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HEFT 1

VERLAG C.H.BECK MÜNCHEN

Aussage, dass Zenons Traum – «the old notion, said to have begun with Alexander the Great, that all peoples could be governed as a single polis» – nunmehr als wahrhaftig vollbracht gelten dürfe (150). Der wiederholte Bezug auf den berühmten Vers aus Vergils *Aeneis* (6,853) *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos* (152–155. 158. 169) überrascht insofern, als sich D. prinzipiell sehr distanziert gegenüber Waffen und Kriegen der Römer zeigt und daher auf Berücksichtigung militärisch konnotierter Ereigniszusammenhänge verzichtet.

Die Kernthese von der entscheidenden Rolle der Vision Zenons kann trotz insistierender Wiederholungen der Kernthese in jedem einzelnen Kapitel nicht überzeugen: Eine Breitenwirkung jener Utopie in einer trotz aller ‘Universalisierung’ doch ganz auf das Wohl und Wehe der einzelnen Poleis fixierten und dabei Rom durchaus einschließenden Staatenwelt ist weder in der Argumentation noch im historischen Geschehen erkennbar.

Die idealistischen Wahrnehmungen von internationalen, globalen, ‘vernetzten’ Strukturen könnten als Subtext der Studie interpretiert werden. Wie jeder Historiker nimmt auch die Autorin Impulse aus dem erlebten Zeitgeschehen – hier die Vision einer unipolaren Welt unter der Führung einer wiedererstarkten Weltmacht – für die eigene Perspektive auf (vgl. 13 Anm. 40, vgl. 124).¹ So mag aus zeitlicher Distanz ein positiveres Urteil über das hier besprochene Buch gefällt werden.

München

Linda-Marie Günther

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Paul Ernst: *Recherches sur les pratiques culturelles des Italiens à Délos aux II^e et I^{er} siècles a. C.* Bordeaux: Ausonius 2018. 570 S. 32 Abb. 8 Taf. (Scripta Antiqua. 115.).

This book is based on the author’s doctoral thesis. A great deal of already published evidence, archaeological finds and epigraphic sources of various kinds, is reassembled and reexamined in order to shed light on the cultural identity of the Italians of Delos. The author correctly stresses that neither ‘Italians’ were a homogenous group nor the Delian society was a homogenous body. ‘Italians’ included Romans, Italiote Greeks from Magna Graecia with or without Roman citizenship, people of other ethnic groups from Italy, slaves and freedmen of oriental origin as well as more or less ‘romanised’ people from the East. Rejecting the view that the definitions *Italici*/*Ἰταλοί*, *Romani*/*Ῥωμαῖοι* were identical, Ernst argues that Romans and Italians tended to have a common identity. Three units, each closing with a summary of the most important conclusions, focus on different aspects of the Italian presence on Delos, their residential spaces, their relation to the life of the *gymnasion* and the agonistic festivals, and finally their religious practices.

In the first unit a selection of houses is examined taking into consideration their architectural plans and especially findings from their interiors in order to trace the identity of their occupants. The term ‘occupants’ is preferably used rather than ‘maître(s)’, since we do not know whether they were proprietors or renters, the

¹ Vgl. H.E. Stier, ‘Roms Aufstieg zur Weltmacht und die griechische Welt’, Köln-Opladen 1957, der in dem schon 1952 verfassten Text die ‘Rettung der Hellenen durch die freiheitsliebende Großmacht aus dem Westen’ begrüßte.

