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# NOUVELLE LECTURE D'UNE INSCRIPTION DE MÂCON (*MATISCO*) (SAÔNE-ET-LOIRE, FRANCE)

Mireille Corbier

Mâcon (*Matisco*), Vieux Saint-Vincent (porche de l'ancienne cathédrale qui sert de dépôt lapidaire). Bloc en calcaire, retaillé pour remploi, abîmé en haut, en bas et sur les côtés, particulièrement à droite. Dimensions : 69 x 54 à 56 x 39 cm. Champ épigraphique : 55 x 54 cm. Lettres de hauteur régulière : 4,9 à 5 cm. Photos : Alain Guerreau (*Fig*. 1, 2 et 3). Musée de Mâcon : n° d'inventaire 2003.1.303.

Transcription présentée avec photo dans *Joconde. Portail des collections des musées de France* :

> « S-SENILISENIAE | AS. EXTV[L]EFILIA . I[K]ARIS | VELTPIEVTISSIMEO | VIXNVOS XVMES, avec quelques incertitudes ».

Édition de Yann Le Bohec, *Inscriptions de la cité des Éduens. Inscriptions sur pierre.* Inscriptiones Latinae Galliae Lugudunensis *(ILGL).* 2. Aedui, Barcelone, 2015 (Col.lecció Instrumenta, 50), p. 36–37, n° 10, photo, dont la lecture diffère nettement de celle qui est proposée ici (voir déjà *AE* 2015, 888) :

> [*D(iis)*] *M(anibus) s(acrum). Senili, Vemari (filio),* | *(et) Sextul(a)e, fil(iae). Karin(us),* | *Velt(i filius), pientissimo.* | *Vixit annis* [...]*XV, me(n)s(ibus)* [...].

**Lecture nouvelle du texte**

> *G(aius) S(---) Senilis et Mari*[*. ?*]|*a Sextule fil(iae) kariss*[*i*]|*me et pientissime q*[*u*]|*e uix(it) annos XV me(n)s(em) I ?.*

L'inscription est une épitaphe de quatre lignes dont la structure est simple : la défunte, la jeune *Sextula* morte à l'âge de quinze ans, est commémorée par ses parents, qui la désignent comme *fil(ia)*.

La lecture est rendue difficile par de nombreuses ligatures et n'est pas facilitée non plus par la position actuelle du bloc, qui repose sur le sol sur son côté gauche. Elle a été sensiblement améliorée grâce aux suggestions de Sylvie Dardaine et d'Alain Guerreau, qui a photographié, dessiné, mesuré le bloc et contrôlé les hypothèses de lecture de l'épitaphe. Ligatures : L. 1 : ET et AR ; L. 2 : VL et AR ; L. 3 : ME, EN et ME ; L. 4 : ANN et ME.

De quelques lettres en partie effacées on devine encore la forme : ainsi le O et le S dans ANNOS à la dernière ligne. À la ligne 3, c'est peut-être

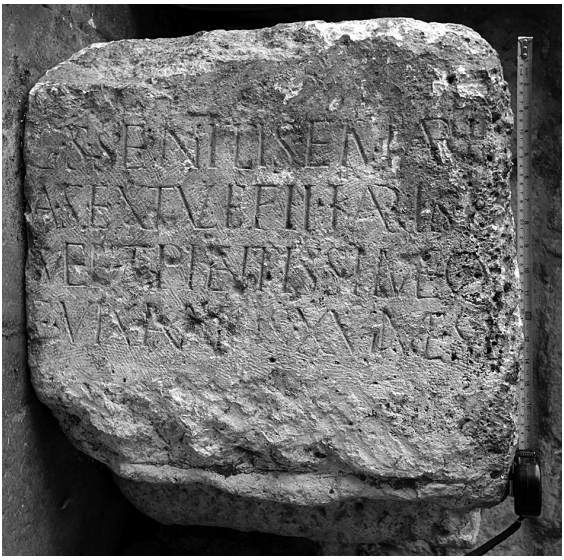

*Fig. 1 : Bloc vu de face, photo Alain Guerreau.*

*Fig. 2 : Détail, bord droit, photo Alain Guerreau.*

pour éviter une aspérité que le lapicide a laissé un espace entre les lettres E et T de ET.

Les points de séparation des mots, triangulaires et gravés à mi-hauteur des lettres, sont bien visibles à la ligne 1 entre le G et le S, entre le S et SENILIS, entre SENILIS et ET liés ; à la ligne 2, entre le A et SEX-TVLE, entre le L de FIL et KARISS ; à la ligne 4, entre le E et VIX. Mais la pierre est truffée aussi de petits trous parasites : ainsi, à la fin de la ligne 3, à l'intérieur de la lettre Q et, à la fin de la ligne 4, entre ME et S. À la ligne 1, même si seule subsiste la partie inférieure du G que la ponctuation désigne comme l'initiale du prénom, l'espace occupé par la lettre est bien identifié ; il ne manque probablement aucune lettre à gauche. En revanche, à droite, une lettre est perdue à la fin de la ligne 2 : la trace du deuxième S de KARISS[I]ME est visible mais non celle du I. La même lacune peut affecter aussi les autres lignes.

**Les noms**

Le père, citoyen romain, porte les *tria nomina* : un prénom, *G(aius)*, un gentilice abrégé à l'initiale, *S(---)*, et un *cognomen*, *Senilis*, banal en Gaule. Le *nomen*

*Fig. 3 : La position du bloc inscrit dans le dépôt lapidaire, photo Alain Guerreau.*

pouvait être gravé en entier ailleurs sur le monument funéraire, dont il reste seulement ce bloc. La même réduction du gentilice à l'initiale se rencontre dans une autre inscription funéraire de Mâcon, datée de 224 p. C. et élevée vraisemblablement par des *Q(uintii)* à leur père C. *Q(uintius) Scottus*[1].

Le nom de la fille, *Sextula*, est un diminutif en *-ula*. Or, en Gaule, des diminutifs féminins en *-iola* sont souvent dérivés d'un gentilice[2], soit celui de la mère[3], soit celui du père[4]. Au cas où le suffixe *-ula* aurait été utilisé de la même façon qu'ailleurs le suffixe *-iola* et où le nom de la fille aurait été dérivé du gentilice de son père, on pourrait envisager pour *Senilis* le *nomen* répandu *S(extius)*.

Du nom de la mère il subsiste le début MARI à la fin de la ligne 1 et la terminaison A, bien identifiée par la ponctuation, au début de la ligne 2. En

1 *CIL* XIII 2589 = *ILGL-Aedui* 9.

2 La comparaison avec les diminutifs féminins en *–iola* m'a été suggérée par Olli Salomies qui m'a fourni aussi les quelques exemples cités ci-après : je le remercie vivement.

3 *AE* 1976, 431, à Lyon : *Feridia Orbiola* est la fille d'*Orbia Ianuaria*.

4 D'où les noms de *Catia Catiola*, *CIL* XII 2192 ; *Connia Conniola*, *CIL* XII 2212 ; *Annia Annio[l]a*, *CIL* XIII 1396.

raison de l'état de la pierre à droite, on ne peut pas conclure que le nom complet était *Maria* ; une lettre pouvant être perdue après le I à la fin de la ligne 1, les noms féminins *Marila*[5] – la forme *Marilla* étant attestée chez les Éduens[6] – et *Marina*[7] sont possibles aussi et peut-être plus vraisemblables. Les parents et leur fille portent tous les trois des noms latins.

## Les épithètes

La diphtongue *AE*, terminaison des mots féminins au datif, est rendue ici selon la phonétique par *E* dans le nom de la défunte et les deux épithètes au superlatif qui le suivent : l'une, *karissima*, se réfère aux sentiments des parents envers leur enfant (l'amour = *caritas*), l'autre, *pientissima*, à l'expression de ceux de leur fille à leur égard (l'affection respectueuse = *pietas*). Sous leur forme adjectivée et au superlatif ils sont employés très fréquemment dans les inscriptions funéraires et quelquefois, quoique plus rarement, ensemble[8].

L'âge de la défunte est de quinze ans. Pour le nombre des mois le chiffre I semble probable mais la lecture de la lettre gravée sur la bordure n'est pas assurée.

La date reste imprécise : probablement II$^{e}$–III$^{e}$ siècle p. C.

*L'Année épigraphique, Paris*

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5 *CIL* XIII 1255, à Bourges : *Marila Domni fil(ia).*

6 *AE* 1993, 1195 = *ILGL-Aedui* 298, à Autun.

7 *AE* 2007, 940a, à Bourges.

8 Ainsi, par exemple, à Lyon : *CIL* XIII 1865 (= *ILS* 2124) ; 2291.

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# A MULTICULTURAL APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF THE CULT OF HERA IN POSEIDONIA/PAESTUM

Gianluca De Martino*

## Introduction

The site of Poseidonia/Paestum, with the vestiges of its imposing temples and the metopes of the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele preserved in the local museum, is a very well-known subject of research. The Sybarite sub-colony of Poseidonia presented many of the same cultic peculiarities and religious beliefs common to all the Achaean cities of Magna Graecia. These beliefs valorised the figure of Hera as the most venerated divinity of the Achaean *pantheon* in the Western colonies. Despite the Lucanian[1] take-over of Poseidonia around 420/410 BCE, the cult of Hera in Poseidonia continued and even thrived under the new masters of

* I wish to express my thanks to Professor Mika Kajava (University of Helsinki) for his precious comments and suggestions. Likewise, I am extremely thankful to the two anonymous referees for the very useful suggested corrections and improvements to the text. I nevertheless retain all the possible errors and unclarities contained in the text. This paper presents some of the issues and themes which are included and will be expanded in my doctoral thesis, which I am currently writing. The thesis is founded by the Finnish Cultural Foundation, to which is due my deepest gratitude for financially supporting the work. The board of the Museum of Paestum, which I would also like to thank, has kindly granted me the opportunity to research and photograph material and artefacts related to the cult of Hera in Paestum and surrounding sanctuaries. The results of the research at Paestum, and images of the material will be included and presented in the doctoral thesis.

[1] The term was used by Greek historiographers only beginning from the 4th century BCE. The Lucanians sprang from Oscan-speaking populations and became known as an *ethnos* only in the 4th century BCE. Even at the time of their maximum political strength, they were never a unitarian political entity, but rather a confederation of communities. Pontrandolfo 1982 is still a valuable source concerning the history and archaeology of the Lucanian people. See Isayev 2007; Battiloro 2017, 13–42, for more recent discussions concerning Lucanian ethnography.

the *polis*. The foundation of the Roman colony of Paestum in 273 BCE greatly reshaped the cultic composition of the city, but despite this, the cult of Hera/Juno also continued, although reduced in importance, in the Roman period.

The cult of Hera in Poseidonia has been the focus of intense scholarly research also by reason of the impressive number of votive gifts, mostly in the form of clay figurines dedicated to the goddess, retrieved from the various excavations performed in the area since the beginning of the 20th century. The research concerning the cult of the Poseidoniate Hera became the focus of enormous scholarly interest as a consequence of the discovery of the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele made by Paola Zancani Montuoro and Umberto Zanotti Bianco in 1934.[2]

For a long time, the cult of Hera in Paestum has been studied within the frame of Greek culture and its Achaean origin. Affected by the prestige of the supposed supremacy which Greek culture held over ancient native cultures in Western societies for the entire 20th century, research has often taken a Hellenocentric perspective on the subject. The Lucanians have been considered as mere recipient of the cult, almost as if passively accepting the religious belief of a 'superior' culture. As a result of the improved knowledge of ancient Lucanian culture, in the last couple of decades the scientific approach has begun paying attention to the aspects of continuity of the cult and of multicultural religious interaction. The purpose of this paper is to stress the importance of taking into consideration the Lucanian input to the preservation of the cult of Hera of Poseidonia and to discuss some of the features which Lucanian religious practices introduced into the cult, by analysing the archaeological evidence both in Poseidonia and its *chora*, and in the Lucanian inland territories. Future analyses of the Lucanian motifs added to the clay figurines portraying Hera will hopefully contribute to improving the knowledge of those features of Lucanian religion which were added to the cult by the Lucanian population. I am aware that such an analysis based solely on iconographical patterns would be not satisfactory, but fortunately the archaeological evidence covers a significant period of the history of Poseidonia/Paestum, demonstrating the changes during this time. In addition, the cultural contexts, such as the passage from the Greek to the Lucan-

[2] See Zancani Montuoro - Zanotti Bianco 1951–1954. See Ferrara 2017, 335–346, for the most recent work concerning recent excavations at the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele.

ian period will also be duly taken into consideration.[3] Furthermore, comparative study of the topographical and architectural features of the Greek sanctuaries of Hera in Poseidonia and of the Lucanian sanctuaries will improve the understanding of the elements common to the two cultures that facilitated the continuation of the cult among the Lucanians. The Lucanian appropriation of the cult of Hera, in turn, was a decisive factor in allowing its survival until the Roman Imperial period.

## The Achaean Hera of Greek Poseidonia

Perhaps the main feature which greatly facilitated the appropriation of the cult of Hera in Poseidonia by the Lucanians was the peculiar figure of this goddess as she was worshipped among the Achaeans of Magna Graecia. The cult of Hera was the main religious belief shared by the Western Achaean colonies.[4] The Achaean colonists who in the 8th century BCE left from the region of mainland Greece which was known by the 5th century BCE as Achaea, were drawing on earlier beliefs which originated in the Eastern Argolis Plain, the heartland and ancestral home of the Achaean people, before, according to Greek tradition, these people were forcibly driven to the shores of the Northern Peloponnese by the invading Dorians.

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[3] The issue of the risks of solely iconographical analyses of the use of the coroplastic votives in the deposits of the Greek sanctuaries of Southern Italy is well discussed, for instance, by Lippolis (2014, 55–93). Certainly, variables such as the activity of certain workshops and their chosen motifs have to be taken in consideration, together with the ritual, social and historical contexts of deposition. Nevertheless, the workshops also often responded to the needs and inputs given by their customers. This is true of the Locrian votive *pinakes* used as case study by Lippolis in the above-mentioned discussion of the use of coroplastic in the sanctuaries. As stated by Lippolis, the *pinakes* "mostrano di essere l'elemento più evidente del cambiamento, avvenuto consapevolmente all'interno di una specifica pratica rituale, in quanto prodotto commissionato a un artigianato che sembra attirato dall'occasione e che si impegna a rispondere a un'esigenza di differenziazione dei singoli oggetti, soprattutto con la creazione di apposite matrici, ma anche attraverso la combinazione di alcune di esse o l'applicazione di colore e di ritocchi posteriori allo stampo" (67).

[4] In this respect the Achaeans of Magna Graecia differed from their kin in continental Greece, since the cult of Hera was a minor phenomenon in that part of the Peloponnese which only in the 5th century BCE came to be known as Achaea. Only two sanctuaries of Hera were situated in Achaea, one at Patrai, one at Aigion (Osanna 1996, 303–312).

The Argive/Achaean Hera, who had been worshipped in the area of the Eastern Argolis Plain since the Bronze Age, was a divinity whose attributes encompassed a whole range of aspects.[5] Archaeological evidence and literary tradition portray her as a *potnia theron*, but also as a kourotrophic goddess, and as a patron of both human and floral fertility. She was also a warrior, and votive figurines represent her in military stance and driving charts as protector deity of the warriors and therefore of the order of society. As patron deity of the Achaeans and their heroes of myth, Hera was the goddess who defined Achaean identity. Rituals related to the fertility of land and of living beings were important features taken into consideration when constructing the extramural *Heraia* which followed the cult of the goddess as practised in the Eastern Argolis Plain.[6] The presence of watercourses for the performance of fertility rituals was an important feature in the topography of the *Heraia* in continental Greece, as well as in the Achaean Western colonies.[7]

As a representative of the Achaean colonies, Poseidonia also featured the Argive/Achaean version of the cult of Hera. In Poseidonia, as in the other Achaean cities of Magna Graecia, Hera had at least one urban and one extramural sanctuary. The main sanctuaries of the goddess in the territory of Poseidonia were the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele, circa 8 km. north of the city and the Temple of Hera (also known as the "Basilica") in the Southern Sanctuary within the city walls. This sort of reduplication of the cult of Hera points to the presence of different attributes and cultic practices in the urban and extramural sanctuaries. Certainly, the choice of the topographical planning of the extramural sanctuaries

[5] As attested by the evidence presented by linear B tablets, Hera was worshipped in the Eastern Argive Plain already during the Mycenaean period. See Bennett - Olivier 1973, 76; Chadwick - Ventris 1973, 126; O'Brien 1993, 114–115; Hall 1997, 105 and n.206. Hera might have been the multifunctional goddess who ruled over the Plain portrayed on votive gifts dating to the Bronze Age. This goddess of the Plain had a range of attributes similar to those of Hera in the Argive/Achaean cult. For a discussion on the iconography of the Mycenaean goddess see O'Brien 1993, 125–128; 153–155. Even if one would not support the identification of the goddess of the Plain with Hera, it must be admitted that certainly part of her attributes was transferred to the Argive/Achaean Hera in later times.

[6] O'Brien (1993, 113–166) discusses at length the rituals and the attributes of Hera in her cult in the Eastern Argolis Plain.

[7] All the extant major extramural *Heraia* of the most important Achaean Western colonies such as Kroton, Metapontum, and Poseidonia were located close to watercourses. The extramural *Heraion* of Sybaris has instead not been found yet.

was also a political statement of claiming the territory, by marking its frontier on the natural barriers constituted by rivers, swamps and sea waters.[8] Nevertheless, the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele was built from the beginning as a meeting point between the Greeks, the Etruscans and local Italic people living on the northern banks of the Sele river.[9] The presence of the extramural *Heraion*, together with the urban sanctuary, therefore also had other purposes, which perhaps have to be sought in the differentiation of cultic and ceremonial use of the structures.

In the Foce del Sele *Heraion*, the goddess was worshipped during the Greek period with her attributes of *potnia theron* and of patron divinity of the fertility of land and humans alike. At Foce del Sele, her function in relation to marriage focused on the aspect of fertility and the passage of young girls to marital age. These functions of the goddess are attested, for instance, by the iconography of the votive clay figurines retrieved at the sanctuary. One such typology, datable to the mid-6$^{th}$ century BCE, portrays the goddess as *kourotrophos* enthroned, holding a baby in the left arm, in a motif remarkably missing from the urban Southern Sanctuary.[10] The role of Hera as a divinity that protected in particular girls undergoing initiation rituals before entering marital age is demonstrated by a couple of complete votives and others preserved in fragmentary condition datable to the Archaic period. They portray young girls holding hands

[8] See Osanna 1999, 273–292. The presence on the metopes of the Heraion at Foce del Sele of motifs such as the feats of Hercules, the Centauromachy and the Silenomachy, and of the Achillean *epos*, are still largely considered to be symbolic representations which back up Greek claims to the territory by showing the victory of the greatest Greek heroes over the 'other' and the foreigner. The cycle, belonging to the first series of metopes of Foce del Sele, was designed for the first plan of the temple of Hera, which was never brought to completion. Some of the metopes are clearly in an unfinished state. The possibility that these metopes or part of them were ever on public display at Foce del Sele is a matter of great dispute among scholars. In this respect, it is not possible to determine if this mythological/political message was ever seen by the worshippers and the foreign visitors of the sanctuary, at least in its entirety. See G. Greco 2012, 181–184; 193–195; 233–236 with notes and bibliography, for a discussion of the metopes and the issues related to them.

[9] The presence of a landing place for boats upriver at Volta del Forno, signals how the frontier and the sanctuary were not impregnable last barriers of Hellenism, but they were from the beginning intended to commerce and interaction.

[10] The *kourotrophos* is a typology known from the sanctuaries of Argos and Perachora. G. Greco (1998, 45–61; 2012, 236–242) and Cipriani (2012, 54–55; 80–83) present a comprehensive description of the main features of the various typologies of votives from the areas of the main sanctuaries of Hera in Poseidonia.

together in a circle, in what appears to be a ritual dance.[11] The realm of Hera's prerogatives touched not only the sphere of human fertility, but also the fertility of land and animals. In the second half of the 6th century BCE Hera was represented in Poseidoniate votives sitting on a throne holding in her hand a figure of a horse.[12] Moreover, modern scientific research has demonstrated that an area of woods and cultivated land dedicated to the goddess was present at the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele. Scholars have also established that myrtle, a plant which was brought on site by human activity, grew in the cultivated area of the sanctuary. This suggests that the aspect of Hera as protector of vegetation was also worshipped at Foce del Sele.[13] The abundant vegetation of the area surrounding the sanctuary included oat and wheat, and willow trees and poplars grew at the banks of the river. The sanctuary was set amidst the swamps and the fertile plains surrounding the Sele river.

When one takes into consideration these elements, it becomes clear how the topographical choice for the construction of the sanctuary was not only dictated by the necessity of claiming the territory at the place of the natural barrier constituted by the river, but this selection must also have included the necessity of giving to the goddess a sanctuary which befitted her attributes of protectress of fertility. In addition, some rituals in the cult of the Argive/Achaean Hera might have included ablutions and the ritual washing of the cultic statue or of *xoana* representing the goddess.[14]

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[11] Similar votives were retrieved from other sanctuaries, such as Perachora and Tiryns (G. Greco 1998, 56–57 with notes and bibliography).

[12] The type with Hera holding a horse in her hand is remarkable since it is a peculiar Poseidoniate representation of Hera as *potnia theron*, missing from the other Achaean cities of Magna Graecia, although the votive representation of horses and knights is attested in the *Heraia* of Argos, Perachora, Tiryns and Samos (G. Greco 1998, 52–53, with notes and bibliography).

[13] Mariotti Lippi - Mori Secci 2010, 53–59; G. Greco 2012, 172. Often the *Heraia* were surrounded by a garden area dedicated to the goddess and an uncultivated area where animals put under the protection of the goddess grazed freely. The presence of such an area is attested, for instance, at Capo Colonna, where animals inhabited the *temenos* of the Krotoniate *Heraion* (Giangiulio 1989, 57).

[14] O' Brien (1993, 9–15; 54–62; 125; 167–169) discusses comprehensively about the association of the cult of Argive Hera with watercourses. O'Brien presents the example of Samos, where the statue of Hera was ritually washed during the celebration of the festival of the *Tonaia*. In addition, O'Brien discusses the association of Hera to several rivers, according to Argive mythology.

The ceramic evidence from Foce del Sele from the Greek period yielded different forms of unguentaria and vessels for perfumes, in addition to forms related to symposia. Other typologies of finds such as paddles, brooches, support for mirrors, rings and pins suggest that women already constituted the majority of the worshippers visiting the sanctuary in the Archaic period.[15]

In the Greek Archaic period in the urban Southern Sanctuary the warrior character of the archaic Hera found its expression in the clay figurines portraying the goddess as standing wearing a high *polos,* her right arm bent and pierced in order to hold possibly a spear. Hera was venerated as protector of young ephebes in the Argive tradition.[16] In addition, in the Southern Sanctuary the goddess was venerated as guarantor of lawful marriage, which was one of the founding bases of stability in society. Proof of this are the votive figurines portraying Hera and Zeus together in representation of the *hieros gamos*. Furthermore, one cannot help noticing that the presence of certain cults in the sanctuary area in the Greek period is connected to the overall poliadic cult of Hera. Such is the case with the cults of Zeus and Apollo.[17] Beginning from around 460 BCE, the regal nature of the figure of Hera was expressed by the typology of the goddess enthroned holding in her left hand a pomegranate, which was a re-elaboration of a Southern Italian and Sicilian type of enthroned goddess or, as suggested by Angela Pontrandolfo, the representation of the Argive Hera following the iconography

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[15] Very common were *pyxides*, *alabastra*, *aryballoi* and *lekythoi*, all forms related to the *mundus muliebris* and its rituals. Between the end of the 6th century BCE and the first half of the 5th century BCE at Foce del Sele were introduced forms of Attic ceramic such as craters, *dinoi, skyphoi* and *kylikes*. A comprehensive discussion of the vascular typologies and of objects related to the female world at Foce del Sele in the Greek period is found in Greco, G. 2012, 237–239.

[16] O'Brien (1993, 145–149, with notes and bibliography) discusses about the attributes of Hera as protector of youths in arms in the Argive tradition. In Argos young ephebes entering adult life competed in the *Aspis*, during which the young warriors, on horseback, had to hit with arrows a shield set in the ground. The winner of the competition was awarded with a shield dedicated to Hera. The competition was therefore also a rite of passage of the young ephebes to adulthood. It symbolised their entering the community of the *polis*, upon which the protection of Hera was set, as was the custom in the Argive/Achaean version of the cult of the goddess.

[17] Apollo was also a deity patron of young ephebes entering adulthood. A cult of Apollo Lykeios, associated to the cult of Hera through the protection of the ephebic youth in an urban sanctuary context was present at Metapontum. See Giangiulio 2002, 290. Zeus, with Apollo the other candidate for the attribution of the so-called Temple of Neptune, was obviously protector, together with the goddess, of lawful marriage.

of the goddess expressed in the canonical cultic statue made by Polycletus in Argos.[18] In view of these features, the presence in the Southern Sanctuary of the typology of clay figurines representing Hera holding a figure of a horse found also at Foce del Sele may signal the fact that in the urban sanctuary the cult concentrated on the impact that horse breeding had for the economy of the *polis* and therefore the stability of the community, while in the extramural sanctuary the cult focused on the aspect of the goddess as a *potnia theron*.[19]

As opposed to the situation at Foce del Sele, the pottery finds for the Greek period at the Southern Sanctuary are scant. Fragments of Attic pottery and vessels used in the symposium match the finds at Foce del Sele, but the larger amounts of ceramic ware generally related to female worship found at the extramural sanctuary are missing. This, together with the absence of the typology of *kourotrophos* figurines may indicate that the urban cult of Hera was not so much centred on the sphere of female worship as was at Foce del Sele. Therefore, it is probable that the urban cult of Hera focused on the protection of civic institutions, be these lawful marriage, economic stability, and the regeneration of the civic body symbolised by the passage of the young ephebes into the ranks of citizens. At Foce del Sele her function in relation to marriage was focused on the aspect of fertility and to the passage of young girls to marital age, while in the urban sanctuary it was the civic aspect of the stability of society and its institutions that constituted the ideological frame within which the aspect of Hera as protector of lawful marriage was worshipped. Poseidoniate Hera was therefore a divinity of transition, protecting all the cycles of the physical world and its stability.

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[18] Due to the genericity of the iconography of the enthroned goddess with the pomegranate, these figurines permitted the association of the portrayed divinity to different goddesses, such as Demeter, as is in the case with the specimen from Selinous contemporary with the oldest specimen found in Poseidonia. This latter was a fictile statue dated to 460 BCE found in a votive deposit in the urban Southern Sanctuary of Poseidonia (G. Greco 2012, 239 with note and bibliography). See Pontrandolfo 1998, 64–65, for her theory that the typology was derived from the canonical image of the goddess in Argos.

[19] Giovanna Greco (1998, 52–53) had suggested that all the figurines representing Hera with the horse symbolised the importance of horse breeding for the stability of the community. I agree that this might be the case for the urban Southern Sanctuary, but I suggest that the votives of Foce del Sele symbolised the aspect of Hera as patron of animal fertility within the wider frame of the cultic use of the extramural sanctuary.

## The Lucanian Period

By the time of the Lucanian take-over of Poseidonia in ca. 420/410 BCE, the Oscan-speaking Italic people inhabiting the area surrounding the *chora* of Poseidonia had been in contact with the cult of Hera for almost two centuries. The extramural sanctuaries offered in this respect an ideal place of contacts between cultures. At least some of these first immigrants underwent in time some sort of Hellenisation process, but the Lucanians also kept their own strong cultural elements, as attested by the painted tombs excavated at Poseidonia and dated from the end of the 5th century BCE to the beginning years of the 3rd century BCE. The tomb paintings feature iconographical and stylistic motifs common to all the Campanian communities which had been long in contact with the Greeks and the Etruscans.[20] The continuation of the cult of Hera in Lucanian Paestum was partially facilitated by these cultural contacts, and by the exposure to Greek culture and by the prestige of the cult in the area. At the same time, the Lucanians added to the cult of Hera their own themes, which originated from within the frame of their own cultural milieu.

I will now treat the possible Lucanian influences added to the cult of Hera as concerns architectural works, the iconography of the votive figurines dedicated to the goddess, and ritual practices. I will subsequently compare these influences to Lucanian religious customs, in order to discuss some aspects of the unfolding process which determined the preservation of the cult of Hera in Poseidonia in the Lucanian period.

The first area which underwent architectural modification in the Lucanian period was the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele. This might have been due to the fact that, as will be discussed later, the sanctuary was set in a topographical landscape which resembled Lucanian sacred contexts. On the other hand, the urban Southern Sanctuary, with its poliadic cult of Hera, was not the focus of architectural modifications in the first years of Lucanian presence. Perhaps in this case the Lucanians pursued continuity of the traditions of the *polis* in association with the Greek element. This was done partly because they had absorbed some of the customs of Greek culture, and partly in an attempt to solidify their rule by affirming their adherence to the traditions of the city. An indication of this is

[20] Pontrandolfo - Rouveret 1992 are still an invaluable source for an extensive discussion of the painted tombs of Poseidonia.

perhaps the fact that the first major architectural activity in the Southern Sanctuary is datable to the mid-4th century BCE, when the Lucanian predominance in the city was consolidated.

Perhaps the most known construction of the Lucanian period in the Lucanian *Paistom* is the so-called Square Building in the sanctuary at Foce del Sele. This peculiar construction has baffled the researchers since its discovery in the 1950s for its perfectly square form. The building programme of the structure was initiated at the end of the 5th century BCE. Retrieved in the interior of the structure, possibly abandoned after a fire in the 3rd century BCE, was the statue of Hera in Parian marble now in the museum of Paestum. The statue portrayed Hera enthroned holding a pomegranate and it is dated to a period between the end of the 5th century BCE and the beginning of the 4th century BCE. In addition, the excavations at the site have yielded numerous coins dating from a period spanning from the end of the 5th century BCE and the first decades of the 3rd century BCE, together with a significant amount of loom weights. These weights have been considered evidence that the structure was destined to a ceremony of ritual weaving of the *peplos* of Hera on the part of Lucanian girls.[21]

Although the urban Southern Sanctuary was not the focus of major building construction, archaeological evidence suggests that the cult of Hera also thrived there during the Lucanian period. A proof of this are the bottoms of cups with the inscribed name of the goddess or its acronym from the beginning of the 4th century BCE.[22]

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[21] See G. Greco 2003, 103–122 and 2012, 216; Ferrara - Meo 2017, 112–125. In discussing the issue of adherence to and continuity of Greek practices among the Lucanians and Samnites, Mele (2003, 37–58) remarked how these populations reshaped their customs on the Greek ones, especially concerning rituals of initiation. Within this frame, the weaving in the Square Building of the dress for the goddess in preparation for the *peplophoria* would thus represent the adherence of the Lucanian elite to the initiation rituals for young girls at marital age.

[22] The sherds were retrieved during the excavations performed by Sestrieri in the 1950s in three large pits situated at the SE side of the enneastyle known as the "Basilica" now attributed to Hera. The specimens present the full name of the goddess (Ἥρα) or its abbreviation. The latter can be expressed as HHH or Ἥρ. Some abbreviated or full name specimens present the characters combined into one monogram. The inscription was always curved into the inner surface of the bottom of the cup. One sherd with the full name of the goddess present painted characters. See Cipriani 2012, 48; 55; 57; Biraschi 2012, 301, this latter with a comprehensive bibliography of the works concerning the sherds.

After the construction of the Square Building a hiatus in building activity occurred at Foce del Sele. Construction works resumed at the extramural sanctuary and began in the urban area beginning from the mid-4th century BCE, when Lucanian control over the city was secured. The vitality of the Lucanian *Paistom* is reflected by the large construction activity initiated in all the areas of the excavated part of the city. In the Southern Sanctuary, the centre of the urban cult of Hera, among other works completed in the Lucanian period, a quadrangular structure was built, which featured basins, wells and channels – the so-called "*orologio ad acqua*". The unusual structure, an anomaly in Greek architectural practices, was perhaps a dining hall or alternatively it was dedicated to the ritual washing of the worshippers.[23] A large stoa was built in the northern sector of the Southern Sanctuary, perhaps to accommodate an increasing number of worshippers. A structure destined to the same use was also built at Foce del Sele. Next to this latter building was erected another rectangular structure, which was identified with a dining area for common ritual meals, due to the presence of a large number of animal bones retrieved from its excavation.[24] In the yard between the two structures was also built a small altar in whose vicinities a votive pit was found.[25] The presence of this latter *bothros* and another one, located at the SW side of the temple, both filled with a significant number of animal bones and traces of burned soil along with ceramic ware and small amounts of coroplastic material, documents the performance of chthonic rituals at Foce del Sele after the arrival of the Lucanians. These chthonic features might indicate either a more marked chthonic nature attributed by the Lucanians to Hera, or the presence of the cult of a chthonic divinity within the sanctuary during the Lucanian period.[26] Other material evidence suggesting the importance of chthonic cults during the Lucanian period is the appearance of that peculiar class of votive figurines used as *thymiateria* known as "*donne-fiore*". These figurines con-

[23] Cipriani 2012, 63–66, with notes and bibliography.

[24] Zancani - Zanotti Bianco 1937, 296–297; G. Greco 2012, 220.

[25] Zancani - Zanotti Bianco 1937, 294; G. Greco 2012, 220.

[26] The animal bones buried in the *bothroi* include, among other things, the bones of a dog and a cockerel, animals which were associated with chthonic divinities such as Hecate and Persephone respectively. See Dewailly 1997, 201–210; Ferrara 2008, 77–111; Ferrara 2009, for a discussion concerning the *bothroi* of Foce del Sele and their meaning for the cultic developments at the sanctuary during the Lucanian period.

sisted of busts of women which functioned as the base for a flower attached to their head, which could be used as incense burner. This class of figurine votives was spread widely in the Mediterranean area during the 4th century BCE, but it presents different variations and forms in its Paestan version. In the context of Lucanian Paestum, the "*donna-fiore*" have been associated with the increased importance of chthonic cults during the Lucanian period.[27] Rituals involving fire, incense burning, and fumigation played an important feature in Lucanian religious practices.[28]

The iconographic typologies of the clay figurines signal the changes in the cult of Hera during the Lucanian period. The typology of Hera enthroned with Zeus in representation of the *hieros gamos* was still popular in the urban sanctuary, but at the same time, beginning from the end of the 5th century BCE, began the production of a typology of figurines portraying Hera enthroned holding a patera in her right hand and in her left hand a basket of fruit. This type was produced in Poseidonia beginning from the last decades of the 5th century BCE, and it became known as the Paestan Hera-type. This typology was a reshaping of the canonical figure of Hera enthroned holding the pomegranate and it became established in the Lucanian period, a fact which might signal some changes in the ritual nature of the cult following the tastes of a mutating society.[29] The popularity of this type lay probably in the fact that its regal but neutral aspect could represent any kind of female goddess. The generic iconographic features of the Paestan Hera contributed to the success of its use in Paestum, not only in the sanctuaries of Hera, and its spreading in Lucanian cultic contexts, in places

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[27] For a recent and comprehensive discussion concerning the "*donne-fiore*", not only from Paestum, but in the whole Mediterranean basin, see Cantone 2016. The typology was associated for a long time with the representation of Hera *Antheia*, protectress of vegetation, but it is now widely and plausibly considered as an evidence of the popularity of chthonic cults in Paestum during the Lucanian period. See G. Greco 2012, 240–241.

[28] See Battiloro 2017, 112.

[29] An example of how workshops were ready to adjust to the tastes and cultic needs of their customers comes from Fratte, an Etrusco-Campanian settlement located in the suburbs of the modern city of Salerno, about 35 km. north of Paestum. There, during the 4th century BCE, the Paestan Hera-type figurines portrayed the divine figure enthroned holding a piglet, and not a basket of fruit. The type with the piglet is absent from Paestum, although it is clearly derived from the original and was destined for the sanctuary of a local chthonic cult, possibly that of Demeter/Kore. See G. Greco 1990, 106–107.

where direct Greek presence is not attested. [30]

Important variations in the votive figurines occurred from the mid-4th century BCE onwards in the extramural sanctuaries, concurrently with the beginning of extensive construction activity both in the sanctuaries of the urban area and in the *chora*. New typologies introduced in the Lucanian period suggest a shifting of the cult of Hera more towards the focus on childbirth and fertility than was before.[31] In addition, in the 4th century BCE the custom began of dedicating clay figurines probably representing the dedicands themselves, with different headdresses and clothing.[32]

Ceramic finds suggest that generally beginning from the 4th century BCE both in the urban area of Poseidonia and in the extramural sanctuaries, the ware types related to cooking and dining predominated over all other typologies. This

[30] Paestan Hera-type figurines were found at the Lucanian sites of Ruoti, Colla di Rivello, Torre di Satriano. Not so numerous specimens of this particular type have been retrieved from sanctuaries of the Lucanian territories, though their presence testifies to the wide geographical spreading of the Paestan Hera-type and of the genericity of its iconographical traits. On the presence of the Pestan Hera-type in Lucania, see Battiloro 2017, 87. Other specimens of Paestan Hera-type were found in Roccagloriosa (Gualtieri - Fracchia 1990, 114–115), and at the Hirpinian sanctuary of Mephitis in the Ansanto Valley (Bottini *et al*. 1976, 400–403). The generic appearance of the type was instead a major factor in the wide spreading of the type in the sanctuaries of Poseidonia and its *chora*. The Paestan Hera could thus represent other female divinities, such as Demeter and Aphrodite. One of the best documented examples of this interchangeability of the Paestan Hera in representing different female goddesses is attested at the sanctuary of Santa Venera, attributed to Aphrodite and situated outside the S side of the city walls, where the type constitutes roughly 85% of the total amount of votive figurines retrieved at the sanctuary from the 5th century BCE until the end of the third quarter of the 4th century BCE, a total of 261 figurines (Ammerman 2002, 108).

[31] A new type of figurines, portraying a nude female figure crouching and leaping forward and representing of assisting childbirth appeared in addition to the Paestan Hera. The crouching woman-type is identified with Hera in her function of *Eileithyia* attested also in the Argive context. In the same period at Foce del Sele a new typology of enthroned Hera *kourotrophos* appeared, a derivation of the Hera Paestan-type (G. Greco 1998, 49 and 2012, 240). The same type is present in other contexts than at the sanctuaries of Hera. Such is the case with the sanctuary of Santa Venera dedicated to Aphrodite, where the use of the figurines corresponded to the Lucanian period. According to R. M. Ammerman (2002, 130), although the number of specimens is not large, "the protective nurturing aspect of the *kourotrophos* may have been either a characteristic newly attributed by the Lucanians to female deities already worshipped by the Greek population or a pre-existing trait that perhaps only received visual expression as a response to Lucanian influence".

[32] See G. Greco 2012, 240.

change in the use of ceramic types is evident in all the sanctuaries, including those not dedicated to the cult of Hera, especially from the beginning of the mid-4th century BCE.[33]

In view of the above-discussed evidence, it is clear how during the Lucanian period the popularity of the cult of Hera continued. The numerous votive finds, the major construction activities both in the urban Southern Sanctuary and at Foce del Sele in order to accommodate more worshippers, are all indications of such a trend. In addition, the institution of common ritual meal, although this was a practice performed also by the Greeks, reached significant importance with the arrival of the Lucanians. These elements, together with the changes in votive typologies, are indications that the cult was also practised among the Lucanian population of the city. Likewise, the presence of these new features attests that the Lucanians did not only absorb the cult, they also reshaped it, and that Lucanian features increased from the mid-4$^{th}$ century BCE, when probably the Lucanian element became numerically predominant in the anthropic context of Poseidonia. I believe that this process is better grasped if one researches the practices and religious customs of the Lucanians.

Over the past decades, the understanding of Lucanian religion and Lucanian cultic practices has increased, albeit much is still to be done in this direction. Examining the cases of known Lucanian sanctuaries, it seems that these resembled the extramural *Heraia* for what regards topographical settings. They were usually set outside the civilian settlements, in the proximity of watercourses such as springs and rivers. The sanctuary of Mephitis in the Ansanto Valley was situated near sulphuric water. They were all somehow placed in the vicinity of major connection routes.[34]

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[33] Bianca Ferrara (2012, 247–254) wrote a comprehensive description of the typologies of vases and ceramic ware and their possible indications in connection to cultic activities in Poseidonia during the Lucanian period. The increase is detected in the city of Paestum, but also in the extramural sanctuaries dedicated to other divinities than Hera. Ferrara presents the examples of the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele, of the urban area, of the sanctuary at the Camping Site Apollo (probably dedicated to Isis), of the sanctuary of Fonte di Roccadaspide (possibly dedicated to Hera), of the sanctuary of Capodifiume (probably dedicated to Kore), and of the sanctuary of San Nicola di Albanella (possibly dedicated to Demeter). I agree with Ferrara that the increasing use of dining ware and of the forms used for communal dining are the result of Lucanian influence and of Lucanian religious rituals possibly related to the worshipping of divinities with a strong chthonic connotation.

[34] Horsnæs (2002, 205) and (Battiloro 2017, 131–133) present an analysis of the main topographical

The monumental phase of the Lucanian sanctuaries began from the mid-4th century BCE, significantly when the major construction works in the sanctuaries of Poseidonia and its *chora* began as well.[35] An important architectural feature was often the presence of buildings or areas designated for the consumption of common meals.[36] In view of this latter information, it is perhaps not a surprise that, as discussed above, the use of cooking and dining ware at Poseidonia in sanctuary contexts incremented significantly during the Lucanian period.

Once one has taken into consideration the fact that indeed the Lucanians added their own customs into the cult of Hera of Poseidonia, perhaps also the archaeological evidence related to the cult could be reconsidered by examining the evidence from Lucanian sanctuaries. One focus of such a reconsideration could be the so-called Square Building. Structures of this shape are a frequent feature in Lucanian sanctuaries. In several known cases, this type of building had the function of housing the cult statue. It is significant that the cult statue of Hera retrieved at Foce del Sele was found in the Square Building.[37] According to E. Greco, the structure was a Lucanian *oikos-pyrgos*-type building, a cultic place representing the household activities and the realm of the female world.[38]

features of Lucanian sanctuaries.

[35] Much has still to be grasped concerning the patterns behind the choice of the topographical setting of Lucanian sanctuaries. Battiloro (2017, 44) notes that besides small votive deposits, cultic places subject of monumental construction in the 4th century BCE were not in use in the Archaic period. Battiloro - Osanna (2012, 19–20) suggested that during the Archaic period much of the cultic activities were performed in the domestic areas of the elite, while the emergence of many extramural sanctuaries was contemporary with the consolidation of the concept of Lucanian *ethnos* during the 4th century BCE. The lack of data for extramural sanctuaries in the Archaic Age might be due to the still not extensive state of excavations and surveys of Lucanian inland. As an example of this, Battiloro (2017, 45) presents the examples of the sanctuaries of Timmari and Garaguso, which were close to the territories of Metapontum and Tarentum and were in use in the Archaic period. The sanctuaries were lacking monumental structures but resembled their counterparts of the 4th century BCE in their topographical settings, since they were located outside the settlement areas. The first was situated near the course of the river Bradanus, while the latter was located in an area characterised by caves and water springs, and by the streams of the Salandrella and Cavone rivers.

[36] See Horsnæs 2002, 205; Battiloro 2017, 104–111.

[37] Hornæs (2002, 99) presents a list of square buildings similar to the one situated at Foce del Sele. Masseria (2000, 241), Osanna (2005, 431), discuss the use of these square buildings as a house for the cult statue. See Battiloro (2017, 54–64), for a comprehensive discussion of the square buildings in Lucanian sanctuaries.

[38] Concurrently, Greco convincingly presented the similarities, albeit with some differentiation

Therefore, also the purpose of the material excavated in Poseidonia in contexts of buildings of possible Lucanian origin should be reconsidered. One such case are the hundreds of loom weights found in the Square Building. The function of these weights has been connected to the possible use for weaving the *peplos* of Hera for the *peplophoria*.[39] Nevertheless, the practice of dedicating loom weights as votives was a known feature in Lucanian religion and these items were found in several sites, therefore the hypothesis of their use as weaving instruments for the goddess' *peplos* can be plausibly challenged.[40] These latter considerations constitute a warning against mechanically applying a traditionally Greek frame to the material finds of the Lucanian period, not only in the Lucanian territories, but also in the formerly Greek-held Paestum. In view of these information, the whole material could be reassessed taking more into consideration the features introduced by the Lucanians.

Once one rejects the possibility that the Lucanians appropriated the cult of Hera of Poseidonia only as a result of Hellenisation, then she or he could search within the frame of Lucanian religion for the possible points of contact which facilitated this process. In this respect, it is possible to evince that the figure of the Argive/Achaean Hera of Poseidonia had important similarities with Mephitis, the main female divinity worshipped among the Oscan-Sabellians, Campanians and Lucanians.[41] Although it is not possible, at the moment, to determine a direct relationship between the two goddesses, it is worth noting

within the different classes, of the finds of the Lucanian period deposit of the Square Building with the finds from the *oikos-pyrgos* construction of the Lucanian sanctuary of Satriano, ca. 100 km. E inland from Paestum. See E. Greco 1996, 263–282.

[39] See above, p. 26 and n. 21.

[40] For a list of sites where loom weights were found as votives see Horsnæs 2002, 99; Battiloro 2017, 102 and n.74.

[41] Roman authors and commentaries describe Mephitis as the divinity of the sulphuric odours of volcanic waters emanating from the depth of the earth. See Lejeune 1990, 44–50, with notes and bibliography, for a commentary concerning the occurrence of the name of Mephitis in inscriptions and literary texts. This interpretation was probably influenced by the fact that the most famous sanctuary of Mephitis, situated in the Ansanto Valley, in inland Hirpinia, was located near sulphuric waters. As pointed out by Poccetti (2008, 162–163), no sulphuric waters are present in the vicinity of the major Lucanian sanctuary of Mephitis in Rossano di Vaglio, about 110 km. to the NE of Poseidonia, nor in other cult places dedicated to the goddess, so that it can be inferred that the nature of this deity had other attributes than those portrayed in Roman texts.

that the two shared similar functions, and that perhaps the study of the figure of Mephitis enables one to understand some of the Lucanian religious motifs also present in the cults of Lucanian Paestum. The understanding of the figure of Mephitis relies on the epigraphic and archaeological evidence, on the analysis of the topographical features of the sanctuaries of the goddess, and on her associations with other divinities. The most accepted etymological interpretation of the name of the goddess describes her as a divinity of transition between one stage of life and another, therefore protecting all the spheres of human and natural existence, with a strong chthonic connotation.[42]

In addition, albeit one should avoid making overly mechanic associations, it is known from different sources that Mephitis had a strong connection with the Roman Juno.[43] Furthermore, being a deity, whose pertinences encompassed a wide range of attributes, she was associated with a large number of divinities. Except for the aniconic 6th century BCE *xoana* found at the sanctuary of the Ansanto Valley, Mephitis was represented iconographically only after contacts with the Greeks had occurred. The neutral appearance of votive clay figurines portraying Greek goddesses, such as the Paestan Hera, clearly befitted a divinity with a large range of attributes. Therefore, Mephitis was represented interchangeably, according the place concerned, as Hera, Aphrodite, Athena, and Demeter, because all of them contained various features proper to her character.[44] In later periods, Mephitis was associated by different sources with Roman Juno. As attested by the epigraphic material from the sanctuary of Rossano di Vaglio, one of Mephitis' epithets was *Kaporoinna*, who can be associated to *Juno Caprotina*, an epithet of Juno as protector of fertility, childbirth, and the agrarian world.[45] In the sanctuary of Rossano di Vaglio, Mephitis was also venerated as *Domina Jovia*, an obvious assimilation to Juno as wife of Jupiter.[46]

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[42] The term could have been originated from the Indo-European root **medhyo*, which would correspond to the Oscan *mefiú* and the Latin *medius*. (Battiloro 2017, 136–137 with notes and bibliography).

[43] According to Servius, *ad Aen*., VII 84, Mephitis was associated to Juno, Venus, Artemis, and she was a companion of Leucothea.

[44] I agree in this respect with Horsnæs (2002, 103) and Battiloro (2017, 143).

[45] See *RV-06* in Lejeune 1990, 16. For a discussion of the inscription, see Lejeune 1990, 54; Poccetti 2008, 159; Battiloro 2017, 138 with notes and bibliography.

[46] See *RV-18* in Lejeune 1990, 16. For a discussion of the inscription, see Calisti 2005, 100; Bat-

The shrines of Mephitis were extramural and were placed in the vicinity of watercourses. In addition, as befitted a divinity of fertility, the sanctuaries possibly featured a sacred wood dedicated to the goddess.[47] The similarity with the garden and wood areas of Hera at Foce del Sele and at Capo Colonna is an evident proof of the association of religious semantic content which the Lucanians encountered when they came in contact with the cult of Hera at Poseidonia. The presence of votive clay figurines portraying goddesses as *koutotrophos*, in the Lucanian sanctuaries of Mephitis and of other unidentified divinities demonstrates the importance of the kourotrophic aspect in Lucanian religion. The increase of such aspect at the expense of other features of the cult of Hera in Poseidonia in the Lucanian period is an indication of the motifs and representational means introduced by the Lucanians.[48]

## Conclusions

Hera was the shared religious and ethnic symbol of the Achaeans of Magna Graecia. Her attributes encompassed a wide range of aspects of life. She was the divinity who granted fertility to nature and humans. She protected the stability of the community through the patronage of social institutions such as lawful marriage. She was a transitional goddess, accompanying the cycles of nature and of humans through the different stages of their life. Finally, she was the divinity linking the Achaeans of Magna Graecia to the ancient cult of their ancestral homeland, in the Eastern Argolis Plain.

Paradoxally, the vitality of the cult of this goddess that so defined Achaean identity was preserved in Poseidonia by a non-Greek, non-Achaean people, the Lucanians, who became the masters of the city beginning from the last decade of the 5th century BCE. The reasons behind the absorption of the

tiloro 2017, 139.

47 Such a wood was present at least in the sacred area on the Esquiline were Mephitis had a *lucus* together with Juno Lucina and Venus Libitina. This is also yet another indication of the assimilation of Mephitis with Juno and childbirth (Lejeune 1990, 45; Poccetti 2008, 160–161; Battiloro 2010, 145–146 with notes and bibliography). Poccetti (2008, 150–151) suggests that a similar sacred wood might have been present at the sanctuary at Rossano di Vaglio.

48 A standing *kourotrophos* type is attested for instance at the sanctuary of Mephitis at Rossano di Vaglio (Battiloro 2017, 232).

cult by the Lucanians lay probably in the multifunctional nature of the Hera of Poseidonia.

The importance of studying Lucanian religious practices lies in the fact that the information available on the subject also enriches the knowledge of the cult of Hera in the Lucanian *Paistom*. This information suggests that the appropriation of the cult of Hera among the Lucanians did not occur merely through a process of Hellenisation of the Lucanian elements. Such a multicultural approach to the subject could in turn enlarge the knowledge concerning the dynamics of the cult of Hera in the Lucanian period in regard to topography of cult places, to the iconography of the goddess as portrayed on the clay votive figurines, and to ritual aspects.

In view of the above discussed information, although it is still not possible to determine how much the Lucanians altered the number of divinities worshipped at Poseidonia or if, as it is still maintained, the religious *pantheon* of the city remained unaltered, certainly they did not refrain from undertaking construction enterprises in the sanctuaries. It is remarkable that major construction works in the sanctuaries of the urban area and at the *Heraion* at Foce del Sele occurred in mid-4$^{th}$ century BCE, that is, concurrently with the beginning of the use of, or monumental phase of, many other Lucanian sanctuaries in the inland areas. This, if nothing else, is an indication that the works at Poseidonia followed an input common to many other sites of the Lucanian territory. Furthermore, comparison with the architectural plans of similar structures in other Lucanian sites suggests that such structures which have puzzled the scholars at Poseidonia, such as the Square Building and the channelling system of the so-called *orologio ad acqua* should be analysed also taking into consideration such similarities from Lucanian examples.

In addition, the Lucanians probably were the cause of the increase in Poseidonia of such religious practices as the ritual common meal and chthonic rituals. This is suggested by the increased amount of cooking and dining ware in the finds from the sanctuaries of Poseidonia, as well by the construction of buildings destined to the partaking in common ritual meals. This ritual was often probably related to the chthonic rituals attested by the *bothroi* at Foce del Sele.

Finally, the Lucanians perhaps found a religious semantic association of Hera with Mephitis, the main female divinity of their *pantheon*. As Hera, Mephitis too was a goddess of transition, protecting all the spheres of life, and

all cycles of nature. She was strongly associated to childbirth and fertility. As a goddess of earth, she presided over all the cycles of life, particularly childbearing and she had marked chthonic aspects. If one takes into consideration that the nature of Mephitis was one of the mirrors of Lucanian culture and religious beliefs, one could grasp themes which were brought by the Lucanians to the cults of Poseidonia. In this manner, perhaps it can be determined that in the Lucanian period the Poseidoniate figurines of *kourotrophos* and *Eileithyia* signalled the increased importance of the kourotrophic aspect of divinity, or that chthonic aspects assumed a more important role in all the sanctuaries of Lucanian Paestum and its surrounding territories. The study of the Lucanian absorption of the cult of Hera valorises the dynamicity of an area where different cultures had interacted since the beginning of the foundation of Poseidonia. After the Lucanian took over the city, the cult of Hera received features peculiar to the Lucanian custom, which permitted to the cult to thrive also in the Lucanian period, when the Greek anthropic element in the *chora* of Poseidonia diminished. The Lucanians, conversely, through contact with the Greeks, received the means of visually representing their deities by exploiting the iconography of the Greek goddesses portrayed on the votive figurines, one of which was the Paestan Hera. Also, the concept of monumentalising the cultic areas was grasped by the Lucanians after contact with the Greeks, but they added to it architectural features, such as the Square Building and structures furnished with complex water channelling systems destined for ablution and lustration.

Moreover, this comparative study of the religious result of the interaction of Greek elements with non-Greek cultures could contribute to an understanding of the religious dynamics of these areas of modern Campania in Antiquity, also in connection with other cults. Such a study could offer a more comprehensive picture of the cults and religious interaction of this extremely vital territory, where in many areas mutual cultic influences produced multicultural religious practices, before Roman might began reshaping the region.

*University of Helsinki*

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# THE ANTONINE PLAGUE REVISITED

R. P. Duncan-Jones*

## 1. Introduction

The Roman world was no stranger to lethal epidemic. Systematic records over long periods suggest a significant disease outbreak roughly every 10 to 20 years.[1] But the Antonine plague stood out for its force and virulence.[2] Nevertheless, Gilliam's minimising account in 1961 rapidly became a standard view.[3] But his interpretation no longer seems to be generally accepted.[4] The writer

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[1] Paine - Storey (2012, 183) from the annalistic tradition for the years 490–292 and 212–165 BCE (also Duncan-Jones 1996, 111). An average of one epidemic outbreak every 11.6 years has been estimated for the period 541–750 CE (Stathakopoulos 2007, 105).

[2] R. P. Duncan-Jones "The Impact of the Antonine Plague" *JRA* 9:1996, 108–36, called **IAP** below. The evidence for the later Cyprianic plague (Harper 2015) is also plentiful, but depends partly on contemporary Christian sources which happen to be rare in the Antonine period

[3] Gilliam 1961.

[4] See for example Lo Cascio 2012a, 7–9 and *passim*; Liebeschuetz 2001, 397; Papi 2004, 61; Jongman 2006, 243; Sallares 2007, 37; Rathbone 2007, 700; Giardina 2007, 757; Malanima 2013, 27–8; Temin 2013, 84–5; Mattern 2013, 198–9; Harris 2016, 63, n.330; Harper 2017, 98–115; (in contrast to Bruun 2007 and 2012; cf. Elliot 2016). Gilliam (1961, 241) conceded that "there was a great and destructive epidemic under Marcus Aurelius". But he doubted "whether this plague contributed significantly to depopulation" (*ibid.* 251), and he set the death-rate too low to have any noticeable effect; see IAP, 116, n.88; Bray 1996, 15. Gilliam emphasised Dio's reference to the plague of 189 as the biggest he had known (*ibid.* 231); but Dio was too young to have known the great plague of the 160's except as a very small child (Millar 1963, 13, n.4). Gilliam (*ibid.* 248) also suggested that had Galen lived under Augustus, Nero or Titus, we would deduce another great plague, and the Antonine

took a more positive view in 1996, and after twenty years, that assessment can be updated and extended.[5]

In the late 170's a senator described the current plague as "that pestilence so great that it could not be cured by any medicine".[6] The plague was seen as one of the hallmarks of Marcus's reign.[7] When it first struck, Galen, the one available medical observer, soon abandoned Rome, where the disease killed almost all his slaves.[8] He also witnessed the return of plague in 168 which forced the two Emperors out of Aquileia, one of them dying suspiciously soon on the journey home.[9] The historian Dio witnessed one of the later outbreaks in 189, which he says killed 2,000 people per day (n.16 below). And even two centuries later, the leading historian Ammianus Marcellinus singled out the Antonine plague as an event which "after generating the virulence of incurable disease (under Marcus and Verus), polluted everything with contagion and death, from the frontiers of Persia all the way to the Rhine and to Gaul."[10]

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event would shrink in importance. But the Antonine dossier would remain sizeable even without Galen, see IAP, 118–120, whereas the earlier outbreaks are not widely corroborated, IAP, 111 and n.29.

[5] IAP examined the written evidence, together with the Roman plague tradition as a whole, and assembled proxy data. Many examples from the earlier paper are included here for the reader's convenience, usually without repeating references in detail.

[6] In a verbatim account of a senatorial debate: *CIL* II 6278 = *ILS* 5163, line 1; Duncan-Jones 2016, 74 (not in Gilliam 1961).

[7] Hist. Aug. *M. Ant.* 28,4 records his death-bed saying "Why weep for me rather than for the plague and those whom it killed?" For this source, see n.51 below.

[8] For his slaves, see Galen, *Avoiding distress*, in Nutton 2014, 77–9 (not in the Kuhn edition of Galen). Nutton suggests that the slave deaths took place in one of the plague outbreaks in the 170's or 180's (*ibid.* 78, n.6). But Teuchras, Galen's Pergamum friend living in Rome, died in the first outbreak (*ibid.* 88–9).

[9] IAP 118 and n.104; 109 and n.99. The more explicit tradition depicts a fatal seizure, 'apoplexin', while Verus was in the carriage with his brother setting out from Concordia, Eutr. 8,10; "between Concordia and Altinum", Hier. 205 Helm; *Epit.de Caes.* 16,5; Oros. 7.15.3. Hist. Aug. *Verus* 9,11 places his death in Altinum itself, "after three days without speaking". Altinum, the substantial predecessor of Venice, was two or three stages from Aquileia on the via Annia. Galen states that Verus died on the journey back to Rome (*de libr.propr*., Moraux 1985, 106). An alternative tradition attributes Verus's death to the normal Imperial hazard of poisoning, Dio 71,3,1; Hist. Aug. *M. Ant.* 15,5–6; Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 16.7.

[10] 23.6.24; IAP, 120.

## 2. Chronicle of Events[11]

| | |
|---|---|
| 165 | Plague in the east at Nisibis and Smyrna |
| 165/6 | Plague brought back to Rome by army returning from the eastern campaign |
| 166– | Egypt: short-term land-leases disappear for a number of years, together with leases of large land-units[12] |
| 166 | Galen leaves Rome for Pergamum |
| 167 | Flight closes a funerary college in Dacian mining district, ending documentation there[13] |
| 167/9 | Annihilating losses due to flight or plague at towns in the Egyptian Delta |
| 168 | Plague in Rome and many provinces (Jerome) |
| 168/9 | Plague attacks the army at Aquileia, and the Emperors leave for Rome |
| 168/9 | Plague losses at Thmouis in Egyptian Delta by this date |
| 172 | Annihilating plague losses in the army (Jerome) |
| 174 | Traders in Puteoli appeal to Tyre for help, complaining of reduced numbers |
| 174/5 | Because of depleted numbers, Marcus Aurelius abandons the requirement for three generations of free descent in the Areopagus at Athens.[14] |
| 179/80 | Winter deaths at Soknopaiou Nesos in Egypt |
| 182 | Four members of the same family die of plague at Bedaium (*CIL* III 5567) |
| 184 | A Mithraic college at Virunum in Noricum meets 'mortalitatis causa'[15] |
| 189 | At Rome, the worst plague outbreak known to Dio.[16] |
| 190–2 | Mortality peaks in Lydian tombstones (5.1 below) |

[11] For most references in this section, see IAP, 116–7.

[12] See Section 4.1.

[13] The dated wax tablets in the mine galleries of Rosia Montana come to an end in 167 (Wilson 2012, 134 and 152; Russu 1975; Hirt 2010, 41–44, 192–6).

[14] IAP, 134. Marcus's letter also mentions that "many other cities had made claims for relief".

[15] After 5 out of 34 members had died, a meeting was held in June 184, apparently to mark the temple restoration completed the previous year, *ibid.*, 117 n.98, with Gordon 1996, 424–6.

[16] Dio 72,14, 3–4 but the original outbreaks took place in Dio's early childhood, n.4 above. In Herodian's account (1.12.1–2) the 189 occurrence strikes Italy as well, while in Dio it affects almost the whole Empire (he also refers to a scare about criminals infecting people with poisoned needles).

## 3. Diagnosis and Parallels

### 3.1. *Diagnosis*

Current research continues to identify the Antonine plague as smallpox.[17] This disease may confer some immunity on survivors, but its impact on a virgin population can be catastrophic.[18] A mean fatality-rate of 25–30% is sometimes suggested.[19] But inevitably there is regional variation.[20] Scott and Duncan report that "in individuals not protected by vaccination, the case fatality rate could be 15–25% overall, rising to 40–50% in the very young and the very old."[21] Children were particularly vulnerable: thus in Chester in 1774, 1385 cases of smallpox resulted in 202 deaths, 180 of them children.[22]

### 3.2. *Seasonality*

Cold winters and low rainfall were specially favourable to smallpox. This is shown by a detailed study of London deaths in 1659–1835.[23] In the plague at Aquileia in 168/9 "most of us died, not merely from the plague, but because the epidemic was happening in the depths of winter" (Galen).[24] And winter brought a heavy death toll in January and February 179 at Soknopaiou Nesos in Egypt (section 4.2).

### 3.3. *Parallels*

Epidemic outbreaks in China coincided quite closely with the chronology of the Antonine plague, probably pointing to a common origin.[25]

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[17] For convenience here called 'the Antonine plague'. See Zelener 2012; Harper 2017, 104–7 and 329 n.76.

[18] For example, nearly 2/3 of the population of Greenland (6,000–7,000 in all) died when the disease was first brought there in 1734 (Scott - Duncan 1998, 281). And some 18,000 out of 50,000 inhabitants of Iceland died in 1707 (170).

[19] Zelener 2012, 171. Littmann and Littmann 1973, 254 (pandemic rate).

[20] IAP 116, n.88.

[21] Scott - Duncan 1998, 170. For large numbers of child deaths, see also Dobson 1997, 478.

[22] Scott - Duncan 1998, 190.

[23] *Ibid.* 182 and *Table* 9.1.

[24] IAP 118, from Galen 19,17–18 Kuhn.

[25] IAP 117 *Fig.*1, with Morabia 2009. The duration was about the same, the China span from

China likewise shows a concentration of winter or spring deaths (February 173, March 182 and spring 179).[26]

## 4. A Case History: Egypt

Egypt provides the best case-study because of its unique documentation. Directly or indirectly, the papyri suggest a definite plague check.[27]

### 4.1. *Agrarian changes*

The first categorical evidence is the mention of victims of plague (*loimos*) in 167/9 at Kerkenouphis in the Delta. But there are clear signs of change before this date. One-year land leases had been frequent up to 165. But they disappeared from 166 to 182, leaving only leases of 4 years or more.[28] The land areas under cultivation shrank drastically, with nothing above 8 arouras leased from 166 to 191, in contrast to earlier peaks of 20 arouras and more.[29] Plague losses could make large farm-units more difficult to let, and they apparently drove out annual leasing as well.

These dossiers give a sensitive index of year-to-year change in rural Egypt. They follow the known chronology of plague very closely, with large leasing units only re-emerging from 192 onwards. There was a similar slump in short-term leasing after the Justinianic plague.[30]

### 4.2. *Population losses*

The number of taxpayers at Karanis in the Fayum seems to have fallen by 33–47% in the 25 years up to 171.[31] Elsewhere in the Fayum, at Soknopaiou Nesos, 59 of 244 males registered in September 178 died in January 179 and another

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161–85 being 4–5 years ahead (IAP 117–9, n. 102, with 115 and n.75 and *Fig.*1, p.117).

[26] IAP 118, n. 107. The epidemic might have originated in central Asia, *ibid.* 115 and n.75.

[27] For Egypt, see also the *Appendix* below, with notes 53 and 106.

[28] IAP 122, *Fig.*3.

[29] IAP 122, *Fig.*2. Money-rents also declined, 123 *Fig.*4.

[30] Banaji cited in Sarris 2007, 130, n.69.

[31] IAP 120 and n.113. Andorlini 2012, 21.

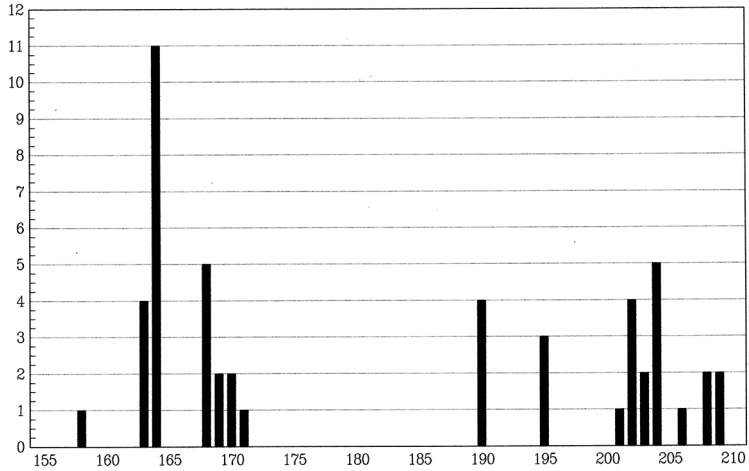


*Fig. 1. Abrochos reports 155–210 CE.*

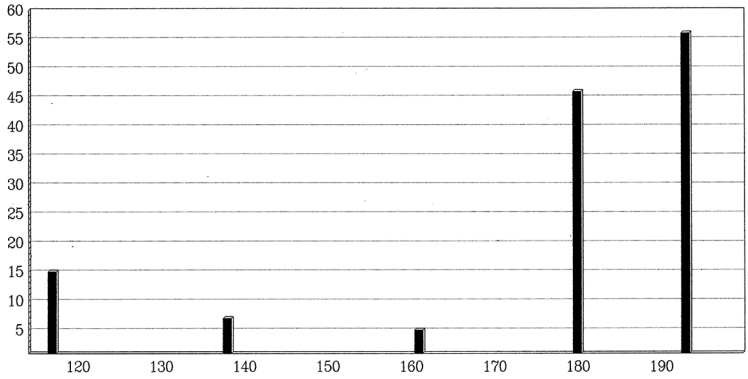


*Fig. 2. Dating overshoot in days.*

19 in February.[32] Losses at villages in the Delta between 159/60 and 167/170, at a time when plague was beginning its impact, were even greater. But they may have been partly due to flight.[33]

[32] IAP 121; Andorlini 2012, 22.

[33] IA 121 and *Table* 1. For flight, see also n.106 below.

4.3. *Bureaucratic decline*

Important change is also suggested by the reports of flood failure in Egypt (*abrochia*).[34] These reports reach their peak in 164, the year before the Empire's plague is first attested. Documentation then dwindles very rapidly in the late 160's, before disappearing completely from 172 (*Fig.*1). Reporting only resumes in 190, for one year, before ceasing again until 195. Plague probably returned in the early 190's (see Section 5.1). The long interruptions suggest a collapse in record-keeping during the plague period.

Bureaucratic deterioration emerges again in the recording of Emperors. News of an Emperor's death travelled slowly in Egypt, and dating by the old ruler might persist in some places after the new Emperor had been recognised elsewhere. Thus in 117 Trajan was still seen 15 days after the first Egyptian dating by Hadrian. Hadrianic dating in its turn lasted for 7 days beyond the first record of Antoninus Pius in 138. And dating by Pius in 161 still survived 5 days after the first record of Marcus Aurelius. These deviations were relatively small. But in 180, the first example after the arrival of plague , the excess suddenly leaped to 46 days, the gap between the first dating by Commodus and the last by Marcus Aurelius. This began a pattern of deterioration, with Commodus's Egyptian dating in 193 persisting at least 56 days after the first record of Pertinax (*Table* 4.1 and *Fig.*2).[35] Evidently recording and communications worsened considerably in the plague years. Egyptian documentation levels as a whole fell by one-third after 167.[36]

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[34] For this evidence, Habermann 1997, and Bruun 2007, 205–6.

[35] The latest dating for Commodus is actually December 8th, 9 months after the first dating by Pertinax, O. Wilck 1976, But there were several would-be Emperors by then, and some Egyptians were now dating by Pescennius Niger, and others by Septimius Severus.

[36] Taking six-year averages within Marcus's reign, the 1996 dataset has 25.2 documents per year in 162–7; 16.0 in 168–73; and 15.8 in 174–9; IAP 125, *Fig.*7.

**TABLE 4.1.** Persistence of old dating after first news of the new ruler

| | Year | New ruler first mention | Old ruler last mention | Overlap in days |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | 117 | 25 August | 9 September | 15 |
| 2. | 138 | 26 July | 2 August | 7 |
| 3. | 161 | 22 May | 27 May | 5 |
| 4. | 180 | 14 April | 30 May | 46 |
| 5. | 193 | 6 March | 2 June | 56 |

*KEY Material located using Papyri.info, which also provides a checklist of editions of papyri and ostraka. Line 1:* P. Oxy *3781;* IGRR *I, 1371. Line 2:* OBerl *53 ;* SB *1, 1669. Line 3:* OWilck *245;* OLeid *139, Line 4:* PPrag *1, 63;* OLund *inv 17, Line 5:* Chr.Wilck. *490;* Chr.Wilck *268.*

## 5. Mortality Patterns

Across the Empire archaeologists have uncovered a large number of mass burials from the Roman period, and many examples have been collected in an important recent survey.[37] Some may well belong to the Antonine Plague, but no specific identifications yet seem to be possible. However, dated tombstones offer material from the plague period, which contains revealing patterns (5.1).

