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NEW POEMS ON STONE

MIKA KAJAVA

In recent times a number of interesting carmina epigraphica have been unearthed in the territory of Artena, a mediaeval town along the Via Latina some 45 km south of Rome. As in the Middle Ages, Artena would have been part (probably a *vicus*) of Signia (modern Segni) already in Roman times.¹ The name Artena was given to the town only in 1873 after some scholars had argued that the ancient site immediately south of the mediaeval town, which appears to have been deserted as early as the third century B.C., was identical with Artena, a Volscan town recorded by Livy 4,61.² Nowadays, however, when nobody seems to give credit to this proposal, there are those who prefer to locate Ectra, another Volscan town (Liv. 2,26,4; Dion. Hal. 4,49; 10,20-21), in the place of the ruined

* I wish to thank Olli Salomies and Heikki Solin for some useful suggestions concerning the restoration of the first inscription. Furthermore, my thanks are due to Jaakko Frösén and Tiina Puroola for their contribution to the deciphering of the Greek poem published below.

¹ Th. Mommsen, CIL X (ed. 1883) already published the inscriptions from Artena with those of Signia (cf. p. 591); see also the topographical map enclosed in *Rationes decimarum Italiae nei secoli XIII e XIV. Latium, a cura di G. Battelli (Studi e testi 128), Città del Vaticano 1946.*

² W. Gell, *The Topography of Rome and its Vicinity I*, London 1846², 110; A. Nibby, *Analisi storico-topografico-antiquaria della carta de' dintorni di Roma I*, Roma 1837, 271 (ed. 1848², 262). For the site, the Civita, cf. Th. Ashby - G.J. Pfeiffer, in: *Suppl.Papers Amer.School Class.Studies Rome 1* (1905) 87-107; L. Quilici, *NSc.* 1968, 30-74; Id., *La Civita di Artena (Latium vetus 4)*, Rome 1982, passim; R. Lambrechts - P. Fontaine, *NSc.* 1983, 183-213; *Artena I-II (Et.philol.arch.hist.anc.Inst.hist.Belge de Rome 23, 26)*, Bruxelles 1983, 1989; R. Lambrechts, *Arch.Laz.* 7 (1985) 119-126; L. Quilici, in: *Autostrade 27* (1985) 85-87; Id., in: *Mura poligonali. 1° Seminario nazionale di studi, Alatri 1988, 38-44; Id., in: EAA Suppl. (1971-1994) 1, 1994, 456-457.*

city.³ Still others maintain that the old name of the site was Fortinum (Dion. Hal. 5,61; cf. Plin. nat. 3,69, referring to Foreti among the *populi Latini*), especially because the mediaeval town bore the name Montefortino at least from the twelfth century down to the year 1873.⁴ Obviously, on the present evidence one cannot be fully assured of the name of the ancient site.

All the epigraphic documents here discussed have been found in Colle Maiorana, a locality between the municipalities of Artena and Colleferro.⁵ The site now belongs to Artena, but in ancient times, together with Artena and Colleferro, it was part of the relatively large territory of Signia (see maps 150 II S.E and 151 III S.O of the Istituto Geografico Militare).⁶

1. This is a slab of limestone, well dressed in front, fragmentary on each side except the top which is slightly curved. On the upper edge two holes still contain remains of the nails that fixed the stone to a wall or some sort of support. The lettering, *libraria*, is fine-drawn and elegant; no interpuncts are discernible. The slab measures 51 x 34 x 25 cm, the height of the letters varying between 1,2-1,5 cm. Discovered in the early 1980s in Colle dell'Imperatore (which is a part of the above-mentioned Colle Maiorana) in the ruins of a Roman villa, it was later transferred to a

³ Quilici, Civita di Artena (cit. n. 2), 168-171, with many references to earlier research; Id., in: Mura poligonali (cit. n. 2), 44 (cf. already Ashby - Pfeiffer [cit. n. 2], 88-89, who did not exclude this possibility). See, however, F. Coarelli, in: Crise et transformation des sociétés archaïques de l'Italie antique au V^e siècle av. J.-C. (Coll. EFR 137), Rome 1990, 135-136, who prefers to locate Ecetra in the territory of Morolo and Supino, two small localities in the vicinity of Ferentino.

⁴ M.-R. de la Blanchère, MEFR 1 (1881) 171-176; G. De Sanctis, Storia dei Romani II, Firenze 1960², 368; B. Navarra, in: Il Lazio nell'antichità romana (Lunario romano 12), Roma 1982, 423; F. Coarelli, Lazio (Guide archeologiche Laterza), Roma 1993³, 172. For the name cf. also Ashby - Pfeiffer (cit. n. 2), 89; A. Cadderi, Artena (già Montefortino) dalle origini alla fine del secolo XIX (Collana di studi storici-religiosi-letterari 2), Roma 1973, 19-24; R. Lambrechts, in: La civita di Artena, Scavi belgi 1979-1989, Roma 1990, 13-16. For the status of Montefortino in the Middle Ages cf. P. Toubert, Les structures du Latium médiéval. Le Latium méridional et la Sabine du IX^e siècle à la fin du XII^e siècle (BEFAR 221), Rome 1973, II 1075 n. 6, 1129 n. 2.

⁵ CIL X 5962, a simple dedication to Silvanus from the second or third century A.D. (*Silvano sacr. M. Iulius Martialis d. d.*), is reported to have been discovered in the same place together with numerous brick stamps.

⁶ For the territory of Signia cf. M. Kajava, CIL X ed. 2: Signia (forthcoming).



Fig. 1a

former Franciscan convent, where I saw it with Heikki Solin in 1983. For some time now it has been preserved in the Antiquarium of Artena (figs. 1a [Quilici], 1b [neg. DAI 84.387]).

The text has already been treated by Lorenzo Quilici in his rich and well-organized book on "La Civita" near Artena from 1982 (cit. n. 2), pp. 173-180 (fig. in table CVI, 3), where he gives the following reading (which, unfortunately, was never recorded in *L'Année épigraphique*):

*[I]ane Pater qui templa deum caelestia cl[audis]
[cl]ausa tua reseras et reserata ser[as]
[accipe] vota novis haec quae tibi mando ![ibis]
[et fa]ciles aditus da Iovis ad s[.....]
[gente]m Romanam Latiumq(ue) ay[.....]
[ad] pacem stabilitam et viride[m]*

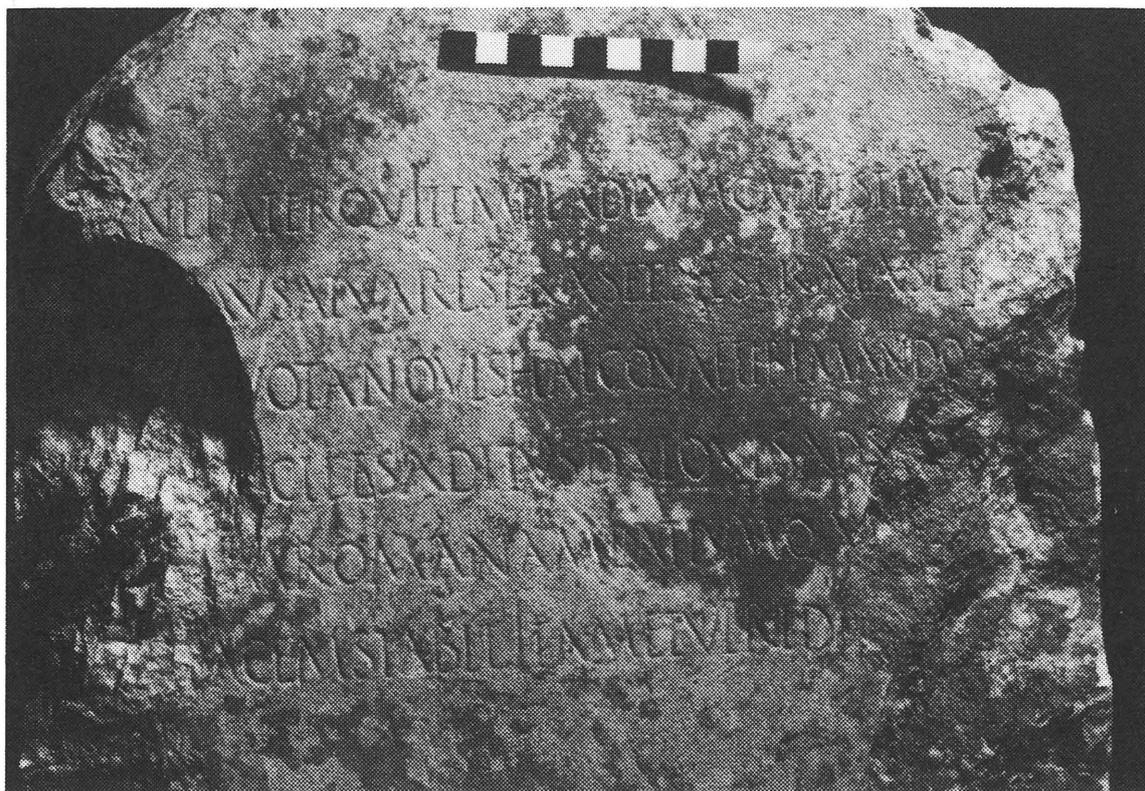


Fig. 1b

As may be immediately seen, this is a prayer composed of three elegiac couplets addressed to *Ianus pater*. Since, however, similar epigraphic poems are a rare occurrence and also because the contents of this singular piece and the restoration of its missing parts may be less evident for the reader, these matters do, I think, deserve further consideration. I shall begin with some lexical and contextual notes; stylistic questions, the genre in which the author wrote, the date as well as the historical context of the poem will be dealt with later on.

