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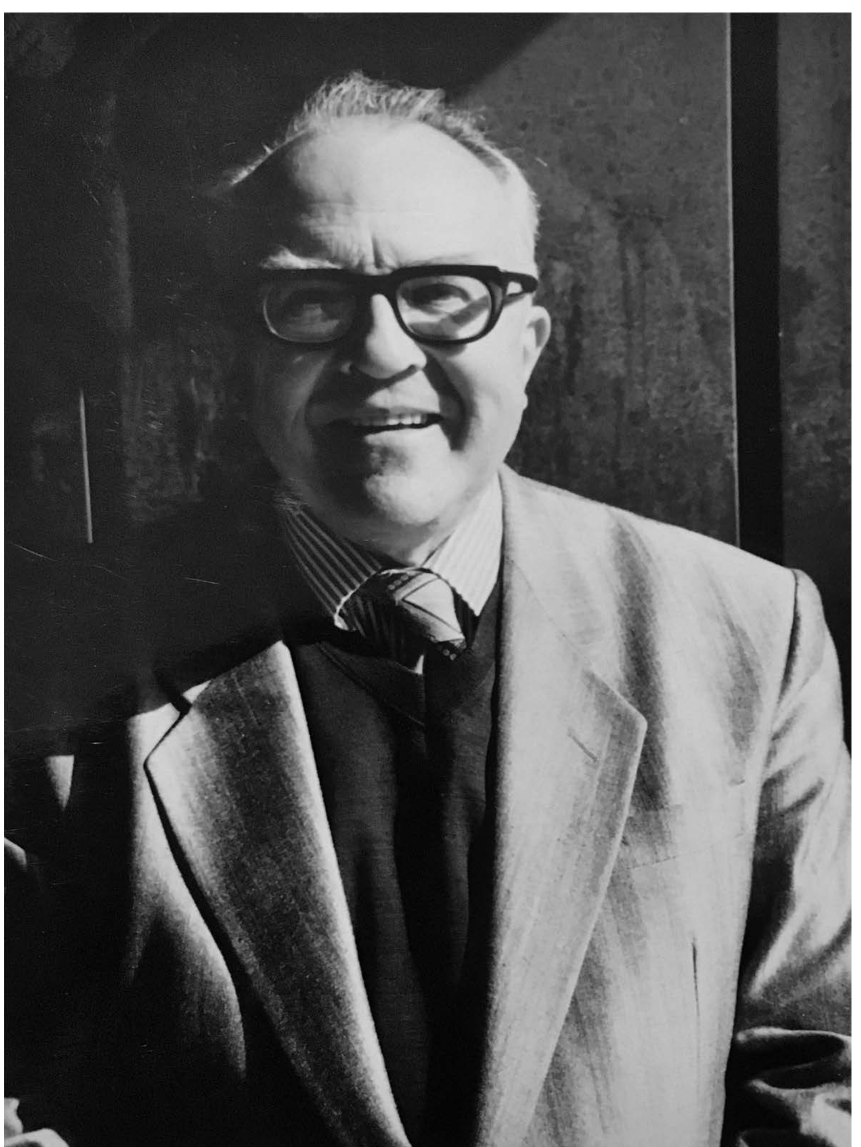
In Memoriam

Teivas Oksala
Professoris
(15 II 1936 – 2 III 2018)

Toivo Viljamaa
Litterarum Graecarum et Romanarum
in Universitate Turkuensi Professori
octogenario
amici collegae discipuli
4 IV 2017



ROLF WESTMAN
21.6.1927 – 12.1.2017
IN MEMORIAM

Im Alter von 89 Jahren starb am 12. Januar 2017 der emeritierte Ordinarius der Griechischen und Römischen Literatur an der Åbo Akademi, der schwedischsprachigen Universität Finnlands in Turku, Rolf Rainer Otto Robert Westman. Er wurde am 21. Juni 1927 in Ekenäs/Tammisaari geboren. Sein Abitur legte er 1945 am Nya Svenska Läroverket in Helsinki ab und studierte anschließend Latein, Griechisch und theoretische Philosophie an der Universität Helsinki. Nach dem im Jahr 1950 abgelegten Staatsexamen mit griechischer Philologie als Hauptfach verteidigte er 1955 seine akademische Abhandlung zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades. Von 1956 bis 1970 war er Privatdozent für griechische Literatur an der Universität Helsinki und von 1958 bis 1962 für Klassische Philologie an der Åbo Akademi. Im Jahre 1962 wurde er Ordinarius an der Åbo Akademi, wo er den Lehrstuhl bis zu seiner 1993 erfolgten Emeritierung innehatte. Besonders in den fünfziger und sechziger Jahren, aber auch später unternahm er zahlreiche Studienreisen ins Ausland, darunter nach Göttingen, Uppsala, Kopenhagen, Paris und Rom.

Rolf Westman hatte mehrere Ehrenaufträge inne. So war er u. a. von 1967 bis 1970 Dekan der Humanistischen Fakultät der Åbo Akademi, Gründungsmitglied von Platonsällskapet, der nordischen im Jahre 1970 gegründeten Gesellschaft für antike Ideen- und Geistesgeschichte. 1963 wurde er ordentliches Mitglied der Societas Scientiarum Fennica und 1974 Mitglied von Vetenskaps-Societeten i Lund.

Ins Rampenlicht der Wissenschaft trat Westman mit seiner akademischen Abhandlung *Plutarch gegen Kolotes. Seine Schrift* Adversus Colotem *als philosophiegeschichtliche Quelle* (Acta philosophica Fennica 7), Helsinki 1955 (332 Seiten), die er am 2. April öffentlich verteidigte. Bekanntermaßen war Plutarch

ein vielseitig gelehrter griechischer Schriftsteller, während Kolotes aus Lampsakos (geb. um 320 v. Chr.) zum Kreis Epikurs gehörte und von Diogenes Laertios unter dessen angesehene Schüler gerechnet wurde. So gut wie nichts von seiner Schriftstellerei ist erhalten, die wenigen Reste seiner Schriften erweisen ihn aber als einen zur Polemik neigenden Autor, der unter anderen Demokrit und Platon angriff. Plutarch richtete sich gegen Kolotes' Tätigkeit, die auf ihn einen großen Eindruck gemacht hatte; er meinte also, dass die über dreihundert Jahre alten Schriften einen gründlichen Angriff wert seien. Für das Verständnis von Plutarchs Schriftstellerei ist *Adversus Colotem* nicht von großer Wichtigkeit, es ist aber bemerkenswert, dass das Pamphlet eine von Plutarchs wenigen Schriften ist, die genau datiert sind (99). Die Gesichtspunkte des Chäroneers erhielten von Westman eine detaillierte philologische, philosophische und quellenkritische Analyse, die von den Rezensenten größtenteils wohlwollend aufgenommen wurde (einige kritische, sowohl die Textkonstitution als auch den philosophiegeschichtlichen Befund betreffende Anmerkungen lieferte Ph. De Lacy, *AJPh* 77, 1956, 433–438). Unter anderem macht Westman einige erwägenswerte textkritische Bemerkungen (auf S. 125 Anm. 1 will er 1119 D-E in ἀλλὰ τὸν θεὸν μὴ λέγειν θεὸν μηδὲ νομίζειν nach λέγειν das Adjektiv ἀγαθόν ergänzen; sicher ist hier ein Adjektiv nötig, und Westmans Ergänzung ist ausgezeichnet, nur könnte man sich mit D. A. Russell, *CR* 1956, 306 fragen, ob etwa auch θεῖον ginge).

Eng an dieses Werk schließen sich einige kleinere Beiträge an: der von ihm besorgte Neudruck von Plutarchs *Moralia* VI 2 in der Teubneriana aus dem Jahre 1959 (er hat zur Edition von Max Pohlenz auf S. 224–239 eine Anzahl von Bemerkungen vor allem textkritischer Art beigesteuert); das Büchlein *Kritisches zu Plutarch Moralia 1033 A – 1130 E* (Acta Academiae Aboensis, Humaniora 24.2, 1959), in dem mehrere Stellen vor allem aus *Adversus Colotem* einer kritischen Sichtung unterzogen werden; daran knüpft sich eine kurze Miszelle in *Eranos* 1962, 89–100 an ("Chrysipp III 761 und der Dialog Kleitophon").

Erwähnt seien ferner kürzere gräzistische Miszellen z. B. zur griechischen Tragödie und Poesie, zu Proklos, zur Lexikographie oder Epigraphik und Papyrologie (zusammen mit J. Frösén, "Quattro papiri Schubart. PSchubart 35, 37, 39, 39: sul regno; sugli agoni sportivi; sulla vecchiaia; sui diadochi", *Papiri filosofici. Miscellanea di studi* 1, Firenze 1997, 7–48). Besonderes Interesse hegte er in späteren Jahren für den epikureischen kaiserzeitlichen Philosophen

Diogenes von Oinoanda, dessen populäres Werk über die Grundprinzipien der epikureischen Philosophie in einer großen Inschrift eingehauen ist, von der zahlreiche Fragmente in Oinoanda in Lykien gefunden worden sind. Ihnen hat Westman mehrere Aufsätze gewidmet, darunter eine lange Rezension über Casanovas Edition von 1984 in *GGA* 239, 1987, 265–273.

In der Latinistik befasste sich Westman vor allem mit Seneca und mit dem Text der rhetorischen Schrift *Orator* von Cicero. In seinem zweiten Buch untersucht er eine sprachliche Erscheinung bei Seneca: *Das Futurpartizip als Ausdrucksmittel bei Seneca* (Comm. Hum. Litt. 27, 3, 1962, 238 Seiten). Untersuchungen zum lateinischen Part. Fut. Akt. hatten sich überwiegend mit dem Gebrauch im Altlateinischen und den Problemen des Ursprungs zugewandt (auch Westman hatte sich früher dazu geäußert: *Zum Ursprung des lateinischen Part. Fut. Akt. und Inf. Fut. Akt.*, Comm. Hum. Litt. 22, 1, 1956, 14 Seiten). In dem Buch wird eine für Senecas schriftstellerische Kunst wesentliche Erscheinung mit Hilfe einer vollständigen Belegsammlung durchleuchtet. Westmans Stärke liegt in der Interpretation einzelner Stellen (nicht so sehr in der sprachgeschichtlichen Erklärung der fraglichen Formen), und eine solche Annäherungsart ist gerade im Falle Senecas fruchtbar, in dessen Stil diese Futurformen eine besondere Stellung einnehmen. Die von Westman gewonnenen Einsichten können zur besseren Erfassung und Deutung vieler Stellen beitragen. In Bezug auf Senecas Werk wandte er sich auch textkritischen Fragen zu: "Textkritisches zu Senecas Dialogen", *Arctos* 2, 1958, 208–216.

Im Jahre 1980 legte Westman nach jahrzehntelangen Vorarbeiten eine neue Edition von Ciceros *Orator* in der Bibliotheca Teubneriana vor. Die konservative, nur mit wenigen eigenen Konjekturen versehene Edition wurde in der Fachwelt mit zwiespältigen Gefühlen aufgenommen. Einerseits wurde die sorgfältige und detaillierte Arbeit des Editors gelobt, andererseits wurde auf dessen anfechtbare Entscheidungen hingewiesen: Fehler in der Beschreibung und Gruppierung der Handschriften; Gebrauch von allzu vielen Handschriften in Text und Apparat (s. besonders J. G. F. Powell, *CR* 1983, 38f und E. Heck, *Gnomon* 1987, 272–275). Trotz solcher zum Teil gerechtfertigten Kritik bewahrt die Edition auch heute noch ihren Wert; jedenfalls besaß Westman eine profunde Kenntnis des Textes des *Orator*, wie auch seine harsche Kritik an Kytzlers Edition (auch von 1980) in *GGA* 235, 1983, 53–69 zeigt. – Weitere von Westman behandelte römische Autoren sind Vergil und Horaz.

Ein Lieblingskind von Westman waren sorgfältig bearbeitete bibliographische Verzeichnisse von Beiträgen der finnischen Altertumswissenschaft (etwa *Arctos* 1996, 7–20. 1997, 227–229; *Euphrosyne* 2, 1968, 209–214. 10, 1980, 252–259. 15, 1987, 357–367 (die beiden Letzteren mit R. Pitkäranta); "Dänemark, Finnland, Norwegen und Schweden: die griechische Philologie", in *La filologia greca e latina nel secolo XX*, Pisa 1989, II, 685–743; *Klio* 54, 1972, 67–75).

Westman hat auch in mehreren auf Schwedisch und Finnisch verfassten Aufsätzen verschiedene Aspekte der antiken Kultur beleuchtet, zum Bespiel über Leben und Glück nach Epikur (1955) oder über die Rolle der naturwissenschaftlichen Darstellung in Seneca (1964); genannt seien auch seine Antrittsvorlesung zu Aspekten der zeitgenössischen klassischen Altertumswissenschaft (1962) und der Nachruf auf Johannes Sundwall, seinen Amtsvorgänger als Lehrstuhlinhaber an der Åbo Akademi (1970).

Westman war von Beginn seiner wissenschaftlichen Laufbahn an ein treuer Mitarbeiter unserer Zeitschrift. Er publizierte in Arctos zwischen 1954 (Band 1) und 2000 (Band 34) insgesamt 16 Aufsätze von hoher Qualität sowie 16 Rezensionen.

Charakteristisch für Westmans wissenschaftliches Œuvre waren die vorbehaltlose Interpretation einzelner Textstellen und deren Einbettung in den historischen Kontext. Darin hat er Bleibendes hinterlassen, und davon können wir immer noch lernen. Der Verfasser dieser Zeilen hat einen ausgezeichneten Lehrer, einen Freund und einen bewährten Kollegen verloren. Wir alle in Helsinki, Turku und in anderen Stätten, in denen klassische Studien betrieben werden, fühlen uns einer bedeutenden Forscherpersönlichkeit und eines wahren Freundes beraubt.

Heikki Solin

Arctos 51 (2017) 13–39

TOILETRIES AND TAVERNS. COSMETIC SETS IN SMALL HOUSES, *HOSPITIA* AND *LUPANARIA* AT POMPEII

Ria Berg

... pyxidas invenies et rerum mille colores[1]

In the above passage from Ovid's *Remedies to Love*, the poet tells the lover how to stop loving: he must enter the boudoir of his mistress and find her numerous toiletries, the cylindrical *pyxis* jars containing repulsive, poisonous ointments and the deceitful palette of a thousand colors for the make-up that fills her table. This passage and its counterpart in *Ars Amatoria*, advising the woman not to show the table filled with cosmetic *pyxides* to her lover,[2] offer two rare glimpses of Roman women's dressing tables, and have often been cited as evidence of the everyday cosmetic and grooming practices of Roman matrons.[3]

Can such descriptions of rich grooming sets, in the literary sources, be compared with toiletry items actually found in Pompeian house-floor contexts, buried by the 79 CE Vesuvius' eruption? Were such abundant collections of cosmetic substances, contained in *pyxides* and *unguentaria*, indeed present in the

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[1] Ov. *rem.* 351 (ed. Kenney 1994).

[2] Ov. *ars* 3,209–10: *non tamen expositas mensa deprendat amator / pyxidas*.

[3] For example, Virgili (1989, 13) starts her discussion of Roman female cosmetics with this latter Ovidian verse, taking it as a general example of the Roman use of toiletries. For the Ovidian passages, see Rimell 2005, 186; Saiko 2005, 256. For another passage (*rem*. 437–438), that suggests more extreme remedies to cure love through observing toilet practices of the mistress, see Koloski-Ostrow 2015, xi.

everyday lives of all Roman matrons, and what, exactly was their meaning for their users?

In the laconic expressions of funerary epitaphs, the ideal Roman matron is defined as essentially beautiful, yet, quite as essentially, modestly adorned.[4] The ideals of Roman female beauty and especially of its cosmetic aids are extremely conflicting, placed on a slippery surface between virtue and vice, moderation and excess.[5] This duality is significantly underlined by the Galenic differentiation between good, health-promoting remedies that enhance natural beauty (*kosmetiké tékhne*), and bad, artificial and deceitful cosmetic arts, i.e. make-up (*kommotiké tékhne*).[6] In a monographic study on Roman women's clothes and adornment, Kelly Olsen discusses the strong pronouncements of the "anti-cosmetic tradition" of Roman literature concerning this latter type of beautification, that condemned the cosmetic arts as frivolous and immoral. She concludes that these restrictions would not, *de facto*, have been observed: "to judge from archaeological evidence, however, Roman women firmly ignored such pronouncements."[7] Other scholars (at least implicitly) similarly state that lavish cosmetics were a part of the daily lives of most Roman matrons. Such a dual system – a rhetorical condemnation but tacit acceptance and use – is thus currently widely agreed on in the literature on Roman beauty and cosmetics.[8]

But do we actually have archaeological evidence that supports the idea of widespread use of cosmetics among all Roman women? In archaeological research, gendered objects, including toiletries, have mostly been discussed typologically, or in funerary contexts. Less work has centered on the analysis of single functional groups, distribution patterns and diffusion of gender-bound

---

[4] Like *Turia* of the famous *laudatio* (*CIL* VI 1527): *ornatus non conspiciendi, cultus modici*. On defining the ideal woman in funerary epitaphs, see Larsson Lovén 1997; Hemelrijk 2004; Cenerini 2009, 17–38; Riess 2012; Olson 2008, 89–91. See also Sebesta 1997.

[5] For discussion on Roman female adornment and morality, see Wyke 1994, 2002; Richlin 1995 and D'Ambra 1989, 1996, 2000; Berg 2002, 2010a, 2010b; Olson 2008, 2009; Shumka 2008; Michel 2016.

[6] Gal. 12,434–35, 12,445–46, 12,449–50. On the Galenic definitions of cosmetics, see Virgili 1989, 11; Saiko 2005, 220–24, Olson 2008, 59, and n. 7 with further bibliography.

[7] Olson 2008, 58.

[8] More recently, Shumka 2008 and Michel 2016. See also Virgili 1989; Cipollaro – Di Bernardo 1999, 111: "Il maquillage costituiva per la matrona parte importante nella vita giornaliera e le donne romane disponevano di un fornitissimo arsenale di belletti"; Saiko 2005, 134–36, 197–98.

objects. Assemblies of such objects may reveal more subtle traces of female presence and behavior, normative or non, in ancient households, and also in other kinds of habitations than the elite *domus*.[9] Pompeian houses offer a unique opportunity to contextualise everyday Roman utensils in relation to other groups of functional objects and to the types of houses in which they were found. The fragmentary state of many contexts, and the problems involved in recording them, however, make a purely quantitative analysis inadequate, and call for a wider understanding of the cultural context from literary and iconographic sources.

In this paper, the *loci* of fifteen exceptionally rich sets of Pompeian toiletries are synthetically presented, and the social status of the women who used and owned them is discussed – were these women matrons, or courtesans, for example? I also discuss, as case studies, three of the fifteen houses, in which there seems to be a specific connection between exceptionally numerous toiletries and hospitality services.

Entering the Pompeian Boudoirs

In an earlier, contextual study of 137 Pompeian mirrors, in only fifteen houses was a mirror found together with more than ten other toiletry items.[10] In most

[9] On gendered objects (including toiletries) and space, Nevett 2010, 95–96; Allison 2007; Berg 2016. See in particular the critical views of Allison (2007, 346–48) on engendering domestic objects, and the most useful analysis by Cahill 2002 on the household inventories of Olynthus.

[10] This has been evinced in the data collected a doctoral dissertation on female-associated toiletries in Pompeian house-floor context, on which this paper is based, Berg 2010a, 161–62, 77–82, 297–301. The archaeological study examined the find contexts of the 137 mirrors now kept in the archaeological storerooms of Pompeii, that is, the material excavated after the 1890s, as finds before that date have been moved to the *Museo Nazionale Archeologico* of Naples. A basic result of the research was that in nearly 90% of cases the mirrors were, indeed, accompanied by other toiletries. However, no all-toiletry contexts were found, as the storage of *mundus muliebris* is closely connected with the general system of storage in the household, and they were mostly stored with other valuables. In the study, mirror has been considered as the emblem of the group, and other main categories considered are containers for ablutions (washing basins, dippers, pitchers), instruments for grooming the hair (hairpins, combs) and the skin, including cosmetic equipment (*unguentaria*, *pyxides, spatulae*, cosmetic spoons, strigils, tweezers, *coticulae* for preparing cosmetic mixtures, pumice stones in bronze cups for depilation).

Pompeian houses, toiletries found together form only modest arrays, of less than ten items. These fifteen houses and contexts seem to be worthy of particular observation, both for their composition and for the habitations in which they were found. Can rich cosmetic contexts be connected with elite lifestyles?

Tables 1 and 2 present the fifteen architectonic and material contexts for the toiletries. Table 1 summarizes the types and sizes of the houses, where the largest contexts were found. None of the houses has a full axial sequence of *atrium-tablinum*-peristyle, and none of them are among the best-known Pompeian habitations, either for architectural features or paintings; many of the houses are without a conventional name. The houses are mostly small or medium sized, in quartiles 2 and 3, except those with larger open spaces, i.e.

House	Name	House type	Surface m^2	Quartile
I 11, 6.7	Casa di Venere in Bikini	*Atrium-viridarium*	186	3
I 11, 17	Casa Imperiale	*Atrium-viridarium*	128	2
I 13, 1	Casa di L. Crassius Crescens	Peristyle without *atrium*	263	3
I 13, 2	Casa di L. Helvius Severus	*Atrium-viridarium*	351	4
I 14, 8.9	*Hospitium*	Irregular	200	3
I 16, 4	-	*Atrium-viridarium*	366	4
V 3, 10	-	*Atrium-viridarium*	214	3
V 3, 11	-	*Atrium-viridarium*	241	3
V 4, 3	Casa del Flamen	*Atrium-viridarium*	289	3
V 4, 13	Casa delle Origini di Roma	*Atrium-viridarium*	295	3
VI 15, 23	*Hospitium*	Peristyle without *atrium*	433	4
VI 16, 28	Casa della Caccia dei Tori	*Atrium-viridarium*	155	2
VI 16, 32	*Lupanar* di L. Aurunculeius Secundio	*Atrium-viridarium*	135	2
VI 16, 40	*Thermopolium* di Felix e Dorus	*Thermopolium* with living quarters	99	2
VII 16, 19	-	Shop	25	1

Table 1. The types and sizes of fifteen Pompeian houses in which exceptionally rich toiletry sets have been found.

vineyards.[11] Two of them have conventionally received the label of *hospitium* or inn, one has been defined a *lupanar* and includes a *thermopolium*, one is a large *thermopolium* with back rooms, one is a one-room shop. The *atrium* house of Venus in Bikini has a secondary entrance through a *taberna*, probably also a food and drink outlet.

In Table 2 the objects classifiable as toiletries (found together in one room), are listed.[12] The number of toiletries ranges from eleven to fifty-four items in total. The most numerous group among the categories present are the *unguentaria*, with up to twenty-eight specimens. The presence of bronze, bone or glass *pyxides* in many contexts is also noteworthy.

Strikingly, none of the houses in which the most conspicuous toiletry sets were found is likely to have belonged to the municipal elite. In elite houses, the number of *unguentaria* (according to the database of Allison) seems to be rather low and not combined with other toiletries (*unguentaria*: Casa del Menandro: 10, Casa di Iulius Polybius: 9, Casa delle Nozze d'Argento: 5, Casa di Giuseppe II: 5, Casa dei Vettii: 5, Casa di M. Lucretius Fronto: 3, Casa del Sacello Iliaco: 3, Casa dei Quadretti teatrali: 3). Could this be explained by the disorder, upheavals and lootings that most afflicted the wealthiest *domus* during or after the eruption?[13] As a counterargument, it could be stated that cosmetic equipment, with the exception of silver mirrors and pins, is for the most part of relatively low value – a collection of glass *unguentaria* and bone pins would probably

---

[11] Only three houses belong to the largest quartile by square meters, according to the classification of house types and sizes by Andrew Wallace-Hadrill (1994, 81). Of these three, only one is an *atrium* house (I 13, 2). In total, ten houses are modest *atrium* houses that have a minimal green space or a garden area with no colonnades at rear. The house of L. Crassius Crescens (I 13, 1) has a peristyle garden, but does not have a traditional *atrium*. Some of the houses belong to the type 'case a schiera', with a traversal *atrium testudinatum*, without an *impluvium*. The count of the decorated rooms per house is also revealing: all but two houses have only two or three painted rooms. The two exceptions to this rule are, again, the house I 13, 2, and the house of Venus in Bikini (I 11, 6.7) which, despite its small size, presents figural painting in virtually all the rooms.

[12] Many of these objects, in particular various pins and *unguentaria*, can also have other purposes (i.e. *unguentaria* could contain medicine, spices etc.), Berg 2010a, 83–87; Allison 2007, 346–47. In many cases the presence of specific luxurious items (very small, decorated *ampullae*, or those in precious materials) make it most likely that they were filled with perfumed oil or other cosmetic substances.

[13] http://www.stoa.org/projects/ph/home; Allison 2004, 192–96.

House	Toil. Total	Mirr.	Unguen.	Tweez.	Pins etc.	Strigils	Other
I 11, 6.7	21	1	13	2	4	-	pumice
I 11, 17	29	1	21	2	2	1	2 *pyxides*
I 13, 1	11	1	10	-	-	-	-
I 13, 2	54	2	28	1	13	-	2 *pyxides* 5 *coticulae* 3 combs
I 14, 8.9	16	3	13	-	-	-	-
I 16, 4	31	3	18	5	3	-	2 (probe) handles
V 3, 10	12	1	10	1	-	-	-
V 3, 11	25	2	19	2	2	-	-
V 4, 3	22	1	10	2	6	1	bronze *aryballos* *coticula*
V 4, 13	15	1	6	4	1	1	2 pumices
VI 15, 23	41	4	28	1	5	2	rectangular medicine box
VI 16, 28	13	1	9	-	3	-	-
VI 16, 32	15	2	4	-	7	1	*pyxis*
VI 16, 40	40	1	18	2	19	-	-
VII 16, 19	21	1	9	-	5	3	3 *coticulae*

Table 2. Toiletry assemblages in fifteen Pompeian houses (with more than ten toiletry items found together with a mirror). Toil. – Toiletries, Mirr – Mirrors, Unguen. – Ungentaria*, Tweez. – Tweezers, Pins etc. – Pins/probes/spoons/* spatulae.

not be among the first items to be salvaged or stolen. Furthermore, the fifteen contexts used in this study seem more likely to be functional grooming sets than casual collections of looted valuables.

For limitations of space, I concentrate only on three of these fifteen houses more thoroughly. One of them, the so-called House of Aurunculeius Secundio (VI 16, 32.33) is a *thermopolium*/*lupanar* with living quarters, the second is a large irregular house conventionally defined as a *hospitium* (VI 15, 23), and the third a small *atrium* house called Casa Imperiale (I 11, 17).

Three Houses with Rich Toiletry Sets

1. Lupanar *of L. Aurunculeius Secundio*

In the house of L. Aurunculeius Secundio (VI 16, 32.33) fifteen toiletry items, including two rectangular bronze mirrors, were found. Two entrances gave access to the house: a wide *fauces* (A) and a *thermopolium* (C), both leading to the testudinate *atrium* (B) (Fig. 1), which featured an unusual fireplace for cooking in its SW corner.[14] Besides the bar, decorated with vignettes of birds, the habitation counted only two rooms with wall-paintings, *triclinium* (E) and a *cubiculum* (F). In the garden, the owners had installed a *biclinium* for outdoor dining. Most of the movable finds of the house, including almost all valuables, were stacked in an undecorated store room (D), where the excavators also found the toiletries.[15]

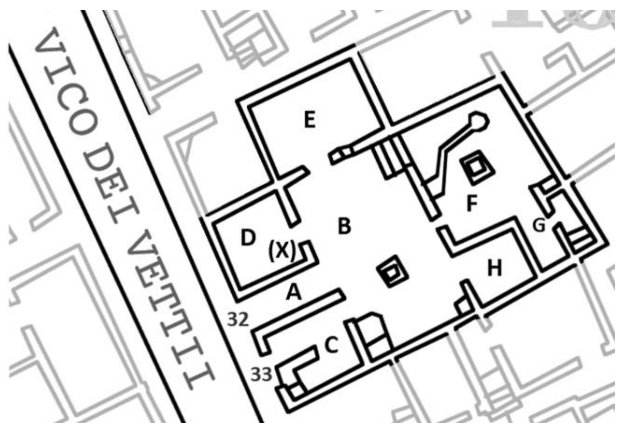

*Fig. 1. Plan of the house/*lupanar *of L. Aurunculeius Secundio (VI 16, 32.33) with the indication of the findspot of the toiletries (x).*

[14] For the house in general, *NSc* 1908, 272, fig. 1; 287–98; Della Corte 1965, 71–72, n. 95–96; Kleberg 1957, 41; Eschebach 1993, 231; Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 216; *PPM* 1994, vol. V, 960–73; De Felice 2001, 256–57, n. 91; McGinn 2002, 39; McGinn 2004, 276; Ellis 2005, 384–86; Berg 2010a, 276–80.

[15] The number of objects found in various rooms confirms the predominance of room (D) as a deposit area: room (D) 73 items, *atrium* (B) 16, garden (F) 15, *thermopolium* (C) 8, latrine (G) 4.

Fig. 2. Finds from the house of L. Aurunculeius Secundio (Pompeii, Archivio fotografico B30).

McGinn and Guzzo include the house in their catalogues of possible brothels of Pompeii, and it is also classified as such by Eschebach, because of the explicit phallic paintings that originally decorated the selling counter of the bar, and the close connection between the bar and the living quarters.[16] During the original excavations in 1904, Antonio Sogliano immediately noted the large number of toiletries, as – quite exceptionally – photos were taken of them as a groups, and some published in the *Notizie degli Scavi*.[17] In two further images of the Photographic Archives of the Superintendency of Pompeii, several of these items are grouped (Fig. 2: strigil, glass aryballos with suspension chains, bronze pyxis with suspension chains, two spoons and a knife still with its blade, two unguentaria; Fig. 3: bronze amulets, three hair-pins, four bracelets, a ring, a fibula, a rectangular mirror), and jewellery (a textile gold band and four silver bracelets, two decorated with phallic reliefs, and bronze amulets, one in the form of Isis, Fig. 4.3) are displayed together. While some objects were destroyed during the war, the jewellery has been transferred to the Archaeological Museum of Naples. The items still preserved in the archaeological storerooms Pompeii (Fig. 4) constitute a functional cosmetic set.[18]

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[16] The now detached painting depicts, at the center, a large ejaculating phallus, with two heraldic masturbating male figures in tunics on either side, see *PPM* V, 963, fig. 5 (AFS B234). McGinn 2002, 39, cat. 15; McGinn 2004, 276, cat. 15; Guzzo 2009, 39, cat. 23, Tav. XVI; Eschebach 1993, 231.

[17] *NSc* 1908, 291, fig. 14; 292, fig. 15.

[18] The set contains the following objects: **Two bronze mirrors** of rectangular form (Type Lloyd-Morgan A), one larger (Fig. 4.1, 55821) and the other smaller (Fig. 4.2, 55862). **Bronze pyxis**,

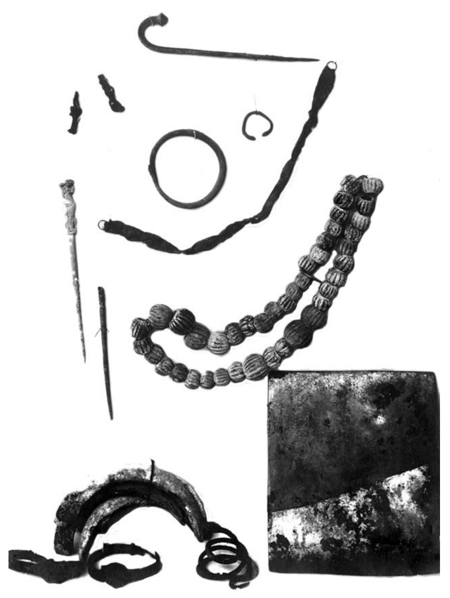

Fig. 3. Finds from the house of L. Aurunculeius Secundio (Pompeii, Archivio fotografico B31).

Numerous other finds, including a large group of bronze vases, were stored in the same room.[19] Many of the bronze vases, like the classic set of pitcher (Tassinari form D) and *patera* (Tassinari form H), have a function connected with ablutions, though most likely those during banquets, rather than female ablutions. All in all, the collection of finds in this house, or *thermopolium*/*lupanar*, confirms

decorated with relief ribbing (Fig. 4.9, 55829, Tav. 39,3; *NSc* 1908, 292, fig. 15.). **Four glass unguentaria**: One large *unguentarium* of type Scatozza 49, h. 14 cm (Fig. 4.12, 55863); a small glass bottle ("boccettina") of h. 9 cm (Fig. 4.7, 55865). The *aryballos* is not preserved (ex 3346), but has been documented by the photo Fig. 2 and in *NSc* (1908, 292, fig. 15). It was of the general form De Tommaso 10, spherical and with four "dolphin-shaped" handles to which bronze chains were attached for suspension, h. 11 cm. The fourth *unguentarium* is 6,5 cm high (Fig. 4.8, 55866), with ovoid body, short neck and out-turned lip of type De Tommaso 19, in blue glass striped with white. Of the **three silver spoons** (ex 3308) two have been documented in the photo in *NSc* 1908, 291, fig. 14, and Fig. 2. These have been counted here in *mundus*, as no other element of a silver table service were present. Spoons may, however, also have served for culinary purposes. **Bone spatula** (Fig. 4.4, 55875) was 18,7 cm long, of flat and tapering form. The wider end is rounded and quite worn, the narrow end has double points. A silver "**hair-pin**" (ex 3309), documented in a photo in *NSc* (1908, 291, 14, Fig. 3), was of curved form and ending in a bottom-shaped head. **Two bone hair-pins** were present: one 14,5 cm long, with a top in the form of Venus *Anadyoméne* (Fig. 4.6, 55879); the other of cm 10, with a stylized pine cone at top (Fig. 4.5, 55878). A **small knife** with a handle in bone originally had an iron blade (Fig. 4.11, 55880). The handle is round in section and decorated with incised lines, ending in a circular knob. A small decorative knife can plausibly be part of cosmetic utensils. A miniature **bronze strigil** (Fig. 4.10, 55817) is of the general form A of Riha.

[19] Tassinari 1993, I, 182; II, 494. Even if the presence of non-pertinent objects is consistent, as a rule, we may presume that the higher the number of toiletries found together, the higher the probability that it is an intentionally formed set.

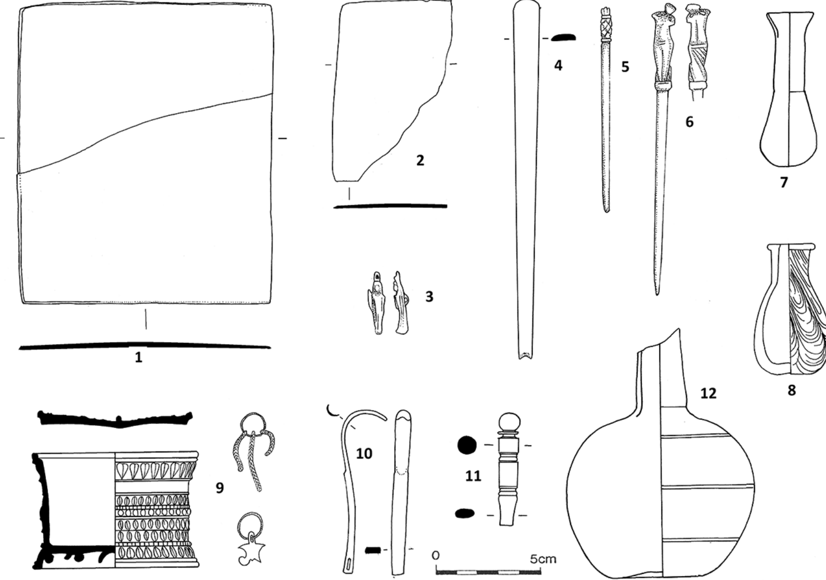

Fig. 4. Toiletry set found in the house of L. Aurunculeius Secundio. For descriptions, see n. 18 (drawing: author).

an above-average quantity of female grooming equipment, including jewellery associated with males (signet rings with names of *L. Aurunculeius Secundio* and *A.B.L.*) and females (hair-pins, golden hair-band, bracelets, snake-ring), and also above average quantities of furnishings for banquet services.

2. Hospitium *VI 15, 23*

Another house where a large presence of toiletries is combined with evidence of the hospitality business, not elite housing, is the unnamed *hospitium* VI 15, 23, where one of the largest of the fifteen contexts – forty toiletry items in total – was found.

The building, excavated in 1896–1897, has an anomalous form, probably derived from the division of an earlier *domus*, conserving the peristyle without an

atrium (Fig. 5).[20] The entrance leads directly into a four-sided peristyle (a), onto which a kitchen (c), and a series of *triclinia* and *cubicula* open, undecorated when the house was last occupied. The toiletries, found in the 1 October 1896, were collected in a cupboard in the *ambulacrum* in the SW corner of the peristyle. Among the toiletries were four bronze mirrors of different shapes, twenty-eight *unguentaria*, two strigils, tweezers, four pointed instruments, a cosmetic spoon and a knife (Fig. 6).[21] No pyxids were present, but a rectangular

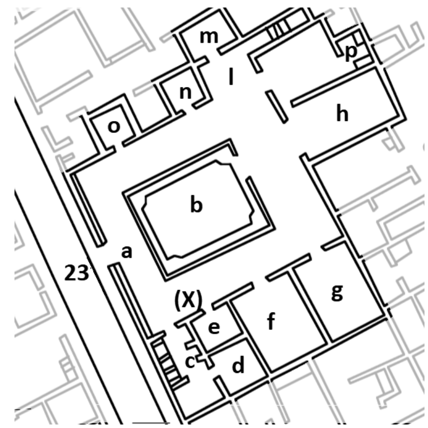

Fig. 5. Plan of the hospitium *VI 15, 23, with the indication of the findspot of the toiletries (x).*

[20] *NSc 1*896, 473–75, 535; *NSc* 1897, plan p. 14, 105–8, 155–57, 340; 1898, 174, 269; 1900, 603; Eschebach 1993, 223–24; Tassinari 1993, I, 176; II, 438; Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 215; *PPM* V 1994, 701–8.

[21] Berg 2010a, 272–75. **Four bronze mirrors**: a grip mirror lacking the handle, the disc decorated with perforate holes around the rim, Lloyd-Morgan type K (Fig. 6.1, 53527), simple unadorned disc in fragments (Fig. 6.2, 53528, Lloyd-Morgan type B), and two rectangular plates (Lloyd-Morgan type A) of medium and small sizes (Figs. 6.3–4, 53533, 53534). A rectangular **bronze container** with a mobile lid (Fig. 7, 53535) is of type normally used for medical substances. A b**one pin** (cm 13,5) has spiralled grip and ends in a pinecone shape (Fig. 6.11, 53548). Another **bone probe** (cm 9,2) of uncertain function ends in a caprine hoof similar to many Pompeian hair-pins (Fig. 6.9, 53547). A small **bronze spoon-probe** ('nettaorecchi', cm 12,7) has a small round concave cup, and a handle ending in sharp point (Fig. 6.7, 53536, type Riha E). **Two pins, in bone**, not found for the study, are described in the *Inventory* as "asticciole finienti a punta in uno estremo, e concave nell'altro", and were quite probably cosmetic spoons (ex 1090). **Two bronze strigils** of medium size (Figs. 6.5–6, 53529, 53530) both belong to the form A of Riha. A **bronze tweezer** (8,5 cm) is of the type with offset shoulders (Fig. 6.10, 53531). All glass-ware was transported to Naples Museum in the spedition n. 240 of 22 July 1899. Originally present were **28 unguentaria in glass** according to the information contained in the *Inventory*, there were seven pear-shaped small bottles of ca. 15 cm in height probably belonging to type Scatozza 49 (ex 1018–24), eight bottles of small, closed form, under 10 cm of height, probably Scatozza 46–47, (ex 1024–32), two of miniaturistic size, of h. 2–4 cm (ex 1033–34), five globular *ollae* type Scatozza 56 with the hight ranging from 9 to 5 cm (ex 1038–42); one has horizonal linings and is probably Scatozza 43/Isings 70, even if only 5 cm high (ex 1057), one example has three small feet, as the type 25 of De Tommaso (ex 1058). Two are of

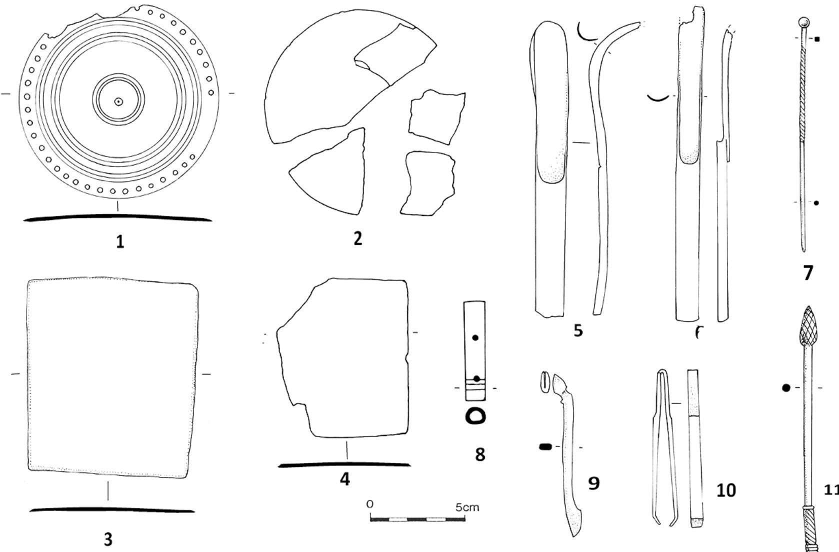

Fig. 6. Toiletry set found in the hospitium *VI 15, 23, and conserved at Pompeii Archaeological Storerooms. The* unguentaria *transferred to MANN are not figured. For descriptions, see n. 21 (drawing: author).*

bronze box with a sliding lid is of the type connected with medicine and cosmetics (Fig. 9).[22] The jewellery included two *fibulae* (inv. 1083–4), two gemstones (inv. 1093–4), a silver clasp (inv. 1095) and a gold earring (inv. 1096).

The large quantity of graffiti with explicit erotic content scratched on the façade, nearby the entrance, naming at least seven women, may suggest that the house was a *hospitium,* or brothel.[23] In this case too, the connection between exceptionally abundant toiletries and the hospitality business seems quite possible,

forms not recognizable by description (ex 1035, 1054–56).

[22] Inv. 53535. H. 3.0, l. 8.1, w. 5.5. For bronze boxes as containers for medicines, see Krug 1993, 79. For box containers of *coticulae*, see Riha 1986, 44–45.

[23] Della Corte (1965, 60–61) identified the house VI 11, 16 on the opposite side of the Vicolo del Labirinto as a *lupanar*, but notes that a concentration of erotic graffiti mentioning several women, *Ap(h)rodite*, *Secunda*, *Nym(p)he*, *Spendusa*, *Veneria*, *Restituta* and *Timele*, is found on both sides of the street (*CIL* IV 1374–91; 1402–7; 4435–44).

Fig. 7. Fragmentary medical/cosmetic bronze box from hospitium *VI 15, 23 (photo: author).*

even though the identification of the house as a *hospitium* is less certain than in the first case examined.

3. Casa Imperiale I 11, 17

A further example of an exceptionally rich toiletry set found in a small and modest house is that of the so-called Casa Imperiale.[24] The only decorated rooms of the house were *cubiculum* (6) and *triclinium* (4), whose window opened onto a small open rear court (7) and kitchen (8) (Fig. 8). Despite its modest appearance, the house contained one of the richest collections of toiletries of the fifteen houses. Excavators found a silver lid mirror decorated with incision, together with twenty-four other toiletry items, some

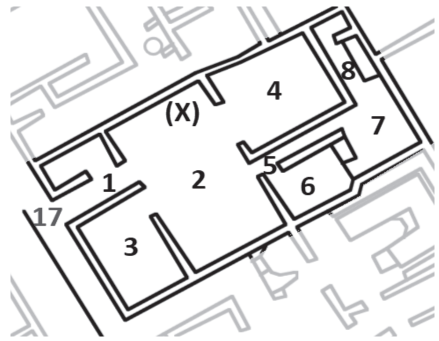

Fig. 8. Plan of Casa Imperiale (I 11, 17) with the indication of the findspot of the toiletries (x).

[24] Eschebach 1993, 62; Berg 2010a, 209–10; Berg 2016.

luxurious, in its undecorated *atrium* (Fig. 9).[25] The toiletries include tweezers, probes, twenty *unguentaria*, some of them quite rare (one stands on tripod feet, one is carved in faceted rock crystal, one is divided internally into two compartments) and two *pyxides*, one carved in limestone and decorated with gilding, another in bronze. These objects had probably been contained in a wooden box, which decomposed, as demonstrated by the surviving bronze

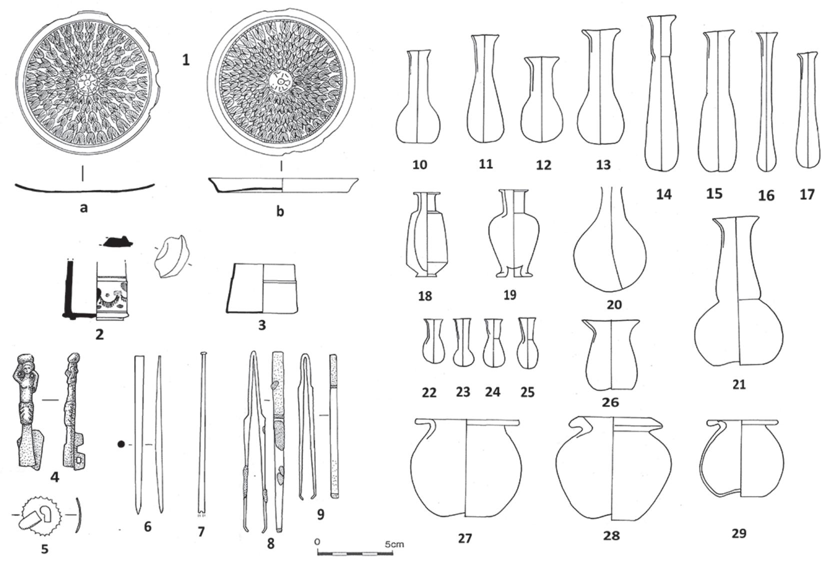

Fig. 9. Toiletry set found in Casa Imperiale. See n. 25 (drawing: author).

[25] Toiletries include: a silver **mirror** (Fig. 9.1, 12730), a bronze **strigil** (12752), a simple bronze ***pyxis*** (Fig. 9.3, 12753), a ***pyxis*** in limestone (Fig. 9.2, 12758), two bronze **tweezers** (Figs. 9.7–8, 12754 A–B), two pointed **instruments** in bronze (Figs. 9.6–7, 12755 A–B). Furthermore, 20 *unguentaria* of different shapes were present. These include: eight of the common forms Scatozza 46–47 (Figs. 9.10–17,12777 A–H), a larger, rounded bottle (Fig. 9.21, 12767), an *aryballos* formed rounded bottle with an internal division in two (Fig. 9.20, 12778), glass *unguentarium* on three feet (Fig. 9.19, 12781), *unguentarium* in rock crystal (Fig. 9.18, 12782), four miniature *unguentaria* (Figs. 9.22–25, 12779 A–D), three globular *ollae*, type Scatozza 56 (Figs. 9.27–29, 12767–12769) and a small, narrower *olla* (Fig. 9.26, 12780). Jewellery found together include a bronze ring (12731), a bronze signet ring (12732), and four buttons in rock crystal (12736).

lock elements, in particular a clasp in the form of Venus *Anadyoméne* (Fig. 9.4–5).[26]

This house, like the house of L. Aurunculeius Secundio, was exceptionally well furnished with bronze vases suitable for ablutions during banquets.[27] Even if we cannot identify the house as a tavern or restaurant through any structural element, its movable finds suggest that in this house too, some kind of hospitality business, with a notable female presence, may have been run.

In these three cases, lavish cosmetic sets would plausibly have been associated with women abiding in small-medium sized houses, with some connection to restoration services. Here, the discourse again meets that of the conflicting ideals of Roman female beauty and habits, the "anti-cosmetic tradition" and its transgressions. The following chapters trace, as an *excursus*, the literary evidence on the status and *loci* of cosmetic use of the Roman courtesan.

Toiletries and Taverns

The moralistic tradition of Roman literature never recommends the use of cosmetics to matrons, who should be distinguished by the sobriety of their grooming and their modest clothing; neat, clean and unadorned.[28] In fact, cosmetics were often associated with women of dubious moral conduct, in particular adulterers and prostitutes.[29] The visual distinction between the clothing and grooming of a matron and a prostitute was of crucial importance, not only morally, but also legally, as noted by Olson and McGinn.[30] On the basis of Pompeian

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[26] For the clasp, see also Berg 2017. Clasp: Inv. 12751, lock element: Inv. 12759

[27] Tassinari 1983, I 148–50; II 413–15. In particular, basin type S2121 (inv. 12737), pitcher B2220 (12741), dipper I1120 (12742), two oval cups O2000 (12745), handle of *patera* H3200 (12750).

[28] For the appearance of the matron with *stola* and *palla* drawn over the head and hair bound with the woollen *vittae*, see Sebesta 2001, 48–49; Olson 2008, 27–39.

[29] Saiko 2005, 256–57; Olson 2006; Cioccoloni 2006, 100, n. 13; Berg 2010a, 58–61. To be noted also that the cosmetic manuals of antiquity were written by and for courtesans, such as Elephantis (Gal. 12,416), Aspasia, and Cleopatra, author of *ornamenta corporis* (Plin. *nat*. 9,119).

[30] For the distinction between the appearance of matrons and prostitutes in general, McGinn 1998, 158–60, and especially Olson 2006 (on the difficulties of distinguishing *matronae* form *meretrices*, p. 198). For the legal definition of matronly appearance see McGinn 1998, 154–56.

material evidence, exemplified by the three cases presented above, I suggest that such distinctions in clothing and use of cosmetics was also reflected concretely in the ownership of toiletries.

Although often cited as evidence for the grooming practices of Roman matrons, at a closer look, the most detailed grooming scenes in Roman literature, for example in Plautus' *Mostellaria* and *Poenulus*, actually take place in courtesans' boudoirs.[31] Similarly, the two Ovidian passages cited at the beginning of this paper, mentioning a profusion of *pyxides* on a woman's toilet table, both refer to elegiac *puellae* rather than matrons; likewise, the hundred *pyxides* in the epigram of Martial belong to a courtesan, Galla, and are found in her apartment at Suburra.[32]

If cosmetics were firmly associated with prostitutes, prostitution was, in turn, just as firmly associated with taverns and inns. In effect, *thermopolia*, *popinae*, *cauponae* and *hospitia* were equal to *lupanaria* in Roman law as *loci inhonesti*, even if this certainly does not mean that prostitution was conducted in all Roman food and drink outlets.[33] This brings us to the long-debated question of the identification of brothels in Pompeii, well summarised by McGinn, who stresses that even if we only can identify one 'purpose-built brothel' in Pompeii, this must represent only a minor fraction of a larger social phenomenon, more elusive in multipurpose taverns, inns and private habitations, and more difficult to define.[34]

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[31] The scene in *Mostellaria* (248ff.) is set in the boudoir of the courtesan Philemation assisted by old Scapha. The scene in *Poenulus* includes discourse on female toiletries by Adelphasium and Anterastilis, forced to work as courtesans (228–31).

[32] Ov. *rem.* 351; *ars* 3,209–10. Mart. *ep*. 9,37. Galla is described as putting her teeth, eyebrows and practically her whole face in *pyxides* for the night. According to Henriksén (2012, 35–36), the name Galla appears in Martial's verse in another fifteen epigrams, and in most cases probably points to a prostitute. Her price is in epigram 9.4 indicated as *aureolis… duobus*.

[33] The definition of prostitution in Ulpian's first chapter ad *Legem Iuliam Papiam* (D. 23,2,*43pr*.) is central, "*palam quaestum facere dicemus non tantum eam quae in lupanario se prostituit, verum etiam si qua (ut adsolet) in taberna cauponia, vel qua alia pudori suo non parcit*." Cf. D. 23,2,43,6; D. 4,8,21,11. For further discussion of these passages, and descriptions of prostitution according to Roman law, see Guzzo – Scarano Ussani 2001, 991, n. 39 with bibl.; Guzzo – Scarano Ussani 2009, 21–22 *et passim*; McGinn 1998, 127; De Felice 2001; McGinn 2006, 162–63. Often cited as evidence of the inclusion of *puella* in the bill of a *hospitium* is *CIL* IX 8442. Cf. also Edwards 1997. On the evidence of the assimilation of barmaids with prostitutes at Pompeii, see Savunen 1997, 108.

[34] McGinn 2002, 8–11: The estimated numbers range between one and thirty-five. So far, architec-

Movable finds have so far received almost no consideration among the possible clues to identify *lupanaria* in Pompeii.[35] In contrast, for example, in the Kerameikos zone of classical Athens, a possible brothel (building Z) has been identified as such partially on the basis of female toiletries and sympotic crockery, as noted by James N. Davidson.[36] Furthermore, the study of prostitution in the Roman world has mostly concentrated on its lowest, most servile forms. Its higher status equivalents, although less evident in their architectural features, could, however, be more detectable on the basis of movable finds, including toiletries and banquet equipment.

Such establishments would range from *popinae* and *hospitia* with their *copae* and *ancillae* serving middle class clients, to the socially and economically independent courtesan/*hetaira*, of freed or freeborn status, associated with the elite. In this latter case, not only sexual services were paid for, but the whole setting of a *convivium* in a pleasant atmosphere; dining, entertaining discussion and musical performance in the presence of women.[37] Directly pertinent to such phenomena are, for example, the series of four graffiti from the Suburban Baths of Herculaneum, stating the conspicuous sum of 422 *asses* spent on such an evening.[38]

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ture with *cellae*, the presence of masonry beds, erotic wall paintings, graffiti and topographic zoning have been considered the most significant criteria. On the difficulties of defining brothels in Roman Pompeii and their relation with *cauponae*, *popinae*, *cellae meretriciae*, and *deversoria*, see Kleberg 1957, 89 *et passim*; Wallace-Hadrill 1995; McGinn 2002, 11–13; Varone 2005, 94; 106; Guzzo and Scarano Ussani (2009, 113–14). The latter estimate the number of prostitutes active in Pompeii as 80–100, of which perhaps only 20 worked in the *Lupanar* VII, 12, 18–20, and the rest, consequently, in other places.

[35] As other possible material indicators, McGinn proposes lamps placed outside the establishments and statues of Venus or Priapus (2002, 10–11, 35). Scarce finds have been recorded as coming from the Pompeian purpose-built Lupanar, see *Giornale degli scavi* of Giuseppe Fiorelli, 1862, 48–59. On this argument, Berg (forthcoming).

[36] Davidson 1997, 85; Lind 1988. In Rome, cf. Tomei 1995. For an interesting parallel for a funerary context of a courtesan, see Deodato 2011, 92–93.

[37] Davidson 1997; James 2003; for courtesans' presence and behaviour at dinner parties, see for example James 2006, 228–229.

[38] The banquet, organised by *minister Epaphroditus*, is documented by two participants, *Apelles, cubicularius Caesar(is)* and *Dexter*, in three graffiti: *CIL* IV 10675: *consumpserunt persuavissime cum futuere HS CV s(emis)*; *CIL* IV 10677: *pranderunt hic* | *iucundissime et* | *futuere simul*; *CIL* IV 10678. For these, see also Varone 2005, 104 *et passim*. A fourth graffito found in the room is a salutation to Novellia Primigenia (*CIL* IV 10676).

Hetairai in Pompeii: fiction or reality?

In Pompeian erotic paintings, the figures of luxurious *hetairai* have conventionally been seen only as poetic citations of Hellenistic iconography, without any direct reference to existing realities.[39] Likewise, in earlier gender studies prostitutes of high status have been considered "a fabrication of the male mind", or a mere myth and romanticisation.[40] The figure of the free courtesan, as an existing social category in Roman society, has more recently been thoroughly profiled in the works of Sharon James, who convincingly identifies the *docta puella* of Roman love elegies not as an adulterous matron, but as an 'avatar of the Greek *hetaira*', mostly of freed status and foreign origin.[41] As James has pointed out, the elegiac poets carefully avoid any discourse on monetary compensation, insisting that only their poems and other gifts (expensive jewels, perfumes and clothes) would be exchanged, thus masking the fundamentally mercenary character of the relationship.[42] In Tibullus', Propertius' and Ovid's narratives, such women figure as owners of substantial material means.[43] The

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[39] See, for example, Clarke 1998, 103, 201–6. The types of jewellery worn in the paintings indicate contemporaneous rather than Hellenistic inspiration; see d'Ambrosio – De Carolis – Guzzo 2008, 54–55.

[40] Keuls 1983a, 199; Keuls 1983b, 35.

[41] James 2006, 226–27. According to the scholar (2003, ix), the elegiac *puella* "can be nothing other than a courtesan of formidable intelligence, education and independence." On the earlier discussion of the identification of the elegiac *puella*, previously seen generally as an adulterous wife or an unreal fantasy projection of a Hellenistic past, or a metaphor for elegiac poetry, see James 2003, 2, 41, 212. See also Keith 2011, 26, who states that (31) "the elegiac mistress herself must thus be counted another luxury import from eastern Mediterranean, like the silks, gems and perfumes in which she conventionally dresses." For the epigraphic evidence of Greek courtesans in Rome, called by names of famous classical *hetairai* (Thais, Lais, Phryne, Lycoris), see Solin 2003.

[42] Plaut. *most*. 286 on gold and purple as suitable gifts to a *meretrix*. On the difference between payments and gifts, see Davidson 1997, 109–10. For the status of freeborn or freedwoman independent courtesan, in contrast to the servile prostitute, see, for example, Formigoni Candini 1991, 17–19; James 2006, 232, 238.

[43] The elegiac mistresses, personified under the names of Corinna, Delia, Cynthia and Nemesis all lived in relative luxury. Propertius narrates Cynthia's large house (2,6,1–4), numerous servants (4,8), and her golden statue of Venus (4,7,47–48), golden clothing (4,8,39–40). Cf. *meretrix* figures living with luxury objects and having numerous servants in Plautus' *Trinummus* (250–51) and *Truculentus* (51–56). A historical courtesan figure, Chelidon, mistress of Verres, had a large and lavishly fur-

freeborn or freed status of the women would have been of major importance, because the difference between slaves and free prostitutes was crucial, as slaves could not own property, nor have any control over their bodies (whether working in a household or in a *lupanar*), whereas women of free status, even courtesans, could.[44]

Notably, courtesans were often stationed in their own houses, able to decide who could enter and who could not. Indeed, their houses are mostly referred to only through the metaphoric door – certainly not that of a father or a husband, and unlikely to be that of a common *lupanar* – guarded by a *ianitor* and other dependent staff. [45]

The existence of independent courtesans of free status also in the Vesuvian cities is hinted at by abundant material, in the form of graffiti, that takes up the elegiac theme of *exclusus amator*; for example, telling the *ianitor* not to let in lovers who do not bear gifts.[46] The appearance of several freeborn female

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nished household (Cic. *Verr*. 2,2,116). See Olson 2006, 195 and Berg (forthcoming) on prostitutes wearing gold jewellery. Also the Greek *hetairai* are frequently described as owners of luxurious possessions, see Cohen 2006, 110, n. 112; 113. See, for example, Lucian's *Dialogues of Courtesans* 4, 1.

[44] The free courtesan could attain a paradoxically high level of independence for the parameters of Roman culture, or, as formulated by James, as she was neither a wife nor a slave, she ultimately controlled her own life. For slaves and free prostitutes in classical Athens, cf. Cohen 2006. The very definition of prostitution in Rome requires that venal sex is practised *palam*, publicly, and *vulgo*, without choosing the client, excluding *de facto* free courtesans from this classification: D. 23,2,41 with McGinn 1998, 125–27. As noted by Guzzo and Scarano Ussani (2001, 995), on the limits of prostitution: 'atti sessuali prestati a pagamento, ma non *palam*, non configuravano il meretricio'.

[45] Among the house owning courtesans Chelidon can be recalled, in whose house Verres conducted public business and brought his clients, and which he inherited from her (Cic. *Verr*. 2,1,136–7; 2,4,7; 2,4,83). For further discussion of the passages, McCoy 2006, 179–81. For Volumnia Cytheris, *mima*, freedwoman and lover of M. Junius Brutus, M. Antonius, to whom Gallus wrote elegies by calling her Lycoris, mentioned by Vergil, see Keith 2011, 30–31. On the door motif: the passages of Ovid describing the hardness of the door, the threshold, the door's guard, see James 2003, 127; on *paraclausíthyron* in general, James 2003, 136–41; on the topos of an assault of a courtesan's house and the breaking down of its door, James 2003, 196.

[46] Quotations of verses of Ovid (*am*. 1,8,77–78, *CIL* IV 1893): '*surda sit oranti tua ianua, laxa ferenti. / audiat exclusi verba receptus amans*' and of Propertius (4,5,47–48, *CIL* IV 1894): '*ianitor ad dantis vigilet; si pulsat inanis /surdus in obductam somniet usque seram*.' On verses as gifts and monetary compensation also *CIL* IV 1860. There is an explicit offer of money in the message of Zosimus to Victoria (*CIL* IV 1964), 'if you think I don't have money, don't love me.'

names on the *Lupanar* wall graffiti (VII 12, 18.20) could also be significant in this respect.[47] Even if Pompeian material culture does not point to excessive luxuries comparable to those of the *Urbs*, figures such as the *mima* Novellia Primigenia could plausibly have played there the role of a provincial elegiac mistress.[48]

Another obstacle to interpreting rich toiletry sets as evidence of prostitution is indeed the scholarly tendency to consider all precious metals in archaeological contexts, *a priori*, as symbols of high social status.[49] The presence of precious metal items in modest habitations, such as the silver mirror in Casa Imperiale, thus compels us either to consider them as plundered and out of context, or to explain their presence there in other terms. Here, the aforementioned grooming scene of Plautus' *Mostellaria* could be brought to mind again: in this passage, the courtesan Philemation possesses and uses a silver mirror, a fact underlined by the advice of her elderly servant Scapha to wash her hands after holding it, lest they take on the smell of silver, referring to accepting money. Indeed, several Pompeian silver mirrors come from *hospitia* and modest private houses.[50]

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[47] According to Varone (2003, 202; 2005, 95), a remarkably high percentage (20,7%) of female names mentioned in the graffiti of Lupanare Grande are *gentilicia* (Ilia, Aplonia, Fabia, Cadia, Rusatia and Anaedia). The high number of individuals, most probably female, who have written graffiti praising male sexual performances, of the type *'Felix bene futues'* (*CIL* IV 2176), has been noted by Varone (2003, 207–9). Varone suggests such texts might have been written by women of free status, involved with men who prostituted themselves, but a more plausible explanation could be that they were prostitutes or courtesans of free status, but without a proper house.

[48] For Novellia Primigenia, see Della Corte 1958, 83–113, and Varone 2000a*:*1091 no. 60, Varone 2003–2004: 87 and 96–97 n. 19. *CIL* IV 8260, 8274, 8301, 10241, 10244.

[49] d'Ambrosio notes that the scarce general quantity of jewellery found in the Vesuvian cities suggests that they were seen as exclusively elite possessions, "prerogativa solo del ceto elevato" (1997, 21). For example, Guzzo – Scarano Ussani 2000, 85 refer to prostitutes wearing substitutes for valuable elite jewellery.

[50] Looking only at the distribution of Pompeian silver mirrors, of the ten examples in my material, only three actually came from large houses: two from the house of Menander and one from the house of Fabius Rufus, although both were accompanied by very few other toiletry items. Of the remaining seven silver mirrors, four come from modest *atrium* houses and three from houses traditionally called *hospitia*. In the so called *stabulum* and *hospitium* of Equitius and Tegeticula (I 14, 13) in total two silver mirrors and three bronze ones were found. This is a large architectonic complex with a very irregular plan, including a *thermopolium*, several *triclinia* and *cubicula* scattered amidst stables

A significant parallel for the connection between precious metals and prostitution as an archaeological problem is offered by the golden bracelet with the inscription *domnus ancillae suae* found in Murecine in 2000, raising the question of how an *ancilla, i.e*. a slave, and, as Guzzo and Vincenzo Scarano Ussani have plausibly proposed, a prostitute, could own a golden *parure*.[51]

A third example of a similar problem connecting luxury toiletry items with brothels are the *pyxis* jars that constituted the starting point of this paper. These could certainly be luxury objects when fabricated in fused bronze and decorated with elaborate bands of relief, like the one found among the toiletries of the House of L. Aurunculeius Secundio. As these objects are quite rare among Pompeian finds, it may be significant that the closest parallel to this jar, even more elaborate and therefore frequently illustrated in exhibition catalogues, was found in the House of Mestrius Maximus (I 9, 12), together

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and garden areas, situated near the amphitheater.

[51] For the bracelet in general, see Guzzo – Scarano Ussani 2001, 982–86, fig. 1a–c, 2a–c. For the condition of the woman who wore it, as a slave, a *copa*, a prostitute or a *lena* (*id*. 989–92). The scholars claim that the other jewels that the woman hoarded in a purse, including gold bracelets and long chains, together with the place of discovery, a river port inn, might suggest she was involved in prostitution (see also id. 993; Scarano Ussani 2005, 88, n. 12). Particularly significant would be the inclusion in the purse of the long gold chains worn on the nude body, in iconography typical of Venus, Eros and prostitutes (Guzzo – Scarano Ussani 2001, 993; Scarano Ussani 2005, 88–100, fig. 24–39). Guzzo and Scarano Ussani resolve the legal dilemma of the possession, at Murecine, of gold jewellery by a slave by considering them as *peculium,* remaining ultimately in the possession of the *dominus* (2001; 2005, 104). Contra Costabile (2005, 49 *et passim*), prefers to interpret the role of the woman as a beloved of slave status rather than a prostitute, possibly consequently manumitted by the patron. Also in this case, I am inclined to interpret the status of the woman as freed, a courtesan rather than a *lupa*, and thus proprietor of the jewels, even though not renouncing her earlier role as *ancilla* (significantly not *serva*) after the manumission. If the less juridical reading of *ancilla sua* is accepted, this could indeed be a gift received upon obtaining freedom and actual possession of the jewels could thus be legitimate. *Ancilla* could, as a pet name, also refer to a state of moral dependency that continued even after manumission. In the famous funerary inscription of a probable courtesan Allia Potestas (*CIL* VI 37965, *CLE* 1988), set up by her former patron and lover, who placately commemorates also her other two lovers, she is lovingly praised for her domestic virtues, bodily beauty and, significantly, for "never having considered herself as free", *numquam sibi libera visa* (v. 16). Furthermore, her patron allegedly wore a gold item with her name inscribed upon it (v. 40–41): *auro tuum nomen fert ille refertque lacerto, / qua retinere potest auro collata Potestas.*

with a mirror and *alabastron*;[52] both houses have traditionally been labelled *lupanaria*.

Conclusions

Jewellery and toiletries in precious metals found in archaeological contexts have mostly been read as indicators of elite status. From literary sources we know, however, of courtesans wearing and owning gold jewellery, and owning silver mirrors and houses. Examining the Pompeian artifact assemblages, it is evident that mirrors and toiletries are found in all types of houses in Pompeii, but the highest concentrations of them, including rare and precious objects, are to be found in modest *atrium* houses and taverns. I propose that there are good grounds to identify many of these houses, with anomalously rich toiletries and bronze vessels for ablutions, as places where commercial activities including eating, drinking, and banquets with prostitutes or courtesans took place. Among the possible candidates for such establishments are the *thermopolium*/*lupanar* of L. Aurunculeius Secundio VI 16, 32.33, *Hospitium* VI 15, 23, and the private house Casa Imperiale I 11, 17, examined in this paper as case studies. I propose, as a hypothesis to be examined in further research, to include rich collections of toiletry items, in particular cosmetic sets, as further indicators of prostitution in Pompeii.

Scholars studying Roman female dress and grooming have often supposed that moralistic rules on appearance were, in reality, largely ignored, and that, in the Imperial era, lavish adornment and make-up would have been a valid status symbol also for well-to-do matrons. This is undoubtedly true for the elaborate hairdo, a status symbol *sine qua non*, and some pieces of costly gold jewellery. As for the cosmetics, the analysis of Pompeian finds strongly suggests that the ownership of abundant cosmetic instruments, such as large collections of *unguentaria* and *pyxides*, was not a proper status symbol for elite women. The image of the Pompeian matron could thus have been a step closer to the austere Roman moralistic and rhetorical ideals than earlier presumed.[53]

[52] *Pyxis*, inv. 10025; *alabastron*, inv. 10036. For the house, Berg 2010a, 193–94.

[53] My thanks go to the Soprintendenza archeologica di Napoli e Pompei for the permission to study the materials and the excavation documentation, to dr. Grete Stefani and to dr. Antonio Varone for

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IL PREZZO DELL'ORO DAL 300 AL 325/330 E *ILS* 9420 = *SUPPLIT* V, 253–255 NR. 3

Maurizio Colombo

severo et rvfino coss | v k(alendas) sept(embres) | accepervnt coll(egia) fab(rorvm) et cc(entonariorvm) | ӿ qvingentamilia compvtata | vsvra anni vni centensima v[n]a | ӿ lx (milia) de qva vsvra per singvlos an(nos) | die v idv(s) ian(varias) natale ipsivs ex vsvra s(vpra) s(cripta) | at memoriam hos(tili) flaminini refriger(are?) | se[---]debvnt et iiiivir(i?) et sex princ(ipales?) | et off(iciales?) pvb(lici?) spor(tvlarvm) no(mine) avreos den(os) et sil(iqvam) | sing(vlam) neicnon et per ros(am) at memor(iam) eivs | refrigerar(i?) deveb(vnt) n ccclxii[1]

Questa iscrizione, incisa a Feltria (odierna Feltre nel Veneto), tramanda che il 28 Agosto 323 un certo Hostilius Flamininus fece una donazione di 500˙000 *denarii* ai locali *collegia* dei *fabri* e dei *centonarii*. L'interesse annuo del 12% sul capitale, 60˙000 *denarii*, doveva essere speso per due 'rinfreschi' annuali presso la tomba del benefattore, uno nel giorno del suo compleanno, l'altro *per rosam*, cioè durante i *rosalia*. L'opinione ora dominante risale a Wilhelm Kubitschek e vuole che nella prima circostanza i *quattuoruiri*, i sei *principales* e gli *officiales publici* ricevessero *sportularum nomine* la somma cumulativa di 10 *solidi* e 1 *siliqua* (1/24 di *solidus*), cioè 241 *siliquae* di *solidus*.[2]

[1] Il rinvenimento dell'epigrafe risale al 1906. Prima edizione in G. Ghirardini, "Feltre. Lapide romana scoperta nel sagrato del Duomo", *NSA* 1907, 431–433 = *AE* 1908, 107. Il testo riutilizza il retro del basamento per una statua, che l'*ordo Feltrinorum* eresse a un ignoto imperatore del periodo tra Tacito e Diocleziano (i resti della dedica originaria in *SuppIIt* V, 251–253 nr. 2 = *AE* 1990, 396).

[2] Le cifre dell'epigrafe sono state spiegate in modi radicalmente diversi: L. Cesano, "Il denarius e la usura nel tempo costantiniano", *RAL* s. V 17 (1908) 237–256; W. Kubitschek, "Eine Stiftung aus Feltre", *NZ* N.F. 2 (1909) 47–66; F. Wieser, "Zum Münzsystem der Inschrift von Feltre", *MÖNG* 8

In tempi recenti Filippo Carlà ha energicamente criticato la tradizionale identificazione della *siliqua* (minima unità di misura ponderale: 1/1728 della libbra e 1/24 del *solidus* costantiniano) con una moneta così chiamata, ma si astiene dall'analisi approfondita delle cifre epigrafiche. Carlà pensa che il donatore facesse riferimento alla tariffa corrente dell'oro; egli, accettando 10 *solidi* e 1 *siliqua* come totale delle *sportulae*, fissa il valore di una libbra aurea a meno di 430˙207 *denarii communes*.[3] Il saggio specifico del medesimo studioso sull'epigrafe contiene un paio di affermazioni alquanto discutibili. Il periodo approssimativo 313–323 sarebbe un momento di inflazione più ridotta almeno per il prezzo dell'oro; tale rallentamento sarebbe forse legato alla fase di tranquillità militare dopo la sconfitta di Massenzio e prima dello scoppio del conflitto con Licinio.[4]

In primo luogo l'espressione "tranquillità militare" suona piuttosto impropria. Tra il *bellum Maxentianum* (312) e lo scontro finale di Costantino con Licinio (324), anche se accantoniamo disinvoltamente le campagne militari di Costantino e di Crispo *Caesar* dal 313 al 323, ci furono due guerre civili, una tra Licinio e Massimino Daia (313),[5] l'altra tra Costantino e Licinio (316),[6] entrambe accanitamente combattute e molto sanguinose. La cronologia degli eventi e i fatti stessi sono aperti a differenti ricostruzioni, ma Costantino (Franchi renani

(1953) 33–36 e 42–44; H. Regler, "Das Rechensystem der Feltre Inschrift", *BNZ* 18 (1954) 117–121; G. Manganaro, "Pankarpeia di epigrafia latina", *SicGymn* 23 (1970) 81–88.

[3] F. Carlà, "Il sistema monetario in età tardoantica: spunti per una revisione", *AIIN* 53 (2007) 170–175 e id., *L'oro nella tarda antichità: aspetti economici e sociali*, Torino 2009, 60–71, cui rinvio per la discussione anteriore circa questa epigrafe. Nonostante le argomentazioni di Carlà, io credo fermamente che la denominazione in argento coniata secondo il piede teorico di 1/144 a partire dal 357/358 fosse parzialmente fiduciaria (sopravvalutazione del 20% rispetto alla relazione AV : AR = 1 : 14,4) e valesse proprio 1/24 di *solidus*; spero che in altra sede potrò esporre compiutamente il mio punto di vista su tale questione.

[4] Id., "Oro, bronzo e interessi bancari nel 323 d.C.: l'epigrafe di Feltre ILS, III, 9420", in M. Asolato – G. Gorini (edd.), *I ritrovamenti monetali e i processi inflattivi nel mondo antico e medievale. Atti del IV Congresso Internazionale di Numismatica e di Storia Monetaria, Padova, 12–13 ottobre 2007*, Padova 2008, 79–91, soprattutto 86–89.

[5] Lact. *mort. pers.* 45,2–48,1 e 49,1.

[6] *Anon. Val. p. pr.* 14–18; Eutr. 10,5; Zos. 2,18,1–20,1. La datazione errata di *Cons. Const.* ad a. 314,1 = *Chron. Min.* I, 231 Mommsen deve essere corretta sulla base di P. Bruun, *The Constantinian Coinage of Arelate*, Helsinki 1953, 17–21 e di Chr. Habicht, "Zur Geschichte des Kaisers Constantin", *Hermes* 86 (1958) 360–378.

313, Sarmati 322, Goti 323) e il suo primogenito (Franchi renani 319/320 e Alamanni 322/323) condussero perlomeno cinque campagne militari contro i barbari dal 313 al 323.[7] Lo scontro tra Licinio e Massimino Daia non ebbe modo di influenzare il corso occidentale dell'oro; invece la guerra del 316 coinvolse direttamente Costantino e la sua parte dell'impero romano.

La maggior parte dei costi bellici per le due guerre civili gravò certamente sulle finanze orientali, dal momento che in entrambi i casi la sconfitta toccò all'*Augustus* signore dell'Oriente romano; però la frenata dell'inflazione almeno per l'oro trova apparente riscontro soltanto in Oriente. Dalla fine del 301 (*Edict. Diocl.* 28, 1a = Giacchero 206) al 310 (*P. Heid.* IV 323 C, ricevuta per *coemptio* statale) la tariffa ufficiale dell'oro, passando da 72˙000 a 150˙000 *denarii communes* per una libbra, subì un aumento del 108,33%; ma dal 310 al Giugno 324, quando il prezzo ufficiale dell'oro è 252˙300 *denarii communes* alla libbra (*CPR* VIII 27, ricevuta per *coemptio* statale), l'incremento equivalse appena al 68,2%. Tale risultato può avere tre significati: Licinio riuscì a 'raffreddare' temporaneamente la costante ascesa dell'oro ovvero manipolò pesantemente in favore dello Stato il rapporto proporzionale della *coemptio* con i valori correnti,[8] oppure la sua svalutazione del *nummus* (da 25 a 12,5 *denarii communes*) altera la nostra percezione delle condizioni reali.

Altri papiri offrono un quadro assai differente e molto più chiaro. *P. Ryl.* IV 643 (conto privato dell'archivio di Theophanes: Bagnall dubitanter 312/318, Carlà dubitanter 310/315), tramanda il corso di 6000 *denarii communes* per un *solidus* (360˙000 *denarii communes* per una libbra di oro), ma il prezzo dell'oro alla libbra già raggiunge i 432˙000 *denarii communes* in *P. Oxy.* XLIII 3121 (ricevuta municipale per l'acquisto di oro e la manifattura di una corona aurea in occasione del compleanno di Licinio *Caesar*: Bagnall 317/318, Carlà 316/317) e tocca i 468˙000 *denarii communes* in *P. Oxy.* LV 3791 (ricevuta municipale per l'acquisto di oro al fine di produrre ritratti imperiali, 318).[9] La datazione di

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[7] M. Colombo, "I soprannomi trionfali di Costantino: una revisione critica della cronologia corrente", *Arctos* 42 (2008) 45–64. La spedizione di Crispo *Caesar* contro gli Alamanni è documentata soltanto dalle legende monetali: *RIC* VII, 196 nrr. 362 e 365 *GAVDIVM ROMANORVM ALAMANNIA*, 475 nrr. 49–52 *ALAMANNIA DEVICTA*. Contra T. D. Barnes, "The Victories of Constantine", *ZPE* 20 (1976) 149–155 e id., *The New Empire of Diocletianus and Constantine*, Cambridge, Mass. – London 1982, 72, 75, 83.

[8] Su questo punto cfr. Carlà, *L'oro* (n. 3) 72–73.

[9] La cifra di *P. Ryl.* IV 643 in R. S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt* (BASP

P. Ryl. IV 643 al 316/317 e di *P. Oxy.* XLIII 3121 al 317/318 è suggerita dal confronto con una coppia di papiri precisamente datati: 252˙300 *denarii communes* in *CPR* VIII 27 (*coemptio*, 23 Giugno 324), ma 313˙500 *denarii communes* alla libbra in *P. Oxy.* XII 1430 (pagamento statale secondo tariffa di *coemptio* per la manutenzione delle terme pubbliche, 31 Luglio 324).[10] La crescita in termini percentuali è comparabile: + 20% (*P. Ryl.* IV 643 e *P. Oxy.* XLIII 3121) e +24,26% (*CPR* VIII 27 e *P. Oxy.* XII 1430). La somiglianza delle percentuali dipende dalle circostanze strettamente analoghe, che videro una guerra civile tra Costantino e Licinio tanto nel 316 quanto nel 324. Si rammenti che la prima battaglia del secondo conflitto fu combattuta ad Adrianopoli proprio il 3 Luglio 324.[11] La pace del 317 costò a Licinio la perdita dell'intero *Illyricum*, dove c'erano numerose miniere di metalli preziosi.[12]

La tariffa ufficiale del Giugno 324 rappresenta appena il 53,91% rispetto al prezzo del 318; questo dettaglio rafforza molto il sensato sospetto che Licinio abbia pesantemente manipolato il fattore monetario. L'enorme differenza tra tariffe ufficiali e prezzi reali dei metalli preziosi, benché sia un dogma comunemente accettato e imperniato principalmente su *CPR* VIII 27 e *P. Oxy.* XII 1430,[13] non trova altri riscontri nei documenti attualmente disponibili; anzi è lecito dubitare che il *solidus*, il bullione aureo e lo ἄσημος abbiano mai sperimen-

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Suppl. 5), Atlanta 1985, 61 deve essere corretta con Carlà, *L'oro* (n. 3) 59.

[10] Più precisamente 252˙288 e 313˙509 *denarii communes*.

[11] *Cons. Const.* ad a. 324,1 = *Chron. Min.* I, 232 Mommsen.

[12] *CIL* III 1997. 7127. 8361 = 12721; *ILS* 9019; *ILJug* I 83; *AE* 1915, 146; 1956, 123; 1958, 156 (*aurariae Delmatae*, *argentariae Pannonicae*, *argentariae Delmaticae*, *argentariae Pannonicae et Dalmaticae*, *metalla Pannonica et Dalmatica*). *C. Theod.* 1,32,5 (*procuratores metallorum intra Macedoniam, Daciam mediterraneam, Moesiam seu Dardaniam*). *Not. Dign. Or.* 13,11 (*comes metallorum per Illyricum*). Cfr. inoltre S. Dušanić, "Aspects of Roman Mining in Noricum, Pannonia, Dalmatia and Moesia Superior", in *ANRW* II 6 (1977) 52–94; A. M. Hirt, *Imperial Mines and Quarries in the Roman World. Organizational Aspects 27 BC–AD 235*, Oxford 2010, 53–74; R. J. A. Talbert (ed.), *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, Princeton – Oxford 2000, mappe 20–21 e 49–51.

[13] *CPR* VIII, p. 82 (il commento di Sijpesteijn e di Worp a *CPR* VIII 27); Bagnall (n. 9) 4, 28, 32 e 50–51; Carlà, *L'oro* (n. 3) 59, 72 e 179. Cfr. inoltre J. R. Rea, "P.S.I. IV 310 and imperial bullion purchases", *CE* 49 (1974) 166–167. La datazione di *P. Rain. Cent.* 136 al 346 da parte di Carlà, *L'oro* (n. 3) 178–179 non tiene conto di R. S. Bagnall – K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt. Second Edition*, Leiden 2004, 26 n. 13.

tato un corso effettivamente libero e totalmente svincolato dai prezzi statali.[14] Come vedremo, tale asserzione vale anche per l'età tetrarchica.

Il 16 Febbraio 300 a Panopolis una libbra di oro aveva il valore ufficiale di 60˙000 *denarii communes* in una lettera del *procurator Thebaidos inferioris* agli στρατηγοί della sua giurisdizione. 3000 *denarii communes* erano già stati stanziati ovvero pagati ἐκ περισσοῦ per ciascuna libbra della *coemptio* allora effettuata; il *procurator* ingiunse di λογίσασθαι questo supplemento a determinate persone, che una lacuna testuale impedisce di identificare con certezza.[15] Qui l'infinito aoristo λογίσασθαι può qualificare con pari plausibilità l'azione ordinata come un accredito o un addebito; il participio aoristo λογισάμενος ha appunto il secondo significato in un altro passo del medesimo documento.[16] In entrambi i casi la somma stanziata ovvero versata ἐκ περισσοῦ doveva essere restituita ovvero rimborsata. Le successive ed esplicite minacce del *procurator* chiariscono bene che questo documento attesta non il prezzo corrente dell'oro a Panopolis nel Febbraio 300, ma piuttosto la prevenzione di una frode amministrativa ai danni delle casse statali.[17]

Il naturale termine di riferimento è l'*Edictum de pretiis rerum uenalium* (Novembre/Dicembre 301), dove una libbra di oro è valutata un massimo di 72˙000 *denarii communes*.[18] È evidente che dal Febbraio 300 al Novembre/Dicembre 301 il prezzo statale subì un aumento del 20% = 1/5. Lattanzio dà un velenoso e denigratorio verdetto tanto sulla gestione amministrativa ed economica di Diocleziano quanto sull'*Edictum*.[19] Benché quasi tutti gli studi moderni accettino acriticamente i faziosi giudizi di Lattanzio, nessun documento avvalora una catastrofica crescita dei prezzi negli anni 293–305; perlomeno cinque papiri, per quanto riguarda il costo del grano, collocano l'effettivo inizio dell'inflazione

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[14] E. Lo Cascio, "Prezzo dell'oro e prezzi delle merci", in *L'"inflazione" nel quarto secolo d.C. Atti dell'incontro di studio, Roma 1988* (Studi e materiali 3), Roma 1993, 158 n. 6 esprime con molta prudenza un'opinione simile.