*5.1. Local Chronology: Lydia*

Roman burials in north-east Lydia have left over 600 tombstones dated by year.[38] *Table* 5.1 analyses forty years of these tombstones, from 160 to 199 (*Fig.*3). Their dates show three periods of higher mortality, amounting to 14 years (*Table* 5.1 section A). Here the death-rate is 6.36 per year on average. That falls to 2.92 in the 26 years of low mortality. Thus the burial rate more than doubled in unhealthy years.

[37] McCormick 2015 and 2016. For an early example from Rome, Blanchard, Castex 2007.

[38] Broux - Clarysse 2009, 29. *Fig*.3 is re-drawn from the authors' data by kind permission. Some tombstones are from Saittae (Sidas Kale), a town large enough to boast a stadium, and later a bishop.

**TABLE 5.1.** Lydia: dated tombstones CE 160–199

*A. Periods of raised mortality:*

| | Total | Duration in years | Tombstones per year |
|---|---|---|---|
| 165–170 | 42 | 6 | 7.0 |
| 182–183 | 16 | 2 | 8.0 |
| 189–194 | 31 | 6 | 5.2 |
| Aggregates | 89 | 14 | 6.36 |

*B. Periods of lower mortality:*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 160–164 | 12 | 5 | 2.4 |
| 171–181 | 31 | 11 | 2.8 |
| 184–188 | 17 | 5 | 3.4 |
| 195–199 | 16 | 5 | 3.2 |
| Aggregates | 76 | 26 | 2.92 |

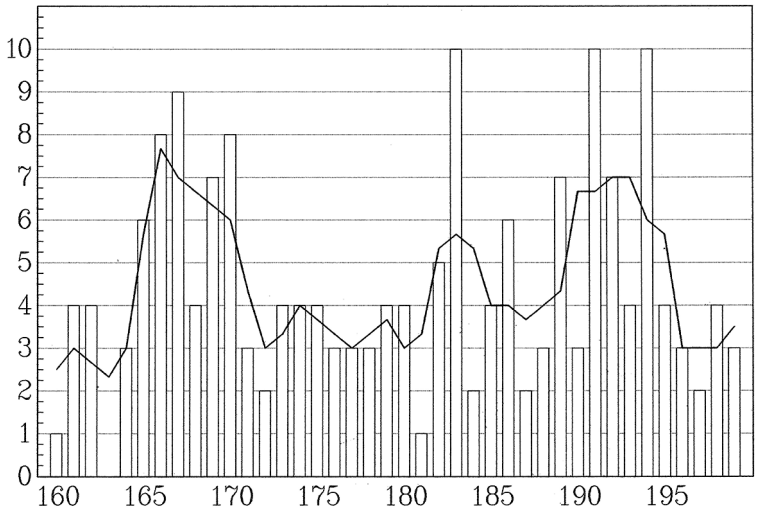


*Fig. 3. Lydia tombstones 160–199 CE.*

That produced about 45 additional deaths.[39] The aggregate increase is 27% (45/120), roughly one-quarter, over the forty years in question. But like most Roman tombstone evidence, this sample mainly describes adult mortality. In parallel evidence, child mortality from smallpox was far above the adult figure (see Section 3 at n.21).[40] Thus many cases are presumably missing. Overall raised mortality of well over one-third is probably suggested here.

The three-year moving average (shown as a line in *Fig*.3) suggests a major mortality peak in the late 160's, followed by a short peak in the early 180's, with a second main peak in the early 190's (*Fig*.3). In fact the sequence echoes the pattern of severe outbreaks at Rome in the late 160's and from 189 onwards. This evidence from a relatively distant part of the Empire thus suggests that the plague was also active there.

## 6. Social Impact of The Plague

### *6.1 Slaves*

The Antonine plague, like epidemics in general, evidently hit slaves very hard. Their living conditions were harsher, sleeping arrangements were often communal, and nutrition was inevitably inferior. Galen records that the plague killed almost all his slaves in Rome (n.8 above). Aelius Aristides reports that a plague infected almost all his neighbours at Smyrna in the summer. First two or three of his servants grew sick, then one after another. Then all were in bed, both the younger and the older. Aristides was the last to be attacked. "And if anyone tried to move, he immediately lay dead before the front door."[41]

Parallels are provided by Dionysius and Livy. In 451 BCE a plague at Rome killed all the slaves and half the citizens.[42] An outbreak which had begun the year before with cattle disease affected country-dwellers and slaves in 428, before spreading to the city. The plague visitation in 174 BCE, after attack-

[39] Taking mortality in the low years as 3 (2.92 in *Table* 1), section B produces a baseline of 120 expected deaths over 40 years. Actual deaths total 165, an excess of 45.

[40] A very few tombstones show two individuals. But the additional cases have not been utilised here, because it is not clear whether a shared tombstone always meant contemporary deaths.

[41] Aristides quoted in IAP 118.

[42] Dion. Hal. 10,53.

ing cattle the previous year, spread especially to slaves, whose unburied bodies lined the roads.[43] In the Renaissance period, more than half the plague deaths in Cairo in 1419 were deaths of slaves.[44] And in an early modern parallel from 1815, bubonic plague at the town of Noja in Apulia at first struck only the poor.[45]

Slaves remain artificially rare in ancient narratives. But Galen and Aristides clearly show their special vulnerability at times of plague, and that is echoed by the Roman annalists. Thus a severe epidemic would probably disable or wipe out much of the labour force. When his own slaves were afflicted, Aelius Aristides was reduced to being waited on by slaves of the doctors who had come out to attend him (n.41).

*6.2. The Army*

The dangerous potential of a large standing army for spreading epidemic under pre-modern conditions is obvious.[46] Movements due to war mobilisation, transfer of units, and furlough of individuals left great vulnerability to the spread of disease.[47] In fact the sources single out the plague's extreme impact on the army.[48] Jerome claims that the army was almost reduced to extinction in 172. For Eutropius whole armies died, and almost all the armed forces fell victim to disease, as well as many people in Rome, Italy and the provinces. Orosius makes the impact on the legions in winter quarters so great that a 3-year conscription drive at Carnuntum was needed for the war with the Marcomanni. The *Historia Augusta* states that many thousand soldiers died.[49] The biographer also adds that

[43] Liv. 4,30,7–11; 41.21.5-11.

[44] 1913 out of 3683, Dols 1975, 178, 180–1 (IAP 113, n.44).

[45] Post 1977, 133.

[46] Eck 2012, 65.

[47] For movement of individual soldiers, Duncan-Jones 1994, 83–4.

[48] Gilliam mentioned this chorus of disaster, but set it against Tertullian's optimistic words from across the Mediterranean, which are not about the army (Gilliam 1961, 231–4). But for Africa as a partial exception at this time, see IAP 128–9 and *fig.*12, together with Duncan-Jones 2004, 33–35, with *figs*.3 and 4.

[49] *M.Ant*. 17,2.

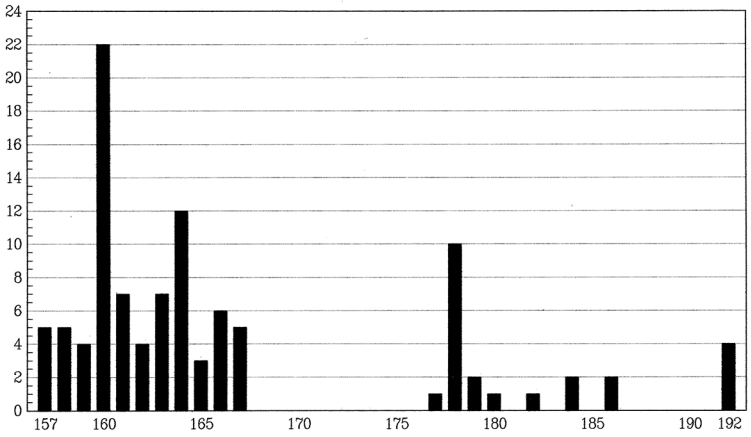


*Fig. 4. Army diplomas 157–192 CE.*

Marcus, as well as raising fresh recruits for the legions, even recruited soldiers from slaves, gladiators and bandits, as well as mercenaries from Germany.[50]

These last details come from one of the strong lives in the Historia Augusta.[51] Army inscriptions also indicate drastic upheaval. In particular, a list of legionaries discharged from VII Claudia in Lower Moesia in 195 implies that the 169 intake was much larger than usual. The total of 270 survivors is at least twice the expected number, after allowing for deaths in service.[52] And a legionary inscription of 168 from Alexandria shows heavy reliance on men born in the camp, among soldiers recruited to II Traiana. Earlier lists indicate recruiting from named cities.[53] The change suggests significant shortages of men from the normal recruitment zones at this time.

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[50] Hier. 206 Helm; Eutr. 8,12,2; Oros. 7,15,5–6; Hist. Aug. *M. Ant*, 21,6. For 'voluntarii', see Duncan-Jones 2016, 137. The recruitment of volunteers for a specific campaign is seen at Thespiae in Boeotia in 169/72. They were mainly non-citizens (Jones 2012).

[51] Chastagnol calls the biography "honorable mais désordonée" (Chastagnol 1994, 111–119). See also Stover, Kestemont 2016.

[52] Eck 2012, 68–70; Strobel 1988. Mirkovic 2004 provides the fullest tally, but see also Eck 2012, 68 n.35.

[53] Duncan-Jones 1990, 72 and n.40.

Other army documents reflect plague changes in a dramatic way. The discharge-certificates (*diplomata*), although plentiful up to the mid-160's, stop completely after 167, until resuming with a single example in 177 (*Fig.*4).[54] The new figures make the pattern even more vivid, with pre-plague totals reaching 22 in 160 and 12 in 164.[55] The sudden cessation (4.3 above and *Table* 6.1) suggests collapse in army documentation during the plague years, possibly exacerbated by metal shortage due to mining problems (see 9.1 below; for mining and quarrying, see also *Table* 7.1 below).

*6.3 Individual deaths*

(i) Aquileia was in the war zone from which the two Emperors rapidly escaped in 168, driven out by the plague, in Galen's account (n.9 above). Their retinue evidently included M.Servilius Fabianus Maximus. Consul in 158, Fabianus had substantial military experience, as governor of each of the Moesias. At least four members of his household who died at Aquileia were presumably plague victims.[56] They were Fabianus's Greek doctor and friend, Sergius Hestiaeus, his slave doctor Phoebianus, his freedman Trophimus and his slave masseur Naisus (the last three were all buried by "Fabianus consularis").[57]

(ii) The sisters Cornelia Procula and Cornelia Placida buried their father Cornelius Rusticus Senecio at Rome, together with his son. Senecio had been proconsul of Asia under Marcus and Verus, with his son as legate.[58] Father and son were apparently buried at the same time, as Dessau commented. Simultaneous burial might imply plague deaths.

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[54] From Eck 2012, 71. Eck's chart is re-drawn here by kind permission.

[55] The earlier summary, from Roxan 1985, has much lower totals (IAP, *Fig.*6, p.124). The unconvincing view that the recording cessation after 167 merely reflected changed conditions of service after CE 140 is discussed in Eck 2012, 70, n.40.

[56] *PIR*$^2$ S 583; Duncan-Jones 2016, 192, no.333.

[57] *IGRR* I 482, *CIL* V 868–870; *PIR*$^2$ S 583 and 523, with discussion.

[58] *ILS* 1089–90; *Dig*. 48,18,1–4. For apparent repercussions of the plague on senatorial office-holding, see Duncan-Jones 2016, 64.

(iii) A younger senator, Q. Julius Maximus, died in mid-career.[59] His service as legate to the proconsul of Narbonensis was relatively modest, but Maximus was about to achieve importance as praetor. He was buried at Ebora in Spain aged 46 with his sons, Clarus and Nepotianus, both vigintiviri, aged 20 and 21. He was buried by his wife. Most aristocratic tombstones do not give ages. Together with the triple death, that may suggest a plague event.

(iv) M. Macrinius Avitus Catonius Vindex came from the equestrian militiae, but rose high in the Senate, governing the two Moesias in succession, like Servilius Fabianus. He also held one of the highest priesthoods, as augur.[60] He died aged 42 years and 5 months. Age statement for a senator remains unusual, and may again imply a sudden event.

(v) At a more modest social level, Julius Victor buried his parents, wife and daughter who had died "per luem" at Bediaium in Noricum in 182. Also buried was his 30-year old brother Aurelius Iustinus, who had served 10 years in legio II Italica.[61]

## 7. Dating Interruptions

### *7.1 The plague hiatus*

Dated series often show a long gap at the time of the plague. This normally starts in the middle or late 160's (*Table* 7.1). Three series, British lead mining, marble quarrying at Teos and records in the Dacian mines (nos.3, 4 and 5), did not resume after the break as far as we know. That suggests a catastrophic impact on mining and quarrying operations.[62] In Italy plunder of existing monuments for their marble began as early as 202/10 CE.[63] Other examples in *Table*

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[59] *PIR*$^2$ I 424; Duncan-Jones 2016, 195, no.476.

[60] Vindex was the only senator from the militiae to hold such a high priesthood in the database in Duncan-Jones 2016 (11, *Table* 2.3 gives totals). His success may have owed something to the Vindex who was praetorian prefect in 172 (*ILS* 1107; *PIR*$^2$ M 22; Duncan-Jones 2016, 197, no.525).

[61] Chronicle, Section 2 above, and *CIL* III 5567.

[62] For mining, see 9.1 below, with Mattingly 2011, 170.

[63] Papi 2004, 57; the examples include a dedication to Septimius Severus at Veii engraved on the

7.1 probably suggest communication breakdown, as in the worsening delays revealed by Emperor-dating in the papyri (4.3 above).

**TABLE 7.1.** Gaps in dated series

| Series | Cessation after | Resumes in | Gap in years |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. British lead ingots | 164/9 | - | - |
| 2. Dokimeion marble | 164 | 173 | 9 |
| 3. Mauretania Caes. dated inscriptions | 164 | 182 | 18 |
| 4. Egyptian short-term leases | 165 | 183 | 18 |
| 5. Lease-areas above 8 arouras | 165 | 190 | 25 |
| 6. Teos marble quarry | 166 | - | - |
| 7. Dacian wax tablets | 166 | - | - |
| 8. Rome inscriptions with exact dates | 166 | 179 | 13 |
| 9. Army diplomas | 167 | 176 | 9 |
| 10. Mons Balcaranensis: Saturn dedications | 167 | 175 | 8 |
| 11. African inscriptions with exact dates | 168 | 180 | 12 |
| 12. Egyptian abrochos reports | 172 | 189 | 17 |

*REFERENCES. 1. IAP 121, n.118; 2.* Fig. *5 below with Hirt 2010, 370–402; 3. IAP 129, n. 148; 4. IAP 122,* Fig. *3; 5. IAP 122,* Fig. *2; 6.Hirt 2010, 402–9; 7. See n. 13 above; 8. IAP 125–6 with* Fig. *8; 9. See Section 6.2 above with* Fig. *4; 10. IAP 129, n. 148; 11. IAP 129, n.148; 12. Section 4.3 above with* Fig. *1.*

*7.2 Tomb-building at Palmyra*

Over a hundred dated tomb-inscriptions have survived from Palmyra, the remarkable caravan city on the Empire's eastern fringe. They span a period from 9 BCE to 265 CE.[64] Until 160, they always refer to newly-built tombs.

back of a dedication to Tiberius.

[64] Marcone 2001, 812. Gawlikowski's inventory shows 112 tombs with dates translated into the Julian calendar. A further dated item can be added (Gawlikowski 1970, no.5, 185, 'year 345' or

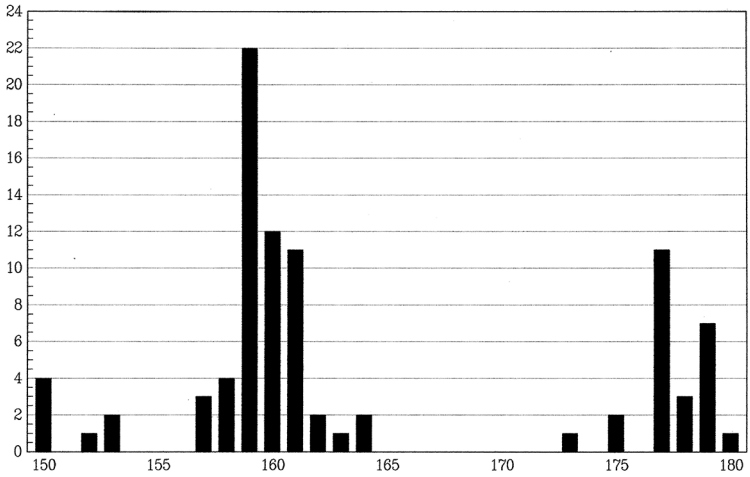


*Fig. 5. Dokimeion marble 150–180 CE.*

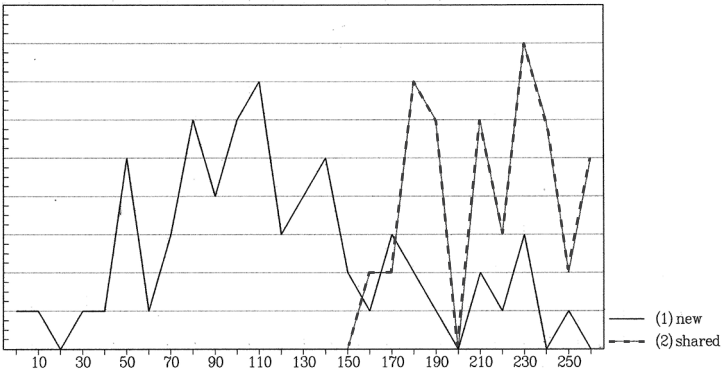


*Fig. 6. Palmyra tombs 1–260 CE.*

But two inscriptions from that year show sharing arrangements, where the owner of an existing monument made over a defined section to another party in perpetuity. Thus in October 160, the two builders of a hypogaeum ceded part

34 CE). All the inscriptions have a text in Palmyrene, while those in the earlier set often include a parallel text in Greek.

of it to Hadudan, son of Salman, son of Zabdibol, and his children and grandchildren.[65]

This was apparently a novelty, since the previous dated tomb-inscriptions all refer to new monuments. The transition period of the 160's and 170's contains four examples of each type. But new monuments then became rare, and shared tombs predominated for the rest of the period (see *Fig.*6). Thus the Palmyra tomb-inscriptions fall into two distinct phases, with a transition at about the time when plague struck the Empire.

The shift in burial practices may simply be a cultural change. But the partial coincidence with the plague period at least suggests pressures to spend less on interment at that time.[66] The cessation of both dated series soon afterwards for almost twenty years (from 194 to 213) may also show a response to external conditions. Less costly burial after the plague period probably implies economic adversity. There is little or no documentation of the caravan trade between 161 and 193.[67]

## 8. Reaction to the Plague: Oracles and Amulets

Lucian mentions the plague in a hostile account of his contemporary, the prophet Alexander of Abonouteichos. He writes that to protect people, Alexander composed an apotropaic Greek verse invoking Apollo. But Lucian says it gave no protection, leaving its users just as likely to catch the plague as anyone else.[68] Part of the wording recurs on a Roman pewter amulet discovered in London in 1989. This amulet also invokes other deities. Its text is in Greek, but it may have been made in Britain.[69]

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[65] Gawlikowski 1970, 205, no.2.; no.1 is a parallel from November 160.

[66] In its classic version, the Palmyrene way of death included tombs of some grandeur, whose numbers would hardly increase at a time of epidemic..

[67] Smith 2013, 79–80.

[68] Lucian, *Alex*. 36, quoted in IAP, 119.

[69] Tomlin 2014. Apparently the text also discouraged mouth contact by the user (Jones 2016). The amulet's owner was called Demetrios. For plague impact in Britain, see also Hingley 2018; Perring 2011, 279–80; Simmonds *et al.* 2008, 140–1.

Similar appeals for divine help were made all over the Empire. Greek inscriptions from Pergamum in Mysia, Caesarea Troketta in Lydia, Kallipolis in the Thracian Chersonese, and Hierapolis in Phrygia prescribe programs of sacrifice and invoke Clarian Apollo as the one who drives away the epidemic.[70] And simple formulaic Latin inscriptions invoke the gods and goddesses "following the interpretation of Clarian Apollo".[71] These come from Britain (again), Sardinia, Dalmatia and Numidia. Another three are from Italy and two from Mauretania Tingitana.

This remarkable dossier in Greek and Latin suggests widespread fear of a threat against which Clarian Apollo was considered the great safeguard. The plague was not necessarily prevalent wherever the texts are found. But, like Lucian's anecdote, they show a compelling desire to take precautions. Their very wide distribution recalls Ammianus's statement that the plague spread from the frontiers of Persia all the way to Gaul and the Rhineland.[72]

## 9. Climate and Environment

### *9.1. Environmental impact: tree-felling and mining*

Identifying Roman short-term climate trends does not yet seem possible.[73] But tree-ring chronology in central Europe has now revealed very wide fluctuations in the rate of tree-harvesting. The 7,284 examples come from north-eastern France, north-western Germany and south-eastern Germany. A peak early in the second century CE, is followed by a very sharp collapse, then by two partial recoveries in mid-century. A further extreme collapse followed in the 170's, 180's

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70 Faraone 1992, 59–61. Jones 2016; Harper 2017, 328, n.68. For a similar appeal to Artemis as a bulwark against plague at another Anatolian town, Graf 1992. Despite Lucian's evidence, now echoed in London, Gilliam was reluctant to associate these texts with the Antonine plague, and overlooked the related Latin series (Gilliam 1961, 234–6).

71 "*secundum interpretationem Clari Apollinis*". These inscriptions probably belong to the time of the Antonine plague; (Jones 2005, 2006 and 2016).

72 23,6,24.

73 Manning 2013 provides a stimulating discussion of the complexities and contradictions of the evidence. The diagrams show long-term rather than short-term change.

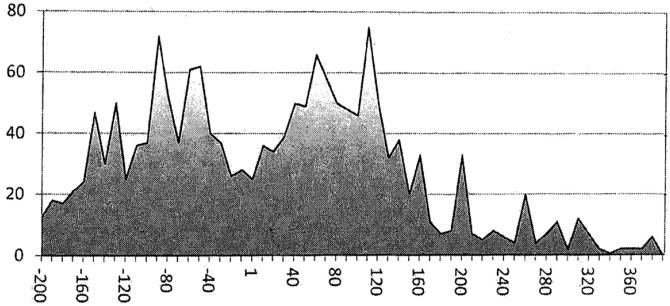


*Fig. 7. Forest clearance in central Europe (Germany, North-Eastern France).*

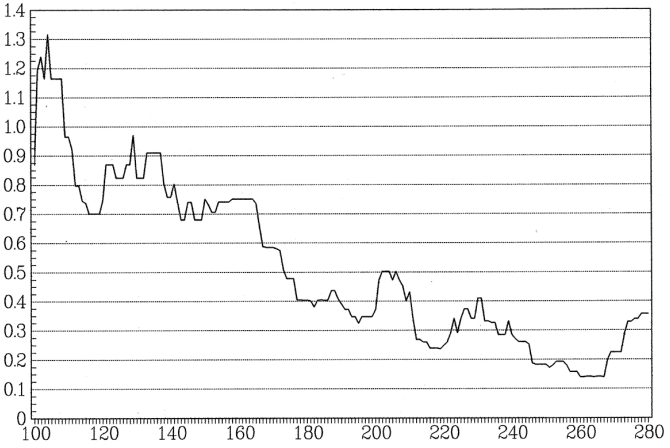


*Fig. 8. Lead pollution 100–280 CE.*

and 190's, before recovering in the 200's. (*Fig.*7).[74] The sharp decline in tree-felling during the main plague period suggests sudden change It implies reduced building and construction activity in these regions, and possibly less demand for wood and charcoal.[75]

[74] The diagram is reproduced by kind permission from Malanima 2013, 28, *Fig.*4. This provides a smoothed version of the analysis by decade in Buentgen *et al*. 2011, 580, *Fig.*2, line C.

[75] Malanima 2013, 27.

The impact on silver mining was evidently more drastic. An arresting new study of Greenland ice-cores shows a dramatic fall in European lead-pollution at the time of the plague. (*Fig.*8) The authors conclude that "the Antonine plague marked the turning point between high levels of lead-silver production during the Roman Empire period, and much lower levels observed from the mid-second century until the mid-eighth century. The plague disrupted mining through high mortality in, and flight from, mining regions, and reduced demand through population loss."[76] This dramatic record reflects the impact of the plague on the European environment, and is probably the most graphic demonstration so far.

*9.2. Climate forcing and plague*

The biggest volcanic emissions can darken the skies and affect the weather.[77] Pliny's account of stumbling round Misenum in total darkness during the daytime provides an obvious illustration.[78] Volcanic fallout may also lower long-term temperatures significantly, and even create artificial winter. A spectacular case is the gigantic eruption at Tambora in Indonesia in 1815, which led to a "year without summer" in 1816.[79] Its effects were felt as far away as Europe, and throughout much of the world.[80]

Cassius Dio's account of the great eruption of Vesuvius in CE 79 states explicitly that the ash brought a terrible epidemic in its wake.[81] "An inconcei-

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[76] McConnell *et al.* 2018. *Fig.*8 shows the estimated lead emissions for CE 100–280, with an 11-year median filter. Drawn from data kindly supplied by the authors; the unit is kilotonnes per annum (kt/a). .

[77] Stothers - Rampino 1983b; for revised eruption dates, see now Sigl 2015. Dust-veil phenomena in the lower atmosphere may also be generated by relatively small volcanic events, Grattan - Pyatt 1999; Post 1977, 3–6.

[78] "*Vix consideramus, et nox non qualis inlunis aut nubila, sed qualis in locis clausis lumine exstincto.*" "We had scarcely sat down when darkness fell, not the dark of a moonless or cloudy night, but as if the lamp had been put out in a closed room"; from his account of the Vesuvian eruption in CE 79, *epist.* 6,20,14.

[79] Wood 2014.

[80] Earlier mammoth eruptions that affected Europe and the Middle East in 536, 934 and 1258 have also been detected as far away as Mongolia and northern Siberia, using tree-ring evidence, d'Arrigo 2001; the tenth-century event is dated to 939 by Sigl 2015.

[81] Dio 66,23,5. It is now known that deadly fallout from this eruption extended far beyond Pompeii

vable quantity of ash was blown out, which covered both sea and land and filled all the air. It caused much injury [...] to men and farms and cattle, and in particular it destroyed all fish and birds. Furthermore, it buried two entire cities [Pompeii and Herculaneum] [...] Indeed the amount of dust [...] was so great that some of it reached Africa and Syria and Egypt, and it also reached Rome, filling the air overhead and darkening the sun […]. These ashes did no great harm at the time, but later brought a terrible pestilence."[82] Latin writers describe this plague as one of the worst that there had ever been.[83]

Thus a violent eruption was followed by widespread epidemic. Volcanic darkening which lowered temperatures could also increase vulnerability to infection, through reduced crop-yields and widespread malnutrition.[84]

The eruption in a second case was even more potent, although too distant for the event to be directly observed in the Mediterranean. But its effects were seen there as a sign of world-shaking change, because it took place in 44 BCE, the year of Caesar's assassination.[85] Plutarch relates that the sunlight grew pale and watery, lacked its usual heat, and prevented the fruits from ripening because of the coldness of the atmosphere.[86] Evidently this was one of the veiling effects that reduced daylight and daylight temperatures.[87] Powerful corroboration comes from the ice-core and tree-ring evidence, which points to this being one of the three biggest eruptions of the last 2500 years.[88] Sulphate deposits in

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and Herculaneum. At Positano, 20 km away, a remarkably well-preserved first-century villa has recently been revealed beneath the main church (Jacobelli *et al*. 2017; Cinque 2009). Other distant villas were engulfed at Amalfi, Maiori and Vico Equense (Ianelli in Jacobelli 13). The eruption was evidently gigantic, and its signature in the global record has been identified by recent ice-core studies (Barbante 2013).

82 Dio 66,22,2; 66,23,1.

83 Suet. *Titus* 8,3; Epit. de Caes. 10,13.

84 For the mechanism, see for example Rossignol 2012, 95–103; for the eruption dates, see now Sigl 2015. For the cooling effect, Kondratyev 1988, 122.

85 Stothers 2002, 17.3. The eclipse claimed at the death of Augustus in CE 14 was equally opportune, but may not be genuine, Dio 56,29,3; Stothers 17.3 – 17.4.

86 Plut. *Caes*. 69,3–4; Stothers and Rampino 1983a, 6358.

87 See n.77.

88 Sigl 2015, *Extended Data Table* 4, giving the likely source as 'Chiltepe?\Nicaragua'.

Greenland reached almost the highest recorded level, and northern cooling registered by tree-rings was among the most drastic in the entire period.[89]

The following year a serious epidemic affected the whole of Italy (43 BCE). In response, the Senate tried to appease the gods by re-building the Curia Hostilia.[90] Thus the mechanism of darkened skies leading to reduced temperatures followed by epidemic, also operated here. This syndrome emerged again in the volcanic dust-veils and extreme winters that preceded the great plague of Justinian in 541–2.[91]

While great epidemics need not depend on volcanic darkening, these episodes remain very striking, and their mechanism may be relevant to the Antonine plague. No volcanic prelude is known for the plague outbreak in 165. But that appears to have changed with a massive eruption in 168/9.[92] This left a heavy sulphate deposit in the Greenland record (39.1), and had a noticeable cooling effect (estimated as the 14th coldest of 23 extreme cases over two millennia). Since the plague was certainly still active in 170–2 (Chronicle, Section 2 above), volcanic climate forcing at this time might well have increased its impact. The eruption was strong enough to affect the southern hemisphere as well, with a sulphate deposit of 18.4 in Antarctic evidence, and overall global forcing of -11.5. Overall, the northern sulphate deposit makes the 168/9 event 15th largest out of 25 cases in 2500 years.[93] Thus the eruption was certainly of great size.

Italy experienced darkened skies followed by general epidemic both in 44/3 BCE and in CE 79/80. The eruption in 168/9, which had global effects, may be a further case, which intensified and prolonged the epidemic that already threatened the Roman world.

## 10. Conclusion

Plainly there can be reluctance to admit epidemic to the pantheon of major historical events, even if a catastrophe like the Black Death is recent enough and

[89] The N-Tree score was -3.33, Sigl, *ibid.*

[90] Dio 45,17,8.

[91] Sigl 2015, 7–8. Harper 2017, 217–9, 224–30.

[92] Sigl 2015 *Fig.*2 and *Extended Data Set Table* 4.

[93] Estimated cooling of -0.94 C in relation to averages of 1961–90.

violent enough to be beyond dispute. Some respected accounts of Roman history choose to ignore epidemics. Gilliam drew attention to the silence of Gibbon and Rostovtzeff. Even Thucydides' first-hand description of the Athenian plague has not always been believed. Nevertheless, an even-handed approach to the Antonine plague has to consider the available evidence and judge accordingly.

This survey begun in 1996 set out to test the literary evidence, much of it written centuries afterwards, against the contemporary data. Proxy sources are not usually explicit, and may be affected by extraneous stimuli.[94] But here their main chronologies converge, suggesting a major check. Combined with the explicit written tradition, they make up a powerful dossier (Sections 4–9.1). Fresh documentation reinforces the evidence of dislocation during the plague period. Thus Galen proves to have lost most of his slaves in Rome, showing again the special vulnerability of slaves to epidemic.[95] In Lydia dated tombstones closely mirror the plague peaks seen in Rome (5.1). The evidence of crisis in Egyptian record-keeping continues to grow;[96] and the much larger sample of diplomas has added to the picture of army disruption. The Dokimeion marble quarry has produced further evidence of a check. Most graphic of all are the new indications of collapse in silver mining (9.1) Another recent study suggests a sharp decline in northern tree-felling during these years, while a third may indicate that volcanic climate forcing increased the effects of the plague. [97]

Some evidence also suggests unevenness in the plague's impact. In particular, the African provinces show continued public building activity in inland cities, and growing volumes of pottery production (n.48). But this still seems to be qualified by long interruptions in the African coastal series during the plague years (*Table* 7.1, lines 3 and 10). Thus even the southern zone outside Egypt probably did not escape unscathed. The strongest new indication of the plague's strength is the evidence about mining (*Fig.*8 and n.76).

*Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge*

[94] The *Appendix* considers one alternative diagnosis.

[95] See n.8 and Section 6.1.

[96] Section 4.3.

[97] Section 9.1.

## APPENDIX. Second century climate

In discussions of Roman climate, increasing reliance has been placed on Egyptian evidence.[98] Flood assessments have been used as a source for climate trends.[99] Climate changes should be distinguishable from short-term events such as plague, but dependence on proxy measures means that the two can be confused. That makes the flood estimates potentially relevant here.[100] Nevertheless, Egypt specialists have doubted whether seemingly explicit data, the local coin legends giving the flood's height as 16 cubits, refer to a historical event rather than an ideal state. Johnson wrote: "whether or not these were commemorative cannot be decided […] there is no evidence that good crops were characteristic of these years."[101] But Bonneau took a different view in her 1971 study, adding inferences from the papyri.

This calls for some comment.

1. There is very little direct information about the height of the annual flood before the Arab period[102]. Estimates for the Roman period depend almost entirely on proxy data, either coin-motifs or agrarian details from the papyri.[103]

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[98] See for instance McCormick *et al.* 2012, 183, 189, 194; McCormick 2013, 71, 76–81; Wilson 2013, 264–6; Elliott 2016; Harper 2017,15, *Table* 1.1, and p.133. A deterioration in climate from about CE 155 has been suggested.

[99] But the Nile flood was driven by the amount of rainfall in Ethiopia (McCormick *et al*. 2012, 183). Conditions in the Mediterranean and further north may follow other patterns.

[100] Bonneau 1971.

[101] Johnson 1938, 17. The 16-cubit archetype emerges repeatedly. Thus it is seen in the multiple offerings of 16 identical objects to the Nile god (*P. Oxy*. 1211), in Pliny's account of the optimum flood level (*NH* 5,58), and in the celebrated statues of the Egyptian river-god with 16 putti (cherubs) playing round him (*NH* 36,7; Haskell - Penny 1981, 272); Bonneau 1964, pl.5 and p.520; see also Bonneau 1971, 50. But on coins the 16-cubit motif is fairly rare, and its appearances suggest short-term stylistic choice rather than hydraulic bulletins. They are concentrated in three very brief periods: CE 98, 100, 108 and109; 127 and 128; and 143, 144, 145, 147, 148, 150 (Bonneau 1971, 238–247).

[102] For figures from CE 622 onwards, see Kondrashov, Feliks, Ghil 2005.

[103] The stone list of favourable flood readings for the Roman period from Elephantine is so badly damaged that only a dozen cases out of 35 combine an intact flood figure with a complete date: Johnson 1938, 16; (*IGRR* I 1290 = *SB* 8392; Bonneau 1971, 29–31, 156 n.759). Elephantine was a

2. The amount of data fluctuates considerably. The decades for which Bonneau gives continuous estimates are 90–169, 200–209, 230–239, and 240–249. The amount of evidence shrinks in 170–99, that is, for most of the plague period, as well as in the later third century.[104]

**TABLE A.1.** Flood estimates from coin evidence only (Nilus motif)

| Flood score | Occurrences |
|---|---|
| 4/4? | 7 |
| No score | 17 |
| Query | 6 |
| TOTAL (years) | 30 |

**TABLE A.2.** Flood estimates that include other data (Nilus motif)

| Flood score | Occurrences |
|---|---|
| 1 | 2 |
| 2 | 9 |
| 3 | 5 |
| 4 | 12 |
| 5 | 4 |
| 7 | 3 |
| 8 | 3 |
| TOTAL (years) | 38 |

NOTE TO TABLES A.1 & A.2. Bonneau's 8-point flood scale ranges from M (mauvaise) up to Fo (forte). These eight steps can be more easily understood as numbers.[105] The results, with Bonneau's estimated figures for the flood-height at Memphis read: 1. mauvaise (under 8 cubits); 2 faible (8–10); 3 médiocre (10–12); 4 normale (12–14); 5 bonne (14–16); 6 trés bonne (16); 7 abondante; 8 forte.

long way up the Nile, and the figures range from 24 to 26 cubits, placing them far above the traditional 16-cubit optimum (n.101) down river at Memphis (Bonneau 1971 50).

[104] The years missing at this point are: 172, 173, 175, 178, 179, 182 and 193 (Bonneau 1971, 250–252).

[105] Also McCormick 2013, 77, n.44.

3. Bonneau's inferences from the coin-motifs in her final Tableau are varied, although they are often left incomplete. The coin-motifs are taken as expressly meaningful, with their absence signifying a poor flood (years 129,130, 151, 163). The Nile type, mainly second and third century, is much the most frequent. Here the coin-evidence on its own yields a flood score of about 4 in half a dozen cases. But it usually provides no reading whatever (in 23 cases out of 30, *Table* A.1; with Note for the index figures). However, when juxtaposed with other evidence, the Nile motif can apparently mean almost any flood-level (*Table* A.2 with Note). Yet if it celebrated the current flood, why should it also occur in years when the flood is estimated as very low?

4. The material from the papyri (*Table* A.2, and many further cases without coin evidence) is rarely explicit enough to mention the flood. In most cases, a reading can only be obtained by treating almost any agrarian bulletin as if it contained flood data in coded form. The explicit flood figures in a well-known inscription provide a robust starting point (n. 103). But the dated examples there are very few, and the estimates of the flood-level from indirect evidence mostly seem inconclusive, despite the apparent precision implied by an eight-point scale (*Table* 8.2). And there are other uncertainties. For example, did the taxpayers who were driven to flee their villages do so because of adverse flood conditions, or because of an over-harsh tax-regime?[106]

5. It is reasonable to ask whether the coin-motifs contained flood information at all. A well-known authority has doubted this (n.101). The river Nile certainly possessed its own cult from time immemorial.[107] That should explain the use of Nilotic motifs on the coins without the need to look further. Most people using the coins already knew the state of the flood, as the heavy Alexandrian coinage did not circulate outside Egypt. Nevertheless, Egyptians presumably liked to see the river god celebrated there.[108] To modern eyes, the coin-type referring to

[106] For taxation, Adams 2004, 101. In the Roman period, flight is indicated in Bonneau's list in the years 19, 43, 53, 54, 55, 102, 132, 133, 136, 137, 138, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 146, 149, 156, 159, 166, and 168 (Bonneau 1971, 234–250). Unsurprisingly, this series ends early in the plague years, suggesting recording breakdown; see Section 4.3 above.

[107] Bonneau 1964 examines this important cult in great detail (219–360).

[108] "The Alexandrian coin-types give the impression that the mint officials...at times of pressure

a 16-cubit rise may look like a clear-cut flood bulletin. But for Egyptian contemporaries, the number seems to have been essentially a cherished stereotype (n.101).

6. Disappointingly, the estimates of the Nile flood probably offer little basis for reading climate trends in Egypt. In all likelihood the flood varied as much in the classical period as at other times (n.102). But with a few tantalising exceptions, records from the Roman period do not seem to document its behaviour. Thus the climatic recession in the mid-second century that has been posited from modern interpretations of Nilotic evidence seems unclear. If Egyptian climate trends are uncertain, they can hardly explain other changes. Where serious dislocation is seen in Egypt at this time, it remains more convincing to think that it reflects the current epidemic.[109]

used the stock designs." Milne 1933, p.xl. For the predominance of standard religious motifs over 'message' motifs in mainstream Roman coinage, see Duncan-Jones 2005, 470–1.

[109] For the Egyptian evidence, Section 4, with notes 53 and 106.

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# LEFT-DISLOCATION, SUBORDINATE CLAUSES AND THE STYLISTIC DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PLAUTUS AND TERENCE

Hilla Halla-aho*

## 1. Introduction

In this article I discuss stylistic differences between Plautus and Terence based on left-dislocation and subordinate clauses in Roman comedy.

The starting point for this study is recent research on left-dislocation in republican Latin (Halla-aho 2018). Left-dislocation is a construction where a nominal phrase occurs in a fronted position to the left of the clause to which it belongs, as *mulier* in (1), followed by a syntactically complete clause, whereby the initial element is usually taken up by a co-referent anaphoric expression, as in the dative *ei* in (1). Left-dislocation is a pragmatically conditioned construction that is most commonly used to introduce topics.[1] An example is (1) from Plautus:

> (1) mulier quae se suamque aetatem spernit, speculo ei usus est
> quid opust speculo tibi quae tute speculo speculum es maxumum?

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[1] On left-dislocation generally, see Lambrecht (2001); on left-dislocation in Latin, see Halla-aho (2018). Left-dislocation has often been termed *nominatiuus pendens* in earlier research (e.g., Havers 1926).

> A woman who is dissatisfied with herself and her age needs a mirror. Why do you need a mirror? You yourself are the best possible mirror for the mirror.[2] (Plaut. *Most*. 250–251)

In Roman comedy, Plautus has a large number of left-dislocations and Terence only a few (72 in Plautus, 5 in Terence). At first glance, this may not be surprising, given that Plautus's style has traditionally been understood as more colloquial and left-dislocation is a construction typically associated with spoken or informal registers in different languages. However, the matter is not so simple. Two further aspects, alongside colloquialism, must be considered. First is the general difference between Plautus and Terence in their use of subordinate clauses and the strategies they employ for constructing periodic sentences (Eckstein 1921 and 1925; Blänsdorf 1967; see below). In particular, Plautus is reported to employ subordinate clauses more often in front of their main clauses, an arguably archaic tendency that could account for the construction in (1), in which the head noun *mulier* together with the relative clause occurs before the main clause.

Another, though closely related, aspect relevant to the interpretation of (1) is Latin relative clause syntax. Cross-linguistically, left-dislocation has no structural association with relative clauses, but most examples of left-dislocation in republican Latin contain a relative clause defining the fronted element—for example, in (1), where *quae se suamque aetatem spernit* defines *mulier*. Certain factors affecting relative clause syntax in Latin suggest that the occurrence of left-dislocation may be connected to, or even result from, the attached relative clause. The problem results from left-dislocation in some cases being identical to so-called correlative sentences, a construction that goes back to the Indo-European stage of the language. Correlative sentences feature a sentence-initial relative clause that is followed by a resumptive element picking up its referent. To give an example of this ambiguity, when analysed as left-dislocation, (1) features the fronted noun *mulier*, which is resumed by *ei* in the main clause; on the other hand, (1) can alternatively be interpreted as a correlative construction, where *mulier* belongs in the relative clause (as in *quae mulier*) and the whole phrase *mulier quae* is resumed by *ei* in the main clause. In other words, the rela-

[2] Translations of Plautus are from de Melo (2011–2013), those of Terence from Sargeaunt (1964), both with slight modifications.

tive clauses attested in left-dislocation may not be accidental. An overwhelming majority (62/72) of left-dislocation constructions in Plautus contain a relative clause, as do all 5 examples in Terence.

In sum, considering the high frequency of left-dislocation (with a relative clause) in Plautus and the tendency of Plautus to place subordinate clauses, including (cor)relative ones, in initial position, it is worth investigating whether the latter phenomenon might be the cause of the former. Should this be the case, the occurrence of left-dislocation in Plautus should not be taken as an independent phenomenon, but rather, as concomitant with other syntactic features and possibly as an extension of the correlative clause pattern. Thus, in this article, I use quantitative and qualitative evidence to investigate whether left-dislocation in Plautus is connected to, or even caused by, a general preference for sentence-initial relative clauses of the type seen in (1).

I start by recapitulating studies of Eckstein and Blänsdorf on periodic syntax in Roman comedy (section 2). I then present quantitative evidence for periodic syntax in Roman comedy (section 3) and look at qualitative data on subordinate clauses in initial position (section 4). Finally, I analyse left-dislocation and preposed relative clauses in section 5, followed by conclusions in section 6.

## 2. Eckstein (1921, 1925) and Blänsdorf (1967) on periodic syntax in Roman comedy

Both Eckstein (1921, 1925) and Blänsdorf (1967) focused on archaic modes of expression in Roman comedy, especially as evidenced in periodic structures, in the expression of complex sequences of events and in causal or temporal chains. While they agree that the periodic style in Terence's comedies is more developed and classical, Eckstein and Blänsdorf expressed differing views on the degree to which Plautus is directly dependent on earlier style in syntactic organization. Eckstein thought that Plautus developed the archaic technique for his own purposes, while Blänsdorf stressed the author's dependency on early style.

According to Eckstein (1921), adding subordinate clauses in a sequence before the main clause is a typically archaic technique for building periods.[3]

[3] On the influence of rhetorical style of the Greek originals in Plautus, see Eckstein (1921, 143).

Eckstein collected from Plautus constructions of archaic periodic structures, where combinations of subordinate clauses precede their main clauses, often arranged in 'chronological' order, as if mirroring the chain of events. This feature of early style, visible also in Cato's *De agricultura*, has its roots in the language of legal and official writing. Drawing extensive parallels from the language of early laws, Eckstein (1921, 157) listed 88 examples of such archaic periods in Plautus. Of these 88 constructions, 74 feature two subordinate clauses preceding their main clauses.[4] The rest have three or four such subordinate clauses. Importantly, Eckstein (1921, 168–173) argued that Plautus took over the old Roman technique of building periods but, instead of mechanically reproducing that technique, fashioned it into an effective and unique style of dramatic language (Eckstein 1921, 172 "[E]r hat mit grossem Geschick diese primitive Technik zu einem Mittel der Darstellungskunst umgestaltet"). In other words, Plautus took what at the time was the only available means building periods and modified it, creating a tool that suited his own purposes.

In Terence's comedies, Eckstein (1925, 411) identified 19 such archaic periods, of which the majority have two preceding subordinate clauses and only two contain three such clauses. If we tally the occurrences of these figures in the two corpora, we see that the frequency in Plautus is indeed higher (Plautus with 5.3 constructions per 10,000 and Terence with 3.8 constructions per 10,000 words).[5] This type of calculation can of course only give a very rough estimate of the differences in periodic syntax between the two authors. It must, however, be added that, upon closer investigation, not all of Eckstein's examples would probably stand up scrutiny, as regards either their archaic nature or the textual basis.[6] Nevertheless, given that these figures derive from the work of the same scholar, it is reasonable to assume that, even if not exact, the figures are in any case comparable.

While Eckstein (1925, 414) thought that Terence used the traditional Roman technique more consciously as a stylistic device than did Plautus ("mehr

[4] The subordinate clause must minimally precede the matrix clause predicate to be included in this group.

[5] Plautus has 88 examples in a corpus of 165,126 words; Terence has 19 examples in a corpus of 49,903 words. Word counts are taken from the Brepols *Library of Latin Texts*.

[6] It is worth remembering that syntactically complicated passages are often affected by textual corruption — a fact that Eckstein was well aware of.

bewusst und als Stilschattierung"), Blänsdorf (1967) saw things differently, emphasizing that Plautus's periodic style is the inevitable result of cognitive processes that forced the author to express one sequence of events in one long and complicated sentence—something which the author could not have avoided, had he wanted to do so. In other words, where Eckstein saw the deliberate development of a syntactic apparatus that Plautus had inherited from the Roman tradition, Blänsdorf identified a straightforward reflection of archaic thinking. According to Blänsdorf (1967, 25–26), what we see in Terence is a development, first and foremost, in thought, such that a complicated chain of events can be broken down into smaller units, and these in turn elegantly combined with conjunctions. Blänsdorf (1967, 25–26) accepted only two of the 19 archaic periods identified by Eckstein in Terence as genuinely archaic. Furthermore, Blänsdorf (1967, 23) argued that, because Eckstein made no comparison with Ciceronian periods, he overestimated the share of archaic periods in Plautus. Nevertheless, even Blänsdorf acknowledged the existence of such periods in Plautus. Blänsdorf (1967, 26) saw Plautus mainly as a translator who was unable to express the elegant style of his Greek source texts in the form of Latin that was available to him, in a way that, at the same time, would be understandable to his audience. This incapability of Plautus and the language he used can, according to Blänsdorf, be seen in the greater uniformity of and fewer variations in his construction of periods.

## 3. Sentence length, sentence complexity and preposed subordinate clauses: the quantitative data

Given that there are more examples of extreme constructions with three or four subordinate clauses in Plautus than in Terence, it is worth investigating whether this reflects a general difference in the way sentences are organized in the two writers. Are sentences in Plautus longer or more complex throughout his corpus than they are in Terence's? Do subordinate clauses in Plautus precede their main clauses more often than they do in Terence?

In this section, I assess the numerical data relevant to these questions. The results may, furthermore, shed light on the question of whether we are dealing with a conscious development by Plautus or an overall tendency towards

archaic syntax (see Blänsdorf 1967, 27 and Eckstein 1921, 169–173). If no notable difference can be observed between the two authors, I am inclined to conclude that the archaic periods observed by Eckstein are used in well-motivated individual contexts, even if archaic methods are employed there.

The first aspect to consider concerns the overall share of main clauses and subordinate clauses. I follow the method of de Melo (2007), where sentence length and complexity in three corpora of early Latin are analysed. These are Terence's *Eunuchus*, the first book of Lucretius's *De rerum natura* and the republican metrical inscriptions. De Melo (2007, 103) derives sentence length ("Satzumfang") by dividing the total number of words by the number of main clauses in each subcorpus. This calculation gives the average number of words that are governed by a single main clause. This is a not an ideal indicator, given that the length of sentences especially in comedy typically ranges widely, from one-word utterances to long sentences. Nevertheless, it is worth calculating this figure to get a general sense of differences in average sentence length in Plautus and Terence. In *Table* 1, I give the figure of average sentence length for two texts, *Eunuchus* of Terence and *Bacchides* of Plautus. For Terence, the figures are taken from de Melo (2007, 103). For *Bacchides*, I have used the word count from the Brepols *Library of Latin texts* database.[7] The number of main clauses derives from a search for all main clauses in the *LASLA Opera Latina* database.[8]

| | Plautus, *Bacchides* | Terence, *Eunuchus* |
|---|---|---|
| Words | 9317 | 9204 |
| Main clauses | 1469 | 1427 |
| Sentence length | 6.34 | 6.45 |

*Table 1. Sentence length in* Bacchides *and* Eunuchus.

Calculated this way, sentence length in the two authors seems to be practically the same.[9] This means that on average, Plautus does not use longer sentences

[7] http://www.brepolis.net/

[8] http://cipl93.philo.ulg.ac.be/OperaLatina/

[9] The word count used by de Melo differs slightly from the figure given by the Brepols *Library of Latin Texts* database. If we keep the number of main clauses reported for Eunuchus by de Melo and use the Brepols word count (8960), the result is an average of 6.28 words per sentence. The *LASLA*

than Terence.

Next, I compare the share of subordinate clauses in the same two plays. Again, the figures for Terence are taken from de Melo (2007, 104; "Satzkomplexität"). For *Bacchides*, I have counted the total of subordinate clauses by summing up the figures for different subordinate clause types given in the LASLA *Opera Latina* database.[10] The figure illustrating average sentence complexity has been produced by dividing the number of subordinate clauses by the number of all clauses. In other words, the figure for sentence complexity gives the ratio of subordinate clause to all clauses in each play expressed as a percentage. Thus, the higher the figure, the more subordinate clauses there are per single main clause. [11]

| | Plautus, *Bacchides* | Terence, *Eunuchus* |
|---|---|---|
| Main clauses | 1469 | 1427 |
| Subordinate clauses | 713 | 668 |
| Total | 2182 | 2095 |
| Sentence complexity | 32.33% | 31.89% |

*Table 2. Sentence complexity in* Bacchides *and* Eunuchus.

*Table* 2 shows that, again, no differences can be observed between the two authors. However, if we consider this result together with the existence of several lengthy periods in Plautus and the relative lack of such periods in Terence, it is possible that the subordinate clauses are less evenly distributed within the main clauses in Plautus. In other words, there are likely to be more instances at both extremes in Plautus, main clauses with several subordinate clauses and main clauses without any subordinate clauses.[12]

*Opera Latina* database does not cover Terence.

[10] For de Melo's criteria on what counts as a main clause and what counts as a subordinate clause, see de Melo (2007, 103 fn. 13). Differences in the classification of individual constructions undoubtedly exist but I assume that, on the whole, the figures are comparable.

[11] All subordinate clauses are of course not governed by a main clause; the matrix clause of a subordinate clause may itself be a subordinate clause.

[12] It should be noted in this connection that, while the republican metrical inscriptions have figures comparable to Terence (and Plautus) in both indicators (de Melo 2007, 104), Lucretius (*De rerum natura I*) has a considerably higher figure for both sentence length (17.26 words) and sentence

As has been pointed out above, in an archaic period, subordinate clauses typically precede their main clauses. Given that Plautus is reported to have more periods built with preceding subordinate clauses, it is relevant to investigate whether subordinate clauses in Plautus precede their main clauses more often than they do in Terence. For this purpose, I report all examples of the three most frequent subordinate clause types in *Bacchides* and *Eunuchus* (*si* clauses, *ut* clauses with final meaning and relative clauses).[13]

| | Plautus, *Bacchides* | Terence, *Eunuchus* |
|---|---|---|
| *si* | 58.7% (37/63) | 57.5% (35/61) |
| *ut* (final) | 2.2% (2/92) | 3.0% (4/132) |
| *qui* (relative clause) | 19.5% (36/185) | 16.9% (31/183) |

*Table 3. Proportion of preposed subordinate clauses in* Bacchides *and* Eunuchus.

It is notable that, in this respect as well, the picture given by the two authors is nearly identical. Given that, in Eckstein's data on archaic periods, *si* clauses and relative clauses are the most important types, there is no reason to believe that the situation would be decidedly different in the case of other types of subordinate clauses. On the other hand, *ut* clauses with a final meaning typically follow their main clauses, and they do so in both authors.[14] The only type where a difference can be seen is relative clauses, but even there the difference is small (19.5% vs. 16.9%).[15]

So far, then, it has not been possible to connect the difference in period construction with a general difference in sentence length, sentence complexity or proportion of preposed subordinate clauses. Thus, the reported archaic periods in Plautus and Terence do not reflect a measurable difference in syntax. Be-

complexity (58.60%).

[13] The data derive from searches in the Brepols *Library of Latin Texts*, wherefrom the counts have been done manually.

[14] Temporal *ut* clauses in Plautus (5 altogether) precede their main clauses, but they have not been included in these figures.

[15] This difference is not statistically significant ($p = 0.603$).

fore analysing relative clauses in closer detail, I shall next have a look at some of the more extreme combinations of preposed subordinate clauses to determine what causes the differences that arise between Plautus and Terence.

## 4. Preposed subordinate clauses: some qualitative data

First, we must take into account the greater variation in stylistic levels and sources of language in Plautus. An influence from legal style is often visible in Plautus (Eckstein 1921, 155). One such case can be seen in *Rud*. 810, an example quoted by Eckstein (1921). This passage has been plausibly identified as an imitation of legal style. Here, we see one reason for the preponderance of archaic periods in Plautus: they were not independently formed, but their style and syntax is used for the purposes of parody and to produce a comical effect in particular dramatic and linguistic contexts.

Other cases, not imitating legal style, can also be found. In *Persa* 361, we find a period with four preceding subordinate clauses (see Eckstein 1921, 168–169). The clauses are introduced by *si—etsi—ubi—dum*.

(2) erus si minatus est malus seruo suo,
tam etsi id futurum non est, ubi captumst flagrum,
dum tunicas ponit, quanta afficitur miseria

If a master has threatened his slave with a beating, how wreched
is the slave when the whip has been taken, while he's taking off
his tunics, even if it's not going to happen. (Plaut. *Persa* 361–364)

These lines are uttered by a girl, *uirgo*, to his father, a parasite. The father is about to perform a mock sale of his daughter, against which the daughter here protests. The construction seems to be used as a reflection of the confused state of mind of the girl and her attempt to change her father's mind. Constructions with four preceding subordinate clauses are not common but this is not the only example. If more than one subordinate clause precedes a main clause, one of them is usually a *si* clause, as in (2).

In the next example, from *Pseudolus*, the clauses are introduced by *ut—nisi—quod*:

(3) ut litterarum ego harum sermonem audio,
nisi tu illi lacrumis fleueris argenteis,
quod tu istis lacrumis te probare postulas,
non pluris refert, quam si imbrem in cribrum geras

As I hear the speech of this letter, unless you cry silver tears for her, your wish to ingratiate yourself with her by those tears is of no more use than pouring water into a sieve. (Plaut. *Pseud*. 99)

In these lines, Pseudolus wishes to force Calidorus to stop crying and take action instead (see Eckstein 1921, 171). The elaborate period is undoubtedly used here to provoke Calidorus. It seems that Plautus characterized Pseudolus as having an inclination for complicated expressions. Another complicated expression uttered by Pseudolus is cited below in (13). It is likely that this is one of the features by which Plautus depicts his archetype of the clever slave.[16]

I move on now to relative clauses. In Eckstein's data, several of the more extreme combinations of subordinate clauses are constructions with relative clauses, of which an example from the prologue of *Rudens* may be cited (see the discussion in Eckstein 1921, 168 and Blänsdorf 1967, 98)[17]:

(4) qui falsas litis falsis testimoniis
petunt quique in iure abiurant pecuniam,
eorum referimus nomina exscripta ad Iouem;
cottidie ille scit quis hic quaerat malum
qui hic litem apisci postulant peiurio
mali, res falsas qui impetrant apud iudicem,
iterum ille eam rem iudicatam iudicat

[16] For further discussion on Pseudolus, see Halla-aho (2018, 133 and 135).

[17] Blänsdorf (1967, 98) calls the construction in Rud. 17–19 (*qui … eam rem*) "harte syntaktische Fügung".

> Of those who bring fraudulent cases to court, supported by fraudulent evidence, and of those who deny the receipt of money before a magistrate on oath, we write down the names and bring them back to Jupiter. Every day he learns who is looking for trouble here. If bad people here expect to win a lawsuit by perjury or succeed in pressing false claims before a judge, he judges the judged matter again. (Plaut. *Rud*. 13–19)

In this passage, spoken by Arcturus the star, there are two sentences that begin with relative clause constructions. On line 13, Arcturus talks about people whose evil deeds are reported to Iuppiter. These people are introduced by the autonomous relative clause *qui falsas litis … petunt* ("people who bring fraudulent cases to court"), which is picked up in the genitive by *eorum referimus nomina exscripta ad Iouem* in the following main clause. The relative clauses that follow (*qui … postulant* and *qui impetrant*) present a slightly different type of construction. In the main clause, reference is made to *eam rem* instead of the persons just defined (the referent of the relative clause): *iterum ille eam rem iudicatam iudicat*.

Preposed relative clauses where the referent of the relative clause is picked up by a resumptive pronoun in the following matrix clause (as in (4) above, where *qui* is picked up by *eorum*) occur throughout Latin, but they are often associated with archaic syntax.[18] In the language of law and legal writing, preposed relative clauses continue in use as a feature of the established technical style.[19] However, preposed relative clauses are not the main strategy of relative clauses, even in early Latin.

Another example is (5), where the construction is otherwise similar to (4), but instead of having an autonomous relative clause at the beginning, it has a postnominal relative clause with a nominal head. This passage was used as an example of the accumulation of relative clauses in archaic periods by Eckstein (1921).

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[18] On this type, see Vonlaufen 1974, Clackson and Horrocks (2007, 105), Pompei (2011, 518–519), Probert and Dickey 2016.

[19] See Bertelsmann (1885, 45), Probert and Dickey (2016). Preposed relative clauses can be viewed as Latin continuators of Indo-European correlative sentences, presumably reflecting the original indefinite meaning of the relative pronoun (Hahn 1964, Lehmann 1979, Fruyt 2005, Pompei 2011, 430 and 494, Probert 2014, Probert and Dickey 2016).

(5) tum isti Graeci palliati, capite operto qui ambulant,
qui incedunt suffarcinati cum libris, cum sportulis,
constant, conferunt sermones inter se drapetae,
opstant, opsistunt, incedunt cum suis sententiis,
quos semper uideas bibentes esse in thermopolio,
ubi quid surrupuere: operto capitulo calidum bibunt,
tristes atque ebrioli incedunt: eos ego si offendero,
ex unoquoque eorum crepitum exciam polentarium
tum isti qui ludunt datatim serui scurrarum in via
et datores et factores omnis subdam sub solum

Then those Greeks in their cloaks, who wander around with their heads covered, who prance about stuffed with books and food baskets, who stop and palaver among each other, those runaway slaves, who stand in your way and block your path, who prance about with their clever sayings, whom you can always see drinking in the tavern when they've stolen something; with their heads covered they drink mulled wine and prance about with a grave expression and drunk. If I meet them, I'll drive the barley-fed farts out of every single one of them. Then those slaves of the city bon vivants, who play ball in the street, I'll put all the throwers and players under the ground. (Plaut. *Curc*. 288–297)

Here Curculio, a parasite, proceeds through the crowd in great haste, at the same time making disparaging comments about Greek persons and slaves who are blocking his way without any matter of real import to attend to. He introduces both groups in nominative followed by relative clauses. The first group, *isti Graeci palliati ... qui ambulant ... quod semper uideas*, can be construed as the subject of the following regular main clause *operto capitulo calidum bibunt, tristes atque ebrioli incedunt*. Formally, this means that the construction is a standard sentence-initial relative clause. It must be noted, however, that the description of the Greeks is so long that the subject status of *isti Graeci* on l. 288 (going with *bibunt* and *incedunt* on ll. 293–294) is open to doubt, marked with a colon in editions (i.e., left-dislocation). These Greeks continue as objects in the following sentence (l. 293 *eos*). Eckstein's (1921, 169) observation on the

passage is to the point: 'Hier ist die Absicht des Dichters offenbar: Plautus will durch das Auftürmen der Relativ- und Konditionalsätze eine recht drastische Wirkung in der Schilderung der "Graeci palliati" erreichen.' I argue that the syntactic organization in this passage is meant to highlight Curculio's anxious state of mind. [20]

Based on the discussion in this section, I wish to highlight the active role of Plautus as a craftsman of drama. In my view, it is likely that archaic periods were not used mechanically and arbitrarily by Plautus to imitate the source text, resulting in a clumsy period due to an underdeveloped phase of thinking. Rather, Plautus consciously modified and refined the traditional style and, importantly, used it in suitable contexts to produce the desired dramatic and comical effect.

The evidence so far points to the conclusion that, when it comes to subordinate clauses generally preceding their main clauses, the difference between Plautus and Terence may be traced to Plautus's accumulating subordinate clauses in individual passages for dramatic purposes. Sometimes, these come close to being left-dislocations, as (5) above. What role relative clause syntax plays in this will be discussed in the next section.

## 5. Preposed relative clauses and left-dislocation

Above, it was pointed out that correlative sentences (i.e., preposed relative clauses with explicit resumption) may contribute to the apparent frequency of left-dislocation in Plautus. Such relative clauses are attested in a variety of syntactic patterns, a classification of which is given below (see further Halla-aho 2018, 38–51).

The first type has an autonomous relative clause without a nominal head preceding the main clause,[21] with a resumptive anaphoric in (6) and without a resumptive anaphoric in (7):

[20] Blänsdorf (1967, 98) notes on the archaic thought structure of (5) above that, in such contexts, the use of the resumptive demonstrative pronoun *is* is frequent ("recht häufig"), softening the block-like isolation of the subordinate clauses ("der Hang der alten Sprache zur pleonastischen Fülle entspringe also dem Wunsche, Klarheit und Verbindung zu schaffen").

[21] An autonomous relative clause functions at the level of the sentence and may or may not contain a nominal head; see further Pinkster (2012 and forthcoming). I am grateful to Harm Pinkster for allowing me to use a version of the second volume of his *Oxford Latin Syntax* prior to its publication.

Autonomous relative clause without a nominal head, with resumption

(6) nam quae indotata est, ea in potestate est uiri

A wife without dowry is in her husband's power. (Plaut. *Aul*. 534)

Autonomous relative clause without a nominal head, without resumption

(7) quae non deliquit, decet
audacem esse, confidenter pro se et proterue loqui

A woman who hasn't done anything wrong ought to be bold and speak confidently and daringly in her own defense. (Plaut. *Amph*. 836–837)

The second type is otherwise similar but has a nominal head, with resumption in (8) and without resumption in (9):

Autonomous relative clause with an internal nominal head, with resumption

(8) quod mihi praedicas uitium, id tibi est

You have the fault you say I have. (Plaut. *Amph*. 402)

Autonomous relative clause with a nominal (internal) head, without resumption

(9) qui homo timidus erit in rebus dubiis, nauci non erit

Someone who is timid in emergencies won't be a farthing. (Plaut. *Most*. 1041)

When the head noun occurs before the relative pronoun, is external to the relative clause, and is taken up by a resumptive element, the result is left-dislocation, as in (10):[22]

[22] In such constructions, the relative clause is not actually preposed but rather postnominal (Pompei

Adnominal relative clause, with an external nominal head, with resumption[23]

(10) sed gnatum unicum,
quem pariter uti his decuit aut etiam amplius, (…)
eum ego hinc eieci miserum iniustitia mea

But my only son, who should have shared the enjoyment equally, I have driven the poor boy out by my injustice? (Ter. *Heaut*. 130–132)

This head-external type also occurs without resumption, in a similar manner to (7) and (9) above; cf. (11):

Adnominal relative clause, with an external nominal head, without resumption

(11) Simul Alcumenae, quam uir insontem probri
Amphitruo accusat, ueni ut auxilium feram

At the same time I've come to bring help to Alcumena, whom her husband Amphitruo is accusing of adultery, even though she's innocent. (Plaut. *Amph*. 869)

The construction in (11) differs from left-dislocation only by the absence of resumption in the matrix clause.

In sum, the constructions with resumptive elements (exs. (6), (8) and (10) above) come in three types. In (6) and (8), the construction either does not have a head noun, as in (6), or the head noun is internal to the relative clause, as

2011, 493).

[23] Note that (1) above is ambiguous and can be understood as either a correlative sentence or left-dislocation, as *mulier* is potentially internal to the relative clause, an interpretation that is not viable in the case of (10). There, the head noun, *gnatum unicum*, is unambiguously in extra-clausal position because the relative clause is non-restrictive (i.e., it does not define *gnatum unicum*, whose identity is clear at this point of the play); by definition, such relative clauses cannot be head-internal. It should be emphasized that only a small portion of left-dislocation in comedy are of the type exemplified by (1), meaning that left-dislocation as a whole cannot be explained as simply one type of a correlative sentence.

in (8); these constructions are called correlative sentences. On the other hand, in (10), the head noun is external to the relative clause, and the construction is called left-dislocation. All three constructions have variants without the resumptive element (exs. (7), (9) and (11) above), in which case they are not correlative sentences or examples of left-dislocation.

To find out whether left-dislocation in Plautus is related to his use of correlative clauses, I look next at the frequencies of the different construction types in Plautus and Terence. While there is no difference to be seen when these constructions are tallied (*Table* 3), the situation changes somewhat when they are presented separately. In *Table* 4, I give the type of the construction in the left column and the example number of the relevant construction in the adjacent column. After these follow the number of examples in Plautus, the frequency per 10,000 words in Plautus, the number of examples in Terence, and the frequency per 10,000 words in Terence.[24]

Because the figures are only partially available for the entire corpus, I have calculated the frequency per 10,000 words for all constructions to facilitate comparison. The figures in square brackets are extracted from five plays of Plautus (*Amphitruo, Asinaria, Bacchides, Mostellaria, Pseudolus*) and two plays of Terence (*Heautontimorumenos* and *Eunuchus*).[25] The figures for constructions (8) and (9) are based on Bertelsmann (1885) and represent the whole corpus for both authors. The figure for left-dislocation likewise represents the whole corpus for both authors and has been collected by me.

[24] In the fifth row of *Table* 4 (*homo/ille qui … is*), I report only those instances of left-dislocation that are parallel to the other relative clause constructions. In other words, I leave aside left-dislocation without a relative clause and left-dislocation without resumption. On the status of the type *ille qui*, see Halla-aho (2018, 48–51).

[25] The figures for individual plays are as follows: (*qui … is*) *Amphitruo* 6, *Asinaria* 1, *Bacchides* 8, *Mostellaria* 7, *Pseudolus* 6, *Eunuchus* 3, *Heautintimorumenos* 5; (*qui … Ø*) *Amphitruo* 5, *Asinaria* 8, *Bacchides* 18, *Mostellaria* 3, *Pseudolus* 9, *Eunuchus* 12, *Heautontimorumenos* 6; (*homo qui … Ø / ille qui … Ø*) *Amphitruo* 13, *Asinaria* 10, *Bacchides* 5, *Mostellaria* 4, *Pseudolus* 9, *Eunuchus* 8, *Heautontimorumenos* 9.

| Type of construction | Example no. above | Plautus examples* | Plautus frequency** | Terence examples* | Terence frequency** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| qui … is | (6) | [28] | 6.2 | [8] | 4.1 |
| qui … Ø | (7) | [43] | 9.5 | [18] | 10.1 |
| qui homo … is | (8) | 22 | 1.3 | 10 | 2.0 |
| qui homo … Ø | (9) | 21 | 1.3 | 15 | 3.0 |
| homo qui … is / ille qui … is | (10) | 54 | 3.3 | 5 | 1.0 |
| homo qui … Ø / ille qui … Ø | (11) | [41] | 9.0 | [17] | 9.6 |

*Table 4. Frequencies of preposed relative clause constructions in Plautus and Terence. * = number of examples, ** = frequency per 10,000 words.*

It can immediately be seen that there is no radical difference between Plautus and Terence in the frequencies of different types of preposed relative clauses. In nearly all categories of both authors, the type without resumption is more frequent than the corresponding one with resumption. Another tendency is that, in Terence, absence of resumption in all categories is more frequent than it is in Plautus. The final two rows in *Table* 4, left-dislocation in (10) and the corresponding construction without resumption in (11), also fit the picture of Terence using resumption less frequently after a preposed relative clause than does Plautus. This indicates that left-dislocation in Plautus may be, at least partly, increased by a general tendency to add a resumptive pronoun after a preposed relative clause.

However, it is in left-dislocation where the biggest difference in frequency between the authors can be observed, over three times as frequent in Plautus as it is in Terence.[26] It is worth considering here some qualitative data. The purpose in doing so is to show that, in Plautus, the preposed relative clause with an antecedent often has a form that is rather far removed from the simple pattern of antecedent—relative clause—resumption. I give two examples:

[26] The p value for this difference is the smallest of all the six categories (p=0.0074), with only one of the other categories having a statistically significant difference (p= 0.0087 in type (9)). For the remaining categories, $p > 0.1$. It is to be noted, however, that, with such a large corpus, even small differences easily turn out to be statistically significant.

