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SICILE, 104–100 AV. J.-C.: "VARIUS" ET "SALVIUS", HOMMES LIBRES OU ESCLAVES EN RÉVOLTE ?

MICHEL ABERSON¹

La question du caractère exclusivement servile – ou non – des graves troubles qui ont affecté la Sicile à deux reprises dans la seconde moitié du II^e siècle av. J.-C. a été maintes fois abordée dans la recherche historique moderne.² La présence parmi les protagonistes de ces révoltes de personnes que leur onomastique a parfois permis d'identifier comme des hommes de condition libre a notamment conduit plusieurs chercheurs à mettre en évidence le fait que ces événements dramatiques ne pouvaient pas être interprétés à la seule lumière des rapports entre maîtres et esclaves, mais que d'autres aspects – oppositions entre classes dirigeantes et petit peuple, entre villes et campagne, entre partisans et adversaires de Rome – devaient également être pris en compte.

¹ Je remercie vivement les collègues suivants pour leurs suggestions et leurs relectures attentives: Heikki Solin (Helsinki), Olli Salomies (Helsinki), Rudolf Wachter (Bâle et Lausanne), Antoine Viredaz (Lausanne), ainsi que les deux relecteurs anonymes de cet article. Merci également à Emmanuel Dupraz (Bruxelles) et à mon étudiante Valérie Geneux (Genève) pour les références bibliographiques qu'ils m'ont aimablement transmises. Peter Morton (Edinburgh) m'a spontanément fait parvenir de larges extraits de sa thèse de doctorat en cours de publication; qu'il en soit ici chaleureusement remercié.

² La bibliographie sur les guerres serviles en Sicile est extrêmement abondante et ne saurait être présentée ici de manière exhaustive. On en trouvera un large aperçu chez Bradley 1989, 151–160; Morton 2013, 237–238, n. 3. Pour le débat concernant la nature de ces révoltes, voir surtout Vogt 1965, 53–60; Manganaro 1967; Verbrugge 1974; Wiedemann 1981, 208; Coarelli 1981, 8–14; Rubinsohn 1982, 441, n. 22, avec la bibliographie antérieure (2^e guerre servile); Manganaro 1983; Dumont 1987, 199–200, n. 218 et 220; La Rocca 2004 (avec un résumé des opinions antérieures sur ce sujet); Morton 2008, 101–103 (1^e guerre servile). Sauf mention contraire, toutes les dates mentionnées dans le présent article se situent avant l'ère commune.

Dans le cas de la "Première guerre servile" (135–132), un passage de Diodore a été la plupart du temps interprété comme preuve que des hommes libres s'étaient mêlés aux esclaves – surtout ruraux, semble-t-il – dans une lutte qui les opposait à la fois aux possédants, aux habitants des villes et au pouvoir romain.³

Dans la description du second conflit "servile" (104–100) que l'on peut lire dans le résumé du texte de Diodore transmis par les *Excerpta* de Constantin Porphyrogénète, on trouve également la mention d'hommes libres qui, constatant les succès remportés par les insurgés, se joignent à eux.⁴ De plus, Diodore cite quelques personnages dont les noms peuvent avec une grande vraisemblance être interprétés comme ceux d'hommes libres. C'est notamment le cas d'un repris de justice nommé Γάιος ou Μάρκος Τιτίnius – un *C.* ou *M. Titinius* – qui intervient dans le récit des événements, d'abord comme complice des insurgés, puis du côté romain.⁵ Or, le même Diodore mentionne aussi deux autres

³ Diod. Sic. 34–35,2,48. Cf. Manganaro 1967, 214 ; 220 ; Rubinsohn 1982, 441–442 ; Manganaro 1983, 406–407 ; Urbainczyk 2008, 13. *Contra* : La Rocca 2004 (avec une abondante bibliographie sur le sujet : 151–153, n. 6–15).

⁴ Diod. Sic. 36,5,6 Walton = 36, Test. 2,4,1 Goukowsky (dans le résumé de Photios, *Bibl.* p. 389a Henry) : οὐ γὰρ οἱ δοῦλοι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων οἱ ἄποροι πᾶσαν ἀρπαγὴν καὶ παρανομίαν ἐργαζόμενοι, καὶ τοὺς περιτυγχάνοντας δούλους τε καὶ ἐλευθέρους, ὅπως μηδεὶς ἀπαγγέλλοι τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦς ἀπόνοιαν, ἐφόνευον ἀναιδῶς ; 36,11,1 Walton = 36, Fr. 2,1 Goukowsky (dans *Exc. de Virt et Vit.* 353) : ὅτι οὐ μόνον τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οἰκετῶν τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἀπόστασιν ὠρμημένον κατέτρεχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων οἱ τὰς ἐπὶ χώρας κτήσεις οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐτρέποντο πρὸς ἀρπαγὴν καὶ παρανομίαν. οἱ γὰρ ἐλλειπεῖς ταῖς οὐσίαις διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν ἅμα καὶ παρανομίαν ἐξεχέοντο κατὰ συστροφὰς ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀγέλας τῶν θρεμμάτων ἀπῆλυνον, τοὺς δὲ ἐν τοῖς σταθμοῖς τεθησαυρισμένους καρποὺς διήρπαζον, καὶ τοὺς περιτυγχάνοντας ἀνέδην ἐλευθέρους τε καὶ δούλους ἐφόνευον, ὅπως μηδεὶς ἀπαγγεῖλη τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦς ἀπόνοιαν τε καὶ παρανομίαν.

⁵ Γάιος Τιτίnius : Diod. Sic. 36,3,5 Walton = 36, Test. 2,1,5 Goukowsky ; Μάρκος Τιτίnius 36,4,5 Walton = 36, Test. 2,2,3 Goukowsky (les deux passages dans le résumé de Photios, *Bibl.* p. 387b Henry). Il n'est pas sûr, bien que probable, qu'il s'agisse d'un seul et même personnage (cf. Rubinsohn 1982, 447 avec n. 43 ; F. Münzer, art. "Titinius 21", *RE VI A*, 1937, 1551). Voir aussi, dans le cadre des révoltes serviles qui ont eu lieu à cette époque en Campanie, le rôle joué par le chevalier romain que les résumés de Diodore présentent tantôt sous le nom de Τίτος Μενοῦίτιος, tantôt sous celui de Τίτος Ουέττιος – un *T. Minucius*, donc, ou plus probablement un *T. Vettius*. Τίτος Μενοῦίτιος : Diod. Sic. 36,2,2 Walton = Test. Ib, 2 Goukowsky (dans Photios, *Bibl.* p. 386b Henry), avec la correction proposée par P. Wesseling (*Diodori Siculi Bibliothecae Historicae libri qui supersunt*, Amsterdam 1746) : Τίτος Οὐ<ἐτ>ίτιος ; Ουέττιος : 36,2,6 Walton = Test. Ib, 6 Goukowsky, toujours

chefs rebelles, un certain Ὀάριος (lat. *Varius*) et, plus loin, le célèbre Σάλουιος (lat. *Saluius*) qui se fit proclamer roi sous le nom de Tryphon (Τρύφων).⁶ La plupart des chercheurs qui ont étudié ces événements ne se prononcent pas de manière explicite sur l'origine et le statut juridique de ces deux protagonistes du conflit⁷; quelques-uns les présentent comme esclaves, la plupart du temps sans proposer d'argumentation sur ce point⁸; d'autres, en revanche, semblent vouloir interpréter ces noms, cités en grec par Diodore, comme des gentilices latins, conférant à leurs porteurs la qualité d'hommes libres et renforçant ainsi l'idée que cette révolte était autant conduite par des Romains en rupture sociale que par des esclaves.⁹ Aucun d'entre eux, cependant, à ma connaissance, ne propose d'analyse onomastique précise de ces deux anthroponymes, et c'est sur ces aspects que je souhaite revenir ici pour montrer qu'on ne peut invoquer ces deux noms pour prouver la présence d'hommes libres parmi les chefs des insurgés de cette "2^e guerre servile".

1. Ὀάριος et Σάλουιος ne sont pas forcément des noms d'origine latine : il peut s'agir de la transcription en grec, peut-être via le latin, de noms osques. Il se peut en effet que ces noms, transcrits en grec par Diodore, ou déjà par sa source, aient transité par les formes latines *Varius*, respectivement *Saluius*. Mais il s'agit peut-être, à l'origine, de noms issus de l'osque, central ou septentrional. Tous deux sont en effet bien attestés dans l'anthroponymie des régions oscophones de l'Italie péninsulaire (voir ci-après). Or, même si nous n'avons plus de témoignages d'une pratique vivante de cette langue en Sicile à l'époque qui

dans Photios, *ibid.* p. 387a Henry ; Τίτος Ουέττιος : 36, 2a Walton = 36, Fr. 1 Goukowsky (dans *Exc. de Virt et Vit.* 48). Sur ce personnage, voir Rubinsohn 1982, 447, avec n. 43.

⁶ Ὀάριος : Diod. Sic. 36,3,4 Walton = 36, Test. II, 1, 4 Goukowsky (Ουάριος : Goukowsky), dans Photios, *Bibl.* p. 387b Henry ; Σάλουιος (Σαλούϊος : Goukowsky) : 36,4,4–8 Walton = 36, Test. II, 2, 4–8 Goukowsky (dans Photios, *Bibl.* p. 388b Henry) ; 36,7,1 Walton = 36, Test. III, 5, 1 Goukowsky (dans Photios, *Bibl.* p. 389b Henry). Dans la suite du récit de Diodore, ce Σάλουιος est systématiquement appelé du seul nom de Τρύφων.

⁷ Bradley 1989, 66–67 avec n. 2 (Varius), 74 (Salvius) ; Urbainczyk 2008, 19.

⁸ F. Münzer, art. "Tryphon 7", *RE* VII A1, 1939, 723–724 (Salvius-Tryphon) ; Manganaro 1967, 219–220. Mais voir *ibid.* 213 : "[...] und tragen verschiedene Sklaven lateinische Namen".

⁹ Varius : Rubinsohn 1982, 441–442 ("Roman name"). Salvius : Finley 1968, 144 (avec prudence) ; Morton, forthcoming, 154, n. 10 (avec prudence) ; Goukowsky 2014, 150 : "[...] on ne saurait affirmer qu'il était esclave". Varius et Salvius : Dumont 1987, 226–227, 256.

nous occupe ici,¹⁰ nombreux sont les éléments onomastiques issus de l'osque qui y subsistent, résultats de l'installation, ancienne mais toujours renouvelée, d'individus ou de groupes de population oscophones sur l'île : mercenaires établis et intégrés dans des cités siciliennes depuis le début du III^e s. ou immigrants de date plus récente.¹¹

2. Dans le cadre de l'anthroponymie osque, ces deux noms ne sont pas forcément des gentilices ; ils ne caractérisent donc pas forcément leurs porteurs comme des personnes de condition libre. On sait en effet que dans les systèmes onomastiques de type gentilece qui se sont formés et répandus progressivement dans l'Italie préimpériale la plupart des gentilices sont d'anciens patronymes "fossilisés", eux-mêmes dérivés d'idionymes simples, lesquels, dans ce système, sont devenus des prénoms.¹² Or, là où l'anthroponymie osque distingue clairement ces prénoms des gentilices qui en sont dérivés, les transcriptions que l'on trouve en latin et en grec de ces deux types d'éléments onomastiques ne présentent pas cette distinction. *Varius* / Ὀάριος et *Saluius* / Σάλουιος peuvent donc aussi bien représenter, dans une transposition de l'osque, des prénoms (donc, potentiellement des idionymes) que des gentilices. En effet, là où l'osque présente des idionymes (devenus prénoms) construits sans suffixation ou avec d'autres suffixes que *-io-, les gentilices qui en sont dérivés présentent un suffixe *-io-,

¹⁰ Sur cette question, voir Clackson 2012, 140–141.

¹¹ Sur les mercenaires, voir Tagliamonte 1994, 124–164, 191–198, 201–207. En particulier : mercenaires de Denys l'Ancien établis à Entella (Diod. Sic. 14,9,8) ; mercenaires d'Agathocle ayant pris le contrôle de Messine dès 289 (Diod. Sic. 21,18 ; 22, fig. 2). Pour la présence d'*Italicei* sur l'île, voir notamment *CIL X 7459 (Halaesa)* avec, sur l'ensemble de ce dossier, le riche commentaire de Bernard – Damon – Grey 2014, 956–959. Voir aussi les noms italiques portés par certains membres des classes dirigeantes de cités siciliennes mentionnés dans les tablettes d'Entella et de Nakoné (p. ex. Dubois 1989, n° 204, 205, 209 : Λευκίου τοῦ Πακκίου, 206 : Διονύσιος Δεκ[ί]ου). On peut aussi mentionner les magistrats de Messine (*Imag. Ital. MESSANA* 4–8) et le fameux Sthénios de Thermes connu grâce à Cicéron (*Verr. 2, passim*). Sur la présence, en général, d'éléments oscophones en Sicile, voir Clackson 2012, 138–146, selon lequel, toutefois, une partie des noms attestés sur les tablettes d'Entella et de Nakoné pourraient provenir d'autres langues italiques que l'osque, voire de langues non-italiques. Nous ignorons en revanche dans quelle mesure les *fugiteius Italcorum* mentionnés pour la Sicile sur le "Milliaire de Polla" (*CIL I² 638, l. 9*) pouvaient être eux-mêmes d'origine italique (cf. Bernard – Damon – Grey 2014, 956–962).

¹² Cf. Rix 1972 ; Dupraz 2009. Sur les suffixes utilisés pour de telles dérivations, voir *infra*. Quelques rares gentilices sont dérivés de toponymes (cf. e. g. *CIL I² 3270 : Q. Cosanus ; C. Norbanus*, le consul de 83).

qui évolue ensuite, au nominatif masc. sing., par syncope de la voyelle thématique, de **-io-s* en *-is*, écrit **-is** / **-ic** en osque "standard" ; en revanche, lorsqu'il s'agit d'idionymes déjà eux-mêmes construits avec le suffixe **-io-*, les gentilices qui en sont dérivés présentent parfois un suffixe **-iio-*, qui évolue ensuite, au nominatif masc. sing., par le même phénomène de syncope que précédemment, de **-iio-s* en **-iis*, écrit **-iis** en osque "standard", ou, par dissimilation, **-iis** / **-iec** (*-ies* en osque septentrional).¹³ Le latin, en revanche, ne connaît que le suffixe **-io-* pour dériver des gentilices (anciens patronymes) d'idionymes (devenus ensuite prénoms). Dans la transposition latine – et donc grecque – des noms osques, les formes osques en **-is** / **-ic** / *-is* (prénoms ou gentilices) et celles en **-iis** / **-iis** (ou **-iis**) / **-iec** / *-ies* (uniquement gentilices) apparaissent donc uniformément comme des formes en *-ius*.¹⁴ Il en découle que les noms *Varius* / Ὀάριος et *Salvius* / Σάλουιος peuvent aussi bien représenter, en osque, des prénoms (donc potentiellement des idionymes) que des gentilices.¹⁵

Un examen détaillé des attestations de ces noms en osque nous le confirme :

a) *Varius* : dans sa forme latine, cet élément onomastique n'apparaît que comme gentilice.¹⁶ En revanche, *Varus*, dont *Varius* est dérivé, existe comme *cognomen* latin ; et l'on sait que de nombreux *cognomina*, en latin comme en osque, sont en fait d'anciens prénoms dont la fonction a changé.¹⁷

Un gentilice **uariis* (< **-iio-s*) est attesté dans plusieurs inscriptions en osque.¹⁸ Il correspond évidemment au gentilice latin *Varius* / *-ia*. Dans la mesure

¹³ Lejeune 1975, 187–188 ; Dupraz 2009, 323. M. Lejeune (*cit.* 187) insiste sur le fait que, si le suffixe **-io-* s'applique aussi bien aux prénoms qu'aux gentilices, le suffixe **-iio-* ne se trouve que dans ces derniers. Cela semble entrer en contradiction avec la présence d'un **staiis gaviis** (nominatif masc. sing., donc prénom en **-iis** < **-iio-s*) sur la tablette de *defixio* ST Cp 36 (Ve 4 ; *Imag. Ital.* CAPVA 33). Mais cette forme résulte peut-être d'un lapsus, (cf. Lejeune 1975, 188, n. 62).

¹⁴ À l'exception, très rare, du gentilice *Seius*, d'origine osque, écrit *Seiis* dans une inscription de Sion, en Suisse (*AE* 1988, 856), dont le second [i] peut toutefois aussi être interprété comme un son de transition (cf. *eiis* pour *eius* dans *CIL* XII 2627, Genève, II^e s. apr. J.-C.). Voir Leumann 1977, 13, 27 ; Wiblé 1987, 355.

¹⁵ Cf. Solin 2013, 752.

¹⁶ Cf. Schulze 1904, 249.

¹⁷ Cf. Kajanto 1965, 172–178 ; Solin 2009, 286–287.

¹⁸ Au nominatif masc. sing. : **g. varíis** sur l'estampille vasculaire de Castel di Sangro ST tSa 45 (*Imag. Ital.* AVFIDENA 7) ; au génitif masc. sing. : *φαριε(ι)ε* et à l'accusatif fém. sing. : *φαριων* sur la

où, comme le montrent les formes attestées en osque, ce gentilice a été construit à l'origine avec un suffixe **-iio-s*, on doit s'attendre à ce qu'il ait existé dans cette langue un idionyme, devenu prénom, construit avec un suffixe **-io-s*. Or, précisément, quelques inscriptions en osque présentent un élément onomastique abrégé *φα(---)* ou *φαρ(---)* dont la qualité de prénom ne fait aucun doute, tant par la position qu'il occupe dans les formules onomastiques où il est attesté que par le fait même qu'il soit abrégé.¹⁹ Sa forme au nominatif masc. sing., bien que non attestée telle quelle, devrait donc, selon toute logique, avoir été **uaris* (<**-io-s*), forme qui ne peut guère avoir été transcrite en latin que sous la forme *Varius*.²⁰

b) *Saluius* : dans sa forme latine, cet élément onomastique apparaît aussi bien comme prénom que comme gentilice.²¹ On le trouve comme prénom dans les langues italiques, essentiellement en ombrien et dans les dialectes de l'osque septentrional (une seule attestation en osque "standard"), et uniquement sous forme d'abréviation.²² Sa forme complète doit avoir été – avec l'anaptyxe ca-

defixio de Laos ST Lu 46 (*Imag. Ital. LAOS 2*). Voir aussi Salomies 2012, 177.

¹⁹ À l'accusatif masc. sing. : *φαρ(ιv) φαριε(ι)ς* sur la *defixio* de Laos ST Lu 46 (*Imag. Ital. LAOS 2*) ; au génitif masc. sing. *φα(ριηι)ς* sur la base de statue (?) de Rossano di Vaglio ST Lu 5 (*Imag. Ital. POLLENTIA 1*). Voir aussi Salomies 2008, 36.

²⁰ Un anthroponyme féminin *uara* est attesté en osque septentrional sur la stèle de Chieti ST MV 6 (*Imag. Ital. TEATE 4*) : *[s]acr[.]jacrix. herentaria. uara. sonti. salas. uali*. Généralement compris comme prénom, il est toutefois interprété comme gentilice de dérivation zéro par E. Dupraz (2009, 329–330). Voir aussi Salomies 1987, 95 et *CIL I² 37 (= ILLRP 51)*, de provenance inconnue, sans doute du Latium, peut-être du domaine volsque (cf. Wachter 1987, 457–458) : *M. Mindios L. fi. / P. Condios Va. fi. / aidiles uicesima parti / Apolones dederi*, dans laquelle l'abréviation *Va(---)*, interprétée comme *Va(lesi ?)* par A. Degrassi (*ILLRP ad l.*), pourrait également être résolue en *Va(ri)*. H. Solin (par courriel) m'a fait part de ses doutes quant à l'existence d'un ancien prénom osque, correspondant au latin **Varos*, représenté par les abréviations *φαρ(---)* et *φα(---)*. À son avis, au contraire de *Saluius*, *Varius* ne devrait pas avoir été perçu comme un nom servile dans la Sicile du II^e s. av. J.-C.

²¹ Prénom : *CIL I² 1773, 2486, 3214,3, 3221, 3252a, 3267*, en pays Pélignien ; cf. Salomies 1987, 88–90 ; Dupraz 2009, 324, n. 16 et 18 ; 326, n. 23. Gentilice : cf. Schulze 1904, 93, 473. La nature de l'élément onomastique *Saluius* / *Σάλουιος* désignant un commandant des troupes péligiennes à la bataille de Pydna (168) n'est pas établie (Frontin. *stratag.* 2,8,5 ; Plut. *Paul.* 20,1), cf. Dupraz 2009, 325–326.

²² Au nominatif masc. sg. *sa* : ST MV 2 = *Imag. Ital. INCERVLAE 1* ; ST MV 4 = *Imag. Ital. TEATE 5* ; ST Pg 35 = *Imag. Ital. SVLMO 23* ; au génitif masc. sing. *sa* : ST Pg 13 = *Imag. Ital. SVLMO 7* ; ST Pg 16 = *Imag. Ital. SVLMO 8* ; ST Pg 21 = *Imag. Ital. SVLMO 18* ; ST Pg 45 = *Imag. Ital. SVLMO 20* ; à l'ablatif masc. sing. **sal(aviúđ)** : ST Sa 17 = *Imag. Ital. AVFIDENA 1*. Dans toutes ces attestations

ractéristique de l'osque – **salauis* (<**-io-s*). En osque, il apparaît aussi comme gentilice, clairement établi de par sa position dans la formule onomastique, dans une épitaphe de Capoue.²³ Les deux formes osques, **salauis* (prénom) et **salaviis** (gentilice), doivent avoir été transcrites en latin par *Salvius*, en grec par Σάλουιος. Des phénomènes absolument similaires sont d'ailleurs attestés pour de nombreux autres éléments onomastiques osques transposés en latin. Ainsi, les noms latins *Decius*, *Herennius*, *Ouius* ou *Staius* peuvent aussi bien transcrire, issus de l'osque, des prénoms que des gentilices.²⁴

Si *Varius* / Ὀάριος et *Salvius* / Σάλουιος peuvent ainsi représenter des prénoms (donc, potentiellement des idionymes) d'origine osque, nous ne savons toutefois pas grand chose sur la manière dont les maîtres oscophones nommaient leurs esclaves. Que certains d'entre eux, comme chez les Romains, aient eu des noms d'origine grecque ou orientale est assuré.²⁵ Pour les autres, qui pourraient

le fait que cet élément onomastique soit abrégé et sa position dans la formule onomastique assurent qu'il s'agit bien d'un prénom. Voir aussi Salomies 2008, 33–34 ; 2012, 171.

²³ *ST* Cp. 3 (*Imag. Ital.* CAPVA 40) : **upfalš** ; **šalaviis** ; **miniš**, avec la séquence : prénom (nominatif) – gentilice (nominatif) – prénom du père (génitif), caractéristique de l'anthroponymie osque.

²⁴ Prénoms en **-os* > *-s* / gentilices en **-io-s* > *-is* : ηἰρενς (prénom, nomin. masc. sg.) *ST* Lu 5 = *Imag. Ital.* POTENTIA 1 ; **heirens** (prénom, nomin. masc. sg.) *ST* ZO 1 = *Imag. Ital.* CAMPANIA or SAMNIVM 6 / **heirennis** (gentil., nomin. masc. sg.) *ST* Cm 6 = *Imag. Ital.* NOLA 3 (tous équivalents au lat. *Herennius*). Prénoms en **-ios* > *-is* / gentilices en **-iio-s* > *-iis* ou en **-io-s* > *-is* : **dekis** (prénom, nomin. masc. sg.) *ST* Cm 14^C, 4 ; 7 ; **dekieis** (prénom, gén. masc. sg.) *ST* Cm 14^C, 7 (= *Imag. Ital.* CVMAE 8) / **dekkiis** (gentil., nomin. masc. sg.) *ST* Sa 59 = *Imag. Ital.* SAEPINVM 4 ; **decies** (gentil., nomin. masc. sg.) *ST* Lu 54 = *Imag. Ital.* ITALIA 7 (tous équivalents au lat. *Decius*) ; **úvis** (prénom, nomin. masc. sg.) *ST* Cm 35 = *Imag. Ital.* NVCCERIA ALFATERNA 5 / **úviis** (gentil. nomin. masc. sg.) *ST* tPo 3 = *Imag. Ital.* POMPEI 136 ; **úvis** (gentil., nomin. masc. sg.) *ST* Fr 6 = *Imag. Ital.* FRENTANI 1 (tous équivalents au lat. *Ouius*) ; **statis** (prénom, nomin. masc. sg.) *ST* Sa 36 = *Imag. Ital.* BOVIANVM 98 ; **ctatlic** (prénom, nomin. masc. sg.) *ST* Lu 8 = *Imag. Ital.* POTENTIA 3 ; *ST* Lu 44 = *Imag. Ital.* CRIMISA 3 / **statiis** (gentil., nomin. masc. sg.) *ST* Sa 13 = *Imag. Ital.* TERVENTVM 12 ; *ST* Cm 48 = *Imag. Ital.* NOLA 4 ; *ST* ZO 2 = *Imag. Ital.* CAMPANIA or SAMNIVM 2 (tous équivalents au lat. *Staius*). Pour la graphie **statiis** (prénom, nomin. masc. sg.) *ST* Cp 36 (= *Imag. Ital.* CAPVA 33), à lire très certainement **stati{i}s**, voir *supra*, n. 13. L'ambiguïté de ces éléments onomastiques en latin est relevée par Salomies 1987, 160–162.

²⁵ Cf. e.g. *ST* Pg 42 (*Imag. Ital.* CORFINIVM 9) : *arghillus* ; *ST* Po 52 (*Imag. Ital.* POMPEI 55) : **arimmas** ; *ST* Po 65 (*Imag. Ital.* POMPEI 65) : **arkiiia** (Ἀρχίις) ; *ST* Po 53 (*Imag. Ital.* POMPEI 45) : **spartaks** (*Spartacus*, dont les habitants de Pompéi devaient évidemment avoir entendu parler). Cf. Lejeune 1975, 188–189. On ajoutera peut-être à cette liste la mystérieuse **deftri** (?) mentionnée sur la tuile bilingue de Pietrabbondante (*ST* Sa 35 = *Imag. Ital.* TERVENTVM 25), elle aussi probablement

se cacher derrière certains des nombreux idionymes abrégés dont le statut onomastique est incertain, nous sommes bien peu renseignés.²⁶ Il est toutefois fort possible que des esclaves originaires de régions oscophones ou acquis par des maîtres oscophones aient porté des idionymes de formation osque, tout comme les esclaves de maîtres latinophones pouvaient porter des idionymes semblables à des prénoms latins. D'ailleurs, *Saluius* est attesté comme idionyme d'esclave à Pompéi et, très probablement, à Bénévent.²⁷ Par ailleurs, on notera que, dans ce qu'il nous reste du récit de Diodore, les autres chefs insurgés qui portent des noms romains/italiques (T. Vettius en Campanie, M. et/ou C. Titinius en Sicile) apparaissent avec un prénom et un gentilice. Le fait que Varius et Salvius portent des noms uniques laisse donc plutôt penser qu'ils sont, eux aussi, des esclaves ; à moins qu'il s'agisse d'hommes libres d'origine italique mais pérégrins, ayant adopté, comme dans certaines des tablettes d'Entella et de Nakoné, une formule onomastique patronymique, à la grecque, plutôt que gentilice.²⁸

3. Même à supposer que Ὀόριος et Σάλουιος soient des gentilices, les formules onomastiques latines en usage à la fin du II^e siècle ne nous interdisent pas d'identifier l'un ou l'autre de ces deux personnages comme des esclaves. En effet, ainsi que l'a montré A. Oxé en 1904 déjà, quelques inscriptions de cette époque présentent des noms d'esclaves qui portent le gentilice de leur maître, utilisé comme adjectif.²⁹ Ainsi, sur une inscription de Délos (*CIL* I² 2235) on

de condition servile. *ST* Cm 40 (= *Imag. Ital.* CAPVA 51) : *santia* (Ξανθίας), mentionné par Lejeune (1975, 181), ne nous apprend rien sur l'onomastique des esclaves en milieu oscophone puisqu'il s'agit du nom d'un personnage de la Comédie Nouvelle, qui peut avoir été importé tel quel du monde grec.

²⁶ Peut-être *ST* Po 66 (*Imag. Ital.* POMPEI 46) : **margas** ou **markas** (gén. fém. sing.), qui pourrait désigner une prostituée de condition servile (cf. Lejeune 1975, 183, n. 21). Voir aussi *ST* tSa 44 (Aquilonia), estampille sur tuile : **v(ibis ?) k(---)** / λυκου, où figure peut-être, à la l. 2, un nom d'esclave (selon Poli 2009, 350 avec n. 25).

²⁷ Pompéi : *ILS*, 3207 : *Niger Sitti* [*P(ubli) s(eruus)*], / *Saluius Arri Q(uinti) s(eruus)*, / *P(ublius) Sittius P(ubli) l(ibertus) Suneros*, / *Albanus Numisi L(uci) ser(uus)* / *Merc(urio) Maiiae sacr(um)* / *ex d(ecurionum) d(ecreto) iussu* / *M(arci) Lucci Libella[e Iiuir(i) i(ure) d(icundo) / ---]ceptum [---]*. ; Bénévent : *AE* 1925, 117 : *colegium tибicinum M(atris) d(eum)* / [*I]d(aeae ?)*. *Mag(istri) curauerunt* : / *M(arcus) Sabidi(us) M(arci) l(ibertus)*, *C(aius) Atilius C(ai) l(ibertus)*, / *Cn(aeus) Egnati Cn(aei) s(eruus)*, *Sal(uius) Anni L(uci) s(eruus)*, déjà noté par J. Vogt (1965, 33). Nombreuses autres attestations chez Solin 1996, 7–9.

²⁸ Cf. ci-dessus, n. 11.

²⁹ Oxé 1904, 108–118. Voir Solin 2013, 765, qui confirme la validité de l'hypothèse d'A. Oxé.

trouve un certain *Diodotus Seius C(ai et) Cn(aei) s(eri)us*), formule que l'on pourrait traduire par "Diodotus, appartenant aux Seii, esclave de Gaius et de Gnaeus". Théoriquement, un nom comme *Trypho Saluius L(uci) s(eri)uos* pourrait donc avoir désigné celui que nous connaissons, dans nos sources, comme Σάλουιος / Τρύφων et caractérisé ainsi un esclave. Un scénario semblable peut également être imaginé pour Varius. Une telle possibilité est d'ailleurs évoquée par J.-C. Dumont, qui l'écarte cependant comme peu probable.³⁰ En effet, en dehors de ce genre témoignages épigraphiques, l'usage, dans la vie courante, semble avoir été de désigner les esclaves par leur idionyme plutôt que par le gentilice de leur propriétaire. Par ailleurs, il est loin d'être certain que l'idionyme originel de Salvius ait été *Trypho* / Τρύφων. En effet, comme P. Green l'a bien montré, les noms choisis lors de la première guerre servile par Eunus et ses "ministres" Antiochos, Hermias, Achaïos et Zeuxis font tous référence à la monarchie séleucide. Il est ainsi fort probable qu'il en soit allé de même pour Salvius / Tryphon.³¹

En conclusion, on ne saurait invoquer les noms de ces deux protagonistes de la seconde révolte servile de Sicile pour en faire à coup sûr des hommes libres qui auraient conduit les esclaves au combat.

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³⁰ Dumont 1987, 226 avec référence (n. 365) à Oxé 1904.

³¹ Green 1961, 20–21 ; cf. Dumont 1987, 218, 225. Cette constatation, essentielle, a été cependant ignorée par la plupart des auteurs modernes (notamment Verbrugghe 1974, 60, n. 37, qui relève le caractère commun de ces noms – mais une coïncidence, possible pour un seul nom, est invraisemblable pour l'ensemble des quatre noms, qui forment un tout cohérent). Pour Eunus-Antiochos, voir à présent Morton 2008 ; Morton 2013.

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**ABSCHIED VON EINER RÖMISCHEN "TÄNZERIN"
IN GERMANIA INFERIOR.
BEMERKUNGEN ZUR IDENTITÄT VON POLLA
MATIDIA AUS ASCIBURGIUM¹**

CHRISTER BRUUN

Eine römische Grabstele, aufgestellt in prominenter Stelle im Grafschafter Museum in der kleinen Stadt Moers nördlich von Duisburg in der ehemaligen Provinz Germania Inferior, enthält das folgende Epitaphium einer römischen Frau (*CIL* XIII 12075 = *AE* 1908, 188; Abb. 1). Wie diese Frau richtig hieß und was man zu ihrem Status und ihrer Tätigkeit eigentlich aussagen kann, ist das Anliegen dieses Beitrags.² Die Inschrift lautet folgendermaßen, wobei angemerkt werden soll, dass die letzten drei Buchstaben in Z. 1 in jüngster Zeit abweichend gelesen worden sind; dazu demnächst.

*Polla Matidia Sp(uri) f(ilia)
Olumphia ann(orum) XXX
hic sita est*

¹ Die Arbeit zu diesem Aufsatz und der Besuch in Moers wurde von einem 'Insight Grant' Forschungsstipendium der Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) ermöglicht, wofür auch an dieser Stelle meine Dankbarkeit ausgesprochen werden soll. Am Grafschaftlichen Museum im Moerser Schloss sei Frau Museumsleiterin Diana Finkele gedankt für die Erlaubnis, Abb. 1 und 2 zu veröffentlichen. Für wertvolle Unterstützung, auch bei der Moerser Expedition, schulde ich Herrn Prof. Dr. Bruno Bleckmann (Düsseldorf) großen Dank. Heikki Solin und einem der Gutachter seien für nützliche Hinweise gedankt; mein Kollege Boris Chrubasik hat freundlicherweise mein Deutsch verbessert. Für Versäumnisse bin ich alleine zuständig.

² Für Leser dieses Aufsatzes mag es von Interesse sein, dass im Zusammenhang mit römischen Frauen, welche die *tria nomina* trugen, dieselbe römische Frau in dem Aufsatz "Female *tria nomina* and Social Standing in Late Republican and Early Imperial Periods" von Urpo Kantola und Tuomo Nuorluoto in diesem Band von *Arctos* behandelt wird.



Abb. 1. Grabmonument von Polla Matidia im Grafschafter Museum, Moerser Schloss. Mit Genehmigung. Foto: C. Bruun.

5 *L(ucius) Iulius L(uci) f(ilius) Fal(erna tribu)
veteranus leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae)
d(e) p(ecunia) s(ua) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*

"Polla Matidia Olympia, Tochter des Spurius (d.h. von einem unbekanntem Vater), 30 Jahre alt, ruht hier. L. Iulius, Sohn des Lucius, der *tribus Falerna* zugehörig, ein Veteran der *legio II Augusta*, ließ (das Grabmal) errichten und zahlte dafür."

Das Grabdenkmal stammt aus Asberg, aus der Nähe des römischen Kastells Asciburgium und wurde der Frau von einem Veteranen der *legio II Augusta* namens L(ucius) Iulius L(uci) f(ilius) errichtet. Wie auf Abb. 1 zu ersehen ist, ist die Inschrift sorgfältig eingemeißelt. Die regelmäßige Ausformung der Buchstaben entspricht der herkömmlichen Datierung unter der julio-claudischen Dynastie.³

Der Frau, die mit ihren ersten zwei Namen zweifellos Polla Matidia hieß, ist in jüngster Zeit einige Aufmerksamkeit zuteil gekommen. So beschrieb sie Clive Bridger unlängst im renommierten *Journal of Roman Archaeology* als "the actress or dancer Polla Matidia, whose stage-name was Olumphia".⁴ Bei dieser Charakterisierung verließ er sich allerdings auf eine Reihe früherer Forscher. M. W. hat sich (nach der Erstveröffentlichung 1907 von August Oxé) Harald von Petrikovits 1980 wieder etwas ausführlicher mit dieser Inschrift befasst, wobei er auf die letzten drei Buchstaben der ersten Zeile hinwies.⁵ Nach dem *praenomen* Polla, welches die Frau ausnahmsweise trägt, und dem *nomen gentile* Matidia, folgen an einer beschädigten Stelle einige Buchstaben, die über den Status der Frau etwas aussagen sollen. Diese Formel wird am Anfang der zweiten Zeile vom griechischen *cognomen* Olumphia (womit der Name *Olympia* gemeint ist⁶) abgeschlossen.

³ Näheres zur Datierung: siehe unten S. 27–29.

⁴ C. Bridger, "Veteran Settlement in the Lower Rhineland: The Evidence from the *civitas Traianensis*", *JRA* 19 (2006) 144, mit Foto auf derselben Seite.

⁵ H. von Petrikovits, "Lixae", in W.S. Hanson – L. Keppie (eds.), *Roman Frontier Studies 1979* (BAR Int. S. 71.3), Oxford 1980, 1027–34, esp. 1029–31. Vgl. schon idem, "Asciburgium. § 2 Archäologisches", *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* ², Berlin – New York 1973, 452–53, bes. 453.

⁶ Zum Namen *Olympia* und den vielen Formen, in welchen er in der Stadt Rom (hier aus praktischen Gründen als Beispiel benutzt) vorkommt, s. H. Solin, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom. Ein*

Normalerweise würde man zwischen *nomen gentile* und *cognomen* entweder die Filiation oder die Erwähnung des Freigelassenen-Status erwarten. von Petrikovits hat aber diesen schlecht erhaltenen Abschnitt der Inschrift anders gelesen und auf der ersten Zeile anstelle von SP F Spuren der Buchstaben SIBE zu finden geglaubt, wobei er freilich unter die letzten drei Buchstaben Unterpunkte setzte, zum Zeichen, dass die Lesung unsicher war. Das Wort *sibe* wurde dann als vom Norm abweichende Form von *sive* gedeutet, und so wurde aus der Frau "Polla Matidia oder Olymphia".⁷ Die Interpretation des epigraphischen Textes endete aber nicht hier. So wurde die Inschrift im Zusammenhang mit den *lixae* der römischen Truppenkörper behandelt, d.h. bei einer Diskussion von Zivilisten, die zum Tross gehörten und das römische Militär begleiteten ("camp followers"). von Petrikovits konnte auf viele verschiedene Typen von *lixae* hinweisen, unter anderem auch auf Schauspieler, *scaenici*, die (angeblich) bei Iustinus unter den Begleitern des Heeres genannt seien (Iustin. 38.10.2).⁸

Insgesamt fand von Petrikovits weniger als eine Handvoll von epigraphisch belegten Bühnenkünstlern, die zum militärischen Bereich gehört haben könnten. Als eindeutig bestes Beispiel diente ihm T. Flavius Super Cepula, *scaenicus* und *honesta missione missus ex leg. XXX Ulpia Victrici Pia Fideli* im J. 207 (*AE* 1913, 124 = *ILS* 9493; Lugdunum).⁹

Wie aus Abb. 1 zu sehen ist, gibt es aber in der Grabinschrift von Polla Matidia nichts, das explizit darauf deuten könnte, dass sie als Tänzerin tätig gewesen wäre (zu ihrer Tracht s. unten). Das Argument von v. Petrikovits war implizit und baute auf Onomastik und Analogie.¹⁰ Er nahm an, früheren Forschern folgend, das zweite *cognomen* des eben erwähnten *scaenicus*, Cepula

*Namenbuch*², Berlin - New York 2003, 643.

⁷ v. Petrikovits (wie Anm. 5) 1031.

⁸ v. Petrikovits (wie Anm. 5) 1028–29, 1031. Verwiesen wurde dabei auf Iustin. 38.10.2, wobei aber erstens zu bemerken ist, dass es dabei um das Heer des hellenistischen Königs Antiochos geht, und zweitens, dass Otto Seel in der Teubner-Ausgabe den Ausdruck *scaenicorumque* als eine wahrscheinlich spätere Glosse betrachtet und das Wort gar nicht im Text abdruckt, s. O. Seel (Hg.), *Pompeius Trogus Fragmenta*, Lipsiae 1971, 176. Diese Entscheidung wurde gefolgt von J. C. Yardley – R. Develin, *Justin Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus* (Übersetzung und Kommentar), Atlanta, GA 1994, vii, 245.

⁹ v. Petrikovits (wie Anm. 5) 1028–29; außerdem wurde auf S. 1031 auf eine *hydraularia* aus Aquincum verwiesen (wobei der Verweis richtig *CIL* III 10501 = *CLE* 489 lauten sollte).

¹⁰ Siehe v. Petrikovits (wie Anm. 5) 1031 zu den hier folgenden Auslegungen.

("kleine Zweibel"), sei ein "Spottname", den der Mann vielleicht seiner schauspielerischen Tätigkeit verdanke.¹¹ Weiter meinte v. Petrikovits, dass auch Frauen, die auf der Bühne auftraten, solche Spottnamen erhalten konnten (und die sie sich offensichtlich auch aneigneten). Als einziges Beispiel gab er eine *saltatrix* aus Karthago. In der nordafrikanischen Stadt sollte man angeblich eine "Thyas *saltatrix*, deren bürgerlicher Name *Metel(e)ia Rufina* war" begegnen (CIL VIII 12925 = ILS 5260). Dieser Fall ist aber ohne Belang, da die *saltatrix* in der Realität Thyas hieß und eine Sklavin von Metilia Rufina war.¹² Wir haben es in ihrem Fall überhaupt nicht mit einem sog. *agnomen* zu tun, d.h. mit einem *cognomen*, das eine Person sich zu Lebzeiten aneignete.

So besteht der Grund, Polla Matidia als Tänzerin anzusehen, eindeutig nur aus dem Argument, sie trage auf ihrer Grabinschrift ein *agnomen* und wäre als "Polla Matidia sive Olympia" bekannt gewesen. Diese Ansicht von v. Petrikovits wurde in der Zwischenzeit mehrfach wiederholt. Neben der oben zitierten Stelle bei Bridger findet man sie etwa auch in der wertvollen Studie des Kastells Asciburgium von Tilmann Bechert: "... Polla Matidia ein sog. Supernomen führte – einen "Übernamen", der sie als Künstlerin (im weitesten Sinne) auswies. Sie nannte sich OLVMPHIA (= Olymphia), dürfte nach einer neueren Deutung wahrscheinlich Tänzerin, Sängerin oder Schauspielerin gewesen sein und gehörte damit wohl ganz allgemein zum Troß der 2. Legion".¹³

Eine Auseinandersetzung mit der Hypothese von v. Petrikovits kann natürlich nicht von einem sorgfältigen Studium der Inschrift absehen. Wie auf Abb. 2 zu sehen ist, laufen in der rechten oberen Ecke zwei Brüche durch die Inschrift. Der Stein ist zwar wieder zusammengefügt worden, aber das Fehlen eines Teils des Rahmens auf der rechten Seite beweist, dass die Oberfläche teilweise recht beschädigt ist oder aus Reparaturmaterial besteht. In Z. 2 sieht es

¹¹ So schon H. Dessau in ILS, *ad loc.*: "agnomen sine dubio iocosum". Bei I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki 1965, 335 wird Caepula/Cepula nur in zwei spätantiken Inschriften verzeichnet. Der Fall des Soldaten aus Lugdunum ist nicht erwähnt, möglicherweise weil der Name vom finnischen Forscher als ein *agnomen*, nicht als ein *cognomen* eingestuft wurde. Zu Flavius Cepula und seinem *agnomen* zuletzt J. Bérard, *L'armée romaine à Lyon* (BÉFAR 370), Rome 2015, 248–49, 264 und *passim* (ohne Hinweis auf den Aufsatz von v. Petrikovits).

¹² Die Inschrift lautet *Thyas saltatrix Metiliae Rufinae vixit annis XIII Thalamus sponsae suae*. Demnach wurde der Grabstein der Thyas von Thalamus, ihrem Verlobten, gesetzt, als sie mit nur 14 Jahren verschied.

¹³ T. Bechert, *Die Römer in Asciburgium*, Duisburg 1989, 113 (= *Duisburger Forschungen* 36).

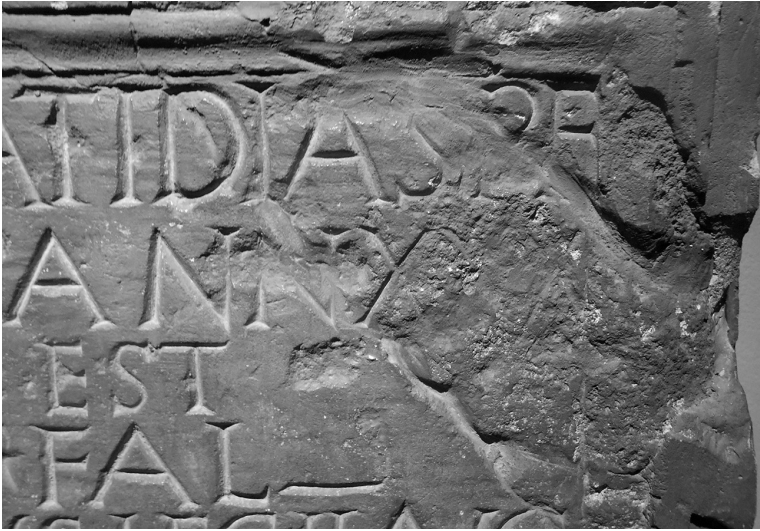


Abb. 2. Obere rechte Ecke der Grabinschrift von Polla Matidia im Grafschafter Museum, Moerser Schloss. Mit Genehmigung. Foto: C. Bruun.

danach aus, als ob die zwei hinteren Buchstaben der Ziffer *XXX* nachgezeichnet worden wären. Diese Ergänzung (falls es sich darum handelt) ist aber nachvollziehbar und das Alter der Frau ist für unser Argument zudem nicht von zentralem Belang. Wichtiger ist das Ende der ersten Zeile. Die äußerste rechte Ecke ist eindeutig Teil des ursprünglichen Monuments, und die Buchstaben können problemlos als *P F* gelesen werden.¹⁴ Links der Bruchlinie hat v. Petrikovits *S I* zu lesen geglaubt. Die senkrechte Haste ist aber in Wirklichkeit der untere Teil des Buchstaben *P*; durch den Bruch im Stein wurden die Teile sozusagen auseinander geschoben. Dass die Oberfläche "restauriert" wurde, bzw. dass darauf nachgezeichnet wurde, sieht man auch an einem weiteren Beispiel: der obere Bogen, der den Anschein des Buchstaben *S* geben könnte, kann keineswegs ursprünglich sein. Wäre dies der Fall, dann wäre dieser Buchstabe bedeutend kürzer als das davor stehende *A*.

¹⁴ Die in der Inschrift erhaltenen Buchstaben *P* und *F* können zum Vergleich genommen werden. Die Inschrift enthält kein *B*, aber der Buchstabe *E* kommt mehrmals vor und ähnelt dem *F*. Da nur der obere Teil des letzten Buchstaben bewahrt ist, lässt sich nicht kategorisch ausschließen, dass jener ein *E* sein könnte.

Die hier vorgelegte Deutung entstand ursprünglich aufgrund von persönlichen Beobachtungen und Schlüssen. In der Schlussphase dieser Arbeit erhielt die Hypothese eine Bekräftigung durch die unerwartete Entdeckung eines alten Fotos. Die Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss-Slaby zeigt als zweite Abbildung unter *CIL* XIII 12075 ein Foto, das den Stein in einem weit ursprünglicheren Zustand zeigt (Abb. 3).¹⁵ Daraus geht hervor, dass tatsächlich bedeutende Restaurierungen vorgenommen worden sind.

Es steht eindeutig fest, dass der Veteran L. Iulius L. f. ein Grabmal für die freie römische Frau Polla Matidia errichtete. Was allerdings über die Frau in den letzten Jahrzehnten ausgesagt wurde, ist mit Ausnahme der Datierung meistens nicht stichhaltig und bedarf somit einer Korrektur.

Eben die traditionelle Datierung soll als Ausgangspunkt für die folgende Analyse dienen. Das Auftreten eines Veterans der *legio II Augusta* in einer Inschrift aus der unmittelbaren Nähe des Kastells Asciburgium wurde von der bisherigen Forschung zweifellos zurecht mit der Verlegung einer Abteilung jener Legion an den Ort verknüpft. Die Zeitspanne lässt sich bestimmen, denn die *legio II Augusta* stand in den Jahren 9 – 17 n. Chr. in Mogontiacum (Mainz). Sie war dann von 17 – 43 n. Chr. bedeutend weiter südlich in Argentorate (Straßburg) verlegt. Danach nahm die Legion an der Eroberung von Britannien unter Claudius teil und verblieb längere Zeit als Besatzung in der neuen Provinz.¹⁶ Die Inschrift von Polla Matidia kann natürlich auch eine geraume Zeit nach 17 n. Chr., als die *II Augusta* Mainz verließ, errichtet worden sein, denn wir wissen nicht, wie lange sie noch lebte nachdem der Veteran L. Iulius den Militärdienst verlassen hatte. In der Forschung wird der Grabstein um 20 n. Chr. datiert, oder sogar noch etwas früher. Eine stilistische Analyse des Grabdenkmals (hierzu noch unten) spielt dabei auch eine gewisse Rolle.¹⁷

¹⁵ Das Foto stammt aus der Datenbank des *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* bei der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften; dem Arbeitsstellenleiter des *CIL* Dr. Manfred G. Schmidt sei für seine Hilfe bestens gedankt.

¹⁶ Zur *legio II Augusta*, s. *RE* XII (1925) s.v. "Legio", 1186–1829, bes. 1458–59 (E. Ritterling); L. Keppie, "Legiones II Augusta, VI Victrix, IX Hispana, XX Valeria Victrix", in Y. Le Bohec – C. Wolff (Hg.), *Les légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire* I (Actes congrès Lyon 1998), Lyon – Paris 2000, 25–37, bes. 25–26 (sehr kurz); N. Pollard – J. Berry, *The Complete Roman Legions*, London 2012, 86.

¹⁷ Bridger (wie Anm. 4) 145: "the gravestone dates to around 20"; v. Petrikovits (wie Anm. 5) 1029, schlug "das 2. Jahrzehnt des 1. Jahrh." vor; Bechert (wie Anm. 13), 111, setzte das Grabmal in das



Abb. 3. Grabmonument der Polla Matidia, früherer Zustand. Quelle: Datenbank des Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Mit Genehmigung.

Da wir es somit mit einer Inschrift des frühen Prinzipats zu tun haben, stellt sich die Frage der Namen der Polla Matidia auch in einem anderen Licht. Selten, obwohl keineswegs einmalig, ist der Gebrauch des *praenomen Polla*, wie aus der einschlägigen Untersuchung von Mika Kajava hervorgeht.¹⁸ Bemerkenswert ist es, dass es sich bei den so genannten Frauen in den lateinischen Inschriften der westlichen Reichshälfte, bei denen ihr Status vermerkt ist, fast immer um *ingenuae*, freigebohrenen Personen, handelt.¹⁹

Zum Familiennamen *Matidia* ist weniger zu sagen. Das *gentilicium* gelangte später in der Kaiserzeit dank zweier einflussreichen *Matidiae*, die dem Senatorenstand angehörten, zu grossem Ruhm: die ältere, Schwester der Gemahlin vom Kaiser Hadrian, war sogar Augusta. Man nimmt an diese mächtige *gens Matidia* hätte ihren Ursprung in Norditalien.²⁰ Über eine etwaige Verwandtschaft unserer Polla Matidia mit den Ahnen der späteren *Matidiae* und *Matidii* lässt sich natürlich nichts aussagen.

Der dritte Name Olympia soll zunächst aus rein onomastischer Perspektive betrachtet werden. Das einschlägige Werk zu den lateinischen *agnomina* (d.h. Namen, die sich ihre Träger zu Lebzeiten angeeignet haben), zu welchen Olympia angeblich gehört, bleibt Kajantos Arbeit über die sog. *supernomina* (besehend aus *agnomina* und *signa*) aus dem Jahre 1966. Die *agnomina* werden in den Quellen vor allem durch die Formel *qui/quaee et* oder *sive* gekennzeichnet.²¹ Den unsrigen Fall findet man selbstverständlich bei Kajanto nicht verzeichnet, denn die neue Lesung der Moerser Inschrift von v. Petrikovits war

Jahrzehnt zwischen 20 und 30 n. Chr.; ähnliche Datierung auch bei H. Gabelmann, "Die Typen der römischen (1972) am Rhein", *BJ* 172 (1972) 65–140, bes. 100, 102.

¹⁸ M. Kajava, *Roman Female Praenomina. Studies in the Nomenclature of Roman Women* (Acta IRF 14), Rome 1994, 50–56 für Vorkommnisse des *praenomen* Paulla / Polla. Der Name von Polla Matidia wurde missverstanden von K. Dietz, "Der *pollio* in der römischen Legion", *Chiron* 15 (1985) 235–52, bes. 251–52, der *Polla* als eine weibliche Form des militärischen Ranges *pollio* auffasste.

¹⁹ Unter den von Kajava (wie Anm. 18) 50–56 zitierten Fällen finde ich die Filiation fünfzehn Mal angegeben; in nur zwei Fällen ist die Frau eine *liberta*.

²⁰ Die Quellen für den Ursprung der *gens Matidia* sind dürftig; s. G. Alföldy, "Senatoren aus Norditalien. Regionen IX, X und XI", *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio* II (Tituli 5), Roma 1982, 309–68, bes. 339–40; Vicetia, der *tribus Menenia* zugehörig; *PIR*² M 365–68.

²¹ I. Kajanto, *Supernomina: A Study in Latin Epigraphy* (Comm. Hum. Litt. 40.1), Helsinki 1966, 7–9. Selten kommen längere Ausdrücke vor, wie etwa *qui vocitatur* (*CIL* VI 23556) oder *qui appellatus est* (*AE* 1941, 65; Rom).

bei der Erscheinung von Kajantos Werk noch nicht bekannt. Die Tatsache, dass der Name Olympius als *signum* in der Spätantike vorkommt, ist in unserem Fall nicht von Belang.²² Die wichtigste Einwendung gegen die Rekonstruktion von v. Petrikovits (abgesehen von dem, was der Grabstein zeigt – allerdings ist dies schon ausschlaggebend, wie man jetzt weiß), ist die Chronologie. Obwohl die ersten Fälle eines *agnomen* in der lateinischen Epigraphik wohl in die erste Hälfte des ersten Jh. n. Chr. zu datieren sind, handelt es sich dabei um sehr seltene Fälle. Im Allgemeinen kann man mit Namensformeln nach dem Muster *qui/quaе et* oder *sive* erst im zweiten Jh. n. Chr. rechnen.²³ Es wäre deshalb äußerst überraschend, wenn man in der germanischen Provinz das wohl früheste römische epigraphisch bezeugte Beispiel eines *agnomen* gefunden hätte; auch diese Tatsache hätte die Befürwörter der Hypothese von v. Petrikovits zu einer gewissen Vorsicht mahnen sollen.²⁴

Es bleibt noch übrig, einen kurzen Kommentar zur ikonographischen Darstellung der Frau hinzuzufügen. Zunächst muss festgestellt werden, dass das Porträt von Polla Matidia nicht im Geringsten an die Darstellungen römischer Tänzerinnen erinnert, welche die antiken Bildquellen überliefern.²⁵

²² Kajanto (wie Anm. 21) 86. Wie mir Heikki Solin freundlicherweise mitteilt, hat das *signum Olympius* eine ganz andere Etymologie, da der Name vom Berg Olympos abgeleitet ist, während *Olympia* als ein Toponym zu betrachten ist, der als Personennamen gebraucht wurde.

²³ Diese schon von Kajanto (wie Anm. 21) 7–8, vorgelegte Chronologie wurde letztlich von H. Solin und P. Caruso, "Dai nomi alle aree sepolcrali. Memorie beneventane in epigrafi note ed inedite", *Oebalus* 9 (2014) 63–89, bes. 76 bekräftigt. Allerdings begegnet man einem ähnlichen Brauch in der griechischen Epigraphik schon weit früher; dort findet man Formeln wie $\acute{o} / \eta \kappa\acute{\alpha}i$ schon im zweiten Jh. v. Chr., so Kajanto (wie Anm. 21) 7. Ähnliche Auslegungen mit anderen Beispielen bei S. Panciera, "Saggi d'indagine sull'onomastica romana", in idem, *Epigrafi, epigrafia, epigrafisti. Scritti vari editi e inediti (1956–2005) con note complementari e indici* II, Roma 2006, 1841–57, in part. 1849–50 (ursprünglich 1977 erschienen).

²⁴ Vgl. aber v. Petrikovits (wie Anm. 5) 1029: "Der Name der Bestatteten passt gut zu der frühen Datierung".

²⁵ Nur beispielsweise soll auf die folgenden Arbeiten und Abbildungen hingewiesen werden: H. v. Hesberg, "Eine erotische Gruppe aus Köln", in P. Noelke *et al.* (Hg.), *Romanisation und Resistenz in Plastik, Architektur und Inschriften der Provinzen des Imperium Romanum. Neue Funde und Forschungen*, Mainz am Rh. 2003, 173–89, bes. 176–78 mit Abb. 5–6; J. Habetzeder, "Dancing with Decorum. The Eclectic Usage of Kalathaiskos Dancers and Pyrrhic Dancers in Roman Visual Culture", *Opuscula* 5 (2012) 7–47 mit Abb. 1–11, vgl. 7: "The kalathaiskos dancers are represented by female figures depicted in a state of movement, wearing short chitons and basket-shaped

Zwei andere Aspekte sind eher von Belang. Zum einen fällt auf, dass Polla Matidia von einem etwas zur Seite stehenden Tier begleitet ist, nämlich von einem Hund, der ein Halsband trägt. Als Begleiter von Verschiedenen auf Grabmonumenten kommt der Hund in der römischen Welt mehrmals vor.²⁶ Er könnte wohl Treue (*fides*) symbolisieren, aber sein Auftreten in solchen Zusammenhängen wird in der Forschung oft als eine Abbildung einer realen Situation angesehen.²⁷ Bezüglich der sozialen Herkunft der Bestatteten lässt sich hieraus nichts Besonderes schließen, außer dass die Herstellung eines solchen Grabsteines einen gewissen finanziellen Aufwand gefordert haben wird. Dies dürfte hier vor allem deshalb der Fall gewesen sein, da die Komposition sonst nicht bekannt zu sein scheint und der Bildhauer deshalb wohl keine fertige Schablone hat benutzen können.²⁸ Die Anwesenheit des Schoßtieres soll wahrscheinlich auch auf eine höhere sozio-ökonomische Stellung der betreffenden Personen hindeuten.²⁹

Zur Frisur und Kleidung der Polla Matidia ist abschließend zu bemerken, dass sie ganz wie eine römische *matrona* auftritt.³⁰ Der Mantel (*palla*) deckt

headaddresses."

²⁶ In A. Ahlqvist, "Dogs in Early Christian Funeral Art: A Study in Late Antique Iconography", *Quaderni ticinesi di numismatica e antichità classiche* 23 (1994) 253–92, bes. 256–61 findet man eine umfassende Übersicht über das Vorkommen von Hunden auf vorchristlichen römischen Grabsteinen. Bedeutend dürftiger in dieser Beziehung ist J. M. C. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life and Art*, Ithaca, NY 1973, 108–11, während M. MacKinnon, "Pets", in G. L. Campbell (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Animals in Classical Thought and Life*, Oxford 2014, 269–81, bes. 270–74 zu Hunden, Verweise auf ikonographischen Quellen vermeidet.

²⁷ Zur Deutung solcher figurativen Kompositionen in der paganen römischen Welt, s. Ahlqvist (wie Anm. 26), 280, die eine realistische Interpretation einer symbolischen vorzieht, ohne die Letztgenannte kategorisch zu verwerfen.

²⁸ In Ahlqvist (wie Anm. 26) 284–91 enthält das Bildmaterial keine Szenen, die dem Moerser Monument gleichen, und auch in den Beschreibungen der verschiedenen Kontexte, in denen Hunde auftreten (S. 256–61), finde ich nichts, was an das Relief von Polla Matidia erinnert.

²⁹ So, im Allgemeinen zum Auftreten von Hunde als Schoßtiere, MacKinnon (wie Anm. 26) 271, 273.

³⁰ S. die Beschreibung bei J. L. Sebesta, "Symbolism in the Costume of the Roman Woman", in J. L. Sebesta – L. Bonfante (Hg.), *The World of Roman Costume*, Madison, WI – London, UK 1994, 46–53, bes. 48–49.

ihren Kopf zum Zeichen ihrer *pietas*. Der Zick-Zack-Saum des Mantels wird als typisch für die Zeit und das Gebiet betrachtet.³¹

Als Schlussbetrachtung kann somit eindeutig festgestellt werden, dass das Grabmal beim römischen Kastell Asciburgium für eine Frau namens Polla Matidia Sp(uri) f(ilia) Olympia hergestellt wurde. Ob sie eine besondere Begabung oder Fertigkeiten etwa im künstlerischen Bereich besaß, können wir nicht sagen. Sie starb schon im Alter von 30 Jahren. Das Grabrelief zeigt wohl das Lieblingshündchen von Polla Matidia; von Kindern findet man keine Spur. Ihr Grabmal wurde von einem römischen ehemaligen Legionär, dem Veteranen L. Iulius L.f., errichtet; somit von einem wesentlich älteren Mann.³² Obwohl das Epitaphium nichts über die Verbindung zwischen der Bestatteten und dem Errichter des Grabmals aussagt, ist mit der bisherigen Forschung anzunehmen, dass es sich bei den beiden um ein Paar handelte.³³

Wie aus ihrem Namen zu sehen ist, war Polla Matidia Sp. f. Olympia eine freigeborene römische Staatsbürgerin, sie besaß die *civitas Romana*.³⁴ Ihr Vater bleibt zwar in ihrem Namensformel "unbekannt", denn obwohl der Vorname *Spurius* manchmal von römischen Männern gebraucht wurde, nimmt man allgemein an, in einer Filiation stehe er anstelle des Vornamens des leiblichen Vaters.³⁵ Bei den Kindern eines "Spurius" heißt dies jedoch nicht, dass der Vater tatsächlich unbekannt war, sondern es kann schlicht darum gehen, dass der

³¹ Gabelmann (wie Anm. 17) 102.

³² Es bestand ein Unterschied von mindestens ein Dutzend Jahren zwischen den beiden Personen. Hätte L. Iulius als 17-jähriger seinen Militärdienst angefangen, wäre er frühestens als 42-Jähriger entlassen worden. Wir wissen aber nicht, wann Polla Matidia starb: dies könnte auch mehrere Jahre nach der Entlassung von L. Iulius geschehen sein; je später, umso größer wäre der Altersunterschied zwischen Mann und Frau.

³³ Abweichend Bechert (wie Anm. 13) 113–15, der vorschlägt, Polla Matidia könne anstelle von Partnerin die uneheliche Tochter vom Veteranen L. Iulius sein.

³⁴ Die onomastische Hypothese von v. Petrikovits führte hier Kajava (wie Anm. 18) 55, irre, denn seine Diskussion des Schicksals von Polla Matidia beruht auf der Annahme sie sei eine freigelassene ehemalige Sklavin.

³⁵ O. Salomies, *Die römischen Vornamen. Studien zur römischen Namengebung*, Helsinki 1987, 50–54. Es gibt keinen Hinweis, dass *Spurius* von einem Matidius jemals als *praenomen* benutzt worden wäre. Insgesamt weisen die lateinischen Inschriften nur wenige Matidii auf, und bei ihnen kommen als *praenomina* nur je einmal *Aulus*, *Gaius*, und *Quintus* vor (laut einer Suche in der Epigraphik-Datenbank Claus Slaby).

Vater nach dem römischen Recht nicht erwähnt werden konnte. Der Status des Kindes folgte denjenigen der Mutter: wenn die Mutter das römische Bürgerrecht besaß, der Vater aber ein Sklave oder ein freier Peregrine war, erhielt das Kind die *civitas Romana* und benannte in seiner Namensformel den Vater "Spurius".

Dass Polla Matidia Olympia ausnahmsweise die *tria nomina* trug, wie man es üblicherweise nur bei Männern vorfindet, passt mit ihrem Status als *ingenua* gut zusammen. Wie oben erwähnt, waren fast alle bekannten Benutzer des Vornamens *Polla* frei geboren. In einem gewissen Sinne steht hierzu das *cognomen* der Frau im Kontrast. *Olympia* ist ein griechischer Name, und es wird des Öfteren in der Forschung angenommen, das Tragen eines griechischen *cognomen* in Rom, Italien, und vor allem in den westlichen Provinzen sei ein Zeichen von unfreier Herkunft.³⁶ Dass wir es aber hier nicht mit einer einheitlichen Regel zu tun haben, ist vom Verfasser dieser Zeilen in letzter Zeit betont worden: es gibt genügend Beispiele von Freigeborenen, die griechische *cognomina* benutzen.³⁷ Polla Matidia Sp. f. Olympia ist ein gutes Beispiel der letztgenannten Kategorie.

Man wüßte gerne, wie und warum sie nach Germanien kam. Ob sie etwa den Legionären L. Iulius aus Spanien begleitete, als die *legio II Augusta* im J. 9 n. Chr. von dort nach Mainz versetzt wurde, oder einen anderen Weg genommen hatte, lässt sich aber nicht entscheiden.

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³⁶ H. Solin, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der griechischen Personennamen in Rom I*, Helsinki 1971; in letzter Zeit etwa H. Mouritsen, "Freedmen and Freeborn in the Necropolis of Imperial Ostia", *ZPE* 150 (2004) 281–304, bes. 287; idem, "Freedmen and Decurions; Epitaphs and Social History in Imperial Italy", *JRS* 95 (2005) 38–63, bes. 38, 41–42; idem, *The Freedman in the Roman World*, Oxford 2011, 124–27. Für diese und ähnliche Ansichten, s. auch C. Bruun, "Greek or Latin? The Owner's Choice of Names for *vernae* in Rome", in M. George (ed.), *Roman Slavery and Roman Material Culture*, Toronto 2013, 19–42, bes. 23 mit Anm. 20.

³⁷ Bruun (wie Anm. 36). Jener Aufsatz fußt auf einem Vortrag, der schon 2007 bei einer Tagung an der McMaster University gehalten wurde, und dessen Rezeption man wohl schon an mehreren Stellen im Schlusswort von Mouritsen 2011 (wie Anm. 36) 283, 287, 288, beobachten kann.

ALCUNE CONSIDERAZIONI SULL'USO DI *INCIPIO* NEL LATINO IMPERIALE E TARDO

GIOVANBATTISTA GALDI

1. Introduzione

Nel presente contributo si discuterà l'uso di *incipio* accompagnato da infinito in testi latini del periodo imperiale e tardo (I–VI secolo).¹ In particolare ci si soffermerà da un lato sull'indebolimento semantico di *incipio*, che risulta talora impiegato in modo pleonastico, dall'altro, più approfonditamente, sugli usi 'prospettivi' della perifrasi, quelli cioè in cui essa è o pare essere adottata in luogo di un futuro semplice, es. Vet. Lat. *Luc.* 9,44 (codd. a,e₂,c) *filii hominis ... incipit tradi (= tradetur) in manus hominum* (μέλλει παραδίδοσθαι, Vulg. *futurum est, ut tradatur*). Quest'ultimo rappresenta un uso noto, spesso citato negli studi,² la cui origine tuttavia non è mai stata adeguatamente indagata. Nella nostra analisi cercheremo di mostrare che si tratta di un tecnicismo del latino dei cristiani che non ha, probabilmente, alcun nesso con la lingua parlata.

Seguendo lo schema del *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* (VII/1 919,14ss) si opererà una distinzione centrale tra gli usi pagani della costruzione e quelli cristiani.

¹ L'autore desidera ringraziare Jim Adams e i due referee anonimi della Rivista per i commenti puntuali e le utili indicazioni.

² Numerosi sono i lavori che fanno riferimento alla costruzione. Tra i principali ricordiamo Rönsch 1875, 369–370; Thielmann 1885, 85–87; Löfstedt 1911, 210; Wackernagel 1926, 194; Schrijnen – Mohrmann 1937, 19–24; Hofmann – Szantyr 1965, 313 e, più di recente, Rosén 2012, 127 e Pinkster 2015, 402.

2. *Incipio* + infinito nella letteratura pagana

Il *ThlL* (VII/1 919,14ss) individua *apud scriptores profanos* due tipi d'impiego della perifrasi che rivelerebbero un'attenuazione semantica di *incipio* (*vi incohandi debilitata*). Si tratta di un (a) *usus praeparativus* (919,19ss) e un (b) *usus attenuatus* (919,70ss). Quasi tutti gli esempi riuniti sotto (a) risalgono ai primi due secoli dell'impero (nel *ThlL* non se ne indicano di anteriori) e sono, a loro volta, suddivisi in cinque gruppi a seconda del contesto di ricorrenza (si noti che i gruppi da (α) a (δ) consistono di pochissime attestazioni):

(α) All'inizio di un'apodosi di periodo ipotetico, es.

(1) Sen. *Epist.* 9,15 *summum bonum ... incipit fortunae esse subiectum, si quam partem sui foris quaerit* ("il sommo bene ... comincia a divenire schiavo della sorte se cerca all'esterno una parte di sé").

Come indicato dal *Thesaurus* stesso (*notione propria vigente*) quest'uso è facilmente riconducibile alla forza originaria di *incipio*: posta una determinata condizione *x*, *y* comincia a valere, vale a dire, nel momento in cui *x* si realizza, *y* inizia a essere valido (in tutti i casi *incipio* è seguito da un infinito di natura durativa).

(β) Con infinito perfetto. Nella maggior parte degli esempi *incipio* preserva la sua forza incettiva, es.

(2) Tac. *Agr.* 32,2 *qui timere desierint, odisse incipient* ("chi cesserà di temere, inizierà a odiare")

(3) Mart. II 1,10 *te conuiua leget mixto quincunce sed ante incipiat positus quam tepuisse calix* ("il commensale col suo quartuccio di vino annacquato finirà di leggerti prima che la coppa che gli sta davanti cominci a raffreddarsi").³

(γ) Accompagnato da *uelle* e *posse*. Anche in questi casi, spesso citati in riferimento a un presunto affievolimento semantico di *incipio*,⁴ il verbo ritiene il

³ Traduzione di Norcio 2013, 203. Si noti che in Tac. *Agr.* 32,2 riportato sopra l'uso dell'infinito perfetto è da attribuire alla difettività di *odi*. Di spiegazione incerta sono due passi d'età tarda: Iulian. *Dig.* XL 7,13,5 *ademptio libertatis uel legati sub condicione facta incipit contrariam condicionem legato ... iniecisse*, Chiron 806 *cum de stabulo prodisse incipit*. La peculiarità, comunque, non risulta tanto da un indebolimento semantico di *incipio*, che in entrambi i casi pare ritenere la sua forza incettiva (l'esempio di Giuliano rientra nel tipo esemplificato sotto (1) se si conferisce al sintagma *sub condicione facta* valenza condizionale), quanto dalla scelta dell'infinito perfetto che forse vale a sottolineare il compimento dell'azione da esso espressa.

⁴ Cf. in particolare Petersmann 1977, 190–191.

suo valore incoativo, denotando il momento in cui una determinata volontà o un desiderio si palesano per la prima volta, es.

(4) Verg. *Aen.* VI 751 *ut conuexa reuisant rursus et incipient in corpora uelle reuerti* ("perché rivedano di nuovo la volta celeste e incomincino a voler tornare nei corpi").

(δ) Coordinato a un futuro semplice (*incipio* si trova anch'esso al futuro), es.

(5) Prop. III 4,16 *spectare ... incipiam et titulis oppida capta legam* ("inizierò a guardare e leggerò sulle insegne il nome delle città conquistate").

Le rarissime istanze qui raccolte figurano quasi tutte in poesia, in particolare in Propertio (tre casi su cinque). Dal contesto non si evincono argomenti probanti a favore di una pur parziale perdita del valore incettivo.⁵

(ε) Seguito dall'infinito di verbi incoativi, es.

(6) Cato *Agr.* 17,2 (nucis) *ubi primum incipiunt hiascere* ("appena [le noci] cominciano ad aprirsi").

Come evidenziato dalla Haverling, tali esempi non sono rivelatori di un uso 'debole' di *incipio*⁶ bensì del fatto che, a dispetto della loro denominazione tradizionale, i verbi in *-sco* non hanno necessariamente senso incoativo.⁷

L'uso *attenuatus* si riscontra per lo più in contesti in cui *incipio* è apparentemente impiegato *pro futuro* (*ThlL* VII/1 919,70ss) o, più raramente, *pro coniunctivo* (920,19ss). Tutti gli esempi risalgono al periodo dal II secolo d.C. in avanti e sono generalmente tratti da opere tecniche. Sebbene non si possa escludere occasionalmente un reale affievolimento semantico di *incipio*, nella

⁵ Rothstein (1898, 26), ad esempio riferendosi al succitato verso properziano osserva che *incipiam spectare*, sebbene molto vicino nel significato al semplice *spectabo*, è più 'visivo' ("anschaulicher") in quanto serve a circoscrivere un esatto momento ("weil es einen genauen bestimmten Zeitpunkt bezeichnet"). Sembra infatti che l'espressione valga ad aprire una 'cornice temporale' all'interno della quale si colloca l'azione successiva (*incipiam spectare* → *oppida capta legam*).

⁶ Questa è, ad esempio, l'opinione di Petersmann (1977, 191): "Nicht anders als bei anderen Hilfsverben brachte auch der häufige Gebrauch von *incipio* und *coepi* offenbar eine gewisse Entwertung mit sich. So verwendet z.B. selbst Caesar bell. Gall. 6, 29, 4 *incipio* in Verbindung mit einem inchoativen Verb: *cum maturescere frumenta inciperent*".

⁷ Cf. Haverling 2000, 115–121. Si vedano al riguardo anche Traina – Pierini (1998, 174–175), in riferimento ai verbi incoativi: "Secondo il loro nome tradizionale [...] questi verbi [...] indicherebbero l'inizio del processo verbale [...] in realtà si tratta di processi verbali che si realizzano progressivamente, durante un certo spazio di tempo", e più avanti (p. 176) "la progressione può concentrarsi in un momento – nel momento in cui si cambia stato –, e allora il valore passa da progressivo a ingressivo, cioè da durativo a momentaneo".

stragrande maggioranza dei casi l'uso del verbo è direttamente o indirettamente riconducibile al suo valore standard. In particolare, si possono distinguere due gruppi principali (questa bipartizione non è adottata nel *ThLL*).

(A) Poco meno della metà degli esempi proviene dalla *Mulomedicina Chironis*. È opportuno soffermarsi brevemente sulla discussione di questi passi perché a detta di vari studiosi, Vegezio, il cui trattato di veterinaria, come noto, si fonda per gran parte sul testo di Chirone, tenderebbe a sostituire la perifrasi *incipio* + infinito quando essa figura nella fonte,⁸ come negli esempi che seguono:

(7) Chiron 570 *statim incipiet pectore stridere et per nares humorem liquidum proicere incipiet* ("di colpo l'animale comincerà a produrre suoni stridenti dal petto e comincerà a produrre dalle narici un umore liquido") ~ Veg. *Mul.* II 43,1 *stridet de pectore et per nares humorem liquidum proicit*

(8) Chiron 115 *si iumentum febricitare coeperit* ("se l'animale comincerà ad avere la febbre") ~ Veg. *Mul.* I 29,3 *febriens iumentum*.⁹

Poiché il testo di Vegezio è generalmente considerato più aderente alle norme classiche rispetto a quello di Chirone (Vegezio stesso fa esplicito riferimento in *Mul.* I prol. 3 all'*eloquentiae inopia* e *sermonis uilitas* della fonte), la nostra costruzione è generalmente inclusa fra i tanti 'volgarismi' di Chirone espunti o corretti dallo scrittore posteriore.¹⁰ In realtà vi sono due elementi di cui occorre tener conto nella valutazione della costruzione. In primo luogo, per la maggior parte delle attestazioni di *incipio* con infinito in Chirone non disponiamo del passo corrispondente in Vegezio.¹¹ In tutti questi casi dunque non si può sostenere che la costruzione sia evitata da Vegezio, perché l'intero contesto di riferimento è assente. Colpisce piuttosto il fatto che in tre dei quattordici usi di *incipio* Vegezio ricopia direttamente il verbo dalla fonte, es.

(9) Veg. *Mul.* II 42,2 *sequenti ... die cataplasma imponere incipies* ("il giorno successivo comincerai ad applicare [sul corpo dell'animale] un cataplasma") ~ Chiron 568 *altero ... die cataplasma imponere incipies*

⁸ Si veda recentemente Rosén (2012, 123): "Vegetius, in his linguistically upgraded digest (4th century) of the *Mulomedicina Chironis*, systematically eradicated *coepi* syntagms, along with the more frequent *incipio* syntagms, replacing them with non-composite verb forms".

⁹ Una lista completa di questi esempi si trova in Grevander 1926, 78–79.

¹⁰ Cf. ad esempio Hofmann – Szantyr 1965, 313; Petersmann 1977, 191; Rosén 2012, 123–124.

¹¹ Quest'aspetto è messo esplicitamente in luce da Grevander (1926, 78): "*incipere* steht perifrastisch sehr oft bei Chiron. Vegetius hat leider nur selten die entsprechende Stelle".

e in altri cinque lo aggiunge addirittura egli stesso, es.

(10) Veg. *Mul.* II 14,6 *die tertio ... fouere incipies frequenter et diu* ("il terzo giorno comincerai a scaldare [l'orecchio] con frequenza e a lungo") ~ Chiron 528 *foueto auriculam* / Pelag. 54 *foueto aurem*.

È inesatto dunque dire che Vegezio rifiuti la costruzione per via del suo carattere 'volgare'.

In secondo luogo (cosa ancora più importante) l'uso di *incipio* e/o *coepi* è attestato varie volte, sin dall'epoca repubblicana, in testi tecnici (agricoltura, medicina, veterinaria), in cui di norma esibisce due funzioni caratteristiche. Per un verso, si riferisce all'insorgere di un nuovo processo o fenomeno (spesso una malattia), che generalmente richiede di essere trattato in un modo specifico, es.

(11) Cato *Agr.* 151, 4 *ubi germen nascere coeperit, tum demi* ("quando il germoglio comincerà a nascere, allora strappalo")

(12) Colum. II 10 *ubi coeperit fruticare, omnis alterius generis herbas eruncato* ("quando comincerà a germogliare, sradica le erbe di ogni altro genere").

Per l'altro, esso descrive la fase iniziale di un trattamento o dei suoi effetti (quest'uso è più raro), es.

(13) Cato *Agr.* 158, 1 *ubi iam coctum incipit esse, eo addito brassicae coliculos duos* ("quando comincia a esser cotto, aggiungici due foglie di cavolo").