[15] *P. Panop. Beatty* 2, rr. 215–217 e 218–219: Skeat integra aleatoriamente τ̣[ραπεζί]τ̣α̣ι̣ς̣.

[16] *P. Panop. Beatty* 2, r. 84. A questo riguardo cfr. Rea (n. 13) 166 n. 1.

[17] *P. Panop. Beatty 2*, rr. 219–221. Bagnall (n. 9) 50 e Kenneth W. Harl, *Coinage in the Roman Economy, 300 B.C. to A.D. 700*, Baltimore – London 1996, 151–152 trascurano questa opzione.

[18] *Edict. Diocl.* 28, 1a (Giacchero 206).

[19] Lact. *mort. pers.* 7,2–7: cfr. la minuziosa e lucida analisi di J. W. Ermatinger, *The Economic Reforms of Diocletian* (Pharos 7), St. Katharinen 1996, 72–77.

verso il 312/313.[20] Le virulente accuse di Lattanzio nei confronti di Diocleziano sono un espediente obliquo, per oscurare le colpe reali e molto più recenti di Costantino e di Licinio in campo finanziario. Un'ipotesi molto verosimile e poco popolare è che la terapia monetaria e la politica tariffaria di Diocleziano avessero pienamente raggiunto i loro obiettivi, prevenendo la ripresa dell'inflazione.[21]

La fiorita prosa della cancelleria imperiale induce molti studiosi a sottovalutare sprezzantemente il preambolo dell'*Edictum*, benché il suo contenuto sia molto chiaro: il problema era non l'inflazione, ma la massiccia e sistematica speculazione ai danni dello Stato e dell'esercito.[22] La relazione tra la tariffa ufficiale di Panopolis e la quotazione dell'*Edictum* autorizza una congettura eterodossa: l'incremento dell'oro non ritrae fedelmente il tasso contemporaneo di inflazione, ma esprime la necessaria revisione del rapporto monetario tra il *solidus* dioclezianeo (piede di 1/60), l'*argenteus* e il *nummus* dopo la rivalutazione del 1 Settembre 301 (*IAphrodisias* 230: il cosiddetto "Currency Edict").[23] L'*argenteus*, cui la dottrina vulgata attribuisce erroneamente il valore di 50 *denarii communes*,[24] fu portato a 100 *denarii communes*; il *nummus*, che fino a quel momento valeva 12,5 *denarii communes*, vide la sua *potentia* raddoppiata a 25 *denarii*

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[20] *P. NYU* I 18, rr. 4–5 (il prezzo del grano si ricava dal confronto con le rr. 9–10). *CPR* VIII 22, rr. 18 e 29. *SB* V 7621, r. 157. *P. Stras.* VI 559, R 2, r. 9. *P. Cair. Isid.* 28.

[21] Ermatinger (n. 19) 35–112. H. Böhnke, "Ist Diocletians Geldpolitik gescheitert?", *ZPE* 100 (1994) 473–483 offre una prospettiva diversa: l'inflazione era già ritornata attiva, ma i provvedimenti di Diocleziano rallentarono fortemente la sua crescita.

[22] Giacchero 136, rr. 92–106. Il confronto tra le tariffe del grano nel 294 (*P. Harr.* I 93 + App. pp. 109–110) e nel 301 (*CPR* VI 75) mostra appunto l'adeguamento speculatorio dei prezzi al corso originario del *nummus*, dopo che esso sostituì il tetradracmo alessandrino e il radiato aurelianeo.

[23] Cfr. ora K. Strobel, "Die Aufwertung des Jahres 301 n. Chr. und ihre epigraphische Dokumentation in Aphrodisias (Karien). Ein Beitrag zur tetrarchischen Währungspolitik", *Tyche* 30 (2015) 145–172, di cui non condivido molte opinioni.

[24] Ad esempio, Harl (n. 17) 149–154 e S. Estiot, "The Later Third Century", in W. E. Metcalf (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage*, Oxford 2012, 548–550. Ma cfr. le valide osservazioni di Bagnall (n. 9) 20–21 e di M. F. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy, c. 300–1450*, Cambridge 1985, 457. Sulla base di AV : AR = 1 : 12 nel Febbraio 300 una libbra di argento valeva 5000 *denarii communes*. Perciò il corso dell'*argenteus* molto probabilmente era sopravvalutato rispetto al bullione anche prima del 1 Settembre 301 (Hendy congettura 100 *denarii* fino dalla sua introduzione); il valore originario del *nummus* (12,5 *denarii communes*) mi induce a suggerire 62,5 *denarii communes*, che corrispondono a 16 *argentei* per 1 *solidus* e a 5 *nummi* per 1 *argenteus*.

communes. Proprio il corso rivalutato del *solidus*, che in quella circostanza passò da 1000 a 1200 *denarii communes*, determinò la quotazione massima del bullione aureo; la nuova tariffa di 72˙000 *denarii communes*, come il precedente prezzo di 60˙000 *denarii communes*, rappresentava il genuino valore dell'oro coniato in quel contesto, dove una forte sopravvalutazione rispetto all'intrinseco caratterizzava l'*argenteus* e il *nummus*.

Oggi molti pensano che Diocleziano, per diminuire gli oneri finanziari dello Stato nelle *coemptiones* di metalli preziosi, abbia tenuto artificialmente basso il prezzo dell'oro e dell'argento.[25] Ma tale politica avrebbe automaticamente ridotto il valore delle erogazioni imperiali in moneta aurea e in bullione argenteo, annullando o addirittura superando gli eventuali vantaggi nel campo delle *coemptiones*. La scarsità di metalli preziosi nelle casse imperiali e la rarefatta produzione delle corrispondenti monete sono dogmi privi di basi reali. Il ripostiglio di Beaurains (Arras) e il tesoro di Partinico dimostrano che sotto la prima Tetrarchia la moneta aurea fu coniata abbondantemente e circolava normalmente.[26] Come vedremo, lo stesso vale per l'argento coniato; qui basta ricordare che proprio nel Febbraio/Marzo 300 il semplice *praepositus* di un distaccamento legionario in un esercito provinciale venne premiato con 50 libbre di argento (*P. Panop. Beatty* 2, rr. 299–302).

Il *nummus* di Costantino conservò il valore di 25 *denarii communes*; invece Licinio, come abbiamo già accennato, svalutò i suoi *nummi* a 12,5 *denarii* nel 320/321.[27] L'abnorme sproporzione tra la tariffa ufficiale del Giugno 324 e il prezzo del 318 (a distanza di sei anni 252˙300 *denarii communes* sono appena il 53,91% di 468˙000 *denarii communes*), così come il ridicolo incremento della tariffa ufficiale dal 310 al Giugno 324 (da 150˙000 a 252˙300 *denarii communes*, +68,2%), suggeriscono che proprio la svalutazione del *nummus* da parte di Licinio nel 320/321 sia la fonte di entrambe le anomalie.[28] I *denarii communes* di

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[25] Ad esempio, R. S. Bagnall, "Fourth-Century Prices: New Evidence and Further Thoughts", *ZPE* 76 (1989) 69–70 e Lo Cascio (n. 14) 158–164.

[26] P. Bastien–C. Metzger, *Le trésor de Beaurains, dit d'Arras* (Numismatique romaine 10), Wetteren 1977 (soprattutto 23–25, 193–194 e 212); V. Drost – G. Gautier, "Le trésor dit "de Partinico": aurei et multiples d'or d'époque tétrarchique découverts au large des côtes de la Sicile (terminus 308 de notre ère)", *TMon* 24 (2009–2010) 153–176 (soprattutto 157–159).

[27] Hendy (n. 24) 462–465.

[28] E. Lo Cascio, "Teoria e politica monetaria a Roma tra III e IV secolo d.C.", in A. Giardina (ed.), *Società romana e impero tardoantico*, I, Roma – Bari 1986, 798 n. 106 e id. (n. 14) 168–169 con n.

cinque papiri egiziani su otto risultano convertibili in *nummi* anche per i singoli *solidi*; negli altri tre tale operazione dà un numero intero soltanto per la tariffa del bullione aureo alla libbra. Prima di proseguire, è utile ribadire che Licinio coniò il *solidus* secondo il piede dioclezianeo di 1/60 per tutta la durata del suo regno, mentre Costantino adottò il nuovo piede di 1/72 a partire dal 309/310.

P. Oxy. XVII 2106, *coemptio*: 100˙000 *denarii communes* = 4000 *nummi* (ma 1 *solidus* = 1666,66 *denarii communes* = 66,66 *nummi*).

P. Ryl. IV 616,[29] *coemptio*: 110˙000 *denarii communes* = 4400 *nummi* (ma 1 *solidus* = 1833,33 *denarii communes* = 73,33 *nummi*).

P. Heid. IV 323 C, *coemptio*: 150˙000 *denarii communes* = 6000 *nummi* (1 *solidus* = 2500 *denarii communes* = 100 *nummi*).

P. Ryl. IV 643, conto privato: 1 *solidus* = 6000 *denarii communes* = 240 *nummi* (360˙000 *denarii communes* = 14˙400 *nummi*).

P. Oxy. XLIII 3121, conto municipale: 432˙000 *denarii communes* = 17˙280 *nummi* (1 *solidus* = 7200 *denarii communes* = 288 *nummi*).

P. Oxy. LV 3791, conto municipale: 468˙000 *denarii communes* = 18˙720 *nummi* (1 *solidus* = 7800 *denarii communes* = 312 *nummi*).

CPR VIII 27, *coemptio*: 252˙300 *denarii communes* = 20˙184 *nummi* di 12,5 *denarii communes* (ma 1 *solidus* = 4205 *denarii communes* = 336,4 *nummi*).

P. Oxy. XII 1430, pagamento pubblico secondo tariffa di *coemptio*: 313˙500 *denarii communes* = 25˙080 *nummi* di 12,5 *denarii communes* (1 *solidus* = 5225 *denarii communes* = 418 *nummi*).

Due passi del *Talmud Yerushalmi* sono talvolta citati a questo proposito.[30] *Ketubot* 11,2 porrebbe il valore dell'*aureus* a 1000 [*denarii*] prima del 279, più precisamente nel 268–274 ovvero dopo la riforma monetaria di Aureliano (274); nel secondo caso il piede dell'*aureus* (1/50) implicherebbe un prezzo di 50˙000 *denarii* alla libbra di oro. Ma il cambio di 1000 [*denarii*] per un *aureus* concorda

33 vaglia molto cautamente questa possibilità. Hendy (n. 24) 465 e n. 79 si esprime prudentemente in tale senso. Carlà, *L'oro* (n. 3) 71–74 nota gli anomali prezzi di *CPR* VIII 27 e di *P. Oxy.* XII 1430, ma rigetta la soluzione qui proposta e preferisce chiamare in causa fattori insondabili (la tipologia di transazione, la località, il singolo prelievo, il funzionario, lo stato di guerra nel 324).

[29] A questo proposito cfr. Rea (n. 13) 165. La cifra esatta è 109˙994 *denarii communes*.

[30] D. Sperber, "Denarii and Aurei in the time of Diocletian", *JRS* 56 (1966) 192; id., *Roman Palestine 200–400. Money and Prices*, Ramat-Gan 1974, 33, 38–39 e 91–93. Cfr. ora Carlà, *L'oro* (n. 3) 27, 52 e 57.

pienamente con il dato di Panopolis, dove abbiamo 60˙000 *denarii communes* : 60 *solidi* = 1000 *denarii communes*; quindi in *Ketubot* 11,2 il vero termine di riferimento è il corso del *solidus* tra la riforma monetaria del 294 e la rivalutazione del 1 Settembre 301. *Ma'aser sheni* 4,1 attribuirebbe il valore di 2000 [*denarii*] all'*aureus* sul mercato verso il 307 e comporterebbe una tariffa di 120˙000 *denarii communes* per una libbra di oro; ma la datazione al 307 risulta priva di fondamento e altre edizioni del testo leggono 2 *minae* o 2000 [*perutot*] per un *aureus*.[31] Entrambe le fonti possono essere tranquillamente accantonate.[32]

Nel 318 una libbra di oro valeva 18˙720 *nummi* di 25 *denarii communes*; nel Giugno 324 il prezzo ufficiale era 20˙184 *nummi* di 12,5 *denarii communes*. Se tramutiamo 20˙184 *nummi* di 12,5 *denarii communes* in altrettanti *nummi* di 25 *denarii communes*, otteniamo 504˙600 *denarii communes*, che rappresentano una cifra pienamente compatibile con i 468˙000 *denarii communes* di *P. Oxy.* LV 3791; ripetendo questa operazione con la tariffa ufficiale del Luglio 324 (25˙080 *nummi* di 12,5 *denarii communes*), ricaviamo un prezzo ancora più ragionevole rispetto alla tariffa del 318, cioè 627˙000 *denarii communes*.

Il vistosissimo contrasto tra le tariffe dell'oro nel pagamento pubblico *P. Oxy.* XII 1430 (313˙500 *denarii communes*) e nella lettera privata *PSI* VII 825 + *BL* VI 179 + *BL* VIII 402 (3˙600˙000 *denarii communes*) ha portato Sijpesteijn e Worp ad affermare che il prezzo ufficiale rappresentava una parte infima della tariffa corrente.[33] Rivediamo questa argomentazione. La normalizzazione di *P. Oxy.* XII 1430, come abbiamo già visto, rivela che nel Luglio 324 il valore effettivo del bullione aureo era 627˙000 *denarii communes* alla libbra. *PSI* VII 825 viene approssimativamente datato al 325/330; proprio in quegli anni Costantino quadruplicò il valore nominale del *nummus* da 25 a 100 *denarii communes*.[34]

[31] Sperber fonda la datazione e l'esegesi di *Ma'aser sheni* 4,1 soltanto sulla fuorviante e arbitraria interpretazione di *PSI* IV 310 = *SB* XIV 11345 in A. Segrè, "Inflation and Its Implication in Early Byzantine Times", *Byzantion* 15 (1940–1941) 249–250 e 263; cfr. anche id., "Καινὸν Νόμισμα. Moneta imperiale circolante in Egitto da Claudio II a Costantino", *MAL* s. V 16 (1920) 102–103. 2 *minae* o 2000 [*perutot*]: R. Brooks, *The Talmud of the Land of Israel. A Preliminary Translation and Explanation. Volume 8. Maaser Sheni*, Chicago 1993, 111 e n. 8.

[32] Strobel (n. 23) 146 n. 3.

[33] V. n. 13.

[34] Bagnall (n. 9) 33–34. Contra J.-P. Callu – J.-N. Barrandon, "L'inflazione nel IV secolo (295–361). Il contributo delle analisi", in A. Giardina (ed.), *Società romana e impero tardoantico*, I, Roma – Bari 1986, 570–571; Harl (n. 17) 165.

L'introduzione del *solidus* costantiniano nelle province orientali e il corso quadruplicato del *nummus* giustificano la maggior parte della repentina e vertiginosa impennata.

Il *solidus* costantiniano, per rimpiazzare il *solidus* dioclezianeo in Oriente preservando la stabilità e il credito della moneta aurea, doveva circolare con lo stesso valore del suo predecessore; anche ovvie ragioni di uniformità finanziaria e di convenienza fiscale supportano l'adozione del corso orientale da parte di Costantino e la sua estensione al resto dell'impero. Il differente piede del *solidus* costantiniano determina (627˙000 *denarii communes* : 60) x 72 = 752˙400 *denarii communes*, che corrispondono a 30˙096 *nummi* di 25 *denarii communes*; il nuovo valore del *nummus* comporta 30˙096 *nummi* x 100 *denarii communes* = 3˙009˙600 *denarii communes*. Questa cifra rappresenta lo 83,6% della tariffa documentata da *PSI* VII 825 e lascia largo margine sia alla discrepanza di *P. Oxy.* XII 1430 (prezzo di *coemptio*) dalla quotazione reale nel Luglio 324 sia alla genuina inflazione.

Il comando prefettizio *SB* VI 9253, rr. 4–10 tramanda il riconoscimento formale del netto divario tra il prezzo statale di *coemptio* e la normale tariffa dell'argento nel 306. Il prezzo dell'argento nella ricevuta ufficiale *SB* XIV 11345 (11 Agosto 306, 8328 *denarii communes*) è leggermente superiore alla tariffa di *SB* VI 9253 (8000 *denarii communes*), ma la pertinenza approssimativa di entrambi i documenti al medesimo ordine di grandezza suffraga la datazione di *SB* VI 9253 allo stesso anno di *SB* XIV 11345. Mentre lo ἄσημος di *SB* XIV 11345 è l'oggetto diretto della *coemptio*, lo ἄργυρος di *SB* VI 9253 quasi certamente sostituisce l'oro; tale concessione è bilanciata dall'applicazione di una tariffa meno vantaggiosa.[35] Come constateremo alla fine, la cronologia delle *coemptiones* ha un valore decisivo.

Ora procediamo all'esame dell'epigrafe. L'usanza di tenere celebrazioni o commemorazioni tramite la distribuzione di *sportulae* è largamente documentata in età altoimperiale; l'atto di evergetismo poteva essere circoscritto alla sola elargizione di denaro o avere luogo in concomitanza di banchetti, come a Feltria.[36] Almeno altri due casi, che elencano due o più cerimonie, prescrivono una

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[35] Ma cfr. Rea (n. 13) 164–165 e Bagnall (n. 9) 28.

[36] S. Mrozek, "Quelques remarques sur les inscriptions relatives aux distributions privées de l'argent et de la nourriture dans les municipes italiens aux I, II et IIIe siècle d. n. è.", *Epigraphica* 30 (1968) 156–171 e id., "Munificentia privata in den Städten Italiens der spätrömischen Zeit", *Historia* 27

sportula soltanto in occasione della principale ricorrenza.[37] Il confronto con due iscrizioni del IV secolo evidenzia che l'epigrafe di Feltria costituisce l'ultima attestazione delle *sportulae* altoimperiali. *CIL* V 2046 = *AE* 1990, 401 (Bellunum, probabilmente incisa in età costantiniana) vede il locale *collegium fabrorum* quale beneficiario del legato, che ha lo scopo di celebrare la *memoria* del donatore e di sua moglie durante i *rosalia* e le *uindemiae*; l'importo della donazione (500 *folles* = 6˙250˙000 *denarii communes*) viene debitamente registrato, ma non ci sono più le *sportulae* né istruzioni sull'amministrazione del denaro o sulle forme generiche della commemorazione. *CIL* IX 4215 (Amiternum, datazione consolare al 29 Giugno 338) presenta un quadro molto ricco delle vivande offerte alla *plebs urbana* in occasione della *dedicatio* (pane, vino, perlomeno due buoi, quindici montoni castrati), ma sostituisce le *sportulae* con un versamento globale nell'*arca* municipale, affinché le *usurae* del capitale finanziassero la ripetizione annuale del *conuiuium dedicationis*. Numerose testimonianze di epoca altoimperiale insieme alle *sportulae* menzionano esclusivamente pane e vino,[38] ovvero focacce dolci e vino melato,[39] oppure il solo vino.[40] Perciò la spesa totale dei due 'rinfreschi' a Feltria può avere assorbito la porzione minore dei 60˙000 *denarii*.

Per quanto riguarda il numero dei beneficiari e l'importo delle *sportulae*, credo utile seguire una strada nettamente diversa dai miei predecessori. L'in-

(1978) 355–368, soprattutto 359–362; A. Pasqualini, "Note su alcuni aspetti "politici" di un costume di epoca imperiale: le sportulae municipali", *Helikon* 9–10 (1969–1970) 265–312; J. Andreau, "Fondations privées et rapports sociaux en Italie romaine (I–III siècle)", *Ktema* 2 (1977) 157–209; R. P. Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire. Quantitative Studies*, Cambridge 1982[2], 80–82 con 102–106 nrr. 248–280 e 290–320, 132–144 con 171–206 nrr. 637–1074 e 1079b–1143; A. Buonopane, "Donazioni pubbliche e fondazioni private", in E. Buchi – G. Cavalieri Manasse (edd.), *Il Veneto nell'età romana*, I, Verona 1987, 287–310, soprattutto 302–305; B. Goffin, *Euergetismus in Oberitalien*, Bonn 2002, 35–43, 152–165, 228–246 e 396–397.

[37] *CIL* V 5272 e IX 1618.

[38] *CIL* V 7920; VI 253. 10234. 33885; X 3699 e 5796; XI 3009. 4395. 4582. 5215. 6014. 6310. 6358; XIV 119; *AE* 1927, 124.

[39] *CIL* IX 4970 e 4976; X 5853; *AE* 2005, 463. A questo proposito cfr. S. Mrozek, "Crustulum et mulsum dans les villes italiennes", *Athenaeum* 50 (1972) 294–300 e N. Criniti, "A proposito di "crustulum" e "mulsum"", *Aevum* 47 (1993) 498–500.

[40] *CIL* V 7904 e VIII 5146; *ILS* 6865.

terpretazione tradizionale dell'epigrafe individua tre categorie sciogliendo le abbreviazioni *off pub* in *off(iciales) pub(lici)* ovvero *off(icium) pub(licum)*. Nel passato gli *officiales publici* di Feltria vennero identificati ora con gli *apparitores* dei magistrati municipali,[41] ora con lo "städtische Bureau";[42] oggi essi sono considerati i *serui publici* alle dipendenze della locale *curia*.[43] Ma l'iscrizione menziona soltanto due categorie, cioè i *quattuoruiri* e i sei *principales et officiales*, gli uni magistrati del *municipium*, gli altri membri eminenti e funzionari dei due *collegia*; i titoli di *principalis* e di *officialis* compaiono separati in altre epigrafi, ma proprio gli *officiales* dei *collegia* provvedono a celebrare i riti commemorativi di simili fondazioni.[44] L'abbreviazione *pub* deve essere letta *pub(lice)*; l'avverbio qui vale *palam* o *in publico* e determina la modalità sociale del 'rinfresco', come in altre occorrenze.[45]

A partire da Kubitschek le abbreviazioni *aureos den et sil sing* sono usualmente sciolte in *aureos den(os) et sil(iquam) sing(ulam)*. Io propongo la lettura *aureos den(arios) et sil(iquas) sing(ulos)*, dove il numerale distributivo quantifica entrambe le voci: 1 *solidus* e 1 *siliqua* (l/24 di *solidus*) a testa per ciascuno dei *quattuoruiri* e dei sei *principales*. L'espressione *aureos denarios* costituisce un arcaismo lessicale; esso rispecchia e prosegue l'uso linguistico dell'Alto Impero, quando il nome ufficiale della moneta aurea era appunto *denarius aureus*

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[41] Cesano (n. 2) 244–246.

[42] Kubitschek (n. 2) 48 n. 2 e 54–56.

[43] E. Buchi, "Società ed economia dei territori feltrino, bellunese e cadorino in età romana", in *Romanità in provincia di Belluno. Atti del Convegno organizzato dagli "Amici del Museo" sotto gli auspici del Comune di Belluno, Belluno 28–29 ottobre 1988*, Padova 1995[2], 92–93 e id., "Le iscrizioni confinarie del Monte Civetta nel Bellunese", in L. Gasperini (ed.), *Rupes loquentes. Atti del convegno internazionale di studio sulle iscrizioni rupestri di età romana in Italia, Roma–Bomarzo 13–15 ottobre 1989*, Roma 1992, 138. Cfr. anche N. Lenski, "Servi Publici in Late Antiquity", in J.-U. Krause – Chr. Witschel (Hrsgg.), *Die Stadt in der Spätantike – Niedergang oder Wandel? Akten des internationalen Kolloquiums in München am 30. und 31. Mai 2003* (Historia Einzelschr. 190), Stuttgart 2006, 339–340; F. Luciani, "Servi et liberti publici dans la Regio X: nouveautés épigraphiques", in L. Lamoine – C. Berrendonner – M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni (éds.), *La praxis municipale dans l'Occident romain*, Clermont-Ferrand 2010, 270–272.

[44] I *principales* di un *collegium*: *CIL* III 1210. Gli *officiales* di un *collegium*: *CIL* V 4449. 4488. 7920.

[45] *CIL* VIII 25847; IX 3160; X 114. 4736. 6073; XIV 2793; *AE* 1998, 282. Un punctum distinguens sembra separare *off* da *pub* nell'immagine digitale di http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/foto/F001234 (22 Novembre 2017).

o *aureus denarius*.[46] Zen. *Tract.* 2,35 = *PL* XI, 481 *denarium aureum* e Marcell. *Chron.* ad a. 517 = *Chron. Min.* II, 100 Mommsen *auri denarios* offrono paralleli molto significativi e ancora più tardi. L'abbreviazione *den(arios)* trova almeno sei riscontri a Roma e in tre province; l'attestazione sicuramente datata e più bassa cade sotto Probo in *Africa proconsularis*.[47] L'omologa abbreviazione δην(άρια) delle iscrizioni greche fornisce ulteriori conferme.[48] L'omissione di *singuli* per i destinatari delle *sportulae* è un fenomeno assai frequente nelle epigrafi latine.[49] Quindi il vero totale è 250 *siliquae*.

Un medaglione di 9 *solidi* costantiniani (⅛ di libbra) coniato a Treueri nel 310 esibisce il graffito $\overline{XII}$, che molto probabilmente ne esprime il valore approssimativo, cioè 12˙000 *denarii communes*; se questa congettura, come io credo, ha solido fondamento, in Occidente una libbra di oro allora valeva circa 96˙000 *denarii communes* = 3840 *nummi*.[50] La cifra rappresenta una sicura approssimazione per eccesso o per difetto, poiché abbiamo 12˙000 *denarii communes* : 9 *solidi* = 1333,33 *denarii communes*, che non possono essere espressi in *nummi*. Gli studi più recenti sull'economia tardoantica finora hanno ignorato questa testimonianza. Conosciamo tre prezzi coevi dell'oro in Oriente: 100˙000 *denarii communes* nell'estate 306 (*P. Oxy.* XVII 2106)[51], 110˙000 *denarii com-*

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[46] B. Woytek, "Denarius aureus oder nummus aureus? Zum Namen der klassischen römischen Goldmünze", *RBN* 155 (2009) 177–208, che però accetta lo scioglimento erroneo di Kubitschek.

[47] Roma: *CIL* VI 33740. *Macedonia*: *CIL* III 630 = 7325 = *IG* X 2/2, 160. *Africa proconsularis*: *CIL* VIII 1353 = 14891 (Probo) e 24934; *AE* 1997, 1656. *Gallia Belgica*: *CIL* XIII 10030^{2} (Massimino il Trace o Massimiano Erculio?).

[48] Ad esempio, cfr. *IG* IV 597; *AE* 1913, 143b; *SEG* I 276; XIII 398; XXXVII 884.

[49] *CIL* II 5489; V 7920; VI 29701; VIII 1889. 6948. 11201; IX 5828; X 416. 5796. 5917–5918. 5923. 7352; XI 126–127. 1926. 3009. 4582. 5939. 6014. 6378; XIII 1921; XIV, 352. 367. 431; *AE* 1987, 198; 1997, 1656; 2000, 531 e 533.

[50] R. Abdy, "In the Pay of the Emperor: Coins from the Beaurains (Arras) Treasure", in E. Hartley–J. Hawkes – M. Henig – F. Mee (eds.), *Constantine the Great: York's Roman Emperor*, London 2006, 57 legge *XIID*, cioè 12˙500 *denarii communes* = 100˙000 *denarii communes* alla libbra. A. Hostein, "Le préfet du prétoire Vitalianus et le tarif de la livre d'or", *AntTard* 16 (2008) 248–249 e 251–252 dà la lezione giusta $\overline{XII}$ e ne deduce il correlato prezzo di 96˙000 *denarii communes* alla libbra, ma poi non tiene conto di *P. Oxy.* XVII 2106 e di *P. Heid.* IV 323 C (ibid., 252–253).

[51] *SB* XIV 11345 (11 Agosto 306, 8328 *denarii communes* per un libbra di argento) suffraga validamente questa datazione, poiché secondo la relazione allora vigente AV : AR = 1 : 12 il prezzo dell'oro alla libbra dovrebbe essere 99˙936 *denarii communes*, cioè appena 64 *denarii communes* in

munes nel 309 (*P. Ryl.* IV 616)[52], 150˙000 *denarii communes* nel 310 (*P. Heid.* IV 323 C). Nel 310 la tariffa occidentale dell'oro era ancora lievemente inferiore al livello orientale del 306 e risultava molto più bassa rispetto al prezzo coevo dell'Oriente nella misura del 36%; questa difformità in campo finanziario rispecchia direttamente la crisi insanabile del sistema tetrarchico e la rottura dell'unità politica già nel 305–306.

Un fatto certo è che a Feltria tanto la donazione quanto il reddito annuo sono perfettamente esprimibili in *nummi* di 25 *denarii communes*: 500˙000 *denarii communes* = 20˙000 *nummi* e 60˙000 *denarii communes* = 2400 *nummi*. Dobbiamo tenere conto di un criterio fondamentale: il *solidus* costantiniano e le singole *siliquae* dello stesso devono essere convertibili in *nummi*. Applichiamo tale parametro alle 250 *siliquae* di Feltria, redigendo una scala delle possibilità in ordine crescente.

1 *siliqua* = 125 *denarii communes* = 5 *nummi*, 1 *solidus* = 3000 *denarii communes* = 120 *nummi*, 1 libbra di oro = 216˙000 *denarii communes* = 8640 *nummi*, 250 *siliquae* = 31˙250 *denarii communes* = 1250 *nummi* (25/48), somma disponibile per i due 'rinfreschi' 28˙750 *denarii communes* = 1150 *nummi* (23/48).

1 *siliqua* = 150 *denarii communes* = 6 *nummi*, 1 *solidus* = 3600 *denarii communes* = 144 *nummi*, 1 libbra di oro = 259˙200 *denarii communes* = 10˙368 *nummi*, 250 *siliquae* = 37˙500 *denarii communes* = 1500 *nummi* (⅝), somma disponibile per i due 'rinfreschi' 22˙500 *denarii communes* = 900 *nummi* (⅜).

1 *siliqua* = 175 *denarii communes* = 7 *nummi*, 1 *solidus* = 4200 *denarii communes* = 144 *nummi*, 1 libbra di oro = 302˙400 *denarii communes* = 12˙096 *nummi*, 250 *siliquae* = 43˙750 *denarii communes* = 1750 *nummi* (35/48), somma disponibile per i due 'rinfreschi' 16˙250 *denarii communes* = 650 *nummi* (13/48).

1 *siliqua* = 200 *denarii communes* = 8 *nummi*, 1 *solidus* = 4800 *denarii communes* = 192 *nummi*, 1 libbra di oro = 345˙600 *denarii communes* = 13˙824 *nummi*, 250 *siliquae* = 50˙000 *denarii communes* = 2000 *nummi* (5/6), somma disponibile per i due 'rinfreschi' 10˙000 *denarii communes* = 400 *nummi* (1/6).

1 *siliqua* = 225 *denarii communes* = 9 *nummi*, 1 *solidus* = 5400 *denarii communes* = 216 *nummi*, 1 libbra di oro = 388˙800 *denarii communes* = 15˙552

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meno rispetto a *P. Oxy.* XVII 2106. In tale senso già Bagnall (n. 9) 28; contra Rea (n. 13) 164–165.

[52] J. D. Thomas, "The Consular Date in P. Ryl. IV 616", *ZPE* 115 (1997) 194–196.

nummi, 250 *siliquae* = 56˙250 *denarii communes* = 2250 *nummi* (15/16), somma disponibile per i due 'rinfreschi' 3750 *denarii communes* = 150 *nummi* (1/16).

L'ultima opzione, 1 *siliqua* = 250 *denarii communes*, può essere tranquillamente omessa, poiché 250 *siliquae* costituirebbero una somma nettamente superiore al reddito annuo di 60˙000 *denarii communes* (più precisamente, 250 *siliquae* x 250 *denarii communes* = 62˙500 *denarii communes* = 2500 *nummi*). È molto significativo che questo gradino della scala equivalga al prezzo di 432˙000 *denarii communes* per una libbra di oro; quindi nel 323 la tariffa dell'oro in Occidente era sicuramente inferiore al prezzo dell'Oriente verso il 317/318.

L'ipotesi più plausibile è la quarta, cioè 345˙600 *denarii communes*. Come abbiamo visto, nel 310 il prezzo dell'Occidente (96˙000 *denarii communes*) era il 64% rispetto alla contemporanea tariffa dell'Oriente (150˙000 *denarii communes*); 345˙600 *denarii communes* sono appunto il 68,49% dei 504˙600 *denarii communes* ottenuti dalla normalizzazione di *CPR* VIII 27. Anche la somma residua corrobora questa soluzione; 10˙000 *denarii communes* = 400 *nummi* erano sufficienti a finanziare un decoroso banchetto per quattro *decuriones* e sei *collegiati* in due occasioni. La riduzione del tasso inflattivo nel 313–323 è una congettura infelice; se l'ipotesi qui esposta ha reale fondamento, dal 311 al 323 la tariffa dell'oro in Occidente crebbe del 260%.

Ritorniamo alla quotazione del bullione aureo e al corso del *solidus* prima del 313. Il quadro è molto chiaro. Un *solidus* valeva 80 *nummi* di 12,5 *denarii communes* nel Febbraio 300 (*P. Panop. Beatty* 2); esso fu fatto pari a 48 *nummi* di 25 *denarii communes* nel Novembre/Dicembre 301 (*Edictum de pretiis rerum uenalium*). Non conosciamo il preciso cambio del *solidus* con il *nummus* nel 306 (*P. Oxy.* XVII 2106) e nel 309 (*P. Ryl.* IV 616), ma abbiamo due certezze generiche: esso già nel 306 era cospicuamente aumentato rispetto al Novembre/Dicembre 301 e nel 309 continuava a viaggiare decisamente verso il livello originario. Infine nel 310, quando un *solidus* equivaleva a 100 *nummi* (*P. Heid.* IV 323 C), il cambio della moneta aurea con il numerario di rame argentato superò abbondantemente la soglia del Febbraio 300.

Costantino sottopose il peso del *nummus* a quattro riduzioni (da 1/32 a 1/40 e poi a 1/48 nel 307, 1/72 nel 310 e 1/96 nel 313), di cui tre (1/48, 1/72 e 1/96) furono sempre recepite dagli *Augusti* orientali.[53] Galerio abbandonò la

[53] C. E. King, "The Fourth Century Coinage", in *L'"inflazione" nel quarto secolo d.C. Atti dell'incontro di studio, Roma 1988* (Studi e materiali 3), Roma 1993, 21–22.

concezione dioclezianea del sistema monetario e favorì scientemente il massiccio incremento dell'oro, ma il brusco cambiamento di rotta da parte sua precedette ampiamente la prima riduzione del *nummus* in Oriente. Le dure critiche dell'opuscolo *De rebus bellicis* contro la decisa virata di Costantino in favore dell'oro sono spesso additate quale esempio di banale moralismo o di crassa ignoranza; alcuni ridimensionano la portata del fenomeno e individuano le sue radici nella seconda metà del III secolo.[54] I dati qui esposti mostrano una concreta e palese discontinuità perlomeno a partire dal 306; Galerio diede l'esempio, ma Costantino lo applicò su vasta scala e ne amplificò immensamente gli effetti a lungo termine.

Il giudizio moderno circa il cosiddetto "Currency Edict" (*IAphrodisias* 230) e l'*Edictum de pretiis rerum uenalium* dovrebbe valutare anche questi fatti, prima di sentenziare sbrigativamente il fallimento della politica monetaria ed economica di Diocleziano.[55] Allo stato attuale dei documenti disponibili l'irrefrenabile cavalcata dell'oro iniziò subito dopo l'abdicazione di Diocleziano, sperimentò una brusca accelerazione a partire dal 310 e accompagnò fedelmente l'ascesa di Costantino verso il potere supremo; perciò pare opportuno spostare il mirino delle critiche su Galerio, Licinio e Costantino.[56] Post hoc non significa necessariamente propter hoc, ma la soluzione più semplice e meno comoda talvolta coglie il bersaglio.

Nei documenti anteriori alla disfatta di Licinio, incluso l'*Edictum de pretiis rerum uenalium*, troviamo quasi sempre il prezzo dell'oro a peso; la sola eccezione è *P. Ryl.* IV 643, che menziona esplicitamente la τιμή del *solidus* dioclezianeo nel 316/317. Poi la τιμή del *solidus* costantiniano, tranne la lista di pagamenti in *SPP* XX 96 (verso il 338), diventa la norma a partire dal 325/330.[57] Tale differenza dipende dal tipo predominante dei documenti pervenuti per l'età tetrarchica, poiché tra essi la parte del leone spetta alle *coemptiones*. Ma ciò

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[54] Ad esempio, cfr. Carlà, *L'oro* (n. 3) 124–131 e 136–142.

[55] J. Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity. Gold, Labour, and Aristocratic Dominance*, Oxford–New York 2007^2, 39–41 tratta e stronca in meno di tre pagine entrambi i provvedimenti.

[56] Una simile conclusione già in J. Jahn, "Zur Geld- und Wirtschaftspolitik Diokletians", *JNG* 25 (1975) 102, che imputa la responsabilità a Costantino e Licinio.

[57] Qui basta citare le occorrenze fino agli anni Quaranta del IV secolo: *PSI* VII 825 + *BL* VI 179 + *BL* VIII 402; *SB* XVI 12825; *PSI* XIV 1423; *SB* XIV 11591–11593; *P. Oxy.* LIV 3773 e LVI 3874; *SB* XX 15040. Una *coemptio* statale di oro a peso sembra essere documentata per l'ultima volta nel 329: *SB* XIV 11885.

non implica che sotto la prima Tetrarchia il corso ufficiale del *solidus* fosse una mera e oscillante variabile del bullione aureo; anzi il papiro di Panopolis e l'*Edictum* provano esattamente l'opposto, poiché entrambi danno un valore del *solidus* rigorosamente proporzionato tanto all'*argenteus* quanto al *nummus*.[58] La preziosissima testimonianza di *P. Ryl.* IV 643, anche se cade undici o dodici anni dopo l'abdicazione di Diocleziano, rafforza l'ipotesi che già durante la prima Tetrarchia il corso del *solidus* determinasse direttamente il valore del bullione aureo. L'impetuosa crescita dell'oro dopo Diocleziano in realtà rispecchia l'incremento sempre più forte del *solidus* a discapito del *nummus*, cioè la cosciente e irreversibile alterazione dell'equilibrio laboriosamente raggiunto tra la moneta forte e il numerario divisionale in rame argentato.

Un fatto degno di nota è che soltanto tre papiri (*P. Ryl.* IV 643, *P. Oxy.* XLIII 3121 e LV 3791) registrano un corso del *solidus* o un prezzo dell'oro pienamente compatibile anche con il cambio 1 : 12 vigente tra *solidus* e *argenteus* dopo la rivalutazione e l'*Edictum*.[59] Una singolarità bizzarra accomuna i tre papiri nella letteratura scientifica; benché essi soddisfino perfettamente tutte le relazioni monetarie, la dottrina attuale identifica pervicacemente le loro cifre con presunte "tariffe di mercato". Il prezzo occidentale di 345˙600 *denarii communes* risulta ugualmente compatibile con il cambio 1 : 12 tra *solidus* e *argenteus*.[60] Il mito moderno dell'*argenteus* quale moneta coniata in una quantità limitata di pezzi durante la prima Tetrarchia ormai deve fare i conti con

[58] Febbraio 300: un *solidus* = 1000 *denarii communes* = 16 *argentei* = 80 *nummi* (v. n. 24). *Edictum* con *IAphrodisias* 230: un *solidus* = 1200 *denarii communes* = 12 *argentei* = 48 *nummi*.

[59] *P. Ryl.* IV 643: un *solidus* = 6000 *denarii communes* e un *argenteus* = 500 *denarii communes* = 20 *nummi*. *P. Oxy.* XLIII 3121: un *solidus* = 7200 *denarii communes* e un *argenteus* = 600 *denarii communes* = 24 *nummi*. *P. Oxy.* LV 3791: un *solidus* = 7800 *denarii communes* e un *argenteus* = 650 *denarii communes* = 26 *nummi*.

[60] 1 *solidus* = 4800 *denarii* e 1 *argenteus* = 400 *denarii* = 16 *nummi*. Qualora qualcuno volesse difendere l'interpretazione tradizionale della *siliqua* come moneta fisica in *ILS* 9420 (ma v. n. 3), i mezzi *argentei* di Costantino nel 307–308 ovvero 307–310 (*RIC* VI, 205–206 nrr. 639–641 e 216–217 nrr. 756–765) sarebbero i candidati ideali a questo ruolo, dato che il vigente cambio 1 : 12 tra *solidus* e *argenteus* comportava appunto il cambio 1 : 24 per il mezzo *argenteus*. Per la produzione di *argentei* e di mezzi *argentei* da parte di Costantino fino al 307 cfr. ora G. Gautier, "Les argentei émis à Trèves et à Lyon entre juillet et décembre 307 apr. J.-C.: particularités et énigmes", *RN* 171 (2014) 317–339.

i ripostigli rinvenuti in tempi recenti;[61] inoltre si rammenti che la produzione orientale di *argentei* proseguì per alcuni anni dopo l'abdicazione di Diocleziano.[62] Anche il fino effettivo degli *argentei* tetrarchici continua a essere vittima di nozioni errate,[63] benché da lungo tempo analisi attendibili abbiano stabilito il livello molto elevato del tenore argenteo.[64] Per quanto riguarda l'attività delle zecche orientali dopo il 1 Maggio 305, un esempio specifico dà un'idea concreta della situazione reale. Carol Humphrey Vivian Sutherland catalogò unicamente *argentei* prodotti presso l'officina A di Serdica per Costanzo I *Augustus* (1 Maggio 305–25 Luglio 306); egli li classificò R^4, cioè un massimo di 5 esemplari noti.[65] Soltanto tra il 2004 e il 2015 più di 26 pezzi prodotti dall'officina Δ di Serdica per il medesimo imperatore, una quantità corrispondente perlomeno alla classificazione R (26–50 esemplari noti), sono comparsi nel mercato numismatico.[66]

P. Heid. IV 323 C e *P. Oxy.* XII 1430, benché la loro tariffa dell'oro alla libbra dia numeri interi tanto in *denarii communes* quanto in *nummi* anche per i singoli *solidi*, non sono compatibili con il cambio 1 : 12; ciò suggerisce che

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[61] G. Gautier, "À propos de deux lots d'argentei de la première tétrarchie provenant des Balkans", *BSFN* 59/1 (2004) 1–6, soprattutto 1 e 4–6; id., "Une trouvaille d'argentei de la première Tétrarchie provenant du Proche-Orient", *RN* 169 (2012) 225–259, soprattutto 226 e 248–249. Cfr. anche gli esemplari inediti di http://www.notinric.lechstepniewski.info/av6.html (22 Novembre 2017).

[62] G. Gautier, "Le monnayage d'argent de Serdica après la réforme de Dioclétien", *RN* VI s. 33 (1991) 97–111 e id., "La fin du monnayage en argent de la réforme à Antioche: à propos d'un argenteus inédit au nom de Licinius I", *GNS* 61 (2011) 67–71; J. Dharmadhikari,"Une série inédite d'aurei et d'argentei frappée à Alexandrie au type Concordia?", *BSFN* 64/6 (2009) 153–155.

[63] Strobel (n. 23) 159 e 165–166 attribuisce "rund 90% Silber" agli *argentei* della prima Tetrarchia. Ma tale percentuale è infirmata anche dalle vecchie analisi di A. von Rauch, "Ueber die römischen Silbermünzen und den innern Werth derselben", *MNGB* 3 (1857) 306–307 nrr. 174–176 e 180; si noti che la quarta moneta viene assegnata erroneamente a Costanzo II, ma la legenda e l'iconografia del rovescio, *VIRTVS MILITVM* e accampamento fortificato, identificano evidentemente Costanzo I. Su quattro pezzi uno raggiunge un fino del 90%, due arrivano al 94,30% e il quarto tocca il 97% (media aritmetica del 93,90%).

[64] King (n. 53) 15–16 con fig. C e 84–85 tav. 47. Il campione è costituito da 80 esemplari della prima Tetrarchia. 78 pezzi hanno un fino compreso tra il 94,25% e il 98,50%; soltanto 2 fanno eccezione (92,25% e 87%). 57 esemplari si collocano tra il 95% e il 97% (4 < 95% e 17 > 97%); anche il tenore medio delle singole zecche cade nel medesimo intervallo.

[65] *RIC* VI, 494 nr. 11a: ma cfr. Gautier, "Le monnayage" (n. 62) 108 nrr. 17 e 25.

[66] http://www.notinric.lechstepniewski.info/6ser11a_d.html (22 Novembre 2017).

150˙000 *denarii communes* e 313˙500 *denarii communes* siano prezzi inferiori alla quotazione abituale come nei tre papiri (*P. Oxy.* XVII 2106, *P. Ryl.* IV 616 e *CPR* VIII 27), che non forniscono numeri interi in *denarii communes* e in *nummi* per i singoli *solidi*. I cinque papiri condividono appunto le due significative caratteristiche di essere posteriori all'abdicazione di Diocleziano e di concernere rimborsi statali per *coemptiones*, come *SB* VI 9253 e XIV 11345; la stretta relazione tra *P. Oxy.* XVII 2106 e *SB* XIV 11345 dimostra che 8328 *denarii communes* per una libbra di ἄσημος, anche se costituivano un rimborso leggermente più vantaggioso rispetto agli 8000 *denarii communes* di *SB* VI 9253, erano comunque meno della tariffa reale. Questi dati portano alla conclusione che le *coemptiones* di metalli preziosi adottarono prezzi artificialmente ribassati rispetto alle quotazioni ufficiali soltanto dopo l'abdicazione di Diocleziano. Galerio e poi Licinio vollero conferire un maggiore potere di acquisto al *solidus* e all'*argenteus*; ma tale cambiamento della politica monetaria fu surretiziamente trasformato in un onere fiscale e venne scaricato sulle spalle dei contribuenti.

Qui propongo ricostruzioni ipotetiche delle tariffe reali; le mie cifre possiedono valore fortemente aleatorio, ma soddisfano bene i rapporti monetari e le relazioni proporzionali sotto tutti gli aspetti. Alcune percentuali delle precedenti analisi richiedono un leggero aggiustamento.

P. Oxy. XVII 2106 (circa 306): 108˙000 *denarii communes* (1 *solidus* = 1800 *denarii communes* = 72 *nummi*, 1 *argenteus* = 150 *denarii communes* = 6 *nummi*), il prezzo della *coemptio* copre circa il 92,6%. L'aumento tocca il 50% rispetto all'*Edictum*.

SB VI 9253 (circa 306) e XIV 11345 (11 Agosto 306): 9000 *denarii communes* (la sopravvalutazione dell'*argenteus* nei confronti del bullione resta invariata a +60%, come dopo la rivalutazione e l'*Edictum*), il prezzo della *coemptio* copre rispettivamente circa lo 88,9% e il 92,54%. L'aumento tocca il 50% rispetto all'*Edictum*.

P. Ryl. IV 616 (309, ma scritto nel 312): 117˙000 *denarii communes* (1 *solidus* = 1950 *denarii communes* = 78 *nummi*, 1 *argenteus* = 162,5 *denarii communes* = 6,5 *nummi*), il prezzo della *coemptio* copre circa il 94,02%. L'aumento tocca lo 8,33% rispetto a *P. Oxy.* XVII 2106 e il 62,5% rispetto all'*Edictum*.

P. Heid. IV 323 C (15–24 Maggio 310): 162˙000 *denarii communes* (1 *solidus* = 2700 *denarii communes* = 108 *nummi*, 1 *argenteus* = 225 *denarii communes* = 9 *nummi*), il prezzo della *coemptio* copre circa il 92,6%. L'au-

mento tocca il 38,49% rispetto a *P. Ryl.* IV 616 e il 50% rispetto a *P. Oxy.* XVII 2106.

Il medaglione costantiniano (310): 97˙200 *denarii communes* (il medaglione stesso = 12˙150 *denarii communes* = 486 *nummi*, 1 *solidus* = 1350 *denarii communes* = 54 *nummi*, 1 *argenteus* = 112,5 *denarii communes* = 4,5 *nummi*), la quotazione occidentale rappresenta il 60% della tariffa orientale.

CPR VIII 27 (23 Giugno 324): 270˙000 *denarii communes* (1 *solidus* = 4500 *denarii communes* = 360 *nummi*, 1 *argenteus* = 375 *denarii communes* = 30 *nummi*), il prezzo della *coemptio* copre circa il 93,44%.

P. Oxy. XII 1430 (31 Luglio 324): 337˙500 *denarii communes* (1 *solidus* = 5625 *denarii communes* = 450 *nummi*, 1 *argenteus* = 468,75 *denarii communes* = 37,5 *nummi*), il prezzo della *coemptio* copre circa il 92,89%. L'aumento tocca il 25% rispetto a *CPR* VIII 27.

La tariffa occidentale dell'oro nel 323 (345˙600 *denarii communes*), rispetto alla normalizzazione e all'integrazione della *coemptio* statale in *CPR* VIII 27 (540˙000 *denarii communes*), rappresenta il 64%. Il prezzo normalizzato e integrato del pagamento *P. Oxy.* XII 1430, dopo l'introduzione del *solidus* costantiniano in Oriente e il passaggio del *nummus* al corso di 100 *denarii communes*, costituisce il 90% della tariffa registrata nella lettera privata *PSI* VII 825 + *BL* VI 179 + *BL* VIII 402, poiché abbiamo (675˙000 *denarii communes* : 60 *solidi*) x 72 *solidi* = 810˙000 *denarii communes*, 810˙000 *denarii communes* : 25 *denarii communes* = 32˙400 *nummi* e 32˙400 *nummi* x 100 *denarii communes* = 3˙240˙000 *denarii communes*. Un aggiustamento di 1/9 nel breve periodo quale risposta all'inflazione sembra piuttosto verosimile.

La crescita reale dell'oro in Oriente dal 305 al 310 e dal 311 al Giugno 324 corrisponde rispettivamente al 125% e al 233,33%; l'aumento reale dell'oro in Occidente dal 305 al 310 e dal 311 al 323 equivale rispettivamente al 35% e al 255,55%. Dal confronto tra i due periodi riscontriamo che l'incremento occidentale risulta molto più forte (poco più di sette volte) rispetto all'analogo fenomeno dell'Oriente (poco meno del doppio). Il grosso dell'aumento occidentale tra il 305 e il 310 deve essere ricondotto all'introduzione del *solidus* costantiniano; se il corso del nuovo *solidus* nel 310 (1350 *denarii communes*) era il medesimo del suo predecessore, durante il breve regno di Costanzo I *Augustus* o nei primi anni di Costantino il *solidus* dioclezianeo e il bullione aureo (1350 *denarii communes* x 60 *solidi* = 81˙000 *denarii communes*) sperimentarono un modesto incremento del 12,5% = ⅛ rispetto all'*Edictum*, ma poi il differente piede del *solidus* costan-

tiniano accrebbe artificialmente la quotazione dell'oro nell'ulteriore misura del 20% (1350 *denarii communes* x 72 *solidi* = 97˙200 *denarii communes*). L'anonimo autore dell'opuscolo *De rebus bellicis* forse ignorava le leggi economiche ed era un eccentrico visionario, ma queste cifre gli danno piena ragione sul conto di Costantino.

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PALLASNE EXURERE CLASSEM: MINERVA IN THE *AENEID*

Lee Fratantuono

The goddess Minerva is a key figure in the theology of Virgil's *Aeneid*, though there has been relatively little written to explicate all of the scenes in the epic in which she plays a part or receives a reference.[1] The present study seeks to provide a commentary on every mention of Pallas Athena/Minerva in Virgil's poetic corpus, with the intention of illustrating how the goddess plays a crucial role in the unfolding drama of the transition from a Trojan to an Italian identity for the future Rome, and in particular how the Volscian heroine Camilla serves as a mortal incarnation of the Minerva who was a patroness of battles and the military arts. Lastly, we shall consider the possibility that the goddess may be of crucial importance for an understanding of the final episodes of the epic, in particular Aeneas' decision to slay the Rutulian Turnus. We shall see that this key figure in the Capitoline Triad was of great significance to Virgil in his poetic conception of the founding of Rome and its Augustan reinvention and rebirth.

There are three references to Pallas Athena/Minerva in the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, one in the former work and two in the latter.[2] The references are neat-

[1] The bibliography is perhaps surprisingly brief; cf. especially C. Bailey, *Religion in Virgil*, Oxford 1935, 152–157; E. Henry, *The Vigour of Prophecy: A Study of Vergil's Aeneid*, Carbondale 1989, 90–117; also M. P. Wilhelm, "Minerva in the *Aeneid*", in R. M. Wilhelm and H. Jones, eds., *The Two Worlds of the Poet: New Perspectives on Vergil*, Detroit 1992, 74–81.

[2] For helpful overview of the onomastic problems posed by the goddess (Athena? Pallas? Tritogeneia? Atrytone?), cf. T. Gantz, *Early Greek Myth: A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources*, Baltimore – London 1993, 84. Ps.-Apollodorus records the stories that the goddess killed a playmate named Pallas, a daughter of Triton (cf. such stories as Penthesilea's accidental slaying of her sister Hippolyta); also that Pallas was a giant (cf. the goddess' association in the *Aeneid* with evocations of the gigantomachy on Aeneas' divine shield). For the earliest citation of the name Pallas without

ly balanced; the first and third refer to Pallas, the second to Minerva.[3] The first of these Virgilian appearances of the goddess comes at *Eclogue* 2,60–62 … *habitarunt di quoque silvas / Dardaniusque Paris. Pallas quas condidit arces / ipsa colat; nobis placeant ante omnia silvae*.[4] The unrequited lover Corydon reflects on the fact that there are gods in the forest, and indeed also the Trojan Paris: let Pallas Athena, he argues, hold the citadel (i.e., of Athens) that she founded.[5] The passage is richly evocative of the problem of the public *versus* the private, and of the matter of the building of cities and establishment of new political entities.[6] Troy lore is also prominent in the passing allusion to the goddess; Pallas Athena was one of the goddesses who participated in the celebrated Judgment of Paris – and the Trojan prince is here named as one of those who dwell in sylvan haunts. Pallas is a goddess of the urban sphere, of the world of city and civilization; Paris and the unspecified gods of the forest are set up in contrast to the goddess of wisdom, craft, and battle. Corydon offers something of a dismissal of the goddess of city culture and Athenian urbanization; the contrast between Trojan and Greek imagery is also marked. The first mention of the goddess in the works of Virgil implicitly highlights the goddess in opposition to Paris' Troy.

Minerva takes her place, too, in the miniature catalogue of deities to whom Virgil makes his invocation at the start of the second *Georgic*: … *oleaeque Minerva / inventrix* (1,18–19).[7] Here the goddess is identified as the inventor of the olive; the reference both to her and, later, to her gift is quite fleeting.[8] Here Minerva is celebrated for another civilizing function – the bestowal

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Athena, cf. the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 424.

[3] For the names of the goddess, cf. J.-L. Girard, "Minerva", in *EV* III, 532–534: "V. menziona questa dea sia con il nome proprio…sia con appellativi che provano un'identificazione con l'omologa greca Atena…una volta V. usa l'aggettivo *Palladius*" (532).

[4] All quotations from Virgil are taken from R.A.B. Mynors, *P. Vergili Maronis Opera*, Oxford 1969 (corrected reprint, 1972).

[5] "La dea Pallade Atena, collegata al culto cittadino (in particolare di Atene)…il suo simulacro, il Palladio, gioca un ruolo fondamentale nella leggenda di Enea nel Lazio e, quindi, della fondazione di Roma…" (A. Cucchiarelli, *Publio Virgilio Marone: Le Bucoliche*, Roma 2012, 197).

[6] On *condidit arces*, W. Clausen comments: "V.'s variation of *urbem condere*" (*Virgil: Eclogues*, Oxford 1994, *ad loc.*).

[7] "Minerva: Die attische Athene. In Rom war sie mit Iupiter und Iuno Mitgleid der Kapitolinischen Trias…" (M. Erren, *P. Vergilius Maro: Georgica, Band 2: Kommentar*, Heidelberg 2003, *ad loc.*).

[8] "The inventor of the olive gets three words; her product fares little better (2,420–5n.)" (R. Thomas,

of the gift of the olive and its oil, as the poet prepares to celebrate the rural life of agriculture and the works of the field. Civilization and its boons are the preserve of the goddess of arts and culture.

The same association of the goddess with the olive occurs at *Georgic* 2,180–181 *tenuis ubi argilla et dumosis calculus arvis*, / *Palladia gaudent silva vivacis oleae*, where difficult soil and terrain is said to rejoice in the "Palladian wood of the long-lived olive". The appellation *Palladia silva* of the second georgic harks back to the image from the second eclogue; Pallas/Minerva is a complicated goddess of diverse functions and areas of influence; she is, after all, a sort of forest goddess (at least insofar as the olive is a tree) – but one who is inextricably linked to such civilizing influences as the olive. Not surprisingly, both references to Minerva in the *Georgics* come in connection to the tree that was most especially associated with her rule.

We glean, then, a limited yet richly textured image of Pallas/Minerva from these brief allusions; noteworthy in the Virgilian presentation of Athena in his earlier works is the implicit opposition of the goddess to the Trojan Paris (who, of course, voted against her in the fateful Judgment). That vote alone was enough to doom the Trojans in the estimation of both Juno and Pallas; the victor in the Judgment, too, stands in opposition to the virginal goddess of battle and the traditional household arts of a Roman *univira*.[9]

Indeed, the Judgment of Paris is prominently cited as the first cause of the anger of the goddess Juno near the opening of the epic *Aeneid*, as Virgil considers the reasons for the ill fortune of the Trojans at the hands of the sister and wife of Jupiter (1,26–27). Juno reflects that Pallas was allowed to destroy Ajax, the son of Oileus, because of his guilt and furious madness: … *Pallasne exurere classem* / *Argivum atque ipsos potuit submergere ponto* / *unius ob noxam et furias Aiacis Oilei*? (1,39–41).[10] First there was Juno, and then there was Minerva; the first three deities cited in the *Aeneid* are the members of the Capitoline

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Virgil: Georgics, Volume I, Books I–II, Cambridge 1988, *ad loc*.).

[9] The virginity of Athena is attested from an early date; cf. the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 7 ff., where Athena is linked with Artemis and Hestia in this regard. Athena and Artemis were also associated with the companionship of Persephone before her abduction (*Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 415 ff.).

[10] "…the violation of Cassandra by the Locrian Ajax, son of Oileus, at Athena's temple was a tradition of the epic cycle, and was the subject of many vase-paintings…" (R. G. Austin, *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Primus*, Oxford 1971, *ad* 41).

Triad.[11] And Minerva was able to execute her wish for vengeance against a sacrilegious Greek who dared to violate and defile her sacred precinct.[12] The Palladian killing of the Lesser Ajax is the first violent act of murder and slaughter in the long course of Virgil's epic; in some sense the end of the poem will bring something of a reminiscence of this divine act of vengeance.

The first appearance of Pallas/Minerva in the *Aeneid* stands in striking contrast to the depiction of the goddess in the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*. Here we find an image of vengeance and violent destruction; Juno describes in vivid detail how Pallas used Jovian lightning to strike and impale Ajax on a rock (1,42–45).[13] Juno is a patroness of the Greeks, a goddess consumed with anger at the Trojans; Pallas is depicted as having slain a Greek hero who had assaulted and violated a Trojan girl in a temple precinct.[14]

Virgil thus accords a prominent place to the battle goddess near the start of his epic; she is intimately associated with Jupiter, whose lightning weapon she wields – and, implicitly, with Juno[15] (who cites her as an *exemplum* of a Jovian goddess who is capable of seeking revenge for wrongs and slights).[16] Pallas' killing of Ajax was part of her general attack on the Greek fleet; again, the goddess favored the Greeks in their assault on Troy, but the desecration of

[11] Juno appears first at 1,15; Pallas at 39; Jupiter is referenced at 42. Of course if the controversial "ille ego" lines were genuine, then Mars is the first god mentioned in the epic.

[12] "Elle se remémore alors, pour augmenter sa confusion, la vengeance tirée par Pallas d'Ajax, fils d'Oïlée et cette fois la peint ses couleurs les plus propres à la rendre blessante par le contraste… Pallas, quel privilège!" (A. Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Enéide*, Paris 1926, 97).

[13] On the Virgilian adaptation of Homeric lore, etc., see G. Highet, *The Speeches in Vergil's Aeneid*, Princeton 1972, 266–267.

[14] For the evidence of Proclus' *testimonia* for the story, see M. L. West, *Greek Epic Fragments*, Cambridge, Massachusetts 2003, 146–147, 154–155; Ajax apparently tried to seize not only the girl, but also a sacred image of the goddess – for which the Greeks sought to stone him (recognizing as they did the sacrilege). Ajax was saved from death by seeking refuge at the altar of Athena; only later (while *en route* home) would the goddess see to his punishment.

[15] Cf. here V. Panoussi, *Vergil's Aeneid and Greek Tragedy: Ritual, Empire, and Intertext*, Cambridge 2009, 109–112.

[16] And, too, the actions of the Lesser Ajax were so outrageous that not even the Greeks sought to excuse their fellow warrior; in Athena's destruction of the hero we see something of a military style punishment for malefaction.

her temple instigated extreme measures of retaliation and revenge.[17] One might question the legitimacy of the extent of her rage and anger in terms of its consequences for Greeks other than the culpable Ajax – but Virgil will return again and again to the violent image of how Ajax violated the goddess' sacred precinct and Cassandra.

The goddess also figures in the illustrations on the walls of Dido's temple to Juno in Carthage; the subject of the pictures there is nothing less than the events surrounding the eventual fall of Troy.[18] The women of Troy are depicted as bringing offerings to the goddess Pallas;[19] she, for her part, ignores their plight and petition: 1,479–482 *interea ad templum non aequae Palladis ibant / crinibus Iliades passis peplumque ferebant / suppliciter, tristes et tunsae pectora palmis*; / *diva solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat*.[20] Here the goddess is portrayed as unwilling to aid the Trojan cause, despite the heartfelt prayer of the women and the presentation of the *peplos*;[21] she stands aloof from their entreaties, and she would appear to be indifferent to their sufferings.[22] The description *non*

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[17] For the wrecking of the Greek fleet, cf. the Homeric citations collected by S. Casali in his entry on "Ajax" (*VE* I, 46): *Odyssey* 1,326–327; 3,130–198; 3,254–312; 4,351–586).

[18] She is, in fact, the only goddess (or god, for that matter) cited as being among the illustrations; the catalogue of picture descriptions closes with the Amazon Penthesilea, who has affinities to the Volscian Camilla who closes the catalogue of Italian heroes at the end of Book 7 (and who also has Minervan associations); cf. W. P. Basson, *Pivotal Catalogues in the Aeneid*, Amsterdam 1975, 152–155. The image of the women in supplication will be repeated, then, later in the poem (as the *Iliad* and world of the epic cycle is reborn in Italy); the outcome of the invocation to the goddess there will be rather different.

[19] On the Penthesilean prefigurement of Camilla, see especially K. W. Gransden, *Virgil's Iliad: An Essay on Epic Narrative*, Cambridge 1984, 183–184.

[20] For the Homeric intertext, see especially B. Graziosi and J. Haubold, eds., *Homer, Iliad Book VI*, Cambridge 2010, *ad* 286–311. The averted gaze of the goddess is recalled at 6,465–471, as Dido is depicted in the underworld as virtually ignoring Aeneas' entreaties; see further M. C. J. Putnam, *Virgil's Aeneid: Interpretation and Influence*, Chapel Hill 1995, 213–214.

[21] A rare reference to the sacred garment in Latin poetry; cf. Plautus, *Mercator* 67 (with Enk's commentary notes *ad loc.*). Austin (above n. 10) observes that in Homer, the *peplos* described as part of the Trojan supplication of the goddess was woven by Phoenician women, and that Virgil may thus have special purpose in having the present image adorn Dido's temple to Juno.

[22] On the connection of the images on the temple walls to the later travails of the war in Italy, see J. D. Reed, *Virgil's Gaze: Nation and Poetry in the Aeneid*, Princeton 2007, 47.

aequae is especially interesting; Pallas is presented as unfair to the Trojans and as being unfavorably disposed toward them.

From the start, then, the goddess is presented as both capable of violence and averse to the Trojan cause; soon enough she is associated with the final destruction of Priam's city.

Indeed, Pallas is the first immortal cited by the Trojan hero Aeneas in his long retelling of the events surrounding the fall of Troy and the journey of the Trojan exiles from Pergamum to North Africa. The reference this time is equestrian; the infamous Wooden Horse of the Greeks was crafted by the divine art of the goddess: 2,15–16 *instar montis equum divina Palladis arte / aedificant*.[23] The equivocation of Pallas and Minerva is made soon thereafter: 2,31 *pars stupet innuptae donum exitiale Minervae*, where emphasis is placed on the goddess' virginal status, and the fatal nature of her equine trick.[24] The notion of the Minervan gift is repeated at 2,198 *nam si vestra manus violasset dona Minervae*, the protasis of the contrafactual warning given by Sinon to the Trojans about the Wooden Horse. Pallas is introduced in Book 2 and in Aeneas' narrative as a goddess associated with horses, in this case the most important horse in Trojan history; in the second to last book of the epic, the horse will take on central importance in the great narrative of the cavalry battle before the walls of the Latin capital.

The signal role of Pallas in supporting the Greek cause is cited also at the start of Sinon's speech to the Trojans: 2,162–163 *omnis spes Danaum et coepti fiducia belli / Palladis auxiliis semper stetit*.[25] Sinon's address is of course replete with mendacious elements that are designed to trick the Trojans; he pro-

[23] For the Homeric, Euripidean, and Quintan references to the part played by Pallas Athena in the drama of the horse, see R. G. Austin, *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Secundus*, Oxford 1964, *ad loc*. "Spicca la complicità di Atena: *divina Palladis arte*. Virgilio conosce bene la versione omerica…" (G. Scafoglio, *Noctes Vergilianae: Ricerche di filologia e critica letteraria sull'Eneide*, Spudasmata Band 135, Zürich – New York 2010, 81).

[24] On the genitive *innuptae … Minervae* see especially N. Horsfall, *Virgil, Aeneid 2, A Commentary*, Leiden – Boston 2008, *ad loc*. The question of whether it is to be taken subjectively or objectively does not alter the meaning in any appreciable way, since the two possibilities are not mutually exclusive; the horse was crafted by the divine art of the goddess, and it may well have been offered as an alleged gift for the goddess in expiation of the violation of her temple.

[25] "Though venerated by the Trojans in Hom., Athena was no good friend to them…" (Horsfall, above n. 24, *ad loc*.).

ceeds at once to describe the theft of the Palladium by Odysseus and Diomedes – and Odysseus is referred to as the *scelerum … inventor*, the "inventor of crimes" – language that recalls the description of Minerva as the inventor of the olive. The Palladium was an image of the war goddess, the preservation and salvation of which was inextricably associated with the safety of the city.[26] Sinon relates how the theft of the Palladium incurred the wrath of the goddess against the Greeks; soon "Tritonia" gives clear enough signs of her anger by means of dire portents (2,171 *nec dubiis ea signa dedit Tritonia monstris*).[27]

"Tritonia" introduces a third appellation for the goddess after Pallas and Minerva; she is now perhaps linked to the sea god Triton and the powers of the deep.[28] The etymology of the name remains in dispute and of uncertain derivation;[29] the dire nature of the goddess' portentous signs is not in doubt. Flames and perspiration alike are emitted by the statue; three times the goddess herself is said to have flashed forth in terrible epiphany.[30] The story is an elaborately constructed ruse, a verbal game to match the craftsmanship of the horse; the seer Calchas is said to have declared that the equine "gift" should be set up as a means of expiation for the sacrilege of the stolen Palladium (2,183–184 *hanc pro Palladio moniti, pro numine laeso / effigiem statuere, nefas quae triste pararet*).[31]

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[26] See both Austin (above n. 23) and Horsfall (above n. 24) *ad loc*. for the history and citations of the image; the Diomedes who is referenced in the second book of the epic will reappear in the second to last.

[27] For parallels between the goddess of the Palladium scene and other passages in the epic, cf. M. C. J. Putnam, *Virgil's Epic Designs: Ekphrasis in the Aeneid*, New Haven, Connecticut 1998, 46–48. For the possible connection between the horse and the gifts brought to Dido by the disguised Cupid in Book 1, see S. Frangoulidis, "Duplicity and Gift-Offerings in Vergil's *Aeneid* 1 and 2", *Vergilius* 38 (1992) 26–37.

[28] "An impressive epic fossil" (N. Horsfall, *Virgil, Aeneid 11, A Commentary*, Leiden – Boston 2003, *ad* 11,483). The name may connect to a Neptunian genealogy for the goddess.

[29] Cf. J. J. O'Hara, *True Names: Vergil and the Alexandrian Tradition of Etymological Wordplay*, Ann Arbor 1996, 29, 32; M. L. West, *Hesiod Theogony*, Oxford 1966, *ad* 895.

[30] The name Tritonia may be taken in reference to the celebrated Lake Tritonis in North Africa, a locus that was significant in Argonautic lore.

[31] "In Sinon's current story, the TH is presented as being talismanic, like the Palladium…this version does not necessarily represent correctly the Greek leaders' intentions, but we see repeatedly that Sinon beguiles the Trojans with nuggets of familiar, accepted, 'correct' myth…" (Horsfall, above n. 24, *ad* 2,183). Austin (above n. 23) correctly observes that the Sinon story is replete with

All three names of the goddess converge in an image of portentous ruin for Troy; she is central to the equine ruin of the city of Troy. In *pro numine laeso* there is a strong echo of the *numine laeso* of 1,8, where the offended divine power of Juno was prominently highlighted at the commencement of the epic; again, there is a clear enough association between Minerva and Juno – with a shade, too, of Jovian support for the workings of fate and destiny.[32] Athena was certainly associated with Greek discomfiture on account of the Ajacian violation of her temple and the rape of Cassandra – but the goddess is also a more or less implacable foe of Troy, and she will take on a key role in the ruin of that city. Odysseus is a preeminent trickster figure; here the goddess who was his traditional patron and protector is associated with the ruse of the horse that will secure the destruction of Priam's realm.

One Trojan cannot be fooled by Sinon and his lies: the Neptunian priest Laocoön. He is soon enough killed together with his sons by twin serpents that come from Tenedos; once the terrible act of herpetological horror is past, the snakes seek refuge at the citadel and feet of the dread goddess: 2,225–227 *at gemini lapsu delubra ad summa dracones / effugiunt saevaeque petunt Tritonidis arcem*, / *sub pedibusque deae clipeique sub orbe teguntur*. Here the Tritonian goddess is explicitly identified as "savage";[33] certainly there is a reference to the goddess' anger at the Trojans and her general support of the Greek cause (perhaps, though not explicitly so, in anger with respect to the *iudicium Paridis*); there is also the fact that the death of Laocoön and his sons is of a piece with the death of the Locrian Ajax – while the goddess is not a murderer in quite the dramatic fashion of Book 1, she at the very least shelters the serpentine killers at her feet and beneath her shield.[34] From the goddess who was *non aequa* we have

"rigmarole"; individual details do not accord completely with either logic or reason – but the tale convinces the Trojans nonetheless, and that is all that matters. The demonstrative *hanc* at 2,183 is the first reference to the horse in Sinon's speech, and is likely deictic (see further Horsfall here).

[32] At least in Pallas' slaying of the Lesser Ajax; at the climax of the epic, Jupiter and Juno will be reconciled.

[33] "Not a standard epithet", as Horsfall (above n. 24) notes *ad loc*.

[34] "The doom of Laocoön is the doom of all Troy, and as the snakes, seeking the protection of Minerva, make their way up onto the citadel we remember not only that this is the location on which the horse will soon be placed, but that it was from here that Laocoön rushed in his futile attempt to reveal the plot" (M. C. J. Putnam, *The Poetry of the Aeneid: Four Studies in Imaginative Unity and Design*, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1966, 19).

moved to a picture of savagery and rage; Laocoön attacked the horse that Pallas' divine art had constructed, and he will pay for his folly. Is Tritonia especially savage because she fears the discovery of the equine trick?[35] We might also note that there are two sons of Laocoön (2,213–214 … *et primum parva duorum / corpora natorum serpens amplexus uterque*); twin serpents for the two children. The death of the doublet children underscores the profundity of the ruin of the city; we may also be reminded of the preeminent Roman doublet, Romulus and Remus.

In the aftermath of the death of Laocoön, the decision is made that the horse should be received as an expiatory offering for the goddess; the death of Neptune's priest is taken as proof of the reliability and truth of Sinon's story. The goddess' role in the drama is underscored by a powerful half-line: 2,232–233 *ducendum ad sedes simulacrum orandaque divae / numina conclamant*.[36] Once again the notion of divine power (*numina*) and the offense thereof is raised; whatever anger the goddess feels toward Troy will now be expiated only by the ruin of the city. In Book 1 the goddess was cited as an image of divine retribution for the invasion of her temple precinct and the assault on Cassandra; now she is associated closely with the punishment of the one who would dare to raise a weapon against the horse that had been crafted by her art.

Soon enough Troy is under its final assault, then, and Virgil reminds us of the reason for Minerva's assault on the Lesser Ajax. Aeneas was a witness to the abduction of Cassandra from the temple of the goddess (2,403–406 *ecce trahebatur passis Priameia virgo / crinibus a templo Cassandra adytisque Minervae*, / *ad caelum tendens ardentia lumina frustra*, / *lumina, nam teneras arcebant vincula palmas*). Virgil returns here to the Minervan story from Book 1; a battle is described between the Trojans and the Greeks, with Ajax as the "fiercest" of all (2,414 … *acerrimus Aiax*) as he defends his war prize.[37] Coroebus soon falls at the very altar of the goddess (2,425–426 *Penelei dextra divae armipotentis*

[35] For subtle consideration of the range of possible meaning of the adjective, see P. Knox, "Savagery in the *Aeneid* and Virgil’s Ancient Commentators", in *CJ* 92.3 (1997) 225–233.

[36] For the tragic associations, cf. A. König, *Die Aeneis und die griechische Tragödie*, Berlin 1970, 32–33.

[37] We move, then, from the locus where the snakes sought refuge, to the snatching of Cassandra from the temple – and soon enough to the implicitly serpentine Gorgon imagery of the goddess as she participates in the destruction of the city.

ad aram / procumbit); the son of the Phrygian king Mygdon was the would-be suitor of Cassandra who devised the idea that the Trojans could wear Greek uniforms in a feat of trickery (2,386–393).[38] What had been a prominent allusion near the opening of the epic now comes alive as a terrible scene from Troy's last night in the speech of Aeneas to Dido's court; the horror of the episode is accentuated by Coroebus' valiant (though foolhardy) final stand at the altar of the goddess. Aeneas brings to life the Junonian allusion from her rant at the start of the epic.

In a sense we have come full circle to the first mention of the immortal; the destruction of Troy, however, represents the full extent of the goddess' power and wrath. Venus displays to her son the revelation of the divine action at play in the ruin of Troy; Neptune and Juno are there – and Pallas is resplendent with both a storm cloud and the Gorgon emblem of her battle shield (2,615–616 *iam summas arces Tritonia, respice, Pallas / insedit, nimbo effulgens et Gorgone saeva*). The image of savagery returns, and in a similar context; the Gorgon was associated with snakes, after all, and here the snaky-haired avatar of the goddess is wielded against the doomed city.[39] Jupiter has his place, here, too – though *sine nomine* – Venus notes that her "very father" (2,617 *ipse pater*) is providing strength to the Danaans in their attack on the city. Jupiter, after all, does not fight against the destiny of Troy – a destiny that demands its destruction on this last night. In the context of such divine cooperation with fate, Aeneas would do well to exercise his ability to make a quick departure from the city. Sinon's lies and tricks have worked their magic, and the goddess and her Gorgon are in full control.[40]

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[38] On the trickery of Coroebus and the Trojans in the wake of the Laocoön/Wooden Horse episode, see E. Dekel, *Virgil's Homeric Lens*, New York – London 2012, 92–93; for detailed analysis of the episode, cf. S. Monda, "The Coroebus Episode in Virgil's *Aeneid*", *HSCPh* 106 (2011) 199–208. In Book 2, the trickery and deceit of the Trojans comes after the far more significant, indeed deadly ruse of the Greeks; in Book 11, the Trojans will plan a surprise attack that Turnus attempts to meet with the trick of an ambush that fails after the death of Camilla drives Turnus to abandon his intention (thus saving Aeneas, who is unaware of the great harm he managed to avoid).

[39] Three immortals cooperate by name in the vision of Troy's ruin; cf. the imagery of divine triads, and also one possible etymology of *Tritonia* (i.e., with numerical reference); cf. further M. Paschalis, *Virgil's Aeneid: Semantic Relations and Proper Names*, Oxford 1997, 74.

[40] Gorgon imagery appears in the *Aeneid* in connection to the fall of Troy and on shield of Aeneas in the depiction of Actium; there is also 6,289 *Gorgones Harpyiaeque et forma tricorporis umbrae*

In Book 1, then, the goddess was referenced in terms of her behavior in the matter of the Greek returns from Troy; in Book 2, she enjoys the bulk of her appearances in the epic as part of Aeneas' narrative of the end of Priam's realm.

Pallas/Minerva is of signal importance, then, in the ruin of one city – and appropriately enough, she returns to Virgil's epic at the first arrival in Italy, as the Trojan exiles under Aeneas reach Hesperia at long last: 3,531–532 *iam propior, templumque apparet in arce Minervae*; / *vela legunt socii et proras ad litora torquent*.[41] On one level this is a simple economy of exchange; one city is lost and another will be born. But the whole atmosphere is soon overcome with a spirit of gloom and battle; this is the locus of the celebrated omen of the four snow-white horses that are interpreted (correctly, we might note) by Anchises as portending war in Italy (3,537–538).[42] Appropriately enough, the Trojans venerate and reverence the battle goddess before they make their departure (3, 543–544 … *tum numina sancta precamur* / *Palladis armisonae, quae prima accepit ovantis*). Aeneas and his men pay homage to the goddess in her capacity as a divine warrior; the poet also makes clear that Pallas/Minerva was the first goddess to receive the Trojans in Italy.[43] There is a curious mixture here of rejoicing and harbingers of ill fortune; the goddess is once again explicitly associated with horses and equine doom; the Trojan horse that brought destruction to the city of

(of the monsters at the doorway of Dis).

[41] On the disputed localization of the landing at *Castrum Minervae*, see N. Horsfall, *Virgil, Aeneid 3, A Commentary*, Leiden – Boston 2006, *ad* 531–536; cf. A. G. McKay, *Vergil's Italy*, Greenwich, Connecticut 1970, 258–259.

[42] For the color adjective *nivalis* of the horses see R. Edgeworth, *The Colors of the Aeneid*, New York 1992, 142. It occurs three times in the epic; cf. 7,675 and 12,702, both times of snowy mountains. In the former instance Othrys is the haunt of Centaurs (cf. the equine associations here); "Catillus and Coras are like two centaurs galloping down snowy Othrys." In the other occurrence, Aeneas in combat against Turnus is compared to Appenninus lifting up his head. No clear point, then, to the uses of the adjective – though two of the three citations concern horse imagery, and two mountain.

[43] For how this prioritizing of Minerva over Juno is the wrongheaded approach to the liturgical demands enjoined on the Trojans by Helenus in Buthrotum, see J. T. Dyson, *King of the Wood: The Sacrificial Victor in Virgil's Aeneid*, Norman 2001, 44–46. Later in the epic we find that the women of Latinus' capital pray to Pallas as well – and she sends them the Volscian Camilla as the *de facto* answer to their prayers; throughout the *Aeneid*, Minerva is depicted as more sympathetic to the anti-Trojan cause. We shall return later to the significance of the point of the priority of Minerva in Aeneas' prayer; it may prove relevant to a close reading of the final movements of the epic and the relative places of Juno and Minerva in the ultimate disposition of the poem.

Priam has been replaced by the omen of the horses that herald the forthcoming war in central Italy.[44]

From the goddess who was "powerful in arms", then, we move to the goddess who has "sounding arms"; in the first instance, Pallas did not intervene to save Coroebus at her altar, despite her strength in weaponry, while in the second, *armisonae* points ominously to the forthcoming war in Italy.[45] The imagery of twins returns here, too: 3,535–536 … *gemino demittunt bracchia muro / turriti scopuli refugitque ab litore templum*, in the description of the locus of the Trojan landing. No twin serpents here to devour Trojans – but an ominous place all the same, a first landing in Italy that portends a war that will constitute the rebirth of the Homeric *Iliad*.

Pallas/Minerva appears twice in Book 5 of the *Aeneid*, in interesting and diverse contexts. First, in the aftermath of the ship race we learn that the prize for last place – the final words of the poet on the regatta – will be Cretan slave girl, Pholoë, together with her twin sons at the breast. And Pholoë is explicitly identified as being familiar with the works of Minerva, that is, the loom and the distaff (5,284–285 *olli serva datur, operum haud ignara Minervae / Cressa genus, Pholoë, geminique sub ubere nati*).

On the one hand, we see here the sort of ornamental passage that can easily escape close scrutiny; Book 5 is devoted to the funeral games in memory of Aeneas' father Anchises, and the awarding of prizes is an important element of the drama. On the other hand, we are left at the close of the long narrative of the ship race with a clear enough evocation of nothing less than the twins Romulus and Remus, something of a harbinger of the future foundation of Rome – and

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[44] Cf. here W. Kühn, *Götterszenen bei Vergil*, Heidelberg 1971, 55–58.

[45] "We hear surprisingly little in the Aeneid of divinities that have any peculiarly Trojan quality. The goddess of the *arx* at Troy, on the preservation of whose image the safety of the city depended… is like the Pallas we have come to know further west in the Mediterranean basin. It was at the feet of her cult-statue that the serpents took refuge after killing Laocoon and his sons; that she is not actively fighting for Troy on that last night but is in the company of Neptune, Juno and Jupiter, who are aiding the Greeks, is one more evidence that the city is completely doomed" (C. Saunders, *Vergil's Primitive Italy*, New York 1930, 104–105). The present passage constitutes the first "appearance" of the goddess in Italy; she will in some ways be more associated with the Italian cause than the Trojan in the unfolding of the new war in Latium. *Armisonus* occurs only here in Virgil (it may be a coinage); elsewhere only in argentine epic.

as at *Castrum Minervae*, the goddess is associated closely with imagery that is reflective of the eventual settlement of Rome.