(12) hi qui illum dudum conciliauerunt mihi
peregrinum Spartanum, id nunc his cerebrum uritur,
me esse hos trecentos Philippos facturum lucri

Those who a while ago procured that stranger from Sparta for me
now have an itch in their brains about me making profit of these
three hundred Philippics. (Plaut. *Poen*. 768–771)

Here, Lycus is talking about the advocates (*hi qui*) and his suspicion that the three hundred Philippics of the fake soldier (*peregrinum Spartanum*) have become an interest to the advocates as well (*his cerebrum uritur*). This complex idea results in a left-dislocation where the advocates are first introduced in the thematic nominative and referred to in the dative in the following main clause.

(13) em ab hoc lenone uicino tuo
per sycophantiam atque per doctos dolos
tibicinam illam tuos quam gnatus deperit,
ea circumducam lepide lenonem

Here you go: this neighbour of yours, the pimp, I'll wittily swindle him out of that flute girl your son loves through trickery and clever guiles. (Plaut. *Pseud*. 526–529)

Example (13) has a complex syntactic construction that borders on being anacoluthon. The construction is *circumduco* with the person being deceived (*lenonem*, the pimp) in the accusative and the possession (*ea* the girl whom the pimp is going to lose as the result of the trick) in the ablative.

It is possible to adduce some further qualitative evidence to support the existence of left-dislocation as an independent construction. This evidence comes from examples of left-dislocation that do not have a relative clause. In these constructions, the question of interfering relative clause syntax does not arise. Plautus has several (at least ten) such constructions, whereas Terence has none that I know of. These examples can be observed in *hominem … eum* in (14) and *elephanto … ei* in (15).

(14) tamquam hominem, quando animam ecflauit, quid eum quaeras qui fuit?

Like a man who has breathed his last, why would you ask who he was? (Plaut. *Persa* 638)

(15) edepol uel elephanto in India quo pacto ei pugno praefregisti bracchium

Or take the elephant in India, how you broke its arm with your fist. (Plaut. *Mil*. 25–26)

Although left-dislocation without relative clause is rather limited even in Plautus, the existence of these constructions shows that left-dislocation in Latin is independent from relative clause syntax.

## 6. Concluding remarks

This study has shown that the differences in periodic technique between Plautus and Terence concern more individual passages than overall syntactic composition. Based on the evidence from one comedy from each author, I conclude that, on average, sentence length and complexity are similar in the two authors. Although Plautus shows more extreme forms of accumulating subordinate clauses before the main clause, this appears to be limited to those instances and does not reflect a general tendency to use either longer sentences or sentences with more subordinate clauses. Likewise, the passages of archaic periods that have two or more subordinate clauses are not linked to any overall preference for placing subordinate clauses before their main clauses. The figures used as indicators of these three features (sentence length, sentence complexity, and proportion of preposed subordinate clauses) do not differ meaningfully between the two authors.

A closer view was taken on preposed relative clauses. This clause type presents much internal variation concerning the presence and placement of the antecedent of the relative pronoun. One type of such relative clauses can be

defined as left-dislocation. This construction features an external antecedent of the relative pronoun and a following anaphoric resumption in the matrix clause. Plautus has a demonstrably higher frequency of such constructions. Given the association of preposed relative clauses and following anaphorics with archaic syntax and correlative clauses, I investigated whether the frequency of left-dislocation in Plautus might be due to an inclination to use resumptive anaphoric pronouns generally after preposed relative clauses.

The result is that Plautus does indeed use resumptive pronouns more often than Terence in these contexts. However, the difference is not radical. Moreover, it seems that, in Plautus, left-dislocation constructions often cannot be described in a simple framework of correlative clauses, containing, as they do, much variation in their syntax. Therefore, I conclude that left-dislocation in Plautus is a mixed category, reflecting both the use of resumptive anaphorics after preposed relative clauses, and a predilection for what might termed genuine left-dislocation. The difference in the number of left-dislocation constructions cannot be attributed only to the correlative clause type with resumptive anaphoric pronouns. Left-dislocation appears to belong to the idiosyncratic style of Plautus rather than to an archaic state of the language.

In my view, left-dislocation is not itself an archaic feature (unlike the correlative sentence), and should be identified in Latin as a construction with an independent existence, not merely an extension of the correlative sentence, though overlapping and interacting with it. While Plautus's style is conventionally thought to be more archaic and colloquial, it is also more exuberant and more complicated than the classical, elegant and natural Terence. My findings should be seen as supportive evidence for this tendency, an inclination towards a rather complicated expression for artistic and comical purposes, reserved, nonetheless, for individual passages. I thus do not consider the constructions discussed in this article to be typical constructions in actual conversations. Their sources may lie in spoken language, but the constructions we see in the comedies are artistic creations in their own right.

As for the differences in opinion between Eckstein and Blänsdorf, Plautus's use of correlative clauses and other preposed relative clause constructions, including left-dislocation as an important component, supports Eckstein's view that Plautus was an active developer of his linguistic style. It is true that Plautus

is often more archaic, but this should not be taken to mean that he simply reproduced the early periodic style.

*University of Helsinki*

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*Arctos* 52 (2018) 95–98

# THE PROBLEMS IN THE VITRUVIAN HODOMETER REVISITED

George Hollenback*

In a previous article, Panu Hyppönen presented a reconstructed value for the diameter of the wheels of the hodometer, a mileage-measuring vehicle described by Vitruvius (*De arch*. 10,9,1–4).[1] One revolution of a wheel was said to cover a distance of 12 ½ feet, 400 such revolutions marking off a Roman mile of 5000 feet. Because modern translations give a wheel diameter of 4 feet, it has been assumed that the π value implicit in the description of the hodometer is $12\ ½ \div 4 = 3\ ⅛$, a seemingly puzzling inaccuracy since Archimedes had already come up with the more accurate upper-limit π value of $3\ ⅐$ more than a century earlier. A wheel with a diameter of 4 feet would actually cover a distance of slightly over 12 ½ feet, the cumulative effect of 400 revolutions adding a little over 26 ½ feet to each mile.

The extant Latin manuscripts, however, do not give a bare diameter of 4 feet or *pedum quaternum*; rather, they all have wording such as *et sextantis* or *et sextante* "and a sixth" or *et sextantes* "and sixths" following after *pedum quaternum*. One commentator on the passages, John Pottage, understood them to be giving a wheel diameter of $4\ ⅙$ feet, yielding an even less accurate π value, $12\ ½ \div 4\ ⅙ = 3$ (!).[2] A $4\ ⅙$-foot diameter wheel making 400 revolutions would have added about 236 feet to each mile. Because there are biblical references to circumference being three times diameter (e.g., 1 Kings 7,23), Pottage suggested that a pious scribe might have been responsible for the $4\ ⅙$ diameter

* I would like to thank the two anonymous *Arctos* manuscript reviewers whose excellent insights have been incorporated into this note.

[1] P. Hyppönen, "4π = 12.5? – The Problems in the Vitruvian Hodometer", *Arctos* 48 (2014) 185–204.

[2] J. Pottage, "The Vitruvian Value of π", *Isis* 59 (1968) 190–197.

figure, emending whatever diameter Vitruvius had originally given in order to make the text conform to the scriptural circumference-to-diameter ratio of 3.[3] Later translators then took the liberty of omitting the troublesome fraction from the diameter of 4 $\frac{1}{6}$ in order to produce the more mathematically respectable π value of 3 $\frac{1}{8}$ associated with a diameter of 4 feet even.

Since Vitruvius stated he was describing a device produced by his predecessors, the hodometer was more than likely the product of the Alexandrian scientific community, which certainly would have been familiar with the π approximation of 3 $\frac{1}{7}$ and would have accordingly made use of it in designing such a device. Hyppönen has correctly reconstructed the original Vitruvian value of the diameter of the wheels by considering sufficiently small Roman fractions of a foot that yield a diameter measurement that in conjunction with a circumference of 12 ½ feet points to a π value much closer to 3 $\frac{1}{7}$ than 3 $\frac{1}{8}$:

> If . . . the wheels were constructed with a perimeter of exactly 12.5 feet, the diameter would have to be $12.5 = 2\pi r \rightarrow \pi r = 6.25 \rightarrow r \approx 1.989$ (*2) ≈ 3.979 feet. This is remarkably close to 3 $\frac{47}{48}$ . . .[4]

Hyppönen's reconstructed diameter measurement of 3 $\frac{47}{48}$ feet is $\frac{1}{48}$ of a foot—a quarter of an inch—short of 4 feet. Expressed in typical Roman foot-and-inch measurement style, 3 $\frac{47}{48}$ feet would be 3 (feet) + 11 (inches) + ½ (inch) + ¼ (inch); spelled out, it would be *pedum trium deuncis semunciae sicilici*. Hyppönen goes on to note that one way this could have been represented

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[3] Pottage (above n. 2) 195–6.

[4] Hyppönen (above n. 1) 192. My own approach to the problem was to convert the 12 ½ -foot circumference to 600 quarter inch increments and divide by the Archimedian upper π limit of 3 $\frac{1}{7}$ to obtain a diameter rounded up or down to the nearest quarter inch; the result was a rounding up to 191 quarter inches, which also comes out to 3 $\frac{47}{48}$ feet. Now when 600 is divided by 191, the result is 3.141361, an even more accurate π approximation than 3 $\frac{1}{7}$ (= 3.142857). When a given circumference is divided by a π approximation which is larger than the actual value of π (= 3.141592) – such as 3 $\frac{1}{7}$ (= 3.142857) – the resultant diameter figure so derived will necessarily be shorter than the actual diameter. In this case, however, the rounding *up* of the derived diameter figure to the nearest whole quarter inch more than compensated for the shortening of the diameter. When the circumference of 600 is then divided by the rounded-up diameter of 191, the serendipitous result is a π approximation even more accurate than 3 $\frac{1}{7}$. (Decimal approximations of π in this note are carried out no further than sixth place.)

by Roman numerals and symbols would be III :::::. ℒ ↄ. In this manner of notation, : represents $^{1}/_{6}$, so :::::. would be 5 ½ sixths or $^{11}/_{12}$ of a foot; ℒ represents ½ inch ; and ↄ represents ¼ inch. Through scribal error in an earlier manuscript employing this manner of notation, the III could have become IV by an inadvertent slanting of certain of the vertical strokes, and the latter portion of :::::. and the ℒ and the ↄ could have been lost along the way. A later scribe wanting to spell out what he saw in numerical form—IV followed by :::::. whose latter portion was missing or obscured —would have simply written *quaternum et sextantes*, "four and sixths". Thus for Hyppönen, *quaternum et sextantes* is not a corruption of *quaternum et sextantis*—"four and a sixth"—but is rather the corrupted vestigial remains of III :::::. ℒ ↄ as it might have been spelled out.[5]

Applying Occam's Razor, I beg to differ, suggesting that Pottage's explanation that a pious scribe emended the text to give the wheel a dimension of 4 $^{1}/_{6}$ feet is the better explanation for what is found in the extant manuscripts. The spelled-out version of 3 (feet) + 11 (inches) + ½ (inch) + ¼ (inch) given by Hyppönen as *pedum trium deuncis semunciae sicilici* can be more concisely rendered as *pedum quaternum minus sicilici*, "four feet less a quarter of an inch".[6] The scribe need only substitute *ex sextantis* for *minus sicilici* to obtain the desired *pedum quaternum et sextantis*, "four feet and a sixth (of a foot)".[7] Moreover, the emendation need not necessarily be the result of a deliberate attempt to substitute a value based on scripture for the original Vitruvian value. If the portion of the manuscript bearing the *minus sicilici* was smudged or damaged, a conscientious copyist would certainly want to attempt a reconstruction of the missing words. A copyist who had been taught a circumference-to-diameter ratio of 3 would therefore naturally assume the illegible or missing words to be *et sextantis* and accordingly set about "restoring" them. Subsequent scribal errors could account for *sextantes* in place of *sextantis* that crop up in some of the extant versions.

In conclusion, published chronologies of π values often make Vitruvius appear to be a kind of behind-the-times dunce for presenting hodometer wheel

[5] Hyppönen (above n. 1) 195–202.

[6] There is at least one other passage where Vitruvius uses *minus* to subtract one dimension from another, 10,11,8; coincidentally, *sicilicus* as a quarter-inch measure appears in the preceding 10,11,7.

[7] Note that *ex sextantis* takes up 12 spaces while *minus sicilici* takes up 14 spaces, so the substitution of the former for the latter could easily be done with a little extra room to spare.

dimensions that supposedly yield an implied π value of 3 $\frac{1}{8}$ (= 3.125) when the more accurate value of 3 $\frac{1}{7}$ (= 3.142857) was already known. In reality, Vitruvius was transmitting a value even more accurate than 3 $\frac{1}{7}$, namely 12 ½ ÷ 3 $\frac{47}{48}$ = 3.141361.

*Houston, Texas*

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# A FUNERARY INSCRIPTION FROM NORTHERN MESOPOTAMIA

Mika Kajava & Urpo Kantola*

The following note concerns a seemingly unpublished inscription from northern Mesopotamia.[1] The exact provenance of the monument is unknown, as are the conditions of its discovery, but it is said to come from somewhere in the borderlands between Greater Armenia, Gordyene and Sophene in the modern province of Batman in south-eastern Turkey.[2] As the text is not completely without interest, it is perhaps worthwhile to record it briefly.

Funerary stele in limestone (reported height c. 50 cm) with bust in relief of a woman covered with a veiled headdress and holding a child in her arms. The text inscribed under the relief is as follows:

Μουμμηία
Ἰουλία, φίλαν-
δρε ἄλυπε χαῖρε.

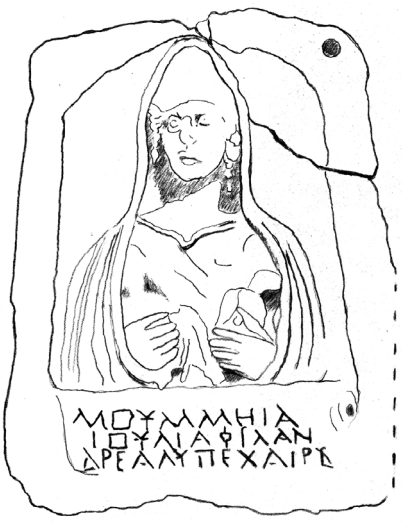
Regarding the nomenclature of the deceased, one may observe that while the second element with its derivatives is well known all over the ancient world, there seems to be only one further attestation of the gentile name *Mummeius* in the eastern Mediterranean.[3] The final phrase, ἄλυπε χαῖρε ("causing no grief, etc.",

* Our thanks are due to an anonymous reader.

1 The present whereabouts of the object is unknown. As the author of the photograph we have is anonymous, we enclose a drawing from it.

2 This provenance is possible, though one feels that the formula used in the inscription might rather point to a more western region like that around Zeugma in Commagene, cf. nn. 4–5.

3 L. Mummeius Ingenuos in a Severan dedication from Berytus (*CIL* III 158 = 6668 = 12095a).




frequently preceded by χρηστὲ/ἠ καὶ), is well attested in the language of Greek epitaphs, especially in the Aegean and, even more, in Greater Syria and elsewhere in the East,[4] the augmented version φίλανδρε ἄλυπε χαῖρε (or a variation) for deceased wives being hitherto documented only a couple of times, in Syria in particular.[5]

As for chronology, the double gentile name, with Ἰουλία probably functioning as the woman's cognomen, suggests the earlier part of the Principate, perhaps the latter half of the first through the second century AD, hardly much later. Unfortunate-

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There is one Μάγιος Μούμμειος Ῥοῦφος from the late first century AD in *IAlexImp* 25, ll. 20–21 (= Bernand, *Prose sur pierre* no. 60), but the presence of both Γέμεινος and of the names Πομπηΐα and Πομπηΐου in the same inscription suggests that the grapheme ει here probably stands for short /i/ (note that J. and L. Robert [*Bull.ép*. 1962, no. 353], and some others, have taken the gentile name as *Mummeius*; Kayser [*IAlexImp*] has both "Mummius" and "Mummeius").

[4] The geographical diffusion of the formula is discussed by J.-B. Yon, *Syria* 80 (2003) 151–59. For more recent evidence from Zeugma, see R. Ergeç & J.-B. Yon, in C. Abadie-Reynal (ed.), *Zeugma* III. *Les fouilles de l'habitat. Fouilles de l'habitat* (2): *la maison des Synaristôsai / Nouvelles inscriptions,* Lyon 2012, 159–90 (*passim*). Some examples are included in M. Blömer, *Steindenkmäler römischer Zeit aus Nordsyrien. Identität und kulturelle Tradition in Kyrrhestike und Kommagene*, Bonn 2014, 191–295 (Katalog, *passim*).

[5] Φίλανδρε ἄλυπε χαῖρε: *IGLS* V 2671 (Emesene); *SEG* XXXII 1466 (Hierapolis, inscr. χῆρε); *SEG* XXVI 1533 (= J. Wagner, *Seleukeia am Euphrat/Zeugma*, Wiesbaden 1976, 196, no. 41: φίλανδρος ἄλυπε χαῖρε). Cf. *SEG* LIII 1773 and LXII 1543 (= Ergeç & Yon [above n. 4], nos. 22, 25; Zeugma): σώφρων καὶ φίλανδρε ἄλυπε χαῖρε; *SEG* LXII 1544 (= Ergeç & Yon [above n. 4], no. 26; Zeugma): ἀγαθὴ καὶ φίλανδρε ἄλυπε χαῖρε; *SEG* XXVI 1538 (Zeugma): φίλανδρε εὐσεβὴς ἄλυπε χῆρε (= Wagner, *ibid.* 199–200, no. 47); *IGLS* V 2371 (Emesa): σώφρο[να] καὶ φίλ[α]⟨ν⟩δρον, [ἄλυ]πε χαῖρε; *IPortes* 110 (Apollonopolis Magna): ἄλυπε, χρηστή, φίλανδρε, φιλό[τεκνε (ἐτῶν)] κ̣γ; *IG* XII 3, 318 (Anaphe): χαῖρε ἄλυπε καὶ φίλανδρε. One may note, incidentally, that the omission of the copula between the vocatives (χρηστὲ/ἠ, ἄλυπε, etc.) preceding χαῖρε, is perhaps another typical feature of Syrian epitaphs.

ly, other features of the inscription do not offer much to narrow down the date any further. First, even though the use of Gr. ου to render Latin short /*u*/ (as in Μουμμηία) is the typical alternative during the second century AD, it becomes quite common already in the previous century and accordingly may not be used as effective evidence for excluding a first-century AD date. Second, considering the probability of local variation in contemporary letter styles, palaeography does not help very much here either, as the stele lacks an exact provenance and thus allows little more than vague comparisons. Moreover, a palaeographic feature like the omicron written in a square form, well attested in the East, could occur locally in one period and be replaced by the round version in another, only to re-emerge some decades or a century later. This is what seems to have happened in Zeugma in the first and second centuries AD, for example.[6] However, the upsilon with a horizontal bar might point to a date not earlier than the second century AD. In sum, considering that the style of the relief also seems assignable to the second century AD, this is altogether the most likely date for the stele.

*University of Helsinki*

[6] Wagner (above n. 5) 166.

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# NOTES ON PLUTARCH: *COMPARISON LYSANDER-SULLA* 2,5–7 AND 5,5

Arthur Keaveney

In the *Comparison Lysander-Sulla* 2,5–7 we read:

> Αἱ τοίνυν ἀδικίαι τῷ μὲν ὑπὲρ φίλων, τῷ δ' ἄχρι φίλων ἐπράχθησαν. Λύσανδρος μὲν γὰρ ὁμολογεῖται τὰ πλεῖστα διὰ τοὺς ἑταίρους ἐξαμαρτεῖν, καὶ τὰς πλείστας σφαγὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀπεργάσασθαι δυναστείας καὶ τυραννίδος. Σύλλας δὲ καὶ Πομπηίου περιέκοψε τὸ στρατιωτικὸν φθονήσας, καὶ Δολοβέλλα τὴν ναυαρχίαν ἐπεχείρησε δοὺς ἀφελέσθαι, καὶ Λουκρήτιον Ὀφέλλαν ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ὑπατείαν μνώμενον ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀποσφάξαι προσέταξε, φρίκην καὶ δέος ἐμποιῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνθρώποις ἅπασι διὰ τῆς τῶν φιλτάτων ἀναιρέσεως.
>
> Moreover, the acts of injustice which one committed were on behalf of his friends, while the other's extended even to his friends. For it is agreed that Lysander perpetrated most of his transgressions for the sake of his comrades and carried out most of his massacres to maintain them in absolute power. But Sulla reduced the number of Pompey's soldiers out of jealousy and tried to take away from Dolabella the naval command he had given him, and when Lucretius Ofella laid claim to the consulship as a reward for many great services, he ordered him to be cut down before his eyes, instilling in all men a fear and horror at his murder of his dearest friends.
>
> *Trans*. Seager in Warner 2005

This passage invites comments both for the problems it presents for the historian but also for the light it throws on Plutarch's mode of procedure in these *Comparisons*. In both instances our discussion will centre round the three figures Plutarch mentions in the text.

Of the three Romans we have here Ofella – most likely really Afella – presents nothing in the way of difficulty. His bid for the consulship and his murder by Sulla have been fully narrated in *Sulla* 33.[1]

Pompey is more problematical. All that we learn of Sulla's tyrannical behaviour in the *Life* (33) is his forcing Pompey to divorce his wife in order to make a political match. This incident is also found, with one or two other details, in *Pompey* 9. In place of the brief notice here in the *Comparison* we have a detailed account in *Pompey* 13–14 of how Sulla ordered him to send his army home from Africa and remain there with one legion until his replacement arrived but that a mutiny forced Pompey to return with the army, when he was able to extract a triumph from Sulla. Throughout Sulla's motives seem to have been political and strategic.[2]

Dolabella causes considerable difficulties. As this is the only reference to this man and his ναυαρχία there have been a variety of scholarly responses to the problem he poses. Piccirilli in his commentary passes over the matter in silence.[3] Another commentator Ghilli identified Dolabella as Cn. Cornelius Dolabella cos. 81 but had nothing to say about his naval command.[4] Something similar is found in Pelling's commentary on Plutarch's *Life of Caesar*. Chapter 4 contains an undisputed reference to the consul of 81. This Pelling glosses as, 'Sullan commander and admiral' and among the sources mentioned is *Comparison* 2,7.[5] Turning to historians we find Fündling assigning, with some hesitation, an unnamed naval command to the same Dolabella.[6] A slight variant is found in Keaveney who also accepts the consular identification but declares explicitly that the command is quite undatable.[7] Münzer, Gruen and Seager, while also

[1] On this man see further, Keaveney 2003.

[2] Keaveney 1982, 128–133; Heftner 1995, 100–103, 116–119; Seager 2002, 26–28, 174.

[3] Piccirilli 1997.

[4] Ghilli 2001, 504 n.917 (cf. 449 n.666).

[5] Pelling 2011, 145.

[6] Fündling 2010, 180 n.36.

[7] Keaveney 1984, 139.

holding that the consul of 81 is in question, believe this ναυραχία refers to an otherwise unattested naval command under Sulla in the First Mithridatic War.[8]

Objections may be made to such views. The attempt to take a command from a Dolabella may not belong in the First Mithridatic War.[9] The other two incidents appear to date from the period of Sulla's dominance. Both Afella's murder and Pompey's deprivation of office occurred during the dictatorship.[10] As Plutarch does not differentiate between the dictatorship of 81 and the consulship of 80 but speaks only of Sulla's ἀρχή[11] it is, I suggest, reasonable to suppose Sulla made his move sometime in this two-year period. We also need to bear in mind that we have no record of service in the East by the consul of 81 and our relatively abundant information on Sulla's fleet has L. Lucullus as its commander.[12] We might further add that it is curious Sulla only attempted to deprive Dolabella of his command. If he, as commander-in-chief, did want to remove his subordinate, then it is difficult to see how he could be thwarted.[13]

But, by far the strongest argument against the *communis opinio* is that Plutarch in fact seems not to be talking at all of the consul of 81. So far as I am aware, only Brennan has argued that the person in question is the homonymous praetor of 81 and the naval command is a reference to his governorship of Cilicia (80–79) where a fleet would be needed to fight the pirates. Brennan then goes on to suggest that Sulla first tried to deprive Dolabella of his province and, when that failed, saw to it he only held it *propraetore* whereas all other praetorian governors of the time held theirs *proconsule*.[14]

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[8] Münzer RE 6.1 col. 1297 (Cornelius 134); Gruen 1966, 386; Seager in Warner 2005, 390 n.1.

[9] At any rate, I do not think the text will support Gruen's interpretation, 1966, 386 n.4, that Sulla reduced the number of ships under Dolabella's command.

[10] See discussions cited in ns.1 and 2 above.

[11] Dictatorship and consulship were strictly differentiated: Keaveney 2005. For Plutarch, see Keaveney 2005, 426. More will be said below about the period in which Plutarch may have thought Sulla might have attempted to take Dolabella's command away from him.

[12] On Lucullus see Keaveney 2009, 27–38. The only fleet which Dolabella could conceivably have commanded was that which Sulla began to build while waiting for Lucullus (App. *Mith.* 51).

[13] Below, I shall sketch a more likely circumstance when this thwarting could have happened.

[14] Brennan 2000, 572. *Praetor urbanus* and governor of Cilicia: MRR 2,76, 80, 84; Brennan 2000, 444; Gruen 1966, 394–395. His career prior to the praetorship is a matter for conjecture – see Gruen 1966, 389–392 who accepts a suggestion of Cichorius that he could have served on the staff of Pompey Strabo at Asculum and believes he may have been a cousin of the consul of 81. On the

Certain qualifications may be in order. Let us begin with the *imperium* Dolabella is supposed to have held. We have two bodies of evidence, Cicero himself in the *Verrines* and some scholia which comment on them.

In two places in the *Verrines*, Dolabella is referred to as praetor.[15] In another he is styled as praetor and propraetor.[16] Turning to the scholia we find Dolabella is a proconsul in Ps. Asc. 208 St. but in Ps. Asc. 144, 234 St. he is confused with the consul of 81. In Schol. Gron. 333 St. he is correctly identified and called *imperator*.

With regard to the *Verrines* two observations seem pertinent. As has most recently been observed by Ferrary, in Cicero it is very frequent to refer to a governor as praetor without regard to the actual *imperium* held.[17] Brennan himself concedes that, while the title may be only *propraetore*, the use of the term in a court record could, perhaps, be an administrative detail which does not reflect on the *imperium* actually held.[18] Turning to the scholiast, we may say the confusion with the consul counsels caution but this confusion and the different titles conferred may just point to their authors encountering the same problems as moderns in interpreting the references to praetor and propraetor in the *Verrines*.

Surveying our sources, I am not sure they will support Brennan's idea that Sulla saw to it that Dolabella got a lesser *imperium*. As we shall see, there are some grounds for believing he did not like the man but the evidence for tampering with his *imperium* is, at best, equivocal.

Something must now be said about Dolabella's ναυαρχία. As we observed above, Brennan believed this was a reference to Dolabella's province of Cilicia.[19] In making this deduction, he drew attention to Plutarch's using the

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Dolabellae see further Badian 1965 and on Cilicia and piracy n.24.

[15] 2 *Verr.* 1,50, 96.

[16] 2 *Verr.* 1,99.

[17] Ferrary 2017, 398–401. Cf. also Badian 1964, 74. This point was not considered by Jashemski 1950, 68, 147.

[18] Brennan 2000, 444, 572. I cannot see why Brennan 2000, 572 thinks that Nero being in position in Asia while Dolabella was on his way to his province offers support to the notion of a quarrel with Sulla. On the governors of Asia see Keaveney 2009, 245–253.

[19] The province has been the subject of much scholarly discussion. See briefly the summary in Kallet-Marx 1995, 293 n.5 with a bibliography to which should be added Freeman 1986; Brennan 1992, 2000, 257–359; Ferrary 2017, 323–353.

term ναυαρχία in relation to Pompey's great command against the pirates.[20] This may not be entirely apposite as Pompey's command was exceptional.[21] At any rate, we need, I think, to remember there were many other naval commands with commanders of varying rank in Roman history.[22]

Now, there would seem to be little reason to doubt that Cilicia meant war on pirates and that a fleet could be needed for this.[23] This, however, overlooks the fact that land armies could be involved also.[24] Three of Dolabella's predecessors are of interest here:

> (1) M. Antonius in 102 had a fleet for his operations but he also had a land army which, it is conjectured, consisted of local levies.[25]
> (2) The next governor who concerns us is Sulla in 96. With local levies he fought a campaign by land but no naval operations are recorded for him.[26]
> (3) Finally, there is Q. Oppius who, in 89, took part in an ill-fated land expedition against Mithridates, but again there is no mention of ships in our sources.[27]

We can fit Dolabella into this sequence. He conducted campaigns by land and by sea. Land operations were sufficiently severe so as to lead to the death of his

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[20] Brennan 2000, 572. See Plut. *Pomp.* 25.

[21] Seager 2002, 44, 176; Heftner 1995, 187–189.

[22] Mason 1974, s.v. ναυαρχέω, ναυαρχία, ναύαρχος.

[23] Brennan 2000, 572, 765 n.5, cf. n.14 above. In my opinion, the observations of de Souza 1999, 91, 115, 121–123 do not invalidate this view.

[24] See the remarks of Ferrary 2017, 330–331.

[25] Cic. *de Orat.*; ILLRP no.342; Liv. *ep*. 68; Trog. *Prolog*.; Obsequens 44; Tac. *Ann.* 12,62 with Brennan 2000, 357; Magie 1950, vol.1 283, vol.2 1161 n.12; de Souza 1999, 103–108; Brunt 1971, 431. Cf. MRR 1,568–569, 572–573.

[26] App. *Mith.* 57, B.C. 1,77; *de Vir. Illust.* 75; Plut. *Sulla* 5; Liv. *ep*. 70; Vell. Pat. 2,15,3 with the fundamental discussion of Brennan 1992 where (151) action against the pirates is envisaged but, as de Souza 1999, 115 points out, it is not attested in our sources. Cf. MRR 3.73–74.

[27] App. *Mith.* 17, 20; Liv. *ep*. 78; Lic. 20 Cr.; Athen. 5,213a with Brennan 2000, 358–359; de Souza 1999, 115, cf. MRR 2,42, 3,152–153.

quaestor Malleolus and Cicero was later to attack him for leaving the war and the enemy to involve himself in the trial of Philodamus.[28] Verres, his *legatus pro praetore*, had charge of a fleet.[29]

This mixed force must lead us to wonder, at the very least, why Plutarch spoke only of a ναυαρχία and did not use ἐπαρχεία, the usual word for *provincia*.[30]

In an attempt to answer this question, we need, I believe, to keep in mind the brevity of the notice and its paucity of detail which might lead to ambiguity. In my judgement, therefore, ναυαρχία could be interpreted in two ways. It is entirely possible that, like some moderns, the role of the fleet in combatting piracy was uppermost in Plutarch's mind and that, speaking loosely, he does indeed mean a *provincia* here.[31] However, we cannot completely dismiss the notion that Plutarch is here speaking simply of a naval command.[32]

If the pro-magistracy is what is meant then plainly we are in 81, the year of Sulla's dictatorship. It would then seem Sulla in some way interfered with or attempted to influence the senatorial provincial *sortitio* either seeking to deprive Dolabella entirely of a province or change the one assigned.[33] This treatment of Dolabella is to be contrasted with that accorded Pompey and Afella. Pompey's divorce was forced because Sulla wished to form a political alliance with somebody who was obviously making his mark on the world while Afella was destroyed because, overestimating his own importance, he was defying Sulla's new constitutional arrangements.[34] On the other hand, Dolabella was

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[28] Cic. 2 *Verr.* 1,72–77, 90.

[29] Cic. 2 *Verr.* 1,50, 52, 63, 95.

[30] Mason 1974, 135–136.

[31] For this modern view see ns. 14, 23 and observe Brennan's emphasis, 2000, 887 n.6 on the presence of the fleet in later governorships.

[32] I do not think the case of P. Rutilius Nudus who was a ναύαρχος and commanded land forces (App. *Mith.* 71; Oros. 6,2,13) is relevant here. The situation was exceptional (Appian) and, unlike Dolabella, he was not a governor: MRR 2.105, 3.183.

[33] On the *sortitio* see Willems 1968, 545–546, 565–566 who (566 n.2) cites an instance in Val. Max. 6,3,3b where a province is refused because the candidate *recte facere nescit* and Diod. Sic. 36,2,5 where one is changed.

[34] See the discussions cited in ns.1 and 2 above.

not a person of great importance[35] and, as the issue had none of the moment the other two had, then it is possible Sulla may simply have decided not to pursue it. Whether or not Dolabella had, like Caesar in slightly different circumstances, people of influence to speak for him is therefore open to question.[36]

What is also obscure is Sulla's motivation for moving against Dolabella. Gruen argued for longstanding enmity between him and Sulla's circle.[37] But the praetorship would surely point to reconciliation in an age when political differences were temporarily forgotten as the *nobilitas* fell into place behind Sulla.[38] So, I find marginally more attractive Brennan's suggestion that Dolabella's behaviour as praetor had irked Sulla.[39]

If we take ναυραχία literally then we are in 80 when Sulla is consul but no longer dictator. Again here we must have recourse to conjecture both as to Sulla's motive and his failure. It may be, perhaps, that Sulla wanted to take the fleet out of the hands of Dolabella because of his incompetence and the ravaging of his subordinate Verres. His failure to dislodge him could be attributed to his waning influence in that year and we know of a case which might broadly parallel Dolabella's, that of Sulla's failure to call P. Cornelius Lentulus to account for financial irregularities during his quaestorship the previous year.[40]

We can see that a case may be made for either of the two possible interpretations of Plutarch's ναυραχία and it is not easy to choose between them.[41]

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35 Keaveney 1984, 142.

36 Caesar: Suet. *Div. Jul.* 1. For more on Dolabella's lack of influence see n.38.

37 Gruen 1966, 389–392.

38 On this state of affairs see Keaveney 1984, 146–148 who believes also the reconciliation of the Servilii and the Luculli may have happened about now: Keaveney 2009, 6–12. Dolabella's subsequent failure to find friends and condemnation, to which Gruen 1966, 384, 397–398 draws attention, is, in my opinion, to be explained as the resurfacing of old enmities with the resumption of normal political life subsequent to Sulla: Keaveney 1984, 146.

39 Brennan 2000, 444.

40 Sulla in 80: Keaveney 2005, 433–438. Dolabella's poor performance: Freeman 1986, 259–260 and possible connivance in Verres' crimes: Gruen 1966, 395–396. Like Rawson 1983, 40–43, for instance, I accept the veracity of what Cicero says about Verres and those who associated with him.

41 It could be ναυαρχία is specified because of the way the tricolon is constructed: τὸ στρατιωτικὸν (referring to land command), then follows a naval command and finally a desired consulship. However, we need to remember that Plutarch is not always as exact in his terminology as we might suppose: Smith 2013, 298, commenting on Sulla F26 says Plutarch always uses συμμαχικὸς πόλεμος

On balance, I would say that the arguments in favour of his using it in the sense of *provincia* are the stronger.[42]

From the examination of these three Roman figures we move to a consideration of their role and function within the *Comparison*.

We saw above that our information about Pompey in this *Life* and the *Comparison* can be amplified by reference to the *Life* of Pompey. It is held that the pair *Lysander-Sulla* predates the *Agesilaus-Pompey*.[43] This, in turn, brings us to Plutarch's mode of procedure as he chose and arranged the material at his disposal – issues which have received a good deal of attention from Pelling.[44] Drawing on his conclusions, we find three explanations offering themselves. The fuller treatment in the *Pompey* could mean that, as work on the *Lives* progressed, Plutarch gained more knowledge of a particular incident. But it may also be his treatment is dictated by his literary techniques. Or again, we have to reckon with the possibility that the interests and emphases could alter from *Life* to *Life*. In my judgement, this last is what is in question here. There is little substantial difference in the two accounts of the forced divorce and, so far as the troops are concerned, in the *Comparison* Plutarch has already stated the essential point: Sulla reduced their number and so I would contend that when he wrote this he would have known about the circumstances under which it occurred. Thus, I would conclude that Plutarch, having gathered material during his research for one *Life*, applies it in a somewhat different fashion in another *Life* to fit that *Life's* requirements.[45]

In the light of this and the appearance of Afella in both *Life* and *Comparison* it is, I hold, not unreasonable to suppose that, although he does not appear in the *Life*, Plutarch had come upon this particular Dolabella in the course of his reading but decided not to include him in the *Life* but reserve him for the *Comparison* where, as we shall see, he would function more appropriately. Like

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of the Social War and ἐμφύλιος πόλεμος of the Civil. Yet a comparison of the narratives of Plut. *Mar.* 33 and *Mor.* 202a shows that in the latter ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐμφυλίῳ πολέμῳ the Social War is meant.

[42] Whatever way we choose to interpret ναυαρχία, we have, I believe, demonstrated, at least, that Sulla's attempt to deprive Dolabella of it can plausibly be fitted into his two year period of dominance.

[43] Jones 1995, 109–111.

[44] Pelling 2002, 1–115.

[45] On this point see especially Pelling 2002, 3–4, 11–19, 53–59.

Afella and Pompey he has undergone a process of selection. At the very least, this reconstruction would call in question Pelling's view that events mentioned in the *Comparison* but not in the *Life* are to be seen as some kind of afterthought.[46]

We may refine this argument. Plutarch himself tells us that in his philosophical works he kept ὑπομνήματα – commonplace books or memoranda.[47] As might be expected, there has been a good deal of scholarly debate as to whether ὑπομνήματα might also have been used when preparing the *Lives* and, if so, what form they might have taken.[48]

This leads me to make a tentative suggestion. The three who suffered at Sulla's hands all had one thing in common: they were all office-holders or aspired to be.[49] It is not, therefore, forbidden to wonder if Plutarch had not drawn up for use a memorandum of these specific contemporaneous examples of tyranny for use at the appropriate moment which would, of course, be here in the *Comparison*.

This hypothesis may be strengthened when we go on to examine how skilfully and artistically the relevant information is deployed as part of a careful structure.

Self-evidently the *Comparisons* to the *Lives* explore aspects of the character and actions of the pair dealt with in any particular *Life*. As Duff emphasises a *Comparison* is strongly influenced by rhetorical practice, especially that of composing speeches arguing a case from two different viewpoints. The *Comparison* favours first one subject and then the other. In the present instance a favourable view is taken of Lysander and a negative one of Sulla and from *Comparison* 3,8 that verdict is reversed.[50] Here the aspect of both men's careers that is dealt with is their treatment of their political, not personal, friends and Sulla comes off worst.

Lysander is put in the better light. It is claimed that he had committed most of his crimes for the sake of his friends and carried out massacres to help

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[46] Pelling 1986, 19–20, 2002, 352–353 with the qualificatory remarks in 360–361 and note the observations of Duff 1999, 258–259, 265–267.

[47] *Mor.* 457a, 464f.

[48] See Pelling 2002, 65–90.

[49] On the nature of their 'friendship' with Sulla see below.

[50] Duff 1999, 201, 253, 258.

keep them in power. Plutarch is almost certainly referring to the events narrated in *Life* 13, 19.[51] The contrast between *Life* and *Comparison* is marked. In the *Life* he expresses disapproval of Lysander's actions but here softens his stance and gives a lame excuse for them. This is one of the occasions when the emphasis and interpretation in a *Life* differs from that in a *Comparison*.[52] They have been altered to fit the requirements of the *Comparison* at this particular point.

On a superficial reading it might be possible to argue that there is little difference in tone between *Sulla* 33 and the *Comparison*. In both Sulla is playing the tyrant. Probing a little further though, it seems clear that Plutarch, in making his point, has actually here blackened Sulla's name further. In the case of Pompey he has introduced yet another example of high-handed behaviour and brought in also the hitherto unmentioned case of Dolabella. Further, although we know Sulla had acted against Pompey for political and strategic reasons,[53] Plutarch here accuses him of being motivated by φθόνος the besetting vice of the Greeks.[54] By implication, Lysander is free from the vice.[55] Finally, it may not be entirely fanciful to see in Plutarch's remark about Sulla's killing Afella after he had done him much service, a reference to the dictator's boast on his tombstone that he had given friend and foe alike their due.[56]

## II

In the *Comparison Lysander-Sulla* 5.5 we read:

> Ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔχει τινὰ ῥοπὴν εἰς ἤθους σύγκρισιν, εἴ γε Σύλλας μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς Μιθριδάτου δυνάμεως

[51] Ghilli 2001, 505 ns.913, 915 who also invokes *Agesilaus* 7 – a later *Life*: Jones 1995, 111; Piccirilli 1997, 418 who thought *Lys.*8 might also be in question.

[52] Duff 1999, 200. Cf. Duff 1999, 263–264, 283–286.

[53] See n.2 above.

[54] On this Greek trait see the comprehensive treatment of Walcot 1978 especially 1–21 and note the brief comments of Keaveney - Bartley 2014, 23–24. Brennan 2000, 572 thought all three men were victims.

[55] For Spartan envy see e.g. Thuc. 4,108,7.

[56] Plut. *Sulla* 38.

καὶ ἡγεμονίας πολεμήσασαν αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν ἑλών, ἐλευθέραν ἀφῆκε καὶ αὐτόνομον, Λύσανδρος δὲ τοσαύτης ἡγεμονίας καὶ ἀρχῆς ἐκπεσοῦσαν οὐκ ᾤκτιρεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἀφελόμενος, ὠμοτάτους αὐτῇ καὶ παρανομ<ωτάτ>ους ἀπέδειξε [τοὺς] τυράννους.

And besides all this, their treatment of Athens is of some weight in a comparison of their characters. After taking the city, although it had fought against him in support of the power and supremacy of Mithridates, Sulla left it free and independent. But Lysander, though Athens had fallen from such a height of imperial power, showed it no pity, but abolished the democracy and appointed most savage and lawless men as tyrants.

*Trans*. Seager in Warner 2005

Any attempt to evaluate this statement must involve first isolating the three characteristics of Sulla's capture of Athens. They are as follows,

a. Sulla's soldiers slaughtered many of the inhabitants but he eventually called them off: App. *Mith*. 39; Flor. 1,40,10 who adds the detail that he did this out of respect for the Athenians of old.[57]
b. The ringleaders of the Athenians, including Aristion, were executed: Lic. 19 Cr.; Strabo 9,1,20; Paus. 1,20,6.[58]
c. The troops were allowed to plunder but forbidden to fire the city: App. *Mith*. 38. Memnon (BNJ 434 F.22,11) says Sulla did not raze the city because the senate asked him not to.[59] The Livian epitome (*ep.* 81) is surely referring to this when it says Sulla *quae habuerat reddidit*.[60]

[57] On Florus see Assenmaker 2013.

[58] Pausanias speaks of decimation. On Pausanias see further n.61.

[59] For the true state of affairs see n.64.

[60] Cf. n.62 for some further remarks on this source.

The only destruction in the city was the firing of the Odeon by Aristion: App. Mith. 38.61 Damage by the Romans was confined to the Piraeus: App. Mith. 41; Strabo 9,1,15, 14,2,9; Flor. 1,40,10.

Liv. *ep.* 81 says Sulla restored its freedom to the city.[62] Strabo 9,1,20 reports that Sulla pardoned the city and it has remained free down to his own day. Appian (*Mith.* 38) is more detailed. According to him, Sulla sold the captured slaves, took away the voting rights of the free but restored them to their offspring. He also gave them essentially the same laws as they had been previously granted by the Romans. This passage has provoked scholarly discussion but the essential point of granting freedom is not in doubt.[63]

Now, in the *Sulla* itself (14) Plutarch shows knowledge of (a) and (b) and also in *Sulla* 23 where the killing of Aristion is mentioned in a discussion of Sulla's partiality for the Pontic commander Archelaus.[64] Both (a) and (b) are also mentioned in an earlier *Life*, that of Lucullus.[65] In *Lucullus* 19 Plutarch tells us how, in the Third Mithridatic War, the town of Amisus fell to Lucullus and was fired by the retreating Pontic garrison. Lucullus ordered the flames extinguished but was ignored and he was forced to allow his troops to plunder. As they went about this, their torches added to the damage. Lucullus then commented that he had not been able to exercise at Amisus the control Sulla had at Athens.[66]

Of (c), however, there is no trace in Plutarch save that in the passage of the *Lysander-Sulla Comparison* we are discussing.

Duff expressed puzzlement at this since it appears to be rather lenient to Sulla and drew attention to a theory of Brenk's that Plutarch may not have wanted to offend those prominent Romans with whom he associated. Duff was not entirely happy with this, pointing to the vivid accounts of the fall of Athens

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61 Paus. 1,20,4 blames Sulla for this but his animus against Sulla is marked: Thein 2014, 180 and Eckert 2016, 108–110.

62 In full: *urbi libertatem et quae habuerat reddidit* (cf. n.60). Eckert 2016, 90 n.20 thought the source difficult to evaluate because of its brevity and a lacuna. However the text seems sound here and its meaning tolerably clear.

63 See Kallet-Marx 1995, 212–219 for how Appian is to be interpreted.

64 Incidentally, in *Sulla* 14 he, in contrast to Memnon (n.59), correctly states it was exiled senators and not the senate itself who persuaded Sulla to stop the killing. Cf. *Mor.* 202e, 505a–b.

65 Jones 1995, 111–113.

66 Cf. Keaveney 2009, 123–124.

and what he calls Sulla's 'degrading death' in *Life* 14, 36.[67] We might add that by now Sulla's posthumous reputation was well established.[68] As Dowling points out, by the time of Augustus two generations had passed since Sulla died and so it was possible to cite him as an example of a tyrant.[69] Unlike Duff, I would, therefore, have no hesitation in rejecting this theory of Brenk's.

Two other hypotheses which Brenk advanced may be briefly considered even though neither seems to me to be persuasive. At one point, Brenk wonders if Plutarch was sympathetic to Sulla because they shared the same attitude to dreams. And in another whether he was influenced by Sulla's mysticism.[70] Of the first I think we may say that, perhaps, this is a rather slender basis for sympathy between two such different characters. Of the second we would observe that the attribution to mysticism to Sulla is a purely modern scholarly phenomenon which receives no support from our ancient sources.[71]

I do not believe the solution to the problem this passage seems to pose is to be found in Plutarch's contemporary situation. Rather, I will argue that that solution can be achieved if we analyse the passage in the light of Plutarch's work methods in the same way as we did with *Comparison* 2,5–7.

Plutarch is deploying his information in accordance with his own artistic criteria. As with Dolabella, this is the only mention of Sulla's constitutional ar-

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[67] Duff 1999, 202–203; Brenk 1977, 265 n.18. Plutarch's "circle" is delineated in Jones 1971, 48–64. Brenk also wondered here and also in 170 if Sextus Sulla who appears in the *Moralia* was, or at least claimed to be, a relative of Sulla. For more on Sulla's relatives and his death see n.69. Unlike Duff 1999, 203 n.167, I would not attach any particular significance to the failure of Liv. *ep*. 81 to mention the violence at the capture of the city. Despite an effort such as that of Dowling 2006, 324–330 to divine what may have been in the lost original, I do not think we can usefully say much about the epitomator's method of selection but it is difficult to see how Livy himself omitted all details of the sack, even if we think he might have agreed with the tradition that saw Sulla as a benefactor after the capture, for which see n.74.

[68] It has been extensively studied by modern scholars: Christ 2002, 155–167; Dowling 2006; Eckert 2016; Hinard 1985, 278–286, 2011, 23–38; Laffi 1967, 263–277; Thein 2014.

[69] Dowling 2006, 318. This seems preferable to me to Eckert's attempt, 2016, 74–75, to argue Sulla's descendants conspired to keep secret details of his death from Phithiriasis until the family was wiped out by Nero, a theory which neglects the power of gossip (exemplified in Suet. *Tib.* 43–45) and does not give due weight to that body of opinion in antiquity which saw nothing unnatural or shameful in the illness: Keaveney - Madden 1982, 89–90.

[70] Brenk 1977, 234, 265 n.18.

[71] See the survey of Sulla's religious beliefs in Keaveney 1983.

rangements for Athens and the reason for this may not be far to seek. I do not think it hazardous to suggest that when Plutarch researched Sulla's capture of Athens he will have come upon details of Sulla's arrangements but elected to reserve them for where their deployment might be more effective and appropriate. With tolerable clarity, we can see where that is.

We are in that portion of the *Comparison* where the verdict becomes favourable to Sulla rather than Lysander.[72] The subject at this point is the treatment of Athens by both men but the comparison made is a narrow one. Nothing is said of the physical destruction or loss of life, rather Plutarch speaks only of the differing institutions both men devised for the city after they had captured it. In the case of Lysander the issue is clearest, the installation of the Thirty narrated in *Lysander* 15.[73] For Sulla, it would seem that Plutarch now has recourse to information he had already acquired but had not yet decided to use and which shows Sulla in a favourable light.[74] By utilising this, he is able to show that, in this respect at least, Sulla is superior to Lysander.[75]

*University of Kent*

[72] n.50.

[73] Ghilli 2001, 513 n.967.

[74] I am agnostic on the question as to whether Plutarch shared the view that post war Athens saw Sulla as a liberator, for which see briefly Thein 2014, 183 n.90. Thein 104 draws attention to Plut. *Sulla* 12 and Vell. Pat. 2,23,4–5 which talk of Athens being unwilling opponents of Sulla. Habicht 1995, 313 and Eckert 2016, 87 disagree on the question of the historicity of Velleius.

[75] While accepting responsibility for this paper, I should like to thank John Madden for discussing a problem with me and the journal's referees for comments which have, I believe, helped to improve it.

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# THE POLITICAL VOCABULARY OF THE IMPERIAL-PERIOD GREEK ELITE: SOME NOTES ON THE TITLE ἀξιολογώτατος

Georgios E. Mouratidis

Researchers who study imperial-period Greek inscriptions, and more specifically, official and unofficial titles of the Roman Period, most probably have seen that the adjective ἀξιολογώτατος was part of the political vocabulary of the Greek elite during the Imperial Period.[1] Scholarship in its majority agrees that ἀξιολογώτατος was a title used exclusively by distinguished Greek citizens after the second century of the common era. However, the title ἀξιολογώτατος has been studied relatively superficially, even though there are several noteworthy studies on honorific titles and designations and extensive epigraphic material available.[2] The lack of a thorough, systematic study of the relevant evidence has lead scholarship to succumb, in my opinion, to certain inaccuracies regarding the dating of the title and, by extension, its historical interpretation.[3]

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[1] The term ἀξιολογώτατος can also be found, in very few cases, with the different spelling ἀξιολογότατος (indicatively, *IGLSyr* III 2 1118 and *Lef.* 597). I am very grateful to prof Pantelis Nidgelis, Jason König, Heather Reid, and Androniki Oikonomaki, for their very useful observations and valuable feedback in different stages of my research.

[2] F. Quaß, *Die Honoratiorenschicht in den Städten des griechischen Ostens*, Stuttgart 1993; M. Peachin, *Roman Imperial Titulature and Chronology, A.D. 235–284*, Amsterdam 1990; H. J. Mason, *Greek terms for Roman Institutions; a lexicon and analysis,* Toronto 1974; O. Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikate in den Papyrusurkunden. Ein Beitrag zum römischen und byzantinischen Titelwesen*, Giessen 1930; O. Hirschfeld, "Die Rangtitel der Romischen Kaizerzeit", in *Kleine Schriften,* Berlin 1913, 646–681; D. Magie, *De romanorum juris publici sacrique* vocabulis *sollemnibus in graecum sermonem conversis*, Leipzig 1905.

[3] Scholarship so far has researched the title's dating, its official character, its Latin origin and the possibility of ἀξιολογώτατος being used exclusively by citizens of equestrian and senatorial status. Some of the most important contributions are: C. Brélaz, *Corpus des Inscriptions Grecques*

This paper, aiming to address these issues, is divided in two parts. The first consists of an analysis of the origin of the title and a re-assessment of the chronology suggested by earlier scholarship for use of the title. The second part shows how a reassessment of the title's chronology can raise issues about the reconstruction of the adjective ἀξιόλογος in damaged inscriptions. Ἀξιολογώτατος, I argue, can be a useful tool to assist epigraphers in dating evidence based on the people who were characterised by that title.

## The origin of the title

The superlative of the adjective ἀξιόλογος (ἀξιολογώτατος) is attested both in literary and epigraphic evidence. In ancient literature, it can be traced as far back as Thucydides' age.[4] Tuci has argued that the adjective ἀξιόλογος was frequently used in Greek historiography, mainly in a military context.[5] That is not the case for the epigraphic evidence though. As Jones rightly noted, ἀξιολογώτατος as a civic title was used only after the end of the second and throughout the third

*et Latines de Philippes II. La colonie romaine. Partie 1*, *La vie publique de la colonie,* Athénes 2014, no 54; E. Lewartowski, "Les members des *koina* sous le Principat (I$^{er}$–III$^{e}$ siecles): quelques exemples d'intégration dans la vie locale", in M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni - L. Lamoire (éds), *Les élites et leurs facettes. Les élites locales dans monde hellénistique et romaine,* Rome 2003, 207–222 (page 217); T. Hauken, *Petition and Response. An Epigraphic study of petitions to Roman emperors*, Bergen 1998, 200; Quaß (above n.2) 53 and note 159; S. Şahin, *Die Inschriften von Arykanda* (*IK* 48), Bonn 1994, no 59; A. J. S. Spawforth, "Families at roman Sparta and Epidaurus: Some prosopographical notes", *ABSA* 80 (1985) 191–258 (page 237); H. Geremek, "P. Iandana 99: Italian Wines in Egypt", *JJP* 16-17 (1971) 159–171; H. G. Pflaum, "Titulature et rang social Durant le Haut-Empire", in *Recherches sur les Structures Socials dans l'Antiquite Classique*, Paris 1970, 182; L. Robert*, Études Anatoliennes: Recherches sur les inscriptions grecques de l'Asue mineure, Paris* 1937, 342; Hornickel (above n.2), 3; A. Zehetmair, *De appelationibus honorificis in papyris Graecis obviis*, 1912, 44.

[4] Is his second book we read: ξυγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν πόλεων πασῶν καὶ τοὺς μάλιστα ἐν τέλει καὶ ἀξιολογωτάτους παρῄνει τοιάδε. Thuc. 2,10,3.

[5] P. A. Tuci, "Carptim memoria digna perscribere. Criteri di selezione del material nella storiografia greca monografica e universal", in U. Roberto - L. Mecella (ed.), *Dalla storiografia ellenestica alla storiografia tardoantica: aspetti, problem, prospective* (Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Roma, 23–25 ottobre 2008), Rubbettino 2010, 61–63.

century of our common era.[6] Both in honorific inscriptions and in papyrological evidence the title was used in a similar way; preceding or following either the name of a distinguished individual or the office they held.[7] This paper, aiming to shed light on the title ἀξιολογώτατος, concerns the study of only epigraphic evidence and not literary.

The first question that emerges is whether the title had a Greek or a Latin origin. Scholars over the years have repeatedly tried to give an answer, with the majority identifying a Latin equivalent and therefore suggesting a Latin origin. The number of different opinions on the subject, in my opinion, is characteristic of the difficulty of such an effort.

Magie, in his work on Latin titles and their Greek equivalents, first claimed that ἀξιολογώτατος is translation of the Latin *perfectissimus*.[8] Another idea was offered by Mason, who suggested that ἀξιολογώτατος is a synonym for ἐξοχώτατος, which has the Latin equivalent *eminentissimus*.[9] Pilhofer agrees with Mason,[10] and *eminentissimus* is also considered to be ἀξιολογώτατος's Latin equivalent by Hatzopoulos.[11] On the other hand, Hauken, summarising the research of Hornickel and Geremek, suggested the Latin original *splendidissimus*.[12] *Honestissimus* was suggested by Nollé and Pflaum, with the latter also supporting the possibility that the title's Latin translation was *perfectissimus*.[13]

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[6] C. P. Jones, "Polybius of Sardis", *CPh* 91 (1996), 250, with several references to secondary literature in note 22.

[7] Indicatively, see *IG* X$^2$ 1 38 (Βαίβιον Τερραῖον Νεικό/στρατον τὸν ἀξιολογώτατον · γραμμα/τέα τῶν Πυθίων); *FD* III 1 534 (ἡ λαμπροτάτη Δελ/φῶν πόλις τὸν ἀξι/ολογώτατον Κλαύ/διον Σπαρτιατικὸν); *SEG* LV 1469 (Αὐρήλιο[ν Πάνφιλον / Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ / Πίγρητος, τόν ἀξι/ολογώτατον Λυκι]//άρχην, εὐεργέτην / καί τῆς ἡμετέ/ρας πόλεως / ἡ βουλή // καί ὁ δῆμος); *P.Oxy* XXXIV 2705 (μοι ἐπέστειλεν [Καλπούρ]νιος Πετρωνιανὸς ὁ ἀξιολογώτατος ἔναρχος ἀρχιδικαστὴς). Of particular interest are cases like the *P.Oxy* 1490 and 2153, two letters and in which the receiver is greeted with the title ἀξιολογώτατος (Ἡρακλε[ίδης Σαρ]απίωνι τῶι ἀξιολογωτάτῳ χαίρειν and τῷ ἀξιολογωτάτῳ Ἀπόλλωνι / Δίδυμος χαίρειν).

[8] Magie (above n.2) 106. Unfortunately, his arguments are not included in the research. Petzl also agrees with Magie (*I.Smyrna* II 1 594).

[9] Mason (above n.2) 23.

[10] *Phillipi* II$^2$ 381.

[11] *I.Leukopetra* 107.

[12] Hauken (above n.3) 200.

[13] J. Nollé, "Forschungen in Pisidien", in *Asia Minor Studien* 6, Bonn 1992, 115 and Pflaum (above

Finally, Merkelbach and Engelmann translated ἀξιολογώτατος as *honestus*, which, however, is not in superlative form. Additionally, in none of the studies on imperial-period titles is any Latin title matched with ἀξιολογώτατος. Stein and Hirschfeld match *perfectissimus* with the Greek διασημότατος, *clarissimus* with λαμπρότατος, *eminentissimus with* ἐξοχώτατος, and *egregious* with κράτιστος.[14]

We find the same discrepancy among scholars in their attempt to translate the adjective in modern languages. A simple review of the words that researchers use to translate the epithet is enough to show how difficult it is to capture the meaning of the term.[15] This difficulty, by extension, creates problems in understanding the nature of the title.

A possible argument for the Latin origin of the title is the fact that a significant number of inscriptions comes from cities that were *coloniae*.[16] That would require the Romans that resided in those cities to know about the title and accept its use. A second argument is that the title seems to have been held exclusively by Greeks with Roman citizenship, as the epigraphic evidence suggests.[17] Finally, use of the superlative itself characterizes the *titulature* of the Roman Period as Hirschfeld and Pflaum have shown.[18]

Up to this day, no one has ever challenged ἀξιολογώτατος's Latin origin. Based on the difficulty of earlier scholarship to reach a consensus for ἀξιολογώτατος's Latin equivalent and the use of the adjective as a term for important persons during the Classical, Hellenistic and Late Hellenistic periods,[19] I would like this article to trigger further discussion on the subject by suggesting that a Greek origin must be considered a possibility. Ἀξιολογώτατος could

n.3) 184.

[14] A. Stein, Griechische Rangtitel in der Römischer Kaizerzeit, *Wiener Studien* 34 (1912) 161. In his work *Der Römische Ritterstand: ein Beitrag zur sozial- und Personengeschichte des Römischen Reiches* (München 1963), there is no mention of the title ἀξιολογώτατος; See also Hirschfeld (above n.2) 646–681.

[15] Some of the words that are used to translate ἀξιολογώτατος in modern languages are: *most honorable, most distinguished, angesehensten, beruhmte, Besten, trés eminent*.

[16] Indicatively, Corinth, see *Corinth* VIII.3 230; Phillipi, see P. Lemerle, "Inscriptions latines et grecques de Philippes (suite)", *BCH* 59 (1935) 140.40; Cremna in Pisidia, see *IK Central Pisidia* 25.

[17] Indicatively, *IG* IV 490, *IG* X 2 1 38, *IG* XII 1 832 and *SEG* XLIII 865.

[18] Hirschfeld (above n.2) 646–681 and Pflaum (above n.3) 182 respectively.

[19] Jones (above n.6) 250 and Tuci (above n.5) 61–63.

have been a Greek title, simply used in the way Romans honored their elite, in superlative form. Probably only a bilingual inscription could offer an undisputed solution to the problem; however, to my knowledge none has yet been found.

## Redefining the chronological frame of the title

The first and most significant effort to define the period during which the ἀξιολογώτατος was used in honorific inscriptions is L. Robert's, who suggested that the title was part of the political vocabulary of the Greek elite during the end of the 2nd and the 3rd c. CE.[20] L. Robert's thesis was adopted by the majority of scholars who commented on the title, including Lewartowski, Sahin, Hussein & Wagner, Roueche and Kanatsoulis.[21] A different suggestion has been made by scholarship studying papyrological evidence, however. Geremek, taking into consideration the older studies of Hornickel and Zehetmair, argued that the title should be dated between the years 196–8 and 316 CE, a chronology derived from the dating of the oldest and the newest surviving papyri that include the title ἀξιολογώτατος.[22] Contrary to the difference in the *terminus ante quem* of the title (316 CE instead of the end of the 3rd century CE that L. Robert suggested), there is no other discordance in earlier scholarship regarding its dating.

A quantitative study of the evidence, however, suggests different dating. Even though the bulk of the 307 inscriptions that include the title – all the evidence I managed to bring together for this study – was dated during the second and third century of our common era, there is epigraphic evidence that dictates a reexamination of the time-frame set for the title. More specifically, there are 5 inscriptions which indicate that ἀξιολογώτατος was introduced into the political vocabulary of elite Greek citizens almost half a century earlier than the *ter-*

[20] Robert (above n.3) 342.

[21] Lewartowski (above n.3); Şahin (above n.3) no.59; A. Hussein - G. Wagner, "Une nouvelle dédicace grecque de la Grande Oasis", *ZPE* 95 (1993), 155; C. Roueche, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity: the late Roman and Byzantine inscriptions including texts from the excavations at Aphrodisias conducted by Kenan T. Erim*, London 1989, 10, no.4; K. Κανατσούλης, "Το κοινό των Μακεδόνων", Μακεδονικά 3 (1956) 27–102.

[22] Geremek (above n.3) 162. She highlights thought that there are two exceptions; the papyri *SB* 4101 and *Lef.* 597 that are dated during the years of emperor Heracleus (610–641) and 785 respectively.

*minus post quem* suggested by L. Robert and Geremek. They also suggest that it was still in use by the late fourth century of common era.

## The terminus post quem

The earliest testimony to the title comes from Delphi, from an honorific inscription which is nevertheless tentatively dated. Based on the paleography of the letters, the inscription was dated during the years of the reign of either the emperor Hadrian or Trajan (between 98 and 138 CE), almost a century earlier than the late 2nd century that L. Robert suggested to be the title's *terminus post quem*. Bourguet, in a newer edition of the inscription noted that the use of the *praenomen* Λούκιον as *cognomen* could be an indication that the inscription can be dated before the chronological spectrum that L. Robert has set for the title.[23].

τὸν ἀξιολογώτατον Ἀμφι-
κτύονα γενόμενον Πυθι-
άδι Μαρ. Οὔλπιον Δοκή-
τιον Λούκιον Νεικοπο-
λείτην διά τε ἤθους ἐπιεί-
κειαν καὶ διὰ τὴν σπουδὴν
ἣν ἐπεδείξατο ὑπὲρ τῆς σε
μνότητος τοῦ ἀγῶνος τῶν
μεγάλων Πυθίων, προῖκα
πρεσβεύσαντα, οἰκείοις
τέλεσιν ἀναδεξάμενον
τὴν τοῦ ἀνδριάντος ἀνά-
στασιν.

The second inscription, almost contemporary with that from Delphi, comes from Arcadian Tegea.[24] Even though this inscription is destroyed in its greater part, it is possible to date it based on the word ἐπιδημίας in the third line; a *terminus technicus* used to describe the visits of the emperor Hadrian in Greece. Accord-

[23] *CID* IV 145.

[24] *IG* V 2 28.

ing to Halfmann's study on the tours of the Roman emperors, Hadrian's second visit to Greece (β' ἐν αὐτῆ ἐπιδημίας) took place in 128/129 CE.[25]

> [—].....σκ[— — — — — —] / [—]..ς Μούσης .τῆς [— — — — —] / [—] .τῆς β΄ ἐν αὐτῆ ἐπ[ιδημίας —] / [—] . νῳ ἀξιολογωτα[τ— — — — —] // [— ἦ]ς κατοιχομένης [— — — —] / [—] ο̣ἶκ̣το̣ς τῆ πόλει δι' ἧς [— — —].

The third oldest testimony of the title is, again, an honorific inscription for Embromos Pantainetou and his wife Aristaineti, from the Lycian Arykanda. This inscription, which is inscribed in two columns on a statue base, was dated by Schüler in 130–150 CE based on prosopographic evidence[26]. Sahin, however, in the *editio princeps* suggested the reconstruction of συναρχιερατεύσασαν instead of γυμνασιαρχήσασαν in lines 5 and 6. He then dated the inscription based on the dating of the holding of the office of ἀρχιερέας by Embromos, during the reign of either the emperor Hadrian or Antonius Pius.[27] Nevertheless, in both cases the dating of the inscription precedes L. Robert's *terminus post quem* for the title.

Left column of *I.Arykanda* 47:

1 [Ἀρισταινέτην τῆς Πίγρητος Ἀρυκανδίνδα κτλ]
---
-------unknown number of lines lost ----------
---
5 ταῖς δε[υταίραι]ς τειμαῖς, γυμ[νασια]ρχ[ή]-
σασαν δι ὅλου τοῦ φιλοτείμως
μετά τοῦ ἀξιολογωτάτου ἀνδρός α[ύτῆς]
Ἐμβρόμου τοῦ Πανταινέτου vacat

[25] H. Halfmann, *Itinera Principum: Geschichte und Typologie der Kaizerreisen im Römischen Reich,* Stuttgart 1986, 188–210.

[26] C. Schüler, "Der Archiereus Embromos aus Arykanda und seine Familie", in T. Korkut, *Anadolu da Dogu. Festschrift fur Fabri Isik zum 60. Geburtstag*, Istanbul 2004 = *SEG* LIV 1396.

[27] *I.Arykanda* 47.

An inscription dated roughly around the same time as the latter, includes 3 decrees that honor a Iason Neikostratou. This evidence comes from the region of Kyaneai in Lycia and was dated between 123 and 156 CE based on prosopographic evidence.[28]

Indicatively, I cite ten verses from the decree of the Patareans:

ἐπεὶ Ἰάσων Νεικοστράτου,
ὁ ἀξιολογώτατος πολείτης
ἡμῶν, οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ λα<μ>προ-
τάτῳ Λυκίων ἔθνει τὴν ἑαυτοῦ
μεγαλοφροσύνην, δι' ἧς ἐτέλε-
σεν Λυκιαρχείας, ἐπεδείξατο,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν
διαφερόντως ταῖς τῆς ἀρχῆς
φιλο[τ]ειμίαις ἐκόσμησεν

Finally, the last inscription that precedes L. Robert's suggestion for the title's *terminus post quem* is from Sardes in Lycia. Written on a marble stele that is inscribed on both sides, this inscription preserves a protocol of a meeting of the *Areopagos,* concerning honours for Polybius. Its dating is unproblematic, *circa* 150 CE, based on prosopographic evidence.[29]

---------- /
λειπέσθω· ἐπερώτ[ησεν ----------]
ὁ πρόεδρος· δοκεῖ γραφῆναι τ[οῖς]
κρατίστοις Σαρδιανοῖς ὑπέρ το[ῦ]
ἀξιολογωτάτου Πολυβίου;· πᾶσ[ιν?] ·
τί οἴεσθε · ὑπομνηματισάσ[θω ?] ·

[28] For the dating, see the *editio princeps* R. Heberdy - A. Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien· ausgeführt 1891 und 1892 im Auftrage der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Wien 1896, 4. See also, *SEG* LI 1827bis for the dating that I follow here. For other information about the inscription, see C. Kokkinia, "Verdiente Ehren. Zu den Inschriften für Opramoas von Rhodiapolis und Iason von Kyaneai", *AW* 32 (2001), 17–23 and *IGR* III 704 with comments in Latin.

[29] *SEG* XLIII 864. For the chronology of the inscription, and a study on Polybius, see Jones (above n.6).

εἰσκληθείς εἶπε Πολύβιος · μεγ[α]-
λειοτέραν τῆς παρούσης μοι εὐ-
δαιμονίας οὐδεμίαν ἄλλην κρίν[ω],
ἄνδρες Ἀρεοπαγεῖται · παρ᾽ ὑμῖν ε[ὐ]-
τύχηκα καί στῆναι καί εἰπεῖν κα[ί]
τῆς ἀφ᾽ ὑμῶν ἀπολαῦσαι μαρτυ[ρί]-
ας ἧς ποτε τυχόντες μέγα ἐφ[ρό]-
νησαν καί θεοί · ἐξεβόησαν
ἄξιος.

Based on the evidence presented above, I believe, it is safe to assume that the adjective ἀξιολογώτατος, as a title, was introduced to the political vocabulary of the Greek elite at least from the beginning of the 1st century CE, when the inscriptions from Delphi and Tegea are dated, and not from the end of the 2nd c. CE as L. Robert originally suggested.

**The terminus ante quem**

The *termini ante quem* of the title that were suggested by L. Robert and Geremek (the 3rd century CE and the year 316 CE, respectively) also seem to be problematic. This is because of epigraphic and papyrological evidence that suggests the title was in use at least until the end of the 4th century CE.

The first piece of evidence is an inscription for Marcus Aurelius Kiliortes. The inscription was dated by the *editio princeps* during the years 324 and 337 CE, based on the mention of the word Καισάρων, which indicates the sons of Emperor Constantine.[30]

Βουλῆς δήμου δόγματι·
τόν ἀξιολογώτατον καί ἐνδοξό-
τατον καί εἰρήνης προστάτην, ἀρχι-
ερέα γενόμενον τοῦ ἀνεικήτου Σεβαστοῦ
καί τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων καί πᾶσαν λει-
τουργείαν τελέσα<ντα> Μᾶρ(κον) Αὐρ(ήλιον) Κιλιόρτην,

[30] *SEG* XLI 1390. Here lines 1–7.

