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**NAMES AND CASES.**  
**Observations on CIL IV 1364**

ANNE HELTTULA

In a recent article I touched upon school as the ambience of some Pompeian graffiti.<sup>1</sup> One of the texts I mentioned is a list of words scribbled on the wall of the *via di Mercurio* to the north of the forum in the *regio VI*. This graffito was first published in 1846 by F.M. Avellino,<sup>2</sup> then in 1871 by C. Zangemeister as CIL IV 1364:<sup>3</sup>

	NOMINA · ΝΥCΙΗ	
	GENICE	
	T H E I C E	
	DOTICE	PATAGRICAЕ
5	ONOMASTICE	ONAGRICAЕ
	PHŶRRICE	
	BŶXANTICE	
	CRETICE	
	DŶMASTICE	
10	GŶMNICE	
	CHIZECAE	

The text is full of uncertainties. After *nomina*, which seems to be a heading, there follows a list of ten words, or names, with two more in a second column. They all end in *-ice*, or in its orthographical variant *-icae* (*-ecae*).<sup>4</sup> These words, all Greek, have been explained as feminine names –

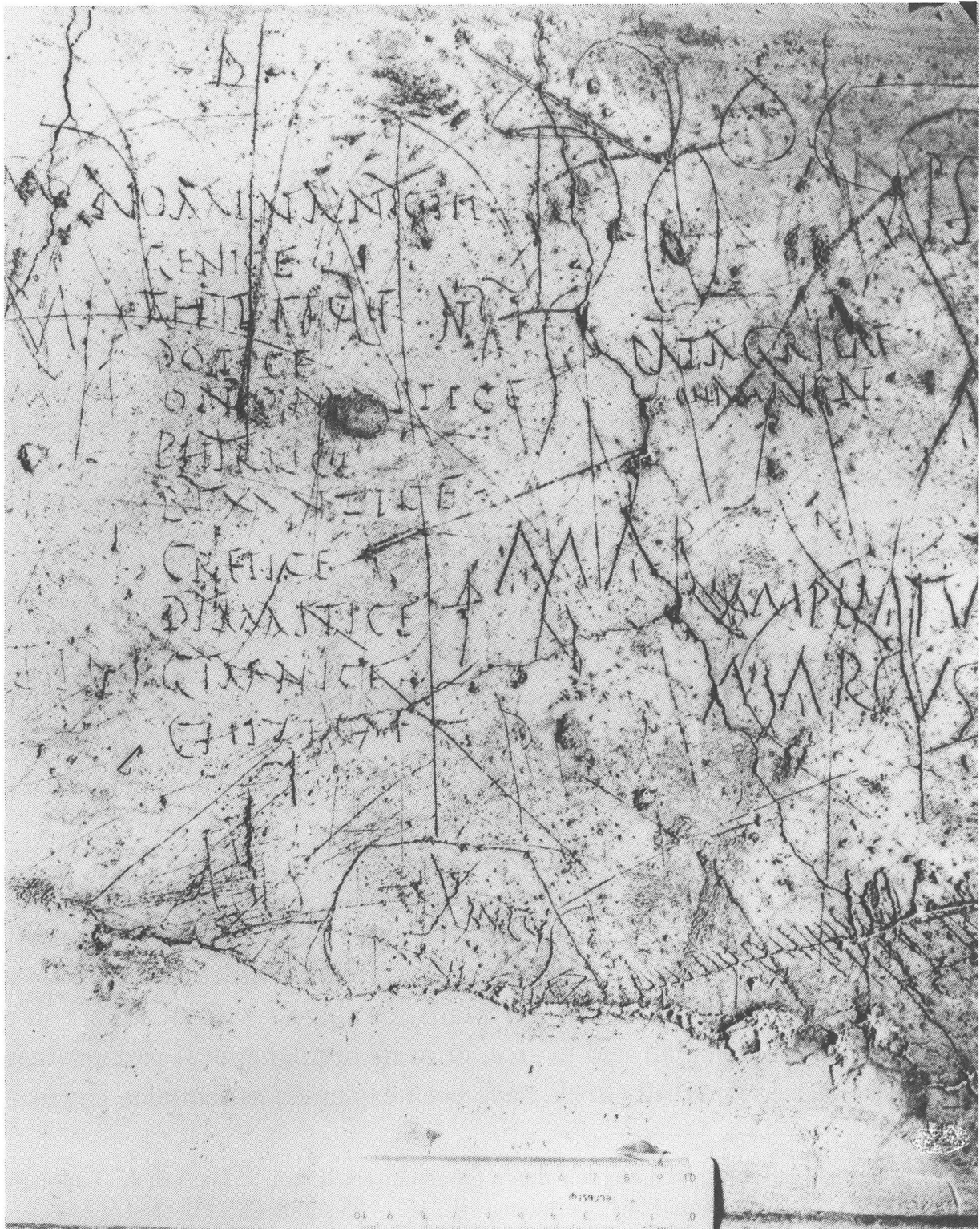
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<sup>1</sup> Epigraphical laughter, in: *Laughter down the centuries II*, ed. S. Jäkel & A. Timonen, Turku 1995, 145-159 (Ann. Univ. Turkuensis B 213); 153 sq. on CIL IV 1364.

