pieces.[5] Attic sarcophagi were widely used in Athens herself, but also imported in large numbers in Asia minor, Syria and Lebanon, as well as Italy, especially Rome, and as far West as the Tarraconensis.[6] Chronologically, Attic sarcophagi range from the early Antonine period into the mid 3rd century AD. Around the middle of the 3rd century their number decreases dramatically, in perfect proportion to other bodies of material which gradually diminish around the same time, including the epigraphic and numismatic record.[7] What impact the sack of Athens by the Herulians in AD 267 had on the production of Attic sarcophagi, and if Attic sarcophagi were still produced in those years, we do not know exactly.

In spite of this chronological coincidence with the phenomenon of the Second Sophistic, the sarcophagi constitute a body of material that has yet to be introduced into historical discussions. The Attic sarcophagi have also been left untouched by recent attempts of liberating the research on Roman metropolitan sarcophagi from its self-inflicted status of a highly specialized discipline on the margins of classical scholarship, and to move it into the center of a cultural historical and anthropological debate about issues such as the Roman use of Greek myth, style and narrative in Roman art, constructions of gender and the body, ideologies of war and aggression, and the role of images as means of coming to terms with death, loss and mourning.[8] I intend to free Attic sarcophagi from the cultural and historical vacuum in which they are usually seen by at least partially disentangling the complex web of discourse that is woven into their imagery. I wish to demonstrate that funerary art can be examined from a historical perspective just as Atticizing styles in language, the Greek novel, building politics and coinage. It goes without saying that this article can only attempt to set an agenda by outlining some of the broader cultural and historical issues involved.

The comparative method I will apply requires a few comments. Mythological sarcophagi like the ones discussed in this paper were produced in different parts

4 Koch – Sichtermann, 1982, 366-475.

5 Rogge, 1995, 15.

6 Compare n. 139.

7 Swain, 1996, 4; Borg – Witschel, 2001, 65-66.

8 See most recently Zanker, 2000; Zanker – Ewald, 2004; Ewald, 2003.

of the empire, primarily in Rome and Athens. Generally speaking, it is certainly correct to identify the widespread use of elaborate mythological sarcophagi as an epi-phenomenon of the Second Sophistic; at least it is difficult to imagine the rapid and wide diffusion of these sarcophagi, which at Rome begins in the Hadrianic period, in a cultural climate other than that of the Second Sophistic.[9] The new fashion of mythological sarcophagi must have even been an important catalyst in the gradual transition from cremation to inhumation during the 2nd century AD. But the Second Sophistic only accounts for the choice of a complex mythological visual language, not for the specific messages that were formulated in this language. Myth was a common medium of expression in East and West, but it was used to express very different things, and in very different ways.

My approach results from precisely these differences observable in the uses and choices of myth on Roman metropolitan and Attic sarcophagi. I am not trying to impose a presupposed Greek-Roman dichotomy onto the material; rather, I am trying to use existing and objectifiable differences as a heuristic means. The potential of such intercultural comparisons, though somewhat popular in historical and cultural studies, has yet to be fully explored in classical archaeology, let alone in studies on sarcophagi.[10] The obvious differences between Attic and Roman sarcophagi have, of course, long been noticed. But they have been used solely as criteria to distinguish different artistic landscapes ('Kunstlandschaften') or centers of production ('Produktionszentren') rather than being seen as intrinsically meaningful phenomena.[11] The question has rarely been raised whether, and to what extent, different 'Kunstlandschaften', characterized by varying styles and themes, constitute simultaneously different cultural landscapes of varying values and traditions, norms and ideals. The common notion of *paideia* as a unifying and relatively homogeneous elite culture within the Roman Empire should not obscure the fact that the visual cultures of Rome, Greece and Asia Minor in the first three centuries of our era were anything but uniform, especially in the funerary realm.[12] This demands explanation. Why, for instance, does the representation of a myth on an Attic sarcophagus appear so different from that on a Roman sarcophagus (figs. 9-10)? Why is the range of

9 Müller, 1994, 86-106; 139-170.

10 On the potential of a 'comparative' approach to Greek and Roman archaeology see Hölscher, 1992; For a fruitful examination of different modes of self representation in the funerary realm in various parts of the Roman Empire see Zanker, 1992.

11 An exception is Geyer, 1977, 42-56, who examines the differences between Attic and Roman Dionysiac sarcophagi on the level of content.

12 The sarcophagi from various workshops in Asia Minor (Koch – Sichtermann, 1982, 476-557) will not be included in this article.

mythological themes depicted on sarcophagi at Athens so different from that at Rome? Why are portrait-identifications of the deceased with mythological figures a specifically Roman phenomenon? Since an iconographical exchange existed between Rome and Athens, the differences cannot be due merely to the accident of preservation or the accidental presence or absence of iconographical models in imperial Athens. There must be a deeper reason: the striking differences in the range of themes and their specific arrangement must be the result of deliberate choice. I propose that this choice was closely related to the main cultural phenomenon of the 2nd and early 3rd centuries AD, the Second Sophistic, and that contemporary sarcophagi provide a direct insight into the construction of Greek identity under Roman rule, as well as Roman conceptions of 'Greekness'.[13]

For the sake of brevity, I will limit myself on the following pages to thematic and iconographic phenomena, leaving out other more formal features such as the architecture and ornamentation of sarcophagi, the use of caryatid-like supporting figures, as well as the peculiar continuity in the style of Attic sarcophagus reliefs. The relatively static style of Attic sarcophagi does not follow the rapid progression of styles in Roman art and makes dating so difficult: this too would be a phenomenon of content and a reflection of the static notion of time which is so characteristic of the Second Sophistic. While in Rome the use of classical form, as a promise of stability and continuity, always points to the future, the classicism of Attic sarcophagi conjures up the past. Art forms which, in classical Athens, had been an original expression of a uniquely Greek way of experiencing, comprehending and organizing the world, became during the Second Sophistic expressions of a cultural attitude which permeated all forms of social and visual discourse.

Themes and patrons

In order to illustrate the differences between Athens and Rome in the distribution of common sarcophagus themes, I would like to begin by commenting on some statistics featuring the main themes on Attic and Roman sarcophagi (ills. 1; 2).[14] Here as well as in the other statistics, mythological themes are not listed in

13 The current state of research on these questions is summarized by Koch – Sichtermann, 1982, 376, according to whom "reasons for the choice of different themes at Rome and Athens are not yet known" (my translation). Similarly Koch, 1993, 97-112; Perry, 2001, 471.

14 These statistics are gathered from the 23 volumes of the 'Sarkophag-Corpus' that have appeared so far. Where no volumes of that series are available, the numbers are based on the information given by Koch – Sichtermann, 1982, 366-475. – My arrangement of themes in the

alphabetical order (as in the *Sarkophag-Corpus*), but according to their main message.

Even a brief glance at the statistics reveals some significant differences between Greek and Roman sarcophagi. There is a much smaller number of Attic sarcophagi as compared to the number of Roman pieces.[15] The limited number of Attic examples is accompanied by a higher average quality and greater, sometimes even monumental, dimensions. The Roman pieces can also be of excellent quality, and many are. In fact, the best Roman sarcophagi easily surpass the Attic ones in terms of quality. Yet a far greater number of Roman sarcophagi, especially the mass of 3rd century strigilated sarcophagi, is of rather mediocre quality and smaller dimensions. If any conclusions can be drawn from this, it seems that in Greece the custom of burial in elaborate marble sarcophagi was restricted to a relatively small number of local elites, while the greater qualitative variety of Roman sarcophagi shows that their use had spread to all social strata able to afford them. The monumental Attic sarcophagi thus illustrate a process of social polarization which has been described as the "progressive entrenchment of the well-off at the expense of the *demos*."[16] The less affluent, especially craftsmen, slaves and freedmen, seem to have chosen simple stelai with non-mythological décor (fig. 11).[17] As a result, the use of myth on Attic sarcophagi reflects, more so than in Rome, an elite 'high culture'.

This hypothesis is confirmed by a quick glance at extant sarcophagus inscriptions. Magnos Eryades, whose Dionysiac sarcophagus was found together with an Attic hunt sarcophagus in Athens, seems to have been the son of the *prýtanis* Apollonios.[18] A Dionysiac sarcophagus in Thessaloniki was dedicated by Poplia Antia Damokratia to her husband Vitalius Restitutus from their common means.

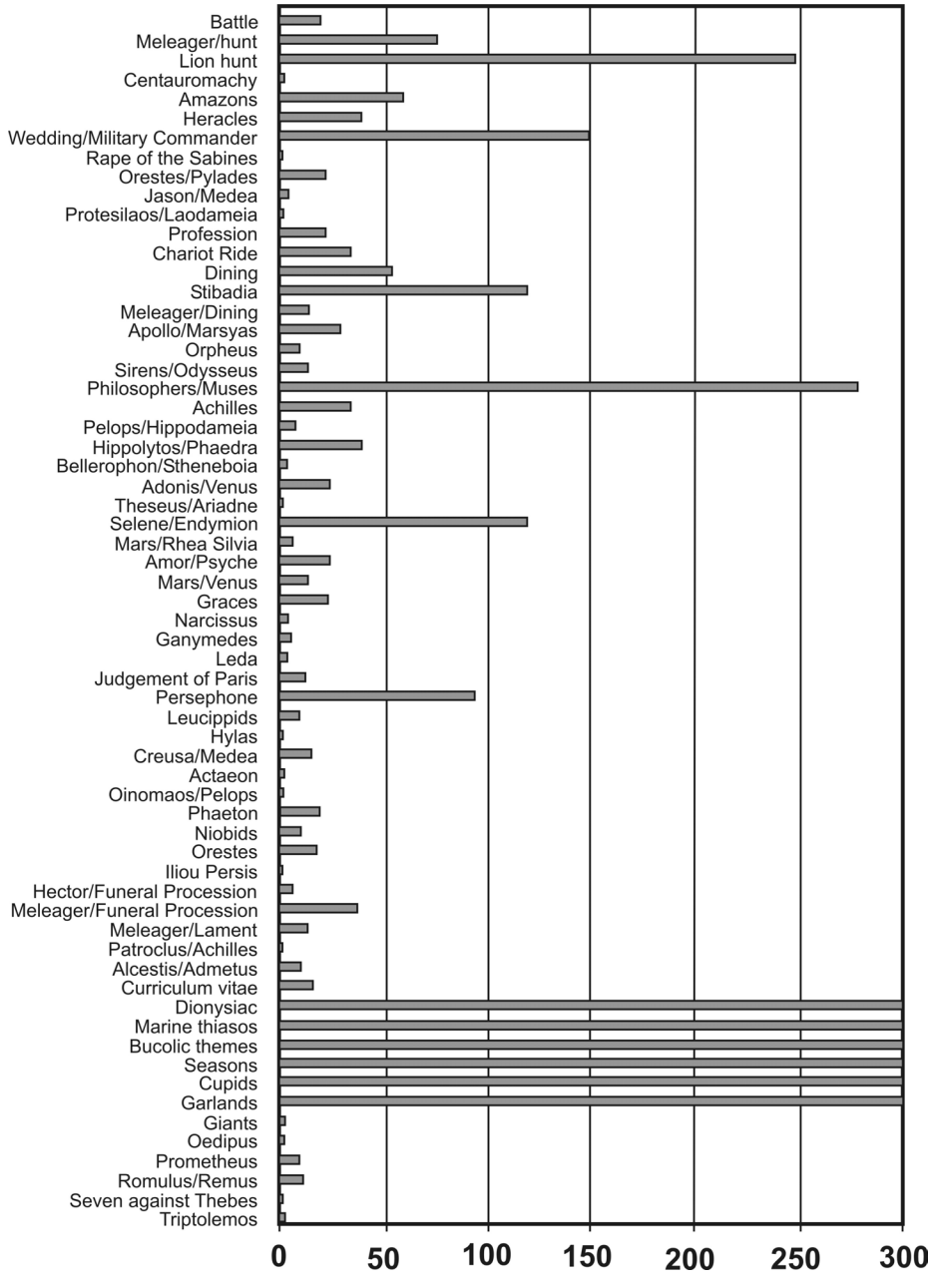
statistics, by content rather than lexical order, presupposes an understanding of every single episode (especially with regard to the Roman mythological sarcophagi), which unfortunately cannot be discussed here. The way the myths are arranged in ill. 1, however, is of course not crucial for the interpretation that follows. For a reading of the Roman mythological sarcophagi as proposed here, see Zanker, 2000; Zanker – Ewald, 2004.

15 The number of Attic sarcophagi will, of course, increase significantly once all currently known pieces are published, particularly the numerous fragments kept in storage at the National Museum at Athens, which will be published by S. Katakis. The quantitative distribution of the different themes, however, will remain stable, and the number of Attic sarcophagi will always be significantly lower than that of Roman metropolitan sarcophagi. This cannot be due to an accident of preservation, but seems to reflect the real ratio.

16 Woolf, 1994, 124.

17 von Moock, 1998, 84-85.

18 Koch – Sichtermann, 1982, 456; Matz, 1968, 103-104 no. 7 pl. 7-9.



Ill. 1 Statistics of the quantitative distribution of themes on Roman sarcophagi (B.C. Ewald)

Restitutus was a high ranking equestrian officer, most likely a provincial governor. Damokratia herself was probably the daughter or sister of the Gallienic (?) governor of Thrace, Poplios Antios Rhegeinos.[19] An equally interesting case is the *procurator* Q. Aemilius Aristides, whose Attic battle sarcophagus was erected on the occasion of the death of his wife in A.D. 204 in the tomb of his 'sister' Claudia Antonia Tatiana at Ephesos.[20] Aemilius Aristides had dedicated an entire statue group of Septimius Severus and the Imperial family in the theater at Ephesos, and Antonia Tatiana had been "a grande dame of her generation at Aphrodisias and in the province as a whole."[21] A (primary?) inscription on an Attic Dionysiac sarcophagus from Beirut mentions a *gymnasíarchos* named Gerostratos.[22] A strigilated sarcophagus found above the stadium of Herodes Atticus at Athens is considered to have come from the tomb of Atticus himself, and perhaps to have been used for the burial of the famous sophist in AD 177/78; the sarcophagus in question, however, had been reused during the third century AD.[23]

It seems that patrons of the most elaborate Attic sarcophagi in fact belonged to precisely the social elite that sponsored the cultural rituals and institutions of the Second Sophistic and that served as "mediators between past and present."[24] The assumption that they were the driving force behind the thematic and stylistic development of contemporary Attic sarcophagi would explain quite well the selection of specific themes we find on them.

The second difference between Attic and Roman sarcophagi immediately evident from the statistics is the far more limited range of themes at Athens than at Rome.[25] The visual language of Attic sarcophagi employs a smaller variety of myths than at Rome, where the mythological 'vocabulary' is far more differentiated. The approximately 60 themes on Roman sarcophagi (ill. 1) are met by only 20 or so themes on Attic sarcophagi (ill. 2). This phenomenon seems meaningful in itself: the greater variety of mythological themes in Rome allowed for greater distinction and exclusivity, insofar as it made it easy to have a sarcophagus depicting a story few others would have depicted on their funerary monuments. In

19 Matz, 1968, 112-114 no. 11 pl. 17-19; Castritius, 1970, 93-95 (to whom I owe the interpretation of the inscription given here); Rogge, 1995, 17.

20 Rudolf, 1992, 28-30; Rogge, 1995, 17; van Bremen, 1996, 227.

21 Smith, 1998, 68.

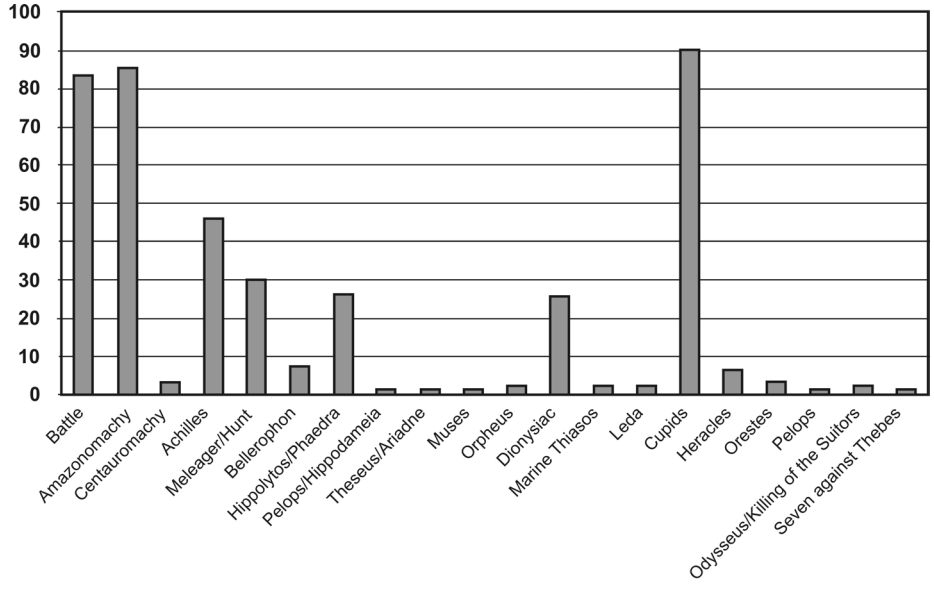
22 Matz, 1968, 98-99 no. 1 pl. 1, 1-3.

23 Gasparri, 1978, 376-378; Goette, 1991, 321-322; also connected to the family of Herodes Atticus are sarcophagi from a tomb on his estate in Kephisia: Perry, 2001.

24 Swain, 1996, 90.

25 Koch – Sichtermann, 1982, 376.

Athens, on the contrary, the mythological imagery is more 'inclusive'. What matters is less distinction and 'individualism' than the expression of shared and coherent beliefs about Greek history and culture. This phenomenon nicely illustrates the role of myth in forming an elite group identity in imperial-period Greece; by contrast, the use of myth in Rome is, as we will see, much more personalized and 'individualistic'.



Ill. 2 Statistics showing the quantitative distribution of themes on Attic sarcophagi (B.C. Ewald)

Achilles and the Trojan War

Not surprisingly, within Athens' more restricted material, mythical episodes related to Achilles and the Trojan war gain great importance.[26] Several ideas and themes that are expressed though a variety of myths at Rome are developed within a single myth at Athens: the myth of Achilles. Achilles is the only mythical hero we find as frequently on Attic pieces as on Roman pieces (ill. 1; 2); at the same time, the variety of episodes featuring Achilles on Attic sarcophagi is greater than on Roman examples. Taking into consideration the much smaller

26 Koch – Sichtermann, 1982, 382-390; Rogge, 1995, 19-69.

number of Attic sarcophagi, this shows Achilles' enormous importance as a panhellenic hero and emblem of Attic *paideia*. By the same token, this statistic illustrates the outstanding importance of Trojan themes in general and of Homer's *Iliad* in particular, during the Second Sophistic.[27] I do not need to dwell on the significance of Homer and Achilles in constructing a Greek identity during the Second Sophistic – knowing Greek and knowing Homer's Iliad could become synonymous with being Greek. But I at least want to mention the example of the Borysthenites who live, as Dio reports (36.9-14; transl. J.W. Cohoon – H. Lamar Crosby), in the "midst of barbarians" on the Black Sea, but "still almost all at least know the *Iliad* by heart". They "do not wish even to hear about any other poet than Homer" and have two temples dedicated to Achilles: "Achilles is our god, and Homer ranks almost next to the gods in honor," Dio has one of them say.

Myths related to music and musical competitions are a good example of the greater importance attached to Achilles and Homeric epic on Attic sarcophagi. At Rome, we find representations of Orpheus, the Sirens and Ulysses, the contest between Apollo and Marsyas, and even (a single example) the musical contest between Sirens and the Muses.[28] Another example of musical training, Chiron educating Achilles, is an interesting and rare case of connecting a male with lyre playing; more frequently, playing the lyre served to visually define the female role.[29] At Athens, the theme of music is covered almost exclusively by the figure of Achilles: he is depicted either being taught by Chiron or playing the lyre among the daughters of Lycomedes on Scyros (fig. 6).[30] No other mythological figures associated with music making appear on Attic sarcophagi, with the exception of Orpheus, who appears on the small sides of a few Attic sarcophagi.[31]

Myths related to death and dying provide yet another good example of the extraordinary importance of Achilles and Trojan themes on Attic sarcophagi. On both Roman and Attic sarcophagi we find a limited number of mythical metaphors that are used to visualize the death of the individual buried in the sar-

27 On these, see Kindstrand, 1973; Zeitlin, 2001. On the significance of the *Iliad* in constituting an early Greek identity, compare Assmann, J. 2000, 272-274. – Not all Trojan themes on Attic sarcophagi, however, are derived from Homer. The weighing of Hector, for instance, is not found in Homer but in Aeschylus: Rogge, 1995, 67.

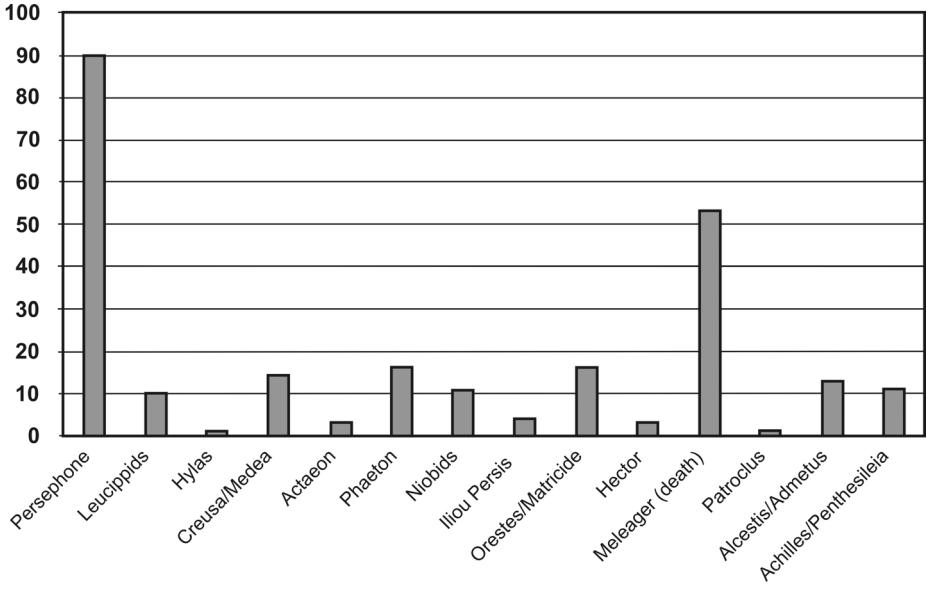
28 Koch – Sichtermann, 1982, 158-159; 169; 172; Ewald, 1998; Ewald, 1999b.

29 Koch – Sichtermann, 1982, 127; Ewald, 1999a, 124-126; Grassinger, 1999a, 23-25; Zanker – Ewald, 2004, 280.

30 Rogge, 1995, 30-31; 105; 109-110.

31 Koch – Sichtermann, 1982, 416.

cophagus, and to lament his or her fate.[32] These mythical metaphors provide a 'filter' through which the many contingent ways of dying in real life – from age, illness or accident – are seen: myth adds meaning to an otherwise meaningless or inexplicable fate, and it provides consolation by placing death in the perspective of a symbolic world order. What is interesting in our context is the fact that the choice of death metaphors differs notably in Rome and Athens.



Ill. 3 Statistics showing the quantitative distribution of mythical episodes related to death and dying on Roman sarcophagi (B.C. Ewald)

At Rome we find, especially from the Hadrianic to the early Severan period, a widely differentiated mythical vocabulary to convey the horrors of unfair, untimely death and the survivor's pain from the sudden loss (ill. 3): the slaying of the Niobids (fig. 1), Creusa's horrible death by fire, Actaeon massacred by his own dogs, and the slaughter of women and children in the Iliupersis.[33] While these myths focus on the actual death event, other mythical episodes either reflect or visually substitute for real-life funerary rituals, such as the *pompa funebris* or the *conclamatio*: the bearing of Meleager's or (very rarely) Hector's body, or the

32 For the theme of 'death' on Roman sarcophagi, see Zanker – Ewald, 2004, 63-115.

33 For a basic interpretation of these myths see Fittschen, 1992; Zanker – Ewald 2004, 63-115 with nos. 7; 20; 21; 28; 29.

mourning of the parents and Atalante over Meleager's corpse, as well as Achilles mourning over Patroclus on a single example in Ostia.[34] At Athens, though, the theme of death is covered almost exclusively by the Achilles myth. Unlike at Rome, we do not find scenes representing Meleager on his deathbed, although sarcophagi that featured him on the Calydonian boar hunt were quite popular[35]. We only find Achilles – sarcophagi that depict the mourning over Patroclus (fig. 5), or representations of the ransom of Hector (fig. 7) or (very rarely) the dragging or weighing of his body (fig. 8).[36] Two examples show the body of Achilles being salvaged.[37] The mythical *exempla* used as comparison to and consolation for death are drawn almost exclusively from the epic cycle and especially Homeric epic. A single exception is Hippolytos' fatal chariot crash, which appears on the back or small side of a few Hippolytos-sarcophagi.[38]

Death and gender

This focus on heroic themes also implies significant differences between Athenian and Roman conceptions of gender. At Rome, several myths are used to describe the death of women metaphorically (ill. 3): Creusa, the abduction of the Leucippids, and the abduction of Persephone, which with close to 100 examples is by far the most frequent *abreptus*-myth (fig. 2).[39] At Athens, however, there were no particular images for female death: apart from Hippolytos' fatal accident, death always means death in battle, and it is always a male, heroic matter.[40] This circumstance does indeed reflect a specifically Greek conception of death. Already in homeric epic, violent death in battle is the only death worthy of an *agathos*: it is a 'good death' because it means glory and fame.[41] The patrons of such sarcophagi (or those who took care of the burial), who had Homer on their minds, implicitly compared the certainly less glorious fate of the deceased to

34 Meleager: Koch – Sichtermann, 1982, 161-166; Hector: Baratte – Metzger, 1985, 46 no. 14; Achilles mourning over Patroclus: Grassinger, 1999a, 43-50.

35 Koch – Sichtermann, 1982, 399-402.

36 Rogge, 1995, 22-23; 32.59-60; 62-63; 65.

37 Rogge, 1995, 61-62.

38 Rogge, 1995, 86-87; 90-91; 116-117. This episode, by the way, does not appear on Roman Hippolytos-sarcophagi at all.

39 Koch – Sichtermann, 1982, 159-160 (Creusa); 157-158 (Leucippids); 175-179 (Persephone); Zanker – Ewald, 2004, 82-84; 90-96 nos. 19-21; 32; 33.

40 Likewise, the killing of the Niobids, a myth that uses children to denote the concept of *mors immatura*, does only appear on Roman, not Attic sarcophagi.

41 Most recently Giuliani, 2003, 58-66.

those of Homeric heroes. The specific conception on Attic sarcophagi of a warrior's death further expresses a Greek ideology of the 'beautiful death' of young men, who are spared the ravages of old age; this is developed as a common consolatory motif in Dio's obituary of the athlete Melancomas (C.D. 29.21; translation J.W. Cohoon):

> Again, in the case of the most eminent men of ancient times, history tells us that none of them reached great age, neither Patroclus nor Antilochus, and further, neither Sarpedon, nor Memnon, nor Achilles, nor Hippolytus. (…) Now the gods would not have given an early death to their own children and those whom they especially loved if they did not consider this a good thing for mankind. Therefore, sirs, you should take these considerations into account and regard him as blessed, and should yourself therefore be none the less eager for toil and the distinction it brings, since you may be sure that, if it should be anyone's lot to die too soon, he will be without part in any of these blessings; for the man who gains fair renown departs laden with blessings. (…) yes, and take all the pride in these things that men should live for praise and glory and are devotees of virtue.

The dying Amazons on Attic sarcophagi depicted as part of the Amazonomachy might be cited as an exception to the reduced visibility of women in the funerary realm. Yet due to the local Greek tradition of the Amazonomachy as symbol of Greek superiority it is less likely that the Amazons served as role models for deceased women, in contrast to sarcophagi made in Rome, on which they occasionally did (see below). Because 'death' is seen within an essentially Homeric mythical framework, women were less visible in death at Athens than they were at Rome.[42] This points to a general characteristic of Attic sarcophagi: as we will see shortly, on Attic sarcophagi depicting Hippolytos, or Achilles on Scyros (figs. 4; 9) the significance of women (and the theme of 'love') in the myths represented are greatly reduced compared to their Roman counterparts. The reduced visibility of women, however, only concerns the mythological realm, that is, the relief of the sarcophagus proper. And it says absolutely nothing about contemporary women's roles in real life; rather, it demonstrates that the gap between the symbolic order of myth and the actual 'Lebenswelt' of the clients was much wider at Athens than at Rome. As we will see, the representation of women on *kline*-lids, *outside the realm of myth*, is very common on Attic sarcophagi.

42 Different, however, the non-mythological grave stelai, on which women are frequently represented: von Moock, 1998, 62-64.

Polis and *Paideia*: Homoerotic aesthetics, Greek epheby, and the construction of masculinity on sarcophagi with Achilles on Scyros and Hippolytos

The reduced importance of women and erotic themes in the iconography of Attic sarcophagi is only the flipside of a decisively male homoerotic aesthetics; this cultivation of a homoerotic aesthetics can in turn be understood primarily as a way of visualizing 'Greekness'. The specific rendering of myth we find on Attic sarcophagi is influenced by a concept of *paideia* which places particular emphasis on the well trained male body as a Greek cultural symbol, as well as the institution of *epheby* where this *paideia* was gained.

A group of late (3rd century) Hippolytos sarcophagi best illustrates my point.[43] A sarcophagus in Tarragona shows a motionless hunting group (fig. 9);[44] there is no narration.[45] Only the small figure of the nurse connects the scene with the underlying Hippolytos myth. The 'egalitarianism' of this image is striking: the youths are all of the same stature and are differentiated mainly by their stances. Some of them lean on their lances, others on sticks; often, they recall statuary types commonly used for athletes. In fact, the slender bodies with small penises allude to late classical or Hellenistic figures of palaestra athletes in the Lysippian tradition. Hippolytos himself is evoked only through secondary pictorial elements, such as the figure of the nurse and, in the example depicted here, through an arcade in the background.[46] Horses, expensive hunting dogs, and servants in the background reveal the young men's elevated social status. What seems to have interested the sarcophagus artists and their clients most, however, is the paradigmatic depiction of the male body in different postures. It is of no

43 The Attic sarcophagi depicting the myths of Achilles on Scyros and Hippolytos will be discussed in greater detail in a forthcoming article entitled "'Schwarze Jäger': Die attischen Sarkophage mit Achill und Hippolytos und die griechische Ephebie". A few sentences in this paragraph are direct translations from that article.

44 Rogge, 1995, 77. 148 no. 47 pl. 89, 1.

45 Similarly 'static' images that evoke the idea of a *tableau vivant* were developed during the 3rd century out of the Meleager and Achilles myths: Koch – Sichtermann, 1982, 401 ("group V" of the Attic Meleager-sarcophagi, which however is not documented well at all). For the Achilles sarcophagi, see below.

46 Rogge, 1995, 81. 156 no. 68 pl. 89, 3. The figure of the nurse poses some problems of interpretation. On the mythical level she does of course represent Phaedra's nurse who is making the indecent proposal to Hippolytos. I wonder, however, if she is really to be understood as the last remaining element of the myth or if she is rather to be connected to Hippolytus, since Phaedra herself is missing. Other heroes such as Achilles can be accompanied by a nurse as well. In any case, with her wrinkled skin and her stooped posture, she offers a contrast to Hippolytos' youthful beauty, as does Priam on the front side of an Achilles sarcophagus in Woburn Abbey (Rogge, 1995, pl. 60-61). Her small size and age serve as a means of emphasizing the superior qualities of Hippolytos.

importance which mythical figure belongs to the body: only the body itself matters. This rendering of the Hippolytos myth differs radically from that on Roman Hippolytos-sarcophagi from the late 2nd and early 3rd century AD (fig. 10). These show Phaedra together with Hippolytos who is leaving for the hunt in one scene, as well as Hippolytos hunting in the other scene, emphasizing the love of Phaedra and the manly *virtus* of Hippolytos.[47]

Most scholars, with the exception of J.J. Winckelmann and J.W. v. Goethe,[48] have assessed such static, non-narrative images on Attic sarcophagi negatively as a symptom of declining artistic creativity: sarcophagus artists limited themselves to arbitrary combinations of "meaningless" figure-types or non-narrative, purely decorative images without meaning.[49] That the whole scene cannot be interpreted as an illustration of a specific mythical event makes it unsatisfactory to modern viewers looking for an exciting visual narrative of the Hippolytos myth. I would argue, on the contrary, that such images' supposed flaws are intentional and an authentic expression of the cultural climate of the Second Sophistic. Still images of this sort must have been of the utmost importance to a culture that rejoiced in the viewing of beautiful, naked male bodies, shaped through sports, diet and bathing. Dio, in his obituary of Melancomas (28; 29), as well as Lucian, for example in his *Anacharsis*, testify to the Greeks' voyeuristic obsession for and delight in naked youths. Dio enjoys describing the deceased's physical features so much that he feels he must excuse himself for praising Melancomas' beauty more than Melancomas as an individual. Lucian and Dio also offer a rich vocabulary for describing the various postures of athletes and the shapes and qualities of their muscles. The Attic Hippolytos – sarcophagi construct just such a cultured viewer as was Lucian or Dio: a '*pepaideumenos theates*' who was able to appreciate and praise the nuances in the postures of the naked youths. The Second Sophistic culture of "showing and viewing" is the background against which these images must be interpreted.[50]

47 Koch – Sichtermann, 1982, 150-153.

48 Goethe, 1954, 273-274, with commentary on pp. 633-634. Goethe's praise of the Attic Hippolytos sarcophagus in Agrigento, which was influenced by Winckelmann, captures the essence of the image very well: "Hier war die Hauptabsicht, schöne Jünglinge darzustellen, deswegen auch die Alte, ganz klein und zwergenhaft, als ein Nebenwerk, das nicht stören soll, dazwischen gebildet ist."

49 Rogge, 1995, 40; 80; 119-121.

50 Goldhill, 2001, 154-194. For the culture of "showing and viewing" in Classical Athens see Sennett, 1994, 32-50.

The other background which images such as the late Attic Hippolytos sarcophagi must be read against is the institution of Greek epheby.[51] This helps to explain the aforementioned 'egalitarianism' and group character. When young Athenians reached the threshold of manhood, usually when they were between 17 and 20 years old, the *polis* symbolically took possession of their bodies. The two year *ephebeia* originally included not only athletic and military training as well as instruction in history and local cult practices, but also service in the fortresses of Attica. Male bonding was a central characteristic of their education: the ephebes were organized in groups (*systremmata*) and called each other *philoi*. Originally organized for military purposes, the epheby was reborn in the late 2nd century BC as a cultural institution, open to sons of all families who were able to afford such an education. In the Roman Imperial period, it was also open to upper class Romans. To show oneself in well-trained nudity thus also signified belonging to a certain social class. With regard to the sarcophagi, one could say that rather than illustrating the Hippolytos myth, they show a gathering of ephebes in mythical guise. The *chlamys* Hippolytos and his companions are wearing on the sarcophagi is the traditional dress of the hero or hunter, but it is also attested as the costume of the ephebes.[52] The male bodies we see are social constructs: they are the perfect results of Greek *paideia*, including rigid training in the gymnasium under qualified instructors, as well as bathing and diet. *Sophrosyne* and *enkráteia* ('self-control') were the goals of the strict physical discipline maintained during the education of the ephebes. Ephebes as well as athletes like Melancomas were considered examples and champions of the 'care of the self'. Dio notes that Melancomas not only

> stood out pre-eminent in any company of professional men, or was admired merely by some few who saw him, no indeed, but that he was always admired when in a company of those who are perhaps the most beautiful men in the world – the athletes among whom he moved. For the tallest and most comely men, whose bodies receive the most perfect care, are these (29.6; translation J.W. Cohoon).

The ephebes' relationship with the *polis* raises the difficult question for possible ways in which such images might have been related to Greek and Roman sarcophagi patrons. The depiction of Hippolytos and his 'ephebic' companions could, for example, allude to a form of education the male deceased had experienced himself. Self-control (*sophrosyne, enkráteia*) and *paideia*, also expressed by the scrolls accompanying the figure of the deceased on the *kline*-lid, were regarded as

51 On Greek epheby, see most recently Gehrke, 1997, with bibliography. See also Vidal-Naquet,1986, 106-123; Lattanzi, 1968, 17-21; Barringer, 2001, 47-53.

52 Mitchell-Boyask, 1999, 47-48; 62-63 with fn. 20-21 (with further literature).

prerequisites for exerting influence over others and assuming important offices.[53] In order to represent this self-control, static, motionless bodies with almost tired gestures were selected, not bodies in motion. In accordance with old conventions of Greek art, the result of *paideia* is depicted in the nude bodies of the ephebes.[54] Beyond that, O. van Nijf has recently pointed out the importance of athletics in Greek *paideia* and the great role it played in the self-presentation of local elites in the Greek East of the Roman empire.[55] It seems just as likely, however, that in contrast to individual qualities, the deceased's social role as *euergetes*, *agonothetes*, *kosmetes* or *gymnasiarchos* could have been the object of praise. We know for example that maintenance of gymnasia, donations of oil for athletes, and the sponsoring of local athletic festivals were popular acts of *euergesia*; *epheboi* marched in the funerary processions of such persons of outstanding merit, who could, as already mentioned, even be buried in close proximity to (or within) educational facilities such as gymnasia.[56] After Herodes Atticus had died in 177 AD, his body was carried "by the hands of the ephebes" (Philostr. *VS* 565-566) from Marathon to Athens, to be buried in the Panathenaic Stadium.[57]

But since the *epheboi* were, in a more general fashion, their city's 'trademarks' and emblems of Greek civilization, the representation of 'mythical ephebes' on sarcophagi must have often been nothing other than a demonstration of unrelenting faith in the goodness, virtue and superiority of Greek culture, without any direct biographical or allegorical relationship with the deceased. This would agree with the interpretations of a variety of themes proposed here. Behind such static gatherings of youths on Attic sarcophagi ultimately lies the old Aristotelian no-

53 Brown, 1992, 38: "The ideal of the cultivated governor, the carefully groomed product of a Greek *paideia*, was a commonplace of the political life of the eastern empire."

54 The vast literature on the question of male nudity in Greek art must not be cited here. For recent overviews of the discussion, with further literature, see Stewart, 1996; Fabricius, 2001; Hölscher, 2003b.

55 van Nijf, 2001.

56 Given the influence of athletic ideals and the institution of epheby in the sarcophagus iconography, this might have resulted in interesting correspondences between the sarcophagus reliefs (fig. 9) and the visitors to the grave: The images themselves might have gained an educational function. - Some examples: Presumable tomb of Herodes Atticus at the Panathenaic stadium at Athens (the identification of the structure in question as a tomb, however, is disputed): Gasparri, 1978; Tobin, 1993; Goette, 2001, 105. For Imperial-period nekropoleis at Athens, compare von Moock 1998, 11-13; Tomb of the sophist Dionysios at Ephesos: Ewald, 1999a, 120; Tomb and library of Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus: Smith, 1998, 73-75.

57 van Bremen, 1996, 158-159 with n. 59: "The Athenian ephebes had a special reason to be grateful to Herodes Atticus: he had promised them that they would never be without a white *chlamys* as long as he lived."

tion of the *polis*, whose welfare is inextricably linked to and reflected in the free citizens' *kalokagathia* and *paideia*.

The depiction of Achilles on Scyros (fig. 4), the most popular episode on Attic sarcophagi, is, in my opinion, also closely connected with the institution of the epheby. On a general level, the episode can be interpreted as a revelation of male beauty and virtue, which excites the desire of Deidameia and her female companions.[58] On Roman sarcophagi, the theme of love, as one would expect, receives particular emphasis through several *erotes* swarming Achilles; and not only Deidameia, but another one of the daughters, too, tries to touch and seize Achilles.[59] The Attic sarcophagi are also naturally a single visual explosion of beauty manifesting itself.[60] But on the Attic sarcophagi, the notion that the setting is a women's chamber is certainly obscured by the introduction of young men standing still, arming themselves or restraining horses. Likewise, the passion of Lycomedes' daughters for Achilles plays a minor role on Attic sarcophagi.

By contrast, Achilles seems to be, like Hippolytos, a member of a group of coevals. In addition, in the 3rd century, two elderly bearded men are introduced seated opposite one another, apparently gazing on the event. How to interpret them within the myth has always caused difficulty. Usually, they are interpreted as Lycomedes (left) and Agamemnon (right). Because the sides next to them often show Achilles exercising or playing the lyre under Chiron's supervision, it seems legitimate to seek a broader interpretation of the Scyros episode in the reference frame of *paideia* and the epheby. A ritual that took place in the second year of the epheby, at least in the classical period and probably later, seems to be of particular interest for comprehending Achilles' attempt to grasp the weapons: before the eyes of the citizenry, a shield and a lance were handed over to the *epheboi* prior to being deployed for military service in the Attic garrisons.[61] This rite of passage, in which the admired *epheboi* stepped into the presence of citizen body, in my opinion, suits the transitory character of the Scyros episode very

58 Muth, 1998, 151-185 and passim.

59 Muth, 1998, loc. cit.

60 Interestingly, because of the common absence of the trumpet-blower on 3rd cent. AD Attic sarcophagi depicting Achilles on Scyros, Achilles' movement appears to be not a reaction to a signal, as on Roman sarcophagi, but action: the underlying scheme, also used on one of the apobates of the Parthenon frieze, symbolizes martial ability. Compare Achilles on an Attic sarcophagus in the Louvre (Rogge 1995, no. 21 pl. 43, 3) to an apobate on the Parthenon north frieze (Brommer, 1979, 33 pl. 69).

61 Arist. *Ath.* 42; most recently Dillery, 2002. Dillery argues that the ritual took place in the Panathenaic stadium, not the theater of Dionysos.

well.[62] The transformation of the Scyros episode into an arming scene on Attic sarcophagi of the 3rd century AD, which does not occur at Rome, confirms this interpretation of the scene as a reflection of the arming ritual of the epheby.

Within the realm of the epheby and *paideia*, the dignified, seated old men may be understood as mythical substitutes for gymnasiarchs, archons or *kosmetai*, who were responsible for the education of the young men. The great number of *kosmetai* portraits attests the significance of this office in the social and cultural structure of imperial-period Athens.[63]

Achilles' transvestism, so fascinating for modern eyes sharpened by gender studies and accustomed to 'cross-dressing', should not be overestimated. To wear women's clothing, which would then be ritually taken off, was a component of Greek ephebic rituals, whereby the transition to a politically and sexually active member of the *polis* was completed; dressing and undressing were typical elements of Greek rites of passage which marked the transition from one group of society into another.[64] The temporary exchange of roles in these rituals (in contrast to modern transvestitism) had only the purpose of consolidating existing conventions and the boundaries drawn between the sexes.[65] The Athenians' enthusiasm for the ephebes and the myth's capacity for expressing basic conceptions of Greek culture (rite of passage, epheby) in my view explains the extraordinary popularity of the Scyros episode on Attic sarcophagi of the imperial period.

'Mythoszwang': The absence of non-mythological scenes on Attic sarcophagi

The Attic Hippolytos sarcophagi demonstrate that myth is often stretched to the limit. Without the presence of the nurse, the main scene would not be recognizable as being situated within the Hippolytos myth (fig. 9). And yet, the mythical framework is never explicitly abandoned: the almost compulsory use of myth is a main characteristic of Attic sarcophagi. Non-mythological themes and scenes from *vita humana* are almost completely lacking. At Rome we sometimes find examples of the self-definition of the deceased through scenes depicting profes-

62 Quite obviously, the validity of this reading of the Scyros-episode does not depend on the ritual actually being performed in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD.

63 Lattanzi, 1968; Smith, 1998, 73-75.

64 Hölscher, 1998, 36-38.

65 Vidal-Naquet 1986, 106-123; most recently Raval, 2002, 167-170 (with further literature).

sion;[66] more frequently we find matrimonial scenes and standardized biographies, such as on sarcophagi with the 'curriculum vitae' of children and on so-called 'military commanders' sarcophagi' ('Feldherrn-Sarkophage', fig. 13)[67] – yet nothing comparable exists for Athens. Iconographies that might indicate social class (such as the much discussed '*processus consularis*' on 3rd century Roman sarcophagi) are missing. Elite Greeks (and all other buyers of Attic sarcophagi) apparently had virtually no interest in constructing their identity visually through scenes depicting their individual merits or their status and rank within the Roman social order – not to mention their 'profession'.

That is not to say representations of the dead did not exist on Attic sarcophagi: sarcophagus lids often display husband and wife reclining together on a *kline* (fig. 4).[68] The man usually holds a scroll and the woman a garland in addition to her own scroll. Such forms of self-representation, however, are highly idealized, and praise marital concord as well as the *paideia* and prosperity of the partners rather than their 'profession'. More importantly, representations of this kind were restricted to the lids of the sarcophagi; they cannot be found in the sarcophagus' main reliefs. An explicit fusion of myth and everyday life (or, more precisely, non-mythological scenes), so characteristic on Roman sarcophagi, cannot be found on Attic examples.

One of the most surprising results of the lack of *vita humana* themes on Attic sarcophagi is the absence of the most important representatives of the second sophistic, the sophists themselves. In Rome, the figure of the ‚intellectual' – bearded or beardless men dressed in *pallia* – is among the most popular motifs on 3rd century sarcophagi (ill. 1; fig. 12).[69] Depending on his attributes and accompanying figures, the 'intellectual' can indicate a poet, rhetorician or philosopher; the latter is particularly frequent and occasionally even carries the stick and knapsack of the Cynic. The representation of philosophers on sarcophagi documents the popular value placed on moral conduct and philosophy. Often husband and wife appear in the roles of philosopher or poet and muse, sometimes with a philosophic advisor between them (fig. 12), illustrating a new marital ideal which is based on mutual respect, friendship, moral advice and control of passions (see below). The direct assignment of the philosopher to the couple denotes a practical understanding of philosophy as a set of rules which helped the

66 Koch – Sichtermann, 1982, 121-122; Amedick, 1991, 110-117. On Roman representations of trade and profession in general see Zimmer, 1982.

67 Most recently Wrede, 2001; Ewald 2003, 561-571.

68 Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 371-373.

69 Ewald, 1999a, 121-134.

patrons to live (and to die) well. Yet, philosophers (and even sophists) are not to be found in the sepulchral imagery of Athens, though they must have been omnipresent in the cityscape.[70] How is this to be understood? Apart from the general unpopularity of *vita humana* scenes, the absence of philosophers can be explained by the different concept of *paideia* at Athens, where gymnastic training and other physical exercise in the gymnasium and palaestra played a far greater role than at Rome.[71] Representations of Cynic philosophers, in particular, would be surprising at Athens, because of the Cynic contempt for the body-cult that accompanied Greek *paideia*. This concept of *paideia*, whereby education and self-control are depicted through perfect nude male bodies rather than beards and scrolls, has become particularly evident on the Hippolytos sarcophagi discussed above (fig. 9).

Another result of the almost compulsory use of myth on Attic sarcophagi is the absence of allegorical depictions of the *vita felix*: expressions of desire for a tranquil and peaceful country life. There is no Athenian equivalent for the over 400 bucolic sarcophagi that flourish at Rome between 270 and 310 AD.[72] It seems that the non-heroic ideal of a simple and rustic life did not particularly appeal to the customers of Attic sarcophagi.[73] Representations of the Seasons, thematically related to bucolic themes, are also missing on Attic sarcophagi.[74] Similarly, marine themes occur far less frequently at Athens than they do at Rome, where depictions of attractive Nereids ruling over love-struck sea monsters comprise the most popular 'erotic' subject from the Antonine to the late Severan period.[75] At Athens, scenes from the marine *thiasos* are far less popular and usually restricted to subordinate locations such as precious embroideries that often decorate the mattresses on which a *kline*-lid couple reclines.[76] Somewhat more common on Attic sarcophagi are Dionysiac scenes, which, together with the very popular *komos* of *erotes*, seem to allude to the realm of rich feast-culture.[77] Moreover, the Dionysiac sarcophagi further reveal a strong taste for

70 Ewald, 1999a, 11-12; 120.

71 Compare Goldhill, 2001, 1-25.

72 Himmelmann, 1980; Ewald 1999a, 62-77; Ewald 2003, 569-570.

73 It has to be added, though, that the Bucolic sarcophagi in Rome only become popular at a time when Attic sarcophagi were no longer produced, and it is probably obsolete to speculate how the sepulchral imagery at Athens would have looked like in the later 3rd century.

74 Koch – Sichtermann, 1982, 434.

75 Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 195-197. For an interpretation, see Brandenburg, 1967; Muth, 2000; Zanker – Ewald 2004, 117-134; 341-347 nos. 22-24.

76 Koch – Sichtermann, 1982, 422.

77 Koch – Sichtermann, 1982, 419-422 (Dionysiac scenes); 424-434 (Erotes).

classicizing compositions and neo-Attic figure types, while de-emphasizing the erotic aspects and bucolic elements so common in Rome.[78]

Sarcophagus-portraits, marital relationship and 'love myths' in East and West

Identifications of the deceased (and his or her relatives) with mythological figures through portrait heads are another feature common in Rome, especially during the first half of the 3rd century AD (fig. 3; 14), but missing on Attic sarcophagi. This means that myth on Attic sarcophagi was not 'personalized' and used as a means of 'speaking about oneself' the way it is in Rome.

Traditionally, the portrait played a greater role in the commemoration of the dead at Rome than at Athens, and focusing on the face rather than the body as a bearer of meaning and information about the person represented is certainly a Roman phenomenon.[79] The use of portraits on Roman sarcophagi personalizes myth and simplifies the allegorical reading: mythical figures, if equipped with a portrait, embody the virtues and physical qualities of the deceased. While the deceased's real body decomposed and the memory of his original appearance in the mind of the living faded, the artificial bodies of the mythical figures increasingly shaped the bereaved family's memory of his or her flawless beauty and virtue.[80] The extensive use of portraits at Rome often transforms a mythical episode into a role-play in which not only the dead are involved, but also their surviving relatives. This is especially true in the cases of couples, where one of the partners portrayed in mythical guise was often still alive when the sarcophagus was installed in the grave chamber. Such portrait-identifications not only made it possible to use myth to express personal virtues (physical and/or mental), but also the mutual affection of the actors or the pain and grief over the loss of a partner or family member. Portraits thus allowed customers to use myth while at the same time 'speaking' more clearly about the dead and their relationship with the dead.[81]

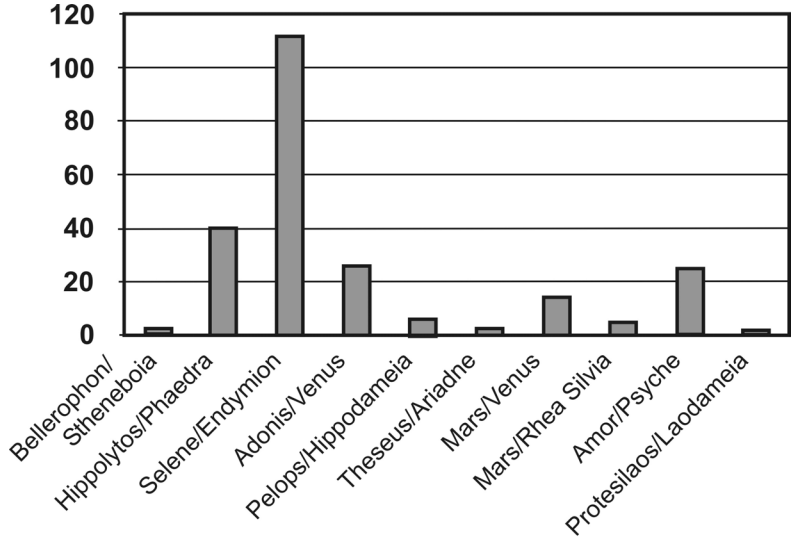
78 Geyer, 1977, 42-56.

79 Fittschen, 1988, 5-8.

80 I am borrowing here a concept from the ‚Bild – Anthropologie' of Belting, 1996; see also Macho, 2000.

81 Zanker 2000, passim; Zanker – Ewald, 2004, 201-224. – A difference in narrative structure that points into the same direction as the lack of portrait identifications has to be mentioned here. The mythological scenes on Attic sarcophagi do not show a continuous narrative, the repetition of the protagonist in different scenes of the same myth that is so typical for Roman mythological sarcophagi. On Roman sarcophagi depicting the myths of Adonis and Aphrodite or Protesilaos and Laodameia, for example, the protagonist of the mythical story might be de-

Roman couples most often use portrait identifications, in fact, to identify themselves with mythical lovers, such as Selene and Endymion (fig. 3), Achilles and Penthesilea (fig. 14), or Aphrodite and Adonis. Historically speaking, such portrait identifications are to be understood as the result of an emotional reassessment and internalization of the marital relationship during the imperial period.[82] P. Veyne, M. Foucault, P. Brown and others have described how the ‚dynastic' republican concept of marriage was replaced by an ideal based on mutual trust and affection, where greater value than ever before was placed on the emotional bond of marriage.[83] Since the myths most frequently depicted on Roman sarcophagi are love-myths reflecting precisely this ideal (ill. 4), the popularity of mythological sarcophagi at Rome during the 2nd and early 3rd century AD is, to a certain degree, a result of this change in the concept of the marital relationship.



Ill. 4 Statistics showing the quantitative distribution of mythical episodes related to 'love and farewell' on Roman sarcophagi (B.C. Ewald)

picted up to five times on the front side of the sarcophagus alone (for example Zanker – Ewald, 2004, 289-290 no. 4; 375-377 no. 35). Such repetition is not only indispensable for expressing a proper narrative, it also facilitates an allegorical reading for virtues and broadens the spectrum of qualities praised in a single person. Mythological stories on Roman sarcophagi are much more related to an individual (that is, used to express individual qualities and virtues) than they ever are on Attic pieces.

82 Ewald, 2003, 569.

83 Veyne, 1987, 36-49; 174-181; 223-232; Foucault, 1988, 37-176; Brown, 1988, 5-32. – Critically, for example, Goldhill, 1995; Dixon, 1991.

Of these 'love myths', absent on Attic sarcophagi, the most popular on Roman examples was the story of Selene and Endymion, with over 120 extant examples.[84] The meager narrative did not detract from the popularity of this myth at Rome. The myth could express the partners' deep mutual affection, praise their physical beauty and convey the hope of dream encounters between the deceased and the surviving partner – also a common consolatory motif in funerary inscriptions. Not only are Selene and Endymion missing from Attic sarcophagi, but also Adonis and Aphrodite, the caring love goddess, as well as (less surprisingly, due to their Roman character) the myths of Mars and Venus and Mars and Rhea Silvia.[85] Also lacking at Athens are most mythical figures and stories concerned exclusively with physical beauty and erotic attraction such as the judgment of Paris, the three Graces, Narcissus and Ganymede – all found at Rome.[86] The absence of the marine *thiasos*, an eminently erotic motif, as a main theme on Attic sarcophagi also has to be seen in this context.

There are, however, some exceptions to this lack of 'love myths' on Attic sarcophagi. Leda appears on a very small number of Attic examples.[87] The stories of Achilles and Deidameia and Hippolytos and Phaedra constitute more notable exceptions.[88] However, as we have already seen, the love story of Phaedra and Hippolytos is de-emphasized within the typological development of Attic Hippolytos sarcophagi during the 3rd century (fig. 9). The story of Bellerophon also appears on Attic sarcophagi, but is stressed differently. While at Rome Bellerophon and Stheneboia recall the unhappy love story of Hippolytos and Phaedra,[89] at Athens, the theme of their love and farewell is marginalized. Further, Attic sarcophagi only depict Bellerophon on the small sides of sarcophagi, showing various other themes in the main relief.[90] This tendency to attribute less importance to the hetero-erotic aspects of myth is also evident on the Attic Dionysiac sarcophagi.

84 Sichtermann, 1992; for the interpretation proposed here see Koortbojian, 1995, 100-113; Zanker, 2000, 32-35; Zanker – Ewald, 2004, 102-109.

85 Adonis and Aphrodite: Grassinger, 1999a, 70; Mars and Venus: Koch – Sichtermann, 1982, 142; Mars and Rhea Silvia: Koch – Sichtermann, 1982, 184-185.

86 Koch – Sichtermann, 1982, 172-173; 147-148; 167; 146-147.

87 Koch – Sichtermann, 1982, 415; Perry, 2001.

88 Rogge, 1995, 26-30; 73-75 (Hippolytos and Phaedra). Less popular than Phaedra were Hippodameia (who, however, is shown in the same iconographical scheme used for Phaedra) and the Pelops myth on small side images: Koch – Sichtermann, 1982, 404-405.

89 Zanker, 1999.

90 Koch – Sichtermann, 1982, 414-415.

The aforementioned revaluation of the marital relationship affected Attic sarcophagi as well as Roman sarcophagi. After all, many of the sources from which this ideal emerges are Greek authors such as Plutarch. In the late 2nd century AD, roof-shaped sarcophagus lids were succeeded by the aforementioned *kline*-lids (fig. 4).[91] Often imposing, these depictions on *kline* – lids, equipped with portrait heads, praise the marital harmony of the couple by showing husband and wife reclining together. But unlike at Rome, expression of this ideal is restricted to the representation on the sarcophagus lid: the couple is never explicitly identified with the mythical figures represented on the sarcophagus proper. The idea of a harmonious relationship does not penetrate to the mythical realm, and the praise of the married couple can instead contrast with a decisively homoerotic aesthetic in the myth represented on the sarcophagus (fig. 9). It is precisely through combining the praise of marital concord with a homoerotic and athletic aesthetic that 'Greekness' is constructed: while the scheme of the reclining couple with book rolls in hand is a common form of self-representation in East and West, reflecting the function of *paideia* as a normative elite culture in various parts of the empire,[92] and the spread of the conjugal ideal, the combination with a gathering of nude athletes on the Attic Hippolytos sarcophagi, for example, is not to be found on sarcophagi from other workshops.

A 'political' use of myth? 'Personal' versus 'collective' memory

Amazon-sarcophagi nicely illustrate the difference between the Roman ‚personalized' and private use of myth and the somewhat more distanced Athenian use, which is determined by a strong local tradition in the employment of a mythical visual language. During the 2nd century AD, both Attic and Roman examples depict an even fight between the Amazons and Greeks (fig. 20).[93] On Roman sarcophagi, the Amazon myth was open to different readings: first, it could serve as an example of male virtue (which by no means necessarily implies biographical information in the sense that the deceased must have been a military commander); second, and somewhat more surprisingly, it could also represent a deceased woman and compare her physical beauty (especially at the moment of death) to the beauty of the Amazons. The likelihood of the latter reading is confirmed by the symbolic use of the Amazons in funerary inscriptions and the use

91 Koch – Sichtermann, 1982, 371-372.

92 Swain, 1996, 67; Bowie, 1974.

93 Koch – Sichtermann, 1982, 138-141 (Roman Amazon sarcophagi); 390-392 (Attic Amazon sarcophagi).

of Amazon sarcophagi for females, attested by sarcophagus inscriptions.[94] In both cases, however, the myth served as an immediate comparison and metaphor for the virtues or qualities of the deceased. The ‚Greekness' of the myth neither explains its popularity on Roman sarcophagi nor the paradigmatic ways in which it must have been used. The later development of Roman Amazon sarcophagi during the last decades of the 2nd and through the 3rd century confirms the hypothesis of a personalized and allegorical use of this myth at Rome:[95] around AD 170, a group consisting of Achilles and Penthesilea can be identified as such for the first time. Around AD 200, an obvious tendency arises to emphasize the center of the frieze through a grouping of an Amazon and a Greek, perhaps meaning Achilles and Penthesilea. Soon after AD 200, oversized groups of Achilles and Penthesilea appear in the center of the battle (fig. 14); they are used from the beginning for the portrait-identification of a couple with the two protagonists. The group is clearly designed to praise the love of the protagonists and the piety and support the Roman 'Achilles' shows his partner, presumably his wife, at the moment of death, despite the remarkable contradiction implied by the underlying narrative of the myth. Every iconographical detail seeks to disavow the fact that Achilles himself has just mortally wounded Penthesilea. The other Amazons and the battle possess only secondary importance and are thus pushed into the background.

The Attic Amazonomachy-sarcophagi, by contrast, show a continuous frieze with groups of battling Greeks and Amazons, such as could have been found similarly over 600 years earlier on the shield of the Athena Parthenos, the west metopes of the Parthenon and various classical paintings. Groups of Achilles and Penthesilea can not be identified with certainty, although a group of a Greek and an Amazon can be emphasized by means of composition; in any case, they are not equipped with the portraits of the sarcophagi patrons. We must assume that the local importance of the Amazonomachy myth, and its use in the Athenian artistic tradition prevented a development like that at Rome. While in Rome the myth is used as an allegory for personal virtues and a means of expressing the emotional intensity of the marital relationship, at Athens the battle between

94 Grassinger, 1999b. The inscription on a sarcophagus lid in the Vatican Museums, which must have belonged to an Amazon-sarcophagus, mentions a young woman named Arria Maximina who died at the age of 15. Her parents also erected a statue of Venus for their *filia dulcissima*. It is likely that the beauty and probably the death of the Amazons depicted on the sarcophagus served as a *tertium comparationis* of the deceased, as it is the case in the funerary inscription of Markia Helike, whose beauty is compared to that of "the Amazon" (Penthesilea): Grassinger 1999a, 165. 238 no. 97.

95 For the typological development of metropolitan Amazon-sarcophagi described here see Koch – Sichtermann, 1982, 139; Grassinger, 1999a, 136.

Amazons and Greeks is used to evoke the memory of the city's great past and the ideas of Hellenic superiority that had always been attached to it (fig. 20). The fact that it usually remains unclear if the Attic or the Trojan Amazonomachy is depicted is only of secondary importance with regard to the ideological connotations of the myth.[96]

The example provided by the Amazonomachy-sarcophagi suggests that mythological representations on Roman and Attic sarcophagi have to be read in different ways. In interpreting them, one must take into consideration each society's different traditions and the obvious discrepancies in their uses of myth.[97] What the specific use of myth on Attic sarcophagi seems to reflect, though, is the fact that at Athens, myth had never lost its function of constituting a common Greek identity – a function it had originally gained during the birth of the Greek polis in the archaic period.[98] At Athens, myth had stood much more in the center of public discourse – for example in the theater, the public building programs, or the declamations of Homeric epic on occasion of the Panathenaia – than it had at Rome. As we will see shortly, the Attic sarcophagi can even draw explicitly on an allegorical and 'political' use of myth as symbol of Greek superiority that had been developed in post-Persian war (and especially Periclean) Athens.

On Roman sarcophagi, on the other hand, Greek myth served mainly as an erudite language for 'private' matters, such as emotion and personal qualities. This is, ultimately, a result of the fact that Greek myth, in literature and art, had originally been adapted primarily in the context of the *otium*-culture of the 'villeggiatura' and was thus outside the political realm.[99] The specific selection of themes in Roman 3rd and 4th style wall painting – Dionysiac scenes, loving couples such as Mars and Venus, Venus and Adonis – offer ample testimony to

96 On the meaning of the Amazonomachy in classical Athens see Castriota, 1992, 43-58; 143-151.

97 It is one of the more peculiar phenomena of our discipline that great scholarly effort and speculation has been spent on conceptualizing hypothetical origins of myth (about which we can only know little, if anything), while less effort has been made to understand the reception of myth in various contexts (about which we can know a lot), especially in the visual arts. We are only beginning to understand how myth functioned in the public, the private and the funerary realms at different times and in different cultural landscapes and societies. On the adaptations of Greek myth in Roman art see Zanker – Ewald, 2004 (with earlier literature); Muth, 1998; See also the single contributions in de Angelis – Muth (eds.), 1999.

98 Hölscher, 1999.

99 The fascinating study by Hölscher, 1993 could be complemented by a study on the adaptation of Greek myth in Republican Rome in the *private* realm of *otium*-culture, and the impact this had on the later uses of Greek myth in Roman art and society.

this.[100] We may speculate that a classical Greek, and probably many educated Greeks of the 2nd or 3rd century AD, would have considered tasteless the 'private' use of myth on Roman sarcophagi as it is expressed, for example, in the aforementioned portrait identifications of sarcophagi patrons with Achilles and Penthesilea.

Panhellenic victory myths and 'agonal' ideal of battle: Images of war in East and West

Much speaks in favor of the assumption that the specific use of myth we find on Attic sarcophagi is inextricably linked with a different mode of commemorating the dead through the lens of collective and polis related ideals and values. It is quite illuminating, in this context, to compare Greek and Roman representations of battle. Unlike Roman sarcophagi, Attic examples show several battles that were, so to speak, of panhellenic importance and as such were a vivid part of Greek cultural and political identity. They served to define Greek superiority, glory, heroism and ethos in opposition to an ethically inferior (albeit sometimes numerically superior) opponent.[101] All of these battles are situated in the mythical or historical past. And unlike at Rome, it remains unclear whether, and if so to what extent, the depictions of these myths on funerary monuments were intended to be read as allegories of personal virtues of the deceased.

I would like to begin with Roman scenes of battle. In Roman funerary art, representations of war and aggression have two aspects: first, and most importantly, they serve as a reassertion of Roman superiority and praise of the military commander's virtue (fig. 15).[102] Battle scenes outside funerary art (which provided the models for the sarcophagi) fulfilled this function as well, as on the columns of Trajan or Marcus Aurelius.[103] Even though the fights depicted on the

100 Zanker, 1998, 40-48.

101 Flashar, 1996. In his history of the reception of the battle of Marathon, however, Flashar does not discuss the uses of the 'Marathon theme' in the 'Second Sophistic'. On these, see Bowie, 1974, 170-174; Spawforth, 1994; Alcock, 2002, 74-86.

102 On Roman battle sarcophagi, see Koch – Sichtermann, 1982, 90-97; Wrede, 2001, 21. I do not include in my discussion the early Roman battle sarcophagi depicting fights against the Gauls, but focus on the later sarcophagi depicting fights against Germanic tribes. Quite obviously, the role of the individual is emphasized more strongly in the later depictions of battle than in the earlier ones, showing a tendency analogous to the 'Entmythologisierung' on Roman mythological sarcophagi. – The important discussion of "Images of war in Greece and Rome" by T. Hölscher (Hölscher, 2003a) appeared while last corrections were made to this article.

103 On those see most recently Scheid – Huet (eds.), 2000.

small group of Roman battle sarcophagi from the late 2nd century AD were of ‚national' importance, and depicted warding off what was once a *real* danger (quite unlike the Centauromachy or the Amazonomachy), they were not selected to decorate funerary monuments primarily for that reason. Instead, the emphasis is clearly on the individual merit and personal virtues of the protagonist, whose role is made evident by the use of portrait heads and further emphasized by means of a centrally-focused composition (fig. 15). Consequently, a battle scene could be replaced by a hunting scene equally capable of personifying *virtus*.[104]

Very rarely, however, and somewhat unexpectedly in a Roman context, scenes of aggression can also serve as allegories for the horrors of death. K. Fittschen has convincingly shown that the shocking scenes of violence against innocent victims on an Ilioupersis sarcophagus in Mantua are to be understood analogously to the cruelty depicted on the Niobid-sarcophagi: as a protest against relentless fate.[105] In both cases, however (and that is what matters in our context), conceptions of 'Roman identity', 'local history', or a 'common great Roman past' do not apply to the representations of war and aggression.[106]

The Attic sarcophagi, however, are different. All of the battles represented on Attic sarcophagi are already found in classical Athenian architectural sculpture or historical painting such as the Marathon painting in the *Stoa Poikile*. Nevertheless, the interpretation of the battle scenes on Attic sarcophagi poses problems, mainly because of iconographic cross-contamination of different battles scenes, as well as great discrepancies between different representations of the same theme. The battle most frequently depicted on Attic sarcophagi, and perhaps the least problematic in terms of interpretation, is the Amazonomachy (fig. 20) which I have discussed earlier. The Centauromachy never became very popular, but it is still found more often in Athens than it is in Rome, where only a single example is known.[107] A very large group of about 70 sarcophagi shows a battle between warriors of equal rank (fig. 16).[108] The interpretation of this battle poses the same problems as the fights depicted in the west and north friezes of the temple of Athena Nike on the Athenian Acropolis. Suggestions for the friezes include a battle between Athenians and Spartans during the Peloponnesian war (T. Hölscher) as well as battles at Troy (F. Felten, H. Knell).[109] On the sarco-

104 On this phenomenon, see Hölscher, 1980, especially 289 figs. 21-23.

105 Fittschen, 1992; Zanker – Ewald, 2004, 330-332 no. 18.

106 Not even in the case of the Iliupersis, which has nothing to do with the concept of the Trojan origins of Rome.

107 Koch – Sichtermann, 1982, 155-156 (Roman); 398-399 (Attic).

108 Koch – Sichtermann, 1982, 405-410.

109 The discussion is summarized by Knell, 1990, 141-143 and Castriota, 1992, 179-180.

phagi, however, such battle scenes can be put into a 'Trojan' perspective through association with the ransom of Hector on another side of the same sarcophagus (fig. 17).[110] They can further be contaminated with elements from representations of the 'battle at the ships before Troy'. This, in fact, has led scholars to the assumption that a battle at Troy is depicted.[111]

Two different depictions of battles near ships and water should be evaluated in this context.[112] One of them shows the battle at the ships before Troy (fig. 18), alluding to the crucial fights described mostly in the fifteenth book of the *Iliad*, with Hector (?) killing a Greek in the center of the composition, and sometimes also showing Patroclus and Achilles in a ship, perhaps meant to depict Patroclus urging Achilles to let him wear his armor and aid their fellow Greeks.[113] The identification of many figures is uncertain, but does not need to be discussed here. Another battle at the ships must be against Persians because of the oriental dress worn by some of the losers (fig. 19). It has been interpreted as an episode related to the Persian defeat at Marathon,[114] and although the general topic is that of the painting in the *Stoa Poikile* at Athens, the sarcophagi do not seem to be a faithful reflection of the classical painting.[115] The example in Brescia depicted here nicely illustrates the inferior and almost animal-like combat style Greek sculptors ascribed to the Persians: one Persian bites into the leg of his Greek opponent like the Centaur biting the arm of a Lapith in the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia.

Most of the above mentioned mythical battles do not appear on Roman sarcophagi at all, where the battle scenes are usually situated in the present. The Amazonomachy is the exception that proves the rule, but this myth was, as I have demonstrated above, probably read in a different key at Rome than it was at Athens.

It is well known that all of the battles depicted on Attic sarcophagi – the Amazonomachy, the Centauromachy, the fights against Trojans and Persians – were myths that had long been politicized and become central to the formation of a panhellenic identity.[116] On a general level, they reflected popular beliefs in

110 Example in Tyros: Koch – Sichtermann, 1982, 405-406; 457 fig. 443; Rogge, 1995, no. 43 pl. 9.

111 Koch – Sichtermann, 1982, 405-406; Differently, however, Rogge, 1995, 65 fn. 329.

112 Koch – Sichtermann, 1982, 410-414.

113 Koch, 1978/79; Th. Stefanidou-Tiveriou, in: Despinis – Stefanidou-Tiveriou – Voutiras, 1997, 169-172 no. 135.

114 Koch – Sichtermann, 1982, 412.

115 Hölscher, 1973, 224-225.

116 Castriota, 1992.

the superiority of Greek ethos and civilization and the greatness of a common Greek past. These battles not only decorated numerous classical temples, which were still admired as silent witnesses and reminders of "the dignity and greatness of Hellas" (Dio 31.159-160), but they were also frequently called to mind by the rhetorical declamations of the Second Sophistic.[117] Persian war themes were especially popular: A sophist mentioned by Philostratos, Ptolemy of Naucratis, was, as S. Swain notes, even "nicknamed 'Marathon' because of his fondness for recalling the famous battle in his 'Attic themes.'"[118] The depiction of the Persian wars (fig. 19) and other identificatory myths on a funerary monument are yet another symptom of this relentless effort to recall classical greatness. While the Greek fights against Persians (as well as the battles of heroes and gods against mythical enemies and evildoers such as Amazons and giants) "created a web of shared identity across the Greek east, Rome too participated in this discourse, now replaying the conflict to recast their own enemies – the Parthians – as reincarnations of Persia":[119] The Romans adapted this powerful Greek classical frame of reference, and used it to describe and define their own actions within it. The fact that Attic battle sarcophagi have been found in various parts of the Roman empire (such as Italy, Greece, Lebanon) illustrates the insight that not only the Persian wars, but other mythical battles as well, could be understood as "shared symbols"[120] by elites in different parts of the empire. The depiction of these crucial battles from the mythical and historical past served to define sarcophagi patrons in East and West as *pepaideumenoi*.

This interpretation of the battle scenes as "unifying symbols" for a heterogeneous elite does, of course, not exclude the possibility that, for some Greeks, anti-Roman sentiments might have been cast into such images. The Greek elites themselves were divided with regard to their attitudes towards Rome. Under such circumstances, themes such as "the Persian wars retained a subversive resonance for some Greeks," and "Marathon and Plataea could be used by cynical politicians to conjure up fond memories of successful Greek resistance to foreign empires."[121] Depending on the context, the retrospective, classicist mentality of the Second Sophistic could have overtones of a "nationalistic classi-

117 Bowie, 1974, 170-174; Swain, 1996, 66-100; Alcock, 2002, 74-86 (from whom the quotation from Dio is taken).

118 Swain, 1996, 96; Philostr. *VS* 595.

119 Alcock, 2002, 82. See also Spawforth, 1994, 237-243; Whittaker, 2002, 35-36

120 Spawforth, 1994, 233. 243-246.

121 Spawforth, 1994, 245-246.

cism".[122] 'Subversive' readings of this kind, however, must have depended on the individual viewer and are impossible for the archaeologist to assess.

