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Writing Matters

Presenting and Perceiving Monumental Inscriptions
in Antiquity and the Middle Ages

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Contents

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Introduction

Writing conveys its meaning not only by content but in manifold ways, such as letter-form, material, position, visibility, legibility or non-legibility. The essays in this volume originated from the conference “Writing Matters. Presenting and Perceiving Monumental Texts in Ancient Mediterranean Cultures”, a symposium of the International Academic Forum Heidelberg which took place in Heidelberg from 10th to 12th October 2013.[1] The conference centred on the question of the importance attached in Antiquity, Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages to the recording in writing of public announcements and private messages in public spaces. On the basis of evidence and features from several different epochs in Greek and Roman Antiquity as well as the Middle Ages, various aspects were examined from a diachronic perspective which gave rise to new questions.

Just as a modern one, a visitor to a premodern city would naturally have encountered labelled and inscribed monuments. There would have been inscriptions on the walls of houses and temples, inside churches, on the *agora* or the *forum*, and on public works of art such as statues, reliefs, paintings and mosaics. And although the value attached to inscriptions for public display, and indeed the use and configuration of public spaces themselves, changed over time, enduring characteristics of monumental writing remained perceptible within the new contexts. The existence of objects with writing on them shaped and characterized public space and even though the inscriptions may not have been always read—or were only glanced at—they still invited observers to take note and interact, simply by their often extremely striking presence. The contributions in this volume all revolve around the presence and materiality of written records in the urban context, in private homes and on public buildings.

Particularly important for the understanding of inscriptions is the position they occupy within the spatial context. Attempts to recontextualize these artefacts in their original social and spatial surroundings have opened up new and different perspectives for interpretation. As well as observations concerning the actual form of individual written records (including the artefact inscribed, ductus of the writing and relationship between writing and image), questions concerning spatial relationships with nearby monuments, placement within the public space and the influence of these factors on public perception have gained in importance.

1 The conference and the subsequent publication of its proceedings were funded and made possible by the Collaborative Research Centre 933 ‘Material Text Cultures. Materiality and Presence of Writing in Non-Typographic Societies’. The CRC 933 is financed by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG).

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Precisely because inscribed artefacts were always designed with a purpose and their locations selected with care, the interaction between them and their immediate surroundings is of central importance to a discussion of their public existence. How were the inscriptions designed? To what extent did the written word and the inscribed object shape and influence the appearance and perception of a particular space? In what way did the specifics of the space in turn determine the design of the inscribed artefact and the way it was perceived? Take, for example, the display of legal texts on tall stone stelae in public places. How did people interact with such textual monuments? How were they perceived by those who saw them at the time? Who was able to read the texts and how was their understanding influenced and guided? What functions could inscriptions perform? The way in which these texts were received primarily depended on a person's prior knowledge and experience in dealing with writing. People could perceive written records very differently, depending on their cultural, societal and personal backgrounds, and interpret them quite differently too. With this in mind, the present volume presents new approaches to many different material forms of the written word, with examples drawn from a wide range of epochs and cultures. The order of the articles has been chosen with a focus on specific phenomena as seen from different perspectives, so that inscriptions from Classical Athens are juxtaposed with inscriptions from Byzantine churches, and Pompeiian graffiti with mediaeval stonemason's marks. Instead of examining inscriptions from a primarily diachronic perspective, looking at differences and developments across the centuries, we have chosen instead to focus on the specific aspects of inscriptions which arise from their location within public and private spaces and their spatial relationship to other artefacts. First, these must be identified and described, and then examined from various perspectives. In choosing this approach the intention is not to look for similarities where none exist, but to focus attention on specific aspects of inscriptions—and on an approach which may also be applied to contexts and types of inscriptions that are not discussed here.

The relationship of words and images or rather 'text as art' has become the focus of increasing attention in the Humanities in the recent years. Monographs and collective volumes have been published to study these phenomena in Greek,[2] Roman[3] and Byzantine culture,[4] Medieval Art History[5] and Islamic art.[6] While many of the existing books have been conceived within disciplinary boundaries, we are not going to reproduce this approach. For this reason the case studies presented here have not been

2 See e.g. Meyer 1989; Goldhill/Osborne 1994; Lawton 1995; Snodgrass 1998; Blanshard 2004.
3 See e.g. Elsner 1996; Corbier 2006; Thunø 2007; Baird/Taylor 2011; Thunø 2011; Kiilerich 2011.
4 See e.g. Mullet 1990; Papalexandrou 2001; James 2007; Rhoby 2011; Eastmond 2015; Bedos-Rezak/Hamburger (2015); Leatherbury 2016.
5 See e.g. Kendrick 1999; Cavallo 1994; Diebold 2000; Hamburger 2011.
6 See e.g. Bierman 1998; Blair 2013.

arranged by chronological or geographical terms, but instead to underline the shared ways writing could be engaged in different societies, areas and times.

Contrary to the prevailing methodology in previous studies, we have chosen not to see inscriptions primarily as finished texts whose meaning lies solely in their wording.[7] The wording can, of course, provide information on prosopographical questions and clues with regard to the date and nature of the monuments that are mentioned in the inscriptions. However, seeing inscriptions as artefacts rather than written records brings into focus groups of people and aspects of cultural-historical relevance, which are not explicitly mentioned in the texts. Aside from clients or named recipients, stonemasons, painters and readers were also involved in the creation of these inscriptions or bestowed on them the status they were intended to have by performing certain practices of reception or engaging in certain types of behavior appropriate to the specific location. The value of an inscription as an intentionally designed artefact and its significance within a milieu made up of other inscriptions, artefacts and living beings thus becomes evident.

The aim is therefore to recontextualize inscriptions as artefacts within their original social and spatial surroundings. For any given case, this means that in addition to studying the wording and categorizing the inscription within the spatial context, we ask how it was created and erected, what materials were used, who might have read it (was it intended for a specific audience?) and what the conditions were for seeing and reading it. The term 'context' is therefore seen, on one hand, as a spatial dimension and on the other as a range of factors which embedded an inscription within the societal circumstances and which must be described and reconstructed.[8] We also define here two terms, the 'materiality' and the 'presence' of the written word, which play an important role in this. These are two factors with which some of the above-mentioned parameters can not only be linked, but without which some of them, for instance

7 Whilst researchers have studied the creation and public presentation of inscribed artefacts for quite some time, the reception of such records by their contemporary observers and their social and cultural significance have only recently begun to be examined. Particularly their roles as media of social communication and political discourse have been studied more comprehensively, for instance by Alföldy 1991 and 2003, Eck 1998, Hedrick 1999 and 2000, Alföldy/Panciera 2001, Chaniotis 2003 as well as Haensch 2009—usually, however, with a special focus on the meaning of the contents and on the political messages contained in the texts. Studies on the original multifunctionality of the inscribed artefacts, on their role in spatial design and on the actual perception by ancient observers are still rare; notable exceptions include Krumeich/Witschel 2009 and the contributions in the volume Eck/Funke 2014 as well as certain studies from the English-speaking world, e.g. Day 2010, Shear 2011 and Lambert 2012. The same applies to the relationship between the text and the image or between the text and the monument: whilst there are a number of individual studies on particular categories of inscriptions or monuments (for example Scholl 1996, Hölkeskamp 2000 and Horster 2001), there is a lack of attempts at correlating the partial results and interpreting them within the wider context outlined here.

8 On this aspect see Dickmann/Keil/Witschel 2015.

the conditions which influenced how writing was perceived, would be impossible to reconstruct. Both aspects, although not always explicitly formulated in the contributions of the various authors, were at the centre of the conception of the conference at which the papers in this volume were presented and discussed. The term 'materiality' covers a whole range of characteristics and features inherent in the individual artefacts.[9] They include the properties of the material used, which had an impact not just on the process of manufacturing and displaying the object and on the perception of the inscription, but also on the design of the lettering, the combination of materials, and the dimensions and arrangement of the individual components. Describing or reconstructing these properties allows us to draw conclusions with regard to the meaning and use of the written word, and to locate inscriptions within the context of activities. The term 'presence', on the other hand, relates to the spatial positioning of inscriptions within a particular area.[10] This is linked to considerations regarding their visibility, a factor which could potentially limit their impact. It also raises questions as to whether an artefact may have had only a temporary presence in a specific space and whether constellations of artefacts may have changed over time.

Investigating the materiality and presence of inscriptions is a completely distinct interpretative approach to investigating their content, but it is ultimately also aimed at the cultural classification of the written word. We assume that the written word does not contain an immanent meaning which has only to be deciphered for us to track down an unambiguous and universally-valid significance. The interpretation of an inscription as a *titulus* on a tomb, for instance, depends solely on conventionalized attributions of meaning to certain combinations of letters, how they were formed and where they were affixed. The meaning of an inscription is only established by the repeatedly performed and confirmed reception of its contents on the basis of culturally specific routines. Contrary to Michel Foucault, who viewed materiality as a component of expression,[11] we assume that an 'expression' cannot exist outside of materiality. Moreover, as opposed to a purely content-based analysis of written records, the study of the materials also provides an approach to fragmentary or completely illegible inscriptions or those whose meaning is obscure.

Alongside the focus on the "epigraphic habit",[12] where the main question is why, in a particular society, inscriptions came to be used on a huge scale as a medium for disseminating information and an instrument for public display, we introduce a decidedly qualitative line of enquiry, which asks instead exactly how these inscriptions were embedded within the specific culture. This approach also broadens the

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9 On the term *materiality* and its different levels of meaning see Karagianni/Schwindt/Tsouparopoulou 2015.

10 On the term *presence* see Hornbacher/Frese/Willer 2015.

11 Foucault 2013, 145–153.

12 On the term *epigraphic habit* see MacMullen 1982.

field of enquiry to include not only the epochs and cultural areas where inscriptions did indeed constitute a massive phenomenon, such as ancient Athens or the cities of the Roman Empire, but also periods and areas in which inscriptions occur relatively seldom or only in a few quite distinct architectural contexts, or are mentioned in works of fiction. It also includes in certain types of writing that are not immediately recognizable as inscriptions. Mainly these are small-scale texts such as graffiti or labels made of perishable materials. Stonemasons' marks, which often merely consist of a single character with an unusual shape or a symbol especially designed for the purpose by the stonemason himself, can also be seen, from this perspective, as evidence of writing, i.e. as inscriptions.

Particularly in the case of the latter types of inscription, but also in mosaic inscriptions in churches, the praxeological perspective raises questions that shed new light on these texts.[13] Who was actually able to read the inscriptions in question? Did this change at particular times of the day or on specific occasions? What led a donor, for instance, to display his inscription in a location that was almost inaccessible? How did texts on display in a particular space influence the way people moved through it? Or conversely, how was the type and location of display influenced by people's movements?

The volume is divided up into four chapters which each focuses on a different research question and range of problems. Many of the contributions could have been included in and enriched one of the other chapters, and the aspects examined are often of significance for several topics, showing very clearly how complex and varied the study of written records and their material presence can be.

The first part includes articles on theoretical questions and methodological research perspectives. The first paper by **Ludger Lieb** and **Ricarda Wagner** studies the concept of 'affordance' as applied to metatexts, i.e. texts that mention and discuss other texts. Using inscriptions on fanciful medieval tombs as an example, they show how such texts and the associated artefacts impacted on their viewers and readers and how they encouraged or even challenged them to carry out certain actions. Wolfram von Eschenbach's Parzival, for instance, mentions the epitaph of Gahmuret, which was said to have admonished even heathens and nonbelievers to pray for the deceased. The article emphasizes the practical significance of metatexts as invaluable sources for researchers studying the importance of the written word in past societies, and the ways in which metatexts were used, not just in documents which actually existed, but also in fictional ones.

Alexander Starre addresses the topic of the volume from the point of view of an Americanist and highlights the ways in which classical scholars and medieval-

13 On the significance of the praxeological perspective in epigraphical research see Dickmann/Elias/Focken 2015.

ists can benefit from the approaches adopted by modern literary scholars (and vice versa). Discussing Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht's and Niklas Luhmann's work alongside New Historicist theory, Starre promotes the notion of bringing the medium which bears the message once more into stronger focus, thus offering an approach to the study of human communication through writing and text which is also (and perhaps particularly) productive for the study of past cultures whose human protagonists can no longer be questioned.

Francisca Feraudi-Gruénais' study of inscriptions in the context of ancient two-dimensional works of art is an example of a methodological approach to the phenomenon of inscriptions which have hitherto been only cursorily examined. Although the interaction between image and text is a subject of debate in many disciplines of art and art history, precise definitions for the phenomena studied are still lacking, particularly if one is interested not just in the purpose of image-text compositions but also in how such arrangements actually worked. The article proposes a method of capturing the 'synactive potential' of inscriptions as a measure which can be used to define image-inscription phenomena in a heuristically practical way.

The second part of the volume is dedicated to the 'presence' of writing. Entitled "Text Spaces" the chapter deals with the extensive subject area of the space-constiuent aspect of writing based on the study of various spatial structures. The central question in this section is: in what way did the written word and inscribed objects impact on the appearance and perception of a particular space and how did the spatial specifics in turn influence the design and perception of the inscribed artefacts?

Public urban spaces in Hellenistic cities are the specialist subject of **Irene Berti** and **Péter Kató**, who have studied the list-like inscriptions from Athens and Cos. Publicly displayed on stone monuments, these inscriptions consisted mainly of catalogues of names. They were usually placed in strategic, highly-visible or symbolically important locations. On one hand they were a suitable medium for the self-promotion of citizens from various social strata and on the other they served to promote a shared identity. Whilst the outstanding deeds performed by individuals for the good of the urban community were celebrated by honorary decrees and, even more, by bronze and stone statues, the lists commemorated all citizens and praised them for their political participation, even though this was, in fact, compulsory.

The next contribution deals with the presence of writing in the Roman port city of Pompeii which, thanks to its unsurpassed state of preservation, lends itself particularly well to the reconstruction of past 'text landscapes', although the article centres on a group of ephemeral written records which have rarely survived elsewhere, namely the painted *dipinti*. The so-called *programmata*, calls to vote painted onto the façades of private dwellings, are the topic of the article by **Eeva-Maria Viitanen** and **Laura Nissin**. Based on detailed distribution plans of these *dipinti*, the paper clearly shows that their locations were very deliberately selected and highlights the criteria used when choosing the sites. Obviously it would have been important and desirable for the texts to be seen and read by as many passers-by as possible, but this would not have been the only criterion. The political allegiances and social status of the owner of the house would have been as important—not least because he would have had to give permission to the candidate in question before the advertisements could be displayed.

The article by **Georgios Pallis** deals with a very different kind of space. Since Late Antiquity the practices of social communication and representation had increasingly moved indoors. Instead of public squares and buildings, inscriptions were now increasingly seen and read in churches. A special variety of this phenomenon were inscriptions on choir screens in Byzantine churches. As a rule, these were inscriptions by donors, sometimes with an appeal to the reader to pray for their salvation, sometimes accompanied by an instructive quote from the Holy Scripture. Precisely because these screens, often decorated with figurative imagery and elaborate ornamentation, were not only decorative architectural components but also played an important liturgical role, the inscriptions on them were also of crucial significance, both as texts to be read and as perceivable evidence of devout piety.

The function of inscriptions as prompts to memory was central to their existence as it is shown by the contributions of the third part. **Julia L. Shear** has studied the political orator Demosthenes and the celebrations that were held in his honour in 280/1 BC. Her central research question is why the Athenians decided to honour Demosthenes more than 40 years after his death in 322 BC by erecting a statue in his honour in the *agora*, and why, too, the portrait and its inscription were very different in nature. Whilst the statue portrayed Demosthenes as an introverted thinker, the associated inscription and decree praised him as an active fighter for Athenian democracy. What appears to be a discrepancy was apparently a deliberately created effect, the intention being to present Demosthenes to the Athenians as an exemplary democrat and patriot at a time when the memory of the glamorous epoch of the 4th century BC was of crucial importance to the self-image of the citizens of Athens, who had only recently rid themselves of Macedonian domination.

The interaction between words, images and messages is also the focus of the article by **Milena Melfi**. Her study revolves around the memorials to Polybios, which were erected in the 2nd century BC in the Greek cities of Mantinea and Kleitor. The monuments were fashioned as stone stelae and consisted of a semantically complex mixture of texts and images, which combined iconographic references to stelae commemorating the fallen with epically archaicised linguistic features, thus giving these memorials a timeless and almost mythical air. The stelae celebrated the "wonderful deeds" of the statesman and historian Polybios without clearly representing his political role. By consciously leaving out any historical details both from the text and the iconography it was possible to reach a wide target audience.

Elizabeth A. Meyer deals with the phenomenon of writing in columns, which was particularly common in the 5th and 4th centuries BC in Athens and can be seen on a variety of monuments from that period. Examples include lists of those killed in battle, temple inventories, building accounts and tribute lists. In Meyer's opinion this special form of text layout derived from the ancient practice of writing on pillars, which was used in the 6th and 5th centuries mainly for recording the *thesmoi*, i.e. laws sanctioned by the gods. By deliberately laying out an epigraphical text in a particular format—in columns—and choosing a particular medium—slender stone stelae—a visual combination was created which recalled and acknowledged an old religious tradition and helped to promote the shared identity of the *polis*.

The performative aspects of inscriptions are the subject of the last section of the volume. The articles in the final chapter examine the practical dimension of monumentalizing the written word and deal with the motivations and intentions that may have existed behind the creation and presentation of inscriptions.[14]

The article by **Andreas Rhoby** raises the question of the aesthetic potential of inscriptions in a study of Byzantine verse inscriptions in churches and their interaction with their surroundings. How were they perceived by visitors to the church? Were these epigrams, some of which were quite sophisticated in terms of their literary quality, actually read and understood? How important were they as architectural decorations and how did the written word presented in this way change the perception of the space? The article discusses these questions using concrete examples from the 7th to 12th centuries.

The material design of monumental inscriptions is also at the centre of **Vincent Debiais'** study on inscriptions on doors, gates and passageways in medieval buildings. He outlines the extent to which the visual presence of writing in threshold locations may have encouraged viewers and readers to perform certain actions, such as standing still, lingering, walking on, entering and exiting, so that the 'access route', far from being a mere physical space, would have carried semantic weight in its own right. A particularly significant case study in this respect is the Abbey of Moissac in what is today the South of France. Built in the 12th century, it is decorated with a particularly rich collection of inscriptions. Almost all the capitals in the cloister bear inscriptions, some of which interacted in a highly complex manner with the figurative and scenic depictions, and whose specific locations and designs encouraged the observer to engage in serious contemplation of the images.

However, inscriptions were not always targeted as purposefully at the viewer, nor could they always be clearly seen and read by all. Records of this kind are dealt with by **Wilfried E. Keil**. Taking an art historical stance, he examines a category to which very little attention has so far been paid: signatures that were placed in hidden or barely visible places in early and high medieval churches. The texts are mysterious in many ways. Were they really craftsmen's and artisans' signatures or would the donors of a certain edifices or works of art have immortalized their names in this manner? One would expect signatures, of all things, to be placed in a location that was clearly visible to the visitors of a church. However, as we have seen time and time again, this

14 Thomas 2015.

was often not the case. Apparently, knowing about a hidden or inaccessible inscription, in other words its mere existence, was more important than its reception and legibility.

Unlike the other types of inscriptions mentioned so far, graffiti are characterized, among other things, by the fact that they were not created in regulated contexts, did not adhere to any patterns of monumental design and allowed many people to make a contribution who would otherwise not have been involved in the exchange of the enduring written word. The extent to which it is possible to distinguish between urban and suburban contexts in the way graffiti were applied is shown by the article by **Rebecca Benefiel** using features from the Vesuvian region. Both the exterior façades and the interior walls of houses were inscribed with texts which included names, greetings and good wishes for the inhabitants and their friends, quotes from literary works and political statements. Numerical symbols and figurative graffiti depicting people, animals or boats are also frequently found. Interestingly, the habits in Pompeii appear to have been quite different from those in nearby suburban areas. Whilst most of the graffiti in Pompeii were of a textual nature, incised figurative drawings are more frequently encountered in the *villae* at Stabiae and Oplontis. Moreover, the latter are only rarely found in clusters but are more often spread throughout the entire residential area. Indeed, there appear to have been differences in the way the inhabitants led their everyday lives, in the kinds of social relationships they maintained and in their chief interests; differences which were reflected, amongst other things, in the types of graffiti with which they decorated their homes.

This book brings together 13 case studies from a wide range of academic fields spanning a wide chronological and geographical range. They show the manifold but even corresponding aspects of writing, the various ways of presentation and reception and how the presenting and perceiving of texts have a large share in meaning. This makes clear that we have to deal with an array of perceptions and just as many meanings. We hope that the essays gathered in this book will be a stimulus for new approaches to deal with inscriptions in Antiquity and Middle Ages.

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Theoretical and Methodical Approaches Around and About Writing

Ludger Lieb and Ricarda Wagner

Dead Writing Matters?

Materiality and Presence in Medieval German Narrations of Epitaphs

In 16th century Heidelberg, Wilhelm Holtzmann, the then famous Professor of Greek and Logic and chancellor of the university, honoured the Early Modern humanist fashion of composing an epitaph—for himself.[1] Holtzmann's epitaph, in which the dead man speaks to his *fidissima coniunx*,[2] thanking her for her love and the commission of the tomb slab and its engravings, indeed became part of his grave when he died in 1576. The autographed epitaph also does not forget to mention that Holtzmann himself had composed these verses in order to fashion an eternal monument to himself and forestall death: *aeterna ipse mihi vivus monumenta paravi / praeveniens fati fila secanda mei*.

The inscription on Holtzmann's grave, located in St Peter's Church of the University in Heidelberg, is still legible today. In a way, Holtzmann is still speaking. As the author and the voice of the inscription, he had anticipated a later, "posthumous" communication between himself as a dead man, his wife and the readers of the inscription. The tomb slab as the artefact that bears the epitaphic writing is charged with the function of initiating this communication. It wants to do something with its onlookers by turning them into readers; it possesses agency. This potential of (particularly man-made) objects to affect the attitudes, actions, and practices of humans is termed "affordance" by the Collaborative Research Center (CRC) 933 at the University of Heidelberg, a concept borrowed from psychology of perception that overcomes the dichotomy of subject and object and allows for a view of artefacts as agents in their own right.[3] The affordance of inscribed artefacts is increased by the text they bear. Holtzmann's tomb slab displaying his epitaph invites every reader to interpret the writing and opt for a possible meaning of the text.

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1 Ovid (Ov. trist. 3.3.73–76) may have been among the first writers to fashion his own epitaph; cf. McGowan 2009, 166. After Wilhelm Holtzmann, Paul Fleming, William Shakespeare, Thomas Jefferson, and many other literary and political figures also arranged the words for their own grave markers.
2 Holtzmann's entire epitaph can be found in Neumüllers-Klauser 1970, 195 f. no. 337. Cf. also Düchting 2016.
3 Cf. Fox/Panagiotopoulos/Tsouparopoulou 2015, 63–66.

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Describing the communicative situation of an epitaph and the affordance of a tomb slab, however, is a mostly theoretical endeavour. For we do not only lack observations of how modern readers interact with Holtzmann's final words. Our knowledge of the 'real', historical receptions of the epitaph, of its readings and communications is scarce as well. How can we imagine what happened yesterday or a hundred years ago in front of this tomb slab as a churchgoer was passing by? This is where so called 'metatexts' might help us. The CRC 933 not only examines existing material script-bearing artefacts like the tomb slab of Wilhelm Holtzmann, but also focusses on fictional inscribed artefacts. There are projects within the CRC that analyse the reflections of writing matters in Augustan literature, for example, or projects that explore script-bearing artefacts in the Old Testament. The CRC thus not only investigates single words or entire texts inscribed on certain objects, but also surveys texts about these inscribed texts. The latter are called metatexts. Metatexts either make a mere mention of an inscribed text or directly quote it. They might also describe scenes of the production and reception of the text-bearing artefact and provide information on practices of writing and reading.[4]

Why might fictional metatexts be the ideal object of study for anyone interested in premodern societies and their relation to writing and its materiality? The obvious place to start such a study would be an examination of texts that feature 'real' inscribed artefacts that once existed or still do. The great collections of inscriptions from Antiquity such as the multi-volume *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*[5], begun in the 19th century, come to mind. While these volumes include drawings, transcriptions and descriptions of Latin inscriptions from the entire area of the former Roman empire, they provide little or no information on the practices involving the inscriptions, such as how they were read and produced, and what their functions were in a network of materials, spaces and agents. Historiographical metatexts and their narratives offer a little more insight into these practices and functions. However, if one would like to find out not only which role materiality and writing played in any social group, but also which (possibly additional) role(s) were *imagined* for them, it is to fictional metatexts that one must turn. The inscribed artefacts featured in fictional metatexts do not have any equivalent in reality; the texts written on them exist just within the metatext, whose confines are drawn only by the literary imagination.

The CRC project C05[6] is assembling a corpus of such metatextual passages on fictional, text-bearing artefacts in order to examine 'inscriptionality' in medieval

4 Cf. Gertz et al. 2015, 209.

5 *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum, consilio et auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Berolinensis et Brandenburgensis editum* (1862–2012), originally founded by Theodor Mommsen. Digitalised volumes are accessible via: http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/drupal/?q=en/node/291 (last access 13 April 2015).

6 "Inscriptionality. Reflections of Material Text Culture in the Literature of the 12th to 17th Centuries", headed by Ludger Lieb.

German literature. This concept has already been examined with regard to 'real' inscriptions by scholars of Ancient History. Among them, Ramsay MacMullen in 1982 was the first to speak of the "epigraphic habit" of a society.[7] The term was defined anew by Angelos Chaniotis as "the position occupied by inscriptions in the public and private life of a particular period and area" which is dependent on specific "characteristics of the community which produces and displays inscriptions, such as mentality, […] ideology and socio-political structure".[8] The CRC project C05 proposes to extend the study of the epigraphic habit into the realm of fictional inscribed artefacts by collecting all passages from medieval and Early Modern literatures that feature text written on artefacts. In order to emphasise that the object of study are not only practices and habits of epigraphic writing, but also reflections on the nature of material writing, the term 'inscriptionality' is favoured over 'epigraphic habit'. This paper offers three examples[9] from the corpus of the project to show the different roles and positions that fictional epitaphs can assume within a text. We shall argue that while tomb slabs are always about perpetuating a memory, they can do so with different degrees of affordance.

The first example, taken from the *Romance of Eneas* written during the last quarter of the 12th century by Heinrich von Veldeke, features a fictional inscription on the tomb of Dido, queen of Carthage.[10] She had ended her life by having a burning stake erected for herself and falling on the sword left behind by her lover Aeneas, who had found refuge in Carthage after the sack of Troy, but departed again to sail for Italy. Dido's sister collects the ashes of her burnt body and puts them into a golden urn, which in turn is placed in a precious coffin. Dido's tomb—consisting only of this coffin—is one of three graves of important characters in the romance, all of which are extensively described in the medieval adaptation, in contrast to parallel passages in Virgil's text.[11] The main element of Dido's grave is its epitaph (*Eneasroman*, 80,2–15):

7 Cf. MacMullen 1982, 233.

8 Chaniotis 2004, 75.

9 Cf. Haubrichs 1996, esp. 131–133 and note 29.

10 Heinrich von Veldeke's elaborate mode of describing tombs was not unprecedented in medieval literature, but became paradigmatic especially for the epic romances of antiquity that were written after Veldeke.

11 Virgil accords no tomb to Dido, and epitaphs are scarcely mentioned in ancient epic, with the exception of a one-liner for Pompey in Lucan's *Pharsalia* (Lucan. ph. 8,793). Veldeke might likely have been inspired by Dido's letter in Ovid's *Heroides*, in which the queen commands her sister to commission an epitaph for her that mentions Aeneas as the cause and helper and herself as the executor of her suicide (Ov. epist. 7,191–196). Cf. Wandhoff 2003, 73; Henkel 1992, 172.

ich sage û daz der sark was
ein prasem grûne alse ein gras,
wole meisterlîche ergraben
mit goldînen bûchstaben
was ir name dâ gescriben,
wie si tôt was beliben.
die bûchstaben sprâchen sô:
›hie liget frouwe Dîdô,
diu mâre und diu rîche,
diu sich sô jâmerlîche
dorch minne zû tôde erslûch.
daz was wunderlîch genûch,
sô wîse sô si was.[12]

I assure you that the coffin was made
of a gem as green as grass,
very expertly carved.
With golden letters
her name was inscribed on it,
and how she had come to die.
The letters said this:
›Here lies the lady Dido,
the famous and the mighty one,
who in such a miserable way
killed herself for love‹.
This was fairly strange,
for she had been quite reasonable.

This passage from the *Romance of Eneas* is a metatext featuring an artefact, the coffin, that was written on and whose inscription is cited directly, although the narrator does not quote in a plausible language for Dido's tomb inscription, Phoenician or Latin or some other ancient language, but imagines it in Middle High German.

Now how might the study of a fictional metatext like this example of Dido's tomb inscription contribute to the research aims of the CRC? These goals are to challenge familiar habits of interpreting texts and to contribute to a material perspective on societies which are not able to produce copies of vast amounts of texts; to look closely at the production and uses of materials in order to explore the ways societies stored, moved and destroyed written objects; to understand the premodern connotations of certain materials; and to investigate how the materiality of inscribed artefacts played into the genesis of cultural meaning. But does this metatext, the description of Dido's tomb and its inscription actually contribute to these aims? Probably not. For the metatext follows its own rationale: it is being directed by the specific intention of

12 Heinrich von Veldeke 1986. All translations from Middle High German into English are by Ricarda Wagner.

the narrator. He does not wish to report on any practices of inscriptionality among the fictional Carthaginians, but rather uses the epitaph to put his own opinion of Dido and her erroneous, miserable love story on record for eternity. The inscription itself is not intended to operate, to be received or even to challenge the reader to an interpretation. It does not fulfil any function in the narrative world, but rather offers a final word on Dido's life by turning the Queen of Carthage into an exemplum for the readers of the medieval *Romance of Eneas*.

A metatextual passage from the beginning of *Parzival* by Wolfram von Eschenbach, in contrast, offers a more instructive illustration of the affordance of fictional epitaphs.[13] Wolfram's narrative starts with Gahmuret, Parzival's father, who leaves his wife for a military expedition to the Orient. Just before Parzival is born, a squire arrives to inform Parzival's mother at home of Gahmuret's death in combat and describes his funeral arrangements. In contrast to the brief, exemplary account of Dido's fate, Gahmuret's tomb inscription and his grave markers are more elaborate and singular. Before quoting his late master's epitaph, the squire describes Gahmuret's tomb (*Parzival*, 107,7f.):

> *ein tiwer rubîn ist der stein*
> *ob sîme grabe, dâ durch er schein.*[14]
>
> A precious ruby forms the tomb slab
> of his grave, through which he shone.

Gahmuret's embalmed body shines through the transparent ruby lid and thus establishes an eternal visual presence. The beautifully preserved remains of the famous knight are not merely illuminated by sunlight streaming in from outside the grave. Rather, the body itself emits light and is given agency even after death. The *soma* here is truly part of the *sema*. Gahmuret's grave is as personal as it could be, as are his grave markers: his epitaph is not inscribed on a conventional slab of stone, but on a helmet, the very one he wore when he was killed. This helmet was made of a single, large piece of diamond, which could only be smashed because blood from a goat was poured over it, softening the precious stone. Gahmuret's epitaph inscribed on this helmet is rather long and offers a personalised narrative rather than a standard funerary formula (*Parzival*, 107,29–108,29):

13 Cf. Haubrichs 1996.
14 Wolfram von Eschenbach 1965.

In sînen helm, den adamas,
ein epitafum ergraben was,
versigelt ûfz kriuze obeme grabe.
sus sagent die buochstabe.
›durch disen helm ein tjoste sluoc
den werden der ellen truoc.
Gahmuret was er genant,
gewaldec künec übr driu lant.
ieglîchez im der krône jach:
dâ giengen rîche fürsten nâch
er was von Anschouwe erborn,
und hât vor Baldac verlorn
den lîp durch den bâruc.
sîn prîs gap sô hôhen ruc,
niemen reichet an sîn zil,
swâ man noch ritter prüeven wil.
er ist von muoter ungeborn,
zuo dem sîn ellen habe gesworn:
ich mein der schildes ambet hât.
helfe und manlîchen rât
gap er mit stæte'n friunden sîn:
er leit durch wîp vil schärpfen pîn.
er truoc den touf und kristen ê:
sîn tôt tet Sarrazînen wê
sunder liegen, daz ist wâr.
sîner zît versunnenlîchiu jâr
sîn ellen sô nâch prîse warp,
mit ritterlîchem prîse er starp.
er hete der valscheit an gesigt.
nu wünscht im heiles, der hie ligt‹.
diz was alsô der knappe jach.

Into his helmet, the Diamond,
an epitaph was inscribed,
affixed to the cross above the grave.
This the letters say:
›Through this helmet a joust has slain
the worthy and brave man.
Gahmuret he was called,
mighty king over three kingdoms,
each land assigned him the crown,
and there mighty princes followed him.
He was born in Anschouwe
and he lost his life at Baldac
in the service of the Bâruc.
His honour propelled him so high
that no one can match his standing,
wherever anyone will put knights to the test.
No woman has yet born the man

> whose strength is equal to Gahmuret's –
> I mean him who has taken up knighthood.
> Help and doughty counsel
> did he give steadily to his friends.
> He suffered much sharp grief for women.
> He had received baptism and the Christian religion:
> the Saracens mourned his death
> without hypocrisy, this is the truth.
> All the years of his life, for as long as he was conscious,
> his strength strove for fame
> and he died with knightly fame.
> He had defeated dishonesty.
> Wish him well, who lies here‹.
> This the squire said.

While Gahmuret's grave commemorates its occupant in a more personalized, presentic and individualistic way than Dido's, the squire's report of the knight's funeral arrangements suggests that he became something even more than a unique, outstanding knight. His inscribed helmet is fixed on top of a cross erected at the head of Gahmuret's grave, mirroring the position of the inscription affixed to the cross of the dying Christ. This significant *imitatio* contributes to the affordance of Gahmuret's tomb, which is not a passive object, but has the power to move its onlookers to perform actions; the squire is incited to recount his master's grave in great detail and, so he reports, the pagans whom Gahmuret lived among stopped at his grave and "prayed to him as if to their god",[15] which suggests an apotheosis after death.[16]

Furthermore, it is not an uninvolved narrator who reports these funerary arrangements, but a character from the story who knew Gahmuret and who, by reciting his epitaph and describing his grave in loving detail, mourns him as a friend. In contrast to the quick stylisation of Dido, this elaborate treatment speaks of a desire to—on the one hand—keep the dead as personally present as possible, and—on the other hand—sustain the belief that death has lifted him onto a higher plane—a paradox that can be played out in fictional epitaphs and fictional funerary arrangements, which are not subject to the laws of nature. As his body and a piece of his personal possession are turned into commemorative objects, his grave, his epitaph, and—ultimately—the metatext not only immortalise Gahmuret as the unique person he was, but ennoble and even deify him.[17]

15 Wolfram von Eschenbach 1965, *Parzival* 107,19f.: *ez betent heiden sunder spot / an in als an ir werde got*.

16 Cf. Wandhoff 2006, 75.

17 Heiko Hartmann discusses the other *epitafum* of Wolfram's text, the one on the Grail, another object of great affordance. He notes the difference of its inscription to Gahmuret's epitaph: while the latter is retrospective in listing Gahmuret's past deeds, the former gives the names of prospective servants of the grail and foresees the coming time of redemption by announcing the name of the new

While Gahmuret did not directly provide for his own remembrance—he did not stipulate as to how he should be buried, he did not even foresee his death—examples from medieval German literature in which those doomed to die reflect on the future affordance of their inscribed tomb slabs also exist. A poem written by the German *Minnesänger* Heinrich von Morungen in the early 13th century has a lovelorn speaker address his audience:

Sach ieman die vrouwen,
die man mac schouwen
in dem venster stân?
diu vil wolgetâne
diu tuot mich âne
sorgen, die ich hân.
Si liuhtet sam der sunne tuot
gegen dem liehten morgen.
ê was si verborgen.
dô muost ich sorgen.
die wil ich nu lân.

Ist aber ieman hinne,
der sîne sinne
her behalten habe?
der gê nach der schônen,
diu mit ir krônen
gie von hinnen abe;
Daz si mir ze trôste kome,
ê daz ich verscheide.
diu liebe und diu leide
diu wellen mich beide
vürdern hin ze grabe.

Wan sol schrîben kleine
reht ûf dem steine,
der mîn grap bevât,
wie liep sî mir waere
und ich ir unmaere;
swer dann über mich gât,
Daz der lese dise nôt
und ir gewinne künde,
der vil grôzen sünde,
die sî an ir vründe
her begangen hât.[18]

Grail King. Cf. Hartmann 2006, 140. Interestingly, the reference to the Grail is the only instance in Middle High German literature in which *epitafum* is used for an inscription that is not an epitaph in the funerary sense.

18 MF 129,14.

Did anyone see the lady
whom one can observe
standing in the window?
The beautiful one,
she takes away
the sorrows that I have.
She shines as does the sun
at about the time of dawn.
Before, she was hidden.
During that time, I had many sorrows.
These I will now discard.

But is there anyone in here
who has kept his senses
up until now?
He shall go to the beautiful one,
who with her crown
has gone from here;
May she come to comfort me
before I die.
Love and agony,
they both want
to send me to my grave.

May they write finely
right onto the stone
that encompasses my grave
how dear she was to me
and I loathe to her;
Whoever then steps over me,
may he read these woes
and learn of
the very great sin
that she has committed
against her lover until now.

The lover's object of desire is a beautiful lady. She can be seen and looked at from a distance and as long as she is present, she takes away the lover's sorrow—as does the sunrise in the morning. The second stanza expands the situation by asking for a third person, someone who is able to bring together the lover and the lady who has gone away—as does the setting sun in the evening. A third person is needed because of the announced death of the lover (*ê daz ich verscheide*). Love and grief threaten to take him to his grave. This threat is intended to enforce oral communication between the lover and the lady. But instead of imagining a future conversation the third stanza pictures an epitaph on a tomb slab.

The described affordance of this tomb slab is noteworthy. We learn of a stone which encompasses (*bevât*) the grave, but are not informed about the exact spatial positioning. The speaker then imagines passers-by walking over the grave, tomb slabs on the floor being common in the late Antique World and in the European Middle Ages. But the poem not only describes the possibility to use the grave as a footpath; the text establishes this practice of walking over someone's grave as a special and effective event. That is why the writing on the stone should be small and fine (*kleine*) and attached right onto the stone—not onto the edge or onto a hidden location. This small and fine writing contributes to the tomb's affordance; it may force the passer-by not only to stop but also to lean forward, to bow or even to kneel down. The inscription on the tomb slab is designed to affect bodies, to influence their movements and to incite them to read, to speak for the dead lover who had never been able to express his affection while alive. The fictional tomb slab thus creates an exceptional form of presence by connecting material and spatial positioning, the writing and the potential receiver.

In fact, the imagined tomb and epitaph constitute an instance of continuous communication and agency which overcomes the difficulties and conditions of oral forms of expressing love and affection. Death makes the lover an author.[19] The epitaph provides a chance of expression by giving the lover a voice he did not have before. But the written words not only enable unlikely communication after death; both the longevity of poetry and the materiality of the tomb slab it imagines make it possible to address a reader permanently. While the Bible states that "the letter killeth",[20] in Morungen's poem it is death that gives birth to the letter.[21] As an epitaph, the imagined written lines also double and repeat the poem. The epitaph and the poem are closely connected not only thematically, but also as similar forms of practice. Writing poetry equals making an inscription, a more powerful practice than writing on paper because it is the expression of one sovereign voice permanently speaking; there is no equivalent answer to an inscription, effective because it is both monophonic and material.

Aspects of the other epitaphs discussed in this paper, then, are brought together in Morungen's poem. Like the humanist scholar Wilhelm Holtzmann, who also composed his own epitaph and was laid to rest in St Peter's Church, Morungen's speaker

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19 Michel Foucault notes how the idea or even the imminent threat of death once gave rise to the production of literature: while the Greek epic heroes have Homer's songs celebrate their eternal glory and Sheherazade strings together story after story to ward off her execution, modern literature including Flaubert, Proust, and Kafka, in contrast, has allowed a writer's work (with its universal significance) to be the death of its (particular, singular) author; cf. Foucault 2001, 1624. Morungen's text, however, suggests that this dichotomy is not chronological. His medieval *Minnesänger*, too, in fictionalizing his death has to become "a victim of his own writing" (Foucault, ibid.) as do to modern authors, but at the same time he preserves his individuality by linking his story (*dise nôt*) to his own grave.

20 King James Bible, 2 Cor 3.6: "Who also hath made us able ministers of the new testament; not of the letter, but of the spirit: for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life".

21 Volker Mertens reads this reversal as an ironic commentary on the Biblical dictum that advocates for the veneration of the lady in the here and now, cf. Mertens 2005, 46 f.

takes care to perpetuate his voice in order to stay present and effective even after death. Like Dido's funerary inscription in Heinrich von Veldeke's *Romance of Eneas*, his epitaph stylises him as a model, unhappy lover, identified with this fate for eternity. Like Gahmuret's in *Parzival*, however, his eternalisation is also personalised: it is Gahmuret's own face that shines through the transparent grave, and Morungen's specific lady and her faults that always recall this unique instance of fatal love. While the inscription on Dido's coffin is purposefully given very little affordance and is not interacted with in order to allow the narrator to close the door on her character, Gahmuret's peculiar grave arrangement takes over his agency and thus permits him to shine on. His tomb and its inscription make votaries of the pagans and an elaborate narrator of the squire. Gahmuret needs to be kept alive in this manner to provide a powerful paradigm for his son Parzival, himself also a figure of light and redemption, validating the text's emphasis on genealogy. Morungen's lovelorn speaker also offers a literary model by imagining writers as the ones who can bestow affordance on an artefact. His love story can be walked over again and again with every new reading of both the poem and the epitaph.

With this paper we hope to have illustrated some instances of how complex narratives can imagine and construct practices of writing that transcend the ordinary and possible customs associated with texts. Hopefully, this area of inquiry will also prove to be inspiring for those academic disciplines that primarily deal with 'real' material artefacts and not metatexts taken from medieval poems and romances.

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Alexander Starre

Social Texts: How to Account for the Cultural Work of Carrier Media

This essay develops a perspective from the field of American Studies, which on the surface of things could hardly be more distant from the historical focus of this volume. Americanists hardly venture into the premodern period, coterminous as the idea of "America" is with the end of this historiographical era. Neither do they concern themselves with the geographical areas under investigation here. Yet the interdisciplinary focus of the Heidelberg research center "Material Text Cultures" strikes a chord with my field, foremost perhaps in its strategic alignment of materiality with cultural studies. In itself, American Studies has an interesting position vis-à-vis the idea of "culture". A relative latecomer to the ensemble of modern language studies and philologies, it distinguished itself strategically from its paramount predecessor English by decentering literature and by poaching on various other disciplines such as sociology and history in order to take on the expansive form of American Cultural Studies now taught in institutions worldwide. Alongside the still vital role of literature in this scheme, the field saw the emergence of visual culture, popular culture, media history, film and television studies, and music as central nodes of research. In recent years, scholars have begun to explore the function of objects within processes of cultural evolution, leading to a surging amount of studies on what is now referred to as American material culture. By and large, however, such studies understand material culture as encompassing tools, objects collected in museums and archives, memory sites, as well as the materials of everyday existence.[1] Literature, then, figures mainly as an archive of fictional records *about* material culture, as in Bill Brown's seminal work on thing theory and the role of objects in fiction.[2] Yet, in a very basal form literature itself has always been a form of material culture, reliant on the circulation of raw materials and artifacts. Modern, typographic cultures need material media as much as pre-modern, non-typographic ones. Here, then, fields as disparate as Classics, archaeology, mediaeval studies and modern literary studies find a common research perspective: to unearth, recover, analyze, and interpret the traces and records of lives lived in the past and to build upon these artifacts our accounts of how cultures communicated about themselves and about each other 10, 100, or 1,000 years ago.

For the time being, I will attempt to downplay the vast historical gap that divides these fields and focus on some concrete but also some very abstract connecting lines between the classical period, the Middle Ages and the modern Anglo-American scene.

1 For a succinct overview of recent approaches, see Tischleder/Ribbat 2013.
2 Cf. Brown 2003

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With regard to the textual media of everyday life and against the rhetoric of newness and revolutions that is dominant in media studies circles, we can perhaps posit the notion that relative durability is a prime characteristic of various media. So while theorists of the modern nation like Benedict Anderson have largely explored the ramifications of mass printing, it would be a gross misrepresentation to say that the inscriptive forms pioneered in ancient Rome have no place within modern and contemporary media ecologies. The visual and inscriptive protocols of Trajan's Column, for example, have transported shades of their meaning to the façade of the Butler Library at Columbia University in New York. The architects and designers of this library set the philosophical masters of Western Civilization on top of its imposing Ionic stone pillars: the names of Homer, Plato, Cicero, and Virgil look down on the passing crowds below, as well as on the graduating seniors at each year's commencement (fig. 1).

Fig. 1: Inscription on the façade of the Butler Library at Columbia University in New York © Alexander Starre.

The library thus sets in stone a selection of authors taught in Columbia's core curriculum. To speak these names aloud or to read them in print has little in common with the aesthetic experience of walking across this campus and perceiving the formal Roman capitals in their elevated height above one's head.[3]

3 Type designers of the present have frequently looked to artifacts like Trajan's column for inspiration. In 1998, Carol Twombly designed the font 'Trajan', a faithful adaptation of the column's script

This imagined scenario of standing in front of Butler Library calls to mind the excellent abstract circulated before the 'Writing Matters'-conference. In its first sentence, we read about an idealized "visitor" strolling the streets of an ancient or mediaeval town, taking in the sights of various inscriptions along the way. The structure of this sentence is indicative of a very large conundrum in the study of culture: it always appears to begin and end, to stream from and coalesce within the agency and experience of humans. This essays aims to complicate this matter a bit, before sketching some alternate pathways. The growing interest in objects and artifacts as social agents or mediators in recent cultural theories is a severe challenge to the epistemological primacy of human experience. The question this essay is meant to tackle is how to account for 'carrier media' in interdisciplinary work on cultural communication. The first part provides a brief sketch of earlier impulses from literary and cultural studies that attempted to come to terms with the agency of textual objects. With recourse to the New Historicist notion of 'cultural work', I return to the example of Butler library at the end of this first section. The second part briefly outlines three theoretical concerns that may form interfaces for future transdisciplinary and transhistorical conversations about material text cultures.

1 The Agency of Textual Media

Among native speakers of English, the term 'carrier media' will probably raise some eyebrows. Admittedly, the phrase sounds clunky, a bit pedantic, and perhaps also Germanic. Still, the German term *Trägermedium* deserves a proper English equivalent, as it is such a handy form of combining all the different materialities of communication from stone, to wax tablet, to paper, to electronic screen. 'Media' in and of itself would be a perfectly suitable umbrella term for this assortment, weren't it for the fact that media studies—specifically in the Anglo-American grain—has bloated this category to such an extent that it is now commonly used to contain technologies, materials, cultural practices and ideologies.[4] Another competing term, more estab-

(Bringhurst 2012, 120). It has since become a popular display font, used for example on posters for movies set in Ancient Greece or Rome.

4 The differing usages of the term 'media' are certainly confusing, as Marie-Laure Ryan observes: "Ask a sociologist or cultural critic to enumerate media, and he will answer: TV, radio, cinema, the Internet. An art critic may list: music, painting, sculpture, literature, drama, the opera, photography, architecture. A philosopher of the phenomenologist school would divide media into visual, auditory, verbal, and perhaps gustatory and olfactory [...]. An artist's list would begin with clay, bronze, oil, watercolor, fabrics, and it may end with exotic items used in so-called mixed media works, such as grasses, feathers, and beer can tabs. An information theorist or historian of writing will think of sound waves, papyrus scrolls, codex books, and silicon chips" (Ryan 2004, 15–16). Ryan here presents a good overview of various approaches that study media as general phenomena bound up with processes lished in semiotics and perhaps also in archaeology, is ‘sign carrier’ or *Zeichenträger*. This term, however, squares unevenly with the renewed interested in the materiality of texts, in that it insinuates that sign and carrier are separate entities. The possibility that a certain material substrate has in itself potent semiotic significance recedes behind its functional determination. A modified perspective on carrier media has three goals: first, it aims to integrate the seemingly mundane materialities of stone or paper into the domain of media theory, whose electronic bias has fueled a strong fixation on technologies; second, it emphasizes the supreme role of storage and display (as opposed to transmission) within the communication process; third, it rhetorically activates the medium so that the medium gets to do something: it is not the person who carries the medium, but the medium-as-carrier that counts.

Expressions of this idea of medial agency far predate Marshall McLuhan’s influential, but somewhat esoteric writings on the subject. In the *Areopagitica*, his defense of the freedom of the press from 1644, John Milton already perceived a strange, culture-creating force in written documents:

> For Books are not absolutely dead things, but doe contain a potencie of life in them to be as active as that soule was whose progeny they are; nay they do preserve as in a violl the purest efficacie and extraction of that living intellect that bred them. I know they are as lively, and as vigorously productive, as those fabulous Dragons teeth; and being sown up and down, may chance to spring up armed men.[5]

Milton’s fascination with bibliographic power is steeped in an organic understanding of the book as a quasi-religious textual-material amalgam. In the 18th century, however, a growing consensus arose that split the supposedly redundant externalities of writing and bookmaking from the essence of intellectual activity. As new copyright laws in Britain and elsewhere arose, the legalistic and aesthetic fiction of the immaterial and stable literary work became the new paradigm.[6] Along with the idea of the

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of communication and artistic production. The influential media historian William Uricchio states that he rejects a notion of media as observable entities, such as texts or technologies: “Instead, I see media as cultural practices which envelop these and other elements within a broader fabric offered by particular social orders, mentalities, and the lived experiences of their producers and users” (Uricchio 2003, 24). There is of course little fault to find with the conviction that the larger field of media studies has to confront the cultural contexts that surround media like the phonograph record or the DVD. Yet, strategic concerns also motivate such spacious conceptualizations of ‘media’, specifically with regard to expanding the boundaries of one’s own discipline. Uricchio’s expansive notion makes it difficult to speak of ‘media’ in the singular form.

5 Milton 2006, 1816–1817.

6 For a succinct account of the history of copyright, see Rose 1993. Hayles 2005, 143–147, inquires into the ideological underpinnings of copyright law, with a special focus on the affordances of storage media.

originary author, this fiction of ideal textual stability has of course been thoroughly debunked by the French post-structuralists Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault.

In many regards, however, literary scholarship has long had to grapple with the heritage of this idealistic conception of artistic creations, leading to a lingering love/hate relationship with the materialities of communication. The intrinsic method of analyzing literary texts, championed by the post-World War II New Critics, inaugurated the paradigm of the autonomous literary text, complete in and of itself. Through its proximity to linguistics, new critical hermeneutics operated on the principle that text artworks are immaterial constructs of speech or thought. The backlash against New Critical formalism came in many shapes and sizes, from Marxist to feminist criticism, from ethnic studies to reception theory; all of this played out against the slow eclipse of literary studies by cultural studies. As radical as the break between later schools and the New Criticism was, the battles of the day were almost entirely fought on the level of theory, not of method. Seldom did anyone challenge the epistemological benefits of close reading.

Within this wave of revisionary programs, the New Historicism holds definitive value for historical studies of cultural production. While often blunt and poetic in their declarations of intent, New Historicists share the interest to practice historical and aesthetic study as a form of anthropology, somewhat akin to the "text-anthropology" outlined by Markus Hilgert.[7] In *Practicing New Historicism*, the English Literature specialists Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt describe this anthropological impulse as follows: "[W]e wanted to find in the past real bodies and living voices, and if we knew that we could not find these—the bodies having long moldered away and the voices fallen silent—we could at least seize upon those traces that seemed to be close to actual experience."[8] To match this romantic yearning for "real bodies" and "real experience", Greenblatt, Gallagher and other scholars turned to cultural anthropology and ethnology, as well as to the wide-ranging oeuvre of Michel Foucault. From anthropologist Clifford Geertz, they took an understanding of culture as text. With recourse to Max Weber, Geertz had described culture as the "webs of significance" that bind humans together—webs that are open to hermeneutic interpretation.[9] Foucault's work added to this the idea of discourse—a helpful umbrella term that accounts for all social utterances outside the narrow domain of literature and art.

Yet, the idea of discourse only superficially glosses over the ultimate stability in method: close reading—whether in the guise of New Critical formalism or in Geertzian thick description—remained the standard operating procedure of cultural analysis. Foucault himself had actually aimed beyond this simplifying gesture of understanding culture as text. His *Archaeology of Knowledge* repeatedly reaches out to the

7 Cf. Hilgert 2010.
8 Gallagher/Greenblatt 2001, 30.
9 Geertz 1973, 5.

materiality of signifiers: “The statement”, Foucault writes at one point, “is always given through some material medium, even if that medium is concealed, even if it is doomed to vanish as soon as it appears. And the statement not only needs this materiality; its materiality is not a given to it, in addition once all its determinations have been fixed: it is partly made up of this materiality.”[10] While Friedrich Kittler expanded this shade of discourse theory with great force, the cultural form of literary analysis pioneered by New Historicism saw the intertextual exchange of ideas as playing out in a field of circulating energies, negotiations, and representational struggles—with little room left for robust artifactual components.

Nevertheless, one of the most useful components of the New Historicist theoretical repertoire is the idea of “cultural work”, which coincides surprisingly well with Bruno Latour’s praxeology of social mediators.[11] To speak of the cultural work of a specific artifact entails a critical extension of hermeneutics from the internal dynamics of a textual artifact toward the social connections it brings into the world. From the basal interpretive question of what a text *says* the spectrum now extends to the query: what does a text *do*? What kinds of collectivity can be built from a specific artifact? Does its situated materiality speak to a certain subculture or does it aim for broad appeal?

To return to the example of the Butler Library in New York, one could thus formulate that its stone façade not just represents a canon of European authors, but that it actively calls this canon into being. Aside from their retrospective angle on the classical authors, the library’s inscriptions perform prospective cultural work. Completed in 1934, Butler Library complemented the pantheon of European high culture with the names of major American writers such as Washington Irving, Henry David Thoreau, and Herman Melville. Columbia’s president Nicholas Murray Butler chose all these names. The monument thus suggests a continuum of Western civilization whose roots lie in Europe and whose latest outcroppings occurred in North America. The entire building therefore creates a national canon—instead of merely reflecting it—and attempts to ensure its survival in its aesthetic form. This male canon came under attack in 1989, as protesters unfurled a 140-foot banner on top of the structure that listed a set of female authors from Sappho to Virginia Woolf. Amid the struggles about reading lists and literary canons that took place all across the U.S. in the 1980s, the student Laura Hotchkiss Brown had unsuccessfully attempted to install the banner during the commencement ceremony of the previous year.[12] Both events were covered in the national newspapers, yet the banner itself has since been removed. This fight

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10 Foucault 1972, 100.

11 Whereas the notion of “cultural work” has informed several illuminating studies of American culture, it remains somewhat undertheorized. A good overview of relevant concepts is contained in Rohr/Schneck/Sielke 2000.

12 Silver 1999, 45.

for representation and recognition has a distinct media component. A banner made of paper or fabric will temporarily subvert or deface buildings and statues; yet, the staying power of inscriptions in stone unfolds its own historical agency.[13] The creationary force of historical monuments and artifacts likely has such a central position in American literary scholarship because the unprecedented modernity of the United States as a nation lies in the very possibility of constructing a state on founding documents and the collective belief therein.[14]

2 Three Concerns for Current Scholarship

From the wider arena of cultural-historical inquiry, notions of embodiment and materiality have recently migrated back into the traditional domains of literary analysis. The increasing theoretical relevance of these areas also owes to the emergence of digital communication networks, which have exposed the printed media circuit as anything but a natural way of organizing social communication. The following section outlines three central concerns, which—at least from the vantage point of literary studies—can advance the transdisciplinary exploration of the aesthetic nexus between language and media. The first of these clusters is centered on method, the second on socio-cultural frame theories, and the third on textual structures.

2.1 Presence and Medial Close Reading

Even while close reading still forms the master method of literary and cultural studies in the present, there has been renewed attention to the fact that acts of reading—as cognitive language processing—never occur in isolation from other sensual channels of world appropriation, such as tasting and touching. In his programmatic, often polemical, works on presence, Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht has mapped out his theory of presence as an explicit counterprogram to hermeneutics, starting with his 1994 essay "A Farewell to Interpretation". Gumbrecht formulates a more succinct argument in his 2004 monograph *Production of Presence*. Reflecting on his own and his associates' work from the 1980s, he explains: "We no longer believed that a meaning complex could be kept separated from its mediality, that is, from the difference of appearing on a printed page, on a computer screen, or in a voice mail message. But we didn't quite

13 In his foundational media-theoretical work, Harold Innis had theorized the difference between ephemeral, but easily dispersed media and long-lasting, but stationary media with the phrases "space-biased" and "time-biased". Cf. Innis 2007, 196.

14 Accordingly, historians such as Trish Loughran have recently refigured the history of the nation as "a material history of space, things, and people" (Loughran 2007, 440).

know how to deal with this interface of meaning and materiality."[15] In the concept of the "production of presence", Gumbrecht perceives a solution to this challenge:

> If *producere* means, literally, 'to bring forth', 'to pull forth', then the phrase 'production of presence' would emphasize that the effect of tangibility that comes from the materialities of communication is also an effect in constant movement. In other words, to speak of 'production of presence' implies that the (spatial) tangibility effect coming from the communication media is subjected, in space, to movements of greater or lesser proximity, and of greater or lesser intensity.[16]

Gumbrecht here introduces a procedural understanding of materiality, which may lift the discussion of materialities onto a conceptually more advanced plane. Aside from the keyword "production", which Gumbrecht discusses at length, the second important concept in the above passage is the "tangibility effect". Distinguishing presence effects from meaning effects and arguing for a complex interplay between the two is one of the main goals of *Production of Presence*. To extrapolate from this: as far as the mediality of texts is concerned, pages, tablets, walls, and other writing surfaces do not possess much intrinsic value through their material presence. But the aesthetic interplay of text and carrier medium may in some cases cause a tangibility effect—in other cases, it might not.

In his brief book, Gumbrecht does not provide extended readings of artistic creations that would somehow corroborate this view. On a conceptual level, however he introduces a suggestive typology pertaining to the cultural relevance of materiality. Gumbrecht maps a number of cultural practices to a bipolar scheme, the opposing nodes of which he names "meaning culture" and "presence culture". These definitions, he cautions, should not be taken to denominate any empirically existing culture, but merely ideal concepts, the aspects of which are present in various cultures to differing degrees. Historically, he argues, Western societies have moved from a medieval culture of presence to a modern culture of meaning. This historical axis, however, is not his prime interest since he concedes that elements of presence culture are still effective today. People in meaning cultures, he goes on to argue, favor the mind over the body and perceive themselves to be external in relation to the world.[17] Bodies matter much less than thoughts and interpretations. Conversely, presence cultures habitually conjoin meaning and material: "In a presence culture, the things of the world, on top of their material being, have an inherent meaning (not just a meaning conveyed to them through interpretation)."[18] These diverging epistemolo-

15 Gumbrecht 2004, 11–12.
16 Gumbrecht 2004, 17.
17 Gumbrecht 2004, 80.
18 Gumbrecht 2004, 80.

gies continue in the different understandings of what a sign is and which role humans are supposed to play in the relation to their environment.[19]

Building on these conceptual outlines, Gumbrecht proposes a notion of aesthetic experience that brings presence and meaning into close contact. In his view, aesthetic experience is characterized not simply by meaning-based interaction with representations; rather, he argues, perceptive interaction with aesthetic objects calls up an "oscillation" between meaning effects and presence effects.[20] He relates this thesis to Niklas Luhmann's argument that the phenomenological totality of perception is not only a prerequisite for artistic communication, but an inherent component of it.[21] Gumbrecht pushes this thesis further by insisting that works of art enforce the possibility to experience meaning and presence simultaneously. Neither effect will cancel out the other one: "[M]eaning will not bracket, will not make the presence effects disappear, and […] the—unbracketed—physical presence of things (of a text, of a voice, of a canvas with colors, of a play performed by a team) will not ultimately repress the meaning dimension."[22] Overall, then, the relationship between these two facets is held to be unstable—thus the term "oscillation". Aesthetic experience is thereby invested with "a component of provocative instability and unrest", a feature that encourages the necessary slowing down of perceptive experience vis-à-vis a work of art.[23]

Such slow engagement with textual artifacts is the prime marker of close reading as an analytical practice. Contra Gumbrecht, I believe that a number of very promising studies suggest the emergence of an interpretive practice that Jerome McGann in *The Textual Condition* has provisionally termed "materialist hermeneutics".[24] Aside from McGann, the art critic and book historian Johanna Drucker has proven that interpretive engagement with printed texts can integrate word, image, and material even as it builds on the contingencies of semiosis that post-structuralism exposed.[25] A core

19 Onto this bipolar scheme, Gumbrecht adds four ideal types of world appropriation, i.e. techniques that humans might employ to interact with the world around them. Listed in an order from presence-based to meaning-based, these four techniques are: 1. Eating the things of the world; 2. Penetrating things and bodies (as in sexual intercourse or physical violence); 3. Mysticism (as in ritualized body practices or being in a state of possession); 4. Interpretation and communication (Gumbrecht 2004, 86–90). These interactive methods may occur with shifting frequency throughout the life of individuals and the larger trajectories of various societies. Gumbrecht argues that within contemporary culture, the first three types are often relegated to the margins while the fourth practice appears to be the only reasonable way in which humans may achieve an understanding of their external environment.

20 Gumbrecht 2004, 107.

21 Cf. Luhmann 2000, 22–26, where Luhmann claims that art complicates perception and thus stands apart from more mundane forms of communication.

22 Gumbrecht 2004, 108.

23 Gumbrecht 2004, 108.

24 McGann 1991, 15.

25 Drucker 1994.

aim of materialist hermeneutics is currently to develop an analytical lexicon that does not subsume the physical features of texts to their semiotic content. The result may shape up to become a form of "medial close reading", that will transport key methodological impulses from the study of literature to other textual media.[26]

Finally, Gumbrecht's polemic against interpretation ignores the basic form of scholarly expression in the humanities: as long as the textual account remains the standard protocol of academia, all physical features of experience will have to be transformed, and thereby translated and interpreted within and into language. The alternative would be to remain silent. At this juncture, Bruno Latour suggests that we should concentrate on writing better accounts. For Latour, a good account is "a narrative or a description or a proposition where all the actors *do something* and don't just sit there."[27] Accordingly, in correlating things to meaning, he suggests that one should probe the "many metaphysical shades between full causality and sheer inexistence."[28] This would also undercut accusations of technological determinism, frequently leveled against media scholars such as McLuhan and Kittler. "In addition to determining and serving as 'backdrop for human action'", Latour submits, "things might authorize, allow, afford, encourage, permit, suggest, influence, block, render possible, forbid, and so on."[29] It is this side of Latour—the rhetorician, not the theorist—that still needs to be fully recognized.

2.2 A Sociology of Texts

A second point concerns the relationship between materialist hermeneutics and the study of culture. At this intersection, researchers most pressingly need theory to tie together individual artifacts, their meanings, and their social function. Such theoretical vocabularies must reconstruct the complexities of social interaction in the best possible manner. The classicist William A. Johnson has recently argued for a "comprehensive approach toward understanding reading cultures, one that insists on the symbiotics of medium, literary text, writer, and reader as something deeply embedded within society, culture, politics, ideology."[30] One of the most advanced, interdisciplinary frameworks in this arena is Niklas Luhmann's social systems theory, which explicitly links the historical evolution of society to the development of writing and information storage systems.[31] However, systems theory critically complicates the

26 I develop the idea of "medial close reading" at more length in Starre 2015.
27 Latour 2005, 128.
28 Latour 2005, 72.
29 Latour 2005, 72.
30 Johnson 2013, 119.
31 For the classical era, see especially his chapter "Writing" in *Theory of Society* (Luhmann 2012, 150–173).

notion of medial agency, as it expels material carriers of information from the center of social communication. Even more radically, Luhmann also displaces the human subject from the center of society. Humans don't communicate, as his famous dictum resumes, "only communications can communicate".[32] While systems theory has been developed mainly for the differentiated societies of the modern era, its principles of communication far transcend the applicability of competing theoretical schools. Against other, often more normative theories of culture, the foundational tenets of systemic inquiry see order and stability as phenomena to be explained, not as problems to be overcome. Furthermore, through notions such as operational closure, irritation, and structural coupling, Luhmann erects a macro-image of society that counterbalances the external frameworks with the internal dynamics of communication.

In a very useful essay from 2002, Andreas Reckwitz lists Luhmann's work among a number of other social theories he terms "culturalist textualism":[33]

> Despite profound differences between Foucault's poststructuralism, Geertz's symbolistic hermeneutics and Luhmann's theory of communication, all these approaches share the position of locating symbolic orders not in mind, but on the level of extra-mental signs—be they linguistic or non-linguistic. This conceptual shift from 'mental categories' to textual or discursive codes, however, does not lead to a fundamental revision of the status of material entities. The role of the subject—structuralist or phenomenological—is replaced by discourse, symbols or communication (in the sense of Luhmann) but the material objects continue to appear as products of symbolic orders, as objects of knowledge.[34]

With specific regard to Luhmann, Reckwitz contends that systems theory is concerned with materiality only as an environmental factor. Objects are thus always already outside of society, forming "organic and psychic systems in the 'environment' of the social (and the psychic), which are interpreted by social (and psychic) systems in a specific way."[35] While this is a fair representation of Luhmann's general outlook on the material underpinnings of social communication, Reckwitz ignores one group of objects: artistic media.[36]

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32 "Der Mensch kann nicht kommunizieren; nur die Kommunikation kann kommunizieren" (Luhmann 1992, 31).

33 Reckwitz 2002, 204. Reckwitz's essay clusters cultural theory into three categories: "1) the sociology of knowledge as formulated by classical sociology in the work of Mannheim, Scheler and Durkheim; 2) 'high modern' cultural theory as we find it in its different versions in structuralism and social phenomenology (two variations of 'culturalist mentalism'), in poststructuralist and constructivist 'textualism' and in Habermas's 'intersubjectivism'; 3) contemporary practice theory formulated in a radical version concerning the status of 'artefacts' in the work of Bruno Latour." (Reckwitz 2002, 196)

34 Reckwitz 2002, 204–205.

35 Reckwitz 2002, 205.

36 This is perhaps due to the fact that Reckwitz references *Social Systems* and *Die Wissenschaft der Gesellschaft*, both of which give comparatively little room to considerations of media.

Specifically in the domain of art, media have a non-trivial function, which includes the effects of their material properties. Luhmann's "cultural textualism" indeed relegates materiality to the environment of society. However, this only means that social communication is "operationally closed" to the materialities of communication, not that it is completely autonomous from them.[37] In connection to art, Luhmann expressly pointed out that specific forms of visual or textual communication can activate their medium:

> For its part, a medium—the material of which the artwork is crafted, the light it breaks, or the whiteness of the paper from which figures or letters emerge—can be used as form, provided that this form succeeds in fulfilling a differentiating function in the work. In contrast to natural objects, an artwork's material participates in the formal play of the work and is thereby acknowledged as form. The material is allowed to appear as material; it does not merely resist the imprint of form. Whatever serves as medium becomes form once it makes a difference, once it gains an informational value owing exclusively to the work of art.[38]

In the face of the current buzz around objects and presence in cultural criticism, as witnessed in the writings of Latour and Gumbrecht, the reserved stance of Luhmann's work may appear somewhat labored and dry. Yet systems theory's media focus and its transhistorical understanding of communication qualify it as the more viable tool for fine-grained analyses of medial agency.[39] The broad understanding of things in Latourian Actor-Network-Theory does not adequately grasp the specificity of textual media such as writings on walls, steles, or monuments.

To bring systems theory to bear on the cultural functions and values of carrier media will likely not result in a text-anthropology, but in a sociology of texts. Its main objective would be to explore how extended, social forms of mediated communication became possible and how they endured with the help of, but sometimes also despite, human interventions. Pioneering book historians, such as Donald McKenzie and Roger Chartier, have repeatedly called for just such a sociology, which would have to be a collaborative endeavor of textual scholars from all periods in which writing formed the backbone of the social.[40]

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37 On the often misunderstood concept of operational closure, see Luhmann 2012, 49–68.

38 Luhmann 2000, 108–109.

39 See Luhmann 2012, 113–189, for an extensive consideration of the interrelationship between social communication, language, and carrier media. Wellbery submits that "one feature that distinguishes Luhmann's theory from those of such classical social theorists as Durkheim, Simmel, Weber, Mead, and Parsons is the centrality it accords to media-theoretical considerations" (Wellbery 2010, 297).

40 In his seminal work *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*, the textual scholar D. F. McKenzie writes: "At one level, a sociology simply reminds us of the full range of social realities which the medium of print had to serve, from receipt blanks to bibles. But it also directs us to consider the human motives and interactions which texts involve at every stage of their production, transmission, and consumption. It alerts us to the roles of institutions, and their own complex structures, in affect-

Several approaches in this direction are currently in their formative phase. The emergent field of media archaeology has seen stimulating work on the history of media technologies and formats, specifically on practices and apparatuses that have become obsolete. Scholars in this area borrow the terminology of traditional archeological practice, rendering their work as "excavations" of neglected and forgotten media.[41] With less investment in media theory, Katherine Hayles and Jessica Pressman have suggested a unifying framework for textual inquiry that they term "Comparative Textual Media". Exploring carrier media as expressive parts of the communicative process, Hayles and Pressman hold, has only been a minor concern in subfields of the humanities. "A media perspective", they suggest, "would move these fields form the margins to the center of contemporary humanistic inquiry. In addition, it would recognize that recursive feedback loops between form and content are not only characteristic of special cases [...] but are the necessary ground from which inquiry proceeds."[42] This type of recursivity, i.e. the manner and degree in which texts are sensitive to their material support and vice versa, constitutes a suggestive interface for historical research into the evolution of writing cultures.

2.3 Metamedia

Building on my work on recent American literature, the third and final point directly addresses such textual recursivity. Moving beyond materialist theories and methods, my book *Metamedia: American Book Fictions and Literary Print Culture after Digitization* (2015) explores the ways in which literary texts themselves have constructed feedback loops between textuality and mediality. This aesthetic mode permeates an emergent form of fictional writing that stretches the boundaries of the literary work all across the physical artifact of the book. Gumbrecht merely alludes to the potential of text to address its carrier medium, conjecturing that "literary texts have ways of also bringing the presence-dimension of the typography, of the rhythm of language, and even of the smell of paper into play."[43] Yet, in his applications of the philosophy of presence, Gumbrecht has concentrated almost exclusively on performative forms of aesthetic expression, such as dance, music, and sports. In recent works by the American authors Mark Z. Danielewski, Dave Eggers, Jonathan Safran Foer and others, we

ing the forms of social discourse, past and present" (McKenzie 1999, 15). Following McKenzie, Roger Chartier holds: "By refusing to separate the analysis of symbolic meanings from that of the material forms by which they are transmitted, such an approach sharply challenges the longstanding division between the sciences of interpretation and those of description, hermeneutics and morphology" (Chartier 2007, vii–viii).

41 Cf. Huhtamo/Parikka 2011; Parikka 2013.

42 Hayles/Pressman 2013, ix–x.

43 Gumbrecht 2004, 109.

find an unprecedented interest in the materiality of the printed codex. In a sense, these authors rehash the self-reflexive gestures of postmodern metafiction on the level of the medium. Instead of metafictions, their works become ‘metamedia’.
I have proposed the following definition of this concept:

> Metamediality is a form of artistic self-reference that systematically mirrors, addresses, or interrogates the material properties of its medium. Literary metamediality draws attention to the status of texts as medial artifacts and examines the relationship between the text and its carrier medium, such as the printed book. In linking discourse and medium, metamediality reduces complexity by stabilizing a specific sensory experience of a literary work. Simultaneously, it fosters an increasingly complex, embodied mode of reading, which appreciates the entire artifact as an integrated work of art.[44]

A metamedial text, in the most general sense, knows about its environment: it makes the reader perceive not merely language, but materialized script or print. The forms of metamedial expression run the gamut from tacit and implicit variants such as textual motifs, to intermediate forms in suggestive design and typography, and to explicit, disruptive engagement with the medium. While contemporary print culture evolves within and against ongoing digitization, such close encounters between discourse and medium can be found at different junctures of literary history. Andrew Piper has shown this for German and British Romanticism, as has Janine Barchas with regard to the 18th-century novel.[45] In all this, the *longue duree* in the material history of writing comes into better view if we refrain from the rhetoric of technological revolutions and instead focus on the gradual co-evolution of materials, letterforms, and writing practices.

As recently theorized by Johanna Drucker and Emily McVarish, graphic design may be thought to form the missing link between non-typographic, bibliographic, and electronic cultures. With regard to the classical era, Drucker and McVarish write:

> Within the city-states of Greece and the extensive, multicultural empire of Rome, reading entailed more than the recognition of letters and words. A text’s physical and social setting were taken into account, and its graphic and material codes were interpreted. Classical Greek and Roman cultures used writing for individual expression, interpersonal communication, commemorative acts of public record, and decrees or commands. These functions were distinguished graphically by letterforms and styles, and physically by the contexts in which messages were located.[46]

Finding the metamedial aspects of ancient writing cultures would mean, then, to look for those traces in monuments, inscriptions, and more ephemeral surfaces that attempt to bridge the gap between language and iconicity on the one hand, and their

44 Starre 2015, 63–64.
45 Cf. Piper 2009; Barchas 2003.
46 Drucker/McVarish 2013, 17.

underlying substance on the other. So as not to force the current intellectual fascination with materiality on a distant culture, careful close reading—medial close reading, that is—has to corroborate our intuition that writing matters in the literal sense envisioned by this volume. The problem of how to account for carrier media thereby turns into the task of describing, analyzing, and interpreting the ways in which carrier media account for themselves.

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Francisca Feraudi-Gruénais

Das synaktive Potential von Beischriften

1 Drei Gedanken zur Einführung

1. Das wechselseitige Verhältnis von und zwischen den sog. ‚Medien' Bild und Text steht seit geraumer Zeit im engeren Fokus der Forschung. Verbunden mit den mittlerweile weitgehend in den akademischen Sprachgebrauch übergegangenen Termini der ‚Interaktion' und ‚Ikonotextualität', daneben den noch zurückhaltender verwendeten Wortschöpfungen der ‚Sym-', ‚Bi-' und ‚Intermedialitäten' oder der ‚chronotopischen Dichte' von Ikonotexten, beschäftigt das Spannungsfeld von Bild und Text keineswegs nur die Altertumswissenschaften (letztere bislang wohl sogar noch am wenigsten), sondern – unter Einbringung deutlich vernehmbarer wissenschaftstheoretischer Impulse – seit längerem auch Fachbereiche wie jene der Germanistik, der Literatur- und Buchwissenschaften, der Kunstgeschichte und der Filmwissenschaften.[1]

   Was außer vielen inspirierenden Einzelbeobachtungen und dem bisweilen beherzten Operieren mit eindrucksvollen Begrifflichkeiten dabei grundlegend auffällt, ist zweierlei: Zum einen das Fehlen von Definitionen der untersuchten Gegenstände bzw. Phänomene; so bspw. konkret bei der Adaption des genuin literaturwissenschaftlichen Konzepts der „Ikonotexte" auf ähnlich anmutende Phänomene der klassischen Antike, wie eben die *Beischriften*. Zum anderen das Vorliegen begrifflicher und damit auch hermeneutischer Unschärfen, so bspw. konkret bei der Beurteilung der – unausgesprochen oftmals wohl schon, jedenfalls aber nicht immer eindeutig *extrinsisch* verstandenen – *Funktion* von

1 Zu den zahlreichen Titeln der letzten beiden Dekaden s.: <http://katalog.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/cgi-bin/search.cgi?sess=37c358708fbfaf53bbd5e61a90fae9b0&start=1&pagesize=20&art=f&kat1=freitext&kat2=ti&kat3=au&op1=AND&op2=AND&var1=Intermedialit%C3%A4t%20Text%20Bild&var2=&var3=> (= 78 Buchtitel) und <http://katalog.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/cgi-bin/search.cgi?sess=37c358708fbfaf53bbd5e61a90fae9b0&start=1&pagesize=20&art=f&kat1=freitext&kat2=ti&kat3=au&op1=AND&op2=AND&var1=Intermedialit%C3%A4t%20Text%20Bild&var2=&var3=&bestand=ext> (= 138 Artikel in Fachzeitschriften) (zuletzt: 01.04.2015). – Weiterführende Anregungen verdankt die vorliegende Studie insbesondere den Beiträgen von Wallis 1973 (zu Bild und Text in der Malerei vom Mittelalter bis ins 20. Jh.), Rütz 1991 (zu Bild-Text-Interdependenzen im Uta-Codex, 11. Jh.), Wagner 1995 und 1996 (zum Konzept von Ikonotexten), Corbier 1995, Corbier/Guilhembet 2011, Newby/Leader-Newby 2007, Squire 2009 (jeweils zu unterschiedlichen Aspekten von Bild-Text-Bezügen in antiken Bildwerken) und von Möllendorff 2006 (zu Ikono-Texten der Antike).

DOI 10.1515/9783110534597-004,

Bild-Text-Phänomen und zwar dies ohne die explizite und sinnvollerweise vorzulagernde Beachtung von deren *intrinsischem Funktionieren*.[2]

2. Mittels der folgenden Überlegungen soll ein Vorschlag unterbreitet werden, wie es gelingen kann, das *synaktive Potential* als eine Größe zu erfassen, die Bild-Beischrift-Phänomene determiniert. Es wird erläutert, was unter (dem Neologismus) *synaktivem Potential* eigentlich zu verstehen ist und wozu es im heuristischen Prozess der Erforschung von *Beischriften* dienen kann.
   Als Voraussetzung hierfür gilt es freilich, erst einmal die Bandbreite der sog. ‚Beischriften' abzustecken und diese als solche zu definieren. Es geht dabei also darum, der Essenz von Beischriften qua ihres unmittelbaren Konnexes zum Bild auf die Spur zu kommen, mithin systematisch zu ergründen, was sie wesentlich ausmacht.
   Der Blick ist dabei richtungweisend auf folgende zwei Aspekte gerichtet: Einerseits auf die Ermittlung des jeweiligen *synaktiven Potentials* als einer maßgeblichen Vorbedingung, um *nach*gelagerte Fragen nach der jeweiligen *Funktion* von Beischriften in jeweils unterschiedlichen Zusammenhängen differenziert beantworten zu können. Andererseits, und *vor*gelagert, auf das synaktive Potential als einem Format, das sich – idealiter auch jenseits der Antike – als eine epochen- und kulturübergreifende Größe für das intrinsische *Funktionieren* von Beischriften eignen mag.
3. Vorliegend soll es genau um dieses *intrinsische Funktionieren* von *Beischriften*, also ausdrücklich nicht ihre *Funktion* gehen. Eine solche explizite methodische Unterscheidung wurde bisher, soweit ich sehe, noch in keiner Studie zu Beischriften vorgenommen. Um hierbei möglichst präzise vorgehen zu können, konzentriert sich die Untersuchung auf die Teilgruppe der Beischriften-*ENG* (s. u. Abb. 1–4).

2 Propädeutikum

> In ‚Theoretisch Phantastisch' wird alles auf eine klare Sprache heruntergebrochen; eine Ausdrucksweise, die ich persönlich für die einzig wahre halte, während der sonstige Wissenschaftssprech, gerade in den Kulturwissenschaften, für mich mehr mit standesdünkelhaften Ausgrenzungsversuchen zu tun hat als mit den Erfordernissen einer schwierig zu umschreibenden Materie.

So Frank Weinreich in seiner Rezension von Simon Spiegels *Theoretisch Phantastisch*, einer 2010 erschienenen kritischen Auseinandersetzung mit Tzvetan Todorovs

2 S. im Einzelnen bes. S. 54–69.

Einführung in die fantastische Literatur von 1972.[3] – „Wissenschaftssprech" versus „klare Sprache". Der (noch nicht etablierte) Neologismus synaktiv scheint diesem Anspruch auf den ersten Blick nicht unbedingt entgegen zu kommen. Wenn nun ein solches Adjektiv hier doch eingeführt werden soll, dann aufgrund der Überzeugung der Verf., dass gerade dieses Kompositum jene Eigenschaften, die Beischriften wesentlich ausmachen, adäquat zu beschreiben vermag.

Dabei liegt die eigentliche Problematik gar nicht in der vermeintlich kühnen Wortkreation. Das Problem besteht vielmehr darin, dass die Frage nach dem „*synaktiven Potential von Beischriften*" die Kenntnis einer bislang überhaupt noch nicht grundsätzlich erörterten Erscheinung voraussetzt – nämlich eben der *Beischriften* selbst mit ihren spezifischen Merkmalen, Kategorien und Funktionsweisen. Ein eigenes und an anderer Stelle abzuhandelndes Thema. Da vorliegend jedoch ein Schritt weiter gegangen werden soll, mithin das *synaktive Potential* zu erörtern ist, hat an dieser Stelle eine in der Art eines Propädeutikums gehaltene kurze Skizzierung der Hauptmerkmale von Beischriften zu genügen.[4] Dieses umfasst drei zentrale Punkte: (A) Was sind *Beischriften*, (B) Warum der Neologismus ‚*synaktiv*' im Zusammenhang mit Beischriften?, (C) Die Aspekte ‚*Funktionieren*' und ‚*Funktion*' von Beischriften?

(A) Was sind Beischriften? Definition und diachronische Entwicklung

Aus epigraphischer Perspektive lassen sich Beischriften als *Parainschriften* begreifen – eine Begriffswahl, die der unreflektierten Gewohnheit entgegenwirkt, „Beischriften" einfach den „Inschriften" zuzurechnen, was angesichts der jeweiligen Eigenschaften von *In*- und *Bei*schriften deutlich zu kurz griffe. Die Genese des Begriffs „Parainschriften" hängt zusammen mit einer vorgeschalteten eingehenden Auseinandersetzung der Verf. mit der keineswegs so trivialen Frage, was denn eigentlich „Inschriften" seien, und wie sich demgegenüber dann die Beischriften positionieren. Hilfreiche Orientierung bietet dabei der in jüngerer Zeit von Silvio Panciera vorgeschlagene Versuch einer ex-negativo-Definition von Inschriften.[5] Mutatis mutandis

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3 Quelle: http://www.polyoinos.de/page110/page110.php?id=3203695233441573168 (zuletzt: 01.04.2015).

4 Die Vorarbeiten hierfür basieren in materialbezogener Hinsicht auf dem bei der Verf. in Arbeit befindlichen *Corpus of Ancient Label Inscriptions* (CALI), in analytischer Hinsicht auf Einzeluntersuchungen der Verf. zu den Themenkomplexen „Sind Beischriften Inschriften?" (in Druckvorbereitung) und „Beischriften in frühchristlichen Bildkontexten Roms. Kontinuitäten – Neuerungen – Emblematisierungstendenzen" (Feraudi-Gruénais 2015). Weitere Studien, etwa zur „Funktion von Beischriften", befinden sich in Vorbereitung.

5 Panciera 2012 unter Rückgriff auf und in Weiterentwicklung bereits früher (Panciera 1998) geäußerter Überlegungen.

ist eine *Definition von Beischriften* als *Parainschriften (DefPI-Beischr)* im Ergebnis an folgenden Punkten festzumachen:

1. a) *Beischriften* befinden sich sowohl auf Schriftträgern des nicht-alltäglichen Gebrauchs wie auch solchen des alltäglichen Gebrauchs; dieses Merkmal verbindet sie mit und trennt sie zugleich von „Inschriften",[6]
   b) die Schriftträger von Beischriften sind gattungsmäßig genuin Bild-,[7] nicht Schriftträger, eine Voraussetzung, die sie dezidiert nicht mit den „Inschriften" teilen,[8]
2. es besteht ein offensichtlicher (inhaltlicher und topologischer) Bezug zwischen bildlicher Darstellung und Beischrift (namentlich gerade im Sinne von *Synaktion*); dieses Merkmal teilen Beischriften – qua *Parainschriften* – nur ausnahmsweise mit Inschriften, es zählt aber definitiv nicht zu den Wesensmerkmalen von „Inschriften",[9]
3. Beischriften lassen sich eindeutig unterschiedlichen *gattungstypologischen Kategorien* (*GTypKatBeischr*) (Abb. 1) zuweisen, ohne dass einzelnen davon Doppelrollen[10] zukommen würden – etwa im Sinne von ‚teils *In*-schrift / teils *Bei*-schrift". Genau aus diesem Grunde, nämlich aufgrund der dort vorliegenden Doppelrollen, gilt es, die zwei letzten, vermeintlichen, da wie Beischriften anmutenden Kategorien, nämlich die *inschriftenaffinen ‚Beischriften'* (*GTypKatBeischr 5.*) und die *Künstlersignaturen/Stifternamen* (*GTypKatBeischr 6.*), vom Schema der gattungstypologischen Kategorien von Beischriften auszunehmen (Abb. 1).

Auf Grundlage der hier definierten Merkmale weisen *Beischriften* in *inhaltlich-motivischer* Hinsicht ein beachtliches Spektrum auf, das sich allein schon für die Teilgruppe der Beischriften-*ENG* (Abb. 1) recht umfangreich ausnimmt (Abb. 2).

Bemerkenswert und gleichzeitig eine indirekte Bestätigung sowohl der zugrunde gelegten *Definition* (*DefPI-Beischr*) als auch der *gattungstypologischen* Kategorien von

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6 Anders die Definition von Panciera, wonach Inschriften auszeichnet, dass sie sich intentionell auf Schriftträgern des nicht-alltäglichen Gebrauchs finden; Panciera 2012, 8 (entspricht Panciera 1998, 314).

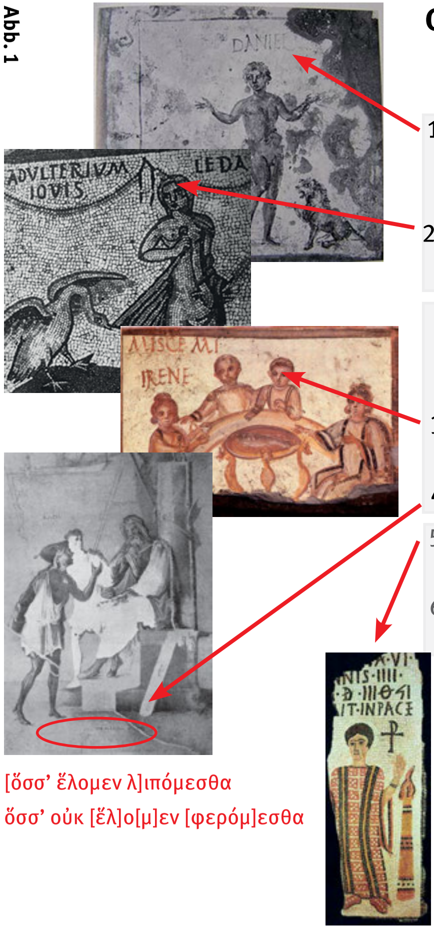
7 Keramik mit schwarz- bzw. rotfigurigem Bilddekor, Wände mit Freskenmalerei, Architekturelemente oder Steintafeln mit Reliefdekor, Fußböden mit Mosaikdekoration, um nur einige der häufigsten Träger von Beischriften zu nennen.

8 Der gesamte Diskurs um eine Definition von Inschriften durch Panciera impliziert, dass Inschriften genuin auf eigens für sie vorgesehenen Schriftträgern zu finden sind.

9 Vorgreifend handelt es sich bei Bild-Inschrift-Bezügen tatsächlich vielmehr um *Interaktionen*; s. u. S. 53.

10 Also etwaige, über deren faktische Zwitterposition (d. h. als konstitutive Elemente zugleich be-*bilderter* und be-*schrifteter* Artefakte) hinausgehende Rollen.

Abb. 1



[ὅσσ’ ἔλομεν λ]ιπόμεσθα
ὅσσ’ οὐκ [ἔλ]ο[μ]εν [φερόμ]εσθα

Gattungstypologische Kategorien von *Bei*schriften

– Grundschema –

1) Benennung von Lebewesen / mytholog./bibl. Gestalten / Gegenständlichem (Menschen/Tiere/Götter/Dinge)

2) a) Benennung von (mythologischen) Bildthemen (Muster: „*adulterium Iovis*“)

→ *Bei*schriften – eng

b) Benennung von (realistischen) Handlungsszenen (Muster: „*vicit*“ – „*θ(obitus)*“ in Gladiatorenszenen)

3) Dialoge (‚Sprechblasen‘)

4) ekphrastische Paraphrasierungen dargestellter Szenen

→ *Bei*schriften – weit

5) inschriftenaffine ‚Beischriften‘

6) Künstlersignaturen/Stifternamen

→ nicht eigentliche *Bei*schriften nach DefPI (→ *In*schriften)

Beischriften ist die Beobachtung, dass diese sich bereits in der frühchristlichen Phase – und offenbar auch im weiteren Verlauf der Spätantike – anders formieren und teilweise sogar auflösen: so verschmelzen nämlich die beiden gattungstypologischen Kategorien „Benennung von Lebewesen / mytholog./bibl. Gestalten / Gegenständlichem (Menschen / Tiere / Götter / Dinge)" (*GTypKatBeischr 1.*) und „inschriftenaffine ‚Beischriften'" (*GTypKatBeischr 5.*) (vgl. o. Abb. 1), welche letztere als nicht eigentliche Beischriften figurieren (s. o. *DefPI-Beischr 3.*), zu einer neuen ‚Mischkategorie' (*GTypKatBeischr 1.+5.*) (Abb. 3). In der weiteren Entwicklung unterliegt das einst ausdifferenzierte Spektrum an gattungstypologischen Kategorien einem nochmals fortschreitenden Ausdünnungsprozess, in dessen Folge sich ihre Kategorien letztlich auf nur zwei Typen reduzieren, nämlich die – vielfach bereits titulusartig anmutende – Benennung von Menschen/christologischen Protagonisten (*GTypKatBeischr 1.*) und die ekphrastischen Paraphrasierungen (*GTypKatBeischr 4.*) (Abb. 4). Diesen späten Merkmalen sind ferner die starken Emblematisierungstendenzen, auch jenseits der Schwelle von Spätantike zu Mittelalter,[11] zuzurechnen (Abb. 5).

11 Ausführlich hierzu im Beitrag der Verf. zu den Beischriften in frühchristlichen Bildkontexten Roms; s. o. Anm. 4.

Abb. 2

Inhaltlich-motivische Differenzierung der Darstellung mit *Bei*schriften – ENG

a) Einzelembleme	**[= gatt.-typol. Kat. 1)]**	ikonographisch weitgehend nicht selbsterkärend
b) katalogartige Darstellungen	**[= gatt.-typol. Kat. 1)]**	
c) Jagddarstellungen (Benennung von Menschen/Tieren)	**[= gatt.-typol. Kat. 1)]**	
d_1) Lebensszenen (Benennung von Menschen/Tieren)	**[= gatt.-typol. Kat. 1)]**	
d_2) Lebensszenen (Bezeichnung von Szenen)	**[gatt.typol. Kat. 2a)]**	
e_1) mythische Szenen (Benennung von Protagonisten)	**[= gatt.-typol. Kat. 1)]**	ikonographisch potentiell selbsterkärend
e_2) mythische Szenen (Bezeichnung von Szenen)	**[= gatt.-typol. Kat. 2a)]**	

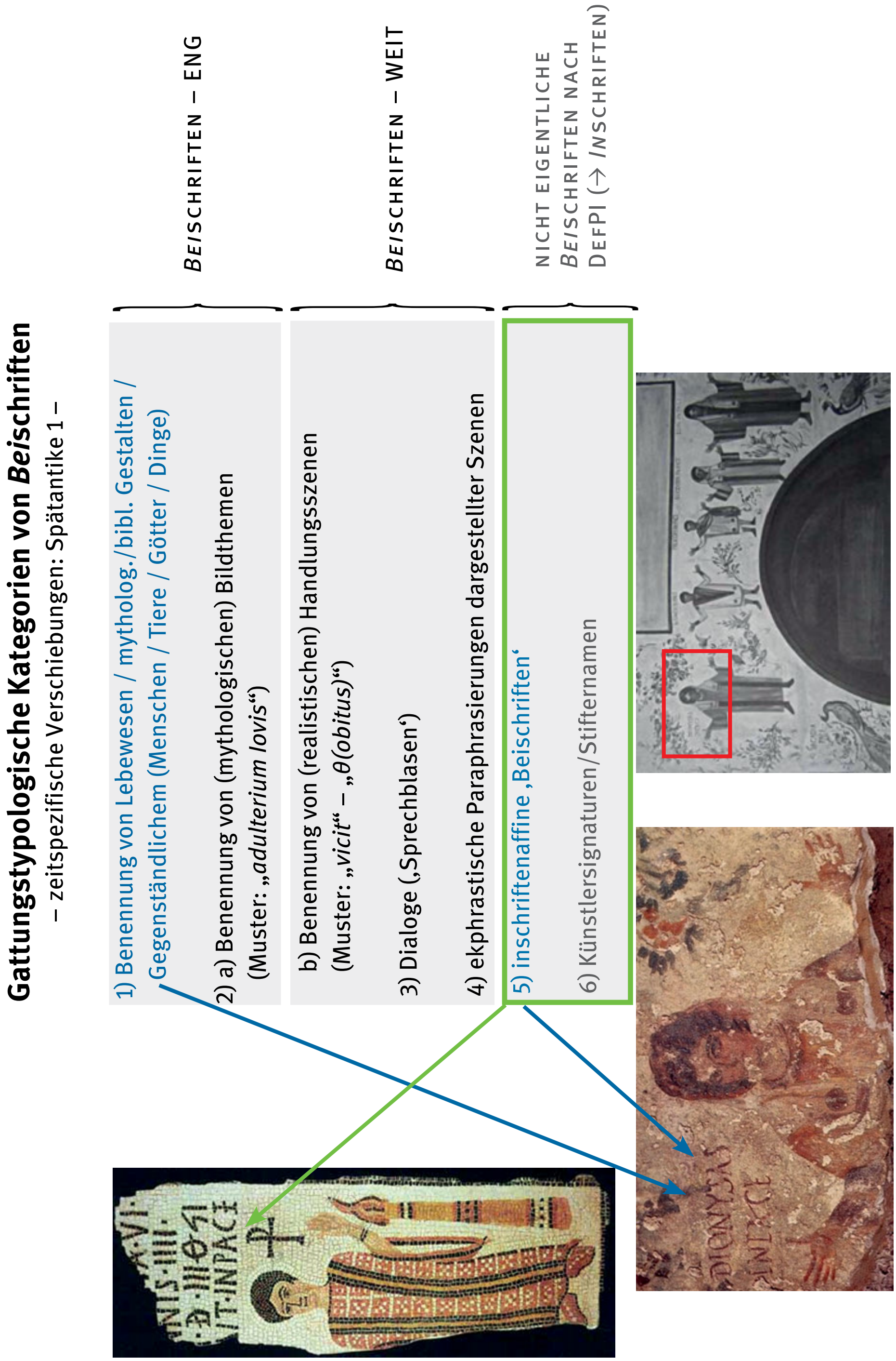

Gattungstypologische Kategorien von *Beis*chriften
– zeitspezifische Verschiebungen: Spätantike 1 –
1) Benennung von Lebewesen / mytholog./bibl. Gestalten / Gegenständlichem (Menschen / Tiere / Götter / Dinge)
2) a) Benennung von (mythologischen) Bildthemen (Muster: „*adulterium Iovis*“)
b) Benennung von (realistischen) Handlungsszenen (Muster: „*vicit*“ – „*θ(obitus)*“)
3) Dialoge (‚Sprechblasen‘)
4) ekphrastische Paraphrasierungen dargestellter Szenen
5) inschriftenaffine ‚Beischriften‘
6) Künstlersignaturen/Stifternamen
*BEIS*CHRIFTEN – ENG
*BEIS*CHRIFTEN – WEIT
NICHT EIGENTLICHE *BEIS*CHRIFTEN NACH DEFPI (→ *INS*CHRIFTEN)

Abb. 3

Abb. 4

Gattungstypologische Kategorien von *Bei*schriften

– zeitspezifische Verschiebungen: Spätantike 2/
frühes Mittelalter –

1) Benennung von Lebewesen / mythololog./bibl. Gestalten / Gegenständlichem (Menschen / Tiere / Götter / Dinge)

~~2) a) Benennung von (mythologischen) Bildthemen (Muster: „*adulterium Iovis*“)~~

*BEI*SCHRIFTEN – ENG

~~b) Benennung von (realistischen) Handlungsszenen (Muster: „*vicit*“ – „*θ (obitus)*“)~~

~~3) Dialoge (‚Sprechblasen‘)~~

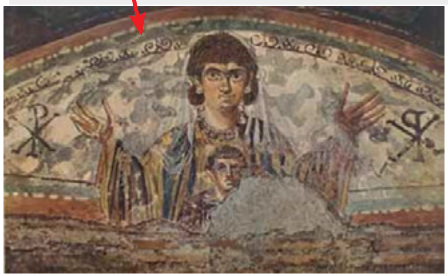
4) ekphrastische Paraphrasierungen dargestellter Szenen

*BEI*SCHRIFTEN – WEIT

~~5) inschriftenaffine ‚Beischriften‘~~

~~6) Künstlersignaturen/Stifternamen~~

NICHT EIGENTLICHE *BEI*SCHRIFTEN NACH DEFPI (→ *IN*SCHRIFTEN)



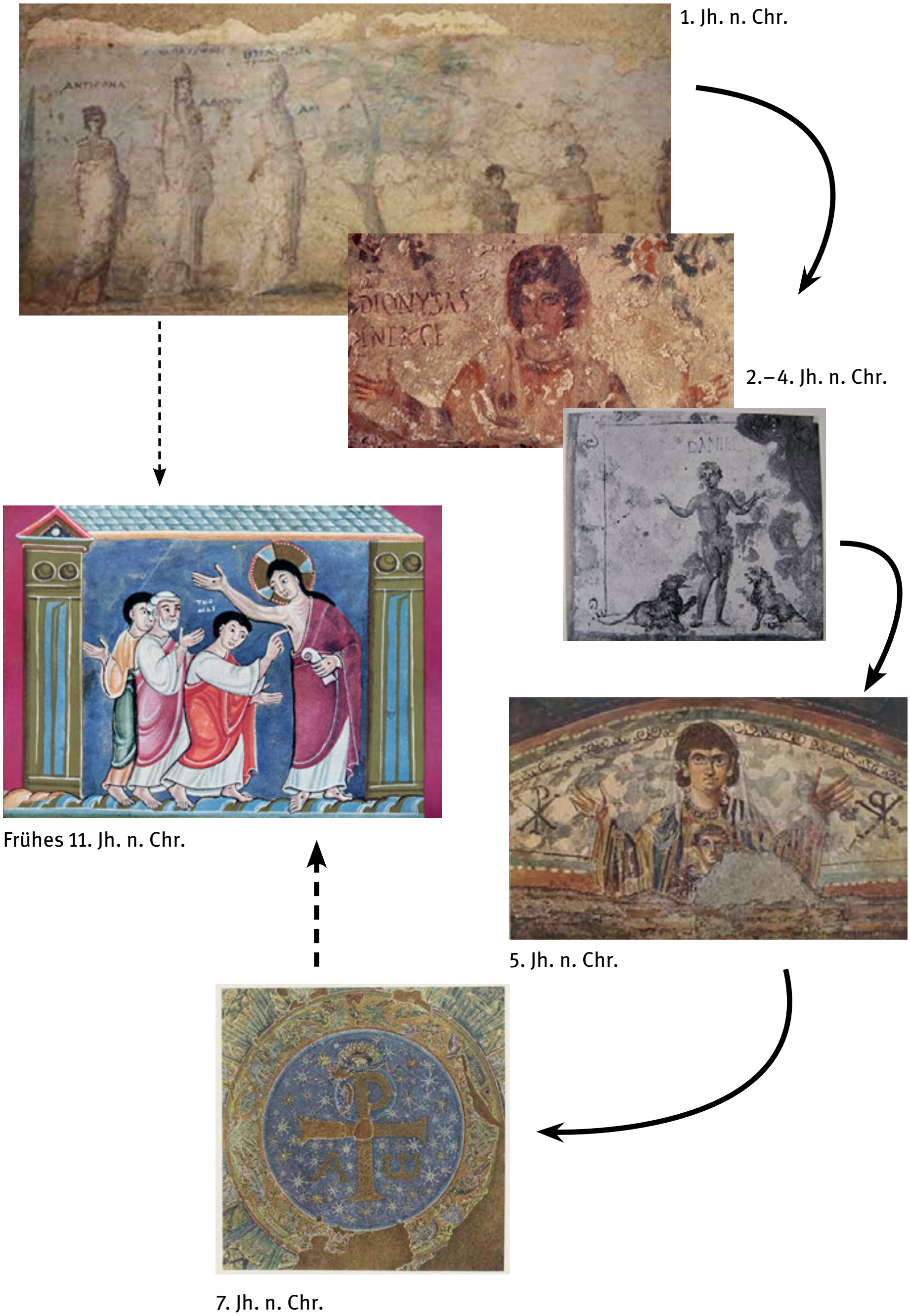


Abb. 5: Zeitspezifische Verschiebungen und Emblematisierungstendenzen in den gattungstypologischen Kategorien von *Bei*schriften.