Lines 1-2: The habit of beginning a prayer by invoking Janus or *Ianus pater* (this is the most popular epithet of the god⁷) is seemingly very old. In the rituals performed during the *lustratio agri*, for example, Janus was first asked for benevolence and then he was given various offerings followed by those to Jupiter and Ceres (Cato agr. 134: *Thure, vino Iano Iovi Iunoni praefato, prius quam porcum feminam immolabis. Iano struem [c]ommoveto sic: 'Iane pater, te hac strue ommovenda bonas preces precor, uti sies volens propitius mihi liberisque meis domo familiaeque meae' ... postea Iano vinum dato sic: 'Iane pater, uti te strue [c]ommovenda bonas preces bene precatus sum, eiusdem rei ergo macte vino inferio[ri] esto' ... ubi exta prosecta erunt, Iano struem [c]ommoveto mactatoque item, uti prius obmoveris ... item Iano vinum dato et Iovi vinum dato, item uti prius datum ob struem obmovendam et fertum libandum ...* [ed. A. Mazzarino, Teubner 1982]). Likewise, since Janus was the god of every beginning (for instance, the first month, *Ianuarius*, and the first day of each month were from ancient times consecrated to the god),⁸ he was not only invoked at the opening of prayers to different deities but was also the first among the gods to be referred to in public religious ceremonies. The praxis is

⁷ Cf. Macr. Sat. 1,9,16: (*invocemus*) '*Patrem*' quasi *deorum deum*; see also G. Giannelli, *Diz. epigr.* IV,1 (1941-46), 6. For Janus in general, see the following reference works: W.H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Leipzig 1890-94, II,1, 15-55; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (HbAW V,4), München 1902², 91-100; W. Otto, in: *RE Suppl.* III (1918), 1175-1191; G. Radke, *Die Götter Altitaliens*, Münster 1965, 147-149.

⁸ Cf. e.g. Varro ling. 7,9: *penes Ianum prima*; Mart. 8,8,1: *principium des, Iane ... velocibus annis*; Auson. 377,1 p. 98: *Iane nove, primo qui das tua nomina mensi, / Iane bifrons, spectas tempora bina simul*; Id. 332,1 p. 24: *Iane, veni: novus anne, veni: renovate veni, Sol* (*precatio consulis designati pridie Kalendas Ianuarias fascibus sumptis*); Aug. civ. 4,11 p. 160,22: *in Iano initiator*; *ibid.* 7,3 p. 276,4-5: *omnium initiorum potestatem habere Ianum*; *ibid.* 7,9 p. 285,12-13: *penes Ianum ... sunt prima, penes Iovem summa* (cf. *ibid.* p. 285,25-26: *ad Ianum pertinent initia factorum*).

documented for instance in the preserved Acts of the Arval Brethren,⁹ and it is probable that Janus, *duonus cerus* and *divom deus*, was the first among the gods whom the Salii recorded in the very ancient litanies of their *carmen* (Varro ling. 7,26-27; Macr. Sat. 1,9,14.16; cf. also Liv. 8,9,6, preserving a prayer uttered in the year 340 B.C., where Janus is named first among numerous deities: '*Iane, Iuppiter, Mars pater, Quirine, Bellona, Lares, divi Novensiles, di Indigetes, divi, quorum est potestas nostrorum hostiumque, dique Manes, vos precor veneror, veniam peto oroque, uti ...*').¹⁰

In this poem Janus is the one who opens and closes the doors of the celestial temple. The idea of Janus being a door-keeper appears to be of archaic origin. In fact, the two-headed appearance of Janus (*Ianus Geminus*) probably has to be interpreted in reference to his role as a *custos* standing at the door and keeping watch over various gateways and entrances (e.g. Verg. Aen. 7,610: *nec custos absistit limine Ianus*),¹¹ whence the old epithets *Patulcius* and *Clusius*. Naturally, also, being the *numen* of house doors, Janus will have played an important role in the Roman domestic cult.¹² But over the course of time, Janus also began to be regarded as the janitor of the House of the Gods, as is clearly testified by Roman poets from Augustus' time and later. Thus Ov. fast. 1,139 says that

⁹ Acta fratrum Arvalium quae supersunt, rest. et illustr. G. Henzen, Berolini 1874, 144, 147 (cf. CIL VI 2099,I,24 from A.D. 183 and CIL VI 2107,8 from A.D. 224).

¹⁰ Cf. also Cic. nat. deor. 2,27: *principem in sacrificando Ianum esse voluerunt*; Mart. 8,8,3: *te primum pia tura rogent, te vota salutent*; Arnob. nat. 3,29: *quem in cunctis anteponitis precibus*; Macr. Sat. 1,9,3: *Xenon quoque primo Italicon tradit Ianum in Italia primum dis templa fecisse et ritus instituisse sacrorum. Ideo eum in sacrificiis praefationem meruisse perpetuam* (cf. FGrHist III/C no. 824); *ibid.* 1,9,9: *invocarique primum, cum alicui deo res divina celebratur*; Serv. Aen. 1,292: *ipsa (scil. Vesta) et Ianus in omnibus sacrificiis invocantur*. The role of Janus as the deity invoked very early in the morning before the daily routines is also implied by the epithet *Matutinus* (Hor. sat. 2,6,20-22: *Matutine pater, seu Iane libentius audis, / unde homines operum primos vitaeque labores / instituunt, etc.*).

¹¹ Cf. now E. Simon, in: LIMC V,1 (1990), 618, with references to her own research on the subject. See further E. Norden, *Aus altrömischen Priesterbüchern*, Lund - Leipzig 1939, 153; P. Grimal, *Le dieu Janus et les origines de Rome* (Lettres d'humanité 4), Paris 1945, 31 ff.

¹² D.G. Orr, in: ANRW II: 16,2 (1978), 1562.

Janus was *caelestis ianitor aulae*.¹³ But Janus' role as a door-keeper also reminds one of the way in which the doors of his own temple in Rome were opened at the declaration of war and remained firmly closed in time of peace. This practice was, however, largely canonized only in consequence of the Augustan propaganda, where Janus adopted the role of the initiator of war and peace¹⁴ (the Emperor himself was proud of having closed the Ianus Geminus three times during his reign¹⁵). Earlier, according to the extant sources, such a measure had been taken only once (omitting what is related about the opening on King Numa's order), i.e. after the first Punic war in 235 B.C.¹⁶

templa deum caelestia: the author's mention of 'the sacred shrines of the gods' brings to mind, more than anything else, the verses of Lucretius: cf. *Lucr.* 5,490: *altaque caeli ... fulgentia templa*; 5,1188: *in caeloque deum sedis et templa locarunt*; 5,1204-05: *magni caelestia mundi / templa*; 6,387-388: *fulgentia... / terrifico quatiunt sonitu caelestia templa* (cf. *Ter. Eun.* 590: *at quem deum! qui templa caeli summa sonitu concutit*); 6,670: *caelestia templa*; 6,1274: *cuncta...caelestia templa*.¹⁷ It is true that in

¹³ Cf. *ibid.* 1,125: *praesideo foribus caeli cum mitibus Horis: / it redit officio Iuppiter ipse meo* (note, by the way, that *Ov. fast.* 1,89-288 is also otherwise important for the explanation of various features of Janus). The same idea, though with a Christian tone, still endured in mediaeval poetry, see e.g. *Ianitor aetheriae commissis clavibus aulae* (MGH Poet. V 428,2,3,1), or *Ianitor o caeli, decus et lux aurea mundi* (*ibid.* 426,1,6,1), both from the early tenth century. Occasionally early Christian inscriptions name St. Peter as the door-keeper of the Kingdom of Heaven, thus ICVR 4786a = Diehl, ILCV 1761c: *Ianitor hic caeli est fidei petra culmen honoris* (A.D. 440/461). In ICI 6: Umbria no. 46 from Spolegium (cf. E. Bormann, CIL XI p. 699), Petrus is *arbiter in terris, ianitor in superis*; cf. also Diehl, ILCV 2349 (Bononia): *claviger Petrus*. Finally, a verse preserved in mediaeval codices, once 'supra portam S. Petri' in the Vatican, is reported to have read as follows: *Ianitor ante fores fixit sacraria Petrus*, etc. (De Rossi, ICVR II p. 458 no. 3; cf. p. 99 no. 7).