The other appearance of the goddess in the penultimate book of the first, Odyssean half of Virgil's epic is also nautical in context. The context is the aftermath of the terrible attempt at the burning of the Trojan fleet that was instigated by Iris at the behest of Juno. Aeneas is in serious discomfiture and self-doubt as to whether or not he should stay in Sicily, or should pursue his Italian destiny. He is counseled by one of his men, a character we have not met before in the poem – an aged man who was taught by none other than Tritonian Pallas: 5,704–707 *tum senior Nautes, unum Tritonia Pallas* / *quem docuit multaque insignem reddidit arte*, / (*haec responsa dabat, vel quae portenderet ira* / *magna deum vel quae fatorum posceret ordo*).[46]

Nautes – whose very name evokes the world of sailing and seamanship – was educated by Tritonian Pallas in the art of prophecy and divinization, it would seem. He was reliable for information both about the course of future events, or what the anger of the gods portends – information he received directly from Pallas. All three names of the goddess now appear in Virgil's fifth *Aeneid*; Nautes' training in the matter of the wrath of the immortals harks back to earlier movements of the epic and the anger of Pallas in the matter of the Lesser Ajax and the events surrounding Troy's last night. Nautes is educated, in short, in nothing less than the substance of the unfolding drama of the epic. The *ira magna deum* points ultimately, after all, to the wrath of Juno and the outcome of her final reconciliation to fate (cf. *quae fatorum posceret ordo*). If the award of the Cretan slave girl Pholoë – a girl not ignorant of the works of Minerva – distantly heralded the future settlement of Rome in Latium, then in Nautes' counsel to Aeneas we see again the association of Minerva with the Roman future.[47] Sig-

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[46] We do well to note that at 5,635–640, Iris/Beroe notes how Cassandra's image (*imago*) appeared to her in a dream and noted that this (i.e., Sicily) was the place to establish a new home and to seek Troy. See further on this H. R. Steiner, *Der Traum in der Aeneis*, Bern 1952, 53–53; "fingiert" indeed. The lying Iris (cf. Sinon in Book 2) notes that there are four altars to Neptune that will supply the fire to burn the ships (cf. the omen of the four horses at *Castrum Minervae*). Iris/Beroe is right to want to burn the ships of Troy, as it turns out – she is simply ahead of the game in light of the unfolding destiny of the Trojans who will soon enough be definitively suppressed in the ethnic disposition of the future Rome.

[47] Nautes was also associated with (Varronian) traditions about the return of the Palladium to Aeneas by Diomedes; see further R. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, Leipzig – Berlin 1915 (3rd

nificantly, too, Aeneas will not be entirely persuaded by Nautes' admonitions; it will require a dream visitation from his father's shade to secure his willingness to leave some Trojans behind in Sicily, and to proceed to his destiny in Italy. Any association of the goddess with the world of the sea and the realm of Neptune is strengthened by her connection to Nautes; Anchises will affirm the wisdom of the "sailor's" advice. The management of the scene is subtle and effective; Pallas/Minerva is no reliable friend of the Trojans, and here the admonition of her spokesman – though wise and worthy of credence – does not persuade. All the same, Nautes knows what the order of the fates demands.

War, then, is an inevitable feature of the Trojan/Italian destiny, but so too is the settlement and the expansive power of Rome – and Minerva will join Juno and Jupiter in revered glory as a key element of the Roman pantheon. The references to the goddess in Book 5 point forward to the Roman future (a major theme of the book more generally, juxtaposed as it is between the Trojan past and the new destiny in Italy).

The final appearance of Minerva in the first half of the epic comes relatively near to the end of Book 6, in the great unfolding of the future Roman history that the shade of Anchises reveals to Aeneas in the Parade of Heroes or *Heldenschau*. The future conquests of Lucius Aemilius Paullus in Greece and Macedonia are recalled; the Roman general is viewed as an avenger of the violation of Minerva's temple in Troy: 6,840 *ultus avos Troiae templa et temerata Minervae*.

We return here yet again to the image from the start of the epic; Books 1 and 6 are framed, in a sense, by references to the desecration of the goddess' shrine by the Lesser Ajax in his abduction and rape of Cassandra. The infamy of Ajax's crime will be avenged more than once; the goddess had her vengeance on the mad hero, and the Romans will avenge the temple invasion.[48] Even here, in the midst of the triumph and pageantry of the heroic display of the Roman future, we are reminded of the grim episode of Minerva's temple desecration; the *Heldenschau* transforms the dark reality of Cassandra's abduction into a part of

edition), 103–104.

[48] The adjective *temeratus* occurs only here in Virgil, with reference to the violated temple of the goddess; cf. 11,583–584 *aeternum telorum et virginitatis amorem / intemerata colit*, of Diana's description to Opis of the lifestyle of the adolescent Camilla. In the *temerata templa* there is a strong hint that it is as if the goddess herself has been violated. Camilla herself moves from a Diana-like existence to a Minervan one.

the drama that leads inexorably to Rome. The Minervan allusions in the Odyssean *Aeneid* come to a close on the same note with which they commenced; the violation of a girl will be avenged.

The second half of Virgil's epic is devoted in large part to the narrative of the inevitable war in central Italy, the fierce struggle between Aeneas' Trojans and the Latins. Pallas/Minerva is quietly referenced at 7,154 … *ramis velatos Palladis omnis*, where Aeneas' hundred orators are described as they proceed to the site of King Latinus' palace.[49] This is a brief, indeed fleeting moment of quiet peace and even expectant joy; the hope of the Trojans is that they might find a lasting, permanent home in peace among the inhabitants of Latium. The reference to Pallas Athena is to the goddess in her civilizing capacity, to the image of the peaceful olive and the gifts of culture and the rewards of a better life. For an all too short moment in time, there is a hope of calm and profitable union between Trojans and Latins; the serene atmosphere will prove quite transient.

For all of this changes, needless to say, with the outbreak of war – and the goddess reappears in the epic in a context not dissimilar to the reference to her in the catalogue of future Roman heroes. If Book 6 ended with a vision of the glories that loomed large as part of the Roman destiny, then Book 7 closes with a more immediate problem for Aeneas and his Trojans – a catalogue of the warriors who arrive to do battle against the perceived Trojan invaders. The final, climactic revelation of that catalogue is that of the Volscian heroine Camilla, who is explicitly associated with what we might consider the martial and not the domestics arts of the goddess: 7,805–807 *bellatrix, non illa colo calathisve Minervae / femineas adsueta manus, sed proelia virgo / dura pati cursuque pedum praevertere ventos*.[50] Peace here gives way to war; the domestics arts of the goddess are eschewed, while the martial are pursued.

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[49] " … the introduction of the olive was Athena's claim, against Poseidon, to possession of Attica" (N. Horsfall, *Virgil, Aeneid 7, A Commentary*, Leiden – Boston – Köln 2000, *ad loc*.). There was a tradition that Athena was a daughter of Poseidon (cf. Paus. 1,14,6); according to the Suda (s.v. Hippeia Athene) she was the first to use a chariot and thus merited the appellation "Athena of the Horses".

[50] "The pageant ends with the most beautiful of all its figures. Virgil, in describing the hero of these last six books, had already ventured a touch of the supernatural; here he indulges his imagination still further" (W. W. Fowler, *Virgil's "Gathering of the Clans", Being Observations on Aeneid VII.610–817*, Oxford: B.H. Blackwell, 1918, 85).

Camilla is introduced in opposition to the image Virgil employed earlier of the Cretan slave girl; unlike the prize in the regatta, this girl is not accustomed to the household chores and works of the great goddess. This is not to say, however, that Camilla is not Minervan; on the contrary, she is a *bellatrix* and shares in the martial, military associations of Pallas. Like Minerva – and unlike the Cretan slave girl with the two infants, we might conclude – she is also a virgin. For the present, the role of Camilla in the battle narratives of the second part of the epic will be suppressed; Virgil will not reintroduce her to the epic for several books. The horse omen of Book 3 here sees the dawn of its fulfillment, as Camilla leads her cavalry contingent to war (7,804 *agmen agens equitum* …); equestrian war will erupt in Book 11, the book of Camilla.

Camilla's divine associations are multifarious and complex. In *Aeneid* 11 she will be closely associated with the huntress Diana; her virginity links her both to Diana and Minerva.[51] In her capacity as leader of the Volscian contingent she has affinities to the urbanized, social goddess Minerva; she is commander and soldier, a devotee of battle as well as the preservation of virginal honor and renown – but not of the household chores of the goddess.[52] We learn later that her forest connections and adolescent life in the sylvan haunts of Diana has somehow been exchanged for a more public existence as the leader of the Volscian contingent in the Latin War; the poet does not indulge in such concerns as how or why Camilla made the transition.

Camilla was not acclimated to the art and works of the loom and the domestic world of Minerva; the god Vulcan, in contrast, rises up at the very hour when a matron and her servant women are awake for working with wool and the tasks of spinning (8,407 ff.).[53] Vulcan rises early, however, for a very different sort of work from that of the loom; he has agreed to his wife Venus' prayer that

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[51] The "Lycian quiver" and "pastoral myrtle" introduce other problems, indeed allusions to Apollonian and Venusian lore.

[52] "Camilla steht außerhalb des Bereiches der antiken Frau und verschämt es, der Minerva zu dienen…die in der Aeneis noch zweimal…als Schutzgöttin der Frauenarbeit erscheint." (A. Brill, *Die Gestalt der Camilla bei Vergil*, Heidelberg 1972, 23.

[53] "Although this simile goes back to Homer (*Il.* 12,433–4, and cf. also Apollonius 3,291 ff., 4,1062 ff.) nothing could be more Roman than Virgil's picture of a chaste Roman matron or widow, an *univira* and the anti-type of Dido and Cleopatra in her devotion to home and family. This passage comes at the 'still centre' of the most Augustan book of the *Aeneid*…" (K. W. Gransden, *Virgil, Aeneid Book VIII*, Cambridge 1976, *ad* 408–413).

he might fashion divine arms for Aeneas to use in his forthcoming participation in the Latin war. Vulcan complies with the wishes of the Trojan hero's goddess mother – and he orders his Cyclopic assistants to put aside the work on which they are already busy. Those tasks include the chariot of Mars and, significantly, the aegis of Pallas: 8,435–438 *aegidaque horriferam, turbatae Palladis arma*, / *certatim squamis serpentum auroque polibant* / *conexosque anguis ipsamque in pectore divae* / *Gorgona desecto vertentem lumina collo*.

Appropriately enough, Vulcan commands his servants to cease work (at least for the moment) on a weapon that figured in the description of Pallas' participation in the destruction of Troy.[54] In a short compass of lines, we meet the goddess in both her realms; Vulcan is working on behalf of Venus and Aeneas, and in this capacity he is associated with the domestic arts of Minerva. For now, the terrible Gorgon-head weaponry of the dread battle goddess will be put aside. The contrast between the different bailiwicks of Pallas/Minerva harks back to the same juxtaposition in the description of Camilla, the (for now) absentee heroine of the Italian war. Virgil's careful evocation of both worlds of the goddess serves in part to remind us of how Camilla is an imperfect Minerva, of how the Volscian represents the goddess in her battle mode and not in the civilized works of house and society.

The works of Mars and of Minerva may well be put aside to make room and time for the shield of Aeneas – but both deities are prominently depicted in the artwork of Aeneas' armament, in the dramatic presentation of the Battle of Actium on the shield.[55] Neptune and Minerva are opposed to the gods of Cleopatra's Egypt; Venus is with them: 8,699–700 *contra Neptunum et Venerem contraque Minervam* / *tela tenent* (where the subject is Anubis and the other strange gods of the East).[56] Here we see Minerva once again in her capacity as war goddess, and once again engaged in a struggle that can be characterized as one of western *versus* eastern powers. It is significant that Aeneas is

[54] Cf. 2,615–616.

[55] For the possible modeling of the shield of Aeneas on a Palladian work of the visual arts, see R. Cohon, "Vergil and Phidias: The Shield of Aeneas and of Athena Parthenos", *Vergilius* 37 (1991) 22–30.

[56] For the association of this imagery with the lore of the gigantomachy and the fight to establish the Olympian order, see P. Hardie, *Virgil's Aeneid: Cosmos and Imperium*, Oxford 1986, 98–99.

not aware of the meaning or import of the pictures on the shield;[57] in Dido's temple at Carthage the Trojan hero had taken comfort and solace in the images on display there, though in fact the pictures were illustrations of some of the worst moments in the history of his doomed city. Actium would be the decisive engagement between the forces of the new Caesar and those of Antony and his Egyptian lover Cleopatra; in the immediate context of the *Aeneid*, a more immediate war was pressing on Aeneas.[58]

The appearances of the goddess in Book 8, then, combine the two spheres of her influence; Vulcan crafted the shield at the hour when women see to the works of the loom, and Minerva fought the animal gods of Egypt on the divine shield. The doomed Camilla represents an incomplete Minerva, a girl who will not have a place, as it were, in the domestic sphere of the future Rome; the goddess herself, in contrast, is complete and integral, a defender of the sanctity of both home and country. The goddess who fought for the Greeks against their Trojan adversaries will now defend Rome from the threat of her Eastern enemy.

The Latins eventually send emissaries to Diomedes in southern Italy in the hope that the great Greek warrior and Trojan foe might return from retirement to fight once again against his erstwhile enemy. The mission is unsuccessful; simply stated, Diomedes has had more than enough experience of the negative consequences of fighting Trojans. In the speech he gave to his Latin guests that is reported to Latinus and his court, reference is made to the travails of the Greeks in the matter of the returns from Troy – and, in particular, to the "baleful star of Minerva", the *triste Minervae* / *sidus* (11,259–260).[59] The exact meaning of the *sidus Minervae* has been the source of scholarly debate;[60] it may refer to

[57] Hence 8,729–731 *talia per clipeum Volcani, dona parentis*, / *miratur rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet* / *attollens umero famamque et fata nepotum* (the closing verses of the book), where Virgil recalls both the vision of heroes in Elysium *and* the notion of the "gifts" or *dona* of an immortal.

[58] For reflections on the shield and its contemporary resonance, note A. McKay, "*Non enarrabile textum*? The Shield of Aeneas and the Triple Triumph of 29 B.C. (*Aen*. 8,630–728)", in H.-P. Stahl (ed.), *Vergil's Aeneid: Augustan Epic and Political Context*, Swansea 2009, 209–211. If Venus is associated in the epic with irrational passion and frenzy, Minerva (like Diana) stands in marked contrast; the passions of Juno are reconciled in the final settlement of Book 12.

[59] Cf. here M. Alessio, *Studies in Vergil, Aeneid Eleven: An Allegorical Approach*, Laval, Québec 1993, 87–89, with commentary on Diomedes' enumeration and recollection of the woes that befell the Greeks.

[60] See especially Horsfall (above n. 28) *ad loc*.; also L. Fratantuono, *A Commentary on Virgil,*

the constellation Aries and provide a temporal marker for the Greek departure from Troy, with not mutually exclusive indication of the storm and unseasonable weather stirred up by the angry goddess. The baleful, grim star of Minerva oversees the terrible labor of the returns; for the Trojans, Minervan peril awaits in the cavalry drama of *Aeneid* 11.

But in the Minervan narrative of the epic, the most significant allusion is to the specific cause of the anger of the goddess – the violation of Cassandra in the goddess' own temple. We return here yet again to the wrath of Pallas Athena that was so prominently featured near the start of the epic; we return to the question of the abuse of the prophetic Cassandra and the vengeance taken on her behalf by the goddess of wisdom and warfare. And if Camilla is the mortal incarnation of Minerva, then Diomedes will have no part in a war that prominently features the Minervan heroine. Diomedes will have no part in any possible sacrilege or desecration that arises from the last movements of the war in Latium. The *sidus Minervae* had punished the Greeks on account of the violation of Cassandra; Diomedes will play no role in the combat that will see the violation of the Minervan Camilla.

Diomedes was of course involved in the theft of the Palladium; henceforth he will not stain his hands with any further action against the Trojans – he is content with his more or less fortunate escape from harm. The Latin war resumes soon enough after a truce for the burials of the dead on both sides; the Latin queen Amata and her daughter Lavinia are soon enough in the same position as that of the women of Troy – they are supplicants at the shrine of Pallas (11,477 ff.). The final named appearance of the goddess comes as the *Latinae* make their way to the citadel of Pallas (11,477 … *ad templum summasque ad Palladis arces*); there they invoke the Tritonian virgin, and ask her to destroy the Phrygian brigand Aeneas (11,483–485 *armipotens, praeses belli, Tritonia virgo*, / *frange manu telum Phrygii praedonis, et ipsum* / *pronum sterne solo portisque effunde sub altis*). What had been glimpsed in picture is now reality; new women assemble to supplicate a goddess powerful in war. And there is, too, a decidedly racial and ethnic element to the prayer; Aeneas is depicted as if he were a new Phrygian Paris, a new abductor of a young woman from hearth and home. The whole matter would understandably enough be of great significance to Minerva; the loss that she and Juno suffered in the Judgment of Paris is

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Aeneid XI, Bruxelles 2009.

exactly what led to the abduction of Helen – and a similar situation might well seem to be unfolding now in the case of Latium and Lavinia. The substance of the prayer of the Latin women is exactly what might be expected to impress the virgin goddess.

This time, however, there is no description of the response of the goddess – though soon thereafter if not at once (11,498 ff.), the Volscian Camilla makes her return to the epic at last – she is nothing less than the response of the goddess to the prayers of her supplicants.[61] Like Minerva, Camilla has equestrian associations; she will manage the cavalry battle that will be waged before the walls of Latinus' city. As in the Palladian instance of the Wooden Horse, trickery and deceit are also afoot; while Camilla oversees the equestrian combat, Turnus will prepare an ambush for Aeneas – who is himself planning to launch a surprise attack on the Latin capital. Lastly, Camilla will be killed *ex insidiis* by the Etruscan Arruns, who will in turn be slain by Diana's nymph Opis – vengeance for the death of the Volscian, and something of a parallel to the divine retribution on the Lesser Ajax for the violation of Cassandra.[62] There is no direct, explicit reference to Camilla as the answer to Minerva's prayer; the goddess makes no recorded reply to the Latin women, but neither is it said that her face was averted to their prayer. And in the end, Camilla will be stopped only after the direct interventions of both Jupiter and Apollo.

Part of the point here is that Minerva is a staunch ally of the Romans (as referenced by her prominent place on the shield of Aeneas), and in an important sense Camilla and the other native Italian warriors are fighting for that Roman future. The goddess is thus not explicitly associated with the Trojan cause; at

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[61] Cf. too the descriptions of the women of Latinus' capital at 11,45–476 and 11,891–895.

[62] Cf. Diana's words to Opis at 11,591–592 *hac, quicumque sacrum violarit vulnere corpus, / Tros Italusque, mihi pariter det sanguine poenas*, where the nymph is urged to take vengeance for Camilla's death on anyone, Trojan or Italian, who violated her sacred body; Camilla and Cassandra are associated by shared first and last letters of names (a favorite Virgilian practice to draw connections between characters), and in the equal opportunity call for vengeance we may be reminded of how Athena – usually a defender of the Greeks – was more than willing to kill the Locrian Ajax for his assault on Cassandra. Ajax and Arruns are rare instances of direct divine murder in the *Aeneid*; certainly gods assist in the death of individual characters (cf. Apollo with Camilla and Numanus Remulus, even Sleep's tossing Palinurus overboard) – but actual killing is reserved for Ajax and Arruns, the violators of Cassandra and Camilla. Laocoön is a close instance of the same, though technically the Palladian snakes kill his sons and him. On the guilt of Arruns cf. G. Williams, *Technique and Ideas in the Aeneid*, New Haven, Connecticut 1983, 175–177.

best her depiction is neutral, though the Camillan parallel draws her more to the side of Turnus' Italian army than Aeneas' Trojan.[63] Vulcan's Cyclopes had put aside work on Minerva's Gorgon aegis when they commenced work on a shield that would feature the goddess at war for the future Augustan Rome; we see in this detail an element of the complex movement from one city to another, especially where the doomed Troy will give rise to a Rome that is not Trojan but Italian. The shield will take priority over the Gorgon emblem that figured in the ruin of Troy – but the illustration of Actium on the shield represents the triumph of Italy and not Troy, indeed of another conquest of the East. Significantly, too, Aeneas will have no place in the struggle against Camilla; there will be no episode of Aeneas in combat against the virgin heroine.

In Book 7, the Palladian olive of the peaceful Trojan embassy to the Latins led to nothing less than the appearance of Camilla in the catalogue of war heroes; in Book 11, the supplication of the goddess by the women of Latium leads to the epiphany of the heroine in battle. Books 7 and 11 are linked by Camilla sequences; in both books the goddess Pallas/Minerva appears in a context of prayer and supplication before the virtual human incarnation of the goddess makes her entrance. In equine sequence we move from the Wooden Horse that spelled doom for Troy, to the portent of the warhorses at *Castrum Minervae* that portended the outbreak of war in Italy; to the cavalry battle of Book 11 that was do disastrous for Troy – until, that is, the cooperative efforts of Jupiter and Apollo saved the day for Aeneas and his Trojans.

Virgil's Camilla has affinities, too, with the poet's Arcadian Pallas, the son of Evander; the parallel between the two doomed, tragic youths is strengthened by the name of the one and the association of the other with the (nearly, at least) homonymous goddess.[64] The onomastic connection between goddess and Arcadian hero serves to underscore the linkage of the goddess to the topography of the future Rome and such locales as Pallanteum and the Palatine; Pallas was the name of one of Evander's ancestors, a shadowy figure of mytho-history who gave his name to the settlement his descendant founded in central Italy. Camilla

[63] Cf. too the omen of the horses at *Castrum Minervae*, which both looks back to the baleful role of the horse in the fall of Troy, and forward to the deadly cavalry battle in which the Trojans will be saved from rout only by the assistance and intervention of both Jupiter and Apollo.

[64] Not withstanding declensions, accent and vowel quantities (cf. *Pallas*, *Pallantis*; *Pallas*, *Palladis*/*os*, etc.; accent on penult *versus* ultima).

is the closest mortal figure in Virgil's epic to the goddess Minerva, and it is fitting that she should be associated by name with the mortal hero with whom she shares numerous linkages.[65] By the end of the poem, Aeneas will in a sense be fighting for Pallas, and Turnus for Camilla; both men will have suffered the tragic loss of youthful heroes.

The supplication of the goddess by the women of Latinus' capital constitutes the final direct reference to the goddess in the epic; we must note, however, that the speculation has been raised that Pallas Athena is also relevant to the scene of the Jovian owl-like Dira[66] that is sent both to frighten Turnus and to warn off Juturna from further aid to her brother in *Aeneid* 12 (843 ff.).[67] One wonders, too, whether or not an ancient audience thought of the goddess in the powerful anaphoric address of Aeneas to Turnus at the very end of the epic, … *Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas / immolat et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit* – the final words of the Trojan hero to his Rutulian foe.[68] In neither passage do we find an incontrovertible reference to the goddess Pallas/Minerva; one is left, however, with the fact that aforementioned declensional, metrical considerations aside, she is in some sense the last goddess mentioned in the epic – and there may well be something of a ringing back to the early reference in the epic to how Pallas Athena was able to exercise her wrath against the Lesser Ajax.

Different readers of the epic will have diverse reactions to the significance of the goddess Pallas to the final movements of the epic.[69] Some reflections can be offered, however, in pursuit of a Palladian reading of Virgil's poem. Certainly the goddess is no ally of the Trojans – indeed, she is actively complicit in the ruin of Troy, and Book 2 – the book of the fall of Priam's city – is where

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[65] Book 11 is in fact framed by Pallas and Camilla; the second book of the poem featured the goddess in frequent references both to the Palladium and the goddess; the second to the last focuses on her quasi-namesake and her mortal avatar.

[66] For the *Dira* as the *Dei Ira*, see M. C. J. Putnam, *The Humanness of Heroes: Studies in the Conclusion of Virgil's Aeneid*, Amsterdam 2011, 152 n. 160 (with reference to the bibliography).

[67] Cf. here S. Spence, "The Polyvalence of Pallas in the *Aeneid*", *Arethusa* 32.2 (1999) 149–163; Panoussi, *op. cit.*, 109–112 (with reference to how Juno appropriates the function of Pallas to herself).

[68] Note here the sober observations of R. J. Tarrant, *Virgil, Aeneid XII*, Cambridge 2012.

[69] *Inter alia*, on the possible connection of the Fury imagery of the Dira to the concept of the *Erinys Pallantis*, see C. Renger, *Aeneas und Turnus: Analyse einer Feindschaft*, Frankurt am Main 1985, 96–100.

we find the most references to her work. She is a battle goddess of enormous power and capacity for violence; she is credited directly with the death of Ajax and implicitly associated with the grisly end of Laocoön and his sons.[70]

She is also explicitly associated with the Volscian Camilla, a figure who emerges as nothing less than Turnus' Pallas.[71] Pallas dies as a proxy for Aeneas; Camilla dies in a similar way for Turnus, though her Rutulian commander is himself doomed to join her soon enough in death.[72]

But beyond this basic, Homeric style Patroclan association of tragic youth, there is the drama of the second to the last book of the epic *versus* that of the second. In Book 2, a city was destroyed in part through the efforts of Pallas Athena; in Book 11 – which opens with the requiem for the Arcadian Pallas – Latinus' city is protected by the Minervan Camilla. Trickery and deceit abound in both books; in the one case, an equine ruse ruins a city, while in the other, an equine feint is used by the Trojans to conceal the plan of Aeneas to launch an attack on the Latin capital – an attack that fails, though Turnus' aggrieved reaction to Camilla's death prevents him from capitalizing on his reconnaissance intelligence and plan to ensnare Aeneas in an ambush. In short, Camilla inadvertently saves Aeneas by proving to be the emotional source of Turnus' inability to maintain his battle plan; at the very least, her death and the report thereof drives him to abandon his ambush and race to the defense of the capital.[73] Aeneas has no apparent knowledge of what Turnus planned or of why the plans have changed; he will also have no idea that the destined new home of the Trojans will in fact *not* be Trojan in many crucial elements.

But Turnus is doomed, and the Dira of Book 12 is a powerful reminder of his ultimate fate; Camilla becomes an unwitting instrument of that end.[74] She

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[70] In contrast, for all her violence Juno is not depicted in nearly so direct a set of violent acts.

[71] Indeed, the shared death line of the two that closes the epic ends the poem on a profoundly Camillan and thus arguably Palladian note.

[72] The direct mortal slayings perpetrated by immortals in the epic come in arguably Minervan contexts; the Lesser Ajax was slain by the goddess, and Arruns was killed by Opis after his assault on a Minervan figure.

[73] The final outcome is the same in any case; Turnus fails to entrap Aeneas, but Aeneas' own plans for the conquest of the city are also foiled. The penultimate book of Virgil's poem does not offer another narrative of a successful sack of a city akin to the fall of Troy; Latinus' city (a prefigurement of Rome) will not be sacked.

[74] And savagery is at the heart of the matter; cf. 11,896; 901; 910 (where first we learn that the

must be destroyed as part of the coming of a new order, it would seem – and her death plays a key role in the ruin of Turnus.[75] In a very real sense the fact that the future Rome will be Italian and not Trojan[76] renders the continued existence (and resistance) of Turnus and Camilla rather otiose; their side has won a great victory, though neither they nor Aeneas is aware of the significant events that have occurred on the divine plane. Both Turnus and Camilla are possessed of serious flaws and have no place, as it were, in the future Rome – except as the sort of protomartyric hero that might be lauded by a Dante. The apparent necessity of their deaths, however, does not negate the fact that they fight for what emerges as the winning cause. The ultimate suppression of Trojan *mores* holds true regardless of how the ending of the epic is interpreted; the problem posed by the death of Turnus does not change the key fact of the future Roman identity.

Indeed, if Rome will be Latin/Italian and not Trojan in *sermo* and *mores*, then Aeneas' killing of Turnus is arguably an act of civil war;[77] Aeneas, of course, is Trojan and Trojan customs will be suppressed (12,836–836 … *commixti corpore tantum / subsident Teucri*).[78] Aeneas – overcome with anger and

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announcement of the death of Camilla was *saevissimus*, and then that nothing less than the "savage" power of Jupiter demanded the abandonment of the ambush, and that then "savage" Aeneas appeared on the scene.

[75] Cf. too the tradition of Athena’s killing of her playmate Pallas.

[76] Cf. 12,832–842, in the colloquy of Jupiter and Juno regarding the *sermo* and *mores* of the future Rome. At 840 *nec gens ulla tuos aeque celebrabit honores* Jupiter announces how Rome will have nothing less than a special, peculiar relationship of reverence for the goddess. The language is careful; it can be parsed closely to indicate that the Romans will venerate Juno more than any other nation, not so much that Juno will be the greatest of Roman gods (cf. here Tarrant’s note *ad loc.*). Ultimately, the Capitoline Triad of Juno, Jupiter, and Minerva occupies the greatest place in the Roman pantheon (with Jupiter Optimus Maximus above all); all three immortals thus take their rightful place in the theology of the *Aeneid*.

[77] The matter is of course complicated by the political divisions in Italy that are depicted by Virgil; on the whole matter see especially R. Pogorzelski, "The ‘Reassurance of Fratricide’ in the *Aeneid*", *AJPh* 130.2 (2009) 261–289. Aeneas and Turnus are part of the same future, and that future might well have more in common with Turnus’ Italy than Aeneas’ Troy.

[78] Parallelism between Pallas’ slaying of Ajax and Aeneas’ of Turnus is difficult to define precisely; Turnus killed the Arcadian Pallas, and so in a sense his action can be taken as being parallel to Ajax’s violation of Cassandra – but in fact Turnus is also associated with his ally Camilla, who has strong Palladian, Minervan affinities. Virgil throughout carefully seeks to navigate the problematic, sometimes conflicting nature of the Troiano-Roman future: Aeneas will be victorious in one sense,

rage in the matter of the death of the Arcadian Pallas – slays Turnus and invokes his young Greek ally as the agent of justifiable homicidal rage, the executor of right revenge and merited punishment.[79] Aeneas is unaware of the totality of the situation in Latium; both he and his divine mother (like their mortal foes) are left uninformed of the terms of the reconciliation of Juno with Jupiter and destiny. It is no surprise, then, that Aeneas invokes "Pallas" as the one responsible for the sacrifice (*immolat*) of the hero whose death will be marked by the same death line as that which described the end of the mortal incarnation of the goddess.[80] Aeneas had reverenced Minerva first among the immortals on arrival in Italy (in disregard of Helenus' advice to prejudice the worship of Juno); at the end of the poem, the Trojan hero would inadvertently call to mind the goddess who had already effectively played her role in the doom of the Rutulian whose cause, in the end, would prove victorious all the same.[81]

Regardless of whether or not we see implicit references to the goddess Pallas Athena/Minerva in the last book of the epic, we may observe from her direct, named appearances and references how the poet effectively transforms the goddess who was inveterately opposed to the Trojans into a patroness of Rome, indeed a divinity who works both for the Roman, Italian future as she functions as a key element in the defense of Aeneas from harm. Camilla was an imperfect Minerva who was not a master of the domestic arts of the goddess. Her prowess and achievements in battle, however, were unparalleled – and the prayer of the

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after all, and a failure in another.

[79] Cf. further here P. Schenk, *Die Gestalt des Turnus in Vergils Aeneis*, Königstein 1984, 356 ff. (with consideration of the arrangement of events in Book 10 with respect to Pallas' death and the council of the gods, and larger considerations of the narrative structure and thematic economy of the epic).

[80] Camilla's slayer Arruns is killed, just as Ajax Oileus was slain for his violation of Cassandra; Camilla – incomplete Minerva as she is – meets her own end, despite the signal favor shown to her in death by Diana and Opis. There are shades of the gigantomachy, too, in Aeneas' ascription of Turnus' death to "Pallas" – though the name could refer ambiguously both to goddess and giant (a good reminder of the shifting images and associations of the characters in the poem in light of the final disposition of affairs in Latium) – indeed, Turnus' killing of Pallas can remind one of the action of the giant-vanquishing goddess.

[81] The death of Camilla was the catalyst for Turnus' loss of his best opportunity to win the Latin war at one stroke; without being aware of the background and ramifications of the drama of the close of *Aeneid* 11, Aeneas blames "Pallas" for his killing of Turnus – an invocation and ascription of responsibility that is richly allusive on more than one level.

Latin women to the goddess of wisdom and battle would be answered in ways neither they nor their Trojan enemies could begin to imagine.

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BURIED UNDER? RE-EXAMINING THE TOPOGRAPHY AND GEOLOGY OF THE ALLIA BATTLEFIELD

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Introduction

The territory of the Roman Empire abounds with battlefields – about twenty of them are documented in literary sources from the fifth and fourth centuries BC alone. However, they have not received much attention from archaeologists, partly because of problems pertaining to their exact identification and the lack of actual material evidence.[1] The two notable exceptions to this rule are the archaeological studies of the battle site of Lake Trasimene and the extensive battle site of Teutoburg.[2] The battlefield of Allia near Rome (Fig. 1), on the other hand, falls into line with the majority of Roman battlefields, as it has not attracted much attention from archaeologists. A clash between Romans and Gauls (or Celts) at this site ended in victory for the latter, resulting in the capture and sack of Rome around 390 BC or later in the 380s, depending on how the literary sources are interpreted. Although the battle is frequently mentioned in

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[1] J. Coulston, "The archaeology of Roman conflict", in P. Freeman and A. Pollard (eds.), *Fields of Conflict: Progress and Prospect in Battlefield Archaeology*, Oxford 2001, 26.

[2] G. Susini, *Ricerche sulla Battaglia del Trasimeno*, Cortona 1960. Concerning the battle of Teutoburg, see Strabo 7,1,3 and concerning studies conducted at the site, see A. Rost, "Characteristics of ancient battlefields: Battle of Varus (9 AD)", in D. Scott, L. Babits and C. Haecker (eds.), *Fields of Conflict. Battlefield Archaeology from the Roman Empire to the Korean War*, Washington (D.C.) 2009, 50–57; S. Wilbers-Rost, "Total Roman defeat at the Battle of Varus (9 AD)", in D. Scott, L. Babits and C. Haecker (eds.), *Fields of Conflict. Battlefield Archaeology from the Roman Empire to the Korean War*, Washington (D.C.) 2009, 121–132.

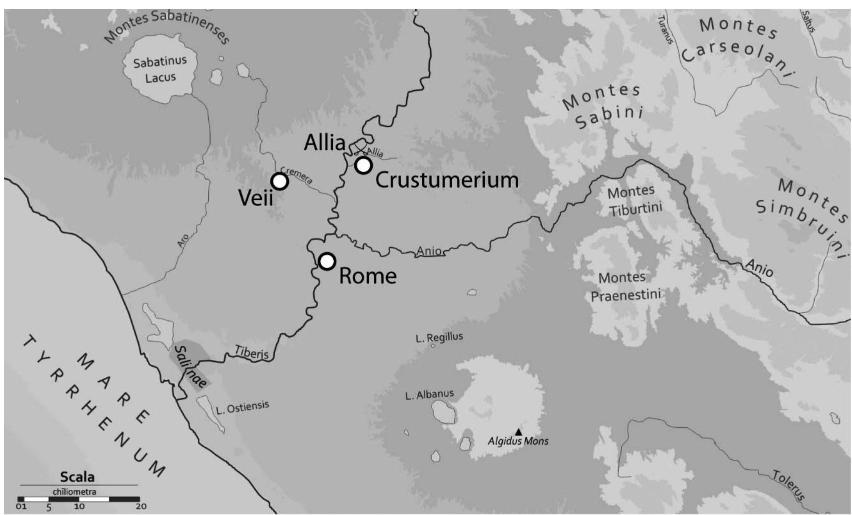

Fig. 1. Map of Central Italy with the sites mentioned in the text. Base map source: Wikimedia Commons, license CC-BY-SA-3.0 (Author: Cassius Ahenobarbus).

studies regarding Republican Rome,[3] it is often discussed only by referring to the accounts of the three main authors describing the incident, namely Livy,[4] Diodorus Siculus,[5] and Plutarch.[6] While these accounts are detailed, they were written several centuries after the battle and are therefore likely to incorporate legends and myths in addition to genuine tradition. Notable historical research concerning the battle was conducted in the late 19th and early 20th centuries,[7]

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[3] E.g. E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, Stuttgart – Berlin 1902; L. Hartmann, "Die äußere Geschichte Roms bis zur Einigung Italiens", in L. Hartmann and J. Kromayer (eds.), *Römische Geschichte*, Gotha 1921, 41–55; L. Pareti, *Storia di Roma*, Torino 1952; H. Scullard, *A History of the Roman World 753 to 146 BC*, London 1969.

[4] Liv. 5,37,1–5,38,10.

[5] Diod. Sic. 14,114,1–14,115,2.

[6] Plut. *Cam.* 18,4–7.

[7] T. Mommsen, *Hermes* 13 (1878) 515–555; C. Hülsen and P. Lindner, *Die Alliaschlacht. Eine topographische Studie*, Rom 1890; O. Richter, *Beiträge zur römischen Topographie*, Berlin 1903; G. De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani 2*, Milano 1907; E. Kornemann, *Klio* 11 (1911) 335–342; J. Kromayer, *Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft* 34 (1916) 28–59; J. Kromayer and O. Veith, *Schlachten-Atlas zur antiken Kriegsgeschichte*, Leipzig 1922; F. Schachermeyr, *Klio* 23 (1930)

but recently the battle has received little attention from scholars. One exception is the monograph by Lorenzo Quilici and Stefania Quilici Gigli, which focuses on the survey results of the ancient settlement of *Crustumerium*.[8] A significant section of this monograph is devoted to the identification of the Allia battlefield via topographical means. Beyond this, the discussion of the battle itself largely follows the accounts of the ancient authors. However, as Quilici and Quilici Gigli ponder the exact location of the Allia battlefield, they make interesting passing references to the possibility that the course of the Tiber River could have changed with the centuries.[9] Unfortunately, they do not develop this argument much further.

For this reason, the main aim of this paper is to provide an answer to this very question: might the course of the Tiber have changed during the past 2400 years, and if so, how much? Depending on the answer, the accountability of the ancient authors writing about the Battle of Allia might also be re-evaluated. To reach this point, various sources of information regarding the topography, geology, and hydrogeology of the presumed location of the Allia battlefield must be scrutinized. This material includes historical and geological maps and aerial photographs, as well as the extensive literature pertaining to the geology and geography of the region. It will be shown that the course of the Tiber has always been and continues to be in constant change and that these changes very likely explain the mutually contradictory statements made by the ancient authors. In addition, it will be claimed that especially the horizontal topography in the area has been transformed to such an extent that the exact location of the battlefield cannot be reliably pinpointed without new archaeological data. To reach such a conclusion, it is essential to first provide a short outline of this clash between the Romans and the Gauls and its location as reported in literary sources. In addition, it is also essential to review how the question of the location of the battlefield has been dealt with in previous research. Only then can we focus on details regarding the topography and geology of the area.

The present paper can be said to represent battlefield archaeology, a recognized subfield and an integral part of conflict archaeology, which has gained

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277–305.

[8] L. Quilici and S. Quilici Gigli, *Crustumerium*, Roma 1980, 39–44, 162–168, 291–294, 298, see also pl. 105.

[9] L. Quilici and S. Quilici Gigli (above n. 8), 161, 168, 292.

prominence only in the last two decades or so.[10] As the name itself suggests, this subfield focuses on the identification and study of battlefields and battles via archaeological means. The correct identification of a battlefield is an integral part of this process, which relies heavily on historical documentation, thus placing the subfield within the scope of historical archaeology. As battlefield archaeology is concerned with the actual site of the battle, its reliance on historical evidence is understandable. While the existence of prehistoric battles and warfare is hardly doubted and direct evidence of such events is available in the form of skeletal and other material evidence, it would be very hard to identify a battlefield without historical evidence pointing in the right direction.

When a prospective site for a battlefield has been identified, archaeological fieldwork methods may be applied to determine whether the identification is correct. For example, electromagnetic conductivity surveys can be used to detect subsurface anomalies, metal detection surveys to detect metal artefacts pertaining to the battle, and GIS methods to study topography and/or visualize and study the results of fieldwork surveys.[11] In some cases, often when the site has been identified reliably, it may also be prudent to conduct archaeological excavations.[12] However, archaeological fieldwork is relevant only when the rough identification based on historical sources has already produced a viable candidate, or at most a few candidates, for the site of the battle. As this paper in part demonstrates, this is often not an easy task.

Arguably, the task of identifying a battle site correctly becomes more and more challenging as time passes since the event itself. Furthermore, during the centuries – perhaps even millennia, like in the present case – several post-depositional factors may have destroyed, removed, and/or altered the evidence on site, making the archaeological verification of a battlefield difficult, if not impossible.[13] These problems are compounded if the battle was fought in an en-

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[10] See e.g. T. Pollard and I. Banks (eds.), *Past Tense. Studies in the Archaeology of Conflict*, Leiden 2006; D. Scott, L. Babits and C. Haecker (eds.), *Fields of Conflict. Battlefield Archaeology from the Roman Empire to the Korean War*, Washington (D.C.) 2009.

[11] G. M. Pratt, "How do you know it's a battlefield?", in D. Scott, L. Babits and C. Haecker (eds.), *Fields of Conflict. Battlefield Archaeology from the Roman Empire to the Korean War*, Washington (D.C.) 2009, 6–9.

[12] A. Rost (above n. 2); S. Wilbers-Rost (above n. 2).

[13] See J. Coulston (above n. 1).

vironment that is topographically unstable in some way, as landmarks that may once have marked the site of the battle might not exist today or their positions might have shifted. As demonstrated below, the Battle of Allia is an exemplary case of such an event.

The Battle and Battlefield of Allia

At the time of the Battle of Allia, the Romans fought in a Greek-style hoplite phalanx consisting of heavily armed infantrymen.[14] The phalanx required level ground for the battle, as it was impossible to maintain the tight formation on uneven ground.[15] The topography of the presumed Allia battlefield therefore seems to match the features common to sites of hoplite engagements rather well.[16] The battlefield is a level plain naturally enclosed by topographical features and observable from a nearby settlement (Crustumerium), and a road (Via Salaria)[17] – a common feature for a site of hoplite engagement[18]– led directly to the site.

It is also worth noting that this is the area where the Tiber river valley narrows down from 3 km to 1.5 km within a stretch of only five kilometres downstream. This feature probably influenced the selection of the battle site, as the Roman army – composed of 24,000–40,000 men, according to the an-

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[14] E.g. G. Webster, *The Roman Imperial Army of the First and Second Centuries A.D.*, London 1969, 19; T. J. Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome. Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars (c. 1000–264 BC)*, Guildford and King's Lynn 1995, 184; E. Jarva, *Archaiologia on Archaic Greek Body Armour,* Rovaniemi 1995, 125; J. Lendon, *Soldiers & Ghosts. A History of Battle in Classical Antiquity,* New York 2005, 182.

[15] V. Hanson, *The Western Way of War. Infantry Battle in Classical Greece*, Suffolk 1989, 138; J. Lazenby, "The killing zone", in V. Hanson (ed.), *Hoplites. The Classical Greek Battle Experience*, Chatham 1991, 99; J. Ober, "Hoplites and obstacles", in V. Hanson (ed.), *Hoplites. The Classical Greek Battle Experience*, Chatham 1991, 173.

[16] J. Carman and P. Carman, *Bloody Meadows. Investigating Landscapes of Battle*, Sparkford 2006, 41–42.

[17] On Via Salaria, see S. Quilici Gigli, *La via Salaria da Roma a Passo Corese,* Roma 1977; T. J. Cornell (above n.14), 48, F. di Gennaro, "Alla ricerca dell'identità di Crustumerium", in P. A. J. Attema, F. di Gennaro and E. Jarva, *Crustumerium. Ricerche internazionali in un centro latino. Archaeology and Identity of a Latin Settlement near Rome*, Groningen 2013, 14 and figs. 20–23.

[18] J. Ober (above n. 15), 174–175.

cient authors[19] – had to fit into the local topography in an optimal manner to act efficiently as a unit. If the phalanx formation broke, a hoplite was severely hampered in hand-to-hand combat by the cumbersome load of his armour,[20] whereas a Gaulish warrior was an individual fighter and therefore had the edge in a man-to-man fight. The armour is also the reason why a road was required for travelling to the battlefield, as hoplites were reluctant to arm themselves until the very last moment due to the discomfort of the hoplite panoply.[21]

By combining the information offered by Livy, Diodorus Siculus, and Plutarch, the progress of the battle can be outlined as follows (see also Fig. 2). After having learned of the rapid approach of the Gauls, the Romans levied their army *en masse*[22] and marched north along the Tiber, where they either made camp near the Allia stream, a tributary of the Tiber,[23] or stumbled upon the Gauls and hastily arranged their battle lines.[24] According to Livy, the Romans deployed their troops so that the battle line extended from the Tiber to the hills where the right wing, consisting of reserves, was placed.[25] As the battle began, the Romans were quickly routed and, according to Livy and Plutarch, the left wing on the plain fled first,[26] whereas Diodorus maintains that the troops stationed on the hills collapsed first.[27] Livy then tells how the reserves, stationed on the right wing, made their way to Rome, whereas those on the plain fled to Veii, crossing the Tiber.[28] Plutarch, on the other hand, maintains that the whole Roman battle line was stationed on the plain, and when the Gauls attacked the right wing, the Romans withdrew to the hills, from where they made their way to Rome.[29]

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[19] Diod. Sic. 14,114,1–14,114,3; Plut. *Cam*. 18,4.

[20] Plut. *Flam*. 8,3–4; V. Hanson (above n. 15), 78, 136–137.

[21] V. Hanson (above n. 15), 60–83.

[22] Liv. 5,37,7.

[23] Plut. *Cam* 18,6.

[24] Liv. 5,38,1–3.

[25] Liv. 5,38,2–3.

[26] Liv. 5,38,5–7; Plut. *Cam* 18,6–7.

[27] Diod. Sic. 14,114,4.

[28] Liv. 5,38,8–10; on flying to Veii across the Tiber, see also Plut. *Cam.* 18,7.

[29] Plut. *Cam*. 18,7.

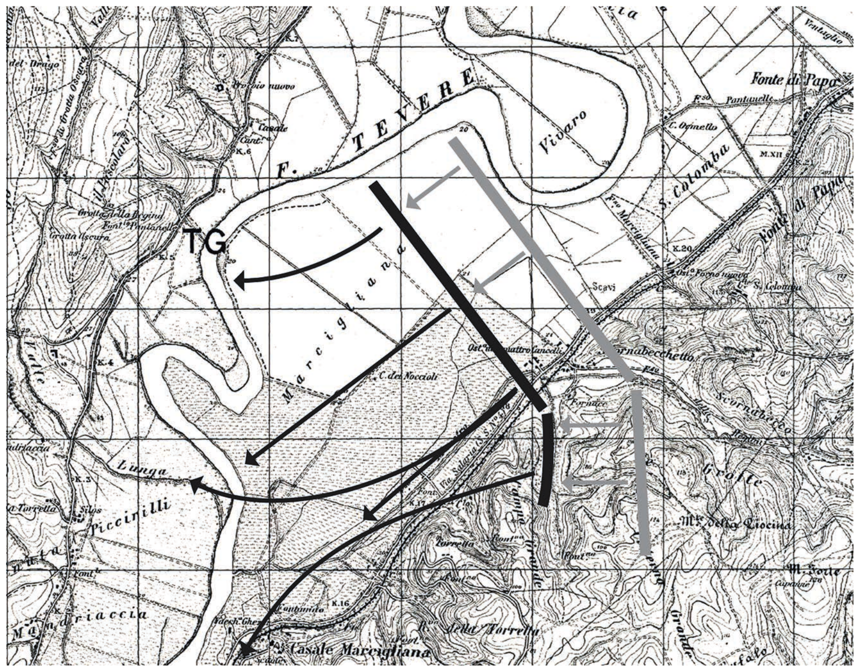

Fig. 2. The topography of the Tiber Valley in the Marcigliana area with the hypothesized location and manoeuvres of Roman (black) and Gaulish (grey) troops. Base map of Istituto Geografico Militare modified after Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1980: tav. CXV by J. Ikäheimo.

Regarding the specific location of the battle, Livy places it on the eastern bank of the Tiber on the eleventh milestone from Rome (between 14.8 and 16.3 km) near the river Allia and by the ancient town of Crustumerium.[30] Plutarch, who does not mention the Allia at all, places the site ninety stades from the city (à 177.6 m, i.e. nearly 16 km),[31] whereas Diodorus[32] says that the Romans crossed the Tiber proceeding eighty stades (about 14.2 km) along the river, obviously on the western bank. These conflicting accounts have puzzled scholars

[30] Liv. 5,37,7–8.

[31] Plut. *Cam.* 18,6; see also Eutr. 1,20.

[32] Diod. Sic. 14,114,2.

in the past, resulting in an argument with one school supporting Diodorus[33] and the other Livy[34]. In more recent research, Diodorus' account is not considered as credible as Livy's.[35] Further disagreement over the location of the battle ensued between Gaetano De Sanctis[36] and Johan Kromayer[37]. De Sanctis placed the battle on the eastern bank, but somewhat more to the south than Kromayer. He argued that the southern position would have been more advantageous for the Romans due to their smaller numbers compared to the Gauls. Kromayer disagreed and maintained that the battle was fought more to the north on a wide plain on the eastern bank of the Tiber.

Quilici and Quilici Gigli support Kromayer's view, since the remains of the ancient town of Crustumerium have been located on the site where De Sanctis placed the Gaulish positions.[38] According to Livy, the town was conquered by the Romans during the consulships of Titus Aebutius and Gaius Vetusius, both in 499 BC.[39] This appears to be confirmed by studies of surface finds from the site of Crustumerium,[40] the number of which shows a drastic decrease in the fourth century BC, a factor interpreted as an indication of the establishment of new farming estates (villas) on the site.[41] Recent excavations in the settlement area of Crustumerium have revealed that a monumental road trench passing through the site, part of a road tract between southern Etruria, Latium, and Campania,[42] was kept in a good state of repair until the middle Republican

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[33] T. Mommsen (above n. 7); C. Hülsen and P. Lindner (above n. 7); E Meyer (above n. 3); K. Beloch, *Römische Geschichte*, Berlin 1926, 311.

[34] O. Richter (above n. 7); G. De Sanctis (above n. 7); E. Kornemann (above n. 7); J. Kromayer (above n. 7); R. Laqueur, *Philologische Wochenschrift* 41 (1921) 861–864; J. Kromayer and O. Veith (above n. 7); F. Schachermeyr (above n. 8); L. Pareti (above n. 3).

[35] L. Quilici and S. Quilici Gigli (above n. 8), 166.

[36] G. De Sanctis (above n. 7).

[37] J. Kromayer (above n. 7); J. Kromayer and O. Veith (above n. 7).

[38] L. Quilici and S. Quilici Gigli (above n. 8), 166–168, 293–294.

[39] Liv. 2,19.

[40] A. Amoroso, *ArchClass* 53 (2002) 316–317.

[41] A. Amoroso (above, n. 40), 322; see also L. Quilici and S. Quilici Gigli (above n. 8), 285, pls. 113, 115, 116.

[42] F. di Gennaro, "Primi risultati degli scavi nella necropoli di Crustumerium. Tre complessi funerari della fase IV A", in *Archeologia Laziale* IX, Roma 1988, 113–123; F. di Gennaro "Crustumerium e

period.[43] Accordingly, the site may still have been settled extensively enough to render De Sanctis' interpretation obsolete.

The main tradition refers to the east side of the Tiber around the eleventh mile from the city as the place where the troops met. This leads to the conclusion that the site should be identified as being somewhere on the plain below the hills where the remains of Crustumerium are known to be located. This interpretation is supported by the discovery in 1977 of a Roman milestone near Via Salaria, 17.7 km from Rome, possibly the tenth milestone.[44] Another fixed topographical point rising from the tradition, which obviously goes back to the 4th century BC, as these events were known already to Aristotle,[45] is the Allia river itself. Accordingly, in this paper, we follow Kromayer's view and focus our study on the floodplain of the Tiber between 16 km and 18 km along the Via Salaria north of Rome[46] (Figs. 1–2). This area is henceforth referred to with the closest place name, Marcigliana.

The Tiber – The Ever-Changing River

Introduction

Currently, the Tiber to the west and north and the steep hills to the east form the natural boundaries of the field that is assumed to be the site of the Battle of Allia (Figs. 2–3). A modern highway and railway lines cross the plain from south-west to north-east. The field itself is a level floodplain between the Tiber and the hills flanking it, which have substantially steep slopes that could have

la sua necropolis", in M. A. Tomei, ed. *Roma. Memorie dal sottosuolo. Ritrovamenti archeologici 1980/2006*, Verona 2006, 22–23.

[43] E. Jarva, A. Kuusisto, S. Lipponen and J. Tuppi, "Excavation in the road trench area of Crustumerium and research prospects in the future", in P. A. J. Attema, F. di Gennaro and E. Jarva (eds.), *Crustumerium. Ricerche internazionali in un centro latino. Archaeology and Identity of a Latin Settlement near Rome*, Groningen 2013, 35–44.

[44] L. Quilici and S. Quilici Gigli (above, n. 8), 179; F. M. Cifarelli and F. di Gennaro "La via Salaria dall'Aniene all'Allia", in E. Catani and E. Paci (eds.), *La Salaria in età antica. Atti del convegno di studi, Ascoli Piceno – Offida – Rieti, 2.–4 ottobre 1997*, Roma 2000, 121–144.

[45] Plut. *Cam*. 22,3.

[46] See L. Quilici and S. Quilici Gigli (above n. 8), 39–44, 162–168.

been heavily wooded in antiquity. However, current topography is not likely to correspond fully with the conditions that prevailed at the time of the battle.

As hinted in the introduction, the factor overlooked by both ancient authors and most modern scholars[47] is the nature of the Tiber floodplain as a dynamic geological environment. Thus, the aim of this chapter is to outline the geological history and especially the palaeohydrology of the Marcigliana area both before and after ca. 390 BC, the presumed date of the battle. This will be done in order to provide a more accurate picture of the topographical environment in which the Battle of Allia is thought to have taken place.

In the bigger picture, the Tiber river valley – particularly its floodplain – is the product of the last glacial age. The regressive stages caused by glacial maximums resulted in a drop of roughly 120 metres[48] in the sea level compared to the present situation. To balance its flow during these stages, the Tiber carved its channel deep down into the underlying volcanic bedrock and Quaternary sediments. The maximum depth of the resulting valley, as evidenced by numerous drill cores in the vicinity of Rome, is approximately 60 metres.[49] During a transgressive stage, on the other hand, the Tiber responded to the continuously reduced vertical distance between the headwaters and outlet by spreading the sediment load suspended in its waters onto the surrounding alluvial plain.[50] This development, which also took place after the last glacial maximum, has changed both the horizontal and vertical position of the Tiber river channel. These changes will be discussed next, one dimension at a time, after which their implications regarding the location and nature of the Allia battlefield will be scrutinized. Ultimately, it will be shown that any attempt to position the Roman and Gaulish troops on the basis of modern topography (e.g. Fig. 2) is flawed at the outset.

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[47] See, however, L. Quilici and S. Quilici Gigli (above n. 8), 161, 168, 292.

[48] E.g. M. P. Campolunghi, G. Capelli, R. Funiciello and M. Lanzini, *Engineering Geology* 89(1–2) (2007) 23.

[49] F. Bozzano, A. Andreucci, M. Gaeta and R. Salucci, *Bulletin of Engineering Geology and the Environment* 59(1) (2000) 10 Fig. 9.

[50] R. Facenna, R. Funiciello and F. Marra, "Inquadramento geologico strutturale dell'area romana", in R. Funiciello (ed.), *La geologia di Roma - Il Centro Storico*, Roma 1995, 47; R. Funiciello and M. Parotto, "General geological features of the Campagna Romana", in G. Cavarretta, P. Gioia, M. Mussi and M. R. Palombo (eds.), *La terra degli Elefanti – The World of Elephants: Atti del 1º congresso internazionale – Proceedings of the 1st International Congress*, Rome 2001, 48–49.

Lateral displacement

Today, the Tiber is a meandering river characterized by constant and occasionally dramatic changes in the location of the river channel within the floodplain. The two main factors contributing to this behaviour are the river's proneness to flooding and the structure of the floodplain's upper strata, which are dominated by layers of substantially fine sediment, mainly mud and clayey or sandy loam/silt.[51] The stratigraphy of the floodplain also includes coarser layers composed of sand and gravel, which can be interpreted as the fossilized remains of a wandering channel bottom. It is therefore quite safe to presume that the horizontal position of the Tiber river channel in the Marcigliana area is not the same today as it was 2400 years ago when the Battle of Allia was fought.[52]

The horizontal change in the course of the Tiber during the Holocene is well documented, not only in Rome, but also along the Tiber's upper course and its delta.[53] One of the best examples in this respect is the valley of Treia, a tributary of the Tiber located in Etruria roughly 30 km north of Rome. The geological evidence regarding Treia undisputedly shows that the position of the river channel can wander from one side of the floodplain to the other in the course of two millennia – although the floodplain in question is only 100 metres wide.[54] The rapidity at which these changes can take place can be observed on a map depicting the course of the Tiber near Deruta, some 120 km north of Rome,[55] where the maximum lateral displacement of the river channel in the 2.5-km-wide floodplain has reached nearly 2 km over the past 600 years. In the city of Rome, a geological section based on 57 boreholes suggests a margin of at least 1.5 km for the lateral displacement,[56] judging from the occurrence of a gravelly river bottom layer in the stratigraphy. A similar gravel layer indicating the bot-

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[51] F. Bozzano, A. Andreucci, M. Gaeta and R. Salucci (above, n. 49), 8, 16; M. P. Campolunghi, G. Capelli, R. Funiciello and M. Lanzini (above n. 48), 29.

[52] Cf. L. Quilici and S. Quilici Gigli (above n. 8), 161.

[53] E.g. C. Pesaresi "Ambiente, Società, Territorio", *Geografia nelle Scuole* 2/2004 (2004) 28–29.

[54] T. Potter, *The Changing Landscape of South Etruria*, London 1979, 24–28 with citations.

[55] A. G. Segre, "Considerazioni sul Tevere e sull'Aniene nel Quaternario", in S. Quilici Gigli (ed.), *Il Tevere e le altre vie d'acqua del Lazio antico*, Roma 1986, 10 Fig. 2.

[56] See F. Bozzano, A. Andreucci, M. Gaeta and R. Salucci (above, n. 49), 10 Fig. 9 lithotype B1.

tom of the river channel has also been observed in the Marcigliana area,[57] where it tops a layer of impermeable marine clay – a combination prone to increase flooding during periods of excessive rainfall. Otherwise, gaining information on the palaeohydrology of the Tiber floodplain in the Marcigliana area through its present pattern of meanders is a rather tough quest.

It is important to note that the Tiber river channel still actively meanders in the area. This is obvious in recent aerial photographs, where a former, sediment-filled meander loop can be detected near the southern end of the presumed battlefield on the basis of a combination of soil- and crop-marks (Fig. 3, A). On the other hand, just two kilometres north-west of the presumed battle site, both the photograph and a digital terrain model based on LiDAR data show a feature

Fig. 3. The Tiber valley today in the Marcigliana area, the presumed location of the Allia battlefield, with a reconstructed old meander loop (A) and a man-made oxbow lake (B). Photo: Microsoft Bing Maps Platform.

[57] R. Funiciello, F. Cifelli and C. Rosa, "I caratteri geologici nell'area romana", in C. Cupitò (ed.), *Il territorio tra la via Salaria, l'Aniene, il Tevere e la via Salaria vetus*, Roma 2007, 35.

Fig. 4. A digital terrain model (DTM) of the Marcigliana area based on LiDAR data (resolution 1 x 1 m). Note the modern gravel/sand extraction pits. Map data: Ministero dell'Ambiente e della Tutela del Territorio e del Mare.

that looks like an oxbow lake set within a larger meander (Fig. 3, B; Fig. 4). Its absence from an aerial photograph taken in 1956[58] identified it as a recent feature, and a visit to the site revealed the feature to be a by-product of gravel and/or sand extraction from a fairly recent palaeochannel of the Tiber. This feature is yet another indication of the meandering nature of the Tiber river channel.

The primary concern here is, of course, what can be deduced about the location of the Tiber river channel in ca. 400 BC. The answer is: not much, until an extensive coring programme that produces a substantial number of dated samples from former riverbeds is carried out on the floodplain. Another poten-

[58] L. Quilici and S. Quilici Gigli (above n. 8), Tav. LX.

tial method would be backtracking the process of meandering with a computer simulation. For such a simulation to be at least moderately reliable, it should take into account, with sufficient accuracy, parameters such as soil, climate, and discharge with reliably modelled seasonal fluctuations. Even if these prerequisites were met, the outcome would still be highly speculative. It is therefore more useful to focus on outlining the general remarks regarding the Tiber floodplain in the Marcigliana area.

Historical Maps: An Alternative View

To get a better sense of the inherent river channel oscillation, which, even in the case of a large river, normally does not stretch over the whole floodplain – some areas can remain untouched for centuries or even for millennia[59] – we must now turn to historical maps depicting the area.

The earliest preserved maps showing the course of the Tiber north of Rome date to the Renaissance. In these maps, the course of rivers is usually depicted in a very sketchy manner. However, the map of Eufrosino della Volpaia from 1547 (Fig. 5) is of particular interest here. While the map is not detailed enough to provide comparative data on the location of the river channel, it confirms the meandering nature of the Tiber in two ways. The first is, of course, the way the river has been depicted *de facto*. Strangely, this provides less information on the topography of the Marcigliana area than another, far more interesting observation. The place name Pantano Ritondo (i.e. Rounded Swamp) is assigned to a rounded feature depicted as a piece of wilderness amidst an otherwise featureless Tiber floodplain. Two similar but somewhat smaller features without place names can be spotted downstream at fairly regular intervals. All three features are located on the eastern bank of the river quite close to the eastern edge of the floodplain. The most likely explanation is that the features seen on the map depict fossilized oxbow lakes. They were first separated from the river channel as the Tiber straightened its course, either rapidly through avulsion during a particularly strong flood or gradually through subsequent cut-offs. Thereafter, they slowly filled up with the sediments of subsequent floods, which gradually turned the former lakes into swamps.

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[59] A. G. Brown, *Alluvial Geoarchaeology*, Cambridge 1997, 23–26.

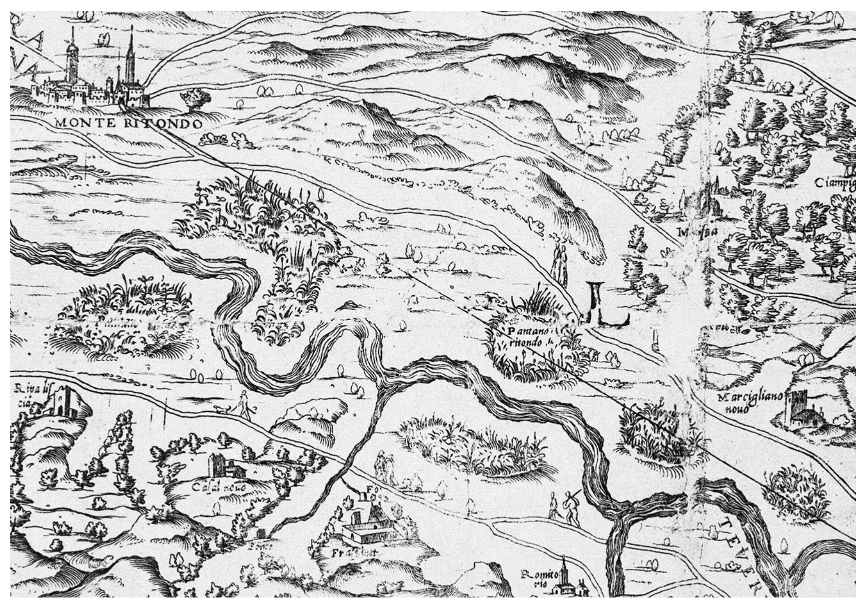

Fig. 5. A detail of the map by Eufrosino della Volpaia (1547) showing the Tiber valley in the Marcigliana area. Map source: Heidelberger historische Bestände – digital (http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/piante_roma_app2/0137).

Another helpful source is the cadastre commissioned by Pope Alexander VII (1599–1667). Some of the map sheets that date to 1660 (e.g. 431/17, Fig. 6) fortunately show the area of the presumed battlefield in considerable detail. Although the way the land survey was carried out certainly influenced the outcome, these maps show that, 350 years ago, the course of the Tiber was fairly similar to the present. The differences are in the small details. For example, the tip of a meandering river channel that is barely visible in modern aerial photographs (see Fig. 3, A) was waterlogged enough to be marked as a quagmire in 1660.

An interesting feature in the cadastre map is the absence of the fossilized oxbow lakes, which, according to our interpretation, are prominent features in della Volpaia's map. It is unthinkable that all three of them could have disappeared during a period only slightly longer than a century. The most likely

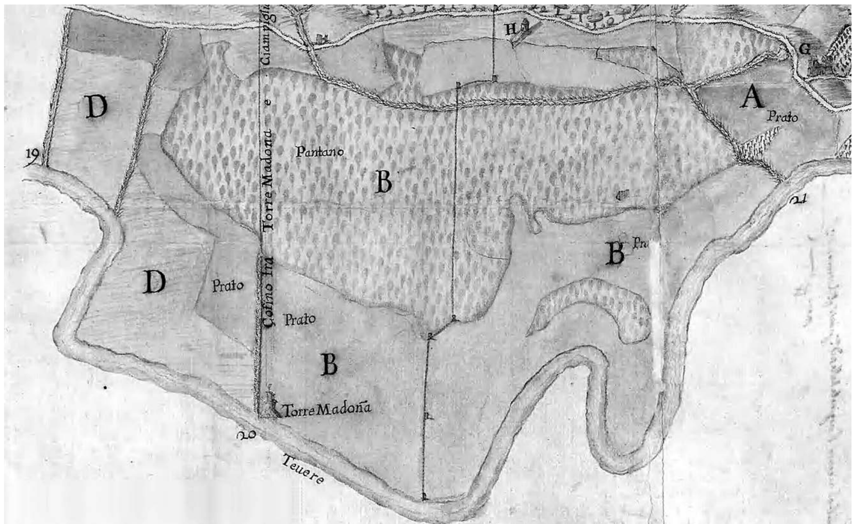

Fig. 6. A detail of map 431/17 (1660) belonging to the cadastre of Pope Alexander VII (Catasto Alessandrino) and depicting the Marcigliana area. Map source: Archivio di Stato di Roma.

reason for the discrepancy is the purpose of cadastres: they were meant to definitively map land-owning conditions rather than to present the actual topography of the area. Therefore, it is more likely that the mismatch is related to the style of documentation than to a sudden change in environmental conditions.

The lesson to be learned from these observations is that just 500 years ago, the area that has long been viewed as the most potential site for the Battle of Allia was not just a flat and featureless floodplain.[60] Rather, it was characterized by the presence of previous palaeochannels, which had filled up according to the age of their formation. Without human intervention.[61] this would also be the fate

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[60] See also L. Quilici and S. Quilici Gigli (above n. 8), 55–56.

[61] An interesting question regarding the horizontal displacement of the Tiber river channel in general is whether humans had attempted to control the river's flow before the modern embankments were built between 1876 and 1910 to protect the city of Rome (see, e.g., G. S. Aldrete, *Floods of the Tiber in Ancient Rome*, Baltimore 2007, 247–252). It has been proposed that during the first two centuries of the Roman Empire, the course of the Tiber immediately north of Rome was regulated with earthworks that possibly extended all the way to the Marcigliana area (L. Quilici and S. Quilici

of the "man-made oxbow lake" located north-east of the site.[62] The fully developed round meander enveloping it (Fig. 3B) will begin its own sequence as soon as the Tiber cuts off the remaining 300 metres of the meander neck. The rounded meander of the current Tiber channel is strikingly similar to the estimated shape and size of Pantano Ritondo.[63]

Yet another aspect related to the position of the river channel and its effect on the battle that has not gained sufficient attention is that these hostilities took place in July, when the water level of the Tiber is usually at its lowest. July is normally the second-driest month of the year in the Tiber basin, with the water level dropping down to one and a half metres below average. This implies that, notwithstanding the fine sediments that retain water, the floodplain was in all likelihood dry enough to serve as a battle locale. In addition, the low water level might have encouraged fleeing Roman troops to attempt to cross the river with the well-known consequences described by the ancient authors.

Erosion and Sedimentation: Vertical Component

In attempting to locate the Allia battlefield through the geological history of the Tiber, the vertical component of the floodplain evolution must also be taken into consideration. It is evident at the outset that, due to later erosion and sedimentation, the hills flanking the floodplain were slightly steeper and higher and the level of the floodplain was several metres lower than at present.

Sedimentation cannot take place without erosion that produces mineral material for streams and rivers to transport. Furthermore, the volcanic hills flanking the Tiber floodplain in the Marcigliana area have been subjected to erosion. The maximum rate of erosion can be estimated as 30 cm per millen-

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Gigli [above n. 8], 161; L. Quilici, "Il Tevere e l'Aniene come vie d'acqua a monte di Roma in etá imperiale", in S. Quilici Gigli [ed.], *Il Tevere e le altre vie d'acqua del Lazio antico*, Roma 1986, 204–205 especially note 28). Even if such embankments existed and actually enabled more secure and efficient farming by reducing the risk of flooding, they were only a short-lived solution and hardly had a long-term effect on the topography of the area examined here.

[62] Cf. C. Pesaresi (above n. 53), 28.

[63] A. Carandini, P. Carafa and M. Capanna, "Il progetto 'Archeologia del suburbio per la ricostruzione dei paesaggi agrari antichi' impostazione e la metodologia della ricerca", in C. Cupitò (ed.), *Il territorio tra la via Salaria, l'Aniene, il Tevere e la via Salaria vetus*, Roma 2007, 17 Fig. 3 no 41.

nium[64] based on observations at nearby sites, where the impact of agriculture is significant. In areas untouched by humans, the rate is reduced to 2–3 cm per millennium. Hence, over the course of nearly two and a half millennia, no more than 0.7 m of pyroclastic rock has been eroded from the hilltops and slopes nearby. The accuracy of the approximation is insignificant, as the relevant piece of information is that from the viewpoint of the flanking hills, the floodplain might have had a slightly more canyon-like topography than it does today. This fact is quite impossible to grasp by viewing the modern landscape, as the effect has been further reduced by the risen level of the floodplain.

The effect of sedimentation is easiest to observe in Rome, where early Imperial structures located on the floodplain, especially at *Campus Martius*, are buried on average under 4–5 m of alluvium.[65] In the Tiber river valley immediately north of Rome, contemporary Imperial structures are usually covered by 3.5–4 m of alluvium.[66] Probably the best and certainly the most illustrative piece of evidence showing the magnitude to which historical alluvium has accumulated is the quite recent discovery of a tomb dating to the late second century AD and attributed to general Marcus Nonius Macrinus,[67] better known as general Maximus thanks to the box-office hit movie "Gladiator". His tomb was found in 2008 near Via Flaminia buried under no less than seven metres of later alluvial deposits. By extrapolating the rate of sedimentation that can be derived from this monument to a battle fought ca. 500 years earlier, one could end up with the seemingly convincing estimate of 9.2 m. This would be the approximate level of the battlefield below the present floodplain. Unfortunately, the alluvial sedimentation history of the Tiber has not been that straightforward, as the accumulation has been interrupted by periods of erosion.[68]

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[64] S. Judson, *Science* 160(3835) (1968) 1445 Table 2.

[65] F. Bozzano, A. Andreucci, M. Gaeta and R. Salucci (above n. 49), 9, 13, 18. The raising of ground with deliberate fills had also been practiced in various areas of Rome, including Campus Martius, from the Early Republican period onwards. G. S. Aldrete (above n. 61) 177–181.

[66] A. Arnoldus-Huyzendveld, *Bullettino della Comissione Archeologica Communale di Roma* 96 (1994–1995) 281–283; F. M. Cifarelli and F. di Gennaro (above n. 44), 139 note 78; M. Carrara, *Bulletino della Commissione Archeologica Communale di Roma* 110 (2009) 348–350.

[67] P. Popham, *The Independent*, 16.10.2008 (2008), retrieved from <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/found-tomb-of-the-general-who-inspired-gladiator-963797.html> [Accessed 22 January 2009].

[68] S. Judson, *Science* 140 (3569) 899.

Nonetheless, studies carried out in tributary valleys corroborate the observations made on the Tiber floodplain – the net accumulation of alluvial sediments after the Roman period.[69] The fairly constant accumulation of behind-levee alluvial sediments is the outcome of two main factors. The variation between minimum and maximum annual discharge caused by seasonal differences in rainfall is considerable (60–1500 m^3/s), while the Tiber transports 90% of its sediment load in suspension.[70] The result is seasonal flooding of the river that produces sandy or clayey loams and silts. Another factor to be considered here is the slow but steady rise of the sea level in the area of Rome after the last Ice Age.[71] It has been estimated, for example, that two thousand years ago the level of the sea was 1.35+0.07 metres lower than it is today,[72] which means that in the past two millennia, the Tiber has been forced to balance its flow by accumulating more sediment into its river valley.

It is impossible to determine precisely how much sediment has been deposited in the Marcigliana area of the Tiber floodplain since ca. 390 BC, but 5–10 metres is a reasonable and sufficient estimate.[73] The implication of this estimate is that the topography of the Tiber river valley was steeper then than it is today, especially when the subsequent erosion of the flanking volcanic hills is taken into account. However, as no reliable information on the location of the Tiber river channel during the hostilities is available, the maximum reduction in the width of the floodplain can be approximated as 20–50 m based on the inclination of the current slopes. Therefore, when the location of the battle site is reconstructed through palaeotopography, the impact of the vertical component can be excluded from the equation.

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[69] T. Potter (above n. 54), 24–28 with citations.

[70] C. Ladanza and F. Napolitano, *Physics and Chemistry of the Earth* 31(18) (2006) 1214.

[71] K. Lambeck, F. Antonioli, A. Purcell and S. Silenzi, *Quaternary Science Reviews* 23 (2004) 1567–1598.

[72] K. Lambeck, M. Anzidei, F. Antonioli, A. Benini and A. Esposito, *Earth and Planetary Science Letters* 224 (3–4) (2004) 563–575.

[73] Cf. L. Quilici and S. Quilici Gigli (above n. 8), 161, 297.

Conclusion and Further Implications

After the examination of both horizontal and vertical topography regarding the area where the Battle of Allia most likely took place, the following points must be underlined. In our opinion, it is extremely unlikely that the channel of the Tiber would have followed the same course in 390 BC as it does today. Substantially solid contrasting evidence can be built up using the results of various geological investigations, historical maps, modern aerial photography (Fig. 3), and airborne LiDAR data (Fig. 4). For this reason, any further attempt to pinpoint the precise location of the conflict[74] must be carried out by taking into account multiple sources of evidence – preferably new archaeological finds pertaining to the conflict – rather than just projecting the information about the Battle of Allia found in literary sources on the contemporary location of the Tiber river channel.

The wider implications of the observation regarding the ever-changing nature of the Tiber are related to the topography of the ancient city of Rome. While the dynamic nature of the Tiber is well-evidenced by frequent references to disastrous floods in historical sources,[75] it would be foolish to assume that the river channel did not undergo a similar process of meandering in Rome itself as in the Marcigliana area some 17 kilometres north of the city. The immediate implication of this observation is that oxbow lakes and other types of either vague or prominent palaeochannels must have played some part in the urban topography of Rome at least for some time. It is equally possible that intentional efforts were made to integrate them into the townscape of the capital. While this question certainly merits a separate and detailed study, it is worth pointing out here that *naumachie* – artificial pools constructed for the performance of mock sea battles[76] – are very likely candidates for such attempts at monumentalization.

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[74] L. Quilici and S. Quilici Gigli (above n. 8), Tav. CXV.

[75] G. S. Aldrete (above n. 61), *passim*.

[76] Only a limited amount of information concerning these structures has been preserved in historical sources, and even their quantity in the city of Rome is often disputed. A location in the alluvial plain of the Tiber, however, is one of their common features, and most references to them date before the 2nd century AD. In our opinion, this seems to coincide fairly well with the general urban development, which probably turned these topographical nuisances located in the alluvial plain into temporary stages of excitement and emotion. See L. Richardson Jr., *A New Topographical Dictionary of Rome*, Baltimore 1992, 265–266; E. M. Steinby, *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* vol.

Finally, returning to the presumed site of the Allia battlefield, the evidence regarding its precise location is well concealed by the alluvium of the Tiber, although various ways of modern land use may suddenly lead to unexpected finds offering new and more precise information on this topic. Until then and after that, the river will continue to flow and slowly carve itself a new course through the natural and cultural remains of the recent and more distant past.

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III*: H–O*. Roma 1996, 337–339.

Arctos 51 (2017) 111–113

CIRIS 204: AN EMENDATION

Boris Kayachev

In an apostrophe to Procne and Philomela, the narrator urges them to welcome Nisus and Scylla, likewise newly transformed into birds, as they fly into the sky (203–5):

> *caeruleas praeuerrite in aethera nubes,*
> *qua nouus ad superum sedes haliaeetos et qua*
> *candida concessos ascendat ciris honores.*

Modern editors do not usually consider the change from the prepositional construction *ad superum sedes* at 204 to the direct-object construction *concessos … honores* at 205 in any way conspicuous or objectionable. The only exceptions are, as far as I can see, Baehrens and Sillig. Baehrens printed *uisat* for *nouus ad* in the 1876 edition,[1] but returned to the paradosis in the 1880 edition.[2] Sillig found it necessary to defend the paradosis: "Variatio constructionis in verbo *ascendere* modo cum accusativo modo cum praepositione *ad* iuncto multis similibus locis defenditur, in quibus praepositio priori substantivo addita ante posterius omittitur".[3] In support of this claim, Sillig cites Burman's comment on Claud. *Hon. IV cos*. 207–8 *in utroque relucet / frater, utroque soror*.[4] Burman in turn

[1] A. Baehrens, *Catulli Veronensis liber*, vol. 1, Leipzig 1876, 124.

[2] A. Baehrens, *Poetae Latini minores*, vol. 2, Leipzig 1880, 139.

[3] I. Sillig, *P. Virgilii Maronis quae vulgo feruntur carmina Culex, Ciris, Copa et Moretum*, Leipzig 1831, 236.

[4] N. Heinsius, P. Burman, *Claudii Claudiani opera, quae exstant, omnia*, Amsterdam 1760, 142. Sillig also cites C. Garatonius (in G. G. Wernsdorf, *M.T. Ciceronis orationes Philippicae*, vol. 2, Leipzig 1822, 222) on Cic. *Phil*. 7,19 *in hac custodia et tamquam specula conlocati sumus* and

cites Ov. *rem*. 608 *laese uir a domina, laesa puella uiro* and Grat. *cyn*. 325 *ad caelum uirtus summosque tetendit honores*.[5] To be sure, more examples of this sort could be found,[6] but what we have here is enough to show that these parallels do not really justify the *Ciris* context. Such examples can roughly be divided into two categories. One will comprise contexts in which the two object phrases fulfil the same syntactic role in a single clause and are complementary (rather than analogous) in sense, sometimes to the point of producing a hendiadys. This is what we can see in the Grattian example. The other will include contexts in which the two object phrases both play the same syntactic role and are closely analogous (sometimes almost identical), but belong to two (analogous) clauses. This we find in the examples from Claudian and Ovid. The problem with the *Ciris* context is that there we have two clauses ([*ascendat*] *haliaeetos* and *ascendat ciris*), but the object phrases are not at all analogous: *ad superum sedes* unambiguously refers to a place, whereas *concessos … honores* does not. To put it in simpler terms, the two parallel clauses are not similar enough for the change of construction to appear as a welcome variation rather than as a disruptive solecism.

The last point in fact suggests that, even if we ignored the variation in syntax, the two phrases would more naturally go with different verbs. If, then, we are to introduce a verb in 204, we should probably put it instead of *nouus* (though of itself it is unobjectionable).[7] What can it be concealing? Baehrens's *uisat* hardly has any attractions. We might consider *uenit* (in which case we would have to adopt K's *ascendit* for *ascendat*), but I doubt that it would be appropriate so shortly after 200 *uenit carissima uobis*. Our line has a relevant parallel in 522 *commotus talem ad superos uolitare puellam*: *ad superos* clearly evokes 204 *ad superum sedes* (these are the only two occurrences of *superi* in the poem). In view of *uolitare*, I think what we need is *uolet* (or *uolat*, if

G. L. Walch, *Tacitus' Agrikola*, Berlin 1828, 361 on Tac. *Agr*. 35,4 *ne in frontem simul et latera suorum pugnaretur*; but these provide no better parallels than the examples from poetry, and anyway examples from prose would not be particularly relevant.

[5] Burman also adduces parallels for the omission of a preposition before the first rather than the second noun (Ov. *her*. 16,143, *ars* 1,333, Hor. *carm*. 3,25,2), but these hardly add anything new.

[6] See e.g. F. Leo, *Analecta Plautina: De figuris sermonis* I, Göttingen 1891, 42–4, though he mostly lists examples of the omission of a preposition before the first rather than the second noun.

[7] In theory something like this might also be possible: *qua nouus ad superos surgat haliaeetos* (though we would have to accept the irregular, if not impossible, lengthening in *surgat*).

we prefer K's *ascendit*). It is true that uprefixed *uolare* is not used elsewhere in the *Ciris*, but it does appear as part of a prefixed verb at 214 (*euolat*, for which Némethy's *prouolat* should probably be adopted). Furthermore, it may be relevant that the verb appears in Cic. *Arat*. fr. 34, 48 *quae uolat et serpens geminis secat aera pennis*, a line that may also be echoed (directly or indirectly) in *Ciris* 538 and 541 *secat aethera pennis*. As Lyne appositely comments on 204–5, "The ascent of Nisus and Scylla sounds more like καταστερισμός than ordinary metamorphosis";[8] so it does not seem unlikely that the *Ciris* poet had in mind this particular line of Cicero's (or a similar one, now lost?) when he was composing 204.

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[8] R. O. A. M. Lyne, *Ciris: A Poem Attributed to Vergil*, Cambridge 1978, 184.

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AN INSCRIPTION FROM PHERADI MAIUS IN AFRICA (*AE* 1927, 28 = *ILTUN*. 25)*

Olli Salomies

In this article, my aim is to discuss some features and the interpretation of the fourth-century inscription *AE* 1927, 28, inscribed on a statue base found, along with the statue itself (cf. n. 2), in the forum of Pheradi Maius,[1] a Roman city of no great importance now situated in Tunisia near the village of Sidi Khelifa between Hammamet and Sousse. This inscription is in my view of great interest, as it includes, as I will try to show in this article, a notable number of features which seem unique.

The statue base, measuring 150 x 56 x 45 cm. and inscribed with large letters (4.5–5 cm.) indicating a date in late Antiquity, i.e., most probably in the fourth century (cf. below), a date also implied by the contents, the orthography and the style of the inscription, was published by L. Poinssot in *BACTH* 1927, 58–60 no. 5.[2] On the basis of this edition, the text was reproduced in *AE* 1927, 28 and *ILTun.* 251. The inscription runs as follows:[3]

* Thanks are due to two anonymous referees.

1 For the finds from the forum of Pheradi Maius see C. Kleinwächter, *Platzanlagen nordafrikanischer Städte* (2001) 196–8.

2 On p. 56, Poinssot says that the honorand's statue, "of mediocre quality", was found beside the statue base: "La statue de Didius Prejectus à côté de la base à 1 mètre environ au-dessus du sol antique … En marbre gris, de travail médiocre, elle est du " type municipal " le plus courant : la tête manque". The statue has been registered (by U. Gehn – cf. n. 6) as LSA-1744 (unfortunately without a photo).

3 As this is a fourth-century text, there seems no point in adding a "sic" to each instance of "vulgar" or "late" orthography (e.g., *adque* for *atque*, common from the second century onwards). But note *probabimus* = *probavimus* in l. 8.

Didi Preiecti fl(aminis) p(er)p(etui).
Probatissimo adque integerrimo
viro, cuius multa praeclara
venefactorum praemia retinen-
5 *tur, quem adornat integritas,*
quem fides vera conmendat, a cu-
ius cunabulis titulis obsequemtem
probabimus liberalitatem et ita
sumtu proprio indulgentem,
10 *ut et fastigia moenibus dede-*
rit et colomina repararit; qui-
bus rebus Didio Preiecto fl(amini) p(er)p(etuo),
amplissimo proceri nostrae
curiae, quem et laus familiae
15 *et eloqui conmendat instruc-*
tio, ordo s[plendissim]ae
coloni[ae Phera]dam(aiensis?)[4]
PRO[-----]
DE[-----].[5]

As I shall propose new interpretations of some passages of the text, a translation incorporating my suggestions, discussed in what follows, will be presented at the end of this article (for other translations see n. 6).

Earlier studies of this inscription are not numerous.[6] It is not exactly

[4] For this adjective cf. the parallels cited by Poinssot p. 60.