(B) Warum der Neologismus ‚*synaktiv*' im Zusammenhang mit Beischriften?

Hier liegt die Frage nahe, ob es nicht einfach der in Studien zu Text-Bild-Verhältnissen auch sonst gebräuchliche Begriff der „Interaktion" täte? Bei aller Abneigung gegen die unangemessene Kultivierung eines mystifizierenden „Wissenschaftssprechs" (s. o. S. 44/45) gilt es jedenfalls der Notwendigkeit zu entsprechen, mit einem eigenen, adäquaten Begriff für das faktisch vorhandene Aktionspotential von Beischriften operieren zu können. Auch wenn es zunächst nicht so erscheinen mag, touchiert der Begriff ‚Inter-Aktion' allenfalls, trifft aber nicht mit der gewünschten Präzision den Kern dessen, was Beischriften ausmacht. Ich verweise hierfür nochmals auf die oben (S. 46) vorgestellte Definition von Beischriften: „(1. b) die Schriftträger von Beischriften sind gattungsmäßig genuin Bild-, nicht Schriftträger". Und weiter darauf aufbauend: „2. es besteht ein offensichtlicher (inhaltlicher und topologischer) Bezug zwischen bildlicher Darstellung und Beischrift"; oftmals ist dieser Bezug in seiner gestalterischen, bisweilen symbiotischen Verwobenheit mit der bildlichen Darstellung besonders augenfällig:

Genau hierin liegt m. E. der *syn-aktive* Charakter der *Beischriften* verborgen. Wenn hingegen *Inschriften auf Textträgern* mit *Bildern auf Bildträgern* inhaltliche Verbindungen aufweisen, aufeinander Bezug nehmen, mithin wechselseitig kommunizieren, so handelt es sich in diesen Fällen tatsächlich um *Inter-Aktion*; man denke etwa an Ehreninschriften auf Statuenbasen mit Porträtstatuen des jeweiligen Geehrten. Während also beim Konzept der *Inter-Aktion* zwei prinzipiell autonome Subjekte (im genannten Szenario das Bild der Statue und der Text der Inschrift) in der Regel auf genuin eigenen Trägern (Bild-Feld und Inschrift-Feld), in ein wechselseitiges Verhältnis treten,[12] lebt im Unterschied dazu das Konzept der *Syn-Aktion* von der Vorstellung der genuinen Symbiose der beiden Elemente *Bild* + *Beischrift*, und dies auf einem einzigen Träger, in der Regel dem *Bildträger*. Es handelt sich hier um eine Sym-biose, auf welche die Beischrift ‚wesenhaft' angewiesen ist, um als Beischrift ‚agieren' und wahrgenommen werden zu können:[13]

12 Zu den unterschiedlichen Ausprägungen von „interaction with images" bei Grabinschriften und bei Graffitoinschriften „alongside images" (77–78) sowie zur „complex interaction between the epigrammatic texts and the pictures" (86) s. Milnor 2014. – Vergleichbare Phänomene von „Interaktion" zeigen sich, mutatis mutandis, auch im „dichten Verhältnis zwischen Bild und Schrift" der ägyptischen Kunst, wo „beide Medien autonom [...] wirken" (Blumenthal 2005, 4).

13 In diesem Sinne tragen auch die Text-Bild-Bezüge der attischen Keramik mit Vaseninschriften, obgleich als „Interaktion" bezeichnet (Krause 2007), deutlich *synaktiven* Charakter; ähnlich drückt sich auch Gerleigner im Ausblick auf seine demnächst erscheinende, 2012 abgeschlossene Doktorarbeit *Writing on Archaic Athenian Pottery. Studies on the Relationship between Images and Inscriptions on Greek Vases* aus („[...] einen Beitrag zum allgemeinen Verständnis leisten, wie Bild und Text *interagieren* [Hervorh. Verf.], wenn die beiden Medien *sehr eng miteinander kombiniert* [Hervorh. Verf.] sind").

***Inter*-aktion = (Inschrift auf Basis) + (Statue)**

***Syn*-aktion = (Beischrift auf Bildträger + Bild)**

Im Zusammenhang von *Beischriften* allein Aspekte von Inter-Aktion im Blick zu haben, griffe nicht nur zu kurz, sondern sogar grundlegend daneben.

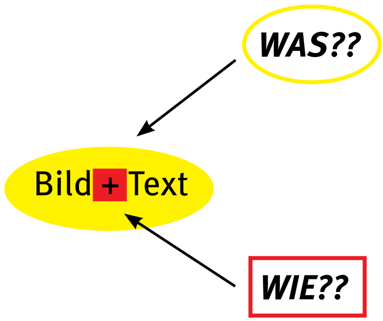
(C) ‚*Funktionieren*' und/oder ‚*Funktion*' von Beischriften?

Letztlich wird es natürlich um beides gehen; doch kommt es auf die richtige Reihenfolge an. Es ist bemerkenswert, wie fast schon reflexartig gerade in bild- und kulturwissenschaftlichen Diskursen zu Bild-Text-Phänomenen immer sofort nach der „Funktion" oder nach der „Rolle und Funktion", nach der „Wirkung auf den Rezipienten" oder noch besser dem „Impact" gefragt wird. Nicht, dass diese Fragen an sich unberechtigt wären. Doch sollte man sich klar machen, welches prinzipiellen, wie letztlich gerade auch *Funktions*-orientieren heuristischen Erkenntnisgewinns man verlustig ginge, wenn man die Aufmerksamkeit nicht auch, idealiter sogar zuerst, auf das intrinsische *Funktionieren* der vorliegenden Phänomene lenkte. Dies gilt umso mehr für das genuin auf Symbiose angelegte Phänomen der *Beischriften*.

Während nämlich die Frage nach der *Funktion* notwendigerweise stets nach außen gerichtet ist, kontextuelle Faktoren zu berücksichtigen hat und eigentlich erst in der Rezeption lebendigen Wiederhall findet, geht es bei der Frage nach dem *Funktionieren* in einem ganz strukturalistischen, von äußeren Faktoren bewusst abgekoppelten Sinne gerade um die *synaktiven Dynamiken* und das darin verborgene Potential. „Funktionieren" und „Funktion" verhalten sich somit zueinander wie „Synaktion" und „Rezeption". Ersteres, das *Funktionieren* und die *Synaktion*, sind also Gegenstand der vorliegenden Überlegungen.

3 Das synaktive Potential von Beischriften: aus strukturalistischer – kontextunabhängiger – epochenübergreifender Perspektive

Es empfiehlt sich, sich dem *Funktionieren*, d. h. den Funktionsmechanismen der *Synaktion* von Bild und Beischrift in zwei Schritten zu nähern. So soll es in einem ersten Schritt darum gehen, die gleichsam äußere Schale, die unmittelbare Evidenz, das bei genauerem Hinsehen ohne größere Mühe Sicht- und Nachvollziehbare beim *Funktionieren* von Beischriften freizulegen.



Die Frage lautet: *WAS* für ein *Funktionieren* liegt vor? Welche Beobachtungen ergeben sich aus der Durchsicht sämtlicher inhaltlich-motivischer Gruppen (vorliegend reduziert auf die Teilgruppe der Beischriften-*ENG*, vgl. o. Abb. 2) für die Art des Funktionierens? Was passiert mit dem Bild durch die Beischrift? ‚Was wäre, wenn eine bestimmte Darstellung keine Beischrift hätte?', mag dabei eine hilfreiche Leitfrage sein.

Grundsätzlich fällt auf, dass die hierfür zur Diskussion stehenden Darstellungen in zwei Hauptgruppen zerfallen. Zur einen zählen solche Bild-Text-Symbiosen, deren Bilder für sich allein genommen als ikonographisch prinzipiell nicht selbsterklärend, d. h. erklärungsbedürftig erscheinen. Zur anderen zählen solche, die ikonographisch potentiell selbsterklärend sind (Abb. 2).[14]

Sehr eindrücklich zeigt sich ferner gerade hinsichtlich des *WAS* des *Funktionierens* dieser Bild-Text-Symbiosen, wie vielfältig und eben differenziert sich dieses *Funktionieren* allein schon in der Teilgruppe der Beischriften-*ENG* ausnimmt (Abb. 6): sei es…

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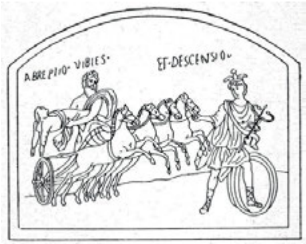
14 Diese zunächst für das reine *Funktionieren* anzustellende Beobachtung impliziert natürlich weitere Relevanzebenen, die im Zuge der (an dieser Stelle nicht zu behandelnden; s. S. 44 u. 66) *Funktion* von Beischriften zum Tragen kommen werden.

WAS??

… als

- ikonographisches **Substitut** oder **Surrogat** (Einzelembleme)
- spezifisches **Distinguens** in der Massierung gleichartiger Motive (katalogartige Darstellungen)
- **Individualisierung** topisch komponierter Handlungsszenen (Jagddarstellungen)
- Verleihung von **Eindeutigkeit** bei ansonsten mehrdeutigen bzw. nicht eindeutig deutbaren Handlungssituationen (Lebensszenen)
- in Verbindung mit andererseits darüber hinausgehenden, scheinbar ‚**zweckentkoppelten**' Eigendynamiken (Bsp. „res" in den Lebensszenen)
- als wahlweise **affirmierende, modifizierende** oder **identifizierende** Bildbestandteile (mythische Szenen)



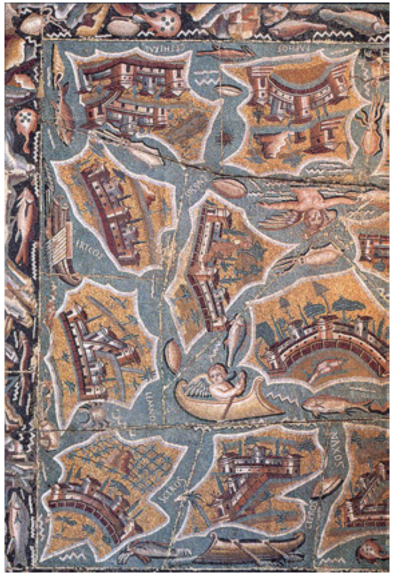


Abb. 6

Besonders signifikant ist hierbei, dass häufig gerade auch solche Motive oder Szenen, die (uns) als ikonographisch potentiell selbsterklärend erscheinen, (gleichsam dennoch) mit Beischriften versehen sind. Genau anhand dieser schon rein äußerlich ablesbaren Mechanismen des *synaktiven* Funktionierens von Bild und Text deutet sich jedenfalls bereits an – und dies sei hier nur vorweggenommen –, dass die *Funktion* von Beischriften maßgeblich über das rein zweckgebundene Identifizieren des bildlichen Ausdrucks irgendwie hinausgehen bzw. auf einer anderen Ebene angesiedelt sein muss: der Sinn von Beischriften erfüllt sich somit nicht im ‚Didaskalischen'/Lehrhaften, wie es etwa die italienischen[15] und (neben ‚label') auch englischen[16] Termini für ‚Beischriften', ‚iscrizione didascalica' und ‚didactic inscriptions', suggerieren, und ebenso wenig in der Funktion beschreibender Bildunterschriften, wie dies im französischen Terminus ‚légende' zum Ausdruck kommt.

Vor dem Hintergrund dieses Überblicks über die unmittelbar evidenten, *extrinsischen* Mechanismen des *WAS* nun zum inneren Kern des *Funktionierens*, d. h. in Hinblick auf das *synaktive Potential* zu den *intrinsischen* Mechanismen des *WIE* (s. S. 55 Grafik):

WIE geht dieses *Funktionieren* genau vor sich, und wie kann es beschrieben werden?: Als tragfähiges Messkriterium für das Erfassen der Existenz – und, nachgelagert, des Effekts (→ *Funktion*) – von *synaktivem Potential* bietet sich hier die bei genauerer Analyse nachvollziehbare Intensitätsstärke im Spannungsfeld zwischen Bild und Beischrift an. Und in der Tat lässt sich diese Intensitätsstärke recht problemlos bemessen, d. h. im Wesentlichen unter der Berücksichtigung zweier Faktoren, nämlich des *qualitativen* und des *quantitativen Syn-Aktions*grades. So ist etwa das *synaktive Potential* qualitativ am stärksten bei Vorliegen einer kompositorisch engen Verzahnung – und zwar dies zunächst ganz unabhängig davon, ob die Beischrift für das inhaltliche Verständnis des Bildes erforderlich ist oder nicht, geschweige denn verständlich ist (was bspw. angesichts der sog. ‚nonsense'-Inschriften von besonders eigentümlicher Bedeutung ist) (Abb. 7). Demnach *syn*-agieren umgekehrt z. B. Beischriften auf Bildrändern weitaus weniger stark mit den zugehörigen Bildern, auch wenn solche Beischriften insofern als unabdingbar erscheinen mögen, als sie die dargestellten, allein ikonographisch nicht zwingend identifizierbaren, Protagonisten benennen (Abb. 10). Andererseits wiederum kann qualitative Schwäche, eben aufgrund wenig ausgeprägter kompositorischer Verzahnung, kompensiert sein durch eine quantitativ und optisch starke Präsenz von Beischriften (Abb. 8).

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15 Für einfache Beischriften (*ENG*) (Nuzzo/Rocco o. J.) wie auch für komplexere Erscheinungsformen (*WEIT*), so bspw. die ekphrastischen Beischriften (Piazzi 2007).
16 Pollitt 1986, 16.

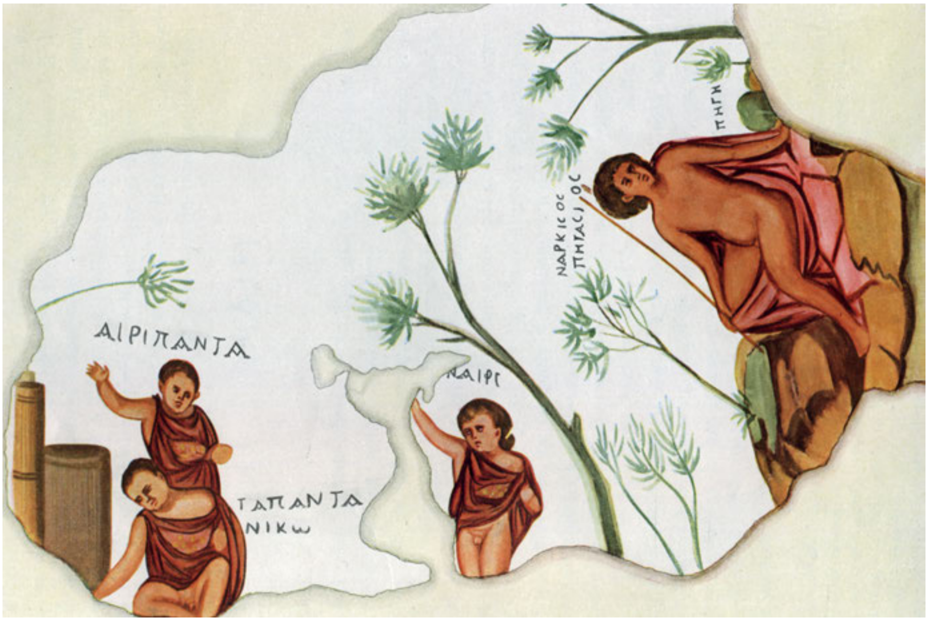

Abb. 7: Grabmalerei aus Kfer Akid/Massyaf.

Abb. 8: Grabmalerei aus *Ostia*.

Über die hier angesprochenen grundsätzlichen Erscheinungsformen hinaus soll dies im Folgenden anhand von kurzen Einzelanalysen der *Synaktionen* ausgewählter, mit griechischen bzw. lateinischen Beischriften versehenen, typologisch verschiedenartigen Bildwerken unterschiedlicher Zeitstellungen, unterschiedlicher Kontexte, unterschiedlicher Bildthemen und unterschiedlicher Monumentgattungen vertieft und schließlich synthetisch zusammengeführt werden:

Beispiel 1: megarischer Becher (Amphipolis, 2. Jh. v. Chr., griechische Beischriften) (Abb. 9):
– Bilder + teils Beischriften: Namen mythologischer Figuren und ein Toponym;

Funktionieren:
– *WAS*: identifizierend, obwohl ikonographisch weitgehend selbsterklärend;
– *WIE* (→ *synaktives Potential*):
  inhaltlich: eindeutige Zuordnung von Schrift und Bild;
  kompositorisch/gestalterisch: enge Symbiose;

→ *Synaktions*grad: starke Intensität.

Abb. 9: Megarischer Becher aus *Amphipolis*.

Beispiel 2: Archelaos-Relief: „Apotheose Homers“ (*Bovillae*/Marino, 3.–1. Jh. v. Chr., griechische Beischriften) (Abb. 10):
– Bilder + teils Beischriften: Namen mythologischer Figuren, historischer Gestalten, von Personifikationen;

Funktionieren:
– *WAS*: identifizierend; ikonographisch kaum selbsterklärend;
– *WIE* (→ synaktives Potential):
  inhaltlich: eindeutige Zuordnung von Schrift und Bild;
  kompositorisch/gestalterisch: keine Symbiose (Namen auf Bildrand);

→ *Synaktions*grad: mäßig starke Intensität.

Abb. 10: Archelaos-Relief, gefunden in *Bovillae*.

Abb. 11: Wandmalerei aus der Casa degli Epigrammi in Pompeji.

Beispiel 3: Casa degli Epigrammi (Pompeji, 40/30 v. Chr., griechische Beischriften) (Abb. 11):

– Bilder + teils Beischriften: Namen mythologischer Figuren; Ekphraseis;

Funktionieren:

– *WAS*: selektiv identifizierend; ikonographisch weitgehend nicht selbsterklärend;
– *WIE* (→ synaktives Potential):
  inhaltlich: nicht immer eindeutige Zuordnung von Text und Bild; Texte teils ekphrastisch;
  kompositorisch/gestalterisch: teils in den Bildduktus verwoben; teils isoliert;

→ *Synaktions*grad: qualitativ mäßige, quantitativ starke, insgesamt starke Intensität.

Beispiel 4: Odyssefresken vom Esquilin (Rom, ca. 20 v. Chr., griechische Beischriften) (Abb. 12):

– Bilder + teils Beischriften: Namen mythischer Gestalten und von (Orts-)Personifikationen;

Funktionieren:

– *WAS*: selektiv identifizierend; ikonographisch weitgehend nicht selbsterklärend;
– *WIE* (→ synaktives Potential):
  inhaltlich: nicht immer eindeutige Zuordnung von Text und Bild;
  kompositorisch/gestalterisch: ausschließlich in den Bildduktus verwoben/symbiotisch;

→ *Synaktions*grad: qualitativ starke, quantitativ mäßige, insgesamt starke Intensität.

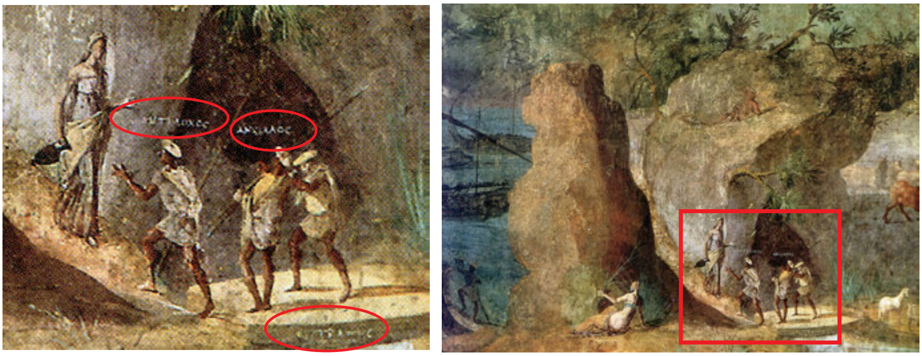

Abb. 12: Odysseefresken in Rom (Esquilin).

Beispiel 5: ‚Tabula Iliaca‘: (*Bovillae*/Marino, augusteisch, griechische Beischriften) (Abb. 13):

– Bilder + Beischriften + ‚Inhaltsübersicht‘ der homerischen Epen: Namen von Figuren und Toponymen aus dem Ilias-Mythos;

Funktionieren:

– *WAS*: selektiv identifizierend;
– *WIE* (→ synaktives Potential):
  inhaltlich: nicht immer eindeutige Zuordnung von Schrift und Bild;
  kompositorisch/gestalterisch: weitgehend in den Bildduktus verwoben/symbiotisch;

→ *Synaktions*grad: qualitativ und quantitativ starke Intensität.

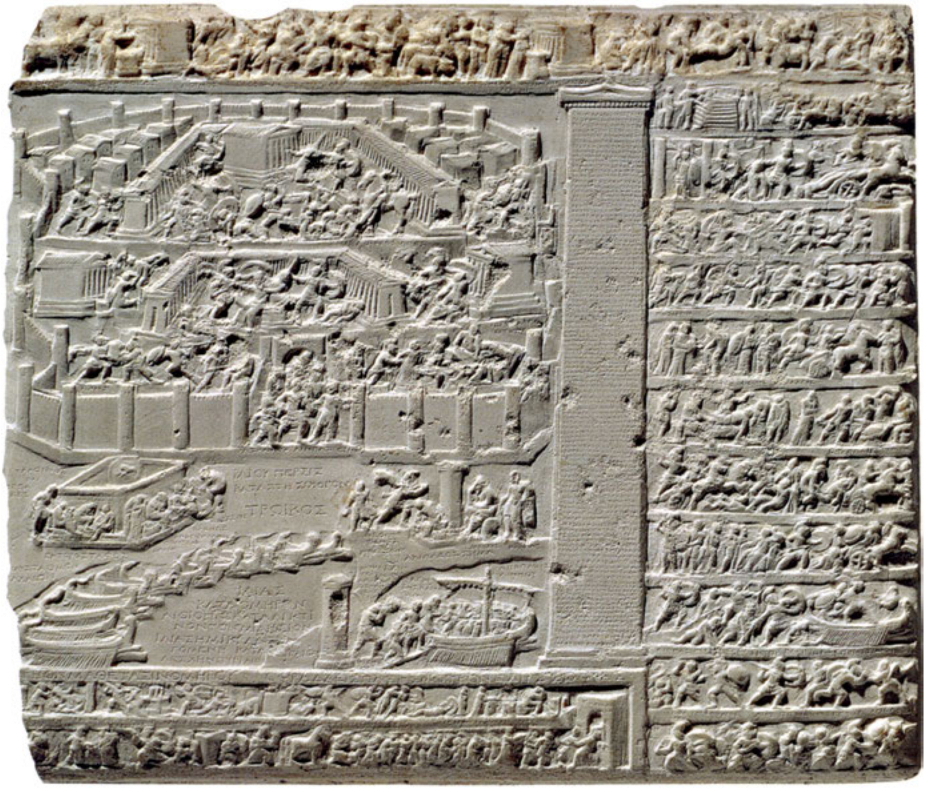

Abb. 13: Sog. Tabula Iliaca, gefunden in *Bovillae* (Abguss).

Abb. 14: Kairos-Mosaik aus *Heliopolis*/Baalbek.

Beispiel 6: Kairos-Mosaik (*Heliopolis*/Baalbek, 3./4. Jh. n. Chr., griechische Beischrift) (Abb. 14):

– Bild + Beischrift: Name der Personifikation des Kairos;

Funktionieren:

– *WAS*: identifizierend; ikonographisch nicht selbsterklärend;
– *WIE* (→ synaktives Potential):
  inhaltlich: eindeutige Zuordnung von Text und Bild;
  kompositorisch/*gestalterisch*: symbiotisch (Sperrung des Textes);

→ *Synaktions*grad: qualitativ starke Intensität (zugleich bereits etikettenhaft/titulusartig).

Beispiel 7: Jagdmalerei (*Leptis Magna*/Frigidarium der kleinen Thermen, 3./4. Jh. n. Chr., lateinische Beischriften) (Abb. 15):
– Bilder + Beischriften: Namen von Raubkatzen und Gladiatoren einer Venatio im Amphitheater;
Funktionieren:
– *WAS*: identifizierend/benennend; ikonographisch nicht selbsterklärend;
– *WIE* (→ synaktives Potential):
  inhaltlich: eindeutige Zuordnung von Text und Bild;
  kompositorisch/gestalterisch: weniger mit dem Geschehen verwoben, als vielmehr dem Geschehen etikettenhaft/titulusartig hinzugesetzt;
→ *Synaktions*grad: qualitativ schwache, quantitativ durch Beschriftung aller Bildelemente starke, insgesamt mäßig starke Intensität.

Abb. 15: Jagdmalerei aus dem Frigidarium der Kleinen Thermen in *Leptis Magna*.

Beispiel 8: Jagdmosaik (Oudna/Haus der *Laberii*, 4. Jh. n. Chr., lateinische Beischriften) (Abb. 16):
– Bilder + Beischriften: Namen von gejagten Tieren einer Tierhatz;
Funktionieren:
– *WAS*: selektiv identifizierend/benennend; ikonographisch nicht selbsterklärend;
– *WIE* (→ synaktives Potential):
  inhaltlich: eindeutige/erschließbare Zuordnung von Text und Bild;
  kompositorisch/gestalterisch: mit dem Geschehen nicht verwoben, sondern vielmehr etikettenhaft/titulusartig hinzugesetzt;
→ *Synaktions*grad: qualitativ und quantitativ (nur die Hunde sind benannt) schwache, insgesamt mäßig starke bis schwache Intensität.

Abb. 16: Jagdmosaik aus dem Haus der *Laberii* in Oudna.

Beispiel 9: Loculus-Verschlussplatte/Katakombenmalerei mit Noah-Darstellungen (Rom, Katakomben, Priscilla/Pietro e Marcellino, 4. Jh. n. Chr., lateinische Beischriften)

– jeweils Bild + Beischrift: Bezeichnung des Protagonisten (Noah) (Abb. 17 und Abb. 18);
– *WAS*: identifizierend/benennend; ikonographisch bedingt (Arche) selbsterklärend;
– *WIE* (→ synaktives Potential):
    inhaltlich: eindeutige Zuordnung von Text und Bild;
    kompositorisch/gestalterisch: statische Darstellungen, denen die Beischriften etikettenhaft/titulusartig hinzugesetzt sind;

→ *Synaktions*grad: schwache Intensität.

Abb. 17: Loculus-Verschlussplatte aus der Priscilla-Katakombe in Rom.

Abb. 18: Wandmalerei aus der Katakombe der Hll. Petrus und Marcellinus in Rom.

Abschließend ein kontrastiver Blick zurück auf ein Beispiel aus der acht Jahrhunderte älteren Beischriftenpraxis:[17]

Beispiel 10: etruskischer Spiegel (Praeneste, 5. Jh. v. Chr., etruskische Beischriften) (Abb. 19):

– Bilder + Beischriften: Namen der mythischen Figuren[18]

Funktionieren:

– *WAS*: identifizierend, obwohl ikonographisch teilweise selbsterklärend;
– *WIE* (→ synaktives Potential):
  inhaltlich: eindeutige Zuordnung von Text und Bild;
  kompositorisch/gestalterisch: enge Symbiose; Aufgreifen des bildgestalterischen Duktus;

→ Synaktionsgrad: starke Intensität.

Abb. 19: Etruskischer Spiegel aus *Praeneste*.

17 Zu den an dieser Stelle nicht zu diskutierenden Namensbeischriften und einer an ihnen festzumachenden Zurschaustellung von „Bildung“ in der etruskischen Kunst s. Krauskopf 1993, bes. 260 passim. – Eine grundsätzlich vergleichbare Beischriftenpraxis lässt sich an der grosso modo zeitgleichen attischen Vasenmalerei nachverfolgen; vgl. Immerwahr 1990 und Gerleigner 2006.

18 *Turan* (Aphrodite), *Elina* (Helena; auf Kline), *Ermania* (Hermione; Tochter der Elina als Baby), *Elaxsantre* (Paris/Alexandros); vgl. Rix 1991, 345.

Halten wir an dieser Stelle fest, inwieweit die Suche nach dem *synaktiven Potential* der Beischriften die gehegte Hoffnung auf neue Erkenntnisse zu den beiden in den Blick genommenen Aspekten tatsächlich zu erfüllen vermag. Zur Erinnerung: es ging um die Größe des *synaktiven Potentials* (a) als einer maßgeblichen Voraussetzung, um *nach*gelagerte Fragen der jeweiligen *Funktion* von Beischriften in jeweils unterschiedlichen Zusammenhängen differenziert beantworten zu können, (b) *vor*gelagert, als eine Größe, die sich – idealiter auch jenseits der Antike – als ein epochen- und kulturübergreifendes Kriterium zum Erfassen des intrinsischen *Funktionierens* von Beischriften eignet.

In der Synthese ergibt sich daraus:

Ad (a), ob das *synaktive Potential* als richtungsgebende Größe bzw. als Indikator für die – noch zu untersuchende Frage der – *Funktion* antiker Beischriften taugt: Wir gingen davon aus, dass die erfahrbare/nachvollziehbare Intensitätsstärke im Spannungsfeld zwischen Bild und Beischrift als ein maßgebliches Kriterium für das Erfassen von *synaktivem Potential* gelten darf. Hierfür wurden qualitative und quantitative Kriterien zugrunde gelegt und diese auf eine Reihe von Fallbeispielen unterschiedlicher Zeiträume, Kontexte, Bildthemen und Monumentgattungen angewendet.[19]

Was sich dabei offenbarte ist insgesamt ein mit fortschreitender Zeit deutliches Nachlassen an Intensität (s. Tabelle). Da das Nachlassen der Intensität jedoch keineswegs zu einem Aufhören der Existenz von Beischriften führte, kann dies nur bedeuten, dass nicht nur der reinen Existenz von Beischriften, sondern mutmaßlich auch deren *Funktionen* Motive zugedacht waren, die außerhalb der Kategorien von *Synaktion* im Besonderen und jeglicher Form von ‚Interaktion' im Allgemeinen zu suchen sein müssen. Anders ausgedrückt: es findet auf mehreren Ebenen – der inhaltlichen und kompositorischen – und mit unterschiedlichen Intensitäten *Synaktion* statt; doch scheint diese (weitgehend) nur die existentielle *conditio sine qua non* zu sein, nicht jedoch die eigentliche Motivation für das Phänomen der Existenz von Beischriften. Beischriften erweisen sich somit jedenfalls als ein ‚habit', der offenbar nicht ausschließlich *synaktiv* determiniert ist (d. h. wesentlich nicht aufgrund bestimmter inhaltlicher und kompositorischer Dynamiken und der sich darin manifestierenden Intensitäten). Inwiefern diesem ‚habit' wiederum ein *funktionaler* Charakter eignete, die – hier nicht untersuchte – *Funktion* von Beischriften sich also maßgeblich in der Visualisierung eines solchen ‚labelling habit' erschöpfte, ist eine nunmehr vielleicht naheliegende aber eben noch zu überprüfende Vermutung.

19 Wie immer in solchen Fällen unterliegen auch die hier angelegten quantitativ und qualitativ determinierten Kriterien als durch keinerlei antike Analogien ‚abzusicherndem' methodischem Handwerkszeug dem individuellen Abstraktionsvermögen des Forschenden. Empirisch verfügen sie jedoch über einige Plausibilität, weshalb sie folglich zusammen mit den ermittelten Ergebnissen bis zum Beweis des Gegenteils Gültigkeit für sich beanspruchen dürfen.

Ad (b), zur möglicherweise epochen- bzw. kulturenübergreifenden Relevanz der Größe des *synaktiven Potentials* für das *Funktionieren* von Beischriften:

Tatsächlich lässt sich hier einstweilen weniger ein Ergebnis aufzeigen, als vielmehr nur eine Hypothese formulieren: So unbestritten die Gegebenheit der *Synaktion* als *condicio sine qua non* und damit als existentieller Garant für eine ungebrochene Persistenz von Beischriften in der Antike und offenbar auch darüber hinaus erscheint, ein/e allein auf dem untersuchen *synaktiven Potential* beruhende/r Wirkmächtigkeit/Impact erweist sich aufgrund der gezeigten nachlassenden Intensität des intrinsischen *Funktionierens* zumindest bis an die Schwelle von Spätantike zu frühem Mittelalter als deutlich begrenzt – und für die nachfolgenden Epochen bis mindestens an die Wende zur frühen Neuzeit (Ende der ‚nontypographischen' Phase) wäre diese Intensität ohnehin erst noch zu untersuchen.

Tabelle: Veränderungen der Syn-Aktionen von Bild und Beischrift aus diachroner Perspektive.

	WIE: Funktionieren von Text + Bild		*Intensitätsstärke*
Zeitraum	*inhaltlich*	*kompositorisch*	***→ Grad der Syn-Aktion***
5. Jh. v. Chr. [etruskischer Spiegel]	eindeutige Zuordnung	sehr eng verwoben	**sehr stark (qualitativ und quantitativ)**
2. Jh. v. Chr. [megarischer Becher]	eindeutige Zuordnung	eng verwoben	**stark (qualitativ und quantitativ)**
2./1. Jh. v. Chr. [Archelaos-Relief]	eindeutige Zuordnung	nicht verwoben (Beischrift auf dem unteren Rand)	**mäßig stark (qualitativ schwach, quantitativ stark)**
40/30 v. Chr. [Casa degli Epigrammi]	bedingt eindeutige Zuordnung	teils verwoben (teils ekphrastische Beischrift unterhalb des Bildes)	**stark (qualitativ mäßig, quantitativ stark)**
ca. 20 v. Chr. [Esquilinfresken]	bedingt eindeutige Zuordnung	eng verwoben	**stark (qualitativ stark, quantitativ mäßig)**
augusteisch [Tabula Iliaca]	weitgehend eindeutige Zuordnung	eng verwoben	**stark (qualitativ und quantitativ)**
3./4. Jh. n. Chr. [Kairos-Mosaik]	eindeutige Zuordnung	eng verwoben (Sperrung)	**stark**
3./4. Jh. n. Chr. [Jagdmalerei]	eindeutige Zuordnung	nicht verwoben (etikettenartig aufgesetzt)	**mäßig stark (qualitativ schwach, quantitativ stark)**
4. Jh. n. Chr. [Jagdmosaik]	eindeutige/erschließbare Zuordnung	nicht verwoben (etikettenartig aufgesetzt)	**mäßig stark – schwach (qualitativ schwach, quantitativ schwach)**
4. Jh. n. Chr. [Loculusverschluss/Katakombenmalerei (Noe)]	eindeutige Zuordnung	nicht verwoben (etikettenartig aufgesetzt)	**mäßig stark**

Zur Untermauerung eines Konzepts für das Verständnis des *Funktionierens* von Beischriften im Sinne einer epochenübergreifenden Konstante müssten daher einmal mehr auch hier[20] weitere Motivationsfaktoren in Erwägung gezogen werden. Es ist dies nicht mehr Gegenstand des vorliegenden Themas; doch als unmittelbare Frucht aus den vorangehenden Überlegungen zum intrinsischen *Funktionieren* von Beischriften und unter den Vorzeichen einer noch zu verifizierenden Hypothese nur so viel: Ist es denkbar, dass auch aus einer epochenübergreifenden Perspektive die eigentlichen Motive für bzw. die Relevanz von Beischriften gar nicht so sehr in den Möglichkeiten ihrer ‚Syn-*aktion*', sondern schlicht in der ‚Syn-*präsenz*' lag? Kommt einer, wie ich diese für einen solchen Fall benennen möchte, ‚*Macht der Label*', die wenigstens uns postmoderne Konsumenten und Markenfetischisten fest im Griff haben sollen (Abb. 20), mutatis mutandis möglicherweise auch in vormodernen Gesellschaften eine bisher verkannte Rolle zu? Label um der Label willen, die einen begehrenswerten Mehrwert suggerieren? Hier dürfte sich eine Beleuchtung des Phänomens Beischriften vor dem Hintergrund einer Psychologie der Label lohnen!

Sticklogo auf der Brust und am Ärmel

Abb. 20: Markenlabel („Sticklogo") als „Produktinfo"-relevantes Merkmal.

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20 In Analogie zu entsprechenden Vermutungen im Zusammenhang mit der *Funktion* von Beischriften; s. o. S. 54.

Wie auch immer. Sowohl die grundsätzliche Frage nach einer Psychologie der Label, wie auch die konkrete nach der *Funktion* von antiken Beischriften ist hier nicht zu diskutieren.

Es sei nun aber noch ein Punkt aufgeworfen, der die faktische *Wirkung* von Beischriften in unmittelbarem Zusammenhang mit ihren *Synaktanten*, den Bildern, betrifft: Es wäre sicher verfehlt, den Beischriften so etwas wie eine ‚Deklassierung der ikonographischen Kraft des Ikonischen' zuschreiben zu wollen. Die Untersuchung der *Synaktionen* schließt das ja schon konzeptionell aus, indem sie Bild und Text zwar als fallweise unterschiedlich intensiv synagierende, aber sui generis vollwertige (wenn auch nicht autonome[21]) Entitäten ansieht. Denn die Tatsache, dass auf der inhaltlichen Ebene etwa die Darstellung eines Kairos ohne Beischrift nicht als solche identifizierbar wäre (Abb. 14), bedeutet ja nicht zwingend, dass die Beischrift einer Insuffizienz der Bildsprache aufzuhelfen hätte. Es mag dies aber umso mehr Anstoß dazu sein, über weitere mögliche Szenarien – konkret auf ästhetischer Ebene (Stichwort: text-ikonisches ‚Gesamtkunstwerk') und habitueller Ebene (Stichwort: ‚Mehrwert durch Label') – und über deren Konsequenzen für das Phänomen der Beischriften nachzudenken.

4 Versuch einer Inversion und Adaption bislang vorliegender Konzepte von „Ikonotexten" bezogen auf das Phänomen von Beischriften

Das Konzept der sogenannten „Ikonotexte" beruht darauf, dass „simultanes Verstehen von Bildern für das Verständnis eines Textes unabdingbar"[22] sei. Eingeführt und in der genannten Weise erstmals ausgeführt wurde der Begriff „Ikonotext" vom Literaturwissenschaftler Peter Wagner in seinem 1995 erschienenen Werk *Reading Iconotexts. From Swift to the French Revolution*.[23] Seitdem steht dieser Begriff an zentraler Stelle für Diskurse über Intermedialität im weitesten Sinne.[24] Ursprünglich rein vom Text ausgehend und unter der Prämisse, dass das Verständnis von Texten nur durch

21 Im Unterschied zu *Inter*aktionen, vgl. o. S. 53–54 und u. S. 71.

22 Ikonotexte 2006, 2.

23 Wagner 1995; Wagner 1996, 15: „By *iconotext* I mean the use of (by way of reference or allusion, in an explicit or implicit way) an image in a text or vice versa".

24 Vgl. zum Spektrum dieser Begriffe Wagner 1995, bes. 12 u. 174, Anm. 7: „Intermediality", „intertextuality", „iconotexts", „interpenetration (of words and images)" (nach Norman Bryson); ferner „‚interart studies' and what I prefer to call the study of intermediality, i.e., of texts or pictures distinguished by the co-presence of words and images (in a concrete sense and by way of allusion)." (Wagner 1996, V).

die beigegebenen Bilder möglich sei, wurde zunehmend der wechselseitige Verweischarakter von Bild und Text, mithin deren „unabdingbares Abhängigkeitsverhältnis" herausgearbeitet, und in der Folge der Begriff „Intermedialität" um solche der „Intertextualität" und sogar „Intericonizität" erweitert.

Es ist hier nicht der Ort, diesen Zweig der Forschungsgeschichte und seiner dialektischen Nuancen im Einzelnen zu durchleuchten, der zudem ganz jenseits altertumswissenschaftlicher Gegenstände verwurzelt ist. Umso mehr sei dafür auf die bereits vollzogenen Bemühungen von altertumswissenschaftlichen Fachkollegen hingewiesen, das Konzept der sog. „Ikonotexte" zu erfassen und für antike Bild-Text-Phänomene brauchbar zu machen. So fand 2006 eine vom Institut für Altertumswissenschaften der Universität Gießen veranstaltete gleichnamige Tagung statt,[25] die die Thematik letztlich zwar weniger konzeptuell, dafür aber exemplarisch angegangen ist. Die besprochenen Befunde reichten von der griechischen Archaik bis zur römischen Spätantike und betrafen sowohl archäologische als auch epigraphische und philologische Quellenbeispiele.[26]

Erwartungsgemäß berührten diese Studien immer wieder auch das Phänomen von Beischriften. Dabei kam es gelegentlich auch zur Formulierung von Hypothesen prinzipiellen Charakters, obgleich das Phänomen der Beischriften in der Antike als solches dabei nie einer eingehenderen Analyse unterzogen worden ist.

Ich darf daher abschließend den vorliegenden Beitrag zum *synaktiven Potential* von *Beischriften* zum Anlass nehmen, in einem ganz konstruktiven Sinne einige der im Rahmen der Gießener Ikonotexte-Tagung gewonnen Ergebnisse und Hypothesen[27] aufzugreifen und anhand des dort formulierten Verständnisses von „Ikonotexten" den aus meiner Sicht bestehenden Modifikationsbedarf zu skizzieren. Dabei plädiere ich für die Belange von Beischriften ...

... zunächst grundsätzlich für eine Inversion des derzeitigen Konzepts von Ikonotexten, da nämlich die Notwendigkeit des Verstehens von Bildern durch den Text für das Phänomen von Beischriften in *Einzel*fällen zwar von Bedeutung sein mag, sich vom Wesen der *Synaktion* her und gesamtphänomenologisch betrachtet aber als nicht

25 S. Ikonotexte 2006; Möllendorff 2006.

26 Vgl. das Programm <http://www.uni-giessen.de/cms/fbz/fb04/institute/altertum/philologie/dokumentationen/ikonotexte-duale-mediensituationen/ikonotexte_programm> und den Tagungsbericht <http://www.uni-giessen.de/cms/fbz/fb04/institute/altertum/philologie/dokumentationen/ikonotexte-duale-mediensituationen/tagungsbericht> (zuletzt: 01.04.2015).

27 Die folgenden Überlegungen basieren auf der online zur Verfügung gestellten Zusammenfassung von Möllendorff 2006 und knüpfen für die spezifische Problematik von Beischriften an dessen Erläuterungen an (Verweis auf die betreffenden Seitenangaben in Möllendorffs Dokument nachfolgend in eckigen Klammern). Ein Tagungsband liegt m. W. nicht vor.

konstitutiv erwiesen hat. Dem entspricht die bereits oben formulierte Infragestellung eines genuin ‚didaskalischen' Anspruchs von *Beischriften*;[28]

... zugleich im Besonderen unbedingt für eine Adaption des Konzepts von Ikonotexten, da nämlich Beischriften qua ihrer *Synaktion* mit bildlichen Darstellungen zweifellos auch ein ikono-textuelles Phänomen darstellen – ganz ungeachtet der Tatsache, dass den wesentlichen Merkmalen ihrer *Syn*-Aktivität in den bisherigen, aprioristischen Konzeptionen von Inter-Aktion und Inter-Medialität der Ikonotexte noch nicht hinreichend Rechnung getragen wird.

1. Ikonotexte als ein „medialer Sonderfall" mit „intermedialen Besonderheiten" [S. 1, vor (1)]:
   Ohne im Einzelnen zu überblicken, inwieweit unter Ikonotexte auch ‚mediale Sonderfälle' fallen können, sind *Beischriften*, insoweit man sie zu Ikonotexten rechnen möchte, wofür ich durchaus plädiere, jedenfalls keine „medialen Sonderfälle". Vielmehr stellen sie integrale ikonotextuelle Ausdrucksformen dar – neben solchen ‚rein' ikonischer und ‚rein' textueller Natur. Zu ihren distinktiven und zugleich konstitutiven Merkmalen zählt ihr *synaktives Potential* und nicht irgendwelche, nicht näher definierte „intermedialen Besonderheiten".
2. a) Jenseits ihrer „intermedialen Besonderheiten" seien Ikonotexte als „Medien" anzusehen ... [S. 1, (1)]:
   Dieser Ansatz impliziert die Vorstellung des Vorliegens von insgesamt drei „Medien": Ikon/Bild, Text, Ikonotext. Ganz unabhängig von der Frage, inwieweit ein solcher Ansatz für Ikonotexte im Allgemeinen tatsächlich gelten darf, gilt er für *Beischriften* im oben beschriebenen Sinne jedenfalls nicht, da bei ihnen eine Medialität der vermeintlichen Einzelmedien Bild und Text durch das integrative Moment der *Synaktion* ja gerade aufgehoben ist. Wenn überhaupt, mag hier allein die ikonotextuelle Einheit aus mit Beischrift versehenem Bild als ‚Medium' zu bezeichnen sein.
   b) ... , womit sich „eine Reihe von de- und konnotativen Aspekten eröffnete" [S. 1, (1)]:
   Obgleich im weiteren Verlauf des Résumés unter „Analyse" subsumiert [S. 2, (3)], zielt der Inhalt dieses Ansatzes [ebenso wie die sich anschließenden Punkte (1) a.–d. und (2) a.c–d.f–h] mit den Fragen nach Kontext und Rezeption, Materialität und Impact von Ikonotexten rein auf deren *Funktion* ab, beschreibt somit nicht deren *Funktionieren*. Dies ist symptomatisch für das Gros der bisherigen Untersuchungen von „Ikonotexten", in welchen der Aspekt des *Funktionierens* (s. o. zu dessen *WAS* und *WIE*)[29] bislang noch nicht jene Rolle spielt, die dem *synaktiven Potential* der *Beischriften* sui generis zukommt. Zumindest für den ikonotextuel-

28 S. o. S. 57.
29 S. o. S. 55–69.

len Aspekt von Beischriften ist jener, der Frage nach der *Funktion* vorgeschaltete Aspekt des *Funktionierens* jedoch wesentlich.

3. Frage nach der Rolle von „transkulturellen oder transepochalen Kontextualitätsaspekten für die Generierung ikonotextueller Bedeutung" [S. 2, (2) b.]:
   Auch wenn dies an genannter Stelle nicht im Detail ausgeführt ist, scheint hier ein Phänomen angesprochen zu sein, das auch im Zusammenhang der *Beischriften* relevant ist.[30]
4. Frage nach „ikonotextuellen Moden" bestimmter Epochen/historischer Phasen für „Ikonotexte insgesamt" oder bestimmte „ikonotextuelle Sonderformen" [S. 2, (2) e.]:
   Diese Frage scheint das oben herausgestellten Phänomen eines ‚labelling habit' von *Beischriften* zu berühren,[31] wobei ich dieses, anders als offenbar für Ikonotexte postuliert, definitiv nicht als temporäre, phasengebundene Erscheinung, sondern als zeitunabhängiges Merkmal der (antiken) *Beischriften* verstehen möchte.
5. Während insgesamt die meisten der im Rahmen der Tagung herausgearbeiteten Beobachtungen auf die *Funktion* von Ikonotexten abzielten [vgl. auch o. unter 2. 2], so
   – zur „Gebrauchsintensität" [S. 2, (2) g.],[32]
   – zu „spezifisch ikonotextlichen Eigentümlichkeiten" wie der anzunehmenden „Manipulation" etwa beim Gebrauch von Vasen [S. 2, (3) a.]
   – oder zum „kommunikativen oder mediologisch relevanten Mehrwert" im Verhältnis von „Assoziation" und „Denotation" [S. 4, (3) g.][33], und in dieser *funktions*orientierten Ausrichtung hier unkommentiert bleiben sollen, lassen sich
6. auch solche Beobachtungen ausmachen, die – obgleich anders kategorisiert und benannt – letztlich das *Funktionieren* von Ikonotexten betreffen, so etwa
   – zur „chronotopischen Dichte" in ihrer „maximalen/mittleren/minimalen" Ausprägung [S. 2/3, (3) a.] – hier finden sich Entsprechungen zum oben festgestellten *WAS* des *Funktionierens*[34] – und

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30 S. o. S. 55–69 zur Bedeutung des *synaktiven Potentials* – für Beischriften als einer epochen- und kulturenübergreifenden Größe.

31 S. o. S. 66 u. 68; s. ferner auch S. 73.

32 Ein Aspekt mit einigem Interesse auch für die *Funktion* von Beischriften. Unklar bleibt nur, weshalb hier die Wandmalereien und Mosaike als ausgesprochen frequente Träger von Ikonotexten (Beischriften) nicht genannt sind.

33 Obwohl hier von einem entsprechenden Mehrwert gegenüber den jeweiligen Teilmedien ausgegangen wird, was dem Konzept des *synaktiven Potentials* gerade nicht entspricht, scheint hierin immerhin zum Ausdruck zukommen, dass u. U. auch Ikonotexten ein ‚labelling habit' innewohnen konnte.

34 S. o. S. 55–57 passim.

– zum „Modus des medialen Miteinanders“ [S. 3, (3) c.] – mit Entsprechungen zum *WIE* des *Funktionierens* und deren inhaltlichen und kompositorischen/gestalterischen Implikationen zur Feststellung des jeweiligen *qualitativen* und eines *quantitativen Syn-Aktions*grades.[35] Während die dort geprägten Termini von „Sym,- Bi, und Intermedialität“ zur Beschreibung des „medialen Miteinanders“ von Ikonotexten jedoch offenbar chronologisch indifferent Anwendung finden sollen, führt demgegenüber eine synchrone Betrachtung des *synaktiven Potentials* von Beischriften zu keinen schlüssigen Ergebnissen. Vielmehr zeitigt etwa erst die chronologisch differenzierte Betrachtung von *Beischriften* als eines ihrer zentralen Merkmale die diachrone Entwicklung von in ihrer *synaktiven* Intensität zunächst starken Bild-Text-Phänomenen hin zu zunehmenden Emblematisierungstendenzen.

All diese im Rahmen der Ikonotexte-Tagung diskutierten Aspekte kommen somit insgesamt dem sehr nahe, was in der vorliegenden Untersuchung zum *synaktiven Potential* von *Beischriften* mittels der dort vorgestellten Einzelanalysen zum intrinsischen *Funktionieren* von Beischriften durchgespielt worden ist, konkret das *inhaltliche* und *kompositorisch/gestalterische WIE* des *Funktionierens*, um anhand des darin offenbar werdenden *Synaktions*grades eine Vorstellung von der Intensität dieses *synaktiven Potentials* zu gewinnen. Ich belasse es bei dieser exemplarischen Kommentierung der Gießener Tagungsergebnisse. Sie verdeutlichen jedenfalls nicht nur das beachtliche Spektrum an Berührungspunkten zwischen *Beischriften* im hier verstandenen Sinn und ‚Ikonotexten‘, sondern vermitteln insbesondere einen repräsentativen Eindruck von der durchaus vielversprechenden, in zentralen Punkten allerdings noch adaptionsbedürftigen Anwendbarkeit eines nicht genuin altertumswissenschaftlichen Konzepts auf das Phänomen von *antiken* ‚Ikonotexten‘ resp. *Beischriften*.

5 Ein Résumé in sechs Thesen zum synaktiven Potential von Beischriften:

1. Antike *Beischriften* bilden eine integrale, genuine Einheit aus Text+Bild; Kriterien der Inter-Medialität greifen daher für sie nicht.
2. Messlatte für die Intensität des *intrinsischen Funktionierens* ist der qualitative bzw. quantitative Synaktionsgrad.
3. Der äußerlich sichtbare Wandel von *Beischriften* bis in die Spätantike geht zwar einher mit einer nachlassenden Intensitätsstärke des *synaktiven Potentials*, nicht jedoch mit einem Nachlassen des Vorkommens von Beischriften.

35 S. o. S. 57–65.

4. Demzufolge muss die Motivation für die sich hartnäckig haltende *Beischriften*-Praxis auf einer anderen Ebene zu suchen sein, die als ein – hier begrifflich neu eingeführter – ‚labelling habit' bezeichnet werden mag.
5. Antike *Beischriften* sind vor dem Hintergrund der Überlegungen dieser Untersuchung sicher keine „semantischen Enklaven" im Sinne autonomer Entitäten mit abweichender semantischer Struktur, eine Begrifflichkeit die Mieczysław Wallis für Inschriften in Malereien vom Mittelalter bis ins 20. Jh. anwendet.[36] Antiken *Beischriften* eignet ferner auch grundsätzlich (also unbenommen vom Einzelfall) kein ‚didaskalischer' Anspruch, denn es liegt keine solcherart orientierte Dominanz des Textes gegenüber dem Bild vor. Eher verhält es sich umgekehrt, wonach eine Notwendigkeit ikonischer Präsenz für die Sinnhaftigkeit von *Beischriften* besteht. In dieser Relation fungiert der Text als ‚ikonozentriertes Graphem' und ist als solches der bildlichen Entität beigeordnet.
6. Antike *Beischriften* dürfen sicher als eine Form von „Ikonotexten" bezeichnet werden. Allerdings trägt das bisherige, sich freilich erst in fieri befindliche, Konzept von Ikonotexten der Antike den Eigenheiten der antiken *Beischriften* noch nicht adäquat Rechnung.

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Abb. 20: Nach personalshop-Katalog 2013.

Text Spaces

Irene Berti und Péter Kató

Listen im öffentlichen Raum hellenistischer Städte

1 Die Liste

In seinem Buch „Vertigine della Lista“ beschreibt Umberto Eco die Obsession der Menschheit, die Unendlichkeit der Dinge überschaubar machen zu wollen, und erforscht die ästhetischen und emotionalen Werte des Verzeichnisses.[1] Von dieser Obsession scheinen auch die Bürger antiker *poleis* ergriffen gewesen zu sein, die Listen in großer Zahl niederschrieben und diese zuweilen auch auf permanentem Material wie Stein oder Bronze veröffentlichten. Warum fertigten sie so viele derartige Listen an? Wo wurden diese Listen aufgestellt und was sagen sie über den sie umgebenden Raum bzw. über die Gesellschaft, die sie produziert hat, aus?[2]

So wie der heutige Mensch von Verzeichnissen verschiedener Art umgeben ist, so waren auch die öffentlichen Räume der hellenistischen Städte voll von Listen. Die Listen, mit denen sich dieser Aufsatz beschäftigt, decken ein breites Spannungsfeld zwischen praktischer Funktion und Repräsentation ab. Praktische Aufzählungen haben eine referentielle Funktion,[3] d. h. sie beziehen sich auf Dinge der alltäglichen Lebenswelt und haben den Zweck, diese zu benennen und aufzuzählen. So disparat diese Dinge auch sein mögen, sie unterliegen dem Druck ihres Kontextes, d. h. sie wurden zusammengefasst, weil sie etwas gemeinsam haben: Sie befinden sich z. B. alle an einem bestimmten Ort oder werden an einem solchen erwartet, oder sie dienen der Planung einer bestimmten Handlung, wie etwa im Fall eines Einkaufszettels. Eine praktische Liste ist also nie widersprüchlich, vorausgesetzt, man kennt das Kriterium ihrer Zusammenstellung:[4] Das Kriterium macht die Einheit und die Zusammengehörigkeit disparater Dinge sichtbar und betont gleichzeitig die Einzigartigkeit der einzelnen Elemente. Eine Auflistung fasziniert aber auch jenseits ihrer inhaltli-

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1 Eco 2009.
2 Zur „Ästhetik“ von Listen und die Freude ihrer Lektüre s. Belknap 2004.
3 Zur Unterscheidung zwischen praktischen und poetischen Listen, vgl. Eco 2009, 113. Vgl. auch Goody 1978, 80–99 für eine Typologie antiker Listen und Belknap 2004, XII–XIV und 1–35 für literarische Listen.
4 Eco 2009, 116.

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chen Bedeutung, nämlich durch ihr visuelles oder akustisches Potential.[5] Darüber hinaus machen Listen Mengen sichtbar, sowohl im physischen als auch im symbolischen Sinn: Bei einer monumentalen Liste von Magistraten oder von Kriegsgefallenen kann man die Namen zählen und feststellen, wer aufgelistet wurde und wer nicht, oder man kann die beeindruckende Namenmenge als solche wahrnehmen und dabei den Stolz oder die Trauer der Beteiligten nachempfinden.[6] Somit bieten Listen mehrere Möglichkeiten und Niveaus der Rezeption an: Sie können im Einzelnen, d. h. Eintrag für Eintrag gelesen oder vorgelesen werden, sie können aber auch in ihrer Gesamtheit wahrgenommen werden.[7] Dabei darf das visuelle Potential, z. B. bei einer strategisch platzierten Namensliste, nicht unterschätzt werden.

Listen von Objekten oder Menschen können in verschiedener Form verfasst werden, und die Ordnung der aufgelisteten Dinge oder Menschen mag von Fall zu Fall stark variieren: Eine Namensliste kann etwa als eine kontinuierliche Reihenfolge von Namen erscheinen, die Namen können aber auch in Kolumnen aufgelistet werden oder untereinander geschrieben sein.[8] Ebenso kann man die Namen alphabetisch ordnen (ein verbreitetes Kriterium der Moderne, das in der Antike allerdings selten angewendet wurde)[9] oder nach Kriterien wie Herkunft, Reichtum oder Alter.

1.1 Die Listen und die hellenistische Polis

In seiner Untersuchung zu Bürgerpflichten im klassischen und hellenistischen Athen und deren Publikation in der Öffentlichkeit unterscheidet Peter Liddel zwischen zwei Arten von Listen: auf der einen Seite solchen, die vor einer bestimmten Aktion angefertigt werden, um diese zu steuern; und auf der anderen Seite solchen, die erst im Nachhinein verfasst wurden, um feierlich an das jeweilige Ereignis zu erinnern und als Beispiel für weitere, zukünftige Aktionen dieser Art zu dienen.[10] Für unseren Beitrag ist vor allem die zweite Kategorie, also die „retrospektive Liste" – ein Inventar von Gegenständen, Personen und Ereignissen – relevant, denn sie besitzt hohes

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5 Wie z. B. im Fall einer religiösen Litanei, in der es nicht darum geht, zu verstehen, was aufgelistet wird, sondern darum, sich vom klanglichen Rausch der Liste ergreifen zu lassen. Vgl. Eco 2009, 118.
6 Das Entscheidende an einer Liste ist laut Umberto Eco das Unsagbare, das „Undsoweiter": Indem sie die Einzelheiten vorstellt, deutet die Liste gleichzeitig darauf hin, dass sie noch unendlich viel mehr Einträge nennen könnte (Eco 2009, 49–51, 67, 81, 137).
7 Liddel 2007, 183: „Lists, in particularly those that feature names, have a potentially high level of accessibility, given that names can be read by those who have a minimum level of literacy".
8 Vgl. auch E. Meyer in diesem Band.
9 Mit der wichtigen Ausnahme von Kos, wo die alphabetische Auflistung sehr häufig vorkommt. S. dazu unten.
10 Liddel 2007, 183. Vgl. auch Goody 1978, 80, 130.

Potential als Denkmal und Mittel der öffentlichen Kommunikation in der antiken Polis.

Die enorme Bedeutung der epigraphischen Listen in hellenistischen Städte wurde vor allem für die Sozialgeschichte noch nicht völlig anerkannt.[11] Unser Interesse konzentriert sich auf die Listen von Menschen bzw. deren Namen (Listen von Magistraten, von Spendern, von Weihenden usw.) und nicht auf Listen von Objekten (wie z. B. die Inventarlisten der Heiligtümer).[12] Wer waren die durch Listen kommemorierten Menschen? Im Mittelpunkt der hellenistischen Sozialgeschichte stehen üblicherweise die wohlhabenden, gebildeten und gut vernetzten Oberschichten, die sich im Laufe der hellenistischen Zeit als erbliche Gruppen an der Spitze der Stadtgesellschaften herausgebildet haben. Im Mittelpunkt dieses Aufsatzes sollen hingegen Inschriften stehen, die nicht unbedingt von der Dominanz der Oberschichten zeugen, sondern Raum für eine nivellierende Darstellung der sozialen Verhältnissen bieten (ungeachtet der sozialen Realität) und somit – wie wir in diesem Aufsatz zu zeigen versuchen – ein Bild der Polis als ein zusammenhängender Organismus vermitteln.

In Anbetracht der demographischen Verhältnisse der beiden hier untersuchten Städte Athen und Kos impliziert die hohe Anzahl der in einzelnen Liste genannten Personen, dass es sich dabei nicht nur um Mitglieder der Oberschichten handeln konnte.[13] Wenn z. B. in Athen alle 500 bzw. 600 Mitglieder des Rates aufgelistet werden, dann haben wir vermutlich einen repräsentativen Querschnitt der Bürgerschaft von den sehr Reichen bis zu den Bürgern mit relativ niedrigem Vermögen vor uns.[14] Die langen Epidosislisten von Kos, die freiwillige Abgaben Einzelner zugunsten des Staates dokumentierten, enthalten ebenfalls nicht nur Wohlhabende, sondern auch ihre ärmeren Mitbürger. In den meisten Fällen besteht die Mehrheit der Aufgelisteten aus uns unbekannten Bürgern, die zu den nicht elitären sozialen Gruppen zählten. Die Inklusion unvermögender, wenig privilegierter und unbekannter Bürger in epigraphische Monumente und deren topographische Stellung innerhalb des öffentlichen Stadtraums bilden daher einen Schwerpunkt dieses Beitrags.

11 Von den inschriftlichen Listen wurde den Epidosislisten bisher ohne Zweifel die größte Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet. S. hierzu die grundlegende Analyse von Migeotte 1992. Für neue, die ideologischen und mentalitätshistorischen Aspekte der *epidoseis* behandelnde Studien, s. Chaniotis 2013 und Ellis-Evans 2013.

12 Diese Listen zählen in der Regel die in das Heiligtum gestifteten Votive auf, und selbst wenn sie gelegentlich die jeweiligen Spender namentlich erwähnen, sind es immer die Objekte, die aufgelistet werden und nicht die Weihenden.

13 Für die demographischen Verhältnisse in Athen vgl. Sekunda 1992, bes. 344. Für die reale Teilnahme der „einfachen“ Bürger an der *boule*, vgl. Rhodes 1972, 1–3 und seinen Kommentar (S. 5–6) zur Bouleutenliste des Jahres 336/5 (Agora XV 42): „Obscurity need not mean poverty, but at least we are shown that the boule contained men who were inactive enough to leave no other trace of their existence.“

14 S. dazu auch Grieb 2008, 44–45.

Als Materialbasis der Untersuchung wurden mit Athen und Kos zwei Städte ausgewählt, in denen es über einen längeren Zeitraum hinweg üblich war, Listen mit einer hohen Anzahl von Personen in öffentlichen Räumen auf- und auszustellen.[15] Athen und Kos verbindet aber nicht nur die beachtliche Vielzahl an epigraphischen Listen, sondern auch die Tatsache, dass beide Poleis nach hellenistischen Maßstäben von eher mittlerer Größe waren – wobei natürlich die Großstadt Athen die relativ kleine Stadt Kos bei Weitem übertraf. Beiden gemeinsam ist außerdem ein ausgedehntes, durch *synoikismos* in einem Staatsgefüge vereintes Territorium. Sowohl Athen als auch Kos charakterisierte ein demokratisches Selbstverständnis, das für die Identität und Außendarstellung beider Städte prägend war.[16] Vor diesem Hintergrund soll unsere Arbeitshypothese denn auch lauten: Die öffentliche Aufstellung von epigraphischen Listen hing in besonderem Maße mit dem Selbstverständnis der Städte zusammen.

1.2 Listen in Athen: eine alte Tradition

Das Repertoire der auf Stein veröffentlichten Listen ist in Athen sehr breit und heterogen,[17] sowohl in Hinblick auf die Auswahl der aufgelisteten Objekte und Personen als auch auf die materiale Form der Liste: Es gibt Listen mit und ohne Präskript, manche schließen sich an Dekrete an, einige zählen Namen auf, andere Gegenstände.[18]

15 Die routinemäßige Aufstellung von Namenslisten in hellenistischen Städten war keineswegs selbstverständlich und allgemein verbreitet. Fast überall finden sich zwar vereinzelte Namenslisten, allerdings kommen sie nur in wenigen Städten in großer Zahl vor. Zu diesen Städten bzw. Regionen gehören Boiotien (Militärkataloge), Rhodos (Inschriften der Vereine), Athen (Prytanen-, Bouleuten- und Epidosislisten) sowie Kos (Epidosis-, Beamten- und Demotailisten).

16 Zur Demokratie im hellenistischen Athen und Kos s. Grieb 2008 und Carlsson 2010. Zur Rolle der Demokratie für die Außendarstellung von Kos s. insbesondere IG XII 4, 1, 68, dazu Grieb 2008, 178–179, 185. Die Anerkennung der guten Verfassung von Kos wird u. a. von einem Brief des Antigonos Monophthalmos über den Synoikismos von Teos und Lebedos, s. Syll^3 344 (RC 3), Z. 57–61 bezeugt: ἐπεὶ δὲ δικαι]ότερον ὑπολαμβάνομεν εἶναι ἐξ ἄλλης πόλεως μεταπέμψασθ[αι νόμους, κελεύσαντες μὲν ἀμ]φοτέρους λέγειν ἐκ ποίας πόλεως βούλονται χρᾶσθαι νόμοις συνο[μολογησάντων δὲ ἀ]μφοτέρων ὥστε τοῖς Κώιων νόμοις χρῆσθαι, ἐπικεκρίκαμεν, τοὺς [δὲ Κώιους παρεκαλέσαμ]εν πρὸς τοὺς νόμους ὅπως δῶσιν ὑμῖν ἐγγράψασθαι („Weil wir es für richtig hielten, die Gesetzte einer anderen Stadt zu übernehmen, nachdem wir beide Städte aufgefordert hatten, zu sagen, von welcher Polis sie die Gesetzte verwenden möchten, und beide [Gemeinden] der Meinung waren, dass sie die Gesetze der Koer verwenden sollten, so wurde es beschlossen; und die Koer wurden aufgefordert, die Gesetze zu übergeben, damit man sie abschreiben kann.“). Zum Synoikismos von Teos und Lebedos, s. ausführlich Bencivenni 2003, 169–201.

17 IG II^2 1696–1834, 1924–1932, 1960–2291, 2364–2489. Zu einigen neuen Fragmenten von der Agora, vgl. Walbank 1994, 169–209. Vgl. dazu auch E. Meyer in diesem Band.

18 Vgl. Liddel 2007, 183.

Schon im 5. Jh.[19] scheinen insbesondere Namenslisten eine beliebte Form der monumentalen Erinnerung gewesen zu sein: Wir kennen Fragmente eines Archontenkatalogs,[20] eines Katalogs mit den Namen einer Schiffsbesatzung,[21] einer Namensliste von Sklaven[22] und einiger Listen mit nicht näher identifizierbaren Namen.[23] Gefunden wurden diese älteren Steinstelen vor allem auf der Akropolis.[24] Im 4. Jh. sind Listen (sowohl mit der Nennung von Menschen als auch von Dingen) dann der am häufigsten auf einem permanenten Medium veröffentlichte Dokumententyp in Athen. Die Polis (und ihre Untereinheiten wie *demoi*, *phylai* usw.) veröffentlichten besonders gerne Listen von Individuen auf Stein, die „civic obligations" erfüllt hatten: Archonten,[25] Prytanen und Bouleuten,[26] Epheben[27] und *Diaitetai*.[28] Zusätzlich nutzten Gruppen von Magistraten und Priestern die Form der Auflistung einzelner Namen für kollektive Weihungen am Ende der Amts- bzw. Priesterzeit.[29] Diese Artefakte, welche primär die Funktion von Weihgaben erfüllten, dienten darüber hinaus der Ehrung der aufgelisteten Magistrate und fungierten in gewisser Weise als Verewigung der mündlich und performativ verliehenen Ehren.

Eine ähnliche kommemorative Funktion hatten wahrscheinlich auch die bronzenen Tafeln, die seit Anfang des 4. Jhs. vor dem Neuen Bouleuterion auf der Agora aufgestellt wurden und die Namen der Epheben auflisteten.[30] Diese Listen wiesen sicherlich keine praktische Funktion im Sinne von Konskriptionslisten auf,[31] sondern gedachten vielmehr des geleisteten ephebischen Eides und der damit verbundenen Integration der jungen Männer in die Polis als militärische Gemeinde.

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19 Alle Datierungen betreffen die Zeit v. Chr.
20 IG I[3] 1031.
21 IG I[3] 1032.
22 IG I[3] 1037, 1047.
23 IG I[3] 1041–1046.
24 IG I[3] 1031 (Agora) und 1037 (Agora und Kerameikos) sind wichtige Ausnahmen.
25 IG I[3] 1031; SEG XXXIX 28. Für die Definition von „civic obligation" s. Liddel 2007, 14, 34, 107–124.
26 Agora XV.
27 Reinmuth 1971; IG II[3] 1158, 1169, 1176, 1195–1196, 1256, 1285, 1313, 1322, 1332, 1362, 1363–1365, 1376; IG II[2] 1960–2291; vgl. auch Rhodes-Osborne 2003, 452–457.
28 SEG XXXIV 63; IG II[2] 1924 + 2409 + SEG XXXII 124; IG II[2] 1925–1927, 2393. Zu den Diaitetai s. Zanaga (im Druck). Zu anderen Inschriften mit Namenslisten von der Agora vgl. IG II[2] 2364–2489 und Walbank 1994, 169–209.
29 Weihmonumente von Magistraten von der Agora: Agora XVIII, C 78, C 80, C 81, C 83–84, C 86, C 88–89, C 91, C 93–95, C 97–98, C 100–103, C 105; Weihmonumente von Kultbeamten von der Agora: Agora XVIII C 115–116.
30 Aristot. Ath. pol 53, 4–5: „Ehemals wurden die Namen der Epheben bei ihrer Einschreibung in die Bürgerliste auf geweißten Tafeln verzeichnet [...], jetzt aber werden sie auf einer Bronzetafel verzeichnet und die Tafel wird vor dem Bouleuterion, nahe den Statuen der Namensgeber der Phylen aufgestellt"; vgl. hierzu Rhodes 1981, 593.
31 Hoplitenlisten waren als Mittel der Rekrutierung nur dann verwendbar, wenn sie aktualisierbar waren und Faktoren wie Sterblichkeitsquote, Auswanderung usw. beachteten.

Listen von Gegenständen wie Tempelinventare und Bauabrechnungen oder Listen von verkauften Gütern (wie die *poletai*-Inschriften) waren zwar nicht ausdrücklich dazu gedacht, die Erfüllung bürgerlicher Pflichten zu dokumentieren – die Amtsträger wurden zwar erwähnt, haben aber hier keine prominente Stellung –, konnten aber sehr wohl als Anerkennung ziviler Tugenden und individueller Leistungen verstanden werden, indem sie den Magistraten vor der breiten Öffentlichkeit bestätigten, ihre Arbeit gewissenhaft verrichtet zu haben.[32]

1.3 Prytanen- und Bouleutenlisten

In Athen haben vor allem die Prytanenlisten eine sehr lange Tradition, die vom 5. Jh. v. Chr. bis in nachhadrianische Zeit mehr oder weniger ununterbrochen fortbestand. Damit stellen sie die älteste und langlebigste bekannte Dokumentenserie der Antike dar.

Bei den ältesten Beispielen von Prytanenkatalogen handelt es sich um kollektive Weihmonumente in Form von Stelen und Bilddenkmälern aus dem ausgehenden 5. Jh.[33] In der Regel wurden die dazugehörigen Weihinschriften zusammen mit dem Namenskatalog auf einer Basis angebracht, auf der die – heute in der Regel verlorene – Statue, Herme oder Reliefstele zu sehen war. Eines der frühesten Exemplare dieser Art ist auf einer rundlichen Basis von der Akropolis erhalten. Sie trägt die Weihung der *prytaneis* der Phyle Erechtheis, die im Jahr des Archon Euktemon (408/7) den Wettbewerb für die beste Prytanie des Jahres gewonnen hatte.[34] Die Namen der einzelnen Prytanen sind unter der Weihinschrift in drei Kolumnen aufgelistet. Ebenfalls von der Akropolis stammt eine fragmentarisch erhaltene Stele aus dem frühen 4. Jh. mit bekrönendem Relief. Sie wurde von der Phyle Kekropis gestiftet und war möglicherweise vor dem Heroon des Kekrops errichtet.[35] Auf der Akropolis wurden noch viele weitere Fragmente von ähnlichen kollektiven Weihdenkmälern der Prytanen

32 Zu den *poletai*-Inschriften vgl. Jördens et al. 2015.

33 Merrit und Traill (Agora XV 2) gehen sogar davon aus, dass diese Praxis auf Kleisthenes und auf die Einführung der zehn *phylai* zurückgehen könnte. Ein Entstehungskontext am Ende des 5. Jhs. erscheint allerdings wahrscheinlicher. So könnte die Entstehung dieser Praxis in Zusammenhang mit der Reaktion gegen die Oligarchien und mit der Reflexion über die eigene demokratische Tradition der Athener Bürgerschaft stehen. Zu weiteren, aber nicht sicher als Prytanenlisten identifizierbaren, älteren Exemplare vgl. E. Meyer in diesem Band, S. 243 Anm. 106.

34 Agora XV 1. Die Basis wurde zwischen dem Parthenon und den Propyleia gefunden, wiederverwendet in einem Baukontext aus römischer Zeit. Obwohl ihr ursprünglicher Standort nicht mehr genau zu lokalisieren ist, wurde das Monument mit größter Wahrscheinlichkeit auf der Akropolis errichtet, denn es war Athena geweiht. Da das Monument von der Phyle Erechtheis gestiftet wurde, ist es gut möglich, dass die Basis in der Nähe des Erechtheions aufgestellt war.

35 Agora XV 7. Vgl. Lawton 1995, Nr. 97.

aus dem 4. und aus der ersten Hälfte des 3. Jhs. gefunden, die allerdings keine genaue Rekonstruktion der Monumente zulassen.[36] Auch die Agora könnte als Aufstellungsort solcher frühen Weihdenkmäler gedient haben: Im Jahr 393/2 war es die *prytanis der* Phyle Antiochis, die siegreich im Agon *mit den anderen* Prytanien gewesen war und (möglicherweise) eine Herme mit beschrifteter Basis (wahrscheinlich) auf der Agora geweiht hatte. Auch hier waren die Namen der Prytanen, die heute nicht mehr lesbar sind, vermutlich unter der Weihung angebracht.[37]

Wer waren die Dedikanten solcher Denkmäler und zu welchen Anlässen wurden sie errichtet? Als Sieger galt die *prytanis*, die im Laufe des Jahres die Interessen des Staates am besten vertreten hatte. Sowohl aus den frühen Weihinschriften als auch aus den späteren Ehrendekreten für die Prytanen geht hervor, dass die Siegerehrung im Rahmen eines feierlichen Aktes vollzogen wurde, bei dem Kränze verliehen wurden (σθεφανωθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου). Am Ende dieser Feiern stand als letzter Akt die Verewigung der Ehrungen auf Stein. Der agonistische Kontext scheint allerdings im Laufe der Zeit aus den Inschriften zu verschwinden: Nach Mitte des 4. Jhs. wird immer seltener der Wettbewerb für die beste Prytanie erwähnt. Ob der Grund hierfür darin zu suchen ist, dass in dieser Zeit allen Prytanien und allen Prytanen eines Jahres die Ehre zustand, ihre Namen auf Stein verewigt zu sehen, bleibt aber fraglich.[38]

Am Ende des 4. Jhs. änderte sich die Struktur der Inschriften. Neben der Weihung der geehrten Prytanen – immer öfter auch anstelle derselben – wurde nun das Dekret aufgeschrieben, durch das die Ehren offiziell verliehen wurden.[39] Parallel dazu wandelte sich auch die Form der Denkmäler und deren Aufstellungskontext: Für die Anbringung der Inschriften wählte man immer häufiger die für Dekrete typischen Stelen und errichtete sie auf der Agora.

Im Laufe des 3. und 2. Jhs. entwickelte sich aus den ersten, einfachen Ehrendekreten mit Namenskatalog[40] eine Inschriftentypologie, die bis in die sullanische Zeit relativ unverändert blieb und deren Grundschema sich am Beispiel einer fast

36 Agora XV 10, 13, 17, 26, 32.

37 Agora XV 2. Die viereckige Basis wurde als Bank in der heute abgerissenen Kirche der Panaghia Blassarou auf der antiken Agora (J 10–11) wiederverwendet und in den 1930er-Jahren in das Agora Museum gebracht.

38 S. Dow 1937, 7: „no doubt all the *prytaneis* of any given year could be honored in their tribal groups. Actually no more than two tribes are known to be honored in any given year." Im Jahr 164/3 wurden anscheinend ausnahmsweise drei Prytanien geehrt (vgl. Rhodes 1972, 23, Nr. 5).

39 Die Tatsache, dass jetzt immer öfter Dekrete veröffentlicht wurden, bedeutet indes nicht, dass es solche früher nicht gegeben hatte – bloß wurden sie damals nicht veröffentlicht. Während die älteren Weihinschriften wahrscheinlich von den Phylen selbst bezahlt wurden, wurden die Finanzmittel zur Publikation der Ehrendekrete für die Prytanen jetzt von der Zentralregierung zur Verfügung gestellt, wie die Aufstellungsformeln oft betonen (s. z. B. Agora XV 58, 71, 76–78).

40 Z. B. Agora XV 58, 66, 71, 76, 78.

vollständig erhaltenen Inschrift aus dem Jahr 178/7 nachvollziehen lässt.[41] Der Text wurde auf einer Stele mit einfacher, Architektur nachahmender Verzierung eingemeißelt und besteht aus zwei Ehrendekreten: Das erste ist ein Dekret des *demos*, der die Prytanen als Gruppe ehrte und ihnen einen goldenen Kranz verlieh. Als Begründung heißt es, es sei ein Dank für die traditionellen Opfer, die sie für die Volksversammlung dargebracht hatten. Solche Formulierungen waren weit verbreitet und finden sich auch auf vielen anderen Beispielen dieser Art, wie etwa „weil sie all' die Aufgaben, die ihnen anvertraut wurden, gut und eifrig fertiggebracht haben" oder „wegen ihrer Frömmigkeit gegenüber den Göttern und wegen ihrer Eifrigkeit gegenüber der *boule* und dem *demos* der Athener". Das zweite Dekret ist ein Dekret des Rates (*boule*) und dokumentiert Ehrungen für einzelne Beamte der *prytanis*.[42] Zwischen dem ersten und dem zweiten Dekret sowie am Ende der Stele konnten gelegentlich auch Sonderehren für einzelne Mitglieder erwähnt sein, teilweise von der Abbildung eines Kranzes begleitet. Nach den Dekreten folgte der Katalog mit den Namen der geehrten Prytanen. Diese wurden in der Regel in drei bis vier Kolumnen ihren Demen entsprechend aufgelistet. Den Anfang machte der *demos* des Schatzmeisters, danach folgte der *demos* des Sekretärs. Bis zum Ende des 3. Jhs. wurden die Namen mitsamt den Patronymika aufgelistet, danach ohne diese.

Für die Finanzierung der Stelen kamen öffentliche Gelder zum Einsatz, und eine ganze Reihe der Dekrete enthält Anordnungen, wo die Stelen im Stadtgebiet aufzustellen waren.[43] Zwischen dem Ende des 4. und dem Beginn des 3. Jhs. findet sich in der Aufstellungsklausel häufig der Hinweis, dass die Stelen zu Ehren der Prytanen vor oder in der Nähe des Bouleuterion (ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βουλευτηρίου; πρὸς τῶι βουλευτηρίωι) errichtet werden sollten.[44] Nach ca. 280 war ihre Aufstellung im Prytanikon (ἐν τῶι πρυτανικῶι) vorgesehen[45] und nach 130 bis in die Zeit Sullas heißt es oftmals οὗ ἂν εὔκαιρον ἦι, d. h. „an einem geeignetem Ort", „wo es passend ist"[46] oder οὗ ἂν ἐπιφανέστατον ἦι („an dem sichtbarsten Ort").[47]

41 Agora XV 194. Die Stele ist 128 cm hoch. Vgl. auch zu früheren Beispielen Agora XV 86–87, 89, 100, 115, 128–129, 138, 147, 168, 170, 181, 187.

42 Das Standarddekret auf den Listen hellenistischer Zeit zeigt, dass die Prytanen vor der *ekklesia* Rechenschaft über ihre Pflichten ablegten, aber vor der *boule* über das Verhalten der einzelnen Amtsträger berichten mussten. Obwohl diese Praxis in den knappen Inschriften des 4. Jhs. nicht explizit erwähnt wird, besteht kein Grund zu vermuten, dass es sich um eine Innovation handelt (vgl. Rhodes 1972, 23).

43 Meritt/Traill in Agora XV 16.

44 Agora XV 58, 66, 71, 81 (Dat.: 305–283).

45 Agora XV 77–78, 84, 86, 88–89, 104, 115, 120–121, 126–130, 132, 135, 137–138, 141, 147, 158, 163, 168, 170–171, 173–175, 178, 181, 184, 187, 189, 191–194, 196, 199, 204–206, 210–212, 214–217, 223, 225–226, 232, 234, 236, 240, 243–244.

46 Agora XV 246, 249, 252, 254, 258, 261.

47 Agora XV 263.

Die Fundorte der Fragmente bestätigen – trotz häufiger Wiederverwendung – diesen Aufstellungskontext am Westrand der Agora, denn eine große Anzahl wurde in der Nähe des Tholos-Bouleuterion-Komplexes gefunden. Sowohl das Prytanikon als auch das Bouleuterion waren Stätten der Demokratie. Im Bouleuterion traf sich der Rat der Fünfhundert, im Prytanikon (wahrscheinlich identifizierbar mit der späteren Tholos) und seinen Nebengebäuden speisten gemeinsam die gerade amtierenden Prytanen. Die dort errichteten Inschriften kennzeichneten den sie umgebenden Raum als Raum der Prytanen und der athenischen Bürger – ein politischer Raum par excellence, in dem, anknüpfend an die demokratische Tradition, nicht nur die Einflussreichen und Wohlhabenden die Politik bestimmten, sondern alle Bürger gleichberechtigt nebeneinander.[48]

Neben diesen Inschriften ist in unserem Zusammenhang noch ein anderer Typus interessant: die Gesamtlisten aller Mitglieder der *boule*, wie sie vor allem im 4. Jh. auf Stelen oder auf Statuenbasen angebracht wurden.[49] Diese Inschriften nahmen formell eine ähnliche Entwicklung wie die Prytaneninschriften von der Weihinschrift zur Ehreninschrift. Über ihr genaues Aussehen ist wenig bekannt, denn die Mehrheit dieser wahrscheinlich einst monumentalen Inschriften ist in sehr fragmentarischem Zustand gefunden worden.

Eine Ausnahme bildet eine fast vollständig erhaltene Basis (Abb. 1a und 1b),[50] die 1959 auf der Höhe der damaligen Odos Adrianou 7 in der Nähe der Agora gefunden wurde – wiederverwendet in einem byzantinischen Haus auf dem Panathenäischen Weg. Wie fußförmige Eintiefungen auf der Oberseite belegen, diente sie als Postament für eine heute verlorene Statue, wahrscheinlich eine Weihung an eine Gottheit oder Personifikation.

48 Diese demokratische Selbstrepräsentation wurde sogar in weniger demokratischen Zeiten weiter gepflegt und avancierte zu einem unverzichtbaren Teil athenischer Bürgeridentität.

49 Agora XV 20, 21?, 42, 43, 46, 56, 61, 62. Um ein älteres Exemplar könnte es sich bei der fragmentarisch erhaltenen Inschrift IG I^3 1040 (Dat.: 440–405) handeln. Vgl. E. Meyer in diesem Band, S. 243 Fußnote 106.

50 Agora XV 42 (Höhe: 0,49 m, Breite: 0,50 m, Tiefe: 0,52 m).

Abb. 1a: Basis mit Bouleutenliste, 4. Jh. v. Chr. (M 146), Vorderseite (mit Erlaubnis der ΕΦ.Α. Αθηνών / Ephorate of Antiquities of Athens © Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού Αθλητισμού, Ταμείο Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων / Ministry of Culture and Sports, Achaeological Receipts Fund).

Abb. 1b: Basis mit Bouleutenliste, 4. Jh. v. Chr. (M 146), Oberseite mit Spuren für die Befestigung einer Statue (mit Erlaubnis der ΕΦ.Α. Αθηνών / Ephorate of Antiquities of Athens © Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού Αθλητισμού, Ταμείο Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων / Ministry of Culture and Sports, Achaeological Receipts Fund).

Die Basis (Dat.: 336–335) ist an der Front und an den beiden Nebenseiten mit langen Listen von Namen beschriftet.[51] Mit Ausnahme der groß geschriebenen und heute unlesbaren Kopfzeilen, ist der Text vollständig erhalten. Wenn es eine Weihinschrift gegeben hat, muss diese sehr kurz gewesen sein. Bemerkenswerterweise sind auf der Basis aber nicht alle Mitglieder der *boule* verzeichnet, sondern nur die Hälfte aus fünf *phylai*.[52] Da der Namenskatalog vollständig erhalten ist und es wenig plausibel erscheint, dass nur die eine Hälfte der *bouleutai* für die Weihung verantwortlich gezeichnet hat (wofür es im Übrigen keine Parallele gäbe), steht zu vermuten, dass es noch eine „Zwillingsbasis" gab, welche vielleicht gegenüber oder neben dem erhaltenen Exemplar aufgestellt war und welche die Namen der übrigen Bouleuten verzeichnete.[53] Dem Fundort nach zu urteilen, könnte das Ensemble entlang der Panathenäischen Straße aufgestellt worden sein. Eine Parallele dafür ist möglicherweise in einem aus zwei Stelen bestehenden Monument aus dem Jahr 303/2 zu sehen, dessen Fragmente in teilweise modernen Wiederverwendungen sowie in den obersten Schichten auf und in der Nähe des Panathenäischen Weges, auf Höhe des Eleusinions gefunden wurden (Abb. 2).[54]

Die Fragmente eines weiteren Katalogs aus dem Jahr 330 kamen auf der Akropolis in unmittelbarer Nähe des Erechtheions zum Vorschein.[55] Auch in diesem Fall handelte es sich wahrscheinlich um ein aus zwei Blöcken bestehendes Monument, das auf der Akropolis errichtet war. Sicherer zu rekonstruieren ist der Aufstellungskontext des Bouleutenkatalogs des Jahres 304/3, der in einem sehr fragmentarischen Zustand im südlichen Hof des Bouleuterions gefunden wurde, wo auch die Mehrheit der Prytanenlisten aufgestellt war.[56] John Traill rekonstruierte aus den vielen verschiedenen Fragmenten eine einzige große Stele mit sechs Namenskolumnen und einer einfachen Überschrift (Abb. 3).[57] Durch seine Dimensionen und durch die im Vergleich große Menge an Namen stach sie unter den übrigen Monumenten sicherlich heraus. Im Hof des Bouleuterions war die Präsenz der Namen von Prytanen und Bouleuten

51 Die Rückseite ist nur grob bearbeitet und scheint nicht zur Ansicht gedacht gewesen zu sein (vgl. Charitonides 1961, 30).

52 Von den 248 genannten Männern sind 13 vollkommen unbekannt, fünf mögliche Trierarchen und weitere vier bis sechs Mitglieder von Familien, die in den Jahren kurz davor Trierarchen gestellt hatten (Rhodes 1972, 5–6). Die *boule* scheint in dieser Zeit also tatsächlich einen repräsentativen Querschnitt der gesamten Bürgerschaft abgebildet zu haben, selbst wenn eine gewisse Prädominanz der Reichen zu erwarten ist, die verständlicherweise mehr Zeit und Interesse für Politik aufbringen konnten. Zur Zusammensetzung der *boule* und zur Teilnahme der Theten s. auch Bleicken 1985, 121–122.

53 Charitonides 1961, 53–54, vermutet, dass es sich um ein aus zwei Basen bestehendes Monument handelt, mit bronzenen Statuen des personifizierten *demos* und der personifizierten *boule*.

54 Agora XV 62; Traill 1968, 5, schätzt die Originalhöhe der Stelen auf 1,72 m und die Breite auf 1 m. Beide Stelen waren wahrscheinlich freistehend.

55 Agora XV 46.

56 Agora XV 61.

57 Dow/Traill 1966.

raumprägend – zumal hier neben den Prytanen- und Bouleutenlisten so gut wie keine anderen Inschriften und nur sehr wenige Statuenbasen gefunden wurden.[58]

Abb. 2: Rekonstruktion der zweiten Stele der Bouleutenliste des Jahres 303/2 v. Chr., aus: Traill 1968, 7 fig. 1 © The Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Die Bouleutenlisten waren in der Regel relativ große Monumente, die teilweise aus mehreren Elementen bestanden, z. B. aus mehreren Stelen oder beschrifteten Statuenbasen. Sie waren zumeist an öffentlichen, gut zugänglichen Stellen platziert, wo sie kaum zu übersehen waren und sicherlich bewundert und möglicherweise auch gelesen wurden: auf der Akropolis, ein durch Heiligkeit und Symbolik besonders geeigneter Ort; entlang des Panathenäischen Weges an einer von der Straße aus gut sichtbaren Stelle; und auf der Agora vor dem Bouleuterion, einem der Ehrung der Bouleuten reservierten Raum.[59]

58 Die einzigen zwei Statuenbasen, die hier gefunden wurden, stammen aus einer späteren Zeit (nicht vor dem 2. Jh.). In dieser Zeit enthalten die Prytaneninschriften immer häufiger die Aufstellungsformel οὗ ἂν εὔκαιρον ἦι („wo es geeignet ist"), was belegt, dass sie nicht mehr in einem eigens dafür gedachten Ort aufgestellt wurden. Vgl. Thompson 1937, 169–171.

59 Nach Ende des 4. Jhs. scheint die Aufstellung der Bouleutenmonumente – im Gegensatz zu den Prytaneninschriften – nachzulassen. Uns sind aus den Jahren nach 303 nur zwei Beispiele bekannt: Agora XV 72 aus dem Jahr 281/0 und Agora XV 56 aus dem beginnenden 3. Jh. In beiden Fällen ist der Aufstellungsort unbekannt.

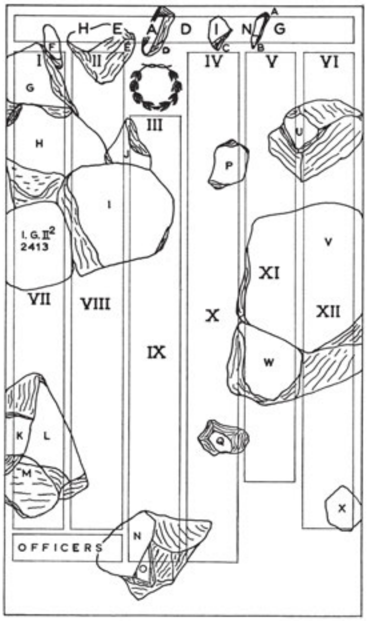

Abb. 3: Rekonstruktion der Bouleutenliste des Jahres 304/3 v. Chr., aus: Dow/Traill 1966, 218 fig. 1 © The Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

1.4 Listen der Diaitetai und der Epheben

Eine mit den Bouleutenlisten vergleichbare Gattung ist die der Kataloge der *Diaitetai* (Schiedsrichter).[60] Die *Diaitetai* führten anstelle der Thesmotheten das Vorverfahren in vermögensrechtlichen Prozessen, die einen Streitwert von 10 Drachmen überschritten. Jeder Athener Bürger war nach Ende des Kriegsdienstpflichtalters mit 60 Jahren dazu verpflichtet, dieses Amt für ein Jahr auszuüben.[61] Nach Ende des Amtsjahres

60 Vgl. IG II^{2} 1924–1927 + 1928–1932.

61 Vgl. Aristot. Ath. Pol. 53.2–6. Die soziale Zusammensetzung der *Diaita* ist umstritten. Schiedsrichter stammten, laut Ruschenbusch 1982, 267 aus der ganzen Bürgerschaft (inklusive Theten) und nicht nur aus der Hoplitenklasse. Dagegen argumentiert Sekunda 1992, 344 auf der Basis einer demographischen und prosopographischen Untersuchung, dass die *Diaitetai* von der Hoplitenklasse und aufwärts kamen, während die Theten ausgeschlossen waren. So auch Lewis 1955, 27–36, der bemerkt, dass in den bekannten Diaitetailisten viele berühmte Namen der damaligen Politik vorkamen, allerdings mit der signifikanten Ausnahme von IG II^{2} 1927, die mehrheitlich Namen unbekannter Bürger überliefert. Todd 1993, 369 lässt die Möglichkeit offen, dass nicht nur Hopliten, sondern alle athenischen Bürger die Pflicht hatten, als Schiedsrichter zu dienen. Zu den Listen der *Diaitetai* vgl. Liddel 2007, 196, 259–260. Vgl. auch Hansen 1991, 100, 197 und Kroll 1972, 85, N. 22 für die Zusammensetzung der *Diaita*.

veröffentlichten sie ihre Namen in Ehrenlisten, teilweise in Form einer kollektiven Weihung, nach dem gleichen Muster wie die *Bouleutai*.

Das früheste bekannte Beispiel einer solchen Diaitetailiste stammt aus dem Jahr 371 und wird als Weihmonument mit Dekret, Epigramm und Namensliste rekonstruiert.[62] Ein etwas späteres Exemplar aus dem Jahr 325/4 ist auf einer quadratischen Basis überliefert, die sehr wahrscheinlich auf der Akropolis aufgestellt war.[63] Wie es die erhaltene Formel διαιτηταὶ οἱ ἐπὶ Ἀντικλέους ἄρχοντος ἀνέθεσαν στεφανωθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου nahelegt, gehörte die Basis zu einem Weihmonument.[64] Aber nicht alle Denkmäler waren mit Weihinschriften ausgestattet. Einige Gruppen von *Diaitetai* stellten auch Listen auf, die nur eine sehr einfache Überschrift hatten und in denen die Mitglieder als „διατηταὶ οἱ ἐπὶ ___ ἄρχοντος“ aufgezählt wurden. Ein heute verschollener, in der Ruine einer kleinen Kirche auf dem Weg von der Agora zur Akropolis wiederverwendeter Steinblock wird von Eberhard Ruschenbusch als ein aus drei Blöcken zusammengesetztes Monument, beschriftet mit Namenslisten und mit einer Weihung über dem zentralen Corpus rekonstruiert.[65]

Der genaue Aufstellungsort dieser Monumentalinschriften mit den Namen der *Diaitetai* ist unbekannt. Da die Mehrheit der meist wiederverwendeten Fragmente allerdings auf oder nahe der Akropolis gefunden wurde, liegt die Vermutung nahe, dass sie auch eben dort standen. Trotz des meist schlechten Erhaltungszustandes kann man aus der Länge der Namenslisten einiges über die ursprünglichen Dimensionen dieser Denkmäler erschließen: Ruschenbusch rechnet mit zwischen 103 und 220 Namen pro Liste, organisiert in vier bis maximal zehn Kolumnen.[66]

Die Präsenz des eigenen Namens innerhalb einer Liste auf einer Steinstele war eine Ehre, die mit der Veröffentlichung eines individuellen Ehrendekrets vergleichbar war – auch wenn im Falle der Liste alle Bürger absichtlich einander gleichgestellt wurden. Die Ehrung in einer Gruppe war also nicht weniger wertvoll als die einzelner Individuen. Die materiale Erscheinung und die topographische Kontextualisierung dieser Listen deutet viel eher darauf hin, dass sie oft einen Ehrenplatz innerhalb des

62 Ruschenbusch 1984, 247–252 (= IG II² 143 a–d + Hesperia 7, 1938, 278 ff., Nr. 13); vgl. SEG XXXIV 63. Der Großteil der Fragmente wurde auf der Akropolis gefunden.

63 IG II² 1926.

64 Trotz des guten Erhaltungszustandes der Basis ist es unmöglich zu rekonstruieren, was auf der Basis stand und wie das Votivdenkmal aussah. Die Basis (Höhe: 0,54 m, Breite: 0, 59 m, Tiefe: 0,41 m, Buchstaben: 0,007 m) wurde westlich des Parthenons gefunden.

65 IG II² 1927; SEG XXXII 170; Ruschenbusch 1982, 273: „Weiterhin ist mit Sicherheit der Anlaß genannt worden, aus dem heraus das Monument geschaffen wurde.“ Für diese Vermutung gibt es allerdings keine belastbaren Hinweise; der Vergleich mit den Bouleutenlisten zeigt, dass diese Denkmäler oft nur eine sehr einfache Überschrift hatten.

66 Ruschenbusch 1982, 273–274. Aus der Zeit zwischen 330 und 329 sind nur zwei Kataloge bekannt (IG II² 1924 + 2409 + SEG XXXVII 124; IG II² 1925). Für weitere mögliche Diaitetailisten, vgl. Matthaiou/Koumanoudes 1987 und Dow 1983, 98.