<sup>2</sup> F.M. Avellino, *Osservazioni su talune iscrizioni e disegni graffite sulle mura di Pompei*, *Memorie della Regia Accademia Ercolanense* 5 (1846) 75 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> See also Tab. XXVII 8. I am grateful to Prof. H. Solin for making available a photograph of the graffito.

<sup>4</sup> For the complex question of the derivatives in *-icus*, either originally Latin or loans from Greek, see M. Fruyt, *Problèmes méthodologiques de dérivation à propos des suffixes latins en ...cus*, Paris 1986, passim; G.D. Buck, *Comparative grammar of Greek and Latin*, 1933/1969, § 502.



CIL IV 1364

according to Avellino, they are *nomina nym<sup>r</sup> pharum*<sup>5</sup> – or half-Greek, half-Latin adverbs (V. Väänänen).<sup>6</sup> Although they may well have been intended as names, I shall use capital initials in those words only which are clearly derived from proper names.

Since γενική, δοτική and ὀνομαστική are the Greek names of, respectively, the genitive, dative and nominative case (cf. Dion. Thrax 636b,3 sqq. Πτώσεις ὀνομάτων εἰσὶ πέντε· ὀρθή, γενική, δοτική, αἰτιατική, κλητική. Λέγεται δὲ ἡ μὲν ὀρθή ὀνομαστική καὶ εὐθεία ...), it is possible that the graffito was written by a student making fun of the practice of declination<sup>7</sup> or of the lessons of grammar in general.

As far as I know, the transliterated forms *genice* and *dotice* are not found elsewhere; *onomastice* (-ike) appears once in a gloss (Lindsey I Ansil. ON 28).

I intend to show that all the words in the list, culminating in the hilarious *onagricae* (ὄναγρική; from ὄναγρος, 'wild ass'), can be connected with school – with the readings, examples and exercises in the field of the art of *grammaticae*.

Although we can get a fairly good idea of which authors were studied by Pompeian schoolboys,<sup>8</sup> we cannot look into their grammar books to see what method and what kind of examples were used. But the grammatical tradition was conservative. Good examples, once chosen, became a common stock from which generation after generation of writers drew.<sup>9</sup> Therefore,

<sup>5</sup> The end of the line after *nomina*, beginning with NY, is corrupt (cf. the app. crit. in CIL).

<sup>6</sup> V. Väänänen, *Le latin vulgaire des inscriptions pompéiennes*, Paris 1966<sup>3</sup>, 24.