[5] Lepelley (n. 6) suggests *pro [--- statuam] / de[dit et dedicavit]* (with a questionmark at the end) as a possible restoration of the end of the text (the same restoration is reproduced by U. Gehn – see n. 6 – in LSA) and seems to understand *pro* as the preposition (although this is not made clear in the French translation "[a offert et dédié cette statue]"), a suggestion which seems plausible, as the author of the text may well have added another justification, overlooked by him earlier, for the erection of the statue. One could think, e.g., of *pro [meritis]* or *pro [munificentia]* etc. (the list of expressions that could come into question here is long).

[6] In addition to some comments in the original edition by Poinssot, there is a short commentary and a French translation of the inscription in C. Lepelley, *Les cités de l'Afrique romaine au Bas-Empire*, II (1981) 301 with n. 10. Furthermore, the inscription is studied or at least mentioned in the following books and articles: T. Kotula, *Ant. Afr.* 8 (1974) 123 no. 10; M. S. Bassignano, *Il flaminato*

datable, but, as mentioned above, every detail of the inscription points to a date in the fourth century, as agreed upon by all those who have offered an opinion on the date.[7] The text contains many features typical of fourth-century inscriptions, of which one of the most obvious are the many abstract terms used to describe the merits of the honorand (their presence was already pointed out by Poinssot p. 60). On the other hand, the inscription does present some features which seem to merit more attention, and these features are the subject of this article. As for the honorand Didius Preiectus – one must of course understand *Praeiectus*, the form I shall use in the following – the name seems to point to the fact that he was a Christian, for the name seems to belong to the category of (Christian) "names of humility", and Kajanto, who equates this name with *Proiectus*, mentions only certainly or possibly Christian instances.[8] Moreover, an African bishop ca. 416/426 called *Praeiectus* is registered in the prosopography of African Christians by A. Mandouze,[9] and there is also the fact that *fides vera* is attributed to the honorand in l. 6 (although this could mean anything in

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nelle province romane dell'Africa (1974) 83; J. Gascou, *ANRW* II 10, 2 (1982) 306 with n. 478; H. Jouffroy, *La construction publique en Italie et dans l'Afrique romaine* (1986) 291 and 423; C. Kleinwächter, *Platzanlagen nordafrikanischer Städte* (2001) 197 no. 5 (with a photo of the statue base, where the inscription is not legible, in Tafel 63,2); N. Tlili, in M. Milanese & al. (eds.), *L'Africa romana* 18 (2010), III, 2047f. (with the text of the inscription and Lepelley's translation). Finally, the inscription is registered in the Heidelberg (A. Scheithauer, HD024832: http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD024832, with photos), Clauss-Slaby (EDCS-08201944), and Last Statues of Antiquity (LSA) databases (U. Gehn, LSA-2305, with photos by the author, a few comments and an English translation: http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/database/detail.php?record=2305). In the record proper, it is said that the current location is "Not known", but in the "Discussion" attached to the same record (http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/database/discussion.php?id=2679), it is said that the stone now lies "at the western side of the forum". Note that there is a mistake in the text l. 11 (*reparaverit*, with a "(sic)" following, instead of the correct *repararit*, for which see below n. 52).

[7] Thus, in some cases with a questionmark, Kotula, Bassignano, Lepelley, Gascou, Jouffroy, Kleinwächter, Tlili, LSA-2305 (indicating a date between AD 300 and 400). Lepelley, who adduces some strange arguments, attributes the same view regarding the date to Poinssot, but I am unable to locate a clear pronouncement of the date by Poinssot, who, however, does present the inscription after three inscriptions in honour of fourth-century emperors).

[8] I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (1965) 287. On the "names of humility" cf. Kajanto's paper in *Arctos* 3 (1962) 45–53; *The Latin Cognomina* 70.

[9] A. Mandouze, *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire.* I. *Prosopographie de l'Afrique chrétienne (303–533)* (1982) p. 899 (this bishop is mentioned by Augustine). Mandouze does not register our man Didius Pr(a)eiectus.

an inscription like this).[10] However, in the case of many fourth-century African municipal inscriptions the fact that an honorand is or may be a Christian does not really affect the contents of the text,[11] and so we may dismiss the question of the honorand's religion as not relevant from the point of view of this article.

To start with, the peculiar structure of the text is striking. It begins, as so many fourth-century honorific inscriptions, with the name, or one of the names (often the *signum*), of the honorand in the genitive; sometimes, as in this case, a title is added.[12] In some rare cases, this mention with the name in the genitive is the only mention of the name of the honorand in an inscription.[13] But normally the name is repeated in the dative in the part of the inscription in which the career and the merits of the honorand are set out, either immediately after the introductory part with the names in the genitive,[14] or only later, subsequent to statements meant to describe the honorand.[15] But in this case, the text is divided into two parts, a first part with several lines of text setting out a number of merits, but not the name, of the honorand, and a second part starting with "because of these things".[16] This latter section is ostensibly meant to be an exposition of the honours – i.e., the statue – *resulting from* these merits, but at the same time this section curiously adds, before arriving at the subject of the statue, some further description of the honorand that was omitted in the first part (*amplissimo*

[10] Lepelley translates *fides vera* as "la véritable bonne foi"; Gehn seems to take the expression to refer to Christianity, for he translates *fides vera* as "true faith".

[11] For *flamines perpetui*, many of them Christian, attested in late-antique African inscriptions see A. Leone, *The End of the Pagan City: Religion, Economy, and Urbanism in Late Antique North Africa* (2013) 245–54.

[12] Cf., e.g., *CIL* VI 41382; *IRT* 111, 475, 526, 571.

[13] Thus in *AE* 1976, 141 from Puteoli: *Tannoni Chrysanti v(iri) p(erfectissimi), patroni. Magnificae adque praeclare stirpis viro, provisori civium, defensori integro, gloriam* (sic) *praepollenti ... devotissimus populus ornamenta ... decrevit*.

[14] Thus, e.g., *AE* 1968, 115 (Puteoli): *Aemilianii. Audentio Aemiliano v(iro) c(larissimo) cons(ulari) Camp(aniae)* (…). Also, e.g., *ILS* 1224a–1226. 1229. 1230. 1238. 1239. 1240. 1256. 1257. 1262. 1281. 1282. 1284; *CIL* VI 1722; *AE* 1969/70, 108 (Puteoli); *IRT* 475. 526. 565.

[15] Thus, e.g., *CIL* VI 1769 (*Asterii; constantiae, abstinentiae testimonium sempiternum* (sic) *L. Turcio Aproniano*). 41383; *IRT* 562. 565. 566. 574. 575. *AE* 2002, 1676 (Bulla Regia).

[16] A similar structure can be observed in the extremely wordy inscription of AD 435 in honour of the poet Merobaudes (*CIL* VI 1724 = *ILS* 2950), where the topic of the poet's statue, preceded by an exposition of his merits, is introduced by the adverb *ideo*.

proceri etc.). Moreover, the fact that descriptions kept in the dative (*probatissimo ... viro*, *amplissimo proceri*) are interspersed with relative clauses with relative pronouns both in the genitive and in the accusative is striking indeed.

Moreover, it is most notable that in the beginning of the second section the phrase "because of these things" is expressed not with a preposition (e.g., *ob*, *propter*) or an adverb (e.g., *ideo*) but with *quibus rebus*, which must be an an *ablativus causae*, an ablative not normally encountered in Latin inscriptions. This, too, indicates, considered together with the vocabulary and the style in general, that the author of the text had, like many authors of late-antique honorific inscriptions, higher literary ambitions as well as an extreme urge to use unusual and striking expressions wherever he could think of something. The author of this inscription may not have been quite on the same, possibly unattainable, level as the author of another African inscription, *CIL* VIII 2391 = *ILS* 2937 from Thamugadi,[17] who was able to produce a text I once described as "a monument of obscure eccentricity",[18] but clearly he has been able to produce something out of the ordinary, as I hope to show in this paper.

The description of Praeiectus begins in l. 2f. with *probatissimo adque integerrimo viro* ("to the most worthy and most blameless man"). The superlative *integerrimus* is common, but *probatissimus* is striking. In epigraphical Latin, the superlative is in any case most uncommon, but the few attestations of it seem to indicate that it was used mainly in situations in which someone was said to be "approved" by someone else, either mentioned in the same context or implied. It follows that *probatissimus -a* was seen as a suitable description of women[19] and of either younger men or of men in some way subordinated to others.[20] One can discern a similar tendency in the instances of *probatissimus -a*

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[17] *Vocontio; / P. Fl(avio) Pudenti Pompo/niano c(larissimo) v(iro), erga / civeis patriamque / prolixe cultori, ex/ercitiis militaribus / effecto, multifari/am loquentes lit/teras amplianti, At/ticam facundiam ad/aequanti Romano / nitori, / ordo incola fontis / patrono oris uberis / et fluentis, nostr[o] / alteri fonti.*

[18] O. Salomies, in G. Paci (ed.), Ἐπιγραφαί. Miscellanea *epigrafica in onore di Lidio Gasperini* (2000) 934 (this assessment is quoted, apparently with approval, by A. Cooley, *The Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy* (2012) 151 n. 97).

[19] Wives: *CIL* VIII 7080 = *ILS* 6855 = *ILAlg*. II 695 (*uxori probatissimae*); female relatives: *CIL* II^2 5, 900 (the *senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone*, line 138, with Agrippina said to have been *probatissuma* to Augustus); others: *ICVR* V 13920 (*bonis probatissi[ma]*).

[20] *CIL* II 1282b = *CILA* II 3, 930b (a young senator being *Aemilio Papo clarissimo ac severissimo*

in the literary sources as registered in the *Thesaurus*.[21] The inscription in honour of Didius Praeiectus thus seems to be something of an exception; and certainly only one single parallel for an honorand being described as *probatissimus* can be produced, namely the inscription *CIL* XI 15 from Ravenna in honour of the (probably) early fifth-century senator C. Marius Eventius (*PLRE* II Eventius 2), described in the dative as *probatissim(o) defensori*.[22]

This description of the honorand in the dative is followed by the first relative clause: *cuius multa praeclara venefactorum praemia retinentur* (l. 3–5; "of whose benefactions many and excellent benefits are remembered"). As for *venefactorum praemia*, both the expressions *benefactum* and *praemium* and their combination are of some interest. The term *benefactum* or *bene factum* is of course attested. From the material in the *Thesaurus* (*TLL* II 1876, 31ff.) it seems to emerge that – if one ignores the attestations in, say, the early comedy – it is often used in contexts where the point of view is on the somewhat philosophical side and the word is sometimes contrasted with *male facta* or coupled with *bene dicta*. If compared to *beneficia*, *bene facta*, although sometimes obviously identical with *beneficia*,[23] often seem to refer to good deeds in general for which normally no exact details are given, whereas the term *beneficium* seems to be preferred when a writer has something more specific on his or her mind. In inscriptions, especially honorific inscriptions, this is obviously normally the case, and so it is the expression *beneficium*, often accompanied by some explanatory particulars,[24] which dominates in epigraphical language. Whereas a search in

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viro avonculo suo ... probatissimus); *CIL* XIII 3162 (the honorand T. Sennius Sollemnis said to have been *cliens probatissimus Aedini Iuliani leg(ati) Aug(usti)*); *ILCV* 1230 = *ILAlg.* I 1174 (a certain Rogatianus said to have been *probatissimus Deo*).

[21] See *TLL* X 2, 1474, 67ff. Note, e.g., Cic. *Cael.* 73 *Caelius ... Pompei iudicio probatissimus*; *Planc.* 27 *miles ... Q. Metelli; cui cum fuerit probatissimus* (…). The positive *probatus -a* seems to have been used in much the same way.

[22] A bit later in the inscription, Eventius' *defensio* itself is described as *probatissima*. For a roughly contemporary parallel in a literary source cf. Symm. *rel.* 34,7 *a v(iro) c(larissimo) ac probatissimo Anicio Basso.*

[23] E.g. Sall. *Jug.* 85,5 *mea benefacta rei publicae procedunt*. As for metrical texts, it must be noted that the term *beneficium* cannot be fitted into a hexameter and many other metres and must thus be replaced with (e.g.) *benefactum*.

[24] These consist most often of the identification of the exact recipients of the *beneficia* (e.g., *erga se*, *CIL* VI 1067; *in rem p(ublicam) nos[tra]m*, inscription cited below), but also sometimes of the

the Clauss-Slaby database with the search term "benefici", but excluding "beneficiar", produces 251 results,[25] another search with the search terms "benefact" and "bene fact" produces only twelve results, of which only two cases of the use of *bene factum* can be described as being somehow comparable to our text, namely *AE* 2014, 149 (Rome) and *CIL* X 1909 (Puteoli).[26] This is obviously not very much, and one can say that the author of the text has succeeded in locating a most *recherché* term.

One cannot really say the same about *praemium*, but certainly it must be pointed out that the word *praemium* is here interestingly used not in its normal meaning "reward",[27] but in the less common, although not unparalleled,[28] meaning "advantage", "benefit", indicating the consequences of Praeiectus' *bene facta*. But also the combination of *benefacta* and *praemia*, resulting in *venefactorum praemia*, is notable inasmuch as it illustrates the late-antique tendency to use a significant noun not as such (e.g., *statuam*) but to put it in the genitive, with the genitive defining another noun with a more general meaning (e.g., *or-*

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description of the nature of the same (e.g., *CIL* V 532 = *ILS* 6680, *[S]everum ... [m]ulta iam pridem in rem p(ublicam) nos[tra]m beneficia contulisse, ut qui ... id ege[r]it, uti in ad[iuva]nda patria sua* ...; *CIL* VI 2131 = *ILS* 4929, *pro ... beneficiis equestr(is) ord(inis) item secundae militiae*).

[25] It must, however, be admitted that these results include some instances of other terms than *beneficium* (e.g., *beneficientia* in *AE* 1926, 134).

[26] *AE* 2014, 149 is a fifth-century inscription found in the Basilica Ulpia in Rome, citing a letter of an emperor to a certain Postumianus, dealing with the erection of a statue in honour of a man called Castus and mentioning the latter person's *[bene] facta*; *CIL* X 1909 (Puteoli, perhaps about Severan) is the funerary inscription set up by a man to his wife, both being slaves. A very positive detailled evaluation of this wife's virtues is offered, these including *plura mirabilia bene facta* which the husband cannot describe *per singula*. The other instances of *bene factum* are either from metrical inscriptions, as *beneficium* can (as observed in n. 23) not be used in dactylic verse (*CIL* V 3653 = *CLE* 1943; *CIL* III 9623 = *CLE* 627 = *ILCV* 3363; *CIL* XIII 2629 = *CLE* 2262 = *ILCV* 1717) or from texts with which nothing can be done (*ICVR* II 6449,3). In other inscriptions, the presence of the term is based only on a restoration (*CIL* XIV 4698 – why not *ben[eficia]*?) or the term is not *bene factum* but *bene factor/benefactor.* In *AE* 1925, 25 = *ILTun.* 1107, *bene factum* is the description of a *factum* (*o factum bene factum!*).

[27] In this meaning the term *praemium* is used, e.g., in the inscription in honour of Merobaudes (n. 16), where it is stressed that Merobaudes' *praemium* for his merits is not just a *verbena vilis* or an *otiosa hedera, honor capitis Heliconius* but an *imago aere formata*.

[28] See *TLL* X 2, 714, 12ff. ("*de bonis ab alio collatis, donis sim.* (*sc. non meriti remunerandi causa*)"), citing, e.g., Cic. *ac.* 2,1 *absens factus aedilis, continuo praetor – licebat enim celerius legis praemio*.

namenta statuae).[29] In this particular case, *multa praeclara beneficia* would, I think, have been quite enough; but *multa praeclara beneficiorum praemia* does add some force to the whole, an effect very much sought after by authors of late-antique honorific inscriptions.

To conclude with the clause *cuius multa praeclara venefactorum praemia retinentur*, it must also be observed that while this is not the only late-antique honorific inscription setting out the honorand's merits in a relative clause beginning with *cuius*,[30] it is certainly the only one which says that the merits are being "remembered"[31] and about the only one to use the verb *retinere* in this way and with this particular meaning.[32]

The two relative clauses[33] beginning with *quem* which follow, *quem*

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[29] Thus *AE* 1976, 141 (Puteoli, fourth century). Cf. *Arctos* 28 (1994) 93f., where I also quote, e.g., *statuae monumentum* (= *statuam*) and *insignia remediorum genera* (= *insignia remedia*).

[30] For other instances note, e.g., *CIL* VI 1682 = *ILS* 1220 *cuius providentia ... corporis corariorum insulas ad pristinum statum suum ... restaurari ... providit*; *CIL* VI 1759 = *ILS* 1272, *cuius primaevitas ... fidem iuncxit ingenio, prudentiae miscuit libertatem ita, ut* (…); cf. *CIL* VI 1706, 1793; X 5200. In a most notable way, relative clauses beginning with *cuius* are common in inscriptions honouring Vestal Virgins, beginning with the inscription in honour of Campia Severina in the middle of the third century (*CIL* VI 2132; cf. 2133ff.). It seems obvious that the authors of the later inscriptions in honour of Vestals, all located in the same location in the forum, have been inspired by this first instance.

[31] If taken literally, this could be interpreted as referring to banquets, distributions of *sportulae*, etc. rather than to buildings etc. But I'm not sure this must be taken literally and would be prepared to believe that the author of the text is just saying that Praeiectus had been lavish in his benefactions and that the clause *cuius multa praeclara venefactorum praemia retinentur* is just a summary of sorts of what is going to follow.

[32] I have only been able to find the inscription from Praeneste, *CIL* XIV 2934 = *ILS* 8375, where the expression is not just *retinere* but *memoria retinere* and where it is used in quite a different context. In this text, the honorand, already deceased, is said to have bequeathed some property to the citizens of the city *honorificentiae n[ostr]ae* (the genitive comes from the preceding *memor*, forgotten by the author by the time he added what follows) *memoria{e} retine[n]s*. In the only other honorific inscription to use the verb *retinere*, *CIL* XI 15 (Ravenna, surely from the fourth century), the verb has the meaning "retain, perpetuate (the memory of something)": *perpetuitat[i] eius nominis posteris retinenda[e]* (*perpetuitat[i] ... retinenda[e]* seems to be a "final" dative, "in order to …", unless one wishes to restore *perpetuitat[is]* and to add <*causa*> at the end). This meaning is not uncommon in other types of inscriptions, especially dactylic metrical texts, which are in need of words with a sequence of two short syllables.

[33] Only the second one seems to have been translated by Lepelley, followed by Tlili (but not by

adornat integritas, quem fides vera conmendat (l. 6f.; "whom integrity adorns, whom true faith commends") are also of some interest. As for *adornat integritas* (note that the honorand's integrity has already been touched upon in l. 2), the verb *adornare* is attested in literary sources in similar contexts, for instance in Vell. 2,2,2 *vir ... tantis ... adornatus virtutibus*,[34] but in inscriptions the use of this verb is restricted mainly to building and similar inscriptions in which it is used in the meaning "to decorate" buildings and other structures (with statues, etc.),[35] and I do not seem to be able to locate another inscription applying this verb to persons.

As for *quem fides vera conmendat* (*conmendat*[36] is repeated in l. 15, the subjects being *laus* and *instructio*), "lui que recommande la véritable bonne foi" (Lepelley),[37] the combination *fides* + *commendare* is in fact attested twice in addition to our inscription, namely in Optatus Milevitanus, the fourth-century African bishop (Optat.1,1, p. 3,2 Ziwsa *cunctos nos Christianos ... omnipotenti deo fides una commendat*) and in an inscription from Brigetio in Pannonia Superior.[38] In this inscription, however, the expression *fides* is not used in the same meaning as in our inscription, where it may well (as in the passage of Optatus)

Gehn, who translates "whom integrity adorns").

[34] Cf. Sen. *dial.* 7,20,2 *ingenti animo adornatis*; Plin. *epist.* 4,27,5, *pro ingenio tali, quod ille moribus adornat*.

[35] Thus, e.g., to quote some instances from Rome, *CIL* VI 1682 (*insulas*), 4712 (*genium*), 8418 (*sarcophagum*), 10237 (*ea loca quae T. p(atronus) decurionibus suis adtribuerat*), 10302 (*zothecam*), 30717 (*aed[icul]am de suo marmore*). The verb *ornare* is sometimes used in the same way (e.g., *CIL* VIII 26569); *exornare* is used in a different context in the meaning "to 'decorate'", i.e. to "honour" someone with a new position or status (e.g., with a priesthood or the membership in the equestrian order), as, e.g., in *exorn(ato) sacerd(otio) fet(iali)* (*AE* 1954, 58) or in the common expression *equo publico exornatus*.

[36] Note the "etymologizing" orthography, common in late-antique inscriptions (for an extreme example note *thermae Conmodianae* in an honorific inscription from Beneventum, *CIL* IX 1596 = *ILS* 5511 = EDR128690), which should not be corrected.

[37] The term *fides vera* should perhaps be understood as referring to Christianity (cf. above at n. 10).

[38] *CIL* III 11009 = *ILS* 3955 = *RIU* II 474, *Terr(ae) matr(i) et m(inistrae) Priscill(a)e ob commendatam et restitutam fidem Ael(ius) Stratonicus v(otum) l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito) Brigeti(one)*. For the interpretation of this text (obviously not relevant from our point of view) see P. Veyne, *Latomus* 23 (1964) 30–32 (p. 31: "Ici *fides* est synonyme de *depositum* ; l'inscription de Brigetio est l'ex-voto d'un voyageur ou d'un marchand qui, à son passage, avait déposé de l'argent au sanctuaire local de la Terre Mère").

refer to the honorand's Christian faith but may, on the other hand, also simply mean something like "goodwill" (towards the city), as implied in Lepelley's translation. But despite the existence of the passage in Optatus the formulation *quem fides vera conmendat* remains most striking, on the one hand because the verb *commendare* appears in epigraphical Latin mainly in some epitaphs and in *defixiones*[39] and not in contexts such as we find in this inscription, and on the other hand because the *Thesaurus* can produce only three instances of the scenario "[commend]ant res aliquem", i.e. something (a characteristic trait, etc.) "recommending" a person, all of them adding, unlike our inscription, a dative indicating to whom one is being recommended (*TLL* III 1842, 67–9).[40]

The inscription goes on to observe "*a cuius cunabulis titulis obsequemtem* (*sic*) *probabimus* (i.e., *probavimus*) *liberalitatem*" (l. 6–8). This is translated by Lepelley as "lui dont nous avons manifesté la générosité propice par des inscriptions (visibles ici) dans son lieu de naissance", by Gehn as "of whose generosity following from his birthplace name (= family tradition) we give approval" (to me this seems a bit mysterious). To judge from the translation, Lepelley understands *titulis* as an instrumental ablative and takes *titulus* here to mean "inscription"; moreover, he sees *obsequemtem* as being used absolutely, i.e. without being followed, as is normally the case, by a dative, in the meaning "propice" (e.g., "beneficial"). Finally, he seems to interpret *a cunabulis* as if it stood for *in cunabulis* and *cunabula* as meaning "hometown". As for Gehn, he seems to take *titulis* as meaning "name" and as a dative explaining *obsequemtem* and to translate *obsequemtem* as "following (from)"; he, too, interprets *cunabula* as "birthplace". However, I do not think that the Latin formulation *a cuius cunabulis titulis obsequemtem* could admit the translation "following from his birthplace name", and as I also consider Lepelley's interpretation to be debatable, I would like to offer here a slightly different interpretation.

The noun *cunabula,-orum* "cradle", which according to the Clauss-Slaby database is the *only* attestation in an epigraphical text, can certainly be used,

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[39] As for epitaphs (e.g., *CIL* VI 4656 = *ILS* 7991 *ossa et cineres commendarunt*), note the section in the *TLL* "*de morientibus, fere i(d) q(uod) relinquere*" (III 1843, 54ff.). For *defixiones*, in which a person is "recommended" for something unpleasant, cf., e.g., *CIL* I^2 1012 = A. Kropp, *Defixiones. Ein aktuelles Corpus lateinischer Fluchtafeln* (2008) 1-4-4-3 *Dite Pater, Rhodine(m) tibei commendo, uti semper odio sit M. Licinio Fausto*; Kropp 3-22-34; 5-1-3-1; 11-1-1-14b, etc.

[40] In addition to the passage in Optatianus, the *TLL* cites Stat. *Theb.* 8,558 and Amm. 24,4,5.

obviously mainly in poetic texts, figuratively in the sense "(someone's) home".[41] However, in this context and in this formulation, where the ablative *cunabulis* depends of the preposition *a(b)* which is clearly temporal, I am sure we must be dealing rather with the meaning "infancy", "childhood",[42] and thus the phrase *a cuius cunabulis* must mean something like "since his childhood".[43] What the author of the text is saying is that Praeiectus has exercised his *liberalitas*, observed with approval by the *ordo*, since his early childhood (obviously his father and other relatives may have been of some help), and there is thus no reference whatsoever to Praeiectus' birthplace (in any case of no relevance in this context). That an honorand has been occupied with beneficial activities since the early childhood is in fact pointed out in some late-antique honorific inscriptions (e.g., *CIL* VI 1730f. = *ILS* 1278 *ab ineunte aetate*).

To go on with *titulis obsequemtem*, let us start with *obsequemtem* which obviously defines *liberalitatem.* As seen above, Lepelley takes this participle to have been used absolutely. The participle *obsequens* can certainly be used in this way, and apparently even in the meaning "propice" postulated by Lepelley.[44] But in most of the examples cited in the *Thesaurus* (n. 46), and also in the cases in which the participle governs a dative (cf. below), *obsequens* seems to have the meaning "obedient", "docile",[45] a meaning which is not at all convenient in this context. Moreover, although *obsequens* can be used absolutely, it is more often used with an accompanying dative indicating to whom or to what one is obedient.[46] This takes one's thoughts to *titulis*. Interpreting *titulis* as an instrumental ablative indicating the source of the information of the members of the *ordo* regarding Praeiectus' *liberalitas*, namely (thus apparently in Lepelley's interpretation) the inscriptions of the buildings he had built, would result

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[41] *TLL* IV 1389, 2ff. ("latiore sensu i(d) q(uod) patria"), citing, e.g., Sil. 3,81 *per cunabula nostra* (referring to Hannibal's *cunabula*, i.e. Carthage).

[42] See *TLL* IV 1389, 10ff., where the passages cited are divided into "de personis", "de urbibus" (ibid. 32ff.; in this case the meaning of *cunabula* would be, e.g., "beginnings"), "de virtutibus, honoribus, institutis, etc., i(d) q(uod) principia, fundamenta" (ibid. 43ff.).

[43] Cf., to cite prose texts, *a primis cunabulis* Colum. 1,3,5 and Apul. *met.* 2,31 (here referring to the beginnings of the city of Hypata).

[44] For the absolute use of *obsequens* see *TLL* IX 2, 188, 73ff., citing Plaut. *Rud.* 261, where *obsequentem*, coupled with *bonam*, clearly has a meaning corresponding to "propice".

[45] E.g., Sen. *contr.* 7,6,17, *subiectus et obsequens maritus*.

[46] *TLL* IX 2, 188, 46ff.

in a most unlikely scenario where the dedicators would be implying that they knew Praeiectus' euergetic activities not from what they saw with their own eyes but from what they had read in the inscriptions attached to Praeiectus' works. I thus wonder whether *titulis* could be, rather than an instrumental ablative, a dative governed by *obsequemtem* (as in Gehn's interpretation). In that case, *titulus* would obviously have to mean not "inscription" – for there seems to be no point in saying that someone is obedient to inscriptions – but something else. Gehn with his translation "birthplace name (= family tradition)" may have been on the right track, although the translation seems awkward and must in any case be incorrect in this form, as *a cuius cunabulis* must be taken separately from *titulis.*

The *Thesaurus* has not yet arrived at the letter *T*, but the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* furnishes (under *Titulus* 7) some translations of *titulus* which could be relevant here, for instance "distinction", "reputation".[47] In these cases, *titulus* is normally accompanied by a genitive indicating on what the distinction was based, but I suggest that we could assume that the author of this inscription, who was obviously, as already pointed out, a person striving for *recherché* expressions, could have ignored this requirement in order to use *titulus*, with no genitive attached, in the meaning (say) "reputation". If this interpretation were accepted, then we could assume that the *tituli*, which could perhaps be translated as "achievements of distinctive merit", would be those of Praeiectus' forefathers and that the author of the inscription wanted to say that Praeiectus' *liberalitas* was exercised to the advantage of the city of Pheradi in imitation of the similar behaviour of earlier Didii. The author in any case points out later, by referring (in l. 14) to the *laus familiae*, that Praeiectus' forefathers had been distinguished persons, and in fourth-century honorific inscription it is in fact common to refer to the honorand's ancestors.[48] This passage could, then, be translated, e.g., as follows: "from whose childhood onwards we have approved of his munificence imitating the achievements of distinctive merit (of his forefathers)".

The inscription goes on to define Praeiectus' *liberalitas* with another participle, *indulgentem*: *ita sumtu* (sic) *proprio indulgentem*, this being followed

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[47] The 1913 edition of the Georges dictionary has a corresponding section II, 1), b), where *titulus* is translated as "Ansehen", "Glanz", with references to Liv. 7,1,10 (*par titulo tantae gloriae fuit*) and Stat. *silv.* 2,7,62.

[48] Thus, e.g., in the expression *patronus originalis* (*ILS* 8984, 8985, etc.), where *origo* refers to the honorands' "origins", i.e. ancestors.

by the consecutive clause *ut et fastigia moenibus dederit et colomina repararit*. As for the words *sumtu proprio indulgentem*, at first sight the normal meanings of *indulgere* ("to be indulgent or lenient to", etc.) would not seem to suit very well if this verb were applied to *sumptus* ("expenses"). Accordingly, this particular passage is in the *Thesaurus* article on *indulgere* initially declared as being "interpr(etationis) inc(ertae)" (*TLL* VII 1, 1250, 60f.), but then later placed, surely correctly, under the heading "*fere i(d) q(uod) liberum cursum dare*" (ibid. 1251, 56ff.; this must correspond to *OLD*'s section 2, "to allow free play (to …)"), where we also find, e.g., Verg. *Aen.* 4,51 *indulge hospitio causamque innecte morandi* and Stat. *Theb.* 11,447 *non tamen indulsit pugnae ... Fortuna.* With this interpretation, where *sumtu* must obviously be taken as a dative,[49] the writer of the text would basically be saying that Praeiectus, when exercising his *liberalitas*, did not try to save any expenses.[50]

In the consecutive clause[51] indicating the consequence of Praeiectus' munificence, *ut et fastigia moenibus dederit et colomina repararit*,[52] at first sight one would assume that the author of the text is trying to distinguish between two activities, the building of *fastigia* and the restoration of *colomina*.[53] The *moenia*

[49] According to M. Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre* (1977) 442f., the dative in -*ū* (instead of -*uī*) was "recht häufig"; among the examples cited by him, there is also Cic. *fam.* 16,4,2 *sumptu ne parcas*. For an epigraphical instance note, e.g., *Bono Eventu CIL* XIII 6670 (Moguntiacum).

[50] In the translations of Lepelley and Gehn, although they can certainly not be described as literal translations of the original Latin, the author of the text is in fact made to say exactly this.

[51] For another fourth-century honorific inscription containing a consecutive clause (not a common phenomenon of epigraphic style) see *CIL* VI 1759 = *ILS* 1272, *cuius primaevitas ... prudentiae miscuit libertatem ita, ut nemo de eius industria ... formidaret.* For a funerary inscription note *CIL* XI 831 = *ILS* 1218, *cuius vita ... tam clara exstitit, ut admirabilia veteris probitatis exempla superarit.*

[52] Note the use of the contracted perfect instead of *reparaverit*, the use of which is common both in late antique authors (cf., e.g., Å. Fridh, *Études critiques et syntaxiques sur les* Variae *de Cassiodore* [1950] 16) and in honorific and similar inscriptions, surely often, although apparently not in this particular case (cf. below), in order to attain a desirable clausula, as, e.g., in *CIL* XI 831 = *ILS* 1218, cited in n. 51, where *exempla superarit* produces the *esse videatur* clausula, or in *CIL* VI 1736 = *ILS* 1256, where *antea postularit* at the end of the clause *quod nulli proconsulum ... antea postularit* produces a double creticus, a popular clausula. (In our inscription *colomina repararit* = uuuuuu–x does not seem to produce anything of interest.)

[53] *colomen* (for *columen*) is perhaps another attempt at "etymologizing". Under *columen*, the *OLD* cites the form *colomen* from Acc. *trag.* 660 as a "varia lectio". According to Poinssot (p. 59), the

are surely, as seen by Lepelley, public buildings rather than the city walls;[54] the problem is, however, that both *fastigia* and *colomina* (i.e., *columina*) would seem to mean about the same thing. Lepelley tries to solve this problem by translating *fastigia* as "toits" ("roofs") and *colomina* by "charpentes" (perhaps here thought of as "structures"): "il a donné des toits aux bâtiments (publics) et … il en a réparé les charpentes"; for his part, Gehn translates the two terms as "roofs" and "summits". But the fact is that, as the *Thesaurus* puts it, in speaking of houses a *columen* is "*i(d) q(uod) fastigium*".[55] I thus suspect that what the author is trying to do is just to imitate the wordiness of late antique honorific inscriptions and late antique prose style, as produced, e.g., by writers of legal texts from Diocletian onwards, in general and to say the same thing with two words of the same meaning.[56] As for *fastigia* and *colomina*, both *fastigium* and *columen* can mean "roof,"[57] but I find it quite impossible to believe that the author of the text would have wished to say that Praeiectus had spent his money on just either building or repairing roofs, for although it must be admitted that building or repairing roofs is a most laudable activity, references in honorific inscriptions of this period tend to be to works on a somewhat grander scale, say the building of (almost) the whole city.[58] Moreover, saying that the activities of Praeiectus concentrated on roofs would seem to imply that Pheradi Maius was, at least before Praeiectus' operations began, a city full of buildings with either

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stonecutter had begun by inscribing *COLOMA*, later corrected. (The photos are not clear enough at this point.)

[54] See *TLL* VIII 1328, 30–59, "de aedificiis publicis", the examples all being from the fourth century or later. Kleinwächter l. l., accepting this interpretation, speaks of "Reparaturmaßnahmen", Gehn simply of "buildings".

[55] *TLL* III 1736, 11. The same article (l. 30ff.) quotes passages from Vitruvius in which *columen* means "contignatio tecti" (in 4,7,5, *columen* is distinguished from *fastigium*; this distinction is also made in Obsequens 41, cited in l. 18f.), but I find it hard to assume that a fourth-century African author of honorific inscriptions could be expected to know technical details of this precision.

[56] Cf., e.g., *ILS* 770 (in honour of Valentinian), *victis superatisque Gothis*.

[57] *TLL* VI 1, 320, 16ff. (cf. *OLD* s. v. *Fastigium* 4); *TLL* III 1736, 11 (cf. *OLD* s. v. *Columen* 1).

[58] Umbonius Mannachius, a fourth-century senator (*PLRE* I Mannachius), is in Aeclanum said to have been the *fabricator ex maxima parte etiam civitatis nostrae* (*CIL* IX 1128 = *ILS* 5506, cf. *AE* 2005, 423, an inscription which also attributes *eloquentia* to the honorand); the honorand of the inscription from Beneventum cited in n. 36 is praised among other things as *totius prope civitatis [post h]ostile incendium conditor*.

nonexistent or ruined roofs, a scenario which in my view does not seem very likely. My conclusion is, then, that the author of the text in fact means not roofs but whole buildings, and that he had simply happened to come up with a striking expression for saying this; I thus suggest that the consecutive clause should be translated approximately as "(to the point) that he has both erected and repaired public buildings"

The text now (l. 11ff.) seems to move on to an enarration of the honours resulting from Praeiectus' munificence; unfortunately the details have been lost, as the final lines of the text are no longer legible, but obviously the honours consisted above all of the statue which may well have been described with a few words in the passage now lost.[59] In any case, what is interesting is that this section is not introduced with a preposition, i.e. with *ob*, *propter* or *pro*,[60] but with the causal ablative *quibus rebus*. In epigraphical Latin, causal ablatives are in any case extreme rare, and the formulation *quibus rebus* is in fact without a single parallel.[61] This section is, however, striking also because it begins by saying "because of these things (i.e., merits)", these words appearing to be an introduction to an exposition of reciprocal activities of the *ordo*, but then falls back to the subject of the honorand's merits as if the writer of the text had forgotten to include the items now presented – Praeiectus' status, his family and his education – when formulating the previous section devoted precisely to the subject of Praeiectus' merits.

Of some interest in this section is the term *procer* used to define Praeiectus along with the superlative *amplissimus*, for in classical Latin before Juvenal this word was used only in the plural *proceres* ("leading men"); according to the *Thesaurus* (X 2, 1515, 22ff.), the singular is found once in Juvenal,[62] and then "*raro inde a saec. IV*^{2}". As for inscriptions, the Clauss-Slaby database produces 20 results for *procer*, almost all of them in fourth-century and later Christian

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[59] The statue might, for instance, have been described as *aurata*.

[60] For prepositions introducing similar sections dealing with the consquences of an honorand's benefactions, cf., e.g., *CIL* VI 1736 = *ILS* 1256, *ob quae eadem provincia Africa ... statuam ... postulandam ... esse credidit*; *CIL* IX 3160 = *ILS* 6530 *huius propter morum gravem patientiam ...; huius ob merita ordo populusque ...*; *IAM* II 307, *pro quibus rebus ac moribus et pridem nos Sulpicio Felici decurionatum decrevisse et nunc ... placere erga talem virum non volgata decernere ...* .

[61] For *quibus rebus* preceded by the preposition *pro* cf. *IAM* II 307, quoted in the previous note.

[62] 8,26 *Agnosco procerem! Salve, Gaetulice, seu tu / Silanus* etc.

poetical texts;[63] the only earlier instance is in the *carmen* sung at the Severan secular games in 204 (*AE* 1932, 70, p. 22). In most of these texts, the word is used in the plural; it is only in *CIL* VI 41434 = *ILCV* 56 = *CLE* 904 = *ICVR* X 27256 (*procerem*) and *CIL* XII 2115 = *ILCV* 2172 = *CLE* 1445 (*Martini ... proceris*) that one finds it used in the singular. The inscription in honour of Praeiectus is thus the *only* Latin prose inscription in which the term *procer* is used in the singular.

However, the fact that the superlative *amplissimus* ("eminent") is applied to *procer* is also striking. In literary sources, the superlative *amplissimus* is quite commonly used to describe various men of merit at least from Cicero onwards;[64] but the term comes into use in epigraphical Latin only later, both as a definition of persons and as a definition of institutions. Even in the case of *ordo*, often described as *amplissimus* by Cicero and other authors,[65] the earlier instances of the senatorial order being described with this attribute do not seem to be earlier than the second century.[66] As for men described as *amplissimi*, the instances seem to begin in the time of Pius with *CIL* V 532 = *ILS* 6680 = *Inscr. It.* X 4, 31 (Tergeste), a decree concerning the honours of the local senator L. Fabius Severus,[67] where Severus is once called *[vi]r amplissimus adque clarissimus* and once just *amplissimus vir.*[68] At about the same time, in AD 144, in the famous decree from Sala in Mauretania Tingitana in honour of the prefect M. Sulpicius Felix (*IAM*

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[63] For the only prose inscription see the *Fasti Polemii Silvii*, *Inscr. It.* XIII 2, p. 270, where we find this notice (based on Plutarch) illustrating July 7: *ancillarum feriae quarum celebritas instituta est ideo quia capto urbe a Gallis cum finitimi prius victi tradi sibi Romanorum procerum coniuges postularent et consilio Philotidis ancillae famulae dominarum vestibus adornatae datae illis fuissent*.

[64] See *TLL* I 2011, 45ff.

[65] See *TLL* I 2010, 62ff.

[66] E. g. *ILS* 1064. 1454. 6772; *CIL* XIV 4548; *CIL* II^2/14, 981 = *AE* 1999, 968; *CIL* XII 2452. 2453; *CIL* VIII 27949; *AE* 1956, 124; *ILAfr*. 281; *AE* 1969/70, 595a = *I. Ephesos* 620,

[67] It must, however, be observed that the style of decrees differs at least until the fourth century from that of "normal" inscriptions.

[68] Interestingly, the title *amplissimus vir* resurfaces, amplified with *clarissimus*, in Africa in Thubursicu Numidarum in ca. 361, when the proconsul Clodius Hermogenianus (*PLRE* I Olybrius 3) is referred to as *amplissimus et c(larissimus) v(ir)* in two inscriptions (*ILAlg.* II 1229, 1247; Hermogenianus' proconsulate is referred to as *ampli[ssimus] proconsu[latus]* in Calama, *CIL* VIII 5334 = *ILAlg.* I 252).

II 307), the senatorial[69] governor Uttedius Honoratus is referred to as *amplissimus praeses*. From this time onwards until the Severan period, the superlative *amplissimus* is now and then applied to governors of senatorial rank, whether called *praeses*[70] or *consul*[71] or *consularis*.[72] Under Elagabalus, this epithet reaches imperial heights, as it is now applied to the emperor himself, the official titulature of whom includes the item *sacerdos amplissimus dei Invicti Solis Elagabali*.[73] But it is only in the fourth century when we can observe this epithet being used more frequently, but only in Africa and applied exclusively to a very special category of persons, namely proconsuls of Africa.[74] The only exception I have been able to locate is the inscription of Praeiectus we are discussing. We may thus conclude that, among all fourth-century inscriptions from Africa, and in fact among all Latin inscriptions in general, it is *only* Didius Praeiectus who is

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69 See B. E. Thomasson, *Fasti Africani* (1996) 228f. no. 11; *PIR*² V 1018.

70 *CIL* III 1457 = *ILS* 1097, the inscription in honour of M. Claudius Fronto, governor of Dacia under Marcus Aurelius) ending with *amplissim(o) praesidi.*

71 *AE* 1934, 40 (Thamugadi, reign of Commodus) *M. Valerius Maximianus leg(atus) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore), v(ir) c(larissimus), co(n)s(ul) amplissimus*; *ILAlg*. II 3604 (reign of Severus Alexander) *ex auct(oritate) … Martia[l]iani leg(ati) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore), c(larissimi) v(iri), [c]o(n)s(ulis) amplissimi, prae[s]idis et patroni nostri.* The consuls are apparently described as *amplissimi* also in the acts of the Severan *ludi saeculares* (*CIL* VI 32326 l. 5: *an[te] suggestum a[m]plissim[orum consulum]*).

72 In African inscriptions, this epithet seems to have been reserved for Q. Anicius Faustus, the famous Severan governor known from a very large number of inscriptions (Thomasson [n. 69] 170–6 no. 50), who is often called *leg(atus) Augg(ustorum) pr(o) pr(aetore), c(larissimus) v(ir), co(n)s(ularis) amplissimus* (there is some variation in this title). Surely it must have been Faustus himself who had insisted on the use of this epithet. In an inscription from Britain (*RIB* 3215), the governor C. Valerius Pudens, attested in AD 205 (A. R. Birley, *The Roman Government of Britain* [2005] 186–8 no. 38), is referred to simply as *amplissimus cosularis* (sic), and it seems probable that this was the title also used of Pudens' successor L. Alfenus Senecio in *RIB* 722 and 723, although in both cases the text breaks off after *amplissimi*; but Senecio is called *consularis* in several British inscriptions (see Birley, op. cit. 188–92 no. 39). Incidentally, Valerius Pudens may have been referred to as *amplissimus* also as praetorian governor of Lower Pannonia, for the inscription *RIU* V 1180 now ends with *[mi]ssus honesta m[issione a] Val(erio) Pudente c(larissimo) v(iro) am[---]*, where the editors supplement *am[pl(issimo?) praes(ide?)]*.

73 Thus, e.g., the military diplomas *CIL* XVI 139ff.; see *PIR*² V 273 p. 148.

74 See *CIL* VIII 1358. 5341. 12440. 14398. 14431. 15269. 23124. 25525. 25528. 27571; *ILTun.* 622. 1538b. 1557 (= *AE* 2005, 1691); *AE* 1957, 72; 1968, 602; 2002, 1676; 2006, 1767. Note also *ampli[ssimus] proconsu[latus]* (n. 68).

not of senatorial rank who is referred to as *amplissimus*, a designation to which in his lifetime *only* proconsuls of Africa were entitled.

The rest of the description of Praeiectus, before the text moves on to the mention of the dedicator, consists of the relative clause *quem et laus familiae et eloqui conmendat instructio* ("whom the glory of his family as well as his eloquence recommends"), where one observes the elegant phrasing with chiasmus and everything and ending in the sought-after clausula consisting of a double cretic. However, one might wonder whether the author should not have thought of a verb not identical with *conmendare* which he had already used in l. 6. The author thus both returns to a subject adumbrated earlier (cf. above on *titulis*) and adds a new dimension to Praeiectus' personality, namely his eloquence, a distinction mentioned also in other late-antique inscriptions.[75] It is of some interest that the author of the text has chosen to use the term *eloquium* rather than its more common synonym *eloquentia*,[76] as *eloquium*, used (and perhaps invented)[77] by dactylic poets who cannot accommodate *eloquentia*, is extremely rare in prose inscriptions. In addition to our text, the Clauss-Slaby database includes only three prose inscriptions in which this expression is found.[78] As for the expression *eloqui ... instructio*, it is surely to be interpreted as meaning simply the same as *eloquium/eloquentia*, not, e.g., as implying that Praeiectus' eloquence was based on instruction and training rather than on his

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[75] E. g. *ILS* 1221. 1230. 1237. 1262. 1265. 1274. 1282. 5506 (cf. above n. 58); cf. V. Neri, L'elogio della cultura e l'elogio delle virtù politiche nell'epigrafia latina del IV secolo d. C., *Epigraphica* 43 (1981) 175–201; A. Chastagnol, in A. Donati (ed.), *Atti del convegno La terza età dell'epigrafia* (1988) 54, and, concentrating on the inscription of Praeiectus, N. Tlili, in M. Milanese & al. (eds.), *L'Africa romana* 18 (2010), III, 2047f., an article already referred to above (n. 6). Some of the texts mentioned above include, as the inscription of Praeiectus, references also to the honorand's ancestors (*ILS* 1221: *nobilitas*; 1262: *natales*, *claritas generis*, *nobilis*).

[76] The doctrine found in some grammarians etc. (see *TLL* V 2, 412, 18ff.) according to which there is a difference of meaning between *eloquentia* and *eloquium* does certainly not apply to epigraphical texts.

[77] Cf. *TLL* V 2, 412, 29–33.

[78] *CIL* VI 1683 = *ILS* 1221 (in honour of Anicius Paulinus, consul in AD 334), *ob meritum nobilitatis, eloquii, iustitiae atq(ue) censurae*; *CIL* VI 1724 = *ILS* 2950 (AD 435, in honour of Merobaudes the poet), *inter arma litteris militabat et in Alpibus acuebat eloquium* (the text also includes a reference to Merobaudes' *eloquentiae cura*); *CIL* VI 33904 = *ILS* 7773, *D(is) M(anibus) M. Romani Iovini rhetoris eloquii Latini* (the choice of this expression may have been influenced by the fact that the text quoted above is followed immediately by a dactylic poem).

natural abilities; the author just needed an expression to correspond to *laus* in *laus familiae.*

To conclude, I hope to have shown that this inscription from an insignificant town in Roman Africa contains some features worthy of the attention of at least those scholars who are interested in the peculiarities of the "official" (rather than of the "vulgar") variety of late Latin. Even among late-antique honorific inscriptions, this is in many ways a unique text. As I observed above, this is the *only* Latin inscription saying that the honorand's merits are "remembered" (above at n. 31) and the *only* inscription applying the verb *adornare* to an honorand (above at n. 35); this is also the *only* epigraphical text using the expression *cunabula*, *-orum* (above at n. 41) and the *only* Latin prose inscription in which the term *procer* appears in the singular (above at n. 63). Among African late-antique inscriptions, this is the *only* one in which the superlative *amplissimus* is used to describe someone who is *not* proconsul of Africa (above at n. 74). As for the honorand being described as *probatissimus*, in this case one can produce one parallel (above at n. 22), and there are two parallels for the use of *bene factum* in the same way as in our text (above at n. 26); but the existence of these parallels does not really affect the impression of uniqueness left by the inscription, an interesting testimony to the aspirations of the persons who wrote the texts of the honorific inscriptions set up in the fourth-century African city of Pheradi.

Proposed translation of the text (based, with a number of modifications, on the translation of Gehn [n. 6]):

> (Statue of) Didius Praeiectus, priest in perpetuity. To a most worthy and most blameless man, of whose benefactions many and excellent benefits are remembered, whom integrity adorns, whom true faith commends, from whose childhood onwards we have esteemed his generosity imitating that of his forefathers and allowing free play with expenses to the point that he has both erected and repaired public buildings; because of these things, the *ordo* of the most splendid colony of Pheradi Maius has [dedicated (?) …] to Didius Praeiectus, priest in perpetuity, eminent leader of our *curia*, whom the glory of his family as well as his eloquence recommends."

University of Helsinki

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UNA NUOVA DEDICA A IUPPITER DA POMPEI E L'ORIGINE DI L. NINNIUS QUADRATUS, TRIBUNUS PLEBIS 58 A.C.

Umberto Soldovieri

Nel corso dello studio sistematico del patrimonio epigrafico lapideo di Pompei,[1] condotto nell'ambito di una revisione generale delle iscrizioni della Campania antica intrapresa dalla Cattedra di Storia Romana dell'Università di Napoli "L'Orientale",[2] ho avuto modo di analizzare un'interessante iscrizione votiva che, sebbene rinvenuta decontestualizzata il lontano 3 Marzo 1954 a seguito del crollo d'un muro perimetrale confinante con il cd. *cardo Nuc-*

Fig. 1: Base marmorea iscritta.

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[1] Non mi adeguo alla stucchevole consuetudine, se ringrazio la dott.ssa Laura D'Esposito e con lei Alberto Boccia e Mimmo Busiello della Soprintentenza Pompei, non soltanto per l'estrema e gioviale disposizione d'animo con cui hanno voluto accogliere e assecondare le mie richieste; né saprei più dire se in questa noterella si rifletta in qualche modo lo sguardo sornione di Luana, bocciolo intravisto appena tra cocci e anfore vesuviane.

[2] La ricerca si fonda sull'analisi autoptica a tappeto di tutto il materiale epigrafico ancora esistente; ho potuto a tal fine usufruire di un assegno di ricerca annuale presso il Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità dell'Università degli Studi "La Sapienza" di Roma, i cui risultati sono in parte già confluiti in *EDR* (*Epigraphic Database Roma*). Mi piace qui ricordare l'apporto decisivo ricevuto dagli amici Domenico Colangelo, Marcello Gelone, Accarino Gesummaria, Giuseppe Ianniello e Luigi Lafasciano, senza i quali tutto il progetto avrebbe certo riposato serenamente nelle intenzioni di chi scrive.

erinus nell'insula 9 della regio II,[3] è rimasta – se non mi inganno – del tutto inedita (fig. 1).[4]

Si tratta di una piccola base cubica liscia lungo tutte le facce in marmo bianco (11,2 cm x 11,2 cm x 11 cm), che presenta nel *recto* lettere appena apicate con tracce di rubricatura (1–1,2 cm) e costante interpunzione triangolare; superiormente si notano quattro incassi, due dei quali recano ancora parte dei perni bronzei (fig. 2) destinati a sorreggere la statua della divinità.[5] Attualmente si conserva nei depositi della Soprintendenza Pompei, inv. 10594.

Fig. 2: Base marmorea iscritta, part.

[3] Traggo il dato dalla libretta n. 29 (*Scavi di Pompei, Libretta di Scavo n°29 dal N°10001 del 22-1-953 al N°11900 del 26-9-57*, 127 s.), compilata dal consegnatario Arturo Carotenuto e conservata presso l'Ufficio Scavi della Soprintendenza Pompei: qui il rinvenimento viene riportato ancora con la provvisoria indicazione II, 12 (per l'equivalenza vd. ad es. Van der Poel et al. 1986, 58; sulla problematica cfr. Borriello 2008, 65). Di tutto il materiale raccolto nell'occasione è stato a mia conoscenza pubblicato in maniera analitica soltanto il vario vasellame bronzeo (vd. Tassinari 1993, 162 e 458) e l'*instrumentum vitreum* (vd. Scatozza Höricht 2012, 190 nn. 10605 e 10606 A–C); per le indagini a più riprese condotte nell'area cfr. Sodo 1987, 156 ss. ed Ead. 1988, 195 ss. nonché De Simone – Raguzzino 1990, 112 ss.

[4] L'imbarazzante documentazione ed edizione dei massicci sterri, o comunque scavi per lo più condotti con una limitata concezione del metodo stratigrafico (cfr. Tommasino 2004, 19 ss.), praticati entro il perimetro urbano in quegli anni è cosa nota e denunziata da decenni (vd. ad es. Zevi 1981, 20 s. ovvero Parise Badoni 1983, 14), cui tuttavia non si è ancora posto nel complesso concreto rimedio. Per di più all'anziano Matteo Della Corte, ormai in tacita rottura con il Soprintendente, non era stato assegnato il compito di illustrare "le lapidi e le suppellettili iscritte d'ogni genere", come egli stesso dichiara (vd. Della Corte 1958, 77), sicché parte di tale materiale è stato in seguito completamente dimenticato, né a tale lacuna ha posto rimedio il pur volenteroso contributo di Giordano – Casale 1990, 273 ss. Da parte mia spero di radunare in una dozzina di puntate tutte le novità di rilievo emerse durante quest'anno di lavoro sul campo.

[5] Doveva con tutta evidenza trattarsi di *Iuppiter* stante: per l'iconografia cfr. F. Canciani, s.v. "Zeus/Iuppiter", in *LIMC*, VIII, 1, Zürich 1997, 421 ss.

Lettura e scioglimento del testo sono agevoli:

> *L(ucius) Ninnius L(uci) f(ilius)*
> *Ruufus Iovi*
> *votum d(edit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

La dedica sacra è stata posta a *Iuppiter*[6] da un *L. Ninnius L.f.* in relazione a un voto;[7] il *cognomen Rufus*, reso ancora con grafia geminata,[8] ne completa l'onomastica da ingenuo.[9] Formulario, tipologia del supporto, paleografia e lingua convergono verso una datazione intorno alla metà del I sec. a.C.

Il gentilizio di stampo osco[10] era già conosciuto a Pompei all'interno dell'oligarchia decurionale con *M. Ninnius M.f. Pollio*, edile insieme a *N. Paccius N.f. Cilo* nel 14 a.C.[11] In seguito ricorrono, con *praenomen N.*, due personaggi in un mutilo trittico dell'archivio di Cecilio Giocondo[12] (fig. 3), e ancora tal *L. Ninnius Optatus*, noto quale *signator* da una tavoletta del 56 d.C. [13]

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[6] Sull'argomento cfr. per tutti Panciera 1989–1990, 905 ss. [= 2006, 21 ss.]; sul culto di Giove a Pompei vd. da ultimo Gasparini 2014, 9 ss., ma cfr. pure Gregori – Nonnis 2016, 243 ss.

[7] Sulla più antica accezione semantica del verbo *dare* in ambiente sacrale vd. Poccetti 2009, 54 ss.; cfr. comunque I. Rubenbauer, s.v., in *ThLL*, V, Lipsiae 1910, 1669 s.

[8] Per la geminazione vocalica resta basilare il vecchio saggio di Lazzeroni 1956, 124 ss. [= 1997, 277 ss.], ripreso da Bernardini Perini 1983, 152 ss. [= 2001, 32 ss.]; cfr. pure Vine 1993, 267 ss.

[9] Vd. Kajanto 1965, 229, cfr. 134. Di questo antroponimo, tra i più popolari in tutto il mondo romano, è sufficiente ricordare fra le numerose attestazioni pompeiane *M. Holconius Rufus* e *M. Lucretius Decidianus Rufus*, due dei personaggi più in vista in età augustea, per i quali vd. ora De Carlo 2015, 130 ss.

[10] Cfr. Salomies 2012, 162.

[11] Vd. *CIL* X 885, cfr. p. 967 = EDR148624 e *CIL* X 886, cfr. p. 967 = *ILS* 6389 = EDR148628. Nonostante l'iscrizione presenti la grafia *Chilo*, il sospetto che si tratti del cognomen latino reso con l'aspirazione piuttosto che del corrispettivo grecanico (vd. Camodeca 1996, 103 nt. 22) acquisisce a mio avviso ulteriore consistenza sulla scorta di un'iscrizione funeraria proto-augustea rimasta sostanzialmente inedita (cfr. Salomies 2008, 21) relativa a un *M. Paccius Ep(pi) f. 'Cilo' pater*, su cui si tornerà altrove.

[12] Vd. *CIL* IV 3340, LXX; l'incerta datazione consolare, di cui si conservavano solo poche tracce, è ora quasi del tutto scomparsa.

[13] Vd. *CIL* IV 3340, XIX.

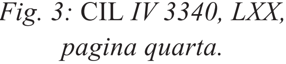

Fig. 3: CIL *IV 3340, LXX, pagina quarta.*

Fig. 4: CIL *IV 3340, XIX, pagina quarta.*

(fig. 4) e da un *signaculum* bronzeo[14] (fig. 5), rinvenuto nella Casa dei Marmi (cd. di *N. Popidius Priscus*, reg. VII, 2, 20);[15] si può finalmente richiamare, oltre che *M. Ninnius Barbula*, candidato ricondotto piuttosto alle magistrature di *Nuceria Alfaterna*,[16] un *L. Ninius* noto da un graffito parietale letto all'interno

[14] Vd. *CIL* X 8058, 56 = EDR158764. Come risulta dal *Giornale degli Scavi*, conservato nell'Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Dir. Gen. AA.BB.AA., Antichità e Scavi, I vers., b. 45, fasc. 70.4, il sigillo fu raccolto il 12 Maggio 1864 insieme a *CIL* X 8058, 70 = EDR159809 "nel continuarsi il disterro della stanza indicata nel giorno 10 andante", ossia "nel cubicolo a sinistra in fondo al peristilio"; entrò quindi a far parte delle collezioni del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli nel Luglio 1886 (vd. *Notamenti di Pompei, 1861–1886*, in *Archivio Storico della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Napoli*, 167, f. 82r n. 13).

[15] Su questa *domus* e sui più recenti saggi di scavo vd. Pedroni 2012, 111 ss., con le edizioni di parte dei materiali curate rispettivamente da Pedroni – Steiner 2012, 135 ss. e da Känel 2013, 13 ss.

[16] L'iscrizione elettorale *CIL* IV 9936a, cfr. pp. 1550 s., ora svanita, fu letta su una parete della

Fig. 5: CIL *X 8058, 56.*

del cd. Edificio di *Eumachia* (reg. VII, 9, 1)[17] e fors'anche *Ninnius Agathophus*, coinvolto – a quanto pare – nella produzione del *garum*.[18]

La *gens* è rinomata per essere fra le principali famiglie di *Capua* in epoca annibalica,[19] dove figura inoltre tra le più antiche iscrizioni osche della città.[20] Nondimeno la totale assenza di ulteriori attestazioni locali nei secoli seguenti[21] esclude a mio avviso un diretto collegamento con gli individui presenti successivamente a Pompei;[22] rare del resto e di modesta estrazione sono le altre compar-

tomba 31OS nella necropoli di Porta Nocera; ha giudicato la lettura del *cognomen*, sulla scorta delle poche tracce ancora visibili nel 1973, incerta ma plausibile Solin 2008, 216.

[17] Vd. *CIL* IV 9054h = EDR150787.

[18] Vd. *CIL* IV 5695, cercata finora invano; tuttavia la lezione, che pure lascia perplessi e di cui non si conoscono altri esempi, sembrerebbe senza autopsia almeno nel punto in questione poco contestabile, la qualcosa rende arbitrario supporre un possibile fraintendimento con il ben più noto *Agathopus* (vd. Andreau 1974, 295 s. nonché Curtis 1988, 46 nt. 68), il quale opera in una *officina* (vd. sul punto Etienne – Mayet 1998, 206; cfr. pure Berdowski 2008, 256 ss.) all'ombra dell'imponente impresa di *A. Umbricius Scaurus* (cfr. su questa da ultimo Cappelletto et al. 2013, 271 ss.).

[19] Vd. Liv. 23,8,1.

[20] Vd. *Imag. Ital.*, I, *Campania / Capua* 14 (= Vetter 1953, 83 n. 90 = Rix 2002, 99 n. *Cp* 26).

[21] Cfr. D'Isanto 1993, 180.

[22] Ciò impedisce infatti di accogliere l'ipotesi di Cébeillac-Gervasoni 1982, 81 ss., che a Capua vorrebbe ricondurre tutti i *Ninnii* di rango noti per i secoli seguenti; sono tuttavia già omessi da Camodeca 1991, 65 ss.

se flegree, concentrate nel territorio di *Cumae*.[23] Un ramo distinto è invece rappresentato dai *Ninnii Hastae*, che raggiunsero il rango senatorio con *Q. Ninnius Hasta*, *cos. suff.* 88 d.C. (*PIR*² N 100), seguito dall'omonimo figlio, *cos. ord.* 114 d.C. (*PIR*² N 101) e più tardi verosimilmente *procos. Africae* nel 128–129 d.C.,[24] un cui stretto discendente è certo *Ninnius Hastianus,*[25] *cos. suff.* 160 d.C. (*PIR*² N 102); l'origine di questo ceppo pare vada ricondotta all'area marrucina,[26] né ritorna alcun *Lucius* tra i *Ninnii* noti in tutto l'arco della *regio IV*.[27] Praticamente assente nel resto d'Italia,[28] il gentilizio conta laconiche occorrenze pure a *Roma*, con *praenomen L*. modeste e generalmente più tarde.[29]

Conviene tuttavia insistere sulle attestazioni pompeiane e allargare l'orizzonte del discorso. Il 12 Maggio del 49 a.C. Cicerone si trovava nella sua villa pompeiana,[30] quando gli fu annunciato che i centurioni di tre coorti di stanza in città avrebbero voluto incontrarlo l'indomani; un caro amico, *Ninnius*

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23 Cfr. per tutte Camodeca *cds*.

24 Cfr. Thomasson 1996, 56; sul rescritto adrianeo direttogli (*Dig*. 48,8,5) vd. Abusch 2003, 77 ss.

25 Per la formazione del suo cognomen vd. Salomies 1992, 61.

26 Vd. in tal senso già E. Groag, s.v., in *RE*, XVII, 1, Stuttgart 1936, 633; cfr. Torelli 1982, 186 ss. e, fugacemente, Buonocore 1998, 149.

27 Tale circostanza mi è stata confermata dal prof. Marco Buonocore, che nuovamente ringrazio; per tutte le testimonianze di personaggi con tale gentilizio, rinvenute o in ogni caso da relazionare alla regione, rinvio sin d'ora al suo *Supplementum* di *CIL* IX, di imminente pubblicazione.

28 Infondata l'attribuzione a *Tergeste*, onde comunque provengono due fratelli noti a *Carnuntum* nella prima età imperiale (vd. *AE* 1978, 627, su cui cfr. Mosser 2003, 190 n. 52), dell'iscrizione votiva *InscrIt*, X, 4, 387, cfr. *SuppIIt*, 10, Roma 1992, 239 ad n. [C. Zaccaria], di lezione corrotta e in realtà di provenienza urbana (vd. *CIL* VI 430, cfr. p. 834 = 30767, cfr. p. 3756 = *ILS* 4087): al versante adriatico vengono inoltre ricondotti i marchi su Dressel 6A e su anfore a fondo piatto di *Q. Ninnius Secundus*, attivo nel pieno I sec. d.C. (vd. Cristofori 2004, 62, 67 con bibl. precedente, cui si aggiungano più di recente almeno Auriemma – Degrassi 2015, 461 e Toniolo 2016, 105 ss. con riferimenti ulteriori; in generale su produzione e distribuzione di Dressel 6A, cfr. Carre et al. 2014, 417 ss.). Resta invece personaggio oscuro quel *Ninnius Crassus*, traduttore dell'Iliade, sul quale cfr. Blänsdorf 2011, 128 s.

29 In tutto compaiono poco più d'una ventina di personaggi: con *praenomen L*. vd. *CIL* VI 5665; *CIL* VI 22989, cfr. *CIL* X 1188*, 251 = EDR133618; *CIL* VI 22990; *CIL* VI 22992. A *Roma* pare vada restituita anche *IG* XIV 1882, per cui cfr. Pasqualini – Della Giovampaola 2007, 1110 ss.

30 Sulle varie proposte di localizzazione del celebre *Pompeianum*, che una perdurante quanto improbabile tradizione ottocentesca identificava con la villa nei pressi di Porta Ercolano, 5OS (su cui vd. ad es. Ciardiello 2012, 135 ss.), cfr. per tutti García y García 1999, 1 ss.

noster,[31] gli confidò come fossero in realtà intenzionati a porre sé stessi e l'*oppidum* nelle sue mani,[32] ma il consolare preferì tagliar corto ripartendo il giorno seguente prim'ancora che sorgesse il sole.[33] Era costui quel *L. Ninnius Quadratus*,[34] conoscenza di vecchia data dell'Arpinate: questi infatti, tribuno della plebe nel fatidico 58 a.C.[35] allorché l'oratore, ormai isolato nella politica e negli affetti,[36] era stato costretto alla fuga dalla paventata promulgazione della *Lex Clodia de capite civis Romani*, poi suggellata dall'approvazione della *Lex de exilio Ciceronis*,[37] si era prodigato invano per il suo ritorno tanto che per l'ardore dimostrato Cicerone non avrebbe mancato di osannarlo con retorica commozione.[38] Ad ogni modo, benché sia evidente quanto *L. Ninnius* fosse personalmente coinvolto nelle dinamiche interne della politica cittadina, un'origine locale, pure

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[31] Sul valore trasparente del possessivo, che associa nella considerazione le figure di destinatario e mittente, cfr. ad es. Corbinelli 2008, 108 ss.

[32] Per la presenza di militari a Pompei vd. ora Ortisi 2015, 71 ss., lavoro tanto fine e di ampia portata per ciò che concerne l'analisi tipologica e tecnologica dei materiali presentati, quanto piuttosto lambiccato sotto l'aspetto storico-istituzionale.

[33] Vd. Cic. *Att*. 10,16,4: *cum ad villam venissem, ventum est ad me centuriones trium cohortium, quae Pompeiis sunt, me velle postridie convenire – haec mecum Ninnius noster –, velle eos mihi se et oppidum tradere*. Il sospetto che potesse trattarsi d'una trama ordita per carpirne le intenzioni, appena ventilato dallo stesso Cicerone, ha trovato séguito pure tra i commentatori moderni: cfr. ad es. Wistrand 1979, 152 ss.

[34] Sul personaggio rimane principe la voce dettata da F. Münzer, in *RE*, XVII, 1, Stuttgart 1936, 632 s.

[35] Vd. Broughton 1968, 196; cfr. pure Thommen 1989, 260 e *passim*.

[36] Tra la sterminata letteratura in argomento, mi limito a ricordare Citroni Marchetti 2000, 141 ss. e *passim*.

[37] Vd. per entrambi i plebisciti l'ampia disamina di Fezzi 1999, 289 ss. mentre, per il quadro generale, Venturini 2009, 281 ss. [= 2010, 427 ss.]; cfr. pure Moreau 2012, 35 ss. e da ultimo Ducos 2015.

[38] Vd. Cic. *p. red. in sen*. 3: *L. Ninnio, fortissimo atque optimo viro, quem habuit ille pestifer annus et maxime fidelem et minime timidum, si dimicare placuisset, defensorem salutis meae*; *Sest*., 26: *vir incredibili fide, magnitudine animi, constantia, L. Ninnius*; 68: *L. Ninnio, cuius in mea causa numquam fides virtusque contremuit*; cfr. *de domo*, 125: *L. Ninnius, vir omnium fortissimus atque optimus*; sul particolare utilizzo sineddochico del sostantivo *vir* cfr. Santoro L'Hoir 1992, 15. Va tuttavia ricordato che il suo operato, nello specifico un'ulteriore *relatio* presentata in senato e caldeggiata finanche da Pompeo, non aveva mancato di destare perplessità nello stesso Cicerone, palesate ad Attico con lettera spedita da Durazzo il 29 Novembre del 58 a.C. (vd. Cic. *Att*. 3,23, con il commento di Garcea 2005, 77 ss.).

prospettata,[39] non ha trovato seguito in dottrina, essenzialmente a causa delle scarse tracce che il nucleo gentilizio avrebbe lasciato all'interno dell'onomastica cittadina.[40] Alla luce della nuova iscrizione la presenza di quello che sembra invece essere uno stretto parente, grosso modo suo contemporaneo, rappresenta un argomento di qualche peso, sebbene ancora affatto decisivo, per supporlo con buona probabilità di origini pompeiane, tanto più quando si considerino nel complesso tutte le altre sparute attestazioni campane del *nomen*.

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[39] Vd. esplicitamente Wiseman 1964, 127 [= 1987, 20], e ancora Id. 1971, 244 n. 272.

[40] Vd., oltre quegli studiosi che si esprimevano verso una generica provenienza dalla Campania soltanto, come Gruen 1974, 109, ad es. Syme 1980, 64 s. nt. 42 e D'Arms 1988, 62 nt. 9 [= 2003, 417 nt. 9], oppure, più di recente, Biundo 2000, 42 e Chiavia 2002, 185 nt. 362.

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HÉRACLÈS LE PREMIER MÉLANCOLIQUE : ORIGINES D'UNE FIGURE EXEMPLAIRE*

Divna Soleil

1. Introduction

Né au Ve siècle avant notre ère au sein du discours médical hippocratique, le concept de la *mélancolie* connut une fortune extraordinaire dans les traditions médico-philosophique et littéraire occidentales durant les millénaires suivants, fortune qui ne s'est toujours pas démentie et dont témoignent force publications récentes.[1] Si le concept a en effet évolué à travers le temps, recouvrant les réalités pathologiques différentes durant les périodes différentes, son pouvoir de fascination est resté le même, interrogeant le rapport que l'homme entretient avec la mort d'une part, et la créativité de l'autre.

Pétris ainsi d'une certaine tradition de la *mélancolie*, nous avons tendance à la penser surtout à travers les voix qui l'ont sublimée au XIXe siècle. Comment, en effet, en parler sans penser à la voix mélancolique d'un Nerval ou, de façon plus générale, au héros romantique ? Nous sommes d'autant plus

* L'auteur tient à remercier les relecteurs anonymes pour l'avoir aidé à améliorer considérablement cette contribution

[1] Il serait bien évidemment fastidieux de citer toutes les publications récentes traitant de ce thème. En revanche, il n'est pas sans importance qu'un certain nombre d'ouvrages importants consacrés à la mélancolie ont été récemment réédités. Il y a donc eu la nouvelle édition française de l'*Anatomie de la mélancolie* de R. Burton, mais aussi une nouvelle édition de l'étude que J. Starobinski a consacrée en 1960 à la mélancolie. D'autre part, l'on a récemment traduit en français l'essai du philosophe hongrois L. Földényi datant de 1984 et proposant de voir en mélancolie l'essence de l'âme occidentale. Tout cela témoigne bien d'un intérêt renouvelé pour le concept de la mélancolie. Voir Burton 2000, Starobinski 2012 et Földényi 2012.

surpris lorsque nous découvrons, en lisant le texte fondateur qu'est le *Problème XXX*.1 pseudo-aristotélicien, que le modèle le plus évident de l'homme mélancolique est, à cette époque-là et pour cet auteur-là, Héraclès. Certaines analyses expliquent cela par un changement conceptuel : le concept moderne de la mélancolie serait radicalement différent de celui de l'Antiquité grecque, puisqu'à sa création il désigne les hommes violents et colériques, et le sens d'une profonde tristesse s'établit fermement seulement à l'époque moderne.[2]

Tout en admettant l'évolution du concept à l'origine de cette exemplarité étonnante, l'on est en droit de se demander pour quelle raison Héraclès précisément est désigné comme le premier mélancolique dans le long cortège d'hommes d'exception souffrant des excès de la bile noire et à qui se joignent, entre autres, Socrate et Platon. Si l'on suit les analyses de R. Padel, sa mélancolie se résumerait à sa folie qui le mène au crime, folie équivalente à la folie créatrice d'un Platon.[3] Héraclès serait donc exceptionnel *et* mélancolique par sa folie meurtrière. L'on peut cependant apporter un nouvel éclairage à cette question en interrogeant non seulement le *Problème XXX*.1, mais aussi une représentation tragique d'Héraclès, celle des *Trachiniennes* de Sophocle, qui est, dans le contexte de la maladie, de la mélancolie et de la folie herculéennes, moins souvent convoquée que celle offerte par Euripide dans son *Héraclès furieux*.[4]

Cependant, avant d'aborder la figure mélancolique d'Héraclès, il faudra revenir sur le concept de la *mélancolie* antérieur à la tradition péripatéticienne et c'est ainsi que nous allons, dans un premier temps, revenir aux textes hippocratiques, pour comprendre comment se construit le rapport entre la substance, la *bile noire*, et la pathologie *mélancolique*. Forts de ces pénétrations, nous allons ensuite nous pencher sur la tradition péripatéticienne du *Problème XXX*.1, pour voir comment le thème de l'*homme de génie* vient s'articuler – ou non – avec la notion médicale préexistante. Un extrait des *Trachiniennes* nous permettra d'ex-

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[2] P. Toohey présente ce point de vue comme celui adopté par R. Padel, auquel il oppose sa propre analyse, selon laquelle la mélancolie telle qu'elle est conçue à l'époque moderne existe déjà dans l'Antiquité. Voir Toohey 2004, 26.

[3] Padel 1995, 57 : "In organic terms, there was no distinction between the madness that made Heracles kill his children, and the genius that produced the works of Plato...Melancholics were the best and worst people."

[4] P. Toohey s'appuie par exemple uniquement sur la tragédie d'Euripide pour analyser la figure d'Héraclès le mélancolique et E. Filhol s'appuie sur la même tragédie pour étudier l'épilepsie d'Héraclès. Voir Toohey 2004, 35–36 et Filhol 1989.

plorer l'archéologie de la *mélancolie* et les raisons pour lesquelles Héraclès précisément vient à être désigné comme le tout premier *génie mélancolique* de la culture européenne. Cette analyse nous mènera enfin à confronter la figure d'Héraclès sophocléen avec celle construite par Euripide et à étudier leurs rapports et leurs contributions respectives à l'émergence du *Hercules melancholicus*.

2.1 Les ambiguïtés de la mélancolie hippocratique

L'on doit le concept pathologique de la *mélancolie* à la médecine grecque hippocratique. En effet, les auteurs de plusieurs traités de la *Collection hippocratique* sont les premiers à évoquer ce concept à l'aide du substantif μελαγχολίη "mélancolie" et surtout de l'adjectif μελαγχολικός "mélancolique".[5] D'autre part, le syntagme χολὴ μέλαινα apparaît, lui aussi, chez les auteurs hippocratiques, mais il est à noter que la *mélancolie* est rarement associée à la *bile noire* dans la *Collection hippocratique*.[6] Ainsi, le fameux traité *Nature de l'homme,* le premier qui développe la théorie des quatre humeurs constitutives du corps humain, se sert amplement du syntagme χολὴ μέλαινα, mais jamais du substantif μελαγχολίη[7]. C'est pour cette raison-là que nous ne nous servirons point de ce traité, malgré son importance dans l'établissement de la théorie humorale. En revanche, d'autres traités, offrant les occurrences de l'adjectif substantivé μελαγχολικός, nous seront d'un grand secours.

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[5] Pour toutes les références fréquentielles, nous renvoyons le lecteur à Kühn & Fleischer 1989.

[6] Dans sa discussion du concept hippocratique de la *mélancolie*, P. Toohey insiste sur le lien entre la substance (*bile noire*) et le concept de la *mélancolie*, mais il nous semble essentiel de souligner le fait précisément que les deux sont rarement associés dans la *Collection hippocratique*. On arrive ainsi à comprendre qu'il existe une ambiguïté autour de ce concept chez les hippocratiques et qu'il est difficile de retracer son développement chronologique, comme le fait Toohey, pour qui la mélancolie est, en tant qu'une humeur normalement présente dans le corps, tout d'abord un état "physiologique", et ensuite seulement un dérangement psychique et une pathologie. H. Flashar, que P. Toohey cite souvent, souligne pourtant que les occurrences hippocratiques les plus anciennes de μελαγχολίη ne sont pas associées à la "bile noire" et insiste bien sur le fait que pour l'auteur du traité A*irs, Eaux, Lieux* le mot μελαγχολίη désigne une pathologie. Voir Flashar 1966, 23 et Toohey 2004, 27–28.

[7] Il est vrai que le neutre substantivé de l'adjectif μελαγχολικός se lit une fois dans ce traité, mais il s'agit d'un contexte où il a un sens purement matériel, "la bile noire", ce qui ne nous avance en rien donc pour comprendre le concept de la *mélancolie*. Cf. Hippoc., *NH* L. 6,68,9.

Les occurrences hippocratiques du concept de la *mélancolie* sont assez difficiles à interpréter, puisque nos textes sont souvent elliptiques et ne permettent pas de trancher entre un sens "matériel" (bile noire) et un sens "psychique" (troubles de comportement).[8] L'extrait suivant, tiré d'un traité aphoristique datant de la fin du Vᵉ ou du début du IVᵉ siècle, les *Épidémies VI*, est à cet égard exemplaire :

> Τὸ ἐπίχολον καὶ ἔναιμον σῶμα μελαγχολικόν, μὴ ἔχον ἐξεράσιας.[9]

Version 1 : Le corps bilieux et sanguin [tend à être dominé par] la bile noire, s'il n'a pas d'évacuations.

Version 2 : Le corps bilieux et sanguin [se caractèrise par] un comportement mélancolique, s'il n'a pas d'évacuations.

L'on chercherait en vain dans ce texte la définition précise d'une certaine pathologie, sa sémiologie ou son pronostic. En effet, sa brachylogie rend possible des interprétations fort différentes et c'est ainsi que ses éditrices italiennes, D. Manetti et A. Roselli, comprennent l'adjectif μελαγχολικός comme renvoyant à la substance "bile noire", alors que V. Di Benedetto, au contraire, le comprend comme renvoyant à une agitation psychique causée par une constitution corporelle bilieuse et sanguine.[10] Dans d'autres contextes, moins ambigus, le même

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[8] Nous ne sommes évidemment pas la première à noter l'ambiguïté de la notion de *mélancolie*, à la fois "une humeur naturelle, qui peut ne pas être pathogène" et "la maladie mentale produite par l'excès ou la dénaturation de cette humeur, lorsqu'elle intéresse principalement l'intelligence", pour reprendre les termes de J. Starobinski. Voir Starobinski 2012, 24.

[9] Hippoc. *Epid VI* 6,14 L. 5,330,7–8 = Manetti & Roselli 1982, 138. Pour la date des *Épidémies VI*, cf. Jouanna 1992.

[10] Cf. Di Benedetto 1986, 60 : "Sulla stessa linea sembra porsi l'affermazione di *Epid.* VI 6.14 secondo cui il corpo bilioso e sanguigno ha manifestazioni melancoliche (*melankholikon* : da intendere probabilmente nel senso di disturbi psichici), nel caso che non abbia altri sbocchi." Il est à noter que les occurrences des composés évoquant l'idée de la *mélancolie* (μελαγχολίη, μελαγχολικός, μελαγχολικῶς, μελαγχολώδης) dans la *Collection hippocratique* ne sont quasiment jamais accompagnées de la collocation "bile noire" (χολὴ μέλαινα), le lien maladie-substance est donc rarement explicité.

mot renvoie non pas à la substance, mais à un état pathologique. Cependant, un autre problème se pose, c'est celui de savoir si l'adjectif μελαγχολικός désigne dans ce cas précis une maladie *per se* ou plutôt la manifestation, le symptôme d'une autre maladie. Dans le même traité, *Épidémies VI*, l'on lit une remarque sur les patients mélancoliques qui illustre bien notre propos :

> Οἱ μελαγχολικοὶ καὶ ἐπιληπτικοὶ εἰώθασι γίνεσθαι ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πουλύ, καὶ οἱ ἐπίληπτοι μελαγχολικοί· τούτων δ'ἑκάτερον μᾶλλον γίνεται, ἐφ' ὁπότερα ἂν ῥέψῃ τὸ ἀρρώστημα, ἢν μὲν ἐς τὸ σῶμα, ἐπίληπτοι, ἢν δ'ἐπὶ τὴν διάνοιαν, μελαγχολικοί.[11]
>
> Les mélancoliques tendent pour la plupart à devenir aussi des épileptiques, et les épileptiques mélancoliques. Un état survient plutôt que l'autre, si l'affection penche plutôt d'un côté que de l'autre : si c'est sur le corps qu'elle se porte, les malades deviennent épileptiques, si c'est sur l'intelligence, ils deviennent mélancoliques.

En lisant vite cet "aphorisme", l'avant-dernier du traité, l'on pourrait croire que la *mélancolie* est ici conçue comme une *maladie de l'âme*, opposée à une *maladie du corps*, qui serait l'épilepsie. Cependant, il n'en est rien : la *maladie* est toujours une et la même,[12] ce sont uniquement ses manifestations qui diffèrent, s'attachant tantôt au corps, pour les épileptiques, tantôt à l'intelligence, pour les mélancoliques. On peut donc supposer que l'origine de l'affection est la même, mais qu'elle donne deux extériorisations différentes. Même si l'on ne peut affirmer que cette affection *est* dans les *Épidémies VI* la mélancolie, on voit ici émerger une problématique qui sera développée par la suite, celle du rapport entre le corps et l'âme d'une part et la maladie mélancolique de l'autre. Les analyses pénétrantes de J. Pigeaud ont bien mis en évidence cette nature complexe de la pathologie *mélancolique* :

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[11] Hippoc. *Epid VI* 8,31 L. 5,354–356. = Manetti & Roselli 1982, 192–194.

[12] Il est à noter que l'affection est désignée par le substantif τὸ ἀρρώστημα sans aucun épithète ou précision supplémentaire. La maladie est donc une maladie générique qui se manifeste ensuite comme une mélancolie ou comme une épilepsie, selon son évolution.

> "À la question de savoir si la mélancolie est une maladie de l'âme ou du corps, nous devons répondre qu'elle est maladie de la relation de l'âme et du corps ; et c'est encore ce qui contribue à son histoire exceptionnelle."[13]

Ainsi, la *mélancolie* serait la souffrance provoquée par la difficulté d'articuler l'âme et le corps et, toujours en suivant les travaux de J. Pigeaud, on peut dire que l'on voit poindre les premiers germes de cette idée dès la *Collection hippocratique*.

Un autre problème, celui de la nature "mélancolique" de certaines personnes, fait son apparition dans le texte cité des *Épidémies VI*. Même s'il ne peut pas être question dans la *Collection hippocratique* d'un tempérament *mélancolique*, force est de constater que l'adjectif μελαγχολικός, lorsqu'il désigne les malades, ne renvoie pas à une crise isolée, mais à un phénomène récurrent, à un "type" de malade qui souffre régulièrement de troubles "mélancoliques". L'on voit ici la naissance de l'idée de *l'homme mélancolique*.

Ainsi, les textes étudiés n'offrent aucune définition précise de la *mélancolie* et gardent l'ambiguïté, préférant l'adjectif au substantif et laissant le lecteur souvent indécis entre la substance et la pathologie, entre une maladie à part entière et un simple symptôme. Ils introduisent également l'idée selon laquelle l'état mélancolique peut être un état durable. Ce flou hippocratique permet à la tradition péripatéticienne d'exploiter ensuite toutes ces possibilités sémantiques et de construire une notion particulière dont le modèle premier est un héros, Héraclès.