It could easily be demonstrated that the battle scenes' function as media of social memory, and the "mnemische Energie"[123] of these battle myths, did not imply and depend on an accurate copying of Classical models such as the metopes of the Parthenon or the Hephaisteion, the friezes of the temple of Athena Nike or the Marathon painting in the Stoa Poikile. What must have been understood by the sarcophagi patrons as an authentic re-enactment of Classical 'Greekness' in the visual language of the past, presents itself to the modern archaeologist as an invention or (re-)construction of the Classical past through the lens of the Second Sophistic. The battle scenes (and other mythological imagery) share this artistic and historical freedom, which is not to be confused with 'inaccuracy', with the rhetorical declamations mentioned above. Just as the declamations are often constructions of what could have been within a historical framework, using historical characters but reworking historical events rather freely or even inventing them, the sarcophagi vary the Classical models and even conflate different subjects. What mattered was the rather vague heroic and 'patriotic' tenor of these themes, and the specifically Greek war-ethos they communicate, not any kind of narrative coherence or historical and textual accuracy. For example, on an Attic sarcophagus in Thessaloniki depicting the Homeric 'battle at the ships' (fig. 18), an Amazon on horseback appears in the left half of the frieze, although during the phase of the Trojan war depicted on the sarcophagus, the Amazons have not yet arrived at Troy. However, with the continued representation and re-narration of these mythical and historical stories, whose meaning had changed very little over hundreds of years, old Athenian ideologies of ethical and cultural superiority were perpetuated as well. The Attic sarcophagi depicting battles are particularly suited to illustrate the Greek tunnel vision of the classical period and the mythical past.

They also illustrate how detached the imagery of Attic sarcophagi was from any political or military reality of its time. The essentially Classical ideological framework of battle means that the sarcophagi reflect some very traditional and specifically Greek conceptions of man to man combat, for example.[124] Unlike on the Roman examples, where the combatants appear in contemporary armor, involved in a mass fight which is set in a hierarchically organized space, on the Attic battle sarcophagi the combatants are arranged in groups, fighting one

122 Veyne, 1988, 44; compare Veyne, 1999.

123 Assmann, 1988, 12. The term was coined by Aby Warburg.

124 Hölscher, 2003a, 4-6 and passim.

against the other, most of them naked. This 'agonal' concept of man to man combat originates in archaic Greek iconography, reflecting not the reality of warfare at that time (which was the hoplite phalanx), but the "psychological experience" of the individual combatants.[125] The 'agonal' or 'athletic' ideal of combat, in which the well-trained naked male body denotes moral values such as manly virtue, is reflected in various texts of the second sophistic; for example in Dio's *Melancomas* or Lucian's *Anacharsis*, in which battle and athletic training are described as either interchangeable or at least comparable from the viewpoint of virtue and the beauty of the bodies involved.[126] The battle scenes evoke the old Greek "Kultur des unmittelbaren Handelns", as T. Hölscher has aptly called it; a culture in which the male body had been conceptualized as an immediate cause for both victory and fame, suffering and defeat.[127] Of course, such conceptions of battle were much more obsolete in the political and military reality of the 2nd and 3rd century AD (figs. 16; 18; 19) than they had already been in the Classical period: the times had changed, the ideological reference system had not. In a world of highly developed and very technical Roman warfare, the Attic battle sarcophagi unwaveringly celebrate the well trained warrior's body as an icon of Greek culture. The sarcophagi reflect precisely the nostalgic Greek 'gymnasium-ideology' which is mocked by Lucian in his *Anacharsis*. In this dialogue, the sly Scythian comments on the Athenian program of 'body politics' laid out by Solon (31-33; transl. A.M. Harmon):

> Then if the enemy attack you, Solon, you yourselves will take the field rubbed with oil and covered with dust, shaking your fists at them, and they, of course, will cower at your feet and run away, fearing that while they are agape in stupefaction you may sprinkle sand in their mouths, or that after jumping behind them so as to get on their backs, you may wind your legs about their bellies and strangle them by putting an arm under their helmets. (…) No, I am afraid that all these clever tricks of yours are silliness, nothing but child's play, amusements for your young men who have nothing to do and want to lead an easy life. If you wish, whatever betides, to be free and happy, you will require other forms of athletics and real training, that is to say, under arms (…). Look here, if I should draw this little dirk at my belt and fall upon all your young men by myself, I should capture the gymnasium with a mere hurrah, for they would run away and not one would dare to face the steel; no, they would gather about the statues and hide behind the pillars, making me laugh while most of

125 Hölscher 2003a, 4.

126 D.C. 29, 9-10; 15-16.; Lucianus *Anach.* passim.

127 Hölscher, 1998. I am here paraphrasing Hölscher's remarks on p. 55: „Der nackte Körper der griechischen Bildwerke ist *eo ipso* weder „ideal" und zelebrativ noch peiorativ, sondern er stellt den physischen Aspekt des Menschen dar, der gleichermaßen die Grundlage für Erfolg und Untergang, Glück und Leiden, Ruhm und Nichtigkeit darstellt."

> them cried and trembled. (…) Profound peace has brought you to such a pass that you could not easily endure to see a single plume of a hostile helmet.

Lucian's dialogue, which ironically reverses famous Greek stories of athletic warrior's bodies striking fear in the minds of their non-Greek enemies,[128] is set in a distant past, but the sarcophagi nicely illustrate how it must have resonated in a 2nd or 3rd century AD context.

As we have seen, at Athens there was a tendency to maintain a greater 'distance from myth' and to reduce the importance of the individual in the use of mythical exempla. In more theoretical terms, with regard to the different forms of commemoration of the dead at Rome and Athens, one might say that the forms of 'personal' memory we find at Rome are complemented and sometimes even replaced by a form of 'collective memory' focused on the great Greek past as revitalized and transformed by the Second Sophistic. The tomb in Greece becomes the place where the commemoration of the dead is combined with praise of the superior Greek ethos and civilization – for this too there were classical models, such as the famous *epitaphios logos* of Pericles recorded by Thucydides (2.35-46).[129] Myth in Athenian funerary art often must have been selected with regard to its 'panhellenic' and patriotic significance. It is not shaped and remodeled to suit the customers' needs as at Rome, nor is it used to a large extent as an instrument for expressing 'private' sentiments and values. The Amazonomachy, as well as the other battles discussed above, were regarded as Athenian (and collective Greek) history, and – unlike as in Rome – they are treated as such in the reliefs of the Attic sarcophagi.

What, then, was the relationship between such imagery and the deceased? On which metaphorical levels did the stories depicted on the sarcophagi 'make sense'? The general interpretation given above does not exclude a reading for the individual virtues of the sarcophagi patrons, similar to the allegorical manner in which myth was used in Rome. The imagery of Attic sarcophagi was not only a medium of 'cultural memory'; rather, these stories could also, on a different level, be related to the individuals buried in the sarcophagus – not explicitly (through portraits, as in Rome) but implicitly. An ancient viewer would have been able to relate the above-mentioned representations of Achilles mourning over Patroclus, for example, to his own situation of grief and loss. And the Trojan tales of heroism and death as well as the aforementioned battle scenes depicted on Attic sarcophagi were certainly intended to suggest that the virtue of the deceased had been comparable to the courage and virtue of the great Homeric heroes, the

128 On those, see Hölscher 2003a, 7.

129 Loraux, 1986, 1-131.

victors of Marathon and other fighters of the past – just as Dio uses exactly the same paradigms in his praise of Melancomas (29.14; transl. J.W. Cohoon):

> And I for my part should not hesitate to say that even of all the ancient heroes whose praises everyone chants, he possessed valour inferior to none, inferior neither to those who warred at Troy nor to those who in later times repulsed the barbarians in Greece. Indeed, if he had lived in their day, his deeds would have matched theirs.

Furthermore, we find figure types that appear on Attic mythological sarcophagi used for depictions of the deceased on non-mythological Athenian funerary stelai as well as funerary statues;[130] the obvious visual analogies between sarcophagi and stelai would have facilitated a reading for the virtues of the deceased. As I have tried to demonstrate, the different functions of myth in Greece and Rome could certainly overlap. But in contrast to the Roman examples, on Attic sarcophagi "the specific" is always represented "in the light of the generic", as J. Pollitt has put it with regard to the art of the Classical period.[131] The visual narratives on Attic sarcophagi are usually more open and less clearly related to a specific individual than they are at Rome, and they are not as strictly organized under certain abstract concepts or key virtues (such as *amor*, *virtus*, *concordia* etc.) as they are at Rome.

Context and identity, 'Greekness' and 'Romanness'

The fact that it was the private realm of the grave in which these myths of panhellenic significance were displayed illustrates how much they had been internalized by the sarcophagus owners. Unfortunately, we know little about the contexts in which Attic sarcophagi were seen in the East: much less, in fact, than we know about the installation of sarcophagi in Rome and Italy. It seems, though, that most Attic sarcophagi stood in grave buildings like their Roman counterparts, despite being carved on all four sides, which gives them the character of an independent 'shrine'.[132] Context matters, because it demonstrates that constraints on public imagery or some other 'social control' were not – or at least not primarily – responsible for preventing certain forms of self-presentation from ap-

130 Rhomiopoulou, 1997, 102 no. 103 (stele depicting a youth in a scheme commonly used for the youths on Attic Hippolytos sarcophagi, pl. 30, 1); 30 no. 16 ('Hermes from Aigion', a statue type used for funerary statues and also found on Attic Hippolytos sarcophagi).

131 Pollitt, 1972, 6; compare Castriota, 1992, 5. Pollitt, however, uses the phrase to describe an "aesthetic principle", while I am referring to the relation between myth and individual.

132 Koch – Sichtermann, 1982, 368. Roman sarcophagi, on the contrary, are usually carved on only three sides, because they were placed against the wall of the grave chamber.

pearing on Attic sarcophagi, such as we find on Roman sarcophagi (e.g. portrait-identifications, or *vita humana* scenes). Having said that, it must be mentioned once again that, in Greece and Asia minor, visitors to the tombs of members of the local elite, which could occasionally be situated within the city, could include civic notables and ephebes, even parts of the *demos*;[133] these tombs could further be related to centers of athletic and educational activity such as libraries or stadiums. It is very likely that, on occasion of such funerals, as well as later honorific ceremonies, the sarcophagi were visible. However, this kind of publicity must have been the exception. The choice of themes on Attic sarcophagi must have usually been nothing but a projection of the patron's values, self-image and cultural pretensions, which tells us much about the construction of Greek identity under Roman rule. Here, in the realm of private convictions and cultural self-definitions, there is not much 'Romanization'.

Without intending to open a discussion about "Greek identity and material culture",[134] I want to sketch very briefly what the sarcophagi could bring to such a discussion, although I am well aware of the fact that it is notoriously difficult to connect art forms and material evidence with much disputed concepts such as 'Romanization' or 'Greek identity'. As we have seen, the custom of burial in mythological sarcophagi is a fashion which spreads in East and West during the Second Sophistic. This illustrates that a common broader reference frame and a general commensurability existed in two cultures involved in a constant intensive dialogue. But we have also seen that the selection of myth on Attic sarcophagi, as well as the rendering of individual mythical episodes, communicate a specifically Greek set of cultural ideals and standards which can be distinguished from that found in contemporary Rome. Some of this imagery, in particular the battle scenes on Attic sarcophagi, might have even had 'nationalistic' overtones for some viewers. A fact that deserves to be mentioned in this context is that the male deceased depicted on the *kline*-lids of 3rd century Attic sarcophagi never wear the Roman toga every freeborn male could have worn after the *constitutio Antoniniana*, but always the Greek *himation* (*pallium*). The *himation* in Greece is not just the costume of the educated, as it is in Rome, where self-presentation as an intellectual wearing it becomes very common during the 3rd century AD.[135] Rather, wearing the *himation* is a declaration of Greekness with *paideia* as its essential component. Likewise, representations of the deceased in the toga are not found on imperial-period funerary stelai from Athens, and toga statues in Impe-

133 Samellas, 2002, 189-192; van Bremen, 1996, 156-158.

134 Woolf, 1994, 125.

135 Ewald, 1999; Ewald, 2003; Smith, 1998, 65-68.

rial-period Greece, especially Athens, are quite rare and were usually connected to Roman members of the ruling class or statue galleries of the Imperial family.[136] The *constitutio Antoniniana* seems to have had no impact on the self-presentation of early third-century Greeks: to judge from the archaeological record, there was anything but a loss of 'Greek identity', in addition to a very good sense of what was Greek, as opposed to what was Roman.

From this perspective, it might also seem significant that Roman myths (Romulus and Remus, abduction of Sabine women, Mars and Rhea Silvia) are never depicted on Attic sarcophagi,[137] and that Roman sarcophagi were (apart from some rare exceptions in Crete, Nicopolis and Dyrrhachium) not imported into Greece, even if they featured Greek myths.[138] The Romans, on the other hand, imported Attic sarcophagi in significant numbers: they were the main clients for Attic sarcophagi outside of Greece.[139] This agrees perfectly with what we know of Roman fascination with Greek culture, which was met by a decisive lack of Greek interest in Roman history and culture, and – in the case of sarcophagi – its products.[140] Ironically, it is this Roman demand for Attic sarcophagi which must have aided in the formation of a specifically 'Greek' iconography.

I have tried to demonstrate that the specific use of myth on Attic sarcophagi often served to project a Greek cultural identity. Yet while in Athens the ‚Greek-

136 Havé-Nikolaus, 1998, 20; 35; von Moock, 1998, 58.

137 Likewise, in the Greek mythological handbook of Apollodorus, "Roman versions of Greek myths, most notably, for example, the foundation of Rome by Aeneas" are, as Bowie, 1974, 190 notes, "(…) entirely absent".

138 Koch – Sichtermann, 1982, 267-272.

139 It has been estimated that 80-90% of the Attic sarcophagi were produced for export (Koch, 1999, 600 with earlier literature; Koch – Sichtermann, 1982, 272-275; 461-470). In the light of the many unpublished fragments of Attic sarcophagi in the National Museum of Athens, this number is in my opinion too high; nevertheless the great number of Attic sarcophagi found in Italy documents the popularity of these sarcophagi in Rome and North Italy, and more generally their great success as articles for export (which could even be imitated by local workshops).

140 See, for example, Swain, 1996, 78; Bowie 1974. – The recent discussion about the possible transfer of iconographical information in the opposite direction (that is from Rome to Athens) in the case of an Achilles-sarcophagus in Ostia (most recently Rogge, 1995, 71-72, with earlier literature), suffers in my opinion from focusing on a single myth rather than on the total range of themes. What I find more significant than the possibility of an iconographical transfer from Rome to Athens as such is the fact that is was the Achilles myth for which Roman iconographic models might have been adapted in Athens. Given the importance of Achilles in imperial-period Greece that I have tried to outline above, such an adaptation is not so surprising after all. But even if the Athenian workshops adapted certain iconographical models from Rome, we should not forget that this adaptation was highly selective: most of the themes we find on Roman sarcophagi are *not* to be found in Athens.

ness' or 'Romanness' of a myth depicted (and of the sarcophagus itself) seems to have been a great issue, in Rome this was not the case. In fact, a 'Greek-Roman' dichotomy would be of no value in interpreting *Roman* mythological sarcophagi: if truly Roman myths are depicted on Roman sarcophagi at all (for example the abduction of the Sabine women, or Romulus and Remus[141]), they are used in the same way that 'Greek' myths are used. A sarcophagus in the Vatican, depicting the story of Selene and Endymion next to that of Mars and Rhea Silvia is a perfect example:[142] one of these myths is 'Greek', the other 'Roman', but both myths are used in an identical manner, and their combination is clearly based on the obvious visual analogies between them.

The Roman import of Attic sarcophagi raises questions of their reception. In Rome and Italy, sarcophagi from Athens, Rome, and various workshops in Asia Minor often stood next to each other in the same grave chamber. Were Attic pieces in those contexts read in the same allegorical manner as Roman sarcophagi? Or were the Attic sarcophagi, in the first place, emblems of *paideia* and symbols of philhellenism, which illustrate what 2nd and 3rd century Romans considered to be 'Greek'? Such questions might seem impossible to answer, but we can at least say that the choice of an Attic sarcophagus instead of a Roman one by a client in Rome included a deliberate decision for a product that was certainly more expensive and more difficult to get than a sarcophagus from a Roman metropolitan workshop. In any event, it should have become clear that the selection of themes we find on Attic sarcophagi could satisfy Roman expectations as much as the patriotic feelings of elite Greeks. The Attic sarcophagi were, after all, products that had to be placed on a tight market which in the West was dominated by Roman metropolitan workshops. In this situation, the Athenian workshop(s?) that produced Attic sarcophagi had to offer a different range of themes than their Roman competitors: themes that matched Roman conceptions of a Greek product as well as the demands of the local markets in mainland Greece and Asia Minor.

It would be quite illuminating, in concluding, to relate the imagery of Attic sarcophagi to other 'worlds of images' found on other bodies of material, such as the coinage of Imperial period Athens. Such a comparison would demonstrate that not only 'Roman' myths and every element of Roman imperial iconography are missing on Attic sarcophagi, but also local myths as they are found on the coinage or in the decoration of public architecture, especially theater friezes, in

141 Koch – Sichtermann, 1982, 185-186.

142 Sichtermann, 1992, 150-151 no. 99 pl. 62, 3.

many centers of the Second Sophistic. Although the "Athenocentricity"[143] in the choice of themes on Attic sarcophagi is obvious, also missing are specifically Athenian *polis*-myths and *topoi* in the praise of the city as they appear on imperial-period coinage from Athens.[144] These local myths constitute a somewhat 'narrower' local *polis* identity, serve as a means of distinction in the struggle for recognition between cities, and sometimes (as in the case of Troy/Ilion) also emphasize the good standing with Rome by visually defining the *polis'* role within the system of Roman imperial ideology.[145] Unlike those friezes and coinage depicting local myths, the Attic sarcophagi offered a more generic imagery that could suit customers in the East and West: philhellene Romans as well as elite Greeks and the Greco-Roman ruling class in Greece and Asia Minor. Just like the Greek past in sophistic declamations and texts, the historical and mythological imagery of Attic sarcophagi functioned as a common ground for élites in various parts of the empire.[146] This means that the widespread use of Attic sarcophagi must have been partially owed to the particular success of their imagery in visualizing 'Greekness' in the sense of a 'cultural identity':[147] Acquiring an Attic sarcophagus was one cultural practice of many through which one could experience and define oneself as 'Greek' in the 'Second Sophistic'.

143 Spawforth 1994, 246.

144 von Mosch, 1996, 159; Kroll, 1996, especially 144-146.

145 Lindner, 1994, 17-19; 199 and passim.

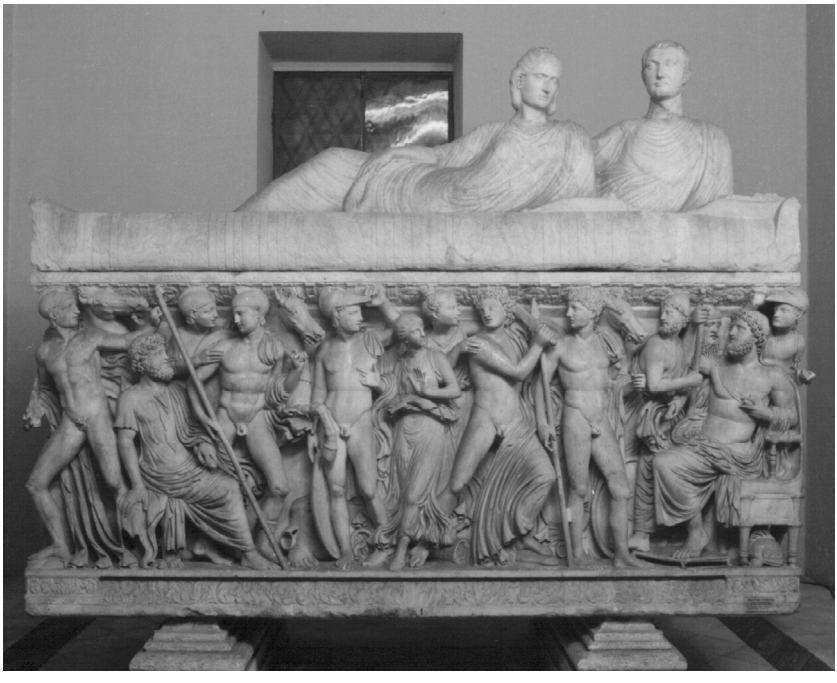
146 Swain, 1996, 67; Bowie, 1974.

147 On the construction of 'cultural identities' and the methodological problems involved see Goldhill, 2001, 1-25; Whitmarsh, 2001b; Preston, 2001.

1 Slaying of the Niobids. Roman sarcophagus in Rome, Musei Vaticani Inv. 2635. Around 160 AD.

2 Abduction of Persephone. Roman sarcophagus in Rome, Casino Rospigliosi. Around 160/170 AD.

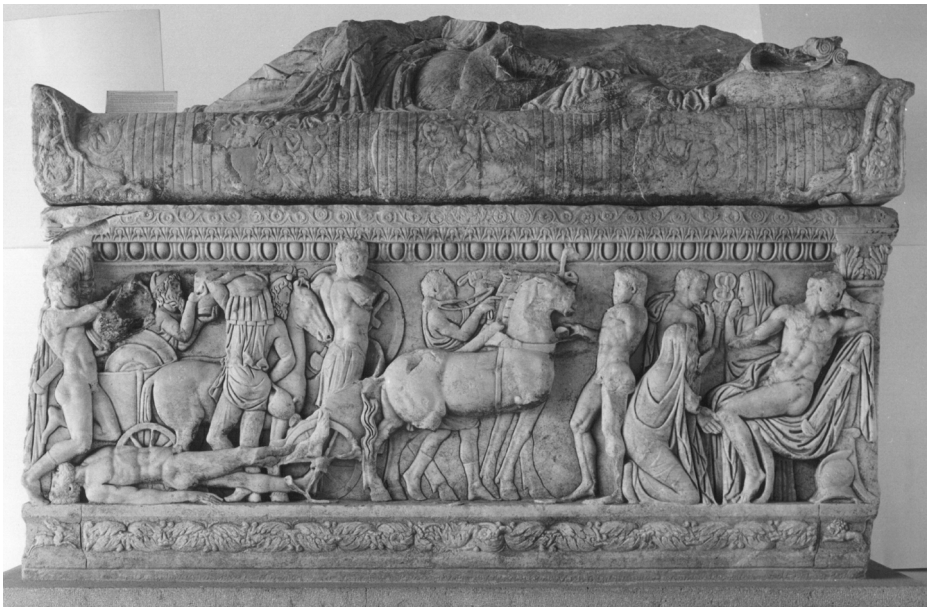
3 A Roman couple in the guise of Selene and Endymion (the portraits are unfinished). Detail of a Roman sarcophagus in Paris, Louvre Ma 1335. Around 230 AD.



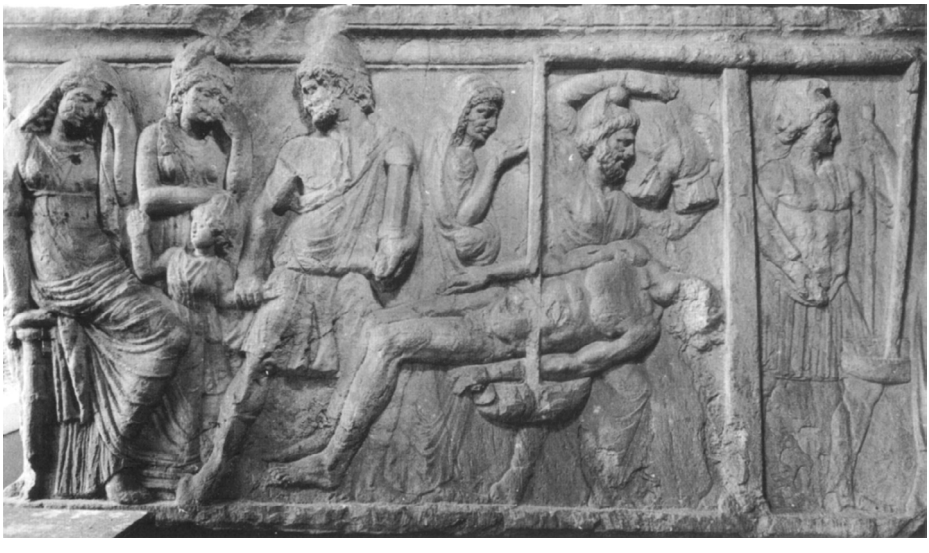
4 Achilles on Scyros. Attic sarcophagus in Rome, Museo Capitolino Inv. 218. Mid third century AD.

5 Achilles mourning over Patroclus. Right small side. Attic sarcophagus in Ioannina. Late 2nd century AD.

6 Achilles playing the lyre among the daughters of Lycomedes on Scyros. Small side of an Attic sarcophagus in Paris, Louvre Inv. Ma 2120. Mid-3rd century AD.



7 Ransom of Hector. Front side. Attic sarcophagus in Ioannina. Late 2nd century AD.



8 The weighing of Hector's body, with Andromache (seated), Astyanax, Odysseus, and Hekabe. The figures of Priam and Achilles to the right of the scales are lost. Back of an Attic sarcophagus in Woburn Abbey. Early 3rd century AD.

9 Attic Hippolytos-sarcophagus. Tarragona, Museu d'Historia de Tarragona Inv. 15.482. Probably 2nd quarter 3rd century AD.

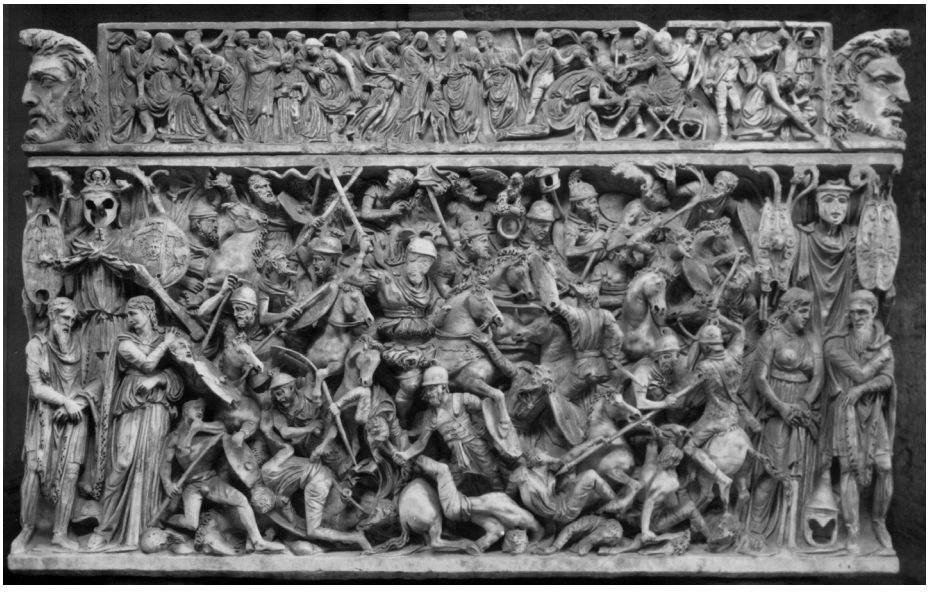
10 Roman Hippolytos-sarcophagus in Rome, Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano Inv. 10400. 10399B. Around 210 AD.

11 Attic grave stele from the early imperial period, reworked in the mid-2nd century AD. Athens, National Museum Inv. NM 1979.

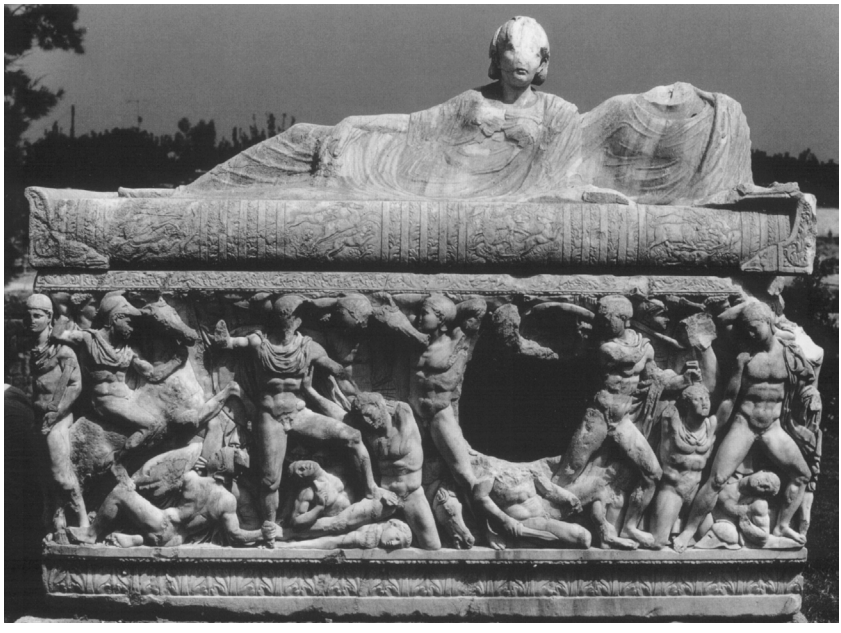
12 A couple in the guise of philoso-pher or poet and Muse, with a philosophic advisor between them. Detail of a Roman sarcophagus in Marseille, Musee d'Histoire. Around 240-250 AD.

13 Roman 'military commander's' sarcophagus, illustrating the exemplary *virtus*, *clementia*, *pietas* and *concordia* of the deceased. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi. Around 170 AD.

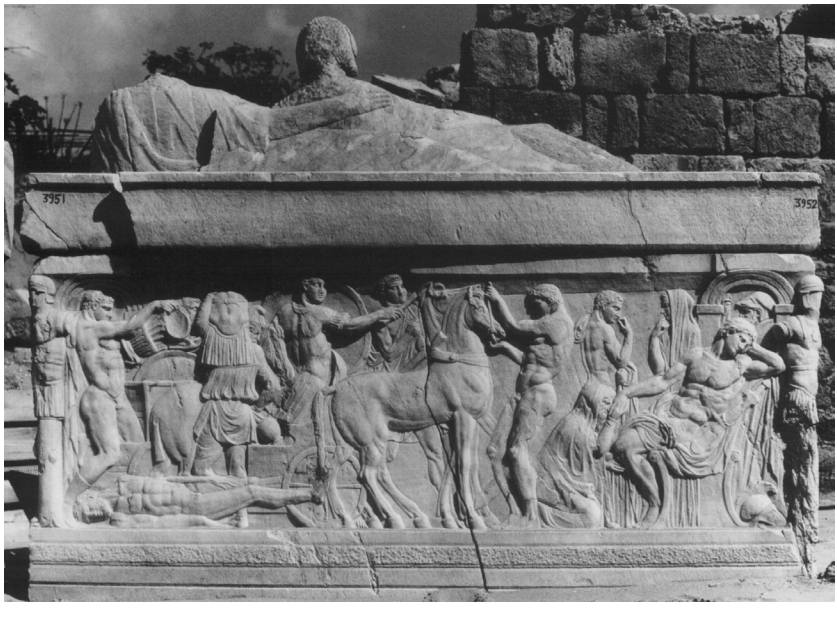
14 A Roman couple (portraits) in the guise of Achilles and Penthesileia. Roman sarcophagus in Rome, Musei Vaticani, Cortile del Belvedere. Around 230-240 AD.



15 Roman battle sarcophagus from Portonaccio. The portrait of the sarcophagus patron in the center of the composition is unfinished. Rome, Museo Nazionale delle Terme Inv. 112327. Around 190-200 AD.

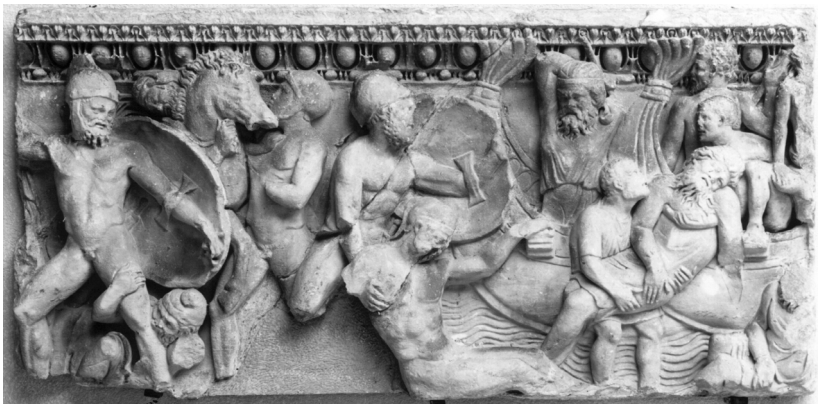


16 Attic battle sarcophagus in Tyros, Necropolis Inv. 3951/52. Front side. Mid-3rd century AD.



17 Attic battle sarcophagus in Tyros, Necropolis Inv. 3951/52. Back depicting the ransom of Hector. Mid-3rd century AD.

18 Attic sarcophagus depicting the 'battle at the ships at Troy'. Thessaloniki, Museum Inv. 1246. Probably second quarter 3rd century AD.



19 Attic sarcophagus depicting a battle at the ships at Marathon (?). Brescia, Museum. Probably first half 3rd century AD.

20 Amazonomachy. Attic sarcophagus in Thessaloniki, Museum Inv. 1245. Probably early or mid-3rd century AD.

Aelius Aristides: A suitable case for treatment*

MANFRED HORSTMANSHOFF

'Because a dream looked at me, I exist today'[1]

I 'Behold. What I dreamed that I said, I find written in the book!'

In the midst of composing I had a dream, which pertained somehow again to these things. It was as follows. I thought that I was giving a rhetorical display and spoke among certain people, and in the midst of the speech with which I contended, I called on the God in this way: 'Lord Asclepius, if I excel in rhetoric and excel much, grant me health and cause the envious to burst.' I happened to have seen these things in the dream, and when it was day, I took up some book and read it. Then I found in it what I had said. In wonder, I told Zosimus, 'Behold, what I dreamed that I said, I find written in the book.'[2]

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1 '… omdat een droom mij aankeek ben ik er vandaag', cited from the poem 'Gedachtenis' (in Dutch) in: Jellema, 1999, 23.

2 Aristid. *Hieroi Logoi* 4.69. The translation cited throughout this article is taken from Behr, 1981-1986, sometimes with slight alterations. Earlier, several translations have been published from Canter, 1566 onwards, such as Behr, 1968; Festugière, 1986; and Schröder, 1986. The Greek text of the *Hieroi Logoi*, abbreviated henceforth as *HL*, can be found in: Keil (ed.), 1898. In some publications the six books *HL* are referred to as *Orationes* 47-52, according to Keil's edition.

In this text at least three points may strike the modern reader: the prominent place of dreams and the strong preoccupation with rhetoric and health. Dream, imagination and reality merge into one another. Who is this dreaming rhetorician who invokes Asklepios, the healer god, as 'Lord'?

Ancient historians are always complaining that they have so few facts at their disposal. The words 'approximately' and 'presumably' are constantly on their lips. On Aelius Aristides, however – for this is the name of the first person narrator – we have surprisingly detailed information. He was born on November, 26th, of the year 117 CE, in Hadriani, Mysia, North-Western Asia Minor, as the son of a large landowner. He died in 181 at his beloved country estate Laneion.[3] His life and career as an orator are in many ways exemplary for the life style of a 2nd century sophist. In this article I will argue that his many illnesses and his religious devotion to Asclepius are inextricably interwoven with his life and his career. He was a 'professional patient'.[4] In his *Hieroi Logoi*, 'Sacred Tales', he describes his vicissitudes at great length. It is a unique document that enables the modern reader to share the perspective of a 2nd century patient. Medicine in the Imperial Age was never 'scientific', but tried to reconcile the religious tradition and the results of many ages of Hippocratism. In this paper I shall address the following questions: what is the role of (Hippocratic) medicine in Aelius Aristides' *Hieroi Logoi*? How are the two rationales, of (Hippocratic) medicine and of the Asclepius cult, related to each other? Is a balance ever struck between Hippocratic and temple medicine? Even today Aelius Aristides seems to be a suitable case for treatment.

II Two abdomens

May I invite the reader to have a closer look at the abdomens of two patients? One is an anonymous person, whose case history has been recorded on one of the marble slabs of the sanctuary of Asclepius at Epidaurus (4th century BCE) and the other Aelius Aristides recording his own case-history (2nd century CE):

First, the anonymous patient:

> A man with an abscess within his abdomen. When asleep in the Temple he saw a dream. It seemed to him that the god ordered the servants who accompanied him to grip him and hold him tightly so that he [that is, the god] could cut open his abdomen. The man tried to get away, but they gripped him and bound him to a door-knocker. Thereupon Asclepius cut his belly open, removed the abscess, and, after

3 On Aristides' biographical data see Behr, 1994.

4 I borrow the term from King, 2005b; Origens, forthcoming.

> stitching him up again, released him from his bonds. Whereupon he walked out sound, but the floor of the abaton was covered with blood.[5]

I single out a few words:

'Temple'. The Asclepius sanctuaries at Epidaurus, or on Cos, are familiar to many modern tourists. Asklepieia were scattered over the Mediterranean. The sanctuaries attracted yearly thousands of worshippers who sought healing for their ailments. Some of them stayed in the health resort for a brief period, others even for years. Dreaming was the most important occupation in the *asklepieion*. Everywhere within the temple precincts the patients laid themselves down, hoping for a healing dream. During this *enkoimêsis* or 'incubation' the god appeared.

The practice of incubation is well attested at Epidaurus. The miraculous healings, the *Iamata,* which have taken place there are inscribed on marble tablets dating back to the 4th century BC. Pausanias saw them in the 2nd century CE:

> Within the enclosure stood slabs; in my time six remained, but in the past there were more. On them are inscribed the names of both the men and the women who have been healed by Asclepius, the disease also from which each suffered, and the means of cure. The dialect is Doric.[6]

'Asclepius cut his belly open'. The god performs the healing operation *himself* in the dream.

Now the case history of Aelius Aristides:

> (61) So much for my abdomen. But as with the abdomen many years before, there was the matter of the tumor. For the god warned for a long time that I should beware of dropsy, and he gave me various drugs and Egyptian slippers, which the priests are accustomed to use. And it seemed best to him to direct the discharge downwards (*to rheuma apagein katô*). (62) And a tumor grew from no apparent cause, at first as it might with anyone else, but then increasing to an extraordinary size, and my groin was distended, and everything was swollen and terrible pains ensued, and a fever for some days. At this point, the doctors cried out for all sorts of things, some said surgery, some said cauterisation by drug, or that an infection would arise and I must surely die. (63) But the god gave a contrary opinion and told me to endure and foster the growth. And clearly there was no choice when it came to listening either to the doctors or to the god. But the growth increased even more, and there was much dismay (*aporia*). Some of my friends marvelled at my endurance, others criticized me because I acted too much on account of dreams, and some even blamed me for being cowardly, since I neither permitted surgery nor again suffered any cau-

5 Epidauros 27 (Epidauros abbreviated for Herzog, 1931 and LiDonnici, 1995). The Greek text of the Epidaurian stelai can best be consulted in Herzog, 1931. A translation in English is now available: LiDonnici, 1995. Here, as elsewhere in this article, the translation by Edelstein 1945, new ed. 1998, is cited, sometimes with slight alterations.

6 Paus. 2.27.3, translation Jones, 1918-1935, with slight alterations.

terising drugs. But the god remained firm throughout and ordered me to bear with the present circumstances.[7]

Once more, I single out a few expressions:

'So much for my abdomen'. This is, what might be called, detailed inside information about a patient. The first person narrator, the orator Aelius Aristides, long-term Asklepieion resident, freely associates in his *Hieroi Logoi* one series of gastric complaints during the winter of 171 CE and their solution, by means of fasting, vomiting, enemas and phlebotomies, with a similar problem, the dropsical tumor, in the period October to January 148 CE.

'Tumor'. The Greek word, here translated by 'tumor' is *phuma*: growth, tumor, swelling.[8] 'Tumor' in modern language has almost immediately a malignant connotation: cancer. It may, however, have been an omental hernia, later strangulated, as is suggested by Behr in his comment on the passage, the more so since this ailment apparently can cure itself.[9]

'The god' is, of course, Asclepius.

'Dropsy'. The Greek text has here the word *huderos*, more often called *hudrôps*, an excess of water.

'Drugs'. Greek: *alexipharmaka*, drugs that avert something, in this case dropsy.

'To direct the discharge downwards' (*to rheuma apagein katô*). An expression customary in medical treatises. In case of an excess, a *plethora*, of one of the bodily humours, a discharge should follow. For watery and bilious discharges two directions are possible: upwards (vomiting through the mouth) and downwards (purging through the anus). It is the physician's task to decide at the critical moment (*kairos*) which way will be the best.[10]

'From no apparent cause'. I see in these words a reference or an allusion to Anaxagoras' well-known dictum: *opsis tôn adêlôn ta phainomena* 'appearances are a glimpse of the obscure'.[11] From what we see, we are enabled to imagine also what we cannot see. There also might be a reference to Herophilus: 'Let the appearances be described first, even if they are not primary'.[12]

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7 *HL* 1.61-63.

8 Cf. Hp. *VM* 22 (1.632 L) [in referring to the *Corpus Hippocraticum* volume and page of the Littré-edition 1839-1861 are indicated; if available also the Loeb Classical Library edition are given]; Pl. *Ti.* 85C; von Staden, 1989, 196 (Sor. *Gynaecia* 4.1 [53] 4-5).

9 Michenaud – Dierkens, 1972, 109.

10 Cf. the most famous of all Hippocratic Aphorisms, *Aph.* 1.1 (Jones – Whitington, 1931-1932, 4.98-9; 4.485 L.): 'Life is short, art is long, opportunity (*kairos*) fleeting, experiment dangerous, judgement difficult' (translation Longrigg, 1998, 102).

11 Kirk – Raven, ²1983, T. 537.

12 von Staden, 1989, 50a.

'The doctors cried out for all sorts of things'. This notion, which in different wording recurs a few lines below: 'there was much dismay …' (*aporia pollê*), is a topos in Greek and Roman literature. The doctors do not know the answer. They, as well as the patient, have given up hope. *Derelictus a medicis* 'Given up by the doctors'[13] is a commonplace. Even beyond Greek and Roman literature, up to early modern times, one may find similar formulae. One thing at least is clear from this passage, as from many others: doctors are present in the sanctuary and perform medical duties there.

'Surgery, cauterisation by drug'. In these words is heard an echo of the famous *Hippocratic Aphorism* 7.87; 4.608 L: 'Those diseases that medicines do not cure are cured by the knife. Those that the knife does not cure are cured by fire. Those that fire does not cure must be considered incurable.' We have to think here of corroding medicaments.

'Infection'. The Greek has *hupopuon,* which means 'tending to suppuration, ulcer', and has nothing to do with the modern concept of infection that is inadvertently suggested by the use of this term. There is a close parallel to Aristides' description of his hernia in the Epidaurus *Iamata*: Eratocles of Troizen is advised by Asclepius not to have himself cauterised by the doctors, but to sleep in the sanctuary of Epidaurus.[14]

'Listening either to the doctors or to the god'. In this case Asclepius himself is the best doctor. He knows when and how to decide, whereas the human doctors are at a loss. Elsewhere Aelius Aristides says: '(…) I decide to submit to the god, truly as to a doctor, and to do in silence whatever he wishes.'[15]

The reader, who is interested to know what was the end of it, may read the next chapters in Aristides' 'nightbook', as it has been aptly called.[16] What they say, summarised, amounts to *polla paradoxa*, 'many strange things', that is, what is contrary to expectation. If Aristides is feverish, he is ordered by the god to plunge into an ice-cold river. If he is asthmatic and can scarcely breathe, he gets orders to declaim. When he has a painful swelling in his loin, he must ride on

13 The powerlessness of doctors is a topos in Greek and Roman literature and inscriptions, e.g. Thuk. 2.47.4; Hp. *de Arte* 8 (*CMG* I 1, ed. I.L. Heiberg 14-15; 6.12-15 L.); *Morb. Sacr.* 1.10-12, ed. H. Grensemann 60; Sol. *Eleg.* 1; Soph. *Ant.* 1141-1145; D.L. 8.69; Plu. *de fac. Lunae, Mor.* 920b; Lucr. 6.1179; Verg. *G.* 3.549-550; Ov. *Met.* 7.525-527. Weinreich, 1909, 195-196 refers to reports on miraculous healings. Bona Dea e.g. healed the Roman public slave Felix after ten months of blindness; the physicians had given up on him (*derelictus a medicis*, *CIL* 6.68). Cf. also Parker, 1983, 256 n. 3 and Croon, 1986, in: *RAC* 13, 1212; 1216; 1221; 1226; 1230.

14 Epidauros 48.

15 Aristid. *HL* 1.4.

16 Dodds, 1965, 39, an expression which ultimately goes back to Synesius *de Insomniis* 18.153a (ed. N. Terzaghi). I thank Robert Visscher for the reference.

horse-back. *Contraria contrariis*. Eventually the god wins, of course, leaving the doctors flabbergasted. Not even a scar remained on his thigh.

What comes out if we compare the two cases? At first sight the reader is struck by one considerable difference: at Epidaurus the god operates directly. He performs surgery while the patient is dreaming; he heals without intermediaries. In Aelius Aristides' dreams, however, the god gives insight and advice, as well as a feeling of a special relationship between god and man. Yet, he does not personally act as a healer, let alone as a surgeon. He heals in fact, however, in Pergamon in the 2nd century CE no less than he did at Epidaurus in the 4th century BCE.

A second difference seems to be related to this first one. Whereas in Epidaurus doctors are not mentioned and do not seem to practise within the temple precincts, in Aristides' Pergamon the god acts only indirectly, in dreams and visions, which consequently are interpreted with the help of skilled doctors, friends with medical knowledge and members of the temple staff. The god appears 'to have learned medicine', as Ludwig Edelstein called it, i.e. acquired a medical education.[17]

III Asclepius and Epidaurus

We are quite well informed about the healing practice that is associated with Asclepius most strongly: incubation. The patient slept within the precincts of the temple. In his dream, or in a state between waking and sleeping, he saw the god Asclepius, who came to his rescue in a miraculous way.[18]

I cite a few examples from the Epidaurian *Iamata*, the miraculous healings, inscriptional evidence of the god's wonder works (4th century BCE). In these *Iamata* the god practises surgery quite often. *Adunata*, healings that are utterly impossible even with today's high tech medicine, are no exception. A lame man runs away without a crutch; heads are being cut off and refitted; even the bald acquire a full head of hair again![19] I cite two more examples, cited *in extenso*: the case of Ambrosia and the case of the man with the leeches.

> Ambrosia of Athens, blind in one eye. She came as a suppliant to the god. As she walked about in the Temple she laughed at some of the cures as incredible and impossible – that the lame and the blind should be healed by merely seeing a dream. In

17 Originally a statement by Ilberg, 1930, see Edelstein, 1945, II, 144 with n. 13.

18 There is no indication that ancient Greek incubation had its roots in earlier Mesopotamian practice (Butler, 1998).

19 Respectively Epidauros 16; 21; 19.

> her sleep she had a vision. It seemed to her that the god stood by her and said that he would cure her, but that in payment he would ask her to dedicate to the Temple a silver pig as a memorial of her ignorance. After saying this, *he cut the diseased eyeball and poured in some drug*. When day came, she walked out sound.[20]
>
> A man of Torone with leeches. In his sleep he had a dream. It seemed to him that *the god cut open his chest with a knife and took out the leeches, which he gave him into his hands, and then he stitched up his chest again*. At daybreak he departed with the leeches in his hands, and he had become well. He had swallowed them, tricked by his stepmother who had thrown them into a potion which he drank.[21]

I have italicised those words which indicate the direct personal action taken by the god himself. What these miraculous healings have in common is a direct intervention by the god. Asclepius himself appears in a dream or vision and acts immediately. The temple personnel are only there to assist, but apparently perform no healing roles.

IV Aelius Aristides and the Second Sophistic

What was the situation in the 2nd century CE? At first sight the difference between the crude, but efficient, 4th century Asclepius of Epidaurus and the more sophisticated, but equally successful, consultant Asclepius of Pergamon who advises Aristides in his dreams, is obvious. Aristides' patron seems to be medically educated, whereas his 4th century predecessor could act without scientific scruple.

Aristides lived in the age of the Second Sophistic, a movement in the cultural life of the Roman Empire, which used as examples the great authors and orators of classical Athens, five centuries earlier. Orators who could imitate exactly the style of Lysias or Demosthenes, or who did not use one word that would not have flowed from Plato's pen, met with appreciation. Especially orators who could improvise on a given theme – more often than not from mythology or ancient Greek history – drew full houses. Their success equalled that of modern pop stars. Their influence in political affairs was considerable. Aelius Aristides, for instance, knew how to move the emperor. He moved him to tears by a letter on the destruction of Smyrna after an earthquake. The money for the devastated city came in as lavishly as the tears streamed from his eyes.[22] In more than one sense the power resided in imagination. Intellectuals imagined living in the classi-

20 Epidauros 4.

21 Epidauros 13.

22 Flinterman, 2000; Nutton, 1978.

cal past. Dreams and epiphanies stood in high esteem,[23] and the vanity of orators was boundless.

Seen in his social and cultural context Aelius Aristides is by no means an exception. The same fascination for orations, dreams and health problems as we perceive in his *Hieroi Logoi* can be recognised in the writings of his contemporaries, like Marcus Aurelius and his secretary Fronto. In his spiritual diary *Eis heauton* 'Communing with himself', the philosopher-emperor, whom we can hardly suspect of superstition, counted his blessings gratefully:

> We have all heard that Asclepius has prescribed for so-and-so riding exercise, or cold baths, or walking barefoot.[24]

> That by the agency of dreams I was given antidotes both of other kinds and against the spitting of blood and against vertigo.[25]

The correspondence between the emperor and his secretary Fronto conveys also an impression of their daily worries about illnesses and sores:

> I am anxious to know, my Lord, how you are keeping. I have been seized with pain in the neck. Farewell, my Lord. Greet your Lady.[26]

> I think I have got through the night without fever. I have taken food without repugnance, and am doing very nicely now. We shall see what the night brings. But, my master, by your late anxiety you can certainly gauge my feelings when I learnt that you had been seized with pain in the neck. Farewell, my most delightful of masters. My mother greets you.[27]

The learned court physician Galen wrote extensively on medical dreams.[28] In his personal life he followed the advice of the god when he had to take important decisions. Also as a professional he confessed that he was urged by the god to act in a certain way (to make an incision for phlebotomy) or not to act at all. He declares himself to be a servant of the god ever since he saved him from the deadly condition of an abscess.[29] He accepts that patients would follow rather

23 See for the appreciation of dreams in this period in general Cox Miller, 1994.

24 *Med.* 5.8.1.

25 *Med.* 1.17.9.

26 Fronto *Ep.* 27 Van den Hout.

27 Fronto *Ep.* 28 Van den Hout, cited in the translation by Haines, 1924. Bowersock, 1969, drew already attention to these passages.

28 On Galen and his personal religiosity see: Kudlien, 1981; on the usage of dreams for medical purposes see Oberhelman, 1993.

29 Edelstein, 1945, T. 458, 263. Gal. *Libr.Propr.* 2 (19.19 K.) = Edelstein, 1945, T. 458, 263. [in referring to the *Corpus Galenicum* volume and page of the Kühn-edition 1821-1833 are indicated].

Asclepius than the advice of a doctor.[30] In the religion of this period there was a tendency to personal piety, awareness of sin and preoccupation with death. Astrology, amulets, witchcraft, werewolves and ghosts received attention widely. Temples were more frequently visited. It became quite the thing to sit down next to the images of the gods.[31] Gods were so near that they even revealed themselves regularly to human beings in epiphanies.[32] Aelius Aristides was in none of these aspects an exception to the rule. His experiences are quite representative, although in an extremely heightened form.[33] He conversed for example with the goddess Athena.[34] In his dreams he met Plato in person[35] and he shared his tomb with Alexander the Great, no less. This was convenient, he said, because Alexander was the best general and he himself the best orator.[36]

V Aelius Aristides and Asclepius

After the best possible education – e.g. Alexander of Cotyaeum gave him lessons in Greek grammar and Herodes Atticus taught him rhetoric, who both had been teachers of the future emperor Marcus Aurelius – in December 143 Aelius Aristides departed to Rome, to start a career. Rome exerted a strong appeal on the young and promising orator. Here he was to receive the public recognition he deserved. A brilliant career seemed in store for him.

However, just before his departure he got a cold. Nevertheless he left. He travelled, accompanied by several servants, in a coach over land via Thracia and Macedonia along the Via Egnatia to Dyrrhachium. From there he crossed the sea to Brindisium in Italy. In his *Sacred Tales* he describes his vicissitudes at great length. They are aptly summarised for the less patient modern reader by A.J. Festugière.[37] In March 144 he arrived in Rome. The journey proved to be unavailing. He returned to Smyrna by boat, tossed by the storms, where he arrived ill and exhausted, physically as well as mentally. 'The doctors were wholly at a loss, not only as to how to help, but even to recognise what the whole thing

30 Gal. *in Hipp.Epid.* VI Comment. 4.4.8 (17b.137 K.) = Edelstein, 1945, T. 401, 202.
31 Festugière, 1954; Beard – North, 1998; Veyne, 1989.
32 Versnel, 1987.
33 Perkins, 1995, 188-190.
34 Aristid. *HL* 2.41-42.
35 Aristid. *HL* 4.57.
36 Aristid. *HL* 4.49. Flinterman, 2002, gives an interesting 'self-portrait' of Aelius Aristides.
37 Festugière, 1954, 85-104.

was',[38] when 'everything was despaired of', and, so he felt, 'there was not any hope even for his survival',[39] Aelius Aristides found healing and salvation in the God: Asclepius. After his first epiphany, while Aristides was still in Smyrna, the God ordered him to go to his shrine at Pergamon in the spring of 146. Aristides stayed there, with some interruptions, for seventeen years during the period 146-165. Already in 147 he had resumed his oratorical practice, but he returned regularly to the sanctuary. During the winter of 170/171 he started writing, urged by Asclepius. His notes took more than 300,000 lines. Part of it was lost already during his lifetime. Still, fifteen chapters and part of a sixteenth have been preserved, about ninety printed pages of Greek text. His *Hieroi Logoi* are as fascinating and confusing as his countless orations are boring and predictable.[40] For many years our patient discussed his ailments and dreamed consultations with his doctors, friends and relatives in an atmosphere which recalls Thomas Mann's magisterial novel *Der Zauberberg*. The next citation gives an adequate impression of that.

> Next we worshippers stood by [the statue of Asclepius], just as when the paean is sung, I almost among the first. At this point, the god, in the posture in which he is represented in his statues, signaled our departure. All the others were going out, and I was turning to go out, and the god, with his hand, indicated that I should stay. And I was delighted by the honour and the extent to which I was preferred to the others, and I shouted out, 'The One!', meaning the god. But he said, 'It is you!'[41] (51) For

38 Aristid. *HL* 2.5.

39 Aristid. *HL* 2.63, cf. note 13 supra.

40 To the modern reader it is surprising that Aelius Aristides was very popular during his life time and for many centuries afterwards because of his orations. His *Sacred Tales* were admired and imitated by Libanius and Synesius, but were hardly read during the Byzantine period, with Michael Psellus and Johannes Chortasmenos as possible exceptions. Why the remarkable Dutch humanist Willem Canter (1452-1575) endeavoured to translate the Sacred Tales into Latin (Canter, 1566) is not known. In 18th century France the *Sacred Tales* became exceedingly popular in the wake of Mesmerism (Gourevitch, 1984; Darnton, 1968). In the 20th century the *Sacred Tales* aroused new serious historical and philological interest (Boulanger, 1923; Behr, 1968; 1981-1986; 1994; Festugière, 1954; 1986; Schröder, 1986; Pearcy, 1988), but were also read in the perspective of psychoanalytical theories, where they initially met with an unfavourable judgment (De Leeuw, 1939; Dodds, 1965; Michenaud – Dierkens, 1972; Bonner, 1937 called the author a 'brainsick noodle'). In the last two decades of the century influential studies by Peter Brown (Brown, 1988) and Michel Foucault (Foucault, 1984; 1988) revived interest in the *Sacred Tales* and its author (Perkins, 1995; Cox Miller, 1994). I am grateful to Robert Visscher for his references. A study of the 'Nachleben' of the *Sacred Tales* is a desideratum.

41 The text points at the habit to elect one god as a favourite. Cf. Peterson, 1926, 196-212. Dodds, 1965, 44 interprets the words εἰς and σὺ εἶ incorrectly.

> me this remark, Lord Asclepius, was greater than life itself, and every disease was less than this, every grace was less than this. This made me able and willing to live.[42]

In a condition of trance – elsewhere he writes that his hair stood on end and that he burst into tears of joy[43] – Aristides sees apparently the image of the god come to life. As he pronounces that Asclepius is for him the one and only god, the elect, the god answers with an election on his part: Aristides is for him the one and only worshipper. Their relationship is a reciprocal one. Before his crisis and his conversion, like his contemporaries, Aristides had invoked the assistance of other gods. Conversion was certainly not restricted to Christians. Also those who maintained a belief in polytheism could see one god as their special guardian. So they became henotheists instead of polytheists.[44] They differ form real monotheists in that they accept the existence of other gods, in spite of their preference for one god. The chosen god was, in their experience, simply more powerful than other gods. Aristides' belief is a typical example of henotheïsm.

However, not only the personal bond with the god healed him. The Asclepian community, so to speak, played a therapeutic role as well. The cult of Asclepius, with its focus on direct contact between god and believer in a dream, may seem to offer a personal contact absent from much of ancient religion. In an oration[45] Aelius Aristides claims that 'they [the sons of Asclepius] aided the Greeks there by … setting to rights the personal misfortunes of each of them'; so, he sees the gods' action in very personal terms. But later in the same oration he talks about the 'civic ability' of the sons, who 'removed not only the diseases of the body, but also cured the sicknesses of the cities': Asclepius does not confine his help to the individual. Indeed, for a long-term resident of an Asklepieion such as Aelius Aristides the fellow-worshippers and cult personnel could act as a healing community in themselves, offering moral support. For him illness, religion, and rhetoric have become part of one symbolic universe. Literature, religiosity and illness belong to one complex for Aelius Aristides. His illness gave sense to his life. He enjoyed his bad health.

42 Aristid. *HL* 4.50-51.

43 Aristid. *HL* 2.31-32.

44 As for the term henotheïsm see Versnel, 1990, especially 35-37.

45 Aristid. *Asclepiadae* 8.

VI Aelius Aristides and Hippocrates

In a recent article[46] Helen King studied what Aristides said in his works about Hippocrates. Seen from Aristides' perspective, the doctors and the god coexisted without difficulty. The physician Theodotus sees him frequently during his stay at the Asklepieion. He does not hesitate to assist in the interpretation of dreams or to order a boys choir to sing Aristides' hymns in eulogy of Asclepius in a temple.[47] Although Aristides values 'the cures from Delphi higher than medicine',[48] he considers Hippocrates one of the greatest names in arts, because, like Phidias, Zeuxis and Demosthenes, he 'surpassed *technê*'.[49] Hippocrates alone, as inheritor of the art of Asclepius' sons Podalirios and Machaon, was sufficient to fill every part of the world with medicine.[50]

Would this mean that Hippocrates had become an infallible authority for Aristides? By no means! In his *Hieroi Logoi* Hippocrates is mentioned. He occurs in one of his numerous dreams. In *HL* 5, Aristides tells of a dream-within-a-dream.[51] He dreamt that he overheard two doctors discussing treatment. One asked the other: 'What does Hippocrates say?' and the reply was: 'to run ten stades to the sea, and then jump in'. In his dream, he then awoke, and the two doctors entered his room, and Aristides told them what he had overheard, but altered it to: 'Hippocrates instructed one who intended to take a cold bath to run ten stades, parallel with the river', acting as he thought fit, in his own interest. As Aristides had this dream inland, he adapted the 'text' of the dream to his personal needs and situation. Of course nowhere in the *Corpus Hippocraticum* can a place be found to which this 'citation' might be traced back.[52]

Anyhow, Aristides' portrayal of Hippocrates as the actual founding father of medicine nicely fits in, as Helen King argues, with the general picture of the origins of medicine in the 2nd century CE. There was an increased interest in Hippocratic texts and language.

46 King, 2005b (forthcoming).

47 Aristid. *HL* 4.38.

48 Aristid. *or.* 2.35, 83, Behr.

49 Aristid. *or.* 2.120, 96 Behr.

50 Aristid. *or.* 38; Aristid. *Asclepiada*e 16.232 Behr.

51 Aristid. *HL* 5.49-52.

52 Schröder *ad locum* hesitatingly mentions *De victu* 2.57.2 in relation to the effects of cold baths.

VII Concluding remarks[53]

Modern scholarship has been unduly influenced by an 'enlightened' view of ancient Greek medicine. As the first *Iamata* from Epidaurus were published in the 19th century, the enlightened Hellenists, who were brought up with the idea of the superiority of Greek culture in general and who saw the Greeks as the 'inventors' of rational medicine, showed themselves shocked by the sham which the Epidaurus patients had to undergo.

A positivist approach to medicine is a serious obstacle to the understanding of ancient Greek medicine. Underlying the embarrassment and clumsiness with which the Epidaurian miracle healings sometimes are disposed of is the assumption that modern biomedicine offers the best and most complete understanding of the medical 'facts'. This way of thinking ignores the mechanisms by which in different societies beliefs about medicine, the body and the efficacy of therapeutic measures gained acceptance and authority.

Temple medicine is an integral part of ancient Greek medicine. Medical history cannot only be written from the point of view of the physician, but should include the perspective of the patient, for whom an intellectual Hippocratic physician was not always the obvious choice. Inscriptions, papyri and a self-serving document like Aristides' 'nightbook' bear testimony to that fact.

There was no opposition or rivalry between temple medicine and Hippocratic medicine. The story that Hippocrates copied out the *Iamata* at the temple of Asclepius on Cos,[54] the presence of the gods as witnesses to the 'Hippocratic Oath', and the attendance of physicians at the temples all point to a symbiotic relationship. At the XIth Colloquium Hippocraticum, held in Newcastle upon Tyne in 2002, Maria Elena Gorrini presented convincing archaeological and inscriptional evidence for this thesis.[55] Furthermore, the Hippocratic text *De morbo sacro*, which argues that epilepsy is no more sacred than any other disease, does not attack temple medicine; the writer condemns only individual healers who claim that they can somehow make the gods serve their will through purifications and incantations.[56]

The parallel spread of Hippocratic medicine and the rise of the cults of the healing heroes from the 5th century BC onwards, especially of Asclepius, is not at all contradictory. The priests of the healing cults used practices similar to those

53 For the general background see the Introduction to Horstmanshoff – Stol, 2004, by P.J. van der Eijk.

54 Strab. 14.19; Plin. *NH* 29.2.2.

55 Gorrini, 2005 (forthcoming).

56 I can only repeat here what King has written in her article 'Illness', King, 2005a (forthcoming).

of the Hippocratics, such as dietary prescriptions. Physicians and priests met inside the temple precincts, as is proved by dedications effected by physicians inside the Asklepieion. Physicians dedicated their writing tablets, cauterising implements and cupping instruments to Asclepius, either at the time of retirement, or as a thank-offering for a successful treatment. Like their patients, they were worshippers of the god.

I quote Gorrini:

> Although we cannot determine any medical co-operation between doctors and the priests of Asclepius, we can at least state that medical doctors and priests met each other in sanctuaries. This does not mean, of course that 'rational' medicine was practiced inside the temples, but it indicates two things: that medical doctors respected Asclepius among the healing deities, and used him as an important referent; and that, on the other hand, Hippocratic medical practices may have been echoed in the temple healing practices as consequence of the common frequenting of priests and medical doctors.

For the 2nd century AD Aristides' report points out unambiguously that doctors and temple wardens co-operated indeed.

The *Iamata* and Aelius Aristides' *Hieroi Logoi* should be read in their context, as religious documents. The French author Paul Valéry formulated the function of religion as follows: „A religion supplies people with words, acts and thoughts for conditions in which they do not know what to say, do or think."[57] The Epidaurian *Iamata* and Aelius Aristides' *Hieroi Logoi* are examples of such religious language, intended to praise and advertise the virtues of the god and to convey belief to all visitors of the sanctuary.

The question: 'Did the god learn medicine?' is inappropriate. Religion and medicine, even so-called 'rational' medicine, were never hostile to each other in Antiquity. If they seem so to us, this is a question of perspective. It is clear that the religious medicine represented by the Asclepius cult in the 2nd century CE has been deeply influenced by 'rational', that is Hippocratic medicine. The terminology and the reference to underlying theories and concepts are unequivocal. No doubt about it, Aelius Aristides has internalised Hippocratic medicine. If not the god, *he* at least has 'learned medicine'.

57 "Une religion fournit aux hommes des mots, des actes, des gestes, des 'pensées' pour les circonstances où ils ne savent que dire, que faire, qu'imaginer." I thank Marjoleine de Vos for the reference.

CHAPTER FOUR

Public Places of Paideia

Aspekte öffentlicher Bibliotheken in der Kaiserzeit

RICHARD NEUDECKER

Der junge Marc Aurel hatte zwei seltene Gerichtsreden des Cato entdeckt und schrieb an Fronto, dem sie sicherlich unbekannt seien:

> ‚Los', sagst Du zu Deinem Diener, ‚geh schnell zur Apoll-Bibliothek und hol mir die Reden'. Vergebens, sie sind nämlich bei mir. Du musst also schon den Bibliothekar der Tiberiana überreden, und das wird Dich was kosten...[1]

In der Tiberiana[2] hätte man auch Gellius und seine Freunde beobachten können. Ihnen wurde durch einen Zufall das Buch eines Cato Nepos gebracht, und nun erforschten sie gemeinsam, um welchen Cato es sich da gehandelt habe.[3]

Beide Szenen auf dem Palatin vermitteln uns wesentliche Aspekte der kaiserzeitlichen Bibliothekskultur.[4] Zum einen schmeckt das Lesebedürfnis des Marcus nicht weniger nach Gelehrtentum als die Runde des Gellius. Das war nicht die genießerische Pflege einer literarischen Muse beim häuslichen Convivium der frühen Kaiserzeit, die damals als unverhohlender Überdruss an öffentlichen Geschäften die Literatur zum alternativen Lebensprojekt werden ließ. Stattdessen ging es um Kenntnisse und Stellenverweise bis hin zu den Zitatenschlachten des Plutarch, Athenaios, Fronto und Gellius.[5] Das setzte zum Zweiten einen reichen Fundus an Kompendien, an Quellen und Raritäten voraus, denn wie in einem Untersuchungsausschuss wurde recherchiert und kontrolliert, wurden originale Quellenbelege wie die *laudationes funebres* und Verzeichnisse wie der *liber commentarius de familia Porcia* konsultiert. Bei solchem Bücherkonsum sind Erreichbarkeit und Zugänglichkeit entscheidend. Genau dies behandelt der kleine Sketch des Marcus: Die Apoll-Bibliothek lieh aus, die Tiberiana mit den Büros der Praefectura eigentlich nicht, mit Bestechung ließ sich der Informationsvorsprung des Prinzen ausgleichen, der allerdings Hausherr war und seinen Anteil an der Summe bekommen würde. Das kulturelle Prestige war in diesem Falle deutlich vom Status-Unterschied beeinflusst, die Zugänglichkeit der Informatio-

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1 Fronto *Ep.* 4.5.

2 *LTUR* 1, 1993, 196 s.v. Bibliotheca Domus Tiberianae (C. Krause).

3 Gell. 13.20.

4 Behandelt wird stets nur der Aspekt des Ausleihsystems, s. Fedeli, 1984, 165-168; Piacente, 1988, 49-64.

5 Zanker, 1995, 190-206; 234-242.

nen wurde – überspitzt formuliert – auch zu einer Komponente der Machtposition, erst recht auf dem Kommandohügel des Palatin.

Um den Zusammenhang von Macht und Paideia, von Wissen und Lebensstil in seinem architektonischen Rahmen soll es hier gehen. Nicht so sehr im Sinne getrennter Funktionen spezialisierter Bautypen, sondern als sich durchdringende Aspekte sind die folgenden Abschnitte zur imperialen Verwaltung des Schrifttums, zum kommunalen Bildungsglanz und zum literarisierten Gesellschaftsbetrieb zu verstehen.[6]

Staatsbibliotheken und die imperiale Verwaltung des Schrifttums

Im Forum Traiani verbanden sich erstmals der Verwaltungs- und Geschäftsbau einer Basilica, sakrale Kaiserdenkmale und Bibliotheken zu einem urbanen Aufenthaltszentrum von erhebender Prachtentfaltung, bebildert mit triumphalen Motiven der Macht. Die Bibliotheksbauten entsprachen diesem Niveau.[7] Welcher Rekonstruktion wir auch mehr glauben – James Packers buntem Gewölbe über lichtdurchfluteter Halle oder Roberto Meneghinis Dachstuhl über einem erstaunlich düsterem Saal –, teurer Marmor und Säulenreihen beherrschten den Eindruck (fig.1). Durch Bronzetüren trat der Besucher vom marmorgepflasterten Atrium in einen 400 m² großen Saal, in dem eine zweigeschossige korinthische Säulenordnung aus Pavonazzetto die 15 m hoch reichenden Wände verhüllten. Wie in einem Tempel befand sich am Ende des Saales eine Ädikula zur Aufnahme einer Statue. Nicht zufällig erinnert dieses Schema der Innenausstattung an den Apollontempel des Sosianus. Lediglich die Kunstsammlung in den Ädikulen der Seitenwände ist mit gerahmten Schranknischen für Buchrollen ausgetauscht. Beherrschendes Element waren die Buchschränke aber kaum, auch wenn für die 18 Schränke der unteren Etage eine Kapazität von 20 000 Rollen errechnet wurde. Denn angesichts der geringen Erhaltung des Mauerwerks bis maximal 4 m Höhe bleiben alle Rekonstruktionen der Bauforscher hypothetisch, bei einem Abstand der Säulen von den Wänden von nur 60 cm ist mit einem Umgang und Buchschränken in der oberen Ordnung jedenfalls nicht zu rechnen.[8] Anders als bei hellenistischen Bibliotheken mit weitläufigen Säulenhallen vor den Magazinen fand die Konsultation im Büchersaal selbst statt. Den in der Antike üblichen, rezitierenden Lesegenuss mag man sich in einem Marmorsaal nicht vorstel-

6 Aus der reichen Literatur zum Thema seien hervorgehoben: Fedeli, 1989; Piacente 1988; Blanck, 1992; Blanck, 1997; Strocka, 1981; Gros, 1996, 362-375.

7 *LTUR* 2, 1995, 348-356 s.v. Forum Traiani (J. Packer); Packer, 1997; Meneghini, 2002.

8 s. Blanck, 1992, 197-198.

len.[9] Auch die Aufteilung in zwei gleiche Säle für griechische bzw. lateinische Schriften müsste einen Literaturkenner überrascht haben, zumal die griechische Abteilung deutlich größer hätte sein müssen.[10] Die Frage drängt sich auf, was und wie in einer so konzipierten Bibliothek konsultiert wurde. Dazu liefert die Entwicklungsgeschichte der stadtrömischen Bibliotheken einige Hinweise.

Auf der Forma Urbis Romae sind die benachbarten Basilika-Exedren als „Atrium Libertatis" bezeichnet (fig. 2). Das Atrium Libertatis republikanischer Zeit war der Amtssitz der Censoren, enthielt Akten über das Lustrum, Bronzetafeln über den *ager publicus*, Gesetzestexte und Freilassungsurkunden. Diesen recht umfangreichen Verwaltungsbau errichtete Asinius Pollio neu,[11] er gründete aber zwischen 39 und 28 v. Chr. auch die erste öffentliche Bibliothek Roms,[12] so dass an eine auch räumliche Verbindung von Akten und Bibliothek zu denken ist.[13] Überdies befanden sich dort vermutlich die berühmten Monumenta Pollionis, eine Skulpturensammlung *ex manubiis*. Für die Planung gewann Pollio allem Anschein nach Varro,[14] der schon 47 v. Chr. von Caesar mit einer Bibliotheksgründung betraut worden war.[15] Caesar hatte den Bau als Anschluss an sein Forum geplant,[16] eben dort, wo dann Pollios Atrium entstand und später eine Exedra der traianischen Basilika mit der Benennung „Atrium Libertatis" zu liegen kam. Die Indizienkette führt zu der immerhin plausiblen Ereignisrekonstruktion, die Verwaltungsräume des Atrium Libertatis seien mitsamt der Bibliothek zuletzt in die traianische Anlage transferiert worden. Im architektonischen Konzept der Bibliotheca Traiani als Säulenhof mit angrenzenden Sälen ist sogar die Gestaltung der republikanischen Atria erkennbar, wie sie das frühere Atrium Libertatis ebenfalls aufgewiesen haben muss.

Spekulativ ist freilich auch alles, was sich über die Bewahrung und Konsultation der Akten sagen lässt, die im politischen Betrieb und im Rechtswesen ständig benötigt wurden.[17] Von Cicero erfahren wir, wie schwierig es war, an Dokumente wie die *commentarii* der Magistrate, an Edikte und Protokolle zu kommen,

9 s. Bedon, 2001.

10 Fedeli, 1989, 54 zur Gattungseinteilung; Fehrle, 1986, 62-63 zum Verhältnis lateinischer zu griechischen Schriften; Horsfall, 1993.

11 *LTUR* 1, 1993, 133-135 s.v. Atrium Libertatis (F. Coarelli); Suet. *Aug.* 29.5.