slaveowners or their slaves and freedmen, and consequently, whose cultural choices are imprinted on the archaeological context. In any case, despite several western elements which are to be observed, a mix of cultural choices emerges in all houses under investigation. The longest examination is devoted to the 'Maison des sceaux'. Sculptures, parts of furniture, votive inscriptions, Greek and Latin graffiti on the walls (assumed to be contemporary with the use-phase of the house, in contrast to the majority of graffiti which are seen as actions of vandalism after the abandonment of the houses), thousands of seal imprints on clay preserved by fire cannot reveal the identity of the occupants. N. Rauh's wish to recognize the names of L. Aufidius and his son Bassus on the seals is not based on strong arguments. Discussing the Roman names on the graffiti, Ernst inclines to connect the house with the brothers Mundicii or their sons or freedmen. The numerous amphorae found in the building as well as the large number of seal imprints surviving from a private archive of commercial papyri (as the lack of public seals indicates) point to commercial activities. Considering the numerous Koan amphorae found there, Ernst assumes some connection with the islands of the Dodecanese, which he also attempts to support on weak arguments from the votive inscriptions of a marble *thymiaterion*. Sporadic interesting observations are to be found also in the remaining case studies, but generally it is deduced that architectural features and findings from the interior of the houses are not helpful in tracing the cultural identity of the occupants. Therefore, the only conclusive find in the 'Maison IC du Quartier du Stade' is a honorific inscription for Q. Tullius erected by his freedmen, while the scenes of Compitalia on its walls offer no strong indication, as people of other origins participated in them as well, and the author's attempt to draw conclusions from the depiction of *togati* does not provide a result, as he admits. The long analysis of the houses hardly offers new arguments on the origin of the occupants or the use of the buildings (private residences or clubhouses of associations), but only indicates a mixture of cultural features.

The second part of the book examines the Italian participation in the *ephebia* and generally in the life of the *gymnasion*. Quantitative analysis is used for the study of Italians who joined the *ephebia*, but it is not especially fruitful, as the evidence is not sufficient, since the most significant source is a catalogue of ephebes, *parentaktoi*, *hieropoioi* of Apollonia, in which 5 *ephebes* in a total of 40 and 1 *parentaktos* in a total of 28 are Italians (a proportion which Ernst compares with that of Italians in the gravestones of Rheneia and concludes that it is analogous) and the absence of Italians from Staseas's inscription recording the free *paides* who frequented the *palaistra*. Perhaps Italians as athletes or spectators frequented gymnasia, as places for socializing, but evidence about their participation in festivals and games is limited. The author gathers every indication which could point to the presence of Italians in the *gymnasion*: graffiti (although they offer no clue for their chronology, origin of the individuals etc.), two gravestones whose iconography may show a connection to the *gymnasion*, depictions of *strigiles* on 13 gravestones out of a total of 500 on Rheneia, a mosaic in the niche I of the agora of the Italians financed by P. Satricianus P. f., which may refer to a specific victory, the statue of a 'pseudo-athlete' from the 'Maison du Diadumene', an honorific inscription of Athenians and the *aleiphomenoi* for C. Fannius Caepio for the supply of the *gymnasion* with *alima*. Further, it is questioned whether *ludi* inspired by

Greek *agones* were organized on Delos. It is examined on the basis of an inscription which refers to *ludi* organized by *magistri* (ID 1756; it is unknown, whether gladiatorial games are to be understood, since they should have been called *munera*, and whether *ludi* included *munera*); a few depictions of gladiators as well as paintings regarded as representations of *ludi Compitalicii* are further taken into account. Beginning with scenes showing athletes with Lares or Heracles/Hercules and since Heracles does not appear in the context of Compitalia in Italy, Ernst wonders whether Heracles appears on Delos as protector of the *gymnasion* and athletic activities, and whether these contests are depicted with Greek or Roman features. An inspiration from Greek and Etruscan prototypes is traced, but it cannot be ascertained as a Delian phenomenon, since similar representations in Pompey are dated to the Imperial period.

The third and largest unit examines the religious practices of the Italians on Delos. Extensive tables aim at the classification of deities worshipped, dedications of various groups, sanctuaries frequented by Italians etc. Out of the abundant epigraphic material, the inventories of the official shrines (where the earliest mention of Italians occurs in 250 BC, IG IX 2, 287 B, 71–72) are of special interest, while iconographic sources, inscribed artifacts as well as paintings of Lares, Heracles/Hercules, Mercurius/Hermes at the entrances and on exterior walls of houses as well as altars are also examined. An interesting aspect is that of the language of the dedications, as they appear in the inventories, where the author also discusses onomastics. From the author's comments, it arises that he does not always take into account the fact that we can trace from the inventories how their compilers perceived and rendered Roman names in Greek and not how these names appeared in the original inscriptions.

