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**TWO GREEK DOCUMENTS ON BRONZE**  
**(IG XIV 954; IG XIV 955 = IGUR 4)**

MIKA KAJAVA

The following note on a pair of Greek inscriptions from Italy addresses two of their interrelated aspects: the physical appearance of the objects, and their vicissitudes in ancient and modern times. Both texts seemingly concern Romans, perhaps office-holders from the late Republic or early Empire, who were honoured by Sicilian cities in recognition of their benefactions. *IG XIV 954* (now in Paris) from Gavignano, some 50 km southeast of Rome, bears a fragmentary decree of the Akragantines in honour of an anonymous man, while *IG XIV 955* (= Moretti, *IGUR 4*, with photograph) is a similar text reporting the honours given to a Pompeius by a Doric city, perhaps Akragas again. Each document records the appointment of the honorand as *proxenos* and *euergetas*.<sup>1</sup> Oddly enough, the objects have often been labelled as (original) discs,<sup>2</sup> even though their circular

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<sup>1</sup> In his comments on *ILLRP* 380 (= *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 2710), a Roman monument erected in honour of Pompey the Great by [*I*]taliceis qui Agrigenti negoti[antur], Degraffi did not exclude the possibility that *IG XIV 955* also refers to Pompey himself (similarly G. Manganaro, *Kokalos* 9 [1963] 216). However, no reference was made to *IG XIV 954*. Nor did Moretti (*IGUR 4*) make a comparison between *IG XIV 954* and 955, except to note that both are on bronze discs (see next footnote).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. (the usually sagacious) Adolf Wilhelm, "Das Heiligtum der Artemis zu Lusoi. IV. Inschriften", *JÖAI* 4 (1901) 79 (= *Abhandlungen und Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* I, Leipzig 1984, 133): "aber noch in römischer Zeit sind Ehrenbeschlüsse ... auf ehernen Diskoi eingezeichnet worden"; P. Jacobstahl, *Diskoi* (93. Winckelmannsprog. Archäol. Gesellsch. Berlin), Berlin – Leipzig 1933, 30 no. 3: "Zwei ehernen Diskoi römischer Zeit mit Ernennung zum Proxenos und Euergetes"; also Kaibel, *IG XIV 954*: "decreti fragmentum in disco aeneo scripti"; Moretti, *IGUR 4*: "discus aeneus"... "cfr. titulum similem, in eandem disci aenei formam, *IG XIV 954*". – For a general survey of Greek inscribed discs, see M. Kajava – E. M. Salminen, in: A. Kavoulaki (ed.), *'Reading' Greek Religion: Literary, Historical and Artistic Perspectives. A Conference in Memory of C. Sourvinou-Inwood, Rethymnon, Crete, 22–24*

form is clearly the result of re-use for secondary purposes. This was duly pointed out by Louis Robert, though only with respect to *IG XIV 954* (he did not mention no. 955).<sup>3</sup>

*IG XIV 954* (partly restored after no. 952; cited after Robert [n. 3], 130 no. 84):

[---]ος ἀναλω[μα ---]  
 [--- κατα]λογάν τᾶς πόλ[ιοσ ---]  
 [---]ς ὥστε αὐτοὺς ἐν[---]  
 [---]εσθαι τάν τε παροχ[άν ---]  
 [---] ἀπέλυσε τ(ᾶ)ς π(α)ροχ[ᾶς ---]  
 [--- τῶι δὲ μουνι]κιπίωι τῶν Ἀκραγαντί[νων πάτριόν ἐστι καὶ ἐκ  
 προγόνων]  
 [παραδεδο]μένον τιμεῖν τοὺς ἀ[γαθοὺς ἄνδρας ---]  
 [--- ἐ]πὶ ἀγαθῶ τύχᾳ καὶ σω[τηρία τοῦ δάμου· δεδόχθαι τῶι μου]-  
 [νικιπίωι] τῶν Ἀκραγαντίν[ων ---]  
 [εὔμειν πρό]ξενον καὶ εὐερ[γέταν ---].

*IG XIV 955* (cited after Moretti, *IGUR 4*):

[ἐπειδὴ --- Π]ομπήιος  
 [εὔνους ὦν διατελεῖ τᾶ] ἀμᾶ πόλει  
 [ἄξια πράσσω]ν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν  
 [προγόνων, δίκαιόν ἐ]στι καὶ καλῶς  
 [ἔχον ἐπαινέσαι αὐτὸ]ν τῶν καλῶν  
 [ἔνεκεν ὦν διαπέπρακται] τᾶι ἀμᾶ πόλει  
 [---] πρὸς τοῖς  
 [---] ΠΕΝΤΑΜΙ  
 [πρό]ξενον καὶ εὐε]ργέταν.

The fact that Akragas is μουνικίπιον in no. 954 shows that the decree was passed after 44 BC. Palaeography may be a risky guide in a case like this, but here it may suggest that the two inscriptions are not contemporary: for example, no. 955, which by its content has been considered to date from the late Republic, differs from no. 954 in that it seems to show a lunate sigma and epsilon as well as a cursive omega. Could this be an indication that no. 955 is a later copy, perhaps

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September 2012, forthcoming.

<sup>3</sup> L. Robert, *Collection Froehner I: Inscriptions grecques*, Paris 1936, 130 no. 84 (photograph on Pl. 43).

a substitute for a public document that had been destroyed by the great Capitoline fire of AD 69?<sup>4</sup> This seems unlikely on other grounds, however, as it would be difficult to explain why one of a pair of documents that – certainly after the Vespasianic restoration and probably also earlier – would have been on public display close to each other had been destroyed by fire and subsequently replaced by a copy, while the other remained intact. That the documents may indeed have once formed a pair, or at least had a moment of shared history, is suggested not only by their similar content, material, and letter size (height of letters 0.5–0.6 cm), but also and especially by the fact that both have been reshaped in the form of discs of exactly equal size (diameter 7.1–7.2 cm) by cutting them from larger bronze plaques. Whenever this happened, the objects were most likely kept together at the moment of their reshaping.