Stadtgebiets erhielten, der möglichst breite Rezeption versprach. Die athenische Polis förderte und ermutigte damit die kollektive Ehrung: Die Listen beweisen das ausgeprägte Bedürfnis der Athener, die Teilnahme am politischen und zivilen Leben (selbst wenn sie verpflichtend war) zu feiern und zu würdigen.[67]

Während die Diaitetai- und die Bouletenlisten ein zeitlich begrenztes Phänomen sind, das nach dem 4. Jh. an Prägnanz verliert (aus dem 3. Jh. gibt es nur noch vereinzelte Beispiele), werden die Prytaneninschriften bis in die Kaiserzeit hinein weiter veröffentlicht. Daneben gewinnt auch eine andere Gruppe von Inschriften zunehmend an Bedeutung: die Ephebeninschriften. Sie sind den Prytaneninschriften nachgebildet, verwenden sie doch die gleichen Formulierungen und teilen mit ihnen die gleiche Vorliebe für die Erwähnung einzelner Individuen in einer kollektiven Weih- oder Ehreninschrift.[68] Während die späthellenistischen Ephebeninschriften ein eher elitäres Phänomen gewesen zu sein scheinen, spiegeln die Inschriften des 4. Jhs. ein ähnliches soziales Bild wie die Prytaneninschriften wider.[69] Wahrscheinlich von der Neuorganisation des ephebischen Dienstes Mitte der 30er-Jahre des 4. Jhs. inspiriert, scheinen auch die Epheben am Ende der Dienstzeit eine Weihinschrift errichtet zu haben, nachdem sie für ihre Dienstleistung geehrt wurden. Dazu gehörte auch die Auflistung aller Namen der Epheben einer bestimmten Phyle. Zwei Beispiele dieser Art mit Dekret und Aufstellungsformel zu Ehren der Epheben der Kekropis (aus dem Jahre 334/3)[70] und der Leontis (333/2)[71] beweisen, dass – ähnlich wie im Fall der Pry-

67 Vgl. Liddel 2007, 198.

68 Zu den Ephebenlisten vgl. Liddel 2007, 195–196. Ähnlich wie im Fall der Prytanenlisten dauerte die Tradition der kollektiven Ehrung von Epheben bis in die hohe Kaiserzeit hinein an – und dies trotz der Veränderung der Institution selbst im Laufe der hellenistischen und römischen Zeit.

69 Ob im 4. Jh. alle Athener den ephebischen zweijährigen Pflichtdienst zu erfüllen hatten oder nicht, bleibt allerdings umstritten. Rhodes/Osborne 2003, 454 vermuten aufgrund von demographischen und statistischen Überlegungen, dass nur die Athener aus der Hoplitenklasse Epheben werden konnten. Vgl. auch Rhodes 1972, 114. Anders hingegen: Pélékidis 1962, 113–114. Sekunda 1992, 330–331 schließt aufgrund der öffentlichen Verpflegung der Epheben eine sehr breite Teilnahme nicht aus, die in likurgischer Zeit alle männlichen Bürger einschloss. Auch Burckhardt 2007, 194 geht davon aus, dass während likurgischer Zeit die Ephebie Pflicht für die ganze Bürgerschaft inklusive der *Theten* war, aber schon am Ende des 4. Jhs. massiven Veränderungen unterlag, und dass parallel mit der Beschränkung auf ein Dienstjahr auch eine Einschränkung des Dienstes auf die Hoplitenklasse eintrat. Später sanken die Zahlen noch weiter und die Ephebie wurde nur noch freiwillig ausgeübt. Perrin-Saminadayar 2007, 31–33 datiert die Transformation der attischen Ephebie in die Mitte des 3. Jhs. Da eine ausführliche Betrachtung der einzelnen Argumente an dieser Stelle nicht geleistet werden kann, sei nur noch auf die enge ideologische Verbindung zwischen „Bürger werden" und der Ephebie hingewiesen, die auch durch die parallele Entwicklung der Prytanen und Ephebeninschriften deutlich zum Ausdruck kommt. Über die elitären Merkmale der Ephebie in späthellenistischer Zeit bestehen in der Forschung indes keine Zweifel.

70 IG II^2 1156 (= Rhodes Osborne 2003, Nr. 89). Die Stele, die laut Dekret im Heiligtum von Kekrops aufgestellt werden sollte, wurde auf der Akropolis gefunden.

71 Reinmuth 1971, Nr. 9: Basis mit Aussparung für Befestigung des Weihgeschenks. Vgl. auch taneninschriften – die ersten Listen dieser Art oft in die Phylenheiligtümer geweiht wurden.[72]

Zwischen dem Ende des 3. und der Mitte des 2. Jhs. wurden die Ephebenlisten meist auf der Agora aufgestellt, wie die teilweise erhaltenen Aufstellungsklauseln beweisen.[73] Gegen Ende des 2. Jhs. findet sich neben der Angabe, die Inschriften auf der Agora aufzustellen, auch die Anordnung, die Stele einfach an „einem dafür geeigneten Ort" zu platzieren.[74]

1.5 Epidosislisten

Neben diesen Dokumenten müssen für unsere Untersuchung auch die Epidosislisten (Listen von Spendern) in Betracht gezogen werden, die eine sehr ähnliche Form von kollektiver Ehrung darstellen. Diese Listen von Spendern dienten ausdrücklich dazu, die erwähnten Personen öffentlich zu ehren und sie dadurch für ihre finanziellen Aufwendungen zugunsten aller Bürger zu belohnen.[75] Anders als im Fall der Prytanenlisten, welche die Erfüllung „normaler", also gleichsam obligatorischer Pflichten honorierten, würdigten die Spenderlisten außerordentliche und einmalige finanzielle Leistungen.[76] Die Praxis ist aus der ganzen griechischen Welt bekannt und war besonders ab dem 4. Jh. und bis in die römische Zeit hinein verbreitet, wobei auch vereinzelt ältere Beispiele aus dem 5. Jh. belegt sind.[77]

Wie wichtig die Sichtbarkeit und Wahrnehmbarkeit dieser Inschriften in den Poleis der griechischen Welt allgemein war, betonen die in den Inschriftentext integrierten Veröffentlichungsklauseln. Diese bestimmten nicht nur den Ort, an dem die Stelen platziert werden sollten, sondern verordneten oft auch die Anfertigung meh-

Reinmuth 1971, Nr. 1: Stele mit Ehren für den *kosmetes* der Epheben von der Phyle Akamantis, zum Aufstellen im Heroon des Akamas. Die Namensliste, wenn überhaupt vorhanden, ist heute nicht mehr erhalten.

72 Die Prytanenheiligtümer waren allerdings nicht der einzige Aufstellungsort. Die Denkmäler der Epheben wurden manchmal auch in den Festungen errichtet, wo sie ihren Dienst absolviert hatten. Siehe hierzu z. B. Reinmuth 1971, Nr. 10 (aus Rhamnous oder Sounion), 14 (aus Rhamnous), 17 (aus Peiraeius).

73 S. z. B.: IG II^3 1158, 1176, 1256, 1285, 1290, 1313, 1322, 1362.

74 Vgl. z. B.: IG II^2 1006, 1011 (οὗ ἂν ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι φαίνηται).

75 *Epidoseis* wurden für die verschiedensten Zwecke organisiert. Besonders häufig dienten sie aber dazu, Gelder für die Verteidigung der Stadt zu sammeln. Vgl. dazu Chaniotis 2013, 90–91 und Migeotte 1992, 45–46.

76 Vgl. Liddel 2007, 192–193.

77 Auch in diesem Fall sind mehrere Varianten des Textdesigns möglich: Manchmal findet sich am Anfang das entsprechende Dekret, das die epidosis veranlasste, manchmal stand in den Anfangszeilen nur eine kurze Erwähnung des Zwecks der Spendenaktion oder ein einfaches οἵδε ἐπέδωκαν („Folgende haben gespendet").

rerer Kopien. Eine Klausel auf einem Dekret aus Kolophon beschließt z. B., dass alle Spender sowohl einzeln als auch kollektiv zu ehren seien und dass ihre Namen und Beiträge auf einer Stele verewigt werden sollen, die dann im Heiligtum der Meter aufzustellen sei.[78] In Oropos wurde das Denkmal der erfolgreichen *epidosis* für den Bau der Stadtmauer denn auch tatsächlich in zwei Kopien angefertigt und an zwei prominenten und gut besuchten Orten aufgestellt: in dem weithin berühmten Amphiaraion und auf der Agora der Stadt.[79] Die weiter unten im Abschnitt über Kos besprochene „Große Epidosis" stellt ebenfalls ein gutes Beispiel für die publikumswirksame Präsentation solcher Listen an zentralen Stellen der Stadt dar.

In Athen waren Inschriften, die an Spender für die Finanzierung eines bestimmten Bauwerks erinnerten, häufig in der Nähe des finanzierten Baus aufgestellt, so z. B. im Falle von IG II^2 2331, einer Inschrift, die anlässlich der Errichtung oder der Restaurierung eines Turmes im 2. Jh. errichtet wurde. Sie wurde auf dem Weg zwischen Athen und Phaleros gefunden, wahrscheinlich an der Stelle, wo der Turm einst stand.[80] Die räumliche Nähe zum finanzierten Bauwerk spielte bei der Wahl des Aufstellungskontextes aber nicht immer eine Rolle. Sehr häufig waren die Epidosislisten nämlich an Orten platziert, die eine gute Sichtbarkeit und uneingeschränkte Wahrnehmbarkeit garantierten, wie z. B. auf der Agora.[81] Anders aber als in vielen Städten der hellenistischen Welt, wo schon die Größe des Monuments allein dazu führte, dass dieses unmöglich zu übersehen war,[82] lag in Athen die Sache offenbar anders, denn erstens scheinen die Epidosisstelen hier in der Regel nicht besonders groß gewesen zu sein, und zweitens mussten sie oftmals mit einer enormen Zahl von sehr ähnlichen Denkmälern um die Aufmerksamkeit des Publikums konkurrieren – selbst auf der Agora waren sie also wahrscheinlich nicht so prominent platziert, wie die Aufstellungsklausel („damit es allen sichtbar sei")[83] uns glauben machen möchte.

Die literarischen Quellen überliefern die Praxis öffentlicher Spendenaktionen in Athen schon für die spätklassische Zeit.[84] Die Materialevidenz für diesen Zeitraum legt aber nahe, dass man sich offenbar nur selten dafür entschied, Epidosislisten auf Steinstelen veröffentlichen zu lassen: Wir kennen für Athen nur 10 Exemplare, aus Kos hingegen 28.[85]

78 Migeotte 1992, Nr. 69, Z. 33–35.
79 I.Oropos 302.
80 Dasselbe gilt auch für IG II^2 2334 zum Bau des zweiten Theaters in Peiraieus.
81 Migeotte 1992, Nr. 17 (= Agora XVI 213, ll. 20–25).
82 Vgl. Ellis-Evans 2013, 118.
83 Migeotte 1992, Nr. 17 (Z. 24): ὅπως ἂν φανερ[ὰ] ἦι.
84 Migeotte 1992, Nr. 1–7, 10, 12, 14.
85 *Epidoseis* in Athen werden in den epigraphischen Quellen oft erwähnt, allerdings immer im Ehrendekret für ein Individuum – meistens eines *metoikos* –, gewissermaßen als Teil seiner Laufbahn (z. B. Migeotte 1992, Nr. 8–9, 11). Listen mit allen Namen der einzelnen Spender und deren Beiträgen im Sinne einer kollektiven Ehrung wurden in Athen hingegen nur selten veröffentlicht. Zu den mündlichen und performativen Aspekten einer epidosis vgl. Ellis-Evans 2013 und Chaniotis 2013.

Eines der ältesten erhaltenen Exemplare von auf Stein veröffentlichten Epidosislisten aus Athen ist das Fragment einer Liste von Spendern für die Restaurierung eines Heiligtums aus dem ausgehenden 4. oder beginnenden 3. Jh.[86] Aus dem Jahr 243 stammt eine fast vollständig erhaltene Stele, welche eine Spendenaktion zum Schutz der Ernte inschriftlich festhält.[87] Zu Beginn steht das Dekret, danach erinnert eine Liste von ca. 200 Namen an die jeweiligen Spender, die durch ihre Gabe „die Rettung der Polis und die Sicherheit der *chora*" gewährleisteten und dafür sorgten, dass der Schatzmeister der Kriegskasse (dessen Name in größeren Buchstaben über dem Präskript eingemeißelt ist) für den Rest des Jahres die Sicherheit der eingebrachten Ernte gewähren konnte. Die Grenze der zu leistenden Spende wurde zwischen 50 und 200 Drachmen festgelegt. Als Belohnung dafür erhielt man eine öffentliche Ehrung, sowohl individuell als auch kollektiv. Die kleinste erlaubte Spende von 50 Drachmen ist bereits eine relativ hohe Summe, die sicherlich nicht von allen problemlos zu entrichten war. Tatsächlich hat die prosopographische Untersuchung dieses Dokuments bewiesen, dass viele der Spender aus der Oberschicht kamen.[88] Laut Aufstellungsklausel sollte die Stele auf der Agora errichtet werden, damit sie allen sichtbar sei. Die vergleichsweise kleinen Dimensionen des Steines – die Stele war wahrscheinlich nur 1,25 m hoch und 0,41 m breit[89] – deuten jedoch auf ein eher unscheinbares Monument hin.

Andere Inschriften belegen, dass eher kleinere Spenden die Regel waren, sodass sich auch weniger wohlhabende Bürger beteiligen konnten. Eine monumentale Stele (1,88 m hoch und 0,73 m breit) aus dem Jahr 183/2 etwa[90] beginnt ohne Dekret mit οἵδε ἐπέδωκαν („folgende haben gespendet") und listet dann eine ganze Reihe von Spendern auf, unter denen sich sowohl Bürger als auch Metöken befinden. Die Spenden, deren Zweck nicht bekannt ist, sind sehr niedrig (5–10 Dr.). Die Stele, gefunden „ad Demetrium Katephorem", östlich der römischen Agora, ist mit ihren Dimensionen, die an die Monumente von Kos oder Kleinasien erinnern, eher eine Ausnahme unter den athenischen Epidosislisten.

Auch in der Epidosisliste zum Bau des zweiten Theaters aus Peiraieus (Mitte des 2. Jhs.) sind eher kleine Summen verzeichnet.[91] Die Spender (Individuen und Familien) sind fast alle Bürger (mit nur einer Ausnahme) und obwohl die gespendeten Summen niedrig sind (5–20 Dr.), finden sich viele bekannte Namen von Spendern

86 Migeotte 1992, Nr. 13 (= IG II^2 2330). Οἵδε ἐπέδωκαν („Diese [Individuen] haben gespendet.") ist allerdings ergänzt.

87 IG II^2 791 (= Agora XVI 213).

88 Vgl. Habicht 1982, 26–33; Migeotte 1992, 33; Oliver 2007, 200–204.

89 So jedenfalls die Rekonstruktion von Migeotte 1992, Nr. 17, der vermutet, dass die Stele bis auf die untersten fehlenden ca. 20 Zeilen komplett erhalten ist. Für eine leicht abweichende Rekonstruktion s. Habicht 1982, 31. In Agora XVI 213 wird ein Gesamttext von 80 Zeilen rekonstruiert.

90 Migeotte 1992, Nr. 19 (= IG II^2 2332).

91 Migeotte 1992, Nr. 20 IG II^2 2334 aus vermögenden Familien. Die Stele ist nur fragmentarisch erhalten, kann aber aufgrund von Vergleichen mit anderen Epidosislisten auf eine Höhe von ca. 1,20 m rekonstruiert werden.[92]

Der Vergleich mit den Epidosislisten aus Kleinasien ermöglicht einige Schlussfolgerungen hinsichtlich der sozialen Stellung der Spender und die Praxis ihrer öffentlichen Repräsentation. Wenn der einzige Zweck einer *epidosis* die Sammlung von möglichst viel Geld gewesen wäre, dann hätten die Listen kaum die Höchtsgrenze der zu spendenden Summe erwähnt. Gerade die Präsenz solcher Einschränkungen verrät den „theatralischen" Charakter der Spenderlisten: Es ging nicht nur darum, Geld für die Polis zu beschaffen und dies zu dokumentieren, sondern vielmehr darum, die Polis als zusammenhängende engagierte Gemeinschaft darzustellen. Die Mehrheit der Beteiligten an den Spendeaktionen waren Bürger. Dass es nicht selbstverständlich war, dass *epidoseis* für alle offen waren, beweisen gerade die häufig wiederkehrenden „inklusiven" Klauseln, die explizit „männlichen und weiblichen Bürgern und alle anderen Bewohner der Stadt"[93] oder sogar „Bürger und Bürgerinnen, Bastarde und ausländische Residenten und Fremde"[94] zum Spenden aufrufen. Diese Tendenz zur Inklusion sämtlicher sozialer Gruppen war vor allem im Kriegsfall evident, wenn die Polis in besonderem Maß auf das finanzielle Engagement ihrer Mitglieder angewiesen war. Die mitschwingende Botschaft aber war folgende: Spenden ist ein Privileg der Bürger, das nur in Ausnahmesituationen auf andere gesellschaftliche Gruppen erweitert werden darf.

Die Polis förderte diese Art der Ehrung, weil sie ein ideologisches Bild der Polis vermittelte, das noch im Hellenismus sehr verbreitet war: das der Kollektivität von freien, aktiven Individuen, die sich am zivilen Leben der eigenen Polis mit – realer oder mit „sanftem Druck" erzwungener – Begeisterung beteiligen.

2 Kos – eine Insel der Listen

Der neu publizierte Band der *Inscriptiones Graecae* über Kos enthält eine beeindruckende Fülle inschriftlicher Listen: Siegerlisten, Listen bekränzter Magistrate, Namens- und Epidosislisten. In Anbetracht dieser Vielzahl scheint die Liste diejene Inschriftengattung zu sein, die für den koischen *epigraphic habit* im höchsten Maße charakteristisch ist.[95] Die koische Vorliebe für Listen tritt auch bei Inschriften zutage,

92 Migeotte 1992, Nr. 20, S. 43 vermutet, dass ca. die Hälfte der Stele fehlt.
93 Ellis-Evans 2013, 111–112; Migeotte 1992, 56 (aus Ioulis).
94 Migeotte 1992, Nr. 50 (aus Kos).
95 So auch Fröhlich 2013, in einer Rezension über IG XII 4, 2: „Il y aurait là matière à s'interroger sur l'habitus épigraphique de Cos, avec sa foisonnante série de listes, et sur les pratiques sociales qu'elle pourrait traduire."

die man nicht mit Listen in Verbindung bringt. So zogen die große diplomatische Aktion des Jahres 242, die Asylie des lokalen Asklepieions und die Erweiterung der Asklepieia zu einem großen internationalen Fest die Aufstellung zahlreicher Dekrete auswärtiger Städte im Asklepieion nach sich. Die lange Reihe der mit Kos befreundeten und an den Asklepieia teilnehmenden Städte, Völker und Könige bildete ein beeindruckendes epigraphisches Monument.[96] Einen Vorläufer dieses Monuments kann man vielleicht in den vielen Proxenie-Dekreten sehen, die im Laufe des 4. und 3. Jhs. zumeist im Heiligtum der Zwölfgötter aufgestellt wurden – auch wenn es sich hier freilich nicht um ein in einem Zug geschaffenes Monument handelt, sondern um ein über viele Jahre hinweg entstandenes Ensemble von Inschriften, die den Heiligtumsbesuchern aber einen sehr ähnlichen Eindruck vermittelten.[97]

2.1 Die Epidosislisten

Bis heute sind 28 Epidosislisten von Kos bekannt. Damit übertrifft Kos nicht nur alle anderen hellenistischen Städte mit großem Abstand;[98] in so großer Zahl überliefert, stellen die Epidosislisten auch die größte Gruppe aller koischen Listen dar. Dieser Befund soll jedoch nicht kurzerhand zu der Schlussfolgerung führen, die vielen Epidosislisten seien das Resultat klammer Kassen, und Kos hätte häufiger Geld von seinen Bürgern gebraucht als andere Städte. So zeigt das Beispiel von Athen, dass *epidoseis* nicht nur durch Listen, sondern auch durch Ehrendekrete überliefert werden können. In diesen Fällen wurden nicht alle Spender kollektiv geehrt, sondern einzelne, besonders großzügige Spender hervorgehoben. In Athen wurden *epidosis*-Beiträge auch wiederholt in Ehrendekreten für Metöken angesprochen. Die Ehrendekrete neigen dazu, dem Außerordentlichen mehr Aufmerksamkeit als dem Routinehaften zu schenken.[99]

96 Zu den Dekreten über die Asylie des Asklepieions und die Großen Asklepieia s. jetzt IG XII 4, 1, 207–245. Zu den politisch-militärischen Umständen der Beantragung der Asylie im Jahre 242 s. Buraselis 2004. Die inschriftliche Aufstellung der Asyliedekrete in Kos hat einen Trend begründet, dem in den folgenden Jahrzehnten mehrere Städte in der Ägäis und in Westkleinasien folgten. Weitere Dossiers von Dekreten über die Asylie: Magnesia am Mäander, entstanden nach 208/7, s. Rigsby 1996, Nr. 66–131; Teos, nach 204/3 und 1. H. des 2. Jhs., Rigsby 1996, Nr. 132–163; Kyzikos, nach Habicht 2010 entstanden um 180, Rigsby 1996, Nr. 165–170; Mylasa, Rigsby 1996, Nr. 187–209, entstanden im 2. Jh.

97 Proxenie-Dekrete im Heilgtum der Zwölfgötter: IG XII 4, 1, 15, 22, 23, 27, 29, 36, 41–42, 50.

98 IG XII 4, 1, 70, 75–77, 301; IG XII 4, 2, 424–450. Auf der Rückseite der Epidosisliste IG XII 4, 2, 428 steht eine Namensliste. In Ermangelung von Zahlenangaben neben den Namen lässt sie sich nicht als Epidosisliste einordnen.

99 Zu hohen *epidosis*-Beiträgen von Metöken s. IG II^2 505 (302/1), Z. 28–31, Migeotte 1992, Nr. 9, Ehrendekret von Athen für Nikandros aus Ilion und Polyzelos aus Ephesos, die u. a. dafür gelobt werden, dass sie sich an einer Epidosis für die Finanzierung von Kriegskosten mit 1000 Drachmen beteiligt hatten: [καὶ ὅτε Ἀθηναῖοι ἔ]θεντο τὰς ἐπιδόσεις [ε]ἰς [τὴν παρασκευὴν τοῦ π]ολέμου καὶ τὴν σωτηρία[ν]

Die Epidosislisten von Kos weisen im Hinblick auf ihre Teilnehmer, die Höhe der Spenden, ihren Zweck und die Strukturierung der Listen eine große Vielfalt auf. Obwohl keine Liste einer anderen in allen Aspekten gleich ist, lassen sich drei Gruppen unterscheiden. Eine erste Gruppe wird durch hohe Geldsummen charakterisiert, was vermuten lässt, dass die jeweils genannten Spender sicherlich Mitglieder der Elite waren. Eine zweite Gruppe stellen Listen, die Spenden sehr unterschiedlicher Größe verzeichnen: von bescheidenen Beiträgen in Höhe von 5 Drachmen bis zu Spenden im vierstelligen Bereich. Schließlich gibt es noch Listen mit nur kleinen Beiträgen, Listen also, bei denen die Organisatoren der Abgabe eine niedrige Obergrenze festgesetzt hatten.[100]

Es muss vorausgeschickt werden, dass viele der Inschriften so fragmentarisch erhalten sind, dass Schlussfolgerungen über ihre Organisation nur einen hypothetischen Charakter haben können. Dennoch kann man insbesondere bei solchen Listen, welche die Spenden in der Reihenfolge angeben, in der sie unterbreitet und protokolliert wurden (dies ist das häufigste Anordnungsprinzip in Kos), davon ausgehen, dass umfangreichere Fragmente repräsentativ für die komplette Liste sind.

Die Epidosislisten mit sehr hohen Beiträgen stellen eine im Vergleich zu den anderen relativ kleine Gruppe dar. Eine um 200 durchgeführte *epidosis* zugunsten des Demeter-Heiligtums ist auf einer im unteren Teil gebrochenen Inschriftenstele erhalten.[101] An der *epidosis* beteiligten sich nur Frauen, was darauf hindeutet, dass sie, wenn auch nicht unbedingt eine exklusive, so doch eine prominente Rolle in diesem Kult spielten. Der erhaltene obere Teil der Liste enthält sehr hohe Spenden zwischen 100 und 500 Drachmen, wobei die Spenden von 500 Drachmen die größte Gruppe darstellen. Nach den Berechnungen von Léopold Migeotte belaufen sich die in der Inschrift erhaltenen Spenden auf die beachtliche Summe von 12810 Drachmen.[102] Da die Beiträge in der Reihenfolge, in der die Spender ihre Beiträge anboten, und nicht nach ihrer Größe angeordnet wurden, können wir davon ausgehen, dass es sich hier um eine *epidosis* handelte, an der relativ wohlhabende Frauen teilnahmen, und ärmere, die nur Spenden im zweistelligen Bereich hätten anbieten können, ausgeschlossen blieben.

In einem nur grob ins 2. Jh. datierbaren Fragment einer weiteren Liste finden wir hingegen ausschließlich männliche Beitragende, die für einen heute nicht mehr zu

τῆς π[όλεως ἐπέδωκαν ἀμ]φότεροι Χ δραχμάς. „Als die Athener *epidoseis* für die Kriegsvorbereitung und die Rettung der Stadt hielten, gaben beide 1000 Drachmen.“ Migeotte 1992, 358–363 hat gezeigt, dass sich die Metöken trotz häufiger Appelle an sie nur in geringem Maße an den *epidoseis* beteiligten.

100 Migeotte 1992, 316–319 hat zuerst die Bedeutung der Festlegung der möglichen Spenden und ihre soziale Relevanz betont.

101 IG XII 4, 2, 430. Frühere Edition: I.Cos ED 14. Zur Analyse grundlegend Migeotte 1998, 570–572.

102 Migeotte 1998, 571. Migeotte geht hypothetisch davon aus, dass die Hälfte der Liste verloren ist und veranschlagt die ursprüngliche Gesamtsumme auf das doppelte des Erhaltenen.

ermittelnden Zweck noch höhere Spenden beisteuerten.[103] Die geringste erhaltene Spende beträgt 500 Drachmen,[104] die höchste wenigstens 10.000 oder mehr.[105] Personen, die sich solch großzügige Spenden erlauben konnten, gehörten sicherlich zur koischen Elite.[106] Eine außergewöhnliche Epidosisliste anlässlich der Gründung einer Bibliothek lässt sich ebenfalls in diese Gruppe einordnen. Die Beteiligten haben jeweils 200 Drachmen und 100 Bücher gespendet. Diokles, Sohn des Apollodoros hat neben 100 Büchern wohl den Raum oder das Gebäude der Bibliothek gestellt. Soweit die Spender bekannt sind, bestätigen die entsprechenden prosopographischen Daten ihren hohen sozialen Status, was in Anbetracht der hohen Spenden ohnehin zu erwarten war.

Offenbar hatten sich für diese *epidoseis* also Mitglieder der wohlhabenden Elite von Kos zusammengeschlossen. Wahrscheinlich bildeten sie einen informell oder formell existierenden Kreis reicher und an Literatur interessierter Bürger, die durch den Ausbau der Bibliothek ihre gemeinsame Identität als Kulturliebhaber und -förderer zum Ausdruck zu bringen suchten. Warum sich keine weniger bemittelten Koer daran beteiligten, ist nicht bekannt; womöglich wurden sie entweder durch die für die *epidosis* festgesetzte hohe Mindestsumme oder durch informelle Mittel ausgeschlossen.

Einen weiteren, vom vorangehenden deutlich abweichenden Typ der Epidosislisten bilden jene Inschriften, in denen kleine Spenden gemischt mit höheren zu finden sind. Dies deutet darauf hin, dass die Organisatoren der entsprechenden *epidoseis* keine Unter- oder Obergrenzen bei den Beiträgen festgesetzt haben. Wenn es solche Grenzen gab, dann lagen sie jedenfalls sehr weit auseinander, sodass eine breite Partizipation aller Schichten möglich war. Die Auflistung der Beiträge entsprach der Reihenfolge, in der sie angeboten und protokolliert wurden. Diese Epidosislisten stellen demnach die treusten Zeugnisse der Verteilung von Reichtum innerhalb der koischen Gesellschaft dar.

Die Listen dieser Gruppe waren in Kos die wichtigsten, denn sie resultieren aus *epidoseis* für die Finanzierung der Kriegskosten in der Krisenperiode zwischen 202 und 180. Allen voran ist hier die große *epidosis* für die Verteidigung der Stadt an der

103 IG XII 4, 2, 443.

104 Für IG XII 4, 2, 443, Z. 10: ---]τακοσίας kann zu πεν]τακοσίας oder ἑπ]τακοσίας ergänzt werden; πεντ[--- in Z. 2 könnte entweder zu 500 oder auf 5000 ergänzt werden, wobei πεντ[ήκοντα freilich auch nicht ganz auszuschließen ist.

105 IG XII 4, 2, 443, Z. 9: μ]υρίας.

106 Die Spender sind aus anderen Quellen nicht bekannt. Der Vater des NN Euximbrotou in Z. 2. könnte aufgrund der relativen Seltenheit des Namens vielleicht mit dem Euximbrotos, Sohn des Theudoros identifiziert werden, der bei der großen *epidosis* am Ende des 3. Jhs. zusammen mit seinem Bruder Kleitias mindestens 1000 Dr. beisteuerte, IG XII 4, 1, 75, Z. 115 f.

Wende des 3. zum 2. Jh. zu nennen (Abb. 4).[107] Um der hohen Bedeutung dieser *epidosis* den gebührenden Ausdruck zu verleihen, veröffentlichten die Koer die Epidosislisten gleich in drei Exemplaren an den wichtigsten Orten in der Stadt: im Theater, im Asklepieion und auf der Agora – eine in der griechischen Welt beispiellose Aktion.[108] Zweifelsohne waren diese Stellen die ἐπιφανεστάτοι τόποι, also die „sichtbarsten Orte" der Stadt, und jedem Besucher von Kos dürfte die Wichtigkeit dieser Monumente deutlich gewesen sein. Die kleinste Spende in dieser *epidosis* beträgt 50 Drachmen, die höchsten liegen jedoch im vierstelligen Bereich. Eine ähnliche große Streuung der Beiträge zwischen 50 und 3000 Drachmen weist eine etwa zwei Jahrzehnte später entstandene Epidosisliste zur Deckung von Kriegskosten auf, die gleich Abgaben in zwei unterschiedlichen Jahren festhält.[109] Eine weitere Epidosis für Kriegsausgaben registriert zum größten Teil Beiträge für die Verpflegung der Soldaten (μέτρημα/σιτηρέσιον). Hier scheinen die Beiträge weit auseinanderzugehen, auch wenn ihr genauer Wert sich nicht in jedem Fall bestimmen lässt.[110] *Epidoseis* dieser Art sind nicht nur für den Kriegsfall bekannt. In diese Gruppe gehört auch die *epidosis* für die erste Veranstaltung der Großen Asklepieia im Jahr 242.[111] Ein Fragment einer Epidosisliste aus der Mitte des 3. Jhs. mit einer hohen Beteiligung von Frauen weist ebenfalls unterschiedlich hohe Spenden zwischen 50 und 500 Drachmen auf.[112]

In diesen Epidosislisten treten zwar große Unterschiede zwischen den einzelnen Beiträgen zutage. Die Aufzeichnung der Beiträge gemäß ihres Eingangs ließ diese aber nicht direkt zum Vorschein kommen. Dies deutet darauf hin, dass man durch die Listen die Botschaft vermitteln wollte, jeder Beitrag sei gleichwertig für die Gemeinde, weil sie entsprechend der Möglichkeiten ihrer Spender gegeben wurden. Dass die für die Existenz der Polis ausschlaggebenden *epidoseis* auf diese Weise dokumentiert (und wenigstens eine von ihnen gleich dreifach publiziert) wurden, ist als ein für das Gesellschaftsbild der Koer wichtiges Ergebnis festzuhalten.

Es gibt schließlich eine beachtliche Gruppe von *epidoseis* mit sehr niedrigen Spenden (unter 50 Drachmen), für die mitunter anscheinend eine obere Grenze festgesetzt wurde. Diese lag bei zwei von Frauen getragenen *epidoseis* bei 30 (in einer epidosis für das Heiligtum der Aphrodite Pandamos und Pontia)[113] bzw. bei 10 Drach-

107 IG XII 4, 1, 75–77, dazu Migeotte 1992, Nr. 50 und Migeotte 2000. In Ermangelung genauer Indizien zur Datierung lässt sich nicht ermitteln, mit welchem Krieg diese epidosis in Verbindung stand. In Frage kommen der 1. Kretische Krieg (205–201) und der 2. Makedonische Krieg (200–197). Zu dieser Frage s. Wiemer 2002, 152 f. Zur Struktur der Liste s. Chaniotis 2013, 95 f.

108 Zur Publikation der Liste: IG XII 4, 1, 75, Z. 22–29.

109 IG XII 4, 2, 438. Ed. princ. und Kommentar s. Hallof/Hallof/Habicht 1998, 157–161.

110 Unterhalt (μέτρημα) wurde für zwei Monate (z. B. IG XII 4, 2, 438, Z. 7) und für ein ganzes Jahr (Z. 15) angeboten.

111 IG XII 4, 1, 70, mit Spenden zwischen 50 und 1000 Dr.

112 IG XII 4, 2, 425.

113 IG XII 4, 1, 301.

men.[114] In einer *epidosis* mit männlicher Beteiligung für die Veranstaltung der Großen Asklepieia im 2. Jh. finden wir ebenfalls keine Spenden über 30 Drachmen,[115] was klar zeigt, dass diese Art der *epidoseis* nicht geschlechtsspezifisch war. In einigen *epidoseis* wurde offenbar festgesetzt, dass nur Beiträge mit einem bestimmten – sehr niedrigen – Wert möglich waren. Dies wird in zwei Demen, in Antimachia und Isthmos, bezeugt.[116]

Dass diese *epidoseis* nur sehr niedrige Erträge hatten, die nur einen kleinen Teil der Ausgaben deckten, spiegelt aber nicht zwangsläufig die finanziellen Möglichkeiten ihrer Teilnehmer wider. Zu der *epidosis* für das Heiligtum der Aphrodite Pandamos und Pontia trug z. B. die Priesterin Lykaonis, Tochter des Phanomachos, die bescheidene Summe von 30 Drachmen bei[117] – womit sie ihre finanziellen Möglichkeiten sicherlich nicht voll ausgeschöpft hatte. Ihr Priesteramt – das sie sich wohl für Geld erkauft hatte[118] – liefert bereits ein klares Zeichen ihres Wohlstands. Ferner lässt sich als ihr Vater oder Bruder Phanomachos, Sohn des Phanomachos, ausmachen, der in der großen *epidosis* von 202 die beachtliche Summe von 3000 Drachmen spendete und später *agonothetes* der Dionysien war, was wiederum einen großen Wohlstand voraussetzte.[119]

Im Hinblick auf die Zusammensetzung der Spender und den Zweck der *epidoseis* lässt sich also eine große Vielfalt konstatieren. Allen Listen gemeinsam ist hingegen die spürbare Bestrebung, die Kohärenz und Eintracht unter den Beitragenden zu betonen. Die Anordnung der Spender nach der Größe ihrer Beiträge kommt nur in solchen Fällen vor, in denen den Spenden eine niedrige Obergrenze gesetzt war. Wenn es keine Obergrenze gab (dies war insbesondere bei den *epidoseis* für die Kriegskosten der Fall) hat man die Spenden immer in der Reihenfolge der protokollierten Versprechen aufgezeichnet, wohl um eine Dominanz der Oberschicht in den Listen zu vermeiden und ein Bild der Gleichrangigkeit zu erzeugen. Und schließlich gab es noch alphabethisch angeordnete Listen, die sich, wie Aneurin Ellis-Evans bemerkte, mehr als ein Zensus denn als eine Liste von freiwillig Beitragenden lesen lassen.[120]

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114 IG XII 4, 1, 431.
115 IG XII 4, 2, 435.
116 IG XII 4, 2, 432 (Isthmos, Dat.: um 200): 23 Dr.; 434 (Antimachia, Dat.: 200–180): 5 Dr.
117 IG XII 4, 1, 301, Z. 1–7.
118 Zu den Konditionen des Verkaufs des Priesteramts s. die auf der Rückseite desselben Steins verzeichnete *diagraphe*, IG XII 4, 1, 302.
119 IG XII 4, 1, 75, Z. 201; IG XII 4, 2, 454, Z. 108 f.
120 Ellis-Evans 2013, 119. S. auch ebd. 117–120 und Chaniotis 2013, 97 für die sozialhistorische Relevanz der Anordnung der Namen in den Epidosislisten.

Abb. 4: Epidosisliste aus Kos für die Verteidigung der Stadt, 205–201 v. Chr. (Migeotte 1992, 147–160 Nr. 50) © The British Museum.

2.2 Listen im Kontext

Die zeitliche Verteilung der Epidosislisten während der hellenistischen Zeit weist eine hohe Konzentration in den ersten zwei Jahrzehnten des 2. Jhs. auf. In diese Periode lassen sich aufgrund prosopographischer Indizien mit großer Sicherheit elf Epidosislisten datieren.[121] Das vermehrte Vorkommen der *epidoseis* in dieser Zeit lässt sich teilweise mit der kriegerischen Bedrohung erklären, von der Kos wiederholt betroffen war. Es liegt daher nahe, die Abgaben für die Kriegskosten als eindrucksvolle Zeugnisse der gemeinsamen Anstrengungen der Koer zur Überwindung dieser Gefahren zu beurteilen. Doch gerade in dieser Zeit wurden vorrangig *epidoseis* durchgeführt, die entweder wegen ihres mit dem Krieg nicht verbundenen Zwecks oder wegen ihres geringen Ertrags nicht der Überwindung von Krisen gedient haben konnten. Es ist daher plausibler, auch an andere Ursachen jenseits der Bewältigung von Krisensituationen zu denken. So spielte das zunehmende Repräsentationsbedürfnis unterschiedlicher Gruppen als Ursache für die große Dichte der veröffentlichten *epidoseis* sicherlich eine entscheidende Rolle.

Diese Annahme gewinnt an Plausibilität, wenn man nicht nur die Epidosislisten, sondern auch Listen anderer Art berücksichtigt. Die wichtigsten sind zwei ungefähr gleichzeitig um 200 entstandene Listen aus den Demen Halasarna und Isthmos, in denen die Mitglieder von jeweils drei lokalen Phylen aufgelistet werden.[122] Diese beiden in den Demen aufgestellten Inschriftenmonumente sind in der griechischen Epigraphik ohne Vergleich, denn sie listen eine sehr hohe Anzahl männlicher und erwachsener Mitglieder der jeweiligen Bürgergemeinde auf. Die Führung einer Liste von Demosmitgliedern war zwar in Athen eine althergebrachte Praxis, wie es aus der *Athenaion Politeia* hervorgeht,[123] in den Demen wurde aber, soweit wir wissen, keine einzige solche Liste auf Stein aufgezeichnet. Listen großer Personengruppen wurden in der Regel lediglich dann erstellt und auf Stein publiziert, wenn sie in die Bürgerschaft einer Polis neu aufgenommen wurden.[124]

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121 IG XII 4, 1, 75–77; IG XII 4, 2, 428–438 (429 ist eine Namensliste unbekannten Zwecks).

122 Halasarna: IG XII, 4, 1, 103–104; Isthmos: IG XII, 4, 2, 461–462. Aufgrund der prosopographischen Daten ist es zwar unumstritten, dass die beiden Listen etwa zeitgleich Zeit entstanden sind. Sie sind jedoch nicht demselben Jahr zuzuweisen, denn das Dekret IG XII 4, 1, 103 gibt Praximenes als amtierenden *monarchos* an, die Liste von Isthmos aber The[---]. Es handelt sich hierbei wohl um die koischen *monarchoi*, nicht den in Isthmos sicher belegten lokalen *monarchos*. Der koische *monarchos* Praximenes lässt sich nach Habicht 2000, 317, 319 nicht genau datieren.

123 Aristot. Ath. Pol. 42.1 f.

124 In hellenistischer Zeit handelte es sich bei den aufgenommenen Personen oft um Soldaten einer Garnison. Solche Bürgerrechtsverleihungen im antigonidischen Herrschaftsbereich analysiert zuletzt Oetjen 2010 und Oetjen 2014, 92–11. In Kleinasien sind solche Fälle für Magnesia am Sipylos (seleukidische Soldaten), Milet (Kreter) und Ilion bekannt, s. I.Magnesia am Sipylos 1, I.Milet I 3, 33 und I.Ilion 64. Zu den letzten beiden Listen s. die demographische Studie von Brulé 1990.

Der Liste von Halasarna ist auch das Dekret des *demos* beigefügt worden, welches die Erstellung der Liste verfügte. Nach Ausweis dieses Dekrets entschlossen sich die Phylen des *demos* Halasarna, die an den lokalen Kulten von Apollon und Herakles teilnahmen, eine Liste aller Phylenmitglieder zu erstellen. Diese Kulte, oder zumindest die von den für den Kult zuständigen *archeuontes* ausgerichteten Empfänge (ὑποδοχαί), waren nur für die *demos*-Mitglieder (δαμόται) zugänglich. Das Dekret forderte die Phylenmitglieder auf, sich bei den *napoiai* unter Angabe der Namen ihrer Väter, Mütter und Großväter mütterlicherseits zu registrieren. Diejenigen, die nicht als koische Bürger geboren wurden, sollten auch angeben, aufgrund welches Gesetzes bzw. Beschlusses sie das Bürgerrecht erlangt hatten.[125] Die Phylen von Halasarna sahen sich zu dieser Maßnahme genötigt, weil es „wegen der (vergangenen) Zeit“ schwer geworden war, herauszufinden, welche Personen unter den Kultteilnehmern aufgelistet, d. h. teilnahmeberechtigt waren. Die Liste sollte zuerst auf einer Weißtafel (λεύκωμα) aufgeschrieben werden, mit Hilfe derer die *archeuontes* und die *epimenioi* bei der Verteilung der Fleischportionen beim Opferfest garantieren sollten, dass nur die dazu berechtigten Personen am Opferschmaus teilhatten. Damit die Liste schöner (εὐσαμοτέρα) würde, sollte sie samt dem Dekret auf eine Stele aufgeschrieben und im Apollonheiligtum aufgestellt werden. Dem Dekret zufolge umfasste die entsprechende Liste eine hohe Anzahl von Phylenmitgliedern.[126] Obwohl es im Dekret nicht ausdrücklich gesagt wird, liegt die Annahme nahe, dass die drei Phylen, deren Mitglieder in der Liste erfasst wurden, die Gesamtheit aller Demosmitglieder darstellten. Hierauf deuten die Ehrendekrete von Halasarna für *archeuontes* im Kult des Herakles hin. Die Leiter der Kulte werden für ihre Verdienste gegenüber allen Mitgliedern des *demos* (δαμόται) geehrt und in einem Falle wird auch ein Empfang für die *demos*-Mitglieder angesprochen.[127] Die *napoiai*, die gemäß dem Dekret eine wichtige Rolle bei der Ausrichtung der Opfermahlzeiten spielten, erscheinen als Antragsteller von Ehrendekreten, die für den ganzen *demos* relevant waren, so u. a. von den beiden großen Ehrendekreten für Diokles und Theukles in der Zeit des 1. Kretischen Krieges.[128] Diese Indizien deuten darauf hin, dass die im Dekret angesprochenen drei Phylen alle Mitglieder des *demos* Halasarna umfassten.

In Isthmos ist hingegen lediglich die Liste erhalten, während das dazugehörige Dekret fehlt. Im Gegensatz zu Halasarna sind hier nicht die zur Teilnahme an den Kulten, sondern die zur Ausführung des lokalen *monarchos*-Amtes berechtigten Phy-

125 IG XII 4, 1, 103, Z. 20–44.

126 IG XII 4, 1, 104. S. dazu Ogden 1996, 310–313.

127 IG XII 4, 1, 93, Ehrendekret für Herodotos, der als *archeuon* im Kult des Herakles am Empfang der *demos*-Mitglieder auch die auf einem Kriegsschiff eintreffenden Koer bewirtet hat, Z. 6–8: τοὺς παραγενομένους ἐ̣γ [τῶι ὑ]πηρετικῶι ἐδέξατο μετὰ τῶν δ[αμοτᾶν] οὐδεμίαν ὑποστελλόμενος δα̣[πάναν]; IG XII 4, 1, 95, Ehrendekret für Diokles.

128 IG XII 4, 1, 98, Diokles, IG XII 4, 1, 99, Theokles. Weitere, von den *napoiai* vorgeschlagene Dekrete: IG XII 4, 1, 91, über das Verbot der Verpfändung der Kultgeräte; IG XII 4, 1, 93, Ehrung für Herodotos.

lenmitglieder aufgelistet.[129] Das Ergebnis war jedoch ebenso eine Liste aller männlichen *demos*-Mitglieder, wie in Halasarna, denn die lokale Monarchie stand, wie das gleichnamige Amt der Polis Kos, allen Vollbürgern offen. Diese Personen dürften wohl auch zur Teilnahme an den zentralen Kultakten in Isthmos berechtigt gewesen sein.

Die Kriterien der *demos*-Zugehörigkeit waren an beiden Orten identisch: Mitglied im *demos* konnte man durch seine Eltern, durch einen anderen Verwandten oder aufgrund eines Beschlusses sein.[130] Auch die Strukturierung der Listen ist ähnlich: Die Bürger wurden in beiden Fällen nach Phylen aufgelistet. In Isthmos sind zudem die Namen aufgrund des Anspruchs der *demos*-Zugehörigkeit (Eltern, andere Verwandte, Beschluss) in drei Gruppen gegliedert, und innerhalb dieser Gruppen stehen die Namen zum größten Teil in alphabetischer Reihenfolge. In Halasarna wurden die Namen der *demos*-Mitglieder ebenfalls nach Phylen gegliedert und grundsätzlich in alphabetischer Reihenfolge aufgelistet. Diese Anordnungsweise ließ keine sozialen Unterschiede innerhalb der Gemeinden zutage treten und stellte die Gemeinschaften als homogene Gruppen dar.

Wie gleichgültig diese Auflistungsweise gegenüber den in Wahrheit bestehenden sozialen Unterschieden ist, lässt sich am Beispiel des Diokles, Sohn des Apollodoros, demonstrieren, der in Z. 70–72 der Liste von Halasarna registriert wurde. Wir haben ihn bereits kennengelernt: Er ist der Stifter der oben erwähnten Bibliothek in Kos, der er gleich auch 100 Bücher gespendet hat.[131] Seine Mutter Philainis, Tochter des Nikeratos, ist uns als Spenderin von 500 Drachmen in einer *epidosis* für das Demeter-Heiligtum bekannt.[132] Diokles lässt sich somit als Mitglied einer wohlhabenden und gebildeten Familie identifizieren. Obwohl soziale Unterschiede zwischen Arm und Reich in diesen Listen nicht zum Vorschein kommen, lässt sich nicht leugnen, dass sie soziale Strukturen durchaus widerspiegeln. Wie oben bereits angesprochen, folgt zwar die Anordnung der Namen grundsätzlich dem Prinzip der alphabetischen Reihenfolge, in manchen Fällen wurde davon allerdings abgewichen. So erscheinen in der Liste aus Halasarna am Ende der Sektion des Buchstabens A zwei Brüder, Praxidamas und Theugenes. Die Missachtung des alphabetischen Prinzips lässt sich wohl darauf zurück führen, dass im vorangehenden Eintrag ihr Vater, Aris-

129 Das Amt des lokalen *monarchos* in Isthmos geht auf die Zeit vor dem Synoikismos zurück, s. Sherwin-White 1978, 191 f.

130 Für die Kriterien der *demos*-Zugehörigkeit in Kos s. Ogden 1996, 310–313. Bürger, die durch einen anderen Verwandten als durch ihre Eltern Anspruch auf die *demos*-Zugehörigkeit erhoben, werden in der Liste von Halasarna durch die Formel μέτεστι δέ μοι ἀπὸ τοῦ δεῖνα („Ich habe Zugehörigkeit (zu dieser Phyle) auch von Seiten…“) genannt, s. z. B. IG XII 4, 1, 104, Z. 11–16, 22–28. In der Liste von Isthmos werden unter der Kopfzeile ἀπεγράψαντο δὲ καὶ τῶν ἔξω ἀνχιστείας τοίδε Mitglieder aufgelistet, die nicht durch Blutsverwandtschaft (*anchisteia*) die Zugehörigkeit zum *demos* erwarben.

131 IG XII 4, 2, 433, Z. 3 f. Sein Vater ist wohl Apollodoros, Sohn des Diokles in Z. 46–49. S. weiter unten S. 100.

132 IG XII 4, 2, 430, Z. 3.

tion, Sohn des Praxidamas, genannt wird.[133] Die Auflistung der beiden Söhne gleich nach ihrem Vater deutet auf ihr starkes Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl hin – und das Bedürfnis dieses zum Ausdruck zu bringen. Vermutlich waren Praxidamas und Theugenes bereits erwachsen, aber noch unverheiratet und lebten in einem Haushalt mit ihren Eltern. Für diese Art der Einträge lassen sich in der Liste von Halasarna noch weitere Beispiele finden.[134] Manchmal erscheinen Brüder in einem Eintrag, ohne aber die vorangehende Benennung ihres Vaters. Die Vermutung liegt nahe, dass es sich in diesen Fällen um Waisenkinder handelte.[135] Verwandte sind sowohl in Halasarna als auch in Isthmos oft unmittelbar nacheinander aufgelistet worden.[136] Diese Fälle sollten jedoch nicht unbedingt als Zeichen des familiären Zusammenhalts gedeutet werden, zumal es häufig vorkam, dass die Namen in mehreren Generationen einer Familie Komposita mit demselben Vorderglied waren. Allein deshalb tauchen sie in Listen oft direkt hintereinander auf. Die Auflistung von Verwandten in einer Gruppe in Namenslisten ist eine Praxis, die Pierre Brulé auch in den Listen von Ilion und Milet beobachtet hat.[137] Die meisten Einträge weisen eine weitgehende Uniformität auf, indem sie sich auf die Angabe der Namen des Kultteilnehmers, seines Vaters, seiner Mutter und des Großvaters mütterlicherseits beschränken. Abweichungen von dieser Norm gab es nur in solchen Fällen, in denen die Berechtigung zur Teilnahme an den Kulten nicht durch den Vater und die Mutter, sondern durch andere Verwandte bestand. Dadurch trug Halasarna wohl einer zunehmenden Mobilität und den daraus resultierenden Eheverbindungen außerhalb des *demos* Rechnung. Die erste Gruppe der *demos*-Mitglieder wird im Dekret als „Auswärtige" (ἀπόδαμοι) bezeichnet. Tatsächlich lässt sich in unserem Quellenmaterial die Mobilität vom *demos* in Richtung der Stadt Kos nachweisen, wobei wir aufgrund lückenhafter Überlieferung natürlich nur die besonderen Fälle kennen.[138]

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133 IG XII 4, 1, 104, Z. 439–445.

134 IG XII 4, 1, 104, Z. 402–409, 432–439, 772–780.

135 IG XII 4, 1, 104, Z. 477–481, 241–245. In Z. 106–108 werden die drei Brüder Epikles, Philippos und Platon ohne die Angabe ihres Vaters und nur unter Benennung ihrer Mutter, Hippiche, Tocher des Epikles, genannt. Es ist möglich, dass es sich hier um uneheliche Kinder (nothoi) handelte, die Mitglieder des demos geworden waren.

136 S. z. B. IG XII 4, 1, 104 Z. 660–663 (Timonax, der Sohn des Timokles, gefolgt von seinem Sohn Timokles); Z. 757–765 (Philinos, der Sohn des Phokion, gefolgt von seinem Sohn Philinos); Z. 766–772 (Philiskos, der Sohn des Philinos, gefolgt wohl von seinem Sohn Philinos); IG XII 4, 2, 461, Z. 11 f. (Arkesilas und Aristokritos, Söhne des Platthis), Z. 18 f. (Amphimedes und Hagesias, Söhne des Epikles).

137 Brulé 1990, 239.

138 Der Arzt Onasandros, der kein koischer Bürger, sondern *paroikos* war, zog nach Ausweis seines Ehrendekrets IG XII 4, 1, 109 (Dat.: Mitte 2. Jh.) von Halasarna nach Kos, um dort seine Praxis fortzusetzen. Für seine Bemühungen um die Bürger von Halasarna wurde er mit dem Anrecht zur Teilhabe an den Kulten geehrt.

Zu welchem Zweck wurden diese Listen in Form von Inschriften aufgestellt? Für die Beantwortung dieser Frage ist das Dekret von Halasarna unser aussagekräftigstes Zeugnis – und dies nicht nur im Hinblick auf die Aufstellung der *demos*-Listen, sondern auch auf die Funktionen inschriftlicher Listen schlechthin. Dem Dekret zufolge spielte für die praktische Funktion der Dokumentation von Informationen nicht die Inschrift, sondern die auf einer Weißtafel (λεύκωμα) angebrachte Liste die wichtigere Rolle, ließ sich diese doch nicht nur leichter handhaben, sondern auch jederzeit aktualisieren. Die Inschrift sollte nach Ausweis des Dekrets die Liste hingegen „schöner machen", was darauf hindeutet, dass ihr eine vornehmlich repräsentative Funktion zukam. Die Erfüllung dieser repräsentativen Funktion wurde durch die Platzierung im Apollon-Heiligtum und durch die außergewöhnliche oktogonale Form des Inschriftenträgers gewährleistet.

Entscheidend für die inschriftliche Publikation dieser Listen dürfte der historische Kontext gewesen sein: Sie entstanden am Ende einer etwa zwanzigjährigen Periode der Krise, in der Kos wiederholt kriegerischer Bedrohung ausgesetzt war. Wie es unten weiter ausgeführt wird, waren die Koer durch das Engagement der Bürger im Rahmen mehrerer epidoseis dieser Krisen Herr geworden. Aus dieser Zeit ist bei weitem die höchste Anzahl inschriftlich dokumentierter *epidoseis* bezeugt, die zum Teil für die Deckung von Kriegskosten, zum Teil für die Finanzierung anderer Ausgaben entrichtet worden waren. Die Aufstellung der *demos*-Listen lässt sich wohl als Reaktion auf die Dokumentierung dieses beispiellosen Engagements der Koer für ihre Stadt lesen.

Weitere Listen lassen sich mit dieser besonderen historischen Situation verbinden, auch wenn sie in geringerer Anzahl entstanden waren. Wiederum bietet hier der *demos* Halasarna die aussagekräftigsten Beispiele. Um 200 wurde nicht nur die Liste der *demos*-Mitglieder aufgestellt, sondern auch eine Liste der ehemaligen Apollon-Priester (ἱερατευκότες), die nach dem Ausscheiden aus ihrem Amt ein Trinkgefäß geweiht hatten.[139] Ungefähr zeitgleich wurde auch eine Beamtenliste aufgestellt, die heute nur sehr fragmentarisch vorliegt.[140] Überwiegend in der Zeit zwischen 200 und 180 entstand eine ganze Reihe von Listen unterschiedlicher Art in Halasarna: Der örtliche Priester des Apollon und die *hieropoioi* weihten regelmäßig Votivstelen an Hekate Strateia, auf denen sie ihre Namen auflisteten.[141] Aus der als Kriegspatron wahrgenommenen Empfängergottheit und aus der Datierung in die ersten zwei Jahrzehnte des 2. Jhs. ergibt sich eine Verbindung dieser Inschriften mit der kriegerischen Bedrohung der Insel und insbesondere Halasarnas in dieser Zeit.[142]

139 IG XII 4, 2, 458.

140 IG XII 4, 2, 459, s. dazu Baker 2001, 191.

141 IG XII 4, 2, 624–632.

142 Dass Halasarna von den Kriegen betroffen war, wird von den Ehrendekreten für Diokles und Theukles eindrucksvoll bezeugt, s. IG XII 4, 1, 98–99.

Insgesamt lässt sich festhalten, dass die zwei Jahrzehnte am Anfang des 2. Jhs. eine Periode darstellten, in der unterschiedliche Gruppen sich selbst durch inschriftliche Listen repräsentiert und verewigt haben. Der Auslöser dieses Prozesses scheint die 202 ausgeführte große und in drei an den wichtigsten Stellen der Stadt aufgestellten Inschriftenexemplaren dokumentierte *epidosis* für die Verteidigung der Stadt gewesen zu sein. Solche *epidoseis* wurden dann von der Stadt wiederholt vollzogen, und diesem Vorbild sind auch kleinere Gruppierungen innerhalb der lokalen Gesellschaft gefolgt. Diese Gruppierungen setzten sich aus Personen unterschiedlichen Status' zusammen: Gemeinschaften wohlhabender Männer, Verehrer von Gottheiten und Einwohner ländlicher Siedlungen hatten durch Spenden die für ihre Gruppenidentität bedeutungsvollen Orte und Institutionen unterstützt. So lösten sie eine Art von Konkurrenzsituation aus, die allerdings nicht zu Konflikten, sondern im Gegenteil zur Blütezeit von Kos führte.

Die vielfältigen Listen von Kos reflektieren somit die charakteristischen Entwicklungstendenzen der lokalen Gesellschaft in hellenistischer Zeit. Sie trugen dem Aufstieg einer wohlhabenden Elite als *de facto* etablierte Führungsschicht Rechnung: Zwar war die Sitte, den eigenen Bürgern Ehrendekrete zu errichten in Kos wesentlich weniger ausgeprägt als in anderen, insbesondere kleinasiatischen Städten. Dennoch steht außer Frage, dass auch Kos von dieser typisch hellenistischen Entwicklung nicht unberührt blieb. Wohlhabende Koer holten dank des Einsatzes ihres Vermögens, Engagements und ihrer Beziehungen in den Demen und in auswärtigen Städten zahlreiche Ehrungen ein. Die in Kos besonders ausführlich dokumentierte Praxis des Verkaufs von Priesterämtern gewährte den Mitgliedern der Oberschichten eine prominente Stellung in der Gesellschaft, in manchen Fällen bereits von einem sehr jungen Alter an.[143]

Die Epidosislisten, die nicht die ganze Polis-Gesellschaft, sondern nur eine überschaubare Gruppe mit einem klaren sozialen Profil als Spender erkennen lassen, lässt sich mit der Herausbildung lokaler Vereine verbinden. Obwohl freilich nicht jede Gruppe von Spendern einen fest institutionalisierten Verein bildete, kann man trotzdem mit gutem Recht in ihnen mehr als einen *ad hoc* entstandenen Zusammenschluss von Beitragenden sehen. Sie waren vielmehr Gruppen mit kollektiver Identität, gemeinsamen Zielen, Praktiken und Kulten. Daher erscheint ihre Trennung von den ausdrücklich als Vereine (κοινά) bezeichneten Organisationen nicht plausibel – zumal sich auch in den antiken Quellen keine entsprechenden Hinweise finden lassen.[144] Im epigraphischen Material von Kos werden die Vereine tatsächlich reichlich bezeugt, insbesondere in späthellenistischer Zeit.[145]

143 Grundlegend zum Verkauf von Priestertümern in Kos: Wiemer 2003. Zu den entsprechenden Inschriften s. jetzt IG XII 4, 1, 296–331.

144 Für diese Kriterien der Vereine s. Fröhlich/Hamon 2013, 14.

145 S. die Analyse und den Katalog von Maillot 2013.

Trotz der Herausbildung von Gruppen mit eigener Identität innerhalb der koischen Gesellschaft, bezeugen die Epidosislisten aber auch das Bedürfnis der Koer nach bürgerlicher Eintracht. Dies war sicherlich nicht nur für die Steigerung der Wehrfähigkeit wichtig, die auf die Organisation der militärischen Ausbildung der Jugend ausgerichtet war.[146] Die Koer bemühten sich offensichtlich auch stark darum, das im Ausland entstandene positive Bild ihrer Polis zu bewahren und ihm gerecht zu werden. Man geht daher wohl nicht zu weit mit der Annahme, dass die Epidosislisten nicht nur Ausdruck sozialer Beziehungen waren, sondern diese auch gestalteten.

3 Zusammenfassung

Warum entschied man sich dafür, Listen in Stein einzuhauen und öffentlich aufzustellen? Peter Liddel interpretiert die auf permanentem Material veröffentlichten Listen als Mittel der sozialen, politischen und finanziellen Repräsentation. Listen, die auf steinernen *stelai* veröffentlicht wurden, dokumentierten die Erfüllung bürgerlicher Pflichten und wirkten somit als Ermutigung und Vorbilder für andere. So sind sie aufs Engste mit dem griechischen Begriff der τιμή verbunden. Gelegentlich, wie etwa im Fall der so genannten „attikai stelai“, dienten sie auch als Mittel der sozialen Ächtung, indem sie Verbrecher (und die Konsequenzen ihres Tuns) öffentlich anprangerten. Das Beispiel der Demotenliste von Kos zeigt wiederum, dass der Stolz auf die Zugehörigkeit zu einer bestimmten Gruppe manchmal schon ausreichte, um die Selbstdarstellung zu begründen.

Wie wichtig die öffentliche Präsentation der Listen als kollektive Ehrenmonumente war, wird aus der Untersuchung der Publikationsformeln deutlich, in denen der Aufstellungsort oftmals überliefert ist. Die Klauseln der Inschriften selbst sowie die archäologischen Zeugnisse bestätigen gleichermaßen, dass die Listen an gut sichtbaren Orten im Stadtraum standen. In Athen vor allem auf der Agora und auf der Akropolis, in Kos ebenfalls auf der Agora sowie in den wichtigsten Heiligtümern. Nicht zuletzt trugen auch die großen Dimensionen der Monumente dazu bei, dass diese nicht ignoriert werden konnten. Durch ihre schiere Größe, manchmal auch durch ihre auffällige Form (wie die oktogonale Säule der *demos*-Mitglieder von Halasarna), ragten die Listen wohl oft aus ihrer Umgebung heraus.

Sowohl die Bouleuten- als auch die Epidosislisten reflektierten Werte, welche für die sich als demokratisch verstehenden Poleis von identitätsstiftender Bedeutung waren: politische Partizipation auf der einen Seite, Eintracht und die Loyalität der Bürger gegenüber der Polis auf der anderen Seite. So sind diese Listen aussage-

146 Gauthier 2009. Den ‚esprit civique‘ der Koer in militärischen Angelegenheiten stellte Baker 1991 heraus. Vgl. auch Baker 2001.

kräftige Zeugnisse des Fortdauerns der Polis-Ideologie in hellenistischer Zeit. In der Realität, deren Facetten in literarischen und anderen epigraphischen Quellen zum Vorschein kommen, fanden gerade in dieser Zeit wichtige Veränderungen statt, die den ideologischen Charakter dieser Dokumente verdeutlichen.[147]

Die durch die Listen öffentlich bekundeten Auszeichnungen einer Vielzahl von Bürgern scheinen geradezu dafür geschaffen worden zu sein, der Vergrößerung sozialer Ungleichheiten und der Dominierung des öffentlichen Lebens durch die Oberschichten entgegenzuwirken und innerhalb der Polis als ein stabilisierender Faktor zu fungieren. Die in drei Exemplaren aufgestellte große Epidosisliste von Kos symbolisiert dieses Bedürfnis nach Aufrechterhaltung der sozialen Kohärenz am deutlichsten. Kaum einem Koer oder fremden Besucher von Kos konnte entgangen sein, dass diese die wichtigsten Inschriften der Polis waren und dass sie Werte vergegenwärtigten, die – zumindest in der ideellen Selbstdarstellung der Polis – das öffentliche Leben bestimmen sollten. Die athenischen Prytanen-Listen lassen sich ebenfalls in diesen Deutungsrahmen einordnen. Sie bilden die längste Inschriftenserie der antiken Welt. Wohl kaum zufällig waren es ausgerechnet die Prytanen, deren Namen in dieser langen Inschriftenreihe aufgeschrieben wurden, handelte es sich bei ihnen doch um Mitglieder jenes Gremiums des politischen Systems in Athen, das im höchsten Maße demokratisch war und in welchem alle Athener mit denselben Chancen politisch tätig werden konnten – trotz aller sozialer Unterschiede und politischer Veränderungen.

Welche Rolle die Erwähnung der einzelnen Namen in kollektiven Ehrungen auf Kos und in Athen spielte, wird deutlich, wenn man diesen *habit* mit dem *epigraphic habit* des hellenistischen Kreta kontrastiert, den Angelos Chaniotis untersucht hat.[148] Im Gegensatz zu Athen war der *epigraphic habit* Kretas immer öffentlich, maskulin und anonym. Die Gründe dieser Anonymität, die außerhalb der Grenzen Kretas interessanterweise aufgegeben wird, sind laut Chaniotis in der Struktur der kretischen Gesellschaft zu finden: Institutionen wie die *andreia* oder die *syssitia* förderten keine Individualität, sondern einen „communal spirit“. In den demokratisch geprägten Poleis Athen und Kos war dieser „communal spirit“ hingegen immer das Ergebnis der aktiven Teilnahme vieler einzelner Personen, derer nicht nur als Mitglieder einer Gruppe, sondern auch als Individuen gedacht wurde.

Neben den Gemeinsamkeiten enthüllt die Studie der Listen von Athen und Kos aber auch wichtige Unterschiede, die ihre Wurzeln wohl in den jeweils spezifischen geopolitischen Umständen haben. Da in Athen die auf Stein veröffentlichten Namenslisten bis in späthellenistische Zeit eng mit dem politischen System der Stadt ver-

147 Über die Verstärkung der Hierarchien innerhalb der Bürgerschaften und die Transformation der *boule* zum Organ der Elite in späthellenistischer Zeit (ab der Mitte des 2. Jhs.), vgl. z. B. Hamon 2005, 121–144 und Hamon 2007, 77–98.
148 Chaniotis 2004.

knüpft waren, beschränkte sich üblicherweise der Kreis der namentlich aufgelisteten Personen auf die erwachsenen Vollbürger. Diese Listen vermittelten das Bild einer egalitären Bürgergemeinde, die allen historischen Veränderungen und politischen Transformationen trotzte. Vergleichbare Inschriften scheinen in Kos nur die Demen produziert zu haben. Die großen *demos*-Listen von Halasarna und Isthmos waren Produkte einer bestimmten historischen Krisensituation am Beginn des 2. Jhs. und blieben somit ein isolierter Einzelfall.

In der Selbstdarstellung der weniger privilegierten und wohlhabenden Bevölkerungsgruppen spielten in Kos im Gegensatz zu Athen die Epidosislisten die wichtigste Rolle. Gerade diese Listen verwendeten verschiedene Kriterien (wie die alphabetische Auflistung oder die Sortierung nach Eingang der Spenden), um die sozialen Statusunterschiede zu reduzieren. Dies war sicher ein bewusstes Bestreben der Koer, besaß doch die Gattung der Epidosisliste eigentlich ein starkes Potential zur Betonung eben dieser Unterschiede. Die Epidosislisten weisen eine deutliche Konzentration in den bereits erwähnten krisenhaften zwei Jahrzehnten auf. In Kos rührte also der „Listen-Habitus“ nicht von einer althergebrachten Tradition her, sondern von einer Krisensituation, die den Zusammenhalt der Gemeinde verstärkte.

Die Listen von Kos besitzen ferner eine andere Eigenschaft, die sie von den athenischen Listen unterscheidet. Sie spiegeln die Organisation der Gesellschaft trotz aller Bestrebungen zur Verminderung der Statusunterschiede genauer wider als die athenischen. Es erscheinen außer den erwachsenen Vollbürgern alle sozialen Gruppen der lokalen Gesellschaft: *nothoi* und *nothai*, Metöken, Frauen und Kinder. Die Listen dienten somit auch der Selbstdarstellung der Untergliederungen der Gesellschaft. Die Selbstrepräsentation der Familien durch die im Namen der Frauen und Kinder dargebrachten Spenden der Epidosislisten wurde zuvor bereits betont. Andere, nicht aufgrund der Blutsverwandtschaft organisierten Gruppen konnten in Kos die Listen auch als Medien ihrer Selbstdarstellung verwenden. Die wichtigste Rolle bei der Organisation solcher Gruppen scheinen die Heiligtümer gespielt zu haben. In den koischen Listen erscheinen auch weitere Gruppen der lokalen Gesellschaft, die ein klares soziales Profil hatten und wie eine Art Klub wohlhabender Koer organisiert gewesen zu sein scheinen. So spielten die Listen offenbar auch für die Entstehung der in der ägäisch-westkleinasiatischen Region so typischen Vereine eine wichtige Rolle.

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Eeva-Maria Viitanen and Laura Nissin

Campaigning for Votes in Ancient Pompeii: Contextualizing Electoral *Programmata*

1 Introduction

Analyzing inscriptions in their spatial contexts has become a very welcome trend in Classics in recent years. The contents of inscriptions have been studied and discussed in great detail, but little attention has been paid to the question what the find context could mean for the interpretation of the text and its significance.[1] However, it sometimes still seems that the texts themselves are more interesting to scholars than their contextualization. Is it enough for instance, to take one group of inscriptions defined by their content and place them on a map of a site? Does this add a genuine new level of context into the interpretation? What about all the other inscriptions found at the site? Where are they located compared to this particular group? Are different kinds of texts commonly found in similar places? What are the exact locations where the inscriptions were placed? A broader approach to contextualization is necessary if the texts are to be understood in their contexts. Distribution of a single group of texts needs to be compared to distributions of others and the detailed elements of the individual archaeological context need to be taken into consideration. It is understandable why this kind of work is still quite rare: there are hardly any easily usable data sets available and finding the relevant data for a variety of analytical elements requires a lot of time and effort.

The main aim of the project "Inscribed Texts in their Spatial Contexts in Roman Italy"[2] was to combine philological and archaeological expertise in order to analyze both the content of the texts and the archaeology of their contexts. Texts painted, scratched or written with coal or chalk on the façades of the city blocks of Pompeii were one of the main topics. The main question was why the texts were written where they were found. The hypothesis was that these wall inscriptions were related to places where people moved or hung out for periods of time. The main task was to place the

Laura Nissin has worked on the collection and mapping of the textual data and Eeva-Maria Viitanen has been responsible for the archaeological data and the analyses. Language revision was conducted by Mrs. Sirkku Viitanen-Vanamo.

1 E.g. Sakai 1993, Benefiel 2010, Baird/Taylor 2011, Sears/Keegan/Laurence 2013.
2 University of Helsinki 2011–2013, directed by Dr Kalle Korhonen and funded by the University of Helsinki.

DOI 10.1515/9783110534597-006,

texts on a map of Pompeii as accurately as possible and study their surroundings in detail. On which parts of the façades were the texts written? To what kind of houses were they connected? What were the streets in front of the façades like? What kind of activities could be connected to the streetscape in the immediate vicinity of the texts? A combination of a citywide perspective to the analysis of micro-topography is necessary as none of the approaches proposed sufficiently answers our questions. The aim of this paper is to analyze the electoral *programmata*, painted notices promoting candidates in the local elections, in their spatial, social and chronological contexts in order to reach a better understanding of the reasons for using them in the electoral process.

2 Pompeian Electoral *Programmata*

The electoral *programmata* are usually quite short notices painted on the wall plasters covering the façades of the city blocks; sometimes they can be found also on whitewashed stone or brick surfaces.[3] There are some 2.500 certain *programmata* from Pompeii including the ones found in most recent excavations and published outside the volume IV of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.[4] They are fairly formulaic texts promoting candidates in the local elections; usually they contain the name of the candidate, the office and rarely information of the person(s) asking for support for the candidate. The notice set up by fruit-vendors and Helvius Vestalis to support Marcus Holconius Priscus's campaign for getting elected as *duumvir* is a good example: *M(arcum) Holconium / Priscum IIvir(um) i(ure) d(icundo) / pomari universi / cum Helvio Vestale rog(ant)*.[5] Political slogans or qualities of the candidates are not very common, but, for example, the notices set up by pickpockets, sleepers and drinkers could have been intended to mock the candidate rather than to promote him.[6] Most of the notices are dated to the last decades of Pompeii, from the 50s to 79 CE.[7] Some earlier texts have been preserved usually painted on whitewashed walls and some of these probably date back all the way to 1st century BCE.[8] The texts have been used to study the political life, prosopography and many other aspects of the Pom-

3 Chiavia 2002; Varone/Stefani 2009 for photographs of the *programmata*.
4 Chiavia 2002, 48.
5 CIL IV 202. Other examples in Wallace 2005, xii–xvi.
6 CIL IV 575 (*dormientes universi cum*), 576 (*furunculi rog*(*ant*), 581 (*seribibi universi rogant*). The candidate is Cerrinius Vatia and the notices are located by consecutive doors (VII 2,40–41, VII 2,41–42 and VII 2,43–44), along a street with plenty of notices.
7 Chiavia 2002, 114–141.
8 Sakai 1993, Chiavia 2002, 122–126.

peian elite, but relatively little has been said about the contexts where the texts were found.[9]

Relatively little is known of what was the process of setting up the notices, but it is generally accepted that someone had to pay for the process. The common text formula—"we ask you to vote candidate xy for office"—suggests that third parties, not the candidates themselves, were responsible for setting up the notices. The notices were painted by professionals, *scriptores*, and their work had to be compensated. The relationship between the candidates and the supporters has been discussed at length particularly from the point of view of how democratic the elections were and how much the supporters could influence their results.[10]

The distribution of the electoral notices has been plotted on maps in earlier studies. James Franklin presented distribution maps for individual candidates already in the 1970s in his study of Pompeian political life, but only a few of the maps from his notes were ultimately published.[11] The most significant study of the *programmata* is Henrik Mouritsen's doctoral dissertation from 1988.[12] He prepared a standardized map of the distribution of all the notices and thus established a general distribution pattern for the first time. The standardization was based on calculating the number of texts per façade meter.[13] Consequently, Mouritsen was the first who was able to compare the distribution of the individual candidate's notices to a general pattern. The distributions of individual candidate's notices were used to locate the houses of the candidates and to analyze their strategies for promotion based on the location of their homes.[14]

Mouritsen's conclusions concerning the notices and their significance in the campaigns were not very encouraging for starting a new analysis. According to his interpretation, the notices were ritual in character, not really part of an active, democratic campaign—after all, the elite controlled the whole election process.[15] Mouritsen thought that everyone had the right to paint notices on the walls of the city blocks.[16] He also questioned the validity of the distribution pattern based on comparison of the Pompeian excavation history and the frequency of the notices. The areas in the western part of the city were excavated earlier and featured less notices than the sections excavated later.[17] Particularly the last point is significant from the point of view

9 E.g. Castrén 1975, Gigante 1979, Franklin 1980, Mouritsen 1988, Chiavia 2002.
10 Mouritsen 1988, 44–69, Mouritsen 1999, Chiavia 2002, 227–258, Biundo 2003.
11 Franklin 1975, Franklin 1980. His unpublished materials could be consulted in the library of the American Academy in Rome.
12 Mouritsen 1988.
13 Mouritsen 1988, fig. 3.
14 Mouritsen 1988, figs. 5–8.
15 Mouritsen 1988, 44–56.
16 Mouritsen 1988, 59.
17 Mouritsen 1988, 49–50, figs. 3–4.

of representability: what does the observed distribution represent? Is it roughly what the ancient Pompeiians really saw or merely a reflection of changing excavation documentation?

Despite the seemingly thorough discussion of the distribution, Mouritsen's analysis does leave space for new studies. Firstly, Mouritsen's distribution pattern was presented as lines along the façades, which imply indirectly that every spot on the façades was equally important and available for painting electoral notices. However, old photographs demonstrate clearly that clusters of notices and lengths of empty wall could be found even on the same façade.[18] The standardized line along the façade wall indicates density, but does not represent the complexity of the distribution very well. Secondly, Mouritsen used only one comparative data set, excavation history, to evaluate the reliability of the distribution pattern. The development of documentation methods is an important factor in all Pompeian archaeology,[19] but different data sets could have been used to test the results of the comparison. Thirdly, Mouritsen did not analyze the contexts of the notices beyond the city block and façade. Studying whether the notices were found on the walls of a private house or a shop is significant when considering the conclusion on who could and would paint notices and how the locations were selected.

3 Different Data Sets

Pompeii is perhaps the most well-known Roman city, but collecting a reliable and representative data set on almost any aspect of its archaeology or history is challenging. Only a few sources covering the entire city have been available in the past and the results of the recent wave of fieldwork and related studies are only beginning to emerge. Compiling a data set consisting of textual and archaeological evidence is a labor-intensive task. Five of the nine modern administrative regions of Pompeii (I, V, VI, VII, IX) were included in this study. The reason for this choice was related to resources of the project as well as to the availability of data: the eastern part of Pompeii (regions III and IV) is mostly unexcavated and little data is available on the housing units behind the façades. Regions II and VIII in the south-eastern and south-western parts of the city feature relatively few electoral notices compared to the other areas and were also left out.

The texts were collected from a full-text online database,[20] but their exact find locations had to be collected by hand from the printed corpus and counterchecked

18 Varone/Stefani 2009.

19 Allison 2004.

20 *Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss – Slaby*: http://www.manfredclauss.de/gb/index.html (last accessed: 20.5.2016).

with other data. Of the slightly more than 2.500 known notices 1.975 are located in the study area and 1.500 of them can be located accurately and with relative certainty. Only these 1.500 texts have been used in the following distribution maps. Mouritsen, for example, plotted all notices in his work without regard to how accurately or certainly their locations were known. The uncertain locations are usually found within the main distribution pattern and do not suggest significant anomalies.

The archaeological data was collected from a variety of recent studies concentrating on the central elements of the Pompeian streetscape. These elements are usually quite concrete and include public fountains, crossroad shrines and benches, which indicate activities by the local inhabitants.[21] From the studies concerning streets and traffic on them, it was possible to outline the most frequently used routes for carriages.[22] Shops and bars attracted people into the streets where they are found. Plotting them on a map was also an important part of the process.[23] Bars could also be perceived to create rowdiness and unrest on the streets[24] and another perhaps unwanted element often connected with them are prostitute's cribs and the purpose-built brothel in the central part of Pompeii.[25]

The types of housing units are very important in the analysis and they were divided into four groups according to their size, ground plan (presence of atrium, peristyle, commercial and/or productive spaces) and decorative elements. Small shops and workshops usually also contained living quarters, but the houses included in the three other groups indicate that their owners were able and willing to invest in the comfort of living even when the property contained a shop or a workshop[26] (table 1).

4 Exploring Distributions: *Loci Celeberrimi*

By plotting the 1.500 accurately placed electoral notices on a map, it becomes evident that the main streets starting from the gates in the perimeter walls of Pompeii are the most popular areas for painting notices (fig. 1). The main emphasis is on the central part of the city with fewer texts towards the edges. If the posters wanted visibility for their notices, the main streets are logical places for them. Romans had a clear idea

21 Public fountains: Jansen 2002; crossroad shrines: Van Andringa 2000; benches: Hartnett 2008.
22 Poehler 2006, Kaiser 2011, Weilguni 2011.
23 Shop doors based on visual inspection of topographical maps and photographs in *Pompeii in Pictures*: http://pompeiiinpictures.com/pompeiiinpictures/index.htm (last accessed: 20.5.2016); bars: Ellis 2004, Ellis 2006.
24 Wallace-Hadrill 1995, Laurence 2007, 81–101.
25 McGinn 2002, Guzzo/Scarano Ussani 2009.
26 More details in Viitanen/Nissinen/Korhonen 2013. See also Flohr 2012 for atrium houses and workshops.

of where to find the 'busiest places', *loci celeberrimi*,[27] for distributing information, propaganda and opinions. It obviously also worked in Pompeii.

Looking at the distribution more carefully indicates that not every location in the center of the city was equally good for placing notices. Availability of space seems to be an obvious explanation: the notices could be quite large and space for painting them could be regarded as a good thing. The descriptions of the find locations, old photographs and drawings, however, make it clear that sufficient space was not an issue. Some 1.100 of the notices were found right next to a doorway or between two adjacent doorways. Only about one hundred were located at a considerable distance from a doorway. Empty wall space without doors is available only in the side streets and their distribution is almost reverse to the distribution of the notices. Space had obviously very little to do with where the texts were painted, but a door was an important factor.

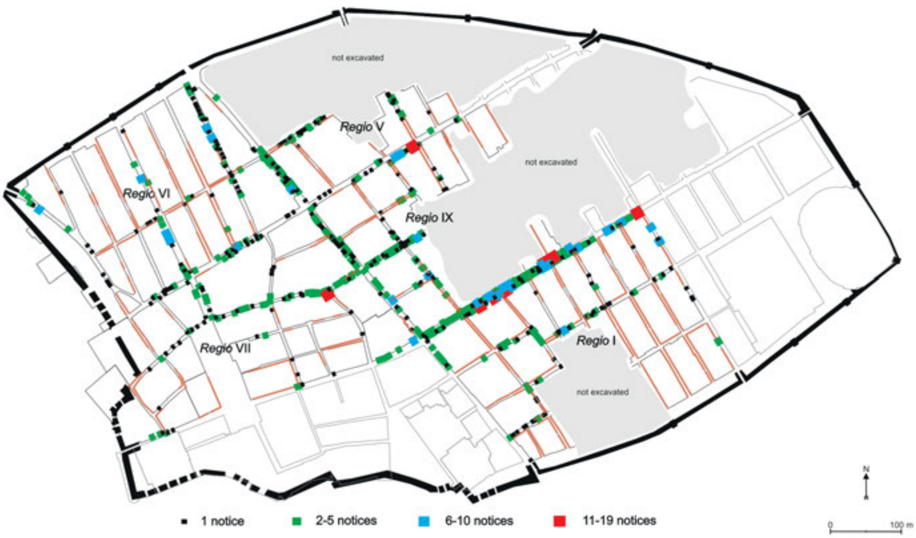

Fig. 1: The distribution of electoral notices in Pompeii. Walls without doors are indicated with red line © Eeva-Maria Viitanen.

The obvious places for painting notices were the façades along the main streets. The elements indicating street activity outlined in the previous section attracted people and helped to create an audience for the messages. The distribution of the street activities is almost identical to the distribution of the electoral notices (fig. 2). This reinforces the idea that they were, indeed, placed in the most visible and frequented places.

27 E.g. Newsome 2011.

Fig. 2: The distribution of street activities in Pompeii. Empty symbols indicate uncertain cases. Routes for wheeled traffic are marked in grey lines along the streets. Anomalous streets with no wheeled traffic, but many electoral notices are circled with black © Eeva-Maria Viitanen.

The closest fit for the distribution pattern of the electoral notices is the probable routes used for wheeled traffic (fig. 2). There are two exceptions to this general trend. One of them is the west-east oriented street in the middle of region IX leading into the unexcavated area. Traffic routes there cannot be reconstructed, but recent geophysical surveys suggest, that this street continues directly eastwards all the way to the city wall and was probably a major traffic route in the area (fig. 2).[28] This probably explains the frequency of notices in the western part of the street. The second exception is streets in region I in the southern part of Pompeii close to the gate. The streets with most notices are closed for wheeled traffic, but feature many elements of street activity which helped create an important walking route used in that part of the city and probably explains the large number of electoral notices on the walls.

The main distribution pattern is clearly not the result of a random choice of walls. The posters had a good idea where the largest audiences could be reached, i.e., what the *loci celeberrimi* of Pompeii were. It seems also likely that the distribution represents the actual situation in the last phase of the city and is not the result of changing excavation and documentation methods as suggested by Mouritsen.[29] The documentation in the early days of the excavation was not up to modern standards and

28 Anniboletti/Befani/Boila 2009.
29 Mouritsen 1988, 49–50, figs. 3–4.

many texts, particularly graffiti, certainly disappeared before they were recorded.[30] However, the electoral notices tend to be large, easier to note and less likely to be ignored than graffiti. There are more uncertain find locations in the old excavation areas in the western part of the town, but their suggested locations are still easily within the main distribution pattern. Some notices are surely missing, but the pattern represents probably quite well what could have been seen in Pompeii in 79 CE.

5 Electoral Notices and Private Houses

The presence of doors proved to be an important aspect in placing notices on the façades of the city blocks. There are close to one thousand doors in the study area and most of them lead into small combinations of shops, workshops and apartments that are commonly located on the main streets (fig. 2). The rest of the doors belong to modest dwellings and large or very large private houses (table 1). The entrances of most dwellings open onto the busiest streets, just like the shops and workshops (fig. 3). Shops, bars and other commercial establishments attracted people and it could be expected that most of the electoral notices were connected to them. In addition, the majority of the doors lead to shops and workshops and if visibility and audience were wanted, then the walls next to shop doors would probably be the places to post electoral notices. However, on average two notices were painted for each large dwelling in comparison to one for each shop-workshop.

Plotting the notices by the type of housing unit demonstrates the trends (fig. 3). The doorways to different types of housing units are located in different parts of the city blocks. Most doorways open onto the busiest street(s) around the city blocks as noted above.

Corner properties are usually used for commercial units such as bars and shops-workshops and this is shown quite clearly in the distribution. The doors to private houses were in the central part of the façade and they were the most often used locations. On the secondary streets the walls around the doors of shops and bars are used more commonly than those around the doors of small and modest private houses. It is also quite striking to note the lack of electoral notices in the *forum* area and near other public buildings—some can be found on the façades of the shops and bars of the Stabian and Forum baths.[31] Apart from the commercial properties connected to the bath buildings, the only public space with a fairly large number of electoral notices is

30 The situation in region VI was discussed in a poster by R.R. Benefiel presented at the XVIII AIAC Conference in Merida, Spain, in May 2013.

31 Some uncertain locations are reported in the portico on the south side of the *forum* as well as on the south and east façades of the Building of Eumachia.

the *palaestra* and particularly its north wall.[32] Otherwise private contexts were clearly sought after.

Fig. 3: Entrances to private dwellings and locations of electoral notices plotted by house type © Eeva-Maria Viitanen.

Two data sets, independent of and yet related to the notices, have now been established and the distributions of street activity and entrances to houses match closely the distribution of the electoral notices. Consequently, in addition to concluding that electoral notices were most frequently placed along main streets, it is now possible to characterize the preferred locations more precisely: firstly, the street should preferably be suitable for wheeled traffic and also feature plenty of other kinds of activities, secondly, there had to be a lot of doorways, and thirdly, the doors should preferably lead into one of the larger dwellings in the city. Furthermore, electoral notices were generally not painted on public buildings. The close association of electoral notices, private property and large dwellings, makes one of Mouritsen's conclusions, that anyone could paint notices on any wall in Pompeii, seem rather doubtful. In the private contexts, the façades were integral parts of the houses and the house owners maintained also the sidewalks in front of their houses.[33] The large houses were probably owned by the Pompeian elite and it seems unlikely that anyone could have painted anything without permission on the façade walls of some of the largest and most prestigious houses in the city. The distribution pattern is not the result of

32 Cf. Mouritsen 1988, fig. 3.
33 Saliou 1999.

a random selection of location, but based on knowledge of the most visible places in the city. It is likely that careful planning and probably also negotiation with owners of the properties were needed to place the notices in the most sought-after locations.

6 Campaigning for Offices

Somewhat surprisingly, the distributions of notices for different offices were not discussed in previous studies. Elections were arranged annually and the candidates were running mainly for two offices: *aedilis* and *duumvir*. An aedile was the junior magistrate and his work consisted mostly of management of city maintenance and public buildings. The *duumviri* were mainly responsible for the administration of justice. Every five years *duumviri iure dicundo quinquennales* were elected to conduct the census of the population and the revision of the list of members of the *ordo* of Pompeii. *Quinquennales* was the most prestigious office, but they were also responsible for the duties of the ordinary *duumviri* who were not elected in those years. The people's assembly, the *comitium*, elected the magistrates. After serving as aedile, the magistrate could become member of the *ordo decurionum*, which was the city's legislative body and made the decisions that the magistrates implemented.[34]

In the 1.500 notices used in this study, 128 give the names of the candidates: 52 for aedile (870 notices) and 30 for *duumvir* (324 notices). The names of only nine candidates for *quinquennalis* are known (34 notices). There is some overlap as some of the persons were candidates for more than one office. The office is not mentioned in connection with 56 names (278 notices). The figures match the assumption that most candidates ran for aedile in order to get accepted to the *ordo decurionum*. There are fewer candidates for *duumvir* as the candidature required having served as aedile and the pool for candidates was therefore smaller. Candidates for *quinquennalis* could be derived from an even smaller group of mature and experienced men.[35]

Dating the elections and candidates is a complicated task and is usually based on other evidence mentioning names and events that can be dated. Most of the recorded notices belong to the last decade of Pompeii, between 69 and 79 CE.[36] The only candidates dated with the accuracy of a year are those of 79 CE. 79 can usually be dated to a five-year or longer period of time rather than one specific year. A rough chronological division to four periods can be made: 79 CE, 75–79 CE, 70–75 CE and 69–79 CE. When these attributes—name, office and date—are used as filters of the original 1.500 notices, then roughly half of them (852) can be used.

34 Mouritsen 1988, 28–30, Chiavia 2002, 35–46.
35 Mouritsen 1988, 43–44.
36 Mouritsen 1988, 32–37 and *passim* in chapters with lists of magistrates and evidence for their dating, Chiavia 2002, 126–141.

Most of these notices, 550 in total, roughly one third of all notices used in this study, were posted by the 24 candidates for aedileship between 69 and 79 CE. Usually only one candidate is named, but it was also possible to campaign together with candidates for other offices and joint notices are known (roughly 10% of the named and dated notices). The distribution for aedile follows the main pattern neatly, which is to be expected as they form the majority of the notices (fig. 4).

Fig.4: The distribution of notices for aedile in 69–79 CE © Eeva-Maria Viitanen.

Fig.5: The distribution of notices for *duumvir* in 69–79 CE © Eeva-Maria Viitanen.

There are twelve candidates for *duumvir* between 69 and 79 CE and almost 220 notices were painted for their campaigns (fig. 5). Although the main pattern can still be recognized, their distribution is strongly placed in the eastern part of Pompeii. The pattern is the same for both offices in all the five periods: there were more candidates for aedile advertising in all the areas and the fewer candidates for *duumviri* posted mostly in the eastern part.

It is also interesting to note that the candidates for the two offices rarely advertised in the same locations. Only a few locations in all periods were used for promoting candidates for both offices and these tend to occur in the most frequently used locations. The same applies to candidates within one period: if more than one candidate was advertised in one location they usually had a joint campaign. Even the most popular locations were not used regularly in every election: they were probably not open for everyone. There is also a slight tendency towards posting more candidates and even rivals on bars and shops versus private houses—these locations were apparently open for all candidates. In the general distribution notices were placed on large private houses twice as often as on shops and bars, but in this group the relationship is roughly 1:1.

Based on the evidence of the distribution, the strong connection to private houses, the different patterns for different offices as well as for candidates, it seems clear that the candidates or supporters could not freely choose just any wall to post electoral notices, but either one or both parties had to be connected to the house owners socially or politically. The wall space was used most often only for one candidate and the notices were often not painted over even after the elections. It is possible to imagine that the house owners wanted to display the names of their political and/or social associates on their façade, regardless whether their candidates lost or won the election. Bar and shop owners were apparently more open to allowing a variety of candidates running in the same elections to use their walls. It is also possible to think that whoever paid for the notices also paid the house owners for the privilege of using their walls, but even in this case there seems to have been a clear limit on how many and what kinds of candidates were allowed on one house façade in each election.

The notices for the last election in 79 CE represent a large proportion of the study material (240). They offer the only opportunity to analyze candidates in the same elections (fig. 6).

There were four candidates for aedile and two for *duumvir*. The *duumvir* candidates, Gavius Rufus and Holconius Priscus, joined forces with Cuspius Pansa and Popidius Secundus, who ran together for aedile. Their notices are concentrated in the central part of Pompeii from west to east. The other aedile pair, Helvius Sabinus and Samellius Modestus, who apparently received no help from candidates to the other office, advertised more in the northern and southern parts of town. The competing aedile and/or *duumvir* candidates advertised 14 times in the same locations and half of them are situated along the south main street. Only one of these notices is on the façade of a private house; in all other cases they are on the façades of shops or bars.

Fig. 6: The distribution of notices for the election of 79 CE © Eeva-Maria Viitanen.

The notices for the individual *duumvir* candidates can be found mostly in the eastern part of Pompeii as in the other elections, but all the joint notices are located in the western part of the city. The opposing candidates maintained their distance within the usual patterns for advertising for each office.

It is difficult to know what lies behind the varying geographical distribution for the different offices. There are always more candidates for aedile than for *duumvir* and it is possible to imagine that the junior magistrates felt they had to advertise their candidacy more than the more experienced *duumviri*. But the numbers or the need to advertise more do not explain why the *duumviri* advertised mostly in the eastern part of town. The candidates and their supporters were maybe better connected in their respective areas, but there could also be more prestige connected to the central part of town possibly due to better visibility.

7 Candidates, Supporters and Houses: Ownership or Coincidence?

The previous analyses have concentrated on combined distributions of electoral notices, whereas in the two last sections distributions of individual candidates shall be analyzed. The number of notices for some 30 candidates is sufficiently high to allow a study of their distribution—they include representatives for all the periods and offices. The candidates were usually within the distribution patterns for the different offices, but individual strategies can also be discerned as anomalies to the distributions of the larger groups. Reasons for these strategies are difficult to understand, but it is possible, for instance, that the candidates directed their campaign towards their own neighborhood. Knowing where the candidates lived would be necessary to establish the neighborhoods, but although electoral notices have frequently been used to connect houses to candidates, the results remain uncertain.[37]

Two elements in the contents of the notices have been used to attribute houses to owners: names of those who support candidates themselves (*rogatores*) and of those who are recommended to vote for certain candidates.[38] Such elements occur in some 385 accurately placed notices in the study area. The supporters form a majority as only 48 recommendations have been recorded. The candidates are supported by diverse groups of people: there are individuals on their own, groups of individuals up to three persons in size as well as professional and other groups (such as bakers or neighbors) on their own and together with other groups or individuals. In most cases, only one supporter per location (194 out of 274 locations, 71%) can be found, but even as many as nine different supporters can be found on one façade.[39] The general distribution of supported notices is similar to the main pattern, but there is an even stronger tendency to place them in the most central locations—particularly those of various groups (fig. 7).

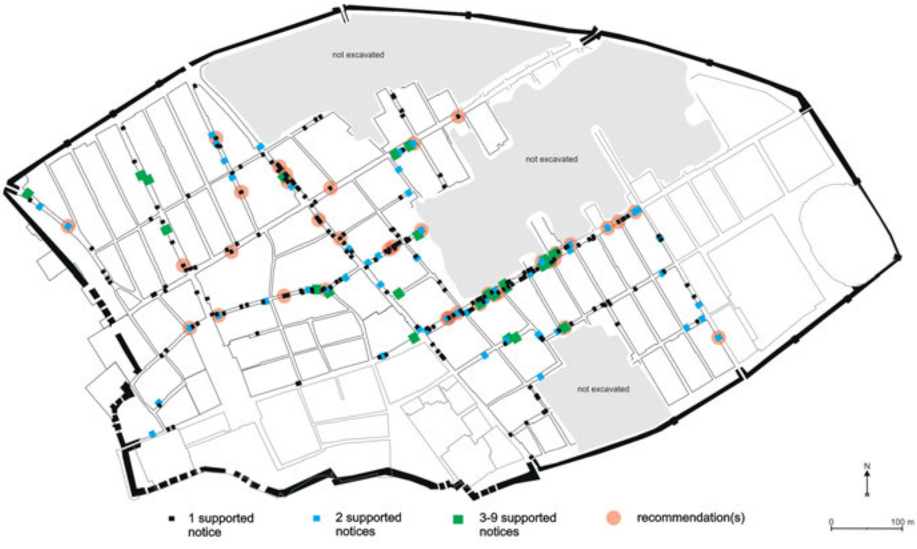

Fig. 7: The distribution of notices with supporters and recommendations © Eeva-Maria Viitanen.

37 Della Corte 1965. See also Mouritsen 1988, 18–19, 61 and Allison 2001 for criticism.

38 Mouritsen 1988, 160–178, Chiavia 2002, 188–226, 328–368.

39 Two supporters in 54 locations (20%, three in 18 locations (6%), four in five locations (2%) and 5, 6 and 9 supports in one location.

The important question concerning the supporters is their relationship to the location where their names appear. The assumption has been that they are either owners or tenants of the property on which the notice is painted. The recommendations have been regarded as the most reliable evidence for ownership of the premises.[40] Neighbors (*vicini*) are the most important supporter group with a spatial connection—they are supposed to have posted their notices close to their own houses and consequently also the houses of the candidates. The candidates were persons with considerable economic means and consequently have usually been connected to the largest dwellings in the vicinity of the notices they supported, the notices supported by their neighbor and/or recommendations directed to them (table 2; fig. 8). However, there are some significant problems: Why are there so commonly many supporters on one wall? What is the connection between the groups and the houses? How close do the neighbors live? Is there any other kind of evidence of the house occupants?

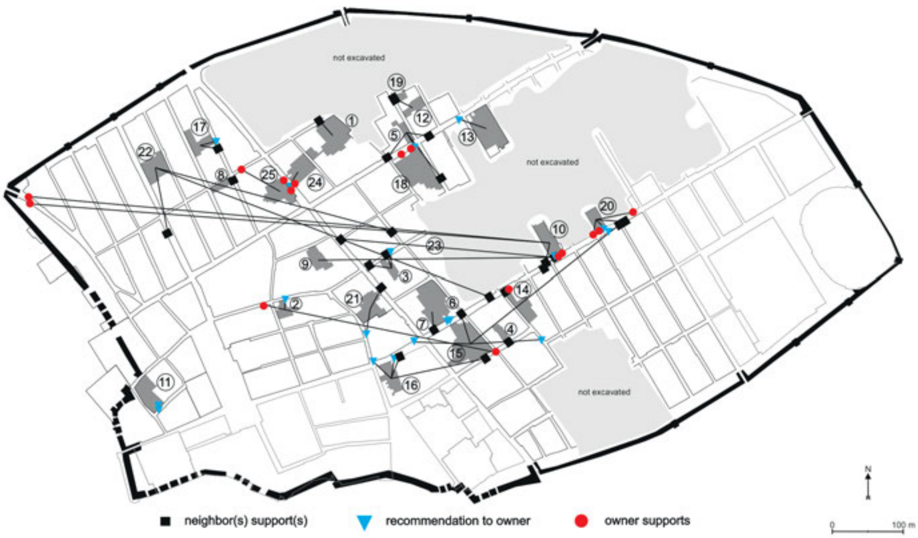

Fig. 8: Evidence used for house attributions of selected candidates and other persons. Numbers refer to data presented in table 2 © Eeva-Maria Viitanen.