υἱόν τοῦ γεν-
ομένου Μάρ(κου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ἑρμαίου Ἀσκουρέω[ς.

The second piece of evidence is a bilingual inscription from Catania in Sicily. This inscription, however, should be treated with caution since it is the only attestation of the title west of the Adriatic Sea. Furthermore, the stone is damaged in the place were the first 5 letters of the word are. Its reconstruction was made by Manganaro who suggested the ἀξιολογωτάτη instead of Feissel's ἐλλογωτάτη.[31] It is an honorific inscription for Claudia absolutely dated to the year 455 CE.[32]

Dep(osita) [illo die]
cons(ulatu) d. [n. or d]ivi Valentiniani Aug. VIII]
fecit i[n coniugio ann. VIIII e.g. addicti uni]
sorti, man[ifesta animorum consensione etc.]
Κλ(αυδία) [- - -]
ἐν[θάδ]ε κῖτε ἐν ἰ[ρήνῃ - - -]
ἡ [ἀξιολ]ογωτάτη ἥτις [ἔζησεν ἔ]-
[τη τριά]κοντα· τελευτᾷ [τῇ πρό]-
[- - εἰδῶ]ν Ὀκτωβρίων ὑπ(ατίᾳ) Βα[λεν]-
[τινιαν]οῦ Ἀγούστου τό ἡ, ἔζ[η]-
[σεν αὐτ]ή μετ' ἐμοῦ ἀξ(ίως) προσ[η]-
[γορίας ? ἐ]ν ὁμοζυγίᾳ ἔτη θ' †.

The next piece of evidence, which provides the latest epigraphic testimony of the title, is a funerary epigram for Calpurnius Collega Macedon. This inscription from Pisidian Antioch was dated by the editors of *SEG* to the 4th and perhaps the 5th c. CE.[33]

[31] *SEG* XXXVI 843.

[32] *SEG* XXXVI 843. Unfortunately, the Latin text differs from the Greek and we do not have the chance to see the title's Latin equivalent.

[33] *SEG* XXXII 1302. Ramsay suggests ἀξιόλο[γον ἥρωα] instead of ἀξιολο[γώτατον], but to my knowledge there is no parallel in the epigraphic record.

Γ. Καλπ(ούρνιον) Κολλῆγαν Μακεδόνα βουλευτήν, ἄνδρα ἀξιολο[γώτατον],
ὃς ἐγένετο ἐν πάσῃ ἀρετῇ, ὥς φησιν ὁ ἀρχαῖ̣[ος — — —],
ῥήτορα ἐν τοῖς δέκα Ἀθηναίων πρώτοις ΚΛ[— — —],
φιλόσοφον τὰ Πλάτωνος καὶ Σωκράτους ΕΠΑ[— — —],
ἀρχίατρον ἐν λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις τὰ Ἱπποκράτους ΤΟ[— — —],
γενόμενον ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ ἡμ[έρας — — —],
θεοῦ προνοίᾳ καὶ ἱερῶν ἀνγέλων συνοδίᾳ ΜΕ[— — —]
εἰς [ο]ὐρανὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, θᾶττον ἢ ἔδει τοὺς Γ[— — —]
καταλιπόντα, τὸν π[ή]λι̣ι̣νο[ν] χιτῶνα ἐνταυθοῖ ΠΕΡΙ[— — —],
κατασκευάσας τὸ ἡρῷ̣ον τῷ γλυκυτάτῳ καὶ πο[θινοτάτῳ]
καὶ [— — —] Γ. Καλπούρνιος Μ[ακεδών].

Ἀξιολογώτατος characterizing prominent citizens is also attested in papyri, even during the Middle Byzantine Period (610–1204). A papyrus, noted both by Hornickel and Geremek, was dated during the reign of Emperor Heraclius (610–641).[34] The latest testimony, though, is from a papyrus that was found in *Filai* of Egypt and was dated to 785.[35] Due to the lack of other contemporary sources and taking into consideration a three-century gap from the bulk of the inscriptions (2nd and 3rd c. CE), I believe that the Middle Byzantine Period should not be considered a *terminus ante quem*. The beginning of the loss of the title's splendor in the 2nd half of the 3rd century was noted by Geremek, who argued that ἀξιολογώτατος gradually ceased to be a desirable and distinctive title.[36] Even though Geremek's study was based almost entirely on papyri, epigraphic evidence confirms this hypothesis.

From the dating of the evidence presented above, we can safely conclude that ἀξιολογώτατος, as an honorific title, was introduced into imperial-age Greek political vocabulary more than half a century earlier than the date L. Robert suggested. I propose, therefore, that the title's *terminus post quem* should be the beginning of the 2nd c. CE; the period when the first evidence for the title is dated. Three out of 307 inscriptions are dated to the 4th c. CE, a fact which indicates, in my opinion, that the title stopped being used by the Greek elite after

[34] *S.B.* 4101, see Hornickel (above n. 2) 3 and Geremek (above n. 3) 162.

[35] *Lef.* 597.

[36] Geremek (above n. 3) 163.

that point, which therefore should be the title's *terminus ante quem.* A notable exception is the inscription from Catania that was dated to 455CE.

## Some notes on the inscription L. Robert, *La Carie,* p.163, no.40 in the light of the new suggested dating for the title

The new assessment of the chronological limits of this title compels us to reexamine certain cases in which the place on the stone where the word was originally written is damaged and the reconstruction was based on older hypotheses about the title's dating. Such a case is an inscription from Heracleia Salbake in Caria, dated by L. Robert in the year 170 CE.

[ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησαν Τ(ίτον) Στ(ατίλιον) Ἀπολλινάριον ἥρωα διὰ τοῦ] ὑπογεγραμμένου ψηφίσματος.
[εἰσηγησαμένου —]ωνος, ἐπιψηφισαμένου Ἀριστοδ[ήμου τοῦ —]ρευθη· ἐπειδὴ Τ(ίτος) Στ(ατίλιος) Ἀπολλινάριο[ς] [— προγόνω]ν ἐπιφανεσ<τά>των ὑπάρχων καὶ συνε-
[κτικότων τὴν πόλιν —]υ, αὐξησάντων δὲ καὶ ἀνυπερβλήτ[ως] τὸν δῆμον — τειμαῖς — το]ῦ κ[υ]ρίου αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τρα-
[ϊανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ — αὐτός τ]ε παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον καὶ διὰ λόγων καὶ δ[ι'
[ἔργων — ἐπιεικεῖ πρὸ]ς ἅπαντας ἤθει κεχρημένος ἀνεθρ[έ]-
[ψατο υἱοὺς δύο, Σόλωνα μὲν — γενόμενον πρειμ]ιπειλάριον καὶ στρατο[π]εδάρχην κατα
[— τοῦ αὐτ]οκράτορος ἐ<ν> στρατείαις ἐνκεχειρηκότα
[— σ]τρατ[εία]ν, αὐτός τε πρῶτον μὲν χειλια[ρ]-
[χείας, —, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐπαρχείας — κ]αὶ ταύτ[α]ς ἐπιφανῶς ἐπιτελέσας, πισ-
[τευθεὶς δὲ ἐπιτροπείαν — Λυκίας,] Παμφυλίας, Κύπρου καὶ ταύτην μετὰ
[πάσης σπουδῆς — ἐπιτελέσας ὡς ὑπὸ —] μαρτυρηθῆναι, τὰ νῦν μετήλλαχεν καὶ κα-
[ταλέλοιπεν πένθος? — δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· τιμῆσαι] Τ(ίτον) Στ(ατίλιον) Ἀπολλινάριον ἥρωα ταῖς καλλίσ-

[ταις τειμαῖς — παραμυθήσασθαι δὲ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ] Στ(ατιλίαν) Τατίαν καὶ τοὺς κρατίστους καὶ ἀ-
[ξιολόγους υἱοὺς — καὶ —· ἐξεῖναι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ εἰκόνας ἐπιχρύ]σους καὶ ἀνδριάντας ἀναθεῖναι
[— ἐπι δὲ τούτων γενέσθαι τὰς ἀναλογούσας ἐπιγραφὰς] τούτῳ τῷ ψηφίσματι. ἔτους εν[σ′]
[—]γένης, Ἄδραστος Λυκίου
20 [— ὑ]πέγραψα.[37]

Before proceeding with the analysis, however, we should acknowledge the danger of any restoration, since from the word ἀξιολόγους only the initial α has survived. The rest is a reconstruction by L. Robert, who offered an important historical interpretation of the evidence and suggested the use ἀξιολόγους instead of ἀειμνήστους, which was the term given in the *editio princeps*[38]. He argued that ἀειμνήστους is an arbitrary restitution since it would be very unusual to have the living and dead both honoured in the same way, as they would have been in this case. L. Robert's suggestion was that the letter α would be at the end of the line 16 and the rest of the word would continue to line 17 ([ξιολόγους υἱοὺς...]).[39] He also proposed to use the regular form of the adjective and not its superlative because the use of the title is very uncommon during that time; therefore, he decided that the regular form (ἀξιολόγους) is probably the correct one.[40]

The evidence presented in the first part of this paper suggests otherwise, however. The title ἀξιολογώτατος was already used by the Greek elite from the beginning of the 2nd century CE. The region of Caria is not excluded from

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37 L. Robert, *La Carie: histoire et geographie historique avec le recueil desinscriptions antiques*, Paris 1954, 163 no.40. For other editions, see *MAMA* VI 97 et Pl.19 (Ed.pr.); L.Robert, *Hellenica: Recuil d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques* III, Paris 1946, 10–28; *BE* (1948) 212.

38 L. Robert (above n.37) 15–17.

39 L. Robert (above n.37) 11. The text, as given in the *editio princeps* by Buckler and Calder, in the lines 16 and 17 of interest to this paper, is as follows: The line 16 has 66 letters; the last 3 of which are the α of the word ἀειμνήστους and the ε and ι of the suggested reconstruction ἀ[ει-]. The rest of the word continues in line 17 ([μνήστους υἱοὺς...]), which has 65 letters in total. See *MAMA* VI 97.

40 "Le superlatif ἀξιολογώτατος me semble, peut-être à tort, appartenir de preférénce à une époche un peu plus tardive, la fin du siècle suivant". The inscription discussed is dated in 170 AD.

this rule. There is epigraphic evidence contemporary with this inscription – if not earlier –which suggests that the title was in use in the region at that time.[41] Assuming that L. Robert's choice of the adjective ἀξιόλογος instead of another (ἀγαθός for example[42]) is correct, the possibility that the adjective was in superlative form originally should remain open.

The reconstruction in the *editio princeps* was made *exempli gratia*, "because the approximate length of the lines (about 65-67 letters) is to be inferred from ll. 12, 14, 18, and the substance of the portion lost is deducible from those that survive".[43] L. Robert, though, with whom I agree in this case, showed that this suggestion is very problematic. The stone is destroyed both on the left and the right side; thus, it is very difficult to make any hypotheses on the length of the lines. The text, as reconstructed by L. Robert, is 81 letters long in line 16, while the 17th line has at least 74 letters. My suggestion for the use of the adjective in its superlative form (ἀξιολογωτάτους) does not create any problems in terms of space since it only has 4 letters more than ἀξιολόγους, making line 17, in total, 78 letters, 3 less than line 16, which would remain as it is.

There are other indications, as well, supporting my argument for using the title ἀξιολογωτάτους instead of L. Robert's ἀξιολόγους. The phrase ἀξιολόγους υἱοὺς, or in general the adjective in its regular form followed by the noun υἱός, regardless of its grammatical case, has no parallel in the epigraphic material. On the contrary, the title ἀξιολογώτατος has more than one parallel case. In an inscription from Apameia in Phrygia, the phrase ἀξιολογωτάτους υἱοὺς is preserved[44]. Similarly, in an honorific inscription for Grania Attikilla, made by her sons, we read in the 9th and 10th verse, ἀξιολογώτατοι υἱοὶ.[45] A third example is the honorific inscription for Bryonianus Iasonianus Seleukos from the 3rd century CE. In the lines 3–5, we read: τὸν ἀξιολο/γώτατον υἱὸν Βρυωνια/νοῦ Λολλιανοῦ.[46]

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41 Indicatively, see *SEG* L 1109 (2nd c. AD), *I.Labraunda* 59 (2nd c. AD), *I.Stratonikeia* 15 and 293 (both dated in the 2nd c. AD).

42 See *IK Perge* 327 (3rd c. CE), ll.2–3: [τ]ὸν κράτιστον / καὶ ἀγαθὸν.

43 *MAMA* VI 97 et Pl.19.

44 *MAMA* VI List 146,114, Imperial Period.

45 *Milet* I 3 176.

46 *IK Side* 110.

The fact that the sons of Apollinarius belonged to the equestrian class, as the title κράτιστος indicates,[47] may also be a useful indication. Members of the equestrian and senatorial class were usually honoured with titles in the superlative form, as Pflaum suggested.[48] A quantitative study on the epigraphic evidence comparing the title ἀξιολογώτατος with ἀξιόλογος shows that there is not a single case of an equestrian or senatorial-status citizen being honoured as merely ἀξιόλογος.

On the contrary, there are many ἀξιολογώτατοι men and women that we know belonged to the equestrian or senatorial class. Let us trace only a few of a considerable number of such cases in Lydia, Lycaonia and Pisidia.[49] The number of ἀξιολογώτατοι having equestrian status will be considerably increased if we accept Quaß's suggestion to see all those who held the office of the high priest of the imperial cult in a *koinon,* as men of equestrian or senatorial status.[50] In further support of this argument, I refer to Pflaum's thesis, which considers the use of the superlative form in honorific titles and epithets as a means to separate equites and senators from the rest of the prominent citizens who did not have such a status.[51] With only a few exceptions, the epigraphic evidence confirms Pflaum's opinion. A quantitative analysis of the relevant material shows that each time the adjective ἀξιόλογος is used for people we know belonged to the equestrian class of the Roman Empire, it is always in its superlative form – i.e. as a title – and such, I believe, is also the case for the inscription from Heracleia Salbake.[52]

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[47] For the title κράτιστος and its connection with the equestrian class, see C. Brunn, "Some Comments on the Status of Imperial Freedmen", *ZPE* 82 (1990) 272–274; F. Millar, "Empire and City, Augustus to Julian: Obligations, excuses and status", *JRS* 73 (1983) 90–91; Pflaum (above n.3) 159–185; J. Deininger, *Die Provinciallandtage der römischen Kaizerzeit*, München 1965, 152, 178; A. Stein, *Der Römische Ritterstand: ein Beitrag zur sozial- und Personengeschichte des Römischen Reiches*, München 1963; Stein (above n.14) 160–170; Hirschfeld (above n.2) 646–681.

[48] Pflaum (above n.3) 182.

[49] Indicatively see *SEG* XLIII 865 for Lydia, *SEG* VI 452 for Lycaonia and *SEG* VI 588 for Pisidia.

[50] F. Quaß, "Zur politischen Tätigkeit der munizipalen Aristokratie des griechischen Ostens in der Kaizerzeit", *Historia* 31 (1982) 188–213.

[51] Pflaum (above n.3) 182.

[52] There is only one exception to this rule. The *IG* V 1 464 from the city of Sparta. In that inscription, dated during the first quarter of the 3rd century AD, Sextus Pompeius Theoxenos, the ἀξιόλογώτατος, is also ἀγαθός and δίκαιος. It is worth mentioning that while the adjective ἀγαθός

Finally, there is no parallel in the epigraphic record for someone to have held both the title of ἀξιόλογος and κράτιστος, while there are such parallels for ἀξιολογώτατος. The first example is an invitation for a spectacle organized by Claudius Rufrius Menon and his wife, Vaivia Magna, from third-century Thessaloniki.[53] In this inscription, Menon bears the title κράτιστος. Menon's case is very interesting because in an inscription with the same context, an invitation to spectacles in Thessaloniki which was dated eight years before the *SEG* XLIX 817, instead of being presented as κράτιστος, he and his wife were presented as ἀξιολογώτατοι.[54] I believe that it is safe to assume that Menon held both titles. Additionally, an inscription from Corinth in which, a Cornelius is presented as ἀξιολογώτατος and as κράτιστος can also work as a parallel.[55] We should be extremely cautious with that case, though, since the entire word ἀξιολογώτατος is a reconstruction.[56]

Assuming that L. Robert's suggestion to use the adjective ἀξιόλογος instead of ἀειμνήστους is correct, I believe it is safer to use the adjective's superlative form. I support this based (1) on the contemporary use of the title in the region of Caria, which *ipso facto* contradicts L. Robert's main argument to use the regular instead of the superlative form; (2) by using the *MAMA* VI List 146, 114 and *Milet* I 3 176 inscriptions from Apameia and Miletus respectively, as parallels for the use of the title in epigraphic evidence along with the noun υἱός; (3) by showing that members of the equestrian class were never honoured as ἀξιόλογοι but conversely, there is evidence that they were honoured as

is never attested at that period in superlative form. On the contrary, the adjective δίκαιος is. In the same city, during the same period, the adjective δικαιότατος is used for Iulius Pauleinus (*IG* V 1 538, end of 2nd/3rd c. AD). It is interesting that Pauleinus also held the title of ἀξιόλογώτατος and probably had equestrian status. That information can be extracted by the same inscription, in which it is written that he had risen to the office of ἔπαρχος (ἄρξαντα τῆν ἀρχήν τῶν ἀξιολογωτάτων ἐπάρχων); therefore, as an ἔπαρχος, he was ἀξιόλογώτατος. The office of ἔπαρχος is identified as that of *praefectus* by Mason, an office that was manned by members of the equestrian and senatorial class. See Mason (above n.2) 138–140, 145.

53 *SEG* XLIX 817, September 260 AD.

54 *SEG* XLIX 815, Thessaloniki, 252 AD. A similar case is that of Iason Neikostratou (*IGR* III 704) that was mentioned in the first part of this paper.

55 *Corinth* VIII 3 230 (between 225 and 260 AD).

56 In another example, the aforementioned honorific inscription for Bryonianus, we see that the two titles appear again in the same inscription. However, this case is slightly different since the κράτιστος characterises Bryonianus and the ἀξιολογώτατος his son. See *IK Side* 110.

ἀξιολογωτάτοι; and 4) the case of Menon from Thessaloniki and – with extra caution – the case of Cornelius from Corinth, that show individuals having both the title of κράτιστος and ἀξιολογώτατος.

*University of St. Andrews*

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# CIRILLO DI GERUSALEMME E LE CATECHESI 12 E 13 NELLA BASILICA COSTANTINIANA (348 P.CH.): VERSO UNA MISTAGOGIA SINDONICA

Tiziano Ottobrini*

[...] χρὴ ἑωρακέναι πιστεύειν [...]
Plot., *Enn*. V, 3 [49], 17

## 1. Posizione del tema, sua giustificazione e obiettivi dello studio

Intendimento del presente studio vuole essere l'indagine di un aspetto molto circostanziato – e invero a oggi del tutto negletto[1] – delle catechesi prebattesimali 12 e 13 di Cirillo di Gerusalemme: la nozione e l'esperienza della μαρτυρία ('testimonianza') tra Scrittura e sacramenti dell'iniziazione cristiana. Il tema, già specifico fin da questa prima formulazione, richiede di essere ulteriormente ristretto, giacché la pagina cirilliana verrà considerata sotto il preciso rispetto dell'apertura della testimonianza alla sfera del πιστεύειν ('credere'): le due catechesi in oggetto, infatti, si stagliano nell'economia dell'intiera silloge proprio in forza dell'esplicito e ripetuto rinvio della testimonianza alla fede. In questo quadro la lettera greca verrà esaminata sotto il

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[1] La rassegna bibliografica degli studî su Cirillo mostra con evidenza che la rinnovata primavera di ricerche sulla mistagogia del IV secolo ha portato un vivido fiotto di luce sulle cinque omelie del Nostro per gli illuminati, lasciando invece nell'ombra il grosso della produzione per gli illuminandi: una tra le conseguenze di tale stato di cose è che al presente non si dispone di un testo critico delle omelie prebattesimali, come invece se ne dispone per le omelie mistagogiche a cura di Auguste Piédagnel.

duplice aspetto sia esegetico sia ermeneutico, tenendo ben fermo il crinale dei due piani e operando – ove necessario e possibile – la revisione della tradizione manoscritta da cui sono tràdite le pericopi di volta in volta considerate.

L'urgenza di mettere a fuoco i protocolli interpretativi sulla testimonianza nelle due omelie citate trova fondamento dalla constatazione che nella catechesi immediatamente successiva (14,22)[2] si segnala una tra le più antiche attestazioni del telo sindonico fuori del contesto neo- e peritestamentario; stante che il riscontro mistagogico e la funzione soteriologica dei sacri lini sono basati sul valore della testimonialità fin dalle parole di esordio della pericope in questione (πολλοὶ μάρτυρές εἰσι τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἀναστάσεως 'ci sono molti testimoni della risurrezione del Salvatore'), si intende in modo agile che l'ermeneutica della testimonianza trova nelle catechesi 12 e 13 una humus particolarmente fertile, tanto da introdurre il lettore moderno come il fedele antico al primo testimone della Pasqua qual è stata la sindone in quanto teste immediato che avvolse il corpo del Signore nel momento del transito da morte alla vita eterna.

Sotto questo rispetto, in ultima istanza, scopo poziore dell'esame circa la testimonialità come via alla fede vuole essere una valutazione di tipo sindonologico: si tratterà, infatti, di mettere in luce come e con quale guadagno i sacri lini possano essere ascritti al binomio "dalla testimonianza alla fede" alla metà del IV secolo. In tale trajettoria, Cirillo rappresenta un punto di vista privilegiato sia perché è autore che predica nei luoghi stessissimi della Passione, dove la geografia e la topologia medesime sono testimonianza delle vicende gloriose della Risurrezione, sia perché questi è autore che ha voluto lasciare riferimento diretto ai sacri lini[3]; le due catechesi 12 e 13, poi, costituiscono una specola privilegiata in quanto più delle altre del corpus avvertono la necessità di tessere un richiamo patente tra testimonianza e fede, in forza del loro tema: Incarnazione-umanizzazione (catechesi 12) e crocifissione-sepoltura (catechesi 13) istituiscono infatti una corresponsione in-mediata tra l'aspetto sensibile e quello cherigmatico delle vicende messianiche.

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[2] Nel silenzio della letteratura scientifica sul tema della testimonialità e della mistagogia sindonologiche, sia permesso il rinvio a T. F. Ottobrini, "Prolegomeni a una mistagogia sindonica: la sindone nel *corpus* catechetico di Cirillo e Giovanni di Gerusalemme", *Vichiana* (in corso di stampa).

[3] Cyr. *Cat*. 14,22 e 20,7 (d'ora in séguito per le catechesi si ometterà in sigla il rinvio al nome dell'autore).

## 2. Notizia ecdotica[4]

Un approccio filologicamente avvertito[5] alle catechesi 12 e 13 di Cirillo necessita di muovere dalla consapevolezza che, come premesso,[6] ad oggi non si dispone di un testo critico delle catechesi prebattesimali di Cirillo. L'evidente impossibilità – per ragioni di spazio – di procedere per l'occasione del presente studio a una recensione autoptica della tradizione manoscritta, a una valutazione paleografica organica dei testimoni almeno greci e a definire l'imprescindibile *stemma codicum* relativo – ad oggi completamente ignoto per la trasmissione delle omelie agli illuminandi di Cirillo – determina che, *faute de mieux*, si opti pur con le sue mende per il testo messo a stampa dal Migne, che riproduce il testo collazionato *pedetemptim* dal Touttée (cui peraltro fanno riferimento tutte le edizioni recenziori delle traduzioni in lingua moderna). Ciò non impedisce di accedere a un testo che, quantunque non criticamente affidabile (totale mancanza di fasce di apparato, sia per le varianti testuali sia per i testimoni indiretti), sia almeno filologicamente scelto: è stato perciò rivisto il testo del Touttée sulla scorta del manoscritto poziore delle catechesi 12 e 13 di Cirillo, il *Monacensis Graecus* 394; parimenti sono stati oggetto di indagine gli *Ottoboniani* 86 e 466 (già compulsati anche dal medesimo Touttée), in modo sporadico il *Monacensis* 278 e il codice di Cipro 227 (già 101), autorevole per antichità (XI), che il Touttée a sua volta riconosceva di essergli stato di grande momento: *eo codice me magnopere adjutum fateor*[7]. Si nota poi che per le due omelie qui trattate è rilevante il codice cartaceo monacense 2503 (*Codex Regiae Bibliothechae*, sottoscritto nell'anno 1231), sulla cui autorità il Touttée accostatava il testo cirilliano approntato dal Grodecio, dal Prevozio e dal Millesio.

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[4] Cfr M. Geerard, *Clauis Patrum Graecorum,* vol. II, 3585 (2), Turnhout 1974. Si avverte che il presente studio è stato condotto con una revisione diretta e completa del testo greco delle due catechesi in oggetto e, laddove necessario, confrontando le versioni paleorussa (per la sola catechesi 12: coll. 1837–1854 dell'edizione di J. Makarij) e armena (edizione vindobonense del 1832).

[5] Una cura che, incidentalmente, qui si rileva mancare a pressoché tutte le edizioni moderne delle catechesi prebattesimali di Cirillo, dal momento che si tratta per solito (così ad esempio anche per l'edizione di Maestri e Saxer) di edizioni piuttosto vòlte alla diffusione e/o divulgazione seppur tra un pubblico dotto che non di indagini acribiche, che procedano dalla revisione testuale all'esame storico-patristico.

[6] Cfr *supra*, n. 1.

[7] Cfr *PG* 33, coll. 29–32.

## 3. Prolegomeni a una premistagogia[8] sindonica

Per intendere in modo storicamente ed esegeticamente fondato le ragioni (sia quali causa causante sia quali causa finale) della μαρτυρία ('testimonianza') presso le catechesi 12 e 13[9] di Cirillo, occorre in prima istanza soffermare il fuoco dell'attenzione sui tre elementi costitutivi che ne informano – come plurimi e però complementari assi cartesiani – la struttura e il pensiero: a chi (*cui*) sia destinata la testimonianza; in che modo (*quomodo*) essa si esempli; in quale contesto temporale e locale (*ubi*) la medesima, infine, intervenga. Infatti, solo dall'intersezione di *Sitz im Leben* e *Gattungsgeschichte* si rende possibile definire la specificità dell'intendimento testimoniale vocato dalle omelie in oggetto.

Mette conto, anzitutto, di valutare il destinatario delle due catechesi, stante che esse appartengono a un segmento ben definito della silloge del Nostro. Il corpus catechetico cirilliano, come notorio, si compone – quale un dittico scazonte – di due ineguali iposezioni: alle prime diciannove[10] catechesi[11]

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[8] Con linguaggio tecnico, mistagogiche sono strettamente intese solo le catechesi postbattesimali; pur rivolgendosi a un pubblico diverso, le catechesi prebattesimali hanno tuttavia una struttura e sviluppano contenuti spesso simillimi alle omelie degli iniziati, come nota Mazza (1996, 13) circa i misteri predicati prima e dopo Pasqua; per questo chi scrive impiega il termine di premistagogico per cogliere l'affinità delle catechesi 12 e 13 con quelle propriamente mistagogiche, pur distinguendosene per contesto. Sulla questione cfr Jacob (1991, 77–78), in cui alla mistagogia si fa corrispondere solo l'omiletica sui sacramenti della settimana *in albis*.

[9] Inserite nel ciclo della predicazione quaresimale, le due omelie riguardano e commentano rispettivamente Is 7,10 – 14,1 e Is 53,1–7. Non è qui possibile se non alludere al pur rilevante problema se le catechesi prebattesimali si inseriscano nel tempo delle due settimane precedenti la settimana santa (come indica il lezionario georgiano) o dal principio del ciclo quaresimale (come invece risulta dalla pratica della onomatografia in *Procat*. 1,13–14 e *Cat.* 3,2 e come indica il lezionario armeno: in tal caso l'omelia 12 cadrebbe il mercoledì della seconda settimana e l'omelia 13 il giovedì della terza, quantunque non sia possibile nemmeno in questo quadro stabilire con sicurezza se la loro predicazione sia stata antemeridiana o – meno verisimilmente – pomeridiana): per la questione cfr. Renoux 1971, 233–237.

[10] Includendo nel computo la cosiddetta Procatechesi (su Ez 18,31), introitale all'intiero spicilegio; non è invece considerata individualmente la seconda versione della *Cat*. 2, che Touttée pubblicò e Reischl omise (essa manca nei codici monacensi): esulando tale questione dal nostro interesse, basti il rinvio a Cirillo - Giovanni di Gerusalemme 1994, 27, n. 2.

[11] Occorre segnalare che la paternità di Cirillo quanto alle catechesi prebattesimali è stata revocata in dubbio nel corso del XVII secolo, segnatamente presso la critica protestantica (massime da parte di A. Rivet, *Critici sacri specimen*, Ginevra 1642, l. III, c. 8, 282. Tale posizione – già vibratamente

fa séguito un secondo, coeso gruppo di cinque omelie.[12] La cesura è altrettanto recisa che rilevante, giacché la prima sequenza (cui appartengono le due omelie qui in indagine) è rivolta a catecumeni mentre la sequenza delle cinque ulteriori è diretta a neofiti; dunque, solo queste ultime possono dirsi mistagogiche *stricto sensu* mentre consta che i referenti delle catechesi 12 e 13 risultano essere i catecumeni. Sono sufficienti queste linee di riferimento per intendere che il referente cui Cirillo si rivolge è non già un cristiano corroborato nella fede e iniziato ai *mysteria*[13] ('misteri') bensì un soggetto prossimo a essere cristiano qual era il catecumeno, in quanto ancora in attesa dell'impartizione del battesimo. Diversamente dalle catechesi mistagogiche, le omelie prebattesimali si situano prima della veglia pasquale, durante la quale avvenivano contestualmente la *traditio symboli*[14] del battezzando all'autorità episcopale e il battesimo del novello cristiano, ormai illuminato da illuminando che era. Allo stesso modo giova considerare che il catecumeno si collocava a un grado intermedio nel percorso dell'iniziazione cristiana, poiché – pur non ancora cristiano per quanto detto – non era per questo completamente inesperto né del dogma né della pratica cristiana –; la pratica infatti della *nomendatio*[15] di cui sopra (cioè l'iscrizione del nome del candidato al battesimo all'inizio della quaresima) è attestata fin dalle prime fonti di età subapostolica come permessa solo nel caso che il candidato

avversata da Guglielmo Cave nel 1745 (su cui cfr Cirillo - Giovanni di Gerusalemme 1994, 29 e n. 5) – è oggi da rigettarsi, sulla scorta degli studî di confutazione vergati dal Touttée (*Diss*. II, n. 34, *PG* 33, 154).

12 Nell'economia della presente disamina, ogni riferimento che per transenna viene fatto alle omelie mistagogiche prescinde dalla loro autenticità cirilliana ovvero dall'attribuzione a Giovanni (ad esempio, l'assenza della dossologia finale nell'anafora, il passaggio dal Santo all'epiclesi, la descrizione dei diacono con la prosfora etc. lasciano trasparire una evoluzione verso lo schema dell'*Ordo* di Teodoro di Mopsuestia, deponendo a favore di una cronologia seriore a Cirillo: cfr Tonneau - Devreesse 1949, 531–535): per una sintesi della questione cfr. Quasten 1980, 367 e Piédagnel 1966, 21–28.

13 Cfr Mazza 1987, 321–338.

14 Alla medesima corrispondeva la *redditio symboli* la domenica *in albis deponendis*, chiudendo così il ciclo dell'iniziazione cristiana (rito, questo, che in Oriente, come attesta tra gli altri ripetutamente Teodoro di Mopsuestia, cadeva invece due domeniche dopo Pasqua, perché in Oriente la quaresima aveva durata di otto settimane).

15 La *Peregrinatio Egeriae* (cap. IV) attesta che in IV secolo a Gerusalemme essa avveniva la mattina della prima domenica di quaresimale, dopo che a un membro del clero la vigilia della medesima domenica fosse stata fatta richiesta di iscrizione ai registri dei battezzandi

medesimo avesse intrapreso un percorso di conversione per rinascere a nuova vita (μετάνοια 'mutamento, conversione')[16] e di conoscenza delle Scritture da almeno tre anni – come attesta per il III secolo la *Traditio apostolica*[17], durante i quali era passato attraverso i gradi di *rudis* (con terminologia agostiana: cfr il suo *De catechizandis rudibus*) o *audiens*, fino a essere un *electus*, ovvero tra i *cumpetentes,* o ancora, con terminologia orientale, un φωτιζόμενος ('che è in corso di essere illuminato') come nel nostro caso.

Mediante tali coordinate si ricava agilmente, pertanto, l'imprescindibile sfondo del carattere della μαρτυρία ('testimonianza'): Cirillo avverte l'esigenza di avallare i contenuti della *traditio symboli* (nel caso delle catechesi 12 e 13 segnatamente i due cardini della fede che sono l'Incarnazione e la Risurrezione) mediante la specifica testimonianza che la lettura tipologica dell'Antico Testamento gli offriva. Di qui è chiaro che una tale forma di μαρτυρία (inveramento dell'Antico nel Nuovo Testamento: il secondo è immagine[18] o antitipo del primo che ne è figura o tipo o ancora ombra[19]) è non solo resa possibile ma necessitata dal grado di iniziazione dei catechizzandi: essi sono infatti *per uiam* verso la condizione di cristiano perfetto, già avviati alla conoscenza della parola rivelata ma non ancora esperienzialmente con-validati dal sacramento; in forza di ciò, da una parte la testimonianza delle due catechesi in oggetto potrà richiamarsi a una frequentissima citazione di luoghi biblici (comprensibili a catecumeni perché già esperti sotto tale rispetto) e, dall'altra parte, Cirillo sente necessario strutturare una forma di testimonianza, perché rivolgendosi a chi ancora non ha conosciuto il carisma del sacramento occorre esercitare una forma di persuasione che li rafforzi nella fede in vista dell'approdo alla veste candida del battesimo.

Una volta aver delineati i caratteri essenziali del destinatario (*cui*) della testimonialità e la conseguente natura di quest'ultima, è possibile trascorrere a valutarne il *quomodo*; sotto questo rispetto l'impianto delle due catechesi in

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[16] Si tratta evidentemente di una piena הבושת (*təshûvâ*; 'ritorno') nei suoi tre ordini di conversione a séguito di un percorso penitenziale, culturale, rituale: questi sono pertanto i tre orientamenti lungo cui interpretare la testimonianza accampata da Cirillo, trattandosi cioè di una μαρτυρία (che parla sia al cuore sia alla mente sia all'anima.

[17] Ps.-Hypp. *Trad. apost*. 18–22.

[18] Sulla terminologia tecnica della tipologia, con particolare riguardo ad Ambrogio che ne è fonte per noi più completa (fonte occidentale ma pienamente consapevole dell'Oriente), cfr Mazza 1996, 31–38.

[19] Cfr Eb 8,5–7.

esame è ancora una volta molto definito: si tratta infatti di un diffuso impiego della tipologia biblica. Occorre anzitutto dire che l'apporto di questo specifico dispositivo ermeneutico è stato alquanto trascurato nell'esame che delle catechesi prebattesimali è stato compiuto dalla recente letteratura critica di argomento (né a maggior ragione se ne dà conto ad esempio in opere più divulgative come in Maestri e Saxer[20]).

Cirillo intende corroborare nella fede i catecumeni adducendo la testimonianza che l'Antico Testamento porta al Nuovo,[21] secondo l'anticipazione che quello significa a questo, che ne è perfezionamento. Senza qui poter né voler trattare i lineamenti generali della tipologia biblica nemmeno nel solo specifico della patristica greca di IV secolo, è invece rimarchevole fermare l'attenzione in questa sede su un suo aspetto circoscritto e tuttavia spesso frainteso anche nella letteratura scientifica, decisivo per comprendere il senso della testimonialità cirilliana: il crinale tra la tipologia e l'allegoria. Le catechesi di Cirillo, infatti, si muovono su un piano che non si lascia deflattivamente ascrivere alla pratica dell'allegoria – che pure in contesto biblico poteva vantare una tradizione lunga e solenne, fin dalla produzione ipomnematica di Filone Alessandrino, in ispecie per l'àmbito esameronale.[22] Come ha bene illustrato Mazza[23] anche a partire dalle omelie mistagogiche del Nostro, l'allegoria si limita a essere un procedimento esegetico, che trova (o cerca di trovare, non di rado con soverchie forzature) una corrispondenza tra luoghi diversi del testo considerato. L'ordine entro cui si muove, quindi, è ristretto alla interpretazione di testi (biblici o non) quando invece lo scopo della tipologia è sì di partire da questo elemento (corrispondenza testuale) ma solo al fine di raggiungere uno scopo superiore, quale è la corrispondenza tra i fatti medesimi e le realtà medesime riferite dai luoghi testuali citati. La tipologia supera l'allegoria[24] perché non si limita a essere uno

[20] Con l'eccezione delle linee generalissime alle pagg. 88–98 della loro opera.

[21] Come Cirillo in *Cat*. 12,29 dice direttamente, parlando di una funzione commemorativa circa Eva e Maria e in *Cat*. 13,20 su Moshè e la figura del serpente sulla croce.

[22] Si intende, evidentemente, a partire dal filoniano *De opificio mundi,* che impiegava l'allegoria per leggere la cosmopoiesi del Genesi sulla filigrana della pericope demiurgica di Plat. *Tim.* 27A–29D.

[23] Mazza 1996, 23–28.

[24] Dal punto di vista terminologico, la tipologia precede se stessa giacché risulta essere stato il procedimento ermeneutico *in uerbis* già adottato da Paolo, il quale usa un vocabolario peculiarmente tipologico (forma, figura, simbolo, prefigurazione etc.) pur sviluppandone un impiego allegorico:

strumento esegetico ma vuole coinvolgere il dato storico che giace sotto la lettera, uscendo dal libro per lambire il vissuto sia storico sia esperienziale. Consta di qui che "l'allegoria riguarda il significato di un testo, mentre la tipologia riguarda la realizzazione di un evento di salvezza";[25] c'è un altro aspetto per cui la tipologia si distingue dall'allegoria, superandola: la tipologia, godendo di un fondamento storico oggettivo che è sempre in divenire per sua natura, tiene conto delle relazioni reali tra gli stadî del percorso di salvezza del singolo e dell'economia escatologica complessiva in cui si inserisce.[26]

In questo quadro di riferimento,[27] è possibile rendere ragione del fitto tessuto di rimandi biblici di cui è trapunto e punteggiato il testo delle omelie 12 e 13: i rimandi biblici sono invocati a testimoniare della plausibilità dei contenuti del dogma che Cirillo va comunicando ai catecumeni seguendo la struttura del Simbolo e, soprattutto, tale testimonianza è calata nel vissuto dei battezzandi. Cirillo non vuole fare opera di esegesi ma istituire una corrispondenza a quattro arcate tra (a) l'evento biblico (di preferenza veterotestamentario), (b) il testo che lo riferisce, (c) il testo del Nuovo Testamento che si sta considerando (circa Incarnazione e Risurrezione come visto) e infine (d) l'evento che sta sotto e fonda le pericopi evangeliche in indagine. Ne promana che il piano della testimonianza che da questa struttura procede vuole essere diretta non a un convincimento letterato, letterario, esegetico *uel similia* bensì al concreto dell'esperienza di vita, quale si presenta il piano della πίστις ('fede') cui ultimamente aspira.

Resta da valutare la circostanza temporale e, per equipollenza spazio-cro-

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infatti Rom 5,14 e 1Cor 10,6 etc. tendono a scorgere un significato spirituale che sporga da quello letterale. Sarà solo con Melitone di Sardi (*ante* 180) che verrà distinto il principio teorico di corrispondenza allegorica tra testi dalla corresponsione tra le realtà sottese ai testi stessi: "ciò che viene detto è parabola, ciò che avviene è prefigurazione" (Perlier 1966, 78).

[25] Mazza 1996, 26.

[26] Cfr de Lubac 1947, 185.

[27] Va ascritto a merito degli studî di France Young (segnatamente cfr Young 1990a; Young 1990b; Young 1997a; Young 1997b) l'acquisizione della reciproca permeabilità tra tipologia e allegoria almeno in parte della produzione patristica, recuperata come categorie dialogicamente in tensione. Resta tuttavia prerogativa della tipologia la possibilità di intervenire sul piano esperienziale pertinente al rito, giacché la tipologia può salvare il referente concreto della pratica liturgica inserendolo nella riattualizzazione dei suoi antecedenti storici, quando invece l'allegoresi rischia di perdere la datità dell'esperienza, stemperata necessariamente nel 'come se' di un rinvio a un referente sentito come remoto e, in ultima istanza, inattingibile.

nologica, topica in cui il richiamo alla testimonianza avviene. L'*ubi* necessita di mettere qui a tema almeno la topologia in cui allocare le omelie 12 e 13, stante che *supra* è già stato fatto riferimento all'occasione quaresimale di iniziazione sacramentale di loro pertinenza. Le omelie prebattesimali (come peraltro quelle mistagogiche del medesimo Cirillo) partecipano della privilegiata natura di poter essere predicate proprio nei luoghi che conobbero la vicenda storica della Passione di Cristo; diversamente dalla produzione premistagogica della scuola di Antiochía, di quella sira o di Ambrogio, il corpus cirilliano è inalveato a Gerusalemme e, in forza di questo, è per sua natura inserito nella drammatizzazione data dalla coincidenza dei luoghi.[28] In questi termini basti ricordare il luogo in cui le omelie furono predicate: si tratta infatti di quella sezione della basilica costantiniana del Santo Sepolcro nota come Martyrion;[29] progettato nel 325 da Zenobio ed Eustazio di Costantinopoli e realizzato entro il 337 in concomitanza con l'Invenzione della santa Croce, l'intiero complesso architettonico aveva nel Martyrium la cattedra episcopale e qui si tenevano la sinassi per gli illuminati e la predicazione per gli illuminandi, come nel nostro caso. Considerando altresì che il Martyrium giaceva nel medesimo corpo di fabbrica dell'*atrium* – sorto sul Golgotha, luogo della Passione – e dell'Anastasis – luogo della Risurressi, come indicato dal nome –, si può facilmente concludere che il dispositivo della μαρτυρία cirilliana aveva due movimenti: l'uno intra- e l'altro extrascopico, poiché muoveva sia dai luoghi della predicazione (che avevano visti i fatti della Salvazione) verso le catechesi sia dalle catechesi verso i luoghi, stante che le omelie esplicavano l'economia provvidenziale dei fatti avvenuti negli stessi luoghi.

In conclusione, è evidente la centralità del tema della testimonianza segnatamente nelle due catechesi che trattano di Incarnazione e Risurrezione: esse furono proclamate da Cirillo nella primavera (Xantico) dell'anno 348,[30] proprio nella temperie in cui andava diffondendosi l'eresia di Ario – condannata dal concilio di Nicea del 325 – che rigettava quella che si definiva come

[28] Che Cirillo ne avesse esplicita conoscenza è restituiti tra gli altri passi da *Cat*. 12,20 circa i boschi davidici.

[29] Per gli aspetti sintetici qui richiamati cfr Corbo 1981.

[30] La data si ricava in modo irrefragabile da molti elementi interni: *Cat*. 6,20; *Cat*. 14,14; *Cat*. 15,6 etc.

unione enipostatica della natura umana-divina;[31] in conseguenza di ciò urgeva la necessità di appellarsi a ogni strumento capace di testimonianza proprio in difesa degli aspetti di per sé evidentemente più vulnerabili all'arianesimo, quali erano i misteri di Incarnazione e Risurrezione. In questi termini la testimonianza della sindone – in quanto primo testimone della Risurrezione – porta, infatti, alla massima espressione la consustanzialità dell'umano e del divino, giacché non c'è Risurrezione se non dopo la morte che è solo umana e non c'è Risurrezione se non divina, embricando pienamente la mistagogia sindonologica entro il teologhema dello *homoousion* nel quadro della dogmatica nicena in reazione antiariana. Ed è in questo quadro di testimonianza, dunque, che sarà lecito configurare nel prosieguo i modi dell'attestazione sindonica conosciuti a Cirillo.

## 4. Indagine esegetica sulla μαρτυρία

Suggerito questo orientamento interpretativo, si rende ora possibile passare in dettagliata rassegna le occorrenze della famiglia lessicale della μαρτυρία nelle catechesi 12 e 13, còlte entro il loro contesto.

La prima occorrenza testuale significata dall'omelia 12[32] al capo 5

[31] *Obiter dictum*: non 'umano-divina'! Infatti, mentre 'umano-divina' rischierebbe di opporre la natura *puramente* divina alla natura *anche* divina – fino a subordinare gerarchicamente e quindi portare a reiezione l'eguaglianza tra il Padre e il Figlio –, l'allomorfo 'umana-divina' (natura divina sotto questo rispetto, in quanto divina *proprio* nella sua umanità e non *nonostante* quest'ultima) vuole insistere piuttosto sulla consustanzialità del Figlio col Padre evitando di contrapporre il Figlio, in quanto finito, al Padre in quanto infinito, posizione che traviava il credo ariano fino a ridurre la seconda persona della Trinità a una funzione di intermediazione demiurgica tra il mondo e il Creatore.

[32] Vale fare due osservazioni, qui giunti, sulla *intitulatio* dell'omelia in questione: fermo restandone il carattere redazionale e non autoriale, essa – come del resto le precedenti (tranne la *Precatechesi*) e successive – è detta ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις σχεδιασθεῖσα ('stralciata in Gerusalemme'): il participio aoristo passivo greco di σχεδιάζω ('agire sul posto, da vicino') non significa evidentemente 'improvvisata a Gerusalemme' (come intendono e traducono invece *ad locum* Maestri e Saxer, tra gli altri) perché tale catechesi non fu certo estemporaneamente composta *ilico et immediate* da Cirillo, senza alcuna preparazione o preventiva valutazione, vista la calibratissima struttura e ricchezza di rimandi); si tratta invece di intendere improvvisamente fu trascritta, non composta, nel senso che noi ne abbiamo una redazione stenografica che, secondo l'uso antico, fu curata mentre Cirillo predicava. Questo rilievo è fondamentale per apprezzare lo sfondo in cui la μαρτυρία professatavi si declina: si tratta di un contesto aurale e di auscultazione, in cui la parola viva del predicatore è estranea alla forma algida del trattato teologico ma, al tempo stesso, ha in sé la fondazione speculativa

è esemplare, sullo sfondo di quanto premesso: ἀλλ' ἐὰν μὴ προφητῶν περὶ ἑκάστου πράγματος δέξῃ μαρτυρίαν, μὴ πίστευε τοῖς λεγομένοις ('ma nel caso che tu non abbia ricevuto testimonianza di profeti su ogni fatto, non continuare a credere a quanto si va dicendo').[33] Cirillo invita alla ricerca (ζητείσθω 'si ricerchi') del motivo per cui Gesù sia disceso (κατέβη 'discese') nella storia; deve essere da súbito notato che il Gerosolimitano impiega nell'originale greco una forma ipercaratterizzata per indicare la causa da ricercarsi: dice infatti τίνος ἕνεκα ('a causa/in vista di che cosa'), il che vale sia come causa originante sia come causa finale: a partire da che cosa e in vista di che cosa (parimenti in latino *cuius rei causa/gratia*). Ne discende la direzione in cui collocare il successivo invito ad accogliere la testimonianza scritturistica: non solo la parola di Cirillo risulta fededegna perché innestata e anticipata nei suoi contenuti dall'attestazione dei profeti[34] (causa originante) ma soprattutto la tipologica *imago* veterotestamentaria orienta anche la vita di chi la accolga a un cammino di perfezione, il cui stadio successivo sarà l'imminente battesimo ed escatologicamente la parousia (causa finale). La μαρτυρία quindi muove dalla pagina all'esperienza cristiana, dal passato (profeti) mediante il presente (sacramento impartito) fino al futuro metatemporale (salvazione).

Un secondo caso su cui fa mestieri di far insistere l'ictus dell'attenzione è costituito da 12,19: δύσπιστος γὰρ ὢν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἐὰν μὴ καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ἔτη εἰς ψῆφος λάβῃ, τοῖς λεγομένοις οὐ πιστεύει ('infatti l'uomo, diffidente qual

della teologia tipologica calibrata nella fase di preparazione. Tale vuole quindi essere il piano della testimonianza; comprensivo sia del dato scritturistico sia dell'elemento esperienziale. Ciò detto, Cirillo parla εἰς σαρκωθέντα καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα ('a incarnato e umanatosi'): con molta finezza Cirillo impiega nel primo termine un passivo teologico ('fatto carne da') con richiamo alla carne giovannea (ove σάρξ 'carne' indica la carne di chi è già morto ma trasfigurata immediatamente fin dal prologo nella luce pasquale della Risurrezione) mentre col secondo termine introduce un ardito conio verbale di participio attivo (se il farsi carne è patito, l'in-umanizzarsi è processo attivo), in cui si sottolinea il valore stativo e non di moto del prefissoide ἐν ('in'): l'Incarnazione è presentata non come un ingresso (εἰς 'verso') ma come una condizione, non già come un diveniente, quindi, bensì quale un permanente. A questo è addotta la testimonianza: che Nostro Signore ha ricevuto la carne della Passione per essere presenza tra gli uomini, una volta per tutte, fino alla fine dei tempi.

[33] *Semel pro omnibus*, si segnala che ogni traduzione del testo greco riportata qui e in séguito è dello scrivente, stante l'inadeguatezza delle altre a oggi apprestate in lingua moderna. Parimenti la punteggiatura da inserirsi grecamente è stata talora revisionata.

[34] *Cat.* 12,4 aveva citato Bar 3,38: τί τοσοῦτον οὖν αἴτιον ὥστε θεὸν εἰς ἀνθρωπότητα καταβῆναι; ('dunque, qual era la causa così grande che un dio discendesse d'un tratto in umanità?')

è, nel caso che non abbia appreso anche proprio gli anni in modo centellinato, non continua a credere a quanto si va dicendo'); Cirillo sta predicando sul compimento dei tempi,[35] di cui cerca una dimostrazione (ζητοῦμεν τῆς παρουσίας τῶν χρόνων τὴν ἀπόδειξιν 'ricerchiamo la dimostrazione dell'avvento dei tempi'). Il cap. 19, dunque, mira a produrre la testimonianza premessa al cap. 18 (τοῦ χρόνου μαρτυρίαν 'testimonianza del tempo') poiché è possibile condurre gli uomini dalla diffidenza alla fiducia (cfr δύσπιστος ... πιστεύει 'diffidente ... confida') solo attraverso una dimostrazione[36] (nel caso specifico accampando l'evidenza della profezia *ad annum*[37] della parousia). La testimonianza verso la fiducia/fede (questi i due valori del πιστεύειν 'credere, aver fiducia/fede') transita quindi per il passaggio delle forche caudine della dimostrazione, non già cercando la vita larga del convincimento temperamentale e dell'impressionismo pathetico.

Ora, *magnis itineribus*, il filo rosso concettuale emerso dalla catechesi 12 (testimonianza-dimostrazione-fede) necessita di essere messo alla prova e arricchito sulla scorta della catechesi 13. Il tema della medesima (εἰς τὸ τὸν σταυρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα 'sull'espressione: *crocifisso e sepolto*') si presta a molte testimonianze tipologiche, come rileva Cirillo medesimo ai capp. 8 e 13 (scrive alla fine di 13,13: εἰ γὰρ πάντα ζητήσειέ τις ἀκριβῶς, οὐδὲν τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ πραγμάτων ἀμάρτυρον καταλειφθήσεται 'infatti, se si ricercasse con acribia, nessuna delle vicende di Cristo verrà tralasciata senza testimonianze'). Il Nostro dichiara il suo scopo a 13,7–8, allorché illustra che il ruolo testimoniale della profezia (da intendersi evidentemente come prolessi tipologica dei fatti e della narrazione biblici) è di guadagnare alla Grazia, vincendo la resistenza di chi tra le genti (i גויים [*gôyîm* 'genti']) non si contrappone supinamente alla fede (ὀκνηροὶ πρὸς πίστιν 'indecisi verso la fede'). Per vincere la confutazione giudaica, l'omileta dice che porterà alcune testimonianze della Passione (τῇ τοῦ κυρίου χάριτι περὶ τοῦ πάθους μαρτυρίας ὀλίγας παραθώμεθα ('per grazia

[35] A 12,18 era già stato citato in questa prospettiva Dan 2,27–47 e a 12,19 si prosegue con Dan 9,25 nonché Esd 6,15.

[36] Il piano della dimostrazione era stato anticipato a 12,3: καὶ λήψῃ τὰς ἀποδείξεις ('e riceverai le dimostrazioni').

[37] La precisione nella profezia dell'anno della parousia è detta da Cirillo εἰς ψῆφος: ('fino all'[ultimo] sassolino): egli vuole dimostrare (cfr explicit del cap. 19) che la tipologia biblica offre non un'anticipazione nebulosa e approssimativa ma precisa e puntuale di tale avvento, perché solo così la μαρτυρία conquista alla fede (πίστις).

del Signore, orbene, adduciano un po' di testimonianze sulla passione'): Cirillo attinge in questo alle profezie neotestamentarie messianiche[38] come immagine della Passione di Cristo che ne è figura inverante – e tutto questo con una lettura che per la prima volta qui porta ogni testimonianza sempre alla luce della Grazia del Signore.

Ulteriore conferma e approfondimento di quanto detto è offerta dal cap. 9, il quale così si apre: ζητείσθωσαν τοίνυν ἡμῖν αἱ περὶ τοῦ πάθους τοῦ Χριστοῦ μαρτυρίαι. Συνεληλύθαμεν γὰρ οὐ γραφῶν ἐξήγησιν θεωρητικὴν ποιήσασθαι νῦν ἀλλὰ πιστοποιηθῆναι μᾶλλον περὶ ὧν πεπιστεύκαμεν ('perciò, siano oggetto di ricerca da parte nostra le testimonianze sulla Passione di Cristo. Infatti siamo convenuti non per fare un'esegesi speculativa delle Scritture ma per essere maggiormente fortificati nella fede su ciò di cui risultiamo aver fede'). Questa pericope si mostra come esemplare sintesi di quanto è preceduto e introduzione di quanto seguirà: in prima istanza, si nota il piccolo ma esplicito segnale rappresentato dalla congiunzione conclusiva τοίνυν ('ergo' latinamente), che sta a indicare la connessione logica e para-deduttiva della argomentazioni. Il percorso di ricerca testimoniale (ζητείσθωσαν ... μαρτυρίαι 'siano ricercate ... testimonianze') si struttura come una catena di riprese e avanzamenti, incardinato secondo la posizione di premesse e pro-posizione di conclusioni, pur transitorie. Contestualmente, Cirillo manifesta che l'assemblea è convenuta non per fare un'esegesi speculativa della Sacra Scrittura in quella circostanza (νῦν 'ora') bensì – con pregnante conio – 'per essere fatti fedeli' (πιστοποιηθῆναι propriamente 'essere fedeficati'): si deve notare che Cirillo qui impiega sottilmente non già una più comune circumlocuzione (πιστός 'fedele' *plus* ποιέω 'faccio') ma la univerbazione di questi elementi lessicali perché, come attesta l'uso di questo verbo presso la Septuaginta, la forma che fonde e con-fonde in un'unica parola i due elementi esprime un avanzamento nella fede di chi è già in una condizione di fede pur più vacillante e non la volontà di rendere fedele chi non lo sia ancora (come invece avrebbe significato la perifrasi greca del *rendere fedele*). La finezza del dettato cirilliano permette di cogliere altresì che le μαρτυρίαι sono funzionali a un avanzamento nella fede piuttosto che a un ingresso in essa poiché, senza ora dire dell'impiego di μᾶλλον ('di più'), la lettera greca ricorre a una forma verbale al perfetto in πεπιστεύκαμεν (risultato presente di azione passata) proprio per mostrare che

[38] Mt 27,3–10; Gv 19,34 etc.

la condizione di fede sui contenuti del Simbolo è già principiata ma è vòlta a un prosieguo di rafforzamento. Di qui si ricava che i richiami poco successivi alle testimonianze (ἐδέξω τὰς μαρτυρίας ... μαρτυρίαν ἔλαβες[39] 'hai accolto le testimonianze ... hai preso testimonianza') portate rispettivamente circa la parousia[40] e le guarigioni[41] di Gesù si inseriscono in un quadro di adulti nella fede prossimi al sacramento, per la qual cosa la testimonianza assume significato solo se già avvistata nell'ottica di un pregresso cammino di fede, cui contribuisce con uno specifico apporto di perfezionamento esperienziale.

La catechesi 13 è ricca di frequenti richiami all'ordine della testimonianza tipologica[42] nei termini di superamento della mera sottigliezza argomentativa, per cui cfr cap. 19: ἀλλ' ἐρεῖ μοί τις 'εὑρησιλογεῖς' ('ma qualcuno mi dirà: stai cavillando') e prosegue dicendo ἐὰν μὴ μαρτυρίαν ἀπὸ προφήτου παράσχῃς, οὐ πείθομαι ('qualora tu non provveda testimonianza da un profeta, non mi persuado'). Esito ne sarà Ἄκουε ... καὶ πιστοποιοῦ ('Ascolta ... e fidati'). L'ordine delle testimonianze vuole mediare tra la vita vissuta e il dato scritturistico: *significando causant.*[43] Per soprammercato, occorre qui citare almeno un caso di testimonianza accampata da Cirillo a livello metatestuale: si tratta della chiusa di 13,19; dice Cirillo, citando tipologicamente la Scrittura:[44] καὶ ἔσται ἡ ζωή σου κρεμαμένη ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν σου καὶ φοβηθήσῃ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός καὶ οὐ πιστεύσεις τῇ ζωῇ σου ('e la tua vita sarà appesa innanzi ai tuoi occhi e avrai paura giorno e notte e non riporrai fede nella tua vita') e immediatamente dopo[45] κύριε, τίς ἐπίστευσε τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν; ('Signore, chi ha riposto fede[46]

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[39] La seconda persona singolare dei verbi indica che Cirillo si rivolge singolarmente ai suoi catecumeni: la testimonianza che è addotta tipologicamente dalla Scrittura è presentata con la cura pastorale del vescovo che vuole scrivere nella vita e nel cuore dei suoi uditori.

[40] *Cat*. 11,23; *Cat*. 12,15.

[41] *Cat.* 10, 13.

[42] A 13,18 Cirillo enuncia in modo esplicito (διὰ τὸν τύπον 'mediante il tipo') il suo ricorso alla tipologia biblica.

[43] Con questa formula Daniélou apriva (p. [1]) il suo studio mistagogico sul rapporto tra Bibbia e liturgia (Daniélou 1958); come sta emergendo, le omelie prebattesimali di Cirillo vanno articolando *mutatis mutandis* un consimile rapporto sul piano premistagogico della μαρτυρία.

[44] Deut 28,66.

[45] Is 53,1.

[46] Così par meglio intendere l'indicativo aoristo della Septuaginta, reso invece con un valore poten-

nella nostra voce?'). Come è evidente, si tratta qui di una fruizione metatestuale (o – quello che è lo stesso – metateorica) della testimonianza, giacché non è in questione di usare la citazione veterotestamentaria come testimone sulla via della fede bensì di citare un luogo biblico in cui si dica della fede[47] dovuta alla parola: Cirillo quindi dimostra di conoscere non solo la fede nella Scrittura ma anche la fede che dentro la Scrittura si pone nella Parola.

Viene dunque configurandosi sempre con maggior dettaglio la strategia premistagogica che informa di sé la catechetica cirilliana: fare leva sull'anticipazione insita nel tipo veterotestamentario per fondare gli episodî della Passione da (ri)vivere nell'esperienza del sacramento prossimo; a favore del fatto che a tale concezione della testimonianza corrisponda un vero intendimento di fondazione e dimostrazione depongono le parole introitali di 13,23, laddove Cirillo senza alcuna reticenza notifica: ἡμεῖς δὲ λοιπὸν ἀναδράμωμεν ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρημένην ἐκ τῶν προφητῶν ἀπόδειξιν. Ἐσταυρώθη ὁ κύριος, εἴληφας τὰς μαρτυρίας. Ὁρᾷς τοῦ Γολγοθᾶ τὸν τόπον ('ma noi ritorniamo quindi di colpo alla dimostrazione detta sulla base dei profeti. Fu crocifisso il Signore: te ne risultano le testimonianze. Osservi il luogo del Golgotha'). Si constata che la testimonianza resa sulla base dei profeti ha forza non evocativa ma *de plano* dimostrativa (ἀπόδειξις 'dimostrazione'), avvertendo che dietro l'attestazione dei profeti è la Voce del Signore a conferire autorità e verità indefettibile alla loro pre-visione tipologica (ἐκ τῶν προφητῶν 'sulla base dei profeti': la dimostrazione non è detta *dai* profeti ma sulla loro base); peraltro, il riferimento deittico al Golgotha permette di valutare che Cirillo fa ricorso anche al riscontro visivo dei luoghi che furono teatro della Passione per ripresentare alla viva esperienza dei catecumeni quanto giace scritto nella figura dei due testamenti. A questo punto si può evincere con agilità che il ruolo della testimonianza tipologica cui Cirillo fa ricorso intende modulare il carattere di segno degli eventi biblici. Si tratta di un segno (σημεῖον 'segno') nell'accezione forte tipica del Quarto Evangelio, giacché Cirillo come Giovanni vuole scorgere una trajettoria di-mostrativa (cioè, giusta l'etimo, in-dicativa) che, uscendo dall'Antica, passi per la Nuova

ziale nelle traduzioni (a uso liturgico e non) in italiano, stante la nostra aderenza alla coniugazione hifîl yiqtol dell'originale ebraico (וימאה [*he'emîn* 'ed ecco, vien fatto che è saldo']).

47 Il luogo di Deut 28,66, del resto, era già stato accostato in chiave soteriologica nell'esegesi paleocristina come dimostra Daniélou 1966, 53–75 (citato in Cirillo - Giovanni di Gerusalemme 1994, 404, n. 36).

Alleanza e pervenga da ultimo al tessuto palpitante del presente[48] nella vita degli illuminandi.

Pronunciava il venerando Patriarca di Gerusalemme queste parole a sigillo della sua omelia – e noi con lui: ἔχεις δώδεκα ἀποστόλους τοῦ σταυροῦ μάρτυρας ... αὐτὸ τοῦτό σε νῦν παρεῖναι πειθέτω τοῦ σταυρωθέντος τὴν δύναμιν[49] 'hai i dodici apostoli come testimoni della croce ... ti convinca proprio il fatto che sei presente tu ora della potenza del Crocifisso'); come le due arcate della tipologia biblica collegano i tre referenti individuati (infatti il compimento della Scrittura[50] lega l'Antico Testamento al Nuovo come il Nuovo alla preparazione liturgica battesimale), così la testimonianza – grazie alla quale avviene la *traditio* che nella storia dischiude a pienezza la Scrittura – è il filo d'oro che fa di ciascun catecumeno un novello apostolo, un tredicesimo apostolo inoculato nella latinamente *hora* dell'istante provvidenziale (ὥρα 'momento decisivo') del suo tempo e nel *kairós* della sua vita nella prosecuzione parousiaca ed escatologica della Voce che risuonò al Sinài e sul Golgotha.

## 5. Paralipomeni e bilancio finale

L'analisi che precede permette, se non di tirare delle conclusioni, almeno di fare un bilancio provvisorio affermando la centralità che nelle catechesi 12 e 13 ha il tema della testimonianza. Tale rilievo accordato alla μαρτυρία rappresenta l'indefettibile *ubi consistam* sulla cui base e nel cui orizzonte di senso si devono inserire i rinvii che Cirillo opera agli ὀθόνια ('bendaggi') della Passione e Risurrezione. Ora siamo infatti nella condizione di intendere il significato profondo e anagogico delle parole di 14,22, cui si è alluso in apertura: πολλοὶ μάρτυρές εἰσι τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἀναστάσεως ... καὶ ὁ λίθος ὁ τότε ἀποκυλισθεὶς οὗτος μαρτυρεῖ τῇ ἀναστάσει ... ἄγγελοι θεοῦ παρόντες ἐμαρτύρησαν τῇ ἀναστάσει τοῦ μονογενοῦς ... καὶ τὰ ὀθόνια ἃ περιβαλλόμενος κατέλιπεν ἀναστάς... ('ci sono molti testimoni della risurrezione del Salvatore ... e il masso che allora era stato voltolato, questo qui, rende testimonianza alla ri-

[48] Cfr *Cat*. 13,26: ποῖον ἔστι σημεῖον ἄλλο ἀκριβὲς ἐπὶ τῷ γεγενημένῳ; ('qual sorta di altro preciso segno c'è a fronte dell'accaduto?')

[49] *Cat*. 13,40.

[50] Cfr *Cat.* 13,32: πεπλήρωται τὰ γεγραμμένα ('risulta compiuto quanto sta scritto').

surrezione ... degli angeli del Signore, presenti, hanno reso testimonianza alla risurrezione dell'Unigenito ... e i bendaggi – di cui era avvolto – che ha lasciato giù risorgendo...') e poco oltre οἱ μὲν[51] ἐπὶ τὸ μνῆμα δραμόντες καὶ τὰ ὀθόνια τῆς ταφῆς, οἷς ἐνετυλίχθη πρότερον, αὐτόθι κείμενα ('essi, corsi al memoriale e [visti] i bendaggi della sepoltura – coi quali era stato avvolto – giacere proprio lì...'). Le bende sono dunque introdotte da Cirillo nell'interno di un contesto che insiste con veemenza sul carattere della testimonianza: molti sono detti i testimoni e, tra questi, elenca la pietra, gli angeli, le donne, i discepoli e le bende. Al pari del ruolo dei soggetti citati, la funzione delle bende è testimoniale nel senso che è stato guadagnato in queste pagine, cioè di mediare tra la Scrittura e la vita esperienziale per la corroborazione nella fede. Anche prescindendo in questa sede dall'altra attestazione cirilliana (*Cat*. 20,7) delle sacre bende perché di pertinenza mistagogica e non premistagogica, consta che agli ὀθόνια ('bendaggi') Cirillo riconosce una duplice funzione – che è la sua eredità maggiore nell'economia di una riflessione sindonologica –: solo chi è già avviato sulla via della fede, come i suoi catecumeni, può riconoscere nella testimonianza di quelle bende le bende della Passione del Risorto e, per converso, solo chi ha fede può trarre testimonianza dalla Passione delle Scritture per com-patire il mistero degli estremi lini. 'Bisogna aver visto per aver fede' ma anche 'bisogna aver fede per aver visto', secondo le due letture dell'ancipite citazione plotiniana posta in esergo che bene coagula in sé la luce oscura della Sindone, giacché altro è la retina impressionata altro è la vista della fede.

*Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milano*

[51] *Scil*. i discepoli.

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* La bibliografia qui elencata si presenta selettiva delle opere non solo fruite ma anche citate nelle pagine precedenti. Per ragioni di spazio, alcuni studî – o in quanto notorî o in quanto addotti nel testo in modo cursorio e lì comunque citati per esteso in nota – non sono stati elencati in questo prospetto bibliografico conclusivo. L'indicizzazione delle edizioni delle opere di Cirillo segue l'ordine alfabetico dell'autore con l'eccezione della curatela del Faivre perché si è voluta avere massima aderenza al frontispizio dell'edizione che non reca individualmente il nome di Cirillo quale autore ma lo riferisce solo nell'interno del titolo dell'opera medesima. A livello sitografico, è stata fruita la sezione bibliografica dell'indirizzo http:/ www.mondosindone.com. [*Per incidens* si nota qui che deliberatamente è stato sempre scritto 'cfr' senza punto di troncamento, giacché si tratta di parola tamponata ovvero sincopata, non appunto tronca].

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# A FOURTH-CENTURY INSCRIPTION FROM ABRITUS IN MOESIA SECUNDA

Olli Salomies*

This article deals with an inscription of some interest, found in Abritus (Razgrad in Bulgaria) in what was at the time of the inscription known as *Moesia Secunda* and published recently by A. Kolb and R. T. Ivanov in *ZPE* 199 (2016) 294–9.[1] The text, dated by the editors to the period between AD 311 and the reign of Constantius II (AD 337–361), has been inscribed within a margin (used especially in the lower part for inscribing some letters) with letters very clearly indicating Late Antiquity, on a limestone stele (119 x 43 x 25 cm., the letters being 3 cm.) now broken in two, this resulting in the loss of some letters in lines 6–10. The inscription runs as follows:[2]

*Romulianus p(rae)p(ositus) eqq(uitum) Dalm(atarum)*
*Beroe(e)nsium comitate(nsium)*
*et Fl(avia) Maxima casta con-*
*iux eius filiae suae d-*
*ulcissimae Romula[e],*
*oriundae ex prov(incia) D[ac(ia)],*
*cives Aquisene[nses],*
*ubi v[ixerunt par]-*

* Thanks are due to two anonymous referees.

[1] The inscription is also available, with photos, at the Ubi Erat Lupa (http://lupa.at/20851) and Clauss-Slaby (as EDCS-69000069) websites.

[2] I quote the text as published by Kolb and Ivanov, a text reproduced as such in the Clauss-Slaby database. At the Ubi Erat Lupa site a text differing in some details is offered, said to based on Manfred Clauss' study of the photo; cf. below notes 3, 4 and 5.

*entes,*[3] *Avius Apat[ --- ]*
*Romulus, vir magnu[s],*
*memorat(a)e ex p(rae)p(osito) trib(unus)*
*q(ua) comite factus,*
*Valerinus ipsa dig-*
*nitate secutus <q(uocum)> vi-*
*xit tamen Romula an(nos)*
*VII*[4] *q(ui) memoriam feci-*
*mus nobil(i)ssima(e) gra-*
*tia ipsa hic tamen Romu-*
*la filia vestra*[5] *magnam (!)*
*dolorem in pectore fixi(t)*[6].

As fourth-century inscriptions tend to be, the text is full of errors and mistakes of all possible kinds, and there seem to be many passages where the exact meaning must remain uncertain. The editors have done their best to illustrate and explain what is being said, but I think that some details remain for which an alternative interpretation could be offered. This is something that I shall now turn my attention to.