In entrambi i casi l'uso di *incipio/coepi* non è solo 'accettabile', ma necessario: l'autore rammenta al lettore l'importanza di individuare o un determinato processo e/o fenomeno oppure una fase specifica di un trattamento sin dal suo primo manifestarsi e/o realizzarsi in modo che egli possa agire a tempo debito. Ora, pressoché tutte le attestazioni di *incipio* in Chirone raccolte nel *ThLL* (VII/1 919, 70ss) si incontrano in questi due tipi di contesto (si vedano ad esempio i passi (7) e (8) sopra). Di conseguenza, le istanze in cui Vegezio elimina *incipio* (o *coepi*) dal testo del modello non paiono dovute a pleonaso, ma piuttosto al fatto che egli non ritiene necessario enfatizzare il momento iniziale di un processo o della fase di un trattamento. Si confrontino i due passi che seguono:

(14) Veg. *Mul.* II 40, 3 *si parum apte profluat sanguis, iumento faenum dabis* ("se il sangue fluisce in modo inadeguato, darai all'animale del fieno")

(15) Chiron 565 *si sanguinis parum ... fluere coeperit, dato eqs.* ("se poco sangue comincerà a fluire, dà etc.")

Le modifiche effettuate da Vegezio non sono imputabili a errori linguistici nella fonte. Entrambi i testi sono corretti sotto ogni punto di vista, ma Chirone, a differenza di Vegezio, pone l'accento sull'insorgenza del sintomo. È improprio dunque parlare di uso ridondante di *coeperit* in (15) o, a termini inversi, di *incipies* in (10).¹² Piuttosto si può ipotizzare che questo tipo di cambi sia motivato, o comunque propiziato da ragioni stilistiche. Data cioè la notevole frequenza del sintagma in Chirone, è probabile che Vegezio tendesse a sostituirlo col verbo semplice (dunque *incipiet fluere* à *fluet*) per differenziare ulteriormente il proprio stile da quello della fonte.

(B) I restanti casi di *usus attenuatus* si rinvencono quasi esclusivamente in testi giuridici, in particolare Ulpiano, o in opere grammaticali (inclusi i commenti tardo-antichi a testi classici). La maggior parte di essi è inquadrabile nel tipo discusso sopra sotto (1), secondo cui *incipio* introduce la conseguenza di una condizione introdotta da *si*, es.

(16) Eugraph. Ter. *Haut.* 713 *si ... crediderit senex amicam filii sui esse meretricem, incipiet filiam suam mihi dare nolle* ("se/nel momento in cui il vecchio crederà che l'amica di suo figlio è una meretrice, comincerà a non volere più darmi sua figlia").

Occasionalmente il vincolo ipotetico può essere espresso in altro modo, ad esempio da una frase relativa (es. Ulp. *Dig.* XXI 1,19,2), da *cum* (es. Pomp. *Gramm.* V 229) o da una struttura paratattica (cf. Pomp. *Gramm.* V 180,11). L'esistenza e la diffusione di questo tipo semantico-sintattico consente anche di spiegare la quasi totalità degli esempi in cui *incipio* con infinito è apparentemente usato in luogo di un congiuntivo semplice (dunque *incipias facere* = *facias*; cf. *ThlL* VII/1 920,19ss). In questi casi, infatti, il verbo si trova di norma all'interno di frasi finali che si riferiscono alla conseguenza 'potenziale' di una condizione ipotetica ricavabile dal contesto che precede, secondo lo schema: 'x è (o deve essere) in un certo modo, affinché y non abbia luogo', che presuppone 'y comincerà ad aver luogo se x non è (o sarà) in un certo modo'. Servio, ad esempio, nel suo commento a *Aen.* VI 103s (*non ulla laborum, / o uirgo, noua mi*

¹² Un punto di vista analogo si trova in Schrijnen – Mohrmann (1937, 22) i quali, confrontando Chiron 65 *nisi cicatrix esse coeperit* con Veg. *Mul.* II 15,2 *duxerit cicatricem*, osservano: "Der volkstümliche Charakter der Chironstelle liegt nicht so sehr in der Umschreibung mit *coeperit* in futurischer Bedeutung, als in der Tatsache, dass er den Ausdruck *cicatrix esse coeperit* an der Stelle von *duxerit cicatricem* verwendet. Denn *coepit* hat hier zweifellos noch ingressive Bedeutung, und *esse* ist also eine Art Allerweltsverb".

facies inopinaue surgit), osserva che *mi* (da *mihi*) non è mai soggetto a sineresi per evitare la confusione con il *blandientis aduerbium*:¹³

(17) Serv. *Aen.* VI 104 p. 22,16 *et sciendum pronomen 'mihi' numquam in synaeresin uenire, ne incipiat esse blandientis aduerbium* ("occorre sapere che il pronome *mihi* non è mai soggetto a sineresi, perché non cominci a essere un avverbio di adulazione").

Il pensiero implicito nelle parole di Servio è che, qualora si avesse sineresi, ne conseguirebbe il passaggio di *mi* da dativo ad avverbio.

C'è infine una considerazione più generale da fare in riferimento all'*usus attenuatus* di *incipio*. Se si escludono un paio di casi, in cui il verbo pare peraltro riconducibile agli impieghi discussi sopra (*ThLL* VII/1 919, 71–76), in tutti gli esempi raccolti nel *ThLL incipio* figura al futuro o al congiuntivo – si vedano i passi raccolti sotto (A) e (B). Attestazioni certe del presente in luogo del futuro (dunque *incipis facere* = *facies*) o dell'indicativo per il congiuntivo (*incipis facere* = *facias*) non se ne rinvencono.

Riassumendo, tre risultati principali emergono dall'analisi dei passi pagani che secondo il *ThLL* esibirebbero una (parziale) desemantizzazione di *incipio* con infinito e/o un suo impiego in luogo del futuro o congiuntivo. Innanzitutto, nel primo gruppo di esempi (inclusi nell'*usus praeparativus*), quasi tutti in testi letterari del periodo post-classico (I/II sec. d.C.), non si può parlare di indebolimento semantico perché, salvo casi eccezionali, *incipio* è riconducibile al suo valore standard – si vedano gli esempi (1)–(6). In secondo luogo, una continuità d'uso della costruzione emerge in opere tecniche d'età imperiale e tarda, dal II secolo a.C. in avanti (si tratta del cosiddetto *usus attenuatus*). Il verbo figura qui da un lato in testi di veterinaria (in particolare Chirone) per denotare l'insorgere di un nuovo processo/fenomeno o la fase iniziale di un trattamento (o dei suoi effetti), dall'altro in opere giuridiche o grammaticali, generalmente per introdurre la conseguenza logica di una condizione ipotetica. Anche in questo caso la grande maggioranza degli esempi può essere spiegata, direttamente o indirettamente, in base al valore proprio di *incipio*, che si accompagna a infiniti di natura durativa. È inesatto, infine, nonché fuorviante parlare di sostituzione del futuro o congiuntivo ad opera del presente o indicativo, rispettivamente, di

¹³ Non è certo cosa intenda Servio con questa espressione, ma parrebbe trattarsi del vocativo *mi*. Ad ogni modo il verso citato, come nota Servio stesso, sarebbe un'eccezione a questa regola giacché *mihi*, pur essendo un dativo, è qui soggetto a sineresi.

incipio (dunque *incipit facere* = *faciet* o *faciat*), perché, tolti un paio d'esempi di interpretazione dubbia, in tutti i passi esaminati *incipio* figura esso stesso al futuro o congiuntivo.

3. *Incipio* nella letteratura cristiana

Un fenomeno caratteristico del latino dei cristiani, dal II secolo in avanti, è l'uso di *incipio* in contesti narrativi in cui ci si attenderebbe un futuro semplice. Il *ThLL* dedica una lunga sezione a questi usi (VII/1 920, 41ss). Si confrontino i seguenti esempi, tutti tratti dalla *Vetus Latina*:

(18) *Luc.* 9,44 (codd. a,e₂,c) *filius hominis ... incipit tradi in manus hominum* (μέλλει παραδίδοσθαι εἰς χεῖρας ἀνθρώπων, cod. d *incipiet*, Vulg. et alii *futurum est ut tradatur*) ("il figlio dell'uomo sarà consegnato nelle mani degli uomini")

(19) *Ioh.* 6,15 (codd. ff₂,l) *Iesus ... sciens quia incipiunt turbae uenire et rapere eum* (μέλλουσιν ἔρχεσθαι, cod. b *incipient*, Vulg. et alii *uenturi essent*) ("Gesù sapendo che le folle stavano per venire e rapirlo")

(20) *Matth.* 2,13 (cod. d) *incipit querere Herodes puerum ad perdendum eum* (μέλλει ... Ἡρώδης ζητεῖν τὸ παιδίον τοῦ ἀπολέσαι αὐτό, Vulg. et alii *futurum est ... ut*) ("Erode cercherà il bambino per ucciderlo")

(21) *Matth.* 16,27 (codd. e₂,d₂) *incipiet ... filius hominis uenire in claritate patris sui* (μέλλει ... ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεσθαι ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ Πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, Vulg. *uenturus est*, alii *uenturus est, uenit, futurum est ut ueniat*) ("il figlio dell'uomo verrà nella gloria di suo padre").

A differenza dei passi pagani discussi sopra, quest'uso non appare legato a contesti specifici sul piano narrativo (come ad esempio nei testi veterinari) o sintattico (come nelle opere giuridiche e grammaticali). Inoltre il verbo può figurare al presente con chiaro riferimento al futuro e il valore incettivo è spesso assente. Nei succitati frammenti, ad esempio, *incipio* denota un evento che si colloca nel futuro, come si evince dal testo greco e dalla traduzione della *Vulgata* (*futurum est, uenturi essent, uenturus est*) e in tre di essi l'infinito dipendente (*tradi, uenire*) non esibisce valore durativo o iterativo. Inoltre, in tutti i casi l'azione espressa dall'infinito non è interrotta né si nota un'enfasi speciale sulla sua fase iniziale. Non pare esservi dunque alcun motivo sintattico o semantico per la scelta di *incipio* + infinito invece del verbo semplice.

Esempi analoghi si rinvencono più volte nella *Vetus Latina* da cui quest'uso si estende a fonti coeve e posteriori.¹⁴ Alla luce delle chiare differenze rispetto ai testi pagani, è lecito dunque parlare di tecnicismo dei cristiani. Prima di suggerire una possibile spiegazione al fenomeno, ci soffermeremo sulla sua frequenza e distribuzione nella Bibbia latina.

Già da tempo è stato osservato che l'uso 'prospettivo' di *incipio* nelle traduzioni bibliche si incontra pressoché sistematicamente in corrispondenza di un μέλλω della fonte, come nei quattro esempi riportati sopra.¹⁵ Nella nostra indagine abbiamo dunque passato in rassegna tutte le ricorrenze di μέλλω con infinito nella Bibbia greca (*Septuaginta* e Nuovo Testamento) controllando, per ciascuna di esse, l'espressione corrispondente nelle traduzioni latine. Gli usi di ἄρχω / ἄρχομαι + infinito non sono stati presi in esame perché questa perifrasi non esibisce mai il valore 'prospettivo' indicato sopra. I risultati sono raccolti nella tabella 1. A causa della diversa frequenza d'uso del sintagma nei testi sacri (sulla quale torneremo sotto), si è operata una distinzione tra i Vangeli, gli altri libri del Nuovo Testamento e il Vecchio Testamento. Le colonne 2–4 si riferiscono alla *Vetus Latina* e includono i casi in cui μέλλω è reso in almeno un testimone¹⁶ (a) da *incipio* (colonna 2), (b) da un verbo diverso da *incipio* (colonna 3), o (c) dal futuro perifrastico *-urus sum* (colonna 4). Le ultime tre colonne si riferiscono invece alle traduzioni di μέλλω nella *Vulgata* di Girolamo.

¹⁴ Cf. Thielmann (1885, 85): "Hauptfundorte für diese Verwendung von *incipere* sind [...] weniger Originalschriftsteller, als vielmehr die alten Versionen kirchlicher Texte, in erster Linie die ältesten Bibelübersetzungen selber". Cf. anche Schrijnen – Mohrmann 1937, 23 e Hofmann – Szantyr 1965, 313.

¹⁵ Cf. ad esempio Hofmann – Szantyr (1965, 313): "Die ältesten und zahlreichsten Belege bietet die *Itala* unter dem Einfluss von gr. μέλλω". La corrispondenza μέλλω ~ *incipio* è così diffusa nella Bibbia che J.B. Hofmann, redattore del lemma *incipio* per il *ThLL*, rinuncia a indicare ogni volta il testo greco di riferimento (cf. *ThLL* VII/1 920, 43–45: "Ubi ad *Italam* et *Vulg.* nihil adnotavi, graece respondet μέλλειν c. *inf.*"). Si vedano anche Schrijnen – Mohrmann 1937, 23.

¹⁶ Questa specificazione tiene conto del fatto che, come noto, nella maggior parte dei casi lo stesso passaggio biblico è tradito in diversi testimoni, diretti (codici) o indiretti (citazioni di autori). Ciò vale soprattutto per il Nuovo Testamento e in particolare per i Vangeli.

Tabella 1: traduzione di μέλλω nella Bibbia latina

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|----------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|--|----------------|---------------------------------|-------------------|
| | VETUS LATINA | | | VULGATA | | |
| | <i>incipio</i> (almeno un testimone) | verbo diverso da <i>incipio</i> | <i>-urus esse</i> (almeno un testimone) | <i>incipio</i> | verbo diverso da <i>incipio</i> | <i>-urus esse</i> |
| Vangeli | 25 | 7 | 29 | 3 | 2* | 24 |
| Altri libri del Nuovo Testamento | 28 | 26 | 28 | 12 | 10** | 32 |
| Antico Testamento | 16 | 15 | 6 | 6 | 11*** | 13 |
| Totali | 69 | 48 | 63 | 21 | 23 | 79 |

Questi risultati consentono due osservazioni di carattere generale.

In primo luogo *incipio* rappresenta effettivamente il corrispondente più comune di μέλλω nella *Vetus Latina* (69 esempi). Di particolare interesse sono, da questo punto di vista, cinque passi, non inclusi nella tabella, in cui *incipio* figura in singoli testimoni con riferimento ad azione futura (o comunque incompiuta) senza μέλλω nella fonte.¹⁷ Il tempo è o il futuro, come in *Luc.* 20,36 (cod.

* Vulg. *Matth.* 17,21 *filius hominis tradendus est* (μέλλει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοσθαι), *Luc.* 19,11 *quod confestim regnum Dei manifestaretur* (ὅτι παραχρῆμα μέλλει ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἀναφαίνεσθαι).

** Vulg. *Act.* 16,27 *uolebat se interficere* (ἤμελλεν ἑαυτὸν ἀνακρεῖν), 21,27 *dum ... septem dies consummarentur* (ὡς ... ἕμελλον αἱ ἑπτὰ ἡμέραι συντελεῖσθαι), 23,3 *percutiet te Deus* (τύπτειν σε μέλλει ὁ θεός), 28,6 *illi existimabant eum in tumorem conuertendum* (οἱ ... προσεδόκων αὐτὸν μέλλειν πῖμπρασθαι), *Rom.* 4,24 *propter nos, quibus reputabitur creditibus in eum* (δι' ἡμᾶς οἷς μέλλει λογιζεσθαι), 8,13 *si ... secundum carnem uixeritis, moriemini* (εἰ ... κατὰ σάρκα ζῆτε μέλλετε ἀποθνήσκειν), *Apoc.* 1,19 *scribe ... quae oportet fieri* (γράψων ... ἃ μέλλει γενέσθαι), *Apoc.* 6,11 *eorum, qui interficiendi sunt* (οἱ μέλλοντες ἀποκτενεσθαι), *Hebr.* 1,14 *propter eos, qui haereditatem capient salutis* (διὰ τοὺς μέλλοντας κληρονομεῖν σωτηρίαν), 8,5 *responsum est Moysi, cum consummaret tabernaculum* (κεχηρημάτισται Μωϋσῆς μέλλων ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν σκηνήν).

*** Vulg. *II Macc.* 6,30 *cum plagis perimeretur* (μέλλων ... ταῖς πληγαῖς τελευτᾶν), 7,2 *quid quaeris, et quid uis discere a nobis?* (τί μέλλεις ἐρωτᾶν καὶ μανθάνειν ἡμῶν), 8,3 *ciuitatis, quae esset illico complananda* (πόλιν ... μέλλουσιν ἰσόπεδον γίνεσθαι), 14,41 *turbis ... irruere in domum eius et ianua dirumpere ... cupientibus* (τῶν ... πληθῶν μελλόντων τὸν πύργον καταλαβέσθαι), *Iob* 3,8 *qui parati sunt suscitare Leuiathan* (ὁ μέλλων τὸ μέγα κῆτος χειρώσασθαι), 26,2 *cuius adiutor es?* (τίνι μέλλεις βοθηεῖν;), *Is.* 28,24 *numquid tota die arabit arans* (μὴ ὄλην τὴν ἡμέραν μέλλει ὁ ἀροτριῶν ἀροτριᾶν), 59,5 *qui comederit de ouis eorum, morietur* (ὁ μέλλων τῶν ὄων

e₂) *neque enim incipient mori* (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν ἔτι δύνανται, *Vulg. poterunt, alii morientur, moriuntur* etc.; cf. anche *Act. 1.5, Num. 15.39, Tob. 3.10*), o l'imperfetto: *Ioh. 1.43* (cod. l) *incipiebat autem exire in Galileam* (ἠθέλησεν ἐξελθεῖν, alii *uoluit*; questo è l'unico caso di *incipio* che traduce (ἐ)θέλω). Evidentemente l'uso così diffuso di *incipio* in corrispondenza di μέλλω nella Bibbia latina ne ha favorito occasionalmente l'impiego in riferimento al futuro anche in casi in cui il testo greco esibiva un verbo diverso. Tuttavia, μέλλω non è reso regolarmente da *incipio*, come sostenuto in alcuni studi.¹⁸ Esso ricorre infatti 117 volte nell'originale greco e in 48 di esse (dunque più del 40%) *incipio* non si rinviene in alcun testimone (colonna 3). Inoltre in 63 casi figura la perifrasi *-urus sum* (colonna 4), e in circa la metà di essi *incipio* non è attestato come traduzione alternativa. Quanto invece a Girolamo, egli preferisce decisamente *-urus sum* come traduzione di μέλλω (79 esempi), ma non evita *incipio*, cui ricorre 21 volte.

In secondo luogo, la frequenza più alta di *incipio* nella *Vetus Latina* si registra nel Nuovo Testamento, in particolare nei Vangeli (25 casi, dunque oltre un terzo del totale). Ciò comporta che μέλλω sia qui tradotto solo sette volte da verbi o forme verbali diverse da *incipio*. Colpisce d'altro canto che proprio nei Vangeli emerga l'uso più raro di *incipio* nella *Vulgata* (tre esempi). Dato che Girolamo asserisce, nella nota epistola prefatoria a Damaso, che la sua traduzione dei Vangeli non si allontana *a lectionis Latinae consuetudine* se non per correggere errori che alteravano il senso del testo originale,¹⁹ si può ipotizzare

αὐτῶν φαγεῖν), *Prov. 15,18 qui patiens est mitigat suscitatas* (sc. rixas) (μακρόθυμος ... καὶ τὴν μέλλουσαν καταπραΰνει), *Tob. 6,18 tu ... cum acceperis eam* (ὅταν μέλλῃς γίνεσθαι μετ' αὐτῆς), *Exod. 4,12 docebo ... te, quid loquaris* (συμβιβάσω σε ὃ μέλλεις λαλῆσαι), *Bar. 6,46 numquid ergo possunt ea, quae fabricata sunt ab ipsis, esse dii?* (πῶς ... δὴ μέλλει τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατασκευασθέντα εἶναι θεοί;).

¹⁷ Su questo fenomeno si veda anche Thielmann 1885, 86–87.

¹⁸ Cf. ad esempio Schrijnen – Mohrmann (1937, 23): "Tatsächlich wurde in den ältesten Bibelübersetzungen das gr. μέλλω, das dort sehr oft zur Umschreibung des Futurums verwendet wird, regelmässig mit *incipio* übersetzt".

¹⁹ Hier. *Praef. Euang.* p. 3,2ss *quae* (euangelia) *ne multum a lectionis Latinae consuetudine discreparent, ita calamo temperauimus, ut, his tantum quae sensum uidebantur mutare correctis, reliqua manere pateremur ut fuerant.* Cf. Houghton (2016, 32–35) con vari riferimenti bibliografici. Per una discussione generale della tecnica di traduzione di Girolamo nei Vangeli si veda Burton 2000, 192–199.

o che il suo modello latino di riferimento evitasse l'uso di *incipio* per μέλλω²⁰ o piuttosto che agli occhi del traduttore quest'uso rischiasse di oscurare il significato dell'originale greco e dovesse dunque essere sostituito con espressioni meno ambigue.²¹

Il punto cruciale, ora, è cercare di capire perché e come quest'uso peculiare di *incipio* (quale emerge ad esempio nei quattro passi biblici citati sopra) si sia originato.²² *L'usus praeparativus et attenuatus* individuato dal *ThLL* in autori pagani è limitato, come visto, a testi e contesti specifici. Inoltre la stragrande maggioranza degli esempi può essere almeno indirettamente ricondotta al valore standard di *incipio*. Un legame con i passi biblici appare dunque molto dubbio. Una possibile spiegazione al fenomeno fu suggerita da Wackernagel. Riferendosi al noto passo di Luca πενθήσετε και κλαύσετε (6, 25), tradotto in gotico da Wulfila *gaunon jah gretan duginnib* (letteralmente 'cominciate a gemere e a piangere'), egli osservò: "Was zukünftig ist, kann man als etwas fassen, wovon die Anfänge in der Gegenwart vorliegen. Was wir hier und an andern Stellen im Gotischen haben, ist vereinzelt z.B. in den slavischen Sprachen zu treffen; auch spätlateinische Autoren brauchen etwa so *incipere*".²³ Un approccio molto simile si ritrova nella monografia di Schrijnen e Mohrmann (1937, 19), che tuttavia non fanno riferimento allo studio di Wackernagel. Alla base di quest'uso vi sarebbe, a loro giudizio, una causa psicologica, "indem man die mehr oder weniger abstrakte Vorstellung des Zukünftigen konkretisierte und an ihre Stelle den Begriff des Anfangens setzte: man fasste das Zukünftige also auf als etwas, dessen Anfänge in der Gegenwart vorliegen". Il fenomeno andrebbe dunque ricondotto a una sorta di anticipazione o 'retroproiezione' di un'azione che si

²⁰ Non sappiamo con precisione su quale manoscritto latino Girolamo abbia fondato la sua revisione dei Vangeli. Secondo Houghton (2016, 30s e 33) si tratterebbe di una versione diffusa nel nord-Italia nel quarto secolo ("text-type I").

²¹ La discrepanza tra i Vangeli e gli altri libri del Nuovo Testamento quanto al numero di attestazioni di *incipio* per μέλλω parrebbe avallare la teoria sostenuta tra gli altri da Houghton (2016, 34) secondo cui Girolamo sia responsabile della revisione dei Vangeli ma non dei restanti libri del Nuovo Testamento.

²² È singolare il fatto che, benché l'uso 'prospettivo' di *incipio* sia menzionato in numerosi studi filologico-linguistici su testi e autori cristiani, quasi nessuno si sia interrogato sulla sua origine. Per uno sguardo bibliografico di insieme si vedano i riferimenti in *ThLL* VII/1, 920, 41–45 e Hofmann – Szantyr 1965, 313.

²³ Wackernagel 1926, 194.

realizzerà soltanto in un momento futuro più o meno lontano rispetto al presente della narrazione. In altri termini, è come se un evento futuro avesse le sue radici nel presente. Questa spiegazione, per quanto interessante, non rende tuttavia conto del perché l'uso sia, almeno in origine, legato alla traduzione di μέλλω e, soprattutto, perché esso sia limitato a testi cristiani (trattandosi di un fenomeno psicologico, sarebbe lecito ipotizzarne una diffusione analoga anche in autori pagani). Essa inoltre, come vedremo più avanti, non è supportata da un'analisi filologica delle fonti bibliche.

Un'altra soluzione, a nostro parere più convincente, è dunque quella del calco, o 'loan-shift'. Ci riferiamo con questo termine al processo linguistico che si verifica in caso di contatto tra due lingue e in base al quale "the semantic field of a lexeme in the recipient language is adjusted to replicate that of an already partially equivalent one in the source language".²⁴ Come mostrato da Adams,²⁵ tale processo si palesa in vari tipi di testi, registri o generi letterari. Esso può essere introdotto da un parlante (o scrivente) nella propria lingua su influenza di un'altra lingua, o viceversa, in una seconda lingua basandosi sull'idioma materno. I due presupposti sono (1) che i termini coinvolti – nel nostro caso μέλλω e *incipio* – condividano parte del loro campo semantico e (2) che il nuovo significato che si realizza nel secondo termine (quello cioè che subisce l'influsso semantico) non possa essere ricondotto a un'evoluzione linguistica interna.²⁶ Ora, Thayer individua nel Nuovo Testamento cinque significati di μέλλω + infinito:²⁷

²⁴ Coleman 1975, 106. Varie istanze di calco semantico dal greco al latino (quali ad esempio πῶσις – *casus*, φύσις – *natura*, χάρις – *gratia*), sono discusse in dettaglio da Nicolas (1996), in particolare alle pp. 91–252. Il fenomeno inverso, dal latino al greco, è invece esaminato da Buchholz (2015, 100–113), che si concentra in particolare sull'uso di ἀγωγή "processo, accusa", rimodellato su *actio*, nel vocabolario giuridico-processuale bizantino. Sono grato a Martti Leiwo per questa segnalazione.

²⁵ Adams 2003, 461–468.

²⁶ Su questo punto si veda in particolare Buchholz (2015, 103): "Entscheidend ist, dass sich mindestens eine ursprüngliche und mindestens eine spätere Bedeutung festmachen lassen ... und dass gezeigt werden kann, dass diese spätere Bedeutung nicht durch sprachinterne Entwicklungen, sondern auf fremdsprachlichen Einfluss hin entstanden ist".

²⁷ Cf. Thayer 1889, 396–397. Per ciò che concerne l'evoluzione semantica di μέλλω in greco antico e la sua estensione da verbo denotante intenzionalità ad ausiliare in riferimento al futuro, si veda la dettagliata monografia di Markopoulos (2009), in particolare alle pp. 20–33 (per il periodo classico) e 47–59 (per il periodo ellenistico e romano).

(a) essere sul punto di fare o subire qualcosa; (b) proporsi, avere in animo;²⁸ (c) in riferimento a cose che dovranno avvenire per necessità prestabilita o volontà divina; (d) in riferimento a ciò che avverrà con certezza; (e) ritardare, rimandare. Nessuno di questi valori si trova elencato nei dizionari latini di riferimento sotto le voci *incipio* o *coepi*. Vi è tuttavia un uso di *coepi* che si avvicina molto a (a) e (b), ossia quando il verbo è usato (talora con valore conativo) in riferimento ad eventi che stanno per avvenire o sono molto vicini al loro inizio. Ciò si osserva soprattutto nei casi in cui l'infinito dipendente esprime un processo puntuale o terminativo. Alcuni esempi chiariranno questo punto nodale:

(22) Petron. 136,8 *ire extra casam coepi. necdum liberaueram cellulae limen, cum animaduerto Oenotheam ... uenientem* ("stavo per uscire di casa. Non avevo ancora lasciato la soglia della stanza, quando mi accorgo di Enotea che ritorna")

(23) Petron. 67,3 *"atqui" respondit Habinnas "nisi illa discumbit, ego me apoculo". et coeperat surgere, nisi signo dato Fortunata quater amplius a tota familia esset uocata* ("Ebbene" rispose Abinna "se lei non si sdraia qui con noi, io me ne vado". E già stava per alzarsi, quando, dato un segnale, Fortunata fu chiamata quattro volte e più da tutta la servitù")

In entrambi i passi *coepi* non esibisce il caratteristico valore incoativo. Esso sottolinea piuttosto la prossimità dell'evento espresso dall'infinito, vanificato (o comunque interrotto) dalla subordinata che segue. Il significato non è dunque 'iniziavo/-a' ma '(già) stavo/stava per'.²⁹

²⁸ Questo valore parrebbe essere il più antico del verbo. Cf. Markopoulos (2009, 22) "Intention should possibly be seen as the primary meaning of μέλλω". Da esso (più in particolare, dalla terza persona con soggetto inanimato) si sarebbe poi sviluppato quello di previsione ('prediction'). Cf. Markopoulos 2009, 21.

²⁹ Si veda anche la traduzione di Ernout 1974, 66 (67,3) "Et il allait se lever, si, à un signal donné, Fortunata n'avait été appelée quatre fois et plus par toute la valetaille" e p. 169 (136,8) "Je [...] me mets en devoir de gagner le large. Mais je n'avais pas encore franchi le seuil de la chambrette, que j'aperçois Oenothée revenant etc.". Reichenkron individua questo valore di 'essere in procinto di', 'im Begriffe sein', anche nei passi petroniani in cui *coepi* regge *uelle* come in Petron. 68,3 *iam coeperat Fortunata uelle saltare, iam Scintilla frequentius plaudebat quam loquebatur, cum Trimalchio "permitto" inquit*. Cf. Reichenkron 1957, 466. Un senso analogo si riscontra già in Plauto con *occepi*. Ad esempio in *Mer.* 199ss *rogitare occepit, quia esset ... ilico occurri atque interpello*, il sintagma *rogitare occepit* sottolinea che la 'potenziale' domanda è impedita sul nascere dall'arrivo del parlante (il semplice *rogitauit* non avrebbe reso in modo analogo l'idea di incompiutezza dell'azione).

L'uso conativo di *coepi* è più raro.³⁰ Un esempio parrebbe aversi in un passo del *Bellum Hispaniense*:

(24) *Bell. Hisp.* 39, 2 in *speluncam Pompeius se occultare coepit, ut a nostris non facile inueniretur ... ita ibi interficitur* ("Pompeo cominciò a nascondersi in una grotta per non essere facilmente scoperto dai nostri ... così li viene ucciso")

Se ipotizziamo che l'iniziativa di Pompeo di nascondersi non andò a buon fine, e dunque non si compì nel modo da lui pianificato, la traduzione sarebbe 'Pompeo tentò di nascondersi in una grotta'.³¹ Tale esegesi è supportata dal fatto che tutto lascia intendere che Pompeo non riuscì a rimanere a lungo nella grotta.³²

Come ben noto, *coepi* e *incipio* erano strettamente legati sia sul piano semantico, sia soprattutto su quello morfologico. Data infatti la difettività del primo, *incipio* tende in età classica e imperiale a integrarne il paradigma nel sistema del presente.³³ Si può dunque ipotizzare che partendo dai casi in cui la semantica di *coepi* e μέλλω si sovrapponeva parzialmente (come nei passi petroniani citati sopra) *incipio* sia stato scelto, per estensione semantica, come corrispondente di μέλλω nelle traduzioni bibliche. Quest'ipotesi è supportata da un'osservazione statistica. Nella tabella 2 sono riportati i casi in cui *incipio* e/o *coepi* è usato o meno in corrispondenza di μέλλω nella *Vetus Latina* (Antico e Nuovo Testamento). Rispetto alla prima tabella, si è operata una distinzione

³⁰ Per il frequentativo *coepio*, invece, l'*OLD* (s.v.) riporta esplicitamente un valore conativo ('to attempt').

³¹ Questa è la soluzione prospettata da Rosén (2012, 136), che traduce: "[Pompeius] tried to hide himself".

³² Non si può escludere, comunque, sul piano semantico, che *coepit* qui denoti l'effettivo inizio di un'azione prolungata nel tempo, giacché il frequentativo *occulto* oltre a indicare il semplice atto del nascondersi ne sottolinea spesso la durata nel tempo ("*occultum fieri uel esse uel manere*" chiosa il *ThLL* IX/2 375, 63).

³³ *Coepi* è generalmente limitato, da Nevio in poi, al sistema del perfetto. Del presente *coepio*, ricostruito sul perfetto, si hanno solo un paio di attestazioni in commedia e nei grammatici (cf. *ThLL* III 1422, 1ss). Viceversa, se si esclude il participio *inceptus*, il perfetto di *incipio* e i tempi da esso derivati sono molto rari (non se ne hanno esempi in Cicerone, Cesare, Livio e Tacito) mentre quelli del presente sono comuni in tutta la latinità. Cf. al riguardo *ThLL* VII/1 912, 41ss, Löfstedt 1911, 285–286; Petersmann 1977, 190 n. 122 e Rosén 2012, 127 (quest'ultima parla di "partial – suppletive complementarity"). Si noti inoltre che *incipio* è impiegato più volte in glosse tarde per chiosare *coepi* (*ThLL* III 1422, 21–26).

di base, a seconda che il punto di riferimento temporale (che si desume dal contesto) risieda nel presente/futuro o nel passato. Il participio presente è stato solitamente incluso nel secondo gruppo poiché esso figura esclusivamente in contesti di anteriorità, es.

(25) Vet. Lat. *Act.* 3,3 (codd. d,e50,h) (=Vulg.) *cum uidisset Petrum et Ioannem incipientes introire in templum, rogabat* eqs. (μέλλοντος εἰσιέναι) ("avendo egli visto Pietro e Giovanni che stavano per entrare nel tempio, chiedeva etc.").

La tabella è suddivisa in tre sezioni orizzontali. Nella prima (A) si indicano le attestazioni di μέλλω nell'originale greco, nella seconda (B) i casi in cui *incipio* e/o *coepi* è adottato in almeno un testimone latino, nella terza (C) è calcolata la percentuale di (B) rispetto ad (A):

Tabella 2: *incipio/coepi* come traduzione di μέλλω (*Vetus Latina*)

| | | Punto di riferimento nel presente/futuro | Punto di riferimento nel passato |
|---|-------------------------------|--|----------------------------------|
| A | μέλλω | 46 | 55 |
| B | <i>incipio / coepi</i> | 26 | 36 |
| C | Percentuale di B rispetto a B | 56% | 65% |

Da un lato si osserva che nel testo greco μέλλω è usato più spesso allorché il punto di riferimento si trova nel passato (55 esempi vs. 46), dall'altro che la scelta di *incipio/coepi* come suo corrispondente è anch'essa preferita in contesti di anteriorità (65% vs. 56%). In questi casi il verbo può essere generalmente reso con la summenzionata perifrasi 'essere in procinto di' o 'intendere', 'tentare', come nei passi che seguono (si noti in tutti gli esempi l'uso di un infinito di natura puntuale):

(26) *Luc.* 7,2 (codd. a,d) *centurionis ... cuiusdam seruus male habens, incipiebat mori* (ἤμελλεν τελευτᾶν, *Vulg.* et alii *erat moriturus*) ("il servo di un centurione non sentendosi bene stava per morire")

(27) *Ioh.* 7,39 (codd. c,ff₂,l,q,r) *hoc ... dixit de Spiritu, quem incipiebant accipere* (ὁ ἔμελλον λαμβάνειν, *Vulg.* et alii *accepturi erant*) ("ciò disse dello Spirito che stavano per ricevere")

(28) *Act.* 18,14 (codd. d,e,g) (=Vulg.) *incipiente ... Paulo aperire os, dixit Gallio* (μέλλοντος ... ἀνοίγειν τὸ στόμα) ("mentre Paolo stava per aprire la bocca, Gallio disse")

Istruttivi sono anche i dati provenienti dalla traduzione di Girolamo:

Tabella 3: *incipio/coepi* come traduzione di μέλλω (*Vulgata*)

| | | Punto di riferimento nel presente/futuro | Punto di riferimento nel passato |
|---|-------------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| A | μέλλω* | 52 | 64 |
| B | <i>incipio / coepi</i> | 8 | 13 |
| C | Percentuale di B rispetto a A | 15% | 20% |

Come già osservato nella tabella 1, Girolamo tende a evitare l'uso di *incipio/coepi* come equivalente di μέλλω, ma quando lo fa, predilige contesti di anteriorità, es.

(29) Vulg. *Act.* 27,33 (= Bed. act. 27.33 et alii) *cum lux inciperet fieri, rogabat Paulus omnes sumere cibum* (ἄχρι δὲ οὗ ἡμέρα ἤμελλεν γίνεσθαι) ("mentre stava per far giorno, Paolo chiedeva a tutti di prender cibo")

Egli inoltre impiega una sola volta il presente *incipio* con riferimento ad azione futura (all'interno di un discorso indiretto):

(30) Vulg. *Act.* 27,10 *uideo quoniam cum iniuria et multo damno ... incipit esse nauigatio* (μέλλειν ἔσεσθαι) ("vedo che la navigazione avverrà con pericolo e molto danno")

Di particolare interesse sono nove esempi, tutti in contesti di anteriorità, nei quali l'infinito dipendente non esprime né durata né iterazione e l'unica lettura possibile di *incipio* è 'essere in procinto di', 'stare per', come nei succitati passi petroniani, es.

(31) Vulg. (=Vet. Lat. *Act.* 23,27 *uirum hunc comprehensum a Iudaeis, et incipientem interfici ab eis, superueniens cum exercitu eripui* (μέλλοντα ἀναρπῆσθαι) ("quest'uomo che era stato preso dai Giudei ed era sul punto di essere da loro ucciso, sopraggiungendo con l'esercito lo sottrassi alle loro mani").³⁴

* Si osservi che in questa tabella le attestazioni globali di μέλλω (116) sono superiori rispetto alla precedente (101) perché di alcuni passaggi non si rinviene la traduzione nella *Vetus Latina*, es.

Girolamo considera dunque corretto, o perlomeno accettabile l'uso di *incipio* in corrispondenza di μέλλω quando il punto di riferimento è nel passato o, meno spesso, quando il verbo è al futuro, ma lo evita sistematicamente (tranne in (30)) al presente in riferimento ad azione futura.

Riassumendo, i dati delle tabelle 2 e 3 mostrano che nelle traduzioni latine della Bibbia *incipio* (o, molto più raramente, *coeperim*, *coepissem*) è preferito come traduzione di μέλλω in contesti di anteriorità. In questi casi il verbo perde quasi regolarmente il suo caratteristico valore incoativo e si riferisce ad azioni che sono sul punto di accadere ma non hanno ancora avuto inizio (cf. (26), (27), etc.). Si può dunque ipotizzare che *incipio* abbia 'ereditato' questo valore speciale da *coepi* il quale è occasionalmente attestato nella letteratura d'età anteriore in analoghi contesti sintattico-semanticci.³⁵

Dalla nostra indagine emerge inoltre una netta predominanza del futuro *incipiam* su *incipio*. In particolare, nella *Vetus Latina* il presente è adottato 14 volte in riferimento ad azione futura, ma solo in tre di esse si tratta dell'unico tempo trasmesso dai testimoni (così ad esempio in (20) sopra). Nei rimanenti 11 casi *incipio* si rinviene soltanto in un paio di fonti come variante di altri tempi, normalmente il futuro, come in (18) e (19). Viceversa, il futuro semplice figura 21 volte, in 13 delle quali esso rappresenta l'unico tempo trasmesso dalle fonti (cf. (21)). È interessante inoltre notare che in quasi tutti gli esempi *incipiam* non traduce il futuro μελλήσω, bensì il presente μέλλω (cf. anche Thielmann, 1885, 89): la scelta del tempo non è dunque condizionata dalla fonte greca. La preminenza di *incipiam* rispetto a *incipio* è confermata anche dalla traduzione di Girolamo – un presente (cf. (30)) rispetto a cinque futuri – e risulta ancora più evidente dall'analisi di fonti non bibliche. I passi raccolti nel *ThLL* (VII/1 920,41ss) e nel monumentale studio di Rönsch (1875, 369–370) rivelano che

Vulg. *I Thess. praedicebamus uobis passuros nos tribulationes* (προελέγομεν ὑμῖν ὅτι μέλλομεν θλίβεσθαι), *Hebr.* 1,14 *propter eos, qui hereditatem capient salutis* (διὰ τοὺς μέλλοντας κληρονομεῖν σωτηρίαν).

³⁴ Si vedano anche (25) e (28) sopra

³⁵ Si noti che il valore 'prospettivo' di *coepi* ('essere in procinto di') non è limitato a opere di età anteriore ma si riscontra più volte anche nel periodo tardo. Nell'*Historia Augusta* (Tac. 14, 1) si legge ad esempio *adiuratum esse in senatu Tacitum, ut, cum mori coepisset, non liberos suos sed optimum aliquem principem faceret*, dove la subordinata *cum mori coepisset* può soltanto significare 'quando stesse per morire'.

l'uso del presente *incipio* per denotare azione futura è molto raro e per lo più ristretto a testi del II/III secolo che si fondano su un originale greco,³⁶ es.

(32) Barnab. 12,1 *habes iterum de cruce et de eo, qui incipit crucifigi* (τοῦ σταυροῦσθαι μέλλοντος) ("qui si parla di nuovo della croce e di colui che sarà crocifisso")

(33) Herm. *Vulg.* I 1,3 *audi uerba, quae tibi incipio dicere* (ἄ σοι μέλλω λέγειν) ("ascolta le parole che sto per dirti")

In altre opere il tempo comune in riferimento al futuro è *incipiam* o, più di rado, *coeperim*.

Questi dati impongono una revisione sostanziale della teoria comune secondo cui *incipio* + infinito costituirebbe una delle perifrasi in uso nel latino tardo per sostituire il tradizionale futuro sintetico.³⁷ Ciò si applica infatti quasi esclusivamente alle fonti cristiane più antiche (II/III secolo) che si basano su un modello greco. Inoltre il numero di attestazioni è relativamente basso. In tutti gli altri casi la semantica di *incipio* non ha alcun peso nell'espressione del tempo perché il riferimento al futuro è reso esplicito dal morfema verbale. Questa circostanza mina ulteriormente la succitata teoria di Schrijnen e Mohrmann (1937, 19) secondo cui l'uso di *incipio* con infinito in luogo del futuro semplice avrebbe una causa psicologica, ossia la volontà di ricondurre (o 'avvicinare') al presente le radici di un'azione futura ("man fasste das Zukünftige ... auf als etwas, dessen Anfänge in der Gegenwart vorliegen"). Tale spiegazione può infatti valere solo per quei passi in cui *incipio* è usato al presente e dunque *incipio facere* significa effettivamente 'farò'. Ma nella maggioranza dei casi, come visto, ciò non si verifica perché *incipio* stesso è al futuro.

Concludendo, dalla nostra analisi risulta una continuità d'uso nei testi cristiani della perifrasi *incipio* + infinito in riferimento ad azioni future o comunque successive rispetto al tempo principale della narrazione. Tale uso nasce, molto probabilmente, nelle più antiche traduzioni latine della Bibbia e da qui si estende a opere coeve e posteriori, alcune delle quali si basano anch'esse su un originale greco. Quest'uso, inizialmente documentato più volte col presente *incipio* (dunque *incipio facere* = *faciam*), tende ben presto a limitarsi al futuro *incipiam* o a contesti di anteriorità (*inciperem*, *incipiens* etc.). Nella valutazione

³⁶ Si veda al riguardo anche Thielmann 1885, 87.

³⁷ Hofmann – Szantyr (1965, 312–313) includono ad esempio la perifrasi nel paragrafo "Ersatz des Futurs durch Umschreibungen".

del fenomeno vi è inoltre un importante elemento di cui occorre tener conto. Come noto, in testi e autori cristiani si riscontra spesso un uso pleonastico di *coepi* seguito da infinito.³⁸ Tale fenomeno figura con particolare frequenza nel Nuovo Testamento (sia nella *Vetus Latina* che nella *Vulgata*) in corrispondenza di un ἀρχίζω/-ομαι del testo greco, es.

(34) Vulg. *Matth.* 11,7 *coepit Iesus dicere ad turbas de Iohanne* (ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγειν) ("Gesù prese a parlare alle folle di Giovanni")

(35) Vulg. *Marc.* 10,28 *coepit Petrus ei dicere "ecce nos eqs."* (ἤρξατο λέγειν) ("Pietro prese a dirgli")

È possibile, dunque, che la diffusione del tipo perifrastico *incipiet facere* in luogo del semplice *faciet* (o, analogamente, *inciperet facere* = *faceret* etc.) sia stato influenzato in modo decisivo da questi usi ridondanti di *coepi*, in base alla corrispondenza *coepit facere* : *fecit* = *incipiet facere* : *faciet*.

Occorre sottolineare, comunque, che l'impiego di *incipio* in riferimento ad azione futura costituisce una peculiarità puramente letteraria della lingua dei cristiani. Contrariamente infatti ai calchi comuni, che tendono a diffondersi attraverso la lingua corrente, non vi è alcun elemento che consenta di stabilire un nesso tra quest'uso e il latino parlato.³⁹ Si tratta piuttosto di un tecnicismo la cui diffusione, alla stregua di tanti altri cristianismi, può essere stata favorita dalla volontà degli scrittori di distinguere il proprio stile da quello dei pagani, ma il cui uso rimane confinato alla lingua scritta. Quanto al luogo di origine di quest'uso, è possibile, come già ipotizzato da Thielmann (1885, 85–86), che esso sia da individuare in Africa. Da qui provengono infatti i testi in cui figurano alcune delle sue attestazioni più antiche (ad esempio la traduzione della lettera di Barnaba e del Pastore di Erma) e diversi autori africani ne fanno un uso diffuso. Quest'ipotesi è inoltre suffragata da un esame codicologico della *Vetus Latina*. Dalla nostra indagine risulta infatti che due dei tre manoscritti in cui si registra la maggiore frequenza di *incipio* in corrispondenza di μέλλω, vale a dire il Codex Bezae *d* (III/IV sec.), 24 esempi, e il Codex Palatinus *e*₂ (IV/V sec.), 12 esempi, sono fortemente influenzati dalla tradizione africana.⁴⁰ Significativo è anche il

³⁸ Si vedano al riguardo le osservazioni di Löfstedt 1911, 209–210; 1933, 450–452 e Schrijnen – Mohrmann 1937, 10–11.

³⁹ Non pare dunque corretto il punto di vista di Thielmann (1885, 86) che circoscrive la perifrasi alla 'Volkssprache' africana.

⁴⁰ Si vedano le osservazioni di Burton 2000, 17.

fatto che da un lato Cipriano, da Burton considerato "a mid-point in the internal development of the African translation",⁴¹ fa spesso uso della costruzione, soprattutto nelle lettere,⁴² dall'altro Girolamo, che, come indicato sopra, parrebbe basarsi su un manoscritto latino del nord-Italia, tende a evitare la costruzione nella *Vulgata*.

Va osservato, in conclusione, che l'uso di *incipio* in testi cristiani trova un interessante parallelo nell'antico slavo ecclesiastico. Qui si incontra occasionalmente la radice verbale *-čbnq* ('iniziare') + infinito in corrispondenza di eventi futuri. Interessante è il fatto che, come osservato in latino, in questi casi il senso di futuro non risulta dal valore lessicale del verbo, ma dalla sua forza temporale, o meglio aspettuale.⁴³ Quando infatti si riferisce al futuro, la radice *-čbnq* figura unicamente al presente perfettivo, vale a dire nel tempo comunemente usato nella lingua per denotare un'azione futura. Inoltre, proprio come nel caso di *co-epi*, anche questo verbo può esibire all'aoristo un indebolimento della sua forza incettiva e si trova dunque occasionalmente impiegato in modo pleonastico.

4. Conclusioni

Dallo studio delle ricorrenze di *incipio* + infinito in testi imperiali e tardi emerge una differenza centrale tra fonti cristiane e non cristiane. Secondo il *ThLL*, *incipio* esibisce spesso in autori pagani un indebolimento (o addirittura una perdita) della sua forza incettiva e in alcuni casi sarebbe impiegato in luogo del futuro semplice (*incipit facere = faciet*). Entrambe le asserzioni non trovano riscontro nella nostra analisi, perché da un lato la grande maggioranza delle attestazioni è riconducibile, almeno indirettamente, al valore comune del verbo (che di norma si accompagna a infiniti di natura durativa), dall'altro nei suoi presunti usi *pro futuro* (o *pro coniunctivo*) l'espressione del tempo (o del modo) è affidata alla morfologia verbale (dunque *incipiet, incipiat* etc.). Si è constatata invece una continuità d'uso della perifrasi nella letteratura tecnica dal II secolo a.C. in avanti. Il verbo ricorre qui o in trattati di veterinaria per esprimere l'insorgere di un determinato fenomeno o il momento iniziale di un trattamento (ovvero di una sua fase) o in opere giuridiche o grammaticali, il più delle volte per intro-

⁴¹ Cf. Burton 2000, 18.

⁴² Cf. Schrijnen – Mohrmann 1937, 21–24.

⁴³ Cf. Birnbaum 1958, 17; 232–234; 241.

durre la conseguenza di una condizione ipotetica (spesso col valore 'ne consegua che').

Diversa è la situazione in testi cristiani, in cui si registrano attestazioni certe della perifrasi in luogo del futuro semplice, con *incipio* che spesso perde interamente il suo valore incoativo (cf. (19) sopra). Tuttavia, mentre l'uso del presente in riferimento al futuro (come in (19)) è nel complesso poco diffuso e quasi interamente limitato ai testi più antichi che si fondano su originali greci, la scelta del futuro *incipiam* o di altri tempi/modi in contesti di anteriorità (*inciperem, incipiens* etc.) è piuttosto comune. Dalla nostra indagine è emerso con chiarezza che l'uso di *incipio* in riferimento ad azione futura o comunque successiva rispetto al tempo della narrazione, rappresenta un'innovazione della lingua cristiana, che potrebbe essersi originata nella versione africana della *Vetus Latina* come calco di μέλλω, per poi estendersi a fonti coeve e posteriori anche di altre aree. Si tratta comunque di una sorta di innovazione falsa o 'artefatta', giacché diversamente dai calchi ordinari, essa non trova diffusione nella lingua d'uso comune, sopravvivendo nella tradizione cristiana a un livello puramente letterario.

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**"TITULUM NON REPPERI":
THE IDENTIFICATION OF AN *ALIENUM*
IN CANTERBURY WITH A MISSING INSCRIPTION
FROM MÉRIDA (*RIB* 2328* = *CIL* II 585)**

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Introduction

Any visitor to the Canterbury Roman Museum with a keen interest in epigraphy will be rather disappointed by its collection. There are some fragmentary pieces containing a few letters, and only one fully preserved altar-shaped epitaph, which contains a commemoration to a young girl by her parents (*RIB* 2328*).¹ The altar itself is rather small as it measures only 36cm (height) by 15cm (width) by 6cm (thickness). It is made out of a single piece of marble. It

[□] I would like to thank Ken Reddie and Marenne Zandstra (Radboud University of Nijmegen) for providing additional evidence for the identification of *RIB* 2328*. Furthermore, I am indebted to Christian Laes (University of Antwerp) and Ray Laurence (University of Kent) for their suggestions and feedback, and to Roger Tomlin (University of Oxford) and Heikki Solin (University of Helsinki) for their valuable recommendations and epigraphic insights on earlier drafts of this article. I would also like to thank the two anonymous reviewers as their suggestions led to an improvement of this article. Finally, I would also like to thank Lloyd Bosworth (University of Kent) and Michael Worthing for their help and expertise with regard to the geochemical analysis of the altar.

¹ The scarcity of epigraphic evidence found in and around Canterbury is also noticeable in the *Roman Inscriptions of Britain* (*RIB*). Only one other fully preserved inscription is mentioned, an epitaph of similar dimensions and typology, allegedly discovered in the small village of Petham (*RIB* 2324*) in the 1840s. There are strong indications that this altar is not Romano-British. It is quite plausible that there is a link between both *aliena* from Canterbury. *RIB* 2324* will be discussed in a forthcoming article by the same author. These new findings have been communicated to Roger Tomlin, who subsequently added them to the *addenda et corrigenda* for the inscriptions in *Britannia* (2015, 408).

has the shape of a traditional votive altar, but the inscription reveals its funerary use. The pediment has the form of a rectangular cuboid with a central triangular *tympanum*, accompanied by a rounded *acroterium* on either side, and contains the funerary formula *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum)*. The actual base of the altar is ornamentally separated from the pediment and the plinth by mouldings with a pattern of half ovals. It contains the rest of the funerary inscription. The height of the letters varies between 1.6 and 2.5cm and all the words are separated by means of small triangular punctuation marks in the middle of the line. The back of the base suffered some minor damage. A rectangular opening has been cut in the plinth and the sides and the back of the altar do not contain any ornamental elements.

An Italian Connection?

The origin of this particular find has always puzzled scholars. The recorded archaeological details relating to the artefact can be described as scarce and vague at best. Only a general geographical indication ("Canterbury"), as well as an attempt at dating the find ("about 1860") have been recorded.² Although the altar had apparently come to light prior to the publication of the seventh volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL)* in 1873, it was not included by E. Hübner in this edition.³ The Canterbury altar's first mention in a publication was by J. Brent in his 1875 guide to the collections of the Museum of the Philosophical and Literary Institution of Canterbury.⁴ The altar was subsequently moved in 1898 to the newly formed Beaney Institute, and for a second time in 1994, when it was relocated to the Canterbury Roman Museum. Prior to its publication in the *RIB*, we find only three further references. The first of these was by R.F. Jessup in 1930, followed by its appearance in the

² This is the information as it appears in the *RIB*, both in the printed edition of 1965, as well as in the updated version on the *RIB* website (<https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/>).

³ The inscription's omission was due to the simple fact that the altar was unknown to Hübner at the time of publication.

⁴ Brent 1875, 29. The epitaph is described – almost paradoxically – as a ‘monumental tablet’ and Brent provided a heavily erroneous transcription of the text, as well as a translation of his transcription and the exact location within the museum. There is no information on the altar’s discovery, nor on how it came into the collections of the museum.

third volume of *The Victoria History of the County of Kent (VCH)* in 1932.⁵ The altar also appeared in the 1948 *Quarterly Bulletin of the Canterbury Museum and Library*, along with a photograph.⁶ Finally, in 1965 it was included among the so-called *aliena* in the first volume of the *Roman Inscriptions of Britain* by R.G. Collingwood and R.P. Wright.⁷

In all these publications there was to a certain extent a consensus on the altar's provenance. It was deemed a modern-day import from the continent, probably from Italy.⁸ The grounds for such a claim are rather flimsy, because any substantial information about the archaeological context for the monument is lacking and there are no similar finds from the area around Canterbury.⁹ If the hypothesis of an Italian origin is looked at more closely, a number of problems arise that render it rather unconvincing. First of all, an Italian provenance could not be confirmed by the presence of the inscription in *CIL*. Moreover, the material used – Luna marble – is not an irrefutable piece of evidence for its provenance, because its use was by no means restricted to Roman Italy.¹⁰

⁵ Jessup 1930, 199 no. 1; Mortimer Wheeler 1932, 80. Interestingly, the stone itself is described as calcareous limestone. There is also a reference to Brent's guide (cf. *supra*), highlighting his inaccurate transcription.

⁶ Jenkins 1948, 26 (photograph) and 29.

⁷ *RIB* 2328*. The entry contains details about the inscription's support, the diplomatic text as well as a supplemented transcription and the drawing made by Wright in 1948.

⁸ Jessup (1930, 199 n.1) mentioned that Collingwood believed the altar to have been imported from Italy. Mortimer Wheeler (1932, 80) described it as being "of uncertain origin", offering Rome, Italy, Gaul or even a local production as possibilities. Jenkins (1948, 29) mentioned that it was found "about 1860" and that Collingwood had classed it as "an import from Italy in modern times". Finally, in the *RIB*, Wright (1965, *RIB* 2328*) reiterated Collingwood's hypothesis of an Italian origin based on the commemorator's *gentilicium* and *cognomen*, which are also found in *CIL* VI 24443. This presumption seems to have been further founded on the type of marble the altar has been carved out of. The claim of it being Italian Luna marble by Wright in the *RIB*, however, was purely based on the visual examination of the altar.

⁹ There are twenty-five inscriptions mentioned in the *RIB* for Canterbury and the surrounding area, all of which are small fragments.

¹⁰ The geochemical analysis of the stone using a portable XRF-scanner revealed that the material is marble, yet its provenance could not be ascertained through this method. Given the identification of the altar as originating from Lusitania (cf. *infra*), it is quite possible that the marble had been sourced locally (for a detailed study on the types of marble found in Mérida, see Lapuente *et al.* 2014, 333–353; for the geochemistry of local Lusitanian marbles, see Taelman *et al.* 2013, 2227–2236).

Finally, and most importantly, neither the linguistic elements of the inscription have been subjected to any comparative study, nor has there been a thorough onomastic analysis which could provide further leads with regards to the altar's provenance.

Identification with *CIL* II 585 from Mérida

In the 1833 *Annual Report of the Canterbury Philosophical & Literary Institution* it is mentioned that William Henry Baldock *Esq.*¹¹ donated a "Roman *cippus* found at Mérida with inscription as described in the *History of Mérida* 1633 page 57 which accompanies it"¹² to the Museum of the Royal Philosophical and Literary Institute. This '*cippus*' can be identified as the altar which is currently in the Canterbury Roman Museum (*RIB* 2328*). This vital information allows for the positive identification of the altar with a presumed lost inscription from Mérida (*CIL* II 585).¹³ As a result, it is possible to merge the traditions of *RIB* 2328* and *CIL* II 585 and to examine both the inscription and the formal aspects of the altar in a new light.

The text of the inscription should be supplemented as follows:

On the other hand, it cannot be excluded that it is indeed Luna marble. Its use was by no means limited to Roman Italy, as this highly valued material was exported to the provinces, especially those with a high percentage of (descendants of) Roman colonists, such as Lusitania and Baetica (Russell 2013, 154–158).

¹¹ William Henry Baldock was director of the Institution from 1828 and patron from 1831. He was the nephew of William Baldock. The latter had obtained great wealth through real estate and smuggling (Bateman 1984, 81; Waugh 1985, 53). William Henry was the main beneficiary of his uncle's substantial legacy, yet his will (*National Archives* PROB 11/1540/198) does not reveal any information about the Canterbury altar. Therefore, it seems likely that William Henry purchased the altar prior to its donation to the museum.

¹² Masters *et al.* 1833, 15. The discovery of this report was made by Ken Reddie, the former curator of the Canterbury Museums. The donation was also recorded in the *Kentish Gazette* of Tuesday, July 16th 1833: "Amongst the objects that have recently been received [...] a marble with its inscription perfect, from the Roman City of Mérida [...] by [...] W.H. Baldock, *Esq.*"

¹³ After having been included by Hübner in the second *CIL* volume, the inscription was later edited by Vives (1971, 393 no. 4106) and by García Iglesias (1973, 674–675 no. 377).

*D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / P(ompeiae?) Val(eriae) Maxi/minae
ann(orum) / VI Opp(ia) Vale/ria et S(extus) Pom(peius?) /
Capratinus / filiae pienti/ssimae f(aciendum) c(uraverunt) s(it)
t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)*

The altar itself is a typical example of a funerary monument from Mérida.¹⁴ Its formal aspects and both the terminology and palaeography of the inscription allow for an approximate dating to late second or early third century.¹⁵ Regarding the actual inscription, there are a number of observations that need to be made. The first one concerns the *cognomen* of the deceased girl. There is no doubt that this should be read as *MAXIMINAE*.¹⁶ With regard to the abbreviated *gentilicia* *VAL* and *OPP*, it is unequivocally clear that these should be interpreted as *Val(eriae)* and *Opp(ia)*.¹⁷ A more problematic question, however, is the way in which the names of both the deceased daughter and her commemorating father should be supplemented. Collingwood and Wright suggested *P(ublia)* for the daughter's *praenomen*,¹⁸ whereas Hübner proposed *P(ompeiae)*. Although the *praenomen* 'Publia' was used during the late Republic and into the Imperial

¹⁴ Small altars with a relatively narrow thickness are typical for Lusitania. The pediment in the form of a rectangular cuboid in which the decorative elements have been carved out, is not uncommon, especially for smaller altars. Decorative elements, such as garlands, or depictions of a *patera* and jug, although frequently found on this type of monument, are lacking on the Canterbury altar. On the typology of funerary altars from Mérida, see Vedder 2001, 105–120.

¹⁵ A combination of the altar's typology (Vedder 2001, 119–120; Edmondson 2007, 463), the use of the superlative *pientissimus* (Curchin 1982, 179), and the formal characteristics of letters, e.g. the vertical and parallel strokes of the letter *M*, allow for it to be dated to the last decades of the second century or the first half of the third century C.E.

¹⁶ In both the transcription and the drawing of the epitaph, the editors of the *RIB* incorrectly read *Maximina*, as did Mortimer Wheeler (1932, 80) and Jenkins (1948, 29). Autoptic analysis, however, clearly reveals a ligature of the *A* and *E* (a similar ligature of the *M*, *A* and *E* is visible in *pientissimae*). Hübner, on the other hand, offers the correct diplomatic text for *CIL* II 585.

¹⁷ The deceased girl's second *gentilicium* is identical to that of the mother, i.e. *Valeria*. The mother's first *gentilicium* is to be supplemented as *Oppia*. Although this abbreviation is uncommon for the feminine form, it is frequently found for *Oppius*. None of the previous editors have raised any doubts on both these abbreviated forms.

¹⁸ As did Brent (1875, 29) – although he believed the deceased to be a young boy called "*Publius Valerius Maximianus [sic]*" – and Mortimer Wheeler (1932, 80), the latter claiming "irregularities in the nomenclature".

period, a feminine form of the father's gentile name seems more likely.¹⁹ The difficulty, however, lies in the father's *gentilicium* which is abbreviated to *POM*. This seems to be intended for either *Pom(peius)* or *Pom(ponius)*.²⁰ Although the first gentile name is more common throughout the Roman Empire than the latter, there is not enough evidence to ascertain its precise identity. As a consequence there are also two possible names for the deceased girl, *Pompeia* or *Pomponia Capratina*.²¹ As far as the *cognomina* in this inscription are concerned, *Maximina* is frequently found, whereas *Capratinus* is considerably less common.²²

¹⁹ Kajava provides a number of examples for the use of the *praenomen* '*Publia*', from both the Republican and Imperial period (1995, 63 and 181–188). For the Imperial period, however, half of the inscriptions with the *praenomen* '*Publia*' are restricted to the *gentilicium* '*Aelia*' (Kajava 1995, 220) and in 90% of all cases the *praenomen* is the feminine form of that of the father (*Id.* 226). Neither of these conditions is fulfilled in the case of this inscription. It thus seems less likely that *P* should be supplemented as *Publia*, especially given the fact that the father's *nomen* starts with *POM*, that the young girl also bears the *nomen* of her mother and that a *praenomen* for the mother is missing.

²⁰ Hübner (1869, *CIL* II 585), Mortimer Wheeler (1932, 80), Wright (1965, *RIB* 2328*) and García Iglesias (1976, 675) all suggested that *POM* should be supplemented as *Pompeius* rather than as *Pomponius*. Jenkins (1948, 26), on the other hand, proposed *Pomponius*, albeit with some doubt. Theoretically, any *nomen* beginning with *POM* is conceivable (Kajava 1995, 185 n. 385; for an overview of all the possible *gentilicia*, see Solin *et al.* 1994², 146). For all gentile names, with the exception of *Pompeius* and *Pomponius*, this inscription would be the only instance in which it is abbreviated to *POM*, as there are no cases where the concordance can be undeniably ascertained thanks to the presence of other onomastic elements. The fact that the father's *nomen* is abbreviated suggests that it was a common *gentilicium*.

²¹ There are only two cases in which the abbreviation *POM* can be supplemented with absolute certainty to *Pompeius*, due to the presence of an unabbreviated *gentilicium* elsewhere in the inscription (*CIL* II 5795 and *CIL* VIII 8601; in *CIL* VI 24495 = *CIL* XI 7829 both *POM* and *Pompeius* are found for spouses). There are equally only two instances where *Pomponius* is undoubtedly abbreviated to *POM* (*CIL* VI 36150 and *CIL* VIII 12013; *CIL* XIII 1092 has both *POM* and *Pomponius* and refers to spouses). The abbreviation *P* can, without any doubt, be supplemented as *Pompeius* in four cases (*CIL* II 3617 = *CIL* II 3926; *CIL* III 2472; *CIL* X 8043 74 = *CIL* XV 1372; *CIL* XIII 65), whereas for the alternative *Pomponius*, there is one instance (*CIL* III 4234).

²² Kajanto (1965, 113–114) notes that the suffix *-inus/a* is often found in *cognomina* of children, derived from those of the parents (which is not the case here), yet *Maximinus/a* is not to be considered a diminutive form of *Maximus/a*. There is no distinct geographical pattern for the use of these names, although there is a higher concentration in the Danubian and African provinces. With regard to *Capratinus/a*, Kajanto (1965, 220) lists eleven occurrences in the *CIL*, eight men and three women. To this list should be added a *Murria Capratina* from Conimbriga in Lusitania (Etienne

The formulae *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum), F(aciendum) C(uraverunt)* and *S(it) T(ibi) T(erra) L(evis)* do not create any interpretational issues.²³

From Mérida to Canterbury

The identification of *RIB* 2328* with *CIL* II 585 has allowed for a reconstruction of the altar's history going back as far as 1633. It was first described by Bernabé Moreno de Vargas in his *Historia de la Ciudad de Mérida* published in 1633.²⁴ Five years later, the epitaph was mentioned by Juan Gomez Bravo in his *Advertencias á la Istoria (sic) de Mérida*.²⁵ More than a century later, Luis José Velázquez de Velasco, the marqués de Valdeflores, recorded it twice in his notes.²⁶ Around the same time, it was mentioned by José Alsinet.²⁷ Furthermore, a 19th century copy of an apograph has survived, made by an anonymous hand in 1757 in which the inscription had also been recorded.²⁸ The next mention of the altar and the epitaph was by Agustín Francisco Forner y Segarra, between

et al. 1976, 84 no. 60). In geographical terms, the occurrences are almost exclusively restricted to either Rome (*CIL* VI 975, *CIL* VI 6061, *CIL* VI 24443, *CIL* VI 35354 and *CIL* VI 37685) or the Spanish provinces (*CIL* II 585 = *RIB* 2328*, *CIL* II 2056, *CIL* II 3300, *CIL* II 4145 and the above mentioned inscription from Conimbriga). From this evidence it seems that the in origin 'Roman' *cognomen* had migrated along with Roman colonists to the Spanish provinces.

²³ It is remarkable that these *formulae* have never triggered any hypothesis of a Spanish origin. Both *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum)* and *S(it) T(ibi) T(erra) L(evis)* are typical 'Iberian' *formulae*. Of all the occurrences of both appearing in the same inscription, the vast majority are from Roman Spain. The Clauss-Slaby dataset (*EDCS*) offers 1,174 occurrences of which 1,079 (91.91%) are from the Spanish provinces.

²⁴ Moreno de Vargas 1633, f. 57v and f. 58r. See also Morán Sánchez 2009, 68–76.

²⁵ Bravo 1638, f. 11r. See also Morán Sánchez 2009, 77–79.

²⁶ Velázquez mentioned the altar twice in his *Observaciones sobre las antigüedades de Extremadura de León* (*BAH* E-22, 64, f. 13 and 25). On his travels through Spain and their importance to the archaeology of Extramadura in particular, see Canto 1994, 499–516 and Morán Sánchez 2009, 91–94.

²⁷ *BNE* Ms. 8729, f. 8v (no. 31). On the survival of Alsinet's apographs and their importance, see Hübner 1869, 54 and Hernando Sobrino 2005, 74–77. On the erudite Alsinet, see Morán Sánchez 2009, 90–91.

²⁸ *Cod. Vat. lat.* 9760 f. 7 "*schedae Amati 8*". See also Buonocore 1988, 71.

1759 and 1770.²⁹ In 1778 the inscription appeared in the eighth volume of Antonio Ponz's (1725–1792) monumental *Viage de España*, with an indication of its location.³⁰ Subsequently, in 1782, Francisco Pérez Bayer recorded the epitaph still located in its original location.³¹ It seems from the tradition that Bayer was the last person to have observed the inscription still *in situ*. It is quite possible that it disappeared shortly after this time, before re-emerging in 1833 in Canterbury.³²

The period of forty-nine years for which there does not seem to be any trace of the altar, coincides with both the first systematic archaeological excavations under Manuel de Villena Moziño (1791–1794)³³ and the tumultuous years of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. The city of Mérida and its population suffered terribly during the Peninsular War (1807–1814).³⁴ The inscription itself was only recorded again in 1825 by Gregorio Fernández y Pérez, but the errors in the transcription clearly reveal that he used an older publication rather than the actual altar.³⁵ This strongly

²⁹ Forner y Segarra's manuscript was only rediscovered in 1842 and published for the first time in 1893. The dating of 1759–1770 is based on a number of references present in this work (Morán Sánchez 2009, 95–99).

³⁰ Ponz 1778, 137. On his travels through Extremadura, see Morán Sánchez 2009, 102–106.

³¹ Pérez Bayer's *Diario del Viaje que hizo desde Valencia a Andalucía y Portugal en 1782* is preserved in two manuscripts (BNE Ms. 5954 and RAH Ms. 9/5498). The Canterbury altar appears on f. 280v and f. 281r. On his travels, see Salas Álvarez 2007, 20–21 and n. 21 and Morán Sánchez 2009, 106–108.

³² It should be noted that none of the subsequent authors writing about Roman antiquities, were aiming at editing all the inscriptions still visible in Mérida. Fernando Rodríguez (1794–1797), Alexandre de Laborde (1800–1805), Hermógenes Galavís (1810), Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez (1832) and Richard Ford (1832) all opted for a selection in line with the aim of their works (Morán Sánchez 2009, 113–147). The absence of the Canterbury altar in all of these anthologies might be due to the fact that the inscription was no longer *in situ* as early as the end of the 18th century.

³³ On Manuel de Villena Moziño and his excavation, see Morán Sánchez 2009, 108–113.

³⁴ Daly 2013, 77. As a town with many Roman remains it was beloved among the British officers, and as such it was described in many diaries of veterans of this war. In none of these accounts, however, is there any mention of the Canterbury altar. In fact, inscriptions are hardly ever mentioned, let alone transcribed. In most diaries the remnants of great Roman buildings take the centre stage, not the smaller objects.

³⁵ Fernández y Pérez 1857, 85 n. 11. His transcription reveals that he did not observe the inscription himself, but that he had copied Moreno's version (and not Ponz's, as Hübner claims). This is clear

suggests that the Canterbury altar was no longer in its original location at that time.

The abovementioned series of publications started by Moreno y Vargas in 1633, allows for a reconstruction of the altar's whereabouts in Mérida until 1782. Its formal characteristics and its precise location have been recorded five times during that period. In 1633,³⁶ Moreno de Vargas described the epitaph as:

"en la Calle de la Concepción, en la pared de la casa del doctor Suarez de Azebedo, que aora es de Albaro de la Peña, piedra pequeña"³⁷

Over a century later, in the early 1750s, Alsinet included the following indication in his manuscript:

"In vico de la Concepción, in domo quae format angulum coram Arco Traiani in pariete circa fenestram residet fixus laspis [*sic*] in formam arulae cum sequenti inscriptione."³⁸

Writing between 1759 and 1770, Forner y Segarra supported Alsinet's claim:

"Permanece este pequeño y hermoso cipo en la calle de la Concepción, en la pared de la casa que hace esquina á la calle del Arco de Santiago."³⁹

In 1778, according to Antonio Ponz, the building had a specific function:

"In una pared de la casa donde esta el correo."⁴⁰

from the *CAPRATINVS* and *PIENTISSIME* (*CAPRATINVS* and *PIENTISSIMAE* in Ponz).

³⁶ This is the date *post quem* when the inscription was in the location mentioned by Moreno de Vargas. A native of Mérida, he returned in 1615 to his hometown after his father's death. Therefore, the actual observation of the epitaph was made somewhere between 1615 and the publication of his *Historia de la Ciudad de Mérida*.

³⁷ Moreno y Vargas 1633, f. 57v.

³⁸ *BNE Ms.* 8729, f. 8v.

³⁹ Forner y Segarra 1893, 100.

⁴⁰ Ponz 1778, 137.

And in 1782, Pérez Bayer had made it clear that it was still the same building:

"Siguiendo nuestro camino en la calle de la Concepción en la casa de los correos vi y copié lo siguiente."⁴¹

Moreno, Alsinet and Forner clearly mentioned that it was a small altar. In regard to its location, all five records refer to the fact that the altar was located in the outer wall of a building. Moreno, Alsinet, and Bayer provided the indication that the house was located in the *Calle de la Concepción*, which is indeed, as Alsinet stated, close to the Arch of Trajan (also called the *Arco de San Jago* or *Santiago*). Both Alsinet and Forner specified that the house was on the corner of the *Calle de le Concepción* and the present-day *Calle de Trajano*, and Alsinet even provided details in regards to its location around a window, possibly a part of a stone frame.

The vicinity of the Arch of Trajan was deemed worthy of being mentioned by both Alsinet and Forner. This monument had attracted the attention of travelers and artists. A number of drawings of this monument and its surroundings were made in the late 18th and early 19th century. Unfortunately, there is no trace of the altar in any of these.⁴² At present, the original building is no longer extant as the topography around the Arch of Trajan completely changed during the 19th century.⁴³ With regard to the building itself, Moreno included the names of the current and former owners, and Ponz and Bayer specified that the building was used by the royal Spanish postal services in the last decades of the 18th century.

⁴¹ BNE Ms. 5954 f. 280v–281r.

⁴² A number of drawings were made at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century that are of interest (Pozzi 2008, 26–33). Alexandre de Laborde's drawing (1811, 114; plate CLX) seems the most accurate representation, but the buildings of interest are not visible as the point of view is oriented to the south, rather than to the southeast.

⁴³ To my knowledge, there are no drawings or photographs of the building made after 1833 of the house in which the altar had been built. The nearby *Convento de las Concepcionistas* was seriously damaged during the several occupations of Mérida by the French imperial forces (1809–1812) during the Peninsular War (Checa *et al.* 1998, 109–128). The municipal archives of 1816 mentioned that the convent was one of the many destroyed buildings in the city (Lozano Bartolozzi 1997, 146). It is likely that the adjacent houses did not survive this tumultuous period in the city's history unharmed. For this reason and given the perfect condition of the Canterbury altar, there is a strong indication that by the time of this event the artefact had been relocated.

These valuable reports provide indisputable evidence that the altar remained in the same location between 1633 and 1782. With regard to its subsequent whereabouts, there still remain a number of questions. It would be tempting to conjecture some answers, but the lack of any evidence allows for no credible hypotheses to be formulated. One element is certain, however: the altar itself had sufficient inherent appeal for it to be removed from its original location and ultimately to make its way to Canterbury.

Conclusion

It is beyond any doubt that *RIB 2328** can be positively identified as the missing *CIL* II 585 from Mérida in Spain. This identification amends the date of the apparent discovery, as the altar had been in Britain since at least 1833. This is over a quarter of a century earlier than previously assumed. Furthermore, the hypothesis of a local or Italian provenance can, for once and for all, be dismissed. The long tradition mentioned by Emil Hübner in the second *CIL* volume takes the history of this piece back into the early 17th century. Based on the *formulae* used, the small altar should be considered a local production from Mérida. It obtained a new function when it was reused inside the outer wall of a building close to the arch of Trajan. It remained there at least until 1782, after which time there is no longer any record until it resurfaced in Canterbury in 1833. In that year, William Henry Baldock donated the altar to the predecessor of the present-day Roman Museum in Canterbury, the city in which it has been residing ever since.

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A NOTE ON THE DEDICATION *N.I.OLYMPIA* 33B

MIKA KAJAVA

The following article briefly discusses a Late Archaic bronze disc (figs. 1–3) that was found south of the western baths of Olympia in 1941, though not properly published until some ten years ago. The object (diam. 19.7 cm), inscribed on the rim, has a flat reverse and a rectangular hole at its centre and is decorated with twenty-four incised crescents (whirligig motif).¹

Inscribed in the Aeginetan script of the latter half of the sixth century BC, the artefact has been identified as a discus once held by a now lost *diskobolos* statue measuring c. 1.20 m in height.² The text, first published by András Patay-Horváth in 2007 ([above n. 1] = *SEG* LVII 398), is here given as in *N.I.Olympia* 33B:

* I wish to thank Prof. Klaus Hallof for providing me excellent quality photographs of the inscription, and the two anonymous readers for their useful comments. – A slightly modified version of this article is included in M. Kajava – E. M. Salminen, Greek Inscribed Discs: "Athletes, Dedications and Tombstones", in A. Kavoulaki (ed.), *'Reading' Greek Religion: Literary, Historical and Artistic Perspectives. A Conference in Memory of Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, Rethymnon, Crete, 22–24 September 2012* (Ariadne Suppl., University of Crete), Rethymnon, forthcoming.

¹ A. Patay-Horváth, "Eine beschriftete Bronzescheibe aus Olympia", *Tyche* 22 (2007) 124: "Gefunden südlich der Westthermen 19.6.1941 Raum in der NO Ecke". See also "The Disc of Hermesios – Reconstruction of a Bronze Statue", presented at the XVII Congress of Classical Archaeology, Rome, 22–26 September 2008: *Bollettino di archeologia online* (MBAC), vol. speciale: http://www.bollettinodiarcheologiaonline.beniculturali.it/documenti/generale/1_PATAY-HORVATH.pdf.

² Patay-Horváth 2007 (above n. 1). In an earlier publication, Patay-Horváth identified the object as a miniature shield ("A Laconian Bronze Disc from Olympia", *Peloponnesiaka* 27 [2006] 283–302, cf. Dubois, *BE* 2009, 231). The whirligig motif is well-attested on shields.

ἡερμέσιος : μ' ἐποίησε : Λακεδαμ[ό]νι[ο]ς : Αἰγινᾶι-[ca. 4-5]

→

οι ἀνέθεσαν [ca. 10] vac.

←

The inscription seems to mention the artisan, Hermesios of Sparta, who may well have been of Ionian origin,³ and the Aeginetans (but see below), who made the dedication; any possible information regarding the winner and his success would have been recorded on the statue base. This interpretation was recently challenged on morphological grounds in favour of the hypothesis that the object might instead be the wheel of a miniature four-horse chariot dedicated by the Aeginetans who commemorated their victory with the inscription.⁴ According to this reconstruction, the necessary mention of the winner would have been made by recording 'the (victorious) Aeginetans' collectively as its dedicators. In principle, this seems possible, and, if the technical arguments concerning the type of the central hole and the decoration of the object are tenable (see n. 4), then the wheel hypothesis may well prove true.