2.2 La mélancolie et le mythe : le *Probleme XXX.*1

À la différence des *Épidémies VI*, le fameux *Problème XXX.*1 dès son ouverture se montre explicite, en établissant la différence entre, d'une part, le type mélancolique et, d'autre part, les affections provoquées par la bile noire : ce n'est pas parce que l'on est mélancolique, que l'on souffre forcément des maladies provoquées par la bile noire et, à l'inverse, ce n'est pas parce que l'on n'est pas mélancolique, que l'on ne souffre guère de ces affections. En revanche, les mé-

[13] Pigeaud 2006^3, 125.

lancoliques sont bien plus susceptibles d'en souffrir, comme nous le montre le cas d'Héraclès, figure exemplaire de l'homme d'exception :

> Διὰ τί πάντες ὅσοι περιττοὶ γεγόνασιν ἄνδρες ἢ κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν ἢ πολιτικὴν ἢ ποίησιν ἢ τέχνας φαίνονται μελαγχολικοὶ ὄντες, καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ὥστε καὶ λαμβάνεσθαι τοῖς ἀπὸ μελαίνης χολῆς ἀρρωστήμασιν, οἷον λέγεται τῶν τε ἡρωικῶν τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα;[14]
>
> Pour quelle raison tous ceux qui ont été des hommes d'exception, en ce qui regarde la philosophie, la science de l'Etat, la poésie ou les arts, sont-ils manifestement mélancoliques, et certains au point même d'être saisis par des maux dont la bile noire est l'origine, comme ce que racontent, parmi les récits concernant les héros, ceux qui sont consacrés à Héraclès ? (trad. J. Pigeaud)

Héraclès est donc un homme d'exception, mélancolique à tel point qu'il est saisi par des maux dûs à la bile noire. Notons que le même mot – ἀρρώστημα – vient désigner ces maux-ci et la maladie évoquée dans les *Épidémies VI*. Mais quels sont ces maux provoqués par la bile noire ? Selon l'auteur du *Problème XXX*.1, c'est l'épilepsie, qui est associée, tout comme dans les *Epidémies VI*, à la bile noire :

> Καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἔοικε γενέσθαι ταύτης τῆς φύσεως, διὸ καὶ τὰ ἀρρωστήματα τῶν ἐπιλεπτικῶν ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνου προσηγόρευον οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἱερὰν νόσον. Καὶ ἡ περὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἔκστασις καὶ ἡ πρὸ τῆς ἀφανίσεως ἐν Οἴτῃ τῶν ἑλκῶν ἔκφυσις γενομένη τοῦτο δηλοῖ· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο γίνεται πολλοῖς ἀπὸ μελαίνης χολῆς.[15]
>
> En effet ce dernier paraît bien avoir relevé de ce naturel ; ce qui explique aussi que les maux des épileptiques, les Anciens les ont appelés, d'après lui, *maladie sacrée*. L'accès de folie dirigé contre ses enfants comme, avant sa disparition sur l'Oeta, l'éruption

[14] Arist. [*Pr.]* 30,1 = Pigeaud 2006, 80–81.

[15] Ibid.

> des ulcères, rendent cela manifeste. Car ce sont des accidents qui touchent beaucoup de gens, du fait de la bile noire. (trad. J. Pigeaud)

Ainsi, la bile noire serait à l'origine des maux des mélancoliques et des épileptiques et Héraclès en serait un cas clinique évident. En témoignent tout d'abord son accès de folie le conduisant au meurtre de ses enfants, puis son éruption cutanée provoquée par la tunique empoisonnée. On croit reconnaître dans ces deux événements les intrigues de deux tragédies grecques mettant en scène Héraclès : le délire meurtrier d'Héraclès est le sujet d'*Héraclès furieux* d'Euripide, alors que ses souffrances et sa mort précédant sa disparition sur le mont Oeta sont au cœur des *Trachiniennes* de Sophocle.[16]

Associer une théorie médicale avec les *exempla* héroïques est une innovation péripatétique, les traités hippocratiques ne s'appuyant jamais sur la tradition littéraire pour proposer des "cas cliniques", comme le fait l'auteur du *Problème XXX*.1. En effet, il s'interroge sur les raisons pour lesquelles les hommes excellant en philosophie, en politique, en poésie ou dans les arts sont tous mélancoliques, mais les tout premiers exemples qu'il donne – Héraclès, Lysandre, Bellérophon et Ajax – ne semblent appartenir à aucune des quatre catégories préétablies. Il s'agit de guerriers, de héros dont un seul, Lysandre, n'appartient pas au passé légendaire grec. R. Klibansky, E. Panofsky et F. Saxl expliquent cette mélancolie "héroïque" par le changement qui s'opère au IVème siècle dans la pensée grecque et grâce auquel le raisonnement "scientifique" vient remplacer l'intuition religieuse des époques précédentes, permettant ainsi d'interpréter les châtiments divins comme une pathologie, celle de la mélancolie.[17] Cette analyse a été approfondie de manière significative par H. von Staden, qui a étudié en détail la manière dont le *Problème XXX*.1 s'approprie le mythe hérculéen et le rationalise.[18] En effet, H. von Staden insiste sur le fait que l'auteur du *Problème XXX*.1 arrive à doter la figure de *Hercules melancholicus* d'une tradition pluri-

[16] Pigeaud 2006, 107–108, n.5. Notons qu'il est possible que l'auteur évoque ces deux récits mythiques sans forcément avoir à l'esprit les deux tragédies, d'autant plus qu'Euripide innove en ajoutant le meurtre de Mégara aux crimes d'Héraclès et que la tragédie de Sophocle s'arrête avant la disparition d'Héraclès sur le mont Oeta.

[17] Klibansky, Panofsky & Saxl 1964, 16.

[18] Cf. von Staden 1992.

séculaire, en donant une seule explication causale à toutes les pathologies du héros, celle de la *bile noire*.[19]

Cependant, cette interprétation n'explique pas pourquoi c'est Héraclès précisément et pas un autre héros grec qui est choisi pour modèle le plus évident de l'homme mélancolique. Héraclès n'est pas le seul guerrier fort et puissant, mais irascible et même potentiellement dangereux, même s'il est le héros grec par excellence. Est-ce alors son statut du héros grec le plus grand et le plus célèbre qui suffit pour expliquer son "exemplarité mélancolique" ? Il ne nous semble pas.

Il y a lieu ici de rappeler un fait qui n'est pas passé tout à fait inaperçu des spécialistes de "l'humeur noire", mais dont toutes les conséquences n'ont pas été tirées, à ce qu'il nous semble. Car c'est au mythe d'Héraclès précisément que l'on associe une occurrence de l'idée de la *bile noire* qui compte parmi les plus anciennes dans la littérature grecque. Elle est exprimée par l'adjectif μελάγχολος "rendu noir par la bile", adjectif par ailleurs extrêmement rare dans la littérature grecque ultérieure.[20] Puisque sa première attestation se lit dans les *Trachiniennes* de Sophocle, nous allons entreprendre une archéologie de la mélancolie herculéenne, en nous appuyant sur les paroles du centaure Nessos.

3. Aux origines de Hercules melancholicus : Les *Trachiniennes*

Les *Trachiniennes* représentent l'une des plus anciennes tragédies de Sophocle que l'on peut dater autour de 440. avant notre ère.[21] Il s'agit, rappelons-le, d'une structure en diptyque, mettant en scène d'abord le drame de Déjanire, épouse cherchant à regagner l'amour de son mari à l'aide d'un philtre magique, puis celui d'Héraclès, causé par cette même substance qui s'avère être un poison.

[19] Cf. von Staden 1992, 148–149.

[20] En effet, l'attestation de l'adjectif μελάγχολος dans les *Trachiniennes* est non seulement sa première attestation, mais aussi sa seule occurrence dans la littérature grecque de l'époque classique. Cf. *LSJ*, s.*v.* μελάγχολος.

[21] Comme il est bien connu, la datation des *Trachiniennes* représente un des problèmes difficiles dans l'étude de l'œuvre de Sophocle, mais il est généralement admis qu'il faut les placer parmi les tragédies les plus anciennes, avec *Ajax* et *Antigone*. Pour ce qui est de la date précise, il est impossible de l'établir et on propose plutôt la période entre 457. et 430. avant notre ère comme son cadre chronologique. Voir Easterling 1982, 19–23.

L'occurrence de l'adjectif μελάγχολος se situe dans la première partie de la tragédie, à l'intérieur du monologue de Déjanire :

> ἐὰν γὰρ ἀμφίθρεπτον αἷμα τῶν ἐμῶν
> σφαγῶν ἐνέγκῃ χερσὶν ᾗ μελαγχόλους
> ἔβαψεν ἰοὺς θρέμμα Λερναίας ὕδρας,
> ἔσται φρενός σοι τοῦτο κηλητήριον
> τῆς Ἡρακλείας, ὥστε μήτιν' εἰσιδὼν
> στέρξει γυναῖκα κεῖνος ἀντὶ σοῦ πλέον.[22]
>
> Si tu ramasses avec tes mains le sang
> coagulé autour de ma plaie, là où
> l'Hydre de Lerne a enduit les flèches pour les rendre noires de sa bile,
> cela te servira de charme pour le cœur
> d'Héraclès, pour qu'il n'aime aucune
> autre femme qu'il voie plus que toi.

Les paroles que l'on vient de lire sont celles du centaure Nessos. Après avoir essayé de violer Déjanire, il se trouve blessé à mort par l'une des flèches d'Héraclès. Avant de mourir, il prononce ces mots ambigus par lesquels il arrive à tromper Déjanire et à lui faire croire que la substance coagulée autour de sa plaie, faite de son sang et du venin des flèches d'Héraclès, représente un philtre d'amour, alors qu'il ne s'agit en réalité que d'un poison mortel. La syntaxe de ces vers est problématique, ce qui a incité les philologues à proposer plusieurs émendations et interprétations du texte, mais l'on peut considérer que l'adjectif μελάγχολος est ici employé de façon proleptique.[23] Cet emploi ainsi que la position marquée de μελάγχολος, en fin de vers, soulignent la qualité importante que l'Hydre de Lerne fournit aux flèches herculéennes : elle les rend noires à l'aide de sa propre bile. La bile du monstre est évidemment vénéneuse, ainsi le premier terme de ce composé peut renvoyer autant à sa couleur réelle qu'à la valeur symbolique, funeste, de la *noirceur*.

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[22] Soph. *Trach.* 572–577 = Easterling 1982, 46.

[23] Pour les différentes leçons et interprétations de ces vers voir Long 1967, West 1979, Easterling 1982 et Davies 1991.

Dans sa monographie consacrée à la mélancolie et aux mélancoliques dans les théories médicales de l'Antiquité, H. Flashar note bien que les notions de "noirceur" et de "bile" semblent réunies pour la première fois dans ce texte-là précisément.[24] Lorsque l'on songe au fait que Sophocle est proche d'un héros et d'un dieu guérisseurs, on peut supposer que la pensée médicale ne lui est pas étrangère.[25] Ainsi, H. Flashar veut bien admettre que l'emploi de l'adjectif μελάγχολος témoigne des connaissances médicales de Sophocle, mais il souligne que son contexte n'implique pas la théorie selon laquelle la bile noire serait une humeur constitutive du corps humain, d'autant plus qu'il s'agit, d'après H. Flashar, du sang de l'Hydre.[26] Il est vrai que l'adjectif μελάγχολος dans les *Trachiniennes* ne renvoie ni à la théorie humorale ni à la bile noire en tant qu'humeur physiologique, mais nous ne suivons pas H. Flashar quant au deuxième point.

En effet, une tradition bien attestée rapporte qu'Héraclès s'était servi de la bile du monstre et non de son sang.[27] Si l'on adopte cette version du mythe, l'intention de Sophocle se montre comme plus claire : les flèches littéralement "mélancoliques" d'Héraclès deviennent infaillibles grâce à la bile noire de l'Hydre. La figure de *Hercules melancholicus* peut dès lors se comprendre d'une façon différente, puisqu'il s'agit du héros aux flèches mélancoliques, à la fois noircies par la bile et au venin funeste. L'Hydre de Lerne est le monstre qui permet au héros de devenir un archer redoutable et de gagner une force supplémentaire grâce aux flèches trempées de sa bile. On peut donc dire que la bile noire de l'Hydre de Lerne parachève la formation héroïque d'Héraclès et c'est précisément à partir du moment où il dispose de ces nouvelles armes infaillibles qu'il devient le plus grand héros grec.

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[24] Voir Flashar 1966, 37 et notes 35 et 36.

[25] H. Flashar cite les recherches de Th. Zielinski, qui va jusqu'à considérer que Sophocle était un médecin. On sait en tout cas qu'il était membre d'un groupe rendant un culte au héros-médecin Amynos et qu'il a donné asile en 421 à la statue d'Asclépios. Voir Flashar 1966, 37 et Vernant & Vidal-Naquet 2001, 150.

[26] P. Vidal-Naquet et J. Starobinski adoptent la même version du mythe, voir Starobinski 2012, 23 : "C'est l'adjectif "melancholos" qu'utilise Sophocle pour désigner la toxicité mortelle du sang de l'hydre de Lerne, dont Héraclès a trempé ses flèches." Voir aussi Vernant & Vidal-Naquet 2001, 154–155.

[27] La version du mythe rapportant qu'Héraclès trempe ses flèches dans la bile de l'Hydre se trouve chez Pausanias et Apollonios de Rhodes. Voir Paus. 2,37 et Ap. Rhod. 4,1404.

D'autre part, Diodore de Sicile et pseudo-Apollodore nous transmettent la version du mythe, selon laquelle le centaure inclut dans les ingrédients du philtre non pas le venin de l'Hydre, mais son propre sperme.[28] Il est bien possible que le mythe ait été modifié par Sophocle, qui aurait remplacé le sperme du centaure par le venin de l'Hydre de Lerne. P. Vidal-Naquet remarque d'ailleurs très justement à ce propos que cette modification permet de "boucler le cercle qu'est la tragédie" :

> "En introduisant cette modification, Sophocle ne cherche pas à "atténuer la brutalité de la version primitive" (Paul Mazon), il lie l'action par laquelle Déjanire tue "involontairement", mais poussée par l'amour, son époux Héraclès, au plus utile, au plus incontestable des exploits de celui-ci: la liquidation d'un monstre".[29]

On peut toutefois aller plus loin, en insistant sur la dimension ironique de cette modification sophocléenne : la substance ayant rendu le héros invincible est celle qui finira par le vaincre. Nous allons voir que c'est précisément dans cette ambivalence que se situe la figure d'Héraclès, surtout sophocléenne et, dans une moindre mesure, euripidéenne aussi.

4. Héraclès sophocléen et Héraclès euripidéen

P. Toohey analyse la figure d'Héraclès telle qu'elle a été mise en scène par Euripide, en considérant qu'il s'agit là d'un véritable *Hercules melancholicus*, figure introduite par le *Problème XXX*.1. Il justifie sa démarche par le fait que le *Problème XXX*.1 évoque la folie meurtrière du héros comme l'une des manifestations de sa mélancolie.[30] P. Toohey souligne toutefois que le concept aristotélicien de la mélancolie se montre comme double, car un excès de la bile noire peut se manifester soit sous forme de délires et d'éruptions d'ulcères, si la bile est trop échauffée, soit sous forme d'apoplexies et de torpeurs, si la bile est froide. C'est ainsi que l'on peut considérer, selon Toohey, que la mélancolie d'Héraclès

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[28] Diod. Sic. 4,36, Apollod. *Bibl.* 2,15 1,

[29] Vernant & Vidal-Naquet 2001, 154–155.

[30] Toohey 2004, 35–36.

euripidéen est une mélancolie "agitée", une manie. Il s'agirait là d'une conception "populaire" de la mélancolie que l'on retrouve également dans la comédie.[31]

L'interprétation proposée par Toohey, qui voit dans le Héraclès euripidéen le modèle de *Hercules melancholicus* n'est pas complète toutefois sans les *Trachiniennes*. En effet, les deux auteurs traitent la figure d'Héraclès de deux manières fort différentes, mais complémentaires : Euripide donne beaucoup de place au personnage d'Héraclès et montre son évolution psychologique, alors que Sophocle nous met sous les yeux un être égocentrique et brutal, monolithique, extrêmement violent.[32] D'une manière générale, il a déjà été noté que le Héraclès sophocléen appartient plus au mythe et à un héroïsme archaïque qu'à la société athénienne du Vème siècle, à laquelle appartiendrait le personnage de Déjanire.[33] Il en ressort que le Héraclès sophocléen n'est pas malade de la même manière que celui d'Euripide et si ce dernier est bien atteint dans ses facultés mentales, le premier est surtout atteint dans son intégrité corporelle et est confronté à son anéantissement physique, à la mort.[34]

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[31] Toohey 2004, 33 : "Depression may have been synonymous with melancholia for most medical practitioners, but that, as I have indicated, was not the case for the literary and popular imagination. Popular imagining seems to have viewed the melancholic as a kind of Euripidean Orestes. It is this tradition that the systematizing author of the *Problema* was attempting to accomodate when he spoke of the mania produced by the overheating of the black bile. This tradition associated madness and violence, that is, mania with melancholia."

[32] P. Easterling note que le Héraclès de Sophocle n'occupe la scène que pendant les 300 derniers vers, et on peut ajouter que celui d'Euripide l'occupe pendant 900 vers. Voir Easterling 1982, 6 : "He, by contrast, occupies the stage for only 300 lines, and although he is given some superb rhetoric he has nothing like Deianira's poetic range, nothing to put him in the same class as Ajax or Philoctetes. He is shown to be egocentric, brutally callous, violent to an extreme degree – all this is stressed through the reactions of the sympathetic Hyllus. Finally, he is in no position to take morally interesting decisions, and there is nothing here to compare with the new depth of insight achieved by the Heracles of Euripides' play."

[33] Ch. Segal propose de voir dans le personnage de Déjanire l'incarnation des valeurs d'un *oikos*, qui s'opposeraient à la sauvagerie de la nature, à l'héroïsme archaïque et à la violence bestiale représentés par le personnage d'Héraclès. Voir Segal 1977.

[34] Cette diversité de pathologies hérculéennes a été notée et analysée par G. Dumézil comme sanctionnant trois différentes transgressions du héros, en lien avec les trois fonctions duméziliennes. Voir Dumézil 1969, 89–98.

Cependant, les deux figures d'Héraclès souffrant ne sont pas sans montrer quelques points de convergence. Comme l'a très bien montré H. von Staden, le mythe hérculéen est caractérisé de façon importante par une "réversibilité"[35] et le motif sophocléen de flèches "noircies par la bile de l'Hydre", causant à la fois victoire et auto-destruction, participe de ce mouvement dans le mythe. Or, chez Euripide, le motif des flèches trempées dans le venin du monstre semble s'inscrire dans ce même mouvement car, lorsque le choeur chante les exploits du héros dont il pleure en même temps la mort présumée, il n'oublie pas de souligner l'origine de l'efficacité redoutable de l'archer :

> τάν τε μυριόκρανον
> πολύφονον κύνα Λέρνας
> ὕδραν ἐξεπύρωσεν,
> βέλεσί τ᾽ἀμφέβαλ᾽ <ἰόν>,
> τὸν τρισώματον οἷσιν ἔ
> κτα βοτῆρ᾽ Ερυθείας.[36]

[35] Nous nous permettons de citer *in extenso* l'énumération des éléments de mythe que von Staden propose pour étayer cette notion de réversibilité perçue comme l'une des caractéristiques les plus saillantes de la geste d'Héraclès : "the anadromous thread of poisonous destruction that runs from Heracles back to Heracles himself (Nessus' blood, in the philtre, was poisoned by Heracles' fatal, monstruosly black-biled (!) arrow [Sophocles, *Trachiniae,* 573], and in the reversal Heracles thus is destroyed by his own poison, by himself ; the blood of the vanquished sets on fire the blood of the conqueror) ; Heracles living skin- and flesh-fire, "sent" from death by a Centaur (Nessus), and extinguishable only by the self-imposed fire of death ; the victorious slayer's skin agony, brought on by his slain victim, that can be overcome only by the victor's self-slaying ; the wearer of exceptional skin (the lion's) becoming the victim of exceptional skin ; the sacrifier who has to sacrifice himself ; the civilizer and unstoppable tamer who finally encounters the untameble...on his own body surface ; the father who threw his children by one wife, Megara, into a fire is himself consumed by the fiery heat sent by another wife, which in turn necessitates the transforming fire on Mount Oeta ; the destroyer by fire is destroyed, led by the fire of Deianeira into the fire of the pyre." Cf. von Staden 1992, 145.

[36] Eur. *HF* 419–424 = Diggle 1981, 133. Le texte pose problème au vers 422, car le seul manuscrit qui garde la tragédie en entier donne un τόν dénoué de sens. Wecklein a proposé d'y lire ἰόν, et cette conjecture a été adoptée par tous les éditeurs modernes, depuis Willamowitz-Moellendorff. G. Bond, le dernier commentateur d'*Hercule furieux* s'appuye d'ailleurs sur le texte des *Trachiniennes* où le venin de l'Hydre est également désigne par le mot ἰός. Cf. Bond 1981, 174.

Le monstre aux mille têtes,
La chienne de Lerne tueuse d'hommes,
Héraclès la brûla, l'Hydre,
Et il enduisit ses flèches de son venin,
Flèches par lesquelles il tua
Le bouvier d'Erythie à trois corps.

Il s'agit ici de la partie finale du thrène évoquant les dixième et onzième exploits hérculéens, qui précèdent le dernier exploit, la descente dans le Hadès. Après avoir consacré quatre vers à l'Hydre, Euripide évoque rapidement, en deux vers, le onzième exploit, les boeufs de Géryon, la transition étant assurée par le thème des flèches précisément. En réalité, les deux exploits se confondent, puisque la particule τε, qui sert à introduire chacun des dix autres travaux, met en valeur dans le vers 422 non pas l'exploit, mais le geste d'Héraclès, celui d'enduire de venin monstrueux les flèches à l'aide desquels il tuera ensuite Géryon.[37] Par ailleurs, l'ordre dans lequel Euripide expose les travaux n'est pas l'ordre traditionnel des mythographes, où le Lion de Némée est immédiatement suivi par l'Hydre de Lerne, et l'on peut penser que cela n'est pas dû au hasard.[38] En effet, si les deux travaux qui permettent à Héraclès d'acquérir ses attributs guerriers encadrent tous les autres hormis le dernier, la descente aux Enfers, cela fait sens dans l'économie générale de la pièce, qui s'ouvre précisément par ce dernier exploit et qui déroule devant nos yeux une nouvelle descente aux Enfers du héros, loué précisément pour être un archer, puis commettant son crime avec ses flèch-

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[37] G. Bond souligne que le tout premier exploit, *Le lion de Némée*, est introduit par πρῶτον μέν, alors que tous les suivants sont introduits par τε, ce qui lui permet d'écarter la thèse de Brommer, selon laquelle il n'y aurait que 11 travaux dans la liste d'Euripide. En même temps, le commentateur semble gêné par la structure des vers 419–424 et conseille de comprendre le vers 422 comme appartenant au 10 et non pas au 11 exploit hérculéen, ce qui infirme son analyse d'une "structure claire" où la particule τε sert invariablement à introduire un nouvel exploit. Cf. Bond 1981, 153, n. 1 et 175.

[38] Evidemment, il ne peut pas être question au Vème siècle d'un canon de douze travaux déjà établi, comme le souligne Bond, mais en même temps nos témoignages montrent qu'il existait déjà à cet époque "a basic set of labours common to most accounts", pour reprendre les mots de G. Bond. Qui plus est, dans certains textes les travaux cités sont ordonnés selon l'ordre traditionnel. Par exemple, dans les *Trachiniennes*, l'Hydre de Lerne est évoquée à la suite du Lion de Némée, cf. Soph. *Trach.* 1092–1094.

es.[39] Deux autres vers, par lesquels Amphitryon explique à Thésée les circonstances dans lesquelles Héraclès a commis l'infanticide, soulignent l'importance du motif des flèches empoisonnées pour la déchéance herculéenne :

μαινομένῳ πιτύλῳ πλαγχθείς
ἑκατονκεφάλου βαφαῖς ὕδρας[40]

Égaré par un coup délirant
par les flèches de l'Hydre à cent têtes

Ces deux vers sont difficiles à interpréter, car ils font partie de la stichomythie entre Thésée et Amphitryon dans laquelle l'ordre des vers a certainement été perturbé.[41] Selon Bond, Amphitryon répond à Thésée en précisant la motivation du crime (la folie) et l'instrument employé (les flèches), et c'est ainsi que la plupart de commentateurs et de traducteurs interprètent ce passage. Cependant, même si dans ce cas le venin de l'Hydre n'est pas la cause de la folie d'Héraclès – les dieux s'en sont chargés – l'étroite association des deux motifs, celui de la folie et celui des flèches trempées dans le venin, renvoie à cette réversibilité herculéenne, où l'arme parachevant la formation du héros devient l'instrument de son propre anéantissement. Il est possible même que l'intertexte d'Euripide soit ici précisément celui des *Trachiniennes*, puisque le substantif βαφή "trempe" n'est utilisé métonymiquement pour les flèches nulle part ailleurs dans la tragédie grecque, alors que Sophocle utilise le verbe βάπτω "tremper" dans le passage des *Trachiniennes* cité plus haut.

À la différence d'Euripide, Sophocle établit clairement le lien entre l'Hydre et la déchéance physique du héros. En effet, lorsque le choeur explique l'origine de la maladie d'Héraclès, il l'associe expressément au venin du monstre :

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[39] L'éloge de l'archer que prononce Amphytron dans son *agôn* avec Lycos est évidemment à notre esprit, cf. Eur. *HF* 188.

[40] Eur. *HF* 1187–1188 = Diggle 1981, 164.

[41] Pour U. Wilamowitz-Moelledorff, il s'agit d'une perturbation de vers qui rend leur compréhension difficile, car l'on ne comprend pas bien le lien entre les vers. Il propose un ordre de vers différent de celui dans la tradition manuscrite, mais c'est la transposition de Dobree qui est aujourd'hui généralement admise, cf. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1969, 242 et Bond 1981, 367.

Εἰ γάρ σφε Κενταύρου φονίᾳ νεφέλᾳ
χρίει δολοποιὸς ἀνάγκα
πλευρά, προστακέντος ἰοῦ
ὃν τέκετο θάνατος, ἔτρεφε δ᾽αἰόλος δράκων,
πῶς ὅδ᾽ἂν ἀέλιον ἕτερον ἢ τανῦν ἴδοι,
δεινοτάτῳ μὲν ὕδρας
προστετακὼς
φάσματι, μελαγχαίτα τ᾽
ἄμμιγά νιν αἰκίζει
φόνια δολιόμυ-
θα κέντρ᾽ ἐπιζέσαντα;[42]

Si la contrainte trompeuse de Centaure
Lui enduit les flancs d'un nuage de sang,
Le venin se fondant avec lui,
Venin créé par la mort et nourri par le serpent scintillant,
Comment pourrait-il voir la lumière du Soleil demain ?
Comment le pourrait-il, fondu avec le fantôme si horrible de l'Hydre,
Avec l'aiguillon assassin et menteur de la Crinière Noire qui,
Après avoir fait éruption, le tourmente ?

Dans cette première antistrophe du troisième stasimon, l'on insiste sur la ruse comme l'aspect dominant du crime de Nessos (δολοποιὸς, δολιόμυθα), alors que le rôle de l'Hydre est surtout celui de pourvoyeur de venin, qu'elle avait nourri en son sein. Cependant, ce n'est pas tant l'origine que l'effet du venin, évoqué à travers le mot φάσμα "forme, apparition", qui frappe le lecteur. Ce mot a déconcerté bon nombre de lecteurs, puisque l'on a pensé que le participe προστετακώς indiquait que le mot φάσματι devait être corrompu et qu'il avait du remplacer un autre mot désignant le venin de l'Hydre.[43] Cependant, comme

[42] Soph. *Trach.* 831–840.

[43] Pour une explication détaillée du problème et pour une liste d'émendations proposées, voir Jebb 1892, 195. Jebb lui-même avait gardé φάσματι dans son édition. Dans son commentaire aux *Trachiniennes*, M. Davies insiste sur le fait que le mot φάσμα a été suspecté par un grand nombre d'éditeurs qui ne trouvaient aucun sens à la phrase et que de nombreuses émendations ont été proposées. Cependant, l'édition récente de Hugh Lloyd-Jones écarte l'idée d'une corruption et garde le mot φάσμα. Cf. Davies 1991, 200–201.

le souligne P. Easterling, il n'y a aucune raison de penser qu'Héraclès est littéralement saisi par l'Hydre et R. C. Jebb explique l'emploi du verbe προστήκω "se fondre" par son sens littéral, c'est-à-dire par l'image de la chair d'Héraclès se fondant avec le venin de l'Hydre.[44]

Il nous semble toutefois que l'on peut aller encore plus loin, en rappelant au lecteur qu'avant d'être la cause de sa mort, la bile de l'Hydre est l'une des armes d'Héraclès. Tout comme il récupère la dépouille du lion de Némée pour s'en vêtir, Héraclès se sert de la bile du monstre pour rendre ses flèches infaillibles : non seulement il vainc les monstres, mais il "s'approprie leurs qualités principales", pour reprendre l'heureuse expression de P. Sauzeau.[45] Ce dernier, dans ses recherches consacrées aux éléments de la mythologie grecque qui s'apparentent au thème des *berserkir*, ces guerriers "sauvages" de la mythologie scandinave, analyse le cas d'Héraclès et note que l'appropriation des parties du corps de l'adversaire vaincu renvoie à l'une des caractéristiques principales des *berserkir*, la métamorphose. Or, l'on trouve dans notre texte des indices d'une métamorphose d'Héraclès en Hydre ou du moins d'une confusion entre les deux êtres dont témoignent aussi bien les deux occurrences du verbe προστήκομαι que l'emploi du mot φάσμα : l'image qui surgit devant nos yeux est alors celle d'une interpénétration mutuelle des deux formes, celle d'un corps souffrant et celle d'un monstre, incarné par sa bile. Notre interprétation semble être confirmée par le scholiaste qui explique de la manière suivante le mot φάσμα :

> φάσματι τουτέστι τῷ ἱματίῳ τῷ κεχρισμένῳ τῷ φαρμάκῳ τῆς ὕδρας τουτέστι τῇ χολῇ[46]
>
> avec le fantôme : c'est-à-dire avec le vêtement enduit de la drogue de l'Hydre c'est-à-dire de sa bile

Le substantif χολή, par lequel le scholiaste explicite le sens du mot φάρμακον, associe donc clairement le fantôme "collé" à Héraclès au venin de l'Hydre. On arrive enfin ici à la figure de *Hercules melancholicus*, *mélancolique* car pénétré

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[44] Easterling 1982, 178 et Jebb 1892, 125.

[45] Sauzeau 2003, 105.

[46] Xenis 2010, 193.

et rongé par la bile noire du monstre, la même qui assura l'efficacité de ses armes auparavant.

Conclusion

Au terme de cette nouvelle lecture de ces quelques textes bien connus que sont les *Épidémies* hippocratiques, le *Problème XXX*.1 pseudo-aristotélicien, les *Trachiniennes* sophocléennes et *Héraclès furieux* d'Euripide, nous espérons avoir montré que la position d'Héraclès en tête du cortège des mélancoliques exceptionnels n'est pas le fruit du hasard. Bien plus, notre analyse tend à montrer qu'il n y'a pas lieu d'opposer, comme le fait R. Padel, les crimes d'Héraclès au génie créateur de Platon. D'une façon symbolique, l'association précoce d'Héraclès à la bile noire, celle de l'Hydre de Lerne, permet de comprendre que le génie d'Héraclès réside dans la force que lui donne "le poison mélancolique", pour reprendre les mots de J. Starobinski.[47] Sans surprise, c'est la même substance qui le rendra faible, malade.

En ouverture de son analyse de la figure d'Héraclès mélancolique telle qu'elle a été bâtie dans le théâtre de Sénèque, J. Pigeaud souligne le fait – énoncé par Junon dans *Hercule sur l'Oeta* – qu'Héraclès est soi-même son plus grand ennemi, qu'il cherche à se vaincre soi-même.[48] J. Pigeaud insiste à ce propos sur l'inversion de la figure du sage : les deux, le fou et le sage, sont forts et cherchent à se vaincre, l'un par la sagesse, l'autre par la folie. Il nous semble que cette métaphore sénéquienne de la condition humaine est anticipée par la place que Sophocle donne à la bile noire du monstre dans les *Trachiniennes* : à la fois force et faiblesse, elle renferme en elle le paradoxe du héros mélancolique.

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[47] Starobinski 2012, 23.

[48] Pigeaud 2006^3, 407–408.

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ANALECTA EPIGRAPHICA

Heikki Solin

319. NEUE UND SELTENE LATEINISCHE COGNOMINA

Hier diesmal nur eine kurze Nachlese.[1]

Attus: Kajanto 176 mit vier Belegen (die Belege aus den gallischen und germanischen Provinzen [s. *Names on Terra Sigillata* 1 (2008), 325] sowie aus Noricum sind aber eher epichorisch). Dazu *IGI Napoli* 16 (claudisch) Νάουιος Ἄττος. Es stellt sich die Frage, was dieser Mann mit dem legendären Augur aus der römischen Frühzeit Attus Navius zu tun hat. Handelt es sich um die aus der Kaiserzeit einigermaßen bekannte Gewohnheit, in normalen römischen Familien Namen von berühmten Gestalten römischer Geschichte anzueignen?

Auricula: Kajanto 224 mit fünf Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1979, 116 (Castrimoenium, 2./ 3. Jh., wahrscheinlich Sklavenname).

!Καληδιανός: Kajanto 142 mit einem griechischen Beleg (jetzt *IGNapoli* 34, zweimal) ist nicht aus dem Gentilnamen *Caledius* abgeleitet, wie Kajanto meint, sondern aus *Caledus*, weil der Vater des einen ein Κάληδος war.

Caledio: *ILAlg* II 3950 (Castellum Tidditanorum in Numidien) *Pontius Caledio* (ca 2./3. Jh.).

Caledus: Kajanto 178 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *Names on Terra Sigillata* 2 (2008) 65 (tiberisch); *ICret* I, VII 19 (Chersonesos auf Kreta, 3. Jh. n. Chr.) Π. Σέρ<γι>ος Κάληδος.

[1] Polly Lohmann danke ich herzlich für die sprachliche Durchsicht des Textes. – Von Abkürzungen sei diese notiert: B. Hartley – G. B. Dannell – B. M. Dickinson (ed.), *Names on Terra Sigillata* = *Names on Terra Sigillata. An Index of makers' stamps and signatures on Gallo-Roman Terra Sigillata (Samian Ware)*, 1–9, London 2008–2012.

Frugianus: Kajanto 253 mit einem Beleg. *Rep*. 335 mit einem Beleg aus Hierapolis. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 253 und 41 (2007) 94 mit weiteren kleinasiatischen Belegen. Dazu *SEG* XLIII 865–866 (Sardis, 222–235 n. Chr.); *SEG* XV 807 = *IJO* II 173 (Akmoneia in Phrygien, 248 n. Chr., Jude?).

Frugilla: *Rep*.[2] 335, 499 mit einem stadtrömischen und mehreren kleinasiatischen Belegen. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 173 und 40 (2014) 367 mit weiteren kleinasiatischen Belegen. Dazu noch *SEG* XL 1089 (Lydien, 217 n. Chr.); XLIII 865 (Sardis, 2. Jh. n. Chr.); J.-L. Ferrary, *Les mémoriaux de délégations du sanctuaire oraculaire de Claros, d'après la documentation conservée dans le Fonds Louis Robert (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres)*, Paris 2014, 371 Nr. 117 (unbekannter Herkunft, 150/1 n. Chr.) Φλ. Φρούγιλλα.

Φρούγιλλος: Ferrary, *Mémoriaux* (s. den vorhergehenden Namen) 578 Nr. 296 (Kaisareia Germanike in Bithynien, ca 221/222 n. Chr.) Δεινόμαχος Φρουγίλλου. Der Name war mit einem -λ- geschrieben schon bekannt: *Arctos* 35 (2001) 200. Der entsprechende Frauenname Φρούγιλλα wurde üblicherweise im griechischen Osten gebraucht (s. oben).

Frugio: Kajanto 253 mit einem Beleg aus Tergeste. Dazu *CIL* V 4474 = *Inscr. It*. X 5, 263 (Brixia) *L. Septumio Frugio[ni]* zwei. Kaum Dativ aus *Frugius*, weil dies ein später Name ist, während die Inschrift nicht später sein kann als aus dem 2. Jh.

Φρούγιος: *Rep*. 335 mit einem Beleg aus Ephesos. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 173 mit weiteren kleinasiatischen Belegen. 41 (2007) 94 mit weiteren östlichen Belegen. Dazu *I. Kos* EF 144 Οὐλπίου Ἑρμοῦ Φρουγίου; *TAM* IV 1, 91 (Nikomedeia, Vater und Sohn) Φρούγις Φρουγίου); *I. Kyzikos* I 248 (2. Jh. n. Chr.) Τι. Ἰούλ. Φρούγεις; *I. Sinope* 127 (1./2. Jh.) Λούκιος Ἀντώνιος Φρούγις. 151 (1./2. Jh.) Κ. Λικίννιος Φρούγις; *JHS* 19 (1899) 129 Nr. 149 (Galatien) Φρούγις; *SEG* VI 572 (Antiocheia Pisid.) Λ. Ἰούλιος Φρο[ύ]γις; *IGR* IV 1589 Φρούγις (aus Ikonion, 139/140 n. Chr.).

!*Gaudianus*: Kajanto 260 mit zwei Belegen aus Pompeji (mit der Frage, ob die zwei Belege sich auf ein und denselben Mann beziehen, was gut möglich ist). *Arctos* 42 (2008) 221. In *CIL* IV 2456 ist wohl zu lesen (aufgrund der Autopsie von 2017) *C*. (oder *G*.) *Gaudiani M[ar]celli* (in dem anderen pompejanischen Beleg in 2433 ist *Gaudian(---)* zu lesen, wie die Autopsie von 2017 ergeben hat; d. h. es ist nicht möglich zu bestimmen, ob ein Gentilicium oder Cognomen vorliegt). Wenn dem so ist, dann liegt hier der Gentilname *Gaudi-*

an(i)us vor, der sonst aus Cirta in Numidien bekannt ist (*CIL* VIII 7371 = *ILAlg* II 2068a) *L. Gaudian[(i)us] L. f. Victor*.

Germus: *Rep*. 339 mit zwei Belegen und Bemerkungen zur sprachlichen Herkunft des Namens. Dazu *CIL* VI 19031 vgl. *Suppl. It. Imagines Roma* 5, 5211 *Germus l(ibertus)*.

Laronianus: G. Paolucci, *Il territorio di Chianciano Terme dalla preistoria al medioevo*, Roma 1988, 56 = G. Caracciolo - G. L. Gregori, in *Epigrafia e società dell'Etruria romana. Atti del convegno di Firenze (23–24 ottobre 2015)*, Roma 2017, 156–158 Nr. 3 (Clusium, Röm. Ritter, zweite Hälfte des 1. Jh. n. Chr) *[---] Laroniani proc. [A]ug. ad censum provincia[e L]ugudunensis, trib(uni) [mi]lit(um) leg. I Italica[e in] Moesia inferiore ---]*. Die Lesung des Namens scheint sicher (aus dem Foto zu schließen, könnte links ein Buchstabe fehlen, es gibt aber keine Namen auf *-laroni-* mit Buchstaben vor L). Abgeleitet mit dem überaus häufigen Suffix *-ianus* aus dem Gentilnamen *Laronius*, der einigermaßen belegt in Rom, Italien und den Provinzen ist, auch in Etrurien (*CIL* XI 1877 aus Arretium; *AE* 2969/1970, 184 aus Luca). Ferner *IK* 10, 1344 (Nikaia in Bithynien) Λαρωνιανὸς Λούπου υἱός.

Lorentinus: F. Lezzi, *Atlante tematico di topografia antica* 27 (2017) 82 (Wasserleitungsrohr) *Lorentinus r(ei) p(ublicae) R(eatinorum) ser*. Ableitung mit dem recht geläufigen Suffix *-inus* aus dem Gentilnamen *Lorentius*, einigermaßen in Rom und Italien bezeugt. Uns war schon ein anderes aus *Lorentius* abgeleitetes Cognomen bekannt, Λωρεντιανός aus *I. Perge* 457 (zur Deutung des Namens s. *Arctos* 38 [2004] 177).

Mamus: Kajanto 176 mit einem Beleg. *Arctos* 36 (2002) 112. Dazu *IGI Napoli* 93 Μᾶμος.

!*Manio*: Kajanto 173. Der pompejanische Beleg *CIL* IV 1404 bleibt unsicher (in der Kritzelei wird eher der Dativ von *Manius* vorliegen). Dazu *CIL* V 8768 Concordia, zwischen 394–402 n. Chr.) *arca Manioni milete e numero Brucherum* (sic); *ICERV* 558 (unsicher und vielleicht mittelalterlich).

!*Mater*: Kajanto 303 mit vier Belegen, von denen aber CIL VI 20945 = I² 1322 auszunehmen ist, denn dort liegt sicher *mater* vor.[2]

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2 Epitaph einer Familie der Iventii, deren Mitglieder teils mit, teils ohne Cognomen versehen sind. Dass in Zeile 3 die Mutter der Familie genannt wird und somit *Fulvia L. f. mater* zu verstehen sei, leuchtet ohne weiteres ein.

Nero: Kajanto 176 mit sieben Belegen aus *CIL* außerhalb des Senatorenstandes. *Arctos* 49 (2015) 208f. Dazu noch *AE* 1992, 1439 (Pannonia superior, 131-170 n. Chr.) *Nero Sab[i]ni mil. coh. I Ael. sag(ittariorum)*; *BCH* 33 (1909) 53 Nr. 21 (Kappadokien).

Νερώνιος: *Studia Pontica* III 52 Neoklaudiopolis in Paphlagonien) Καπίτων Νερωνίου ὀρεσιδρόμος. Wenn nicht das Gentilicium *Neronius* (diese Möglichkeit könnte ausgeschlossen werden, wenn die Inschrift spät wäre, eine genauere Datierung liegt mir aber nicht vor).

Nona: *Arctos* 45 (2011) 152f. aus Delos im Namen einer Ῥωμαία. Dazu *IG* II^2 7925 (2./ 1. Jh.) Νώνη Δημητρίου Ἀνκυρανή, wo vielleicht eher ein kleinasiatischer Lallname vorliegt; vgl. L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, Prag 1964, 367, dessen Urteil aber etwas schwankend ist.

Νώνιλλα: W. M. Ramsay, *The cities and bishoprics of Phrygia*, Oxford 1895, 657 Nr. 596 (Akmonia) Νώνιλλα Ῥούφου.

!*Ovina*: Kajanto 328 verschwindet. In dem von ihm zitierten Beleg *CIL* VIII 18815, ist *Quinta* zu lesen, vgl. 18950 und vor allem *ILAlg* II 4629, wo die richtige Lesung endgültig festgelegt wird. Wie *Ovina* in *HEp* 1996, 889 = *AE* 1995, 872 zu beurteilen ist, bleibt offen; ob epichorisch?

Pacula: Kajanto 262 mit drei Belegen. *Arctos* 43 (2009) Dazu *IGI Locri* 90, 9 (Defixio aus der zweiten Hälfte des 3. Jh. v. Chr.) Πακύλαν (Akk.). Der Editor L. Del Monaco vermutet hier den Namen Πακύλλα (sic! ich würde Πάκυλλα schreiben) mit Vereinfachung des Doppelkonsonantes geschrieben. Das kann sein; jedenfalls wäre ein Frauenname *Paculla* im 3. Jh. v. Chr. in Süditalien als ein altes oskisches Praenomen nicht unwahrscheinlich.[3] *Pacula* bei Kajanto 176 mit drei Belegen. Doch kennen wir auch einen alten männlichen Vornamen *Paculus*,[4] so dass es letzten Endes nicht nötig ist, in der lokrischen Defixion eine Nebenform mit Vereinfachung von -λλ- in Anspruch zu nehmen. *Pacula* noch in *AE* 1987, 681 (Hisp. cit.) *Valeria Pacula*; *HEp* 1989, 152 (Norba in Lusitanien) *Pacula Silvani f.*

Pollianus: Kajanto 153 mit neun Belegen. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 180. 40 (2006) 137. 41 (2007) 171. 45 (2011) 156. Eine Handvoll von kleinasiatischen Belegen von Πωλλιανός (auch Πολ- geschrieben) in *LGPN* V.A 389 (20mal), V.B 371 (2mal) und V.C (10mal).

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[3] Zum Praenomen *Pacull*a s. M. Kajava, *Roman female Praenomina*, Helsinki 1995, 113. 134.

[4] Vgl. O. Salomies, *Die römischen Vornamen*, Helsinki 1987, 83.

Popiliana: *CIL* X 3995 *Afrania Popiliana* (frühe Kaiserzeit). Kajanto kennt nur den Männernamen *Popil(l)ianus* (s. gleich unten).

Popilianus: Kajanto 153 mit acht Belegen von *Popil(l)ianus*. Dazu *Suppl. It*. 4 Sulmo 39 (1. Jh. n. Chr.) *C. Septimius Popilianus evoc(atus) Aug(usti)*; *JHS* 11 (1890) 237 vgl. *ZPE* 15 (1974) 57 (Kilikien) Ποπι<λ>ιανός.

Ποπιλλιανή: Ferrary, *Mémoriaux* (s. oben unter *Frugilla*) 469 Nr. 192 und sonst (Kolophon, 171/2 n. Chr.) Κοκκηία Ποπιλλιανή.

Primigenes: *Rep*. 383. *Arctos* 37 (2003) 184. 41 (2007) 101. 43 (200) 171. Eine Handvoll von makedonischen Belegen in *LGPN* IV 290 (neunmal), von kleinasiatischen in *LGPN* V. A 380 (achtmal), V.B 364 (viermal) und V.C 368 (viermal, aus Eumeneia einmal und aus Laodikeia dreimal, diese aus 148 n. Chr.). In Ägypten: *PSI* VII 738 (Philadelphia in Arsinoites, 100 n. Chr.) Λουκίου Οὐαλερίου Πρειμιγένους; *P. Mich*. IV 1, 224, 4840 (Karanis in Arsinoites, 173 n. Chr.) Οὐαλέριος Πριμιγένης γεωργ(ός); *P. Mil*. I 2, 44 (Alexandreia(?), 2. Jh. n. Chr.) [---]ερίου Πριμιγένους; *P. Mil. Vogl*. III 200, 14 (Tebtynis in Arsinoites, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) Πριμιγένηι; *SB* 7559 (Tebtynis, 118 n. Chr.) Πριμιγένῃ ἀπελευθέρῳ = Πριμιγένους ἀπελευθέρου; *SB* 10948, 15 (Tebtynis(?), ca 2. Jh. n. Chr.) Πριμιγένη[ς].

Robia m.: ein Duovir *M. Rufellius Robia* in Herculaneum (G. Camodeca, *Ceti dirigenti di rango senatorio, equestre e decurionale della Campania romana* 1, Napoli 2008, 194–196), um Mitte des 1. Jh. n. Chr.; *Inscr. It*. X 5, 1077 (Brixia) *L. Tinnavius Robia VIvir Brixiae*. Möglich, aber unsicher *CIL* XII 4679 (Narbo) *C. Salario Robia[---]*. Camodeca sieht hier den metonymisch zum Anthroponym gewordenen Pflanzennamen *rubia*,[5] was möglich ist, doch etwas unsicher bleibt: in der literarischen Überlieferung ist *robia* nicht belegt, und jedenfalls ist *rubia* oder *rubea* die regelrechte Form – der Name kommt ja aus der roten Farbe der Pflanze; andererseits war da *robus* 'rot', und vgl. it. 'robbio' als Name der Pflanze; es ist also nicht ausgeschlossen, dass in der kolloquialen Sprache eine Nebenform *robia* vorhanden war und die Quelle des Anthroponyms wurde. – Als Anthroponym wurde *Robia* ein Commune; Belege des Frauenamens: *CILA* III 386 (Hisp. cit.) *Flaminia Robia*; *BCTH* 1941–1942, 42 (Thaenae in der prov. proc.) *Hateria Tertulla quae et Robia*.

[5] Zum Pflanzennamen J. André, *Lexique des termes de botanique en latin*, Paris 1956, 275 und *Les noms de plantes dans la Rome antique*, Paris 1985, 220.

Silianus: Kajanto 155 mit fünf Belegen (davon einer christl.). *Arctos* 35 (2001) 219. 38 (2004) 185; die Zahl der dort zitierten Mitglieder der pergamenischen Familie der Claudii Siliani kann nunmehr auf acht festgelegt werden (aufgezählt in *LGPN* V.A 403f). Dazu *ICUR* 10188*c*; *AE* 1988, 202 (Ostia) *P. Attius P. f. Pal. Silianus p[ra]et(or) sacri(s) Volk(ani) faciundis*; *AE* 2014, 319 (Nola) *N. Papius Si[l]ia[ni? l. Dion[---]*; *IG* II^2 2068 (155/6 n. Chr., Σειλ-). 3586 (ca. 135 n.Chr.) Γ. Κλαυδιος Σειλιανὸς Πολύκριτος; Paton - Hicks 230 Λού. Κλαύδιο[ς] Ἀντίοχος Δημήτριος Σειλιανός; *I.* Kalchedon 50 Ζώτιχος Σειλιανοῦ; *SEG* IV 194 (Halikarnassos, 3. Jh. n. Chr.) Μυρτίλιος Σειλιανός; Ferrary, *Mémoriaux* (s. oben zu *Frugilla*) 469 Nr. 192 (Aizanoi, 171/2 n. Chr.) Φλ. Σειλιανός; *SB* 10299 (Hermopolis, 264 n.Chr.) Σ[ι]λιανὸς Διονυσίου ἀγορ(ανόμος).

Traiana: Kajanto 157 mit einem Beleg aus Rom. Dazu *ICUR* 18066.

Traianus: Kajanto 157 mit vier Belegen außerhalb des Kaiserhauses. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 221f. 41 (2007) 104. Weitere kleinasiatische Belege in *LGPN* V.A 434 (dreimal; in Nr. 2 erscheinen Vater und Sohn), V.B 412 (einmal) und V.C 424 achtmal (zweimal aus Lykaonien und sechsmal aus Phrygien mit Belegen zwischen dem II und IV Jh.). Ferner noch etwa *MAMA* VIII 259 (Lykaonien) [---]ος Τραια[νός]; *SEG* XXVI 1506 (Zeugma) Λούκιος Φάβιος Τραιανός.

Trebulla: Kajanto 171 mit einem Beleg aus Tarracina. *Rep*. 413 aus Thebai in Ägypten. Dazu D. Fasolini, *Considerazioni di storia e di archeologia* 2017, 35f Nr. 3, Gebiet von Terventum, 1./ 2. Jh.) *Trebia N. f. Trebulla*.[6]

Vicaria: Kajanto 314 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1983, 212 (Luceria, 1. Jh. n. Chr.) *Vicariae Eutacti*.

Vicarianus(?): A. Woodward - P. Leach, *The Uley shrines*, London 1993, 129-149. Mir liegen keine verlässlichen Notizen zum Befund vor.

Vicarius: Kajanto 314 mit zehn Belegen. Dazu *AE* 2006, 336 (Brundisium, um Christi Geburt) *M. Caec[i]lius Vicarius*; *Inscr. It.* X 5, 469 (Brixia) *P. Papirius P. l. Vicarius*; *Suppl. It*. 17 Alba Pompeia 21 (2. Jh. n. Chr.) *C. Didius Ɔ. l. Vicarius*; *AE* 1973, 300 (Bracara Augusta in Hisp. cit.) *Proba Vicar(ii) f.*; *CILA* II 852 (Carmo in der Baetica) *Gallae Vicari*; *ERAEmerita* 393 (Emerita) *Vicarius Iuv(enti) Vitalis ser(vus)*; *Names on Terra Sigillata* 9 (2012) 226 (zweimal, 1. Jh. n. Chr.);[7] Leber 77 (Virunum) *Iulius Vicarius*; *I. Altava* 117 (406 n.

6 Ich danke herzlich Marco Buonocore, der mich auf den neuen Beleg aufmerksam gemacht hat.

7 Die Editoren postulieren als Nominativ *Vicarus*, kaum richtig; wenn zweimal auf dem Stempel

Chr.) *Flavius Vicarius*; *IAM* II 600 (Volubilis) *Cogitatus Vicario filio*; D. G. Hogarth, *Devia Cypria*, London 1889, 11 Nr. 6 (Paphos) Βικάριος.

320. FALSCHE NAMEN

Avia. Dieser Gentilname wird zuweilen als Cognomen gebraucht. So in *CIL* V 119 = *I. Aquileia* 893 liest man in Zeile 5 *[---]l. Aviae coniugi*. Der Editor Brusin von *I. Aquileia* hat eine *[---] l(iberta) Avia* im Sinne gehabt, wie aus dem Namenindex S. 1278 hervorgeht. Und da hat er Recht. Nicht immer aber durften die Editoren *Avia* als letztes Glied in der Namenformel einer Freigelassenen als Cognomen auffassen: es sind einige Fälle vorhanden, wo anstatt von *Avia* eher *avia* zu verstehen ist. So in *I. Aquileia* 1049 *Curia M. l. avia*, vom Editor falsch als *Avia* verstanden). Ein hübsches Beispiel bietet *AE* 2009, 415 aus Mailand, wo der Name in früheren Editionen als *Cominia Q. l. avia* wiedergegeben wurde, wozu aber *AE* die Bemerkung [Plutôt le *cognomen Avia*] hinzufügte. Diese Unsicherheit im Urteil stammt von der längst festgestellten Tatsache, dass die Freigelassenen seit etwa Mitte des 1. Jh. v. Chr. höchst selten cognomenlos sind. Deswegen sind die Interpreten geneigt gewesen, *avia* in spätrepublikanischen und frühkaiserzeitlichen Inschriften gelegentlich als ein Cognomen aufzufassen, wenn auch *avia* eine plausiblere Deutung wäre, wie gerade in *I. Aquileia* 1049 aus frühaugusteischer Zeit,[8] wo die Mitglieder einer Curierfamilie in der langen Liste des Epitaphs kunterbunt mit oder ohne Cognomen angeführt werden; die Großmutter des Grabherstellers M. Curtius M. f. Marcellus war anscheinend in der ersten Hälfte des ersten vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts geboren und hatte nach der noch damals gebräuchlichen Sitte ihren Sklavennamen weggelassen, als sie freigelassen wurde.

Sympaeron. Dieser Name soll dem Editor D'Encarnaçao zufolge in *IRCPacen* 536 (Lusitanien, 1. Jh. n. Chr.) *Endovellico Vitalis Messi Sympaerontis f(ilius) et servus* vorliegen. Aus dem in der Datei *Hispania epigraphica* Nr. 23807 publizierten Foto geht hervor, dass in der Tat SYMPAERONTIS geschrieben wurde. Der Name war aber ohne Zweifel *Sympheron*. Die auch sonst belegte Graphie AE für HE kann auf zweierlei beruhen: das nicht mehr ausge-

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VICARVS überliefert ist, so ist vielleicht ein Nexus von R und I verkannt worden.

[8] Claudio Zaccaria hat mir die hier vorgelegte Datierung freundlicherweise mitgeteilt.

sprochene *h* wurde wie so oft in der Schrift weggelassen und *a* hinzugefügt, wie in den vulgären Urkunden oft passiert (das kurze ă war ja geöffnet, weswegen es leicht als *ae* wiedergegeben werden konnte); im Allgemeinen konnte H durch A wegen der graphischen Ähnlichkeit falsch wiedergegeben werden; wenn etwa in der halbkursiven Vorlage die zwei Hasten des H auch ein wenig schräg gezeichnet worden waren, konnte davon an dem Stein leicht ein A werden. *Sympheron* lässt sich einigermaßen belegen: in Rom viermal (s. mein griechisches Namenbuch 997), sonst *AION Archeologia* 21–22 (2014–2015) 169–177 (Cumae, Ende 1. Jh. n. Chr., Freigelassener); *CIL* V 3753 (Verona); *HEp* 1997, 161 (Baetica).

Teucrus. Diesen Namen will der Editor Della Corte in *CIL* IV 8359 *[T]eucrus amat* festlegen. Als Nominativ würde man *Teucer* erwarten, der öfters belegt ist (*CIL* VI 6584 *Teucher*; IX 5215; V 559; *I. Aquileia* 3420; *AE* 1971, 529 aus Tipasa in Mauretanien). Wenn die Lesung stimmt (der Editor druckt IIVCRVS, ohne eine Lücke links anzumelden), liegt zweifellos der Name *Euchrus* vor, des Öfteren in Rom bezeugt (siebenmal in meinem griechischen Namenbuch 748); sonst *AE* 2007, 286 (Ostia).

321. VERKANNTE NAMEN

Aeraria. Die capuanische Inschrift *CIL* X 3995 etwa aus augusteischer Zeit lautet in der von einem Battista Barbaro verfassten, bei Augustinus Tyfernus überlieferten Fassung folgendermaßen: LIBERIORVM ET / FAMILIAE AERAR//AE / POPILIANAE / Q POBLICI Q F FAL. Seit Mommsen hält man den Gentilnamen für korrupt; Mommsen selbst schlug beispielshalber AFRANIAE vor. Warum, versteht man nicht. Doch hat sich bis heute Mommsens Vermutung Widerhall gefunden, zuletzt in D'Isantos Sammlung capuanischer Gentilnamen.[9] Wir können Barbaros Geschicklichkeit als Leser von Inschriften kaum näher beurteilen, wenn er aber sich *Aerar[-]ae* zu lesen geneigt war, so versteht man nicht, warum man hier nicht den Gentilnamen *Aeraria* festlegen darf. *Aerarius -ia* ist genügend gut verschiedentlich überliefert, sodass seine Existenz

[9] G. D'Isanto, *Capua romana. Ricerche di prosopografia e storia sociale*, Roma 1993, 55. Doch lässt D'Isanto letzten Endes die Lesung des Namens offen, übertreibt aber gründlich, wenn er behauptet, die nur handschriftlich überlieferte Inschrift sei "in questo punto irrimediabilmente corrotta"; die einzige, dazu leicht verständliche 'Korruptel' in der Inschrift ist LIBERIORVM für *libertorum*.

kaum gefährdet ist. Schon in Rom ist er einigermaßen bezeugt: *CIL* VI 200 VIII, 4 (70 n. Chr.) *Aerarius Chryseros*; 8799 (1. Hälfte des 2. Jh.) *Aerarius Soter*; 1177 (1. Jh. n. Chr.) *Sex. Aerarius Sex., Sex., Ɔ. l. Barnaeus*. Sonst in Italien *CIL* XI 873 (Mutina, um Christi Geburt) *C. Aera[r]io C. [l.] Hos[---], C. A[erario C. l.] A[---], C. Aerario C. l. Tertio*. In westlichen Provinzen *CIL* II^2 7, 334 (Corduba, augusteisch) *M. Aerarius soc(iorum) aerar(iorum) l. Telemacus*; 402 (Corduba, 2. Jh.) *D. Aerar[ius ---]cus*. Der Name ist auch im griechischen Osten bekannt: *IG* II^2 3715 = *I. Eleusis* 654 (2. Jh. n. Chr.(?)) Αἰράριος Σωσίπατρος δᾳδοῦχος; *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllı*ğı 13–14 (1967) 108 Nr. 30 (Daskyleion in Mysien, 1. Jh. v. – 1. Jh. n. Chr.) M. Αἰράριος Κρίσπος. Was können wir aufgrund dieser Dokumentation über die Herkunft und das soziale Umfeld dieses Namens sagen? *CIL* II^2 7, 335 weist auf die Herkunft des Namens hin: der Mann hat seinen Gentilnamen als ehemaliger Sklave einer Gesellschaft der Metallbearbeiter erhalten. Wenn dies die alleinige Quelle für den Gentilnamen ist, dann könnte man meinen, eine wohlhabende Bürgerin von Capua passe nicht gut ins Bild, denn Aeraria Popiliana müsste zur unmittelbaren Nachkommenschaft eines von den Metallarbeitern freigelassenen Mannes gehören (wenn sie in der augusteischen Periode lebte, kann man ihre Zeit nicht sehr weit vorrücken, denn diese onomastische Gewohnheit, den Freigelassenen Gentilnamen nach den Gesellschaften zu verleihen, ist kaum eine alte gewesen. Doch kann der Name auch andere uns verborgene Wurzeln haben. Nichts spricht also dagegen, in unserer Inschrift eine Aeraria Popiliana festzulegen. Es sei noch bemerkt, dass auch *Afranius* keinen häufig belegten Namen darstellt; im campanischen Raum sind nur zwei Namensträger aus Puteoli belegt: *CIL* X 1918 und *TabPut* 91. – Und zum guten Schluss bemerke ich, dass *Popiliana* als Frauenname ein *onomasticis addendum* darstellt (dazu oben S. 171).

Dica. Dieser Name ist in einer Inschrift unbekannter (möglicherweise aber ostiensischer) Herkunft belegt: A. Masci, in *La collezione epigrafica dell'Antiquarium del Celio*, a cura di G. L. Gregori, Roma 2001, 311f Nr. 289–290 *Stlaccia C. l. Dica*. Die Editorin meint, hier liege ein Name wie *Dicaea* oder *Dicaeosyne* abgekürzt vor. Das ist unnötig. Das Cognomen *Dica* ist im römischen Westen belegt: *CIL* X 5666 (Dat. *Dicae*) XI 578 (Freigelassene). 4264 (Dat. *Dicae*) 6792 (Freigelassene). 6924; *AE* 1981, 454 (Altinum, Freigelassene). In der Form *Dice* in *CIL* V 1148 (Aquileia); XIV 907 (Ostia). Die Überlieferung scheint in all diesen Fällen in Ordnung zu sein, und die Namen

sind in den fraglichen Inschriften sonst nicht abgekürzt. Dazu kommt Δίκα, viermal in Neapel belegt (*IGI Napoli* 107. 108. 109. 172); die Belege gehören in die späthellenistische Zeit. Im griechischen Mutterland und Osten ist er nicht bezeugt. Also gerade in jener Zeit war der Name in Neapel im Umlauf. Es kann sein, dass er um die Mitte des 1. Jh. v. Chr. aus irgendeinem Grund in Neapel modisch wurde. Jedenfalls waren die Familien, in denen er belegt ist, bewusst neapolitanische Familien; darauf deutet auch hin, dass in 172 der Vater den Namen Ἐπίλυτος führte: Δίκα Ἐπιλύτου θυγάτηρ. Dieser Name des Vaters ist nur aus Neapel bekannt, dort achtzehnmal aus späthellenistischer und augusteischer Zeit belegt (zum Namen vgl. meine Ausführungen in *BNF* 53 [2018] 85f). Dass in der Überlieferung die Formen auf *-a* überwiegen, ist kein Stein des Anstoßes; im Gegensatz, das ist die Form, die man erwartet – *dica* ist ja die lateinische Wiedergabe des griechischen gerichtlichen *Terminus technicus* des Rechtshandels, des Prozesses (δίκη), seit Plautus belegt; besonders die Verwendung des Namens in Neapel kann mit diesem Terminus im Verhältnis stehen (auch weil im Neapler Dialekt sonst keine Tendenz herrscht, -α vor -η zu bevorzugen). Die Belege von *Dice* können wiederum zum Namen einer der Horen gestellt werden, von denen einige die Quelle beliebter Personennamen wurden wie Eirene oder Themis, nicht aber also Dike.

Vitalis. In *CIL* III 529 aus Patrai hat die vierte Zeile viel Kopfzerbrechen verursacht. Der letzte Versuch stammt von A. D. Rizakis, *Achaïe* II: *La cité de Patras: épigraphie et histoire*, Athènes 1998, 222f Nr. 178. Er liest *[et poenam m]ulta L IS*. Ein Einblick in das nicht schlechte Foto bei Rizakis hat bei mir den Verdacht hervorgerufen, es stehe da *Vitalis*. Und aus Rizakis' bibliographischen Angaben notierte ich, dass ich dieselbe Lesung schon vor langer Zeit vorgeschlagen hatte (*Arctos* 14 [1980] 141). Wenn die Lesung zweimal unabhängig voneinander vorgelegt wird, muss etwas Wahrscheinliches dahinterstecken, weswegen die Deutung dieser letzten Zeile aufs Genaueste zu prüfen war. Rizakis' *poenam multa L* ist kein gutes Latein, man schrieb in fachsprachlichen Urkunden nicht so. Höchstens könnte man an *poenae multa(m) L* denken, aber das war kein gebräuchlicher Ausdruck in Urkunden dieser Art; auf *multam* wird nicht eine Zahl folgen.[10] Auch wenn anhand des Fotos keine Sicherheit erlangt

[10] Anders verhält es sich mit der pompejanischen Wandkritzelei *CIL* IV 5181 *VII K. Dec. Salinis in conventu multa HS XX*. In Texten dieser Art können solche unfachmännische Wendungen leicht erwartet werden.

werden kann, vor allem weil die unteren Teile der Buchstaben nicht gut lesbar sind, weswegen zwischen VLTALIS und VITALIS schwerlich gewählt werden kann, insistiere ich auf meine alte Lesung.

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PIVOTAL PLAY AND IRONY IN PLATONIC DIALOGUES*

Holger Thesleff

Introductory Remarks

Plato's literary artistry has received more attention in recent years than before.[1] I shall here try to dwell briefly on two structural aspects of this artistry.[2] (1) It seems clear today that Plato tends to compose many of his dialogues 'pedimentally', that is, in a 'pyramidal' manner: a particularly important point, together with a shift of perspective, is introduced somewhere near the centre of the text.[3] (2) Plato's abundant use of playful remarks, jokes, 'wit', sarcasm, and ironical approaches is often manifested in a specific way in these central passages or sections (here **CS**).[4] Some comments on these two tendencies, and the combination

* Among the persons who have helped me with this survey, I am particularly grateful to Harold Tarrant, Necip Fikri Alican, and Lassi Jakola.

[1] With ever better editions, translations, and commentaries since the 19th century, and with detailed studies of Plato's Greek not only for 'stylometry', ever more scholars have realized that Plato was not only a philosopher but also a remarkably interesting writer.

[2] The present notes are based on many years of study of Plato, correcting myself and others. Some references are given in the Bibliography, below. See also D. Nails – H. Tarrant (eds.) 2015 (henceforth also referred to as SS). I may of course have missed important new observations in the most recent discussion.

[3] Following some observations by Friedländer, myself, and some others, I published an essay on this compositional grip in Press (ed.) 1993 (=Thesleff 1993). It does not seem to have been studied systematically since then. Some details below (see also Concluding Remarks).

[4] It is understandable that 'Humour in Plato' has never been, and can hardly be, studied on a large scale. His own remarks on writing as παιδιά (or παιδεία at the same time?) have very often been

of them from a common perspective, are perhaps worth while. I believe they will contribute to a better understanding of Plato's philosophical thinking.

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An agreement about some interpretational keys to Plato would facilitate the understanding of my following analysis, though this is not the place for arguing for them, and any agreement is probably not necessary.

My first key would be what I have called Plato's 'Two-Level Model' of thinking (here TLM), which is also reflected in his dialogue style. Its background is easily found both in religion and in Presocratic philosophy, but it has taken a distinctly Platonic shape in practically all the dialogues.[5] His Universe, like his ethics, epistemology and ontology, consists of two fundamental, but co-existing, 'levels', a 'better' and a 'less good'. The first, and 'higher' one, sometimes functioning as an ideal, can be metaphorically called the 'divine'; the second is the 'human' level. But there is a contact between them: a continuum, in principle open for every human soul. They are not 'opposites' (like universal forces in most eastern traditions, still present e.g. in Heraclitus). Nor is there a secret field, open for the initiated, as in shamanism and its Greek reflections (such as the mystery religions). Plato's upper level consists of intellectual 'abstractions' (to use a later term), all reflecting in one way or another the ἀγαθόν; the lower one is 'concrete' or 'sensual'. In modern terms, Plato's thinking can be said to be both 'intuitional' and 'analytical', with a trend to analysis upwards towards the higher level. But emotions belong to the lower level (catastrophically so, according to most romantics), and fantasy is rated very low by Plato.[6] Plato was not him-

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ventilated (see especially *Phaedrus* 276b–277e). And readers, like all people, react differently on what should be regarded as humour or irony, and on the right place for it. Interestingly, Plato's own playfulness is left unanalyzed by the mass of authors, old and recent, quoted in the collection of Morreall (ed.) (1987). Somewhat later, Sprague (1994) observed three kinds of 'humour' in Plato, and Scolnicov (2004) discussed afresh some aspects of Plato's irony. To me, humour is marked by the element of 'incongruity' often noted: it includes an unexpected combination of two different aspects, a 'double exposure', which in Plato's case goes together with his 'Two-Level Model' of thinking. Cf. Socrates in *Philebus* 47d–50e and Gavray (2010). More on this below (and see Concluding Remarks).

[5] See my *Studies in Plato's Two-Level Model* 1999 (repr. 2009), adjusted in several details later.

[6] However, beginning with the Cambridge Platonists in the 17th century, many Plato scholars seem

self interested in any intrinsically 'bad' or 'evil' beyond the human level. Both Platonic levels (including sub-levels illustrated in the Divided Line allegory) belong somehow together, like day and night, upstairs and downstairs, theory vs. practice, abstract vs. concrete or the laws of nature vs. phenomena in modern thinking, and there are mediating forces. The upper, 'divine' level is not fully accessible to humans, though philosophical minds are consciously oriented towards it. 'Bad' things, opposed to 'good' ones, occur only on the human level. In a Platonic dialogue, the thought-play easily moves between the two main levels.

Another key is Socrates the εἴρων (whether symbolizing Plato or not)[7] who moves between the levels somewhat like Eros in *Symposium*. Together with Plato's own aristocratic inclination to understatement rather than overstatement (see the Concluding Remarks), and to his taking an ironical distance rather than engaging hotly,[8] his employment of two-level irony, a 'double exposure', has been a challenge to his readers over the centuries. We understand him better if we take for granted that his original audiences consisted of rather similarly educated people, informed about the environment where he sets his Socrates acting, and about some specific allusions. Some dialogues are indeed constructed around a theme where Platonic play can be expected from the start: for example, *Euthydemus*, *Ion*, *Hippias Minor*, *Euthyphro*, where the conceitedness of Socrates' partners is soon exposed if not well-known to the audience.

A third clue is the important fact – and I am sure it is a fact[9] – that Plato normally did not address, orally or in a writing, a general, anonymous audience, as the poets, dramatists, sophists and orators habitually did. As I intimated above, he presented (or even acted) his written pieces orally to select groups of listeners who were able or expected to appreciate his refined language with its allusions both to Socratic philosophy and to its Athenian context. There are

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to have understood the dialogues better than most earlier Platonist schools did.

[7] For the eternal problem of Socrates vs. Plato, see, e.g., Press (ed.) 2000. I have suggested in various connections (see references in Thesleff 2009, Index p. 621, and Jatakari 1990, *ibid*. Bibliography p. 580) that 'Socrates the Younger' (first manifest allusions in *Phaedo*, *Theaetetus* and *Parmenides,* before *Sophist* and *Statesman*) stands for young Plato in disguise.

[8] This seems to depend not only on natural disposition, but also largely on education, still evident in some quarters of European traditions. More on this in Concluding Remarks. See also below, note 13.

[9] Argued especially in my essay "Plato and his Public" 2002 (=2009, 541 ff.). If a dialogue was first performed at a symposium (as suggested by Tarrant 2017, 404), the listeners must have been prepared for continuing the discussion 'dialectically'.

traits of a comedian in him, writing in prose to qualified listeners. There is also a tragedian in him. And the dialogues are somehow 'polyphonic' (as some say), or symphonically composed (to use a drastic anachronism), though rather to be understood as chamber music. The oral performance of the original pieces was intended to be part of a preceding and, notably, a following discussion. How his *hypomnematic* manuscripts became successively revised and collected to a first corpus (probably after his death), is a different and difficult story.[10] The problems of the chronological order of the dialogues are still open questions. In the lists below, only numbers 18–28 include certainly 'late' texts.

Some support for this view of Platonic publicity can be found in what we happen to know about Plato's personal life and its context.[11] I have published elsewhere some theses about his life which may contribute also to the understanding of Plato's two-level playfulness. I insist, for example, that his early handicaps of shyness, a weak voice, and an inclination to intellectual criticism excluded him from a public career that was still in his time expected from Athenian aristocrats. I further insist that his early fascination with ethical problems and mathematical theory made him basically a φιλό-σοφος (pointedly not a σοφός!), searching for answers to Socratic questions; that in the mid-390s he composed his first draft for an ideal Utopian State where philosophers constitute the leading class; and that only his experiences in South Italy and Sicily in the early 380s made him ready for instructing – rather than 'teaching' – select listeners to his own open-ended φιλο-σοφία in the newly founded Academy. The members mostly consisted of non-Athenians who soon specialized in various branches of Academic searching, and who also contributed to Plato's own literary production.

To repeat: I am not going to argue here any of these points, which may seem trivial to some and controversial to others. I hope they are not necessarily required for noticing some of the cases of 'pivotal humour' in the Platonic texts which I am going to adduce. In this very general survey I cannot discuss the details of the criteria for identifying **CS**s. I can only hope for careful readers' agreement.

[10] See various hints in Renaud – Tarrant 2015, 260–269, and Thesleff 2002 (see above, note 9).

[11] The biographies we have do not give much, but hints are found elsewhere; see e.g. Guthrie IV, 8–38, my *Studies in Platonic Chronology* 1982 (=2009, 167–186), and Thesleff & al. in Press (ed.) 2012, 8 ff.

Central Sections in the Texts

In the following I am listing the texts according to a rough grouping of Plato's apparent 'motives' – a very tentative and inexact principle of grouping, since the chronology is largely unsettled, and also because many motives and themes tend to combine in most dialogues: Numbers 1–9 'The philosopher in opposition to Athenian values'; nrs. 10–11 'The Ideal Philosopher'; nrs. 12–16 'More logic of values'; nr. 17 'The *Republic* as we have it'; nrs. 18–28 'Academic advances'; nrs. 29–32 'Further Dubia and Spuria'; nr. 33 'The Rest of the Spurious Dialogues; nr. 34 'The Letters'.

I expect the reader of this article to be acquainted with at least some of the dialogues, so that a detailed record of the structure of the argument or its allusions is not needed, and so that the parallels between the dialogues are easily noticed. I shall focus on what appears to be the Central Section (**CS**) in each dialogue, and on its function as a kind of περιπέτεια, a change of circumstances.[12]

1–9: The philosopher in opposition to Athenian values

1. The Apology of Socrates. This purports to be the three speeches that Socrates held at court. In accordance with the logographic practice of the time, the writer was free to manipulate bits of what was said. There is some marked irony in the beginning and at the end of the composition (the short third speech). We would not expect pedimentality here, but in fact the dialogic elenchus of Meletus (24b–28a) stands out as a kind of **CS**. It concerns the fatal point of the indictment: the δαιμόνιον, which brings the attentive listener closer to Plato's 'upper level'. Yet the over-simple logic notably towards the end of the section (27de) may appear to contain some Platonic sarcasm.[13]

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[12] The term was applied by Aristotle (*Poet.* 1452ab) to the (mostly unfortunate) challenges met by the protagonist towards the centre of a tragedy.

[13] Cf. the Anytus episode in *Meno* 89e–95a. And note the different kinds of irony in the *Apology.* Right at the opening (17a) the brutal contrast πιθανῶς / ἀληθές ... οὐδὲν is perhaps meant to depict Socrates realistically.

2. Crito. This little dialogue looks like a torso. Socrates' quotation of what he feels the Athenian laws would say to him (50a–54d) may have been conceived by Plato as a slightly ironical **CS**. His praise of the Athenian legal system is hardly entirely sincere.[14] A slight but direct sign of this is his seldom noted remark at the end (54d): the speech of the Laws rings constantly in his ears like a Corybantic song (not a recommendation from Plato's point of view).[15] Perhaps the (unfinished?) dialogue was meant to have a double aim: to be a defence of the 'lawful' Socrates in front of the Athenians and, more importantly, a defence of his friends who had tried their best to arrange the escape of their stubborn Master, who was in fact prepared to die.

3. Menexenus. The frame dialogue of this 'patriotic' speech makes its irony, not to say bitter sarcasm, more obvious than in *Crito*. The speech has sometimes been read, perhaps without its frame, as a serious panegyric of Athens.[16] Plato shows his command of Athenian rhetoric and at the same time its emptiness (cf. *Gorgias*, *Phaedrus*). The dialogue is not just a satire. Possibly it was a critical reaction to a particular burial ceremony in the 390s, though the historical review was (secondarily?) brought down to the year 387 (246a) when both Aspasia and Socrates were long since dead. This point could perhaps now be seen as the ironical 'pivot' of the dialogue.

4. Ion. Beside rhetoric, Plato felt good poetry to be a serious rival of his philosophy. The *Ion* is a playfully ironical, but very carefully composed criticism of a conceited rhapsode and the nature of poetry. The **CS** on inspiration as compared to 'magnetism' very clearly stands out (533c–535a) as Socrates' semi-ironical vision. Ion's listeners' reaction, vividly described by himself, is certainly not the best criterion of good poetry from Plato's point of view. This pivotal point is made at the end of the **CS** via the case of Tynnichus; and one wonders how much of 'divinity' was left in his 'popular' paean which 'everybody' was singing.

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[14] Partly for this reason, some scholars have wanted to approximate *Crito* to the *Laws*. My own reasons for doubting the authenticity of *Crito* (1982, repr. in 2009, 395–397) are not valid.

[15] Warning for Corybants, e.g., *Menexenus* 235c.

[16] For a good conspectus of the very varying interpretations of this dialogue since antiquity, see Guthrie IV, 317–323. Tulli (2004) notes a number of parallels with Plato's political thinking (in fact the 'Proto-Republic') without considering the ironical aspects.

5. *Hippias Minor*. This little piece also concerns the interpretation of poetry, now from the aspect of sophistry. It is less carefully composed than *Ion*. Socrates' partner is the conceited sophist Hippias. Against the latter's view of Odysseus and Achilles, Socrates argues (with considerable sophistry himself) that the 'best' man is the one who always lies willingly – if such a person exists (376b). The **CS** (372a–373c) makes a new approach to the argument by involving Eudicus and pointing out, as a warning (372e), that Socrates is suffering from a fit of confusion.[17] This must be seen as a playful pivot of the dialogue.

6. *Republic, Book 1*. The first book of the *Republic* preserved to us is very likely to have been originally a separate dialogue, later revised and rewritten.[18] The basic theme turns out to be δικαιοσύνη, a central concept among Athenian values, and the impact of rhetoric is felt in the background, though the discussion is broadened by its colourful context in Piraeus. The host of the place, the old wealthy metic Cephalus (father of the orator Lysias), soon withdraws after having given the friendly hint to Socrates that 'righteous' living means paying your debts (cf. the end of *Phaedo*). His son Polemarchus takes over as Socrates' partner. Starting from a quotation from the poet Simonides, Polemarchus argues that 'paying everybody his due' may of course mean, in real life, moral complications that Socrates now wants to analyse.

The rhetor Thrasymachus[19] interrupts this controversy like a wild beast (336b). This very vividly described incident (ending at 338c) clearly represents the **CS** of the dialogue. It has two pivots: Socrates' alleged irony (337a), and his alleged σοφία which is nothing more than circular reasoning with borrowed words never paid back (338b).

The following long discussion includes some more serious philosophy, and Thrasymachus gradually tends to give up his 'right is might' doctrine (338c)

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[17] A κατηβολή, a curiously rare word (cf. Guthrie IV, 194), probably to be interpreted in the same direction as his famous 'fits' of meditation, or the νάρκωσις in *Meno*.

[18] More on this under nr. 17, below.

[19] A well-known teacher of rhetoric whose name suits this context (also alluding to Thrasybulos) and whose character Plato has depicted accordingly. He is the only person in Plato's dialogues whose behaviour is directly 'vulgar'. Note here the choice of the Syracusan metic Kephalos as the gentle host of the meeting, with suitable allusion to κεφάλαιον in the sense of 'money capital' (as *in Laws* 5,742c) with its offspring or 'interest', τόκος, now named Polemarchus, implying a 'Beginning of the war' of the dialogue (or against Athens?). Cf. also *Gorgias*, below (nr. 7).

which reflects Plato's view of Athenian democracy. The end of the dialogue (352d–354c), however, looks like a somewhat careless addition to 'prove' that the 'right' life is also the 'best' and 'happiest' one. Book 2 will return to these problems.

7. Gorgias. This extensive and much read dialogue has also probably undergone at least one revision.[20] I have listed it here immediately after *Republic* 1 since its basic structure is very similar. Here Athenian politics and the nature of rhetoric, however, are more concretely in the foreground. Socrates' chief partners are again three. The 'father of rhetoric', the very old Gorgias, is treated with distanced humour, and we may note that (ironically?) no reference is made to the 'frightening' allusions of his name. His speciality is, simply, persuasion. His pupil Polos, the 'Colt',[21] becomes (like Polemarchus in *Republic* 1) entangled in difficulties when Socrates questions him about the morality and usefulness of rhetoric; perhaps it is no better than the ethics of cookery. The third partner, Callicles, differs from Thrasymachus in *Republic* 1 by being a well-educated symbol of Athenian leadership, and his attack on Socrates is more civilized, and extensively argued. It begins (481b) with the challenging question 'Is Socrates serious?' Socrates answers with a semi-playful defence of philosophy. But Callicles' attitude to philosophy becomes more and more scornful: in real life, where φύσις and violence rule (483b) and conventional νόμος is just a hiding place for the weak (Callicles goes further than Thrasymachus here), philosophy is useless for grown-up people (485cd). Socrates would not even be able to defend himself in court. Callicles speaks eloquently and quotes poetry for his points. But Socrates insists: the 'right' human life cannot be that of the strongest.

This long exchange of speeches (ending at 488a) clearly functions as the **CS** for the dialogue as we have it. A first pivot comes rather as an exclamation mark in the beginning: Socrates is now very serious indeed! Chaerephon observes on Callicles' initial question. And at the end, Socrates throws out a very strong word, βλάξ, about himself (488b, unique in Plato): 'am I stupid' (like a fish, a νάρκη, perhaps; see *Meno* 80a)? After these περιπέτεια speeches, Plato

[20] See Thesleff 2003 (= 2009, 551–556), Tarrant 1982 (also 2012).

[21] A kind of τόκος. Polus is a historical person, but possibly Plato makes his name also allude to the rhetor Polycrates, an active antagonist of the Socratics towards the end of the 390s.

appears to take over the role of Socrates more distinctly.[22] After a long series of partly aggressive elenchi this 'Socrates' arrives at a point where Callicles is prepared to give up (505c). And with new self-confidence this Platonic Socrates resumes his argument (506c), presents a kind of a manifesto of philosophy (see especially 506c–509e), and ends his pleading for a 'righteous' philosophy-minded life with a myth ('as if a true λόγος' 523a) about the souls' fate after death. Like a true teacher, or a rhetorician, he finishes the dialogue with a protreptic exhortation: 'Let us follow my reasoning (*logos*, meaning his entire argument), and not yours, Callicles!' Plato's seriousness is here more prominent than a possible satire of rhetoric.

In its present form, the dialogue *Gorgias* can be regarded as the first – and in fact the only extant – sign of Plato's being prepared to present his philosophy in the form of an essentially serious speech to suitable listeners. Our text was perhaps, in its final shape, composed as a protreptic invitation to his newly founded Academy.[23] Similar ideas are developed in parts of the final *Republic*, but there the listeners soon become the Guardians of the Ideal State. See also the late dialogue *Philebus* (nr. 26).

8. Meno. This fairly complicated dialogue experiments with a long row of questions around human excellence and knowledge. It starts abruptly with Meno's question whether ἀρετή can be taught, and it ends with the Socratically open question what ἀρετή, after all, means. Gorgias, here considered a sophist, figures in a remote background, and the speakers do not seem to 'recall' (a central concept in the following) what his δόξα was in this case (71d). Socrates leads his opening elenchus concerning the nature of ἀρετή (his questioning in fact alluding to rather advanced Platonic terms and concepts)[24] to an aporetic climax, the famous νάρκη simile (79e).