<sup>7</sup> Thus Avellino (78) and E. Magaldi, *Le iscrizioni parietali pompeiane con particolare riguardo al costume*, AAAN 11:2 (1929-1930) 143 sqq. – Cf. the advice given by Quintilian (inst. 1,4,22-27): *Nomina declinare et verba in primis pueri sciunt, neque enim aliter pervenire ad intellectum sequentium possunt*. Records of this practice have been handed down to us from Egypt, school tablets and ostraca containing exercises of various kinds; for these, see e.g. E. Ziebarth, *Aus der antiken Schule: Sammlung griechischer Texte auf Papyrus Holztafeln Ostraka*, Bonn 1913<sup>2</sup> (*Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen* 65). Ziebarth's No. 49 is a declension exercise.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. S.F. Bonner, *Education in ancient Rome*, Berkeley & Los Angeles 1977, 212 sqq. An important document is Stat. silv. 5,3 on the poet's father, poet and *grammaticus* in Naples in the middle of the 1st century BC. These questions have recently been discussed by M. Leiwo (*Neapolitana: a study of population and language in Graeco-Roman Naples*, 1995, passim).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. L. Holtz, *Donat et la tradition de l'enseignement grammaticale*, Paris 1981, 109 sqq. I am also indebted to Ms. R. Vainio for her opinions on the use of grammatical examples.

the later grammarians probably reflect fairly well the situation of the early Empire.

Epic, headed by Homer and Virgil, occupied the first and foremost place on the syllabus, but plays too were read at school. Plautus may not have been considered suitable for the very young,<sup>10</sup> but the older boys no doubt got acquainted with his plays during their school years. The frequency of Plautine quotations in the repertory of grammatical examples certainly points this way. The influence of his verbal virtuosity on the mind of the potential graffito writer was strengthened by productions seen on stage.<sup>11</sup> We shall see that Plautus, an unrestrained and irreverent word-player, who amused himself with fantastical clusters of real or invented words,<sup>12</sup> could have offered both inspiration and exact formal models to the writer of CIL IV 1364.

The Latin system of education was so imbued with the Greek language and culture that Quintilian wanted boys to begin their grammatical studies with Greek (inst. 1,1,12): *A sermone Graeco puerum incipere malo, quia Latinum, qui pluribus in usu est, vel nobis nolentibus perbibet, simul quia disciplinis quoque Graecis prius instituendus est, unde et nostrae fluxerunt.* The presence of Greek in a Campanian town like Pompeii was probably great and not limited to the educated class only.<sup>13</sup> I think, however, that the anonymous Pompeian who wrote the words we are discussing was a Latin speaker who was studying – or had studied – Greek at school. Although he knew a number of Greek terms and proper names, he was somewhat insecure as how to spell them, especially the words containing the Greek letters Y and Z (see below on *Byxantice* and *Chizecae*), or aspiration (*Chizecae*, *Phyrrice*). In Pompeian graffiti, the original Greek Y is frequently spelled with an I or a V<sup>14</sup> and the aspiration omitted or misplaced.<sup>15</sup> The phonological changes in the Latin vowel system are reflected in the use of

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<sup>10</sup> Cf. Bonner, 216.

<sup>11</sup> For the rôle of theatre in Pompeian life, see M. Gigante, *Civiltà delle forme letterarie nell'antica Pompei*, Napoli 1979, 113 sqq. (142 sqq. on Plautus).

<sup>12</sup> For this Plautine practice of word-making and accumulation, cf. B.-A. Taladoire, *Essai sur le comique de Plaute*, Monaco 1956, 175 sqq.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Gigante, 44 sqq. (with bibliography in the notes).

<sup>14</sup> See Väänänen, 32 sq.

<sup>15</sup> Väänänen, 55 sqq.

the digraph AE to denote both the long /e/ and the short, open /e/,<sup>16</sup> and of E showing the openness of the short /i/.<sup>17</sup>

The graffiti on the walls of the *via di Mercurio*, an important street in the very centre of the town, were frequent,<sup>18</sup> often overlapping and therefore difficult to distinguish from each other. The most tangled and corrupt parts of CIL IV 1364 are the end of the first line after *nomina* (cf. above, n. 5) and the third line, i.e. the second word of the list.<sup>19</sup> Zangemeister's conjecture (with reference to Mommsen) was *Thetice*; later he also thought of *Physice* (add. p. 207).<sup>20</sup> I think that the corrupt word hides efforts to spell the Greek name of the accusative case, αἰτιατική. The correct transcription would be *aetiaticae* (pronounced /etiaticae/. But it is impossible to know how the unknown writer would have visualized the word – even ἡ θιατική? The remains of letters fit my interpretation reasonably well, and the context supports it strongly. It is quite possible that the writer himself has added to the confusion by making corrections in his transcription of a word for which he had no orthographical model in Latin.