However, the context of the dedication needs reconsideration, as the standard reading of the inscription is problematic. There seem to be several letters intervening between ΑΙΓΙΝΑΙ and ΟΙ, and many more letters following what has otherwise been identified as the final word. The former set of letters has been dismissed as nonsensical "Vorzeichnungen für die Buchstaben",⁵ which can hardly be right. Moreover, recent analysis correctly points out that one would not only expect Αἰγινάται in place of "Αἰγινᾶι/[vacat]οι", but that

³ Thus, plausibly, R. V. W. Catling, "ΕΡΜΗΣΙΟΣ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΣ – A Spartan Craftsman of Ionian Origin?", in N. Sekunda (ed.), *Ergasteria: Works Presented to John Ellis Jones on his 80th Birthday*, Gdańsk 2010, 44–53, discussing the name *Hermesios*, which probably points to East Greece, and the mixture of Doric and Attic-Ionic elements (accepted by Dubois, *BE* 2011, 279, cf. also *SEG* LXI 315).

⁴ P. Siewert, "Eine rätselhafte Bronzescheibe aus Olympia", *Tyche* 25 (2010) 234, points out that neither squared central holes nor sickle-shaped radii are otherwise attested for discuses. See now also at *N.I.Olympia* 33B.

⁵ Patay-Horváth 2007 (above n. 1) 124 (referenced in *N.I.Olympia* 33B): "einige schwach eingeritzte Linien, ... die möglicherweise Vorzeichnungen für die Buchstaben gewesen sein dürften. Sie ergeben auf jeden Fall keinen Sinn und unterscheiden sich auch aus technischer Sicht so eindeutig von der eigentlichen Inschrift, daß sie bei der Lesung unbeachtet bleiben dürfen".

the reader would also expect to find a mention of Zeus Olympios as the recipient of the dedication, though, of course, the name of the deity could also have been omitted.⁶ The denomination Αἰγινᾶῖοι, while frequently referring to Aeginetan coinage or to goods, and occasionally to Aeginetan women (i.e. Αἰγινᾶία as a rare alternative to the common ethnic Αἰγινῆτις), seemingly never occurs as a collective term for the Aeginetans and their state, a male Aeginetan being usually termed Αἰγινῆτης/Αἰγινάτας.⁷

Since Αἰγινᾶῖοι is hardly acceptable in the present context and because what remains of the text does not allow reading the standard Αἰγινάται,⁸ the most likely solution, in my view, is the locative Αἰγίναι, the use of which in similar contexts is paralleled by other evidence.⁹ From a palaeographic perspective, one may observe that no interpunctuation is marked after the point at which the direction of the script changes. The first five words are inscribed from left to right, the remaining words from right to left; this is understandable given that inscribing along the edge of a circular object that has to be rotated during the writing process may affect the script direction. Here, the change of direction coincides with a natural break, i.e. with the transition from one sentence (ending in Αἰγίναι) to another (starting with the subject of the dedicatory verb).

Close inspection of the photographic evidence makes a long *vacat* between ΑΙΓΙΝΑΙ and ΟΙ rather unlikely, and indeed it should be here that the subject of ἀνέθεσαν, probably ending in -ῖοι, would be recorded. While -ῖοι is fairly well discernible, the other letters are much more difficult: after a possible *vacat*, there might just be a circular letter (O, Θ) followed by I (or Λ?) and E. One should stress, however, that the reading of this part of the text is problematic in that some curves and strokes that resemble letter traces may actually just be abrasions. The dedicatory verb is then followed by a series of some ten

⁶ Catling (above n. 3) 46, 49.

⁷ Evidence collected and discussed by Catling (above n. 3) 46. He records only one exception in a late text (*IG* IV² 2, 772, 3: ἡ ἱερὰ πόλις Αἰγινέων; AD 244–249).

⁸ Thus tentatively in Catling's drawing (p. 44), where the ending ΑΙ appears immediately after ΑΙΓΙΝΑΤ at the beginning of the alleged *vacat* (note, however, that the inscription reads ΑΙΓΙΝΑΙ).

⁹ Cf. *N.I.Olympia* 33A (statue commissioned and dedicated by Byzantines; late sixth century BC): Πελανίδας ἐποίησ' Αἰγίνα, etc., perhaps another early case of the weakening of the iota in -ῖαι (unless it is the stonemason's error); *FD* III 1, 500: [--- ἐ]ποίη : Αἰγίναι (early fifth century BC); and the discussion in K. Hallof – K. Herrmann – S. Prignitz, "Alte und neue Inschriften aus Olympia I", *Chiron* 42 (2012) 224–25.

further letters, many of which look either like I or O (the first letter following the verb has the shape of A, but might also be Λ, or even Δ; the second letter is probably O, less likely a Θ, in which case the letter would differ from the one in ἀνέθεσαν; the fifth letter seems to be an Aeginetan Φ, etc.). It is possible that one or more of the following items were recorded here: the dedicated object, perhaps either specified¹⁰ or simply labelled as ἄθλον, the deity receiving the *anathema*, and the context occasioning the dedication.

In sum, it seems to me that the text should be understood as follows (note, however, that many of the underdotted letters are more or less bold guesses):

ηερμέσιος : μ' ἐποίησε : Λακεδαιμόνιος : Αἰγίνα
 →
 vac.(?) +IE[c. 2]IOI ἀνέθεσαν ΑΟΙΟΦΙ+ΙΟΙ vac.
 ←

Thus, it would appear that the dedication at Olympia was not made by Aeginetans; in addition, a certain Hermesios, a seemingly itinerant craftsman of Ionian derivation and a naturalized citizen of the Lacedaemonian state, manufactured and inscribed the object on the island of Aegina. This would not conflict with the dialectical mixture of the inscription¹¹ nor with the observation that the script and the interpunctuations are of the Aeginetan type. If correct, this conclusion supports the notion that the object was dedicated at Olympia (most likely to Zeus Olympios) as a gift commemorating a victory, be it in chariot racing, in battle or something else, but it would still leave open the identity of the victorious dedicants.

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¹⁰ In view of the present case, cf. the dedication of a bronze wheel on Rhodes: *Tit. Cam. Suppl.* 237, 115a (second half of the fifth century BC): τροφὸν ἄρματος.

¹¹ ηερμέσιος, ἀνέθεσαν instead of Dor. ηερμάσιος, ἀνέθεν, and the other way round, not quite unexpectedly, Αἰγίνα *pro* Att.-Ion. Αἰγίνη. The language may suggest, on one hand, that Hermesios was a first-generation immigrant in Doric-speaking territory, and on the other, that Ionicisms could be tolerated on Aegina. Cf. Catling (above n. 3) 49.



Figs. 2–3. Courtesy Archiv der IG, Photograph: K. Hallof (2011).

FEMALE *TRIA NOMINA* AND SOCIAL STANDING IN LATE REPUBLICAN AND EARLY IMPERIAL PERIODS

URPO KANTOLA & TUOMO NUORLUOTO

Present study¹

After the establishment of the cognomen, the *tria nomina* became the archetypal name form of a Roman male citizen of the early imperial period.² However, female nomenclatures of this type were never usual. In his seminal work on female praenomina, M. Kajava has shown that the female praenomen was a well attested, even if rather uncommon, feature in women's nomenclature.³ Accordingly, even fewer women are recorded with both a praenomen and a cognomen. Kajava has observed this phenomenon, too, but left room for a more systematic analysis. In addition, some illustrative cases have been published since, particularly from Kos. The aim of this paper is to discuss the female *tria nomina* cases in light of available (mostly) epigraphic evidence, which provides us with a

¹ Nuorluoto has been mainly responsible for gathering the Latin material, and Kantola for the Greek, but the analysis results from joint effort. We express our thanks to Samuel Douglas for improving our English, to Anna-Maria Wilskman for comments on the iconography, and to one of the anonymous referees who supplied us with very useful critique. Naturally, though, we retain all responsibility for every error and misinterpretation. Kantola, for his part, owes thanks to the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and the foundation Emil Aaltosen Säätiö for financial support, and to the Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des DAI in Munich, which provided him with very favourable working conditions. Nuorluoto, for his part, wishes to express his gratitude to the department of Alte Geschichte, Uni. zu Köln, particularly professors Walter Ameling and Werner Eck, whose hospitality was of great benefit to this work.

² In literature, too, it was associated with free status, e.g. *Iuv. Sat.* 5, 127 and *Quint. inst.* 7, 3, 27.

³ I.e. M. Kajava *Roman Female Praenomina: Studies in the Nomenclature of Roman Women*, Rome 1994.

total of 75 attestations, and see what can be said of them. Do they imply something of the social standing of their bearer? What exactly should be thought of a woman with a Latin praenomen and a Greek cognomen? Are there regional or geographical differences? Furthermore, why were freedwomen sometimes given praenomina in the first place when they virtually always had their former slave name as their diacritic cognomen?

Chronologically this survey focuses on the transitional period, during which the main individualising element of the Roman nomenclature gradually shifted from the praenomen to the cognomen, i.e. roughly the first centuries BCE and CE.⁴ The words "late republican and early imperial" will be used throughout the paper to refer to this particular time span. No geographical limitations are set but the Latin and Greek materials are discussed in separate chapters. This is due to a sharp distinction between certain onomastic practices of the Latin West and the Greek East. First, whereas in a western Latin speaking environment Greek names often became connected to a servile status or origin, Greek personal names in the East, though occurring with Roman slaves and freedmen as well, naturally continued in full use among the locals of every social stratum even in cases of Romanisation. Second, a large amount of evidence written in Greek shows greater variation and even confusion in how Roman nomenclatures were recorded, particularly as regards the choice, position and order of different elements. This indicates a different, sometimes lacking, understanding of the complex Roman name system as it was in Italy.

In defining what is to be included or excluded in the material, we have, in principal, decided to follow the datings, inasmuch as they seem sensible, provided by the source publications. In case a dating is our own, it will be made clear. Dating inscriptions is naturally not always a simple matter, and even more rarely so with epitaphs, which constitute virtually the whole⁵ of our present material. It is often based on archaeological and/or palaeographical analyses, with consideration of onomastics, which mostly give at best only rough estimates. As for the latter, there is a certain risk of circular reasoning when there is, for instance,

⁴ Furthermore, after this period, there is something of a shift in the status of Greek cognomina, as they start to appear more and more in senatorial nomenclatures, too.

⁵ The rare exceptions are an Attic list of ἐπανιστάι (#61), two Koan grave boundary inscriptions that both mention the same woman (#4; see below p. 94), and a solitary papyrus, which contributes to this study no more than as a number in statistics (#65).

an attempt to date an inscription to an early period simply due to, say, the lack of a cognomen. Only in very few cases (such as the materials of Praeneste and Delos) are we fortunate enough to have a sufficient archaeological or historical context to define a certain *terminus ante quem*. Such cases that can only vaguely be dated as, say, "imperial", i.e. possibly pertaining to any of the first two or three centuries CE, are omitted from the current discussion (with the exception of those Latin cases where freedwomen seem to have different praenomina than their patrons: see below).

As for the social historical analysis of the women under discussion, some methodological issues ought to be pointed out. One of the key elements in a Roman nomenclature to define a person's juridical status is naturally the filiation or indication of patronage, which immediately reveals whether a person was freeborn or enfranchised (e.g. *L(uci) filia*) vs. *L(uci) liberta*). In the Greek material, however, this marker often remains obscure, as the name of the father or patron is usually only given in plain genitive with no precise indication of the relation or, even more often, no such genitive attribute is mentioned at all. Thus in many cases, the Latin material can offer more solid a basis for an accurate social analysis. On the other hand, praenomina in Latin sources, unlike in Greek ones, were often abbreviated, which sometimes causes troubles in interpreting whether an individual letter stands for a female first name, or something completely different.

Regarding the quantity of the material, the meagre figures themselves do not suffice to provide us with much statistically relevant data. All female *tria nomina* cases from our period known to us are listed in the Appendix, at the end of this paper.⁶ Only those cases that are uncertain or otherwise require more detailed observation are discussed separately. These will be referred to with "[Appendix number]", and their publication references, locations and dates are given in the Appendix, unless needed directly in the discussion.

⁶ Also such nomenclatures are taken into account, which, instead of exhibiting a cognomen proper, represent the style ἡ καὶ (or ἡ ἐπικαλούμενη vel sim.) + agnomen. This is due to the fact that such names, expressed in Greek, would likely have appeared as cognomina in Latin (cf. Kajanto, *Supernomina. A Study in Latin Epigraphy*, Helsinki 1966, 6–7), given the original nature of the cognomen as an additional name, so to speak, and this should more or less apply to the transitional period when the cognomen was still consolidating its role.

Latin West

In the Latin West, there seem to be at least 19 cases⁷ of late republican and early imperial women with the *tria nomina*. The number is significantly higher in the Greek East, where the use of female praenomina continued longer after the establishment of personal cognomina.⁸ Remarkably, 10 out of these 19 Latin cases can certainly be identified as freedwomen (they have the indication *l(iberta)* in their nomenclature), whereas only five women are clearly freeborn (revealed by the filiation), and four of somewhat uncertain status, although at least one or two of them are likely to have a servile origin. The uncertain cases will now be discussed.

#11 *L. Catellia Dionysia sibi et suis*. It is well known that the use of a Greek cognomen, even at a relatively early stage, does not necessarily have to mean that the person in question was a former slave.⁹ This, however, seems to be particularly the case with inscriptions from Greek territories, whereas our Dionysia is recorded in Aesernia in the heartlands of Samnium. Freeborn women in the Latin West seem to have carried almost exclusively Latin names, and therefore it may be concluded that this woman was probably a *liberta* rather than freeborn.

#48: *L. Otronia Plautia* (Praeneste). The presence of *L(ucia)* has been disputed,¹⁰ though judging by the picture provided in *SupplIt* I 583, there indeed seems to be an 'L', which is difficult to interpret in any other way than as a female praenomen. *Plautia* also requires some deliberation. Should it be taken for a cognomen, i.e. a feminine form of *Plautus*, or is it rather a nomen, perhaps

⁷ *CIL* VIII 18963 = *ILAlg* II, 5045 (Thibilis) is erroneously read in *CIL* (Bernelle) as *Q. Callucia | Purina Lucif.*, thus giving the impression that the inscription records a woman with *tria nomina*. A more correct rereading can be acquired following Gsell in *ILAlg*: *Q. Cal|purn[us] | Lucia Lucif. Pa|*. This case has thus been omitted from this survey.

⁸ For discussion on the reasons of this, see Kajava (above n. 3) 217.

⁹ See e.g. H. Solin, "Sul consolidarsi del cognome nell'età repubblicana al di fuori della classe senatoria e dei liberti", in *Epigrafia: Actes du colloque en mémoire de Attilio Degrossi*, Rome 1991, p. 186–187, and Kajava (above n. 3) 104 with further references.

¹⁰ See e.g. Kajava (above n. 3) 43; Vaglieri in *NSA* 1907, 25; R. Wachter, *Allateinische Inschriften*, Bonn 1987, 126 n. 315.

used adjectively as a gamonym? The former seems more likely, as the latter style is not attested in Praeneste besides an archaic case,¹¹ whereas the usual way of indicating the husband was clearly with plain genitive, as in the case of another *Otronia*, i.e. *L. Otronia Epulei (uxor)* (*CIL* I² 233a).¹² It is hard to say anything precise about Plautia's social standing. The use of a Latin cognomen does not have to mean that she was a freeborn woman; freedwomen, too, sometimes had "good" Latin names.¹³

#18 *Maxsuma Domitia Caeseriana*. The interpretation of this inscription, carved on a funerary vase, has caused some troubles. A letter 'M' can clearly be read in the end, after *Caeseriana* (whose last two letters *-na-* are joined together in a nexus), and several solutions have been offered.¹⁴ M. Lejeune's hypothesis of two women, the name of the deceased being in accusative *Caeserianam*,¹⁵ seems unlikely, as one would rather expect a dative than an accusative, and to use a bare cognomen to refer to the deceased seems implausible at this early stage. One potential explanation could be the one offered by J. Untermann, namely that the inscriber simply made an error.¹⁶ Another possibility is that the final 'M' is an abbreviation, standing perhaps for *m(ater)* (or something else), in which case we would either have two different women, the other one (somewhat unconvincingly) being referred to without a nomen, or (perhaps more convincingly) one woman with a nomenclature consisting of three names.¹⁷

¹¹ *CIL* I² 561, *Dindia Macolnia*, "the wife of Magulnius", inscribed on the lid of the so-called cista Ficoroni, possibly from the 4th century BCE.

¹² The following cases, for instance, are known from Praeneste: *Curtia Rosci* (*CIL* I² 143); *Numitoria M. Op(pi) Albi* (207); *Samiaria M. f. Minor Q(uinti)* (271); *Saufeia C. f. Tondi* (290); *Sehia L. Op(pi)* (293); *Servia M. f. Cinsi uxor* (300); *Sextia Rosci* (301); *Tap(p)ia Q. Vestori* (311).

¹³ For a comprehensive catalogue of Latin names used by slaves and freedmen, see H. Solin, *Die stadtrömischen Sklavennamen: ein Namenbuch*, Stuttgart 1996, in particular part 1, "Lateinische Namen".

¹⁴ Well summarised in *SupplIt* XV 91.

¹⁵ M. Lejeune, *Ateste a l'heure de la romanisation*, Firenze 1978, 68; 81.

¹⁶ Although Untermann's interpretation of the suffix *-iana* as an indication of dependence or servitude (*Caeseriana* thus corresponding to *Caeseri l.*) seems odd at the least, as one would not expect the patron to have a different nomen. J. Untermann, *Die venetischen Personennamen*, Wiesbaden 1961, 50.

¹⁷ Cf. *SupplIt* XV, 91 (p. 255). Such forms as *m(atri)* or *m(arito)* (suggested by G. B. Pellegrini and A. L. Prosdomici, *La lingua venetica*, Padova 1967, 251) are well out of question, as it would be

However the case may be, no solid interpretation of the inscription can be offered.¹⁸

#8: *Tertia Boelfia --?* *Salvia*. Although no indication of patronage is given, it seems quite plausible to assert that this woman was a *liberta*. Her cognomen *Salvia* was a typical name among slaves and ex-slaves,¹⁹ and she is mentioned together with a *T. Bo[el]ius O. l. Epa[gathus]*, a freedman, who shares the same nomen with her.

#38: *Polla Matidia Sp. f. Olumphia*. The identity and name of this woman has been the subject of a good deal of scholarly dispute. Particularly interesting, from the point of view of this paper, is what stands between *Matidia* and *Olumphia*. The original reading *Sp. f.* was later emended to *sibe* by H. von Petrikovits, followed also by Kajava.²⁰ However, in a most recent contribution, based on autopsy, C. Bruun argues convincingly for the original reading *Sp. f.*²¹

rather peculiar to completely omit the name of the deceased from his/her own funerary inscription.

¹⁸ In fact, since the text seems to be circling around the vase, one could speculate on whether the text makes a "full" round and the mystery 'M' could, in fact, be standing at the beginning rather than at the end of the inscription (**MMaxsuma*). Alas, the pictures provided in *SupplIt* do not show well enough the beginning and the end of the inscription to confirm or discard this possibility. Moreover, there is one more possible, yet problematic, interpretation, not taken into account by previous research. A close look at what seems to be the last 'A' of *Caeseriana*, does not interestingly reveal any traces of a cross-line, which, in turn, could suggest that the name should perhaps be read *Caeseria* (thus a nomen), after which there would not only be one 'M' but two of them. A female nomenclature consisting of a praenomen and two nomina is out of the question in the republican time (for some statistical analysis of Roman nomenclature patterns, see e.g. P. Gallivan, "The Nomenclature Patterns of the Roman Upper Classes in the Early Empire: A Statistical Analysis", *Antichthon* 26, 1992; though concerning primarily the onomastic habits of the upper classes, it gives a rough idea of Roman nomenclature patterns in general), and therefore we would, after all, have two women, a *Maxsuma Domitia* and a *Caeseria*, the role of the latter perhaps being clarified with the double 'M' (unless *Caeseria* stands for a gamonym, "the wife of Caeserius"). Whatever the abbreviation *m. m.* would stand for, then, remains obscure to say the very least, and to our knowledge is without parallels.

¹⁹ The catalogue of I. Kajanto (*Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki 1965, 177) gives the following figures for the use of the cognomen *Salvius/a*: in *CIL* I², 27 men and 9 women, almost all of which slaves or freed; from imperial times 149 freeborn men vs. 156 sl./fr., 90 freeborn women vs. 110 sl./fr.

²⁰ H. von Petrikovits, "Lixae", in *Roman Frontier Studies 1979: papers presented to the 12th international congress of Roman frontier studies* (W. S. Hanson – L. J. F. Keppie eds.), Oxford 1980, 1031. Cf. also Kajava (above n. 3), 55.

²¹ C. Bruun, "Abschied von einer römischen 'Tänzerin' in Germania Inferior. Bemerkungen zur

There seems to be no reason to doubt this interpretation.

We are thus dealing with a freeborn woman of presumably illegitimate birth.²² Despite her being freeborn, it seems likely that she was born to a servile or peregrine parent (hence the illegitimate status). Her bearing of a Greek cognomen could well reflect this, and, on the other hand, the Latin praenomen may have been chosen to give the nomenclature a more Roman flavour.

Freedwomen seem to dominate the Latin material. If we take the above mentioned *L. Catellia Dionysia* and *Tertia Boel[ia] Salvia* for freedwomen, we have *libertae* representing 12 out of 19 cases (vs. five *ingenuae* and two *incertae*). This is a striking figure when compared to the Greek material where very few women can clearly be identified as manumitted slaves. Interestingly, too, all freedwomen, except for one (#27) come from Italy, whereas all freeborn cases are from Latin speaking provinces, i.e. outside of Italy, except for the case of *Secunda Titia T. f. Vesconia* (#66 from Clusium), in whose case certain Etruscan influence may be detected.²³ Furthermore, in one of these cases, i.e. #56 (*ILN I*, 155 = *AE* 1971, 244 (Narbo): *S(exta) Satia Sext(i) f. Maxsuma*), the existence of the qualifying marker *f(ilia)* is not entirely clear, at least judging by the picture provided in the edition. However the paucity of freeborn women in our Latin material is clear, in comparison to freedwomen (though, when dealing with such little material, one cannot completely rule out the possibility of accident of survival). Why were freedwomen, then, sometimes given praenomina, when they practically always already had a cognomen?²⁴ Since the praenomen in these

Identität von Polla Matidia aus Asciburgium", in the present volume of *Arctos* L, 21–33.

²² See K. Buraselis, "Stray notes on Roman names in Greek documents", in A. Rizakis (ed.) *Roman onomastics in the Greek East. Social and political aspects* (Meletemata 21), Athens 1996, 55–59, with further bibliography.

²³ As for the use of the Etruscan name *vescu*, see H. Rix, *Das etruskische Cognomen*, Wiesbaden 1963, 139–140; 316; 359, especially as regards the name combinations *tite vescu* and *titi(a) vescunia* (nomen + cognomen).

²⁴ There are next to no cases of freedwomen with a praenomen but no cognomen. To our knowledge, only two possible attestations are known from our time period: *CIL* I² 1330 (Rome) records several *libertae*, among whom a *Marta Postumia M. l.* and a *Salvia Servia M. l.* The latter's *Salvia* is attested as a praenomen Kajava (above n. 3) 69, but *Marta* is not: in his discussion of *CIL* I² 1109, Kajava (*ibid.* 45) refers to this case as an inverted cognomen. However, all other four freedwomen in 1330 are attested with a cognomen after the nomen; it seems thus rather unlikely that we are dealing with inverted cognomina here. Dated by Wachter (1987, 519 n. 544) simply as "kaiserzeitlich" but cannot

cases surely did not have a diacritic, individualising, function, perhaps the reason is rather a social one: it was to emphasize the newly acquired, free Roman status by giving a female nomenclature with a Greek cognomen a bit more a Roman flavour. Still, this practice was by no means common in comparison to the usual onomastic pattern of freedwomen with a Roman nomen, the indication of patronage, and the (often Greek) cognomen – and, besides, there are cases with respectable Latin cognomina as well.²⁵ One possibility is that some families in Italy or elsewhere simply had their own, proud onomastic traditions, say, giving first names to all free members of the *familia*. There is, however, no real evidence to back this, as in most cases no other *libertae* are mentioned, and even if they are, they do not seem to have a praenomen.²⁶ At all events, the idea does not seem impossible but the evidence is too scarce to make any solid conclusions in support or against it.

Furthermore, we seem to have several cases where the praenomen of the freedwoman seems to be different from that of her patron. Since the repertoire of female praenomina in general was somewhat different from that of men, the use of such typically female names as *Paulla/Polla* would not seem that peculiar, especially in the earlier times; take for instance **#59** *Paulla Sergia Cn. Cn. I. C(h)rysis*, or **#9** *Polla Caspe.[---] C. I. Erotis*.²⁷ But when a patron was called, say,

be very late (cf. also Kajava *ibid.* 69). *CIL* I² 1837 = *ILLRP* 971 (Trebula Mutuesca) records a *Quarta Senenia C. I.* as well as a *Posilla Senenia Quart. f.*, a freeborn woman (whose father was perhaps a Senenius Quartus or a Quartus Senenius; the filiation is reconstructed in the *EDCS* as *Quart(ae) filia*), which seems highly improbable). Dated to the mid-first century BCE by Buonocore ("Sui *CLE* repubblicani della regio IV Augusta", in *Die metrischen Inschriften der römischen Republik*, Berlin - New York 2007, 219). One needs to note that in many cases where a freedwoman is attested with a name preceding her nomen, it is more likely that the name is an inverted cognomen rather than a praenomen (take for instance *CIL* I² 2210 (Aquileia) *Grata Plotia Cn. I.*; 1476 (Praeneste) *Euclesis Cestia Q. I.*; 2041 (Perusia) *Hastia Alfa L. I.*; 1772 (Ortona) *Pampila Anaia P. I.*). See also *IK* 39, 101, below p. 90.

²⁵ **#17** *Ser. Cornelia Ser. I. Sabina*, the *nutrix* and *mammula* of Ser. Cornelius Dolabella, and **#12** *Sep. Cincia L. I. Lepida*, see below.

²⁶ So at least in **#29** *L(ucia) Lallia L. I. Salvia* and *Lallia L. I. Soteris*; **#15** *D(ecima) Colia D. I. Theo* and *Colia D. I. Nice*; **#6** *Sex. Avidia Sex. I. Prima* and *Avidiae Sex. I. Faustae*. See also below the *Φλαυία* on p. 89, but cf. **#57–58** and **#69–70** who have the same praenomina.

²⁷ In fact, of all the 14 cases of our material, which record the qualifying marker *f(ilia)* or *l(iberta)*, eight cases present a female nomenclature where the praenomen is the same as that of the father/patron, whereas it differs in six cases. In the latter group, most women have a typical female name

Publius and his freedwoman *Lucia*, one may find it somewhat puzzling. How exactly should we interpret these cases? In order to give an answer, one needs to take a closer look at them. Kajava gives a list of 19 cases of freedwomen from the imperial time who are recorded with a praenomen, six of which seem to have a different praenomen from that of their patron.²⁸ At first the number seems relatively large, but a closer look reveals that all these cases are far from being clear:

AE 1998, 316 = *SupplIt* XVI, 29 = *CIL* X 745* (Aletrium): *C. Tuccia T. l. Salvia* et *L. Spuria L. l. Calliste*. The inscription, only preserved in codices, was originally regarded false but later confirmed authentic by the discovery of a parallel cippus (*SupplIt* XVI, 28). It seems that, after all, neither one of the female nomenclatures features a praenomen (and even the indication *T. l.* in *Salvia*'s nomenclature is somewhat obscure), thus the names are presented in *AE* and *SupplIt* simply as *Tuccia ((mulieris)) l. Salvia* and *Spuria L. l. Calliste*.

CIL VI 28156: [---] *L. Valeria P. ((mulieris)) l.* [---]. This inscription, likewise, is only preserved in codices and the presence of the female praenomen is somewhat dubious, although by no means impossible. The inscription seems to be fragmentary, but it is highly possible that the woman, given her being a freedwoman, had a cognomen.

CIL XII 4588 = 5093 (Narbo): *L. Rinnia P. l. [P]rima* and (probably) her freedwoman *L. Rinnia Primae l. Aucta*. The cognomen of *[P]rima* appears in *CIL* as *Ruma*, but the suggested emendation *[P]r^ri'ma* seems to us a far better alternative. It is not clear whether her filiation should really be read *P. f.* and not *L. f.* No picture of the inscription is provided but the matter could perhaps be verified if the stone still *extat in museo lapidario* (of Narbonne).

CIL III 9364 (Salonae): *M. Titia Gly{c}cenna*, former slave of L. Titius Lucundus to whom she set up the monument. *Glycenna*'s praenomen, indeed, seems to be different from that of her patron, but perhaps the 'M' preceding her nomen is not a praenomen at all but rather an abbreviation of, say, *m(onumentum)* (thus suggested in the *EDCS*²⁹). This could very well be the case, as the word

(*Paulla/Polla, Secunda, Tertia*) to which there is no common male equivalent, in one case the patron seems to be a woman (#46 *Tertia Oppia Mus Murtae l.*), and in one case it is somewhat uncertain whether the woman even has a praenomen (#12 *Sep. Cincia L. l. Lepida*, see below).

²⁸ Kajava (above n. 3) 228.

²⁹ I.e. *Epigraphische Datenbank Clauss-Slaby*.

monumentum is often abbreviated simply as 'M', and it would here function well as the object for *fecit*.

ILBulg 323 (Novae): *P. Ael[li]a M. I. Severa*. The editor notes here that "*initium male legi*", which of course leaves some reasonable doubt over the matter of whether she really had the praenomen *P(ublia)* or not. Unfortunately no picture is available.

#12: *Sep. Cinciae L. I. Lepidae*. It is possible that she really had the praenomen *Sep(timia)* despite her patron being called *Lucius*, but it could also be thought that perhaps *Sep.* is not a part of her nomenclature but rather an abbreviation of, say, *sep(ulcrum)* (thus suggested in the *EDCS*). The fact that her name is given in genitive makes this interpretation possible. However, abbreviations of this type are not common (at least to our knowledge) and therefore the possibility that she was, indeed, called *Sep(timia)* should not be refuted.

Greek East

Unlike often in the Latin material discussed above, the early imperial Greek sources still presented the praenomina typically in a non-abbreviated form and, besides, nearly all female praenomina occurring in Greek are those that are more often written in full in Latin, too (such as *Paulla/Polla*, *Tertia* etc.). Thus the difficulty lies usually not in deciding whether there is a praenomen or not, but in the Greek expressions of genitive attributes in Roman nomenclatures which often lack precise definers, equivalent to *f(ilius/-a)* or *l(ibertus/-a)*, and render the status difficult to interpret; from the 56 cases of our material no more than seven show a clear definition: six times *θυγάτηρ*, and one single time *ἀπελευθέρᾳ*. Twelve women have an unqualified genitive attribute consisting of a plain male praenomen (e.g. *Ποπλίου*), and 37 have none at all. Within the latter two groups other clues for status need to be searched for. In a sharp contrast to the Latin attestations, from the nomenclatures in Greek showing further elements than only plain a *tria nomina*, the most suggest a freeborn rather than enfranchised status. Let us examine first the freedwomen, seven in total, appearing in five inscriptions.

An inscription from Larisa, **#31** records the only definite freedwoman: *Μαρκία Λουκία Ζωσίμη Ἀφροδεισίου ἀπελευθέρᾳ*, dated to the 1st c. CE.

The importance of this case is, however, somewhat diminished by its peculiarity, rendering it less comparable to the rest of the Greek material. The praenomen is the female version of the patron's, which in the East of our period is paralleled only by #23 (same date and Thessalian, too; see below), and unlike all others, the patron is mentioned exceptionally by a Greek cognomen instead of his praenomen.³⁰ In this view, and of the spelling λου-,³¹ one wonders if the date could be later.³²

As for other two inscriptions and possibly a third one, all from Kos and recording two women, the identification is based on having a Greek cognomen and lacking a qualifier of the genitive attribute, whereas another person mentioned has the genitive attribute qualified with υἱός: #57–58 Πῶλλα Σηία ἢ Ποπλίου Πυθιάς, Πῶλλα Σηία ἢ Ποπλίου Τρύφαινα, and two men with similar nomenclature including a Greek cognomen appear beside a Πόπλιος Σήιος ὁ Ποπλίου υἱός Φλακκίων carrying a Latin cognomen, whereas in #69–70 Τερτία Ὀμβρική Λευκίου Μεγίστη and Τερτία Ὀμβρική Λευκίου Παμφίλα contrast with a Λεύκιος Ὀμβρικός Λευκίου υἱός showing no cognomen.³³

In the third inscription, #22 Τερτία Φλαυία Δέκμου Νίκη appears together with Φλαυία Δέκμου Νικομήδ[εια], Δέκμος Φλάυιος Δέκμ[ου ---], and Δέκμος Φλάυιος Σέξ[του υἱός?] Διονύσιος. If one of the men did indeed have the word υἱός after Δέκμ[ου] or Σέξ[του],³⁴ the women would be most probably enfranchised. Curiously Νικομήδεια's nomenclature doesn't show a praenomen: should this distinguish Νίκη's status from hers? This could be perhaps

³⁰ TAM II,2 438 (c. 96 CE; cf. *LGPN* Vb s.v. 37) records a similar indication of patronage on L. 11/12 Πακόνιος Εὐφρό[σ]υ[ν]ος ἀπελευθέρως Μόσχου, whose patron is Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Πακωνιανός Μόσχος, apparently the natural son of Πόπλιος Πακόνιος Ἑρμείας ὁ καὶ Ἡ[θ]ικός Ῥόδιος καὶ Παταρ[ε]ύς and not yet adopted at the time of manumission.

³¹ See below n. 39.

³² B. Helly ("Les italiens en Thessalie au IIe et au Ier s. a. J.-C.", in *Les "bourgeoisies" municipales italiennes aux IIe et Ier siècles av. J.-C.* Centre Jean Bérard, Institut Français de Naples, 7-10 décembre 1981, Paris 1983, 369; cf. 366) suggests the 1st c. BCE / early imperial period, although the various typological grounds presented by him do not seem compelling to exclude a later date. Kajava (above n. 3, 228) lists this one under imperial cases without further notice.

³³ Kajava (above n. 3) 82. Cf. the other way around in *IG* XII,6,2 710 (early imperial): Πῶλλα Αὐλία Δέκμου θυγάτηρ beside a Δέκμος Αὐλιος Δέκμου Διονύσιος.

³⁴ In the former's case he would then not have had a cognomen. The latter's cognomen is written on the next line, leaving the missing space after Σέξ[rather long for Σέξ[του] only.

more probable if both men lacked the word *υῖός*. However, even then the status would remain inconclusive, because three Latin inscriptions attest two enfranchised women, one with and the other without a praenomen.³⁵

The nomenclatures of a married couple in one more inscription, #39 Πρεῖμα Μεττία Εὐταξία, γυνὴ δὲ Ποπλίου Μεττίου νεωτέρου suggest that this P. Mettius, lacking an actual cognomen himself and obviously a freeborn citizen, might have married his freedwoman, who bears the same nomen and a Greek cognomen.

It is worth of mentioning here that, as already noted above, there are near to no attestations of freedwomen with a praenomen but lacking a cognomen, the only possible case being a Τερτία Κρασσικία in *IK* 39, 101 (Prusa ad Olympum, 1st c. CE), who is *θεραπετὴ καὶ ἀπελευθέρᾳ* of a Κρίσπα Κρασσικία. However, both names being well known as cognomina, these could be such, appearing in an inversed order.³⁶

Evidence pointing to a freeborn status comes forward considerably more often. From the six certain cases with the word *θυγάτηρ* two women from perhaps 1st c. CE carry a Latin cognomen: one, #42, is recorded in genitive as [–] ἡς Μουνατίας | [A]ὔλου θυγατρὸς Πωλλίτιης, where the first element seems a probable praenomen,³⁷ and the other is #23 Λουκία (Γελλία) Ἰγγένουα, who is *θυγάτηρ* of Λούκιος Γέλλιος and Καλπουρνία Ἰγγένουα, and the other of two Greek cases with father's and daughter's praenomina corresponding. Interestingly, three out of the other four with a Greek name have it as an agnomen marked with a *ἡ καὶ* (or similar) formula:

#43 Σακόνδα Νων(ί)α ἡ καὶ Ἐλπὶς Γαίου θυγάτηρ Ῥωμαία, γυνὴ δὲ Αὔλου Γρανίου, whose husband apparently was free-born as well;

³⁵ #6, #15, #29, see above n. 26.

³⁶ See above n. 24, although this must not necessarily be the case here (cf. Kajava (above n. 3) 87).

³⁷ The squeeze in Berlin in the *IG* archive, as seen by Kantola, shows the latter two lines beginning at the same vertical level, and if the same applies to the first line, as is probable, the first word is missing four letters. This would be probably [Πώλλ]ης, which is by far the most widespread female praenomen in the East (see below p. 93), and also occurs with all the other three *Munatiae* with a praenomen (see below n. 54). Furthermore, the praenomen appears with genitive in both *-ας* and *-ης*, but here the latter option excludes *Tertia* and others ending with *-ia* (always *-ίας*) and probably *Prima*, whose only known genitive in *-ης* is from Rome and a considerably later period (and thus, unsurprisingly, appearing as a cognomen; *IGUR* II 672). Other possibilities attested in the East are far less common: *Secunda*, and even rarer *Quinta* and *Rufa*.

#10 [Π]ῶλλα Καστρικία Αὔλου θυγάτηρ ἡ ἐπικαλουμένη Θεανώ{ι}; **#50** Πρῆμα Πακουία Ποπλίου θυγάτηρ ἅ καὶ Δαλιάς with the non-*koine* article (appears in genitive τᾶς) in the local manner.

The one without ἡ καὶ is **#7** with a peculiar and problematic nomenclature Τερτία Βαβυλλία Ποπλίου καὶ ΠΟΛΑΣ Λαοδίκη θυγάτηρ: the element after καὶ might refer to a mother named Πόλα as a part of the filiation, or belong to the name of another woman, Πολὰς Λαοδίκη θυγάτηρ, in the nominative, either lacking a nomen or having it not mentioned.³⁸ The former seems more probable in light that the formula χρηστή χάρις is in singular.

Proceeding to other cases that lack clear indication of status, no woman with a Latin cognomen, which would suggest a freeborn status, may be placed with sufficient probability within our time period.³⁹ No more than the remaining cognomina do the genitive attributes consisting of a male praenomen without a qualifier (e.g. plain Ποπλίου) give any clue, as they could be followed by θυγάτηρ as well as by ἀπελευθέρρα. As an exception though, two women, **#49** and **#63**, appear with filiation Σπορίου, which has been showed to indicate that they probably were daughters of freedwomen but themselves born free.⁴⁰ However, certain ethnonyms and gamonyms, in addition to the Πρεῖμα Μεττία mentioned above, provide us with some hints.

³⁸ For commentary on the name, see Kajava (above n. 3) 58. In addition, one could speculate with the faint possibilities that either ἡ was omitted before καὶ (but this would result, not at all less oddly, in having a Greek cognomen after the agnomen), or that ΚΑΠΠΟΛΑΣ would be the father's cognomen, a rare *Caepola* (cf. Kajanto (n. 19) 335) which, here, would have been written erroneously (*Καιπόλας should be the nominative, with genitive in presumably -α or alternatively -ου); the existence of a sigma, though, does not seem completely certain either in *IG*'s diplomatic edition or on the Berlin squeezes.

³⁹ Three cases which seem to come the closest are *IK* 40, 1042 Τι(βερία) Κλαυδία Φουλβιανή (uncertain origin, 1st/early 2nd c. CE, or more probably not earlier than the second half of the 1st c. CE because of the Claudian "imperial" name), *BCH* 47, 1923, 381 nr. 10 + *SEG* IV 575 Πουπλία Ρουτιλία Πῶλλα (Notion, 1st/2nd c. CE Kajava (above n. 3) 187), and *IG* XII,4,3 2897 Λουκία Τουρηλία Φορτουνάτα (Kos, 2nd c. CE (Hallos), or perhaps earlier?). The female praenomina in question, counterparts of typical male praenomina, mostly feature in later sources in the Greek East. Besides, all three nomenclatures show spellings that suggest an imperial date (Λουκία (not Λευ-); ου for a short vowel in Φουλβ- (not e.g. Φολου-), Ρουτ- (not Ροτ-), and especially Πουπλία (not Ποπ-)), although spellings may not be considered a compelling grounds for dating (see e.g. **#23** above).

⁴⁰ See above n. 22.

Athenian citizenship seems to have been granted to freedmen very rarely: the only known case is a freedman of Antonia Maior.⁴¹ Thus it looks quite probable that the three (or probably four) women showing affiliation to an Athenian *phyle* were free by birth. The fully preserved one, #33, has an Athenian husband as well, and a curious nomenclature: *tria nomina* with a Greek cognomen followed by ἡ καὶ and her *phyle*. This might lead one to speculate if the Greek name and ἡ καὶ were written in wrong order, but three less preserved cases with extant female praenomina (#60, #71, #75), and one without⁴² apparently show the same manner, too. This must, then, be interpreted as an Athenian peculiarity,⁴³ although the reason behind this avoids clarity: oddly enough, the cognomen and *phyle* affiliation as agnomen seem to be the paralleled elements.⁴⁴ One woman (#37) has a similar nomenclature but without ἡ καὶ.⁴⁵ Apart from these, three women (#30, #32, #51) are not given a *phyle* but have an Athenian husband; seen that the Athenians were more exclusive in granting citizenship, it may be somewhat plausible they would have hesitated marrying freedwomen, too.

The husband of #47 mentioned by the sole name Πόπλιος, the ones of #36 and #54 having *tria nomina* with a Greek cognomen as well, and those of

⁴¹ IG II/III² 7091; see S. G. Byrne, *Roman citizens of Athens* (Studia hellenistica 40), Leuven 2003, 65–66 s.v. *Antonius* 16. One may note, however, that in this bilingual inscription only the Latin version (*M. Antonius Antoniae Drusi l. Tertius*) displays the enfranchised status, whereas the Greek counterpart (Μάρκος Αντώνιος Τέρτιος Πατριανεύς) could, on its own, belong to a freeborn citizen as well. Thus the possibility cannot be excluded that some similar Greek-only nomenclatures could belong to freedmen in Athens, too.

⁴² IG II/III² 5172 (58/9 CE) l. 4 [---]λία Ειρήνη ἡ καὶ ἐξ Ἀθμονέων Ἐπικράτους Ἀθμονέως γυν[ή]: it remains open if she could have had a praenomen, too.

⁴³ Apart from the Attic ones mentioned, the searchable data included in *PHI* database (Sept. 6th, 2016) did not show other cases of agnomina with other elements paralleled than Greek (or other) individual names or Roman praenomina or cognomina; of course, two ethnics may be paralleled but then it is naturally no agnomen. Moreover, male names attested in Attica show only these typical cases of ὁ καὶ (*vel sim.*).

⁴⁴ This gives the strange impression that e.g. this woman would have been referred to as Πῶλλα Μαικία Λαυδίκη in one context and as Πῶλλα Μαικία ἐξ Οἴου in some other. Another option could be that the interchangeable elements were P+N(+C?) and C+*phyle* (i.e. Πῶλλα Μαικία (Λαυδίκη) and Λαυδίκη ἐξ Οἴου).

⁴⁵ In one further case without a female praenomen, IG II/III² 5540 Πομπηία Εἰσιὰς Γαίου Πομπηίου ἢ θυγάτηρ ἡ καὶ ἐξ Ἀλιμουσίων, ἢ Διονυσίου τοῦ Διογένους Ἰταίου ἢ γυνή, the Greek cognomen has been placed before the filiation which is then followed by the *phyle*-agnomen.

#40 and #55 referred to with a single Greek name remain unhelpful here. On Kos, #67 Πῶλλα Τυλλία Νικόπολις appears beside a freeborn Greek Θέων Ἀμφικλέους; in addition there is a separate reference to another man called Γαίος Τυλλιανός.⁴⁶ The first man looks likely to be her husband, perhaps indicating that his wife was free by birth too, but this is unsure, as is the nature of her relation to the other man. #47, however, and two other women without gamonyms, #26 and #34, carry the ethnonym Ῥωμαία. This occurs on the one hand with people of any status originating from the *Urbs* itself, and on the other hand with Roman citizens from any localities,⁴⁷ and especially in the latter sense Ῥωμαία may be regarded as a further means for more recent, non-Italic citizens to emphasize Roman self-identification, since the citizenship already would have been transparent from the nomenclature.

Regarding this, the matter of the peculiar distribution of female praenomina in the Greek East requires a closer look. Counting all attestations in both *duo* and *tria nomina* from our approximate time period, *Polla* with 81 attestations covers more than half of the total of 157 cases (nearly all in Greek), followed by *Tertia* with 32 cases, whereas the third most attested, *Secunda*, appears in no more than 11 sources.⁴⁸ Thus, as already observed by Kajava (n. 3, 102), the female praenomina vary significantly less in the Greek East; within our *tria nomina*, the proportion of *Tertia* remains at 20%, and that of *Polla* increases slightly from 52% to 57% at the expense of the rarer praenomina. Why these two were selected with such a frequency remains quite unsure, but this onomastic habit, starkly differing from the usage in the West (and Latin-speaking

⁴⁶ Γαίου Τυλλιανοῦ, ζῆ. | Πῶλλας Τυλλίας | Νικοπόλεως, | Θέωνος τοῦ | Ἀμφικλέους, | ζώντων. *Tullianus* is a known nomen and acts here as such, since a patronym should have the preceding article τοῦ, as in the Greek man's patronym. The nomen might suggest some connection to the woman, but this remains completely speculative. On the same stone, one reads also Σακόνδας Καισελίας | ζώσης, which has been identified as a separate inscription; if this woman has a connection to the others in the first place, even less can be said of their relation.

⁴⁷ H. Solin, "Appunti sull'onomastica romana a Delo", in Coarelli–Musti–Solin (eds.), *Delo e l'Italia: raccolta di studi* (Opuscula Instituti Romani Finlandiae 2), Roma 1983, 113–117.

⁴⁸ The figures are approximate and derive from Kantola's (still incomplete) dissertation material, *EDCS* and *Trismegistos* searches and exstant *LGN* volumes: despite some possible inaccuracies, the general picture is apparent. One may note the considerably higher numbers than Kajava's (above n. 3): this is mainly due to the more recent publications of Koan funerary inscriptions, which contain a great plenty of Romans.

colonies?⁴⁹), suggests that it occurred more with newer citizens of non-Italic origin or freedwomen rather than with Western freeborn immigrants⁵⁰. This, on its own right, combines with the dissimilar patterns of using the female *tria nomina* in Italy and elsewhere; nevertheless, the possibility may not be excluded that some of these women were foreigners from Rome or Italy and/or were enfranchised.

The remainder of the 25 women referred to only with a plain *tria nomina* offers scarcely anything to fathom their status. One woman attested on Kos, #4 Τερτία Αὐδία Δωροθέα, appears on three inscriptions, two of which are grave boundary stones of a *thiasos* reading ὄρος θιάσου Τύχης Ἀφροδίτης τῶν σὺν Τερτία Αὐδία Δωροθέα, and the third one is a gravestone only bearing her name in genitive. That she appears in more than one inscription and is connected to a *thiasos* points toward a certain importance in her society, but this could have been possible for a freedwoman.⁵¹ For the remaining cases, there seems to be little more than the grave monuments themselves. They, on the other hand, are indecisive too: an outstanding grave stele does indeed show the wealth of the one who erected it but, as it is well known, sometimes Roman ex-slaves earned a considerable fortune; furthermore, monuments could be inscribed only much later or reused and would thus give even less solid information about the deceased mentioned in the inscription.⁵²

⁴⁹ The evidence from these is only negative, though.

⁵⁰ That is at least first generation immigrants; later generations may have become more "Hellenised" or adapted their name patterns to the surrounding social environment.

⁵¹ Cf. one other inscription connected to Koan θιασοί, *IG XII,4,3 2809*, recording a Τερτία Κορ-[v] ηλία (l. 4–5), and regrettably broken γραμματεούσης | Πάλλας 'Σεξ'-Ιτελίας τᾶ[ς] | [– – –] (l. 5–8), where ΤΑ[could be something else as well, seen that γραμματεούσης has the *koiné* genitive ending -ης instead of -ας.

⁵² Several funerary monuments include reliefs, which could inform of the deceased and her family: #5, #25, #39, #43, #47, #49, #53, #63, #64, and #68 (#23 apparently has one, but was published without illustration; the one of #75 has been lost). However, the iconographies here are rather generic, and do not seem to provide us with relevant new information. At least with #39 and #49 the inscriptions are considered to be of a later date than the reliefs (see the editors' commentaries).

Combined interpretation

The following general features may be drawn from the material discussed above and presented in the appendix:

Out of the 19 Latin attestations of *tria nomina*, all in separate inscriptions, 10 belong to freedwomen against five freeborn ones, and four are uncertain. Furthermore, we may assume that at least two women belonging to the last group were probably enfranchised (#8 and #11, above), which lifts the total number of freedwomen in Latin sources to 12. Still, the division seems to relate to geography: with one exception (#27) all freedwomen are attested in Italy whereas four freeborn women are from elsewhere, and the one remaining ties in with a local Etruscan tradition. In comparison, the Greek material is considerably larger with 56 women in 54 sources (inscriptions except for one papyrus), but troublesome to interpret: among these, six women are undisputably freeborn, against five certain (in three inscriptions) and two probable freedwomen; furthermore, 14 cases give various clues that point towards free rather than servile origin, but the status of 29 women must remain undecided. Firstly, the obvious conclusion is that the female *tria nomina* was evidently more widespread in the Greek East, and secondly, especially if the most of the evidence from there suggesting a freeborn status holds true, there seems to be a conspicuous difference in social distribution of the *tria nomina* between the East and the West. As a further dissimilarity, the Greek material shows a great frequency of *Polla*, followed by *Tertia*, but only isolate cases of other praenomina, and the only one with the same praenomen as her patron's is possibly from a later period; on the other hand these are attested in the Latin material, and only four *libertae* (but no freeborns) are called *Polla* or *Tertia*.

In course of the early imperial period, female praenomina, just like their male counterparts, lost much of their original onomastic purpose when used alongside cognomina – and thus eventually became superfluous. As the cognomen seems to have been the diacritic name element in all our *tria nomina* cases, the praenomen was likely included for some other reason: perhaps to underline one's identification as a Roman, to distinguish one's free-born status, or to carry a family's onomastic tradition of certain praenomina? Be that as it may, as name giving was not a regulated practice, in the regions with more recent Roman influence there may have been a different (or even confused) understanding of

the Roman name system as it was in Italy, and likewise the possibility cannot be excluded that a praenomen may have been added without any particular purpose but simply because it pleased one.

Female praenomina were, in some cases, certainly used to differentiate the nomenclature of a freeborn woman from freedwomen. This is evident in some cases without female *tria nomina* (where the praenomen thus acts in the diacritic function), e.g. a Roman grave monument for several freeborn and manumitted *Caecilii* (*CIL* I² 1263), including *Caecili{li}a A. et Cn. l. Asia* and *Polla Caecilia Spuri f.*, and a Koan gravestone, only published in the recent *IG* volume (XII,4,3 1464; 1st c. BCE / early imp.), where Σηΐα Ζωσίμη appears as mother of Πῶλλα Σηΐα Γάϊου Θυγάτηρ: the latter's nomenclature could belong to any freeborn woman of these times, but the former's contrasting elements, i.e. a Greek cognomen and lack of filiation, imply servile origin. In a comparable manner Πῶλλα Οὐηρατία Αὔλου Οὐηρατίου Νικηφόρου {θ}Θυγάτηρ in *IG* XII,4,3 2875 (1st c. CE) has no cognomen whereas the father – possibly a freedman because of this contrast – has a Greek one.

Since our *tria nomina* cases mostly appear alone without other women mentioned, one may speculate if female praenomina were sometimes used to a similar effect. However, Kajava (above n. 3, 105) has suggested, concerning (primarily freeborn) women in the East, that the most common female praenomina, such as *Paulla/Polla* and *Tertia*, continued to be employed in order to give a Roman label to a female nomenclature with a Greek cognomen. In the sense of social distinction, this underlining of a Roman identity does not fall far from the use of diacritic female praenomina, which itself clearly indicated a Roman status, beside the use the ethnonym Πρωμαία, or a filiation written fully with Θυγάτηρ. Similar reasons may lie behind the use of a praenomen with a Latin cognomen; the five examples, one attested in Greek, all appear in areas of more recent "Romanising" influence, and on that account adding a praenomen to the nomenclature may be due to similar reasons. Even though many of the women with *tria nomina* hardly belonged to a very modest social stratum – at least in terms of wealth, indicated by their monuments – , the name patterns often seem to differ from those who are clearly identifiable as members of the traditional local elites with Roman citizenship. These are frequently attested using a Greek cognomen, and a Greek name in filiation, thus showing up their prestigious kinship and status in the local context; moreover, their citizenship

mostly originates from leading Roman figures.⁵³ On the other hand, in our Greek material, only one relatively late case (**#13**) shows a so-called imperial name.

Nevertheless, even if the female praenomen in *tria nomina* may well have been used for further distinction of one's freeborn Roman status, this certainly cannot be made to a general assumption even in the East, since freedwomen with praenomina were not unknown, after all. In general, the use of praenomina with freedwomen elude explanation more effectively. In the Latin cases the enfranchised status is mostly explicit, but could a freedwoman have strived to make a more emphatic difference between the former and current status? Or could there perhaps have been a family tradition for certain praenomina involved, which would have been extended to the family's freedwomen as well? Some *gentes* may indicate preference for certain praenomina, but the numbers are low, and especially in case of more common nomina connections between people with the same nomen are not to be fully counted on; besides, as discussed above, only *Polla* and *Tertia* were more common praenomina in the East, and thus variation, if any, is shown mostly between these two names.⁵⁴ Furthermore, among the rare sources with more than one woman, the *Avidiae*, *Coliae*, *Lalliae*, and *Φλαυΐαι* (in **#6**, **#15**, **#22** and **#29**) show that freedwomen of the same family could appear one with and the other without a praenomen in the same inscription. If there lie some conscious choices behind this particular practice, these three cases do not present enough to grasp them.

⁵³ To name a few from late of 1st c. BCE to mid 1st c. CE: representing well-known families are e.g. 'Ιουλίαι Νοσσίς Θεωπ[όμου θυγάτηρ] (*IK* 41, 53; *LGN* Vb 2); Κλαυδία Ξενοφάντος θυγάτηρ 'Ηδεΐα (*IG* XII,4,2 960 A & B; *LGN* I 7); 'Ιουλίαι Παντιμία Λάκωνος θυγάτηρ (*IG* V,2 542; *LGN* IIIa 3); and from otherwise unknown families e.g. 'Ιουλίαι Θεοφίλο[υ] θυγάτηρ 'Επιάνασσα (*IK* 41, 86; *LGN* Vb s.v.); 'Ιουλίαι Κλεονείκη Φιλοδήμου θυγάτηρ (*IG* X,2,1 97; *LGN* IV 7). For a provincial nomenclature in the West, compare the Hispanic **#28**.

⁵⁴ For same praenomina in a family, see for instance, above **#57–58** Πῶλλαϊ Σηΐται and **#69–70** Τερτίαι Ὀμβρικίαι. Among the *gentes* best attested with praenomina in the East, *Tertia* occurs with *Clodiae* in 3 out of 3 cases, whereas *Polla* with *Flaminiae* in 6 out of 7, *Graniae* 4/4, *Serviliae* 3/4, *Valeriae* 5/8, and *Munatiae* 3/4 (the fourth, **#42** [-]η, is fairly probably *Polla*, too; see above n. 37); in addition, *Corneliae* have 4 *Pollae* and 1 *Tertia* out of 6, and four *Maeciae* show 2 cases of both *Polla* and *Tertia*.

Lastly, from the Greek sources recording freedwomen, beside two stray cases from Larisa and unknown origin (#31, #39), three inscriptions (with five cases: #22, #57–58 and #69–70) come from the rich material of Kos. As the most copious Attic cases show no indication to enfranchised status, one may wonder if this relates to regionally differing onomastic practices,⁵⁵ but the low figures and possibility to accident of survival leave this a mere speculation. Furthermore, one may note that the evidence in Greek mainly derives from these two, together with Delos: these are, regarding the late republican period and early imperial period, locations where Romans generally are attested in large numbers. In contrast, some areas known to have been abundant with Romans, such as many cities of Asia Minor, provide us with only a scarce number of female *tria nomina*, and female praenomina in general,⁵⁶ but the surviving epigraphic evidence largely dates from not earlier than the 1st c. CE. Again, this could rise from onomastic differences related to geography (or to certain *gentes* operating in certain areas), but an other option is that our material, vaguely datable for the most, leans rather towards the 1st c. BCE or early 1st c. CE than the mid–late 1st c. CE.

Summary

The onomastic practices of using female *tria nomina* are divisible to three groups: Italy, other Latin West, and the Greek East. In the latter two, *tria nomina* seem to appear primarily with women free by birth, perhaps citizens of local extraction (though it is less likely that they belonged to traditional local elites) or descendants of freedmen. One must, however, bear in mind that the Latin cases are very scarce, and in the majority of Greek attestations the status evades definition; moreover, a handful of freedwomen are known as well. Yet the motives for a freeborn woman to have both praenomen and cognomen are – even if

⁵⁵ The place of attestation of a person is not automatically to be considered the place of origin, but in a number of our Attic cases the local connection is evident from the *phyle*.

⁵⁶ Byzantium and Ephesos show a handful of attestations, but the rest are scattered in various localities, and none are known, for example, from Pergamon (except for a *Tertia Lollia*, wife of a proconsul, in *IPergamon* III, 18). In Egypt too, with ample evidence of Romans (naturally) from Augustan period onward, early female praenomina remain very exceptional. Yet again, accident of survival is a possibility not to be ruled out.

rarely transparent – more conceivable: distinction from freedwomen, emphasizing one's Roman identity, or both. In Italy, *tria nomina* are rare and occur primarily with freedwomen, and the motive for this onomastic practice cannot be pinned down, no more here than with freedwomen of other regions. In addition to this, in all groups family-specific traditions of preferring certain female praenomina and other, more indistinct reasons may have influenced the onomastic practices.

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Appendix: List of women with *tria nomina* until the end of 1st c. CE

The names are given in alphabetical order of the nomina, and as recorded in the source. Names of husbands and other persons directly mentioned in the name formula are included, when extant. The cases not mentioned above in the discussion are marked with an asterisk. The abbreviation c(entury) has been omitted in the list, but is implicit from the ordinal numbers. At the end there are two uncertain or dubious cases left out of discussion, a table of geographical provenance of the sources, and a list of other inscriptions mentioned in the discussion. The list contains references to prosopographic works; references to *LPGN* I and II have been replaced with ones to Ferrary's *et aliorum* list⁵⁷ for De-

los and to Byrne (n. 41) for Attica, when possible. In alphabetical order, the names Όμβρία and Όμβρικήα have been placed under U instead of O, and Βετιληνή under V instead of B, without any particular intention to comment on their interpretation.

- 1* Πῶλλα Ἀγνατία Νεκόπολις
IG II/III² 10566. Attica.
1st BCE /early imp.
(Byrne (n.41) Agnatus 1)
- 2* Πῶλλα Ἀρελλία [...]κλέα
IG II/III² 10736. Attica.
1st BCE / early imp.
(Byrne (n. 41) Arellius 1)
- 3* [Π]ῶλλα Ἀτελλία Μελιτίνη
IK 20, 60. Kalchedon.
1st BCE /early imp.
(LPGN Va 1)
- 4 Τερτία Αὔδία Δωροθέα
IG XII,4,3 2798, 2799 and 2952. Kos.
1st BCE / early imp.
(LPGN I 3)

⁵⁷ J.-L. Ferrary – Cl. Hasenohr – M.-Th. Le Dinahet, "Annexe : Liste des Italiens de Délos", in Ch. Müller – Cl. Hasenohr (éds.), *Les italiens*

dans le monde grec. IIe siècle av. J.-C. - Ier siècle ap. J.-C. (BCH Suppl. 41), Athènes – Paris 2002, 183–239.

- 5* Τερτία Αύφιδία Ἀρίστιον
EAD XXX 85. Rhencia.
Late 2nd / early 1st BCE.
(Ferrary et al. (n. 57) Aufidii 11)
- 6 Sex. Avidia Sex. I. Prima
CIL XI 4249. Interamna Nahars.
1st c. BCE/CE.⁵⁸
- 7 Τερτία Βαβυλλία Ποπλίου
καὶ ΠΟΛΑΣ Λαοδίκη θυγάτηρ⁵⁹
IG XII,5 93. Naxos.
1st BCE / early imp.
(LGPN I 6)
- 8 Tertia Boel[ia --?] Salvia
CIL IX 4375. Ager Amiterninus.
Late rep.
- 9 Polla Caspe.[---] C. I. Erotis⁶⁰
CIL IX 4341. Amiternum.
1st BCE/CE.
- 10 [Π]ῶλλα Καστρικία Αὔλου θυγάτηρ
ἢ ἐπικαλουμένη Θεανῶ{ι}
IG XII,4,3 1744. Kos.
1st BCE.
- 11 L. Catellia Dionysia
CIL IX 2710. Aesernia.
1st CE.⁶¹
- 12 Sep. Cinciae L. I. Lepidae
CIL V 2599. Ateste.
Early 1st CE.
- 13* Τι(βερία) Κλαυδία Εὐοδία
IG XII,4,3 1846. Kos.
41–100 CE.⁶²
- 14* Τερτία Κλωδία Ζωσάριον
IG XII,4,3 2831. Kos.
1st BCE / early imp.
- 15 D. Colia D. I. Theo
CIL VI 16002. Rome.
Early imp.
(Solin⁶³ p. 441)
- 16* Πῶλλα Κορηλία Λαΐς
IG II/III² 11937/8. Attica.
1st BCE / early imp.
(Byrne (n. 41) Cornelius 37)
- 17 Ser. Corneliae Ser. I. Sabinæ
CIL VI 16450 (= ILS 8532). Rome.

⁵⁸ Cf. *SupplIt* XIX, p. 78; the grounds given suggest mid 1st c. BCE, but a somewhat later date cannot be excluded.

⁵⁹ For the interpretation, see discussion above p. 91.

⁶⁰ Originally this was interpreted by Mommsen as a gentile name, Pollacasp[ena?] (hence also in Solin – Salomies, *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum*, Hildesheim 1994²), belonging to a binominal nomenclature. Kajava (n. 3, 53), on the other hand, argued for separation of Polla as a praenomen from the fragmentary nomen Caspe[- -]. This interpretation, in turn, has recently been challenged by Buonocore (*Epigraphica* 78 (2016), 365–366; no photo) who, after an autopsy, found the reading Pollacasp[en[- -]] more convincing. His argument is based on the absence of an "interpuncto" between Polla and Caspe[---], whereas such a marker was carved between the other onomastic elements. In our view, however, this alone can hardly be taken as serious proof against Kajava's interpretation. Since the nomen Pollacasp[enus] (or the like) is otherwise unknown, it may not be used

as an argument either. For us it seems more convincing to assume that we are after all dealing with a praenomen and a nomen (the precise reading of the latter would profit from a photograph)."

⁶¹ M. Buonocore, *Molise. Repertorio delle iscrizioni latine. Vol. 2. Aesernia*, Campobasso 2003, nr. 115.

⁶² 1st c. CE Hallof (*IG*), but a date anterior to Claudius is improbable.

⁶³ H. Solin, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom*, Berlin – New York 2003².

- Late 1st CE (or early 2nd?).⁶⁴
(Solin (n. 13) 37)
- 18 Maxsuma Domitia Caeseriana {m(?)}
CIL I² 2813. Ateste.
Late 2nd / early 1st BCE.
- 19* Κοιντία Φλαμενία Θεούδιον
IG II/III² 11674a. Attica.
1st BCE / early imp.
(Byrne (n. 41) Flaminius 5)
- 20* [Πῶλ]λα Φλαμενία Ἄμ[μῶν]ία
AM 67, 1942, 171 nr. 360. Attica.
1st BCE / early imp.
(Byrne (n. 41) Flaminius 4)
- 21* Πῶλλα Φλαμενία Πυθιάς
SEMA 2365. Attica.
1st BCE / early imp.
(Byrne (n. 41) Flaminius 6)
- 22 Τερτία Φλαυία Δέκμου Νίκη
IG XII,4,3 1664,I. Kos.
1st BCE/CE.⁶⁵
- 23 Λουκία Ἰγγένουα ἡ ἕανυτῶν⁶⁶
θυγάτηρ
SEG XL 481. Malloia.
1st CE?⁶⁷
- 24* Πῶλλα Γεμενία Φιλόκαλον
IG II/III² 10992/3. Attica.
1st BCE / early imp.
(Byrne (n. 41) Gemenius 1)
- 25* Πῶλλα Γρανία Ἀμμία
EAD XXX 20. Rheneia.
Late 2nd / early 1st BCE.
(Ferrary et al. (n. 57) Granii 18)
- 26* Τερτία Ἰρρία Βερενίκη
IG XII,9 854. Euboea.
1st BCE / early imp.
(LGPN I 10)
- 27 Ti. Iulia Ti. Iuli Diviciaci l. Smertuca
BRGK 17, 1927, 71 nr. 216.
Mogontiacum.
1st CE.
- 28* C. Iulia Bovana Triti f.
CIL II 666. Villamesias.
Early 1st CE.⁶⁸
- 29 L. Lallia L. I. Salvia
AE 1982, 145. Tusculum.
1st CE.
- 30 Πῶλλα Λικιννία Ἐρμιόνη,
Στράτωνος Κυδαθηnéως γυνή
IG II/III² 11331. Attica.
1st BCE / early imp.
(Byrne (n. 41) Licinnius 28)
- 31 Μαρκία Λουκία Ζωσίμη
Ἀφροδεισίου ἀπελευθέρρα
SEG XXV 687. Larisa. 1st CE?⁶⁹
(LGPN IIIb 27)
- 32 Πῶλλα Μαικία Ἐυδάμα, Δωροθέου
Ἀναγυρασίου γύνη
IG II/III² 5623. Attica.
1st BCE / early imp.
(Byrne (n. 41) Maecius 5)

⁶⁴ She was the *nutrix* of Ser. Cornelius Dolabella Metilianus (*cos.* 113 CE; *PIR*² C 1350). Although the inscription might even be from the early 2nd c., it may be concluded that she must have lived most of her life during the 1st c.

⁶⁵ Kajava (above n. 3) 82. Hallof (*IG*) dates this to the latter half of the 1st c. CE but gives no arguments for this. An earlier date should be conceivable as well, especially as these are not T. Flavii.

⁶⁶ Refers to Λούκιος Γέλλιος and Καλπουρνια Ἰγγένουα; thus the daughter must have been a Roman citizen and had a nomen (likely Gellia). Presumably because of this, she has been left out of *LGPN* IIIb. See also *SEG* XLIII 289.

⁶⁷ Undated, but since the father lacks a

cognomen, the date should not be later than early imperial, and on the other hand not an earlier date is suggested by the spellings λου- and καλπου- (see above n. 39).

⁶⁸ *AE* 1991, 978; cf. *HEp* 4, 1994, nr. 259.

⁶⁹ See above p. 88–89.

- 33 Πῶλλα Μαικία Λαυδίκη ἡ καὶ ἐξ
Οἴου, Λευκίου ἐξ Οἴου γυνή
IG II/III² 6997. Attica.
1st BCE/CE.⁷⁰
(Byrne (n. 41) Maecius 2)
- 34 Τερτία Μαικία Ποπλίου
Ῥωμαία Διοδώρα
IG II/III² 10157. Attica.
1st BCE.
(Byrne (n. 41) Maecius 6)
- 35* Τερτία Μαικία Ποσίδεον
IG II/III² 12769. Attica.
1st BCE / early imp.
(Byrne (n. 41) Maecius 4)
- 36 Πῶλλα Μαμιλία Κοίντου
Κλεοπάτρα, Μάρκου Ἰουνίου
Τρύφωνος γυνή
IG II/III² 12030. Attica.
1st BCE / early imp.
(Byrne (n. 41) Mamilius 1)
- 37 Λο(υκία) Μαρί(α) Ἀθην^ν ἠ^ν ἐκ
Φαληρέων, [γυ]νὴ Ἐπικτήτου
Μελιτέως
IG II/III² 7592. Attica.
1st CE?⁷¹
(Byrne (n. 41) Marius 1)
- 38 Polla Matidia Sp. f. Olumphia
CIL XIII 12075. Asciburgium.
Augustan / early 1st CE.⁷²
- 39 Πρεῖμα Μεττία Εὐταξία,
γυνὴ δὲ Ποπλίου Μεττίου νεωτέρου
IG IV²,2 939. (unknown origin).
1st BCE / early imp.
- 40 Πῶλλα Μουνατία Ἐλένη,
Θεοφίλου γυνή
IG II/III² 11253. Attica.
1st BCE / early imp.
(Byrne (n. 41) Munatius 6)
- 41* Πῶλλα Μουνατία Ἡράκλεια
IG II/III² 6596. Attica.
1st BCE / early imp.
(Byrne (n. 41) Munatius 7)
- 42 [---]η Μουνατία [Α]ῦλου
θυγάτηρ Πωλλίττα
IG XII,4,3 1385. Kos.
Early imp.⁷³
(LGPN I 1)
- 43 Σακόνδα Νων(ί)α ἡ καὶ Ἐλπὶς
Γαίου θυγάτηρ Ῥωμαία, γυνὴ δὲ
Αὔλου Γρανίου
EAD XXX 52. Rheneia.
Late 2nd / early 1st BCE.
(Ferrary et al. (n. 57) Nonii 4)
- 44* [Π]ῶλλα Ὀκταία Αὐγή
IG II/III² 10906. Attica
Aug. / 1st CE.
(Byrne (n. 41) Octavius 12)
- 45 Πῶλλα Ὀφελλία Γαίου Ῥωμαία
Ζωσίμη
IG II/III² 10161. Attica.
1st BCE / early imp.
(Byrne (n. 41) Ofellius/Ofillius 8)
- 46 Tertia Oppia Mus Murtae I.
SupplIt IX 141. Ager Amiterninus.
1st CE.
- 47 Τερτία Ὠραρία Ποπλίου Ῥωμ[αία],
γ[υνή] δὲ Ποπλίου, Τρυφέρα
EAD XXX 58. Rheneia.
Late 2nd BCE.
(LGPN I 7)
- 48 L. Otronia Plautia
CIL I² 2468. Praeneste.
Before 82 BCE.⁷⁴

⁷³ Our date (grounds: praenomen); 2nd c. CE Hallof (IG).

⁷⁴ The foundation of Sulla's colony in 82 BCE sets a *terminus ante quem* for the cippus inscriptions of Praeneste's old cemetery.

⁷⁰ Kajava (above n. 3) 56.

⁷¹ See above n. 39.

⁷² See above p. 84.

- 49 Πῶλλα Πακωνία Σπορίου Γλυκῆα
IK 58, 192. Byzantion.
1st BCE / early imp.⁷⁵
(LGPN IV 3)
- 50 Πρῆμα Πακουία Ποπλίου θυγάτηρ ἄ
καὶ Δαλιάς
IK 41, 415. Knidos.
Augustan.
(LGPN Vb 2)
- 51 Σακόνδα Παπειρία Ζοσίμη,
Εὐβούλου Ἀναγυρασίου γυνή
IG II/III² 5628. Attica.
Late 1st BCE / early 1st CE.
(Byrne (n. 41) Papirius 1)
- 52* A. Paxaea A. I. Nardis
CIL VI 36058 (= ILS 8088). Rome.
1st CE.
(Solín (n. 62) p. 1182)
- 53* Πῶλλα Περιλία Ἰσιδότη
IK 23, 493. Smyrna.
1st BCE / early imp.
(LGPN Va 2)
- 54 Πῶλλα Κοιντία Ποπλίου Συμμαχία
Ῥωμαία, Ποπλίου Κοιντίου
Πλούτου γυνή
SEG XXXII 308. Attica.
1st BCE / early imp.
(Byrne (n. 41) Quintius 5)
- 55 Πῶλ[λα] Κοιντ[ιλία?] Ἀσκληπ[ιά]ς,
Ἀπολλοφ[άνου] γυνή
IG II/III² 11883a. Attica.
Aug. / 1st CE.
(Byrne (n. 41) Quintius 3)
- 56 Σ(εστα?) Satia Sext(i) f. Maxsuma
coniux
ILN 1, 155 = AE 1971, 244.
Forum Iulii. Early imp.
- 57 Πῶλλα Σηία ἢ Ποπλίου Πυθιάς
IG XII,4,3 1293. Kos.
1st BCE.
- 58 Πῶλλα Σηία ἢ Ποπλίου Τρύφαινα
IG XII,4,3 1293. Kos.
1st BCE.
- 59 Paulla Sergia Cn.Cn. I. C(h)rysis
CIL I² 3021. Rome.
Late rep.
(Solín (n. 62) p. 1226)
- 60 [Π]ῶλλα Σερου[ειλία ---]
τιον ἢ καὶ Σ.[---]
Ag. XVII 967. Attica.
1st BCE / early imp.
(Byrne (n. 41) Servilius 5)
- 61* Πῶλλα Σερ[ο]υιλία Ἀντιοχίς
SEG LIV 235. Attica.
Mid 1st BCE.
(seangb.org s.v. Ἀντιοχίς⁷⁶)
- 62* Κοῖντα Στατία Ἐπιγόνη
IG IX,2 837. Larisa.
1st BCE?
(LGPN IIIb 3)
- 63 Τερτία Στερτινία Σπορίου
Ἀλεξάνδρα
EAD XXX 161. Rheneia.
Late 2nd / early 1st BCE.
(Ferrary et al. (n. 57) Stertinius 13)
- 64* Πῶλλα Σταλακία Χαρίτιν
EAD XXX 184. Rheneia.
Late 2nd / early 1st BCE.
(Ferrary et al. (n. 57) Stlaccii 6)

⁷⁵ As with many other grave stelae from Byzantion, Lajtar (IK) follows the date given in N. Firatlı & L. Robert, *Les stèles funéraires de Byzance gréco-romaine*, Paris 1964, which is based on the typology of the reliefs. Often, however, the Roman onomastic features occurring in these stelae suggest somewhat later periods; the inscriptions may be added later (see above p. 95 with n. 52).

⁷⁶ Πῶλλα Σερουιλία and Ἀντιοχίς appear on succeeding lines and interpreted here as a separate person. However, the Greek name has been cut indented by a space of two letters, unlike all other names listed; therefore it likely belongs together with the previous line.

- 65 Νεμερί'α¹ Στλακκία ...[..]σα⁷⁷
PSI 10, 1099. Oxyrhynchos
6/5 BCE.
(trismegistos.org/person/261619)
- 66 Secunda Titia T. f. Vesconia
CIL XI 2216. Etruria.
1st BCE/CE.
- 67 Πῶλλα Τυλλία Νικόπολις
IG XII,4,3 1529,I. Kos.
Latter half of 1st BCE.
- 68* Πῶλλα Ὀμβρία Κληοδόξη
IG XII,4,3 2911. Kos.
1st CE.
- 69 Τερτία Ὀμβρική Λευκίου Μεγίστη
IG XII,4,3 1291,I. Kos.
1st BCE.
(LGPN I 13)
- 70 Τερτία Ὀμβρική Λευκίου Παμφίλα
IG XII,4,3 1291,II. Kos.
1st BCE.
(LGPN I 1)
- 71 Πῶλλα Οὐα[λερία ---]
ἡ καὶ ἐκ Χο[---]
IG II/III² 12382. Attica.
1st BCE/CE.⁷⁸
(Byrne (n. 41) Valerius 4)
- 72* G. Valeria G. f. Valentina
ILBulg 75 = AE 1975, 295. Oescus.
69–79 CE.
- 73* Πῶλλα Βετιληνὴ Βουλαρχίς
IG II/III² 10977. Attica.
Aug. / 1st CE.
(Byrne (n. 41) Betilienus 1)

⁷⁷ This is the only Greek case of this female praenomen predating the 2nd c. CE, and was missed by Kajava. The name appears in the dative, and the last letter of the praenomen was corrected to alpha from omicron by the scribe. The cognomen is unrecognisable; as it ends with]σηι, one could think of e.g. a seven-letter Greek name with -ουσα.

⁷⁸ Kajava (above n. 3) 57.

- 74* Πόλλα Οὐεττηνὴ Ζωσίμη
IG XII,9 852. Euboea.
1st BCE / early imp.
(LGPN I 23)
- 75 Πῶλλ[α ---] Φίλου[μένη ---] ἐκ
Σημαχ[ιδῶν? ---] Σημαχ[ίδου γυνή?]
IG II/III² 7389. Attica.
1st BCE/CE.⁷⁹
(LGPN II 30)

Uncertain cases not discussed above

- 1) Πῶλλα Ῥωμαία Τρύφαινα
A. Maiuri, Nuova silloge epigrafica
di Rodi e Cos, Firenze 1925, nr. 346.
Rhodes. 1st CE. (LGPN I 9)

To Kajava (n. 3, 59), "it seems as if the nomen (and the filiation) were dropped", which is possible. On the other hand, Romaeus is a nomen attested in the West, and perhaps in an epitaph from Rheneia as well (EAD XXX 150; cf. Ferrary et al. (n. 57), 212 with note 56).

- 2) Ῥοῦφα ἡ καὶ Σώτειρα
IC II v,44. Axos.
Augustan / 1st CE. (LGPN I 1)

She appears as daughter of Ῥοῦφα Οὐεντίλια and niece of Ῥοῦφος Οὐεντίλιος Θαμυρίων. Her nomen could have been omitted, but it is equally possible that she did not possess Roman citizenship. In any case, though, it is interesting that she had a Greek agnomen and her uncle had a Greek cognomen, whereas the mother had duo nomina only.

⁷⁹ Kajava (above n. 3) 56

Table of provenances of the source material

| | | | |
|--------------------|---|----------------------|----|
| Rome | 4 | Attica | 26 |
| Latium | 2 | Thessaly | 3 |
| Samnium | 5 | Moesia inferior | 1 |
| Etruria | 1 | Delos | 6 |
| Venetia et Histria | 2 | Kos | 10 |
| Hispania | 1 | Other Aegean islands | 6 |
| Gallia | 1 | Asia Minor | 4 |
| Germania | 2 | Egypt | 1 |

The following other inscriptions were mentioned in the discussion:

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------|----------|
| BCH 47, 1923, 381 nr. 10 + SEG IV 575 | EAD XXX | 150 |
| CIL I ² 233a | IG II/III ² | 5172 |
| 143 | | 5540 |
| 207 | | 7091 |
| 271 | IG V,2 | 542 |
| 290 | IG X,2,1 | 97 |
| 293 | IG XII,4,2 | 960 A, B |
| 300 | IG XII,4,3 | 1464 |
| 301 | | 2809 |
| 311 | | 2875 |
| 561 | | 2897 |
| 1109 | IG XII,6,2 | 710 |
| 1263 | IGUR II | 672 |
| 1330 | IK 39 | 101 |
| 1476 | IK 40 | 1042 |
| 1772 | IK 41 | 53 |
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| CIL III 9364 | SupplIt XVI | 28 |
| CIL VI 28156 | | 29 |
| CIL VIII 18963 = ILAlg II, 5045 | TAM II | 2 438 |
| CIL XII 4588 = 5093 | | |

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON PAY FOR ATHENIAN MILITARY FORCES AT POTIDAEA (432–430/29 B.C.) AND IN SICILY (415–413 B.C.)