A great deal of comments and conclusions of the first part of the book on the residences are repeated in the discussion of religious choices in a domestic context, while reference to cult practices in houses at Pompey and Campania once more cannot help much in understanding the situation on Delos and hardly leads to new conclusions. The majority of about 71 (or 73) funerary monuments from Rheneia, which are identified as gravestones of Italians, remarkably display Greek features in type, iconography, and accompanying inscriptions. This is explained on the basis of practical or economic reasons, or as a sign of philhellenism or of familiarity with Greek practices which had spread in Italy. Latin or bilingual texts are regarded as a criterion for the identification of Italians, since Greek generally prevails, so that Ernst wonders whether use of Greek was a means of integration. The great deal of uniformity of grave monuments does not necessarily imply a uniformity of burial gifts and rituals. So, lack of archaeological context and the short funerary texts prove the author's efforts to draw some conclusions fruitless. Italians who held some functions in the context of Egyptian and Syrian cults were of limited number, which either shows that some posts were reserved for Athenians or that Italians are simply 'hidden' behind Greek names of slaves of Italian families or of freeborn people originating from Italy. Their motives for joining these cults were not merely religious, but also economic and social, as they pursued integration into the cosmopolitan world of their devotees in order to promote their professional interests, as J. Hatzfeld, Th. Mavrojannis or M. Nocita have already stressed. Among associations of people of the same origin (e.g. τὸ κοινὸν Βυρητίων

Ποσειδωνιαστῶν ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων καὶ ἐγδοχέων ἢ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Τυρίων Ἡρακλειστῶν ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων), *Italici* are also included. The definition ‘association’ for *Italici* is encountered several times in the book, although the author admits that its use entails various problems. So he clarifies (p. 373) that although *Italici* are often presented as an «association», they only met in order to vote for honours to their benefactors and to nominate the members of various *collegia*; they did not have fixed members, but were just Italians who happened to be on Delos and wished to participate in meetings. The sources, however, offer information only about *magistri* of Mercury, Apollo, Neptune, in Greek respectively Ἑρμαῖσταί, Ἀπολλωνιασταί, Ποσειδωνιασταί, who are identified by Ernst as the *collegium* of magistrates and representatives of the association of *Italici*. So, *Italici* are according to Ernst an «association à la composition fluctuante», whose continuity is incorporated in the definition ‘*Italici*’, where origin was not as important as the cultural identity which was based on political, economic and cultural contacts with Rome. It is strange that despite his reservations, Ernst insists on counting *Italici* along with the aforementioned associations. However, these associations not only shared a common origin, but also common professions, were defined by the terms *koinon* or *synodos*, and were devoted to a certain cult (Ποσειδωνιασταί, Ἡρακλεισταί); parallel to these associations were in fact the groups within the *Italici*, which were defined as Ἑρμαῖσταί, Ἀπολλωνιασταί, Ποσειδωνιασταί. Exactly as Athenians or Hellenes are not regarded as associations, *Italici* cannot be regarded as such either.

The analysis of the religious practices of the Italians, which shifted between integration into Hellenism and their deliberate differentiation, is interesting. Ernst correctly stresses that although not all Italians were Roman citizens nor was Latin their mother language, they advertised their ‘Roman’ identity through Latin or bilingual votive inscriptions which also aimed at showing the prosperity and dynamism of their community. It is therefore striking that in the case of ἐλαιοπῶλαι/*olearii*, use of the Latin language in their dedication to C. Iulius is not connected with their origin, but is considered as a flattering for the honoree. Not only the Italian origin of the ἐλαιοπῶλαι is doubted (all named members have an Italian origin save an Ἀζώτιος who is not associated by Ernst with Azetium of Apulia, but with Azotos in Palestina), but also the existence of associations structured around the commerce of oil and wine on Delos. Moreover, while the connection of *olearii* and *vinarii* to certain deities is discussed, their religious activity is doubted. One should recall various scholarly views which see a religious dimension in every association, e.g. K. Verboven’s words: «The question is never «are we dealing with a religious association?», but rather what other purposes did the association serve and how did its religious dimensions contribute to this». ¹ Various groups in which Italians appear, e.g. πλοῖζόμενοι, οἱ τὴν νῆσον οἰκοῦντες etc. are defined as «associations circonstancielles». The evolution of their definitions from