I find it obvious, therefore, that the person who wrote the graffito began with transcribing the Greek names of the grammatical cases (the accusative included), and then went on inventing other words with the same ending. The names of disciplines in -ική, Lat. *-ice* – which Quintilian preferred to the Latinized forms in *-ica*: *grammaticae* (Quint. inst. 1,4,4 and passim),<sup>21</sup> *musicae*, *retoricae*, etc. (Quint., passim) – may have been the source of inspiration for *gymnice* < γυμνική (τέχνη), Lat. *ars gymnica*.<sup>22</sup>

Avellino (77) connected *Gymnice* with the feminine names

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<sup>16</sup> Väänänen, 23 sqq.

<sup>17</sup> Väänänen, 21.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. R. Laurence, *Roman Pompeii: space and society*, London & New York 1994, 107, and passim (88 sqq. on street activity and public interaction, especially 96 sqq. on the frequency of graffiti).

<sup>19</sup> Avellino wrote (76) of this word: "Le lettere sono intralciate o confuse con altri segni fatti posteriormente, o per emendare il nome scritto, o per supplirne un altro diverso: ma l'intralcio è divenuto così grande, che non mi è riuscito intender nulla."

<sup>20</sup> *Physice* was accepted by Väänänen (110, without comment).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. ThLL VI.2, 2173, 19 sqq.

<sup>22</sup> *Ars gymnica* is found in Suet. frgm. (Tert. spect. 11) p. 343,2 Reifferscheid (*Sed et gymnicas artes Castorum et Herculum et Mercuriorum disciplinae prodiderunt*), *ars gymnastica* already in Plautus (Most. 151).

*Gymnasium* and *Palaestra*.<sup>23</sup> An interesting derivative of the latter in *-ice*, *Palaestrice*, is actually known from Rome.<sup>24</sup>

On the other hand, *gymnice* could also be perceived as an adverb, and for this kind of formation we have interesting parallels in Plautus. The vocabulary of Plautus is particularly rich in Greek elements, which he treats freely and irreverently.<sup>25</sup> In the semantic field of *artes gymnicae* he has created some delightful adverbs in *-ice*: Bach. 248 *benene usque valuit? pancraticice atque athleticice*; Epid. 20 *quid erilis noster filius? valet pugilice*<sup>26</sup> *atque athleticice*.<sup>27</sup> Other Plautine adverbs of this type are *basilice*,<sup>28</sup> *comoedice*, *dulice*,<sup>29</sup> *graphice*,<sup>30</sup> *musice*.<sup>31</sup>

With the words *pyrrice* and *cretice* we move into the field of μετρική,<sup>32</sup> or *ars metrica*<sup>33</sup> – if they are derived from the metrical terms *pyrrichius*<sup>34</sup> and *creticus*.<sup>35</sup> But they are both attested as feminine cognomina, too.<sup>36</sup>

The hypothetical *Byxantice* would more probably be derived from *Byzantium*, with a confusion of the letters X and Z,<sup>37</sup> than from *Buxentum* (a

<sup>23</sup> Cf. H. Solin, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom: ein Namenbuch*, Berlin & New York 1982, 1164 sq. (on *Gymnasio*, *-um*); 1169 (on *Palaestra*).

<sup>24</sup> Solin, 1181.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. J.N. Hough, *The use of Greek words by Plautus*, *AJPh* 55 (1934) 346 sqq.; A. Ernout, *Aspects du vocabulaire latin*, Paris 1954, 71 sq.; Taladoire, 175 sqq.

<sup>26</sup> A Latin word; cf. Fruyt, 51.

<sup>27</sup> On these adverbs, see E. Fraenkel, *Plautinisches im Plautus*, Berlin 1922, 195 n. 1.

<sup>28</sup> Epid. 56: *Di immortales, ut ego interii basilice!* Cf. Fraenkel, 193 sqq.

<sup>29</sup> Mil. 213: *Euge, euscheme hercle astitit et dulice et comoedice*. In addition to *euscheme* (from εὐσχημος), Plautus also has *ineuscheme* (Trin. 625).