The case of house I 7,1 is revealing. It is a finely appointed large dwelling with its main entrance onto one of the busiest streets in Pompeii. The notices on its façade include one with Paquius Proculus as *rogator* and another where Paquius is supported by his neighbors.[41] Paquius Proculus does not appear as a supporter anywhere else. The attribution of the house to Paquius seems obvious, but other *rogatores* also

40 See above note 38.
41 CIL IV 7210 and 7197 respectively.

occur: Amandio with his family/friends (*sua*), Fabius, Primanus and *ordo* supporting four other candidates.[42] In addition, an electoral notice in the entrance hall promotes Cuspius Pansa along with a possible honorary painted text for Cuspius.[43] Moreover, a candidate for aedile of an unknown date, Lollius Rufus, is mentioned in a graffito inside the house[44] and other person names occur in the other graffiti in the house as well. The other supporters could be interpreted as *clientes* or associates of the owner as they seem unlikely to be tenants—the house and its frontage feature no commercial spaces. From these kinds of lists of supporters the person perceived as the most prestigious one has usually been selected as the house owner.[45]

The case of the house of the Caecilii Iucundi (V 1,23/26) is also interesting, even though none of the family members was a candidate in the elections. The house can be relatively safely attributed to the family based on the archive of the banker Caecilius Iucundus found there.[46] Family members appear in a recommendation placed across the street (VI 14,21) and support candidates in two notices on the house façade.[47] Inside, there are two electoral notices, one for Numisius Rarus and another for Appuleius—a notice inside the house is not an indication of ownership of the candidate.[48] There are also at least two other supporters[49] connected with one of the shops between the entrances to the house. The recommendation for Iucundus to vote for Caecilius Capella is placed on the façade between a private house and a workshop both attributed to Vesonius Primus based on notices supported by him on the façades of both of these houses.[50] Vesonius appears as a supporter also on the opposite side of the city block VI 14 (unit 34).[51] If the additional evidence connecting the Caecilii Iucundi to the other side of the street was unknown, it would be difficult to attribute ownership to the houses in either city block based on the notices. Moreover, the role of the supporters from the shop surrounded by the large house remains uncertain—they could be owners as well as tenants.

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42 CIL IV 7213, 7205, 7212 and 7203 respectively.

43 CIL IV 7200, 7201. Cuspius has been suggested as an alternative owner, but for him there is another house attribution, house IX 1,22, where Cuspius is mentioned in two recommendations.

44 CIL IV 8128.

45 For example, House of the Menander (I 10,4) has never been attributed to Fulbunguis (CIL IV 7345), Infantio (CIL IV 7348) or Vatinia (CIL IV 7347) who all appear as supporters next to its main entrance.

46 Karivieri/Forsell 2007.

47 CIL IV 3473, 3428 and 3433 respectively.

48 CIL IV 3417 and 3416 respectively. There are altogether 37 cases of notices inside houses in the study area. Usually they are located in the entrance area, but there are also some that are clearly inside the house.

49 CIL IV 3241, 3423. One notice is fragmentary and the third name remains unknown.

50 VI 14,20 and VI 14,22; CIL IV 3471, 3477, 3478 and 3480.

51 CIL IV 3482.

It is also apparent that one person could appear as a supporter in more than one location, as in the case of Vesonius Primus above or that of Iulius Polybius. Polybius set up supporter notices in three different places: two in region VI and one in region IX.[52] The houses in region VI were probably bars and *hospitia* and Iulius Polybius is accompanied by *muliones* and Chypare as supporters—they could be explained as other properties owned by Polybius, but then the presence of the supporters remains unexplained. The large dwelling in region IX is attributed as Polybius's house based on the notices advertising for his candidacies as well as a recommendation for Polybius to vote for Rustius Verus on the façade. In addition, neighbors set up a supporter notice for Polybius in the next city block.[53] Notices for Iulius Polybius also occur in several places inside the house.[54] However, two other supporters are present on the house façade: Sextilius and Prunicus.[55] Moreover, neighbors support three other candidates on the façade.[56] In addition, Iulius Philippus appears in a graffito in a *lararium* in the house as well as in a recommendation located across the street.[57] Considering the evidence for a strong family presence in the house of the Caecilii Iucundi, it is possible that the two Iulii could both be owners and inhabitants of the house, but it still remains uncertain who Sextilius and Prunicus were.

In other cases where one name appears in more than one supporter notice or recommendation, homonymy creates problems when analyzing their locations—it is not possible to know whether the person is the same in all the cases. However, it can be said that supporter names appearing in diverse locations outnumber those close to each other. One person could set up notices in their name in different locations even quite far away from each other. More than one recommendation per person is rare,[58] but even these can be in different locations; however, these locations tend to be close to each other. Connecting the person to the houses where their names appear remains difficult and uncertain even when there is more than one type of evidence available.

52 Locations are: VI 1,3–4 (CIL IV 98), VI 17,3–4 (CIL IV 114), IX 13,1–2 (CIL IV 7942, 7945), IX 13,2–3 (CIL IV 7954). Popidius Ampliatus and Trebius Valens are two other candidates with supporter notices in different parts of the city.

53 CIL IV 7925 on house IX 12,7.

54 Giordano/Casale 1990, 48 and 50, Giordano 1974, 27 nr. 11, 12 and 14.

55 CIL IV 7931 and 7941 respectively. Prunicus is also mentioned in a graffito on the façade (CIL IV 9112).

56 Trebius Valens (CIL IV 7927) has been attributed a house two blocks east and Gavius Rufus (CIL IV 7927) in region VII, but Helvius Sabinus (CIL IV 7928) remains without a house attribution. Helvius Sabinus has neighbor supporters in three locations: I 8,6–7 (CIL IV 7273), IX 3,25 (CIL IV 852), IX 13,1 (CIL IV 7928).

57 AE 1977, 219 = AE 1985, 285; recommendation CIL IV 7316 on house I 9,1.

58 Cuspius Pansa (CIL IV 1068, 1071 on IX 1,21–22 and IX 1,22–23), Loreius (CIL IV 7517, 7531, 7539, 7733 in regions II and III) and Trebius Valens (CIL IV 7429 on I 12, 3 and 7614, 7618, 7619, 7624 and 7632 in region III). Maybe also Astylus (CIL IV 7464 on I 13,3 and 7794 in region III), Graphicus (CIL IV 7649 and 7650 in region III) and Lutatius (CIL IV 7443 on I 12,5 and 7636 in region III).

8 Individual Strategies for Individual Candidates

The above analysis on supporters and houses raises general questions of properties, ownership, tenancy and households that have not been discussed much in connection to Pompeii despite the frequent appearance of personal names. Archaeological evidence has been used to recognize property divisions,[59] but it has to be remembered that one person could own several properties and that some properties could be rented to tenants. Large houses could be inhabited by an extended family, as was apparently the case for the Caecilii Iucundi. The writers of graffiti inside the houses should also be included in the discussion.[60] Tenants and members of the household could have had permission to use the façades to promote their political agenda—or then they could have been under the strict control of the owner.

One case study where detailed analysis of property lines has been conducted is the city block IX 3.[61] Over 50 electoral notices are painted on its façades and they occur mostly along the busy western and southern street fronts. (fig. 9).

The first property is a small house (IX 3,1–2), located in the northwestern corner of the city block, containing domestic quarters, a shop and a workshop. Its west façade features 13 notices with a recommendation for Ubonius and a supporter notice by *offectores* ('dyers'). The workshop was probably used for dyeing, so the connection between the group and the house is understandable.[62] On the north façade, there is also a notice with neighbors supporting Helvius Sabinus. The second property consists of a large dwelling (IX 3,5/24) and three small shop-workshops (IX 3,3, IX 3,4 and IX 3,6) and only eight notices belong to its façade. The notices feature Virrus Secundus and Sabinus as well as *studiosus et pistor* as supporter(s). A wall painting found inside the house IX 3,5/24 featuring writing equipment and a letter addressed to a Marcus Lucretius have resulted in an attribution to this man, otherwise unknown in Pompeian epigraphy. The large bakery (IX 3,11–12) in the southwest corner of the city block features eight notices on its façade with Proculus and neighbors as supporters. It is possible that the *pistor* mentioned above could refer to this bakery, but there are also prominent bakeries on the opposite side of the street in city block VII 2. The neighbors support Casellius Marcellus who has been attributed to a house across the street (IX 2,26) and another notice for him supported by neighbors was found towards the east end of the street (fig. 10). The bakery is followed by a small house (IX 3,13)

59 Craver 2010, Ynnilä 2013.

60 E.g. Benefiel 2010.

61 Ynnilä 2013. Ynnilä and the current authors have all participated in the University of Helsinki Pompeii Project studying this city block. The notices are: CIL IV 852–853, 857–859, 861–867, 875–878, 880–881, 3256–3267, 3285–3286, 3288–3289, 3291a–b, 3292–3296, 3647–3648, 3650, 3656, 3664, 3672–3673, 3682–3687.

62 The same can be seen with regard to other professional groups: *fullones* (I 4,7–8; I 6,7–8; VI 14,22; VI 15,2) and *pistores* (VII 2,1–2; next door or opposite in I 8,6–7 and IX 3,4–5).

with only one fragmentary notice on its façade. The next property consists of a fairly large dwelling (IX 3,15) and two shops-workshops (IX 3,14, IX 3,16), the façade of which features six notices with two supporters: Fabius Celer and an unknown person. The second *vicini* notice is located between this and the adjacent property, which covers the entire southeastern corner. This bakery (IX 3,19–20) and two shop-workshops (IX 3,17, IX 3,18) next to it feature 16 notices with at least six different supporters (one unknown). Casellius Marcellus gets a recommendation between the two workshops. On the façade towards east, neighbors support Vettius Caprasius Felix.

Altogether more than 25 candidates were supported. Casellius Marcellus was the most popular with ten notices on the west and south sides including two neighbor supporters and one recommendation. Vettius Caprasius Felix and Helvius Sabinus get fewer notices (four each) and also these were set up on different sides of the city block. Holconii and Postumii candidates are featured mostly on the west side and Suettii in the south side. There seems to be no preference of supporting candidates following the suggested property lines (fig. 9) or even individual houses, but rather along the sides of the city block facing the busiest streets. If Casellius really did live in the next block, he could have had the closest connection with the area and the possibility to get supported notices on most walls. He ran for aedile and has a large number of notices, the distribution of which follows the main aedile pattern. The greatest concentration of supporter notices for Casellius are located in the areas adjacent to city blocks IX 2 and IX 3 perhaps indicating his close relationship with the area (fig. 10).

If the current attributions for the candidate's houses are accepted, then some other cases of campaigns in the vicinity of the house could be suggested. Ceius Secundus has his notices for his *duumvir* campaign almost entirely in region I and most of them are also supported (n° 4 in table 2 and fig. 8). The few notices promoting Epidius Sabinus's campaign for *duumvir* are also located near the house and most of them are supported (n° 7 in table 2 and fig. 8). The same applies to Iulius Polybius (n° 10 in table 2 and fig. 8), Paquius Proculus (n° 14 in table 2 and fig. 8) and Samellius Modestus (n° 19 in table 2 and fig. 8) although not with as many supporters. In these cases it seems that the home neighborhood was where the most possibilities for gaining supporters and advertisement space were available. For equally many others there does not seem to be any connection between the distribution of the notices, supporters and the suggested house of the candidate. Diverse strategies could be employed for promoting the candidates both locally and in the whole city.

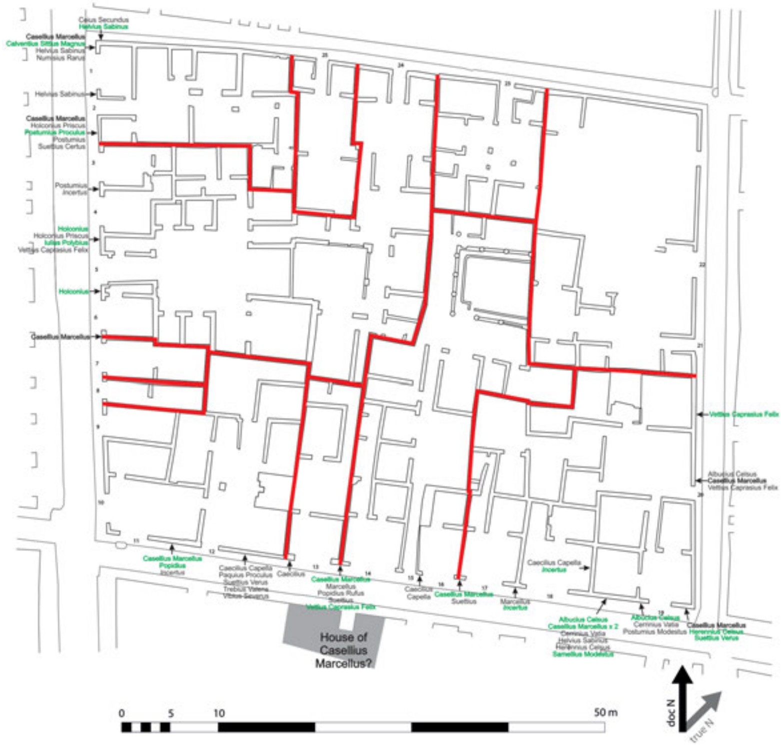

Fig. 9: The distribution of electoral notices on the facades of city block IX 3. Property lines are in red. Supported notices are marked with green © Expeditio Pompeiana Universitatis Helsingiensis/Maija Holappa and Eeva-Maria Viitanen.

Fig. 10: The distribution of notices for Casellius Marcellus © Eeva-Maria Viitanen.

9 Conclusion

Previous research on the distribution of Pompeian electoral notices has concentrated on the content of the notices and taken little interest in their contexts. Using the best evidence available, a variety of data sets and different levels of analysis, new insights into the electoral campaigns and promoting candidates could be reached. Comparison of the general distribution to street activity indicates that the busiest places were sought for the notices. Their strong connection with large private houses suggests that painting notices on house façades was not possible without permission. The large dwellings indicate the importance of the elite in the process, but many small houses and commercial locations, possibly in the hands of non-elite owners, were part of the campaigns as well. Comparison of the distribution of the earlier notices, possibly dating back even a century, with the last phase notices, shows that *programmata* have been painted in similar locations for a longer period of time. Analyzing the distribution of the notices for the two main offices, demonstrates differences in preferred areas for candidates running for aedile and *duumvir* in the city, repeated at least for the last decade of Pompeian elections. Few walls—however centrally located—were used repeatedly for both kinds of candidates in different elections. Evaluation of reasons for distribution of notices for individual candidates is made difficult by the poor understanding of the relationship between the candidates, their supporters and the locations where the notices were set up. If house attributions for candidates suggested by previous research are accepted, individual strategies for campaigns can be discerned: some based on neighborhood support and some on dispersing the notices city-wide. However, detailed studies of evidence for properties and households in Pompeii based on archaeological and epigraphic evidence are needed before these strategies may be verified. The analyses indicate that much attention was paid to placing the notices for campaigns of candidates for the local elections in Pompeii. The distributions were not based on available space or random selection. They were probably a result of careful thought and negotiation between the candidates, their supporters and house owners.

Table 1: Different house types and their numbers in Pompeii.

Houses	Description	Number
Group 1	Small workshop-shop and/or dwelling, no status architecture	628
Group 2	Medium-sized dwellings, atrium or peristyle and/or commercial area	121
Group 3	Large dwellings, atrium, peristyle and/or commercial area	104
Group 4	Very large dwellings, multiple atria and/or peristyles and/or commercial area	74
Other	Public buildings, unbuilt plots, etc.	42

Table 2: Evidence used for house attributions of selected candidates and other persons. The numbers in the first column refer to locations in fig. 8.

	Candidate	Campaign	Notices	Outside	Normal	Rogatores	Rogator	Recommendation	House	Attribution	Other
1	L. Albucius Celsus	aed. 75–79	52 (+10?)	23	yes	9 (14)	no	no	V 5,i	vicini opposite	*libertus* supports elsewhere
2	(L. Caecilius) Capella	IIvir 69–79	34 (+4?)	16	more W	9 (13)	VII 9,28–29	VII 12,4–5	VII 12,3–4	recommenda-tion on facade	
3	M. Casellius Marcellus	aed. 75–79	116 (+31?)	21	more N	32 (41)	IX 3,17–18	no	IX 2,26	vicini opposite twice	
4	L. Ceius Secundus	aed. 69–79, IIvir 75–79	54 (+17?)	40	more S	22 (44)	no	no	I 6,15	vicini on facade	IIvir mostly supported
5	Ti. Claudius Verus	IIvir 61/62	9 (+4?)	0	yes	4 (6)	no	IX 8,6–7	V 3,8?	vicini IX 9,d, uncertain V 2,17–20 and IX 9	
6	C. Cuspius Pansa	aed. 79	57 (+21?)	20	yes	18 (32)	no	IX 1,22; IX 1,22–23	IX 1,22	recommenda-tions on facade	I 7,1 inside
7	M. Epidius Sabinus	aed. 70–75, IIvir 75–79	21 (+13?)	21	central	9 (25)	no	no	IX 1,20	vicini next door	
8	(P.) Gavius (Proculus)	?	5 (+2?)	3	?	1 (1)	no	no	VI 13,16	vicini on facade	

	Candidate	Campaign	Notices	Outside	Normal	Rogatores	Rogator	Recommendation	House	Attribution	Other
9	C. Gavius Rufus	aed. 70–75, IIvir 79	38 (+4?)	11	yes	9 (13)	no	no	VII 2,16		vicini IX 13,1
10	C. Iulius Polybius	IIvir 75–79	46 (+10?)	4	more W	17 (22)	VI 1,3–4; VI 17,3–4; IX 13,1–2; IX 13,2–3	IX 13,1–2	IX 13,1–3	recommenda-tion, support on facade	vicini next door
11	(C. Lollius) Fuscus	aed. 69–79	16 (+6?)	12	more E	1 (3)	VII 15,2	no	VII 15,2	Fuscus support on facade, inside	cliens in Regio III
12	M. Lucretius Fronto	IIvir 69–79, qq 69–79	12 (+5?)	0	yes	2 (5)	V 4,a	no	V 4,2	support on facade	vicini nearby
13	M. Obellius Firmus	IIvir 50–62	2 (+0?)	0	?	0	no	IX 10,2	IX 14,2/4/ b–c	notice inside house?	notice inside V 4,1
14	P. Paquius Proculus	IIvir 70–75	46 (+24?)	24	yes	11 (24)	I 7,1	no	I 7,1	support, vicini on facade	
15	L. Popidius Ampliatus	aed. 69–79	19 (+1?)	11	only E	8 (16)	VII 1,11–12; I 10,18	no	I 4,5–6.25/28	honorary inside	vicini nearby, libertus nearby, cliens further away
15	L. Popidius Secundus	aed. 79	29 (+15?)	28	more E	13 (27)	no	no	I 4,5–6.25/28		

	Candidate	Campaign	Notices	Outside	Normal	Rogatores	Rogator	Recommendation	House	Attribution	Other
16	Q. Pos-tumius Modestus	qq 75	11 (+1?)	15	more S?	1 (7)	no	no	VIII 4,4	Postumii support VIII 4,7–8	vicini nearby
16	Q. Pos-tumius Proculus	aed. 69–79	22 (+10?)	2	more SW	11 (18)	no	no	VIII 4,4		vicini I 3,22
17	M. Pupius Rufus	aed-IIvir 50–79	6 (+0?)	0	?	2 (2)	VI 15,5	VI 16,32	VI 15,4–5/24–25	support on facade	vicinus VI 15,2–3, VI 15,3
18	A. Rustius Verus	aed-IIvir 50–79	12 (+4?)	1	?	3 (4)	IX 8,2–3; IX 8,5–6 x 2	no	IX 8,6/a	support on facade	
19	M. Samellius Modestus	aed. 79	34 (+16?)	3	more N	6 (9)	no	no	V 4,c	vicini on facade	
20	A. Trebius Valens	aed. 70–75	28 (+3?)	15	yes	7 (12)	III 1,6; III 2,1; III 3,5	I 12,3; III 2,1	III 2,1	recommenda-tions on facade	vicini IX 13,1
21	P. Vedius Nummianus	aed. 69–79	13 (+2?)	2	yes	2 (4)	IX 2,6–7	no	VIII 1,25/46–47	support oppo-site	libertus next door
21	P. Vedius Siricus	IIvir 60/61	10 (+3?)	2	yes	1 (1)	IX 2,6–7	no	VIII 1,25/46–47	support oppo-site	libertus next door

	Candidate	Campaign	Notices	Outside	Normal	Rogatores	Rogator	Recommendation	House	Attribution	Other
22	A. Vettius Caprasius Felix	aed. 70–75, IIvir 70–75	43 (+10?)	8	yes	12 (19)	no	no	VI 9,3–5		vicini VI 8,22–23, IX 3,20–21, IX 7,2–3
23	M. Helvius Sabinus	aed. 79	84 (+23?)	26	more E	20 (39)	no	no	no		vicini I 8,6–7, IX 3,25 and IX 13,1
24	Caecilii Iucundi	no					V 1,26–27	VI 14,21	V 1,23/25–27/10	archive found in house	
25	M. Vesonius Primus	no					Vi 14,20; VI 14,22; VI 14,34	no	VI 14,18–22	support on facade	

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Georgios Pallis

Messages from a Sacred Space: The Function of the Byzantine Sanctuary Barrier Inscriptions (9th–14th centuries)

In medieval Byzantium, the church came to be the place where almost all the inscriptions intended for public viewing were exposed. Except for a small amount of texts inscribed on the outside of the church's walls,[1] the majority of the inscriptions occur at the interior, chiefly in the nave, usually on mosaics and frescoes,[2] as well as on vessels and embroidery.[3] But there are also several texts carved on the sanctuary barrier or templon screen. It is on this particular kind of inscriptions that the present paper focuses, through the examination of the surviving examples, which dated to the period from the 9th to the 14th centuries. This study expands my recently published in the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* research, where I collected cases of this kind dated from the 9th to the 12th centuries, from the whole Byzantine territory;[4] here I am trying to outline the exact function and impact of the texts appearing on templon screens.

1 The Byzantine Sanctuary Barrier or Templon Screen

First of all it would be necessary to establish what exactly the Byzantine sanctuary barrier was. The barrier or templon screen was a fragile architectural structure that

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1 The most notable examples are found at Panaghia Skripou, Orchomenos, dated to 873/4 (Papalexandrou 1998, 111–155), the North Church of Lips Monastery at Constantinople, 906/7 (C. Mango/E.J.W. Hawkins, Additional Notes, Macridy 1964, 300–301 figs. 1) and the funerary chapel of Pammakaristos at the same city, ca. 1310 (Talbot 1999, 77–78 fig. 1–3).
2 On the practice of inscribing all the painted figures and narrative scenes in the post-iconoclastic Byzantium see Maguire 1996, 100–106, Boston 2003 and Nelson 2007.
3 Rhoby 2010.
4 Pallis 2013.

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separated the nave from the altar area.[5] It was made of marble and the front face was usually decorated in low relief; wooden barriers also existed, especially in areas poor in marble, such as in northern Greece and the Balkans, but almost none of them is preserved. Depending on the size of the church, a templon could be tripartite, with independent parts corresponding to the prothesis, the central bema, and the diakonikon. Its structure was simple: colonettes hold a horizontal architrave or epistylion; some of the interposing spaces were left open, to be used as gates to the sanctuary, while the others were closed with low slabs, leaving their upper part unfilled. Until the 11th–12th century, icons were standing on the architrave and the rituals inside the sanctuary were visible to the faithful; from that moment on, icons and curtains began to fill these gaps and the templon was gradually shaped as the iconostasis that hides the major part of the service from the eyes of the congregation.

The barrier was the most elaborate and lavish work of sculpture in the Byzantine church. To decorate it, sculptors combined diverse patterns from different traditions, including crosses and christograms, floral and geometrical motifs, fighting animals and even mythological creatures of Greek or oriental origin, such as griffons, centaurs, senmurvs. The use of the human figures seems to be limited: the Deesis scene or selected saints are rarely represented on the architrave,[6] which may be seen, hence, as a forerunner of the icons that later occupied the spaces between the beams. All this decoration overlooked the nave and the congregation; the internal face of the barrier, visible only by the priests, was usually left unfinished and rough.

But beyond an architectural element and piece of decorative art, the templon screen played an important role in the liturgy and it was dressed with multiple symbolic meanings.[7] The barrier was the boundary of the most sacred space of the church and separated the clergy from the laymen, who could not access it. Behind the barrier, all around the altar, the holy rituals took place: the clergy performed the unbloody sacrifice and other church mysteries. The gates of the templon were used for the ceremonial appearances and the processions of the liturgy. It was in front of the central holy gate, where the communion was given. A theological interpretation of the screen began to develop as early as in the 8th century, by Patriarch Germanos of Constantinople, to reach its most sophisticated form in the early 15th century, when the hesychast bishop Symeon of Thessaloniki wrote the interpretation widely known as *de Sacro Templo*. Besides the well-educated elite cycles, the laity was also aware of the screen's prominent sacredness; everyone in the church was in position to perceive the symbols portrayed on the richly decorated screen that stood between them and

5 Philippides-Bouras 1991, 2023–2024 (with earlier bibliography). Walter 1993; Walter 1995; Gerstel 1999, 5–14; Gerstel 2006.

6 Sodini 1980; Stoufi-Poulimenou 2011.

7 Taft 2006; Constas 2006.

the altar. The faithful used to stand in front of it during holy services or while their personal prayers.

2 The Inscribed Sanctuary Barriers

In this respect, the importance of the inscriptions appearing on the sanctuary barrier was de facto incontestable; their content was a word that came from the church's more sacred space and addressed the congregation. To study this practice and its function, we have to look upon the surviving examples and their content. To my knowledge, there are seventy two cases of inscribed templon screens from the entire territory of the Byzantine empire, dating to the period from the 9th until the 14th centuries.[8] In addition, twenty six examples may correspond to barriers, but this is uncertain, given the obscurity of their original use—some of them are lost, while others still await publication.[9] The aforementioned examples are found scattered in modern Turkey, (especially in west Asia Minor and all along its coastline), in the Aegean islands, in central and mainly in southern Greece (many of them in the secluded Mani peninsula), and in south Italy. The lack of examples from northern Greece and the Balkans could be interpreted as a result of the restricted use of marble in these areas, in favour of wood. The fact that only one case of inscribed templon—that cannot be dated with accur-

8 Pallis 2013, 775–801, for a catalogue of inscriptions dated to the middle Byzantine era. Four new examples from Turkey should be added to the list: a) an architrave fragment from Yavaşlar (Moxeanoi), 10th–11th c. (http://mama.csad.ox.ac.uk//MAMA-XI-159.html (access 23.6.2014)), b) an architrave fragment from Akçaşar (Kidyessos), 10th–11th c. (http://mama.csad.ox.ac.uk/monuments/MAMA-XI-174.html (access 23.6.2014)), c) an architrave fragment preserving the date 1009, at the Milas Archaeological Museum (Özyurt Özcan 2012, 429 fig. 3a) and d) a templon capital from Tire (Ödekan 2007, 273–274 (Zeynep Mercangöz)). The publisher of the last one transcribes the inscription as ωΡΠΟϹ, but this is evidently part of the name Γεώργιος. To my knowledge, the examples dated to the Paleologan era have as follows: a) part of a templon epistyle at Manisa Archaeological Museum, 13th c. (M. Grünbart, in: Niewöhner 2008, 296–297 and 342, Kat. 58, Abb. 62) b) a reused lintel at the church of the Virgin at Ikis Ada, Latmos, second half of the 13th c. (Wiegand 1913, 35, 38, 40 Abb. 48–49. Buchwald 1995, 259, n. 10 c) Part of a templon architrave from Edirne (Adrianoupolis), Turkish Thrace (Asdracha 1989–1991, 296–298, n. 82, pl. 108a. Lequeux 2001.); Asdracha dated the inscription after 976 to the 11th c., but, to my opinion, the style of the letters is Late Byzantine (cfr. the cited above Pammakaristos chapel sculpted inscription) d) Templon architrave from Panaghia Koulourdou, near Athens, now at the Christian and Byzantine Museum (Sklavou-Mavroeidi 1999, 119 n. 158, with earlier bibliography). The style of the scripture ascribes this architrave much probably to the 13th c. e.) Templon architrave from the church of Aghioi Theodoroi, Mystras, dated shortly before 1296, now at the Museum of the site (Evans 2004, 81–82 n. 37 (Emilia Bakourou), with earlier bibliography).
9 Pallis 2013, 801–810.

acy—comes from Constantinople is rather puzzling. This may be due to the fact that the churches of the imperial capital have lost their marble sanctuary barriers.

The texts are usually inscribed on the architrave that crowns the templon structure. The most preferred location is the thin undecorated band that runs over the front, bevelled surface of the stone (figs. 1 and 2).

Fig. 1: Templon architrave from Panaghia Koulourdou, Athens, probably 13th c., Byzantine and Christian Museum © Hellenic Ministry of Culture, Byzantine and Christian Museum.

Fig. 2: Part of a templon architrave from Aghioi Theodoroi, Mystras, shortly before 1296, Mystras Archeological Museum © Hellenic Ministry of Culture, 5th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities.

The inscription is carved in a single, long line. In a few cases the text covers the whole front surface, replacing the decoration or a part of it (fig. 3). Here the big capital letters have an ornamental function too. The architrave of the great church of Saint John Theologos at Ephesos (fig. 4) bears inscriptions on both sides, the front face and the one looking into the sanctuary. On another early example from Corinth the text is almost hidden in a roundel at the underside of the epistyle.

Fig. 3: Templon architrave from Panaghia at Mentzena, Peloponnese, third quarter of 10th c., Archaeological Museum of Patras © Professor Panayotis Vocotopoulos, Academy of Athens.

Fig. 4: Templon architrave of Aghios Ioannis Theologos basilica, Ephesus, early 11th c. © Dr Aggeliki Katsioti.

Few inscriptions are carved on the closure slabs and their tops. On a slab from Samos, a rectangular surface is left undecorated for this purpose. In other cases, long texts are written on the vertical sides of the frame that surrounds the relief (fig. 5).

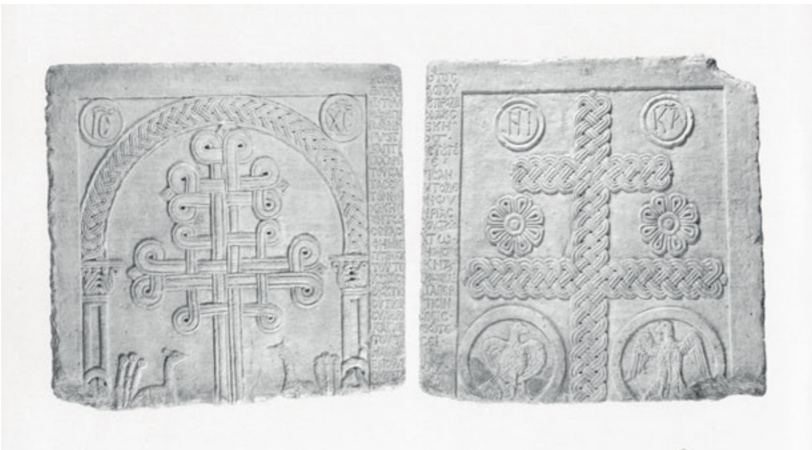

Fig. 5: Pair of templon closure slabs from Aghios Ioannis Mangoutis, Athens, 12th c. Byzantine and Christian Museum © Hellenic Ministry of Culture, Byzantine and Christian Museum.

The masons working at Mani are fond of interlacing letters within the decoration. More unusual are the cases of placing texts on colonettes, as on a couple of them from Nestani, Peloponnese, and a capital from Tire, Turkey.

The form of the letters gives insight on the evolution of script in the Byzantine era. The tradition of capital letters seems to remain strong until the beginning of the 11th century, with various types and occasional revivals of ancient forms. From this time onwards, cursive letters and abbreviations appear and their number gradually increases, resulting in a complicated and more illegible script style.[10]

On the basis of their content, the sanctuary barrier inscriptions can be divided in three main categories. The first category includes the dedicatory texts, which commemorate acts of donation and express the donors' concern for salvation. The second includes inscriptions reproducing quotations from the holy scripts and hymns or inspired from them; they may be considered 'instructive', given that they aim to remind basic dogmatic points or feasts. Finally, the third category is represented by two cursing inscriptions from Mani, whose very peculiar character is striking.

3 The Dedicatory Inscriptions

To begin with, the dedicatory inscriptions memorialise the donation or the renovation of a barrier or a church building. The texts do not always help verifying what was exactly donored: many donors chose not to refer to it, either because it was obvious (the templon or the church) either because they preferred to concentrate to the invocation for holy protection and salvation. In the same way, they do not always state their profession, but they only cite their first name. The eponymous ones are usually church officials, monks, laymen acting alone or in coalitions, and few members of the state administration, mostly of a middle or lower rank. Bishops are mentioned in some ten inscriptions, wherefrom it may be deduced that their role was as prominent as their position in local society. Lower office clergymen took the initiative alone or in collaboration with the local parish. The monks act privately or in the name of a fraternity. The participation of women is rather limited, represented merely by three recorded cases—two of them mentioning an abbess and a nun.

In their simplest form, dedicatory inscriptions mention the name of one or more donors next to their invocation to Lord or a certain saint for intercession and remission of their sins. Their request for holy protection is rendered with various expressions: a) the donor can underline the pains he tastes—"*bring to an end the bitter sufferings*"[11]

10 Mango 1991, 242–246.
11 Pallis 2013, 784 n. 22.

b) he can use the three verbs "*watch over, save, guard*"[12] and their variations, originally coming from the service of Ypapante c) he can recite all the possible accidents that may happen to him: "*save me of every need and dangers of trouble and misfortune of the life*".[13] Other texts concentrate on emphasising the initiative of the donor, especially if he is a significant person. On the excellent marble templon from Sercikler, Byzantine Sebaste, in Phrygia, it is declared that bishop Eustathios "[...] *prudently puts new ornament in the cornices, mostly embellishing with gold and marble and other brilliant and transparent material*".[14] Emphasis is given to the common in all kinds of dedicatory inscriptions Πόθος, *the desire or devotion* that motivates the donors, as many inscriptions state.

The use of poetry to express dedications was very popular during the Byzantine period, in almost every artistic field. Several epigrams seem to have been composed especially for some newly erected sanctuary barriers, in dodecasyllabic verses. The composers of these epigrams use widespread motifs of this kind of literature. At Notion, where a bishop asks Theotokos to accept the gift of his donation, the verses begin with the common in dedicatory inscriptions verb δέξαι, *accept*.[15] The term *gift*, δώρον, referring to the offering, is widespread too. Another common motif is the accent of the contrast between the donation's finery and the donor's modesty; in an inscription from Antalya, *Ioannis the humble*, dedicates an *excellent work*.[16] The use of poetry can be seen as an indication of the donors' culture, taste and acquaintance with literary cycles. At any rate, misspellings abound, even in cases of carefully carved inscriptions on quality sculptures.

On several dedicatory inscriptions the exact date of the donation occurs—in the chronological system beginning from the date of the Creation (5508 B.C.), or through the mention of the reigning emperor. The name of the emperor appears in four examples, co-existing with the name of the local bishop in two of them. Despite the small number of the respective examples, it is notable that the imperial authority is demonstrated together with that of the local church head. On the other hand, no ruler's name is to be found among the numerous templon inscriptions from Mani. Sophia Kalopissi interprets this absence as an indication of the loose links between this wild and secluded area and the central Byzantine administration.[17]

At Mani two masons proudly signed their works. There are two more examples of this kind, from Arcadia and Izmir.[18] They are all rare exceptions to the general rule of anonymity of Byzantine marble carvers.

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12 Pallis 2013, 778, n. 5, and 798–799, 59.
13 Pallis 2013, 799, n. 60.
14 Pallis 2013, 783, n. 20.
15 Pallis 2013, 779, n. 8.
16 Pallis 2013, 777, n. 1.
17 Kalopissi-Verti 2003, 346.
18 The μαΐστωρ mentioned on another architrave fragment from Yavaşlar (Moxeanoi) could possibly

4 The 'Instructive' Inscriptions

'Instructive' inscriptions include various excerpts from the Old Testament, liturgical texts and the hymnography. A lengthy extract from David's Psalter overruns the front face of the architrave in the Theologos' church at Ephesos, and makes allusion to the gifts of salvation: "*I will satisfy her poor with bread. I will clothe her priests with salvation; and her saints shall greatly exult*" (Ps. 131, 15–16).[19] The invocation "*Remember Lord those who bring offerings and create fair works in your holy churches*", from Saint Basil's Liturgy, is found on an architrave and a closure slab from Asia Minor.[20] A monastic fraternity from the area of Afion Karahisar chose to reproduce on the templon architrave the phrase "*We offer you Lord, your own, of what is your own*", marking the high point of Saint John the Chrysostom's Liturgy.[21] Verses from hymns were reproduced without change or they merely influenced the content of several inscriptions; such is the case of the epigram "*Save me, o you the wholly venerable, from the most evil men and break …*" from Panagia Mentzena in Peloponnese, which uses a theme taken from the Psalter.[22] In the same group the verses found on a closure slab from Akhisar should be added: "*Attend the holy liturgy tremblingly*".[23] This commandment, directly addressing the worshipers, belongs to a group of poems that share similar characteristics; these poems are written on paintings and vessels, and, according to Marc Lauxtermann, come from the Mega Horologion book.[24] This category of texts does not lack misspellings and one could logically assume that it was not only the illiterate craftsmen that made these mistakes; it is possible that they were given incorrectly written texts to copy.

5 The Cursing Inscriptions

Finally, the two cursing inscriptions from Mani come next.[25] The first one was found on the closure slab of a templon that also bears a dedicatory inscription; the unknown donor warns that if one felt jealous of the saint's goods (meaning the marble equipment of the chapel), one would confront the saint himself. The second example

be added to the few references to sculptors' names (http://mama.csad.ox.ac.uk/monuments/MAMA-XI-159.html) (access 23.6.2014).

19 Pallis 2013, 778–779, n. 7.

20 Pallis 2013, 807, n. 2c, and 808–809, n. 2g.

21 Pallis 2013, 784, n. 23.

22 Pallis 2013, 789, n. 36.

23 Pallis 2013, 781, n. 14.

24 Lauxtermann 2003, 247.

25 Pallis 2013, 790–791, n. 39 and 792, n. 42.

includes a curse invoking Holy Trinity to stand against anyone who would harm the gifts—the donation; the name of the donor has been erased. These maledictions follow a long tradition already established in the Early Christian era, with curses on churches and houses.[26]

6 Notes on the Function of the Sanctuary Barrier Inscriptions

Which was the function and role of written evidence on Byzantine templon screens? Let us begin from our last case, the curses. Here, the maledictions serve in an obvious preventive purpose: they aim to warn possible thieves or vandals, in order to escape divine anger. The recycling of sculpted material, some of them maybe stolen, is attested in Mani since the 14th century,[27] but we may suppose that it was common even earlier. Consequently, there was a particular local need to take precautions and nothing could be more effective than curses themselves.[28]

The instructive inscriptions have an obvious purpose as well: they edify the congregation, reminding basic dogmatic points of the unbloody sacrifice and salvation and citing excerpts of hymns.[29] The fact that several inscriptions of this kind are carved in big capital letters, which cover the whole front face of the architrave may not be incidental; presented this way, they are clear and legible even when viewed from a long-distance. Furthermore, the persons who ordered them, church officials or well-educated laymen, might like that these texts be easily and directly read by the faithful.

Things get more complicated when dealing with the dedicatory inscriptions. The donors found on the templon barrier a sacred and predominant place to commemorate their initiative. Their offering is a personal—rarely a collective—act, addressed to the Lord, the Mother of God and certain Saints, to whom they plead for personal salvation and remission of sins.[30] The inscription reveals and immortalises the identity of the donor, his offer, as well as his demand. Poetry is at times used to underline the beauty of the gift, the faith of the donor, his desire for salvation. At first place,

26 Ntantes 1983, 81–83.
27 Militsi-Kehagia 2012.
28 Maledictions occur frequently in Late Byzantine churches' inscriptions, in order to protect land donations to holy institutions (Kalopissi-Verti 1992, 77, n. 24b, where she collects numerous examples).
29 This kind of inscriptions reminds us of the inscribed scrolls of prophets and several saints in Byzantine iconography: in both cases, there is an obvious teaching purpose, through the reproduced sacred word.
30 On the anxiety for salvation in lay piety see Gerstel/Talbot 2006, 97–99.

the role of the written text is to publicly confirm all these facts. Moreover, it represents the effort to establish a dialogue, where God was expected to answer through his holy protection. And, as in every deal, this needs a written and public statement, too. When this statement appears in the church, and especially on the sacred barrier, it gains strength and eternal value.

Another significant element is the material on which the texts are carved or incised and it should not be overlooked. Marble was highly appreciated throughout the middle ages, and it continued to express power and prestige.[31] It was a pure material, most appropriate for the particular symbolic nature of the templon screen. Furthermore, word written on marble acquired an everlasting character, similar to that of the earlier inscriptions that the Byzantines gazed as meaningful or even magical messages.[32] It is not difficult to imagine that many donors would perceive their dedications on marble as eternal.[33]

However, there is a crucial defect from 'technical' aspect. The letters in this category are usually of a rather small size, overshadowed by the imposing and much bigger decorative relief under them; this, next to the superimposed icons, would make any such inscription difficult to see and read, especially in a church lacking sufficient lighting. It seems much probable that a worshiper had to approach the screen in order to distinguish such an inscription. Although displayed in public view, most of the dedicatory inscriptions remained hidden, enhancing their personal, almost private character. So what was their exact purpose? The text concerned primarily the donor and the holy person to whom it was addressed. As Liz James has proposed about epigrams written on church buildings and other artworks, it seems that, above all, these prayers were there to be read by God.[34] And this could be regarded by the donors as certain, because the invocation was placed on the sacred barrier that protected the Holy of the Holies. The congregation played here a minor role.

Was the human intervention necessary to vocally activate these prayers? Was it obligatory to read them in order to be effective? In many cases the dedications do not mention any participation of this kind. But several donors want to secure the eternal repetition of their demands, asking the priests, the readers or the chanters to help. "*Anyone who comes to celebrate the liturgy, commemorate me, for the Lord's name*", we read on an architrave from Banaz, Minor Asia,[35] which means that without the priest's involvement, the prayer remains inactive. The dedicatory inscription of Theo-

31 Sodini 1994; Greenhalgh 2009.

32 Mango 1991, 240–241.

33 Cfr. the case of the dedicatory inscription at the katholikon of Aghia Moni at Nauplion, Peloponnese, dated in 1148/9: as Amy Papalexandrou has already marked, the text has been carved on a resplendent white marble, to make the patron's message distinguishable on a dark wall of bricks and poros stone (Papalexandrou 2007, 175 fig. 42).

34 James 2007, 199.

35 Pallis 2013, 782, n. 17.

logos' church at Ephesos is carved at the inner side of the architrave, so the clergy, who performed the eucharist would perpetually read and repeat it. The short, hidden text at the architrave from Corinth is carved in a direction that allowed only the clergy that was inside the sanctuary to read it; from outside, it would be really puzzling, an obscure mass of letters. It is likely that the donor did not care if any of the faithful would notice and decipher his prayer; he only cared to address the Lord, through his earthly servants, namely the priests.

The intervention of the readers and the chanters is frequently found at the area of Mani. Sanpatios for example, the donor of a church at Mani, asks the chanters to wish for him and his family day and night.[36] The local predilection for this expression could be interpreted as an effort of the donors to secure the perpetual reading of their prayers; it addresses the chanters and the readers, who were probably the only members of the local parishes that were able to read.

This point brings us to the critical question about the significance of the inscriptions for the illiterate worshipers, who constituted the majority of the faithful.[37] Modern scholarship has recently focused on this subject—the works of Liz James,[38] Marc Lauxtermann,[39] Amy Papalexandrou[40] and Andreas Rhoby[41] and other scholars try to shed light on this topic. Even if they could not comprehend their content, illiterate laymen regarded the inscribed word as a meaningful codex of signs that transferred hidden information. To their eyes, letters possessed an almost supernatural, magical power. And when letters were written on the holy barrier, in a sacred context, one may suppose that this power could be naturally regarded just as positive. The templon inscriptions could not signify anything less than divine word and spirit, addressed to the faithful from the Holy of Holies.

In conclusion, the Byzantine sanctuary barrier offered an extremely advantageous location to inscribe personal dedications and spiritual demands, short excerpts of dogmatic value and even preventive maledictions, all of them obtaining automatically a sacred depth. As a consequence, we would expect that this practice became widespread throughout the Byzantine territory. But the amount does not support our expectations: from the medieval Byzantium, in a period of five centuries, we have no more than one hundred recorded cases of inscriptions on templon screens, a considerable part of them—about 30%—being uncertain in terms of their original use and scientific documentation. Comparing this number to that of the marble screens that were erected during the same period, estimated up to many hundreds, the proportion

36 Pallis 2013, 791, n. 40.

37 For a critical overview of the research on Byzantine literacy see Jeffreys 2008.

38 James 2007, 199–200.

39 Lauxtermann 2003, 271–273.

40 Papalexandrou 2001.

41 Rhoby 2012, 733–734.

is beyond doubt rather low.[42] This small number could at first be treated as a result and an indication of the disability of the public to communicate through written texts; but I think that the private character of the overwhelming dedicatory texts plays here a major role as well.

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42 The existence of painted inscriptions on templon screens should not be excluded, but, to my knowledge, no example of this kind survives. In general, the use of color on Byzantine sculpture has been attested in a very few and rather uncertain cases (Altripp 2002).

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Inscribed Monuments and Memory

Julia L. Shear

Writing Past and Present in Hellenistic Athens: The Honours for Demosthenes

> As counsellor, Demosthenes recommended many other good things to the demos and, of all his contemporaries, he conducted political matters the best for freedom and democracy; and, when the *demos* was overthrown, he was exiled by the oligarchy and he died on Kalauria on account of his good will towards the *demos*; when soldiers were send against him by Antipatros, he continued in his good will and intimacy towards the people and he did not surrender to the city's enemies nor did he do anything unworthy of the *demos* in this time of danger.[1]

So Demochares, the son of Laches, of the Athenian deme Leukonoe summed up the career of his late uncle Demosthenes, the son of Demosthenes, of the deme Paiania in his request to the *boule* and the *demos* for posthumous honours. The reward which Demochares hoped to gain was the highest which the Athenians could offer: "a bronze statue in the Agora and *sitesis* in the Prytaneion and front-row seats for him and the oldest of his descendants in perpetuity".[2] He no doubt thought that it was a fitting recompense for all the many good things which Demosthenes had done for the *demos* of the Athenians and which were enumerated in the request. In due course, the *boule* and the *demos* approved this request and did, indeed, grant Demosthenes the highest honours which the city could award.[3] At first sight, we might take this document to be yet another honorary decree for yet another worthy citizen, albeit one with quite a well-known name who surely deserved some honours, and we might then pass

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1 [Plut.] Mor. 851C. This request and the two others associated with it in *The Lives of the Ten Orators* are usually accepted as authentic; see e.g. Gauthier 1985, 83 with n. 20; Faraguna 2003, 484; MacDowell 2009, 425; Luraghi 2010, 258.
2 [Plut.] Mor. 850F. Incidentally, Demochares was the nephew of Demosthenes, not his grandson; [Plut.] Mor. 847C–D; contra: Zanker 1995, 85.
3 As we know through the existence of the statue in the Agora; see e.g. Plut. Dem. 30.5–31.2; [Plut.] Mor. 847A, D; Paus. 1.8.2–4.

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on to other issues. In 281/0 B.C., when the honours were awarded, however, Demosthenes was no longer alive and had been dead for some forty-one years.[4] Although his rewards were one of several such awards voted after the Athenians regained their freedom from the Macedonian King Demetrios Poliorketes in 286 B.C.,[5] Demosthenes had taken no part in these events, unlike the other honorands, and so he was not necessarily the most obvious candidate for such benefits. We must ask, therefore, why the Athenians chose to honour him in this way at this time so many years after his suicide in 322 B.C.

Once the Athenians had recovered their freedom from the Macedonians, they had to work out how they would restore the democratic city and how they would remember the events of the preceding years when the city had not only been subject to a foreign power, but she had also been ruled by non-democratic regimes.[6] As part of this process, the Athenians awarded highest honours both to Demosthenes and also to some of the democracy's most ardent supporters, Philippides of Kephale, Demochares of Leukonoe, and Kallias of Sphettos, as we know from their honorary decrees or from the requests for their honours.[7] Demosthenes, consequently, found himself in a distinguished company. Scholars working on the city's highest honours have generally been content to leave him there without much further discussion.[8] In considering the Roman copies of the statue, specialists of Greek sculpture and ancient art have tended to place the statue in a general early Hellenistic context without further detailed discussion.[9] More recent studies have focused more closely on its loc-

4 The date of the award is given by [Plutarch] as ten years before the archonship of Pytharatos in the archonship of Gorgias; [Plut.] Mor. 847D–E. Since Pytharatos is firmly fixed in 271/0, Gorgias has long been located in 280/79 despite the problems which this placement created; Osborne 2009, 88 with further references; Osborne 2012, 114, 132. Byrne has now shown that Gorgias is actually a corruption of the rare name Ourias, the archon for 281/0, and he is to be followed by Telokles, while Gorgias was never archon; Byrne 2006/7, 169–175; Osborne 2009, 87 note 21; Osborne 2012, 131–132. Thus our request belongs in the archonship of Ourias in 281/0. For Demosthenes' death, see Plut. Dem. 28.1–30.6; [Plut.] Mor. 846E–847B.

5 I have argued for this date elsewhere and I have demonstrated that the Great Panathenaia of 286 was, in fact, cancelled; Shear 2010, 135–152; cf. Shear (forthcoming) n. 2. Anyone wishing to adopt Habicht's and Osborne's chronology and to place the revolution in 287 must explain why the festival of 286 was cancelled and they must also account for the letter traces actually preserved on the stone of Kallias' decree, rather than the ones which they wish it preserved; Habicht 1979, 45–67; Osborne 1979; Habicht 1997, 95–97; Osborne 2012, 162–163.

6 On these regimes, see Shear 2012a, 278–281 and cf. Bayliss 2011, 64–66. On the process of recreating the city and remembering the revolution, see Shear 2012a; Shear (forthcoming).

7 IG II^2 657 (Philippides of Kephale); [Plut.] Mor. 851D–F (Demochares of Leukonoe); SEG XXVIII 60 (Kallias of Sphettos).

8 E.g. Gauthier 1985, 79–92; Kralli 1999–2000; Luraghi 2010 who focuses on the creation of intentional history rather than the context of particular decrees.

9 E.g. Pollitt 1986, 63; Ridgway 1990, 224–225; Zanker 1995, 83–86; cf. Stewart 1990, 199 and Smith 1991, 37–38 who are more specific about the political context, but go no further.

ation in the Agora and have emphasised its role as the "face of the 280s", but they have not brought the statue and the request closely together nor have they considered the oddity of honouring Demosthenes at just this moment.[10] In order to understand what the Athenians were doing, we must bring the text of the request, the monument, and its setting(s) closely together. As I shall argue, honouring Demosthenes in 281/0 created a very particular picture of the honorand as a fighter of Macedonians and a democratic martyr. The composite memorial created by the honorary decree and the figure allowed the city to claim Demosthenes as an exemplary Athenian and the standard against which good citizens should be measured. It also permitted the Athenians to link the current democratic regime with the fourth-century past and to elide the difficult years between 322 and 286, when the city had not always been democratically ruled. The imagery presented in this composite monument, like the events of the past, may now have seemed fixed, but the erection of other structures and subsequent political developments were to demonstrate its mutability and instability. These changing circumstances not only required the past to be rewritten in the present, but they also changed the ways in which different monuments will have been perceived by viewers and readers.

1 The Politics of the Request

In order to persuade the Athenians to award highest honours to the now deceased Demosthenes, Demochares had to present a request to the *boule* which explained why the potential honorand merited this reward.[11] To make his case, Demochares had to rehearse the good deeds which Demosthenes had performed on behalf the city and he had to demonstrate that his candidate for these honours really was an exemplary citizen.[12] Consequently, there could be nothing haphazard about the request because otherwise it would be unconvincing and its presenter would immediately fail in his efforts to gain the rewards. If the *boule* looked with favour upon the request, in due course, it would become the basis for the honorary decree to be presented to, and hopefully approved by, the *demos*. Thus the request and the subsequent decree provide us with invaluable evidence of how the proposer wished his candidate's actions to be perceived; eventually, as John Ma has pointed out, they would also frame viewers' interpretation of the statue.[13] In Demosthenes' case, as with other such attempts to gain highest honours, Demochares carefully composed his request in order to create

10 E.g. Dillon 2006, 102–104, 112–113; von den Hoff 2009; Ma 2013, 276–279. I borrow the "face of the 280s" from Ma 2013, 278.
11 [Plut.] Mor. 850F–851C.
12 Compare Bayliss 2006, 123; Culasso Gastaldi 2007, 134; Luraghi 2010, 252; Shear (forthcoming).
13 Ma 2013, 59.

a very specific image of the honorand as a good democrat active on behalf of the city. Indeed, he was such a good citizen that he actually died on behalf of the *demos* and so became a martyr for the democracy.

Initially, Demochares justified his request by stating that Demosthenes was worthy of the reward "because he was a benefactor and counsellor (εὐεργέτῃ καὶ συμβούλῳ) and did many good things for the Athenians", as he goes on to explain.[14] This specific description of Demosthenes as providing (good) counsel to the Athenians is not limited to the beginning of the request because Demochares used the term *sumboulos* to mark divisions between the major sections of his request: the second section is introduced with the statement that he was a benefactor and counsellor (εὐεργέτης γενόμενος καὶ σύμβουλος), while the final section describes him as a counsellor (συμβούλῳ).[15] Structured in this way, the request demonstrates that Demosthenes spent his whole career providing good counsel and benefactions to the city.

His efforts, however, do not remain in the realm of vague abstraction. Instead, Demochares has chosen to be very specific about how exactly Demosthenes helped the Athenians. He begins with Demosthenes' financial contributions to the city which form the first section of the document.[16] Not only did Demosthenes spend his own money on behalf of the city, but his contributions were for specific occasions: he contributed money and a warship (τριήρη) when the city sent an expedition to Euboia and warships on two subsequent occasions and he ransomed many prisoners captured by Philip at Pydna, Methone, and Olynthos. Later, he armed citizens without arms and, when elected to the board overseeing the repairs of the fortifications, he not only supplied funds at his own expense, but he also dug two trenches around the Peiraieus. After the battle of Chaironeia, he donated both a talent and a second talent specifically for the grain supply. It was during this time, too, that he supplied a men's chorus for his tribe when no one else was willing to do so. Reminding us that Demosthenes was a benefactor and counsellor of the city, Demochares then moves on to the second section about Demosthenes' career which concerns various peoples whom he brought into alliance with the *demos* and so also secured foot-soldiers, cavalry, and money for the war against Philip II.[17] Subsequently, he prevented the Peloponnesians from going to the aid of Alexander at Thebes. While this list details the honorand's various financial contributions to the city, it also focuses our attention on the particular contexts, which are described: except for the men's chorus for his tribe, all the benefactions are connected with military activities, whether for expeditions, for

14 [Plut.] Mor. 850F.

15 [Plut.] Mor. 851B, C.

16 [Plut.] Mor. 850F–851B.

17 [Plut.] Mor. 851B–C. The text does not seem to be as secure as we would like; see the text and apparatus criticus of Mau's Teubner edition and compare Cuvigny's text in the Collection des Universités de France.

defence, or in the aftermath of military engagements. The alliances, too, were for war and Alexander's actions against Thebes were also martial. In this way, Demochares presented the honorand as a military man active on behalf of the city, even though he never held a generalship.[18] This image is reinforced by the omission of any mention of civic offices. Thus, Demosthenes is shown to have met the standards set by the generals of the earlier fourth-century, men like Konon, Iphikrates, Chabrias, and Timotheos, who had all been honoured by the city and had their statues set up in the Agora.[19]

Unlike these men, Demosthenes' claim to highest honours did not rest simply on his military exploits. As the beginning of the final section of the request brings out, the honorand also had a particularly close relationship with the democracy itself: not only was he a counsellor of the *demos*, but "of all his contemporaries, he conducted political matters the best for freedom and democracy".[20] This phrase suggests that Demosthenes was considerably more zealous in protecting the rule of the people than his contemporaries and it fits together nicely with the earlier focus on his military contributions. Here, Demochares is signalling that Demosthenes not only contributed to the city's martial endeavours, but he was also a good democrat. The rest of this final section strongly reinforces this image.[21] We learn that Demosthenes was exiled by the oligarchy when the democracy had been overthrown and that he died on Kalauria on account of his good will towards the *demos*. When soldiers were sent against him by Antipatros, he continued in his good will and intimacy (οἰκειότητι) towards the people and he did not surrender to the city's enemies nor did he do anything unworthy of the *demos* in this time of danger. In this last part of the request, Demochares emphasises that Demosthenes died because of his devotion to the *demos*. While other men could be described as displaying their *eunoia* (good will) towards the people, Demosthenes also had *oikeiotes* (intimacy) towards them. This word is unusual for an honorary context and its use here sets Demosthenes apart from other men who might also have wished to receive highest honours.[22] In this context, it brings out just how close his association was with the *demos*. At the same time,

18 Thus it is incorrect to speak of Demochares emphasising Demosthenes' "intellectual aid" to the city; contra: von den Hoff 2009, 201.

19 Konon: Isoc. Or. 9.56–57; Dem. Or. 20.69–70; Paus. 1.3.2–3; Iphikrates: Dem. Or. 23.130; cf. Schol. Dem. 21.62; Aeschin. 3.243; Chabrias: Nep. Chab. 1.2–3; SEG XIX 204 = Agora XVIII C148; cf. Aeschin. 3.243; Timotheos: Paus. 1.3.2–3; Nep. Timoth. 2.3; cf. Aeschin. 3.243; Shear 2007a, 107–111; Shear 2011, 275–283.

20 Above n. 1.

21 Above n. 1.

22 *Oikeiotes*: IG II^2 456.b14–15; 653.50–51; 703.12; SEG III 108.16–17; SEG XXIX 127.90–91; Agora XVI 286.8; ISE 23.26. None of these examples is particularly close the usage of the request. In contrast, *eunoia* is very common in an honorary context; for some selected contemporary examples, see e.g. IG II^2 646.25; 651.21; 653.35, 46; 654.38; 657.9, 59; SEG XXVIII 60.23, 90–91.

Demochares has omitted some important details in his description of the end of the honorand's life: we are never told that Demosthenes committed suicide.[23] Instead, by invoking enemies, soldiers, danger, and surrendering, the request suggests that we are dealing with military action and it constructs Demosthenes as someone who died on behalf of the city, just like men who died fighting in war. Since the war-dead were good Athenians *par excellence*, assimilating Demosthenes to them identifies him as the very best sort of democrat, one who was so devoted to the city that he died on her behalf.

By focusing on Demosthenes' financial contributions for military ventures and on his death at Kalauria, Demochares has created a very strong image of the honorand: he was a military man and good democrat who died on behalf of the *demos*. The stress on his particularly close connections with the *demos* and the implication that his death came at the soldiers' hands adds further elaboration to this image and they make Demosthenes into a man who was a martyr for democracy. The long final section devoted to the honorand's death performs a further important role because it sets Demosthenes apart from other potentially worthy Athenians, who might also have wished to receive rewards from the *demos*, and it marks his actions as unusual, hence Demochares' request. Faced with such devotion to the rule of the people, the *boule* in 281/0 could do no less than to recommend to the *demos* that it pass the proposal to grant highest honours to Demosthenes. In due course, the honorary decree, based on the text of the request, was, indeed, inscribed and set up, presumably next to the statue.[24]

2 The Text, the Statue, and the Agora

This image of Demosthenes as a significant contributor to the city's military endeavours and as a good democrat was reinforced by the bronze statue which was erected in the Agora. There, the inscribed decree, the figure, and the base created a composite monument which not only presented the honorand as an exemplary Athenian, but also interacted with the larger setting of the market square in ways which further brought out Demosthenes' positive achievements on behalf of the city and marked him out as particularly worthy of highest honours. As we shall see, the individual parts of this ensemble may not have initially seemed to present identical images of

23 Above n. 4.
24 [Plut.] Mor. 847E. Inscribed decrees are frequently set up next to the statues which they authorise; see e.g. IG II^2 682.87–89; SEG XXVIII 60.105–107; SEG XLV 101.48–50; Oliver 2007a, 195, 196; Ma 2013, 59, 120. The honorary decree is very unlikely to have been inscribed on the statue's base because Athenians in the third century did not use this format; contra: von den Hoff 2009, 204.

the honorand, but they actually all worked harmoniously together towards a single overall presentation of Demosthenes.

Neither the base nor the original bronze statue are now preserved, but both are described in our ancient sources. The appearance of the statue is also known from Roman copies which include not just busts, but also three renditions of the full-length portrait (fig. 1).[25]

Fig. 1: Roman marble copy of the statue of Demosthenes by Polyeuktos © Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, inv. 2782. The original was made of bronze and set up in the Agora in 281/0 B.C. © Courtesy of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen.

25 Richter/Smith 1984, 108–113; Zanker 1995, 358–359 n. 63.

We have, therefore, a fairly good idea of the appearance of the overall monument. For our ancient sources, the base was significant for its epigram. In his *Life of Demosthenes*, Plutarch describes it as "frequently quoted" and provides the text as follows: "if you had had strength equal to your resolve, Demosthenes, Macedonian Ares would never have ruled the Greeks".[26] It appears in a number of our other sources, sometimes with minor variation in the word order.[27] The epigram on the base, accordingly, clearly presented the honorand as a fighter of Macedonians.[28] The reference here to these northern enemies also picks up on the named opponents in the last section of the request: the soldiers sent by Antipatros, the Macedonian general.[29] In 281/0, these events will have been in the living memory of the Athenians who heard the request read out. Subsequently, when they looked at the composite monument created by the statue and the inscription, these viewers will have seen that the two texts reinforced each other and emphasised the honorand's exemplary nature and worthiness for highest honours. At the same time, however, they also presented slightly different images: while the request brings out Demosthenes' assimilation to the war-dead, the epigram stresses his ultimate lack of success, a detail missing from the request and so, presumably also, the inscribed decree. The honorand's positive accomplishments inevitably had to be clearly brought out so that the honours would be awarded, but history could not be completely rewritten and it was impossible to ignore entirely the period of Macedonian domination of both Athens and Greece. Had Demochares done so, his version of events would have been too different from other renditions known to viewers and readers to be believable. In Arjun Appadurai's helpful formulation, it would not have been "interdependent" enough with other accounts and so it would not have had enough credibility to be accepted.[30]

In contrast to the epigram on the base, the statue did not focus viewers' attention on Demosthenes' martial achievements. As we know from the Roman copies, it showed him, not in armour, as was appropriate for a general, but in a himation (fig. 1). The copies indicate that the figure wore just a himation without a tunic underneath it. By 281/0, such a costume would have looked old-fashioned because the contem-

26 Plut. Dem. 30.5: εἴπερ ἴσην γνώμῃ ῥώμην Δημόσθενες ἔσχες, οὔποτ' ἂν Ἑλλήνων ἦρξεν Ἄρης Μακεδών.
27 E.g. [Plut.] Mor. 847A; Suda s.v. Δημοσθένης; Phot. Bibl. 494b, 29–33.
28 Its anti-Macedonian nature has sometimes been noted by scholars, e.g. von den Hoff 2009, 204; cf. Pollitt 1986, 63.
29 Above n. 1.
30 Appadurai 1981, especially 203. As he has demonstrated, the past is a finite resource governed by four formal constraints which require cultural consensus and constitute "a minimal universal structure for the cultural construction of pasts". These limitations concern: the authority of the sources of information about the past; the continuity with these sources; the depth or "the relative values of different time-depths"; and the interdependence between different versions of the past. For another application of this model to early Hellenistic Athens, see Shear (forthcoming).

porary style was to wear both a himation and a tunic.[31] Showing Demosthenes in this way would have reminded viewers that he was not a contemporary, but an individual who belonged to an earlier phase in the city's history. At the same time, such attire was extremely appropriate for a man who was being celebrated in his inscription as a counsellor, a role which he would have fulfilled largely in the Bouleuterion and the assembly when civilian, not military, attire would have been appropriate.

The pose of the statue also fits with the epigram. Demosthenes looks down in intense concentration, as his furrowed brows indicate, and his hands are loosely clasped in front of him.[32] Despite the position of the hands, the overall figure is not relaxed; instead, we have the sense that his limbs and body are being held tightly under control, as scholars have often noted.[33] This concentration and control complement the resolve celebrated in the epigram on the base and they make Demosthenes' determination immediately visible.[34] This resolve also appears in the final section of the request where we are told that Demosthenes did not surrender to his enemies, even though such action would presumably have prevented his death.[35] In this way, this same determination also kept him from doing "anything unworthy of the demos in this time of danger", as Demochares put it in the request.

The intensity and resolve of this figure together with its unique pose make it particularly distinctive and mark it as different from the ordinary portrait statue of the ordinary Athenian. Since citizens awarded highest honours by the city were also not ordinary, the appearance of this figure is appropriate and it works together with the images of the epigram and the request to emphasise Demosthenes' standing as an exemplary Athenian. Such an individual naturally spent his whole life serving the city, exactly as the honorand is presented in the request, while the lined face of the statue reinforces this image of a man grown old labouring on behalf of Athens. The civilian garb also complements the focus in the request on the honorand's financial contributions to the city and his actions in building the alliance with the Euboians, Corinthians, and various other peoples.

This image of Demosthenes as active in the city's military actions and as a good citizen was further reinforced by the composite monument's setting in the Agora.

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31 Dillon 2006, 74–75, 110–112; von den Hoff 2009, 206; cf. Ma 2013, 267 with further references. For an example of the contemporary style, see e.g. the statue of Aischines which we know from a Roman copy; Museo Nazionale, Naples, inv. no. 6018; Richter/Smith 1984, 73–74, 75 fig. 40b; Dillon 2006, 61–62 with n. 8, 63 fig. 63.

32 The hands on the Roman copies are not preserved. Their position is known from Plutarch's description: "the statue stands with interlocked finger (τοὺς δακτύλους … δι' ἀλλήλων)"; Plut. Dem. 31.2. On the various restorations of the hands of the copy in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen, see Moltesen 2003, 209–210.

33 E.g. Pollitt 1986, 63; Zanker 1995, 85; von den Hoff 2009, 206–210.

34 Cf. Stewart 1990, 199; Zanker 1995, 86; von den Hoff 2009, 210.

35 [Plut.] Mor. 851C.

Although its base is no longer preserved, our ancient sources describe its locations and reveal that it had a rather more complex history than scholars have hitherto recognised. Pausanias places Demosthenes' statue quite specifically: after the Eponymous Heroes come Amphiaraos, Eirene carrying Ploutos, Lykourgos, Kallias who gave his name to the fifth-century peace, and "here also is Demosthenes"; near this figure is the temple of Ares.[36] In contrast, *The Lives of the Ten Orators* reports that, when Demosthenes had taken refuge on Kalauria, asking for a writing tablet, he wrote,

> as Demetrios the Magnesian says, the epigram which the Athenians later inscribed on his statue: "if you had had strength equal to your resolve, Demosthenes, Macedonian Ares would never have ruled the Greeks." The statue stands near to the *perischoinisma* and the Altar of the Twelve Gods; it was made by Polyeuktos. But others say [....]".[37]

Scholars have either given priority to Pausanias' location or they have attempted to meld the two descriptions together, even though the topography of the Agora makes it clear that the two different locations are involved (fig. 2).[38] The passage in *The Lives of the Ten Orators* suggests that Demetrios the Magnesian not only linked the epigram and the statue, but also quoted the inscribed text and gave the location of the statue. Such excerpting fits with current scholarly understandings of *The Lives of the Ten Orators* which stress its "open" nature and the different strata of information preserved in it.[39] From references in Cicero's letters to Atticus, we know that Demetrios of Magnesia was active in the middle of the first century B.C.: in June of 55, Cicero mentions Demetrios' book, while later in February and March of 49, he refers on three different occasions to Atticus' copy of his work *On Concord* which the author had dedicated to Atticus.[40] The passage alluded to in *The Lives of the Ten Orators*, consequently, must reflect the location of Demosthenes' statue no later than the middle of the first century B.C. Since the area around the Altar of the Twelve Gods and the northwest corner of the Agora was not affected by the construction of the Stoa of Attalos, South Stoa II, and the Middle Stoa (with the attendant relandscaping) in the second century B.C., it is very likely that the statue of Demosthenes was originally erected near the Altar of the Twelve Gods, as described by Demetrios (fig. 2).[41] The Agora was, of

36 Paus. 1.8.2–4.
37 [Plut.] Mor. 847A.
38 Pausanias: Worthington 1986; von den Hoff 2009, 202–204; Ma 2013, 104, 276; melding together: Thompson/Wycherley 1972, 129–130, 159; Ridgway 1990, 224; Zanker 1995, 85.
39 See e.g. Cuvigny 1981, 27–34; Pitcher 2005; Martin 2014; cf. Faraguna 2003, 482–484.
40 Cic. Att. 4.11.2; 8.11.7, 12.6; 9.9.2.
41 Construction in Agora: Thompson/Wycherley 1972, 65–70, 103–107. Keil argued that all descriptions of monuments in *The Lives of the Ten Orators* were taken from the works of Heliodoros of Athens, active in the second century B.C.; Keil 1895, 199–214, 235–237. As perusal of Heliodoros' fragments in FGrHist 373 shows, Jacoby did not accept this attribution. Even if correct, it does not affect my argument here.

course, the location of major building projects during the reign of Augustus and this work, together with the attendant relandscaping,[42] provides the most likely occasion when the statue of Demosthenes was moved south to the spot along the road on the west side where Pausanias saw it in the middle of the second century A.D.

Fig. 2: Plan of the Agora in the second century A.D. © Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations.

In 281/0, when the composite monument was set up near the Altar of the Twelve Gods, this location placed Demosthenes' figure in the northwest corner of the Agora and not far from some of the city's major battle monuments, particularly the Stoa Poikile with its paintings of the battle of Marathon and other campaigns and the Stoa of Zeus

42 Thompson/Wycherley 1972, 111–114, 160–165; Shear, Jr. 1984, 33–36.

Eleutherios with its painting of the battle of Mantineia (fig. 3).[43] In front of the Stoa of Zeus stood the statues of Konon, Euagoras of Cypriot Salamis, and Timotheos, all men rewarded for their military achievements.[44] The statues of the generals Chabrias and Iphikrates probably also stood in this area.[45] Placing Demosthenes here brought him into relationship with these earlier monuments and it emphasised that he was the newest addition to this series of exemplary Athenians. At the same time, his unique pose will have set him apart from the earlier figures and made him especially visible.

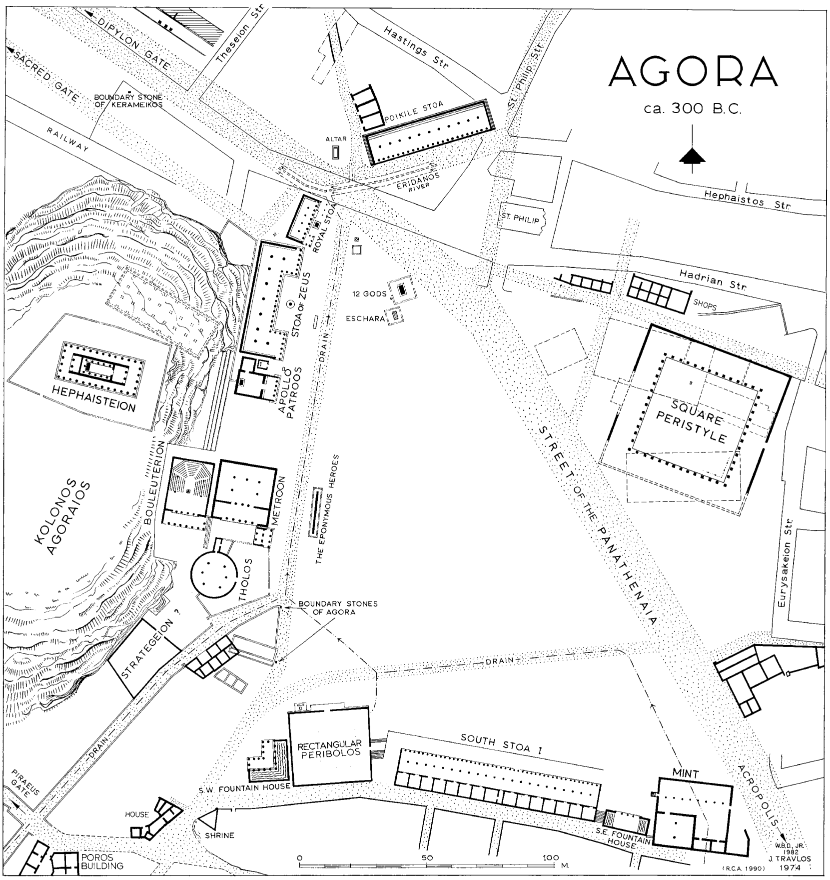

Fig. 3: Plan of the Agora in ca. 300 B.C. In the fifth century, the structure of the Metroon was the city's (Old) Bouleuterion © Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations.

43 Marathon and other battles: Paus. 1.15.1–4; Mantineia: Paus. 1.3.4; Shear 2007a, 105–106, 111–112.

44 Above n. 19.

45 Above n. 19; Shear 2007a, 110.

The military connections of the monuments in the northwest corner will also have brought out Demosthenes' own military contributions and his image as a fighter of Macedonians, exactly the images being conveyed in both the request and the epigram on the statue's base.

Erecting the composite group near the Altar of the Twelve Gods further placed it opposite the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios (fig. 3). This setting picked up on the request's statement that Demosthenes "of all his contemporaries, conducted political matters the best for freedom (ἐλευθερίαν) and democracy". In this way, the text and the setting emphasised Demosthenes' commitment to the city's freedom, the same freedom of which Zeus himself was the patron. In conjunction with the image of him as active in the city's military activities, the text and the setting further presented him as a fighter on behalf of that freedom. This association was reinforced by the other monuments in front of the stoa. According to Demosthenes, Konon's decree stated specifically that the honorand had "freed the allies of Athens" so that together his text and the location configured him, too, as a bringer of freedom to the city, as I have discussed elsewhere.[46] When Demosthenes' monument was erected nearby, the setting will have emphasised the roles of both men in maintaining the freedom of the Athenians and it will have brought out the parallels between them so that the orator would have been understood as having imitated the earlier general, as the good Athenian ought to do, hence his subsequent rewards. Since Zeus Eleutherios was also Soter, the juxtaposition may further have suggested that Demosthenes was a saviour of Athens, an image also in play in the monuments of Konon and Euagoras.[47] Astute viewers and readers, however, will have noticed that such an interpretation of Demosthenes' actions actually pulled against the epigram which presented the honorand as unable to prevent the Macedonians from ruling the Greeks, hardly the deeds of a true saviour of the city. For us, this tension brings out the complications and difficulties of representing and rewriting the past, which was not infinitely malleable.[48] The version presented here had to remain interdependent enough with other pre-exiting histories, if it was to be accepted by viewers.

Deciding to place Demosthenes' composite monument in the Agora will also have located the honorand's statue in a setting in which, when he was alive, he had himself been especially active, particularly as counsellor of the Athenians, one of the reasons why he was honoured. In this capacity, Demosthenes would have worn civilian, not military, dress and so the costume of the statue was particularly appropriate. These activities will have taken place in part in the Bouleuterion which was also located on

46 Dem. Or. 20.69–70; Shear 2007a, 107–108; Shear 2011, 277–278. Konon's honorary decree, which is no longer extant, was most likely set up next to his statue; Shear 2007a, 99, 107; Shear 2011, 246; cf. Wycherley 1957, 213, no. 261.

47 Konon and Euagoras: above n. 19.

48 On the finite nature of the past, see Appadurai 1981.

the west side of the Agora and not too far from the statue (fig. 3). Thus viewers might imagine the statue as showing the honorand pausing deep in thought on his way to advise the *boule* in the council house.[49] The road on the west side of the Agora continued south, around the west end of the Areiopagos, and so gave access to the Pnyx.[50] Thus, Demosthenes could also be imagined as on his way to address the Athenians in the assembly. The north side of the Agora was the home, too, of the city's courts, another venue in which Demosthenes had been particularly active when he was alive. Viewers might further imagine him as on his way to fight some important legal case in the nearby courts, which, in 281/0, would have been housed in the Square Peristyle (fig. 3).[51] Depending on exactly where the statue was located, viewers may even have been able to look from the figure to the structure, a design which would have made these connections explicit.

Counselling the Athenians, being a member of the *boule*, taking part in the assembly, and being active in the courts are all the actions required of the democratic Athenian. In this way, the larger setting emphasises the democratic nature of Demosthenes' activities and it stresses that he was a good democrat, an important criterion for attaining the status of an exemplary citizen. This image was reinforced by the text which especially brings out Demosthenes' status as a good democrat in the final section, as we saw earlier. In this larger context, it was natural that such an ardent democrat would have been exiled by oligarchs after the democracy had been overthrown and so, in 281/0, the text, the statue, and the setting in the Agora repeatedly reinforced each other.

Erecting Demosthenes' composite monument in the market square also brought one further monument into play, the decree and oath of Demophantos which prescribed how the good Athenian should act when the democracy had been overthrown and had been set up in front of the Metroon in 410/9 (fig. 3).[52] Under such circum-

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49 For the "incipient movement" of the statue, see Ridgway 1990, 225. Since speeches to the assembly were not given in the Agora, we should resist the temptation to understand Demosthenes as being about to give such a speech; contra: Stewart 1990, 199; Zanker 1995, 86–88; Dillon 2006, 75.

50 Stroud 1998, 106 fig. 7.

51 The Square Peristyle was built ca. 300 B.C., although not apparently as it was originally designed; Townsend 1995, 90–103.

52 And. 1.96–98. I remain unconvinced by Canevaro's and Harris' attempt to prove that this document is not genuine; Canevaro/Harris 2012, 98–100, 119–125; contra: Sommerstein 2014. Their approach is extremely problematic methodologically: it assumes that ancient quotation practices were identical to the modern practice of exact quotation (complete with quotation marks and footnotes) and that the surviving inscribed Attic decrees (and laws) provide a good dataset for comparison. That ancient quotations were not exact in our modern sense is clear from two examples. At Onomastikon 8.91, Pollux reports the information provided by Aristotle at Aristot. Ath. Pol. 58.1, but where a synonym exists, he uses it and he also employs a usage of his day which was not used in the fourth century B.C.; on these passages, see further Shear 2012b, 108. When Lykophron, the son of Lykourgos, sought to claim the rewards due to him as the son of man awarded highest honours, he quoted the stances, the good Athenian was to kill with impunity anyone who overthrew the democracy, held office after it was overthrown, set himself up as tyrant, or helped to set up a tyrant. The oath specifically states that, in so doing, he is to act "both by word and by deed and by vote and by my own hand", that is by all possible means.[53] If the good Athenian died in the attempt, he and his descendants were to receive the Tyrannicides' benefits, the same benefits on which the city's highest honours had been modelled.[54] Since Demosthenes was exiled by the oligarchy after the democracy was overthrown, he obviously did not hold office at that time, nor was he involved in setting up a tyranny. Indeed, he died on behalf of the demos, as the final section of the request explicitly tells us.[55] The statue's civilian costume also recalls the ways in which Demophantos in his oath permits the good Athenian to act: not only by deed and by his own hands, but also by word and by vote. The juxtaposition of the

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decree for his father; his text, however, is not identical to the inscribed remains of the decree; [Plut.] Mor. 851F–852E; IG II² 457. Since the preserved decrees largely concern external and religious matters, they are not comparable to the much broader subject matter of the laws. For example, Canevaro and Harris object to the phrase καθ' ἱερῶν τελείων in Demophantos' decree as nonsense; Canevaro/Harris 2012, 123–124. Had they investigated more broadly, they would have discovered that the term τέλειος (τέλεος in fifth-century spelling) means 'full-grown' or 'adult' and is standard in sacrificial contexts; e.g. IG I³ 250.A18, B23–24; SEG XXXIII 147.21–22, 24, 27, 37, 38, 40–41; left side 31; right side 12; SEG LII 48 fr. 8A col. 2.3, 5, 8, 12; Lambert 2002, 382. I agree with Sommerstein that it is also highly unlikely that a forger would have been able to get the dating information correct in the prescript; Sommerstein 2014, 53. The absence of references to oligarchy and the emphasis on tyranny make it extremely unlikely that this text can date to the period after the Thirty; cf. Shear 2011, 250, 259–260. Further discussion lies beyond the scope of this essay.

The location of the *stele* is described by Andokides as ἔμπροσθεν … τοῦ βουλευτερίου and by Lykourgos as ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ and εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον; And. 1.95; Lycurg. Leok. 124, 126. On this basis, Sommerstein unconvincingly wants to understand two different documents; Sommerstein 2014, 50. Perusal of Liddel's lists of the places of publication of state decrees shows that ἐν + a place in the dative or ἐν + an article + a place in the dative regularly refers to a(n open-air) precinct and not to the interior of a building; Liddel 2003. The phrase ἐν τῶι πρυτανικῶι, which occurs regularly in prytany decrees after 280/75, does not contradict this observation; Liddel 2003, 89. These inscriptions were set up, not in the Tholos, which has no room for them and no bases for *stelai*, but in the enclosure around the building; cf. Meritt/Traill 1974, 3 with n. 13. With the special exception of the Stoa Basileios, the archaeological evidence shows that Athenian buildings did not have bases inside them for *stelai*. Thus, Lykourgos means that the decree was set up 'at' the Bouleuterion, not 'in' it; Shear 2011, 89 n. 78. The memory politics which he describes also require an easily accessible location, not one inside the restricted space of the Metroon, as does the influence which the document had after the revolution from Demetrios; Shear 2011, 101–102, 160–161, 163; Shear 2012a, 286–289. Further discussion of these issues also lies beyond the scope of this essay.

53 Shear 2007b, 152.

54 Harmodios and Aristogeiton received bronze statues in the Agora and a cult; for the cult, see Shear 2012c with further references. Their descendants were given sitesis, proedria, and ateleia; Isae. 5.47; Dem. Or. 20.18, 127–130; IG I³ 131.1–9; Shear 2007b, 152, 252–253 n. 23 with further references. Tyrannicides as models for honours: Gauthier 1985, 81, 92–94.

55 Above n. 1.

two monuments in the Agora particularly brought out Demosthenes' worthiness for highest honours: unlike other men honoured in the square, he had actually fulfilled the requirements of Demophantos' decree. He was, therefore, without any question, a good democrat and an outstanding example of proper behaviour for other citizens. He deserved highest honours as very few other Athenians did.

The statue, its base, and its larger setting in the Agora, accordingly, reinforced the imagery present in the request and so also the honorary decree which derived from it. Demosthenes was presented as a fighter of Macedonians who had died on behalf of the *demos*. He was also shown to have been a good democrat who had taken an active part in the city's civic life in the very setting in which his statue was erected. Indeed, the statue might almost have been thought to have been animated by the setting. While initially the image of Demosthenes as a fighter of Macedonians might seem to have clashed with the civilian image of the statue, in fact, the two images complemented and reinforced each. The setting in the Agora also juxtaposed the composite monument with Demophantos' decree and oath, which had been passed by the *demos* many years before in 410/9. Bringing these two texts together showed that Demosthenes was actually one of the very few Athenians who really met the criteria which Demophantos had laid out, unlike other honorands in the square. Demosthenes, accordingly, richly deserved his highest honours which were almost the same as the benefits extended to the Tyrannicides and their descendants. In turn, these honours marked him out as a particularly exemplary Athenian on whom other citizens ought to model their behaviour.

3 Demosthenes and the Revolution from Demetrios Poliorketes

The Athenians clearly believed that Demosthenes deserved his honours and so they passed the necessary decree which was duly inscribed and they set up his bronze statue in the Agora.[56] In 281/0, however, Demosthenes had been dead for many years and he had certainly not taken part in the revolution from Demetrios Poliorketes. At this moment, he was not necessarily the most obvious candidate for such honours, yet the Athenians proceeded to make just such an award. In order to understand their decision, we need to ask how the honours fit into the larger context of Athens after the revolution and what work they were doing for the city. As we shall see, they formed part of the larger process of remaking Athens as democratic and they served to link Demosthenes closely with the post-revolutionary present. In the space of the Agora, the composite monument provided a new, democratically sponsored structure which

56 Above n. 3.

served to overwrite and to update the existing Macedonian memorials. Meanwhile, the honours permitted the democrats not only to claim Demosthenes as a good model of behaviour, but also to (re)construct the city's recent history so that it was suitable for the city which was now once again democratic.

In 281/0, the emphasis which we have seen on Demosthenes' commitment to maintaining the city's freedom and his presentation as a fighter of Macedonians fit well into the ways in which the Athenians were responding to the revolution from Demetrios and remaking the city as democratic. The honorand's focus on the liberty of Athens would have linked him particularly closely with the present because the revolution was also configured as the return of freedom to the city. In 285/4, the honorary decree for King Audoleon of Paionia described him as having joined in working "towards the freed[o]m of the [c]ity" at the time of the revolution, as the text makes clear.[57] In the honorary decree for Philippides of Kephale, which was passed in 283/2, we learn that, "when the *demos* recovered its freedom, he continued saying and doing what was beneficial for the safety of the city and he begged the king (Lysimachos) to help with both money and grain so that the *demos* might remain free".[58] As *agonothetes* in the year of Isaios (284/3), Philippides added additional games for Demeter and Kore "as a memorial of the [freedom] of the *demos*".[59] The Athenians continued to use these terms as late as 266/5, as we learn from the honorary decree of a certain Strombichos who had been a soldier in Demetrios' forces: "when the *demos* took up arms on behalf of its free[do]m and ask[e]d even the soldiers to come ov[er t]o the side of the city, he yielded to the *demos* on behalf of freedom [an]d he took up arms with the city".[60] Similarly, the Athenians decided to dedicate the shield of the dead Leokritos, the son of Protarchos, who was the first to scale the wall of the fort on the Mouseion, to Zeus Eleutherios.[61] In so doing, the Athenians figured Leokritos as a bringer of freedom to the city, just like the various generals honoured in the area of the stoa, as we saw earlier.[62] In 281/0, this emphasis on the city's newly recovered freedom would have drawn readers' attention in the request to the freedom which

57 IG II^2 654.15–17 and compare 32–35 which record his future support for the recovery of the Peiraieus and the freedom of the *demos*. The decree is dated to the archonship of Diotimos; Meritt 1977, 173; Woodhead 1997, 255; Osborne 2009, 86.

58 IG II^2 657.31–35. The decree is dated to the archonship of Euthios; Meritt 1977, 173; Woodhead 1997, 256–257; Osborne 2009, 87.

59 IG II^2 657.38–39, 43–45. For Isaios' archonship, see Meritt 1977, 173; Osborne 2009, 86.

60 IG II^2 666.9–12. The decree is dated to the archonship of Nikias of Otryne; Meritt 1977, 174; Osborne 2009, 89.

61 Paus. 1.26.2. Before the revolution, the Mouseion was the location of the city's Macedonian garrison.

62 Shear 2010, 149. The Athenians presumably made this decision very soon after they regained their freedom from Demetrios. These ideas will have been in play, consequently, before we first see them 285/4 in the honours for King Audoleon.

Demosthenes' worked to preserve and it would have suggested that there had actually been a positive result of his efforts: the current free state of the city. In this way, Demosthenes was shown also to have played some part in the revolution and he and his actions were closely linked to the present. These connections between the past and the present will have been reinforced by the decision to honour Demosthenes as a fighter of Macedonians, an external enemy, because, in other venues in the city, the events of 286 were being presented as external war, rather than civil strife, as I have discussed elsewhere.[63]

That Demosthenes was not simply a worthy Athenian from the past, but also a figure with connections to the present had further implications for the ways in which his composite monument interacted with other, recent memorials in the Agora. At this time, the market square included two gilt statues of Demetrios Poliorketes and his father Antigonos Monophthalmos standing in a chariot, a group which had been set up next to the Tyrannicides after Demetrios "liberated" the city in 307.[64] A second statue of Demetrios may be represented by the left leg, sword, and drapery fragments of gilt bronze equestrian statue found in the Agora in the public well near the Crossroads Enclosure in the northwest corner (fig. 4).[65] Such statues were extremely rare and it seems likely that it showed a king.[66] Perhaps the most plausible location for it is the monumental gate built ca. 300 B.C. at the west end of the Stoa Poikile to commemorate a cavalry victory over Pleistarchos, the brother of Kassandros, as Pausanias reports (fig. 4).[67]

63 Shear 2012a.
64 Diod. 20.46.2.
65 Shear, Jr. 1973, 165–168, pl. 36.
66 It can not be the statue of Demetrios set up by the Athenian Select Volunteers in perhaps 303/2 because that figure was not gilt; ISE 7.13–14.
67 Paus. 1.15.1; Shear, Jr. 1984, 19–24.

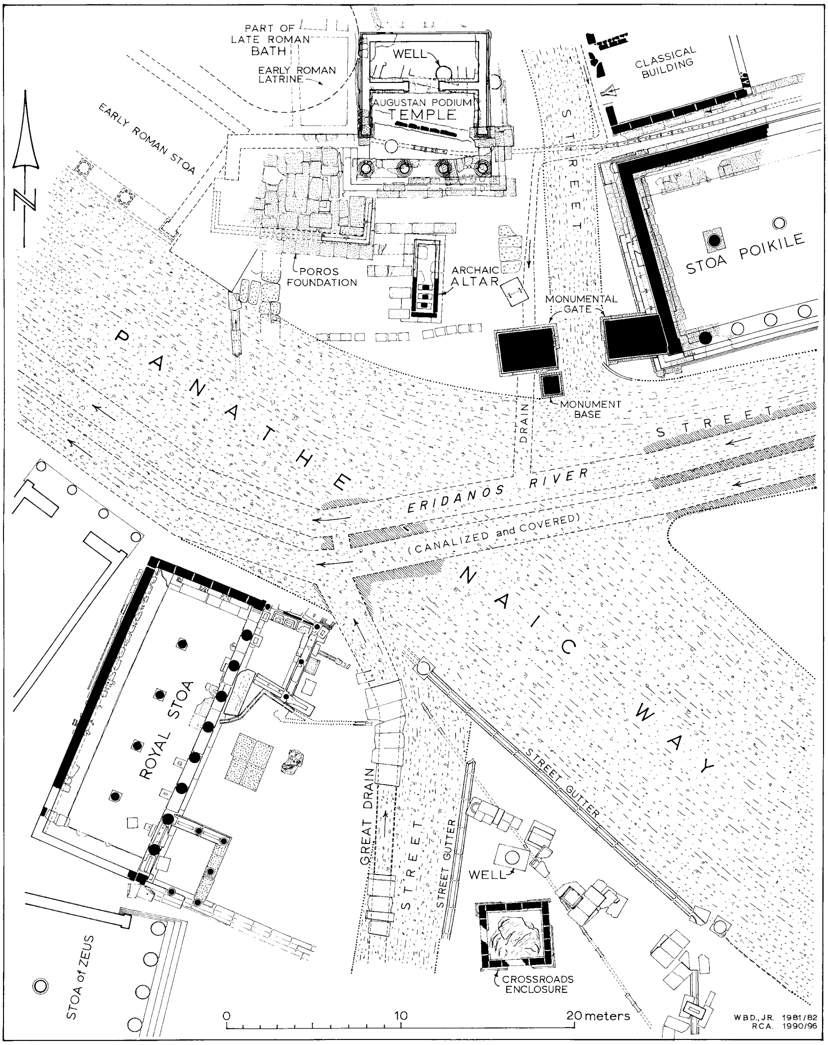

Fig. 4: Partially restored plan of the northwest corner of the Agora. The fragments of the bronze statue found in the well just north of the Crossroads Enclosure probably stood on the Monumental Gate immediately west of the Stoa Poikile © Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations.

Certainly, the figure was standing in 281/0 because the layer in which it was found included pottery dating to ca. 200 B.C.[68] It must, therefore, have been removed in 200 when the Athenians destroyed the monuments of the Macedonian kings and erased references to them in public inscriptions as part of the declaration of war

68 Shear, Jr. 1973, 166.

against Philip V.[69] Its presence in the Agora in the years after 286 suggests that the gilt statues of Demetrios and Antigonos were also still standing beside the Tyrannicides, even though such figures were certainly not appropriate for the free city which was now being remade as democratic. In this context, the statue of Demosthenes had an important role to play. It juxtaposed a fighter of Macedonians against the Macedonian kings themselves so that Demosthenes' struggle against these northern enemies could be understood as perpetually being carried out in the Agora. Rather than marking the city's subjugation, the Macedonian figures were now brought into relationship with the new statue for Demosthenes which had been erected by the free and democratic Athenians to reward a man who had struggled to keep the city free. Since the honorand was otherwise linked to the present, as well as to the past, the juxtaposition enhanced the sense that he had fought not only Philip II, but also, in some way, his successors who no longer controlled the city. By setting up this figure in the Agora, the Athenians wrote the democracy's possession of the city quite literally onto the topography of the market place and they overwrote, as it were, the earlier memorials with Demosthenes' new monument. At the same time, they also strengthened the ways in which the structure and the honorand were relevant to and linked with the present.

Recreating the city after the revolution was not achieved simply by honouring one deceased Athenian and setting up a statue of him in the Agora because the years preceding the events of 286 had included periods of tyranny and oligarchy.[70] Demochares himself had been banished "by the men who overthrew the *demos*" and he did not return to Athens until he was recalled by the *demos* in 286/5, as we know from his (posthumous) request for highest honours.[71] The Athenians were apparently divided by their political differences and there seems to have been civil strife in the time immediately before the revolution.[72] What it meant to be a good Athenian had inevitably also been brought into question. Consequently, the Athenians now needed new models of proper behaviour.[73] Since Demosthenes was an ardent democrat and he also did meet the criteria set out in Demophantos' decree, he was a perfect candidate for promulgating the proper behaviour of the good Athenian. Despite his links with the present, his death in 322 meant that he could not actually have taken part in the events before the revolution and so he would have been acceptable to men on all parts of the political spectrum. Choosing him as a model left room for oligarchs and supporters of Demetrios to be(come) good citizens; in contrast, choosing one of

69 Liv. 31.44.4–9; Habicht 1997, 196–197; Habicht 1982, 142–150; Flower 2006, 34–40; Byrne 2010.

70 Above n. 6.

71 [Plut.] Mor. 851E. The request dates to the archonship of Pytharatos in 271/0; Meritt 1977, 174; Woodhead 1997, 268; Osborne 2009, 88.

72 As I have discussed elsewhere; see Shear 2012a, 278–281; cf. Bayliss 2011, 64–66.

73 For the remaking of the city after the revolution, see Shear 2012a.

the important protagonists of the revolution, such as Kallias of Sphettos, would have excluded these men.[74]

Demosthenes' own career will also have increased his attractiveness as a model at this moment. As Demochares brought out in the final section of the request, Demosthenes was exiled by the oligarchy after the democracy was overthrown. He had, therefore, a career which was quite parallel to those of men who had actually been involved with the revolution. Demochares, as we noted, was also exiled and only returned to Athens in 286/5.[75] The end of his request further specifies that "he was exiled on behalf of the democracy and he took no part in the oligarchy and he did not hold any office after the *demos* was overthrown [...] and he never did anything against the democracy either by word or by deed".[76] From the decree for Kallias of Sphettos, we learn that

> on behalf of the fatherland Kallias could not at any time endure [- 8 -] when the *demos* [ha]d been overthrown, but h[is own] property he also allowed to be confiscated in the oligarchy so as no[t] to do [anything a]gainst either the laws or the democ[rac]y of all the Athenians.[77]

This passage indicates that Kallias, too, was in exile after the overthrow of the democracy, as commentators have noted.[78] Similarly, Philippides of Kephale, who "never [d]i[d any]thing agains[t the d]emocracy [e]ith[er by word or] by deed", also seems to have been in exile in the years before the revolution.[79] Had these men been in Athens under the oligarchy, they could not have been described in their decrees and request as never having done anything against the democracy; very astute readers may have noticed the parallel with Demophantos' decree which proscribes all regimes other than democracy.[80] That Demosthenes was also exiled by the oligarchy will have emphasised the parallels between himself and men who were involved in the revolution.[81] At the end of the request, Demochares brings out the similarity by adding that Demosthenes did not "do anything unworthy of the *demos* in this time of danger". The

74 Kallias' honours: above n. 7.

75 Above n. 71.

76 [Plut.] Mor. 851F.

77 SEG XXVIII 60.79–83. The decree dates to the archonship of Sosistratos in 270/69; Shear, Jr. 1978, 12–13; Osborne 2009, 88.

78 See e.g. Shear, Jr. 1978, 48–49; Paschidis 2008, 146; cf. Shear 2012a, 286.

79 IG II^2 657.48–50 with Gauthier's restoration of [πέπραχ]ε[ν] in line 49; Gauthier 1982, 222 n. 28. Philippides seems to have already been in exile with King Lysimachos at the time of the battle of Ipsos in 301; on his exile, see e.g. Shear, Jr. 1978, 49; Paschidis 2008, 117–118.

80 Shear 2007b, 150. Since Demophantos' decree served as a point of reference for Demochares' request and the decrees for Philippides of Kephale and Kallias, such a comparison is not unlikely; Shear 2012a, 287–289.

81 Since these regimes are simply characterised as 'the oligarchy', readers needed to remember their history in order to realise that difference oligarchic regimes were involved.

immediate context is his death on Kalauria, but, at the same time, the phrase recalls the description in Philippides' decree which was passed in 283/2. In this way, Demosthenes is shown to have acted in ways quite similar to men active in the revolution; the effect is not only to emphasise the honorand's exemplary status, but also to reinforce his links to recent events in the city, ones in which he had actually never taken part. In this way, the honours for Demosthenes served to create a connection between the post-revolutionary present and the fourth-century city which had opposed Philip II and the Macedonians and had, of course, been a major political power.

The work of the honours and the composite monument, however, was not limited merely to connecting the past and the present because they also allowed the Athenians to (re)construct the city's recent history. When the composite monument was erected in the Agora, it made the links between the present and the fourth-century past both visible and concrete. In this space, it suggested that the city's history ran directly from the present to the period of Demosthenes. The monument endowed the newly democratic city with an appropriate past and good roots and it implied that the rule of the *demos* was a stable regime which would prosper and last. At the same time, it de-emphasised the non-democratic regimes which had held power in the intervening period. This move was reinforced by the text of the epigram which does not mention any particular political system and focuses on the Macedonian rule of the Greeks, rather than the Athenians. In this way, the Athenians elided the difficult years between 322 and 286 and they suggested that the city had actually been democratically ruled for this whole period. This (re)creation of the past will have been reinforced by presentation of the revolution as external war and not civil strife in other monuments in the city. Now, the period between 322 and 286 was presented as one of internal democratic rule and external military operations against the Macedonians, a process which culminated in the events of 286.