STEPHEN O'CONNOR

In a work on pay and provisioning that has been constantly cited since its publication as the authoritative treatment of these subjects,¹ W. K. Pritchett argued that the standard rate of pay for Athenian hoplites and sailors in the late fifth century was three obols per day.² His argument can be summarized as follows. Pritchett noted (correctly) that Thucydides used the terms *μισθός* and *τροφή* synonymously for payments to soldiers and sailors.³ He concluded from this that, in the fifth century at least, *μισθός* and *τροφή* were meant for the purchase of rations only: "[j]ust as dikastic pay was for maintenance, so the stratiotic pay made to citizens in the fifth century was for purchase of rations".⁴ This conclusion—or rather, assumption—provided the grounds for the next step in Pritchett's hypothesis: since dikasts (from 425) received a *μισθός* for their service of three obols per day for their maintenance, soldiers should have needed no more

¹ See, e.g., Kallet-Marx 1993, 10 n.29, 120 n.30, 133 n.64; Tritle 2010, 64–65 n.39; Rhodes 2013, 206 n.23; and further at n.22 below.

² Pritchett 1971. Although the view that three obols was the standard rate of pay for Athenian military forces in the period of the Peloponnesian War has a long history (see Böckh 1886, 344; Schultheß 1932, 2085; Gomme 1956, 275–76), Pritchett has been the only scholar to construct a fully developed argument for this view.

³ Pritchett 1971, 3–6, esp. 4–5 for argument and examples; and see Loomis 1998, 33 n.6 for additional instances in Thucydides of *μισθός* and *τροφή* referring to the same payment. See also Loomis 1998, 56 for a summation of Pritchett's argument.

⁴ Pritchett 1971, 6. Cook (1990, 78) follows Pritchett expressly on this point. See also Pritchett 1971, 27 (cf. *ibid.* 40): "[i]n military economics, the concept of any pay except for sustenance was primarily a development of the period after the Peloponnesian War and of mercenary service".

for their daily maintenance.⁵ Thus—and this was the climax of the argument—the customary daily rate of pay in the late fifth century for Athenian forces, from which men on campaign had to buy their food, was three obols.⁶

To defend these claims, Pritchett had to explain away the several mentions in Thucydides of a rate of pay of one drachma a day to Athenian soldiers and sailors during the Peloponnesian War—Thucydides five times explicitly mentions this rate being paid between 432 and 413, as opposed to his sole mention of a rate of three obols per day being paid in or around 412⁷—since this was an amount that was twice what dikasts received in Athens in the same years for their daily maintenance.⁸ Pritchett attempted to do this by asserting that the higher rate of one drachma per day was necessary because of the exceptional circumstances of some Athenians overseas expeditions. He stated that "a special rate obtained [at Potidaea, as it did] later for those dispatched to Syracuse", since "... as we are explicitly told about the expedition to Syracuse, trophe [sic] was going to be difficult to obtain and a higher rate [of pay] was in order [at Potidaea]".⁹ He developed this point further by asserting that the higher rate of pay "given on protracted overseas campaigns at Potidaea and Syracuse must reflect, in part, unusual conditions in procuring food when abroad".¹⁰ By "unusual conditions", Pritchett meant inflated food prices in markets offered to soldiers and sailors, as can be seen by the references he cited to support his point: Xen., *An.* 1,5,6; 3,2,21; and Arist., [*Oec.*] 2,2,7, 1347a32–1347b2.¹¹

⁵ Pritchett 1971, 23.

⁶ Pritchett 1971, 16–17.

⁷ Loomis 1998, 56. See also Thuc. 6,8,1: the Egestaeans' offer of sixty talents to pay for one month's service by sixty Athenian triremes predicated on each trireme's two hundred crew members being paid at a rate of one drachma per day.

⁸ See Loomis 1998, 16–17 for sources for dikasts' pay in Athens in the late fifth century; cf. Rhodes 1981, 338–340. A complicating factor for Pritchett's argument—and one that he does not mention—is that dikast pay was meant not just for the dikast, but for his family as well. Cf. Markle 1985, 277, and see esp. Ar., *Vesp.* 300–1: out of a pittance a member of the chorus has to get a meal for a family of three: "ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦδε με τοῦ μισθοαρίου / τρίτον αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἄλφιτα δεῖ καὶ ζύλα κῶψον".

⁹ Pritchett 1971, 16.

¹⁰ Pritchett 1971, 23.

¹¹ Pritchett 1971, 23–24. At (1971, 23) Pritchett has *Anab.* 3.2.2 and [Aristotle] *Oec.* 2.2.7.1347a; that he is, however, referring to *An.* 3,2,21 and *Oec.* 2,2,7, 1347a32–1347b2 is clear from his description of the passages.

Loomis, in the only major study dedicated to payments to soldiers and sailors in classical Athens to have appeared since Pritchett's work on military pay, made several criticisms of Pritchett's work as part of a larger argument that one drachma per day was the regular rate of pay for Athenian military forces in the late fifth century (until 412 or so).¹² Loomis agreed with Pritchett that *μισθός* and *τροφή* were synonymous in Thucydides but came to a different conclusion from this observation: for Loomis, both represented "gross pay", i.e. ration-money plus pay.¹³ Loomis cited three points in support of his conclusion, and against Pritchett. Firstly, he pointed out that "there is no affirmative reason why *μισθός*/*τροφή* should be ration-money alone".¹⁴ Secondly, Thucydides' use of the word *μισθός* for mercenary pay implied that *μισθός* was for more than just ration-money, since mercenaries were unlikely to serve merely for subsistence. Thirdly, since other payments for daily maintenance in Athens ranged from one to three obols, then *μισθός* or *τροφή* of one drachma must have covered and exceeded the daily cost of rations. Against Pritchett's argument that food costs may have been higher in Potidaea or Sicily, Loomis argued that: "[t]hat is possible, but the opposite is at least as likely: in the countryside, closer to the source of supply (e.g., in Sicily), food might have been cheaper than in the city".¹⁵

Kallet, however, in a study of the usage of *μισθός* and *τροφή* in book 8 of Thucydides,¹⁶ in which she argued that Thucydides used *trophe* in a restricted sense, "as a kind of subcategory of *misthos*", in order to characterize the "hand-to-mouth existence" of the Spartans in book 8,¹⁷ pointed out that Loomis' arguments against Pritchett were not entirely dispositive.¹⁸ She accepted Loomis'

¹² Loomis 1998, 33–36 and 55–56.

¹³ "Gross pay" quoted from Loomis 1998, 34.

¹⁴ Loomis 1998, 34: "[W]ithout actually saying so, Pritchett seemed to assume that *τροφή* was the ancestor of *σιτηρέσιον*, i.e., he seemed intuitively to give weight to its narrower meaning of "food" rather than to its broader meaning of "means of support", but this is not necessary and indeed, given the fact that *τροφή* is used synonymously with *μισθός*, the broader meaning arguably is *more* likely".

¹⁵ Loomis 1998, 35–36.

¹⁶ Kallet 2001, 295–308.

¹⁷ Kallet 2001, 298.

¹⁸ Kallet (2001, 296) states, as a justification for taking up this subject again, that "[t]he very

point about μισθός and mercenary pay as valid, "though it is not clear that, while [it is] a reasonable assumption, [it] is a necessary one".¹⁹ But Kallet's main challenge to Loomis concerned the point that pay of one drachma must have exceeded the daily cost of maintenance: she argued that "we cannot be certain that the procurement of food in the field was not more expensive, requiring a higher monetary allotment"²⁰ and that Loomis' response to Pritchett that food should have been in fact cheaper at Potidaea and Syracuse did not seem to her "to carry the necessary weight, since one could easily imagine that the market value may have increased prices given the necessity of the demand".²¹

There is therefore an impasse between Loomis and Pritchett, the two most thorough treatments ever published of the rates of pay of Athenian military forces in the late fifth century, an impasse caused primarily by disagreement over whether or not exceptionally high food prices expected in the markets during Athenian campaigns at Potidaea and in Sicily caused the payment of a higher rate of pay for these campaigns, and whose existence can be seen in the continuing hesitation of several major scholars to choose between a rate of pay of three obols and one drachma in recent discussions of Athenian military pay and state expenditures.²² Is there a way to get out of this impasse? This arti-

fact that Pritchett and Loomis, while agreeing on the synonymy of *trophe* and *misthos*, arrive at opposite conclusions about their meaning, should alert us to the problematic nature of the evidence of Thucydides, and the difficulty of forcing his terminology into strict synonyms with a consistent meaning, whether 'ration-money' or 'full pay'. As will be shown in this article, however, Pritchett's treatment can be demonstrated to be certainly incorrect on this topic, and Loomis' to be certainly right.

¹⁹ Kallet 2001, 296.

²⁰ Kallet 2001, 296.

²¹ Kallet 2001, 296 n.4.

²² Kallet's objections to Loomis were one of the reasons she did not accept one drachma per day as a standard rate of pay for Athenian sailors and soldiers during the first decades of the Peloponnesian War: see 2001, 53 and n.115 (with n.53 below). See also Samons 2000, 89 n.27 (cf. 93, 207, 208, 306): hesitation, caused by Pritchett's arguments, over whether the normal rate of Athenian pay before 412 was three obols or one drachma (but see Samons 2000, 235 and n.87: one drachma rate "probable" rate of pay in late fifth century). See, too, Raaflaub 2007, 99 and 120 n.9 citing both Loomis and Pritchett for the view that men on-board Athenian triremes were paid between three obols and one drachma per day. See also n.1 for other recent works on fifth century Athenian military finance citing Pritchett's work as an authority on Athenian military pay. In light of these works, it can be seen that Pritchard (2012, 40) was incorrect to state that, after Loomis' work, "[t]he case may

cle will demonstrate that there is. In reacting to Pritchett, Loomis did not provide a strong rebuttal to the argument that unusually high prices caused the one drachma rate at Potidaea and in Sicily; he neither examined the passages from Thucydides (3,17,3–4; 6,22) on which Pritchett's arguments were based nor the detail of Pritchett's arguments about these texts (nor did Kallet in reacting to Loomis).²³ This article will do this work, in order to demonstrate that there is no textual basis for Pritchett's argument that Athenian soldiers and sailors received a higher than usual rate of one drachma per day as compensation for expected higher than usual prices during their campaigns at Potidaea and in Sicily²⁴—and therefore that we should accept Loomis' arguments, based on the weight of the Thucydidean evidence, that one drachma per day was the usual rate of pay for Athenian sailors and soldiers in the late fifth century.²⁵

Pritchett argued that there was explicit support for his argument for an extraordinarily high rate of pay given to the men of the Sicilian expedition "in the speech of Nikias (Thucydides 6,22) in which he states that it will not be every city which can receive the expedition and continues: "τά τε ἄλλα ὅσον δυνατὸν ἐτοιμάσασθαι καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ ἐτέροις γίνεσθαι, μάλιστα δὲ χρήματα

now be closed that the daily pay for Athenian sailors and hoplites was 1 dr. per day between 433/2 and 412/11".

²³ From this point on, all text references will be to Thucydides, unless otherwise indicated.

²⁴ Marinovic (1988, 168) and Rawlings (2007, 118, 170) follow Pritchett explicitly on this point; see also Markle (1985, 276) following Pritchett on three obols being the standard rate of pay for fifth century Athenian military forces. In addition, Marinovic and Rawlings, as well as Markle (1985, 277) and Dalby (1992, 25 n.66), follow Pritchett in taking 6,22 as evidence that soldiers and sailors on campaign were regularly charged extortionate prices for their food by cities and traders.

²⁵ I note here that Gallo, in his important study of Athenian state pay in the fifth and fourth centuries, had already argued against the idea that special conditions on campaign abroad led to a higher rate of pay of one drachma per day in the late fifth century (1987, 36–40). The main point of Gallo's argument was that it was not the pay of one drachma per day at Potidaea and for the Sicilian expedition that was the exceptional feature of these campaigns, but the payment of this standard rate of pay to an exceptional amount of men for an exceptional amount of time. This is a valid and valuable point, but I aim to demonstrate in this article that one can go further than this, especially since Gallo did not argue specifically against the point crucial to Pritchett's argument that the one drachma per day rate was given to men on Athenian overseas campaigns in the expectation that they would find extraordinarily high prices in the markets they bought their food in while operating abroad.

αὐτόθεν ὡς πλείστα ἔχειν".²⁶ Simply put, however, Pritchett misread this part of 6,22. In this section of his speech to the assembly on the preparations required for the Sicilian expedition, Nicias requested that the expedition bring its own grain from Athens in merchant ships, together with bakers requisitioned from the mills there, in order that, if the expedition was detained (on its voyage to and around Sicily) by bad weather, it might have provisions, "for it is not every city that will be able to receive a force as large as ours", "(πολλὴ γὰρ οὐσα οὐ πάσης ἔσται πόλεως ὑποδέξασθαι)". That is, Nicias did see a potential problem for the provisioning of the expedition on its voyage to Sicily because of its size—but he requested the dispatch of supply ships with the expedition to solve this problem, not money.

Moreover, consideration of Nicias' speech to the assembly as an entirety shows conclusively that he did not consider inflated prices in markets a possible difficulty for the expedition to Sicily. At 6,22, Nicias outlined the special requirements in men and materiel necessary to meet the particular strengths of the Sicilian Greeks, which he had described at 6,20,3–4. Thus, to counteract the hoplites of the Sicilian cities, the Athenians would need to bring hoplites in large numbers; to neutralize the Sicilians' superiority in cavalry, they would need to bring many archers and slingers. The request for supply ships was one of two measures Nicias demanded to meet the Sicilian cities' advantage over the expedition from Athens in grain supplies: the other was for a great superiority in triremes, to provide security for the ships carrying grain to the expedition from nearby friendly states once it had established itself in Sicily. Nicias' final demands were those quoted by Pritchett above: "we must also provide ourselves with everything else as far as we can, so as not to be dependent on others"—and to counter the other major resource of the Sicilian Greeks (especially Selinus and Syracuse) he had mentioned at 6,20,4 namely their sizeable monetary resources—"and above all we must take with us from home as much money as

²⁶ 6,22: "We must also provide ourselves with everything else as far as we can, so as not to be dependent upon others; and above all we must take with us from home as much money as possible". (This translation, and all others of Thucydides in this article, is taken from Crawley.) See Pritchett 1971, 23 for the quoted passage; see 1971, 16 for this passage "explicitly" indicating that the men on the expedition were to receive higher rates of pay on account of the difficulties of procuring food on campaign. See also Cook 1990, 76 who states of the Sicilian expedition (without citing any ancient evidence) that "the Athenians were also concerned about the availability of provisions [for the expedition], and thus by implication about their cost".

possible, as the sums talked of as ready at Egesta are readier, you may be sure, in talk than in any other way".²⁷ Nicias thus explicitly and markedly separated off the problem of the required money for the force from his proposed solutions to the problems of acquiring sufficient grain for the force by including the issue of money under *τά τε ἄλλα*—all those other things apart from men, ships, and grain that the expedition would need to achieve success in Sicily. At 6,22, in other words, there is no connection made between availability or resources of grain and money (just as there is not in Nicias' description of the resources of the Sicilian Greeks at 6,20,3–4): they are treated as separate problems, to be dealt with in different ways. There is therefore no evidence in Nicias' speech that he considered unusually high prices in the markets in which the Athenians would be buying their provisions as a potential difficulty for the expedition to Sicily, and no suggestion in his demands for the expedition that a higher rate of pay would be necessary for the members of the expedition to make allowance for the problem of unusually high prices during the campaign.

As for Potidaea, Pritchett stated that the (supposedly) especially high rate of pay given to the Athenian forces who besieged this city could be explained (by "reasonable inference"²⁸ from the conditions on the expedition to Syracuse) by the expectation of high prices being charged to Athenian soldiers and sailors for their food during the siege. As I have just demonstrated, however, there is no evidence that the Athenians were concerned that their forces on the expedition to Sicily would have to pay inflated prices for their food. There is also no evidence that Athenian concern about high prices abroad caused them to grant their forces at Potidaea an especially high rate of pay.

Pritchett's view on this matter was based on C. F. Smith's commentary on 3,17,3–4, which questioned the authenticity of this passage:²⁹

In section 3, after the sent. *καὶ τὰ χρήματα τοῦτο μάλιστα ὑπανήλωσε μετὰ Ποτειδαίας*, the absence of any mention of

²⁷ The Egestaeans had promised money for the expedition on its arrival in Sicily (6,6,2; 6,8,1–2), but Nicias had already voiced his suspicions about their ability to provide this money in his first speech to the assembly (6,12,1). These suspicions are borne out at 6,46.

²⁸ Pritchett 1971, 16.

²⁹ Quoted at Pritchett 1971, 15–16. Note that the section of 3,17 after the clause in Greek quoted by Smith is, in fact, 3,17,4.

the 4,000 hoplites and 3,000 cavalry of Hagnon and Cleopompus (ii.58), can be explained only on a rather improbable assumption, unless the chapter be ascribed to an interpolator. It must be assumed that the 4,000 hoplites were not δίδραχμοι, but received less pay, and that in explanation of the great expenses occasioned by Potidaea especial stress was laid upon the high pay of two of the armies fitted out for the recapture of the city.

Following Smith's line of reasoning here, Pritchett agreed that one could explain the lack of mention of the force under Hagnon and Cleopompus at 3,17,3–4 and thus take this passage as genuine only by assuming that Hagnon and Cleopompus's force was not paid at the same unusually high rate that the forces participating in the blockade of Potidaea were.³⁰ Pritchett made this assumption and attributed the special rate of pay given to the hoplites participating in the siege of Potidaea to the difficulty of obtaining food there, that is, to the high food prices being charged in the market in the Athenian camp at Potidaea.³¹ There is, however, another, much simpler explanation for the absence of a mention of Hagnon and Cleopompus's force in Thucydides' accounting of the expenses of the Potidaea campaign at 3,17,4: the fact that it took only a minimal part in the operations at Potidaea and therefore did not contribute in any significant way to the huge expense of the siege of that city. A brief overview of the campaign will establish this.³²

³⁰ Pritchett 1971, 16. For a cogent defense of the authenticity of 3,17,4 and its placement at 3,17,4, based on an analysis of the passage's function within the surrounding narrative context, see Kallet-Marx 1993, 130–134.

³¹ Pritchett did not actually state this in so many words, but that this is what he meant is clear from his discussion at 1971, 16, 23–24: see again p. 108.

³² Here I develop a point made by Gomme 1956, 275 on 3,17,4: "[e]dd. note that no mention is made of Hagnon's force of 4,000 hoplites and 300 cavalry (2,56,2, 2,58,1) that made the unsuccessful attempt to take Poteidaia by storm. This was a short campaign and hardly counted as part of the siege of Poteidaia". Detailed argumentation for this point is still necessary here, however, for two reasons: firstly, because many recent studies have followed the later work of Pritchett on pay (and thus his assumption that no mention is made of Hagnon's force at 3,17,4 because it was paid at a lower rate than the original forces sent out to Potidaea); and secondly, because Gomme, in his treatment of 3,17,4, also mistakenly assumed that the rate of pay for the hoplites at Potidaea was especially high, though not for the same reason as Pritchett: see nn.43, 46 below.

At 3,17,3–4, Thucydides narrates that:

καὶ τὰ χρήματα τοῦτο μάλιστα ὑπανήλωσε μετὰ Ποτειδαίας. Τὴν τε γὰρ Ποτειδαίαν δίδραχμοὶ ὀπλίται ἐφρούρουσαν (αὐτῷ γὰρ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς δραχμῆς ἐλάμβανε τῆς ἡμέρας), τρισχίλιοι μὲν οἱ πρῶτοι, ὧν οὐκ ἐλάσσους διεπολιόρκησαν, ἑξακόσιοι δὲ καὶ χίλιοι μετὰ Φορμίωνος, οἱ προαπῆλον· νῆές τε αἱ πᾶσαι τὸν αὐτὸν μισθὸν ἔφερον, τὰ μὲν οὖν χρήματα οὕτως ὑπανηλώθη τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ νῆες τοσαῦται δὴ πλεῖσται ἐπληρώθησαν.

it was this,³³ with Potidaea, that most exhausted her revenues— [4] Potidaea being blockaded by a force of hoplites (each drawing two drachmas a day, one for himself and another for his slave-attendant), which amounted to three thousand at first, and was kept at this number down to the end of the siege; besides sixteen hundred with Phormio who went away before it was over; and the ships being all paid at the same rate. In this way [Athens'] money was wasted at first; and this was the largest number of ships ever manned by her.

The first three thousand hoplites (together with many allies of the Athenians) were sent to Potidaea in the summer of 432 (1,61,4 (cf. 1,57,6; 1,61,1)). They succeeded in building a wall which shut off Potidaea from the rest of the Chalcidide, but were not enough in number both to garrison this first wall and simultaneously build another wall on the Pallene peninsula in order to completely enclose Potidaea with siege-works (1,64,1). Hence, later in the same summer, sixteen hundred hoplites, under the generalship of Phormio, were sent from Athens, who, after arriving at the Pallene peninsula and ravaging some of the country there (1,64,2), completed the wall shutting off Potidaea from the rest of the peninsula (1,64,3). From this point on, Potidaea was fully under a siege "which was prosecuted vigorously on both sides of it as well as by sea, where a

³³ By "this", Thucydides was referring to 3,17,2 and his mention there of one hundred ships guarding Attica, Euboea, and Salamis, and another hundred sailing around the Peloponnese. See pp. 118–119 for further discussion of these ships.

fleet blockaded it".³⁴ All of the ships blockading Potidaea drew the same pay, according to Thucydides (3,17,4), as the hoplites manning the siege-works—that is, one drachma per day.³⁵

When the investment of Potidaea was complete, Phormio took his troops and ravaged Chalcidide and Bottiaea (and captured some cities in these regions) (1,65,3). In the summer of 431, Thucydides narrates that Phormio joined forces with Perdiccas against the Chalcidians (2,29,6). At 2,31,2, however, when Thucydides is enumerating the forces of the Athenians in the field in the autumn of 431, he only lists three thousand hoplites at Potidaea, which must be the original force of three thousand sent in 432 (1,61,4);³⁶ while, at 2.58.2, describing the situation at Potidaea in the summer of 430, and particularly the effects of the plague among the Athenian forces stationed there, Thucydides states that Phormio and his sixteen hundred men were no longer in the Chalcidide and thus had escaped the plague. We should therefore most probably assume, then,³⁷ that Phormio and his men returned to Athens soon after the campaign against the Chalcidians in the summer of 431 described at 2,29,6 (and this is why Thucydides states at 3,17,4 that they went away before the siege was over), and that Thucydides mentioned them at 2,58,2 only to distinguish them from the men exposed to the plague at Potidaea.³⁸ For in the summer of 430, Hagnon and Cleopompus had been sent from Athens with a force of four thousand hoplites, three hundred cavalry, and one hundred and fifty ships (2,56,2; 2,58,1) to Potidaea to help bring a quick end to the siege there (which, by this stage, had dragged on for two years). But they brought the plague from Athens with them, so that it even broke out amongst the soldiers of the first expedition (2,58,2) (it is at this point that Thucydides mentions that Phormio and his men were no longer in the Chalcidide), so that Hagnon had to take his forces back to Athens, having lost one thousand and fifty out of his four thousand hoplites, after only forty days of

³⁴ 1,64,3: "καὶ οὕτως ἤδη κατὰ κράτος ἡ Ποτειδαία ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐπολιορκεῖτο καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης ναυσὶν ἅμα ἐφορμούσαις".

³⁵ 3,17,3: "νήες τε αἰ πάσαι τὸν αὐτὸν μισθὸν ἔφερον". See Loomis 1998, 39 n.28: all commentators on this passage agreeing on taking νήες as metonymy for the sailors and these sailors (since they had no slave-attendants) being paid one drachma per day.

³⁶ Gomme 1956, 93.

³⁷ Following Rhodes 1988, 215; see also Fantasia (2003, 351) holding the same view.

³⁸ Rhodes 1988, 236.

campaigning (2,58,3). The original forces stayed on, continuing to man the siege until, finally, in the winter of 430/29, the Potidaeans surrendered (2,70).

In his description of the failed campaign of Hagnon (and Cleopompus), Thucydides twice contrasts their forces with the soldiers of the first expedition whom Thucydides specifies as "τοὺς προτέρους στρατιώτας" (2,58,2) and "οἱ δὲ πρότεροι στρατιῶται" (2,58,3). These latter were the soldiers who had been prosecuting the siege since 432.³⁹ They eventually spent two and a half years in all at Potidaea. The fleet mentioned at 1,64,3 presumably spent the same amount of time blockading Potidaea (see again 3,17,4). Phormio and his men played a key role in completing the siege-works around the city and spent at least one year in the general area of operations.⁴⁰ If we return to 3,17,4, then, we can now see why Hagnon and Cleopompus' forces are not mentioned there. Contra Smith and Pritchett, the lack of mention of Hagnon and Cleopompus and the forces they commanded at 3,17,4 does not imply "that those who participated in the siege were the only ones who were paid at a rate higher than usual".⁴¹ They are not mentioned by Thucydides, rather, because they played such a very small role in the operations at Potidaea—they participated in the siege for only forty out of its nine hundred days or so—and therefore the amounts paid to them—in contrast to the pay given to the first three thousand hoplites sent to Potidaea in 432, the sixteen hundred hoplites sent out under Phormio in that year, and the triremes which completed the blockade of the city by sea—contributed very little to the exhaustion of Athenian financial resources that is the focus of 3,17, and which the Potidaea campaign played a major role in bringing about. The fact that the force sent out from Athens in 430 under Hagnon and Cleopompus is not included in Thucydides' reckoning up of the major expenses of the siege of Potidaea is therefore in no way an indication that the pay for any force employed during the siege was unusually high on account of unusually high prices in the

³⁹ Cf. 3,17,4 where the three thousand men sent out from Athens in 432 are referred to as "οἱ πρῶτοι".

⁴⁰ Gomme (1956, 165) believed it possible that they could have stayed till the early summer of 430.

⁴¹ Pritchett 1971, 16.

camp market there⁴² (and therefore we do not, contra Pritchett (and Smith), have to postulate these higher prices and pay to 'save' the authenticity of 3,17).⁴³

There is therefore no foundation for Pritchett's arguments that the one drachma per day rate paid to the soldiers and sailors on the Potidaean campaign, and to the members of the Sicilian expedition, was set by the Athenian state in the expectation that these men would find high prices in the markets they provisioned in during these campaigns. And it is possible, in fact, to go further than this and adduce explicit evidence from Thucydides that the one drachma rate was a regular rate and not paid as a result of special conditions (in markets) on prolonged overseas campaigns. Firstly, to return to 3,17,4, and to develop a point made by Luigi Gallo, Thucydides in this passage, in reckoning up the enormous burden the Athenians' campaigning in the first years of the Peloponnesian War had placed on their state finances, stated that the ships were being "all paid at the same rate" ("νήες τε αἰ πᾶσαι τὸν αὐτὸν μισθὸν ἔφερον"). As

⁴² Note that there is a major problem in the logic of Pritchett's argument that Hagnon and Cleopompus' force were paid at a lower rate than the original forces sent out to Potidaea: there is no reason (and none given by Pritchett) why the forces under Hagnon and Cleopompus should not have faced the same supposed difficulties in obtaining food at Potidaea, i.e. the same supposedly high prices charged in the market for the besiegers, as the original force sent out; therefore, following Pritchett's logic, the forces sent out in the summer of 430 should have been paid at the same rate as the original force to take account of the unchanged conditions at Potidaea, and therefore should have been mentioned by Thucydides at 3,17,4 (where they are not, of course).

⁴³ Gomme (1956, 275) stated that the two drachmas given to hoplites at Potidaea were "clearly a special rate" paid because of the special hardships experienced by the Athenian forces besieging Potidaea. The conditions facing the Athenians undertaking the siege of Potidaea do seem to have been particularly harsh: see Pl., *Symp.* 220a-d and esp. 2,70,2 (the only indication of the hardships of the siege in Thucydides' description of it): "οἱ δὲ προσεδέξαντο, ὁρῶντες μὲν τῆς στρατιάς τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν ἐν χωρίῳ χειμερινῷ, ἀνηλωκίας δὲ ἤδη τῆς πόλεως δισχίλια τάλαντα ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν", "[the generals] accepted [the proposals of the Potidaeans for surrender], seeing the sufferings of the army in so exposed a position; besides which the state had already spent two thousand talents upon the siege". Note here, however, that the use of "μὲν" and "δὲ" here distinguishes between the two different reasons for the Athenian generals' acceptance of the Potidaeans' proposals: that is, the fact of the especially harsh conditions facing the men is not related to the expense of the siege; on the contrary, it is, in fact, differentiated from the expense of the siege as a reason for the Athenians' acceptance of the Potidaean proposals. Moreover, as Gallo noted (see again n.25), for Thucydides, it is the payment of the one drachma rate for such a long time and for so many men that is exceptional about this campaign, not the rate itself. See also the next paragraph.

Andrewes noted,⁴⁴ Thucydides was referring here to the total expenses of all the ships that he had mentioned at 3,17 in discussing the drain on the Athenian treasury. Thus, the ships mentioned at 3,17,4 should be taken to include both those that blockaded Potidaea as well as all of those mentioned at 3,17,2—and therefore that the one drachma per day rate was not only being paid to the hoplites and trireme crews at Potidaea, but also to all the crews of the triremes Thucydides had mentioned at 3,17,2, of which one hundred were sailing around the Peloponnese, and another hundred were guarding Attica, Euboea, and Salamis. As Gallo has pointed out, since one drachma per day was being paid not only to trireme crews operating around the Peloponnese and Potidaea, but also to crews operating around or near Attica in the first years of the war,⁴⁵ this rate cannot have been determined by the expected exigencies of extended campaigning abroad.⁴⁶

A second passage discussing Athenian financial difficulties later in the war confirms the point. In the summer of 413, thirteen hundred Thracian peltasts arrived in Athens in order to sail with Demosthenes to Sicily to reinforce the Athenian expedition there (7.27.1). Having reached Athens too late to join with Demosthenes, the Athenians decided to send the Thracians home, as they were receiving a drachma per day, and therefore to continue paying to employ them seemed too expensive ("πολυτελές") in light of the Deceleian War (7.27.2).⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Andrewes 1981, 97.

⁴⁵ There is some controversy over whether these ships were operating in 428 or 431 or 430 (see, e.g., Hornblower 1991, 400–401; Kallet-Marx 1993, 150–151), but the point here holds regardless of which precise year the ships referred to at 3,17,2 were sailing in.

⁴⁶ Gallo 1987, 38 n.51 (arguing against Gomme's view that hoplite pay on the Potidaean campaign was paid at a specially high rate as compensation for the "special hardships" of the campaign): "[p]artendo dal suo presupposto di un carattere eccezionale della paga di 1 dracma, legata, a suo parere, alle particolari condizioni determinate dall'assedio di Potidea, il Gomme, di conseguenza, non riusciva a spiegarsi perché tale paga fosse versata, secondo quanto dice Tucidide, ai marinai di tutte le navi ateniesi, e finiva perciò per considerare questo elemento come una delle non poche difficoltà offerte dal passo (276): una difficoltà che, in realtà, non sussiste affatto se si accetta la tesi del carattere standard della dracma giornaliera".

⁴⁷ 7.27.2: "οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι, ὡς ὕστερον ἦκον, διεννοῦντο αὐτοὺς πάλιν ὅθεν ἦλθον ἐς Θράκην ἀποπέμπειν. τὸ γὰρ ἔχειν πρὸς τὸν ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας πόλεμον αὐτοὺς πολυτελές ἐφαίνετο· δραχμὴν γὰρ τῆς ἡμέρας ἕκαστος ἐλάμβανεν" ("[s]ince they had come too late, the Athenians determined to send them back to Thrace, from where they had come; to keep them, in view of the Deceleian war, seemed too expensive, for each of them was being paid a drachma a day"). See

As Loomis notes, Thucydides' use of the imperfect ("ἐλάμβανεν") to describe the Thracians' receipt of their pay shows that each of them had been actually drawing one drachma per day during their stay in Athens.⁴⁸ Since the Thracians were actually being paid one drachma per day in Athens (before any deployment to Sicily), this rate cannot have been set because of an expectation of high prices on a lengthy overseas campaign; rather, this passage clearly shows that one drachma per man per day was the usual rate of pay at this time for military forces employed by the Athenian state.⁴⁹

To conclude: ascertaining how much Athenian soldiers and sailors were paid per day in the late fifth century is crucial for any attempt to reconstruct Athenian military and naval costs and therefore Athenian state expenditures in this period.⁵⁰ This article has demonstrated that, contra Pritchett, there is no evidence to support the assertion that the one drachma per day rate of pay attested several times in Thucydides for late fifth century Athenian military forces was paid to them to compensate for higher than usual food costs on overseas

Hornblower 2008, 589 (with n.49 below) for the translation of the second sentence quoted here.

⁴⁸ Loomis 1998, 44; contra Marinovic (1987, 168) who believed they were sent home before receiving any pay in Athens. Loomis did not draw any conclusions from this passage on the issue of food prices and pay rates.

⁴⁹ Gallo (1987, 40) made a similar point but took 7.27.2 to mean that the Athenians were thinking of using the peltasts for military operations in the Deceleian war and therefore that this passage demonstrated a pay rate of one drachma per day for operations in Attica, therefore demonstrating that the one drachma per day rate was not paid solely for overseas expeditions. Thucydides at 7.27.2 states, rather, that the Thracian peltasts were considered too expensive because of (and not for) the Deceleian campaign: see Hornblower's (2008, 589, following Classen/Steup 1966 ad loc.) translation of 7.27.2, "τὸ γὰρ ἔχειν πρὸς τὸν ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας πόλεμον αὐτοὺς πολυτελεῖς ἐφαίνετο": "it seemed too expensive to retain them, in view of the war from Dekeleia". As Hornblower remarks, "Th. is introducing the Dekeleia theme as the explanation for the financially straitened state in which the Athenians now were; he is not stating a contemplated alternative use to which the Thracians might have been put".

⁵⁰ I note here that all mentions of the one drachma rate by Thucydides (as well as his one mention of the three obol rate) come within discussions of state expenditures and unambiguously describe pay given to sailors and soldiers by the Athenian state. See esp. 6.31,3 ("τοῦ μὲν δημοσίου δραχμὴν τῆς ἡμέρας τῷ ναύτῃ ἕκαστῷ δίδόντος... τῷ ἐκ δημοσίου μισθῷ") and 6.31,5 ("τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου μισθοῦ") on the pay given to members of the Sicilian expedition. This is the reason why ascertaining the true rate of pay for Athenian sailors and soldiers is so important for our understanding of Athenian military and state spending. On the separate issue of bonuses paid privately to some sailors on top of their state pay, see n.53 below.

campaigns of long duration—and that there is positive evidence that the one drachma rate was paid to Athenian forces regardless of the location or length of campaigns. Pritchett's view that three obols per man per day was the normal rate of pay for fifth century Athenian sailors and soldiers must therefore be discarded.⁵¹ There is thus no longer any impediment to accepting Loomis' position that the regular rate of pay for Athenian soldiers and sailors in the late fifth century was one drachma per day, at least from 432, when Thucydides' description of the expenses of the Potidaean campaign gives us our first explicit evidence for Athenian military rates of pay.⁵²

I would add here that there is no evidence to suggest, as some scholars have done, that the one drachma rate was a higher rate of pay offered only to some ranks or members of Athenian ships' crews, with some rowers receiving less (that is, three obols a day):⁵³ higher rates of pay were restricted to officers in

⁵¹ As must Pritchett's claim that payments to Athenian military forces in the fifth century were meant solely for rations. Since no other scholar has fully articulated an argument for the three obols per man per day position, discarding Pritchett's arguments means that reconstructions of Athenian annual naval budgets (see, e.g., French 1972, 5 and n.12 and Unz 1985, 24 n.13) and calculations of fifth century Athenian fleet costs (see, e.g., Finley 1983, 49, 51; Hölkeskamp 1997, 531) (cf. Wallace (1974, 41) expressly following Pritchett for a three obol rate, and using this rate to check the reliability of Herodotus' account of Themistocles' bribery of Adeimantos at Artemision (Hdt. 8.4–6)) which use the three obol per man per day rate must now be discarded, too (or, at least, revised).

⁵² See Loomis 1998, 39–40. It is very probable, but not certain, that Athenian sailors on the campaign to Corcyra in 433 were also paid one drachma per day: see Loomis 1998, 39. I note here that other scholars have argued that one drachma per man per day was the standard late fifth century Athenian military pay rate: see esp. Gallo 1987, 36–45; see also, e.g., Dover 1970, 293; Andrewes 1981, 97–98; Hornblower 2008, 386, 887–88. See, too, taking the one drachma view without presenting argumentation, e.g., Tänzer 1912, 73; Jones 1957, 32, 142 n.54; Morrison – Williams 1968, 258–59; Rhodes 1981, 306; Morrison – Coates – Rankov 2000, 119 (though they state at 2000, 118 that this was a high rate in 415); van Wees 2004, 238. But, as can be seen from the fact that some scholars have continued to use the three obol rate, and others still hesitate between the three obol and one drachma rate (see Gabrielsen 1994, 111 and 2007, 258 for another important scholar in recent work not choosing definitively between three obols and one drachma), none of these previous works has definitively settled the issue. It has been the aim of this article to demonstrate that Loomis' work, the most thorough presentation of the evidence and developed argument for the one drachma view, and the most detailed argument to date against Pritchett's argument, needed buttressing in order to finally close the question of fifth century Athenian military pay rates – and to have provided that buttressing.

⁵³ See Jordan 1975, 113–115 distinguishing between a normal rate of one drachma per day for the

infantry and cavalry forces (both at Athens and elsewhere),⁵⁴ while non-officer members of Athenian infantry forces received the same pay as sailors employed by the Athenians. Again, this pay was, at least for the first two decades of the Peloponnesian War, if not earlier, one drachma per man per day. It would only be in or around 412, in fact, in the straitened circumstances after the disaster of the Sicilian expedition and the beginning of the Ionian War, that the Athenians' concern about their state finances would cause them to reduce their standard rate of pay for soldiers and sailors from one drachma to three obols per day.⁵⁵

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nautai and 3 obols a day for the *hyperesia* of a ship; this view, however, is based on a misreading of 6,31,3 (which does not suggest, contra Jordan 1975, 113, that the *hyperesia* received less than a drachma per day: see Loomis 1998, 56 n.100) and a misunderstanding of the term *hyperesia* (which did not, contra Jordan 1975, 240–263, consist of slaves and freedmen: see Morrison 1984, esp. 49, 50, 52; see also Gallo 1987, 39 and n.54, 45 and n. 69 for other criticisms of Jordan's arguments; cf. Gabrielsen 1994, 248 n. 2 for other work contradicting Jordan on this point). Contra Kallet 2001, 53 ("daily rates of pay likely fluctuated in accordance with the situation and the rank of the crew") and 53 n.115 (there was in fifth century Athens no "standard wage independent of rank and status") (cf. similar views at Rawlings 2007, 115–116), 6,31,3 does not represent evidence for different rates of pay for different sections of trireme crews, but simply the common practice of the payment of inducements to some men (on top of their state pay) by trierarchs to attract better quality crews: see Gabrielsen 1994, 121–122 for discussion and examples. Rosivach's contention (1985, 52–53) that the one drachma rate was for "year-round" sailors while the three obol rate was for "seasonal" sailors misses the points that the two rates are never simultaneously attested, and that the three obol rate is explicitly described as being caused by financial difficulties (see last sentence of main text above); in addition, he can cite no evidence to substantiate his notion. Note, finally, that all calculations by contemporary authors in the classical period of state pay for Athenian trireme crews proceed on the basis of equal pay for each of the two hundred crew members (Morrison 1984, 55), demonstrating that there was equal pay for all members of Athenian trireme crews.

⁵⁴ See last note *fin.* on the equal pay of trireme crews; see Burrer 2008, 79–80 for infantry forces.

⁵⁵ See, e.g., Gallo 1987, 40–44; Loomis 1998, 44–45; van Wees 2004, 238 and n.30.

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SAPPHO'S "TITHONUS POEM": THE SOLACE OF IMMORTALITY

ΛΟΥΚΑΣ ΠΑΠΑΔΙΜΙΤΡΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ

ὔμμες πεδὰ Μοῖσαν ἰ]οκ[ό]λπων κάλα δῶρα, παῖδες,
σπουδάσδετε καὶ τὰ]ν φιλάοιδον λιγύραν χελύνναν·

ἔμοι δ' ἄπαλον πρίν] ποτ' [ἔ]οντα χροά γῆρας ἤδη
ἐπέλλαβε, λεῦκαι δ' ἐγ]έοντο τρίχες ἐκ μελαίναν·

5 βάρυς δέ μ' ὁ [θ]ῦμος πεπόηται, γόνα δ' [ο]ὐ φέροισι,
τὰ δὴ ποτα λαίψηρ' ἔον ὄρησθ' ἴσα νεβρίοισι.

τὰ <μὲν> στεναχίσδω θαμέως· ἀλλὰ τί κεν ποεῖην;
ἀγήραον ἄνθρωπον ἔοντ' οὐ δύνατον γένεσθαι.

10 καὶ γάρ π[ο]τα Τίθωνον ἔφαντο βροδόπαχυν Αὔων
ἔρωι διελάθεισαν βάμεν' εἰς ἔσχατα γᾶς φέροισα[ν],

ἔοντα [κ]άλον καὶ νέον, ἀλλ' αὐτον ὕμως ἔμαρψε
χρόνωι πόλιον γῆρας, ἔχ[ο]ντ' ἀθανάταν ἄκοιτιν.¹

Since the publication of this poem in 2004² much scholarly controversy has arisen not only concerning its textual restoration, especially over the matter of which are the most suitable supplements of the first two lines, but also regarding

¹ The text is that of West 2005, while in line 10 I adopt the conjecture of Tsantsanoglou 2009.

² See Gronewald and Daniel 2004a and 2004b.

the question of whether this fragment constitutes a complete poem, ending in line 12, or whether it originally incorporated four more mutilated verses found in an *Oxyrynchus papyrus* (P. Oxy. 1787). A middle solution postulates that both versions of the poem were available during antiquity in different contexts.³ The purpose of this paper is twofold: by using exclusively aesthetic criteria I first intend to adduce additional evidence which supports Ellen Greene's contention that Sappho's use of the Tithonus' exemplum implicitly articulates her hope for poetic immortality,⁴ something which constitutes a solace in her old age, and secondly I intend to demonstrate that the poem most likely ends at line 12. Along the way I will also discuss which of the proposed supplements of the first two lines is more in accordance with the poem's internal logic, as I perceive it to be.

The poem, as reconstructed by West, begins with an address to a group of young persons of unspecified gender, before proceeding into a detailed account of the declining effects that old age exercises upon the speaker. Whether we are inclined to accept West's supplements or not, an antithesis is thus established between the person addressing this group of people and the group itself. This antithesis, in turn, renders more likely the possibility that the poetic "I" speaks from a position of authority and is actually attempting to teach its audience something, especially if we bear in mind that the subject that initially preoccupies it – the presents of the Muses and artistic creation in general – is something to which Sappho has devoted her entire life.⁵ The message that the speaking "I" intends to convey is apparently articulated in the maxim in line 8: it is impossible for man to avoid old age. The mythological paradigm that follows seems to strengthen this proverbial truth; even Tithonus, who was carried by Dawn to the ends of the world, did not escape old age despite the fact that he had an immortal consort. Judging from this superficial structure, the poem is characterized by an air of restrained resignation: there is nothing that mortals can actually do in the face of upcoming old age. However, the initial expectation that the poet intends to impart to her audience a "truth" concerning artistic creation, a truth whose weight is increased by the presumed wisdom of her age and experience, remains largely unfulfilled, as the poem seems to support a platitude. This apparent fact

³ See Boedeker 2009, Lardinois 2009 and Nagy 2009.

⁴ Greene 2009.

⁵ And it is precisely this reason which urges us to identify the 'I' of the poem with Sappho.

renders more likely the possibility that the poem originally contained the four mutilated lines of the Oxyrynchus papyrus. Nevertheless, if we pay closer attention to the twelve lines and try to define more closely and systematically the relations between the different parts of the poem, we will soon realize that the first twelve lines may well constitute an entity.

I must state from the outset that the principle through which I am operating is that repetitions in Sappho, as well as in the majority of ancient Greek poets, are almost always intentional and meaningful. It is their combination which essentially creates a subtext that implicitly conveys the message that the poet imparts to her audience. And the repetitions in these twelve lines suggest, first of all, an identification between the speaking "I" or Sappho and Tithonus. Just like Sappho, Tithonus is overtaken by old age (γήρας; cf. 3 to 12), whereas there was a time (ποτα; cf. 3 and 6 to 9) that both of them were young.⁶ The similarity of their situations is strengthened by the further use of the participle ἔοντα (cf. 3 to 11). The recurrence of these three words is, I believe, unmistakable evidence that the poetess intends to somehow align herself with the consort of Dawn. Furthermore, both of them are implicitly linked with the proverbial truth expressed in line 8 through the repetition of the participle (ἔοντα, 8) and the use of the adjective ἀγήραον. And while the initial impression is that their point of identification is old age, there is another –more implicit– parallelism between the speaker and the mythological figure that completes the picture and renders their relation to each other much more meaningful, a parallelism which is established by the repetition of the adjective "beautiful" (cf. κάλα, 1 to κάλον, 11); over her entire life Sappho has tended over the beautiful gifts of the Muses, while Tithonus was carried by Eos to the ends of the world and acquired an immortal spouse due to his beauty.

Consequently, both Sappho and Tithonus were somehow related with deities, Sappho with the Muses and Tithonus with Eos.⁷ The point of this persistent identification is revealed in the very last phrase of the poem. Due to his beauty Tithonus won an *immortal* wife; at the same time, the fact that he was

⁶ The parallelism between the adverbs in the cases of Sappho and Tithonus has already been noted by Stehle 2009.

⁷ However, we should recognize that these are very different relationships: the one musical between a (mortal) woman and virgin goddesses, the other erotic between a (mortal) man and a goddess-lover.

brought to the ends of the world (10) is meant as a mark of distinction from the rest of humankind.⁸ It was also well known from mythology that despite his old age Tithonus won immortality. Similarly, Sappho expresses in a reticent and most implicit manner her wish that the service she has offered to the Muses will ensure her a similar result, immortality. And it is this precise wish which constitutes her greatest solace in old age. It is also this precise wish that justifies her initial exhortation to the young people to pursue the gifts of the Muses. Thus, I believe that West's supplements of the first two lines are more in accordance with the poem's internal logic, as I have outlined it, than those of Gronewald and Daniel or those of Lidov.⁹ The same is true for the propositions of Fernández-Delgado.¹⁰ What is needed at this point is – I think – an exhortation of the poetess to the young people whom she addresses to preoccupy themselves with art because, when they reach her age and will experience themselves its debilitating effects, they will find a fulfilling consolation in the hope of immortality. Moreover, the fact that Sappho is now in a position to teach the younger generation constitutes by itself an additional solace.¹¹ In this context, the suggestion of Janko that Sappho alludes to Tithonus' subsequent transformation into a cicada¹² is not in itself implausible, but it is neither necessary, since Sappho has taken so much pain through repeated verbal repetitions to illustrate the fact that at this point of her life she considers herself similar to Tithonus not only with regard to old age, but also – and more importantly – through her connection to deities that also have the capacity to confer to mortals a form of immortality, as Eos had done for Tithonus. After all, an additional link between the Muses and Dawn is established through the epithets used to refer to them, epithets which both involve certain kinds of flowers (cf. ἰοκόλπων, 1 to βροδοπάχυν, 9).

⁸ Cf. Zellner 2009, 51 and Brown 2011, 22.

⁹ Gronewald and Daniel 2004a propose φέρω τάδε Μοῖσαν ἰοκ[ό]λπων κάλα δῶρα, παῖδες, / λάβοισα πάλιν τὰ]ν Φιλαΐδων λιγύραν χελύνναν, while Lidov 2009 reads νῦν δὴ μ' ἔτι Μοῖσαν ἰοκ[ό]λπων κάλα δῶρα, παῖδες, (or νῦν μ' ἤδεα Μοῖσαν...) / φίλημμι δὲ φάνα]ν φιλαΐδων λιγύραν χελύνναν.

¹⁰ The conjecture of Fernández-Delgado 2014 is Δέκεσθε τὰ Μοῖσαν ἰοκ[ό]λπων κάλα δῶρα, παῖδες, / ὄρχησθε δὲ κατὰ τὰ]ν φιλαΐδων λιγύραν χελύνναν.

¹¹ The fact that Sappho acts as a teacher has already been acknowledged by Hardie 2005, 29.

¹² Janko 2005; cf. Rawles 2006, 6–7.

Thus, Sappho starts from a position of stated infirmity, especially concerning the effects that old age exercises upon her soul (πεπότηται, 5), goes through a stage of temporary perplexity in her helplessness (ἀλλὰ τί κεν ποείην; 7), only to give the solution to her problem through the ποίημα she has composed. By composing this poem Sappho still brings beauty to the lives of young people by conferring to them her secret about the way that immortality can be obtained by mortals and, at the same time, consoles herself. At this point, it would be useful to contrast the suggestive expression of her hope for poetic immortality, in accordance as it is with the prudence of her advanced age, to the fragment in which she proudly and antagonistically asserts her superiority to another woman who does not possess her artistic skills (fr. 55).¹³ Consequently, it is not improbable that the latter poem had been composed by Sappho at a younger age.

Now that we have analyzed the poem as it stands in the Cologne papyrus, let us examine how the four lines of the Oxyrynchus fragment might relate to it, whether they are adding anything substantial to the meaning which we have already defined. Again our main criterion of evaluation will be verbal repetition. The lines are as follows:

]ιμέναν νομίσδει
]αις ὀπάσδοι
ἔγω δὲ φίλημμ' ἀβροσύναν, ...] τοῦτο καί μοι
τὸ λά[μπρον ἔρος τῶελίω καὶ τὸ κά]λον λέ[λ]ογχε

According to this fragment, delicacy, which Sappho adores, and love has obtained for her the brightness and beauty of the sun. The verb φίλημμ' in the third line of the Oxyrynchus fragment echoes the epithet φιλάοιδον of line two of our poem, connecting thus delicacy with the art of Sappho, which is inextricably linked in its turn with the feeling of love, if we are to consider the two fragments as parts of the same poem. And indeed, love has been the main focus of Sappho's poetry, as we have come to know it through our surviving fragments. On the other hand, the beauty (κόλον) of the Sun reminds us of the beautiful presents of the Muses (κάλα δῶρα, 1), as well as of the beauty of Tithonus (ἔοντα κάλον,

¹³ Sappho also speaks about her immortality as a singer-performer in fr. 32, 65 and 147. See Lardinois 2008, who makes the interesting contention that Sappho first of all expected the *performances* of her poetry to be remembered in the future and not so much their recording in writing.

11), accentuating in this way the latent idea that her poetic merit confers immortality to her, an idea which has already been adequately stressed. In this context, the four lines appear as rather redundant, if they are to be taken as a continuation of the Tithonus poem. However, it could be objected that it might have been Sappho's purpose to give an additional emphasis to this notion, although such an emphasis would have been more plausible if an antithesis had been established between the brightness of the sun and the darkness of impending death. But such an antithesis does not exist in the poem. Another problem of the association between the two fragments arises through the recurrence of the word "love" (ἔρως), which had been previously used to refer to Dawn's feelings for Tithonus (ἔρωι διελάθεισαν, 10). Consequently, Sappho would have intended to relate herself not only to Tithonus, but also to Eos, a prospect which seems rather self-contradictory. The repetition might suggest that, like Dawn, Sappho either has somehow elevated her object(s) of desire or has lost something that was beautiful and of value to her. In the first case, the idea would complement her initial thesis, although it could not efface the redundancy entirely, while, in the second, the suggestion would compromise the solace she can find in her hope for immortality. And it is precisely this incongruity that renders the connection of the two fragments somewhat problematic.

In sum, I believe that the two fragments were probably not connected in any kind of context, as their internal logic is rather different. Of course, we must bear in mind the fact that the lines of the Oxyrynchus papyrus are not preserved in their entirety and that they might have contained information that was more compatible with the content and the logic of the Cologne papyrus. Nevertheless, the examination of both the Tithonus poem as it is preserved in the twelve lines and its purported sequel through the use of the aesthetic principle of verbal repetition has adequately demonstrated that their connection is precarious. The suggestion that Sappho, similarly to Tithonus, has laid her claim on immortality due to the beauty she has offered to the deities is more forcefully articulated through the last phrase of line twelve, which constitutes a more fitting climax to her implicit argumentation.¹⁴

Livadia, Greece

¹⁴ I would like to thank the anonymous referees of *Arctos* for their helpful suggestions.

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THE NOMENCLATURE OF THE POET AUSONIUS

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In the past, several Roman historical and literary persons appearing in literary (as contrasted to epigraphical) sources have had their names reproduced erroneously by early modern and later scholars. Titus Labienus, for instance, known especially as having been the lieutenant of Caesar during the Gallic war, was for a long time, perhaps until the 19th century, commonly known as "Titus Attius Labienus", apparently because *Labienus* was not considered suitable as the family name of a Roman¹ and also because it was thought that a Roman should have had three names. One wonders, therefore, what seventeenth- and eighteenth-century scholars thought about such persons as *Marcus Antonius*, *Sextus Pompeius*, *Aulus Vitellius*, etc., for whom a "third" name, i.e. a cognomen, is nowhere attested and who, of course, did not have one.

Sextus Propertius, the Augustan poet, was long known as "Sextus Aurelius Propertius",² the reason for this having been that in some manuscripts

* Thanks are due to two anonymous referees.

¹ There is an interesting discussion of this in M. De Chambort's "Dissertation sur Titus Labienus", in *Mémoires de littérature tirés des registres de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, Tome 10 (1736) 98–110 (available on the Internet through Google Books). De Chambort observes on p. 100 that Sigonius had established the fact that "les noms de toutes les familles Romaines estoient terminez en *ius* & non en *us*", and accordingly, "Cette réflexion a fait, que Paul Manuce ... a découvert que *Titus Labienus* se nommoit *Atius*, & qu'il estoit de la Maison *Atia* ou *Attia*, & il l'appelle toujours *Titus Attius Labienus*." On p. 101, De Chambort observes that there was at least one scholar who was of another opinion: "Ces raisons n'avoient pas empêché Fulvius Ursinus ... de les négliger, & de soutenir que notre Titus Labienus estoit sorti d'une famille ... qu'il nomme *Labiena*"; but "cette erreur a esté corrigée par Charles Patin dans la nouvelle édition qu'il a donnée du Recueil de Fulvius Ursinus".

² Thus, e.g., in *Corpus omnium veterum poetarum latinorum cum eorumdem italica versione. Tomus vigesimus secundus, Continet Sexti Aurelii Propertii carmina* (Mediolani in Regia Curia 1743);

the poet is referred to as "Propertius Aurelius Nauta" (one wonders what had happened to *Nauta* and why the order of the names *Propertius* and *Aurelius* was changed).³

However, in serious scholarship, these persons have been referred to for a long time by their correct names T. Labienus and Sex. Propertius,⁴ and perhaps the day will be not too far off when even Gaius Maecenas, son of Lucius (Maecenas) and from the tribe *Pomptina*, will be called *C. Maecenas* rather than "*C. Cilnius Maecenas*" even by those scholars (or museum officials)⁵ who still refuse to see Tacitus' *Cilnius Maecenas*, contradicted by all other sources, as a mistake of sorts.⁶

But there still remains Ausonius, perhaps best known as a poet, but also someone who had a successful career within the imperial administration and consul in AD 379. The final part of the poet's name is always given as *Magnus Ausonius*, but there appears to be no agreement on what preceded, as his first

Sextus Aurelius Propertius, *Werke übersetzt von J. H. Voss* (Braunschweig 1830); Sextus Aurelius Propertius, *Elegien im Versmaß der Urschrift übersetzt ... von Dr. W.A.B. Herzberg* (Stuttgart 1838); A. Simonetti, *La città natale di Sesto Aur. Properzio* (Spoleto 1908; referred to by Schanz & Hosius, see n. 3). Cf. below n. 4.

³ For "Propertius Aurelius Nauta" see, e.g., M. Schanz & C. Hosius, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* II (1935) 194.

⁴ "Sextus Aurelius Propertius" still has a life of its own on the Internet, of course, and a Google search produces many results. Note, e.g., "Sextus Aurelius Propertius (deutsch Properz; * ca. 48 v. Chr.; † 15 v. Chr.)", in the beginning of the article on Propertius in the German Wikipedia.

⁵ I am here thinking of the archaeological museum of Arezzo (i.e., Arretium, where Maecenas came from), which calls itself *Museo Archeologico Nazionale Gaio Cilnio Mecenate* (<http://www.museostataliarezzo.it/museo-archeologico-gaio-cilnio>).

⁶ For the correct name of Maecenas, *C. Maecenas L. f. Pom(ptina)*, see *CIL* VI 21771 = *ILS* 7848; and his freedmen all have the item *C. Maecenas* (and not "*C. Cilnius*") preceding their cognomina (e.g., *C. Maecenas Maecenatis ipsius l(ibertus) Lysias*, *CIL* X 2687). That *Maecenas* was Augustus' equestrian friend's family name was already established in the 19th century (see *PIR*¹ M 30). For an explanation of *Cilnius* (the manuscript in fact reads "*Cillinium*") in Tacitus 6, 11, see, e.g., *PIR*² M 37, where it is suggested that Maecenas may have been a descendant of the Cilnii from Arretium through his mother. The nomenclature "*Cilnius Maecenas*" has now for no clear reason been revived by R. Duncan-Jones, *Power and Privilege in Roman Society* (2016) 99 with n. 66; according to Duncan-Jones, the man in *ILS* 7848 is someone else. However, the fact, not commented upon by Duncan-Jones, that the freedmen of Augustus' friend have the nomen *Maecenas* in any case settles the question.

name is variably referred to as either *Decimus* or *Decimius*. Naturally, one may say that the exact form of the name is not necessarily of any great interest, and that is surely why some scholars dismiss the whole question by saying that the name was either *Decimus* or *Decimius*.⁷ There is, moreover, the possibility, favoured by many scholars, of using just the abbreviation *D.*, which could be said to be the abbreviation either of *Decimus* or of *Decimius* (but which is, of course, in normal usage the abbreviation only of *Decimus*, not of *Decimius*). Calling the poet "*D. Magnus Ausonius*" in fact seems a popular solution to the question,⁸ also by those scholars who say that the name may perhaps have been *Decimius* rather than *Decimus*.⁹ But then there are also scholars who spell out the whole name. Unless I am not mistaken, those with a philological background tend to use the form *Decimus* (sometimes implying this form by referring to the poet in the genitive as *Decimi Magni Ausonii*, with the genitive ending in *-ii* applied only to *Ausonius*),¹⁰ whereas historians perhaps more often seem to use the form

⁷ E. g., J. Gruber, *D. Magnus Ausonius, "Mosella"* (2013, 39) introduces the poet as "Decimus (oder Decimius) Magnus Ausonius"; in n. 39 the author admits that Coşkun's book (cf. below) has made Decimius seem more "wahrscheinlich".

⁸ Note, e.g., "D. Magnus Ausonius Burdigalensis" *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, Index librorum scriptorum inscriptionum, ex quibus exempla afferuntur. Editio altera* (MXM) 33.

⁹ E. g. W.-L. Liebermann, in R. Herzog (ed.), *Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike V. Die lateinische Literatur von 284 bis 374 n. Chr.* (1989) p. 268 § 554, in the section "D. Magnus Ausonius". In n. 1, it is said that the name should be *Decimius*, not *Decimus*, with a reference to *PLRE* 1, 140, but also to R. P. H. Green, *BICS* 25 (1978) 26 with n. 32 (on p. 27), where, however, Ausonius is said to have been called *Decimus* (p. 26) "[o]r Decimius" (p. 27 n. 32). In the *Neue Pauly* the poet is introduced by the same author as "Ausonius, Decimus Magnus".

¹⁰ For a selection of scholars referring to the poet as *Decimus*, see A. Coşkun, *Die gens Ausoniana an der Macht. Untersuchungen zu Decimius Magnus Ausonius und seiner Familie* (Prosopographica et Genealogica Vol. 8, Oxford 2002) 182f. n. 234 (note that M. Heinzlmann, "Gallische Prosopographie 260–527", in *Francia* 10 (1982) 531–718 – a journal not available to me – is said to reject explicitly on p. 590 the form *Decimius*). Add, e.g., S. Prete, *Decimi Magni Ausonii Burdigalensis opera* (BT 1978), with the nominative *Decimus* used on p. LXV; R. A. Kaster, *Guardians of Language* (1988) 247; R. P. H. Green, *Decimi Magni Ausonii opera* (OCT 1999); N. Rücker, *Ausonius an Paulinus von Nola: Textgeschichte und literarische Form der Briefgedichte 21 und 22 des Decimus Magnus Ausonius* (*Hypomnemata* 190, 2012); P. Dräger, in his three volumes of *Decimus Magnus Ausonius. Sämtliche Werke* (2011, 2012, 2015); E. Cazzuffi, *Decimi Magni Ausonii Ludus septem sapientum. Introduzione, testo, traduzione e commento* (*Spudasmata* 160, 2014, in the title); J. Hernández Lobato, *Gnomon* 88 (2016) 124 (in a review of Cazzuffi).

Decimius.¹¹ However, even some historians, whom one would expect to have a firmer grasp of Roman names than pure philologists, have favoured *Decimus*.¹² Seeing that even Coşkun (above n. 10), a historian who uses the form *Decimius* in the title of his book and elsewhere, refers to the form *Decimius* as being the correct one only "in aller Wahrscheinlichkeit" (above n. 11), I think that the question of Ausonius' first name needs to be settled once and for all and this I what I aim to do in what follows.

Let us start with a look at the evidence for *Decimus* on the one hand, and for *Decimius* on the other. The evidence for *Decimus*, such as it is, consists of the full name of Ausonius appearing in some manuscripts at the beginning of the *Mosella* and at that of the *Caesares* and in some other places,¹³ this full name being in each case rendered in the genitive as *Decimi Magni Ausonii*. The evidence for *Decimius* is on the other hand based on the fact that in the nomenclature of Ausonius' son the name is rendered as *Decimius* and moreover on the fact that (as I hope to show in this paper) *Decimius Magnus Ausonius* is the only plausible form of the name.

¹¹ See Coşkun (above n. 10), *ibid.* (a more correct reference to D. Nellen's book would be p. 57–9 no. 10). Add, e.g., J. Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court (A.D. 364–425)* (1975) 431 (in the index); J. Fitz, *L'administration des provinces pannoniennes sous le Bas-Empire romain* (Collection Latomus 181, 1983) p. 43 (Coşkun mistakenly says that Fitz used the form *Decimus*); T. Schmidt, H-Soz-Kult 21.02.2006. (<http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/rezensionen/2006-1-118.pdf>), in a review of Coşkun's book. Coşkun himself uses the form *Decimius* but refers (on p. 182) to this form as being the correct one only "in aller Wahrscheinlichkeit". *Decimius* is (of course) the only form used in the *PLRE* entry (vol. I p. 140f. Ausonius no. 7).

¹² Thus, e.g., of those mentioned by Coşkun (above n. 10), we have O. Seeck in his edition of Symmachus (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Auctores Antiqui* 6,1, 1883) p. LXXVI (in the stemma Ausoniorum) and K. F. Stroheker, *Der senatorische Adel im spätantiken Gallien* (148) 150. Add (surprisingly) L. Pietri & M. Heijmans, *Prosopographie de la Gaule Chrétienne (314–614)*, vol. I (2013) 287.

¹³ For details, see the edition of S. Prete p. 170 (*Mosella*) and 202 (*Caesares*), the manuscripts in these cases being the S. Gallensis 899 and the Bruxellensis 5370. *Decimi* is also found at the beginning of the *Versus Paschales* in the Harleianus 2613 (see Prete p. 82) and at that of the *Genethliacus ad Ausonium nepotem* in the Parisinus Latinus 8500 (see Prete p. 70), which is notable as this manuscript at other places has *Decii* (see Prete p. 82, 193, 201). *Decii* or *Decius* are also found in some other manuscripts registered by Prete on p. 82 and 913. For the form of Ausonius' first name cf. also, e.g., the edition of C. (= K.) Schenkl, *D. Magni Ausonii opuscula* (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Auctores Antiqui* 5, 2, 1883) p. V.

The full name of Ausonius' son was *Decimius Hilarianus Hesperius*, but he is sometimes referred to simply as *Decimius Hesperius* (see *PLRE I Hesperius* 2). He held several high offices, of which the proconsulate of Africa in AD 376–377 is of interest in this context, as he is mentioned in several inscriptions set up during the proconsulate. In many of these, the names are in the genitive, as the names of fourth-century African governors tend to be, as they are often mentioned in formulations of the type *proconsulatu* + genitive, but there are at least two inscriptions in which the names are in the nominative or in the dative and in which the proconsul's first name, or at least the end of it, has been preserved:

- *CIL VIII 17519 = ILAG. I 257* (Calama): [*Deci*]m*ius Hesperius*;
- *IRT 526* (Lepcis Magna) *Decimio Esperio*.¹⁴

One author in favour of "*Decimus*" says that the son's name is "[t]he only evidence for '*Decimius*'",¹⁵ but to me this evidence seems pretty decisive. It does not seem a good idea to assume that the father of for example a *Marcus* (say, *Marcus Philippus*, the stepfather of the future emperor Augustus) could in fact have been not a *Marcus* but a *Marcus* (*Marcus Philippus senior* thus becoming *Marcus Philippus*), or that the correct form of the name of the father of a man called *Tullius* could have been *Tullus* (as in the nomenclature of the king).

As for the genitive *Decimi Magni Ausonii* in the manuscripts, this can in my view hardly be regarded as evidence at all, for it is absolutely normal to find both genitives in *-ii* and genitives in *-i* applied to names and words ending in the nominative in *-ius* in medieval manuscripts.¹⁶ But if there is a significance in *Decimi* appearing with the ending *-i* and *Ausonii* appearing with ending *-ii*, this can be explained by assuming that the manuscripts reproduce the name in a form going back to late Antiquity. In this period the normal genitive of family

¹⁴ A. Saastamoinen, *The Phraseology of Latin Building Inscriptions in Roman North Africa* (2010) 514 no. 765 cites an inscription from Vaga with the proconsul appearing in the nominative as *Decimius Hilarianus H[esper]rius*. The inscription is there said to be identical with *CIL VIII 14398*, but in this inscription, the proconsul is referred to in the genitive, not in the nominative. Perhaps we are dealing with a misunderstanding here.

¹⁵ Kaster (above n. 10) 247.

¹⁶ I am grateful to my colleague Anneli Luhtala for this information. Coşkun (above n.10) 183 n. 235 also points out that the form of the genitive is not of any significance.

names of the type *Decimius* was *-i*, whereas the normal genitive of *signa* (cf. below) such as *Ausonius* or (as in the case of the son) *Hesperius* seems to have been preferably *-ii*. That is why we observe the name of the proconsul mentioned above being rendered in the genitive as *Decimi Hilariani Hesperii* in the inscription from Thugga, *CIL VIII 26568* = M. Khanoussi & L. Maurin (eds.), *Dougga. Fragments d'histoire. Choix d'inscriptions latines éditées, traduites et commentées* (2000) no. 43. Similarly, the *signa* of two fourth-century senatorial *Turcii* appear at the beginning of their inscriptions as *Asterii* (genitive), whereas the father and grandfather of these men are referred to in the genitive in the same inscriptions as *L. Turci Aproniani* and *L. Turci Secundi*.¹⁷ The *signa* of fourth- and fifth-century senators in H. Dessau's *ILS* are almost invariably given the genitive ending *-ii*.¹⁸ That *signa* were thought of as needing to be furnished with the genitive ending *-ii* rather than with the ending *-i* is also very clearly illustrated by the fact that especially in Lepcis Magna, but also elsewhere, even names ending not in *-ius* but *-us* could be furnished with the genitive ending *-ii* if put at the beginning of an inscription in the position of *signa*, as, e.g., in *IRT 475, Flavianii; ... Nicomacho Flaviano* etc.¹⁹

I referred above to the names *Ausonius* and *Hesperius* as *signa* which is in fact not entirely correct, as we are, to be more precise, dealing with names which in the origin were *signa* but were not necessarily thought of as such in the fourth century. Both *Ausonius* – if we accept that his first name was *Decimius* – and his son have, in addition to many other fourth-century persons (cf. below), a name which consists of (in this order) a nomen ending in *-ius*, a cognomen ending in *-us*, and a third name ending (again) in *-ius*: *Decimius Magnus Ausonius, Decimius Hilarianus Hesperius*. I have tried to describe the development of this

¹⁷ *ILS* 1229. 1230 = *CIL VI 1768* (the same phenomenon in the inscription of the same senator 1769). 1772.

¹⁸ *ILS* 1224a, 1224b, 1224c (in the case of this particular senator note also *AE* 1977, 198), 1225, 1238, 1240, 1256, 1257, 126, 1281, 1282 (the instances with the ending *-i* are 1226, 1239). Also, e.g., in *CIL VI 1675. 1706. 1778*.

¹⁹ Also, e.g., *IRT* 562. 563 (*Nili ... Nilo*), 565 (*Nepotianii ... Nepotiano*), 571, 574, 575. Elsewhere: *CIL VI 1722* (Rome, *Honoratianii ... Honoratiano*); *AE* 1968, 115 (Puteoli, *Aemilianii ... Aemiliano*). Cf. on this phenomenon A. Chastagnol, in A. Donati (ed.), *La terza età dell'epigrafia* (1988) 40; A. Cameron, *ZPE* 108 (1995) 256f.

type of nomenclature in an earlier study;²⁰ in order to illustrate Ausonius' names it will suffice to offer a summary of my observations made there.

From the mid-second century AD onwards one observes the appearance of additional names known as *signa*, that is names usually ending in *-ius* not identical with any of the "official" names of a person and used, it appears, in a different way. From the correspondence of Fronto, writing in the middle of the second century, one can see that at least in this period *signa* – if a person had one – could be used in addressing friends or colleagues.²¹ A little later, in about the Severan period, *signa* also start to appear in inscriptions, thus clearly gaining a more prominent role as a part of the nomenclature of a person. The most common way of indicating a *signum* in an inscription in which a person is mentioned in the dative is to put it in the genitive²² at the beginning of an inscription as, e.g., in *CIL VI 1507* cf. *AE 1998, 149* (Rome), *Aconti; / L. Ranio Optato c(larissimo) v(iro), co(n)s(uli) etc.*²³

This habit of adding the *signum*, but presenting it detached from the other names becomes more common during the third century, and in the fourth century a significant number of the inscriptions in honour of senators begin with the *signum*.²⁴ But in the very same period one observes *signa* being integrated into

²⁰ O. Salomies, "Réflexions sur le développement de l'onomastique de l'aristocratie romaine du Bas-Empire", in C. Badel & C. Settapani (eds.), *Les Stratégies familiales dans l'Antiquité tardive, Actes du Colloque des 5–7 févr. 2009 de l'USR 710 du CNRS* (Paris 2012) 8ff. For a comprehensive study of *signa* (referred to as "club names" on p. 43), *supernomina* and other names of this type, see I. Kajanto, *Supernomina: A Study in Latin Epigraphy* (1966).

²¹ See Fronto p. 188 v.d.H., where Fronto starts a letter to Cornelius Repentinus with *Cornelio Repentino Fronto salutem*, but goes on to address the man as *frater Contuccius (fecisti, frater Contucci etc.)*; in another letter (p. 174 v.d.H.), Claudius Iulianus is addressed as *mi Naucelli carissime*. For a letter of the same period attested epigraphically, see *CIL VI 32398a = ILS 8380* (of AD 155), which starts with *Velius Fidus Iubentio Celso collegae suo salutem* but where Fidus, a pontifex, goes on to address his colleague Celsus as *Desideri frater*. We thus have instances of three *signa*: *Contuccius* (Repentinus), *Naucellius* (Iulianus) and *Desiderius* (Celsus).

²² In some cases one could also think of a vocative, but the fourth-century instances of *signa* ending in *-ii* (above n. 18) and other evidence (cf. Kajanto [above n. 20] 66f.) indicate that normally the genitive is meant at least in inscriptions honouring senators and equestrians.

²³ In *PIR*² R 24, it is suggested that this man could be attributed to the time of Severus or of Caracalla.

²⁴ Cf., e.g., the senatorial inscriptions collected in H. Dessau's *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (above n. 18).

the "normal" nomenclature and thus being presented as part of a person's regular nomenclature in the same case as the other names. One can observe this evolution in the case of the two Betitii Perpetui, father and son, senators in the time of Constantine (*PLRE* I Perpetuus 1 and 2). A bilingual inscription from Rome, set up by the Sicilian βουλαί and people, in honour of the father, begins as follows:

Arzygii; ... Βετίτιο[v] Περπέτουον τὸν λαμπρότατον πάτρωνα κτλ.
(*CIL* VI 31961 = *ILS* 8843 = *IGUR*, 60).

From the wording we have to conclude that we are dealing with a man called Betitius Perpetuus who also had the *signum* *Arzygius*, here rendered in the genitive. But an inscription in honour of this man's son presents this man's name in the following form:

Betitio Perpetuo Arzygio v(iro) c(larissimo) etc. (*CIL* VI 1702 = 31904 = *ILS* 1251); it thus appears that the father's *signum* has now been integrated into the son's nomenclature, having become a second cognomen.

The same phenomenon is illustrated by those cases in which one observes the *signum* being treated sometimes as a *signum* and sometimes as a cognomen, depending on the source, within the nomenclature of the same man. For some instances, note that Ceionius Iulianus (*PLRE* I Iulianus 26) is as pro-consul of Africa in c. 330 addressed as *Kamenii; consularis familiae viro adque a parentibus patrono Ceionio Iuliano* etc. in *CIL* VIII 25525, where *Kamenius* is explicitly identified as a *signum*, but referred to as *Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius* as the urban prefect in 333 by the *Chronographus anni 354* (*MGH* AA IX p. 68). Note also that Q. Flavius Maesius Egnatius Lollianus (*PLRE* I Lollianus 5), consul in 355, is as urban prefect in 342 called *Fl. Lollianus Mavortius* in the same chronicle (*ibid.*), whereas the name *Mavortius* is in all inscriptions of the same man placed in the genitive as a detached *signum* in front of the other names.²⁵ A man known only from epigraphical sources (and already mentioned above), L. Turcius Secundus (*PLRE* I Secundus 6), *corrector* of Flaminia and Picenum in 340/350, is once addressed as *Asterii; L. Turcio Secundo c(larissimo) v(iro)* (*CIL* VI 1772 = *ILS* 1230), but in other inscriptions he is called (*L.*) *Turcius Secundus Asterius*.²⁶ The senator and poet Rufius Festus Avienius (*PLRE* I Festus 12) is called thus in the manuscripts, but an inscription from Bulla Regia from

²⁵ *ILS*, 1224a (*Mavortii; Q. Flavio Maesio Egnatio Lolliano c(larissimo) v(iro) etc.*), 1224b, 1224c, 1225 (some of the names are omitted here), *AE*, 1977, 198-199.

²⁶ *CIL* XI 6218 = *ILS* 706; *CIL* XIV 3582 (= *ILS* 729), 3583; *CIL* VI 1773; 31118.

the time of this man's (not precisely datable) proconsulship of Africa renders his names as follows: *Abienii; ... Postumio Rufio Festo* (*AE* 2002, 1676).

But the most common type of nomenclature in the fourth century is surely that in which a name which must have originally come into existence as a *signum* has already been fully integrated in the complete nomenclature as a second cognomen. For some instances, note, e.g., men such as Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius consul in 379 and Anicius Hermogenianus Olybrius consul in 395 (*PLRE* I Olybrius 3 and 2).²⁷ This type of nomenclature is also attested for some literary men, e.g., Latinius Pacatus Drepanius (*PLRE* I Drepanius).²⁸ Furthermore, it must be stressed that names of exactly this type are attested for a number of persons in the vicinity of Ausonius himself; there is Ausonius' maternal uncle Aemilius Magnus Arborius (*PLRE* I Arborius 4; Coşkun [above n. 10] 128-30; Ausonius' first cognomen seems to have been borrowed from this relative), Ausonius' son, already mentioned above, Decimius Hilarianus Hesperius (*PLRE* I Hesperius 2); and Ausonius' father-in-law, Attusius Lucanus Talisius (*PLRE* I Talisius 2).

These examples show on the one hand that names of the type *Decimius Magnus Ausonius* were common precisely in the time of Ausonius and, on the other, how this type had developed. If we assume that Ausonius' first name, i.e. his nomen, was *Decimius*, everything thus falls into place.

On the other hand, a name such as *Decimus Magnus Ausonius* would be unparalleled in contemporary nomenclature.²⁹

²⁷ For some other instances see my article cited in n. 20 above, p. 20f. Within some nomenclatures, the cognomen in *-ius* is collocated between the nomen and the cognomen ending in *-us*; thus, e.g., in the case of Virius Audentius Aemilianus (*PLRE* I Aemilianus 4) and Vettius Agorius Praetextatus (*PLRE* I Praetextatus 1); cf. art. cit. 21.

²⁸ But this man, too, has had to face the misfortune of being sometimes called not *Latinius* but *Latinus*; note, e.g., C. E. V. Nixon, in Id. & B. Saylor Rogers, *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors. The Panegyrici Latini* (1994) 437, "Latinus (or Latinius) Pacatus Drepanius", cf. n. 9, "The genitive 'Latini' in the manuscript title would seem to admit either"; also C. E. V. Nixon, *Pacatus. Panegyric to the Emperor Theodosius* (1987) 3 and n. 1. For "Latinus" see also, e.g., J. Delmulle, *BMCRe* 2015.12.22.

²⁹ Abbreviated names of Republican patricians and nobles of the type *Publius Lentulus Sura* (= *Publius Cornelius Lentulus Sura*) and *Marcus Crassus Frugi* (= *Marcus Licinius Crassus Frugi*) can obviously not be adduced to illustrate **Decimus Magnus Ausonius* in the fourth century.