<sup>30</sup> E.g. Trin. 767 *is homo exornetur graphice in peregrinum modum*; other examples of *graphice* are Persa 306, 464 and 843.

<sup>31</sup> Most. 729 *musice hercle agitis aetatem, ita ut vos decet*.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Gell. 16,18,5: *est et alia species [sc. κανονικής], quae appellatur μετρική ...*

<sup>33</sup> The Latin term is found in Mar. Vict. (GL 6,35,7).

<sup>34</sup> Väänänen, 110: PHYRRICE for *pyrrhiche*.

<sup>35</sup> Magaldi (144) derived from a common or a proper noun (*creta* or *Creta*)?

<sup>36</sup> On *Pyrrichus* as a personal name, see Fruyt 66; Solin, 696 (*Pyrrhiche*: 1181); on *Creticus*, Solin, 582 sq. (also Κρητική). *Creticus* was also the name of a well-known historical person, i.e. Q. Caecilius Metellus, consul of the year 69 BC. *Pyrrichus* appears a few times in Pompeian graffiti; e.g. C. Cominius Pyrrichus (CIL IV 2155). Avellino's reading is *Phyrncie* = *Phrynice*, another feminine name.

<sup>37</sup> Thus Väänänen, too (65).



town in Lucania):<sup>38</sup> therefore it would be associated with *Chizecae*,<sup>39</sup> which is, in my opinion, a misspelling of *Cyzice* from *Cyzicus*, another famous city of Asia Minor.<sup>40</sup> The name of this city was particularly difficult to spell: it contained both Y and Z, and it also required the difficult decision about the aspiration (like *Phyrrice*, above). Such words were probably frequent in school exercises. Varro discusses the derivatives of *Cyzicus* (ling. 8,81): *item quae dicunt ab Rhodo Andro Cyzico Rhodius <Andrius> Cyzicenus similiter Cyzicius dici <debebat> et civis unusquisque.*

*Dymastice* is the reading of Zangemeister (explained as *dynastice* in CIL IV Suppl. ind. p. 758), while Mommsen and Avellino have read *Dymantice*. It is indeed possible that ST has been corrected into NT, as Zangemeister already suggested. Avellino (77) connected his *Dymantice* with *Dyme*, *Dymae*, towns in Achaëa and Thrace. I find it much more probable that the source of inspiration was Virgil's Aeneid, the first and foremost of the Latin school texts.<sup>41</sup> *Dymas* is the name of a Trojan hero mentioned in Aen. 2,394: *hoc Rhipeus, hoc ipse Dymas omnisque iuventus / laeta facit.*<sup>42</sup> This passage is quoted by Sacerdos (GL 6,459,8) as an example of *homoeoptoton*, together with *Acamasque Thoasque* (Aen. 2,262). The last of these names also serves to Charisius as an example of the Latin declension of this Greek name type: 17,12 *Dryas, Dryantis et Thoas Thoantis*;<sup>43</sup> cf. also 83,29 *Calchas Pallas Atlas gigas. faciunt enim Calchantis Pallantis Atlantis gigantis.*

It seems that after *Byxantice* and *Cretice* our hypothetical student wanted a word beginning with a D – notice that the alphabetical order continues with *gymnice*.<sup>44</sup> Perhaps only after inventing *Dymastice* he

<sup>38</sup> Avellino (76 sq.) suggests both alternatives, plus Βισάωνθη (Macedonia or Thrace).

<sup>39</sup> The reading is uncertain. Väänänen (24 and 110) suggests *chezice* from χέζω 'ease oneself', a verb used by Aristophanes (Vesp. 941; Pax 1235). It is quite a good interpretation, but in this context I find it improbable.

<sup>40</sup> These cities form a natural pair; e.g. in Vell. 2,7,7: *Id maiores, cum viderent tanto potentio rem Tyro Carthaginem, Massiliam Phocaea, Syracusas Corintho, Cyzicum ac Byzantium Mileto, ...*

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Bonner, 213 sq. On the presence of Virgil on the walls of Pompeii, see Gigante, 163 sqq. – *Dymas* was also used as a personal name (see Solin, 472).