12 *LTUR* 1, 1993, 196 s.v. Bibliotheca Asinii Pollionis (F. Coarelli); zu Pollio s. Fehrle, 1986, 50-61; Plin. *NH* 7.115; 35.10; Isid. *Orig.* 6.5.2.

13 Dafür spricht, dass Ovid das Atrium als Ort der Bücher nennt, s. Ov. *Trist.* 3.1.70-72.

14 So vermutet wegen des Porträts des Varro als einzigem noch lebendem Autor, s. Plin. *NH* 7.115.

15 Suet. *Iul.* 44.2; Isid. *Orig.* 6.5.1.

16 s. Castagnoli, 1946; Coarelli, 1984, 130; Gros, 1996, 363.

17 s. Culham, 1989.

und wie sehr alles von persönlichen Beziehungen abhing, selbst für einen Quaestor wie Cato. Der Zugang zu den Archiven war aber ein elementarer Faktor im politischen Leben der republikanischen Zeit. Der Erfolg eines Anwalts wie Cicero und damit dessen politische Wirkungsmöglichkeit hing wesentlich davon ab, durch persönliche Beziehungen den Zugriff zu den Akten von Präzedenzfällen zu erhalten. Nicht weniger galt das für Antiquare und Historiker wie etwa Varro, der reichlich mit den *commentaria consularia* arbeitete, und dessen Schrift *De bibliothecis*[18] sicher vom Katalogisieren und Archivieren handelte. Die Nachricht, Caesar wollte *bibliothecas Graecas Latinasque quas maximas publicare*, steht daher nicht zufällig im Zusammenhang seines Vorhabens, alle Gesetzestexte zu erfassen und zu erschließen.[19] Der Neubau des Atrium und die Einrichtung einer *bibliotheca publica* standen im Zeichen des damals politisch brisanten Schlagwortes der *publicatio* und zielten auf eine Verschiebung der Verfügungsgewalt.[20] Doch bezog sich der ‚öffentliche' Zugriff nicht nur auf staatliche Dokumente und die damit involvierte Macht, sondern offensichtlich auch auf Literaturbibliotheken. Vergegenwärtigt man sich, wie entscheidend für Cicero auch bei seiner literarischen Arbeit – die er als patriotische Aufgabe ansah – das Auffinden, Rekonstruieren und Verifizieren der Quellen war, oder denkt man selbst an die augusteischen Dichter, die stets als *docti* gelten wollten, dann rücken Literatur und Archivdokumente doch eng zusammen.[21] Die bislang verfügbaren Literaturbibliotheken waren aus dem Besitz der hellenistischen Herrscher zunächst in die Hände der römischen Feldherrn geraten und bildeten als Wissensarchive ebenso ein erbeutetes Instrument der Macht wie vorher an den hellenistischen Höfen.[22] Rekonstruktion, Verwahrung und Auswertung liefen nicht anders ab als bei den Archiven der eigenen kommunalen Vergangenheit.

Die politisch wichtigsten Dokumente waren für Augustus die Sibyllinischen Bücher. Eine bereinigte Ausgabe deponierte er – nach Verbrennung konkurrierender Schriften – im Tempel des Apollon Palatinus. Nebenan errichtete er seit 28 v. Chr. eine griechische und eine lateinische Bibliothek (fig. 3).[23] Ihre Lage an der Area Apollinis an der Stelle des domitianischen Nachfolgerbaus ist gesichert.[24] Dessen erhaltene Reste und der Grundriss auf der Forma Urbis Romae

18 s. *RE* Suppl. 6, 1935, Sp. 1178 s.v. M. Terentius Varro (H. Dahlmann).

19 Suet. *Iul.* 44.2.

20 s. Fehrle, 1986, 54-57.

21 s. Marshall, 1976, bes. 254 Anm. 9 und Anm. 32 zu Cicero; s.a. Cic. *Att.* 4.14.

22 Fedeli, 1989, 31-38; Fehrle, 1986, 4-28; Blanck, 1992, 152-154; Horsfall, 1993.

23 *LTUR* 1, 1993, 54-57 s.v. Apollo Palatinus (P. Gros); Balensiefen, 2002; Suet. *Aug.* 29.3; D.C. 53.1.3.

24 Carettoni, 1987.

zeigen zwei gleiche Säle mit Büchernischen zwischen Wandsäulen und je einer Ädikula vor einer leicht gekrümmten Apsis an der Rückwand. Der augusteische Bau wird nicht viel anders ausgesehen haben, denn in der Ädikula der lateinischen Abteilung stand ein als Augustus gedeuteter Apollon. Ob zu Recht so benannt oder nicht – das politisch-sakrale Ausstattungsprogramm wurde offenbar so kolportiert.[25] Clipeus-Bildnisse von Germanicus und Drusus konnten zwar wie das des Hortensius[26] auch als Autorenporträts gelten, in Wahrheit ging es aber unverkennbar darum, die Staatsführung mit der Familie des Princeps zu präsentieren. Deshalb hatten die Bildnisse des Germanicus und Drusus eine hervorgehobene Position an der Ädikula des Apollon.[27] Dieser lateinische Saal wurde sinnvoll dann auch als Tagungsraum des Senates benutzt.[28] Der von Augustus selbst finanzierte und von Beutekunst umgebene Bibliotheksbau wurde damit auch und nicht wenig ein Staatsmonument und Prototyp für den Kaiserkult.[29] Augustus kümmerte sich persönlich um die Macht des geschriebenen Wortes:[30] In einem Brief wies er den ersten Bibliothekar Pompeius Macer an, bestimmte Jugendschriften Caesars nicht zugänglich zu machen, während die *Commentaria* Caesars als Dokumente der politisch-militärischen Geschichte gut ins Programm passten.[31] Augustus kontrollierte den Zugang der Schriften[32] und vielleicht sogar der Benutzer: Wenn ein gewisser Celsus seine Exzerpte aus der Bibliothek als Eigenes ausgeben konnte – worüber sich Horaz amüsiert –, wird der Zugang wohl eingeschränkt gewesen sein.[33] Allerdings dürften die Regale des lateinischen Saales anfangs nicht mit Literatur überfüllt gewesen sein, so dass eine zwar umstrittene Nachricht über die „*bibliotheca iuris civilis ... in templo Apollinis Palatini*“ zumindest nicht unpassend erscheint.[34]

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25 Schriftquellen zur Apollstatue Suet. *Aug.* 29; Tac. *Ann.* 2.37; Ps.-Acro *Ep.* 1.3.17 (*statuam sibi posuerat habitu ac statu Apollinis*); Serv. in *Vergilii carmina commentarii* 4.10 (*Augustum cui simulacrum factum est cum Apollinis cunctis insignibus*); Sengelin, 1983, 178; insgesamt zur Ausstattung Zanker, 1983.

26 Tac. *Ann.* 2.37; Sengelin, 1983, 189.

27 Tac. *Ann.* 2.83; Sengelin, 1983, und Castagnoli, 1949, zur Tabula Hebana.

28 *LTUR* 1, 1993, 334 s.v. Curia in Palatio (D. Fontana); Suet. *Aug.* 29.3.

29 so Zanker, 1983.

30 Horsfall, 1993.

31 Suet. *Iul.* 56.7.

32 s. Balensiefen, 2002; Blanck, 1992, 162 zu Horaz und Ovid (Ov. *Trist.* 3.1.59-68); Horsfall, 1993, zur Bibliothekspolitik des Augustus.

33 Hor. *Ep.* 1.3.15-19 mit Porph. Hor. *Ep.* 1.3.15; Ps.-Acro. *Ep.* 1.3.15.

34 *Scol. Iuv.* 1.128-129, dazu Diskussion bei Sengelin, 1983.

Etwa zur gleichen Zeit ließ Augustus durch Melissus, einen Freigelassenen des Maecenas und der politischen Führung verbunden,[35] zum Gedenken an Marcellus eine Bibliothek in der Porticus Octaviae einrichten.[36] In ganz ähnlicher Weise rahmten auch in diesem triumphalen Sakralbezirk, der direkt dem Princeps unterstand, die erbeuteten Werke aus Kunst und Literatur politische Ereignisse wie Senatssitzungen.[37]

Einen reichen Fundus an administrativem, juristischem und wissenschaftlichem Material bot die Bibliothek des 75 n. Chr. wiederum *ex manubiis* errichteten Templum Pacis (fig. 4).[38] Ein Bibliothekssaal mit Regalnischen steckt in der Kirche SS. Cosma e Damiano.[39] Der angrenzende Saal beherbergte die marmorne Fassung der Forma Urbis Romae, zu der eine Weltkarte vermutlich im symmetrisch entsprechenden Nordflügel kam. Dort ist die Abteilung griechischer Literatur zu erwarten, in der sich Schriften des Galen befanden, die bei einem Brand vernichtet wurden.[40] Offenbar handelte es sich um unpublizierte Autographen, denn Galen klagt, er müsse sie aus der Erinnerung neu schreiben. In der lateinischen Abteilung hatte Gellius des Öfteren alte und seltene Grammatiker und Antiquare konsultiert, etwa Briefe des Sinnius Capito und ein *Commentarium de propoquiis* des L. Aelius.[41] In nächster Nähe der Forma Urbis Romae werden die originalen Kataster und weitere Archive der Stadtverwaltung deponiert gewesen sein, denn die Praefectura Urbi ist in der Nachbarschaft lokalisierbar.[42] So war insbesondere die Bibliothek eine Fundgrube für historisch Interessierte, der ganze Komplex aber auch eine Arbeitsstätte für Juristen und Administratoren.[43] Hausherr war der Kaiser, der den ganzen Bezirk mit Beutestücken aus dem jüdi-

35 Suet. *Gram.* 21.

36 *LTUR* 4, 1999, 141-145 s.v. Porticus Octaviae (A. Viscogliosi); Plu. *Marc.* 30.6; Suet. *Dom.* 20.

37 Unter Tiberius Sitzung laut D.C. 55.8.1; Coarelli, 1965, 58 Anm. 103 zu den Kunstwerken in Schola bzw. Curia, zu diesen s. Plin. *NH* 35.114; 36.22; 36.28-29; Lauter, 1980-1981, vermutet sie in den auf der Forma Urbis Romae eingezeichneten Nischen, die Schola könnte das dort eingezeichnete Apsidengebäude sein, die Lage der Bibliothek ergibt sich daraus nicht; Gros, 1973, 143 Anm. 4.

38 *LTUR* 4, 1999, 67-70 s.v. Templum Pacis (F. Coarelli); Anderson, 1984, 101-118.

39 s. Blanck, 1992, 194-196; unter Hinweis auf Sisson, 1929, wird öfters die Bibliothek im zentralen Bau vermutet; die gängige Bezeichnung als „templum" Pacis lässt nicht erwarten, dass der zentralste Raum gerade eine Bibliothek war.

40 Gal. *De comp. med.* 1.1 (Kuehn 13, 362-363).

41 Gell. 5.21.9; 16.8.2.

42 Symm. *Ep.* 10.78 nennt das Forum Vespasiani als Sitz des Praefectus Urbi; Anderson, 1984, 116; Gros, 1996, 365; nach Coarelli (s.o. Anm. 38) sei das Templum Pacis von Beginn an Sitz der Praefectur gewesen; vgl. *LTUR* 1, 1993, 196 s.v. Bibliotheca Domus Tiberianae (C. Krause), und *Hist.Aug. Prob.* 2.1; *Aurelian* 9.1.

43 z.B. *Hist.Aug. Trig.Tyr.* 31.10.

schen Krieg und Kunst ‚aus aller Welt' füllte. Die Bibliotheken gehören zum Inventar des Imperiums: Stadt- und Weltbild, Wissensarchive und Geschichtsdokumente, Eigentumsverwaltung und Kunstwerke vereint unter dem Zeichen des Triumphes.[44]

Auf die Ähnlichkeit des Grundrisses der so genannten Hadriansbibliothek in Athen wurde immer wieder hingewiesen.[45] Pausanias pries die Pracht des Peristyls aus 100 phrygischen Säulen, das Zugang zu Versammlungsräumen, zu einer Gemäldesammlung und zum zentralen Büchersaal gab.[46] Die formale Anlehnung des Entwurfs an die Akademia[47] unterstrich den traditionellen Anspruch der Kulturhauptstadt,[48] die teure Ausstattung wie etwa vergoldete Dächer und die gleich dreigeschossige Nischenarchitektur im Hauptsaal (fig. 5) ging darüber hinaus und verwies auf staatliche Präsenz. Vieles spricht für den Vorschlag von Sisson, in der Anlage den von Hadrian nach Athen verlegten Sitz des Proconsuls von Achaia zu lokalisieren,[49] nicht zuletzt der Neufund einer Nikestatue, Replik der Victoria aus der römischen Curia.[50] So verband der ‚Hundertsäulenbau' die Grundlagen der Paideia mit den Dokumenten staatlicher Ordnung.[51] In der Provinzhauptstadt Korinth war bereits in der frühen Kaiserzeit ein zweiteiliger Bibliotheksbau, das *Southeast-Building*, am neuen Forum errichtet worden,[52] und eine Bibliothek mit lateinischer Abteilung fand sich auch in Patras, gleichfalls Sitz eines Statthalters.[53] In Karthago wurden die *pomposi fori scrinia publica*, womit sicher die bei der Curia gelegene Bibliothek gemeint ist, in der z.B. Apuleius vortrug, von Deneauve auf der Byrsa im staatlichen Zentrum identifiziert.[54] In Alexandria war die Ἀδριανὴ βιβλιοθήκη durch ein Dekret des Praefectus Aegypti als Aufbewahrungsort juristischer Dokumente bestimmt worden.[55] Es sieht ganz so

44 s. J. *BJ* 7.159-161; Plin. *NH* 34.84 ; 36.58; vgl. Nicolet, 1988, bes. 173-174.

45 Travlos, 1971, 244-252; Gros, 1996, 365-366.

46 Paus. 1.18.9.

47 s. Hoepfner, 2002a, 56-62.

48 s. Hoepfner, 2002b, 63-66, dort als Universität bzw. Akademie gedeutet wie auch bei Willers, 1990, 14-21; Blanck, 1992, 171; 210.

49 Sisson, 1929.

50 s. Spetsieri-Choremi, 1996.

51 Martini, 1985, 188-191, lehnt die Benennung als Bibliothek zu Unrecht vollkommen ab, wenn er auch richtig auf die Probleme hinweist.

52 s. Weinberg, 1060, 5-31; Blanck, 1992, 205-206.

53 Gell. 18.9.5.

54 Jouffroy, 1986, 204 Anm. 83; Vössing, 1994, 182-183; Gros, 1985, 36-38; Gros, 1996, 372 und Abb. 374; Deneauve, 1990, bes. 153-154; dazu Apul. *Flor.* 18.8-9; *Anth.Pal.* 284 (Shackleton Bailey).

55 s. Sisson, 1929, 50-72.

aus, als wiederholte sich an den Orten der Provinzverwaltung die in Rom entwickelte Kombination von Bibliothek und Archiv gleichsam wie in imperialen Dependencen. Es kann kein Zufall sein, dass selbst auf kleiner kommunaler Ebene in Suessa Aurunca die Bibliotheca Matidiana, in welcher der Ordo Decurionum tagte, eine kaiserliche Stiftung war.[56]

Über die tatsächliche Relation von Archivdokumenten zur Literatur in solchen ‚imperialen' Bibliotheken ist damit nichts gesagt. Dass aber die schriftlichen Grundlagen der Paideia und die zu Politik, Rechtssprechung und Administration benötigten Informationen zumindest in einem gemeinsamen Diskursfeld standen, zeigt sich darin, dass der Zugriff generell von höchster Stelle verwaltet wurde. Anhand der Beauftragten lässt sich erahnen, wie der Kaiser Macht über die stadtrömischen Bibliotheken ausübte.[57] Aufschlussreich ist bereits, dass das untere Personal fast komplett der *familia Caesaris* angehörte.[58] Die in Sepulkralinschriften überlieferten 28 *servi a bybliothecis* waren wie in jedem großen Haushalt einem Spezialbereich zugeordnet, waren aber weder öffentliche Verwaltungsbeamten noch mit dem Inhalt der Bibliotheken befasst. Denn die Bücher blieben Besitz des Kaisers selbst, weshalb die Bibliotheca „Traiani" eben nicht „Traiana" hieß. Ganz anders die temporär mit Grundausstattung und Konzept beauftragten Bibliothleksleiter: Die uns bekannten 13 Procuratores waren natürlich durchwegs Leute mit wissenschaftlichem Hintergrund und immer häufiger aus dem Ritterstand wie Annius Postumus, der erste *Procurator bibliothecarum Divi Traiani Augusti*, sein Amtsnachfolger Sueton und dessen Nachfolger Vestinus vom alexandrinischen Museion. Beide waren *ab epistulis* und *a studiis*, also zuständig für Archive und Information und deshalb zum engsten Beraterstab der Kaisers gehörig. Entscheidend war bei solchen empfindlichen Ämtern die Nähe zum Kaiser: Schon Iulius Hyginus war ja Freigelassener des Augustus, Tiberius Iulius Pappus war *comes* des Tiberius, Dionysios von Alexandria ein Ratgeber des Nero, Valerius Eudaemon war mit Hadrian eng verbunden und Iulius Vestinus sogar dessen Lehrer gewesen. Der Jurist Volusius Maecianus war unter Hadrian zuerst *a libellis*, später *praefectus vehiculorum*, dann *a studiis et procurator bibliothecarum* und zuletzt *a libellis et censibus imperatoris*.[59] Kein Zweifel, der Kaiser hatte die Bibliotheken im Griff. Er sah sich als Garant für das gesamte Wissensarchiv, ob

56 *CIL* 10, 4760. Bei direkter Lage am Forum ist mit einer solchen Funktion zu rechnen, so auch in Philippi, S. Callmer, 1944, und in Tortona, s. *CIL* 5, 7376.

57 Houston, 2002; Fehrle, 1986, 71-88; Blanck, 1992, 219-222.

58 Boulvert, 1974, 57, und *CIL* 6, 5188; 5189; 5191; 5884 zur Apoll-Bibliothek; *CIL* 6, 2347-2349; 4431-4435; 5192 zur Bibliothek der Porticus Octaviae.

59 *CIL* 14, 1085; Panciera, 1969, zu weiteren wie Pompeius Macer (Provinzprocurator) und Veturius Callistratus *procurator rationum summarum privatarum bibliothecarum Augusti nostri.*

literarisch oder dokumentarisch, und damit erklärt sich auch, dass die großen Bibliotheken in Heiligtümern lagen, die dem Princeps eng verbunden waren.[60]

Zurück zur Bibliotheca Traiani in Roms wichtigstem Verwaltungszentrum, in dem Congiaria vergeben, Sklaven freigelassen, Gericht gehalten wurde, aber Schuldverschreibungen und andere Dokumente auch öffentlich verbrannt wurden[61]. Doch in der Regel sicherten die Bibliotheken das Archivmaterial der staatlichen und das Wissen der kulturellen Identität. Hier stieß Gellius bei seiner ständigen Literaturrecherche auf *edicta veterum praetorum*,[62] fanden sich *libri lintei*,[63] und noch die Verfasser der *Historia Augusta* konnten glaubwürdig versichern, sie hätten ihre Informationen aus Kaiserbriefen in der Traiana, sogar mit Angabe der Regalnummern.[64] Neros unveröffentlichte Gedichte fand Sueton vermutlich in seinem Bibliotheksarchiv.[65] Eine skurrile Verquickung von Kaiserdokumenten und Literatur stellte Kaiser Tacitus her, der sich für einen Nachfahren des Historikers hielt und in jeder Bibliothek jährlich zehn Sicherheitskopien in Elfenbein anfertigen ließ.[66] Also keine Peripatetiker in Wandelhallen, keine rezitierenden Dichter, sondern fleißig suchende und kompilierende Antiquare der Wissenschaften und Literatur wie Gellius und Plinius – es genügt ein Blick auf dessen Literaturliste in Buch 1 – oder Akten durchwühlende Juristen waren das Publikum. Der große Konsultationssaal bei den Büchern war ein als Informationszentrum sehr geeigneter Raum, um zu exzerpieren, zu recherchieren und zu notieren. Die vormittägliche Öffnungszeit entsprach dem Ablauf eines Geschäftstages, handelte es sich doch um ein ‚negotium', eine Tätigkeit im öffentlichen Interesse.

Es waren Intellektuelle und oft zugleich Mitglieder der politischen Elite, die Roms öffentliche Bibliotheken aufsuchten. Sie begaben sich dazu in Areale, deren architektonische Ansprüche auf die Staatsmacht, letztlich den Princeps verwiesen. Das an der Traians-Säule abgerollte Bildvolumen ist ein gigantisches Dokument und zugleich sepulkrales Monument. In der Gleichzeitigkeit von

60 Blanck, 1992, 133; ein weiteres, allerdings problematisches Beispiel ist die Bibliothek des Templum Novum Divi Augusti mit Kunstwerken (Suet. *Tib.* 74; Plin. *NH* 34.43), einer von Domitian aufgestellten Minerva-Statue, und nahebei angebrachten Militärdiplomen (*CIL* 16, S. 196-197), s. *LTUR* 1, 1993, 197 s.v. Bibliotheca templi Divi Augusti (M. Torelli); sie wird auch mit der Tiberiana oder mit Domitians Athenaeum in Verbindung gebracht, s. Blanck, 1992, 163.

61 s. Anderson, 1984, 162-166; 177.

62 Gell. 11.17.1.

63 Persönliche Tagebücher, über die der Stadtpräfekt verfügt, s. *Hist.Aug. Aurelian* 1.7.

64 *Hist.Aug. Aurelian.* 8.1, vgl. 1.10 und 9.1; *Hist.Aug. Tac.* 8.1; *Prob.* 2.1.

65 Suet. *Nero* 52.

66 *Hist.Aug. Tac.* 8.1.

monumentum und *documenta* manifestierte sich die Macht des Princeps wie bereits in den *Res gestae* am Mausoleum des Augustus. Als Stiftung *ex manubiis* führte die gesamte Anlage die Verfügung über das Imperium und über das Wissen vor, auch dies war bereits bei den augusteischen Bibliotheken vorgegeben. In solch einer kaiserlich geprägten Umgebung bedeuteten Ehrenstatuen mehr als nur Autorenlob. Akteure des politischen Lebens griffen auf diese Form der Selbstdarstellung auch außerhalb Roms zu.

Bibliotheken in der kommunalen Repräsentation

Neben all den vielgestaltigen Säulenfassaden, die in der Kaiserzeit so modern wurden, wie etwa am Nymphäum in Milet, war die Celsus-Bibliothek in Ephesos nicht auf Anhieb als Stätte der Bildung zu erkennen.[67] Von der Kuretenstraße herabkommend nahm der Passant ihre flimmernde Fassade über einer hohen Freitreppe wahr (fig.6): Der eigentliche Baukörper blieb ganz hinter einer marmornen Kulisse verborgen. Nun konnte sich der Betrachter vom Reichtum des Architekturdekors beeindrucken lassen oder an eingestreuten Bildern wie einer ausgesprochen reizvollen Eros-Psyche-Gruppe zwischen den Ranken des *ornamentum* erfreuen. Doch in erster Linie diente die vorgeblendete Tabernakel-Architektur der Mitteilung durch Statuen und Texte. Laut einer über dem Mitteleingang angebrachten Tafel[68] hatte Tiberius Iulius Aquila Polemaeanus, Consul 110 n. Chr., die Bibliothek für seinen Vater Tiberius Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus, Suffektconsul 92 n. Chr. und Proconsul von Asia 105/6 oder 106/7, gestiftet und für den Unterhalt ein Kapital von 25000 Denar angelegt. An Festtagen seien die Statuen zu bekränzen, und das waren aufgrund der Basen nicht wenige: Celsus, seine beiden Töchter, und auch Aquila selbst – er war vor der Vollendung gestorben, dazu kamen an den Wangen der Freitreppe zwei Reiterstatuen des Celsus. Nicht sehr musisch wirkt übrigens auch die dem Aquila zugewiesene Panzerstatue. Dafür standen in den Fassadennischen die Personifikationen von Sophia, Arete, Episteme und Ennoia, die durch den jeweiligen Zusatz *Kelsou* auf den geehrten Vertreter der Staatsmacht bezogen waren. Seine Paideia verband sich also mit Amtswürde, wie diese bemerkenswerte Kombination von Bild und Text vermittelt. Genau so wurde Theos Hadrianos zur vollendeten Persönlichkeit, indem er in heroischer Feldherrenattitüde in der Bibliothek erscheint: Dort nämlich, im Asklepieion von Pergamon, hatte die Stifterin Flavia Melitine ihn

67 Wilberg et al., 1953; Strocka, 1981, 322-329; Blanck, 1992, 172-174; Hoepfner, 2002c.

68 s. Keil, 1953, 61-80 zu den Inschriften.

aufstellen lassen.[69] Allerdings ist nicht jeder, der mit Schrifttum umgeht, ein Intellektueller, sondern manchmal nur ein kleiner Beamter mit seinen Akten: *Constitutiones corporis monumenta* steht auf der Capsa mit Rollen, die ein Togatus neben sich stehen hat – also die Aktentasche des Amtsinhabers, nicht des Professors.[70] Eine klare Trennung nach dem Inhalt der Capsa war vielleicht auch gar nicht beabsichtigt. Mit Celsus verhielt es sich nicht grundsätzlich anders. Er konnte sich mit Prädikaten der Paideia schmücken, die in seiner Klasse vorausgesetzt wurde, und stand nicht auch, sondern gerade deshalb erfolgreich im politischen Leben. Paideia war mehr als nur akzessorische Bereicherung des Persönlichkeitsbildes, sie war aus einer Option des Lebensstils zum generellen Beurteilungsfaktor im öffentlichen Leben geworden, ließ sich von politischen und militärischen Karrieren nicht trennen. Eine ihrer zentralen Ausdrucksmittel lag in der Euergesie, und nirgendwo mehr als im Bibliothekswesen.[71]

Nach solchem Persönlichkeitsbild des Stifters an der Fassade erwartete der Besucher beim Eintritt durch eine der drei Türen eine Bibliotheksatmosphäre. Trotz der Fenster in der Fassadenwand dürfte aufgrund des vorgestellten Säulengerüstes die Belichtung im Saal aber nicht die besten Lesemöglichkeiten geboten haben. Zweigeschossige Säulenstellungen rahmten in der unteren Zone zehn Schranknischen, in denen ca. 10 000 Buchrollen Platz gefunden haben können, während in der oberen Etage in der Enge des Abstandes von Säulen und Wand mit einem begehbaren Umgang und folglich weiteren Bücherschränken nicht zu rechnen ist. Die oberen Nischen scheinen besser geeignet für die Anbringung von Gemälden oder Plastik. Alles in allem ein prächtiges Schatzkästlein der Paideia, dennoch kein optimaler Studiersaal, dafür mit einer kolossalen Statue in der Mittelapsis der Rückwand ausgestattet, die kaum zufällig exakt über einer Gruft mit dem Sarkophag des Aquila stand. Die Bibliothek als Memorialbau verwendet zu sehen, an dem alle verfügbaren Mittel zur Selbstdarstellung ausgeschöpft werden, das überrascht nun nicht mehr. Mutig war es dennoch, die Bibliothek zum Heroon zu erheben. Von der Ehrung der Geistesheroen in griechischen Gymnasien hergeleitet, fanden intrapomeriale Bestattungen als Bürgerehrung in seltenen Fällen zwar statt, sie hatten mit Traians Grabstätte im Bibliothekshof zu Rom aber doch eine neue Aktualität gewonnen. Dion Chrysostomos hatte in Prusa eine Bibliothek gestiftet und im Hof Frau und Sohn bestatten lassen, und dies angesichts einer Statue des Traian. Plinius berichtete dem Kaiser von dem Ge-

69 Habicht, 1969, 29-30; 84-85; Zweifel an der Funktion als Bibliothek sind angesichts der Inschrift unberechtigt und gründen in der Dominanz der Hadrianstatue sowie dem geringen Umfang möglicher Bücherschränke, s. Blanck, 1992, 207-209.

70 Abgebildet bei Blanck, 1992, 178.

71 Zu Paideia und Euergesie ausführlich Galli, 2002.

richtsfall, der zum Politikum wurde.[72] Angemessener und ebenso hochgeschätzt war eine Heroisierung durch öffentlich verordnete Statuenaufstellung in der Bibliothek, wenngleich nicht immer beständig: Favorin erlebte das schmerzlich, als bei einem späteren Besuch in Korinth seine Ehrenstatue schon wieder aus der Bibliothek verschwunden war.[73] Selten ist zu unterscheiden, ob nun politische oder kulturelle Leistungen zur Ehrung geführt hatten; es wird ein und dasselbe, wenn der Kaiser in einem öffentlichen Akt Wissenschaftler wie Marcellos von Side und Herakleitos durch demonstrative Aufnahme ihrer vielbändigen Lehrgedichte in die Bibliotheken ehrte, die sich so als textuelle Ruhmeshalle erwiesen.[74]

In vielen, auch kleineren Städten wurden besonders unter Traian und Hadrian solche Stadtbibliotheken gestiftet.[75] Der jüngere Plinius gab für eine Bibliotheksstiftung in Como 1 Million Sesterzen, für den Unterhalt noch einmal 100 000 aus. Wie sehr ihm an Repräsentation und Selbstbestätigung lag, zeigen seine etwas koketten Überlegungen zur Publikation der von ihm gehaltenen Eröffnungsrede.[76] Flavius Aemilianus, ein traianischer Offizier, der in Dyrrhachion für eine Bibliothek 170 000 Sesterzen gestiftet hatte, weihte diese nicht unpassend mit Gladiatorenspielen ein.[77] Wir können an der Zahl von epigraphisch bezeugten Stiftungen ablesen, dass die Bibliothek ihre Eignung für Euergeten bewiesen hatte. Die Celsusbibliothek verdeutlicht am besten die Ingredienzien der Mischung aus Stiftereitelkeit und gelebter Paideia: Demonstrative Verschwendung in der äußeren Gestaltung, plakative Darstellung des politischen Erfolges eines kultivierten Mannes und eben die Wahl des Bauobjektes, mag auch der praktische Nutzen für den lokalen Bildungsstand so unwesentlich gewesen sein wie der eines Prachtnymphäums für die Volkshygiene. Eben deshalb kam die Bibliothek des Celsus ohne Säulenhallen aus, sie hatte keinen Vortragssaal,[78] sondern war eines von vielen *monumenta* des repräsentativen Stadtzentrums. Nach einem Brand im 3. Jh. n. Chr. wurde der Innenraum nicht wieder hergestellt, dafür die Fassade für eine Brunnenanlage verwendet.

72 Plin. *Ep.* 10.81.

73 D.Chr. 37; da von der Prohedrie die Rede ist, verfügte die Bibliothek über einen Hörsaal.

74 *AP* 7.158 und weiteres bei Blanck, 1992, 174-175.

75 s. Beispiele bei Blanck, 1992, 168-169; Fedeli, 1989, 51-52; inschriftlich gesichert sind etwa Bolsena (*CIL* 11, 2704 b), Kos, Athen (Stiftung des Pantainos), Philippi (Collart, 1933, 316-320), erhalten ist Nysa (von Diest, 1913, 49-51).

76 Plin. *Ep.* 1.8.2 und *CIL* 5, 5262; Mommsen, 1869, 100-102.

77 *CIL* 3, 607.

78 s. Engelmann, 1993, 105-111.

Öffentliche Räume zum Genuss der Paideia

Mit einem von Hadrian ausgelösten Kultureifer hatte das Interesse an Bibliotheksstiftungen also so wenig zu tun wie mit den 2 834 Bibliotheksstiftungen des von keiner Bildungshumanität berührten Kapitalisten Carnegie im 19. Jahrhundert. Gestiftete Bibliotheken zielten nicht auf eine Divulgation der Elitekultur. Sie waren aber auch kein stiller Hort des rezitierenden Lesegenusses, dazu eigneten sich weder Beleuchtung noch Akustik. Stattdessen begünstigten sie durch unmittelbar verfügbare Buchquellen und offene Zugänge die beliebten zitatenreichen Diskussionsrunden wie im Kreis des Gellius. Die Ausweitung einer zuerst häuslichen Bildung des Otium zum öffentlichen Lebensinteresse erklärt die quantitative Zunahme der Bibliotheksbauten und schlug sich in den architektonischen Entwürfen nieder.

Sagalassos im pisidischen Bergland wurde um 120 n. Chr. durch eine rührige Honoratiorenfamilie mit einem Kleinod an Bibliothek bedacht.[79] Zum Dank rühmten sieben erhaltene Inschriften den Stifter T. Flavius Severianus Neon, seinen verstorbenen Vater und eine Schar weiterer Familienmitglieder[80] in bester Sichtposition auf der Attica eines umlaufenden Podiums. Der nicht sonderlich große Saal glänzte durch Mosaikböden, Marmorinkrustationen, Stuckreliefs und eine Balkendecke, die vergoldet gewesen sein wird, so wie es Lukian im „Schönen Saal" beschrieb.[81] In diesem Vortragsraum waren mythologische Gemälde zu bewundern und eine marmorne Athena in der Mittelnische der Rückwand, hier in Sagalassos auf dem Boden ein Mosaik-Emblem mit einer Szene aus dem Leben des Achill, signiert von Dioskoros.[82] Das Podium bot in Nischen Platz für zwanzig unterlebensgroße Statuen (fig.7); in der Mittelnische der Rückwand hingegen stand ein überlebensgroßes Bronzebild, von dem nicht mehr als ein Finger gefunden wurde. Die allerhöchstens 24 Büchernischen wirkten in diesem musealen Festsaal eher wie eine stimulierende Möblierung. Um sich den Betrieb hier vorzustellen, genügt die Lektüre des genannten lukianischen Enkomion. Ein Publikum wie dort beschrieben benötigte Literaturkenntnisse für alle Lebenssituationen und Musenpflege für den Persönlichkeitsentwurf, und es trug dies wie viele andere private Belange in eine raffiniert gestaltete Stadtöffentlichkeit. Die Bibliothek war auch solch ein gesellschaftlicher Raum, in dem so gerne agiert und dabei das Verhalten gegenseitig kontrolliert wurde.

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79 Waelkens et al., 1993b, 13-15; 107-123; Waelkens, 1995, 53-54; Waelkens, 1997, 293-307 zur Familie; guter Überblick in Waelkens – Owens, 1994.

80 Waelkens, 2002, bes. 349-352.

81 Lucianus, *Dom.*

82 Waelkens et al., 1993a, 48; Waelkens 2000.

Einen recht ungewöhnlichen Bibliotheksbau leistete sich im beginnenden 3. Jh. n. Chr. Timgad, ein bekanntlich gutes Pflaster für Euergeten.[83] Senator Iulius Quintianus Flavius Rogatianus stiftete dafür testamentarisch 400 000 Sesterzen aus dem Testament, so kündet die Bauinschrift.[84] Verglichen mit den aufwendigen Thermen wirkt die Bibliothek wie ein luxuriöses Accessoire im Stadtbild. Dem Bibliotheksraum in Form einer vergrößerten Exedra, mit Mittelnische für eine Athena, ist eine Porticus triplex vorgelagert, sechs angrenzende Räume können der Verwaltung oder als Tabularium gedient haben (fig. 8). Die Grundform einer übersteigerten Exedra erinnert an andere Stadträume Timgads, etwa die beiden Macella oder säulengeschmückten Prachtlatrinen. Sie weist eine starke Konnotation zu jenen intellektuellen Versammlungsstätten in den Villen auf, an denen Lektüre und Gespräche im Freundeskreis stattfanden. Auch hier ist weniger an ein Buchmagazin zu denken als an einen Gesprächsraum. In großen Bibliotheken war von Literatur und Poesie kaum die Rede, dagegen boten solche kleinere Bauten das geeignete Ambiente für Dichterlesungen, populärwissenschaftliche Vorträge und öffentliche Anatomie-Sektionen der Mediziner, für Gespräche oder auch nur Zirkel wie seit jeher in Buchläden üblich. Alles in allem ein gesellschaftlicher Treffpunkt Timgads mit Bildungsatmosphäre, an dem der „redegewandte zweisprachige" und außerdem so tüchtige Militär Pudens Pomponianus ebenso anzutreffen war wie Iulius Silvanus, der „Cicero von Thabudeos".[85]

Am sichtbarsten tritt das öffentliche Ausleben eines ehemals auf die privaten Villen beschränkten Otium in den großen Thermenanlagen zutage. In den 109 n. Chr. eröffneten Traiansthermen von Rom war eine Bibliothek in einer der monumentalisierten Exedren des Parkbereichs untergebracht.[86] Eine zweistöckige vorgeblendete Säulenordnung rahmte Nischen, die allerdings nur im unteren Geschoß für Bücherschränke verwendet wurden (fig. 9). Dazu bot sich ein tief abgetrepptes Podium für eine Nutzung als „Auditorium" an. Dieser Begriff, der zuerst bei Seneca begegnet, bezeichnete sowohl Gerichtssitzungen der Kaiser und Statthalter als auch Philosophen- und Dichterlesungen. Ob nun in Thermenbibliotheken lediglich Klassikersammlungen und Trivialliteratur zu Verfügung standen, wie Strocka vermutet, ist belanglos. Entscheidend war vielmehr, dass Thermen ein umfassendes Otium-Klima verschafften. Eine Bibliothek kam wie selbstverständlich neben einem großen Wasserspiel zu liegen, wie etwa in

83 Gros, 1996, 371-372; Pfeiffer, 1931; Blanck, 1992, 212; Cagnat, 1909.

84 *ILS* 9362. Die Datierung ist umstritten, s. Wesch-Klein, 1990, 332 Nr. 11.

85 Leglay, 1960, 485-491 zu *CIL* 8, 2391; Vössing, 1994.

86 *LTUR* 5, 1999, 67-69 s.v. Thermae Traiani (G. Caruso – R. Volpe); Strocka, 1981, 311; Blanck, 1992, 198-200.

den Caracallathermen,[87] und die Kulturpflege lief für alle sichtbar ebenso demonstrativ ab wie die Körperpflege in den angrenzenden Palaestrae. Ähnlich wird jene „schöne Bibliothek im Pantheon bei den Thermen", die Sextus Iulius Africanus im 3. Jh. n. Chr. für Severus Alexander eingerichtet habe, Teil eines Freizeitangebotes innerhalb der angrenzenden Basilica Neptuni gewesen sein.[88]

Alle diese Bibliotheken waren eingebettet in eine Stadtkultur, die sich die Honoratioren der Provinzgesellschaft nach dem Vorbild der Elite in Rom schufen, und die stets auf einen genießerischen Lebensstil ausgerichtet war: Man kaufte in den feinen Macella gut ein, sorgte in Thermen und Latrinen für das körperliche Wohlbefinden und in der Bibliothek für die belehrende Unterhaltung, ganz im Sinne des *souci de soi*. Die hämische Kritik Senecas und Lukians an den privaten Luxusbibliotheken ungebildeter Parvenus müssten sich hinsichtlich des Publikums wohl auch öffentliche Bibliotheken gefallen lassen: Allemal handelte es sich um eine *studiosa luxuria*, dienten die „non in studium sed in spectaculum" angeschafften Bücher der Ausstattung eines durch Paideia bereicherten Lebensstils – *books for looks*.[89]

Fazit

Das Entwurfsschema einer Bibliothek als Saal mit Nischen für Bücherschränke entsprach seiner Grundfunktion zur Verwahrung von Schriften jeglichen Inhaltes. Je mehr die Bibliothek zur umfassenden Informationszentrale für die Führungselite sowie eine konforme Oberschicht wurde und die Zensur, Garantie und Verfügungsgewalt beim Kaiser lag,[90] ergaben sich bestimmte Gestaltungsmerkmale. Dann repräsentierte der Bau diese Macht mit dem ganzen Arsenal staatlicher Architekturpracht vor allem in Rom selbst und in delegierten Verwaltungszentren. Durch deren Vorgabe eignete sich die Bibliothek als Mittel munizipaler Repräsentation. Die Blüte der öffentlichen Bibliotheksbauten entsprang einer durch Paideia nobilitierten Selbstdarstellung bedeutender Amtsträger. Zugleich fand in Bibliotheksbauten eine Durchdringung des öffentlichen Gesellschaftslebens mit Belangen der privaten Lebensgestaltung statt, vorzüglich in den

87 *LTUR,* 5 1999, 42-48 s.v. Thermae Antoninianae (M. Piranomonte); zu den Kapitellen mit Isis, Serapis und Harpokrates s. Kinney, 1986.

88 *LTUR* 1, 1993, 197 s.v. Bibliotheca Panthei und L. Cordischi (F. Coarelli); ibid. 182-183 s.v. Basilica Neptuni (F. Coarelli); zu Iulius Africanus s. Robert, 1940, 144 -148.

89 Lucianus *adversus indoctum*.; Sen. *dial.* 9.4-7; s. Fedeli, 1989, 47; Blanck, 1992, 157; Marshall, 1976, 256 Anm. 29 „books for looks".

90 Marshall, 1976, 263; Gros, 1996, 364; Birt, 1882, 368-369.

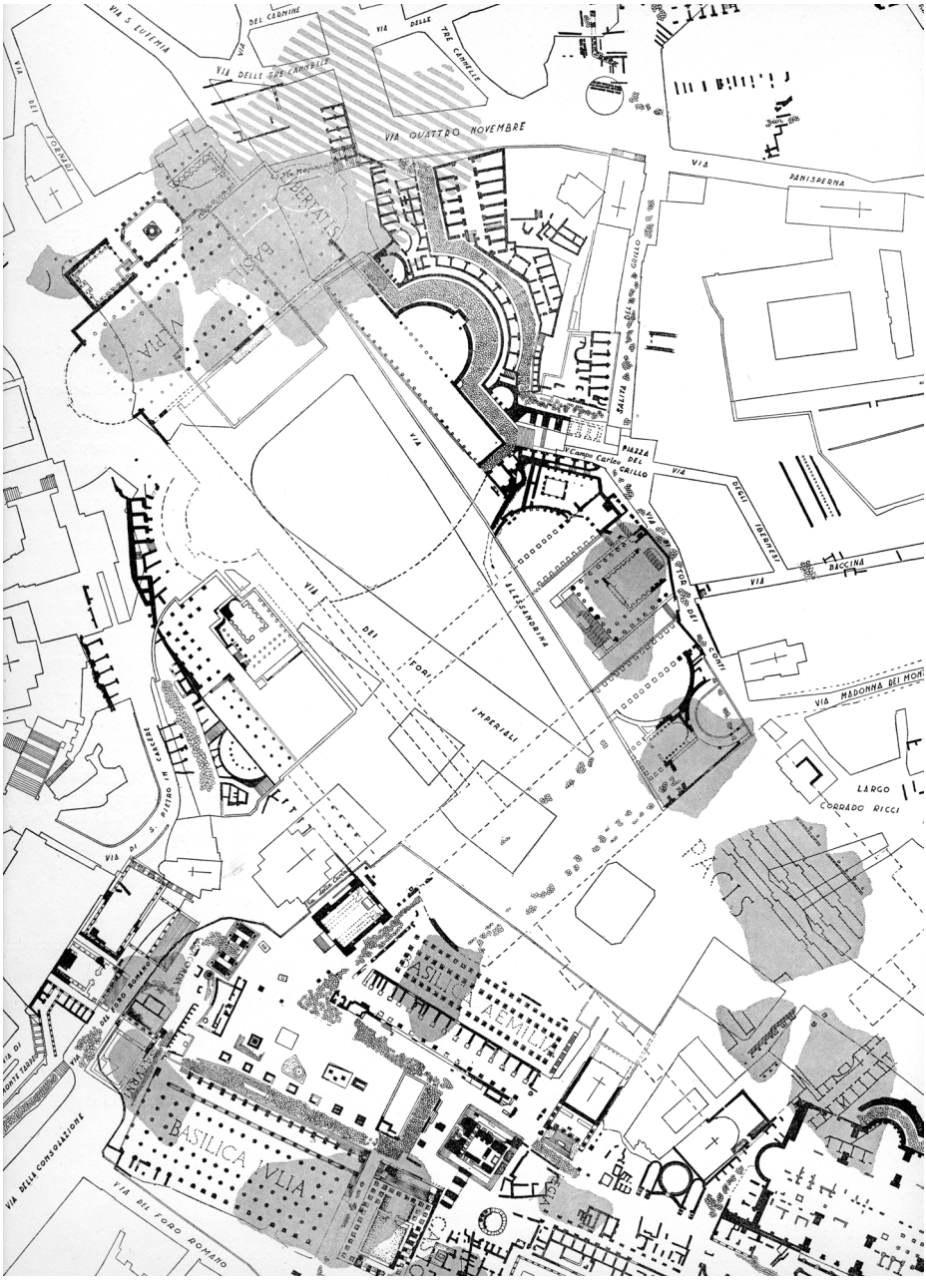
weniger staatlich geprägten Stadtarealen an Thermen oder nahe den Theatern wie in Sagalassos.

Eine Antwort auf die eingangs gestellte Frage nach dem Zusammenhang von Macht und Paideia, von Wissen und Lebensstil findet sich in der Bedeutung der Paideia für den gesellschaftlichen Umgang und damit auch für öffentliche Karrieren. Sie versetzte die Bibliotheken in die vorderste Front staatlicher Bauten und Istitutionen. Dort wurden sie in die kaiserliche Kontrolle über das gesamte schriftlich verfügbare Wissen einbezogen, denn das hatte mit Macht zu tun, wie der junge Marc Aurel süffisant andeutete.

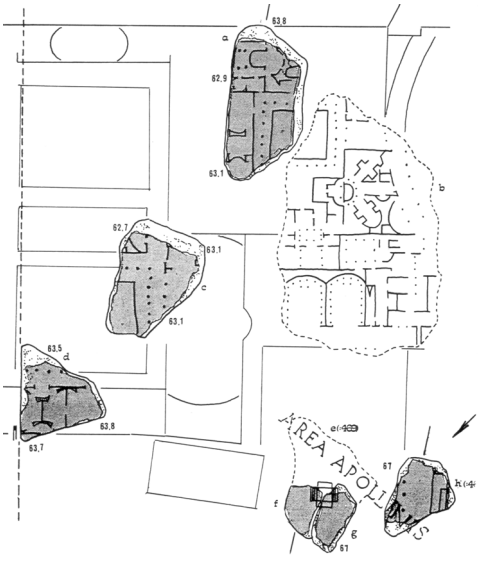
Eine weitere Perspektive zeichnet sich ab: Bücher waren nicht nur Objekte eines öffentlich zelebrierten kulturellen Genusses, sie wurden wie andere Bereiche zunehmend in staatliche Ordnungssysteme einbezogen, ja sogar Teil des Ordnungssystems selbst. Das Kompilieren der Vergangenheit und Sammeln aller Phänomene, das in der kaiserzeitlichen Literaturproduktion zu beobachten ist, entsprach durchaus den wachsenden Verwaltungsarchiven einer zunehmend bürokratischen Machtausübung und fand auf denselben Regalen der Bibliotheken Platz und Bedeutung. Im Alltag, den uns Papyri erkennen lassen, wurden folgerichtig auch Archive als ‚*bibliotheca*' und umgekehrt Literaturbibliotheken als ‚*archei*' bezeichnet.[91]

91 Nachweis bei Blanck, 1992, 133.

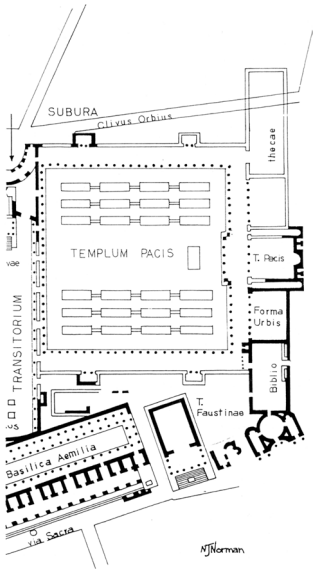
1 Rom, Bibliotheca Traiani, von J.E. Packer rekonstruierte Innenansicht



2 Rom, Zone vom Forum Caesaris bis zur Bibliotheca Traiani

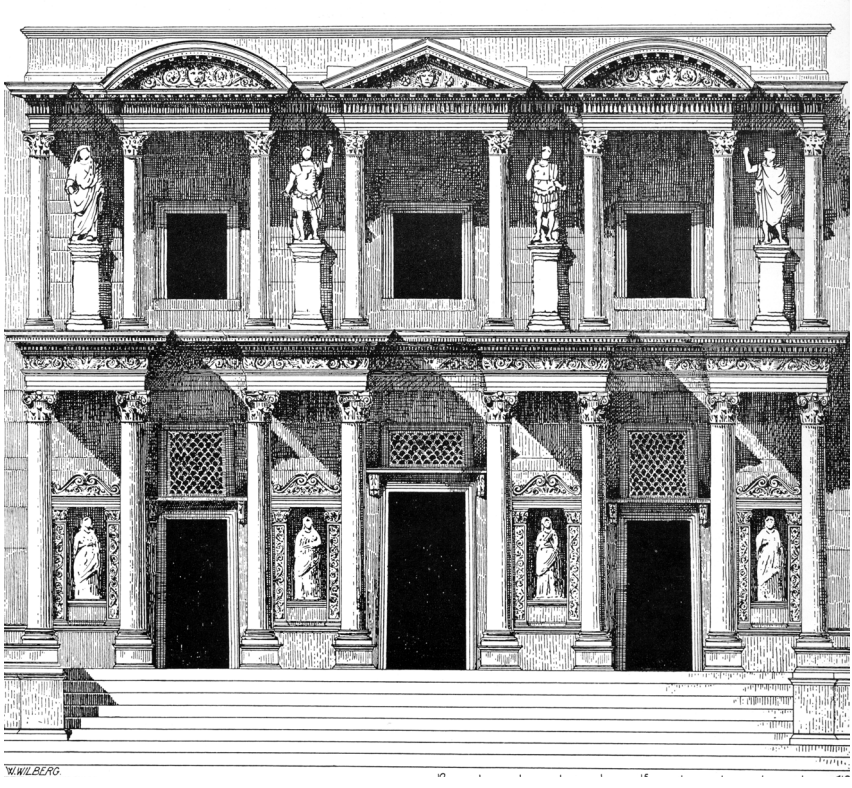


3 Rom, Bibliotheken am Heiligtum des Apollon Palatinus

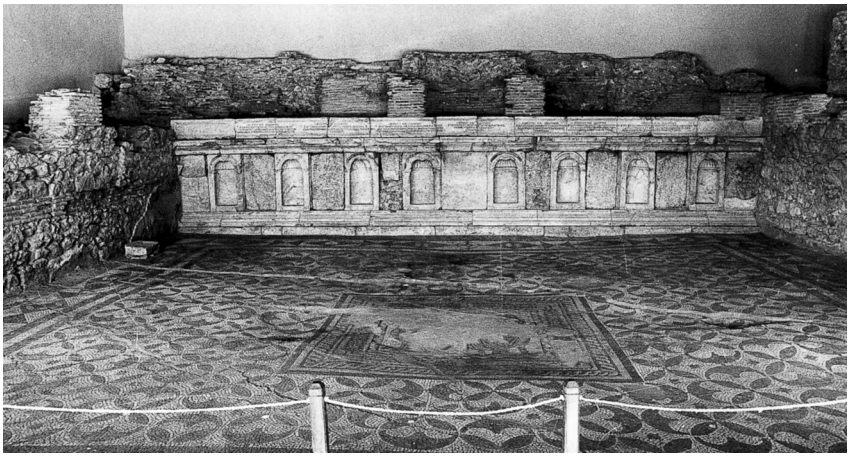


4 Rom, Templum Pacis

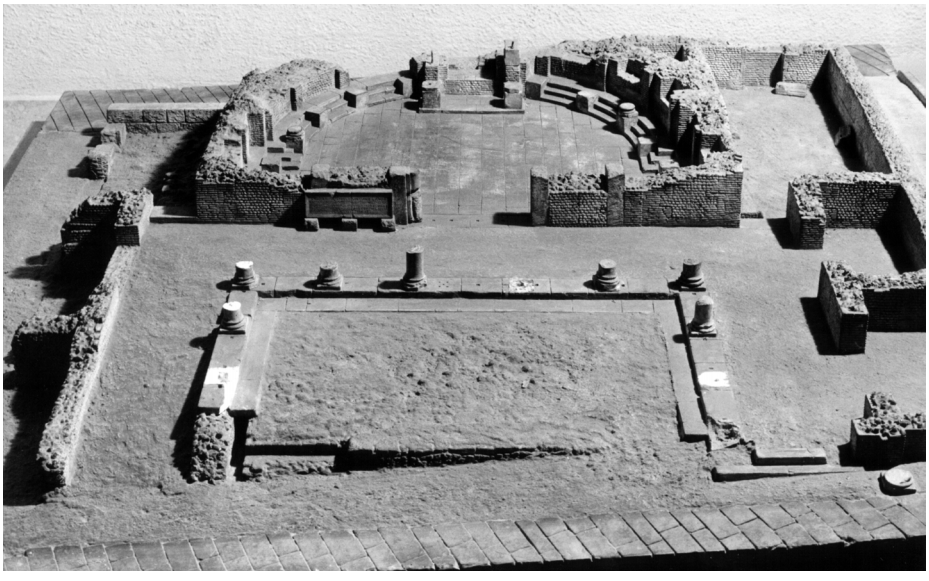
5 Athen, sog. Hadriansbibliothek, Blick in den zentralen Büchersaal



6 Ephesos, Fassade der Celsusbibliothek mit rekonstruierter Statuenaufstellung



7 Sagalassos, Bibliothekssaal, Blick auf die Rückwand



8 Timgad, Bibliothek, Modell der erhaltenen Reste im Museo della civiltà romana in Rom

9 Rom, Traiansthermen, Bibliotheks-Exedra

'Creating religious identities': *Paideia* e religione nella Seconda Sofistica

MARCO GALLI

Introduzione

Accanto alle ricche domus dei celebri *pepaideumenoi*, fissati negli 'archivi della memoria' in autori come Plutarco, Luciano, Gellio fino a Filostrato, accanto ai luoghi della socialità nel complesso spazio della città, sono proprio i 'luoghi sacri', τὰ ἱερά, che costituiscono un complesso 'Lebenswelt', in cui si articola il discorso religioso nell'età della Seconda Sofistica. La Grecia e, più in particolare, i maggiori centri cultuali della religiosità tradizionale della provincia di Achaia durante il II sec. d. C. si offrono come osservatorio privilegiato dove analizzare, all'interno di una determinata società e in un determinato momento storico, le sopraggiunte trasformazioni strutturali della comunicazione religiosa e della morfologia dello spazio sacro, di quelli che erano da sempre i 'centri della sacralità' ellenica.

In questo momento emerge in tutta evidenza una precisa volontà di stabilire forme di controllo sulla trasmissione del sapere in stretto rapporto con la formazione e il consolidamento di nuove forme di potere. Un processo questo di ridefinizione e di riattivazione di una memoria religiosa che darà luogo ad una grande varietà di interventi, manifestando un effetto catalizzante a partire dall'età adrianea e sviluppandosi soprattutto nel corso dell'età antonina.[1]

Due aspetti meritano di essere approfonditi in questa sede:

Ad Alessandro D'Alessio e Luigi Maria Calió va un sentito ringraziamento per la discussione e l'aiuto amichevole durante l'elaborazione del testo.

1 Negli ultimi anni si assiste ad un 'recupero' e ad un rinnovato interesse verso i santuari greci nelle fasi di età romana, questo fa positivamente sperare in una sempre più attenta e approfondita valorizzazione dell'incredibile mole di fonti sia epigrafiche che letterarie e, soprattutto, di una ricchissima documentazione archeologica – percentualmente la gran parte delle sopravvivenze monumentali all'interno dei grandi santuari è da ascriversi proprio a questo periodo! –; si segnalano indicativamente: Alcock, 1993; formazione di un'identità greca nell'impero romano Goldhill, 2001; Alcock, 1996; sulle forme di trasmissione del sapere nell'età della seconda sofistica v. prossimamente Galli, Archivio.

1. L'attuazione e il carattere programmatico di vasti interventi evergetici che ridefiniscono lo spazio sacro tradizionale.[2] Proprio alla prassi sociale dell'evergetismo deve essere riconosciuto un ruolo fondamentale nel creare nuovi rapporti di forza e nel fornire possibilità di intervento diretto all'interno del complesso spazio comunicativo costituito dai 'centri di sacralità' tradizionali. L'intricato sistema di donazioni, di finanziamenti e di corrispondenti forme di pubblicità connesse a tali espressioni di magnanimità sembra costituire la strategia più efficace di intervento all'interno di contesti sacrali preesistenti. Se da un lato non si può fare a meno di constatare percentualmente l'elevato numero di donazioni e di progetti evergetici in questo periodo, dall'altro l'accresciuta disponibilità economica dei ceti abbienti non può tanto costituire da sola il primo movente del fenomeno evergetico, quanto è da considerarsi come una premessa importante alla realizzazione di precisi interventi.

2. L'insediarsi nello spazio sacro di forme aggregative organizzate. Mi riferisco alla significativa presenza di collegi all'interno dello spazio sacro e alle caratteristiche della religiosità che ha luogo in tali forme di microsocietà, per la cui ricostruzione la valorizzazione della documentazione archeologica ed epigrafica offre un contributo centrale.[3]

L'entità e le dinamiche che caratterizzano questo fenomeno sembrano essere del tutto nuove qualitativamente rispetto al panorama dai santuari greci offerto dalla tarda repubblica al primo impero. I paesaggi della sacralità sono conservati come depositari della memoria e identità religiosa:[4] anche se protetti per la cura regolare delle comunità, sono spesso soggetti a rimodellamenti attraverso l'inserimento di nuove strutture spaziali. Una vasta documentazione relativa a Delfi ed Epidauro, così come puntuali confronti con Olimpia, Pergamo, Argo e Samo denunciano il costituirsi di spazi destinati all'agire di microsocietà, in concomitanza con un programmatico ed estensivo riassetto del paesaggio sacro.

2 Fenomeno dell'evergetismo nell'età della Seconda Sofistica: Galli, 2001; Galli, 2002.

3 Nuovi approcci e rinnovata discussione sulla problematica collegi religiosi nell'età romana in: Rüpke, 2004; Egelhaaf-Gaiser – Schäfer, 2002; Galli, 2003; struttura sociale, dinamiche di controllo, strategie comunicative segnatamente nelle 'Geheimgesellschaften' v. l'ampio panorama offerto in: Assmann-Assmann, 1997-1999.

4 Luogo sacro come 'luogo di memoria' e fattore fondamentale nelle dinamiche di formazione e consolidamento di identità collettive in: Assmann, 2000, in parti 11-37. Religione e fenomeno culturale della Seconda Sofistica v. i contributi di P. Baldassarri, A. Bravi, E. Fontani, M. Galli, E. Sanzi, G. Sfameni Gasparro in: Cordovana – Galli, in stampa.

La corona dei giochi istmici: frammenti di un 'discorso sacro'

Corinto, durante gli anni del regno di Traiano. Il palcoscenico: la ricca *domus* di un alto funzionario provinciale, l'archiereus Lucanius.[5] Gli attori: sulla scena si trovano esponenti delle élites locali, i notabili che ricoprono cariche religiose e diversi *pepaideumenoi* coinvolti in una serrata discussione durante il momento conviviale del *deipnon*. È certamente la suggestiva cornice dei giochi istmici che evoca il tema attorno al quale si articola la discussione: la natura sacrale del pino nel suo stretto legame con la celebrazione degli *Isthmia*, colta nel simbolo più concreto, la corona di foglie di pino destinata ai vincitori dei giochi (fig. 3).[6]

Prassitele, nel suo ruolo di periegeta, cioè di guida ufficiale del santuario di Poseidone presso l'istmo di Corinto, per primo argomenta il mito adducendo come spiegazione che il corpo dell'eroe eponimo dei giochi fu portato dal mare ai piedi di un pino. Il periegeta, appelandosi probabilmente ai *corpora* mitologici a lui familiari, instaura un legame diretto tra la corona di pino e il culto di Melicerte-Palemone. Alcuni dei partecipanti al convivio interpretano il pino in relazione al culto di Poseidone, mentre con maggiore cognizione di causa l'alto sacerdote Lucanius mette in risalto la componente dionisiaca del culto eroico che si celebra ad Isthmia: „è proprio quest'ultima considerazione che ci spinse a cercare per quale motivo gli antichi dedicavano il pino a Poseidone e Dioniso".

Queste battute di inizio e la discussione che ne segue sono solo un frammento tratto dal vasto archivio della memoria ellenica redatto da Plutarco nelle *Quaestiones Convivales*.[7] La situazione descritta è, tuttavia, emblematica non tanto per i temi trattati quanto, e, soprattutto, per il modo in cui si articola un discorso attorno a fatti e valori afferenti alla sfera del sacro: dalla corona di pino ad aspetti centrali della religiosità istmica.

Chi sostiene il legame dell'albero di pino con Poseidone, si richiama all'impiego di questo albero come materiale da costruzione per le imbarcazioni, mentre coloro che propendono per la natura dionisiaca, ne esaltano gli influssi positivi sulla qualità del vino. I ricorsi ad una memoria collettiva si impongono: l'autore attinge ad un vasto repertorio di immagini e idee, o per confutarle, come

5 Sul personaggio v. Puech, 1983, 26 con n. 45 che rimanda ad un M. Loucanios, attestato come pyrphoros di Artemide a Epidauro; l'incerta proposta di identificare il personaggio con il filosofo Basso di Corinto cf. Puech, 1992, 4858 con n. 94.

6 Sul culto in età romana: Piérart, 1998; Galli, 2001, 57-62.

7 Plu. *Symp*. 5.3 (= *Mor.* 675D-677B); nella loro forma definitiva le *Quaestiones Convivales* non furono pubblicate prima del secondo decennio del II sec. d. C., cf. da ultimo Caiazza 2001, 10 con n. 12 relativamente alla bibliografia precedente; sulla cultura del simposio Scarcella, 1998, 7-77, e soprattutto il simposio in Plutarco v. ibid. 117-133; per i temi religiosi in Plutarco v. i numerosi e ricchi contributi in: Gallo, 1996.

nel caso di Apollodoro di Atene, oppure per chiamarle a sostegno delle proprie considerazioni, come nel caso di Teofrasto. Secondo le convenzioni di uno schema drammatico, la materia religiosa comincia ad articolarsi in una vivace struttura dialogica, nella quale l'intervento diretto del maestro di retorica ricorda con un ricco apparato di citazioni letterarie particolarmente erudite che l'antecedente della corona di pino era, in realtà, costituita dal petroselino.

Per Plutarco, per Lucanius e i suoi colti ospiti, – parafrasando alcune riflessioni di W.V. Quine – la cultura che ereditiamo è una stoffa grigia, grigia di convenzioni, fortemente codificata in strutture mentali arbitrarie e dove solo relativamente possiamo separare e distinguere fatti, dati di fatto, valori e giudizi. Certo, alcuni fatti risultano semplicemente molto più centrali nel sistema delle nostre credenze sul mondo, ad esempio le concezioni religiose, ciò nonostante risulta difficile isolare anche un singolo elemento senza coinvolgere pezzi molto più ampi della nostra visione delle cose. Così anche per Plutarco, muovendo da un elemento carico di forza simbolica ed evocativa – il pino sacro della religiosità istmica –, è impossibile spostare questo aspetto apparentemente marginale, vale a dire la corona dei giochi istmici, senza mettere in moto tutta una serie di immagini e associazioni mentali.

Non è casuale che ai risvolti eruditi della dottrina del retore si opponga la 'vera' paideia, quella cioè avvalorata dall'autorità religiosa e dal prestigio personale dell'archiereus Lucanius:

> Poseidone! – disse – Quale profusione di citazioni! sembra che altri abbiamo tratto profitto della nostra inesperienza e della nostra ignoranza per persuaderci del contrario, cioè che il pino costituisce la corona tradizionale dei giochi, mentre quella di petroselino, sconosciuta fino ad allora, è stata introdotta per rivalità da Nemea per tramite di Eracle e, considerata come simbolo sacro più adeguato, ha soppiantato l'altra, mettendola in ombra. Il pino, avendo nel corso del tempo ritrovato la sua originaria venerabilità, gode ora di grande onore.[8]

A Plutarco, io-narratore e io-attore, non rimane che confermare il pensiero del suo ospite facendo significativamente appello alle facoltà della memoria:

> Io fui certamente convinto e continuai a esaminare molte delle testimonianze e a richiamarle alla memoria, come ad esempio Euforione che diceva di Melicerte (...).[9]

Ciò che emerge dalla situazione descritta non è tanto il dato erudito-antiquario ma la stratificazione del discorso nella domus di Lucanius: i legami con le pratiche religiose; l'organizzazione e il controllo di questo sistema di segni; la trasmissione del sapere religioso; infine, l'apporto di coloro che accedono ad altri livelli

8 Plu. *Mor.* 676 E-F.

9 Plu. *Mor.* 677 A.

del sapere. Grazie alla funzione catalizzante di una memoria culturale, la paideia funge da tessuto connettivo a cui attingere e a cui far ricorso non solo per ricostruire un insieme di tradizioni condivise, ma anche per definire i rapporti di potere esistenti. Sottili ma imprescindibili differenze che, pur nella finzione narrativa messa in scena da Plutarco, svelano con particolare efficacia il binomio paideia-potere che si assomma nella figura del sacerdote del culto imperiale sullo sfondo delle feste locali.

Un modo di procedere in cui l'ultima parola spetta proprio a Plutarco: l'io protagonista e al contempo autore, *pepaideumenos* e '*hieros aner*', vale a dire colui che, fissando in forma scritta la comunicazione orale, codifica e archivia forme della memoria religiosa. La paideia dunque è allo stesso tempo forma-contenuto di sapere e medium efficacissimo di una articolata comunicazione. La situazione descritta diventa paradigmatica di quella che Pierre Bourdieu definisce violenza simbolica:[10] l'inculcazione forme mentali, la trasmissione di una paideia che modella gli spiriti e li rende disponibili a riattivare queste categorie.

Il dialogo, come momento centrale di una prassi sociale, è solo uno dei tanti 'luoghi' possibili dove si trasmettono modi e principi di classificazione, concetti, categorie di percezione, di valutazione, ingiunzioni simboliche. La conversazione nella domus di Lucanius a Corinto funge da primo esperimento sulle disposizioni dell'habitus religioso; ci si può chiedere se a forme di identità narrative fissate nei testi sia possibile associare proficuamente altre identità spaziali e d'azione fissate nei luoghi e nell'agire comunicativo che in essi si manifesta. Come si viene a costituire uno spazio fisico con valenze rituali e comunicative, in cui agisce una particolare manifestazione dell'"Öffentlichkeit'?[11] Secondo quali dinamiche l'organizzazione sociale e spaziale condiziona i modi comportamentali dei singoli individui appartenenti a le comunità religiose? Quali componenti costitutive dei rinnovati spazi sacri rispondono ad un voluto effetto regolatore e stabilizzante? Di centrale importanza è l'interazione tra le modalità di utilizzo dello spazio sacro e le dinamiche della comunicazione che coinvolgono emotivamente l'osservatore-attore al suo interno.

Ma ancora una volta sono i testi che ci guidano alle immagini...

10 „La violenza simbolica" intervista con P. Bourdieu del 12.07.1993 in: Enciclopedia multimediale delle scienze filosofiche www.emsf.rai.it.

11 Per una discussione sul concetto di sfera pubblica e habitus religioso v. le acute riflessione di Bendlin, 2002, e di Rüpke, 2002.

La μεταβολή di Delfi-Pilea e l'οἰκία dell'Anfizionia

La nuova qualità dello spazio sacro, già avvertibile al primo impatto visivo fu fedelmente registrata dai contemporanei. Che i 'centri della sacralità' tradizionali già agli occhi di un attento osservatore antico risultassero nel II sec. d. C. efficacemente rimodellati, è testimoniato da un famoso passo del *de Pythiae oraculis*,[12] cronologicamente l'ultimo dei πυθικοὶ λόγοι, nel quale Plutarco registra un quadro già in profonda trasformazione, non solo nell'aspetto monumentale ma anche nei caratteri performativi del rituale:

> Anzi, il tempio si è riempito di offerte e doni dei barbari e dei greci, e si è ornato delle splendide costruzioni disposte dalla lega degli Anfizioni. Vedete voi stessi molti edifici nuovi che un tempo non esistevano, e molti che sono stati restaurati dalla rovina e dalla distruzione. Come accanto agli alberi rigogliosi altri ne nascono, insieme a Delfi anche Pilea cresce e prende vigore: grazie all'abbondanza di qui, pure quel santuario va assumendo forme e bellezza da templi, luoghi di riunione e fontane come non ebbe mai nei mille anni passati. Gli abitanti di Galassio nella Beozia avvertirono la presenza del dio dall'abbondanza grande di latte:
>
> da tutte le mandrie infatti scorreva,
> come dalle sorgenti ottima acqua,
> latte di femmina, ed essi in fretta riempirono le giare;
> nessun otre né anfora rimase vuoto nelle case,
> botti di legno e vasi si colmarono tutti.
>
> Ma a noi il dio dà segni ancora più fulgidi, importanti e sicuri: egli ha creato la prosperità, lo splendore e la gloria dallo squallore della passata povertà e dall'abbandono. È vero – dicendo così lodo me stesso, per l'opera che ho svolto in favore di tale rinascita, insieme a Policrate e a Petreo; ma soprattutto il mio applauso va al capo di quest'amministrazione, il quale pensa e provvede alla maggior parte di queste cose [...]. Ma un cambiamento tanto grande e importante in un così breve periodo di tempo non sarebbe stato possibile alla sola opera umana, se il dio non fosse stato presente qui, a ispirare della sua divinità l'oracolo.[13]

Nell'immagine complessiva ricreata da Plutarco si delinea una piena consapevolezza dello stato di progressivo abbandono verificatosi nel passato, a cui viene significativamente contrapposta la fase contemporanea di eccezionale ripresa. Non si tratta esclusivamente di un'operazione di 'restauro' volta a conservare o a salvare la sostanza monumentale degli antichi edifici, ma di un'ampia serie di

12 Valgiglio, 1992; Schröder, 1990, in par. 435-448.

13 Plu. *Mor.* 409A-C (= trad. it. Plutarco, *Dialoghi delfici*, a cura di M. Cavalli, Milano 1983, 200-201).

interventi mirati a ripristinare la funzionalità dell'antico spazio sacro e a ridefinirne la struttura.[14]

La nuova qualità degli edifici è messa in particolare risalto. I templi, i luoghi di riunione e le fontane sembrano evocare un'immagine del santuario (fig. 1-2), che in qualche misura tenda ad assimilarsi ai coevi quadri urbani: καί μορφὴν καί κόσμον ἱερῶν καί συνεδρίων καί ὑδάτων. Il dato che emerge con particolare forza è l'esistenza di un'unica 'mente' che ha organicamente concepito e razionalmente pianificato un articolato programma di interventi monumentali ad ampio raggio e, dato questo non secondario, realizzato in breve tempo (καὶ τοσαύτην μεταβολὴν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ), dando vita cosí a un progetto unitario al quale partecipano o, più probabilmente, sono tenuti a contribuire in prima persona anche i membri delle élites locali. Nell'ottica di questa sistematica progettualità si deve sottoporre ad un rinnovato esame la *vexata quaestio* sull'identificazione dell'evergete, il cui riconoscimento è notoriamente reso impossibile dalla lacuna nel testo tradito di Plutarco.[15]

Sia per l'entità della ristrutturazione, sia per la precisa pianificazione progettuale che caratterizza l'intero riasetto del santuario, la 'rinascita delfica' è da ascriversi all'opera di un solo promotore dotato di eccezionali poteri e mezzi. Come è già stato sostenuto con forti argomenti da parte della critica, difficilmente questi interventi si possono pensare disgiunti dalla figura dell'imperatore Adriano e dagli interessi politici e culturali che lo legano al santuario. I contatti tra l'imperatore e il santuario appaiono consolidati già dal primo anno di governo: in alcuni testi del 118 d. C. Adriano afferma l'antichità della città e del culto, sanzionandone la libertà, l'autonomia e i privilegi. Il 'dialogo' tra l'imperatore e il santuario, emblematicamente inciso sugli ortostati del tempio di Apollo, sarà destinato a mantenersi vivo per tutta la durata del suo regno.[16]

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14 Quadro complessivo del santuario in età romana in Weir, 1998, Maass, 1993; sul concetto di 'restauro' in Plutarco cf. Calandra, in stampa.

15 Per l'identificazione v. da ultimo Swain, 1991, con riflessioni che non invalidano le considerazioni di Flacelière, 1971, dove si mostra necessario inserire l'ampia problematica del passo di Plutarco in relazione ai forti interessi e agli interventi di Adriano a Delfi e, soprattutto, a Pilea, così come i suoi rapporti con Plutarco, su quest'ultimo punto v. le più recenti considerazioni di Lefèvre 1998, 129-130.

16 Documentazione epigrafica raccolta in: Plassart, 1970; recentemente commentata e integrata da Weir 1998, 430-446; l'eccezionalità della documentazione relativa ad Adriano e Delfi è messa giustamente in luce da Weir 1998, 444: „Hadrian was eponymous archon of Delphi at least twice, both times probably in the years prior to his creation of the Panhellenic League centered on Athens in AD 132. This office might explain the frequency of letters and embassies exchanged between Delphi and Rome during Hadrian's reign, an intensity of correspondence that was certainly unusual for a site that was not a major city like Athens, Corinth, Ephesos, or Aphrodisias. This is not to say that Hadrian, once petitioned, never took an inter-

Relativamente all'identificazione con Adriano del personaggio definito con il termine καθηγεμών, cioè di capo dell'amministrazione, accanto alla stringente argomentazione elaborata da R. Flacelière e più recentemente ribadita e integrata dalle riflessioni di F. Lefèvre, bisogna focalizzare maggiormente l'attenzione sulle eccezionali concordanze tra i dati forniti dal commento di Plutarco e i puntuali riscontri che emergono dalla densa documentazione epigrafica relativa all'imperatore e alla natura del suo rapporto con l'antico centro oracolare.

