

die frühe und ältere Urnenfelderzeit zu datieren. Auch in den Depotfunden der mittleren Urnenfelderzeit (im Gyermely-Horizont nach A. Mozsolics, B Vc) ist dieser Typ auffindbar. Mehrere Varianten waren auch in der mittleren und späten Urnenfelderzeit (Ha A2, Ha B2) in Gebrauch.

*Die trichterförmigen Blechanhänger* (244 St.) traten zuerst in der späten Hügelgräberzeit auf. Sie waren in der späten Urnenfelderzeit nicht mehr in Gebrauch, aber in der frühen Eisenzeit tauchte der Typ wieder auf.

**Géza Alföldy: Die epigraphische Kultur der Römer. Studien zu ihrer Bedeutung, Entwicklung und Erforschung.** Herausgegeben von Angelos Chaniotis und Christian Witschel. HABES. Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien 50. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2018. – 678 Seiten. – ISBN 978-3-515-12236-8

During his life Géza Alföldy always consciously collected his own shorter, longer papers. Several of them were re-edited in three volumes still in the 80s of the last century covering the field of Roman social history, military history and with the crisis of the third century AD (two of them appeared in the same series as this volume).<sup>1</sup> Each was completed by a supplement including a summary of the newer literature and a commentary on the scholarly debate. His epigraphic works seemed the most important for him that is why he left those last. Unfortunately, he could not carry out this plan until his death in 2011. In his last years he assorted these papers and he compiled a huge collection of three volumes. Aside from his first papers written still in Hungary before 1965, Alföldy planned exactly the content of these books and he prepared its introduction, too. The edition of this uncompleted work was assumed by his former fellow professor at Heidelberg, Angelos Chaniotis (today Princeton) and his follower (his former student), Christian Witschel. This selection has been recently published by the Franz Steiner Verlag in the series of HABES (Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien).

Notwithstanding Alföldy's original plan, the editors published only one volume where they re-edited the most important (or – as they thought) papers dealing with Latin epigraphy of the western part of the Roman Empire. Chaniotis and Witschel published a long editorial introduction where they summarized Alföldy's merits in the field of epigraphic research, and they intended to explain why and how they changed the author's original plan. Based on these Alföldy's 24 papers were re-edited in the volume and they also added Alföldy's introduction (p. 19–31). In the latter one Alföldy summarized the most important stages and results of his research with a long acknowledgment. Together with the introduction, the volume contains five unpublished papers of the author, most of them are the edited versions of conference papers. Some of the original papers are translated (mainly from Spanish) into German following Alföldy's intention.

The most important part of the book is the first chapter with the title *'Die epigraphische Kultur der Römer'*, publishing 17 longer pa-

Der behandelte umfangreiche Band ist durch verschiedene Verzeichnisse (Abkürzungen, Literaturverzeichnis, Aufzählung von Sammlungen usw.) geschlossen. Außer den zeichnerischen Tafeln der Funde gibt es dreizehn Tafeln mit der Trachtrekonstruktion der Anhänger und auf neun Tafeln ist die chronologische Lage der einzelnen Typen tabellarisch veranschaulicht.