In my opinion, this introduces a lengthy **CS** (79e–86b). It includes the thought experiments with the myths of reincarnation, supposed to imply that all souls have experienced 'everything', so that teaching is just 'recalling',

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[22] See note 7 for 'Socrates the Younger'.

[23] If so, cf. *Laches*, and remotely *Symposium*. Apart from the *Republic* (and the late *Philebus*) the 'Socrates' of other literarily refined dialogues (such as *Symposium* and *Phaedo*) is not an Academic teacher.

[24] Note e.g. the play with geometrical σχῆμα 73d, 75a, alluding to Platonic Forms.

ἀνάμνησις (81d). The **CS** also includes the intriguing experiment with 'teaching' the slave mathematics. Meno remains somewhat sceptical, as does Socrates. He is affected by his own νάρκωσις (80cd, cf. 84bc).[25] A final ironical point comes (86b) when Socrates takes ἀλήθεια to mean 'what is not forgotten'.[26]

After this **CS** Socrates very prudently proposes (86c) a 'common search', and then to try a 'hypothetical' method, as in ordinary geometry, for helping us to see a connection between ἀρετή and ἐπιστήμη (soon turned to φρόνησις 88b). This brings us quickly to the Anytus episode (89e–95a), which contrasts Athenian education with Socratically free philosophy. Then Socrates takes the important step (97b) of asserting that there must be a level of ὀρθὴ δόξα, not identical with 'knowledge' but pointing towards it.[27] A very playful passage (97e–98c) introduces Socrates' own δόξαι as the walking statues of his 'ancestor' Daedalus: they can be fixed and transformed into ἐπιστήμη only by (dialectical?) λογισμός. This is ἀνάμνησις, he adds, provocatively. The dialogue ends, however, in a Socratically open aporia, since we do not know what ἀρετή is.

9. Protagoras. This long and somewhat randomly composed dialogue basically concerns the old question whether ἀρετή can be taught. Its incoherent logic has irritated modern scholars. Socrates is the narrator, and himself a 'searcher', as the opening story emphasizes.[28] The dominant, and partly brilliantly executed literary theme, however, is the confrontation of Socrates with some important sophists, first among them old Protagoras whom Plato treats with respect mixed with some slight irony (as he tends to present other seniors). The meeting he is enticed to is held in the home of the well-known host of sophists, Callias. After Socrates' lengthy, rather amusing record of the background, we hear Protagoras' display of his art (320c–328d), a magnificent Platonic pastiche of a sophistic

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[25] Cf. Socrates' notorious fits of absence, and e.g. the κατηβολή in *Hippias Minor* (above, nr. 5). He is not at all sure about what he says. I cannot here go into the details of the controversial ἀνάμνησις question (later Platonists made it a dogma; *Phaedo* slides over it (72e ff.); in *Phaedrus* (249b ff.) it may concern the mythically privileged whose soul has followed Zeus). It must be noted, however, that the slave's geometrical 'knowledge' comes from a successive repetition and remembering (esp. 85cd) of what he sees in Socrates' illustrations as pointed out by Socrates.

[26] As from λήθη, λανθάνεσθαι, not λανθάνειν.

[27] This idea is then developed further in *Republic* 4 and in *Theaetetus*, and also in *Philebus*.

[28] Much of the defects in the composition could be understood if the dialogue was one of Plato's first attempts to address a somewhat wider audience.

lecture at its best: Protagoras combines μῦθος and λόγος to show how to teach ἀρετή, sophistically. There follows an interlude where Socrates opens a more philosophical question whether ἀρετή is a whole or consists of different parts. Protagoras tries to answer but does not like to do it briefly, and Socrates, who prefers an elenchus procedure with brief answers, is prepared to leave the meeting (335c).

Here we can discover a beginning of the περιπέτεια of the dialogue, an extensive intermezzo functioning as a **CS**, I believe. Callias and many others persuade Socrates to stay, and he accepts (with some playful references to the importance of philosophy and dialectic, 335d, 336b), and even Protagoras accepts a 'discussion', whereas some others interfere with self-characterizing comments. Protagoras now (typically for sophists) proposes (339a) to analyse a poem by Simonides about 'being good' (ἀγαθός, ἐσθλός) where he notes an inconsistency, and Socrates (340cd), backed by Prodicus, observes that Simonides makes a distinction between 'being' and 'becoming' (referring indirectly to Plato's TLM). After some banter, Socrates now gives his own 'speech' (342a–347a) on this theme, in the light of the poem discussed. He begins with a semi-nonsensical (quasi-sophistic) explanation that philosophy started in Sparta where people learnt to use 'laconisms'. Simonides (contrary to Protagoras, we understand) has followed this ancient practice and employed single words cryptically. His poem must be interpreted to mean that 'being good' is impossible, but 'trying to be' is worth praise. This semi-Platonic view is likely to be the pivot of the dialogue. However, its satirically sophistic tone is worth notice.

After this digression Plato's Socrates gives up his play with sophistry. A brief interlude follows, and Protagoras is persuaded to accept Socrates' philosophical questioning (348c). There follow the questions of 'courage' (ἀνδρεία) as a specific part of ἀρετή (349d, partially resumed until 360d);[29] and then the interesting chapters on pleasure (ἡδονή) versus 'knowledge' and 'measuring' (μετρητική) (351b–359a). At the end Socrates and Protagoras exchange mutual compliments. The questions remain open. Their two very different methods of approaching ἀρετή ought to be debated later, they agree.

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[29] I argued in 1982 (=2009, 192 ff.) that the very similar treatment of this question in *Laches* 190a–199e was possibly written later than the sections in *Protagoras*, but that such problems of chronology should preferably be left open.

10–11: The Ideal Philosopher

10. Symposium. The formal theme of this famous and fascinatingly well composed dialogue is of course ἔρως, seen from the perspectives of Plato and his educated and well-established contemporaries. The theme also involves the objects of love, centred around τὸ καλόν, and more indirectly ἀγαθόν.[30] But a deeper theme is the personality of Socrates the Philosopher. The story is again a narration, this time by a certain Aristodemus who happened to be present: this after-dinner party occurred 'long ago' in the home of the tragedian Agathon.[31]

Before entering the house of Agathon, Socrates has one of his 'daimonic' fits of absence (a longer one later described by Alcibiades, 220cd), but he is well received, and the beginning of the symposium is vividly described. The different speeches on Eros, which Aristodemus then quotes, are in various ways preparatory, some slightly satirical perhaps. The culmination of this series is Socrates' own quotation of what Diotima has taught him.

Without any doubt this section (201d–212c) forms the **CS** and a περιπέτεια of the dialogue. It is often read as Plato's (perhaps first) public presentation of his Theory of Forms and of its application to his 'teaching' of ἀρετή (note 215a5). I find some playfully ironical aspects worth considering.

Diotima is not a historical person, I believe.[32] She starts by continuing a Socratic elenchus, but is then presented as both a sophist and a priestess. She teaches by λόγος and μῦθος (cf. Protagoras) but ends up in a revelation of the

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[30] As scholars know today, the Greek terms καλόν and κάλλος do not refer only to 'beauty', but also to what is 'fine', and so come close to ἀγαθόν.

[31] I have argued elsewhere (first in my 1978 essay, 157–170) that the text was written as a Platonic 'correction' of Xenophon's *Symposium* which was set in the home of the traditional host of such gatherings, Callias (cf. *Protagoras*). The otherwise unknown 'Phoinix', who in Plato's version (172b) gave no clear information about the party, could be an ironical anagram of 'Xenoph.', written from right to left in the Phoenician manner (and Phoenicians are not supposed to be reliable, see e.g. *Republic* 3,414c). Plato sometimes emphasizes his own absence from the happenings, in order to have his hands free for presenting his own view (see notably *Phaedo*, *Parmenides* and *Timaeus*). Note in this connection the allusive play with names, even more manifest than in *Republic* 1 and *Gorgias*. Instead of Callias we have a (pseud-)Agathon who is escorted by an Aristo-phanes 'who appears to be best', and whose hiccup is cured by the 'belch-fighter' Eryximachus (as from ἐρεύγεσθαι). Perhaps Pausanias knows how to stop ἀνίαι (sorrows, anguish), as he can stop speaking (cf. 185bc).

[32] I cannot argue this here. I take her to be an ennobled variant of Aspasia (cf. *Menexenus*); but see the interesting comments by Nails 2002 and SS 2015, 73–90.

'mystery' of Eros (209e). This teaching about the sublimation of love with its τέλος, the καλόν as such, is presented in a rather un-Platonic repetitive and pompous style (often admired by later commentators). Socrates gives an almost orgiastic record of the Philosopher's rising to the open πέλαγος where he can see τὸ καλόν as such and become more godlike himself.[33] Compare here the ὑπερβολή in approaching τὸ ἀγαθόν in *Republic* 6.

These (certainly semi-ironically) effusive overstatements constitute the actual pivot of the entire dialogue. As an effective contrast, the drunken Alcibiades suddenly enters. After a brief interlude, he tells his own story of his dealings with Socrates. For him, Socrates is a satyr-like being, a kind of mediating Eros himself, who may turn love into σωφροσύνη (cf. *Charmides* and the end of *Phaedrus*). He is not the instructor (whom Diotima of Socrates has foreshadowed for the other listeners). This chapter is obviously meant as Plato's humorous defence of Socrates, 'the corrupter of the youth'. The final scenes intimate Socrates 'the victor'. We may notice that he brings both Comedy and Tragedy to sleep (and a good author masters both, 223d) before he, happy and sober, begins a new day.

11. Phaedo. This well-written, much studied and difficult dialogue on the death of the Philosopher is often coupled with the *Symposium* where Socrates is so full of life. However, if Plato meant it so, he has made the composition of *Phaedo* conspicuously different. Probably for similar manipulatory reasons, Plato is not present himself (a point made explicitly at 59b), but the elaborated frame dialogue, the theme of the soul's fate and the two chief partners of Socrates, the Thebans Cebes and Simmias who have met the enigmatic Philolaus (61d), suggest a Pythagorean 'search'.[34] Since antiquity, the reasoning and musings of Socrates in *Phaedo* have been read as Plato's attempts to 'prove' the immortality of the personal soul. I agree with the recent tendency to explain it as a series

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33 The sea level (210d, cf. 211b-e; we may imagine it in windless sunshine, cf. the allegory of the Sun in *Republic* 6) probably stands for the divine 'upper level' in the myth of *Phaedrus*, 247c-e. The erotic imagery is of course prominent in Socrates' vision in *Symposium* (especially in the repetition in 212a). The slight self-irony in all this gets a clearly sarcastic turn in *Republic* 6,490ab where the philosopher is said to have a kind of sexual 'intercourse' with 'true Being'.

34 Socrates is One over Two, as so often in Platonic dialogues (an intentional two-level symbolism?). Note also the arithmological and existential speculations in the latter half of *Phaedo*. The impact of Plato's first visit to South Italy seems clear.

of thought experiments, and I would call particular attention to the division of the philosophical part of the dialogue into two halves. The first half (60b–84b) concerns 'young' Socrates' (read: Plato's) study of Presocratic ontology,[35] The second half (beginning at 90d) concerns Plato's two-level ontology, presenting glimpses of his own Theory of Forms (mentioned in passing earlier at 65d ff., then also 72e ff. with ἀνάμησις) and various aspects of aetiology, and ending in an eschatological myth with more Pythagorean bias than that in *Gorgias*. We cannot discuss the details here, but I should like to note that Socrates' various suggestions, partly backed by his partners, can be seen as thought-play, on the whole without irony.[36] The reasoning remains 'hypothetical' (107b). It exemplifies Socrates' 'hopes' for a philosopher's paradise,[37] but gives no logical demonstration of personal immortality. The end of the dialogue (like the beginning) brings us back to the concrete reality where there is room for feelings and perhaps even some humour.[38]

Between the two main halves, there is an extensive interlude, clearly distinguished as a **CS** (84c–90d). It begins with a long silence reminding us of Socrates' famous fits of 'absence', but representing also his own aporia. Then he introduces the well-known simile of a 'swan song' (84e), which represents his last 'new attempt' (a 'second sailing', as it turns out, 99cd). This περιπέτεια is underlined by the resumption of the frame dialogue (88c–89a, repeated in a less spectacular context at 102e) and, after a playful, somewhat mystifying reference to the Heracles myth (89c, a kind of pivot for the **CS**), by Socrates' pointed warning for μισολογία: more reliable λόγοι are always, and now, needed (89d–90d). The implication may be that Socrates will live on because of his λόγοι.

[35] Cf. 'The Younger Socrates', above, note 7.

[36] E.g. 102d–103b, 107a.

[37] See notably 66b, 67b, 82ab, 109cd and 114c.

[38] Socrates' mystical last words about Asclepios (son on Apollo) may allude to his 'recent' writing of a paean, part of his sudden interest in poetry (60c–61c). And Socrates 'paying his debt' may sound a bit ironical in view of *Republic* 1.

12–16: 'More logic of values'

12. Charmides. A few of the minor dialogues seem to follow the model of *Protagoras* in very different ways from *Symposium* and *Phaedo*. They discuss the nature and teachability of the separate 'cardinal virtues' and other Academic values, but Plato's φιλο-σοφία always leaves σοφία unanalyzed. The *Republic* (see below under nr. 17) starts from the question of δικαιοσύνη. The Charmides concerns σωφροσύνη, rather to be understood etymologically as 'saving one's reason'.[39] The dialogue is carefully and humorously written as a report by Socrates. Plato's original audience must have known that Socrates, for various reasons, 'failed' to become an instructor of the young men who were expected to be his pupils. In this case Charmides (Plato's uncle) and his cousin Critias both died in the Thirty's' final battle against the Athenian democrats (403 B.C.). With some benevolent irony, young Charmides is described at length as an extremely promising example of the virtue under discussion. His only problem just now is a slight headache which Socrates promises to cure by Thracian magic (157c).[40] When pressed to define σωφροσύνη, Charmides says he has heard from 'somebody' that it means 'doing one's own' (161b). This 'somebody' turns out to be Critias, who now becomes Socrates' chief partner. The change is described as an interruption (162c) which clearly reminds of the cases of Thrasymachus and Callicles, though Critias behaves in a still more civilized manner.

This **CS** (ending at 165b) culminates in Critias' explanation that he actually means the Delphic maxim of 'Knowing oneself' to be the basis of σωφροσύνη. This assertion leads to the lengthy discussion in the latter half of the dialogue about 'knowledge' (here also γνῶσις 169e) and 'knowledge of knowledge'. The Platonic TLM is now evidently implied. Note here the 'two-gates' dream of Socrates (173a). At the end Socrates is prepared to continue his instruction, even 'by force' (176c), but the problem is naturally left open.

13. Laches. This curious little dialogue, written in dramatic form, is probably meant to be read to a specific audience of fathers to boys in need of philosophical education. Its 'Socrates' is made rather unknown to the Athenian es-

[39] The correct translation of this term has been often debated.

[40] Probably with Pythagorean undertones. In some sources the Thracian Zalmoxis occurs as a slave of Pythagoras, Herodotus 4,95.

tablishment, but is gradually introduced as a respectable instructor. 'Courage' (ἀνδρεία) is soon presented as an example of a virtue worth teaching. And after a debate between the two 'specialists' present, Nicias and Laches, it is Socrates who introduces a 'dialectical' approach to this concept, without reaching a definite result.[41]

There is no clearly distinguished **CS**. However, a kind of περιπέτεια can be traced in Socrates' self-presentation, followed by Nicias' characterization of him (186a–188c). It includes perhaps a semi-ironical pivot in Nicias' 'circular reasoning' which ultimately concerns his own 'self' (187e–188b).

A cryptically bizarre point comes at the end of the dialogue.[42] I would interpret it to mean that Plato is prepared to help in instructing young people, though disguised now as a 'Socrates'.

14. Lysis. The style, setting, and arguments of this vividly written narrative by 'Socrates' illustrate in many ways the complications of the notion of φιλία, so important in the Academy. I believe it must be understood as a piece of logical training in φιλο-σοφία for youthful adepts there.[43] A first hint comes at the (repeated!) points in the opening that Socrates was on his way from the Academy to Lykeion when a group of youngsters invited him to a new palaestra. There follows much bantering, naturally with erotic undertones. Socrates' chief partners turn out to be the beautiful, intelligent but very young and shy Lysis, and the more sophisticated Menexenus (known from other Socratic texts). Socrates' introductory questioning concerns various aspects of a 'friendly' behaviour, and (with Menexenus from 211b) the two levels of giving and taking, even desire and hate, perhaps implied.

The **CS** is not very clearly marked, but it can be found beginning at 213d when Socrates turns to both boys and the perspective is broadened (until 217a). Think of cosmic φιλία in poetry, our old teachers (note irony at 214a); 'sameness and difference' (Platonic ontological contrasts); and the two levels of 'good' versus 'bad', 'liking and disliking', all within φιλία. Socrates admits a swimming in his head (cf. *Hippias Minor,* above nr. 5) at this new aporia, and τὸ καλόν is

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[41] Cf. here *Protagoras* (above, nr. 9).

[42] See my arguments in Thesleff 2012.

[43] Cf. *Amatores*.

too slippery for a steady grip (216cd).[44] This looks like a playful pivot of the dialogue. Socrates adds in passing that he suspects that a third entity, between the good and the bad, is relevant in φιλία.

This line of thought is followed in the subsequent discussion. The παρουσία (again a Platonic term) of both good and bad ingredients may offer an explanation. Allusions can be found to the *Symposium* and perhaps to *Republic* 6.[45] A final aporia leads to a Socratic 'postponement' of further discussion, when the παιδαγωγοί, like foreign 'daimons', take the boys home.

15. Euthyphro. This is most likely not an 'early' work (as often believed). It reflects what is more explicitly said in other dialogues. In my view it is best understood as a piece of training in early Academic logic around the themes of 'activity and passivity', 'giving and taking' (cf. *Lysis*), now concerning conventional religion, with the indictment of Socrates as a background. The problems, the play with terms, and the dramatic form of this strongly anti-bigotry (and so anti-Athenian) dialogue, suggest that it was not meant to be spread to wider circles. Socrates' only partner here, Euthyphron, is a kind of professional priest. He is an alleged specialist in one of the traditional cardinal virtues, 'piety' (ὁσιότης, τὸ ὅσιον) which is, interestingly, left out from the list of ἀρεταί in *Republic* 4,427d.[46]

The first row of Socrates' questions about the nature of ὁσιότης includes a play with the terms ἰδέα (5d, ironically for ἀνοσιότης) and εἶδος (6e), but amounts to aporias.

A broadening of the approach leads to a brief **CS** (10e–11e), a digression about arguments, moving around like the statues of Daedalus. But whose statues are moved by whom? This pivotal point clearly reminds of the more explicit discussion in *Meno* (97d–98a) of δόξαι being fettered by λογισμός. The audience

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[44] There may be some concretely erotical allusions; the presence of Plato's theory of ἔρως is felt in the background at any rate.

[45] Note the much-discussed Πρῶτον φίλον (219c) which may seem related to the ἀνυπόθετον (ἀγαθόν) in *Republic* 6,510b, 511b; but then the manuscripts' καί at *Lysis* 219c6 is better than the emendation ᾖ.

[46] It occurs, in passing, in *Protagoras* and occasionally elsewhere, and with a rather un-Platonic new emphasis in the *Laws.* Euthyphron was a historical person, noted for his mystical contacts with the 'divine' (cf. *Cratylus* 396d, etc.), but the story of his indictment of his father perhaps was Plato's invention to stress the contrast to Socrates.

is expected to know the details of this imagery. It returns as a glimpse towards the end of the dialogue (15bc).

In the latter half of the dialogue we are brought into more, and deeper, philosophical labyrinths. At the end Socrates still tries to press out from the 'Proteus' Euthyphron (15d) a constructive answer. But Euthyphron is suddenly in a hurry, and Socrates has to meet Meletus (cf. the end of *Meno*), without any wise advice for his own trial.

16. Euthydemus. We now turn back to sophistry, but this time to eristics which Plato views with a comedian's eye. The narrator is Socrates, his audience is Crito, but the narrative has an elaborated dramatic frame dialogue which returns with the central section (cf. *Phaedo*). I believe the text of the dialogue is meant to be, and was, enjoyed by more than a narrow Academic circle. In the opening part of the frame Socrates recommends for everybody, with enthusiastic sarcasm, the two erist brothers' teaching of ἐξελέγχειν (272ab, 'to prove wrong').[47] And the extensive final part of the frame (304b–307c) adds ironically 'protreptic' comments, first to 'somebody' (perhaps Isocrates)[48] who has recently criticized eristics.

Socrates' report of the prodigiously droll examination that he and his young friend Cleinias underwent by the erists contains of course many philosophical points implied by Plato, and so, if provoked by erists, a wealth of irony.

But a clearly distinguished **CS** is underlined by the resumption of the frame dialogue (290b–293a): Among all human facilities, one stands out, Cleinias intimates accompanied by Socrates, namely the βασιλικὴ τέχνη (291b). This (indeed Platonic) kind of 'knowledge' may be somehow useful for all members of the society. Here (292a–293a), however, Socrates admits a deep aporia. In his desperation he invokes the erists, the two Dioscuri, for help (cf. Proteus in *Euthyphro*). And after this sarcastic pivot, the semi-nonsensical elenchus goes on.

[47] Euthydemus is a historical person (see Nails 2002), but his brother Dionysodorus may be Plato's intentional 'doubling' of him (suggested also by the name). In fact much of their argument is 'doublespeak'.

[48] See especially *Euthydemus* 305b–306d.

17: Republic as we have it

17. Republic 1–10. Almost certainly, this magnificent work in ten 'books' (originally papyrus scrolls), has grown gradually, been revised several times, and received its final form rather late (not before the 360s).[49] It contains much of Plato's mature philosophy, and it must have been intended as an Academic 'manifesto' for future Guardians of an ideal State, not for general readers (as often believed since antiquity). Here I can only discuss briefly some traces of **CS**s in it.

As argued above (under nr. 6), the attack of Thrasymachus was the **CS** of an early version of *Republic* 1. Later, after some internal discussion in Plato's circle (and under influence also of the Pseudo-Platonic *Clitopho*),[50] Plato produced a sequel where the serious but friendly criticism by his two brothers came as a new **CS** (now in book 2), followed by arguments about the gradual construction of a 'good' and 'righteous' society, complemented by ideas taken from Plato's 'Proto-Republic' (now woven into books 2–5). The 'final point', philosophers as leaders being the only solution to free mankind from its misery, is now put (5,473cd) after a comprehensive new discussion of Guardians, their education, poetry, imitation, lies and myths, psychology, and the equality of women in the Ideal State. The point about the philosophers is sometimes regarded as the 'pivot' of the entire work. It may have been at one stage. There follow some reflections about philosophers in real life, and the contrast of real ἐπιστήμη and δόξα.

However, looking at the composition as a whole as we have it, it seems to me obvious that its final **CS** is formed by the three famous allegories in Books 6 and 7: The Sun, the Divided Line, and the Cave. Their frame is cosmic and metaphysical. But is there any place for play or humour, or at least self-irony like the laughter echoing around the philosophers' leadership (still present at 6,490b, in the sarcastic remark about philosophers 'making love' to real Being)? Yes, Glaucon's apotropaic reaction, Ἄπολλον δαιμονίας ὑπερβολῆς (6,509c, prepared at 506de), to Socrates' profusely stated idea that τὸ ἀγαθόν might 'transcend essence' is really 'amusing' (γελοίως), not because of the ὑπερβολή as such, but through its implications: Plato's self-irony reflected in his brother's

[49] For this complicated question, see Thesleff 1997 (=2009, 519–539) and Tarrant 2012.

[50] Written by somebody who was frustrated at Socrates' vain attempts to define δικαιοσύνη. Plato found his points interesting, and hence, I assume, the dialogue was taken into the Corpus.

words (cf. 4,427d, 9,380bc); the new ancestry of the sun god; Apollon the god had a specific 'upper level' status in the Academy;[51] and the allusion to a final, metaphysical Ἕν via the 'Ἀ-πολλόν' (note here the vocative case with omikron) is likely to have been understood by some of Plato's contemporaries.[52] But otherwise Plato seems to be very serious about the three allegories.

The middle allegory, the Divided Line (6,509d–511e), stands there as a kind of pivot; note that it symbolizes an 'upper'–'lower' dimension, pointing 'upwards'. Its language is mathematically strict, but several points require oral comments and geometrical illustration. I find it possible that it was a relatively late insertion to fill one (or many) of the 'gaps' that Socrates left open after the Sun imagery (509c6 συχνὰ ἀπολείπω).[53] The Cave imagery (beginning with book 7) would very naturally follow directly after the Sun.

After the Cave we come back to education, now of philosophers. And then follow, at a distance, the eloquently and perceptively described symptoms of decay of the imaginary Ideal Society, finishing in Tyranny (books 8–9). The first part of book 10 seems to have been added to define Plato's latest position in regard to poetry, Forms and the sensual world (with many playful ingredients),[54] and the immortality of the human soul. The eschatological myth of the experiences of 'Er the Pamphylian' (from 613e to the end) is much more detailed than the corresponding myths in *Gorgias* and *Phaedo*, and (interestingly) also somewhat humorously bizarre: the 'harmony of the Sirens' song', for instance (616c–617c), alludes to Academic cosmology and at the same time to Pythagorean musical theory. At the end (621b) Socrates states to Glaukon: 'So myth was saved'. I don't

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[51] Apollo's specific 'appeal' to Plato is easy to see from the dialogues (but in the myth of the *Phaedrus* it is Zeus who leads the 'Dionic' minds, 246e, 252de). Plato's relations to Apollo were later elaborated in legends. The two-level δαιμονίας may also allude to Socrates.

[52] Neoplatonists have noted this allusion.

[53] T. A. Szlezák has argued in various connections (see now SS 2015, 243–256) that such 'gaps' may refer to Plato's oral teaching. I am sceptical about the existence of an esoteric oral 'teaching' by Plato, but surely there was a forthgoing discussion of difficult problems in the Academy. The challenging logic of 'transcendence' gets some clarification by the introduction of 'hypotheses' (see notably 510b, 511b). What Socrates says about the division of the line required geometrical demonstration. For the evidence we have of a late, semi-playfully provocative lecture Περὶ τἀγαθοῦ see Thesleff 1999 (=2009, 475–488).

[54] The φυτουργός (597c) probably alludes to the Demiurge of *Timaeus*.

think he means Er's story (as commentators usually believe, not noticing the lack of the article), but μῦθος as a good philosopher's device beside dialectic λόγος.

But the philosophical weight of the *Republic* very clearly lies in its central parts.

18–28: Academic advances

18. Phaedrus. This text also contains different layers. I suggest hypothetically the following process. A first and much briefer version of this dialogue may have been written at the days when Plato experimented with pastiches of formal rhetoric.[55] Then the incident with Socrates' δαιμόνιον interrupting him (241d–244a) could have been a suitable **CS**. Plato much later took up this text again, put it into new surroundings: a piece of idyllic nature where the danger of myths, nymphs and the young Phaedrus,[56] represent seductive forces. Here the characteristics of human soul became interwoven with a new version of Plato's theory of erotic sublimation.[57] Eros is a kind of divine μανία.

In this context, the curiously 'apodictic' proof of the soul's immortality (since it is αὐτοκίνητος 245c)[58] looks as inserted as a new **CS**. But after Socrates' long second speech now illuminating the soul's flight, there follows a playful interlude on the Muses. 'We have the σχολή' (258e). Again a new **CS**?

However, what then follows (from 259e onwards) looks to me as a separate, extensive addition, mainly concerned with the limits and problems of writing texts. This part of the dialogue is rather carelessly composed, and a specific **CS** is hardly worth searching for (unless the observations on the parts of a good

[55] See esp. *Crito* and *Menexenus*. The *Phaedrus* has often been declared 'very early', but the final version is certainly rather late.

[56] All commented on enthusiastically (indeed, 'ecphrastically') by Socrates, though the dialogue format is now dramatic. Cf. the opening scene in the strictly dramatic *Laws* 1,625a–c where a description of the environment of the discussion is also included. An attempt at a new device?

[57] Contrary to *Symposium*, the *Phaedrus* describes the 'upper levels' of the Universe in cosmological terms (with some reflexes of Babylonian astronomy, notably 246e), and Plato's experiences with Dion are concretely implied (note 252e and 255d ff.).

[58] Note that τὸ αὐτό and κινεῖν are complementary concepts in Plato's later ontology. The soul can 'move itself' with the help of its two horses which even the gods need, a bizarre connection to traditional mythology.

λόγος 264c are meant as one). The presence of Plato's preference for oral communication is implied throughout. A lengthy conspectus of formal rhetoric as contrasted to 'dihaeretic dialectic' is included (261a–274b). The 'Egyptian' invention of writing (274c–275b) does not help the dialectician whose writings, like many other texts, are produced just for play (276d, repeated with emphasis at 278a-c). With somewhat ironical compliments to Isocrates, the teacher of rhetoric, particularly written prose, and a final prayer to Pan and the present nymphs for 'inner καλόν and σωφροσύνη' (hardly their speciality), the two friends leave for town. The whole work remains notably heterogeneous, in spite of its great literary charm.

19. Cratylus. After the musings on literary language in *Phaedrus*, it is reasonable to list the discussion of the nature of language in *Cratylus* which points towards a deeper epistemology (beginning in *Theaetetus*). But *Cratylus* is remarkably 'different' in all respects.

Socrates is confronted with two persons with opposite opinions about the origin and function of 'words' and 'names', the Socratic Hermogenes and the more enigmatically intelligent sophist Cratylus. The latter believes that words have their function 'by nature' (φύσει), but he remains silent for a start. Socrates begins his elenchus with Hermogenes who stands for the common-sense view that words and names can be changed according to human agreement, 'convention'. There is much of amusing Platonic play in the difficulties that Socrates sees in such a view: for instance, there must have been an ὀνοματουργός (389a, cf. again the Demiurge), and even practical implements such as a weaver's shuttle (κέρκις) require a theoretical Form. With the etymology (the term is post-Platonic) of Homeric names Socrates begins to feel inspired as by Euthyphron (396d), and more nonsensical explanations of gods' names appear.

They culminate in the last example (407e–408d), the name of Hermes (the god of language), properly perhaps to be seen, or not to be seen, as the ancestor of Hermogenes; and now Cratylus becomes involved for a minute. The implications of what is said here are sufficiently frame-breaking and 'funny' for being taken as a **CS** with a pivot for the entire dialogue, I think. Among the many allusions here, note the relationship of all kinds of 'language' and 'speech' (λόγος) with the son of Hermes, the 'double-natured' Pan who moves around 'All' (cf. Plato's TLM), a satyr-like being (like Socrates as described by

Alcibiades in *Symposium*), shiningly smooth (bald) and close to the divine at top, but hairy and rough and not very truthful below.[59]

Socrates now goes on, 'explaining' for a while physical phenomena, but then (411bc) sees the truth: such entities, and also values and virtues, are all dependent on 'movement' and 'change': they are never stable. And words may have been changed over time. His long lists of examples are still semi-nonsensical, but the listener (contrary to the naive Hermogenes) may be suspecting that Socrates himself moves around in the dark, bushy area of *logos*. And any friend of Plato will hope to rise up from this 'lower level' of κίνησις.

Now finally (427b) the two want Cratylus to express his opinion of all this (which in fact has been pointing more and more towards what was expected to be his view about language). Socrates starts questioning him dialectically. He leads his elenchus to the explanation of language as a kind of 'imitation' (μίμημα 430ab) of truth, and a combination of ὀνόματα and ῥήματα (431bc).[60] We can observe less playfulness here than before. The truth is likely to be a stable superhuman level (note Plato's TLM here), whereas the words reflect the movement below (439c). Socrates has a dream about something like a 'theory of Forms' (439c), but the question of its γνῶσις (440a) finishes in an aporia for the dialogue as a whole. The discussion must go on, the partners agree.

20. Theaetetus. This is Plato's most comprehensive treatment of epistemology, interestingly avoiding the theory of Forms almost altogether, but heterogeneous and quite difficult at times. The dialogue is almost certainly revised and re-written in dramatic form at least once (142c–143c).[61] The first version may have been very much like the *Charmides*: Socrates discussing a value concept with a very promising and bright young man, who somehow himself represented this idea but died before the dialogue was written.[62] He is introduced by the mathematician and sophist Theodorus of Cyrene, who has a function similar to

59 The description has been sometimes compared to the mirror imagery in *Alcibiades* 1,133c; cf. also *Phaedrus* 255d. A sarcastic allusion to a phallus is also possible.

60 This suggests a kind of 'definition' by means of words. The term ῥῆμα here means 'qualifier' rather than 'verb'.

61 See Thesleff 1990 (=2009, 509–518), Tarrant 2010.

62 I have argued (see the preceding note) that Theaetetus died after a battle ca. 390 B.C. though Plato later made him an icon of Academic geometry.

Critias in *Charmides*. But Theaetetus resembles Socrates also physically (143c), so he is not erotically attractive: his charm, noted by 'Socrates the Younger' (read Plato 147d), his playmate, comes from his intelligence, first demonstrated in terms of his 'generalizing' of a geometrical rule. There are some, but not many, playful points in this opening part where Theaetetus attempts to give some explanations of ἐπιστήμη.

I suggest that Socrates' famous presentation of his 'maieutic' art (149a–151d) was the **CS** of the first version. This art is a quasi-erotic process which, with god's help (see esp. 150cd), can produce both reliable and worthless offspring. The point of this Platonically bizarre imagery here means that divinely inspired dialectic is highly useful also when there is no erotic relation between the partners.[63]

Theodorus may have commented on this in the first version, but in the text we have Theaetetus now delivers a new 'child': ἐπιστήμη must be αἴσθησις. This soon (152a) leads to a discussion between Socrates and Theaetetus about Protagoras (one of Theodorus' specialities, as we shall see below) and a lengthy section concerning various philosophers' (Presocratics' and indeed Plato's) theories about ontology, movement, sensual impressions, change, and untruth. Many of the points are important, though flavoured by a certain playfulness. Theodorus then takes over as Socrates' partner at 161a and tries to present a detailed, serious defence of Protagoras. Socrates doubts the Ἀλήθεια (the name of Protagoras' chief pamphlet, 171c) in all this. But we have time (σχολή 172c).

What follows (172d–177c) is certainly the **CS** for the present dialogue: a digression on the two 'paradigms' of human thinking (roughly to be explained as Plato's TLM). It includes towards the end the motto of 'trying to be like god' (176b), also quoted elsewhere. I see this as an enigmatically ambiguous pivot.[64]

Socrates now goes on questioning Theaetetus, mainly on the problems of movement. Theaetetus suggests (185c–186a) that the soul can perhaps manage the two levels of Being through some of its inborn qualities, and Socrates is impressed.[65] Theaetetus then (187c) suggests that ἐπιστήμη might be ἀληθὴς

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[63] 'Maieutics' does not occur elsewhere in Platonic texts, and its relation to the theories of Eros in other dialogues remains unclear. A Socratic elenchus often has no erotic connotations whatsoever.

[64] Also *Symposium* 212a, *Republic* 6,500cd; 10,613ab. It certainly concerns only 'philosophical minds', and its religious implications are not in the foreground.

[65] In fact Theaetetus operates with what I now call 'Relational Forms', see N. F. Alican in SS 2015,

δόξα. But since this leads to a new aporia, he remembers that 'somebody' has proposed the addition μετὰ λόγου (201c).[66] This has been often regarded as Plato's final position (though pro forma doubted at the end, 209e). But Socrates inserts, as a 'dream', a lengthy discussion of λόγος and its 'elements' (cf. *Cratylus*). So the discussion is left Socratically open, and Socrates goes to hear the indictment against him (210c, cf. *Euthyphro*).

21. Parmenides. We now come to dialogues where the artistic structure, and so the question of **CS**'s, are not prominent. *Parmenides* is definitely more heterogeneous than *Theaetetus*, inconsistently composed, and often read as Plato's perhaps desperate self-criticism in front of his own critics.[67] It begins as a report by a 'Kephalos' of Clazomenae about a very complicated third-hand story concerning young Socrates (read: young Plato) meeting Elean philosophers. This playful opening with its allusions to Platonic distance-seeking (as in *Symposium*, *Phaedo* and notably the *Republic*) is forgotten as the dialogue proceeds gradually towards dramatic form. Socrates first listens to a speech of Zenon, a pupil of Parmenides, about 'one' and 'many', and makes some comments (including references to Plato's theory of Forms). Parmenides is present and finds them interesting (130ab). He starts an elenctic questioning of Socrates about the logic of his theory. The problems remain open, and Parmenides suggests that young Socrates needs more training (136c).

This section is followed by a short interlude (136c–137b): could not Parmenides take over the training of this promising young man? The interlude was perhaps meant to be a kind of **CS**. Parmenides agrees with a number of sarcastic remarks about the 'laborious play' (πραγματειώδη παιδιάν 137b2) that will result from this. We expect a reconsideration of the theory of Forms. But the basics of these theories return in obviously later dialogues.[68] Instead, the 'training' that follows concern almost only the logical relations of ἕν and πολλά,

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322.

[66] This much discussed 'somebody' has remained unclear. In *Charmides* 161b 'somebody' was Critias. Perhaps it was Plato, after all.

[67] My Norwegian colleague and friend E. Wyller has insisted in many connections that it is the best evidence we have of Plato's positive 'henology'. At any rate, *Parmenides* marks, together with *Theaetetus*, the beginning of Plato's 'late philosophy'.

[68] See Thesleff 1982 (=2009, 304–308).

which were introduced by Zenon is his earlier lecture. And the very young man who now turns up as Parmenides' respondent is a certain 'Aristoteles', one of the Thirty.[69] This was probably meant to be the pivotal point of the dialogue.

The strictly formal gymnastic 'figures' of the training do not meet our expectations of a correction of the theory of Forms. They look like a secondary addition of a scheme for Eleatic training, perhaps by an assistant, when Plato had lost his interest in his original project of reconsidering his theory.

22. Sophist. I list this as the first of the certainly 'late' Platonic dialogues. It follows both *Theaetetus* and *Parmenides* at a distance, and it includes elements from both. But it has a consistently dramatic form, its style is 'late',[70] and (Old) Socrates has withdrawn to a position of an 'honorary chairman'. The discussion is led by an anonymous Guest from Elea, a full-blown philosopher, with ontology as his speciality. His chief partner is here the highly competent young Theaetetus (recommended by Socrates, 217de). The theme is the characteristics of a 'sophist'. The method, developed in the first part of the dialogue, is a 'dihaeretic' classification of the concept so as to arrive at a conceptual hierarchy which can, apparently, be used (Platonically) 'upwards' and 'downwards'.[71] The wealth of tentative examples given in this dialogue are partly playful or sarcastic and, if not invented by Plato, probably accepted by him with a smile. The contents are very rich, however, and include much criticism of various Presocratics and later lines of thought.

A glimpse of a **CS** can be seen at 239e–243e. The piece does not stand out formally, nor with pointed play, but its implication is: does the hiding sophist exist though he seems to be non-existent, and can we commit 'patricide' of Parmenides (241d, is this little sarcasm meant as a pivotal point?) by asserting that there is a 'being somehow' between being and non-being?

[69] Mentioned at 127d2. I find it clear (though many doubt it) that this is again a Platonic play with names. In fact the criticism of Plato's theory of Forms which we find in some of the Aristotelian πραγματεῖαι corresponds very closely with what Parmenides has said in his above questioning of 'young Socrates'. And it is tempting to think that the Academy at this time had about 30 'members'.

[70] Thesleff 1967 (=2009, 121–122: 'onkos'). Cf. Tarrant 2010, 14–15.

[71] This method seems to have been popular among some of Plato's friends; Speusippus is said to have studied it. Hints at its two-way application occur in passing in *Phaedrus* 249bc, 266b.

The arguments that follow approach successively two interesting new aspects of Plato's theory of 'concepts' (i.e. words) and 'Forms': there can be a συμπλοκή (240c, 259a, etc.) of them in innumerable ways within οὐσία taken in a large sense (meaning also 'being something' = the copula); and the pairs of the μέγιστα γένη (such as στάσις/κίνησις, ταὐτόν/θάτερον, 254ce) cover the Universe, laterally, as it were.[72] This discussion could be regarded as the 'complement' to Plato's theory of Forms, expected at the end of the Parmenides. There also follow more notes on λόγος and δόξα ψευδής (where the sophist seems to be hiding). We arrive finally at a very explicit definition of the sophist as being basically a very insincere 'imitator'. And imitation is a 'two-level' process (like play and irony, we might add).

23. Statesman (*Politicus*). Though constructed as following immediately after the *Sophist*, the *Statesman* is considerably different. The partner of the Guest is now going to be 'Socrates the Younger' (read: young Plato), and this must contain an allusion to Plato's early interest in statemanship. The examples of διαίρεσις are now fewer and constructive. The Younger Socrates has not so much of his own to add to the Guest's arguments, which are more like a 'lecture' (in the 'late Platonic' manner). And what is particularly notable from our present point of view: the dialogue is provided with a very clear 'Platonic' **CS**. After a series of tentative definitions of 'statesmanship' as the 'knowledge' of a shepherd-like leader, which evidently is not sufficient, the Guest will tell a myth.

This so-called Cronus myth (268e–274e) certainly forms the **CS** of the dialogue. One of its points is the somewhat bizarre situation which occurs when the Cosmos under Cronus' rather paradisiac rule (with no philosophy, 272cd) suddenly changes its rotation into the opposite direction. Humans will have to take care of themselves. A new World-ruler, such as the harsh Zeus (272b), will contribute to a new organized society. Many 'turns' of this kind will happen.[73] But a human ruler will need more than a shepherd's skill.

The latter, and main, half of the dialogue concerns the qualities to be found for the βασιλικὴ τέχνη (276c) in a human world where δαίμονες are not

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[72] I have discussed them in various contexts and would like to call them, now, 'Relational Forms'. See above, note 65.

[73] This often analysed myth obviously includes allusions at least to Plato's *Protagoras*, *Republic*, and some material used in *Timaeus* and the *Laws*.

leading, as in the world of Cronus. Basically, we are now on Platonic ground. The 'dihairetic' method known from the *Sophist* is applied carefully, with very little play. The old Socratic manner of referring to concrete 'parallels' is here, interestingly, turned into a 'paradigmatic' method (277d). The 'model' that the Guest chooses for his argument is 'weaving', 'tying together' (συμπλέκειν) (279d–305e). The art of μετρητική is needed, and preferably a sense for 'what is suitable' (though 'the precise as such' is difficult to reach, 284de), and dialectics is needed in this case (285d), and the art of 'dividing the εἴδη correctly (i.e. dihairetics, 285d). A conspectus of different types of government follows (290d ff.), and it is notable here that ἐπιστήμη is needed, and indeed law-giving (though not a rule of laws). We seem to be moving somewhere between the social ethics of the *Republic* and the Platonic *Laws*.

At the end the Guest (very un-Socratically) produces a short but clear and serious conclusion (211bc) about the 'best society', woven by the kingly art to make all humans in it, free and slaves, as happy as possible. This may sound rather 'modern', taking account of the numerous different 'strands' that the weaving symbolism implies.[74]

24. Timaeus. This famous 'volume' and its short, abruptly finished addition *Critias* (see nr. 25 below), has surprisingly little in common with the other 'late' Platonic dialogues, except for the basic TLM. It is extremely difficult to find a chronological place for it.[75] Plato may have begun planning it before the *Republic* was finalised, and it took form, with the help of assistants (other than those for *Parmenides, Sophist* and the *Statesman)*, under pythagorizing influences from the West, yet before *the Laws* was finished (see *Epinomis*). This is very hypothetical. The *Timaeus*, as we have it, begins with a repetition of Plato's 'Proto-Republic' (17a–19b)[76] followed by the beginning of the Atlantis story as told by Critias. Then follows (from 27c) the essential piece: Timaeus' continuous lecture on the creation and function of the Universe and its parts. This became a standard text, in antiquity and later, for Plato's view of cosmology, psychology

[74] Interestingly, the Academy never produced the dialogue 'Philosopher' expected to be part of a trilogy; see especially *Statesman* 257a. Cf. *Critias*, and possibly *Epinomis*.

[75] See the discussion in Thesleff 1982 (=2009, 335–339). I am even more sceptical today.

[76] The 'Fourth man', missing today because of a sudden ἀσθένεια (17a, cf. *Phaedo* 59b), must have been the young Plato (as few have seen). Plato did not care about chronology very much.

and biology. The Locrian Timaeus is probably not a historical person, but he is introduced (20a) as an outstanding 'philosopher' (later often seen as a Pythagorean). Quite evidently, his lecture is composed out of various specialists' views, applied to Plato's TLM, his theory of Forms, his psychology, and some other elements. At the outset Timaeus calls his lecture 'a probable story' (εἰκὼς μῦθος, 29d), implying probably a slightly ironical contrast to Critias' 'true λόγος' (26e, note Socrates' remark). But there is very little irony or playfulness in Timaeus' myth.[77] Critias' own explanation (21a–26a) of how the traditions about Atlantis have reached him, should make the attentive reader understand that they are not very reliable.[78]

But are there traces of a **CS** in Timaeus' lecture? I am not sure if any of the doings of the Demiurge (e.g. the creation of the World Soul 34b–36d) can be seen as 'central' in a literary sense because they are so involved with the entire exposition. Nearest to a Platonic **CS** comes the rather surprising insertion of the impact of Ἀνάγκη, Necessity (47e–53b), a new and 'different' (48e) approach. It concerns mainly the formation of the four elements before the Demiurge began his work. A lengthy argument introduces a 'receiver' (ἐκμαγεῖον or a μήτηρ, 50cd)[79] where a kind of protoplasma (a later term) is received as if by a nurse or a mother, who 'sways unevenly in every part, and is herself shaken ...' (transl. Bury), until the 'matter' takes geometrical Forms (52d–53b).[80] These are then described in detail. The imagery of the 'shaking' process, I believe, is meant as a somewhat playful illustration of Plato's TLM and of the κίνησις that is always below the στάσις towards which all the activities of the Demiurge are oriented.

The physical constitution of the Cosmos is then described in some detail, and the question of causes is again discussed. The younger gods (whose existence is a complicated problem, 40d–41a) continue the Demiurge's work, with less perfection: the soul and body of humans, diseases and other handicaps, animals, etc. are explained with much material of interest for historians of Academic philosophy and science.

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[77] The point of the 'probable story' is repeated later, note especially 59cd. Add perhaps the remark on the Olympian gods 40d. For the ἐκμαγεῖον 50c, see note 79 below.

[78] A specific warning is the mention of the Ἀπατούρια festival (21b) with its allusion to ἀπατή.

[79] One of the starting points for the long history of the term *materia*, 'matter' (Aristotle's ὕλη occurs later in *Timaeus*, 69a).

[80] The 'feminine' movement here reflects lower level phenomena. The sexual allusions are pretty manifest.

The work ends with a brief 'hymnic' statement that this Cosmos, filled with immortal and mortal things, is the best and only world possible.

25. Critias. A curious continuation of Critias' Atlantis myth, which was begun in *Timaeus*. It is now introduced by a notice (108a, implied in *Timaeus* 20a) that a trilogy is planned with Hermocrates the Syracusan as the last lecturer. But Critias stops his story in the middle of a sentence, and nothing is heard of the rest of the plan.[81]

Critias at first dwells on the myths about Athenian 'prehistory' and then (from 112e) he starts describing the leaders and community of Atlantis and how it (this early Syracuse!) became aggressive towards Athens. The largest part of the story, as we have it, concerns the architectural arrangements in the city of Atlantis.[82] Any trace of a Platonic **CS** cannot be expected.

26. Philebus. This long and in many ways interesting dialogue on 'The good life' has received relatively little attention in Plato scholarship.[83] It is obviously a 'late' work, operating extensively with terms and concepts known from earlier dialogues, and projecting them on basically moral questions and human attitudes – apparently in general, not centering on 'philosophical man', as most Platonic texts do. It is literarily interesting, first, because it is the only treatise-like work in the Platonic corpus, yet formally a quite vivid dialogue written in a heavy 'onkos' style.[84] Scholars are used to reading in Aristotle similar questions treated in a more easily digested form. Second, quite often *Philebus* offers sudden flashes of humour which sound distinctly Platonic. Some of them are directly or indirectly concerned with one of Socrates' two partners here, Philebus,[85] who does not say much and prefers to sleep (e.g. 15c), as befits a passive hedonist.

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[81] There has been much speculation about the reason for the abrupt stop. At least it suggests a piety to 'Plato's text' by its Academic editors.

[82] A theme of particular interest to those Academicians who were specialists on preparing new colonies, cf. *Laws* 3–4.

[83] The Dublin conference noted in my bibliography under Gavray 2010 was a rare step.

[84] Thesleff 1967 (=2009, 123–124).

[85] Certainly a fictitious name, alluding to 'Love of the youthful'. *Philebus* is hardly modelled on Plato's friend Eudoxus, as sometimes suggested; cf. e.g. *Hippias Major* 287e on the 'girl-lover'. Eudoxus was a very active man.

The other partner, Protarchos,[86] first inclines to side with Philebus but soon becomes an enthusiastic interlocutor to what Socrates says, yet on the whole without opinions of his own. And the leader of the 'discussion' is now, contrary to the other dialogues from Parmenides onwards, an ageless 'Socrates' who keeps the dialectic strongly in his own hands. This is very probably the last manifestation we have of Plato's own view and his own voice, only formally filtered by assistants. And we may note here in passing, that a 'Pythagoran' aspect of Plato's TLM comes in with the addition of the contrast πέρας / ἀπειρία (later ἄπειρον) (16c).[87]

A basic strand in Socrates' argumentation is the possibility of bridging the two ontological levels, represented by 'pleasure' (ἡδονή) and 'intellectual activity' (here often φρόνησις), by a third 'mediating' level. Plato's philosophical theories of ἔρως are almost forgotten in this context. A first breakthrough comes at 21a–22a with something like a Platonic **CS**. Protarchus is made to agree that a life totally in 'pleasure' would not be worth while, even if possible. Thinking of this brings him into total ἀφασία (21d). We may note here a reflection of Socratic νάρκωσις (as in *Meno*, note Socrates' comparison of sea monsters lacking λογισμός, *Philebus* 21c). Anyway, Socrates is now prepared to introduce the idea of 'mixture' (22d)[88] as a possible solution, and it remains then as one line of thought throughout the dialogue.

Apart from this one passage, I cannot find anything reminiscent of a **CS** among the innumerable turns in the developing argument. Not even particularly important sections (such as the reflections on the ridiculous 47d–50e, the notes on 'aesthetics' in arts 50e–53c, or the discussion of dialectic 57e–58e) are provided with any evident distinguishing signs. This is, as I said, essentially a discursive text, concerning all kinds of human activity with ἀγαθόν in view. The lengthy summary (beginning at 64c) is shortened at the end (66d–67b). Protarchus, however, would like to make a last question. But Socrates does not

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86 Son of Callias, perhaps semi-fictitious. Contrary to Philebus, he is very much 'awake' and inserting occasionally interesting comments (e.g. 31a, 45de).

87 See Thesleff 1982 (=2009, 346 note 622), 1999 (=2009, 470–471, 476, etc.). The contrast was introduced by Philolaus.

88 Μεῖξις, σύμμειξις and corresponding verbs. One obvious starting point is the idea of 'combining' or 'weaving together' especially in the *Statesman*.

even ask what it is. So the 'dialogue' remains Socratically open (for those who understand the 'humour' of this).

27. Laws 1 – 12 (Nomoi). This enormous 'dialogue' is in many ways heterogeneous, and probably written by different hands. It is said to have been posthumously edited by the astronomer Philippus of Opous, who added the *Epinomis* (nr. 28 below).[89] The scene is Crete, and the discussion is led by an anonymous Athenian Guest (who stands for 'Plato' rather than 'Socrates' and tends to speak in long monologues). The two other speakers are the Cretan Cleinias, and Megillos from Sparta; all are depicted as very old men. The discussion concerns, with deep seriousness and even harshness, the organization of the 'second-best society', because the ideal (as in the *Republic*) is possible only for gods. Platonic playfulness is not to be expected, but occasional glimpses may be found especially in the first books.[90]

CSs cannot be expected for this compositional whole. Possibly, however, the idea of motivating the laws for the citizens by introductory προοίμια was originally a Platonic idea, though the samples we have in our text do not sound genuinely Platonic in content or style. The first extensive 'prelude' of this kind takes the total of Book 5 (726a–747e).[91] Maybe Plato had planned it as a kind of **CS**, though he did not formulate it himself.

Reflexes of genuinely Platonic ontology and psychology occur especially in Books 9–10 (863a–910d), but the grip is here repressively static, religious and, I think, un-Platonic. It is worth noticing, however, that a more constructively 'philosophical' approach is expected from the so-called Nocturnal Council, adduced at the end of Book 12 (960b–969d). See further *Epinomis* (below).

28. Epinomis. This 'Addition to the *Laws*' is probably written by Philip of Opous, astronomer and member of the Academy (see above note, 89). Predominantly, it concerns the branches of 'knowledge' or 'wisdom' (σοφία) that the Nocturnal Council can be expected to ponder. These are in the first place theology, astron-

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[89] See Nails – Thesleff 2003.

[90] E.g. 1,644d, human beings as gods' puppets (θαῦμα, at the same time implying something 'remarkable'); 2,664b–d, comments on the three Dionysian choruses required in a good society, where old men over sixty are not supposed to sing but to tell stories.

[91] See further e.g. 6,770b–771a; 7,822d–823d; etc.

omy and cosmology. The *Epinomis* does not follow the model of *Timaeus*, and the various changes from that work indicate either Philip's preferences, or developments in Academic learning, or both. As far as I can see we are not brought nearer the genuine Plato at any point.[92] On the contrary, the author tends to give a pointedly religious bias to his view of the Cosmos and the σοφία needed for understanding it. The prayer implied before entering on the second part of the work (980c) is hardly meant to be a **CS**.

29–32: Further Dubia and Spuria

With the *Epinomis* we reached a text that the majority of scholars today consider inauthentic. I believe for my part that all of the 'late dialogues' are to some degree 'semi-authentic' in the sense that they are based on drafts conceived or even written by Plato, later expanded, combined and rewritten by one or more assistants.[93]

However, there are at least four dialogues in the Corpus, whose full authenticity is still under debate for less obvious reasons than *Epinomis*.

29. Alcibiades 1. Though considered an important introductory dialogue since antiquity, its authenticity has been doubted in modern times for various reasons.[94] My own doubts are due, mainly, to two aspects: the over-expansive but differently constructed elenchus sections, and the explanation of Socrates' δαιμόνιον as an active divine force within his soul. Playful points are not very common (but there are two at 120b, before the **CS**). If the basic theme is seen as the 'caretaking' required from a good political leader,[95] then we can trace two stages in the compositional process. I assume that Plato, himself, wrote a draft on good and less good leadership in Athens, as a discussion between Socrates and Alcibiades. It included a **CS** such as we have it (121a–124c), on the education of leaders in Sparta and Persia. It was meant to lead to new aspects of leaders' education. This draft was put aside (by new questions raised in *Re-*

[92] This cannot be argued here.

[93] I have collaborated with H. Tarrant on the problems of 'semi-authenticity'. See now Tarrant 2017.

[94] See Thesleff 1982 (=2009, 361–364), Renaud & Tarrant 2015.

[95] Cf. notably *Charmides*, *Statesman*.

public, *Symposium*, and elsewhere), but much later taken up by one of Plato's religiously inclined assistants.[96] He added the opening frame about god who now allows Socrates to approach Alcibiades, expanded the elenchus sections, and above all, made the **CS** a περιπέτεια for explaining the religious force of the δαιμόνιον. Socrates now emphasises the contrast body/soul, the latter being 'oneself'. The truth of oneself is reflected in the eyes of the teacher with his divine self (133b).[97] The final, bizarre point about 'stork's love' (135de) may have belonged to the first version.

30. Hippias Major: This lively dialogue between Socrates and the sophist on the notion of *kalon* may derive from an early sketch by Plato, later expanded by an assistant who added comments pointing to the mid-fourth century.[98] It has no clear CS, but perhaps Socrates' curious *alter ego* (introduced at 286c, cf. 298b), who gradually takes over the role of the questioner, was intended to have that function in the first version.[99]

31. Amatores (or *Erastae* or *Rivals*). A skeleton for a narrative by Socrates who meets two unnamed boys after a school lecture on mathematics[100] and discusses with them what 'philosophy' is. A rudimentary mark of a possible **CS** can be found (135e–136b). The point of Socrates' argument that follows is to show what philosophy is not. Perhaps the sketch was made by Plato to be developed into a lively dialogue for training in argumentation in the Academy.

32. Hipparchus. A short, Socratically 'open' dialogue on the concept of 'profit' (κέρδος). This value seems not to be, as such, morally condemnable. Plato may

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[96] Cf. notably *Theages*, *Minos*, and *Epinomis*.

[97] This part of *Alcibiades* 1 has some points in common with the rather more playful *Charmides*; cf. there Socrates' 'Thracian medicine'; the virtues being reflected in the eyes, 156b–157d; and Socrates wanting to see Charmides (i.e. his soul) 'naked', 154de, cf. *Alcibiades* 1,132a.

[98] Discussed in Thesleff 1976. At that time, I wrongly regarded the piece as 'pseudo-Platonic', mainly because I thought that Plato would not use a playful Socratic prose at the time he 'wrote' heavy texts such as the *Statesman* or *Philebus*. 'Semi-authenticity' would solve such problems.

[99] He has Antisthenean traits. Socrates appears many times 'bewildered' in front of this challenger, notably at the end, 304b–e.

[100] The school master is a Dionysios. He is sometimes thought to have been Plato's own teacher.

have written this, initially, as a sketch for logical training. A digression (228b–229e) on the 6th century Athenian Hipparchus who died as an alleged 'tyrant' but for other reasons, can be taken as a **CS**. It is loosely attached to the theme of 'profitable' deception. Allusions to Dion's death (354 BC) are in various ways thinkable. We read in the *Seventh Epistle* that Plato felt himself deceived by the profit-seeking Dion. I suggest as a hypothesis that the sketch was finished in collaboration with a younger assistant.

33: The Rest of the 'Spurious' Dialogues

Minos (on the meaning of the concept νόμος) is often coupled with the *Hipparchus* because of similarities in the structure. I find the differences more important. *Minos* looks to me as a polemical comment on the first books of the Laws, written by a member of the Academy who emphasizes the divine inspiration of the Cretan lawgiver *Minos* and relies on the Homeric tradition. There is no trace of a **CS** but at the end a lengthy praise of *Minos* (319e–321b) which rather corresponds to Platonic final myths. — For *Clitopho*, see above.[101] — In *Theages* Socrates is asked for advice in education (cf. *Charmides*. *Laches*). There are some parallels with *Alcibiades 1* but no clear **CS.** The δαιμόνιον is introduced towards the end (128d) as an active divine force requiring a close, even physical, contact with the pupil (cf. also *Symposium*). Socrates' shortcomings are due to circumstances, and we know that Theages was sickly and died young. The weight of the argument comes at the end (cf. *Minos*). — *Sisyphus*. 'Socrates' (placed in a mid-4th century context) discusses paradoxes concerning 'giving advice'. Perhaps meant for Academic training. — *Alcibiades 2*. On the right method to approach the gods. Dependent on *Alcibiades* 1, but with still more religious feeling. Alcibiades accepts the advice of Socrates and, at the end, crowns him with his wreath. A date at the time of Alexander the Great is arguable, but far from certain. — *De Justo*. Probably a school text on 'What is right' for training various typical points (many of them known from Plato's dialogues, cf. also *Clitopho*). — *De Virtute*. An Academic compilation of some questions regarding ἀρετή, found in *Meno*, which is partly quoted verbatim. — *Demodocus.* A collection of four eristic pieces about 'giving advice' (see *Theages* and *Sisyphus*). No specifically Academic traits; not even Socrates is mentioned (but Theages'

[101] See above, note 50.

father's name was Demodocus). — *Eryxias*. A relatively long and ambitiously written dialogue in the Platonic narrative manner, on the ethical problems of 'wealth' (πλοῦτος). 'Socrates' emphasizes (without much humour or irony) the difficulties involved and the importance of reason. Probably the digression about an incident with the sophist Prodicus (397c–399a) is meant to be a **CS**, interesting as one of the author's many attempts to imitate Plato; but its function has nothing of the Platonic spirit. In spite of his shortcomings as an imitator, I see no clear sign for dating the dialogue in the Hellenistic age.[102] — *Axiochus*. The only dialogue in our Corpus which is certainly a post-Platonic addition. It is an interesting, though rather naive, document reflecting various early Hellenistic approaches to eschatology. 'Socrates' offers to a dying person a series of consolatory arguments, the last of which he seems to embrace himself: there is a paradise after life for those who have lived 'righteously'. — The Pseudo-Platonic dialogues found or mentioned outside the Corpus tradition are totally irrelevant here.[103] So is naturally the list of *Definitions* (Ὅροι) added to the Corpus at some stage.

34: The Letters (Epistulae)

We have 13 'Platonic' Letters in our Corpus, and a few more preserved elsewhere. Some of them give glimpses of things or themes discussed in the Academy, but nothing of interest in the present context – except for the *Seventh Letter*. This is by far the longest one, and the only one which in my opinion can be classed as authentic on reasonable grounds.[104] It is written to Dion's friends in Syracuse, soon after his death (in 354 BC). In fact, this letter gives a clear reflex of what can be called a **CS**: the famous ontological digression (342a–344d) with its context. It is the last, and rather explicit presentation of Plato's TLM, though written in a fit of strong irritation at the bluffing boasts of Dionysius II.[105]

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[102] The date is discussed in some detail by the Coll. Budé editor, J. Soulhé 1930, 87–89.

[103] The (*H*)*alcyon*, on the question of how little we humans know, is preserved independently of the Corpus tradition. For five other dialogues fabricated under Plato's name we have only the titles, and there may have existed many more of this kind.

[104] One of my reasons is precisely the Digression (below) which is the stumbling block for many scholars.

[105] The impressionistic character of the presentation of how the ontological levels should be

Concluding Remarks

Plato uses 'play' (παιδιά) or irony or satire of varying kinds and to a varying degree in all his authentic dialogues. This is worth remembering, though many readers tend to miss or neglect such paraphernalia.

In this article, I have tried to focus on the Central Sections (**CS**). Their importance as a literary compositional principle in Platonic dialogues is beyond doubt. However, I should now prefer to interpret the so-called 'pedimentality' they are said to express somewhat otherwise than I and some others have done before. The term 'pediment' refers to the arrangement of the figures in the triangular gable of a classical temple. The main function of the Central Section, as I see it now, is a shift or a widening of the perspective of the discussion. It may come close to a περιπέτεια in a Greek tragedy (or the παράβασις in Attic comedy); and it may indeed reflect Plato's dependence on dramatic art. The **CS** marks a compositional 'shift' in the approximate centre of the 'pedimental' (or 'pyramidal', if one prefers that term) composition of the dialogue.

I have here wanted to call attention to the particularly playful or ironical remarks that often (if not normally) accompany these shifts of perspective. Let me call these playful comments 'pivotal play'. Many (if not all) of these cases require a much deeper study than what has been possible in this short article. On the whole, however, they seem to reflect Plato's 'Two-Level Model'. And I hope they also show that even the Central Sections are not so altogether serious as many readers want to have them. And I also hope that further studies of Plato's playfulness will contribute ever more to our understanding of his thinking.

Let me now stress once more that the cases of 'pivotal play' that I have noted, represent an ambivalently 'two-sided' thinking, indeed like the entire **CS.** They tend to include at the same time orientations to his 'higher' and his 'human' level.

Interestingly, Plato's **CS**s seem to fall into two somewhat different categories (the bracketed numbers refer to the order in the above list):

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understood, is easily explicable from this irritation of Plato's. The only mystifying point in it is the term εἴδωλον (first at 342b) which may contain (a sarcastic?) allusion both to εἶδος as Form and to the 'imitations' done by human thinkers, writers, painters, etc. (cf. also the Divided Line, *Republic* 6,509d–511e).

- The normal type is a clearly distinguished digression with one or two ambivalent points: *Ion* (4), *Hp.Mi*. (5), *Resp.* 1 (6), *Chrm*. (12), *Euthphr*. (15), *Euthyd*. (16), *Cra*. (19), *Tht*. (20), *Plt*. (23), *Ti*. (24), *Alc*.1 (29), *Hipparch*. (32), *Ep*.7 (33).
- In lengthy dialogues with different themes intertwined the **CS** sometimes tends to expand, so as to cover at least a part of the themes discussed in the dialogues in question: *Grg*. (7), *Meno* (8), *Prt*. (9), *Symp*. (10), *Phd*. (11), *Lach*. (13), *Lysis* (14), *Resp.* 1–10 (17), *Phdr*. (18). *Cra*.? (19), *Tht*. (20). This may be an additional sign of revision.
- Some possible reflexes of attempts to produce a **CS** can be found in *Ap*. (1), *Cri*. (2), *Menex*. (3), *Prm*. (21), *Soph*. (22), *Phlb*. (26). *Leg*.1–12 (27)?, *Hp.Ma*. (30)?, *Hipparch*. (32). However, no clear traces of **CS**s occur in the evident Spuria, except for the ambitious imitation of Platonic composition in *Eryx*. (33)

If my interpretation is correct, it reinforces my theories of limited audiences for the original presentation of Plato's dialogues. Such playfulness as we have met here can hardly have been intended for a general audience, though some texts could easily have been enjoyed by a large public (see e.g. *Ion* or *Euthydemus*). And it illustrates my thesis of an original oral performance of the texts, not meant to be studied word for word analytically – as most of the preserved works of Aristotle – but with an openness for an immediately following discussion.

A rough grouping of the thematic contents of the 'pivots' seems possible:

(a) Explicit reference to Socrates' δαιμόνιον: *Ap*. (1), *Phdr*. (18, first version?)
(b) Socrates otherwise 'bewildered' by divine interruption: *Hp.Mi*. (5, κατηβολή), *Meno* (8, νάρκωσις), *Phd*. (11, meditation), *Euthphr*. (15, thoughts like moving statues); cf. *Tht*. (20, first version? A suitable case of μαίευσις), *Phlb*. (26, ἀφασία of partner)
(c) Aggressive interruption by a dialogue partner: *Republic* 1 (6), *Grg*. (7); cf. *Chrm*. (12)
(d) The Philosopher interrupting the discussion, ironically or sarcastically:

- political points: *Cri*. (2), *Menex*. (3), *Hipparch*. (32)
- criticism of poetry: *Ion* (4)
- Eros and philosophy: *Symp*. (10, note perhaps sarcasm in the style of Diotima's final pleading), *Phdr*. (18, soul and ἔρως)
- instruction: *Lach*. (13), *Lysis* (14), *Alc*.1 (29, first version?)
- eristics: *Euthyd*. (16)
- ontology, epistemology: *Resp.* Bks 5–7 (17, note also Bk 2), *Cra*. (19), *Tht*. (20), *Prm*. (21), *Soph*. (22), *Plt*. (23, pointed sarcasms), *Ti*. (24), *Ep.* 7 (34).

All cases (clear and less clear ones) share a common function: they are, as it were, exclamation marks for something of particular interest. And this interesting point is normally the shift of perspective that follows.

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It is reasonable to conclude these remarks with some general reflections about Plato's sense of humour, in and outside the **CS**s. Plato was an elitist from birth and remained so throughout his life – yet with some notable exceptions from the normal prejudices of his class. He had no disdain for the lower classes whom he wanted to see incorporated in a 'happy' community, but he was not interested in 'ordinary' people. In his dialogues, his choice of characters (sometimes with humorous allusions in their names) are socially and intellectually 'educated' people (the slave in *Meno* is an experimental exception); only Thrasymachus in *Republic* 1 is inclined to 'vulgar' reactions. They are all prepared to communicate with the only Philosopher present, in the first place Socrates, and this protagonist is always directly or indirectly leading the discussion. 'Socrates' (or his stand-in) is the only person in the text whose humour is really relevant or at stake. Humour in 'Socratic' disguise can be safely characterized as one of Plato's basic literary methods.

Plato's humour is generally of a pointedly intellectual kind. It is normally self-ironical in a two-level sense, probably a reminiscence of the historical Socrates' attitude, but at the same time representing Plato's more aristocratic TLM. My subjective impression is that this is not the broad kind of irony often met among, say, farmers or industrial workers. Plato's irony has a personal point. It

includes an 'understatement' of oneself and a playful acceptance of another person's position. It is never scornful or 'cynical' in the modern sense of the word, 'satirical' perhaps at times, as notably in connection with quotations from Homeric poetry (as in *Hippias Minor*, *Ion*, *Republic* 3) or in pastiches of rhetorical or sophistic speeches (see *Protagoras*, *Euthydemus*, *Phaedrus*). A kind of 'dry wit' can be traced in the dialogues. But mild satire, interestingly, is not really a Platonic device. Sarcasm is! Here, as in his irony, the 'upper level' of the TLM is always a background factor. Occasionally Plato's humour can be aggressively sarcastic: see, in the list above, numbers 2, 3, 4, 7. 9, 10, 19, 22, 34. Among these sarcastic passages, the 'pseudo-patriotism' in number 3 (*Menexenus*, a funeral speech) may sound distasteful to modern ears (but the text was hardly meant for publication). For bizarre points in the irony, see notably numbers 4, 5, 8, 9, 15, 23. Also a Platonic μῦθος normally includes playful elements. A modern reader would perhaps expect emotionally 'warmer' laughter at times. Such instances do not occur, as far as I can see. And even in lively descriptions, funny incidents or comments are rarely accompanied by laughter (as in *Charmides* 155bc, more provocatively in *Euthydemus* 300d, 303b, etc.; cf. *Republic* 3,388e). A friendly smile (as in *Parmenides* 130a) normally lacks humour.

For Plato, writing was παιδιά (though intellectual play) on 'two levels'. Which portions of his writings are, after all, deeply and emotionally 'serious', like the latter half of *Gorgias*? This difficult question could perhaps be answered by analysing protreptic sections in the *Republic* and occasionally later (as in the conclusion of *Philebus*, and the *Seventh Letter*). Intellectual analytic neutrality is common, of course. But touches of play occur even in the 'later' works (see numbers 20–28 in the above list) where several writers probably contributed to the final text.

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Gaetano Marini (1742–1815), protagonista della cultura europea. Scritti per il bicentenario della morte. Voll. I–II. A cura di Marco Buonocore. Studi e Testi 492–493. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Città del Vaticano 2015. ISBN 978-88-210-0930-3. 1767 pp. EUR 200.

Viele Bildungsromane beginnen wie die Geschichte von Gaetano Marini: Ein junger, ehrgeiziger Mann, gerade das Universitätsstudium beendet, zieht aus seinem Geburtsort in der Provinz in die große Welt, sich auf das Leben und auf die Karriere freuend. Im Fall Marinis werden die Ereignisse die Erwartungen des jungen Helden übertreffen, leider nicht nur in seinem Sinne: Kurz nach Erwerb der Laurea "in utroque iure" zieht er 1764 nach Rom. Gesegnet mit dem nötigen Fleiß, um profundes Wissen und Kompetenzen zu erlangen, sowie mit einer Zuverlässigkeit und einem Ehrgeiz ausgestattet, welche ihn stets zu vernünftigem Handeln und nie zu Größenwahnsinn anleiten, wird er bald die Aufmerksamkeit und den Schutz des Kardinals Albani genießen, die juristische Laufbahn verlassen und sich ganz seinen antiquarischen Interessen widmen. Schließlich wird er am päpstlichen Hof, dem damaligen Zentrum des internationalen Mäzenatentums, und in der europäischen Geschichte seinen festen Platz finden; dies nicht nur in der kulturellen. Schon 1772 wird er von Papst Clemens XIV. dazu berufen dem neugewählten Archivaren des Vatikanischen Archives, Marino Zampini, beizustehen. Ab diesem Zeitpunkt ist sein Schicksal mit jenem der Vatikanischen Archive und Bestände für immer verbunden – und infolgedessen mit den wichtigsten Ereignissen Europas seiner Zeit.

200 Jahre nach dem Tode Gaetano Marinis (ab nun M.), Präfekt des Vatikanischen Archives, später erster Kustos der Vatikanischen Bibliothek sowie der Museen und schließlich Autor zahlreicher Werke, welche die Epigraphik, Papyrologie, Numismatik, aber auch das Verlagswesen und das Sammlungswesen des 19. und 20. Jh. beeinflussten, hat sein Nachfolger Marco Buonocore, der seit Jahren und in vielen Studien nicht müde wird, die Rolle von M. in der internationalen Kulturgeschichte zwischen dem Ende des 18. und dem Anfang des 19. Jhs. hervorzuheben und zu würdigen, ihm ein Denkmal setzen wollen: Er hat viele Gelehrte versammelt und ein Werk geschaffen, das schon durch seines Aussehen beeindruckt: Zwei Bände von jeweils ca. 900 Seiten und 51 Beiträgen, eingeteilt in folgende Sektionen: "L'Italia, l'Europa e Gaetano Marini", "La Repubblica Letteraria", "Archivio Segreto e Biblioteca Vaticana", "Numismatica", "Papirologia", "Editoria", "Epigrafia", "Musei epigrafici", "Antiquaria e collezionismo". Dass Buonocore schon in der Einleitung erwähnt, nicht das gesamte wissenschaftliche Erbe des M. in dieser gewaltigen Publikation gebürend behandeln zu können, zeigt schon allein die Wirkungstragweite dieses großen Gelehrten.

Die ihm in diesen Bänden gewidmeten Beiträge spiegeln die Vielfältigkeit von M.'s Leben und Leistung wider. Dieser Vielfältigkeit in einer Besprechung gerecht zu werden, ist praktisch unmöglich; wenige Schwerpunkte wurden hervorgehoben und miteinander verbunden, in der Hoffnung, dass die daraus resultierende Form dem Bild von M. und den vielen in diesen Bänden enthaltenen Erkenntnissen und Anregungen ähneln wird.

Der Briefwechsel: Naturgemäß sind die Briefe wichtige Zeugnisse für bibliographische und historische Ereignisse. Z. B. erhellen sie die Stimmungen des jungen Mannes bei seiner Ankunft in Rom und seinen ersten Schritten in der kulturreichen Metropole sowie im Kreis von Kardinal Albani; später verraten sie uns seine Gefühlslage, als er den geliebten Handschriften und weiteren Beständen des Vatikans auf dem Weg nach Paris im Folge des Vertrags von Tolentino (1797) wird folgen müssen. Seine Verzweiflung durch die Nachricht, dass die Papyri nach Paris geschickt werden sollen, wird z. B. in einem Brief vom 13. November 1811, eben aus Paris, dokumentiert (v. S. 565–566). In Paris wird Wehmut seine ständige Begleiterin: "Io non ho avuto un giorno lieto dopo che fui strappato dal seno della mia famiglia, né sono stato mai bene; e vivo in Parigi … come chi nel deserto" (Brief an Cancellieri vom 18. Oktober 1811). Aber wir erfahren auch Töne der Unbeschwertheit, wenn es z. B. um seinen gesunden Appetiti geht, oder Anklänge alltäglichen Arbeitüberdrusses, wenn er in einem Brief an Kardinal Fantuzzi bzg. seiner immer noch andauernden Arbeit über die Archiatri pontifici zugibt: "li cominicio ad odiare" (s. G. Venditti…, S. 474).

Die Zahl und die Bedeutung der Briefpartner von M. würde schon allein den Untertitel "Protagonista della cultura Europea" rechtfertigen. Auf S. 112–117 verzeichnet Buonocore (*Gaetano Marini e i suoi corrispondenti*, S. 105–226) 211 Namen von Gestalten, die kulturell wie politisch eine wichtige Rolle z. Z. von M. spielten: Es sind die Adressaten und Absender der 3118 in den Hss. Vat. Lat. 9042–9060 enthaltenen, zwischen 1756 und 1814 verfassten Briefe (Buonocore bietet uns auf S. 139–213 die Recensio Codicum)[1]. Einige Beiträge des ersten Bandes beschäftigen sich mit einigen davon: So richtet A. Marcone (*Gaetano Marini in Europa*, S. 15–34) sein Interesse meistens auf die Briefe an Fantuzzi (darüber s. auch Andrea Bartocci, *Marini e le ricerche sui consilia di Giovanni di Pietro Fantuzzi*, S. 302–324), während I. Fosi (*La corrispondenza fra Gaetano Marini e Karl Eugen*, S. 35–49) auf die Schreiben an den Duca von Württemberger und S. Pagano (*Marini soprintendente generale della Repubblica di San Marino*, S. 50–77) auf die Zuschriften an Giuliano Gozi. Die diplomatische Berufung des jungen Archivars und Antiquars kommt hier zur Geltung, aber auch seine Fähigkeit, die historischen Ereignisse zu verstehen. Diese Gabe wird ihm ferner zu seinem Dienst als "residente" – eine Funktion zwischen einem Pressesprecher und einem Geheimagenten – beim Duca von Württemberg verhelfen. Es sind die Jahre nach der französischen Revolution: In seinen z. Teil sehr persönlichen Briefen scheut sich M. nicht, Kritik an Pius VI. persönlich zu üben, seiner Meinung nach schuldig, nicht sein Möglichstes gegen die Revolution unternommen zu haben (s. Fosi, S. 41). Neben nüchternen und oft pessimistischen Blicken auf die politische Lage werden wir auch Zeugen von Beschreibungen Roms, über dessen Volk und dessen Stimmung während der enormen Machtwechsel. Überhaupt erscheint der Stil von M. weniger konventionell, freier und persönlicher, als es der im 18. Jh. übliche Duktus war (s. u. a. Marcone, S. 23, 25).

Diese so umfangreiche Versammlung ist aber keine vollständige: Viele Briefe gelten noch als verschollen, andere werden gerade wieder entdeckt, z. T. in den Beständen der Vatikanischen Bibliothek selbst, wie A. Manfredi und A. Rita (*Notizie sulla Vaticana in età napoleonica*, S. 515–585) dokumentieren. Sie selbst edieren in ihrem Beitrag zehn aus den Jahren 1810–1815 an Angelo Battaglini (Kustos der Vatikanischen Biblitohek) adressierte Briefe und gehen davon aus, dass

[1] "La Repubblica Letteraria" setzt diese Untersuchung des Lebens und Wirkens des M. anhand seines in *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 9042–9060 erhaltenen Briefwechsels fort, von welchem M. Buonocore uns am Ende seines Beitrags "Gaetano Marini e i suoi corrispondenti: i codici Vat. Lat. 9042–9060" eine detaillierte *recensio* gibt.

Battaglini sie gegen die Beschuldigung verwendete, die Vatikanische Bibliothek zu Gunsten der Franzosen verwaltet zu haben.

Überhaupt fehlt bisher eine systematische Zählung der Briefe, umsoweniger haben wir eine vollständige Edition und die daraus folgende gebührende Untersuchung dieses Vermögens. Das erklärt vielleicht auch die z. T. wiedersprüchliche Wahrnehmung dieser Figur, welche wir in diesen selben Bänden antreffen: Während z. B. Marcone (e. g. S. 18) die Figur eines weltlichen, den mondänen Anlässen nicht abgeneigten M. betont, ein Bild, dem u. a. Ballardini zustimmt, indem sie M. einen lebhaften Umgang mit Wissenschaft und Menschen zuschreibt, spricht Rini (z. B. auf S. 1503 und 1510) von einem M. als "studioso isolato … ben distante dai tragici avvenimenti storici del suo tempo", der nie an weltlichem Leben teilnahm.

Die Briefe liefern uns auch eine treue Dokumentation des Ausstausches mit Kollegen und Gleichgesinnten (dazu exemplarisch P. P. Piergentili, S. 356–454 über die Notizen, die M. am Rande der Briefe von Garampi schrieb), der Entstehung einer kritischen Arbeitsmethode, kurz: des Wachsens und Verfestigens der antiquarischen Berufung des M. Folglich schöpfen aus den Briefen auch die Beiträge, die sich mit der Epigraphik auseinandersetzen, mit jener Disziplin also, welcher M. seine größten Bemühungen und Werke widmete.

Die Epigraphik: Inscriptiones Christianae Latinae et Graecae aevi milliari: Vierzig Jahre seines Lebens widmete Marini der Sammlung von allen ihm bekannten christlichen Inschriften von Anfang an bis zum Jahr 1000, Sammlung die erfolgte – wo es möglich war – durch seine eigene Autoscopie, sonst durch Informationen aus seinen Briefkorrespondenzen sowie aus älteren Publikationen und Sammlungen. Die Arbeit enthält Zeichnungen von mehr als 12.000 Denkmäler, jede Zeichnung weist auf die dazugehörende Schede hin, wo Werk und Inschrift beschrieben werden, samt Informationen bezüglich des Fundortes, manchmal Vorschläge für Ergänzungen. Das ganze in ungefähr 9.000 Blätter (carte), organisiert in einer einheitlichen numerischen Progression. Die Genauigkeit der Zeichnungen erfolgt in Name der dokumentarischen Treue, M. verwendet also das Bild, wie heute *CIL* Abklatschen oder Fotos. Wie Rini betont, so eine Verwendung des Zeichnens, hat keine Parallelfälle. Die Schede ist kurz gefasst, den Kommentar schlang gehalten; über die Methodologie berichtet auch A. Carapellucci, *Vias Novas Arti Nostrae Monstravit*, S. 977–1016, insbes. 988–9901, der auch die anderen Verdienste von M. in Zusammenhang mit der Arbeit an die *Inscriptiones* und in seinem Umgang mit der Epigraphik überhaupt zusammenfasst: die Erschaffung von Nachschlagwerken, das Publizieren von unveröffentlichten und als solche unbekannten Material, die Erhebung der christlichen Epigraphik auf die Würde der griechischen und lateinischen, um nur einige zu erwähnen.

An diesem Werk hing M. ganz besonders (*anima dimidium mea* schrieb er an Bugati, s. Buonocore S. 109), denn neben der Epigraphik könnte er hier einem weiteren Interesse nachgehen, dem für das erste Christentum.

Dieses für die Publikation bestimmte Werk wurde nie gedruckt. Auch scheiterte sein Neffe Marino mit dem Vorhaben, dem Werk seines Onkels die gebührende Veröffentlichung zu verschaffen (s. C. M. Grafinger, *Marino Marini als Verwalter des Erbes seines Onkels*, S. 751–764, hier S. 753). Später wird Angelo Mai nur einige Teile im 5. Band seiner "Scriptorum veterum nova collectio" von 1831 publizieren. Die *Inscriptiones* sind also uns immer noch nur in den Handschriften Vat. lat. 9071–9074 zugänglich (wichtig sind aber auch die 9075–9103, s. Buonocore hier S. 108 und sein analytisches Verzeichnis der Inhalte dieser *codices mariniani* "Per un'edizione dei codici

Vaticani Latini 9071–9074 di Gaetano Marini: l'epigrafia Cristiana dalle origini fino all'anno mille", in *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae VIII*, Città del Vaticano, 2001, SS. 45–73). Nun beschäftigen sich mehrere Doktoranden unter der Führung von Danilo Mazzoleni mit den vier Handschriften, ihre vorläufigen Ergebnisse zusammen mit den Konkordanzen zu den wichtigsten *Corpora* befinden sich in Band II, auf S. 1254–1377.