<sup>42</sup> Also in 2,339: *addunt se socios Rhipeus et maximus armis / Epytus, oblatis per lunam, Hypanisque Dymasque, ...*

<sup>43</sup> Repeated in 17,16; 27,1; 57,9; 84,5.

<sup>44</sup> A Greek ostrakon in the British Museum (Ziebarth No. 8) contains an alphabetical list of names, obviously a spelling exercise (notice the sequence in -ων): Ἀχι[λλ]εὺς Βίων

remembered the declension rules concerning *Dryas* and *Thoas*, decided to apply them, and corrected his word into *Dymantice*.

There remain the two words of the second column, which are closely connected at least formally if not semantically. They may have been written by another person inspired by the preceding list of words.

*Patagrica* (which Avellino and Mommsen read *catagrica*) is without doubt the hardest nut in the whole text. W. Heraeus thought of a misspelling of *podagrice*,<sup>45</sup> which I find a very attractive interpretation. Both the noun *podagra* 'gout' and the adjectives derived from it (Greek *podagricus* and popular Latin *podagrosus*)<sup>46</sup> were used in plays and satires.<sup>47</sup> We find *podagrosus* in Lucilius<sup>48</sup> and Plautus;<sup>49</sup> *podagricus* e.g. in Laberius,<sup>50</sup> Petronius<sup>51</sup> and especially in Seneca:<sup>52</sup> Seneca refers to gout quite frequently.<sup>53</sup>

These adjectives were perhaps discussed at school; it is worth noticing that Charisius tries to make a distinction between them (75,16 Barwick): *Podagrosus a podagra bene dicitur, sed et podagricus a pedum aegritudine, cuius exemplum apud Laberium est in aquis <calidis> podagricus non recessit*. Notice also the rule given by Probus (GL 4,212,14): *Podagrosus an podagricus? podagrosus a podagra, sicut rugosus a ruga*.

Presumably a man suffering from gout was a comic figure and behaved *podagrice*, i.e. jumped, threw about his arms and screamed if someone stepped on the affected toe. Gout was an ailment one could laugh at without compunction – self-induced, painful, but not fatal. It was an

Γάτιος Δίων Ἔρωσ Ζήνων Ἡρων Θέων Ἴων Κλέων Λέων Μάρων etc.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. ThLL X.1, 651,45 sqq.

<sup>46</sup> For the latter, see A. Ernout, *Les adjectifs latins en -osus et en -ulentus*, Paris 1948, 25, 78 & 80.

<sup>47</sup> Ennius has *podager* (sat. 64).

<sup>48</sup> Lucil. 331 Marx: *quod deformis, senex arthriticus ac podagrosus*.

<sup>49</sup> Plaut. Merc. 595 *sed tamendem si podagrosis pedibus esset Eutyclus, / iam a portu redisse potuit*.

<sup>50</sup> Laber. mim. 16; see below.

<sup>51</sup> Petron. 132,14 *podagrici pedibus suis male dicunt, chiragrici manibus*; other examples in 64,3; 140,6.

<sup>52</sup> Apocol. 13,3, dial. 4,33,4; epist. 24,14 and 95,21 (see below).

<sup>53</sup> Cf. also the use of *podagra* as a symbol of earthly aches and pains in the epitaph CLE 1247 (= CIL VI 7193): *Quod superest homini, requiescunt dulciter ossa, / nec sum sollicitus ne subito esuriam, / et podagram careo nec sum pensionibus arra / et gratis aeterno perfruor hospitio*.

ailment of the rich, brought about by their way of living, therefore something that poor people could not afford, says Juvenal (13,96): *Pauper locupletem optare podagram /nec dubitet Ladas*. It was traditionally a men's problem, but women too, who had adopted the bad habits of men, already suffered from gout, says Seneca (epist. 95,21): *Quod ergo mirandum est maximum medicorum [i.e. Hippocratem] ac naturae peritissimum in mendacio prendi cum tot feminae podagricae calvaeque sint? Beneficium sexus sui vitiis perdidierunt et quia feminam exuerant, damnatae sunt morbis virilibus*.

Another possible interpretation for *patagricae* is suggested by two passages of Plautus and one of Naevius: *\*patag<ia>ricae* (or *\*pata<gia>gricae*).