But if Ausonius had the nomen *Decimius*, why would his father, *praefectus praetorio* of Illyricum in 377, have been called Iulius Ausonius (*PLRE* I Ausonius 5)? Although this question does not affect the establishment of the form of Ausonius' own nomen, I would like to point out that this fact – namely father and son having different nomina – is connected with a marginalisation of sorts of the nomen in Late Antiquity. This manifests itself especially in the scenario, often attested, that children were given nomina which were not identical with those of their fathers and which, then, must have come from other relatives. To mention some examples, the children of Sex. (Claudius) Petronius Probus, consul in 371 (*PLRE* I Probus 5) and himself the son and grandson of Petronii (*CIL* V 3344 = *ILS* 1266), were not Petronii but Anicii and had thus received the nomen of their mother, Probus' wife Anicia Faltonia Proba; and Petronius Probus himself is most remarkably called *Anicianae* (and not *Petronianae*) *domus culmen* in *CIL* VI 1753 = *ILS* 1267. The son of Q. Aurelius Symmachus, the author and consul in 391 (*PLRE* I Symmachus 4), himself the son of L. Aurelius Avianius Symmachus (*PLRE* I 3), was called Q. Fabius Memmius Symmachus (*PLRE* II Symmachus 10), and his brothers may have been not Aurelii but Avianii (*PLRE* I p. 869). As for Ausonius' own family, his brother Avitianus' nomen is not known, but his sisters were called Iulia Dryadia (*PLRE* I Dryadia 3) and Aemilia Melania (*PLRE* I Melania 3); the former had received her father's nomen, the latter her mother Aemilia Aeonias' nomen. Ausonius' father had himself the nomen *Iulius*, but his brother was called Cl(audius) Contem(p)tus (*PLRE* I Contemptus [sic]). This father's parents and grandparents are not known, but it would seem plausible to say that there must have been a Decimius or a Decimia among his ancestors.

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ANALECTA EPIGRAPHICA

HEIKKI SOLIN

Manibus Rolf Westman

312. ZU NEUEN UND SELTENEN NAMEN

Hier unten einige Beobachtungen zu lateinischen Cognomina.¹

Βλερῖνος(?): *JWE* II 506. Wenn richtig gelesen, könnte man an einen neuen aus dem Toponym *Blera* gebildeten Namen denken. Freilich kann der Name nicht aus dem Namen der Einwohner der Stadt gebildet sein, da diese *Blerani* hießen und das Adjektiv *Bleranus* -a lautet. Auch wurden mit dem Suffix -inus nur selten neue Cognomina aus geographischen Namen gebildet (etwa *Germaninus*, *Graecinus*, *(H)iberinus*, *Maurinus*, *Siculinus*, *Tuscinus*, *Tusculinus*, *Venetinus*, zugrunde liegen aber Namen bekannter Ortschaften). Außerdem war das *ē* des Toponyms lang, das wäre aber an sich kein Hindernis, die späte und vulgäre Schreibung Βλερῖνος mit *Blera* zu verbinden. Im Ganzen bleibt die Existenz eines Namens *Blerinus* recht suspekt. Der Erstherausgeber Umberto Fasola dachte an *Verinus*, vorliegen kann auch *Balerinus* = *Valerinus*.

Capratina: Kajanto 220 mit drei Belegen (der Männername *Capratinus* ist üblicher). Dazu *Fouilles de Conimbriga* II (1976) 60 *Murria Capratina*; *AE* 2004, 995 (Germania sup.).

¹ Mein herzlicher Dank geht an Andreas Spal, der meinen Text einer sprachlichen Durchsicht unterzogen hat. Er hat auch zur Diskussion um die pompejanischen Graffiti beigetragen. Auch Polly Lohmann hat Teile der Arbeit durchgesehen. Ferner habe ich Marco Buonocore, Alfredo Buonopane, Gian Luca Gregori, Seppo Heikkinen, Matthäus Heil und Claudio Zaccaria für verschiedene Hinweise zu danken. Dem Redaktionssekretär des *Arctos*, Lassi Jakola danke ich für die immense Geduld und für die effektive Sorge der Drucklegung des vorliegenden Beitrags.

Laudandus: Kajanto 360 mit einem Beleg (Soldat *a militiis*). Dazu *CIL* IV 2508, 11 (Lesung bleibt etwas unsicher; s. weiter unten S. 165).

Μαυρία: *JlWE* II 175 Φαβία Μαυρία. Der Männername *Maurius* in *CIL* VIII 9814 (doch nicht sicher, ob Cognomen oder Gentilicium). *Arctos* 32 (1998) 244. Trotz des gentilizischen Suffixes sind die Belege wegen der späten Zeit als Cognomina zu bewerten.

Maurianus: Kajanto 206 mit einem christlichen Beleg. *Rep.*² 501 mit vier spätantiken Senatoren. *Arctos* 37 (2003) 182 mit drei christlichen Belegen. Dazu noch *IG* XII 5, 712, 97 (Syros, spät) Μαυριανὸς ναύ(κληρος).

Nodulus: Kajanto 345 mit einem Beleg (*CIL* XI 1462 aus Pisae). Dazu *Bull. com.* 51 (1923) 109 Nr. 164 (Rom, 2. Hälfte des 1. Jh.); *CIL* IV 2508, 30 (überliefert ist in Zangemeisters Lesung *Nodu[---]*; wenn richtig gelesen, kann nur *Nodulus* vorliegen; vgl. unten S. 166).

Raetus: Kajanto 204 mit zwei Belegen. Der frühere von ihnen (*CIL* I² 412 cf. p. 885) kann nicht hierher gehören. Der Schriftträger gehört zur Gattung der *Vascula Calena*, deren Fabrikation im 3. Jh. v. Chr. florierte; der Text lautet *Retus Gabinio(s) C. s. Calebus*. Es ist undenkbar, dass die Römer in jener Zeit eine Kunde von den Raeti gehabt hätten; noch schwieriger ist es zu glauben, dass sie von diesem Volksnamen als Eigennamen in der Benennung ihrer Sklaven Gebrauch gemacht hätten. Als Landesname wird *Raetia* erstmals bei Velleius Paterculus (2, 39, 104) erwähnt, und kurz vor Mitte des 1. Jh. n. Chr. erfolgte die Einrichtung der Provinz *Raetia et Vindelicia*. Dass aber im 3. Jh. v. Chr. Rätien den Römern ein Begriff gewesen wäre, halte ich für ausgeschlossen. Außerdem ist der Name *Retus* geschrieben. Was dahinter steckt, ist eine andere Sache. Wahrscheinlich handelt es sich um einen alten 'italischen', wenn nicht etruskischen Namen, aber genaue Anhaltspunkte fehlen. Man hat den einzigen Male vorkommenden Vornamen R, mit Hinweis auf die calenische Vase, als *Retus* gedeutet, doch zu Unrecht.² *Retus* ist ein Individualname, der ohne Etymologie bleibt.

Salluvianus: *Arctos* 37 (2003) 186 aus *CIL* III 2066 (Salona) *M. Uttedius Sallubianus*, gebürtig aus Iguvium, Veteran der legio XIII gemina und Decurio

² Dazu s. O. Salomies, *Die römischen Vornamen*, Helsinki 1987, 88. H. Rix, "Römische Personennamen", in *Namenforschung* 1, Berlin – New York 1995, 726 scheint *Retus* als eine Patronuspränomina zu deuten, ein solches Praenomen ist nun aber nicht bekannt.

in Salona. Dazu *CIL* IV 2508, 2 *M. Maeso[ni --] Salluv[ia]ni(?)*, wohl Lanista, aus neronischer Zeit (dazu s. unten 162).

Sanctilla: *Oebalus* 10 (2015) 261 Nr. 1 (Morra De Sanctis im Territorium des römischen Compsa, 1. Jh. n. Chr.) *Calviae* \mathcal{O} . <I>. *Sanctille* (zur Lesung und Deutung des Cognomens s. meine Bemerkungen in der editio princeps). *Sanctilla* ist eine plausible Bildung und fügt sich neben *Sanctianus*, *Sanctinus*, *Sanctulus* leicht in die Namensippe um *Sanctus* ein.

Sanctinus: Kajanto 252 mit sieben Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1989, 91 (Rom, 3. Jh. n. Chr.) [*Aur(elius)*] *Sanctinus*; 1995, 1155 = 1998, 987 (Germ. Sup.) *Sancteius Sanctinus*.

Sodalis f.: Kajanto 306, der nur den Männernamen verzeichnet. Als Frauenname *CIL* XI 5541 vgl. *Suppl. It.* 24 S. 328 (Asisium) [---]a *Sodalis l(iberta)*. II² 14, 497 (Saguntum) *Magidia Sodalis*.

Species: Kajanto 365 mit drei Belegen, von denen ein unbekanntes Sexus ist und zwei zu Frauen gehören; von diesen ist aber *CIL* VI 35249 *Suriae* \mathcal{O} . I. *Specienti* eher als Dativ von *Speciens* zu deuten; dieser bei Kajanto fehlende Name lässt sich auch aus *AE* 1965, 113 [---]s *Speciens* (Brundisium, Augustalis tiberischer Zeit) eruieren. Dazu *SEG* XXXIX 1339, 15 (Bithynion, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) $\Sigma\pi\epsilon\acute{\kappa}\iota\eta\varsigma\ \iota\pi\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\upsilon\varsigma$, Gladiator. Dieser Beleg kann als *Species* wie auch als *Speciens* gedeutet werden.

Telesius: Kajanto 187 mit zwei Belegen, einem aus Pompeji und einem christlichen. Beide Belege sind etwas suspekt, besonders der pompejanische, den Castrén, *Ordo populusque Pompeianus* 227 Nr. 401 als Gentilnamen auffasst, ein solcher Gentilname ist aber sonst nicht bekannt (und wäre auch eine unwahrscheinliche Gentilnamenbildung). Man könnte allenfalls an eine griechische Bildung, einen Kurznamen aus der Sippe $\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\sigma\iota$ - denken; neben dem sehr beliebten $\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ und anderen mehr oder weniger gebrauchten Kurznamen (eine für seine Zeit komplette Auswahl bietet Bechtel *HPN* 423) ist eine okkasionelle Bildung $\tau\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ aus Keos (*IG* XII 5, 610, 33; 3. Jh. v. Chr.) bekannt.³ Eher würde man für das pompejanische Graffito eine Verlesung annehmen, etwa so, dass ein Nexus von I, N und V im Cognomen *Telesinus* verkannt worden ist (zu dem Cognomen, das sowohl als lateinisch wie griechisch erklärt werden kann, vgl. *Arctos* 47 (2013) 278). In dem christlichen Beleg könnte eine freiere Handhabung des spätantiken Cognomensuffixes *-ius* vorliegen.

³ Aus der Sippe $\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\sigma\iota$ - sind eine Handvoll Kurznamen bezeugt, s. Bechtel, *HPN* 423.

Vestinianus: Kajanto 186 = 214 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *P. Mil. Vogl.* VI 264 (Tebtynis, 127 n. Chr.) Τιβέριος Ἰούλιος Οὐεστινιανὸς Ἀ[σ]κληπιιάδης ὁ καὶ Λεωνίδης ἱερεὺς καὶ ἀρχι[δ(ικαστής)].

313. FALSCH NAMEN

Euhodius. So legt die Editorin den in abgekürzter Form geschriebenen Namen in einer wohl stadtrömischen jüdischen Inschrift fest: *C. Vetuleno Euhod(io)*.⁴ Es existiert zwar ein Name *Eu(h)odius*, der aber eine spätantike Bildung mit dem Suffix *-ius* darstellt und kaum vor Anfang des 3. Jh. belegt ist; daran ändert nichts, dass der in Rom beliebte Frauennamen *Euhodia* dort seit claudischer Zeit belegt ist, denn *Euhodia* ist direkt aus εὐδοία in Gebrauch genommen, während *Eu(h)odius* eine spätantike Bildung ist, aus *Euhodus* oder *Euhodia* abgeleitet. Die Inschrift würde man aber ins 2. Jh. ansetzen.⁵ Es liegt also zweifellos der populäre, in Rom seit spätrepublikanischer Zeit bezeugte Männername *Euhodus* vor.⁶

Tigridio. In *AE* 1984, 630 (Baeterrae in der Narbonensis) wird der Name der zweiten Frau *Pettidia* / *[T]igridioni* ergänzt. Dem Foto nach zu urteilen ist der zweite erhaltene Buchstabe in Zeile 5 eher ein C, nicht ein G, denn G wird mit einem deutlichen Schwanz eingehauen, wie man aus *GAVIO* in *Z.* 1 sieht. Außerdem ist *Tigridio* sonst nirgends überliefert, und im Allgemeinen werden von *Tigris* nur wenige neue Namen abgeleitet (*Tigridianus* in *CIL* V 6483, *Tigridius* in *CIL* XIII 2799 [christl.]; hierher gehörig wohl auch *ICUR* 4688 *Ticridina* und wohl auch das einige Male begegnende *Tigrinus* mit *Tigrinianus* in *ICUR* 27127). Wenn wir an der Lesung *-icridioni* festhalten, dann bietet sich *Picridio* an, das sonst nicht belegt (aber auch *Tigridio* ist anderweitig nicht bekannt), doch als griechische Bildung erklärbar ist, wobei der Ausgangspunkt in πικρίς

⁴ E. Miranda, in *Capri antica dalla preistoria alla fine dell'età romana*, a cura di E. Federico e E. Miranda, Capri 2006, 350 Nr. E 28 (= *AE* 2001, 777). Die Inschrift befindet sich im Gelände einer Villa auf Capri, dürfte aber aus Rom stammen, wie die Editorin ansprechend vermutet.

⁵ Wegen des Wortlauts und der Buchstabenformen. Kaum früher anzusetzen wegen des weiblichen Vornamens *M(arcia)* (dazu vgl. M. Kajava, *Roman female praenomina. Studies in the nomenclature of Roman women*, Rome 1994, 110f, 166–176, 218–228), der kaum vor der zweiten Hälfte des 2. Jh. bei gemeinen Leuten in Gebrauch gewesen ist.

⁶ In meinem griechischen Namenbuch 922f ist *Eu(h)odus* 84mal verzeichnet.

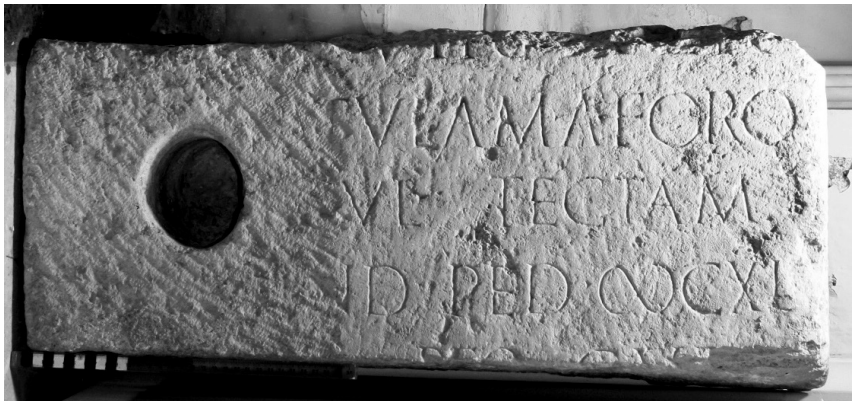
und *πικρίδιος* zu suchen ist. In der römischen Anthroponymie existiert *Picridiu[s]*: *AE* 1975, 37 (Rom, 3., wenn nicht 4. Jh.), der wohl aus *πικρίς* mit dem späten Suffix *-ius* gebildet worden ist. Derselbe Name auch im griechischen Osten: *Πικρίδι(ο)ς* *SEG* LIV 791, 1 (Kos, 150–259 n. Chr., Gladiator); *Πικρίδιος* *MAMA* III 362 (Korykos in Kilikien, christl.). Der Bedeutung nach (*πικρίδιος* heißt 'etwas bitter') kann der Name etwas sonderbar erscheinen, aber Namen dieser Art wurden in der vorgerückten Kaiserzeit üblicher. Jedoch ist einzuräumen, dass diese Auslegung etwas unsicher bleibt.

314. VERKANANTE NAMEN

Telesinus: siehe oben S. 145.

315. ZWEI INSCRIFTEN IN ANZIO

Unten werden kurz zwei Inschriften unbekannter Herkunft mitgeteilt, die sich im städtischen Museum von Anzio in Villa Adele befinden.



1. Ich habe in *Latium* 32–33 (2015–16) 2f eine im städtischen Museum von Anzio befindliche Inschrift summarisch bekannt gemacht. Als ich sie zum

ersten Mal im Jahre 2008 abschrieb, war sie damals schwer zugänglich und lag inmitten von allerlei Gerümpel im Korridor der Büros des Personals, wo ich sie nur mit Mühe zu lesen versuchen konnte; sie zu knipsen war gar nicht möglich. Daraus resultierte ein unbefriedigender Text in *Latium*. Als ich aber am 30. Oktober 2016 zum wiederholten Male das Museum betrat, war die Inschrift öffentlich ausgestellt, und ich konnte sie in aller Ruhe aufnehmen. Begleitet wurde ich von Anna Maria De Meis und Gianluca Mandatori, denen herzlich gedankt sei. Die hier publizierten Fotos stammen von Letzterem. Block aus Kalkstein (28 x 71 x 22 cm); BH. 3,5 - 4,5. Alle Seiten, auch die hintere, unbearbeitet. Der linke Teil des Textes ist wegen starker Korrosion verloren gegangen. Der Stein wurde aus einer Villa in Anzio von den Carabinieri beschlagnahmt. Er kann aus Antium stammen, braucht es aber durchaus nicht.

[---]V(?) +++ [---]+ +++
 [---]viam(?) p]atulam a foro
 [---]ul(---?) tectam
 [---]ND ped(es) \subset mille \supset CXL
 5 [sua?] pec(unia) cur(avit).

Man kann aus dem Fragment nicht viel herausbringen. Eine Privatperson hat wohl für etwas Geld aufgewendet, möglicherweise für den Bau einer Straße vom Forum in Richtung von etwas Überdachtem, *tectam*; VL könnte der Schluss des Besitzernamens der gedeckten Konstruktion sein. Obskur bleibt die Zeile 4, aber ND könnte das Gerundivum eines mit der Konstruktion einer Straße zusammenhängenden Verbs sein (vgl. *CIL* I² 2537 aus *Cereatae Marianae viam lapide ster(nendam) p(edes) CDXIII*). Der Textverlauf könnte z. B. folgendermaßen gedeutet haben: *viam patulam a foro ad Procul(i) porticum tectam sternendam pedes mille CXL sua pecunia curavit*. Längere Erörterungen zum Text erübrigen sich hier, auch weil seine Herkunft unbekannt bleibt.

2. Altar aus weißem Marmor. Links ein *urceus*, rechts eine *patera*. Alle Seiten gerade. Das Inschriftenfeld ist unten und oben von Leiste und Kehle abgegrenzt. Oberhalb des Gesimses Tympanum mit Akroteren. Dreieckige Trennpunkte. 60 x 32 x 21 cm; BH. 2,7 - 3. Herkunft unbekannt, von den Carabinieri 2015 oder 2016 beschlagnahmt und ins Museum gebracht.

*L(ucio) Stertinius
Hyacintho
Norici libert`o`
rarissimi
5 exempli et
de se optime
merito.*

Die Inschrift stammt wahrscheinlich aus Rom oder der unmittelbaren Umgebung, denn der Herr des Freigelassenen L. Stertinus Hyacinthus ist L. Stertinus Noricus, Suffektkonsul 113 (*PIR*² S 909), dessen mutmaßliche Tochter Stertina Bassula (*PIR*² S 914) Eigentümerin von Grundstücken im suburbanen Bereich war (*CIL* XV 2201–2205 und sonst).⁷ Auch die grabinschriftlichen Wendungen *rarissimi exempli* und *de se optime merito* sind typisch stadtrömisch



(fehlen aber anderswo durchaus nicht). Auffallend ist, dass der Errichter nur sein Cognomen einhauen lässt, während sein verstorbener Freigelassener mit der vollständigen Namensformel angeführt wird. Wenn Senatoren ihren Freigelassenen Grabsteine errichten, bezeichnen sie sich normalerweise mit Gentile und Cognomen (Typ *CIL* VI 7588 *Bruttio Venusino C. Bruttius Praesens patronus libertus*). Die unvollständige Namensform des Senators, wenn er als Errichter wirkt, kann sich wohl nur daraus erklären, dass die Inschrift im Innern eines Grabes (etwa Familiengrabes) aufgestellt war. Fälle dieser Art (also Se-

⁷ Vgl. A. M. Andermahr, *Totus in praediis. Senatorischer Grundbesitz in Italien in der frühen und hohen Kaiserzeit* (Antiquitas 3. Reihe 37), Bonn 1998, 441 Nr. 506. Wo genau ihr Besitz lag, wissen wir nicht.

natoren, die sich als Auftraggeber nur mit dem Cognomen benennen) müssen sehr selten gewesen sein (mir sind zur Zeit keine bekannt); vergleichbare Fälle vom Typ *CIL* X 1325 P. *Sabidio P. l. Prisco Epinicius patron(us) lib. piissimo* gehören in weit niedrigere Kreise. Möglich dürfte eine solche Benennungsweise aber gewesen sein. Das Zusammenleben in einer *familia* kann zu einer starken gefühlsmäßigen Bindung zwischen Herrn und seiner Bedienung geführt haben, die sich möglicherweise in Grabsteinen ausdrückte.

316. POMPEIANA

1. Die gepinselte Akklamation *CIL* IV 1093 lautet *Perenninus / Ocellae, Nympheroti, Ikaro, unico sal(utem sc. dicit)*. Die Lesung ist über alle Zweifel erhaben (von mir im Archäologischen Museum von Neapel kollationiert). Der Text ist in vielerlei Hinsicht bemerkenswert. Perenninus (dessen Name einmalig, nur hier belegt ist) begrüßt, wie ich den Text verstehe, drei Freunde, einen Ocella, einen Nympheros und einen Icarus (dessen Name *Ikarus* geschrieben wird). Alle Namen sind interessant. *Perenninus* ist also ein Hapax, *Ocella*, ein altes senatorisches Cognomen, sonst nur spärlich bezeugt (von Kajanto, *Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki 1965, 239 viermal außerhalb des Senatorenstandes angeführt, wozu zwei weitere Belege in *Arctos* 41 [2007] 99 hinzukommen). Immerhin ist der Name, das sei eigens notiert, auch sonst in Pompeji belegt: *CIL* IV 7993. *Nympheros* ist in Rom, Italien und in den Provinzen einigermaßen oft belegt;⁸ so auch *Icarus*,⁹ dessen Name auch sonst in Pompeji kursiert.¹⁰ Nun

⁸ Die stadtrömischen Belege in meinem Namenbuch 130. In Italien: *CIL* V 5607. X 389. 1403; M. Magalhaes, *Storia, istituzioni e prosopografia di Surrentum romana*, Castellammare di Stabia 3003, 197 Nr. 3. In den Provinzen: *CIL* II 1298. II² 14, p. 1009. XIII 6291. 6295 (vielleicht identisch mit dem vorigen). *ILN* III 127. Ferner im griechischen Osten, aber ausschließlich aus römischer Zeit.

⁹ Die stadtrömischen Belege in meinem Namenbuch 534 (mit 7 Belegen). In Italien: *CIL* IX 3390. X 8059, 306. 8401. XI 5874. 6689, 123. 6700, 799. *AE* 2007, 430 (Luceria). *Suppl. It.* 6 Camerinum 5. 9 Amiternum 60. *TPSulp.* 34. 64. In den Provinzen: *CIL* II² 5, 594. III 633. 12014, 302. 13181. VIII 24696. 27790, 5. XII 2736. 3054. 5686, 420. XIII 5027. 10009, 306. *IRC* V 179. Im griechischen Bereich seit dem 7. Jh. v. Chr. belegt (Bechtel HPN 573), sonst aber nur aus römischer Zeit.

¹⁰ *CIL* IV 2350. 2375. 8375b. 8600. 8638b. Die Belege können sich auf denselben Lebemann beziehen.

vermutet Mau im Index cognominum des *CIL* IV S. 751 (Zangemeister S. 236 schwankt im Urteil), *Ocella* und *Nympheros* bezögen sich auf denselben Mann, der also zwei Namen geführt hätte, eine Annahme aber, die durch nichts gestützt wird. Ganz verkehrt ist die Meinung von Weber, *CIL* IV S. 1311, *Ocella* sei ein "signum blandum", eine überaus unglückliche Formulierung. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit verdient aber *unico*, das sich nach den drei Namen findet. Was hat es auf sich? Zangemeister (index vocab. des *CIL* IV S. 247) und Mau (index vocab. des *CIL* IV S. 766) meinen, *unico* sei Dativ des Maskulinums, was auf den ersten Blick eine ansprechende Deutung zu sein scheint (dass aber *Unicus* hier Personennamen wäre, ist ganz unwahrscheinlich). Doch fragt man sich, wieso nur der letzte der Freunde dieses Attribut bekommt. (Hier sei noch bemerkt, dass Mommsen laut Zangemeisters Addenda S. 202 als Lesung KARO vorschlug; das würde zum Inhalt gut passen, wenn man denn in *Ocella Nympheros* eine Person sähe; doch ist I am Anfang des Namens sicher, dazu noch I longa als Initial des Namens; außerdem ist *Icarus* öfters in Pompeji belegt, auch in der Schreibung *Ik-* [*CIL* IV 2177, 2369, 3056.]) Deswegen sei hier die Frage aufgeworfen, ob hier nicht der Ablativ *unico* in adverbialer Funktion gebraucht worden wäre, also gleich *unice* 'einzig, außerordentlich' hieße. Solche attributlosen Ablative von Adjektiven wurden oft in der Volkssprache adverbialisiert, wie man etwa an der alten Szenikersprache sieht – doch fehlen Beispiele in der gehobenen Sprache nicht.¹¹ Ein gutes Beispiel ist *meritissimo* = *meritissime*.¹² In vulgären Quellen ohnegleichen wie es die pompejanischen Wandinschriften sind, wäre eine solche adverbiale Verwendung nicht überraschend; ein Beispiel vom adverbialen Gebrauch des Akkusativs eines Adjektivs ist *maximum* in *CIL* IV 2145, wo es zwanglos als *maxime* gedeutet werden kann.

2. *CIL* IV 1516 lautet in Zangemeisters Lesung HIC · EGO · NVnc fVT-VII · FORMOSA FORMA · PVELLA · LAVDATA A · MVLTI · SET LVTVS

¹¹ Vgl. Szantyr's *Syntax und Stilistik* 117 und sonst.

¹² Vgl. V. Bulhart, *ThLL* VIII, 825, 59–75.

INTVS · EERAT.¹³ Diese Lesung gilt von da an als die Vulgata.¹⁴ Ich habe den Text im Jahre 2006 und aufs Neue 2009 im Archäologischen Museum von Neapel kollationiert. Wenn man von den Trennpunkten absieht, die nicht alle gut sichtbar sind, kann ich folgende Korrekturen zur Textform anführen: Statt Zangemeisters *fVTVII* (was gleich *future* wäre) steht an der Wand eindeutig [*f*]utui; es muss also keine abweichende Graphie mit *-e* statt *-i* angenommen werden.¹⁵ – Im Wort *forma* ist auch der erste Buchstabe nunmehr verschwunden. Statt EERAT scheint die Wand CERAT oder SERAT zu bieten. Wenn wir SERAT wählen, könnte eine satzphonetisch bedingte Dittographie INTVS SERAT vorliegen; ob nun diese Graphie irgendwie die Aussprache eines geminierten S reflektieren könnte, stehe dahin (das wäre übrigens gegen das Metrum). Vielleicht handelt es sich um eine rein fehlerhafte Dittographie.

Der diplomatische Text des Graffito lautet also folgendermaßen: *hic ego nu[nc f]utui formosa(m) fo[r]ma puella(m), | laudata(m) a multis, set lutus intus {s}erat.*

Zu der Exegese des obszönen Gedichts sei folgendes bemerkt. Es ist öfters behandelt worden;¹⁶ außer Spals Erörterungen sollen besonders die Be-

¹³ Kürzlich ist eine neue Bestandaufnahme zum Graffito erschienen: A. Spal, *Poesie – Erotik – Witz. Humorvoll-spöttische Versinschriften zu Liebe und Körperlichkeit in Pompeji und Umgebung* (Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte 22), Berlin 2016, 113–122. Er arbeitet noch mit der alten Vulgata von Zangemeister, was aber an der Substanz seiner Ausführungen keinen großen Schaden hervorruft. Ich muss hier ein für allemal in eine editorische Einzelheit eingreifen. In Einklang mit manchen anderen Editoren schreibt Spal *formosa*<*m*>, *puella*<*m*>, *laudata*<*m*>; das geht aber nicht an, denn die Weglassung des auslautenden *m* spiegelt zweifellos die Tatsache wider, dass die sehr häufige Nichtschreibung von *-m* in den von Ungebildeten herrührenden Inschriften zeigt, dass *-m* nicht als reiner Konsonant ausgesprochen wurde, weswegen man das fehlende *-m* nicht <*m*> wiedergeben darf, da ja diese Klammern zur Bezeichnung eines Schreibfehlers angewendet werden sollen. Noch zahlreichere Editoren sind geneigt, *-(m)* zu schreiben, aber auch das entspricht nicht genau den Tatsachen, denn die runden Klammern sollen bewusste Abkürzungen angeben. Wenigstens in der Wiedergabe von vulgären Texten müsste man sich dazu einigen, das *-m* aus dem Exemplum wegzulassen, in unserem Fall also *formosa*, *puella*, *laudata* zu schreiben. Bei Bedarf kann dann die Auslassung von *-m* im Kommentar erklärt werden.

¹⁴ Nur A. Varone, *Titulorum graphio exaratorum qui in C.I.L. vol. IV collecti sunt imagines*, Roma 2012, 267 hat gesehen, dass VTVI gelesen werden muss.

¹⁵ Dieser Beleg muss also bei Väänänen, *Le latin vulgaire des inscriptions pompéiennes*, Berlin 1966³, 23 unter den Beispielen der Schreibung *e* für *i* entfernt werden.

¹⁶ Außer Courtney seien die Erörterungen von J. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary*, London

merkungen von E. Courtney, *Musa lapidaria*, Atlanta 1995, 98f. 407f. Nr. 94a berücksichtigt werden, an dessen Erörterungen jedoch einiges zu beanstanden ist: Erstens meint Courtney, der Schreiber habe irrtümlich *forma* statt *forte* eingeritzt (aufgrund von IV 1517, wo an sich *fo[rt]e* ergänzt werden könnte [Zangemeister glaubte *Formai* lesen zu können], was nicht überzeugt (*forte* für *forma* hatte übrigens schon Bücheler, *CLE* 955 gefordert). Die Lesung steht fest (FO[-]MA kann kaum anders gedeutet werden), und vor allem bildet *formosa forma* eine passende Paronomasie, figura etymologica. Der geringfügige Verstoß gegen das Metrum mit dem kurzen *a* in *forma* ist verzeihlich (bekanntlich sind Kürzungen in zweisilbigen Worten mit erster langer Silbe und mit dem Ausgang *-o* wie *nēmō*, *tollō*, üblich in der Poesie; doch hier handelt es sich um einen reinen, freilich wie gesagt verzeihlichen Fehler). Zweitens sieht Courtney in der Wahl des Maskulinums *lutus* einen Einfluss des sinnverwandten *limus*. Das ist unnötig, denn für *lutus* finden sich seit republikanischer Zeit Belege (die Zeugnisse in *ThLL* VII 2, 1900, 65–69), darunter späte und vulgäre Belege wie in der Itala. Anscheinend gehörte *lutus* wie manche andere neben Neutra erscheinende maskuline Formen der kolloquialen Sprache an.¹⁷ Es besteht kein Anlass, *lutus* nicht als autonome Form zu beurteilen, die keinerlei äußerer Stütze bedarf. Die Wahl des Autors kann auch metrisch bedingt sein. Was die Bedeutung von *lutus* in unserem Graffito angeht, ist es nicht leicht, den genauen Sinn dessen zu eruieren, was der Schreiber im Sinne hatte. Manche, teilweise auch wilde Hypothesen sind aufgestellt worden. In chronologischer Folge: Della Valle zufolge hätte der Schreiber darüber Ekel gefunden, dass die äußere Schönheit der prostituierten *puella* der Gemeinheit des Geistes ("volgarità dello spirito") nicht entspreche; er stellt also die äußere Schönheit der inneren Verkommenheit gegenüber.¹⁸ Ein ganz unwahrscheinlicher Gedanke, typisches Beispiel lebensfremder Überinterpretation. Nach Varone könnte es sich hierbei um eine Geschlechtskrankheit handeln; er bezieht sich dabei auf die dicht daneben befindliche sinnverwandte Inschrift *CIL* IV 1517, wo im Pentameter von einem *morbus* die Rede ist.¹⁹ Eine ansprechende Hypothese, wenn es auch offenbleibt,

1982, 79 und M. L. West, *CQ* 58 (2008) 372f (generell zur pejorativen Bedeutung von *lutus*) erwähnt.

¹⁷ Zum Nebeneinander vom Maskulina und Neutra in pompejanischen Graffiti einige Erörterungen in H. Solin – P. Caruso, *Vesuviana* 8 (2016) 119f.

¹⁸ G. Della Valle, *L'amore in Pompei e nel poema di Lucrezio*, Atene e Roma 39, 1937, 139–175.

¹⁹ A. Varone, *Erotica Pompeiana. Iscrizioni d'amore sui muri di Pompei* (Studia Archaeologica 71),

ob *lutus* und *morbus* sich auf denselben Sachverhalt beziehen können; man bedenke, dass die zwei Pentameter sich im Gedankengang nicht decken. Johnson – Ryan schlagen vor, dass der Schreiber Überbleibsel eines früheren Kunden bemerkt hätte.²⁰ Levin-Richardson wiederum will im Graffito einen möglichen Hinweis auf den Stuhlgang sehen,²¹ was durch nichts einleuchtet. Und zuletzt sei auf die Möglichkeit hingewiesen, dass der Kunde der Prostituierten – zu seinem Verdruss – während des Geschlechtsverkehrs bemerkt hätte, dass diese zur Empfängnisverhütung verschiedene Mittel wie etwa Harz, Öl oder Honig angewendet hätte; von solchen Mitteln wurde ja in der griechisch-römischen Antike Gebrauch gemacht.²² Um aber das Fazit zu ziehen, vielleicht gebrauchte der Schreiber *lutum* nur als eine einfache Beschimpfung, ohne dem Wort eine spezifische Bedeutung geben zu wollen.

3. *CIL* IV 1837 (cf. p. 212. 464. 704). Ich habe den Text 2006 und aufs Neue 2007 im Archäologischen Museum von Neapel kollationiert und glaube, von ihm eine endgültige Lesung bieten zu können:

*Si potes et non vis, cur gaudia
differs | spemque foves et
cras usque redire iubes? | [er-]
go coge mori, quem
5 sine te vivere cogis; |
munus erit certe non
cruciasset boni. | Quod spes
eripuit, spes certe redd[i]t amanti.*

*Qui hoc leget, nuncquam postea
10 aled legat. || Nunquam sit salvos, qui supra scripsit.
Veru dici{ci}s. Hedisto
feliciter.*

Roma 1994, 118.

²⁰ M. Johnson – T. Ryan, *Sexuality in Greek and Roman Society and Literature. A Sourcebook*, London 2005, 178.

²¹ S. Levin-Richardson, *Bodily Waste and Boundaries in Pompeian Graffiti*, in *Ancient Obscenities. Their Nature and Use in the Ancient Greek and Roman Worlds*, D. Dutch and A. Surer editors, Ann Arbor 2015, 235–240.

²² Zu dieser Möglichkeit ausführlich Spal, *op. cit.* (s. Anm. 13) 120.

Es handelt sich um ein Gedicht in elegischen Distichen, worauf mehrere mit drei oder vier Händen geschriebene Anmerkungen folgen; sie sind in Prosa gehalten (wenn nicht die zweite Hand in 9–10 den metrischen Aspekt in der Form von Senaren hat wahren wollen, wie Zangemeister und Bücheler *CLE* 949 wenn auch zurückhaltend vermuten). Im obigen Text habe ich die Zeilenfolge der Wand beibehalten und die Versschlüsse mit | bezeichnet.

3 Zangemeister hat nur CR gesehen, CRAS ist aber komplett lesbar. – 5 lies COGIS. – 8 in der kurzen Lücke konnte auch ein E sein: *redd[e]t*. – 10 SCRIPSIT steht sicher fest. – 11 muss gelesen werden VERV DICICIS HEDISTO (CI in DICICIS ist Dittographie). – 12 FELICITER ist komplett lesbar.

Das mit literarischen Reminiszenzen geschmückte Gedicht ist von Kommentaren dreier oder vierer Pompejaner begleitet, von denen der erste, wie gesagt, einen metrischen Rhythmus angestrebt hat. Das Gedicht selbst scheint von einer Hand geschrieben zu sein.²³ Die Entscheidung fällt nicht leicht, auch wegen der starken Korrosion der einzelnen Buchstaben, doch scheint der gesamte rein metrische Teil, also die Zeilen 1–8 von einer Hand geschrieben zu sein. Wenn dem so ist, dann hat entweder der Schreiber, der selbst vielleicht nicht die im Gedicht ausgedrückten Gefühle empfindet, zuerst gewissermaßen in der Rolle des Verliebten ein Klagegedicht verfasst, dem er den Wunsch nach einem guten Ausgang anfügt, oder aber der Verliebte selbst hat das ganze Gedicht komponiert und nach dem Klagegedicht resigniert hinzugefügt: "Was die Hoffnung entrisen hat, bringt dem Liebenden die Hoffnung auch wieder zurück". Der Autor ist sicher ein Mann. Eigentümlich ist der Gedanke Courtneys (*Musa lapidaria* [1995] 305), das Gedicht sei von einer Frau geschrieben, weil im Vers 4 vom Geschenk eines guten Mannes, *munus boni*, die Rede sei; doch muss *boni* als Genetiv des Neutrums *bonum* aufgefasst werden ("der Lohn der guten Tat wird sicherlich sein mich nicht gequält zu haben"), und sodann spricht der Geist des poetischen Produkts dafür, dass der Autor ein Mann war.

Auch wenn dieser kein großer Dichter war, hat er inhaltlich nicht zu verachtende Verse produziert, die unter anderem voll von literarischen Reminis-

²³ So meinte auch Zangemeister, während Mommsen (bei Zangemeister) *munus – amanti* einer zweiten Hand zuschrieb. Und M. Gigante, *Civiltà delle forme letterarie nell'antica Pompei*, Napoli 1979, 211, in der Nachfolge von F. C. Wick, *Vindiciae carminum Pompeianorum*, Napoli 1907, 28, meint, der fünfte Vers (also *quod – amanti*) sei von 'un altro solidale concittadino' geschrieben.

zenzen sind.²⁴ Sie stammen aus Vergil (zu Vers 3 vgl. *ecl.* 2, 7), Ovid (zu Vers 1 vgl. *am.* 2, 5, 29 und zu Vers 3 vgl. *epist.* 3, 140), Tibull (zu Vers 2 vgl. 2, 6, 20). Einige Details zur Metrik: der erste Vers ist unvollständig; durch den Zusatz <mutua> (vgl. Lucr. 4, 1205 *quod facerent numquam, nisi mutua gaudia nossent* und Ov. *am.* 3, 6, 87 *quod mutua differs gaudia*) wird ein kompletter Hexameter wiederhergestellt. – In Vers 3 hinkt *quem sine te* metrisch (vielleicht ist dem Autor der Fehler aufgrund von Ov. *epist.* 3, 140 unterlaufen), durch Wechsel der Wortstellung zu *sine te quem* oder *quem sine te* würde der Vers metrisch einwandfrei.²⁵ – Sonstiges: 9 *leget* ist Präsens, nicht Futur; in pompejanischen Inschriften begegnet sehr oft die Endung *-et* Indikativ der 3. Konjugation. – Notiere die Schreibung *nuncquam* für *numquam* (und in 10 *nunquam*). – *Posteac* ist eine Kontamination von *postea* und *posthac*. – 10 ALIID ist zweifellos *aled* dar und steht für *alid* = *aliud*.²⁶ – 11 der Name des pompejanischen Lebemannes muss *Hedistus* nicht nur verstanden, sondern auch gelesen werden (die *Vulgata Hedystus* beruht auf einer Verlesung Zangemeisters).

4. *CIL* IV 2491. M·MASIVS las Zangemeister. Der dritte Buchstabe kann aber unmöglich ein S sein, denn er besteht aus einem vertikalen Strich; wenn dieser ein I ist, dann hätten wir *Maiius* (so las übrigens schon Garrucci, dessen Lesung aber von Zangemeister verworfen wurde). Das wäre eine gut bezeugte Nebenform von *Maius*; wie bekannt, hatte ein intervokalisches *j* in Aussprache den Wert von *jj*, weswegen Cicero, im Bestreben, die Orthographie mit der Aussprache in Einklang zu bringen, *aio*, *Maiia*, *Aiiax* statt der gewöhnlichen Schreibung *aio*, *Maia*, *Aiax* schrieb (das bezeugt Quint. *inst.* 1, 4, 11).

²⁴ Zuletzt zusammengestellt von P. Cugusi, *BollStLat* 40 (2010) 533f.

²⁵ Ein anderer Fall, wo man die Metrik durch Drehen der Wortstellung zu retten versucht hat, liegt in *CIL* IV 1649 vor: *si quis obiurgat amantes* enthält einen geringfügigen metrischen Fehler, indem *quis* als lang gemessen wird. Deswegen hat man durch Umstellen der Wortfolge den Fehler zu beheben versucht: Zangemeister wollte *obiurgat si quis*; Bücheler, *CLE* 944 wiederum schlug *iurgabit* statt *obiurgat* vor, hielt aber *custodit* oder *diducit* mit Hinweis auf Prop. 2, 7, 3 für noch besser. M. Lausberg, *Das Einzeldistichon. Studien zum antiken Epigramm* (Studia et testimonia antiqua 19), München 1982, 336 führt ebenfalls diese metrische Auffälligkeit, die leicht zu beheben sei, auf das ungenaue Zitieren einer Vorlage zurück. Zur Frage ausführlich Spal, *op. cit.* (s. Anm. 13) 64–66, der noch weitere, nicht immer ausgewogene Vorschläge bespricht. Mir scheint am besten, die überlieferte Textform nicht anzutasten; der geringfügige metrische Fehler ist leicht verzeihlich in einem Produkt wie diesem.

²⁶ V. Väänänen, *Le latin vulgaire des inscriptions pompéiennes*, Berlin 1966³, 21, 86.

Von diesem Usus besitzen wir eine Menge von epigraphischen Zeugnissen;²⁷ selbst in Pompeji ist die Schreibung *Maiio* belegt,²⁸ wozu sich *Bompeiana* und *Pompeianis* gesellen (CIL IV 538, 9144). Nun befindet sich aber im unteren Teil des ersten I ein kurzer von links oben nach rechts unten geritzter schräger Strich; wenn er zur Schrift gehört, könnte hier ein L statt I vorliegen, in welchem Fall wir den Gentilnamen *Mallius* (hier mit einem *l* geschrieben) hätten, der in Pompeji belegt ist.²⁹ Persönlich würde ich der ersten Alternative den Vorzug geben.

5. CIL IV 2508. Ich gebe zunächst den Text der Inschrift so wieder, wie ich ihn verstehe (von früheren Editoren gesehene, heute aber nicht mehr sichtbare Buchstaben sind unterstrichen):

Pri[mum]

m̄inus M(arci) Maeso[ni ---] Salluv[ia]ni(?)

[---]V C+++NC VI Nonas Maias.

Spalte I:

Tr(aeces) M(urmillones)

- 5 [Ve?]nator Ner(onianus) (pugnarum) II[---], Tigris Iul(ianus) p(ugnarum) I(?)
Cr[esc]ens(?) Ner(onianus) (pugnarum) III, m(issus?) Speculator (pugnarum) LXIX
v(icit) Es[s]ed(arius) R(etiarus?)
Crys<a>ntus [--- (pugnarum ---)]II M(arcus) Artorius [---]+++

Spalte II:

O(plomachi) M(urmillones)

- 5 m(issus?) [---]+[---]EACIVS(?) Iul(ianus), m(issus?) C+++ Iul(ianus, pugnarum) LV [---]
v(icit?) [---]+IV[---]SM[---]IV[---]VR II[---]
INII+ IR
[---] Ner(onianus?) [---]V [---]O[---]AN+

Zweite Anzeige:

Munus N(?) + [---] V, IV, III, prid(ie) Id(us), Idi[bus] Mai[s]

²⁷ Einiges Material gebe ich in *Le epigrafi della Valle di Comino. Atti del dodicesimo convegno epigrafico cominese, Atina 29–30 maggio 2015*, San Donato Val di Comino 2016, 171f.

²⁸ A. Baldi, *Latomus* 26 (1967) 480; vgl. meine Bemerkungen *Epigraphica* 30 (1968) 122f. Der Beleg bezieht sich höchstwahrscheinlich auf den bekannten Lokalpolitiker Cn. Alleius Nigidius Maius, *Duovir quinquennalis* 55/56 n. Chr.

²⁹ P. Castrén, *Ordo populusque Pompeianus*, Roma 1983², 187f. Nr. 236.

- 10 *Di(machaeri?)* *O(plomachi)*
m(issus) +++ciens Ner(onianus) (pugnarum) XX [---], Laudand[us Ne]ron(ianus),
(pugnarum) [---]XI
v(icit) Nobilior Iul(ianus) (pugnarum) II, [---]±ng C[---]IIII[---]+ XIV
T(raex) M(urmillo)
m(issus) L(ucius) Semproniu[s ---], No+[---] m(issus?)(?)
- 15 *v(icit) Platanus Iu[l(ianus) ---] [---?]AB[---]*
RI+[---]+++VS
T(raex) M(urmillo)
v(icit) Pugnax Ner(onianus) (pugnarum) III, [---]
p(eriit) Murranus Ner(onianus) (pugnarum) III, [---]IIX[---]
- 20 *O(plomachus) T(raex)*
v(icit) Cycnus Iul(ianus) (pugnarum) VIII, [---]CIV[---]
m(issus) Atticus Iul(ianus) (pugnarum) XIV, [---]
T(raex) M(urmillo)
v(icit) Herma Iul(ianus) (pugnarum) IV, [---]
- 25 *m(issus) Q(uintus) Petillius [---]*
Ess(edarius?) [---?]
m(issus) P(ublius) Ostorius (pugnarum) LI (?), [---]
v(icit) Scylax Iul(ianus) (pugnarum) XXVI, [---]
Tr(aex) M(urmillo)
- 30 *v(icit) Nodu[---](?) Iul(ianus) (pugnarum) VII*
m(issus) L(ucius) Petronius (pugnarum) XIV
T(raex) M(urmillo)
p(eriit) L(ucius) Fabius (pugnarum) VIII
v(icit) Astus Iul(ianus) (pugnarum) XIV.

Das Graffito, dessen genauer Fundort unbekannt ist, findet sich seit jeher im Archäologischen Museum von Neapel, vor kurzem in der im Mai 2017 zu inaugrierenden epigraphischen Abteilung des Museums ausgestellt. Sein Text ist von mir mehrmals kollationiert worden; darauf basiert der oben gedruckte Text; herangezogen werden konnte auch ein gutes Foto des Instituts für Paläographie der Universität Rom Nr. 282 vom Jahre 1957 (abgedruckt bei A. Varone, *Titulorum graphio exaratorum qui in C.I.L. vol. IV collecti sunt imagines*, Roma 2012, 449; dort zwei weitere Fotos) sowie ein weiteres Foto guter Qualität bei Sabbatini Tumolesi (Ist. Patologia Libro 7858). Heute ist manches verschwunden, was noch Zangemeister in seiner Edition im CIL gesehen hat; die verloren

gegangenen Partien sind in meiner Edition unterstrichen worden (eine genauere Bestandsaufnahme wird im Supplement 4, 2 des *CIL* IV erfolgen, das hoffentlich bald erscheinen kann). Hier unten sind nur einige wichtigere Varianten zu der von Zangemeister etablierten Vulgata besprochen; herangezogen wurde auch der von P. Sabbatini Tumolesi, *Gladiatorum paria. Annunci di spettacoli gladiatorii a Pompei* (Tituli 1), Roma 1980, 71–74 Nr. 32 gegebene Text, bei dem freilich mit einigen Ungenauigkeiten zu rechnen ist.

Dieser Text ist ein einmaliges Zeugnis seiner Art,³⁰ eine epigraphische in die Wand eines pompejanischen Gebäudes geritzte Kopie eines Verzeichnisses, das aus dem Namen der Veranstalter, der Datierung der Aufführungen und dann aus den Namen der Gladiatorenkämpfer besteht; diese sind paarweise geordnet, wie sie gegeneinander fechten sollten. Solche Verzeichnisse wurden aus einer 'offiziellen' Anzeige abgeschrieben, etwa auf Papyrus oder Wachstafeln o. ä., und in den Straßen oder vor der Aufführung im Amphitheater verkauft. Nach den Aufführungen hat ein Schwärmer für Gladiatorenspiele den uns leider zerstückelt erhaltenen Text eines solchen Verzeichnisses auf dem Wandverputz verewigt; dabei hat er vor die Namen der Gladiatoren die Siglen *v(icit)*, *m(issus)*, *p(eriit)* eingeritzt, ohne zu berücksichtigen, wer als Sieger aus dem Kampf hervorging, also ohne den Namen des Siegers an erste Stelle zu setzen. Man hat erwogen, dass der Schreiber das Verzeichnis vor dem Spiel eingeritzt hätte, um nach Ende der Aufführung die fraglichen Siglen hinzuzufügen, ohne die Ordnung der Namen der Gladiatoren zu ändern (was naturgemäß mühsam gewesen wäre);³¹ dafür gibt es aber keine Anhaltspunkte – das Verzeichnis gibt den Eindruck einer einheitlichen Ausführung. Außerdem wäre es psychologisch etwas sonderbar, wenn der Schreiber nach der Aufführung zum Tatort zurückgekehrt wäre, nur um die Siglen hinzuzufügen, und das möglicherweise mehr als einmal.

Erhalten ist das Verzeichnis des Programms zweier Spielrunden, von denen die ersten Spiele unter der Federführung des mutmaßlichen Lanista M.

³⁰ Nur *CIL* IV 1182 kann irgendwie mit unserer Urkunde verglichen werden. Doch geht es dort um eine 'offizielle' Anzeige von Gladiatorenspielen, während unser Graffito Produkt der Laune einer für das Gladiatorenwesen begeisterten Einzelperson ist.

³¹ So Friedländer, *SG* 2¹⁰ (1922) 72. Auch Sabbatini Tumolesi räumt ein, dass Friedländers Hypothese für den zweiten Teil des Verzeichnisses stimmen könnte, nicht aber für den ersten. Wie aber gesagt, vermittelt der Text den Eindruck einer einheitlichen Ausführung. Auch die Formen der Buchstaben der Siglen sind nicht verschieden von dem Rest.

Maesonius Salluvianus von einem unbekanntem Tag an bis zum 2. Mai, die zweiten zwischen dem 11. und 15. Mai stattfanden, also an fünf aufeinanderfolgenden Tagen, was den Rekord der Spieldauer der in pompejanischen Inschriften überlieferten von den Lanistae veranstalteten *Munera tangiert* (mit *CIL IV 9984a–c*, wo freilich nicht in Pompeji, sondern in Puteoli abzuhalten-de Spiele angekündigt werden). Ob noch weitere Spiele im Verzeichnis erfasst waren, bleibt ungewiss; wohl eher nicht, denn die Spiele dauerten schon mit den zwei Runden recht lange, außerdem wäre das Verzeichnis für eine leichte Handhabung unnötig lang geworden. Sodann war es eine Gewohnheit, dass die Gladiatorentruppen sich nicht zu lange auf einem Ort aufhielten, sondern Auf-führungen auch in den Nachbarstädten gaben. Ungewiss bleibt auch, wer hinter der zweiten Anzeige als Veranstalter steckt.³² Wenn Zangemeister in 9 hinter *munus* ein N richtig gelesen hat und wenn der Gentilname des Veranstalters mit C beginnt – heute sieht man von dem Vornamen nur winzige Reste, wobei nicht ausgeschlossen ist, dass es sich um *N(umerius)* handelt, während der Gentilname restlos verschwunden ist –, dann könnte man an einen *N(umerius) C(---)* denken; in Pompeji sind bekannt *N. Caecilius Epagathus* aus *CIL IV 9477*, *N. Cassius* aus *CIL IV 1482*, *N. Curtius Vibius Salassus*, *Ilvir* vor 2 v. Chr. aus *CIL IV 1886* und *N. Curtius N. f. Spurianus* aus *EE VIII 322*. Für keinen von ihnen können Verbindungen mit den Gladiatorenspielen nachgewiesen werden.³³ Zangemeisters Majuskeltext erlaubt ferner einen mit S beginnenden Gentilnamen, wobei sich *N. Sandelius Messius Balbus*, *Duovir* 60 n. Chr. (*CIL IV 3340, 144*) anböte.

Die Struktur des Verzeichnisses ist nicht ganz durchsichtig, doch kann man über seinen Inhalt *grosso modo* folgendes sagen: Nach dem Namen des Veranstalters und der Datierung (ohne die Namen der Konsuln, die nicht wichtig waren) folgen in den Zeilen 4-8 auf zwei Spalten verteilt die Namen der paarweise Fechtenden; in einer eigenen, vorangestellten Zeile werden die Fechtertypen benannt.³⁴ Von Zeile 9 an bis zum Ende des erhaltenen Textes (Zeile 34) erfolgt

³² Sabbatini Tumolesi 74 meint, der Veranstalter sei derselbe M. Maesonius. Wie stehen aber damit in Einklang die von Zangemeister gesehenen Buchstabenreste nach *munus*?

³³ N. Curtius Vibius Salassus hätte wohl als *Duovir* Spiele veranstalten können, er ist aber zeitlich unvereinbar mit unserem Text, der aus neronischer Zeit stammen muss.

³⁴ Aus praktischen Raumgründen mussten die zwei Spalten oben im Text des Graffitos untereinander gedruckt werden.

zuerst die Ankündigung des etwa zehn Tage später abzuhaltenden zweiten Munus, beginnend wohl mit dem Namen des Veranstalters (dazu s. oben) und der Angabe der Tage, in denen die Gefechte stattfinden sollten. Dann werden in den Zeilen 10–34 die Gladiatorenpaare angeführt, wobei es etwas unsicher bleibt, ob sich der Text dieser Zeilen über eine oder zwei Spalten erstreckte, weil der rechte Teil des Graffitos stark beschädigt ist; doch könnte man denken, der Text ist auf zwei Spalten aufgeteilt, in der Art desjenigen zum ersten Spektakel. Sicher ist aber, dass auch die dem zweiten Schauspiel gewidmete Partie aus zwei Subspalten besteht, ganz wie in der Ankündigung des ersten Munus. Notierungswert ist noch, dass es keine Erwähnung von Venationes gibt, die normalerweise auf die Gladiatorenkämpfe folgten. Es ist aber nicht ausgeschlossen, dass von Tierkämpfen in dem verlorengegangenen Wandverputz die Rede gewesen ist.

Die Angaben der Gattungen der Gladiatoren, die gegeneinander kämpften, stehen also auf einer Zeile vor den Namen der Kämpfer und sind immer mit einem oder zwei Buchstaben abgekürzt. Wir sehen, dass die Thraeces (Gladiatoren mit thrakischer Rüstung) normalerweise gegen die Murmillones (Gladiatoren mit einem gallischen Helm, auf dessen Spitze ein Fisch zu sehen war) kämpfen, einmal gegen einen Hoplomachus, einen schwerbewaffneten Gladiator; jedesmal *opl-* geschrieben (20), die Murmillones außer gegen die thraeces, einmal gegen die Hoplomachi (II 4), die letzteren einmal auch gegen einen Dimachaerus, Kämpfer mit zwei Schwertern (10), die Essedarii (Wagenkämpfer) möglicherweise gegen einen Retiarius, Netzfechter (I 7) und vielleicht gegeneinander (26; siehe weiter unten). Die Datierung der Urkunde beruht darauf, dass manche Gladiatoren die Beinamen *Iulianus* oder *Neronianus* führen; hinzu kommt, dass, wenn der im Ludus gladiatorius mehrmals bezeugte *Facetus Messonii*, wovon schon die Rede war, zur Truppe unseres M. Maesonius gehörte, die Datierung in die Zeit vor 62 n. Chr. eingengt werden kann. In diesem Jahr wurde nach dem Erdbeben der Ludus aufgegeben; wegen der Präsenz der *Iuliani* mag die Urkunde in eine Zeit zu gehören, als in Pompeji neben den *Neroniani* noch die letzten *Iuliani* kämpften.³⁵ Bemerkenswert ist noch, dass unsere Urkunde keine *Secutores* nennt; da diese Benennung als Gladiatoren-gattung erst in der zweiten Hälfte des 1. Jh. in Gebrauch kommt (in Pompeji hatten sich die *Secutores* erst in den 70er Jahren etabliert, wie man bildlichen Darstellungen

³⁵ Dazu die guten Bemerkungen von Sabbatini Tumolesi 71.

gen entnehmen kann),³⁶ kann man also, wenn auch mit Vorsicht, eine Datierung noch in die frühe neronische Zeit einengen.

Nun einige Details:

1 *pri[mum]* sc. *munus* ist eine glückliche Ergänzung von Sabbatini Tumolesi. Dagegen spricht nicht, dass in 10 nur *munus* steht, gefolgt vom Namen des Veranstalters. Man kann sich nur fragen, ob nicht ein *secundum munus* des M. Maesonius zu erwarten wäre; doch findet sich hierauf kein Hinweis, wenigstens nicht in unserer epigraphischen Kopie. Vielleicht hat der Autor der ursprünglichen Ankündigung Nachdruck darauf legen wollen, dass das von M. Maesonius veranstaltete Spiel den Anfang von mehreren bildete; oder aber der Schreiber von 2508 hat verschiedene Anzeigen als Quelle seines Verzeichnisses gebraucht. In den Urkunden dieser Art ist es oft schwierig, eine klare Struktur festzustellen.

2 wahrscheinlich haben wir es hier mit dem Namen eines Lanista zu tun; darauf deuten vor allem einige Graffiti aus dem Ludus gladiatorius V 5, 3 (CIL IV 4284, 4312, 4315, 4352), in denen ein *Facetus Mesonii* erscheint, der wohl mit Sicherheit ein Gladiator war (vielleicht ist auch der in 4445 erwähnte Facetus derselbe). Den Namen des Lanista las Sabbatini Tumolesi *M(arci) [M]eso[nii ---]*, ich lese eher *M(arci) Maeso[ni ---]* (jedenfalls ist das Praenomen *M(arcus)*, das Zangemeister noch gesehen zu haben glaubte, verschwunden, was auch Sabbatini Tumolesi einräumt). Mehr oder weniger in der Nachfolge von Zangemeister glaube ich, MAESO an der Wand zu erkennen (aber Zangemeisters Wiedergabe sowohl des Majuskel- als auch des Minuskeltextes ist etwas ungenau).³⁷ Wenn dem so ist, dann reflektiert die Graphie *Mes-* in den Graffiti des Ludus gladiatorius die Unsicherheit in der graphischen Behandlung von *ae* und *e* im vulgären Register, wie es die pompejanischen Graffiti par excellence sind. Castrén, *Ordo populusque Pompeianus* 191 Nr. 250, 1 identifiziert unseren Mann mit dem Duovirkandidaten vermutlich flavischer Zeit L.

³⁶ Darauf hat M. Flecker, *Römische Gladiatorenbilder. Studien zu den Gladiatorenreliefs der späten Republik und der Kaiserzeit aus Italien* (Studien zur antiken Stadt 15), Wiesbaden 2015, 61 aufmerksam gemacht.

³⁷ An sich sind beide Formen, *Maesonius* und *Mesonius* in Pompeji und auch anderswo überliefert. Ob die zwei Formen des Namens ursprünglich derselben gens zugehörten oder ob von Anfang an zwei verschiedene gentes dahinter stecken, bleibt ungewiss. Castrén (s. Anm. 29) 191 Nr. 250 meint, zwei verschiedene Zweige der gens hätten verschiedene Orthographien des Namens angenommen, wobei der wichtigere Zweig der *Maesonii* sei. Das bleibt aber reine Vermutung.

Maesonius,³⁸ das ist aber ausgeschlossen, nicht nur wegen der verschiedenen Vornamen, sondern auch – und vor allem – weil die Tätigkeit als Lanista mit einem Anwärter des Duoviramtes unvereinbar ist (soweit der Mann denn wirklich ein Lanista war). Die nach dem Gentilnamen folgenden Buchstabenreste deutet Zangemeister als *l. l. v.*, während Sabbatini Tumolesi die Lesung offenlässt. Ich lese aufgrund von Zangemeisters Abschrift *Salluv[ia]ni* (heute ist vom Cognomen nichts erhalten). Das Cognomen *Salluvianus* war bisher nur einmal, aus einer Inschrift aus Salona (*CIL* III 2066 *M. Uttedius Sallubianus*) bekannt, doch ist es eine leicht verständliche Bildung, die aus dem in Italien gut belegten, auch im Senatorenstand seit spätrepublikanischer Zeit bezeugten Gentilnamen *Salluvius* abgeleitet ist.

3 die Spiele dauerten von einem ungewissen Tag an bis zum 2. Mai. Heute ist von den Daten alles verschwunden außer V, das sich unter ES von *Maesoni* findet, und IAS von *Maias* am Ende. Man würde davor *pridie Kalendas, Kalendis* erwarten, etwa in der Art der Daten der zweiten Spiele in Z. 9, und in der Tat wäre man versucht, aus den von Zangemeister angegebenen Buchstabenresten PRI herauszulesen; den Rest kann man aber nicht eruieren. Wenn aber der Buchstabe vor VI nicht ein schlecht erhaltenes C ist, sondern S, und davor I und der zweite Teil eines D, hätte man *Kal[en]dis*, wobei freilich die genannten Reste nicht als PRI, sondern als KAL zu deuten wären. Doch bleibt der Rest vor dem hypothetischen KAL unerklärlich, denn V unter ES der vorherigen Zeile steht fest. Non liquet.

I 5 wenn Garrucci richtig NATOR gelesen hat (heute, wie schon in Zangemeisters Zeiten, ist nur OR sichtbar, wenn nicht vor OR winzige Reste von T übriggeblieben sind), dann müsste es sich um einen der Namen auf *-nator* handeln. Von den zahlreichen entsprechenden Bildungen sind etwas häufiger belegt nur *Salinator, Senator* und *Venator*.³⁹ Von ihnen wäre für einen Gladiator *Venator* recht passend als ein Berufsname, *nomen artis*, eine Gattung, der wir auch in diesem Text noch begegnen werden. – *Tigris* las Garrucci (von T sah er nur

³⁸ So auch A. Martin, *Latomus* 44 (1985) 189; er will sogar aufgrund des Fotos *L. Maesof[---]* lesen. – Castrén datiert die Kandidatur allgemein in neronisch-flavische Zeit, man kann sie aber auf die flavische Zeit einengen.

³⁹ Nach Kajantos Listen in *Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki 1965, (322, 317, 324) sind *Salinator* 21mal, *Senator* 13mal, *Venator* 10mal belegt.

Reste),⁴⁰ Zangemeister nur IGRIS. Wir dürfen hier von *Tigris* ausgehen, auch wenn er vor allem ein Frauenname war, als Männernamen nur aus *CIL* VI 18510 *M. Vettius Tigris* bekannt; besonders zu beachten *CIL* VI 10165 *Tigridi cursori Ludi Magni* (2./1. Jh.): wie in unserem Graffito, kann auch hier *Tigris* als ein *nomen artis* aufgefasst werden. Es war umso leichter, ihn als Gladiatorennamen zu verwenden, als das Appellativ *tigris* im Lateinischen in der Prosa gewöhnlich maskulin war, wenn auch dann in der Dichtung vorherrschend feminin (im Griechischen wohl ohne Unterschied beides). – Nach *Tigris Iul(ianus)* druckt Zangemeister im Majuskeltext P I mit gebrochenen Linien (also als unsicher), aber im Minuskeltext lässt er P weg. Heute ist nur wenig zu sehen, aber mit gutem Willen könnte man P I lesen. Wenn dem so ist, dann hätte der Schreiber hier ausnahmsweise P für *pugnarum* gesetzt (sonst muss vor der Zahl der Kämpfe *pugnarum* immer in Gedanken ergänzt werden).

I 6 am Anfang, wo bisher nichts Vernünftiges geboten wurde, lese ich *Cr[esce]ns*; vgl. 11. – Das nach (*pugnarum*) III folgende M (= *missus*) wird von Sabbatini Tumolesi auf diesen vorhergehenden Namen bezogen, eher gehört es zu *Speculator*. Dies ist als Cognomen nur spärlich belegt;⁴¹ hier könnte es möglicherweise als *nomen artis* aufgefasst werden; *speculator* 'Kundschafter' war ein militärischer Terminus *technicus* und konnte auch Leibwache bedeuten (also nicht ganz unpassend für einen Gladiator). Die nach dem Namen folgende Zahl deutet Zangemeister *l(ibertus) XIX*, Sabbatini Tumolesi (*pugnarum*) LXIX, wobei also *Speculator* ein Sklave wäre; beides ist möglich. Einiges könnte für erstere Annahme sprechen, nicht aber so sehr die hohe Zahl der Kämpfe (in II 5 sind 55 Kämpfe angegeben, in 27 möglicherweise 51), als vielmehr die Tatsache, dass die Sklaven sonst immer als *Iuliani* oder *Neroniani* bezeichnet werden, was hier sozusagen durch *l(ibertus)* ersetzt worden wäre.

9 Garrucci hat vor IV noch V gesehen, davor könnten noch weitere Tage angegeben gewesen sein. Sehr wahrscheinlich ist es aber nicht, denn die Dauer von fünf sukzessiven Tagen ist der Rekord für die von den Lanistae veranstalteten Spiele in der erhaltenen pompejanischen Dokumentation (dazu s. oben).

10 Sabbatini Tumolesi druckt *di[machaeri]* und *o[plomachi]*, meint also, die Worte seien ausgeschrieben. Da aber die Namen der Gladiorentypen hier

⁴⁰ Auch Sabbatini Tumolesi druckt *Tigris*, als habe sie T gesehen, das ist aber ausgeschlossen, da T schon auf dem 1957 aufgenommenen Foto nicht mehr sichtbar ist.

⁴¹ Kajanto (s. Anm. 39) 320 zählt insgesamt fünf Belege.

normalerweise mit einem oder zwei Buchstaben abgekürzt geschrieben worden sind (Ausnahmen *essed.* I 7 und *ess.* 26), würde ich *di(machaeri)* und *o(plomachi)* vorziehen. Dass hier *dimachaeri* gemeint sind, ist freilich nicht über alle Zweifel erhaben.⁴²

11 Garrucci las den Schlussteil des ersten Namens CIENS. Das ist fragwürdig, denn es gibt sonst keine Namen auf *-ciens* (außer dem seltenen *Speciens*, dazu s. oben S. 145). Heute ist vom Namen nichts übriggeblieben, und im Ganzen lässt die Überlieferung keinen vernünftigen Entzifferungsvorschlag zu. Ich frage mich aber, ob hier der populäre *Crescens* vorliegen könne, wie in I 6. – *Laudand[us Ne]ron(ianus)* lese ich den Namen des Gegners (auch Sabbatini Tumolesi hat *Laudandus* erkannt). Dieses Cognomen war bisher nur einmal belegt: *CIL* VI 3498 *M. Iul(ius) Laudandus a militiis*, wäre aber für einen Gladiator passend als ein *nomen artis*.

12 *Nobilior*, nur selten außerhalb der senatorischen Fulvier belegt,⁴³ könnte auch als ein *nomen artis* aufgefasst werden. Der in *CIL* IV 1182 belegte homonyme Gladiator, auch ein *Iul(ianus)*, kann nicht identisch mit dem unsrigen sein, weil ein Reiter. Das erhärtet die Annahme, *Nobilior* sei in diesen Fällen wirklich als ein Berufsname aufzufassen.

15 *Platanus* ist ebenfalls ein selten bezeugter Name,⁴⁴ und auch hier könnte man an ein *nomen artis* denken: Die Platane, die von den Griechen (nachträglich) an *πλατύς* angeschlossen wurde, galt im allgemeinen Bewusstsein als breitästig und blättrig; für einen stattlichen Gladiator wäre es ein passender Name.

18 *Pugnax* (dessen Lesung sicher zu sein scheint) ist einmalig, als Eigenname nur hier bezeugt. Der Bedeutung nach (*pugnax* heißt 'kampflustig') ein ausgezeichnetes *nomen artis*.

⁴² Daran zweifeln G. Ville, *La gladiature en Occident des origines à la mort de Domitien* (BEFAR 225), Rome 1981, 3 Anm. 14, und M. Junkelmann, *Das Spiel mit dem Tod* (2000) 127.

⁴³ Bei Kajanto (s. Anm. 39) 279 zweimal verzeichnet. Zwei weitere Belege in *Arctos* 41 (2007) 99 (von denen der eine ein municipaler Fulvius in Korinth ist).

⁴⁴ Kajanto (s. Anm. 39) 335 verzeichnet vier Belege, alle aus Italien. Weitere vier Belege in *Arctos* 41 (2007) 101.

19 *Murranus*, möglicherweise eine keltische Bildung,⁴⁵ findet sich auch sonst als Gladiatorenname in Pompeji: im Ludus gladiatorius V 5, 3 ist ein Gladiator *Murranus Clod(ianus)*⁴⁶ aus *CIL* IV 4288 und 4292 belegt (vgl. auch 4313. 4351; ein weiterer Murranus 1432). *Murranus* war also als Gladiatorenname in Pompeji hinlänglich bekannt; vielleicht wirkte der clodische oder der neronische (oder aber ein dritter) als Muster für den anderen, oder aber sie waren alle keltischer Herkunft und haben ihren in den gallischen Provinzen beliebten Namen mitgebracht.

26 *Ess(edarii)* Sabbatini Tumolesi, als seien die zwei nachfolgenden Gladiatoren beide Wagenkämpfer. Das ist möglich, auch wenn einmalig in der Inschrift; sonst besteht das Gegnerpaar immer aus zwei verschiedenen Gladiatorengattungen. Ob rechts ursprünglich etwas geschrieben war, bleibt ungewiss; Zangemeister nimmt keinen Verlust der Schrift an, aber heute ist es nicht mehr möglich zu entscheiden, ob rechts nach IISS der Name der anderen Gattung des Gegners folgte.

28 *Scylax* ist in der römischen Namengebung eine recht seltene Bildung, als Männername in *CIL* X 926 (Pompeji!) und *AE* 2009, 282 (Pinna Vestina in der Regio IV), als Frauenname in *CIL* VI 21717 belegt (üblicher im griechischen Bereich).⁴⁷ Man fragt sich, ob der Name als *nomen artis* deutbar wäre; σκύλαξ bezeichnet einen jungen Hund, auch ein Tierjunges im Allgemeinen. Hätte er also einem jungen kräftigen Gladiator beigegeben worden sein können?

30 Zangemeister las NODV[---] (heute ist vom Namen nichts zu sehen). Wenn richtig gelesen, liegt höchstwahrscheinlich *Nodulus* vor, sonst zweimal belegt: *Bull. com.* 51 (1923) 109 Nr. 164 (Rom, etwa 50–150 n. Chr.) und *CIL* XI 1462 (Pisae, 1. Jh. n. Chr.) *Ti. Camidenus Ti. f. Gal. Nodulus*. Andere Namen kommen kaum in Frage, etwa *Nodus* wäre eine überraschende onomastische Bildung.

⁴⁵ So A. Holder, *Der alt-celtische Sprachschatz* 2, Leipzig 1904, 658; in seiner Nachfolge A. Los, *Classica Wratislaviensia* 11 (1987) 60. Für einen lateinischen Namen tritt (kaum richtig), H. Solin, *Stadtrömische Sklavennamen. Ein Namenbuch*, Stuttgart 1996, 19 ein. Zum Namen noch X. Delamarre, *Nomina celtica antiqua selecta inscriptionum (noms de personnes celtiques dans l'épigraphie classique)*, Paris 2007, 137.

⁴⁶ Ich würde so auflösen, nicht *Clod(ii)* mit E. Diehl, *Pompeianische Wandinschriften und Verwandtes* (Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen 56), Berlin 1930² Nr. 254 und P. Castrén (s. Anm. 29) 154f. Nr. 119, 2.

⁴⁷ Zum Gebrauch von Σκύλαξ vgl. O. Masson, *JS* 1988, 29 = *OGS* III (2000) 29.

34 *Astus* (Lesung über alle Zweifel erhaben) ist ein seltener Name, nur in Rom (drei Belege in meinem griechischen Namenbuch 1063, wozu fem. *Aste* mit ebenfalls drei Belegen) und einige Male in Italien (*CIL* X 1403 e 12 aus Herculaneum; XI 7757 aus Veji; XIV 3832 aus Tibur) belegt. So stellt sich die Frage, ob die pompejanischen Belege des Namens *CIL* IV 1771, 1851, 2420 (wo *Astus hic pedicatur* zu lesen ist) sich auf ein und denselben Mann beziehen.

Zum Schluss noch zwei allgemeine Bemerkungen zum Gebrauch der Namen. Erstens muss festgestellt werden, dass die aufgeführten Gladiatoren in der Mehrheit Sklaven waren, die ausnahmslos als *Iuliani* oder *Neroniani* angegeben sind – das heißt auch, dass diejenigen *Iuliani* und *Neroniani*, von deren Namen entweder nichts erhalten ist oder aber so wenig, dass daraus nicht hervorgeht, ob die Einzelnamen als solche von Sklaven anzusehen sind. Freigelassene finden sich nicht mit Sicherheit (in I 6 nahm Zangemeister einen *l(ibertus)* an, was möglich ist). Daneben führen fünf Gladiatoren Gentilnamen (14, 25, 27, 31, 33); dabei geht es um einen echten Gentilnamen, nicht um einen Gentilnamen in cognominaler Funktion, da immer ein Praenomen vorangeht. Leider geht aus keinem einzigen Fall hervor, ob die Namenträger Freigelassene oder Freigeborene waren, denn immer fehlt die Filiation oder die Angabe des Herrn. Doch besitzen wir einen Anhaltspunkt: es fällt auf, dass in den meisten Fällen ein Cognomen mit Sicherheit fehlt (so in 27, 31, 33, wohl auch in 14, vielleicht in 25), während in keinem einzigen Fall ein Cognomen mit Sicherheit vorliegt. Das heißt, die Namenträger sind eher als Freigeborene denn als Freigelassene zu bewerten, denn es wäre schwieriger sich vorzustellen, dass Freigelassene ihr Cognomen, also ihren alten Sklavennamen fast regelmäßig weggelassen hätten, was für Freigeborene leichter war, da sie ja erst vor ein paar Generationen die Cognomina regelmäßiger zu führen begonnen hatten. Das heißt aber nicht, dass Freigeborene in neronischer Zeit in so vielen Fällen der Cognomina entbehrt hätten. Der Autor der Anzeige (oder der Schreiber des Graffitos) hielt es vielleicht für ausreichend, die Kämpfer mit dem Vornamen und Gentilnamen anzugeben, so wie in den Wahlplakaten die Cognomina der Kandidaten weggelassen werden konnten, auch wenn sie ein solches besaßen. Leider ist die Zahl der sonst mit einem Gentilnamen versehenen Gladiatoren in Pompeji minimal (etwa alle in *CIL* IV 1182 verzeichneten Gladiatoren, die an den Spielen des N. Festius Ampliatus teilnahmen, waren Sklaven, wie auch die Kämpfer, deren Namen sich in den auf die Säulen des Ludus gladiatorius V 5, 3 gekritzelten Graffiti

finden); die einzige Urkunde, in der freie Bürger als Gladiatoren auftreten, ist *CIL* IV 10236–10238 (die dort angezeigten Spiele wurden in Nola abgehalten), wo neben Sklaven, die alle *Neroniani* sind, ein M. Attilius und ein L. Raecius Felix vorkommen, der letztere also mit einem Cognomen versehen. In anderen Städten von Italien fehlt es nicht an Beispielen, bei denen Freie als Gladiatoren begegnen; so weisen zwei Bruchstücke von Gladiatorenlisten aus Venusia unter 28 Namen nicht weniger als 9 von Freien auf (*CIL* IX 465. 466). Was die fünf in unserer Urkunde erwähnten Freien angeht, können wir natürlich nichts von den Motiven wissen, warum sie sich zur Gladiatur verpflichtet hatten, auch brauchen sie keine Pompejaner gewesen zu sein, obschon die von ihnen geführten Gentilnamen auch sonst in Pompeji begegnen.