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pers of Alföldy (p. 35–390). The first studies examine comprehensively the birth of the Latin epigraphic habit ('epigraphic culture') from the late Republican Period and how it became one of the most important written sources of the Antiquity because of its always increasing number (Alföldy estimated at least 500.000 Latin stone inscriptions known from the territory of the Roman Empire and he calculated that originally tens of millions must have been erected). In these first studies Alföldy examined the development and spread of the custom of erecting inscriptions in all social classes (he always emphasized the important role of the freed slaves) and how it became a typical Roman phenomenon from the monumental inscriptions to the *instrumenta inscripta Latina* in the whole Empire (pp. 15–51 and 53–72). Next the author analyzed the emergence of the imperial epigraphy and he could point out how the Roman elites, esp. Augustus and his followers used the inscriptions as a mass medium in order to advertise their own power and policy (p. 73–102). The monumental public buildings at Rome with their monumental inscriptions (cp. Alföldy's collection on the letter heights of these monuments on pages 109–110 as the Pantheon's original building inscription with its 70 cm high letters) became the best advertiser of the new golden age of Augustus' reign (p. 103–116). The new golden era was also manifested by the help of gilded bronze letters, i.e. *litterae aureae*. Alföldy became the master of the restoration of these earlier neglected documents as the letters lost and their readings must have been based on their dowel-holes in the otherwise empty epigraphic fields. Due to Alföldy's widely accepted work the building inscriptions of the Colosseum, the sanctuary of Mars Ultor in the Forum Augustum, the obelisque at St. Peter's Square and their provincial (esp. Hispanian) imitations from Segovia or Medinaceli became known and widely accepted (p. 117–138). Besides monumental buildings, the imperial statues and their bases show the emperors' and the imperial family's power and the loyalty towards them. Unfortunately, in most cases only the statue bases survived (according to Alföldy's estimation cca. 5000), that is why Alföldy paid so much attention to study them. He was quite right to draw our attention to the fact that besides official places (urban *fora* or *fana*) the presence of these statues can be pointed out in public buildings, too. There was a third possibility to a new emperor after his elevation to introduce himself: the Roman milestones that stood alongside almost all roads of the empire always carried the name and the titulature of the emperor, and, esp. in the third century, the members of the imperial family. The common people under normal circumstances never met the emperor and saw him only on coins and read his name in milestones and statue bases. On the other hand, the erection of these statues and milestones was the easiest way to a community (any public body) to point out their loyalty to the emperor and the imperial *domus*, as in the case of a milestone of Papienus and Balbinus at Brigetio (AÉp 1994, 1395) who ruled a very short period Maximinus Thrax's assassination. The milestone was erected by the *legio I adiutrix* who participated in the civil war on

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<sup>1</sup> G. ALFÖLDY: Die römische Gesellschaft. Ausgewählte Beiträge. HABES 1. Stuttgart 1986; G. ALFÖLDY: Römische Heeresgeschichte. Beiträge 1962–1985. MAVORS III. Amsterdam 1987; G. ALFÖLDY: Die Krise des Römischen Reiches. Geschichte, Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbetrachtung. Ausgewählte Beiträge. HABES 5. Stuttgart 1989.

Maximinus's side and with the erection of the milestone they wanted to show their loyalty towards the new regime.

In Alföldy's research the epigraphy of the ruling elite of the empire, i.e. the inscriptions erected by or to Roman senators and equestrians always had a special role. The next part of the chapter contains several papers dealing with the *tituli honorarii* of these elite (p. 153–242). In these works he studied separately the statues and bases erected to the members of the senatorial order by the emperor in public places of Rome, earlier in the Forum Romanum and the Capitolium, later in the imperial *fora*, esp. in the Trajan's forum, he examined their types and the reason for the erection. At the same place, he analyzed the question of the senators' grave monuments (p. 175–177). In the appendix the lists of these statue bases were published in comparison to similar stone monuments from Tarraco and Venetia, based on their forms and measurements that can refer to the type of the statue (equestrian, full figure, buste etc.) (p. 182–186). Alföldy also examined here the honorary inscriptions erected by the private sphere (family members, *liberti*, bodies, communities). In the next paper, he examined the problem where these statues were erected (p. 187–203). Alföldy distinguished three different places: his birth-of place (*patria*, province), Rome (as *domicilium*), and other places connected somehow to the senator (where served or travelled esp. in the Greek East). The following study is perhaps the most interesting paper of this selection where Alföldy studied the connection between inscriptions and biography (p. 205–225). However, several inscriptions exist that contain biographic elements as the Monumentum Ancyranum or senatorial *elogia* (*res gestae*), the funerary stone inscriptions and their data cannot be considered as short biographies, but they were documents illustrating the life of a person. On the other hand, in these inscriptions several biographic elements can be found as name, relationship, age, office (usually as pseudo-*cursus honorum*), sometimes merits (for instance of a soldier), circumstances and date of death. It must be added that these data can be found not always in the case of the members of the elite but esp. in Rome in the grave monuments of the lower classes too. G. Alföldy was one of the best (if not the best) experts of the early centuries of the Principate and the Age of Augustus, though he also studied the epigraphic history in Late Antiquity. In the present volume, he ended this section with a paper dealing with the epigraphic habit in late antique Rome (p. 227–242). Despite the generally accepted view of decadence, several public buildings were renewed as based on their building inscriptions, and several *tituli honorarii* were erected to and by the members of the late antique pagan aristocracy as self-representation.