¹⁴ This is again clearly depicted by *Ov. fast.* 1,279-281: *ut populo reditus pateant ad bella profecto, tota patet dempta ianua nostra sera. Pace fores obdo, ne qua discedere possit*. Another famous passage relating to the temple's doors is in *Verg. Aen.* 7,607-610: *Sunt geminae Belli portae (sic nomine dicunt) / religione sacrae et saevi formidine Martis; / centum aerei claudunt vectes aeternaque ferri / robora, nec custos absistit limine Ianus*.

¹⁵ *R. Gest. div. Aug.* 13,42-45.

¹⁶ *Liv.* 1,19. Wissowa (cit. n. 7), 92; Simon (cit. n. 11), 618. For the temple of Ianus Geminus, see H. Bauer, *RM* 84 (1977) 301-329 and especially F. Coarelli, *Il Foro Romano. Periodo arcaico*, Roma 1983, 89-97.

¹⁷ For *templa* in Lucretius' work, cf. especially the comments of C. Bailey in: *Titi Lucreti Cari De rerum natura libri sex*, vol. II, Oxford 1947, 620.

Roman poetry *templa* sometimes occurs in conjunction with *deum/deorum* (cf. also *infera templa*, etc.), but since the above-mentioned expressions, especially the connection between *templa* and *caelestia/caeli*, are hard to find in the work of other poets, it does not seem impossible that the phrase *templa deum caelestia* in fact goes back to Lucretius, perhaps through some intermediate source.

tua (scil. *manu*): Quilici (p. 175) did not exclude the possibility that instead of *tua* (which he believed referred to *templa*) one could interpret *lua* (the first letter in effect very much resembles an L), though the first alternative seemed preferable, "data la rarità, nell'uso comune, del sostantivo *lua*" (but I am able to trace only *Lua*, the name of a cult-partner of Saturn, mentioned a couple of times by Roman writers). In the present context I cannot think of any other possibility than *tua* (ablative) with *manu* omitted, despite the fact that this expression seems to be most rare: a look at ThLL reveals in effect that there is not a single example of *mea* being used alone in the place of *mea manus*.¹⁸

reseras/reserata - *seras*: whilst *reserare* 'to open' (from *sera*, -ae 'bolt, bar') frequently occurs in the jargon of Roman poets from the earliest Empire (but earlier, too: for an Ennian passage cf. below), with clear connotations of high style rather than prose,¹⁹ *serare* 'to bar, to bolt, to lock' appears to be very rarely attested in Roman literature. According to the standard manuals of etymology,²⁰ it does not occur before the sixth century (cf. Ps. Ven. Fort. vita Med. 6,17: *obstaculo nullo serata ipsa dedit praeda tinnitum*), and it is true that this verb, *ser(r)are*, begins to be more frequently found only in mediaeval sources, being used later in almost all

¹⁸ Cf., however, *tuas* (= *tuas litteras*), *mea* (= *mea era*, *coniunx*, etc.): J.B. Hofmann - A. Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik* (HbAW II,2,2), München 1965, 823.

¹⁹ Cf. Ov. fast. 1,70: *et resera nutu candida templa tuo*; also, referring to Janus, who inaugurates every new year, Ov. Pont. 4,4,23: *ergo ubi, Iane biceps, longum reseraveris annum*, and Plin. paneg. 58,3: *aperire annum fastosque reserare*; see also M. Helzle, *Publii Ovidii Nasonis Epistularum ex Ponto liber IV. A Commentary on Poems 1 to 7 and 16* (Spudasmata 43), Hildesheim - Zürich - New York 1989, 113, commenting on Pont. 4,4,23.

²⁰ A. Walde - J.B. Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1954³, 520; A. Ernout - A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, Paris 1959⁴, 616.

Romance languages.²¹ There is, however, some evidence from earlier times: Varro ling. 7,108: *sardare ab serare dictum, id est aperire; hinc etiam 'sera', qua remota fores panduntur*, though making a mistake in his etymological explanation for *sardare* ("fantaisie étymologique pour expliquer *sardare*", Ernout - Meillet, cit. n. 20), at least testifies to the existence of the verb *serare* in his time. But why he should have said that *serare* is equivalent to *aperire*, is not quite clear (though, of course, '*aperire*' would in a way explain '*sardare*', i.e. '*intelligere*'), or is it that in early times *serare* was also used to denote the act of opening? Be that as it may, the same relation between *serare* and *aperire* was put forward by the author of the Brev. Expos. Verg. georg. 1,393: *serenitas ... eo, quod seret caelum, idest aperiat. Eleganter id epitheton nominis etymologiam ostendit; serenum enim dictum est a serando idest aperiendo*. Who knows whether this evidence was taken from Varro? There is, however, a third passage from the fifth century where the significance of *serare* is correctly understood. So the commentator of Vergil's Aeneid says: *insertas aut 'clatratas' aut 'non seratas', ut sit quasi 'inseratas', id est, non clausas* (Serv. Aen. 3,152). Here *serare* is manifestly taken to mean 'to close'. The verb is similarly explained by Serg. gramm. IV 543,1 (not before Servius): *item sero quod est claudio, unde sera dicta est*, and Prisc. gramm. II 532,6 (early sixth century): '*sero saras', a sera obdita natum* (cf. Id. II 443,19-20). Other mentions of the verb include Prob. inst. gramm. IV 186,23 (third century): *sero seras, sero seris*; Consent. gramm. V 384,25-26 (fifth century): *pando et sero ... pandi et pandavi, serui et seravi*; Eutyech. gramm. V 486,13 (sixth century): *sero ... seras a nomine quod est haec sera*.

Line 3: In the beginning one probably has to supplement [*accipe*], which often opens a phrase, being attested in this function not only in Roman poetry (especially Propertius) but also in mediaeval.²² For some examples see Plaut. Amph. 1101: *haec quae dicam accipe*; Lucil. 1032: *hoc etiam accipe quod dico*; Ov. Pont. 2,8,44: *accipe non dura supplicis aure preces*; Lucan. 8,142-3: *Accipe, numen, / ... votorum extrema meorum*.

²¹ D. Du Cange, Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis, ed. nova a L. Favre, VII, Niort 1886, 434-435; W. Meyer-Lübke, Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, Heidelberg 1935³, no. 7867; J.F. Niermeyer, Mediae Latinitatis lexicon minus, Leiden 1976, 961.

²² D. Schaller - E. Könngen, Initia carminum Latinorum saeculo undecimo antiquiorum, Göttingen 1977, 5-6. *Accipe* is also otherwise attested in the extant carmina epigraphica.

At the end Quilici (p. 177) suggested *!/[ibis]* (cf. ThLL VII,2, coll. 1353-54),²³ which, however, is not good for metrical reasons. There are two alternative ways to proceed: 1) a trisyllable beginning with a consonant with a long middle syllable. In that case the final *o* of *mando* would be short (as was common in 'silver Latin' poetry and later²⁴); 2) a quadrisyllable beginning with a vowel with a long third syllable. If so, the *o* of *mando* would be elided (cf. the other cases of elision in lines 5 and 6). In the first case, assuming that the word really begins with an L (as was already suggested by Quilici), I cannot think of any other word than *libellus* which was also used of a single poem or verse (examples are cited in ThLL VII,2, coll. 1268-69). Note further that *libellus* also means 'petition' (equivalent to *supplicatio* or *preces*, according to ThLL); accordingly, although a *libellus* was always addressed to a ruler or to a magistrate, it may be that the notion of 'petition' is also inherent in the poem (for *libellus* with the verb *mando* cf. Ov. epist. 17,145: *tacito mando mea verba libello*). Admittedly, however, since the first letter remains uncertain, one could also propose some other reading, e.g. *p[iaclis]* or the like. If, then, the latter alternative is preferred (i.e. a word beginning with a vowel), there are only two possibilities to be considered, either I or E. Consequently, since what is needed here is a dactyl followed by a spondee, the possibility cannot be excluded that the word juxtaposed with *novis* is *e[legeis]*. Though rarely attested in literature (ThLL V,2, coll. 339-340), *elegia/elezea* would nonetheless fit the present context perfectly, being also attested in an encomiastic verse from the time of Constantine the Great: *Accipe picta novis elegis, lux aurea mundi, / clementis pia signa dei votumque perenne* (Opt. Porf. carm. 8,1-2; the lexical similarities to our poem are underlined).

²³ On *libum* 'sacrificial cake', a habitual offering to Liber Pater, see J. Linderski, *Latomus* 34 (1975) 209-210 = *Roman Questions. Selected Papers* (HABES 20), Stuttgart 1995, 366-367.