The text in the first six lines seems clear enough; I cannot say I can see much of the letter *D*, taken by the editors as the first letter of *D[ac(ia)]*, at the end

[3] This seems a plausible interpretation of what can be read in the photo and of what could be expected the text to have said; but in the beginning of l. 9 Clauss (n. 1) reads *DIIIS* not *ENTES.*

[4] This must indeed be the correct reading; the word *an(nos)* and the age of Romula (*VI* in my view rather than VII, as in Kolb and Ivanov) have been inscribed in the margin to the right of l. 15 and to the left of l. 16 (there are other instances of letters inscribed in the margin elsewhere). Clauss' reading, *Romulan//[i]an/o* (Clauss uses the symbol "//" to indicate that letters that follow are inscribed in the margin), must be based on the (misguided) assumption that there is a ligature of *A* and *N* where the reading is in fact *Romula*; and a mention of an (additional person?) "Romulanianus" would have no point here.

[5] This reading seems acceptable; Clauss reads *Ro//mu/[---] vestram* , but in l. 19 the reading *ILIAVESTRA* seems certain (Clauss' *vestram* must be an error) and the letters that can be read at the beginning of the same line can be easily interpreted as *LAF* (for the *F* , cf. e.g. the *F* in *feci/mus* in l. 16), this producing the reading of the editors, in any case corresponding to what one would expect, *Romu/la filia vestra*.

[6] *pectore fixi* (with *XI* inscribed in the margin) seems clear enough. I cannot see how Clauss has arrived at the reading *PECIDRLA?//XI*.

of l. 6, but a mention of Dacia (the provinces called *Dacia* in the fourth century being located to the south of the Danube) seems plausible enough. However, I wonder about the reading and the interpretation of *cives* in l. 7. The editors interpret *cives* as a nominative plural defining the parents ("Dacia … wo die Eltern als aquisenische Bürger gelebt haben"), but I would very much prefer to take the expression to refer to the daughter Romula. Romula's home province has just been indicated (*oriundae ex prov(incia) D[ac(ia)]*), and it would thus certainly be more appropriate if a reference to her, rather than the parents', hometown followed, especially as it is not uncommon to find particularly in military circles and from about the Severan period onwards a person's *patria* being indicated with a mention both of the home city and of the province (or Italian region), as for instance in *civi Campano domo Capua* (*AE* 2009, 1168, cf. *AE* 2010, 1276) or *domo Catina ex provincia Sicilia* (*CIL* XII 178).[7] Moreover, taking *ubi* to refer not to the city, but to the province the mention of which *precedes* the mention of the city, seems to me artificial and far-fetched, and I find hard to believe that anyone in the fourth century would have rendered "where her parents lived as aquisenian (*vel sim.*) citizens" (already in itself an unlikely way of saying that one's parents resided in a certain city) using a formulation of this structure, with *cives Aquisene[nses]* preceding the relative adverb *ubi*.[8] Now what one reads in l. 7 is *CIVESAQVISENE[ --- ]*,[9] and a close study of the photos seems to allow for, or at least not to exclude, the possibility of reading not *cives Aquisene[ --- ]*

[7] For further instances of the province coming first note e.g. *ex provincia Narbone[n(si)] domo Nemauso* (*RIB* 814); *ex provincia Pannonia superiore civitate Poetabionense* (*CIL* VI 32804a); *oriundo ex provincia Moesopo[ta]miae* (sic) *domo Rac[ --- ]* (*CIL* XIII 7323 = *ILS* 9148); for instances of the city being mentioned first note e.g. *[domo] Arelate ex provin[cia Nar]bon(ensi)* (*AE* 2003, 1426); *Carnuntiensi provinci[a]e Pannoniae superioris* (*CIL* III 6593); *domo Philippopoli ex prov(incia) Thracia* (*CIL* XIII 1856); *domo Choba ex provincia Maur[e]tania Caes(ariensi)* (*AE* 1963, 16).

[8] It is of course attested that the subjects of relative clauses or of clauses introduced by relative adverbs are put in "focus" ahead of the clause (as, to mention an epigraphic example, e.g. in *CIL* I$^2$ 6/7 = *ILS* 1, *consol censor aidilis quei fuit apud vos* instead of *qui fuit consol … apud vos*), but I would not be prepared to assume that the author of the text would have had something like this in mind.

[9] The photo, by O. Harl, at the Ubi Erat Lupa site seems to imply the possibility of reading the fourth letter as an *I* instead of an *E*, the result being *CIVI-*, but in the photo in the original publication in *ZPE* the *E* is clear. The last letter at the end of this line as preserved, read as *E*, seems uncertain to me but its exact identity is of no great importance.

but *cive Saquisene[ --- ]*.[10] In that case, *cive* could be seen as a dative and thus a description of Romula,[11] and the ending of the adjective derived from the name of Romula's home town would accordingly have to be modified to represent a dative.

But even if one insists on assuming that the name of Romula's hometown has something to do with the word *aqua* (cf. n. 10), and surely this is (as pointed out by the referees) the most probable interpretation, one can surely still consider attaching *cives* to Romula rather than to her parents by assuming that *cives* is singular, not plural,[12] and by interpreting it as an appositive nominative "without government by the preceding clause":[13] the author of the text, not an accomplished writer of Latin prose, had simply forgotten or ignored that he should have continued with the use of the dative.

There is not much left of l. 8 and of the beginning of l. 9, but the reading of Kolb and Ivanov, *ubi v[ixerunt par]/entes*, seems plausible; the text would in this case be explaining that Romula was the citizen of the city or village mentioned in l. 7 precisely because her parents had lived there.

In what follows (lines 9ff.) another male person seems to be introduced, *Avius Apat[ --- ] Romulus*. What is striking about this man, in addition to the fact that he is defined as *vir magnu[s]*,[14] is that according to the interpretation of the editors he has three names in a context where all other men have just one (*Fl(avia) Maxima* of course does have a *nomen*). Taking into account on the one

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[10] Kolb and Ivanov suggest (p. 298) that Romula's hometown could have been a spa or bathing resort with a name beginning with *Aquis/Aquae*, but we could be dealing with an obscure village with a barbarian name (a possibility vehemently denied by the referees, one of whom observes that we must have here a reference either to *Aquae* on the Danube, possibly identical with Prahovo in Serbia, or to some other locality with a similar name).

[11] The dative *cive* is attested in *CIL* XIII 6460; for other instances of third-declension datives ending in *-e* see H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae* III (1916) p. 848 (e.g., *sodale*, *CIL* XIV 341 = *ILS* 6144); E. Diehl, *Vulgärlateinische Inschriften* (1910) p. 165.

[12] Cf. e.g. *cives Tribocus CIL* VI 31139 (AD 128); *TLL* III 1220, 27–33.

[13] I quote this from the assessment of a referee. In my original version I was speaking of "disturbed syntax".

[14] Kolb and Ivanov translate this as "ein bedeutender Mann". They observe (p. 297 n. 10; this is confirmed by a search of the Clauss-Slaby database), that there are only two epigraphic parallels for the expression *vir magnus*, *CIL* VI 9783 = 37773 = *ILS* 7778 (a philosopher) and *CIL* XIII 2477 = *ILCV* 1075 (a presbyter).

hand this, and on the other the fact that 'grandfather' is in epigraphical Latin, as pointed out by the *Thesaurus*,[15] sometimes rendered not with *avus* but with *avius* (a form no doubt influenced by the female form *avia*), I suggest that, instead of the nomen *Avius*, which is not very common and barely found outside Italy, we have here another instance of *avius* in the meaning of *avus*. This leaves us with the letters that follow, *APAT*, with a couple of letters missing in the lacuna after the *T.* In this case, too, the editors (p. 296) think of a name, but the repertory of names beginning with *Apat-* is not exactly substantial, and there seems to be a point in taking these letters to be a definition of *avius.* That is why I suggest that the letters *APAT* should be understood as *a pat[re]*, and this adverbial expression[16] as meaning the same as the adjective *paternus*. In order to show that this interpretation could be possible I must quote an inscription from Gallia Narbonensis (*CIL* XII 2473 = B. Rémy, in *Inscriptions latines de Narbonnaise* V [Vienne] 3, 669):

> *[L.] Pompeio C . f. Campano avo a patre, Catiae Secundinae aviae a patre, Pompeiae Maximae sorori, [.] Pompeio Campano fratri … C. Sentio Agricolae [avunculo* (?)*], Pompeiae L. f. Secundin(ae) amitae, C. Pompeio Ius[to f]ratri et parentibus, Voluntiliae C. f. Censae aviae a matre, C. Sentio Iusto avo a mat[r]e … L. Pompeius Campanus viv(u)s fecit*.

L. Pompeius Campanus, the man who set up this inscription, thus enumerates, among a number of persons whose relation to himself is not defined and whose names are left out above, all four of his grandparents by name (but for some reason refers to his parents simply as *parentes*), the paternal grandparents [.] Pompeius Campanus and Catia Secundina and the maternal grandparents Voluntilia Censa and C. Sentius Iustus, and in doing this uses the expressions *a patre* and *a matre*. I do not seem to be able to locate further instances of this particular

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[15] *TLL* II 1612, 48–53 "*nota formam* **avius,** -ī (*cf.* avia) *in titulis*". To the instances cited there (among which there is one from Moesia Superior, *CIL* III 14544 = *IMS* I 123, probably from the third century) add *CIL* VI 20670, *C. Iulio Candido avio dulcissimo*; *AE* 2009, 163 (Rome), *C. Cornelio Abascanto fecerunt nepotes pientissimi avio*. For *avius* and *avia* appearing in the same context cf. e.g. *CIL* VI 16845, *Didiae Felicitati Sex. Titien(us) Epaphroditus avius, Didia Nice avia, Didia Daphne mater*.

[16] Cf. the German adverbial expressions *väterlicherseits* ('on the father's side') and *mütterlicherseits* ('on the mother's side').

expression,[17] but surely the inscription cited above, although much earlier than the one I am discussing and from a quite different region, can be used to show that the expression *avus/avius a patre* 'paternal grandfather' existed.

This Romulus would, then, be the third relative of Romula mentioned in the inscription. Seeing in this Romulus a grandfather of the girl Romula – and, accordingly, the father of Romulianus – has the advantage of furnishing an explanation for the names, but at the same time eliminates the possibility of interpreting his presence here as pointing to the conclusion, envisaged by Kolb and Ivanov (p. 297), that he could have been Romula's earlier "companion" ("Lebensgefährte").

In l. 11, this Romulus is described as *memorate ex p(rae)p(osito) trib(unus)*. The editors Kolb and Ivanov understand *memorat(a)e* as a dative referring to Romula ("Romulus … für die eben erwähnte") and assume that Romulus, too, would have been described as having done something – i.e., participating in the setting up of the monument – *for* Romula, but I wonder whether *memorat(a)e* could not be interpreted as a genitive referring to *ala*, an expression not found in the preceding text but which could be understood as being implied by the mention of the *eqq(uites) Dal(matae)* in l. 1. The text would in that case be saying that Romulus had been a *p(rae)p(ositus)* of the above-mentioned unit, but had then been promoted tribune in the same unit.[18]

At the beginning of line 12, the editors interpret the letter *Q* (which can be read clearly in the photo) as *q(ua)* referring to Romula and *q(ua) comite* as an ablative absolute illustrating the circumstances in which Romulus (seen, as mentioned above, by the editors as Romula's companion) had been promoted tribune, that is with Romula at his side.[19] But one would not really expect the author of this inscription to have stressed the role of a female companion in a description of Romulus' promotion and, as pointed out above, this Romulus seems in any case to have been Romula's grandfather rather than an (earlier)

[17] No parallels seem to be on offer in the *Thesaurus* article on *pater* (*TLL* X 1, 667, 69ff.), where the inscription *CIL* XII 2473 is not cited, and B. Rémy has nothing to say on this in his commentary.

[18] One of the referees finds that taking *memorate* in the meaning of *supra dictus* (and referring the expression to the Dalmatian cavalry unit) would be "difficult", but "in any case a better suggestion than that of Kolb and Ivanov". The other referee observes that he or she cannot agree with my suggestion but does not furnish a more plausible interpretation.

[19] Cf. the translation "für die eben erwähnte, mit welcher an seiner Seite er vom Praepositus zum Tribun erhoben wurde".

companion (cf. above). Taking this into account I cannot help suggesting[20] that we could understand *q(uo)* rather than *q(ua)*, referring the pronoun to Romulus. *Factus* could be an error for *facto* and the whole of line 12 a flawed ablative absolute introducing a reference to a further person, a certain Valerinus (line 13), of whom it is apparently said that he became the successor of Romulus in a particular *dignitas* (*ipsa dignitate secutus*, ll. 13–4), i.e., in the tribunate, and explaining in what circumstances this had happened, namely when Romulus himself had been promoted *comes*. Another possibility of arriving at about the same conclusion would be to see *comite* as representing the nominative *comes* and to interpret the abbreviation *Q* either as the relative pronoun *q(ui)* or as the adverb *q(uondam)*. Either way this line could be made to say that Romulus had at some point become *comes*.

As for the identity of Valerinus, the editors assume that he could be, after Romulus (cf. above), another "companion" of Romula. There does indeed seem to be a point in identifying him as a husband or companion of Romula (probably the only one, if Romulus was, as suggested above, Romula's grandfather), for that would furnish an explanation for his presence in the text in the first place. However, he would need to be attached somehow to Romula, and that is why the editors suggest adding <*q(uocum*> before *vi/xit* in line 14, the result being that a reference to the length of her relation to Valerinus rather than Romula's age when she died would follow in lines 14–6. There would be nothing wrong with this, as hundreds of Latin inscriptions contain only information on the length of a marriage or relationship and not also about the deceased person's age.[21] However, my impression is that the adverb *tamen* in *vixit tamen Romula an(nos) VII*[22] (l. 14–6) is meant to be a signal of sorts, suggesting that the text has arrived at the point where some recapitulation would follow, and with this interpretation it would seem preferable to take the text to say what it says without having to add anything, namely that Romula had died at the age of seven (or six). And the fact that she is described as *dulcissima* (l. 4–5) and her death as causing *magna*

[20] This interpretation is regarded as "correct" by one of the referees, who observes that "confusions in absolute constructions are frequent in substandard texts".

[21] E.g., *CIL* VI 12435, *L. Arruntius L. f. Venustus Arruntiae Munniae coniugi sanctissimae, cum qua vix(it) ann(os) XVI, men(ses) III sine ulla quer(ella) (…)*.

[22] Or perhaps rather *VI* (n. 4).

(sic)[23] *dolor* (l. 19–20) to her parents and that her grandfather is not only alive but still in active military service could perhaps be used to support this view. On the other hand, there is, as mentioned above, a point in seeing Valerinus as a companion of sorts to Romula, and I would not categorically rule out this view.

As for the rest of the text, my impression is that *fecimus* in *q(ui) memoriam fecimus* (l. 16–17)[24] does not, as assumed by Kolb and Ivanov, refer to all persons (except obviously Romula herself) mentioned in the inscription but only to Romulus the grandfather and Valerinus, who seem to be saying that they had erected the monument out of consideration for the girl.[25] But do they refer to Romula as "noble"? Kolb and Ivanov read the word in l. 17 as *nobil(i)ssima(e)*, clearly assuming that whatever can be seen between the *B* and the *I* would be the trace of the horizontal stroke of an *L*, the letters *I* and *L* having been inscribed as a ligature. But there do not seem to be other ligatures (or at least ligatures intended as such) in this inscription, and what can be seen here could be anything – the stone might be damaged, for example.[26] Assuming this, we are left with the reading *NOBISSIMA*, and although one could think of correcting this to *nobi<li>ssima*, one wonders whether it would not be possible to see this as a vulgar orthography of *novissima.* In that case, we would not have to assume, referring the expression to Romula, that *nobissima* has been inscribed instead of *nobissimae*; we could interpret it as an accusative with the merger of /b/ and /w/ and the the drop of the final /m/[27] (phenomena attested already in Pompeian inscriptions) and as a description of *memoriam* (l. 16). In the lemma dedicated to the superlative *novissimus* (separate from that dealing with the positive *novus*), the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* has some meanings that could be relevant here, especially 'last in order of time', 'final', 'ultimate' (listed under *novissimus* 2); it

[23] One is reminded of *la douleur* in French.

[24] I think that *q(ui)* is preferable, but *q(uondam)* would perhaps not be impossible.

[25] The editors translate their proposed reading *nobil(i)ssima(e) gratia ipsa* as "der in ihrer persönlichen Würde so Edlen". But this seems a pretty artificial interpretation and I think that *gratia ipsa* is here used simply in the same meaning as *gratia ipsius* 'for her sake' or (as above) 'out of consideration for her'.

[26] Note also that in the case of a ligature *IL* one would perhaps expect to find the horizontal stroke of the *L* to have been placed to the *right* rather than to the *left* of the *I*.

[27] Cf. J. N. Adams, *Social Variation and the Latin Language* (Cambridge 2013) 183–90 and 128–32, respectively.

would follow that Romulus and Valerinus say that they were setting up the 'last commemoration' of Romula.[28] Having said this, the two then conclude the text by now turning to address the parents and by observing, surely with some justification, that the death of their daughter (*filia vestra*, l. 19) had caused *magna dolor* in their hearts. In line 18, *hic* is in my view the adverb, perhaps meant to be understood as 'in this way', this corresponding to 'by her death'.

A text modified in some details and a tentative translation of the inscription based on Kolb's and Ivanov's German translation but also incorporating the suggestions made above would, then, be as follows (in the text and in the translation, the individual lines do not always correspond to each other):

| | |
|---|---|
| *Romulianus p(rae)p(ositus) eqq(uitum)* | Romulianus, *praepositus* |
| *Dalm(atarum)* | of the Dalmatian |
| *Beroe(e)nsium comitate(nsium)* | Comitatensic cavalry from Beroe |
| *et Fl(avia) Maxima casta con* | and Flavia Maxima, his chaste wife |
| *iux eius filiae suae d-* | (have set up this monument) to their |
| *ulcissimae Romula[e],* | sweetest daughter Romula |
| *oriundae ex prov(incia) D[ac(ia)],* | originating from the province of Dacia |
| *cives Aquisenę[nsis],* | a citizen of Aquisen[---] |
| *ubi v[ixerunt par]-* | where her parents also lived, |
| *entes, avius a pat[re]* | (and) Romulus, her paternal |
| *Romulus, vir magnu[s],* | grandfather, a prominent man, |
| *memorat(a)e ex p(rae)p(osito) trib(unus)* | tribune of the (unit) mentioned above |
| *q(uo) comite factus* | promoted from (the rank of) *praepositus*, |
| *Valerinus ipsa dig-* | in which dignity Valerinus |
| *nitate secutus. Vi-* | has become his successor when he |
| *xit tamen Romula an(nos)* | (Romulus) had been promoted *comes*. |
| *VII. Q(ui) memoriam feci-* | But Romula lived seven/six |
| *mus nobissima(m) gra-* | years; we set up this last commemoration |
| *tia ipsa. Hic tamen Romu-* | for her sake. Romula has caused |
| *la filia vestra magnam* | profound sorrow in your hearts! |
| *dolorem in pectore fixi(t).* | |

*University of Helsinki*

[28] Cf. e.g. *heres …hanc aedem posuit struxidque* (sic) *novissima templa manibus et cineri posterisque* (sic) *meis* (*CIL* XIV 480 = *CLE* 1255 from Ostia).

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# EQUESTRIAN FORTUNES AND ROMAN IMPERIALISM

## Considerations about the Impact of Sub-Senatorial Economic Interests on Roman Foreign Policies in the Late Republic

Kaj Sandberg & Jasmin Lukkari*

### Introduction

It is a commonplace, but nevertheless true: The military expansion of the Roman Republic constitutes a success story with few historical parallels. Its sheer speed astonished already contemporary witnesses. Polybius, at the very outset of his *Histories*, famously assigns Rome's gradual conquest of "almost the whole *oikoumene*" to a period "of not quite fifty-three years", by which he means the developments between the outbreak of the Second Punic War and the defeat of the Macedonian king Perseus at Pydna in 168 BCE. "How and by what kind of polity" this was achieved so swiftly are the two main questions that he proposes to address in his work.[1] Polybius thus expressly links the prowess of Rome's

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[1] Pol. 1,1,5: τίς γὰρ οὕτως ὑπάρχει φαῦλος ἢ ῥᾴθυμος ἀνθρώπων ὃς οὐκ ἂν βούλοιτο γνῶναι **πῶς καὶ τίνι γένει πολιτείας** ἐπικρατηθέντα σχεδὸν ἅπαντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην οὐχ ὅλοις

arms to the qualities of her *politeia*, and this is his reason for dedicating a whole book of his work to an in-depth analysis of the political system and certain other aspects of the society of the Romans. The dynamics of the Roman expansion have continued to intrigue historians ever since, and Roman imperialism has been one of the great themes of modern scholarship on republican Rome.[2] In the considerations we put forth here, we will argue that the study of Rome's expansion would benefit from a more consistent application, in the overall analysis, of Polybius' approach to his subject.[3]

Though modern scholars normally do study the unfolding of military and administrative events at the expanding frontiers in relation to the political process at Rome, it seems to us that the forces behind the shaping of Roman foreign policies would merit more consideration and that more attention should be given to the socio-economic contexts of the policy making processes that can be discerned in our sources. Scholars have, at least in practice, been content to focus rather exclusively on the Senate and the leading exponents of the senatorial aristocracy, effectively in defiance of the explicit testimony of Polybius' analysis.

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πεντήκοντα καὶ τρισὶν ἔτεσιν ὑπὸ μίαν ἀρχὴν ἔπεσε τὴν Ῥωμαίων, ὃ πρότερον οὐχ εὑρίσκεται γεγονός.

[2] Among essential studies on the nature of Rome's expansion we should note at least the following works: W. H. Harris, *War and Imperialism in Republican Rome*, Oxford 1979 (repr. with corrections, Oxford 1985); A. N. Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy in the East, 168 BC to AD 1*, Norman, OK 1983; E. Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome* I–II, Berkeley 1984; R. Morstein Kallet-Marx, *Hegemony to Empire. The Development of the Roman Imperium in the East from 148 to 62 BC*, Berkeley 1995. Recent overviews of research on Roman imperialism include C. B. Champion, A. M. Eckstein, "Introduction. The study of Roman imperialism", in C. B. Champion (ed.), *Roman Imperialism: Readings and Sources*, Malden, MA 2004, 1–15; A. M. Eckstein, "Conceptualizing Roman imperial expansion under the Republic: An introduction", in N. Rosenstein, R. Morstein-Marx (eds.), *A Companion to the Roman Republic*, Malden, MA 2007, 567–589; A. Erskine*, Roman Imperialism. Debates and Documents in Ancient History*, Edinburgh 2010. See also D. Hoyos (ed.), *A Companion to Roman Imperialism*, Leiden – Boston 2012; several of the contributions to this multi-authored companion volume provide good overviews of the research on the main themes.

[3] Important discussions on Polybius' view of "Rome's imperialist strivings" (Gruen) include F. W. Walbank, "Polybius and Rome's eastern policy", *JRS* 53 (1963) 1–13; P. Veyne, "Y a-t-il eu un impérialisme romain?", *MEFRA* 87 (1975) 793–855 esp. 793–804; D. Musti, *Polibio e l'imperialismo romano*, Napoli 1978, 57–64; P. S. Derow, "Polybius, Rome, and the East", *JRS* 69 (1979) 1–15; Harris 1979 (n. 2), 107–117; Gruen 1984 (n. 2), I, 2–3; A. Erskine, *Roman Imperialism*, Edinburgh 2010; D. W. Baronowski, *Polybius and Roman Imperialism*, London – New York 2011, esp. 1–13.

The Arcadian historian, who witnessed the working of the political machinery at Rome before the Gracchi, insists on the importance of the formal interplay of the various political institutions and assiduously emphasizes the dependence of the Senate (σύγκλητος) and the consuls (ὕπατοι) on the people (δῆμος); in practice, the last term usually denotes the political organization led by the tribunes of the *plebs*.[4] Moreover, despite the fact that tribunician interventions in the shaping of Roman foreign policies are amply documented, the possible economic motives behind the *popularis* opposition to senatorial schemes – in this particular kind of political contexts – have not attracted more systematic scholarly attention.

## Roman imperialism and its motives: modern approaches and orthodoxies

As is well known, Polybius' interpretation of the working of the political machinery at Rome has not been altogether well received by modern scholarship.[5] According to modern doctrine, Rome was an aristocratic regime in which the popular assemblies, though nominally omnipotent, were mere pawns in a political game that really only concerned the exponents of the *nobilitas*, who pursued their corporate interests through the Senate. Since the early 20th century, when Matthias Gelzer published his *Habilitationsschrift*,[6] it has been more or less a *dogma* that the structures of political power in republican Rome are not found in the political institutions, but in the fabric of social bonds traversing Roman society. Particularly the *clientelae* have been seen as the fundamental determinants of the political process. As the voting behaviour of the people was ultimately

[4] There are very few references to the tribunes of the *plebs* in Polybius' account, but this is clearly a consequence of his theoretical conception of the political system he describes. This is apt to obscure the many details in the system. Polybius saw the tribunician college as an integral part of the popular assembly with which it was associated. Much of what he says about the people's role in the political system must in effect pertain to the tribunes simply because the people could neither convene nor prepare motions independently: K. Sandberg, "Polybius on the consuls: An interpretation of *Histories* 6.12.4", *Arctos* 41 (2007) 75–88.

[5] It is, first and foremost, as a work of political theory that Polybius' digression on the Roman constitution has attracted the attention of the modern world. His description of a mixed constitution was an important source of inspiration for Montesquieu (*De l'esprit des lois*, 1748) as well as for the drafters of *The United States Constitution*.

[6] M. Gelzer, *Die Nobilität der römischen Republik*, Leipzig 1912.

determined by the dependence of the individual citizens on the leading families of Rome, the role of the popular assemblies has been seen as largely nominal. According to this interpretation of the nature of political power, Roman politics was essentially a contest between various *factiones* within the ruling aristocracy.[7] Indeed, the study of Roman politics in the republican period has usually assumed the form of prosopographical research focusing on political alliances and other groupings within the nobility.[8] During the last few decades these kinds of views have been repeatedly challenged; the popular element in the constitution and the existence of a true political process are prominent features in many recent interpretations of the nature of Roman political life.[9]

However, the older paradigm is still very much well and alive among scholars dealing with the territorial expansion of Rome. This process is still perceived as the outcome of imperialistic endeavours attributable to a more or less monolithic, senatorial aristocracy. This kind of perception is the foundation of William Harris' influential monograph on war and imperialism in republican Rome,[10] and it is still often maintained that warfare, providing *gloria militaris* along with loot for successful commanders, was essential for the oligarchic

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7 K. Sandberg, *Magistrates and Assemblies. A Study of Legislative Practice in Republican Rome* (Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae 24, Rome 2001), 10.

8 H. H. Scullard, *Roman Politics, 220–150 BC*, Oxford 1951 (second edition, Oxford 1973); F. Cassola, *I gruppi politici romani nel III secolo a.C.*, Trieste 1962; E. Gruen, *Roman Politics and the Criminal Courts, 149–78 BC*, Cambridge, MA 1968; Id., *The Last Generation of the Roman Republic*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1974.

9 See, above all, F. Millar: "The political character of the classical Roman Republic, 200–151 BC", *JRS* 74 (1984) 1–19; Id., "Politics, persuasion, and the people before the Social War (150–90 BC)", *JRS* 76 (1986) 1–11; Id., "Political power in mid-republican Rome. *Curia* or *comitium*?", *JRS* 79 (1989) 138–150; Id., "Popular politics at Rome in the Late Republic", in I. Malkin, W. Z. Rubinson (eds.), *Leaders and Masses in the Roman World. Studies in Honor of Zvi Yavetz*, Leiden – New York 1995, 91–113; Id., *The Crowd in Rome in the Late Republic* (Jerome Lectures 22), Ann Arbor 1998. Good overviews of the scholarly discussion concerning the role of the people in the political system can bee found in M. Jehne, "Einführung. Zur Debatte um die Rolle des Volkes in der römischen Politik", in M. Jehne (Hrsg.), *Demokratie in Rom? Zur Rolle des Volkes in der Politik der römischen Republik* (Historia Einzelschriften 96), Stuttgart 1995, 1–9; A. Yakobson, "Popular power in the Roman Republic", in N. Rosenstein, R. Morstein-Marx (eds.), *A Companion to the Roman Republic*, Malden, MA 2007, 383–400 and Id., "Traditional political culture and the people's role in the Roman Republic", *Historia* 59 (2010) 282–302.

10 Harris 1979 (n. 2).

system.[11] That the senatorial aristocracy was always the central player in the process that raised Rome to world dominion is a notion that has not been seriously questioned.[12] Moreover, scholars have also been predisposed to equate Rome's interests with the collective interests of the members of the Senate. Two of the recurring concepts used to identify and describe the forces at work, in the various regions of the world where the Roman expansion took place, are *Roman policies* and *Roman interests*. Insofar as economic motives have been touched upon in the scholarly discussion, the focus has almost invariably been on state finances.[13]

As has been stressed by Robert Morstein-Marx, in his study of the development of the Roman *Imperium* in the East from 148 to 62 BCE, the military expansion of the Romans did not automatically entail the establishment of direct rule through annexation of conquered lands and the creation of new territorial provinces.[14] Before the 140s, there was nowhere in the eastern Mediterranean a single territory formally managed by the Roman state. It was not until 146 BCE, twenty-two years after the victory at Pydna, that Rome made Macedonia her first province in the Greek East.[15] Before the creation of provinces in that

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[11] J. Rich, "Fear, greed and glory: The causes of Roman war-making in the Middle Republic," in J. Rich, G. Shipley (eds.), *War and Society in the Roman World*, London 1993, 38–68. For a recent example, see A. M. Eckstein, *Mediterranean Anarchy, Interstate War, and the Rise of Rome*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 2009.

[12] A new, very ambitious study of the relationship between public finance and elite wealth in the last two centuries of the Republic is of great relevance for many of the themes covered in this paper: J. Tan, *Power and Public Finance at Rome, 264–49 BCE*, Oxford 2017. According to this analysis, the politics of the period essentially consisted in a contest between the state, the political elite and the people for the riches stemming from the conquests. However, the focus is on the political elite and one of the main conclusions is that the people's role in political decision-making was only marginal.

[13] See, for instance, K. Buraselis, "*Vix aerarium sufficeret*. Roman finances and the outbreak of the Second Macedonian War", *GRBS* 37 (1996) 149–172. Tan 2017 (n. 12) represents a new current in the study of the Roman expansion. See also P. Kay, *Rome's Economic Revolution*, Oxford 2014.

[14] Morstein Kallet-Marx 1995 (n. 2).

[15] For Rome's "traditional hesitation about annexing foreign territory", see L. Beness, Tom Hillard "*Rei militaris virtus ... orbem terrarum parere huic imperio coegit*: the transformation of Roman *imperium*", in Hoyos 2012 (n. 2), 141–153. As for the formal relationship between defeated Macedonia and Rome, between the Roman victory and the creation of the province, see E. S. Gruen, "Macedonia and the settlement of 167 BC", in W. Adams, E. Borza (eds.), *Philip II, Alexander the Great, and the Macedonian Heritage*, Lanham, MD 1982, 257–267.

part of the world, the Roman *arché*, as identified by Polybius, consisted in the assertion of power rather than in territorial expanse.[16] The development from mere hegemony to formal rule was usually a very complex one, entailing intricate arrangements that, in addition to the Roman victors and the *victi*, involved various regional players. In the Greek East, where the developments are best documented, the Romans had to come to terms with city-states and confederations as well as with monarchs, whether former allies or foes (or simply polities concerned in one way or another by the developments in question).[17] It has been generally assumed that it is possible to discern, in these processes of accommodation, distinctly Roman interests at work. Moreover, it seems to be presumed that these interests, insofar as they are not purely strategic ones, are essentially those of the senatorial aristocracy. Considering the possible economic motives behind Roman imperial expansion, Harris at one point deliberates whether "the foreign policies created by the aristocracy favoured *the interests of large landowners* in other ways, besides improving the supply of slave labour".[18]

It is no exaggeration, we think, to state that modern scholarship on the formation of the Roman Empire in the republican period has focused excessively on the role of the senatorial aristocracy. For instance, in the late 1950s Ernst Badian identified the formalized personal relations between individual members of the Roman senatorial aristocracy and exponents of the provincial elites as important determinants for the evolution of the republican Empire.[19] More recently, Arthur Eckstein has argued that Roman foreign policy largely consisted

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[16] Morstein Kallet-Marx 1995 (n. 2), 22 ff. For a new important discussion of how formal rule was gradually established in the Greek East, see A. M. Eckstein, "Hegemony and annexation beyond the Adriatic, 230–146 BC", in Hoyos 2012 (n. 2), 79–97.

[17] For the role of alliances and other kinds of formal, diplomatic entanglements, see Gruen 1984 (n. 2), I, 13–53; for *amicitiae* and *clientelae*, see Id., 54–95 and 158–200 as well as D. Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King. The Character of the Client Kingship,* London 1984; P. J. Burton, *Friendship and Empire. Roman Diplomacy and Imperialism in the Middle Republic (353–146 BC),* Cambridge 2011; M. Snowdon, "Beyond *clientela*: The instrumentality of *amicitia* in the Greek East", in M. Jehne, F. Pina Polo (eds.), *Foreign* clientelae *in the Roman Empire. A Reconsideration* (Historia Einzelschriften 238), Stuttgart 2015, 209–224.

[18] Harris 1979 (n. 2), 85. The emphasis in the quotation is ours.

[19] E. Badian, *Foreign Clientelae, 264–70 BC*, Oxford 1958. For a revisitation of the themes covered by Badian, see M. Jehne, F. Pina Polo (Hrsgg.), *Foreign clientelae in the Roman Empire. A Reconsideration* (Historia Einzelschriften 238), Stuttgart 2015, 209–224.

in senatorial responses to *ad hoc* -decisions and measures on the part of Roman magistrates and promagistrates at the frontiers.[20] It should be recognized that both scholars have made important contributions to our understanding of how the Roman dominion expanded, but their works also serve as telling examples of how reluctant scholars have been to consider the influence of economically motivated popular agendas on Roman foreign policies. In his later work, on the business activities of the *publicani*, Badian exposed many of the commercial interests at work,[21] but Eckstein persists in his view that economic considerations were not important. In a recent discussion of research on the motives of Roman imperial expansion under the Republic, Eckstein rejects the possibility that financial and economic interests influenced Roman foreign policies, on the ground that most senatorial aristocrats were large landowners, not merchants, and that senatorial interests were primarily landed ones. In this connection, he also cites the well-known fact that senators after 218 BCE actually were legally debarred from engaging in large-scale trade.[22] Even if he makes two very important observations with bearing on this whole problem, (a) that the law in question was occasionally skirted via senators' use of front men and (b) that the Roman senatorial aristocracy as a political force cannot be seen as a single entity,[23] his whole survey is focusing on the oligarchic element in the Roman constitution, to use Polybius' terminology. The commercial interests are merely touched upon, and the industrial element in Roman society is characterized as being largely insignificant. At one point Eckstein does note that the relationship between the senatorial aristocracy and the *publicani* (the public contractors) was a troubled one, marked by suspicion,[24] but he does not consider more closely the impact of possible commercial and industrial interests on Roman foreign policies.

Also Erich Gruen plays down the importance of any economic influences on the foreign policy making processes: "The direct economic gains of Rome's

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[20] A. M. Eckstein, *Senate and General. Individual Decision-making and Roman Foreign Relations, 264–194 BC*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1987.

[21] E. Badian, *Publicans and Sinners. Private Enterprise in the Service of the Roman Republic*, Ithaca – London 1972 (revised with corrections and a critical bibliography, Ithaca – London 1983).

[22] Eckstein 2007 (n. 2), 570.

[23] Eckstein 2007 (n. 2), 570, 573.

[24] Eckstein 2007 (n. 2), 570.

business and commercial communities or, for that matter, of her senatorial order, find no clear reflection in the decisions of state".[25] It is, therefore, important to point out that the connection between Rome's expansion and the prospect of economic gains is explicitly alluded to by Polybius, who states that "there were indeed perhaps good reasons for appropriating all the gold and silver: for it was impossible for them to aim at a world empire without weakening the resources of other peoples and strengthening their own."[26] This connection clearly merits more attention than it has received.[27]

As we have already seen, there has been an almost excessive focus on the senatorial aristocracy and on the interests of the Senate in the study of the motives of the Roman imperial expansion. As explanatory factors behind Roman foreign policies, economic opportunities have almost invariably been considered from a senatorial horizon. A good illustration of this general attitude is William Harris' considerations about the benefits received from mining, as he limits himself to see it as a source of additional public revenue.[28] True, immense sums flowed into the *aerarium*, and this was certainly of great consequence for the state economy that the Senate did supervise, but we should remember that these riches did not derive from the Spanish mines directly, but indirectly from the hands of the companies of public contractors who grew rich in the process. Mining was immensely lucrative, on a personal level, for these *publicani*. Indeed, it is recorded that mining prospects influenced their political agendas. For

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[25] Gruen 1984 (n. 2), I, 314. For an opposing view, see Cassola 1962 (n. 8), which, however, is also an example of a study with an excessive focus on "senatorial policies". See also Philip Kay's new study (Kay 2014, n. 13), in which he contrasts the views of, respectively, Badian, Gruen and Harris, and concludes that economic motives did affect the expansion.

[26] Pol. 9,10,11: τὸ μὲν οὖν τὸν χρυσὸν καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον ἀθροίζειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἴσως ἔχει τινὰ λόγον· οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε τῶν καθόλου πραγμάτων ἀντιποιήσασθαι μὴ οὐ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἀδυναμίαν ἐνεργασαμένους, σφίσι δὲ τὴν τοιαύτην δύναμιν ἑτοιμάσαντας. See also Gruen 1984 (n. 2), I, 308.

[27] Among the overlooked industrial activities of Roman society, we would include mining, which was an immensely important economic activity in the Iberian provinces and later in Macedonia. For the Spanish mines, see Liv. 34,21,7; Diod. Sic. 5,36–37, 31,8,7; Pol. 34,9,8–11 = Strab. 3,2,10 (C 147–148) along with the studies Badian 1972 (n. 21), 31–34; Gruen 1984 (n. 2), I, 300 n. 64; C. Domergue, *Les mines antiques: la production des métaux aux époques grecque et romaine*, Paris 2008, 189–208; Kay 2014 (n. 13), 43–58.

[28] Harris 1979 (n. 2), 69 ff.

instance, after the victory at Pydna, the publicans entreated the Senate to establish direct Roman rule in Macedonia in order to get possession of its mines on the same terms as those of Spain. The Senate not only resisted these pressures, but actually decided to close the mines for ten years. The presence of conflicting and, indeed, competing interests in Roman society – with regard to its foreign policies – is evident in this particular case.[29]

It is all clear that the expansion of the Roman realm created economic opportunities that concerned primarily, but not altogether exclusively, the *equites*. As was already noted, senators did sometimes engage in large-scale trade and other kinds of businesses by means of intermediaries. We should also note the transformation of agriculture in Italy in the second century BCE, which saw the emergence of *latifundia* producing cash-crops for an expanding and increasingly lucrative market. This means that landed wealth did not preclude landed interests from being essentially capitalistic in nature. The senatorial aristocracy may well have originated as an "'archaic' premodern elite imbued with a primitive ethos of war", in the Schumpeterian sense, but we should ask whether not the changing economic realities made its public image increasingly evoke that of the "calculating capitalist financiers found in Hobson and Lenin".[30] Moreover, it is safe to assume that this kind of development gained additional momentum from certain political and social developments. For instance, as Badian has pointed out, Sulla's reform of the Senate, "flooding it with a majority from a non-senatorial background", did a great deal to diminish the traditional differences between the two orders and changed senatorial attitudes to non-landed wealth; this means that, in the last decades of the Republic, many senators actually shared financial interests with the *equites*.[31] However, many scholars continue to hold the view that the world of trade was separated from the senatorial milieu.[32]

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[29] Liv. 45,18,3. Badian 1972 (n. 21), 40–42; Gruen 1984 (n. 2), I, 294–295, 306, II, 426–427.

[30] The quotations are from Eckstein 2007 (n. 2), 572 f. The works he cites are the classical studies on imperialism: J. A. Hobson, *Imperialism. A Study*, New York 1902; J. Schumpeter, *Zur Soziologie der Imperialismen*, Tübingen 1919; V. I. Lenin, *Imperialism. The Highest Stage of Capitalism* (London 1948, translation of Империализм как высшая стадия капитализма, Петроград 1917).

[31] Badian 1972 (n. 21), 99; I. Shatzman, *Senatorial Wealth and Roman Politics* (Collection Latomus 142), Brussels 1975, 99–109. The pioneering book-length study on how social attitudes affected commerce is J. D'Arms, *Commerce and Social Standing in Ancient Rome*, Cambridge, MA 1981.

[32] J. Andreau, "Les commerçants, l'élite et la politique romaine à la fin de la république", in C. Zac-

Now, to what extent are there any such things as *Roman interests* – as opposed to interests attributable to particular groups of Roman citizens? Should we not, in our attempts to analyze the modalities of the establishment of Roman rule, be more aware of the normal presence of different, and perhaps even conflicting, interests within Roman society?[33] It is customary to distinguish between landed interests on the one hand and financial and commercial ones on the other. While it is all clear that the business activities of the *publicani*, as well as those of the *negotiatores* and *mercatores*, yielded large proceeds in the East during the Roman expansion after the Second Punic War,[34] the question as to to what extent, if any, specific prospects of economic gain influenced the shaping of foreign policies at Rome is still underresearched – especially insofar as commercial

cagnini (a cura di), *Mercanti e politica nel mondo antico*, Roma 2003, 217–244. See also Id., "Intérêts non agricoles des chevaliers romains (IIe siècle av. J.-C. – IIIe siècle ap. J.-C.)", in S. Demougin, H. Devijver, M.-T. Raepsaet-Charlier (éds.), *L'ordre équestre. Histoire d'une aristocratie (Ier siècle av. J.-C. – IIIe siècle ap. J.-C.). Actes du colloque de Bruxelles – Leuven (Octobre 1995)* (Collection de l'École française de Rome 257), Rome 1999, 271–290. See also the discussion in G. Clemente, "Lo sviluppo degli atteggiamenti economici della classe dirigente fra il III e il II sec. a.C.", in W. V. Harris (ed.), *The Imperialism of Mid-Republican Rome. The Proceedings of a Conference Held at the American Academy in Rome, November 5–6, 1982* (Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome 29), Rome 1984, 165–183. For a critique of Moses Finley's views, which have been very influential, see K. Verboven, "Cité et réciprocité: Le rôle de croyances culturelles dans l'économie Romaine (c. 200 a.C. – c. 250 p.C.)», *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 67.4 (2012) 914–920.

[33] For an attempt to analyze how senatorial and equestrian economic interests influenced Roman politics in general, see the chapter on *senatores versus equites* in Shatzman (n. 31), 179–212. Also Christian Meier, in his classical study, touched upon the subject, but concluded that it is unlikely that the equestrians could have affected foreign policy making processes: C. Meier, Res publica amissa. *Eine Studie zur Verfassung und Geschichte der späten römischen Republik*, Stuttgart 1966, 68, 79–80, 82.

[34] For (mostly epigraphic) documentation of the presence of Italic traders, many of them equestrian individuals, in the Greek East, see J. Hatzfeld, *Les trafiquants italiens dans l'Orient héllénique*, Paris 1919. A very valuable and richly annotated overview of the onomastic evidence for Romans in the East is provided by A. D. Rizakis, "Anthroponymie et société: les noms romains dans les provinces hellénophones de l'Empire", in Id. (ed.), *Roman onomastics in the Greek East. Social and Political Aspects: Proceedings of the International Colloquium organized by the Finnish Institute at Athens and the Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity, Athens 7–9 September 1993* (Meletemata 21), Athens 1996, 11–30. See also C. Nicolet, *L'Ordre équestre à l'époque républicaine (312–43 av. J.-C.)* I, Paris 1966, 357–379; S. Demougin, "L'ordre équestre en Asie mineure. Histoire d'une romanisation", in Demougin et al. 1999 (n. 32), 579–612.

interests are concerned. It is symptomatic that the Marxist scholar Francesco De Martino, while insisting on the importance of economic factors, only thinks of land-holding and debt, altogether ignoring commercial activities.[35]

The testimony of Polybius' analysis, which always should be at the centre of our attention when we study pre-Gracchan politics, clearly implies that the various elements in the mixed constitution of Rome were associated with certain specific activities. Most importantly, analyzing the ways in which the people relied on the Senate, he explicitly mentions the public contractors – that is, the *publicani*. He states that a vast number of contracts were given out each year by the censors, contracts that, in addition to the construction and repair of public buildings, concerned "the collection of revenue from many rivers, harbours, gardens, mines, and land – everything, in a word, that comes under the control of the Roman government". He stresses that "in all these the people at large are engaged" adding that "there is scarcely a man, so to speak, who is not interested either as a contractor or as being employed in the works".[36] In this piece of testimony, pertaining to a period prior to the mid-second century BCE, we see the presence of industrious individuals, implied to be very numerous, eagerly awaiting new opportunities for economic gain.[37]

At this point we should turn our attention to the impact of the sub-senatorial strata of Roman society on Rome's foreign policies and consider how the popular element in the political system challenged the Senate. We should keep in mind that, just as we can not speak of united senatorial policies, the "*equites* did not constitute a united pressure group with economic interests opposed to

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[35] F. De Martino, *Diritto, economia e società nel mondo romano* II. *Diritto pubblico*, Napoli 1996, 299–310.

[36] Pol. 6,17,1–3: ὁμοίως γε μὴν πάλιν ὁ δῆμος ὑπόχρεώς ἐστι τῇ συγκλήτῳ, καὶ στοχάζεσθαι ταύτης ὀφείλει καὶ κοινῇ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν. πολλῶν γὰρ ἔργων ὄντων τῶν ἐκδιδομένων ὑπὸ τῶν τιμητῶν διὰ πάσης Ἰταλίας εἰς τὰς ἐπισκευὰς καὶ κατασκευὰς τῶν δημοσίων, ἅ τις οὐκ ἂν ἐξαριθμήσαιτο ῥᾳδίως, πολλῶν δὲ ποταμῶν, λιμένων, κηπίων, μετάλλων, χώρας, συλλήβδην ὅσα πέπτωκεν ὑπὸ τὴν Ῥωμαίων δυναστείαν, πάντα χειρίζεσθαι συμβαίνει τὰ προειρημένα διὰ τοῦ πλήθους, καὶ σχεδὸν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν πάντας ἐνδεδέσθαι ταῖς ὠναῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐργασίαις ταῖς ἐκ τούτων.

[37] Badian 1972 (n. 21) remains a fundamental work, but an important addition to the scholarship on the activities of the *publicani* is U. Malmendier, Societas publicanorum. *Staatliche Wirtschaftsaktivitäten in den Händen privater Unternehmer*, Köln 2002.

those of the Senate", as argued in detail by P. A. Brunt.[38] However, as we will see, on many occasions when their common interests were threatened, they were able to unite their strength. The political influence of the equestrians was especially strong in times when they controlled the *repetundae* court.[39] We may well agree with Brunt that the *ordo equester* did not seem to have actively advocated territorial expansion, but, clearly, its members saw opportunities and were keen to exploit them by acting on specific foreign policy issues.

## Popular *versus* senatorial interests

An early instance of clearly sub-senatorial commercial interests prevailing over the aristocracy is the passage of the *plebiscitum Claudium* in 218 BCE. This statute, passed by the tribune Q. Claudius just before the outbreak of the Second Punic War, prohibited senators and their sons from owning seagoing ships with a capacity larger than 300 amphorae. According to Livy, the rationale behind the measure was to restrict the commercial activities of senators beyond the transportation of the crops from their country estates, because profits (*quaestus*) were

[38] P. A. Brunt, "The *equites* in the Late Republic", in R. Seager (ed.), *The Crisis of the Roman Republic. Studies in Political and Social History*, Cambridge 1969, 83–115 (originally published in *Deuxième Conférence internationale d'histoire économique. Second International Conference of Economic History, Aix-en-Provence, 1962*, Paris 1965, 117–149, quotation 84. Along similar lines, Badian 1972 (n. 21), 82–118. For a comprehensive study of the equestrian order in the period 312–43 BCE, see Nicolet 1966 (n. 34). Cf. Meier 1966 (n. 33), 64–95.

[39] For considerations along similar lines, see T. R. S. Broughton, "Comment", in R. Seager (ed.), *The Crisis of the Roman Republic. Studies in Political and Social History*, Cambridge 1969, 118–130. Shatzman does not support the notion that the *equites* were much influential in the courts and assigns more weight to personal relationships, but even he has to admit that they were sometimes able to prevail: Shatzman 1975 (n. 31), 201–204, 209. Cf. Nicolet 1966 (n. 34), 629. Also Meier (1966, n. 32, 77, 81–82, 85–86) is sceptical, but has to admit that in Lucullus' case the equestrians managed to unite against him. Koenraad Verboven has emphasized that personal relationships were a very important aspect of business activities abroad, see K. Verboven, *The Economy of Friends. Economic Aspects of* Amicitia *and Patronage in the Late Republic* (Collection Latomus 269), Brussels 2002, 300–304, 312. Brahm Kleinman sees the *lex Aurelia* as an example of "how the business interests of the *publicani* and rhetoric against corruption and bribery could affect senatorial politics": B. Kleinman, "Rhetoric and money. The *lex Aurelia iudiciaria* of 70 BC", in H. Beck, M. Jehne, J. Serrati (eds.), *Money and Power in the Roman Republic* (Collection Latomus 355), Brussels 2016, 67.

unbecoming (*indecorus*) for senators.[40] Modern historians looking for more deep-going motives have called into attention the financial risks associated with sea-borne commerce. Valuable cargo lost at sea could easily ruin a senator and deprive him of the property qualifications for membership in the Senate. In John D'Arms' opinion, the statute was designed to promote the permanence of the Senate by preventing its members from engaging in perilous trading ventures.[41] According to Callie Williamson, a more likely explanation for the passage of the statute is "a concern on the part of some Romans to preserve the wealth of elite Romans so that they could invest their capital in the coming war", that is, the approaching war with Carthage.[42] Both D'Arms and Williamson overlook two essential details in Livy's account; 1) that the measure was fiercely opposed by the Senate itself and 2) that it was supported by C. Flaminius, who on account of his

[40] Liv. 21,63,2: *invisus etiam patribus ob novam legem, quam Q. Claudius tribunus plebis adversus senatum atque uno patrum adiuvante C. Flaminio tulerat, ne quis senator cuive senator pater fuisset maritimam navem, quae plus quam trecentarum amphorarum esset, haberet. Id satis habitum ad fructus ex agris vectandos; quaestus omnis patribus indecorus visus.* For modern discussions, see the bibliography in M. Elster, *Die Gesetze der mittleren römischen Republik. Text und Kommentar*, Darmstadt 2003, 190. For *lex Claudia* as well as other laws of relevance for the relationship between senators and the equestrians, see also J. Bleicken, *Lex Publica. Gesetz und Recht in der Römischen Republik*, Berlin – New York 1975, 172–175. As for the legal prohibitions on owning ships, se also the discussion in A. Tchernia, *The Romans and Trade*, Oxford 2016, 21 ff.

[41] D'Arms 1981 (n. 21), 31–34. Cf. Cassola 1962 (n. 8), 216–217. Meier 1966 (n. 33), 313. Jochen Bleicken and Karl Christ cite *lex Claudia* as an example indicating that there sometimes were well-organized groups that opposed the Senate: J. Bleicken, *Das Volkstribunat der Klassischen Republik. Studien zu seiner Entwicklung zwischen 287 und 133 v. Chr.* (Zetemata 13), München 1955, 31, 36; K. Christ, *Krise und Untergang der römischen Republik*, Darmstadt 1979, 2 ff., 67 ff., 80–81.

[42] C. Williamson, *The Laws of the Roman People. Public Law in the Expansion and Decline of the Roman Republic*, Ann Arbor 2005, 29–30. Private wealth was an important reserve in times of war when the state treasury was running low; for instance, in 210 BCE *privati* loaned money to the state in order to help financing the war against Hannibal (Liv. 31,13,2). For a thorough discussion of the war finances in that period, see B. Bleckmann, "Roman war finances in the age of the Punic Wars", in Beck et al. 2016 (n. 39), 82–96. Klaus Bringmann offers yet another interpretation of the law, suggesting that "it was necessary to charter a great deal of private shipping space in addition to the war fleets; here, there was money to be made". Accordingly, the *lex Claudia* would have prevented those who made decisions about war financing, that is, the members of the senatorial class, from profiting from it: K. Bringmann, "The Roman Republic and its internal politics between 232 and 167 BC", in B. Mineo (ed.), *A Companion to Livy*, Malden, MA 2015, 396.

political programme has been considered a forerunner of the Gracchi.[43] Gruen, in his considerations of this piece of legislation, does recognize that there were significant sub-senatorial interests at play, but, as the law passed, he thinks that Livy must be exaggerating in claiming that the whole senatorial class except C. Flaminius opposed it.[44] It is all clear that this statute represents an early triumph of commercial interests attributable to circles outside the senatorial elite.[45]

The passage of the Claudian plebiscite demonstrates that there, already in the third century BCE, was financially motivated and well-organized opposition to senatorial schemes, if need be, and that such opposition sometimes was successful. As for the post-Gracchan period, we should not fail to recognize that the Senate had lost much of its ability to play the guiding role it had had in the preceding period. We should also be more fully aware of the fact that the Roman senatorial aristocracy cannot be seen as a single entity, at least not with regard to the short-term interests of its members. It is certainly true, as Arthur Eckstein has observed, that "[p]ossession of Empire offered enormous opportunities for the acquisition of wealth, influence and power for certain Roman aristocrats – the provincial governors of the richest provinces."[46] True, immense fortunes were amassed by conquering generals and unscrupulous provincial governors, but it is important to consider the obvious circumstance that the access roads to the lucrative promagisterial positions in question were very competitive ones.

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[43] L. R. Taylor, "Forerunners of the Gracchi", *JRS* 52 (1962) 19–27. Cf. J. von Ungern-Sternberg, "The end of the conflict of the orders", in K. A. Raaflaub (ed.), *Social Struggles in Archaic Rome. New Perspectives on the Conflict of the Orders*, second, expanded and updated edition, Malden, MA 2005, 316. For the role and motives of Flaminius and the senatorial opposition, see R. Feig Vishnia, *State, Society and Popular Leaders in Mid-Republican Rome, 241–167 BC*, London – New York, 25–34, 34–43.

[44] Gruen 1984 (n. 2), I, 301 n. 65. Flaminius was not only the sole known senator to back the bill, he also endorsed it formally as its *suasor legis* procuring him the wrath (*invidia*) of the *nobilitas*, the favour (*favor*) of the *plebs* and a second consulship, see Liv. 21,63,4: *res per summam contentionem acta invidiam apud nobilitatem suasori legis Flaminio, favorem apud plebem alterumque inde consulatum peperit*.

[45] Gruen 1984 (n. 2), I, 307: "The very passage of the *lex Claudia* makes sense only if some senators had engaged in shipping on a fairly large scale; and the bill provoked substantial opposition in the *curia*."

[46] Eckstein 2007 (n. 2), 583. For a recent discussion of the monetary aspects of provincial commands in the Late Republic, see W. Blösel, "Provincial commands and money in the Late Roman Republic", in Beck et al. 2016 (n. 39), 68–81.

Senators intent on enrichening themselves invariably found their chief contenders for the coveted positions among their peers within the Senate. This means that distinct senatorial stances were often lacking in the political process, and that the Senate was frequently more divided internally than what has usually been recognized. Eckstein notes that there is evidence indicating "that factional, family, and personal jealousies within the Senate were intense …, and often acted to block glory-hunting by individuals".[47] This is an immensely important observation that must be borne in mind as we proceed.

It is quite clear that the normal presence of political enmities, as well as of outright divisions within the senatorial aristocracy, in many ways must have reduced the Senate's capacity to act as one body. More unity would have been needed in order to promote its own interests and to counteract other, opposing interests, in society – especially if such opposing interests were championed by well-organized interest groups, which was often the case in the Late Republic. That the Senate of the post-Gracchan republic faced more challenge and opposition than in the previous period (in the Middle Republic) is well known. It is amply documented that the Senate as an institutional body as well as individual senators at several occasions faced strong opposition from, or even were attacked by, well-organized equestrian lobbies. Indeed, an increasing antagonism between the *ordines senatorius* and *equester* can with some justification be perceived as a structural feature of the dynamics of the politics of the post-Gracchan Republic. A case in point is, of course, the long struggle concerning the composition of the extortion court (the *quaestio repetundarum*).[48] It was also in the Gracchan era that the equestrian order finally emerged as a defined *ordo*.

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[47] Eckstein 2007 (n. 2), 573. Also Christian Meier recognized these kinds of conflicting interests within Roman society, and especially between senators and equestrians, but did not consider economic factors important: Meier 1966 (n. 33), 68, 79–80, 82.

[48] The *quaestio repetundarum* was instituted in 149 BCE, and was originally composed exclusively of senators, a state of affairs that made it "a convenient instrument of self-protection for the senatorial oligarchy", G. Mousourakis, *A Legal History of Rome*, London – New York 2007, 79. In 123/122 BCE, C. Sempronius Gracchus transferred the exclusive right of membership in the juries from the senators to the equestrians, which did not solve the problems that this statute addressed. After the Sullan parenthesis, the *lex Aurelia* of 70 BCE provided that the members of each *quaestio perpetua* should consist of one-third senators, one-third *equites* and one-third *tribuni aerarii*. For a recent discussion, see B. Kleinman, "Rhetoric and money. The *lex Aurelia iudiciaria* of 70 BC", in Beck et al. 2016 (n. 39), 53–67.

It is interesting to note instances where, clearly, equestrian lobbies were able to act in singular concert successfully achieving individual goals despite strong and consistent senatorial opposition. For the present purposes, it is especially interesting to note such occurrences in contexts pertaining to foreign policy making or to deliberations concerning provincial administration. In such cases we have direct evidence for the interplay of conflicting interests with regard to the exploitation of territories within the Roman-controlled realm.

A well-known example of an equestrian lobby actively pursuing its own interests is the infamous prosecution of P. Rutilius Rufus (*cos.* 105 BCE). Serving as *legatus* in Asia in 97 BCE, this distinguished member of the senatorial aristocracy had assisted another leading senator, the proconsul Q. Mucius Scaevola, in his efforts to punish and suppress the abuses of the *publicani* in the collection of taxes.[49] Though these actions received much praise and Mucius Scaevola earned the reputation of a model governor, the two senators incurred the collective wrath of the entire equestrian order. Their interference with the economic interests of the *equites* had dire consequences. In his capacity as *pontifex maximus*, Scaevola was practically untouchable, but Rutilius had no such protection. In the late 90s, perhaps in 92, he was brought to trial, accused of extortion from the very provincials he had protected. Though the charge was widely held to be unfounded, the jury found him guilty of the crime. Of course, this outcome was only to be expected as the members of the jury of the *quaestio de repetundis* in this very period were drawn exclusively from among the members of the equestrian order. Morstein-Marx notes that while the evidence of equestrian hostility towards Rutilius and Scaevola is overwhelming, the senators were not in the least interested in protecting Rutilius in the trial – their interests were evidently not threatened and Rutilius was sacrificed to placate the equestrians. Whether or not the charge was completely false is open to ques-

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[49] Cic. *fam*. 1,9,26, *Planc.* 33, *Brut*. 85, 115, *Font*. 38, *Balb*. 28, *Pis*. 95, *de orat.* 1,229–230, *Rab. Post*. 27; Diod. Sic. 37,5,1; Liv. *per.* 70; Vell. Pat. 2,13,2; Tac. *ann*. 3,66, 4,43; Val. Max. 2,10,5, 6,4,4; Cass. Dio fr. 95 and 97,3; Hist. Aug. *Gord*. 5,5; Theophanes *FGrH* 188 F 1 = Plut. *Pomp*. 37,4. For a complete listing of the sources, see M. C. Alexander, *Trials in the Late Republic, 149 BC to 50 BC*, Toronto 1990, 49. For the epigraphic evidence for Scaevola's term in Asia, see J. Thornton, "Motivi tradizionali del dibattito sugli imperi nella memoria dei primi decenni della provincia d'Asia", in R. Cristofoli, A. Galimberti, F. Rohr Vio (a cura di), *Costruire la memoria. Uso e abuso della storia fra tarda repubblica e primo principato, Venezia, 14–15 gennaio 2016*, Roma 2017, 38 n. 18.

tion, since almost all of the evidence derives from Cicero, who much later was a personal friend of Rutilius. According to Cicero, when Rutilius Rufus went into exile all the cities of Asia offered him refuge and he was actually welcomed with honour into the very cities he allegedly had looted.[50] It is, in any case, evident that the verdict of the jury was dictated by political motives, and this has never been questioned. Nor would anyone call into question that it was concerns for dwindling profit-making opportunities overseas that motivated the equestrians to take action against a respected exponent of the senatorial establishment. It should be pointed out that we know of a parallel case. In 54 BCE, A. Gabinius, an ex-governor of Syria, evidently encountered a similar fate after he had interfered heavily with the tax-farming business of the *publicani* in his province.[51] The incidents of Rutilius Rufus and Gabinius constitute relevant examples of equestrian interests and equestrian power at work in Roman politics.

Evidently, after the *lex Aurelia* of 70 BCE the equestrians had again so much power in the *repetundae* court that the provincial governors had better not to interfere with tax-farming and other business activities of the *publicani*. If a governor angered the *publicani* of his province, trial and exile might await him in Rome. Indeed, Cicero wrote letters to his brother Quintus, the governor of Asia in 61–59 BCE, reminding him how important it was to treat the *publicani* well.[52] On the other hand, if a governor decided to overly side with the interests

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[50] R. B. Kallet-Marx, "The trial of Rutilius Rufus", *Phoenix* 44 (1990) 122–139. On the wider context, see Morstein Kallet-Marx 1995 (n. 2), 138–148; Thornton 2017 (n. 49). Other important modern discussions include E. S. Gruen, "Political prosecutions in the 90s BC", *Historia* 15 (1966) 32–64; Badian 1972 (n. 21), 89–101. In Nicolet's opinion, the reason for Rutilius' conviction is principally attributable to Marius' personal influence, rather than to the influence of the *publicani*: Nicolet 1966 (n. 34), 543–549. Cf. Meier 1966 (n. 33), 77, 81–82. For full documentation and bibliography, see Alexander 1990 (n. 49), 37 ff.

[51] Cic. *prov.* 9–12, *Pis*. 41, 48, *ad Q. fr.* 2,12,2; Cass. Dio 39,55–63; Joseph. *AJ* 14,98–100 and 104. See E. Fantham, „The Trials of Gabinius in 54 B.C.", *Historia* 24 (1975), 425–443; Broughton 1969 (n. 39), 121.

[52] Cic. *ad Q. fr.* 1,1,32–33, 1,2,6. Cf. Cic. *Att.* 5,13,1, 6,1,15–16*,* 6,2,5, *fam.* 13,9, 13,65. See also N. Rauh, "Cicero's business friendships: economics and politics in the Late Roman Republic", *Aevum* 60 (1986) 3–30; Badian 1972 (n. 21), 90–92. For a new analysis of the exploitation of the provinces, including considerations about the tax-farming system, see Tan 2017 (n. 12), 40–92. For the Roman business interests in Asia Minor, see B. Dignas, *The Economy of the Sacred in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*, Oxford 2002, 110–120; I. Tsigarida, "Salt in Asia Minor. An outline of Roman authority interest in the resource", in P. Erdkamp, K. Verboven, A. Zuiderhoek (eds.), *Ownership*

of the *publicani*, he might instead anger the provincials and face a trial for extortion in Rome. This happened to M. Fonteius, an ex-governor of Transalpine Gaul, who stood trial in 70 or 69 BCE and was defended by Cicero.[53] However, as the jury in this period consisted mainly of equestrians and M. Fonteius had sided with the *publicani*, he was most probably acquitted. Cicero repeatedly stresses the economic importance of the province.[54] There is no doubt that the jurisdiction of the mostly equestrian juries affected Roman provincial administration as it influenced how the governors acted in their provinces. A governor who challenged the *publicani* would anger the equestrians in Rome, but if he did nothing to protect the provincials from the *publicani,* the province might become restless and disloyal.[55]

It is important to note that there is also an explicit reference to equestrian wealth as a determinant in Roman politics – moreover, and most importantly, in a context where a foreign policy issue is deliberated publicly. We are, obviously, referring to the testimony of Cicero's speech *Pro lege Manilia*, which is a document of prime importance for the present considerations.

In 66 BCE the tribune C. Manilius proposed a bill that would give Pompey an extraordinary command in the East in order to finally end the war against Mithridates VI Eupator of Pontus, a war that had dragged on since the late 90s. Called upon to urge the Roman people to accept the measure, in a speech marking his political debut, Cicero cited the large private fortunes in-

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*and Exploitation of Land and Natural Resources in the Roman World*, Oxford 2015, 277–288. For the power of the *publicani*, see Nicolet 1966 (n. 34), 353–355. As for the conflicts between the *publicani* and the provincials, see N. Ehrhardt, "Strategien römischer *Publicani* gegenüber griechischen Städten in der Zeit der Republik", in N. Ehrhardt, L. Günther (Hrsgg.), *Wiederstand – Anpassung – Integration. Die griechische Staatenwelt und Rom*, Stuttgart 2002, 135–154.

[53] For the date, see A. R. Dyck, *Marcus Tullius Cicero. Speeches on Behalf of Marcus Fonteius and Marcus Aemilius Scaurus,* Oxford 2012, 13–14.

[54] Cic. *Font.* 11–13, 32, 46; Sall. *hist*. 3,46. See also D. H. Berry, "*Equester ordo tuus est*. Did Cicero win his cases because of his support for the *equites*?", *CQ* 53 (2003) 222–234. For Fonteius, see *ibid.* 229.

[55] The specific situation in a province probably also affected how its governor was chosen. Berry cites Cilicia (governed by Cicero) and Syria (governed by M. Calpurnius Bibulus) as examples of provinces where measured appointments had been made, see Berry 2003 (n. 55) 226–228. On the people's role in appointing the governors, see S. Day, "The people's rôle in allocating provincial commands in the Middle Republic", *JRS* 107 (2017) 1–26.

vested in the East that were in urgent need of protection. In this speech we get a rare glimpse, in a Roman context, of a political agent having been approached by a well-defined interest group. Cicero informs his audience that the *equites Romani*, who are concerned for the great sums they have invested in the collecting of the *vectigalia*, everyday receive letters (and clearly alarming ones) from Asia. He also states that these *honestissimi viri*, on account of his own close connection with the equestrian order, have represented to him the position of the public interests (*causa rei publicae*) and the danger of their private fortunes (*pericula rerum suarum*).[56] According to Morstein-Marx, Cicero's arguments mark a turning point in Rome's conception of her eastern empire – for the first time we are able to see clearly economic motives at work in foreign policy calculations. Already C. Gracchus had recommended to the Senate to exploit the revenues from Asia to serve their own interests and to manage the government, but this idea did not fully mature before Cicero's *suasio* of the Manilian bill.[57]

The proposed measure was vehemently opposed by the Senate, which strongly objected to having extraordinary powers concentrated in the hands of one man. This was also the reason it had opposed the Gabinian bill the previous year, the one that had given Pompey an extraordinary command against the Cilician pirates. The command now proposed by Manilius provided for unlimited resources, no restriction of time and place, and also the power to declare war and make peace at his own discretion. At this point the senatorial aristocracy had more reasons than ever to be wary of the ambitions and increasing power of Pompey, whose popularity with the people was at its peak after his successful campaign against the pirates. Moreover, the command in question would comprise the provinces of Asia, Cilicia and Bithynia, which at that point were governed by L. Licinius Lucullus, Q. Marcius Rex and M'. Acilius Glabrio. The conduct of the war had been nominally entrusted to Glabrio,[58] but in practice it was Lucullus who was in charge of the operations. The Manilian bill thus pro-

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[56] Cic. *Manil.* 4: *Equitibus Romanis, honestissimis viris, adferuntur ex Asia cotidie litterae, quorum magnae res aguntur in vestries vectigalibus exercendis occupatae; qui ad me pro necessitudine, quae mihi est cum ille ordine, causam rei publicae periculaque rerum suarum detulerunt.* These revenues, *vectigalia*, are constantly stressed also at 5, 6, 14–19 and 45.

[57] Morstein Kallet-Marx 1995 (n. 2), 322–323. Gell. 11,10,3: *qui aput vos verba facio, uti vectigalia vestra augeatis, quo facilius vestra commoda et rempublicam administrare possitis.*

[58] R. S. Williams, "The appointment of Glabrio (*cos.* 67) to the eastern command", *Phoenix* 38 (1984) 221–234.

vided for the replacement of this aristocrat and leading senator with the hero of the people. Despite the opposition of the Senate, it was the equestrian agenda that prevailed when the popular assembly proceeded to the vote. The *lex Manilia* was approved and Pompey was sent to the East with unprecedented powers.[59]

What is particularly interesting to note, is the impact Lucullus' interferences had had on the business activities of the equestrians, and what an immense change Pompey's command brought with it. Lucullus had angered the equestrian order in a way very much reminiscent of what Rutilius and Mucius Scaevola had done almost three decades earlier. It has long been recognized that the chief reason for the *equites* to take action was not, as Cicero would have his audience believe, a general concern for the war itself and the insecurities bellicose conditions normally creates for business activities, but a strong aversion and fear of Lucullus' actions. As governor of Asia he had drawn up a plan that allowed the cities of the province to pay off their debts to Roman creditors at moderate rates. This intervention in the lucrative loan-market put him on a collision course with the *equites*, who were the real instigators of the Manilian bill.[60]

As for Pompey's actions in the East, he gloriously defeated Mithridates and went on to subdue immense territories for Rome in one of the largest campaigns of conquest the Romans had ever seen.[61] The result was, as Badian noted,

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[59] Plut. *Luc.* 20,5 and 24,3, *Pomp*. 25,3–4; Cass. Dio 36,2; Sall. *hist*. 5,13 = Cass. Dio 36,14,4. For Cicero's close association with the equestrian order, see Berry 2003 (n. 55). For the senatorial opposition, see T. Rising, "Senatorial opposition to Pompey's eastern settlement. A storm in a teacup?", *Historia* 62 (2013) 196–221.