The first chapter of the volume ends with longer summarizing papers on the epigraphy of a selected region, provinces as Hispania (especially Tarraco and Saguntum, i.e. the regions edited by Alföldy himself in the CIL II<sup>2</sup>), Germania, and the Danubian provinces including Pannonia (p. 243–390). In these studies Alföldy always paid special attention to the beginnings of the Latin epigraphy in the given region and how the inscriptions served the process of the Romanization (*Romanisation/Romanisierung*). The carefully selected papers of the first part show the spread of the epigraphic habit from the imperial centre into all provinces of the Latin-speaking part of the Roman Empire.

The last part of the volume bears the title '*Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft der epigraphischen Forschung*' (p. 391–537). In this chapter Alföldy's obituaries were published on H.-G. Pflaum, E. Birley, H. Nesselhauf, and H. von Petrikovits. It also comprises his review on the first volumes of R. Syme's Roman Papers. In the attached appendices (partly written by A. R. Birley), Syme's late epigraphic works were followed, esp. the *cursus* of M. Cornelius Nigrinus

Curvatus Maternus as Alföldy had a totally different view on his career, based on the inscription of Liria. In the next one, the author reviewed another book of Syme (*The Provincial at Rome and the Balkans*). In the following Alföldy's several conference papers on the future of the epigraphy, corpora, esp. the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* are published. The volume ends with a paper of 2005 on the future of CIL II<sup>2</sup> Tarraco as his last work that he could finish. The first volume was published still in his life in 2011. This paper is probably the best summary on the epigraphy of the Hispanian colony (and capital of the province Hispania citerior). As in these papers one can clearly see that Alföldy's one of the greatest merits in the epigraphic research was that he drew our attention to the importance of the careful study of stone monuments (esp. in the case of statue bases) besides the inscriptions. The volume was followed by a detailed *index epigraphicus* similar to a CIL fascicule (unfortunately, its order is not followed).

Those who had the opportunity to attend Alföldy's epigraphic courses at Heidelberg (or for instance, in Hungary) can exactly recall how amazingly he led his audience to the correct solution of his epigraphic 'adventures' (as he called the decipherment of the building inscription of the aqueduct of Segovia). One can always find the same deductions in his papers and monographs written on the given epigraphic problem, too and they were published in several languages (German, Spanish, Italian, English or in Hungarian). I do think that G. Alföldy intended to publish at least a part of them in his last volume, for instance, his papers on the building inscription of the principia of Aalen, the Colosseum, the aqueduct of Segovia, the arch of Medinaceli, the amphitheatre of Tarraco, Pontius Pilatus' Tiberieum or Tacitus' funerary inscription. The lack of these papers is striking in a volume on the author's selected works. In several cases these studies are more important than his grandiose overviews published in this volume. G. Alföldy's epigraphic oeuvre and his method cannot be examined without his case studies mentioned above.

The editors' selection of the papers does not seem quite clear to me. Naturally the epigraphy of Hispania with Tarraco and Rome belonged to the main fields of Alföldy's research. Due to this fact, almost all papers of the volume are dealing with these regions. On the other hand, in this volume only one single study examines his third main area, Pannonia and Illyricum, i.e. the Danubian provinces (Pannonia on four pages). Until his emigration in 1965, and after the fall of the communism in Hungary in 1990 he extensively studied and published papers on the epigraphy and history of Roman Pannonia (and Dalmatia). His last planned work and project – founded by him in 2003 – was the re-edition of all inscriptions of the Pannonian provinces in the CIL III<sup>2</sup> Pannonia, together with a group of Hungarian, Austrian, Serbian and Croatian epigraphers. In his last years (2010–2011) he spent most of his time with the edition of the *Aquincum* volume of the CIL. The edited manuscript of the northern part of the *ager Aquincensis* has been prepared by us.<sup>2</sup> At least one of his papers on the province should have been added, esp. his summary paper on Pannonia on a conference held in 1993, titled 'Pannonia e l'Impero romano'.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The latter one is planned to be published in the series *Tituli Aquincenses* in 2020.