Natürlich weist die Arbeit des M. Ungenauigkeiten oder Fehler auf, und nicht nur aus heutiger Sicht (s. die Kritiken von de Rossi S. 1256). Mazzoleni und sein Team setzten sich damit auseinander: Die Chronologie stimmt nicht immer, nicht immer sind die Organisationskriterien der Materialien nachvollziehbar (S. 1260). Fehler in der Transkription oder in der Angabe des Fundortes sind durchaus vorhanden (S. 1317). Trotzdem ist die Nachricht, dass die Veröffentlichung dieses immensen Opus nicht ausgeschlossen und "auspicio comune" dieses Team ist, (S. 1255) erfreulich; dies nicht so sehr aus pietätischen wie aus wissenschaftlichen Gründen, und wiederum nicht nur für die Epigraphik sondern auch für die Geschichte des Sammlerswesens und der Bewegung und des Status vieler Kunstobjekte im 18. Jh. Aber was die Epigraphik betrifft: Es sind nicht wenige Inschriften mit den dazu gehörigen Informationen in diesen und in anderen codices mariniani, welche zwar in Bände des *CIL* eingeflossen sind, aber ungenau wiedergegeben oder gar nicht berücksichtigt wurden (s. diesbezüglich M. L. Caldelli – S. Orlandi, *Gaetano Marini trascrittore e classificatore di epigrafi*, S. 917–933, hier S. 920, 922ff., aber auch H. Solin, *Mariniana*, S. 1038f.).

Gli atti e monumenti de' fratelli Arvali (1795): Am 4. Juni 1778 wird bei Renovierungsarbeiten im Petersdom ein opistographisches Fragment vom Versammlungsprotokoll der Fratres Arvales im Jahr 218 wiedergefunden. M. erkennt sofort dessen Relevanz. J. Scheid (*Gaetano Marini et les Frères Arvales*, SS. 1187–1210) rekonstruiert für uns die Begegnung des M. mit dem Priesterkolleg und wie er bald auf die Idee der Veröffentlichung aller bekannter arvalischen Inschriften kam und damit den Anfang der Studien über die Fratres Arvales faktisch begründete. Nicht nur: Ausgerechnet infolge der Beschäftigung mit diesen einzigartigen Zeugnissen erkannte M. das Gewicht der Epigraphik als historische Wissenschaft (S. 1189ff.: "c'est sans dout une des premières fois que l'on écrivait l'historie d'une institution en se fondant presque exclusivement sur les inscriptions…"). Seine Annäherung an diese Texte ist geprägt – abgesehen von der ausgezeichneten technischen Darstellung, das Markenzeichen von M., von wissenschaftlicher Neugierde, welche ihn dazu bringen wird, literarische Quelle heranzuziehen, um z. B. den Wortschatz der Riten zu verstehen und zu erklären. Es ist beeindruckend, wie ein Mann der Kirche wie M. völlig frei von Vorurteilen, nur von seinem Wissendurst und Bedarf nach Wahrheit getrieben, agiert. Auf S. 1203 bedauert Scheid, selbst ein großer Kenner des antiken Priesterkollegs, die gleiche Einstellung nicht bei allen Forschern dieser Texte wiedergefunden zu haben.

Die Liebe zur Forschung "per se" ist offensichtlich auch im Umgang des M. mit jenen Inschriften, die er aus purer Neugierde und Konservierungsantrieb sammelte, ohne immer ein genaueres Projekt zu haben oder an eine Publikation zu denken. Exemplarisch in diesem Sinne ist sein Umgang, jener eines "epigrafista militante" mit den Inschriften aus Anzio, der von einem anderen "epigrafista militante" skizziert wird. H. Solin (H. S., *Mariniana*, S. 1038–1071) flaniert durch Bücher und *codices mariniani* und identifiziert die Scheden von Inschriften aus Anzio (oder "in" Anzio, wenigstens z. Z. der Aufenthalte des M.; ein Versuch, diese chronologisch zu bestimmen, befindet sich auf S. 1045), welche hier und da zu finden sind. Solin schaut M. quasi bei der Arbeit zu: Dessen Sorge ist stets zu notieren, was wirklich auf dem Stein ist, seine Transkription ist oft einwandfrei, die

Großen der Buchstaben werden richtig dargestellt, seine Lektüren sind meistens richtig, oft liefert M. interessante Stichworte für historische oder prosopographische Exegese (S. 1046). Integrationen von Namen liegen ihm zwar nicht nah am Herzen, sowie die Kontextualisierung eines Steins in seine historische Umgebung; aber für einige der Inschriften ist M. der erste Zeuge, manchmal sogar der einzige, wie im Fall von *CIL* X 6641 (S. 1049f. mit Abbildung), wo wir das seltene Lemma *Purgator* finden, und zwar, was einmalig ist, als Beiwort für Iuppiter: *[sacr(um) I]ovi/[Pu]rgatori* – eine Freude für den Lexikograph. In anderen Fällen ist seine Lesung dort korrekt, wo andere falsch gelesen haben (wie z. B. *CIL* X 6649).

Unvermeidlich, dass eine Persönlichkeit wie die des M. jeglichen Fälschungen den Kampf ansagen würde, noch unvermeidlicher dann, dass er auf seinem Weg Pirrus Ligorius begegnete, der Architekt und Antiquar aus dem 16. Jh., der Inschriften sammelte und sich bei deren Wiedergabe hin und wieder von seiner Fantasie treiben ließ. G. Vagenheim (*Marini et la transmission des fausses inscriptions de Ligorio*, S. 1512–1582) spricht M. den Verdienst zu, die Fälschungsmethoden des Ligorius erkannt zu haben: Er ließ sich meistens von echten Inschriften inspirieren "copiando dalle vere … e facendo i più orribili mostri" (S. 936). Vor Mommsen hatte schon M. gezeigt, wie man mit Inschriften, die nur von Ligorius überliefert sind, umgeht: Man erklärt alle für unecht.

Wahrscheinlich bedingte seine Liebe für die Wahrheit das gegenteilige Gefühl für jede Art der Mystifikation – dafür spricht auch die Angelegenheit mit dem *Codice diplomatico di Sicilia sotto il governo degli Arabi*, wo fünf angebliche Briefe von Päpsten des 9. Jhs. "in caratteri Arabi, ma con parole italiane …" überliefert sein sollten (s. F. Muscolino, *Carteggi di Torremuzza e Astuto con Gaetano Marini*, S. 1516–1567, hier S. 1520). Und letzten Endes entsteht auch seine Arbeit über die *Archiatri pontifici* aus dem Bedürfnis von M., das ΘΕΑΤΡΟΝ zu "supplire e correggere", ein Werk aus dem Jahr 1696, mit bibliographischen Angaben zu mehr als 100 päpstlichen Ärzten.

Zum **Lebenswerk** des M. ist die Erhaltung des künstlerischen und dokumentarischen Erbes und des Bücherbestandes des Vatikans zu zählen (s. u. a. M. Maiorino, *L'unione dei due archivi segreti. Gaetano Marini e il trasferimento dell'archivio di Castel Sant'Angelo nel Vaticano*, S. 327–355). Als Präfekt des Vatikanischen Archivs (und ab Februar oder März des 1798 auch Direktor der Bibliothek und Kustos der Museen, s. S. 331) musste M. auf seine diplomatische Gabe setzen (wieder werden Briefe als Zeugen einbezogen, s. z. B. S. 333ff.), um das Archiv der Engelsburg vor den Franzosen zu bewahren. Dies gelang, indem M. den gesamten Bestand, zusammen mit anderen kirchlichen Einrichtungen, ins Archiv des Vatikans transportieren ließ. M. beschrieb diese Operation als Wunder: "Fu cosa prossima a prodigio che [*l'Archivio di Castello*] si fosse potuto mantener chiuso ed illeso nei tre e più mesi ch'era stato in potere delle truppe francesi", s. S. 335. Später wird er – infolge des Vertrages von Tolentino 1798 – ohnmächtiger Zuschauer des Transportes vieler wertvoller Handschriften nach Paris. Er selbst, dieser stolze und konservative Anhänger der Vatikanischen Macht, wurde dorthin kommandiert und gezwungen, dem neuen Regime Treue zu schwören. Als sich dann 1815 die Handschriften wieder auf den Weg nach Rom begaben, wurde diese Aufgabe der Reiseorganisation, nicht mehr von M., sondern von seinem Neffe Marino M. realisiert. Christine Maria Grafinger (*Marino Marini als Verwalter des Erbes seines Onkels*, S. 751–764) zählt die Verdienste des jungeren Marini auf und erzählt die spannende Geschichte dieser Rückkehr – u. a. des Vergilius Romanus ("E potea io partir da Parigi senza accanto il mio Virgilio!"), der Akten des Galileo und den kuriosen Fall der Dokumente der Tempelritter (dazu auch Barbara Frale, *Le tribolazioni di un archivista*, S. 493–514).

Zu diesem Zeitpunkt war M. 1815 schon gestorben, und zwar in einer Welt, die ihm von Anfang an zuwider gewesen war.

Diese zwei Bände, die durch zahlreiche Fotos und Kataloge, Publikationen von sonst unveröffentlichten Texten (s. e. g. die Briefe des Giuseppe Garampi, S. 384–452, auf S. 453–454 Abbildungen aus der Hs. 9051, oder Briefe von M. an Angelo Battaglini, S. 549–583, Abbildungen S. 584–585) und sogar mit Abbildungen von Münzen aus dem Besitz des M. (über die Interessen und die Verdienste des M. in der Numismatik s. u. a. D. Williams, *Gaetano Marini e Joseph Eckel tra numismatica e epigrafia*, S. 785–796, die Münze auf S. 795–796) angereichert sind, können durchaus als neuer Start der 'Studi Mariniani' gelten. Was noch zu tun ist, wird mehrmals von den Autoren der Beiträge wiederholt: die Briefwechsel vollständig edieren. Das Gleiche sollte mit den *Inscriptiones* geschehen, um nun ein paar Beispiele zu machen. Es geht nicht nur um die Figur dieses Mannes: Wie Buonocore stets betont (u. a. S. 106) und Beiträge, wie z. B. der von P. P. Piergentili (*La fatica di un nuovo noviziato e una croce di maggior peso. La nostalgia per l'Archivio segreto Vaticano nelle lettere di Giuseppe Garampi a Gaetano Marini 1772–1790*, S. 356–454) zeigen, die Beschäftigung mit M. und seinen Briefen und Briefpartnern kann dazu beitragen, auch die kulturelle Geschichtsschreibung des 18. Jahrhunderts zu fokusieren.

M. war ein Mann der Kirche, und ein Mann jener an Fakten hängenden Wahrheit, die Ziel der Wissenschaft ist. Seine Liebe für das Antiquarische und die Bange in turbulenten Zeiten um das Schicksal von Büchern und Kunstobjekten zeigte ihm seinen Weg. Seiner Inspiration treu, widmete er sich der Erhaltung des Wissens der Antike für die künftigen Generationen, ohne den Versuch je aufzugeben, mit philologischer Genauigkeit dieses Wissen von Unreinheiten und Lügen zu befreien. Die Verdienste seiner Arbeiten, die Verdienste von Sammlungen und Klassifizierungswerken überhaupt, die nicht nur Fleiß beinhalten und die nur dann möglich werden, wenn eine solide wissenschafltiche Basis vorhanden ist, sind unermesslich. Um es mit den Worten von A. Ballardinis (*Mosaici e Pitture Medievali di Roma nei codici epigrafici di Marini*, S. 1594–1655, hier S. 1638; viele Abbildungen) zu sagen: "se ciò che sopravvive dei monumenti del passato è spesso il frutto di un lavoro paziente e di un sapiente discernimento, l'opera di G. M. … ci ha consegnato una eredità magnifica per umanità e conoscenza".

Roberta Marchionni
Thesaurus linguae Latinae

Oebalus. Studi sulla Campania nell'Antichità. 11, 2016. Direttore responsabile Felice Senatore. Scienze e Lettere, Roma 2017. ISSN 1970-6421, ISBN 978-8866871118. 400 pp. EUR 75.

La benemerita rivista, nel cui Comitato scientifico siedono anche due finlandesi, con questa annata ha cominciato il suo secondo decennale. Eccone il contenuto: C. Rescigno – R. Sirleto – L. Costantini – L. Costantini Biasini – F. Pica – L. Salari – A. Tagliacozzo – M. Capano – F. Terrasi, *Un apprestamento con resti organici dal pronao del Tempio Superiore sull'acropoli di Cuma*; C. Rescigno, *Il pittore C alla guerra di Troia. Un vaso cumano del Museo di Baia e il suo rinvenimento*; E. Savino, *La tradizione antica sulle origini di Capua*; C. de Simone, *Etrusco* šuθiu *"funerario": aporie ermeneutico-testuali della* Tabula Cortonensis; M. Rispoli, *Le recenti indagini archeologiche*

presso il quartiere marittimo di villa Nicolini a Sant'Agnello; A. Avagliano, *Innocenzo Dall'Osso e la 'preistoria' di Pompei. Uno scavo d'archivio*; M. Pallonetti, *Due lacunari fittili dalle raccolte del Museo di Paestum*; A. Mele, *Le Sirene nel Tirreno*, P. Poccetti, *Il nome di Sorrento e le Sirene*; N. Petrillo, Matres *capuane e* kourotrophia. *Qualche nuova considerazione iconografica*; recensione a C. J. Dart, *The Social War, 91 to 88 BCE. A History of the Italian Insurgency against the Roman Republic* (L. Cappelletti).

Il contenuto del volume è vario. Si può notare una mescolanza di diversi contributi strettamente caratterizzati da 'hard science' e altri più aperti a un pubblico italiano colto che si interessa della propria storia patria, senza però perdere sostanza scientifica. Si tratta di una caratteristica direi tipicamente italiana che mi piace molto.

È impossibile, nel ristretto spazio concessomi dalla redazione di questa rivista, dare un debito conto di tutti i contributi. Li ho letti con interesse e profitto. Si parla molto, per esempio, delle Sirene, un argomento caro agli studiosi della Campania antica negli ultimi tempi, arricchito nel presente volume di due eccellenti ed esaurienti contributi. Esauriente è pure quello di C. de Simone sulla *tabula Cortonensis* che non si apre facilmente a un normale lettore. Ho letto con interesse anche il resto, come lo studio di E. Savino sulla storia antica di Capua alla luce della storiografia, corografia e geografia greco-romana. Insomma, un volume ben riuscito, leggendo il quale auguriamo alla rivista altrettanto successo per il secondo decennale.

Heikki Solin

Gorgias: Helenae encomium, Petrus Bembus: Gorgiae Leontini in Helenam laudatio. Edidit Francesco Donadi, Bibliotheca Teubneriana, BT 2019. De Gruyter, Berlin – Boston 2016. ISBN 978-3-11-031635-3. LIII, 43 pp. EUR 39.95.

Der kurzen vom Redner/Sophisten Gorgias von Leontinoi im späten 5. Jahrhundert verfassten Rede *Lobpreis der Helena* (=DK 82 B11) ist in letzter Zeit große Aufmerksamkeit zuteilgeworden, und das mit Recht: Sie beinhaltet die frühesten expliziten Überlegungen zur Dynamik der Sprache und gehört zu den wenigen Originaltexten, die wir aus der Zeit der Sophistik besitzen. Die Rede ist in den letzten Jahrzehnten auch mehrmals redigiert, publiziert und kommentiert worden; im Jahre 1982 sowohl von Francesco Donadi als auch von D. M. MacDowell, gefolgt von Th. Buchheim (1989), L. Caffaro (1997), S. Giombini (2012) und erst kürzlich von A. Laks und G. W. Most (2016). In diesem jüngst erschienen schönen Band der *Bibliotheca Teubneriana* hat Francesco Donadi jetzt eine neue (also schon seine zweite!) Edition jener Rede herausgegeben. Gegenüber der Mannigfaltigkeit der relativ frischen Editionen stellt sich jedoch die Frage, inwiefern eine weitere Ausgabe dieser Rede nötig ist.

Donadis neue Ausgabe fängt mit einer langen (25 Seiten) auf Latein geschriebenen *Praefatio* an, in der der Herausgeber die Handschriftentradition der Rede beschreibt, die unterschiedlichen Familien der Handschriften vergleicht, und ein *Stemma Codicum* angibt. Donadi listet in seiner Bibliographie insgesamt 38 Handschriften auf, die seines Erachtens auf zwei allgemeine Familien A und β zurückzuführen sind. Das Manuskript A (Burneianus 95 aus dem. 14. Jh., heute in London) ist der einzige Vertreter der Familie A und bietet, wie inzwischen seit MacDowell (1961 in *CQ* 11) gemeinhin anerkannt wird, den maßgeblichen Text. Die *Praefatio* folgt im Großen und Ganzen den

schon in Donadis früherer Ausgabe (*Gorgia, Encomio di Elena*, Roma 1982) dargelegten Ergebnissen, die auf einer sehr sorgsamen Kollationsarbeit basierten: Seine Untersuchungen warfen damals viel neues Licht auf die Verhältnisse der Handschriftfamilie β und bleiben meiner Erkenntnis nach die besten Arbeiten in diesem Bereich. Auch das Stemma der früheren Ausgabe wird hier (beinahe) identisch wiedergegeben. Auch wenn Donadis (neue) Diskussion der Handschrifttradition unser Verständnis nicht auf radikale Weise revidiert, ist sie dennoch reich an Details und bietet eine sehr klare und übersichtliche Darstellung der Merkmale der kleineren Untergruppen in der Familie β. Im Anschluss an die *Praefatio* folgt eine Liste der Handschriften und eine begrenzte Sekundärbibliographie. – Auch wenn Donadi in dieser nicht alles zu berücksichtigen strebt, ist zu bemerken, dass von den neueren Kommentaren zumindest der von Stefania Giombini (*Gorgia Epidittico*, Passignano 2012) fehlt.

Wie auch Donadis frühere Edition des *Lobpreises der Helena* (und anders als die meisten anderen neuen Ausgaben!), wird der Text dieser Ausgabe mit einem sehr ausführlichen kritischen Apparat versehen, der Lesearten aus vielen Manuskripten bietet und Vorschläge der früheren Editionen berücksichtigt. Unter dem kritischen Apparat werden weitere Anmerkungen und Erläuterungen zum Text und zum Inhalt in Fußnoten auf Latein gegeben. Allein schon wegen dieses gediegenen und umfangreichen Apparats ist diese Ausgabe wissenschaftlich wertvoll. Da der Apparat aber nur in einzelnen Fällen von jenem der frühen Ausgabe abweicht (der frühere Kommentar in Fußnoten scheint sogar umfangreicher als der neue zu sein), ist es notwendig, sich dem neuen Text zuzuwenden, um den eigenständigen Wert dieser Ausgabe zu bestimmen.

Im Vergleich zu Donadis früherer Ausgabe folgt der neugestaltete Text entschiedener der Leseart des Manuskripts A, was an mehreren Stellen zu Abweichungen zwischen den beiden Editionen führt. (Solche Stellen sind auch in der *Praefatio,* S. XXIX angegeben.) Der neue Text ist auch durch Vermeidung mancher vom Autor früher akzeptierten (oder vorgeschlagenen) Emendationen gekennzeichnet (z.B. Z[eile]107 [dieser Ausgabe]: νόμου [Hss.] pro πόνου [Donadi 1982], Z127: ψυχῆς [Hss.] pro τύχης [Reiske]). In der neuen Ausgabe werden zudem auch kürzere Passagen mit Crux als korrumpiert identifiziert als früher (z.B. Z76–77), und keine *Lacunae* werden vorausgesetzt (früher identifizierte Donadi zwei, und zwar auf Z6 und Z8). Das Ergebnis ist ein der Manuskripttradition getreuerer Text, der eher darum bemüht ist, die Besonderheiten und manchmal verwirrenden Formulierungen der Handschriften zu verstehen, als diese zu tilgen – so weit dies möglich ist. In diesem Sinne folgt die Ausgabe gewissen allgemeinen wissenschaftlichen Tendenzen der letzten Jahrzehnte in der klassischen Philologie und berücksichtigt auch die wichtigsten inzwischen erschienenen Vorschläge zu diesem Text. Dieser Leser, zumindest, heißt diese Vorgehensweise sehr willkommen, die übrigens von besonderer Relevanz im Falle dieses Textes ist: Einige der älteren Editionen waren ja bekanntlich in manchen Stellen stark emendiert – auch da, wo der Text ohne Emendationen verständlich ist.

Donadis neuer Text weist wegen der eher konservativen Editionsprinzipien in mancherlei Hinsicht eine größere Nähe zu Buchheims Ausgabe (*Gorgias von Leontinoi, Reden, Fragmente und Testimonien,* Hamburg, 1989; 2002^2) als zu Donadis früherer Textgestaltung auf. Da die neue Ausgabe m. E. einen besseren und sehr lesbaren Text (im Vergleich zu Donadi 1982) bietet und mit einem ausführlichen kritischen Apparat und einer texthistorischen Einleitung (anders als Buchheim 2002^2) versehen ist, darf man sie als die beste kritische Ausgabe vom *Lobpreis der Helena* betrachten. Sie kombiniert die Einsichten zu dieser Rede aus den letzten Jahrzehnten und bringt auch Dona-

dis früher nur in italienischer Sprache publizierten Überlegungen wieder ans Licht – wenn auch auf Latein, mittels dessen man heute leider nur ein begrenztes Publikum erreichen kann. Für inhaltliche Kommentare muss man sich eher anderen Abhandlungen zuwenden.

Außer dem kritischen Text, enthält diese Ausgabe zusätzlich auch eine lateinische Übersetzung des *Lobpreises der Helena* von Pietro Bembo vom Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts, abgedruckt gegenüber dem griechischen Text der Handschrift La (*Matritensis* 7210), die, wie in der *Praefatio* S.XIII–XXVII gesagt, als Textgrundlage für Bembos Übersetzung diente. Diese Handschrift, abgefasst von Konstantinus Lascaris, sei nach Donadi auch die Hauptquelle für die Editio Princeps *Aldina* aus dem Jahre 1513 gewesen. Wenn diese Stücke vor allem nur texthistorische Relevanz haben, mag es jedoch interessant sein, den griechischen Text der Handschrift La mit Donadis kritischem Text zu vergleichen – *La* gehört ja zu der anderen "Hauptgruppe β" der Hss als die Hs. A, der Donadi weitgehend gefolgt ist.

Ich schließe diese Rezension mit einigen Beobachtungen zu Einzelheiten ab:

In seiner Vorliebe für die Handschrift A ist Donadi nicht immer konsequent; eine problematische Stelle finde ich in der Zeile 22. Donadi liest οἰκείας (Familie β) statt ἰδίας (Handschrift A) – ἰδίας betrachtet er als durch den Itazismus verursachte Korruption (vgl. die Liste auf S. XXX). In diesem Kontext würde m. E. aber οἱ δὲ ἀλκῆς ἰδίας εὐεξίαν eine sehr sinnhafte Konstruktion ergeben, die sogar eine antithetische Resonanz mit dem vorangehenden οἱ δὲ εὐγενείας παλαιᾶς εὐδοξίαν bilden würde: *persönlich-verschaffte* (und eben nicht der Familie zugehörige, wie mit οἰκείας!) Kraft versus *alt-adliger* Ruhm.

Es gibt in der Gorgias-Rede manche Stellen, in denen der überlieferte Text wirklich sehr verdorben ist und einer Korrektur bedarf. Eine solche Stelle ist der Anfang von 12 (Z74–75), we es bei Donadi heißt: τίς οὖν αἰτία κωλύει καὶ τὴν Ἑλένην † ὕμνος ἦλθεν † ὁμοίως ἄν οὐ νέαν οὖσαν. Buchheim (2002^{2}, Fußnote 28, S.167, nicht im kritischen Text seiner Ausgabe!) hat gewisse Gründe dafür angegeben, dass man ὕμνος ἦλθεν hier wohl akzeptieren kann; seinen Vorschlag, dass man ein Fragezeichen nach κωλύει einfügt, finde ich auch vernünftig; für ὁμοίως ἄν οὐ νέαν οὖσαν schlägt er ὁμοίως ἄνουν ἂν οὖσαν vor. Es ergibt sich also τίς οὖν αἰτία κωλύει; καὶ τὴν Ἑλένην ὕμνος ἦλθεν ὁμοίως ἄνουν ἂν οὖσαν – m. E. eine verständliche Auslegung dieser schwierigen Stelle.

In Zeile 21 findet sich ein Druckfehler: statt des üblichen (und richtigen) πλείστας δὲ πλείστοις ἐπιθυμίας steht dort in Donadis Text πλείστας δὲ πλείστοις ἐπιθυμίαις. Da diese Abweichung im kritischen Apparat nicht berücksichtigt wird, gehe ich davon aus, dass es sich eher um einen Druckfehler als um eine Emendation handelt. In der Tat ist derselbe Fehler auch in Donadis früherer Ausgabe zu finden. Erstaunlich ist, dass der Fehler schon in den *Korrigenda* der früheren Ausgabe bemerkt und korrigiert worden ist. – Diese Sachlage deutet darauf hin, dass man den neuen Text, zumindest an dieser Stelle, aus der alten Ausgabe einfach kopiert hat.

Zum Schluss ist noch zu bemerken, dass dieser Band einer einzelnen und relativ kurzen Rede gewidmet ist – der kritische Text ist lediglich 8 Seiten lang. Besonders weil jene Rede neulich schon mehrmals publiziert worden ist, hätte man m. E. in demselben Band auch die andere durch Handschriftentradition erhaltene Rede des Gorgias, die *Verteidigung des Palamedes* (=DK 82 B11a) veröffentlichen können, vielleicht zusammen mit den Fragmenten der anderen Rede wie *Epitaphios* (=DK 82 B5–6).

Lassi Jakola

Marcello Gigante: *L'edera di Leonida*. Saggi Bibliopolis 108. Bibliopolis, Napoli 2011. ISBN 978-88-7088-591-0. 180 pp. EUR 25.

La benemerita casa editrice Bibliopolis offre una ristampa anastatica del saggio su Leonida di Taranto del noto umanista napoletano deceduto nel 2001 che l'autore di queste righe ha avuto il privilegio di chiamare un amico. Il volume è uscito nel 1971 ed è ora ristampato con una postfazione di Giulio Guidorizzi (pp. 153–159) e di una breve nota di ringraziamento dei familiari del Gigante. Anche se le tesi esposte dall'autore non sono state accolte con unanimità dagli studiosi, salutiamo con piacere la ristampa di un libro scritto in modo appassionato, che oltretutto non si trova facilmente sul mercato.

Heikki Solin

Reinhold Bichler: *Historiographie – Ethnographie – Utopie. Gesammelte Schriften, Teil 4: Studien zur griechischen Historiographie.* Philippika 18.4. Herausgegeben von Robert Rollinger – Kai Ruffing. Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2016. ISBN 978-3-447-10607-8. X, 271 S., 2 Tabellen. EUR 48.

Robert Rollinger and Kai Ruffing have continued their work of collecting Reinhold Bichler's already-published articles into more or less thematic volumes: this fourth one is dedicated to questions on Greek historiography. The first volume of the series dealt almost solely with Herodotus, but that does not mean that the one under review would by any means be devoid of *Herodoteana* because of that – to expect otherwise would be to overlook Bichler's remarkable contributions to our understanding of Herodotus, Ctesias, and the Alexander historians, in particular. As it stands, this necessarily diverse volume in fact benefits from Herodotus' prominent position, which fortuitously – though a tad circularly – mirrors his vast influence on the Greek historiographic tradition. Several of Bichler's articles also benefit from his ability to use his expert knowledge to mount comparative and diachronic reviews of certain aspects of the Greek tradition; examples include a very fine look into the portrayals of kingship among Indians, Arabs, and Aethiopians (83–101), and an article on the periodization of Greek history in historiography between Herodotus and Diodorus (103–132).

The editors have clearly paid suitable attention to the arrangement of the articles in the volume, and all pieces have been appropriately furnished with indications of their original paging at their first publication. The overall progression seems to be from well-defined and specific historiographical and philological contributions towards more wide-angled approaches dealing with images and perceptions. The first article of the volume, 'Die Datierung des Troianischen Krieges als Problem der griechischen Historie' (1–14) is a suitable way to begin – combining as it does a specific question with a diachronic review of testimonies, ranging from Homer to Clement of Alexandria. Bichler's approach is similar in a later article, 'Über die Periodisierung griechischer Geschichte in der griechischen Historie› (103–132); another thematic link is that, in defining historical epochs, the Greek historiographers found much use for the the epic material of 'heroic history'.

Herodotus is squarely the main topic in several of Bichler's articles selected for this volume, as noted already above, while the complicated relationship between Herodotus and Ctesias of Cnidus forms the backbone of several others. The conscious stance of Ctesias regarding his predecessor comes particularly clear in 'Der Lyder Inaros. Über die ägyptische Revolte des Ktesias von Knidos' (15–28), which takes as its starting point the résumé that Photios provided on the basis of Ctesias' *Persica*. Inaros (also known as Inaros II) was a Libyan noble whose 10-year rebellion against the Persians was supported by the Athenians until his eventual defeat in 454 BCE. Bichler explores the possibility that Ctesias had, in fact, called Inaros a 'Lydian', though the manuscript tradition makes this suggestion a mere possibility. The gruesome end of the rebellion, including the Persians' betrayal of the rebel's Greek allies left at their mercy, seems to reflect the events of Ctesias' own lifetime: the events after the battle of Cunaxa. The relationship between the accounts of Herodotus and Ctesias is also the salient question in 'General Datis' death at the battle of Marathon' (67–81). Ctesias' version is by no means more trustworthy or accurate than Herodotus' (which Bichler duly notes, adding to this a review of the discrepancies between – and within – the versions of many later authors), but both simply represent different politically invested variants among the Greeks jockeying for the moral high ground during the Peloponnesian Wars.

'Über die Rolle und das Schicksal siegreicher Athleten in Herodots *Historien*' (29–42) contributes to the volume by taking a very specific but nonetheless fruitful perspective on Herodotean narratology: the representation of victorious athletes within the *Histories*. Sports, a traditional elite (male) field of excellence, routinely compared to warfare, was naturally a field suited to polemics that were occasionally more oblique than, say, the somewhat obvious case of the Cylonian Affair. The conclusions Bichler draws in the piece reinforce, in many ways, the idea that Athenian internal narratives of a partisan nature influenced Herodotus' portrayal of not only certain individuals who were 'good to think with', but also many broader phenomena that had polysemic potential. The eighth article of the collection, 'Die analogen Strukturen in der Abstufung des Wissens über die Dimensionen von Raum und Zeit in Herodots *Historien*' (133–153), is the last with an explicitly Herodotean focus. It mounts a very inspiring comparative analysis of the ways in which Herodotus graded the reliability of his reports of events that were far removed either in time or in space. This double-barrelled look is an inspired choice from Bichler's side, and he manages to uncover clear and telling similarities between the two kinds of Herodotean epistemic projection. Both, for instance, exhibit signs of a 'floating gap' between the recent and more remote temporal foci, and between the 'edges of the earth' (cf. James Romm's 1992 monograph of the same name) and the great barbarian kingdoms of the Greek near-abroad (143–47).

Alexander histories and traditions (or perceptions) of the Macedonian form a block of their own in the book with three separate articles. 'Ein merkwürdiger Fall von Euergesie Alexander der Große und die Geschichte von Kyros und den Arimaspen' (157–167) reviews the mentions within the Alexander tradition of the conqueror-king's meeting the Arimaspoi. The Arimaspians had obtained the nickname *Euergetai* ('Do-Gooders' or 'Benefactors') at some point of this tradition (cf. Diod. Sic. 17,81,2) due to a story that they had saved Cyrus' army from starvation, for which reason the Great King had showed them great favour. Naturally, for the Macedonian king to miss out on the chance of encountering a people whom the Persian rulers of old had interacted with was unacceptable in the eyes of his historians. Bichler next turns to the question of 'Konnte Alexander wirklich nicht schwimmen?' (169–181). Turns out he probably did. Taking Plutarch's mention as his starting

point, Bichler searches the Alexander tradition for possible evidence of natatory capabilities while also cautioning against too much positivist weight on testimonies which are wholly permeated by normative and moralizing considerations.

'Die Wahrnehmung des Alexanderreichs: Ein Imperium der Imagination' (183–218) constitutes an engaging rumination on the imagery of Alexander's realm as a spatially expansive but temporally ephemeral horizon. The ancient writers tended to resort to a teleological-essentialist way of perceiving Alexander's motivations: Bichler notes that "Die Grenzenlosigkeit seines Eroberungsstrebens wurde schon relativ früh in das Bild Alexanders eingezeichnet" within the literary Alexander tradition (188). Other aspects of Alexander's strategy, similarly, were in the retroactive imagination constructed as seamless and clear from the beginning. Partly, of course, both the idea of 'opening the world' and a perception of a 'grand strategy' at work were ideas which appealed to the Roman image of Alexander since the development of the Roman empire itself was imagined in similar terms. Much remains to be written about the reception of Alexander imagery, especially in Late Antiquity (one could mention texts like *Excerpta Latina Barbari* or *Cosmographia Aethici* as some examples of creative re-imagining). Even so, Bichler's article is a very inspiring contribution nonetheless, and does address some more recent reinterpretations, as well – such as the debates on Alexander's empire in the midst of the Nazi anxieties about cultural and racial miscegenation in the 1920s and 1930s.

Another famous conqueror about whom many variant traditions were told – although one much more intractably shrouded in legend and orientalising imagery – is approached in 'Semiramis and Her Rivals. An Essay' (219–235). It is well enough known that the traditions about Semiramis and Ninus do seem to retain individual details from the Archaic Greek information about Assyrian history (it is worth keeping in mind that the Neo-Assyrian state only collapsed between 627 and 612 BCE). In the course of the following millennium, however, with the increasing literary elaboration of many of the motifs connected with Semiramis, parallels, foreshadowings, and allusions to other, later rulers became possible. She was also a convenient early historical conqueror of India (as opposed to a mythical one, like Dionysius), paving the way for Alexander. Significantly, as Bichler shows, Semiramis' primary narratological application was through her varied male enemies – something which can hardly be a surprise considering Greek ideas about the desirability of female barbarian agency. The article even glimpses into the Medieval stages of the Latin tradition, in the form of Otto von Freising. Another interesting angle would have been to include a comparative view of how actual, historical female rulers such as Zenobia influenced the tradition about Semiramis: it could be surmised that a powerful 'Oriental' queen of the past would be a symbolically attractive template onto which later ingroup (Greco-Roman male) anxieties could be projected. In the case of Diodorus' Semiramis, Cleopatra's influence can already be detected, as Bichler notes (220).

Three articles selected for the volume cannot be easily placed within the previously described categories, although the above-mentioned commonalities and shared outlook do apply to them as well. 'Probleme und Grenzen der Rekonstruktion von Ereignissen am Beispiel antiker Schlachtenbeschreibungen' (43–66) addresses the limitations of our ancient evidence regarding battle narratives – a topic that has been receiving increased attention and is currently being studied, to give but one example, by the St Andrews-based project *Visualising War* (Alice König and Nicolas Wiater). 'Über das Königtum der Inder, Araber und Aithiopen in der griechischen Ethnographie' (83–101) constitutes a very valuable comparative look into Greek ideas about the rulership in three broad population groups of the south and east, which were frequently imagined as being connected

to each other ethnically or culturally. The confusion between Aethiopia and India (and their respective peoples) was, for instance, very frequent. The usefulness of all these far-away realms was, of course, that they could be imaginatively used as a heuristic tool to discuss the limits of societal and political organization models. Bichler is also able to point out divergences in the imagery of the three respective areas, especially in Augustan material like Diodorus. Finally, this enjoyable and insightful volume is brought to a close by 'Der Antagonismus von Asien und Europa – eine historiographische Konzeption aus Kleinasien?' (236–252), another diachronic and comparative look into a historiographical concept – this time one that has been studied by other scholars as well, especially in the case of Herodotus and the Hippocratic *Airs, Waters, Places*. Yet the juxtaposition of Asia and Europe is such a vital one, not only for ancient Greek identity-building, but for the very foundations of later Western thought-patterns, that it behoves re-visiting. As in so many of the articles in this volume, Bichler's ability to follow the *longue durée* of the literary tradition enriches our understanding of the question in ways that are most welcome.

Antti Lampinen

Herodots Quellen – Die Quellen Herodots. Herausgegeben von Boris Dunsch – Kai Ruffing. Classica et Orientalia 6. Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2013. ISBN 978-3-447-06884-0. VIII, 352 S., 9 Tabellen, 4 Diagramme. EUR 58.

Johannes Brehm: *Generationenbeziehungen in den Historien Herodots*. Classica et Orientalia 8. Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2013. ISBN 978-3-447-06960-1. XIV, 285 S. 5 Abb. EUR 64.

The current reviewer does not particularly envy Herodotus specialists. An important, fascinating, and influential ancient writer quite naturally generates vast amounts of scholarship, but Herodotus studies are a particularly voluminous field – its edited volumes and conference proceedings often exhibiting a mixture of truly brilliant and utterly anodyne contributions commingled cheek-by-jowl. For someone who would need to go through most of the new scholarship as a point of professional practice, this could easily become frustrating. For scholars who, on the other hand, only need to dip into the steady stream of *Herodoteana* for their research purposes, the effect can be disorienting, and often results in voluminous excursions and much back-up reading. To be sure, there are approachable and concise introductions and companion-volumes to Herodotus – with academic publishers increasingly favouring such fast-profit formats ordered *en masse* to university libraries – but these can hardly be expected to correspond to the needs of most scholars. It is thus the edited volumes such as the two published in Harrassowitz's series *Classica et Orientalia* in 2013, that the average ancient historian with a need to read up on Herodotean themes will turn to.

Johannes Brehm's *Generationenbeziehungen in den Historien Herodots* is (to this reviewer's knowledge) the first study to expressly address the concept of inter- and intragenerational dynamics in Herodotus' work. It is this double viewpoint that makes the work particularly fascinating: on the one hand, Brehm is interested in Herodotean indications of feelings of commonality between members of the same generation, and on the other, in the descriptions of diachronic relationships between successive generations. This aim is not an unproblematic one, however, and leads Brehm

by necessity to deal with the ancient theories of life stages (30–37) simply because this might come closest to helping him define which individuals would have been perceived as being of the same generation. Yet Brehm does show that the ideas of both 'sociological generation' and 'genealogical generation' seem close to perceptions that Greeks themselves already shared. Among its myriad pleasures, Brehm's book does a very good job in exploring questions such as the narrative theme of 'intergenerational warners' – think of Croesus or Artabanus – to whom Part 3 (65–193) is devoted, or the tensions between continuity and rupture in the narratives of the Median, Lydian, and Persian royal houses (Part 4, 195–258). The pedagogical aspects of the intergenerational warners and the ruptures often depicted as taking place during the succession to power of the next generation are also used to show the way in which Herodotus was able to make these tensions into narratological devices, often involving the sketching out and assessment of the (mostly barbarian) elite individuals' ethical character. If stories about barbarian rulers' successes and failures were 'good to think with' for Herodotus' contemporaries, it also seems that inter- and intragenerational dynamics provided much fodder for the historiographer's craft. The 'Personenkonstellationen' are a hitherto unexamined network (or chain), the linkages of which enabled Herodotus to insert his moral drama into the royal histories.

Boris Dunsch and Kai Ruffing's inspiring miscellany *Herodots Quellen – Die Quellen Herodots* is based on a conference held in 2011 in Marburg to mark the fortieth anniversary of the publication of Detlev Fehling's *Die Quellenangaben bei Herodot* (Berlin & New York 1971). Fehling's scholarship – together with that of François Hartog – did much to emphasize the literary and fictive aspect of Herodotus' *Histories*. Subsequent generations of researchers have continued to debate and reassess these originally rather controversial contributions, and as the volume at hand testifies, it seems that a more balanced appreciation of Fehling's (like Hartog's) ideas is finally possible. As Sabine Föllinger's afterword to the volume makes clear, the current scholarship tends not to be overly doctrinal about the truth value of Herodotus' data, avoiding the old 'Father of History/Father of Lies' paradigm altogether. The book represents a heterogeneous collection, in three languages, and the internal division of the volume seems slightly awkward (three of its five subsections consist of only one article), but almost anybody working on Herodotus' narrative, sources, or use of local traditions will find something stimulating in it. After Ruffing's introduction, the volume kicks off with a section on the formation of *Histories*, consisting solely of an impressive and lengthy study by Elizabeth Irwin on the dating and context of Herodotus' text. Irwin argues that on the basis of 9,73, a *logos* on Decelea and its role in the mythical episode of Theseus' abduction of Helen, Herodotus was anticipating the sort of narratives on the Athenian past and present that were to became enshrined in his younger contemporary Thucydides' work, and sought to complicate and undermine them. This suggests a *terminus post quem* of 413 BCE for the received version of the *Histories*. The article also includes an appendix on the available sources for the abduction myth.

The volume's next section is devoted to the relationship of Herodotus to his sources. First, Heinz-Günther Nesselrath examines some of the ambiguities inherent in Herodotus' many references to allegedly indigenous sources: the focus is on the redoubled salvation of Croesus from being burned at the stake by Cyrus, and the assertion of Egyptian origins to the Colchians. Next, Robert Rollinger's study of the Herodotean portrayal of Darius' and Xerxes' oikoumenic dominion discusses the alignments between Herodotus' narrative and the ancient Near Eastern epigraphic sources. He demonstrates how many of the acts by the Persian rulers narrated by Herodotus can be compared

with Assyrian constructions of royal authority; to the theme of 'conquest of the sea', so clearly present in the *Histories*, one might – in the light of later Greek sources such as the *Ninos Romance* (F B2–3) and others – also add the similarly topographical symbol of domination, the 'conquest of the mountains'. Stephanie West's piece likewise deals with Darius' pontoon-bridge, though from the starting-point of Herodotus' ekphrasis of a picture of the deed, dedicated in the Samian Heraeum by the bridge's designer himself. She notes that both the image and the bridge itself need to be interpreted in the light of the Near Eastern traditions, and suggests that it may have been the picture that informed Herodotus' belief that Darius' army included soldiers from every people his empire ruled (4,87). This is a tantalizing possibility, since it conjures up one possible iconographic route of transmission from the Imperial Persian to Classical Greek ethnographical thinking. The section concludes with Francesco Prontera's brief but inspired look into dates and sources in the Herodotean origin-stories of different peoples: the case studies he foregrounds are the Cretan origins of Messapian Iapygians, the Egyptian origins of Colchians, and – turning to autoethnography – the origins of the Greeks themselves.

The next section, 'Herodot als Literat', seems very much like the conceptual heart of the volume. Reinhold Bichler provides a fine look into Herodotus' autoptic (or perhaps more aptly, 'autacoustic') narratology. It is the role of autopsy as a part of chronological arguments that Bichler devotes most attention to: the *Aigyptios logos* of Book 2. But it was not just the immensity of the Egyptian civilization's past that required autopsy-based authority-building from Herodotus; another topic that Bichler examines is the theriomorphic representations of Egyptian religion. Both topics could have appeared so thaumasiographic that the historian found it better to corroborate them with claims of autopsy – which poses the further question (left unexamined by Bichler) of why do topics which could seem equally wondrous sometimes lack autoptic confirmation? Next, Boris Dunsch contributes a chapter on Cicero's references to Herodotus and his renderings of Herodotean material. Here, we already find the 'Father of History'/'Father of Lies' theme well established, even if the extent (and depth) of Cicero's knowledge of Herodotus can be questioned, as Dunsch demonstrates. He also examines Cicero's stylistic judgments on Herodotus, and surmises that some of them must derive from Hellenistic critics, such as Theophrastus.

Ruffing's '300' is a reading of Herodotus' description of the battle of Thermopylae – and in particularly the famous 300 Lacedaemonians – not only in comparison with the Thucydidean and Xenophontic versions of it, but also juxtaposed to other Herodotean listings of Hellenic armies and navies, which reveals the literary aspects of his most memorable and influential tally. Narratological considerations are also high on the agenda of Marco Dorati, whose methodologically sophisticated contribution focuses on Herodotus' source references as both a literary and an epistemic device. The case study that Dorati concentrates on is the story of the mysterious vanishing and reappearance Aristeas of Proconnesus, as told in his home town and in Metapontum in Italy (4,14–15). Wolfgang Rösler, examines Hdt. 8,35–9 as an example of 'Quellenfiktion', and in so doing engages perhaps most overtly of all the contributions with the arguments of Detlev Fehling. He ends up disagreeing with Fehling's views on Herodotus as almost a pseudohistorian (251) – perhaps anachronistically – especially in the light of the episode of the Delphic defence from the Persians, which, interestingly, later emerged as a powerful model for historians describing the *sotería* of the sanctuary from later barbarian attacks, such as the Galatae. The section is concluded by Wolfgang Blösel's article on Herodotus' representation of the Athenians, approached with a

similarly critical attitude to Fehling's ideas of Herodotus' supreme creative licence in shaping his *Histories*. Blösel reviews the available evidence for the influence of local Athenian traditions and family partisanship in Herodotus' text.

According to the book's list of contents, Josef Wiesehöfer's article 'Herodot und ein persisches Hellas' is the sole occupant of the section 'Herodot und die Nachbarn der Griechen', which seems more like box-ticking than anything else. That said, the article itself is very fascinating indeed, juxtaposing Herodotus' textual construction of the Persian plans for the conquest of Greece with the epigraphic evidence and testimonies in other writers. The question goes right to the heart of the Greek creation, in the decades following the Persian Wars, of the existentialist danger represented by the Achaemenid empire, and a literary work putting as much weight upon the moralizing debates about *hubris* and tyranny as the *Histories* does will by necessity be a very challenging source for Persian *realpolitik* – yet it is at the same time quite clear that the Achaemenids projected an impressively articulated rhetorical stance about their world-domination. Before Föllinger's closing words, Arbogast Schmidt explores whether Aristotelian literary theory and philosophy of history might offer new ways of understanding Herodotus' project, with convincing results.

Both of these books will enrich a Herodotean scholar's (or a generalist's, for that matter) conception of the fluctuating viewpoints and partisan narratives that became crystallized, through Herodotus' far-from-innocent shaping process, into one of the most influential literary works of any ancient genre.

Antti Lampinen

Thomas R. Laehn: *Pliny's Defense of Empire*. Routledge, New York – Abingdon 2013. ISBN 978-0-415-81850-6. XV, 152 pp. GBP 110.

The title of Thomas Laehn's book has a certain instinctive plausibility. We expect Pliny the Elder to emerge as a passionate defender of the Roman Empire – even if this is only because the findings of several excellent studies from the previous couple of decades have preconditioned us to think so – yet not only so. Mary Beagon (1992: *Roman Nature: the Thought of Pliny the Elder*), Trevor Murphy (2004, *Pliny the Elder's Natural History: the Empire in Encyclopedia*), and Valérie Naas (2002: *Le projet encyclopédique de Pline l'ancien*) – the last of the three left unconsulted by Laehn – all grappled with Pliny's compilatory strategies, authority-building, and nature/culture division in order to contextualize his thinking not only about the human animal, but also about what he saw as the greatest and most providential 'empire of knowledge' created by humans. Aude Doody, Katherine Clarke and many others have studied topics expanding our knowledge of the intellectual forebears and inheritors of Pliny, and helped foster an extraordinary quickening of interest in the *Natural History*.

Reinforced as we are with such a wealth of nuanced recent scholarship, it is with a jolt of disbelief that one reads Laehn characterize the "contemporary Plinian scholarship" as "dominated by an image of Pliny as an inept and neurotic compiler of facts and prodigies" (5). Incidentally, the endnote to this claim does not give any concrete examples to back the allegation up, but gestures

vaguely at a "renewed interest in Pliny" (103). One can see where Laehn is heading, though: a proclamation of his intention to "redeem" Pliny as one of the "great thinkers of antiquity" and *Natural History* as "a first-rate work of political philosophy" (5). Plinian scholars might be justified, on the basis of just the 'Introduction' and 'Conclusion: Pliny's Redemption' to complain about a misrepresentation of both their efforts and the scholarship's current attitudes. It soon becomes clear, of course, that Laehn is not primarily addressing classical scholars or ancient historians. His book is aimed at a broader audience, with a particular reference to the historians of political thought, and it is published in Routledge's series on innovations in political theory. This is not an excuse, but perhaps an explanation.

That Pliny is truly innovative in his apology for Roman imperialism remains one of Laehn's crucial claims. Can such a slim volume do justice to the whole weight of the question? This, one supposes, has much to do with how we define 'innovativeness', and immediately opens several caveats about anachronism. The list-form and cataloguing practices, in particular, are understandably crucial to understanding Pliny's text, but Laehn perhaps simplifies our options regarding what we can tell about Pliny's quality as a writer and thinker on the basis of them (31). An encyclopaedic catalogue always has more than one way of succeeding (or failing), and our ideas about how an ancient literary list works should remain relatively free from contemporary expectations. When speaking about the 516 population groups of North Africa (*nat.* 5,3,29), Pliny never intended to name all of them – nor did he expect his audience to demand such a full disclosure from himself – but his reference to the possibility of enumerating them all, and the mention of their exact number, is still vital to his authorial posture. The imperial knowledge-ordering comes close to the surface in textual environments such as this. Similarly, the subjects of the Empire need not be numbered exactly, but it is vital to know that there are many of them. It is perhaps not very surprising that most encyclopaedic projects (from Pliny to *Encyclopaedia Britannica*) have stemmed from imperial contexts, as a recent reviewer of a translation of al-Nuwayri's *Nihayat al-arab fī funūn al-adab* has observed (Anna Della Subin, *London Review of Books* 30 Nov 2017, p. 36).

One of Laehn's crucial suggestions in terms of understanding Plinian knowledge-ordering is that the arrangement of *Natural History* shows an 'annular' structure, where the subject matter of the work progresses through its first half, explaining the natural world, and then doubles back to explicate the relationship of the natural things to human civilization. The alleged 'spiraliform' structure of *nat.* 7,191–215, crucial to Laehn's broader claim for compositional annularity, has much to do with the ancient ideas about the technological and cultural progress of humankind, resulting in a list-form catalogue of innovations. It would thus have been useful for Laehn to discuss other authors who before Pliny or contemporaneously with him were articulating similar civilizational schemas, such as Lucretius and Pompeius Trogus (whose account of the early civilizations, partially preserved in Justin's *Epitome*, contains comparable reflections on social and cultural inventions). Another useful parallel, left unexplored but one that could have helped Laehn contextualize and even question his 'Plinian exceptionalism', would have been Pomponius Mela's literary circumambulation of a labyrinthine world, which forms one of the basic organizational structures of his *De situ orbis*.

What this reviewer found convincing and interesting is Laehn's emphasis on Pliny's conception of 'human' not being wholly consistent with rationality alone (36–56). Instead, he argues that even if 'the Plinian Human' (surely we should leave behind the formulation 'Plinian Man'?) is clearly

a creature apart from all the others engendered by Nature, humanity and the non-human elide into each other both in the thaumatographic fringes of the world and some of the more advanced kinds of beasts. Yet even here, the book has too little space to dwell on the ethnographical tradition to make full sense of Pliny's position in it, and the possible implications of that regarding his uniqueness. Overall, Laehn's interpretation of Pliny's encyclopaedic programme is often fairly one-dimensional, and frequently needs to read Pliny as meaning wholly and only what he says: the image conjured up is that of an earnest Pliny devoid of any irony or capability to insinuate complexities and ambiguities into his discussion of civilization and power (e.g. 38). This, in fact, is what would make Pliny a true outlier in his own intellectual and literary context.

The *Natural History* seems to entertain a certain ideal of public service and 'philanthropic spirit' (4, on the basis of Mary Beagon), but this is not an ideal that the whole of humankind equally deserves. Some peoples are beyond Rome's grace, according to Pliny, such as the wretched Germanic groups of the Frisian coast who dare to call their miserable existence outside the Empire 'freedom' (*nat.* 16,1–6). And even though Pliny clearly does envision nature to have been created for humanity, and humanity for the sake of perfecting nature (52), it is a very specific kind of human that Pliny is envisioning – and it is here that the book reaches some genuinely new ground. The topic promised by its title, Pliny's defence of this particular kind of humanity – the *animal imperiale* (70) – is taken up relatively late in the volume, in Chapter 3 (57–99). Even so, the discussion of the overall subject, with a couple of auxiliary viewpoints – the 'depoliticization of space' in the Roman empire, and Pliny's conscious pitch of having created a new literary form for a new age – is stimulating and offers many suggestions that complement other recent works of Plinian scholarship.

It is well known that *Natural History* is addressed to Titus during his sixth consulship. Since its official recipient was the likely next emperor, it might have been worthwhile to raise the question of whether Pliny's text can be interpreted as participating in the 'mirror of the princes' tradition. Any possible utilitarian posture of *Natural History* as a prospective emperor's erudite companion to understanding the world – a stance that even less voluminous works of technical literature adopted – is left unexamined in the book, which is a pity. Overall, the heart of Laehn's book, its third chapter, is a useful take on Pliny's thinking about imperial rule and civilization. But the book is also marred by its combative ungenerosity towards preceding scholarship, as well as its special pleading in the case of Pliny's exceptionalism – a claim that cannot be reliably demonstrated within the scope of such a slim study, or at all. Laehn's interpretations are vigorous and thought-provoking, but often they flatten Pliny's encyclopaedic project onto a single plane, which does a disservice to a work which – by virtue of both its generic choices and ideals, as well as its author's own varied interests – gloried in the multiplicity of the world and toyed knowingly with the dichotomy between the impossibility of a 'total representation' and the encyclopaedist's rhetorical promise of providing exactly that.

Antti Lampinen

Inscriptiones Graecae. Consilio et auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Berolinensis et Brandenburgensis editae. Vol. X, pars II, fasc. 1/suppl. 1: *Inscriptiones Thessalonicae et viciniae.* Supplementum primum: *Tituli inter a. MCMLX et MMXV reperti*. Edidit Pantelis M. Nigdelis. De Gruyter, Berlin – Boston 2017. ISBN 978-3-11-052336-2. XI, 237 pp. EUR 299.

Titulos Thessalonicenses usque ad a. 1960 repertos a. 1972 edidit Carolus Edson in fasciculo *Inscriptionum Graecarum* X 2, 1. Haec editio Edsoniana continet titulos plus mille. Post a. 1960 reperti tamen sunt tituli plurimi (inter quos multi in ferrivia subterranea aedificanda), id quod vel ex eo apparet, quod qui scripsit librum eum de quo sermo est hoc loco, P. M. Nidgelis, iam a. 2006 edidit librum qui inscribitur Επιγραφικά Θεσσαλονίκεια, a. 2015 librum eiusdem nominis addito numero "II". Titulis post a. 1960 repertis tamen addendi erant ii, qui iam ante a. 1960 editi erant, sed qui nescio qua de causa in editionem Edsonianam non sunt recepti (e. g. 1417 et 1419, tituli editi a. 1946 et 1915); ita facile intellegitur, cur a. 2000 consilium captum est fasciculos *Inscriptionum Graecarum* duos Thessalonicenses edendos esse, alterum, nunc editum, destinatum titulis omnibus recens repertis colligendis, alterum addendis ad titulos Edsonianos proferendis et indicibus generalibus (haec didici e Praefatione, p. [V]); nescio an liceat sperare etiam imagines quasdam titulorum a. 1972 editorum additum iri; editio enim Edsoniana non est illustrata multis imaginibus. Quod ad indices generales attinet, videntur esse intelligendi indices comprehendentes titulos tam Edsonianos quam Nigdelianos in hoc fasciculo editos; indices autem insunt iam in fasciculo Edsoniano et ut mihi quidem videtur optimi (v. infra) in hac editione.

Hac editione continentur tituli n. 1042–1673, id est tituli plus sescenti, inter quos omnino inediti sunt plures (v. p. 517); asterisco notati sunt ii, de quorum origine non omnino constat. Tituli divisi sunt in capita haec: I. Decreta. Leges. Edicta (1042–1048); II. Dedicationes (1049–1058); III. Tituli honorarii (1059–1071)**,** scilicet tituli positi in honorem imperatorum senatorum aliorum; IV. Invitationes ad munera (1072–1076); V. Catalogus (1077; i.e. *SEG* 49, 814); VI. Varia (1078–1082); VII. Tituli sepulcrales; VIII. Tituli aetatis serioris et Christiani (1484–1559); IX. Tituli generis dubii (1560–1583); X. Incerta (1584–1648); XI. Tituli in vicinia urbis inventi (1649–1673). Nota deesse caput in editionibus titulorum Latinorum usitatius, caput scilicet dedicatum proponendis titulis magistratuum officialium militum vel sim. (de quibus v. infra); ita tituli huius generis hominum, dispersi inter titulos praesertim sepulcrales, eruendi sunt ex indicibus (de titulis his v. etiam infra). Quod ad titulos capitis XI attinet, vocabulo "vicinia" videntur significari loca quae a Thessalonica distant non plus km. 25–30 (quamquam non omnes locos inveni in tabula geographica ea, qua solitus sum uti, *Macedonia* edita a *Road Editions*), ita ut videatur eos facile posse haberi pro Thessalonicensibus, praesertim cum tituli quidam reperti sint in ipso suburbio Thessalonicensi (e. g. n. 1652 repertus loco cui nomen est Πυλαία). At caput destinatum titulis in vicinia repertis eo quodammodo videtur posse explicari, quod in hac editione tituli in capitibus pluribus (VII, VIII 6, IX, X) proponuntur non secundum argumentum, sed secundum locum, in quo sunt inventi et in capite VII etiam secundum formam ipsius monumenti; caput enim hoc divisum est in "tabulas", "stelas", "aras", eqs.

Ut expectaveris in editione titulorum Thessalonicensium, quamvis non desint tituli antiquiores (e. g. 1042, 1043, 1651, 1652), tituli plurimi attribuendi sunt aetati Romanae, praesertim saeculis I-III, id quod etiam ex numero nominum Romanorum facile perspicitur; Thessalonicenses enim non omnes, at certe plurimi aetate imperatoria videntur fuisse cives Romani. Quod ad nomina gentilia attinet, valde notabile mihi videtur haec saepissime non esse nomina imperatorum (quae tamen

non omnino desunt) sed alia, saepius rarissima (v. infra); hoc mihi videtur posse explicari sumendo plurimos Thessalonicenses aetate imperatoria originem traxisse a hominibus qui aetate antiquiore ex Italia in Macedoniam migraverint.

Ut fit etiam in aliis voluminibus *Inscriptionum Graecarum* (id quod est valde laudandum), etiam tituli Latini in hoc fasciculo proponuntur. Eorundem numerus tamen non est magnus; Thessalonicenses enim, quamvis aetate imperatorum plerumque fuerint cives Romani (v. supra), lingua Latina non utebantur, utpote in civitate Graeca, quae saeculo demum III facta est colonia. Titulos Latinos inveni hos: 1055. 1084. 1175. 1177. 1197. 1206. 1229. 1233. 1235. 1280. 1284. 1290. 1336. 1337. 1358. 1360. 1369. 1385. 1402. 1570. 1571. 1661 et praeterea aetate labente 1493. 1516. 1540 (tituli 1055 et 1571 tamen origine fortasse sunt Philippenses). Tituli bilingues ita, ut lingua Latina sit prior, sunt tituli 1052. 1083. 1198. 1199. 1668 (lapis miliarius Cn. Egnati proconsulis saeculo II a. C., de cuius nomine via Egnatia appellata est); in titulis 1358 sepulcrali antiquiore, 1484 edicto Iustini II post a. 569, 1650 aetatis ipsius Augusti, in quo mentio fit operum quae fecit mulier nomine Avia A. f. Posilla, textus Graecus praecedit verba Latina. Lapides denique 1197 et 1233 primum inscripti sunt titulo Latino, aetate posteriore Graeco.

Cum hoc volumen contineat numerum titulorum magnum, facile intellegitur inter eos reperiri multos scitu dignos etiam iis, qui non contenti sunt titulis tantum Thessalonicensibus investigandis; notabile mihi videtur e. g. carmen iambicum ineditum 1117 inscriptum in lapide sepulcrali hominis qui fuit etiam ipse poeta (v. 3) et ὡρνεαγρέτης (= ὁ ὀρνεαγρέτης, vocabulum novum; Nigdelis confert θηραγρέτης, ἱππαγρέτης), ὀνειροφόντης (i. q. ὀνειροφάντης?) καὶ καλῶν ἐπίσκοπος [ἄ]στρων. Quod ad res Romanas pertinet, deest, ut supra iam scripsi, caput dedicatum titulis res publicam et militarem populi Romani illustrantibus, in hac editione dispersis in capita multa. De his titulis notabiles mihi videntur praeter miliarium, cuius iam feci mentionem, 1668 et titulos quosdam propositos in in capite III destinato titulis honorariis, e. g. hi: 1061 Graecus Augusti liberti procuratoris provinciae Macedoniae (cuius generis procuratores alibi non memorantur), 1084 (*arc(arius) XX her(editatium) pr(ovinciae Mac(edoniae)*), 1175 (C. Vibius [Quartus], homo ordinis equestris notus etiam ex titulo Philippensi *ILS* 2538), 1360 (*eques* quidam *alae Maced<o>nicae*), 1369 Latinus et 1466 Graecus dispensatoris et tabularii kalendarii Caesiani, 1385 *Aug(usti) disp(ensatoris)*, 1402 (= *AE* 2003, 1593), titulus positus a centurione legionis II Adiutricis filio equiti Romano annorum XVI, 1516 sepulcralis saeculi IV bestiarii, qui est *pre(n)sus (a) leopardo [mors]u (in) refugio* (quod est, ut observat Nigdelis, locus – in amphitheatro vel in loco alio ubi munera praebebantur – destinatus gladiatoribus vita periclitantibus). In titulis ad munera pertinentibus saeculi III 1073. 1074. 1075 aetas titulorum definitur primum nominibus consulum, deinde indicando computationes annorum tam Actiacam quam provincialem ita, ut praecedant verba ἑλληνικῇ δὲ ἔτους …, id quod non putaverim inveniri alibi.

Ut in rebus Romanis maneam, observari potest in titulis hic propositis inveniri nomina gentilia cum ea, quae hic primum inter nomina Thessalonicensia videntur reperiri (ut *Cercenius Crepereius Luscius*), tum ea, quae in partibus imperii Romani orientalibus antea non erant nota (ut *Aedius Epicius Heduleius* [?] *Latrius Mestius* [?] *Pilonius Veianus/Veius*), tum ea denique, quae antea omnino ignorabantur (*Autadius* – nam Αὐτάδιος re vera videtur esse legendum in 1400 –, *Ofesius* 1379). Quod ad nominum Latinorum scribendi rationem attinet, nota <ει> pro [ĭ] (id est *i* correpta) in Γεμεινίαν 1067 (cf. etiam Εἰοῦστα 1457), Σουλφικία (ubi expectaveris Σουλπικία) 1193, Φοντεεία (ita non semel sed ter) pro Φοντηία 1292. Nota denique in hoc quoque volumine

Inscriptionum Graecarum nomina in -ουιος finientia accentum habere supra litteram Y, id quod mihi certe minus probatur, cum litteris <ου> exprimatur non syllaba sed consonans [v]; in *Année épigraphique* certe semper scribitur cum Φλάβιος tum Φλάουιος. (De nominibus non Romanis satis mihi videtur dixisse D. Dana, http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2018/2018-01-23.html).

Ut par est, tituli commentario digni omnes instructi sunt commentariis non verbosis sed sufficientibus (ad 1384 tamen potuerat addi Fulcinium Silonem, nescio an eundem, inveniri etiam Beroeae, Επιγραφές κάτω Μακεδονίας II 1, 62). At iam videamus de singulis. Titulus n. 1267: non video, quomodo ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΙ (in lapide legitur -ΔΕΔΦΙ) in v. 8 possit haberi pro dativo et pro indicatione patriae Aurelii Alexandri cuius mentio fit in v. 2–3; rectam igitur interpretationem mihi videtur proposuisse J. Curbera laudatus in commentario, qui putat agi de signo Alexandri ita, ut legendum sit Φιλαδέλφι, quae forma finiens in -ι, quae in titulis Graecis aetatis posterioris invenitur saepius (e. g. *IGR* III 883 = *AE* 1950, 248 *Εὐτύχ(ε)ι, Ἡμέρι!*; *IG* XIV 2526; *IGLS* XVII, 1, 435; *AE* 1952, 175; 1975, 455; 2012, 1693), videtur imitari quodammodo vocativum Latinum. 1284 "s. II^{1} p.": mihi verba *ex testamento, arbitratu* eqs. et etiam alia in hoc titulo videntur indicare aetatem paulo antiquiorem. 1336: *C(ai) f(ilio)* (non *f(ilii)*). 1337: littera ea, quae in v. 2 legitur post *Bassus*, mihi videtur esse non *G* incipiens cognomen alterum sed Θ, id est *theta nigrum* q. d. indicans Bassum iam obiisse mortem. 1370: *vern(ae)* (non *vern(a)*); et, quod ad commentarium attinet, *kalendarium* mihi videtur esse appellandum *Caesianum* (ita recte dicitur in indicibus p. 532), non *Caesiani*.

Indices, ut ex p. [519] discimus, composuit Klaus Hallof praeter grammaticum, qui debetur curis J. Curbera (p. 550). Mihi certe hi indices videntur esse optimi et complecti omnia scitu digna (notavi tamen haec menda, minoris autem momenti: P. Popillius habuit cognomen *Salvius*, non *Salvus*, ut scriptum est ter; *c(enturio)* pro "*c(enturius)*", p. 533; *salveo*, non *salvo*, cum agatur de verbo coniugationis II, non III, p. 548; errore sine dubio cognomen Κόρδος – Latine *Cordus* – positum est inter "obscura" p. 553).

Indices sequuntur imagines photographicae titulorum si non omnium, at certe plurimorum, non magni moduli, sed in quibus inscriptiones bene leguntur, et, cum volumen totum scriptum sit lingua Latina satis eleganti (in 1045 "Debuissent quaestores duo" fortasse quaedam exciderunt), mihi iam videor posse facere finem huic censurae observando hanc editionem rerum epigraphicarum studiosis esse non utilissimam tantum sed etiam gratissimam et gratulando et ipsi scriptori Nigdelis et editoribus *Inscriptionum Graecarum*.

Olli Salomies

Theodosia Stefanidou-Tiveriou: *Die lokalen Sarkophage aus Thessaloniki. Mit epigraphischen Beiträgen von* Pantelis Nigdelis. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Sarkophag-Studien 8. Verlag Franz Philipp Rutzen, Ruhpolding 2014. ISBN 978-3-447-10240-7. XVIII, 302 S., 10 Beilagen, 100 Tafeln. EUR 99.

Il presente volume è il secondo nella collana "Sarkophag-Studien" dell'Istituto Germanico a essere dedicato all'analisi di un singolo centro di produzione locale di sarcofagi romani imperiali. I materiali raccolti nel catalogo (216 sarcofagi e 26 *ostothekai*) costituiscono, dopo quelli di Atene, il più

grande corpus di sarcofagi provenienti da un unico complesso di botteghe scultoree nella Grecia moderna.

Come mostra Stefanidou-Tiveriou, la progettazione e la decorazione dei sarcofagi di Salonicco, i cui materiali primi e semilavorati provenivano maggiormente dalle cave di Taso, sono il risultato di una stretta interazione tra gli artigiani e i clienti locali. Pertanto questi oggetti, che non venivano prodotti per esportazione, costituiscono potenzialmente un nucleo importante per lo studio della mentalità di un›élite urbana dell›impero romano.

Una notevole caratteristica dei sarcofagi di Salonicco è l'ampio uso di iscrizioni come elementi non solo comunicativi ma anche decorativi. Infatti sono inscritti ben 163 oggetti su un totale di 242, tra cui alcuni piuttosto noti come il sarcofago di Annia Trifena (Cat. n. 177; 134/135 d.C.). Considerando inoltre che queste iscrizioni sono poco formulaiche e ripetitive, risultano molto utili le loro traduzioni nonché i commenti forniti da Pantelis Nigdelis su diversi temi (datazione; elementi onomastici; questioni sociologiche e giuridiche; aspetti emotivi che traspaiono dalle iscrizioni; particolari riguardanti sia la disposizione dei sarcofagi nel loro ambiente sepolcrale sia il loro ulteriore trattamento). D'altro canto, i pur numerosi testi epigrafici spesso risultano poco informativi in quanto essi frequentemente non presentano alcun elemento che possa definire lo status personale o sociale dei defunti.

Mentre le iscrizioni sembrerebbero fornire una base relativamente solida per collocare l'inizio della produzione locale dei sarcofagi negli anni 130 d.C., la datazione della fine dell'attività delle botteghe è più problematica. Comunque Stefanidou-Tiveriou ha probabilmente ragione nel sostenere che le officine difficilmente siano potute sopravvivere fino alla fine del III secolo. Infatti risulterebbe più verosimile un *terminus ante quem* intorno all'anno 260 d.C., il quale coinciderebbe anche con l'abbandono della produzione regionale ad Atene e a Dokimeion in Frigia. È interessante osservare, in questa ottica, che l›abitudine di riutilizzare i sarcofagi più antichi, ben documentata a Salonicco anche in tempi anteriori, continuò fino al IV secolo.

Il volume curato da Stefanidou-Tiveriou soddisfa pienamente le aspettative che si possono avere di opere di questo genere. Al lettore viene presentata una classificazione convincente del materiale accompagnata da una discussione dettagliata di molteplici aspetti fondamentali. Tra i desiderata vorrei tuttavia menzionare la mancata discussione dell'uso dei sarcofagi e dei loro mezzi comunicativi in confronto con simili monumenti provenienti da altre officine o con altri tipi di monumenti funerari di produzione locale. Una strada per ulteriori ricerche in questa direzione potrebbe essere la discussione di come i sarcofagi attici, importati a Salonicco in gran numero, interagissero con i monumenti locali.

Il lavoro editoriale si presenta molto accurato, e nella maggior parte dei casi anche la documentazione fotografica è di alta qualità. Piuttosto curiosa invece l'omissione di un qualsiasi indice onomastico delle persone ricordate nelle iscrizioni. Per maggiore comodità il lettore avrebbe anche apprezzato una concordanza tra i numeri del Catalogo e le pubblicazioni precedenti e le collezioni.

Mika Kajava

Iscrizioni greche d'Italia. Locri. A cura di Lavinio Del Monaco, Unione accademica nazionale. Edizioni Quasar Roma, 2013. ISBN 978-8-871-40525-4. 189 p. EUR 46.

Procede la pubblicazione del corpus delle iscrizioni greche d'Italia. Il presente fascicolo è un benvenuto incremento allo studio dell'epigrafia greca dell'Italia meridionale. Locri Epizephyrii, una colonia dei Locresi Opuntii e Ozolii, ci ha lasciato un notevole corpus d'iscrizioni greche; la presente edizione comprende 115 epigrafi, anche se in essa mancano alcune iscrizioni della città stessa e delle sue colonie Hipponion e Medma. Il numero delle iscrizioni latine di Locri ammonta attualmente a 55 circa.

Ottima l'edizione di Del Monaco, critica e provvista del necessario commentario dei singoli testi e di fotografie di solito di buona qualità. Gli importanti rendiconti finanziari, per la prima volta riuniti dal De Franciscis nell'edizione integrale del 1972, hanno trovato qui un'edizione migliorata. La stessa cosa vale anche per il resto della ricca documentazione epigrafica. Insomma, uno strumento di lavoro di prim'ordine.

Oltre alla storia politica e costituzionale, le iscrizioni sono proficue per lo studio dell'onomastica. Il numero totale dei personaggi locresi noti dalle iscrizioni e dalle menzioni letterarie ammonta, sulla base di un rapido computo, a 640-650 circa. Il corpus delle iscrizioni qui sottoposto a valutazione contiene una considerevole quantità di documentazioni onomastiche; tra l'altro troviamo un certo numero di nomi. attestati soltanto a Locri, soprattutto nei rendiconti finanziari che sono di IV e III secolo, come Ἀμεινόκριτος, Δόρκιππος, Εὐκαμίδας, Καικινιάδας, Κόσσυρος, Νεαίθων, Ποιγένης (la cui forma 'normale' sarebbe Προσγένης), Σαύρων, Φαικίων, Χαρμόνδας (tratterò di questi e di altri nomi attestati per i Locresi in altra sede).

Le mie critiche sono poche. Le indicazioni bibliografiche lasciano un po' a desiderare. Un esempio: il nome di J. Blomqvist manca nella bibliografia generale, ma a p. 32 vengono citati tre suoi contributi; poi riappare nell'apparato di alcuni rendiconti, ma non nella bibliografia dell'iscrizione in questione, così che il lettore deve sfogliare tutti e tre i contributi per trovare che cosa il B. ha detto sul passo in questione.

Tre note sulle singole iscrizioni: n. 21: un nome Ἀπιάδας è sospetto. L'editore ha ripreso la lettura inverosimile del De Franciscis, ripetuta da Landi. In base alla foto non si può raggiungere una lettura convincente. – n. 90: l'editore vede in Πακύλα il nome Πακύλλα (sarebbe meglio scrivere Πάκυλλα), reso con semplificazione della doppia consonante -λλ-. Tuttavia, è noto il prenome maschile *Paculus,* per cui non è in fin dei conti necessario vedere nel testo locrese una forma secondaria di *Paculla* (nonostante Νόυιλα nella stessa defixio). – n. 112: mi chiedo, in base alla non troppo nitida foto, se sia possibile leggere Κροκύλα, anziché Κροκύδα che, in ogni caso, rimane oscuro.

Infine, negli indici onomastici sarebbe stato opportuno riportare i patronimici, come si suole fare, e indicare quali delle attestazioni appartengono allo stesso personaggio (un esempio: il numero delle attestazioni del nome Εὐκλείδας ammonta a 8, che appartengono a 5 persone).

Heikki Solin

Lucio Benedetti: *Glandes Perusinae. Revisione e aggiornamenti.* Opuscula Epigraphica del Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità, Sapienza – Università di Roma, 13. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 2012. ISBN 978-88-7140-464-6. EUR 30.

Le ghiande missili erano fra le armi più usate nell'antichità, fabbricate in pietra, argilla e soprattutto piombo. Il Benedetti offre nel presente volume un'ottima edizione delle ghiande in piombo della guerra perugina del 41–40 a. C., uno dei gruppi più interessanti e articolati di questo genere di oggetti. Iscritte direttamente sul piombo o impresse nella matrice, esse riportano iscrizioni di diverso carattere: nome del comandante o dell'unità militare assediante (per es. n. 3 nel catalogo di Benedetti: *Caesar imp(erator)*, seguito da un fulmine), nome del comandante nemico, spesso accompagnato da invettive (per es. n. 33 *L. Antoni, calve, peristi; C. Caesarus victoria*); talora le invettive che un soldato si diverte a mandare al nemico sono oscene (n. 29 con buon commento di Benedetti: *Laxe, Octavi, sede*, seguito dalla figura di un fallo).

Nel suo libro, l'autore presenta una revisione delle ghiande perugine note che ora si trovano in varie collezioni, a Perugia, Roma, Napoli, Bologna, Torino, Parigi. Dopo l'edizione segue un'appendice che contiene la corrispondenza fra Mariano Guardabassi e studiosi quali Henzen, Zangemeister e altri. Seguono indici e concordanze. Chiudono il volume fotografie e disegni, uno accanto all'altro, dei singoli pezzi.

Heikki Solin

Peter Thonemann: *The Maeander Valley. A Historical Geography from Antiquity to Byzantium*. Greek Culture in the Roman World. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2011. ISBN 978-1-107-00688-1. 414 pp. 110 b/w illustrations, 13 maps. GBP 77.

Peter Thonemann's (henceforth T.) wonderful monograph, imitating the twists and turns of both the Maeander and its derivative English verb, is something of literary river cruise. The reader is transported from source to delta, disembarking at points along the way to explore a wealth of sites, stories and cultures over a span of almost two millennia. Part of the *Greek Culture in the Roman World* series from Cambridge University Press, this is ostensibly a work of historical geography. Yet, to describe it simply as such belies its true nature. What makes this volume so captivating is the particular way in which T. understands the task of the historical geographer, *viz.* to study the interaction between people and landscape; culture and geography; in short, "[the] dialectical relationship between men and women and their environment over time" (p.xiii). Landscape is, in T.'s opinion, anything but a monolithic determinant, it is individuals and communities who give it shape and importance. Thus, he has chosen to present the Maeander as a multispectral image capturing its dynamic affective relationship with the cultures of its valley.

The initial chapter ('The Valley') convincingly justifies the choice of subject matter, arguing for the existence of a specific Maeanderine identity, evidenced in the names of cities i.e. Magnesia on the Maeander, and people i.e. Anaxi*mander*. Chapter two ('Hydrographic Heroes') discusses the importance of hydrological conditions in the conceptualisation of local mythology, both pagan and Christian, throughout antiquity. Such narrativization of landscape is a key tenet of the book and of-

fers much fertile ground for exploration. The following chapter, ('The Nature of Roman Apamea') is an extended discussion of economy and identity politics at Phyrgian Apamea through the appropriation of the Roman assizes as a local festival. T. 's discussion sets up further exploration of adjacent themes later in the volume (chapters 6 and 7) demonstrating the importance of specific local cultural contexts in assessing economic conditions in the ancient world beyond simple cost-benefit analysis. The fourth chapter ('The Fortress at Eumenea'), takes as its subject the longevity of an Attalid fortified position near modern Işıklı. The continued recognition of this region as a liminal space regardless of political realities provides welcome fuel to the essential illogicity and cultural specificity of human-environmental interactions.

Likewise, in chapter five ('The Pastoral Economy') the interfaces between urban and rural realms illuminates an unusual level of prestige placed on animal husbandry. The textile industry, where the ability to pasture vast numbers of animals encouraged specialisation, was highly profitable. This industry, along with Imperial patronage seems to have been the most important factor for local power politics early Roman period, as is shown in chapter six ('The Nobility of Mt Cadmus'). While some families remained spatially constant, others influence and identity could spread across the region and even the wider Roman world. In the next chapter ('The Rural Economy'), T. discusses diachronic changes in estate holdings from the Hellenistic period to the early Middle ages, emphasising conflicts between monastic estates and local potentates in addition the characteristically non-contiguous nature of land holding in the region. The final chapter, ('The Bounty of the Maeander') looks at the creation of new lands in the Maeander delta. T. presents a persuasive counter-narrative to the pervasive negative interpretation of riverine accretion, demonstrating that while arable land might be damaged by the process, other economic activities, such as horse rearing, could flourish. Progradation could be as beneficial to some communities (i.e. Miletos) as it was destructive to others (i.e. Priene).

The depth and breadth of T. 's scholarship throughout is impressive, he is as comfortable discussing the landholding in archaic Miletos as 13th century CE Byzantine monastic traditions, without ever losing sight of his overarching themes. His command of the evidence, whether it be onomastic, numismatic, epigraphic or archive material is consistently of the highest quality, adding significant layers of understanding to the vignettes he presents throughout. T. recognises that neither community nor landscape can operate in a vacuum nor can they act decisively upon the other, it is within the terms of dialogue between the two that they are constituted. In this reviewer's opinion, it is this feature which makes T. 's monograph truly ground-breaking and a must-read for graduate students and scholars interested in the relationship between space and culture in the ancient world.

John Brendan Knight

Robert Rollinger: *Alexander und die großen Ströme. Die Flußüberquerungen im Lichte altorientalischer Pioniertechniken (Schwimmschläuche, Keleks und Pontonbrücken)*. Classica et Orientalia 7. Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2013. ISBN 978-3-447-06927-4. XVI, 177 S., 39 Tafelseiten mit 70 Abb. EUR 38.

The crossing of great rivers has been a challenge to all armies throughout history; different solutions have been developed depending on the terrain and the circumstances. This book deals with the ques-

tion of how the army of Alexander the Great crossed the great rivers in the Near East and Central Asia. The author presents and examines a wide range of sources illustrating his subject.

First, the author draws on the evidence of Arrian and Curtius Rufus and studies how Alexander crossed the rivers Danube, Oxus, Tanais (Iaxartes), Indus, Hydaspes and Acesines and the solutions that are mentioned in the sources in terms of material and technique. He quotes the relevant passages in Greek and Latin and offers an analysis of them. The methods of crossing a river reflect on the one hand the preparations Alexander had made and on the other the army's adaptability to new situations when the intended method did not work and another solution had to be adopted, using the materials at hand. The sources emphasize Alexander's ability to find *ad hoc* solutions.

In crossing the Danube, Alexander at first used the squadron of warships which he had ordered to sail from Byzantium to the mouth of the Danube, while he himself started from Amphipolis and crossed the Balkans subjugating the Triballian and Illyrian tribes. The ships were filled with archers and heavily armed troops but were not able to land at the island of Peuce in pursuit of the Triballians because the current was swift and most of the banks of the island were too steep for landing. As the warships could thus not be used for the crossing, a special solution had to be invented. Leather tent covers were filled with hay and were used together with local boats made from single tree trunks; a force of about fifteen hundred cavalry and 4000 foot crossed the Danube with Alexander.

At the Oxus, the sources mention the river being deep and wide and the current being swift, and that, moreover, there was a lack of timber that made it impossible to build ships or a bridge. Therefore, Alexander collected the hides which were used to cover the tents and ordered them to be filled with the driest possible chaff and then to be tied down and stitched together to make them watertight. They were efficient enough to take the army across the river in five days. At the Indus, the crossing took place with the help of a bridge built by Hephaistion, whom Alexander had sent beforehand to oversee the project. There is no description of how the bridge was built, but Arrian states that many smaller ships and also two triacontors stood ready by the bridge. Arrian finds it plausible that it was a bridge made by boats anchored side by side with planks placed crosswise to bind them together. He mentions several examples of such bridge-making in the ancient world. It must be stressed that Rollinger focuses on the technical details of the crossings only, although some background information would in many cases have been useful to explain their strategic meaning, for instance, why Alexander first marched to the north and thus had to cross the Danube before moving on to the campaign against Persia.

Next, Rollinger discusses the above-mentioned evidence comparing it with other available sources, ethnographic data and evidence from Near Eastern history, making interesting observations. The manner of using hides in the ethnographic evidence from the area Alexander visited looks different from what we can read in Arrian and Curtius.[1] Most of the hides were made of goat skin but lamb skin was also used. The skins were specially prepared by closing the openings with airtight seams. By a special tanning process, the skins remained usable for at least three years. In the ethnographic material, the hides were not filled with grass, but were inflated, enabling a swimmer to cross the river, or they could be attached to one another under a frame, making floating rafts called keleks that could be used as transports. Inflated hides were also used in the making of the pontoon bridge.

Rollinger discusses earlier research on the subject and points out that this difference has been ignored or explained in an unsatisfactory manner. He questions the effectiveness of hides filled

with grass in crossing a river. The method would ruin the hides for their original use in protecting the tents, and furthermore there is scant evidence in the ethnographic material – no wonder, as the method is impractical when applied to larger groups of soldiers. In Xenophon's *Anabasis*, the Greeks serving Cyrus are said to have once used tent tarpaulins filled with hay to cross the river to get food and then to get back. But this operation obviously only involved a group of men, whereas in Alexander's case the whole army is said to have been transported by this method. Interestingly, Xenophon also mentions an unfulfilled plan concerning the transportation of the entire army: local cattle would be slaughtered to make inflatable hides, which would be connected to one another to make a pontoon bridge. This last plan was obviously based on local know-how and it is in line with ethnographic information. In fact, Arrian directly mentions Xenophon as a role model. It is plausible that Arrian was also influenced by Xenophon's description of the use of hides. How then did Arrian and Curtius come to their concept of the use of hides? Rollinger states that they probably did not have a clear idea of what the floatation aids were like.

Next, Rollinger discusses the floatation aids in Ancient Near Eastern evidence from Assyrian reliefs and cuneiform texts. The first known use of inflated hides is from the period of Assurnasirpal II (r. 883–859 B.C.) depicted in the palace at Nimrud, showing three men swimming in the Euphrates escaping the Assyrian troops who are shooting arrows at them in 878 B.C. Rollinger interprets the scene as Kudurru, the governor of Suhu, swimming freely and two men accompanying him. (This picture has also been interpreted as three natives seeking refuge, the one shot by arrows who does not have the inflated skin probably being dead.[2]) Furthermore, Assurnasirpal is shown crossing the Euphrates with his war chariot in a boat while the men are swimming using inflated hides. Detailed images show an Assyrian soldier preparing a hide and filling it with air and finally swimming across the river lying on the inflated hide. The author gives a large collection of pictures, also showing the transportation of goods using a *kelek* and fishermen sitting on the inflated hides. The material shows two types of inflated hides, the smaller made of goat or lamb skins, which only support the upper part of the body of the swimmer, and the larger ones made of cowhide enabling a sitting position. Rollinger then compares this information with the rich ethnographic evidence from the Near East and Central Asia. This evidence shows that inflated hides were actually very handy to fill in and use. In cuneiform texts, the author discusses the difficulties in the definition of terms, concerning, for instance, the proper meaning of the word *maskuru*, which used to be interpreted as a floating hose, but is now rather being considered as a *kelek* or a *quffa*, a small round boat covered with animal skins.