In 281/0, consequently, Demosthenes was actually a rather more obvious candidate for highest honours than he initially appears to us. Rather than simply being a worthy Athenian from the city's past, he also had relevance to the present after the revolution. In this context, he provided a new model of the proper behaviour for the good Athenian: he was a democrat who fought Macedonians to maintain the city's freedom. Since Demosthenes had not, in fact, taken part in the revolution, his example was appropriate for citizens from all parts of the political spectrum. At the same time, the parallels between his career and the men involved with the revolution linked Demosthenes to the present and implied that, in some way, he, too, had been involved in fighting not just Macedonians, but Demetrios in particular. In the space of the Agora, his monument continually carried out this struggle, while it also updated the market square and emphasised its democratic connections. Together, the honours and the composite structure allowed the Athenians to rewrite the city's history so that oligarchy and civil strife were elided and the present ran directly to the democratic past of Demosthenes' own day.

4 Pasts and Presents in Hellenistic Athens

In this way, Demosthenes was presented as an exemplary Athenian who had fought Macedonians, had died on behalf of the *demos*, and was now the standard against which good citizens should be measured. The request and composite monument further enabled the Athenians to rewrite the city's past between 322 and 286 so that it now became a period of democratic rule and internal stability. Presented in monumental form, this imagery may have seemed firmly fixed in 280, but the erection of subsequent memorials in the Agora demonstrated its instability. They presented events before 286 in a rather different way so that readers and viewers now received conflicting versions of what had occurred. At the same time, these structures provided new exemplary Athenians so that visitors in the Agora had to consider which honorand was the best model for their conduct. In the course of time, the imagery of these monuments also became unstable, as it was overtaken by subsequent political events and more recent memorials, but it did not become completely irrelevant, hence the relocation of Demosthenes' statue in the Augustan period.

At the end of the 270s, the Athenians decided to award highest honours to further Athenians for their services to the city. The two recipients, Demochares himself and Kallias of Sphettos, had both been active in 286 and the preceding years; now, their composite monuments presented rather different images of the events than Demosthenes' did so that they contrasted with his presentation. As we have already seen, both Demochares' request from 271/0 and Kallias' honorary decree of 270/69 were explicit that, between 322 and 286, there had been oligarchy, as well as democracy, in the city.[82] Kallias' text describes his military actions in the revolution at length: leading Ptolemaic forces, he not only fought on behalf of the *demos*, but he was even wounded![83] Now, fighting Macedonians required specific and concrete actions, not simply the abstracts of strength and resolve, as it did with Demosthenes' monument. Comparison between Kallias' and Demosthenes' memorials will have brought into question not only what events had actually taken place, but also what precisely identified the exemplary Athenian. Faced with these conflicting images, readers and viewers going from one monument to another will have had to reconstruct the city's history for themselves and they will have had to decide what actions the truly model citizen ought to perform.

The contrasts between these recipients will also have played out in the space of the Agora where the bronze statues of all three men were erected.[84] The stress on Kallias' martial actions in his decree suggests that his figure will have shown him

82 Above n. 71, 75, 76.
83 SEG XXVIII 60.11–32.
84 [Plut.] Mor. 847E, 851D; SEG XXVIII 60.95–96. Subsequently, Demochares' statue was transferred to the Prytaneion; [Plut.] Mor. 847D, E.

in military dress.[85] Since his inscription was found reused as a cover slab over the Great Drain in front of the Stoa Basileios, it seems likely that both the decree and the statue were erected not far away (fig. 4).[86] Such a location would have placed Kallias' composite monument near many of the military monuments in the Agora and also the statue of Demosthenes close by the Altar of the Twelve Gods (fig. 3). The juxtaposition will have encouraged viewers and readers to compare these two exemplary Athenians. In comparison with Kallias, however, Demosthenes will not have appeared to be quite so martial a figure, even if he had died on behalf of the *demos* and was presented as one of the war-dead. Demochares' statue will also have affected how viewers now perceived Demosthenes. It showed the honorand in a himation with a sword, as he was said "to have addressed the *demos* when Antipatros was demanding the [surrender of the] orators" in 322, a group which included Demosthenes.[87] The sword was explicitly martial and implied that he had contributed to the revolution by military deeds.[88] The original location of Demochares' figure is unknown; if it was in the northwest corner, it will have come into association with Demosthenes' statue and so replicated visually Demochares' defence of the orators. In this configuration, Demosthenes will no longer have seemed to be on his way to counsel the Athenians or to fight in court. Instead, he will have been fixed in one moment in time, when the city was under Macedonian threat and he had not yet died on behalf of the *demos*. His lined face and still pose will have been particularly appropriate for this arrangement depicting a specific moment near the end of his life. In this context, it will have been much harder to ignore Demosthenes' lack of success against the Macedonians and, in contrast to Kallias and Demochares, he will have seemed like a much less martial figure. Of course, his honorary decree still made it clear why he had been awarded highest honours, but now the really exemplary Athenians were the democrats who had successfully fought the Macedonians. In the space of the Agora, their statues will have dominated not only Demosthenes' figure, but also those of the Macedonian kings, so that the overwriting of these enemies, which began with Demosthenes' monument, was now continued and extended.

The fortunes and imagery of Kallias' and Demochares' statues proved to be no more stable than Demosthenes' had. When the city capitulated to King Antigonos Gonatas, the son of Demetrios Poliorketes, in the summer of 262, she once again came under close Macedonian control and lost her independence.[89] Now, fighting Mace-

85 Shear (forthcoming). For the different options, see Dillon 2006, 107–109, 110.
86 Shear, Jr. 1978, 1–2 with n. 1; Shear 2012a, 292; Shear (forthcoming).
87 [Plut.] Mor. 847D. On the date, see Dillon 2006, 104.
88 Shear 2012a, 291; Shear (forthcoming).
89 On the Chremonidean War, see Habicht 1997, 142–149 and Oliver 2007b, 127–131 with further references. The war began in Peithodemos' archonship, now placed in 269/8, and ended late in the archonship of Antipatros, dated to 263/2; IG II^2 686 + 687; Osborne 2009, 89; Osborne 2012, 127–129; Byrne 2006/7, 175–179; Apollodoros FGrHist 244 F44 with Dorandi 1990, 130; Osborne 2009, 90.

donians became an inappropriate image so that neither Kallias and Demochares nor Demosthenes appeared to be quite so exemplary. Instead, the new political circumstances opened up opportunities for other men, most especially Kallias' brother Phaidros, to claim honours from the city. Since Phaidros had been very active in the city in the 290s and 280s and had taken part in the revolution, securing highest honours for him required considerable rewriting of the city's history and the creation of a different set of imagery for the honorand, as I have discussed elsewhere.[90] When his composite monument was erected in the Agora,[91] it will have been juxtaposed with the existing monuments, including the memorials for Kallias, Demochares, and Demosthenes. The resulting competition called into question the image of Phaidros as an exemplary Athenian and required readers and viewers to choose between different versions of events in the 280s.[92] They also had to ask what exactly it meant to be a good Athenian who modelled the appropriate behaviour for citizens. For us, this competition brings out the instability of the imageries of all the composite monuments and the extent to which they were affected not only by the erection of subsequent structures, but also by the city's changing political fortunes.

The imagery of the exemplary Athenian and, consequently, the presentation of these various honorands will have changed again in 200 B.C. when the Athenians declared war on Philip V and the Macedonians. At this time, they destroyed royal monuments and the erased references to the kings in inscriptions.[93] In these circumstances, fighting Macedonians was once again appropriate and Phaidros was deemed entirely too friendly with the enemy, hence the large sections of text which were erased from his inscription.[94] Now, Demosthenes once again looked liked a good model and the imagery created in 281/0 was relevant in the current political circumstances when the Athenians were at war with the Macedonians. The current citizens should follow his example, both in terms of their financial contributions, but also, and more importantly, in their resolve against this old enemy of the city. In that way, they might gain success, just as Kallias and his compatriots had in 286.

Even greater changes for Demosthenes came in the Augustan period when the statue seems to have been moved to the road along the west side of the Agora. Now he stood near Eirene and Ploutos, Lykourgos, and Kallias the fifth-century statesman (fig. 2).[95] If the *stele* with Demosthenes' honorary decree was not moved with his statue, then viewers' perceptions will have depended largely on what they previously knew about the honorand and what they could infer from the current setting. Obviously, he

90 IG II^2 682; Shear (forthcoming).
91 IG II^2 682.80–81.
92 Shear (forthcoming).
93 Above n. 69.
94 IG II^2 682.6, 37–38, 40–41, 42–44, 47–52; Shear (forthcoming).
95 Above n. 36. Some or all of these other statues may also have been moved to this location at this time.

was one of a series of exemplary Athenians, but now he was presented as a bringer of peace, as various scholars have noted,[96] and his role as a fighter of Macedonians was de-emphasised. This new context brought out his service in a civic capacity, a role reinforced by the decidedly civic attire of his figure. Siting Demosthenes north of the Eponymous Heroes and south of the Temple of Ares removed the figure from its previous proximity to the Stoa of Zeus and eliminated the honorand's role as a bringer of freedom to the city. Now, the new location near to the war god's sanctuary picked up on the Macedonian Ares mentioned in the statue's epigram. The god in the market place, however, was certainly not Macedonian and, under the peace brought by the Romans, he could hardly be said to be ruling the Greeks. Rather, Eirene and Ploutos now had the upper hand and the god of war was kept firmly in check. These juxtapositions also brought out the failure of the Macedonians because they no longer controlled Athens and had been defeated many years before by the Romans. In this current context, Demosthenes' own inability to ward off the Macedonians may have been rather less obvious to viewers than the text of the epigram might initially suggest to us. Shifting the focus away from the epigram would further have reinforced the presentation of Demosthenes as a bringer of peace who had contributed to Athens in a civic, rather than martial, capacity, quite the opposite image of the one originally created in 281/0! Of course, under the Roman Empire, this emphasis on peace-bringing was much more appropriate than fighting (now conquered) Macedonians and thus the Hellenistic past had to be rewritten for the Roman present.

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96 Worthington 1986; von den Hoff 2009, 204–205.

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Milena Melfi

The Stele of Polybios

Art, Text and Context in Second-Century BC Greece

Two large stelai were erected in Mantinea and Kleitor, in Arkadia, in honour of the historian Polybios. They both bore identical inscriptions in verse:

> τοῦτο Λυκόρτα παιδὶ πόλις περικαλλὲς ἄγαλμα
> ἀντὶ καλῶν ἔργων εἵσατο Πουλυβίωι
>
> The polis for the son of Lykortas set up this excellent statue,
> for Polybios in change of his good deeds

The inscribed fragment from Mantinea was found in secondary use near the agora of the city in the 1890s, and only measures 25 x 27 cm, but its profile allowed the first editor to conclude without doubt that it originally formed part of a stele.[1] The stele from Kleitor, which has similarly been known since the 19th century, is extraordinarily large (218 x 111 cm), in relatively low relief, and almost complete (figs. 1 and 2).[2]

It depicts a warrior, almost 2 m tall, wearing an exomis belted at the waist and a long mantle clasped on his right shoulder. The man raises his right hand high, palm outward, while holding a spear and the rolled lower part of his mantle in his left. A large round shield and a crested helmet rest on the ground. A sword is strapped across his chest.[3] The text on the upper frame of the stele is unfortunately very fragmentary, but was fully reconstructed, already at the time of its discovery, on the basis of two later inscriptions from Olympia, honouring a descendent of Polybios.[4] Both the lettering of the inscriptions and the figurative relief preserved in the stele from Kleitor are perfectly compatible with a late Hellenistic date and it is generally agreed that they should be considered roughly contemporary to Polybios' activity in Greece. This is to be placed either before 168 BC, when his career of military and political leader of the

I would like to thank Irene Berti, Myrina Kalaitzi, Thomas Nelson and Bert Smith for the many useful discussions on the stele and its inscription. I am also grateful to the staff at the Demarcheio of Kleitoria for allowing me to look at the stele in much detail.

1 Text from Mantinea: τοῦτο Λυκόρτ[α παιδὶ πόλις] |περικαλλ[ὲς ἄγαλμα]|[ἀντὶ καλῶν ἔργων]|[εἵσατο Πουλυβίωι] (Fougères 1896, 145; IG V 2.304)
2 Gurlitt 1881.
3 Full description in Bol/Eckstein 1975.
4 Purgold, coming back from Olympia in June 1880, integrated the text from Kleitor as: [τοῦτο Λυκόρτα παιδὶ πόλις περικαλλὲς ἄγαλμα]|ἀντὶ καλῶν ἔργων εἵσατο Πọ[υ]λụ[βίωι] (Milchöfer 1881). On the later inscriptions of Flavius Polybios and their significance, see Heller 2011.

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Achaean league was cut short by his deportation to Rome, or in the years 146–145 BC, when he was sent to Greece from Rome shortly after the sack of Corinth and the defeat of the Achaean League in order to facilitate the political transition of the Greek cities to Rome's control. Some aspects of this intriguing evidence have been considered recently in works by Anna Heller and John Ma.[5]

Fig. 1: Cast of the stele of Polybios made in Berlin shortly after the discovery of the stele (taken from Gurlitt 1881).

Fig. 2: The stele of Polybios in the Dimarcheion of Kleitoria in 1972 © DAI Athen, neg. 1972-2658.

The existence of these two stelai is paralleled by the account of Pausanias, who repeatedly makes precise reference to images of Polybios carved on stone slabs and accompanied by inscriptions in verse. In the agora of Megalopolis, the image of Polybios, son of Lykortas, is described as carved on a stele and accompanied by an inscribed elegiac couplet reading that "he roamed over every land and every sea, and [...] became the ally of the Romans and stayed their wrath against the Greeks".[6] In the

5 Heller 2011; Ma 2013, 279–284.
6 Paus. 8.30.8: γέγραπται δὲ καὶ ἐλεγεῖα ἐπ' αὐτῷ λέγοντα ὡς ἐπὶ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν πᾶσαν πλανηθείη, καὶ ὅτι σύμμαχος γένοιτο Ῥωμαίων καὶ παύσειεν αὐτοὺς ὀργῆς < τῆς > ἐς τὸ Ἑλληνικόν.

sanctuary of Despoina at Lykosoura, the historian was depicted in one of a series of reliefs in white marble that included images of Zeus, Heracles and the Nymphs. At the time of Pausanias, this relief allegedly bore an epigram that read: "Greece would never have fallen at all, had she obeyed Polybios in everything, and when she met disaster her only help came from him".[7] Other depictions of the historian on stelai are mentioned by Pausanias at Mantinea, in the temple of Asklepios and the Letoids, and in the agora of Tegea, in the sanctuary of Eileithia next to the altar of Gea and the stele of Elatos.[8] Pausanias does not specify whether these latter figured stelai bore verse inscriptions or not, but it is likely that the Mantinaean one was the same as that found in fragments in the same site in the 19th century. The point on which the literary evidence agrees entirely with the archaeological and epigraphical data is that most of the honorary monuments for Polybios were stelai. Since figured, large size stelai are a very unusual form of honorary monuments, it seems clear that Polybios was honoured with a series of unique and exceptional documents, the nature of which is better explained by looking separately at their text, image, historical context, and geographical attestations.[9]

1 The Inscription

The identical inscriptions on the stelai from Kleitor and Mantinea (although the latter does not preserve the figured relief) are both incised on the upper frame of the figured stele. Their placement is comparable to that found in funerary stelai of the Classical period such as that of Chairedemos and Lykeas from Salamis.[10] They also come in the form of an epigram, as it is customary in funerary monuments. Although the name of Polybios is qualified by the patronym, and mention is made of a generic polis which dedicated the monument, the text is not engrained in the language and formulas of Hellenistic civic honours and does not reflect any particular context.

The language of the inscribed text is also worth some consideration. The monument is defined περικαλλὲς ἄγαλμα—a beautiful gift—that is an unusual expression of great antiquity. It appears in dedications of the archaic period both inscribed and in literature, where, following Chrestos Karouzos' analysis of the testimonies, it always refers to objects offered to the gods (statues, vases, tripods).[11] Beyond its intrinsic

7 Paus. 8.37.2: καί οἱ ἐπίγραμμά ἐστιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε μὴ ἂν σφαλῆναι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, εἰ Πολυβίῳ τὰ πάντα ἐπείθετο, καὶ ἁμαρτούσῃ δι' ἐκείνου βοήθειαν αὐτῇ γενέσθαι μόνου.

8 Mantinea: Paus. 8.9.1; Tegea: Paus. 8.48.8.

9 Relief stelai in Greece had mostly funerary or votive purpose, and a stele of this size "would be more understandable as a gravestone" (Ridgway 2000, 212).

10 Steinhauer 2001, 338.

11 Karouzos 1941, 535–578; see also Ma 2013, 283. In the 6th century BC, the formula appears in

meaning, the formula is also a perfect closure for a hexameter and could be used as a standard metric combination at the end of the verse, as shown in a few later dedications.[12] The theme of the beauty (of the gift) is pursued in the following verse, where it is paralleled by the similarly beautiful actions (ἀντὶ καλῶν ἔργων) performed by Polybios. The wording is strikingly simple and non-descriptive, it does not provide any detail of the reasons why Polybios was honoured by the polis (which polis?) and is completely at odds with the contemporary honorific decrees where long explanations and precise formulas are normally used to praise the dedicatees.

Although the writing is far from monumental and the letters are small, the inscription is nevertheless given exceptional prominence because of Polybios' stance. The lifted right hand of the figure, palm outward, breaks the frame of the relief and clearly brings the attention of the viewer to the inscription on the crowning. Text and image become therefore an indissoluble whole: the image points at the text that refers to it. This might have also been a special expedient to facilitate the reading of an honorary monument whose inscription was unusually placed at the top, and not on the base.

John Ma suggests that the sharing of the same text at Kleitor and Mantinea might imply that there was a standard formula available for the cities of the Peloponnese who wanted to honour Polybios.[13] If this is true, as I believe, it might explain why the text of the inscription was kept so vague and generic, without precise indications of the polis which dedicated the monument, the circumstances of the dedication and the motivation of the honours. In contrast, the texts preserved by Pausanias for the inscribed stelai erected in honour of the historian in Megalopolis and Lykosoura appear of a completely different nature (see above). These have strong political connotations, make obvious use of hindsight, and are strongly coherent with the image given by Polybios of himself in his written histories. Furthermore they appear artificial and literary in their composition.[14] It would not be surprising if they were composed and inscribed well after the death of the historian, in a context of evocation and praise of his literary work and deeds. They would certainly not make much sense, given their insisted reference to the relation with Rome, within the chronological framework of the activity of the historian in Greece, neither before 168 BC, when Polybios was still a hipparch of the Achaean League struggling against Rome, nor after 146 BC, when the Greek cities would have been still much too bruised and unsettled to accept a straight-

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Cheramyes' dedications to Hera of the statuary group in Samos (IG XII 6.558); in the dedication of a kouros to Apollo at the Ptoion in Boeotia (CEG I 335); in an inscription for 'the gods' on a bronze aryballos from Sparta. In literature, Herodotus uses the formula twice in reference to dedications of tripods to Apollo (Hdt. 5.60 and 5.61).

12 Such as the funerary epigram for Areskousa in Lakonia (IG V 1.960) and the copy of Alcamenes' herm in Pergamon (MDAI(A) 29, 1904, 179–186).

13 Ma 2013, 282.

14 Ma defines the Megalopolitan inscription Odysseian and the Lykosouran one Demosthenic: Ma 2013, 279.

forward and consequential relation between their fall and the lack of submission to the Roman state. This further confirms that the inscription preserved in the stelai of Mantinea and Kleitor probably corresponds to the original text composed in honour of Polybios at the time of his activity in Greece, a text that was vague enough to be used and adapted by the many cities that honoured the historian with a stele in the Peloponnese.

2 The Image on the Stele

Since it appears clear from Pausanias' testimony that all monuments in honour of Polybios were stelai, and the only preserved honorary stele left from this period, exceptional for its size and appearance, is that of Kleitor, it is most likely that all stelai erected in the Peloponnese for Polybios were similar or identical to the stele of Kleitor.

It has already been made clear in the previous paragraphs that the choice of a figured stele with a crowning epigram as the support for an honorary image is highly unusual, and would be more understandable in the world of funerary art. But this is only one of the many ways in which this monument mixes and matches different visual contexts and semantic details. A world of hero and afterlife bliss is evoked also by the iconography chosen for representing Polybios. The image, although allegedly depicting a contemporary figure, verges on the registers of the ideal. The cloak that covers diagonally the left part of his upper body and is firmly held in a thick roll at the front by the left hand is a specific declension of the *Hüftmantel* or hip-mantle. Hip-mantles are believed to have been a popular heroic costume in the Hellenistic period, for both senior deities (such as the Poseidon of Melos) and younger rulers in the East.[15] The *Hüftmantel* worn by Polybios has nevertheless the special characteristic of being clasped on the right shoulder, covering part of the torso. Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway had long suggested that this "typical pattern formed by the warrior's mantle recurs with some frequency on votive and funerary reliefs of the *Hero Equitans* type where the main personage is portrayed on foot near his mount".[16] In particular, the large votive relief of the hero Makedon from Basel and at least three funerary reliefs from Smyrna, Pergamon, and Byzantion, all dated to the 2nd century BC, offer striking comparisons for both the drapery and the pose of Polybios from Kleitor.[17] In all these examples, the long chlamys, wrapped in the peculiar way described above, the chitoniskos and the raised right hand (reaching for the horse or, in one case, a weapon) seem to characterize either the deceased or the hero as a rider. These heroic

15 Hallett 2005, 120–132

16 Ridgway 2000, 211.

17 Schmidt 1991, 17–18 and fig. 43 (Basel); Pfuhl/Möbius 1977, cat. no. 647 (Smyrna), 293 (Pergamon), 292 (Byzantion).

riders are all qualified also as military figures, because they are always accompanied by diminutive squires who carry their weapons: round shields (Basel), spears (Byzantion and Pergamon) and swords (Byzantion). As suggested by Schmidt, the choice of such iconography for the representation of Polybios might have been motivated by the desire to evoke his previous political career as Hipparch of the Achaean League.[18]

While the fact that precise visual parallels in relief sculpture can only be found in images of heroes or the heroized deceased encourages one to read the representation of Polybios in the realm of heroization, some deviations from the main prototypes seem to confirm that we are dealing with a different image. Two main elements of the representation of the heroized rider are in fact missing: the horse and the squire carrying the weapons. Although the horse is entirely absent, the gesture of raising the right hand is kept and adapted to signify a new meaning. Similarly the diminutive squire has disappeared, but the main figure still has the canonical weapons that are attested all together or separately in reliefs of heroized riders on foot: round shield, helmet, spear and sword. A main difference is, however, represented by Polybios' attire under the chlamys. This differs substantially from similar figures on funerary and votive reliefs. Polybios is, in fact, wearing an exomis that leaves his chest partially bare, differently from the hero riders who normally dress in chitoniscos or light shirt under the chlamys. The exomis is normally worn by soldiers, workmen and those gods or mythical figures associated with craftsmanship and physical labour.[19] Interestingly, the combination of exomis and chlamys features as the attire of some of the hipparchs in the Parthenon frieze and the closest iconographic comparison to the dress of Polybios seems to be found in a torso from Kassel, generally interpreted as a depiction of an Attic strategos or hipparch.[20] The length and arrangement of the Kassel torso's exomis—the way the right side falls off the chest and folds over the waist, and the arrangement of the belt—are extremely similar to those of Polybios. Also, the bodies of the two figures have nearly identical ponderation and their bare right chests are well crafted, but not extremely muscular. It seems likely that yet another level was added to the idealisation of the figure of Polybios: the visual echo of the military leaders of Classical Athens, perhaps precisely the Attic hipparchs.

Finally, I believe that a further level of interpretation can be added when looking at the general stance and appearance of the figure. The unusual gesture of the raised right hand does not find precise parallels in Greek iconography, where similar gestures interpreted as of prayer or adoration are known in the presence of divinities, but never isolated, nor given such a prominent role in the composition of the image.[21]

18 Schmidt 1991, 17–18.

19 Bieber 1928, 21.

20 Parthenon: west frieze IV.8, VIII.15; south frieze IV.10. Kassel torso: Gercke/Zimmermann-Elseify 2007, 206–208, cat. no. 64.

21 Adoration: Gurlitt 1881, 158–159; Moreno 1994, 515–519; Ma 2013, 281. Reverence or salute: Ridgway 2000, 210.

The pose mostly resembles gestures of *adlocutio* or address to the people known from Roman sculpture.[22] In this pose we can easily imagine Polybios when "in an elaborate speech, conceived in the spirit of what has just been said, maintained the cause of Philopoemen" in front of the Roman envoys.[23] The impression of a public figure addressing an audience that could be Greek as much as Roman is emphasised by the wide opening of the gesture and by the use of a mantle that, in the Roman period, becomes characteristic of portrait statues of powerful Romans, traders, generals and finally emperors. Also, the rings on Polybios' left hand, although relatively common in representations of the Hellenistic period, are evocative of Roman authority. The comparison comes to mind with the contemporary statue of Polybios' pupil in Rome, Scipio Aemilianus that Cicero describes as easily recognizable, even without inscription, because of *status* (pose), *amictus* (mantle) and *anulus* (ring).[24]

In conclusion, the image and the writing on the stele are carefully crafted to evoke a number of mythical, heroic and historical predecessors, and to appeal to different audiences with the ultimate aim of creating a multi-faceted iconography. Similarly to the inscription that used an artificial and remote language, drawing from the world of divine and funerary dedications rather than from the contemporary context, the image on the stele belongs to the realm of the ideal. The figure conveys political role, military prowess, but also the power of both the spoken and the written word, encapsulated in the gesture of addressing the viewer and showing the inscription. It can be interpreted as a Greek hero, a civic warrior, a Hellenistic politician or a Roman envoy according to taste and probably depending on the context: whether displayed in an agora or in a sanctuary along with a row of divine reliefs, and depending on the political climate.

3 The Making of the Stele/Stelai

Both the relief and the inscription on the Kleitor stele have left little doubt that the work is a late Hellenistic one, contemporary to the activity of Polybios in Greece or slightly later.[25] If one accepts that all the stelai mentioned in Pausanias' text were similar or identical to the stele of Kleitor and originally bore the same text, the honours for Polybios in the Peloponnese must be read as a concerted programme—a programme with a certain relevance, given the size and serialization of the monuments. In this perspective, the multiple images of Polybios, with "standard inscription" have been recently described by John Ma as "a way of displaying a capacity of collective action [of the

22 Brilliant 1963, 65–68.
23 Pol. 39.3.11.
24 Cic. Att. 6.1.17.
25 From IG V 2.304 and 370 onwards; see also Bol/Eckstein 1975.

cities of the Peloponnese], even in the aftermath of the destruction of the federal state of the Achaean League and even without formal decision mechanisms”.[26] The dating of the programme of honours for Polybios in the Peloponnese depends, therefore, on the dating of the stele from Kleitor.

Some scholars believe that the stele should be dated to the first phase of activity of Polybios as a politician of the Achaean League before 168 BC, on the basis of either the characteristics of the depiction of the historian or the historical context. Paolo Moreno and Ridgway claim that our stele depicts a youthful and idealised warrior, and if it represents Polybios it should be dated to an early stage of his career, when he was still a young Hipparch.[27] Anna Heller notes that the generic and sober formulation of the epigram, avoiding any reference to Rome, should be better placed in relation to honours paid to the historian at an early stage of his career.[28] Ma, in accordance with the earlier opinion of Angelos Chaniotis, has recently stressed that the most likely historical context for the making of the stelai and their inscriptions is the post-146 setting of Greece, in particular the years around 145 BC, when Polybios was paid a series of exceptional honours by the cities of the Peloponnese.[29]

Polybios was, in fact, sent to Greece from Rome shortly after 146 BC with the task of following up on the work of the ten Roman commissioners sent to settle the Greek poleis, give the country new constitutions and ultimately facilitate the political transition to the control of Rome.[30] On his departure “the people, who always admired and honoured this man, being in every way satisfied with the conduct of his last years and his management of the business just described, honoured him with the most ample marks of their respect (ταῖς μεγίσταις τιμαῖς)”.[31] This constitutes to my mind the most likely context for the erection of the stele. Arguments aiming at a higher date, on the basis of the youthfulness of the depiction and apparent incoherence of the martial iconography with the contemporary activities of Polybios, can be rejected when accepting that we are dealing with an idealised representation of the historian as a quasi-heroic figure (see above).[32] In particular, a date pre-168 for the erection of the reliefs would lead one to question why just Polybios, as a young hipparch of the Achaean League, should have been the recipient of honours so extraordinary as not

26 Ma 2013, 280–281.
27 Moreno 1994, 515–519; Ridgway 2000, 211.
28 Heller 2011, 303.
29 Angelos Chaniotis had already associated all monuments for Polybios and linked them to the events of 145 BC (Chaniotis 1988, 330); more recently Ma 2013, 279–284.
30 Pol. 39.5.1–3.
31 Pol. 39.5.4: διὸ καὶ καθόλου μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀποδεχόμενοι καὶ τιμῶντες τὸν ἄνδρα, περὶ τοὺς ἐσχάτους καιροὺς καὶ τὰς προειρημένας πράξεις εὐδοκούμενοι κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ταῖς μεγίσταις τιμαῖς ἐτίμησαν αὐτὸν κατὰ πόλεις καὶ ζῶντα καὶ μεταλλάξαντα (Engl. transl. by E. S. Shuckburgh).
32 Moreno 1994, 516–517, following an original suggestion by Wolters (Friedrichs/Wolters 1885, no. 1854); Ridgway 2000, 211.

even his father, who led the same league, ever received. Also, on the verge of the final clash with the Romans, it is arguable whether such an eminently anti-Roman visual programme, as a result of a collective action of the Achaeans as a political entity, celebrating one of their leaders, would have been strategically wise and not to be intended as provocation.[33]

That Polybios was a fundamental figure in the affairs of the Peloponnese precisely in the post-146 BC context is clearly demonstrated, beyond his own writing, by the setting up of a bronze statue in his honour in the most venerable, and most political, place of Greece: the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia. Here he stood, in front of the temple of Zeus, next to statues of Mummius, of the ten commissioners in charge of the political reorganization of Greece and of Rome as a personification.[34] These three groups of monuments visualised the most recent developments of Greece's history, and confirmed the pro-Roman position of the Eleans, who had always been in charge of the administration of the sanctuary.[35] If Polybios at Olympia was given a canonical bronze statue with a standard honorary dedication in order to visualise the Eleans' allegiance to the Roman state and their acceptance of the conditions imposed through the historian, is it then possible that a similar situation was also in place in the other cities of the Peloponnese who displayed his image?[36]

In such a context, it would make complete sense that five (at least) unique and extraordinarily large stelai, all bearing the same depiction of Polybios as a heroic civic warrior, and a generic, but sophisticated inscription adaptable to the use of any polis, were produced, commissioned and distributed in the cities of Arkadia (Kleitor, Mantinea, Tegea, Lykosoura, Megalopolis). These were the most likely to be associated with the diplomatic activities of Megalopolitan Polybios. The making and displaying of the stelai of Polybios, because of their scale and unity of conception, would not only show the capacity of the poleis for collective action even after the dissolution of the League, as put forward by Ma, but might also hint at a visual programme of a political nature.[37] The images and the poetic text celebrating the historian in the guise of a heroic fighter and politician were probably produced to be displayed in

33 Similarly less likely are proposals that tend to make the stelai posthumous honours by comparison with the later stelai of his descendent Flavios Polybios (Heller 2011, 303–304). It would be even more difficult to imagine such a serialization of a clearly political image in a period much distant from the dissolution of the Achaean League.

34 Mummius: IvO 319; ten commissioners: IvO 320–424; Rome: IvO 317.

35 The Eleans—and the sanctuary of Olympia—clearly dissociated themselves from the rebellious behaviour of most other Peloponnesians and welcomed Mummius and his political team as a new phase in their history. Such position might explain why Elis, alone among the Achaean cities, retained the right to struck coins and received a particularly lenient treatment after the events of 146 BC.

36 Statue base for Polybios: IvO 302. The statue preserves the sockets for two bronze feet on its upper side. The inscription reads ἡ πόλις ἡ τῶν Ἠλείων Πολύβιον / Λυκόρτα Μεγαλοπολείτην.

37 Ma 2013, 280–281 on 'collective action'.

cities where the negotiations with Rome had been successfully completed and the transition to the new order had already taken place. To the same negotiations might have alluded the unusual gesture of *adlocutio* discussed above. The image of an idealized Polybios addressing the viewer would have ultimately acted as a guarantee that the place was faithful and allied and did not deserve any trouble. Defined in words as an *agalma*, an untouchable and divine gift of semi-religious character, the stele might have served as protection for the land and its goods—a protection similar to that which the historian was able to exert in person when he saved the statues of Philopoemen and Aratus that the Roman commissioners wanted to carry away. In the face of political disruption the image chosen to bear a message of alignment to Roman policy, while trying and preserving the local identity, was ultimately that of a Greek of noble and quasi-heroic descent, no matter his political views.

A last question remains, which relates to the practicalities of the making of the stelai. The latter must have implied considerable labour because each piece was very sizable, there were probably more than five of them, they all had to be similar if not identical and distributed to different poleis. We cannot imagine this work to be accomplished anywhere else but in a well-developed local workshop, where over-size sculptures of marble could be made. The years between 168 and the mid 1st century BC were among the most dramatic for the Peloponnese and those parts of Greece that were to constitute the Roman province of Achaia.[38] This was a time when artistic patronage and building activity were most improbable, since pillages and destructions affected the territories of the cities that had opposed Rome, and the country was torn apart by internal divisions and cash stripped because of wars and war tribute. Around the middle of the 2nd century BC only one workshop seems to have been flourishing in the Peloponnese, that of the sculptor Damophon of Messene, who "specialised in heroic and divine images, some on a colossal scale".[39] The works of Damophon and his sons reached an extraordinary network of poleis well beyond the Peloponnese, to Achaia, the Cyclades and Ionian islands. Damophon himself was very well connected and able to satisfy diverse customers even when the need arose to work for free or pay for primary material out of his own pocket, as it is documented in a number of decrees in his honour.[40] The workshop of Damophon would therefore have been one of the few, if not the only, capable to both produce and distribute the remarkable series of monuments for Polybios. The fact that works of Damophon are attested in at least two of the locations where Polybios was honoured (Megalopolis and Lykosoura) seems to enforce this connection.

Franz Studniczka suggested for the first time in 1911 on stylistic and technical grounds that the stele of Polybios should be attributed to the workshop of Damophon

38 Gruen 1984, 517–23; Kallet-Marx 1995, 89–94.
39 Themelis 1996, 178.
40 Melfi 2013.

the Messenian, a suggestion later resurrected by Moreno.[41] A brief survey of the heads preserved in Lykosoura and Messene confirms many technical and stylistic similarities with the 'portrait' of Polybios, in particular in the shape of the oval, the treatment of the eyes with arched top eyelids and deep eyebrows converging to the nose in a straight line, the characteristic bulging profile of the forehead, and the revealing modelling of the small lips with side dimples. Demeter and Anytos from Lykosoura, and Apollo and Herakles from Messene seem to have several of the above features in common with Polybios.[42] It is nevertheless the more general style of the representation that is, to my mind, intimately connected with the art of Damophon. This is the eclectic neoclassicism that characterises most of his work, the capacity of mixing the high-classical composition of an Attic stele, and the 4th century features of a warrior's head with the Asiatic rendering of a civic drapery, and the iconography of Roman portrait statues, while verging on the neo-attic in the details.[43] This highly cultured eclecticism is not limited to style, but is also evident in the choice of semantic components from past and present in order to convey a complex image.

Viewed in a historical perspective, the choice of the complex and well-organised workshop run by Damophon and his children, that had produced and distributed a number of statues and statuary groups for at least 20 years in the Peloponnese and beyond, would have been the most obvious for the monuments of Polybios. The specific historical context, that is to say the period of economic crisis and confusion following the fall of Corinth, and the need of replicating the image fast and effectively could also explain the choice of an unusual type, the honorary stele, much unlike any pre-existing examples. Stelai of local marble were certainly cheaper to make and easier to replicate than statues in the round for an experienced local workshop.[44] Even if the stelai of Polybios distributed in the Peloponnese were not the product of the Messenian workshop of Damophon and his sons, we are forced to reconstruct the activity of a capable and networked workshop that was able to provide a unique and extraordinary example of serialization of images and text for the Peloponnesian poleis at around 145 BC. The images were accompanied by a standard inscription, easily adaptable to all poleis involved and to a range of public contexts within the poleis (agorai, sanctuaries etc). Some of the poleis, though, might not have accepted

41 Studniczka 1911 compared the treatment of the forehead, eyes and temples of Polybios with those of the colossal heads of Demeter and Anytos from Lykosoura. He furthermore noticed the use of detailed relief decoration in both the mantle of Despoina and the pommel of Polybios sword. Moreno 1994, 517 noted the structural affinity between Polybios' head and those of the divinities of Lykosoura and the Asklepieion of Messene, all ascribed to Damophon.

42 For the most complete treatment of Damophon's sculptures, see Themelis 1993.

43 Such as the decoration of the pommel of the sword strapped at Polybios' side, where Studniczka detected either a griffin or an eros riding a feline (see n. 41 above, and Studniczka 1911).

44 According to Studniczka the stele was made of the same Doliana marble as the Lykosoura sculptures, but this can only be proved by specific analysis of the stone.

the suggested text and possibly displayed the stele without inscription, or later added one or the other of the poetic texts recorded by Pausanias. The importance of this operation cannot be overestimated and suggests that only a few months after passing under the control of the Romans, the cities of the Peloponnese used the language of the images and the effectiveness of the written word to express clearly their political position to the incoming power.

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Elizabeth A. Meyer

Inscribing in Columns in Fifth-Century Athens

After the Persian Wars, Athens increasingly became a city of inscribed monuments clustered in her great sanctuaries and cemeteries. This epigraphic change manifested itself not just in numbers, but also in the physical form and appearance of these monuments. Not only were back-and-forth (*boustrophedon*) writing and writing up-and-down (rather than across-a-stone) now relics of a pre-Persian past; left-to-right writing in continuous horizontal lines and even an orderly checkerboard arrangement of letters, so-called *stoichedon*, became notably more common as texts became longer over the course of the century.[1] Another change whose first manifestations in Athens straddled the years of the great Persian invasion, as the introduction of *stoichedon* did, was the development and employment of the columnar format: the inscription of information (often one item of information, such as a name, per line) in relatively narrow left-aligned columns, with spaces left blank between them to set the columns off against each other and emphasize their verticality. Between 500 and 410 BC, this columnar format was not common. When it was used, it was used consistently for the city's casualty-lists;[2] then for the (so-called) Athenian tribute-lists;[3] for accounts listing money (almost always including, at times predominantly, money belonging to the gods) spent on statues and buildings for the gods and their sanctuaries;[4] and finally for the 'Attic *stēlai*', an extensive listing on stone of property (of the convicted mockers of the Eleusinian Mysteries in 415 BC) confiscated, auctioned, and taxed, inscribed on a ten-*stēlai* monument formatted in multiple columns and placed

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1 Austin 1938/1973, 4–5, 25–26; Keesling 2012, 144–145.

2 For recent overviews, Ruggeri 2013, 135–178 and Arrington 2015, 91–108.

3 Not tribute itself but one-sixtieth of it given to Athena; see now Paarmann 2007; Monaco 2008, 62–69; and Tracy 2014a.

4 Excluded from the list given below (n. 9) because not attributable to a monument are: IG I^3 396 = I.Eleusis 25, for an unknown building project at Eleusis; IG I^3 397 = I.Eleusis 29, a fragment of an account; IG I^3 64B, possibly accounts for the temple of Athena Nike but not apparently in columnar format; IG I^3 431–432, 434, and 480–497, fragments of (probably) columnar accounts that cannot be identified or placed (Walbank 1975 tried to associate IG I^3 434 with the *Promachos* accounts, but the dating formula he restores is too extensive for the spacing on the existing fragments). Marginesu/Themos 2014 have reassigned IG I^3 454 (once among the accounts for the *Parthenos* statue) to the accounts for the Samian Expedition.

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in (most likely) the City Eleusinion.[5] Only in the last decade of the fifth century was the use of this columnar format substantially extended, to inscriptions of five other genres. Two of these genres were very old (the sacred calendar and the archon-list), now re-inscribed onto stone; two were hybrids of existing genres (the account-inventory and the decree-catalogue); and one was a newly expanded version of one of Athens' oldest inscribing genres (group dedications). The questions this paper addresses are therefore twofold. Why might this columnar format have been adopted, yet only—particularly at first—for the display of certain types of information? And why was there such an expansion in its use in the last decade of the fifth century? After establishing that columnar formatting was not only a phenomenon at Athens but also, in the forms in which it is seen there, probably a specifically Athenian development, the link to its local visual predecessors is investigated and the implications of old-fashioned religiosity and honor of that link given a central role in explaining the changes of the last decade of the fifth century. When Athenian epigraphy changed, it built on what had come before, not only in shape and format, but also in meaning.

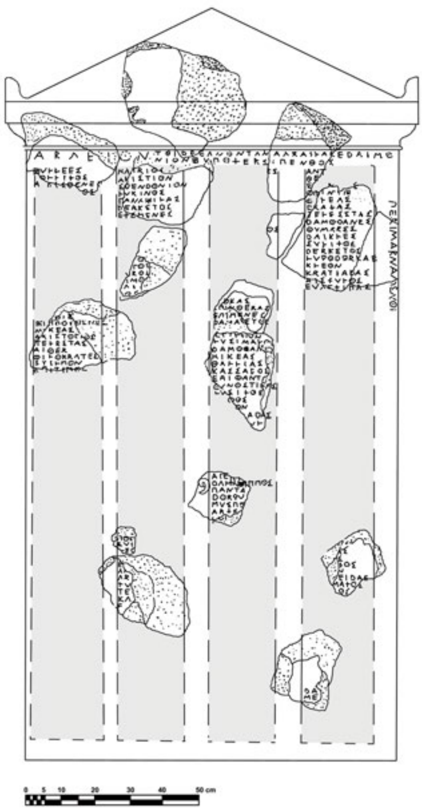

Fig. 1: Single-stone casualty list (IG I^3 1149) (drawn by D. Weiss, after Papazarkadas/Sourlas, 2012, 597 fig. 6).

5 The fragments might combine into fewer than ten *stēlai*, Tracy 2014b, 268; Eleusinion, Pritchett 1953, 234–235.

1 Columnar-Format Monuments at Athens and Elsewhere

Monuments displaying information in columns took the form of stones (whether oblong thin *stēlai*, quadrangular posts, or simply very large blocks) inscribed on one or more of their sides, and often—it is presumed—set in a base. On these fifth-century Athenian monuments, the number of inscribed columns (almost always more than one) can vary greatly, as can their state of preservation (which can limit what we know about number of columns). The genre with the most fragments not (yet) all satisfactorily combined into *stēlai* and dated larger monuments is that of the casualty-lists (for an example, see fig. 1),[6] while the tribute-list fragments, their information in 'double-item' columns (a monetary amount and its paying state in the same line) have proved somewhat more (but not entirely) amenable to reassembly.[7]

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6 Casualty-lists: the six dates supplied here are (with one exception) from IG I^3. Those with only one column preserved: IG I^3 1145 (possibly to be combined with 1144, Bradeen 1974, 6), 1148, 1152, 1155 (with a horizontal line carved after *l.*1, the first surviving line), 1158, 1159, 1160, 1161, 1165, 1166 (but it was wider if the restoration of the heading is correct), 1169, 1171, 1172, 1176, and 1188; IG I^3 1035 may be a casualty-list, but if so the tribe is identified anomalously. Those with two columns on one *stēlē*, each *stēlē* (possibly) a complete monument: IG I^3 1162 (complete, arranged by theater of war; possibly 447 BC), 1164 (of the Lemnians from Myr<r>hine), SEG XLVIII 83; IG I^3 1149 (of the Argives at Tanagra, a complete one-*stēlē* monument with four columns in Argive script (Papazarkadas and Sourlas 2012; 458 BC). Those with (a minimum of) two columns preserved: IG I^3 1146, 1151, 1153, 1156, 1157, 1167, 1182, 1184 (423 BC), 1185 (possibly with IG I^3 240 fr. K, SEG LII 61), and 1187. Those with more than two columns on one stone: IG I^3 1168 (four), 1183 (eight or nine: organized by theater of war and tribe). Those with two (or more) columns on one stone, and probably part of a multi-*stēlē* monument: IG I^3 1144 (A: two columns, right side also inscribed, B: two columns, right side also inscribed; possibly 464 BC), 1147 and 1147*bis* (two *stēlai*, each with three columns; there were eight more *stēlai*, and Clairmont 1983 I, 135–136 no. 20b would also add 1036 to these; 460–458 BC?), 1150 (with anathyrosis, necessitating the hypothesis of the existence of another stone), 1163 (Arrington 2012, 69 joins 1184 to this also, and dates it to 424 BC; anathyrosis), 1175 (three columns; anathyrosis), 1177 (one column; anathyrosis), 1180 (two columns; anathyrosis), 1186 (five *stēlai*, each with five columns; anathyrosis), 1189 (two columns; anathyrosis), 1190 (three columns; anathyrosis), 1191 (three *stēlai* with ten or twelve columns total; anathyrosis; 409 BC), and 1046 might belong here as well (Bradeen 1964, 61), 1192 (three *stēlai* preserved, each with two columns; anathyrosis), 1193 (two *stēlai* with three columns each, or one *stēlē* with six columns), SEG LII 60 (two columns, also separated by a horizontal line after *l.*33).

7 IG I^3 259–290, with a new fragment of IG I^3 270 in Matthaiou 2010, 16–17. In IG I^3 259, the amounts follow the payers' names without a space (these names are arranged in six left-aligned columns, with a summary of the year's amount inscribed on the right side of the stone). In IG I^3 260 the amounts precede the payers' names, creating ten 'double-item' columns aligned mostly on the left (the last three columns running on to the right face of the stone): a 'double-item' column consisted of two smaller, left-aligned columns, one for amount paid and one for the payer. Thereafter the number (per year) of double-item columns varies between two (on the lateral faces) and six. The two exceptions to the pattern of left-alignment of double-item columns are IG I^3 262 and 263, where amounts (given first)

The fragments of the accounts for buildings and statues[8] (and those of the 'Attic *stēlai*')[9] have almost all been successfully identified and assigned, even if reconstructions and dates of the resulting monuments have sometimes eluded scholars. The use of the columnar format created monuments that looked remarkably similar across genres. Most, as restored, are approximately the same height (1,15–2,20 m, most in the 1,50–1,60 m range; this estimate does not include the bases and steps on which they probably rested), while their widths could vary from wide to very wide (1,20–10,90; see table 1 and figs. 2, 3, 4).[10]

align to the right but peoples' names to the left, creating a column that looks more like a telephone pole (see Tracy 2014a, 5–6). Only the first two stones (with more than twenty years' worth of lists) are now plausibly reassembled from their many fragments (see Paarmann 2007); the later lists have been disaggregated after an early, over-ambitious attempt at reassembly, see Kallet 2004.

8 Accounts: unknown construction (one column, within each year the entries and amounts written continuously rather than line-by-line as double-items; the activity takes place over eight years, the post found at the southern end of Athinas street; IG I^3 433, ca. 450?). Statue of Athena *Promachos* (three double-item columns [possibly: argued by Meritt 1936, 369], activity lasting at least nine years; IG I^3 435). This identification was questioned by Stroud 2006, 26–32 but reaffirmed by Marginesu 2010, 29–32. I date these accounts to 445/4–437/6, since the same hand carved these accounts and the 'authorizing' decree for the temple of Athena Nike (Tracy 1984, 281–282), its dating long an object of dispute and now moved to the 420s (see Mattingly 2000 and Gill 2001); and the statue of the *Promachos*, if cast in the bronze-casting pit on the south slope, had to be maneuvered on to the Acropolis, a feat perhaps most easily achieved in the first year of work (437/6) on the Propylaea, when the Old Propylaea was dismantled. Other accounts: Eleusis (double-item column, one line continuing to the right face of stone, for a special project overseen by *epistatai*, possibly the Telesterion because of the mention of 'black stone'; IG I^3 395 = I.Eleusis 23, 440s); Parthenon (two double-item columns on front and back, one double-item column on each side; IG I^3 436–451, 447/6–433/2); statue of Athena *Parthenos* (five double-item columns, each on its own post, clamped together with a crowning member, and a sixth stone, summarizing this account, may have been inscribed in a double-item format and may have been erected separate from the others, see Donnay 1967, 71–76; IG I^3 453, 455–458 [two years], 460; 446/5–438/7); Parthenon doors (one corner fragment survives, with a column on front and right side; IG I^3 461, 438/7); Propylaea (two double-item columns on each wide side; IG I^3 462–466, 437/6–433/2); wealth of the Other Gods (two double-item columns front and back, one double-item column on side B, side D inscribed in continuous-line format; IG I^3 383, 429/8); statues of Athena and Hephaistos (two double-item columns on front face, non-columnar accounts on left face; IG I^3 472, 421/0–416/5); golden *nikai* (IG I^3 467–468; date disputed and 426/5).

9 IG I^3 421–430 (= Langdon 1991, P1), with which IG I^3 1047 might be associated (a fragment with a heading and possibly two slave names, found in the Eleusinion). The number of columns per *stēlē* varies: IG I^3 421 (I) had four, 422 (II) five, 426 (VI) two, 427 (VII) two; all columns in this monument had three components, sales-tax, price, and item.

10 Most of these columnar inscriptions must have been large, but their dimensions cannot always be estimated: of the fourteen casualty-lists that were plausibly parts of larger monuments, for example, the size of only ten can be approximately estimated *in toto*; see Table I and Arrington 2015, 95–96. Similarly, the *Promachos* accounts are too fragmentary to allow restoration, but because of anathyrosis on the right side of a right-hand fragment, this monument is wider than Meritt's drawing (Meritt 1936, 366) implies, see Dinsmoor 1921a, 119 and Stroud 2006, 26–32. The accounts of the doors of the

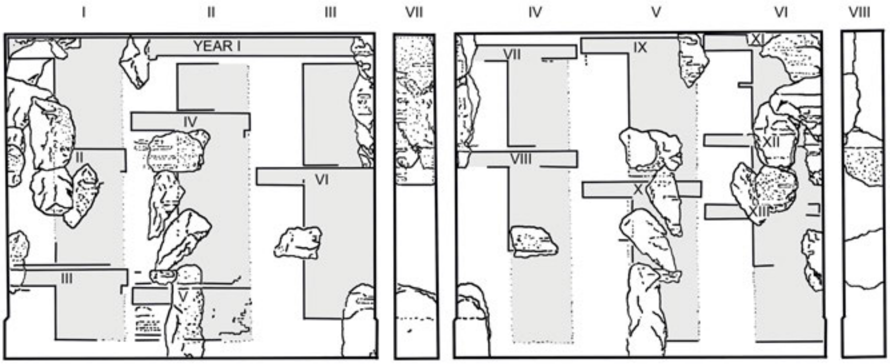

Fig. 2: Parthenon accounts (IG I³ 436–451) (drawn by D. Weiss, after Dinsmoor 1921b, 237 fig. 1).

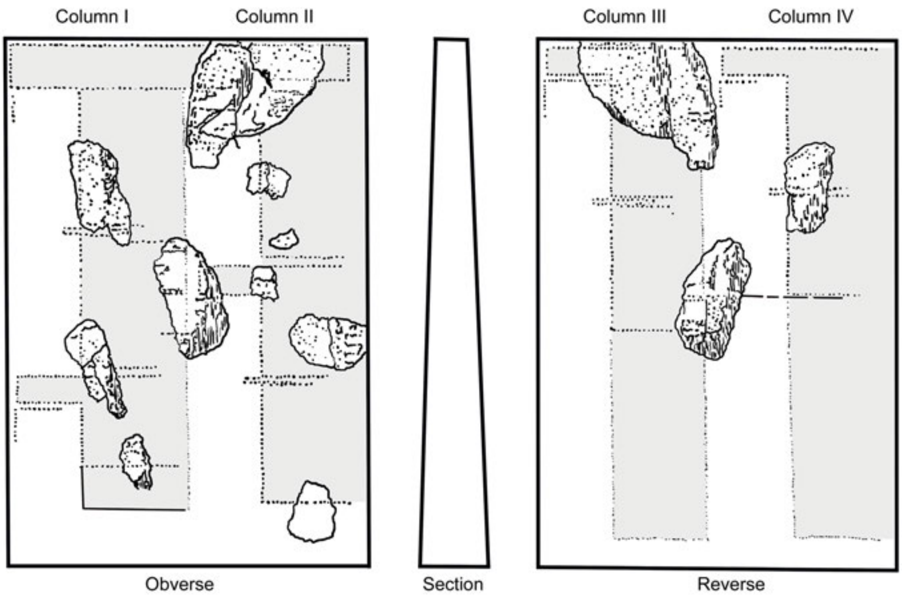

Fig. 3: Propylaea accounts (IG I³ 462–466) (drawn by D. Weiss, after Dinsmoor 1913c, 380 fig. 1).

Parthenon are too fragmentary to estimate their complete width, as too are the accounts of the golden *nikai*. The sacred calendar survives only in small fragments, but the width-dimensions of the spaces into which, it is argued, their *stēlai* would have slotted are 0,949, 0,962, and 1,042 m, J. Shear 2011, 94.

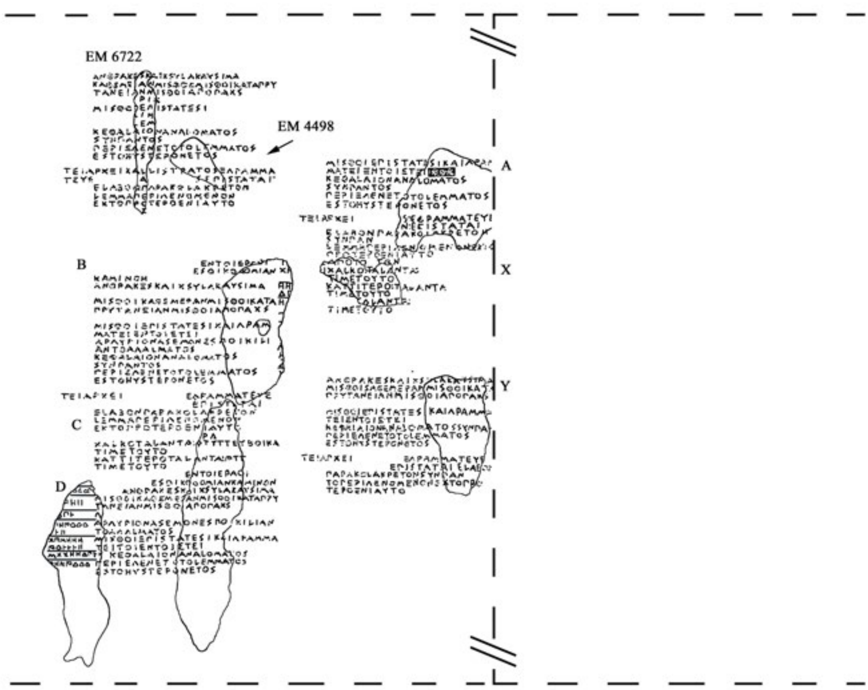

Fig. 4: *Promachos* accounts (IG I^3 435) (drawn by D. Weiss, after Meritt 1936, 366).

The first two tribute-list stones are unusually tall, the first spectacularly so, perhaps because, at least according to one recent assessment, they were reused architectural blocks (fig. 5).[11] The 'Attic *stēlai*', if correctly associated with a base found in the Eleusinion, were components of a monument likely to have been 15 m wide (fig. 6).[12] And some public funerary monuments were also very broad: the more dead there were, the wider the memorial listing them was likely to be.[13] Where headings are preserved, they can run across the entire width of the monument, across the width of a

11 Tribute-lists, dimensions for first *stēlē* (IG I^3 259–270): h ca. 3,583+ w ca. 1,105 th 0,38 m; for second *stēlē* (IG I^3 273–280): h 2,192+ w 1,471 th 0,34 m. Miles 2011, 667 argues that the first was an architrave block, the second possibly a slab for ceiling coffers or a *thranos* (ceiling bearer).

12 Lewis 1997/1966, 162–163 (180–1).

13 Those that were probably wide (more than 2 m) include IG I^3 503–504 (Marathon: although here breadth is not merely functional, since there were only 192 dead), 1147, 1163 (with Arrington 2012: Delium?), 1186, 1190, 1191, 1192, and SEG LII 60 (Sicily?); and many more must have been. More dead makes for bigger and more striking monuments, one good reason why Pausanias noticed the monuments of ten major Athenian defeats: 1.29.4 (Drabescus), 1.29.6 (Tanagra), 1.29.14 (Coronea), 1.29.13 (Delium, Amphipolis, Mantinea), 1.29.11 (Sicily and other places), 1.29.11 (Corinth and Coronea), 1.29.7 (Olynthus), 1.25.3 (Chaeronea), all discussed by Arrington 2011, 191–192 and Arrington 2015, 104–108.

stone, across the width of two columns, across the width of one column, or across the width of half a column.[14] And where headings are preserved, especially initial ones that run across the width of a stone or monument, the intersection of horizontal and vertical creates a strong visual pattern, at times—when the columnar lists are long—even architectural: they look like a series of columns (set on bases or steps) surmounted by an architrave.[15] For the columns of text themselves are in all these Athenian examples narrow, and there is visible spacing between the columns as well.

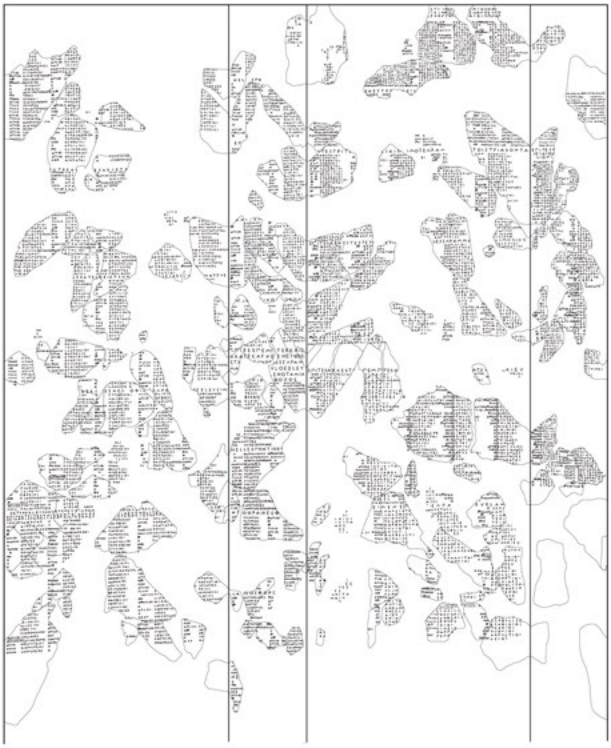

Fig. 5: Tribute List, *lapis primus* (IG I³ 259–272): drawing showing fragments in their place on all four sides (drawn by D. Weiss, after Meritt/Wade-Gery/McGregor 1939, pl. I).

14 Monument headings are not preserved in most casualty-lists, the accounts for the unknown building project (IG I³ 433), the accounts of the Athena *Promachos* statue (IG I³ 435), the Parthenon accounts (although Dinsmoor 1913a, 62 thought the heading would have stretched across two double-item columns), the accounts of the doors of the Parthenon (IG I³ 461), the Attic *stēlai* (IG I³ 421–430), the archon-list (IG I³ 1031), or the sacred calendar (SEG LII 48 and SEG LVII 64).
15 Monuments known to have been crowned by an actual architrave-like stone were IG I³ 1163, 1186, 1191 (casualty-lists); IG I³ 455, 457–458 (Athena *Parthenos* accounts); IG I³ 427 ('Attic *stēlē*' VII, with Lewis 1997/1966, 162 [180]).

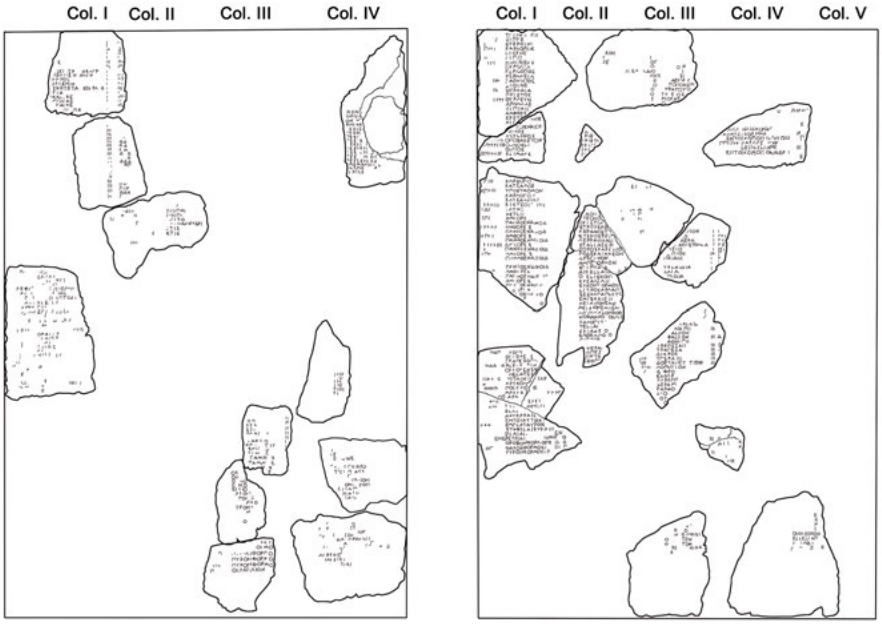

Fig. 6: 'Attic *stēlai*' (IG I^3 421–430), reconstruction (drawn by D. Weiss, after Pritchett 1953, 237–238 figs. 1–2).

Why was this columnar formatting used? It could have been borrowed (it has been suggested) from the formatting of originals written on more ephemeral materials, like papyri, where at least later texts (none from the sixth or fifth centuries survive) were regularly written in columns,[16] although the association is strong only in one of the genres, that of accounts.[17] Or it could have been borrowed from (postulated) habits of

16 Argued by Corso 2002, 184–186, and followed by Camassa 2004, 91–92 and Faraguna 2011, 14. Corso's larger point is that small details of inscribing, such as use of the *paragraphos* (a horizontal line often drawn in the left margin of a text) and the *coronis* (a bird-like marker in the lefthand margin to signal the end of a text), point to the existence of archival originals behind inscribed documents in the Greek world; this could well be right.

17 The erratic use of the *paragraphos* even in accounts on stone in the fifth century (the *coronis* is not found in Athens in this century) argues for possible contact in this genre of accounts, not intentional imitation of format in all genres of columnar inscriptions (where the *paragraphos* is not found). The *paragraphos* is found in only some entries in only three of the years of the tribute-lists (IG I^3 269.26 [col. II], 33 [col. I]; 270.31 [col. II], 34 [col. I]; 283.1 and 3 [col. III], 18 [col. II]); consistently in the Athena *Promachos* accounts (IG I^3 435 [20 times]); in one year only of the Parthenon accounts (IG I^3 449.380, 384, 388, 391, 394, 396, 397, 400, 403); in the summary stone only of the Athena *Parthenos* accounts (IG I^3 460.5, 9, 12, 14, 17); in the accounts of the statues of Athena and Hephaistos (IG I^3 472.138, 141, 145, 148, 150, 151, 152, 154, 160); twice scattered in the 'Attic *stēlai*' (IG I^3 422.177, 426.8) and on one of these *stēlai* consistently (430.2, 4, 7, 9, 12, 29, 30, 35, 39); consistently in only one of the Erechtheion

posting lists of soldiers called up for campaigns, an association that (again) is likely in only one of the genres, that of the casualty-lists.[18] Or it can be seen as just a good way of organizing and conveying information, achieved by breaking it down into smaller units the eye can take in. But ease and functionality are quite subjective, and it is not always straightforward to judge one inscribing format easier to read than another and then decide that it was chosen for that reason. The one potential archaic predecessor on stone to any of the columnar genres, IG I^3 1033 from Sikelia in Attica (thought by one scholar to be a casualty-list and dated to the middle of the sixth century), is not only exceedingly fragmentary but looks quite different (fig. 7a), its (hypothesized) 'columnar'-division indicated only by a vertical line, not by any spacing.[19] Would this have made it easier to read, and this format therefore desirable? There seems no way to answer that question. Was it a useful or direct predecessor? Probably not, given its date and location.

Could the format have been borrowed from elsewhere? Outside Athens there are some examples of inscriptions in more or less columnar format before 450 BC.[20] The only type of information so far known that survives in this format is the list of names, one name per line. Such lists can be found, for example, on (what was probably)

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accounts (IG I^3 474 [33 times]); in the fragmentary accounts IG I^3 485.1, 3, 5 and 486.5; and consistently in two of the Eleusis account-inventories (IG I^3 389 [47 times] and 387 [22 times]). Some relationship to accounts in other media is also supported by two fifth-century accounts on lead that show the *paragraphos*, one from Rhamnous (IG I^3 247*bis*, 500–480; dividing lines 9 and 10) and one from Kalapodi (SEG XXXVII 422, 450–425; dividing lines 3 and 4), but even these parallels (not mentioned by Corso) bring us no closer to other types of inscriptions in columnar format.

18 The format of lists of called-up soldiers is not known, but is plausibly reconstructed as columnar because of the later habit of posting such lists, divided by tribe, under the statue of each eponymous hero on their monument in the Agora (Christ 2001, 403). Such tribal listing is also characteristic of casualty-lists, although the lists of soldiers called up would have had to include patronymic or demotic because of the problem of homonyms within tribes (Bakewell 2008, 150). But the monument of the eponymous heroes is not known before the 420s BC, and the best preserved physical remains in fact date from the fourth century (T. Shear 1970, 203–222). To see columnar formatting as deriving from posting on a postulated predecessor of this tribal monument requires the retrojection of such a monument to the time of the Cleisthenic reforms, for which there is no evidence—despite, also, some interpretations of these reforms as constructing, through the new tribes, a larger and more representative army (Van Effenterre 1976; Bicknell 1969; Bicknell 1972, 19–21; Siewert 1982, 139–145). So such an exemplar is possible but must remain hypothetical, and in what follows I concentrate on what can be demonstrated.

19 Only its top edge is preserved, and its letters were painted red: Peek 1942, 13. In line 2 the word or name in the left-hand 'column' ends one space before the vertical dividing line. Clairmont 1983, I:87–88 suggested that it was a casualty list, but the stone is too fragmentary to allow its identification as any type of monument, see Arrington 2010, 504 n. 24.

20 I do not include here the serpent-column at Delphi (ML 27 = LSAG^2 104 no. 15, now Jacquemin/Mulliez/Rougemont 2012, 43–44 no. 17), since Liuzzo 2012 has convinced me that the names of peoples who fought the Persians were inscribed on the column itself only in the mid-fourth century BC (having previously been on, e.g., the lip of the cauldron).

the doorpost of a temple at Argos, very early (between 575 and 550 BC?), and set out between other inscribing that was not in columns (fig. 7b); on three sides of a rectangular poros pillar from (possibly) Alopē, in Opuntian Locris (ca. 500–475 BC; fig. 7c); and on stone fragments from Geronthrai (a town east-southeast of Sparta, ca. 500 BC; fig. 7d), Megara (ca. 500–475 BC, fig. 7e), and Sicyon (ca. 450 BC, fig. 7f).[21]

Fig 7a–f: Inscribed small fragments, drawn by D. Weiss: (a) possible list of names (IG I^{3} 1033), after Jeffery, LSAG^{2} plate 3 no. 28; (b) list of *damiorgoi* on door-post, Argos (IG IV 614 = SEG XI 336), after Roehl 1907, plate 37.3; (c) poros post from (possibly) Alopē (Opuntian Locris), SEG LVI 563, after Bouyia 2006, plate III no. 5; (d) inscribed list of *wanakes*, Geronthrai (IG V 1.1134), after Jeffery LSAG^{2} pl. 37 no. 46; (e) name-list, Megara (SEG XIII 300), after Jeffery, LSAG^{2} pl. 22 no. 4; (f) name-list, Sicyon (IG IV 425), after Jeffery, LSAG^{2} pl. 23 no. 16.

21 Argos, IG IV 614 = SEG XI 336 = LSAG^{2} 168 no. 7 (the first two lines, the heading, are written *boustrophedon*); Jeffery 1990, 156 attributes this block to "(probably the) door post from the acropolis on the Larisa", where Pausanias (2.24.3) reported two temples. It is carved by the same hand (Jeffery 1990, 158) as SEG XI 314 = LSAG^{2} 168 no. 8, a *lex sacra* also on a door-block from the Argive acropolis that incorporates the names of six *damiourgoi*. Alopē, Bouyia 2006; the fourth side is unworked and was not meant to be seen. Geronthrai, IG V/1.1133, 1134 = LSAG^{2} 201 nos. 45–46 = SEG L 385; 1133 is now lost, and only two dimensions of 1134 (preserved height and width) are reported: it simply looks like a stone with names on it. Megara, SEG XIII 300 = LSAG^{2} 137 no. 4 (a post). Sicyon, IG IV 425 (now lost). There is another name-list of unknown purpose from Paulitza, in Arcadia, from a little later (450–425 BC), IG V/2.425 = LSAG^{2} 449 no. 30a.

In all but one of these cases only one column survives, but the names do seem to align on the left and end on the right, one on each line. At Argos, the list is of nine *damiourgoi* (all apparently in office at the same time, so not a chronological list);[22] at Geronthrai, because two of the lines (the second, and the last) consist not of a man's name but of ἄϝαναξ, 'without a *wanax*', this list may be a (chronological) list of priests or magistrates called the *wanakes*, a failure to appoint such a person noted with the word ἄϝαναξ.[23] At Alopē, Megara, and Sicyon neither context—funerary, sacred, or civic—nor purpose is known.[24]

Three further exemplars of columnar lists from the first half of the fifth century may be associated, either closely or at least suggestively, with the Athenian examples. One, a post from Lemnos, has columns of men's names listed by Attic tribe on two sides (fig. 8); because it was also inscribed, it is thought, by a famous Athenian carver (the 'Hekatompedon Master') and can be associated with the Athenians' take-over of Lemnos in the very early fifth century, this stone would seem to be part of the story of the development of the columnar format at Athens, not an independent—foreign—predecessor to what will be created at Athens.[25]

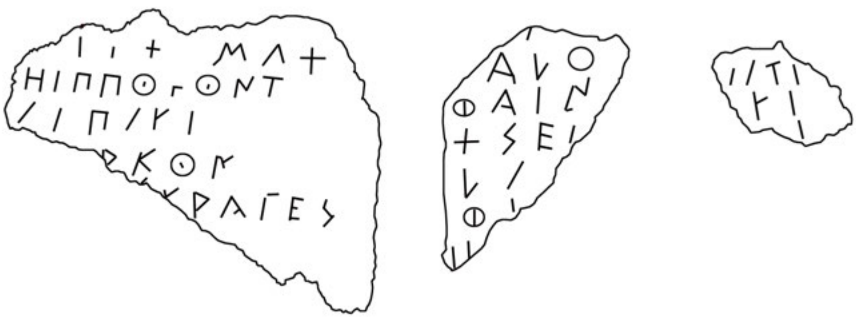

Fig. 8: Casualty-list, Lemnos (IG I^3 1477A and C), preserved only as photographs of squeezes (drawn by D. Weiss, after Picard-Reinach 1912, 330 fig. 15, 331 fig. 16, and 333 fig. 17).

22 See, e.g., Moeller 2001, 258.

23 Wachter 2000, following A. Johnston's suggestion in LSAG^2 429 that *awanax* indicates "blank years in a list". Wachter himself proposes that these men are priests, their title inherited from the Mycenaean period; previous interpretations of the list had characterized it as funerary (SEG XI 918) or as a victor-list (Jeffery 1990, 195). The stone itself is lost.

24 Peek 1934, 53–54 suggested that the six inscribed names (in the genitive case) from Megara could be drowned sailors (thus funerary) or local heroes (thus a type of *horos*-stone for a heroon); ships and naval heroes have also been suggested, see Knoepfler 2000, 341–342. Bouyia 2006, 93 suggests casualty-lists, lists of magistrates or religious officials, victor-lists, lists of sponsors of public works, or a military catalogue.

25 IG I^3 1477, ca. 500–490 BC (LSAG^2 307 no. 59); sides A and C are identified as inscribed by the "Hekatompedon Master" by Jeffery 1990, 299–300 and Butz 2010, 121–127. For possible context, see Rausch 1999, 7–13.

The second is a fragmentary list, in two columns, of eponymous *stephanephoroi* of Miletus, carved on a block, each name in a different hand (fig. 9).[26] Most of the names are in the right-hand column and date to the fourth century (388/7–374/3 BC), but there are traces of a first column of names to the left, divided from the column of fourth-century names by both a vertical line and a gap approximately one letter wide (0,012 m).[27] If the traces to the left are indeed names of fifth-century *stephanephoroi* (489/8, 487/6 BC) and carved in different and older hands (as the first editor thought), then this is the earliest known example of a list of *annual* magistrates carved *year-by-year* on stone, possibly on a wall-block from a building: the list grew to become multi-column, although not planned to be such from the start.[28] The famous Athenian archon-list, previously thought the earliest list of annual magistrates, must now be seen as only the earliest of the *retrospectively* inscribed lists of magistrates, and in its stone form between sixty and eighty years later than the Milesian inscription.

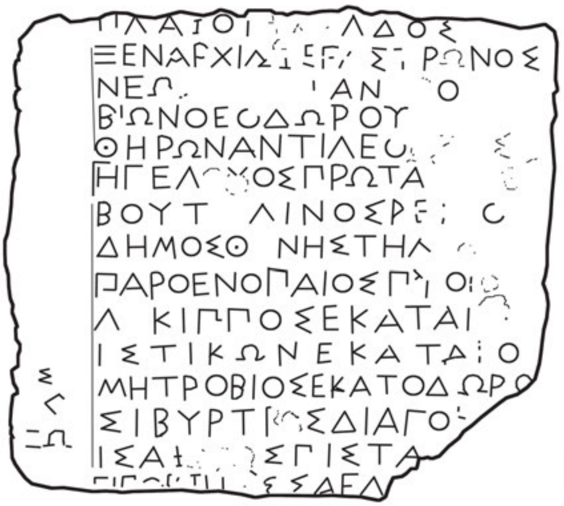

Fig. 9: (Older) list of *stephanephoroi*, Miletus (I.Mil. VI.3.1350) (drawn by D. Weiss, after Blümel 1995, pl. 13.3).

26 I.Mil. VI.3.1350 = Blümel 1995, 56–58 no. 26 = SEG XLV 1620.

27 Description, photo, identification of hands, and nature of list all in Blümel 1995, 56–58: he recognized here a precursor to the famous fourth-century list of *stephanephoroi* I.Mil. I.3.122 (entries from 525/4–314/13), which re-inscribes Blümel's list all in one hand until 333/2 (for date, see Rhodes 2006).

28 Blümel 1995, 56 claimed that the letters of the lefthand (earlier) column were carved in "notably older letter forms" (*deutlich älteren Buchstabenformen*), although I.Mil. VI.3.1350 is more cautious on this issue. The block itself was found built into a mosque at Nalbantlar, at least ten km away from Miletus, and does not appear from the picture to have been removed from that context at the time of publication.

The final possible exemplar of columnar inscribing outside Athens is a bronze plaque found in a small village in the territory of Sicyon.[29] The dating assigned to it varies between 500 and 450 BC,[30] and it is the most striking parallel to the Athenian examples because it is a complete document with a three-line heading that runs across the width of the plaque, followed by five columns of names (73 total), each column aligned to the left (fig. 10). The holes in the plaque's four corners point to its having been posted in a place where people could see it, and—since it lays out obligations

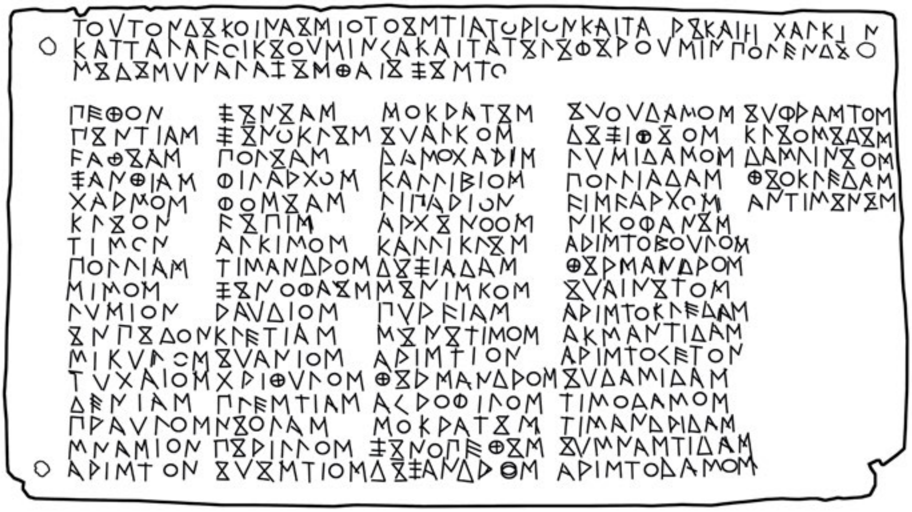

Fig. 10: Sicyon plaque (SEG XI 244) (drawn by D. Weiss, after Lolos 2010, 277 fig. 1).

and membership in a *hestiatorion* or eating-club—it seems likely that the context is sacred, that the members of the group gathered, as was common, in honor of some divinity or hero.[31] There are extensive incised guidelines and little space between columns.[32] Orlandos detected an Athenian impact in a phrase of the heading and

29 SEG XI 244; h 0,259 w 0,467/0,472 m; see Lolos 2010 and Lolos 2011, 405–408.

30 Orlandos 1937–1938, 12 assigned a date of 450; Peek 1941, 205–207 moved the date back to 500 (on the basis of three-bar sigma, which according to him had to date this inscription before the four-bar sigma used in the Sicyonian treasury at Olympia, which Peek thought dated early in the fifth century, but is now dated 475–450, see LSAG^2 139–140). LSAG^2 141, 143 no. 8 also dated the plaque to ca. 500, as does Lolos 2010, 279; at Lolos 2011, 405 Lolos notes that the remains associated with the plaque's approximate find-spot are from the fifth century.

31 Lolos 2010, 281, 287–292 (possibly members of a phratry or a *hetaireia*, and the majority of *hestiatoria* associated with sanctuaries); and Lolos 2011, 407.

32 Lolos 2010, 278, with a photograph of the incised guidelines on 277 (not visible in drawing); guidelines are also a Corinthian habit (Sicyon's alphabet was also Corinthian), Jeffery 1990, 139.

in the presence of moveable *nu*,[33] and perhaps if the plaque is to be dated closer to 450 than to 500, as now seems likely,[34] an Athenian connection is possible, since the Athenians maintained a naval base at Pagae, 40 km away, from 461 to 446. Certainly one can find no better parallel in appearance to the fifth-century Athenian columnar inscriptions on stone, even if Athenian influence cannot be definitively proven.

2 Athenian Contexts

Most of these ostensible predecessors or parallels, fragmentary single- or multi-column lists, are not quite the same, or not provably the same, as the Athenian examples: either because the entire inscribed surface does not set out a clear visual column (Argos), because not enough survives to see what the overall arrangement would have been (Geronthrai, Megara, the first example from Sicyon), or because the columnar format was adopted only over time (Miletus). The more similar some foreign examples look to Athenian columnar formatting, the later they are, and the more other aspects of these inscriptions suggest the possibility of Athenian connection or influence (Lemnos, the Sicyon plaque). These comparisons strengthen the supposition that the specific look of the format at Athens—multiple narrow columns on a flat surface in a quasi-architectural arrangement—was likely to be a local development, undertaken for specific local reasons or at least primarily explicable within the local context, in the fifth century.

One might, as a consequence, expect the columnar format to have had some roots in the two major Athenian epigraphic genres of the archaic period, funerary and votive inscriptions, although neither (with the possible exception of IG I³ 1033) presented in a multi-column format in the sixth century. In which case the change to a format that emphasized the listing of information in columns could have marked a shift *within* genres, and such a shift might have been meant to accommodate deaths or dedications occurring in far greater numbers than before. Such a functional interpretation is not in itself implausible. The city's fifth-century casualty-lists came to list the Athenian dead of specific years, combining in one inscription far more than the one or (rarely) two dead that any (private) archaic Athenian epitaph had memorialized.[35]

33 Orlandos 1937–1938, 12, ϝοικέουσίν γα καὶ τὰ τέλε φέρουσιν (for which Peek 1941, 206 n. 2 could, however, find no parallel). Moveable *nu* is characteristic of Attic-Ionic, although taken from it before the fifth century into other dialects, Schwyzer 1934, I: 405 and Kühner-Blass 1978, 292–296; Lejeune 1943, 198 with n. 2 notes other possible traces of Attic-Ionic.

34 Jeffery 1990, 141 had thought the retention of the letter *vau* an indicator of significant age, but this letter is now also found in a Sicyonian dedication at Olympia dated to 459 BC, Kunze 1991, 128 no. I (see also the drawing, p. 127).

35 Only two people at most were memorialized in any archaic Athenian funerary inscription, and

Similarly, the tribute-lists memorialized the dedication of one-sixtieth of the allies' tribute given each year to Athena as *aparchē* ('first fruits', a traditional category of votive), the amount given by each ally listed in a double-item line, the lines arranged in columns.[36] The number of allies (and the size of the amount) varied, but both must have been, always, more than the number of donors (usually only one or two) and the value of individual votives in the archaic period,[37] and more than the value of the gifts given by groups of named officials, such as the (more than) five treasurers in the mid-sixth century who inscribed their names and their dedication on a small bronze plaque written not in columns, but in long lines of continuous text (IG I^3 510).[38] This emphasis on the scope of the phenomenon memorialized is also a characteristic the casualty- and tribute-lists have in common with the other—new—genres on stone in the fifth century. Such new genres—accounts and auctioned property—were characterized from their first appearance by column-formatting, and were all also attempts to inscribe on one monument an action or achievement with many parts: large sums paid out and what they were spent on (in varying levels of detail); vast quantities of property of many men sold. Moreover, all of these genres, evolved or new, shared not only a focus on large, multi-part phenomena, but also a retrospective perspective, a view of these phenomena inscribed from the vantage-point of the end of a period of time. Casualty-lists were inscribed after the fighting year was over; tribute-lists were inscribed at one point in the year; accounts were inscribed year by year, after a certain number of years, or upon the completion of the project.[39] These were to be permanent

even this is not common: I find only two examples, one with two names (IG I^3 1255), and one commemorating a brother and a sister (IG I^3 1265). Arrington 2015, 91–92 concurs.

36 *Aparchai*, restored in IG I^3 259.1.

37 Most votives were given by only one named person. In Athens, 28 (including two uncertain) were given by two: IG I^3 566, 597, 614, 620, 636, 644, 659, 695, 699, 701 (unclear how many), 702, 716, 727, 731, 740, 751, 768 (restoration of names uncertain), 783, 785, 833, 834, 843, 848, 873, 909; in Attica, 954, 986, 994; in 718 and 830 the dedication is by a named father and his unnamed son. Six were given by two or more: IG I^3 605 = DAA 331 (at most three; 530–520), 700 = DAA 93 (possibly three), 801 = DAA 115 (plural verb only), 802 = DAA 80 (one, then three more added), 858 = DAA 297 (at least three), 859*bis* = DAA 117 (perhaps two or three). And only two were given by more than three people actually named: 696 (= DAA 291b–c; five named children?), 762 (= DAA 90; six or seven?); 722 was given by a named man and his unnamed *paides*. Lists compiled by a comparison and evaluation of Raubitschek 1949, 466, IG I^3, and Keesling 2005, 398 n. 12.

38 Two other votives dedicated by men in their official capacities list multiple names, as the treasurers' plaque does: the first of the *dromos*-inscriptions (IG I^3 507) lists five [*hieropoioi*] in continuous-line format; and Raubitschek 1949, 73 also thought IG I^3 723 = DAA 68 (500–480), restored as nine names with demotics, one name per line, was "of a somewhat official nature". Outside Athens, a dedication by six Delian *architheoroi* lists them in a column, one name per line (IG I^3 1468; 426/5). Group votives also survive from the Athenian Acropolis, e.g., IG I^3 501, 506, 511 (the *hippeis*), 521*bis*, 522, 522*bis* (Rhamnousians), and from elsewhere (IG I^3 523–525, 'the Athenians' dedicate war-booty).

39 Casualty-lists: when there are different hands they are making late additions, albeit still from the same year, to a list (Bradeen 1969, 146–147; 151–152); Arrington 2011, 202 concluded that the lists had memorials of completed events, even if the phenomena they monumentalized were imagined—as the collection of tribute was—to be on-going and incremental, each year adding to the previous in the display.

Yet even if the intent to memorialize, in a retrospective way, expensive, complex, or multi-person phenomena is visible in all of these monuments, these factors alone cannot account for the development of the new format. Functionality alone did not determine the result. For other complex lists, such as the annual and official 'handing-over' (*paradosis*) of minutely inventoried belongings of the god(s) that began in 434/3, and other retrospective compilations of achievements, such as the republication of some Athenian laws undertaken in the last decade of the fifth century, were not formatted in columns: they were written in continuous-line format on individual stones, as one text (fig. 11).[40]

Fig. 11: Accounts of the year 410/9, an example of continuous-line inscribing (IG I^3 375) (drawn by D. Weiss, after Meritt 1932, pl. 6).

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to be finished before the funerary celebration at the end of the year. The *Promachos* statue accounts were inscribed all at once (although the expenditures covered nine years), according to Meritt 1936, 373; the Parthenon accounts were inscribed by five different hands (hand one: years 1–5; hand two: year 6; hand three: year 7; hand four: year 8; hand five: years 9–12; hand six: year 13; hand seven: years 14–15, according to IG I^3). The Propylaea accounts were inscribed year by year, at the end of the year (IG I^3). IG I^3 433, accounts for an unknown project, was inscribed by different hands. IG I^3 472, the accounts for the statues of Athena and Hephaistos, were inscribed by one hand (Thompson 1969, 114). IG I^3 421–424 ('Attic *Stēlai*' I–IV) were once thought to have been carved by the same hand (Lewis 1997/1966, 162, 168 [180, 185]), but Tracy 2014b, 263–267 now suggests at least eleven inscribers for the entire monument.

40 Similarly too, a list possibly of dedicators (although one per line) is written across the length of a bronze plaque at Leontinoi, filling entire lines (SEG LIV 925; ca. 450 or 400 BC); and contributions of gold and silver towards the building of the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus were written in continuous (and *boustrophedon*) lines across a silver plaque, LSAG^2 344 no. 53 (ca. 550 BC?).

So whatever was driving the new format, there must have been additional factors that helped to generate the distinctions drawn between inscriptions in columns and those in continuous-line format memorializing genres of information that are seemingly close but not quite the same.

If inscriptions in columnar format did evolve, even if only in part, within the two existing genres of funerary monuments and dedications, then perhaps other sorts of continuities (between older and newer) can contribute to our understanding as well. Physical placement, for one: archaic epitaphs and votives were set up in specific places, in Athenian cemeteries, especially the great Kerameikos to the northwest of the city, and Athenian sanctuaries, especially the Acropolis, the great sanctuary of Athena as well as of other gods. Fifth-century casualty-lists were erected in and around the Kerameikos as well, within the area identified as the *dēmosion sēma*, the 'public marker' or 'tomb'.[41] The fifth-century tribute-lists were placed on the Acropolis, as were many of the inscribed accounts: the exceptions here are only IG I^3 433 (for an unknown building project, the stone found on Athinas Street) and the accounts found in sanctuaries of other divinities, such as Hephaistos or the Eleusinian goddesses, Demeter and Korē. It was in the city sanctuary of the latter pair that the 'Attic *stēlai*' were most likely erected. Such strong continuities of placement before the end of the century, along with the possibility that the new format at least in some way expanded or reflected old genres, encourages another look to predecessors, this time for the possible continuities in the physical shape of inscribed monuments on the Acropolis and in the Kerameikos at the end of the sixth century. Were there tall and narrow inscribed forms in either place? Only in significant numbers on the Acropolis: the archaic Kerameikos offers, as do other burial-sites in Attica, many horizontally inscribed bases, but nothing in the way of lists and surprisingly little in the way of inscribed vertical monuments—either inscribed oblong *stēlai* or inscribed posts and columns serving as pedestals[42]—while such inscribed stones were quite common and visible on the archaic Acropolis.

Moreover, on the Acropolis a particular votive type there looked like a pedestal but was not one: these were turning posts dedicated around the middle of the sixth century, constituting one ancestor—I have argued—of a new type of inscribed stone, carved to carry only a text rather than a physical votive. This new type of inscribed stone appeared on the Acropolis starting (most likely) at the end of sixth century.[43] Like other votives, these inscribed documents bestowed honor on the gods in whose sanctuaries they were placed, the inscribed stone reporting and thus giving to the god an act or achievement.[44] For the first half of the fifth century, such inscribed

41 Arrington 2010 and Arrington 2015, 55–90: clustering along the road to the Academy.
42 As Lougovaya 2004, 15–16 notes, it is the base, not the *stēlē*, that is usually inscribed.
43 Meyer 2016, where the points made in this paragraph are argued more extensively.
44 Meyer 2013, 458–460, 462.

stones took the form, with very few exceptions, of a stone post: taller than wide, and wider than thick, but with thickness:width proportions ranging from 1:1 (a true quadrangular post) to 1:3. The contents of these inscribed document-posts could best be described as falling within the broad range of the *thesmos*: laws and regulations about behavior; the gods' honors (in the form of sacred calendars listing the sacrifices to be given at appropriate times of the year); and divine utterances such as oracles (which sometimes specified these behaviors and sacrifices in response to a question), all pleasing (as *thesmoi* were) to the gods.[45] Boundary stones (*horoi*) were inscribed posts as well, demarcating territory in some way special (either sacred or *dēmosios*, 'public') with religious authority.[46] These *horoi* were placed around the Acropolis and around the Agora, while the other inscribed 'documentary' posts were placed within the bounds of the Acropolis or in other sanctuaries. Unfortunately we cannot be precise about where, within a given sanctuary. But one such inscribed post was also found at Delphi, inscribed on two sides with a *lex sacra* in Athenian lettering, and placed in front of the Athenian Treasury there. Over time, it acquired eleven other posts as company,[47] which might suggest that grouping inscribed posts together in this way was a normal and expected physical (and therefore visual) arrangement at Athens as well.

At some point, possibly in the 450s, the Athenians started to inscribe also on tall, wide, but thinner stones—on what epigraphists now tend to think of as *stēlai*, inscribed left-to-right—and to place them in sanctuaries, especially on the Acropolis. Many genres of 'documents' that are new, or that we first start to see on stone in Athens only in the second half of the fifth century—treaties, regulations for allies, decrees, records of loans from the goddess and the Other Gods, and the *paradoseis* of divine possessions, carefully inventoried, from one set of treasurers (*tamiai*, 'stewards') to the next—are all inscribed on these sorts of thinner, oblong *stēlai*, and written quite densely, in continuous lines and very often *stoichedon* format.[48] Why the shift to the oblong *stēlē* occurred can only be a matter of speculation. Generally speaking such

45 *Thesmoi*: R. Osborne 2009, 105 refers to these contents as "cultic"; see also Meyer, 2016, 333–334 n. 42.

46 Ritchie 1985, 585–590 at 585 and Lalonde 1991, 7.

47 Athenian post, IG I^3 1478 = CID I.6; eleven other posts on the terrace east of the Athenian treasury, discussed FD III.2.158–204; the twelfth, and earliest, is IG I^3 1478.

48 Austin 1938/1973, 50–53, the continuous-line *stoichedon* arrangement followed in most Athenian public inscribing before 403. Inventories: IG I^3 292–362 with IG II^2 1382–1383, and IG I^3 400 = I.Eleusis 32–33 (430–425 BC); some fragmentary financial inscriptions from Eleusis: IG I^3 384 = I.Eleusis 24; IG I^3 398 = I.Eleusis 27; IG I^3 392–395 and 401 = I.Eleusis 34–38; IG I^3 391 = I.Eleusis 45; IG I^3 399 = I.Eleusis 42. Financial documents from demes are also inscribed in continuous-line format: IG I^3 248 (Rhamnous); IG I^3 249 (near Zoster; fragmentary, see Stavropoulou 1938, 25); IG I^3 253–254 (Ikaria, text improvements by Makres 2004 = SEG LIV 57; before 431 BC [Makres 2004, 137] or 425–413 [Faraguna 2008, 43]).

stēlai were inscribed on only one side, their backs roughly finished and therefore probably not meant to be seen,[49] and the cuttings for *stēlai* in the bedrock of the Acropolis (cuttings that could date to any period, to be sure) indicate that at least some *stēlai* were lined up in rows, one side backing on a building or wall and the other side facing a putative path, while others were lined up on the rock-cut steps to the west of the Parthenon.[50] These two qualities suggest that the development of the oblong *stēlē* corresponded, albeit perhaps only loosely, with a new attention to how people were directed through space, since *stēlai* could be used to mark edges and direct attention because they were readable, for the most part, only from one side. Worshippers on the Acropolis were, after mid-century, not only visiting a sanctuary that was finally beginning to look more like a sanctuary and less like a ruin or building site, but increasingly being given some visual direction through it. Inscribed *stēlai* would attract and circumscribe their field of vision at the same time—just as those who walked along the road to the Academy could admire the city's casualty-list monuments to left and right, but not always walk behind them. Monuments (such as inscribed posts) intended to be appreciated and read from more than one side needed not necessarily more space, but different space.

Thus columnar formats developed—were chosen—in a context where another format (continuous-line inscribing) was quite prominently and increasingly used: after the mid-fifth century, to carve on a post, or to inscribe in a column, or indeed to inscribe in column-format on a post or a *stēlē*, was a deliberate, and therefore significant, choice. And this choice was only followed in certain specific instances, where at times the post rather than the oblong *stēlē* was also still used.[51] The information there memorialized was of great pride to the city: *aparchē* to Athena from the allies

49 Very few inscriptions—of the non-columnar-format and/or non-post sorts—were inscribed on more than one side: IG I³ 129; 250, 253–254, 255 (all cultic); IG I³ 325–328 and 329–332, 333–337 and 338–340 (inventories). Several stones came to be inscribed on another side only later (i.e., they were not intended to be inscribed on more than one side initially): IG I³ 19, 35–36 (likely), 42–43, 292–295 and 304, 296–299 and 305–308, 300–303 and 309–313, 343–346 and 355–357, 347–350 and 351–354, 365 and 371–373. The chronological relationship between the inscribed sides is unclear in IG I³ 41, 47, 52, 59, 64, 371 and 374, 375 and 377, 379, 380, 389, and 403. Of the rest, many have enough of a back surviving to show that the backs were unworked.

50 The drawings in Kawerau/Kavvadias 1906 show these cuttings (along the path from the Propylaea to the Parthenon; as the path turns south in front of the Parthenon; the cuttings in the steps to the west of the Parthenon). Stevens 1936 explores them further: IG I³ 456, 461–462 (*stēlai* removed in order to build stoa of Artemis Brauronia), 474 (step cuttings: "an accumulation of centuries"), 475–476 (*stēlai* along a small propylon), 480 (along the "Processional Way" from Propylaea to western side of Parthenon), 510 (*stēlē* cutting helps to establish the location of the Mycenaean terrace used for the temple of Athena Polias).

51 Posts (identified by proportions) were still used for the inscribed accounts of the unknown building project (IG I³ 433), of the statue of the Athena *Parthenos* (IG I³ 453, 455–458, 460), of the Other Gods (IG I³ 383), and of the golden *nikai* (IG I³ 467–468).

and the accounts for various aspects of the wonderfully expensive Acropolis building program, all on very large monuments placed, we surmise, in very significant places on the Acropolis, the tribute-lists (at least) all together somewhere in the northwest quadrant between Propylaea and the statue of Athena *Promachos*.[52] So it would follow that an intentional visual link is asserted: between inscriptions on posts that, because they were tall and narrow, could look like columns, a columnar format used *on* posts and other large, three-dimensional monuments, and a columnar format used, eventually, on thinner *stēlai* and wall-revetments as well. The column format was meant to recall the inscribed post, the multi-columnar format to recall inscribed posts standing next to each other in architectural rows or (as at Delphi) in a forest-like clump. On the Acropolis, in other words, the columnar format was a type of visual reference that had real resonance, for inscribed posts there had for fifty years been used as the form in which to dedicate *thesmoi* and achievements of old-fashioned religiosity that served to honor the gods. This type of old-fashioned honor too, therefore, the newer columnar formats of the 440s, 430s, and 420s would convey, mimicking this old-fashioned form.

In the financial inscriptions displayed in this columnar format, much of the money (given as *aparchē*, or disbursed and spent on the building projects) either came to belong, or already belonged, to the gods themselves.[53] The transformation of money into gift, of divine wealth into beauty, or conversely (as in the Attic *stēlai*) the rendering of the confiscated possessions of the wickedly impious into wealth shared with the gods, transformed at a fundamental level either the nature or the disposition of this property. Marginesu, examining the various emphases in the accounts, concludes rather lyrically that each account was “like a narrative of a religious event”, “fragments of a discourse between men and gods”,[54] thus keeping Athenian inscribed accounts very much in the category of *thesmoi*. Possessions and tribute became *hiera* (sacred), while *hiera* wealth became *hiera* buildings and statues, and the stone memorialization of these transformations appeared as a new genre of inscribed *thes-*

52 Tribute-lists, argued by Paarmann 2007, 43–45 (between Propylaia and Parthenon), Monaco 2008, 69–75 (northwest quadrant). Thompson 1969, 114–116 argued that the inscription for the accounts of the statues of Athena and Hephaistos, which ran its headings and *lemmata* (disbursements) across the stone but formatted expenditures in columns, was set next to a same-sized stone bearing an inscription reorganizing the cult in continuous-line format (IG I^3 82), so the contrast here too was deliberately emphasized.

53 See Kallet-Marx 1989a, 253, 262–264, 265; Giovannini 1990, 137–139; Samons 1993, 134, 136 n. 29; Kallet-Marx 1998, 48–49; Pope 2000. Giovannini’s attractive suggestion (Giovannini 1997), 145, 151 that the *aparchē* specifically given to Athena through the *hellenotamiai* by the allies and administered by its own magistrates (*archai*) was intended from the start to help fund building projects, would if true merely expand the contributions to the building projects to be attributed to Athena herself.