²⁴ The earliest known occurrence of a similar scansion of the first person singular is in Prop. 3,9,35: *non ego velifera tumidum mare findo carina*, for which see Properzio. Il Libro Terzo delle Elegie. Introduzione, testo e commento di Paolo Fedeli, Bari 1985, 321-322; cf. Ov. am. 3,2,26 (*tollo*); Ov. Pont. 1,7,56 (*caedo*). See also R. Kühner - Fr. Holzweissig, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache I*, Hannover 1912², 113; Fr. Vollmer, *Römische Metrik*, in: A. Gercke - E. Norden, *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft I*, Leipzig - Berlin 1927³, 8, 20; M. Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre* (HbAW II,2,1), München 1977², 110; E. Panichi, *Grammatica storica della lingua latina. Il vocalismo*, Roma 1977, 219.

Line 4: The line refers to the idea that Janus, being the janitor of the heavenly shrines (cf. above), is the one to whom offerings should be brought in order to gain admission to other gods. This is explicitly illustrated by Ov. fast. 1,171-174, where the poet inquires the reason for such a practice: '*cur, quamvis aliorum numina placem, / Iane, tibi primum tura merumque fero?*' (the god replies) '*ut possis aditum per me, qui limina servo, / ad quoscumque voles ... habere deos*'. Cf. also Arnob. nat. 3,29: *quem* (scil. *Ianum*) ... *viam vobis pandere deorum ad audientiam creditis*, and Macr. Sat. 1,9,9: *invocarique primum, cum alicui deo res divina celebratur, ut per eum pateat ad illum cui immolatur accessus, quasi preces supplicum per portas suas ad deos ipse transmittat*.

faciles aditus: cf. ThLL I coll. 694 ff. A common expression, as opposed to *angusti aditus* (Verg. georg. 4,35), *aditus maligni* (Verg. Aen. 11,525) and, naturally, *difficiles aditus* (e.g. Hor. serm. 1,9,56). For some examples cf. the following: *faciles aditus ad eum privatorum* (Cic. Manil. 41); *ad dominam faciles aditus per carmina quaero* (Tib. 2,4,19); *dum faciles aditus praebet venerabile templum* (Ov. Pont. 3,3,91); *haud facili aditu ad moenia* (Liv. 32,23,6); *quo ... non facilis nostris aditus dabatur* (Bell. Alex. 17,4); ... *ut facilisque tuis aditus sit et arduus hosti* (Paneg. in Mess. 87); *nobis ianuae faciles praestaret aditus* (Apul. met. 4,14,8). For *faciles aditus ad homines* etc., cf. ThLL I col. 699. *Aditum dare*: e.g. Nep. Paus. 3,3; Val. Max. 6,2,7; Sen. nat. 7,30,4; Cic. de orat. 3,7; Dessau, ILS 6245 (Tibur).

Regarding the end of line 4, at first sight the most obvious restoration would be *s[tatuam]*, but this word was very rarely used of the statues of gods.²⁵ Perhaps one should consider *s[peciem]* with the significance 'figure, image' (cf. Cic. div. 1,20: *sancta Iovis species*), unless it was used metaphorically of Jupiter; or perhaps *species* refers to a vision, a supernatural appearance of the god (cf. OLD p. 1799).²⁶

Line 5: Here Quilici (p. 176 f.) had proposed either *[--- re]m Romanam* or *[gente]m Romanam*, at the beginning, and *av[itum]* or *av[ortum]*, at the end, noting, however, that these supplements are not

²⁵ For Cato orat. 72, see the comments of M.T. Sblendorio Cugusi, in: M. Porci Catonis Orationum reliquiae (Historica, politica, philosophica. Il pensiero antico - Studi e testi 12), Torino 1982, 250. Cf. also Sen. nat. 2,42,1: *statuas suas* (scil. *Iovis*).

²⁶ The other alternatives put forward by Quilici (p. 176: "per provare delle ipotesi") do not recommend themselves (*seculum, solacium, sodalicium, spiritum*). The possibility of *s[ociam]*, i.e. Juno, seems to me too complicated in the present context.

metrically apposite (p. 177 n. 13). Furthermore, he argued that the whole verse would end with a desiderative verb, "che finalizzi tutto *ad] pacem* della riga seguente." It seems to me, however, that one has to find another solution. Since the last visible trace of line 5 cannot belong to any other letter than a V, I first thought of a phrase like *[ut re]m Romanam Latiumq(ue) a v[ertice servet]*, which in fact sounds good metrically, but then I noticed that this verse is nothing but a reproduction of a phrase in Ennius' *Annals*: *audirest operae pretium, procedere recte / qui rem Romanam Latiumque augecere vultis* (Enn. ann. 465-466).²⁷ The passage must have been well known in antiquity since the first verse of the Ennian couplet was directly borrowed by Horace in his sat. 1,2,37, and it was also used by Varro Men. 542 as well as some grammarians (Victorin. gramm. VI 67,7; Mart. Cap. 3,272). The occasion when the Ennian words were first spoken cannot, of course, be known;²⁸ what is more interesting from our point of view is the fact that a verse from Ennius has found its way to a poem inscribed on stone some 350 or 400 years later in the Roman country-side (cf. below). The author of it need not, of course, have known that the phrase goes back as far as Ennius, but he probably learned it from some secondary source. Another famous example of the juxtaposition of *res Romana* and *Latium* is found in the *carmen saeculare* of Horace, lines 65-68: *si Palatinas videt aequus arces, / remque Romanam Latiumque felix / alterum in lustrum meliusque semper / prorogat aevum*. Here the reference is to gods protecting Rome (or all that belongs to the *res Romana*) and Latium so that the future era will be better and more stable (cf. line 6 in our poem).²⁹

As to the restoration of the line, it would seem that there is a final clause containing the request addressed to Jupiter. It would be natural if it began with an *ut*-clause (or perhaps rather with a final relative clause, i.e. *[qui r]em*, so as to preserve the Ennian diction). The end is, however,

²⁷ Cf. also Cato orig. 20: *eo res eorum auxit* (from *augescere*).

²⁸ Some (though rather hopeless) suggestions concerning the historical context have been collected by O. Skutsch, *The Annals of Q. Ennius*, Oxford 1985, 653.

²⁹ Note further an old formula preserved in the commentarium of the seventh Secular Games of A.D. 204: [... *te* (scil. *Apollinem*) *quaeso pr]ecorque uti tu [imperium maiestat]emque p. R. Q. duelli domique auxis utiqu{a}e semper Latinus obtemperassit* (V^a 56; G.B. Pighi, *De ludis saecularibus populi Romani Quiritium libri sex*, Amsterdam 1965², 164). The same formula will have been pronounced also during the fifth Games in 17 B.C. (Pighi, cit., 114 l. 94, 116 l. 127).

more difficult. If *augescere* is correct, as I think it is, we could restore, for instance, *au[gescere curet]*, the verb *curare* which, by the way, appears a few times in the Annals of Ennius being here construed with Accusativus cum infinitivo (*vellet*, on the model of *vultis* in Enn. ann. 466, does not sound good in the present context). For the common idea that Jupiter, the supreme god, was responsible for expanding the Roman rule and for maintaining Rome's greatness, cf. below.

Line 6: It would be natural that the request expressed in the previous line continued here, so the restoration [*et*] seems to me apposite. At the end one could propose the verb *revocare* which sometimes has *pax* as its object (cf. Vell. 2,89,3: *revocata pax*; Sen. Thy. 576: *alta pax urbi revocata laetae est*). *Reparet*, *referat* (or *redigat*) seem to me less plausible. As for *viridis* 'fresh, vigorous, retaining one's vigour', I cannot find any cases of it occurring with *pax*, but no doubt *pax* could be given the epithet *viridis*. For the idea of *pax stabilis*, cf. e.g. Ps. Sall. rep. 1,6,5: *pacem et concordiam stabilivisse*; Flor. epit. 4,9,1: *ad pacis stabilitatem*.

On the other hand, one could also restore [*ad*] at the beginning. In that case, however, one should need a suitable word after *viridem* (or *virides*). One solution that comes to mind is *viride[m aetatem]*, though in that case the final dactyl would be replaced by a spondee but this is somewhat disturbing, considering the comparative rarity of a spondaic fifth foot in pentametric verses. One could also argue that such a metrical solution was intentional, considering that this is the closing verse of the poem, obviously the most momentous and, let it be noted, the most "peaceful" part of it (note also that at the beginning of the verse there is a spondaic metre, whilst in lines 2 and 4 the same position is occupied by a dactyl). If, then, *aetatem* is accepted, which, however, I do not recommend, one should note that it occurs in conjunction with *viridis* in a funerary poem from the late Republic: *heic viridis aetas cum floreret artibus* (CIL I² 1214, l. 7 = VI 10096 = Bücheler, CE 55 = Dessau, ILS 5213), and the expression is also found in some literary sources, as in Plin. epist. 1,12,5; Amm. 31,9,5: *aetatis viriditatem*; cf. also Colum. 1, praef. 12: *cum istud opus ... viridem aetatem cum robore corporis ... desideret*.