The question of what the crossing of the great rivers meant in the ruler's self-representation is also intriguing. The Tanais (Iaxartes) and Danube represented the bordering rivers at the ends of the world, and by crossing them Alexander took the role of being a world ruler. Here, Rollinger refers to the Achaemenids and to Darius I and discusses what the crossing of the great rivers meant in their empire building. This topic is interesting and though it has been discussed elsewhere, some elaboration here would have been useful. So, naturally, Alexander had made plans for the crossing

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[1] This evidence comes mainly from the area with few trees in the Near East and Central East and mainly from the 19th and 20th centuries.

[2] M.-C. De Graeve, *The Ships of the Ancient Near East (c.2000–500 B.C.)*, [Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 7], Leuven 1981, 39.

of rivers, but this is very much hidden in the work of Arrian and Curtius, who turn the crossings into a vehicle with which they praise his genius for his quick solutions. Alexander's deeds have been presented as reflecting the overwhelming technical and military capacity of the Macedonian army, yet we need to see them in the long line of pioneering techniques ranging from the Ancient Near East and the Neo-Assyrian kings to Alexander and Late Antiquity. In this, not only hides, but also rafts and pontoon bridges must be taken into account. It was through Alexander's campaigns that people in the west learned more about these techniques and Rollinger offers a number of interesting observations on the campaigns of Hannibal, Scipio, Lucullus, Caesar and the Emperor Julian.

This skilfully written book offers many interesting insights. Rollinger knows all the sources, raises important questions and gives credible answers to them. There is an extensive bibliography and indexes of persons, places and text passages. There is also a substantial section of illustrations.

Christa Steinby

Julia L. Shear: *Polis and Revolution. Responding to Oligarchy in Classical Athens.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2011. ISBN 978-0-521-76044-7. XV, 368 pp. GBP 60, USD 99.

Julia L. Shear's *Polis and Revolution: Responding to Oligarchy in Classical Athens* is an insightful analysis of Athens' evolving reactions to its oligarchic coups. Shear rightly observes that the city's responses to its successive oligarchies should be considered together, rather than as independent and unrelated events, as they often are. Treating them thus sheds a great deal of light Athens' understanding of its own democratic identity and function. As argued by Shear, these reactions helped the city define the role and nature of democracy and a good democratic citizen, alongside the rituals used to reinforce this role on a civic level. These events also inspired dramatic reinterpretations of Athens' past, and even reshaped the city physically, inspiring epigraphic and architectural changes. Shear's work contributes to a conversation on active remembrance and the construction of collective memory, for example Michael Jung's *Marathon und Plataea: Zwei Perserschlachten als* "*lieux de mémoire*" *im antiken Griechenland*, and her wide-ranging approach gathers social, literary, and material evidence impressively. Given the broad nature of the study and the evidence it uses, some of the arguments are stronger than others. For example, while there is no doubt that Thucydides focuses on individual culpability, as do contemporary legal speeches, there is less evidence that, as Shear argues, Thucydides' text was directly influenced by forensic speeches (65) rather than simply by discussions and attitudes "in the air" at the time. Other points are more convincing, however, and one of the more interesting threads in Shear's monograph is the various regimes' tug-of-war over the city's history as its semi-mythical founders are reinterpreted and reimagined to support the stance of each consecutive government, each group attempting to create the appearance of legitimacy through continuity with the past. The discussions of the city's physical nature are also fascinating, for example the growing physical presence of the laws in the *agora*, and the reading of the Athenians' behavior in these years as an active struggle over the physical manifestation of the city's identity and understanding of its own past. Shear does an excellent job of painting a picture of the physical space of Athens and analyzing its significance, an important perspective that often eludes those of us

who are more textually oriented. Charts and maps throughout helpfully simplify complex material, for example showing the migration of legal *stelae* from the Acropolis into the *agora* after the first oligarchy (97), as the *agora* is remade into an explicitly democratic space displaying the working and values of the democracy. The volume is well produced. Shear has thus provided us with an impressive holistic study of some of the most important moments in Athenian history which will prove useful to students and scholars from many fields.

Rachel Bruzzone

David Nonnis: *Produzione e distribuzione nell'Italia repubblicana. Uno studio prosopografico.* Instrumentum 2. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 2015. ISBN 978-88-7140-602-2. VIII, 726 pp. EUR 60.

Μέγα βιβλίον, κακὸν βιβλίον disse Callimaco. Certo questo motto non può applicarsi al libro qui segnalato. Esso si propone di elaborare una prosopografia degli agenti economici, romani e italici, che risultino implicati, attraverso l'analisi delle fonti epigrafiche e letterarie, durante il periodo repubblicano, in attività manifatturiere e commerciali in Italia.

Dopo nutrite osservazioni introduttive seguono una vastissima bibliografia e la parte principale del libro, la prosopografia dei produttori e dei distributori (pp. 65–473), seguita da una sorta di commentario, in cui si analizzano vari aspetti: le attività dei personaggi in questione; la distribuzione areale; la distribuzione cronologica; la condizione sociale dei produttori e distributori (tra i quali mancano gli schiavi); l'aristocrazia urbana ed i notabili locali (qui alcuni accostamenti rimangono assai incerti, come quello di C. Aurelius [p. 129] con gli Aurelii Cottae, o anche di L. Lucceius [p. 267] con i L. Lucceii senatori dell'età repubblicana). Chiudono il volume riepilogo e osservazioni conclusive.

Il nucleo centrale del libro, la prosopografia, rimarrà per lungo tempo un punto di partenza indispensabile per ogni studio dedicato ai problemi trattati nel volume. Per l'immensa quantità di informazioni di ogni sorta contenute nella prosopografia non è difficile trovare delle piccole imprecisioni o lacune. Mi sia permesso finire con alcune poche osservazioni che ho fatto leggendo il libro:

Posso contribuire con un bollo inedito, impresso nell'ansa di un'anfora, ritrovato ad Ardea; dice *Cn. Caisi* ed è senza dubbio repubblicano (cfr. bolli di un *P. Caisius* [Nonnis p. 150 sg.], di cui si conoscono esemplari anche ad Ardea).

Altro: p. 146 il bollo *C. C(---)* lo daterei al II sec.; p. 155 (sotto *C. Calvius C. l. Stabilio*): l'autopsia del 1993 ha portato parecchi emendamenti al testo dei primi editori ripreso da N.: tra l'altro due gentilizi vanno letti *Eppius* e *Urvil[ius]*; p. 194 *Daasius*: avventurosa la spiegazione di N. secondo il quale si tratterebbe del nome illirico *Dasius* con raddoppiamento della *a*, il che sarebbe anche indizio di alta età del bollo; piuttosto si tratta di un *D(ecimus) A(---) As(---)*; p. 270 *Lucrio* (3): un ulteriore esemplare ritrovato a Torre Astura si trova nel museo di Nettuno (*Latium* 32–33, 2015–2016, 34 n. 28); p. 368 (*C. Malleolus*): l'appartenenza del frammento ardeatino pubblicato dal Wikén rimane del tutto ipotetica; il Wikén non dà alcuna descrizione dello bollo, da lui pubblicato nel novero di altro materiale dell'età imperiale (allo stesso diritto potrebbe trattarsi di *CIL* XV 513. 528. 1267. 1279. 1284. 1288. 1292. 1294. 1295. 1297. 2255. 2337).

Heikki Solin

Palast und Stadt im severischen Rom. Herausgegeben von Natascha Sojc – Aloys Winterling – Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2013. ISBN 978-3-515-10300-8. 306 S., 51 s/w Fotos, 16 Farbtaf., 20 Abb. EUR 58.

This collection of 11 articles is based on an international conference held in October 2009 at the German Archaeological Institute in Berlin. The articles are in German with the exception of two in Italian and one in French.

The introductory article "Hof und Stadt im interkulturellen Vergleich" by Aloys Winterling (pp. 9–22) concentrates on the ideal of a palace and its connection to the surrounding city on various levels, including socio-economic factors, and the evolution of the imperial administration during the Severan period.

"Roma. La città imperiale prima dei Severi" by Domenico Palombi (pp. 23–60) gives a very compact and useful (might I add, useful in many other contexts too) recounting of the urban development in Rome from the early Imperial period to the Severan period.

"La Residenze sul Palatino dall'età repubblicana all'età antoniana" by Maria Antonietta Tomei (pp. 61–84) is a logical inclusion in this book's collection of articles, portraying the Palatine and the site of the palace from the Republican period to the Imperial period and giving an up-to-date description of recent archaeological research at the site.

In "Politik und Administration unter den Severern" (pp. 85–104), Peter Eich concentrates on the Imperial administration, which is important for the book since during this period at the latest the Imperial palace in Rome becomes the architectural manifestation and centre of the Imperial administration in the city itself.

In "Militär in severischen Rom. Bärtige Barbaren?" (pp. 105–122), Alexandra Busch discusses the changes in the Pretorian guard and its inclusion of non-italic legionaries on the basis of funerary monuments and the like.

"Die Entwicklung des Hofes von Pertinax bis Alexander Severus" by Björn Schöpe (pp. 123–156) gives a view of the Imperial palace's court life and changes during the Severan period. The morning rituals, *salutatio*, and the *convivia* among the elite and the Imperial *amici* and their *ornamenta* are reviewed against the older institutions with respect to change of power. This theme is also discussed as an interaction of the palace and the city.

In "La Vigna Barberini à l'époque sévérienne" (pp.181–212) Françoise Villedieu considers the many possibilities of the building chronology of the so-called Vigna Barberini area on the Palatine.

"Die bauliche Entwicklung der Domus Augustana im Kontext des südöstlichen Palatin bis in severische Zeit" by Jens Pflug (pp. 181–212) shows that the real formation of the palace as the focal point began after the fire of AD 192. The change of approach from the No Man's land to the new Septizonium and other monumentalizations on the side of Circus Maximus were the successful projects of the Severans and the model of western palatial architecture, as Pflug shows.

In "Der severische Palast im urbanen Kontext" by Natascha Sojc (pp. 213–230) continues the importance of Severan building phases in context with the Roman urban space. The new Septizonium and the monumentalizations on the south side, according to Sojc, turned the façade away from the Forum Romanum.

"Die Kaiserlichen Villen in severischer Zeit. Eine Bestandsaufnahme" by Andreas Grüner (pp. 231–286) widens the scope of the book to other Imperial building projects such as villas. Grüner points out that there was a stagnation in villa building and repairs during the Severans, probably due to the absence of Septimius Severus and Caracalla.

The book concludes beautifully with "Die Bedeutung der severischen Paläste auf dem Palatin für spätere Residenzbauten" by Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt (pp. 287–306) on the *Nachleben* of the Imperial palace in Rome. The Severan influence on later palace and villa architecture was probably first discussed by Federico Guidobaldi in the context of Rome. In this article Wulf-Rheidt points out the influence of the hippodrome on later Imperial palaces. And, rightly so, adds that there is still much research to be done about the later influence of the Severan rebuilding of the Palatine.

This book is a very important addition to the research of palatial architecture and urban space in Rome on the brink of Late Antiquity. The selection of articles is comprehensive and well justified in most of the cases and forms a readable and continuous whole. The only more serious problem, which is a physical one, is the small size of the illustrations, especially Abb. 2–15 which would have benefited from being printed larger.

Juhana Heikonen

Hendrik W. Dey: *The Aurelian Wall and the Refashioning of Imperial Rome, AD 271–855*. Cambridge University Press, New York 2011. ISBN 9780-521-76365-3. 360 pp. USD 110.

Henrik W. Dey's book on of one of the most prominent and enduring monuments of imperial Rome, the Aurelian Wall, is an addition to a long line of studies on the same subject starting from Rodolfo Lanciani through Ian Richmond, Colini, L. Cozza, B. Brizzi, L. A. Cardilli, R. Mancini, etc. The beautifully written account's strength is in the cultural history of the wall and its *Nachleben* up to the 9th century AD. The book is divided into six chapters, an introduction, and a conclusion, followed by appendices from A to E.

Chapter 1 "Toward an architectural history of the Aurelian Wall, from its beginnings through the ninth century" (pp. 12–70) starts with an overview of the wall's history and building chronology. Dey's intention, in his own words, is to fill in the outdated study by Ian Richmond (*The City Wall of Imperial Rome: An Account of Its Architectural Development from Aurelian to Narses*. Oxford 1930) for Anglophone circles, since corrected mostly in Italian from the 1940s to the present day.

In Chapter 2 "Planning, building, rebuilding, and maintenance: the logistical dynamics of a (nearly) interminable project" (pp. 71–109), Dey sheds light on the social, political, and economic life of the capital and shows how much the history of the wall relates to the history of Rome. The urban administration and the changes in the zones (*pomerium*, customs, etc.) are reconsidered.

In Chapter 3 "Motives, meaning, and context: the Aurelian Wall and the late Roman State" (pp. 110–159), Dey makes a good point about the wall's function in also appeasing the crowds in the tumultuous city – a practice common from the railroads to the Hoover Dam in the modern world. However, in the subchapter "Honorian Rome and Celestial Jerusalem," the motive of building a Celestial Jerusalem with diamonds and emeralds according to the revelations of St. John surely would be secondary to the protection of the city in Late Antiquity.

In Chapter 4 "The city, the suburbs, and the Wall: the rise of a topographical institution" (pp. 160–208), Dey analyzes the topographical impact of the wall on the city, the *suburbium*, and Rome itself. The interruption of the wall is analyzed on many levels, such as socio-economic, urban space, and the concept of inside or outside the walls. Especially the creation of the empty "killing zone" just outside the walls is an interesting read.

Chapter 5 "Sacred geography, interrupted" (pp. 209–240) discusses the change of Rome's urban space as a concept in relation to the rise of Christianity and the cult of saints. This post-Aurelian change of extramural churches and sacred sites and their impact on the concept of the ecclesiastical administration is especially interesting.

Chapter 6 "The Wall and the Republic of St. Peter" (pp. 241–278) discusses the later life of the wall in the hands of the popes claiming the inheritance of Imperial Rome. In Conclusion (pp. 279–282), Dey sums up the impact of the wall, best presented by wall-defined phrases like *in urbe*, *intra muros*, etc.

This book is an excellent read for anyone primarily interested in the cultural history of the Aurelian Wall. The language is a pleasure to read. However, the book would have benefitted from, along with crucial Italian research, the German research, which has been left out. The disregard of the latter is probably best indicated by the systematic misspelling of Christian Hülsen's name. And the other more general lack concerning architectural history is the figures. When discussing a superstructure of this magnitude, more detailed maps, at the least, would be very beneficial.

Juhana Heikonen

Jonathan Bardill: *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age*. Cambridge University Press, New York 2012. ISBN 9780-521-76423-0. 440 pp. USD 99.

This beautiful volume by Jonathan Bardill is a well-researched attempt to look into the many sides of Constantinian imperial ideology and Christianity. The book is divided into nine chapters of very different lengths. In the Introduction (pp. 1–10), Bardill's intention is to set Constantine in the broader imperial context, starting with the Greeks. On the other hand, Bardill's intention is also to bring together the vast corpus of Constantinian studies from historical to archaeological evidence.

The first four chapters discuss Constantinian imagery. In Chapter 1 "A Change of Image" (pp. 11–27) Bardill concentrates on Constantinian portraiture that changes in 306 into the now better known clean-shaven and youthful representations. Bardill argues, that after 324, when the portraiture started to include a diadem, Constantine's intention was to relate his rule to an eastern monarchy. In Chapter 2 "Emperors and Divine Protectors" the discussion of Constantinian portraiture continues with the long since lost statue of Constantine, originally erected in Constantinople in 330. The main focus is on the radiate crown that Bardill argues to be possible proof of Constantine's intention to refer images of himself to the Roman and Hellenistic use of radiate headgear and that they should be understood in the light of philosophical theories that the ruler reflected the light of a supreme solar Deity on earth. The relationship of Constantine and Sol Invictus, in Bardill's opinion, should be understood so that the sovereign power of Constantine is the reflection of a supreme solar

deity, while the thesis of identification with the sun deity must be rejected. Chapter 3 "The Saving Ruler and The Logos-nomos" continues the previous themes by exploring the theme of the reflecting light of the Supreme Deity from Hellenistic times to Late Antiquity and how the worldly ruler becomes the savior of his people. In this capacity Constantine is active in his salutary efficacy as an image of the Logos-nomos. This concept, derived from Hellenism, and related to the tetrarchic struggle, leads to an original interpretation of the transfer of the Serpent Column from Delphi to Constantinople. In Chapter 4 "The Hippodrome Procession" (pp. 151–158), Bardill continues with the theme of Constantine as an eastern monarch, but this time with the procession held on the day of the dedication of Constantinople in 330 and repeated annually after this.

In Chapter 5 "The Symbol from the Sun, the Standard, and the Sarcophagus" (pp. 159–202), Bardill moves to the famous story of Constantine's heavenly vision and its aspect as more of a long-standing traditional powerful tale that was forged to connect the ruler with a supreme solar Deity who promised victory and long life by bestowing upon him the now famous potent sign. The discussion continues with the various versions of the sign itself, famously described by Eusebius, and leads to new assumptions about Constantine's sarcophagus in Constantinople.

Chapter 6 "The Roman Colossus" (pp. 203–217) examines the Basilica of Maxentius/Constantinus and the remains of the colossal statue. The many association with the Supreme Deity are discussed raising issues of Constantine's relationship with his God.

The very long Chapter 7 "Constantine and Christianity" (pp. 218–325) takes Christianity more in the focus for the first time in this book. The archaeological remains of Constantine's building program are considered in the light of historical evidence relevant to the relationship between Constantine and Christianity. This includes pictorial representations on coins and the Arch of Constantine to start with. This long chapter also includes the building programs in Rome and Constantinople, the Donatist controversy, legislation, etc. This controversial material is also discussed in Chapter 8 "Sol and Christianity" (pp. 326–337) where Bardill explores how Sol and the sun could serve as a symbol for the Christian God taking into account the solar character of Christ.

Finally, Chapter 9 "Constantine as Christ" (pp. 218–325) brings Constantine and Christ together, so to speak. This chapter deals with the problem of how Constantine could connect the earlier imperial cult and the worship of his person as a Christian emperor using the same pictorial language as Christ was portrayed with at the time. The Epilogue (pp. 397–400) summarizes the core argument of this book, which, as a whole, outlines the picture of a gradual religious change from a rich tradition of imperial ideology and imagery.

The vast material and the well-put argument of this book are excellent and very important additions to the research of early Christianity and Constantine. What makes this study of Late Antiquity more appealing is that, unlike too many studies from the Anglophone world, this book does not disregard earlier research in languages other than English. The book would probably have benefitted if the very long Chapter 7 had been divided into smaller chapters. As everyone will read this from their own standpoint, what comes to mind is that Chapters 7 and 9 would have greatly benefitted from Steffen Diefenbach's "Römische Erinnerungsräume" "(Walter de Gruyter, 2007), especially Chapter III "Kaiser und Stadt: Konstantins Rom" (pp. 81–214).

Juhana Heikonen

Lesley A. Beaumont: *Childhood in Ancient Athens: Iconography and Social History*. Routledge Monographs in Classical Studies. Routledge, London – New York 2012. ISBN 978-0-415-24874-7. 303 pp. GBP 110.

Lesley A. Beaumont's book contributes to the study of children and childhood in Athens during the archaic and classical periods. The book aims at examining the perceptions that Athenian society had of children and childhood but also studies the experience of the child itself. These topics are covered by discussing birth, nurture, play, work and education, cult and ritual as well as death. The focus of the study is on visual and material evidence. The iconography of Athenian childhood is studied based mainly on figure-decorated pottery and votive and funerary sculpture. Accordingly, the book is richly illustrated. Beaumont's book essentially pairs with Mark Golden's seminal study *Children and Childhood in Classical Athens* (1990), which focuses on literary material. Beaumont's profound and careful study well justifies its position among the studies of ancient Greek childhood.

The book consists of two parts. The first provides an introduction and methodological discussion. As with all studies on ancient children and childhood, it is essential to define these concepts and view them as culturally constructed. Beaumont's analysis on the central concepts of the study is perceptive and the book is well grounded in previous scholarship. Likewise, Beaumont's discussion on the iconographical indicators of age is thorough and the author acknowledges the difficulties that there may be in recognizing child characters in artistic evidence.

The second part of the book discusses the life course of the child. It has been divided into two chapters: "Birth and Infancy" discusses children from birth up to the age of three and "The Developing Child" covers ages from four to pre-puberty. The first chapter concentrates on the child's birth, nurture, cult and ritual and the death of infant children. The third year marks a new stage in the child's life, separated by physiological and ritual changes. Beaumont discusses the first wine ritual and the Choes festival as well as their problematics at length. Unlike the first chapter, the latter chapter covers several years and stages of later childhood. The choice is dictated by the nature of the visual and material evidence, which rarely specifies an older child's age. The second chapter discusses many areas of the child's life, such as work, play, education, cult, ritual and death, and also focuses on gendered and socio-economical perspectives.

The conclusion chapter of the book is short. Beaumont briefly touches upon the subject of changes and developments over the three centuries of Athenian history that create the time frame of the study. Change and continuity, as well as a broader contextualization with regard to Athenian society, are topics that could have been developed further in the concluding chapter to give the book further depth. As it is, however, the book is a fine example of a multidisciplinary approach to ancient childhood.

Sanna Joska

The Routledge Companion to Ancient Philosophy. Edited by James Warren – Frisbee Sheffield. Routledge, New York 2014. ISBN 978-0-415-99126-1. XXX, 693 pp. GBP 125.

The Routledge Companion to Ancient Philosophy is a comprehensive collection of essays on ancient Greek and Roman philosophy. The co-editor James Warren states in the brief "Introduction" that the chapters in the volume are intended to offer an introduction not only to "the philosophers from the period of, roughly speaking, the sixth century BC to around the sixth century AD", but also to "the practice of reading, thinking about, and engaging with those philosophers" (p. xxix). The latter aim that highlights the importance of interpretative and methodological issues to the study of ancient philosophers is distinctive of the present collection. Therefore, each chapter should be judged by reference to that aim, either separately or in unison.

In my judgment, that is an important aim. Whilst introductory works usually ignore scholarly debate on methodology, and take "standard" interpretations more or less for granted, the present collection aims to make transparent and problematize the way in which we acquire understanding of ancient philosophy. Some chapters of the collection achieve that aim better than others.

The companion is divided into five parts: I Before Plato, II Plato, III Aristotle, IV Hellenistic Philosophy, V Philosophy in the Empire and Beyond. The division is chronological and, I would say, typical of the genre in question. A similar structure can be found in other comparable collections such as *A Companion to Ancient Philosophy* (Blackwell, 2006), with which the present companion shares seven contributors. What is special about the Routledge companion is that each part except for the last one begins with a chapter that sets the stage for the subsequent chapters by foregrounding the interpretative and methodological issues in compliance with the aim set in the "Introduction".

A second distinctive feature of the Routledge companion is its comprehensiveness. It features no less than 47 full-length articles, which is substantially more than the "only" 35 items in the aforementioned Blackwell companion. As a result, the Routledge companion is in some respects more fine-grained in its coverage. For example, Pierre-Marie Morel discusses all major aspects of Epicureanism in the Blackwell companion, whereas in the Routledge companion, he has the chance to focus on ethics and politics as Tim O'Keefe takes the responsibility for discussing physics and epistemology.

In one respect, the Routledge companion is not only more fine-grained, but also more extensive in its coverage. By including a paper by Peter Adamson on the Arabic reception of Greek philosophy, it extends the concept of ancient philosophy several centuries beyond the sixth century AD proposed in the Introduction quoted above. There is nothing to complain about with this choice. On the contrary, Arabic philosophy can be considered a continuation of Greek philosophy. As Adamson states at the beginning of his paper, "To tell the whole story of how Greek philosophy was received in Arabic would be to tell the story of Arabic philosophy itself" (p. 672).

The distinctive features just mentioned are likely to explain why the editors and the publisher have considered it necessary to produce the present collection. It is worth noting, however, that even if the Routledge companion is more comprehensive than the Blackwell companion, for example, it does not follow that it is for that very reason more useful for the intended readership: students and their professors. I venture to conjecture that very few readers have the chance to delve into the entire collection, that is, 693 pages of densely laid text. Instead, I suppose, most readers will want to use the collection selectively. For that purpose, the collection includes a useful general in-

dex, but an *index locorum* is missing. There is no uniformity in the "References and further reading" section appended to each chapter. Few chapters include an annotated bibliography, which would have been helpful for a beginning student. However, the editors have assisted the reader by indicating the related chapters in the volume.

Having made these general observations, I will proceed to look more closely into some chapters. It is not possible for me to address each one of them in the present connection. Instead, I will choose one chapter from each part and make some observations on how they manage to address the methodological issues raised by the editor in the Introduction. I should like to add that my choice of the chapters is not based on any judgment on their relative merits in the collection. My aim is just to give some idea of the diversity of the papers.

In part I, Gábor Betegh addresses two different methodological issues in his paper "Pythagoreans and the Derveni Papyrus". He first raises the "Pythagorean Question" about how we can tell what is genuine and what is a later addition in our sources about Pythagoras' teaching. The question is pressing because the textual evidence that we have is strongly influenced by either New Pythagorean "aggrandizement" or Platonizing reinterpretation. According to Betegh, it is even more difficult to reconstruct the philosophy of Pythagoras than that of Socrates because, unlike in the case of Socrates, his immediate followers did not write anything. After discussing early evidence about Pythagoras, Betegh addresses a second methodological question, namely that concerning the criteria by which we treat someone as a Pythagorean philosopher. He singles out Empedocles as a controversial example because the ancient sources refer to him as a Pythagorean, whereas the majority of historians of philosophy resist this practice. In the rest of the paper, Betegh concentrates on discussing Pythagorean cosmology, relying mainly on fragments that can be attributed with some confidence to Philolaus, but also on a charred papyrus scroll that was discovered near Thessaloniki in 1962, known as the Derveni papyrus. To my mind, the most enjoyable part of this paper is the interpretation of the Philolaus fragments, a fine specimen of philosophical scholarship at its best.

In part II, Raphael Woolf discusses Plato's method of enquiry into definition. This topic is central because many of Plato's dialogues focus on defining what a given item such as courage or piety is. In other words, these dialogues attempt to answer a "What is it?" question. Woolf starts by arguing that when the Socrates of the dialogues asks his interlocutor to answer that question, he regards the method of "testing" or "refuting" (*elenchus*) the answer as a way of revealing an inconsistency in the interlocutor's set of beliefs, rather than the truth or falsity of some belief in general. Then Woolf proceeds to examine what constitutes an adequate answer to the "What is it?" question. The discussion is subtle and engaging, but it presupposes at least basic knowledge of several dialogues. That is why the paper can hardly be considered introductory in the sense of "introducing a beginning student to the subject matter". Furthermore, unlike in the case of all the other chapters of the volume, there are no section subtitles apart from Roman numbers. In my view, the editors should not have allowed this exception because that makes it even more difficult for a beginning student to grasp the structure of the paper.

In part III, Giles Pearson explores Aristotle's psychology, concentrating on the soul-body relation, perception, *phantasia*, and thought. In each case, he draws the reader's attention to an interpretative issue that has exercised scholars over the past three or four decades: the "Ackrill problem" about the contingency of the soul-body relation, the "literalism-spiritualism debate" concerning the reception of perceptible forms without matter, and the issue concerning the nature of the intel-

lect, that is, the claim that the intellect be not mixed with the body. Although Pearson, for obvious reasons, cannot properly take sides in these debates, he succeeds in outlining concisely the major positions that are being defended in scholarly literature. He concludes the chapter by reviewing Myles Burnyeat's contentious claim that Aristotle's psychology is no longer credible. Pearson has good reason to reject that claim because the claim is crucially based on a spiritualist interpretation of Aristotle's account of perception, an interpretation that oddly separates perception from the kind of affections of the soul that require bodily changes. And yet, as Pearson shows, there are other interpretations available that manage to align perception with those affections, and therefore elicit a much more favourable judgment on the plausibility of Aristotle's psychological theory in general.

In part IV, Katerina Ierodiakonou introduces the reader to Stoic logic and epistemology. The chapter is very clearly written, and covers all the elements that can be reasonably expected from an introduction to the subject. However, given the general aim of the present companion, it is disappointing that the author has chosen not to address interpretative and methodological issues at those places in which it would have been appropriate. For example, in describing conditional claims, she is content with spelling out the Stoic view that a conditional is true when the contradictory of its consequent conflicts with the antecedent (p. 448). But here it would have been illuminating to contrast this "non-truth-functional" understanding with the alternative truth-functional understanding that the Megarian logicians preferred. Philo of Megara, for example, held that a conditional is true simply when it does not have a true antecedent and a false consequent. Pointing out this controversy would have been helpful because we know that Chrysippus, the most distinguished of all Stoic logicians, criticized the Megarians' views. Note that Ierodiakonou considers the controversy, and compares the relative strengths of each view in the chapter that she has contributed on the same topic to the Blackwell companion. There she also gives a more detailed and accessible account of how the Stoics applied logical rules for analyzing non-simple syllogisms to simple, that is, indemonstrable syllogisms. Against this background, her Routledge chapter regrettably appears to be an abridged version of a more complete introduction to the topic.

In part V, Mark Edwards gives an overview of ancient philosophy in Christian sources. He chooses to treat in more detail five authors: Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus of Rome, Tertullian of Carthage, Origen of Alexandria, and Eusebius of Caesarea. The choice is well grounded, given the volume and importance of these authors' works. In each case, Edwards makes several brief observations on how they use philosophical sources for their own purposes, either in a critical or a constructive way. This exposition is most informative. Nevertheless, I cannot help thinking that a slightly different approach, namely a case study such as the one applied by James Wilberding in the chapter on the ancient commentators on Aristotle, might have been more effective.

To conclude, I think that the Routledge Companion to Ancient Philosophy is a significant addition to the genre, although, for the reasons explained above, it will not entirely replace some of its predecessors. Based on the most recent scholarship, it does, however, provide several new starting points from which a student can enter into ancient philosophy. But the companion serves no less more advanced students and specialists who wish to update their overview of an area outside their field of expertise.

Mika Perälä

David D. Corey: *The Sophists in Plato's Dialogues.* State University of New York Press, Albany 2015. ISBN 978-1-4284-5618-8. XII, 316 pp. EUR 23.23.

David Corey's fresh volume *The Sophists in Plato's Dialogues* is, as the name indicates, a treatise on the role and significance of the sophists in Plato's dialogues. It contributes to the recent revival of interest in the so-called sophistic movement, initiated (among others) by Guthrie's 1969 *The Sophists* and Kerferd's 1981 *Sophistic Movement*, and followed by others in the past decades. Unlike many other recent treatises on the sophistic movement, this book does not, however, primarily aim at distilling the undistorted doctrines of the historical sophists from Plato's dialogues, in which they often are presented in a biased manner and in light of Plato's own interests and intellectual goals. Rather, Corey focuses precisely on Plato's depiction and use of the sophists in his dialogues, scrutinizing the important differences *and* affinities Plato identifies between the sophistic thinkers and his preferred philosophical protagonist, Socrates. This general approach is, in this reviewer's view, both well motivated and illuminating: the sophists formed, after all, a major and renowned group of intellectuals contemporary with Socrates, in relation to whose ideas and activity Plato was shaping his own idea of philosophy. Many sophists make an appearance in Plato's dialogues as Socrates' interlocutors, and several dialogues are named after well-known sophists; in fact, Corey (p. 1) claims that as many as 21 out of 35 of Plato's dialogues touch upon the sophists or their teaching in one way or another.

In this fairly short review it is naturally not possible to deal with all the suggestive ideas expressed in the book. Instead, I shall first present the main thesis and contents of the book and then discuss Corey's somewhat controversial understanding of Plato's definition of the sophists and the surprising exclusion of Gorgias, usually considered an eminent sophist, from the intellectuals treated in the book.

If Corey's central claims are correct, the book revises certain widely held opinions on Plato's view of the sophists and of his use of them in his dialogues. While the old *communis opinio* that Plato's view on the sophists was plainly negative has already been questioned in the recent scholarship, Corey takes a step further in arguing that there are several important affinities between Plato's Socrates and the sophists. Three such affinities are presented on a general level in the introductory Chapter 1 and argued for in detail in the following chapters: In Corey's view, both the sophists and Socrates (i) shared an interest in *aretê*, (ii) used similar argumentative techniques such as refutation, diairesis, antilogic, revisionist myth-making or eristics (see also p. 205), and (iii) agreed on the basic epistemological point that appearances (Gr. *phainomena*) are unstable and subject to radical variation depending on the point from which they are viewed. Corey argues that, though dealing with these topics in ways different from the (platonic) Socrates, the sophists and their doctrines often function in the Platonic dialogues as an important *propaedeutic* or *protreptic* to Platonic-Socratic philosophy. The sophists thus play an important dramatic role in various Platonic dialogues. Speaking of the dramatic aspects of Plato's dialogues in the "Introduction" (pp. 8–11), Corey acknowledges his methodological debt to the recent studies on the literary and dramatic aspects of Plato's artistry (e.g., use of irony, characters and interlocutors as psychological types, intentional obstacles in argumentation, rich literal allusions). This is also in this reviewer's view a fruitful way of reading Plato.

In fleshing out the theses (i)–(iii) in the chapters that follow, Corey is careful to point out that Plato was sensitive to differences in different sophists' teachings and in their respective

approaches. Thus, the following chapters deal with Plato's representations of individual sophists: two chapters are devoted to the arch-sophist Protagoras, whose 'Great Speech' from the eponymous dialogue is treated in Chapter 3, "The 'Great Speech' in Plato's *Protagoras*", while Plato's reaction to his epistemological ideas is discussed in Chapter 7, "Protagorean Sophistry in Plato's *Theaetetus*". Chapter 4, "Prodicus: Diplomat, Sophist and Teacher of Socrates", deals with Platonic depictions of Prodicus of Cea in various dialogues, which, as it turns out, are surprisingly many in number, as the author points out on p. 70. The encounter between Socrates and Hippias of Elis in *Hippias Minor* is the topic of Chapter 5, "The Sophist Hippias and the Problem of *Polytropia*". The extensive Chapter 6 deals with Plato's treatment of the "Brother Sophists: Euthydemus and Dionysodorus" in *Euthydemus*. The final Chapter 8, "Plato's Critique of the Sophists?", turns from the treatment of the individual sophists to Plato's general depictions and criticisms of the sophistic movement as a whole, focusing on relevant passages in *Meno*, *Republic, Sophist* and *Gorgias*. The book also contains, as an Appendix, a "Primer on Hesiod's Myth of Prometheus", which provides supplementary background material for Chapter 3.

In this reviewer's view, Chapters 4–5 dealing with Hippias and Prodicus, who have not enjoyed as great popularity as Protagoras (or Gorgias) among scholars, were especially illuminating. They also illustrate neatly Corey's central idea that the sophists were, in many respects, surprisingly close to Socrates (or to Plato's Socrates, actually, whom Corey regrettably does not always distinguish clearly enough from the historical one in his text). This affinity is perhaps most evident in the case of Prodicus, discussed in Chapter 4. As Corey points out, Prodicus is often presented respectfully by Plato as Socrates' teacher, to whom Socrates is said to have sent many of his pupils, who shared Socrates' interest in *aretê*, and who is also mentioned as a specialist on names and language in the *Cratylus.* Especially exciting detail on Plato's use of Prodicus is the fact that in *Euthydemus*, Prodicus' method of linguistic distinction making is used constructively as a tool in Socrates' exposure of Euthydemus' and Dionysodorus' fallacies (pp. 82–90, cf. *Euth.* 227e–278): there Socrates is arguing against sophists by sophistic means! The sophists do seem, as Corey insists, to appear in various forms in Plato.

Throughout the book, the author is not afraid to question traditional interpretations of Plato. For example, in the thought-provoking Chapter 8, dealing with Plato's general criticisms of the sophists, Corey argues that the seven definitions of the sophist probed in the *Sophist* do not present Plato's own views, but are rather meant to exhibit the limitations of the *diairetic* method used by the Eleatic stranger (pp. 226–227). This chapter also illustrates how Plato's critical evaluation of the sophists in general often seems to contradict his positive depictions of the individual sophists (see *e.g*. p. 207, pp. 219–220). In fact, Corey's view is that Plato's real (and more respectful) views of the "sophists' significance are better found in those dialogues that treat them individually rather than collectively" (p. 230). In this context, one would have expected a discussion of the once-popular view that Plato treats sophists of different generations somewhat differently; while more respectful to the older ones, he is more critical of more recent developments.

I was not as convinced of Chapter 3 and its treatment of Protagoras' "Great speech" in the eponymous dialogue; there Corey's thesis is that Socrates presents Protagoras *two* challenges, which the great sophist sets to answer in his speech. The first challenge is the obvious intellectual challenge of demonstrating that virtue can be taught, whereas the second challenge is a rhetorical one of demonstrating "his hallmark political 'caution' or 'discredition' (*eulabeia*)" (p. 44). According to

Corey this challenge is essentially one of arguing for the teachability of virtue without simultaneously insulting the mob or the Athenian elite. It is admittedly true that the idea of *caution* plays a role in Protagoras' self-presentation (316d1), but to me, Corey seems to be over-emphasizing the role of *eulabeia* in the central challenge put to Protagoras by Socrates.

Gorgias of Leontinoi, who is commonly counted among the sophists, is not treated separately in this book. This, however, is an intentional omission, internally related to the author's central (and controversial) thesis that Plato did not count the rhetoricians such as Gorgias, Polus, Callicles or Thrasymachus among the sophists in the proper sense. (This thesis has, in fact, been defended by others before, e.g., Raeder 1939, *Platon und Die Sophisten*, and it seems to reappear now and then.) In fact, Chapter 2, entitled "Defining the Platonic Sophists", substantiates Corey's claim that Plato, fairly consistently, defines the sophists as "paid teachers of *aretê*" (p. 16). And since Gorgias is represented by Plato as somebody who does *not* profess to teach *aretê*, but only the art of *rhetoric* for a fee (cf. *Meno* 95b–c, *Gorgias* 449a–b), Gorgias is, in Corey's view, not a sophist in the strict platonic sense. Corey thus claims that the groups of rhetoricians and sophists are differentiated from each other in Platonic dialogues in a fairly systematic manner (pp. 29–33). Furthermore, Plato's depiction of the rhetoricians is, according to Corey, more negative than that of the sophists, and the conflation of the two groups of intellectuals has contributed to the common idea that Plato views sophists in a negative light. Thus, Corey's account of the definition of sophists in Plato also contributes centrally to his thesis that sophists stand closer to Plato's Socrates than what is commonly believed.

I remain somewhat sceptical of Corey's analysis of the definition of the sophists in Plato's dialogues. Granted, Corey presents many arguments for his thesis: he has, for example, studied all the instances of Plato's use of the term *sophistês* and investigated which intellectuals are *in fact* called sophists by Plato (p. 21–29). But simultaneously, Corey has to downplay the passages in which Gorgias is in fact designated as a sophist (*Hippias Major* 282b) or mentioned along with many 'proper' sophists on the same level (*Apology* 19d–20a). He also has to deem some crucial passages such as the final definition of the sophist in *Sophist* 268c–d as tendentious. Moreover, Corey seems to imply that the use of *necessary* and *sufficient conditions* underlies Plato's use of the term *sophistês*. My tentative suggestion is that Plato approaches the sophists in various ways in different dialogues, sensitive to their various outlooks, and to the similarities and differences in their activities and doctrines. (Which, in fact, is, as indicated above, also Corey's approach in his treatment of the various sophists. But he does not extend this liberal approach to the criterial *definition* of sophist in Plato.) Pace Corey, I would propose that Plato identifies intellectuals as sophists in a contextual manner: It may be that when their *social role* is concerned, Corey's favourite characterization "paid teacher of *aretê*" will do in many contexts; but when viewed from some other, e.g., *epistemological* point of view, different signs and criteria are in play and, as a consequence, different groups of intellectuals emerge as sophists. In his use of *sophistês*, Plato does not seem to be operating with necessary and sufficient conditions, but rather with several marks and indications, which are given different weight in different situations. (One could perhaps say that the term is a *family-resemblance* concept.) This more contextual outlook on the definition of sophists in Plato would also leave room for all the 'definitions' probed in the *Sophist*: after all, many of them do seem to capture characteristic traits of sophistic thought. Furthermore, no separate explanation would be needed for passages where Gorgias is mentioned alongside soph-

ists such as Protagoras or Hippias. Still, Corey's provocative thesis on the question of definition will surely arouse much discussion in the future debates on Plato's approach to sophists. But the reader of this book should bear in mind that Corey's 'positive' thesis on the similarities between the sophists and Socrates partly hinges on his narrower-than-usual view of the definition of sophists in Plato, and has thus to be taken with a grain of salt.

The notes to the individual chapters contain valuable points and interesting additions. It is thus regrettable that the notes have been incorporated into the book as endnotes rather than as footnotes; now one has to browse the book back and forth. Greek fonts would also be a desideratum in a book aimed at classical scholars; now the reader has to do with transliterations of the key Greek terms. I also spotted some occasional misprints, errors and doublings in the final print of the book (*e.g.*, "diamonion" instead of "daimonion" on p. 171, the disturbing "anger" instead of "angler" on p. 216, the doubled "the" on p. 175, missing full stops on p. 219, p. 270 n. 21, etc.). I am also afraid that some potential buyers of the book may be discouraged by its external appearance: the paperback-edition bears a somewhat garish nighttime picture of the Parthenon with grossly over-saturated colours, resembling a cheap postcard rather than a serious scientific treatise. While one surely should not judge a book by its cover, in this case I am rather judging the cover by its book; a book with such interesting and substantial contents as this one assuredly deserves more suitable wrappings.

To my knowledge, this is the first monograph written from this particular perspective, covering all the central intellectuals of the sophistic movement appearing in Plato's dialogues – with the intentional exception of Gorgias. Some other gaps remain too: *Hippias Major*, though often referred to, is not discussed in detail. In investigating Plato's fascinating intellectual encounters with the sophists with an eye for detail and for the dramatic aspects of Plato's dialogues, Corey's book fills a gap in the existing scientific literature not only on Plato, but on the sophists as well. For since our access to the doctrines and ideas of the sophists is so strongly mediated by the platonic reception of them, a more balanced understanding of Plato's use of the sophists will also help us extract the historical sophists out of Plato's characterization.

Lassi Jakola

Religiöser Alltag in der Spätantike. Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 44. Herausgegeben von Peter Eich – Eike Faber. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2013. 293 S., 24 s/w Abb., 5 s/w Fotos. ISBN 978-3-515-10442-5. EUR 58.

Alltag, or everyday, in the sources of Antiquity is by no means an easy subject since it is mostly ignored in the corpus of preserved texts. In the introduction "Erzählungen aus dem religiösen Alltag einer vergangenen Epoche – Eine Einführung" (pp. 7–22), the *Ägypten zwischen* editors, Peter Eich and Eike Faber, sum up the 14 conference papers. The conference was held in 2010 at the University of Potsdam in Brandenburg, Germany. The methodological problems are considered briefly in this introduction. *Alltag* or the everyday in religious context is justly considered a wide concept and, because the nature of the book is cultural history, the problem of scarce evidence is most beautifully put in German: *Althistoriker sind Allesfresser*.

In "From Civic Euergetism to Christian Giving. The Parameters of a Change" (pp. 23–30), Peter Brown in many ways sums up his recent major work "Through the Eye of a Needle: Wealth, the Fall of Rome, and the Making of Christianity in the West, 350–550 AD" (Princeton, NJ, 2012).

In "Christliche Frömmigkeit und heidnische Kultpraxis" (pp. 31–50), Christiane Kunst discusses the marriage arrangements in Late Antiquity as pagan elements of the cult turning profane, and the profane, in turn, turned into sacred. Eike Faber in "Von der *Victoria* der christlichen Kaiser" (pp. 51–78) discusses the evidence for Christian influence in imperial victory celebrations. This includes coinage, prayers, etc. and compares the gradual impact on the military and the rest of the society.

The papers discussing controversies and their effects on everyday life in late antique Mediterranean Christianity are "Zur Synodaltätigkeit im 4. Jahrhundert. Die Affäre Athanasius" (pp. 79–94) by Pedro Barceló, "Von der Vielfalt zur Einfachheit – Zur Entstehung des Marienkults in Constantinopel Anfang des 5. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. als Transformation religiöser Alltagsfrömmigkeit" (pp. 95–116) by Claudia Tiersch, "Kein Bad für Häretiker. Christlicher Alltag in Alexandria" (pp. 117–126) by Manfred Clauss, and, "Christologische Positionierung als religiöses Alltagsgeschäft in Edessa?" (pp. 127–144) by Claudia Rammelt. Barceló discusses Athanasius of Alexandria as a "role model" for future political bishops, like Ambrose, in his involvement in conciliar conflicts. Tiersch on the other hand turns on the Marian piety and court policies in Constantinople. Clauss continues with the Alexandrian Donatist schism in the fifth century and its impact on the *Alltag*. Rammelt continues on the same subject in Edessa.

The papers fixed more on the site and the *Alltag* are "Religiöser Alltag im spätantiken Sagalassos" (pp. 145–168) by Armin Eich, "Die Alltagswelt der römischen Katakomben" (pp. 169–200) by Norbert Zimmermann, "Schlaglicht, Schema, Serie – Versuche einer Annäherung an den Alltag im spätrömischen Köln" (pp. 201–224) by Peter Eich, and, "Religiöser Alltag der Christen in Lyon und seine Unterbrechung" (pp. 225–242) by Johann Ev. Hafner. The towns discussed (Sagalassos, Cologne, Rome, and Lyon) provide the level of evidence for the discussed subjects, both in amount and quality – sometimes there just is not enough evidence to go around the concepts of *Alltag*.

In "Weissagung und Propaganda im griechischen Epos des Kaiserzeit – Provinzstädte vs. Hauptstädte" (pp. 243–256), David Hernández de la Fuente examines late-antique Greek poetry and cultural differences between pagans and Christians and the relational space between the capital and provincial cities. The collection of papers ends chronologically in "Wie wurde die Welt des Mittelmeers islamisch" (pp. 257–276) by Johannes Niehoff-Panagiotidis, who discusses how the Mediterranean world became Islamic.

As often, one might ask about the consistency of conference publications and how the papers relate in the intended projected whole. Usually not very well. However, all the papers are an excellent read, even if they probably do not form a solid whole. Considering the breadth of the subject, however, this is perhaps not surprising.

Juhana Heikonen

Kristina Sessa: *The Formation of Papal Authority in Late Antique Italy: Roman Bishops and the Domestic Sphere*. Cambridge University Press, New York 2012. ISBN 978-1-107-00106-0. 323 pp. USD 99.

Sessa's work is a truly refreshing view on the rise of papal authority from a mere metropolitan bishopric, based on the republican virtue of the *pater familias* and the running of a household (*oikonomia*) as a microcosm of a whole society.

After the Introduction (pp. 1–34), where the stakes are set and borders defined, Sessa begins in Chapter 1 "The Late Roman Household in Italy" (pp. 35–62) with a general introduction to late antique Roman domestic life. This continues in Chapter 2 "From Dominion to *dispensatio*: Stewardship as an Elite Ideal" (pp. 63–86). In this chapter Sessa portrays the Roman *dispensator* as a model for the Roman bishop's ecclesiastical administration.

In Chapter 3 "*Primus cultor*: Episcopal Householding in Theory and Practice" (pp. 87–126), Sessa compares the *domus dei* to the normal elite *domus*. In Sessa's view, the ethics of the bishop's *oikonomia*, in both their classical and emerging Christian form, framed the real success of the bishop's administration, both in matters ecclesiastic and the stewardship of church real estate.

In Chapter 4 "Overseeing the Overseer: Bishops and Lay Households" (pp. 127–173) and Chapter 5 "Cultivating the Clerical Household: Marriage, Property and Inheritance" (pp. 174–207) matters concerning lay and clerical private lives and the bishop's influence on them are discussed. The early Christian life, in both clerical and lay *domus*, included the same Roman problems of marriage, inheritance (especially, when church and private property ownership was confused) and slave treatment.

In Chapter 6 "Mistrusting the Bishop: Succession, Stewardship, and Sex in the Laurentian Schism" (pp. 208–246) the Laurentian Schism (498–506/507) between Symmachus and Laurentius portrays how seriously the immaculate stewardship of the bishop's *domus* was taken when most of the accusations were about sex and misplacement of church property.

In Chapter 7 "The Household and the Bishop: Authority, Cooperation, and Competition in the *gesta martyrum*" (pp. 247–273), the *gesta*, though mostly pure fantasy, reveal Roman collective attitudes about the significance of the aristocratic *domus* and its administration's ideological impact on early Christian papal administration.

Conclusion (pp. 274–282) sums up the previous discussion very well: "… the adaptation of household management as a model of government by late antique Roman bishops." Sessa ties the Roman administration to the earlier ancient *domus* and to the tensions that followed when the bishop intervened in other domestic affairs. These tensions, however, did not keep bishops and households apart. On the contrary, the tensions brought these two together and gradually, starting from Rome, created the episcopal leadership in the Catholic world.

Kristina Sessa's *The Formation of Papal Authority in Late Antique Italy: Roman Bishops and The Domestic Sphere* is solidly based on sources and research. The portrayal of the shifting dynamics of the Roman church in late antiquity and the efforts of its bishops to establish their authority in the early days is one of the book's valuable contributions. The most valuable one to my mind is the credible argument of the inherited republican *domus* and its *pater familias* as the model of episcopal administration.

Juhana Heikonen

Elke Hartmann: *Ordnung in Unordnung. Kommunikation, Konsum und Konkurrenz in der stadtrömischen Gesellschaft der frühen Kaiserzeit*. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2016. ISBN 978-3-515-11362-5. 255 S. EUR 52.

Elke Hartmann's new book is a study of the urban culture in Rome of the first century of the Empire. Hartmann has chosen a thematic, even cultural-historical, approach, where her focus is on the social practices by which the social standing of an individual was established, improved, and lost. This book is not a study of original sources. It is an interpretation of early Imperial Roman society based on a wide selection of recent research combined with an interpretative reading of contemporary literature, especially Martial, Juvenal, and Seneca. Hartmann's attention is as much as possible on the lower classes, in practice limited to the *equites*, but for the overall argument of the book this is an excellent choice. The highest senatorial elite hardly needed to establish their social standing to the extent it was vital for the representatives of the lower strata of the society.

Hartmann herself calls her chosen approach a "change in the research perspective from social history to a history of social and cultural practices" ("Von der Sozialgeschichte zur Geschichte der sozialen und kulturellen Praktiken", p. 24). This new approach is surprisingly fruitful, for it allows the author to leave behind the limits of a structural analysis, where each practice and person must be seen as a representative of a bigger structure, and to focus on the various practices available for individual negotiation of the structurally limiting and defining factors in society. Hartmann is not quite as interested in defining and limiting the places and positions for members of various social and demographic groups as she is in analysing and understanding how these definitions and limitations could be negotiated, circumvented and even manipulated to one's own advantage.

The book is structured around seven themes which are all treated in a similar matter: first introducing the current stand of research on the theme, then furthering the discussion on selected sub-themes, and finally adding some interesting elements discovered in the literary sources in order to illustrate how these structures were put to use. The chosen approach is interesting and provides a good read. The reader is offered a vivid interpretation of the urban culture of the early imperial period, especially from the point of view of the freedmen and *equites* struggling to have a position and perhaps even a career. The chosen themes reflect different spatial environments where this performance took place.

The creation of social hierarchies in the theatre is the first main theme. The attention here is not only on the traditional order of seating but also on questions such as the requirements for proper attire and the responses of the audience present to the social spectacle on display. Also, a detailed discussion of *lex Roscia theatralis* is offered, as well as a discussion on the role of theatrical entertainment in general in the Roman urban culture. The focus is very much on how the members of the audience presented themselves, and the actual substance of the plays is not of importance here.

A smaller chapter discusses the theme of the kiss as an expression of social ties. It is especially the imperial kiss that Hartmann interprets as a "relational barometer", and the discussion is an interesting take on the minor gestures of social play. This discussion brings the book naturally to its next theme, the changing role of the patron-client relationship in the early Empire. The Emperor had become the sole real patron. Hartmann's argument is that the traditional role of the client diminished in importance as the system developed from a vertical to a horizontal structure,

leading to a disruption of the ties that connected the levels of the society with each other. Instead of securing favours from and offering services to the *patron*, the aspiring man always could turn to the *matron*, as is described in the next chapter, devoted to the practice of "hunting for inheritances". The phenomenon is not quite as one-sided as the literary sources often imply, for as Hartmann shows, it is closely connected to the question of why the Roman elites had so few children and also to the wider value system of the times. Hartmann discusses partly similar changes that had taken place in the previously discussed role of the clients, these two chapters seem to form the "social-historical core" of the book

The nature of the conspicuous consumption of the newly enriched freedmen in particular is also a natural continuation of the discussion, and brings it back to the public spaces and places. Here Hartmann aptly displays the difference in consumption habits between the old elite and the new rich. The division between the old and the new, as well as the receding public status of the senatorial elites, is also the theme of the discussion on public bathing habits, where Hartmann argues that this social practice was also mostly for classes other than the senators, who instead retired behind both the moral code and the walls of their villas.

The last theme Hartmann discusses is the rise of the *delatores* and the public denunciation of crimes, especially against the *maiestas* of the emperor. Although this is a logical addition to discussions on the role of clients and the hunt for inheritances, it somehow does not seem to be placed in the right place; perhaps the explanation is in the title of this chapter, where denunciations are seen as the expression of the lack of social order ("Denunziationen als Ausdruck gesellschaftlicher Unordnung").

The thematic narrative thus constructed is interesting, and even if the chapters with their separate themes seem only loosely connected, the book actually carries with it an argument. Contrary to what one might expect from looking at the table of contents, this does not seem like a collection of essays previously written for other purposes, but a thought-out whole that was written in the form it was planned.

The book is very carefully written with detailed references and a good bibliography. Its merit is in the totality of its view, and a full read of this relatively thin book can be recommended.

Harri Kiiskinen

Klaus Junker: *Interpreting the Images of Greek Myths. An Introduction*. Translated by Annemarie Künzl-Snodgrass – Anthony Snodgrass. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2012. ISBN 978-0-521-72007-6. XIV, 225 pp. GBP 55, USD 95 (hb), GBP 17.99, USD 32.99 (pb).

Klaus Junker's *Griechische Mythenbilder. Eine Einführung in ihre Interpretation* (2005) has for some time been available in an English translation in both paperback and hardback formats. This notable contribution can be viewed alongside other recent overtures to the study of ancient pictorial representations of mythological subjects, namely those of Susan Woodford, Jocelyn Penny Small, and Luca Giuliani, all published in 2003, to which Junker promises to add his own text as "the first to focus solely on the contextual meaning of images of Greek myths" (p. xiii).

The book does not presuppose a familiarity with either Greek mythology or ancient art. In theoretical thoroughness and depth of analysis, however, it goes far beyond the needs of a general reader whose aim is to gain a summary view of the imagery of Greek mythology. Rather, the book is ideal reading for an introductory course in Greek mythology or in Greco-Roman art history, while also offering plentiful insights for more advanced students and scholars who hope to deepen their acquaintance with the pictorial representation of Greek myths, or more precisely, to quote from chapter 3, with "myth production through images," as one of the foundational themes of the book is the existence of image-making as an independent and genuinely original means of creating and commenting on the substance and meaning of myths familiar from verbal accounts (whether transmitted orally or in written form). With this argument, Junker rejects the still current treatment of mythological images as "illustrations" of literary versions of myths and ventures to question the taken-for-granted primacy of the verbal medium to the pictorial one in presenting myths. Instead, he offers a balanced treatment of the weaknesses and advantages of both media in comparison with each other and suggests that many ancient artists were not insensitive to the strengths and limitations of their facture when it came to representing mythical subjects.

The principal contribution of the book is the presentation of a hermeneutic method for interpreting ancient (Greek and Roman) images of Greek mythology. Having given, in chapter 1, an introductory demonstration of its employment in practice, with the image of Achilles tending a wounded Patroclus in a cup by Sosias as his study case, Junker postpones the detailed treatment of his method until chapter 5, thus keeping his readers in a state of excitement while equipping them with a useful set of theoretical tools for handling images of mythology. In chapter 2 the reader is presented with basic definitions, beginning with the problematic one of 'myth,' and classifications which help to conceptualize such elements of mythological images as the treatment of time and the representation of narrative action. Junker does not abandon sight of the fact, however, that such classifications, as he and others have employed them, are merely a theoretical aid whose terms and boundaries cannot be strictly fixed. The same applies to the concept of 'image of mythology' which Junker develops through chapter 2, to arrive at the conclusion that the division of ancient images into those 'of myth' and those 'of real life,' conventional in Classical Archaeology, does not do justice to the actually found, complex variety of images which employ mythical elements and to the level of intellectual engagement, which Greco-Roman art testifies to, by the artists with the subjects of mythology and their bearing on contemporary everyday life. Through the striking example of the Barberini Faun, Junker demonstrates how the breaching of the boundary between the 'lifeworld' (*Lebenswelt*) and myth, in this case brought about within a potential viewer's mind through his or her familiarity with myth, can even function effectively so as to place the viewer as an implicit actor in a scene of myth.

In chapter 3 Junker takes a closer look at how the changing attitudes towards myth manifest in literature shaped the production of mythological images from Late Geometric to Imperial times. His intriguing overview of the birth of mythological representations in the pictorial and written media at the dawn of Greek Antiquity pays special attention to the relations between the two media, whereas his treatment of the later eras considers rather how shifts in the philosophical and social atmospheres influenced the reception and employment of myths in art: in this connection it becomes evident that no theory which tries to explain myth by assigning to it a mere single function is able to grasp its full significance and tendency to evolve within ancient societies. In chapter 4 Junker

treats individually the four major classes of art form from which he derives his examples, namely vase painting, sculpture (architectural and free-standing), Roman wall-paintings and mosaics, and Roman sarcophagi. He also addresses here the Roman reception of Greek mythology. In chapter 5, as stated above, Junker gives a detailed account of his methodology for interpreting images of myth and explains the historical and theoretical background of hermeneutics and contextual research. Immediately upon formulation, the method is put to the test in the exemplary case of Myron's *Athena and Marsyas*. Chapter 6 focuses on the thematic and topical contents of images on the types of monuments introduced in chapter 4 and discusses their interpretation, demonstrating again the practical application of the methodological principles presented in chapter 5. The end-matter of the book consists of an index and a useful guide to further reading.

For Junker, 'context' is the key to a successful interpretation of ancient depictions of myth, and much of the book is devoted to defining (in chapter 5) and framing out (in chapters 3 and 4) the various factors he includes in it, ranging from the history of motifs and the function(s) of the object carrying an image to the place of myths in the contemporary discourse and society which may have influenced, on one hand, the artist's intentions in creating the picture, and, on the other, how it was experienced by its ancient observers. As the elements of interpretation unfold and widen the reader's horizon of ancient imagery throughout the chapters, the fruitfulness of Junker's approach becomes evident. Even if it is impossible (and in many cases must have been so already in ancient days) to reach an interpretation of an image that can be confirmed as "correct" with the certitude characteristic of the natural sciences, by working systematically towards a multi-varied approach to ancient images of myth we can, as Junker demonstrates, at least gain a convincing glimpse of what thoughts the images may have invoked in the minds of their creators and viewers. While this sounds rather modest, this is precisely what much of humanistic research into Antiquity (and much of humanistic research in general) aims to do. Thus, the process of interpretive research merits the application of a sound method, such as the one presented by Junker, lest we be bound to make do with such readings of images which on close scrutiny appear as "learned guesses" based more on individual inspiration than on an earnestly critical evaluation.

Junker repeatedly draws analogies to contemporary phenomena, such as cinema, comics, and cartoons. While such comparisons are not out of place, it could be asked whether our understanding of ancient imagery really gains much from them. Another feature of the text is frequent cross-references, which can be a slight distraction, although they are an advantage for someone who does not wish to study the entire book but to read only some of the individual chapters, all of which are accessible separately. Read this way, however, the reader should miss one of the prime virtues of the book, that is, the virtuosity with which Junker builds up his thesis by uniting a whole spectrum of ways to look at ancient mythological images. In each chapter he demonstrates his theoretical points by referring to examples, mostly drawn from well-known works of Greek and Roman art and given illustration in 48 black-and-white figures.

I have not read the original German version of the book, so I cannot comment much on the English translation. There is not really any need for me to give reassurances of the obvious and, from the readers' point of view, propitious circumstance that the rendering into English of Junker's contribution has been carried out by expert scholars, as is to be expected in the case of a work as ambitious and as filled with specialist terminology as this one. Previously Künzl-Snodgrass and Snodgrass have prepared an English edition (2004) of Tonio Hölscher's

book on the *Bildsprache* of Roman art. The general impression of the English version of Junker's book is one of clarity and preciseness, although the tendency towards condensed and occasionally rather long sentences, perhaps an echo of the original German text, demands good focus from the reader.

Jamie Vesterinen

Bernard Andreae: *Römische Kunst: von Augustus bis Constantin*. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Darmstadt 2012. 316 S., 218 Abb. ISBN 978-3-8053-4191-2. EUR 79.

At first glance this book looks more like a coffee table book left to wait for a glossy magazine's interior photo shoot. This, however, is a false impression. The only relation to coffee table books is its high-quality photographs of art. This volume belongs to a series of publications on Roman art by the publishers von Zabern. The book does not have an introduction and starts with an overview of its subject in 48 short chapters: Musse und Geschäft (pp. 9–14), Zentrum (pp. 15–18), Entwicklung (pp. 19–22), Persönlichkeiten (pp. 23–26), Frauen (pp. 29–34), Verfassung (pp. 43–48), Augustus (pp. 49–52), Religion (pp. 53–61), Struktur (pp. 67–70), Eigenständigkeit (pp. 71–74), Kopie (pp. 75–80), Musterbuch (pp. 81–84), Bildhauerei (pp. 85–90), Malerei (pp. 91–94), Architektur (95–106), Römische Marmore (pp. 107–110), Kunstgewerbe (pp. 111–116), Legitimation (pp. 117–122), Dynastie (pp. 123–130), Jupiter und Erden (pp. 131–136), Mythos: Aeneas und Odysseus (pp. 137–142), Familienbild (pp. 143–146), Natur und Kunst (149–154), Land in der Stadt (pp. 155–158), Autokrator (pp. 159–170), Brot und Spiele (pp. 171–176), Triumph (pp. 177–184), Reliefsäulen (pp. 185–190), Markt (pp. 191–196), Modelle (pp. 197–204), Adoptivkaiser (pp. 205–210), Bilderreichtum (pp. 211–214), Mosaike (pp. 215–222), Reiterstatue (pp. 223–228), Stilwandel (pp. 229–234), Genealogie (pp. 235–240), Die weibliche Linie (pp. 241–246), Soldatenkaiser (pp. 247–258), Schlacht (pp. 259–264), Militär und Zivil (pp. 265–270), Aurelianische Mauer (pp. 271–276), Tetrarchie (pp. 277–280), Palatium und Castrum (pp. 281–284), Ein neues Rom (pp. 285–290), In diesem Zeichen (pp. 291–296), Schönheit der römischen Kunst (pp. 297–298) and Nachwort (pp. 299–300).

These chapters, which can be described as short essays, amount to a surprisingly coherent whole. The subjects that are discussed are bibliographies also taking into account contemporary research. The only more problematic chapter, Chapter 17 on "Architektur", seems somehow out of place. Since Roman architecture and art could in many ways be seen as a Gothic *Gesamtkunstwerk*, a general essay on architecture does not really seem necessary, especially as architecture is in any case well discussed in the context of several other chapters.

An account of Roman art over a period of more than 300 years is by no means an easy task and Andreae has chosen this partly thematic, partly chronological approach, as can be seen from the table of contents above, which in my view was a good decision since it is a more novel way of tackling this wide subject. Andreae's view of the traditional classical chronology of Roman art, based on emperors' reigns, is discussed in Chapter 2. This imperial contribution to the development of arts is one of the threads of the book. This chronology, along with the discussion of a large number of aspects of Roman art, should not be misunderstood as aiming toward any kind

of universal art history. Andreae's handling of the subject rather offers the reader a distinguished scholar's personal perspective. And this is thus a book well worth reading since art can never be read from one perspective alone. The reader will enjoy Andreae's scholarship, presented with admirable clarity.

Juhana Heikonen

Heiner Knell: *Vom Parthenon zum Pantheon – Meilensteine der antiken Architektur*. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Darmstadt 2013. 157 S. ISBN 978-3-8053-4636-8. EUR 29.99.

Heiner Knell, the professor of classical archaeology (emeritus) at the Technische Universität Darmstadt, has written a compact book of the "milestones" of architecture in classical antiquity. The book is divided into two sections: "Meilensteine griechischer Architektur" (6 "milestones") and "Meilensteine römischer Architektur" (7 "milestones"), which are accompanied in some cases by other similar architecture for comparison. Knell states in the introduction (pp. 7–11) his intention to illuminate classical architecture with a few selected well-preserved buildings that reflect the classical architecture of antiquity in general.

The Greek section's (pp. 13–73) main features are the Parthenon, the Propylaea of Mnesikles, the Erechteion, the Theatre of Epidauros, the city of Priene and the Temple of Apollo at Didyma. The Roman section's (pp. 75–140) main featured buildings are the Forum of Augustus, Pont du Gard, the Colosseum, the Arch of Titus, the Palatine, the Forum of Trajan and the Pantheon. One could always argue for different choices of what should have represented *die Meilensteine* of the classics. As a reviewer, I think this as good as it gets choice-wise, if we think of the later influence of these buildings. However, since the city of Priene was presented, I would like to have had a Roman example as well. In these kinds of general architectural histories, technical drawings instead of photographs suit the purpose better, as Knell has done. At the end of the book there is an *Anhang* (pp. 142–156) for further reading for each *Meilensteine*, an index and glossary.

In a small written space, Knell gives a good cultural, historical, structural, and architectural background for all the chosen *Meilensteine*. The text is a pleasure to read and strongly recommendable for students.

Juhana Heikonen

Asher Ovadiah – Yehudit Turnheim: *Roman temples, shrines and* temene *in Israel*. Supplementi alla Rivista di Archeologia 30. Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, Roma 2011. ISBN 978-88-7689-258-5. 155 p. 128 plates. EUR 180.

The book *Roman temples, shrines and* temene *in Israel* by two Tel Aviv University researchers, Asher Ovadiah and Yehudit Turnheim, presents a variety of Roman cult places in Israel approximately in the first three centuries A.D. The work is mainly based on reports from excavations carried out in the region roughly over the past century. It may serve as a general introduction to Roman cult

buildings and cultic constructions in Israel within the given period (and even beyond) but should not be treated as a rigorous and comprehensive systematization of the topic.

The book has a topographically (but not systematically geographically) organized table of contents, which encompasses a variety of cult centres, including the major religious and political centres in the region: Aelia Capitolina (Ch. X) and Caesarea Maritima (Ch. VII), and several smaller temple sites (Ch. XII *Varia*). The book contains over a hundred plates and a general index. Parts of the Epilogue (pp. 103–110) could have been placed in the Introduction as they describe the literary, epigraphic and numismatic source material used in the previous chapters.

The chronological scope of the book is defined as extending from Herod's reign (c. 37–4 B.C.) to the Severan era (193–235). This time frame would be peculiarly narrow considering the general framework of the religious history of the region in question (e.g., the Severan era is not generally speaking regarded as a divide in the same sense as the 2nd century [the second Jewish revolt] and the 4th century [Constantine's era] are). As the changes brought about by late antiquity ('Christianization', e.g., on pp. 50, 59–60 [on competition between Mithraism and Christianity] and 97–98) are nevertheless discussed in the context of relevant cult places, the chronological scope of the book extends *de facto* from Graeco-Roman times to at least the fifth or sixth century (cf. also p. 1 n. 3, p. 2). A good comparison for how to settle a time frame for this kind of study would be the publication *Iudaea-Palaestina – The Pagan Cults in Roman Palestine (Second to Fourth Century)* by Nicole Belayche ([Religion der römischen Provinzen 1] Tübingen 2001), also including some detailed discussion about the reshaping of religious materiality towards late antiquity in Roman Palestine.

The types of cultic constructions listed in the title – 'temples', 'shrines' and '*temene*' – all convey a rather broad meaning in the book. In many cases, 'temple' and 'shrine' are interchangeable, or 'temple' may refer to a more elaborate cultic edifice, whereas 'shrine' may indicate any smaller structure with a cultic function (e.g., a shrine inside a temple or some other construction as, e.g., on pp. 61–62). '*Temenos*' refers, generally speaking, to a 'sacred compound' around a religious building or building complex (e.g., the *temenos* of Paneas/Banias/Caesarea Philippi with several temples and shrines pp. 4–9), or it may lack archaeological remains altogether (cf. pp. 87–88). Systematization is, of course, difficult when taking into consideration archaeological realities (actual finds) in the field, but it is always useful to problematize the challenges in interpreting them.

The book is helpful for students of the history of ancient religion in drafting an overview of its topic with references to excavation reports and relevant academic discussions around the cult sites archaeologically and, to some extent, also from the point of view of the history of religion, though the book would have benefited from utilizing more recent research from the 21st century more extensively. For a more comprehensive list of 'pagan' deities in Roman Palestine (p. 106), readers can consult the subject index of Belayche (for the bibliographical details, see above).

Ulla Lehtonen

Marianne Mathys: *Architekturstiftungen und Ehrenstatuen: Untersuchungen zur visuellen Repräsentation der Oberschicht im späthellenistischen und kaiserzeitlichen Pergamon.* Pergamenische Forschungen 16. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 2014. XLV, 192 S., 24 Tafeln. ISBN 978-3-8053-4802-7. EUR 88.90.

Das Werk von Marianne Mathys behandelt die öffentliche Repräsentation der pergamenischen Oberschicht durch Ehrenstatuen und Architekturstiftungen von der nachattalidischen Zeit (von 133 v.Chr. ab) bis zum frühen 3. Jh. n.Chr. Verschiedene Aspekte des (vor allem archäologischen) Quellenmateriales werden ausführlich betrachtet sowohl kombinierend in den Kapiteln der Hauptverhandlung als auch vereinzelt im Katalog, woraus die zweite Hälfte des Werkes besteht. Die Bedeutung des Werkes wird besonders durch den reichen pergamenischen Befund betont, der – trotz gewisser Lücken – eine diachronische Betrachtung in unterschiedlichen Aufstellungskontexten innerhalb des Stadtraumes (sowie im extramuralen Asklepieion) erlaubt.

Das Material ist je nach Aufstellungs- bzw. Fundort eingeordnet: die Akropolis (d.h. vorrangig das Athenaheiligtum und die Altarterrasse), Demeter- und Heraheiligtümer, Gymnasion, die Untere Agora, die römische Unterstadt und das Asklepieion. So werden u.a. die folgenden Ergebnisse aufgeführt: im Bereich des Athenaheiligtums wurde die persönliche Repräsentation vor den Mithridatischen Kriegen und wieder gegen das 2. Jh. n.Chr. exklusiv von Athenapriesterinnen dominiert, aber dazwischen im ausgehenden Hellenismus und in der frühen Kaiserzeit von römischen Beamten; das Gymnasion blieb über den Untersuchungszeitraum als wichtiger Schauplatz der lokalen Elite sowohl durch Architekturstiftungen als auch Ehrenstatuen bestehen; dagegen wurde die repräsentative Funktion des überregional bedeutungsvollen Asklepieions in der Kaiserzeit auch nach auswärts gerichtet; die kontextuellen Verweise auf die Attaliden sind in der unmittelbar folgenden nachattalidischen Periode nicht zu finden, wurden aber ab Ende des 1. Jhs. n.Chr. in Ehrungen für lokale und römische Leitfiguren verwendet.

Im Ganzen ist die Untersuchung eindrucksvoll durchgeführt worden und man kann weitere Forschung bezüglich dieser Thematik an anderen Örtlichkeiten und Aufstellungskontexten erhoffen. Um wenigstens irgendetwas zu kritisieren, fällt mir als bemerkenswert nur der Mangel zweierlei Indizes auf: ein kurzer Vergleich der Katalognummern mit deren primären Quellenpublikationen, sowie ein anderer Index, der die restlichen Quellen, die nicht in den Katalog aufgenommen wurden, verzeichnet. So muss man sich ein wenig bemühen, um z.B. die Erwähnung zu Habicht 1969 Nr. 19 (*I.Pergamon* III) zu lokalisieren (S. 76, Anm. 755): diese Ädikula für Statuen eines römischen Statthalters und seiner Gattin diente zwar einem repräsentativen Zweck, ist aber von den Griechen der Provinz errichtet worden.

Urpo Kantola

Marion Bolder-Boos: *Ostia – Der Hafen Roms*. Philipp von Zabern Verlag, Darmstadt 2014. ISBN 978-380534819. 144 S., 121 Ill. EUR 40.

This richly illustrated book aims to give a chronological overview of the building history of the city of Ostia. It is subdivided into nine chapters, namely, 'Das frühe Castrum; Die Kolonie im 2. und

1. Jh. v. Chr.; Die julisch-claudische Zeit; Ostia in flavischer und trajanischer Zeit; Bauboom und Stadterneuerung – Ostia in hadrianischer Zeit; Von Antoninus Pius bis Commodus; Das 3. Jh. n. Chr.; Das spätantike Ostia; Ostia in der Forschung der Neuzeit'. The chapter covering the Hadrianic period is, unsurprisingly, the most substantial as at this time the city underwent a dramatic rebuilding which drastically changed the cityscape. In general, the bibliography is quite comprehensive though more works on Portus and Isola Sacra, such as Helttula (et al.) (2007) *Le iscrizioni sepolcrali latine nell'Isola Sacra* and Keay, Millett, and Strutt (2005) *Portus. An Archaeological Survey of the Port of Imperial Rome*, should have been included. The final chapter provides an overview of the excavation history of the site, noting the role the Vatican played in this during the 19th century, as well as briefly observing the impact archaeologists such as Vaglieri and Calza had on the excavation of Ostia.

Each of the chapters provides an excellent overview of the building which took place in Ostia at that time. All kinds of structures, namely, religious, civic, commercial, and domestic, are aptly covered, and while the focus of this book is not on the history of the city of Ostia, Bolder-Boos ties her narrative about the building history of Ostia together with important historical events. In this way, the building works discussed in the work are not standalone events but are neatly connected with empire-wide ones. Several excursuses are included, clearly demarcated via the use of a blue colour for these pages, which give the reader a good introduction to several important aspects of Roman life, such as burial practices and bathing. Where these occur, they are clearly linked to a building which was constructed at that time, for example, the Forum Baths with the section on bathing. Also outstanding is the description of each building where dimensions are given as well as what building materials were used, how the structure was decorated, the function of the building, and who would have used it. Literary and epigraphic material is used throughout the work though it is a shame that not a single picture of an inscription is included in the volume despite this evidence being copiously mentioned. The images, in general, are very good and greatly add to the reader's understanding of how these structures look today, something which is increased by the addition of many floorplans of the buildings.

There are no real faults with this book and it provides a very good introduction to the city of Ostia. It would have been preferable if more attention had been given to Portus and Isola Sacra, as the latter is barely discussed in the volume, even though the author rightly stresses the connections between Ostia and Portus. The main issue with the work results from the chronological approach to the subject material, as neighbouring structures and areas in the city are discussed in separate chapters which can lead to some confusion. For example, in the Flavian/Trajanic chapter, the Porta Marina baths are examined while in the following chapter the 'Platz vor der Porta Marina' is looked at. It would perhaps have been clearer to group these together in order to gain a better understanding of the physical space of that area. Similarly, more cross-referencing would have been appreciated, such as on p. 44 where the *mensores* are talked about but their *schola* is not mentioned until later (pages 65-67) and no link is made between the two sections. Cross-referencing would have facilitated the reader's understanding of the connections between the Ostian space, as sometimes rather large geographical jumps are made within a chapter; for example, in the Pius to Commodus chapter we move from the Schola del Traiano/Temple of the Fabri Navales to the Sede degli Augustali which is located in a different part of the city. Making references to the general map of Ostia (Abb. 1) would have eased this issue as the map includes a numbered list of buildings. It would also have improved the book, as it would have made the physical location of a building in the city clearer. This

is especially true in light of the fact that the main roads are not marked on the main map, despite frequent mentions in the text of buildings located on the Decumanus Maximus or Cardo Maximus, but also of the Porta Laurentina Necropolis, which is not found on this map. However, despite these slight oversights, the work is an excellent and very comprehensive overview of the Ostian buildings and greatly enriches the reader's understanding of the Ostian cityscape.

Ghislaine van der Ploeg

Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt: *"Den Sternen und dem Himmel würdig": kaiserliche Palastbauten in Rom und Trier.* Trierer Winckelmannsprogramme 24. Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2014. ISBN 978-3-447-10235-3. VIII, 44 S., 16 Abb., 8 Tafelseiten. EUR 19.80.

Dr.-Ing. Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt belongs to the small group of experts on Roman imperial palaces and is the director of the architectural section of the German Archaeological Institute (DAI) in Berlin. For a long time her attention has been on the Palatine in Rome. This very thin book, or booklet, belongs to the series of published lectures in the Trier Winckelmannsprogramme (this being the 23rd in 2012) at the Institut für Klassische Archäologie der Universität Trier.

This booklet is a summary of Wulf-Rheidt's research on the Palatine in the context of the other late antique imperial palaces in the Roman world. In the beginning (pp. 7–13) Wulf-Rheidt summarizes the Palatine complex from the beginning to Maxentius. In what follows (pp. 14–24), various architectural similarities between the imperial palaces in Milan, Sirmium, Rome (Sessorium and the Villa of Maxentius), Thessaloniki, etc. are discussed. The main themes of similarities are, for example, the baths, the temples, and, most interesting and less researched in this context, the circus. Since the lecture was held in Trier, the discussion is concentrated on the similarities between Trier and the Palatine and the scant remains of the possible circus in Trier.

The hypothesis of the Palatine acting as a model for these other imperial palaces around the world sounds convincing, even though Rome had already lost much of its importance by the end of the third century. As pointed out first by Federico Guidobaldi, the Palatine might also have served as a model for the late antique senatorial *domus* and villa.

The booklet is accompanied by very good 3D reconstructions that are unfortunately printed too dark. However, another value of this booklet, and by no means diminishing the importance of the publication by using a diminutive format, is its compactness. Thus, a booklet. There has been considerable discussion on archaeological reconstructions, and Ulrike Wulf–Rheidt beautifully demonstrates how a drawn hypothesis is much more reader friendly (although not author friendly) than the traditional written hypothesis that classical archaeology is so stuck on. Most often, unfortunately, the usual written hypothesis does not even add up if drawn to scale. Pictures might mislead, words usually even more.

Juhana Heikonen

Kristine Iara: *Hippodromus Palatii: Die Bauornamentik des Gartenhippodroms im Kaiserpalast auf dem Palatin in Rom.* DAI Rom, Palilia 30. Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden 2015. ISBN 978-3-95490-088-6. 269 S. EUR 29.90.

The current appearance of the imperial architecture of the Palatine Hill in Rome is mostly limited to the remaining masonry structures of the buildings. Kristine Iara's work seeks to reconstruct a part of this huge building complex beyond its masonry core and display it in its original splendour. She focuses on the Hippodrome garden which consists of an open space resembling the form of a hippodrome with porticoes surrounding the open space. This garden with the colonnades occupied a large part of the southeast corner of the hill. Iara's reconstruction mainly depicts the Severan period of the building. She attempts to analyse the Flavian phase of the Hippodrome, but the limited evidence allows only the reconstruction of the lowest level of the porticoes, leaving the picture of this early phase partial. Some later periods are occasionally mentioned, such as the Maxentian phase and the era in Late Antiquity when the so-called amphitheatre was built at the southern end of the Hippodrome.

Besides the introduction, the study can be divided into two parts. The first part is the description of the architectural elements (pp. 21–126) and the second part is the analysis of these elements (pp. 127–205). The description includes Chapters II (*Die Portikus des unteren Geschosses des Hippodroms*), III (*Die Basen*), IV (*Die Stützen*), V (*Die Kapitelle*), VI (*Die Gebälke*) and VII (*Lisenen, Profile und profilierte Platten*). Also, the tables of the appendices (pp. 211–234), listing the architectural elements and their features, are an integral part of the description. The work is enormous, as it is based on 988 architectural components. The tables in the book do not include all the components and the entire database is intended to be published online (www.arachne.uni-koeln.de). I was not able to find the database in spite of several attempts – probably it is not yet available online. Chapters II–VII are very useful for other researchers working with similar architectural elements as Iara. For those, however, who are trying to form a comprehensive picture of the space or seeking general knowledge, these chapters might not be as interesting as the last part of the book. However, the description chapters form the basis of the dating of the architecture, which is indispensable for understanding the later reconstruction and the analysis. Usually, the dating is based on the style and materials, but in a few cases there are inscriptions on the architectural elements to help the dating.

Describing the architecture is not an easy task and in this book the descriptions are mainly in a free-text format, accompanied by the tables of the appendix. The free-text format has its advantages: not all information can be forced into tables and figures. The descriptive chapters are well organized and each of them follows a logical pattern, but occasionally they could be even more schematic to help their readers. For example: the columns of the porticoes are classified into groups on pages 45–49. This text contains several measurements. It might be possible to replace the text with a simple table, or even possibly just briefly list the column groups and refer to table II on pages 220–221, where almost all the same information can be found.

Chapter VIII (*Rekonstruktion*) is the core of the book. It briefly describes the earlier reconstructions of the Hippodrome garden and then moves on to Iara's reconstructions of the Flavian and Severan eras – yet again, the surviving material dictates that the emphasis is on the later. Chapters IX (*Material und Bearbeitung*) and X (*Der Bautypus: Der Bau und seine Ausstattung*) continue the analysis of the decorative elements of the space.

Iara's archaeological material was excavated a long time before her study was written and she did not conduct any excavations of her own. This guides her to concentrate on the architecture as it can still be physically studied. Consequently, the reconstruction emphasizes the architecture leaving aside the garden – even though it was a large and significant part of the Hippodrome garden. Iara's reconstruction of the garden is based on the literary and archaeological sources of other gardens in the Roman world, and she concludes that the plants and other decoration in this garden must have been very impressive. This is likely a correct conclusion, even if there is hardly any evidence of the plantings in the Hippodrome garden, as is also noted by the author herself. Consequently, the conclusion that there was a garden in the space seems to be based on its hippodrome form. The written and archaeological sources indicate that other similar spaces functioned as gardens. Nonetheless, the garden identification would have profited from a simple notion that there was no floor or hard soil surface in the space if this information is available in the excavation reports or other sources. Often this might seem too obvious, but it would have strengthened the identification, as the architectural forms that can frequently be related to gardens do not always indicate that the space actually had a garden. In general, Iara connects the Hippodrome garden with other Roman monumental gardens, particularly with the gardens of the private *villae*, and she concludes that the function of the Hippodrome garden was to display high socioeconomic status – in this case the highest standing of the empire.

The text is well written and easy to read. Yet there was, for example, the fairly common mistake of spelling Wilhelmina Jashemski's name as Jashemsky. In conclusion, Iara has done a huge and important work documenting the architectural remains of the Hippodrome garden. The work is a good reference to similar studies and it will be an important part of the reconstructed architectural history of the Palatine and Rome.

Samuli Simelius

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