54 Marginesu 2009, 474.

mos.[55] Change in religious objects, like change in religious practice, marked a dangerous transition that had to be navigated with due attention to what the gods were presumed to recognize and like. Most dedications did not change their nature, as the detail of the inscribed *paradoseis* of inventoried gifts to the gods makes clear, and this must have been what the gods were thought to prefer. The inscribed inventories protected these items, for one board of treasurers passed on these treasures (the *hiera chrēmata*), specifically identified and described, to the next board of treasurers, and this act (with this list) was memorialized on *stēlai*, the text written in continuous lines across the stones.[56] Treaties too were about the relationships between men, or between city and city, as were the regulations the Athenians made for the inhabitants of some other cities; decrees stressed the relationship of the Athenians with other men—those they wished to honor—or the ways in which the Athenians ordered acts in the life of their own city. Even loans made by the gods for Athens' military campaigns did not transform divine treasure into something else, but instead emphasized that this wealth was merely borrowed and would return—that the Athenians would pay it back, indeed with interest.[57] These were all also inscribed in continuous lines, not in columns. Perhaps, then, columnar formats on Acropolis monuments pointed back to older Acropolis traditions not only to display an old-fashioned religiosity that honored the gods, but also, especially, because in the actions memorialized, human property or some of it was made *hiera* (as in the Tribute Lists and, by implication, in the Attic *stēlai* in the Eleusinion), or divine (and human) wealth was passed through human hands to return to the god as something yet more beautiful, but different from what it had initially been. Victorious achievements and attestations of scrupulous attention paid to the husbanding of special divine possessions, on the other hand, were also inscribed and given to the gods, but in different written forms and inscribed

55 Despite some similarities noted above (nn. 16–17), inscribed accounts differed from their versions in other media, see now Marginesu 2009, 470 and Epstein 2013. The creation of the 'double-item' column marks the initial development of the inscribed account as its own monumental form, since in an inscribed double-item column the money amounts form their own column on the left, whereas on plaques and in 'continuous-line' accounts (e.g., SEG XXX 519–526, ca. 500; debt-acknowledgments from Corcyra), the amounts *follow* the entry *without a space* (as the drawing, not the printed text, of the Rhamnous plaque shows, Petrakos 1984, 188), as they also do in non-columnar financial inscriptions from Attic demes (IG I³ 248, 253; perhaps also the fragmentary 249). The (undated) accounts for the unknown building project (IG I³ 433) and the earliest of the tribute-lists (IG I³ 259) still list money amounts following the entry, without a space, but thereafter the money is listed to the left, and this type of double-item column is consistently in place by 448/7 (IG I³ 264), giving a putative date for the establishment of the distinctive and independent monumental form.

56 The preambles in inventories only identify groups of *tamiai* (the group of the year; the previous group; the next group). The possessions were specifically referred to as *hiera chrēmata* in: IG I³ 293.14, 294.26, 295.38, 297.12, 298.26, 299.39, 306.22, 308.64, 310.18, 311.35, 313.72, 318.8, 319.14, 320.22, 326.14, 327.25, 330.16, 331.31, 345.34, 354.72, and 357.54.

57 Davies 1994, 208 notes the emphasis on human identities in the *logistai*- (loan-)inscriptions.

formats, since the emphasis in these inscriptions was on how the Athenians' relationships with others and with each other brought glory to the gods. The gods were honored by all of these inscriptions—on posts and *stēlai*, in columnar and continuous-line formats—but for different reasons and in different ways.

The inscribed post was a development of the Athenian Acropolis, and the columnar format subsequently employed on Acropolis monuments derived meaning from its visual predecessors there. It is likely that inscriptions on posts also played a role in inspiring the columnar format used in casualty-lists. Back in the first decade of the fifth century, the 'Hekatompedon Master' was the first to have carved the names of the dead of Athens on two sides of a post, now lost, from Hephaestion on Lemnos.[58] He was also responsible for carving the first of the epigrams on the base of the 'Marathon cenotaph' in the *dēmosion sēma*, a multi-stone inscribed base over 5 m in total length supporting vertical *stēlai*, each separated from the next by a distance of approximately 0,62 m, on which (it is presumed) names of the dead were carved.[59] The presumption, that names were listed on these stones, arises from Pausanias' description of the monument for the dead of Marathon *at* Marathon, which he himself saw: the dead were named, and listed there, by tribe (1.32.3). A stone that may have come from this monument at Marathon (with fragments of others that are very similar) has recently been found, listing the dead from the tribe Erechtheis.[60] This recently discovered stone is a post (proportions th:w 1:2), its names inscribed one per line in a striking cross-hatched pattern. If, as seems likely, the correct chronological arrangement of these three funerary monuments is Lemnos, Marathon, and 'Marathon cenotaph' in the *dēmosion sēma* (this last also likely repaired after the Persian sack of 480), then a progression in Athenian funerary-commemorative monuments from inscribed post to inscribed (thinner, oblong) *stēlē* can observed, the same sort of transition that can (generally) be traced in 'documentary' stone inscribing on the Acropolis a little later in the century as well. The earliest of the subsequent casualty-lists (IG I^3 1144, dating perhaps to 464 BC) may still have consisted of inscribed posts rather than obviously oblong *stēlai*,[61] although thereafter, and to the end of the century, the oblong *stēlē*,

58 Lemnos, IG I^3 1477A and C (above n. 25). The Athenian habit of commemorating the dead by listing their names started ca. 500 BC, Arrington 2010, 503–506, Arrington 2011, 185, and Arrington 2015, 39–49.

59 Matthaiou 1988, 119, 121; what exactly it commemorated is still disputed, see summary in Arrington 2015, 43–48.

60 Steinhauer 2004–2009, 679–680, with SEG LVI 430. Whether this was an authentic stone from Marathon (it was found in the Peloponnese) is disputed, see (e.g.) Steinhauer 2004–2009 and Keesling 2012, both in favor, versus Proietti 2013, who argues for a fourth-century date on the basis of the epigram; all give references to earlier scholarship.

61 Possibly a ten-*stēlai* monument of which fragments of three *stēlai* survive; the dimensions of the first *stēlē* are w 0,26 th 0,09, or th:w 1:2.8, so in this reconstruction still a thick oblong, and inscribed on side as well as front faces, see Bradeen 1967 and 1974, 3–6. But the fragments could also combine inscribed on only one side, is the common physical form of the Athenian casualty-list, perhaps because these monuments lined a road.[62]

The names on the Lemnos post are inscribed in *stoichedon* fashion, and it is characteristic of all subsequent casualty-lists (except that from Marathon) that they will be inscribed with *stoichedon* letter-spacing but in columnar format, with headings stretching across individual *stēlai* (or indeed even the entire monument), the stones themselves set in bases and usually inscribed somewhere, often on the base, with an epigram. The dead are listed by theater of war or by tribe (the indication of which functions as a kind of sub-heading within a column) or military role within a tribe, but without patronyms or demotics, making each column half, or one-third, the width it might have been. Sometimes a casualty-list was only one *stēlē*, with the dead of ten tribes; sometimes multiple *stēlai* were used, one *stēlē* for one (or two) tribes. At times, a vertical line was carved between the columns of names. The columns were already set apart by their spacing, so vertical lines were carved not because the columns needed to be minimally distinguished (as had once been the case with the list of *stephanephoroi* from Miletus), but because this strengthened the visual impression given of columns standing side by side.[63] In one of the best cases where an entire funerary monument can be reconstructed (IG I³ 1163; fig. 12), not only are there five stones with a total of ten columns (the individual columns separated also by carved, tapering vertical lines) set in a base, but the *stēlai* were clamped together at the top and a course of stones placed on top of the *stēlai* (fig. 12).

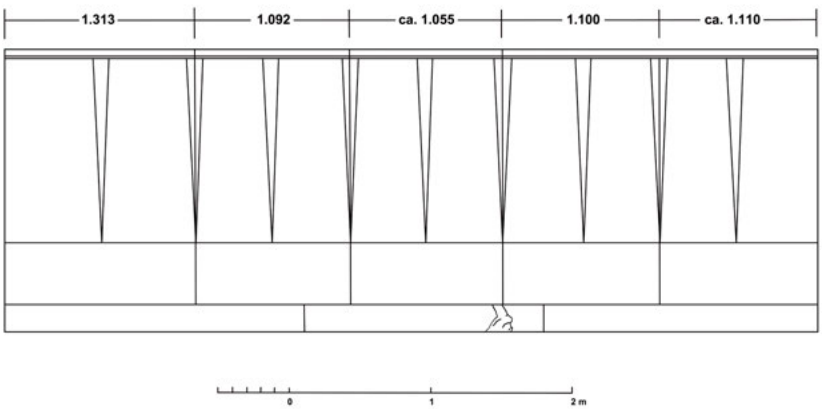

Fig. 12: Casualty monument (IG I³ 1163), possibly for Delium (424 BC), reconstruction (drawn by D. Weiss, after Arrington 2012, 73 fig. 3).

into a larger and even thicker post, as they were combined in the earlier edition (IG I² 432), where the editor then referred to the stone as a *pila quadrata*; see also Meyer 2016.

62 Argued more extensively in Meyer 2016.

63 Vertical channels, listed by Arrington 2011, 195 n. 116: IG I³ 1147, 1147*bis*, 1157, 1163, 1175, 1177, 1180, 1189, SEG LII 60.

The visual impression given is thus very much architectural: a row of inscribed columns set on a step (or several steps) and crowned by an architrave. This monument was probably most similar to other, later casualty-list monuments with similar cuttings but also to the earlier (five or) six carved posts, clamped together and crowned, that memorialized the accounts of the statue of Athena *Parthenos* (fig. 13). These are thought to have been placed, because of their lack of wear, within her temple—with the stone bearing the columnar accounts of the Parthenon doors attached to the wall next to them—on the Acropolis.[64]

Fig. 13: *Parthenos* accounts (IG I^3 460), final (summary) block, cut in half vertically (drawn by D. Weiss, after Marginesu 2010, 211 fig. 33).

64 Lack of wear and traces of red paint on IG I^3 453, 455–458, and 460 suggested to IG I^3, followed by Davison 2009, 1085 and Marginesu 2009, 473, that these stones had always been kept inside. IG I^3 461 (438/7 BC), for the doors, is very similar in appearance to the *Parthenos* accounts and was initially polished on all four sides, but was then (from the cuttings on the back) used as revetment on a wall, therefore (according to IG I^3) likely near the others and part of their display.

Nothing like this—multiple names, multiple posts—had existed in the archaic Kerameikos, but inscribed stone posts were of course known from the Acropolis, from the end of the sixth century. The physical form had been adopted for the dead of Lemnos and, especially, of Marathon, and as the inscribed post gradually transformed itself into the oblong *stēlē* inscribed with the names of the dead in columnar format, some of the old and special implications, deducible from the Acropolis series, might have carried over into these casualty-lists as well. Inscribed posts, just as other inscriptions in sanctuaries, honored the gods, but after mid-century might have been seen as a special and old-fashioned way of paying the gods particular tribute in matters of particular importance to them, as might the columnar format itself. Were those who died on behalf of the city—not just citizens, although citizens predominate[65]—also being paid a particular tribute, honored in a particular way? Certainly the very fact of their memorialization made these dead men special: private commemoration of the dead on stone between about 490 and 430 is otherwise barely visible, so the casualty-lists stand out, indeed "manifest their honors" (δηλοῦσθαι τὰς τιμάς), as Thucydides has Pericles say (2.35.1).[66] But an even more special status may have been implied. The 192 dead of the Battle of Marathon received, at the Marathon tumulus, heroic cult.[67] The adoption of a format—first the inscribed post, then the arrangements into post-like columns on inscribed *stēlai*—may have been intended to imply, similarly, the exceptional status of the city's later dead, who after all had earned for themselves "undying praise" (ἀγήρων ἔπαινον), again according to Thucydides' Pericles (2.43.2). The epigrams on these monuments were also full of Homeric and epinician language.[68] Indeed, these dead were likely seen as at least akin to heroes, since they received funeral *agones* (Aristot. *Ath. Pol.* 58.1). Even if their exact theological status is debatable, they were dead worthy of being treated as if they were aristocratic heroes, worthy at least of being memorialized as the warrior-heroes of Marathon were, and honored in the same format used to convey special honor to the gods.[69]

65 The absence of patronyms in these lists is usually interpreted (most recently, Arrington 2011, 187) as an emphasis on Athens' democratic citizenry, but the existence of non-citizens in the lists suggests that the emphasis was on dying while fighting.

66 Fifth-century commemorative practices, see, for references, Arrington 2011, 195 nn. 114–115; casualty-lists as honorific, Liddel 2007, 193 and Low 2010, 344.

67 Whitley 1994, 227–230, identifying them specifically as "warrior heroes"; Arrington 2015, 119 n. 121 notes, however, that the evidence is late.

68 Briefly at Arrington 2011, 204; on the heroization of the Athenian dead, see Boedeker 2001, 159–160 and Loraux 2006, 90–93.

69 Dead as heroes: see summary of debate in Loraux 2006, 71–75, 441–442, 445 n. 131; Currie 2005, 95–96, 108–109, 112–114; Jones 2010, 27–30; Arrington 2015, 113–120. Implied heroization might perhaps explain why the format spread to allies and even to Athens' apparent enemies before and during the Peloponnesian War: (possibly) Samos (a list of Samian casualties from Eurymedon, in – possibly – two columns on a base; IG XII 6.1.277 = LSAG^2 342 no. 20); Argos (LSAG^2 170 no. 31 [460–450 BC], where this stone is probably a copy of the columnar-format Argive *stēlē* set up in Athens, IG I^3 1149);

3 Towards the End of the Fifth Century

Such, then, is the epigraphic situation until late in the fifth century BC. Even as oblong *stēlai* inscribed in continuous-line format proliferate, some special genres are instead inscribed in columns, a two-dimensional version of the older post form, using it (it is suggested here) to imply particular honor of an old-fashioned sort, associated especially with divinities and heroes and the special treatment to which they (and some of their property) were entitled. Late in the century, however, the columnar format expanded beyond these genres, in four different directions. It was used for re-inscribing Athens' sacred calendar (a type of *thesmos*); it was used for a genre that—it will be argued—was old, and perhaps once on wood, but was now like the calendar recopied onto stone (the archon-list); it was used, in a handful of cases, in inscriptions that mixed genres and formats (account-inventories and decree-lists); and it was used, finally, for dedications by groups that now listed their members, and perhaps wished to convey special honor to those listed and to those whom the list itself honored.

The sacred calendar of Athens was inscribed, or rather re-inscribed, on stone in the context of a great effort to compile and republish Athenian laws, an effort that began in 409 and only ended, amidst acrimony and a court case, in 399 BC.[70] Many aspects of this effort remain obscure, but are fortunately not important here; one element of the accusation, however, were changes—additional sacrifices—the project-manager was alleged to have introduced to the calendar.[71] Also worthy of emphasis is that specific laws or collections of laws—on the trierarchy, on the *Boulē*, on homicide—were re-inscribed in continuous-line format on freestanding oblong *stēlai* (fig. 14), while the sacred calendar itself was inscribed in columns, on *stēlai* that were themselves then placed between actual columns on the newly added wings of the Stoa Basileios in the Agora (fig. 15).[72]

Thespiae and Tanagra, both probably after the battle of Delium (IG VII 1888a–i = LSAG^2 95 no. 19a = I.Thesp. 485, dead listed without patronyms on nine *stēlai*; IG VII 585 = LSAG^2 95 no. 19b, dead listed without patronyms in four columns; both 424 BC); Megara, SEG XXXIX 411 (one column of dead with patronyms; 425–400 BC); Mantineia, SEG XXXI 348 (dead listed by tribe and without patronym in two columns; 418 BC?); Argos, SEG XXIX 361 (dead listed by tribe and phratry in four columns, no patronyms, five-line heading; ca. 400 BC?); and Kritzas 1980, 501–502 mentions other fragments that are perhaps also to be attributed to Argive casualty lists.

70 SEG LII 48 and SEG LVII 64; court-case, Lys. 30, with (e.g.) Robertson 1990; Carawan 2010; and J. Shear 2011, 229–230, 238–240.

71 See Robertson 1990; Rhodes 1991; J. Shear 2011, 70–85 and 239–243; Meyer 2016, all with further references; changes, Lys. 30.2, 17–20. Since the new sacrifices were paid for (Lysias alleges that ancestral ones were neglected), it seems more likely that they had been approved by The People, and that the inscribing was to include the changes.

72 For this complicated issue, see J. Shear 2011, 85–96 (although I do not agree with her verdict of *initial* opisthographic inscribing for SEG LII 48 frags. 2–3, see Meyer 2016, 375 n. 197); note too that the postulated second iteration of this calendar (for which see J. Shear 2011, 240–245; she thinks its form

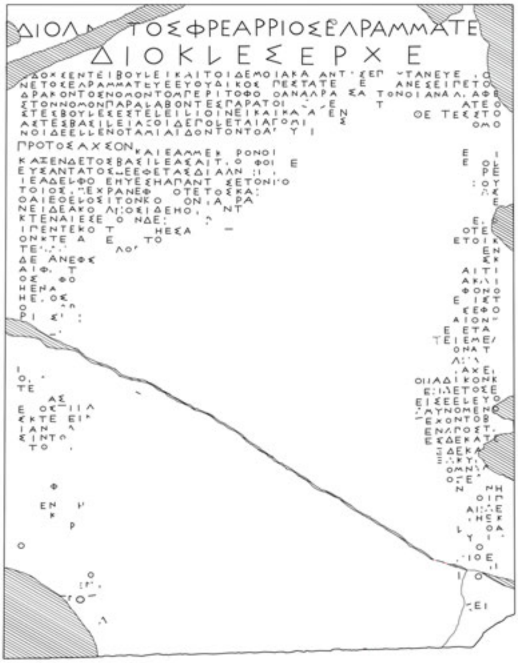

Fig. 14: Republication of Draco's homicide law (an example of continuous-line *stoichedon* inscribing) (drawn by D. Weiss, after Stroud 1968, pl. I).

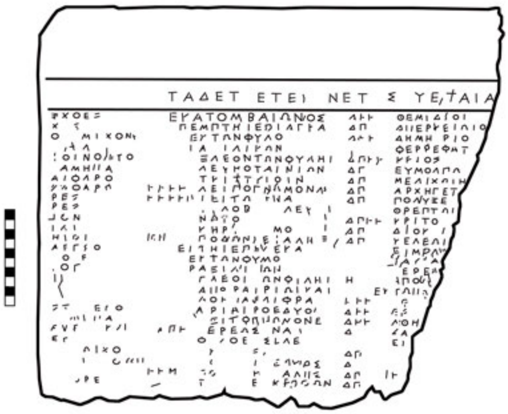

Fig. 15: Sacred calendar from Stoa Basileios (side A, the second version) (drawn by D. Weiss, after Agora inv. I 727 in Lambert 2002, pl. 33a).

"highly unusual", 242) places the inscribed *stēlai* side-by-side on a base along the back wall of the Stoa Basileios, clamping them together as other fifth-century columnar monuments were clamped together.

The contrast recapitulates and makes dramatically visible the earlier fifth-century distinction already argued for: that for *thesmoi* a post or a columnar form had been particularly favored, while matters that increasingly were seen as focussing on the (admirable, victorious, well-ordered, god-pleasing) relationships of men with men were properly inscribed as continuous text on oblong *stēlai*. Compiling ancient achievements in a tense decade, the commission and its project-supervisor thought it appropriate to inscribe laws with the perceived latter focus (laws that they now called *nomoi*) on free-standing oblong *stēlai*, while the religious calendar was inscribed in columns and then incorporated into an actual architectural display. Indeed, the commissioners' act of re-inscription in the case of the homicide law is also an acknowledged act of reclassification, for where Draco had referred to his own law as a *thesmos*, the *anagrapheis* called it a *nomos*:[73] retrospectively, the relationship of killer with other men was more prominent to the inscribers than the way killing offended the gods.[74] Or so, at least, I would venture, although what *nomos* and *thesmos* might have meant to the Athenians over the course of the fifth century has always been the subject of much discussion.[75]

That a sacred calendar is re-inscribed and displayed in columns therefore comes as no surprise: it continues a pattern of formatting already established, albeit in a new location. Could the same be true of the retrospective chronological list of Athenian archons? This Athenian list of the eponymous archons (IG I³ 1031 = ML 6) is now the earliest *retrospectively inscribed* list of magistrates known, and its contents are estimated to reach back to 683/2 or 682/1.[76] It was initially dated to ca. 425 BC, is now dated—more plausibly—to the last decade of the fifth century, and is restored as a large monument inscribed in four columns, although only four fragments have been found (fig. 16).[77]

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73 *Thesmoi*, of Draco, IG I³ 104.20 (restored but widely accepted, Ostwald 1969, 3 n. 3), with IG I³ 104.4–6, "let the *anagrapheis* inscribe the *nomos* of Draco about homicide, having received the *nomos* from the *basileus*…".

74 In other sources, the miasma consequent upon killing is also a problem; and perhaps the danger associated with this miasma also was declining, as noted by Parker 1996, 322 for the period after the fourth century.

75 See, e.g., Hölkeskamp 2000, 73–81, with references.

76 Bradeen 1963, ML 6; see also Chaniotis 1988, 193; Sherk 1990, 251 and 272; Sickinger 1999, 47–51, 210–212; Pébarthe 2005a; Christesen 2007, 100–104 (a summary of the arguments about authenticity). Beginning date: discussed Cadoux 1948, 89 and Bradeen 1963, 201 (cannot choose between the two); Miletus, above nn. 27–29.

77 Dating: Meritt 1939, 60 had dated ca. 425 on the basis of the fragments' "beautifully even and carefully cut letters" (problems with this criterion were pointed out long ago by Stroud 1978, 33 and n. 57); dated after 410 by Pritchett 1995, 185–187 and Pébarthe 2005a, 15–21. Appearance, Bradeen 1963, 200–202: h 1,90 w 1,20 th 0,20 m (all estimated); he also gives estimates (202 n. 76) for a taller monument that left room at the end for more names to be inscribed. A later archon-list (IG II² 1713, 146/5 BC to AD 43/4) seems similar, with at least five columns of names without patronyms on a

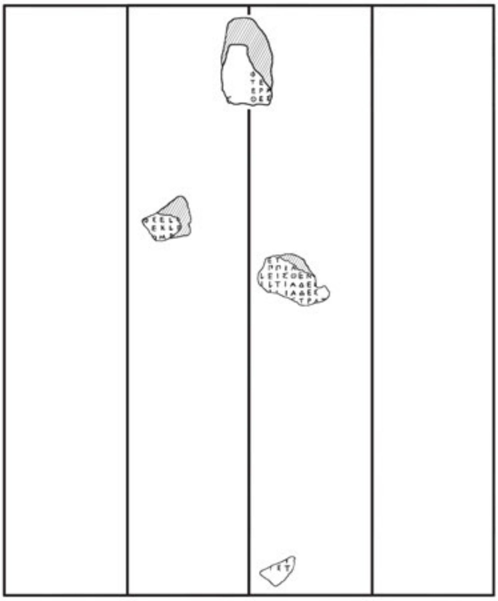

Fig. 16: Archon-list (IG I^3 1031), reconstruction (drawn by D. Weiss, after Bradeen 1963, 203, fig. 1).

The earlier lists of *damiourgoi* and *wanakes* (from Argos and Geronthrai, respectively) suggest that magistrate- or priest-lists carved on stone were not unknown in the Greek world already in the sixth century, and indeed that such a list might find itself on a temple (as at Argos, where it is thought to have been inscribed on a temple-door-post). The recently discovered fragment of a list of Milesian *stephanephoroi* places this practice of inscribing names of eponymous magistrates—in chronological order, in columns, and perhaps on a building again—securely in the fifth century. Moreover, this Milesian list was copied on to a large *stēlē* in the fourth century (probably in 333/2 BC), proving that monumental originals could be subject to monumental re-inscription on great occasions, in the Milesian case the willingness of Alexander the Great to grace the city and serve as *stephanephoros*.[78] Had, therefore, the Athenian archon-list existed in an earlier public form, from which it was inscribed at a later date, and had this earlier form perhaps been displayed on some building?[79] This Athenian list

stone: dimensions h 0,85–0,95 w 1,00, and th 0,155 m, but the height is incomplete, and both side-edges of the stone have anthyrosis, so it is larger even than this (Bradeen 1963, 200). It "offers some indication of what the [earlier] Athenian list may have been like", Cadoux 1948, 77, showing "some obvious parallels", Bradeen 1963, 200.

78 I.Mil. I.3.122, with Rehm's commentary; Sherk 1990, 251–252; date corrected to 333/2 from Rehm's 334/3, see Rhodes 2006. Similarly, the priest-list at Halicarnassus was recopied in the first century BC from "[the ancient *s*]*tēlē*" (Syll.^{3} 1020.1–2).

79 Hedrick 2002 emphasized in particular the absence of attested lists in archives (15–17) and the has two salient characteristics. One is that the archons are listed without patronym, which suggested (to Pritchett) a "sacred" rather than "official" written source.[80] The other, that ancient sources never seem to disagree about the relative order of Athenian archons, argues that this list (or some part of it) had existed in an established and accepted form even before it was inscribed on the stone monument that now survives only in fragments, although of course the existence of this late fifth-century inscribed exemplar would have subsequently cemented the validity of the archon-order it laid out.[81] So it is possible to speculate that a list, at least in some form, had existed before the last decade of the fifth century; that it was, or had been, publicly exhibited, possibly in a sacred context, and its contents known; that it might have been displayed on a building; and that something in the history of that building might now explain the need to re-inscribe the list on stone. Copying such a list of names, perhaps in its original form one name per line (as other name-lists seem to have been: Argos, Geronthrai, Miletus), into a columnar format on stone might have visually replicated what the original list had looked like, while simultaneously also invoking the honorific format associated with the sacred past.[82] Or it is of course possible that the ultimate source of the list must remain unknown, and that the columnar format was chosen to give an impression of antiquity and reliability.

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importance of monumental predecessors (especially dedications in sanctuaries) in providing the raw material from which retrospective magistrate-lists could be constructed (18–29); a list of magistrates carved on a sacred building subsequently dismantled might meet his criteria. Stroud 1978, 33 saw "no reason to conclude that this was the first time that the list had been publicly displayed".

80 Pritchett 1996, 5 n. 6, 36; this would also reinforce the parallel with the Geronthrai *wanakes*, the Milesian *stephanephoroi*, the Thasian *theoroi* (associated with *aparchai*, see Graham 2001, 249 and 397, and listed retrospectively on walls of a building with a sacred character, Pouilloux 1979 and Graham 2000, 306–311), and the priests of Athena Lindia (listed on stone slabs against the back walls of the *pronaos* of her temple, Bradeen 1963, 199). Jacoby 1949, 172–173 thought this absence of patronym (or later demotic) an intentional difference between the inscription and the archival copy.

81 Hedrick 2002, 15 n. 6; Jacoby 1949, 171; Rhodes 1981, 120–121; Pébarthe 2005b, 31–33, 37–50. Controversies about the list are few, and not about the correctness of the list itself: the first (a debate over the date of Solon's archonship) is about how to associate the list with firm dates, while the second (did the reformer Cleisthenes serve as archon under the Peisistratids?) indicates that the inscribed list included information not in the historiographical tradition, for which *either* inscriber *or* historians might have had their own specific reasons. Authoritative after 400: Cadoux 1948, 78–79 (eight minor discrepancies); Jacoby 1949, 171.

82 I have speculated that an early temple of Solon's time had carved and painted inscriptions (of *thesmoi*) on the wooden posts of its peristyle (Meyer 2016). If such a painted set of peristyle-posts can be imagined to have provided even the earliest archon-names (from 683 or 682) to later compilers, then here too there would have been a moment of retroactive carving (that is, of the first ninety names *before* Solon). Or it is possible that archons began to be listed on temple-posts starting only with Solon, thus explaining a later remark in Plato (Plat. *Hipp. mai.* 285E) about memorizing archons' names starting with Solon, and the fifth-century stone re-inscription strove for thoroughness by going back to the *first* annual archon, taking the names of the first ninety archons from an unknown source.

The inscription or re-inscription of the archon-list and the re-inscription of *thesmoi*, including the sacred calendar (and other laws now reclassified as *nomoi*), belong (probably) to the same post-411 initiative, a visual reconstruction of the pious, orderly, and successful Athenian past that flowed without obstruction or interruption into the Athenian present. The re-inscribed archon-list contributed to this effort by demonstrating Athenian continuity in times of difficulty: a focus on the eponymous archons, year after year, simultaneously excluded the memory of other political events, such as episodes of trouble and tyranny in the sixth century, Cleisthenes' political significance, or the oligarchic revolution of 411 BC.[83] That such smoothing over of the past was at least one of the possible intents behind this memorializing of the Athenian archons at this point in time is hinted at by the Milesian parallel, where the inscribed names of *stephanephoroi* marched in orderly progression across years of destruction and Persian occupation, or at least gave the appearance of doing so.[84] Continuity and completeness are emphasized; interruptions, difficulties, and disasters are elided. The re-inscribed sacred calendar and archon-list are also both memorialized in a new place, the Agora—Athens' major space of governance, in which continuity might be seen as, now, especially relevant.[85]

Along with the other re-inscribed laws, this epigraphical initiative—the re-inscriptions of calendar and archon-names, as well as (other) laws—also recapitulates a century's development of inscribing norms, employing after the democracy was restored in 410 appropriate formats for types of information or genres of document to which they were, by tradition of the last forty years, thought to be best suited. But the last decade of the fifth century also saw the widening employment of hybrid formats that themselves mixed two inscribing norms. The first was the columnar presentation, at Eleusis and on the Acropolis, of the 'handing-over' from supervising body to next supervising body of specific items belonging to the gods, that is, an 'inventory' (in the earlier examples known, inscribed in continuous-line format), combined with a listing of revenues and expenses. This hybrid genre was not itself precisely new in the last decade of the century, but rather seems to have been an innovation of the early 420s, the use of which intensified after 410. For in 429/8, the treasurers of the

83 Although Aristot. *Ath. Pol.* 13.1–2 reports *anarchia* and an archon serving for more than one year in the decade after Solon; it is not known whether this information comes from this list but it might, see Rhodes 1981, 179. Intentional de-emphasis of Cleisthenes and his reforms, Pébarthe 2005a, 28 (who also stresses that the list embodies continuity, 27–28), and see also Pébarthe 2005b, 50; J. Shear 2011, 96–111 instead emphasizes the democratic authority visible in the republication of laws and the democracy's efforts to claim the past while excluding the oligarchic regimes: "it is as if they had never been" and the city "had always been ruled by the *demos*" (111). The later archon-list has an entry with *anarchia*: IG II^2 1713.12.

84 Ehrhardt 2003 and Herda 2006, 15 n. 41, 17 n. 56.

85 See, for the new emphasis on the Agora, J. Shear 2007; J. Shear 2011, 96–122, 243–57; Meyer 2013, 476–481.

Other Gods on the Acropolis had "handed over" (παρέδ[οσαν]) precious (especially metal) items as well as some tithes and first-fruits (*dekatē* and *aparchē*) to the next set of treasurers, this action memorialized in a list inscribed in columnar format on three faces of a post (fig. 17).

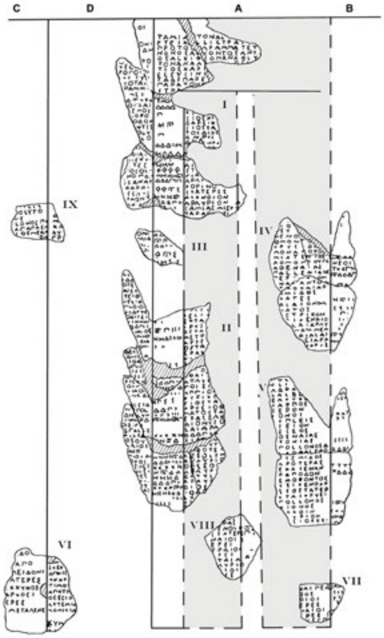

Fig. 17: Account-inventory of the treasurers of the Other Gods (IG I^3 383), reconstruction (drawn by D. Weiss, after Johnson 1931, 35 pl. 3).

The contents of the fragmentary fourth face, inscribed in continuous-line format, are unclear but may have listed in multiple-line entries recipients of loans, who were groups of religious officials (such as *hieropoioi* and *hellenotamiai*) with secretaries.[86] This (on one of the last uses of a post, in the 420s) was an inventory, therefore, but one that also included accounts—gifts and (possibly) loans. The variations in the formats of inscribing seem to reflect the mixed nature of what was recorded. This first example of a hybrid genre in a hybrid format was no strange and whimsical fancy of the treasurers of the Other Gods, but the consequence of a surviving decree. These

86 IG I^3 383.9 (inventory language), IG I^3 383.157 and 237 (*dekatē* and *aparchē*), IG I^3 383.258 and 260 (boards with secretaries); Thompson 1967, 225–226 had pointed out the similarity of 383 to inventories (and indeed to the Eleusis account-inventories, albeit from comparing contents, not format). Ferguson 1932, 97 n. 2 and Linders 1975, 21 suggested that Face D listed the recipients of disbursements or loans, all in Attic currency.

treasurers were instructed, in Callias Decree A of perhaps 433–431 (IG I³ 52.13–15),[87] "to manage the *chrēmata* of the gods on the Acropolis", to "receive *chrēmata*" from religious officials of other sanctuaries, and "to inscribe a record of all the *chrēmata* they have received on a *stēlē*, entering separately the sums belonging to each god as well as the total amount, and distinguishing silver and gold. And in future they shall inscribe annually a *stēlē* and give account of balances and receipts of the gods as well as annual expenses" (IG I³ 52.15–16, 20, 22–27). These newly constituted treasurers of the Other Gods were thus instructed to perform a number of different financial tasks, and to inscribe their activities on one *stēlē* each year; and so this is what they did, including what was handed over, what came in, and what was spent or lent. But they did not husband or inventory all of the dedications or wealth of the Other Gods in their Attic sanctuaries, only the (recovered) wealth that had previously been lent out, for it was this money that was now, according to the decree, to be repaid. Therefore the focus of these treasurers' responsibilities was, from the start, on keeping track of gold and silver while also noting revenue and outflow.[88] Usually both inventories and loans would be inscribed in continuous lines, but here recovered or given gold and silver were listed in columns, perhaps because (it is unclear) in the process of transfer and return they had been changed in some way, and changes in the nature of the gods' property encouraged the use of the traditional columnar format.

The Eleusinian *epistatai*, created by decree in (probably) 432/1,[89] had been instructed to "oversee the *chrēmata* of the Two Goddesses, just as those (*epistatai*) of the works on the Acropolis used to oversee the temple and the statue" (IG I³ 32.10–13 = I.Eleusis 30.10–13), and for ten or so years used the continuous-line format in inscribing on stone some aspects of their fulfilled financial responsibilities, the format followed also by the treasurers of Athena when listing loans of divine wealth on the Acropolis.[90] Between 420 and 410, however, they also adopted the hybrid account-inventory, with its *paradosis* language but columnar format as pioneered by the treasurers of the Other Gods, for specific subsets of the goddesses' wealth.[91] Here

87 The date is controversial, see Linders 1975, 55–57 (with references to the older scholarship); Kallet-Marx 1989b; Samons 2000, 113–138; Rhodes 2013, 214.

88 Linders 1975, 19–32, 35–38, 53.

89 Discussion of date, long controversial, in Cavanaugh 1996, 19–27 and Clinton 2008, 56–58. Clinton 2008, 53 noted that both this decree and Callias Decree A do not specify the names of the boards they create, a parallel that might also argue for the two decrees' closeness in time.

90 The Eleusinian *epistatai* were actually required to perform functions that these two sets of Acropolis *epistatai* had not performed: to make known, and collect, debts owed to the Two Goddesses; to take charge of the Goddesses' revenue; and to spend what was necessary, IG I³ 32.15–17, 20–22, 28–30. (Because of these differences, Ferrari 2002, 18 identified the Acropolis "*epistatai* of the temple and the statue" as *epistatai* in charge of building works associated with the ruined temple of Athena Polias). Continuous-line inscribing, above n. 48.

91 IG I³ 390, 385, 388–389 = I.Eleusis 46–48, 50 (418, 417, 416, and 413 BC), along with the tiny fragment I.Eleusis 43: gold, silver, bronze, stone seals, necklaces, rings, earrings, ivory boxes, silvered wagon-poles, and so on.

in Eleusis this hybrid genre too listed only the precious (mostly metal) objects and, in the extensive inscriptions of 408/7 (IG I³ 386–387 = I.Eleusis 52), other materials that could readily be turned into cash as well.[92] These parallels confirm that the property, revenues, and expenses so handed on were special: listed in the way they were because, probably, they were held in readiness (and passed from treasurers to treasurers or *epistatai* to *epistatai*) to be used—transformed—into a liquid resource should that be needed, or had been used that way before.

The last and most famous of these hybrid account-inventories, IG I³ 474 of 409/8, is the first of the so-called "Erechtheion accounts". It too exists because it, like the account-inventory of the treasurers of the Other Gods, was required by a law, as its preamble makes clear: the *epistatai* "inscribed these works of the temple as they received them finished and half-finished, according to the *psephisma* of The People that Epigenes proposed" ([τά]δε ἀνέγραφσαν ἔργα τõ νεὸ *h*ος κατέλαβον ἔχοντα κατὰ τὸ φσέ[φισ]μα τõ δέμο *h*ὸ Ἐπιγένες εἶπεν, ἐχσεργασμένα καὶ *h*εμίεργα, 474.4–5). Lists of remarkable detail follow, in two long columns: wall-blocks, capitals, epistyle and angle blocks, Eleusinian stone, columns, bases, ceiling blocks, lintels, blocks for an altar. It was, therefore, a little unusual, for this account-inventory (unlike its Eleusinian contemporaries) was not a list of materials kept separate with an eye to their possible sale, but (side A) a catalogue of existing materials available for a project, inactive for perhaps twelve years,[93] and (side B, also in two columns) specifications for the work remaining to be done. It is a type of 'inventory' in that it lists property of the gods, but it simultaneously documents the raw state of the materials that are to be transformed into the gods' temple, and what actions are to be taken to achieve that end. The subsequent Erechtheion accounts (IG I³ 475–476; IG I³ 477–479 and IG II² 1654 are fragments)[94] similarly resemble the other Acropolis accounts visually, but differ in their new and astonishing level of detail (down to a payment of four-and-a-half obols, IG I³ 476.403), their inscription by prytany (not by year or by project), and their use of continuous-line inscribing *within* individual columns (as also on side B of IG I³ 474).

Clearly it was more important that the eye see columns than distinguish entries, for within columns entries were marked off from each other only by internal punctuation, not by spacing. The effect is emphatically architectural; indeed, because of

92 In addition to listing precious items of the sort found in the earlier fragments (above n. 91), these also list money realized from the sale of *aparchai*, stone blocks, wood, tiles, bases, ladders, wagons, rope, axles, iron implements, and other materials, as well as revenues, expenditures, and a loan. Special sort of wealth, Cavanaugh 1996, 158, 212 (listed "because of their negotiable status"), and 215 ("considered negotiable even after their dedication"); also Clinton 2008, 72 and 76. IG I³ 386–387 also used inventory language: 386.3 (τάδε παρελ[άβομεν παρὰ τõν προτέρον ἐ]πιστατõν); 387.2 ([τάδ]ε παρέδομεν ἐπιστάταις τοῖς νέοις).

93 Paton 1927, 298.

94 SEG XXXIII 22 presents some new readings; Lambert 2000 makes the case for associating IG II² 1654 with the fifth-century Erechtheion accounts.

the continuous-line presentation of the content in columns, the columns were even more sharply and exactly depicted than before, with justification of both left and right edges of each column (fig. 18a–b). One of these sets of accounts (IG I^3 476) was itself not a free-standing *stēlē* but revetment for a terrace-wall: one would therefore see it as a wall of orderly columns.[95] So as the content is adjusted to add inventories of existing materials and lists of work to be done to a set of accounts enhanced in their level of specificity and detail, the old columnar format is maintained and its appearance and impact strengthened.

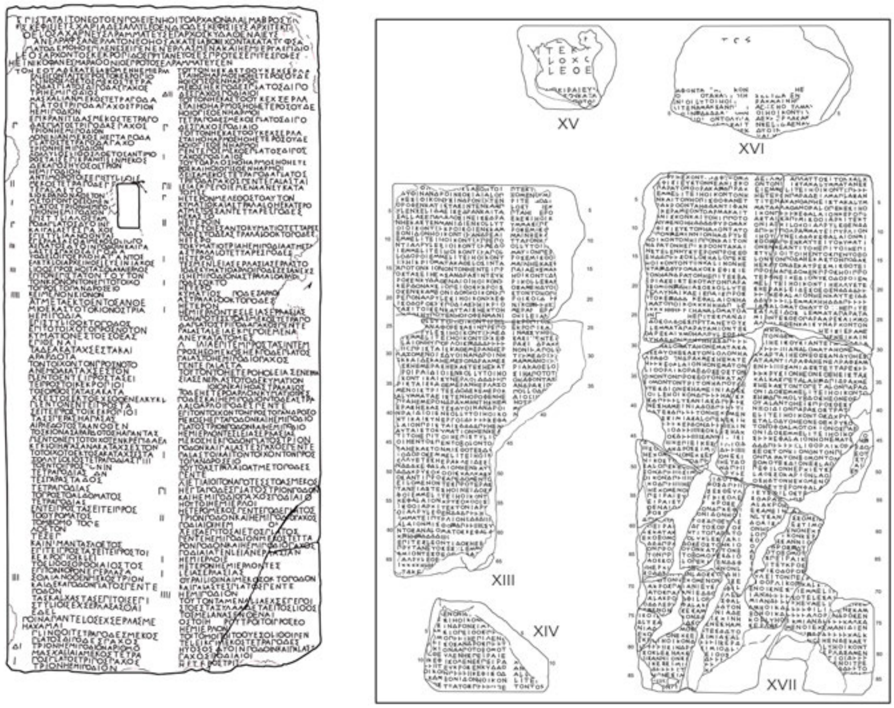

Fig. 18: Erechtheion accounts with (a) left-justified (IG I^3 474) and (b) left- and right-justified columns (IG I^3 476) (drawn by D. Weiss, after (a) Ferrari 2002, 19 fig. 3; and (b) Paton 1927, pl. XLIX).

A second hybrid genre in hybrid format was also explored in the 420s and became more widespread in the last decade of the century. Here a decree (in continuous-line format) was combined with a list (in columnar format). The first example is the *stēlē* announcing a reassessment of tribute, with the decree (of 425/4 BC) inscribed

95 See Pritchett 1940, 102–104; Dinsmoor 1932, 145 proposes the terrace wall of the Old Temple of Athena Polias.

in continuous-line *stoichedon*, the payers and their assessed tribute thereafter listed in four double-item columns (IG I^3 71): a decree and a version of a 'tribute-list' (itself traditionally in columns) are combined.[96] A second type of this hybrid appears in the last decade of the century, and praises and rewards, by name, benefactors of Athens and her democracy. One of these monuments memorialized public honor given in (perhaps) 403/2 to those citizens (and possibly others) who returned from Phyle (SEG XXVIII 45), with a decree in continuous-line format, a list of those honored arranged by tribe and demotic in (at least) two columns, and an epigram of praise;[97] another was the gift of civic privileges decreed between 403 and 400 to non-citizens active in the same fight against the Thirty (IG II^2 10 + 2403 + SEG XLIV 34), with the continuous-line decree on the obverse and lists of those honored on both obverse and reverse, in perhaps as many as four (obverse) and four, six, or seven columns (reverse).[98] The first monument was erected in the Agora, the second on the Acropolis, as honors for non-citizens typically were (fig. 19).[99] A new hybrid format for a new hybrid genre was in these cases adopted for what was in fact also a new epigraphic practice, inscriptions that honored Athens' own citizens for their contributions to the city.[100] To honor was not new (although carefully controlled in the fifth century); to honor individual for-

96 New readings and a new fragment in Matthaiou 2010, 28–32; IG I^3 77 and 100 are also classified as inscriptions of this type, although only fragments of the columnar part survive.

97 Although the parts of this monument (heading, columnar lists of names, epigram, decree) are certainly attested, its reconstruction by Raubitschek 1941, 289 is debated, for the monument could have been taller and there could have been more columns of names (see Taylor 2002, 392–395). The date is also no longer certain: SEG LII 86 reports the discovery of a new, non-joining fragment "preserving part of the epigram and enough of the prescript of the decree to show that the archon is not Eukleides and that Raubitschek's restoration [of the archon's name] must be abandoned". To my knowledge this fragment has not yet been published. Most controversial is who exactly was honored: see Taylor 2002 and J. Shear 2011, 232–234, who notes also (234 n. 31) how thick – post-like – this monument likely was (th 0,30). Another approximately contemporary monument, SEG XXVIII 46, also granted privileges to sons of those killed "helping the democracy". Although no columns of names on the front face survive, these are surmised, since there is a list written subsequent to the erection of the *stēlē* on the narrow left side of the *stēlē*; the date is disputed, see Stroud 1971, arguing for 403/2, and J. Shear 2011, 230, slightly later, versus (most recently) Matthaiou 2011, 71–81, dating to 410/9 or a little after.

98 The reconstruction of this monument is again disputed: see (e.g.) Hereward 1952; Krentz 1980; M. Osborne 1981, 37–41 no. D6; RO 4; J. Shear 2011, 234; the first three disagree on the number of columns on side B and the width and height of the monument. Walbank 1994, 169–171 no. 2 has added another (non-joining) fragment to this monument, and speculates (171 no. 3) that yet another might belong here as well (SEG XLIV 34 and 89); but the combination of continuous-line decree and columnar lists of names is certain.

99 Meyer 2013, 475 n. 99, with further references; these inscribed hybrid-form honors are followed in the fourth century by, e.g., IG II^2 33 (honors to Thasian exiles, decree and then names in two columns; ca. 385) and IG II^2 37 (honors to some other exiles; after 383).

100 See J. Shear 2011, 232 n. 27 and Meyer 2013, 474–482.

eigners by inscribed decree (on the Acropolis) was not new; but to inscribe honors to groups, to Athenians, and by name, *that* was new, and new formats were created from existing ones to achieve this. The honors for those who captured Phyle even included an epigram, which would have signalled a further visual parallel to an existing form, Athens' public funerary monuments, which stood not far away in the *dēmosion sēma*. Exceptional men were worthy of exceptional honor, whether dead or (here) alive, and their names were listed in columns. The source of the honor, the *dēmos* of Athens, was made explicit in the inscribing of the decree granting it, the decree's authorizing language emphasizing that fact.

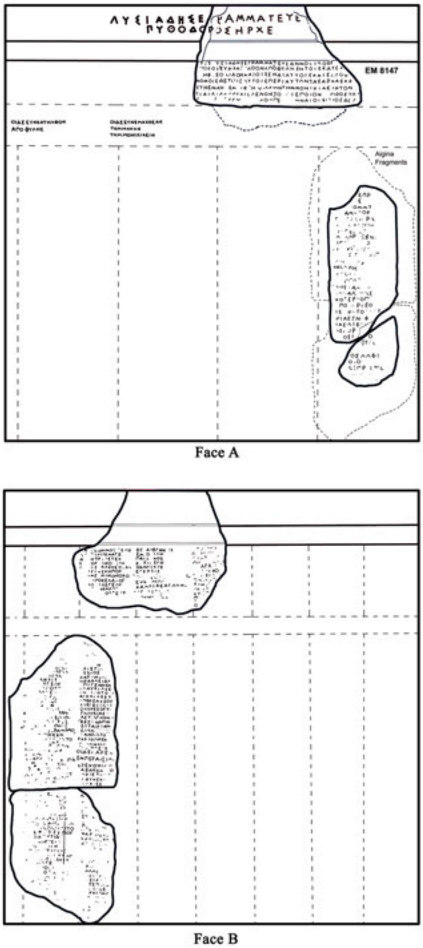

Fig. 19: Decree and list honoring foreigners who helped restore the democracy, 403–400 BC (IG II^2 10), reconstruction (drawn by D. Weiss, after Hereward 1952, 107 fig. 4).

The last genre in which the columnar format is more widely seen in this final decade of the fifth century is that of dedications, which can now be made by groups with all members of the group listed, in columns, by name. To see the names of more than four individuals in dedications had been rare;[101] in the past it had been groups of magistrates making a dedication who were named in any number, although even this was not common.[102] Towards the end of the century, however, this changes. Thus, crews of perhaps as many as eight ships, all of them listed (complete with slaves) in ten columns, are either honored for their heroic performance or dedicate in thanks for their achievement—it is unclear which (as the battle too is unclear, although it occurred after 412), since the beginning of the inscription is fragmentary; but the resulting inscription is huge, and was perhaps used to revet a wall on the Acropolis (fig. 20).[103] Councillors voted the "best prytany" in 408/7 placed on the Acropolis a circular base for a statue of Athena inscribed with (37 or ca. 50) names listed by deme in (three or four) columns, in thanks for the honor given to them.[104] Rich and politically important men make a dedication at Eleusis, probably in the wake of Alcibiades' leading of the Eleusinian procession there over land in 408/7.[105] Two highly fragmentary inscriptions with men listed by both tribe and deme in columns, interpretable as lists of councillors or *diaitetai* (arbitrators), would also have been dedications by or in honor of them. One was found on the Acropolis (and variously dated, between 440 and 405, or specifically to ca. 410), the fragments of the other, likely a base, in late contexts

101 Earlier multiple dedicators, above n. 37; thereafter, only some choregic-victory dedications, most of them erected by only two men, the names listed in one-name-per-line fashion, and not all of them even found within the city of Athens (IG I³ 958–963, 965–966, 968, 969*bis*b, 970 [four names; Eleusis, 425–406?], and 1034, probably a four-person, four-line dedication on a base). One dedication (IG I³ 969, see SEG XXVI 225), with fourteen men listed (in two columns) plus two in the heading, could be from 440–431 (IG I³) or from ca. 400 (Mitsos 1965).

102 For the three archaic examples, above n. 38; from the later fifth century we find IG I³ 516 (*diaitetai*? 415–400), a list with nine names inscribed in a column, and IG I³ 1460, four *amphictyones* of the Athenians at Delos, inscribed in a column (410/9).

103 IG I³ 1032 = IG II² 1951, estimated size h 2,15 w 1,00 th >0,22, Laing 1965, 49–50; Graham 1998, 92 notes that we have almost all of the inscription's height, from which Bakewell 2008, 157 concluded that no decree was part of this inscription. Interpreted as a dedication to Poseidon by IG I³, possibly by those who survived Aegospotami; Graham 1998 argued for an expedition in 412; Bakewell 2008, 144–145 summarizes previous positions on date and 158–159 emphasizes the inscription's deliberately non-temporal aspects. Another like it may be SEG LIV 226 (ca. 400), a fragmentary list of a trireme crew on a stone of post-like proportions (presumed h 0,52, preserved w 0,165 [but not much is missing]; pr. th 0,13 m), find-spot unknown.

104 IG I³ 515 = DAA 167 = Agora XV 1, the last two disagreeing over the number of columns and therefore the number of names on the base.

105 IG I³ 1048 = IG II² 2366 = I.Eleusis 49, dated somewhere between 415 and 403; Clinton 2005, 69 suggests either 415–410 (because "only the most essential inscriptions were set up at Eleusis" between 410 and 404) or (71) the fall of 407, when Alcibiades and the army escorted the procession to Eleusis.

in the Agora (and dated only vaguely to the mid-fifth century on the now-outdated criterion of a three-bar sigma).[106]

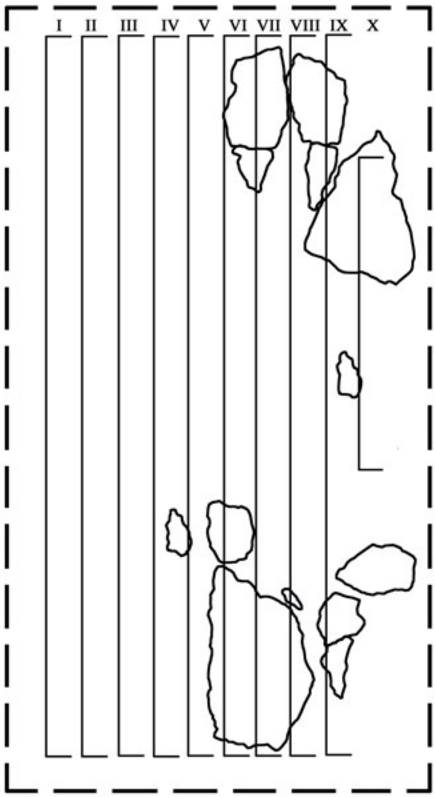

Fig. 20: List of trireme crews (IG I^3 1032), reconstruction (drawn by D. Weiss, after Laing 1965, 20 fig. 2).

Even women may have been included in this trend: the only epigraphic list of women known before the first century BC, the fragmentary IG I^3 1037, may reflect honors given to makers of Athena's *peplos* or a dedication by them, if this inscription is a forerunner of other inscribed lists of women known from Athens much later.[107] Because of

106 IG I^3 1040 and 1038 (in line 10, a second name is added in a different hand); Hondius 1925, 119–120 no. 3 (SEG III 49) first proposed 410 as a date for 1040. Mitsos 1970, 393 and Davies 1979 interpreted IG I^3 1040 as a list of *bouleutai*; IG I^3 speculated that 1038 could be a list of *prytaneis*. 1040 is restored with four columns, 1038 with at least two.

107 Only a corner fragment of IG^3 1037 survives, so its columnar format, although likely, is only deduced. The front (A) and the side (B) may have been inscribed by different hands, since the front shows two-point interpuncts and the side does not. Brueckner 1926, 129–130 made the connection to the fragmentary state of so many of these catalogue-monuments it is difficult to know exactly what they were (and there are other even less identifiable fragments too),[108] but either placement or later exemplars and traditions suggest that they combine dedication and honor, always with their dedicator-honorees listed in columns.

The listing of many living persons is especially characteristic of this new type of dedication and the new type of decree. But the development of these two types of inscriptions with one of their components in columns also reflects a larger general shift in Athenian epigraphy of the later fifth century. For in many epigraphical genres there was now an increased focus on individuals named and displayed, and an appreciation of this historical phenomenon helps to explain the new prominence of the columnar format in Athenian inscriptions. Before the last years of the century, naming many names was not very common in any fifth-century Athenian genre of Athenian stone inscription except for the casualty-list. Otherwise, it was groups of magistrates in inscribed accounts who could be listed by name, but even this practice was limited. *Epistatai*, 'overseers' of projects, were regularly listed by name only when the group changed in its composition from year to year:[109] we have their names for the first ten years of the Parthenon accounts, for the Propylaea accounts, for the unknown building project (IG I^3 433), for the first year of the accounts of the statues of Athena and Hephaistos, and for the work resumed on the Erechtheion,[110] but not for the last five

the first-century BC IG II^2 1034 and 1037, honors to weavers of the *peplos*; Meritt 1961, 248–249 thought the list was obviously of slave women with their masters (rather than women with patronyms), no doubt (he does not explain himself) relying on the easy assumption that names like Thrait[ta] in *l.*35 (which given its position in the line, at least six spaces in, should actually be restored as a male name in the genitive, Thrait[tidos]) and Phrygia (*l.*27) should be slave (although a Phrygia *not* identified as a slave makes a dedication on the archaic Acropolis, IG I^3 546). A list of female slaves would, however, be even more unexpected than a list of citizen-women.

108 It remains difficult to categorize IG I^3 1039 = IG II^2 2364 (ca. 400 BC?), a non-*stoichedon* list of male names from the Acropolis; Dow 1983, 100 thought this might have been a casualty-list. Others not yet identified: IG I^3 1041; IG I^3 1042; IG I^3 1043 = SEG XXI 103 and 1044 = SEG XXI 101, two *stoichedon* fragments that are perhaps to be associated; Dow 1983, 100 thought IG I^3 1045 = IG II^2 2365 = SEG XIII 57 ("fifth century") might also have been a casualty-list. IG I^3 did not accept non-*stoichedon* fragments, nor fragments found on Acropolis or South Slope, as belonging to casualty-lists. For other fragments of catalogues of "uncertain type" from ca. 400, see Dow 1983, 100–101.

109 Observed by Donnay 1967, 76, followed by Marginesu 2010, 59; both also suggest (therefore) that the *epistatai* did not change for the last five years of the Parthenon-building, an observation buttressed by the change in language for accepting resources handed on, which now come from "the previous year" rather than from "the previous *epistatai*". Dinsmoor 1913a, 62 had proposed only that there might have been "an entire change in the administration of the Parthenon", while Pope 2000, 66 thought that "the accountability" of the *epistatai* "had decreased in the last years" and Lanza Catti 2010, 34 that this marked a "new phase of the building works".

110 Listed *epistatai*: Parthenon, IG I^3 437.35–39, 440.113–115, 442.170–171, 444.238–240, 445.285–287 (the first two of these fragmentary); Propylaea, IG I^3 462.5–6, 463.63–65, 464.94–96, 465.116–118; unknown building project, IG I^3 433.12–15, 18–20, 24–28, 32–36, 42–45, 52–54; Athena and Hephaistos, IG I^3 472.2–3; Erechtheion, IG I^3 474.1–3.

years of the Parthenon, the last four years of the accounts of the statues of Athena and Hephaistos, or in the accounts for the Athena *Promachos* or *Parthenos* statues, at least for any of the years after the first year, and the first years in these last two examples are fragmentary or missing.[111] Groups of treasurers who contributed money to these building projects from the funds they oversaw are also rarely listed by name: only three times in the Athena *Parthenos* accounts, and three times in the accounts for the statues of Athena and Hephaistos.[112] Of the treasurers who supervised treasures and accounts only one set, that of the Other Gods, is listed by name, and in only one year; the treasurers of the Goddess are not identified by name in their inventories, and the *hellenotamiai* only start to be listed in the tribute-lists after the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War.[113] Otherwise, groups of treasurers (and—some—other contributors of money in accounts) had been identified only by the naming of one of their members and/or of their secretary.

It is possible, therefore, to suspect some control (whether communal or self-imposed) on the inscribed display of individual names, especially on the Acropolis, for most of the fifth century—in both dedications and accounts. For one would think that collegial bodies would have an interest in listing their members, whether for the sake of accountability or in pursuit of public acclaim, but until the 420s this is not regularly done, and even in that decade we find such lists only for the *hellenotamiai* in the tribute-lists and for the treasurers of the Other Gods, the latter only in their own account-inventory and in the three years out of five they contributed money from their funds for the two statues of Athena and Hephaistos. To identify groups of men by only one name or by their secretary on an inscribed monument instead emphasizes the communal nature of their activity—that they are a group, that they worked as a group, and that the focus should be, as a consequence, on the group. To list their names, which does occasionally happen before 410, does not change the fact that they served as a group; but it allows for a mildly different perspective, by emphasizing the membership of the individual in the group: a man so listed is not subsumed by the group.

111 The first fragment of IG I³ 435 preserves what is “carried over to the next year”, the last line of any (subsequent) year’s entry. IG I³ 453 may be the first year of the Athena *Parthenos* accounts: its first four lines are fragmentary, and the name Ἐχσέκ[εστος] has been restored in line 1. We do not have names of *epistatai* (and architect) after the first year of the Erechtheion accounts (IG I³ 474.1–3), but the top of the second stone is missing and the top of the third incomplete (although apparently without room for such a list of names). IG I³ 473, a fragment of an unknown account, also hands money over to unnamed *epistatai*.

112 *Parthenos* accounts: IG I³ 455.10–22, 457.12–20, 458.8–13; Athena and Hephaistos, IG I³ 472.9–11, 12–15, 16–19; unnamed “former” *epistatai* contributed to a building at Eleusis in the 440s, IG I³ 395.3.

113 IG I³ 383.4–7 (Other Gods); IG I³ 292–316, 317–340, 343–357 (treasurers of the Goddess, inventories); IG I³ 281.2–4, 282.2–5, 285.3–6, 287.3–6, 289.1–5 (tribute-lists); in IG I³ 269.36 a head of the board of *hellenotamiai* (along with an assistant secretary) is named in the tribute-lists for the first time (443/2).

And the more names are listed, the more the fact of membership is asserted, and the more widespread the participation of individuals is seen to be.

It was in the last decade of the fifth century that the names of living individuals became more visible, both in existing continuous-line genres of inscriptions as well as in those that employed the columnar format. In the continuous-line loan-records of 409/8 (IG I³ 377.1–3), for example, all five *tamiai* are named (although other groups are referred to in the more typical truncated way), as are the *tamiai* in the loan-records of 404/3 (IG I³ 380.1–3); they had not been before. The *tamiai* stewarding the treasures in the *pronaos* in 407/6 are named, along with their secretary (IG I³ 316.60–65), in the last independent inventory preserved before they amalgamate with the *hellenotamiai*,[114] and this new practice of naming all the *tamiai* of a year will continue through all the inventories of the fourth century.[115] Givers of the dedications listed also start to be named in these inventories of 406/5 and after, even women.[116] The *epistatai* in the great Eleusinian account-inventory of 407/6 are named, along with their secretary (IG I³ 386.2–3). The Erechtheion accounts, between 408 and 406, are full of names: not only their initial *epistatai*, architect, and secretary, but also, or especially, the individuals to whom wages were paid (who in all previous accounts had never been named).[117] The *stēlai* of 402/1 BC memorializing the confiscation and sale of the property of the Thirty (and others) named not only those who "wrote up" the property (i.e., made the official denunciation) but also those who bought the property, while the earlier 'Attic *stēlai*' had named only those whose property was auctioned, identifying those who "wrote up" only as (unnamed) demarchs of a given deme.[118] Even

114 The last inventories of the Hekatompedon (IG I³ 341–342) and the Parthenon (IG I³ 358–361) are fragmentary and without headings.

115 See IG II² 1370–1510.

116 Noted by Harris 1990, 79–80 and Harris 1996, 224: in IG I³ 341.3–4, 6 (by Paapis daughter of E[--], 6–7 (406/5 BC), 342.4–7 (by Kleostratē daughter of Nikeratos; 405/4 BC); IG II² 1386.2–4, 6–7, 7–9, 9–10, 10–12 (401/0 BC), 1402.7 (401/0 BC) and 1402 add. p. 799 lines 3–5, 7–8 (by Kalliōn wife of Aristokles, Aristomachē daughter of Aristokles; 401/0 BC).

117 *Epistatai*, IG I³ 474.1–3. In the earlier accounts, when workers were mentioned they were referred to as a group and by task: see Lanza Catti 2010, 35–37 (for the Parthenon accounts, IG I³ 436–451; and the same occurred in the Propylaea accounts, IG I³ 432–436, and at Eleusis, IG I³ 395.9–18 = I.Eleusis 23.9–18); no workmen were mentioned in the Athena *Parthenos* accounts, in the accounts of the unknown building project (IG I³ 433), or in the accounts of the golden *nikai* (IG I³ 467–468); in the *Promachos* accounts only "wages by day, wages by prytany, and wages by job" were noted (IG I³ 435.18–19, 25–26, 51–52, 76–77, 111–112); and in the accounts for the statues of Athena and Hephaistos, "the wage" for various unnamed workmen is listed (IG I³ 472.146, 153, 183, 186). Bakewell 2008, 152–153 notes the similarities of the Erechtheion accounts to the naval dedication on the Acropolis (above n. 103) in documenting "the efforts of a mixture of citizens, metics, and slaves working side by side to benefit the city".

118 Walbank 1982, 95 (SEG XXXII 161); what survives of this monument details only the sale of real property, not the rest of the oligarchs' possessions, but even so there are the remains of at least six *stēlai*, five of them double-item, inscribed by two or three different carvers, the lettering picked out ships are named, noted as inspected, and listed in columnar form in three Acropolis fragments.[119] Although some changes in financial management, such as the amalgamation of treasurerships and perhaps (by implication) the inspection of ships, took place in these years (and indeed may have started with the Five Thousand),[120] these changes are independent of the decision to list names on stone, which is a phenomenon greater than just these changes in financial documents with their implication of greater accountability.[121] In this last decade of the century, more names appear everywhere, and honor-bearing and -displaying inscriptions with many names multiply, presaging the great numbers of inscribed Athenian "catalogues" in columnar form (whether dedications or honors) as well as the enormous growth in individual epitaphs in the fourth century.[122] In inscriptions names were deliberately withheld for most of the fifth century; the columnar format saw only limited, albeit significant, use, for most of the fifth century; and both phenomena reflected the kind of democracy the Athenians practiced, for most of the fifth century. The individual contributed, but as a member of a group, and was named, was an individually listed member *of* a group, mostly only when he had died in war. In the last decade of that century, however, individuals were increasingly singled out and increasingly honored by being so singled out, although (non-funerary) monuments *for* individuals still lay a decade or so in the future.[123] As the reward of honor increasingly smoothed and oiled the workings

with red paint but the top of the monument undecorated and the *stēlai* not clamped together (74–75, 91–92). On the 'Attic *stēlai*': e.g., IG I[3] 421.12–13, 26–27 (owners), 425.26 and 30 (unnamed demarchs).

119 IG I[3] 498–500; this way of (presumed) inventorying by ship was eventually transformed into inventorying by the obligations of individual trierarchs, but not until later in the fourth century, see Davies 1969, 311–312 and Liddel 2007, 189.

120 Thompson 1967, 227 argued that the 5000 doubled the number of the *hellenotamiai* and transferred to them the functions of the *kolakretai*; on these changes see Samons 2000, 259–269, 274–275 and Rhodes 2013, 214–215.

121 Davis 1948, 486 (the embodiment of the re-established democracy's sense of fiscal and political responsibility); J. Shear 2011, 129 (increased accountability after 410 BC); or more generally Wittenburg 1978, 72–73 (the *Verwaltungspraxis* of the absolute democracy of the time of Kleophon) and Feyel 2006, 16–17 (inscriptions were in general becoming longer and more detailed).

122 Catalogues, Dow 1983, 97 and Liddel 2007, 192–198 (and Humphreys 2010, 75 notes the prevalence of dedications as the genre for lists of men according to tribe and deme); epitaphs, Meyer 1993. Note too that almost all columnar-format Athenian curse tablets are fourth century in date and likely mimicked public inscribing: Gordon 1999, 255 and 256–257, Jordan/Curbera 2008, 135 and 138. Jordan 1985 lists only two (or three) Athenian tablets in columnar format as possibly from the fifth century (nos. 2, 7, possibly 10; no. 40, with three columns, is not given a date); his nos. 14, 46, 48, 51 date to the fourth century (and no. 48, republished in Jordan/Curbera 2008, is a spectacular example of a tablet that looks like an inscription, complete with a heading stretching across three columns). To the fourth-century examples Jordan 2000 adds nos. 9 and 10.

123 Bakewell 2008, 156 suggests that the layout of the list of trireme crews (above n. 103 and fig. 20), even though by columns, was still difficult reading, and therefore honored "the larger grouping to which individuals belonged" more than individuals. For fourth-century honors for individuals, see Meyer 2013, 482–486.

of the Athenian democracy, so too did names become more prominent, along with an inscription-format traditionally well-suited to both honor and name-display.

4 Conclusion

Inscribing in columns at Athens is a phenomenon, a choice that was increasingly made over the course of the fifth century BC. It was at first employed slowly, in casualty-list monuments before mid-century and tribute-lists and monumental accounts in the second half—and then much more quickly, in the last decades, in newly created hybrid genres and newly detailed and specific group dedications. As a format, columnar inscribing had some inexact predecessors outside of Athens, but specifically Athenian roots and meanings in archaic and early classical three-dimensional inscribed monuments in Athens itself. The columnar format takes a three-dimensional object, the post inscribed on all or several of its sides, and unwraps and flattens it, laying it out in two dimensions and bringing with it a memory of what those three-dimensional inscribed posts had conveyed, both to the gods and to their human audience. This memory combined honor and tradition, since the format built on visual expectations and understandings already established, and thus was in one sense old-fashioned. Its expanded application in new (and modified older) genres in the last decade of the fifth century therefore was not merely by this point practical, an easy way to convey information that an audience could grasp (having been accustomed to the format for more than sixty years), but also a recollection and recapitulation of the older ways in which honor had been publicly conveyed. The traditional columnar format and its particular use for new honor-bearing name-lists after 410 thus also reveal a nexus of late fifth-century changes in the democratic culture of Athens: democracy was restored and its forms were still the traditional ones, but there is now a greater acknowledgment of the individual's role (and perhaps responsibility) in democratic governance, and an increased reliance on public recognition—honor—to reward those individuals and make democracy work. Athenian governance had always been the result of a dynamic tension between individual and group. In the last decade of the fifth century that dynamic, while still one of individual and group, shifted in its particulars, and the changes in the use of the columnar format in public inscribing both show that and helped to effect it.

Table 1: Inscribed Monuments in Columnar Format with Tentative Dimensions (in meters).

monument	dimensions of monument	comments	references to shape	date
IG I^3 503–504 Marathon cenotaph	h 0,215 w >5,00 (estimated) th 0,48	fragments of base (only) survive; three *stēlai* (each w 0,69 th 0,20), spaced ca. 0,62 from each other	Matthaiou 1988	490–480
IG I^3 1144 casualty-monument	h unknown w (possibly) 0,26 th 0,09 (*stēlē* A)	at least ten thick *stēlai* (fragments of three may survive); inscribed on side as well as front faces	Bradeen 1967, 321–8; Bradeen 1974, 3–6	464?
IG I^3 1147 and 1147*bis* casualty-monument	h 1,49 w 5,04 th 0,16	fragments of two tribal *stēlai* survive (w 0,63/0,57)		458?
IG I^3 1149 casualty-monument	h 2,20 w 1,20 th 0,26	one *stēlē* for Argive allies at Tanagra, in Argive script	Papazarkadas/Sourlas 2012	458
IG I^3 259–270 first 'tribute' *stēlē*	h 3,583 w 1,105 th 0,38	inscribed in columns on all four sides	Paarmann 2007, I:7, IIA:7–13; Miles 2011	454/3– 440/39
IG I^3 1162 casualty-monument	h 1,68 w 0,47/0,45 th 0,165			447?
IG I^3 436–51 Parthenon accounts	h 1,60 w 1,80 th 0,198	inscribed in columns on all four sides	Dinsmoor 1921b, 233–240; Davison 2009, 1115–1145	447/6– 433/2

monument	dimensions of monument	comments	references to shape	date
IG I^3 453, 455–458, 460 *Parthenos* accounts	h 0,86+ w >0,13 + 0,285/0,275 + [0,08] + 0,284 + 0,285 + 0,16+ th 0,17/0,125 monument probably h 0,86+ w 1,42 or 1,71 th 0,17	clamp cuttings on top face of 455, 457, and 458; letters and numerals much larger, more careful in 460, which summarizes the accounts; 460 may have been additional to clamped-together *stēlai*	Donnay 1967; Davison 2009, 1085–1097; Marginesu 2010	446/5?–438
IG I^3 273–280 second 'tribute' *stēlē*	h 2,192+ w 1,471 th 0,34	inscribed in columns on all four sides	Paarmann 2007, IIA:45; Miles 2011	439/8–432/1
IG I^3 462–466 Propylaea accounts	h 1,85 w 1,23 th 0,11–0,10 (taper)	inscribed in columns on all four sides	Dinsmoor 1913c, 380	437/6–433/2
IG I^3 281 tribute-list	h 1,15 w 0,905 th 0,15		Paarmann 2007, IIA:63–65, IIB:III	430/29 or 425 (Mattingly 1996, 26–28, 70–78, 427–430, 525–526)
IG I^3 383 Accounts of Treasurers of Other Gods	h 1,40+ w 0,42 th 0,21?	inscribed on all four sides, three (A–C) in (two [A] or one [B–C] double-item) columns, one (D) in continuous-line format	Johnson 1931; Thompson 1967, 232	429/8

monument	dimensions of monument	comments	references to shape	date
IG I^3 282 tribute-list	h 1,59 w 0,824 th 0,184	front, left inscribed; back also, but lost?	Paarmann 2007, IIA:61, IIB:99–101	429/8 or 426 (Mattingly 1996, 26–28, 70–78, 427–430, 525–526)
IG I^3 1163 casualty-monument	h 1,505 w 5,482 th 0,19–0,18 m	base (1163d–f) of h 0,205 and w >6,00 included; clamp cuttings across tops; 1184 not included	Matthaiou 2010, 13; Arrington 2012, 62	446 (IG I^3) or 424 (Arrington 2012)
IG I^3 472 accounts for statues of Athena and Hephaistos	h 1,36 w 0,815–0,78 th 0,137–0,127	inscribed also on left side	Thompson 1969, 155	421/0–416/5
IG I^3 1186 casualty-monument	h 1,556 w 1,034 (*stēlē* A) w 1,024 (*stēlē* B) th 0,155 (*stēlē* A) th 0,205 (*stēlē* B)	clamp cuttings across tops; IG I^3 thinks large and multi-*stēlē*, but no specifics possible	Mastrokostas 1955; SEG XIX 42; Bradeen 1969, 157–159	ca. 411 (IG I^3) or 410 (SEG)?
IG I^3 1190 casualty-monument	h 1,555+ w 0,81 th not preserved	IG I^3 thinks large and multi-*stēlē*	Clairmont 1983, I:195–197 no. 56	ca. 411
SEG XLVIII 83 casualty-monument	h 2,10 w 0,89–0,82 th 0,268–0,255	single free-standing *stēlē*	Parlama/Stampolidis 2000; Matthaiou 2010, 14–16; Matthaiou 2011, 83–91 h includes frieze; Arrington 2011, 194	420s, or 429–426 (Matthaiou)
SEG LII 60 casualty-monument	h 1,54 w 10,90 th 0,195	one tribal *stēlē*, with horizontal line and new heading after l.33	Tsiriyioti-Drakotou 2000	415–413? (Sicily and other campaigns?)

monument	dimensions of monument	comments	references to shape	date
IG I^3 421–430 'Attic *Stēlai*'	h ca. 1,50 (I–II) w 1,00 (I–III); 0,50+ (VII) preserved th varies: 0,114 (I–III); 0,08 (IV); 0,124–0,125 (V); 0,15 (VI–VII); 0,095 (X); base possibly h 2,00 w 15,00		Pritchett 1953, 236–240; Lewis 1997/1966; Tracy 2014b	414/13
IG I^3 1192 casualty-monument	h 0,72+ w 0,49 (*stēlē* A) w 0,52 (*stēlē* B) th 0,103 or 0,108	at least three *stēlai*	Bradeen 1974, 25–27 no. 22	413–404
IG I^3 1191 casualty-monument	h 3,12 (?) w 0,80–0,72 (each) th 0,15	clamp cuttings on top face; monument of three *stēlai* (or more)	Bradeen 1964, 43–55 no. 15; Bradeen 1968, 238–240; Clairmont 1983, I: 199–201 no. 58b	409
IG I^3 474 Erechtheion survey/ accounts	h 1,835 w 0,505 th 0,139	seven-line heading across stone; opisthographic, two columns each side	Dinsmoor 1913b, 242–247; Paton 1927, 280–321 nos. II–VII	409/8
IG I^3 475 Erechtheion accounts	h 3,22? w 1,69? th 0,15	opisthographic; six columns (in continuous-line format) on each side; h and w extrapolated from Broneer's drawing	Dinsmoor 1913b, 247–255; Paton 1927, 322–370, 416–419 nos. VIII–XIIA, XXVI; Broneer 1933 377–390 no. 9	409/8
IG I^3 476 Erechtheion accounts	th 0,10	revetment (from attachments on no. XVII) in tiers on terrace wall of Old Temple of Athena facing western side of Erechtheion	Dinsmoor 1913b 255–264; Paton 1927, 370–416 nos. XIII–XXV; Dinsmoor 1932, 145; Pritchett 1940; 102–104 no. 19	408/7

monument	dimensions of monument	comments	references to shape	date
IG I³ 1031 archon-list	h 1,50 w 1,20 th 0,20	restored in four columns	Bradeen 1963, 202; Pébarthe 2005a	ca. 424/3 or after 410?

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Writing Practices: Seeing, Perceiving and Acting with Inscriptions

Andreas Rhoby

Text as Art? Byzantine Inscriptions and Their Display

The so-called "Lorsch Annals" (*Annales Laureshamenses*), a Frankish chronicle covering the years 703 to 803, state the following for the year 795:

> Hadrian the supreme pontiff died; and the lord king, once he had ceased his mourning asked that prayers be said for him throughout the whole Christian people within his lands and sent an abundance of alms for him and ordered an epitaph, written in gold letters on marble, to be made in Francia so that he might send it to Rome to adorn the sepulchre of the supreme pontiff Hadrian.[1]

This passage describes Charlemagne's order to create an extraordinary tomb inscription, written in gold letters on marble (*ebitaffium aureis litteris in marmore*), for the deceased Hadrian I, who served as pope from 772 to 795. It states that the *epitaphius* should be sent to Rome to adorn the tomb of the pontifex (*ad sepultura summi pontificis Adriani ornandam*).

What is striking in this passage is that the primary motivation for creating the *epitaphius*, the tomb inscription with its golden letters, was not to be informative about the deceased but rather to adorn his sepulchre.

From this example and others, we learn that inscriptions were not regarded only as transmitters of information but also as adornments or, to put it another way, as works of art embedded in the performance of another work of art. Hadrian's metrical *epitaphius* is still preserved (fig. 1), exposed at St. Peter's in Rome, and as one can see from the decoration of the marble slab and the layout of the text, it is a masterpiece of imperial display and Carolingian craftsmanship.[2]

In addition, the text arranged for the tomb inscription is not a mere prose text; instead, it consists of verses composed in elegiac distichs that were not inscribed *in continuo* but under one another with the second line (the pentameter) intended. With this specific structure, the inscription becomes even more ornamental: it gives the text a regular, symmetrical form that could not have been achieved by a simple prose text. The impact of the text must have been twofold: for those not literate enough to understand the inscription, the impressive layout of the incised letters and their magical appearance must have symbolized the importance of the content; for the literate, on the other hand, the poetic language of the text must have underscored the

1 Pertz 1826, 36 (chap. XXVIII). English translation after Story 2003, 105; for the text of the tomb inscription see de Rossi 1888.

2 Silvagni 1943, pl. II, fig. 6; Favreau 1997, 63–68 and fig. 5.

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significance of the deceased pope and his imperial mourner. The verse inscription, of course, was not only made to celebrate Pope Hadrian and his wise deeds and to mourn his death: from verse 17 onward, Charlemagne himself becomes part of the textual performance by indicating that he ordered the verses to be composed (*Karolus haec crimina scribsi*). It is probably no coincidence that the word KARoLVS is inscribed in the very center of the text ensemble as seen from the perspective of the beholder and reader.

Fig. 1: Vatican, St. Peter, epitaph of pope Hadrian I (taken from Silvagni 1943, pl. II, fig. 6).

To the best of my knowledge, there is only one such clear statement describing inscriptions as adornments from the Byzantine millennium.[3] A passage in Niketas Eugenianos's metrical epitaph for the twelfth-century court poet Theodoros Prodromos refers to the verses composed by the latter: "You (i.e., Prodromos) have left behind the adornment of the holy icons. For, being a form of adorned with stones and pearls, they also had your verses as a perfect adornment. Truly the poetry of the pearl (i.e., Prodromos) that adorned the icons was adornment."[4] As we can see from these verses, Eugenianos employs jewelry imagery to present both Prodromos ("the pearl," μάργαρον) and his verses, which he calls "adornment" (κόσμος) for the icons. Unfortunately there is only one extant icon, now in the Kremlin in Moscow, with Prodromos's verses on its margins (and this is not even a contemporary one, since it dates to the fifteenth century[5]), but the content and the layout of many of his preserved poems reveal that they were composed in order to serve as inscriptions.[6]

Two other passages are preserved in which Byzantine authors discuss the meaning and purpose of inscriptions. The first is a marginal note on fol. 1v of the Vatican codex Reginensis Graecus 1 (end of the ninth or first decades of the tenth century), the only manuscript of the famous Bible[7] donated by Leon Sakellarios. It offers this statement on the meaning of the metrical captions of the miniatures in the codex: "In every picture scanned iambic verses go round the four corners of the borders, signifying most clearly in summary form the meaning of the representations."[8] A very similar statement is made by Maximos Planudes at the end of the thirteenth century in an epigram written in the name of Theodora Rhaulina, a niece of the emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos. This epigram, which may have been inscribed next to a portrait of Theodora in the Hagios Andreas *ἐν τῇ κρίσει* church in Constantinople, begins with the observation that "inscriptions reveal the representations of things and persons in pictures."[9] These two quotations refer primarily to the content of inscriptions: the potential reader is asked to study the texts attached to pictures in order to learn more about their meaning. However, in accord with the statement in the Bible of Leon Sakellarios, which indicates that the verses accompanying the illuminations "go round the four corners of the borders [of each miniature]", I suggest that these inscriptions are more than mere transmitters of information; rather, they are part of the artistic composition of each depicted scene.

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3 For more examples from the Latin West see Treffort 2008, 73.
4 Gallavotti 1935, 226 (vv. 150–154). English translation after Drpić 2011, 149; cf. Lauxtermann 2003, 34.
5 Ostashenko 2013, 424–429; Rhoby 2010, no. Ik48.
6 On this subject Zagklas 2014, *passim*.
7 Only Genesis through Psalms is preserved.
8 Mango 2011, 64; on this passage cf. Rhoby 2012, 732. English translation after Mango.
9 Lampros 1916, 426 (no. 2); cf. Rhoby 2011a, 318–319; Riehle 2014, 300.

In Pope Hadrian's *epitaphius* and the verses in the Bible of Leon Sakellarios, it is poetry, not prose, that is chosen to enlarge the artistic and symbolic impact of the performance of an object or a scene. If we take a closer look at the dedication epigram that introduces the verse romance "Rhodanthe and Dosikles" by the already mentioned mid-twelfth-century author Theodoros Prodromos, we find that the act of composing verses is itself compared to painting and that poetry is considered painting:

> Your servant Theodore … Prodromos, / having grasped these … colours in his own hands, / has depicted the image of Dosikles and Rhodanthe, / … / Do not put my recent efforts to be viewed / with the beautifully drawn panels and charming early works / of the great craftsman Praxiteles, or Apelles, / … / but compare my skills with recent painters / and it might seem not much worse than those.[10]

Another poem, entitled "On verse", formerly attributed to the mid-eleventh-century Byzantine statesman and author Michael Psellos, opens with a similar statement: "Writing verse with skill is a kind of art (τέχνη), / a most beautiful art …"[11]

The theme of poetry as painting is not an invention of the Byzantine period, of course, but an established topos that dates to Antiquity.[12] Already the famous poet Simonides of Keos is thought to be the author of the following phrase preserved in Plutarch's *Moralia* 346F: "Simonides, however, calls painting inarticulate (σιωπῶσαν) poetry and poetry articulate (λαλοῦσαν) painting." In this respect, it is no surprise that the Greek word γράφειν can mean both "to write" and "to paint."[13] Horace's famous *ut pictura poesis* (Hor. ars. 361) testifies to the same topos.[14]

When dealing with the inscriptions of premodern societies, one is always confronted with the question how connected words were perceived by their beholders. As regards Byzantium, several studies have been devoted to this topic in recent years. Did the Byzantines gaze at inscriptions rather than read them, as Marc Lauxtermann suggested?[15] Did inscriptions primarily fulfill an active ornamental function, as Liz James has proposed?[16] Or were inscriptions primarily set up to be read, to be "speaking" monuments that made their content available in different ways to both literates and illiterates, as Amy Papalexandrou has argued in several publications?[17]

It was long assumed that inscriptions played a very minor role in Byzantium because the production of public texts had, for many different reasons (decline of

10 Agapitos 2000, 175–176. English translation after Jeffreys 2012, 19–20.
11 Westerink 1992, 463 (no. 91). English translation after Bernard 2010, 294.
12 Agapitos 2000, 179–181.
13 Cf. Liddell/Scott/Jones/McKenzie, [9]1925–1940, *s.v.*; 1996, *s.v.*; cf. Hunger 1984; Drpić 2013, 334–353.
14 Cf. Cavallo 1994, 31–32.
15 Lauxtermann 2003, 272–273.
16 James 2007.
17 Papalexandrou 2001a; Papalexandrou 2007.

cities, loss of epigraphically productive regions in the eastern part of the empire, etc.), declined after Late Antiquity.[18] It is certainly true that Byzantium was not "une civilisation d'épigraphie," as the famous epigrapher Louis Robert once called the old Greek and Roman Empires,[19] and we are also aware that the epigraphic habit[20] was not as developed as it had been in earlier centuries, simply because other methods of communication had been invented. Nevertheless, Byzantine inscriptions—preserved on or in stones, mosaics, frescoes, portable objects, textiles, seals, coins, and other media—were an important and long-underestimated component of Byzantine society.[21] A simple fact supports this assertion. Until recently, the number of Byzantine metrical inscriptions—the usual term is "epigrams"—that are still found *in situ* was thought to be "extremely limited,"[22] but it is now known that more than seven hundred inscriptional epigrams are preserved in different media, including quite a few traditional stone inscriptions.[23] A person walking through a Byzantine town (especially Constantinople before the Fourth Crusade) probably was not confronted with as many inscriptions as his ancient or late antique predecessor had been, but inscriptions could still be seen everywhere, inviting their beholders to interact with them. Just as today, in everyday Byzantine life it was rather difficult to avoid the multiple opportunities to meet letters and words. The fact that the so-called Παραστάσεις σύντομοι χρονικαί, a collection of reports on Constantinople's monuments from the early eighth century,[24] states that the "old" inscriptions were no longer understood indicates that numerous inscriptions, at least ancient and late antique ones, were omnipresent and still visible.[25] The Παραστάσεις even speak about the amazement inspired by careful research on the inscriptions in the Forum of Constantinople.[26]

If we turn now to the questions posed by Lauxtermann, James, and Papalexandrou regarding the perception of inscriptions in Byzantium, the reaction of a recipient confronted with an inscription can best be demonstrated by an example from the eleventh century. Michael Psellos was the author of a letter addressed to Emperor Michael VII Dukas (1071–1078), one of his former students.[27] In this letter we learn that the emperor had ordered Psellos to examine the inscription (γραφή) and the carving

18 Mango 1991a, 239–240.
19 Robert 1961, 454 = Robert 2007, 88.
20 MacMullen 1982.
21 Cf. Mango 1991b, 711: "A discipline of Byz. Epigraphy does not yet exist." Fresh impetus for the discipline of Byzantine epigraphy is provided by Rhoby 2015.
22 Lauxtermann 2003, 33.
23 Rhoby 2009; Rhoby 2010; Rhoby 2014.
24 Cameron/Herrin 1984; for more literature on this subject Rhoby 2012, 735–736 and n. 18.
25 Mango 1991a, 240–241; see also Mango 1963a.
26 Cameron/Herrin 1984, 103.
27 Kurtz/Drexl 1941, 207–209 (no. 188) = Littlewood 1985, 126–127 (no. 32).

(γλυφή) of a stone that had been shown to him previously.[28] Psellos describes the two figures on the stone plaque, whom he identifies as Odysseus and Kirke; he then reads the letters that accompany the figures and—to please the emperor—interprets the scene as a favorable prediction of the emperor's future policies. Thanks to Růžena Dostálová, we now know that the stone Psellos interpreted for the emperor belonged to a series of Iliac and Odyssean tablets (*Tabulae Iliacae* and *Odysseacae*) created in the first century A.D.[29]

Was the emperor not capable of explaining and reading the plaque even though he had been a student of Psellos? This is hard to believe, because as we know from a didactic poem by Psellos that the emperor was even capable of composing iambic and hexameter verse.[30] What we learn from this passage is that the accurate deciphering and interpreting of inscriptions and accompanying scenes must indeed have been the privilege of a very learned elite. Had inscriptions (and scenes) become not fully understandable even for the literates among whom the emperor belonged? Had they indeed become secret or magical messages? Did they serve as signs of a "passé oublié," as Gilbert Dagron averred for the numerous ancient inscriptions and statues still visible in pre-1204 Constantinople?[31]

In my view, there are three possibilities for how inscriptions were perceived in Byzantium.

(1) As in the case of Psellos, who interpreted the text and the scene for Michael VII, inscriptions seem to have been presented to the public on certain occasions. There is some evidence that some were read aloud, such as a donor's inscription in a church on the day of its inauguration or a tomb inscription on the commemoration day of the deceased. Unfortunately, Byzantine sources do not offer much information about this practice. There is precise evidence for the long dedicatory epigram, today entirely lost, of the famous mid-twelfth-century Pantokrator church in Constantinople: manuscripts that transmit the epigram[32] state that the verses composed for the inauguration of the church are recited on the relevant commemoration day.[33] We can imagine that the inscription, which was probably painted or installed on one of the interior walls of the monastery church, was read aloud by a priest in the presence of the imperial family responsible for the commission and others in the aristocratic milieu.[34] In this

28 On this letter Dagron 1984a; cf. Moore 2005, 354 (no. 926).

29 Dostálová 2011, 138–142. Psellos probably also wrote an ekphrasis on this very plaque, ed. Littlewood 1985, 128–129 (no. 33); cf. Moore 2005, 354–355 (no. 927).

30 Westerink 1992, 84 (no. 6, vv. 92–100); cf. Bernard 2014, 216, 246.

31 Dagron 1984b, 150.

32 Vassis 2013, 213–218. An English translation of the Greek text by is found in the same volume, 49–52.

33 Cf. Hörandner 2006; Rhoby 2012, 745–746.

34 On feasts and their performance at the Pantokrator monastery Kotzabassi 2013.

connection it is appropriate to cite Papalexandrou, who stated that "we are probably safe [...] in assuming that letter forms became meaningful even when they could not be read. The beholder, for example, may have relied on intermediaries who could read and communicate the otherwise arcane knowledge of the inscriptions."[35] Gianfranco Agosti supposed that this practice already existed in Late Antiquity when the θυρωροί (doorkeepers) in churches read and explained certain inscriptions to visitors; this method might also have existed in the West.[36]

While listening to the verses, the public at the Pantokrator church might have enjoyed not only their rhetoric, which compares present-day Constantinople with ancient Athens and celebrates the role of the empress Irene at the foundation of the monastery, but also the layout of the inscription and its place in the decorative program of the church. The same may have been true for tomb inscriptions: despite the lack of clear evidence in the sources, it is easy to imagine that these texts were read aloud on the commemoration day of the deceased whose names were preserved in specific commemoration books, such as the βρέβιον[37] and the (less well-known) so-called ψυχοχάρτια.[38] The extraordinary mid-fourteenth-century burial place of Michael Tornikes in the parekklesion of the Chora monastery church (Kariye Camii) in Constantinople is a likely candidate for the practice of reciting a tomb inscription, here placed above the arcosolium (fig. 2).[39]

Fig. 2: Constantinople, parekklesion of the Chora church, arcosolium © Andreas Rhoby.

35 Papalexandrou 2003, 71.
36 Agosti 2010, 177.
37 Kazhdan 1991.
38 On the term Lefort/Oikonomidès/Papachryssanthou/Kravari 1994, 286.
39 Underwood 1966, 276–277. A new edition of the metrical Greek inscription is published by Rhoby 2014, no. TR68.

While listening to the text, the visitor to the church likely gazed at the images depicted in the arcosolium: the Mother of God in the middle flanked by Tornikes and his wife, with the latter two also shown as a monk and a nun in the soffit of the arcosolium. As the text was recited, the depicted persons might have become living, speaking figures in the perception of the beholder. The listener/viewer may also have had the opportunity to enjoy the regular form of the inscription, the verses of which were divided with three dots incised into the marble, stressing the visual features of the text in concert with the whole monumental tomb ensemble.

As Papalexandrou has demonstrated, for some Byzantine inscriptions it seems likely that listeners were invited to join voices with the one reciting the text. This is the case for a ninth-century inscription on the island of Samos in which the listeners are explicitly exhorted to join in. It is the castle of Samos, where the inscription was placed, that speaks these lines:

> Everybody passing by and seeing this / and having known my former bad reputation / praises you rightly, the benefactor, / and shouts without ending: 'Many years to the ruler Theophilos and Theodora! / O emperor of all the inhabited word, be well, Theophilos, ruler of the Romans'. / … glorifying the sceptre and your crown / we duly say: 'Live many years!'"[40]

One can readily imagine that when the inscription was read aloud the listeners participated in saying "Live many years" (πολλοί σου χρόνοι). Just such an invitation to join the performance of the inscription was found in the tomb inscription of Pope Hadrian with which this paper began: "Whoever is reading these verses … / may say … 'God, have pity on the one and the other!' (i.e., with Pope Hadrian and Charlemagne).

In Byzantium it seems to have been very popular to begin inscriptions, especially epigrams, with a rhetorical question that invites the recipient of the text—regardless of whether he read the inscription on his own or just listened to it—to become an active member of the performance. The dedicatory epigram in the church of St. Barnabas in Louros in the Preveza district of western Greece starts with such a rhetorical address: "You seek to learn, man, who commissioned the erection of the sacred church that you see from its foundations?"[41] Similar approaches can be found on other monuments, too, including city walls. A thick slab of white marble, now housed in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul, bears a long but unfortunately not fully preserved inscription, probably of the eleventh century, that was once set up on the walls of Dyrrhachion (Durrës) in Albania.[42] It consists of two parts, the first being the question of the passer-by (ξένος) addressed to the city and the second the city's

40 Schneider 1929, 139 (no. 12); a new edition by Rhoby 2014, no. GR106; cf. Papalexandrou 2001a, 280–281; Papalexandrou 2007, 179; Lauxtermann 2003, 271–273; Rhoby 2012, 743. English translation based on Papalexandrou.

41 Rhoby 2014, no. GR79; cf. Rhoby 2011b, 72–73.

42 Mango 1966; new edition by Rhoby 2014, no. TR57.

answer. We may suppose that the oral performance of such inscriptions created a dramatic note that captured the attention of the audience. In this context, we may also mention that tomb inscriptions from Antiquity onward were sometimes composed in dialogue form.[43]

(2) Turning now to the second possible way that inscriptions were perceived in Byzantium, we must acknowledge that in most cases inscriptions were encountered at times when no one was there to read them aloud. Was it possible for semiliterates or people of average literacy—or people with "functional literacy," to use Margaret Mullett's term[44]—to interact with a text even if they were not fully able to decipher or understand it? It is my impression that some Byzantine inscriptions used signal words that made their content more understandable than we would imagine at first sight. In previous publications[45] I have dealt with the famous hexameter dedicatory inscription of the Skripou church, dated to the year 873/74, at Orchomenos in Boeotia (fig. 3).[46]

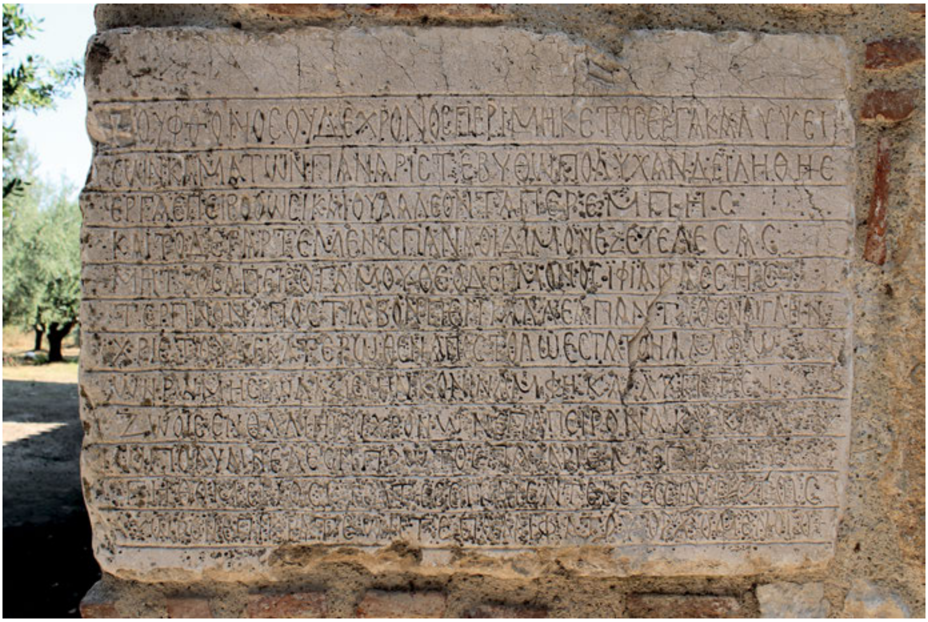

Fig. 3: Orchomenos, church of Skripou, dedicatory inscription © Andreas Rhoby.

43 Alexiou 2002, *passim*. See also Peek 1960, 242–255.
44 Mullett 1990, 163.
45 Especially Rhoby 2012, 737–738.
46 Oikonomidès 1994; new edition by Rhoby 2014, no. GR98; cf. Prieto-Domínguez 2013.

Three different prose inscriptions on the walls of the church inform the reader in a very unpretentious way about its dedication by the protospatharios Leon.[47] The hexameter epigram, by contrast, is written in a very erudite language (because of the nature of the meter) and, interestingly, the stonecutter responsible for it did not manage to adjust the lettering to the high literary quality of the text. As Papalexandrou has pointed out, the visitor to the church ideally was meant to circulate around the building, starting with the prose inscriptions and ending with the hexameter epigram.[48] By the time he came to the hexameter epigram, the average literate visitor would already have had an idea about Leon's foundation of the church. For those not able to understand the sophisticated language of all the verses in the epigram, the text was prepared to tell the most important things right at the beginning. It begins, "Neither envy (φθόνος) nor time (χρόνος) eternal will obscure the works of / your (i.e., the founder, Leon's) efforts, most wonderful one, in the vast depths of oblivion." Since the destructive force of envy was omnipresent and widely known in Byzantine everyday life, as Martin Hinterberger has recently demonstrated in his monograph on this emotion,[49] it sufficed to read the first two verses of the epigram with the words φθόνος and χρόνος to be fully informed about the central message of the text: even envy and time will not manage to destroy the founder Leon's deeds in the future.

The use of signal words in Byzantium was by no means restricted to inscriptions. In Byzantine documents issued by the Patriarchate, too, such code words were used to provoke an immediate reaction by the familiar addressee of the text.[50] For the Skripou church there is another aspect of inscriptionality that must not be forgotten: as in many other Byzantine churches, an extensive reuse of ancient spolia can be observed.[51] Some of these spolia bear inscriptions that were certainly visible to the Byzantine beholders regardless of whether they were literate, semiliterate, or illiterate. Especially in the Skripou church, which was founded in part for "hellenizing" propaganda reasons, spolia with inscriptions could have acted as an obvious visual reminder of language, history, and culture.[52] In addition, one must also consider the respect with which inscriptions were approached, especially those that were not understood and seen instead as powerful magical signs in the sense that the "Herrschaft des 'Buchstabens'" was described by Herbert Hunger.[53] This magical and occult function of inscriptions on spolia was even more important in non-Greek settings, such as in medieval Islamic architecture, as was recently shown by Julia Gon-

47 Cf. Papalexandrou 2001a.
48 Papalexandrou 2001a, 267.
49 Hinterberger 2013.
50 On such an example Gastgeber 2013, 197.
51 On the phenomenon Saradi 1997.
52 Papalexandrou 2003, 72; see also Papalexandrou 2001b.
53 Hunger 1984.

nella.[54] This leads us to the third dimension of the perception of Byzantine inscriptions.

(3) How were they perceived by illiterates who were confronted with them without the opportunity to become part of an oral performance? At the beginning of this article I touched on the phenomenon of the symbolic impact of the inscriptional word: even if a text is not understood, even if the inscribed words are no more than an incomprehensible accumulation of letters, the dimensions and composition symbolize that something important has been set down. One may recall, for example, the long conciliar edict of 1166 that was inscribed on several marble plaques in the narthex of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (fig. 4),[55] or other legal texts that—as in ancient tradition—were displayed in more or less public places, such as the imperial documents granting privileges to monasteries that were painted in their churches.[56]

Fig. 4: Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, conciliar edict of 1166 (replicas) © Andreas Rhoby.