The following scenario may have taken place: the two bronze plaques were manufactured in Sicily and sent respectively to the honorands residing in Rome, while copies of the original documents would have been deposited in local civic archives (perhaps at Akragas in each case). The reason why the two documents were preserved together in Rome may have been that they concerned two members of one and the same *gens*, the Pompeii (one need not think of the family of Pompey the Great). If they lived in different generations, this might explain the variation in lettering between the two inscriptions. Whether or not they were originally displayed somewhere, the decrees would eventually have been deposited in the archives of the family. There they were stored until someone repurposed the bronze objects and recirculated them in a new form. This may well have happened in antiquity. Similar repurposing of bronze writing materials and other objects is well documented from archaic Greece onwards.

If both objects were reshaped in Rome, at some later stage one of them (*IG* XIV 954) was brought to Gavignano. When such a transfer may have occurred is impossible to establish, and it may have even been in early modern times. In any case, Moretti excluded this inscription from his collection, "cum alibi esset inventus", but as far as I can see, it is not absolutely certain that the object was literally unearthed in Gavignano. Froehner's indication reported by Robert (*op. cit.* n. 3, p. 130: "Trouvée en 1846 à Gavignano (entre Palestrina et Tivoli). Achetée par M. Charvet dans une vente publique à Gand") may be slightly inaccurate,

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<sup>4</sup> Thus tentatively Manganaro (*cit. n.* 2), 216, though he also rightly observes that the palaeographic argument may not be decisive, citing Akragantine and other Sicilian evidence for different letter forms in contemporary and contextually similar inscriptions.

as the disc is actually said to have been "acquired" in Gavignano.<sup>5</sup> However, if acquired after (archaeological or similar) discovery (Garrucci 1847, 58: "trovato testè", see n. 5), the document in its reshaped disc format may have already arrived in this area from Rome in antiquity. On the other hand, though less likely, one cannot completely exclude the possibility that the two bronze plaques were both kept in a country villa, once (or still) the property of the Pompeian family, at the moment of their reuse. Or, perhaps the hometown of these Pompeii was somewhere around Gavignano (see n. 7). In either of these two cases, after the discs were reshaped one of them would then have been moved to Rome while the other remained in the countryside.

Regarding the find conditions of the Rome disc (*IG XIV 955*), the information provided by Wilhelm Henzen does not help very much ("frammentino d'una tavola di bronzo acquistato dal Rmo P. Tongiorgi per il Museo Kircheriano"),<sup>6</sup> as it is likely that Father Francesco Tongiorgi, the then director of the Museo Kircheriano, had acquired the piece from the antiquarian market to enrich the Museum's collections.

Finally, what is puzzling is that Gavignano is in fact not located between Praeneste and Tibur, but considerably (some 30 kms) towards the southeast, close to Segni and Colferro, and thus it evidently belonged to the administrative territory of ancient Signia. One wonders, therefore, if "Gavignano" is a slip for "Gallicano (nel Lazio)", which does lie exactly between Palestrina and Tivoli.

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<sup>5</sup> R. Garrucci, *Bull. Arch. Napol.* 6 (1848) 60: "sull'uscire del mese di ottobre del 1846 il mio amico sig. Hartung acquistò presso Gavignano, terra posta tra Palestrina e Tivoli, il disco di bronzo che è qui delineato. Esibillo gentilmente perchè lo facessi conoscere per le stampe, ed io, che ne aveva allora il destro, lo inserii alla pag. 59 dei *Piombi antichi* dell' Em. Altieri. --- Conviene primieramente notare che nel rovescio della piastrella si vede il segno della punta del compasso, che tracciò il cerchio dove la sega fece del monumento quel mal governo che deploriamo". However, as Garrucci on p. 58 of his *Piombi antichi* (Rome 1847) says that the disc was found ("trovato testè"), it may well be that Hartung bought it after its discovery, whatever "trovato" literally means. As for the identity of "sig. Hartung", he may be Johann Adam Hartung (1801–1867), a known scholar of Greek literature and religion. For information concerning both Garrucci and Hartung, I am indebted to Italo Iasiello and Heikki Solin. Cf. now also C. Ferone, *Opuscula III*, 2: *Scritti su Raffaele Garrucci* (Gervasiana 1), San Severo 2013, 135–333.

<sup>6</sup> *Bull. Inst.* 1862, 4 (cf. E. De Ruggiero, *Catalogo del Museo Kircheriano I*, Rome 1878, 59–60).

Alternatively, this latter definition is mistaken.<sup>7</sup> In either case, the error seems attributable either to Garrucci or to his informant.

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<sup>7</sup> As for the presence of Pompeii in southern or southeastern Latium, they are recorded here and there in inscriptions, but persons of any rank are poorly attested; note, for what it is worth, an equestrian from Praeneste and another from Trebula Suffenas (or an adjacent city): O. Salomies, "Senatori oriundi del Lazio", in H. Solin (ed.), *Studi storico-epigrafici sul Lazio antico* (Acta IRF 15), Rome 1996, 117, 119. – It seems purely incidental, in the present context, that a considerable group of Greek inscriptions comes from a locality not far from Gavignano, see M. Kajava, *Arctos* 31 (1997) 55–86 (= *AE* 1997, 278; *SEG* XLVII 1517), *ibid.* 43 (2009) 31–40 (= *SEG* LIX 1172).