L'associazione di Delfi, grande santuario panellenico, a quello di Pilea, santuario periferico ma ugualmente di venerabili tradizioni, ristabilisce l'antico legame tra i due centri santuariali, valorizzandoli soprattutto per quella componente associativa di luoghi di riunione e di incontro del Consiglio Anfizionico.[17] Il parallelo coinvolgimento dell'antico santuario di Demetra Πυλαία o Ἀμφικτυονίς nel vasto programma evergetico costituisce l'elemento decisivo e peculiare in entrambe le fonti.[18] Puntuali riferimenti all'interno della fitta corrispondenza tra Adriano e il santuario di Delfi confermano la descrizione di Plutarco, dimostrando come tutta l'"operazione' delfica dovesse comprendere anche misure di intervento analoghe, volte a ripristinare pienamente l'attività dell'antico santuario di Pilea, presso Antela sul golfo maliaco, più comunemente denominato „Termopili" dalla maggioranza dei Greci.[19]

La componente politica degli interessi di Adriano fu alimentata dall'importanza storica-religiosa del centro minore. Analogamente al centro oracolare di Delfi, Pilea era stata l'altra antichissima sede dell'anfizionia pileodelfica.[20] Un'iscrizione del 269 a. C. cita esplicitamente a Pilea la presenza di una

est in the civic life of the Empire's minor centres, but the intensity of his attentions towards Delphi, not to mention the level of solecitude it received from other emperors, clearly marked it out as special"; la spiegazione del particolare legame è da ricercarsi nel tentativo di ripristinare la lega anfizionica in senso panellenico, una sorta di esperimento pre-panellenion, cf. Romeo 2002.

17 Su Pilea, sede dell'Anfizionia delfica cf. Hall, 2002, 144-154; per il rapporto Pilea e Delfi G. Daux, 1938.

18 Riferimenti a Pilea nella corrispondenza di Adriano con il santuario: Flacelière, 1971, 171-172; Weir, 1998, 439

19 Il sito non è stato ancora oggetto di scavi sistematici, v. da ultimo Thalmann 1980, con Béquignon, 1937, 181-204. l'identificazione del santuario di Demetra Pilea non può essere determinato che approssivamente. Località presso il passo Ovest a 2, 5 km rispetto al passo centrale delle Termopili, di cui Béquignon, 1937 aveva identificato uno stadio e una grande stoa; gli impianti principali del santuario, attestati epigraficamente nelle iscrizioni della seconda metà del IV sec. a. C. (Bourguet, 1932, 103-104) non sono stati ritrovati. Thalmann 1980 riconosce un bacino circolare analogo a quello, che si puo vedere nelle vicinanze dell'edificio termale: i χύτροι dei testi antichi: Hdt. 7.75 e Bourguet, 1932, nr. 22 l. 53; 57.

20 Aspetti religiosi del regno di Adriano in: Kuhlmann, 2002; legame tra Pilea e Delfi in età classica cf. Hall, 2002; testimonianze epigrafiche in: Bourguet, 1932, 103-104.

σκανά, termine specifico che designa un edificio con funzioni abitative e religiose, adibito opportunamente a sede di collegio sacerdotale.[21] Sintetizzando gli esiti dei lavori recenti di I. Romeo e F. Lefèvre, le costanti preoccupazioni di Adriano per lo stato dell'Anfizionia mirano a una profonda riorganizzazione e un maggiore potenziamento della lega, soprattutto in vista di un allargamento del sinedrio a trenta membri. Tali interventi imposero un indirizzo marcatamente panellenico alla più prestigiosa delle assemblee greche, costituendo una sorta di 'esperimento' preparatorio in vista della creazione nel 131/132 del Panellenion.[22]

In questa prospettiva di calcolato recupero degli antichi centri della sodalità tradizionale greca da parte di Adriano, il rimando di Plutarco ai concetti di forma e di bellezza, percepibili ora non solo negli edifici sacri, ma anche nei *synedria*, in spazi cioè appositamente destinati ad assolvere funzioni assembleari, assume il valore di una consapevole esaltazione della nuova qualità monumentale dello spazio sacro. In perfetta sintonia con la politica panellenica iniziata da Adriano e in netto contrasto con „lo squallore della passata povertà e dell'abbandono" è

21 Syll.² 422; Daux, 1938, 16, in un altro testo del IV sec. a. C. viene ricordato un synedrion, come luogo di assemblea dell'Anfizionia, v. Bourguet, 1932, n. 22 ll. 52 ss. commento a pag. 103; il termine è attestato anche nella celebre iscrizione dei misteri di Andania, cf. τραπεζοκόκος, παραθέτας 653, ll. 35-40, e ad Epidauro: *IG* IV 393; 400; 402; cf. in questa sede la parte sul santaurio di Apollo Maleata.

22 Romeo, 2002; Lefèvre, 1998, 129-130 con n. 633 mette in luce che le relazioni tra Adriano e l'anfizionia appaiono indissociabilmente legate alla personalità di Plutarco. Plutarco è attestato come *epimeletes* nella dedica della statua dell'imperatore (Syll.² 829A), consacrato dagli Anfizioni nel 117-120, ed è lui stesso a essere onorato dagli abitanti di Delfi e dai Cheronei (Syll.² 829B) per decreto degli Anfizioni, cfr. anche Weir, 1998, 431. Un'altra statua di Adriano (Syll.² 835B) è dedicata nel santuario di Atena Pronaia da T. Flavius Aristotimos con decreto della lega e della città. Non è mai stato osservato fino ad ora che Adriano è presente in Grecia già nel 112/113 d. C. quando, secondo la notizia di Cassio Dione (D.C. 69.16.1), Adriano, prima ancora di diventare imperatore, fu arconte eponimo ad Atene e presiedette alla celebrazione delle Dionisie in abiti greci, come un cittadino ateniese: questo induce a pensare che già durante questo periodo il futuro imperatore abbia partecipato ai circoli intellettuali di *pepaideumenoi*, nella cerchia di Plutarco e dei suoi 'amici'; per un importante riflesso della speculazione filosofica di Plutarco su Adriano v. Andreoni, 1996. Dall'analisi di Lefèvre, 1998 relativa al periodo adrianeo, emerge in modo evidente il conseguente impegno in senso riformista dell'imperatore nei confronti dell'istituzione delfica; i suoi interveniti appaiono trasformare profondamente la struttura dell'Anfizionia, soprattutto in funzione della sua estensione a trenta menbri rappresentanti: tale indirizzo panellenico dell'anfizionia si riflette nelle numerose lettere dell'Imperatore, dove lo stato dell'Anfizionia rimane un oggetto costante delle preoccupazioni imperiali. Per quanto riguarda l'Anfizionia Delfica e il confronto con la lega del Panhellenion, fondata successivamente da Adriano nel 131-132 d. C., come sottolinea Romeo, 2002, 25: „the broad structural similarities allow us to recognize in Hadrian's plans for the Amphictiony a model for the composition of the nucleus of the Panhellenic assembly".

proprio a partire dalla dimensione politica e dagli interventi evergetici di Adriano che lo spazio della sacralità tradizionale in Grecia si carica di nuove valenze.[23]

Accanto agli impianti assembleari e collegiali autonomi, solitamente indicati con termini quali σκανά, συνέδρίον, οἶκος, οἰκία vengono segnalati da Plutarco come ulteriori componenti essenziali gli impianti legati all'acqua, da intendersi come fontane monumentali o complessi termali. Questa più articolata struttura dello spazio sacro viene registrata puntualmente dalle fonti. Nel caso di Pilea l'effettiva esistenza di tali impianti è del resto confermata da un passo di Pausania che afferma: "acqua più azzurra che io conosca l'ho vista alle Termopili; non tutta, ma quella che scende in una piscina che gli abitanti del luogo chiamano 'Pentole delle donne'."[24] Relativamente alla novità rappresentata da tali impianti entro un quadro tradizionale, non è casuale il fatto che dopo l'età adrianea proprio l'antico santuario di Demetra Pylea attirerà l'attenzione di un altro celebre mecenate, Erode Attico, il cui intervento evergetico si rivolgerà significativamente alla costruzione di un impianto termale.[25]

L'opera di progressivo adeguamento, a cui sono soggetti i santuari, si caratterizza per particolare forza innovativa. Una significativa opera di riprogettazione monumentale, limitatamente alla terrazza principale del santuario (fig. 4), costituisce un eclatante segno di quanto le trasformazioni messe in atto dal fenomeno associazionistico religioso, comportassero interventi particolarmente radicali nel relativo sistema monumentale, che doveva, al contrario, riflettere quel concetto di perpetuata immutabilità insita per definizione nel concetto di sacro.

Nell'estremo settore a ovest del grande muro di sostegno, denominato *ischegaon*, nel luogo di forte impatto visivo (fig. 2 nr. 529; 4), dove il generale Cratero, o il di lui figlio omonimo, aveva fatto erigere il gruppo bronzeo di Lisippo che lo rappresentava (fig. 2 nr. 540; 5), assieme ad Alessandro, in una scena di caccia al leone, fu allestito in età imperiale un complesso definito dagli archeologi francesi come 'terme'. Pur nella esiguità delle informazioni a riguardo, questo contesto esemplifica il carattere particolarmente 'invasivo' delle nuove costruzioni. Come si evince dalle immagini e dai rilievi disponibili (fig. 6 a-b; 7-8), in età imperiale, dopo aver provveduto a smantellare il muro che si alzava al di sopra del piano dell'opistodomo (fig. 4; 6 b) e gran parte della fondazione originaria, sulla quale si appoggiava la grande esedra rettangolare in cui era esposta l'opera di Lisippo

23 Delfi come 'luogo di memoria': Jacquemin, 1991.

24 Paus. 4.35.9.

25 Philostr. *VS*, 551 K: „Dedicò anche ad Apollo Pizio lo stadio di Pito e a Zeus l'acquedotto di Olimpia, mentre ai Tessali e ai Greci che abitavano lungo il golfo Maliaco donò le piscine delle Termopili, salutari per gli ammalati" (= trad. it., Flavio Filostrato, *Vite dei sofisti*, a cura di G.F. Brussich, 1987, 87).

commissionata da Cratero, si realizzò una serie di ambienti, di cui rimanevano all'inizio del '900 diversi lacerti di muri e di pilastri. La documentazione disponibile (fig. 7-8) mostra che lo spazio dell'originario monumento ellenistico era stato chiuso da muri in opera laterizia, i quali estendenvano anche a sud a livello della terrazza del tempio (fig. 4 e, soprattutto 6 b, dove sono riportati in pianta gli stessi pilastri visibili in fig. 7-8). La presenza di ipocausti, registrati nello scavo, e di incavi nel preesistente muro in blocchi, documentati nella parete laterale a est (fig. 8) e possibilmente funzionali ad ulteriori parcellizzazioni dello spazio interno, sembrano testimoniare una serie di ambienti opportunamente riscaldati. Non necessariamente si deve pensare ad un impianto termale, quanto piuttosto si potrebbe ipotizzare un allestimento di ambienti riscaldati per funzioni assembleari. La ristrutturazione, la cui cronologia a giudicare della muratura composta da ricorsi di mattoni (fig. 7-8) uniformi e regolari, non esula dalla prima metà del II sec. d. C.,[26] ridefinisce architettonicamente e funzionalmente in modo radicale la terrazza del tempio.

Da una prospettiva critica attuale, ci appare interessante riportare il giudizio particolarmente svalutativo espresso dal primo editore dello scavo circa la natura degli interventi romani nell'area del monumento di Cratero:

> Entre cette époque de déclin et l'ère byzantine, le respect e'en étai allé: un établissement de thermes, confortablement aménagé dans la salle de l'ex-voto de Krateros à l'Ouest, avait poussé ses hypocaustes jusqu'au bord même du temple; le dallage qui, pourtant, offre tous les indices d'une époque déjà basse, était enseveli à cette date à plus d'un mètre sous le sol. Cette décadence préludai à la barbarie byzantine et quand le village ceint s'établir sur le sanctuaire, le temple ne fut plus pour ses habitants qu'un champ fructueux de recherches d'où ils tiraient la pierre à bâtir et les précieux scellements de métal.[27]

Contro questa valutazione in termini di 'decadenza', sembra importante evidenziare, all'opposto, la preferenza accordata ad un sito di particolare impatto visivo, la cui scelta risultava certamente motivata per la sua immediata connessione con il centro focale del luogo sacro, il tempio di Apollo.

Quale possibile destinazione potrebbe essere ipotizzata per questo impianto che si insedia in un'area così centrale all'interno del santuario di Apollo?

Si formula l'ipotesi di identificare tale struttura come sede di un collegio religioso, e più precisamente con l'edificio attestato epigraficamente come οἰκία (**OIKIA**) e dedicato dalla lega Anfizionica. L'esistenza di un ciclo unitario di donazioni da parte della lega Anfizionica permette di collegare questo complesso

26 Indicativamente cf. gli esempi di Argo, Olimpia (ninfeo di Erode Attico), Patrasso discussi in: Ginouvès, 1972, in part. 217-245.

27 Courby, 1927, 117.

con una delle sale assembleari (συνέδρια) e delle costruzioni (οἰκοδομήματα/κατασκευαί) menzionate da anche Plutarco nel passo citato ed espressamene destinate alla lega.

Si tratta di una serie omogenea di tre dediche, caratterizzate dall'identico formulario, compiute sotto l'epimeletai di T. Flavius Soclarus.[28]

SIG 823 A-C
τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐ[κ τῶν τοῦ]
θεοῦ χρημάτων ὑπὸ τὴν Φλαουί[ου Σ]ω-
κλάρου ἐπιμελητείαν τὴν οἰκίαν
τῇ Πυθίᾳ, κατεσκεύασεν.

τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐκ τῶν τοῦ
θεοῦ χρημάτων ὑπὸ τὴν Φλαουίου Σω-
κλάρου ἐπιμελητείαν τὴν βυβλιοθήκην
κατεσκεύασεν.

τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων
ἐκ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χρημάτον
ὑπὸ τὴν Φλαουίου Σωκλάρου
ἐπιμελητείαν τὸ στρου-
κτώριον ἐποικοδόμησεν.

Questa importante testimonianza permette di identificare la ristrutturazione monumentale dell'originario monumento ellenistico con l'impianto definito come οἰκία, dedicato dai membri dell'Amfizionia delfica τῇ Πυθίᾳ. Il termine οἰκία, è qui da intendersi non tanto come sede della sacerdotessa, quanto come sede dell'importante istituzione politico-religiosa dell'Anfizionia, come dimostrano anche le altre due dediche che fanno riferimento rispettivamente all'esistenza di una βυβλιοθήκη e di uno στρουκτώριον, ambiente adibito a sala per banchetti. La precisa formulazione dell'atto evergetico κατεσκεύασεν da parte dei membri dell'anfizioni e il riferimento τῇ Πυθίᾳ indica che il complesso si doveva trovare esclusivamente all'interno del recinto sacro ed era simbolicamente connesso con la matrice oracolare del culto. La menzione della Pizia nella prima iscrizione, ritrovata nella terrazza principale, richiamava inoltre la diretta associazione topografica tra nuovo edificio e il tempio di Apollo (fig. 4).

28 Sulla gens v. Puech, 1981; sulle iscrizioni Weir, 1998, 401-402 con nn. 1068-1072; 424-425. Importanti le considerazioni di Homolle, 1896, 720-721: il primo testo con il riferimento all' οἰκία fu ritrovata sotto la „doucine du Temple d'Apollon", significativo il fatto che l'iscrizione è stata apposta su di un rocco di colonna del tempio arcaico degli Alcmeonidi, indizio di un'operazione di restauro del tempio e di un riutilizzo del blocco per la nuova iscrizione; reimpiegato fu anche il secondo blocco con la menzione della biblioteca; mentre la terza iscrizione (Homolle, 1899, 574) fu ritrovata nel complesso del ginnasio (Maass, 1993, pianta I fig. 24) nella "salle du bain, au pied du mur, près de la dernière bouche d'eau au S.E." può far pensare ad un reimpiego.

L'esplicita menzione degli altri due spazi costitutivi dell'impianto qualifica in modo inequivocabile la struttura dell'esedra di Cratero alla stregua della citata σκανά nel santuario di Pilea. Il termine στρουκτώριον – suggestivo è qui l'utilizzo di un termine mia usato e significativamente coniato sul termine latino structor![29] – indica l'ambiente destinato all'evento della commensalità: nella microsocietà dei *collegia* non solo il culto, ma soprattutto gli atti collettivi inerenti la commensalità sono momenti non marginali ed esteriori della socialità corporativa ma costituiscono, al contrario, fattori fondamentali di un processo di formazione e consolidamento dell'identità singola e collettiva.[30] L'ordine sociale all'interno della struttura corporativa è garantito da un sistema di norme di comportamento, accuratamente codificate e trasmesse: emblematica in questo senso è la regolamentazione normativa che si erano dati gli iobacchi ateniesi.[31] In questa particolare ottica la presenza di una 'biblioteca' deve essere intesa come archivio degli atti anfizionici, la cui esistenza è dimostrata dalla presenza di un βιβλιοφύλαξ, citato nella corrispondenza tra Adriano e il santuario.[32] All'effettiva necessità di ricorrere alla consultazione degli atti viene si fa riferimento inoltre anche in un'altra lettera di Adriano ed il santuario.[33]

La costruzione di una οἰκία destinata ad ospitare le assemblee della lega anfizionica, con i suoi spazi adibiti alla prassi conviviale-rituale e alle funzioni più squisitamente istituzionali, appare strettamente connessa con l'opera di potenziamento e di ristrutturazione promossa dagli interessi panellenici-anfizionici e all'attività riformatrice di Adriano. Non appare casuale che l'evergete dell'intero progetto possa riconoscersi nell'epimeletes T. Flavius Soclarus, esponente di spicco dell'élite colta, da identificarsi nel nipote dell'omonimo celebre amico di Plutarco, la cui attività si circoscrive proprio negli anni 130-140 d. C.[34]

Come si evince dalle testimonianze storiche e archeologiche fin qui prese in esame, alla consapevolezza di un avvenuto mutamento all'interno della sfera sacra dobbiamo associare l'esistenza di un forte impegno evergetico promosso dalla politica imperiale, ma significativamente coadiuvato dall'apporto di alti fun-

29 *LSJ* 9, 1855, s.v.; "prob. dining-room (Lat. *structor* = τραπεζοκόμος, παραθέτης)".

30 Sulla presenza di spazi della commensalità come componente delle sedi colleggiali v. Egelhaaf-Gaiser, 2000, 315-329.

31 Cf. Schäfer, 2002 (in: Egelhaaf-Gaiser – Schäfer 2002, 173-207 con la bibliografia precedente).

32 Plassart, 1970, 97 nr. 306 col. I l. 9.

33 Plassart, 1970, 302 col. II ll. 29 ss.; Flacelière, 1971, 171; Weir, 1998, 435-436.

34 Si propone in questa sede l'identificazione con l'omonimo nipote del famoso T. Fl. Soclaros, attestato in *IG* IX, 190; 192-193; Syll.^{2} 868 C. Puech, 1981, 189-190; Weir, 1998, 402 n. 1072 segnala un altro testo epigrafico non pubblicato: si tratta di una sua statua onoraria dedicata nel santuario (Museo di Delfi nr. inv. 3749).

zionari locali, come nei casi citati di T. Flavius Soclarus, lo stesso Plutarco assieme ai suoi amici Policrate e Petreo.[35]

Le misure adottate da questi personaggi per attivare o riattivare nei santuari del periodo strutture associative a carattere politico-religioso costituiscono fattori determinanti nel più generale processo di ridefinizione dello spazio sacro. Alcuni aspetti di quella che Plutarco definisce per Delfi come una radicale μεταβολή rietrano nel più generale fenomeno dell'affermarsi di microsocietà, intese come nuove strutture di potere, in cui le élites colte si organizzano e consolidano il loro status e i loro interessi.[36] Le tendenze messe in luce fino qui nel dossier archeologico e storico relativo ai centri santuariali di Delfi e Pilea si registrano con marcata evidenza nello spazio sacro della Grecia a partire dal II sec. d. C., i cui centri a partire dagli interventi adrianei nella provincia d'Achaia sembrano adeguare programmaticamente la loro struttura spaziale e rituale sotto l'azione di collegi religiosi di estrazione aristocratica, gerarchicamente organizzati e controllati da potenti e influenti evergeti.

La μεταβολή di Epidauro e il thiasos di Antoninus Pythodorus

Tale rapporto che si è stabilito tra trasformazione –, μεταβολή come embleticamente sottolinea Plutarco – e prassi evergetica ci spinge verificare l'esistenza di concreti spazi comunicativi per le realtà collegiali e a ricostruirne il tipo di religiosità. Un preciso parallelismo che ricorda da vicino il vasto programma di intervento che coinvolgerà il celebre santuario di Asclepio ad Epidauro e investirà direttamente il più periferico, ma in realtà più antico nucleo sacro di Apollo-Maleatas, centro delle divinità autoctone, arcaiche e precedenti all'insediamento stesso del dio Asclepio. L'intera serie di interventi è conosciuta grazie anche all'ampio resoconto di Pausania, che ne conferma il carattere estensivo e programmatico.[37] Si tratta di un vasto intervento che coinvolge vari edifici

35 Nella situazione descritta da Plutarco si ha un significativo riflesso di una ben più complessa dinamica sociale animata da una struttura e da un tipo di organizzazione sociale a 'network', v. su questa problematica Egelhaaf-Gaiser – Schäfer, 2002, Galli, 2003, 5 n. 11; analogamente allo spazio urbano, anche lo spazio sacro si caratterizza come luogo sociale di fitta interazione, come soprattutto Remus, 1996 ha acutamente quantificato la complessità di tale sistema di rapporti non solo religiosi e personali, ma anche politici ed economici.

36 Lo stesso fenomeno del costituirsi nell'ambito dei certi aristocratici di microsocietà si ricoscontra anche nella struttura dell'ambito 'privato': alcune forti evidenze raccolte relative al sofista Erode Attico da Galli, 2002, 143-144 (Triopio sulla via Appia) 148-149 (iscrizione di giochi funebri con particpazione di rabdoforoi) 174-175 (villa di Loukou).

37 Paus. 2.27.6-7.

dell'Asclepieion e comporta parallelamente una sostanziale ripianificazione all'interno dell'antico santuario di Apollo Maleatas, posto sul vicino monte Kynortion (fig. 10-11). Con una serie di puntuali conferme della documentazione archeologica ed epigrafica tutta l'operazione di ristrutturazione di Epidauro è da ascriversi al senatore originario di Nysa sul Meandro, Sextus Julius Maior Pythodorus, esponente dell'élite microasiatica, celebre per varie evergesie nella sua città natale e personaggio di spicco nel santuario di Pergamo.[38]

Legato ad intellettuali come lo stesso Pausania, come ha giustamente ipotizzato Habicht, e attivo a Pergamo in qualità di θεραπευτής di Asclepio, come è dato immaginare dal riferimento di Elio Aristide nei *Discorsi Sacri*, Antoninus Pythodorus si qualifica come evergete-*pepaideumenos* alla stregua di altre celebri personalità della Seconda Sofistica.[39] La nuova qualità del culto di Asclepio, caratterizzata da una matrice sapienziale ed esoterica, si alimenta della speculazione filosofica dei circoli neo-sofistici e sembra essere fortemente promossa da eminenti *pepaideumenoi* del momento, come il retore Erode Attico a Delfi, Eleusi e ad Olimpia oppure lo storico Claudius Charax o L. Cuspius Pactumeius Rufinus a Pergamo.[40]

Come si è potuto dimostrare per Delfi, dove è ben documentata l'esistenza di un'articolata politica imperiale incentivata dal decisivo impegno delle élites locali, anche per Epidauro è testimoniato un programmatico intervento di recupero, forse pianificato o auspicato dall'autorità centrale, ma nella prassi organizzato e attuato da un potente membro dell'aristocrazia senatoria provinciale. La dedica di una statua in onore di Adriano e alcuni documenti monetali di Adriano e di Antonino Pio relativi al culto di Asclepio offrono significativi indizi di una propaganda politica promossa dall'imperatore, che doveva costituire a sua volta il clima, in cui calare l'imponente operazione di recupero attuata dal potente senatore di Nisa sul Meandro.[41] Pur nell'impossibilità di analizzare in sufficiente dettaglio tutta la serie di interventi iniziati nel santuario di Asclepio e in quello sul monte Kynortion dall'evergete microasiatico, si cercherà di mettere in evidenza in questa sede, soprattutto, l'intento programmatico volto a pianificare e definire

38 Halfmann, 1979, 171 nr. 89; Habicht, 1985, 18; 22; 29; 64-65; *RE* 24, 1963, 593-596 s.v. Pythodorus nr. 14 (A. Stein); per le evergesie nella città natale cf. Balty, 1991, 447-453.

39 Habicht, 1969, 64-66.

40 Erode Attico: Galli, 2002, 209-226; Charax e Rufinus: Galli, 2001, 49-51.

41 *IG* IV 606 del 123/124 d. C., e part. per la statua loricata di Adriano, Katakis, 2002, 116-117 nr. 125 figg. 140-142; 155-166; 283-286 con relativa bibliografia; ritrovata anche una copia del ritratto dell'imperatore v. ibid. 272 nr. 99; per i documenti monetali di Adriano e Antonino Pio cf. Amandry, 1993, 329-332 con riferimento a due monete di Berlino che rappresentano il diritto con l'effige di Adriano e sul verso, quella di Asclepio su di una e sull'altra una corona con la scritta Ἀσκληπεῖα; Sève, 1993, 303-328, part. 317.

spazi precisi destinati alla sodalità, come pure a organizzare la dimensione comunicativa della confraternita, regolamentandone la prassi cultuale e rituale.

Precisi riscontri confermano l'unitarietà dell'operazione di 'recupero', già emblematicamente messa in luce dal passo di Pausania. Insieme ad una dedica di un edificio denomitato 'epitedeion' e ad un'altra onoraria per Antoninus Pythodorus in qualità di evergete, numerosi bolli con la scritta **ANTΩNEIN**(…), apposti su tegole, furono ritrovati nell'edificio denominato '**Φ**' e in quello '**K**' (fig. 11), nel complesso situato vicino alla cisterna dell'Asclepieion e, infine, nell'edificio collegato alla grande cisterna ipogeica sul Kynortion (fig. 12 nr. 11-12). La numerosa serie di bolli,[42] recanti il nome del donante, è indice dell'apparato organizzativo messo in moto da questo tipo di intervento ad ampio raggio: le necessità di quello che possiamo immaginare come un vasto cantiere attivava, addirittura, una produzione di materiale da costruzione su precisa commissione, per così dire 'personalizzata'. Un caso analogo è testimonianto dall'evergetismo di Erode Attico nel santuario di Zeus ad Olimpia, dove la presenza di bolli recanti il nome del sofista sembra indicare una dinamica direttamente confrontabile con quella registrata per Epidauro.[43]

Il nucleo maggiormente esemplificativo della ristrutturazione promossa da Antoninus Pythodorus è il contesto del santuario di Apollo-Maleatas. Parimenti a quanto sottolineato nel caso del recupero del piccolo centro periferico del santuario di Demetra presso Antela, oggetto di forti interessi da parte di Adriano e di Erode Attico, anche il notevole impegno manifestato dal senatore di Nisa per il piccolo centro sul monte Kynortion è mirato al recupero completo di un'area che, al momento del suo intervento, doveva trovarsi in stato di quasi completo abbandono.[44]

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42 Nell'edificio fig. 11 nr. 11 v. Ergon, 1990, 13-17 con fig. 16; per le altre attestazioni cf. *IG* IV 715-716; P. Kavvadias, Praktika, 1921, 39-41; Praktika, 1892, 54-56.

43 Adler, 1892, 135, con il commento di Ginouvès, 1972, 217; tali testimonianze relative alla documentazione epigrafica dell'*instrumentum* rimanda alla complessa problematica dei mezzi e modi della produzione di laterizio, come pure al rapporto tra esponenti delle élites, in qualità di proprietari delle figlinae e allo stesso tempo committenti delle costruzioni, con l'officinator della figlina stessa: il bollo, in quanto tale, è infatti segno del contratto tra proprietario e officinator. Le evidenze di Epidauro e Olimpia individuano dinamiche simili a quelle ben documentati in ambito propriamente romano-italico, in particolare v. Steinby, 1974-1975, in generale cf. Steinby, 1986, 99-159 (amichevole segnalazione di A. D'Alessio).

44 Dalla documentazione archeologica recente emerge una situazione di generale abbandono, verificatosi dopo l'incursioni di Silla, mentre in età augustea il culto è circoscitto ad un recinto posto direttamente sulla terrazza micenea: cf. V. Lambrinoudakis, Praktika, 1981, 179-181; Praktika, 1983, 152-154; Praktika, 1987, 64-65.

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Per il colto evergete microasiatico il luogo sul Kynortion offriva l'opportunità unica di 'ricostruire' l'identità del culto, riattivando la memoria delle antiche origini della religiosità di Asclepio. Come si apprende dalla genealogia sacra, codificata nel peana di Isillo all'inizio del III a. C.,[45] gli elementi dell'oscuro sostrato tessalico e delfico relativi alla leggenda dell'eroe medico si coniugavano con elementi della tradizione locale: Asclepio figlio di Apollo Maleatas e di una nipote del primo re Malos, che per primo farà erigere un altare in onore del dio sulla cima del monte. Il carattere arcaico del culto di Apollo insito nell'epiclesi, che secondo il suggerimento di M. Guarducci è da collegarsi per associazione al termine μᾶλον, sembra testimoniare l'originaria connotazione ctonia del culto;[46] questa è confermata puntualmente dal riferimento al 'discendere' nei luoghi sotteranei, destinati al culto del dio, come menzionato in Isillo (εἰς ἄδυτον καταβάς al l. 30), un carattere ctonio quale si ritrova già nella presenza di un *adyton* nel più antico Asclepieion di Tricca e nell'associazione di Asclepio con il culto eleusino ad Atene.[47]

In sintesi, di notevole importanza risulta il dato del completo silenzio sul culto di Apollo Maleatas nelle fonti antiche, a partire da Isillo fino alla nuova fase del santuario nel II sec. d. C. Di fronte a tale scenario di generale abbandono, gli atti e i gesti evergetici di Antoninus Pythodorus riflettono la precisa volontà di dare vita ad un nuovo 'luogo di memoria', un rinnovato polo della sacralità, incentivando spazi senza dubbio alternativi a quelli tradizionali, ma ugualmente connotati di una forte valenza simbolica. Un'analisi mirata della documentazione in nostro possesso permette di ricostruire quell'articolata e suggestiva ritualità che doveva caratterizzare la nuova compagine del santuario.

La nuova qualità dell'edificio, precisamente identificato da varie iscrizioni come σκανά,[48] (fig. 12 nr. 11; 15) e la particolare connessione con l'impianto ipogeico situato nell'immediate vicinanze, chiamato 'cisterna di Antoninus' (fig.

45 *IG* IV 128, di recente oggetto di un'ampia disamina: Sineux, 1999; cf. anche Girone, 1998, 46-52.

46 Guarducci, 1932.

47 La 'discesa' nell'*adyton* del dio nel santuario di Tricca in: *IG* IV 128 l. 30, in generale sul legame tra Asclepio e il culto sotteraneo v. Ustinova 2002, 275; una simile funzione dei luoghi sotteranei nel culto di Asclepio è citato anche da Tessalo di Tralle (I-IV sec. d. C.), in cui è citato un episodio di necromanzia si ritrova la stessa suggestione della cripta cf. Ogden, 2002, 52-54 nr. 53; per il legame tra Asclepio e il culto eleusino v. Guarducci, 1932, 229 n. 2 che rimanda a Syll.² 88, sottolineando: „il carattere chtonio di Asclepio è confermato anche dal fatto che ad Atene nel 420 egli trovò il suo primo asilo nell'Eleusinion"; il legame tra Asclepio e religiosità eleusina è riattivato nel II sec. d. C. dal celebre sofista Erode Attico che dedica una statua di Asclepio a Eleusi: Galli, 2001, 65-68; cf. Melfi, in stampa, sulla base di Philostr. *Ap.* 4, 18; Clinton, 1994,.

48 *IG* IV 393, 400, 402.

12 nr. 12), evidenziano la dinamica di uno spazio comunicativo con precise valenze rituali, come tale destinato all'agire sociale di una determinata 'sfera publica'. Si tratta di un'interessante combinazione, realizzata sull'ampio piazzale prospiciente la zona della nuova entrata monumentale del santuario (fig. 12 nr. 10), che ricalca nella disposizione dei vari spazi che lo compongono, la struttura della 'casa a peristilio' (fig. 12 nr. 11; 15). L'identificazione dell'edificio sulla base delle testimonianze epigrafiche come σκανά indica più specificatamente un 'Vereinshaus': grazie ad importanti confronti con i già citati casi del santuario di Pilea, sede dell'Anfizionia delfica, e di Andania, il termine, solitamente interpretato come 'casa dei sacerdoti', qualifica in realtà un complesso architettonico destinato all'attività di un collegio religioso. Tale ipotesi sembra confermata dall'analisi della struttura architettonica, come pure dalla ricca documentazione relativa alla prassi cultuale, dalla quale emergono evidenti i tratti peculiari della religiosità collegiale.

Rinunciando a inquadrare l'edificio in schematiche categorie tipologiche, sembra possibile cogliere nell'articolata definizione dell'impianto quei criteri di polifunzionalità caratteristici degli spazi associativi,[49] dove alla pluralità delle forme di agire sociale e dei comportamenti rituali corrisponde una varietà e mobilità dei luoghi preposti ad informare gli spazi comunicativi delle singole confraternite. La struttura della σκανά esemplifica la connotazione 'domestico' di un edificio collegiale:[50] attorno ad una corte, (fig. 15 vano 'Ε'), si dispongono vari ambienti, tra cui alcuni riservati a funzioni rappresentative, come i vani 'Γ' o 'Ι', quest'ultima una vasta sala (fig. 12 nr. 15; 15) con parete di fondo tripartita (spazio cultuale?). Il vano 'Δ', invece, è una stanza con una piccola ripartizione interna, che sembra piuttosto assolvere a mansioni di servizio. Particolare attenzione merita la disposizione del settore sud dell'edificio, che si articola in un lungo e stretto corridoio coperto a volta, vano 'Χ', che termina in una stanza, vano 'Ο', dotata di un doppio lavacro, che funge da anticamera ad un ambiente circolare, vano 'Π'. La misteriosa combinazione di questi spazi sembra rimandare ai rituali della confraternita, propabilmente connessi con il compimento di gesti di purificazione, come indica la presenza di impianti per l'acqua nel vano 'Ο' e, soprattutto, nel vano 'Π', predisposto ad accogliere un periantherion, il quale si doveva elevare su alta base, come ancora documentano le tracce al centro della stanza circolare. Tali pratiche, come abluzioni e lavaggi rituali, sono ben documentati

49 Sulla polifunzionalità delle sedi collegiali, superando la separazione pubblico-privato odierna, adatte a ospitare nei suoi ambienti rituali, sedute filosofiche, o il momento centrale della *cena sacerdotalis* v. le considerazioni di Rüpke, 2002, nelle quali si sottolinea il carattere di interscambiabilità tra lo spazio sacro e quello domestico.

50 V. Lambrinoudakis, *Praktika*, 1989, 50-54; *Praktika*, 1990, 45-48; *Praktika*, 1991, 44-49.

nella famosa iscrizione di M. Giulio Apella del II sec. d. C., *pepaideumenos* di Milasa, città di recente nobiltà ateniese.[51]

In conformità alle tendenze più recenti degli studi che indicano nella canonica separazione 'pubblico-privato' un fuorviante approccio alla realtà associativa antica e ai suoi spazi d'azione, particolarmente esemplificativo si profila il caso della σκανά realizzata da Antoninus Pythodorus a Epidauro, la quale fa emergere la natura di interscambiabilità tra spazio sacro e spazio domestico peculiare dell'architettura dei *collegia*.[52] In un'ottica che superi, quindi, la netta distinzione tra ambienti principali e spazi di servizio con finalità utilitaristiche,[53] l'eccezionale connessione tra l'impianto della σκανά e la grande cisterna, citata come opera di notevole impegno anche nel passo di Pausania, si carica di altre più forti valenze. Appare assai limitativo, infatti, che tale impianto, caratterizzato da uno straordinario impegno tecnico, fosse finalizzato esclusivamente alla conservazione delle acque destinate al funzionamento del santuario sul Kynortion, il quale non sembra aver bisogno in realtà di tali approviggionamenti. Accanto agli aspetti pragmatici, legati alla quotidianità della comunità, che dovevano far fronte al rifornimento d'acqua per il vicino 'ninfeo' e per l'edificio delle piccole terme (fig. 12 nr. 14. 16), non si deve escludere, a mio avviso, un utilizzo in connessione con i rituali della comunità ospitata nell'edificio. L'ipotesi che la cisterna di Antoninus Pythodorus costituisse una sorta di ἄδυτον, o καταβάσιον,[54] – luogo ipogeico

51 *IG* IV 126, cf. Girone, 1998, 58-70, "Io, Marco Giulio Apella Idrieo di Milasa, fui mandato a chiamare dal dio secondo i precetti mi ordinò di lavarmi da solo, di sfregarmi contro il muro nel bagno in prossimità 'delle orecchie' (...) di lavarmi da solo (...) di partecipare ai sacrifici comuni in onore di Asclepio, Epione e delle dee di Eleusi. di ingerire latte e miele."

52 Paradigmatico il caso dei *Frates Arvales*, sottolineato da Rüpke, 2002, 50 con n. 43, puntualizza più volte nel regolare scambio tra le espressioni *in luco* e *domo* tale polifunzionalità dello spazio domestico; cf. Egelhaaf-Gaiser, 2000, 229.

53 Per una nuova ottica che consideri l'interazione tra spazi principali e spazi di servizio v. Egelhaaf-Gaiser, 2000, 230-233.

54 Discendere in un'area sotteranea come equivalente del rito di iniziazione in: Sfameni Gasparro, 1985, 81; da parte dell'a è in preparazione uno studio sulla funzione dei luoghi ipogeici nell'esperienza religiosa del periodo; pur non essendo possibile appronfondire in questa sede quest'ampia tematica, si rimanda ad alcune significative testimonianze dell'utilizzo da parte di collegi religiosi di spazi ipogeici, creati artificialmente come nel caso del Thiasos dionisiaco di Kallatis, v. Avram, 2002, oppure ottenuti sfruttando la conformazione naturale, come nel caso grotte, dove si segnala il caso famoso del rito di katabasis nell'antro di Trofonio a Lebadea, come descritto da Paus. 9.39.4-5 e Philostr. *Ap.* 8.19, per le diverse componenti del culto v. Bonnechere, 1998. Per i rituali delle congregazioni misteriche che comportano i discendere in tali luoghi sotteranei s. Herrmann, 1996, che pone l'attenzione su alcuni attori del rituale denominati *enbatai-archenbatai*, iniziati che avevano accesso a tali luoghi, mentre sulla funzione particolarmente suggestiva di tali spazi e del coinvolgimento emozionale che comportano s. le considerazioni recenti di Egelhaaf-Gaiser – J. Rüpke (eds.), 2000, 155-176, stati alterati deri-

destinato all'esercizio di culti misterici – appare suffragata non solo dalle caratteristiche del culto, già registrate da Isillo nel caso dell'antico santuario di Tricca,[55] ma anche dal confronto puntuale con simili apparati che riproducevano artificialmente, con il mirato impiego di ambienti sotteranei in forma di criptoportici ma dotati anche di possibilità assembleari, la stessa situazione ipotizzabile ad Epidauro. Particolarmente suggestivo per questa relazione è il richiamo alla struttura sotteranea documentata nell'Asclepieion di Pergamo nel portico Sud (fig. 17): si tratta di un imponente ambiente ipogeico, diviso in due navate e destinato alla frequentazione, essendo dotato di una banchina in pietra che correva lungo le pareti (fig. 17).[56]

Alcune importanti evidenze di una ritualità misterica dimostrano l'esistenza di pratiche rituali. Un'iscrizione ritrovata reimpiegata all'interno della stessa cisterna menziona la 'notte sacra', situazione che rimanda direttamente alla celebrazione di riti notturni, peculiari ad una religiosità misterico-iniziatica.[57] Tale ipotesi è ulteriormente supportata dal materiale ceramico rinvenuto nella stessa cisterna, tra cui si segnala la presenza di numerose lucerne databili al II e III sec. d. C. Il suggestivo spazio della cisterna (fig. 12 nr. 12) sembra dunque prestarsi adeguatamente, secondo la nostra ipotesi, ai rituali collettivi della comunità religiosa che aveva sede nel complesso della σκανά. La presenza di tale impianto dall'elaborato assetto architettonico, – non a caso la particolare menzione di Pausania ne sottolinea l'eccezionalità[58] – è motivata anche dalla forza simbolica, di cui il luogo diventava oggetto e in cui l'allusione all'immaginario del mondo ctonio doveva coinvolgere con particolare efficacia emotiva i partecipanti.

Una conferma che immagini, gesti votivi e atti rituali fossero strettamente connessi alla religiosità collegiale e agli spazi ad essa deputati, viene da uno straordinario documento, in cui Antoninus Pythodoros, rivolgendosi direttamente ai suoi adepti, stabilisce tutta una serie di interessanti prescrizioni relative ad una dedica del donante stesso. Si tratta dell'iscrizione trovata nel santuario di Apollo Maleatas, la cui datazione è fissata con precisione al 163 d. C. Per l'importanza ai

vanti dal permanere in ambienti sotteranei sono registrati con efficacia nel racconto di Timarco in Plu. *de gen. Socr.* 21-22 (= *Mor.* 509B-592F).

55 *IG* IV 128, l. 30.

56 La ricostruzione della banchina è frutto di studi recenti cf. Radt, 1999, 235 fig. 181.

57 V. Lambrinoudakis, Praktika, 1998, 28 con fig. 22, datata al 111 d. C.

58 Paus. 2.27.7: "ma sempre Antonino provide, in favore degli Epidaurii, a realizzare tutte le altre opere del santuario del Maleates e, in particolare, a costruire un serbatoio, dove si raccoglie l'acqua che il dio manda."

fini della nostra ricostruzione si da qui una breve sintesi ed un essenziale commento del contenuto del testo.[59]

IG IV 88
[– ἰν]α μὴ
[– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – τὴν ψ]ῆφον τε-
[θῆναι? – – – ἐὰν δέ τινες – – ἀ]φανίσαι πει-
[ράσωνται – – – ἢ – – – –]ῶσι ἢ τὰς τοῦ θε-
[οῦ – – – – – ἢ ἐάν τις – – – – –]ίσηι ἢ ἐπιχειρήσῃ
[– – – – – – – – – – ἢ χρ]ήσασθαι εἰς ἡντιν-
[οῦν χρείαν, κατὰ τὴν ἐπιταγὴν] τῶν βασιλέων τῷ διπλα-
[σίῳ προστίμῳ κολασθήσετα]ι. ἴστε δ᾽ ἐμὲ καὶ Ἀσκληπιὸν
[ἀναθέντα χαλκοῦν ἐν ἱμ]ατίῳ ποδιαῖον, στηριζόμενον
[βάκτρῳ χρυσῷ· τῷ δὲ βά]κτρῳ δράκων περίκειται ἀργυ-
[ροῦς μέν, χρυσοῦς δὲ τὸ κά]ρα, ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχον τὸ ὄνο-
[μα τὸ ἐμὸν καὶ ἐπίσημον] τὴν τῶν βασιλέων Τύχην.
[κελεύω δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἐπιστο]λῆς ποιῆσαι ἀντίγρα-
[φα ἁπλᾶ δύο, ὧν τὸ ἕτερον καταχωρίσα]ι ἰς τὸ γραμματοφυ-
[λάκιον ἐν γλωσσοκ]όμῳ, ὃ κατασ[φραγι]σθήσεται σφραγεῖ-
[σι δυσί, γράψαι δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῷ πώμ]ατι αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιστολήν, ἔν τε τῇ πα-
[νηγύρει ἀνοῖξαι τὸ ἰ]αρογλωσσοκόμον, καὶ ἀναγειν[ώ]σκεσθαι
[τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τ]ῇ Σεβαστῇ, καὶ οὕτω πάλιν κατασφ[ρ]αγίζε-
[σθαι παρὰ τοῖς ἀ]εὶ μεταπαραλαμβάνουσι ἄρχουσι. folium
[πρὸ ..δεκα Καλ(ανδῶν)? Αὐ]γούστων, v ὑπάτοις Μάρκῳ Ποντίῳ Λαι-
[λιανῷ, Αὔλῳ Ἰουνίῳ] Πάστορι; vac. κατὰ vac. Ε-πιδαυρίους vac.
[δὲ ἔτους τεσσαρακοστοῦ] τῆς θεοῦ Ἁδριανοῦ τὸ πρῶτον εἰς τὴν
[Ἑλλάδα ἐπιδημίας, μηνὸς] Δεκάτου τρισκαιδεκάτῃ, vac. folium
[ἀπέσταλκα τὴν ἐπιστολ]ὴν διὰ Καλλιμάχου τοῦ Νε[ι]κέρωτος.
[ἐρρῶσθαι ὑ]μὰς εὔχομαι.

Così che non [_] sia fatta una votazione [_] qualora si tenti di allontanare qualcuno [_] o [_] o del dio [_] o si intraprenda [_] o utilizzare per un qualche scopo, per ordine degli imperatori sia punito con una doppia pena. Sapete che io ho dedicato anche una statua in bronzo di Asclepio vestito di himation, alta un piede, che si appoggia ad un bastone d'oro; al bastone è attorcigliato un serpente d'argento, con la testa in oro, che porta inciso il nome mio e come sigillo la Tyche degli imperatori. Ordino che di questa lettera vengano preparate due copie perfette, di cui una sia sistemata in una teca all'interno dell'archivio e sia sigillata con due sigilli, sia scritto sul coperchio (il titolo) dell'epistola, sia aperta nel giorno della festa (scil. dell'imperatore) la sacra cassetta, e sia letta la lettera nel giorno imperiale, e poi di nuovo sigillata da parte dei magistrati che sono preposti a prenderla in consegna ogni volta. Dieci (?) giorni prima delle calende del mese di Agosto, sotto il consolato di Marco Pontio Leliano e di Aulo Iunio Pastore, ad Epidauro nel quarantesimo anno del primo viaggio di Adriano in Grecia, nel tredicesimo giorno del decimo mese fu mandata l'epistola per mezzo di Callimaco figlio di Nicerato.

59 *IG* IV 88, pubblicazione e, a quanto mi risulta, unico commento in: von Gaertringen, 1929.

Prego che voi stiate bene.

(ll. 1-8) La parte iniziale contiene un avvertimento per chi reca danno agli oggetti esposti o, come in questo caso, donati, facendo ricorso a disposizioni imperiali concernenti tali atti. La situazione descritta ricorda simili richieste di non danneggiare cose, monumenti o proprietà, pena determinate sanzioni. Nel nostro caso, non è chiaro se il testo si riferisca all'iscrizione stessa, o alla statuetta di seguito menzionata; comunque, tale preoccupazione da parte del donante indica che l'atto evergetico si compie in un ambito certamente non strettamente privato, e cosí pure i suoi effetti.

(ll. 8-11) Antoninus Pythodoros si rivolge in prima persona ai destinatari dell'iscrizione, apostrofando direttamente il suo pubblico ἴστε 'voi sapete', a cui segue una dettagliata descrizione della statua di Asclepio da lui donata. Si tratta di una statua di bronzo di Asclepio di piccole dimensioni, ποδιᾶιον, che lo rappresenta secondo l'iconografia tradizionale con mantello e bastone, attorno al quale si avvolge un serpente. Importanti informazioni si evincono dalla descrizione del materiale prezioso impiegato per evidenziare alcune parti della statua.

(ll. 11-12) L'immagine divina, particolarmente preziosa, porta indelebile il ricordo del nome del suo donante, τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἐμὸν, associato anche alla menzione della Tyche dei due imperatori regnanti, Marco Aurelio e Lucio Vero. Significativo in questa precisazione è il rimando diretto agli imperatori, che sembra rispondere alla precisa volontà di associare l'attività del donante alla somma autorità, volta a sanzionarne l'ufficialità del gesto; considerando poi la menzione successiva all'evento celebrativo πανηγύρις (ll. 16-17), ribadito il legame con τῇ Σεβαστῇ (sottointeso ἡμέρᾳ), vale a dire con il giorno del festeggiamento del genetliaco o dell'elezione dell'imperatore, tutto il rituale relativo alla statua preziosa di Asclepio deve essere collegato inscindibilmente all'ambito del culto imperiale.

(ll. 13-19) La seconda parte dell'iscrizione è di grande importanza per comprendere come venisse espressammente definita, regolamentata e fissata tutta una serie di atti performativi, che interessavano non solo l'immagine concreta della divinità, ma anche il gesto evergetico.

(ll. 20-25) Riferimento ai consoli e alla data. Saluto finale.

L'epigrafe di Antoninus Pythodoros nel santuario di Apollo risponde dunque alla volontà di codificare forme e comportamenti rituali pertinenti all'istituzione di un collegio religioso. La struttura del testo e l'analisi del suo contenuto non si possono comprendere se non inseriti nell'ambito di una microsocietà: si tratta, infatti, di una serie di prescrizioni rivolte ai membri di un collegio e inerenti ad una donazione dal suo esponente di maggior spicco, come rivela anche l'associazione diretta della sua persona con la massima autorità politica.

Le predisposizioni contenute trovano corrispondenze puntuali nelle formule tipiche dei regolarmenti e leggi dei collegi religiosi, come ad esempio l'ordine a rileggere pubblicamente quanto stabilito, come pure il riferimento ai funzionari e alle procedure di archiviazione. A prescindere dalla durata dell'oggetto in sé, la piccola statua di Asclepio, il donante e organizzatore-capo del collegio fissa e

predispone una sorta di ciclo ove il gesto del donante, il ricordo della sua persona e degli imperatori sia mantenuto vivo e in cui il rapporto diretto con l'immagine sacra stessa sia regolarmente riattivata. Gli atti rituali, come pure le dettagliate misure di controllo adottate, sono funzionali a coordinare strategicamente l'azione e l'interazione dei singoli componenti della comunità.

Particolarmente significativo è il riferimento alla πανηγύρις, che sembra costituire il momento centrale di forte interazione tra le varie componenti rituali, messe in atto dall'intervento di Antoninus Pythodorus. Il richiamo esplicito alla Tyche dei due imperatori regnanti e al momento celebrativo fa pensare che tutta la situazione descritta costituisse un momento nell'ambito di una celebrazione più ampia riservata alla persona degli imperatori, per questo legame è fondamentale il termine Σεβαστή.[60]

Nonostante la brevità del mezzo epigrafico, il contenuto dell'iscrizione, che dobbiamo pensare esposta all'interno del 'rinato' santuario di Apollo Maleatas sul Kynortion, è di importanza eccezionale perché riflette atti e gesti analoghi documentati in un altro archivio della memoria sacra del II sec. d. C., quello dei *Discorsi Sacri* di Elio Aristide, ma anche nella documentazione del celebre santuario di Asclepio a Pergamo. Solo nell'ambito delle microsocietà religiose attive in questi importanti 'spazi della sacralità', atti solo apparentemente marginali ed esteriori, come i gesti enfatici di un Elio Aristide a Pergamo o di un Antoninus Pythodorus a Epidauro, si caricano di una particolare valenza nel processo di formazione e consolidamento dell'identità singola e collettiva.

Altre forme di codificazione dell'esperienza religiosa

Gli aspetti che emergono dall'episodio della dedica della preziosa statuetta di Asclepio da parte di Antoninus Pythodorus mettono in stretta relazione lo spazio e il coinvolgimento emotivo dello spettatore-partecipante, introducendoci agli aspetti più emozionali del tipo di comunicazione religiosa che informa il rinnovato spazio sacro.[61] Le prescrizioni del facoltoso donante mostrano che la nuova

60 Le dediche di statue in piccolo formato in argento e in altri materiali preziosi occupano un ruolo centrale nell'ambito del culto imperiale, come sottolinea Rieger, 2004, 143-146 con bibliografia precendente alla n. 867: il significativo contesto della Magna Mater a Ostia stabilsce uno stretto legame tra prassi evergetica e dediche dei *collegia* con il culto dell'imperatore, sulla base di un caso (*CIL* XIV suppl 1, 4555) direttamente confrontabile a quello di Epidauro, dove la dedica si ripete ad ogni festività connessa con l'imperatore, cf. ibid. n. 888.

61 Le riflessioni svolte sulla 'Religionsästhetik' e le modalità della percezione dello spazio permettono di integrare in modo particolarmente suggestivo i risultati dell'analisi storico-sociologica con gli approcci che afferiscono agli studi sulla psicologia sociale dello spazio, per gli aprrocci

struttura dello spazio sacro è volta a condizionare i comportamenti dei singoli individui appartenenti alla comunità, imponendo all'osservatore un complesso di immagini e di atti rituali anch'essi prestabiliti. In questo senso si può affermare che tutte le componenti che costituiscono il luogo della sodalità rispondono ad un voluto effetto regolatore e stabilizzante, alla stregua degli statuti rigidamente fissati nella tradizione tiasotica. Di centrale importanza è questa interazione tra le modalità di utilizzo dello spazio e le forme della sua percezione, le quali coinvolgono emotivamente l'osservatore-attore-agente nello spazio sacro.

La documentazione epigrafica del santuario conserva un'eccezionale testimonianza delle pratiche liturgiche, consistente in un ciclo costituito da cinque composizioni poetiche, che ci permettono di approfondire il legame tra i luoghi della sodalità e la comunicazione rituale. Si tratta di diversi tipi di composizioni poetiche,[62] destinate a celebrare un composito pantheon attivo nel santuario:

1. Inno epidaurico a tutti gli dei

[θεοῖς πᾶσι]
lacuna
[– – – – – – – – – – π]υρὶ μηλ.3α
[– – – – – – – –]νι Διὸς μεγίστου
[– – – – – –]νον Βρόμιόν τε χορευτάν
.512.5 ἠδ᾽ Ἀσκλαπιὸν ὑψι[β]ίαν ἄνα[κτα]
[δισσ]ούς τε καλεῖτε Διοσκούρους | [σ]εμνάς τε
[Χάρι]τας εὐκλεεῖ)ς τε Μοίσας | εὐμ[εν]εῖς τε
Μοίρας | Ἡλιόν τ᾽ ἀκάμαντα Σελήνην τε
πλ[ή]θουσαν· | ἐν δὲ τὰ τείρεα πάντα, τὰ τ᾽ οὐρανὸς
[ἐ]στεφάνωται. | χαίρετε ἀθάνατοι πάντες θεοὶ
αἰὲν ἐόντες | ἀθάναταί τε θεαί, καὶ σῴζετε
τόνδ᾽ Ἐπιδαύρου | ναὸν ἐν εὐνομίαι πολυάνορι
Ἑλλάνων | ἱεροκαλλίνεικοι εὐμενεῖ σὺν Ὄλβωι.

...
... ...?
... ...? di Zeus grandissimo
... ...? e Bromio il danzatore
... figlio?
... e poi Asclepio eccelso nelle arti,
ed i ...? Dioscuri invocate,
le Cariti venerande e le Muse che la fama danno,
le benevole Moire,
il Sole instancabile e la crescente Luna,

più stimolanti cfr. soprattutto Egelhaaf-Gaiser, 2000, 227-251, e Egelhaaf-Gaiser, 2002 con particolare riferimento a Kruse – Graumann, 1978, 177-219.

62 *IG* IV 129-134, traduzione e ampio commento in: Wagman, 1995, 2; Wagman, 2000.

e tutte le stelle che al cielo fanno ghirlanda.
Salve o immortali dei tutti che siete in eterno
ed immortali dee, preservate questo tempio
di Epidauro nel buon ordine popoloso degli Elleni,
o venerabili, belli, vittoriosi,
con prosperità al bene rivolta.

2. Inno epidaurico a Pan

Πανί.

Πᾶνα τὸν Νυμφαγέτα[ν], | Ναΐδων μέλημ᾽ ἀείδω, |
χρυσέων χορῶν ἄγαλμα, | κωτίλας ἄνακτα [μ]οίσας. |
εὐθρόου σύριγγος εὖ[χο]ς, |ἔνθεον Σειρῆνα χεύῃ·
ἐς μέλος δὲ κοῦφα βαίνων | εὐσκίων πήδα κατ᾽
ἄντρων, | παμφυὲς νωμῶν δέμας, | εὐχόρευτος εὐ-
πρόσωπος, | ἐνπρέπων ξανθῶι γενείων | ἐς δ᾽ Ὄλυνπον
ἀστερωπὸν | ἔρχεται πανῳδὸς ἀχώ, | θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων
ὅμιλον | ἀμβρόται ῥαίνοισαι μοίσαι. | χθὼν δὲ πᾶσα καὶ
θάλασσα | κίρναται τεὰν χάριν· σὺ | γὰρ πέλεις ἔρισμα
πάντων, | ὦ ἰὴ Πὰν Πάν.

Pan il capocoro delle Ninfe,
diletto delle Naiadi, io canto,
monumento di splendide danze e signore della musa vivace;
dalla zampogna dalle belle e molte voci
egli versa un incanto ispirato,
ed alla musica danzando leggero
giù va saltando per caverne ombrose
muovendo il corpo che racchiude ogni natura
bello nella danza e nel sembiante
insigne nella bionda barba.
Ed all'olimpo dal volto stellato
giunge un suono che racchiude ogni canzone,
il gruppo degli olimpici numi
di musa immortale aspergendo;
la terra tutta ed il mare
si confondono al tuo canto: perchè tu
sei dovunque, di ogni cosa sostegno.
Oh, ie Pan Pan!

3. Canto epidaurico per la madre degli dei

[Ματρὶ θεῶν]
[ὦ Μναμοσύνας κ]όραι | δεῦρ᾽ ἔλθετ᾽ [ἀ] |-
π᾽ ὠρανῶ | καὶ μοι συναείσατε | τὰν
Ματέρα τῶν θεῶν, | ὡς ἦλθε πλανωμ[έ]-
να | κατ᾽ ὤρεα καὶ νάπας, | σύρουσ᾽ ἀβρ[ότ]α[ν]
κόμαν, | κατωρημένα(!) φρένας. |
ὁ Ζεὺς δ᾽ ἐσιδὼν ἄναξ | τὰν Ματέρα τῶν
θεῶν, | κεραυνὸν ἔβαλλε καὶ | τὰ
τύμπαν᾽ ἐλάμβανε | πέτρας διέρρησσε
καὶ | τὰ τυμπαν᾽ ἐλάμβανε. | “Μάτηρ,
ἄπιθ᾽ εἰς θεοὺς, | καὶ μὴ κατ᾽ ὄρη πλαν[ῶ], |
μὴ σε(!) χαροποὶ λέον|τες ἢ πολιοὶ
λύκοι“ | „καὶ οὐκ ἄπειμι(!) εἰς θεούς, |
ἂν μὴ τὰ μέρη λάβω, | τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ
οὐρανῶ, | τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ γαίας, | v
πόντω τὸ τρίτον μέρος· | χούτως
ἀπελαύσομαι.“ | χαῖρ᾽ ὦ μεγάλα |
[ἄν]ασσα Μᾶτερ Ὀλύμπω.

Coro

... dee
qui venite dal cielo
e cantate con me
la Madre degli Dei
come essa andò errando
per monti e per valli
...? chioma
...? senno.
Ma come vide il sire Zeus
la Madre degli Dei
il fulmine scagliava
ed i tamburelli prendeva,
le rocce spaccava
ed i tamburelli prendeva:

I semicoro

„Madre tornatene fra gli dei,
e smettila di errare sui monti,
che i leoni dagli occhi scintillanti
o i lupi dalla grigia peliccia non ti...“

II semicoro

„...e proprio no, che non torno fra gli dei,
se prima non mi prendo la mia parte,
una metà del cielo,
una metà della terra,
e la terza parte del mare:
solo allora farò ritorno"

Coro

Salve o Grande Madre, dell'Olimpo signora!

4. Peana di Igea di Arifrone

[ὥρᾳ πρώτηι].
[Ὑγίεια, πρεσβίστα μακάρων, | μετ]ὰ σεῦ
[ναίοιμι τὸ λειπόμενον βίου, | σὺ δέ μοι πρ]όφρων
[ξυνείης. | εἰ γάρ τις ἢ πλούτου χάρις ἢ τεκ]έων |
[ἢ τᾶς ἰσοδαίμονος ἀνθρώποις βασιλ]ηΐδος
[ἀρχᾶς | ἢ πόθων, οὓς κρυφίοισ᾽ Ἀφροδίτ]ας | ἄρκυσι
[θηρεύομεν, | ἢ εἴ τις ἄλλα θεόθεν ἀνθρώ]ποις
[τέρψις | ἢ πόνων ἀμπνοὰ πέφανται, | με]τὰ σεῖο,
[μάκαιρ᾽ Ὑγίεια, |τέθαλε πάντα καὶ λάμπ]ει Χαρίτων
[ὀάροις. | σέθεν δὲ χωρὶς οὔ τις εὐδαίμω]ν ἔφυ. folium Ὑγείᾳ.

Igea, per i mortali la più venerabile fra i beati, con te
condividere io vorrei quanto rimane della mia vita, e possa tu
benigna accompagnarmi
Perchè, se mai si vide gioia, di quella che le ricchezze danno, o i figli,
o il principesco potere che per gli uomini rende pari a un dio, o le
passioni,
di cui a caccia noi andiamo con isegreti lacci di Afrodite,
o altro mai piacere che gli dei concedettero agli uomini, o dei dolori
se mai si vide sollievo,
con te, Igea beata,
esso sboccia e riluce, mormorio delle Cariti.
Chè senza di te nessuno può fiorire felice.

5. Inno epidaurico a Pallade

ὥρᾳ v τρίτηι.
χαῖρε ἄνασσα Παλλὰς αγ[– – – – – – – –]
κυδάεσσα παρθένε [– – – – – – – – – –]
στίλβοντα πο[– – – – – – – – – – –]
λάμπουσ᾽ ἀκρα[– – – – – – – – – – –]
μακαρτάτα κα[– – – – – – – – – – –]
ἅπαντα κο[– – – – – – – – – – – –]

Salve signora Pallade...?
celebre vergine ...?
sfavillanti ...?
lampeggiante...?
e molto beata...?
che tutte le cose...?

I blocchi sui quali sono incisi i testi citati sono certamente dei blocchi con funzione architettonica che potevano costituire pareti divisorie o, piuttosto, i muri interni di un portico colonnato; secondo un'acuta ipotesi formulata da Robert Wagman,[63] il contesto del complesso 'X' di IV sec. a. C. (fig. 10; 13) radicalmente ristrutturato con l'inserimento dell'edificio teatrale costituirebbe la sede originale dove erano alloggiati i blocchi iscritti. Proprio sullo sfondo di un reale utilizzo liturgico dei testi, in senso anche di una performance drammatica, le peculiarità dei singoli componimenti acquistano maggiore efficacia e suggestione.

Canto Madre degli dei canto si articola in modo corale, con coro e semicoro, presentando la combinazione di forme narrative e drammatiche nella celebrazione musicale di un evento festivo; i versi 15-24 sono concepiti in forma di dialogo, dove la struttura drammatica del carme epidaurico si lega con la tradizione della farsa sacra dorica. La composizione dedicata a Pan è caratterizzata da uno stile ornato e da una letterarietà finemente allusiva: complessivamente risente di una composizione rapsodica. L'inno dedicato ad Igea, invece, in forma di peana, caratterizzato dalla presenza di un'invocazione e preghiera alla divinità, si richiama ai modelli della lirica di tradizione aristocratica, con evidenti echi della poesia simpotica e conviviale.

Come ha messo in giusto rilievo Wagman, il fatto più significativo che si evince dall'intero ciclo liturgico è che la presenza dei testi documenta un programma di organizzazione, o meglio, di riorganizzazione di materiali poetici di contenuto sacro accumulatesi nel tempo.[64] Questa raccolta più che generica rassegna illustrativa di testi, i quali accompagnarono il funzionamento dell'Asclepieo nella sua storia, è, in realtà, parte di una complessiva operazione di ripristino della memoria sacra del luogo, che reintegra nel rituale le divinità ancestralmente legate al santuario.[65] Il legame materiale tra la comunicazione scritta e il supporto architettonico acquista cosí una forte valenza simbolica: il segno scritto non solo codifica i momenti e gli atti di una ritualità condivisa, ma, nell'inscindibile rac-

63 Wagman, 1999 e Wagman, 1992, 290-293.

64 Uno studio approfondito di questi testi nel loro valore comunicativo e rituale sarà svolto in Galli, in prep.

65 Funzione del segno scritto come mezzo di archiviazione della memoria culturale v. le riflessioni di Assmann, 2000, 101-164; per i modi della trasmissione del sapere e il ruole della comunicazione scritta v. prossimamente Galli, in prep.

cordo monumentale tra le iscrizioni e l'impianto del cosiddetto 'odeion' (fig. 13, li fissa nella dimensione spazio-temporale.

Sfruttando appieno la struttura preesistente vengono murati gli intercolumnia del porticato e all'interno dello spazio aperto viene impostato un edificio con cavea teatrale su sostruzioni artificiali. Nonostante l'economia dei mezzi a disposizione, il progetto architettonico risulta sapientemente articolato in uno spazio assembleare costituito dalla cavea teatrale, rampe d'accesso, piccolo podio per la recitazione e porte chiudibili. Certamente ingegnosa è la ristrutturazione del propileo dell'originario complesso ginnasiale. Chiudendo il più antico colonnato e isolando in questo modo lo spazio interno, si ottenne un piccolo tempio (fig. 14) con due colonne *in antis*, a tre entrate, al cui interno si trovava addirittura la base della statua, che dal Kavvadias viene indicata come quella di Igea.[66] Non possiamo verificare, invece, se la tripartizione documentata nel primo scavo del complesso sia riconducibile al santuario delle divinità egizie ricordata da Pausania.

Il confronto più illuminante per comprendere la risistemazione ad opera di Antoninus Pythodorus è certamente il modello del santuario di Asclepio a Pergamo (fig. 16), che doveva essergli assai familiare, vista la sua assidua frequentazione. L'inserimento dell'edificio teatrale, disposto nel settore Sud del tratto O-vest del temenos, costituiva una componente indispensabile nell'ambito del programma edilizio, che a partire dall'età adrianea conferisce al celebre complesso pergameno un profilo architettonico unitario. La denominazione dell'edificio come 'sacro', *hieron theatron* da parte di Elio Aristide e la particolare menzione nell'ambito delle performance corali, dirette dallo stesso retore, dimostrano lo stretto legame dell'edificio con la ritualità del santuario. Di particolare interesse suscita anche un confronto con il santuario di Olimpia (fig. 19) per un'analoga soluzione architettonica. Nella zona Sud-orientale del santuario si il cosiddetto edificio greco, connesso con le terme dette orientali, che richiama da vicino il caso di Epidauro, soprattutto per la presenza del piccolo edificio teatrale, la cui datazione rimane genericamente circoscritta al II d. C.

L'edificio immediatamente a Nord de ginnasio, interamente ridisegnato, con il quale si orienta assialmente, mostra una disposizione che è ricalca quella della citata *skanà* sul Kynortion. L'edificio '**Φ**' a pianta quasi quadrata conserva l'imponente facciata a grandi blocchi con soglia centrale, dalla quale si accede ad uno spazio aperto. La riprogettazione dell'edificio '**Φ**' rispecchia la ben conosciuta struttura di uno *hieros oikos* nella forma 'casa a peristilio', caratterizzato come una struttura abitativa, con corridoi e ambienti che si dispongono attorno ad una corte centrale. L'ambiente di ampie dimensioni, diviso in due navate che occupa

66 v. Kavvadias, 1900, 148-150.

tutto il tratto Nord del complesso 'Φ', mostra un elemento tipico del 'Vereinhaus', che caratterizza l'edificio come 'Saalbau'. La funzionalità religiosa è marcata da una base abbastanza ampia per l'allogiamento di due statue e da un piccolo altare posto al centro del settore prospiciente all'entrata. Analogamente a quanto proposto per la stretta connessione tra i nuovi spazi creati nel santuario di Apollo Maleatas, anche la combinazione tra la sede per un collegio 'Φ', la struttura teatrale e il piccolo edificio templare realizzato in luogo dell'antico *propylon*, rispondono ad una pianificazione coerente e unitaria, diretta ad organizzare una comunità ristretta, come si evince dall'articolazione degli spazi interni e dal raccordo tra le tre strutture.

Un processo parallelo alla riorganizzazione dei testi sacri si rileva anche per le immagini: se fino ad ora il tipo di ripristino e di codificazione della comunicazione religiosa ha riguardato i comportamenti, i gesti, i canti, quindi aspetti della comunicazione gestuale e verbale, gli interventi evergetici del senatore microasiatico sembrano riattivare la prassi cultuale anche attraverso l'uso delle immagini, sollecitandone gli stimoli più specificatamente visivi e sensoriali. Di eccezionale interesse per cogliere il tipo di religiosità che caratterizza la sodalità è la svariata gamma di immagini di divinità di piccole e medie dimensioni, complessivamente circa una trentina di esemplari, che rappresentano nel panorama degli studi un ensemble unico nel suo genere. Questo vasto *corpus* di 'immagini divine', formatosi a partire segnatamente con questo periodo, offre un decisivo contributo alla compresione della struttura degli spazi associativi. Un gruppo di tre statue rappresentanti Asclepio, Igea e Atena (fig. 9) di dimensioni al vero,[67] ritrovate nella corte interna dell'edificio 'K' (fig. 10), mostra caratteristiche uniformi che lo riconducono alla produzione di un'unica bottega di età antonina. L'esistenza quindi di un ciclo statuario omogeneo, molto probabilmente concepito per uno specifico ambiente, conforta la tesi che l'intervento di Antoninus Pythodorus comportasse un progetto complessivo di ristrutturazione dello spazio monumentale e, contemporaneamente, di riattivazione del rituale e del culto. Il carattere del recupero 'colto' di una memoria culturale legata al santuario è altresí dato dalla ricca documentazione attinente ad un multiforme gruppo di immagini divine, in piccolo e medio formato. Accanto alle divinità tutelari di Asclepio, Igea e degli Asclepiadi, il pantheon di Epidauro si ripopola di una variegata gamma di presenze, attestanti altri culti misterici come Dioniso, Cibele e Demetra, assieme a figure come Artemide ed Ecate.

67 Asclepio: Katakis, 2002, 18-20 nr. 17 (inv. EAM 263) figg. 16-20; Igea: Katakis, 2002, 33-34 nr. 31 (inv. ME 16) figg. 37-38; Atena: Katakis, 2002, 67-69 nr. 67 (inv. ME 17) figg. 82-84.

Il panorama iconografico è piuttosto variegato, ma, nonostante il carattere 'in miniatura', fedele al repertorio tradizionale. Importante notare che il carattere tipico della religiosità dei *collegia*, non rimane circoscritto ad una divinità dominante, ma – come testimonia anche Apella menzionando le divinità eleusine, o Pausania le divinità egizie – si apre ad una articolata e pluralistica costellazione di culti.

Spazio sacro e 'Gruppenbildungen': alcune prospettiva di ricerca

In che misura i casi dell'eccezionale documentazione relativa a Delfi e Epidauro possono individuare un modello di riferimento?

Nei casi presentati e nella relativa documentazione si è evidenziata non solo la dimensione del 'recupero' o del 'ripristino', quanto, piuttosto, quella di una sistematica riattivazione e ridefinizione dei luoghi della sacralità. I centri tradizionali della religiosità ellenica, carichi della ciceroniana *vis admonitionis*, vennero programmatica incentivati come 'luoghi di memoria', enfatizzati come parte integrante di una topografia mentale della élites locali.[68]

In questa prospettiva anche l'impegno da parte dell'evergete, che interviene direttamente nel biotopo sociale del santuario, assume un ruolo decisivo e insostituibile: se da un lato i paesaggi della sacralità tradizionali sono oggetto della cura regolare da parte delle strutture amministrative e politiche di tutta la collettività, dall'altro le nuove forme di socialità e di comunicazione religiosa vengono incrementate dall'apporto di singoli donanti.

Il fenomeno della diffusione dei *collegia* all'interno della compagine sacra sembra offrire una spiegazione adeguata al quadro estremamente dinamico evidenziatosi nel materiale archeologico fin qui raccolto. Anche se lo stadio della ricerca è ancora in fieri e si deve scontrare con una situazione documentaria e archeologica a volte molto frammentaria, credo che alcuni esempi possano confermare il ruolo decisivo della sodalità all'interno dei grandi spazi santuariali tradizionali: oltre al caso brevemente citato di Olimpia, i casi dell'Heraion di Argo e quello di Samo in età imperiale forniscono dati positivi, specie se considerati sullo sfondo di quanto detto per Epidauro.

La fase imperiale del santuario di Era a Samo è stata già registrata negli scavi dei primi decenni del 900 (fig. 18), ma mai riorganizzata e valorizzata nella sua potenzialità informativa.[69] Solo studi architettonici indirizzati a contesti di età

68 Cic. *Fin.* 5.1-2: *tanta vis admonitionis inest in locis, ut non sine causa ex iis memoria ducta sit disciplina.* con il commento di Assmann, 2002, parte II cap. V.