[60] For Lucullus' measures, see Plut. *Luc.* 20. As for the rapacious Asian *publicani*, see *ibid*. 7,5. There is a very good analysis of how Lucullus, on account of his actions by which he alienated the *publicani*, triggered the political process that gradually deprived him of his multi-provincial command in F. J. Vervaet, "Reducing senatorial control over provincial commanders. A forgotten Gabinian law of 67 BCE", in T. Kaizer, O. Hekster (eds.), *Frontiers in the Roman World. Proceedings of the Ninth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire, Durham, 16–19 April 2009*, Leiden – Boston 2011, 265–290 (268–273, a section dedicated to the political background, the war against Mithridates from 74 to 67).

[61] Pompey returned to Italy in 62 BCE, but did not enter Rome until late September of the following year celebrating a splendid triumph, for which there is a vivid description in Plutarch (*Pomp.* 14–15). The tablets carried in the procession, detailing his victories, declared that he had taken no less than one thousand fortresses, almost nine hundred towns, and that he had founded thirty-nine cities and, moreover, that he had raised the revenue of the Roman people from fifty to eighty-five millions; and that he had brought into the public treasury ready money, gold and silver plate and

"the greatest increase in the opportunities offered to the *publicani* since Gracchus' reorganization of Asia".[62] It would be interesting to know to what extent the particular arrangements were part of an original deal between equestrian leaders (perhaps individuals active within the *societates publicanorum*) and Pompey.[63]

The Manilian law is often cited as an exceptional measure, illustrative of how the Senate's grip on power was loosening in the last decades of the Republic – or as an example of how the Senate *was not always in control* of the political process.[64] However, it is easy to realize that the exceptionality of the law may well be illusory. We just happen to possess an exceptionally rich historical documentation of the particulars of the politics of the Ciceronian period, not least thanks to Cicero's own speeches and letters. And yet, as a matter of fact, we do have evidence from the pre-Ciceronian period for other instances of tribunician agendas prevailing over senatorial schemes in contexts of foreign policy making. For instance, in 107 BCE, the tribune T. Manlius Mancinus passed a plebiscite, which, annulling a formal decree of the Senate (as Sallust reports *expressis verbis*), transferred the Numidian command from the proconsul Q. Metellus Numidicus to the newly elected consul C. Marius.[65] We also note the statute *Lex de provinciis praetoriis* (*RS* 12) of 100 BCE, which, dealing with the menace of piracy in the Eastern Mediterranean (which, obviously, affected business activities in that part of the world adversely), has been convincingly identified as a piece of *popularis* legislation by Jean-Louis Ferrary.[66] It is likely that many other equestrian schemes were successful in the shaping of Roman foreign policies.

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ornaments to the value of twenty thousand talents.

62 Badian 1972 (n. 21), 99; Kay 2014 (n. 13), 59–84.

63 Brunt opposes this connection, see Brunt 1969 (n. 38), 98.

64 T. Frank, "The background of the *lex Manilia*", *CPh* 9 (1914) 191–193.

65 Sall. *Iug.* 73,7: *populus a tribuno plebis T. Manlio Mancino rogatus quem vellet cum Iugurtha bellum gerere, frequens Marium iussit. Sed paulo ante senatus Metello Numidiam decreverat; ea res frustra fuit.*

66 J.-L. Ferrary, "Recherches sur la législation de Saturninus et de Glaucia", *MEFRA* 89.1 (1977) 619–660. For an extensive bibliography for the research on this epigraphically preserved law, which contains a Greek translation of the original law text, see *RS* I, 231–233. See also C. Geelhaar, "Some remarks on the *lex de provinciis praetoriis*", *RIDA* 49 (2002) 109–117.

The common view that foreign policy was a senatorial prerogative is not very accurate – and certainly not from a purely technical point of view. Of course, scholars are aware that it was the people alone who possessed the right of declaring war, of making peace and of approving treaties with foreign polities, but it is generally thought that the formal popular approval of senatorial policies was a mere technicality. True, this was certainly the case when the citizenry was convoked *centuriatim*. We can be fully confident that the decisions of the centuriate assembly, always meeting under the presidency of a magistrate *cum imperio* (consul, praetor, or dictator), had the support of the Senate. Moreover, it was the upper echelons of society that decided the outcome of the votes in this assembly.[67] However, it must be stressed that also the tribal assembly, which in the pre-Sullan Republic always and exclusively met under tribunician presidency,[68] frequently voted on issues concerning the conduct of military affairs. The record of matters voted by the tribes does not confine itself to decisions on military commands (including prorogations and abrogations), but also includes declarations of war.[69] Moreover, we have seen that the passage of the *lex Manilia* is no isolated case when it comes to popular intervention in Roman actions overseas.

It is quite clear that the particular modalities for establishing Roman presence or dominion in new areas always determined and conditioned the specific prospects available for the upper echelons of Roman society, in terms of actions

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[67] The richest, who constituted but a small fraction of the entire citizenry, controlled a majority of voting units (*centuriae*) in the *comitia centuriata*. For further details and full discussion, see Sandberg 2001 (n. 7), 124–125.

[68] It was only after Sulla's reforms that the tribes also met under the presidency of consuls and praetors, see K. Sandberg, "Sulla's reform of the legislative process", M. T. Schettino, G. Zecchini (a cura di), *L'età di Silla. Atti del Convegno presso l'Istituto Italiano per la Storia Antica. Roma 23–24 marzo 2017* (Monografie del Centro Ricerche di Documentazione sull'Antichità Classica 46), Roma 2018, 167–190.

[69] Liv. 6,21,5 (383 BCE): *omnes tribus bellum iusserunt* (scil. *Veliternis*). This passage used to be regarded with suspicion (see e.g. G. Rotondi*, Leges publicae populi Romani,* Milano 1912 (repr. Hildesheim 1990), 216), but according to several recent interpretations of the evidence the declaration of war belonged to the normal business of the tribes: L. Fascione, "*Bellum indicere* e tribù (509–357 a.C.)", in F. Serrao (a cura di), *Legge e società nella repubblica romana* I, Napoli 1981, 225–254; U. Paananen, "Legislation in the *comitia centuriata*", in J. Vaahtera (ed.), *Senatus populusque Romanus. Studies in Roman Republican Legislation* (Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae 13), Helsinki 1993, 71; Sandberg 2001 (n. 7), 137–141.

and profits. The warfare itself entailed certain specific opportunities. Senatorial managers of the Roman realm – that is, the magistrates and promagistrates in charge of the military operations – were able to increase their wealth by looting whereas the supplying and equipping of the armies procured profits for contractors of the equestrian order. With the advent of peaceful conditions the specific arrangements in the new additions to the Roman power sphere, whether formal provinces or merely new constituent parts of the expanding Roman-dominated international environment, provided new opportunities. There can be little doubt that senators, public contractors and businessmen frequently must have been divided as to what general policies should be adopted, or courses of action (or inaction) taken, in response to particular situations.

## Conclusions

In this paper it it has been contended that the study of the shaping of Roman foreign policies should pay more attention to the socio-economic contexts of the political process. The conventional narrow focus on the Senate and the senatorial aristocracy is at odds with the explicit testimony of Polybius emphasizing the formal interplay and the interdependence between the various political institutions. The implications of the fact that senatorial schemes occasionally failed due to formal popular opposition have not been fully recognized by scholars. According to modern doctrine, Rome was an aristocratic regime in which the popular assemblies, though nominally omnipotent, were mere pawns in the political game which only concerned the members of the *nobilitas*, who pursued their corporate interests through the Senate. Whereas it is certainly true that the centuriate assembly was controlled by the political elite, it need be recognized that the tribal assembly, meeting under tribunician presidency, was capable of independent action with regard to any matter.

Though the popular element in the "mixed constitution", as perceived by Polybius, and the existence of a true political process are prominent features in recent alternative interpretations of Roman political life, the Roman expansion is still mostly seen as the outcome of imperialistic endeavors attributable to a more or less monolithic senatorial aristocracy for which *gloria militaris*, loot and slave labor (for the growing *latifundia*) were essential commodities. Moreo-

ver, it has also been customary to identify specifically *Roman interests* at work in the developments which gradually extended Roman hegemony and formal Roman rule, and to equate these interests with those of the senatorial aristocracy. The very notion that commercial interests may have influenced Roman foreign policies have been styled as problematic, on the ground that most senators were landowners and not merchants, and that their interests were primarily landed ones.

In this paper it has been argued that the mere concept of *Roman interests*, in the context of the imperial expansion of the last centuries of the Republic, is problematic. The normal presence of different and conflicting interests within Roman society is an important, yet largely overlooked, characteristic of Roman politics. Such kind of political situation, which is taken for granted by Polybius, clearly also affected the process of the shaping of the foreign policies. The business interests of the *negotiatores* and the *publicani* and, from the Gracchan period onward, of a formal *ordo equester*, were major forces conditioning Roman overseas policies.

*Åbo Akademi University*
*University of Helsinki*

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# ANALECTA EPIGRAPHICA

Heikki Solin*

*Manibus Armando Petrucci*

## 322. WEITERE BEMERKUNGEN ZU NEUEN UND SELTENEN LATEINISCHEN COGNOMINA

*Absens*: Kajanto 289 mit fünf Belegen für den Männernamen und einem Beleg für den Frauennamen. *Arctos* 44 (2010) 231. Dazu *Rend. Licei* 1984, 286 Nr. 141 (Rom, circa Ende des 1. Jh. n. Chr.) *Abse[ntis] Caesar[is ---]*; *CIL* IV 2310 g *Apses* (es scheint ein Name vorzuliegen, anders als im Index von *CIL* IV S. 755, wo *apses* = *apsis* vermutet wird; *AE* 1979, 208 (Volsinii) *Sex. Nonius Absens*.

***Adamatus***: *CIL* II$^2$ 7, 631 (Corduba, ca. 1. Jh. n. Chr.). Auch als Name von Rennpferden belegt: Audollent 275, 276, 278, 282–294 (Hadrumetum). Bisher war bekannt *Amatus -a*, freilich kein verbreiteter Name (Kajanto 284 zählt 12 Belege), sowie die Suffixbildung *Amatianus*.

Ἰουλᾶς m.: *Rep*. 347 mit sieben Belegen aus Ägypten. Dazu *O. Krok*. I 73 (um 109 n. Chr.); *O. Bankes* 3 (Elephantine, 159 n. Chr., Gen. Ἰουλᾶτος); *SB* 12694 (3./4. Jh., Gen. Ἰουλᾶτος); *P. Prag.* II 137 (221 n. Chr.). Der aus Inschriften des lateinischen Westens (besonders des römischen Nordafrika) wie des griechischen Ostens einigermaßen belegte Frauenname *Iula* vertritt wohl nur eine abweichende Schreibweise von *Iulia* (auch in Fällen, in denen er als Cognomen gebraucht wird).

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* Polly Lohmann (Heidelberg) und Ekkehard Weber (Wien) haben meinen deutschen Ausdruck überprüft, wofür ihnen herzlich gedankt sei.

Λουκιᾶς m: *Rep*. 353 aus *I. Ephesos* 2200. Dazu *O. Did*. 342 (2. Hälfte des 2. Jh.) ἐὰν καταβαίνω εἰς Κόπτον ἐγὼ αὐτὰ Λουκιᾶτι δώσω und 433 (frühes 2. Jh.) Λουκιᾶτι. Der Editor A. Bülow-Jacobsen akzentuiert in beiden Fällen Λουκιάτι und sieht in ihnen eine Lucia.[1] Doch kaum zu Recht. Der normale Dativ von Λουκία würde Λουκίᾳ lauten und von mehrmals in der römischen Welt belegten Λουκιάς wiederum Λουκιάδι, während die aus lateinischen üblichen Namen abgeleiteten Männernamen auf -ᾶς neben der Flexion -ᾶς -ᾶ -ᾷ die auf -ας -ᾶτι(ς) aufweisen können. An sich wäre es möglich, dass auch Frauennamen okkasionell -ᾶτ- flektiert würden, doch besteht kein Grund, hier einen Frauennamen festlegen zu müssen.

*Porculus*: Kajanto 328 mit einem Beleg aus Anagnia (*CIL* X 5926 aus der munizipalen Oberschicht).[2] Dazu M. R. Coppola, *Terracina. Il Museo e le collezioni*, Roma 1989, 203 (1. Jh. n. Chr.) *[- F]avonius M. f. Porculus duovir quinquennalis*, also auch er aus der munizipalen Oberschicht; *ZPE* 206 (2018) 235 (Graffito aus Pompeji) *Porculus*. Doch bleibt es unsicher, ob hier ein Name vorliegt. Die Editoren denken an eine Art Spitznamen mit eventueller pejorativer Deutung, da aber der Kontext fehlt, hängen alle derartigen Hypothesen in der Luft. An sich vertritt *Porculus* eine nicht seltene Gattung von Cognomina (Übergang von Diminutiva von Tiernamen zu Personennamen), und letzten Endes wird man hier wohl ein Cognomen annehmen dürfen, ohne jegliche Hintergedanken von pejorativer Verwendung als Spitznamen.

*Primogenia*: Kajanto 291 mit drei Belegen: Dazu *CIL* IV 1553 (nach meiner Deutung, zweimal, 21 n. Chr.); *IRConcordia* 134 *Trebia Se[x. l.(?)] Primogen(ia)*; *AE* 1985, 906 (Caesarea Mauret., Freigelassene).

*Primogenius*: Kajanto 291 mit zwei Belegen. *Arctos* 45 (2011) 157 mit zwei weiteren Belegen: Dazu noch *CIL* IV 7061.

***Ridiculus***(?): *CIL* IV 2399*a* (Pompeji) *[Ri]dicule, rogas*. Der Beleg bleibt etwas unsicher, denn es könnte sich auch um das Adjektiv *ridiculus* handeln (so wird die Sachlage im Index des *CIL* IV S. 763 aufgefasst). Bisher war der Frauenname *Ridicula* bekannt, dazu zuletzt *Arctos* 49 (2015) 211.

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[1] Dem Editor zufolge soll Lucia die Frau des Longinus sein, was aus 346 Νάρκισ[σος Λου]κίᾳ γυναικὶ Λογγ[ίνου στρ]ατιώτου οὐηξιλ[λαρίου π]ραισιδίου Διδύμ[ων] hervorgehe. Das bleibt doch ganz in der Luft hängen, und zwar aus vielen Gründen.

[2] Die Lesung ist gesichert (Autopsie 1978). Also nicht *Proculus*.

*Rufas* m.: Kajanto 229 mit einem Beleg. *Arctos* 37 (2003) 185 (Athen); 39 (2005) 177 (Pizos); 46 (2012) 213 (Allifae, Kos, Termessos). Dazu *O. Did*. 422 (Mitte 2. Jh.) Ἀπολλῶς Ῥουφᾶτι.

***Sebarius***: *AE* 1999, 1153 (Hagenbach, Civitas Nemetum in der Germania superior, 1./ 2. Jh.) *Cerecotes Sebari*.[3] Sofern nicht eine epichorische Namenbildung vorliegt, würde man *Sebarius* zu *sebarius* stellen; dieses Wort ist in der ostiensischen Inschrift *CIL* XIV 4530 vom Jahre 215 überliefert, woneben die längere Form *sebaciarius* im Wachthaus der 7. Kohorte der Vigiles in Trastevere in Rom öfters vorkommt (*CIL* VI 2998–3091. 32751); die *seba(cia)rii* sind Soldaten, die sowohl für die Beleuchtung des Wachtraumes zu sorgen als auch die Kerzen für die Patrouillen zu liefern hatten.[4]

*Sponsor*: Kajanto 362 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu zwei pompejanische Graffiti *CIL* IV 2507 und 5038, in denen dies Cognomen vorliegt, es sich aber in beiden Fällen auch um ein Appellativ handeln kann.

*Stloga*: *Rep*. 408 mit zwei Senatoren. Dazu *ZPE* 205 (2018) 256 (unbekannter Herkunft, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *Stlogae vernae*. Ein bemerkenswerter Fall, wie ein höchst seltenes, dazu einer sicheren Etymologie entbehrendes senatorisches Cognomen auf einen hausgeborenen Sklaven übertragen wird. Die Inschrift ist also unbekannter Herkunft, könnte aber gut stadtrömisch sein.

!*Talus*: Kajanto 226 mit einem Beleg aus Pompeji: *CIL* IV 5070 (vgl. auch 5072). Die Lesung bleibt aber sehr verdächtig. Die Inschrift ist auch sonst fehlerhaft ausgeführt; z. B. die korrupte Form des ersten Namen hat Kopfzerbrechen für den Editor Mau bereitet, der die von ihm angenommene Graphie SVIICAII zögernd als *Aeceus* für *Aegeus*, linksläufig geschrieben erklärt, während hier viel eher eine korrupte Form des Namens *Successa* vorliegt. Wenn aber TALVS die richtige Lesung darstellte, dann würde man an eine abweichende Graphie des populären Namens *Thallus* denken. Auf dieselbe Weise kann TALVS in 5072 erklärt werden.

*Trebianicus*: *CIL* IX 6769 (Aesernia, augusteisch) *C. Papius C. f. Trebianicus Septimianus* aus der munizipalen Oberschicht. Man hat diskutiert, ob dieser Name, der hier als Cognomen gebraucht wird, ursprünglich möglicherweise ein Gentilname sei (so O. Salomies, *Arctos* 32 (1989) 223) oder ein ‘echtes’

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[3] Für Diskussion um die Erklärung der fraglichen Inschrift danke ich Ulrike Ehmig, Berlin.

[4] Wickert in *CIL* XIV 4530 meint unnötigerweise, *sebarius* sei nur ein Schreibefehler für *sebaciarius*. Schon der kürzlich aufgetauchte Name *Sebarius* zeigt, dass *sebarius* eine mögliche Bildung war.

Cognomen (so H. Solin, *Arctos* 48 (2014) 375). Beides kann stimmen, denn *-icus* war als Gentilnamensuffix in Gebrauch, mit ihm wurden aber auch neue Cognomina gebildet. [Korrekturnote. Schon *Rep*.[2] 504 als Ineditum.]

## 323. FALSCHE NAMEN

Ἀθηνάγορος, Ἀρχάγορος, Διάγορος, Ἑρμάγορος. Diese Namen haben ihren Weg irrtümlich in das Oxforder Lexikon der griechischen Personennamen gefunden, denn in allen vier Fällen handelt es sich um Namen auf -αγόρας. Der erste wird in Band I 16 aus *I. Iasos* 40 als Name eines Rhodiers verzeichnet. Den zweiten finden wir in Band III.B 68 als Namen eines Thessaliers aus *SEG* XVII 243 (457 v. Chr.), im Genetiv Ἀρχαγόρω geschrieben, was auf den Nominativ Ἀρχαγόρας schließen lässt. Der dritte soll laut Band I 130 auf Samos vorkommen; die Autoren des Lexicon riskieren für ihn aus *ArchEphem*. 1924, 74 aufgrund eines schlechten Fotos in Abb. 10 die Form Διάγορος Πα---, doch die Inschrift steht jetzt *IG* XII 6, 620 und lautet Διαγόρω τὸγδήλο, '(Das Grab) des Diagores, Sohn des Egdelos'.[5] Διαγόρω ist Genetiv von Διαγόρης. Der vierte, in Band III.A, 152 als Ἑρμάγορος verzeichnet, kommt von der Insel Pharos in Dalmatien mit dem Namen der Verstorbenen Κλευνίκη Ἑρμαγόρου (J. Brunšmid, *Die Inschriften und Münzen der griechischen Städte Dalmatiens*, Wien 1898, 15), was doch zum Nominativ Ἑρμαγόρας führt. All diese Fälle haben gemeinsam, dass die Autoren des Lexikons das zweite Glied als -άγορος missverstanden haben, obwohl es in jedem einzelnen Fall -αγόρας (-αγόρης) gewesen sein muss. Die oben zitierten Fälle wären die einzigen Belege des fraglichen Namens auf -άγορος, und schon deswegen muss man sie aus dem griechischen Namenrepertoire entfernen. Ἑρμαγόρου könnte theoretisch Genitiv eines Namens *Ἑρμάγορος sein, da aber dieser sonst nirgends belegt ist, während Ἑρμαγόρας überall in der griechischen Welt und auch im römischen Westen verbreitet war, ist es doch vorzuziehen, den Beleg aus Pharus zum letzteren zu stellen. Und in *IG* XII 6, 620 kann unmöglich Διάγορος vorhanden sein, aus dem einfachen Grund, dass der Genitiv des Namens Διαγόρο geschrieben werden sollte, wie

[5] Dieselbe Inschrift wird im Lexicon unter Διαγόρης Nr. 2 aus *AM* 58 (1933) 31 Nr. 1 richtig wiedergegeben.

man aus dem Genitiv des Namens des Vaters Ἐγδήλο sieht; außerdem würde man erwarten, dass das zweite Glied -ήγορος lauten würde.

*Chrysopenis*. In *Epigrafia ostiense*, ed. F. Zevi & al. (2018) 220 lautet der Name des Verstorbenen im Dativ *[---]lio Chrysopeni*. Daraus wird im Index der Cognomina S. 765 ein Name *Chrysopenis* geschaffen. Das wäre ein *nom fantôme*. Der Mann hieß -*lius Chrysopaes*. Χρυσόπαις *Chrysopaes* ist ein griechischer Vollname, mehrmals in Rom (s. mein Namenbuch 180) und einigermaßen sonst in Italien (*CIL* V 2112; möglicherweise in Ostia selbst: *CIL* XIV 1841 *[Chry?]sopaes*) und in den westlichen Provinzen (*CIL* XII 1949; XIII 11397) belegt; in der griechischen Welt wurde er dagegen nur okkasionell gebraucht (ich kenne allein *MAMA* IX 109 aus Aizanoi in Phrygien [Vater und Sohn]; zwischen 255–310 n. Chr.).

## 324. VERKANNTE NAMEN

*Damocratia*. In *AE* 2014, 242 lesen wir folgenden Text: *D M L. Claudi Pud[ent]iani Coelia Da[io]ocrati[[n]]a ma[ri]to dulcissim[o] fecit* κτλ. Dies ist der Text der Erstpublikation von A. Marinucci, *Disiecta membra. Iscrizioni latine da Ostia e Porto 1981–2009*, Roma 2012, 64 Nr. 74, den *AE* übernommen hat. Mit dem Editor an einen christlichen Namen *Deogratias*, hier *Daiocratia* geschrieben, zu denken, ist absurd (in einer Inschrift des 2. Jh. einen spätantiken, sicher nicht vor dem 4. Jh. zu postulierenden Namen festlegen zu wollen, ist gewiss gravierend). Ich hatte an die Editoren der *AE* die Bemerkung geschickt, es müsse ohne weiteres *Damocratia* gelesen werden. Daraus ist ihr Nachtrag „Peut-être le nom *Damocratia*. HS“ geworden. Amüsant ist *peut-être*, wie kann aber etwas anderes vorliegen? Das Richtige ist in EDR133243 gesehen worden. Der Name *Damocratia* mit dem *a*-Vokalismus ist nicht im römischen Westen bezeugt, *Democratia* aber in Rom (*CIL* VI 15392/3) und Interpromiun (*CIL* IX 3052); und bekanntlich wurden die Formen auf *Demo-* und *Damo-* in der antiken Namengebung nebeneinander in allen griechischen Dialektgebieten und auch in Rom ohne Diskriminierung gebraucht. Schon der Männername *Damocrates* ist mehrmals in Rom belegt (siehe mein griechisches Namenbuch 37). – Eins bleibt noch zu sagen. Alle Editoren meinen, der Buchstabe in Rasur vor dem Schluss-*a* des Namens sei ein N, aus dem Foto zu schließen ist es aber nicht

sicher. Wie dem auch sei, der Buchstabe scheint falsch eingehauen zu sein, und als der Steinmetz das bemerkte, hat er ihn nachträglich eradiert. Kaum haben wir hier einen Namen *Damocratina*; wenn auf Rhodos mitunter Δαμοκρατῖνος als Name bezeugt ist (*LGPN* I 116 mit drei Belegen), kann man doch nicht den Schluss ziehen, dieser Name gehöre zum allgemeinen Namenschatz der griechischen Anthroponymie.

*Gelos*. *CIL* V 498 = *Inscr. It*. X 3, 18 (Tergeste, 1. Jh. n. Chr.) lautet *d. m. Gelotis Naevola mater*. Davon macht V. Kusik, *Studia Universitatis Hereditati* 3, 2 (2015) 81 eine Frau namens Celotis Naevola. Ein seltener Einfall. Das Richtige ist seit jeher gesehen worden. Derselbe behauptet auf S. 78f, dass in *CIL* V 495 = *Inscr. It*. X 3, 15 der Name *Sabinnaeus* eine einmalige Form von *Sabinus* wäre. Viel eher liegt eine Ableitung der semitischen Namens *Zabinna* vor. Und noch auf S. 83 soll in *Inscr. It*. X 3, 21 *d. m. Lucidae Dignitas sorori b. m*. eine römische Bürgerin namens *Lucida Dignitas* genannt sein. So was macht doch stutzig. Man fragt sich, wie es dazu kommen konnte, dass die Leitung eines wissenschaftlichen Organs ein solches Produkt hat annehmen können.

## 325. ALLIFANUM

Von den Graffiti, die in den Pfeiler V der Cryptoporticus in Quarto di Castello in Alife eingeritzt wurden (jetzt *CIL* IX 6561*a–d*), soll hier nochmals 6561*c* kurz unter die Lupe genommen worden. Der Erstherausgeber Ferraiuolo las CONIUN[---] (aber ein N lässt sich nicht eruieren), während Camodeca, ad *AE* 2012, 369 *Pontia* zu lesen glaubte; ich hatte *Arctos* 46 (2012) 233 CONIV vermutet. Buonocore in *CIL* übernimmt die Lesung von Camodeca (aber in dem von ihm beigefügten Foto und Zeichnung liest man CONÌV!). Nach wiederholter Überprüfung der in 2016 von Valentino Nassa auf meine Veranlassung gemachten guten Fotos teile ich Folgendes mit. Der erste Buchstabe kann schwerlich ein P sein, aber ein C wäre nicht ausgeschlossen (auch wenn an der harten Schriftoberfläche nicht sehr gut gelungen). O und N sind sicher. Der nächste Buchstabe ist eine I longa; von einem Querstrich von T fehlt jede Spur. Was folgt, bleibt etwas unsicher; sichtbar ist ein schräger Strich (der freilich einen etwas unterschiedlichen Duktus aufweist als übrigen Buchstaben), entweder als die zweite Haste von V oder als die erste von A deutbar, aber was davor oder

danach steht, steht nicht mit Deutlichkeit fest (außerdem finden sich nach der I longa zwei kürzere vertikale Hasten, deren Funktion dunkel bleibt). Als Lesung würde ich CONÌ+ oder, wenn auch zögernd, CONÌṾ vorlegen. Was dahinter steckt, bleibt Vermutungen überlassen. Auch wenn die Pontii in Allifae nicht unbekannt sind (*CIL* IX 2367; G. Camodeca, in *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio, 30 anni dopo* [2014] 255), kommt die Lesung *Pontia* kaum in Frage (da ja der erste Buchstabe schwerlich ein P ist). Vielleicht ein onomastisches Element oder aber eine Verform, etwa von *coniurare*.

CIL *IX 6561c. Foto Valentino Nassa.*

## 326. SILVANUS OBSCURUS UND KEIN ENDE

Ich hatte in der FS Coarelli *Vestigia. Miscellanea di studi storico-religiosi* (2016) 421–435 den Beinamen des Silvanus in *CIL* VI 647, wenn auch zögernd, *Silvani clientis* gelesen. Nun will S. M. Marengo, *Anuari de Filologia. Antiqua et Mediaevalia* 8 (2018) 533–538 *clientes* statt *clientis* lesen. Ihre Beweisführung ist aber problematisch. Was zuerst die Lesung betrifft, so ist der zweitletzte Buchstabe des Epithetons des Silvanus doch eher ein I und nicht E; man vergleiche nur das E in demselben Wort. Vor allem aber wird die Lesung *clientes* im syntaktischen Gefüge des Satzes unverständlich; der von Marengo postulierte Textverlauf *Cyrinus patronus sodalicii dii Silvani clientes voto posuit* ergibt

kein Latein und ist in dem auch sonst nicht leicht verständlichen Text nicht einmal als Anakoluth o. ä. begreiflich.[6] Wenn ich die etwas obskuren Ausführungen der Autorin richtig verstanden habe, meint sie, *clientes* sei Akkusativ, von *voto posuit* abhängig.[7] Aber *(ex) voto posuit* oder *posuerunt* kann als Objekt nicht eine Person oder eine Personengruppe haben, das wäre gegen gesunden Menschenverstand. Das Objekt von *posuit posuerunt* wird im epigraphischen Text oft einfach verschwiegen und ist nichts Merkwürdiges.[8] Die Versuche der Autorin, sich meine Lesung vom Halse zu schaffen, sind entschieden zurückzuweisen.

*Universität Helsinki*

[6] Solche vage Formulierungen wie „Le due azioni ... sono compendiate un po‘ goffamente nel nostro testo nell'espressione *voto posuit clientes* che dovrebbe esprimere lo stesso concetto“ auf S. 535 tragen nichts zum Verständnis des fraglichen Textverlaufs bei.

[7] Sie schreibt 535 „nell’epigrafe compare il termine *clientes* che costituisce il complemento oggetto dell’espressione *voto posuit*“.

[8] Allein aus den inschriftenreichen Gegenden wie Rom, Latium und Kampanien kann man folgende Beispiele anführen: Rom: *CIL* VI 111, 2141, 2816, 2829, 31167, 39809, 39863; *AE* 1926, 17a;1980, 49. 50; *CEMC* 4; Latium: *CIL* XIV 2455; *AE* 1993, 422; 2003, 286. Sonst in Italien: *Inscr. It.* III 1, 49; *CIL* XI 1320; *NSA* 1919, 206 (Volsinii); *Suppl. It.* 16 Rusellae 1; *CIL* V 4189; 5002; 5057; 5798; *Suppl. It.* 6 Anauni 1; *AE* 1988, 611 (Eporedia); 2002, 578 (Anauni). Üblich in den Provinzen. – *Voto suscepto ... posuit/posuerunt*: Rom: *CIL* VI 116, 117; Latium: *CIL* XIV 244. Anderswo in Italien oder in den Provinzen: *CIL* XI 1331, 3872; *Suppl. It.* 16 Rusellae 4; III 8246; XIII 742, 6096, 6438, 6555, 6680, 7249; *AE* 1990, 742 (Mogontiacum); *RIB* I 1041, 1086.

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# PLINY AND THE USES OF THE *AERARIUM SATURNI* AS AN ADMINISTRATIVE SPACE

Kaius Tuori*

## Introduction

Like many of his peers, Pliny the Younger would reminisce about his youth and the different experiences he had during his career. In one of his letters, he would describe his tenure as *praefectus aerarii* (*epist.* 1,10), which he held in AD 98 under Nerva.[1] While he described his duties as dull, the account is one of the very few first-hand testimonies on the work of a Roman official during the Principate, not as an idealized or general theme, but as a practical part of the administration at work.

The purpose of this article is to explore Pliny's narrative on the *aerarium*, commonly known as the treasury of Rome, and what it tells of the functions of the *aerarium.* Through comparisons with other depictions of the workings of the *aerarium*, such as that by Cicero, the aim is to present a tentative reconstruction of the operation of this central piece in the Roman administrative system. With the help of this reconstruction, the article will then re-evaluate the different alternatives that have been presented regarding the location and operation of the *aerarium.*

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[1] See Corbier 1974, 131–143 on Pliny and his career.

The *aerarium* or as it was later called, the *aerarium Saturni*, handled public money, stored contracts and the texts of the laws that had been passed, preserved the lists of taxes and debts to the state, and so on. In short, it was both the archive and the "cash box" of the Roman state. It has been located in numerous ancient sources in the Temple of Saturn.[2]

Earlier research on the *aerarium* has focused on two main aspects, namely the officials who ran the *aerarium*, mainly on the prosopographical study of their careers,[3] and the role of the aerarium in the system of public record holding in Rome. In this second aspect, there has been a concerted effort to re-evaluate not only the public records but also the buildings involved, which has led to numerous debates regarding the identification of the *tabularium* in particular. Thus, while Corbier has contended that the location of the *aerarium* would have been in the temple itself and its podium, Mazzei and Coarelli have argued that the archival functions would have been in several locations.[4] In recent scholarship, it has been observed that the archaeological, epigraphical and literary evidence regarding the *tabularium*, *aerarium* and other public buildings of the area is immensely complicated, and all conclusions are more or less provisional. One of the difficulties is that Roman authors use terms like *aerarium*, *tabularium* and

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[2] See, for example, Fest. *Gloss*. s.v. 'Aerarium'; Lucan. 3,115 *Saturnia templa*; App. *B Civ.* 1,31,1: ἐξανίστατο ἐς τὸν τοῦ Κρόνου νεών, οὗ τοῖς ταμίαις ἐχρῆν ὀμνύναι, καὶ ὤμνυε σὺν τοῖς φίλοις πρῶτος; Sol. 1,12 *Saturni aerarium*; Macr. *Sat.* 1,8,3 *Aedem vero Saturni aerarium Romani esse voluerunt*; Serv. *Georg*. 2,502 *significat autem templum Saturni, in quo et aerarium fuerat et reponebantur acta, quae susceptis liberis faciebant parentes*; Serv. *Aen*. 8,319 *ideo autem in aede ipsius Saturni aerarium, quod ibi potissimum pecunia servaretur, eo quod illi maxime credatur* and 8,322 *nam ideo et acceptae a populo leges in aerario claudebantur, quoniam aerarium Saturno dicatum erat, ut hodieque aerarium Saturni dicitur*; Asc. *Mil*. 36; Plut. *Vit. Popl*. 12 : ταμιεῖον μὲν ἀπέδειξε τὸν τοῦ Κρόνου ναόν, ᾧ μέχρι νῦν χρώμενοι διατελοῦσι, ταμίας δὲ τῷ δήμῳ δύο τῶν νέων ἔδωκεν ἀποδεῖξαι·; Plut. *Ti. Gracch*. 10,6 τῷ δὲ τοῦ Κρόνου ναῷ σφραγῖδας ἰδίας ἐπέβαλεν, ὅπως οἱ ταμίαι μηδὲν ἐξ αὐτοῦ λαμβάνοιεν μηδ᾽ εἰσφέροιεν, καὶ τοῖς ἀπειθήσασι τῶν στρατηγῶν ζημίαν ἐπεκήρυξεν, ὥστε πάντας ὑποδείσαντας ἀφεῖναι τὴν ἑκάστῳ προσήκουσαν οἰκονομίαν. On the literature, see Mommsen 1871–1888, 2.1, 545–546; Millar 1964, 33–40; Corbier 1974, 671–692; Culham 1989, 100–115 at 103, 112–114.

[3] Corbier 1974 being the most extensive.

[4] On discussions about these locations, see Corbier 1974, 632; Mazzei 2009, 288–294; Coarelli 2010.

*atrium libertatis* almost interchangeably about places where public documents were deposited.[5]

Through a reading of Pliny's account, this article seeks to explore a different alternative in that it first attempts to assess what we know of the *aerarium* and then estimates the space, both in terms of quality and quantity, that would be needed to perform the functions that Pliny's eyewitness account assigns to it. The method utilized is that of making estimates or approximations of the quantities of units, such as writing tablets used for certain purposes based on the sources available, and then extrapolating the volume of space needed to store them.

The issue of locating and reconstructing the *aerarium* is linked to a larger *lacuna* in the literature. The spaces where routine administration was performed in the Roman world have been to a large degree neglected when compared with the attention given to people in the administration. For the nineteenth century pioneers of the study of Roman administration, the issue was not one of great interest. This is evident in classic works on Roman administration, such as those by Mommsen or Hirschfeld. Mommsen only briefly referred to the built surroundings when discussing the censors and quaestors, namely the *villa publica* and the *aerarium*. Hirschfeld is more inclined to refer to minor officials and their stations.[6] A similar tendency is evident in more recent works, in which issues of space are largely absent.[7] However, perhaps as a result of the general spatial turn in the humanities, there has, in recent years, been a surge in studies on the issues of official space, such as the spaces of justice in the Roman world.[8]

Even then, there has been very little in the way of concentrated investigation about the spaces where Roman administrative duties were carried out.[9] Many have brushed the issue aside as futile, with blanket statements such as "No ancient office building and no ancient desk will ever be discovered".[10] Yet,

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[5] For example, Liv. 43,16,13; Liv. 45,1; Serv. *vita Verg.* 2,502. On the sources on the *aerarium* and the *tabularium*, see Weiss 1932, 1963–1966; Purcell 1993, 2010; Mazzei 2009. On the various *tabularia*, see Balty 1991, 151–161.

[6] Mommsen 1871–1888, 2.2, 359, 545, put some effort into discussing vehicles such as carriages and seats such as chairs or stools (Mommsen 1871–1888, 1, 393–408; Hirschfeld 1905, 5, 41.

[7] See, for instance, Kolb 2006; Ausbüttel 1998; Robinson 1992.

[8] Bablitz 2007; de Angelis 2010; Färber 2014.

[9] Of the recent studies, mention may be made to Färber 2012; Castorio 2006; Gros 2001.

[10] Purcell 1988, 150–181, at 175.

within the study of some administrative agencies such as the *cura aquarum*, scholars have made tentative attempts to locate the spaces where their offices might have been.[11]

Behind the issue of the spaces of administration there are important questions about the role of public administration in Roman society and thus the problem of where to draw the line between public and private spheres. In the advances made in the study of the public sphere in the Roman house (*domus*),[12] a new model for understanding Roman administrative space has emerged in which public venues for meetings between magistrates and citizens were complemented by the use of *domus* as a locus for the meetings of magistrates as well as the drafting of documents. These studies have noted the importance of the "blurred" nature of the private aristocratic house in public life and how the model of the private household spread throughout the imperial administration.[13] The separated public administrative space emerges as the exception, used in cases where the administrative activities themselves prompt the use of public space. The *aerarium* is a good example of such a space, where the nature of the activities, such as storing money and public records, would not be feasible in a private dwelling.

Roman officials were not tied to a specific location in their activities and official acts could, at least in theory, take place wherever the magistrate was at the time. For instance, the *Institutes* of Gaius mentions that manumissions were such routine events that they were performed even on the way from one place to another, for example when a praetor or a proconsul was on the way from the baths or the theatre (Gaius *inst*. 1,7,20). The second aspect that is intriguing about the Roman model of administration is the lack of sources about a dedicated space for the administration of the city or the empire. What this meant was that outside the few spaces where there is some evidence that magistrates or representatives of the state met with the people, such as the tribunals of the

[11] Bruun 1991, 195–196; Bruun 2007, 9–11.

[12] Tuori and Nissin 2015; Bowes 2010; Winterling 2009; Zaccaria Ruggiu 2005; Carucci 2008; Ellis 2000; Grahame 2000; Hales 2003; Riggsby 1997; Grahame 1997; Treggiari 1998; Laurence and Wallace-Hadrill 1997; Wallace-Hadrill 1994.

[13] Even in earlier literature, the significance of private houses in the public life of the aristocracy has been noted (for example, Millar 1992, 15), but their role as a site for administrative activity has been neglected. Eich 2005 has argued for a new understanding of private households as the emerging model for Roman imperial administration.

praetors in the Forum or the *sportulae* for the grain distribution, we have little idea where the administrative apparatus of the Roman state worked. Exploring the *aerarium* in practice opens up new possibilities to assess the locations of administrative activity.

## Pliny in the *aerarium*

Writing about his time as *praefectus aerarii*, Pliny mentions, albeit rhetorically, that his duties, the work done on public contracts, documents from debts, the *commentarii* of officials, the accounts of the state as well as the financial affairs of the state, were exceedingly dull:

> *Nam distringor officio, ut maximo sic molestissimo: sedeo pro tribunali, subnoto libellos, conficio tabulas, scribo plurimas sed illitteratissimas litteras. Soleo non numquam (nam id ipsum quando contingit!) de his occupationibus apud Euphraten queri. Ille me consolatur, affirmat etiam esse hanc philosophiae et quidem pulcherrimam partem, agere negotium publicum, cognoscere judicare, promere et exercere justitiam, quaeque ipsi doceant in usu habere.* (Plin. *epist.* 1,10.)
>
> My time is taken up with official duties, important but none the less tiresome. I sit on the bench, sign petitions, make up accounts, and write innumerable—quite unliterary—letters. Whenever I have the chance I complain about these duties to Euphrates, who consoles me by saying that anyone who holds public office, presides at trials and passes judgement, expounds and administers justice, and thereby puts into practice what the philosopher only teaches, has a part in the philosophic life and indeed the noblest part of all.[14]

The nature of Pliny's work required two types of environment. He needed a space in which to interact with the public and one in which he could concentrate

[14] Tr. by Radice 1969.

on working with documents away from the public gaze. In the text, Pliny divides his duties into four activities, 1) sitting on the tribunal, 2) signing *libelli*, 3) preparing documents or tablets and 4) writing official letters. These activities may be divided into two categories, the first is being available for consultation and receiving cases, the second is devoted to running the administration through the process of writing, both approving documents, producing them and engaging in correspondence.

In the first category, the account is both clear and presents a number of issues: first, where was Pliny's seat or office located? He uses the phrase *sedeo pro tribunali,* but would this mean that it was inside a building and what building would this be? The second issue is naturally what he means by *pro tribunali*? In common usage, Roman tribunals were raised platforms under the open sky, where magistrates would execute their duties in public, such as in the case of the praetors and the judges, who would conduct legal proceedings from their tribunals. Whether this would be the case here is questionable.[15] Of course, Pliny was a *praefectus aerarii*, which was a fairly new position as emperors added a new layer of supervision, partially replacing but in practice demoting the quaestors from running the *aerarium*. Pliny himself had earlier served as quaestor in AD 89. Later*, praefecti aerarii* had jurisdiction in fiscal matters, especially regarding the interest of the state, and the fact that Pliny talks of his tribunal may well refer to these duties (Plin. *paneg*. 36; *Dig*. 49,14,13).

The second category, approving documents, producing them and writing official correspondence may be considered distinct from the first, because it would demand seclusion from the public. Dictating, writing, reading and listening to documents being read out were all activities that necessarily were conducted in a place where sensitive information could not be overheard or seen and where there would be a suitable place for both Pliny himself, and for assistants, scribes and other officials, not to mention slaves, to sit and work. In short, an office in the modern sense.

What were these documents that Pliny writes about? The *libellus* mentioned by Pliny is an interesting category. In the legal context, the word *libellus* refers to a petition, usually one made by a petitioner and delivered in person to the emperor. The term *libellus* could also refer to a petition to officials, not simply the emperor. In any case, in the legal world *libellus* had a technical meaning

[15] On the tribunals as administrative spaces, see Coriat 2015.

that suggested that they were appeals that were outside the normal procedure. During the later Principate, they were handled by a secretary *a libellis*, who was often a lawyer and later the term became synonymous with a legal appeal.[16] In the case of Pliny, who was knowledgeable in law, it is possible that the *libelli* were in fact petitions, for instance, from taxpayers to the *aerarium*.

The *tabula* was another term with multiple meanings, from writing tablets in general to a specific legal significance. In the most general meaning, *tabulae* were simply writing tablets that were ubiquitous in ancient Rome, either as boards painted white, covered with wax or metal sheets. As a technical term, *tabula publica* referred to official documents, from laws, *senatusconsulta,* edicts and protocols of elections, and in the more narrow sense the *commentarii* of magistrates, treaties and other official documents. *Tabula privata* was the opposite, being a general term for contracts and other private documents. The preparing and authenticating of *tabulae* were highly symbolic acts, and some have even claimed that these acts contained ritual meanings that contributed to the validity of contents.[17]

*Litterae* in this case referred most likely to letters and missives used to coordinate activities and interact with the people. In the text, Pliny makes a clear distinction, one present also in ancient epistolography, between literary letters or letters as an art form, and letters as a form of official communication. Pliny himself was naturally well known for his open letters, i.e. a private letter intended for public consumption, even distinguishing between a real and a literary letter,[18] but here he makes it very clear that this was merely a bureaucratic format.

In all of these cases, it is apparent that Pliny's use of precise concepts for different categories of official documents demonstrates his grasp of administrative minutiae and the numerous tasks of the *aerarium* beyond mere archival storage.

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[16] Schiemann 2018; Honoré 1994. For example, Cod. *Iust*. 4.62.1, 8.37.1. See *Dig*. 1,4,1,1 on the subscription as the imperial response to a *libellus*. In some cases, such as Suet. *Claud*. 15 or *Ner*. 15 it is difficult to say whether the term *libellus* means simply a writing tablet or a specific petition. The context is legal but the meaning is not specific.

[17] See Meyer 2004, 24–43 and Sachers 1932 for discussion and ample references to literature.

[18] Plin. *epist*. 9,28; Sherwin-White 1966.

## The location and function of the *aerarium*

Considering the tasks of the *aerarium*, it was not surprising that a separate and secure location would have been needed. Large quantities of money and gold could not be stored in private homes for security reasons, likewise the accounts of public debts could have been the target of rioting mobs.[19]

During the Republic, the administration of public finances was the task of quaestors (*Dig.* 1,2,2,22), of which some were appointed as guardians of the *aerarium*. Augustus appointed praetors for the administration of the *aerarium*, but during the reign of Nero, senatorial *praefecti aerarii,* men who had formerly been praetors, took up the oversight duty in an arrangement that continued until the early reign of Trajan. However, the administrative arrangements with quaestors, praetors and prefects alternating continued for much of the Principate (Tac. *ann*. 13,28–29).[20]

From the earliest references in ancient sources onwards, the location of the *aerarium* is placed at the Temple of Saturn in the Forum. Festus, an Augustan source, writes that the aerarium of the Roman people is located in the temple of Saturn, *in aede Saturni*.[21] According to Plutarch, Publicola made the Temple of Saturn the location of the *aerarium*, because he thought it necessary to store public funds somewhere else than in his own or somebody else's home. He also ensured that the people appointed the first quaestors.[22]

Beyond these general statements, how is it then possible to locate an important and possibly sizable administrative space such as the *aerarium*? The sources relating to administrative space may be divided into two categories, archaeological and literary. With the first, the question is whether an administrative space could be recognizable through its location or architectural properties? Even hypothetically, would a room where Roman magistrates and their staff worked have distinctive characteristics?

Where archaeological remains are concerned, examining the theory regarding the lack of offices or desks is perhaps also a question of where to search.

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[19] On the destruction of tax records, see Meyer 2004, 110

[20] Corbier 1974, 18–19.

[21] Fest. *Gloss*. s.v. 'Aerarium'.

[22] Plut. *Vit. Popl*. 12. On attempts to locate the *aerarium* and *tabularium* in different periods, see Mazzei 2009, 282–330.

There were no desks among the carbonized furniture or in the wall paintings in the cities around Vesuvius. As furniture has not been largely preserved outside the area of the Vesuvian eruption,[23] identifying potential locations for offices must rely on conjecture on the uses of space in preserved structures. But with epigraphic sources, can we assume that the inscriptions mentioning a *cura* or a *statio* indicate a place where the administration worked? The second category is equally complicated. Even Latin is of little help, because there is no real equivalent to the word "office". The term *officium* related more to the magistracies themselves (or rather to their duties) than to any physical space (but see *in praetoris officio*, in Plin. *epist*. 1,5,11, or *Dig*. 4,5,6 *officia publica*). The term *secretarium* or other concepts related to office space (*cancelli, scrinium, burellum*) could indicate a place for secretarial staff, but these words tended to be used mostly in later sources, not those of our period.[24]

Even Vitruvius, our sole source about Roman architecture, has very little on offices, though he includes *aerarium* among the buildings that each city should have. His administrative buildings are the forum, the basilica, the treasury/*aerarium* and the *curia*. In the depiction of the treasury and the *curia*, the onus is on their usage as a place for storing money or as a meeting-place, respectively, not a place where office work would have taken place.[25] Instead of approaching the issue through finding an ancient counterpart to a modern office, one should begin with the question of what do the Romans tell us about where they worked.

Though the writing (or dictation) of letters and documents is a prominent activity, one that is mentioned frequently, it is not regularly connected to a particular place. A good example is the story given by Pliny (*epist.* 5,5) about his friend writing in his bed (*in lectulo suo*) as usual (*ita solebat*). What is even more frustrating is the tendency of the technical writing on administration, for example the works of Frontinus, to completely sidestep the places where administration worked.

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[23] Mols 1999 does not record a single table suitable for use as an office desk, only small decorative tables. However, see Wallace-Hadrill 1994 on the difficulties of deducing things from the poorly preserved extant furniture.

[24] *Secretarium* comes up first in Lact. *mort. pers*. 15,5; Cod. Theod. 1,16,7 and Cod. Iust. 3,24,3 and 9,2,16,1.

[25] Vitr. 5,1–2.

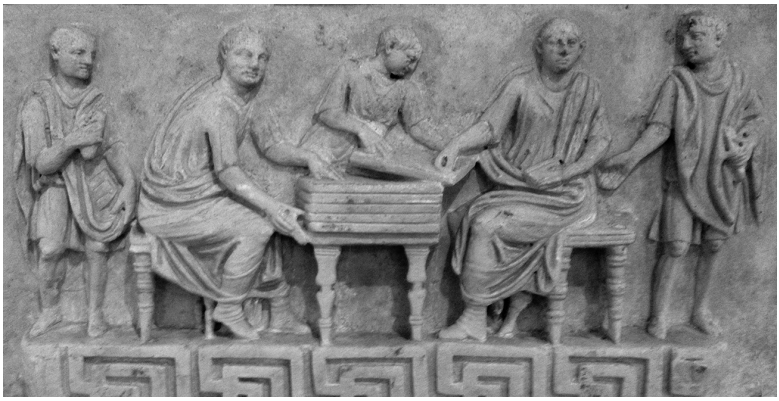

*Figure 1: Altar of Scribes, funerary altar dating to AD 25–50. Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano, inv. 475113. Picture by the author.*

A very crucial issue in examining the locations of administrative activities such as the *aerarium* is tracing the way in which scribes worked. Roman officials would normally dictate their letters and other texts to scribes. The actions taken by scribes were very varied and depended on the working relationship with the principal. Of the principals, some would write themselves, some would dictate letters word by word, some would merely draft out a general message and tone, leaving the secretary to select the actual wording of the text. While authors like Caesar and Pliny could compose and dictate letters while travelling, more serious writing would take place at home.[26] Dictation, signing letters and reading correspondence was constantly being carried out.[27] The concentration of official work at home is evident in the way Pliny would note that his uncle would meet Vespasian before dawn for a *salutatio* and to conduct business, after which he would return home for his literary work (Plin. *epist*. 3,5). Where the actual drafting of letters would take place is another matter. Cicero's brother Quintus would rely on his trusted secretary Statius to prepare his letters in advance and he would then sign them. The wording used by Cicero implies that they were brought to his house already written, suggesting that the letter writers

[26] Plut. *Vit. Caes*. 17,3–4; Plin. *epist*. 3,5, 9,10. On the functions of secretaries in writing, see Richards 1991, 14–127.

[27] Plut. *Vit. Caes*. 63,4: Caesar would sign letters even at dinner table.

would have worked on them elsewhere (Cic. *ad Q. fr.* 1,2,8). Cicero writes to his own secretary, the freedman Tiro, that his services have been invaluable both in private and public affairs, in his provincial duties as well as in the city, both in the forum and in public affairs (Cic. *fam*. 16,4).[28] Would this mean that Pliny could have worked at home, dictating the official letters to his trusted scribes?

Another source for the arrangement of office spaces and desks are funerary reliefs.[29] They are fairly rare, but two prominent examples should be mentioned: the so-called Altar of Scribes (*Ara degli Scribi, Fig*. 1) and a funerary relief of a banker. The first, dating from the reign of Tiberius, portrays a scene where a seated magistrate, perhaps a curule aedile, is surrounded by scribes. In the centre is a small, low table and on it five *tabulae* that provide the focus of attention.[30] The second is a much coarser relief, showing what appears to be a banker at his desk. In this depiction, the desk is a large, sturdy table of roughly the same height as a modern desk.[31] In the Altar of Scribes, the scene is clearly from a secluded setting and the arrangement of furniture could easily be from a domestic environment. In contrast, the banker behind his desk (*Fig*. 2) is portrayed as ready to receive clients. There is one further funerary relief of a magistrate, but it shows him seated on a *sella curulis*, beside a round contain-

*Figure 2: Figure of a banker, freedman A. Fonteius Aphrodisius, detail of a Late Republican funerary relief. Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano, inv. 939. Picture by the author.*

[28] On Cicero's views, see Treggiari 1998.

[29] See Houston 2014 for more references to images.

[30] Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano, inv. 475113. See Zevi 2012 for details.

[31] Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano, inv. 939.

*Figure 3: Funerary monument with a sella curulis. Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 124483. Picture by the author.*

er of documents (*Fig*. 3).[32] What is missing from these examples is the context or the location where these activities took place, whether it was a room or an open space, though from the pillars and the rooflike structure it may be possible to infer that the location would have been either indoors or in a courtyard.

What is clear is that Roman administration relied on writing and thus required space not only for the physical task of writing and drafting documents through dictation, but also for reading, reviewing and discussing the documents, not to mention storing them. What they present is an understanding of the physical settings that surrounded a scribe or magistrate, but do not give a specific location. A comparison of sorts may be drawn from the libraries of the Roman world, which were also spaces where reading, writing and the storage and retrieval of information were crucial, to argue for the basic need of space to store data.[33] As is apparent from Pliny's account, the *aerarium* was not only a place to store information, it would also have needed to be a place to draft and copy documents and letters and a place where their contents could be discussed.

In conclusion, preparing and handling documents as well as other literary activities could take place basically anywhere, even at the home of the magistrate. The only limitations were cumbersome and sensitive documents such as

[32] Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 124483.

[33] On libraries, see Houston 2014.

those stored in the *aerarium*. The *aerarium,* as the custodian of financial and legal information, would have needed some kind of secure locations where legal matters could be handled and documents prepared. However, it is clear from both the lack of information about particular office spaces and the iconographic evidence about scribes, that the act of writing did not itself require a specialized location or much in terms of space. Before we come to the volume of this documentation, I shall first attempt to estimate the number of officials working within the *aerarium.*

## Who worked at the aerarium?

The main officials of the *aerarium* during Pliny's tenure were the *praefecti* and the quaestors. In addition to Pliny and other magistrates serving in short-term positions, there were specialized staff working in the *aerarium*, but it is likely that there were also the standard functionaries, scribes and messengers that were typical of Roman administration. From inscriptions we know that clerks such as the *tabularii* were permanently employed there.[34] Because the *aerarium* was not the only repository of public funds, often being overshadowed by the nominally private imperial *fiscus*, there were also other places where clerks handling money operated. For example, the jurist Ulpian refers to the *arcarii Caesariani* (cashiers of the imperial treasury), who had their *statio* at the Forum of Trajan.[35]

What about the staff of the magistrates? The functionaries who supported the administration were both free men and slaves. We know especially from epigraphic sources that the clerical staff that aided magistrates included scribes (*scribae*), messengers (*viatores*), criers (*praecones*) and others.[36] They were organized in *decuriae*, from which they were assigned to individual magistrates by lot. These *decuriae* were attached to a collegium of magistrates, for example the praetors, quaestors, or aediles. Far from being lowly clerks, the members of the *decuriae* of *apparitores* had a secure position as office holders. Having a good

[34] *CIL* VI 1930: *tabularius viatorum quaestoriurum ab aerario.*

[35] *Frg. Vat*. 134: *arcarii Caesariani, qui in foro Traiani habent stationes*.

[36] The most famous scribe was of course Gnaeus Flavius, the scribe of the aediles (and a future curule aedile) who revealed in 304 BC the secrets of *ius civile*. Cic. *Mur.* 11,25; Liv. 9,46,5; *Dig*. 1,2,2,7.

scribe was naturally important and thus it was customary that in addition to the official salary paid by the *aerarium*, the magistrate would reward clerks at the end of the year.[37] However, we have no information about how many of these *apparitores* were at any given time at the *aerarium*.

In the life of Cato the younger, as we are told, Plutarch mentions how as quaestor Cato had trouble to get the old and experienced clerks of the *aerarium* under control. Unlike previous quaestors, Cato would take the trouble to learn the finer details of the *aerarium*, the laws governing it and the way it worked. According to Plutarch, the clerks and assistants had become used to having inexperienced young men as their superiors, whom they could control as they wished. Cato would prevent them from ingratiating themselves through their offices and would even bring to trial the most stubborn of them.[38] The lowest rung of administrative personnel, public slaves, *servi publici*, were attached to different offices and magistracies. They were employed not only in manual work but also in the technical administrative tasks.[39]

Based on this information, we can conclude that in the *aerarium* there were a number of magistrates and officials of different ranks, from the *praefecti* to public slaves. Pliny as *praefectus* mentions how he sat on his podium, indicating that it was most likely placed outside the building as was typical of Roman magistrates when meeting the people. Beyond that, the magistrates, officials and scribes would have needed a place to sit and work. However, their number was relatively small and thus a few rooms may have sufficed to provide suitable spaces for the work of drafting documents, receiving correspondence and so forth. High-ranking magistrates like Pliny may have used their private residences for some of their work, such as that which required concentration, while scribes may have had a common office either in the *aerarium* or its vicinity.[40]

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[37] Despite this, we know that some scribes were attached to particular persons for a certain length of time and for different offices. Jones 1949, 155–159; Cohen 1984, 35–49. Purcell 1983 argues that the positions for *apparitores* were an important route for social advancement, but the evidence for this is fairly limited.

[38] Plut. *Vit. Cat. Min.* 16; Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 42.

[39] Cohen 1984, 30–32. The issue of *servi publici* is the focus of a new project by Federico Santangelo and Franco Luciani. See Luciani 2017.

[40] Where messengers and heralds waited for commissions or slaves worked is not known, but a separate space is not likely.

## What was stored in the *aerarium*?

The storage function of the *aerarium* is fairly well attested in the literary sources. In his account, Pliny mentions work on the accounts of the state and the correspondence and litigation relating to them. Cicero mentions how the *aerarium* kept copies of the laws and was supposed to provide them on demand, but the scribes were often reluctant to comply with requests. What we know of the functions of the *aerarium* comes from similar accounts referring to a single usage.[41]

Taken together, the list of items mentioned in the literary sources as being preserved at the *aerarium Saturni* are (1) the standards of the legions (Liv. 3,69; 4,22), (2) texts of laws on bronze tablets (e.g. Suet. *Iul*. 28; Cic. *leg.* 3,20,46–48; Serv. *Aen*. 8,322) and (3) *senatusconsulta* (Joseph *AJ* 14,10,10; Plut. *Vit. Cat. Min*. 17; Cic. *leg*. 3,4; Tac. *ann*. 3,51), (4) fiscal documentation such as public contracts, documents from debts and the accounts of the state (Plin. *epist.* 1,10; Plut. *Vit. Cat. Min*. 17; Serv. *Georg*. 2,502; Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 42), (5) the *commentarii* of officials, containing protocols of elections and the lists of *iudices* (Cic. *Verr*. 2.1.57; Cic. *Phil*. 5,5,15), and (6) the moneys of the state (Lucan. 3,154; App. *B Civ.* 1,31,1; Plin. *Nat.* 33,56; Plut. *Vit. Caes.* 35; Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 42.).

To store these, the *aerarium* needed to have a considerable amount of room. The storage of information in Rome required a lot of space, scrolls taking up a large amount of room compared with flat storage such as books. Bronze and wooden tablets would demand even more space for storage per the amount of data. However, the Roman administrative apparatus was considerable and its preference for written documentation and extensive correspondence was a feature that even provincials would recognize. As Pliny's testimony shows, documents, copies, reports and other written material was drafted, approved, checked, inspected, archived and copied again and again. For the writing practices of the administration we are left with three main sources, namely references in literature, epigraphic copies of rescripts or other documents, and preserved documents either on papyri or tablets. Imperial rescripts, for example, are found in epigraphic sources, papyri and literature.[42]

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[41] Plin. *epist.* 1,10; Cic. *leg.* 3,20,46–48; Millar 1964, 33–40; Corbier 1974, 671–692; Culham 1989, 103, 112–114. Some accounts mention an *aerarium sanctum* (Caes. *Gall.* 1,14; Cic. *Att.* 7.21), but whether this referred to a separate section of the *aerarium* is unclear.

[42] On the rescripts as documents, see Wilcken 1920; Nörr 1981; Williams 1980; Williams 1986;

We may now embark on a small intellectual exercise and try to estimate the amount of space required for storing these items based on what is known of their numbers and volume in other sources. In order to make this estimate, I will first make an approximation of the number of items that were stored and then extrapolate from this information the possible amount of storage space that would have been needed.

*(1) The standards of the legions*

Storage of the standards of the legions in the *aerarium* had most likely both a ritual and a practical significance, considering how much attention was given to them both in rituals and on the battlefields. During the Principate, the number of legions fluctuated (during Pliny's time there were an estimated 30 legions) as new legions were formed and old disbanded, but whether the standards of the disbanded legions were still stored at the *aerarium* is not known. While some of the standards were lost in battle and the standards of legions stationed in the provinces were with the legions, the standards of disbanded legions were probably stored at the *aerarium*. The structure of the standards varied somewhat, but mostly they were long poles topped with a gilded symbol (typically an eagle) and a flag. Considering that they were prized objects, we may assume that the storage arrangement was adequate. We can thus for simplicity's sake assume that each standard was given roughly half a cubic metre of space. While it is impossible to say exactly how many standards were in storage at a given time, we can assume that somewhere between 20–30 standards were in storage, meaning that in total a maximum size of c. 15 cubic metres is a reasonable estimate.[43] We can thus make a conservative estimate of c. 10 cubic metres.

*(2) Texts of laws on bronze tablets*

The storage of laws is a complicated issue. It has often been assumed that there were two places where the texts of laws were stored, the *tabularium* and the *aerarium*, and that laws were published by posting them in public places. Little is known, however, of the actual arrangements. Suetonius mentions (*Iul*. 28) the *lege iam in aes incisa et in aerarium condita*. The fire on the Capitolium in AD

Honoré 1994, 35–37; Hauken 1998, 263, 300–306. On the provincial experience, see Ando 2000, 87–90.

[43] Töpfer 2011.

69 is claimed to have destroyed over 3,000 bronze tablets that contained old documents, laws, *senatusconsulta*, state treaties and so forth.[44] But the questions still remain: how many laws would there have been in the *aerarium* and how much space would be necessary to store them?

We may start with the single law and the amount of space needed. The text volume of a single law (comitial legislation, plebiscites) varied considerably, from the extreme terseness of the Twelve Tables to the very long laws of the late Republic. While many laws may have been long, ranging from two to five tablets, the vast majority were rather short. On average, we may begin with the assumption that one law took one tablet.[45] While the size of bronze tablets varied considerably, from the rather extensive size of the *Lex de Imperio Vespasiani* (164 x 113 cm) to the smaller laws, for the sake of simplicity we could estimate that the size of one tablet could be one square metre. The thickness of the bronze tablets varied equally, from 0.3–0.5 cm. If we assume that the plates did not remain completely flat and that wooden pegs were used to separate individual plates, we can assume that one tablet could take roughly 3–4 cm of space.[46] This would mean that one cubic metre could, for our purposes, correspond to roughly c. 25–30 laws.

How many laws were there? On the whole, there is a lively discussion on the volume of Roman legislation and whether one may assume from the references in the literature that each reference to a law in literature corresponds to a single law or a piece of comitial legislation. Rotondi, in his famous *Leges Publicae Populi Romani* interprets each reference thus, while revisionists like Sandberg have come up with much lower estimates. Then there is the added issue of whether all laws were treated similarly, thus was comitial legislation and plebiscites equally stored? In any case, making an estimate is quite difficult. The estimates of the number of known laws from the earliest times to the time of Pliny runs from the low number of over two hundred given by Sandberg to

[44] *CIL* I 591, 592; Tac. *hist.* 3,71–72; Suet. *Vesp.* 8; Polyb. 3,26,1. Beard 1998, 75–101, at 76–77.

[45] This is a very rough estimate based on the epigraphically attested laws in Crawford 1996. A more accurate estimate, based on, for instance, the average number of signs in a law or the letter sizes used, is not possible, due to the very poor preservation of the material.

[46] See Meyer 2004, 26, 97–101 on the inscribing and posting of laws. It is unclear whether all laws posted were inscribed in bronze, whether the *aerarium* actually stored the bronze tablets or wooden copies, how long the laws remained posted and whether the same physical examples that were posted were later deposited in the *aerarium*.

almost eight hundred given by Rotondi.[47] If we assume that most laws were stored and that older laws were not repurposed for the bronze, an estimate of one thousand laws would mean one thousand tablets. With the estimate of c. 25 laws per cubic metre, we end up with a conservative estimate of c. 40 cubic metres of storage space.

*(3) Senatusconsulta*

Estimating the total number of *senatusconsulta* is confronted with the same challenges as the number of laws. Talbert's list of known *senatusconsulta* has 234 entries, of which a few are from a period after Pliny's tenure.[48] Whether the *senatusconsulta* were stored in bronze tablets or wooden tablets is not known. The process of making a *senatusconsultum* involved a group of senators writing down the opinion of the Senate and committing it to the *aerarium.* However, because the *senatusconsulta* were intended for the day to day administration (even though they did later have the force of law) and did not have to undergo the same cumbersome process as the comitial legislation or even plebiscites, nor did it have the same exalted status, we may with some confidence assume that it was not considered essential to have them inscribed in bronze.[49]

A wooden tablet could be fairly small, from a 15x10 cm size for a tablet used in private correspondence to the 50x30 cm or larger depicted in the *Plutei Traiani* (*Fig*. 4). The space taken by one tablet was made larger by its frame, which was often 2–3 cm thick. From the known tablets, we may begin with the assumption that the *senatusconsulta* could on average be 2.5 cm thick and 50x30 cm size, making one cubic metre fit roughly c. 240 tablets. If we make a similar assumption that one session of the senate would fit into one tablet, the bigger problem comes from the number of tablets in general. If we take a minimalist approach and begin with a similar number of tablets of *senatusconsulta* as there would have been laws, roughly a thousand, this would only correspond to c. four cubic metres of space.

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47 Rotondi 1966; Sandberg 2001. Again, the difficulties in making estimates are considerable. Even Rotondi's numbers would amount to an average of a couple of laws per annum.

48 Talbert 1984, 435–458. The project "Palingenesie der römischen Senatsbeschlüsse (509 v.Chr. – 284 n.Chr.)", led by Pierangelo Buongiorno, attempts to trace all attested *senatusconsulta*.

49 See Meyer 2004, 110–112 on the debates of the process of inscribing *senatusconsulta*.

*Figure 4: Plutei Traiani, second century AD. Curia. Source: Wikimedia Commons, credit Cassius Ahenobarbus.*

*(4) Fiscal documentation such as public contracts, documents from debts and the accounts of the state*

This is a very heterogeneous group of documents, comprising both the records of the money paid out as salaries and other public expenditures as well as records of money coming in through taxes and other means. The favoured medium on which official acts were recorded was wooden tablets. The only alternative may have been papyrus, but the sources speak specifically of *tabulae.* From the *Anaglypha Traiani* or *Plutei Traiani* (*Fig*. 4), we see how the tax records that were burned were wooden tablets. This relief is highly significant as it even shows the Temple of Saturn in the background of the scene.[50] The unfortunate side effect of the use of wooden tablets is that they are fairly cumbersome and one would need a great deal of space to store them. As described in *Pauli Sententiae* (5,25,6), the custom of forging *tabulae* prompted a *senatusconsultum* demanding that to be valid, *tabulae* were sealed with a duplicate of the content inside and an elaborate system of strings and seals to ensure that the contents were not tampered with.

Making an estimate of the number of public records is very much an exercise in hypotheticals. If this category was as extensive as to include a list of the tax debts or taxes in general, the numbers would be very large. If, on the contrary, we are talking merely of public contracts in force and the list of current tax debts, we may be dealing with a much smaller number. For the taxes, the

[50] Also mentioned in SHA *Hadr*. 7,6. The Plutei Traiani is a very particular, even unique source, see Torelli 1999.

*tributum capitis* (poll tax) or *tributum soli* (land tax) were based on the *census*, whereas the *vectigalia* such as that of inheritance, manumissions or sales were based on singular events, as were the customs collected for instance in ports. Because much of the collection of taxes was outsourced either to *publicani* or later to procurators, knowing how much of the documentation was located in the *aerarium* is almost impossible to estimate. Many questions remain. Would there have been a full copy of the census documents in the *aerarium*? Would there be a record of each and every taxed inheritance, manumission or sale or simply a record of each tax collector? How would the taxes from the cities and provinces be recorded?[51]

If we take a minimalist approach that there would have been a record of the salaries that were paid, the contracts and the transactions involved, and the general records from the tax collectors, both in Rome and in the Senatorial provinces, from the ports and other customs offices, and assume that these were not archived for more than a few years, we can infer a number of documents in the few thousands, corresponding to four cubic metres per thousand documents. If, on the other hand, we take a maximalist approach and estimate that there would have been complete tax records from Rome itself, the number becomes considerably larger. Taking a figure such as the number of people included in the *annona*, set by Augustus at 200,000 (Dio Cass. 55,10), gives us a starting point. Making an estimate that each person was given just one line in a tablet, with roughly 50 lines in our standard tablet of 50x30 cm, having a record of 200,000 people would correspond to c. 4,000 tablets, which in turn would correspond to c. 16.7 cubic metres of volume. On top of this, there would of course be the records of incoming taxes and customs outside Rome as well as the records of the moneys paid out by the treasury. This very rough estimate would lead us to a figure between 8 and 25 cubic metres of storage space needed for the public records. We can thus make a conservative estimate of c. 8 cubic metres of storage space.