54 Gonnella 2010.
55 Mango 1963b.
56 Kalopissi-Verti 2003.

Due to the extreme length of these texts, no one was reading them—not even the literates—but the impressive scale of the text symbolized the importance of the content. The same is true for inscriptions that were set up at places where they were not decipherable even by literate readers, as in the dome of a church or at the top of a city wall; even when they were illegible inscriptions were not useless because they attracted the beholder with their already mentioned magical power.[57] In addition, inscriptions like those attached to the outer walls of the Skripou church may have served as a kind of a frame for the building for the illiterate viewer.[58]

Another method of facilitating communication between object and beholder was to reduce inscriptions to the most essential content. Churches and city walls are sometimes equipped with monograms of the ruling dynasty: these combinations of letters are less a text than an ornament, and due to their wide dissemination they were a known cipher that was also accessible to the illiterates.[59] The same is true for the depiction of crosses traditionally accompanied by the combination of four letters or four pairs of letters. These “tetragrams,” found in all media (city walls, church walls, icons, frescoes, etc.), are also widespread, especially the well-known IC XC NI KA (= Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ, “Jesus Christ conquers”). Other combinations, such as ΦΧΦΠ, XXXX or EEEE, were also very widespread, not so much letters as signs that belong to the artistic composition of crosses (fig. 5).

Fig. 5: Thessaloniki, city wall, tetragrams © Andreas Rhoby.

57 Lauxtermann 2003, 272 f.; Rhoby 2012, 733; for the Latin West: Debiais 2009.
58 Spingou 2012, 158.
59 Seibt 2005; Feind 2010.

As Christopher Walter demonstrated some years ago, these tetragrams are mainly apotropaic in function;[60] they are magical, intended to repel the evil eye. In this respect, it is no coincidence that Byzantine magical formulas often require writing down such word combinations in order to avoid pain and disease. It seems clear that these tetragrams were not "secret messages" but rather known ciphers, regardless of whether they could be clearly identified by readers or not. It was not as important to decipher all of them correctly—and we may well wonder if a single and "correct" resolution existed for all of them—as to recognize their function as apotropaic and protective signs. In my view, tetragrams functioned like signposts in hard-to-understand inscriptions; they sometimes signaled the meaning of a text even for those who were not fully literate.[61]

Because these groups of letters also worked as ornaments, it seems to have been the norm to supplement crosses with these letters to enhance their artistic value. The widespread use of pseudo-Kufic letters in Byzantine decorative programs is further evidence for this practice. These pseudo-Arabic forms, lacking any meaningful sense, functioned to enlarge the artistic ensemble of the monument or object.[62] Islamic art itself was sometimes equipped with pseudo-epigraphy that served as an ornamental device.[63] The same is true for Greek letters: one might think of the so-called "epigraphische Auszeichnungsmajuskel" (coined by Herbert Hunger)[64] and the so-called "maiuscola liturgica," both used in manuscripts and inscriptions from the ninth to the eleventh centuries to increase the ornamental function of the text.[65] Greek letters also served as components of visual display in other writing cultures, as in Kievan Rus', where the main cultural function of Greek was as image rather than as language.[66] Text in the role of mere decoration is not an invention of the Byzantine period and the Middle Ages, however, as so-called nonsense inscriptions are already attested on ancient Greek vases. As a current research project at the University of Exeter has demonstrated, these inscriptions were not only produced by illiterate craftsmen—which one would suppose at first glance—but also by literate painters for iconographic purposes.[67]

The decorative programs of late Byzantine churches include the depiction of saints holding open scrolls.[68] These texts are either quotations from the Bible or the

60 Walter 1997.
61 Rhoby 2013.
62 On this subject consult the publications of Alicia Walker, e.g., Walker 2008.
63 Aanavi 1968; cf. also Blair 1998, *passim*.
64 Hunger 1977a; Hunger 1977b. Cf. also Stefec 2009; Stefec 2011.
65 Orsini 2013.
66 Franklin 1992, especially 81; Franklin 2002a, 101–106; cf. also Franklin 2002b.
67 http://humanities.exeter.ac.uk/classics/research/projects/ancientnonsense/ (accessed 28.2.2017). Cf. also Osborne/Pappas 2007.
68 Gerstel 1994.

liturgy or texts, sometimes verses, that were composed according to their vitae. The post-Byzantine painter's manual of Dionysios of Phourna,[69] which was based on Byzantine models, offers detailed information not only about the accurate depiction of saints but also about the inscriptional layout of their scrolls. When we take a closer look at some of these scrolls, however, we see that quotations or similar texts on scrolls are not given in full. Sometimes they stop in the middle of a sentence or even in the middle of a word, as can be seen, for instance, on the scrolls depicted in the twelfth-century church of the Panagia tou Arakos at Lagoudera, Cyprus.[70] This shows that it was not important to include the whole inscription on the scroll in order to inform viewers about the saint and his deeds; rather, the text included for aesthetic reasons or simply because it was conventional for saints to be equipped with scrolls. For the illiterate viewer it was of no significance if the text on the scroll was fully cited or not. In his view, scrolls were part and parcel of the depiction of saints; they offered a spiritual and symbolic message that was sometimes communicated by the priest during liturgy.[71]

In addition, it is worth pointing out that inscriptions do not always consist of letters alone. Christian inscriptions begin with a cross, and, especially after about the year 1000, letters are equipped with accents and breathing marks.[72] Punctuation is also inserted, especially in metrical inscriptions, where verses may be divided with signs that are more than mere dots and commas. Such signs as asterisks and stars expand the aesthetic value of inscriptions.[73]

As I have attempted to demonstrate here and elsewhere, inscriptions should not be analyzed in isolation. They interact first with the surrounding to which they are attached; monumental inscriptions cannot function without relation to their architectural context. They are part of an artistic composition regardless of whether or not they could be deciphered by beholders. Depending on their viewers' degree of literacy, inscriptions could reach the public in different ways: perhaps only a tiny erudite elite was able to read and understand them fully. Other readers were attracted by keywords; and a third group was informed about the content of the inscription during reading performances in which they were sometimes invited to join the chorus of the presentation. In addition, simple letters sometimes worked as ciphers, recognizable even to those who were completely illiterate.

The function of inscriptions can range from accurate communication of the contents to performative contribution to the surroundings, but in each case the recipi-

69 Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1909; cf. Kakavas 2008.
70 Winfield/Winfield 2003.
71 Cf. Rhoby 2012, 738.
72 Mango 1991a, *passim*.
73 This subject is treated in Rhoby (in print).

ent—literate, illiterate, or somewhere in between—was invited to join the interaction between word, image, and beholder. In the title of this article I included a question mark after "Text as Art," but after analyzing the material in depth I prefer to delete the question mark. The statement "text as art" has two dimensions: first, as I have shown, the production of (versified) texts is sometimes defined as art (τέχνη) in Byzantine sources. And second, inscribed text is itself part of its accompanying art performance.

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Vincent Debiais

Writing on Medieval Doors

The Surveyor Angel on the Moissac Capital (ca. 1100)

Monumental texts have often been placed at the entrance to medieval buildings. Façades and doors are adorned with epigraphic inscriptions that underscore the importance of passageways and architectural joints through graphical representations. In this way, the physical act of passing through doorways is accompanied by the material experience of writing. In western Middle Ages, most inscriptions on religious buildings dealt with symbolic aspects of the architectonic elements they were painted or carved on. According to John 10.9 (*Ego sum ostium. Per me, si quis introerit, salvabitur, et ingredietur et egredietur et pascua inveniet*) they refer to Christ, the door to salvation,[1] but more generally to the sacredness of the Church or "door of Heaven" (*porta coeli*), as can be seen on each side of the western portal of the Saint-Pierre-de-l'Isle church (Saintonge, France, 11th century): *Haec est domus Dei et porta coeli* (fig. 1 a–b).[2] They reinforce the separate, distinguished features of ecclesial spaces and act as a portal between both indoor and outdoor and the sacred and profane *loci*.[3] In this way, writing functions as both border and walkway between one space and another. Text gives this door the appearance of being a contact point and a bridge, inviting the reader to cross the threshold while connecting the spaces through writing.[4]

Fig. 1a: Saint-Pierre-de-l'Isle (France), western portal of the church © J. Michaud, CESCM/CIFM.

1 Favreau 2010, 170–172.
2 Corpus des inscriptions de la France médiévale [from now on CIFM] 3, 110 no. 26.
3 Church sacredness and medieval sacred spaces have been studied a lot during the past ten years. For a general overview, see Iogna-Prat 2006.
4 Debiais 2006, 286–288.

DOI 10.1515/ 9783110534597-0012,

Fig. 1b: Saint-Pierre-de-l'Isle (France), western portal of the church © J. Michaud, CESCM/CIFM.

As they often are iconic documents of medieval epigraphy—the monumental inscription of the portal of Saint Foy church in Conques[5] is published in all the catalogues dealing with Romanesque sculpture in France (fig. 2)—these inscriptions have been studied repeatedly by medievalists.[6] Nonetheless, as can be deduced from their titles, these works deal mainly with the content of the inscriptions and the symbolic, theological or iconographic implications of their location at the doors of churches. Such a lexical approach is essential and leads to a better understanding of how medieval inscriptions were composed according to their function. However, it tends to consider doorways and epigraphic writing as separate elements whose presence within a shared 'writing space' and 'reading moment' is either fortuitous or insignificant to the form and meaning of the architectural structures.[7]

This article has a quite different purpose as it does not intend to consider inscriptions as a complement to the doors and entrances of buildings; nor does it see epigraphic writing exclusively as a way of explaining the liturgical and ecclesiological meaning of these doorways. This paper seeks to examine how writing—as both physical presence and visual device—is a way for viewers and readers of epigraphic inscriptions to delve deeper into the meaning of the object or monument through these written shapes. The material features of epigraphic writing, rather than the content of the texts, will be the focal point of this study, even if (as with all semiotic systems) it is impossible to deconstruct the inscription to the point of isolating the contents of the language from its means of expression. Nevertheless, this paper postulates that the (visual and graphical) presence of letters can create a meaningful

5 CIFM 9, 17–25 no. 10.

6 Favreau 1991; Kendall 1998.

7 Debiais 2013, 185–186.

passage that allows to enter spaces that lack a door or open those defined by their separate and inaccessible nature.

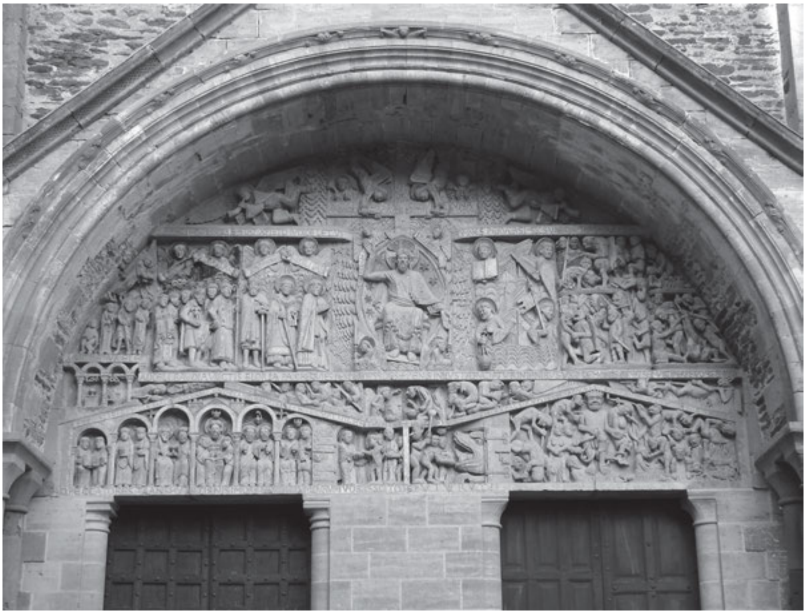

Fig. 2: Conques (France), Sainte-Foy abbey, western portal of the church © Vincent Debiais.

1 A Matter of Shape

To begin with, it should be noted that the location and layout of medieval inscriptions on doors and windows generally reinforces the shape of these architectural elements that connect inner and outer spaces. On covings, archivolts and lintel piers, inscriptions emphasize and duplicate these elements by painting 'windows of letters' and carving 'textual doors'. These are then placed in a circular or square written frame that strengthens their visual presence on the wall.

The semiotic split between geometric, iconic and alphabetic signs used on the cloister door of San Juan de la Peña[8] (Aragon, Spain, 11th century; fig. 3), the Saint-Genis-des-Fontaines church lintel (Roussillon, France, 11th century; fig. 4)[9] and the

8 Durán Gudiol 1967, 83.
9 CIFM 11, 138–139 no. 118. This inscription is engraved on a stone piece that originally has been sculpted for an altar or an altarpiece. It has been placed upon the door a few years after being carved, in the 12th century.

Chauvigny church window (Poitou, France, 12^{th} century; fig. 5)[10] reinforces the interruption of the linear stone organization and draws the viewer's attention to the path opening into the wall. As medieval reading is a whole body activity that uses the eyes, hands and feet, seeing the text sets the passer-by in motion; it can also cause him to stop in front of the door. It offers the possibility of a journey from the outside to within the building; it could also invite the reader to walk around the church.

On the outer walls of Saint Macé priory church (Anjou, France, 12^{th} century; fig. 6), a long inscription is carved on a single line of huge capital letters.[11] This line spreads all the way around the building, creating a twenty-meter long text that starts and ends on either side of the main entrance to the church. The linear display of the inscription is only broken in order to follow the square shape of the door and underline (with letters) the path leading to the sacred space. The inscription creates a dynamic process of reading around the building and establishes the door as a graphical locus on the priory's empty walls.

The contents of the text emphasize this dynamic pattern by using verbs of movement and change: *intrare*, *ingredire*, *egredire*, *venire*. On the first arch of Saint-Léger-en-Pons portal (Saintonge, France, 12^{th} century; fig. 7), one can read the brief verse sentence *Sit pax intranti; felix sit cessus euntis*.[12] The letters are placed on each claveau and the curved design of the text creates an additional arch above the door. The contents refer both to the blessing given to the faithful on entering God's house and the journey of the deceased's soul. Set at the threshold of the church, writing stands at the crossroads of several different spaces and invites passage from one to another.

10 CIFM 1/2, 26 no. 19.

11 CIFM 24, 131–133 no. 116.

12 CIFM 3, 108–109 no. 25.

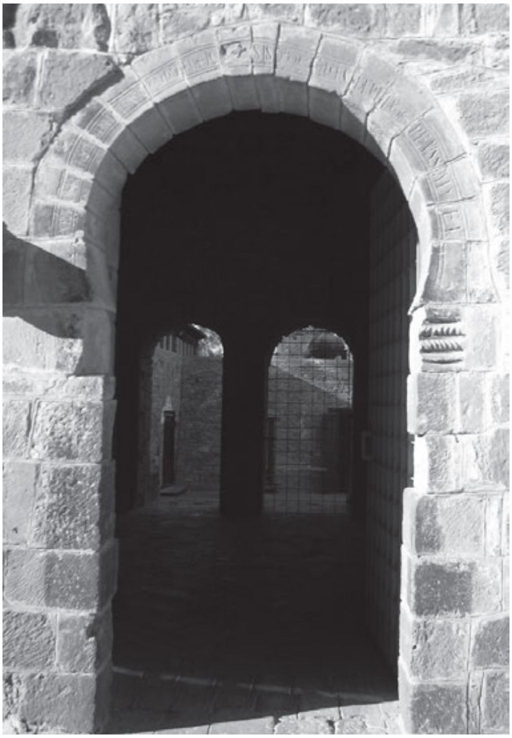

Fig. 3: San Juan de la Peña (Spain), monastery, cloister door © CESCM/CIFM.

Fig. 4: Saint-Genis-des-Fontaines (France), lintel of the church door © J. Michaud, CESCM/CIFM.

Fig. 5: Chauvigny (France), church, east window of the south wall © J. Michaud, CESCM/CIFM.

Fig. 6: Chênehutte-Trèves-Cunault (France), St Macé priory © J. Michaud, CESCM/CIFM.

Fig. 7: Saint-Léger-en-Pons (France), church door © J. Michaud, CESCM/CIFM.

As is the case with Saint Macé church, such a reading *iter* appeals directly to viewers. With individual apostrophes, inscriptions warn and invite readers to focus on the meaning of crossing the threshold to enter the church. Reading the text should not only produce physical movement (from one place to another) but also a mental turn (from one state of mind to another). An inscription of this type is written on the lower part of Saint-Marcel-lès-Sauzet church's tympanum (Rhône Valley, France, 13^{th} century; fig. 8): *Vos qui transitis, qui crimina flere venitis, per me transite, quoniam sum janua vite. Janua sum vite, volo parcere, clamo: "Venite!"*[13] In contrast with the semi-circular shape of the tympanum, the inscription carved on a single line just above the door strengthens it as a threshold and serves as a visual full stop that is in opposition to the dynamic verbs in the three hexameters: *transitis*, *venitis*, *transite*, *venite*. They surround the word *janua*, highlighted in metric composition by its location and repetition. In this case, writing, in both its content and presentation, establishes the door as a physical and moral portal to enter into Christ's glory.

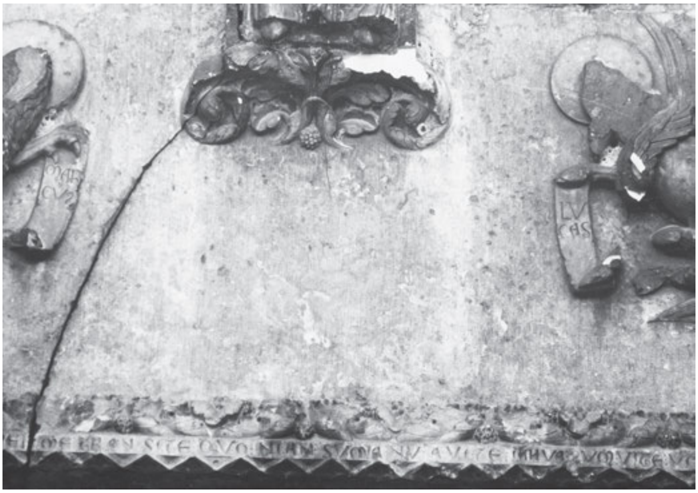

Fig. 8: Saint-Marcel-lès-Sauzet (France), church tympanum © J. Michaud, CESCM/CIFM.

As is the case with many medieval images, epigraphic practices are active in the polarization of ecclesial buildings.[14] They create graphic *loci* where the presence of letters acts as visual device to differentiate one space from another. Because they have been carved into the material, inscriptions located on doors or windows serve to strengthen both the isolation and separation of sacred spaces and their essential porosity.

13 CIFM 16, 183–185 no. 66.
14 Baschet 2008, 120–124.

Alcuinus' poem, composed for the door of Saint-Hilaire-le-Grand church in Poitiers (Poitou, France, ca. 800), shows this tension between the outside and inside:[15]

Porta domus Domini haec est et regia caeli,
Haec tibi pandit iter sancti et sacraria templi,
Quo mox invenies magnos requiescere patres.
Sit tibi spes precibus horum praeclara salutis:
Si tu corde pio, prostrato et corpore poscis
A Christo scelerum veniam, peccator, habebis.
Nullatenus dubius sacri tere limina templi:
Omnia credenti praestat pia gratia Christi.
Fecerat has valvas arae pius Abba minister,
Ut mandavit Ato fratrum venerabilis abbas.
Ingrediens templum pro quo intercede, viator,
Ut Deus omnipotens illum conservet ubique.[16]

The poetic flow seen here reflects the traveler's movement and gestures (*iter*, *invenies*, *prostrato*, *ingrediens*, *viator*). Nevertheless, in the middle of the poem, the door separates the sinners from the faithful with 'static' words: *habebis*, *limina*, *praestat*. If one assumes that Alcuinus' text was composed with a view to be engraved or painted on (or near) the doors (*has valvas*), the epigraphic writing must have been intended as a checkpoint; it describes what will be seen in the church, initiates an examination of the self and prepares the faithful to pray. The lexical construction gives rhythm to this change: *iter ... templi* at the beginning leads to *limina templi* in the center of the poem and to *templum ... ubique* at the end.

Alcuinus provides the Saint-Hilaire abbot's name, Ato, in verse 10, but his poem actually describes the Carolingian idea of a church door according to theological developments; it is not simply making an archeological statement about one specific door in Poitiers at the end of the 8th century. Nonetheless, this text shows that written and architectural interactions can be very rich. As we saw in Le Puy cathedral and Saint-Macé priory, writing underscores the sacred features of the building and permits us to enter into its symbolic depth.

2 The Holy City on the Moissac Capital

Rather than accumulating examples, the second part of this paper will focus on a (perhaps unexpected) medieval epigraphic object that shows how writing acts as an interface between interior and exterior spaces.

15 CIFM 1/1, 36–37 no. 31.
16 Dümmler 1881, 326.

This example is the double capital representing the Holy City in the cloister of Moissac abbey in southwest France (fig. 9).[17] Carved around 1100, it is located in the south gallery in front of the door connecting the cloister and the church. This piece is one of eighty capitals from one of the most astonishing Romanesque cloisters in Western Europe. The density of epigraphic writing in the Moissac cloister contributes to the visual impact of the sculptures since 80% of the capitals feature one or more inscriptions. If one adds to these the almost 300 words of text located on the corner pillars and the well-known inscription stating the end date of the cloister's work to be 1100, the Moissac complex is a medieval epigraphy superstar. From the 19th century onwards[18] some of the world's greatest art historians have been interested in this cloister, although its inscriptions have been received very differently throughout the years, including with neglect, incomprehension and mystification. Meyer Schapiro has formulated the most challenging thoughts with regard to the Moissac cloister;[19] viewing the letters scattered around the capitals, he avoided any preconceived analysis regarding the intention and reception of the forms and instead took the epigraphic phenomena for what they are, i.e. displays of letters on material backgrounds. With humility and respect, this paper on the Holy City capital would like to follow Schapiro's methodological approach to the Moissac cloister by beginning with a look at the object itself.

Fig. 9: Moissac (France), cloister abbey, Holy City capital © J. Michaud, CESCM/CIFM.

17 Cazes 2001, 112–113.

18 Cazes 2001, 113 for a bibliography on this capital.

19 Schapiro 1931, for example 275 about the inscription for *Durandus*: "That the artist was aware of these effects and was not merely determined by the narrowness of the surface and the length of the inscription is evident from the great variety in the amplitude of the letters, the irregularity of spacing of forms which in their individual details are cut with an obvious decisiveness, and from such peculiarities as the horizontal line passing through the BB of ABB(A)S, as a contraction of the word."

Fig. 10: Moissac (France), cloister abbey, Holy City capital, detail © J. Michaud, CESCM/CIFM.

The main part of the capital presents the image of a walled city located under a foliate frieze on the abacus, along with a blank tailloir. We can see that the artist has sculpted the bulwarks, high towers and monumental gates with care. The city walls are topped with a series of human figures, perhaps soldiers, defending the town.[20] On the long sides of the capital, these figures point their right arms towards the door of the abbey church on the opposite wall, indicating with their fingers the south gallery of the cloister and inviting the viewer to look beyond the capital (all the bodily movements create a dynamic towards the church wall—*from the city wall on the capital towards the church wall in the cloister*). All around the bulwark (fig. 10) one can read the inscription *sancta Iherusalem* or *Iherusalem sancta* (depending on the point at which the reader begins). The city on the capital is not just *a* town but *the* town, the Holy City described in the Bible,[21] both in the Old Testament (as the historical place of God's people) and in the Book of Revelation (as the promise of God's realm). The

20 Cazes 2001, 112–113.

21 Is 48.2; Joel 3.17; Neh 9.1; Rev 21.10.

expression *Iherusalem sancta* is used by God himself to refer to *his* city, the city of *his* people, the one in which he established his residence in the temple: "Then you will know that I am the Lord your God, dwelling in Zion, My holy mountain. So Jerusalem will be holy, and strangers will pass through it no more";[22] "And he carried me away in the spirit to a great and high mountain, and showed me the holy city, Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God".[23]

The letters are finely carved on the fortification. They visually surround the basket and highlight the continuing closure of the bulwarks—note that this closure effect is reinforced by the fact that the city gates are not open. Thanks to such a circular display of letters in the forefront of the stone, a 'belt of letters' materially circles the capital. Monumental versions of such displays—on the scale of buildings—can be found in some churches of southern France. Cécile Treffort, in a recent and brilliant article,[24] has interpreted these alphabetical belts to be connected to the liturgical ceremony of church consecration. During this very complex celebration (in which writing plays a crucial role), two monumental and ephemeral alphabets were traced by the bishop in the form of a large cross on the entire surface of the floor of the church, temporarily created in sand or ash.[25] Holy oil crosses were also traced on the walls by the bishop in order to define the sacred space of the church.[26] Some of these ephemeral signs have been fixed into stone as perpetual *signa* of the ritual, as is the case in the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela (Galicia, Spain, 1211; fig. 11).[27]

Treffort's hypothesis analogically establishes these belts of letters as *signa* of the consecration. Continuing the author's point, circular alphabetical displays—as can still be found in Beaumont-de-Ventoux[28] and the Holy City capital in Moissac—could act as markers of sacredness, placing their content in a separate, protected environment in which "strangers will pass through… no more".[29] An alphabetical belt can be read on the tailloir of an ornamental foliage capital very close to the Jerusalem capital in Moissac (fig. 12).[30] The inscription consists of a complete alphabet followed by a

22 Joel 3.17.
23 Rev 21.10.
24 Treffort 2010, 160.
25 See for example what William Durand wrote in his *Rationale divinorum officiorum* at the 13th century: *In pavimentum ecclesie scribitur alphabetum hoc modo: fit enim crux de cinere et sabulo ex transverso ecclesie super quam crucem pulveris scribitur alphabetum in modum cruces, litteris grecis et latinis, non autem hebraicis quiae Iudei recesserunt a fide; et scribitur cum baculo pastorali*. Davril/Thibodeau 1995, 71; quoted by Treffort 2010, 165.
26 One reads in the *Romano-German Pontifical: Deinde in circuitu ecclesiae per parietes de dextro usque in dextrum faciat cruces cum pollice de chrismate in duodecim locis, dicens: sanctificetur hoc templum in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti*. Vogel 1963, 83.
27 Suárez González 2013, 60–99.
28 Codou 2008, 275.
29 Joel 3.17.
30 CIFM 8, 153–154 no. 28.

complex alphabetical composition combining two letters, and ends with a few words from Ps 54.3: *Deus in nomine*. In this scale representation of the capital, the Latin alphabet surrounds nature as if it has been shaped in stone. Christian exegesis of the alphabet associates the layout and number of letters with knowledge and creation.[31] The inscription in Moissac could be interpreted as follows: writing delimits and contains the sculpted shapes both in material and analogical terms.

Fig. 11: Santiago de Compostela (Spain), cathedral, consecration cross © CESCM/CIFM.

Letters underlining circular structures or forms can be found on many other Moissac capitals.[32] This device is a constant in Romanesque patterns where inscriptions are often used to strengthen or duplicate circles, *mandorla*, frames and enclosing structures with letters, as one can see in the Saint Junien sarcophagus (Limousin, France, 12th century; fig. 13)[33] where four verses are inscribed around a beautiful *Sedes sapientiae*, and in Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe crypt (Poitou, France, ca. 1100; fig. 14)[34] where a distich is painted on the circular glory to create a golden image of the Pantocrator. In these examples, the 'circular' devices allow the separation of the inside from the outside, the Virgin and Child from the Elders in Saint-Junien. Similarly, the enthroned figure of Christ is separated from the saints' procession in Saint-Savin. They also allow

31 See for example Sicard of Cremona, Mitrale VI (Migne, PL 213, 30–31).
32 50% of Moissac capitals bear an inscription on the tailloir the reading of which induces a circular movement around the capital. See for example the Good Samaritan capital; CIFM 8, 148–149 no. 21.
33 CIFM 2, 185–188 no. 83, fig. 78.
34 CIFM 1/2, 101–109 nos. 60–63; Debiais 2011, 320.

movement from the outside inward: both the act of reading and the poetic content lead the viewer's eyes and mind into the heart of the visual construction.

Fig. 12: Moissac (France), cloister abbey, alphabetical capital © J. Michaud, CESCM/CIFM.

Fig. 13: Saint-Junien (France), church, Saint Junien's sarcophagus © Manon Durier.

Fig. 14: Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe (France), abbey church, vault of the crypt © Vincent Debiais.

3 Walking with the Angel

On the capital of the Holy City, the circular layout of letters that designates Jerusalem invites the reader to walk around the sculpture, i.e. to create a physical, dynamic experience from the city and its scale, even if this experience must be considered 'virtual', for obvious archeological reasons. In the context of the cloister and its reading experience, the graphic ordering of the letters creates a parallel between the walking reader and the figure of John as he discovers the Holy City. In the Book of Revelation, the angel who leads John during his visit to the city is a "surveyor angel"; with his stick, he measures the extent of the city:

> The one who spoke to me held a gold measuring rod to measure the city, its gates, and its wall. The city was square, its length the same as [also] its width. He measured the city with the rod and found it fifteen hundred miles in length and width and height. He also measured its wall: one hundred and forty-four cubits according to the standard unit of measurement the angel used. The wall was constructed of jasper, while the city was pure gold, clear as glass. The foundations of the city wall were decorated with every precious stone; the first course of stones was jasper, the second sapphire, the third chalcedony, the fourth emerald, the fifth sardonyx, the sixth carnelian, the seventh chrysolite, the eighth beryl, the ninth topaz, the tenth chrysoprase, the eleventh hyacinth, and the twelfth amethyst. The twelve gates were twelve pearls; each of the gates made from a single pearl; and the street of the city was of pure gold, transparent as glass.[35]

35 Rev 21.15–21.

Reading the inscription is therefore akin to surveying, an intellectual process governed by the rational, structured principles of algebra and geometry. Letters do not only allow us to know the name of the city, but also pave the way for a rational, internalized understanding of what the capital shows *in fine* when we move beyond its shape; the Holy City descending to earth.

Medieval exegetes have interpreted the measuring of the Holy City as a demonstration of its perfection, established by God for his people, according to Wisdom 11.21: *In numero et mensura et pondere disposuit*. Ambrosius Autpertus, an abbot of San Vincenzo al Volturno who died in 778 or 784, makes just such a link; he also likens the surveying of the Holy City (Rev 21.14–17) to John's measuring of the Temple (Rev 11.1–6).[36] According to Ambrosius, the surveying stick (*harundinea*, *calamus*) can be compared to the stylus used to write down the Revelation experience as a demonstration of faith.[37] Measuring the temple and the Holy City constitutes another way of 'writing' God's knowledge, giving it a graphic and material shape.

Revelation 11.1–6 and 21.14–17 have been represented in many medieval manuscripts, from the Carolingian manuscripts to vernacular commentaries, not to forget the manuscripts of Beatus of Liebana's *Commentary on the Apocalypse*. In many of them, the link I point out between measuring and writing is staged in a unique image representing both the surveying act and John eating the book. This is the case with folio 146 of the Morgan Beatus (Spain, 935–950),[38] where the short labels painted within the image strengthen this comparison: *Ubi Johannes librum accepit on the left side; Ubi Johannes ab angelo arundinem accepit* on the right. In the manuscripts of Beatus' *Commentary*, the image representing the Holy City and the surveyor angel emphasizes the geometric, harmonious shape of Jerusalem; the rhythmic deployment of towers, walls and doors recalls what can be seen in the Moissac capital. By combining circle and square patterns, this architectural element offers appropriate spaces to shape the Heavenly City with a center presenting the Holy Lamb, and a frame of towers and doors protecting the people of God. Folio 207v–208 of Saint-Sever Beatus (France, 11th century)[39] presents a similarly complex interweaving that includes a central circle, one of the first perfect squares flanked by semi-circular arches and a second square that contains the whole composition.

Such a complex geometric composition—the ordered features of the shape lie in the angel's stick—might evoke our Romanesque capital—as seen from the top. The reader can rest assured: my purpose here is not to draw a direct line between the

36 *Expositionis in Apocalypsin* X, 807.

37 *Expositionis in Apocalypsin* X, 807: *Quid autem per mensuram harundineam auream intellegimus, nisi divini verbi praedicationem? Quia enim harundine scribitur, recte ab efficiente illud quod efficitur, id est sacrum eloquium, designatur*.

38 Williams 1994, 22–33 fig. 61.

39 Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 8878; Williams 1998, 44–59.

Moissac capital and Saint-Sever Beatus. I merely intend to show that the shape of the capital, the sculpted image of the Holy City, the use of letters, and their circular display merge to simultaneously represent both the image and the means to interpret it. Reading the text is to walk side by side with the angel and discover Heavenly Jerusalem.

4 Letters at Play

Let us return to the object. The elements of fortification on the Moissac capital are stamped with letters from the expression *Iherusalem sancta*; the stones are marked with letters, just as elements of heraldry and sculpted pieces are in contemporary buildings, enhancing the frontier between inside and outside through visual signs.

Writing often plays a role of demarcation and separation in Romanesque monumental art, in particular with christograms and chrismons engraved on church portals.[40] Composed of alphabetical (and sometimes iconic) signs projected onto the stone screen of a tympanon, the early Christian *chi-rho* symbol is interpreted as a sign identifying the church as God's house, protecting the building against the devil's assaults and inviting the faithful to respect the sacredness of the church.[41] For example, the chrismon from the Hospitaliers church in Toulouse, today housed in the Musée des Augustins collection (France, 12th century; fig. 15), bears the following text:[42] *Hic Deus oratur domus ejus et ista vocatur. Huc ergo veniat quem conscia culpa fatigat*. Previously located upon the main door of the church, this inscription is engraved over the monumental display of Greek letters that establish the wall as an object (*domus*) and the door as a passage (*veniat*). The protective action of writing in such a prominent, visual way on an ecclesial building is especially obvious in the monastic church of Santa María la Real abbey in Irache (Navarra, Spain; fig. 16).[43]

40 On the topic of medieval chrismons, see Favreau 1996, 540–542; Kendall 1996, 405–419; Debiais 2016.

41 Ocón Alonso 2003, 80.

42 CIFM 7, 96–97 no. 57.

43 Catálogo monumental de Navarra 1983, 505.

Fig. 15: Toulouse (France), Musée des Augustins, chrismon from Hospitaliers church © J. Michaud, CESCM/CIFM.

Fig. 16: Irache (Spain), Santa María la Real abbey, church doors © Vincent Debiais.

The three doors of the church are stamped with a chrismon: the west door, opening to the outside; the north one, facing the *Camino de Santiago* and giving access to the pilgrims; and the south one, opening onto the cloister and reserved for the monastic community. With a lasting representation of the crosses traced with Holy Oil during the liturgical ceremony of consecration, Irache's chrismated doors can be considered a permanent sign of the church's sacredness displayed upon all the entrance doors. They are both an outer projection of the sacred on the walls of the building and an invitation to discover its meaning inward.

Paradoxically, inscriptions in doorways invite the reader to stop; to suspend the movement induced by crossing the doorway. The content of epigraphic texts relies on the social, liturgical and broadly symbolic implications of changes in space to transform the suspension of the reader's movement into a dramatic understanding of the precise features of the space he is entering. On the Moissac capital, narrative tension is concentrated at three points: on the gates to Jerusalem; on the long sides of the basket where the character sculpted behind the walls points to the city's door; and on the door that provides access to the church (fig. 17).

Fig. 17: Moissac (France), cloister abbey, Holy City capital, detail © J. Michaud, CESCM/CIFM.

These gestures establish Moissac church as an anticipation of the Heavenly Jerusalem. In some illustrated manuscripts of the Book of Revelation dated to the 13th and 14th century, such an interpretation is suggested by analogies of the image that depicts John measuring the Temple (seen as an allegory of the Church by many Carolingian commentaries of Rev 11.1–6) on the one hand, and the image showing the surveying angel on the other. This is also the case in the 'Apocalypse 1313' manuscript (Liège, Belgium, 1313)[44] where the position of the stick and the architectural details of doors, windows and roofs can be compared where they are found in folio 31 (Rev 11.1–6) and folio 80 (Rev 21, 14–17).

44 Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 13096; Besseyre 2008.

Paleographical features of the *Iherusalem sancta* inscription in Moissac have been carefully used by the artist to draw the viewer's attention to the doors sculpted on the capital. On the east side, the capital *E* placed above the wall jamb recalls the vertical lines of the construction and the horizontal ones of the stone apparatus. In contrast, the uncial *M* takes the form of the door and its semicircular arch. On the west side, the letter *E* placed above the door is uncial and serves to underline the arches, as does the *M* on the opposite side. It might seem strange to associate, as I have done here, the ability of inscriptions in the shape of letters to frame the door. It could be said that seeing the letters and reading the text are limited in Moissac by the size of the signs, the location of the capital and the objective impossibility of walking around the basket; but all the functions I have been discussing here exist in the lettering itself, irrespective of the viewer's ability to read them. Carving letters in stone, removing material from material and setting these texts upon the wall are actions that involve an active graphic dimension, one that goes beyond their mere legibility.

In order to support this theory of epigraphic writing guiding the viewer to discover the meaning of graphic places, we should perhaps turn to a monumental example in which the inscription has no problem with visibility or legibility. In the crypt of the abbey church at Saint-Savin-sur-Gartetempe (Poitou, France, ca. 1100),[45] the texts that comment on the hagiographic scenes painted on the walls draw a linear path (not a circular one, as in Moissac) from West to East, allowing the viewer to enter the sanctuary following the graphic 'flow' (fig. 18). To ensure the effectiveness of the writing as a communication tool, the designers of the inscriptions sublimated the architectonic elements, creating narrative tension within the wall painting 'letter by letter' and thus leading the viewer to Christ's contemplation in a *mandorla* at the East. This *mandorla* is underlined, as we saw, by a beautiful verse inscription.[46] Nothing in the content of the text invites us to move from West to East, nor to stop under the vault of the sanctuary; the notion of a passage, door or path does not appear in the *tituli*, but the combination of topographic, paleographic and semantic aspects of the inscription transforms it into a device of visual mediation. In this way, the visual experience of decoration is transformed into a bodily experience in order to finally allow the body dissolution into Christ's ecstatic contemplation. However, as in Moissac, the form of the letters was not left to chance and serves to enhance this anamorphosis. Moving from a mixed script made from uncials and capitals in the western area of the crypt to a timeless capital script in the eastern part is a way of making legible these variations of temporality in visual experiences.

45 CIFM 1/2, 101–119 nos. 60–63.

46 *Dat sanctis dignas mirabili sorte coronas. Sit clarus judex meritorum splendidus index.*

Fig. 18: Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe (France), abbey church, wall painting in the crypt © Vincent Debiais.

5 Opening – *Via*

The examples of Moissac and Saint-Savin are a manifesto in favor of limitless medieval graphic practices. When viewed in relation to its environment *in situ*, writing always says more than what is contained in the words inscribed in stone or painted on plaster.

In the center room of Saint-Jean baptistery in Poitiers (France, 12th century; fig. 19), an inscription painted on Christ's book in the monumental Ascension scene on the east wall reads: *Ego sum via*. According to John 14.6 (*Ego sum via, veritas et vita*), the word *via* designates Christ himself. His figure is painted in a *mandorla* located between two windows opening onto the sky. From the ground level, looking at the Ascension scene means staring at the sky. Seeing Christ on the wall means seeing beyond the wall. The graphic path to Heaven lies in the topographic relationship between Christ and the altar, the place of Eucharist sacrifice (with a strong visual echo between the liturgical book located on the altar and the *liber vitae* held by Christ). The viewer moves his eyes from the altar, which illustrates the commemoration of Christ's sacrifice, into the central room of the baptistery, to the place he is hoping to be raised bodily at the end of his journey on Earth. The *via* inscription cannot be considered exclusively as a complement of the image; it is also the focal point of the decoration of the baptistery and a place of conversion, where earthly contingencies become heavenly aspirations. Because Jesus is *Verbum Dei*, this medieval graphic phenomenon plays on the deliberate ambiguity between the hyper-materiality of the written shapes and the absolute transcendence of its contents.

Fig. 19: Poitiers (France), St John Baptistery, central room © CESCM/CIFM.

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Wilfried E. Keil

Von sichtbaren und verborgenen Signaturen an mittelalterlichen Kirchen

Bei einer Signatur handelt es sich um ein Namenszeichen bzw. eine Unterschrift.[1] In der bisherigen kunsthistorischen Forschung wurde unter einer Signatur meistens das Namenszeichen eines Künstlers verstanden.[2] Die Signatur eines Künstlers dient üblicherweise als Nachweis, dass dieser das Werk geschaffen hat. Deswegen besteht die Annahme, dass Signaturen im Normalfall auch gut sichtbar sind. Ein Namenszeichen bzw. eine Unterschrift muss nicht unbedingt lesbar, aber als solche wiedererkennbar sein. Gerade in vormoderner Zeit hatten Künstlerinschriften meist einen Zusatz und gaben nicht nur den bloßen Namen wieder. Robert Favreau hat bei mittelalterlichen Künstlerinschriften unter den Verben besonders häufig das Verb *fecit* feststellen können.[3] Künstlerinschriften sind an Bauwerken des Mittelalters primär an denen der Romanik anzutreffen.[4]

Signaturen werden unter dem Oberbegriff der Bauinschriften subsumiert. Unter diesem versteht man Stifter- und Gründungsinschriften, Grundsteinlegungsinschriften, Weihinschriften, zu denen auch Altarinschriften gehören, aber auch Meisterinschriften und Signaturen.[5] Signaturen müssen aber nicht von Künstlern stammen. Genauso gut kann ein Stifter bzw. Auftraggeber seinen Namen verewigen. Dies muss nicht immer, wie zu zeigen sein wird, mit einem inschriftlichen Zusatz geschehen, der

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1 Zur Entstehung der Signatur als Zeichen siehe: Fraenkel 1992.
2 Siehe z. B.: Burg 2007, 11–19; Dietl 2009, 31 f. Grundlegend zur Künstlersignatur siehe die unter dem Titel „L'art de la signature" von André Chastel herausgegebene Ausgabe der Zeitschrift Revue de l'Art 26, 1974: Chastel 1974. Zur Künstlersignatur im italienischen Mittelalter siehe den von Maria Monica Donato herausgegebenen Band: Donato 2000. Zu Künstlersignaturen von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart siehe den von Nicole Hegener herausgegeben Band: Hegener 2013.
3 Favreau 1997, 126. Zu Künstlerinschriften in Frankreich sind neue Ergebnisse von der an der Universität Poitiers in Arbeit befindlichen Dissertation „L'artiste, l'écrit et le monument. Les signatures épigraphiques en France au Moyen Âge central" von Emilie Mineo zu erwarten.
4 Zu dem Phänomen, dass es nahezu keine Künstlerinschriften an Bauwerken der Gotik gibt, siehe: Claussen 1993/1994.
5 Zur Definition des Begriffs „Bauinschrift" siehe: Hohmann/Wentzel 1948; Funken 1980. Zur inhaltlichen Unterscheidung siehe auch: Funken 1981, 2 f. Zu mittelalterlichen Bauinschriften mit eingeschränkter Sichtbarkeit bzw. *restringierter Präsenz* siehe: Keil 2014b.

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die Person in ihrer Funktion nennt. Genauso wenig sind alle Signaturen gut sichtbar. Sie können auch an verborgenen Stellen angebracht sein.

Genauere Aussagen über das Verhältnis von sichtbaren und verborgenen Signaturen an mittelalterlichen Kirchen sind zur Zeit nicht möglich, da viele der verborgenen Signaturen bisher nicht dokumentiert sind. Die Frage, ob es sich bei verborgenen Signaturen um Ausnahmefälle handelt, kann daher nicht beantwortet werden. Die immer wieder auftretenden Neufunde bei Bauuntersuchungen lassen eine hohe Dunkelziffer vermuten.

Bauinschriften, also auch Signaturen, die nicht deutlich sichtbar, sondern vielmehr verborgen sind, weisen eine eingeschränkte Sichtbarkeit und damit eine eingeschränkte Rezeptionsmöglichkeit auf. Dies kann z. B. bei hoch am Kirchenbau angebrachten, für den menschlichen Betrachter nicht sichtbaren Inschriften wie der Namensinschrift „Georius" (Abb. 1) im rechten Gewände eines kleinen Rundbogenfensters im zweiten Geschoss des Südostturms des Wormser Domes der Fall sein. Dieses Fenster dient als Lichtschacht zur Belichtung der Treppe im Turm. Die Inschrift ist von Innen aus nicht sichtbar und konnte erstmals 2009 vom Gerüst aus dokumentiert werden.[6] Es fragt sich, was für ein Name an einer solchen Stelle verewigt sein könnte. Wie unterscheidet sich die Präsenz von sichtbaren und verborgenen Signaturen?

Abb. 1: Worms, Dom, Südostturm, 2. Geschoss, Inschrift „Georius" © Wilfried E. Keil.

6 De Filippo/Keil 2009, 208 f. Die Inschrift in romanischer Minuskel hat eine Höhe von neun und eine Breite von 25 Zentimetern. Die Bauforschung, an der der Verfasser beteiligt war, wurde vom Institut für Europäische Kunstgeschichte der Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg unter der Betreuung von Prof. Dr. Matthias Untermann und unter der örtlichen Leitung von Aquilante De Filippo M.A. durchgeführt.

Die Produktion von Präsenz war nicht nur im Mittelalter, sondern ist auch heute noch eines der zentralen Anliegen der christlichen Liturgie. Einen Höhepunkt bedeutet das Sakrament der Eucharistie, das die „Realpräsenz" Gottes auf Erden während der Messe verbürgt.[7] Die Formel „Produktion von Präsenz" wurde von dem Literaturwissenschaftler Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht geprägt. Das Wort Präsenz versteht er primär räumlich. Etwas, was präsent ist, ist in der Reichweite des Menschen, es ist für ihn also greifbar.[8] Die Produktion von Präsenz ist als ein Akt zu verstehen, „[...] bei dem ein Gegenstand im Raum ‚vor-geführt' wird."[9] Die Präsenz wirkt also innerhalb oder infolge eines performativen Aktes. Diese Definition kann man auf die Sichtbarkeit von Gegenständen erweitern. Präsent ist etwas, wenn es vorhanden ist, also wenn es greifbar oder sichtbar ist.[10] Wenn das Artefakt aber nur eingeschränkt sichtbar ist, handelt es sich um einen typologischen Sonderfall der Präsenz, nämlich der *restringierten Präsenz*. Dieser Begriff wurde von dem Altorientalisten Markus Hilgert für den theoretischen Überbau „Text-Anthropologie" des Heidelberger Sonderforschungsbereichs 933 „Materiale Textkulturen" eingeführt.[11] Die Einschränkung der Präsenz kann auf verschiedene Arten erfolgen, z. B. räumlich, zeitlich oder personell.[12]

Bei der Inschrift „Georius" könnte es sich entweder um die Signatur eines Bau- oder Werkmeisters oder die eines Stifters oder Auftraggebers handeln. Häufig wurde und wird immer noch angenommen, dass Signaturen und Künstlerinschriften erst mit der beginnenden Neuzeit üblich wurden und im Mittelalter nicht vorkamen. Diese meist nicht reflektierte Annahme fasste Peter Cornelius Claussen 1985 passend zusammen: „Der mittelalterliche Künstler habe sein Werk in demütiger und gottgefälliger Anonymität geschaffen. Erst in der Neuzeit stellte der Künstler sein Individuum über die dienende und nur im Kollektiv sich erfüllende Funktion des Werkes."[13] Dieser Auffassung hat Claussen zu Recht vehement widersprochen.[14] Er hat die Künstlerinschriften in zwei Kategorien eingeteilt, in eine aktive und eine passive. Bei den aktiven Künstlerinschriften, die er auch als Signatur bezeichnet, ist der Künstler bzw. Werkmeister selbst derjenige, der die Inschrift in den Stein einschreibt bzw.

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7 Zur sakramentaltheologischen Kategorie der Realpräsenz siehe: Betz 1961.

8 Gumbrecht 2004, 10 f. u. 32 f.

9 Gumbrecht 2004, 11.

10 Zum Begriff der „Präsenz" siehe auch: Hornbacher/Frese/Willer 2015.

11 Zur Definition der *restringierten Präsenz* siehe: Hilgert 2010, 99 Anm. 20: „Einen typologischen Sonderfall stellen diejenigen Arrangements von Objekten und Körpern dar, innerhalb derer ein oder mehrere Artefakte mit Sequenzen sprachlicher Zeichen so platziert sind, dass nur bestimmte oder gar keine Akteure dieses Geschriebene temporär oder permanent rezipieren können. Solche Arrangements weisen eine *restringierte Präsenz* des Geschriebenen auf."

12 Siehe hierzu auch: Keil 2014b. Zur Präsenz des Abwesenden siehe auch: Keil 2014a.

13 Claussen 1985, 263. Siehe hierzu auch: Claussen 1981, 7–9; Claussen 1985, 263 f.

14 Siehe hierzu besonders: Claussen 1981, 7–9; Claussen 1985, 263 f. und auf die damalige Zeit bezogen auch in: Claussen 2013, 76.

dessen Einschreiben in Auftrag gibt. Bei der passiven wird diese zumeist vom Stifter bzw. Auftraggeber veranlasst. Der Künstler wird in diesem Fall häufig in der Inschrift gelobt.[15]

Mittelalterliche Künstlerinschriften kommen im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert besonders häufig in Italien vor. Peter Cornelius Claussen konnte für diese eine Einteilung in vier Phasen vornehmen. Diese Phasen stehen im Zusammenhang mit der Entwicklung der Städte und dem sozialen Ansehen der Künstler.[16] Albert Dietl hat zu diesem Modell treffend Stellung genommen: „Die Gleichsetzung von inschriftlicher (Selbst-) Wahrnehmung und soziologischer Positionierungsbestimmung reproduziert aber eher eine moderne Bewußtseinslage, als daß sie der Komplexität inschriftlicher Aussagen wie mittelalterlicher Deutung von sozialer Wirklichkeit entspräche.“[17] Laut Dietl ergibt sich aus den Inschriften „eine Reihe relativ konstanter Motivgruppen, die im Begriffsfeld von Ruhm und öffentlicher Reputation angesiedelt sind und die in rhetorisch-literarischen Traditionsreihen stehen.“[18] Dietl hat hierbei drei Motivbereiche feststellen können: die inschriftlichen Befähigungsadjektive, die Verwendung von antik-rhetorischen Versatzstücken wie z. B. die Handmetaphorik mit der Formel „manus docta“ und die bildhauerische Überbietungstopik.[19] Auch María Luisa Melero Moneo steht den Ausführungen von Peter Cornelius Claussen kritisch gegenüber und hält eine Forderung nach höherem sozialem Ansehen der romanischen Handwerker für nicht denkbar. Dies sei erst in späteren Epochen möglich.[20] Sie erklärt die Funktion der Inschriften wie folgt: „Für den romanischen Bildhauer ist die Signatur vermutlich ebenso wie für andere Künstler der Epoche eine Möglichkeit der Individualisierung innerhalb der eigenen Werkstatt gewesen. Diese Individualisierung war nur auf Grund der privilegierten Stellung des Bildhauers im Vergleich zu den weniger qualifizierten Handwerkern, die an demselben Bauprojekt arbeiteten, möglich.“[21] „Der Bildhauer war offensichtlich mit seiner Arbeit derart zufrieden, daß er seinen Namen mit einem bestimmten Werk für immer verbunden sehen wollte.“[22] Laut Melero Moneo wird mit der Signatur der Stolz des Autors auf seine Arbeit zum Ausdruck gebracht.[23] Für sie haben Selbstbildnisse eine ähnliche Bedeutung wie Signaturen.[24] Zudem ist

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15 Claussen 1985, 265. Zum Künstlerlob im Mittelalter siehe auch: Haussherr 1981.
16 Claussen 1981, 10–33; Claussen 1985, 267–274.
17 Dietl 1994, 177. Auch an anderen Stellen lehnt Albert Dietl das Konzept ab: Dietl 1987, 79; Dietl 2009, 26.
18 Dietl 1994, 177.
19 Dietl 1994, 177–179.
20 Melero Moneo 1994, 171 f., Anm. 14.
21 Melero Moneo 1994, 172, Anm. 14.
22 Melero Moneo 1994, 165.
23 Melero Moneo 1994, 165.
24 Melero Moneo 1994, 165. Dass dies nicht immer der Fall ist, konnte der Verfasser beim namenlosen Baumeisterbildnis an der Ostfassade des Wormser Domes feststellen. Siehe hierzu: Keil 2011.

sie der Meinung, dass „höchstwahrscheinlich nur der leitende Bildhauer, der zuweilen zugleich der Architekt war, seinen Namen verewigen durfte. Auf jeden Fall war es einer der Bildhauer, der die größte Verantwortung für die Bauplastik trug, und nicht irgendein beliebiger untergeordneter Arbeiter, der an der skulpturalen Ausstattung des Bauwerks beteiligt war.“[25] Der leitende Bildhauer hatte größere Vorrechte und so sei bei ihm der Wunsch nach Individualisierung nachvollziehbar.[26] Wenn man diese Annahme macht, dann muss man aber auch mit dem Nachahmungseffekt durch untergeordnete Mitarbeiter rechnen. Diese könnten sich dann an nicht so prominenten Stellen verewigt haben.

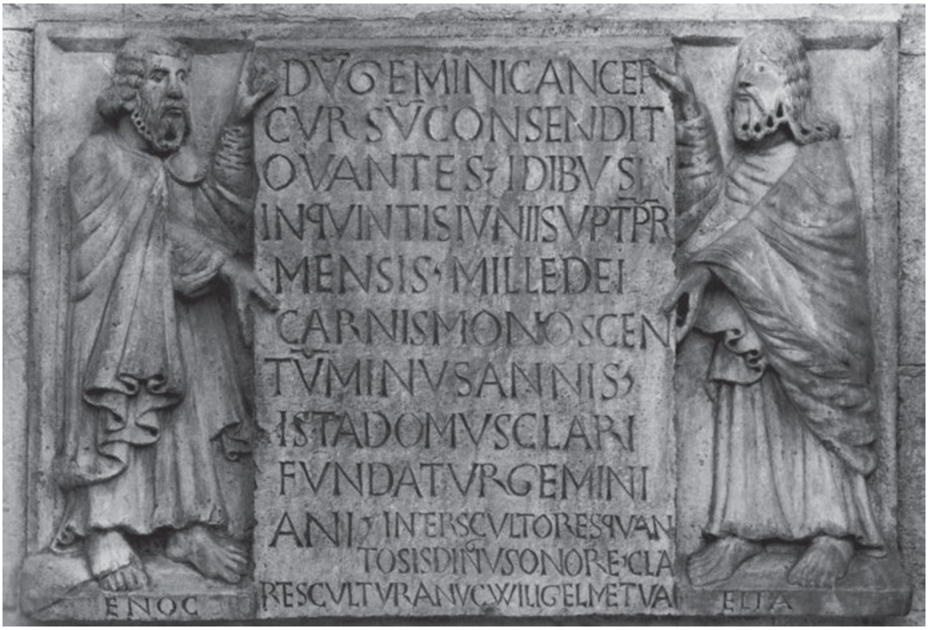

Abb. 2: Modena, Dom, Fassade, Gründungsinschrift mit Künstlerlob des Wiligelmus (nach Lomatire 1984b, 379 Abb. 381).

Inschriften mit Künstlerlob[27] und Künstlerstolz sind meistens so angebracht, dass sie sehr gut zu sehen sind. Sie finden sich vor allem in Italien an Kirchenfassaden wie an der des Domes zu Modena. Das nach 1106 entstandene Marmorrelief[28] mit einem

25 Melero Moneo 1994, 166.
26 Melero Moneo 1994, 166.
27 Zu Künstlerinschriften mit Künstlerlob, die das literarische Stilmittel des Epitheon verwenden, siehe: Dietl 1987, 80–94; Dietl 2009, 100–113.
28 Nach textkritischen und historischen Untersuchungen durch Augusto Campana kann der Text der Tafel nicht vor 1106 entstanden sein: Campana 1984, 366–368, bes. 367.

Künstlerlob befindet sich an der Westfassade nördlich des Hauptportals in einer Höhe von ungefähr fünf Metern (Abb. 2).

Das Relief zeigt die beiden Propheten Henoch und Elias, die eine Steintafel mit einer Inschrift in den Händen halten. Die beiden Propheten werden durch die Namensinschriften ENOC und ELIA, die sich unter ihnen befinden, ausgewiesen. Der Stein hat eine Höhe von 81 und eine Breite von 122 Zentimetern. Die Inschrift in romanischer Majuskel umfasst zwölf Zeilen. In den ersten zehn Zeilen wird in vier Hexametern über die Grundsteinlegung der Kirche am 9. Juni 1099 berichtet. Die zehnte Zeile ist aufgeteilt in das Ende dieser Grundsteinlegungsinschrift und in das darauf folgende Künstlerlob, das auch die letzten beiden Zeilen der Tafel umfasst und als elegisches Distichon in etwas kleinerer Schrift wiedergegeben ist: INTER SCVLTORES QVAN/TO SIS DIGNVS ONORE · CLA/RET SCVLTVRA NV(N)C WILIGELME TVA (Wie viel der Ehre Dir unter den Bildhauern angemessen ist, möge jetzt, Wiligelmus, Deine Skulptur an den Tag legen).[29] Auf Grund der geringeren Größe der Inschrift wird das Künstlerlob als eine spätere Hinzufügung angesehen.[30] Es wird vermutet, dass die Inschrift von Aimo verfasst wurde, der eine weitere Inschrift an der Apsis konzipiert hatte, die im Folgenden behandelt wird.[31] Augusto Campana vermutet, dass die Inschrift entweder auf Veranlassung von Wiligelmo selbst oder von Verehrern des Bildhauers angebracht wurde.[32] Zudem ist er der Ansicht, dass Wiligelmo beide Inschriften selbst gemeißelt hat.[33] Albert Dietl stellte fest, dass das Wiligelmo-Distichon maßstäblich, metrisch und inhaltlich klar abgesetzt ist und daher ist er der Meinung, dass es wohl kurze Zeit später von der gleichen Person nachträglich eingehauen wurde.[34] Bei den beiden Propheten, Henoch und Elias, die die Inschriftentafel halten,[35] handelt es sich um die Einzigen vom Alten Bund, die nicht gestorben,

29 Zur vollständigen Inschrift siehe: Lomartire 1984b; Favreau 1997, 131 f.; Dietl 2009, Bd. 2, 1055–1058, Kat. Nr. A 365. Die Buchstabenhöhe der Gründungsinschrift beträgt 4,8, die des Künstlerlobes 3,3 und die der Namensinschriften 2,8 Zentimeter. Zur Tafel siehe auch: Dietl 2009, Bd. 1, 209–225. Zum Distichon des Wiligelmus siehe auch: Dietl 2009, Bd. 1, 213–216.

30 Keller 1981, 211 f.; Campana 1984, 368 f.; Peroni 1994, 777; Burg 2007, 137.

31 Campana 1984, 366; Dietl 1987, 86; Dietl 2009, Bd. 2, 1056.

32 Campana 1984, 366 f. Auch Tobias Burg ist sich nicht sicher, ob es sich um ein epigraphisches Künstlerlob oder um eine Signatur handelt: Burg 2007, 137. Falls Wiligelmo die Inschrift selbst in Auftrag gegeben hätte, wäre diese als eine Signatur zu betrachten.

33 Campana 1984, 368 f.

34 Dietl 2009, Bd. 2, 1056. Zur Forschungsdiskussion des inhaltlichen und zeitlichen Verhältnisses siehe: Dietl 2009, Bd. 2, 1056 f.

35 Bei einem Relief in Cremona halten Henoch und Elias in gleicher Weise eine Inschriftentafel. Inhaltlich geht es ebenfalls um eine Grundsteinlegung eines Domes, nämlich die des Domes von Cremona im Jahre 1107. Das Relief befindet sich heute in der dortigen Sakristei. Siehe hierzu: Lomatire 1984b, 379 und dort auch Abb. 382; Favreau 1997, 132; Legner 2009, 120 und dort Abb. 136. Zu Henoch als dem Erfinder der Schrift und dem Schreiber der Gerechtigkeit siehe: Dietl 2009, Bd. 1, 216–219.

sondern direkt in den Himmel gefahren sind. Hierdurch soll gezeigt werden, dass das Werk des Wiligelmo ebenso unsterblich ist wie die beiden Propheten.[36] Peter Cornelius Claussen und Horst Bredekamp sehen hierin nicht nur einen Hinweis auf eine ewige Gültigkeit des Inhalts der Inschrift, sondern zudem auch eine Beurkundung des Künstlers im Himmel, also eine Unsterblichkeit des Bildhauers.[37] Wie Albert Dietl richtig bemerkt, hat die Skulptur selbst die Aufgabe, die Loberwartungen zu erfüllen.[38] Durch Henoch und Elias soll darauf hingewiesen werden, dass der Künstler durch sein Werk einen Platz im Himmel sicher hat. In solchen Fällen sieht Claussen den Künstlerstolz als soziales Mittel: „Der neue Anspruch war offenbar auch notwendig, um sich von anderem städtischen Handwerk abzugrenzen. Künstlerstolz ist hier auch ein aktives Mittel sozialer Promotion."[39] Bei der Lese- und Schreibefähigkeit der damaligen Zeit ist nach Dietl das Medium Inschrift selbst bereits eine Botschaft des Künstlerprestiges.[40] Gerade in einer Gesellschaft mit geringem Anteil an Literarität und auch Latinität „signalisierte die öffentliche Ausstellung von Schriftlichkeit von vorneherein einen Bildungsanspruch seines Absenders. In diesem Umfeld, in dem [...] die Schriftwelt mehrheitlich als komplexes, autoritätsanzeigendes Zeichensystem wahrgenommen wurde, fungierte auch die Inschrift des Künstlers noch vor der inhaltlichen Aussage als materielles Graphem einer Schriftpartizipation: das Medium selbst transportierte damit bereits eine Botschaft des Künstlerprestiges."[41]

Der Prozess der Entstehung einer Inschrift ist in drei Etappen zu verstehen: die Textkonzipierung, die Vorzeichnung bzw. die Gestaltung der Inschrift und der Akt des Einmeißelns.[42] Die letzte Stufe ist noch kein Indiz für die Literarität des Ausführenden. Albert Dietl nennt dies zu Recht nur „einen mechanischen Nachvollzug, der aber immerhin einen passiven Umgang mit Schriftlichkeit anzeigt."[43] Das Verfassen von Inschriften benötigt drei Personengruppen: den Stifter, der das Werk finanziert, den Autor, der den Text verfasst und den Künstler, der die Inschrift ausführt und das

36 Keller 1981, 212; Dietl 1995, 208; Legner 2009, 119 f. Zu den Propheten als Garanten der Ewigkeit siehe auch: Dietl 2009, Bd. 1, 209–213.
37 Claussen 1981, 16; Claussen 1985, 268; Favreau 1997, 132; Bredekamp 2000, 213. Horst Bredekamp schreibt hierzu an anderer Stelle: „So hoch hebt sich Wiligelmus aus dem Kreis der Bildhauer heraus, daß er buchstäblich in den Himmel aufrückt und dort auch eine privilegierte Position einnimmt." Siehe: Bredekamp 2000, 208.
38 Dietl 1987, 103. Adriano Peroni bezieht demnach auch das Lob des Wiligelmo auf die Bauskulptur der gesamten Fassade: Peroni 1994, 777.
39 Claussen 1981, 27; Claussen 1985, 273.
40 Dietl 1994, 181.
41 Dietl 1994, 181.
42 Dietl 1994, 182. Das Dreistufenmodell der Herstellung einer Inschrift in der Antike stammt von Jean Mallon: Mallon 1952, 57 f.; Mallon 1957. Das Modell wurde von Robert Favreau für das Mittelalter angepasst: Favreau 1979, 50–52.
43 Dietl 1994, 182; Dietl 1995, 199.

Kunstwerk erschafft. Das Problem ist hierbei zu unterscheiden, wer was gemacht und ausgeführt hat.[44]

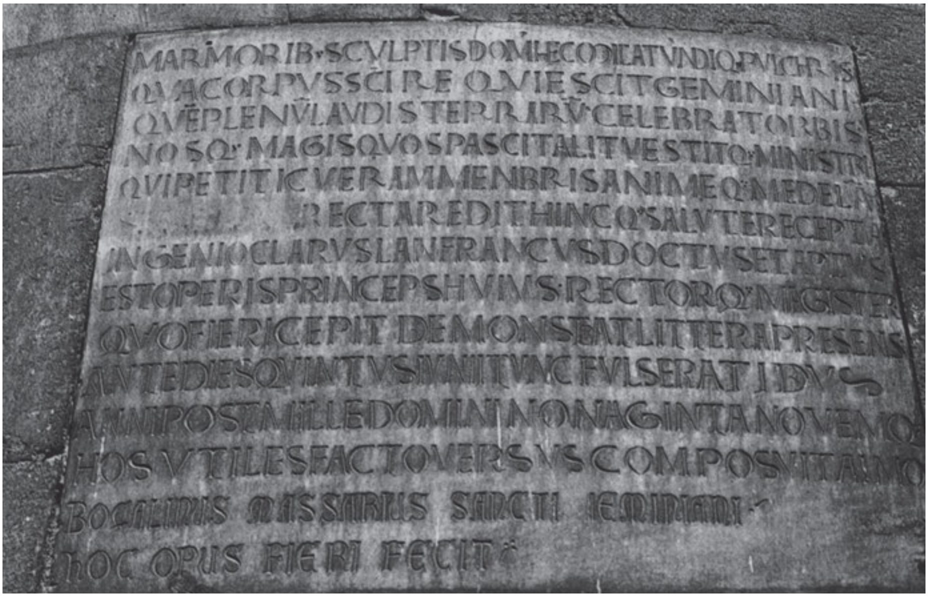

Abb. 3: Modena, Dom, Apsis, Gründungsinschrift mit Künstlerlob des Lanfrancus (nach Dietl 2009, Bd. 4, 2167 Abb. 349).

Ein Künstlerlob durch einen Auftraggeber erfolgt also wohl teilweise, um sich selbst zu rühmen. Dies wird beim Künstlerlob über Lanfrancus, dem Baumeister des ab 1099 begonnenen Neubaus des Domes von Modena deutlich. Die Inschriftentafel aus Marmor mit einer Höhe von 109 und einer Breite von 121,5 Zentimetern ist am mittleren Feld der Hauptapsis direkt über dem Apsisfenster in einer Höhe von ungefähr dreieinhalb Metern eingebaut (Abb. 3).

Zunächst wird in einer zwölfzeiligen in Hexametern gedichteten Inschrift in romanischer Majuskel das Bauwerk und sein Marmorschmuck gelobt, der Kirchenpatron, der Heilige Geminianus gepriesen und der Architekt Lanfrancus gerühmt. Danach wird mit dem 9. Juni 1099 das Gründungsdatum des Neubaus genannt. Hierauf folgt nicht eine Signatur des Lanfrancus, sondern die des Dichters des Künstlerlobes, Aimo. Abschließend ist eine nachträglich hinzugefügte zweizeilige Stifterinschrift

44 Favreau 2001, 37, 59. Wie Favreau festgestellt hat, sind Inschriften aus denen klar hervorgeht, dass der Stifter ein (Bild-)Programm selbst entworfen hat, sehr selten: Favreau 1992, 716–722.

in gotischer Majuskel wiedergegeben.[45] Der hier entscheidende Teil der Inschrift mit dem Lob des Lanfrancus steht in den Zeilen sieben und acht: … / INGENIO CLARVS LANFRANCVS DOCTVS ET APTVS · / EST OPERIS PRINCEPS HVIVS · RECTORQ(VE) MAGISTER · / … (…durch sein Ingenium berühmt, gelehrt und fähig, ist Lanfrancus Vorsteher dieses Werkes, Leiter und Magister…). Lanfrancus ist zwischen den Jahren 1099 und 1106 in Modena belegt.[46] Der Schreiber und Dichter Aimo wird von 1096 bis 1110 als Domscholastiker in Quellen erwähnt.[47] Das Lob erfolgt hier also nicht aus eigener Hand, sondern durch einen Kleriker des Domkapitels, der hierzu die antike literarische Gattung der Ekphrasis verwendet.[48] Bei der einleitenden Wendung INGENIO CLARVS LANFRANCVS DOCTVS ET APTVS hat Aimo auf eine alte Formel zurückgegriffen, die wahrscheinlich von Paulus Diaconus (gest. um 799) in die epigrapische Dichtung eingeführt wurde.[49] Für Peter Cornelius Claussen sind die Motive eines solchen Künstlerlobes offenkundig: „Kirche und Stadt schaffen den Künstlerruhm zum eigenen Ruhm."[50] Lanfrancus wird zusätzlich noch in einer zwischen 1106 und 1115 verfassten Chronik über den Baubeginn des Domes und der Translatio des Heiligen Geminianus gerühmt. Diese Chronik ist in einer Abschrift aus dem frühen 13. Jahrhundert im Kapitelarchiv von Modena überliefert.[51] Darin wird nicht nur der Text wiedergegeben, sondern Lanfrancus als fein gekleideter Architekt mit Kommandostab bei der Arbeit in Miniaturen dargestellt.[52]

Wenn Selbstbildnisse eine ähnliche Funktion wie Signaturen haben sollen, müssten diese eine ebenso gute Sichtbarkeit haben. Eine Selbstdarstellung zum Ruhm erfordert allerdings auch eine Sichtbarkeit der rühmenden Worte. Allerdings ist auch an Fassaden nicht immer eine gleiche Präsenz der (Künstler-) Inschrift vorhanden.

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45 Zur Inschrift siehe: Lormatire 1984a; Favreau 1997, 129–131; Dietl 2009, Bd. 2, 1052–1055, Kat. Nr. A 364; Legner 2009, 119. Die erste Inschrift hat eine Buchstabenhöhe von 5,5 und die zweite eine von 5 Zentimetern. Die zweite Inschrift ist sowohl paläographisch als auch durch Quellenbelege des genannten Bauverwalters Bozalinus in das erste Viertel des 13. Jahrhunderts zu datieren. Siehe: Campana 1984, 368; Lomartire 1984a, 374; Favreau 1997, 130; Dietl 2009, Bd. 2, 1052–1054. Zur Forschungsdiskussion des Verhältnisses der beiden Inschriften siehe: Dietl 2009, Bd. 2, 1053.
46 Dietl 2009, Bd. 2, 1053.
47 Lomartire 1984a, 377; Dietl 1987, 86; Dietl 2009, Bd. 1, 104 und Bd. 2, 1054; Siehe auch: Claussen 1981, 14; Claussen 1985, 268; Dietl 2009, Bd. 2, 1053.
48 Claussen 1981, 14; Claussen 1985, 268; Legner 2009, 119. Zur Tätigkeit des Aimo siehe: Campana 1984, bes. 366.
49 Favreau 1997, 131; Dietl 2009, Bd. 1, 104 f., 117.
50 Claussen 1981, 14; Claussen 1985, 268.
51 Modena, Archivio Capitolare Cod. II, 11, folio 2r–8r. Zu einer Wiedergabe des Textes siehe: Lomartire 1984c.
52 Claussen 1981, 14 und dort auch Abb. 5 auf S. 15; Claussen 1985, 268 und dort Abb. 2. Die Miniaturen befinden sich auf folio 1v. Zu einer Abbildung siehe auch: Lomartire 1984c, 759; Legner 2009, 361 Abb. 589.

An der Fassadengalerie des Domes San Martino in Lucca befindet sich in der unteren Galerie am unteren Teil der südlichsten Marmorsäule, in der Ecke, an der die Fassade an den Campanile stößt, ein Bildnis (Abb. 4).

Der Mann mit langem Haar hat einen Mantel und Stiefel an. Auf dem Kopf trägt er einen spitzen Hut, der in der Form einer Lilie endet. Mit seinen Händen hält er vor seinem Körper eine Schriftrolle. In diese ist in romanischer Majuskel folgende Inschrift in sieben Zeilen in leoninischen Hexametern eingemeißelt: MILL(E) · CC / IIII · CONDI/DIT ELE/CTI · TAM PUL/CRAS DEXT(RA) / GUIDECT(I) (1204 hat die Rechte des auserwählten Guidectus die so schönen (Säulen) aufgestellt).[53] „Offensichtlich hat das Versmaß des leoninischen Hexameters bei der Kürze der Inschrift den Wegfall des als ‚schön' bezeichneten Objektes bewirkt. Aus dem Umstand, daß der Text an einem Säulenschaft angebracht ist und angesichts des Kontextes der Inschrift mit den Säulengalerien kann man folgern, daß zu *pulchras* als Substantiv *columnas* zu ergänzen ist."[54] Aus der Inschrift kann man schließen, dass es sich bei dem Bildnis wohl um ein Selbstbildnis des Bildhauers Guidectus (Guidetto da Como) handelt.[55]Auch wenn Tobias Burg der Meinung ist, dass die „Bildhauerdarstellung am Dom zu Lucca kaum ins Auge" springt,[56] ist sie dennoch so platziert, dass man sie, wenn man weiß, wo sie sich befindet, durchaus sehr gut vom Domplatz aus sehen kann. Mit der Inschrift sieht es allerdings anders aus. Wenn man an dieser Stelle keine Inschrift vermutet, wird man sie auch nicht wahrnehmen. Zudem ist sie auf die Entfernung kaum zu lesen. Falls die Inschrift früher farbig gefasst gewesen sein sollte, war dies sicherlich möglich.[57] Peter Cornelius Claussen sieht eine doppelte Adressatenrolle der Inschrift: „Dieses Monument ist nicht allein auf den guten Ruf im Himmel gerichtet, sondern soll in die Konkurrenz der Künstler innerhalb der Kommune wirken. Ein

53 Die Buchstaben D (bis auf Zeile 3), E, M und V sind Unzialen. Das N ist rund und das G gerollt. Bei den beiden LL von MILLE ist ein verbindender Querstrich eingehauen. Das S von „pulchras" ist ein kleines nach oben gestelltes S. Zur Inschrift siehe: Dietl 2009, Bd. 2, 968–970, Kat. Nr. A 314. Bei den bisherigen Transkriptionen wird immer wieder das M von TAM und das X von DEXT(RA) in Klammern gesetzt und auf die Kürzungszeichen am Ende der Wörter verwiesen. Bei TAM scheint aber trotz Kürzungszeichen das M vorhanden zu sein. Es würde sich dann um ein *Nexus litterarum* handeln. An den Schaft des T ist in der Mitte ein geschweifter Bogen angeschlossen und in diesen ist als Enklave ein M eingestellt. Der Bogen und das M bilden zusammen den Buchstaben A. Bei DEXT(RA) ist das X in das E eingestellt und mit diesem verschränkt.

54 Kopp 1981, 77. Die Ergänzung des Hexameters mit COLUMNAS nahm, wie Gabriele Kopp anmerkt, bereits August Schmarsow 1890 vor: Schmarsow 1890, 14. Dietl hat darauf hingewiesen, dass diese Ergänzung davor bereits Cesare Lucchesi 1809 in einem Brief vorgeschlagen hat, der 1810 veröffentlicht wurde: Ciampi 1810; Dietl 2009, Bd. 2, 969.

55 Zu Guidectus und seiner Werkstatt siehe: Kopp 1981, 41–45, 77–95.

56 Burg 2007, 199.

57 Heutzutage ist die Inschrift mit bloßem Auge selbst für ein auf Inschriften geschultes Auge auf Grund ihrer Entfernung kaum zu entziffern.

solches Bildnis wendet sich an die Öffentlichkeit, ist Monument auch in einem profanen Sinne."[58] Dies setzt allerdings eine gute Sicht- und Lesbarkeit voraus.

Wenn zu einer Signatur wie in Lucca auch noch ein Bildnis dargestellt ist, soll dies laut Claussen dem Autor zu Anerkennung und Nachruhm verhelfen.[59]

Abb. 4: Lucca, Dom, Fassade, untere Säulengalerie, Bildnis des Guidectus © Wilfried E. Keil.

58 Claussen 1992, 25.
59 Claussen 1992, 25.

Hierzu führt Claussen ein weiteres passendes Beispiel an:[60] Auf einem Kapitell der Südseite des nordöstlichen Eckpfeilers des um 1200[61] entstandenen Kreuzgangs von Sant Cugat del Vallès in Katalonien ist der Bildhauer Arnau Cadell dargestellt, wie er gerade ein korinthisches Kapitell anfertigt. Neben ihm kommt gerade ein Mönch auf ihn zu, um ihm etwas zu trinken zu bringen.[62] Die daneben befindliche Signatur in leoninischen Hexametern lautet: HAEC EST ARNALLI: / SCVLPTORIS FORMA CATELLI: / QVI CLAVSTRVM TALE: / CONSTRVXIT P(ER)PETVALE: (Dies ist die Gestalt des Bildhauers Arnallus Catell, der einen derartigen Kreuzgang auf Dauer errichtet hat.)[63] (Abb. 5). Durch die Inschrift geht klar hervor, dass es sich bei dem Bildnis um den Bildhauer handelt und er eine Wirkung auf Dauer beabsichtigt hat. Laut María Luisa Melero Moneo wird mit einer Signatur wie der des Arnau Catells der Stolz des Autors auf seine Arbeit zum Ausdruck gebracht.[64] Sie sieht dies also ähnlich wie Claussen, der den Grund der Künstlerselbstdarstellungen und Künstlersignaturen zusammenfasst: „Die Erwartungen sind entweder wie bei einem Stifter auf jenseitigen Lohn gerichtet oder sie dienen dem Handwerksrecht, das eigene Werk zu kennzeichnen und damit einen Platz unter konkurrierenden Berufsgenossen zu behaupten.“[65]

60 Claussen 1992, 25 f.

61 Die Datierung orientiert sich an zwei Dokumenten. Als *terminus post quem* dient das Testament des Guillem de Claramunt von 1190, der 1000 Gehälter für die Arbeiten am Kreuzgang stiftete und als Gegenleistung hierfür im Kloster beerdigt werden wollte. Als *terminus ante quem* dient in der Forschung das Testament der Saurina de Claramunt von 1217, die für die Beleuchtung des Kreuzgangs eine Stiftung machte. Zur Zeit des ersten Testaments ist es unklar, ob der Kreuzgang bereits im Bau war und bei dem zweiten Testament kann man keine direkten Bezüge zu den Bauarbeiten herstellen. Siehe: Lorés i Otzet 2014, 1328.

62 In den Dokumenten des Klosters ist für die Jahre 1206 und 1207 ein Zeuge mit dem Namen Arnalli bzw. Arnaldi Catelli nachweisbar. Hierbei wird es sich um den Bildhauer handeln. Siehe: Lorés i Otzet 1991, 173; Lorés i Otzet 1995, 33; Lorés i Otzet 2014, 1328. Der Name des Bildhauers wird in der Forschungsliteratur unterschiedlich geschrieben. Paul Mesplé hat darauf hingewiesen, dass er katalanisch Arnaldo Gatell und im Toulouser Dialekt Arnaud Catel zu nennen wäre: Mesplé 1960, 108. In der neueren katalanischen und spanischen Literatur wird er Arnau Cadell genannt. Zum Kapitell siehe: Baltrušaitis 1931, 74 f.; Lorés i Otzet 1991, 173; Lorés i Otzet 2014, 1328. Zum Bildhauer und seinen Werken siehe: Beaulieu/Beyer 1992, 260.

63 Eine detaillierte Beschreibung ist bisher noch nicht geleistet worden, würde aber an dieser Stelle zu weit gehen. In Kürze das Wichtigste: Das V besteht aus einem umgedrehten A. Es gibt mehrere übergestellte Buchstaben oder als Enklave eingestellte Buchstaben und auch zwei Buchstaben als *Nexus litterarum*. Zur Inschrift siehe auch: Baltrušaitis 1931, 134 f.; Dietl 2009, Bd. 4, 1939, Kat. Nr. B 324. Dietl hat angemerkt, dass es sich bei der Signatur um eine der seltenen Beispiele handelt, bei der sich ein Bildhauer außerhalb von Italien als „sculptor“ bezeichnet: Dietl 1994, 180; Dietl 1995, 196.

64 Melero Moneo 1994, 165–167.

65 Claussen 1992, 38.

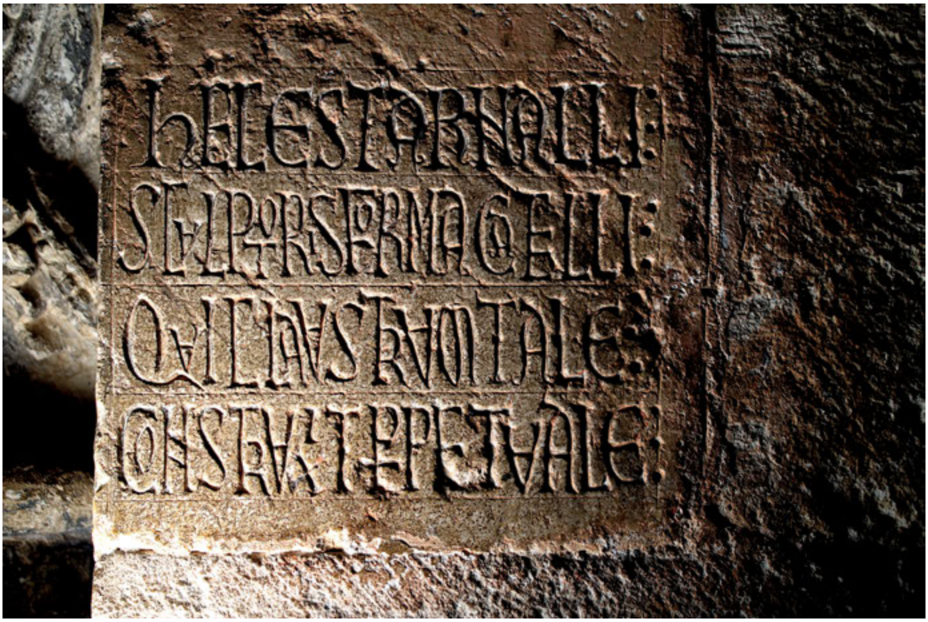

Abb. 5: Sant Cugat del Vallès, Kreuzgang, nordöstlicher Eckpfeiler, Inschrift des Arnau Cadell © Wilfried E. Keil.

Es finden sich aber auch Namensnennungen im Zusammengang mit Künstlerdemut an mittelalterlichen Kirchenbauten. Im unteren Umgang des Sanktuariums der Liebfrauenkirche in Maastricht befindet sich das um 1150–1160 entstandene HEIMO-Kapitell (Abb. 6).[66] Auf drei Seiten des Kapitells sind gegenständige Tiere (vogelartige Mischwesen (Basilisken?), Stiere (Ochsen?), Raubkatzen (Löwen?)) in Ranken dargestellt.[67] Auf der Südseite sieht man eine demütig kniende Person, die, wie ein Stifter, Maria ein Rankenkapitell übergibt. Auf dem Abakus steht folgende Inschrift: S(ANCTA) MA//RIA · hEIMO.[68] Marias Kopf und Nimbus ragen in die Abakusplatte hinein und trennen hierdurch ihren Namen. Der Name Heimo wird wie bei Maria, der sich darunter befindlichen Figur zuzuordnen sein. Meistens wurde in der Forschung Heimo einfach ohne jegliche Begründung als Steinmetz, Werkmeister oder Bildhauer bezeichnet.[69]

66 Zur Datierung siehe: den Hartog 2002, 260 f.
67 Zum Kapitell siehe: den Hartog 2002, 252–254, 441 f.
68 Zur Inschrift siehe: Dietl 2009, 1892, Kat. Nr. B 196.
69 Steinmetz: Claussen 1985, 266; Werkmeister: Gerstenberg 1955, 22; Legner 1985, 225 (hier allerdings auch als potentieller Stifter); Legner 2009, 236; Bildhauer: Dietl 2009, Bd. 4, 1892.

Abb. 6: Maastricht, Liebfrauenkirche, unterer Umgang des Sanktuariums, HEIMO-Kapitell (nach Gerstenberg 1966, 21).

Anton Legner war sich hingegen zunächst unsicher und meinte, dass es sich wohl um einen Stifter oder einen Werkmeister handeln könnte.[70] Elizabeth den Hartog ist der Meinung, dass Heimo an seiner Kleidung als säkulare Person zu identifizieren sei. Durch die Inschrift wird nicht klar, ob er ein Bildhauer, Steinmetzmeister, Wohltäter oder Stifter war. Sie betont weiter, dass Bildhauer bei Bildnissen üblicherweise eine einfache Tunika tragen und ein Werkzeug als Erkennungszeichen in der Hand halten. Aber als Leiter der Bildhauerwerkstatt oder Steinmetzmeister sei dies in solch einer Situation etwas anderes, da würde ein Meister seine beste Kleidung tragen. Hierzu führt sie als Vergleich die Miniatur des Meisters Lanfrancus in der Chronik der Kathedrale von Modena und Gerlachus in den Glasmalereien der ehemaligen Klosterkirche

70 Legner 1985, 225.

in Arstein an.[71] Sie kommt zu dem Schluss, dass Heimo der Leiter der Bildhauerwerkstatt oder ein Bildhauer, der ein Steinmetzmeister war, gewesen sein könnte. Man müsse diese Frage aber offenlassen.[72] Jacqueline Leclercq-Marx kommt nach langem abwägen, ob es sich um einen Stifter oder einen Bildhauer handeln könnte, zu dem Schluss, dass Heimo ein Bildhauer war.[73] Was in der bisherigen Forschung noch nicht thematisiert wurde, ist, dass das H, also der Anfangsbuchstabe von Heimo als einziger Buchstabe des Namens eine Minuskel ist. Es ist so gestaltet, dass es sich auch um ein epigraphisches Steinmetzzeichen handeln könnte, so dass man Heimo wohl als Bildhauer des Kapitells betrachten kann. Dieser Bildhauer könnte allerdings zugleich auch der Stifter des Kapitells sein. Allerdings darf man das Minuskel-H nicht überbewerten, da dies zu dieser Zeit häufiger in Majuskelinschriften vorkommt. Die Inschrift weist auf Grund ihrer Lage in einem Umgang eine *restringierte Präsenz* auf. Bereits Elizabeth den Hartog hat darauf hingewiesen, dass der Umgang nur von Klerikern und wichtigen Besuchern betreten werden konnte, da dieser nur einen Zugang vom Sanktuarium aus hat.[74] In diesem Fall handelt es sich vor allem um eine *restringierte Präsenz* auf personeller Ebene, da nur bestimmte Personenkreise Zugang zum Kapitell hatten.

In einer um 1170–1180 entstandenen Glasmalerei aus der ehemaligen Prämonstratenser-Klosterkirche in Arnstein an der Lahn, die heute im Westfälischen Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte in Münster ausgestellt wird, ist unterhalb von Moses am brennenden Dornbusch in einem Halbrund eine Person in Halbfigur dargestellt.[75] Diese hält in der Linken einen Farbtopf und in der rechten einen Pinsel, mit dem sie wohl gerade die um das Halbrund laufende Inschrift fertiggestellt hat. Die Inschrift lautet: REX REGV(M) CLARE GERLACHO PROP(I)CIARE · (Herrlicher König der Könige, erbarme dich des Gerlachus).[76] Die Glasmalereien wurden für das Westsanktuarium hergestellt und im Spätmittelalter dort in ein dreibahniges Fenster in der Westapsis versetzt.[77] Der dargestellte Gerlachus trägt das Habit eines Prämonstratensers.[78] Das Westsanktuarium war für die Konversen bestimmt und unter diesen ist ab

71 den Hartog 2002, 118–120.
72 den Hartog 2002, 124.
73 Leclercq-Marx 2012, 243.
74 den Hartog 2002, 260.
75 Parello 2007, 31. Das Teilstück hat eine Höhe von 50 und eine Breite von 48 Zentimetern. Zu Abbildungen siehe: Becksmann 1975, 66 Abb. 1; Luckhardt 1985, 258 Abb. B 55; Parello 2007, 23 Abb. 1; Legner 2009, 13 Abb. 6; Martin 2009, 321 (Tafel auf S. 91).
76 Zur Inschrift siehe auch: Dietl 2009, Bd. 4, 1900, Kat. Nr. B 220
77 Parello 2007, 31 f.
78 Parello 2007, 39. Rüdiger Becksmann war hingegen der Meinung, dass Gerlachus weltliche Tracht tragen würde: Becksmann 1975, 66.

1150 auch ein Gerlachus belegt.[79] Bereits Rüdiger Becksmann war der Meinung, dass sich Gerlachus durch die Inschrift nicht nur als Schöpfer, sondern auch als Stifter verewigt habe.[80] Für Jochen Luckhardt hingegen ist es zu Recht unklar, ob er nur Künstler oder auch Stifter war.[81] Das Bildnis des Malers und sein Name waren wohl für jeden, der die Glasmalereien aufmerksam betrachtete, deutlich sichtbar, zumindest für die, die Zugang zum Westsanktuarium hatten. Nach Anton Legner geht es Gerlachus bei der Inschrift nicht um Künstlerstolz, sondern dieser bittet, dass der Betrachter seiner gedenke und ihm die Worte nachspreche.[82]

Abb. 7: Goslar, ehemaligen Stiftskirche St. Simon und Judas, Vorhalle, Portal, Kapitell des Trumeau © Wilfried E. Keil.

79 Martin 2009, 326.
80 Becksmann 1975, 66. Auch Daniel Parello nennt ihn Stifter und Künstler zugleich: Parello 2007, 31, 37 f. Anton Legner hat ebenfalls in Erwägung gezogen, dass er zugleich auch Stifter gewesen sein könnte: Legner 1985, 214.
81 Luckhardt 1985, 259.
82 Legner 1985, 214 f.

Portalinschriften an Fassaden mittelalterlicher Kirchen sind im Allgemeinen recht gut sichtbar. Am Portal der Vorhalle der ehemaligen Stiftskirche Sankt Simon und Judas (sogenannte Domkapelle) in Goslar steht auf dem Abakus des Trumeaukapitells (Abb. 7), das in das Dritte Viertel des 12. Jahrhunderts datiert, folgende Inschrift in romanischer Majuskel: · + · HARTMANNVS · STA/TVAM · FECIT · BASIS/Q(VE) · FIGVRAM · + (Hartmannus hat die Säule und die Figur der Basis gefertigt.) Die Höhe des Kapitells beträgt ungefähr 65 Zentimeter und die Buchstabenhöhe ungefähr fünf Zentimeter. Die Inschrift ist in einem zweifach leoninisch gereimten Hexameter verfasst.[83] Sie beginnt auf der Seite, die dem heranschreitenden Kirchenbesuchter zugewandt ist und geht dann rechtsläufig weiter. Die linke Seite hat keine Inschrift. Am Kapitell sind auf allen vier Seiten jeweils zwei verschlungene Drachen dargestellt, die gemeinsam einen Kopf halten. Die Säulenbasis ruht auf einer sitzenden Löwenskulptur. Bei der Inschrift fällt auf, dass explizit betont wird, was der Bildhauer geschaffen hat. Da dies sehr selten der Fall ist, fragt es sich, ob der Bildhauer wirklich nur die in der Inschrift erwähnten Teile oder noch weitere Werkstücke angefertigt hat. Sicherlich wird er auch noch das Kapitell gemacht haben, da sich auf diesem die Inschrift befindet. Es ist aber auch denkbar, dass er den kompletten Figurenschmuck des Portals oder der gesamten Vorhalle hergestellt hat. Die Begrenzung der Inschrift auf die Säule und die Figur der Basis ist dem Versmaß geschuldet. Die Nennung von einzelnen Bauteilen dient sicherlich auch dazu, dass deutlich wird, dass es sich um einen Bildhauer und nicht um einen Architekten oder Stifter handelt. Die Verteilung der Inschrift auf nur drei und nicht vier Seiten des Kapitells wurde sicherlich bewusst gewählt. Wenn man das Portal durch den rechten Durchgang betritt, hat man die Möglichkeit die Inschrift komplett zu lesen: Beim Heranschreiten kann man die Vorderseite, beim Durchschreiten die rechte Seite und nach dem Durchschreiten durch einen Blick zurück die Rückseite lesen.

Am Westportal der 1130 geweihten Kirche Saint-Lazare in Autun,[84] befindet sich am Tympanon zwischen dem Zug der Seeligen und Christus in der Mandorla u. a. die Inschrift (Abb. 8): GISLEBERTUS hOC FECIT (Gislebertus hat dies gemacht).[85] In der früheren Forschung wurde die Inschrift als die Signatur eines Künstlers betrachtet.[86]

83 Zur Inschrift siehe: Magin 1997, 4 f. Nr. 3; Dietl 2009, Bd. 4, 1870, Kat. Nr. B 136.
84 Für einen Überblick zur umfangreichen Forschungsliteratur siehe: Le Pogam 2011. Zum Portal im Zusammenhang mit der Frage, wieso es Portale mit und ohne Inschriften gibt, siehe: Krüger 2016.
85 Zur gesamten Inschrift siehe: Favreau/Michaud/Mora 1997, 56–58 Nr. 4; Dietl 2009, Bd. 4, 1830, Kat. Nr. B 27.
86 Denis Grivot und George Zarnecki hatten, wie man schon am Titel ihres Buches „Gislebertus. Sculpteur d'Autun" erkennen kann, nicht den geringsten Zweifel daran, dass es sich bei Gislebertus um die Signatur eines Künstlers handelt: Grivot/Zarnecki 1960, 13 f. Burg sieht ebenfalls keinen Anlass daran zu zweifeln, dass es sich um eine Künstlersignatur handelt, da die Formulierung in dieser Zeit durchaus für Künstlerinschriften üblich sei: Burg 2007, 221 Anm. 52. Dietl bezeichnet ihn als Bildhauer: Dietl 2009, Bd. 4, 1830.

In letzter Zeit wurde dies in Frage gestellt[87] und auch der Versuch angestellt, den Namen mit einer konkreten Person zu verbinden.[88] Die Stelle der Namensinschrift ist laut Peter Cornelius Claussen ein beliebter Ort für einen Künstler, um „seinen Namen in Demut und Jenseitshoffnung zu Füßen Christi zu platzieren".[89] Horst Bredekamp sieht im Künstlername Gislebertus, der zwischen dem Zug der Seligen und der Mandorla Christi steht, eine Art Membran für die Seligen, um in die Sphäre des Himmels zu gelangen. Dies werde dadurch deutlich, dass der Name die Mandorla überschneidet und daher der Bildhauer in die von ihm selbst geschaffene Himmelszone eindringe.[90] Bredekamp schließt daraus dass der Künstler „mit Stolz auf sein Werk (...) die Gewißheit verbunden (hat), daß sein Name im Himmel verewigt sei."[91]

In den Jahren 2005 bis 2009 fand eine Restaurierung des Portals statt.[92] Während der Reinigung wurden bei den Inschriften Fassungsreste gefunden. Die Inschriften wurden daraufhin wieder farbig gefasst. Hierdurch ergibt sich ein guter Eindruck wie farbig gefasste Inschriften gewirkt haben können. Durch den Kontrast von Steinfarbe und Farbfassung ist nun die Sichtbarkeit der Inschrift deutlich erhöht.

Bruno Bon und Anita Guerreau-Jalabert, die die Inschrift nach der Restaurierung analysiert haben, fassen die Zuordnungsmöglichkeiten der Gislebertus-Signatur zusammen: Bildhauer, Geldgeber, Konzepteur des Programms oder Autor der Inschrift. Die Platzierung der Inschrift direkt unter Christus und über einem Engel weist darauf hin, dass es sich um den Namen einer bedeutenden Person handelt. Auf Grund des hohen Namensvorkommens in burgundischen Dokumenten zwischen dem 10. und Anfang des 12. Jahrhunderts ist eine Zuordnung schwierig. Zudem kann das Verb *fecit* auch unterschiedlich übersetzt werden: „er hat gemacht" oder „er hat machen lassen". Außerdem ist die Formulierung dem *X. me fecit* ähnlich. Bon und Guerreau-Jalabert fragen sich daher, ob die beiden Formulierungen im gleichen Sinn genutzt wurden. Nach dem aktuellen Forschungsstand halten sie eine Deutung als Bildhauer für sicherlich durchaus möglich, aber es sei nichts beweisbar.[93]

87 Michèle Beaulieu und Victor Beyer wollen sich hingegen nicht für eine der folgenden Möglichkeiten entscheiden: Bildhauer, Stifter oder Architekt: Beaulieu/Beyer 1992, 179.

88 Linda Seidel ist der Meinung, dass mit Gislebertus nicht der Bildhauer, sondern der Graf von Châlon und Autun und spätere burgundische Herzog Giselbert gemeint sei, der in der ersten Hälfte des 10. Jahrhunderts regierte. Dieser habe eine entscheidende Rolle bei der Translation der Reliquien gespielt und sei deswegen auf Veranlassung seiner Nachkommen als Stifter am Portal verewigt worden: Seidel 1999, 63–78. Diese These wurde in der Forschung vehement abgelehnt bzw. zu Recht für höchst unwahrscheinlich gehalten. Siehe: Bredekamp 2000, 213–227; Bredekamp 2010, 71 Anm. 30; Bon/Guerreau-Jalabert 2011, 189 Anm. 353, Bredekamp 2013, 92 Anm. 11.

89 Claussen 1993/1994, 147 Anm. 21.

90 Bredekamp 2000, 222; Bredekamp 2010, 71; Bredekamp 2013, 92.

91 Bredekamp 2010, 71.

92 Siehe hierzu den zum Abschluss der Restaurierungen herausgegebenen Band: Ullmann 2011.

93 Bon/Guerreau-Jalabert 2011, 187 f.

Abb. 8: Autun, Saint-Lazare, Tympanon, Inschrift „GISLEBERTUS HOC FECIT" © Kristina Krüger.