But there is, of course, still another possible way to interpret the construction of the final verses: in line 5 there could be a simple affirmation that Jupiter has created the greatness of Rome (e.g. *qui rem Romanam Latiumq(ue) augescere fecit*) and so the sixth line would begin with a final *ut*-clause. Also, one could suppose that the proper prayer

followed in line 6: *Da pacem stabilitam*, etc. Such a prayer could be addressed either to Janus or to Jupiter (cf. the imperatives [*accipe*] and *da* in lines 3-4). For *dare*, cf. Plaut. Merc. 678: *Apollo, quaeso te, ut des pacem propitius*; Gell. hist. 15: *Neria Martis, te obsecro, pacem dato*, etc.).

In any case, even if the request for peace was formally directed to Jupiter, it seems to me that Janus, too, is here regarded as a deity who is able to bring peace to human beings. He was, in effect, the god who had control over war and peace and, moreover, being the ancient king of Latium, he was also regarded as the saviour of its people.³⁰ The extant sources show that this is one of the characteristic features of Janus during the Imperial period, going back to the above-mentioned idea of the doors of Ianus Geminus being opened and closed according to the alternation of war and peace, cf. Hor. epist. 2,1,255: *custodem pacis ... Ianum*; Ov. fast. 1,253: *nil mihi cum bello: pacem postesque tuebar*; Mart. 8,66,11-12: *pacificus Ianus*; Plut. quaest. Rom. 19: τὸν Ἴανὸν ... πολιτικὸν καὶ γεωργικὸν μᾶλλον ἢ πολεμικὸν γενόμενον.

After these remarks, it is time to propose a new reading for the poem. Needless to say, the conjectural supplements in lines 3-6 remain partly hypothetical. Note that the suggested words on the right-hand side would not mean crowding the letters, since the margin is slightly broken.

[I]ane Pater, qui templa deum caelestia cl[audis],
 [cl]ausa tua reseras et reserata ser[as],
 [accipe] vota novis haec quae tibi mando ![ibellis]
 [et fa]ciles aditus da Iovis ad s[peciem],
 5 [qui re]m Romanam Latiumq(ue) au[gescere curet]
 [et] pacem stabilitam et viride[m revocet].

Regarding the poem's date, the lettering seems to suggest roughly a period between c. A.D. 150-225. Now, what is interesting is that we happen to know another literary invocation to Janus from around the same

³⁰ For some Hadrianic coins depicting Janus as the primal protector of Latium, cf. BMC Emp. III 254 no. 100 (aureus), *ibid.* 437 no. 1335 (as; Janus quadrifrons), with the comments of Simon (*cit. n.* 11), 621-622. Note also BMC Emp. IV 210 no. 1317, an Antonine coin (A.D. 140/144), where the figure of Janus has been taken to represent the god as the patron of Latium (thus P.V. Hill, *The Dating and Arrangement of the Undated Coins of Rome A.D. 98-148*, London 1970, 91, 184 no. 263), but see R. Turcan, in: ANRW II:17,1 (1981), 389-390.

period, viz. the longest preserved fragment of the *novellus* Septimius Serenus (whose *floruit* is likely to be located in the second half of the second century A.D.): *Iane pater, Iane tuens, dive biceps biformis, / o cate rerum sator, o principium deorum, / stridula cui limina, cui cardinei tumultus, / cui reserata mugiunt aurea claustra mundi. / Tibi vetus ara caluit aborigineo sacello* (Sept. Ser. carm. frg. 23).³¹ There are some common features in both poems, especially at the beginning: repetition and alliteration (*claudis - clausa - reseras - reserata - seras; Iane pater - Iane tuens - biceps - biformis - cui* [three times]) and chiasm (*clausa reseras - reserata seras; rerum sator - principium deorum*), all typical elements of the neoteric poetry. As is well known, the *novelli* had a liking for various sorts of archaisms, lexical as well as stylistic. It seems to me that in our poem also there is something archaic in the invocation of lines 1-2, the repetition being an old characteristic of various prayers and magic formulae. And perhaps the rare verb *serare*, which is attested by Varro (cf. above), is also more usual in the archaic style (note also, by the way, that *catus* in Serenus' fragment is an Ennian archaism). Moreover, one should pay attention to the use of *reserata claustra* in Septimius Serenus (also in his frg. 22), an expression (*claustra reserare*) that is also otherwise attested in post-classical literature (e.g. Sil. 7,334; 13,843; Amm. 23,4,6; Sulp. Sev. dial. 3,4,3), but which, remarkably, may be known also from Enn. ann. 7,210, where perhaps *reserare* has *claustra (Musarum)* as its object.³² Be that as it may, both poems have something in common thematically, e.g. the reference to Janus' role as a door-keeper.

In brief, it seems to me that this new epigraphic invocation to Janus is best regarded as an amalgamation of a number of diverse elements: Ennian and perhaps Lucretian reminiscences mixed with some stylistic aspects of neoteric poetry and a few glimpses of old ritual language.

As has been noted above, the inscription was found in the ruins of a Roman villa in Colle dell'Imperatore (part of Colle Maiorana), situated very near to the Roman *statio* at the *bivium* of the Via Labicana and the Via Latina, and thus in the borderland between Latium vetus and Latium

³¹ See especially I frammenti dei "poetae novelli". Introduzione, testo critico e commento a cura di Silvia Mattiacci (Testi e commenti 7), Roma 1982, 195-201.

³² Skutsch (cit. n. 28), 375 argued that "*reserare* already at the time of Ennius had become wholly abstract and divorced from its basic concrete situation".

adiectum.³³ At the same place there was also a mid-Republican period sanctuary which perhaps functioned as a territorial landmark.³⁴ The villa itself, probably the nucleus of a large *fundus*, will have belonged to big landowners who had their own baths, edifices for spectacles and various shrines (the invocation itself does not, of course, imply a cult of Janus at the site³⁵). This is the environment where this epigraphic poem was originally exposed. Whether it was also composed there or whether some literate man from outside was commissioned to write it is a different matter. In any case, the owners of the villa or perhaps simply the literary atmosphere of the place were of such a nature that they produced a good piece of erudite poetry.

There is something more, however. At the same site was found a remarkable poem in Greek that was already known in the eighteenth century and which has now turned out to be a Stoic hymn telling the story of creation.³⁶ The creator is probably Zeus, as in the famous hymn of Cleanthes, and there is some evidence to suggest that the author of the hymn was no less a person than the sophist and writer Claudius Aelianus who lived in nearby Praeneste around the Severan period. Such a discovery gives further reason to believe that at the villa there was indeed some sort of cultural activity and that it was visited by persons with literary interests. Here is the hymn as it was restored by Luigi Moretti (for later modifications and new proposals for restoration, especially those by W. Luppe, see the references cited in n. 36):

³³ The *statio ad bivium* at the thirtieth mile of the Via Latina is to be identified with the later S. Ilario, cf. K. Miller, *Itineraria Romana. Römische Reisewege an der Hand der Tabula Peutingeriana dargestellt*, Stuttgart 1916, col. 328; Th. Ashby, *PBSR* 1 (1902) 279-280; 4 (1907) 6-8, 11; 5 (1910) 422-423; Quilici, *Civita di Ardena* (cit. n. 2), 123 n. 160; V. Flocchi Nicolai, *Rend.Pontif.Acc.Arch.* 61 (1988-89) 73.

³⁴ Cf. Quilici, *Civita di Ardena* (cit. n. 2), 162 and the map at the end of the volume (tav. CIX: site n. 271).

³⁵ The cult of Janus in the proper sense of the word is very rarely attested and almost non-existent in Italy (cf. *CIL* XI 5374 from Asisium; there is more evidence in Dalmatia and Africa), see G. Giannelli, *Diz. epigr.* IV,1 (1941-46), 11. Janus was mostly recorded in various ritual formulae, the images of the god being rare in any context.

³⁶ L. Moretti, in: *Scritti storico-epigrafici in memoria di Marcello Zambelli* (Pubbl.Fac.Lett.Univ. Macerata 5), Roma 1978, 251-256, fig. tab. XXIV (= *SEG* XXVIII 793). Cf. also W. Peek, *ZPE* 35 (1979) 168-169; W. Luppe, *ZPE* 46 (1982) 163-166 (= *SEG* XXXII 1020); R. Merkelbach, *ZPE* 49 (1982) 204.

- []νος ἄμφω
 [ἡέλιον πλά]νητα σελήνην
 [οὐρανῶ ἐ]νκατένασσε καὶ ἀστέρας αἰγλήεντας·
 [καὶ κύκλο]ν ὠράων ἀπὸ χίματος ἐς φίλον εἶαρ
 5 [θῆκε, καὶ] ἐξ ἕαρος θέρεος δ' ἐπὶ τέκμαρ ὀπώρης·
 [αἰθέρ]α κοσμήσας χρυσίζοον, ἐξετέλεσσε
 [καὶ νέ]φρα σκίοεντα καὶ ὠκυπετήνας ἀήτας
 [καὶ βότανα] χλοάοντα καὶ οὔρεα δενδρήεντα
 [καὶ πέδι' ἀ]νθεμόεντα καὶ ἰχθυόεντας ἀναύρους·
 10 [φῦλον δ' ἐβλάστ]ησε θεοῖς ἄγγιστα ἐοικός
 [ἀνθρώπων, κραδί]ην τε καὶ ἥπιον ἔνδοθι θυμόν,
 [θηρῶν εἶδεα πάντα] καὶ οἰωνῶν πτεροέντω[ν].