Zweitens führen manche Gladiatoren Namen, die sich als *nomina artis*, als sprechende Namen oder Berufsnamen charakterisieren lassen.⁴⁸ So deutlich *Pugnax* und *Venator*, auch *Laudandus*, *Nobilior*, *Speculator*, *Tigris*; auch *Platanus* und *Scylax* haben in den Sprachteilhabern Assoziationen mit dem Gladiatorenwesen erwecken können. Die Annahme, diese Namen seien wirklich als *nomina artis* aufzufassen, wird durch die Tatsache erhärtet, dass sie alle, abgesehen von *Venator* (der auch kein populärer Name war), sehr selten gebrauchte Bildungen repräsentieren. Es stellt sich die Frage, wie die fraglichen Kämpfer derartige Namen erhalten haben. Sicher nicht bei Geburt, wenigstens nicht in jedem einzelnen Fall. Gehen wir davon aus, dass alle Träger der fraglichen Namen Sklaven waren, so wäre es leicht, eventuelle frühere Namen durch neue Benennungen zu ersetzen, wenn sie überhaupt einen Namen hatten – etwa Kriegsgefangene, die zur Gladiatur gezwungen wurden, führten überhaupt nicht immer richtige Eigennamen, so dass man ihnen dann in Gladiatorschulen und bei ähnlichen Gelegenheiten derartige sprechende Namen geben konnte. Andere in unserer Urkunde erwähnten Gladiatoren mögen Namen geführt haben, die nur wegen ihrer Beliebtheit gewählt worden waren wie etwa *Atticus* oder *Herma*; in welcher Phase sie beigegeben worden waren, bleibt in Einzelfällen ungewiss, aber ein Name wie die wahrscheinlich keltische Bildung *Murranus* mag den ursprünglichen Namen vertreten, den der Namensträger aus Gallien mitgebracht hatte. Von den in 2508 vorkommenden sprechenden Namen wurde sonst in der

⁴⁸ Allgemein zu dieser Namenkategorie H. Solin, "Zum Problem der sog. *nomina artis* im antiken Rom", in *Onomastik. Akten des 18. Internationalen Kongresses für Namenforschung Trier, 12.–17. April 1993*, 3: *Namensoziologie*, Tübingen 1999, 15–23.

römischen Anthroponymie sehr spärlich Gebrauch gemacht; wahrscheinlich wurden ihre Träger keine so berühmten Fechter, dass andere Gladiatoren sich die Namen angeeignet hätten, wie es sonst bei Gladiatoren hatte vorkommen können. Hier geht es also um sprechende Namen, die sonst keine Verbreitung fanden, nicht um solche Berufsamen, die zurückgehend auf berühmte Vertreter der Zunft weitergegeben wurden; diese Kategorie von Namen ist besonders bei Schauspielern bekannt. Leider ist die Namengebung der Gladiatoren nicht sehr gut bekannt, und es wäre eine dringende Aufgabe, eine ausgedehnte Studie dazu in Angriff zu nehmen.⁴⁹

6. *Pompeis*. Es sei hier kurz darauf hingewiesen, dass so gut wie immer in den literarischen und epigraphischen Quellen der Ablativ/Dativ von Pompejis Namen *Pompeis* mit einem *i* geschrieben wird. In pompejanischen Inschriften erscheint ausnahmslos die Form *Pompeis*, und zwar in allen Inschriftenklassen, in Steininschriften wie in Anzeigen der Gladiatorenspiele und auch in gemeinen Graffiti. Kein Deut von *Pompeis*. Etwa in den jucundinischen Wachstafeln erscheint *Pompeis* sehr häufig, *Pompeis* kein einziges Mal. Dasselbe trifft für die literarische Überlieferung zu. In einem einzigen Fall führt die Überlieferung zu *Pompeis*, in Cic. *leg. agr.* 2, 96, wo alle modernen Ausgaben *Pompeis* drucken, ohne dass in den kritischen Apparaten dazu etwas geäußert wird.⁵⁰ Aus diesem Umstand soll man die praktische Konsequenz ziehen, die Form *Pompeis* nie als Ergänzung oder Auflösung in epigraphische Texte zu setzen und sie auch in lateinisch verfassten Editionen zu vermeiden.⁵¹

317. ZU DEN ABKÜRZUNGEN VON QVINQVENNALIS

Wie bekannt, wird der Terminus *quinquennalis* in kaiserzeitlichen Inschriften oft QQ abgekürzt. Wann ist diese Abkürzung in Gebrauch gekommen? QQ für

⁴⁹ Einige Bemerkungen bei Vile, *La gladiature* (s. Anm. 42), passim, bes. 308–310; seine Bemerkungen sind nicht besonders fruchtbar, wie das ganze Buch etwas enttäuschend ist.

⁵⁰ Die modernen Editoren können *Pompeis* auch irrtümlich in den Text setzen. Ein Fall: In seiner Edition des Prodigienbuches von Iulius Obsequens (1910) druckt Roszbach im Text *Pompei<i>s*; im ältesten Zeugen, der Editio princeps der Aldina von 1508 steht *Pompeius*. Ob Roszbachs Konjektur das Richtige trifft, bleibe dahingestellt.

⁵¹ Etwa im letzten Supplement zu *CIL* IV (4, 1) wird in den Kommentaren und sonstigen Anmerkungen der Editoren durchgehend *Pompeis* geschrieben.

quinquennalis gehört zu den Abkürzungen neuen Stils, die nicht aus den notae bestehen, in denen das Wort durch einen oder mehrere Anfangsbuchstaben wiedergegeben wird; sie werden 'endungslose Kontraktionen' genannt und kamen erst im Laufe des 2. Jahrhunderts in üblicheren Gebrauch.⁵² Man begegnet aber ab und zu in der Forschung Fällen, wo QQ zu *quinquennalis* aufgelöst wird, auch wenn die Zeit oder sonstige Argumente eine solche Auflösung nicht empfehlen.⁵³

Hier unten werden einige Fälle zusammengestellt, in denen QQ falsch als *quinquennalis* gedeutet wird oder welche auf die eine oder die andere Weise problematisch sind. Beginnen wir mit einem heiklen Fall, der sicher republikanischen Inschrift *CIL X 5074 = I² 1533 (Atina)*,⁵⁴ in der das Duovirat der zwei Beamten $\overline{\text{II}}\cdot\text{VIRI}\cdot\text{Q}\cdot\text{Q}$ überliefert ist. Diese Abkürzung ist ein Unicum in den republikanischen Inschriften, und in Atina haben die Inschriften sonst immer *quinq*. Ihre Textform beruht auf der Abschrift von Marco Antonio Palumbo (1619), der kein schlechter Autor war; wenn er in 5 EORVM für FORVM schreibt, so ist das eine harmlose Entgleisung, dass aber Palumbo QVINQ als Q·Q wiedergegeben hätte, ist nicht so recht glaubhaft. Sollte aber im Stein Q gestanden haben (diese Abkürzung ist in republikanischer Zeit durch *CIL I² 1911* belegt), was Palumbo dann, um zu zeigen, dass die Duoviri zwei waren, mit Q·Q wiedergegeben hätte? Wie dem auch sei, dieses Zeugnis als Beleg für die kontraktive Abkürzung QQ bleibt etwas unsicher.

⁵² Zur Benennung vgl. U. Hälvä-Nyberg, *Die Kontraktionen auf den lateinischen Inschriften Roms und Afrikas bis zum 8. Jh. n. Chr.*, Helsinki 1988, 19. Auf die Datierung von QQ in die vorgerückte Kaiserzeit habe ich kurz hingewiesen in "Sull'amministrazione di Atina in età romana", in *Le epigrafi della Valle di Comino. Atti del terzo convegno epigrafico cominese. San Donato Val di Comino, Teatro Comunale 27 maggio 2006*, a cura di H. Solin, Cassino 2007, 89f.

⁵³ So hat Hälvä-Nyberg, *op. cit.* 51 und sonst das hohe Alter von *q(uin)q(uennalis)* grob überschätzt, indem sie Belege von Q Q aus dem 1. Jh. n. Chr. als *q(uin)q(ennalis)* gedeutet hat, auch wenn in all diesbezüglichen Fällen eine doppelte Erwähnung des Vornamens *Q(uintus)*, also (*duorum*) *Q(uintorum)* sc. *libertus* vorliegt. Das hat auch S. Panciera, "La produzione epigrafica di Roma in età repubblicana. Le officine lapidarie, II: Nascita e sviluppo del sistema abbreviativo", in *Colons et colonies dans le monde romain, études réunies par S. Demougin et J. Scheid* (Coll. EFR 456), Paris 2008, 366f. notiert. In demselben Aufsatz bietet Panciera gute Bemerkungen zu einigen Abkürzungen in republikanischen Inschriften, die formal Kontraktionen darstellen, doch strukturell anders stehen als *q(uin)q(uennalis)*, wovon er keinen einzigen alten Beleg zu bieten hat.

⁵⁴ Zur Datierung und Erklärung der Inschrift H. Solin, Zur Datierung und Erklärung der Inschrift siehe meinen in Anmerkung 52 erwähnten Beitrag (wie Anm. 52, 89f.).

AE 1988, 249 (Interamna Lirenas in Südlatium) *Q. Aeclanius Proximus et N. Hernelius Felix IIIvir(i) qq. aequitatem faciendam curaverunt ex p. p.* Vieles im Textverlauf ließe an eine Datierung ins 1. Jh. denken, doch ist dies nicht schlüssig. Aufgrund der Autopsie würde ich die Inschrift nicht unbedingt in eine so frühe Zeit ansetzen; die erste Hälfte des 2. Jh. wäre nicht auszuschließen. Man beachte auch das Fehlen der Filiation in den Namen der Quattuorviri, was im 1. Jh. nicht gerade zu erwarten wäre.

A. Buonopane, *SEBarc* 13 (2015) 69–86 (Compsa, Ende des 1. Jh. v. Chr. bis Anfang des 1. Jh. n. Chr.) gibt aufgrund einer Nachprüfung folgenden Text: *Q. Ant+[---]us M. [f.? ---] q(uin)q(uennalis), s(ua p(ecunia) s(traverunt).* Buonopane selbst räumt ein, dass die Lesung des zweiten Q unsicher bleibt (die Lesung des ersten Q ist dagegen sicher), und die Prüfung der photographischen Abbildungen verstärkt den Zweifel:⁵⁵ es ist nicht leicht, das zweite Q herauszulesen; möglich ist es aber doch. Man muss sich ferner vergegenwärtigen, dass nach dem ersten Q nicht viele andere Erklärungsmöglichkeiten übrigbleiben.

I. Paestum 88 und 89 erwähnen einen M.⁵⁶ Pomponius Diogenes, Duovir *q. q.* in Paestum. Seinen Vater M. Pomponius Libo, einen *trierarchus* hat man mit der vespasianischen Deduktion von Veteranen der misenatischen Flotte im Jahre 71 in Verbindung gebracht und deswegen die Inschrift ans Ende des 1. Jh. angesetzt.⁵⁷ Auch wenn man die Verbindung mit der vespasianischen Deduktion akzeptiert, kann man die Datierung bis in die dreißiger, wenn nicht die vierziger Jahre des 2. Jh. ausdehnen. Auch so würde diese Inschrift eines der ältesten Zeugnisse der Kontraktion QQ darstellen. Man fragt sich aber, ob die Verbin-

⁵⁵ Ich begründe meine Zweifel anhand der Fotos, die mir Buonopane zur Verfügung gestellt, wofür ihm gedankt sei; ferner habe ich ihm für die Diskussion um den Text zu danken.

⁵⁶ Die Editoren haben den Vornamen in 88 als *C(aius)* gedeutet (so M. Mello, in *I. Paestum* 88 und M. Buonocore, *Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell'Occidente romano* [von jetzt an *EAOR* abgekürzt], III: *Regiones Italiae II-V, Sicilia, Sardinia et Corsica*, Roma 1992, 33 Nr. 9), während sein sonst homonymer Bruder ein *M(arcus)* gewesen wäre. Es wäre aber überraschend, wenn die zwei Brüder nur durch den Vornamen zu unterscheiden wären und dazu eine ähnliche munizipale Laufbahn gehabt hätten. Nun sieht man anhand des von Buonocore publizierten Fotos (das von Mello lässt keine Entscheidung zu), dass der Vorname sich nicht mit Sicherheit bestimmen lässt, weswegen der Weg frei bleibt, ihn als *M(arcus)* zu deuten, d. h. 88–89 sind nur einem Sohn, dem *M(arcus)*, gewidmet (so jetzt auch U. Soldovieri, *EDR076086*).

⁵⁷ Mello ist an diesem Punkt undeutlich (auch sonst ist sein Kommentar etwas konfus), aber Buonocore datiert den Stein ans Ende des 1. Jh.

dung mit der vespasianischen Deduktion schlüssig ist, denn einiges im Wortlaut der Inschriften spricht für eine noch spätere Datierung.

AE 2001, 905 (Nursia, augusteisch) gibt die Laufbahn eines Munizipalbeamten in den Ergänzungen der Editorin (D. Manconi, *Epigraphica* 63 [2001] 229–231 Nr. 4 mit Foto) auf folgende Weise: [--- *N]umisio [- Qu]ir(ina) VIIIvir(o) [IIvir(ali)] pot(estate) q(uin)q(uennali) [II, p]raef(ecto) Nur(siae)*. Damit hätten wir einen der ältesten Belege von *q(uin)q(uennalis)*. Man fragt sich aber, ob nicht *VIIIvir(o) [IIvir(ali)] pot(estate) q(uinquennali), q(uaestori)* [z. B. *aer(ari), p]raef(ecto) Nur(siae)* oder eher *Nur(sinorum)* verstanden werden könnte. Was die Ergänzungen links angeht, sind die Vorschläge des Erstherausgebers nicht immer überzeugend; wenn in 4 *[IIvir(ali)]* das Richtige trifft, wie es scheint, dann würde ich in 2–3 eher *Secun/[diano]* ergänzen (*Secun/[dino]* scheint zu kurz zu sein), wobei in 5 *[aer(ari), p]raef(ecto)* gut steht (wenn der Autor des inschriftlichen Textes auf die Zentrierung beachtet hat, dann scheint in 5 links [II P] zu wenig zu sein). Man beachte auch, dass die zwei Q-Q von einem Punkt getrennt sind. Die Folge der Ämter VIIIvir, Quaestor und dann Praefectus Nursinorum bereitet keine Schwierigkeiten. Das außerordentliche Amt eines Praefectus konnte problemlos am Ende der Laufbahn des Cursus stehen. In *CIL* IX 4198 begegnen wir einem *VIIIvir, q(uaestor) a[erari]*.

I. Aquileia 522 (wie auch 523) ist einem *C. Iulius C. fil. Fab. Agathopus, flamen, patron(us) colon(iae), IIIvir iur(e) dic(undo) q(uin)q(uennalis)* gewidmet. Der Editor Brusin datiert die Inschrift aufgrund des Schriftträgers, eines schönen Altars, an das Ende des 1. oder an den Anfang des 2. Jh.; man hat aus denselben kunsthistorischen Gründen auch die zweite Hälfte des 1. Jh. vorgeschlagen;⁵⁸ auf dieselbe Periode deutet auch die Tatsache hin, dass der Geehrte *C. Iulius Agathopus* Enkel eines Freigelassenen des *divus Augustus* war.⁵⁹ Jedenfalls kann die Inschrift kaum aus dem 2. Jh. stammen, weswegen hier ein alter Beleg für unsere Kontraktion vorliegen muss. Es ist bemerkenswert, dass in *Aquileia* in älteren Inschriften sonst *quinq.* gebraucht wird, während alle übrigen Zeugnisse für *qq.* aus dem 2. und 3. Jh. stammen.

⁵⁸ So S. Panciera, "I patroni di Aquileia fra la città e Roma", in *Antichità Alto-Adriatiche* 30 (1987) 84 = *Epigrafia, epigrafi, epigrafisti*, Roma 2006, 853. Ich danke herzlich Claudio Zaccaria für die Diskussion um diese bemerkenswerte Inschrift.

⁵⁹ Einen Stammbaum der Familie bietet F. Tassaux, "Sévirat et promotion sociale en Italie nord-orientale", in *Les élites municipales de l'Italie énéinsulaire de la mort de César à la mort de Domitien*, Rome 2000, 409.

Dann einige leichter abzuhandelnde Fälle in bunter Folge: *NSc* 1903, 367 Nr. 3 (= *AE* 1904, 39) aus Volsinii *IIIv[ir q.] / q.*, in *CIL* XI 7301 zu *IIIv[ir] q.* richtiggestellt. – Von *CIL* I² 3176 wird in der Neuausgabe *Suppl. It.* 5 Rubi 1 in Z. 6 in der Lücke links ohne jeglichen Not *IIIv[ir(i) q. q.* ergänzt. – In *SE* 33 (1965) 553 (= *AE* 1965, 279) aus Mevania *[IIIv[ir. q]q.* muss natürlich *[quin]q.* ergänzt werden (das hat schon E. Zuddas, ERD 074473 gesehen). – In *AE* 1995, 392 (Iuvanum, nicht viel nach 41 n. Chr.) wird üblicherweise *Cap[ito q.] q. II* wiedergegeben,⁶⁰ wegen der frühen Zeit würde man aber *Cap[ito] q. II* ergänzen; in Q kann entweder *q(uinquennalis)* oder *q(uaestor)* stecken.⁶¹ – In *EAOR* VIII 35 b, c (Venafrum, augusteisch-tiberisch) wird von der Editorin *[IIv[ir q. q.]* ergänzt, aber ohne Not. – In *I. Bovianum* 11 (vom Editor ins 1. Jh. angesetzt) wird ganz unnötigerweise *IIv[ir(o) i(ure) d(icundo) q(uin)[q(uennali)]* ergänzt. – *NSc* 1953, 297f N. 63 (Ostia) *[--- fla]men divi Vespasiani [q(uin)q(uennalis pe]rp(etuus)*: wie es auch mit der genaueren Datierung steht, braucht in der Lücke nicht *qq.* gestanden zu haben. – Zum Schluss ein bizarrer Fall: *LIALb* 21 (Lissus in Dalmatien, gegen Ende der caesarischen Zeit) *IIviri qu(in)que(nnales)*.

Eventuelle strittige Fälle aus dem *CIL* und einige Schlussbetrachtungen erfolgen im nächsten Band dieser Zeitschrift.

318. VARIA URBANA

1. In *Greek and Latin Inscriptions at New York University* (ed. M. Peachin), Roma 2014 104 Nr. 38 liest sich die Klausel in der vorletzten Zeile *HIC·M·E·H·N·S*, der Editor Ch. Bartlett druckt aber *h<o>c m(onumentum) e(xterum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur)*. Abgesehen davon, dass nach den in der Forschung üblicherweise akzeptierten Editionsprinzipien nicht *h<o>c*, sondern *h̄ō c̄* geschrieben

⁶⁰ So zuletzt C. Campedelli, *L'amministrazione municipale delle strade romane in Italia*, Bonn 2014, 209 Nr. 88.

⁶¹ Für *q(uinquennalis)* tritt ein G. Iaculli, in *Iuvanum. Atti del convegno di studi, Chieti maggio 1983*, ed. Fabbriotti (I diamanti 7), Chieti 1990, 81–89; für *q(uaestor)* G. Firpo, in *Quadrifluus amnis. Studi di letteratura, storia, filosofia e arte offerti dalla Facoltà di Lettere a C. Vona*, Chieti 1987, 256f; M. F. Petracchia Lucernoni, *I questori municipali dell'Italia antica* (Studi pubbl. dall'Istituto italiano per la storia antica 41), Roma 1988, 160f Nr. 237; G. Prosperi Valenti, *Bullettino della Deputazione Abruzzese di storia patria* 93/94 (2003/2004) 51 Nr. 14.

werden sollte, darf die Überlieferung nicht angetastet werden: wenn der Stein HIC hat, soll es dabei bleiben. Es sollte bekannt sein, dass *monumentum* / *monimentum* mitunter zum Maskulinum übergehen konnte.⁶² Beispiele davon in *ThLL* VIII 1461, 28–32; dort können weitere hinzugefügt werden: *hic monumentus* in *CIL* VI 30353; *monimentus* in *CIL* VI 13319f, 14670, 19319, 22120; XIV 166; *InscrRomGalicia* IV 127; *CIL* VIII 10648, 11751; zu *hunc, eum, eundem -um* füge hinzu *CIL* VI 41307. Der Übergang zum Maskulinum ist vielleicht auf den Einfluss von *titulus* zurückzuführen.

2. In seinem Werk *La Roma sotterranea cristiana* III (1877) 297 publiziert Giovanni Battista de Rossi eine sprachlich und paläographisch interessante Gra-

⚭ D ⚭ M ⚭
 VIRIAAR TAE MISIA
 FECIT SIBI ET
 STATILIO PETRO CONÇI SVO
 LIBERTIS LIBERTASBVSQVBPOSTE (sic)
 RISQ A EORVM
 (sic) SI QVIS AVTEM HVNC SEPVLCRVM VFNDERFVFONABE
 (sic) VOIVFRIT IMFERETERXRIOSXTVRNI SS XX Ñ

binschrift aus der Kallistus-Katakombe, die von einer Viria Artaemisia ihrem Mann Statilius Petrus errichtet worden war. De Rossi hielt die ins 3. Jh. datierbare Inschrift für heidnisch; konsequenterweise hat Ferrua, der Editor des vierten Bandes des stadtrömischen christlichen Inschriftenwerkes sie nicht aufgenommen. So blieb sie Niemandland, denn die Editoren der heidnischen Inschriften Roms, in der Annahme, alle von de Rossi aus Kallistus publizierten Inschriften seien christlich, bemühten sich wiederum nicht, de Rossis Werk zu exzerpieren, und so fand sie keine Aufnahme in den sechsten Band des Berliner Corpus. Ich würde persönlich in erster Linie für eine christliche Zuweisung der Inschrift optieren, zunächst wegen des Namens *Petrus*,⁶³ der prinzipiell ein aus-

⁶² Vgl. G. Konjetzny, *ALL* 15 (1908) 301.

⁶³ Zur Geschichte dieses Namens (abgesehen vom Apostelnamen) siehe H. Solin, "Heidnisch und christlich. Überlegungen zur Frühgeschichte des Personennamens Petrus", in *Bild- und Formensprache der spätantiken Kunst, Hugo Brandenburg zum 65. Geburtstag*, hrsg. von M.

schließlich christlicher Name war; in den gelegentlich auftauchenden Fällen, in denen er bei Personen zu finden ist, die sich nicht zum Christentum bekannt haben, können die Zeugnisse durchweg ins 3. oder 4. Jahrhundert datiert werden, in eine Zeit, da *Petrus* schon gewissermaßen in der altchristlichen Namengebung eingebürgert war, weswegen es sich in solchen Fällen um Interferenz des schon üblich gewordenen christlichen Namens handeln mag. Das heißt, die Präsenz von *Petrus* kann unsere Inschrift nicht mit letzter Sicherheit als christliche beweisen, wahrscheinlich wird eine christliche Zuweisung aber doch, auch unter Berücksichtigung der Fundstelle. Wie dem auch sei, jedenfalls ist die Inschrift spät, kaum vor Mitte des 3. Jh. geschrieben, eher noch etwas später, wie etwa die kontraktive Abkürzung *cong*i (die sonst nirgends vorzukommen scheint⁶⁴ und in römischer Umgebung christlich anmutet) für *coniugi* zeigt, die vor dem 3. Jh. nicht in Gebrauch kommt. Wenn die Inschrift christlich ist, gewinnt die dem Grabrecht charakteristische Formel (ich bessere stillschweigend einige schwerer Schreibfehler des Steinmetzes) *si quis autem hunc sepulcrum vendere ve(l) donare voluerit, inferet erario Saturni s(es)(tertium) XX (millia) n(ummum)* besonderes Interesse,⁶⁵ denn solche Bestimmungen werden seltener während der späteren Kaiserzeit in Rom, aber auch wenn der zeitliche Schwerpunkt der Androhung von Grabmulden durch die Stifter in der heidnischen Epoche liegt, finden sich solche Inschriften auch noch im christlichen Rom. In stadtrömischen altchristlichen Inschriften finden sich keine Erwähnungen des *aerarium Saturni*; aber *CIL XIV 1828a = ILCV 834* aus Ostia (zweifelloos christlich) hat *inferet [aerario]⁶⁶ populi Romani HS L m(ilia) n(ummum)*. Doch fehlen andere gleichartige Wendungen durchaus nicht in Rom: *ICUR 23097* (ca. 2. Hälfte des 3. Jh.) *si qui aperire voluerit* (sc. den Sarkophag), *fisc[o] inferat m(ilia)(?) vigin[ti?]* oder *vigin(ti?) [n(ummum)?]*.⁶⁷ Diese Inschrift auf einem Travertinsarkophag ist interessant; sie dürfte aus christlichen Kreisen stammen,⁶⁸ wie

Jordan-Ruwe und U. Real (Boreas 17), Münster 1994, 223–229.

⁶⁴ Fehlt in den Verzeichnissen von U. Hälvä-Nyberg, *Die Kontraktionen auf den lateinischen Inschriften Roms und Afrikas bis zum 8. Jh. n. Chr.*, Helsinki 1988.

⁶⁵ Im Allgemeinen zu grabrechtlichen Formeln etwa M. Kaser, "Zum römischen Grabrecht", *ZRG* 95 (1978) 15–92; G. Klingenberg, "Grabrecht (Grabmulda, Grabschändung)", *RLAC* XII (1983) 590–637; A. M. Rossi, "Ricerche sulle multe sepolcrali romane", *RivStorAnt* 5 (1975) 111–159.

⁶⁶ Die Ergänzung dürfte sicher sein.

⁶⁷ *Fisco inferet HS m(ilia) n(ummum)* in *CIL VI 39095a*.

⁶⁸ Für christlich wird sie von Ferrua in *ICUR 23097* und sonst gehalten (und in seiner Nachfolge

etwa der Ausdruck *virgo fidelis* nahelegt, den man so gut wie ausschließlich in christlichen Inschriften trifft.⁶⁹ Der Textverlauf des Epitaphs steht nicht mit völliger Sicherheit fest.⁷⁰ Ferrua in *ICUR* und sonst hat das, was zwischen *INFERAT* und *VIGIN* steht, als *XX* gedeutet, was, aus dem in *EDR074749* publizierten Foto zu schließen, schwerlich stimmen kann (man beachte auch die Redundanz der Zahlen); Gregori (siehe Anm. 68) vermutet dort, freilich mit Zögern, das Zeichen des Denars, doch sprechen die am Foto erkennbaren Buchstabenreste nicht gerade für die Sigle *X* des Denars, aber andererseits ist die beschädigte Schriftoberfläche dermaßen lädiert, dass nach Sichtung des Fotos das Zeichen des Denars nicht völlig auszuschließen ist. Ich habe meinerseits an ein etwas verformtes *M* gedacht; zu lesen wäre also *m(ilia) vigin[ti]* oder *vigin(ti) [n(ummum)]*. Für *milia viginti* mit dieser Wortstellung und mit ausgeschriebener Ziffer finden sich Parallelen in der Literatur (z.B. bei Cicero, Caesar und Livius) und auch in inschriftlichen Urkunden (z. B. *TabPut* 79 tab. III, 5 *millia [decem et tri]a* [die Ergänzung ist sicher]; vgl. 46 tab. III, 8–9 *millia mod[iu]m decem et tria*). Stimmt diese Lesung, dann wäre die Angabe des Denars oder des Sesterzes hinzuzudenken; weniger wahrscheinlich hätte sie sich am Ende der Zeile befunden, wo man eher *[n(ummum)]* ergänzen würde. Zum Sprachgebrauch von grabrechtlichen Bestimmungen in christlichen oder christlich aussehenden Inschriften finden sich mehrere Beispiele aus Rom und sonst Italien (und auch aus den Provinzen) bei Diehl, *ILCV* 808- und 3823-.

Die Inschrift aus Kallistus ist auch interessant – ganz davon abgesehen, ob die Inschrift als christlich zu bewerten ist oder nicht – als ein weiteres Zeugnis für die Beliebtheit des Namens *Petrus* schon vor dem 4. Jh., da die Verwendung der inhaltlich christlichen Namen sich erst allmählich ausbreitete.

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EDR074049), sowie J. Dresken-Weiland, *Sarkophagbestattungen des 4.-6. Jahrhunderts im Westen des römischen Reiches* (RQA Suppl. 55), Rom – Freiburg – Wien 2003, 225; ohne Stellungnahme G. L. Gregori, in *Libitina e dintorni* (Libitina 3), Roma 2004, 399 Nr. F147.

⁶⁹ Sicher christlich: *ICUR* 9558. 27330; *AE* 1992, 514 (Firmum Picenum); *RICG* I 101 (Trier); *CIL* VIII 13432. 25065 (Karthago). Wahrscheinlich christlich: *CIL* V 8571; XII 490 (Massilia). *Fidelis virgo*: *ICUR* 1787. 5546 = *CIL* VI 32079.

⁷⁰ In der letzten Zeile liest Ferrua *FIS · · INFERAT*, d. h. *fis(co) inferat*. Dem Foto nach zu schließen, scheinen anstelle von Punkten eher Beschädigungen des Steines zu sehen zu sein. Oder man verstehe *fisc[o]*, wie ich oben vorschlage.

REMOVING THE *INSERENDA*

HAROLD TARRANT

Introduction

At the end of the prologue of the *Theaetetus* Euclides, who has allegedly made a record of the entire conversation and checked it with Socrates' own recollection, states as follows:

ἵνα οὖν ἐν τῇ γραφῇ μὴ παρέχοιεν πράγματα αἱ μεταξὺ τῶν λόγων διηγήσεις περὶ αὐτοῦ τε ὅποτε λέγοι ὁ Σωκράτης, οἷον 'καὶ ἐγὼ ἔφην' ἢ 'καὶ ἐγὼ εἶπον,' ἢ αὖ περὶ τοῦ ἀποκρινομένου ὅτι 'συνέφη' ἢ 'οὐχ ὡμολόγει,' τούτων ἕνεκα ὡς αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς διαλεγόμενον ἔγραψα, ἐξελὼν τὰ τοιαῦτα. (143b7–c5)

So in order that, in the written version, the narrative bits between the speeches should not giving bother,¹ whenever Socrates said for instance 'and as for me I said' or 'and as for me I stated', or again in the case of the respondent [when he said] that 'he assented' or 'he was not in agreement', with this in mind I wrote it with him conversing directly with them, removing that kind of thing.

This reads very much like the rejection of the narrative form of presentation as practised in various dialogues up to and including the *Republic* and the first part

¹ It is not specified whether it is the writer, reader, or auditors who are supposed to be bothered by this technique, though the anonymous commentator (IV 14–17; Bastianini – Sedley 1995, 270) appears to interpret it as being the auditors, and is thus able to deny that this is the real reason, seemingly preferring to attribute the remark to Plato's assessment of what Euclides would have thought appropriate.

of the *Parmenides* (to 137c4) in favour of the direct or 'dramatic' presentation of the discussion found in many dialogues, including all that are stylistically 'late' (i.e. that avoid hiatus and certain clausulae at the close of sentences). The reference to an act of 'removing' such little bits of narrative has led some, including myself, to suspect that there had been an early version of *Theaetetus* that had indeed been presented as a frame dialogue embracing a narrated conversation.² Indeed parallels for the introduction to the *Theaetetus*, set at a time later than the principal conversation depicted in the dialogue, are all to be found in *narrated* dialogues: a little later in *Protagoras*, *Euthydemus*, and *Republic*, and considerably later in *Parmenides Symposium*, and *Phaedo*.³ Interestingly, *Theaetetus* is the only dialogue set after the death of Socrates of which it is possible to regard Socrates, even *in absentia*, as a kind of narrator,⁴ for Euclides does everything possible to deny that he had manipulated the story that he had originally heard from Socrates himself (142d6–143a5).

The choice of *inserenda*

Here I wish to ask more precisely what kind of narrated conversation Plato had in mind here by examining the actual list of allegedly tedious *inserenda* that Plato's Euclides had wanted to do without, and to ask what could have led to their selection. The striking fact is that of the four formulas listed, two for introducing the lead speaker's words and two for documenting the respondent's reaction, both καὶ ἐγὼ ἔφην and οὐχ ὁμολόγει have no exact parallels in Plato. Part of the puzzle may easily be solved if one bears in mind (i) that the verb φάναι ordinarily follows the first phrase of the speech reported, and (ii) that Plato could not write an ellipse; καὶ ἐγὼ ... ἔφην, roughly 'and as for me, "...", said I' with the verb saved until after the first phrase of direct speech, is found some six times, either with only that first phrase intervening, or with something else besides, as at *Protagoras* 310b4 where a participial phrase 'recognizing his

² See Thesleff 1982, 83–87, 125–127, 152–157; Tarrant 2010; Schultz 2015.

³ No interval is specified in *Charmides*, *Lysis* or *Amatores*.

⁴ For an exploration of the 'trace elements of Socrates' narrative voice in the *Theaetetus*' (108) see Schultz 2015.

voice' also precedes the first phrase.⁵ It is not too charitable to assume that Plato had meant to recall precisely this usage.

The same cure is not available for οὐχ ὁμολόγει, 'he was not in agreement'. There is nothing formulaic about this as far as one may judge. Negative responses are of course much less common in Plato than positive ones, and many negative responses occur when the protagonist actually invites a negative answer, so that the negative implies agreement rather than disagreement. The beauty of this particular formula, if it were found, would be that it always expresses disagreement just as the previous example, συνέφη, always expresses agreement. Disagreement with Socrates is mostly to be found among his tougher interlocutors, such as Critias, Thrasymachus and Protagoras. Accordingly, though the formula οὐχ ὁμολόγει does not occur, it would not have been out of place given the availability of the right context. But it is important to note that Socrates must eventually secure their agreement, however reluctant they may be, if the elenchus is not to come to a premature close.

The simple ὁμολόγει is found as a way of expressing the interlocutor's agreement in the *Amatores* (included here because of its narrative presentation in spite of doubts about its authenticity),⁶ the *Protagoras*, and the *Euthydemus*. The language of agreement using the root *-homolog-* reaches levels of more than 2 per thousand words in the following dialogues:⁷ *Amatores* (8.25NS), *Hippiarchus* (6.18DS), *Crito* (4.85D), *Euthydemus* (3.84N), *Gorgias* (2.98D), *Protagoras* (2.88N), *Symposium* (2.28N), *Meno* (2.07D) and *Alcibiades II* (2.04DS). *Clitopho* (1.91DS), *Charmides* (1.90N) and *Theaetetus* (1.85D?) are not far be-

⁵ Cf. *Chrm.* 153b7; more problematic is *Prt.* 311a8–b2 where other main verbs, also introduced by καὶ ἐγὼ, intervene, so I do not count this instance. From *Prt.* 310b4 and *Chrm.* 153b7 one gathers that there is a tendency to use this formula very early in a conversation, and this applies to new conversations within a dialogue too, *Eud.* 304e6 (*Crito* to *Isocrates*), *Smp.* 201e8 (*Socrates* to *Diotima*) and *Resp.* 449b8 (discussion is resumed in book V), leaving only one example from an established discussion, *Chrm.* 161b8.

⁶ In a previous study of 'narrative response formulae' (Tarrant 1994) I suggested that the *Amatores* behaved more like a very early dialogue than a spurious one, and found it most similar to *Protagoras*, *Symposium*, and *Euthydemus* in matters pertaining to narratological apparatus. The order used here is the one suggested by that study, except that *Euthydemus* here appears before *Symposium*. I am not pretending to know the precise order of writing or of preparation for publication.

⁷ I have included the rate per thousand words in brackets, adding the letters S for suspect, D for direct, and N for narrative.

hind. The list contains a disproportionate number of narrative dialogues (particularly if suspect and/or brief dialogues are ignored), and of the remainder not only the *Theaetetus* but also the *Gorgias* was thought by Thesleff (1982: 86–87; 2003) to have been through an earlier narrated version. If that is correct, then it seems plausible that one or the other of these could have included the expression 'He was not in agreement' where direct dialogue would offer an expression of disagreement in the present tense coming directly from the interlocutor.⁸

I present here in Table 1 the number of cases where the formulaic *inserenda* are to be found in the narrative dialogues that have come down to us in that form, giving also the positive *ὡμολόγει* and cases of the delayed verb in the first formula mentioned, assuming that Plato had expected readers to understand an ellipse here.

Table 1: Occurrence of the *inserenda* of 143c across the narrated dialogues

| <i>inserenda</i> | <i>Amat.</i> | <i>Prt.</i> | <i>Eud.</i> | <i>Symp.</i> | <i>Chrm.</i> | <i>Phd.</i> | <i>Lys.</i> | <i>Resp.</i> | <i>Prm.</i> |
|------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| καὶ ἐγὼ ἔφην | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| καὶ ἐγὼ ... ἔφην | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| καὶ ἐγὼ εἶπον# | 2 | 11* | 0 | 1* | 0 | 0 | 4 | 3 | 1 |
| συνέφη | 1 | 4 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1* | 0 |
| οὐχ ὡμολόγει | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| ὡμολόγει | 4 | 7 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 8 | 24 | 19 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 1 |

Also twice in Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*, once in his *Cyropaedia*.

* Signifies one case rather close.

When looking at these figures one has to realise that *Symposium*, *Phaedo* and *Parmenides*, because they are not narrated by Socrates himself, offer very little opportunity for the first person forms. The *Euthydemus* also offers little opportunity for them because of the limited role of Socrates within the reported con-

⁸ While those who postulate an original narrative version of either dialogue would not normally expect them to have differed in that respect only, I cannot discover any point where this might have happened in an *Ur-Gorgias*.

versation.⁹ This makes it all the more obvious that the *Republic*, where neither limiting factor applies, only contains a few of these allegedly tedious forms in spite of its considerable length, and certainly an insufficient number to entail that one becomes bored with them. It was particularly noticeable that in preference to the form καὶ ἐγὼ εἶπον the *Republic* employs the same verb parenthetically after the first phrase of speech, with or without the first-person pronoun. Table two will make this clear:

Table 2: Parenthetic uses of εἶπον etc.

| <i>inserenda</i> | <i>Amat.</i> | <i>Prt.</i> | <i>Eud.</i> | <i>Symp.</i> | <i>Chrm.</i> | <i>Phd.</i> | <i>Lys.</i> | <i>Resp.</i> | <i>Prm.</i> |
|------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| εἶπον ἐγὼ [p] | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 2 |
| εἶπον [p] | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 93 | 1 |
| εἶπεν [p] | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| εἶπεῖν [p] | NA | NA | NA | 14 | NA | NA | NA | NA | 10 |

Curiously, though there seems to have been a marked trend towards using the first person of this verb parenthetically by the time of the *Republic* (as it has come down to us), this did not follow through to the third person for which different verbs (e.g. φάνα) were preferred. However, in the two dialogues where much of the narrative involves reported speech, the infinitive was freely used.

The *inserenda* and the date of writing

Given the marked trend away from the *inserenda* specified by Euclides it seems obvious that what one might call the default position regarding the *Theaetetus* does not sit easily with the data that have been produced here. The majority will assume, often with comparatively little reflection, that (i) the dialogue appeared in one version only and even if an alternative proem had once existed (as claimed at anon. *in Tht.* III 28–37) it was at best a discarded version of the proem only. They will also assume with Eva Sachs (1914) that (ii) the date of

⁹ He leads the conversation only at 278e3–282d3 and 288d5–290e8, so that there is little need to vary the expressions by which first person remarks are introduced.

composition is 369 BCE or shortly after,¹⁰ and that it follows the *Republic*. What I should now like to argue is that, if the *Theaetetus* had been first written soon after the completion of the *Republic* or even during its composition, then it is likely that a different set of *inserenda* would have come to mind as the prologue was written, including the parenthetic forms just discussed. Although the *inserenda* differed markedly between the *Protagoras* and *Euthydemus* and the *Republic*, Plato might also have found some formulae in common, such as the parenthetic formula, ἔφην ἐγώ, which occurred regularly in almost all narrative dialogues except those with a narrator other than Socrates.¹¹ Why should it be that Plato's Euclides only mentions formulae that were already obsolete or obsolescent? Clearly there is an argument here for the prologue of the *Theaetetus*, or this part of it at least,¹² having been composed at a time when Plato had recently been using the response formulae that he now finds himself rejecting, whether or not for the reasons given.

It will now be instructive to record in Table 3 the books of the *Republic* in which the rare occurrences of the seemingly earlier *inserenda* occur, comparing the distribution of ἔφην ἐγώ:

¹⁰ For significantly more thoughtful treatment see Nancy 1994, 34–39 and Sedley 2004, 1 n.1; for a much earlier date for the supposed death from battle of Theaetetus see Thesleff 1990, Nails 2002.

¹¹ Here are the figures, but it must be appreciated that there were very limited opportunities for this formula in *Symposium*, *Phaedo* and *Parmenides*, so that only *Lysis* seems to have too few:

| <i>inserendum</i> | <i>Amat.</i> | <i>Prt.</i> | <i>Eud.</i> | <i>Symp.</i> | <i>Chrm.</i> | <i>Phd.</i> | <i>Lys.</i> | <i>Resp.</i> | <i>Prm.</i> |
|-------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| ἔφην ἐγώ [p] | 4 | 32 | 26 | 4 | 8 | 2 | 1 | 20 | 0 |

Note that uses for this response formula are also found in brief conversations in *Apology* (1) and *Theages* (3).

¹² An alternative proem was known to the anonymous commentator on the work (III 28–37), and began with a request of Euclides to his slave to fetch the book about Theaetetus; hence in this version too the spotlight seems to have fallen on the book itself and presumably on the manner in which it had been written.

Table 3: Distribution of *inserenda* in books of *Republic*

| <i>inserenda</i> | <i>Resp. 1</i> | <i>Resp. 2</i> | <i>Resp. 3–5</i> | <i>Resp. 6–7</i> | <i>Resp. 8–9</i> | <i>Resp. 10</i> | Total |
|------------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------|-------|
| καὶ ἐγώ ... ἔφην | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| καὶ ἐγὼ εἶπον | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| συνέφη | 1* | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1* |
| ἔφην ἐγώ | 2 | 0 | 9 | 4 | 4 | 1 | 20 |

Those familiar with the six-book *Republic* about which there has been recent discussion will want to know also that all book 5 references are from the earliest part that was included in book 3 of the six-book edition.¹³ That might well mean that all the *obsolescent* forms came from the earliest parts of the work, and indeed that they were themselves *obsolete* by the time that Plato was writing books 6 and 7.

Let us suppose then that the final version of the *Theaetetus* did belong to the period after the *Republic*, and that the *Republic* can have done nothing to determine the examples of *inserenda* that Plato chose. What could have done so? Why does he have these particular trappings of the narrative dialogues in mind? The obvious answer would be that these forms were of precisely the type that an earlier version of the *Theaetetus* had employed, and that these phrases had indeed been removed in the process of rewriting. If this is correct, then it would show not only that the hypothetical early version had existed, but also which of the narrative dialogues it had some affinity with. The *Protagoras* had employed καὶ ἐγώ ... ἔφην, καὶ ἐγὼ εἶπον, συνέφη and ὁμολόγει. There is no reason to suppose that it could not have used also οὐχ ὁμολόγει should the occasion have arisen. The *Theaetetus* resembles the *Protagoras* not only in making a great deal of use of Protagoras of Abdera, albeit indirectly rather than as an interlocutor, but also in making considerable use of vocabulary from the root *-homolog-* in the very part of the work that undertakes the refutation of Protagoras. The refu-

¹³ See Tarrant 2012; the Antiatticista cites 5.460d3 as book 3 of his edition, but 5.462b8 as book 4; it is suggested that Gellius' talk of the first two books of the *politeia* to be published at *NA* 14.3.3 makes reasonably sense on the assumption that we are talking of the first two books of the description of the state in its *six book* version, i.e. from the middle of our book 2 to the middle of our book 5 (ibid. 72–73). Gellius believes that Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* was written in response to just this, and that Plato in turn added a further two books.

tation begins after the theory that knowledge is sensation has been adequately canvassed at 161a. Before Protagoras' name was introduced at 152a there had been only three cases of this vocabulary including 143c. From 152a to 161a there had been six cases. In the refutation of Protagoras, which lasts from 161b to 179b, excluding the digression from 172b–177c, there are twenty-two cases in only 13 Stephanus pages, as opposed to that same number in the whole of the rest of the work, a further 56 Stephanus pages. Table 4 presents this material in tabulated form:

Table 4: Distribution of *-omolog-* vocabulary in sections of *Theaetetus*

| Section | Description | <i>homolog-</i> words | St. pages | No. per 'page' |
|----------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|-----------|----------------|
| 142a–143c | Proem | 1 | 1.4 | 0.71 |
| 143d–151d | Introductory discussion | 2 | 8.2 | 0.24 |
| 151e–161a | Theaetetus' theory | 6 | 10.4 | 0.58 |
| 161b–72a, 177d–9b | Protagoras refuted | 22 | 12.8 | 1.72 |
| 172b–177c | Ethical digression | 0 | 5.4 | 0 |
| 179c–186e | Sensation refuted | 2 | 7.6 | 0.26 |
| 187a–201c | True & false opinion | 8 | 14.6 | 0.55 |
| 201d–210d | True opinion + logos | 4 | 9.2 | 0.43 |

While the figures show clearly that this vocabulary of assent is concentrated in the refutation of Protagoras, they fail to show why. Protagoras is absent, and it is extremely important that Socrates is fair to him by procuring assent on his behalf at every stage. Though reluctant, Theodorus eventually has to take up the cause and become the primary interlocutor from 169c until such time as both Protagoras and Heraclitus are beaten. Essentially he has to assent and to dissent on Protagoras' behalf. When an intellectual is forced to disagree with something that Socrates has said, the disagreement is generally either quite complex or accompanied by a strong reaction that signifies his personal involvement with the issues.¹⁴ Or it may be rather that he is forced somehow to agree, but with

¹⁴ Examples involving Thrasymachus can be found at *Resp.* 337a3, d5, 338d2, c6, d2, 342d3, 343a1–8, e5; examples involving Protagoras are found at *Prt.* 331b8–c3, 331e6–332a1, 351c7–d7,

the utmost difficulty and reservation, such as is nicely described at *Republic* 350c12–d3.¹⁵ An expression such as οὐχ ὁμολόγει is a colourless way of recording dissent; it says nothing about the reasons, emotional or intellectual, for which assent is withheld, and give no sense of the intellectual battle that is being fought. But, when Theodorus agrees to give answers on Protagoras' behalf, assent and dissent can be offered dispassionately, for it is not his theory or his reputation that are at stake. He does not often disagree with Socrates here, but does fall short of agreeing at 171c8–9. At that point a narrative version might have run something like: 'He did not assent; but rather he said that they were pursuing his friend too hard.' The following two answers are, at Socrates' invitation (171d3–7), given by Theodorus from his own perspective, not from that of Protagoras.

Hence I can offer this one location only where the phrase οὐχ ὁμολόγει would have been in place in a narrative version of the *Theaetetus*, and it is no accident that it occurs at a point where agreement had been of vital importance to the argument itself. In fact the terminology of agreement discussed above had been here at its peak, occurring ten times between 169d and 171d, so such an expression would have had added meaning in this context. However, the important thing is not that a context is found for the elusive οὐχ ὁμολόγει, but that if, as seems reasonable, Plato was writing his final version of the *Theaetetus* when the *Republic* was complete, or partially so but sketched out in full, which is as much as Thesleff allows (1982: 186), then it was certainly not the *Republic* that inspired the list of *inserenda* at 143c, but narrative practices that were much more akin to those of the *Protagoras*. Precisely why it had been seemingly earlier dialogues that inspired this list should remain open to further debate. Here I merely suggest that each of the four *inserenda* cited might conceivably have been employed in an earlier narrative version of the *Theaetetus* itself.

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359e1–3, 360d6, e3–5.

¹⁵ Cf. *Prt.* 333b3–4, 334e2–4, 360d3–4.

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Vestigia. Miscellanea di studi storico-religiosi in onore di Filippo Coarelli nel suo 80° anniversario Potsdamer altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 55. A cura di VALENTINO GASPARINI. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2016. ISBN 978-3-515-10747-1. 786 pp. EUR 94.

The volume under review here is a Festschrift celebrating the 80th birthday of Filippo Coarelli, which occurred on June 9th, 2016. Its honoree, professor emeritus of *Antichità Romane* at the University of Perugia, is one of the world's foremost, most prolific and best-known scholars of the archaeology, topography and art of Ancient Rome. On account of his more popular works on Roman antiquities as well as his acclaimed archaeological guides, many of which have been translated from Italian into other languages, he is also well known to the interested general public. If a personal note may be permitted here, I recall that my own first acquaintance with the scholarship of Professor Coarelli, more than thirty years ago when I was still an undergraduate student, was via a copy of the German translation of the first Mondadori edition of his *Guida archeologica di Roma* (Verona 1974).

The hardcover, a handsomely produced book, is ably edited by Valentino Gasparini, a former student of Coarelli. Now based at the University of Erfurt, he used to be a close collaborator of Il Professore. For instance, he was responsible for Coarelli's excavations both at *Forum Novum* (Torri in Sabina) and at *Falacrinae* (Cittareale).

Unlike most Festschriften, this volume does not feature a separate biographical sketch or presentation of its dedicatee. Some details about his personal traits and academic background are provided in the introduction ("Introduzione", pp. 11–16), and there is also a photo of him at the beginning of the book, but the editor explicitly states that he will make no attempt at portraying Coarelli the man (p. 11). In equally explicit terms, he also refrains from making a qualitative assessment of Coarelli's scholarly output, but he does note its extent and range, observing that it comprises 453 titles spanning "dall'epoca arcaica a quella tardo-antica, dall'Afghanistan alla penisola Iberica, toccando un numero notevole di discipline storiche ... di cui l'archeologia, la topografia, la numismatica, la filologia, la storia dell'arte e la storia delle religioni rappresentano solo una piccola selezione" (p. 11). The introduction focuses on the contents of the book. Introducing the reader to the scope, themes and organization of the book, the editor discusses at length "[i] difetti rimproverati ai *Mélanges*" (*ibid.*) and observes that this kind of publication typically contains thematically disparate and even second-rate contributions. Well aware of the various pitfalls inherent in this kind of project, Gasparini has done first-rate work planning a coherent and relevant volume. This is no random collection of unrelated papers, but really a treasure trove of state-of-the-art studies (in Italian, French, English and Spanish) sorted into clearly defined thematic sections. Moreover, the 54 contributors pretty much represent the cream of the crop in Classical Studies – a state of affairs that, in the words of the editor, is "un chiaro 'indice di gradimento' accademico ottenuto da Coarelli durante la sua carriera professionale" (p. 13).

After the introduction, which also contains a presentation of each section, follows the "Tabula Gratulatoria". Comprising the names of 164 individuals and institutions, this is followed by the "Bibliografia di Filippo Coarelli (1961–2015)" (pp. 21–43). Obviously, this bibliography, presenting in chronological order all the monographs, edited volumes, articles and reviews produced by one of the most important researchers in his chosen fields of study, is a convenient scholarly resource in its own right.

The overall theme chosen for the book is, perhaps, somewhat unexpected. This is mere speculation, but I believe that most people, probably including the honoree himself (if he was suspecting that this kind of undertaking was underway), anticipated that a Festschrift in Professor Coarelli's honour would be dedicated to the archaeology and/or topography of Ancient Rome – not least because many of his closest colleagues and most of his own students, that is, the presumptive contributors to such a volume, are scholars who share his research interests. The overall theme of the book rather reflects the interests of the editor, who is an archaeologist and historian of ancient religions. As announced in the title of the volume, this is a collection of "studi storico-religiosi", and in the introduction the overall theme of the book is designated "storia delle religioni" (p. 13). However, with the quality of the publication in mind, Gasparini no doubt made a good decision in picking a theme especially dear to his own heart. Moreover, we note that also the dedicatee of the book has been much concerned with both sanctuaries and other aspects of ancient religion; and the material we encounter in the publication, in terms of the kind of source materials that are presented and discussed, is familiar from Coarelli's own publications.

The articles are organized by topic into seven sections. I will make no attempt at reviewing 52 articles individually, but I believe it will be of some service to the readers of this journal if a full listing of the authors and the titles is provided. Moreover, I also incorporate material from the introduction, where the editor provides a synopsis of the contents of each section. For maximum accuracy, I quote him *verbatim* and *in extenso*.

The First Section, "Religione e archeologia del paesaggio", features eight studies dealing with environmental or landscape archaeology: Giovanna Battaglini, "Su alcuni aspetti relativi ad Ercole e il sale nelle origini di Roma" (pp. 51–64); Simone Sisani, "Il concetto di *pomerium*. Valenza giuridico-sacrale e realtà topografica dei *fines Urbis*" (pp. 65–80); Francesca Diosono, "La porta e il porto. Il culto di Portunus nella Roma arcaica e repubblicana" (pp. 81–98); Mireille Cébeillac-Gervasoni, "Neptune, Rome, Vées et le lac Albain" (pp. 99–106); Paolo Braconi, "Dall'*aes piscatorium* all'*anulus piscatoris*. Vulcano, i pesci e il romanzo del fuoco nell'acqua" (pp. 107–118); Giuseppina Ghini, "Boschi sacri e ritualità. Il caso del *lucus Dianae in nemore aricino*" (pp. 119–130); Sandra Gatti, "Culti e luoghi di culto pre-romani nel Lazio meridionale interno" (pp. 131–143) and Tersilio Leggio, "'*Ubi putentes aquae emanant et sulphureae*'. Cotilia da luogo di culto di acque salutari a scenario per il martirio di san Vittorino" (pp. 145–156). Gasparini presents the contributions as follows (p. 13): "I singoli testi indagano il legame fra appropriazione religiosa e paesaggio, ovvero, nello specifico, come più o meno sporadici fenomeni naturali abbiano influenzato e plasmato nel Lazio (e particolarmente a Roma) le preferenze religiose, la topografia dei santuari e le pratiche rituali. L'acqua e il fuoco sono i protagonisti indiscussi di queste pagine, che prendono spunto dall'analisi del ruolo svolto dal sale nel Foro Boario di epoca protostorica, in connessione con il culto di Ercole (Battaglini), per spostarsi poi alle pendici del Palatino ed esplorare come la dislocazione dei bacini idrografici abbia determinato il posizionamento arcaico del pomerio (Sisani), e tornare infine nel

Foro Boario descrivendo le differenti fasi del culto arcaico e repubblicano di Portuno presso il porto del Tevere (Diosono). I successivi due contributi (Cébeillac-Gervasoni e Braconi) riguardano invece i fenomeni vulcanici dell'area albana e come essi condizionarono la presenza del culto di Nettuno, da un lato, e di Vulcano (e i *ludi Piscatorii* in suo onore), dall'altro. Il lago di Nemi e i suoi boschi sacri a Diana (Ghini), così come i corsi d'acqua e le sorgenti del Lazio meridionale interno (Gatti) fanno da sfondo ad ulteriori riflessioni circa le modalità di fondazione dei culti di epoca preromana, arcaica e repubblicana, mentre un ultimo contributo s'inoltra a Nord, nei boschi della Sabina, per ripercorrere le vicende alto-medievali del martirio di san Vittorino presso le acque sulfuree di Cotilia, già sede di un importante santuario repubblicano (Leggio)."

The Second Section, "Tempi e spazi del sacro", contains eight articles: Emanuele Greco, "Apollo e Afrodite ai confini occidentali della *chora* ateniese" (pp. 159–172); Marco Maiuro, "Scoping early Rome. Coarelli, the 'Numan calendar' and the *feriae conceptivae*" (pp. 173–188); Rafael Esteve Tébar, "L'origine del culto di Cerere nella villa di Plinio il Giovane in Tuscis" (pp. 189–201); John Scheid, "Le *lustrum* et la *lustratio*. En finir avec la 'purification'" (pp. 203–209); Maria Romana Picuti, "Il tempio a doppia cella in località 'Nocette di Pale' (Foligno, PG)" (pp. 211–222); Olivier de Cazanove, "L'autel à cour de Rossano di Vaglio. Une analyse de son usage" (pp. 223–238); Pierre Gros, "La sémantique sacrale du marbre blanc à Rome de la fin de la République à l'époque augustéenne" (pp. 239–252) and Michael H. Crawford, "Chalcedon, Marcian and the XII Tables" (pp. 253–256). The contents of this section, in the words of the editor (p. 13 f.), "affronta singoli aspetti concernenti la moltitudine degli spazi coinvolti nelle differenti pratiche rituali e il loro sviluppo temporale: si passa in questo modo dalle processioni in onore di Apollo e Afrodite fra Eleusi e Atene (Greco) alle *feriae conceptivae* della Roma arcaica (Maiuro), dai mercati organizzati fin dal III secolo a.C. in occasione delle feste dedicate a Cerere presso quella che diverrà la villa di Plinio il Giovane in Etruria (Esteve Tébar) alle cerimonie di *lustratio* nella Roma repubblicana (Scheid). Seguono tre studi di interesse architettonico dedicati ad un nuovo tempio a due celle rinvenuto nel territorio di Foligno (Picuti), al monumentale altare destinato ai sacrifici per la dea Mefitis a Rossano di Vaglio, nel cuore della Lucania (De Cazanove), e, approdando ad epoca augustea, al ruolo sacralizzante del marmo bianco a Roma (Gros). Infine, alla sopravvivenza in epoca tardo-antica di alcuni divieti arcaici fissati dalle XII Tavole e intesi a interdire le riunioni notturne è dedicato un ultimo breve contributo (Crawford)."

The Third Section, "Gli attori di culto", contains fourteen studies: Mario Torelli, "*Venus Troiana*. L'Afrodite 'tipo Tiepolo', gli *Aemilii* e il fregio della Basilica Emilia" (pp. 259–272); Luigi Pedroni, "Interdizione religiosa e lotta politica. Il caso dei denari di Fabius Pictor e Postumius Albinus" (pp. 273–279); Héctor Uroz Rodríguez and José Uroz Sáez, "Imagen divina, vaso ritual, mito aristocrático. La diosa y el príncipe ibero de *Libisosa*" (pp. 281–294); Fausto Zevi, "*Honos a Puteoli*. In margine alla '*lex parieti faciundo*'" (pp. 295–314); Luigi Capogrossi Colognesi, "Pontefici e curie" (pp. 315–325); Annie Dubourdieu, "Le savoir des augures comme *interpretes Iovis* chez Cicéron (*De legibus*, *De natura deorum*, *De divinatione*)" (pp. 327–336); Carlo Pavolini, "Ancora sui culti orientali a Roma. Dagli *hymnologi* di Cibele alle nuove ipotesi topografiche" (pp. 337–348); David Nonnis, "Appunti sugli *ex-voto* fittili con iscrizione dall'Italia repubblicana. A proposito di una dedica medio-repubblicana da *Cales*" (pp. 349–366); Silvio Panciera, "*CIL* VI 8, 1. *Inscriptiones sacrae. Fragmenta, II*" (pp. 367–380); Julio Mangas, "Mujeres, libertos y esclavos de *Hispania* devotos de Marte" (pp. 381–391); Cristóbal González Román, "Religión e iconografía

en la *Colonia Iulia Gemella Acci*" (pp. 393–406); Rebeca Rubio Rivera, "Consideraciones en torno al mitraísmo en Umbria" (pp. 407–419); Heikki Solin, "Silvano oscuro" (pp. 421–436) and William V. Harris, "Religion on the battlefield. From the *Saxa Rubra* to the *Frigidus*" (pp. 437–450). In the words of Gasparini (p. 14), in this section "si concentra principalmente sugli agenti di culto, di cui si esplorano le varie componenti sociali coinvolte, in tempi e contesti differenti. I primi tre contributi esaminano il ruolo esercitato dalle *élites* locali nel corso del III–II secolo a.C., che si tratti della *nobilitas* romana in relazione all'iconografia statuaria dell'Afrodite 'tipo Tiepolo' (Torelli) o a episodi di interdizione di natura religiosa da parte della classe politica desumibili a partire dalle testimonianze numismatiche (Pedroni), o che si tratti ancora delle contemporanee *gentes* ispaniche e del rispettivo repertorio iconografico religioso su ceramica (Uroz & Uroz). Il successivo articolo si sposta invece nella *Puteoli* di fine II secolo a.C. per esaminare l'impatto che Mario e il ceto mercantile vi ebbero nelle dinamiche di introduzione del culto di *Honos* (Zevi). I seguenti tre testi si dedicano invece agli specialisti di culto, siano essi appartenenti a pieno titolo alla classe sacerdotale quali i pontefici (Capogrossi), siano essi interpreti del volere divino quali gli auguri (Dubourdieu), o siano essi infine tecnici specializzati nella stesura di inni sacri quali gli *hymnologi* di Cibele (Pavolini). Una nutrita serie di contributi si occupa infine dei devoti e delle testimonianze (per lo più epigrafiche) relative alle loro preferenze religiose. I contesti selezionati coinvolgono tutti gli strati del tessuto sociale, spaziano dall'Italia centrale di III–II secolo a.C. fino all'*Hispania* di epoca imperiale, e si concentrano su alcune figure divine quali Apollo (Nonnis), Esculapio, Giove e Diana (Panciera), Marte (Mangas), Iside (González Román), Mithra (Rubio Rivera) e Silvano (Solin). L'ultimo testo di questa sezione indaga invece l'effettivo coinvolgimento religioso dei soldati impegnati nelle battaglie di *Saxa Rubra* e del *Frigidus* fra Cristiani e "Tradizionalisti", all'inizio e al termine del IV secolo d.C. (Harris)."

The Fourth Section, entitled "Interludio. Non un solo dio, ma molti. Ritratti di Giove", contains four studies: Luciano Agostiniani, "Non uno ma due. Qualche considerazione sull'onomastica divina etrusca" (pp. 453–466); Eero Jarva, "Zeus from the Cape Artemision shipwreck" (pp. 467–476); Alessandro Celani, "A marble head from Terracina. Sculpture and religion in ancient *Latium* and Greece" (pp. 477–490) and Irene Bragantini, "Una singolare rappresentazione di Giove da Ercolano" (pp. 491–502). The editor, presenting this section (p. 14), notes that it constitutes "una sorta di *Interludio* (pp. 451–502) che abbandona momentaneamente la prospettiva sociologica degli attori di culto per concentrarsi sulle figure divine, e in particolare su quella di Giove, tracciandone alcuni variopinti ritratti a seconda della prospettiva utilizzata: da un lato, quella linguistica dei teonimi etruschi di *Tinia* (Agostiniani), e dall'altro quella storico-artistica della bronzistica greca dello *Zeus* del Capo Artemision (Jarva) o della statuaria in pietra dell'*Anxur* di Terracina (Celani), o infine della pittura ercolanense dello *Iuppiter* romano (Bragantini)."

The Fifth Section, "Iconografia e preferenze religiose", constitutes nine papers: Eugenio Lo Sardo, "Immagini dell'universo nel mondo ellenico" (pp. 505–516); Annalisa Polosa, "Monete e culti a Sibari e a *Thurii*" (pp. 517–526); Monique Clavel-Lévêque, "Les avatars des dieux gaulois et la colonie romaine de Béziers (Hérault, France)" (p. 527–540); Francesco Marcattili, "Il giuramento di Marsia" (pp. 541–554); Valentino Gasparini, "Listening stones. Cultural appropriation, resonance, and memory in the Isiac cults" (pp. 555–574); Letizia Abbondanza, "Ali marmoree dal Palatino. Un recente rinvenimento" (pp. 575–590); Gilles Sauron, "Choix de vie et choix de décor. Auguste et Livie au Palatin en 36 a.n.è." (pp. 591–602); Eva Margareta Steinby, "Fra il sacro e

il profano. Immagini nei bolli doliari centro-italici" (pp. 603–615) and Antonio Manuel Poveda Navarro, "Un ejemplo de sincretismo religioso de la antigüedad. Hércules-Cristo en la *Hispania* tardo-antigua" (pp. 617–630). According to Gasparini (pp. 14 f.), this section "intende analizzare potenzialità e limiti di uno studio iconografico applicato all'analisi delle preferenze religiose. Anche in questo caso gli autori propongono una ricca ramificazione di indagini che investono una gamma assai ampia di supporti e materiali: se lo sguardo viene prima rivolto al cielo per scovare nelle costellazioni le figure del mito ellenico (Lo Sardo), l'attenzione si sposta poi sulle divinità raffigurate sulle emissioni monetali di Sibari (Polosa), o negli *ex-voto* in terracotta della Gallia romana (Clavel-Lévêque). I successivi due contributi partono invece da alcuni dettagli anatomici quali la mano levata al cielo nelle raffigurazioni scultoree o numismatiche del giuramento di Marsia (Marcattili) o le orecchie in marmo o bronzo dedicate a Iside (Gasparini) per leggersi particolari riti legati alla *fides* e alla memoria. Un'altra coppia di contributi si concentra sul Palatino per analizzarvi il significato del recente rinvenimento di alcune ali marmoree appartenenti a due statue di Vittoria (Abbondanza) e per cogliere negli affreschi della 'Casa di Livia' e della 'Casa di Augusto' l'espressione di una precisa scelta iconografica dettata da specifici presupposti ideologici dei rispettivi proprietari (Sauron). Il seguente articolo cerca invece di sondare la funzione dell'iconografia divina nei bolli doliari: l'autrice suggerisce che essa non vada interpretata come un riflesso delle preferenze religiose degli *officinatores* delle *figlinae*, quanto piuttosto delle esigenze pratiche di proprietari e appaltatori (Steinby). Ercole e Cristo sono i protagonisti di un ultimo testo che ne analizza le sovrapposizioni iconografiche e culturali nella *Hispania* di epoca tardo-antica (Poveda Navarro)."

The Sixth Section, "Le pratiche funerarie", comprises five contributions: Massimo Nafissi, "Oreste, Tisameno, gli *Ephoreia* e il santuario delle Moire a Sparta" (pp. 633–644); Theodoros Mavrojanis, "The "Great Tumulus" at Amphipolis. Remarks on its chronology in comparison to the debate for the "deification" of Hephaestion" (pp. 645–662); Llorenç Alapont Martín, "La necrópolis samnita de Alife. Estudio antropológico y de los gestos y ritos funerarios" (pp. 663–674); Paolo Vitti, "Il Mausoleo di Adriano e il culto dinastico. L'evidenza architettonica" (pp. 675–688) and Vassilis Tsiolis, "Antinoo en Mantinea" (pp. 689–699). The editor (p. 15) states that this section "si occupa di riti funerari e, in particolare, dei processi di eroizzazione, che si tratti della traslazione delle ossa di Tisamenos nella Sparta di VI secolo a.C. (Nafissi), del 'Grande Tumulo' recentemente rinvenuto ad *Amphipolis* e qui interpretato come tomba e *heroon* di Efestione (Mavrojanis), di alcune sepolture di guerrieri presso la necropoli sannitica di Alife (Alapont Martín), del Mausoleo di Adriano (Vitti), o, infine, del culto di Antinoo a Mantinea (Tsiolis)."

The Seventh Section, "La ricezione dell'antico. Il mito e il sacro", contains four papers: Emidio De Albentis, "La (presunta) sacralità dell'antico. Alcuni esempi comparati nei mutamenti toponomastici dell'Italia post-unitaria e fascista" (pp. 703–713); Alessandro Tinterri, "Quel che resta di Edipo" (pp. 715–726); Laura Romagnoli and Guido Batocchioni, "Allestimenti e restauri di antichi luoghi sacri. Un motivo di studio per la restituzione di un'immagine compiuta" (pp. 727–740) and Alain Schnapp, "Une stratégie de l'universel. La fondation de la culture islamique et les ruines" (pp. 741–749). These papers are, in the words of Gasparini (p. 15), "dedicati all'appropriazione del mondo antico in epoca moderna: le prospettive selezionate spaziano da quella delle mutazioni toponomastiche di origine culturale nell'Italia post-unitaria e fascista (De Albentis) a quella della rielaborazione teatrale del mito di Edipo (Tinterri), a quella infine della valorizzazione museologica di alcuni complessi templari indagati in prima persona da Coarelli (Romagnoli & Batocchioni). Un

ultimo poetico articolo sigilla il tomo, raggiungendone gli estremi cronologici e geografici: esso si occupa infatti della riflessione da parte della nascente poesia araba dell'impero Abasside sul tema delle rovine e delle vestigia classiche (Schnapp)."

There are individual bibliographies at the end of each contribution instead of a comprehensive general bibliography. The volume concludes with an "*Index locorum*" (pp. 751–767) and an "Indice analitico" (pp. 769–786), both of which are helpful in facilitating specific subject location. If there is one thing that is missing from this book, it is a list of illustrations. This is not a lavishly illustrated book, but it does feature several dozen photos in black and white along with a number of maps, plans and drawings.

Kaj Sandberg

Cosmic Order and Divine Power: Pseudo-Aristotle, On the Cosmos. Edited by JOHAN C. THOM. Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen 2014. ISBN 978-3-16-152809-5. X, 230 pp. EUR 49.

L'ouvrage édité par Johan C. Thom, *Cosmic Order and Divine Power : Pseudo-Aristotle, On the Cosmos*, rassemble huit essais sur les différents aspects du traité grec intitulé "*Περὶ Κόσμου*", également connu sous le nom latin "*De Mundo*", une œuvre de format épistolaire appartenant au corpus aristotélicien. Bien que le texte soit attribué à Aristote, son auteur, couramment désigné par le nom "Pseudo-Aristote", ainsi que sa date de composition, restent incertains. L'ouvrage contient également le texte grec (sans apparat critique) avec une traduction en anglais. La longueur du traité est assez courte ; dans l'ouvrage édité par Thom le texte grec n'occupe qu'une vingtaine de pages.

L'auteur de *De Mundo* (à l'instar des auteurs de l'ouvrage, nous utiliserons le titre latin au lieu du titre d'origine grec) commence le traité par un incipit dans lequel il s'adresse à un certain Alexandre, en qui d'aucuns ont voulu reconnaître celui dont l'épithète est "Le Grand". Malgré cela, le public cible de l'œuvre est plutôt général. Le style du traité diffère du style utilisé dans d'autres textes attribués à Aristote.

De Mundo est une œuvre didactique dont le but n'est pas d'offrir une description du Cosmos, mais plutôt de trouver une réponse à la question suivante : "comment le dieu arrive-t-il à maintenir et conserver l'Univers, tout en gardant sa transcendance et son indépendance?" Traitant des questions relatives à la cosmologie (dans ce contexte, la définition du terme est assez lointaine de son sens actuel), *De Mundo* s'inscrit dans une tradition des écrits sur l'univers et le démiurge, qui commence dans l'Antiquité et continue encore au Moyen Âge ; citons par exemple le dialogue *Timée* de Platon et la *Cosmographie* de Bernard Silvestre (XII^{ème} siècle).

La conception philosophique du traité est éclectique, puisqu'elle associe plusieurs doctrines philosophiques : elle se base non seulement sur les conceptions aristotéliciennes, mais aussi, par exemple, sur le platonisme et le stoïcisme. Des relations avec le néopythagorisme y existent probablement aussi. Bien que *De Mundo* associe plusieurs conceptions, ses réponses aux questions philosophiques sont assez cohérentes. En outre, l'auteur considère son dénouement comme péripatétique, même s'il fait quelques écarts par rapport à la doctrine aristotélicienne à proprement parler.

Dans l'introduction de l'ouvrage Thom récapitule les notions principales qui seront considérées dans les essais : l'auteur du traité, la date de composition, les divergences entre l'aristotélisme,

les sources, etc. L'introduction contient également un résumé de la structure de *De Mundo* qui donne les principaux points de repère de chaque chapitre du traité. La partie suivant l'introduction comprend le texte grec et sa traduction.

Commence ensuite la partie qui englobe huit essais de huit chercheurs. Le premier a été rédigé par Clive Chandler qui examine les objectifs didactiques et le choix de stratégies discursives du traité. Selon lui, le registre de langue choisi par l'auteur d'une œuvre dépend de la nature du sujet et de l'estime qu'il veut obtenir de ses lecteurs, donc du public cible. De plus, les stratégies choisies sont un outil dont l'auteur se sert pour convaincre le lecteur, qui, dans le traité, est représenté par un personnage nommé "Alexandre". Chandler conclut que l'auteur du traité est parfaitement conscient de la tradition sur laquelle il base son texte, ce que l'on peut constater dans les allusions qu'il fait aux auteurs antérieurs, ainsi que dans les citations qu'il choisit et les conventions qu'il utilise.

Renate Burri examine les données géographiques du traité. Les connaissances géographiques offertes par le texte peuvent non seulement fournir des informations sur l'auteur et sur le monde qui lui était connu, mais elles peuvent aussi être utilisées pour délimiter la date de composition. Cependant, s'il est à noter que les informations géographiques peuvent contribuer à déterminer surtout un *terminus post quem* de la position, il faut faire preuve de prudence en les utilisant pour déterminer un *ante quem*, car il se peut que l'auteur se soit servi d'informations déjà désuètes à l'époque de la composition de son œuvre.

L'éditeur de l'ouvrage, Thom, examine ensuite le thème principal du traité : la question de savoir comment un dieu omnipuissant arrive à maintenir l'ordre du Cosmos et préserver le monde sublunaire sans renoncer à sa transcendance ni à son indépendance. Autrement dit, comment concilier ces deux notions : la transcendance et l'immanence du dieu ? Pour répondre à cette question, il faut, selon l'auteur du traité, faire une distinction entre le dieu et son pouvoir. Prendre une part active dans le monde sublunaire ne serait pas convenable à la dignité du dieu ; on peut donc en déduire qu'il n'est pas possible que le dieu agisse dans le monde, bien que cela soit en son pouvoir. Le pouvoir du dieu transmet la volonté divine dans le monde sublunaire. Cependant, la distinction que l'auteur fait entre ces deux notions n'est pas tout à fait claire dans le traité.

Les quatre essais suivants examinent l'accueil du traité et les relations dont il a fait l'objet, non seulement dans le monde gréco-romain, mais aussi, par exemple, chez les penseurs juifs, arabes et chrétiens. *De Mundo* fut probablement très répandu dans les cercles philosophiques de l'époque : l'abondance des manuscrits conservés, les citations reprises dans d'autres travaux et une traduction latine témoignent de sa renommée. Le traité fut également traduit en syriaque, en arménien et en arabe au VI^{ème} siècle, ce qui indique la popularité de l'œuvre à l'extérieur du monde gréco-romain, en tout cas dans certains milieux. Andrew Smith considère l'accueil de *De Mundo* par plusieurs courants philosophiques de l'Antiquité. Il semble que *De Mundo* fût utilisé pour soutenir des conceptions philosophiques différentes, voire opposées. Anna Tzvetkova-Glaser examine les parallèles des concepts de *ὄυσία* (existence) et *δύναμις* (pouvoir) évoqués dans *De Mundo* avec des textes hellénistico-juifs et chrétiens. Hidemi Takahashi se penche sur les versions syriaque et arabes du traité et conclut l'essai sur la remarque qu'il reste encore du travail à faire en ce qui concerne les versions arabes. Hans Daiber continue en examinant dans son essai les possibles traces que *De Mundo* a laissés dans les travaux des penseurs chrétiens, musulmans et juifs.

La question de l'identité de l'auteur de *De Mundo* a fait couler beaucoup d'encre parmi les savants. Les intervenants de cette controverse, qui commence au XV^{ème} siècle et continue jusqu'à la

fin du XVIII^{ème}, sont des érudits de presque tous les domaines imaginables, comme, par exemple, des humanistes, philosophes et historiens. La controverse entre érudits, initiée dans les commentaires faits par les écrivains de l'Antiquité, est abordée par Jill Kraye, qui résume sommairement le débat et dresse une liste de noms proposés pour la véritable identité de l'auteur du traité. Parmi les noms proposés pour l'auteur de *De Mundo*, citons Théophraste et Posidonios. Bien que le texte soit transmis dans le corpus aristotélicien, il est assez clair que *De Mundo* n'est pas de la main d'Aristote. Pourtant, certains ont suggéré que le traité ait bien été composé par Aristote à la fin de sa vie, et qu'il aurait alors changé ses conceptions philosophiques. Il est cependant généralement admis aujourd'hui que le texte n'est pas d'Aristote, bien que des dissidents existent encore. Il est vraisemblable que le traité vit le jour bien après l'époque d'Aristote, vers le début de notre ère, et qu'il fut écrit par un philosophe éclectique.

L'appendice de l'ouvrage fournit non seulement une bibliographie, mais aussi un recueil de textes en lien avec *De Mundo*. L'appendice est composé par Andrew Smith.

Il nous semble que l'ouvrage *Cosmic Order and Divine Power*, en joignant le travail de huit chercheurs, ne vise pas à répondre à toutes les questions relatives à *De Mundo*, mais plutôt à donner une vue globale des questions relatives au traité dont l'auteur se fait passer pour Aristote. L'ouvrage ne manque pas de qualités. La division des chapitres est claire. Les questions y sont examinées méticuleusement d'un point de vue historique et philosophique, comme par exemple les débats que *De Mundo* a suscités, ainsi que les personnages qui ont été proposés comme étant l'auteur du traité. Les relations du traité avec d'autres doctrines philosophiques, par exemple, les liens entre le traité qualifié de "péripatétique" et le platonisme, sont également examinées ; c'est justement là que nous trouvons la partie la plus intéressante de l'ouvrage –mais nous tenons à souligner qu'il ne s'agit que d'une opinion personnelle. Quoi qu'il en soit, *Cosmic Order and Divine Power : Pseudo-Aristotle, On the Cosmos* est une importante contribution aux recherches sur le corpus aristotélicien.

Jari Nummi

MARIE LOUISE VON GLINSKI: *Simile and Identity in Ovid's Metamorphoses*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2012. ISBN 978-0-521-76096-6. 173 pp. GBP 95, USD 95.

Depicting the ripple of water that charmingly mirrors various colours, the cover picture of this elegant monograph aptly reflects the topic of the book, constant flux in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and especially the protean nature of the similes in his epic language. Metamorphosis, physical transformation, entails a change of identity; a human being turns into or is transformed into an animal or a plant or into something inanimate. How to describe what happens between the states before and after the physical metamorphosis? How to define where and when one ends and the other begins? Marie Louise von Glinski argues that Ovid uses simile, a conventional figure in epic narrative, "to capture states of unresolved identity in the transition between human, animal, and divine identity, as well as in the poem's textual ambivalence between genres and the negotiation of fiction and reality." Von Glinski shows how Ovid's similes mark the most important moments of transition and how they function in different ways in the *Metamorphoses*. Various aspects are organized around four ideas

and treated by chapter. The discourse proceeds as a series of subtle close readings of Ovid's episodes discussing ideas presented in the former research on *Metamorphoses*.

Chapter 1 ("Metamorphosis and simile") traces the fine line that divides human from animal. The seven examples of metamorphosis examined show how the similes seem to create ambivalent states and complicate the process by adding new layers and by introducing new questions, rather than capturing in-between states and explaining the mysterious event for the reader. Chapter 2 ("The gods and the simile") explores the relationship between simile and the gods' temporary (and voluntary) metamorphoses. Unlike other chapters of the book, this one is not divided into sections under sub-headings, which would have been helpful for the reader since it too involves close readings of several episodes and is as long as the other chapters. The chapter offers an interesting interpretation of the difference between mortal and immortal in Ovid's poem. While the human condition is marked by the continuous state of "being" in spite of the change of form, the divine condition seems to elude the essence of "being"; the gods' constant guise, adoption, and borrowing of shapes effectively enhance the mystery of their true identity.

Chapter 3 ("The simile and genre") discusses the poem's textual ambivalence between genres. Several genres (e.g., elegy, tragedy) modify the episodic structure and epic discourse of the poem. The close readings, most notably the story of Apollo and Daphne, Achilles' duel with Cygnus and the battle between the Lapiths and the Centaurs, show that it is not so much a question of epic and un-epic elements opposing each other as a change of parameters of the epic genre. Chapter 4 ("Simile and fictionality") discusses how similes function in defining the boundary between the imaginary and the real. The interpretation of Ovid's similes in the textual fantasy of the House of Sleep is particularly illuminating; marking the transition, the similes cross the line between real and dream worlds and reveal the constraints of categorization. Von Glinski also interestingly shows how Ovid – with the technique of multiple narrators – creates a narrative depth that confuses the reader's sense of temporal orientation.

Besides the indented quotations that are translated, there are many quite long quotations in-line and in footnotes that are not translated and do not necessarily become clear to readers who do not understand Latin. Despite the fact that this refreshing study of the immense adaptability of the figure of simile and Ovid's innovative use of it can be fully appreciated only by Latin scholars, it is still no doubt useful for any reader interested in literary fiction. It offers interesting interpretations and new aspects of familiar stories as well as inspiring ideas about how similes function in the *Metamorphoses*. The destabilizing force of simile is one of the ideas that is convincingly brought forward. On the one hand, the likeness implied in simile connects the *comparans* and the *comparandum*, but on the other, it illustrates the distance between them; simile can fail to help the identification and the whole notion of identity gets expanded as something that is likely to change and not easy to understand.