*(5) The commentarii of officials, the protocols of elections and lists of iudices*

What individual magistrates would have from their year of office was *commentarii*, the listing of the official acts that they had taken. In the case of consuls,

[51] There is a very large literature on taxes and tax collectors, see Brunt 1990; Brunt 1981/1990; Günther 2008.

they would also contain the protocols of the meetings of the assemblies. Whether the lists of the judges were deposited separately or as part of a magistrate's account is not known. The *commentarii* had their origins in private household records, and their meaning was not (like the *acta*) to act as an official record of decisions, but rather to serve as records of the activities that the magistrate had taken. Initially, they were kept by officials in their own homes, in the *tablinum* of the house, but by the end of the Republic the *commentarii* of high officials such as consuls were deposited in public archives.[52]

While we know next to nothing about Roman archival systems, we may take some lead from the libraries and their methods of storing books. Rectangular or cylindrical boxes were used to store rolls, as were different systems of shelves and cabinets. In larger libraries, shelving units were built into the walls. As rolls were fragile, it was important to have a place where damaged manuscripts could be repaired.[53]

Again, the estimates that can be made are tentative. A single Republican magistrate was typically in office for one year (the exception being censors). During that year, the number of decisions that should be recorded may have varied considerably depending on the flow of business that they encountered, and the near constant legal decisions made by the praetors to the financial administration. If we begin with a conservative estimate, then the *aerarium* preserved only the *commentarii* of magistrates above a certain level, for instance those with *imperium*, i.e. mainly the consuls and the praetors, the curule aediles having lost much of their significance through the reforms of Augustus. With two consuls, a maximum of 16 praetors with one or two additional praetors periodically, two curule aediles, we are left with on average 20 yearly magistrates whose records were held in the *aerarium.* If we assume that each of them left, for example, one of the larger boxes that stored the rolls or alternatively a *codex* of *tabulae*, a rough estimate may be made of the space needed. A capsule for rolls or a codex can be estimated to take up a space between 50x50x50 cm for a

[52] Cic. *Verr*. 2.1.57; Cic. *Sull*. 42; Liv 6,1,2: *privata monumenta*. On the *commentarii*, see von Premerstein 1900, 733–756; Culham 1989, 104; Posner 1972, 165; Meyer 2004, 32–33. On scribes as guardians of the public trust, see Cic. *Verr*. 2,3,183 *eorum hominum fidei tabulae publicae periculaque magistratuum committuntur*. About entering the names of judges, see Cic. Phil. 5.15: *iudices legisset, horum nomina ad aerarium detulisset.*

[53] Houston 2014, 180–202. On the archives in the ancient world, see the Trismegistos database: https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/index.php

capsule, or roughly 50x30x20 cm for a codex, meaning that between 8–30 can be stored in one cubic metre. If we again pick an average, say, c. 20 per cubic metres, we come to the conclusion that there would have come one cubic metre of material each year. Of course, the number of magistrates varied during the Republic and the Principate and we do not know whose records were stored and to what extent. However, even with the last one hundred years, the amount of storage space would have been extensive, to the tune of one hundred cubic metres. If we scale down the space given to each magistrate to just two pages (or four if double sided), the storage volume would still be c. 25 cubic metres. We can thus take c. 25 cubic metres as our conservative estimate.

*(6) The moneys of the state*

In the estimates of space regarding money and other valuables, it must be remembered that the *aerarium* was only one of the places used for storing the money that was collected through taxation and other modes of collection, including booty. The imperial *fiscus* and the *aerarium militare* were the other sizable storage facilities for cash and valuables. But how much space would the gold of the Roman state take? Gold is naturally very dense, meaning the volume it took up was very small compared to the value, as was silver, but copper and bronze coinage would also have taken up considerable space. We do not know how much money there was at a given time, as there was probably a natural fluctuation with incoming and outgoing funds. As a rough guide to what one might find in the *aerarium*, we may take the amount mentioned by Pliny as taken by Caesar during the civil war: fifteen thousand bars of gold, thirty thousand bars of silver, and thirty million sesterces of coined money (Plin. *Nat.* 33,56; Plut. *Vit. Caes.* 35). Based on comparative information and later sources, one estimate gives the weight of the gold and silver bars at roughly one hundred grams.[54] This would translate as 1,500 kg of gold, 3,000 kg of silver and, with the weight of a sestertius at 2.5 g, 75,000 kg of silver in coins. The amounts are roughly within the range given by ancient authors about booty being brought to Rome.[55] A cubic metre of pure gold weighs 19.2 tons, meaning that even with low purity, the

[54] Frank 1932, 360–363.

[55] For instance, Livy (41,28) reports that Appius Claudius brought to the *aerarium* 5000 pounds of gold and 10,000 pounds of silver as booty from his victory over Celtimberi (*decem milia pondo argenti, quinque milia auri in aerarium tulit*).

volume of the gold is negligibly small for our scale even if we would factor in that half of the volume would be taken by the air between the gold bars. However, the density of pure silver is 10.5 tonnes per cubic metre. The 78 tonnes of silver would have taken, if we assume the same one third to half of the total space taken up by air between coins and bars, an estimated 10–14 cubic metres. Although one should be particularly careful about the numbers given by ancient historians, even with one half of this estimate the volume taken by the moneys is considerable. We can thus take c. 10 cubic metres as our conservative estimate.

If we now make a conservative estimate of the total amount of space necessary for the numbers we have extrapolated from the written sources, it becomes apparent that the volume needed was considerable but not impossible.

*Total volume of stored materials, conservative estimates:*

| | |
|---|---|
| Standards | 10 |
| Laws | 40 |
| SCs | 4 |
| Documents | 8 |
| *Commentarii* | 25 |
| Money | 10 |
| Total | c. 97 cubic metres |

This sum by no means purports to be an exact figure, but rather an intellectual tool to estimate what may have been the case. For the study of administrative space, its value is in the concretization of the possible consequences of alternatives, i.e. what we imagine that the Roman administration would have deemed necessary to conserve and archive in order to function properly.

## The *aerarium* and the archaeological record

According to the written sources, the location of the *aerarium Saturni* was in the Temple of Saturn in the Forum. The sources on the *aedes Saturni* place it in the forum, next to the archaic *fanum* (Varro, in Macr. *Sat*. 1,8,1; Dion. Hal. 6,1,4). Augustus notes that the Basilica Iulia stood between the temples of Castor and Saturn (*R. Gest. div. Aug.* 20,13). In his Panegyrics, Pliny himself talks of the

*aerarium* and refers to the temple (Plin. *paneg*. 36). The temple itself housed the covered statue of the deity (Macr. *Sat*. 3,6,17). The area around the temple was called the *area Saturni* (*CIL* I$^2$ 810).

The dimensions of the temple changed somewhat during the different construction phases, but I shall focus on the site during the time of Pliny's tenure there. The temple itself went through two extensive reconstructions, the first completed by Munatius Plancus in 42 BC, the second taking place in the late antique period, between the years 360 and 380. The podium was fairly high, some 11 metres on the side of the *vicus Iugarius*, and had dimensions of 24 to 33 metres. On the side of the stairway leading to the temple itself, there was an arched passageway leading to the basement. Because the North-Eastern side of the temple was flanked by the *clivus Capitolinus*, the ground level was higher on that side. Parts of the podium and the facade of the temple survive.[56]

The fairly large podium, consisting of a basement of sorts to the temple would be the most obvious suggestion regarding the location of the archives, if they had been located in the temple itself.[57] The basement had another purpose regarding documents, as its outer walls served as surfaces upon which *tabulae* were hung (*CIL* I$^2$ 587). Pensabene, who has written the authoritative study on the temple, argues that most of the functions of the *aerarium* would have been located outside the temple, because there were no suitable places inside, neither inside the podium nor within the temple itself, which would have been occupied by the cult statue. His suggestion, based more on common sense than tangible evidence, for the location of offices is the site of the portico of the *Dei Consentes* built during Domitian's time, located across from the *vicus Capitolinus*.[58] Coarelli has interpreted the dual system of the *tabularium* and the *aerarium* as a functional whole, where the archives would have been located together or in close proximity. The *tabularium* would have housed the majority of the state archives. He also supports the notion regarding the offices being located in the portico of the *Dei Consentes*.[59] Mazzei, in her study of the *aerarium* and the *tabularium* notes that due to the confusion regarding the terminology it is possible that different authors have actually meant different things and places rather

[56] Coarelli 1999.

[57] Corbier 1974, 632.

[58] Pensabene 1984, 62–63, 80.

[59] Pensabene 1984, 23–24, *Tav.* 1; Coarelli 1999; Coarelli 2010, 121–123.

than a singular *aerarium*. While she recognizes that some of the functions of the *aerarium* took place within the temple, one should instead think of it as a larger conception that would have been located in multiple locations in the area.[60]

The location of the archive within the temple itself has thus been considered problematic, primarily due to the restrictions of space.[61] Both Coarelli and Pensabene estimate that the space required by the *aerarium* was too large to fit into the Temple of Saturn as known from the archaeological sources. Coarelli maintains that while the temple was still the main seat of the *aerarium*, adjoining administrative buildings were simply not mentioned in the sources.[62] Do we know how much space would the *aerarium* have needed? From our rough estimate of the cubic metres taken up by the archival material, we may here produce another rough estimate, namely the space needed to actually store the material. The space needed by the archival material is not simply the volume that the items being stored in the space takes up, there would need to have been shelving and, in case of heavier items being stacked on the floor, space to move between the shelves to retrieve and move items in storage. In modern warehouses, the division between shelving and empty space is roughly 50/50. In automated warehouses or libraries with moving shelves, the percentage can be higher. In a Roman archive, the roughly 50/50 rate is also supported by the fact that to place an item (such as a bronze tablet) on an open shelf or to retrieve it, one needs at least as much empty space as the width of the object.

If we begin a mental calculation based on the height at which a shelf can easily be operated, for instance 3 metres, in order to have 97 cubic metres of shelves of one metre's depth, there would need to be c. 32.3 running metres of shelves. Calculating with an equal amount of shelf and empty space, this would mean roughly c. 65 square metres of space. Of course, this estimate is contingent upon the fact that materials would accumulate at a roughly even pace and that the material itself was not destroyed or removed.

However, it is true that the preservation of the podium and thus the base of the temple does not allow a precise estimate of how much usable space it

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60 Mazzei 2009, 288–294, 321–335, 351–352.

61 On the very convoluted discussion about both the reliability of the inscription identifying it as the *tabularium* and whether the substructures themselves are a substructure of something completely different, see Coarelli 2010; Mazzei 2009.

62 Coarelli 2000, 224.

would have contained. Excavations have shown that inside the outer walls there were columns that supported the temple structures above, but between them the space was mostly empty. At the back of the temple, where the *clivus Capitolinus* rises up along the side of the temple, some parts appear to be unexcavated rock. If we deduct this area, we are still left with an area of roughly 18 to 18 metres within the podium that could be utilized for storage purposes.[63] If we again calculate the space available, this would amount to c. 324 square metres. If we estimate that roughly half of that space would be free area, not taken by columns and then divide by half again to make room for passageways between shelving, we would be left with 81 square metres. Provided that the space was actually usable (due to the poor preservation of the podium, this remains an open question), this would mean that by my estimate the necessary amount of space would indeed be available for the storage of archives.

This very crude calculation does not account for the offices or working places of the persons working in the *aerarium*. Even if we allow that part of the work of drafting documents would have taken place in the private homes of higher magistrates, we would still have to presume that for instance one or two rooms with sufficient lighting would be needed in addition to the storage facilities. Whether these were located at the site of the enigmatic portico of the *Dei Consentes* or within the temple itself remains an open question.

## Conclusions: The aerarium and administrative space

Within the study of Roman administration, there are two crucial and intermingled issues, namely the nature and location of the administration. Modern administrative structures are based almost universally on the principle that dedicated magistrates and officials operate within specialized offices set aside or even constructed for that purpose. The nature of administration as a central organ of the state means that much of its work is about gathering and storing information. However, for any premodern administrative structure, one must be very critical of underlying assumptions regarding the role and extent of the administration. It has been claimed that the very nature of Roman administration

63 Pensabene 1984, 23–24, *Tav*. 1.

was that it did not have a long-term memory, but instead provided very ad hoc responses to issues that arose.[64]

In this article, I have sought to explore the issue of administrative space through a single example, the *aerarium*, where we have both a fairly well-known location of an administrative post as well as a contemporary account of the tasks undertaken by the office. In his account, Pliny describes the *aerarium* as the veritable centre of the Roman administrative system, which handled both the administrative memory and took care of public finances. While in many cases it is safe to assume the use of nominally domestic spaces such as the aristocratic domus for the purposes of public administration, there are some instances, such as the *aerarium,* where the circumstances themselves prevent it. Problems arising from combining private houses and official administrative business are evident in cases where large-scale operations, such as handling the *annona* as well as handling money, are concerned. A *procurator monetae* would probably not have run a minting operation or stored the coins in his private home, simply for reasons of security. Similarly, the *a rationibus* who handled the official accounts and taxation would have operated in a specialized location.[65] These sources confirm the tendency noticeable in the work of censors and quaestors: when public funds were managed, the Romans preferred that it took place in a public venue, not a private house.

Thus the *aerarium* was a very public venue, due to the trust placed in the public archives, the legislation stored within them, as well as the safekeeping of the public moneys. The account of Pliny, however rhetorical, on the functioning of the *aerarium* clearly shows his intimate knowledge of its operations and the items that were stored there. As a consequence, it forms a reliable starting point for the estimation process. Even though in many categories the reliability of the information we have about the volume is dubious, the use of functional analysis allows for the estimation of the space that would be needed in order to achieve the aims that were stated. In terms of office space, we have established that the *aerarium* may have been able to carry out its extensive functions with relatively little space.

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[64] On this, see König 2007.

[65] *CIL* VI 8446: *princeps tabulariorum in statione XX hereditatium*. Another inscription mentions Ulpius Placidus, an imperial freedman, who was a *tabularius* of *a rationibus: CIL* VI 8581: *Ulpius Placidus Aug. lib. tabularius a rationibus mensae Galliarum*.

By using conservative estimates that allow one to take into account material loss and incompleteness, we are able to make an informed extrapolation of what the storage volume of the *aerarium* may have been and thus whether it could be located in the premises where the written sources unanimously place it. The estimate thus produced does not fully confirm the hypothesis that the Temple of Saturn was the sole storage location of the *aerarium*, but it does demonstrate that, based on our current knowledge of the data, it is not impossible to achieve the kinds of functions indicated in the written sources in the Temple of Saturn.

*University of Helsinki*

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Aleida Assmann: *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization: Functions, Media, Archives*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2011. ISBN 978-0-521-16587-7 (pb), ISBN 978-0-521-76437-7 (hb). 406 pp. GBP 19.99, USD 34.99 (pb) GBP 60, USD 99 (hb).

The issue of memory has received much scholarly attention in recent years and this volume on Cultural Memory will be an invaluable tool for all dealing with this subject. Assman explains that the current interest in memory is the result of the shattering and subsequent remodelling of cultural barriers across the world in the 1980s (Chapter 3). Translated from the original 1999 German edition, this book consists of 15 chapters, an introduction and conclusion, and explores the phenomenon of memory in literature and art from antiquity to the modern day. It consists of three parts, namely Functions, Media, and Archives. Each of these is subdivided into between 4 and 7 chapters, each dealing with an aspect of Cultural Memory. Unfortunately, an end bibliography is lacking, as works are cited in the footnotes as and when they are mentioned in the text, which slightly hinders the ease of use of this book. The index is short and the book is best navigated with the help of the chapter titles. The broad timeframe of the work allows the author to show how attitudes towards memory have changed over time as well as how people approached it, reacted to it, and thought about it in different eras. The book is accessible to a popular audience through its clarity of expression and varied nature of the evidence presented here even though it is clearly meant for a scholarly audience.

The introduction provides a valuable background to the work and illustrates how the process of remembering is often not a deliberate act but is reconstructive; in other words, memory is mutable and can be manipulated. Part 1 (Functions) connects memory with commemoration and shows how remembering the dead is a paradigm of cultural memory. The act of commemoration made the deceased immortal and Assman demonstrates the central role poets played for this in antiquity, as *fama* could only be bestowed upon the dead by poets such as Homer. This notion and worship of *fama* was revived in the Renaissance, though at this time people also gained an awareness of how access to the past was blocked through forgetting and dislocation. The connection between memory and forgetting occurs throughout the volume, illustrating the notion that we collectively and individually define ourselves by what we forget and remember.

The medium of memory and its connection with writing is explored in Part 2. Assman notes how it is often not possible to approach memory directly but that this requires ‘an intermediary level of reflection’. Image is one such medium and through it memory can be resurrected, reanimated, and, thus, kept alive. However, while images can be used for this purpose it was writing which was truly essential for this and Assman notes how the ancient Egyptians already believed that writing was the most secure medium for the preservation of memory (Chapter 8). The tension between writ-

ing and image for the preservation of memory is noted as Assman explores an interesting contrast that occurred during the Renaissance. While English poets and scholars believed that rebirth could only take place through words, Italian artists thought that art was the true medium for this. Assman then shows the effects of book printing on memory and how writing became ephemeral and commonplace through this.

The chapters in the last part (Archives) contain further case studies but the focus shifts here from literature to art. It explores how artists such as Anselm Kiefer examine and use memory and forgetting in their works. Assman, thus, displays a multidisciplinary approach both in subject and material here. The last part focuses in particular on memory of the post-war period and how it is preserved and has become institutionalized. This is important, as Assman already noted in the introduction how the Second World War shattered cultural memory.

The particular strength of this work is how the author is able to call upon a vast body of evidence and knowledge in order to trace the uses of memory throughout history and can successfully discuss and connect views of memory as vastly disparate as those of Cicero, Shakespeare, and Wordsworth. This variety of approaches is not just shown in ancient authors but also in her handling of philosophers, sociologists, and artists. This results in an important and interesting volume which will be useful for scholars from various backgrounds. All in all, this combines into a comprehensive and thought-provoking overview of the history, use, and manipulation of memory, and this work will provide a theoretical framework for many scholarly works to come.

*Ghislaine van der Ploeg*

Luca Fezzi: *Il rimpianto di Roma. Res publica, libertà* '*neoromane*' *e Benjamin Constant, agli inizi del terzo millennio.* Studi sul Mondo Antico 2. Mondadori Education, Milano 2012. ISBN 978-88-00-74429-4. X, 182 pp. EUR 15.

It may be said that there is an ongoing renaissance in the study of Roman Republicanism and its later reception. One of the main avenues has been the exploration of what has been dubbed "neo-Roman" thought, which has emphasized issues such as representative forms of popular participation in government and the conception of liberty. Both of these themes had, of course, a rich history in Roman constitutional thought that percolated into the European tradition from Machiavelli onwards.

Fezzi's volume on the idea of *res publica* and *libertas* in the works of Benjamin Constant thus comes on the heels of a veritable torrent of scholarship. For an author, this brings both challenges and advantages. The primary advantage is that the theme is familiar and accepted, while the main challenge is that to say something new becomes exceedingly difficult. Fezzi himself appears to recognize this, situating his work at the outset beside the three big names in the field, Fergus Millar, Philip Pettit and Quentin Skinner. To study ancient and modern ideas comparatively is naturally an age-old pursuit, one that Constant himself undertook in his "The Liberty of Ancients Compared with that of the Moderns" of 1819. Often dubbed the founder of modern liberalism, Constant was a crucial character whose peripatetic life took him to numerous intellectual and legal traditions that influenced his thought, bridging British conceptions of representative government and French

revolutionary ideas of individual rights and liberties. Thus, the volume explores an interesting and relevant topic but enters what is already a crowded field.

The result is that the book attempts to tell what Constant thought of Roman *res publica* and *libertas* and how that fits into the long line of the Republican tradition, through thinkers from Machiavelli to Arendt. Fezzi's volume is a very learned discourse that covers an enormous territory, with sections on the latest reception of Republicanist thought and the fascinating life history of Constant himself, with the inevitable description of his relationship with Mme de Staël. The downside is that in under two hundred pages, with ample quotations from both Constant himself and his predecessors and successors, the discussion remains brief. This unfortunately does not allow Fezzi to develop his own ideas on the theme, the reception of Roman ideas and their transformation in particular being an area would have wanted to hear more about.

In conclusion, this is a very interesting introduction to an important topic, one that offers a comprehensive overview of the Republicanist discourse and the usages of the Roman tradition in modern political theories.

*Kaius Tuori*

*Aristotele: La Politica. Libro III.* Testo a cura di Michele Curnis, introduzione, traduzione e commento di Paolo Accattino. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2013. ISBN 978-88-8265-921-9. 274 pp. EUR 105.

Merito grande del presente studio è quello che dice con Aristotele e merito ancor più grande è quanto su Aristotele fa fecondamente germinare, come un'eco, nella domanda e nella contemplazione del lettore.

L'edizione del libro III della *Politica* di Aristotele curata da Paolo Accattino e Michele Curnis consta di quattro sezioni: i) un'agile introduzione al libro in oggetto; ii) una sezione bibliografica e un prospetto di sigle e abbreviazioni; iii) testo greco in edizione critica con una piana traduzione italiana a fronte; iiii) un commento essenziale (di intendimento piuttosto esplicativo che non erudito ed esegetico, con sensibilità pressoché esclusiva agli aspetti storico-filosofici), cui segue un'*appendix coniecturarum* e un sintetico indice dei soli nomi proprî antichi.

Il tema messo a fuoco da Aristotele nelle prime tre sezioni del libro (1274b32-1276b15) ha l'importanza della chiave di violino in una partitura musicale: vale di per sé ma, ancor di più, vale per la direzione che imprime al senso di quanto segue. In questi termini è possibile accostare la questione accampata *ad aperturam* dallo Stagirite, cioè la definizione e il rapporto che intercorre tra città (πόλις), cittadino (πολίτης) e cittadinanza costituzionale (πολιτεία). Come sul piano linguistico esiste un legame etimologico che collega i tre termini, così sul piano storico e ontologico esiste un rapporto costitutivo tra i medesimi referenti, corrispondenza che la definizione deve urgere a illustrare. Aristotele affronta la questione con il suo solito *caueat*, quello cioè secondo il quale l'oggetto si dice in molti modi (πολλαχῶς λέγεται), ragione per cui anche i cittadini si dicono in molti modi. Questa distinzione preliminare si riverbera nel distinguo per cui in una città si dànno sia cittadini sia abitanti, senza che i due soggetti si identifichino; cittadino in senso stretto (τὸν ἁπλῶς πολίτην, 1275a19 ss.) sarà colui che gode dei diritti di cittadinanza nella città mentre il cittadino inteso *lato*

*sensu* risulta essere colui che abita e si trova sul territorio di una città ([...] τῶν αὐτῶν κατοικούντων αὐτήν [*scil*. la città], 1276b12–13), senza per questo averne cittadinanza attiva.

Questa osservazione introduce nell'analisi la tensione dialogica che articola la città al suo interno, a livello strutturale e non solo a livello contingente: πόλις, πολίτης e πολιτεία infatti afferiscono alla stessa radice della pluralità (πολύς), perché tutti e tre gli istituti declinano in vario modo l'unica e comune idea della molteplicità. Di qui deriva che la città andrà intesa come il luogo della molteplicità, la quale per parte sua si estrinseca nelle differenze tra i cittadini che la costituiscono, a partire proprio dalla differenza massima appena vista che distingue tra i cittadini *optimo iure* (dotati di κρίσις e ἀρχή, 1275a19–34) e i meri abitanti degli stessi spazî, come i meteci. Si rileva che, in questo modo, Aristotele sta modulando la questione politica sulla filigrana di una solida articolazione metafisica esperita dall'analisi platonica e già parmenidea, giacché la politica come scienza dei molti esplora l'ontologia del molteplice nella sua riduzione all'unità e la dinamica dell'uno-molti.

In tale prospettiva, la domanda se sia la città a creare i cittadini (cioè prima si dà la città e solo dopo si dà il cittadino, che è chi si trova nella città che lo precede) o siano invece i cittadini a creare la città (secondo questo modello, prima si dànno gli uomini che, aggregandosi, comportano quindi con la loro aggregazione la nascita di una città), richiede di acquisire una posizione ontologicamente dialogica; infatti, come non esiste chi comanda (ὁ ἄρχων) senza chi sia comandato (ὁ ἀρχόμενος) e viceversa, parimenti non esiste una pluralità senza l'unità cui contrapporsi e inverso. Sotto questa luce, cittadini e città saranno da intendersi come i due semicerchi che, nella loro complementarità, forgiano l'equilibrio del cerchio nel suo complesso, in un movimento dialettico di ascesa e discesa dal semplice al complesso e dal complesso al semplice.

Ecco allora che si riscontra la fondazione ontologica della politica, unica prospettiva capace di affrontare delicate istanze rilevate dai curatori, quale ad esempio la continuità tra diverse forme costituzionali in una medesima città. Se una città muta costituzione, si dovrà parlare di due città diverse (infatti, il mutare della costituzione comporta che diversi siano i criterî per cui si sarà suoi cittadini e, dunque, diversi saranno anche i suoi cittadini stessi) o, piuttosto, qualcosa si conserva in termini di continuità, tanto da poter parlare di una stessa città pur con due costituzioni diverse? Ma, in questo caso, che cosa garantirebbe la continuità asserita? Qui, come evidente, si inserisce una delle più delicate questioni sottese alla pagina di Aristotele, su cui l'autore antico glissa in una risposta evasiva ma finemente esplicitata da Accattino e Curnis. Notano i due curatori (pp. 156–157) che la democrazia ateniese restaurata dopo la caduta dei Trenta si interrogava circa la necessità di saldare o no i debiti contratti con Sparta – infatti, solo se la città è la stessa pur nel rinnovamento della costituzione, tali pendenze dovrebbero essere appianate (cfr *Ath. Pol*. 40, 3 e ISOCR. 7, 68). L'orizzonte della risposta a questa e alle domande connesse fonda sull'esempio del coro: un coro può essere ora tragico e ora comico sebbene i coreuti siano gli stessi, diversamente disposti (1276b4–15 e p. 158). Similmente, una città sarà altra da sé e muta al mutare della costituzione giacché ne muta l'essenza e l'essenza della composizione (εἶδος τῆς συνθέσεως, *ibid*.) è la forma impressa alla materia che ne dipende, secondo il filosofema aristotelico del primato della forma sulla materia (cfr *Phys*. 193a28 ss. e *Met*. 1029a1 ss.); perciò i cittadini saranno gli stessi ma *sub alia specie*, entro una città che non è più la stessa. Ad affermarsi è il paradigma di un'ontologia della politica.

Con questo metro si rende possibile percorrere il fondamento strutturante i principali temi speculativi presentati dai 18 capitoli in cui è articolato il libro aristotelico: dal tema della virtù del

cittadino in rapporto a quella dell'uomo etico al tema delle sei forme di costituzione; dal tema poi della migliore costituzione al tema del numero dei governanti fino ad affrontare, infine, il tema delle forme della regalità e i due tipi della costituzione eccellente, individuate nel regno e nell'aristocrazia.

La trajettoria di senso del libro III della *Politica* di Aristotele lascia in eredità al lettore il convincimento dello stringente rapporto che lega e collega mutuamente la condizione prospera della città con la migliore costituzione (ἀρίστη πολιτεία) *quoad* fondata sulla virtù (ἀρετή) del cittadino e, massime, del governante. Un'architettura sussidiaria, questa, che esplica la fondazione etica e aretalogica della politologia aristotelica, alla luce della domanda radicale su quali siano le qualità che effettivamente contribuiscano al governo della città: una questione tanto centrale nell'economia del pensiero politico dello Stagirite che, proprio solo in questo contesto, si afferma l'urgenza di profilare nella sua specificità una *filosofia politica* (il sintagma φιλοσοφίαν πολιτικήν occorre, infatti, soltanto nel nostro libro, a 1282b23, nell'intiero *corpus* dell'autore).

*Tiziano F. Ottobrini*

*Cicero: Agrarian Speeches*. Introduction, text, translation and commentary by Gesine Manuwald. Oxford University Press, Oxford 2018. ISBN 978-0-19-871540-5. LIV, 480 pp. GBP 110.

Cicero's originally four *Agrarian speeches* play a prominent role in the corpus of the Arpinate as his inaugural orations as consul. The first two of these Cicero later included in a σῶμα/*corpus* of ten consular speeches (plus a further two short *quasi ἀποσπασμάτια legis agrariae*) by which he wanted to promote his image as a high-minded statesman (XXXIII–XXXV; cf. Cic. *Att.* 2.1.3, which is Manuwald's *testimonium* 3 [2–3, with commentary on 106]). Today, Cicero's first speech before the senate lacks the *exordium*, the second one before the people survives virtually intact, the main argument of a further one is extant (numbered nowadays as the third oration, which it probably was, but we cannot be absolutely certain of this), another one is completely lost (these last two are the two 'chips'/'snippets' mentioned above).

Despite their great significance, these orations have unfortunately received rather meagre modern comment – especially in the last fifty years – and even then mostly piecemeal. Against this background, M.'s impressive full-scale commentary, "paying attention to textual and linguistic difficulties, the rhetorical and argumentative structure as well as the historical context" (X), is more than welcome and will establish itself as a new *fundamentum* for all future study of these speeches. Furthermore, it provides relevant *testimonia* with translations (2–9) and a revised text with selective critical apparatus and facing translation (10–103; the *versio Anglica* is accurate, as far as I can judge as a non-native speaker). The Latin text is basically based on Václav Marek's *Teubneriana* from 1983, but M. has corrected and/or changed the text – usually for the better – after detailed discussion of the respective variants and by taking into account conjectures and other suggestions proposed over the last 35 years (e.g. 149, 163, 200, 233, 237, 260, 453). A plausible conjecture of her own is *iam* for *quam* at *leg. agr.* 2.48, but only mentioned in the commentary (296).

The introduction (IX–LIV) gives a concise overview of previous scholarship (IX–X) and a balanced, full picture of the historical background of the speeches, especially of Roman agrarian

laws and their legislative process (X–XXXI). Its second main focus is on Cicero's political and rhetorical strategies which are well elucidated (XXXVIII–L), and while the Arpinate's biography is treated rather cursorily (XXXII–XXXIII), there is no lack of good and recent biographies on Cicero (and M. mentions them, of course). As regards the old problem of whether the extant versions of the speeches differ from the originally delivered ones, M. unbiasedly examines the *status quaestionis* and opts for a *non liquet* (XXXV–XXXVIII and some relevant passages in the commentary).

The commentary (105–454) is extensive, as each page of the Latin Teubner-text gets about seven pages of notes. The profoundness of its information not only offers the necessary more basic explanations for the "wider readership" (V) this edition is also addressed to (e.g. 115 on *Propontis*, 236 on *ne* following verbs of hindering, 285 on *Tyrus*), but beyond that also stands out with many fine and detailed observations: See, e.g., 124 on *certa pecunia*, 213 on διαβολή, 237 on συμπλοκή, 243 on *reus*, 246-7 on *lex curiata*, 287 on unkingly behaviour, 369 and *passim* on the interweaving of style and content. Additionally, it is bolstered by frequent references to Kühner-Stegmann's grammar and to the *OLD* – but very rarely to the *TLL*. Moreover, each contextwise coherent section of the commentary is preceded by a synopsis of its main aspects and Cicero's rhetorical tactic applied, and – like the decreasing layers of a Russian doll – M. narrows the focus as she moves forward to the details of each single paragraph to be explained (e.g. 116–7 on *leg. agr.* 1.1–26 > 1.1–13 > 1.1 or 402–3 on 2.98–103 > 2.98–99 > 2.98).

The bibliography (455-476) is not limited to mainly Anglophone titles, but French, German and Italian as well as Spanish, Latin and Polish treatises are duly taken into account too. The book closes with *indices nominum et rerum*, but in particular the too scanty index of subjects, restricted to realia (479–80), can do the richness of M.'s commentary no justice. Luckily, there are a few blank pages at the end of the book where readers may supplement their own entries, such as for rhetorical figures, schemes, tropes, and persuasive technique: 126, 159, 166, 181, 237, 244, 395, 401, 405, 410, etc.; for 'character assassination': 121; for 'positive conspiracy': 180; for use and structures of tenses: 140, 202, etc; for *multum* as intensifier: 447; for *clausulae*: 149, 176, 259, 294, 346, 418, 454, etc.; for technical terminology: 194, 206, 234, 264, 438, 449, etc.; for textual criticism: 155, 197, 212, 280, 289, 406, 444, etc.; and for many more.

It lies in the nature of a commentary that one reader will miss this aspect and another one that detail. So, for example, within the list of previous editions, besides L. d'Amore's older commentary (Milano 1937–1938) on *leg. agr.* 1 and 2, the more recent one by M. Geigerle (Milano-Roma-Napoli 1964) on all three orations could have been adduced too. The instances where the future tense of forms of *ire* is, contrary to classical usage, marked with *-e-* in many or all of the mss. (F 3: *veniet sub praecone*; 2,67: *inietur enim ratio*) could have been discussed. M.'s interesting remarks that the proposed *lex agraria* contained provisions favourable to Pompeius (XXVII, 145, 171) could perhaps have been pursued further. Although M.'s delineation of the textual transmission (L–LII) is sound, the two Parisian editions by Iodocus Badius Ascensius (1511 and 1522) are not mentioned, so that at least novice scholars will surely be puzzled by the abbreviation *marg. Ascens.* in the apparatus to 2.67. The remarks on the editorial subscription are put a bit cautiously (L–LI: "an early editor had access to a copy that he believed to come from ... Tiro") and are too sketchy – given that it is one of the oldest subscriptions to a Latin ms. we know of, made by Statilius Maximus (2nd century AD) who used the edited text of an unknown even earlier scholar, both having collated Tiro's exemplar of the *Agrarian speeches* (for more details see O.F. Mulholland, *AUC Philologica* 2, 2017, 15–27).

But to bring forth more examples like these would be nitpickingly criticizing a work of more than solid scholarship in which typos are (almost) non-existent.

To sum up: Philologists and historians of the ancient world as well as scholars from neighbouring disciplines will be grateful for an excellent addition to the growing number of modern commentaries on Cicero's orations. With interest in rhetoric and argumentation as well as in the dissemination of political ideology through speech and literature reviving in recent years (cf. V), Cicero's *Agrarian orations* have finally received their due: M.'s fine *opus* will enable its readers to understand the orations *De lege agraria* better and to appreciate them more deeply than before.

*Marc Steinmann*

Christer Henriksén: *A Commentary on Martial. Epigrams. Book 9*. Oxford University Press, Oxford 2012. ISBN 978-0-19-960631-3. XLVI, 440 pp. GBP 127.50.

This is a very important and exemplary book. It was originally presented as a doctoral thesis at Uppsala University and published in 1998–9. The second edition is completely revised, and H. has taken wide account of the lively discussion occurring since 1999; he also recognizes having changed his own opinions on many questions of the interpretation of Martial's poetry. In the Introduction, taking in consideration all relevant literature (not just that written in English, not showing a tendency to the 'splendid isolation' of Anglo-Saxon scholarship), he deals with several important issues. He shows with good arguments that the ninth book has to be dated to late 94/early 95 (p. XIII), and here one cannot but follow him. In addition, he deals with metrical issues. Very important are his considerations on the picture Martial gives of Domitian, and he stresses its positive features in contrast to that of Tacitus and Suetonius; indeed, he pays considerable attention to the Emperor, i.a. focusing on such topics as Domitian's military campaigns. In general, H. takes up many important historical issues. He is also well versed in questions regarding social history.

The edition itself consists of the text, an introduction to it, and a more or less exhaustive commentary, where he provides thorough surveys of previous discussions. It is really a verily remarkable accomplishment that all sorts of classicists, both philologists and historians, not to speak of literary historians, will use with profit and predilection.

*Heikki Solin*

Andreas Willi: *Origins of the Greek Verb.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2018. ISBN 978-1-107-19555-4. XXXI, 713 pp. GPB 120.

L'origine del verbo greco costituisce un argomento estremamente vasto e un'opera che affronti tale argomento non può prescindere dalla conoscenza approfondita dei sistemi verbali di tutte le lingue indoeuropee, sia da un punto di vista morfologico, quanto da un punto di vista sintattico. Gli studi svolti in passato sui singoli argomenti sono innumerevoli, sia dal punto di vista monoglottico del greco, sia da quello della linguistica storica indoeuropea. Fra di essi troviamo i nomi di illustri stu-

diosi, quali Wackernagel, Chantraine, Kuryłowicz. Grazie soprattutto all'attenzione dell'autore nel presentare con la massima chiarezza lo status quaestionis, l'opera costituisce un punto di riferimento utilissimo per chiunque sia interessato alla morfologia verbale della lingua greca, in sincronia o in diacronia; notevole a tale riguardo anche il costante riferimento alla linguistica teorica e tipologica, fino alle più recenti acquisizioni, spesso poco conosciute tra gli studiosi di lingue classiche.

Quanto detto risulta particolarmente vero per i primi due capitoli introduttivi (1: "The Greek Verbal System", 2: "From Greek to Proto-Indo-European") che possono essere facilmente letti e compresi anche da persone non esperte in materia. Dopo i due capitoli introduttivi, i capitoli da 3 ad 8 sono dedicati ciascuno ad un particolare tipo di formazione (3: "The Reduplicated Aorist", 4: "The Reduplicated Present", 5: "The Perfect", 6: "The Thematic Aorist", 7: "The Augment", 8: "The s-Aorist"). Questi capitoli contengono invece molte nuove interpretazioni e qui è dunque necessario muoversi con cautela. Le novità diventano preponderanti nei capitoli 6–8, che possiamo pertanto considerare il vero nucleo dell'intera opera. Nel cap. 6, (6.23–27), una volta identificata la forma originaria dell'aoristo (la forma verbale che esprime l'aspetto perfettivo) indoeuropeo nelle forme a raddoppiamento, si riconducono a queste le forme tematiche con grado ridotto della radice, tramite un'evoluzione 'raddoppiamento' > 'aumento'. L'autore afferma: "Our identification of the zero-graded thematic aorist as a reduplicated aorist in disguise crucially depends on the comparison of augmented thematic forms with unaugmented reduplicated ones." (p. 348). Questa ipotesi sembra del tutto indifendibile alla luce non solo del fatto che l'aumento ricorre soltanto all'indicativo, ma, cosa ancora più rilevante, col fatto che l'aumento ricorre anche nell'aoristo radicale e nell'aoristo sigmatico, così come all'imperfetto e (sebbene con una frequenza minore) anche nelle stesse forme raddoppiate. Tutto ciò fin dallo stadio più antico della lingua greca in cui l'aumento è ancora opzionale.

Nel capitolo successivo (7) l'autore tenta di dare un supporto alla sua teoria rivedendo completamente la funzione originaria dell'aumento. Esso non sarebbe sorto come esplicita marca di passato contrapposta alla marca di presente (attuale), cioè *-i delle cosiddette 'desinenze primarie' (si confronti fra gli altri Lazzeroni, SSL 1980, 23–53), ma avrebbe al contrario rappresentato una marca di perfettività. Ciò sarebbe perfettamente plausibile indipendentemente dall'origine dell'aumento a partire dal raddoppiamento, e non costituisce in alcun modo un supporto a quest'ultima teoria. Inoltre, mentre inizialmente l'autore sembra riferirsi con perfective all'opposizione aspettuale perfettivo/imperfettivo (i.e. bounded/unbounded), si fa poi riferimento alla aoristic drift (7.35–38) nel senso di Squartini e Bertinetto (The simple and compound past in Romance languages, 2000), e si afferma esplicitamente: "forms that initially have perfect like semantics often undergo a series of changes by which they gradually acquire purely preterital ('aoristic') values" (p. 411), cosa che naturalmente implica l'interpretazione della funzione dell'aumento eventualmente come marca di 'perfetto resultativo', definizione che non rientra sullo stesso piano aspettuale dell'opposizione perfettivo/imperfettivo. Ma di questa incongruenza l'autore sembra non accorgersi.

La parte più originale ed interessante del volume è probabilmente costituita dal capitolo 8, dedicato all'aoristo sigmatico, in cui l'autore sostiene con confronti sistematici ed approfonditi l'originario valore altamente transitivo (quindi telicizzante) dell'elemento *-s-. Solo in seguito verrà data una spiegazione diacronica di questo valore (cap. 9, v. infra). Particolarmente interessante risulta un ampio excursus sul futuro greco (8.12–19). Si sostiene, ancora una volta con argomentazioni sistematiche e dettagliate, l'origine comune dell'aoristo sigmatico, dei futuri greci in -σω ed -εω (> ῶ), < i.e. *-(h1)se/o, nonché dei futuri in *-sḭe/o dell'indoiranico e del baltico. Di questi il futuro

greco sarebbe un normale congiuntivo tematico dell'aoristo sigmatico (originariamente atematico), mentre il futuro indoiranico e baltico costituirebbe una derivazione secondaria di presente -o nella visione dell'autore, 'imperfettivo'- in *-i̯e/o basata su di esso. A conclusione del capitolo viene proposta anche una connessione con i presenti in *-sk̂e/o, reinterpretati come *-s- + *-k̂ -altro suffisso imperfettivo per l'autore-, che rimane però molto meno convincente.

Ci saremmo aspettati un capitolo (o almeno qualche paragrafo) dedicato all'aoristo passivo (intransitivo) in -η/-θη. Benché questo non abbia paralleli diretti nelle altre lingue indoeuropee e costituisca una innovazione interna al greco, ciò non giustifica la sua assenza in una discussione dedicata alle origini (scil. Indoeuropee) del verbo greco, essendo in qualche modo formato su materiale ereditario e giocando un ruolo tutt'altro che marginale nel sistema verbale greco. Riguardo ad esso invece viene fatto solo un brevissimo accenno in 1.10 (p. 15).

Gli ultimi due capitoli (9: "From Proto-Indo-European to Pre-Proto-Indo-European", 10: "From Pre-Proto-Indo-European back to Greek") sono di minore interesse da un punto di vista strettamente greco. Essi rappresentano in larga misura una speculazione certamente plausibile, ma non dimostrabile sull'evoluzione del pre-Proto-Indoeuropeo, cioè della fase linguistica (non meglio definibile) precedente all'ultimo stadio indoeuropeo comune dal quale si suppongono derivare in ultima analisi tutte le lingue indoeuropee storicamente attestate (Proto-Indoeuropeo appunto). In particolare nella prima parte del capitolo 9 (9.1–20) si mettono a confronto varie ipotesi di allineamento morfosintattico alternative al sistema nominativo-accusativo del proto-indoeuropeo, per giungere ad una sostanziale adesione all'ipotesi ergativa, con le conseguenze che essa comporta nella ricostruzione delle desinenze verbali. La parte più originale ed interessante del capitolo (9.28–32) è però costituita dall'ipotesi di una reinterpretazione dell'elemento *-s da marca opzionale di 3^ p. ergativa (cfr. il pronome *so erg.> nom.m.) a marca di alta transitività e quindi di perfettività (aoristo e futuro sigmatico). Se da un lato tale ipotesi non può essere incontrovertibilmente dimostrata -né negata-, dall'altro bisogna tener presente che non esiste un'ipotesi alternativa che spieghi l'origine delle varie forme sigmatiche nella morfologia verbale indoeuropea. Il cap. 10, infine, offre un'analisi dettagliata dell'evoluzione delle desinenze personali (della serie *-mi dell'attivo, e della serie in *-h2 del perfetto e del medio originario) e della formazione dei vari tipi di coniugazione (tematico, atematico, a raddoppiamento ecc.) seguendo questa volta l'evoluzione cronologica dal pre-proto-indoeuropeo al proto-indoeuropeo e quindi al greco.

Nel complesso, dunque, ci sentiamo di esprimere un giudizio sostanzialmente positivo sull'opera, che è comunque lodevole per l'ampiezza dei temi trattati e per la sistematicità del lavoro svolto, ciò indipendentemente dall'adesione alle singole ipotesi che in essa vengono esposte.

*Andrea Sesoldi*

*A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names. Volume V.C: Inland Asia Minor.* Edited by Jean-Sébastien Balzat – Richard W. V. Catling – Édouard Chiricat – Thomas Corsten. Oxford University Press, Oxford 2018. ISBN 978-0-19-881688-1. XLIX, 477 pp. GBP 125.

The Oxford lexicon has now come to the end of the design of its originally planned first series. There is a plan to proceed with further volumes eastwards (see R. Parker, in the volume under review, p.

XXXV), and Richard Catling tells me that the équipe dealing with the continuation of the Lexicon are currently close to completion of vol. VI covering Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia and the further parts of the East (Persia, Bactria and so on). There remains Egypt, a major task, not to speak of unassignable individuals (they form a large and varied class, where, among others, most of the slaves [but the exclusion of practically all slaves was not an entirely happy decision], or bishops of late antiquity have been relegated) who should find their way into the sixth volume (so vol. I p. VII, where also on p. IX the rest of the contents of this planned – and much-needed – volume is discussed).

But now to the present volume. It covers the regions of Inland Asia Minor, among them such important ones as Galatia and Phrygia. The introduction gives an account of the geographical setting, which is not at all unproblematic; note also that in some cases the boundaries might have varied over time. Normally the decisions of the editors seem to be sensible. But there are a few borderline cases. The authors assign Oinoanda to Kibyratis by reason of the cultural ties with Kibyra, Boubon and Balboura (p. XI f.); now, Oinoanda was part of the province of Lycia established in 43 AD, and we do not know with certainty if it really can be said to be part of what we are used to calling Kibyratis before 43 AD (see, however, the arguments put forward by J. J. Coulton, *The Balboura Survey and Settlement in Highland Southwest Anatolia* [2012] 78); and note that the best-known eminent local citizens lived in centuries I/II. A map would have been helpful. The alphabetical ordering of the regions is susceptible to a certain criticism, as it means that neighbors get detached, such as Galatia and Phrygia, or provinces wide apart, such as Pisidia and Pontos, are attached in the Lexicon.

Due to its prosopographic character, the Lexicon strives for material completeness in each of its volumes. The authors of this particular volume have indeed succeeded in putting together practically all the persons known from the regions in question. Their successful efforts are all the more praiseworthy, as the epigraphic materials of many of these regions are scattered and dispersed in publications in part poorly accessible. Indeed, it would be pointless to complain about gaps. I have, in fact, found for the moment only a few missing persons, especially from the Roman epigraphical documentation, such as *CIL* VI 17130 *Egnatuleia Ↄ. l. Urbana* from Phrygia; 34466 *Apollonius* from Phrygia *IGUR* 527 Εὐανγελίς γένει Γαλάτισσα; 987 Τρύφων Λαδικὺς τῆς πρὸς Λύκον; *CIL* X 3565 (Misenum) *C. Claudi Isaurici ... natione Phryx* (naval seaman); *IGLS* 1162 mentions a *Bassus, mil(es) cl(assis) praet(oriae) Mis(enensis), [nat(ione) P]hryx*; *CIL* III 6380 (Salona) *Ulpius Andronicus* from Phrygia; *Studia epigraphica Pannonica* 9, 72 (Aquincum) *C. Cornelio Cl. Eutycho nat. Phryg*.

On the whole, we have here a volume of utmost importance. To emphasize my admiration of, and my interest in, this volume, I would like to conclude with a few comments on the entries of individual names. But first some introductory remarks. The accentuation of Greek names has been an Achilles heel for many previous volumes; in the last fascicles, fortunately, the editors have succeeded in using the accents more correctly. But the accentuation of Latin names remains problematic in a few cases. The authors as well as the editors of Greek inscriptions and papyri in general write Ἰουκοῦνδος Σεκοῦνδος (as authors of editions of literary texts also tend to do), but as the *u* in the middle syllable in *Iucundus Secundus* is short, it would be preferable to write Ἰουκούνδος Σεκούνδος; however, in the final analysis, I would rather prefer to establish here a recessive accent and write Ἰούκουνδος Σέκουνδος (on this question, see P. Probert, *Ancient Greek Accentuation* [2006], 135). Similarly, the authors, like most editors of inscriptions and papyri, regularly print

Φῆλιξ, but the ī in *Felix* is long. Besides, the authors write Ιρίσκος, but in Latin the ī of *Priscus* was long (see *ThLL* X 2, 1372, 35–41); moreover, the spelling Ιρεισκ- is frequently attested. The authors have decided to omit, in addition to the accent, the *spiritus* in non-Greek and non-Latin names, a welcome practice, but at p. 49f. one can add a *spiritus lenis* to the names beginning with Ἀπφ- without hesitation, as we know from Latin *Nebenüberlieferung* where *Apphe, Apphin*, etc. without the initial *h* was the regular spelling (in the onomastic material of the city of Rome there is not one spelling with *H-*).

I finish with a few remarks on individual names: P. 89 Βικαρις from Selge (*ISelge* 25). The inscription gives Βικαρεως, which the authors have probably interpreted as a genitive, as the name of the father of the wife of the deceased. If so, they have failed to explain why the nominative of this name should run just Βικαρις. Less probably Βικαρεως would be a nominative, a second cognomen of the woman. P. 94 Γάιος n. 287 seems to be rather a gentilicium. If so, it must be struck from the Lexicon. It is also to be omitted if the authors explained Γ(άιος) as a praenomen). P. 237 Κυρικκος: The authors consider the name as indigenous. According to the editors of *IAnkara* 123 'we may be confronted with a Greek-Galatian name', but this is not convincing. There are no Celtic names in *Cyricc-* or *Curicc-*; not a murmur in Holder or Schmidt, *ZCPh* 1957, or Ellis Evans. And must we really complement in 57 Κυρ[ικ]κο[ς] instead of Κύρικος? P. 273 Μάτρων n. 4: I do not understand why Ματρωνιανός in *Studia Pontica* III 2, 337A (see the Lexicon, p. VI) should be a patronymic adjective of Μάτρων (to be silent on everything else, the Latin cognomen *Matrona* was popular in our regions). But it is preferable to abstain from a final judgement, as long as the wording of the unpublished inscription is not known. P. 446 Φροῦγις is nothing but a variant of Φρούγιος and should be accentuated Φρούγις.

A more extensive review will appear elsewhere.

*Heikki Solin*

*Supplementa Italica. Nuova serie 29*. Unione Accademica Nazionale. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 2017. ISBN 978-88-7140-821-7. 430 pp. EUR 46.

The preceding volume (no. 28, published in 2016) of the admirable *Supplementa Italica* series covered only one city, Patavium, and volume 30, published very recently in 2019 and covering Perusia and its territory, another important city, is of the same type. Volume 29, to be reviewed here, represents the more familiar *Supplementum*, covering as it does several Italian cities between *regio* II and *regio* X of which Aeclanum (in *regio* II), by S. Evangelisti (also the author of the "Repertorio bibliografico, 8" on p. 429, with some interesting details), is by far the most important. The other cities are Genusia (II) by C. S. Fiorello and A. Mangiatordi, Numana (V) by G. Paci, Trebiae (VI) by G. Asdrubali Pentiti, Arilica and Sirmium (X) by R. Bertolazzi and V. Guidorizzi, and finally Vada Sabatia and Albingaunum (IX) by E. Fiodi, these two chapters being supplements to earlier supplements published in 1983 and 1988.

Some of the cities included in this volume seem to have been pretty insignificant places with a poor epigraphical heritage. In the following I shall focus on the more notable cities, although Genusia (now Ginosa 43 km to the west of Taranto) cannot have been much of a place, and of the

four inscriptions attributed to Genusia in *CIL*, three are here considered as not being pertinent. But there is *CIL* IX 259 (*ILS* 6115), a *tabula patronatus* of AD 395 which is republished here with a photo and a useful commentary as no. 1. This *tabula* is in the Naples museum, but, to judge from the observation "Non vidi", the editor Mangiatordi was not able to inspect it; one wonders why. Two "new" inscriptions are added here, no. 2 (= *AE* 1999, 501) being a Republican inscription mentioning quattuorviri.

The section on Aeclanum is a very substantial contribution of more than 200 pages on a city which was one of the "centri più importanti del Sannio Irpino" (p. 44). In the *Corpus*, there are more than 300 inscriptions from this city; around 100 are added here, most of them either unpublished or, having been published in more or less obscure publications, practically unpublished. Among the unpublished texts, there are several of more than just local interest (e.g. no. 53 referring to a girl designated as *nutrita* and no. 64 with the very rare nomen *Filistius*). The importance of Aeclanum is illustrated by the fact that the historical introduction (section C, pp. 44–71) is more than 25 pages long. Unfortunately, it is a bit complicated to use this section as it is, for instance, not divided into paragraphs or the like. Seeing that many readers may not have a very clear idea of the site, this section, which now begins with a reference to the earliest mention of the city in literary sources (surprisingly, Appian narrating events of 89 BC), might have gained by beginning with a few words on the geography of the city and its territory (now discussed only on p. 55ff.), and, e.g., pointing out that ancient Aeclanum was located at the modern village of Passo di Mirabella (a detail also left unmentioned on p. 53). The question of the status of Frigento about 10 kilometers to the southwest of Aeclanum and possibly, as suspected by many scholars, the site of an independent municipality is discussed on p. 57f., the outcome being that the inscriptions found in or around Frigento (except for those clearly originating from Aeclanum) are not included in this collection (p. 58). The maps are not very satisfactory: In the larger map (p. 79) of the "Città", it might have been added that this is the village of Passo di Mirabella. That of the territory (p. 82f.) is miserable; in this map, the reader has to find out that the two villages which are highlighted on p. 82 are Mirabella Eclano (to the left) and Grottaminarda.

The section, in this particular case consisting of more than 70 pages, with addenda to the inscriptions in the *Corpus*, is of great interest, as there are many important texts; the bibliography provided by the author seems most up to date (note, e.g., p. 101 on no. 1132 on the *cohors Flavia Commagenorum*). Unfortunately, many inscriptions still existing at the time of the *Corpus* seem to have been lost, for there are quite a few texts defined as "irreperibile" (e.g., 1153, 1154, 1157, 1163; for an inscription lost only after 1982, see p. 91 on no. 1091, and for an important inscription lost after 1981 see in the section of "new" texts p. 171 no. 14).

As for individual texts in the section on "new" inscriptions, I would like to make the following observations. No. 2: This is an inscription set up by a certain *C. Aurellius Probus*; in the commentary, it is said that *Aurelius* (sic) is attested in Aeclanum (not surprising) but that the combination of *Aurelius* with the praenomen *C.* is "meno comune". But the interesting detail here is the orthography with a double *L*, and a few words on this might have been more pertinent (see, in addition to the classic paper on this phenomenon by A. Degrassi, *Scritti vari* I [1962] 467ff., now R. González Fernández & P. D. Conesa Navarro, *Athenaeum* 105 [2017] 137ff.). No. 35: In view of the fact that the author often provides information on common and uninteresting names (e.g. in nos. 37 and 64 on *Caecilius* and *Fabius*), one wonders whether the fact that *Praefectus* seems to

be a cognomen here might not have merited a few words of comment (there is the reference "vd. Solin – Salomies, Repertorium, p. 381", but this is not very informative). No. 37 is dated "seconda metà del I sec. d.C.", but the palaeography and everything else in this inscription point to a much later date, say in the later second century. No. 54: There is no comment on the cognomen *Felicinus*, although this is the first and only attestation of this name in the whole of the Roman world. (Contrast no. 62 where we find out that the cognomen *Romanus* is "molto diffuso", with a reference to Kajanto's *Cognomina*, p. 182.) No. 64: In explaining the cognomen *Clytianus* the author says that the name is "probably" derived from *Clytus* but adds "non escluderei però l'influenza del cognomen latino Clutianus (derivato dal gentilizio Cluttius secondo Kajanto …)"; it is obvious, however, that *Clytianus* is derived from *Clytus* in the same way as *Epictetianus* is derived from *Epictetus*, *Eutychianus* from *Eutychus*, etc., and there seems to be no point in introducing a Latin name into the discussion. No. 78: This inscription mentioning freedmen Quinctii, of some interest but "irreperibile", has, according to the author, who correctly dates it to the end of the first century BC or the beginning of the first century AD, been transmitted in two publications referred to as follows: "Jannachini 1889, I, p. 196; Graziano 2000, p. 7". Now, had C. Graziano seen the inscription, which must, then, still have existed in 2000, or did he just copy the text from Jannachini? I find that this is a detail which the author should have clarified. But there is something else: the inscription ends with the words *M. Quinctius M. l. Protus / vivens sibi et suis*, where the use of *vivens* instead of the normal *vivus*, not pointed out in the commentary, is striking and would in my opinion have merited some annotation.

In the contribution on Trebiae, the author, G. Asdrubali Pentiti, says (p. 276) that the tribe of the city remains unknown, as the two magistrates of the city with tribes have different tribes; however, the two attested tribes are the *Aemilia* and the *Palatina* of which the latter, an "urban" tribe, cannot really come into question, and so one could perhaps consider the *Aemilia*, which is in any case the tribe of neighbouring Mevania. On p. 294, the author observes on *CIL* XI 5017, in my view correctly, that *Longurio* must be the nominative of a cognomen, not the dative of a nomen (this should be corrected in the *Repertorium*). As for the section of new inscriptions, the nomen *Vesentro* in no. 6, now only said to be that of a "gens del tutto sconosciuta", could have been commented upon, for this name belongs to an interesting small group of nomina ending in *-tro* (*Cacastro, Calestro*, *Commeatro*, etc.) which seems to be typical of Umbria and Etruria (the feminine forms end in *-tronia*; the form *Commatronius* in *CIL* XI 31, which must be a "vulgar" form of *Commeatro Commeatronia*, seems to indicate that forms in *-tro* could be "Romanized" by the addition of the suffix *-onius*, and this takes one's thoughts to names such as *Maristronius* and *Obultronius*). In no. 8, the author says that the letters *P S* in *Clodia C. l. Advena C. Clodio Sex. l. Chrysog(ono?) P S et L. Rufrio … viro suo* should be understood as *p(ecunia) s(ua)* and that this Clodius was Advena's "colliberto e probabilmente fratello". But how could a freedman of a Sextus be the "colliberto" of a woman manumitted by someone called Gaius? Moreover, the expression *p(ecunia) s(ua)* belongs to the context of building rather than funerary inscriptions. The solution is of course that we have to understand *p(atrono) s(uo)*; Gaius Clodius Chrysog(onus) thus becomes the patron of Clodia Advena, freedwoman of Gaius.

The contribution on Arilica and Sirmio deals not with a particular city and its territory, but with a stretch of the southern shore of modern lake Garda roughly between Desenzano and Peschiera, with Sirmio in about the middle; if I understand the exposition on p. 317 correctly, most scholars

consider this area as having belonged to the territory of Verona. This contribution begins on p. 309, but it is only on p. 320 that we find out that Arilica, not a very familiar place (but with some interesting inscriptions especially because of the presence of *nautae* operating on the lake), is identical with modern Peschiera. In the section of additions to the inscriptions already in the *Corpus*, I wondered about no. 4017 (p. 336), where it is said that *Virucate* (in *P. Virucate P. f. Maximi*) has been inscribed instead of "*Virucatae*", this being due to "monophthongization", but I'm pretty sure that this nomen is indeclinable and that, even if it were declinable, the genitive would not be "*Virucatae*". As for no. 4029 (p. 345), I would not say that the cognomen of Quintia Horestilla is without "altri riscontri", for surely we are dealing with a "vulgar" orthography of the name *Orestilla*.

As mentioned above, the volume is finished off by two "Supplementorum supplementa", by E. Fiodi, on the two Ligurian cities Vada Sabatia and Albingaunum. Although I observed some details I was not altogether happy with (and it is of course these details one focuses upon in a review), I must conclude by observing that this is a splendid volume which will be of great service to all those who are interested in ancient Italy and its epigraphy.

*Olli Salomies*

Hans-Albert Rupprecht: *Beiträge zur juristischen Papyrologie. Kleine Schriften.* Herausgegeben von Andrea Jördens. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2017. ISBN 978-3-515-11684-8. XIII, 408 S. EUR 68.

The name of Hans-Albert Rupprecht does not need an introduction to anyone who has ever dealt with the relatively specialized field of legal papyrology. However, as should be well known, the often groundbreaking work of this "grand old man" of his field is also significant for many related disciplines, not only papyrology and the study of Graeco-Roman Egypt more generally, but also fields such as ancient legal and social history at large.

The book discussed here is a collection of Rupprecht's most important articles, selected and arranged by himself and edited by Andrea Jördens. They all deal with the contribution of the papyri to various aspects of ancient legal history and originally appeared between 1981 and 2016, thus reflecting 35 years of scholarship. While the book includes, laudably, some later additions and updates (e.g., p. 197–8, "Nachtrag 2012"), even the older writings can still be counted, without hesitation, among the most authoritative contributions to the topics in question. There are 32 articles in all, one of them in Italian and the rest in German. They cover an impressive array of sub-topics and have been arranged into nine thematic sections: general papyrology (3 articles), law of obligations (7), property law (5), family and inheritance law (6), contract law (2), documentary practices (2), delict law (2), trials (2), and public law (3).

A serious discussion of the actual contents of the articles within the limits of a book review is impossible. I will also not give a synopsis of the articles' contents, as this can already be found in R.A. Kugler's review published in *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* (2018.08.32). The present review focuses more on the merits of the collection itself, vis-à-vis the original, dispersed articles.

It goes without saying that it is convenient to have all these articles in one place. But that is not all. In addition to the articles themselves, the book contains a foreword by Andrea Jördens,

a complete bibliography of Rupprecht's works, a combined bibliography of the works cited in the present collection, a combined index of the primary sources used, and a combined general index covering Greek, Latin, and German terms. These all, and especially the indexes, provide some real "added value", enabling the reader to use the collection as a kind of reference work and to easily locate passages in different articles in which Rupprecht discusses a certain topic or a certain source.

The foreword by Andrea Jördens succeeds in highlighting Rupprecht's significance to the field of legal papyrology and the increasingly difficult circumstances the field is currently facing. However, what I miss a bit is some sort of general introduction, tying together the threads of Rupprecht's – admittedly wide-ranging – work and providing a summary of his central results. This might have rendered the book more accessible to non-specialists. Alternatively, providing abstracts for the individual articles might have been a good idea. It is true that, even so, some parts of the book are relatively easy to digest. For instance, the first article ("Zu Entwicklung, Stand und Aufgaben der juristischen Papyrologie") can be read as an introduction to the field. Anyone needing additional information may also consult Rupprecht's own monographs (e.g., the well-known *Kleine Einführung in die Papyruskunde*) alongside the article collection. Still, many of the articles have a relatively specialized topic, making the book often somewhat demanding for the non-expert reader.

The technical production of the book is good. The original layout of the individual articles as well as their various styles of referencing were replaced by a new, uniform formatting, a more or less uniform style for the references and one combined bibliography. This results in an optically agreeable, easy-to-use volume. At the same time, the original page numbers are indicated in the running text, at each original page break, which allows the reader to easily locate passages using references to the original page numbers. Small typos in the original articles have often been corrected. While the present book is still not entirely free of typos (e.g., p. 261, five lines from bottom: "Qittung" should be "Quittung"), this is by no means distracting. Somewhat more peculiar is Rupprecht's habit of omitting the usual "P." in references to papyri, e.g., "Oxy." instead of the usual "P.Oxy." (but not consistently, cf. p. 217). Of course, this is a minor quibble, too.

All in all, while the book is by no means easy reading, the collected articles are a treasure-trove not only for legal papyrologists, but for scholars from many related disciplines as well. The convenience of having all these articles together and especially the additional materials such as the occasional updates and the indexes means that this collection provides a real bonus as compared to the individual articles, and will remain valuable for many years to come.

*Matias Buchholz*

Daniela Velestino: *La Galleria Lapidaria dei Musei Capitolini*. Incipit. Collana di approfondimenti. De Luca Editori d'Arte, Roma 2015. ISBN 978-88-6557-248-1. 155 pp. EUR 24.

Il nuovo allestimento della Galleria Lapidaria dei Musei Capitolini, situata sotto la piazza del Campidoglio, è stato inaugurato nel 2005. Questo attuale allestimento occupa lo stesso ambiente sotterraneo in cui si trovava il precedente, la cosiddetta "Galleria di Congiunzione", realizzata alla fine degli anni '30 del secolo scorso per congiungere il Palazzo dei Conservatori e il Palazzo Nuovo con

il Tabularium (come allora si chiamava) e il Palazzo Senatorio; questa galleria fu inaugurata nel 1957. Il nuovo riallestimento ospita una selezione delle circa 1400 iscrizioni della Galleria di Congiunzione; ad essa sono aggiunti alcuni nuovi reperti. Il nuovo allestimento costituisce dunque una buona parte del totale di circa 3200 iscrizioni del patrimonio epigrafico dei Musei Capitolini. Della storia degli allestimenti e degli scavi delle gallerie nonché della composizione dei materiali epigrafici rende egregiamente conto l'autrice che è anche essenzialmente responsabile dell'impostazione dell'allestimento. Nella Presentazione Claudio Parise Presicce riprende soprattutto questioni legate agli scavi dei resti dell'età romana.

Nell'allestimento, le iscrizioni non sono raggruppate secondo le usuali categorie di classificazione utilizzate nelle pubblicazioni di epigrafi; si sono costituiti 10 settori tematici: i linguaggi (così all'inizio sono poste iscrizioni scritte in altre lingue, inclusi reperti ebraici antichi e post-antichi), il sepolcro, le professioni, il culto, il gioco, il diritto, la viabilità e gli acquedotti, i militari, l'aristocrazia romana (da notare che tutte e tre le iscrizioni illustrate sono dediche all'aristocrazia tardoantica) e la base dei vicomagistri. Non vogliamo discutere qui di questo raggruppamento originale; in ogni caso pone in risalto molti aspetti della vita degli antichi romani.

Le singole sezioni sono precedute da brevi introduzioni sulla tematica. Delle iscrizioni vengono date testo latino provvisto dagli scioglimenti delle abbreviazioni e dall'uso dei segni diacritici (solo che i nessi delle lettere non sono indicati secondo la pratica vigente) e traduzione italiana. Possono seguire commenti di vario tipo (alle volte si trovano nell'interno del testo latino o italiano). La maggioranza delle iscrizioni è accompagnata dalle foto. L'autrice ha svolto bene il suo compito, e c'è poco da criticare della sua edizione dei singoli pezzi.

Solo poche osservazioni. A p. 49 NCE 199 interpungerei dopo *posterique eorum*; con *cepotafius* (il neutro *cepotaphium* poteva occasionalmente diventare maschile) comincia un nuovo colon; p. 54 NCE 475: Heria Thisbe non può essere stata schiava, perché porta un gentilizio, e neanche liberta del marito, perché porta un gentilizio diverso, era dunque sua moglie; p. 56 NCE 473: nella traduzione italiana correggi "fu" in "fui"; p. 70 NCE 629: scrivi *in h(onorem)* invece di *in h(onore)*; p. 82: inesatta l'affermazione che C. Pomponius Heracon, portando un cognome diverso da quello del padre M. Ulpius Hera, fosse perciò da lui adottato; p. 91 NCE 3038: ora *CIL* I$^2$ 2965; p. 94 NCE 133; è preferibile scrivere *Anatoleni(s)* invece di *Anatoleni*, in quanto i nomi di tutte le altre persone sono in genitivo; p. 103 NCE 476 è *CIL* I$^2$ 2993; nell'utile bibliografia (pp. 147–154) sono ricordati alle volte contributi di poco valore, mentre mancano riferimenti a trattazioni fondamentali; così a p. 149 avrei ricordato per la scrittura greca soprattutto il manuale di Guarducci; e a p. 150, per le iscrizioni giudaiche, il noto libro di Leon, senza dimenticare altri contributi sull'argomento della presenza degli Ebrei a Roma.

Nel complesso si può constatare che si tratta di una pubblicazione molto benvenuta cui si augura buona diffusione. In particolare sarà una eccellente guida a coloro che desiderano approfondire le loro conoscenze del contenuto e dell'importanza delle iscrizioni che vedono passeggiando nella galleria. Rimane un solo desiderio. Sarebbe stato opportuno commentare tali difficili passi nei testi offerti che non si aprono senz'altro a un colto interessato visitatore non studioso specialista delle antichità romane.

Rari errori di stampa e altri refusi: p. 19 correggi "nonstante" in "nonostante"; p. 58 NCE 230: correggi "*IGUR*, III 727" in "*IGUR* II 727" (ma Moretti doveva pubblicare il testo nel III volume); 91 NCE 154: uno dei liberti si chiama *Anteros*, e non *Antheros*; da correggere anche nella

traduzione italiana; p. 144: l'abbreviazione VIG viene sciolto *vigilis*, ma un nominativo *vigilis* non esiste; p. 152 sotto "Acquedotti": il titolo corretto del manuale edito da Wikander è *Handbook of ancient water technology*, e l'editore si chiama Ö. Wikander, non H. Wikander. – Sono rimasti numerosi errori nel rendimento del greco.

*Heikki Solin*

*Ruling the Greek World: Approaches to the Roman Empire in the East*. Edited by Juan Manuel Cortés Copete – Elena Muñiz Grijalvo – Fernando Lozano Gómez. Potsdamer Altertumwissenschaftliche Beiträge 52. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2015. ISBN 978-3-515-11135-5. 192 pp. EUR 44.

This collection of ten articles examines the Greek world under the rule of the Romans with special attention to Greek cultural identity. The question of the Greek East as an integrated, yet segregated part of the Roman Empire deserves more scholarly attention and this book presents an interesting and deserving contribution to it.

A short preface by the editors introduces the theme of the volume as well as all the essays and the research projects that resulted in the book. The focus of the volume is the political, cultural, and religious activity of Greek oligarchs in relation to Roman rule. The editors emphasize that understanding the diversity of the Greek world is of key importance. It is not just the socio-political structures of Achaea and Asia that should be studied, but also those of, for instance, the Near East.

The essay by Cristina Rosillo-López discusses Greek responses to Roman Republican power through the second and first centuries BC. The essay creates a background for the themes discussed in the following chapters. Rosillo-López traces the development and strategies of Greek self-representation by focusing on the visits of Hellenistic kings to Rome and persuasive rhetoric and special legislation in favor of Greeks.

Elena Muñiz Grijalvo's essay focuses on Greek religion and identity in the works of Greek authors. Religion was used to express Greekness as well as elite and civic identities. Juan Manuel Cortés Copete focuses on the names of Greek provinces in the work of Cassius Dio in his essay. He discusses the case of Hellas in particular, a name that Dio uses but that did not exist as a name for any Greek province in the eyes of Roman authorities. The name Hellas reflects the Greek willingness to define themselves under Roman rule.

The essay by Arminda Lozano shifts the focus from Greece to Asia Minor. The essay discusses the integration of the temples of Asia Minor into the Roman administrative system by using the work of Strabo as its source. Lozano emphasizes that the Romans continued a secularization process of the temples begun by Hellenistic kings.

Ted Kaizer focuses on the town of Dura-Europos under the rule of the Romans in his essay. The town on Rome's eastern frontier was influenced by Hellenistic and Parthian rule before the Romans and kept the 'Oriental' features of its identity throughout the Roman period.

The following two essays, the first by Elena Calandra and the second by Fernando Lozano and Rocío Gordillo, turn attention to the representation of imperial power in Greece and trace the

reactions of the Greeks to it. Calandra's essay traces images of members of the Roman imperial family in Athens from Hadrian to Valerian and Gallienus. The essay by Lozano and Gordillo discusses the imperial cult in the Delphic League.