Regarding the contents of this cosmogony, we may note that Janus, too, continuously adopted new features which was typical of the syncretistic thinking of the first Imperial centuries. In later Imperial times he was regarded not only as the god who opened mundane doors and kept watch over gateways, but Janus gradually became the key of the universe, some sort of demiurge. But this idea had appeared already in earlier times, as may be seen in a fragment of the augur M. Messalla from Cicero's time, preserved in Macr. Sat. 1,9,14: *qui cuncta fingit eademque regit, aquae terraeque vim ac naturam gravem atque pronam in profundum dilabentem, ignis atque animae levem in immensum sublime fugientem, copulavit circumdato caelo: quae vis caeli maxima duas vis dispares colligavit.*³⁷ In Ov. fast. 1,103 Janus is identified with Chaos (*me Chaos antiqui ... vocabant*), in Aug. civ. 7,7,8 ff. p. 282-284, passim, and Serv. Aen. 7,610 he is equivalent to *mundus* (cf. Macr. Sat. 1,9,11). Lyd. mens. 4,2 (sixth century A.D.) refers to the following characterizations of Janus: δαίμονα αὐτὸν εἶναι ... τεταγμένον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀέρος, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐχὰς ἀναφέρεσθαι τοῖς κρείττοσι (cf. Macr. Sat. 1,9,13) and, later on, δύναμιν αὐτὸν εἶναι τινα ... ἐφ' ἑκατέρας Ἄρκτου τεταγμένην καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς θειοτέρας ἐπὶ τὸν σεληνιακὸν χορὸν ἀποπέμπειν. Finally, according to Proclus, in a hymn to Hecate and Janus (Procl. H. VI 2-3, 14-15), the god is προπάτωρ, being placed on a par with Ζεὺς ἄφθιτος or

³⁷ Cf. also Mart. 10,28,1: *Annorum nitidique sator pulcherrime mundi*. Macrobius, when explaining the epithet *Consivius*, affirms that Janus was thus called *a conserendo, id est a propagine generis humani, quae Iano auctore conseritur* (Sat. 1,9,16).

ὑπατος.³⁸ Although these characterizations of Janus somehow remind one of the contents of the Stoic hymn on the creation, one has to remember that similar, syncretistic ideas of a universal spirit were quite popular in the philosophical or quasi-philosophical thinking of the time.

Finally, I shall make some observations on the historical context in which the new poem from Colle Maiorana was produced. The last verse, evidently a request for peace and external tranquility, seems to suggest that it was composed at a difficult moment, perhaps during or after a war (unless it was an imaginary request written on the model of the firmly-rooted topos of the contrast of war and peace, golden era and chaos, etc.). The above considerations (lettering and style) would seem to suggest a date in the latter part of the second century A.D., perhaps its last decades, though the Severan period cannot be excluded. A look at what we know about the crises in the Roman world in these times would probably allow a dating anywhere within this period. Yet the era that first comes to one's mind is the reign of Commodus (though, if one wishes to go forward in time, critical situations and difficult moments are easily found elsewhere, too).³⁹ After the year 180 and the difficult wars under Marcus, this emperor, apparently at least, had brought new prospects for peace to the Roman citizens, for which the Senate later called him εἰρηνοποιός.⁴⁰ In 184 there had been a splendid celebration of the bicentennial of the Augustan *ludi saeculares*. In the next year Commodus adopted the title

³⁸ Procli hymni, ed. E. Vogt (Klass.-philol. Studien, Heft 18), Wiesbaden 1957, 31, 72-74. Cf. also Arnob. nat. 3,29: *Incipiamus ergo sollemniter ab Iano et nos patre, quem quidam ex vobis mundum, annum alii, solem esse prodidere nonnulli*. Some of these ideas seem to go back to Cornelius Labeo, a Roman antiquarian from the third century A.D. (H. Kusch, Reallexikon f. Antike und Christentum III 429-437); for Janus in his theology cf. P. Mastandrea, Un neoplatonico latino: Cornelio Labeone (EPRO 77), Leiden 1978, 21-43; Turcan (cit. n. 30), 399.

³⁹ One may think of the proscriptions under Commodus and his successors, now conveniently listed by P.M.M. Leunissen, *Konsuln und Konsulare in der Zeit von Commodus bis Severus Alexander (180-235 n. Chr.)*, Amsterdam 1989, 399-403.

⁴⁰ Dio 72,15,5. For Commodus' peace with the Germans, cf. G. Alföldy, *Historia* 20 (1971) 84-109 = *Die Krise des Römischen Reiches (HABES 5)*, Stuttgart 1989, 25-68. Note also that Commodus was represented as a peacemaker on coins and medallions even before his reign, cf. M. Gherardini, *Studien zur Geschichte des Kaisers Commodus (Diss. Univ. Graz 27)*, Wien 1974, 45-46.

Felix.⁴¹ Around the same period, the god Janus appears to have become a tool of the official propaganda, as is clearly shown by the coinage and medallions of the time.⁴² And it is hardly a coincidence that in 186 precisely 900 years had passed from the time when King Numa founded the cult of Janus in Rome. The coins manifestly propagate a *renovatio temporum* which is occasionally underlined by the legend TELLVS STABIL(ita) (note the *pax stabilita* in our poem).⁴³ Note, also, that a denarius from A.D. 193, representing the figure of a standing Janus, bears the legend IANO CONSERVAT(ori).⁴⁴ The issue was planned for 1 January 193, too late for Commodus, since he was assassinated on the last day of 192. In general terms, then, the prevailing themes on Commodus' coins were the perpetual felicity of the Emperor as well as the salvation of the human race (though, of course, this being mere propaganda, the reality of the situation in Rome will have looked very different⁴⁵). Finally, let it be noted that in a dedication from around Mustis in Northern Africa, Commodus was honoured along with *Ianus pater*.⁴⁶

Jupiter, to whom the author of the poem addresses his request, was generally held as a deity that intervened as a saviour both privately and in state affairs. This is clearly visible throughout the Antonine period, but the role of Jupiter in Imperial ideology was probably more conspicuous under

⁴¹ See J. Beaujeu, *La religion romaine à l'apogée de l'Empire*, I. La politique religieuse des Antonins (96-192), Paris 1955, 395-396; F. Grosso, *La lotta politica al tempo di Commodo*, Torino 1964, 185-186.

⁴² RIC III 419 no. 460 (sesterce), *ibid.* 421 no. 479 (as), BMC Emp. IV 803 nos. 568-571 (sesterces), RIC III 381 no. 141 (aureus); F. Gnechi, *I medaglioni romani II*, Milano 1912, 62; A. Alföldi, *Die Kontorniaten*, in: *Festschr. d. ungar. numism. Gesellschaft*, Budapest 1943, 39 f. For the mint of Rome issuing Imperial coinage under Commodus, see H. Mattingly and E.A. Sydenham, RIC III 356-365. Janus and Commodus: Turcan (cit. n. 30), 390-395, also from the numismatic point of view.

⁴³ Gnechi (cit. n. 42), 66 no. 131, with a double portrait of Commodus. The same legend occurs also under Hadrian (cf. BMC Emp. III 332-334, 362, 477, 486) as well as in the Severan period.

⁴⁴ BMC Emp. V 1 no. 2.

⁴⁵ Ancient writers already pointed out that conditions did not improve at all under Commodus; thus e.g. Dio 71,36,4 (and *passim*), affirming that with this emperor the previous golden era had become one of iron and rust (ἀπὸ χρυσοῦς τε βασιλείας ἐς σιδηρᾶν καὶ κατιωμένην), for which see F. Millar, *A Study of Cassius Dio*, Oxford 1964, 122-123.

⁴⁶ CIL VIII 16417 = AE 1968,609, dedication of an *arcus* together with a statue of Janus: [--- *adiecta a*] *mplius statua Iano patri* (note, by the way, the use of the term *statua*).

Commodus than in any other time in Roman history. Numerous issues portraying Jupiter and celebrating the *renovatio temporum* are known from his reign.⁴⁷

But one should also note that the connection of Jupiter with Latium goes far back into the archaic period, the cult of the god, *Iuppiter Latiaris*, being one of the oldest in Latium. After the fall of Alba Longa, site of the old sanctuary of Jupiter Latiaris, the Romans gradually took over the cult, so as to provide a sacral justification for their leading position in Latium. This, in turn, would bring peace and tranquility to the people of the region: it was, in fact, observed that peace should reign in Latium during the annual festivities of the cult, usually for four days.⁴⁸ The idea of Jupiter protecting the people of Latium seems to have endured also in the Imperial period, as is concretely illustrated by an Antonine emission where Jupiter bears the title *Latius*.⁴⁹

2. The second text is engraved on a slab of limestone, badly eroded on the front, measuring 33 x 33 cm; the height of the letters is 1,5-1,8 cm (line 1); 1,2-2 (l. 2); 1,2-1,8 (l. 3); 1,2-1,5 (l. 4). The slab was discovered in Colle Maiorana and is now incorporated into the wall of the farmhouse of Mr. Filippo Mastrangeli which lies some 3 km from Artena, south of the main road towards Colleferro. I saw the inscription with Karl Holm and Simo Örmä in the Spring of 1994 and later in the same year with Heikki Solin, who took the photograph published here (fig. 2 [neg. DAI 94.788]).