The Vulgate Bible: Douay-Rheims Translation.

Volume I. *The Pentateuch*. Edited by S. EDGAR. Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library (DOML) 1. Harvard University Press, Cambridge 2010. ISBN 978-0-674-05534-6. XXXVI, 1151 pp. GBP 19.95, USD 29.95, EUR 21.

Volume II.A. *The Historical Books*. Edited by S. EDGAR. DOML 4. Harvard University Press, Cambridge 2011. ISBN 978-0-674-99667-0. XXXVI, 1125 pp. GBP 19.95, USD 29.95, EUR 21.

Volume II.B. *The Historical Books*. Edited by S. EDGAR. DOML 5. Harvard University Press, Cambridge 2011. ISBN 978-0-674-06077-7. XII, 1128–1921 pp. GBP 19.95, USD 29.95, EUR 21.

Volume III. *The Poetical Books*. Edited by S. EDGAR – A. M. KINNEY. DOML 8. Harvard University Press, Cambridge 2011. ISBN 978-0-674-99668-7. XXXVIII, 1187 pp. GBP 19.95, USD 29.95, EUR 21.

The three volumes (vol. II in two parts) contain the Latin Vulgate translation of the Old Testament with Challoner's 19th cent. revision of the English Douay-Rheims translation on facing pages. The Introduction (vol. I, pp. vii–xxx; the same Introduction is printed in each volume, with a short addition on Psalms in vol. III, pp. xxix–xxx) outlines briefly the history and significance of the Vulgate, generally attributed to St. Jerome ca. 400 C.E., as well as the history of the English version. The Douay-Rheims translation was the first English Bible sanctioned by the Roman Catholic Church and it was produced in the English colleges at Douai and Reims (hence the name) in the late 16th and early 17th cent. The Latin text used by the translators was not exactly the official Sixto-Clementine edition of 1592–1598 and in some cases the editor of the volumes has reconstructed a now lost reading of the Latin archetype. Differences between the Latin versions can mainly be found in tiny details, e.g., in *Exod* 16:29 *et (nullus egrediatur de loco suo)* is added according to the English version. For substantial parts, the Latin text corresponds to the standard Weber-Gryson pocket edition of 1969 (*Biblia Sacra Vulgata*). The rare differences are mostly found in synonyms in which the W.-Gr. edition prefers those found in codices pre-dating the Alcuin Bibles, e.g., *Exod* 39:23 (*de auro*) *mundissimo* W.-Gr., *purissimo* Sixto-Cl. and Douay-Rheims ("purest"). Other types of differences are late additions, possibly originating as marginal glosses, that are left out in W.-Gr., e.g., 2 *Sam* 1:18 "And he said, 'Consider, O Israel, for them that are dead, wounded on thy high places,'" a double translation for v. 19 following essentially the Septuagint. The differences can be located with the help of lists at the end of each volume ("Notes to the Text").

The revised English translation aims at a fairly literal rendering of the Latin text, but awkward idioms, especially those derived from Hebrew, are translated with a suitable English expression: e.g., in *Gen* 6:13, *a facie eorum*, translated first as "from the face of them" is changed to the appropriate "through them". Such cases in which the revised translation takes a step further away from Latin are italicized. Concerning lexical choices, an ordinary English word for an ordinary Latin word is preferred whenever available, e.g., *Ps* 17[18]:2 *fortitudo* "strength", 6 *preoccupaverunt* "prevented", 7 *invocavi* "I called upon". However, Latin-based English words are used if they are ordinary words in English, too (*Ps* 17:3 *protector* "protector"), or if an ordinary English word is not available (*Ps* 17:1 *cantici huius* "of this canticle", 3 *firmamentum* "firmament"). The Latin ablative absolutes and the passive voice, especially in participles, are generally rendered with English finite verbs. The reader will find famous (mis-)translations with impressive reception histories, such as the horns of Moses (*Exod* 34:29–30 "his face was horned") and "the noon-day devil" (*daemonio*

meridiano) in *Ps* 90:6. The text for the Psalms is the *Iuxta Septuaginta* version, also known as the Gallican Psalter (vol. III, p. xxx), not Jerome's *Iuxta hebraicum*. Thus, the reader will find there the Latin text familiar from, e.g., Renaissance vocal music. The editor has made a conscious choice to print the Psalms and other poetical books in prose-style full lines. This decision is justified by the observation that "neither the Latin nor the English is poetic" ("Introduction", p. xi). While an understandable decision, it is perhaps not very convenient for the reader. If the reader misses something in these volumes it will probably be Jerome's prefaces that were traditionally copied along with the actual books.

In these first three volumes of the new edition of the Douay-Rheims version, the reader will find a useful tool for making sense of the Latin text: the translation is literal enough to almost work as an interlinear translation, but, at the same time, the English is easy enough to make pleasant reading. The layout is beautiful and I did not notice any printing errors. Each volume has four appendices: "Note on the Text" explaining the basic features of the Latin text, "Notes to the Text" providing a condensed *apparatus criticus*, "Alternate Spellings" providing possible alternatives for the proper nouns, and a "Bibliography" of the sources and some secondary literature.

Tuukka Kauhanen

DAVID M. TIMMERMAN – EDWARD SCHIAPPA: *Classical Greek Rhetorical Theory and the Disciplining of Discourse*. Cambridge University Press, New York 2010. ISBN 978-0-521-19518-8. X, 192 pp. USD 103.

This volume, jointly written by David Timmerman and Edward Schiappa (henceforth T&S), presents a welcome and thought-provoking addition to the on-going discussion on the early history of ancient Greek rhetorical theory. Clearly written and understandable in its own right, the book is, in this reviewer's mind, best understood as an independent *addendum* to a revised history of the early stages of the history of Greek rhetorical theory, defended by Schiappa in his earlier publications such as *The Beginnings of Rhetorical Theory in Classical Greece* (1999) (also partly co-written by Timmerman) and *Protagoras and Logos* (1991, 2003²). Thus, it seems reasonable to begin this review by placing this publication in the context of this ongoing research program.

In his earlier contributions, Schiappa has defended the claim that rhetoric (understood not as a practice of speaking, but as a theoretical reflection on the practice of speech) was established as a distinct discipline or subject in the 4th rather than in the 5th century B.C.E. – contrary to many scholars who have traced the subject's history deep into the 5th century, to the innovations of the Syracusan orators Teisias and Corax. According to Schiappa, the birth of rhetoric took place when authors active in the 4th century – most notably Plato and Aristotle – defended definitional accounts on the nature of rhetoric, contrasted rhetoric with other forms of discourse (such as philosophy), distinguished its various forms and genres, discussed its main aims, and developed technical vocabulary specific to rhetoric as a subject of its own. The most notable case in point, also briefly discussed by T&S on pp. 9–11 of the present volume, is the Greek word *rhētorikē* itself, which makes its first appearance (at least in the sources preserved to us) in Plato's *Gorgias*. Before such inventions there was, according to the authors, no clear-cut difference between intellectual activities and domains

that we have later become accustomed to differentiate as philosophy on the one hand and rhetoric on the other. The authors are convinced that new technical terms do not plainly describe neutrally some already given phenomena, but also *establish* new differences and distinctions in places where none existed before. T&S also relate this basic idea to some contemporary linguistic and psychological theories (see especially pp. 4–8). While it is, of course, advisable to make one's theoretical commitments clear and to look for theoretical foundations for one's claims, T&S's references to contemporary theories remain on a very superficial level and seem to be fairly eclectic in nature.

The birth of rhetoric is thus, in T&S's view, closely tied up with linguistic and theoretical innovation: it is intrinsically related to the development of technical terminology and to the creation and moulding of concepts and of conceptual categories that are used in making sense of rhetorical practice, and put into use in describing it. The point is that the words really *do* matter in this case. This central view is introduced and discussed in the Introductory chapter of the book. It also motivates the more specific topic and aim of the volume at hand: that of investigating the emergence and content of what T&S call the 'terms of art' of rhetorical theory. With this fairly flexible term, the authors refer to specialized classificatory and technical terms of the emerging theory of rhetoric. To this reader, it remains, however, somewhat unclear how the content of the expression 'term of art' differs from that of the more common 'technical term'; is it not crucial for both that they are either (a) to some extent specialized uses of terms familiar from ordinary linguistic usage, or (b) new terms introduced for a particular technical purpose? This seems to be the point of the authors' general characterization of 'terms of art' as words and phrases "that take on reasonably specialized denotative functions within a particular language community" (p. 1). But sometimes T&S seem to put more rigid criteria for what it is to be a term of art; see for example the discussions on p. 145 and p. 170, which seem to imply that a *meta-level discussion* on the content of the terms is typical (if not necessary?) for terms of art; and this may in turn point in the direction that T&S use the expression 'term of art' in an even more restricted sense than 'technical term'. T&S's book would surely have benefited from a more thorough discussion of the central concept of 'term of art' – presently the relevant characterizations of this term are scattered all over the book, the main discussion being on pp. 1–8; but interesting additional remarks on the genesis of terms of art are also made on p. 43 and p. 101. For some reason this important term is not even included in the short index of the book.

In the Introduction, T&S call their preferred approach to the history of rhetoric *concept driven* – and contrast this approach with more traditional thematic and author/text-centred approaches (pp. 2–4). By a concept-driven method, the authors seem to mean, in general, an approach that pays close attention to the specific content and to the historical development of a particular concept. In the case of the early history of rhetoric, the concept-driven approach takes the form of an examination of the uses a given word (and words closely related to it) has in the writings of several relevant authors active in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.E. By examining these uses one can trace how a specific term of art of rhetoric emerges in the process of a multifaceted historical development and how this emergence often takes the form of contesting earlier or competing usages of the term. The authors also use the expression 'disciplining of discourse', which appears in the title of the book, to designate such emergence of terms of art and of theoretical disciplines.

The chapters 2–4 of the book, each of which has already been published in another form elsewhere, offer three case studies of the authors' concept-driven method. Chapter 2 describes the emergence of the Platonic concept of *dialektikê* from the earlier ordinary and sophistic usages of

the relevant terms (most notably of the verb *dialegesthai*). Chapter 3 discusses the use of the term *philosophia* in Isocrates' speeches, and Chapter 4 treats the disciplining of the words *dēmēgoria* and *symbolē* in Aristotle's writings as terms referring exclusively to public deliberation. In this short review, it is, due to lack of space, regrettably impossible to deal in detail with the many interesting suggestions these three chapters contain, and I will confine myself to some general remarks.

Each of these chapters (2–4) follows roughly the same methodical pattern: first, a sketch of the earlier, often quite commonplace 5th century usage of the relevant words is given, after which the development of a more specialized and technical usage (/usages) in the late 5th and 4th centuries B.C.E. is examined. In this way, a physiognomy of the emergence of a specific term of art is given. (It is evident that the results are largely based on searches on the *TLG* database, which enables broad overviews of uses of the terms.) In some cases, the descriptions of the usages would have benefited from more extensive exemplary text passages; presently the discussion remains occasionally somewhat superficial. But perhaps the authors preferred an approach which makes the general lines of development perspicuous; and since references to relevant passages are there, the interested reader may have a look at the original texts on her own.

For a book the explicit aim of which is the investigation of some key terms of *rhetorical* theory, it may be somewhat surprising that both Chapters 2 and 3 actually deal with terms that play a pivotal role in the *philosophical* tradition – namely those of *dialogue*, *dialectic*, and *philosophy*. Thus, the book is worth reading not only for scholars interested in the history of rhetoric, but also for more philosophically minded readers and, in fact, for anybody interested in the intellectual history of 5th and 4th century Athens. These two chapters make it plain that the same process of disciplining the discourse that characterizes, in T&S's opinion, the early history of rhetoric, also applies to the genesis and development of philosophy in Athens of the 4th century. Chapter 2 illustrates how Plato's philosophical conception of dialectic has its roots in the practices of dialogical discussions held by some of the thinkers belonging to the so-called sophistic movement. Chapter 3 in turn shows how the idea of philosophy was, in the 4th century B.C.E., very much a contested concept, of which different notable intellectuals of the time were giving different and competing accounts; the authors point out well how Isocrates' very broad conception of philosophy, having been ever since left in the shadows of the dominant platonic articulation of this concept, has all too easily evaded correct and balanced interpretations. Thus T&S's investigation connects nicely, as the authors themselves acknowledge (see p. 66), with the ideas of such researchers as Andrea Nightingale (see especially her 1995 *Genres in Dialogue*).

A major and, to me at least, a most welcome part of the research program suggested by T&S is that it provides us with tools with which to fight against conceptual anachronisms – against tendencies of imposing later technical vocabulary, terminology and distinctions on earlier authors and their writings. Both chapters 5 and 6 of the book make contributions in this field. Chapter 5 suggests that *Rhetoric to Alexander* has suffered from being constantly viewed in the light of a later distinction between the literal genres of philosophical, sophistic and technical treatises in rhetoric, while it, according to the authors, evades such a clear-cut categorization. This chapter, unlike Chapters 2–4, is mainly concerned with the reception history and categorization of *Rhetoric to Alexander*. To bring the argument home, a more thorough investigation of the treatise's contents would be necessary. Chapter 6, in turn, is a critical discussion of some lines of thought defended by Stephen Usher in his 1999 *Greek Oratory: Tradition and Originality*. Pace Usher, T&S make a case for the claim

that the oratorical composition of speeches in the 5th century B.C.E. is not commonly governed by ideas concerning the division of speeches into separate parts – ideas that later became commonplace.

As already stated, the book is clearly written and the argumentation, in general, transparent. It does, however, contain some unnecessary repetitions, obviously due to having been partly compiled from originally separate publications. This reader also finds the recurrent direct quotations from the authors' previous works somewhat disturbing. Some references to secondary bibliography could have been moved into footnotes (surprisingly seldom used by the authors), and fellow classicists surely would not have minded quotations in original Greek. The authors' concept-driven approach, with the analytical focus on the development of specific terms of art, is apt to produce illuminating interventions in and corrections to the given historical accounts; but it meets its limitations when it comes to sketching historical narratives of a more synthetic kind. This is why the book is best viewed, as stated at the beginning of this review, as an illuminating independent *addendum* to a greater revised research program on the early history of rhetoric. I hope that the academic audience will, sooner or later, see a publication of a more synthetic kind, dealing with the fascinating interrelations between sophists, orators and philosophers in the heyday of 4th century Athens. Meanwhile, additional scholarly interventions of the kind contained in this book are also highly welcome. All in all, this is a thought-provoking and innovative piece of scholarship, highly recommended for anybody interested in the intellectual history of 5th and 4th century Greece.

Lassi Jakola

ALESSIA PRIOLETTA: *Inscriptions from the Southern Highlands of Yemen: The Epigraphic Collections of the Museums of Baynūn and Dhamār*. Arabia Antica 8. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Rome 2013. ISBN 978-88-913-0001-0. 408 pp, 235 ill. EUR 145.

There has been, in recent years, a revived interest in Arabian archaeology and epigraphy. Scholars have taken up the task of finding and studying new Arabian antiquities, pre-Islamic and Islamic-era languages and inscriptions, and so on. (It must be noted at the outset that most written evidence from pre-Islamic Arabia consists of inscriptions; we have no or at the most very few literary remains written on more perishable materials.) When, in 2000, Michael Macdonald published his trailblazing essay "Reflections on the Linguistic Map of Pre-Islamic Arabia" (*Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 11: 28–79), many of the questions concerning pre-Islamic Arabian languages remained murky. Since then, painstaking scholarly work by such epigraphists and linguists as Peter Stein, Ahmad Al-Jallad, Laïla Nehmé, and Michael Macdonald himself, has provided an answer to many questions concerning Ancient South Arabian (ASA) and Ancient North Arabian (ANA) languages as well as Old Arabic and Nabataean Aramaic. The number of finds has increased extensively as well: some 80,000 ANA and some 10,000 ASA inscriptions are known today.

While it was often suggested in the past that ASA and ANA languages formed linguistically genealogical groups or even that ANA and ASA were single languages in which there was only dialectal variation, nowadays most scholars think of these categories first and foremost as geographical ones that belie the linguistic plurality within them. It has also been noted that the categorization is

often based on script, which does not necessarily mean anything for the language of the inscriptions.

Alessia Prioletta has joined the group of important ASA epigraphists with an edition and commentary of an important collection of ASA (mostly Sabaic) inscriptions. It must be conceded that I myself am an Islamicist working mostly with Islamic origins and Arabic epigraphy. Although I take a keen interest in pre-Islamic Arabia and its inscriptions and languages, I am not a specialist in ASA and cannot comment on the issues specifically related to the ASA languages or the exact readings and interpretations of the inscriptions published by Prioletta in her book.

Alessia Prioletta was taught by Prof. Alessandra Avanzini – one of the foremost scholars of ASA inscriptions – at the University of Pisa from which she graduated in 2000. She then moved to the University of Florence where she wrote her doctoral dissertation, receiving her PhD in 2004. She has written a large number of articles, but *Inscriptions from the Southern Highlands of Yemen: The Epigraphic Collections of the Museums of Baynūn and Dhamār* is her first monograph. Since 2015, she has been part of the famous French National Centre for Scientific Research, UMR 8167 "Orient et Méditerranée", a real haven for anyone working on pre-Islamic Arabia.

The book under review is a careful edition and analysis of 235 ASA inscriptions housed at the Museum of Baynūn, the Regional Museum of Dhamār, and the Museum of the University of Dhamār. Many of the inscriptions of these museums spring from nearby locales but some have ended up there from more distant regions. If I understand Prioletta correctly (p. 12), (some of?) the inscriptions had already been published online in the database of ASA inscriptions, the Digital Archive for the Study of pre-Islamic Arabian Inscriptions (<http://dasi.humnet.unipi.it>), so these are not necessarily new inscriptions, but they merit their publication in book form very well, since the introduction (pp. 15–74) and the analysis of the inscriptions written by Prioletta are excellent.

The introductory chapter describes the language of the inscriptions treated in the book as well as the historical, societal, religious and tribal information they give us about the Dhamār region in antiquity and late antiquity in a lucid fashion. Pages 45–51 discuss in what aspects the inscriptions published by Prioletta agree (or disagree) with Peter Stein's studies¹ on the chronology, phonology, and morphology of Sabaic.

The main significance for an Islamicist like me is certainly Prioletta's contribution on the tribal map of Dhamār in pre-Islamic times (pp. 29–39), religious developments (pp. 40–44), and the political history of the region (pp. 51–70). I read all this with much fascination. In a very clear way, Prioletta depicts the rise of the Ḥimyarite Confederation at the end of the first millennium BCE (p. 56) as well as its fighting with, and eventual victory over, the Sabaeans. Also very significant is her contribution on the religious developments in the region. She shows how the inscriptions evince the change from different varieties of polytheism to, in the fourth century CE, the monotheistic cult of Raḥmānān (p. 44), identified sometimes in the inscriptions and usually in the modern studies with the Jewish God. Traditional polytheism was a living and dynamic phenomenon in before that. The main deity was 'Athtar, who received different attributes among different tribes. The Sabaean chief god Almaqah is also attested in the Dhamār inscriptions (p. 41). Notably for Islamicists, the goddess known in pre-Islamic inscriptions, in the Qur' ān, and later Arabic tradition as al-'Uzzā seems to appear in one inscription of this corpus as ʿzyn (BynM 202, pp. 44, 112–115).

¹ See especially his *Untersuchungen zur Phonologie und Morphologie des Sabäischen*, Rahden 2003.

Epigraphists divide the material they work with in a variety of ways. One can divide inscriptions on the basis of their provenance, language, contents, intended functions, the materials and objects that they are written on, the methods of writing (engraving, painting, scratching), or their formal vs. informal nature, for instance.

The inscriptions in Prioletta's book are classified on the basis of which museum they come from, language (Sabaic or other ASA language), and type: construction inscriptions, dedicatory inscriptions, commemorative inscriptions, onomastics, minor fragments of uncertain typology as well as inscriptions on bronze objects, pottery vessels, and figurines (see the contents on pp. 5–6 and the criteria given on pp. 12–14). The possible problem with this categorization is that it conflates contents, function, and the materials that the inscriptions are written on. Dividing the inscriptions into construction, dedicatory, and commemorative inscriptions is based on the analysis of their contents, while the division "inscriptions on bronze objects, pottery vessels, and figurines" is based on what material or object the inscriptions are written on.

Perhaps the most problematic type is the inscriptions classified as "onomastics" (pp. 131–154, 245–266, 337–352). As can be seen from the figures, these are often inscriptions on statues and portable items that contain only or mostly names. But these are often very similar to what is published as inscriptions on bronze objects, pottery vessels, and figurines (pp. 293–318), so one would want to know on what basis the division has been made. Some of the inscriptions classified as "onomastics" are also damaged (e.g. BynM 418); we cannot be certain whether the original inscription actually included something more than a name. Furthermore, BynM 5, also published in the "onomastics" category, is a funerary stone with a longer inscription, so it would be better classified as something else. On p. 12, Prioletta notes: "Inscriptions that contain only names, including funerary stelae with the name of the object and author, are categorized as 'Onomastics' in each museum collection." But BynM 5 is a longer inscription which not only contains names but additional information as well (p. 134): "Funerary stela of *Drhm* of *Rmln*. And may 'Amm shame the one who will violate this memorial." This is also the case with some other funerary stelae in the collection (e.g., BynM 422, pp. 137–138).

In any case, these are minor complaints, but I would like to have seen a longer discussion of why the typology was established in this way. As it now stands, it confuses different criteria. To be fair, Prioletta is aware of this. On p. 13, she comments: "Some special groups of artefacts, such as the Regional Museum of Dhamār's 'Inscribed bronze objects' and 'Inscribed pottery vessels and figurines,' are collected together regardless of their textual typology." Incidentally, some of the inscriptions look and read like graffiti to me (e.g., BynM 400, pp. 131–132, and ThUM 34, pp. 322–323), but the possible division graffiti vs. monumental inscriptions is not discussed by Prioletta.

Many of the inscriptions are beautiful specimens of ASA epigraphy and of the utmost importance for scholarship. One can mention, for example, a complete building inscription (BynM 200, pp. 87–89), a dedicatory inscription on an incense burner (BynM 22, p. 109), a sixteen-line well-preserved inscription on a statue base (BynM1, pp. 116–118), and a dedication to the deity Almaqah (DhM 383, pp. 206–210).

The book is well written and Prioletta's interpretations and arguments are easy to follow. It can be recommended not only for ASA specialists but for anyone interested in pre-Islamic Yemen as well as Arabian epigraphy and religion. It could be noted, however, that the book would have

profited from one more proofreading by a native English speaker. One could also comment that the price (EUR 145) is extremely steep for a book that is only paperback.

Ilkka Lindstedt

Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum. Consilio et auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Berolinensis et Brandenburgensis editum. Vol. I²: Inscriptiones Latinae antiquissimae ad C. Caesaris mortem. Pars II, fasc. V: Indices fasciculorum I-IV. Ediderunt ERNESTUS LOMMATZSCH – IOANNES KRUMMREY. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin 2015. ISBN 978-3-11-041589-6. VIII, 1205–1439 pp. EUR 149.95.

Wie bekannt, enthält das letzte 1986 erschienene Supplement des ersten den republikanischen Inschriften gewidmeten Bandes des Berliner Inschriftenwerkes keine Indices. Dieses Manko hat jetzt Hans Krummrey mit dem vorliegenden Indexband aufgehoben, und zwar auf eine ausgezeichnete Weise; er ist ein erstklassiges Arbeitsinstrument geworden. Krummrey hat nicht nur die im letzten Supplement enthaltenen Texte berücksichtigt, sondern auch die in früheren Faszikeln publizierten. So hat er einen kritisch gesichteten Gesamtindex zu CIL I² (verständlicherweise ohne die Fasti et Elogia) hervorgebracht, der ihm Ehre macht und für die Forschung große Dienste leisten wird. Die Struktur des Index ist dieselbe bewährte der zwei von Lommatzsch im zweiten und dritten Faszikel gefertigten Indices. Neu hinzugekommen ist ein topographischer Index, gesondert nach den Fundorten (A) und Aufstellungsorten (B) geordnet; mit einem dritten Teil (C), betitelt "Qui homines in parte B memorati titulos legerint et quorum in aedibus hortis collectionibus tituli asserventur vel asservati sint", endet der Band. Von ihnen sind besonders A und B ein hochwillkommener Beitrag zur Einbettung der Inschriften zur historisch-geographischen Umgebung, aus der sie stammen.

Heute, da der Forschung ausgedehnte Datenbanken zur Verfügung stehen, ist es wichtig, dass Indices traditioneller Art weiter gepflegt werden. Die Datenbanken können die Indices alten Stils nicht ersetzen; die zwei Gattungen ergänzen einander. Die Mitforscher begrüßen mit Freude diese Initiative. Ihr großer Nutzen wird auch dadurch augenscheinlich, dass die gebotene Information stellenweise vollständiger ist als in Lommatzsch' Indices. Hinzugekommen ist der Abschnitt "Litterarum formae notabiliores" (S. 1336-1359), ein äußerst nützliches Pendant zu Hübners Exempla.

Ein paar Randbemerkungen eines dankbaren Lesers. Krummrey hat sich nicht veranlasst gesehen, der neueren nach dem Erscheinen des letzten Supplements 1986 betriebenen Forschung ausführlicher Rechnung zu tragen. Er hat z. B. dem Abkürzungsverzeichnis meine *Analecta epigraphica* (1998) einverleibt, sie aber nicht systematisch ausgebeutet, wie drei Beispiele zeigen: im Wortverzeichnis zitiert er unter *mancipo* 1620, es liegt aber wohl das Wort *macellum* vor (*Analecta* 354); in 3108a hat Krummrey die alte Deutung *Curveili Pedonis* beibehalten statt *C. Urveili Pedonis* in *Analecta* 356; und unter den Cognomina gibt er zu 3405a *L. Acceptus*, ohne bemerkt zu haben, dass ebenda [---] *l. Acceptus* mit Datierung in die Kaiserzeit gegeben wird. Auch sind seine Lokalisierungen von einzelnen Inschriften nicht immer auf dem Laufenden (dies ist nicht als Tadel gemeint). So steht 1542 unter Aquinum, weil Degrassi die Stelle, an der die Inschrift im 16. Jh. gesehen wurde – nämlich die Kirche *S. Maria a S. Germano* in Cassino – falsch als Piedimonte S. Germano im Gebiet des römischen Aquinum gedeutet hat; die Geschichte der Inschrift beginnt also in Cassino (aber der Stein selbst stammt aus Interamna Lirenas: Solin, in *L'epigrafi del villaggio*

[1993] 368). – Man muss zwischen alten und neuen Siedlungen unterscheiden, wenn die alte von den Römern zerstört wurde. So gehören die unter Fregellae stehenden 1548 und 3108 in Wirklichkeit unter Fabrateria nova, denn Fregellae wurde 125 v.Chr. zerstört, und an seiner Stelle entstand Fabrateria (übrigens ist im Eintrag "Fregellae" der Hinweis auf "Falvaterra" entbehrlich, denn der so benannte Ort hat nur den Namen von Fabrateria, liegt aber nicht wo die antike Stadt). Ähnlich soll die ins Ende des 2. Jh. v. Chr. zu datierende 1552 nicht unter Satricum stehen, das längst dem Gebiet Antiums einverleibt worden war (in ihr wird ein Duovir von Antium erwähnt).

Heikki Solin

Supplementa Italica. Nuova Serie 28: *Patavium*. A cura di MARIA SILVIA BASSIGNANO. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 2016. ISBN 978-88-7140-723-4. 466 pp. EUR 46.

This new volume is the third in the series that covers just one city; earlier volumes dealing with only one city (obviously including its territory) were vol. 15 (1997) on Ateste and vol. 20 (2003) on Venusia. As this volume, the most substantial in the series after vol. 23 (526 pages), consists of no less than 466 pages, one can see the point of the whole volume having been reserved for the city of Livy (there is a Livia in inscription no. 99), and as the author is an eminent authority on the epigraphy of Patavium (Padova), the result is that this is one of the most important publications of 2016 in the field of Latin epigraphy.

The book begins with a bibliography of almost 50 pages; the use of these *Supplementa* is well illustrated by the fact that many of the items in the bibliography are publications of a local or regional, rather than of an international, nature, and thus likely to be overlooked by scholars not based in the region, and so it is good to have their contents integrated into the commentaries of both of the "old" and the "new" inscriptions.

Speaking of "old" inscriptions, I am of course referring to the familiar section "Aggiunte e correzioni" to inscriptions published in earlier corpora (in this case, *CIL* and the supplement of E. Pais). This must be by far the most substantial section of "Aggiunte" in the history of this series, as it contains almost 200 pages (p. 94-287); but it is, of course, true that many of the numerous inscriptions from Patavium are of an interest and importance that surpasses the ordinary and are thus in need of annotation.

This section is, of course, not the first chapter in the book, for this *Supplementum* begins in the normal way with the "Aggiunte e correzioni alle notizie storiche fornite nelle raccolte che si aggiornano" (p. 58-94). It is important to observe that this chapter (and of course the corresponding chapters in the other volumes of this series) does not define itself as a new exposition of the history of the city but, modestly, only as a supplement of sorts to what was said by Mommsen and Pais. I think, however, that the account offered here can be used with profit by all those who wish to be informed of whatever is known of the vicissitudes of the city. This chapter, which somewhat surprisingly ends with elements normally assigned to prefaces (p. 93f.) also includes a description of the territory of the city (with a map on p. 72); it appears that the territory included the coast between Venice and Chioggia, and extended as far as Bassano del Grappa in the north.

The section with the new inscriptions contains 162 numbered items, although not as many

texts, for numbers 145–154 only contain references to finds, some of them of older date, by local archaeologists of inscriptions in which the text has not been reproduced. There are, of course, also fragments of little interest, and nos. 158–162 are Christian inscriptions. As for the "new" inscriptions, there are several unpublished or practically unpublished texts (at least nos. 48, 49, 51, 53, 65, 71, 75, 91, 100, 102, 103 – cf. below on this inscription). But it is most remarkable that there is an even larger number of inscriptions which *have* been published, say in the *Notizie degli Scavi*, in other journals and in archaeological monographs. Often these inscriptions have been published decades ago, but many of them have not been reproduced in the *Année épigraphique* and have thus remained largely unknown. The fact that so many inscriptions have in the past been ignored by the *Année épigraphique* is a useful reminder to those epigraphists who assume that this annual collects most, if not all, of the texts not covered by the large epigraphical corpora. At least the following texts have not been reproduced in the *Année épigraphique*: 3, 5, 13, 15, 16, 19, 32, 34, 36, 39, 47, 54, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 67, 69, 70 (the monument, found in 1883, of C. Dellius Phoebus who says *sine ullo aere alieno hic iacio* [sic; cf. below]), 73, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 84, 87, 88, 89, 90, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 98, 99 (not to mention fragments).

The inscriptions, some of which offer various novelties (e.g., the cognomen *Pudica*, no. 88; the praenomen *Manius* abbreviated with the fifth stroke starting in the middle, not at the bottom, of the fourth stroke, no. 104) are presented in a competent manner and are accompanied by adequate commentaries. There are, however, some details I am wonder about. One of these is the habit of the editor not to indicate the *l longae* in the transcriptions (e.g., no. 87 with *Firmi*, this not being the first time that the *i* is indicated as having been long; nos. 96, 97, 104). Another is the habit of referring in linguistic matters (e.g., in the commentaries to *CIL* V 3039, 3047, 3072) only to the 1960s articles of A. Zamboni, which restricted themselves to the inscriptions of the *regio X* and which were published in the *Atti* of various local academies, rather than referring to publications of a more general scope, interest and dissemination.

I also observed some details which seem to deserve further comment. For a selection, note the following: P. 228 on no. 2982, it is said that the name *Quadratilla* "è di uso raro e, nelle province europee, è documentato solo nella Gallia Belgica"; this may be true, as Italy was not a province until Late Antiquity, but I cannot see the point of this observation, seeing that, if one also considers Italy – and Patavium is of course part of Italy – there are, in addition to the famous Ummidia Quadratilla of Casinum, many instances of this name, in Rome, Tibur, Beneventum etc., as revealed by the Clauss-Slaby database (which gives 142 results for "quadratilla"). – On p. 233 on no. 2995, it is said that *Moenius* is not otherwise attested in Cisalpine Gaul, but this seems inconsistent with the fact that a certain C. Moenius Cilo is mentioned in no. 96 (perhaps this oversight is due to the fact that the book was long in the making). – P. 251 on no. 3034: the phrase *illi deos iratos quos omis colunt, si quis deo sepulcro violarit* is indeed problematic, and has clearly been added "ab imperito homine" (as put by Mommsen). However, instead of declaring *deo iratos* a nominative I would prefer to see *illi deos iratos* (note that a verb is missing) as a contamination of sorts of *ille deos iratos habeat* and *illi dei irati sint*; as for *omis*, having studied the photo I think it could be possible to read *omnis* (perhaps to be understood as *omnes*) with the ligature *M+N+I*. At the end, understanding *deo* as *de eo* does not seem to take us very far, but *sepulcro* is clearly meant to be the object of *violarit*. – P. 256 on no. 3042: "Amaryllidi" in "Cavaria Amaryllidi" should be *Amaryllis*. – P. 267 on no. 3070: *litteris informibus* (non "informis"). – No. 62: since we have *Coelii* with different praenomina in lines 1, 3

and 4, surely we have here a father and his two sons, which means that the person mentioned in line 2 occupies the place normally reserved for the mother; it follows that *Pett[ia ---]*, rather than *P. E[tt]f[ia ---]*, would seem to be the preferable reading (there is a Pettia in no. 86). – No. 70: in the commentary it is said that "la formula hic iacio risulta rara" and that there is only one parallel ("confronto"), *CIL* III 14406a (from Heraclea Lyncestis, a fourth-century text). But since *hic iacio* means "in this place I throw", whereas "I lie here" would be *hic iaceo*, it would in my view be more to the point to say simply that *iacio* is a "vulgar" orthography of *iaceo* (according to the *TLL* VII 1, p. 4 l. 7f. s.v. *iaceo* "*temporibus posterioribus formae iaceo et iacio, iacet et iacit saepe confunduntur*"). – No. 75: since the son L. Laelius has the filiation *L. f.*, I think we can safely read the father's name as [*L.] Laelio P. f.* – No. 93: *Sēxtianus* cannot be seen as a variant of *Sēstianus*.

There are also some misprints ("Romertums", p. 276; "Suolathi" for Suolahti, p. 297), but these are of course minor matters; I can thus conclude by stressing once more the importance of this marvellous publication not only for studies on Patavium, but for Roman studies in general.

Olli Salomies

Supplementa Italica. Imagines: Supplementi fotografici ai volumi italiani del CIL. Roma (CIL, VI) 5: Collezioni urbane dei palazzi storici, a cura di MARINA BERTINETTI. Introduzioni alle collezioni e schede di FRANCESCA CERRONE – GIORGIO CRIMI – CHIARA DE MARCHIS – CLAUDIA FERRO – IDA FRANCO. Unione Accademica Nazionale. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 2016. ISBN 978-88-7140-741-8. 365 pp. EUR 185.

La serie dei supplementi fotografici ai volumi italiani del Corpus berlinese viene arricchita di un volume di grande importanza. Di grande importanza soprattutto perché copre collezioni urbane in circostanze normali difficilmente accessibili agli studiosi, per non parlare della paucità delle fotografie, finora disponibili al mondo degli studiosi, delle epigrafi contenute nelle collezioni di questi palazzi. Di grande importanza anche perché nel volume sono contenuti testi molto interessanti, corredati di succinti commenti degli autori delle schede di singole iscrizioni.

La collana dei supplementi fotografici esce, a partire dal volume precedente, quello dedicato alle collezioni napoletane e veronesi, in una nuova veste tipografica, in quanto ha cambiato formato e impaginazione, come anche i volumi del *CIL* hanno cambiato formato. Le innovazioni hanno dotato i volumi di una maggiore maneggevolezza e hanno anche reso possibile il contenimento dei costi. Il rigore scientifico invece è restato lo stesso. Un dettaglio salutare va ricordato a parte: avevo lamentato in questa rivista 42 (2008) 300 la troppa abbondanza dei riferimenti bibliografici che non contribuiscono alla comprensione del monumento epigrafico. Con grande soddisfazione vedo che nel presente volume (come già in quello precedente) i riferimenti bibliografici si sono ridotti notevolmente, anche se occasionalmente vi è rimasta ancora zavorra superflua. Un'ulteriore novità è che gli indici si sono ridotti ai conguagli, con il punto di partenza nei numeri del *CIL* (indici più completi sono ora consultabili on line). – Le fotografie sono nel complesso di buona qualità; solo occasionalmente si trovano meno nitide scattate senza luce radente richiesta o a fuoco meno esatto.

In sostanza abbiamo a che fare con un'opera di grande valore, realizzata in modo eccellente. Non contiene le collezioni di tutti i palazzi di Roma; sono state escluse le iscrizioni presenti negli

androni e nei cortili di condomini anonimi, conservate all'interno delle chiese, ambasciate (come quelle della Villa Wolkonsky, sede dell'Ambasciata britannica), ospedali, istituti stranieri (come l'Accademia Americana con la sua superba raccolta epigrafica), grandi ville pubbliche storiche. Resta l'auspicio che le iscrizioni presenti in tali complessi ed escluse dal presente volume, possano trovare sede in un prossimo volume della collana. Ma anche così il volume offre un panorama della ricchezza dei monumenti custoditi in edifici storici della città eterna. Ci congratuliamo anche con i giovani autori delle schede, che con le loro introduzioni alle questioni storiche, prosopografiche e topografiche delle singole dimore e con le succinte schede epigrafiche hanno reso un grande servizio alla futura ricerca. Le intenzioni della collana di colmare una grave lacuna inerente ai grandi corpora epigrafici trova nel presente volume una degna continuazione. Come noto, tra i grandi della scienza epigrafica dell'Ottocento si era in buona parte smarrito il senso dell'inscindibilità del testo epigrafico e del monumento che fungeva da supporto. Noto è anche il verdetto che il Mommsen ha spesso espresso sugli archeologi. Oggi, la descrizione completa del monumento epigrafico, con una minuta analisi del supporto, dovrebbe essere verità lapalissiana. A tale scopo il presente volume viene incontro, e lo fa in modo eccellente.

Nel ristretto spazio che la redazione di questa rivista mi ha concesso si possono presentare qui di sotto solo poche osservazioni. Gli autori si sono dati pena di offrire per ogni iscrizione una datazione il più possibile esatta. Qualche volta queste possono essere troppo circoscritte, altre volte invece si potrebbero stringere (per es. 4807 sembra dell'età flavia, in quanto in *Imperator* va probabilmente visto Tito). – Alle volte gli autori sono incoerenti nel riportare la forma base di un nome; per es. 4759 viene intitolata epitaffio di *Aurelia Maegista* (nell'iscrizione si trova il dativo *Maegistae*), mentre il nominativo di base era *Megiste*, ma in 4761 il pezzo è chiamato, e questo a giusto titolo, iscrizione sepolcrale di *Avonia Chresime*, anche se la lapide ha *Crhesime*. Un ulteriore esempio in 4881 *Aerychiana Antiochis*: il gentilizio della donna era *Eruciana* (o ancora 4876 *Ariadne*, per *Ariadne*). Occorrerebbe conservare sempre lo stesso *modus operandi*. – Passiamo a qualche dettaglio: 4749: dubbio alla presenza di un triplice nesso. – p. 48: alle iscrizioni andate perdute si può aggiungere *CIL X 6502*. – 4787: da Dio-Xiphil. 77, 6, 2 è noto un gladiatore sotto Caracalla, ma non so se si possa trattare dello stesso (l'iscrizione non sembrerebbe dell'età di Caracalla); dunque un *nomen artis*? A questa alternativa potrebbe accennare la rarità del nome *Bato*, in cui potrebbe individuarsi un nome illirico, dunque adatto per un gladiatore. – 4822: l'identità di *CIL VI 21469* e 16004 è stata riconosciuta nel mio *Namenbuch* dei nomi greci 986 e anche nel *Findbuch* di Fassbender, – 4824: leggerei tranquillamente *Spinther* (l'asta di R si vede chiaramente). – 4850: l'a. sembra ritenere *L.* un prenome, ma schiavi non potevano avere prenomi. – 4879: il defunto era un *Diocles*, non *Dioclis*. – 5000: *Eutychs* può stare anche per *Eutyclus* e altri. – 5023: non c'è necessità di leggere *Alilia* invece di *Atilia*; nella T si ha un'apicatura del piede inferiore assai accentuata. – 5064: il liberto era un *Eleuther*, non *Eleutherus*. – 5120: alla bibliografia si aggiunga F. Rausa, *NAC* 26, 1997, p. 288, che qui suppone interventi moderni nel testo epigrafico. Per me la questione è sempre ancora *sub iudice*. – 5153 non era "nel palazzo-museo di Pio di Carpi in Campo Marzio", ma, secondo Fabretti, "in museo Carpineo", vale a dire nel Palazzo Carpegna. – 5157: a sinistra è raffigurata una donna, *Phemo* è nominativo; l'a. avrebbe trovato la giusta soluzione nel mio *Namenbuch* p. 487. – 5251: la moglie era una *Cale*, non *Cales*. – 5253: l'epitaffio di un *P. Aelius Augustorum lib. Marinus* viene collocato dall'a. nel 161/169 d.C., con riferimento a Weaver e Caldelli, che invece datano il pezzo al 138–161 d.C.; poiché l'a. non dà altra bibliografia, si deve concludere che la da-

tazione in 161–169 è sua sola? Tuttavia ciò è escluso: il nostro deve essere morto durante il regno di Antonino Pio. – 5310 mi sembra cristiana. – 5325: *Achil(---)* mi sembra di dubbia lettura; in base alla foto, è difficile riconoscere un nesso di CH. – 5353: il gentilizio *Titollius* è peculiare; deve essere forma secondaria di *Titullius*, qualche volta attestato nelle province galliche e germaniche. – 5387: la dedicante non era una *Iulia Callistenes*, ma *Calliste*. – 5456 è senza dubbio cristiana; in 3 forse una croce monogrammatica di forma un po' insolita, seguita da *III Ka(lendas) Se[ptembres]*. – p. 358: si legga *Licina Cypris*, non *Cypride*.

Heikki Solin

BORJA DÍAZ ARIÑO: *Miliarios romanos de época republicana*. Opuscula epigraphica 16. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 2015. ISBN 978-88-7140-693-0. 172 pp. EUR 25.

This useful book is meant to be a study, and a catalogue, of the Roman milestones that can be dated to the Republican period. It begins with an introductory chapter on the *genre* of milestones in general ("Los miliarios y la señalización de la red viaria republicana", p. 35–50). The author observes (p. 35) that milestones in the traditional sense were only used for *viae publicae*; there are also inscriptions "relacionadas con vías locales", but these do not include the normal elements of milestones and are not inscribed on cylindrical stones (*ibid.*). This chapter also includes sections on terminology (*lapis, miliarius*, etc.), on other aspects of milestones (e.g., on that of milestones as propaganda), and finishes off with an overview of milestones and similar objects attested in the Orient and in the Greek world ("Antecedentes de los miliarios romanos", p. 47–50).

The exposition moves on to Ch. II (p. 51–66), discussing the milestones themselves, with sections on milestones from Italy, from Gallia Cisalpina, from the western provinces (including the famous milestone of Aurelius *Cottas* from Sicily, here no. 24, for which cf. below), and from the east (with the milestones of Cn. Egnatius pertaining to the *via Egnatia* and those of M'. Aquillius from Asia). A special section (p. 59–62) is devoted to the famous inscription from Polla, also included in the catalogue as no. 49 (cf. below). There is also a discussion of the chronological distribution of the milestones of which only three, nos. 1, 5, 24 (= *CIL* I² 22, 21, 2877 – the *Cottas* milestone), can be assigned to the third century BC (p. 62). At the end of this chapter (p. 65f.), the author presents an overview of all the milestones appearing in the catalogue; it appears that there are, with the stone from Polla, 20 milestones from Italy, six from Cisalpine Gaul, ten from the western provinces, and thirteen from the east (two from the *via Egnatia*, the rest from Asia).

The next chapter III (p. 67–82) discusses the milestones in their relation to the existing *viae publicae*; this chapter includes maps showing the known locations of Republican milestones (in the map of Asia on p. 77, one observes an interesting concentration of Aquillius' milestones in the region between Phrygia and Pisidia south of Lake Burdur).

Ch. IV (p. 83–123) consists of the catalogue of the forty-nine milestones (this number including, as mentioned above, the Polla stone), starting with those found near Rome (no. 1 = *CIL* I² 22 coming from the *via Ostiensis*). Photos, if available, are given of all inscriptions, although these are in some cases taken from the reproductions in Ritschl's 1862 volume (thus no. 16, said to exist in a palace in Florence, for which the author says he has searched in vain). As for milestones no longer

in existence, it seems notable that no. 15 = *CIL* I² 2978, found only in 1970, has already disappeared without even leaving a photo of itself.

The catalogue is clearly of high quality and does seem to include references to all secondary literature of any relevance. In some cases in which the opinions of scholars differ on some point, one would have wished the author to have been more specific about his own position. For instance, the Sicilian milestone no. 24 (cf. above) is attributed to the third century on p. 62 and given the date "252 (?) 248 (?)" in the table on p. 66, but in the catalogue (p. 104f.), where also scholars suggesting a much later date are cited, the author appears to prefer to leave the matter of the date open. Again, the author cites quite a few suggestions for the identification of the man who set up the Polla inscription no. 49 (cf. above), but does not seem to have a definite opinion on this point himself.

However, these are minor matters, and the same goes for the rare errors I observed (e.g., the French scholar B. Haussoullier being constantly referred to as "Hauossoullier"); my conclusion is, then, that this is a fine book which will be used with profit by scholars – indeed, by many scholars, as the book has been priced in a consumer-friendly way – in the future. An inventory of early imperial milestones would, by the way, be an attractive sequel to this book.

Olli Salomies

LUCA MAURIZI: *Il cursus honorum senatorio da Augusto a Traiano. Sviluppi formali e stilistici nell'epigrafia latina e greca*. Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 130. Societas Scientiarum Fennica, Helsinki 2013. ISBN 978-951-653-394-3. XII, 324 pp. EUR 30.

Lo studio di Luca Maurizi è dedicato all'analisi dell'evoluzione formale e stilistica delle iscrizioni epigrafiche che ci tramandano i *cursus honorum* senatori, lungo un arco temporale che parte dall'ascesa al potere di Augusto nel 27 a.C. e termina con la fine del principato di Traiano, avvenuta nel 117 d.C.¹ Oggetto del lavoro di Maurizi è pertanto lo studio della 'normalizzazione', nei *cursus* epigrafici, delle formule utilizzate al fine di indicare il conseguimento di magistrature, sacerdozi ed onoreficenze.

L'autore, nell'"Introduzione" (pp. 1–11), indica in modo chiaro gli obiettivi della ricerca da lui intrapresa (p. 4): da un lato, la descrizione delle "caratteristiche di un fenomeno della massima importanza dell'epigrafia latina", la menzione del *cursus*, in quanto "aspetto originale" della cultura epigrafica romana; dall'altro, lo studio e la comprensione del significato della "tradizione epigrafica del *cursus honorum* in età imperiale", il cui compito precipuo, come emerge costantemente dalle pagine del testo, consisteva nell'assolvere ad una funzione di "autorappresentazione" da parte dei senatori romani (p. 4 e 205).

È opportuno sin d'ora mettere in risalto il principale – e significativo – merito di questo studio, il quale rappresenta una essenziale, completa e attenta raccolta di tutta la documentazione epigrafica latina e greca esistente in tema di *cursus honorum* nel periodo temporale preso in esa-

¹ Lo studio di Maurizi è già stato oggetto delle seguenti recensioni: M. Heil, *BMCR* (2013) 11.22; H. Halfmann, *HZ* 299 (2014) 442–443; G. Rowe, *JRS* 105 (2015) 393–394; *nota di lettura* a c. di P. Buongiorno, in *Quaderni Lupiensis di Storia e Diritto* 4 (2014) 246.

me, corredata da un'esautiva appendice intitolata "Catalogo delle iscrizioni con conguagli" (pp. 213–288), e fornisce al contempo uno strumento di lavoro di inestimabile importanza.

Il volume, dopo una breve "Prefazione", si compone di una "Introduzione", alla quale fanno seguito tre distinte parti, ed è infine corredata di una tabella delle abbreviazioni, del "Catalogo delle iscrizioni con *cursus honorum* datate tra Augusto e Traiano (con conguagli)", di cui già si è fatto cenno, della bibliografia e di tre diversi indici (delle fonti letterarie antiche, delle iscrizioni, dei nomi di persona). L'introduzione è dedicata alla descrizione degli obiettivi del lavoro, ad alcune brevi riflessioni sulle ragioni dell'evoluzione del *cursus honorum* in età imperiale, e, soprattutto, all'illustrazione dei criteri metodologici ai quali la ricerca si è ispirata; nel fare ciò, l'autore, da un lato, precisa la definizione di *cursus* epigrafico (p. 8), richiamandosi ai risultati in proposito già accolti dalla dottrina, e, dall'altro, indica i criteri adottati per la raccolta dei materiali analizzati. Lo studio si basa altresì sul "metodo comparativo", in quanto non mira solamente a valutare le caratteristiche formali delle iscrizioni prese in esame, bensì intende esaminare queste ultime in relazione ad altri fattori (come, a mero titolo di esempio, la "variabile" cronologica e quella geografica), così da poter ottenere una più completa descrizione del "fenomeno epigrafico", al fine di tracciarne con completezza gli sviluppi.

A seguire, nella "Parte I. Considerazioni generali", nella quale i presupposti metodologici della ricerca vengono ulteriormente illustrati, Maurizi prende in considerazione una serie di questioni fondamentali attinenti alle iscrizioni con *cursus honorum*, e, nello specifico, la loro diffusione cronologica e quella geografica, la appartenenza a diverse classi epigrafiche ed il significato – e problemi – ad essa connessi, nonché l'esistenza di quello che l'autore definisce "*cursus* abbreviato" (pp. 33–42), come ad esempio nel caso di carriere composte di due onori politici.

Con la "Parte II. Il *cursus honorum* in prospettiva strutturale" (pp. 43–132) inizia il nucleo centrale del lavoro, e in questa sezione viene offerta al lettore una densa descrizione dei criteri utilizzati per redigere il *cursus honorum*, e quindi delle sue caratteristiche strutturali; in particolare, l'autore individua tre diverse tipologie di *cursus*: quello diretto o ascendente, quello con una esposizione in senso inverso, cioè discendente, ed infine una terza tipologia che viene designata, sulla scorta di osservazioni già avanzate in dottrina, "strutturata", nella quale elementi diversi vengono raggruppati seguendo delle sequenze tematiche. Se è vero che l'autore non manca di evidenziare le ragioni che potevano portare a preferire la scelta tra l'una e l'altra delle prime due tipologie, nonché il fatto che a riguardo vi sia stata una significativa evoluzione nel corso del tempo, in particolare in età traiana, è la terza tipologia a destare maggiori difficoltà definitorie, poiché non emergono caratteristiche e criteri stabili, che permettano di individuare chiaramente le caratteristiche del *cursus* "strutturato". Tale tipologia parrebbe emergere, pertanto, in via residuale – solo undici iscrizioni infatti ne fanno parte, a fronte di duecentocinquantasette delle quali è possibile definire con certezza la struttura – e l'autore opta infine per un'analisi dettagliata dei singoli documenti che ad essa possono essere ricondotti. Degno di nota, in questa parte del lavoro, è altresì il corposo capitolo dedicato alle omissioni (cap. 8, pp. 108–132), nel quale l'autore ha potuto tracciare confronti circa eventuali diverse versioni di *cursus honorum* relativi allo stesso senatore e dedurre così considerazioni relative al livello di affidabilità delle epigrafi, quali fonti di cognizione.

La terza ed ultima parte, "La menzione dei singoli onori: considerazioni stilistiche" (pp. 133–210), è dedicata essenzialmente, come è facile arguire dal titolo, al modo in cui i singoli onori potevano essere menzionati, tenendo presente, anche in questo caso, come il passaggio dall'età au-

gustea e giulio-claudia, a quella flavia prima, e traiana poi, rappresenti un momento di evoluzione e parziale modifica per alcuni aspetti riguardanti la redazione del *cursus honorum*. L'autore dedica particolare attenzione alle legazioni (pp. 149 e ss.), traendo infine considerazioni di natura stilistica sia di carattere generale, sia di natura più dettagliata, come ad esempio nel caso dei *legati della legio III Augusta* stanziata in Numidia, o dei *legati iuridici*.²

A seguire, il capitolo undicesimo viene dedicato alle iscrizioni greche (l'autore ne analizza settanta, alle quali se ne aggiungono sette bilingue), in modo tale da poter valutare attentamente gli aspetti che le caratterizzano e che, al contempo, le distinguono da quelle in lingua latina. Al termine di questa terza parte, infine, vengono esposte le conclusioni (capitolo dodicesimo, pp. 205–210), che ci si sarebbero forse potute attendere, in realtà, un poco più ampie ed articolate, data l'ingente mole del materiale considerato e dello studio sullo stesso effettuato.

Tratteggiata brevemente la struttura dell'opera, è dunque ora possibile proporre alcune osservazioni in merito alla stessa. Deve essere evidenziato nuovamente, anzitutto, come il pregio di questo lavoro consista nell'aver raccolto tutte le iscrizioni esistenti, inerenti al tema oggetto di studio, all'interno dell'arco temporale prescelto, venendo così ad offrire un nuovo utilissimo strumento di lavoro. L'autore inoltre dimostra, nel passare in rassegna il materiale a sua disposizione, notevole competenza e scrupolosa attenzione ed è in grado di esporre le proprie analisi e considerazioni in modo chiaro, grazie, da un lato, ad una scrittura piana e chiara, tale da risultare gradevole al lettore; dall'altro, grazie al ricorso a grafici e tabelle, che aiutano a riassumere i risultati delle analisi condotte sui documenti e, in un certo qual senso, a tirarne le fila. Al contempo, Maurizi non esita a presentare osservazioni e soluzioni proprie in merito alle problematiche sollevate dalle fonti, sempre tenendo nella dovuta considerazione, ed analizzando con attenzione, la dottrina che si sia espressa in merito, salvo rarissime eccezioni.³ Altrettanto è da apprezzare la prudenza con la quale alcune delle conclusioni proposte, a fronte delle risultanze non sempre necessariamente dirimenti delle fonti, vengono presentate. Tenendo ben presente quello che era l'oggetto della ricerca svolta da Maurizi, da quest'ultimo chiaramente individuato in un'analisi delle fonti epigrafiche, e dovendosi perciò leggere la riflessione che segue in termini generali, si può aggiungere che, in alcuni casi, le fonti di tradizione manoscritta potrebbero forse contribuire a fare maggiore chiarezza su aspetti controversi relativi alla ricostruzione dei *cursus* senatori.

Sarebbe infine forse stato possibile spendere qualche parola in più, come già fatto cenno in precedenza, in sede di considerazioni conclusive, soprattutto in merito allo sviluppo storico della tradizione del *cursus honorum* epigrafico, la cui ricostruzione viene invece talvolta lasciata sotto-

² In riferimento alla citata categoria di legati si vedano anche W. Simshäuser, *Iuridici und Munizipalgerichtsbarkeit in Italien*, München 1973, 254; B. Gallotta, "Lo 'iuridicus' e la sua 'iurisdiction'", in *Studi in onore di A. Biscardi IV*, Milano 1982, 444; W. Eck, *L'Italia nell'impero romano. Stato e amministrazione in epoca imperiale*, Bari 1999, 254, non citati dall'autore. Da ultimo sul tema, in relazione al rapporto tra *iuridici* e *legati iuridici provinciae*, si veda T. Beggio, "Riflessioni sui iuridici alla luce dell'ae Italicense", in P. Buongiorno – S. Lohsse (a c. di), *Fontes Iuris. Atti del VI Jahrestreffen Junger Romanistinnen und Romanisten' (Lecce, 30–31 marzo 2012)*, Napoli 2013, 1–64 e *praecipue* 59–64.

³ Tra queste, oltre a quelle già citate precedentemente alla nt. 2, si deve quantomeno aggiungere, come già rilevato da P. Buongiorno, in *Quaderni Lupiensi di Storia e Diritto* cit., C. Cascione, *Tresviri capitales. Storia di una magistratura minore*, Napoli 1999.

traccia tra le dense e ricche pagine dell'opera, mentre avrebbe verosimilmente meritato maggiore risalto.

I pochi rilievi svolti nulla tolgono, tuttavia, al valore della monografia di Maurizi, il quale ha meritoriamente, ed in modo pienamente condivisibile, deciso di lasciar "parlare" innanzitutto le fonti, in merito alle numerose questioni che il tema oggetto della ricerca suscita, e, con stile chiaro ed elegante, è riuscito a realizzare un lavoro capace di stimolare nuovi spunti di riflessione, il quale rappresenterà un imprescindibile punto di riferimento e confronto per le future ricerche in materia.

Tommaso Beggio

NICOLÒ GIUSEPPE BRANCATO: *Repertorium delle trasmissioni del gentilizio nel mondo romano sulla base della documentazione epigrafica*, vol. II (*Italia - Epilogus*). ARTECOM-onlus, Roma 2011. ISBN 978-88-96520-03-1. 420 pp. EUR 80.

This book is the second volume of a large study on the transmission of gentile names in the Roman world (the first volume (2009) having been reviewed by O. Salomies)⁴. As the title suggests, the material for the study consists of epigraphic documents from the Italian peninsula (the first volume pertaining to the provinces). The material is geographically divided into the Italian *regiones* and the city of Rome. A CD is also included in this volume but unfortunately, not having access to a CD-ROM drive myself, I have not been able to make use of it. I hope this has not affected my evaluation in any significant way.

The topic is promising and has the potential to be an intriguing study. Since the transmission of the gentile name in most cases followed the regular pattern of children inheriting their father's name, one would be particularly interested in scenarios where this was not the case, i.e. where children would carry a *nomen* different from their father's. Like in the first volume, the author has compiled not only the cases concerning the transmission of a non-paternal *nomen*, which are found under the subcategory "Duo gentilicia" (or sometimes "Tria gentilicia", or even "Quattuor") of each chapter, but also all other cases where the transmission of gentile names can be observed (i.e. where at least two relatives, such as father and son, are recorded). As for the topic, these latter cases are naturally rather uninteresting *per se* (in other words, the fact that the children of, say, a P. Aelius are also Aelii, is not particularly astonishing), but when taken into consideration statistically, they help us understand how common it actually was to *not* have a paternal name in the Roman world. However, one may wonder if the manner in which the data is presented (consistent, to be sure, with the first volume) is always reasonable. Whereas the geographical division of the material is understandable, one cannot help but ask why, for example, the epigraphic data of each *regio* is divided into such categories as "funerarie" and "non funerarie". To make it clear: it is rather irrelevant (as Salomies duly noted) from the point of view of the transmission of *nomina*, if the document in question was an epitaph or some other type of inscription.

There also seem to be some misinterpretations and/or errors with regard to the epigraphic data. For instance, on p. 14, "mater filio: *CIL V 7520 Rubria Varieno C. f. Secunda filio L. Mettio L.*

⁴ In *AAHG* 64 (2011) 184–188.

f. maritoque L. Attio St(f) f.", the woman ought to be called '*Rubria C. f. Secunda*' whose husband was '*L. Attius St. f. Varienus*' (the author is probably right that the son was "di primo letto"; hence the discrepancy of *nomina*); also on p. 39, "*Filia parentibus: CIL V 4755 Valeria L. f. Fabia parentibus Bittalio Epagatio et Maesiae Primae*", where Bittalio Epagatius, in fact, seems to be Valeria's *maritus*, not her father (the Clauss-Slaby database gives the following reading: *V(iva) f(ecit) / Valeria / L(uci) f(ilia) Fabia sib(i) / et Bittalio / Epagatio marit(o) / opt(i)mo Maesia / Prima parentib(us)*). The author also seems to reject the widely accepted idea that the word *frater* ought not to be taken literally in every situation, particularly in the military context. This in turn seems to lead to some unnecessary assumptions of "duo gentilicia".

A useful feature of this second volume is the inclusion of a section dedicated to a comprehensive statistical analysis of the material (the so-called "Epilogus"), which the first volume lacked. The author has not been satisfied in a purely onomastic analysis but seems to have proceeded to address several other topics as well, intending the work to be useful for "ulteriori ricerche di carattere socio/antropologico". The section is divided in four chapters: I: "Problemi onomastici"; II: "Tipologie dedicatorie nucleari"; III: "Categorie ed occupazioni"; and IV: "La repubblica. Il cristianesimo. Commiato".

The first chapter, dealing with onomastic questions, is the one that, in my view, is the most important – the chapter that should be the primary focus of such a work. Here the author addresses questions and problems regarding the cases with discrepant *nomina* and presents several statistical tables concerning, amongst other things, their geographical distribution. The first tables are apparently meant to give an over-all view of the situation, although they may not be as useful as they could be since they include all cases of discrepant *nomina*, regardless of the reason behind them. Therefore some cases included here may not be of much relevance to the problem of how and why non-paternal names were transmitted in the Roman world. For instance, the particular Gallo-German habit of deriving one's *nomen* from the father's *cognomen* may be an interesting phenomenon in itself but it does not tell much about the Roman onomastic habits on a general scale, or if we have former slaves manumitted by different patrons, it is in fact of no consequence to the question why Romans sometimes had a different *nomen* than their fathers.

What follows is a discussion on the reasons for non-paternal *nomina*. First, the author goes through the juridical reasons, including, amongst other things, adoption and various scenarios of illegitimacy – that is, reasons which more or less dictated the choice of name. After the juridical reasons, the author proceeds to "causali diverse". These include, as the author states in the opening paragraph, situations where a non-paternal *nomen* was used even if there were no legal obligations to do so. This, in my view, is a most interesting phenomenon and certainly worthy of a systematic analysis. The discussion that follows, however, leaves much to be desired. First, the term "uso narbonense", which is used throughout the book to refer to cases with a maternal *nomen* and a paternal *cognomen*, is now discussed and explained. I am not completely convinced that such a term is necessary or even particularly useful, as the reasons for such naming practices certainly vary a lot and are in no way restricted to Gallia Narbonensis; in other words the term "uso narbonense" does not really help to answer the question why a certain type of nomenclature was preferred. Furthermore, as the term quite often covers cases where the use of a maternal name was due to illegitimate birth, it is somewhat unclear why the term needs to be addressed in this particular chapter. To be sure, the author makes clear that the term sometimes also covers cases where children were born in a legal

marriage, and which thus present the transmission of a maternal *nomen* "in deroga alla norma", but it would perhaps be better if these cases alone, and no other aspects of the "uso narbonense", were discussed here. In fact, it would perhaps be better to get rid of the whole term, at least in this context, since it does not always refer to cases where maternal names were preferred over paternal ones – nor do such cases have to have anything to do with the "uso narbonense" (which the author himself points out on p. 341).

The actual discussion regarding the transmission of maternal names comes only later (under "Nomina matris aut alterius"), with – somewhat unexpectedly – a brief overview of the Gallo-German habit of deriving one's gentile name from the paternal *cognomen* in between. The way in which the whole onomastic analysis in general is structured could, in fact, be a lot simpler, as now the reader is sometimes lead to expect something that may actually follow only much later. In any event, the author now returns to the reasons for using the maternal *nomen*. Most of these are of juridical nature, and thus already discussed before under "causali giuridiche", but the author also returns to the intriguing question concerning those cases where children would receive their mother's (or in any case a non-paternal) *nomen* even if there were no legal obligations to do so. He refers to senatorial families, among which it sometimes occurred that a maternal nomenclature was preferred if that line was more prominent than the paternal one. One could for instance easily think of such cases as Nero's wife Poppaea Sabina, daughter of T. Ollius, or a certain Domitia Calvina, daughter of Calpurnius Bibulus, both of whom had their names taken from the maternal side. The problem is that the author here seems to link such cases with polyonymy, which certainly does not seem to be the case with e.g. the two above-mentioned ladies – although he also takes into consideration, and rightly so, such factors as social prestige (with reference to Cenerini and Chausson).

The second chapter of the "Epilogus" ("Tipologie dedicatorie nucleari") focuses on the different types of dedicatory groups of relatives (*alumni, fratres, parentes, filii*), as presented throughout the material. Somewhat unsurprisingly the author concludes that among the *alumni* the percentage of the discrepancy is the highest. He seems to be somewhat puzzled by the high percentage among brothers, but this could very well be due to at least two reasons: 1) brothers (or siblings in general for that matter) may obviously have different fathers, 2) the word *frater* in some cases does not necessarily refer to an actual male sibling, as pointed out above. All in all, despite the impressive statistical tables and charts, the purpose of this chapter remains somewhat obscure to me. The third one ("Categorie ed occupazioni"), on the other hand, may offer somewhat more relevant information for social-historical purposes, as the author here presents statistics regarding e.g. senators, knights, local magistrates, priests, soldiers and so on in different geographical areas.

In the final chapter of the book, the author briefly discusses republican and Christian evidence, thus attempting, it seems, to take into account the chronological evolution of names, which otherwise is practically non-existent throughout the two volumes (e.g. no approximate dates are given for the inscriptions). Such an attempt is of course welcome, but as all the "pagan" inscriptions of the imperial period are treated as one large material with no regard to chronology, a full diachronic overview remains to be hoped for. Generally speaking, it would have been interesting to see some chronological tables and charts for all the material discussed in the previous chapters, although in a work of this magnitude it would have admittedly required a tremendous amount of additional work. Still, I believe that the work would have benefitted greatly from it.

To conclude, this *Repertorium*, despite its flaws, will surely make a good addition to any reference library. The second volume, along with its statistical observations, no doubt renders the first one, too, more useful.

Tuomo Nuorluoto

The Cambridge World History of Slavery, vol. I. Edited by KEITH BRADLEY and PAUL CARTLEDGE. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2011. ISBN 978-0-521-84066-8. XI, 620 pp. GBP 110, USD 180.

This first volume of the *Cambridge World History of Slavery*, consisting of 22 informative chapters, deals with the major slave societies of classical Greece and Rome. In 9 articles, the volume tackles Roman society and 8 articles explore classical Greek society. One contribution examines slavery in the Hellenistic world briefly and another slavery in the ancient Near East. The last three chapters explore slavery and the Jews, slavery and the rise of Christianity and slavery in the late Roman World. The volume, by 22 authors and more than 500 pages, covers almost every aspect of Greek and Roman slavery. There are two types of contributions; some are chronological surveys of the development of slavery in particular periods or places. Others treat specific topics or themes which seem innovative.

Chapter 5 (pp. 91–111), by Dimitris J. Kyratas, deals with slavery and economy in the Greek world and is meant to sum up the structure of classical Greek slave economies and societies. Kyratas claims (p. 91ff) that there is no clear explanation for how slavery actually worked in the Greek world, even though it was an important element of everyday life. In classical Athens and other cities with similar social institutions, some people were born into slavery. Moreover, the offspring of slaves acquired from abroad became slaves themselves. Kyratas makes the observation (p. 94ff) that only societies that had reached a certain degree of commercialization were interested in commodification of slaves. According to the author, it is difficult to envisage a large-scale slave trade in a world that did not yet use money. It seems that there were no special tasks in which the masters of slaves felt that the employment of slaves could lead to significantly more efficient or productive results. Slaves worked in agriculture and households; they were miners, prostitutes and domestic servants. Nonetheless, the use of slaves was obviously profitable, and in many ways the masters benefited from slave ownership.

Chapter 9 (pp. 176–193), by Ian Morris, draws attention to the question of archaeology and Greek slavery. This is an interesting contribution that is also methodologically of interest. The key question is: what can archaeologists contribute to the study of Greek slavery? Morris asks some basic questions, for instance what slavery is and what are we studying when we study slavery. Interestingly, Morris sketches two ways in which archaeological evidence may make an important contribution to understanding Greek slavery. He claims (p. 177) that when both written and material culture can be combined they probably bring more information together than if the sources were examined by themselves. First Morris compares slave burial practices at Laurium to the rest of Attic burials. Morris draws two conclusions from the Laurium cemetery. First, the information is not sufficient proof to distinguish slave burials from free burials. Burial customs

seem more likely to reflect local traditions. Large concentrations of slaves may be unique to the mine gangs of Laurium. Elsewhere in Attica most slaves probably lived in small groups and may have been buried with their owner's families. In a way more familiar to classical archaeology and its methods, the author then examines representations of slaves in Greek art (pp. 190–192). In figurative art we rarely know whether representations of slaves were made by slaves, catering for the tastes of free patrons, or by free artisans. There are several methodological problems, but this contribution does raise justified questions regarding a conventional survey of Greco-Roman slavery.

In chapter 10 (pp. 195–213), Dorothy J. Thompson explores slavery in the Hellenistic world, taking into account the differences between classical Greek and Hellenistic slavery. She says that the first problem lies in definitions, particularly the boundary between dependence and slavery, which is often hard to define. Both are characterized by varying degrees of un-freedom. In the Hellenistic world, the rural peasants were agricultural laborers who were frequently portrayed as tied to the land or locality. There also seems to be little evidence for slavery as such among the rural workforce of Asia and of Ptolemaic Egypt. The second group of dependants was sacred slaves, who were important especially in the new Greek lands of the East. They were attached in varying ways to the temples of Asia and Egypt. The third group of dependants was chattel slaves who were employed in a range of activities that we know from classical Greece and also known in Ptolemaic Egypt. In Egypt, one observes traditional structures which continued with little sign of change in the Hellenistic world. Thompson concludes (p. 212ff) that there were some changes in the period even though it is not easy to find evidence for a growth of agricultural slavery in the East. In both Ptolemaic Egypt and the Seleucid East, slaves were predominantly found in Greek households and in production spheres.

Chapter 11 (pp. 214–240), by Sandra R. Joshel, draws our attention to slavery in Roman literature, and the author observes that slaves are omnipresent in Roman literature. Rome was a slave society at least from the late third century BC to the third century AD, according to Joshel. The presence of slaves in its literature is thus not surprising. For example, slaves serve their masters faithfully or plot their undoing in Roman comedy and they are topics of concern in agricultural writers. They also blend into scenery of house, city and fields. In general, Roman authors, in a wide variety of texts and genres, speak of slaves as cash, as goods, as implements – as things. The chapter seems quite traditional in its conclusion and methodology.

In chapter 15 (pp. 311–336), John Bodel explores the broad topic of slave labor and Roman society in a relatively limited number of pages. In general, slavery became a significant phenomenon in Roman culture in the fourth century BC. Slaves of both genders worked from childhood to old age in jobs more or less suited to their physical condition and capabilities. The ideology of work differed according to social status. For slave owners, a slave was more or less property and a commodity. Work for someone at the top of society was much more a cultural issue than an economic one according to the author (p. 314). When we associate labor with status, it was the hired workman in ancient Rome, rather than the slave, who was stigmatized with the title that reduced identity to work – *opera*, which came to mean metonymically both "a day's work" and more reductively, "workman". There seems to be little evidence of slave and free labor being distinguished from one another. Indeed, it seems that slaves themselves associated individual identity with work according to evidence from epitaphs. Modern historians have been impressed by the variety and the specificity of the

jobs held by Roman slaves, and the range of occupations recorded in ancient sources is indeed striking.

Chapter 18 (pp. 385–413) tackles the question of slavery and Roman material culture. In this contribution, Michele George introduces a different way of looking at slavery through archaeological evidence such as slave quarters and images of slaves in Roman art, including self-images almost like modern "selfies". There are some methodological problems which need to be addressed, but nevertheless the article presents in a limited number of pages interesting observations. Archaeological evidence is complex and hard to interpret without the risk of engaging in circular reasoning. Slave images, on the other hand, seem to leave more room for different kinds of interpretations. George claims that, given the crucial connection between status and self-presentation in Roman culture, it is not surprising that slaves occur in visual imagery more than they do in other forms of material evidence (p. 397). Slave images can be divided into three groups: images of captive slaves, scenes of domestic work, and scenes of work beyond the *domus*. Examples of scenes of domestic work are few, and the nature of the scenes that include slaves illustrates their role in the construction and maintenance of elite social identity. On the other hand, work was critical for slave identity. Images of work fulfilled two functions, serving either didactically as advertising or as decoration in retail and industrial settings, or as funerary commemoration for businessmen or craftsmen who owned these establishments. In Roman visual culture, slaves were used to express the ideals of a dominant culture that embraced a system of institutionalized oppression, appropriating and refashioning their servitude into proof of Rome's authority and the social superiority of the slave-owner.

To conclude, the intent of this volume is said to be to survey the history of slavery in the ancient Mediterranean World, an intent which is indeed fulfilled. The central aim of this volume is to place the existence and nature of slavery against the backdrop of the broader human social condition. The book is well edited and the texts are easy to read, but it must be confessed that in many ways it is also a very traditional book about slavery in the ancient World.

Katja Varakas

Greek Federal States and their Sanctuaries. Identity and Integration. Proceedings of an International Conference of the Cluster of Excellence "Religion and Politics" Held in Münster, 17.06–19.06.2010. Edited by P. FUNKE and M. HAAKE. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2013. ISBN 978-3-515-10307-7 (hb). 244 pp., 6 figs. EUR 52.

This book edited by Peter Funke and Matthias Haake contains thirteen papers presented at a conference held at the University of Münster in June 2010. The work has the merit of focusing on the topic of the relationship between federal states and the sanctuaries where these states held their political meetings. The control over sanctuaries or their exploitation had political and economic implications. In some cases the aspects of the divinities worshipped at certain sanctuaries chosen as common federal shrines could reinforce or even create shared national identities between the city members of a federal state. As pointed out by Funke in his introductory chapter, some shrines, such as Delphi, could fulfil different roles, such as a panhellenic sanctuary, an amphictyonic centre, or as a site dedicated to local cults.

The examples used in the book geographically embrace a large part of the ancient Greek world. In the second paper, Athanasios Rizakis rejects the theory according to which the original federal shrine of the Achaeans would have been the sanctuary of Poseidon *Helikonios* at Helike and not that of Zeus *Homarios* at Aigion. According to this theory, this latter sanctuary took the place of that of Poseidon when Helike was destroyed by a tsunami in 373 BCE. Rizakis convincingly demonstrates the role of Zeus *Homarios* as main federal deity already prior to the destruction of Helike, and his importance in shaping a shared Achaean identity.

The third paper, by Funke, presents a good example of how certain sanctuaries and their related festivals could be shaped to meet the changing needs of a federation. Of the two festivals held by the Aetolians, the *Thermika* were always held at the sanctuary of Apollo at Thermos, while the *Panaitolika* had no fixed venue to bring a sense of belonging to the league or to new member states or to those states which were not Aetolian in origin.

In the fifth paper, Angela Ganter describes the difficult issue of Boeotian identity by presenting examples from different Boeotian sanctuaries and festivals. She is right in arguing that the construction of Boeotian integration was also partly the result of Theban hegemonic aspirations.

The sixth paper, presented by James Roy, focuses on the way the Eleans exploited their role as administrators of the sanctuary of Olympia. By controlling the sanctuary, the Eleans could assert their hegemonic role over their regional subordinate allies by, for instance, exhorting fines in cases where agreements concerning the sanctuary were breached. In addition, whenever possible, the Eleans used the panhellenic nature of the sanctuary to play a role in the Greek political scene. In this respect, the famous episode of prohibiting the Spartans from participating in the sacrifices or in the Olympic Games can be seen as a demonstration of Elis' opposition to the Peace of Nicias.

In the ninth paper, Miltiades Hatzopoulos uses both literary and archaeological sources in order to demonstrate how the location of the religious centre of the *ethnos* could differ from the cultic centre of the ruling dynasty in Macedon. In this respect, Hatzopoulos argues that the sanctuary of Zeus *Olympios* at Dion was considered the national shrine of Macedon, as opposed to the site of the dynastic cult of Heracles *Patroios* located in Aigeai.

In the tenth paper, Kostas Buraselis presents the case of three Aegean confederations which were founded by, or acted as, a protectorate of Hellenistic dynasties such as the Antigonids or the Ptolemies, namely the *Nesioitai*, the Lesbians and the Cretans. The Hellenistic monarchs exploited these federations in order to control their respective areas of influence. As a common feature for the three federal organizations, Buraselis evidences the fact that in their cases, the presence of even important sanctuaries in their territories (such as the one to Apollo on Delos), was not a necessary prerequisite to the constitution of a common place of activity of the federation. This can also be shown by the fact that the seat of the administration of the confederacy could be moved, as was with the case of Delos, which lost its role to Tenos in the period of Rhodian supremacy at the beginning of the 2nd century BCE.

In the thirteenth and final paper, Thomas Heine Nielsen discusses the difficulties in identifying the possible federal shrines of the Triphylian and Arcadian federations. The Spartan-backed Triphylian federation was created to unite all the former territories of Elis which had claimed independence from their former masters, and it existed for around 30 years (ca. 400–ca. 370 BCE). The Arcadians, although possessing a better defined ethnic identity than the Triphylians, were united in federacy only in the period 370–360 BCE. Nielsen affirms that despite the fact that these territories

hosted larger cities such as Lepreon in Triphylia and Mantinea and Tegea in Arcadia, or important sanctuaries, such as the one in honour of Zeus *Lykaios* in Arcadia, it is not possible to identify federal activities related to any of the shrines of the two areas. According to Nielsen, this fact might be due to the relatively short span of time during which the two federations functioned, which might not have favoured the choice of common federal sanctuaries.

Greek Federal States and Their Sanctuaries is an important contribution to the subject of the relation between Greek federal entities and their common religious shrines. The book offers numerous examples from a wide range of locations, and the papers successfully exploit both archaeological and literary sources, enabling a better understanding of the enhancement or even the creation of national identities in association with religious cults and their sanctuaries. In addition, this work produced an extensive amount of material for *Federalism in Greek Antiquity*, the comprehensive work on Greek federalism, edited by Hans Beck and Peter Funke and published by Cambridge University Press in 2015.

Gianluca De Martino

The Splendors and Miseries of Ruling Alone: Encounters with Monarchy from Archaic Greece to the Hellenistic Mediterranean. Edited by NINO LURAGHI. Studies in Ancient Monarchies 1. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2013. ISBN 978-3-515-10259-9. 284 pp. 4 b/w photos. EUR 51.