69 v. Schleif, 1933.

imperiale hanno avuto il merito di precisare la datazione di alcuni edifici e, soprattutto, anche le fasi successive di ristrutturazione. Secondo gli studi recenti di T. Schulz il peristilio II è da datarsi in età antonina, come pure l'adiacente casa a peristilio (fig. 20), la quale a sua volta oblitera le strutture precedenti.[70] Tale complesso, che sarà abbandonato come sembra nel corso del III sec. d. C., deve essere considerato in stretta connessione con l'adiacente edificio templare. Il rapporto tra queste due entità monumentali ci riconduce ad una situazione simile a quella riscontrata per gli edifici 'Φ' e 'X' di Epidauro (fig. 13). Per quanto è possibile ipotizzare sulla base delle conoscenze attuali, anche questo contesto formato dal 'Prostylos 2' e dal 'Perystilhaus' nel settore Nord del santuario sembra rispecchiare i caratteri di un'area adibita alle attività di un collegio religioso, collegata ad un edificio cultuale. L'inserimento realizzato durante il II sec. d. C. di strutture simili, è testimonianto anche in un altro settore dell'Heraion di Samo (fig. 21) da una seconda struttura analoga alla casa a peristilio del settore Nord; si tratta di un complesso che presenta caratteristiche proprie delle sedi collegiali, anche questo in stretta simbiosi con i grandi edifici templari.

La teoria secondo la quale strutture ad esclusiva destinazione abitativa si insediano all'interno di un santuario ormai esautorato del suo carattere sacro, risulta fortemente improbabile e poco plausibile, soprattutto per la presenza di altri impianti genericamente indicati quali 'terme' (fig. 22), ma situati in realtà in posizione assolutamente centrale nell'ambito del santuario. Per questi spazi così concepiti è difficile pensare al semplice utilizzo come impianti termali, piuttosto si dovrebbe ipotizzare una funzione rituale destinata a gruppi ristretti di persone. Ricordiamo a riguardo che nell' Heraion di Samo è attestato in età imperiale il culto di Asclepio e Igea, il che dimostra l'introduzione delle divinità salutifere per eccellenza.[71]

La situazione è molto complessa e attende di essere chiarita in modo approfondito e sistematico, soprattutto per quanto concerne la successione cronologica delle varie fasi. Nonostante ciò iniziano a profilarsi, pur nella diversità delle soluzioni specifiche, dinamiche comuni che rimandano alla presenza di sodalità religiose organizzate; in tal senso forniscono un suggestivo indizio le attestazioni epigrafiche celebrative nei confronti di Marco Aurelio e Lucio Vero e di Antonino Pio, promosse dal 'collegio degli strateghi', attivo all'interno del santuario.[72]

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70 Schulz, 2002, 91-167, sul rapporto con la struttura abitativa part. 167; cf. Sinn, 1979.

71 Fabricius, 1884.

72 Herrmann, 1960, 124-125 nr. 24-25 con n. 198; interessante indizio per la presenza di culti misterici anche nel santuario di Era a Samo è dato dalla testimonianza epigrafica, Herrmann 1960, 153 nr. 45, che menziona un Vipsanius Aiolion come ἐξηγητὴς μυστηρίων.

Il secondo santuario, ancora assolutamente sconosciuto per la sua storia in età imperiale, è costituito dal celebre Heraion di Argo (fig. 24), la cui importanza di 'luogo di memoria' storica e religiosa della tradizione ellenica richiama un importante atto evergetico di Adriano, ricordato da Pausania, vale a dire la donazione di un pavone realizzato in materiali particolarmente preziosi.[73] L'interesse dell'imperatore verso l'Heraion argivo fu certamente un fatto notevole, tanto che un'iscrizione poco nota testimonia la dedica di una statua di Adriano al suo interno, celebrandolo ancora in vita con l'epiteto di 'divino'.[74]

La frequentazione e l'esistenza di forme autorappresentative da parte delle élites romane è testimoniata da una statua femminile frammentaria databile a quanto pare nell'età tardo adrianea-primo antonina.[75] La statua femminile panneggiata (seduta?) è stata recuperta all'interno dell'edificio VII, impianto che raccoglie diversi ambienti attorno ad un peristilio aperto, destinati ai banchetti; data la presenza della statua ritratto possiamo probabilmente ipotizzare una continuità di utilizzo di questi ambienti, di età classica, a partire almeno dall'età adrianea. Particolare attenzione è da riservare al complesso monumentale costituito dagli edifi IX e X (fig. 23), la cui datazione non è stata ancora precisata, ma interpretata dai primi scavatori come stoa-ginnasio connesso ad un edificio definito come impianto termale.[76] La presenza di *suspensurae* non significa inequivocabilmente che l'impianto X assolvesse ad una funzione esclusivamente termale, piuttosto la presenza di tali elementi potrebbe rimandare ad ambienti riscaldati ma con funzione assembleare. Di particolare importanza per la definizione funzionale è la presenza di una grande sala ipostila divisa in tre navate da ima duplice fila di tre colonne, che si richiama alla struttura dei 'Vereinhäuser' nella varietà detta 'Saalbau', vale a dire l'ampia sala destinata a scopi assembleari. La presenza di una cosiddetta cisterna nel grande ambiente 'O' fa pensare, invece, all'esistenza di un ambiente ipogeico. In mancanza di elementi più precisi e aggiornati, sembra ugualmente probabile l'ipotesi che si tratti anche in questo caso di una sede collegiale. Purtroppo, per un'interessante iscrizione che parla di un κοινὸν τῶν μυστῶν in onore di Cibele e che menziona un sacerdote a vita, dunque indicando un'istituzione di particolare importanza, degli iniziati, infine una οἰκία e un *kepos* non è dimostrabile la provenienza dal celebre santuario.[77]

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73 Paus. 2.17.6, tra le offerte votive il periegeta menziona un altare sul quale è scolpito in argento il mitico matrimonio di Ebe e Eracle, inoltre anche un pavone in oro e pietre preziose donato da Adriano: "l'offri, perché è opinione corrente che il pavone sia sacro a Era".

74 Caskey – Amandry, 1952, 219-221 con datazione al 123 d. C.

75 Waldstein, 1902, 141 fig. 72.

76 Waldstein, 1902, 134-136.

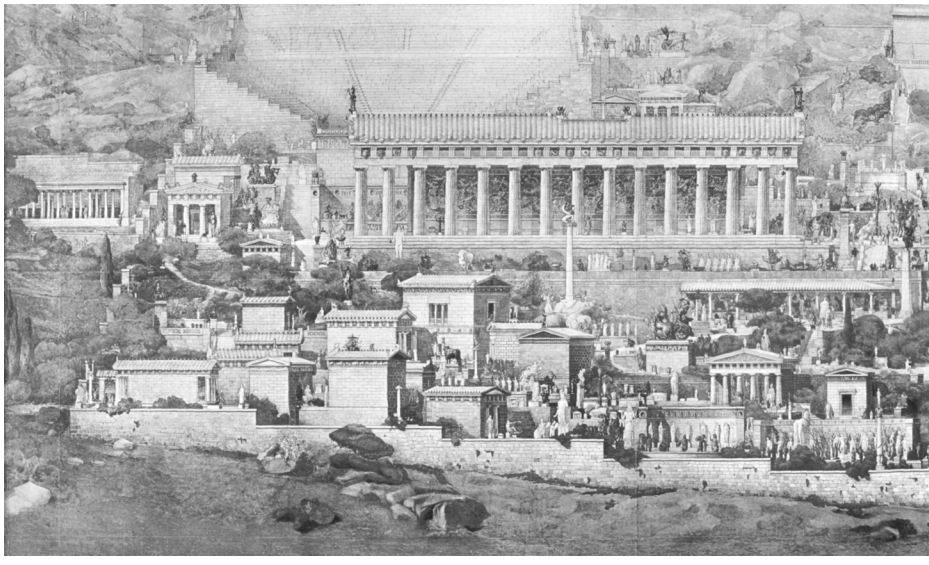
77 *IG* IV 1, 659. Sfameni Gasparro, 1985, 21 n. 9; Vermaseren, *CCCA* II 150 nr. 469.

Questi ulimi esempi meritano in futuro un'attenzione particolare e approfondita, mirata alla valorizzazione degli aspetti qui brevemente sollevati. Credo tuttavia che già una prima collazione dei vari materiali inerenti alla sfera del sacro nel panorama del II sec. d. C. sia meno disperata di quello che solitamente si ritiene, ma al contrario possa fare emergere la fondata possibilità di una microanalisi della religiosità nell'età della Seconda Sofistica.

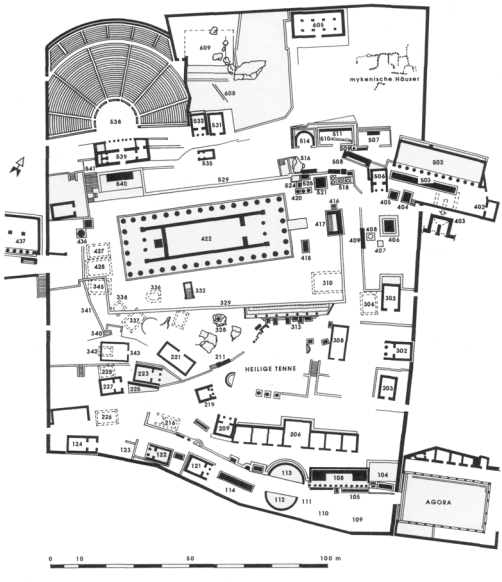
Per un 'pellegrino' del II d. C. come Plutarco o Pausania, per il famoso ospite Lucanius a Corinto e il senatore Antoninus a Epidauro, paideia è parte della conoscenza del mondo, non è espressione di una soggettività: è forse proprio questa forte consapevolezza che spinge Filostrato a ricreare – non senza artificio! – una 'Seconda Sofistica'. La sua 'Seconda Sofistica' è una sorta di serbatoio artificiale, la cui funzione non è tanto quella di far rivivere un passato nostalgicamente lontano, quanto di dare struttura e cornice unitaria alle dinamiche del presente.

La prospettiva di Filostrato, dunque, come quella dei suoi contemporanei è quella dell'attualità. Lo dimostrano i discorsi nelle ricche domus di un Lucanius ricreati da Plutarco, le conversazioni nelle ville di Erode Attico, ma anche le immagini e i gesti dei colti pellegrini, il forte coinvolgimento emozionale di un Elio Aristide a Pergamo o di un Marco Apella ad Epidauro.

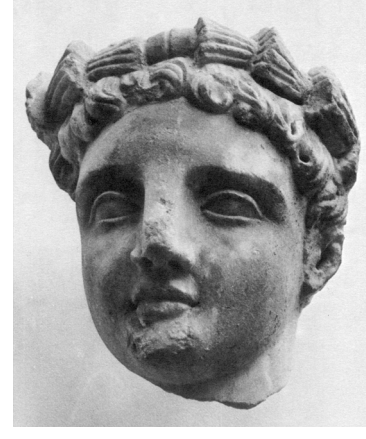
In questo senso l'esperienza della tradizione religiosa acquista un posto centrale nella 'lettura' del mondo come filtro del mondo: diventa un percorso cognitivo-interpretativo all'interno di un sistema di valori che attinge sí al passato, ma la cui dimensione 'past-in-present' è un fatto del mondo. La paideia che contradistingue la Seconda Sofistica ha poco a che fare con una „matter of taste", ma molto di più con la costruzione di un'identità.



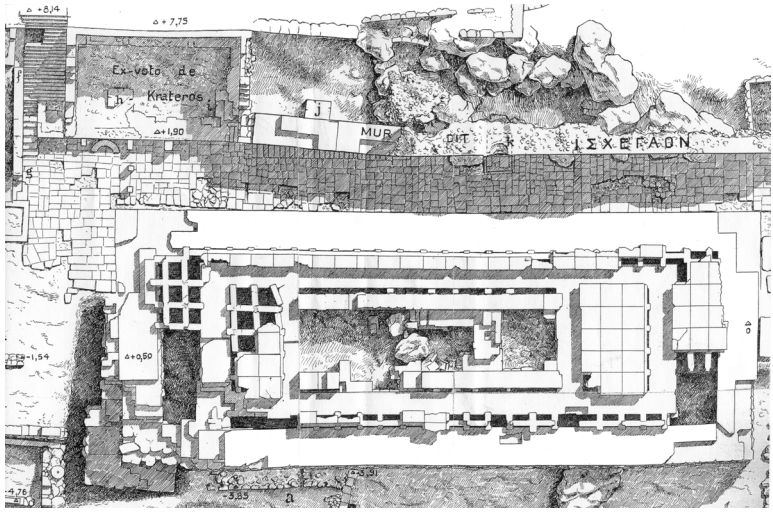
1 Delfi, Santuario di Apollo, ricostruzione del santuario



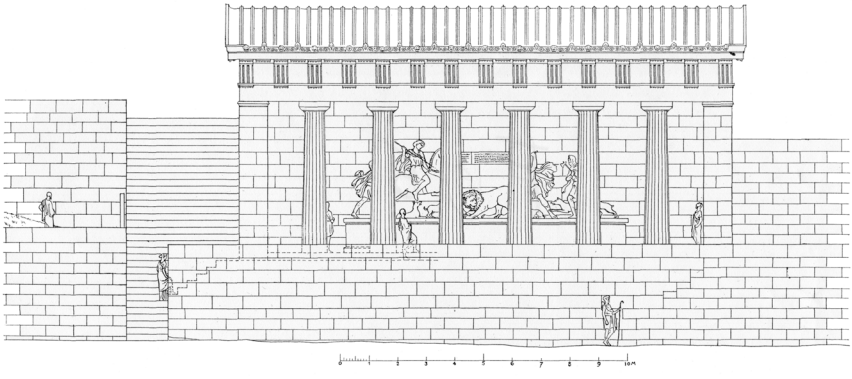
2 Delfi, Santuario di Apollo, pianta generale



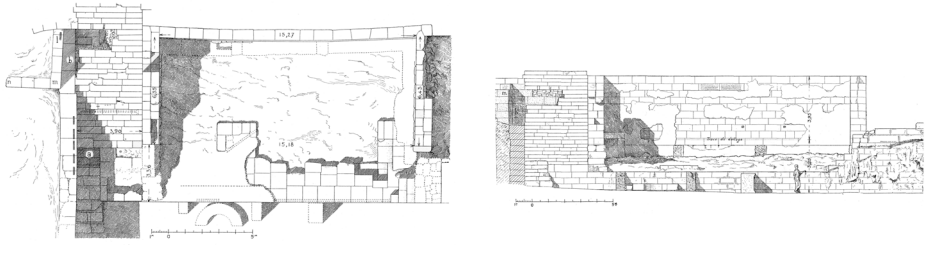
3 Isthmia, santuario di Poseidone, testa di giovane atleta con corona dei giochi istmici, dat. I sec. d. C.



4 Delfi, Santuario di Apollo, terrazza del tempio di Apollo; stato al momento dello scavo

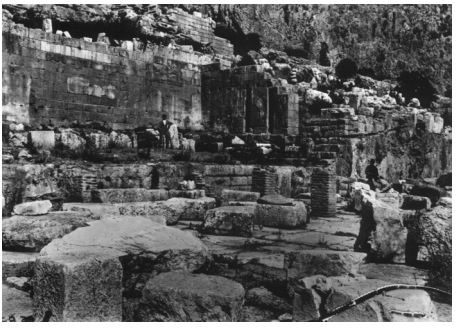


5 Delfi, Santuario di Apollo, ricostruzione dell'ex-voto di Cratero; fase ellenistica



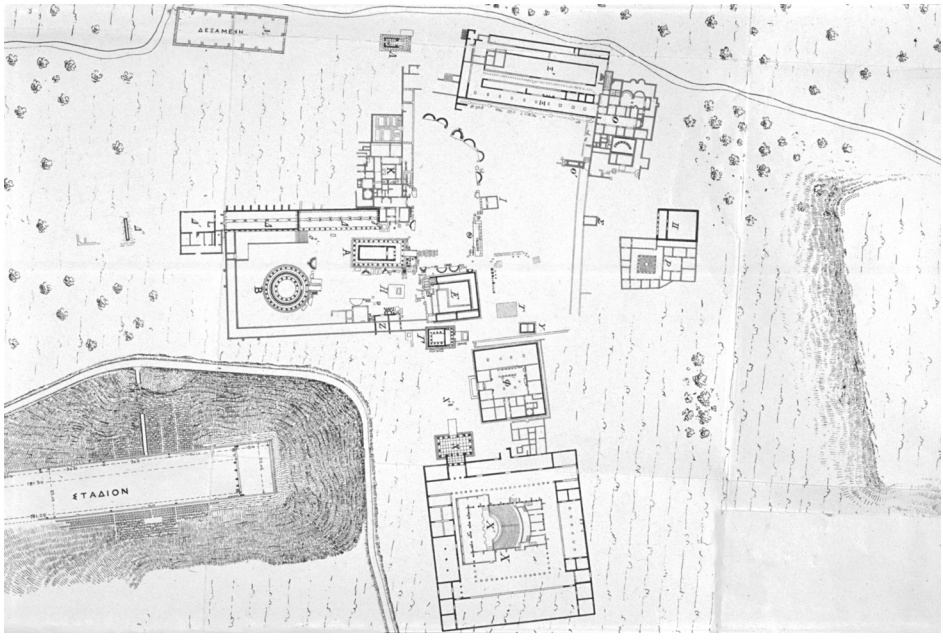
6 a. Delfi, Santuario di Apollo, pianta dell'ex-voto di Cratero; b. stato al momento dello scavo: tratteggio indica le parti romane

7 Delfi, Santuario di Apollo, ex-voto di Cratero: murature di età romana

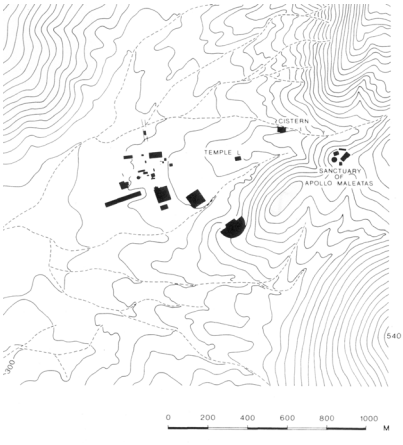


8 Delfi, Santuario di Apollo, ex-voto di Cratero da Ovest dopo lo smantellamento dei resti di murature di età romana; nella parete Est dell'esedra visibili incassi per l'alloggiamento di *tubuli*

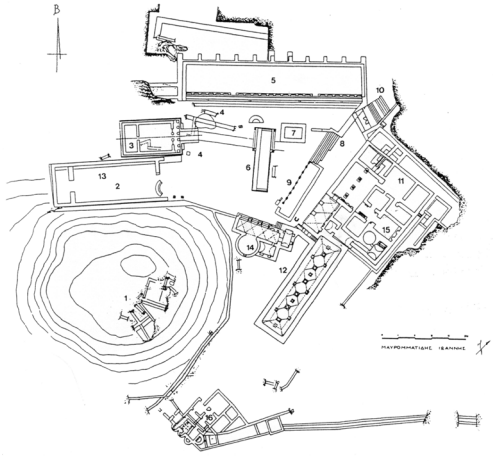
9 a-c Epidauro, Museo: statue di Asclepio, Atena e Igea dall'edificio 'K'



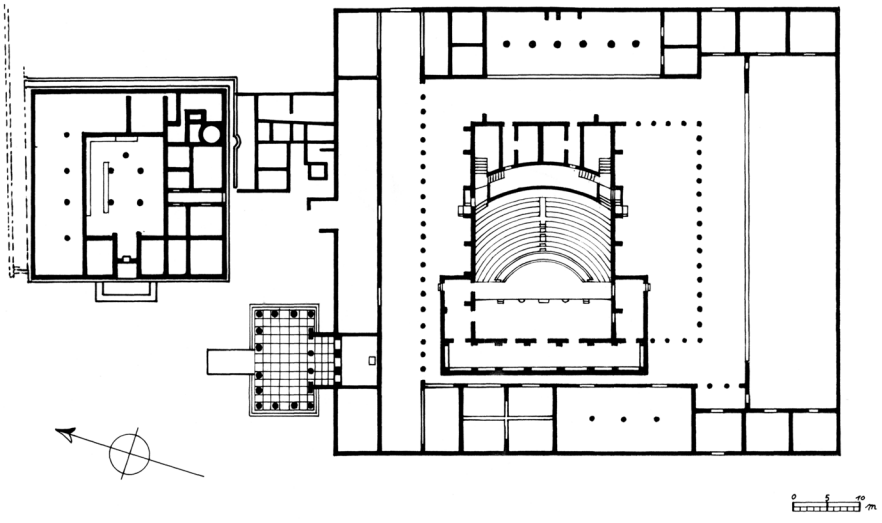
10 Epidauro, Santuario di Asclepio: pianta generale



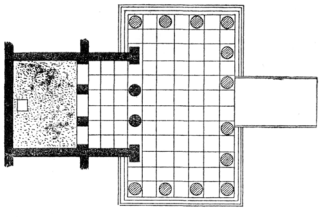
11 Epidauro, carta topografica con i santuari di Asclepio e Apollo Maleatas



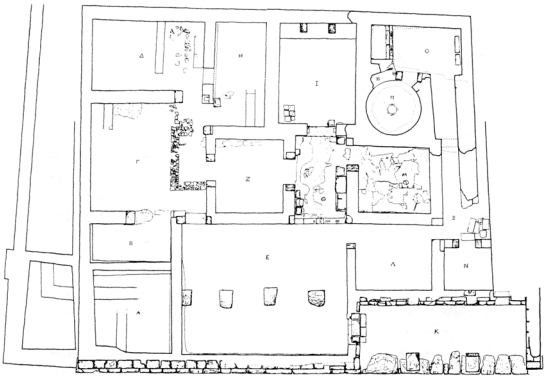
12 Epidauro, Santuario di Apollo Maleata: pianta generale



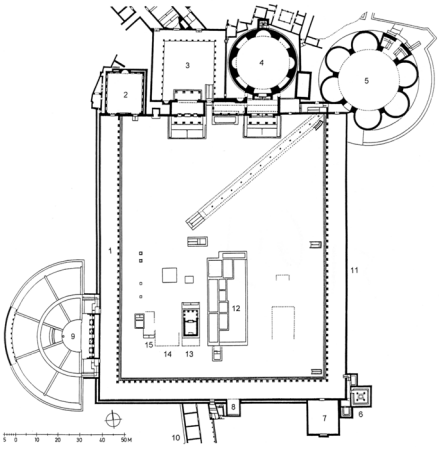
13 Epidauro, Santuario di Asclepio, edifici '**Φ**' e '**X**'



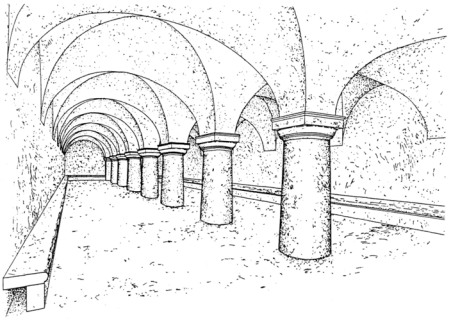
14 Epidauro, Santuario di Asclepio, riadattamente del *propylon* del ginnasio tardo classico piccolo edificio culturale, dat. II sec. d. C.



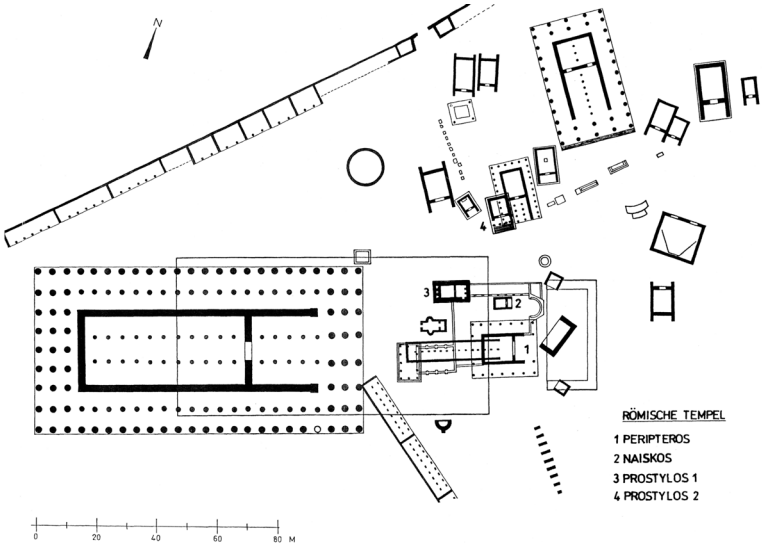
15 Epidauro, Santuario di Apollo Maleata: pianta della σκανά, sede di un collegio religioso



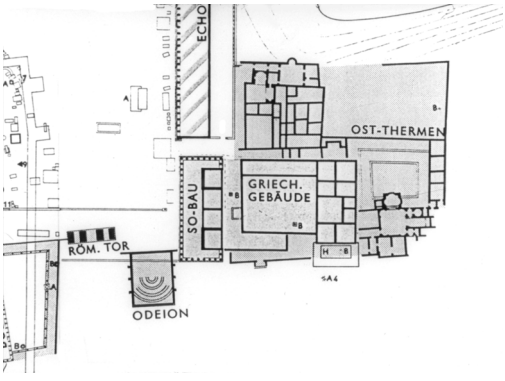
16 Pergamo, Asclepieion, pianta



17 Pergamo, Asclepieion, ambienti sotterranei nel portico Sud

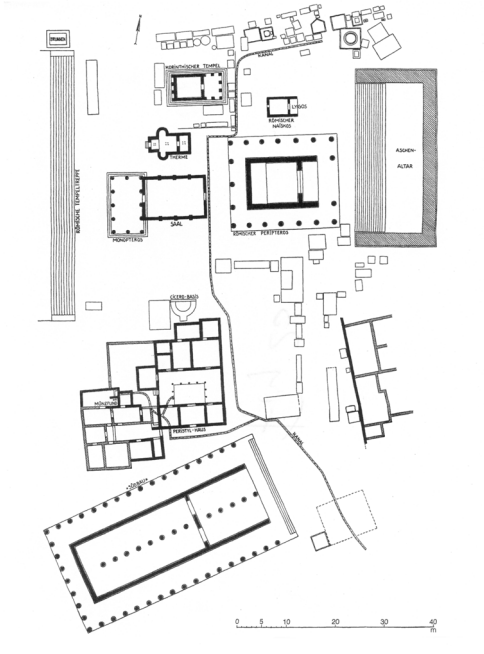


18 Samo, Heraion, pianta generale: nr. 4 'tempio prostilo 2'

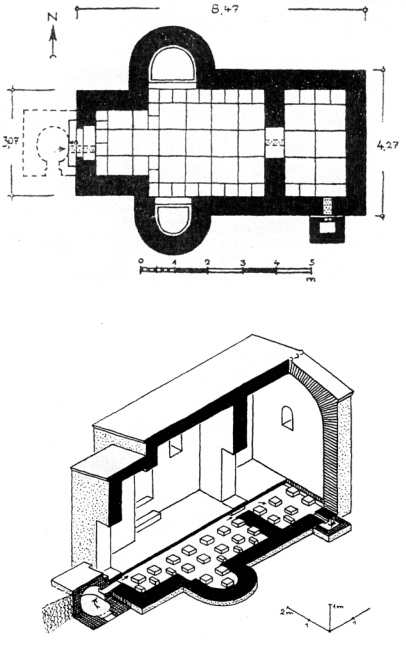


19 Olimpia, Santuario di Zeus, settore orientale: odeion e complesso delle 'terme orientali'

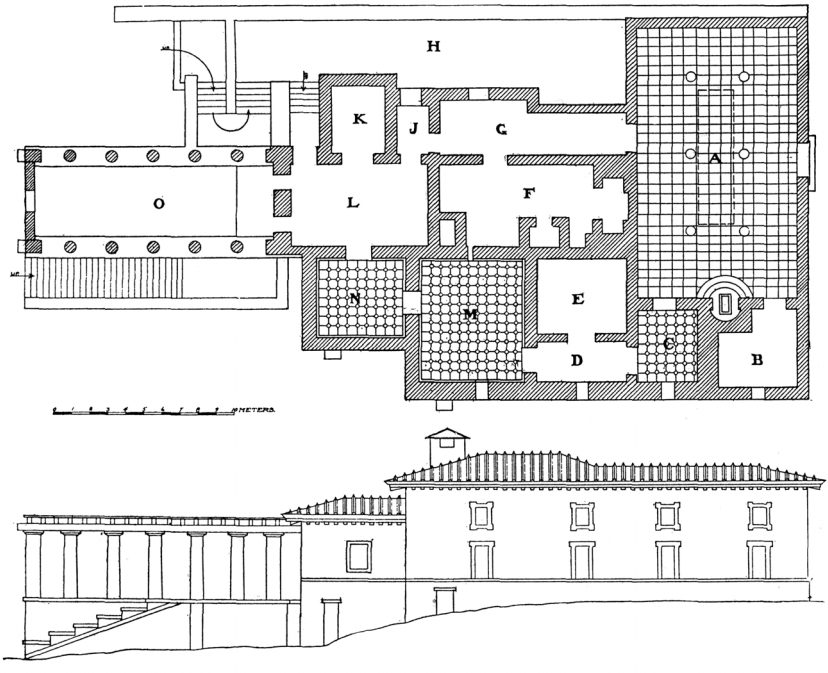
20 Samo, Heraion, pianta del 'tempio prostilo 2' con adiacente 'casa a peristilio'



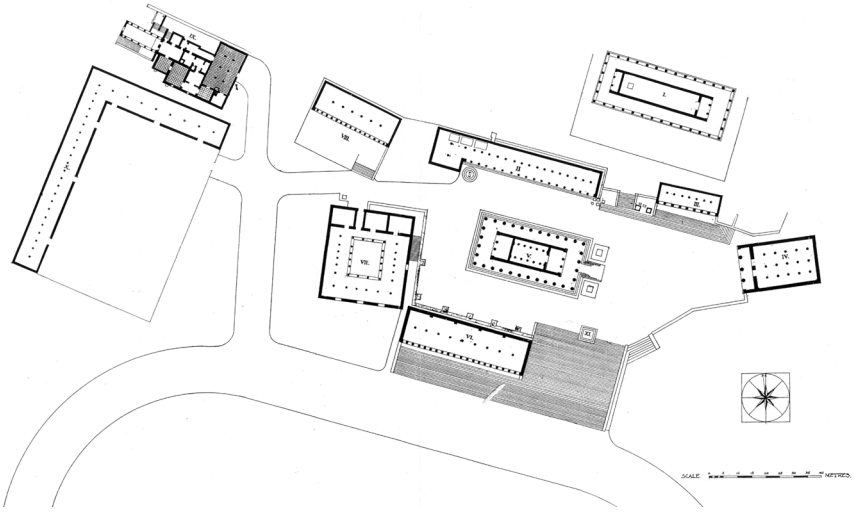
21 Samo, Heraion, pianta generale: edificio Sud con 'casa a peristilio'



22 Samo, Heraion, cos. terme



23 Argo, Heraion, Edificio IX di età romana; pianta e ricostruzione



24 Argo, Heraion, pianta generale

CHAPTER FIVE

Paideia and Patronage

Sophists and emperors: A reconnaissance of sophistic attitudes[1]

JAAP-JAN FLINTERMAN

Introduction: 'Die Mentorhaltung der griechischen Redner'

In a still influential study of the opinions on Rome and its empire to be found in Greek imperial literature, Jonas Palm observed that Greek orators tended to assume an attitude of superiority *vis-à-vis* Roman emperors. He discovered this attitude in Dio's fourth oration *On Kingship* as well as in Plutarch's *To an Uneducated Ruler*. For the most forceful expression of the ideas underlying it he referred to Dio's *Or.* 49. Here Dio explains to his audience, the council of his native city of Prusa, that kings ...

> ... ask men of cultivation (*pepaideumenoi*) to become their counsellors (*sumbouloi*) in their most important affairs, and, while giving orders to everybody else, they themselves accept orders from those counsellors about what to do and what not to do.[2]

The speaker goes on to illustrate the inverted hierarchical relationship between rulers and their *sumbouloi* from the alleged position of the *magoi* among the Persians, the priests among the Egyptians, the Brahmans among the Indians and the druids among the Celts:

> ... in truth it was they who ruled, while the kings became their servants and the ministers of their will, though they sat on golden thrones, dwelt in great houses and dined sumptuously.[3]

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1 Passages from Dio Chrysostom, Epictetus, Philostratus, and Lucian are quoted in the translations by H. Lamar Crosby, W.A. Oldfather, W.C. Wright, and A.M. Harmon respectively (all in the Loeb Classical Library); for Plutarch's *How to distinguish a flatterer from a friend* and for the *Historia Augusta* I have used the translations by R. Waterfield and A. Birley (both in Penguin Classics). Quotations from Aristides' orations are in the translation by C.A. Behr, 1981. Wherever necessary for reasons of content or style, I have taken the liberty of introducing small changes.

2 D.Chr. 49.3.

3 D.Chr. 49.8.

For the free and self-confident attitude resulting from such ideas Palm coined the phrase 'die Mentorhaltung der griechischen Redner'.[4]

Although Palm characterized Dio as 'Rhetor und Philosoph' in the present context, he did not go into the question of what kind of orators stroke the pose of symbouleutic superiority he described. In scholarly literature on the Second Sophistic, it has sometimes been assumed that advising emperors was integral to the sophist's role as described by Philostratus, in his *Lives of the Sophists*. For example, Ewen Bowie, in tracing models for the portrayal in the *Life of Apollonius* of the protagonist as a philosophic counsellor of emperors, has argued that "the sophist's role as imperial adviser is a recurrent theme in the Lives".[5] Such a line of reasoning may give rise to the idea that as far as contacts with emperors are concerned, the self-definition and self-presentation of sophists displayed a considerable overlap with the way in which philosophers defined their role. On the other hand, Johannes Hahn has argued that the public images maintained by early-imperial philosophers and sophists respectively were strikingly different, and that distinguishing between representatives of both vocations would have offered no noticeable problems to contemporary observers.[6] In this paper, I shall argue that accounts and evaluations of the behaviour of sophists *vis-à-vis* emperors in literary texts produced by authors belonging to the sophistic scene suggest that Hahn's thesis also holds good for the imperial connections of sophists and philosophers respectively. The focus will be on the evidence provided by Philostratus' *Lives of the sophists*, especially in the portrait of Aristides, and on a selection from Aristides' own writings: the letter to Marcus Aurelius and Commodus concerning Smyrna (*Or.* 19 Keil) and the reports of a number of dreams about meetings with emperors in the *Sacred Tales* (*Or.* 47-52 Keil).[7]

After presenting a brief sketch of the idealized conception of the relationship between philosopher and monarch in literature from the Antonine and Severan periods, I shall describe a couple of incidents which, at first sight, might be taken to suggest striking similarities between the behaviour *vis-à-vis* emperors of philosophers and sophists. These incidents will serve to introduce a discussion of

4 Palm, 1959, 28.

5 Bowie, 1978, 1668 with n. 62, referring to Philostr. *VS* 488 (Dio), 534 (Polemo), 562 (Herodes), and 583 (Aristides). Cf. Dzielska, 1986, 49 n. 85: "He [Philostratus] shaped his [Apollonius'] life according to the patterns taken from the life of Dio Chrysostom and other well-known sophists of the second century."

6 Hahn, 1989, 46-53.

7 I am, of course, aware that this focus may run up against the objection that Aristides' status as a sophist is debatable. Sound arguments for classifying Aristides as a sophist have been adduced by Harrison, 2000-2001, 251-252; see also Flinterman, 2002, 199.

the importance of contacts with the imperial court for sophists. The examples adduced will allow us to appreciate in which ways imperial connections appealed to the material interests and the self-esteem of sophists; the discussion will also show that the similarities between sophistic and philosophical behaviour *vis-à-vis* emperors are rather superficial and do not touch on the way in which representatives of both vocations defined their roles in relation to holders of the imperial power. An attempt to summarize the results will conclude this reconnaissance of sophistic attitudes.

Philosopher and monarch

In a diatribe on freedom from fear, Epictetus pours scorn on people who jostle one another in front of the gates of the imperial palace. "Nothing good is distributed among those who have entered," the philosopher warns his audience, and he underlines the futility of the pursuit of imperial honours by comparing it with the scramble for dried figs and nuts scattered among children.[8] A philosopher should spurn imperial honours, just as he is expected to defy the means of physical coercion available to emperors. Both his imperviousness towards what the emperor can give and his disdain for what the emperor can do to him result from his superior understanding of what a virtuous life amounts to, a clear insight in what is to be pursued and what to be avoided. In Epictetus' words, as reported by Arrian:

> Seeing, therefore, that I neither fear anything of all that he is able to do with me, nor greatly desire anything of all that he is able to provide, why do I any longer admire him, why any longer stand in awe of him?[9]

The philosopher's attitude *vis-à-vis* those wielding power finds expression in his willingness to speak his mind, regardless the consequences. This philosophical frankness, *parrhēsia*, makes him a terrifying figure for tyrants as well as an extremely valuable counsellor for virtuous rulers. From the Classical period down to the Imperial age, philosophers define themselves as admonishers in their relations with those in power. Dio's portrayal of the authority wielded by

8 Arr. *Epict.* 4.7.19-24; the quotation is from 21: ... ἔσω ἀγαθὸν οὐδὲν διαδίδοται τοῖς εἰσελθοῦσιν. Although the subject of 4.7 is freedom from fear of tyrants, there can be no doubt that the autocratic power of Roman emperors is foremost in the speaker's mind, cf. Millar, 1965, 145: "... Epictetus expatiates on the worthlesness of what the Emperor has to give, or to refuse."

9 Arr. *Epict.* 4.7.28.

pepaideumenoi over kings reflects this idealized conception of the relationship between philosophers and rulers.[10]

It is hardly coincidental that what is perhaps the most eloquent expression of these ideas can be found in the largely fictional account, in Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, of the protagonist's vicissitudes under Nero and the Flavian emperors. The first-century Pythagorean is represented by the Severan sophist as lecturing eager kings and emperors on the way to exercise their monarchic power and as intrepidly braving cruel despots.[11] In real life, the standards implied in the conception of the philosopher as fearless opponent of tyrants and as candid counsellor of virtuous rulers were maintained less easily. Thus, the biographical tradition is replete with anecdotes which portray the protagonists as royal parasites. Philostratus has Apollonius, when pressurized by his pupil Damis to accept gifts offered to him by the Parthian king Vardanes, ironically suggest that his Syrian disciple should come up with examples of philosophers from the past who associated with rulers in the hope of material rewards. Among others, the Pythagorean mentions Aeschines, Aristippus, and Plato.[12] The same names are, with explicit reference to the biographical tradition, mentioned by Lucian as examples of philosophers who applied themselves to the noble art of playing the parasite.[13] The examples from the Classical period had a distinct topicality in the Antonine era. When the Stoic philosopher Apollonius of Chalcedon left with his pupils for Rome in order to teach Marcus Aurelius, Demonax compared the travellers with the Argonauts sailing in search of the Golden Fleece.[14] After his arrival in Rome, Apollonius refused to come to the palace and demanded that Marcus should come to his place for tuition; Antoninus Pius aptly pointed out that the philosopher had made no bones about coming to Rome.[15] Cassius Dio observes that during the reign of Marcus Aurelius philosophy became an attractive vocation for people who hoped to be made rich by the emperor.[16]

10 For the currency of this conception under the Early Empire see Hahn, 1989, 182-191; for an outline of its history Flinterman, 1995, 165-169 and 171-176; on *parrhēsia* cf. Branham, 1996, 97-98 n. 54; Whitmarsh, 2001, 144-145. On Dio's *Or.* 49 cf. Desideri, 1978, 285-287.

11 For a phrasing of the conception see e.g. Philostr. *Ap.* 6.33 (διδάσκαλον τοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ἤθους), 6.43 (βασιλέας, οἳ ξύμβουλον αὐτὸν ἀρετῆς ἐποιοῦντο), and 7.14 (σοφοῖς δὲ οἰκειότερον τελευτᾶν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐπετήδευσαν); cf. Flinterman 1995, 162-165.

12 Philostr. *Ap.* 1.34.

13 Lucianus *Par.* 31-35; cf. Nesselrath, 1985, ad loc.

14 Lucianus *Demon.* 31.

15 *Hist.Aug. Pius* 10.4; cf. *Hist.Aug. Marc.Ant.* 3.1.

16 D.C. 71.35.2.

Accusations and insinuations such as these are indicative of the predicament in which philosophers consorting with those in power found themselves. How could philosophers who tried to make an impact on society by associating with a ruler be distinguished from other intellectuals who attempted to secure imperial patronage? And how was the independence required to act as an admonisher affected by the willingness to put oneself under an obligation by accepting imperial friendship and imperial favours? Plutarch, in his treatise *The philosopher should above all discuss with men in leading positions*, admits that philosophers who follow his advice make themselves vulnerable to the accusation of flattering those in power.[17] According to Plutarch, however, a philosopher should disregard these imputations. He should not refrain, moreover, from displaying diplomacy in his attempts to befriend men in leading positions. He should take care not to annoy his powerful friend with inopportune, sophistic disquisitions, but when the great man is willing to share the philosopher's company and spend leisure in civilized conversation, the philosopher should be glad to oblige.[18] Plutarch's readiness to water down the heady wine of philosophical frankness is also obvious from the discussion of *parrhēsia* which forms the second part of *How to distinguish a flatterer from a friend*. Here, it is emphasized that candour requires tact and that frankness should not degenerate into insolence.[19] Plutarch tries to salvage the idea that philosophers, by consorting with men in power, can make a significant contribution to the social and political well-being of their fellow-men. To that end, however, they should be willing to compromise as far as the display of their independence is concerned.

It seems a reasonable guess that most Greek intellectuals donning the philosopher's cloak in the imperial presence will have heeded Plutarch's recommendations. Still, the fact that Plutarch acknowledges the risk that such behaviour may give rise to accusations of flattery is indicative of the vitality of the ideal of the frank and fearless philosopher who refuses to fawn upon those in power. Besides, the anecdote about Apollonius of Chalcedon's refusal to come to the palace suggests that at least some philosophers insisted on imperial observance of a significant ingredient of the ritual of the dialogue between power and wisdom: the king should come to the philosopher instead of the other way around, thus openly expressing his acknowledgment of the hierarchical nature of the

17 Plu. *Mor.* 776b and 778a-b; cf. Damon, 1997, 250-251.

18 Plu. *Mor.* 778b.

19 Plu. *Mor.* 65e-74e; for a recent discussion of *De adulatore et amico* see Van Meirvenne, 2002.

relationship.[20] In short, even though the pretensions implied in the self-definition of philosophers in their relations with rulers as admonishers were often ridiculed and even though the advisability of specific forms of conduct was open to discussion, the behaviour of philosophers *vis-à-vis* emperors tended to be evaluated on the basis of a clear-cut conception of the philosopher's role.

Associating with the Great King

Philostratus characterizes sophistic oratory is a *technē filautos te kai alazōn*, an art whose practitioners are prone to the vices of conceit and boastfulness.[21] It is, therefore, only to be expected that sophists held their dignity dear in contacts with rulers, and their biographer provides us with several entertaining anecdotes about the sometimes rather peculiar behaviour of his heroes. When the king of the Bosporans visited Smyrna, Polemo left a royal invitation unanswered until the king came to his house – with a fee of ten talents, Philostratus adds.[22] Polemo is, of course, Philostratus' prime example of sophistic arrogance: even when addressed by Asclepius, he was not at a loss for an answer.[23] But Aelius Aristides, who can hardly be accused of a lack of respect for Asclepius, kept Marcus Aurelius waiting for three days during a visit of the imperial family to Smyrna. An escort of two imperial dignitaries of consular status was needed to persuade the orator to leave his study.[24] And Chrestus of Byzantium, when offered the candidacy for the imperial chair of rhetoric by the Athenians, declined and ended his speech to the assembly with the aphorism 'a man is not made by the ten thousand drachms'.[25] Later, Chrestus told this story as a rebuke to his overambitious pupil Diogenes of Amastris, who had always 'satrapies, courts, and standing at the side of emperors' on his mind.[26]

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20 See Hahn, 1989, 188, who also refers to the anecdote told by Philostr. *VS* 557 about Marcus Aurelius attending the lectures of the philosopher Sextus when already emperor.

21 Philostr. *VS* 616.

22 Philostr. *VS* 535.

23 Philostr. *VS* 535. Besides, as has been pointed out in a full discussion of the incident by Campanile, 1999, 303-305, we should take into account that Polemo's behaviour probably not only reflected his self-esteem as a sophist, but was also influenced by the fact that he himself, as a descendant of the first-century BC client king of Pontus and the Bosporan kingdom, was of royal extraction and, moreover, related to his prospective pupil.

24 Philostr. *VS* 582.

25 Philostr. *VS* 591. 10.000 drachms equals 40.000 sesterces, the salary of the holder of the imperial chair of rhetoric in Athens, on which see Avotins, 1975, 313-315: Rothe, 1989, 22-24.

26 Philostr. *VS* 592.

Chrestus' dressing down of his pupil is strongly reminiscent of Epictetus' admonitions on the triviality of imperial honours, just as Polemo's snubbing of the king of the Bosporans bears an unmistakable resemblance to Apollonius of Chalcedon's refusal to come to the imperial palace.[27] Still, anecdotes such as these represent only one side of Philostratus' portrayal of the appreciation by his heroes of contacts with monarchs. An entirely different and probably more characteristic attitude can be discerned in the story about Hadrian of Tyre's response to the appointment, on his deathbed, to the post of imperial secretary for Greek correspondence by Commodus:

> He invoked the Muses, as was his custom, reverently saluted the imperial letter, and breathed out his soul over it, thus making of that honour his funeral shroud.[28]

Most sophists, who came in a position to enter into contact with the imperial court or to receive imperial honours, did not miss the opportunity. What were the advantages involved? It should be obvious that the material rewards that the emperor could distribute formed a considerable part of the attraction of such contacts. To mention just one example, the income of the holder of the imperial chair in Athens, 40.000 sesterces, equalled the income derived, at a return of six percent, from property worth more than 650.000 sesterces: well above the equestrian census. Even for sophists with substantial wealth of their own, this was hardly a negligible sum.[29]

In addition, the imperial favour, once won, could be tapped in order to benefit others: the phenomenon for which in studies on patronage the term 'brokerage' has been coined.[30] One of the best documented examples from the world of the sophists is Aristides' successful intervention with Marcus Aurelius and Commodus after the destruction of Smyrna by an earthquake in late 170s, for which we have both Aristides' letter to the emperors and Philostratus' account.[31] This dossier offers a unique combination of perspectives on the relations between a sophist and the holders of the imperial power: both the presentation by the sophist directly involved and the interpretation given by the biographer of the sophists can be scrutinized and compared.

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27 Note that Rutherford, 1989, 82-83, mentions Apollonius' attitude in the framework of a description of the "arrogant and self-important behaviour (...) common among the great and wealthy sophists."

28 Philostr. *VS* 590. See for detailed discussion of the scene now Campanile 2003, 264-273.

29 For six percent as a 'normal level of return' see Duncan-Jones, 1974, 33 with n. 3.

30 See Saller, 1982, 4 and 74-75 (referring to studies by A. Blok and J. Boissevain).

31 Aristid. *Or.* 19 Keil; Philostr. *VS* 582-583; see also D.C. 71.32.3; cf. Behr 1968, 112-113; Bowersock, 1969, 45-46; Millar, 1977, 10 and 423-424; Winter, 1998, 153.

Aristides starts his letter by referring to the fact that in the past he has sent the emperors samples of his rhetorical prowess,[32] and he modestly but unmistakably justifies his plea with his enjoyment of the imperial favour:

> Others who possessed clout with kings acquired gifts for their cities in times of prosperity. If I have any influence with you, I ask and beg you that the city receive this favour, not to be thrown away like a broken utensil, condemned for uselessness, but that it live again through you.[33]

The explanation given by Philostratus for Aristides' influence with Marcus Aurelius is the resounding success of the orator's declamation before the emperor in Smyrna in 176.[34] The biographer does not mention that the orator was in the habit of sending the emperors specimens of his production. Nevertheless, both in Aristides' own and in Philostratus' presentation of his previous contacts with the emperors, the sophist's professional performance is the central element. It is Aristides' reputation as a sophist which gives him the courage to write to the emperors, without waiting for a formal embassy.[35]

Aristides repeatedly emphasizes that the task that he has set himself is a delicate one. He does not want to create the impression that the imperial munificence will manifest itself as the result of his entreaties:

> I have not said these things as if advising you and teaching you in your ignorance – I have not been so deranged by this misfortune.[36]

In order to preclude any misunderstandings on this account, Aristides compares his plea to the emperors with a prayer to the gods. After all, the gods are also ready to assist men, and yet we pray to them for their aid.[37] Philostratus displays in his account of the incident a full understanding of the intricacies of the situation:

> ... I do not want to suggest that the Emperor would not anyhow have restored the ruined city which he had admired when it was still standing, but natures that are truly

32 Aristid. *Or.* 19.1 Keil: ἀγωνίσματα καὶ λόγους ἐκ διατριβῶν, "declamations and speeches from the classroom".

33 Aristid. *Or.* 19.7 Keil.

34 Philostr. *VS* 583 (the occasion that was preceded by the orator's demonstration of reluctance mentioned above, at n. 24): ἐκεῖνό γε μὴν πρὸς πάντων ὁμολογεῖται, τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἀρίστῃ φορᾷ ἐπὶ τοῦ Μάρκου χρήσασθαι πόρρωθεν τῇ Σμύρνῃ ἑτοιμαζούσης τῆς τύχης τὸ δι' ἀνδρὸς τοιούτου δὴ ἀνοικισθῆναι.

35 Aristid. *Or.* 19.6 Keil: οὔτε πρεσβείαν κοινὴν ἀνέμεινα οὔτ' εἰς ἕτερον βλέπειν ἠξίουν ὅ τι πράξειεν.

36 Aristid. *Or.* 19.5 Keil (καὶ ταῦτα οὐχ ὡς συμβουλεύων εἶπον); cf. *Or.* 19.14 Keil.

37 Aristid. *Or.* 19.5 Keil.

> royal and above the ordinary, when incited by good advice and eloquence, are filled with greater enthusiasm and press on with ardour to doing well.[38]

Although Philostratus in contradistinction from Aristides does not shun the word *xymboulia*, 'advice', there is no room for misunderstanding about the fact that he regards Aristides' contribution to the rebuilding of Smyrna as encouraging the emperor to take a decision which also would have been made without the sophist's intervention. A sophist's advice to an emperor is meant to offer confirmation rather than guidance. Interestingly, the verb *analampein*, 'to be filled with enthusiasm', is also used by Philostratus in the *Life of Apollonius* in order to describe the effect of the hero's attempt to confirm Vespasian in his bid for power:[39] a policy that Philostratus elsewhere has Apollonius characterize as 'already decided'.[40] Apparently, it is in playing down Apollonius' pretensions and achievements as a counsellor of emperors rather than in portraying him as an imperial adviser that Philostratus has drawn on the model of sophistic behaviour.

However, the credit gained by Aristides for his intervention with the emperor is not diminished by the fact that Philostratus considers it essentially superfluous. He even confers on Aristides the title of honour 'founder', which the orator himself had reserved for his imperial addressees:

> To say that Aristides was the founder of Smyrna is no mere boastful praise but most just and true.[41]

The prestige that resulted from channelling the imperial favour to others can also be illustrated from Aristides' *Funeral address in honour of Alexander of Cotiaeum*, his former tutor and, what is more important in this connection, the former tutor of Marcus Aurelius. Alexander asked favours for others rather than for himself, both from the families of his other pupils and from his imperial employers. The result was that

> ... he never caused anyone grief, but passed his life in doing good for kinsmen, friends, his fatherland and other cities.[42]

Although a mere *grammaticus*, Alexander appears in Aristides' eulogy as a unique figure, the perfect embodiment of all literary and rhetorical skills and social vir-

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38 Philostr. *VS* 583: ... αἱ βασίλειοί τε καὶ θεσπέσιοι φύσεις, ἢν προσεγείρῃ αὐτὰς ξυμβουλία καὶ λόγος, ἀναλάμπουσι μᾶλλον καὶ πρὸς τὸ ποιεῖν εὖ ξὺν ὁρμῇ φέρονται.

39 Philostr. *Ap.* 5.30: ... ὁ δὲ ἀνέλαμπέ τε ἔτι μᾶλλον ...

40 Philostr. *Ap.* 5.35: ... περὶ πραγμάτων ἤδη βεβουλευμένων.

41 Philostr. *VS* 582 (οἰκιστὴν ... τῆς Σμύρνης); cf. Aristid. *Or.* 19.4 Keil: ὑμεῖς οἰκισταὶ τῆς πόλεως γένεσθε.

42 Aristid. *Or.* 32.15 Keil.

tues. He comes up to the highest standards applied by Aristides, and this is also true of his contacts with the imperial family.

Material rewards for oneself and the possibility to practice brokerage are, however, only part – and arguably not the most important part – of the benefits that sophists might expect from contacts with emperors. Aristides' prose-hymn on Athena, composed in the early 150s, when the orator was 35 years old, is rounded off with the following prayer:

> ..., grant as you revealed me at night, honour from both our emperors, and grant me to be best in wisdom and oratory. May whoever opposes me repent. May I prevail to the extent that I wish. But in myself, while being the first, may the better part prevail.[43]

Although at the time Aristides was engaged in the struggle for recognition of his immunity, he presents being honoured by Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius as an end in itself, whose significance is independent from the tangible benefits that may go with it.[44] The attitude displayed by Aristides is mocked as totally pointless by Lucian, in *On Hirelings*. After suggesting that men put themselves in the power of the rich in order to escape from poverty, in order to minimize the risks of old age, or in order to indulge a desire for luxury, Lucian mentions a possibility that he finds very hard to believe: some men are apparently motivated

> … by the mere name of associating with men of noble family and high social status. There are people who think that even this confers distinction and exalts them above the masses, just as in my own case, were it even the Great King, merely to associate with him and to be seen associating with him without getting any real benefit out of it would not be acceptable to me.[45]

For Aristides, on the other hand, 'merely to associate with the Great King', that is with the emperor,[46] was something to be prayed for and, of course, to be dreamt about. It is to Aristides' dreams about emperors in the *Sacred Tales* that we now turn.

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43 Aristid. *Or.* 37.29 Keil: ... ἃ νύκτωρ μοι προὔφαινες, δίδου μὲν τιμὰς παρ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν βασιλέων, δίδου δὲ ἄκρον εἶναι φρονεῖν καὶ λέγειν. The dating is based on the subscription of the hymn (p. 312 in Keil's edition); cf. Behr, 1994, 1149-1150.

44 Cf. Behr, 1968, 81 n. 66: "The speech does not seem to contain any allusions to the legal battles ..."

45 Lucianus *Merc.Cond.* 9: ..., πλὴν εἰ μὴ κἀκείνων τις μεμνῆσθαι ἀξιώσειεν τῶν καὶ μόνῃ τῇ δόξῃ ἐπαιρομένων τοῦ συνεῖναι εὐπατρίδαις τε καὶ εὐπαρύφοις ἀνδράσιν· εἰσὶν γὰρ οἳ καὶ τοῦτο περίβλεπτον καὶ ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς νομίζουσιν, ὡς ἔγωγε τοὐμὸν ἴδιον οὐδὲ βασιλεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ αὐτὸ μόνον συνεῖναι καὶ συνὼν ὁρᾶσθαι μηδὲν χρηστὸν ἀπολαύων τῆς συνουσίας δεξαίμην ἄν.

46 Cf. Swain, 1996, 176 with n. 125 and 321 with n. 80.

Dreaming about the emperor

The *Hieroi Logoi* or *Sacred Tales*, composed in the 170s, are Aristides' tribute to the guidance and protection offered to him by Asclepius over more than a quarter of a century.[47] They contain four substantial descriptions of dreams in which the author finds himself in the company of Marcus Aurelius.[48] Three of these dreams are part of the so-called Diary: Aristides' detailed account of his dreams during January and February 166, an account which is inserted in the *First Sacred Tale*.[49] The fourth one, described in the *Fifth Sacred Tale*, occurred when Aristides was pondering a visit to Cyzicus and had asked the god for a sign; it is closer to the time of composition.[50] The idea that the imperial presence is honorific in itself is never missing from these passages. However, it interacts with and is reinforced by the notion that what the emperor says in a dream has predictive value.

This is especially apparent from the dream last mentioned, reported in the *Fifth Sacred Tale*. The orator dreams that he is looking for an opportunity to approach the emperor. While he himself is lying down, the emperor sacrifices a cock, presumably to Asclepius. When the bird in its death struggle comes within Aristides' reach, he grabs it, takes it as an omen (apparently the sign from Asclepius that he had asked for), and with the bird in his hands starts to address the emperor,[51] taking his cue from Odysseus' toast to Achilles in *Iliad* 9.223f. and

47 For recent discussions of the *Sacred Tales* see Cox Miller, 1994, 184-204; Harrison, 2000-2001; Pearcy, 1988; Pernot, 2002 (with full bibliography); Quet, 1993; Schröder, 1988; Swain, 1996, 260-274; Weiss, 1998. The date of composition is controversial, cf. Swain, 1996, 261 with n. 31. Behr has consistently argued for 170/1; see most recently Behr, 1994, 1155-1163. Behr's argument entails emendation of Σαλβίου τοῦ νῦν ὑπάτου in *Or.* 48.9 Keil, which indicates 175. For a recent defence of the latter terminus post quem see Weiss, 1998, 38-39, summarized by Harrison, 2000-2001, 247.

48 Aristides' dreams about emperors are conveniently listed by Weber, 2000, 57-58 n. 13. See, in addition to the passages discussed below, *Or.* 47.33; *Or.* 49.21; *Or.* 50.106 Keil.

49 Aristid. *Or.* 47.5-58, esp. 23, 36-39 and 46-50 Keil; cf. Behr, 1968, 97-100; Quet, 1993, 220-221; Swain, 1996, 261 with n. 30.

50 Aristid. *Or.* 51.43-46 Keil. The trip to Cyzicus, the second one in the fifth *Sacred Tale*, is labelled 'recent' by Aristides (*or.* 51.42 Keil: ἔναγχος). It is dated to 170 by Behr, 1968, 108; see Behr, 1968, 97 n. 11 and 307 for the arguments supporting his dating of the events described in the Fifth Sacred Tale.

51 Aristid. *Or.* 51.44 Keil: ὡς δὲ πλησίον γενέσθαι τῶν χειρῶν μου ἀλεκτρυόνα ἀσπαίροντα, συλλαβεῖν τε καὶ οἰωνίσασθαι καί, ὡς εἶχον ἐν ταῖν χεροῖν, ἄρχεσθαι τῆς προσρήσεως. I prefer Behr's translation of οἰωνίσασθαι, 'regard as an omen' to the suggestion made by Festugière, 1969, 152, 'examiner les entrailles du coq'; this preference entails following Keil and Behr in reading προσρήσεως instead of προρρήσεως.

wishing him well.[52] The emperor gives vent to his admiration for Aristides' speech and expresses the wish that an audience of about fifty men would attend.[53] Aristides replies that if the emperor wishes so, an audience will turn up. He adds that Asclepius has foretold him the very words just spoken by the emperor, and he is willing to substantiate his claim by showing the emperor a written record of the god's prediction.[54] Subsequently, the emperor disappears, and Aristides realizes that the occasion of his performance will be in accordance with his dream,[55] and then, still dreaming, he is walking to Cyzicus. The imperial prediction is approximately fulfilled during Aristides' stay in that city: he does not make a public appearance, but when he declaims in a private house, there is a turn out of about fifty people, who belong – superfluous to say – to the most eminent.[56]

A large part of Aristides' dream is suitably enigmatic. The incident interpreted by Aristides as the sign that he has asked from Asclepius is not immediately transparent. Is he joining or assisting the emperor in a sacrificial act? Or is he himself accepting the sacrifice? The former interpretation seems the natural choice. However, Aristides' precise role defies definition, and at the very least this creates room for the latter reading, which finds a certain amount of support in other dreams told in the *Sacred Tales*. In the *First Sacred Tale*, Aristides tells that

52 Aristid. *Or.* 51.44 Keil: ὥρμητο δέ μοι τοῦτο πᾶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὁμηρικοῦ, ὡς Ὀδυσσεὺς τὸ ἔκπωμα πλησάμενος προσαγορεύει τὸν Ἀχιλλέα καὶ λέγει· τὰ δὲ ῥήματα οὕτω πως εἶχεν· "ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ μὲν τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ δὲ καὶ ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν, ὡς δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν ἅπασιν." For the problem involved in ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν see Behr, 1981, 444 n. 69. Since the death of Lucius Verus in the winter of 168-169, Marcus Aurelius was sole emperor. However, Commodus had been Caesar since 166 (*Hist.Aug. Comm.* 1.10 and 11.13), and since 169 he was probably Marcus' sole surviving son, see *Hist.Aug. Marc. Ant.* 21.3-5, with Birley, 1987, 162. Aristides' second-instance mentioning of 'both emperors' may well reflect the situation existing since then, and does not need to be interpreted as a 'prediction' of Commodus' elevation to the rank of co-emperor in 177, as is suggested by Weiss, 1998, 45.

53 Aristid. *Or.* 51.45 Keil: ὁ δὲ ἐθαύμασέν τε [καὶ] πειρώμενος τῶν λόγων ἀντὶ πάντων τε ἔφη τιμᾶσθαι χρημάτων αὐτούς, καὶ ἐπεῖπεν· "τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις εἰ προσῆσαν ἀκροαταὶ ὅσον καὶ πεντήκοντα."

54 Aristid. *Or.* 51.45 Keil: κἀγὼ ὑπολαβὼν "σοῦ γε, ἔφην, βουλομένου, βασιλεῦ, καὶ ἀκροαταὶ γενήσονται. καὶ ὅπως γ', ἔφην, θαυμάσῃς, ταῦτα ἃ νυνὶ λέγεις, ἐμοὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ προείρηται." καὶ ἕτοιμος ἦν αὐτῷ γεγραμμένα δεικνύναι. For Aristides' record of his dreams and its relation to the *Sacred Tales* see *Or.* 48.2-3 and 8; *Or.* 49.26; *Or.* 50.25 Keil; cf. Behr, 1968, 116, and the discussions by Pearcy, 1988 and Schröder, 1988.

55 Aristid. *Or.* 51.45 Keil: μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ὁ μὲν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅποι ἐτράπετο, ἐγὼ δ' ἐνεθυμήθην ὅτι οὗτος ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς εἴη τῆς ἐπιδείξεως.

56 Aristid. *Or.* 51.46 Keil: καὶ σχεδὸν εξεπληροῦτο ἡ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου φήμη· ἦν γὰρ εἰς τοὺς πεντήκοντα ὁ σύλλογος. Weiss' suggestion (1998, 45) that 'an audience of about fifty men' in *Or.* 51.45 Keil may refer to the quorum needed for a *senatus consultum* granting imperium to Commodus does not take into account that its primary reference is to this outcome of the imperial prediction.

he once dreamt that a statue of himself turned into a statue of Asclepius,[57] while in the *Fourth Sacred Tale* a dream is reported in which Aristides is addressed by a statue of Asclepius with the cultic formula *heis*, 'one and only'.[58] The reference to *Iliad* 9 is puzzling, even if one takes into account that at some point in time Aristides composed a declamation based on this episode from the *Iliad*, the *Embassy speech to Achilles*.[59] The imperial admiration for his *logoi* comes as somewhat of a surprise after the orator's rather simple phrasing of his good wishes, admittedly a paraphrase. What is clear, however, is that Aristides receives from Marcus a true prediction regarding the size of his audience in Cyzicus. In this respect, this dream belongs to the type labelled 'oracular' in the five-fold classification of dreams to be found in, among others, Artemidorus' *Oneirocritica*,[60] and the role played by the emperor is in accordance with one of the rules of interpretation given by Artemidorus, who ranges 'kings and magistrates' speaking in dreams with other persons who should be believed and obeyed, such as gods, priests, parents, and teachers.[61] At the same time, it is obvious that the imperial trustworthiness is not confined to utterances on the size of future audiences, but that it applies to the imperial appreciation of Aristides' achievements as an orator as well.

The last observation is also relevant for the interpretation of the first of the three extended descriptions of 'imperial dreams' contained in the Diary. Aristides and Alexander of Cotiaeum approach the emperor. Aristides introduces himself as a worshipper of Asclepius, and he declines the honour of kissing the emperor,[62] justifying his refusal by referring to a precept of the god. Not only finds the emperor Aristides' excuse satisfactory, he also gives expression to his respect for the orator's favourite deity: "Asclepius is better than all to worship."[63] Thus, in addition to Aristides' oratorical excellence his devotion to his divine guide finds imperial endorsement.[64] In passing, we should note that his breach of court

57 Aristid. *Or.* 47.17 Keil.

58 Aristid. *Or.* 50.50 Keil.

59 Aristid. *Or.* 16 Behr; cf. Kindstrand, 1973, 215-219.

60 E.g. Artem. 1.2 (6.16-17 Pack); cf. Kessels, 1969, 391-396; Weber, 2000, 40-41.

61 Artem. 2.69; cf. Behr, 1968, 201, and Kessels, 1969, 395 at n. 6, where it is pointed out that this passage refers to oracular dreams rather than to the allegorical dreams which are the focus of Artemidorus' professional interest.

62 See for honorific imperial kisses Lendon, 1997, 134 with the passages mentioned in his n. 137.

63 Aristid. *Or.* 47.23 Keil: καὶ μὴν θεραπεύειν γε παντὸς κρείττων ὁ Ἀσκληπιός.

64 Cf. Swain, 1996, 263.

etiquette bears a certain resemblance to the anecdote told by Philostratus about Aristides' failure to turn up during the imperial visit to Smyrna.[65]

Eighteen days later, Aristides dreams that he adds lustre to peace negotiations between Marcus Aurelius and the Parthian king Vologases by a reading from his work.[66] In a short prologue, he explains that it is only owing to his familiarity with divine visions that he is up to facing two monarchs. He decides to bring in his collected works and to leave the choice to his audience, a gracious gesture that has the additional advantage that it enables him to astonish king and emperor alike with his prolific output. One week after this remarkable peace performance, Aristides dreams that he is staying in the imperial palace.[67] He receives miraculous and unsurpassable honours from Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. Rivals for the imperial attention are conspicuously absent. The emperors take Aristides with them on a tour of inspection of a drainage ditch designed to protect the city against inundations, and again he is the object of unremitting imperial care which *inter alia* finds expression in the imperial assistance he receives when scaling heights: a rather straightforward dream-symbol for imperial advancement.[68] The passage is, as J.E. Lendon has put it, a 'conspectus of imperial tokens of honour'.[69] But there is more to it. When Aristides wants to take his leave and thanks Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus for the care and honour they have lavished upon him, the emperors express their gratitude towards the gods for having met a man whose virtuousness is matched by his oratorical excellence. The emperors turn out to share a cherished tenet of Aristides himself which is central to his second oration, the massive *Defence of oratory* against Plato: noble character and oratorical talent go hand in hand.[70] And Aristides' conviction that he himself is the embodiment of the ideal implied in this tenet, finds imperial endorsement as well. Afterwards, having fallen asleep again, the orator dreams that two of his acquaintances are witness to and marvel at the 'exceedingly great honours' he receives. It comes as somewhat of a bathos when Aristides tells us that he took the excavated earth of the drainage ditch as a symbolic instruction and vomited that evening.

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65 See above, at n. 24.

66 Aristid. *Or.* 47.36-39 Keil.

67 Aristid. *Or.* 47.46-50 Keil.

68 Cf. Artem. 2.42 and esp. 4.28, with Behr, 1968, 198.

69 Lendon, 1997, 134 n. 137.

70 Aristid. *Or.* 47.49 Keil: κἀκ τούτου ἤρχετο ὁ πρεσβύτερος λέγειν ὅτι τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἴη καὶ ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ περὶ λόγους ἀγαθόν. ἐπεξῄει δὲ ὁ νεώτερος ῥῆμά τινος λέγων ὅτι ἀκολουθοίη τῷ τρόπῳ καὶ τὰ τῶν λόγων. Cf. *Or.* 2.392 Behr: ἡ παροιμία (...) ἡ λέγουσα οἷος ὁ τρόπος, τοιοῦτον εἶναι καὶ τὸν λόγον. Cf. Sohlberg, 1972, 197-198.

This cursory reading of imperial dreams in the *Sacred Tales* suffices to demonstrate that for Aristides being honoured by an emperor was tantamount to a confirmation of the things that were essential to him: his devotion to Asclepius, the god who guided his life and his oratorical career; his conception of oratory; the value of his art; and his own achievements in that field. It does not come as a surprise that the *Address concerning Asclepius*, in which the god's benefactions over the years are summarized, culminates in a reference to Aristides' declamation before the court of Marcus Aurelius during the imperial visit to Smyrna in 176.[71] Aristides expresses his gratitude to Asclepius for the god's guidance of his oratorical career and for the fact that he has also taken care of the public renown of Aristides' speeches. Cities, private citizens, and magistrates have praised Aristides:[72]

> But the greatest thing in this respect is putting me on such friendly terms with the divine Emperors, and aside from contact with them by letters, by making me a speaker before them and one prized as no one ever had been, and at that equally by the Emperors and by the Princesses, and by the whole Imperial chorus.[73]

And Aristides sums up Asclepius' benefactions in this respect by stating that the god has seen to it that "the most perfect men might hear with their own ears our superior work."[74] For Aristides, being allowed to address the imperial family appears as the acme of public recognition, and a craving for imperial honours seems to be a constant feature of both his waking and his dreaming life, from the *Hymn to Athena* to the *Address on Asclepius*. Keeping the emperor waiting for three days must have been a considerable effort.

Questioning the emperor's expertise

A problem, to which Aristides apparently turns a blind eye, is that both in the reports of his dreams and in his account of real events the emperor and his family act as a court of connoisseurs. He never asks the question whether the emperor has the expertise to act as a judge of his achievements. Members of the

71 Cf. Behr, 1968, 111 n. 66.

72 Aristid. *Or.* 42.13 Keil.

73 Aristid. *Or.* 42.14 Keil: τὸ δὲ δὴ μέγιστον τῶν περὶ ταῦτα τὸ καὶ τοῖς θείοις βασιλεῦσιν εἰς τοσοῦτον οἰκειοῦσθαι καὶ χωρὶς τῆς διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων συνουσίας ἐπιδείξασθαι λέγοντα ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ σπουδαζόμενον ἃ μηδεὶς πώποτε, καὶ ταῦτα ὁμοίως μὲν παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων, ὁμοίως δὲ τῶν βασιλίδων γενέσθαι, καὶ παντὸς δὴ τοῦ βασιλείου χοροῦ. Cf. Bowersock, 1969, 49-50.

74 Aristid. *Or.* 42.14 Keil: καὶ ταῦτά τε οὕτως ἐπέπρακτο καὶ τὸ σύνθημα παρῆν ἀνακαλοῦν, ἔργῳ σοῦ δείξαντος ὅτι πολλῶν εἵνεκα προήγαγες ἐς μέσον, ὡς φανείημεν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις καὶ γένοιντο αὐτήκοοι τῶν κρειττόνων οἱ τελεώτατοι.

imperial family are simply labelled *hoi teleōtatoi*; even the possibility of raising the problem of their competence is precluded by an encomiastic effusion.

Witness the story told by Philostratus about Chrestus of Byzantium,[75] other sophists were in fact prepared to question the relation between the bestowal of imperial honours and sophistic eminence. Even more eloquent on the issues involved is a famous anecdote from the *Historia Augusta* about Favorinus and Hadrian. When the emperor criticized a word used by Favorinus, the sophist acknowledged his alleged mistake. His friends pointed out that the word had been used by acceptable authorities. Favorinus retorted:

> You don't give me good advice, my friends, when you don't allow me to believe the man who possesses thirty legions more learned than anyone else.[76]

A passage from Plutarch's *How to distinguish a flatterer from a friend* brings out the full implications of Favorinus' rejoinder:

> Flatterers (...) make public their view that kings and rich men and political leaders are not only successful and fortunate, but are also intelligent, skilful and so on for every virtue. Some people cannot abide even *hearing* the Stoics claim that the wise man is *ipso facto* a rich, good-looking, well-born king; but flatterers explicitly say that an affluent man is *ipso facto* an orator and a poet, or (if the fancy takes him), a painter and a musician, or a sportsman and an athlete, by letting themselves be thrown at wrestling or fall behind at running ...[77]

Favorinus' witticism characterizes Hadrian as an emperor whose behaviour elicits toadying. At the same time, his self-mockery amounts to exposure of the imperial incompetence in the field where the sophist is sovereign.

The claim to superior expertise in one's own field implied in the anecdotes about Chrestus and Favorinus could result in forms of behaviour towards emperors which shows superficial similarities to the attitude displayed by philosophers. Such similarities should not be taken, however, as symptoms of an affinity between the respective self-definitions of philosophers and sophists. Whereas the ethical expertise claimed by philosophers extended to the emperor's behaviour as a ruler, at least in this respect sophists tended to be more modest. We have seen how Aristides went out of his way to avoid the impression that he was giving the divine emperors a piece of advice. Philostratus' report of the incident reflected a similar reluctance to claim the role of imperial counsellor for a sophist. The author of the *Lives of the sophists*, who for about a decade stayed at the

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75 See above, at n. 25 and 26.

76 *Hist.Aug. Hadr.* 15.13: *non recte suadetis, familiares, qui non patimini me illum doctiorem omnibus credere qui habet triginta legiones.* On Favorinus and Hadrian see Bowie, 1997.