<sup>3</sup> G. ALFÖLDY: *La Pannonia e l'Impero romano*. In: *Atti del convegno internazionale "La Pannonia e l'Impero romano"*. Accademia d'Ungheria e l'Istituto Austriaco di Cultura, Roma, 13–16 gennaio 1994. Ed.: G. Hajnóczy. *Annuario dell'Accademia d'Ungheria*, Roma 1994. Milano 1995, 25–40.

It is also striking that besides Pflaum's, Petrikovits', Nesselhauf's, and Birley's *Nachruf* (and the review of Syme's books) Alföldy's obituaries of the Hungarian researcher Andreas Alföldi are omitted. Alföldi was one of his great supporters in the emigration whom G. Alföldy highly estimated as his commemorations clearly show.<sup>4</sup> Here I must also point out that G. Alföldy's two last conference papers were those of the conference dedicated to the memory of A. Alföldi held in autumn 2011 (and they were published in the acts of the conference in 2015). In this conference G. Alföldy showed again (as many times earlier) his own photo on Alföldi sitting at his working desk with Theodor Mommsen's portrait above him. In my last picture of him (taken most probably by A. R. Birley) Alföldy is holding his paper on A. Alföldy and Pannonia with this slide behind him.

It is also worth to mention that there is no paper on the Epigraphic Database Heidelberg – EDH published in this volume, either that Alföldy held his most important initiation besides the CIL. He published several shorter-longer papers, reports on this project.<sup>5</sup> Naturally, Alföldy's old data concerning the EDH are outdated now (as it was explained in the editorial introduction), but they should have been refreshed in the Appendix by the editors. The foundation of the data bank decades ago (in 1986) clearly shows that G. Alföldy, already in the 1980s, exactly knew the way of the future epigraphy is going on.

185 pictures of good quality were added to the volume in order to illustrate the papers. As most of the stone monuments were men-

tioned several times, they do not follow each other in chronological order. It remains unclear why these figures were minimized (there are two of them per pages), esp. in the cases of ground-plans of *fora* or cities and bigger stone monuments. For instance, the highly interesting ground-plan of Tarraco (as it was analyzed and explained by Alföldy a couple of times) cannot be examined with the attached figure because of its size.

The publication of the volume is highly important, but the decision of the editors can be at least questioned – why they did not follow Alföldy's original plan and published only one single volume instead of the three. Another decision is also dubious. They did not follow Alföldy's earlier volumes of his collected works and several times they changed, refreshed the original text instead of a '*Nachtrag*' after each paper including the up-to-date literature and the debate concerning the study in question. Hopefully, this is not the last selection of Géza Alföldy's epigraphic works and the next one will follow Alföldy's wish. I must also remark that it would be useful to publish another volume comprising the author's papers dealing with Roman Pannonia. It would be a great accomplishment of Pannonian research.

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<sup>4</sup> G. ALFÖLDY: Andreas Alföldi. *Gnomon* 53 (1981) 410–414; *Idem*: Ein Ungar in der Emigration: Andreas Alföldi 1947–1981. In: "Von der Entstehung Roms bis zur Auflösung des Römerreiches." Konferenz zum Gedenken des hundertsten Geburtstages von Andreas Alföldi (1895–1981). Hrsg.: L. Borhy. *DissPann* III.5. Budapest 1999, 14–19; *Idem*: Schlußwort: Erinnerungen an Andreas Alföldi. *Ibid.*, 52–56.

<sup>5</sup> For instance, G. ALFÖLDY: Soziale Mobilität im Römischen Kaiserreich: Eine Datenbank in Heidelberg. In: *La mobilité sociale dans le monde romain. Actes du colloque de Strasbourg* (novembre 1988). Éd.: E. Frézouls. Univ. des Sciences Humaines de Strasbourg, Contributions et travaux de l'Institut d'Histoire Romaine 5. Strasbourg 1992 [1993] 71–79.