In *Aulularia* Plautus has made a crowd of shopkeepers and artisans gather outside the door to collect their bills (508 sqq.): *Stat fullo, phyrigio, aurifex, linarius, / caupones, patagiarii, indusiarii, / flammarii, violarii, carinarii, / aut manulearii, aut †murobatharii†; / propolae linteones, calceolarii, / sedentarii sutores diabathrarii, / solearii astant, astant molocinarii, / petunt fullones, sarcinatores petunt; / strophii astant, astant semul sonarii / ... textores limbolarii, arcularii*. The *patagiarii*, it seems, were those who made and sold *patagia*, luxury garments or decorations of some kind,<sup>54</sup> which are also mentioned by Naevius (trag. 43): *pallis patagis crocotis malacis mortualibus*. Finally, in *Epidicus* (229 sqq.) Plautus makes fun of the changing fashions in women's clothes: *quid istae, quae vesti quotannis nomina inveniunt nova? / tunicam rallam, tunicam spissam, linteolum caesicium, / indusiatam, patagiatam, caltulam aut crocotulam, / supparum aut subnimium, ricam, basilicum aut exoticum, / cumatile aut plumatile, carinum aut gerrinum, gerrae maxumae*.<sup>55</sup>

A possible source of inspiration for *onagricae*<sup>56</sup> is the original of Plautus' *Asinaria*, *Onagros* (or *Onagos*; Asin. 10). Avellino (77) observed that *onagri* could have been seen in Pompeii in the spectacles at the

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<sup>54</sup> Paul. Fest. p. 221: *patagium est, quod ad summam tunicam adsui solet*; Non. p. 540,2: *aureus clavus, qui pretiosis vestibis inmitti solet*. A gloss (Lindsay I Ansil. PA 720) explains it to be the garment itself, *pallium ex auro purpuraque variatum*. Cf. E. Schuppe, RE XVIII:2, 2111 sq.

<sup>55</sup> In case *patagricae* is connected with *patagium* /*patagiatus*/ *patagiarius*, one could argue that the form was suggested by *onagricae*, which was invented first; if so, also these two words are in alphabetical order.

<sup>56</sup> The reading is, however, not certain.

amphitheatre.<sup>57</sup> But this word too belonged to the repertory of grammatical examples. Charisius explains the Latin forms of the Greek names in -ρος with the examples Ἀλέξανδρος *Alexander*, Κλέανδρος *Cleander*, ὄναγρος *onager* (57,3 Barwick).<sup>58</sup> Both the masculine *Onager* and the feminines *Onagra* and *Onagris* are also attested as names of persons.<sup>59</sup>

The graffito begins with the names of the grammatical cases, i.e. with unquestionable feminine nouns. It is quite possible that these created the idea of women's (though not necessarily nymphs') names in the mind of the person who invented the list. At school he had perhaps been made to practice the declension of the Greek feminine names in -e; cf. Char. 77,27 sqq. Barwick: ... *Andromache Helene Agave Circe Danae Crotale Calpe Eriphyle; quae quoniam Graeca sunt, Graece declinari debent, huius Andromaches Helenes Agaves Circes Danaes Crotales Calpes Eriphyles*.<sup>60</sup> In addition to mythological names there were personal cognomina of the same inflexional type; in fact, the graffito contains two such names: *Pyrriche* and *Cretice*. We should also bear in mind that grammatical examples in general are very often proper names. On the other hand, the two words of the second column are most easily explained as adverbs. Therefore I come to the conclusion that the common denominator of these apparently unconnected words is their visual and auditory form. This form started a complex chain of associations which move in the ambience of school and stage – and around women, one of the favourite subjects of graffito-writers.

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<sup>57</sup> They were known to Trimalchio and his friends; cf. Petron. 38,4: *nam mulam quidem nullam habet quae non ex onagro nata sit*.

<sup>58</sup> The same information is given in 103,22 sqq.

<sup>59</sup> Solin, 1064 sq.

<sup>60</sup> Also Char. 67,5 *Crotale Crotales Crotalen, Eriphyle Eriphyles Eriphylen, Calpe Calpes Calpen*.