As far as I know, there is only one brief mention of the inscription by Lorenzo Quilici,⁵⁰ who gave the following preliminary reading: *qui putet adsidius inter florere prunu(m) / (.....) e tuas nives Getarum (.....) / (.....) i aprica (.....) ia (..) is (.....) / (.....) citavi (.....)*. He immediately recognized that this is an epigraphic poem with a hexameter in the first line and, as he suggested, a pentameter in the second. Because of the badly preserved surface, the text is indeed

⁴⁷ Evidence in J.R. Fears, ANRW II:17,1 (1981), 109-114.

⁴⁸ Macr. Sat. 1,16,16: *nam cum Latiar, hoc est Latinarum sollemne concipitur, item diebus Saturnaliorum, sed et cum mundus patet, nefas est proelium sumere.*

⁴⁹ BMC Emp. IV 262 no. 1632.

⁵⁰ In: Comunità indigene e problemi della romanizzazione nell'Italia centro-meridionale (IV°-III° sec. av. C.). Actes du Colloque international (ed. J. Mertens - R. Lambrechts), Bruxelles - Rome 1991, 215 n. 26, fig. 15a (= AE 1991,408).

most difficult to read. In spite of the difficulties, however, I think that the first two lines are still largely decipherable. As it sometimes happens, the study of the stone in situ turned out to be less profitable than the evidence of the first-rate photographs. Here is the reading that I propose:

*Quis putet adsiduam inter florere pru[inas]
[poma et] perpetuas nives Getarum
[---]+ aprica [-11?]-
[---]++ITAV+[---]*

The poem thus appears to be a polymetricum with a hendecasyllabic verse in line 2. According to the lettering it would seem that this poem can be dated roughly to the same period as the preceding one. The polymetric nature is not astonishing, considering that poems with a similar rhythm are quite common in Imperial epigraphy (as is easily substantiated by a look at F. Bücheler's CE).



Fig. 2

Lines 1-2: it seems to me that one should read *quis* instead of *qui*.⁵¹ As for the last word of the first line, it cannot be anything else than *pruinās* going together with *adsiduās*. *Pruina* 'hoar-frost, rime' (mostly in plural) is frequently attested in Roman poetry of higher style from Augustus' time and later (especially in Ovid), being sometimes combined with geographical names and terms, e.g. *Hyperboreas ... pruinas* (Val. Fl. 8,210); *Eoas ... pruinas* (Stat. Theb. 8,359); *Arctois ... pruinis* (Lucan. 8,363); *Scythicas ... pruinas* (Flor. carm. 4),⁵² sometimes with other adjectives.⁵³ However, as far as I know, *adsidua* is hitherto not attested as an epithet of *pruina*, though it sometimes underlines the persistence of the cold season (cf. Ov. trist. 3,2,8: *ustus ab adsiduo frigore Pontus*). This adjective often characterizes various natural phenomena, being frequently combined with water and rain, e.g. *adsiduos imbris* (Cic. Att. 13,16,1); *illam orationem similem nivibus hibernis, id est crebram et adsiduam sed et largam*, etc. (Plin. epist. 1,20,22); *adsiduae tempestates et crebra diluvia* (ibid. 8,17,1); *adsiduis pluviis nocturnisque rorationibus* (Apul. met. 9,32; cf. Iavol. dig. 19,2,57); *flumen ... adsiduis flexibus tortuosum* (Amm. 24,1,4); *tum rauca adsiduo longe sale saxa sonabant* (Verg. Aen. 5,866); *assiduo detritis aequore conchis* (Ov. met. 13,792); *adsiduis maris adluentibus* (Dessau, ILS 489, Ardea); *adsiduis imbribus* (ibid. 5513, Castulo, Baetica).⁵⁴

Nives, mostly in plural, also appears in the company of *pruināe*, in both prose and poetry, e.g. Cic. Catil. 2,23: *quo autem pacto illi Appenninum atque illas pruinas ac nivis perferent?*; Lucr. 6,529-530: *nix venti grando gelidaeque pruinae / et vis magna geli*; Prop. 1,8,7-8: *tu pedibus teneris positas fulcire pruinas, / tu potes insolitas, Cynthia, ferre nives?* Note also Flor. epit. 4,12,20, where the severe land of the Sarmatians is described as follows: *nihil praeter nives pruinasque et silvas habent*. As in the case of *pruināe*, *nives* was also sometimes accompanied by a geographical epithet, e.g. *Sithoniasque nives* (Verg. ecl. 10,66; cf.

⁵¹ For the variation *quis/qui* in Roman poetry (where *quis* is clearly favoured), see Hofmann - Szantyr (cit. n. 18), 540-541.

⁵² As for Florus' verse, *Scythicas ... pruinas* is probably a learned insert in a *sermo cotidianus* which was typical of the neoteric poetry, cf. Mattiacci (cit. n. 31), 63.

⁵³ E.g. Verg. georg. 2,376: *frigora ... cana concreta pruina* (cf. Lucr. 3,20-21; Hor. carm. 1,4,4).

⁵⁴ Cf. CIL XIV 88 (Ostia) = ILS 5797a: *inun[dati]ones Tiberis a]dsidue u[r]bem vexantes...* (suppl. Mommsen).

dura nives et frigora Rheni, *ibid.* 10,47), or *Arctos nives* (Sen. Oed. 606). The idea of *nix perpetua* is vividly introduced by Ov. trist. 3,10,13-14: *nix iacet, et iactam ne sol pluviaeque resolvant, / indurat Boreas perpetuamque facit* (cf. also Ov. Pont. 1,3,50: *perpetuas ... nives*; Manil. 3,358: *aeternas ... nives*; Sen. nat. 4b,11,5: *vertices aeterna nive obsessi*); note further that the adjective *perpetua* is sometimes associated with *hiems* (Lucan. 4,107: *perpetuaeque premunt hiemes*; cf. Sen. Med. 708).

Roman poets sometimes took the land of the Getae, a Thracian tribe on the Lower Danube, as an example of a cold and desolate place, thus Hor. *carm.* 3,24,11: *vivunt et rigidi Getae*; Verg. *georg.* 3,462: *in deserta Getarum*; Prop. 4,3,9: *hibernique Getae*; cf. also Ov. trist. 3,10,5.12. Moreover, in the epigrams of Martial the adjective *Getica* is firmly combined with both *nix* and *pruina*, thus 9,101,18: *sudantem Getica ter nive lavit equum*, and 11,3,3: *in Geticis ... pruinis*. Likewise, Juvenal refers to a special drink (*decocta*, scil. *aqua*) which is *frigidior Geticis pruinis* (5,50). The cold of Thrace in general was a common theme in ancient literature from the time of Homer (Il. 14,227), being, however, especially typical of Latin elegiac poetry.⁵⁵

Line 3: the adjective *apricus* 'sunny, basking' evidently creates an antithesis of the "frozen" atmosphere of lines 1-2. Cf. e.g. Tib. 1,4,19: *annus in apricis maturat collibus uvas* (the same expression occurs in Verg. *ecl.* 9,49: *apricis in collibus*). Unfortunately, however, we cannot determine the grammatical form of APRICA (either nominative / accusative neuter plural or nominative / ablative feminine singular, unless it is *apricam*, *apricae*, *apricas* or *apricarum*).

In the beginning of the second line I have conjecturally restored [*poma et*] (cf. Ov. *met.* 14,764: *poma nec excutiant rapidi florentia venti*).⁵⁶ If this is correct, the contents would be roughly as follows: "Who would believe that fruit-trees are in blossom in the middle of unremitting rime and the permanent snow of the Getic land, (when the hills are not yet warmed by the sunshine?) ...?". Such a question brings to my mind the first time I saw the inscription, a rather cold morning in early March (cf.

⁵⁵ Examples in P.-J. Dehon, *Hiems latina. Études sur l'hiver dans la poésie latine, des origines à l'époque de Néron* (Coll. Latomus 219), Bruxelles 1993, 48 n. 89. For the Getic land, cf. *ibid.* p. 114.

⁵⁶ A further instance of *poma florentia* may be found in Palladius' treatise on agriculture, in the section devoted to the farm work of March (Pallad. 4,10,16).

n. 56), with the hills around Artena and Colleferro temporarily covered by snow and rime, but the plum trees and some other *poma* already in blossom.

As far as I can see, in these verses there are no clear reminiscences of earlier poets, yet the language and style seem to represent a model that firmly links them with the long elegiac tradition of Roman poetry. The question of who wrote the verses cannot, of course, be answered.