¹ K. Verboven, ‘Residents Aliens and Translocal Merchant Collegia in the Roman Empire’, in: O. Hekster, T. Kaizer (eds), ‘Frontiers in the Roman World’ (Leiden-Boston 2011) 343; cf. also J. Scheid, ‘Communauté et communauté: Réflexions sur quelques ambiguïtés d’après l’exemple des thiasés de l’Égypte romaine’, in: N. Belayche and S.C. Mimouni (eds.), ‘Les communautés religieuses dans le monde gréco-romain: Essais de définition’ (Paris 2003) 61–74.

παρεπιδημοῦντες το κατοικοῦντες is not sufficiently analyzed (the basic works of L. Gagliardi on *paroikoi* and *katoikoi* are not considered).

Although Delos is «un cas particulier», the reader is left wondering about the situation of Italian settlers in other places in the East. However, only in the general conclusions (p. 437 sq.) are practices followed by Italian residents of «Grèce Egéenne» (meaning mainland Greece, the islands of the Aegean, and Asia Minor) presented in passing. In the discussion of their residences (as also in Ernst's article in BCH 141.1, 2017, 337–352), dissimilar cases are mixed and compared, e.g. the 'Maison des sceaux' and its unknown occupants with the unidentified, but known only from literary sources, Amaltheion of Pomponius Atticus in Epirus. Based on interesting comments of E. Perrin-Saminadayar on Athens, Ernst argues that only a small number of Italians joined the *ephebia*, and certainly not the *nobilitas* which chose Athens or other important centres, e.g. Rhodes, only for study. As for their participation in the religious life of other places, it is rightly mentioned that the degree and the features of their integration vary from place to place, but the topic has not been yet sufficiently investigated. In this respect, the book gives an impetus for similar studies in other regions of the Roman *oecumene*.

Despite the fact that Delos forms a unique case study for the examination of the cultural profile of Italians abroad and despite the author's copious efforts, the investigation of various specific topics proves in many cases futile, with meager results. At several points the author himself admits the dead end. The difficulties are not caused so much by the limited evidence, but mainly by the heterogenous nature of 'Italians', a community with members of different social and economic status, ethnic origins, cultural backgrounds, habits, tastes, aesthetics, bound together with a strong or loose political, social or economic connection with Rome. In the melting pot of cosmopolitan Delos all these elements merged, and the diversity of socializing and economic transactions resulted in varied encounters and influences. In any case, this book is a useful contribution on the presence of Italians in the East, a phenomenon that played an important role in shaping the physiognomy of the *poleis* of the Greek East in the Late Hellenistic and Roman period.

Athens

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Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. Inscriptiones Hispaniae Latinae consilio et auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Berolinensis et Brandenburgensis editae. Editio altera. Pars XIII: Conventus Carthaginiensis. Fasciculus primus. Pars septentrionalis conventus Carthaginiensis (Titulcia, Toletum, Consabura, Segobriga) (CIL II²/13,1). Ediderunt **Juan Manuel Abascal Palazón** et **Géza Alföldy** †, adiuvantibus Camilla Campedelli, Robert C. Knapp, Rudolf Haensch, Matthäus Heil, Javier del Hoyo, Marc Mayer Olivé, Fritz Mitthof, Armin U. Stylow, Javier Velaza Frías, Isabel Velázquez. Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter 2019. LXIII, 384 S. 1 Kt. (CIL II²/13.) 219 €.

This new Fascicule of the revised second edition of Volume II (Hispania) of the 'Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum' is the first dedicated to the *Conventus Carthaginiensis* – CIL II²/13 – of the *Provincia Hispania Citerior*, and contains the inscriptions of the four northern-most communities of this *conventus*. The volume contains a total of 911 inscriptions, from the communities and territories of: I. *Titulcia*: CIL II²/13,1–29 (29 inscriptions); II. *Toletum*: CIL II²/13,30–177 (148