Aber handelt es sich bei Signaturen mit *hoc fecit* und *me fecit* immer um Künstlersignaturen? Könnte es sich bei solch kurzen Inschriften mit diesen Formulierungen nicht auch um Signaturen von Stiftern handeln, wenn weder ein inschriftlicher Zusatz noch ein Bildnis mit Werkzeugen Klarheit verschafft? Bei dem Beispiel von Autun gab es auch die Meinung, dass es sich um eine Stifterinschrift handeln könnte und bei den Glasmalereien von Arnstein wurde vermutet, dass es sich nicht nur um einen Künstler, sondern zugleich auch um den Stifter handeln könnte.[94]

Peter Cornelius Claussen bringt zu seiner These, dass es sich bei solchen Inschriften üblicherweise um Künstlerinschriften handelt, selbst ein passendes Beispiel als Einwand, nämlich Bischof Bernward von Hildesheim, der seinen Namen auf dem nach 1007[95] entstandenen silbernen Kruzifix verewigen ließ.[96] Die Inschrift in romanischer Majuskel ist auf der Rückseite des Kreuzes eingraviert und lautet: BERNVVAR / DVS · PRESVL / FECIT HOC (Bischof Bernward hat dies gemacht).[97] Die Inschrift klingt

94 Zu Autun siehe: Seidel 1999, 63–78. Zu Arnstein siehe: Becksmann 1975, 66; Luckhardt 1985, 259.
95 Der *terminus post quem* ist dadurch gegeben, dass Bernward die im Kreuz enthaltenen Reliquien des heiligen Dionysius erst im Jahre 1007 erhalten hatte. Das Kruzifix hat eine Höhe von 21 und eine Breite von 14 Zentimetern und befindet sich heute im Dommuseum in Hildesheim. Siehe: Beuckers 2009, 324.
96 Claussen 1985, 264.
97 Zur Inschrift siehe: Wulf 2003, Bd. 2, 202–205 Nr. 14 und Bd. 1, Abb. 9. Auf der Rückseite sind die

zunächst so, als ob Bischof Bernward das Kreuz selbst angefertigt hätte. Claussen hält es für sehr unwahrscheinlich, dass sich hier Bernward selbst als Künstler betätigt hat.[98] Wie Christine Wulf bemerkt hat, kann die hier benutzte Formulierung mit *fecit hoc* nicht eindeutig interpretiert werden. *Fecit* kann man sowohl als „machte" als auch in kausativer Bedeutung mit „hat machen lassen" übersetzen. Letzteres ist wohl vor allem dann der Fall, wenn das zugehörige Subjekt ein Angehöriger des hohen Klerus oder Adels ist.[99] Da Bernward aber laut seiner Vita in den mechanischen Künsten erfahren war, kann man in diesem Fall nur schwer entscheiden, welche Übersetzung richtig ist. Es ist also nicht eindeutig, ob Bernward das Kreuz nur gestiftet oder ob er auch an dessen Herstellung beteiligt war.[100] Zudem ist Bernward hier in seiner Funktion als Bischof genannt. Die Platzierung des eigenen Namens auf der Rückseite der Christusinschrift sagt einiges über das Selbstverständnis des Bischofs aus. Allerdings steht Bernward in seinem Amt auch in der Nachfolge Christi.[101]

Bei vielen *me fecit*-Inschriften sind zusätzlich Berufsbezeichnungen oder eine eindeutige Kennzeichnung der Tätigkeit angegeben, so dass man laut Claussen davon ausgehen kann, dass die Inschrift von Bernward wohl zu den Ausnahmen gehört.[102] Er stellt fest, dass in einigen Fällen zunächst offen bleiben muss, ob ein Stifter oder ein Künstler gemeint sei. Als Beispiel nennt er hier das entweder in der zweiten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts oder nach 1209 entstandenen Imerward-Kreuz[103] aus dem Braunschweiger Dom, das in romanischer Minuskel mit IMERVARD // ME FECIT[104] auf den beiden Gürtelenden des Gewandes Christi bezeichnet ist.[105] Claussen stellt für Zusätze

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im Kruzifix enthaltenen Reliquien inschriftlich aufgeführt. Hierbei sind auch Nachträge aus dem 12. Jahrhundert angeführt. Siehe: Beuckers 2009, 324 mit Abb.

98 Claussen 1985, 264.

99 Wulf 2003, 204; Wulf 2008, 7.

100 Wulf 2008, 7. Zu den handwerklichen Künsten Bernwards siehe: Vita sancti Bernwardi, c.1, 276: „Et quamquam vivacissimo igne animi in omni liberali scientia deflagraret, nichilominus tamen in levioribus artibus quas mechanicas vocant studium impertivit. In scribendo vero adprime enituit, picturam etiam limate exercuit, fabrili quoque scientia et arte clusoria omnique structura, ut in plerisque aedificiis, quae pompatico decore composuit, post quoque claruit."

101 Beuckers 2009, 324.

102 Claussen 1985, 264.

103 Labusiak 2009, 348, 349 mit Abb. Das aus Eichenholz bestehende Kreuz hat eine Höhe von 277 und eine Breite von 266 Zentimetern.

104 Zur Inschrift siehe: Boockmann 1993, 32 f. Nr. 21 und Abb. 19; Dietl 2009, Bd. 4, 1841, Kat. Nr. B 56. Die Buchstabenhöhe der Inschrift beträgt 1,5 Zentimeter.

105 In der entsprechenden Fußnote will Claussen seine Aussage gleich wieder revidieren: „Die Formulierung, daß das Werk seinen Urheber selbst nennt, me fecit, spricht allerdings für eine Künstlersignatur." (Claussen 1985, 264 u. Anm. 8). Für Dietl und Legner handelt es sich bei Imervard um einen Künstler: Dietl 2009, Bd. 4, 1841; Legner 2009, 203. Andrea Boockmann und Thomas Labusiak halten sowohl einen Künstler/Schnitzer als auch Stifter/Auftraggeber für möglich: Boockmann 1993, 32; Labusiak 2009, 348.

bei Künstlerinschriften drei Kritierien auf: Berufs- oder Standesbezeichnung, beigefügtes Bild oder der Inhalt der Inschrift unterscheidet zwischen Stifter und Künstler. Die von ihm hierzu aufgeführten Beispiele sind plausibel. Aber das Argument, das die Position einer Namensinschrift direkt am Werkstück, das Werk seinen Schöpfer direkt nenne, kann nicht überzeugen, wie später zu zeigen sein wird.[106] Claussen kommt zu dem Schluss, dass *me fecit*-Inschriften, die nur einen Namenszusatz haben, für eine Stifterinschrift nicht denkbar sind:[107] „Bis auf wenige Ausnahmen sind dagegen Stifterinschriften durch Formulierungen der Auftraggeberteilung (z. B. *fieri fecit*), durch die Erwähnung der Kosten und durch Aufzählung von Beruf und Stand eindeutig von der Künstlersignatur zu trennen. Man darf deshalb in Zweifelsfällen, besonders dann, wenn nichts als der Name das Werk bezeichnet, davon ausgehen, daß sich ein Künstler der Nachwelt überliefert."[108] Tobias Burg erwägt keine Zweifel, dass es sich bei den Formen *N.N. me fecit* und *N.N. fecit* um Signaturen von Bildhauern und Baumeistern handelt.[109]

Robert Favreau hat unter den Stifterinschriften zwei Typen feststellen können, einen, bei dem das Werk im Vordergrund steht und eine, bei denen der Stifter, der das Werk beauftragt hat, im Vordergrund steht. Er stellt hierbei fest, dass die Nennung von Künstlern selten sei und dass die Stifter hingegen das Werk vorziehen.[110] Bei Stifterinschriften hat er vor allem folgende Formulierungen feststellen können: *fieri jussit*, *fecit fieri*, *precepit*, *fecit*.[111] Er führt hierbei auch einige *fecit*-Inschriften von Auftraggebern auf, die außer dem *fecit* nur den Namen und die Bezeichnung (Episcopus) beinhalten.[112] Nur durch zusätzliche Bezeichnungen wird klar, dass es sich nicht um einen Künstler handelt. Wieso sollte es sich aber bei einem Fehlen einer Bezeichnung um einen Künstler handeln? Im Falle eines Stifters wäre das *fecit* als „hat machen lassen" zu übersetzten. Wieso kann dies nicht auch bei *me fecit*-Inschriften der Fall sein? Jacqueline Leclercq-Marx nennt die beiden traditionellen Formulierungen, einmal für den Auftrageber/Stifter *fieri jussit* und für den Künstler *me fecit* oder *fecit hoc*.[113] Der

106 Claussen 1985, 264 f.
107 Claussen 1985, 265.
108 Claussen 1985, 265. Zur Sonderform der „Ego"-Signatur siehe: Claussen 2013. Dort fragt sich Claussen, ob diese nur eine Variante des *me-fecit*-Formulars ist oder ob diese einen besonderen eigenen Einsatz dokumentieren sollen bzw. ob es sich hierbei vielleicht um eigene Stiftungen von Künstlern handelt: Claussen 2013, 80 f. Als Ergebnis kann er feststellen, dass es sich um „eine seltene Sonderform der Signaturpraxis ohne zusätzliche Aussagekraft" handelt: Claussen 2013, 89.
109 Siehe hierzu besonders: Burg 2007, 217–223.
110 Favreau 1992, 682.
111 Favreau 1992, 697.
112 Favreau 1992, 697–701.
113 Leclercq-Marx 2012, 235.

Künstler realisiert das Kunstwerk und schreibt seinen Namen meist mit *me fecit* ein.[114] Favreau ordnet auch die *me fecit*-Inschriften mit einem Namen ohne weiteren Zusatz unter die Künstlerinschriften ein.[115]

Es gibt bei Stifterinschriften auch den Typus, der die Sorge des Stifters zeigt, dass sein Namen mit dem Werk verbunden werden kann, so dass seine Verdienste auch nach dem Tod aufgezeigt werden können.[116] Laut Peter Cornelius Claussen ist eine Künstlersignatur relativ häufig mit einer Fürbitte verbunden.[117] Der Künstler erhofft sich durch seine Leistung wie ein Stifter, dass das gute Werk seiner Seele im Jenseits hilfreich sei. Er sieht sich hierbei zudem nicht nur als Werkzeug des Stifters an, sondern betrachtet seinen Beitrag als Eigenleistung, die vor der Nachwelt und Gott Bestand hat.[118]

Im Gegensatz zu anderen Inschriftentypen wie *Ego N. N. feci* wird bei *N. N. me fecit* „das Werk personifiziert und ihm [eine] Stimme verliehen“[119] Das Werk tritt hier selbst als ein Aktant auf. Inschriften dieser Art haben eine lange Tradition und sind schon in der Antike bekannt. Griechische Bildhauer und Vasenmaler des 6. Jahrhunderts vor Christus haben diese Art der Signatur häufig benutzt.[120] Stifterinschriften bei denen das Werk als Aktant im Mittelalter auftritt, sind besonders eindeutig bei Inschriften wie *N. N. fieri me fecit*.[121] Horst Bredekamp nennt die übliche Formel bei der in Inschriften Ich-Formen den Auftraggeber bezeichnen: *me fieri iussit*.[122] Nach Bredekamp betont „Die Zuspitzung allein auf das ‚ME FECIT‘ […] die Leistung des Schöpfers.“[123]

Ein Beispiel, das gleich zwei Komponenten aufzeigt, ist ein vor 1150 entstandenes Tympanon aus dem ehemaligen Hospital San Lázaro de Estella in Navarra in Spanien (Abb. 9).[124] In der Mitte des nahezu trapezförmigen Steines ist in einem vertieften Quadrat ein Chrismon eingearbeitet. Im umgebenden Rad ist eine Inschrift eingemeißelt. Die Inschrift beginnt oben nach einem Kreuz: IN N[OMIN]E PATRIS ET FILII

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114 Favreau 2001, 52.
115 Favreau 2001, 52 f.
116 Favreau 1992, 712–716.
117 Dies scheint bei seiner Materialbasis der Fall zu sein.
118 Claussen 1985, 265 f.
119 Ploss 1958, 27.
120 Ploss 1958, 28. Siehe auch: Guarducci 1995, Bd. 3, 472, 479–483; Villard 2002.
121 Ploss 1958, 39.
122 Bredekamp 2010, 73.
123 Bredekamp 2013, 95. Zur Ich-Form sprechender und damit handelnder Artefakte siehe: Bredekamp 2013, 99.
124 Heute befindet sich das Tympanon im Museum von Navarra in Pamplona. Unten hat es eine Breite von 126 und oben eine Breite von 73 Zentimetern. Die Höhe beträgt 71, 5 und die Tiefe 16 Zentimeter. Siehe: Rückert 2004, 132 u. Anm. 925; Rückert 2010, 163 Anm. 36.

ET S[PIRI]T[V]S S[AN]C[T]I AMEN. Nach der Anrufung der heilgen Trinität folgt nach einem weiteren Kreuz die Künstlerinschrift: ADELBERTVS ME FECIT.[125]

Abb. 9: Ehemaligen Hospital San Lázaro de Estella in Navarra, Tympanon © Stefan Trinks.

Auf der unten hervorstehenden Leiste des Tympanons wird König García Ramírez el Restaurador (1134–1150) als Stifter eines Weinberges genannt, der wohl als Grundstück für den Bau diente.[126] Links neben des Quadrats befindet sich noch eine weitere Inschrift in zwei Zeilen: AD S[AN]C[TU]M LA[Z]AR/VM. Die obere Zeile ist hierbei die Fortführung der unteren Zeile. Durch diese Inschrift wurde das Relief der Hospitalkirche zugeordnet.[127] Durch die Stifterinschrift wird eindeutig klar, dass es sich bei der

125 Zur Inschrift siehe: Trinks 2013, 107.
126 Die Inschrift lautet: I[N] D[E]I NOMINE A[MEN] [GAR]CIA REX DEDIT ISTA[M] VINEA[M] PRO SVA AN[IMA]. Die Inschrift ist auf alten Bildern noch besser lesbar. Siehe: Rückert 2004, 132 f.; Rückert 2010, 164.
127 Siehe hierzu: Rückert 2004, 132 f. Claudia Rückert hat darauf verwiesen, dass diese Inschrift etwas anders gestaltet ist und vermutet daher, dass sie erst später hinzugefügt wurde: Rückert 2004, 132 f. Tomás Biurrun y Sotil berichtet, dass die Pfarrei San Miguel in Estella das Relief nach dem Abbruch einer Kirche, die ihr unterstand, bekommen hat: Biurrun y Sotil 1936, 354. Rückert mutmaßt, dass das Relief ursprünglich zur Kirche San Miguel gehört habe. Außer der von ihr vermuteten nachträglichen Anbringung der einen Inschrift führt sie noch zwei weitere Hauptgründe an. Zum einen kann in einer Urkunde von 1187 nachgewiesen werden, dass die Kirche von einem königlichen Weinberg umgeben war: Rückert 2004, 133–135. Ferner deutet der Vergleich des Christmons mit dem, das Christus auf dem Tympanon von San Miguel in Händen hält, in die gleiche Richtung: Rückert 2004, 164.

me fecit-Inschrift um eine Künstlerinschrift handelt. Wie Stefan Trinks bemerkt hat, stellt sich der Künstler nicht nur in eine Kette mit der Trinität „und nimmt für sich den denkbar würdigsten Platz in unmittelbarer Nähe zu dem heilsbringenden Kreuz des Chrismon in Anspruch", und setzt sich somit unter das Zeichen des Kreuzes, sondern verwendet hierzu auch noch Buchstaben des selben Formates.[128] Dass man sich nur im Zeichen des Kreuzes rühmen kann, bezieht sich auf die Worte des Apostels Paulus.[129] „Im Schutz des Kreuzes wird bewusst und kalkuliert die denkbar ruhmreichste Platzierung im Sinne eines antikischen Künstlerlobs besetzt."[130] Was zudem sehr für die eigene Überzeugung des Künstlers spricht, ist die Raumaufteilung der Inschrift auf dem Rad. Er nimmt sich die Freiheit heraus, genau die Hälfte des Rades mit seiner Signatur zu belegen. Der Künstler sieht sich also quasi gleichberechtigt zur Heiligen Trinität. Um dies zu erreichen staucht er die Inschrift der Heiligen Trinität und streckt die eigene Künstlerinschrift besonders stark. Es kommt zu einer fast doppelt so breiten Spationierung. Wir haben es hier also ebenfalls mit einem ausgeprägten Künstlerstolz wie bei den italienischen Beispielen zu tun.

Ein genauso zum Thema passendes Beispiel ist das Anfang des 12. Jahrhunderts entstandene Juliana-Relief im Ostsanktuarium des Domes zu Worms (Abb. 10). Das Relief hat drei Inschriften in romanischer Majuskel: die Bildbeischrift IVLIANA, die Künstlerinschrift OTTO / ME / FE/CIT und die Stifterinschrift AD/EL/BR/AHT / MO/NE/TA/RI/VS.[131] Durch die Stifterinschrift ist hier das OTTO ME FECIT eindeutig als Künstlerinschrift anzusehen. Da sich das Relief im Sanktuarium befindet, ist es in einem Raumabschnitt angebracht, der früher für Laien nicht zugänglich war. Das Bildnis ist zudem in Richtung der früheren Altarstelle gerichtet und auch für den heutigen Kirchenbesucher nicht sichtbar. Die Inschriften waren daher nur für einen eingeschränkten Personenkreis sichtbar. Es handelt sich also um einen Fall der *restringierten Präsenz* auf personeller Ebene. So sind die Inschriften im Sanktuarium nur für die dort verkehrenden Kleriker zu sehen.[132]

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128 Trinks 2013, 107. Stefan Trinks benennt nicht ohne Grund das Unterkapitel „Die göttliche Viereinigkeit".

129 Trinks, dessen Aufsatz diese Stelle von Paulus zum Thema in der mittelalterlichen Kunst hat, verweist hier auf Heinrich Klotz, der bereits 1976 hierauf aufmerksam gemacht hat. Im Galaterbrief 6,14 heißt es: „Es liegt mir fern, mich zu rühmen, es sei denn im Zeichen des Kreuzes unseres Herrn." Siehe: Klotz 1976, 304. Dieser Vers fand bereits im Mittelalter durch Augustinus und Anselm von Canterbury eine Auslegung. Siehe hierzu: Trinks 2013, 109 f.

130 Trinks 2013, 110 f.

131 Zu den Inschriften siehe: Kraus 1892, 80 Nr. 174a; Fuchs 1991, 19–21 Nr. 18; Dietl 2009, Bd. 4, 1972, Kat. Nr. B 407. Das Relief hat eine Höhe von 125 Zentimetern. Die Buchstabenhöhe schwankt zwischen 3 und 4,5 Zentimetern. Zur Neudatierung des Juliana-Reliefs und des östlichen Sanktuariums des Domes zu Worms siehe: Untermann/Keil 2010, bes. 16–19. Zu den Wormser Inschriften im Hinblick auf die Topologie der Inschriften siehe auch: Dickmann/Keil/Witschel 2015, 124–127.

132 Siehe hierzu auch: Keil 2014b, 120–122.

Abb. 10: Worms, Dom, östliches Sanktuarium, Juiliana-Relief © Wilfried E. Keil.

Peter Cornelius Claussen verwendet das Juliana-Relief als Beispiel für die Standardformulierung der meist knapp gehaltenen Signatur nördlich der Alpen. Mit einer Formulierung wie OTTO ME FECIT nenne das Werk seinen Meister selbst. Dies hält Claussen bei einer Stifterinschrift für undenkbar.[133] Für ihn sind im Zweifelsfall alle Namen,

133 Claussen 1985, 265. Laut Claussen findet sich die Formulierung *Hoc opus fecit X* südlich der Alpen häufiger: Claussen 1985, 265.

die keinen Hinweis auf eine Stiftung haben, Künstlerinschriften und das besonders wenn es sich um bloße Namen handelt.[134] Andreas Hartmann-Virnich sieht Inschriften dieser Art hingegen anders: „Handelt es sich um isoliert vorkommende Namen, so stellt sich die Frage, ob es sich um die Signatur von Bauführern, Auftraggebern oder Stiftern handelt."[135]

Namensinschriften mit *restringierter Präsenz* an Bauwerken können aus unterschiedlichen Personenkreisen stammen. Häufig werden diese Namen aber mit einem Baumeister in Verbindung gebracht.[136] Es könnte sich aber auch um den Namen eines Steinmetzen oder eines Auftraggebers oder Stifters handeln.

Mit dem HEIMO-Kapitell hatten wir bereits vorhin einen Fall einer bloßen Namensinschrift, bei der es sich aber mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit um die Signatur eines Bildhauers handelt. Ob dies aber immer so vermutet werden kann, lässt sich nur durch weitere Beispiele prüfen.

Am dritten Pfeiler von Westen im Südseitenschiff der Stiftskirche Saint-Ursanne im Jura in der Schweiz befindet sich das sogenannte Burchinus-Kapitell (Abb. 11).

Abb. 11: Saint-Ursanne, ehemalige Stiftskirche, südliches Seitenschiff, BVRCHINVS-Kapitell © Wilfried E. Keil.

134 Claussen 1985, 265; Claussen 1993/1994, 146 Anm. 21.
135 Hartmann-Virnich 2007, 116.
136 Dies ist nicht nur in der alten Forschung wie bei Kraus 1882, 35 Nr. 2 der Fall. Auch in der neueren Forschungen fragen sich z. B. Yves Esquieu und Andreas Hartmann-Virnich, ob die Namen Signaturen von Meistern sind: Esquieu/Hartmann-Virnich 2007, 353.

Zwischen den meist in Ranken endenden Kelchblättern an den Ecken des Kapitells ist auf der Südseite des Kapitells das Bildnis einer Ganzfigur ausgearbeitet, die in einer einem Kelchblatt ähnlichen Nische steht. Der Kopf ist hierbei überproportional groß und um diesen hat die Person einen stilisierten Haarkranz, bei dem es sich auch um eine Kopfbedeckung handeln könnte.[137] Die Person trägt einen einfachen Rock und hält die Hände vor dem Schoß zusammen. Oberhalb der Figur steht auf der Abakusplatte der Name BVRC•h•INVS.[138] Darüber befindet sich ein Kämpferblock mit vegetabilem Ziermustern. Bis auf das h sind alle Buchstaben Kapitale. Das davor befindliche C hat einen zusätzlichen längsverlaufenden leicht eingeschwungenen Balken. Vor und nach dem h stehen Worttrenner in Punktform. Ein solcher Punkt ist auch innerhalb des h. Dies ist wohl als Betonung der Minuskel h zu verstehen.[139] An der Schräghaste von N und der rechten Haste von V ist jeweils ein Zierpunkt angebracht.[140] Die roten Farbreste in den Vertiefungen der Buchstaben könnten laut Jörg Christoph im Gegensatz zur restlichen Farbfassung noch von der ersten Polychromie stammen.[141] Der Name Burchinus ist wohl auf die dargestellte Person zu beziehen. Es ist aber unklar, ob es sich hierbei um den Namen eines Steinmetzen, Baumeisters oder Auftraggebers handelt.[142] Das h könnte in seiner klein geschriebenen Weise auch auf ein Steinmetzzeichen verweisen. Dann wäre eine Deutung als Steinmetz oder Baumeister wahrscheinlicher. Allerdings darf man wie beim HEIMO-Kapitell das Minuskel-H in einer Majuskelinschrift nicht überbewerten, da dies zu dieser Zeit nicht unüblich war. Die Datierung des Kapitells ist nicht exakt geklärt. Claude Lapaire ist der Meinung, dass es im 11. Jahrhundert entstanden ist und im 12. Jahrhundert in das neu gebaute Südseitenschiff integriert wurde.[143] Das Werkstück würde in diesem Fall um 1100 datieren.[144] Eine solche Datierung wäre auch aus paläographischer Sicht möglich.[145] Das Kapitell befindet sich im Seitenschiff im dunklen Bereich, so dass

137 Claude Lapaire beschreibt die Kopfbedeckung als einen eiförmigen Nimbus der aus dreizehn Strahlen, die kleine Blätter darstellen könnten, besteht: Lapaire 1960, 38.

138 Zur Inschrift siehe auch: Christoph 1984, 115 f. Nr. 53.

139 Jörg Christoph betrachtet zwar die Punkte als Zierpunkte, zieht aber keine weiteren Schlüsse daraus: Christoph 1984, 115.

140 Christoph 1984, 115. Die Buchstabenhöhe beträgt zwischen vier und fünf Zentimetern.

141 Christoph 1984, 115.

142 So auch Christoph 1984, 115. Lapaire ist der Meinung, dass die Inschrift vielleicht den Namen eines Bildhauers bezeichnet: Lapaire 1964, 5.

143 Lapaire 1960, 38, 66, 177 f.

144 Christoph 1984, 115. Der Bau entstand unter den Reformkanonikern zwischen 1095 und 1120. Siehe: Lapaire 1960, 177. Der Bau des 12. Jahrhunderts wurde spätestens 1210 vollendet. Siehe: Lapaire 1960, 178. François Maurer-Kuhn erinnern gewisse Formen an das 11. und frühe 12. Jahrhundert und zudem ist er der Meinung, dass sich das Burchinus-Kapitell und die anderen Kapitelle des Langhauses der Stilkritik entziehen: Maurer-Kuhn 1971, 259.

145 Christoph 1984, 115 f. So finden sich z. B. die Zierpunkte an den Hasten des N und V seit der 2. Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts in Freskeninschriften. Siehe: Christoph 1984, 115.

man es auch heute kaum wahrnimmt. Wie die ursprüngliche Position im Vorgängerbau war, sei dahingestellt.

Ein anderes Phänomen sind Namensinschriften, die in Wandoberflächen eingehauen sind. An den Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts entstandenen Apsiden der Kollegiatskirche in Neuchâtel in der Schweiz[146] befinden sich von den Sockeln bis unter die Rundbogenfriese unter dem Kranzgesims immer wieder die Namen GUIDO und WIEO (Abb. 12).[147]

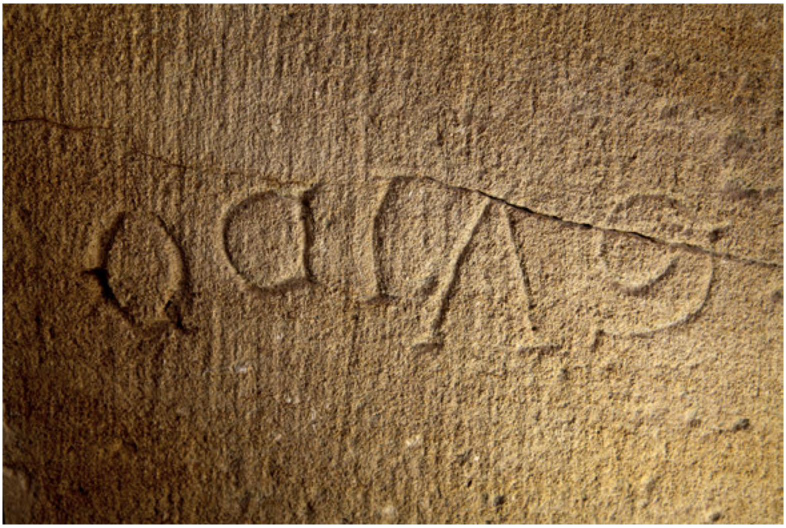

Abb. 12: Neuchâtel, ehemalige Stiftskirche, mittlere Apside, 1. Geschoss, Inschrift „GVIDO" © Wilfried E. Keil.

Der Name GUIDO kommt hier in zwei Typen mit wiederum mehreren Untertypen vor.[148] Das WIEO ist meist einheitlich, findet sich dafür aber auch in der Kurzform WI. Beide Namensinschriften kommen richtig herum und auf dem Kopf stehend und GUIDO auch vertikal vor. Wer mit diesen Namen gemeint ist, konnte bisher noch nicht herausgefunden werden.[149] In älteren Untersuchungen waren nur dreißig Namensin-

146 Courvoisier 1955, 77.

147 Jean Courvoisier erwähnt in dem Denkmalinventar nur den Namen GUIDO: Courvoisier 1955, 81.

148 Christoph will hier zwei Varianten mit GVIDO und GUIGO erkennen. Dies trifft aber nach neueren Untersuchungen nicht zu. Bei seiner zweiten Variante will er in dem unzialen D ein G erkennen. Zu den Namen siehe auch: Christoph 1984, 136 f. Nr. 60.

149 Dietl nennt mit Fragezeichen Steinmetz und Baumeister: Dietl 2009, Bd. 4, 1971, Kat. Nr. B 405.

schriften bekannt.[150] Bei den letzten Sanierungsmaßnahmen konnten um die fünfzig Namensinschriften direkt an der Wand vom Verfasser dokumentiert werden.[151]
Bei der bereits erwähnten Bauuntersuchung am Südostturm in Worms konnte eine weitere Namensinschrift dokumentiert werden, die als verschollen galt. Im fünften Geschoss befindet sich eine bisher als HERICKE gelesene Inschrift im Wandfeld des Nordwestfensters in der siebten Quaderlage direkt in den Stein rechts der Lisene in der unteren rechten Ecke auf dem Kopf stehend eingehauen (Abb. 13, 14).[152]

Abb. 13: Worms, Dom, Südostturm, 5. Geschoss, Inschrift „HERICIIE" © Wilfried E. Keil.

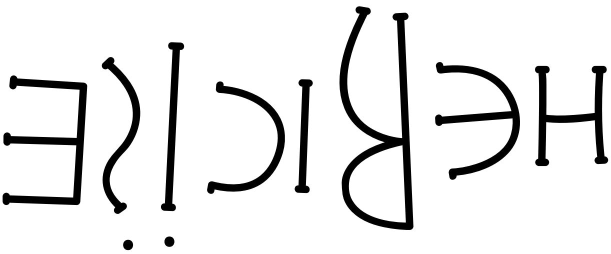

Abb. 14: Umzeichnung © Aquilante De Filippo.

150 Christoph nennt insgesamt 30 Namensinschriften: Christoph 1984, 136. Judith Zierer zählt in ihrer Lizentiatsarbeit 61 Namensinschriften am Außenbau und vier im Inneren auf: Zierer 1994, 67 f., 72–74. Hierbei zählt sie allerdings auch einzelne Buchstaben als Inschriften, die sie als Abkürzungen dieser ansieht.
151 Eine Auswertung wird an anderer Stelle publiziert werden. Herzlich gedankt sei Christian de Reynier (Archéologue du bâti, Office de la protection des Monumentes et des Sites, Neuchâtel) für die freundliche Genehmigung der Dokumentation während der Restaurierungsmaßnahmen 2012/2013.
152 Zur Inschrift siehe: Fuchs 1991, 21 Nr. 19; De Filippo/Keil 2009, 209–212; Dietl 2009, Bd. 4, 1971, Kat. Nr. B 405; Keil 2014b, 130–135.

Sie hat eine Höhe von elf und eine Breite von 26 Zentimetern. Die Schriftart ist eine romanische Majuskel mit unterschiedlichen Buchstabengrößen und nicht einheitlicher Linie. Besonders hervorzuheben ist die unterschiedliche Schreibweise der beiden E. Das erste E ist eine Unziale und das zweiter eine Kapitale. Die *restringierte Präsenz* der Inschrift wird durch die Beschreibung in dem Wormser Band der „Deutschen Inschriften" deutlich. Dort wird die Inschrift als nicht mehr auffindbar bezeichnet mit dem Hinweis, dass in dieser Höhe innen umfangreiche Restaurierungsmaßnahmen vorgenommen wurden und die Außenwände nicht zugänglich seien.[153] Die erstmals angeführte Vermutung, dass es sich bei der Inschrift um den Namen eines Baumeisters handelt, wurde später teilweise übernommen. Der Name wurde „vom Grundwort Eric/Erich/Ericke oder bei Verlesung über HE(N)RICKE von Heinrich" abgeleitet.[154]

Inschriften wie HERICKE würden nach Peter Cornelius Claussen zur kürzeren Form der Künstlerinschrift gehören, die nur den Namen wiedergibt. Der Anbringungsort in nicht zugänglicher Höhe wirft allerdings die Frage der Sichtbarkeit auf. Im Falle einer Künstlerinschrift kann diese nur sehr schwer bzw. überhaupt nicht im Sinne des Künstlerlobs oder des Künstlerstolzes verstanden werden.

Bei Inschriften mit einem Namen könnte es sich nicht nur um eine Signatur bzw. Künstlerinschrift eines Bau- oder Werkmeisters handeln, sondern auch um den Namen eines Steinmetzen. Die uneinheitliche Schreibweise und das potentielle Fehlen einzelner Buchstaben von HERICKE könnte ein Indiz sein, dass es sich bei dem Schreiber/Steinmetzen um einen Analphabeten gehandelt haben könnte, der nur seinen eigenen Namen in nicht korrekter Weise aus seinem Bildgedächtnis einhauen konnte. Es könnte sich aber auch um einen Steinmetzzeichen-Sammelstein handeln, bei dem sich alle Steinmetzzeichen des Bauwerkes oder des Bauabschnittes auf einem Stein befinden. Im Falle der Inschrift HERICKE sind im entsprechenden Bauabschnitt, der das fünfte Geschoss umfasst, keine Steinmetzzeichen zuzuordnen, da in diesem überhaupt keine Steinmetzzeichen vorkommen. Diese Tatsache hat auf Grund der unterschiedlichen Schreibweise der beiden E noch zu einer anderen Interpretationsmöglichkeit geführt. Es könnte sich um eine Art gemeinsame „Unterschrift" der Steinmetzen handeln. Die einzelnen Steinmetzzeichen würden zusammen einen gemeinsamen Namen bilden. Dies wäre zumindest eine Erklärung dafür, dass in diesem Geschoss keine Steinmetzzeichen vorkommen. Allerdings wäre dies nach der bisherigen Forschung im Gegensatz zu Steinmetzzeichen-Sammelsteinen ein singulärer Fall.[155]

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153 Fuchs 1991, 21. Zuvor wurde die Inschrift in der Forschung dreimal erwähnt: Wörner 1887, 157; Kraus 1892, 80 Nr. 174; Boos 1897, 272.
154 Fuchs 1991, 21.
155 Zu den Möglichkeiten siehe auch: De Filippo/Keil 2009, 210 f.; Keil 2014b, 131–134.

Vielleicht wird aber mit der Namensinschrift das Ende eines Bauabschnitts markiert und somit der Bauherr schriftlich festgehalten.[156] Der Bauabschnitt mit der Inschrift HERICKE am Südostturm des Domes zu Worms lässt sich anhand der dort verwendeten Kapitelle stilistisch in das zweite Viertel des 13. Jahrhunderts datieren. In Worms wurde 1217 Heinrich II. von Saarbrücken zum Bischof gewählt, der 1234 verstarb. Seine Grabplatte ist nicht mehr erhalten, aber die Inschrift überliefert: HENRICVS EP(ISCOPV)S SECVNDVS.[157] Der ähnliche Name und die passende zeitliche Übereinstimmung, lässt die Möglichkeit zu, dass in diesem Fall der Auftraggeber seinen Namen im Bauabschnitt hat verewigen lassen. In der Gotik wurden Markierungen von Bauabschnitten durch Namen und Wappen der Bischöfe und Äbte an Schlusssteinen üblich.[158] Die Inschrift HERICKE lässt sich bei genauer Betrachtung auch anders lesen. Beim ersten Teil HERIC handelt es sich um die Abkürzung des Namen HENRICVS und die Formen, die bisher als K gelesen wurden, können als zwei senkrechte Balken gedeutet werden, die eine römische Zwei darstellen und somit für das SECVNDVS stehen. Das zweite E wurde bewusst als Kapitale geschrieben, da es sich um die Abkürzung von EPISCOPVS handelt. Durch diese Lesart ist auch die unterschiedliche Schreibweise der beiden E zu erklären.[159]

Allgemein ist bei meinen Untersuchungen aufgefallen, dass sich bloße Namensinschriften besonders im Osten von Kirchenbauten und an das Sanktuarium umgebende Mauern oder angrenzenden Bauteilen auftreten. Dies ist sowohl Außen als auch Innen der Fall. Es fragt sich, wer an solchen Stellen seinen Namen einschreiben konnte oder durfte? Im Innenraum, besonders in der Nähe des Altars dürfte dies nicht unbedingt einfach gewesen sein. Was war das Ziel des Einschreibens von Namen in Kirchenwände, vor allem an den östlichen Bauteilen?

Robert Favreau hat die doppelte Funktion von Inschriften mit dem Namen des Stifters eines Werkes festgestellt: Es geht hierbei nicht nur um die Memoria, sondern auch um das Erbitten von Fürbitte.[160] Dies sieht er ebenfalls für Inschriften mit den Namen von Künstlern. Es geht zum einen um den persönlichen Ruhm und um die Bitte nach Fürbitte.[161] Für Favreau hat die Epigraphik zwei Eigenschaften im Hinblick auf die Zeit. Zum einen sind die Inschriften für ihn publik, also einer Öffentlichkeit

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156 Bereits Esquieu und Hartmann-Virnich haben im Zusammenhang mit Namensinschriften in der Provence vermutet, dass es sich um die Kennzeichnung einer Bauphase oder eines Bauabschnittes handeln könnte: Esquieu/Hartmann-Virnich 2007, 353.
157 Kraus 1894, 79 Nr. 172; Fuchs 1991, 40 Nr. 33.
158 Siehe hierzu auch: Keil 2014b, 134 f.
159 Diesen Hinweis verdanke ich Andrea Jördens.
160 Favreau 1989, 215.
161 Favreau 1989, 217.

zugänglich und sie sind wegen des Materials von Dauer.[162] Ersteres trifft bei Inschriften mit *restringierter Präsenz* in vielen Fällen allerdings nicht zu.

Das Einschreiben von Namen lässt vor allem bei Inschriften mit *restringierter Präsenz* noch eine andere Deutung als die Memoria und das Erbitten von Fürbitten zu. Im Alten Testament, aber auch in der Offenbarung des Neuen Testaments finden sich mehrfach Belege dafür, dass Gott über ein Verzeichnis verfügt, in das alle Lebenden eingetragen werden. Aus diesem „Buch des Lebens" kann man auf Grund seiner begangenen Sünden gestrichen werden.[163] Beim Jüngsten Gericht wird dann das Buch des Lebens geöffnet und jeder wird nach seinen Taten und Werken gerichtet.[164] Wer nicht im Buch des Lebens steht, kommt in die Hölle.[165] Damit das Werk, hier das Kunstwerk, überhaupt mit einem Namen verbunden werden kann, wurde dieses mit dem Namen des Urhebers oder Auftraggebers versehen. Es ist also auch möglich, das Einschreiben der Namen eschatologisch zu deuten. Hierbei spielte der Wunsch nach einer möglichst großen Nähe zum Altar eine Rolle, da dort die Realpräsenz Gottes bei der Euchristiefeier gegeben ist. Falls die Inschrift für einen Kleriker sichtbar war, spielt zusätzlich auch noch der Gedanke der Memoria eine Rolle. Der Name und dadurch auch die damit verbundene Person finden Eingang in das Gebet. Der Grund des Eingeschrieben-Seins in das Buch des Lebens wird hierbei ausschlaggebend gewesen sein. Es wäre möglich, dass folgende Vorstellung bestand: Je näher der eigene Name am Altar steht, desto wahrscheinlicher ist es, dass man nicht aus dem Buch des Lebens gestrichen wird. Dieser Gedanke kann man aus dem Bestattungswesen und der damit zusammenhängenden Memoria erklären. Man hatte den Wunsch möglichst nahe bei den Heiligen beerdigt zu sein, um diese beim Jüngsten Gericht als Fürsprecher zu haben. Da früher die Heiligen meistens unter dem Altar bestattet wurden, ist der Gedanke der Nähe zum Altar also hier analog dem Wunsch eines Bestattungsortes *ad sanctos* zu verstehen.[166]

Ein weiteres Beispiel gegen die These, dass es sich bei bloßen Namen um Künstlerinschriften handelt, befindet sich auf der Empore des nördlichen Seitenschiffes in der Kathedrale von Santiago de Compostela. In räumlicher Nähe zum Pórtico de la Gloria ist auf dem Kämpfer eines Kapitells der Name GVDESTEO eingemeißelt (Abb. 15). Nach Claussen müsste es sich hierbei also um eine Künstlerinschrift handeln. Der Name wurde aber mit dem Erzbischof von Santiago Pedro Gudestéiz (1167–1173) iden-

162 Favreau 1989, 232.
163 Siehe hierzu z. B. Ps 69, 29 und Offb 3, 5.
164 Offb 20, 12–13.
165 Offb 20, 15. Dies wird immer wieder vorher angedeutet, z. B. in Offb 17, 8.
166 Zu dieser Deutung grundlegend: Keil 2014b, 135–137.

tifiziert.[167] Der Name markiert hier also einen Bauwechsel,[168] bzw. bezeichnet einen Bauabschnitt.

Abb. 15: Santiago de Compostela, Kathedrale, Nordempore, Kapitell, Inschrift „GVDESTEO" © Stefan Trinks.

167 Caamaño Martínez 1962, 60; Trinks 2013, 112. Serafín Moralejo Álvarez hat die Interpretation abgelehnt, da Prälaten üblicherweise ihren Vornamen benutzten und nicht ihren patronymischen Namen. Er hat sich gefragt, ob es sich nicht um eine Memorialinschrift für den 1069 als Märtyrer gestorbenen Bischof Gudesteo handeln könnte. Für ihn ist die Inschrift jedenfalls mehr als der Name eines Steinmetzen: Moralejo Álvarez 1983, 231. Allerdings liefert Moralejo keine plausible Begründung, wieso man den Namen von Gudestus, der von 1067 bis 1069 Bischof in Iria Flavia, dem früheren Bistumssitz der Diözese, war, gerade an einem Kämpfer eines Kapitells verewigen sollte. Wenn die Inschrift die Funktion einer Memorialinschrift gehabt haben sollte, hätte man höchstwahrscheinlich einen anderen Platz gewählt. Die Interpretation ist daher eher unwahrscheinlich.

168 Siehe hierzu: Trinks 2013, 112 f. Der Westbau ist unter drei verschiedenen Erzbischöfen entstanden, wovon Pedro Gudestéiz der erste war. Siehe: Rüffer 2010, 200. Im gleichen Jahr als Pedro Gudestéiz Erzbischof wurde, wurde Meister Matthäus als oberster Bauverwalter der Jakobuskirche von König Ferdinand II. (gest. 1188) eingesetzt. Siehe: Rüffer 2010, 181 f. Meister Matthäus ist zudem durch die Inschrift auf der Unterseite des Türsturzes am Pórtico de la Gloria für den 1. April 1188 belegt. Er habe den Aufbau des Portals von der Grundsteinlegung an betreut. Siehe: Rüffer 2010, 185–188.

In anderen Fällen geben Namensinschriften wohl die Namen von Steinmetzen bzw. Werkmeistern wieder. In der ehemaligen Zisterzienserklosterkirche Otterberg in der Pfalz befindet sich auf dem westlichen Gurtbogen des ersten östlichen Joches des Mittelschiffes auf dem ersten nördlichen Gurtbogenstein eine Inschrift in romanischer Majuskel mit dem Namen HARTMUT (Abb. 16). [169] Der Name ist ungefähr acht Zentimeter hoch und 50 Zentimeter breit.[170] Das A ist ein spiegelverkehrtes R, das einen an beiden Seiten weitergeführten Deckbalken aufweist. Auch bei dieser Inschrift ist die Sichtbarkeit eingeschränkt. Wenn man in unmittelbarer Nähe vor dem Pfeiler steht, egal ob frontal oder in Schrägsicht, ist die Sichtbarkeit der Inschrift durch die darunter liegende Kämpferplatte nicht gegeben bzw. eingeschränkt. Erst wenn man sich weiter entfernt, lässt sich die Inschrift gut erkennen. Der Anfangsbuchstabe H weist eine besondere Ausgestaltung auf. Er hat einen verdoppelten Mittelbalken. Der untere hat in der Mitte eine aufsteigende Nase und der obere weicht an dieser Stelle mit einem Bogen aus. Im dazugehörigen Bauabschnitt befinden sich mehrere Steinmetzzeichen in der gleichen Form wie dieses H.[171] Hieraus kann man schließen, dass es sich bei dem Steinmetzzeichen H um eine Abkürzung der Namensinschrift HARTMUT handelt. HARTMUT ist demnach wohl die Signatur eines Steinmetzen oder Werkmeisters.

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169 Nach der Zählung von Michael Werling Gurtbogen B8/C8, Richtung B8: Werling 1986, 54 Abb. 22; 163 f. Abb. 39 u. 181, Tafel 1. Die Bauphase fällt nach Werling in Abschnitt III/A, der 1211 bis 1219 entstanden ist: Werling 1986, 93. Leider liegt gerade dieser Gurtbogen nicht als Planmaterial in der Arbeit von Werling vor. Edmund Hausen fragte sich, ob mit dem Namen der Architekt der für ihn dort beginnenden frühgotischen Bauphase genannt sein könnte. Er widersteht nach Selbstaussage trotzdem der Versuchung, den ersten gotischen Architekten nach diesem Namen zu nennen: Hausen 1936, 48. Dietl hält einen Steinmetzen oder Baumeister für möglich: Dietl 2009, Bd. 4, 1914, Kat. Nr. B 254. Zur Inschrift siehe auch: Keil 2014b, 125 f.

170 Die Maße wurden anhand der Umzeichnung von Michael Werling und dem dort angegebenen Maßstab ermittelt. Siehe: Werling 1986, 54 Abb. 22.

171 Bei Werling hat dieses Steinmetzzeichen die Nummer 197: Werling 1986, Titelbild; 46 Abb. 16; 78 Abb. 32; 79; 145 Abb. 45. Das Steinmetzzeichen findet sich z. B. im zweiten östlichen Joch im Gewände des westlichen Obergadenfensters der Nordwand (B6/B8 nach Werling). Siehe: Werling 1986, 267, Tafel 80.

Abb. 16: Otterberg, ehem. Klosterkirche, Gurtbogen zum nördlichen Seitenschiff, Inschrift „HARTMUT“ © Wilfried E. Keil.

An der südlichen Apsisflanke in der Prioratskirche Saint-Raphaël in Solérieux im Département Drôme steht auf dem Quader einer Lisene in einer Höhe von 1,82 Metern die Inschrift bARbA / RINUS ME FECIT (Abb. 17).[172] Die Inschrift ist im Stil epigraphischer Steinmetzzeichen gehalten.[173] Das ME wurde in der Forschung bisher nicht kritisch hinterfragt. Es befindet sich zwischen den beiden Zeilen zwischen dem zweiten b von Barbarinus und dem E von FECIT. Es könnte sich nicht nur durch seine kleinere Größe und seinen Anbringungsort, sondern auch durch die Buchstabenformen um eine spätere Zutat handeln.

172 Die Höhenangabe hat als Grundlage das heutige Bodenniveau und wurde vom Verfasser gemessen. Die Inschrift wurde bisher in der Forschung leider recht unterschiedlich und wiederholt falsch wiedergegeben. Die Umzeichnung von Esquieu ist nicht korrekt: Esquieu/Hartmann-Virnich 2007, 333 Abb. 2, Nr. 14. Inkorrekte Umzeichnungen sind wohl auch der Grund für die unterschiedliche Wiedergabe in der Forschung: Barruol 1992, 331: bARbA / RINI ME FECIT; Esquieu/Hartmann-Virnich 2007, 343: BARBARIN(VS) ME FECIT; dies., 351: bARbARINI III ME FECIT; dies., 355: BARBARINUS ME FECIT; Hartmann-Virnich 2007, 117 (im Text): bARbA/RINI II FECIT und 117 (Bildunterschrift von Abb. 21): bARbARIN(us) M(e) FECIT; Dietl 2009, Bd. 4, 1947, Kat.-Nr. B 346: BARBA/RINVS FECIT / ME. Die Umzeichnung von Michèle Bois bei Bois/Desaye/Mège, 1993, 82 Abb. 6 ist hingegen nahezu exakt.

173 Dies hat bereits Hartmann-Virnich festgestellt: Hartmann-Virnich 2007, 117. Esquieu und Hartmann-Virnich führen die Inschrift unter den Signaturen als Mischform von Steinmetzzeichen und Inschriften auf: Esquieu/Hartmann-Virnich 2007, 343.

Abb. 17: Solérieux, Saint-Raphaël, südliche Apsisflanke, Innen, Inschrift „bARbA / RINUS ME FECIT“ © Wilfried E. Keil.

Die Inschrift wurde in der Forschung als „deutlich sichtbar“ bezeichnet.[174] Die Wand ist heute weiß getüncht. Es ist nicht klar, ob sie dies bereits früher war. Im heutigen Zustand ist die Inschrift nur für eine Person gut sichtbar, die ihren Blick auf Inschriften geschult hat. Je nach Lichteinfall ist die Inschrift unterschiedlich gut zu erkennen.[175] Falls die Inschrift früher jedoch farbig gefasst war, war sie sehr gut sichtbar, da sie sich in Blickhöhe befindet. Es würde sich dann nicht mehr um eine Inschrift mit *restringierter Präsenz* handeln.

Bereits Michèle Bois hat auf darauf verwiesen, dass links von der Inschrift auf dem Quader das Steinmetzzeichen b eingehauen ist.[176] Er hat auch angemerkt, dass die Schrift wie die Steinmetzzeichen des Bauwerkes gestaltet sind. Das b ist eine Minuskel und das N ist verkehrt herum eingehauen. Das U hat eine Art Kastenform und ist unten leicht gerundet. Das S ähnelt hingegen dem F.[177] Für Guy Barruol könnte Barbarinus der Name des Architekten oder des Bauleiters bzw. Werkmeisters gewesen

174 Hartmann-Virnich 2007, 117.
175 Das hier wiedergegebene Foto entstand unter extremen Streiflicht.
176 Bois/Desaye/Mège, 1993, 82. Dort auch die Maße: Der Quader ist 29 Zentimeter hoch und 63 Zentimeter breit. Die Buchstabenhöhe der ersten Zeile schwankt zwischen 7 und 12 Zentimetern und die der zweiten zwischen 5 und 9. Das ME hingegen hat nur eine Höhe von 2,5 Zentimetern.
177 Bois/Desaye/Mège 1993, 82 f.

sein.[178] Hartmann-Virnich legt sich bei isoliert vorkommenden Namensinschriften zu Recht nicht fest. Dies können für ihn Signaturen von Bauführern, Auftraggebern oder Stiftern sein.[179] Auf Grund der Gestalt der Inschrift wurde vermutet, dass es sich um den Namen eines Werkmeisters handeln könnte.[180] Der Name Barbarus wurde häufig für Fremde benutzt. In den Urkunden der Templerkommende von Richerenches finden sich 1136 unter den Gründern Petrus Barbarini und sein Bruder Willelmus. 1171 ist einer der beiden Brüder oder eine Person mit gleichem Namen gemeinsam Zeuge mit Pons von Solérieux. 1138 hat ein Mönch aus Montségur namens Barbarinus ein Landstück bei Recherenches gestiftet. Im gleichen Jahr verließen fünf Personen, darunter auch ein Hugues de Montségur, die Kommende Richerenches und hinterließen ihren Besitz.[181] Da Saint-Raphaël vom Kapitel der Kathedrale von Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux abhängig war,[182] konnte dies nur mit der Zustimmung des Bischofs von Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux erfolgen. Barbarinus hat für sein Seelenheil die Templer verlassen. Es wird sich bei diesem Barbarinus wohl auch um denjenigen handeln, der in Solérieux mit der Inschrift verewigt ist. Er hat den Bau der Apsis gefördert, entweder als Werkmeister oder als Stifter der Arbeiter.[183] Da die Inschrift wirkt, als ob sie aus epigraphischen Steinemetzzeichen zusammengesetzt ist, sind verschiedene Annahmen möglich. Das in gleicher Art eingehauene kleine b auf dem Quader der Inschrift könnte auf eine Abkürzung des Namens hindeuten. Das Steinmetzzeichen wäre in diesem Fall eine Abkürzung einer Namensinschrift. Zudem findet sich das Zeichen Innen an der Apsis auch auf anderen Steinen. Der Name eines Steinmetzen hätte eventuell den Zusatz eines ME gehabt. Allerdings könnte das ME, wie bereits erwähnt, auch nachträglich eingehauen worden sein. Das A findet sich ebenfalls unter den umliegenden Steinmetzzeichen. Falls es sich bei dem Namen um einen Stifter handeln sollte, wäre die Verwendung von epigraphischen Steinmetzzeichen zum Schreiben einer Inschrift höchst außergewöhnlich. Man müsste sich dann bei allen Namen in Form von Steinmetzzeichen fragen, ob es sich nicht doch um einen Stifter handeln könnte bzw. ob dann Steinmetzzeichen auch eine Abkürzung von Stifternamen sein könnten. Dies würde zu einer komplett neuen zusätzlichen Interpretation von Steinmetzzeichen führen. Steinmetzzeichen könnte man demnach teilweise auch als Ehrenzeichen von Stiftern interpretieren. Dies wirft generelle Fragen über

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178 Barruol 1992, 331.

179 Hartmann-Virnich 2007, 116.

180 Esquieu/Hartmann-Virnich 2007, 353. Dietl sieht in Barbarinus einen Steinmetz: Dietl 2009, Bd. 4, 1947.

181 Bois/Desaye/Mège 1993, 83.

182 Barruol 1992, 331.

183 Bois/Desaye/Mège 1993, 83. Diese und eine andere Inschrift am Bauwerk zeigen, dass die Templer nicht gegen den Bau interveniert haben. Siehe: Bois/Desaye/Mège 1993, 86.

die Funktion der Steinmetzzeichen auf.[184] Allerdings gibt es auch noch eine andere Möglichkeit für eine Inschrift in Form epigraphischer Steinmetzzeichen. Vielleicht war gerade kein auf Inschriften spezialisierter Handwerker am Bau beteiligt, so dass man einen normalen Steinmetz dazu veranlasste, den Namen in Form von Steinmetzzeichen einzuhauen. Die Urkunden und die Inschriften würden in diesem Zusammenhang dann entweder einen handwerklich qualifizierten Laienmönch oder einen Kleriker als Stifter erwarten. Diese Möglichkeiten müssen an anderer Stelle nochmals genauer beleuchtet werden. Üblicherweise hatten Templerritter keinen Besitz. Vielleicht gehörte Barbarinus in einer anderen Form des Ordens an, z. B. unter den *Donatres*.

Bei einer *me fecit*-Inschrift muss es sich also nicht zwingend um einen Künstler handeln. Mit dieser Formulierung kann auch ein Stifter oder ein Auftraggeber wie ein Bischof verewigt sein. Verborgene Signaturen können im Gegensatz zu sichtbaren Signaturen nicht dem Ruhm des Künstlers und des Auftraggebers dienen. Die Beispiele mit Künstlerstolz sind meistens gut sichtbar an einer Fassade angebracht und die mit Demut liegen eher verborgen. In solchen Fällen ist eine andere Motivation, nämlich die der Memoria oder des Eingeschrieben-Seins im Buch des Lebens anzunehmen. Es kommt allerdings auch auf die Art der *restringierten Präsenz* an. Die Inschrift des Bildhauers Arnau Cadell ist nur für einen eingeschränkten Betrachterkreis sichtbar. Es handelt sich also um eine Inschrift mit *restringierter Präsenz* auf personeller Ebene und trotzdem um ein Künstlerlob.

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184 Die veraltete These, dass es sich bei Steinmetzzeichen nur um Zeichen zur Abrechnung im Stücklohn handelt, geistert leider bisweilen immer noch in der Forschung umher. Zu neuen Forschungen siehe: Bianchi 1997; Reveyron 2003; Dionigi 2007; Esquieu/Hartmann-Virnich 2007; Hartmann-Virnich 2007.

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Rebecca R. Benefiel

Urban and Suburban Attitudes to Writing on Walls? Pompeii and Environs

Inhabitants of the Roman Empire encountered text in a material way on a frequent basis. Those who lived in Roman cities were surrounded by writing, from the formal inscriptions on stone that spoke of euergetism or civic honors to public notices that took a less costly form, such as the painted inscriptions that announced candidates running for public office or the details of gladiatorial games. Stone inscriptions are found in towns across the Empire, but since painted inscriptions were ephemeral, sometimes whitewashed away and often fading from exposure, only in Pompeii can we come to appreciate the ubiquity of these public notices.[1]

I am interested in the people living among these monumental texts and the decidedly non-monumental writings that they created. The site of Pompeii has preserved a city full of these non-official, spontaneous messages that were created by the general population, often called graffiti.[2] These handwritten messages convey the thoughts and interests of the city's inhabitants and could be scratched into the wall-plaster that covered buildings, inside and out, by anyone who had a sharp implement and a desire to express himself. The central question I would like to pose in this chapter is: Was this phenomenon of writing on the walls primarily an urban practice that occurred mostly in Roman cities? Or did it extend to other settings as well?

I begin by briefly discussing ancient graffiti in Pompeii, since that is where the bulk of our evidence comes from, and then offer two useful contexts for comparison: the villa San Marco in Stabiae and the so-called Villa of Poppaea, or Villa A, in nearby Oplontis. Both are suburban villas that have been excavated nearly in their entirety

1 For the vast range of epigraphic material on display in a Roman town, see Corbier 2006. See also the chapters in the recent volume edited by Gareth Sears, Peter Keegan, and Ray Laurence (Sears/Keegan/Laurence 2013), especially Corbier's chapter, "Writing in Roman Public Space" (Corbier 2013). Cf. also Ma 2012 and Cooley 2012. Other information might be painted for public consumption as well, e.g. notice of a lost horse (CIL IV 3864 and 9948). The *Fasti Antiates* and the *Fasti Praenestini* furthermore present large painted inscriptions of the Roman calendar, with the days of each month and festival days represented (cf. Degrassi 1963). These were likely displayed on the town forum. For more on the painted political campaign posters of Pompeii, see Castrén 1975, Franklin 1980, Franklin 2001, Mouritsen 1988, Chiavia 2002, and Biundo 2003.

2 The term "graffiti" is sometimes applied to any inscription on a wall, but for our purposes, it is useful to employ it as it was initially coined more than a century ago: referring to texts that had been scratched into a surface, as opposed to carved or painted inscriptions. Though the modern word "graffiti" often carries negative connotations, implying defacement, a range of recent work argues that incised inscriptions were not viewed this way in antiquity (e.g. Benefiel 2010a, Baird/Taylor 2011, Keegan 2014, Swetnam-Burland 2015).

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in recent decades, both were destroyed in the same eruption as Pompeii, and both contain a significant quantity of incised wall-inscriptions. These villas therefore provide valuable material for comparison by offering a view onto the presence of graffiti in large residential, *non-urban* contexts.

1 Graffiti in Pompeian Residences

The site of Pompeii offers us the unparalleled opportunity to analyze the material presence of wall-inscriptions through an entire ancient city. Thousands of wall-inscriptions occurred not only in Pompeii's public spaces, such as on building facades and on the funerary monuments bordering the roads leading into town, but also in significant numbers within private homes. The fact that ancient wall-inscriptions appear—and appear regularly—in domestic contexts, is completely alien to our own, contemporary experience of what we call "graffiti". Yet these numbers reveal that it was clearly a component of the culture of writing in first century Pompeii.

One such handwritten inscription appears in the atrium of the House of the Four Styles (I.8.17, 11). There, on the northern wall of the room, atop second-style wall-painting, the following message greeted visitors who entered the house:[3]

> *Quos • L • V • P • amat • valeant*
> ("Welcome to those whom LVP loves."
> Or, more literally, "May those whom Mr. LVP loves fare well").[4]

It is clear that deliberate care went into the writing of this message (fig. 1). Interpuncts, a standard element of honorific inscriptions on stone, appear between every word, and the carefully-spaced lettering includes serifs as well as the downward flourishes of the Q and N at the beginning and end of the message which thereby frame it. The content of the text also shows that effort that went into its composition. This was a message of welcome but one which incorporated an allusion to a verse of popular poetry that was found written throughout Pompeii. The opening words of the poem (*quisquis amat valeat*) were inscribed frequently through the city, while the full elegiac couplet was written out in a couple of locations: *(quis)quis amat valeat, pereat*

3 CIL IV 8215. For more on this house, see Gallo 1989 and PPM (Pugliese Caratelli, Giovanni (ed.) (1990–2003), *Pompei: Pitture e Mosaici*, 11 vols., Rome) 1990, vol. 1, 847–913. For the inscriptions in this house, see CIL IV 8211–8255, and Benefiel 2011.

4 The letters LVP present the initial letters of a Roman citizen's *tria nomina*. These same letters were incised onto an amphora found in this house (CIL IV 9469b: *L V P*), leading Matteo Della Corte to suggest that LVP was the owner of this home. The "L" is the abbreviation for the *praenomen* Lucius; the *gentilicium* and *cognomen* cannot be further identified. Della Corte offers several possibilities: Varius Priscus, Vedius Primigenius, or Vettius Proculus (Della Corte 1965, 331).

qui nescit amare, pereat bis tanto qui amare vetat.[5] In this case, the writer had modified the epigram to offer a personal welcome to the visitors received here.

Fig. 1: The graffito *Quos LVP amat valeat* in the House of the Four Styles (Su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali. Reproduction prohibited).

Most houses at Pompeii contain at least a few writings on their walls, but the House of the Four Styles is one of roughly thirty houses to contain somewhat more.[6] A small subgroup of six residences can be categorized as "highly inscribed", since they each contain more than fifty examples. These "highly inscribed" residences (The House of Maius Castricius, the House of Paquius Proculus, the House of the Menander, the House of the Silver Wedding, the House of Triptolemus, and the house at IX.2.26) were excavated at different periods, from the mid-nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century, and they are spread out across the city (fig. 2).[7] One characteristic they have

5 Written in full: CIL IV 4091, 1173 cf. Add. p. 204, 461 (a painted still-life with writing implements; the poem is written on a scroll). Opening words inscribed: CIL IV 3199, 3200d, 5272, 6782, 9130. Cf. CIL IV 4659, 4663, 5186.

6 I will discuss these houses further in my current project on graffiti in private homes.

7 *Regio* I holds the House of Paquius Proculus (I.7.1) and the House of the Menander (I.10.4, 14–17); *Regio* V: the House of the Silver Wedding (V.2.i); *Regio* VII: the House of Triptolemus (VII.7.2, 5), and The House of Maius Castricius (VII.16 Ins. Occ. 17); *Regio* IX: the house at IX.2.26, sometimes called the House of M. Casellius Marcellus (Eschebach 1993, 411), but usually left unnamed.

in common is the size. These are all very large houses and they likely belonged to leading citizens and socially active members of the community.[8]

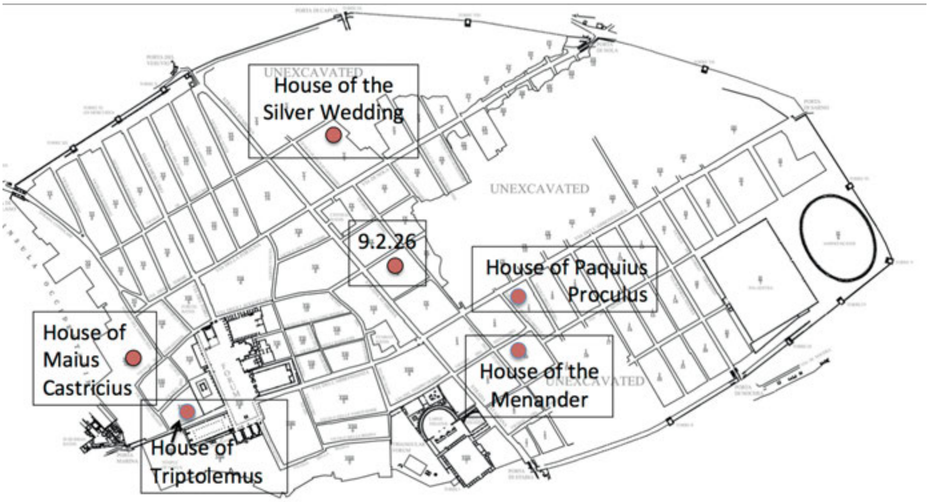

Fig. 2: Map showing the locations of "heavily inscribed" residences at Pompeii (based on Map 2, in: *The World of Pompeii*, edited by P. Foss and J. Dobbins, 2007).

The House of Maius Castricius, for example, stood at the western edge of town (VII.16 *Ins. Occ.* 17) and occupied some of Pompeii's best real estate, with spectacular views out over the Bay of Naples.[9] Built into the city's fortification walls, it stood four stories high, and featured a private bath complex, a double peristyle, and a number of reception rooms. This house was brought to light relatively recently, during excavations of the *insula occidentalis* in the 1960s, and its wall and ceiling frescoes were painstakingly pieced back together and restored *in situ*.

The House of Paquius Proculus (I.7.1), further to the east, opens off the Via dell'Abbondanza, an important artery of the town. A significant investment was clearly

8 The House of Paquius Proculus and the House of the Silver Wedding have both been meticulously studied and published within the esteemed series *Häuser in Pompeji* (Ehrhardt 1998 and Ehrhardt 2004, respectively). The House of Menander, famous for its silver treasure, was given a lavish publication by Amedeo Maiuri in the first half of the twentieth century (Maiuri 1933) and is currently the subject of a comprehensive five-part study, *The Insula of the Menander at Pompeii* (Oxford University Press) with four volumes in print so far, Vol. 1: *The Structures* (Ling 1997); Vol. 2: *The Decorations* (Ling/Ling 2005); Vol. 3: *The Finds, a Contextual Study* (Allison 2007); and Vol. 4: *The Silver Treasure* (Painter 2001). Volume 5: *The Inscriptions* is currently in progress (Mouritsen/Varone, forthcoming). Cf. also Varriale 2012.

9 On this residence, see PPM vol. VII (1997), 887–946, Varriale 2006, Varriale 2009, Benefiel 2010a.

outlaid for the elaborate mosaic decoration that ran throughout its atrium.[10] The careful attention paid to building facades during the excavations of this area during the early twentieth century has left us with one of the most politically and epigraphically active hotspots in the city, with more than thirty political *programmata* advertising local candidates for political office in all shapes, sizes, and appearances.[11]

The graffiti within these houses illuminate the interests of residents and visitors and speak to the activities that took place here. Each home features graffiti of a different character. The House of Paquius Proculus, for example, contains a number of graffiti concerning the emperor Nero, his attendants, and the city of Rome:

CIL IV 8064:	*Ner / Neroni / Ne*
CIL IV 8066, 8075:	*Cucuta ab rationibus Neronis Augusti*
CIL IV 8067, 8078:	*Rom / Roma / Romanus*
CIL IV 8092:	*Ol(ympica) III K(alendas) Ner(onias)*
CIL IV 8095:	*Neronis*
CIL IV 8114:	*Cupidi multo magis cupimus (ut liceat nostros visere Roma Lares)*[12]
CIL IV 8119:	*Roma felix*

Graffiti in the House of Triptolemus, by contrast, point to renovations that were taking place. An inscribed message gives instructions for the measurements of a window (CIL IV 4713a, b) and an architect leaves his mark, signing his name by incorporating it into in the shape of a boat (CIL IV 4716, 4755). Both houses also contain a number of greetings issued to friends. The House of Maius Castricius, meanwhile, reveals an interest in poetry, with a concentration of messages involving quotations from literature, popular epigrams, and original compositions (fig. 3), including:[13]

Venimus h[uc c]upidi, multo magis ire cupimus /
set (sic) retinet nostros illa puella pedes.

Suabe (sic) mari magno

Vell'essem gemma hora non amplius una /
ut tivi (sic) signanti oscula pressa dare(m).

10 PPM vol. I (1990), 483–552. This house also appears in the *Häuser in Pompeji* series: Ehrhardt 1998.
11 CIL IV 7196–7216, Spinazzola 1953, 297–314. See Varone/Stefani 2009, 69–76, for excavation photos of this heavily postered façade.
12 This graffito in the House of Paquius Proculus only contains part of this popular couplet (*Cupidi multo magis cupimus*), but the remainder of the poem is known from its appearance elsewhere in Pompeii (cf. CIL IV 1227). Other examples include: CIL IV 2995, 6697, 8114, 8231a, 8891, 9849, 10065a; Solin 1975, no. 17. For more on this poem, see also Magaldi 1936, Gigante 1979, 223–236, Kruschwitz 2006, Benefiel 2010b, 51–56.
13 The cluster of graffiti has been discussed by Giordano 1966 (nos. 38–47); Solin 1975 (nos. 57–67); Varone 1990 (a–m); and Benefiel 2010a (nos. 34–44).

Felicem somnum qui tecum nocte quiescet? /
Hoc ego si facere, multo felicior esse.

Vasia (sic) quae rapui, quaeris formosa puella. /
Accipe quae rapui non ego solus; ama. /
Quisquis amat valeat.

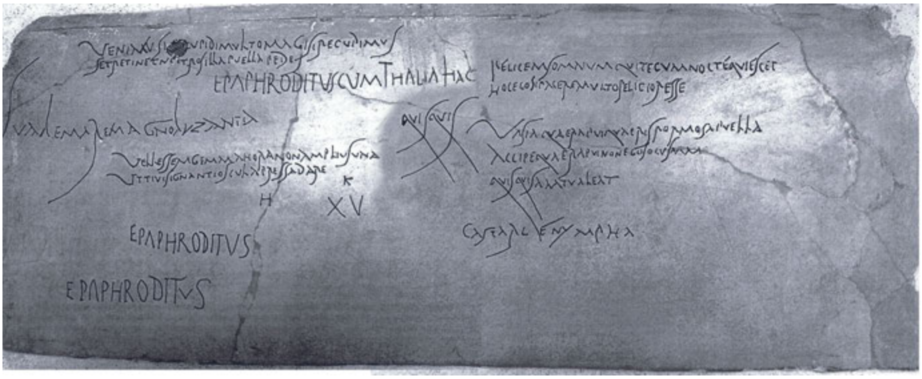

Fig. 3: Enhanced photograph of wall-plaster from the House of Maius Castricius featuring a concentration of poetry (reproduced from R. Benefiel 2010a, 68 fig. 9).

Yet while the content of the messages may vary, the locations where they are posted adhere to a similar pattern. Graffiti tend to appear in clusters in central spaces, with few, if any, instances found in the smaller rooms of the residence. The House of Maius Castricius, for example, features concentrations of graffiti in three main locations: the vestibule of the house, the central peristyle, and the staircase leading to the fourth floor, where the cluster of poetry was found.[14] The Casa di Trittolemo reveals a distribution even more striking, with more than seventy instances, nearly all the graffiti recorded, inscribed on the walls and columns of the peristyle.[15]

The clustering and the nature of the texts in these houses point to ongoing conversations. These writings may have developed out of spoken conversation but once committed to the wall, their messages continue to resonate. In the House of Paquius Proculus, for example, Alogiosus applauds Carus not just once in person but in echoes that can be heard (or read) by those who come across the inscription later (CIL IV 8098: *Alogiosus fecit / Caro feliciter*).[16] The poetry inscribed in the House of Maius Castricius inspires others to add their own contributions and ends up a cluster

14 Benefiel 2010a, 69–74.
15 CIL IV 4706–4785.
16 The message is accompanied by a drawing of hands, presumably clapping as accompaniment to the acclamation, cf. Langner 2001, no. 2489.

of quotation and original composition. Together these messages offer a dialogue that might be encountered by later observers. We are left with a picture of an active mode of communication, with inscribed messages inspiring other messages and multiple individuals taking part.

What, then, does the picture look like when we move outside of the city? It is difficult to get as full a picture when we move beyond Pompeii: tantalizing glimpses of graffiti surface here and there, for example, two epigrams inscribed in the Domus delle Fontane at Brescia[17] or a palindrome inscribed in Greek, a single graffito discovered within the remains a Roman villa near Lausanne.[18] The recent catalogue edited by Alix Barbet and Michel Fuchs offers an excellent resource, a fascinating collection of graffiti discovered at sites in France and Switzerland.[19] Pompeii was clearly not the only place where people were writing on the walls. But often we are left with glimpses. Excavations are limited, evidence is fragmentary, and it is difficult to get a sense of the whole.

2 Suburban Villas

Fortunately, two villas in the Vesuvian countryside have been excavated and sufficiently well studied to provide full contextual material for comparison (fig. 4).[20]

The Villa San Marco at Stabiae was initially explored by the Bourbons in the eighteenth century but was reinterred soon after, according to the practice of the time. It was reexcavated during the 1950s, and its graffiti were studied and published by Antonio Varone in Alix Barbet and Paola Miniero's multi-volume publication of the villa.[21] Recent excavations have uncovered another section of the Villa San Marco and revealed a few more graffiti.[22]

17 AE 2005, 632–633, Gregori/Massaro 2005.
18 SEG XLVII 1545, Fuchs/Dubois 1997.
19 Barbet/Fuchs 2008, catalogue of an exhibit held at the Musée romain de Lausanne-Vidy. Martin Langner's collection of figural graffiti (Langner 2001) draws from sites from the entirety of the ancient world as well.
20 On the luxury villas of this region, see Zarmakoupi 2014.
21 Barbet/Miniero 1999.
22 Varone 2016, Terpstra 2013, Terpstra 2012, Terpstra et al. 2011. Varone is planning a new edition of the graffiti from the Villa San Marco, which will include the graffiti from the nearby Villa Arianna as well.

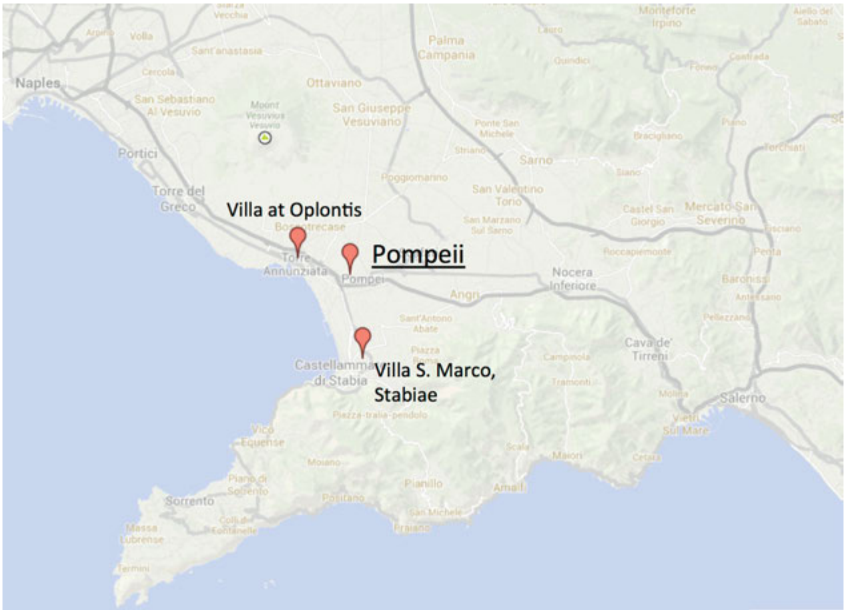

Fig. 4: Google map showing location of Pompeii and villas.

The so-called Villa of Poppaea, or Villa A, in Oplontis was likewise excavated in recent years, beginning in 1964. It is currently the subject of a large, comprehensive study, whose aim is the first systematic publication of the villa.[23] As a contributor to that project, I have documented and studied more than eighty graffiti, only a handful of which have been published previously.

Altogether these two suburban villas feature roughly the same number of graffiti as the highly inscribed Pompeian residences, and one might imagine that the messages would be similar, containing perhaps a different subject matter but nevertheless comprising a number of texts shining a light on the interests of those who inhabited and visited these residences. Yet close inspection reveals some surprising results, including:

1. in the case of Oplontis, a significant number of Greek-language inscriptions,
2. a difference in the spatial distribution of Greek and Latin within the villas, and
3. the considerable presence of non-textual wall-inscriptions, including numbers and drawings.

23 *Villa A ("of Poppaea") at Oplontis*, edited by John Clarke, Stefano De Caro, and Michael Thomas, 3 vols., American Council of Learned Societies (in progress).

3 Textual Graffiti

One striking aspect about graffiti in the villa at Oplontis is the amount of Greek present. Messages written in Greek appear at Pompeii, but in relatively small quantities. The Villa San Marco at Stabiae has just one graffito written in the Greek alphabet. That text gives the name of Paris, the famous actor of the Neronian period; his name is written in that villa in Latin too.[24] In the villa at Oplontis, by contrast, as many as 50% of the textual graffiti are written in Greek.

The longest message in the villa is the inscription found in room 25. The wall-plaster is well preserved, the text is located just above eye level, and the letters are sufficiently large to read, but the meaning of the text is not so straightforward, and three different readings have been offered so far.

Giordano and Casale 1990	ΓΑΕΙC ΚΑΜΕΡΕΙC ΑΓ(ι?)ΕΛΙC
De Caro 1988	ΓΑ(ι)ΕΙC ΚΑΛΙΕΡΕΙC ΑΓΙΕ ΛΙC
Fergola 2001	ΓΑΕΙC ΚΑΜΙΕΡΕΙC ΑΓΕΛΙC

I have written about this inscription at greater length elsewhere and so here simply summarize the key points about this intriguing text.[25] In their catalogue of the epigraphic material recovered following the publication of CIL vol. IV Supp. 3, Carlo Giordano and Angelandrea Casale presented this text as it was recorded when discovered in 1967 during excavations. They did not attempt to explain its meaning.[26] Stefano De Caro presented an improved reading of the text, and suggested that a combination of the verb καλ(λ)ιερέω and the end of the message, which he read as the phrase, ἅγιε λίς, pointed to a connection with the cult of Magna Mater.[27] Lorenzo Fergola suggested that the text instead recorded a name. He proposed reading it as a message written in Greek that had been contaminated by Oscan and interpreted the message as providing the name Agelis, slave of a Gaius Camerius.[28]

The key to unlocking this message is recognition that the writer does not always fully complete his letters, particularly toward the end of the line when his arm may have been tired. We are faced with personal handwriting that is not gliding over a smooth page but that is formed by scratching into a vertical plaster surface. Incised

24 Varone 1999, no. 50 (Greek), 6 and 16 (Latin).
25 SEG XXXVIII 1001, Petrain/Benefiel 2016.
26 Giordano/Casale 1990, no. 127.
27 De Caro 1988.
28 Fergola 2004, 85.

wall-inscriptions will always include personal idiosyncrasies and should not be expected to have the standardized forms or appearance that we find in carved inscriptions. The letter A, or alpha, for example, is sometimes written without a third stroke.

I follow De Caro in reading the middle of the text as καλ(λ)ιερεῖς ("you sacrifice favorably"), but I propose that the poorly understood end of the line gives us instead the word: ἀγαθαῖς, where the middle combination of letters, alpha-theta-alpha, have been quickly sketched rather than fully completed. References to ἀγαθὴ τύχη ("good fortune") are frequent in stone inscriptions, and mention of part of this common phrase might allow the other half (τύχαις) to be understood. The tendency to rush one's writing rather than carefully crafting each letter was likely more pronounced toward the end of a long message like this one, due to the effort it took to keep one's arm elevated and to incise strokes into the plaster. The difference in the depth of writing for the final three letters suggests that the writer took a break at that point, perhaps to lower or shake out his arm, before then finishing the message.

That then brings us to the beginning of the inscription and Γάθις, perhaps an address to an Agathis, with the first syllable omitted: (A)gathis, or possibly a Greek transliteration for the name Gaius, Γαεις, although in that case one would wish for the vocative form rather than the nominative.[29] The entire inscription would thus read (Ἀ)γάθις (or Γαεις), καλ(λ)ιερεῖς ἀγαθαῖς, or "Agathis/Gaius, you sacrifice favorably with good (fortunes)." The inscription thus appears to address an individual who is complimented for activity related to making a sacrifice.

Others were named among the graffiti at Oplontis too. Just around the corner, in another reception room, a graffito names two females: Prokope and Anatole. In the next room over, yet another message may have been intended to present a Greek name. It appears to be unfinished, however, since it only gives the letters *PUME*. An interesting group of graffiti appears on a column in the partially excavated peristyle at the southwestern corner of the villa. There, someone inscribed a series of Greek letters that a reader can follow only if he walks around the column (Ξ, Φ, Ξ, Ζ).[30]

The large amount of Greek in the villa at Oplontis is even more interesting for its distribution through the residence. These graffiti in Greek just mentioned all appear in the southwestern section of the villa and in several highly decorated reception spaces (rooms 5, 23, 25, and 65), locations that contrast with those of the messages written in Latin (fig. 5). The Latin graffiti instead cluster on the columns at the entrance to the villa (room 34) and in the service areas at the center of the residence (rooms 32, 43, 52). The Latin examples also tend to appear in groups, unlike the Greek graffiti that

29 The issue of nicknames or shortened forms of address in the Roman world requires further attention, but note the repeated appearances of the text "Amianth", for the name *Amianthus*, in the basilica of Pompeii. Cf. Benefiel 2008.

30 These graffiti are cat. #25, 3, and 15–18, respectively, in the publication of the graffiti from Villa A in Oplontis (Benefiel forthcoming).

appear individually. No space in the villa presents more than one graffito in Greek. This may suggest a difference in the culture of inscribing graffiti, particularly in the sociability of such activity.

Fig. 5: Distribution of Greek (in green) and Latin (in red) graffiti in Villa A at Oplontis (Plan supplied by The Oplontis Project, Director: John Clarke).

These examples, however, are just a small portion of the graffiti in this location, and that is what these two villas demonstrate most forcefully: *writing on the wall was not limited to text*. This is the major difference between the graffiti in highly inscribed houses at Pompeii and the suburban villas outside the town. These non-textual wall-inscriptions fall into two categories: numerical graffiti and incised drawings.[31]

31 Varone had earlier identified these three categories of graffiti (graffiti alfabetici, numerici, and raffigurazioni) in his study of the graffiti in the Villa San Marco at Stabiae (Varone 1999).

4 Numerical Graffiti

Roughly a third of the graffiti in the Villa San Marco consist of series of Roman numerals. These appear in a few different rooms, with a massive concentration in the kitchen (room 26), which has as many as seventeen distinct series of numbers. Here, it seems clear that scratching on the wall served a practical purpose: keeping track of quantities of items. The bulk of examples contain simply a series of Roman numerals. Most of those on the southwest wall contain moderate quantities, ranging from five to fourteen.[32] A cluster on the southeast wall includes larger numbers, with one example adding all the way up to the number 48.[33] In fact, that total is written twice: once as XXXXIIIIIIII, then again, just below, as XXIIIIXXIIII. The writing is similar and suggests the writer may have been working out a division. One other example in the kitchen includes the abbreviation A for *a*(*sses*) and seems to have been jotted down to note the cost of something.[34]

The villa at Oplontis displays a similar pattern in regards to numerical graffiti. It contains virtually the same total number (29 examples in the Villa S. Marco, 30 in the villa at Oplontis) and here again the distribution of numerical graffiti is limited to a certain type of space. Numerical graffiti do not appear in the kitchen here. That room features a large, detailed drawing of boat, but otherwise no additional markings on the walls.[35] At Oplontis numerical graffiti are again found clustered, but this time at the core of the villa, where roughly twenty examples occur in the central, "rustic" peristyle (room 32) and two rooms that open off it, room 37, a short corridor that links the service area with the highly decorated reception rooms to the south, and room 43 (fig. 5). At Oplontis, room 43 appears to have seen the same type of writing activity as that which occurred in the kitchen of the Villa San Marco (fig. 6).

Some of the plaster is missing in room 43, but where the plaster remains intact seven graffiti list numerical series, several of which are concentrated near the door of the room. The layout and decoration of the room suggests that it was used for storage, as it continues to be used even today. The walls did not have any decorative wall-painting but were instead covered with simple white plaster. Regularly-spaced square holes in the east wall point to the presence of shelving. And room 43 has only one entrance, so all movement into and out of it came from the central courtyard.

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32 Varone 1999, nos. 31–37. One additional example reads: XXXX (Varone 1999, no. 38).

33 Varone 1999, nos. 25–30, with no. 29 documenting the number 48 written out in two different ways. Varone 1999, nos. 39–41 document numerical graffiti found elsewhere in the kitchen.

34 Varone 1999, no. 41: *A(sses) III*.

35 Boat drawing: cat. #4 (Benefiel forthcoming).

Fig. 6: Numerical graffiti in the kitchen of the Villa San Marco at Stabiae (Su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali. Reproduction prohibited).

In both cases, these numerical graffiti were largely out of view of the public. They were concentrated in service quarters—the kitchen, a storage room. These were not about self-representation or dialogue. The writers who scratched these numbers on the walls of the kitchen had a different motivation than those who wrote greetings and poetry in the houses within the city of Pompeii. Here, writing fulfilled a different purpose—a practical and a functional one.

5 Figural Graffiti

Finally, there is the issue of drawings. Both the highly inscribed houses in Pompeii and the Villa San Marco and the villa at Oplontis include a handful of drawings. The House of Maius Castricius in Pompeii, for example, featured several representational or figural drawings, including a boat, a palm frond, a bird, and a deer. The House of Paquius Proculus also features drawings of birds, along with boats, a gladiator, and a face in profile. These boats, faces, and animals are common motifs that are found drawn throughout the ancient world.[36]

36 Maius Castricius: Benefiel 2010a, nos. 49, 20, 60, and 73, respectively. Paquius Proculus: Langner 2001, nos. 1666–1667, 1852 and 2102, 1048, and 413, respectively. The House of Paquius Proculus also

The two villas are similar, to a certain point. The villa at Oplontis contained a number of representational drawings, including: a boat, a pair of figures, and heads drawn in profile. It also featured more than twenty geometric drawings.[37] The Villa San Marco features a handful of these same motifs: a bird, two drawings of gladiators and gladiatorial helmets, possibly one figure in profile.[38] But, more than anything, the figural graffiti of this villa communicated an overwhelming interest in boats. Boats were a popular image to draw on walls and are found in locations across the ancient world.[39] The houses of Maius Castricius and Paquius Proculus each contain one or two examples, as does the villa at Oplontis, but the Villa San Marco holds a particularly large concentration of boat drawings, with more than fifteen examples.[40] Boats were drawn here individually and in pairs. Some have oars, some are fishing vessels, some are simple skiffs (fig. 7).

These boat drawings are simple in design and they are small. They were sketched mostly in narrow corridors and passageways. This is in strong contrast to the locations for drawings of gladiators and their equipment, which were found in the more public areas of the villa (and indeed the locations where one might expect to find graffiti in the elite houses of Pompeii), namely, the large open peristyle, which was the centerpiece of the villa, and at the entrance to the property, just above a bench that could accommodate visitors who were waiting to be received (fig. 8).

The Villa San Marco was perched atop a bluff and, with its large windows and open plan, its design was calculated to highlight its setting and its expansive view over the Bay of Naples. That view would have certainly encompassed any number of boats on a daily basis, as the bay was traversed by numerous vessels being used to fish the day's catch, as well as for transport around the region. What is interesting is that several of the boats drawn in the Villa San Marco are sketched with people on board. At Pompeii, scores of boats are drawn too, but usually the artist's interest is squarely on the vessel. The boat is hardly ever populated.

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contained the drawing of hands clapping, discussed above (Langner no. 2489). See Langner 2001, 84 Abb. 40 for a table detailing the relative popularity of figural graffiti motifs across sites.

37 These will be discussed at greater length in the publication of The Oplontis Project (Benefiel, forthcoming).

38 Varone 1999, nos. 61, 1 and 83–84, 67, respectively.

39 Delos in particular has yielded significant boat graffiti (Langner 2001, 84 Abb. 40). Langner collects more than 400 examples of boat drawings on walls across the ancient world (Langner 2001, cat. nos. 1844–2265).

40 Boats: Varone 1999, nos. 9, 13, 19, 21, 23, 44, 47, 56–59. Several of the boats are drawn in pairs, thus eleven sets of drawings present a total of fifteen boats.

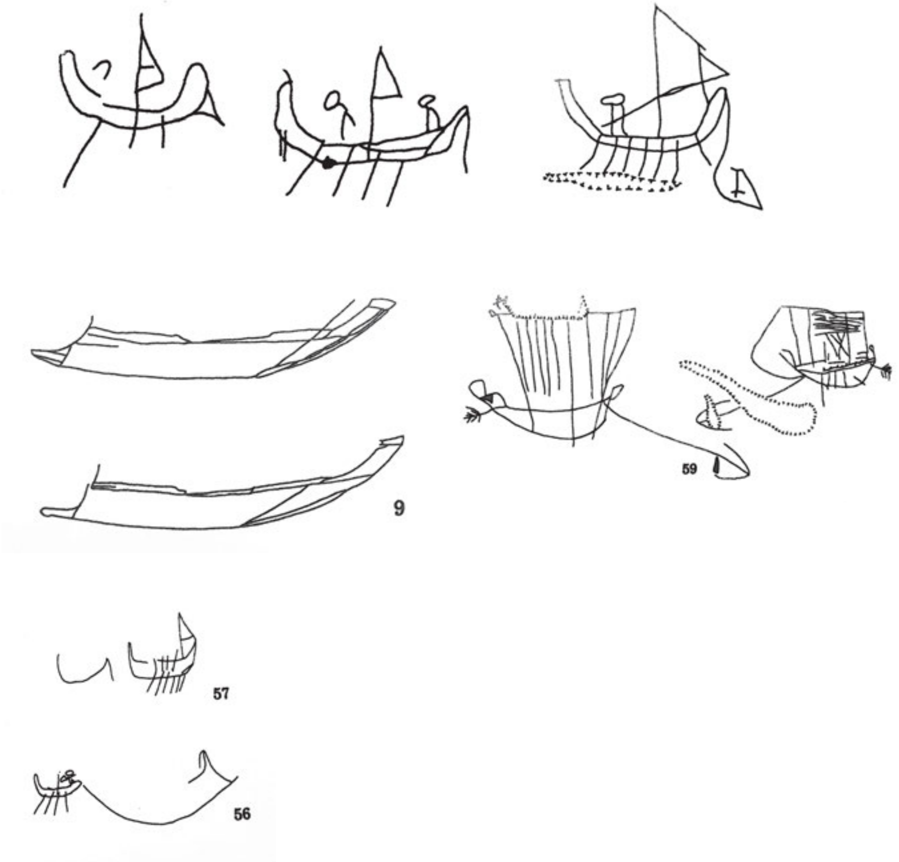

Fig. 7: Examples of boat drawings in the Villa San Marco at Stabiae (from Varone 1999).

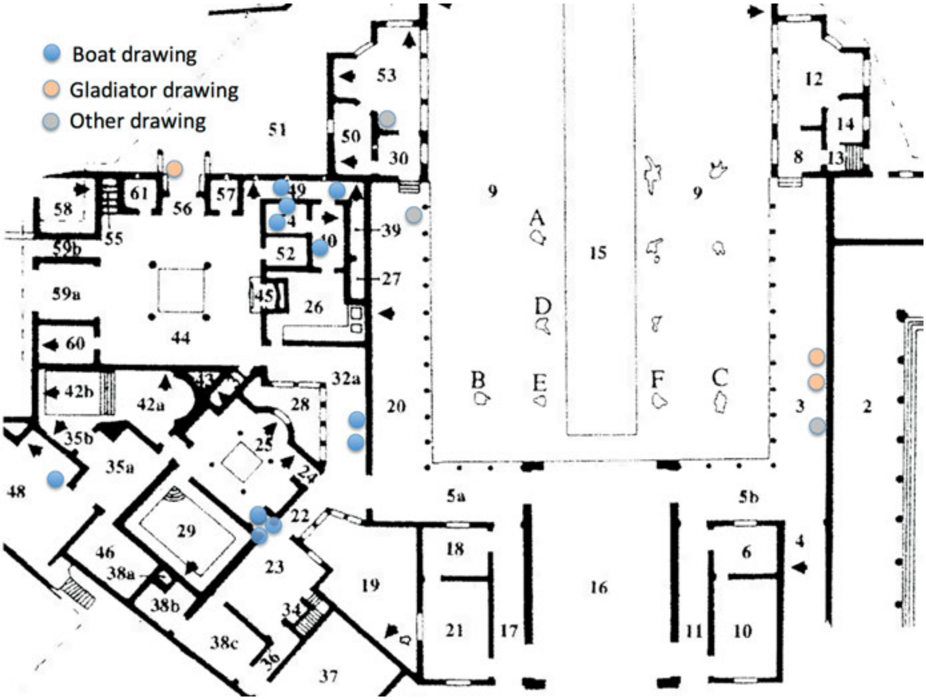

Fig. 8: The distribution of boat drawings and gladiatorial graffiti in the Villa San Marco at Stabiae (adapted from Barbet/Forte 1999, fig. 53).

The figures in these drawings nudge us toward thinking about the individuals who may have drawn them. The location of these many boat drawings in the service quarters suggests that these were not the work of visitors or clients, but perhaps the work of the villa staff, whose duties may have included fishing to stock the villa with provisions. These examples thereby suggest that one additional motivation for writing on the wall may have been the influence of one's surroundings.[41]

6 Conclusion

Two main distinctions arise, therefore, between graffiti in the highly inscribed residences of Pompeii and in these grand, suburban villas. Firstly, in Pompeii, graffiti are generally clustered, often at the entrances of houses and in the peristyle. In any given

41 At Oplontis, the influence of one's surroundings was even more immediate, as a handful of sketches replicate the patterns of the zebra-stripe design found throughout the core spaces of the villa, or play with the boundaries of its stripes.

cluster, an inscription may have inspired others to add their own contribution or response. Secondly, Pompeian graffiti are overwhelmingly textual. They take a wide range of forms: from signatures to greetings to friends to short verses and epigrams.

In the suburban villas of Stabiae and Oplontis, graffiti do not follow the same patterns. To begin with, there is a broader distribution of graffiti through the building. Within these expansive, highly articulated suburban villas, graffiti can be scattered across as many as twenty-five different rooms, rather than appearing in two or three central spaces, as at Pompeii. In the villa at Oplontis, it is also clear that graffiti do not cluster. Of the twenty-five rooms holding graffiti, only *two* rooms contain anything like a cluster (more than six graffiti), while fourteen rooms have only one or two graffiti present (fig. 9). Whereas at Pompeii the act of writing a graffito generates other responses, in these villas that is not happening.

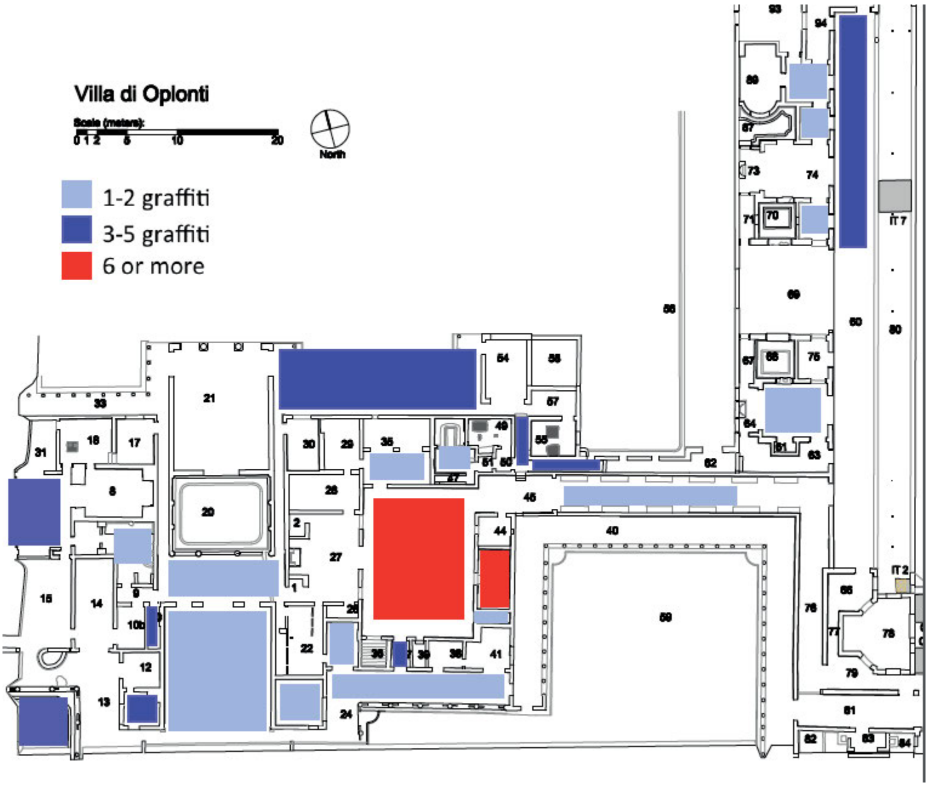

Fig. 9: Density of graffiti in Villa A at Oplontis (Plan supplied by The Oplontis Project, Director: John Clarke).

That leads us to the second difference between graffiti in these suburban villas and the graffiti in highly inscribed residences at Pompeii, namely, the amount of text written on the walls. In Pompeii, the graffiti habit is highly textual. There might be a few drawings in a house, but these account for generally less than 10% of the total number of graffiti. In the villas at Oplontis and Stabiae, however, written messages are only a fraction of what was scratched onto the walls. While all the residences considered here contain roughly the same total number of graffiti, the ratio of text to non-textual wall-inscription diverges markedly (fig. 10).

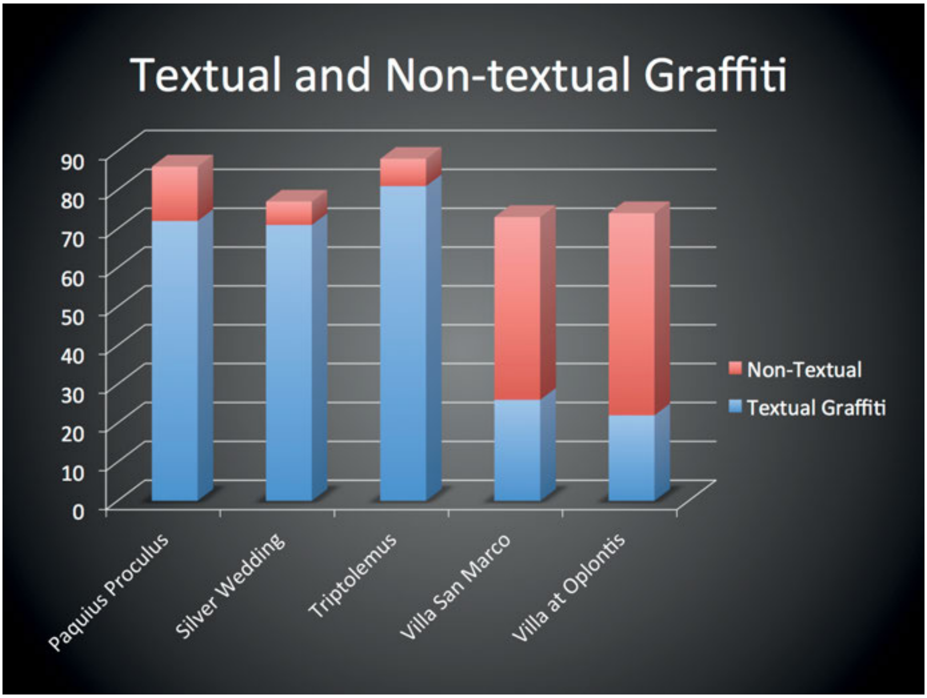

Fig. 10: Table illustrating textual and non-textual graffiti in Pompeian residences and suburban villas.

These differences may reflect the fact that villas in the countryside did not witness the same frequency of social activity as occurred in elite houses in town. There were not the same daily interactions with people coming and going, and perhaps not the same number of opportunities for graffiti to arise organically from conversations or from clients waiting to be addressed or received by a patron. Nevertheless, in the absence of such textual conversations we find the traces of a different social group exhibiting similar behavior. The non-textual graffiti from these villas suggest that even those with less leisure and possibly less freedom might write, too: as part of their work or as a means of reflecting upon the world around them.

What does this suggest about the habit of writing on the walls in general? We can see that people are doing something different in the city than they are in the countryside. The numerical graffiti reveal that people are writing, but in certain cases they are doing so for a practical—rather than social—purpose. The drawings demonstrate that one's surroundings and one's environment might provide inspiration.[42] Still, it is important to recognize that although there was a different means of expression, *the same activity* is taking place. In both locations, inside the city and beyond, people are interested and are active in writing on the walls.

It is only through the extraordinary preservation of the area around Mt. Vesuvius that we can reconstruct the writings created by the general population in this level of detail at all. What then were urban or suburban attitudes about writing on walls? In Italy in the early Roman Empire, it seems that is something people did. To them, as to us, Writing Matters.

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