Since this piece of poetry also comes from Colle Maiorana (which was confirmed by the owner of the stone), perhaps even from the above-mentioned Roman villa, this is again further evidence to suggest that this locality was prosperous not only in terms of business and economy (large *fundi*, brick production, important archaeological remains from archaic times down to the Middle Ages⁵⁷) but it also flourished culturally, at least in the latter half of the second century A.D.

3. Finally, I would like to take the opportunity of mentioning a new fragment that I saw with Kalle Korhonen on the 14th of June 1996 in the Antiquarium of Colleferro.⁵⁸ The fragmentary stone is reported to have been discovered in the early 1980s, once again, in Colle Maiorana. It measures (35) x (40) x 14,5 cm, the height of the letters varying approximately between 1,7 and 2,0 cm. At least nine lines are visible, but it may be that the inscription continued both above and below. The text itself is in Greek, but since the surface of the stone is very badly preserved only some individual letters or perhaps parts of a few words can be deciphered. Judging from the scanty remains, however, this text also seems to be a dactylic poem (fig. 3 [Kajava]):

⁵⁷ Quilici, Civita di Artena (cit. n. 2), 126-134. For the nearby Catacomb (and the Basilica) of S. Ilario, cf. the work of V. Fiocchi Nicolai in RAC 62 (1986) 249-257, 358; Rend.Pontif.Acc.Arch. 61 (1988-89) 71-102; in: Quaeritur, inventus colitur (Misc. in onore di padre U.M. Fasola), Città del Vaticano 1989, 307-328; Arch.Laz. 10 (1990) 275-286 (with A. Luttazzi and L. De Maria); RAC 67 (1991) 167-168. Furthermore, not long ago a fragment of bucchero inscribed *axipri* in Etruscan lettering was found in the same place: N. Cassieri, SE 58 (1992) 512, pl. 89 b-c; cf. now G. Colonna, SE 60 (1995) 300-301 and CIE 8623. The piece could have been imported from the Etruscan region in the sixth century B.C. (Colonna, *ibid.* 298-300 also published a most interesting inscription from Muracci di Creposso, some 1,5 km south of Colle Maiorana: *morai esq[m]* (c. 450-350 B.C.). If the reading is correct, the inscription would provide a new and invaluable piece of evidence for the development of the Latin language.)

⁵⁸ We were kindly assisted by Angelo Luttazzi, Director of the municipal Antiquarium.

 [---].[-----]
 ΟΙΟC..[-----]..N.[--].[---]..
 ΑΥ..[-----]ΛΙ.ΝΙΜ.....
 [-----]ΝΙCΑΟΙΚΟCΙΝ....CΑΙΚ.[-----]
 5 [- ̄̄].IANHN ἦνυσάμ[ῆν ̄̄ -]
 [- ̄̄ - ̄̄]Cω καὶ ἀμυνομ[εν - ̄̄ -]
 CωΑΛ..ΙΟΙC[---]ΝΟ[-----]
 ΑCΚΩ.Α.CΝΕΝΙCΑΙ..[-----]
 [-----]ΙΟC.C.[-----]

From the fifth (and sixth) line it seems to appear that the poem is written in elegiac distichs. In these lines there seem to be two verbal forms, ἦνυσάμην (aorist first person singular from ἀνύομαι 'to accomplish, finish') and a present participle from ἀμύνομαι 'to defend oneself, revenge, requite, repay' (i.e. ἀμυνόμενος, -μένη, or the like), though the latter could also be a finite form, i.e. ἀμύνομεν. However, regarding the fifth line, the third letter of the verb could also be an epsilon; in that case we would have the corresponding aorist form of αἰνέομαι (from αἰνέω 'to praise, approve'), that is, ἦνεσάμην (Att. for ἦνησάμην), though one should note that the middle voice is rarely attested. A further possibility is that the verb is in the active voice, either ἦνυσα or ἦνεσα (unless it is in the first person plural). If so, it would be followed by a word beginning with an M. Either way, the metre of the line is easily adapted to both alternatives.⁵⁹

As for the rest, one can only propose some suggestions, these also being most uncertain because only few individual letters can be safely deciphered. So line 2 perhaps begins with οἶος 'such as' (unless it is οἶος

⁵⁹ Both ἀνύω / ἀνύομαι and αἰνέω frequently occur in the Anthologia Graeca. Among the aorist forms (more than twenty instances) there are seven cases of ἦνυσα and one of ἦνυσάμην (AP 7,506,2 [with the variant ἦνύσατο], for which see A.S.F. Gow - D.L. Page, *The Greek Anthology. Hellenistic Epigrams*, Cambridge 1965, 128 l. 2360 with comments on the verbal form in vol. II p. 371). As for αἰνέω, some ten aorist forms are attested in the Anthologia (ἦνεσα, ἦνεσε and once, respectively, ἦνεσας and ἦνέσαμεν). For the verbal form of the sixth line (assuming that it is not ἀμύνομεν), cf. e.g. AP 3,12,2 (ἀμυνόμενος), 7,726,2 (-μένη), 16,251,2 (-μένα), 6,207,4 (-μέναν).

'alone, lonely'). In line 4 there is perhaps οἶκος 'house, family, etc.' (unless one prefers to read ὄϊκος 'homeless'). In the next line what precedes the verb is perhaps a noun in the accusative. Then, in the sixth line, before the conjunctive, there may be a future first person singular. In the seventh line it might be better to take the first three letters as one word, i.e. σωα 'safe, sound, alive'. In the next line the letters as they are printed above do not make very much sense and I must admit that the reading is better taken as an impression based on what the characters look like.⁶⁰ What, then, all this means is quite another matter. Too little is now decipherable to allow a more precise analysis of the contents and purpose of the text. As for the dating, the lettering (C, ω) would seem to suggest that the stone was inscribed in the second or third century A.D.

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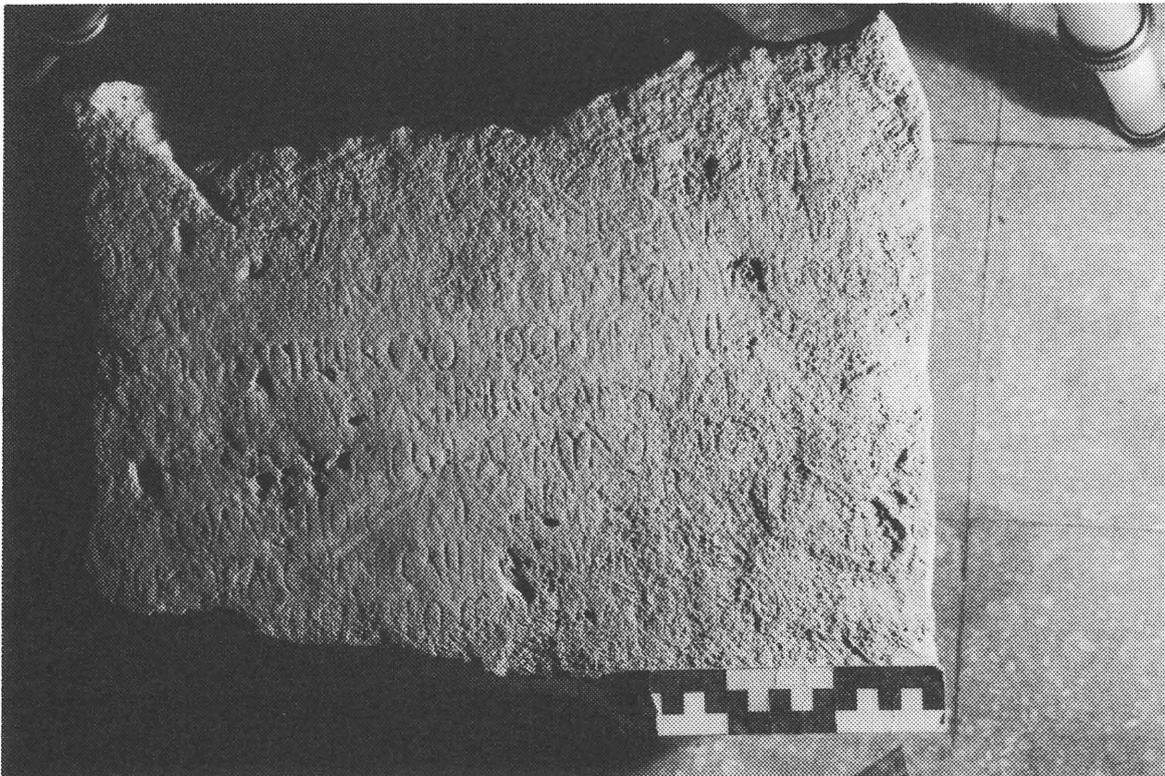


Fig. 3

⁶⁰ One possibility to go on is to assume that the opening word is in fact acephalous; so one could think about words such as φάσκω 'to say, allege, etc.', χάσκω 'to yawn, gape, utter', λάσκω 'to ring, shout, etc.', though, naturally, this remains pure guess-work.