77 Plu. *Mor.* 58e-f.

Severan court,[78] presents imperial interest in both sophists and philosophers as nothing more than a commendable form of diversion from imperial concerns proper. This is true of even that most Philhellenic of emperors, Hadrian, who ...

> ... by turning his mind to sophists and philosophers used to lighten the responsibilities of Empire.[79]

Sophists, for their part, should not pretend to be in a position to admonish emperors – unless they are dealing with points of literary criticism. This is the case in Philostratus' letter to Julia Domna, where the sophist urges the empress to appreciate the style of Gorgias, and where the admonishment is inextricably linked up with a highly complimentary comparison with Pericles' partner Aspasia, implying that the empress is a politically influential woman well-versed in literary studies.[80] Less commendable imperial characteristics, on the other hand, should be passed over in silence. According to Philostratus, it is unwise 'to provoke tyrants and to enrage savage characters'. This piece of advice is occasioned by the apocryphal anecdote about the execution of Antiphon by Dionysius of Syracuse after a display of *parrhēsia* by the sophist.[81] Philostratus' comment of the behaviour of his contemporary colleague Antipater of Hierapolis, who openly criticized Caracalla for murdering Geta under the pretext of plotting against his life, breathes the same aversion to *parrhēsia*:

> We may well believe that the emperor was greatly incensed by this, and indeed these remarks would have incensed even a private person, at any rate if he were anxious to gain credence for an alleged plot against himself.[82]

In short, the comments of the biographer of the sophists overlap and complement the attitude displayed by Aristides; taken together, they indicate that the way in which sophists defined their role *vis-à-vis* emperors was markedly different from the self-definition of philosophers.

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78 Flinterman, 1995, 19-26.

79 Philostr. *VS* 490: ... διῆγε τὰς βασιλείους φροντίδας ἀπονεύων ἐς σοφιστάς τε καὶ φιλοσόφους.

80 Philostr. *Ep.* 73; for discussion and bibliography see Flinterman, 1997; Hemelrijk, 1999, 124-125.

81 Philostr. *VS* 500: ξυμβουλίαν ἐς πάντας (...) τοῦ μὴ ἐκκαλεῖσθαι τὰς τυραννίδας, μηδὲ ἐς ὀργὴν ἄγειν ἤθη ὠμά. The same story is told by Plutarch as an example of misguided *parrhēsia* in the second part of *How to distinguish a flatterer from a friend*, Plu. *Mor.* 68a-b.

82 Philostr. *VS* 607: ὑφ' ὧν παροξυνθῆναι τὸν βασιλέα μὴ ἀπιστῶμεν, καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἰδιώτην ταῦτα παρώξυνε βουλόμενόν γε τὸ δοκεῖν ἐπιβεβουλεῦσθαι μὴ ἀπιστεῖσθαι. Pace Puech, 2002, 93 n. 2, I side with Ritti, 1988, 123 in interpreting Philostratus' observation as "una taciuta critica per l'inopportunità del gesto."

Concluding remarks

The singularity of the philosopher's self-definition *vis-à-vis* emperors has been admirably summed up by Elizabeth Rawson:

> What rhetors and sophists did was, primarily, to praise – though that might provide a model for the ruler to follow; what envoys did was to request (and praise too). Philosophers might warn.[83]

Reports and discussions by sophists themselves of their relations with emperors clearly show a tendency to keep a profile that emphatically distinguishes them from the philosophic adviser. Claims to the attention of emperors and members of the imperial family are justified by referring to previous contacts of a literary-rhetorical nature. Philosophical frankness, *parrhēsia*, is not considered a sophist's virtue, and the semantic value of the word *symbouleuein*, 'advise', if used at all, is debased to enthusing the addressed for a line of action whose advisability is beyond discussion. Sophists showed little inclination to cast themselves in the role of admonisher.

Still, at least some sophists disparaged the value of being honoured by the emperor and questioned his expertise in literary and rhetorical matters. Where they did so, a mostly latent conflict between contradictory demands emerged. Sophists were practitioners of an art that functioned as a medium for the construction and expression of Greek elite identity. In order to fulfil that function, sophistic oratory had to appear as fully autonomous.[84] Aristides' reluctance to turn up during the stay of the imperial court at Smyrna in 176 and his refusal of the imperial kiss in a dream ten years earlier should be understood against this background: they are expressions of an exclusive devotion to oratory and to his divine guide (the two being interchangeable in his case). As is borne out by Aristides' prayers and dreams, however, the art itself and its practitioners were also in need of public renown, and sophists were part of a society in which the bestowal of honours by the emperor was the acme of public recognition. To be first among the Greeks, being honoured by the emperor was both superfluous and indispensable. In his dreaming and in his waking life, Aristides succeeded in having the best of both worlds.

83 Rawson, 1989, 253.

84 Cf. Schmitz, 1997, 31.

The Cretan lyre paradox: Mesomedes, Hadrian and the poetics of patronage

TIM WHITMARSH

1 Introduction

1.1 Diversifying the Second Sophistic. The 'Second Sophistic' (whatever precisely we take that phrase to denote) is usually thought of as a characteristically elitist phenomenon.[1] Indeed, recent studies cross-fertilised by social anthropology have shown that literature was precisely a medium for class definition, for negotiating and justifying boundaries between the subelite and (what are tellingly called) the *pepaideumenoi*.[2] But for all the evident gains in modern scholarship on the subject, there is a real risk in taking so constricted a demographic view of imperial literary production: we are in danger of ending up with a picture that represents the exclusivist politics of modern *paideia* more accurately than ancient society itself.

Who are the literary subelite of the early Roman empire? The case for a few sophists of low-class origins is not particularly convincing.[3] Among philosophers, the ex-slave Epictetus is a prominent case; with more shadowy figures, it is hard to tell how much of any perceived shabbiness is affected style. The most significant body of evidence comes from poetry. The overwhelming focus of modern literary scholarship, however, has been on the prose texts of the period (recent work by Ewen Bowie constituting an honourable exception).[4] There is a certain justification for this practice in that a number of ancient texts themselves diagnose the cultural-historical shift from classicism to post-classicism in terms of a shift from poetry to prose.[5] In general, this bias represents another

1 I leave aside for now questions of definition of the 'Second Sophistic': for discussion, see Whitmarsh, 2001, 41-45.

2 Gleason, 1995; Swain, 1996; Schmitz, 1997; Whitmarsh, 2001, 90-130.

3 Bowie, 1982, 54-55.

4 Bowie, 1989; 1990; 2002.

5 Whitmarsh, forthcoming.

example of literary scholarship's too-ready acquiescence to the agenda of a limited number of ancient sources. A large and varied corpus of Greek poetry survives from the early imperial period: longer poems (most notably those of the Oppiani), other poems preserved in MSS or papyri (most conveniently consulted in Heitsch's *Griechische Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit* (*GDRK*)), and also numerous verse inscriptions (the epigrams are being assembled by Merkelbach and Stauber).[6] The inscriptional evidence, indeed, testifies to the continuing prestige of poetry as social currency within Greek *poleis*, to the wide-ranging influence of performers' guilds, and also to the numerous competitions available to singers and performers of song.[7] Particularly relevant to the case I shall discuss in this chapter is the evidence for the cultic performance of citharodic poetry and hymns, both new and old, which was clearly widespread in his time.[8]

To include subelite poets within the compass of the Second Sophistic clearly raises questions of definition: is there any meaningful sense in which such figures can be said to share a cultural berth with Aristides, Polemo and similar superrich, stellar orators? What we shall discover in the course of this chapter is that, while there are certainly irreconcilable differences in terms of social orientation, the poetry in question strikingly shares a preoccupation with epideixis, role-playing, identity, and the negotiation of power. These are, of course, precisely the characteristics that modern scholarship has so productively located in the literature of the Second Sophistic 'proper'. Taking the expanded view of the Second Sophistic that I am proposing, then, allows us to see that these features were shared across a much broader range of the social spectrum than is usually thought.

1.2 Hadrian and literary patronage. Many (but by no means all) of these poets were operating within the confines of – what we might broadly call – Roman patronal relationships. This is the particular focus of this chapter, which takes the case of Mesomedes, a Cretan freedman of the emperor Hadrian. 'Patronage' is, of course, a vague and capacious term. When scholars of Roman literature consider (as they frequently do) Latin patronal poetry, they refer to a body of texts with named addressees, with a stylised 'language' of gift exchange and honorification.[9] In the 13 extant poems of Mesomedes, however, not a single mortal is named; there is, moreover, no direct reference to the social context of

6 Merkelbach – Stauber (eds.), 1998-2002. For imperial poetry, see also Hopkinson, 1994.

7 Hardie, 1983, 18-27; Bowie, 1990, esp. 83-85; 89. For individual poets, see Fein, 1994, 88-150.

8 Bowie, 1990, 83-84; Furley – Bremer, 2001, 24-25. For choral performances, see Bowie, forthcoming.

9 See esp. Gold (ed.), 1982; Hardie, 1983; Gold, 1987; White, 1993; Bowditch, 2001; Nauta, 2002. On patronage as a wider phenomenon within Roman society, see Saller, 1982; Wallace-Hadrill (ed.), 1989.

poetic production (though see 4.2 below). When I write of 'patronal' poetry, then, I am invoking not a transparent commitment to encomium, but a set of more elusive strategies for the magnification of the subject. These will become clear in the course of the discussion.

1.3 Interpretative hypertrophy. What is more, the text in question need not be exclusively or finally 'about' the patronal relationship. Criticism of patronal literature has been bedevilled by such fruitless searches for allegorical *clefs* that would decode texts into explicit and uncontroversial maps of social positionality. At one extreme, Bundy's influential work on Pindar has encouraged readers to see all features in his epinicia as encomiastic signals, whether explicit or figured;[10] similarly, certain critics of Augustan poetry have argued that there is an *a priori* case for seeing it as directly reflecting Augustan ideology.[11] No less reductive, however, is the tradition (particularly in the criticism of Latin poetry) of looking for subversive subtexts that might undermine the encomiastic superstructure.[12] These constructional metaphors are not innocent: they imply that, a text, like a house, can collapse because of isolated cracks in its foundations; its final, achieved state, then, is one of ruin. The two approaches are embodied in 'optimistic' and 'pessimistic' criticism, articulated with varying degrees of subtlety and commitment, in Virgilian studies.

The problem with such approaches lies in their attempts to come up with a final 'meaning' – encomiastic or subversive – for the texts they handle. Now, there is no reason to prescribe that *all* texts must be *equally* open and pluralistic: 'meaning is always created at the point of reception' is catchy as sloganeering, but meaninglessly reductive as cant. In the case of patronal literature, however, we might hypothesise that performance contexts necessarily engender what I shall call 'interpretative hypertrophy': a zealous demand, on the part of readers (ancient and modern) for allegorical ciphers. To understand such poems, it is fully necessary to seek out *multiple* meanings. The reason for this is to be sought in the complexity of the communicative process. Non-patronal texts usually represent an act of communication between poet and audience, however diverse the latter may be. Patronal poetry, however, enacts a multidirectional triangulation between poet, patron and wider community. It must, for obvious reasons, speak to (at least) two distinct audiences, and moreover be seen by each of those two to speak to the other.

10 Bundy, 1962.

11 See esp. Galinsky, 1996.

12 E.g. Ahl, 1984. Bartsch, 1994, is closer to my position.

This is, in essence, the model adopted by Leslie Kurke in her successful work on Pindar: the epinician, she concludes, 'shimmers with multiple patterns on meaning which operate simultaneously, each pointing to a different segment of the poet's social world'.[13] Let me be clear, then, that I interpret Mesomedes' poetry as *fundamentally* (and necessarily) plural not out of allegiance to any deconstructive creed, but in the service of a wider, cultural-historical account of the relationship between a subelite Greek *littérateur* and the emperor of Rome.

2 Mesomedes

2.1 The poetry of Mesomedes. Thirteen poems of Mesomedes survive: two in the Greek Anthology (12 = *AP* 14.63; 13 = *AP* 323); three, with musical notation, in 16 MSS (1-3);[14] and eight unearthed by in a single Vatican MS, now known as Ottobonianus (also containing Ariphron's *Hymn to Health*, as well as poems by Michael Akominatos and Methodius' *Symposium of the ten virgins*), in 1903.[15] Poem 1 may well in fact be two separate proemial poems.[16] In addition, the Suda refers to an ἔπαινος εἰς Ἀντίνοον, now lost (Suda s.v. Μεσομήδης; see further below). The poems are written in a variety of metres, with a distinctive preference for the *apokroton* (uu-uu-uu-u-) and the paroemiac (uu-uu-uu--).[17] The language is mostly uncomplicated,[18] although the mystical poems to Nemesis, Physis and Isis, in particular, certainly contain a number of bizarre, catachrestic expressions.[19] Mesomedes' poetry achieved sufficient currency to be cited by Synesius, John

13 Kurke, 1991, 262.

14 On the musical notation, see Pöhlmann, 1970, 22-31.

15 For details, see Heitsch, 1959; Pöhlmann, 1970, 22-31. I follow the numbering and (except where indicated) text of Heitsch's *GDRK*.

16 Pöhlmann, 1970, 27-28, followed by Bowie, 1990, 85. Pöhlmann (again, followed by Bowie) also argues that lines 1-6 of poem 2 Heitsch (the Hymn to Helios) are a separate poem. This is less convincing to my mind: the differences between 1-6 and 7 ff. can be explained by taking 1-6 as a proem, attached to the poem. The argument that 1-6 addresses Apollo and 7 ff. Helios is inexplicable (Φοῖβος at 6 is paralleled by Φοιβηίδι at 20).

17 West, 1982, 165; 170; 172-173; cf. also Husmann, 1955.

18 Cf. Wilamowitz, 1921, 600-601; Horna, 1928, 17; 31.

19 Wilamowitz, 1921, 607, citing Κρόνιος ἄμητος (5.16; interpreted as a reference to the uncastrated Attis by Horna, 1928, 16), νεόγυιοι ἡνίαι (a phrase I cannot locate in Mesomedes; the closest is the equally catachrestic νεογόνους ἡνίας, 5.8), νόθον ἴχνος (12.2); even more striking to my mind is φυτῶν ὠδῖνες (5.11).

Lydus and the Suda;[20] the poet himself is reasonably well attested in historiographical sources (2.3 below).

2.2 Questions of genre. Poems 1-5 are evidently hymnic in form; indeed, (for what it is worth) titles of ὕμνος εἰς are transmitted with poems 2 and 3 (Helios and Nemesis respectively). Poems 6-8, however, are more difficult to classify. Like poems 1, 4 and 5, these are transmitted with εἰς ... titles, but this time in relation to the Hadriatic sea, and to two horologia (one solar, one astrological) respectively. The Hadriatic poem (6) employs hymnic formulation (cf. esp. 1-2, πόθεν ἄρξομαι | ὑμνεῖν σε), but also formally resembles an *epibaterion*. The two horologium poems (7-8) are descriptive, and there is good reason (as we shall see) to consider them alongside poems 9 (the sponge poem, transmitted with the title ἔκφρασις σπόγγου) and 13 (the glass poem), as technological ecphraseis. Even so, there are points of contiguity, too, between the horologium poems and the hymns proper;[21] I shall suggest below that poem 8, the longer (astrological) horologium poem, may have been accompanied by a choral dance like the hymns (3.3). Similarly, it is possible that the now-lost ἔπαινος εἰς Ἀντίνοον (Suda s.v. Μεσομήδης) – which also appears to have shared the εἰς ... titular element – contained quasi-hymnic elements.

The εἰς ... titles, thus, if they have any ancient authority, forge links between generic idioms that are at first blush separate, particularly the hymn and the ecphrastic description. Indeed, two more poems, different again, are transmitted with titles in this form, the swan poem (10, εἰς κύκνον) and the gnat poem (11, εἰς κώνωπα). These pieces, like the sphinx poem (12, transmitted without a title), are riddling *ainigmata*, delivered in simple, sequential narratives; they clearly stand at some distance from the complex, syncretistic hymns to Isis and the rest. It is also, I think, unlikely that these poems would have been performed in the same way (i.e. with choral dance). Even so, there are points of contact, both linguistic and thematic: riddles, fables and syncretistic hymns, I shall suggest, share the common aim of stimulating multiple, possibly conflicting, 'solutions'; both encourage 'interpretative hypertrophy'.

In sum, Mesomedes' poems are generically varied, as they are metrically; but points of contact between the various pieces suggest a common core of concerns, albeit often differently articulated. In particular, we might conclude that the εἰς ... elements in most of the titles (whether they are authentically Me-

20 Synes. *Ep.* 95.9-11 (and *Hymn.* 1[3].72-75 ~ Mesom. 2.1-4?); Lyd. *Mens.* p. 184 Wünsch; Suda s.v. Νέμεσις. N.b. also *AP* 6.65.7 βυθίην Τρίτωνος ἁλιπλάγκτοιο χαμεύνην (Paulus Silentarius, of a sponge) ~ Mesom. 9.1-6 βυθίων ... Τρίτωνος ... χαμεύνα.

21 Horna, 1928, 31.

somedean or whether they have been superimposed by acute editors) signal a structural feature shared by all the poems. Distance is represented between the narrator and the implied community, on the one hand, and the subject of the poem on the other; the former are imagined as looking on, observing, interpreting, a particular phenomenon. The significance of this will become clearer.

2.3 Hadrianic connections. The description of the poems given above will not have given much confidence that they are in any sense to be associated with a patronal context. And yet the biographical information, such as we have it, uniformly suggests connections with Hadrian, and also Antoninus.[22] The Suda's entry relates that he lived in the time of Hadrian, and was 'a freedman or one of his particular friends' (ἀπελεύθερος αὐτοῦ ἢ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα φίλοις, s.v. Μεσομήδης) – a rather confusing formulation, which may betray the compiler's misreading of ἦν in a source text as ἤ (i.e. the source may have read 'he was a freedman, one of his particular friends').[23] It is in this context that the Suda relays the title of the ἔπαινος εἰς Ἀντίνοον. Paraphrasing Cassius Dio, the entry continues with the information that 'Antoninus' (i.e. Caracalla) constructed a cenotaph for Mesomedes, because he personally was learning the cithara.[24] The *Historia Augusta* also implies Antoninus Pius' approval of Mesomedes, claiming that when he withdrew the *salaria* of many, 'he even diminished the salary of the lyricist Mesomedes' (*etiam Mesomedi lyrico salarium imminuit*, *Hist.Aug. Antonin.* 7.7).[25] 'Even' (*etiam*) signals the concessive force: Mesomedes' salary was reduced (but – significantly – not withdrawn, as in the case of the others alluded to here) *despite* some particular factor, which can only have been imperial favour. If the biographical evidence is accepted, it appears that Mesomedes was freed and patronised by Hadrian, who then granted him a salary; Antoninus Pius continued to regard him highly, although he did reduce his salary, a mild gesture within a wider programme; he then honoured the poet with a cenotaph after his death.[26]

The question of imperial content in Mesomedes' poetry, then, poses itself all the more forcefully. What was it that appealed to Hadrian and Antoninus so

22 See esp. Fein, 1994, 115-118.

23 Some (e.g. Adler in his edition of the Suda, followed by Heitsch, 1960, 144 n. 2; Bowie, 1990, 85) emend ἢ to καὶ.

24 The report is taken *verbatim* from D.C. 78.13.7 (hence the inference that 'Antoninus' is Caracalla).

25 On the nature of this *salarium*, see Fein, 1994, 116 n. 128.

26 Hadrian's patronage of lyric poetry is also attested elsewhere. Cf. the case of Publius Aelius Pompeianus Paeon, epigraphically attested as μελοποιοῦ καὶ ῥαψωιδοῦ θεοῦ Ἁδριανοῦ, and as φιλοκαίσαρος: see Robert, 1980, 10-20; Fein, 1994, 118-26 (assuming the identity of the two Paeons). Merkelbach – Stauber, 1998, 329 argue for a further appearance of this Paeon on an Ephesian statue base.

much? Surely one would expect allusions to the relationship within the texts?[27] It is certainly possible that Hadrian's support derived from a general desire to patronise, and be seen to patronise, citharodic song (he himself apparently boasted of his skill as a citharode, *Hist.Aug. Hadr.* 15.9).[28] But if we accept the general principle, advanced above (1.3), that patronal contexts tend to stimulate excessive interpretative zeal, then we are entitled to ask, at a more abstract level, how these poems *manage* their allusivity.

2.4 Questions of performance. Such issues are enriched by a brief consideration of performance contexts for the poems. Performed they surely were, as the musical notation attached to 1-3 clearly indicates (it is likely too that poems 4-11, transmitted in the Ottobonianus, once had musical notation).[29] There is no call to argue, as a recent book on hymns does specifically *à propos* of Mesomedes, that poems honouring deified personifications are 'philosophical' *and therefore* non-cultic.[30] The cultic worship of Nemesis (the subject of poem 3) is attested at Rhamnous (where a famous statue by Agoracritus or Phidias stood, the object of much imitation), on Mt. Pagos near Smyrna and at Patrae.[31] Physis (poem 4) is sometimes an aspect of Isis, and it is not impossible that she is so for Mesomedes.[32] We are not, I think, in a position to rule out the idea that the hymns are composed for religious events. There were any number of local competitions where melic poetry might have been performed; imperial cult-sites are also a possibility.

Other poems – particularly the poems on horologia, the sponge, the sphinx, the swan, the gnat, the sphinx and the glass (7-13) – look more like sympotic pieces. If Mesomedes was as closely connected with Hadrian as the tradition suggests, these poems may have been performed at the emperor's famous literary symposia;[33] perhaps even on tour with the 'restless emperor'. Nothing in my argument depends specifically, however, upon the hypothesis of imperial presence during performance (although it will be occasionally interesting to specu-

27 'Dabei ist es verwunderlich, dass Mesomedes die Herrscherpanegyrik … nicht poetisch betrieben hat' (Fein, 1994, 117 n. 132).

28 Thus Comotti, 1989, 54.

29 Horna, 1928, 6, 30-31; Heitsch, 1959, 42-43; Pöhlmann, 1970, 30-31.

30 Furley – Bremer, 2001, 47: 'Since most of these texts are not cult texts in the true sense we omit them …', specifically referring to Mesomedes. Cf. Wilamowitz, 1921, 606: 'für den Kultus könnte nur der letzte [*viz.* the hymn to Isis] in Betracht kommen'.

31 Paus. 1.33.2-8; 7.5.2-3 (worship of the two *Nemeseis*), 7.20.9. For a succinct modern discussion of Nemesis cult, with further references, see Jones, 2001, 45.

32 Thus e.g. Merkelbach, 1962, 332.

33 *In convivio tragoedias comoedias Atellanas sambucas lectores poetas pro re semper exhibuit* (*Hist.Aug. Hadr.* 26.4).

late); it is enough to accept that Mesomedes would have been understood by his contemporaries as a poet of Hadrian's circle.

In what form were they performed? Cassius Dio, Eusebius and the Suda (following Dio) refer to Mesomedes as the author of κιθαρωιδικοὺς νόμους.[34] The κιθαρωιδικὸς νόμος was usually monodic, performed by a singer accompanying himself on the lyre.[35] In general, the Mesomedean singer refers to himself in the first-person singular (1.1-2, 9; 4.9; 6.1, 16). At 3.16, however, in the hymn to Nemesis, we encounter ἄιδομεν. This led Wilamowitz to conclude that a chorus would have taken over from a soloist at this point.[36] Further evidence for choral song might be drawn from 2.17-20: χορὸς … ἀστέρων|… χορεύει, ἄνετον μέλος αἰὲν ἀείδων|Φοιβηίδι τερπόμενος λύραι. The 'chorus of stars' may represent a real chorus miming the roles of the elements (see 3.3); here they are specifically said to be singing the song. A similar representation of wide-scale melodic unison, this time across the nations, comes at 5.1-3 (εἷς ὕμνος ἀνά τε γᾶν|ανά τε νηῦς ἁλιπόρους|ἀιδεται). Yet it is difficult to see this as conclusive evidence for choral performance. Just as choruses can refer to themselves in the first-person singular, so a monodic singer can represent himself as the representative of a wider community.[37]

The rhetoric of community, however – paralleled also at 2.5-6 (μέλλει … πορτ᾽ ἡμᾶς βαίνειν|Φοῖβος)[38] – is pronounced, particularly in the hymns. Citharodic *nomoi* were, it appears, frequently accompanied by choral dance.[39] Mesomedes' poems contain a number of references to χοροί (2.17-20; 5.17-19; 6.10; 8.25), which will be discussed further below (3.3). Much of the surrounding language, too, is attested elsewhere in choral contexts (ἀμπλέκειν, 2.12; ἑλίσσειν, 2.14, 25; τάσσειν, 8.3, cf. 8.23; κόσμος (albeit in the primary sense of 'universe'), 2.25; 4.2; the language of circular motion, 2.11, 14; 3.7; 8.3, 8).[40] As in the case of choral song, it is not impossible that these are merely figurative choral dances.

34 D.C. 78.7; Eus. 2.2160; Suda s.v. Μεσομήδης.

35 Nagy, 1990, 86-90, 353-358; Calame, 1997, 80-82.

36 Wilamowitz, 1921, 605, dismissed by Bowie, 1990, 85 n. 75.

37 Cf. Pi. *P.* 1.1-4, *N.* 3.1-12, with Nagy, 1990, 356: 'The Pindaric picture … of a prooimion *as if* performed by the chorus is idealized'.

38 Heitsch's proposal of the Cretan form πορτί for transmitted but unmetrical πρός is ingenious, but I think unlikely (there is no parallel in Mesomedes for such obscurantism). Still, a word with the meaning of πρός is required, and Heitsch's reading is retained *faute de mieux*.

39 Calame, 1997, 80-82, with references.

40 For references and full discussion, I refer to the relevant pages of Calame, 1997): πλέκειν, 34; 41; 53; 54; ἑλίσσειν, 35; 53; 77; 86; 109; τάσσειν, 38-40; 72; κόσμος, 40; circular dancing, 34-38.

In sum, there is no strong reason to assume that Mesomedes' poems were performed differently to the generality of other citharodic poems: which is to say, by a monodic singer, probably (in the first instance) the poet himself, accompanying himself. There may, however, have been choral involvement, more probably (I think) in the form of dancing than of singing. The possibilities for spectacular dancing choruses – particularly in the poems to Helios, Isis, the Hadriatic and the second horologium – are great (see further below, 3.2-4). Choral involvement is likely to have been limited to the hymns (poems 1-5, possibly 6-8 too); certainly, it is difficult to imagine that the 7-line riddle of the gnat, for example, afforded much scope for dancing.

Significant though these issues are, they are not open to resolution. More valuable than speculation over the *realia* of performance is the point that these poems represent the poet-singer as the spokesman for a wider community (whether human or pancosmic) addressing itself to a mighty or intractable phenomenon. Whether the interplay between the community and its figurative leader was, in performance, purely imaginary, or whether it received concrete expression in the form of choral performance, is less important than the identification of this central tension within the text.

3 Hymns

3.1 Hymnic power. This triangular relationship between the poet-singer, the community and the subject of the poem is enacted most visibly in the hymnic and quasi-hymnic poems (for the ambiguity, see 2.2). It is to these that I now turn.

In the hymn to Helios (poem 2), the poet begins[41] with a traditional request to the elements to be ritually silent (εὐφαμείτω … σιγάτω, 1-3) in anticipation of a manifestation of Helios. Helios is then addressed. In this invocation, he is imagined as a charioteer, leading a 'rosy chariot of foals' (ῥοδόεσσαν … ἄντυγα πώλων, 8). This charioteering imagery is traditional for the sun,[42] but nonetheless evocative of its directive power in the universe.[43] It is balanced at lines 21-23 by the description of Selene: 'pale Selene leads seasonal time drawn by white calves' (γλαυκὰ … Σελάνα | χρόνον ὥριον ἀγεμονεύει | λευκῶν ὑπὸ σύρμασι μόσχων). Charioteering imagery is a representation of, precisely, *hegemony*.

41 On the view that the first 6 lines of poem 2 are separate, see above, n.16. For Mesomedes' poem in the context of other Helios hymns, see Heitsch, 1960.

42 Cf. e.g. *h. Hom. Helios* 14-16, Nonn. *D.* 40.371-373.

43 For horse-taming as political metaphor, cf. A. *Pers.* 176-214, Plu. *Alexandros* 7.8 (with Whitmarsh, 2002, 181).

Helios' control of the universe is total: his chariot is driven 'around the limitless ridge of heaven' (περὶ νῶτον ἀπείριτον οὐρανοῦ, 11); he spins his rays 'around the whole earth' (περὶ γαῖαν ἅπασαν, 14; note the repeated περί marking the totalising circularity of the sun's course; this might have been given visual form in the circular choral dance).[44] In the concluding lines, he is imagined as the Stoic cosmic νοῦς, ordering the universe providentially (γάνυται δέ τέ ‹σ›οι νόος εὐμενής|πολυείμονα κόσμον ἑλίσσων, 24-5). The constituent elements of the cosmos, meanwhile, join in reverence of Helios; not just the earth, sea, breezes, mountains and vales enjoined to silence at the beginning, but particularly the star chorus (see further 3.3), who sing and dance 'for you' (σοί, 17).[45]

Many of these elements recur in other poems. The metaphor of charioteering, in particular, resurfaces. Isis is a charioteer (διφρηλάται, 5.17), who 'guides the newborn reins' (ἄγει|νεογόνους ἡνίας, 5.7-8) of the seasons. In poem 3, Nemesis is said to 'steer your chariot with your hand': ζυγὸν μετὰ χεῖρα κρατοῦσα (3.13), where the choice of words directly signals the imagistic link to κράτος. The transgressive mortals in question are figured as the horses of the chariot: 'you restrain the airy snortings of mortals with an adamantine bit' (κοῦφα φρυάγματα θνατῶν|ἐπέχεις ἀδάμαντι χαλινῶι, 3.3-4); 'you bow the overweening neck' (γαυρούμενον αὐχένα κλίνεις, 3.10). In the first poem to the (solar) horologium (see 3.3 below), the sun is again imagined as the driver of a chariot (ἅρμα, 7.5).

Like the Helios hymn, other poems present the deity in question's power as pancosmic. Physis is the 'origin and generator of all' (ἀρχὰ καὶ πάντων γέννα, 4.1), and assimilated to Helios who 'blaze all the earth' (γαῖαν πᾶσαν πυρσεύων, 4.16; cf. 2.14, cited above). Isis is the subject of a single hymn proclaimed on land and sea (5.1-3). Expressions of pancosmic influence are by no means unusual in late hymns, but it will be clear that Mesomedes places a distinctive emphasis upon the theme of universal submission to a single divine potency.

3.2 Role-playing. Do Mesomedes' gods provide theological analogies for imperial power? It is certainly possible to see numerous points of contact between the hymns and imperial, and specifically Hadrianic, self-representation. In the Hymn to Helios, we might well imagine the emperor as Helios and the empress as Selene (who makes her entry at 2.21-3, discussed above). This identification is facilitated by potential paronomasia (*Hadrianos – Helios*; *Sabina – Selana*). Solar imagery recurs in the Hymn to Nature (4.15-20, by extravagant syncretism), and in the swan poem (10; see 5.2 below); and, as we shall see presently (3.3), the con-

44 Cf. also πᾶς αἰθήρ, 2.1.

45 Bergk's correction for MS οι; cf. Heitsch, 1960, 148. For pancosmic reverence of the emperor, see *AP* 9.349.3 (= *FGE* p.530), where κόσμος ἅπας prays for (?)Vespasian's grandchild.

cept of an ordered cosmos lies at the heart of still more of Mesomedes' work. Hadrian himself was alive to the resonance of solar and cosmic imagery. He had Nero's Colossus re-erected and recast as Sol, setting it in the new temple of Roma and Venus that stood in the east precinct of the Forum.[46] The Pantheon, with its eye-like aperture, used the rotating shafts of the sun to represent its tour of the cosmos.[47] In other contexts, the emperor was addressed in more explicit terms, with globalising titles such as σωσίκοσμος.[48]

Nemesis, again, is subtly linked to the emperor. In her capacity as universal controller of arrogant humans, Nemesis is presented as a judge (δικασπόλε, 3.14; cf. θύγατερ Δίκας, 3.2; πάρεδρον Δίκας, 3.18); she embodies the absolute judicial authority invested, in the mortal sphere at any rate, in the emperor himself. She is, moreover, assimilated to 'mighty Victory with her broad wings' (Νίκην τανυσίπτερον ὀβρίμαν, 3.17). Victory had been a central figure in imperial iconography since Augustan times, and depictions of her were apparently carried before the emperor's busts at celebrations of imperial cult.[49] It is, I think, impossible to imagine that contemporary listeners would have failed to draw connections with imperial iconography.

More evidence for Hadrianism will surface in the course of the discussion, but I want to conclude for now with a brief discussion of poem 6, *To the Hadriatic*. The Spanish Hadriani – and indeed the emperor himself, in his now-lost autobiography – claimed origins in Hadria ad Picenum, the town that gave its name to the Hadriatic Sea.[50] When Mesomedes addresses the Hadriatic as 'master' (δέσποτα, 6.13),[51] and prays to be allowed to see his destination (δός ... δός, 6.13-14), it is once again difficult to avoid links with the emperor; not that the poem identifies the emperor directly with the Hadriatic, but that the former's

46 *Hist.Aug. Hadr.* 19.12-13.

47 *Pantheum velut regionem teretem* (*viz.* the horizon) *speciosa celsitudine fornicatam*, as Ammianus describes it (16.10.14).

48 Birley, 1997, 254.

49 Ando, 2000, 278-292; and esp. Hölscher, 1967. For the ideological connection between the emperor and νίκη, see also cf. *AP* 9.59 (Antipater of Thessalonica). It is possible that the combination of Nemesis and Victory suggests an athletic and gladiatorial contest, since this combination (along with Ares) is found in reliefs at Philippi in such a context: the evidence is conveniently summarised at Jones, 2001, 47. But there is nothing else in the poem – which focuses rather on cosmic principles – to suggest this.

50 Birley, 1997, 133, 299. For the link between Hadrian and the Hadriatic, see also *Or. Sib.* 5.47 Friedlieb. The sea was sometimes known as the *Hadrianum mare* (Cic. *Pis.* 38 etc.): on the history of the name and shifting geography of the Hadriatic, see *RE* 1 s.v. Adria.

51 It is possible that he turns at this point to address Poseidon rather than the Hadriatic itself, but there is no explicit marker in the text.

power over life and death is subtly assimilated to the sea's total control over its passengers.[52] We might note, finally, the imagery of centrality: the Hadriatic is the 'centre of the sea' (μεσαιπόλε πόντου, 6.2), just as the sun is traditionally the centre of the cosmic dance (but see 3.3 below).

But how far do these analogies take us? Can we presume a total identification of the subjects of Mesomedes' hymns with the emperor himself? Surely not. It would be naive to claim that the masks can be ripped away to reveal 'real' faces underneath. There are at least as many ways in which Nemesis, for example, is *not* like Hadrian. It is enough to say that the subjects of these poems have imperial aspects; and, as we shall see presently (see further 3.4 below), there are other figures, not just the emperor, who can be glimpsed in these hymnic representations. Mesomedes' theology offers an elaborate but ultimately irresoluble set of role-playing *potentialities*.

If there can be no final 'identification' of the figures, does this mean then that the poems lack ideological significance? Certainly not. They encourage the audience to perceive themselves as subjects before figures of massive potency, figures that contain aspects that will remind them – albeit fleetingly – of imperial power. They inculcate the habit of submission and prayer. They serve as what Louis Althusser would call 'ideological state apparatuses', in that they hail or 'interpellate' the subject into the symbolic hierarchical order of the political, and indeed (though this goes beyond anything Althusser ever analysed) cosmic empire of signs.[53]

3.3 The cosmic dance. The process of symbolic interpellation would have been further underlined if we accept my tentative hypothesis above (2.4) that these poems were accompanied by choral dancing. The dancing chorus invariably mimes the symbolic unity of the community, offsetting the anonymous collective against the egregious singularity of the individual, usually the leader of the cho-

52 The question of precisely which journey is envisaged is crucial but difficult to answer. The matter turns on the interpretation of the phrase transmitted in the MS as μητέρα γὴν ἐσιδὼν πόλιν (6.15). Wilamowitz, 1921, 599 (followed by Heitsch) emends γὴν to γῆς, and argues for Rome, glossing the phrase as μητρόπολις τῆς οἰκουμένης; he claims hence that 'er mag nur von Kreta nach Brundisium fahren'. Support for this interpretation might be sought from D.P. 356 (= *Geog. Gr. Min.* II.124), where Rome is the μητέρα πασάων πολίων. On the other hand Horna, 1928, 20, following Lambros, ingeniously reads μητέρα γὴν ἐσιδὼν πάλιν, arguing that the poet is envisaging returning home to Crete, his motherland. The phrase γῆ μήτηρ usually means 'mother earth' rather than 'motherland' (cf. *LSJ* s.v. μήτηρ 2), but there is plausibly a parallel at *SH* 905.24 (a text Horna will not have known): Greeks exhorted to defend their μητέρα γήν?

53 Althusser, 1984.

rus.[54] But even if choral dance did not literally take place, Mesomedes' traditional language mobilises (and, to be sure, substantively reconfigures) a paradigm that is deeply rooted in Greek thought.

The image that recurs with most striking regularity in these poems is that of the chorus of stars. In the hymn to Helios, the 'serene chorus of stars dances for you over lord Olympus' (σοὶ ... χορὸς εὔδιος ἀστέρων | κατ' Ὄλ πον ἄνακτα χορεύει, 2.17-18).[55] In the hymn to Isis, 'all the stars dance to Isis the charioteer through her temples' (ἄστρα[56] διφρηλάται | πάντα δι' ἀνακτόρων | Ἴσιδι χορεύεται, 5.17-19). In the hymn to the Hadriatic, 'the chorus of stars leans back towards you, and the gleaming spurs of the moon, and the well-born stars of the Pleiad' (χορὸς εἰς σὲ πάλιν κέκλιτ' ἀστέρων | καὶ κέντρα φαεινὰ σελάνας | καὶ Πλειάδος ἀστέρες εὐγενεῖς, 6.10-12). In the second poem to the (astrological) horologium, the poet refers to the zodiacal inscriptions on the dial as a 'chorus' to match the celestial phenomena (χορὸν εἰς μέτρον ἀφθίτων, 8.25).

The language of star choruses is traditional: it goes back probably as far as Alcman and Sappho.[57] In archaic poems, the conspicuous luminosity of the stars figures the gloriously exceptional status of those individuals chosen to represent the onlooking, starstruck community in the dance.[58] In the Athenian hymn to Demetrius Poliorcetes, however, we encounter a new development: the star chorus is rotating around a named individual, the political leader of the community. Demetrius 'seems something august: his friends are all in a circle, he is in the middle, as though his friends were the stars, and he the sun' (σεμνόν τι φαίνεθ', οἱ φίλοι πάντες κύκλωι | ἐν μέσοισι δ' αὐτός, | ὅμοιον ὥσπερ οἱ φίλοι μὲν ἀστέρες, | ἥλιος δ' ἐκεῖνος).[59] In this heliocentric conception of the universe, the star chorus is still

54 Cf. Mullen, 1982, 46-89; Calame, 1997, esp. 19-88.

55 A number of proposals for ἄνακτα have been offered, none of them convincing (see Heitsch's *app. crit.*). On this passage, see further 3.4 below.

56 ἄστεα MS, Powell (cf. *CA* p.198); ἀιστέα Horna (cf. 1928, 17-18); ἄστρα Wilamowitz, Heitsch.

57 Cf. S. *Ant.* 1147, E. *El.* 467, fr. 593.4-5 N2 (cf. *Ion* 1080-1), *AP* 9.270-271, Lucianus *Salt.* 7, Men.Rh. 406.28-9 (= p. 148 RW). For Alcman, the matter turns on the identification of the Πελειάδες at 1.60 Davies. Opinion is now returning to the view (expressed in the fragmentary scholion *ad loc.*) that the Pleiads are meant: Gianotti, 1978; Segal, 1983; Clay, 1991, 56-7. Stars are mentioned at Sapph. frr. 34.1-2, 96.6-9, 104(b) LP; none of these fragments is, however, explicitly choral. The χορός at Pi. *Pae.* 3.101 may be a cosmic chorus: see Rutherford, 2001, 277-9, who draws parallels with Mesomedes' *Hymn to Helios*. Dancing Pleiads also recur at Call. fr. 693 Pf.

58 Cf. also e.g. *Joseph and Aseneth* 2.11, of Aseneth's attendants: ἦσαν καλαὶ σφόδρα ὡς τὰ ἄστρα. Star similes expressing stellar aspects are of course as old as Homer (*Il.* 5.5; 22.26).

59 *PLG* 3, *Carm. pop.* 46.9-12 = Duris F13 *FGrH* = Ath. 6.253d-f. Cf. also *PLG* 3.47.1.2 = Duris F10 *FGrH* = Ath. 12.542e, where Demetrius is described as ἡλιόμορφος.

an elite group of stellar individuals (Demetrius' friends), but they themselves are subordinate to the ruling sun.

All of Mesomedes' star choruses dance for or to the subject of the hymn (apart from that in the astrological horologium, discussed below). There is no strong suggestion that the star chorus danced specifically *around* a central figure, as with the hymn to Demetrius;[60] indeed, the hymn to Helios looks more like a processional poem (*prosodion*). Even so, the language of the chorus powerfully represents an idealised community subservient to the greater power. In a text roughly contemporary with Mesomedes' poems, Aelius Aristides describes how 'the whole world, more truly than a chorus, sings a single song, praying together that this empire will remain for all time, so well is it organised by this chorus-leader' (οὕτως ἅπασα ἡ οἰκουμένη χοροῦ ἀκριβέστερον ἕν φθέγγεται, συνευχομένη μένειν τὸν ἅπαντα αἰῶνα τήνδε τὴν ἀρχήν· οὕτως καλῶς ὑπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ κορυφαίου ἡγεμόνος συγκροτεῖται). The powerful imagery of the world as a chorus adoring their *koryphaios* resonates deeply.

This community, however, is not necessarily demographically flat. The hymn to the Hadriatic provides the crucial passage: the reference to the chorus of stars is followed by 'the gleaming spurs of the moon' and 'the well-born (εὐγενεῖς) stars of the Pleiad' (6.10-12). Two elements appear in addition to the chorus, both of which receive epithets, which the chorus proper does not. The emphasis upon Selene's luminosity is appropriate for a poem about navigation,[61] but also suggests that she has a brightness that the chorus proper do not have. The Pleiad, meanwhile, are εὐγενεῖς, 'elite', perhaps? The poem differentiates between the representatives of the community as a whole and those of the upper classes; and if we are right that the lunar imagery in the hymn to Helios alludes to Sabina (3.2 above), then it is possible that the empress here too figures (whether literally or in the imagination) as part of the cosmic dance.

This focus upon the cosmic dance makes the poems on the horologium, 7-8, all the more interesting. As we have already noted, the second poem also includes a reference to the zodiacal constellations incised on the bronze as a χορός (8.25). Further musical imagery comes in the references to the μέτρον of the day that ring the poem (μέτρον ἀμέρας, 8.2; 8.29; cf. also 8.23; 8.25). The astrological horologium is imagined as a rhythmically ordered cosmic dance. Heavy emphasis is placed upon the constructional skill of the creator (ἐτεύξατο ...

60 Only the reference to the Hadriatic as the μεσαιπόλε πόντου (6.2) locates the divinity in any kind of centre; a shame, given the opportunities embedded in the poet's own name.

61 Which may also activate a paronomastic play on Πλειάδος (6.12) and πλεῖν, though the latter word does not appear in the poem. For the Pleiades as lights to sail by, see Hes. *Op.* 618-623.

τέχναι, 8.1; ἔταξε, 8.3;[62] μερίσας, 8.5; ὁρίσας, 8.6; τάξιν, 8.23; τέχνα σοφά, 8.26; cf. ὦ δαιδαλέου καμάτου τέχνας, 7.6). The 'dance' serves the meaningfully structured order of the cosmos. This order is, implicitly, superimposed on top of the bestial chaos of the animals of the zodiac, who are described in monstrous terms: particularly notable are Aries, 'mighty with shaggy locks' (βριαρὸν λασιὸν κόμαν, 8.10); 'the identical form of powerful Gemini' (μορφὰν κρατερῶν Διδύμων ἴσαν, 8.12); 'powerful, monstrous Leo' (κρατερὸν ... Λέοντα πελώριον, 8.14); 'the shameless archer Sagittarius' (Κένταυρον ἀναιδέα τοξόταν, 8.18). These terms invoke the cosmic strife of Hesiod's *Theogony*, where monstrous beings vie with Zeus for control of the universe.[63] And, indeed, Mesomedes closes his poem with a reference to the triumph of order over cosmic warfare:

> μετὰ δῆριν ἀπείριτον οὐρανοῦ
> μυκήσατο χάλκεος ἀδονά,
> δηλοῦσα βροτοῖς μέτρον ἁμέρας.
>
> After the limitless strife of heaven
> the pleasure of bronze lows
> revealing to mortals the measure of the day. (8.27-29)

Cosmological and sonic order coincide: the 'bronze' lows, like a domesticated beast rather than a zodiacal monstrosity. Presumably the horologium itself contained some kind of chiming mechanism;[64] it is possible also that the poem metapoetically describes its own performance, with a bronze instrument striking a pleasant note to outsound discordant instrumentation. On this interpretation, this poem, like the hymns proper, would present music and dancing as symbolic servants of cosmic harmony.[65]

All emperors since Augustus had understood the valency of astrological prediction,[66] but Hadrian in particular fashioned himself as an astrological adept. According to the *Historia Augusta*, every January he used to compose his own predictions for the following year (a novel twist on the idea of *res gestae* and imperial memoirs).[67] The emperor (whose own horoscope, indeed, survives) had

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62 I accept this emendation (proposed by Wilamowitz, 1921, 601) for unmetrical MS ἐτεύξε, but the point is not substantially effected either way.

63 Cf. esp. the hundred-armers, Cottos, Briareus and Gyges: ἰσξὺς δ' ἄπλητος δρατερὴ μεγάλωι ἐπὶ εἴδει (*Th.* 153).

64 Horna, 1928, 24.

65 What is more, μετὰ δῆριν ἀπείριτον οὐρανοῦ (2.11).

66 Barton, 1994a, 38-52; Gee, 2000.

67 *Hist.Aug. Hadr.* 16.7; his astrological bent also attested at D.C. 69.11.3. See further Barton, 1994a, 45-46.

the figures of the zodiac represented in his villa at Tivoli.[68] Further Hadrianic resonances might be detected in the bestial imagery: he was, of course, a celebrated hunter,[69] and Pancrates' poem celebrates the emperor's and Antinous' victory over the lion in monstrous language that is both explicitly gigantomachic and comparable with that of Mesomedes' zodiacal bestiary.[70] Again, I am not arguing for a direct equivalence between the political sphere and the cosmic: one does not have to reduce these poems to the level of simple allegory to allow that they interpellate the subject into the symbolic hierarchy of the cosmos.

3.4 Intractability. The point needs to be reinforced: these are not the kind of poems that admit of final decoding. They are, for one thing, extremely weird. Elaborate theological syncretism is matched at the linguistic level by the bizarre catachresis throughout. It would be rash in the extreme to assume that a single subtext – political or other – underlay these texts.

Indeed, there is a central ambiguity in the poems' construction of models of leadership. Who is in control here, the patron or the poet? This question is raised from poem 1 (though I treat them as two separate poems):[71]

1a	Ἄειδε μοῦσά μοι φίλη, μολπῆς δ᾽ ἐμῆς κατάρχου, αὔρη δὲ σῶν ἀπ᾽ ἀλσέων ἐμὰς φρένας δονείτω.	Sing, Muse dear to me, be the leader of my song; may the breeze from your groves stir my thoughts.
1b	Καλλιόπεια σοφά, Μουσῶν προκαθαγέτι τερπνῶν, καὶ σοφὲ μυστοδότα, Λατοῦς γόνε, Δήλιε Παιάν, εὐμενεῖς πάρεστέ μοι.	Wise Calliope, leader of the pleasant Muses, and wise mystery-giver, offspring of Leto, Delian Paean, stand both of you by me in kindness.

When the Muses are envisaged as taking part in choral *molpe*, it is usually Apollo who is the *khoregos*[72] and 'begins' the performance;[73] here, however, it is the Muse who is asked to 'begin the *molpe*' (μολπῆς ... κατάρχου), and Calliope who is ad-

68 Le Boeuffle, 1989, 110.

69 *Hist.Aug. Hadr.* 20.13; 26.3; D.C. 69.7.3; 10.2-3; 22.2; for his beast-hunts as public entertainment, cf. *Hist.Aug. Hadr.* 19.3; 19.7; D.C. 69.8.2.

70 For the Hesiodic allusion in Pancrates, cf. 15.2.25 *GDRK* (οἷα γιγαντ[ο]λ[έταο] Διὸς πά[ρο]ς ἄντα Τυφωεύ[ς). For Pancratean language comparable with Mesomedes', cf. *GDRK* 15.2.20-21 (κρατὸς δ᾽] ἐκ μεγάλοιο καὶ αὐχένος ἐκ λασιο[ῖο | χαίτη] ἀειρομένη κατεσείετο).

71 Above, n. 16.

72 Already implicit at *h.Ap.* 189-203. For Apollo as μουσηγέτης, see e.g. Pi. *P.* 1.1, Pi. *N.* 5.22-5; fr. 52k; 94c; 140b; 215 Snell – Maehler; *EG* 1025.3; Plu. *de Pyth. Or.* 396c; Aristid. 41.1.

73 Cf. hymns 2.5.58-62 (μοῦσαι … μέλψαν … κατᾶρξε δ᾽ Ἀπόλλων), 7.5.5-6 (Μουσῶν κλυτὸν ἡγεμονῆα), 12.4.5-6 (Μούσαις Δελφῶν ἱρὰς πὰρ κράνας ὑμνῶν ἐξάρχεις καλὰν συμμίξας φωνάν) Furley – Bremer.

dressed as 'leader of the Muses' (Μουσῶν προκαθαγέτι). It is not that there are no parallels for Muses performing this role;[74] and certainly Callimachus' phrase 'Calliope began' (albeit narration, though, not song and dance) was known and imitated.[75] But to jam the Apollo and the Muses together, as Mesomedes does in 1b, raises the awkward question: which of them is it then who will be the ('real'? ultimate?) 'leader'? Why (especially in a poem with paeanic features)[76] does Apollo make only a late and unremarkable entrance? Mesomedes' poem trades upon the uncertainty in the Greek tradition as to who is the chorus-leader of the Muses. The issue, however, is not simply confined to philological archaeology. We have seen above that Mesomedes' poetry consistently forges subtle links between Apollo-Helios and the emperor (3.3). We might also note that, since Hesiod, Calliope has been imagined as the Muse of poets composing for kings.[77] The question posed by this poem, then, might (I stress *might*) be taken in starker terms: who leads *this* dance (now), poet or patron?

These issues reappear in the *Hymn to Helios*. As we discussed earlier, the poem constructs Helios as the leader of a cosmic choral dance, representing his power in terms that look notably Hadrianic. At lines 17-20, however, the possibility of a different identification arises:

σοὶ μὲν χορός εὔδιος ἀστέρων	For you, the serene chorus of stars
κατ᾽ Ὄλυμπον ἄνακτα χορεύει	dances over lord Olympus
ἄνετον μέλος αἰὲν ἀείδων	ever freely singing its song,
Φοιβηίδι τερπόμενος λύραι.	taking pleasure in the Phoeban lyre.

In this context, Apollo is leader of the *khoros*, but invoked in his citharodic rather than his solar aspect. If there is any mortal figure to whom he might be assimilated, that figure is the poet himself. The impression that Apollo-Helios has been (temporarily) uncoupled from imperial representation, indeed, is redoubled by the use of the phrase κατ᾽ Ὄλυμπον ἄνακτα.[78] Leaving aside the textual problems

74 Alkm. fr. 14 (a) Davies; Stesich. fr. 278 *PMG*; implicit in *AP* 9.189. Calame, 1997, 52-53 attempts to differentiate between Apollo's and the Muses' beginnings; cf. also Mullen, 1982, 10-11.

75 ἤρχετο Καλλιόπη, Call. fr. 1.22 Pf; cf. τὼς δ᾽ ἐφθέξατο Καλλιόπεια, fr. 759 Pf. The first phrase is imitated at Ov. *Fast.* 5.80: *prima sui coepit Calliopea chori.*

76 Cf. esp 8: Λατοῦς γόνε, Δήλιε Παιάν. For Delos as a site of performance of paeans, see *h.Ap.* 157; Eur. *HF* 687-700; Rutherford, 2001, 29; Furley – Bremer, 2001, 142-145. Rutherford, 2001, 122 n.14 refers to Mesomedes 1 as an example of '[a]daptation of a παιάν to the context of poetics'.

77 Hes. *Th.* 79. For a late (5th century CE) parallel, see fr. 36.1-3 *GDRK*; the text is, however, admittedly difficult (see e.g. p. 143.1-3 of Page's *Greek literary papyri*).

78 This is the MSS' text, but I am not convinced (n. 55). ἄνακτι would be preferable, but it may be that the problems with this line run even deeper.

here, the phrase would surely have resonated for audiences under the leader who styled himself Ὀλύμπιος.[79] In this passage, then, the game of identifications becomes complex and involved: Apollo as Mesomedes, and Olympus/Zeus as Hadrian. For this brief period, the poet, not the patron, seems to lead the dance.

We should be wary, then, of reducing these complex poems to simple imperial propagandising. Although they do, as I have argued, interpellate the subjects of the empire into a symbolic dance led by their cosmic leader, they also flash out alternative interpretative possibilities, of an empire led by a Greek poet rather than a Roman patron. I have argued above (1.2) that patronal poetry depends necessarily on its ability to generate multiple meanings, to accommodate the needs of its different communities. It is *fundamentally* intractable.

4 Ecphrasis

4.1 Order and technology. I have spent much of this chapter discussing Mesomedes' hymns. I shall be briefer with his ecphrastic poems (this section) and fables (section 5). In fact, we have already considered two of the four ecphrastic poems, those on the horologia, above (see 3.3). In that earlier discussion, we saw that the solar and astrological horologia are presented in terms of the subjugation of monstrous bodies by the civilising conquest of the forces of order. The poems on the sponge (9) and glass (13), similarly, describe products resulting from humanity's dominance over the natural order. The sponge is 'the pierced bloom of the sea's deep rocks' (ἄνθος … βυθίων πετρῶν|πολύτρητον, 9.1-2), cut away by a diver, 'an intrepid workman' (ἄτρομος ἐργάτας, 9.12). The glass, meanwhile, is also created by a workman (ἐργάτας ἀνήρ, 13.2), who not only apparently quarried (κόψας, 13.2; but the text is metrically unsound) the βῶλον (the lump of crystal or soda), but also melted it in the furnace. Fire (πῦρ, 13.3; ἐκπυρουμένα, 13.7) is the vehicle of transition from nature to culture, from the raw to the cooked.

In terms of cultural context, Mesomedes' ecphrastic poems take their place beside Statius' *Silvae*. With those poems, they share in the discourse of praise of 'an Empire at a high level of technological and cultural achievement, delighting in world domination';[80] particularly conspicuous is the implicit awe in the rhetorical question 'who made it' that begins the two horologium poems.[81] It is significant too that both glass and horologia (although alas not sponges) figure

79 On Hadrian Ὀλύμπιος, see esp. now Birley, 1997, 215-234; Boatwright, 2000, 150-154.

80 Newlands, 2002, 45.

81 τίς ὁ … ξέσας …; (7.1); τίς ἐτεύξατο …; (8.1). Cf. Stat. *Silv.* 1.1.1-7; 4.3.1-3 (with Coleman, 1988, 105). Cf. also *AP* 6.257.

prominently in Pliny's *Natural History*.[82] The glass poem, alluding to Hephaestus' forging of Achilles' miraculous shield,[83] describes 'a marvel for mortals to behold' (θαῦμα … ἐδεῖν βροτοῖς, 13.8):[84] the poet's audience is invited to join in wonder at the superrefined achievements of humanity at its most advanced. As with the hymns, the subject is once again interpellated into a hierarchical symbolic order: the collective is unified by its awe in the face of the productivity of the imperial system.

4.2 Labour and luxury. Particularly significant, however, is the poet's emphasis upon the labourers who manufacture these products. Both the sponge poem and the glass poem, as we have noted, allude to ἐργάται. The ἐργάτας of the sponge is described as ἄτρομος (9.12), that of the glass τρέμοντα (13.10) lest the glass should break, presumably for fear of spoiling his artefact, but perhaps also because he risks the displeasure of his superiors. Though one is fearless and the other fearful, the poet represents the situations in which they are labouring as perilous, and fear as the anticipated, if not always the realised, response.[85]

The poet's audience, on the other hand, the viewers of the ecphrastic scene, are invited to take pleasure in these products of empire; they are constructed as consumers, not producers. This is particularly striking in the sponge poem, where the diver undertakes the dangerous task

> ἵνα σου κατὰ χιονέων μελῶν
> λύσηι μετὰ νύκτα, γύναι καλά,
> κάματον † των ἐρωτικῶν ὀμμάτων.
>
> so that it [or you?] might melt from your snowy-white
> limbs, fair lady, the toil
> of † erotic oglings † after the night. (9.13-15)

82 Horologia: Plin. *NH* 2.182; 7.212-215; 36.72, with Healy, 1999, 360-368; glass: Plin. *NH* 36.190-199, with Healy, 1999, 352-358. There seem to be no precedents for these specifically as ecphraseis. For late-antique horologium poems, cf. *AP* 9.779-780. 806-807. I know of no other ecphrasis specifically of the manufacture of glass, but Ach.Tat. 2.3 makes great play of an elegant glass bowl; cf. also *AP* 6.33; 12.249.

83 **ἐργάτας** ἀνὴρ | **ἐς** δὲ **πῦρ** ἔθηκε βῶλον (13.2-3) ~ τὰς δ' **ἐς πῦρ** ἔτρεψε κέλευσέ τε **ἐργάζεσθαι** (Hom. *Il.* 18.469; cf. **ἔργον**, Hom. *Il.* 18.473, **πυρ**άγρην, 18.477); ἐς δὲ διπτύχων **ἀκμάς** | χηλέων **ἔθηκε** βῶλον (13.12-13) ~ **θῆκεν** ἐν **ἀκμοθ**έτωι μέγαν **ἄκμονα** (Hom. *Il.* 18.476).

84 This phrase is not used specifically of Achilles' shield, but similar θαῦμα ἴδεσθαι is found of other miraculous divine artefacts: cf. Hom. *Il.* 5.725; 18.377; Hes. *Th.* 575 etc. For commentary on the sponge poem, see Hopkinson, 1994, 80-82.

85 The perils of sponge-diving are also described at Opp. *H.* 5.612-674.

Whatever the true reading of line 15 is,[86] the sense is evident: the diver's dangerous mission is undertaken to produce a sex accessory for lovers. Elsewhere in the poem, it is again presented as a luxury toy: Glaucus 'takes pleasure in' (τέρπεται, 9.5) it, the Nereids 'play with' (παίζουσιν, 9.9) it by the waves; it is also used to wash away the spit from Poseidon's foals, his 'hobbies' (ἀθυρμάτων, 9.9). There is a telling clash between the risks accruing to producers and the pleasure accruing to consumers. This poem, then, serves as an aggressive eroticisation of productivity: its concept of pleasure is predicated upon an *explicitation* of power differentials, between those on the one hand who serve and suffer and those on the other who consume and enjoy. But it also concomitantly *aestheticises*, transforming others' labour into an attractive symbolic form that minimises – without altogether effacing – their pain.[87]

On the other hand, in exposing the *process* of productivity, Mesomedes presents the possibility of an alternative focalisation. What does luxury look like from below? This thematic should also be taken as a self-reflexive commentary upon the poet's own literary production. Indeed, there are a number of specific suggestions that the sponge, in particular, is to be thought of in poetic terms. The poem begins by referring to ἄνθος τόδε (9.1), which the reader or audience gradually deduce to be the sponge; but ἄνθος can of course be used metapoetically (hence garlands and 'anthologies'), and the proximal-deictic τόδε might be taken initially as a reference to this very text. The sponge is then compared to a honey-comb from Mt Hymettus (9.3-4), again an obvious image for poetry.[88] Finally, the self-reflexive tone of the poem is underlined by the reference to the woman's μέλη – the word is also of course used for melic poems in general, and for Mesomedes' in particular[89] (although this admittedly takes us beyond any simple equation of sponge with poem). Mesomedes, after all, is himself a poetic ἐργάτας, labouring for the pleasure of others.

In this context, the question 'who made it?', which begins both the horologium poems (7 and 8), is resonant and alive. Who owns productivity, patron or

86 τῶν ἐρωτικῶν ὀμμάτων MS (defended by Baldwin, 1993); τὸν ἐρωτικὸν ἀμμάτων Wilamowitz; τὸν ἐρωτικῶν ὀμμάτων Horna; τὸν ἐρωτικὸν † ὀμμάτων Heitsch, Hopkinson, 1994 (discussion at p. 82); τὸν ἐρωτοπαλαισμάτων Russell (recorded at Bowie, 1990, 89).

87 I borrow here from analyses of pornography: see e.g. Keuls, 1985, 229-266; Kappeler, 1986, 5-10; Richlin, 1992.

88 σμῆνος in line 3 (which is corrupt) is usually taken as a synonym for κηρὸν ὑμήττιον, i.e. 'honeycomb': cf. Hopkinson, 1994, 81 (and further Wilamowitz, 1921, 602; Horna, 1928, 25-26). But might it mean rather 'wasp's nest'? For metapoetic honey-comb, cf. *AP* 9.190 (Ἠρίννης τόδε κηρίον).

89 Cf. 2.19, ἄνετον μέλος αἰὲν ἀείδων. For Mesomedes' μέλη, see Suda s.v. Μεσομήδης (ἄλλα διάφορα μέλη).

client? To whose glory does it redound? It can be seen quickly the extent to which this central interrogative overlaps with that which we located in the hymns: who leads the dance? Like those texts, the *ecphraseis* pose the fundamental question of the ownership of poetic discourse. This crucial ambiguity, I suggest, springs from the Janus-faced identity of the cliental poet, who speaks both, on the one hand, to the emperor and his court, and, on the other, to the wider community with which he must communicate. The poet *needs* – at least – two messages.

5 Fables

5.1 Reading fables. I have emphasised throughout that Mesomedes' poetry depends upon its capacity to accommodate multiple readings. The final poems I want to discuss are poems 10 (*To a swan*), 11 (*To a gnat*) and 12 (transmitted without a title, but describing a sphinx or chimaera).[90] In ancient terms, 10 and 11 would probably have been called αἶνοι or 'fables', i.e. parabolic animal tales (looking back to Hesiod's story of the hawk and the nightingale, and finding full expression in Aesop);[91] poem 12, on the other hand, would have been a γρῖφος or πρόβλημα ('riddle'), a playfully opaque description that challenges the reader to guess its identity (there is evidence for sympotic performance throughout antiquity).[92] These seem to have been viewed as discrete genres, at least by the time of the redactors of the *Palatine Anthology*, who placed αἶνοι (book 9)[93] and γρῖφοι (book 14) in separate books.

What unites these two genres, however, is the foregrounding of the hermeneutic act; by gesturing towards those traditions, Mesomedes teases with issues of interpretation. Riddles such as poem 12 are, in this respect, less interesting, since there is a single right answer (or προβληθέν). Fables, on the other hand, allow for several readings. The αἶνος, writes Gregory Nagy, 'is a code bearing one message to its intended audience; aside from those exclusive listeners "who can

90 Sphinx: Wilamowitz, 1921, 605; chimaera: Bowie, 1990, 88; Musso, 1998 points to a similar beast – apparently a sphinx – on a mosaic at Monferrato, and argues that thence that Mesomedes' sphinx is assimilated to Isis. A similar poem can be found at *AP* 14.63.

91 Hes. *erg.* 202-211; see Nagy, 1979, 238-240, with 239 n.2 on Aesop. For the definition of an αἶνος as κατ᾽ ἀνάπλασιν μυθικὴν ἀναφερόμενος ἀπὸ ἀλόγων ζώιων ἢ φυτῶν ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπων παραίνεσιν, cf. Diogenianus Grammaticus, *Paroemiae* p.1; see further the compendious work of Rodríguez Adrados, 1999-2003.

92 On γρῖφοι, see *OCD*3 s.v. 'Riddles'; also Ath. 448b-453c. For the sympotic evidence, see Cameron, 1995, 80-81.

93 Cf. esp. 1; 2; 83; 86-87; 95; 99; 233; 240; 264; 267; 273; 339; 370-373; 410.

understand'', it is apt to be misunderstood, garbled'.[94] Or, rather, that is its rhetoric; but in fact, many fables are notoriously difficult to resolve finally, even for the *savants* of modern academia.[95] In raising the interpretative stakes, such tales only exacerbate the problem of what they are 'really' about.

It is striking how many animal fables revolve around narratives of pursuit, with some variety of paradoxical outcome.[96] By thematising sagacity in this way, the narratives invite their readers to ponder the elusiveness of the poem itself. For example, two poems in the *Palatine Anthology* refer to Crito of Pialia and his fowling of a cicada; for this impiety he was punished by never catching another bird (9.264, 273). The cicada is, of course, a songster (ἡδὺς κατωργάνιζε, 9.264.4; μελπόμενος, 9.273.2); the poem thus reflects on its own interpretative evasiveness.

Let us turn to the gnat poem (8):

Ἐλέφαντος ἐπ᾽ οὔατι κώνωψ
πτερὸν οὐ πτερὸν ἵστατο σείων,
φάτο δ ἄφρονα μῦθον· ἀφίπταμαι,
βάρος οὐ γὰρ ἐμὸν δύνασαι φέρειν.
ὁ δ᾽ ἔλεξε γέλωτος ὑφ᾽ ἁδονᾶι·
ἀλλ᾽ οὔτ ἐδάην ὅτ᾽ ἐφιπτάθης
οὔθ᾽ ηνίκ᾽ ἀφίπτασαι, κώνωψ.

A gnat paused on an elephant's
ear, beating his wing that was no wing.
His words were foolish: 'I am flying away,
for you are unable to bear my weight'.
The other said, with a happy laugh,
'I did not realise when you flew in,
nor shall I realise when you fly away, gnat.'

What is the significance of this story? Where is the *Gnat*'s bite (as it were)? As it happens, there is approximately contemporary evidence for hermeneutic inference in the context of such fables. In a story similar to Mesomedes' relayed by Babrius (with a bull instead of a lion), the closing moral states that 'it is comical when someone who is a nothing puffs himself up before superior people, as if he were a somebody' (γελοῖος ὅστις οὐδὲν ὢν κατ᾽ ἀνθρώπων τῶν κρειττόνων θρασύνεθ᾽ ὡς τις ὤν Babr. 84). In book 2 of Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe & Clitophon*, two slaves exchange Aesopic stories on the theme of big and little animals (2.30-2). In the

94 Nagy, 1979, 240.

95 See most recently Hubbard, 1995.

96 Of the examples cited in n. 93 above, only 9.87 and 9.95 do not involve pursuit. Hesiod's fable of the hawk and the nightingale is again the *locus classicus*.

first, Conops tells Satyrus about the lion's fear of the cock, and the elephant's fear of the gnat (κώνωψ). In the second, Satyrus replies with a story about a gnat boasting to a lion, before getting stuck in a spider's web.[97] This jokey exchange (ἔσκωπτε, ἐν τῇι παιδιᾶι, 2.30.2; καταμωκᾶι, 2.30.3; ἐγέλασεν, 2.32.7) barely conceals the threatening subtext; indeed, Satyrus is specifically said to recognise τὸ ὕπουλον … τῶν λόγων (2.31.5).

At stake here are issues of power. In other contexts, these issues are more explicitly politicised. In Philostratus' *Apollonius*, Damis illustrates his point about the danger posed by Domitian with an Aesopic story about a lion and a fox (7.30). Tyrannical power is easily figured in terms of the power of large beasts over smaller:[98] '[t]hese speaking animals play off the law of the jungle against their playing it off, on *our* behalf; they make available to us ways to think with nature as if it were politics; they provide our best arena for catching the manipulative core intrinsic to the nature of politics'.[99]

Does the gnat poem, then, invite readers to ponder the relationship between imperial power and 'foolish' attempts to subvert it? For many readers, the answer will be obviously no: nothing in the poem authorises that kind of reading. But the converse point is that nothing can gainsay it either; and if we accept the principle of interpretative hypertrophy, then it becomes inevitable that patronal poetry will generate – or will be expected to generate – a range of responses, incorporating metapoetical reflection upon its own functions.

5.2 Mesomedes' swan-song. The final text I wish to discuss is the swan poem (10). Again, the difficulty of interpreting meaning is belied by the effect of simplicity, created by the easy metre, the unchallenging lexis and the straightforwardly sequential narrative:

Κύκνον ἐνὶ ποταμῶι	A swan was trapped
κάτεχεν ἄτερ βρόχου	in the river by the ice-chained water –
παγόδετον ὕδωρ·	no need for a snare.
ὃν ἄμουσος ἰδών	A rustic goatherd,
αἰπόλος ἀγρότας	uncultured, saw him
ἔθελε διολέσαι,	and resolved to kill,
κεφαλὰν λιγύθρουν	harvesting
τῶι σταχουτόμῳ	his sweet-voiced head
δρεπάνωι θερίσας.	with his wheat-cutting sickle.
κατὰ δ' ὑδατοπαγοῦς	He was going along
βαῖνε κελεύθου	the frozen path
βήμασι κούφοις.	with subtle steps,

97 Versions of these two fables can be found at Aesop 188, 210 Chambry.

98 Cf. e.g. the famous story of Domitian spearing flies with his pen (Suet. *Dom.* 3.1).

99 Henderson, 2001, 177-193, at 187.

Τιτὰν δὲ κύκνωι	when the Titan appeared
πυρόεντι βολᾶι	as an ally to the swan
σύμμαχος ἐφάνη·	with his fiery ray.
γίγνετο μὲν ὑγρόν	The river returned to
πάλι ποταμὸς ὕδωρ·	limpid water;
ἔπεσεν ὁ βούτας,	the herdsman fell,
ὁ δὲ κύκνος ἀνέθορε	the swan surged
κἄμπτατο χαίρων.	and flew off in joy.

What is this poem about? Wilamowitz could find in it only two lines' worth of comment, and those on the subject of metre; Bowie stretches to four.[100] But if we are right that the gnat poem invites identification with figures outside of the poem, is there anything to be said of this one? The first point to be made is that the swan is traditionally thought of as a poetic bird, sacred to Apollo; here, the epithet λιγύθρουν (7) brings this aspect into play. The rustic[101] on the other hand, is ἄμουσος (4), i.e. semiotically antithetical to the cultivated bird. Might the swan represent the poet and the rustic a threatening figure with power over him? In this connection, the reference to the frozen river as 'ice-chained' (3) is intriguing: the sun's melting of the ice is, apparently, figured as a liberation from chains. Is this, then, the allegorical narrative of the poet's manumission, after Hadrian (= the sun/Titan) purchased him from an unappreciative (= rustic) owner (= the 'chaining' ice)? In support of this interpretation we could advance the recurrence of solar imagery throughout Mesomedes' poems, in contexts that suggest imperial power (above, 3.2); and note further that in the hymn to Helios, the chorus specifically sings 'freely' (ἄνετον μέλος αἰὲν ἀείδων, 2.19).

But nothing can guarantee this interpretation. An alternative might be to take the emperor for the uncultured boor who holds the poet in captivity, longing for his freedom. In other contexts, swans only sing when they are threatened with death …[102] This reading could be substantiated by reference to the Hymn to Physis (5), where the poet specifically prays to the god (again addressed as 'Titan') for liberation from chains that appear to be holding him now, in the present: 'Pity, Titan, so great/a chain holding the wretched man' (οἴκτειρον τόσσον, Τιτάν,|ἀνθρώπου δειλοῦ δέσμον, 4.23-24). Of course, in that context (as so often in mystic poetry), the chains refer principally to those of mortal ignorance; but who can rule out wider references? If we focus on the context of reception

100 Wilamowitz, 1921, 602; Bowie, 1990, 88. Horna, 1928, 27-28 does, it is true, manage two paragraphs, on the metre and text.

101 The poet seems inconsistent (Bowie, 1990, 88): he is variously an αἰπόλος, a harvester and a βούτας.

102 E.g. Aesop. 173-174 Chambry.

for this patronal poetry, rather than some notionally originary meaning, then the aim of our enquiry should be to track the full range of *possible* interpretations.

The fundamental point is that concepts such as freedom and constraint are necessarily overdetermined: such contagious concepts have a virulence that overcomes any cosy sequestering. As in the hymns and the ecphraseis, Mesomedes' poems are – and their communicative strategy rests upon their being – necessarily open to multiple interpretations, from the points of view of patron and wider community.

6 Conclusion

What poetry of Mesomedes' survives is heterogeneous, and has been preserved in diverse traditions. What was apparently considered in antiquity his most famous poem, the *Praise of Antinous*, does not survive, and chances are we have lost considerably more poems again. Notwithstanding that, even the twelve poems that we have manifest an impressive degree of coherence, at the thematic as well as the linguistic level. These poems repeatedly recur to questions relating to the ownership of poetic discourse: to the poet's control over his material and his community, to the poet's role in the hierarchy of production, to the degree of freedom he exercises.