Greg Woolf's essay brings forth a different perspective on Greeks under Roman rule. It discusses the presence of Greek intellectuals – 'archaeologists' as the author calls them – in the city of Rome in connection with Roman imperialism in the west. Greek intellectual power is also the focus of the last two essays in the collection. Both analyze the views of Greek authors about Roman rule. Maurice Sartre discusses the opinions of Strabo and Plutarch about Roman rule in Asia Minor specifically. Francesca Fontanella's essay provides a new reading of Aelius Aristides' views of the Romans and their power over Greeks.

The ten essays in the collection succeed well in bringing forth the diversity of Greek viewpoints and reactions to Roman rule emphasized in the preface of the book. Certain views still dominate the studies: the focus of the essays is on the viewpoint of the Greek elite male, brought forth in many cases by Greek authors such as Plutarch, Strabo, Cassius Dio and Pausanias. Views other than these will hopefully be covered in future studies. The essays present an important perspective on the multifaceted processes and practices of ruling the Greek World.

*Sanna Joska*

*The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*. Edited by Noel Lenski. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2012. ISBN 978-1-107-01340-7. 492 pp., with 54 pages of illustrations. GPB 29.99 (pb).

This volume is a revised edition of the original 2006 edition by the same publishers. This thorough but compact roundup of Constantinian politics, religion, society and culture is an important addition to any student library.

The volume is comprised of five separate sections: "Politics and Personalities" (Section I); "Religion and Spiritual Life" (Section II); "Law and Society" (Section III); "Art and Culture" (Section IV); "Empire and Beyond" (Section V). These sections are preceded by the Introduction (by Noel Lenski, pp. 1–13) and a chapter on the "Sources for the History of Constantine" (by Bruno Bleckmann, pp. 14–34). In the Introduction, Lenski explains the scope of the book and discusses briefly but competently some open questions concerning Constantine. The varying views on Constantine from Gibbon through Burckhardt to the present could have deserved a separate chapter. Bleckmann's short survey of the sources is excellent.

Section I comprises "Before Constantine" (by Simon Corcoran, pp. 35–58); "The Reign of Constantine" (by Noel Lenski, pp. 59–90); "The Dynasty of Constantine Down to 363" (by Robert M. Frakes, pp. 91–110). Corcoran discusses the period preceding Constantine and the Diocletianic reforms**,** whereas Lenski continues with Constantinian political and military history. This section is concluded by Frakes's account of the dynastic developments after Constantine.

Section II consists of "The Impact of Constantine on Christianity" (by Harold A. Drake, pp. 111–136); "The Beginnings of Christianization" (by Mark Edwards, pp. 137–158); "Traditional Religion" (by A. D. Lee, pp. 159–182). Drake and Edwards concentrate on Christianity during

Constantine and Lee discusses the opposite side and the often uneasy relation of Christianity with the other religions.

Section III deals with "Bureaucracy and Government" (by Christopher Kelly, pp. 183–204); "Civil Law and Social Life" (by Caroline Humfress, 205–225); "Economy and Society" (by George Depeyrot, pp. 226–254). Kelly stresses the importance of Constantine's administrative reforms, which were to have an impact on Roman governance for a century to come. In contrast, Humfress points out Constantine's conservative stance on civil legislation. Depeyrot sums up Constantine's efforts to keep the failing economy afloat.

Section IV consists of chapters on "Perspective in Art" (by Jaś Elsner, pp. 255–277); "Architecture of Empire" (by Mark J. Johnson, pp. 278–297); "Constantine in Legendary Literature" (by Samuel N. C. Lieu, pp. 298–324). Elsner discusses briefly the artistic developments of the period and the problems of labeling late antique art as art in decline, as has been done for the past centuries. There is some relief for Elsner's lament concerning the absence of **a** late antique corpus of private portraiture: Martin Kovacs' *Kaiser, Senatoren und Gelehrte: Untersuchungen zum spätantiken männlichen Privatporträt* (Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag 2014, reviewed in this volume), and, of course, the LSA-database based in Oxford. Johnson lists the most important examples of Constantine's imperial building program, emphasizing that Constantine did build what he was supposed to have built. However, during this period there was probably more architectural innovation than Johnson lets us believe. Lieu concludes the section with a discussion of Constantine in legendary literature**,** such as the Sylvester Legend, the Donation of Constantine and the Conversion of Helena.

Section V includes "Warfare and the military" (by Hugh Elton, pp. 325–348); "Constantine and the Northern barbarians" (by Michael Kulikowski, pp. 347–376); "Constantine and the Peoples of the Eastern Frontier" (by Elizabeth Fowden, pp. 377–398).

This volume was published at about the same time as Jonathan Bardill's *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age* (Cambridge University Press, New York 2012. See review: Arctos Vol. 51, 2017). Together these two volumes, especially because they contradict each other in some details, give a comprehensive picture of Constantine and his reign in its proper context. However, this volume seems to be aimed mainly to Anglophone readers and the otherwise very good "Further Reading" sections accordingly do not offer more advanced students capable of reading languages other than English the possibility of becoming acquainted with up-to-date research literature in Italian, German and French.

*Juhana Heikonen*

*Interactions between animals and humans in Graeco-Roman antiquity*. Edited by Thorsten Fögen – Edmund Thomas. De Gruyter, Berlin 2017. ISBN 978-3-11-054416-9. VIII, 498 pp. EUR 129.95 (hc).

This conference *acta* – the conference was held at Durham University (UK) 20–25 June 2015 – includes guest lectures held at the same university in the same year. The volume can be seen as a good supplement to the Oxford handbook on animals in antiquity edited by Steven Campbell in 2014, containing many of the same writers.

The Introduction (pp. 1–18) gives among other examples the now famous "pig epitaph" from Edessa, first presented in 1969. The stele is enigmatic both because of its textual and visual aspects but also because its interpretation has not reached any consensus yet. Questions like whether it is about a pig or a freed slave, or how sincere as an animal epitaph the text is, are not raised by the editors (they are also convinced that the other animal in the relief is a pig). One may wonder how the pig stele from Edessa, then, illuminates the concept of interaction? And what is interaction? Is the term chosen because it is a loose enough one to approach complicated human-animal issues? Human and non-human animal interaction can be many things, like reciprocal action (e.g. humans and non-humans working together), encountering, communication and affects. Fögen and Thomas see interaction from a broad, non-theoretical point of view: "the ways in which humans and animals came together in the societies" (p. 5), "animals and humans interconnected on a variety of different levels" (p. 7).

One footnote (p. 6n7, see also p. 90n3) presents the basic studies on animals in antiquity from the point of view of Human-Animal Studies (HAS). The list also contains valuable research in German, including the first German textbook of HAS. I would like to add the article by one of the contributors of this volume, namely Christiana Franco's "Appendix: Reflections on Theory and Method in Studying Animals in the Ancient World" in her *Shameless: The Canine and Feminine in Ancient Greece* (Berkeley [US], 2014), not only because it gives some important treatises published in Italian, but because it reports the writer's progress from the one interested in animals in antiquity to a researcher focusing on the human-animal interaction – the core of Human-Animal Studies.

The articles, 16 in all, with contributions also by the editors, are not ordered under sections. If we think about the distinction between 'literature' and 'life', which dominates the *Oxford Handbook*, there are in this volume more papers in the first category, with the emphasis on Greek writers. The volume begins, emphatically, with a paper belonging to the 'life' category: "A Lifetime Together? Temporal Perspectives on Animal-Human Interactions" by Sian Lewis (pp. 19–37). Lewis discusses the converging life expectancies of humans and domesticated animals, questioning how the human-animal bond between man and his dog, or cow, would change if their lives were equal in length? At a time when the life expectancy of ordinary people was around 40, this was not much more than a well-kept horse's life. In general, domesticated animals lived longer than in our age of agribusiness (cf. p. 23 and Ar. *Hist. an.* 6.18.573b15–7).

Natural philosophies approaching the *mirabilia* genre (e.g., Antigonus, Pliny, Aelian) are one of the sources for scholars intrigued by Graeco-Roman attitudes – often quite anthropocentric – to animals. In his "Psychological, cognitive and philosophical aspects of animal 'envy' towards humans in Theophrastus and beyond" (pp. 159–182), Arnaud Zucker presents the peculiar concept of φθόνος (begrudging or "begrudging refusal" [p. 161]), which appears in stories on the use of animal parts for medical or technological purposes. Theophrastus' περὶ τῶν λεγομένων ζῴων φθονεῖν (*apud* Photius) mentions the popular example of the stag burying his horn in order that humans could not use it as an antidote. Zucker points out that, although, for Theophrastus, the phenomenon raises questions about rational intentionality in non-human animals, the main concern for the follower of the great zoologist, Aristotle, as the leader of the Peripatetic school, was to question human ability to read animal conduct. The idea that φθόνος cannot be an intraspecies emotion (between human and non-human) is implied in Aristotle's elaborate discussion on this emotion, claiming that it

could be felt only towards "those like ourselves" in his *Rhetoric* (Book II, chapter 11). Zucker refers to the chapter in a footnote but only incompletely (as *Rhet*. 1387b25, p. 173n30).

Kenneth F. Kitchell's critique with his concept 'animal literacy' does not point so much to the fact that classicists, among other interpreters of the past, are often blind to animal agencies in their material. We are all deficient in our 'animal literacy' because we – quite obviously – do not comprehend the scope of connotations around the representations of different species in different cultures ("'Animal literacy' and the Greeks: Philoctetes the hedgehog and Dolon the weasel", pp. 183–204). Of his two examples, Philoctetes' 'animality' has, however, been discussed by many scholars lately. Kitchell points out that Sophocles describes Philoctetes' cave having two openings (*Phil.* 15–9) – like a hedgehog burrow reported by Aristotle and Theophrastus (p. 191–2, *cf.* Arist. *Hist. anim*. 8.6. 612b1–9, Theophr. *De sign*. 30). However, instead of a small, invertebrate-eating hedgehog, Philoctetes is clearly more like a large predator in Lemnos, capable of supporting himself with his divine bow; he is also proud of his survival, which reflects his heroism (*Phil.* 299). Kitchell's other example, Dolon's weasel cap (cf. Hom. *Il.* 10.333–5), is more convincing; Dolon wearing a wolf skin and a weasel cap indicates his ambushing "method": he sneaks up like a wolf and then intends to kill his sleeping prey like a weasel (Kitchell gives a reference to Nic. *Ther.* 196 of the weasel in the henhouse).

This interpretation does not, of course, exhaust the meaning of why warriors wore animal skins. Alastair Harden also treats the issue in his "'Wild men' and animal skins in Archaic Greek imagery" (pp. 370–388) by noting the changing semantics from positive – animal skins lending the strength and fierceness of predators to upper-class warriors – to pejorative, when animal skins had begun to be associated with rustic and ignorant shepherds, 'wild men' as Harden calls the group. However, were not shepherds part of their community, although on its margins? To think of them as 'wild' seems inappropriate. Irrespective of this, the semantic change reflects the change in attitudes to people living in the vicinity of animals.

Mario Vespa concentrates on the question of why Galen, who largely used monkeys in his animal experiments (yes, also vivisections) did not seem to use them in his medical shows on, e.g., functions of voice. These shows were targeted to a larger audience than his colleagues ("Why avoid a monkey: The refusal of interaction in Galen's *Epideixis*", pp. 409–434). Vespa analyses the suggested answers: the socio-economic (pigs are cheaper to use than exotic monkeys), the functional (pigs cries are louder than monkeys), and the emotional hypothesis (monkeys are too human-like). Vespa discusses properly, however, only the first two before offering his "emic" hypothesis, namely that monkeys were thought not only to be ugly and mischievous but also creatures of ill omen. They were conceived as ambiguous creatures like eunuchs and *kinaidoi*, which was the reason for the euphemistic term καλλίας instead of πίθηκος in certain contexts. All in all, the emic hypothesis could be part of the picture. Yet, why cannot the adjective εἰδεχθής ('hideous, of hateful look'), as an attribute for an anatomical show including monkeys (Gal. *Anat. adm*. 8.8, p. 416), refer to the fact that it is ghastly – at least for non-professionals – to witness primates struggle for their life, e.g. using their human-like hands for defence? Romans were used to seeing pigs killed in sacrificial scenes, but monkeys were not sacrificial animals. Or is this kind of attitude a token of modern sensitivity, which was quite alien to the people admiring animal killing in the *venationes*?

Another paper on Galen, "Galen on the relationship between human beings and fish" (pp. 389–408) by John Wilkins, concentrates on Galen's ideas on edible fish, especially those which are

"good to eat", supposedly good for the equilibrium of the human body. Interestingly, Galen takes note of the correlation between the environment of fish and their nutritive value. However, Wilkins begins his paper with oddly human-centred claims by stating that eating non-human animals is also extending our knowledge about them, and that films and animal cartoons (like Mickey Mouse) are ways of "bringing animals closer" to humans (p. 392). As a contribution to the ever-present problem of how extensively fish was part of the diet of Greeks and Romans, Wilkins mentions the United Kingdom, where people prefer eating pork to eating fish (like ancient Romans) despite the proximity of the sea.

Stephen T. Newmyer, an expert on Plutarch and animals, presents in his "Human-animal interactions in Plutarch as commentary on human moral failings" (pp. 233–252) the stimulating notion – introduced by David Larmour – that the method of *syncrisis* ("compare and contrast") was in use not only in Plutarch's biographies but to a certain extent also in his treatises on animals. While presenting his subject, Newmyer gives in a footnote the valuable contributions of Italian and French scholars on Plutarch and animals (p. 238n6). Besides *De sollertia* and *Gryllus*, Newmyer analyses *The Dinner of Seven Wise Men*. Plutarch, however, wrote so much (and, fortunately, so much is preserved) that while reading Plutarch's œuvre one often comes across passages (e.g., *Mor.* 493a, *Mor.* 98b–c, *Mor.* 91c–d) that seem to contradict the views on animal intelligence and moral capacities presented in these well-known animal treatises. These short passages seem to reflect the common worldview of the human-animal divide and the self-evident superiority of humans over animals, which Plutarch more or less criticized in his animal treatises.

Old comedy contains fruitful material for considering 'animality' in literature. Sarah Miles' paper ("Cultured animals and wild humans? Talking with the animals in Aristophanes' *Wasps*" [pp. 205–232]) argues, quite convincingly, that the *Wasps* is, in fact, the most pervasive Aristophanic comedy considering the blurring of the human-animal divide (e.g. Philocleon's near transformations into different animals while trying to escape his home, as well as an animal trial with a speaking dog). Miles notes how the chorus of jurors proceeds from the mere simile (jurors are *like* aggressive wasps), to metaphor, and even to "metamorphosis concerning the identity, behaviour and characterization" of the chorus (p. 219). Although Miles seems to see the animalization of human and culture as opposite notions, she stresses the "multifaceted human-animal identity" of Philocleon (p. 223). The animal Philocleon is most often compared with is a donkey and it is thought-provoking that it is also done in an endearing way (*Vesp*. 1305–6, donkeys as exuberant and life-enjoying living beings).

Instead, Thomas Fögen's example of the donkey's life in antiquity introduces merely instrumental attitudes to this work animal. His article ("Lives in interaction: Animal 'biographies' in Graeco-Roman literature?" pp. 89–138) considers how far we can speak of animal biographies in the ancient context where references to living animals are usually scarce and human-centred. Except for Alexander the Great's horse, Bucephalus, Fögen presents fictional or semi-fictional animal lives (e.g., Arrian's dog Horme in the *Cynegeticus*, which is, by the way, one of the most lively descriptions of dog behaviour in the entirety of ancient literature) concluding with Apuleius' Lucius in the *Golden Ass*, which has attracted considerable attention recently – overshadowing once again the pseudo-Lucian Greek version of the story. Fögen's observations make stimulating reading but the article could have benefitted from a cross-cultural overview of the beginning of animal biographies as a literary genre in the 19th-century literature (*Black Beauty* and others).

The story of Lucius the donkey has the Milesian erotic tales about sexual intercourse between a woman and a donkey as one of its roots. Christiana Franco's article "Greek and Latin words for human-animal bonds: Metaphors and taboos" (pp. 39–60) ranges over even this aspect although her concept of "interspecies love" is non-erotic as well. Her focus is on vocabulary, and she concludes that a "specific vocabulary" is lacking for the spectrum of human-animal bonds in Western cultures in general (p. 57). That is, we seem not to have special words for our affections towards animals – not even today when it is customary for people to invest intensive emotions in their pets. (NB: I missed Steven D. Smith's article published in *Erôs in Ancient Greece* [Oxford 2013] in Franco's bibliography.)

Pet (or personal companion) animals are in the focus in two papers. "Philosopher's pets: Porphyry's partridge and Augustine's dog" (pp. 139–157) by Gillian Clark, the English translator of Porphyrius' *De abstinentia*, focuses not only on these two philosophers (although one may perhaps ask whether Augustine is a philosopher), but also discusses briefly the power of Christian holy men over wild animals they encountered. As is well known, Porphyrius' work is a basic reading for understanding the opinions about animal intelligence in antiquity. Augustine's opinion of the subject is surely opposite to Porphyrius. His city of God is not for non-rational beings, and the Church Father is convinced that animals do not possess any reason. However, Augustine surprisingly sees the difference of (verbal) languages as such a great hindrance for communication between humans that a person would, in his view, prefer the company of a dog to a foreigner because of the language barrier (*De civ*. 19.7, p. 150). In her "Pet and image in the Greek world: The use of domesticated animals in human interaction" (pp. 61–88), Louise Calder presents many already familiar passages on ancient pet-keeping and its possible unique features, such as pets as erotic gifts or means of communication (reminding me of the enigmatic scene in Dostoyevsky's *The Idiot*, when Aglaya sends a hedgehog to prince Myshkin). As in her *Cruelty and Sentimentality* (2011), Calder refers convincingly to iconographical material as evidence.

Iconography – namely images of *Tierkampfszenen* during the Archaic period – is Claudia Beier's special object of analysis ("Fighting animals: An analysis of the intersections between human self and animal otherness on Attic vases", pp. 275–304). Beginning with a paraphrase of Jacques Derrida ("there is diversity not just within human identities, but also otherness", p. 275), Beier analyses physical appearance, body postures and physical contact, creating a fresh approach to looking at non-human animals in this material. One conclusion is that there is less corporeal "boundary integrity" in animal representations.

Two papers discuss Near Eastern cultures. In his "Fish or man, Babylonian or Greek? Oannes between cultures" (pp. 253–274), Jeremy McInerney ponders the reception of the Babylonian fish-man divinity Apkallu, which Berossus, a Babylonian, translated into Greek with the name Oannes in his *Babyloniaca*. McInerney's interest lies in how the Greeks possibly understood this god and culture hero instructing mankind. Another paper going beyond the confines of the Graeco-Roman cultures is Lloyd Lewellyn-Jones' "Keeping and displaying royal tribute animals in ancient Persia and the Near East" (pp. 305–338). The article would have benefitted from elaborating what the difference between gift and tribute is. (Do tribute animals indicate a special homage paid to *the receiver*?) Lewellyn-Jones discusses the acquisition of and caring for these kinds of display animals and ponders the suitability of the term 'zoo' or 'menagerie' in this context. Because of the scarcity of textual material, Lewellyn-Jones uses a cross-cultural method by quoting the account of "zoo" in

imperial China by an official of the court during the 17th century. Lewellyn-Jones also argues that the lions' den in the Book of Daniel (6:16–17) is in fact a sunken pen for lions kept by Persian kings (pp. 327–328).

Edmund Thomas, the other editor, also uses the cross-cultural approach successfully in his "Urban geographies of human-animal relations in classical antiquity" (pp. 339–368) by presenting the painting of one Italian 19th-century artist on street-life in Rome. Thomas concentrates on Roman material which may be one reason why, when referring to Emperor Julian's passage on too much independence or freedom of donkeys and other pack animals in the streets of Antioch (*Mis*. 26.355b–c, p. 344), he fails to refer to the similar passage in Plato (*Resp.* 8.563c). That both Plato and Julian most certainly had a moral purpose for their sketch of urban life casts doubt on how useful the description is as evidence of everyday life in the ancient past. Thomas employs Jennifer Wolch's term *zoopolis* (used by her already in 1996, and later as the title of the influential book by Will Kymlicka and Sue Danielson in 2011) for discussing the possibilities of cohabitation of different species in urban spaces and societies.

At the end, Fögen's bibliography on studies of animals in antiquity, thus far available on the Internet and a valuable help for beginners, has been elaborated, enlarged and divided into sections for this volume (pp. 435–474). Besides *Index nominum* (*personarum sive animalium*) (pp. 486–8 thus also including names of non-humans, like the ox named Aiolos), the volume contains an *Index animalium*. This is a successful decision, as one does not need to search for names of animal species among things (*Index rerum*).

*Tua Korhonen*

Henning Wirth: *Die linke Hand: Wahrnehmung und Bewertung in der griechischen und römischen Antike*. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2010. ISBN 978-3-515-09449-8. 271 S., 12 Taf. EUR 51.

Every now and then, ancient historians are tempted to study quite specific phenomena that must have undoubtedly existed in the past, but are regrettably overlooked in historical studies. Such books have turned their attention to, e.g., dwarfs, twins, or prostheses [V. Dasen, *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece* (Oxford, 1993); V. Dasen, *Jumeaux, jumelles dans l'Antiquité grecque et romaine* (Zürich, 2005); J. Draycott (ed.), *Prostheses in Antiquity* (London, New York, 2018) to name only three noteworthy examples]. Monographs on these topics have been a great success, due to the effective combination of insights from literary evidence, epigraphy, papyrology and the archaeological/iconographical records. They prove that, above all, an ancient historian should be a jack-of-all-trades: out of the sometimes very fragmentary pieces of evidence, he manages to build up a mosaic that offers a sketch of daily life and the thoughts/views of the Greeks and Romans.

Wirth's study undoubtedly fits into this tradition, and shares all the merits of the studies referred to above. Though it is not explicitly stated, the author inscribes himself in the French approach of *histoire des mentalités* and the late French historian Michel Vovelle (1933–2018). After a thorough analysis of Greek and Latin terminology, vocabulary, and semantic fields denoting 'the left side' and left-handedness (p. 13–48), Wirth continues with a study of the concept in biology, religion, divination, and the army/thoughts about strategy (p. 49–112). He goes on with the level of

popular discourse, extensively dealing with the function of the right hand (which is indeed indispensable when dealing with the meaning of left-handedness) in shaking hands, religious ceremony, loyalty, oaths, prayers, and victories (p. 113–152). For the left hand, various topics are dealt with as the role of this hand for wearing clothes, or the left hand in connection with theft, sexuality, the underworld, magic, drink, and food (p. 152–196). On the third level, concrete daily life instances of left-handers in the Graeco-Roman world [for the case of Sergius Silus' iron hand, a reference to the fundamental study by M. Beagon, "Beyond Comparison: M. Sergius, Fortunae Victor", in G. Clark and T. Rajak (eds.), *Philosophy and Power in the Graeco-Roman World. Essays in Honour of Miriam Griffin* (Oxford, 2002), 111–132, is sorely missed], left-handed gladiators, and the presumed left-handedness of Tiberius and Caesar are dealt with (p. 209–240). The book concludes with a list of abbreviations; an excellent and thorough bibliography; an index usefully enabling the readers to trace common threads, such as e.g. education of children; and a list of illustrations, which are presented in both a functional and beautiful way at the end of the volume.

Projects like this one are often challenged with questions about the time frame and chronology. Wirth responds to possible objections in a convincing way. This book does not deal with Christianity and more specifically Christian liturgy, since such studies already exist (p. 10–11). As for the putting together of Greek and Roman evidence, the majority of the testimonies stem from the Roman period, and Roman culture particularly emphasized such aspects as the pejorative role of the left hand in sexuality/masturbation, scenes of theft, and invocation of the dead. As such, it seems as if Roman formalism in religious matters influenced views on the issue of left-handedness in a more negative way than Greek culture did. Wirth is appropriately careful in his comparison of Greek and Roman culture: he takes into account caveats such as what exactly is meant by both terms (p. 197–208).

I particularly appreciated the author's comparative approach and his wide mastery of scholarship on the topic. Throughout the book, one finds references to other periods and cultures such as, e.g., Egyptian, Islamic and Jewish thought and practices, or present-day neurological and psychological studies on left-handedness. Wirth not only convincingly demonstrates how after a German monograph by Humer in 2006 another book on the topic was needed [p. 11–12], he also demonstrates that left-handedness in the past is much more than "a banal issue" [R. Elze, "Rechts und Links: Bemerkungen zu einem banalen Problem", in M. Kitzinger, W. Stürner, J. Zahlten (eds.), *Das andere Wahrnehmen. Beiträge zur europäischen Geschichte. August Nitschke zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet* (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna, 1991), 75–82]. The lateness of this review should in no way diminish the great appreciation for this book, which is undoubtedly meant to become a κτῆμα εἰς ἀεί.

*Christian Laes*

Maureen Carroll: *Infancy and Earliest childhood in the Roman World: 'A Fragment of Time'*. Oxford University Press, Oxford 2018. ISBN 978-0-19-968763-3. XIII, 317 pp., 86 b/w illustrations, 2 maps. EUR 84.61, USD 100, GBP 75.

In her latest monograph, Maureen Carroll sets out to bring light to the earliest phases of childhood in Roman antiquity, concentrating especially on recent archaeological evidence throughout the Roman

empire. The topic is approached by means of analysing funerary evidence, epitaphs, material culture, and comparing these with literary sources. Carroll's book is the first concise English-language study on earliest childhood in the Roman world. The theme has been handled before, to some extent, especially in the French-language scholarship, of which the latest and most thorough is *Le sourire d'Omphale: maternité et petite enfance dans l'antiquité* (2015) by Véronique Dasen (which unfortunately is not mentioned in Carroll's work).

The book is divided into nine chapters, each concentrating on a different aspect of earliest childhood or on a different type of evidence. In the introductive first chapter, Carroll briefly presents the background of the research on Roman families and children but leaves out some of the most recent publications especially from 2014 onwards. The book starts chronologically with the second chapter concentrating on the burials and depictions of children in the Pre-Roman period across the vastness of the later Roman empire. In a sense this chapter follows the disposition of the whole book, summed up only in the context of the Pre-Roman period and thus not in the main temporal focus of the research at hand. Introducing the main themes and the structure of the book in a miniature format already in the first chapter brings a certain feeling of repetitiveness when reading the later parts of the work.

After this, in the third chapter, attention is on the development and milestones of the first year of an infant's life, starting even from before birth. By analysing the archaeological evidence Carroll suggests that in addition to the traditionally viewed life stages of Roman infancy (*dies lustricus*, *professio*, teething, first birthday, etc.), the evidence of swaddled baby votives could be interpreted as the end of a life stage in a baby's life. The parents thanked the gods that they were able to have a child that had survived the perilous first months, during which it had been swaddled.

After these chapters, Carroll focuses on different types of materials that give evidence on the lives of infants and toddlers. First in the fourth chapter by concentrating on the objects and clothing used by children, drawing examples especially from burial finds, such as grave goods. The fifth chapter approaches small children from an iconographical point of view. In chapters six and seven the focus is on the untimely death of infants and small children, first by studying the places and spaces of infant burials and second by concentrating on the burial methods themselves. In the concluding chapter all the previously presented evidence is interpreted and compared from the perspective of the literary evidence on earliest childhood.

By means of recent technological advancements, we are able to get more information from the skeletons of the deceased as well as from their burial contexts. It is possible, for example, to find traces of diseases and possible malnourishment that even the youngest of the society had already experienced during their brief lives. Carroll analyses thoroughly this important bio-archaeological evidence, adding even more depth to the information on earliest childhood. The fact that the book concentrates mainly on material evidence, which in the case of infants and toddlers consists mostly of funerary evidence, leads to a setting where the same burial contexts are interpreted multiple times from the various perspectives of different chapters – the outcome being quite repetitious.

Carroll impressively compiles the material evidence of infancy and early childhood in the Roman empire (and before). To be able to compose a work of this nature, requires years of specialization and experience from the field, making Carroll the ideal scholar for the undertaking. The book has value both as a source book on the material evidence of earliest childhood and as an exhaustive

research on the matter. Carroll's work is thus invaluable to anyone interested in early childhood in antiquity and especially for those not working with the material evidence directly.

*Roosa Kallunki*

Takashi Fujii: *Imperial Cult and Imperial Representation in Roman Cyprus*. Heidelberger Althistorische Beiträge und Epigraphische Studien (HABES) 53. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2013. ISBN 978-3-515-10257-5. 248 pp. EUR 46.

Fujii's book presents a study of Roman imperial representation in one specific area in the eastern Mediterranean, Cyprus. The time frame of the study ranges from the end of the first century BCE, when the island came under Roman rule, to the end of third century CE. The main focus of Fujii's study is the imperial cult in Cyprus and the main evidence used is epigraphic. The book is based on the author's dissertation from the year 2010. The strengths of the book lie in its comprehensive discussion of source material and all the aspects of the imperial cult and the attention it gives to an area that was less central in the Roman Empire.

The book consists of an introductory chapter, discussion divided into three parts, and a conclusion that is followed by an appendix, abbreviations and bibliography, and indices. The appendix catalogues the 90 Greek and Latin inscriptions used as sources and provides translations as well as other information, including date, find spot and further references. The inscriptions are listed by cities in alphabetical order. This solution is reasoned well in the discussion, but it prevents the reader from gaining a temporal overview. A list of inscriptions by emperors would have been useful too.

Part 1, "The Emperor in the Wide Spectrum of Representation", consists of four chapters and is the widest of the three parts. The part's focus is on the religious status of the Roman emperor and the relationship and ritual transfer between traditional deities and the emperor. Fujii studies this by examining imperial epithets and titles, imperial statues, the arrangement of imperial monuments in the civic landscape and the Cypriot oath of allegiance to Tiberius from 14 CE. The chapters create a consistent image of the processes that the Cypriots used to adapt to imperial power in terms of religion and the ways of representing that power.

Part 2, "Political and Social Settings of the Imperial Cult", has two chapters. They focus on ways of communication through imperial cult and the integration of the imperial cult into Cyprus's socio-political framework. The section examines the imperial cult in Cyprus on three levels – provincial, civic, and individual – and the interaction through the imperial cult on all levels.

Part 3, "The Emperor in the Life of the Cypriots", also consists of two chapters. The chapters examine the presence of the emperor in the everyday life of the Cypriots by focusing on festivals and calendars. These presented a yearly cycle that included regular honors towards the emperor and imperial family but that was built on the existing cultic frameworks of traditional deities.

Fujii's study of communication and interaction through the Roman imperial cult in Cypriot society is a good example of a case study of a Roman province. Its focus is on the province and its people and their reactions to Roman central power. Direct comparisons with other eastern provinces are scarce but Fujii places Cyprus and its imperial cult well within the larger frame of

emperor worship. Fujii's book adds to our understanding of the imperial cult and its processes in the Roman East.

*Sanna Joska*

Martin Kovacs: *Kaiser, Senatoren und Gelehrte: Untersuchungen zum spätantiken männlichen Privatporträt*. Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden 2014. ISBN 978-3-89500-843-6. 456 S. 660 s/w –Abb, 150 Taf. EUR 98.

This work is based on the 2010 dissertation by Martin Kovacs for the Georg-August-Universität in Göttingen. Needless to say, the most important research literature on Roman portraiture is in German, and, this volume continues the tradition – including in its bibliography all the important research literature in the other four main languages covering the subject.

The author aims to deal with the portraiture of the late antique Roman aristocracy and its development in various fields (such as style, cultural history, etc.) through a new set of criteria. The conclusions are that Imperial Roman portraiture and aristocratic self-presentation grew apart after Constantine and this intended form of presentation varied in different media. The traditional statue (*rundplastische*) became the most individualized form of aristocratic portraiture. This also varied regionally, especially when we compare the statues found in Italy, Greece, and Turkey.

Chapter 1 (pp. 17–24) includes the introduction, research questions and the relevant research history. Kovacs' aim is the study of the archaeological material (*Privatporträt*) in its social (as in a society, *gesellschaftliche*) and political context, and, its social (*soziale*) meaning. Chapter 2 (pp. 25–40) introduces us to the variable problems of previous research – dating, style, and so forth – which Kovacs intends to set straight. Chapter 3 (pp. 41–44) portrays in general the previous Imperial portraiture from the first to the third century CE. The massive Chapter 4 (pp. 45–212) includes subchapters of subchapters counting up to four digits. The total volume consists of close to 60 chapters, subchapters, and appendices, so only Chapter 4 will be looked at more closely below.

Chapter 4 "Das spätantike Privatporträt – Identität, Norm und Individuum von 4. bis 6. Jh. n. Chr." is divided into six subchapters, which in turn are divided into further subchapters. The primary subchapters are: "Die Porträts konstantinischer Zeit – Die Loslösung vom Kaiserbild oder die Abgrenzung des Kaisers von der Elite?" (4.1); "Die Privatporträts nach Konstantin bis zum Ende der valentinianischen Dynastie – Individualisierung statt Normierung." (4.2); "Kaiser, Rom und Senat im 4. Jh. – Die Repräsentationsmechanismen der spätantiken Senatsaristokratie." (4.3); "Die Porträts des späten 4. und frühen 5. Jhs." (4.4); "Die Privatporträts des 5. Jhs." (4.5); "Die Privatporträts des 6. Jhs." (4.6).

The themes of differences between the Imperial and aristocratic portraiture are explained by their different motives. As the Imperial portraiture underlines timelessness, the aristocratic seeks "moral fiber" in tradition. This tradition, however, and across the Mediterranean, causes problems for the correct dating of these statue portraits: especially in the 6th century when the art was slowly reduced to the level of "type portraits".

Even though Chapter 4 could have been divided more practically, it should go without saying that the chapter names follow the rigid and informative German tradition of naming the chapters

according to their content – most useful, time saving, and user friendly to any scholar just checking out the table of contents.

Chapter 5 (pp. 213–252) is the prelude to the conclusions, gathering the previous massive set of data into finding out the "average meaning" of the late antique portraiture. Kovacs' case for purposefully individual late antique aristocratic portraiture is made with a thoroughly considered mass of literary and archaeological evidence. The comparative evidence for his case includes sarcophagi, gold cups, mosaics and paintings. In chapter 6 (pp. 253–258) Kovacs rounds up his final conclusions. These chapters are followed by an excellent catalogue and illustrations.

Kovacs moves effortlessly through late antique time and space with the help of archaeological, literary, and comparative evidence. This is a truly wonderful book and it should be found in any library concentrating on classical art, archaeology, and the like. In my opinion, Kovacs' goal of better understanding the development of late antique aristocratic self-representation (p. 253) is achieved.

*Juhana Heikonen*

*Priests and State in the Roman World*. Edited by James H. Richardson – Federico Santangelo. Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 33. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2011. ISBN 978-3-515-09817-5. 643 pp., 24 b/w ill., 8 b/w tables. EUR 88.

This substantial book has its origin in the conference which took place 28–30 August 2008 at the University of Wales, Lampeter. The published collection is divided into two parts: Priests and priesthoods, and Regional contexts, each comprising twelve contributions. The size of the volume both as regards the number of papers and the range of subjects is too large to be covered within this review so I will focus on the pagan priesthoods of the first part.

Jörg Rüpke starts the first part with a general account on the membership of the priestly colleges ("Different Colleges – Never Mind?"). As the author of the massive *Fasti sacerdotum* (Stuttgart 2005) he is able to draw from his vast knowledge of the priesthoods and reflect on their diversity and homogeneity. He makes observations about "the process of institutional isomorphism" of the priestly colleges, and the recruitment to different priesthoods from the point of view of age, mental qualities, and earlier priesthoods. As to the expression *sacerdotum quattuor amplissima collegia*, Rüpke interestingly concludes that *amplissimus* is an impressive rather than a technical term (p. 26).

The second article, "*Lex Domitia* Revisited" by John North, deals with the *lex Domitia* of 104/103 BC which regulated the priestly elections of the major colleges. The main concern of the paper is the provision mentioned by Cassius Dio (39.17) that two men from the same *gens* (συγγενεία) could not hold the same priesthood at the same time: was this rule already included in the *lex Domitia*, or added later to the *lex Labiena* of 63 BC, which is said to have restored the provisions of the *lex Domitia* after Sulla had abolished them in 81 BC? Among the very flimsy evidence, which North uses with due caution, the central place is held by Sulla's claimed place in the college of augurs; if he became an augur while the *lex Domitia* was in force, there would have been two Cornelii in the college simultaneously in the 80s BC, thus showing that Dio's clause belonged only to the *lex Labiena*. However, Sulla's whole augurate is based on very controversial evidence,

especially on coins issued by Sulla after his return from the East (M. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage I*, cat. 359, pp. 373–374. 1974). These show a jug and a *lituus* on the reverse, which fact has been interpreted to refer to Sulla's augurate. North argues that "Sulla was either never augur at all, or only after passing his law on the priesthoods", and that the symbols on the reverse of the above-mentioned coins do not evoke the holding of priesthoods but the piety of the successful Roman general. In this interpretation he comes close to that of J. Rufus Fears who saw the *lituus* as the symbol of the *felicitas* of the charismatic general ("The Coinage of Q. Cornificius and Augural Symbolism on Late Republican Denarii", *Historia* 24, 1975, 592–602 – an article not found in North's bibliography). *Ceterum*, the paper has a short appendix on the so-called *Fasti augurum* (*ILS* 9338). There, in his last footnote he refers to the present reviewer "for a recent statement of the case for the list being all augural" – this is somewhat baffling, since I explicitly wrote that "the evidence for the inscription as a whole remains inconclusive. In particular, we cannot rule out the possibility that the inscription comprised more than one college – that is to say, that one tablet might be a fragment of a list of the augurs; another that of the pontiffs" (*Hermes* 130, 2002, p. 105). North's suggestion for the heading of the inscription, … *in comment*]*arios c*[*ollegii*, is also very close to my own proposal, … *apud comment*]*arios c*[*ollegi*, which he does not mention.

Christian Kvium's treatment of augural matters ("Inauguration and Foundation. An Essay on Roman Ritual Classification and Continuity") is less felicitous and leaves the reader somewhat baffled. On augural matters, it rests in practice solely on Jerzy Linderski's (admittedly unsurpassed) *ANRW* article "The Augural Law", thus oddly ignoring all more recent augural studies, including, e.g., the highly relevant "Founding the City: Ennius and Romulus on the Site of Rome" by Linderski (reprinted now in his *Roman Questions II*). As a result, his discussion with research is rather limited. One also finds several statements that are unfounded, e.g., the idea that an inaugurated place in Rome should be visible from the *auguraculum* (p. 66), or that inaugurations began with the taking of auspices (p. 67) – surely the taking of auspices was an integral part of the ceremony itself and not a preliminary act as in the case of, for instance, *comitia*. The whole discussion concerning the augur's orientation (facing south – ignoring, for one, the concrete evidence offered by the *auguraculum* of Bantia, where the augur's seat is to the west of the *templum*) and the delimitation of *templum* (p. 72 ff.) seems very confused and reveals misunderstandings of sources: e.g., the formula given by Varro *templa tescaque m(eae) f(ines) ita sunto* does not say 'my boundaries between *templa* and *tesca* …'.

James Richardson's contribution, "The Vestal Virgins and the Use of the Annales Maximi", is a novel attempt to explain the ritual entombment of an unchaste Vestal and also why these cases would not have been recorded in the *annales maximi*. His explanation carries conviction: the offence of the unchaste Vestal was irreparable and inexpiable; thus it had to be removed from existence. Her entombment was not a punishment as such (she was put in an underground chamber with some food, drink and a lamp), but a ritual by means of which the Romans solved the problem. This is why the unchaste Vestal was also deprived of any monuments and why it would have been unlikely that the *pontifex maximus* had kept any record of the trial and entombment. The unchaste Vestal suffered a complete *damnatio memoriae* (an expression avoided by Richardson), and therefore it is likely "that most of the notices concerning the condemnation of unchaste Vestals are annalistic fabrications".

Fay Glinister's "Bring on the Dancing Girls: Some Thoughts on the Salian Priesthood" is a learned discussion on the *Salii* and especially on their less-known female counterparts the *Saliae*.

There is much we do not know and that remains conjectural about these "dancing girls". Glinister refutes the older idea that the *Saliae* were lower class hired women and argues forcefully that they were real counterparts of the *Salii*: this would fit the discernible parallelism in Roman religion, where the archaic priesthoods have their male and female branches, like the *flamen* and *flaminica* or *rex* and *regina*.

In his contribution "The *haruspices* of the Emperor: Tarquitius Priscus and Sejanus' Conspiracy", Mario Torelli tries to show that Tiberius' haruspex was behind Sejanus' falling into disfavour with the emperor. This might be true, but the evidence is highly conjectural and left the present reader in doubt at several points in the chain of evidence.

Federico Santangelo's paper, "*Pax deorum* and Pontiffs", deals with the concept of *pax deorum* and the role of the pontiffs in establishing it. Based on the surviving textual evidence, Santangelo challenges the traditional view about "the peace of the gods" as a firm theological construct: there was no such status which the Romans tried to maintain or (after its breach) to restore. According to him (if I understand him correctly) the *pax deorum* was something that had to be negotiated (just as in war the peace has to be negotiated) each time the gods needed appeasement. This interpretation, however, raises some questions. First of all the expression *pax deorum* appears so many times in literature that it looks very much like a concept. Secondly, one also has to think about the context from another viewpoint and ask whether certain circumstances are more likely to elicit such mentions. It is in wartime that one talks about the peace. Hence the mere looking at the textual evidence can be very misleading.

In his contribution, "The *fetiales* and Roman International Relations", John Rich returns to the fetials thirty years after his classic book *Declaring War in the Roman Republic in the Period of Transmarine Expansion*. This is an updated, learned and lucid account of the fetial priests, their history, and various activities. Most interesting of these is their role in declaring war, about which there is much scholarly disagreement. Rich is highly sceptical as to the historicity of the accounts of our ancient sources, and holds that the alleged standard fetial procedure for the preliminaries of war was used only occasionally during the early centuries of the Republic – many a war would have begun without any formal preliminaries. Although the fetials were considered authorities on ritual requirements for war preliminaries, the role given to them by the surviving ancient sources was a later literary construct that aimed to give an idealized portrayal of Rome waging just wars.

The augural doctrine concerning war and triumphs at the end of the Republic is the topic of Alberto Dalla Rosa's paper, "Dominating the Auspices: Augustus, Augury and the Proconsuls". Augustus' new position of *princeps* gave him auspicial superiority over the proconsuls, so that all military action in every province was carried out under his *auspicia*. According to Dalla Rosa this superiority had its precedents in those cases where the consuls were given auspicial prominence over proconsuls. The Republican period offers some examples where more than one general, both consuls and proconsuls, with equal *imperium* were on the same battlefield; this brought up the question of under whose *auspicia* the battle was fought. Augustus' superiority was based on the *exousia ton hupaton* granted to him in 19 BC, which gave him the same dignity as a consul and the personal submission of proconsuls before departing for their province to act under Augustus' *auspicia*. This is a sensible explanation.

In "Augustus and the Priesthoods of Rome: the Evidence of Suetonius", David Wardle focuses on chapters 30–31 of Suetonius' *Life of Augustus*, where Suetonius discusses Augustus' ac-

tions in relation to state religion. Wardle demonstrates that, in its context within the *Life*, the section falls within Suetonius' discussion of the *res urbanae* and it should be seen as part of Augustus' public career as *princeps* and *pontifex maximus* rather than reflecting his private religious preferences. Wardle offers a sound discussion as regards Augustus' religious reforms mentioned by Suetonius, e.g. the sensible interpretation of *sacerdotum et numerum et dignitatem sed et commoda auxit.*

David Hunt's paper, "Fellow-Servants of God: Roman Emperor and his Christian Bishops in the Age of Constantine", and David Noy's "Jewish Priests and Synagogue Officials in the Greco-Roman Diaspora of Late Antiquity" end the first part of the book. The second half covers priesthoods outside the *Urbs*, both in Italy and in several Roman provinces.

In sum, this is an impressive and well-edited volume which no doubt will be of great interest, especially to those dedicated to the study of Roman religion.

*Jyri Vaahtera*

*Vom Nil aus um die Alte Welt: Rekonstruktionen ägyptischer, minoischer und griechischer Schiffe. Katalog einer Ausstellung im Winckelmann-Museum vom 27. April bis 22. September 2013.* Edited by Max Kunze. Verlag Franz Philipp Rutzen, Mainz – Ruhpolding 2013. ISBN 978-3-447-06956-4. 96 S., 145 ill. EUR 30.

This exhibition catalogue shows ship reconstructions built by Michael Bormann, and the rich collection of ancient pictorial evidence on which they are based. The reconstructions include ships from Egypt, the Minoan culture, and Greece in the period of the great colonization. The detailed study and work on the reconstructions aims at showing how the ships and their rigging were actually built in the ancient world. Each chapter also contains information about the historical background of these ships and the archaeological excavations where the material was discovered. Besides Michael Bormann, other authors are Stephanie-Gerrit Bruer, Michael Haase, Frank Hildebrandt, Elke Mählitz-Galler, Alex Rügler and Veit Stürmer.

Chapter one contains articles about the meaning of the Nile for Egyptian life and transport, the fleet of King Sahura (c. 2490–2475) in the Old Kingdom, and the fleet of Queen Hatshepsut (c. 1479–1458) in the New Kingdom. This is the fascinating thing about Egyptian society: that besides the Nile, they sailed on the Red Sea, to reach Punt – probably located in the area at the border of current Ethiopia and Sudan or on the coast of Somalia – and along the east coast of the Mediterranean, where the city of Byblos served as the centre for goods coming from Arabia and Mesopotamia and where the Egyptians would sail directly to take goods to Egypt. Egyptian society and culture and its high standard of living in so many different ways depended on these contacts and imported goods. Shipbuilding and its techniques can be analysed from many tomb paintings. The reconstruction of a boat from the fleet of King Sahura and a ship from the Punt expedition are shown in detailed photos and in discussions explaining their construction and stability at sea.

Chapter two deals with trade and transport vessels on the Nile in the New Kingdom. In tomb paintings they are often depicted in larger groups, with a crew from two to six men on board. The reconstruction of the transport ship is based on the depiction found in the tomb of Merire, the high priest of Aten in the service of Akhenaten (c. 1352–1336).

Chapter three discusses the different interpretations given to the dismantled ships placed in covered pits outside the pyramid of Khufu (c. 2580–2550) that were found in excavations conducted since 1954. Originally, there were several more boat pits, which were robbed already in antiquity; according to Mark Lehner, the great number of pits gave the pyramid the appearance of a "docking place on the journey from this world to the Netherworld" (Mark Lehner, *The Complete Pyramids*, London 1997, 118). The ship found in 1954 south of the pyramid contained 1224 separate parts made of cedar wood. It was put together and is now housed in its own museum next to the pyramid. Bormann has made a replica of the ship and a reconstruction of the Neshmet bark; it is based on a wall painting found in the tomb of Rekhmire, a high official of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II in the 18th dynasty.

Next, the naval supremacy of the Minoans is discussed. The Aegean islands provided a suitable area for seafarers, who typically sailed along the coasts and made day journeys from one island to another. Crete with its many natural harbours offered the best possibilities for the building of the fleet and the exploration of the sea. Clay tablets discovered at Mari in 1933 attest to Crete's contacts with Babylon and therefore, a position in international trade already in the 19th century B.C. Trade contacts between Crete and Egypt are attested under Thutmose I (c. 1504–1492) and Hatshepsut (1473–1458) in the 18th dynasty. Under Thutmose III, Cretan warships were built in Memphis and it has been assumed that Minoan ship carpenters also worked there then (Broodbank sees the contacts between Egypt and the Aegean generally as rare. Cyprian Broodbank, *The Making of the Middle Sea: A History of the Mediterranean from the Beginning to the Emergence of the Classical World*, London 2013, 373–375). The frescoes of Akrotiri, Thera, show a short-range festive procession of ships that are being paddled and on which the reconstruction of the Minoan ship is based. Again, Bormann describes the process of studying the structure of these ships: for instance, the width of ships cannot be estimated from the paintings but needs to be deduced from the function of the vessels and there are tricky questions about the attachment of the mast, the rigging and the sail itself following from the fact that there is just one ship depicted moving by sail.

Chapter five discusses the process of creating the pentecontor with which the Greeks and the Phoenicians were able to found colonies all over the Mediterranean. Greek black and red figure pottery provide many good pictures of what a pentecontor looked like; Bormann's reconstruction deals with the type where rowers were placed on two levels. Contrary to what Bormann claims, the ships of this period were already equipped with a ram – shortening the pentecontor and placing the rowers on two levels enabled an increase in speed, power and agility, also making ramming more efficient (John F. Coates, "The Naval Architecture and the Oar Systems of Ancient Galleys", in Robert Gardiner and John Morrison (eds.), *Conway's History of the Ship: The Age of the Galley. Mediterranean Oared Vessels Since Pre-Classical Times*, London 1995, 136–137).

The final chapter, written by Stephanie-Gerrit Bruer, sheds light on the long-lasting interest in ships in the ancient world. This piece of cultural history includes the early and profound work of Lazare de Baïf, born in 1485, who put together the evidence from ancient literary sources, and the work of Bernard de Montfaucon, born 1655, who published a compendium of ancient monuments and also studied representations of ships, especially those found on the column of Trajan. Interestingly, Johan Joachim Winkelmann paid attention to the interpretation of the scene in the Praeneste Nile mosaic rather than the details of the ships and their types. The *Description de l'Egypte* fol-

lowing Napoleon's expedition aimed at explaining every aspect of Egypt: the reliefs gathered also contain a large number of depictions of ships.

This richly illustrated catalogue is informative in many ways: it explains the difficulties in studying the sources and how that information can be turned into models of real ships; it also gives an insight into the history of archaeology and generally makes good reading.

*Christa Steinby*

Eivind Heldaas Seland: *Ships of the Desert and Ships of the Sea: Palmyra in the World Trade of the First Three Centuries CE.* Philippika 101. Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2016. ISBN 978-3-447-10704-4. VIII, 112 pp. EUR 42.

Palmyra is known as a caravan city that owed its wealth to its successful long-distance trade. However, while many aspects of the cultural and social life of Palmyra have inspired research in recent years, the city's commercial actions have not been given much consideration. Eivind Heldaas Seland aims to amend this with his book *Ships of the Desert and Ships of the Sea: Palmyra in the World Trade of the First Three Centuries CE*. The book is associated with the Palmyrena projects (City hinterland and caravan trade between Orient and Occident, 2009–2013; Mechanisms of cross-cultural interaction: Networks in the Roman Near East, 2013–2016), in which the writer assisted, and which included three seasons of archaeological survey in the surroundings of Palmyra in 2008–2011.

Two questions serve as a starting point for the study: Why did Palmyra become prominent in long-distance commerce although there was no specific factor that could have explained its success? How did the people of Palmyra use their opportunities in order to make this happen? The book is divided into five chapters that purport to answer these questions.

The first chapter, "The caravan city" (pp. 1–7), introduces the reader to previous research, the sources, and the theoretical approach. The second chapter, "City, territory and hinterland" (pp. 9–25), describes the circumstances that influenced the city's development, including its history, territory, populace and their identity as well as their relationship to other nations. The third chapter, "Palmyra in the ancient world exchange" (pp. 27–61), outlines a picture of Palmyrene commerce by discussing the commodities, routes and yearly rhythm of the city's commercial transactions. The chapter fascinatingly conveys the nature of ancient long-distance trade: it was a vast entirety with many different matters to be taken into consideration. In many ways it resembled a jigsaw puzzle in which all the little pieces had to be fitted together to get it all functioning. As the title suggests, chapter four, "Organization and practicalities" (pp. 63–74), deals with practical issues of the caravan trade. It discusses the participants of commercial expeditions with their duties and tasks, as well as pack animals, security issues and daily routines on a journey through the desert. The final chapter, "Development of Palmyrene long-distance trade" (pp. 75–88), clarifies the reasons for the creation of Palmyrene long-distance trade and describes its development and expansion. Special attention is given to the different ways in which Palmyrenes were active outside their own town and how they formed networks that helped them in increasing their prominence. The chapter also describes the end of Palmyrene trade. A short summary ("Ships of the

desert and ships of the sea", pp. 89–90) completes the book. The text is accompanied by useful pictures, maps and tables.

The argument of Seland, and an answer to his questions, is that several factors set convenient preconditions for Palmyra's trading activity. While the Euphrates valley had been a traditional passageway for travellers, during the time of Palmyra's early commercial enterprises it had become a route to be avoided due to the various principalities that arose in the area with the collapse of the Seleucid Empire. All of them levied taxes and the conditions were somewhat unstable, which made the desert crossing tempting. The topography of the route used by the Palmyrenes was well suited for travelling and there was enough water available for the caravans. Because the Palmyrenes shared their environment with the nomads, they had the necessary pack animals at their disposal. In addition, weather conditions all along the route favoured the use of the route through the Syrian desert. However, these preconditions themselves would not have been enough if the Palmyrenes had not been able to use them to their advantage. Their ability to create networks was crucial to their success, and although they had a unique Palmyrene identity, they also knew perfectly well how to blend in with other societies.

Not much direct evidence concerning Palmyrene commerce has survived. Relevant literary mentions are very scarce. Some inscriptions are associated with trade, but they leave many questions open. Archaeological data is not very helpful either, for Palmyra was mostly a transit point for goods destined for other markets; besides, many of the products were consumable and thus have left no traces in the archaeological record. Therefore, the use of indirect evidence has been a necessity. One body of evidence that Seland utilizes is ethnographic and later historical data. He justifies its comparative use well and his theories sound very plausible. However, a certain element of cautiousness is always to be maintained and the lack of direct evidence inevitably leaves some doubt lingering in the air, which is not a bad thing because it both leaves the door open for further research and inspires it.

To sum up, it was enjoyable to read this book. It offers an interesting peek into Palmyrene trade and helps to perceive the essence of ancient global trade with all its practicalities, difficulties, and advantages in a wider sense. This book can be recommended to everyone interested in Palmyra, ancient commerce, and the complex networks between ancient nations. It is certainly of interest for specialists, but due to its pleasant style I also find it suitable for more inexperienced readers interested in the subject.

*Kirsi Simpanen*

Roberto Meneghini: *Die Kaiserforen Roms*. Aus dem Ital. von Dagmar Penna Miesel. Philipp von Zabern in Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt 2015. ISBN 978-3-8053-4852-2. 112 S., 82 farb. u. 54 s/w Abb. EUR 29.95.

Roberto Meneghini's *Die Kaiserforen Roms* is translated from Italian to German by Dagmar Penna Miesel. It remains unclear whether it is a translation of an Italian book or an independent work containing new information or interpretations that have not been published before in Meneghini's long scholarly career with the Imperial Fora. *Die Kaiserforen Roms* seems to have much in common with

Meneghini's *I Fori Imperiali e Mercati di Traiano: Storia e descrizione dei monumenti alla luce degli studi e degli scavi recenti* (2009). It is likely that the current work, *Die Kaiserforen Roms*, is a shortened and translated version based on the aforementioned book. *Die Kaiserforen Roms* proceeds in chronological order. First there is a short history of the zone of the Imperial Fora before the Forum of Caesar was built. Then there is a chapter on the Forum of Caesar, followed by one chapter for each later forum: The Forum of Augustus, The Temple of Peace, the Forum of Nerva and the Forum of Trajan. Finally, there is a short discussion of the history of the Imperial Fora after antiquity.

The book is likely targeted to a wider audience than just scholars with an interest in ancient Rome. It does not have any notes or references to the works of other scholars. However, there is a thematic list of scholarly literature at the end of the book where a reader can find more information about, for example, the different fora. There is also a glossary and a list of emperors with the years of their reigns. These features indicate that the audience of this work is beyond the academic community.

As such, the text is exceptionally informative. It has many measurements, the stone materials are often listed in detail, and there are references to ancient literature. In particular, the discussion on the Forum of Caesar occasionally has detailed information about the excavations penetrating below the floor level of the forum. This data might be interesting for the specialist.

The work has many illustrations: photographs, drawings, plans, and maps. They ease reading and understanding the text, particularly if the reader is not familiar with the archaeology of the Imperial Fora. The book also contains artists' reconstructions, which bring the places alive with people and other features of daily life that are often absent in archaeological illustrations. Yet, the level of reliability of the reconstructions remains unclear to the reader. It is almost impossible to know which part is based on the illustrator's imagination and which part on the remaining archaeological evidence – especially if the Imperial Fora are not familiar to the reader.

*Die Kaiserforen Roms* is good book for someone who is unfamiliar with the archaeology and history of the Imperial Fora or who needs a quick recapitulation of them. However, for more advanced academic work, it is perhaps more fruitful to read the other publications of Meneghini, for example, the aforementioned *I Fori Imperiali e Mercati di Traiano.*

*Samuli Simelius*

*Venafrum città di Augusto: Tra coltura e cultura, topografia, archeologia e storia*. A cura di Cecilia Ricci. URBANA SPECIES: Vita di città nell'Italia e nell'Impero romano 3. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 2015. ISBN 978-88-7140-683-1. 191 pp. EUR 15.

Venafrum era una città importante nel triangolo tra Lazio, Campania e Samnium. Nell'età classica appartenne certamente alla I regio augustea, e nella coscienza comune credo alla Campania; nella tarda antichità faceva parte della provincia Samnium. Il volume qui annunciato si basa sulle comunicazioni lette durante un incontro tenutosi nel 2014 a Castello Pandone. Il suo contenuto è vario, come anche la qualità dei singoli contributi. Interessanti sono quelli che si occupano dei materiali archeologici, per es. Jacobelli sulle pitture della *domus* di via Carmine 10, scoperte nei recenti scavi negli anni '80 (ma manca un accenno sulla cronologia del III stile cui appartengono i frammenti del-

le pitture), e Ciliberto sui rivestimenti pavimentali nell'edilizia privata di Venafro; ma neanche altri di indirizzo archeologico sono privi di interesse. Spicca anche il contributo di Soricelli sui terremoti del IV secolo nel Samnium, il quale sottolinea la necessità di ulteriori scavi nel territorio di Venafro.

Alcuni dettagli. S. Di Mauro discute aspetti sociali, politici e amministrativi della colonia, della quale le prime deduzioni restano incerte. Il noto passo di Festo sulle *praefecturae* non dimostra che Venafro fosse stato nel I secolo a.C. una vera *praefectura*; in questo passo confuso e anche in parte corrotto vengono elencate *praefecturae* antiche fin dal IV secolo; se in *CIL* X 4876 del periodo protoaugusteo viene ricordato un *praefectus iure deicundo bis*, ciò non conferma ancora che Venafro fosse stata in quel periodo una vera *praefectura*, giacché lo stesso personaggio era stato *duovir urbis moeniundae bis*; qualcosa di simile possiamo osservare per es. a Cassino dal noto caso di *C. Futius C. f. praef(ectus) Casinat(ium)* che non sembra possa riferirsi all'antica categoria delle *praefecturae*, ma si tratta di una *praefectura* solo nominale; p. 43: *P. Lucanius L. f. Ter. Quadratus IIvir, augur, q. II* (*CIL* X 4877) avrebbe finanziato la costruzione di un *balneum* forse durante l'incarico di *quaestor*, ma piuttosto questa ebbe luogo durante il suo duovirato (perché la costruzione sarebbe stata ricordata solo posticipatamente quando era duoviro?). – Nella trattazione dell'iscrizione dell'anfiteatro, S. Capini (p. 71) non fa cenno al fondamentale contributo di Kajava, citato altrove nel volume (aggiungi anche G. Tosi, *Gli edifici per spettacoli nell'Italia romana* [2003] 101–105 sull'anfiteatro e teatro). – Nel contributo di A. M. Rossetti a p. 131 è avvenuta una confusione, in quanto la fig. 10 non raffigura l'urna di *Protarchus*. – Nel prospetto di C. Ricci sulla diffusione dei *Papii* non tutti gli accostamenti sono sicuri; a p. 141 che cos'è *Allia > l. Hilara*?

Nel complesso tuttavia si tratta di un volume utile che spero contribuirà a un crescente interesse verso la storia della città romana anche da parte dei cittadini della Venafro di oggi. Mi chiedo ancora se fosse opportuno chiamare Venafrum, nel titolo del libro, "città di Augusto". Certo, sotto Augusto, Venafro fiorì, ma della sua prosperità testimoniano già antichi autori a partire da Catone. E nel periodo post-augusteo continuò ad essere un centro importante. Lo si vede anche da molti contributi del volume, in particolare quelli archeologici che trattano una quantità di materiali dell'età imperiale. Non so se si possa caratterizzare Venafro città di Augusto, in contrapposizione con altre città campane o sannite.

Ecco ancora il contenuto del volume. Dopo la presentazione del sindaco di Venafro Sorbo e l'introduzione di C. Ricci seguono i vari contributi: F. Pilla, Colture e cultura. L'identità di un territorio (Aurina, ma non solo); G. Cera, L'*ager venafranus* in età augustea e proto-imperiale: viabilità e popolamento; S. Di Mauro, La colonia di Venafro (I a.C. – V d.C.). Aspetti sociali, politici e amministrativi; S. Capini, Venafro, città di Augusto; L. Jacobelli, G li arredi fissi nelle case di Venafro romana: le pitture della *Domus* di Via Carmine 10; F. Ciliberto, L'arredo fisso nell'edilizia privata di Venafro. I rivestimenti pavimentali; A. Guidi, L'arredo mobile nelle case di Venafro romana: la ceramica; A. M. Rossetti, I rilievi con geni funerari di Venafro e Roccaravindola. Breve nota iconografica; C. Ricci, Dal Sannio a Roma. I *Papii* tra Silla e Augusto nelle testimonianze epigrafiche dell'Italia centrale; G. Soricelli, Venafro e i terremoti del IV secolo: la fine di un'epoca?

*Heikki Solin*

Pierfrancesco Porena: *L'insediamento degli Ostrogoti in Italia.* Saggi di Storia antica 33. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2012. ISBN 978-88-8265-745-1 280 pp. EUR 158.

Il volume tratta un'importante e centrale questione della storia romana tardoantica, vale a dire le modalità d'insediamento degli Ostrogoti all'indomani della caduta dell'Impero romano d'Occidente nel 476. Contiene interessanti considerazioni, oltre che sull'insediamento degli Ostrogoti, sul tema "Romani e Ostrogoti di fronte al fisco", soprattutto nei paragrafi "La Laus Liberii ed Ennodio sulla fiscalità del prefetto Liberius" e "Il sistema fiscale in Italia e gli Ostrogoti contribuenti", nonché in quello in cui si trattano le "tertiae-tasse". Nel libro si parla molto di Cassiodoro, e infatti uno dei meriti del volume è la ricostruzione, condotta grazie a un'acuta interpretazione di alcuni passi delle *Variae*, del complesso quadro dell'insediamento dei barbari in Italia. Va comunque detto che il libro non è di facile lettura, specie per uno straniero. Finisco con una piccola osservazione. A pp. 243 sg. viene ricordato, per illustrare il sostantivo *terminus* nelle *Variae* di Cassiodoro, il *terminus* epigrafico, l'unico che resta della bonifica intrapresa, per volontà di Teodorico e per ordine del senato, dal senatore Cecina Mavortio Basilio Decio negli anni 507–511 (*ILS* 8956), un cippo che delimita l'area da bonificare; nel testo offerto da Porena si riscontra un piccolo refuso: da correggere *ex p(raecepto)* invece di *ex (p)r(aecepto)* (nonostante che nell'editio princeps in *NSA* 1893, 210–1 si trovi EX R D N, lettura poi corretta in *Bull.arch.crist*. 1894, 83–4). Da notare inoltre che Mommsen nell'edizione delle *Variae* p. CLXXXI dà come numero della serie dei cippi *XV* invece di *LXV* (ma forse si tratta di un mero refuso).

*Heikki Solin*

*Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*. *Nova Series* I. Institutum Historicum Ordinis Praedicatorum. Angelicum University Press, Roma 2016. ISSN 0391-7320. 327 pp. EUR 65.
*Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*. *Nova Series* II. Institutum Historicum Ordinis Praedicatorum. Angelicum University Press, Roma 2017. ISSN 0391-7320. 438 pp. EUR 55.

Sometimes old and venerable journals decide to upgrade their external look and mark the occasion by introducing the words "new series". In reality, nothing really changes. The case of the *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, however, is slightly different. Surely enough, it is a venerable, old, quality journal (it was founded in 1931), and, yes, it has updated its visual image, but that is not all. The last volume of the original series was published in 2013 and the first issue of *Nova Series* came out three years later. This means that there was a gap of two years without an issue.

The first volume of the *Nova Series* does not have any editorial or other article that explains the reason for the extended gap between the last issue of the original series and the beginning of the *Nova Series*. It seems, however, clear that it was not just a question of updating the visual image of the journal. Be that as may, the *Nova Series* luckily carries on the high-quality tradition of the original *Archivum*.

*Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* was and still is published by the *Institutum Historicum Ordinis Praedicatorum* and produced by Angelicum University Press. Angelicum, or more officially The Pontifical University of Saint Thomas Aquinas is the university of the Dominican order in

Rome. The Dominican profile of the journal continues with redaction and scientific committees that both consist mostly of Dominican scholars. That, however, does not mean that the academic level of these committees is threatened as they include some first-rate scholars, Dominican and not, such as Paul-Bernard Hodel OP, Augustine Thompson OP, Professor Nicole Bériou from Paris, and Doctor Michèle Mulcahey from the Pontifical Institute in Toronto.

As the name suggests, *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* publishes scholarly articles on the history of the Dominican order. They are published in the English, French, German, Italian and Latin languages. Indeed, it should be pointed out that all these languages are used in the first two volumes of the *Nova Series*, and volume II also includes two articles in Spanish. Such exceptional linguistic diversity gathers together scholars from all over the world without the pressure of writing in a foreign language. One could also add that publishing scholarly articles in languages besides English is a value in itself.

The articles within each issue are organized according to chronological order when possible, hence the first articles generally deal with the Middle Ages and the later ones come closer to the present day. The overall emphasis is, however, on medieval and the Early Modern period. As the *Archivum* is not a strictly commercial enterprise and is not run by a commercial publishing house, it publishes research on more obscure and less general issues than most of the mainstream journals.

It also publishes longer articles than most of the historical journals do; for example, the very first article of the first volume of the Nova Series, Simon Tugwell's "The Confirmation of the Order of Preachers: A Tale of Two Bulls" runs from page 6 to page 129, that is more than 120 pages. As such it resembles more a monograph than a journal article and could not have been published in most of the historical journals.

Even if the articles published in *Archivum* deal exclusively with the Dominican order, this does not mean that they are not relevant from the larger historical point of view. During the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period, Dominicans were involved in numerous key events and processes of European and colonial history. To give an example, I mention Elias Füllenbach's article "Hunting Dogs? Dominican Mission to the Jews in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries" (*AFP*, Nova Series, Vol. II, pp. 157–168). In this short article, Füllenbach calls for a critical re-examination of Jeremy Cohen's more or less generally accepted theory that Dominican and Franciscan friars and their efforts to convert the Jews led to contemporary anti-Judaism becoming harsher (Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism* [Ithaca – London, 1982], passim). Here it needs to be pointed out that Füllenbach's article is not an apologetic pamphlet, but it relies sound and well-documented evidence.

Another example that shows the general relevance of the *AFP* articles is Sonja Reisner's "Die Bedeutung von Klosterbibliotheken als Überlieferungsträger Frühneuzeitlicher Privatbibliotheken. Ein Beispiel aus der Bibliothek des Wiener Dominikanerkonvents", *AFP*, Nova Series, Vol. II, pp. 191–241. Her article studies the private library of a certain Johannes Roland, who received the degree of doctor of medicine at the University of Padua in 1591. His personal library came, through several interesting turns, to the library of the Dominican convent of Vienna and has survived there. Consequently, it has been possible to re-collect this lost library on the basis of Roland's *ex libris* inscriptions. Thus, not only do we get important knowledge of what might have been found in the personal library of the late sixteenth-century doctor, but also invaluable knowledge on the

importance of the monastic libraries in reconstructing lost personal libraries. All this is extremely important from the point of view of book history and cultural history in general.

To conclude, the scholarly level of the articles of the *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, *Nova Series*, is high, and it is a must-read for anyone interested in medieval or early modern ecclesiastical history. However, it is worth checking out for other *studiosi* working on these periods even if they are not directly interested in Dominican or ecclesiastical history, as the articles refer to numerous topics highly interesting from the point of view of social, intellectual, cultural, and even political history.

*Jussi Hanska*

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# INDEX SCRIPTORUM

| | |
|---|---|
| Matias Buchholz | matias.buchholz@helsinki.fi |
| Mireille Corbier | corbier@msh-paris.fr |
| Gianluca De Martino | gianluca.martino@helsinki.fi |
| Richard Duncan-Jones | rpd1@cam.ac.uk |
| Hilla Halla-Aho | hilla.halla-aho@helsinki.fi |
| Jussi Hanska | jussi.hanska@tuni.fi |
| Juhana Heikonen | juhana.heikonen@aalto.fi |
| George Hollenback | gmh616@yahoo.com |
| Sanna Joska | sanna.joska@gmail.com |
| Mika Kajava | mika.kajava@helsinki.fi |
| Roosa Kallunki | roosa.kallunki@tuni.fi |
| Urpo Kantola | urpo.kantola@helsinki.fi |
| Arthur Keaveney | A.P.Keaveney@kent.ac.uk |
| Tua Korhonen | tua.korhonen@helsinki.fi |
| Christian Laes | christian.laes@manchester.ac.uk |
| | christian.laes@uantwerpen.be |
| Jasmin Lukkari | jasmin.lukkari@helsinki.fi |
| Georgios Mouratidis | gm243@st-andrews.ac.uk |
| Tiziano Ottobrini | tiziano.ottobrini@unicatt.it |
| | tizianoottobrini@yahoo.it |
| Ghislaine van der Ploeg | gvanderploeg@hotmail.co.uk |
| Olli Salomies | olli.salomies@helsinki.fi |
| Kaj Sandberg | ksandber@abo.fi |
| Andrea Sesoldi | andrea.sesoldi@outlook.it |
| Samuli Simelius | samuli.simelius@helsinki.fi |
| Kirsi Simpanen | kirsi.simpanen@helsinki.fi |
| Heikki Solin | heikki.solin@helsinki.fi |
| Christa Steinby | christa.steinby@gmail.com |
| Marc Steinmann | marcsteinmann@web.de |
| Kaius Tuori | kaius.tuori@helsinki.fi |
| Jyri Vaahtera | jyri.vaahtera@utu.fi |