I have argued throughout this chapter that it makes sense to supply a Hadrianic context when we interpret these poems: they can profitably be read as energised by the poet's relationship with the emperor, on the one hand, and a wider Greek community, on the other. This ambivalence is fundamental to the poet's communicative strategy: to be credible, the poems need to be legible *both* as imperial ideology, interpellating the community into the political hierarchy of the world (and indeed the cosmos), and as suitably distanced commentary from it, exposing its exploitation and aggression. It is true that there is no unequivocal 'proof' for Hadrianic signification in the poems (though the circumstantial evidence is, I think, strong). To this extent, this chapter has been an experiment with possibilities. But if we take a reception-orientated approach, if we accept the principle of 'interpretative hypertrophy', then we can conclude with a stronger, more affirmative point: not only *can* these poems be interpreted as Hadrianic, they also – in terms, at least, of the range of potentialities – *cannot not be*. To succeed in the tense, energised environment of triangular communication between poet, patron and audience, this poetry needs to tell us *just enough* about the imperial figure who looms in the background.

Mesomedes was a freed slave; the social stratum he occupied was a league away from that of the oratorical stars of the Second Sophistic. Yet the strategies adopted in his work to negotiate his relationship with imperial power – sophisticated role-playing, figuration, the generation of multiple meanings – are not substantially different from those found in the output of his higher-class peers.[103] I am not simply arguing that our definition of 'the world of the Second Sophistic' should be expanded: definitions, of course, will always have an element of the arbitrary about them. My point, rather, is that scholarship should be self-conscious about the politics of its inclusions and exclusions, and be prepared to question them where necessary.

103 See e.g. Whitmarsh, 2001, 190-216 on Dion Chrysostom. Early versions of this chapter have been delivered at the Universities of Oxford, Heidelberg, Newcastle and Cambridge, and at the Institute of Classical Studies in London. I am extremely grateful to all who have contributed to its development (which has been substantial); in particular, to Barbara Borg, Ewen Bowie, Felix Budelmann, Chris Carey, Angelos Chaniotis, Simon Goldhill, Christopher Jones, Nick Lowe, Richard Miles, John Moles, Teresa Morgan, Glenn Most, Thomas Schmitz, Michael Silk, Tony Spawforth and Ruth Webb.

Sophisten und Archonten: *Paideia* als gesellschaftliches Argument bei Libanios

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Als Libanios in seiner Heimatstadt Antiochia am Orontes im Jahr 354 seine Rhetorikschule eröffnete,[1] stand er in der Tradition derjenigen, die sich in der hohen Kaiserzeit – in Anlehnung an die klassischen Vorbilder – als Sophisten bezeichneten und gleichermaßen Redner und Redelehrer waren.[2] Als solche waren sie mit Rhetorik und der Ausbildung junger Leute befasst. *Paideia* war für sie sowohl die Voraussetzung für einen guten Redner, als auch die Folge einer guten rhetorischen Ausbildung: Vom *pepaideumenos* (πεπαιδευμένος) wurde erwartet, dass er gut zu reden verstand.

In Anlehnung an Philostratos von Lemnos bezeichnet man in den Altertumswissenschaften vor allem die Sophisten der hohen Römischen Kaiserzeit als die Zweite Sophistik.[3] Den Rednern der hohen Kaiserzeit gilt das Gros der Forschungsbeiträge, die sich mit dieser Zweiten Sophistik beschäftigen.

Die Funktion von Rhetorik und ihr Verhältnis zur *paideia* sind immer wieder von der Forschung thematisiert worden. Ältere Kulturgeschichten wollten in der Rhetorik der Kaiserzeit vor allem ein Spektakel, eine Darbietung sehen, die nicht mehr die politische Rolle spielen konnte, die man der Rhetorik in der römischen Republik oder im klassischen Griechenland zuschrieb.[4] Neuere Forschungsbei-

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1 Lib. *Ep.* 391; Lib. *Or.* 1.94.

2 Das Verhältnis zwischen den Vertretern der Zweiten Sophistik und den Rhetoren in der Spätantike wird in der Forschung in dem Sinne beschrieben, dass im 4. Jh. eine Renaissance der früheren Rhetorik stattfindet, nachdem das 3. Jh. das kulturelle Leben tlw. zum Erliegen gebracht hat, s. Kennedy, 1994, 242. Neue Aspekte werden auf das Christentum und das stärkere Gewicht der römischen Rechtsgelehrsamkeit zurückgeführt: Hose, 2000. Der neueste Beitrag zum Übergang ist Swain, 2004. Anknüpfungspunkte lassen sich etwa bei Synesios von Kyrene erkennen, der an Dion Chrysostomos anknüpft: Kennedy, 1994, 234.

3 Bowersock, 1969, 8; Whitmarsh, 2001, 1 und Anm. 1. Bowersock, 1969 berücksichtigt die Spätantike nicht. Cracco Ruggini, 1971, die anlässlich des Erscheinens des Buches von Bowersock ihren Beitrag geschrieben hat, wirft einen Blick auch in die Spätantike.

4 Dies die Idee von Friedländer: vgl. Christes, 1975, 228-233 für die Diskussion der älteren Forschung.

träge dagegen haben diese Ansicht, die nicht zuletzt auch von einer Dekadenzvorstellung gespeist zu sein scheint, revidiert und unterschiedliche, gesellschaftlich wichtige Funktionen von Rhetorik und *paideia* herausgearbeitet.[5]

Vor diesem Hintergrund möchte ich in diesem Beitrag die gesellschaftliche Funktion der Rhetorik und der *paideia* für das 4. Jahrhundert der Kaiserzeit untersuchen. Dies möchte ich am Beispiel des Rhetoriklehrers Libanios tun, bei dem aufgrund seiner zahlreichen erhaltenen Schriften, vor allem den Briefen[6] und der Autobiographie, aber auch zahlreichen politischen Reden eine detaillierte Untersuchung meiner Fragestellung möglich ist. Dabei hat meine Untersuchung zum Ziel, aufzuzeigen, dass für Libanios die Rhetorik, die er als das wesentliche Element in der *paideia* ansieht, keineswegs nur intellektuelle Unterhaltung oder das Vergnügen einer exklusiven Elite war, sondern ein wesentliches Instrument, um Einfluss in Politik und Gesellschaft zu nehmen und um die eigene soziale Stellung zu festigen und sich möglicherweise gegen Verfolgungen und Bedrohungen zu schützen. Dabei erhielt der Begriff der *paideia* eine Bedeutung als gesellschaftliches Argument.

In den letzten Jahren sind zunehmend Beiträge zu Libanios entstanden. In einigen von ihnen wird auch auf die Beziehung zwischen Macht und Rhetorik, zwischen Sophist und Kaiser (oder einem seiner hohen Funktionsträger) eingegangen.[7] Vor allem Peter Brown sah die Rhetorik als ein Werkzeug an, Machtausübung in einem gewissen Ausmaß kontrollieren oder jedenfalls beeinflussen zu können. Neuere Beiträge haben ähnliche Ansätze ausgeführt. Wie nun *paideia* ein gesellschaftliches Argument sein konnte und auf welche Weise der Sophist sich bei Amtsinhabern, Richtern und zuletzt dem Kaiser selbst Gehör verschaffen konnte, das möchte ich an einigen Fallbeispielen aus Reden und Briefen des Libanios darstellen.

Dass Libanios selbst der Meinung war, die Rhetorik, die er lehrte, und die *paideia*, die er seinen Schülern vermittelte, besäßen eine wichtige gesellschaftliche Funktion, sagt er immer wieder ganz deutlich. In der Autobiographie schreibt Libanios über seine Familie:

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5 Hier können nur einige wichtige Beiträge exemplarisch genannt werden: Hahn, 1989; Schmitz, 1997; Korenjak, 2000; Hose, 2000. Wird in jüngeren Beiträgen von einem Niedergang der griechischen Rhetorik in der Spätantike ausgegangen, so wird dies in der Regel auf das größere Gewicht der römischen Rechtsgelehrsamkeit zurückgeführt: so Hose, 2000; de Salvo, 2000.

6 Insgesamt 1544, die in der Zeit von 355 bis 365 und 388 bis 393 einen detaillierten Einblick in die lokale Politik und in die Gesellschaft des *oriens* geben.

7 Vor allem: Kennedy, 1983; Brown, 1995; Wiemer, 1995; French, 1998; de Salvo, 2000; de Salvo, 2001; Swain, 2004. Das außerordentliche politische Gewicht der Reden und Arbeiten des Libanios wird von Kennedy 1983, 152 betont; er spricht von einer *political oratory*.

> In einer solch großen Stadt ergab es sich, dass meine Familie zu den mächtigsten gehörte, ihrer Bildung wegen (παιδεία) und ihres Reichtums, ihrer Choregien und Wettspiele und Redekunst, die dem überbordenden Mutwillen der Amtsinhaber Einhalt gebietet.[8]

Auch für die Tätigkeit der Amtsinhaber wird die Rhetorik als wichtig angesehen: An den Redner Themistios schreibt Libanios im Jahr 361: „Du hast ja ein Amt inne, Amtsinhaber jedoch benötigen die Rhetorik wie Segler das Steuerruder."[9]

Wie war es nun möglich, mit der Rhetorik auf die Amtsinhaber, die ἄρχοντες, diesen Einfluss auszuüben?

Ein Dokument, das gut in unsere Thematik einführt, ist ein Brief aus dem Jahr 355 an Anatolios aus Berytos.[10] Anatolios, mit dem Libanios noch einen intensiven und äußerst interessanten Briefwechsel führen sollte, befand sich zu dieser Zeit ohne Posten in Mailand und hatte gerade das ihm angebotene Amt des *praefectus urbi* von Rom abgelehnt. Er wurde später *praefectus praetorio Illyrici*. Es handelt sich also um einen einflussreichen und mächtigen *archon*, dessen soziale Position deutlich über der des Libanios lag und dessen Machtbefugnisse und Einflussmöglichkeiten beträchtlich waren.[11]

Der Brief, den Libanios ihm schreibt, ist ein sorgfältig ausgearbeiteter und langer Brief. Am Anfang macht Libanios dabei das Briefeschreiben selbst zum Thema, ein häufig von ihm angewandtes Verfahren. Wie meist geht es auch hier um die Frage, ob die beiden Kommunikationspartner in dem Briefwechsel regelmäßig und mit hinreichender Ausführlichkeit geschrieben haben. Die regelmäßige Beantwortung von Briefen ist der Ausdruck schlechthin dafür, dass zwischen den Briefpartnern „Freundschaft" besteht; Libanios benennt eine solche Beziehung mit den Begriffen *philia* oder sogar *eros* (φιλία, ἔρως).

In diesem Fall ist es Anatolios gewesen, der offenbar darauf eingegangen ist, dass Libanios nicht mehr geschrieben hat und der diese Feststellung auf eine scherzhafte und satirische Weise vorgebracht hat, offenbar in einem Stil, für den Anatolios bekannt war.

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8 Lib. *Or.* 1.2: καὶ λόγοις, ὅσοι φοραῖς ἀρχόντων ἀπαντῶσιν. Der Ausdruck λόγοι bezeichnet für Libanios in der Regel die Rhetorik, die Redekunst: vgl. Lib. *Or.* 1.5; Lib. *Ep.* 26.2; 61.5; 535.2; 768.3. Vgl. zu diesem Sprachgebrauch auch: Schmitz, 1997, 83;136; de Salvo, 2000 passim.

9 Lib. *Ep.* 309: ἄρχεις γάρ, τῷ δὲ ἄρχοντι δεῖ λόγων, ὥσπερ τοῖς πλέουσιν οἰάκων. Vgl. de Salvo, 2000, 285.

10 Lib. *Ep.* 391. Zu Anatolios: Petit, 1994, 33 Nr. 19; Bradbury, 2000, 172-186; *PLRE* 59 Anatolius 3.

11 Bis zum Jahr 354 hatte Anatolios die Ämter eines *consularis Syriae* (?) 349, eines *vicarius Asiae* 352 und wahrscheinlich eines Proconsul von Konstantinopel 354 bekleidet. *PLRE* 59 Anatolius 3.

Was antwortet Libanios darauf? Er gibt zu, nicht geschrieben zu haben, und gesteht Anatolios zu, „gesiegt zu haben". Wörtlich heißt es:

> Du hast also auch diesen Siegeskranz zusätzlich zu dem, der dir der Gerechtigkeit wegen gegeben wurde. Und zwei Siege soll uns der schöne Anatolios erringen, den einen als der beste Richter, den anderen aber als der stärkste Sophist, das eine besingen alle, das zweite nur ich, von dem auch du sagen dürftest, dass es nicht das Schlechtere ist.[12]

Diese Stelle ist äußerst aufschlussreich: Dass Anatolios bereits als *archon*, also in seinen politischen Funktionen, einen guten Ruf erlangt hat, ist der erste „Siegeskranz", der ihm zugestanden wird. Tatsächlich ist das Kriterium der Gerechtigkeit für einen guten *archon* ein immer wiederkehrendes Motiv bei Libanios.[13] Zu diesem ersten Siegeskranz wird aber nun ein zweiter gestellt, denn Anatolios hat auch einen Sieg als der mächtigste *sophistes* (ὡς κράτιστος σοφιστῶν) errungen, nämlich durch die Wiederaufnahme des Briefkontaktes zu Libanios, noch dazu mit einem witzigen und geistreichen Brief.

Die Parallelisierung und der direkte Vergleich dieser beiden „Siege" (νίκαι) erfüllen eine eindeutige Funktion: Dadurch, dass Anatolios nicht nur als *archon* anerkannt wird, sondern dass er von Libanios zum wahren *sophistes* gemacht wird, wird eine Kommunikationsebene zwischen den beiden Personen hergestellt, auf der sich der soziale und tatsächliche Unterschied überspielen lässt: Als *sophistai* können Libanios und Anatolios von gleich zu gleich reden. Libanios kann damit rechnen, nun regelmäßig an Anatolios schreiben zu können und eine angemessene briefliche Antwort zu erhalten. Er hat damit jederzeit die Möglichkeit, bei diesem *archon* seine Anliegen, Bitten und Empfehlungen anzubringen, Dinge, die in seinen Briefen einen enormen Anteil des Textes ausmachen. Die Anerkennung, in dem Agon der Sophisten gesiegt zu haben, stellt also eine Kommunikationsgrundlage her, die für Libanios viele konkrete Vorteile hat und ihn über seine eigentliche soziale Lage hinaushebt.

Der weitere Text des Briefes zeigt, dass Libanios die ihm nun offen stehenden Gelegenheiten sofort zu nutzten versteht: Er berichtet von seiner Rückkehr nach Antiochia[14] und der Eröffnung seiner Rhetorikschule, wobei ihm ein „prächtiger Neid" (φθόνος λαμπρός) entgegengebracht wurde. Er berichtet von der schwierigen Situation, die Antiochia gerade hinter sich gebracht hatte, näm-

12 Lib. *Ep.* 391.5. Die Übersetzungen in diesem Artikel stammen von mir.

13 Belege dafür s. unten.

14 Libanios hatte sich lange erst in Athen, später in Nikaia und Nikomedia, sowie Konstantinopel aufgehalten und musste sich auch in den folgenden Jahren immer wieder dagegen wehren, als Redner an den Hof zwangsverpflichtet zu werden. Lib. *Or.* 1.94 ff., sowie etliche Briefe zu diesem Thema: *Ep.* 16; 393; 438; 411; 454.

lich der Rachsucht des Caesar Gallus (des Halbbruders Julians) zu entkommen. Am Ende geht er auf die Karriere des Anatolios ein, zollt ihm Anerkennung für das ihm angebotene Amt (die Stadtpräfektur von Rom) und tadelt ihn für die Ablehnung, mit klarem Hinweis darauf, dass es für ihn, Libanios, und viele andere nur vorteilhaft sein kann, wenn Anatolios wichtige Machtpositionen besetzt. Schließlich hätte Libanios nun jemanden in den höchsten Ämtern als Ansprechpartner gewonnen, der seinen Worten Gewicht beimessen würde!

Es lässt sich also festhalten, dass das Identitfikationsangebot, ein *sophistes* zu sein, ein wichtiges Mittel zur Herstellung oder Festigung von Kontakten zu höhergestellten Personen sein kann und dass sich der eigene soziale Stand dadurch aufwerten lässt.

Es ist nun notwendig, genauer zu beleuchten, was Libanios unter *sophistes* versteht und welche Konnotationen und weiteren Begriffe er daran knüpft. Ich will zu zeigen versuchen, dass es sich dabei um ein umfassendes Konglomerat von Begriffen und Werten handelt, mit denen nicht nur ein Bildungskonzept angesprochen wird, sondern mit denen auch die Vorstellung eines bestimmten sozialen Verhaltens einhergeht, auf das sich derjenige, der als *sophistes* gelten will, verpflichten muss.

Sophistes sein meint zunächst ohne Zweifel, das zu beherrschen, was Libanios lehrt: nämlich die Rhetorik. Wer diese Ausbildung, diese *paideia*, erhalten hat, darf sich nicht nur als gebildeten Mann betrachten, sondern darf als wahrer Grieche gelten. Grieche sein ist bei Libanios eine Bezeichnung für den Besitz von Bildung, namentlich der rhetorischen Bildung, ohne dass man aus einer bestimmten Stadt oder einem bestimmten Land stammen müsste. Jeder kann als Grieche gelten, wenn er sich um die entsprechende *paideia* bemüht. Als ein Beispiel unter vielen sei nur aus einem der unzähligen Empfehlungsschreiben des Libanios zitiert: „Diesen Daricius aber, den Thraker, besser aber gesagt den Griechen, denn er ist zwar dort geboren, erzogen wird er (παιδεύεται) aber in der Stadt des Theseus, den gebe ich dir zum Geschenk."[15] Daricius ist also Grieche, weil er *paideia* in Athen erwirbt.

Diese hier ausgesprochene Empfehlung ist deswegen so überzeugend, weil mit dem Hinweis auf die *paideia* dem Empfohlenen nicht nur eine gute Ausbildung in einem bestimmten Fach bescheinigt wird. Das Entscheidende ist vielmehr, dass jemand, der eine solche *paideia* genossen hat, auch ein bestimmtes soziales Verhalten erlernt hat. Der Adressat bekommt damit gleichsam eine Garantie dafür, dass der Empfohlene sich angemessen und den Erwartungen gemäß

15 Lib. *Ep.* 278.

verhalten wird. Er wird jemand sein, der diesen Code des sozialen Verhaltens respektiert. Nur wenn er dies tut, ist er ein καλὸς ἀνήρ.

Grundlage dafür ist die Prämisse, dass die *paideia* immer mit bestimmten moralischen Qualitäten einhergeht. Libanios kann sich darauf verlassen, dass diese Vorstellung allgemein bekannt und akzeptiert ist. So lobt er den *magister officiorum* Florentius[16] dafür, dass er Priscianus, einen Rhetorikschüler aus Antiochia, der sich in seiner *paideia* bewährt hat, zu sich nach Konstantinopel gerufen hat, um ihm in seinem Büro eine Stelle anzubieten.[17] Es wird zu diesem Anlass betont, dass Priscianus ein guter Mann sei, der seine Rhetorikausbildung in Antiochia ernst genommen und zugleich sich im öffentlichen Auftreten als bescheiden erwiesen habe. Die moralische Integrität des Priscianus färbt mit der Ernennung auch auf Florentius, den *magister officiorum,* ab, der sich als guter *archon* erwiesen hat, weil er den Gebildeten und moralisch Integren den anderen Anwärtern vorgezogen hat, womit er sich von den anderen Archonten, die sich vor allem bereichern wollen, positiv unterscheidet.[18]

Die Implikationen, die in der Aussage, jemand habe *paideia* genossen, enthalten sind, finden nun ihre Entsprechung in den Erwartungen an einen guten *archon*. In den Briefen des Libanios lässt sich ein Katalog von idealen Verhaltensweisen erkennen, die einen *archon* zu einem guten *archon* machen. Es sind eben diejenigen sozialen Verhaltensweisen, die auch für den gebildeten Mann gelten.

Bereits bei denen, die Rhetorik erst noch lernen, werden immer wieder die Disziplin, die Aufrichtigkeit, das Fehlen von Geldgier, die Vermeidung von Zirkusspielen und anderen Formen des Zeitvertreibs betont.[19] In einem Empfehlungsschreiben für einen Rhetor aus Damaskus wird dieses Amalgam von Werten deutlich ausgesprochen und am Ende auch gleich mit den Ansprüchen an einen guten *archon* verbunden:[20]

> Der kam zwar aus Damaskus als Bettler zu mir, nach Redestücken begierig, er hörte aber Aischylos sagen, dass aus den Mühen den Sterblichen die Tugenden geboren werden und mied so den Schlaf und hielt die Freuden der Schaustücke für schädlich, doch meinte er, die Liebreize bei den Reden seien angenehmer, und er war nicht gezwungen, etwas Schändliches wegen seines Geldmangels zu tun, und gelangte also

16 Petit, 1994, 110 Nr. 118 Florentius II.

17 Lib. *Ep.* 61.

18 Der Hinweis auf die anderen und ihr Gewinnstreben wird in Lib. *Ep.* 61.11 ausdrücklich formuliert.

19 Am deutlichsten bringt Libanios dies anlässlich seiner eigenen Hinwendung zur Rhetorik in seiner Autobiographie zum Ausdruck: Lib. *Or.* 1.5. Libanios verzichtet auf die Tauben, das Genießen der Landschaft, Pferderennen, Theateraufführungen und – das Beliebteste – Gladiatorenspiele.

20 Lib. *Ep.* 175 aus dem Jahr 360.

> zu einer solchen Perfektion der Kunst, dass er auch über deine schönen Taten etwas verlauten lassen kann, nicht vielleicht etwas Angemessenes, doch solches, was jemand loben kann. Du aber tue sowohl Damaskus als auch mir den Gefallen und dem Gott, der uns viel früher die Reden gegeben hat, und bedenke, dass deine Herrschaft auf der Redekunst gründet (λογισάμενος ὅτι σοι τὸ ἄρχειν ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων), und deswegen schick uns den Bassos fort mit einem besseren Kleid, und mit einem fröhlicheren Gesicht, und hilf dadurch dem einen, die anderen aber rufe zur Ausbildung (ἐπὶ τὴν παιδείαν παρακάλει).

Das Ideal des guten *archon* wird ganz in Parallelität zum guten Rhetor entwickelt: Wie bereits in dem gerade zitierten Schreiben gesehen, wird der gute *archon* stets aufgrund einer Mehrzahl von positiven Eigenschaften und Verhaltensweisen gelobt. Folgende Elemente machen nun für Libanios einen guten *archon* aus:

- Er ist fürsorglich und fleißig.[21]
- Er setzt sich für die Städte ein.[22]
- Er garantiert Gerechtigkeit und verhilft ihr zum Sieg.[23]
- Er hilft den richtigen Leuten.[24]
- Er tritt der Gewalt (βία) entgegen.[25]
- Er respektiert die Bildung und Redekunst.[26]
- Er schätzt materiellen Gewinn gering und bereichert sich nicht unrechtmäßig.[27]

Wie das Konglomerat von Werten und Begriffen persuasiv in konkreten Fällen von Libanios eingesetzt wird, will ich nun an einigen einzelnen Ereignissen besprechen. Diese sind die Spectatus-Gesandtschaft, der Prozess von Skythopolis und die Stasis von 386 mit dem Sturz der Kaiserstatuen unter Theodosius.

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21 Lib. *Ep.* 19: Gelobt werden: ἐπιμέλεια, ἀγρυπνία.

22 Lib. *Ep.* 24 πόλεων σωτῆρος; Lib. *Ep.* 96: σῴζειν τὰς πόλεις; Lib. *Ep.* 423 Durch die eigene *arete* und den Kontakt zum Kaiser ist es möglich σώζειν τὰς πόλεις; weitere Belege: Lib. *Ep.* 459; 851.2; 1106, Rufinus heißt hier der Arzt der Städte: τῶν πόλεων ἰατρός.

23 zur Gerechtigkeit: Lib. *Ep.* 1406.1; 1481 παρὰ μόνου σοῦ γένοιτ᾽ ἂν δυνάμεώς τε δικαίας ὑπαρχούσης καὶ γνώμης ἀξίας τοῦ δύνασθαι. Lib. *Ep.* 5; 21.3; 150.4; 232.1; 234.3; 251.1-3: der ἀγαθός respektiert die Gerechtigkeit und verhilft ihr zum Sieg. 318, 3; 350; 504.

24 den richtigen Leuten helfen: Lib. *Ep.* 535.1; 1184.3.

25 Lib. *Ep.* 636.1 die gute Staatsgewalt ist dazu da, der βία entgegenzutreten; 762.4: dem beizustehen, dem Gewalt angetan wird; Lib.*Ep.* 21.3: wo Gerechtigkeit herrscht, ist Gewalt (βία) fern.

26 Zentrale Texte hierfür sind: Lib. *Ep.* 35 (an Julian); 391 (an Anatolios).

27 Lib. *Ep.* 16; 19: Von der χρημάτων κλοπή habe sich der so gelobte *archon* (Anatolios) ferngehalten.

1. Die Spectatus-Gesandtschaft

Im Jahr 358 stand bereits der Krieg gegen das Perserreich vor der Tür und die Diplomatie, die von römischer Seite in Gang gesetzt wurde, hatte – nach dem Zeugnis von Ammianus Marcellinus – vor allem das Ziel, Zeit für die noch fälligen Vorbereitungen zu gewinnen.[28]

Eine Gesandtschaft an den Königshof in Susa wurde unter anderem von einem Cousin des Libanios, Spectatus, angeführt, der auch bei Ammianus namentlich erwähnt wird.[29] In zwei Briefen berichtet Libanios von dieser Gesandtschaft, an Anatolios und an einen seiner besten Freunde, Aristainetos.[30]

Für uns ist vor allem der Brief an Anatolios von besonderem Interesse.[31] Drei Jahre nach dem oben besprochenen Brief herrscht zwischen Libanios und Anatolios ein offenes Verhältnis, das von beiden Seiten Witz und Satire über den anderen zulässt, ein Zustand, der für die Beziehung zu den *archontes* ziemlich ungewöhnlich ist und sicher auf den besonderen Charakter des Anatolios zurückgehen dürfte. Libanios berichtet von der erfolgreichen Gesandtschaft des Spectatus, der den Perserkönig mit seiner Redekunst besiegt habe und damit in glänzender Weise nicht nur den hohen Wert der *paideia* einmal wieder bewiesen, sondern auch bereits die Griechen über die Barbaren habe siegen lassen. Neben diesem Gegensatzpaar (Grieche-Barbar) gibt es einen weiteren Gegensatz: Der *sophistes* wird dem *archon* gegenübergestellt.

In bemerkenswert freimütiger Redeweise wirft Libanios Anatolios vor, dass er es überhaupt nicht ertrage, wenn jemand anders gelobt werde. Dementsprechend müsse seine Eifersucht gegenüber Spectatus gewaltig gewesen sein. Libanios schließt seine Provokation mit dem Bonmot: „Bei den Göttern, wolltest du nicht lieber einmal jemand sein, der so etwas sagt, als über doppelt so viele Leute herrschen, wie du es jetzt tust?“[32]

Der provokante Ton beweist, dass Anatolios diese Kommunikation als ein Gespräch zwischen zwei gleichberechtigten Sophisten ansieht. Nur so nämlich kann Libanios einen solchen Ton anschlagen, ohne Anatolios zu beleidigen. Auch dieser Brief dient also dazu, den hohen Wert der *paideia* festzustellen, ihre Funktion deutlich zu machen (Griechen besiegen dank ihrer die Barbaren) und

28 Diese Ereignisse berichtet Amm. Marc. 17.5.1 ff.

29 Spectatus 1: *PLRE* 850 cousin v. Libanios.

30 Lib. *Ep.* 331; 333.

31 Lib. *Ep.* 333 aus dem Jahr 358.

32 Lib. *Ep.* 333.5.

mit dem mächtigen Anatolios eine ständige Kommunikation zu etablieren, bei der dieser das Identifikationsangebot, ein wahrer Sophist zu sein, annimmt.

2. Der Prozess von Skythopolis

Im Jahr 359/60 fand in Skythopolis in Palästina ein Massenprozess statt, in dem es um den Vorwurf des Hochverrates ging, und bei dem zahlreiche Leute aus Antiochia und Alexandria angeklagt waren.[33] Bei Ammianus Marcellinus[34] ist dieser Prozess nur ein weiterer absurder Schritt in der Kette der wahnsinnigen Verfolgungen unter Constantius II, der überall Usurpationen vermutet. Natürlich hat Libanios dabei versucht, Bekannten zu helfen.

In einem Brief[35] wendet er sich an Modestus,[36] den *comes per orientem*, der mit diesem Prozess betraut ist, und legt ihm diese Bekannten ans Herz. Dabei verpflichtet er Modestus zunächst auf seine Rolle als guter *archon*: Nicht die befürchtete Felsklippe sei er, sondern der Hafen. Wie schlimm wäre es gewesen, wenn die Aufgabe, den Prozess zu leiten, an einen *archon* gegangen wäre, dem, wie Libanios sich ausdrückt, es gefallen hätte, Böses zu tun?

Eine solche Bemerkung zeigt, wie wichtig es war, dass die hohen Funktionäre sich selbst an einen bestimmten Code in ihrem Verhalten gebunden fühlten. Die Beschwörungen, der *archon* solle doch ein guter Mann, ein *kalos aner* sein, sind, wie ein solcher Prozess in politisch heikler Lage zeigt, eben keine leeren Floskeln eines Rhetorikprofessors, sondern sie sind von lebenswichtiger Bedeutung.

Die Empfohlenen werden auch noch einmal besonders gelobt. Ihre moralischen und gesellschaftlichen Qualitäten machen sie jeder Hilfe wert. Dazu gehört ihr positives Erscheinen in der Gesellschaft genauso wie ihre Bildung, die sich darin zeigt, dass der eine mit Libanios einst zur Schule ging und ein anderer Junge in seiner Ausbildung von Libanios maßgeblich gefördert wird.

Auch hier erhält also Modestus das ganze Konglomerat von Werten, das hinter dem *kalos aner* steckt, angeboten. Er kann in dieser Rolle nicht anders als helfen und somit der Bildung und dem Ansehen der Betroffenen genauso gerecht werden wie der eigenen moralischen Integrität. Nur so ist er nämlich, als

33 Zu diesem Prozess siehe: Haehling, 1978, 74-101; Libanios (Cabouret), 2000, 84 n. 146; Sievers, 1868, 79.

34 Amm. Marc. 19.12.3 ff.

35 Lib. *Ep.* 37.

36 Petit, 1994, 166, Nr. 200 Modestus. Er hat als assessor unter Anatolios begonnen. *PLRE* 605, Domitius Modestus 2.

was ihn Libanios am Ende des Schreibens tituliert: ein Sprössling der Gerechtigkeit, ein θρέμμα Δίκης.

Auch Modestus wird in anderen Briefen auf die einschlägigen Qualitäten eines *sophistes* verpflichtet, was bei der Interpretation dieses Briefes für die Angeklagten in Skythopolis zu berücksichtigen ist. Während er für den Perserfeldzug unterwegs ist, hat er noch immer auch an Libanios geschrieben, wenngleich nicht mit der sonst für die *philia* erforderlichen Regelmäßigkeit. Libanios kann ihm aber dennoch die volle Anerkennung als *sophistes* zugestehen, indem er auf die Rolle des Handelnden, also des politisch Aktiven gegenüber den reinen Gelehrten verweist. Wie bei Anatolios weist Libanios auch hier dem *archon* den Siegeskranz eines wahren *sophistes* zu.[37] In einem anderen Brief, in dem es um die Taktik während des Perserfeldzuges geht, wird noch einmal die Überlegenheit der Griechen betont: Die σοφία würde gewiss über die πολυχειρία siegen.[38]

Die Verbindung zwischen *sophistes* und *archon* schwingt auch in dem Brief mit, in dem Libanios den Modestus über den Tod seines Onkels Phasganios informiert. Auch dieser Onkel muss ein guter Redner gewesen sein. In der Totenrede, die Libanios für ihn schrieb, hat er ihn zudem für seine oppositionelle Rolle gegenüber dem Caesar Gallus gelobt, weswegen einzelne Teile dieser Rede nur hinter verschlossenen Türen vorgetragen wurden.

Gegenüber Modestus verfährt Libanios nun folgendermaßen:[39] Zunächst lobt er ihn als guten *archon*. Dabei werden die normalen Kriterien zur Sprache gebracht: Modestus täte ja das Übliche: Gesetze einschärfen, Städte retten, Sykophanten hassen und denen helfen, die Unrecht erleiden. Anschließend teilt er den Tod des Onkels mit, den Modestus sehr geachtet habe, und von dem er seinerseits sehr bewundert worden sei. Die gegenseitige Anerkennung zwischen *sophistes* und *archon* schafft eine Kommunikationsgrundlage und verpflichtet Modestus zugleich, eine ähnliche Anerkennung auch Libanios selbst zuteil werden zu lassen. Die Identifikation mit sozialen Rollen ermöglicht die Aufwertung bzw. Behauptung des gesellschaftlichen Gewichtes des Libanios und derjenigen, für die er sich einsetzt.

37 Lib. *Ep.* 46.
38 Lib. *Ep.* 49.
39 Lib. *Ep.* 96.

3. Die Stasis von 386

Im Jahr 386 wurden in Antiochia im Zuge eines Aufstandes Kaiserstatuen gestürzt, weil sich die Bevölkerung gegen neue Steuern zur Wehr setzen wollte. Nach dem Aufruhr waren die Befürchtungen, Theodosius würde sich an der Stadt rächen, entsprechend groß.[40]

Für diesen Anlass schrieb Libanios eine Rede,[41] in der er die Stadt Antiochia lobt und Theodosius nahe legt, den Vorfall der Stasis zu verzeihen. Auch wenn diese Rede wahrscheinlich nicht vor Theodosius gehalten wurde, lassen sich doch auch hier die Begriffe wieder finden, die Libanios in einem solchen Fall verwenden konnte.

Libanios beginnt seine Rede[42] mit einer Aufzählung der guten und der schlechten Dinge, die Antiochia widerfahren sind bzw. leicht widerfahren können: Zu den guten gehören – neben dem Klima und der Schönheit der Stadt – die Einwohner[43] und auch die Reden, die in der Stadt gehalten werden. Die schlechten Dinge sind: Erdbeben, Perserüberfälle und „der ungerechte Mutwille gegenüber den Herrschenden" (θυμὸν κατ᾽ ἀρχόντων ἄδικον).

Die *polis* wird hier als Heimat des Griechischen, der *paideia* und des entsprechenden Sozialverhaltens verstanden.[44] Während dieser Bereich die gute Seite darstellt, mit der sich der angesprochene Kaiser identifizieren soll, besteht die negative Seite in dem der Emotionen (θυμός), der Ungerechtigkeit und der Wut (ὀργή).

Diese Zweiteilung wird durch ein weiteres Gegensatzpaar ergänzt. Denn Libanios fängt nun an, von den Barbaren zu sprechen. Die Barbaren könnten ihre *orge* nicht zügeln, sie seien nicht durch die Schule der *paideia* und des Griechentums[45] gegangen. Und sie können – im Gegensatz zu den Griechen – auch kein Mitleid empfinden. Ja, sie sind wie die Tiere und verachten das Mitleid.[46]

Der angeredete Kaiser wird hier klar vor eine Alternative gestellt: Er kann sich mit der guten Seite identifizieren: dann ist er ein Grieche (Ἕλλην, so explizit

40 Zu dieser Stasis: Libanius (Norman) 1969, 268; Downey, 1961, 421; Sievers, 1868, 172-187; Leppin, 1999, 103-123; French, 1998; Goebel, 1910.

41 Lib. *Or.* 19. Für das Jahr 386 liegen keine Briefe des Libanios vor.

42 Lib. *Or.* 19.5-6.

43 Je nach Emendation auch die Schönheit der Einwohner, also ihre Güte bzw. ihre *eugeneia*.

44 Insofern wäre übrigens die Einfügung des καί in § 5 nicht nötig, denn die Einwohner sind eben wegen dieser Eigenschaften der Stadt *kaloi*, man kann also κάλλους τῶν ἐνοικούντων in diesem Sinne verstehen.

45 Vgl. die oben gemachten Beobachtungen zu Lib. *Ep.* 278.

46 Lib. *Or.* 19.13.

im Text) und muss seine *orge* zügeln, Mitleid üben und Antiochia begnadigen. Oder aber er tut das nicht. Dann ist er ein Barbar, in der Nähe von Tieren. Dass diese Ausdrucksweise hier nicht allein steht, zeigt ein anderer Fall, in dem Libanios einen Streit zu schlichten hatte und sich ganz ähnlich äußert:

> Denn nicht wird Vergeltung so bewundert wie der Verzicht darauf, wenn Vergeltung möglich wäre. Denn das eine ist Sache der Barbaren und der Tiere, das andere aber ist die Verhaltensweise der Griechen und Athener und derjenigen, die den Göttern ähneln.[47]

Wozu die Begriffe der *paideia*, des *sophistes* und der damit verbundenen sozialen Verhaltensweisen dienten, ist nunmehr klar geworden: Zum einen kann sich Libanios darüber sozial positionieren und Einfluss nehmen. Zum anderen kann aber ein *archon*, der Wert darauf legt, gut zu sein, ein wahrer *sophistes* und Grieche zu sein, nicht alles tun, wozu er eigentlich von seiner Machtfülle her in der Lage wäre. Die fraglichen Begriffe und Werte schützen also vor Willkür, Unrecht oder der entehrenden Behandlung vor Gericht, wenn man sonst nicht bestimmte Privilegien geltend machen kann. Und es ist dieser Punkt, der die Notwendigkeit der persuasiven Strategien, wie ich sie hier herausgearbeitet habe, im 4. Jh. noch stärker erscheinen ließ als in den früheren Jahrhunderten der hohen Kaiserzeit.

Es geht über die Fragestellung und Zielsetzung dieses Beitrages hinaus, die grundlegenden gesellschaftlichen Veränderungen darzustellen, die viele Menschen im 4. Jh. vor eine neue Situation gestellt haben. Vor allem die städtischen Honoratiorenschichten sowie ein großer Teil der ländlichen Bevölkerung haben eine enorme Verschlechterung ihrer sozialen und rechtlichen Position erfahren.[48] Ich halte diesen Hintergrund für wesentlich, wenn man die Strategien verstehen will, mit denen Libanios seinen Freunden und Bekannten zu helfen versucht. Sie sind der Anlass dafür, mittels Rhetorik eine neue Kommunikationsform zu den Machthabern zu entwickeln.

An dem persönlichen Fall des Libanios lässt sich erkennen, wie sehr auch er mit den Schwierigkeiten der Zeit konfrontiert wurde. Man betrachte allein die Gefahren, die Libanios selbst und sein unmittelbares Umfeld in Antiochia betrafen. Neben den hier besprochenen Fällen des Prozesses in Skythopolis oder der Stasis 386 erwähnt Libanios auch immer wieder Freunde oder Verwandte, die im

47 Lib. *Ep.* 1120.

48 Die beste Darstellung dieser Entwicklung ist meines Erachtens: de Ste. Croix, 1981, die Kapitel VI, vi und VIII, i. S. 455 spricht er von einem „new set of social and juridical distinctions", das er im Folgenden beschreibt.

Zuge von Verfolgungen und ungerechten Verurteilungen ums Leben gekommen seien.[49]

In dieser Situation entwickeln die kommunikativen Vorgehensweisen des Libanios ihre Wirkung: Auf der einen Seite wird der mächtigere *archon* zu einem bestimmten Verhalten verpflichtet, auf der anderen Seite findet durch die Briefkontakte, die *philia* und das (vorgestellte) Gespräch zwischen Sophisten auch eine soziale Standortbestimmung auf Seiten des Libanios und seiner Schützlinge statt. Damit ist *paideia* im 4. Jh. eine wesentliche Instanz einer sozialen und politischen Selbstkontrolle in der Gesellschaft. Sie ist letztlich ein Garant für den Erhalt der gesellschaftlichen Ordnung, was das Angebot, ein *sophistes* zu sein, auch für die *archontes* interessant gemacht haben dürfte.

Jede soziale Verhaltensweise hat ihre Kehrseite; sie kann auch negativ dargestellt werden. Dies ist auch verschiedentlich gegenüber Libanios geschehen, indem das Verhalten des *sophistes* gegenüber den *archontes* kritisiert worden ist.

Deswegen seien nun zum Schluss noch kurz zwei Dokumente angesprochen, in denen die gerade beschriebenen und eingespielten Verhaltensweisen und Überzeugungsstrategien in Frage gestellt werden und Libanios sich verteidigen muss. Diese Dokumente zeigen damit, dass die beschriebene Überzeugungsarbeit stets neu geleistet werden musste.

Zum einen gibt es einen Brief an Anatolios,[50] in dem sich Libanios gegen den von Anatolios erhobenen Vorwurf wendet, ein Schmeichler zu sein. Zum anderen wehrt sich Libanios in einer Rede[51] gegen den Vorwurf, βαρύς zu sein, ein Begriff, der alle Verhaltensweisen umfasst, die schwer zu ertragen sind, und der sich vielleicht mit „anmaßend, überheblich, nervend und lästig" übersetzen ließe.

In beiden Fällen geht es unter anderem um das Verhältnis des Sophisten zu den *archontes*. In beiden Fällen verteidigt sich Libanios gegen den Vorwurf, sich unredlich Vorteile verschafft zu haben.

Dazu heißt es in der Rede:[52]

> Wo also ist nun der *barys*? In seinem Verhalten gegenüber den Archonten? Aber alle wissen, wie ich (zu den Mächtigen) hineingehe und (wohin) ich mich setze, auch wenn ich eine höhere Position erreichen könnte, und mit wem ich mich treffe und

49 Schemmel, 1983, über die Verfolgungen und ihre Opfer in Libanios eigener Familie; Lib. *Ep.* 283.3-4: das Bedrohungsszenario unter dem Caesar Gallus. Dabei wird auch auf die Angst vor Julian hingewiesen, der sich vielleicht wegen seines Halbbruder rächen könnte: Lib. *Ep.* 693.1 berichtet den willkürlichen und ungerechten Tod des Clematius (vgl. Amm. Marc. 14.1.3).

50 Lib. *Ep.* 578.

51 Lib. *Or.* 2.

52 Lib. *Or.* 2.6-7, Vgl. de Salvo, 2000, 291.

> zu wem ich schicken lasse, und von wem ich eher Abstand nehme und wer mich zwar zu sich hinziehen will, wem ich aber dennoch offenbar nicht gehorche.
>
> Und was sage ich dies, wo ich doch jene Ernennungsurkunde (*grammateion*) anbringen könnte, die ich verschmähte, damit ich nicht ehrwürdiger zu werden scheine? Schließlich, wenn ich sie angenommen hätte, wäre mir nicht erspart geblieben zu sagen, dass ich Schlimmes erlitte, wenn die Amtsinhaber nicht zu mir kämen, und die Häuser der *archontes* hätte ich mit Lärm anfüllen müssen, sooft ich zu ihnen gegangen wäre.
>
> Aber das hätte ich auf keinen Fall gewollt und es auch nicht für etwas Großes gehalten, und hätte es nicht für wert befunden, den Ehren wegen meines Charakters die Ehren aufgrund dieses Schreibens (sc. der Ernennungsurkunde[53]) an die Seite zu stellen.

Das Interessante an dem Vorwurf, *barys* zu sein ist, dass hier genau das soziale Verhalten zum Vorwurf gemacht wird, das ansonsten üblich und sogar geboten war. Wir haben ja gesehen, wie wichtig es war, mittels der Begriffe der *paideia* und des Sophisten eine Kommunikationsplattform mit den *archontes* herzustellen. Dass dieses Verhalten nicht unproblematisch ist, zeigt die Möglichkeit eines solchen Vorwurfs. Umgekehrt bestätigt er aber gerade die Normalität des sozialen Verhaltens, das er kritisiert.

Das gilt auch und ganz besonders für den Vorwurf der Schmeichelei. Anatolios macht Libanios einen solchen Vorwurf, und diesmal geschieht dies offenbar weder in provozierender Absicht noch im Scherz. Entsprechend ernst fasst Libanios diesen Vorwurf auf.[54]

Dabei verlässt Libanios seine normalen Ausdrucksformen und spricht aus, was er sonst nicht in Worte fasst:

> Ich frage mich aber verwundert, ob du nicht, um dein Amt zu erhalten, geschmeichelt hast; ich aber schäme mich nicht, weder wenn ich um etwas bitte, noch wenn ich ein Amt habe noch wenn ich von euch wohlhabend gemacht werde, der ich, um nicht zum Schmeichler zu werden, auch akzeptieren würde, arm zu sein. Denn großer Reichtum steht für denjenigen bereit, der zu schmeicheln versteht. Jetzt aber enthalten wir uns gleichermaßen der Wohlhabenheit und der Schmeichelei, und nicht bin ich verachtet, weil ich nicht reich bin, sondern ich fühle mich geehrt, weil ich kein Sklave bin.

Diese Passage gehört zu den bemerkenswertesten Stellen im gesamten Briefcorpus des Libanios. Die konventionellen Regeln der Beziehungspflege und das System der oben analysierten Begriffe werden hier nicht berücksichtigt. Offenbar

53 Dabei scheint es um die ihm von Julian angetragene Ehrenposition des *quaestor sacri palatii* zu gehen. Libanius (Norman), 1969, 14.

54 Lib. *Ep.* 578.

in ehrlicher Verletztheit äußert sich Libanios sehr direkt und bringt damit die wirklichen gesellschaftlichen Zusammenhänge an den Tag: Was Anatolios Schmeichelei genannt hat, sei doch in Wahrheit die normale Weise, sich sozial in dieser Gesellschaft zu positionieren und zu Ämtern und sonstigem Erfolg zu gelangen, wozu namentlich auch der Reichtum gehöre. Libanios setzt dem die ehrenhafte Armut entgegen. An dieser lasse sich sehen, dass er die als Schmeichelei bezeichnete Verhaltensweise in Wahrheit viel weniger angewandt haben könne als Anatolios. Dafür habe er sich allerdings seine Freiheit und sein Ansehen bewahrt.

Damit werden die tatsächliche Hierarchie und die Funktionsweise einer äußerst hierarchischen und zugleich beweglichen Gesellschaft unverblümt zum Ausdruck gebracht, und Libanios hört sich an, als sei er des Spieles, das er sonst perfekt beherrscht, plötzlich müde geworden.

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General index

a libellis 301
ab epistulis 300; 365
ab epistulis graecis 74
ab studiis 300; 301
accent 66-67
  Dorian 66
  Cappadocian 67
acclamation 184; 191n.19
Achaea 76; 194; 315-348
acts, ritual 337
  of Amfictiony 327
Aeolia 35; 40
aesthetics 5; 117-119; 186
  athletic 253
  homoerotic 242-247; 253
  of horror 105-124
agōn (individual *agones* in tables 1 and 2 on pp. 216 and 218-219 are not listed) 46; 180; 183; 378; 383; 405; 406
  at Aphrodisias 46n118; 47; 217
  at Ephesos 189
  athletic 138; 215-221
  Demostheneia 216; 217; 218
  Dionysia 323n.22
  Euaresteia 203; 206; 216; 218; 220; 222
  Eusebeia 55
  for Roman Emperor 145
  Isthmic 317-319
  mousikos 215-221; 238
  Pythian 184; 216; 219
agonothetēs 41; 203-204; 220; 245
agora 165
Aigeai (Cilicia) 78
Aigospotamoi 82
ainigma 381
Ainos (Thrace) 80
aition 37; 41; 197
Aizanoi 37n.72
Akko-Ptolemais 193
Alexandria (Egypt) 68; 69; 70; 74; 78; 411
  Museum 69; 300
Alexandria Troas 186
allegory 9; 379; 392
Amastris 78
ambassador 41
Amyzon (Caria) 19
Anazarbos 183; 186
ancestor 41; 44; 45
Andania (Messenia) 332
andreia 46
Andros 76
Anineta 34
antikosmetēs 135
Antikythera shipwreck 107
Antinoopolis 68
Antioch on the Orontes 33n.46; 39n.81; 42; 68; 80; 193; 403; 406; 408; 411; 413-414 baths 112n.37; 115n.56
antiquity 3; 20; 33; 36-38; 183; 192
anti-Roman sentiments 4; 59
Anzio, imperial villa 108n.16
Apamea Celaenae 18
  baths 115n.56
Aphrodisias (Caria) 20; 23-48; 74; 75; 76; 163; 236; 321n.16
  Basilica 3; 23-48
  baths 115n.56
  Bouleuterion 44
  Sebasteion 29n.25; 32; 33n.44; 39; 42
  Theatre 39
apobates 246n.60
Apollonia 76
apparitor 163n.30; 169; 173

Arabia 39n.81; 67; 73; 76
archaism 20
archiereus 191; 194 Asias 190n.17
archiprytanis 188
architecture 8; 23-48; 112; 113; 165; 183; 185; 207-208; 267; 293-308; 315-348
archive 7; 293-308
archon 9; 247; 403-417
  eponymos 321n.16
Arelate 78
arena 118; 120
Arginusai 82
Argos 35n.59; 37n.67; 40; 316; 325n.26
  sanctuary of Hera 345; 347
art 2
  Greek 115
  Hellenistic 116; 117; 118n.68
  quality of 1
  Roman 105-124; 299
artificiality 100
Arykanda (Lycia) 193
Asia, province of 14; 20; 21; 38; 69; 71; 72; 76; 182-197; 231; 236
Asianism 65
asiarches 190n.17
askesis 211
Aspendos 194n.24
  Basilica 24n.5
Assyria 19; 20; 26; 37n.68; 38; 40
astrology 285; 381; 389-392; 394
astronomy 167; 170n.64; 172
asylum 31; 33; 38
Athens city of 4; 14; 15; 17; 35n.59; 38n.75; 66n.3; 67; 68; 70; 71; 72; 74; 76; 82; 93; 98; 321n.16; 406n.15; 407; 414
  Academy 134; 146n.73; 299
  Acropolis 141; 146n.73; 257
  Agora 135; 146n.73
  coins 40n.85
  Dipylon Gate 92
  Eleusinion 131; 331
  gymnasia 146
  Gymnasium of Diogenes 5; 131-149
  Gymnasium of Ptolemaios 135
  Hephaisteion 260
  Kerameikos 92
  Kynosarges 134
  Library of Hadrian 299
  Lykeion 134; 146n.73
  Monument of Philopappos 162n.28
  Parthenon 246n.60; 254; 260
  Pompeion 146n.73
  post-Herulian wall 133-134; 138
  sack by Herulians 231
  Stadium of Herodes 236; 245
  Stoa Poikile 257; 258; 260
  Temple of Athena Nike 257; 260
  Theatre of Dionysos 146n.73
athlete 32; 46; 137; 183; 242; 243; 253; 374
athletics 6; 203-224; 262
Atticism 4; 65; 67; 69; 91-92; 98; 102; 103; 231
auditorium 207
autochthony 15; 20; 37; 38n.74

Babylon (Egypt) 39n.81
Bactria 38
Baiae 107n.9
Balboura (Lycia) 216
banquet 326; 327
barbarian/barbarians 3; 18; 40; 43; 58; 59; 238; 263; 320; 410; 413-414
Bargylia (Caria) 35
bath-gymnasium 207
baths/bathing 106; 112; 243; 244; 306; 308
battle 7; 56-263; 264
  death in 240-241; 262
beard 157-163; 166; 167; 170; 171; 173; 248
beauty 183; 186
  physical 249; 253; 261
benefactor 3; 8; 17; 31; 41-44; 119; 184; 194; 195; 197; 203-224; 245; 293-308; 315-348
Beneventum, Arch of Trajan 159n.11; 160n.17
Berytus 193
bibliophylax 327

Bithynia 20; 67; 182; 185; 188-192, 196
Boeotia 20
Borysthenites 238
Bosporans 364
Boubon (Lycia) 217; 218
boule 184
bouleutes 209
Brahmans 359
Brindisium 285
building politics 231; 315-348
bust 163
Byblos (Phoenicia) 67; 80
Byzantium 80

Caesarea (Cappadocia) 78; 217
Cappadocia 193
Caria 33n.47; 34; 36-38; 42
  province of 46n.120; 47
Caria and Pamphylia, province of 47
Carthage, curia 299
  library 299
Castelgandolfo, imperial villa 107n.9
Celts 18; 359
cenotaph, for Mesomedes 382
censor 295
centurio legionis 170
chair, imperial, Athens 68; 78; 364; 365
  Rome 68
Chaironeia 14; 82
Chalkis 76
Chios 215n.44
choregy 405
chorus 288; 393
  of stars 389
Chrysaoris (Caria) 35n.55
Cilicia 55; 71; 78; 183; 185
citharodic *nomoi* 384
civilitas 160
Classical period 5; 44
classicism 105; 145
  material 92-93
coins 6; 27; 29; 30; 31; 33; 34; 40n.85; 179-197; 231; 266-267; 329
collegium 8; 157; 315-348
colonies/colonisation 35; 37n.68; 185; 186; 193
comes 300
  per orientem 411
Commagene 182
Como, library 304
competition (see also '*agōn*') 20; 21; 180; 183; 212
  between cities 6; 184; 191-193; 196
  between the arts 123
conclamatio 240
concordia 168; 169
Constantinople 406n.15; 408
Constitutio Antoniniana 58; 264; 265
consul 164; 302
  suffectus 197; 302
consularis Syriae 405n.12
Corinth 76; 185; 317-319; 321n.16
  library ('Southeast-Building') 299
Cos, sanctuary of Asclepius 279; 289
cosmos 386; 389; 392; 401
  ordered 9; 387; 391
courtesan 4; 88-89
Crete 265
crown (as sign of victory) 183
cult (see also individual places) 23; 45; 46
  imperial (see also '*neokoros*') 32; 39; 41; 183; 207; 297; 237n.60; 383; 387
  local 33; 38; 39; 43n.101; 47
  of Aphrodite 31;
  of Aphrodite of Aphrodisias 32; 33; 34n.51; 75
  of Artemis 19; 38
  of Asclepius 15; 369
  of founder 46n.116
  of Nemesis 383
  of Zeus 30; 37
  of Zeus Ahuramazda 19
  of Zeus Nineudios 37; 38
Cyrene 21; 162n.25; 163n.33
  Jewish uprising 55; 158n.6
  Temple of Apollo 158n.6

Damascus 408-409
dance, choral 9; 381; 384; 385; 388-392

cosmic 390
paian 216
declamation 5; 68; 70-72; 103; 255; 260; 306; 307; 366; 373
decree honorific 42; 213
consolation 213; 214
Delos 393n.76
Delphi 8; 17; 18; 28; 76; 288; 316; 320-328; 329; 345
amphictiony of 320-328; 332
gymnasium 326n.28
library 326; 327
monument of Krateros 324-325; 327
Sanctuary of Demeter Pylaia (Amphiktyonis) 322; 324-328; 332
skana 327
strouktorion 326; 327
Temple of Apollo 321; 345
dendrophoria 53
despotism 414
dextrarum iunctio 163n.30
dialect, Doric 35
diet 243-244
dining (public) 69
diplomacy 3; 31-48; 410
doctor 7; 58
documents, legal and administrative 293-308
Dodona 38n.75
domus 157; 172; 315
dream 4; 53-63; 160-161; 277-290; 369-373; 376
dress 157-173
barbarian 57
Coan 43
himation 158; 159n.6; 162; 167; 170; 171; 248; 264
himation and *chiton* 137; 138
himation only 162; 163; 167; 169; 171; 173
military 25; 44; 137; 162; 193n.23; 303
of *demiourgos* 183
Phrygian 38
toga 57; 162; 163; 169; 171; 173; 264; 265; 303
Dyrrhachium 265; 285
library 304

ecphrasis 5; 119; 121-123; 381; 394-397
education athletic 6; 203-224; 254
literary 6; 203-224; 254
Egypt 20; 68; 70; 71; 74; 78; 359
elegantia 160
Eleusis 131; 132; 137n.28; 329; 333n.51
embassy 321n.16
of Spectatus 409-411
emotion 5; 116; 117; 119; 120; 122-123; 413
Emperor 5; 8; 9; 15; 36; 57; 109; 112; 136; 137; 138; 145; 157, 181; 183; 284; 300; 307; 308; 359-376; 404
agathe tyche of 136; 137
as connoisseur 373-375
educator of 164
power of 13; 300; 365
encomium 3; 9; 23-48; 59; 377-402
visual 3; 40-46
enkrateia 244-245
entertainment 118; 119; 120
ephebarchon 41
ephebeia 7; 230; 242-247
ephebes 131; 135-138; 145; 147; 149; 222; 244; 245; 264
education of 134; 135; 146; 147
Ephesus 15; 16; 19; 20; 30n.32; 37; 38; 39; 47; 54; 55; 56; 62; 66; 68; 74; 78; 187-188; 189; 192; 236; 321n.16
Basilica 24n.5
baths 112n37; 115n.56
Library of Celsus 302-305
Magnesian Gate 56
Theatre 236
epic 73; 197
Epidauros 7; 8; 316; 346; 348
katabasion 333
odeion 343
sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas 328-337
sanctuary of Asclepius 278-279; 281-283; 289; 290; 328-337
skana 331-332
epideixis 5; 184; 223

epigram 111; 116; 214; 221
funerary 213; 216n.46
epimeletes 323n.22
epiphany 284-286
epistolography 4; 73-74; 87-104; 403-417
epitaphios logos 262; 412
eros 405
escapism 1; 103
Etna, eruption 83
Etruscans 187
eugeneia 3; 35-36; 40; 46; 183
Eumeneia (Phrygia) 194
eunuch 59; 62; 83
Europos (Caria) 35n.55
eusebeia 41; 44; 46
exempla 5; 7; 115

fable 381; 394; 397-399
facial expression 162
farce, Dorian 342
farmer 4; 88-89; 92-102
festival (see also '*agon*') 54; 203-224
at Aphrodisias 47
attic 92
panathenaic 255
fiction 87-104
fisherman 4; 88-89; 92-102
flattery 415-417
flute-player 59
Forma Urbis Romae 295; 296; 298
founder 3; 19; 23-48; 186; 187-196; 367
Fratres Arvales 333n.52
freedman 298; 300; 377; 378; 382; 402
freedom 17
funeral/funerary 46; 112; 115
funerary monument (see also 'stelai') 229-267
furor 5; 109; 111; 112; 116; 119; 120

Gadara (Palestine) 80
Gagai (Lycia) 218
Galatia 182
Galaxion (Boeotia) 320
games (see also '*agon*' and 'festival'), circus 408
gladiatorial 304; 408n.20
theatrical 408n.20
Gaul/Gauls 17; 18
gender 230; 240-247
genealogies 31
Getae 73
gift exchange 378
god 7; 27; 32; 41; 182; 183; 185; 193; 366; 371; 409; 414
patrioi theoi 181-182; 188; 190; 196
Gordiouteichos 26; 27; 33; 34
Gorsium (Moesia), tomb 112
Gortyn (Crete) 162n.26
governor 8; 245n.53
provincial 236; 299
graecophilia 160
Greece (mainland) 8; 35; 40; 71; 73; 182; 193; 315-348
classical 1; 5; 14; 17; 105; 124; 403
old 15; 18; 20; 148
gymnasiarchos 208-209; 236; 245; 247
gymnasium 44; 131-149; 203-224; 244; 245; 249; 261

habitus 2; 5; 162
Hadria ad Picenum 387
Hadrianoi (Mysia) 220
Hadrianoutherae 78
Hadriatic sea 381; 387-389; 390
hair style 159-161; 166; 170; 173
Halicarnassus 17; 35; 67
happiness 115
harmony 41
health 115
Hecatomnid dynasty 42
Hellenism 3; 14
Hellenistic period 5; 17; 18-19; 31; 101; 105; 187
henoteïsm 287
Herculaneum 166
herm 136-141; 163; 172
Hermoupolis Magna 68;

hero 17; 27; 28; 30; 31; 32; 93; 107; 181; 187; 188; 196; 262; 289
eponymos 23-48; 186; 187-193
heroism 262
heroon 304
Hierapolis (Caria) 46n.118; 78
high teason 411
historiography 1; 38; 73; 197; 295; 299
history 45; 73; 92; 167; 186
local 46; 72; 186; 192; 194
Greek 14; 17; 18; 37; 237; 283
Athenian 4; 93
homonoia 34; 183; 189; 190
honour 372; 373; 374; 376
horologium 381; 383; 385; 389-392; 394
horti 106; 114n.48; 115; 157
Hydissos (Caria) 35
hymn 9; 288; 338-343; 377-402
Hypaepa (Lydia) 16
Hypata (Thessaly) 76
hypertrophy, interpretative 379-380
hypographeus 74

identity
élite 203-224
Greek 2; 3; 5-7; 13-21; 58; 89; 145n.65; 212-231; 221-222; 229-267; 376; 403-417
local/regional 3; 6; 7; 13-21; 23-48
masculine 210; 211; 230; 242-247
Roman 3; 58; 59; 185; 263-267
sacred 47
Ilion 191; 267
immunity 68; 368
imperial court 164
incubation 279; 282
India 38; 83
injustice 9; 413-415
inscriptions (for individual inscriptions see Index Locorum) 1; 5; 6; 7; 16; 61; 68; 73; 133; 134; 138; 145; 157; 163
for ephebes 131; 134; 135
Ionia 18; 35; 37; 58; 66; 71
Iran/Iranian 18
ius Italicum 185

jargon 100-102
jealousy 406; 410
Joppe (Palesatine) 193
judge 404; 406
justice 406

Kadyanda (Lycia) 218
Kandyba (Lycia) 218
katabasion 333
Kibyra (Phrygia) 34n.52
King 19; 27; 207; 362; 371
Assyrian 20; 26
Bosporan 364; 365
Hellenistic 193n.23; 296
Lydian 16; 18
Parthian 362
Persian 410
Phrygian 26; 35; 40
Klaros 191
Klazomenai 76
Knidos 40; 78
Kolophon 191
Komi (Lycia) 218
Korinth 304
kosmetēs 5; 131-149
Kyzikos 101; 369-371

Lagina, temple of Hecate 27; 33-34
Lambaesis, baths 115n.56
Lamian War 16; 17
language 4; 54; 60-62; 63; 65-67
Laodiceia 18; 78
Laranda (Lycaonia) 80
Larissa 76
Late Antiquity 9; 158n.6; 161n.24; 172
Latin 65; 185
latrine 207
laudatio funebris 293
law 403n.2
lawyer 41; 55; 56; 58; 213; 299; 301
Lebadeia (Boeotia), Trophonium 333n.54
Lebanon 231; 259
Leleges 26; 36; 37n.67
Lelegon polis 26

Leptis Magna, baths 115n.56
Lesbos 68
  Leucadian cliff 94
letter (see also 'epistolography') 4; 9; 58; 87-104; 322; 327; 403-417
  of Aelius Aristides 283
  of Emperor 301; 321n.16;
Leuctra 83
lexicography 67
lexicon 69; 101
library 7-8; 264; 293-308
  administration of 294-302
  imperial 294-302
  Latin 297; 298; 299
lictor 159n.11; 169
life-style 294; 307-308
literary critic 69; 375
literary quality 93
literature 93
liturgy 44; 222
love 241; 243; 246; 250-253; 254
Luku, villa of Herodes 108n.18; 123; 328n.36
Lupa Romana 185; 196
luxuria 112; 114n.45; 115; 119; 123; 159-160; 163; 164; 166; 173; 307; 368; 395-396
  critique of 159; 307
Lycia 203-224
Lydia/Lydians 16; 19; 20; 21; 34; 35n.54; 37; 38; 72; 80; 187

Macedonia/Macedonians 15; 80; 182; 193
magister officiorum 408
magistrate 9; 157; 222; 299; 371; 404
Magnesia (Thessaly) 18
Magnesia by Sipylos 16; 18; 19
Magnesia on the Maeander 19; 31n.34; 36; 53; 61; 215n.44
magos 359
mania 116; 120
map
  of Rome see '*Forma Urbis Romae*'
  of the World 298
Marathon, battle of 7; 17; 71; 256n.101; 258; 259; 263
  villa of Herodes 236n.23; 245
marital relation 168; 241; 243; 250-253
marriage 168
medallion 182; 186; 194
Medes 17
medicine 1; 7; 277-290
  Hippocratic 7; 277-290
Megale polis 26
Megara 71
meletai 90; 91; 103
memory, collective 253-256
Mesopotamia 182
metre 380; 381
metropolis 33-35; 38n.73; 47; 185; 189; 190; 191
Milan 405
Miletoupolis 189
Miletus 36; 78; 188; 189; 208n.18; 209n21
  nymphaeum 302
military commander 42; 55; 137; 248; 256; 285; 296; 304; 306
military service 246
mime 218n.54
Moesia 182; 193
molpe 392
moral quality 9; 408; 411-412
mosaic 123; 305
'Mounds of Semiramis' 20; 39
Mount Hymettos 396
music 96; 223; 238; 384; 390
musical notation 380; 383
musician 374
Mylasa (Caria) 35; 333
  Temple of Zeus Carios 37
Myra (Lycia) 219
Mysia 21
mysteries 334
myth 7; 8; 31; 182; 186; 229-267; 283
  foundation 3; 6; 23-48; 105-124; 183; 186-194
  local 3; 23-48; 72; 186-194

myth-history 7; 32; 43; 180; 187-189; 260
Mytilene 68; 78

names 4
Roman 58; 60; 212
'speaking' 99
Naucratis 67; 69; 78
necromancy 61
Nemea 318
neoi 183
neokoros 33; 44; 183; 189; 190
Nicomedia 78; 190; 191n.19; 192; 406n.15
Nikaia 190; 191; 192; 406n.15
Nikopolis 265
Niniveh 19; 20; 30n.31
Ninoe 26; 27; 29; 30n.31; 34
Nisa (Lycia) 219
novel 4; 43; 53; 74-75; 120; 122; 231
nymphaeum 305
Nysa (Caria) 27n.17; 329; 330

occult sciences 60
odeion 223
Oinoanda (Lycia) 203-224
Olympia 8 ; 37n.72; 76; 316; 329; 330; 343; 345
aquaeduct 324n.25
East Baths 343
nympaeum of Herodes 325n.26
skana 343
Temple of Zeus 258
tomb of Pelops 16
Olympos (Lycia) 216; 219
omens 28; 29; 41; 193n.23
oracles 28-29; 33; 36; 40; 41; 320; 371
at Klaros 191
of Apollo 28; 36
orator 4; 56; 59; 60; 62; 74; 120; 163n.33; 172; 197; 203; 211; 213; 248; 284; 285; 403-417
ordo decurionum 300
origin 36; 40; 47
otium 7; 157; 169; 255; 305-307

paean 393
paideutes 209
paidoitribai 135; 209; 211
paidonomos 208
painting 106n.8; 115; 119; 122; 135; 157; 305
collection of 299
of Marathon battle 257; 258; 260
wall p. 111; 166; 255
vase p. 111
palace, imperial 107; 112; 360; 363; 365; 372
palaestra 114; 207; 249; 307
palm-reading 61
Pamphylia 71; 80; 194n.24
Panathenaic oration 72
panegyric 6; 14; 184; 185; 187
Panhellenion 21; 35; 193; 194; 197; 321n.16; 323
pankration 204-206
parasite 4; 88-89; 92-102; 362
parrhesia 8; 16; 361; 363; 375; 376
Parthians 19; 259
past 6
Greek 65; 89n.10
Classical 89n.10; 148
Patara (Lycia) 218n.54; 219
Patrai 383
library 299
patriotism 3; 14; 41; 224
patris 8; 14; 16; 17; 20; 57; 188-189; 195; 205
patronage 8-9; 365; 377-402; 403-417
Pautalia (Thrace) 80
Peiraeus 94
Pelasgians 26; 36; 37n.67
Peloponnese 18; 187
Peloponnesian War 17; 71; 82-83; 257
pepaideumenoi 3; 6; 13; 14; 94; 95; 98; 137; 147; 157-173; 243; 248; 323n. 22; 329; 333; 359; 362; 403
performance 4; 8-9; 59-60; 173; 206; 223; 366; 370; 383-385; 404
artistic 204
cultic 378
paean 393n.76

rhetorical 121
sophistic 59-60; 103
theatrical 4; 54; 59; 62
Pergamum 14; 15; 20; 21; 24n.5; 68; 74; 78; 190; 196; 197; 316; 348
Altar of Zeus 29n.26; 196
sanctuary of Asclepius 282; 283; 286; 287-288; 303; 329; 334; 337; 343
Perge 80; 108n.21
baths 113n.39
South Gate 46; 194
Perinthus (Thrace) 80
periodonikes 206
Persia/Persians 18; 19; 258; 259; 359
Persian empire 71; 410
Persian War 15; 71; 82-83; 255; 258; 259
personification 91; 183; 190; 195; 383
Phaselis (Lycia) 219
philhellenism 266
philia 9; 405; 415
philosopher 8; 147; 157-173; 249; 284; 307; 360-364; 377
Cynic 170n.62; 248; 249
philosophy 5; 7; 60; 93; 157-173
Aristotelian 56
Stoic 374; 386
philotimia 6; 216; 222
Phocaea 78
Phoenicia 56; 60; 62; 80; 182
Phygia 16; 33n.47; 34n.50; 37; 38; 40; 192
province of 46n.120
physiognomy 1; 61
pietas 115
Pinara (Lycia) 219
pine (as religious symbol) 317-319
Pisidia 192
Plarasa (Caria) 27; 32; 33; 34
Plataeae, battle at 17
plebs 112; 119; 120
poet 40; 147; 163n.33; 172; 248; 296; 301; 307; 374
poetry 7; 9; 73; 166; 170n.64; 187; 301; 306; 377-402
boucolic 97
citharodic 378; 385
Latin 378; 385
melic 383; 396
mystic 401
sympotic 383
polis 244; 246; 255
politician 213
pompa funebris 240
Pompeii 111
Pontus 67; 182
portrait 131-149; 157-173
Aelius Aristides 68; 70; 70; 371
Aelius Verus 139
Aeschines 144; 146
Aeschylus 146n.73
Alexander 77
Antoninus Pius 142n.53. 54; 158
Apollonius 77
Aristaenetus 81
Aristotle 146n.73; 158
Aurelius Artemon, M. 220n.55
Aurelius Kallimedes, M. 163
Caracalla 143
Cestianus of Apollonia 77
Chaereas of Aphrodisias 79
Chrysippus 183
clipeus 297
Demosthenes 148n.76
Dio Chrysostomus 79
Diodotus 79
Dionysius of Miletus 79
Domitian 159
Drusus 297
Eirenaios 136n.26
emperor 107; 149; 163n.33; 181-182; 220n.55
Euripides 146n.73
Favorinus 77
Galba 159
Germanicus 297
Glaucus 77
Greek 139-149
Hadrian 157; 158; 159; 160; 302; 329; 347
Heliodorus of Peiraeus 139
Heraclitus of Laranda 81
Herennius 77
Hermarchus 143n.60

Hermocrates 79
Herodes Atticus 77; 148n.76; 162n.26
Hippocrates 183
Homer 183
Hortensius 297
imperial family 181; 265
'intellectuals' 146
Iulius Aquila Ptolemaianus, Ti. 302
Iulius Celsus Ptolemaianus, Ti. 302
Iulius Cnosus 81
Iulius Lucius Pilius Euarestos 204; *kosmetes* 247
'Krates' 142n.56
Lollianus 77
Lucius Verus 158
Lysimachus 79
Marcus Aurelius 158n.6; 160
Metrodoros 142n.52
mutilation of 409; 413-414
Nero 159; 387
Nerva 158n.6; 159n.6
Nicagoras of Athens 77
Nicomedes of Pergamum 79
Nicostratus 79
of Classical period 139; 140
of Hellenistic period 139
Onasos of Pallene 141-142
orators 146
pancratiast 139; 144n.64
pepaideumenoi 157-173
Pericles 141; 146n.73
Philopappos 162n.28
philosophers 146
Philostratus 77
Phoenix 77
Phylax 77
Plato 142; 146; 147
poet ('Aeschylos') 141-142; 146
poets 146
Polemo of Laodicea 79
Polykleia 220n.50
Poplius Sthenius Fronto 204
priest of imperial cult 44
Ptolemaeus of Naucratis 77
Seneca 160
Socrates 146n.73
sophist 69
Sophocles 142n.52; 146n.73
Sosistratos of Marathon 140
Sospinus of Corinth 77
Soterus 77
Suphenas Proculus 158n.6
Theodotus 77
Theon of Smyrna 162n.26
Thukydides 144n.62
Tiberius 158n.6
Trajan 304
Varus 81
Plancius Varus, C. 46
Vespasian 139; 159
Xenophon 143; 146; 148n.78
power 1; 8; 212; 404
praefectura 293; 298
praefectus Aegypti 300
praetorio 56
Illyrici 405
urbi 405; 407
vehiculorum 301
Praeneste 80
pre-classical period 44
prestige 123; 183; 189n.15; 190n.17;191; 196
priest 41; 290; 326; 371
of imperial cult 191; 319
privileges 161
procession, at Ephesus 47
processus consularis 248
proconsul 15; 299; 302; 405n.12
procurator 56; 183; 236; 301n.59
bibliothecaris 300; 301
rationum summarum privatarum bibliothecarum Augusti 301n.59
progymnasmata 91; 122n.86
prolaliai 5; 90
prosodion 390
Prusa 14; 35; 68; 78
Prusias ad Mare 191
library 304
prytaneion 69
prytanis 55; 236
Ptolemais 70
Ptolemais-Barca 20

Quaestor 296
sacri palatii 416n.54
rage 413-414

rank
equestrian 58; 63; 170; 171; 248
senatorial 58; 63; 169
rationalism 7; 289-290
Ravenna 80
religion see 'cult' and 'sanctuary'
restoration program 158n.6
revenge 414
Rhamnous 383
rhetor see 'orator'
rhetoric 7; 121; 167; 168; 171; 206; 210; 211; 213; 221; 277-290; 359-376; 403-417
Hellenistic 117n.64
visual 5; 119; 121-123; 184
rhetorical exercise 101
handbook 4; 101; 211; 214; 223
school 406
techniques 120
Rhodes 78
Rhodiapolis (Lycia) 219
riddle 381; 397
Roman
citizen(ship) 6; 54; 57-59; 60; 63; 187; 197
Empire 6; 38-39; 47; 54; 57-59; 137; 169; 183; 359
power 32; 293-308
Republic 403
rule 13; 14; 57-59; 149; 221
senate 183; 297; 298
Rome, city of 5; 14; 31; 38; 68; 80; 105-124; 157-173; 196; 211; 285; 293-299; 300-303; 321n.16; 359; 362
Ara Pacis 29n.26; 37n.72
Arch of Titus 160n.17
Athenaeum 301n.60
Atrium Libertatis 295-296
Basilica Aemilia 30n.33; 31
Basilica Neptuni 307
baths 5; 115; 119
Baths of Caracalla 108; 109; 112-124; 307
Baths of Traian 306-307
Bibliotheca Domus Tiberianae 293; 298n.42; 301n.60
Bibliotheca Panthei 307
Bibliotheca Pollionis 295
Bibliotheca Traiani 294-295; 300; 301; 304
Column of Marcus 117; 163; 256
Column of Trajan 162; 256; 302
Curia 299
Forum Augustum 106n.7; 115n.57
Forum Julium 111
Forum Julium 295
Forum Romanum 387
Forum Traiani 294-295
foundation of 29n.28; 265n.137
Horti Asiniani 112n.38
Library of Apollo 293; 300n.58
Mausoleum Augusti 302
momumenta Pollionis 295
Palace of Titus 107n.9
Palatine, imperial palaces 113
Pantheon 387
Porticus Octaviae 298; 300n.58
Quirinal hill 108
Temple of Apollo Palatinus 296-298
Temple of Apollo Sosianus 294
Temple of Roma and Venus 387
Templum Novum Divi Augusti 301n.60
Templum Pacis 298-299
Triopion of Herodes 108n.18; 328n.36

Sabratha 56
sacrifice 29; 30; 34; 37n.72; 43; 168; 369; 370
Sagalassos 308
library 305
Salamis, battle of 92; 93
salary 382
Samos 38n.75
baths 115n.56
sanctuary of Hera 345-346
sanctuary (see also individual places) 8; 106; 196; 301; 318
of Artemis Persikē 19
of Asclepius 7; 277-290
of Athena Pronoia 323n.22
sarcophagi 163
Greek 6-7; 229-267

kline-lids 242; 245; 248; 249; 253; 264
of M. Aurelius Kallimedes
of 'Plotinus' 170-171; 173
of Ti. Julius Aquila Ptolemaeanus 303
'of the brothers' 168-169; 173
patrons of 233-236
portraits on 6; 232; 250-253; 254; 256; 257; 262; 264
Roman 6-7; 111; 122; 166-173; 229-267
Sardinia 17; 19
Sardis 20; 187; 193n.22
scrinium 163n.30; 170
scroll 137; 162-163; 167; 169; 170
sculpture see 'art', 'bust', 'herm', 'portrait', 'statue'
Sebaste (Phrygia) 194
Seleucia (Cappadocia) 78
self-representation 1; 5; 8; 42; 45; 47; 157-173; 197; 212; 229-267; 302; 386
Semite 60
senator 164; 173; 329
senatus consultum 370n.56
servi a bybliothecis 300
Seven Sages 170n.62
Shield of Achilles 395
shoes, Roman 171
Sicilan War 72; 82
Sidon 80; 193
Sidyma (Lycia) 39n.84; 219
Sillyon (Pamphylia) 194n.24
simplicitas 160
singer, choral 384-385
monodic 384-385
skana 323; 324; 327
Skythopolis (Palestine), trial 409; 411-412; 414
Smyrna 14; 15; 20; 21; 58; 66; 68; 70n.25; 74; 78; 164; 187; 189; 192; 194; 195; 196; 209; 283; 285; 286; 364; 372; 373; 376; 383; 403-417
destruction of 365-366
re-foundation 29n. 28
social distinction 5; 8-9; 120; 404
sophist 2; 3; 4; 8; 19; 59-60; 61; 62; 65-83; 98; 103; 120; 135; 164; 165; 166; 172; 173; 194; 195; 206; 209-213; 223; 224; 249; 359-376; 377
sophronistai 135
sophrosyne 244-255
Soura (Lycia) 219
Sparta 15; 35n.59; 71; 72; 82; 193
Sperlonga 107
Sphacteria 82
stadium 207; 264
stasis of 386 AD 409; 413-414
state reliefs 1; 159n.11; 160; 162-163
statue (for statuary of gods and mythological figures see index of names) 28; 105-124; 185; 220-221;236; 279; 286; 294; 299; 301; 302; 305; 306; 335-337; 343; 344; 371
Adrastos 16
athletic 217n.51
classicist 141
cult-statue 16; 19; 32; 107
funerary 263
groups of 194
guilded 113; 114
honorific (see also 'portraits') 44-45; 68; 203-205; 302
mythological 105-124
of colossal scale 105-124; 303
portrait see 'portrait'
status 8; 157; 161; 171; 243; 248; 404
consular 364
Stektorion (Phrygia) 194
stelai for ephebes 135
funerary 138; 148n.76; 163n.31 230; 233; 263; 265; 341n.42
strategos 194; 195
Stratonikeia (Caria) 35; 38n.73
style, verbal 4; 65-66
in art 116-117; 123n.96; 186; 233
sub-élite 377-402
Subiaco 107n.9
subversion 379
Suessa Aurunca, Bibliotheca Matidiana 300

Susa 410
symboulos 359; 367; 376
synedrion 323; 324; 326
Syria 66; 80; 182; 231

Tabai (Caria) 34n.52
Tanagra 76
Tarraconensis 213
Tarsus 68; 72; 78; 183
teacher 60; 163n.33
teaching 68; 70
teche 5; 115; 116; 288; 364
technitai, Dionysiac 218; 223; 378
Telmessos (Lycia) 216; 219
Temnos (Aiolis) 16
Teos 208n.18; 209n.21
Termessos (Pisidia) 213; 216; 217
Thamugadi
  baths 306
  latrine 306
  library 306
  macellum 306
  theatre 223; 267; 308
Thebaid 68
Thebes 15; 72; 83
Themisonion 18
therapeutes 329
Thermopylai, battle at 18
  sanctuary of Demeter Pylaia 322; 324
Thessaly 37n.67; 82
Thrace 67; 80; 182; 193; 236
Thyateira (Lydia) 20; 34
titles of cities 183-184; 186; 190
Tivoli 106n.8
  Villa Hadriana 108n.17; 392
Tlos (Lycia) 39n.84; 219
tomb 157; 220-221
  of Pelops 16
Tomi (Moesia inf.) 193
tragedy 73
Tralleis 36
Trier, baths 115n.56
Trikka (Thessaly), sanctuary of Asclepius 331; 334
Trojan War 7; 37; 46; 72; 237-240; 257; 258; 260; 262
Troy/Trojans (see also 'Ilion') 37n.68; 72; 267
trumpeter 59
Tyana (Cappadocia) 19
tyrant 362
Tyre 80; 193

urbanitas 160

Valdetorres, villa 108n.18
value system 2; 3
vicarius Asiae 405n.12
villa 106; 107; 108; 112; 115; 157; 172; 255; 306
virtue(s) 3; 7; 9; 43; 47; 157; 256; 257; 261; 361; 367
virtus 115; 160; 257
vita felix 249

war (see also 'battle' and individual battles) 231; 256-263
wealth 405; 416; 417
weights 195-196
wisdom 368
witchcraft 285
women 168-171; 208; 240; 241; 246; 248
wrestling 220-221
wreath (as sign of victory) 406

Xanthos 208; 216; 219
  Letoon 216
xystos 207

Zela (Paphlagonia) 20
zodiacus 389; 391; 392

Index of names

Achilles 5; 70; 72; 74; 83; 91; 106n.6; 109; 110; 111; 112; 113; 115; 116; 117; 118; 119; 122; 123; 127; 237; 238; 240; 241; 242; 246; 247; 251; 252; 254; 256; 258; 262; 265n.140; 269; 270; 273; 369; 371; 395; 399; 426
Achilles Tatios 70; 74; 122
Actaion 106n.8; 108n.18; 239
Adonis 108n.18; 250n.81; 251; 252; 255
Adrastos 16
Aegrilius Plarianus 165n.41
Aelian of Praeneste 73; 74; 80; 88
Aelius Aristides, P. 3; 7; 8; 13; 14; 20; 21; 56; 58; 59; 70; 71; 72; 76; 77; 82; 146n.72; 184; 277-290; 329; 337; 343; 348; 359-376; 378; 390
Aelius Demetrius 70
Aelius Dionysius of Halicarnassus 67
Aelius Phileas, P. 140n.44
Aelius Tertius, P. 209
Aelius Theon 100
Aelius Verus 140
Aelius, L. 298
Aemilius Aristides, Q. 55; 56; 237
Aeneas 29; 31; 32; 37n.72; 106; 191
Aeschines 82; 144; 144n.62; 146; 148n.76; 362
Aeschylus 141; 142; 146; 408
Aesopus 397; 399
Africanus, Julius: see Julius Africanus
Agamemnon 246
Agoracritos 383
Alcibiades 17
Alciphron 4
„Alciphron“ 104
Alcman 389
Alexander „the philosopher“ 55; 56; 146n.72
Alexander of Aegae 68; 71
Alexander of Antioch 80
Alexander of Aphrodisias 56
Alexander of Cotyaeum 285; 367; 371
Alexander of Seleucia 67; 71n.27; 71n.28; 77; 78; 79; 80; 81; 82
Alexander Severus see Severus Alexander
Alexander the Great 15; 71; 82; 83; 186; 193; 195; 285
Amazon 241; 253-256; 259; 260
Ambrosia (of Athens) 282
Ammion (of Ephesus, SGO I, 03/02/68) 214
Amphicles of Chalkis 76
Amphion 109
Anatolios of Berytos 9; 403-417
Anaxagoras 280
Anchises 32; 106
Androklos 16; 30; 37; 196
Ankaios 196
Annius Postumus 300
Antaios 108; 115; 116; 125
Antilochus 241
Antinous 195; 380; 382; 392; 401
Antiochus of Aegae 68; 73; 78
Antipater of Hierapolis 374
Antipater, F. of Hierapolis 73; 74; 76; 77; 78
Antiphon 374
Antisthenes 148n.76
Antoninus Pius 158; 329; 346; 362; 368; 382
Antoninus Pythodorus 329-337; 343; 344; 348
Antonius Attalus, M. 195
Antonius Diogenes 74; 75
Aphrodite 16; 25; 31; 32; 33; 34; 75; 108n.18; 114; 122; 250n.81; 251; 252; 430; 435
Aphrodite of Aphrodisias 25; 32; 33
Apollo 18; 19; 25; 28; 29; 32; 36; 38; 158; 188; 199; 223; 327; 238; 297; 321; 323-326; 328; 330; 331; 334; 336; 337; 344; 349-353; 380; 392; 393; 400; 431; 460

Apollo Delphinios 188
Apollo Smintheus 186
Apollodorus Mythographus 318
Apollonios (Athenian *prytanis*) 234
Apollonios of Aphrodisias 26
Apollonios of Athens 71n.26; 76; 77; 83
Apollonios of Chalcedon 362; 363; 365
Apollonios of Naucratis 76; 77; 78; 80
Apollonios of Tyana 20; 58; 362; 367
Apollonios Rhodios 191
Apsines of Gadara 80
Apuleius 121n.82; 122n.89; 123; 165n.43
Ar[isto]boulos (IG II/III² 2017) 136n.26
Aratos 17; 97
Arete 303
Argonauts 362
Aristaenetos of Byzantium 80; 81
Aristaenetos 410
„Aristaenetos" 104
Aristides „the lawyer" see Aemilius Aristides, Q.
Aristides of Hadrianoutherae 68; 71n.26; 73; 78; 79; 81
Aristides, P. Aelius see Aelius Aristides, P.
Aristides, son of Lysimachus 17
Aristippus 362
Aristocles of Pergamum 78; 79; 80
Aristotle 146n.73; 158
Arria Maximina 254n.94
Arrian 147n.74
Artabazus 82
Artemidorus 3-4; 160; 371
Artemis 16; 19; 34; 38; 39; 106n.7; 108n.18; 198; 343
Artemis Ephesia 196
Artemis Pythie 188
Aryas 193
Asclepius 7; 25; 32; 113; 290; 277-290; 328; 329; 331; 333; 335; 336; 337; 338; 343; 344; 346; 351; 352; 353; 364; 369; 370; 371; 373; 435; 439; 441
Asinius Pollio 114n.48; 295
Aspasia 375
Aspasius of Byblos 80; 81
Aspasius of Ravenna 74; 76; 80; 81
Astakos 190
Astranius Ruso, L. see Drouson of Laodicea
Astyanax 109
Atalante 212; 240
Athena 254; 257; 260; 285; 305; 306; 323; 341; 342; 344; 351; 368; 428
Athena Nike 257; 260
Athenaeus 8; 53; 57; 69; 102; 293
Athenodoros of Aenos 76; 78; 80
Augustus 181; 184; 196; 297; 298; 300; 302; 391
Aulus Gellius 165; 293; 298; 301; 305
Aulus Iunius Pastorus 335
Aurelianus Nicostratus, T. 73n.37
Aurelios Dositheos (Thales) 137
Aurelios Kallimedes, M. 163
Aurelius Artemon, M. 216 ; 217; 220n.55
Aurelius Demetrius 194
Aurelius Diogenes 204n.3
Aurelius Orthagorianus, M. 213

Babrius 398
Bassus of Corinth 317
Bellerophon 25; 26; 27; 28; 29; 30; 32; 34; 35; 36; 37; 40; 44; 51; 72; 252
Bona Dea 281n.13
Brassidas 18

Caesar, C. Julius see Julius Caesar, C.
Caligula 181
Callias 83
Callimachus (polemarch at the battle of Marathon) 71
Callinicus of Petra 73
Calliope 168n.54; 171; 392; 393
Callipos 17
Capito 83
Caracalla 375; 382; 434; 439; 447; 450; 455; 469
Caracalla 108; 119; 143; 183
Cassius Maximus 56; 60
Cato 293; 296
Cato Nepos 293
Celsus (Hor. Ep. 1.3) 297
Celsus Polemaeanus see Julius Celsus Polemaeanus, Ti.
Centaur 258
Cersobleptes 82
Cestianus of Apollonia 76; 77

Chaereas of Aphrodisias 76; 77
Charitai 338; 341
Chariton 44; 74; 75
Cheilon 172
Chiron 106n.6; 238; 246; 443; 453; 466; 467; 468
Chrestus of Byzantium 76; 80; 364; 365; 374
Chrysaor 27; 35
Chrysippus 183
Cicero 296
Cimon 17
Claudia Antonia Tatiana 236
Claudia Italia 163n.31
Claudius Bias 191
Claudius Charax; A. 197; 329
Claudius Proclus 195
Cleandros 193
Cleopatra see Xenobia/Cleopatra
Clio 167
Codrus, son of Melanthos 17
Commodus 183; 191; 360; 365; 370; 371n.52. 56
Concordia 169
Conon 17
Constantius II 411
Ctesias 19
Cuspius Pactumeius Rufinus, L. 329
Cynegirus (brother of Aeschylos) 71

Damas, Ti. Claudius 188; 189
Damianus of Ephesus 78; 79
Damis 20; 362; 399
Dardanus 80
Daricius (Lib. Ep. 278) 407
Darius the Great 19; 71; 82; 93
Deidameia 91; 246; 252
Demades 83
Demeter 42; 43; 322; 324; 330; 344
Demetrius Poliorcetes 89; 389; 390
Democritus 166
Demonax 362
Demosthenes 82; 83; 148n.76; 165; 172; 283; 288
Dio of Prusa 13; 14; 35; 48; 68; 70; 72; 73; 79; 81; 161; 165n.43; 243; 359; 360; 361; 304; 402n.103
Diodorus 19
Diogenes (the Macedonian commander) 134
Diogenes (the philosopher) 167
Diogenes of Amastris 76; 78; 362
Diogenes, alias Apollonios 213; 217
Dionysios (of IG II/III² 2017) 137n.26
Dionysios Papylos 41
Dionysius of Alexandria 300
Dionysius of Halicarnassus 65
Dionysius of Miletus 66; 68; 69n.18; 71n.26; 76; 78; 79; 82
Dionysius of Syracuse 375
Dionysos 30; 32; 190; 191; 192; 193; 198; 344
Dioscuroi 108n.19; 115; 338
Dirke 5; 106; 108; 109; 114; 115; 116; 117; 118; 121; 122; 126; 127
Domitian 39; 107; 159; 182; 184; 188; 189; 190; 191; 198; 301n.60; 399; 452
Domitius Modestus 411; 412
Drouson of Laodicea (L. Astranius Ruso) 53
Drusus 297

Eirenaios (IG II/III² 2017) 136n.26
Elagabalus 183
Endymion 251; 252; 266; 268
Ennius 119; 165; 166
Ennoia 303
Epaminondas 17
Ephesos 189
Epictetus 361; 365; 378
Epicurus 89; 166
Epimenides 94
Episteme 303
Eratocles of Troizen 281
Eros/Erotes 25; 32; 246; 249
Euarestos, Julius Lucius Pilius see Julius Lucius Pilius Euarestos
Eumenes II 194
Euodianus of Smyrna 78; 80; 81
Euphorion of Melicerte 318
Euripides 146n.72; 172

„Fabricius“ 58
Favorinus 59; 76; 77; 78; 81; 304; 374
Flavia Melitine 303
Flavillianos (of Oinoanda) 206
Flavius Aemilianus 304
Flavius Aristotimos, T. 323n.22
Flavius Severianus Neon, T. 305

Flavius Soclarus, T. 326; 327; 328
Florentius, Flavius 408
Fronto 165n.41; 284
Fronto, „the arthritic“ 55

Galba 159
Galen 53; 59; 70; 209; 284; 298
Gallienus 181
Gallus 407; 415n.49
Ganymede 252
Gellius, Aulus 315
Genius Populi Romani 169
Germanicus 297
Gerostratos (*gymnasiarchos*) 237
Geta 375
“Glaucus” 396
Glaucus of Athens 76; 77
Glaukias (of IG II/III² 2017) 137n.26
Glycera 89
Glycon 114
Gordianus III 36; 193n.21; 198
Gordios 3; 26; 27; 30; 31; 34; 35; 37; 40; 43
Gordis 25; 26
Gorgias 375
Graces 252

Hadrian 9; 20; 21; 35; 69; 108n.17; 140; 157; 158; 159; 160; 161; 175; 182; 184; 190n.17; 193; 194; 195; 197; 199; 216; 299; 301; 303; 304; 305; 321-324; 327; 329; 330; 335; 347; 374; 375; 377; 378; 382; 383; 387; 388; 389; 391; 392; 393; 394; 397; 400; 401; 425; 427; 428; 430; 431; 436; 444; 446; 452; 461; 462
Hadrian of Tyre 19; 70n.25; 71n.26; 76; 77; 78; 79; 80; 81; 82; 365
Harpokrates 307
Hector 238; 239; 240; 258; 270; 274
Hekate 344
Heliodorus of Arabia 76; 81
Heliodorus of Piraeus (IG II/III² 2021) 139
Helios 338; 380; 381; 385; 386; 389; 390; 393; 400; 456
Hephaistos 395
Hera 345; 346; 347; 454
Heracleitos 304
Heracles 16; 18; 25; 32; 37; 40; 94; 98; 111; 139; 185; 188; 190; 191; 192; 200; 318; 347
Heraclides 68n.15; 76; 77; 78; 80
Heraclitus of Laranda 80; 81
Hercules 108; 113; 115; 116; 118; 119; 125
Herennius 76; 77
Hermaios (painter) 216n.46
Hermarchos (the Epicurean); 143n.60
Hermes 55; 138; 139; 220; 263; 427; 441; 443; 445; 451; 452; 464
Hermocrates of Phocaea 78; 79
Hermogenes of Tarsus 78
Herodes (of Ephesus) 214
Herodes Atticus 66; 67; 70n.25; 73; 74; 76; 77; 82; 108n.18; 123; 148n.76; 162n.26; 164; 197; 206; 236; 245; 285; 324n.36; 325; 328; 329; 330; 331; 348; 428; 438; 454; 462; 463
Herodotus 17; 18; 19; 34; 37
Herophilus Medicus 280
Hesiod 393; 397
Hippias 72
Hippocrates 183; 288
Hippodameia 16; 195; 252
Hippodromus of Larissa 71n.26; 71n.28; 76; 77; 83
Hippolytos 240; 241; 242-246; 247; 249; 252; 253; 263; 271; 451; 457; 470
Homer 165; 183; 186; 240
Horatius 297
Hortensius 297
Hygeia 25; 32; 341; 342; 343; 344; 346; 351
Hyllos 194
Hyperides 82; 89

Ino 191; 192
Iphigeneia 106n.7
Isaeos the Syrian 19; 66; 71n.26; 80; 82
Isis 218; 307; 380; 381; 383; 385; 386; 389; 397; 464
Isocrates 82
Isyllos Sokrateus Epidaurios 331; 334

Jason 111
Johannes Chortasmenos 286
Josephus 21

Julia Domna 375
Julian 407; 415n.49; 416n.53
Julius Africanus, S. 58; 307
Julius Apella Idrieus, M. 333; 345; 348
Julius Aquila Polemaeanus, Ti. 302; 303
Julius Aquilinus 165n.41
Julius Caesar, C. 295; 296; 297
Julius Celsus Polemaeanus, Ti. 302; 303; 304; 305
Julius Cnosus 81
Julius Demosthenes, C. 206; 216; 217; 220n.55; 223; 224
Julius Hyginus 300
Julius Longinus, C. 35
Julius Lucius Pilius Euarestos 203-206; 209; 211; 216; 217; 220; 221; 222; 223; 224; 226
Julius Maior Pythodorus, Sextus 329
Julius Pappus 300
Julius Paulus 56
Julius Polydeukes see Pollux of Naucratis
Julius Quintianus Flavius Rogantius 306
Julius Silvanus („Cicero of Thabudeos“) 306
Julius Vestinus 301

Kallimachos Neikerotos 335
Kandos 193
Kibyras 188
Klados Menophilou 220
Konops 399
Kore 196
Krateros 324; 325; 327; 350; 351
Kreusa 239; 240
Kriton of Pialeia 398
Kybele 344; 347
Kyzikos 191

Lanuvio 106n.8
Laodameia 250n.81
Laokoon 107n.9
Lapiths 258
Leda 25; 32; 106n.7; 252
Leonidas 17; 18
Leosthenes 17
Leptines 82
Leto 38; 191; 392
Leucippids 240
Leukios (IG II/III² 2017) 136n.26
Libanios 9; 193n.23; 286; 403-417
Lollianus 55; 58; 71n.26; 76; 77; 78; 82
Lollianus' daughter 79
Longinus see Julius Longinus, C.
Longos 88; 122
Lucanius (*archiereus* at Corinth) 318; 319; 320; 349
Lucian 14; 19; 55; 61; 88; 93; 103; 243; 305; 307; 315; 362; 368
„Lucian“ 104
Lucillius Antonius 194
Lucius Verus 158; 336; 346; 370; 371n.52; 372
„Lucullus“ 58
Lycomedes 246
Lycomedes, daughters of 238; 246; 269
Lydos 187
Lysias 283
Lysimachus of Aphrodisias 76; 77
Lysippos 118; 324; 325; 452

Machaon 288
Maecenas, C. 298
Magnos Eryades 234
Malos 331
Marcellos of Side 304
Marcia Aurelia Polykleia 216; 217; 220n.55
Marcus Aurelius 55; 117; 158n.6; 160; 162; 195; 213; 256; 284; 285; 293; 308; 336; 346; 360; 362; 364-373; 428; 434; 442; 444; 455; 458
Marcus Loucanios (pyrphoros at Epidauros) 317n.5
Marcus of Byzantium 66; 70n.25; 71; 71n.28; 73n.37; 80; 82
Mars 252; 255; 265; 266
Marsyas 106n.7; 108; 186; 238
Maximus of Tyre 53; 56; 60
Medea 5; 111; 112; 115; 116; 117; 120; 128; 129
"Melancomas" 241; 243; 244; 261; 263
Meleager 217; 239; 240; 242
Melissus 298
Memnon 241
Menander (the poet) 90; 172
Menander of Ephesus 78; 79
Menander Rhetor 184; 186; 214
Mesomedes 9; 377-402
Michael Psellus 286

Midas 26; 27; 31
Miletos 188; 189
Miltiades 13; 17
Minerva 301
Minos 189
Moeris Grammaticus 67
Moirai 338
Mother of Gods 340-342
Muse/Muses 97; 166; 167; 168; 169; 170; 171; 204; 206; 220; 223; 238; 248; 338; 339; 365; 392; 393

Naiadai 339
Narcissos 252
Nemesis 380; 381; 383; 384; 386; 387; 388; 445
Neoptolemos 5; 109; 111
Nereids 249; 396
Nero 32; 107; 159; 174; 188; 200; 301; 362; 387; 427; 429; 443
Nerva 158n.6; 159n.6
Nicagoras of Athens 76; 77
Nicetes of Smyrna 66; 73
Nicias 17
Nicomedes of Pergamum 78; 79
Nicostratus 79
Ninos 3; 19; 20; 25; 26; 27; 29; 30; 34; 37; 38; 39; 40; 42; 43; 44; 51
Ninyas 37n.68
Niobe/Niobids 106n.6. 7; 107n.9. 16; 111; 239; 240n.40; 257; 268
Nonnos 179; 187n.10; 191n.19; 192
Nymphai 339

Odysseus 109; 238; 369
Oistros 112n.36
Olympos 106n.6
Onasos of Pallene (IG II/III² 3744) 141; 142
Onomarchus of Andros 66; 76; 77
Oppianus Anazarbensis 378
Oppianus Apamensis 378
Orpheus 96; 239
Ovid 193

Pan 57; 106n.6; 339; 342
Pancrates 392
Papinian 56
Paris 252
Pasion 93
Patroclus 240; 241; 258; 262; 269
Paulus „the lawyer“ 56
Paulus of Tyre 56
Pausanias (Periegetes) 3; 13; 14; 15; 17; 20; 21; 53; 184; 195; 345; 348
Pausanias of Caesarea 67; 76; 77; 78; 80; 81
Pausanias; the Spartan regent 17
Pegasos 25; 32; 35
Peisander of Laranda 197
Peisistratos 72; 82
Pelopidas 17
Pelops 16; 18; 188; 195; 252n.88
Penthesilea 251; 254; 256; 441
Pergamos 190
Pericles 17; 18; 141; 146n.73; 262; 375
Persephone 240; 268
Perseus 40; 194
Persius 74
Petraeus, L. Cassius 320; 328
Petronius 74
Phaedra 242n.46; 243; 252
Phasganios (of Antioch) 412
Phidias 288; 383
Philagros of Cilicia 55; 56; 71n.26; 76; 77; 78; 81
Philip II 14; 71; 82; 83
Philippus Arabs 194
Philiscus 76; 77; 80
Philo of Byblos (Herennius Philo) 67
Philopappus 162n.26
Philopoemen 17
Philostratos 1; 2; 9; 19; 20; 55; 56; 58; 63; 66n.2; 67; 68; 68n.15; 70; 73; 77; 103; 120; 121; 122; 123; 157; 164; 165; 166; 172; 173; 315; 348; 362; 364; 366; 367; 374; 375; 403
Philostratos III (the Lemnian) 76
Phoenix of Hypata 76; 77
Phryne 89
Phrynichus (Arabius) Atticista 67; 73
Physis 380; 383; 386; 387; 400
Pindarus 379; 380
Plancia Magna 46
Plancius Varus, Gaius 46
Plancius Varus, Marcus 46
Plato 142; 146; 147; 165; 172; 283; 285; 362; 372
Pliny 301
Pliny; the Younger 304

Plutarch 14; 17; 54; 55; 58; 115; 253; 293; 315; 318; 319; 327; 328; 348
Podalirios 288
Polemo of Laodicea 66; 68; 69n.18; 70n.25; 71; 71n.26; 71n.27; 71n.28; 72; 73; 78; 79; 82; 164; 165; 194; 195; 364; 365; 378
Pollux of Naucratis 67; 69; 71; 71n.27; 76; 77; 78; 83; 101; 102
Polyhymnia 170; 171
Polykrates 320; 328
Pompeius Macer 297; 301n.59
Pontius Laelianus, M. 335
Poplia Antia Damokratia 234; 236
Poplius Antius Rhegeinus 236
Poplius Sthenius Fronto 204-206; 211
Poplius Sthenius Licinnianus 204
Poseidon 40; 317; 318; 349
Praxiteles (periegeta) 317
Praxiteles (sculptor) 89
Priam 242n.46; 270
Priscianus 408
Proclus 76; 77; 78; 79
Protesilaos 250n.81
Ptolemaeus of Athens 76; 77
Ptolemy of Naucratis 69n.18; 71; 71n.26; 71n.27; 78; 79; 83; 259
Pullius Peregrinus, L. 170
Python [?Leon] of Byzantium 82

Quadratus of Pergamum 78
Quirinus of Nicomedia 78; 79

Rhea Silvia 252; 265; 266
Roma 387
Romulus and Remus 32; 265; 266
Rufinus of Smyrna 78; 79; 409n.22
Rufus of Perinthus 76; 77; 78; 80; 81

Sabina 387; 390
Sabine women 265; 266
Sappho 389
Sappho 94
Sarpedon 241
Sarpedonis alias Diogeneia 213
Satyr 25
Satyros 399
Sceptus of Corinth 76
Scopelianus of Clazomenae 71; 71n.27; 73; 76; 77; 78; 79; 82
Scylla 107n.16; 109
Seasons 249
Secundus of Athens 76; 77
Selene 251; 252; 266; 268; 338; 385; 386; 390
Seleucus Nicator 193n.23
Semiramis 3; 19; 20; 25; 26; 29; 30; 34; 37; 38; 39; 40; 42; 43; 44; 51
Seneca 160; 307
Septimius Nestor, L. 197n.38
Septimius Severus 236; 453
Septimius Severus 56; 166; 182; 191; 194
Serapis 307
Severus Alexander 307
Sextus Empiricus 364n.20
Silenos 25; 30; 32
Sinnius Capito 298
Sirens 238
Smyrna 188; 189; 195
Socrates 72; 82; 146n.73; 167; 171; 172
Sol 387
Solon 72; 82; 261
Sophia 303
Sophocles 146n.72
Sosistratos of Marathon (IG II/III² 3739) 140
Sospinus of Corinth 76; 77
Sospis of Athens 76
Soterus 68n.15; 76; 77
Spectatus 409; 410
Stephanus of Byzantium 26; 179; 192
Stheneboia 252
Strabo 59
Suetonius 300; 301
Sufenas Proclus 158n.6
Symmachos (of Ephesus) 214
Synesius 286

Tacitus (the emperor) 301
Tacitus (the historian) 181; 301
Tantalos 16; 188
Telephos 15; 29; 192; 196; 200
Terentius Varro, M. 295; 296; 296n.18
Tertullian 53
Thaïs 89
Thales see Aurelios Dositheos
Theagenes of Cnidos 78
Themistius 405
Themistocles 13; 17; 92; 93

Theocritus 96
Theodosius 409; 413; 468
Theodotus (physician) 288
Theodotus of Athens 76; 77
Theon of Smyrna 162n.26
Theophrastos 144n.62; 318
Theseus 188; 407
Thetis 106n.6
Theudianus 195
Thucydides 144n.62; 146n.72
Tiberius 32; 158n.6; 181; 298n.37; 300
Timomachos 111
Trajan 14; 160; 190n.17; 196n.35; 302; 304; 317
Troilos 5; 109; 110; 111; 116; 117; 118; 127
Tyrrhenos 187

Urania 167; 168n.54

Valerius Eudaemon 301
Valerius Hermaios 215n.41
Vardanes 362
Varro, M. Terentius see Terentius Varro, M.
Varus (unidentified) 73
Varus of Cilicia 55; 78
Varus of Laodicea 78
Varus of Pamphylia (Perge) 71; 71n.27; 80; 81; 82
Venus 169; 252; 254n.94; 255; 387; 435
Vergil 122n.92
Vespasian 39; 139; 159; 191; 367; 386
Vestinus 300
Veturius Callistratus 301n.59
Vibius Salutaris, Gaius 47
Victoria 387
Vipsanius Aiolion 346n.72
Vitalius Restitutus 234; 236
Vologases 372
Volusius Maecianus 301

Xanthippos, son of Ariphron 17
Xenobia/Cleopatra 73
Xenophon 72; 82; 143; 146; 147; 148
Xenophon of Ephesus 74; 75
Xerxes 18; 71; 82

Zeno of Athens 76
Zeno of Citium (the Stoic) 144n.63
Zethos 109
Zeus 19; 29; 30; 32; 33; 37; 38; 196; 258; 324; 330; 338; 340; 355; 391; 394; 432; 454
Zeus Carios 37
Zeus Nineudios 30; 37; 38; 41
Zeuxis 288
Zosimos 277

Index of ancient texts

A) LITERARY SOURCES

Aeschylus
Persae
176-214 385n.43

Achilles Tatius
Leucippe et Cleitophon
122
2 398
2.3 395n.82
2.30-32 398; 399
2.30.2 399
2.30.3 399
2.31.5 399
2.32.7 399
3.8.1-2 119; 120

Aelianus
Epistulae 74

Aesopus (Chambry)
173-174 400n.102
188 399n.97
210 399n.97

Alciphro
Epistulae 87-104
1.1 96n.31
1.3 88
1.3.1 92
1.3.2 94; 97
1.4.2 92n.24
1.5 99
1.5.1 92; 93
1.9 88
1.9.3 92n.24
1.11.1 92n.24
1.11.2 100
1.11-12 95
1.11.4 94
1.13.4 93
1.14.1 93
1.15.1 92
1.16.1 93
1.20 89
1.22.1 92n.20
2.1.2 92n.20
2.2.2 92n.20
2.9 96
2.9.2 96
2.12 97n.34
2.15 95
2.15-16 90
2.16 95
2.16.2 92n.20
2.19 89; 99
2.22.2 92n.23
2.29.2 97
2.32 88; 89
2.33.2 97
2.34.1 101
2.36.2 94
2.37.1 92n.24
3.6.2 92n.23
3.10.1 92n.24
3.12.3 92n.23
3.13.2 92n.23
3.15.4 92n.23
3.23 99
3.24.2 92n.21; 98
3.24.3 92n.20
3.25 99
3.25.3-4 99
3.28.3 92n.23
3.29 97
3.30 90
3.31.1 92n.24
3.31.2 92n.20
3.33.1 92n.23
3.34 88
3.34.1 97
3.39 96n.33
3.42.2 94
4.8.1 92n.20

Alcman
Fr 14 (Davies) 393n.74

Ammianus Marcelinus
14.1.3 415n.49
16.10.14 387n.47
17.5.1 410n.28
19.12.3 411n.34

Anaxagoras (ed. Kirk-Raven, ²1983)
T 537 280

Anthologia Latina
102 111n.33

Anthologia Graeca
16.142 116; 117

Anthologia Palatina
323 v. Mesomedes 13
6.33 395n.82
6.65.7 381n.20
6.257 394n.81
7.158 304n.74
9 397
9.1 397n.93
9.2 397n.93
9.59 387n.49
9.83 397n.93
9.86-87 397n.93
9.87 308n.96
9.95 397n.93; 398n.96
9.99 397n.93
9.189 393n.74
9.190 396n.88
9.233 397n.93
9.240 397n.93
9.264 397n.93; 398
9.267 397n.93
9.270-271 389n.57
9.273 397n.93; 398
9.339 397n.93
9.349.3 386n.45
9.370-373 397n.93
9.410 397n.93
9.593 111n.33
9.779 395n.82
9.780 395n.82
9.806-807 395n.82
14 397
14.63 v. Mesomedes 12
12.249 395n.82
16.135-143 111n.33
16.136 111n.33

Antiochus
FGrH 747 73

Aphthonius
Progymnasmata
10.34 90n.14

Apollonius Rhodius
2.846-850 29n.28

Apollonius Tyanensis
Epistulae 58
71 58n.22

Apuleius Madaurensis Afer
Apologia
13 165n.43
14 123
Florida
18.8-9 300n.54
Metamorphoses 120
1.13.4-6 120n.73
2.4 114n.52; 122
2.4.10 108n.18
4.10.3-11.3 120n.73

Ariphron 380

„Aristaenetus“ (*epistolographus*)
Epistulae 104

Aristides
Orationes
1 14; 15; 72
1.8-23 41n.90
1.335 38n.78; 40n.88
2-4 72n.32
2.35 288n.48
2.120 288n.49
2.392 372n.70
5 71
6 71
7 72
8 72
9 72
10 72
11-15 72
16 72; 371
16.232 299n.50
19 360; 365n.31;
19.1 366n.32
19.4 367n.41
19.5 366; 366n.37
19.6 366n.35
19.7 366n.33

19.14 366n.36
23 14; 15
26 13; 14
32.15 367
37.29 368
38 288n.50
41.4 392n.72
42 373
42.13 373n.72
42.14 373; 373n.73; 373n.74
47-52 286n.40; 290; 329; 337; 360; 369
47.4 281
47.5-58 369n.49
47.17 371n.57
47.23 369n.49; 371n.63
47.33 369n.48
47.36-39 369n.49; 372n.66
47.49 372n.70
47.46-50 369n.49; 372n.67
47.61-13 179; 280
48.2-3 370n.54
48.5 286n.38
48.8 370n.54
48.9 369n.47
48.31-32 287n.43
48.41-42 285n.34
48.63 286n.39
49.21 369n.48
49.26 370n.54
50.25 370n.54
50.38 288n.47
50.49 277; 285n.36
50.50 371n.58
50.50-51 286; 287
50.57 146n.72; 285n.35
50.106 369n.48
51.42 369n.50
51.43-46 369n.50
51.44 369n.51; 370n.52
51.45 370n.53; 370n.54; 370n.55; 370n.56
51.46 370n.56
51.49-52 288n.51
60.61 146n.72
83 288n.48
96 288n.49

Aristophanes
Scholia Nubes
881 98

Aristoteles
Athenaion Politeia
42 246n.61
Rhetorica
1358b 121n.81

Arrianus
Anabasis
2.3.2-6 31n.34
Epicteti Dissertationes
4.7.19-24 361; 361n.8
4.7.28 361

Artemidorus
Oneirocritica 53-63; 371
1.1 60
1.2 371n.60
1.22 161
1.24 60
1.26 55
1.35 57; 58n.22
1.51 59; 62
1.56 59
1.78 62
1.79 59
1.79-80 62
2.3 57
2.12 60n.24
2.14 60
2.42 372n.68
2.45 60n.24
2.68 57; 61
2.69 59; 61; 62; 371n.61
2.70 59; 60
4.1 55
4.2 55
4.13 60n.24
4.22 55
4.24 55
4.28 372n.68
4.33 55; 58
4.72 55; 57
4.80 56

Athenaeus
Deipnosophistae 102
448b-453c 397n.92

Callimachus
Fr. 1.22 Pf. 393n.75
Fr. 693 Pf. 389n.57
Fr. 759 Pf. 393n.75
Hymnus in Delum
284-5 38n.75
Hymnus in Cererem
24-117 38n.73

Callinicus
FGrH 281 73n.37

Cassius Dio
10.2-3 392n.69
22.2 392n.69
29.9-10 261
29.15-16 261
29.21 241
53.1.3 297n.23
55.8.1 298n.37
69.7.3 392n.69
69.8.2 392n.69
69.11.13 391n.67
69.16.1 323n.22

Caesar
De bello civili 297

Carmina Popularia
3.46.9-12= Duris F13 FGrH=Ath. 6.253d-f 389
3.47.1.2=Duris F10 FGrH=Ath. 12.542e 389n.59

Cicero, M. Tullius
Epistulae ad Atticum
4.14 296n.21
De finibus bonorum et malorum
5.1-2 345n.68
5.1-5 146n.71
in Pisonem
38 387n.50

Collectanea Alexandrina (Powell)
198 389n.56

Constitutio Antoniniana (P. Giss. 40 I) 58; 145

Demosthenes
Orationes 93

Diodorus Siculus
1.56.4-5 39n.81
2.1-20 19
2.1.4 27n.15; 38n.80
2.1.4.-2.2.4 27n.15; 38n.79
2.4.1 42n.98
2.7-2.14 39n.81
2.14.2 39n.81
2.14.3-2.16 38n.80
2.14.3-2.19 38n.79
2.16-19 38n.80
2.20.5 42n.97
2.22.1-3 37n.68

Dio Chrysostomus
FGrH 707 73
2.26 165n.43
4 360
11 72
18.6-17 146n.72
28 243
29 243
29.6 244
29.14 263
31.62-3 41n.92
31.75 41n.92
31.146 41n.92
31.159-160 259
31.163 43n.104
33.1-2 40; 40n.86
33.47 47n.122
34.48 33n.46
34.51 33n.46
36.9-14 238
37 304n.73
38.24 33n.46
38.38-39 33n.46
39.1 35n.57
44.1 48
44.6 35n.59
48.4 42
49 362n.10
49.3 360
49.8 359
71.32.3 365n.31
71.35.2 362n.16
72.2 161; 162
78.7 384n.34
78.13.7 382n.24

Diogenes Laertius
2.43 146n.73
3.25 146n.73
5.51 146n.73
5.84 70
8.69 281n.13

Diogenianus Grammaticus
Paroemiae
P1 397n.91

Dionysius Halicarnassensis
Antiquitates Romanae
1.6.3-5 45
Ars Rhetorica
1.255-256 223
1.255-260 211n.26
1.259 224
6.283-292 211n.26
De Oratoribus Veteribus
12 123

Dionysius Periegeta
356 (= Geog. Gr. Min II 134) 388n.52

Ennius, Q.
scaen. 376 Vahlen 165n.43

Epigrammata Graeca (Page 1975)
1025.3 392n.72

Eunapius
Vitae Sophistarum
452-3 146n.72

Eupolis
Frg.102.5 PCG 97

Euripides
Fr. 593.4-5N2 389n.57
Hercules Furens
687-700 393n.76
Ion
1080-1 389n.57
Electra
467 389n.57

Eusebius
2.2160 384n.34

Fronto, M. Cornelius (Van. Den Hout)
Epistulae ad M Atoninum
4.5 293
27(Van den Hout) 284
28(Van den Hout) 284
*Epistulae ad Amico*s
1.4 165n.41

Galenus
1.31 210n.23
5.806-898 211n.28
5. 898 210n.23
13.362 298n.40
14.629 70n.20
17.137 285n.30
19.19 284n.29

Gellius, Aulus
3.1 119
5.15.9 165n.43
5.16.5 165n.43
5.21.9 298n.41
11.17.1 301n.62
13.20 298n.3
16.8.2 298n.41
18.9.5 299n.53

Greek Literary Papyri (Page)
p.143.1-3 393n.77

Hippocrates (ed. Littré)
1.10-12 281n.13
1.632 280n.8
2.57.2 288n.52
4.485 280n.10
4.608 281
6.12-15 281n.13
De morbo sacro 289

Heliodorus
Aethiopica 120

Hermogenes
Progymnasmata
9 90

Herodotus
1.7 34n.53; 37n.68
1.171 37n.67; 37n.71
2.1-3 37n.69
7.75 322n.19
8.55 38n.75

Hesiodus
Opera et dies
202-211 397n.91
618-623 390n.61
Theogonia
79 393n.77
153 391n.63
575 395n.84

Hesychius
σ598 98n.38

Historiae Augustae scriptores 160n.21; 382
Aelius
5 161n.22

Alexander Severus
34.2-4 114n.45
Aurelianus
1.7 301n.63
1.10 301n.64
8.1 301n.64
9.1 298n.42; 301n.64
Commodus
1.10 370n.52
11.13 370n.52
Hadrianus 391; 392
15.9 383
15.13 374; 374n.76
16.7 391n.67
17.6-7 119
19.3 392n.69
19.7 392n.69
19.12-13 387n.46
20.13 392n.69
26 161n.22
26.3 392n.69
26.4 383n.33
Marcus Aurelius Antoninus
3.1 362
21.3-5 370n.52
Pius (Antoninus Pius)
2 161n.22
7.7 382
10.4 362
Probus
2.1 298n.42; 301n.64
Tacitus
8.1 301n.64 ; 301n.66
Triginta tyranni
31.10 299n.43
Verus
10 161n.22

Homerus
Ilias 238
5.5 389n.58
5.725 395n.84
9 72; 370; 371
9.223f. 369
15 258
18.377 395n.84
18.469 395n.83
18.473 395n.83
18.476 395n.83
18.477 395n.83
22.26 389n.58
Odyssea
9.34 48n.126

Horatius
Epistulae
1.3.15-19 297n.33
Hymni Homerici ad Apollinem
157 393n.76
189-203 392n.72
Helios
14-16 385n.42

Isidorus Hispalensis
Origines
6.5.1 295n.15
6.5.2 295n.12

Iustinus, M. Iunianus
11.7.5 31n.34

Lexicon Seguerianum
364.8 98n.38

Libanius
Epistulae 403-417
5 409n.23
16 406n.14; 409n.27
19 409n.21; 409n.27
21.3 409n.23; 409n.25
24 409n.22
26.2 405n.8
35 409n.26
37 411n.35
46 412n.37
49 412n.38
61 408n.17
61.5 405n.8
61.11 408n.18
96 409n.22; 412n.39
150.4 409n.23
175 408; 409
232.1 409n.23
234.3 409n.23
251.1-3 409n.23
278 407n.15; 413n.45
283.3-4 415n.49
309 405n.9
318 409n.23
331 410n.30
333 410n.30; 410n.31; 410n.32
350 409n.23

391 403n.1; 405n.10; 409n.26
391.5 406; 406n.12
393 406n.14
411 406n.14
423 409n.22
438 406n.14
454 406n.14
459 409n.22
504 409n.23
535.1 409n.24
535.2 405n.8
578 415n.50; 416
636.1 409n.25
693.1 415n.49
762.4 409n.25
768.3 405n.8
851.2 409n.22
1106 409n.22
1120 414
1184.3 409n.24
1406.1 409n.23
1481 409n.23
Orationes
1.2 405; 405n.8
1.5 405n.8; 408n.19
1.94 403n.1; 406n.14
2 415n.51
2.6-7 415; 415n.52; 416
11.11 41
11.12-41 41n.90
11.15 28n.22
11.42 33n.46; 35n.57
11.59 34n.51; 39n.81
11.85-88 29n.25
11.128 44n.108
19 413n.41
19.5-6 413n.42
19.13 413n.46
30.9 38n.76
66 40n.85

Livius
epitoma
1.10.5-7 29n.28

Longus 122

Lucianus
Adversus Indoctum 307n.89
Anacharsis 243; 261
31-3 261; 262
De Domo 305n.81
2 120n.78
31 111n.33
De Mercede Conductis
9 368
Demonax
31 362
De Parasito
31-35 362
De Saltatione
7 389n.57
De Syria Dea
1 34n.51
14 39n.81
Lexiphanes 55; 103
25 61n.26
Pseudologista 103
Soloecista
7 61n.26

Lucretius
6.1179 281n.13

Lydus
De Mensibus
184 381n.20

Marcus Aurelius
Meditationes
1.17.9 284
5.8.1 284

Martialis, M. Valerius
2.15.5-6 106n.6
8.52 159n.13

Maximus Tyrius
Dialexeis 56

Menander Rhetor
344.10-353.3 41n.90
353.31 37n.69; 40n.88
357.12-358.1 40n.88
346.26 42n.96
359.16 42n.95
361.5 208n.19
361.20 41n.89; 44n.110
387.5-10 41n.89
406.28-29 389n.57
420.20 214

Mesomedes (Ed. Heitsch GDRK 1963)
1 380; 392; 393; 394
1.1-2 384
1-2 381
1-3 383

1-5 381; 385
2 380n.16; 381; 385; 386; 392n.73; 393; 394
2.1 386n.44
2.1-3 385
2.1-6 380n.16
2.5-6 384
2.7ff. 380n.16
2.11 384; 386
2.12 384
2.14 384; 386
2.17-20 384; 389; 393
2.19 396n.89; 400
2.21-3 385; 386
2.24-25 386
2.25 384
3 381; 383; 386; 387
3.2 387, 400
3.3 381; 384; 386
3.7 384
3.10 386
3.13 386
3.14 387
3.16 384
3.17 386; 387
3.18 387
4 383; 386
4.1 386
4.2 384
4.9 384
4.16 386
4.15-20 386
4.23-24 400
4-11 383
5 380n.19; 386; 400
5.1-3 384; 386
5.7-8 386
5.8 380n.19
5.11 380n.19
5.16 380n.19
5.17 386
5.17-19 384; 389
5.17-20 384
6 381; 387; 388
6.1 384
6.2 388; 390n.60
6.10 384
6.10-12 389; 390
6.12 390n.61
6.13 387
6.15 388n.52
6.16 384
6-8 381, 385; 396
7 392n.73
7.1 394n.81
7.5 386
7-8 381; 390
7-13 383
8 381; 390; 391; 396; 398; 399
8.1 391; 394n.81
8.2 390
8.3 384; 391
8.5 391
8.6 391
8.8 384
8.10 391
8.12 391
8.14 391
8.18 391
8.23 384; 390; 391
8.25 384; 389; 390
8.26 391
8.27-29 391
8.29 390
9 381; 384; 394; 395; 396
9.1-2 394; 396
9.1-6 381n.20
9.3-4 396; 396n.88
9.5 396
9.9 396
9.12 394; 395
9.13-15 395
9.15 396
10 381; 397; 399; 400; 401
10.3 400
10.4 400
10.7 400
11 381; 397
12 (=AP14.63) 380; 381; 392n.73; 397
12.2 380n.19
13 (=AP 323) 380; 381; 394
13.2 394; 395n.83
13.3 394; 395n.83
13.7 394
13.8 395

13.10 395
13.12-13 395n.83
Methodius Olympius
Symposium 380
Monumentum Ancyranum Graecum 302
Nicolaus
65 90
Nonnus
Dionysiaca
40.371-373
Oppianus Anazarbensis
Halieutica
5.612-674 395n.85
Oracula Sybillina
5.47 387n.50
Ovidius
Fasti
5.80 393n.75
Heroides 95
Metamorphoses
7.525-527 281n.13
8.738-787 38n.73
Tristia
3.1.59-68 297n.32
3.1.70-72 295n.13
Pancrates(Ed. Heitsch GDRK 1963)
15.2.20-21 392n.70
15.2.25 392n.70
Pausanias
1.4. 17
1.4.5-6 18
1.18.9 299n.46
1.21.1-2 146n.73
1.25.1 146n.73
1.26.6-7 38n.74
1.27.2 38n.74
1.28.2 146n.73
1.33.2-8 383n.31
1.35.7 16
1.35.7-8 18n.18
2.17.6 347n.73
2.21.3 18n.18
2.27.3 279
2.27.6-7 328n.37
2.27.7 334n.58
4.35.9 324n.24
5.13.7 16
5.15.10 37n.72
5.27.5-6 16
7.2.6-9 38n.74
7.2.8 16
7.4.4 38n.75
7.5.1 29n.28
7.5.2-3 383n.31
7.6.6 16
7.10.1 16
7.20.9 383n.31
8.52.1-2 17
9.39.4-5 333n.54
10.17.3 17
10.19.5 17;18
10.19.12 18
10.30.9 18
10.32.4 18
Philostratus
De gymnastica 211
25 210
Epistulae 74
66 74n.44
73 375n.80
Heroicus 73
7.9 107n.15
Imagines *121; 122*
1.praef. 121
1.praef.1-2 122
1.praef.3 122
1.28 120
2.5 117
2.19.2 119
2.23.1 120
2.23.2 119
2.23.4 120
2.25.1 119
Vita Apolonii 20; 58; 360; 362; 399
1.3 20n.23
1.19 20n.23
1.34 362n.12
4.5 58n.22
4.18 331n.47
5.30 367n.39
5.35 367n.40
6.33 362n.11
6.43 362n.11
7.14 362n.11
7.30 399
8.19 333n.54

Vitae Sophistarum
13; 65-83; 164; 360
1.7.487 73n.33
1.7.488 360n.5
1.11.490 375; 375n.80
1.11.495 72n.31
1.16.500 375n.81
1.18.507-510 146n.72
1.20.513 66
1.20.514 71n.26; 82
1.21.518 73n.38
1.21.519 66n.5; 82
1.21.519-520 71n.27
1.22.522 71n.26; 82
1.22.524 69n.18
1.22.526 68
1.23.527 71n.26; 82
1.24.528 71n.28
1.24.529 66; 70; 71n.29
1.25.532 69n.18; 165
1.25.534 360n.5
1.25.535 364n.22; 364n.23
1.25.537 74n.40
1.25.538 70n.25; 71n.26; 71n.28; 82
1.25.539 68n.11
1.25.541 71n.27; 82
1.25.542 72n.32; 82
2.1.551 324n.25
2.1.552-554 67
2.1.557 364n.20
2.1.562 360n.5
2.1.565-566 245
2.4.568 68n.12; 68n.13
2.4.570 73n.34; 146n.72
2.5.525 71n.28
2.5.574 67n.8; 82
2.5.575 71n.27; 82
2.6.576 71n.27; 82
2.8 55
2.8.580 71n.26
2.8.582 364n.24; 367
2.8.582-583 365n.31
2.8.583 360n.5; 366; 365
2.9.584 71n.26; 82
2.9.585 82
2.10.588-589 70n.25
2.10.589 71n.26; 82
2.10.590 365
2.11.591 564n.25
2.11.592 69
2.12.592 69; 364n.26
2.12.593 71n.27; 83
2.13.594 67
2.13.595 83; 259n.118
2.15.595-6 71n.26; 71n.27; 83
2.15.596 69n.18
2.18.598 66
2.20.601 71n.26; 83
2.24.607 73n.35; 74n.41; 375; 375n.82
2.26.613 68n.15
2.26.616 364n.21
2.27.620 71n.26; 71n.28; 83
2.33.628 74n.41

Phrynichus
325 61

Pindarus
Fr. 52k (Snell-Maehler) 392n.72
Fr. 94c (Snell-Maehler) 392n.72
Fr. 140b (Snell-Maehler) 392n.72
Fr. 215 Snell-Maehler) 392n.72
Pythia
1.1 392n.72
1.1-4 384n.37
Nemea
3.1-12 384n.37
5.22-5 392n.72
Paeanes
3.101 389n.57

Plato
Timaeus
85C 280n.8

Plinius, C. Secundus (*maior*)
Naturalis historia
2.182 395n.82
6.8 39n.81
6.92 39n.81
6.145 39n.81
7.115 295n.14
7.115 295n.12
7.212-215 395n.82
12.2.3 37n.72
29.2.2 289n.54
34.43 301n.60
34.84 299n.44
35.10 295n.12
35.28 106n.6
35.114 298n.37

35.136 111n.33
36.22 298n.37
36.26 106n.6
36.28-29 298n.37
36.29 106n.6
36.33-34 106n.7; 114n.48
36.35 106n.6
36.37 106n.6
36.58 299n.44
36.72 395n.82
36.190-199 395n.82

Plinius, C. Caecilius Secundus (*minor*)
Epistulae
1.8.2 304n.76
8.24 147n.75
10.81 304n.72

Plutarchus
Alexander
7.8 385n.43
Aratus
34.5-6 134n.13
Marcellus
30.6 298n.36
Moralia
18b 115
58e-f 374
65e-74e 363n.19
68a-b 375n.81
396c 392n.72
409a-c 320
509b-592f 334n.54
675d-677b 317n.7
676 e-f 318
677a 318
736d 134n.14
776b 363n.17
778a-b 363n.17
778b 363
841f 146n.73
920b 281n.13

Pollux
1.96-98 101; 102

Porphyrio, Pomponius
Commentum in Horatium
*Ep.*1.3.15 297n.33

Pseudo Acro
Ep. 1.3.15 297n.33

Quintilianus, M. Fabius
Institutio oratoria
3.4.12-16 121n.81
12.10.47 159n.13

Sappho (LP)
Fr. 34.1-2 389n.57
Fr. 96.6-9 389n.57
Fr. 104b 389n.57

Scholia Iuvenalis
1.128-129 298

Seneca, L. Annaeus
Dialogi
9.4-7 307n.89
Epistulae morales
10.12.3 159n.13

Servius
In Vergilium Commentarii
4.10 297n.25

Solon
Eleg. 1 281n.13

Sophocles
Antigone
1141-1145 281n.13
1147 389n.57

Soranus
Gynaecia
(53) 4.1.4-5 280n.8

Statius, P. Papinius
Silvae 394
1.1 107n.13
1.1.1-7 394n.81
4.3.1-3 394n.81

Stesichorus
Fr. 278 PMG 393n.74

Suetonius, C. Tranquillus
Augustus
29 297n.25
29.3 297n.23; 297n.28
29.5 295n.11
De grammatica et rhetorica
21 298n.35
Domitianus
3.1 399n.98
20 298n.36
Iulius Caesar
44.2 295n.15; 296n.19
56.7 297n.31

Nero
51 159; 159n.13
52 301n.65
Tiberius
74 301n.60

Supplementum Hellenisticum
905.24 388n.52

Stephanus Byzantius
s.v. Thyateira 34n.53
s.v. Bargylia 35n.5
s.v. Europus 35n.5
s.v. Hydissos 35n.5
s.v. Idrias 35n.5
s.v. Xrusaoris 35n.5
s.v. Mylasa 35n.55

Strabo
12.2.7 20n.22; 39n.81
12.3.37 20n.22
13.4.13 19n.19
14.1.46 27n.17
14.19 289n.54
16.1.2 38n.77; 39n.81

Suidas
K 158 73n.37
M 668 380; 381; 384n.34; 396n.89
N 162 381n.20
Σ 381 98n.38

Symmachus, Quintus Aurelius
Epistulae
10.78 298n.42

Synesius
18.153a 281n.16
95.9-11 381n.20

Tacitus
Annales
2.37 297n.26
2.83 297n.27
3.60-63 33n.46; 38n.74; 39n.82
3.61.2 16
4.55-56 33n.46; 39n.82; 187n.11

Theocritus
7.82 97

Theon
115, 12-22 91; 100

Thucydides
2.35-46 262
2.47.4 281n.13

Vergilius, P. Maro
Georgica
3.549-550 281n.13

B) INSCRIPTIONS

Please note that abbreviations not in *L'Anneé Philologique* refer to works cited in the Bibliography of this volume.

Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum
3080 = *SIG* (3) 578 208n.18; 209n.21
3088 215n.44

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
III, 607 304n.77
III, 14195 56n.16
V, 5262 304n.76
V, 7376 300n.56
VI, 68 281n.13
VI, 2347-2349 300n.58
VI, 4431-4435 300n.58
VI, 5188 300n.58
VI, 5189 300n.58
VI, 5191 300n.58
VI, 5192 300n.58
VI, 5884 300n.58
VIII, 2391 306n.85
X, 4760 300n.56; 304n.75
XI, 2704 304
XIV, 1085 301n.59
XIV, suppl. 1, 4555 337n.60

Corpus cultus Cybelae Attidisque
II 150nr.469 347n.77

Hall – Milner, 1994
nos. 1-18 206n.9; 216; 218
no. 2 204n.3
no. 18 = *SGO* 4 17/06/02 203; 204; 220n.55
no. 19 216; 217n. 51; 218; 220n.55
no. 20 216; 217n.51; 218; 220n.55
no. 21 218

no.22 216; 217n.47; 220n.55
no. 23 216; 218; 220n.55
nos. 24-26 218
no. 27 215n.41; 217n.52
nos. 27-37 218
no. 28 217n.52
no. 34= SGO 4, 17/06/05 213

Fouilles de Delphes III Épigraphie
4. Plassart (1970)
302, II, ll 29f. 327n.33
5. Bourguet (1932)
22, ll.52ss 323n.21
653, ll. 35-40 323n.21

Fouilles de Xanthos
VII, 37, no. 18 216
VII, 37, no. 19 219
VII, 40-41, no. 21 219
VII, 67= *SEG* xxx, 1535 208n.19
VII, 133, no. 50 219
VII, 280-281, nos. 91-92 219

Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien
23.1. 246 209n.22

Inscriptiones Graecae
II/III² 1006 136n.21
II/III² 1008 136n.21
II/III² 1009 136n.21
II/III² 1011 136n.21
II/III² 1078 134n.12
II/III² 2017 136n.24; 136n.26
II/III² 2017-2018 136n.24
II/III² 2021 139n.36; 139n.41
II/III² 2037 135n.17
II/III² 2044 136n.24
II/III² 2050 136n.24; 137n.28
II/III² 2208 136n.24; 136n.25; 137n.30
II/III² 2241 144n.61
II/III² 3733 135n.20
II/III² 3739 140n.44
II/III² 3744 139n.36
II/III² 3748 135n.20
IV 88 335; 336; 337
IV 126 333n.51
IV 128 331n.45; 331n.47; 334n.55
IV 129-134 338; 339; 340; 341; 342; 343
IV 393 323n.21; 331n.48
IV 400 323n.21; 331n.48
IV 402 331n.48
IV 403 323n.21
IV 606 329n.41
IV 659 347n.77
IV 715-716 330n.42
VII.573 77
IX 190 327n.34
IX 192-193 327n.34

Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes
III, 461 218
III, 462 218
III, 467 216
III, 484 207n.12
III, 500 206n.6
III, 746 218

Inscriptiones Latinae selectae
9362 306n.84

Die Inschriften von Ephesos
6, ll. 17f. 208n.16

Inscr. Rom. Tripolitania, 1952, p. 30 no. 10 56n.16

Die Inschriften von Milet 3, 39 = SIG (3), 577 208n.18; 209n.21

Die Inschriften von Tralleis und Nysa
102 218n.54

L' Année épigraphique 1903
227 70n.23

Les portes du désert. Recueil des inscriptions grecques d' Antinooupolis, Tentyris, Koptos, Apollono-polis Parva et Apollonopolis Magna (A. Bernand, Paris 1984)
10 215n.44

Prices edict (Ed. Lauffer)
7.56-66 209n.21

Prosopographia Imperii Romani
PIR A 1427 73n.37
PIR C 229 73n.37
PIR² I 453 56n.17

Monumenta Asiae minoris Antiqua
8, 75-76 no. 410 42n.93
8, 133 no. 561 42n.93

Orientis graeci inscriptiones selectae
709 68n.14; 70n.24
712 70n.22

Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten
I 03/02/68 214
II 08/08/10 220
IV 17/06/03 204

Strubbe, 1998
3134, 69 214n.40

Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
4, 1930, 544 56n.16
29, 1979, 1205 19n.20
40, 1990, 1071 19n.20
46, 1996, 1531 19n.20
46, 1996, 1470 19n.21
48, 1998, 1362 = SGO I 03/02/68 214

Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum
88 331n.47
422 323n.21
823AC 326
829A 323n.22
829B 323n.22
835B 323n.22
868 327n.34
3, 578 208n.18; 209n.21
3, 960 215n.44
3, 959 215n.44

Tituli Asiae Minoris
II, 22-25 219
II, 27 216, 219
II, 28 219
II, 181 219
II, 189 219
II, 207 219
II, 288 219
II, 303-306 219
II, 307 219
II, 310 219
II, 312 219
II, 428 219
II, 511 219
II, 522 219
II, 585 219
II, 586 219
II, 677 218
II, 678-84 218
II, 687 218
II, 741 219
II, 751 218
II, 901 218
II, 905 219
II, 911 219
II, 914 219
II, 944 219
II, 946 216; 219
III, 714 219
III, 1, 154 216
III, 1, 199-213 215n.42
III, 1, 313-339 212n.32
III, 1, 333 216
V, 2, 881 18

Wörrle, 1988 216
l. 44-46 218n.54
l..46 217n.50

Die Wunderheilungen von Epidauros (Herzog, 1931)
290
4 283
13 283
16 282n.19
19 282n.19
21 282n.19
48 281
27 278; 279

List of figures

The editor is grateful to the following museums and institutions, which have supplied photographs for this edition:

pp. 49-52
1 Aphrodisias, Civil Basilica: B. Yildirim
2 Aphrodisias, Civil Basilica: Drawing by P. Stinson
3-7 Aphrodisias, Civil Basilica: New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias
pp. 125-129
1 Naples, Museo Nazionale 6001. Photo: DAI Rome Neg. 80.2908
2 Florenz, Palazzo Pitti. Photo: DAI Rome Neg. 56.1374
3 Capital from the Baths of Caracalla: Photo after PIRANOMONTE, 1998, 38 fig. 42
4 Naples, Museo Nazionale 6002. Photo after ANDREAE, 2001, pl. 137
5-6 Naples, Museo Nazionale 5999. Photo © Luciano Pedicini/Archivio dell'arte, Napoli
7 Naples, Museo Nazionale 6002. Photo after ANDREAE, 2001, pl. 1
8-9 Eichenzell, Schloss Fasanerie AMa 41. Photo: G. Fittschen-Badura
10 St. Petersburg, Ermitage Б 2083: Photo after *LIMC* 6 pl. 199 Medeia no. 39
11 Berlin, Antikensammlung Sk 843 b. Photo: Museum
12 Column of Marcus Aurelius. Rome. Photo: DAI Rome Neg. 55.916
pp. 150-155
1 Athen, Nationalmuseum 1465. Photo: Athen, Nationalmuseum
2 Athen, Nationalmuseum 387. Photo: Athen, Nationalmuseum
3 Athen, Nationalmuseum 416. Photo: Athen, Nationalmuseum
4 Athen, Nationalmuseum 1469. Photo: Athen, Nationalmuseum
5 Athen, Nationalmuseum 385. Photo: Inst. Neg. Athen 5703
6 Petworth, Slg. Leconfield. Photo: Forschungsarchiv für antike Plastik, Köln (FA 1564/02-25157,1)
7 Athen, Nationalmuseum 387. Photo: Inst. Neg. Athen NM 555
8 Neapel, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 6139. Photo: Inst. Neg. Rom 60.642 (Foto Koppermann)
9 Athen, Nationalmuseum 396. Photo: Athen, Nationalmuseum
10. 12 München, Glyptothek 548. Photo: München, Glyptothek (Koppermann)
11 Athen, Nationalmuseum 396. Photo: Inst. Neg. Athen N.M. 84 a
13 Athen, Nationalmuseum 411. Photo: Athen, Nationalmuseum
14 Madrid, Museo del Prado 100-E. Photo: Inst. Neg. Madrid R51-83-12 (Foto P. Witte)
15 Rom, Museo Nuovo Capitolino 2310. Photo: Forschungsarchiv für antike Plastik, Köln (Mal 612/08-39709)
16 Athen, Nationalmuseum 390. Photo: Athen, Nationalmuseum

17. 19 Athen, Nationalmuseum 388. Photo: Athen, Nationalmuseum
18. 20 Neapel, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 6018. Photo: Inst. Neg. Rom 85.461 (Foto Schwanke)

pp. 174-178

1 Rom, Museo Nazionale 618. Photo: Seminar für Klassische Archäologie, Heidelberg (Anderson)
2 Berlin, Staatliche Museen 371. Photo: Seminar für Klassische Archäologie, Heidelberg (Anderson)
3 Roma, Musei Vaticani 13392-13395. Photo: Mus. Vat. Arch. Fotogr. XXI.5.28
4 Benevento, Arch of Trajan. Photo: ROTILI, M.: *L'arco di Traiano a Benevento*, Roma 1972, pl. 75
5-6 Roma, Palazzo dei Conservatori 817. Photo: Inst. Neg. Rom 54.840-841
7 Roma, Museo Capitolino 452. Photo: After FITTSCHEN – ZANKER, 1985, pl. 84, 1 (Foto Fittschen-Badura)
8 Roma, Museo Capitolino 448. Photo: After FITTSCHEN – ZANKER, 1985, pl. 81, 1 (Foto Fittschen-Badura)
9 Paris, Louvre Ma 475. Photo: After EWALD, 1999a, pl. 1
10 Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek I.N. 789. Photo: After JOHANSEN, F.: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Catalogue II, Roman Portraits II, Copenhagen 1995, p. 233.
11 Paris, Louvre Ma 475. Photo: After WEGNER, 1966, pl. 3
12 Munich, Glyptotek 533. Photo: After WREDE, 2001, pl. 13, 1
13 Roma, Museo Torlonia 424. Photo: After WEGNER, 1966, pl. 60
14 Naples, Museo Nazionale 6603. Photo: After WREDE, 2001, pl. 17, 1
15 Roma, Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Porfano 9504. Photo: After EWALD, 1999a, pl. 42, 2

pp. 198-200

1 FRANKE, 1968, 129
2-3 FRANKE, 1968, 22
4 *RPC* II 1080
5-6 FRANKE, 1968, 380
7 FRANKE, 1968, 93
8 FRANKE, 1968, 257
9 FRANKE, 1968, 131
10-11 *SNG Levante* 1060
12 *Auktionskat. Giessener Münzhandlung D. Gorny* 64, München 1993, 121
13-14 KLOSE, 1987, pl. 35 V 1 and 36 R 1
15 FRANKE, 1968, 76
16 *SNG Levante* 1078
17 FRANKE, 1968, 190
18 *Chiron* 10, 1980, pl. 10, 1 (P. Weiss)
19 *RPC* I Suppl. 2712 A/1
20 *Auktionskat. Triton* II, New York 1998, 626
21 FRANKE, 1968, 289
22 *Auktionskat. Giessener Münzhandlung D. Gorny*, 93, München 1998, 3123

23 *Auktionskat. Giessener Münzhandlung D. Gorny*, 93, München 1998, 3124
24 WEISS, 2002, 143

pp. 225-227
1 VAN NIJF, based on *Anatolian Studies* 1986, p. 33
2 VAN NIJF, based on *Anatolian Studies* 1986, p. 63
3 VAN NIJF
4 VAN NIJF, based on *Anatolian Studies* 1986, p. 33

pp. 268-275
1 Roma, Musei Vaticani Inv. 2635. Photo: Inst. Neg. Rom 76.605
2 Roma, Casino Rospigliosi. Photo: Inst. Neg. Rom 38.800
3 Paris, Louvre Ma 1335. Photo: Foto Marburg
4 Roma, Museo Capitolino Inv. 218. Photo: Inst. Neg. Rom 72.709
5 Ioannina. Photo: Inst. Neg. Athen 93/284 (V. von Eickstedt)
6 Paris, Louvre Inv. Ma 2120. Photo: Foto Marburg 180 271
7 Ioannina. Photo: Inst. Neg. Athen 93/266 (V. von Eickstedt)
8 Woburn Abbey. Photo: After ROBERT, C.: *ASR* II pl. 22, 47 c
9 Tarragona, Museu d'Historia de Tarragona Inv. 15.482. Photo: Inst. Neg. Madrid D 743
10 Roma, Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano Inv. 10400. 10399B. Photo: Inst. Neg. Rom 71.1099
11 Athens, National Museum Inv. NM 1979. Photo: Inst Neg. Athen. GR 674
12 Marseille, Musee d'Histoire. Photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg, Nr. 39.967
13 Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi 82. Photo: After ALINARI 1308
14 Roma, Musei Vaticani, Cortile del Belvedere. Photo: Inst. Neg. Rom 92. VOT 142
15 Rome, Museo Nazionale delle Terme Inv. 112327. Photo: Inst. Neg. Rom 61.1399
16-17 Tyros, Necropolis Inv. 3951/52. Photo: After ROGGE, S.: *ASR* IX, 1, 1 pl. 9, 1.2 (Foto G. Koch)
18 Thessaloniki, Museum Inv. 1246. Photo: After KOCH – SICHTERMANN, 1982, fig.. 445 (Foto G. Koch)
19 Brescia, Museum. Photo: Inst. Neg. Rom 62. 220
20 Thessaloniki, Museum Inv. 1245. Photo: KOCH – SICHTERMANN, 1982, fig. 421

pp. 309-313
1 Reconstruction drawing by J.E. Packer
2 After Schützenberger
3-4 After Schützenberger
5 Inst. Neg. Rom 91.252
6 Reconstruction drawing by. W. Wilberg
7 Photo Richard Neudecker
8 Inst. Neg. Rom 73.1127
9 Inst. Neg. Athen A.B. 213

pp. 349-356
1 COURBY, 1927 pianta allegata

2 After MAASS, 1993
3 Isthmia, Museum 352. Photo: After *Isthmia* 4, tav. 61
4 COURBY, 1927, tav. 2
5 COURBY, 1927, fig. 191
6 COURBY, 1927, fig. 189-190
7 EFA 2485, dat. c. 1894
8 EFA 5931, dat. c. 1920
9 Epidauros, Museum. Photos: After KATAKIS, 2002, tav. 17; 67; 31
10 KAVVADIAS, 1900 pianta allegata
11 After TOMLINSON, 1983, 40 fig. 3
12 After *Praktika* 1996, 126 fig. 1
13 Altered after KAVVADIAS, 1900 pianta allegata
14 After KAVVADIAS, 1900, 149
15 After *Praktika* 1990, 46 fig. 1
16 After RADT, 1999, 229 fig. 175
17 After RADT, 1999, 235 fig. 181
18 After SCHULZ, 2002, 4 fig. 1
19 After MALLWITZ, A.: *Olypmpia und seine Bauten*, Darmstadt 1972, Beilage (detail)
20 After SCHULZ, 2002, 93 fig. 40
21 After SCHULZ, 2002, 5 fig. 2
22 After SCHLEIF, 1933, 243 figs. 26-27
23 After WALDSTEIN, 1902, 135 fig. 69
24 After WALDSTEIN, 1902, tav. 5