This book contains nine articles regarding the sociological and ideological aspects of monarchic regimes in ancient Greece and the eastern Mediterranean. Ancient monarchy has become an increasingly popular research subject during the last decade, especially among German scholars, who are also strongly represented in this volume, the first volume of the new series "Studies in Ancient Monarchies". Four of the articles are revised translations, among which there is Hans-Joachim Gehrke's "The Victorious King: Reflections on the Hellenistic Monarchy" (a translation of "Der siegreiche König. Überlegungen zur Hellenistischen Monarchie", *AKG* 64 [1982] 53–68). Gehrke's essay offers a basis for the discussion and other articles in the book refer to it. Even though it is the fourth contribution of the book – for the articles are ordered chronologically - I start by presenting it first.

As Gehrke writes, his article of 1982 had a certain influence on the later discussion of Hellenistic monarchy, and therefore he has not made any substantial changes to the text apart from adding additional evidence and updating the bibliography. In this insightful essay, illustrated with well-chosen examples from ancient sources, the author aims to give a "conceptual definition of the Hellenistic monarchy within its social context" (p. 90) based on Max Weber's concepts of the legitimacy of government. According to Gehrke, the legitimacy of a monarch's rule is mostly, but not exclusively, based on charisma that is for its part based on situations that demonstrate the ruler's personal abilities and the favor of the gods. The most efficient way to prove one's competence to rule was military victory. Therefore, military victories or other demonstrations of personal virtues lead to the legitimacy of rule, which leads to the political and regal authority of the ruler. "Natural" legitimation, i.e., inheritance of rule, was alone not sufficient in the context of Hellenistic monarchy – it often allowed a king to assume the rule, but the king still had to prove his abilities in order to legitimize the continuation of his rule. Gehrke discusses in detail different aspects of this kind of

charismatic-natural legitimization with the conclusion that "royal legitimacy, therefore, is founded to an especially high degree, albeit not exclusively, on the individual ruler's conduct and ability, on the power that is objectively and subjectively available to him, and on the exercise of that power in achievements that enhanced the ruler's reputation in the eyes of the ruled" (p. 85).

The greatest merit of this essay is that Gehrke brings the ideas of Max Weber together with those of Claire Préaux and Elias Bickerman and other ancient historians with commendable clarity, and in spite of the article being over 30 years old it is still a great starting point for anyone approaching the subject of Hellenistic monarchy.

In the actual first chapter, "Ruling alone: Monarchy in Greek politics and thought", Nino Luraghi presents as the common motif of the book the aim to demonstrate that it can be profitable to examine Archaic Greek tyrants, Spartan *basileis*, and Hellenistic kings at the same time, even though these political regimes have usually been seen as having little in common. Luraghi succinctly but lucidly explains in this introductory essay the differences and similarities between a tyrant and a *basileus* in Greek thought and also how the discussion in Greek literature about the different styles and the legitimization of sole rulership evolved from the Archaic to the Hellenistic era.

In chapter 2, "The Victorious Tyrant: Hieron of Syracuse in the *Epinicia* of Pindar and Bacchylides", Christian Mann analyzes in detail the panegyric representation of Hieron I of Syracuse in the victory poems of Pindar and Bacchylides. In this essay too, the question of legitimization is central and Mann examines Hieron's representation from the Weberian viewpoint of the "charismatic" ruler.

In chapter 3, "To Die like a Tyrant" (a revised translation of "Il carnevale macabro, ovvero, morire da tiranno" in *Annali di archeologia antica* 4 [1997] 53–68), Nino Luraghi examines "death as a component of social identity" and what the Greek descriptions of tyrants' deaths, often described as violent and spontaneous, tell us about the role of tyranny in Greek social ideology (p. 49). In conclusion, Luraghi observes that the killing of a tyrant was described as a positive event for the society, like some kind of violent but necessary purification, "in order that the community can regain its own identity" (p. 65).

In chapter 5, "Agathocles and Hiero II: Two Sole Rulers in the Hellenistic Age and the Question of Succession" (a revised translation of "Agathokles und Hieron II. Zwei basileis in hellenistischer Zeit und die Frage ihrer Nachfolge" in V. Alonso Troncoso (ed.), *ΔΙΑΔΟΧΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ. La figura del sucesor en la realeza helenística* (= Gerión-Anejos 9), Madrid [2005] 153–175), Matthias Haake discusses how and why these two tyrants of Syracuse failed in securing a successor and founding a dynasty. The author compares Agathocles and Hiero II to earlier Sicilian tyrants and to the Hellenistic kings that these tyrants were trying to imitate, e.g., by adopting the title of *basileus*. Haake demonstrates with these two examples that the *polis* Syracuse was not a suitable basis for a Hellenistic monarchy. Haake's thorough article has been provided with a commendable bibliography on the subject.

In chapter 6, "Becoming Kings: Spartan Basileia in the Hellenistic Period", D. Alexander Walthall analyzes how the institution of Spartan dual kingship transformed from a constitutionally bound office to autocratic rule during the Early Hellenistic period. Walthall examines this subject focusing on three Spartan kings who tried to imitate Hellenistic kings' behavior: Areus I, Cleomenes III, and Nabis. In his detailed analysis, which uses various sources from ancient literature and inscriptions to coins and roof tiles, Walthall gives a clear picture of these kings' behavior and its con-

temporary reception. In conclusion, Sparta is seen as an unsuitable basis for a Hellenistic monarchy – like Syracuse in the previous article.

In chapter 7, "Writing Down the King: The Communicative Function of Treatises *On Kingship* in the Hellenistic Period" (an abridged and revised translation of "Warum und zu welchem Ende schreibt man *peri basileias*? Überlegungen zum historischen Kontext einer literarischen Gattung im Hellenismus", in K. Pipenbrink (ed.), *Philosophie und Lebenswelt in der Antike*, Darmstadt 2003, 83–138), which is his second contribution to this book, Matthias Haake examines various Hellenistic treatises on kingship as a genre and their social meaning and communicative function between Hellenistic kings and Greek cities. He demonstrates, once again backed by a vast and up-to-date bibliography, that these treatises were always written by philosophers and, even though targeted for a larger Greek audience, addressed to kings, for "the relationship between ruler and philosopher embodies the symbiosis of intellect and power" (p. 184).

In chapter 8, "The Castrated King, or: The Everyday Monstrosity of Late Hellenistic Kingship", Ulrich Gotter argues that what happened in 168 BCE, when the Seleucid king Antiochus IV agreed to withdraw from Egypt on the verge of a successful conquest as the result of the strict negotiation methods of C. Popilius Laeneas, marked a crucial change in the idea of Hellenistic kingship, which until that time had been based upon charisma generated from military victories. After 168 BCE for the next two hundred years, Hellenistic kings had ever fewer opportunities to wage wars due to Rome's expansion and authority. Gotter examines how the Hellenistic kings could still rule their kingdoms and retain their authority while forced to remain unbellicose. He uses the Attalids of Pergamum, Antiochus I of Commagene, and Mithradates VI of Pontus as examples of different behavioral strategies. Gotter's elegantly written essay underlines an interesting and important viewpoint on the change of Hellenistic kingship during the Roman expansion – a viewpoint which has not been much noted before.

In the ninth and last chapter, "Between Hellenistic Monarchy and Jewish Theocracy: The Contested Legitimacy of Hasmonean Rule", Kai Trampedach examines how the Hasmonean rulers legitimized their wars and wealth in the late Hellenistic period, when Hellenistic kings were struggling to find new ways to gain authority, as explained by Gotter in the previous article. Trampedach argues that the Hasmoneans exhibited many elements of Hellenistic monarchy, but the concept of "charismatic ruler" in the Weberian sense is too broad since the Hasmoneans interpreted these charismatic accomplishments theocratically and "presented themselves as champions of Torah and the *Eretz Israel*" (p. 255).

In conclusion, this volume does what it promises: it provides a unified scholarly framework for research on ancient monarchy. Four of the essays are translations of sometimes much older essays, but it is only positive that these, and especially the fundamental article of Gehrke, together with the new essays that relate to these older essays from new viewpoints now become available to the English-reading audience. This book is highly recommended to anyone interested in the transformations and different forms of ancient monarchies in a more detailed manner and especially in the Hellenistic period.

Ägypten zwischen innerem Zwist und äußerem Druck. Die Zeit Ptolemaios' VI. bis VIII. Herausgegeben von ANDREA JÖRDENS – JOACHIM FRIEDRICH QUACK. Philippika 45. Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2011. ISBN 978-3-447-06504-7. 338 S. EUR 58.

This volume presents the papers of a colloquium held at Heidelberg 16–19.9.2007. It focuses on Egypt of the mostly quite turbulent second century BCE when the sons of Ptolemy V faced both internal and external political troubles either jointly or fighting over the power among themselves. The proceedings of the symposium are arranged, as Andrea Jördens states in her introduction, not in alphabetical order but in an order that starts from problems of the political history and works its way towards the everyday life of the Egyptian villages like concentric circles (Jördens, "Die Zeit Ptolemaios VI. bis VIII.: Einführende Bemerkungen", p. 3). This arrangement works very well. It is often the case that individual papers of a symposium are read separately by specialists from various fields. The arrangement of these papers, however, makes the volume interesting reading as a whole, and the chapters complement one another from different points of view, giving the reader an idea of the various approaches involved in the study of a given time and place.

The first three chapters deal with the historical perspective from the point of view of the ruling dynasty. Dorothy Thompson's "The sons of Ptolemy V in a post-secession world" gives a rough introduction to the ruling kings and their policy towards the southern parts of the country, which had tried to gain autonomy for the past twenty years before the rise to power of Ptolemy VI. The role of the queens in Egypt was particularly dominant during the second century BCE as Cleopatra II and III took an active part in the struggle for power. This is well illustrated in the articles "Die ptolemäische Königin als weiblicher Horus" by Mamdouh Mohamed Eldamaty and "Cleopatra II and III. The queens of Ptolemy VI and VIII as guarantors of kingship and rivals of power" by Martina Minas-Nerpel.

Laurent Coulon's "Les inscriptions des catacombes osiriennes d'Oxyrhynchos. 'Témoignages de culte d'Osiris sous les règnes de Ptolémée VI et Ptolémée VIII'" turns the spin of the concentric circle somewhat more towards religion. This does not mean that the article does not complement the post-secession state of the country outlined by D. Thompson, as the best-attested parallel catacombs to those at Oxyrhynchus are at Karnak in the south where the traditional Egyptian rites were mostly cherished. Anne-Emmanuelle Veïsse's "L'ennemi des dieux" Harsiesis" and Joachim Friedrich Quack's "Ist der Meder an allem schuld?" continue the themes related to religion, even though the common thread of these two articles is the identity of a potential native Egyptian rebel Harsiesis and the historical reality behind Egyptian prophecies written in Demotic. These articles show convincingly that Harsiesis was not a "Gegenkönig" and that connecting the Demotic prophecies to the historical events of the second century BCE (with the assumption of Harsiesis as a "Gegenkönig") cannot hold true.

Lucia Criscuolo's "I due testamenti di Tolemeo VIII Evergete II", Kostas Buraselis's "A lively 'Indian summer': Remarks on the Ptolemaic role in the Aegean under Philometor", and Andreas Blasius's "Antiochos IV. in Ägypten – Ptolemaios VI. in Syrien. Die späte Rache des Pharao?!" take the reader from native Egyptian perspectives to the international affairs of the Ptolemies. These articles illustrate well the rising role of Rome during the second century BCE. The last-mentioned article focuses on a single coin, which is a good example of how numismatics contributes to the study of second century BCE Egypt and its relations with its neighbours.

Literary sources and a focus on Alexandria, the capital of Egypt, form a kind of common thread to the chapters by Peter Nadig ("Zur Rolle der Juden unter Ptolemaios VI. und Ptolemaios VIII."), Marietta Horster ("Geistesleben in Alexandria im 2. Jh. v. Chr. und die sogenannte Gelehrtenvertreibung"), and Paul McKechnie ("Who were the Alexandrians? Palace and city, Aristarchus and Comanus, 170–145 BC"). Horster and McKechnie discuss the impact of the struggle for power of the rulers on the learned elite of Alexandria. Nadig's article finds a concentric spin in Thomas Kruse's "Die Festung in Herakleopolis und der Zwist im Ptolemäerhaus", where Ptolemy VI's favourable attitude towards the Jews is also touched upon, as it seems that many of the military settlers in Herakleopolis were, in fact, Jews.

Stefan Pfeiffer's "Die Politik Ptolemaios' VI. und VIII. im Kataraktgebiet: Die 'ruhigen' Jahre von 163 bis 136 v. Chr." and the above-mentioned article by Kruse have the military building activity of the second century in common. The fortresses and their administrative personnel lead the reader to Joachim Friedrich Quack's second article in the volume, "Das Diktum des Tutu über die Eingabe an Numenius". Quack's revised edition of a memorandum addressed to the well-known high ranking official called Numenius by Tutu, a scribe of the judges in Ptolemais, leads the reader to the questions related to the relations of the Greeks and the Egyptians in everyday life. The ways people got by in their daily routines and in their interactions with each other in the bi- (or multi-) cultural environment of Egypt of the second century are nicely illustrated by Damien Agut's "La ΠΑΡΑΘΗΚΗ au Serapeum: les (petites) affaires de Ptolémaïos", and Katelijin Vandorpe's "A successful, but fragile biculturalism. The hellenization process in the Upper-Egyptian town of Pathyris under Ptolemy VI and VIII". The volume is wrapped up with descriptions of the authors and useful indices.

All in all, this volume draws from sometimes very detailed and scattered sources, such as the mention of "hostile towards the gods" or a single coin and ends up as a coherent whole where different aspects of research on Hellenistic Egypt complement one another. In some cases, the articles following one another even form a small batch of their own based on the language that they were written in. If one has to find something to change in the arrangement, I might have placed Peter Nadig's article in between those of Stefan Pfeiffer and Thomas Kruse, but this may be a matter of taste in the end.

Erja Salmenkivi

RAY LAURENCE – SIMON ESMONDE CLEARY – GARETH SEARS: *The City in the Roman West c. 250 BC – c. AD 250*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2011. ISBN 978-0-521-70140-2. XIV, 355 pp. GBP 60, USD 99 (hb), GBP 24.99, USD 40 (pb).

Roman lifestyle was essentially urban despite the respect and appreciation expressed towards old Republican rural values and ways of life. Rome was the most important city for the whole empire, but even in the furthest reaches of the provinces cities and towns were established under the Roman rule and they became important local centers. The cities and towns also have been – and are – the focus of all kinds of research from archaeological excavations to analyses of Roman literature. Individual studies are easy to find, but syntheses such as the one discussed here are more difficult to

come by. The three authors, Ray Laurence, Simon Esmonde Cleary and Gareth Sears, have all been active in the study of Roman towns and cities in Italy, the western provinces, and North Africa for long periods of time and their expertise comes together in the synthesis of the development, appearance, and functions of the cities in the Roman West.

The book starts with an introduction outlining the task and assessing debates on many aspects of Roman urbanism starting with Romanization and ending with trying to recognize the elements of a typical Roman city. The first five of the eleven main chapters discuss many of these elements in more depth starting with the creation of urban culture (Chapter 1) and the colonization and development of Roman cities (Chapter 2). One of the main points of view of the volume is considering the city not merely as a physical setting, but as consisting of both the physical setting and the people who produced and lived in it. Both were required in order to create a functioning and sustainable urban center. This theme is reflected in Chapter 3 on city foundation and government as well as in Chapter 4 on reception of urbanism in the Roman West. Chapter 5 creates a prelude to the remainder of the book by outlining the general conventions of town planning and the aesthetics of urbanism. This is followed by chapters related to specific elements common to the Roman urban landscape: walls, street network, religious, civic and entertainment buildings. The chronological scope of the book covers five centuries from the mid-third century BCE through to 250 CE and the last chapter looks at the situation at that time.

The creation of Roman urban culture is discussed in two main geographical areas, Italy and Spain. The development in Italy is represented by some fairly well-known sites: Rome, Pompeii, Fregellae and Cosa. The first two existed well before the beginning of the mid-third century BCE, and the discussion does not reflect very clearly what changes occurred at this time of establishing new colonies in old centers of this kind. The colonies featured in this chapter were built into areas conquered quite early which usually featured some kind of urban centers and, although some comparisons between *oppida* and Roman colonies are presented, the relationship between old and new could perhaps have been discussed more thoroughly. However, the topic does get a second treatment in Chapter 4 on the development of urbanism in the western provinces.

The chapters on town planning and the various elements of towns start with laying out the street grid. Here a discussion on the natural topography of the sites and how it informed the town plans would have been interesting and useful. The site selection is sometimes obvious – connections with land and water routes, strategic positions, etc. – but the lay of the land at the selected site is important when major elements such as the forum or large public buildings are designed and placed. In addition, a very important part of the infrastructure of a Roman city – water supply – receives no attention. In the following chapters (6–10), the discussion of the form and significance of the various elements of the city (forum and basilica, baths, theaters, amphitheaters) follows a geographical division into Italy, western provinces, and North Africa. Although there is some regional variation in the buildings and their use in the public life of the cities, these chapters are slightly tedious to read. A more synthetic treatment with chronological and regional comparisons might have been more to the point and this is seen, for example, in some of the tables in the chapters outlining interesting trends (such as Table 10.3 on distribution of amphitheaters or Table 8.3 on building of baths and amphitheaters in North Africa in different periods). Interregional and chronological comparisons covering all the elements would have perhaps displayed the different trends more effectively.

The volume offers a great deal of information and insight into very many aspects of cities in the Roman West. It combines old data with the authors' interpretation of the development, but sometimes the relationship to what other scholars think about the subject remains obscure. Some of the elements in the text, such as explanations and translations of commonly used Latin names of buildings (for example *curia* and *comitium* on p. 20), seem to indicate that the book is intended to be read by non-experts, but many other parts would require in-depth knowledge of the topic (such as Romanization). Despite some of its shortcomings, the book is also thought-provoking and encourages further study into Roman cities.

Eeva-Maria Viitanen

HENRIK MOURITSEN: *The Freedman in the Roman World*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2011. ISBN 978-0-521-85613-3. VI, 344 pp. GBP 60, USD 99

In *The Freedman in the Roman World* Henrik Mouritsen summarizes the results of his own and others' research over the last few decades on the position of freedmen in Roman society. As Mouritsen himself notes, the freedman has not been a popular subject, especially on the level of monograph-sized syntheses, and in this book, Mouritsen strives to fill this *lacuna* in the research tradition.

Mouritsen discusses the matter thematically. The thematic divisions obviously reflect the importance given to these particular themes in understanding the phenomenon within Roman society: the social position of the freedman and the stain of servitude; the relation of the freedman to his/her patron; the individual power and status of the freedman; the practice of manumission; the economic role of the freedmen; the role of the freedmen in public life, with a special emphasis on the freedmen's sons; and finally, an overview and interpretation of the identity of freedmen in society.

On the whole, the book succeeds commendably, offering a many-sided view on the cultural, social and economic practices connected with the phenomenon. In the introduction, Mouritsen downplays his own achievement by emphasizing how the chosen approach to investigate the position of freedmen from many different viewpoints has resulted in many of the themes being slightly superficial in their treatment. This might be a potential flaw with some works, but I personally found that Mouritsen's approach resulted in far more interesting results than a detailed study of a single theme might have produced. Mouritsen uses different types of evidence in constructing his interpretation, ranging from inscriptions to various types of literary evidence; the nature of the subject naturally emphasizes the importance of legal and literary sources, while archaeological evidence is rarely connectable to Roman social categories; in fact, Mouritsen heavily criticizes some of the attempts to do so, like in the case of the owners of the House of the Vettii in Pompeii. Mouritsen also draws in comparative material from other 'slave societies' in order to highlight the particularities of the Roman system. This is an excellent choice, since it is not always clear how different the other well-known slaving systems were, and especially, how the Roman system was a world of its own with very few parallels in other 'slave societies'. Even so, these comparisons offer important insights into the Roman system and are particularly useful for readers not already familiar with the Roman system.

In this kind of study, where the purpose is not to provide a grand narrative of Roman history but to describe and understand a phenomenon, it is common to adopt a diachronic approach. The limited amount of evidence allowing one to (re)construct chronological patterns is an obvious reason for this choice. To Mouritsen's credit it must be said that he acknowledges the problem in the introduction by claiming that he has not found any "compelling evidence to suggest any major changes to the practice of manumission or to the attitudes towards it" (p. 9). However, a reading of this book may raise the question whether this really is the case. In most of the chapters, there is a clear division of the phenomenon in four different temporal phases, which are in each case awarded their own particular properties. The phases, in general, are Early Rome, The Republic, Early Empire, and Late Rome. These phases have a definite role to play in Mouritsen's argument. "Early Rome" is the mythical origin of values and traditions; The Republic and Early Empire are the periods where most of the evidence is from, and therefore figure most in the analyses, with the dividing line at the Augustan period; the possible changes in the Late Roman period are outside the focus of the book but often hinted at. The main problem with this diachronic approach is the line between the Republic and the Empire, i.e. the Augustan period. In most chapters, Mouritsen hints at definite changes in society at this point, but then sadly discards all change in the actual interpretations based on the sources.

Finally, the sources are used uncritically, which means that there is little discussion about how the different genres of literature should be used as evidence. This results in legal texts, Ciceronian letters, Plautus' plays and inscriptions all having the same truth value in the argumentation. A great deal more could have been achieved if Mouritsen had tried to understand, for example, the comedies as comedies, not as accurate depictions of reality. Better use is made of the Roman historians, but even then, Mouritsen's critical eye is directed towards the emperors and their actions, as well as towards other modern researchers, instead of the authors of the sources themselves.

Despite these critical words, the book is an excellent discussion of the phenomenon of manumission and freedmen in the Roman society, and serves its function well. Minor typographical errors can be found, as on p. 222, where Mouritsen discusses Pompeian house I.1.5/25, which looks more like house I.4.5/25.

Harri Kiiskinen

CAMILLA CAMPEDELLI: *L'amministrazione municipale delle strade romane in Italia*. Dr. Rudolf Habelt, Bonn 2014. ISBN 978-3-7749-3858-8. XII, 346 pp. EUR 75.

Un ottimo libro, nato da una tesi di dottorato zurighese del 2012, che offre un chiaro e sistematico studio sull'amministrazione municipale delle strade nell'Italia romana, soprattutto in base alla documentazione epigrafica. Finora l'attenzione degli studiosi è stata rivolta più all'attività dell'amministrazione imperiale e dei *curatores viarum*, e così il libro della Campedelli colma una vera lacuna.

Nelle considerazioni introduttive l'a. si concentra, sempre in base alla documentazione disponibile, sulla tipologia di strade, sugli aspetti giuridici relativi alla gestione municipale del sistema stradale e sulle modalità pratiche riguardo alle competenze dei magistrati municipali. Concludono osservazioni sul finanziamento delle costruzioni stradali.

Segue il catalogo delle iscrizioni pertinenti, particolarmente prezioso per la futura ricerca. Mi sia permesso di fare alcune osservazioni in merito: il materiale è ordinato, giustamente, secondo le regioni d'Augusto, ma poi, entro ogni regione, le città vengono disposte in ordine alfabetico, il che non dà retta alle realtà geografiche (per es. nella regio I sarebbe stato preferibile seguire prima una divisione triplice cominciando con le città del cd. *Latium vetus* e continuando con quelle del cd. *Latium adiectum* e della Campania: ora vediamo il susseguirsi di Abellinum, Aletrium, Aquinum, Atina, o Pompeii, Praeneste, Puteoli, Setia); a p. 117 n. 6 sull'interpretazione e datazione cfr. in questa stessa rivista, p. 170; pp. 149 sg. n. 32: invece della obsoleta edizione di Zvetaieff si doveva citare Vetter 8 e ora *Im. Ital.* di Crawford; pp. 153 sg. n. 36: sulla datazione va detto che ci sembra del I secolo a.C., ma la datazione offerta da Bispham alla metà del secolo è troppo stretta; pp. 163 sg. n. 44: nella riga 10 forse da intendere *L. Octavii Octavianus f.*; pp. 200 sg. n. 80: Salernum era nella regio I; p. 209 n. 88: va respinta l'integrazione *q(uin)q(uennalis)*, per motivi di cui sopra p. 172f. – Infine si riporta un'iscrizione inedita di provenienza ignota conservata nel Museo civico di Anzio Villa Adele su cui si veda in questa stessa rivista p. 148: un anonimo sembra aver costruito una *via patula* dal foro fino a una costruzione chiamata *tecta*. – Un paio di innocenti refusi: p. 46 "collegate" invece di "collegate"; p. 121 n. 11 e 122 n. 12 l'a. usa sciogliere *P(ublii)*, ma per es. p. 125 n. 14 *P(ubli)*: io raccomanderei quest'ultimo scioglimento.

Heikki Solin

PAOLO GAROFALO: *Lanuvio – Storia e istituzioni in età romana*, voll. I–II. Edizioni Tored, Tivoli 2014. ISBN 978-88-88617-72-5. 384 & 428 pp. EUR 120.

Non esiterei chiamare questo libro un capolavoro. Nato da una tesi di dottorato, ci presenta uno studioso che offre un maturo, multiforme e ben scritto prodotto sulla città e sul territorio della romana Lanuvium, un vecchio centro dei *prisci Latini*, che ha la peculiarità di essere limitrofo di due importanti città non facenti parte dei *prisci Latini*, vale a dire Antium e Velitrae, e quindi al di fuori delle città che formavano il cd. *Latium vetus*. Finora mancava una monografia che raccogliesse tutta la documentazione su questa città, e a tale lacuna sopperisce il presente libro, frutto di un decennio di studi e di vari approfondimenti su argomenti specifici. Infatti l'approccio pluridisciplinare dell'a. con una minuziosa analisi delle fonti letterarie, archeologiche, epigrafiche e numismatiche rende l'opera un'eccellente messa a punto delle nostre conoscenze della storia di Lanuvium.

Il libro inizia con un'ampia trattazione della storia degli studi e degli scavi, fino ai nostri giorni, con l'utilizzo d'interessanti documenti inediti. Il secondo capitolo analizza l'assetto topografico del territorio; una particolare enfasi ricevono le questioni riguardanti l'estensione dell'*ager Lanivinus* (su cui torneremo ancora) e l'individuazione del *Sublanuvio*. Nel terzo capitolo, dedicato alle vicende storiche, l'a. traccia un quadro coerente del ruolo di Lanuvium nell'arco di un millennio, dalle tradizioni sui mitici fondatori allo sviluppo del IV secolo d.C. A mio parere questo capitolo rappresenta un capolavoro, come anche quello successivo, dedicato alle istituzioni municipali e al corpo civico. Fruttuosa ed equilibrata è tra l'altro la discussione sulle tracce di una colonia al posto di municipium (mi ha fatto piacere leggere le considerazioni sulla non attendibilità o meno della notizia del *Liber coloniarum*, anche se sarei forse stato ancora un poco più sospettoso riguardo

all'informazione da esso offerta). Seguono, nel quinto capitolo, considerazioni sui culti e sacerdoti, in primo luogo su Giunone Sospita, la cui corrusca presenza come dea guerriera e matronale è centrale. Il sesto capitolo analizza certe gentes lanuvine, dagli Aelii fino ai Villii. Il libro finisce con due Appendici dedicate rispettivamente alle fonti epigrafiche e numismatiche.

Le mie critiche sono poche. Sono in disaccordo per quanto riguarda l'estensione dell'*ager Lanivinus* verso Anzio, trattato dall'a. ampiamente a pp. 57, 71-80, 472. Egli attribuisce la zona della Torre del Padiglione al territorio di Lanuvium, ma mi sembra più probabile che abbia fatto parte di quello di Antium, a causa dell'iscrizione *Latium* 2015-16, p. 6 n. 6, che ricorda un M. Aurelius Benedictus iscritto alla Quirina, quindi tribù degli Anziati (dalla stessa zona provengono anche altre iscrizioni: *ibid.* p. 23 n. 16; *CIL* I² 3040; *Tyche* 1989, p. 149; le fistule *EE* IX 626, 628). Attribuirei anche *CIL* X 6681 = XIV 2122, vista dal Baldani (non Boldoni come a p. 632) al quinto miglio da Nettuno verso Roma, ad Antium, attribuita invece da Garofalo (p. 81 nt. 30) al territorio di Lanuvium; ma, a parte il fatto che è più disinvolto lasciare questo luogo, non tanto lontano da Nettuno, all'*ager Antias*, sarebbe più facile immaginarsi la menzione di una carica municipale lanuvina in un'iscrizione posta al di fuori dei confini lanuvini. Il confine con Velitrae non pone problemi; qui vorrei solo accennare a un'iscrizione omessa sia dal Mommsen che dal Dessau in *CIL* X e XIV rispettivamente, epitaffio visto dal Guattani, *Monumenti antichi inediti* (1787) p. 86 a Monte Secco che senza dubbio sarà appartenuto al territorio di Lanuvium; la parte finale del testo riportato dal Guattani dice *arbitratu Hermetis et Plegusae lib(ertorum)*.

Poi mi è mancata una carta particolareggiata del territorio di Lanuvium; da quella pubblicata a p. 73 non si ottiene un quadro molto chiaro quanto alle peculiarità e all'estensione del territorio lanuvino (o lanivino, per usare il termine più diffuso nell'età romana); sarebbe stato anche opportuno se l'a. avesse tracciato grosso modo i confini dell'*ager Lanivinus*, così come li intende.

Sull'utile appendice I alcune osservazioni: n. 6 si deve scrivere *reidemptor*; n. 13: non si può dire che "*Euhodus* è conosciuto in due forme, *Euhodus* e *Euhodius*", poiché si tratta di due nomi autonomi; n. 18: si può tranquillamente integrare *Stemma* (se non *Gemma*); n. 28: se l'apografo è corretto, si legga [---]pilia; n. 34: si noti l'anomalia sintattica *senatus populusque Lanivinus veteres*, in sé e per sé facilmente comprensibile; n. 41: *Mercurial(ium)*; n. 62: poiché l'iscrizione non è lanuvina, sarebbe stato preferibile metterla in una diversa sezione; n. 76: leggerei dalle foto pubblicate nel libro (e anche dal calco pubblicato in *ArchClass* 62 [2011] p. 547, in cui si legge E con traverse non molto accentuate, ma comunque distinguibili) in 2, invece di [---] *eninio*, anche se con esitazione [---] *jenenio*, che potrebbe integrarsi [M] *jenenio*, un gentilizio ben noto. Il suo cognome sembra iniziare *Dic-* (ma *Dio-* non sarebbe del tutto escluso), da integrare per es. *Dicaeus*, un greco ben attestato (a *dictator* non si può pensare).

Alcuni refusi, per la maggior parte innocenti e di poco rilievo. Il greco contiene numerosi errori di scrittura (per es. p. 71, 152-155, 204, 262, 298, 302, 419, 522, 639); a p. XX, riga 4: numerosi; p. 147: *I was told*; p. 207 nt. 162 Weissenborn e nt. 163 l'anno è 1982, non 1929; p. 367 nt. 27 Topographie; p. 725 *Die stadtrömischen*. I riferimenti bibliografici possono contenere zavorra inutile (solo due esempi: a p. 71 nt. 1 si cita il pessimo articolo in *KIPauly*, migliore sarebbe quello in *DNP*; p. 221 nt. 190: invece del non buono studio ricordato si doveva citare il classico libretto di Shackleton Bailey, *Two Studies in Roman Nomenclature*² 83).

ANTONELLA DE CARLO: *Il ceto equestre di Campania, Apulia et Calabria, Lucania et Bruttii dalla tarda Repubblica al IV secolo* (2 voll.). Vetera 19. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 2015. ISBN 978-88-7140-685-5. 1–276 & VIII, 277–479 pp. EUR 60.

This is an ambitious work by a scholar already known for several significant contributions especially on subjects related to the topic of this book, and I must already at this point observe that this book has in my view achieved its goal with remarkable success.

The aim of the author is twofold. On the one hand, she seeks to collect all the evidence concerning representatives of the equestrian order in the regions indicated in the title, which in fact cover the whole southern part of the Italian peninsula. For the most part the evidence is epigraphic, but there are also persons known from literary sources, e.g., from Cicero, Horace, Josephus, Juvenal, Seneca – Lucilius Iunior assigned to Pompeii on p. 131 –, Statius, Suetonius and Velleius. On the other hand, the goal is to analyze this material from a historical point of view. The author is to be congratulated for having been able to publish both parts at the same time.

The first volume is dedicated to the presentation of the material in the form of a "Catalogo prosopografico". The catalogue is preceded by an introduction in which the author says that she has tried to inspect all inscriptions, whenever this was possible, and as a result, vol. II finishes off with 43 plates of photos, with over 150 texts being illustrated. Her material also includes unpublished texts collected during the last thirty years by Professor Giuseppe Camodeca (e.g., the important text from Aequum Tuticum mentioning the military tribune Q. Gagilius Q. f. Pal. Modestus, p. 188; also, e.g., on p. 158 and 204). Moreover, the material contains inscriptions published in media not likely to be consulted by the average epigraphist and which have thus remained unnoticed. An example of this is on p. 124f. the inscription, published in the "*Ann. Assoc. Noment.*" of 2001 but ignored by the *AE*, of L. Cantinius L. f. Men. Maximus *Nuceria Cons(tantia)* who made it to the procuratorship of the *hereditates*. There are more than 310 equestrians included in the catalogue, 170 from Campania, around 100 from *regio* II, and 37 from *regio* III. From the diagrams on p. 11 one sees that in all three regions, the equestrians datable to the Augustan and Julio-Claudian period form the largest group, and that the group including the equestrians between Hadrian and Commodus is the second largest. However, the third century is also well represented, especially in the case of *regio* II; this surely has something to do with the fact that Beneventum, known for the concentration of its epigraphical heritage to the "later" period, belonged to this *regio*. The introduction is followed by a substantial bibliography (but in her notes, the author in fact cites many other studies).

As for the catalogue itself, it is divided into three chapters, Campania p. 49–174, Apulia et Calabria, i.e. *regio* II (p. 175–242), Lucania et Bruttii, i.e. *regio* III (p. 243–276). Within these chapters, there are separate sections for each city which has at least one equestrian on offer; the cities are listed in alphabetical rather than in geographical order, and an alphabetical – rather than, say, a chronological – order is used also for the individual entries (not numbered) within the sections. An entry normally consists of one person, but in some cases also of several persons belonging to the same family (e.g., the Velleii on p. 94f., the Gerellani on p. 209ff., the Tullii Cicerones from Paestum on p. 254ff.). In collecting the material, the author has cast her net wide, for it is (of course) not only Italian inscriptions that are cited but also, e.g., military diplomas mentioning auxiliary commanders coming from S. Italy (e.g., M. Blossius Vitalis from Capua, p. 70f.; or Ti. Claudius Maximinus from Naples, p. 112, known from several diplomas published recently) or inscriptions published in

little-known non-Italian publications (e.g., p. 145 under C. Iulius Capretanus). At least in the case of inscriptions from the area studied here and which still exist, a detailed description of the stones in question is normally offered in a footnote (and there is of course always a reference to the existence of the photo in vol. II).

The result is a very solid survey, based on all relevant sources, of the equestrians from the area under study. It is of note that an origin from S. Italy is assigned, at least tentatively, to several significant figures (cf., e.g., for prefects of Egypt p. 102f. and 198f., for a procurator of Mauretania p. 144); the book also contains new proposals for the reading and interpretation of some inscriptions (e.g., p. 53f. on *CIL* X 1131). There are very few cases which would need correcting, but here are some. P. 56 (on *AE* 2008, 337): here the author follows G. Camodeca in reading *iu[dici] a Ti. Claudio Caes. Aug.? ---] / allecto in [decurias quinque]*. The problem here is that, although there are many inscriptions mentioning the adlection of knights to the *decuriae* of judges, these knights are not referred to as *iudices*; it is only in inscriptions (mostly from Spain) saying that one *is* a judge that the expression *iudex* is applied (in the dative) to the honorand (e.g., *iudic(i) dec[uriarum] V, ILS 6936; iudici decur[iae] I, CIL II 4275*). The reading proposed for the inscription above thus seems debatable to me. P. 109: in the nomenclature of C. Aelius P. fil. Cl. Quirin. Domitianus Gaurus (*ILS* 2748), *Quirin.* is here, as elsewhere, identified as the cognomen *Quirinus*. However, I wonder whether it could not be interpreted as the nomen *Quirinius*, in which case one could see this person as the son of P. Quirinius – a P. Quirinius Pothus is attested as one of the witnesses in several military diplomas between AD 101 and 110 – adopted by testament by C. Aelius. P. 184f.: M. Bassaeus Rufus the praetorian prefect could be illustrated also by a remarkable inscription from Corduba, *CIL* II² 7, 274, *Marco Bassaeo Rufo / viri co(n)s(ularis) progenero* etc. P. 119 n. 526: the name of the consul of 122 was perhaps rather L. Corellius Neratius Pansa, with the nomina in this order (see the diploma *RMD* V 359 = *AE* 2002, 1767). P. 144: T. Aius Sanctus seems in fact to have been called T. Taus Sanctus (F. Mitthof, *Tyche* 25 [2010] 230ff.) and is thus not to be attached to (H)aii. P. 157f.: The author takes an agnostic view of the exact form of the family name of the men presented here, calling them "Mamiliani/Mamilieni". However, in the inscription which still exists, EDR072816, the name is *Mamilienus*, and also in the inscription now lost, *CIL* X 4755, where most copies have the erroneous reading *Mamilianus*, one of the early copies, that of Sirmondus, has, as reported in the apparatus in *CIL*, the reading *Mamilienus*. I think this pretty much settles the question of the name. P. 208: I find it hard to believe that a man calling himself L. Clodius L. f. Pollio Iustus in *AE* 2008, 415 would be identical with a man who calls himself simply L. Clodius L. f. Pollio in *AE* 1910, 203. I would thus prefer to consider the two as two different men.

As mentioned above, the second part is devoted to the analysis of the material collected in part one. The material is studied from so many angles that it does not seem of any use to offer a detailed description of the contents of this part, especially as many of the sections at least in part have the form of simple lists (e.g., that of the known wives of the equestrians on p. 291ff. or that of the *curatores rei publicae* on p. 341f.). In any case, Ch. I in this part (p. 279ff.) is devoted to the families and the social relations of the knights, Ch. II (p. 304ff.) to their careers, with separate subchapters on military careers (with sections on the holders of *militiae*, the tribunes of the units stationed in Rome, etc.), prefects and procurators, *iudices*, *praefecti castrorum* (with a useful discussion of the nature of this office in general on p. 327ff. –), equestrian priesthoods, equestrian titles and denominations (*eques Romanus*, *vir egregius*, etc.), *curatores rei publicae*. This chapter is concluded by lists of

the military units (*alae, cohortes, legiones*) commanded by the equestrians from S. Italy. Ch. III (p. 349ff.) deals with municipals careers and the "rapporti con le città d'origine" (with lists of various patrons and activities – building, offering of games, etc. – coming under the heading "evergetism"; there is also a section on "munificenza nota da espressioni encomiastiche" (p. 381f., with a list of phrases of the type *ob munificentiam, ob amorem*, etc.). In chapter IV, the closing chapter (p. 383ff.), the author analyzes land ownership and economic activities attested for the equestrians from the regions under discussion; the chapter also contains a section on grand funerary monuments situated in the countryside (p. 389). This part of the book, too, strikes me as being of a very solid quality.

The whole is concluded by more than 30 pages of very detailed indexes and (as mentioned above) by more than 40 pages of photos of inscriptions; this is a fine book which will be of great service not only to scholars dealing just with S. Italy but also researchers dealing with the Roman world in general.

Olli Salomies

FRANCESCO GRELLE – MARINA SILVESTRINI: *La Puglia nel mondo romano. Storia di una periferia dalle guerre sannitiche alla guerra sociale*. Collana Pragmateiai. Edipuglia, Bari 2013. ISBN 978-88-7228-705-7 (hb). 296 pp, 8 maps. EUR 45.

The modern region of Apulia covers two-thirds of the territory of the *regio secunda* of the Augustan administrative organization of Italy. The *regio* was later to be named *Apulia et Calabria*. The arrangement unified under the same administrative unit different geographical areas inhabited by populations who did not share the same ethnic background, such as the Iapygians, the Messapians and the Greeks of Tarentum.

In this book, Grelle and Silvestrini follow and analyse the long process which brought the modern region of Apulia into the Roman state, from the Samnite Wars until the Social War. The work is divided into four chapters, following chronologically the history of the region during this time span.

In the first chapter the authors treat the Roman expansion through the Tavoliere plain in the lands of the Iapygian Daunians and Peucetians, the former inhabiting the area of the modern province of Foggia, the latter the area around modern Bari. Despite having to rely on sometimes inaccurate information handed down by ancient written sources such as Livy, the authors point to the foundation of the Latin colony of Luceria in 314 BCE as a decisive moment for the beginning of Roman control in the Tavoliere plain. Luceria was also strategically important from an anti-Samnite point of view, since it was located on the road from Daunia to Samnium. In this chapter, the authors also offer a description of Daunian society, exploiting archaeological, epigraphic and literary material. From this discussion it becomes evident that "...nella seconda metà del quarto secolo, all'avvio della penetrazione romana in Puglia, fosse oramai piuttosto diffuso presso i Dauni lo sviluppo di modalità insediative e organizzative protourbane, più o meno complesse" (p. 19). The authors also extensively treat the role of the *polis* of Tarentum, which sought hegemony in southern Italy, but was torn between hostilities towards Iapygians, Lucanians and Bruttii and the suspicion and fear of the increasing role of Rome in the region.

Chapter two is concerned with the Pyrrhic War and the subsequent entrance of Tarentum in alliance with Rome in 272 BCE as well as the Roman conquest of the Messapian territories in the Salento region, with the foundation of the Latin colony of Brundisium in the mid-3rd century BCE. Particularly interesting in this chapter is the discussion of Messapian society, whose elite had at least partially become Hellenized, due to the vicinity of Salento to Tarentum. In this context frame, the presence, as attested by epigraphic evidence, of a local cult of Demeter influenced by the Eleusinian Mysteries should be noted.

The third chapter describes the dramatic events of the Hannibalic War, during which Tarentum and most of the Apulian settlements supported the Carthaginians. The Roman victory caused the loss of autonomy of almost all of the centres which had defected to the enemy, with the immediate arrival of Roman and Latin colonists and the expropriation of land, which was then annexed to the Roman *ager publicus*. Nevertheless, the authors prove convincingly that in many places the locals who had not defected continued to play a part in the public life of the centres in which they lived.

The fourth and final chapter is concerned with the Social War and its aftermath. The chapter is considerably shorter than the previous ones, due to the inadequacy of sources regarding the military operations on this front of the war, only Appian treating the subject at any length. Furthermore, it seems that the hostilities were confined to the northern part of the region, with the defection of the Daunians and Peucetians, while Tarentum, Brundisium and the Salento remained out of the conflict. The authors admit that there is not enough archaeological evidence to shed light on the administrative and political arrangements in the region after the Roman victory. In particular, it is impossible to tell at the moment whether the indigenous aristocracies played a role in local politics, as was the case prior to the conflict, or whether were they eliminated and replaced by non-indigenous officials.

Grelle's and Silvestrini's work is an important contribution to the understanding and study of the area covering modern Apulia in a decisive time of its history, from the Samnite Wars to the Social War. The events are analysed with the use of different literary, archaeological, epigraphic and numismatic sources. Most interesting is the discussion of the networks of roads in the region at the end of both chapter two and three, showing them to be means of transportation for armies, goods and herds, as well as routes for cultural influences. Also of major importance is the vast amount of information given by the authors on the indigenous societies of the area, and their interaction with Roman and Greek cultures. Thanks to this latter information, we have a picture of an indigenous aristocracy which absorbed some Greek cultural elements, while maintaining its local traditions. This local aristocracy, or at least the elements which backed Rome in the wars fought in the area in this period, eventually also assumed Latin cultural features and was allowed to play an important role on the political stage even when Roman control became tighter. This arrangement lasted at least until the Social War, when information about the subject becomes scarcer. Other features of the book worthy of remark are the useful bibliographical reference indexes at the end of each chapter, and the vast general bibliography concerning the subject.

Gianluca De Martino

A Companion to Marcus Aurelius. Edited by MARCEL VAN ACKEREN. Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World. Wiley Blackwell, Chichester – Malden 2012. ISBN 978-1-4051-9285-9. XIX, 560 pp. GBP 139, EUR 188.

This collection of papers is an attempt to present a synthesis of contemporary studies on Marcus Aurelius, the sixteenth Emperor of Rome (AD 161–180). No less than thirty-four articles cover different aspects of the Emperor and philosopher and, to a certain extent, of the Roman Empire in the second century in general.

Marcus Aurelius is a figure who attracts the attention not only of ancient historians but also of philosophers and political leaders as the last important Stoic and as a model of a good ruler. This interest in Marcus Aurelius is reflected in many recent studies on the emperor (e.g., J. Fündling, *Marc Aurel*, Primus Verlag 2008, F. McLynn, *Marcus Aurelius: Warrior, Philosopher, Emperor*, Bodley Head 2009 and W. O. Stephens, *Marcus Aurelius: A Guide for the Perplexed*, Continuum 2012, just to mention a few). A new commentary on the first six books of the *Meditations* written by Marcus Aurelius was published in 2013 (see *Meditations: Books 1–6*, ed. by C. Gill, Oxford University Press 2013). Since this interest shows no signs of weakening, this collection of studies will probably also attract wide readership.'

The book consists of an Introduction, six parts and an index. Part I, titled "The Main Sources" introduces the ancient source material on Marcus Aurelius. The emphasis is on the literary evidence such as the historian Cassius Dio, the imperial biographies collected in the *Historia Augusta* and the writings of Marcus Aurelius himself (his letters and the *Meditations*), although archaeological sources are also discussed. For instance, Thomas Fischer's rather detailed article on the archaeological evidence for the Marcomannic Wars shows that the editor has taken his assignment, namely to produce a truly interdisciplinary companion, seriously.

Part II, "Biography and Background", discusses Marcus Aurelius' family relations, life and education in two articles by Anthony R. Birley, a well-known authority on the biography of Marcus. The articles by Werner Eck on the political structure of the Empire and Leofranc Holford-Strevens on the culture and intellectual life of the second century, present a background for the Emperor's rule. Lukas de Blois analyses the relation of politics and philosophy under Marcus.

Part III, "Marcus the Emperor", continues with similar subjects, discussing the second century in general and the life and rule of Marcus Aurelius. Parts II and III could in fact have been combined. The four contributions in the third section deal with the administration of the city of Rome and the provinces, religion, the wars under Marcus, and finally, the Empire after Marcus Aurelius' death. In the final chapter, Olivier Hekster discusses the reigns of Commodus and Septimius Severus, the former the biological son of Marcus and the latter a self-adopted one.

In Part IV, "Material Forms of Self-Representation", the focus shifts to the iconography of Marcus Aurelius. Four articles cover the main monuments in Rome – the Column of Marcus, his Equestrian Statue and the reliefs of Marcus' triumphal arch – as well as his portrait types. Over four decades of Marcus Aurelius' coinage and medallions have been fitted into one article by Susanne Börner, who has published a monograph on the subject (see S. Börner, *Marc Aurel im Spiegel seiner Münzen und Medaillons*, Habelt 2012).

Part V, "Marcus the Philosopher" is by far the largest section of the companion with eleven articles and covers almost a third of the volume. It is clear that the volume presents Marcus Aurelius

as a philosopher as much as a ruler. Marcus' *Meditations* are comprehensively analysed in the articles. The first two contributions by Jean-Baptiste Gourinat and Angelo Giavatto discuss the form, structure and style of Marcus' writings, followed by articles by Michael Erler and Irmgard Männlein-Robert analysing the aspects of orality in the *Meditations* and the writings as autobiography. The fifth article, by Christopher Gill, relates the writings to earlier Stoic literature. The following six papers focus on philosophical themes apparent in the text of the *Meditations*: physics, logic, ethics, social ethics and politics, the ancient art of living and the self.

The final Part VI, "Reception", discusses the figure of Marcus Aurelius from Antiquity to the present day, stressing his importance for Western culture. The first article by Julia Bruch and Katrin Herrmann discusses Marcus' reception as the 'Philosopher-King' in both Antiquity and in the Middle Ages. The second paper by Amy Richlin analyses the representation of Marcus' character in both the editions of the *Meditations* and in the letters of Marcus and Fronto, his teacher, from the viewpoint of Christianity and the 'sanctification' of Marcus' character. The last two articles analyse the reception of Marcus Aurelius' writings in both Early Modern and contemporary (19th and 20th century) philosophical thought.

In my opinion the volume achieves the purpose set for it in the beginning and presents a truly interdisciplinary synthesis of recent studies on Marcus Aurelius. The picture it creates sets Marcus in his background and paints a picture of him as an Emperor and a philosopher. He is a ruler, administrator, lawgiver, military leader and in the midst of all this a philosopher at heart. This is both the strength and weakness of the volume. The articles create a coherent picture of a man with many aspects and most papers connect their analysis well to wider contexts. The volume is, however, above all a companion to one man, Marcus Aurelius, and cannot be taken as an introduction to the Antonine age in general. But a companion to the Antonine age would, of course, be a different project altogether. Nevertheless, it could be suggested that the picture created of Marcus in this volume might be more comprehensive had certain themes prominent in contemporary research received more attention. Themes such as family, gender, emotions, corporality or age do not figure prominently apart from the few articles which discuss the intimate letters of Marcus and Fronto (in chapters 4 and 32). As it is, however, the volume presents a useful synthesis of the existing research on the figure of Marcus Aurelius and shows that he has still much to offer to the student of Ancient history.

Sanna Joska

PIERRE GROS: *Gallia Narbonensis. Eine römische Provinz in Südfrankreich*. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 2008. ISBN 978-3-8053-3887-5. 166 pp. EUR 29.90.

Pierre Gros has written an extensive and altogether interesting overview of the Roman province of *Gallia Narbonensis*. The book is not an academic monograph, but considering the expertise of the author and the detailed bibliography at the end of the volume, it serves as an up-to-date introduction to any person needing an introduction to the history and geography of Southern France during the Roman Empire.

The book is structured around a chronological structure with a thematic and geographical focus on the early Empire. This is a useful approach as it allows the author to focus on the structural

and cultural features of the region under Roman rule without losing focus on the changes and developments during this period.

The first chapter, "Entstehung der Provinz Gallia Narbonensis" describes the integration process from pre-Roman times to the Augustan reforms. Gros manages to describe this process in wider terms than what is generally offered in traditional accounts of Roman conquest by integrating economic and cultural factors and the agency of the local populations in this process.

The second chapter, "Organization und Struktur", describes in detail the towns in the region as well as other forms of co-habitation and infrastructure. The first section, "Formen und Ziele der Urbanisierung in julisch-claudischer Zeit" is almost forty pages long, and includes a description of the major urban developments for each town in the province. The section is difficult to use, as it is structured around descriptions of individual towns, but this structure is not visible on typographic level; moreover, illustrations do not always match up with the text. The detailed description of Narbo on pages 38 to 40, for example, is accompanied by a map and a reconstruction of Arles. A division of the section into subsections according to the towns discussed would have helped to improve the usability of the section. The rest of the chapter discusses the development of the town centres, smaller habitation centres outside the towns, and the forms of housing and living both in the town and in the countryside.

The third chapter, "Grabarchitektur, Wirtschaft, Religion und Gesellschaft", discusses four themes in further detail: funerary architecture is used to demonstrate the existence of flourishing local middle classes; the description of economy focuses on the products of agriculture, amphorae and other ceramic vessels, and is mostly a summary of evidence of various types of production; the section on religion describes the practices of *interpretatio celtica* and the presence of the later mystery cults in the region; and the section on society is mostly about the Romanization process through the assimilation of Roman culture through education.

A short summary of the developments of the 3rd century ends the book, which thus does not venture into the complex developments of Late Antiquity. Admittedly, that is a discussion which would have doubled the size of the book without further illuminating the main focus of the book, namely a study of a prosperous, peaceful province as part of the Roman Empire.

The book serves various functions well: first, for its intended function as a popular presentation of a Roman province it is perhaps a little too detailed, though of course it does provide the interested reader with ample material. For a serious scholar, it serves as an introduction to either the province itself or as an interpretation of the position of one province within the Roman Empire. For anyone already specialized in the region, the book probably has little new to offer except for possible reinterpretations of some evidence.

Harri Kiiskinen

Hatra. Politics, Culture and Religion between Parthia and Rome. Edited by LUCINDA DIRVEN. Oriens et occidentis: Studien zu antiken Kulturkontakten und ihrem Nachleben 21. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2013. ISBN 978-3-515-10412-8. 363 pp. EUR 61.

Hatra, a city located in the Jezirah region of present-day Iraq, was known as a city situated between

east and west. As a result, various powers have fought for dominance over it and thereby created another facet of the city's reputation, as its stubborn resistance against various sieges by Rome has become almost legendary. Hatra was also able to resist the Sasanians successfully for a long time and surrendered only after a lengthy and arduous siege. After this event, in 240 CE, Hatra was abandoned and never inhabited again. The ruins of the city remained in an excellent state of preservation and Hatra became an attractive place to visit for travellers and researchers alike.

This book is a collection of papers from a colloquium held at the University of Amsterdam in 2009 with leading experts on the subject contributing. The aim of the book is to describe the current state of research on Hatra, to determine the gaps in our knowledge, and to suggest where the research should be directed in the future. This is an important aim, as Hatra has been inaccessible to researchers for a long time. The book was published already in 2013 but Hatra is even more unreachable now. In 2015, the militant group ISIL was reported to have demolished the ruins of Hatra, and some of the city's treasures may have been lost for good. This makes the book most timely.

The seventeen articles of the book are divided into three sections, but in her commendable introductory chapter, the editor, Lucinda Dirven, explains that despite this division the articles can also touch upon issues actually belonging to the other sections and there is thus some overlapping between the different parts of the book. Dirven also notes that the contributors in each section may disagree on details and that nothing has been done to harmonize the views presented in the contributions. On the contrary, the intention was to emphasize potential disagreements in order to encourage new research.

The first section is called "Between Parthia and Rome". It includes three articles that discuss the relationship of Parthia with its vassal states on the one hand and with Rome on the other. Benjamin Isaac believes that Hatra was under Roman control in the second and third centuries CE. Michael Sommer disagrees, believing that Hatra became a vassal state of Parthia after Lucius Verus' Parthian war in 163–166 CE when the Great King of Parthia granted the lords of Hatra the kingship. Leonardo Gregoratti also sees Hatra as a Parthian ally but he believes that the alliance began already after Trajan's unsuccessful siege in 116–117 CE. Despite their different views, all three writers agree on Hatra's geopolitically important location and stress this fact as a reason for the interest of the city for both Parthia and Rome.

The second part of the book is called "The city and its remains" and its seven articles concentrate on the archaeological material from Hatra. Archaeology is an important source for the study of the city, as so little written material is available. Roberta Venco Ricciardi and Alessandra Peruzzetto, who have conducted fieldwork at Hatra, deal with the city's early years in their article. They have not found any evidence to support the theory of the Iraqi archaeologists that the site was in continuous use from the Assyrian period onwards. Permanent occupation does not seem to have started earlier than at the end of the first century BCE and building activity was most intense between 117 and 150 CE, implying that the development of Hatra happened very fast. Michal Gawlikowski sees Hatra's role as a sacred city as a reason for this. Others, such as Sommer, allude to Hatra's role in Caravan trade. Ted Kaizer, on the other hand, believes the wealth of Hatra to be a sum of many factors, with none to be stressed at the expense of others.

The articles of Krzysztof Jakubiak and Hikmat Basheer al-Aswad both deal with the small shrines of Hatra. These shrines, located in the domestic areas of the city, may have had many different functions, such as being commemorative places for ancestors. Through these functions, they

were closely connected to their community's social life. In her article, Susan Downey discusses clothed Heracles statuettes found at Hatra. Heracles was an extremely popular god in the small shrines. At Hatra, Heracles was assimilated to Nergal, the god of the underworld. Thus, the popularity of Heracles statuettes in the small shrines is explained.

The article of Stefan R. Hauser concludes the second section and appropriately deals with the final years of the city. Capturing Hatra was not only tempting but even obligatory for the Sasanians because it was the only way to secure their power in Mesopotamia. Possessing Hatra also provided an opportunity to invade Roman territory, but although it might have been a wise policy, Rome does not seem to have been interested in defending Hatra. This might be due to internal troubles in Rome at the time and so Hatra was captured. It remains yet to be seen why Hatra was left in ruins despite its advantageous location.

The third and final part of the book, "Culture and religion on the crossroads", also contains seven articles. They examine the way Hatra's position at the crossroads of many different cultures affected its cultural and religious life. Albert De Jong thinks that the traditional view of Hatra as a city "between" Parthia and Rome is incorrect. In his opinion, Hatra was clearly a part of the Parthian commonwealth and the influence of Rome is only to be seen in figurative arts. De Jong shows that Parthian influence is discernible for instance in Iranian loanwords, names, and titles as well as clothing, jewellery and weaponry. Loans of this kind of are a sign of elite acculturation as local leading families voluntarily adopted the lifestyle of the Parthian court.

The article of Jean-Baptiste Yon deals with the monumentalization of public space in Hatra and Palmyra. By comparing these two cities, Yon shows that although they belonged to different political entities they were still part of the same world and reminds us that the borders of cities or empires are not necessarily the borders of their people.

The articles of Klaas Dijkstra, Andreas Kropp and Simon James all deal with the western influence in Hatra. In his contribution, Dijkstra introduces a famous sculpted head on the wall of the main sanctuary of Hatra. Dijkstra interprets the accompanying Aramean inscription as "grgn", inferring that the sculpted head represents Gorgo. It would be unusual to use the Greek name of a divine being in Hatra and the fact that the head resembles Gorgo might have influenced the reading, but it is still evident that the head derives from a western model. Andreas Kropp writes about a statue that seems to be a copy of a famous cult statue of Apollo from Hierapolis, but with distinctive Hatrene elements attached to it. At Hatra, Apollo was assimilated to the god Nabu. The Hatra statue is clearly a local production but its existence in Hatra shows that the city had contacts with the Roman world. The article of Simon James deals with a cheekpiece found at Hatra which once was a part of a Roman-type helmet. There are many possible explanations for the fact that this piece was found at Hatra and thus the article shows just how complex the net of cultural interaction in Hatra is.

Jürgen Tubach writes about the most important deities of Hatra, the Hatrene triad. Tubach believes them to be of Babylonian origin and bases this theory on the assumption that Hatra was continuously inhabited from the Achaemenid period. As observed above, archaeological findings do not support this theory, but this does not exclude the possibility of Babylonian influence in Hatra.

In the final article, Sylvia Winkelmann deals with weaponry in Hatrene figurative art. Winkelmann catalogues different types of weapons depicted in Hatrene art and observes that weapons in Hatra and other cities on the western border of Parthia are similar to those represented in the eastern

part of the empire. This can be explained by their common source, which is the Parthian court. Like de Jong, Winkelmann sees elite acculturation as a starting point for the transmission of Parthian cultural elements into the cultural life of Hatra.

It must be said that the book has easily achieved its aims. While it does offer much interesting reading, it must be admitted that in order to be able to follow the argumentation of the authors without frustration one must have some previous knowledge of the themes the book deals with. To anyone interested in Hatra, Rome and its eastern neighbours and their relations this is a most inspiring book that provokes fresh thoughts concerning life on the border of Rome and Parthia. I hope this book will keep the existence of Hatra in people's minds and will encourage further research although the city itself is for the moment unreachable. Hatra deserves to be remembered.

Kirsi Simpanen

KYLE HARPER: *Slavery in the Late Roman World AD 275–425*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2011. ISBN 978-0-521-19861-5. XIV, 611 pp. USD 144.00 (hb).

Harper's book is based on his dissertation, although according to the author it is heavily revised version. This book is clearly the product of systematic research that is apparent in every chapter. It is divided into three parts. The first part tackles the question of the economy of slavery. The second part explores the role of slaves in society. The third part draws our attention to the institutional aspects of enslavement.

Harper presents Roman slavery as the most extensive and enduring slave system in pre-modern history. In the first part (pp. 3–201), the author assures us that the Roman slave system cannot be explained as the result of imperial conquest. Harper claims (p. 3ff) that Roman slavery was an enduring constant feature of an entire historical epoch, driven by the very forces that made Rome historically exceptional. Military hegemony, the rule of law, the privatization of property, urbanism, the accumulation of capital, an enormous market economy – the circulation of human slavery developed in step with these other characteristic elements of Roman civilization. This statement of the author is both compelling and justified. Slavery is an economic phenomenon, and a history of slavery must be situated within the economic history of the ancient world. Therefore, the author delineates on several pages the Roman economic system before late antiquity and how it developed over the course of several hundred years. The development is explained with the use of and reference to models and economic theories. The author carefully defines (pp. 33–66) slavery and slave society using both his sources and modern research on the subject. Chapter two discusses briefly the topic of the supply and the trade of slaves (pp. 67–99). Chapters three (pp. 100–143) and four (pp. 144–201) cover private households and slavery intended for production and agriculture. In late antiquity especially, slaves were skilled workers even if they worked in domestic production. Much attention is also paid to the subject of slave labor and agricultural estates in the eastern Mediterranean. According to the author: "in the Roman world, commercialization, intensification, and slavery were connected by deep and sinister logic that made control over human chattel the road to riches." (pp. 199–200).

Part two (pp. 203–349) explores the human relationships involved in Roman slavery. Four chapters concentrate on identifying moments of humanity in an abusive system. But there

are several methodological problems and much attention is given to Finley's and Bradley's theoretical framework. Roman society was a unique historical conjuncture, determined by systems of production and reproduction in which the use of slaves was instrumental. The author tests different models and theories and sometimes the focus seems lost. The aim of the chapters in part two seems to be to demonstrate that the type of labor sought from the slave was of fundamental and structural importance. Employment in the production of wheat, wine, oil, livestock, and textiles, in financial management, business agency, personal service, and so on, required different modes of management, different techniques of domination, with thorough effects for the master-slave relationship. Chapter 5 (pp. 219–248) focuses on the master's effort to extract labor from the slave. Chapter 6 (pp. 249–280) explores these dynamics from the slave's perspective. And Chapter 7 (pp. 281–348) considers the role of sexual exploitation in the Roman slave system; this subject has been popular with scholars in recent years.

Part three (pp. 350–495) and its four chapters conclude the book. The last part has the title "the imperial order". The focus of the four chapters is on the institutional foundations of slave status from the late third century to the completion of the *Theodosian Code* in AD 438. The author claims that the investigation is an integral component of a revisionist history of slavery. A slave system so massive and complex was inherently unstable, and it required constant, active regulation. The legal record reflects the constant institutional activity required to govern a slave society. The period covered by these chapters, the long fourth century, is in many ways a discrete phase in the history of Roman law. Chapters 9–12 explore the institutional foundations of slave status in the late empire. Chapter 9 (pp. 367–390) seems to be some sort of prolegomenon which rescripts the *Code of Justinian*. Chapters 10–12 cover the *Theodosian Code*. The roots of late antique legal institutions lay in the third century. The Antonine Constitution extended citizenship to all free inhabitants of the empire, thus altering the scope and jurisdiction of Roman private law. Chapter 10 (pp. 391–423) analyzes the legal rules which handled the sale of children into slavery and the enslavement of exposed infants. Chapter 11 (p. 424–462) explores the late Roman state's more aggressive stance towards the problem of illegitimate children. The author argues that in maintaining a community of honor in late antiquity, the means employed by the state changed, but not the ends it sought. Chapter 12 (pp. 463–493) draws our attention to the shifting institutional framework of manumission. In the reign of Constantine, the church was granted the right to perform formal manumissions and to mediate patron-freemen relations.

Harper ends his book with his conclusions. After the fall: Roman slavery and that of antiquity is the theme of the conclusions. He claims (p. 500ff) that the transition from Roman to post-Roman societies in the west was not a shift from one mode of production to another. The transition was from an unusually complex society to much simpler forms of social and economic organization. The fall of the empire saw a dramatic loss of structural complexity. Roman society, with its exceptional levels of commerce and urbanism, fostered an unusually complex stratification of wealth. The process of social simplification asserted itself at both the top and bottom of society.

In summary, Harper's book covers almost every aspect of Roman slavery in late antiquity. The author presents his evidence in a systematic way, and his references, appendix and bibliography are most informative. Construction of the book is clever and the impressive introductions to the subject lead the reader; however, I would have preferred a conclusion at the end of every chapter.

Kyle Harper's book covers an interesting facet of Roman antiquity by demonstrating the vitality of slavery into the later Roman empire.

Katja Varakas

LESLIE BRUBAKER – JOHN HALDON: *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era c. 680–850: A History*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2011. ISBN 978-0-521-43093-7. XXIV, 918 pp, 70 figures, 7 maps. GBP 110, USD 165.

Review of this notable study has unfortunately been delayed. I received the book only in spring 2016, apparently because the first reviewer had given up the task. I do not wonder at that, for the book is massive and at some points tedious. I actually took up the task believing that it would only be some kind of an update of an earlier work by the same authors, namely *Byzantium in the Era of Iconoclasm: The Sources* (2001).

Haldon and Brubaker are both eminent Byzantinists (Haldon was actually elected as the head of *The International Association of Byzantine Studies* [AIEB] in August 2016). The book reviewed here combines a synthesis of previous studies concerning the era with new original research. Works by Chris Wickham and Michael McCormick have evidently been inspirations. As with these, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era c. 680–850* makes extensive use of archaeological material, especially concerning economy and settlement patterns. This is one of the major strengths of this book. For long, archaeologists neglected Byzantine times, but things have started to change and we begin to see the fruits of this.

The major problem with studying the iconoclast era, when there was hostility towards religious images in Byzantium, is the scarcity of sources and the fact that these were written by those who supported the veneration of holy images (i.e. the iconophiles). In much of modern historical writing, their narrative is more or less accepted. Haldon and Brubaker are, however, among those who are skeptical towards the iconophile tradition. Without straightforwardly dismissing the iconophile accounts, they meticulously examine the available sources and their worth as testimonies, accepting versions fitting with traditional narration only grudgingly, if at all.

The authors describe iconoclast policies as far more moderate than traditionally imagined. This is not a novelty in current research. It has, for example, been noted that the production of images continued and that the destruction of old religious pictures was not complete. The harsh treatment of people holding views contrary to official policy is claimed to have been rare. Haldon and Brubaker note that the number of persons who ardently took part in the controversy was not great. Most people, even in church and among those belonging to the secular elite, continued with their business as usual and those who played a significant part in the controversy may have had other than theological motives.

The writers also deny the claims made in modern historiography that certain groups in Byzantine society, such as monks or soldiers, would, in general, have been particularly iconophile or iconoclast. The evidence for this view is in fact weak, especially after closer examination. Haldon and Brubaker also suggest that proper veneration of holy images in eastern Christianity was really

introduced only as the result of the iconoclast controversy and the iconophiles were innovators in dogmatic matters.

In my opinion, it is probably true that the role of theological controversies in Byzantine history has been exaggerated because the controversies were most important for those who have left writings. In spite of the controversies, the state and society continued to function and the theological issues were not at the center of power struggles.

However, it is difficult to establish the motives of individuals. Haldon and Brubaker, for example, claim that the empress Eirene (regent 780–790, co-ruler 792–797, sole ruler 797–802) was not originally a convinced iconophile but adopted such a policy in the mid-780s in order to improve relations with Christians in western Europe. I am not convinced that this is a better explanation for her actions than the conventional one according to which up to this point she had considered her own position too weak to undertake an iconophile policy. Moreover, after the iconophile Seventh Ecumenical Church Council held in Nicaea in 787, the relations with the West were quickly allowed to worsen. It is also interesting to note that while the authors of *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era c. 680–850* so painstakingly problematize the accounts of Byzantine sources on the iconoclastic controversy, they tend to adopt the narration of those regarding secular events in a fairly straightforward manner.

Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era c. 680–850 is not simply about the iconoclast controversy, but also about the Byzantine state and society of the time. The point of view of the authors is above all that of the state and its institutions rather than of questions such as how people lived and how the army was organized (rather than how it fought). Considering the source material we have at our disposal, this is sensible and it may be too much to ask anything else.

The book emphasizes the importance of patronage and the flexibility in Byzantine administration instead of rigorous structures and well defined institutions. I found it a bit surprising that eunuchs, who played such a strong role in the administration of Byzantium during this era, get relatively little attention in the book.

One of the major questions in Byzantine history is the emergence of the *themata*, the system by which the Byzantine territory was divided into military districts where a *strategos* (general) had supreme military and civilian authority and in which his soldiers held parcels of land. When and how this system was created has been debated and is very difficult to answer due to the scarcity and the problems of our sources. Haldon has been active in this debate and *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era c. 680–850* argues that the period of Nicephoros I (802–811) was the decisive one. Among other options put forward in scholarship is, for example, the proposition that the system was introduced in the latter half of the seventh century when the loss of territories resulted in a serious crisis concerning the upkeep of the army, when the sources (although ones compiled later) use the term *thema*, and when the amount of bronze coinage declined, phenomena which could indicate a change in the way soldiers were maintained.

As mentioned above, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era c. 680–850: A History* is a monumental book. So is naturally its subject as well, but I find that the book could have been written in a more compact manner. This would also have made it more suitable for use as a manual and would perhaps have left room for dealing with even more issues. As the book actually starts from the era preceding official iconoclasm, it might also have been worthwhile to continue the narrative for a

couple of decades after the so-called Triumph of Orthodoxy in order to examine the establishment and strengthening of iconophile doctrines. There are also many long sentences and paragraphs, which affect the reading experience. Nevertheless, it is clear that *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era c. 680–850: A History* has set the point of departure for all future studies of Byzantium in the iconoclastic era. One does not have to agree with everything in this book, but it has to be taken into account.

Juho Wilskman

VERITY PLATT: *Facing the Gods. Epiphany and Representation in Graeco-Roman Art, Literature, and Religion*. Greek Culture in the Roman World Series. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2011. ISBN 978-0-521-86171-7 (hb). XVIII, 482 pp. USD 130.

The subject of this book is divine epiphany and its complex and manifold relation to its representation in Graeco-Roman art and literature. The work developed from Platt's PhD dissertation on the same subject.

The author gives proof of her wide knowledge of the subject and the different approaches with which this can be addressed by analysing the representation of the gods and its reception among viewers or readers over a long period of time, from the archaic period in Greece to the Roman Imperial period. Different means of representation are discussed both in the visual arts and in literature.

Throughout the work, Platt stresses the cognitive tension inherent in the representation of the epiphanic experience in ancient art and literature. This problematic relation derives partly from the fact that in Antiquity images of the gods, or even the images of them evoked in the human mind by literary works, were often equated with the divinity itself. As stressed by Platt, this aspect is of great importance if one considers the difficult mediation in representing a supernatural entity, the godhead, in an anthropomorphic form, whether this might be in the form of a statue or, perhaps even more often, in the literary *ekphrasis* of a work of art portraying a divinity. Moreover, aspects such as the contribution of the skills and imagination of single human agents, such as sculptors or painters, were felt even in ancient sources to be problematic issues when determining the degree of human influence behind the truthfulness of epiphanic experience generated by the contact with Graeco-Roman art and literature.

The book begins with an introductory chapter which analyses an *ekphrasis* by Philostratus in his *Imagines* (2,1–3). The *ekphrasis* here is a description of a painting portraying an ivory statue of Aphrodite being worshipped by a group of maidens. In this chapter, Platt discusses the problematic relation between the actual divinity and its representation through a human agent. In what follows, the book is divided into three parts, following a chronological pattern, and these are then further subdivided into chapters concerned with different aspects of the representation of the gods. The first part focuses on the Archaic and Hellenistic periods in Greece. The second part concentrates on the period of the Second Sophistic. The third part is concerned with the representation of epiphanies on Roman sarcophagi of the 2nd–3rd century. CE.

In the first part of the work, comprising chapters 1–4, Platt makes several important and innovative observations concerning epiphanic representations in Greek art and literature from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period. Particularly interesting is her description of the different responses which different sculptural and representational means created in the viewer when faced with statues of the divinities. By pointing out that aniconic or archaic *xoana* conveyed a more immediate epiphanic value, Platt successfully uncovers the difficulties connected with rendering the most profound essence of divinity through the naturalism of the statuary of the Classical period, which was much affected by the increasing technical capabilities of sculptors. Concerning the Hellenistic period, Platt provides examples from poetry from a wide range of authors, from Callimachus to Apollonius of Rhodes, including also the ekphrastic epigrams of the *Greek Anthology*. She makes an important point in reminding us that the poetry of the Hellenistic period was not, or was not only, a product of the erudition of the scholars of the Hellenistic courts, but that it also contained religious elements when dealing with the representation of divinity in literature.

The second part of the book, including chapters 5–7, is dedicated to the different aspects of the encounters between human and divine which appear in the writings of various authors of the Second Sophistic. The approach taken by the author towards the Second Sophistic is refreshing and welcome, since it incidentally shows the diversification and depth of the interests and agendas delivered to us by the authors of that period concerning the encounter with the gods, which was not confined only to a nostalgic antiquarianism. Platt thus illustrates how, for example, Pausanias' travel through Greece is not only a journey among the lands of Hellas and its histories and traditions but also a means of demonstrating how "the sacred landscape of Greece is not simply a catalogue of monuments, but a living religious system that (...) is safeguarded by the very powers it celebrates" (p. 219), and how the Hellenic land was dotted with epiphanic experiences in the form of temples, statues, places of cult, old myths and tradition related to the single divine interventions in human affairs. Interesting, too, is the distinction between the believer's view of an oneiric epiphany of gods in Aelius Aristides' *Sacred Tales*, and the more mantic and semiological approach taken towards the apparition of divinities in dreams by Apollodorus of Daldis in the *Oneirocritica*.

In the third part, concerned with the representation of divinities on Roman sarcophagi of 2nd–3rd century CE, Platt interestingly shows that in the 3rd century the allegorizing of the mythological themes portrayed on the surface of the sarcophagi, or even the absence of portraits of the gods, signals the shift towards the representational modes of Late Antique art later also exploited by Christian art.

Platt tackles the representation of the gods in Graeco-Roman art and literature in an impressive fashion, as the book offers innovative theories and groundbreaking insights concerning this complex matter. The author manages this by approaching the subject from different angles and by applying her wide knowledge of ancient literature, art history and Graeco-Roman religion.

The quality of this volume tends to overshadow the fact that at places the language of the author is so conceptual that it might be somewhat forbidding for readers less familiar with the subject. Despite this, Verity Platt's book can be considered a useful reference work in the study of this subject. Its multidisciplinary approach can awaken the interest of the art historian as well as the scholar interested in ancient literature. It is safe to state that this work is a must for those studying this topic.

FLORIAN STEGER: *Asklepios. Medizin und Kult*. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2016. ISBN 978-3-515-11447-9. 162 S. EUR 26 (pb).

Greek medicine has often dominated discourses on healing in antiquity but this book aims to show that Asclepiadic medicine in the Roman imperial period was one of the most readily available sources of healing for people in antiquity. This work is a revised version of an earlier book that was published in 2004, which also focused on Asclepiadic medicine, but now expanded sections on the cult of Glykon as well as Aelius Aristides' orations have been added.

This book is divided into four chapters, the first of which is an introduction. This provides a brief summary of the background of the cult, lists relevant scholarship, and also lays out the aims of the book. Steger argues that too much attention has been given in current scholarship to the religious and mythological aspects of the cult of Asclepius and that the medical features are too often overlooked and understudied. He seeks to address this issue in his work, which aims to focus predominantly on these medical aspects.

The second and third chapters form the main body of this book, with the second focusing on the medical context of Asclepiadic medicine. The healing options, both sacred and secular, that were available to people in Rome are discussed here. The chapter provides a solid overview of the medical gods whose cult was present in Rome but also of the medical schools that practised medicine there. It then moves on to examine the various medical writers who had an important effect on our understanding of ancient medicine such as Galen and Scribonius Largus.

The third chapter looks at the myths and healing of Asclepius. It starts by examining the earliest mentions of Asclepius in the Iliad and gives a brief overview of other gods who had a healing function. Various cult foundations are examined here and an overview of how cults of Asclepius were disseminated across the Roman world is given. Up to section III.3, literary sources have been used as the main source of evidence, but now Steger's focus turns to other source materials such as the Epidaurian *iamata* and anatomical ex-votos. However, in section III.4 Steger's focus returns to literary sources, namely Aelius Aristides' *Hieroi Logoi* and how these demonstrate medical practices at the Pergamene sanctuary, such as the use of bathing, dietary requirements, medications, and salves. The same source analysis is then performed on two inscriptions which were erected by two near-contemporaries of Aristides called Iulius Apelles and Aelius Theon and which also show such a prescription of medications and dietary requirements. The final chapter presents a summary of what has been discussed in the previous chapters.

This work provides a good survey of ancient medicine, especially on the ancient medical schools, and the strongest parts of this book are those which focus on ancient Roman medical practice. The discussion concerning important medical writers such as Galen and Celsus is also one of the book's more compelling points. For the most part, the arguments laid out here are supported by a reasonably comprehensive bibliography, though it should be noted that a number of key texts are absent. This mainly affects some of the subsections of the work that could have benefitted from greater detail and depth on the discussed subject, which is one of the main weaknesses of the work. Steger tries to be as inclusive as possible and cover all aspects of ancient medicine and its relationship to the cult of Asclepius. This sometimes leads to somewhat cursory sections, for example II.2 which looks at Babylonian and Egyptian influences on the cult. The discussion of the latter would have greatly benefitted from including A. Łajtar (2006) *Deir El-Bahari in the Hellenistic and Roman*

Periods. This cursory treatment is more often a problem in discussing religious and cultic elements of the cult, whereas medical sections (see II.3) are better.

It also seems that Steger's purpose of directly addressing the medical aspects of the cult over the religious and mythical ones is slightly undone by the fact that he spends considerable time discussing Asclepius' origins as well as the various cult foundations. There does not appear to have been such a strict division between these various aspects of the cult in antiquity, and for modern scholars it is difficult to examine solely one such aspect of the cult when they are clearly connected at a fundamental level. Without this strict division, the book works very well in providing an introduction to the cult of Asclepius as well as the medical history of the period.

The chapters are clearly laid out and the work has obviously been carefully researched. Its arguments are underpinned by a strong research base, making this book a good introduction to the medical practices which were undertaken within the cult as well as providing information about the historical backgrounds of various cults, for example at Epidaurus, Cos, and Pergamum. As such, the work will provide a solid introduction to both the cult of Asclepius and medical practices in antiquity.

Ghislaine van der Ploeg

JEAN MACINTOSH TURFA: *Divining the Etruscan World. The Brontoscopic Calendar and Religious Practice.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2012. ISBN 978-1-107-00907-3. XIII, 408 pp. GBP 65, USD 110.

J. M. Turfa has, with the *Brontoscopic Calendar* as her starting point, written a valuable book that collects most of our knowledge about the life, beliefs and culture of the Etruscans.

The *Calendar* is preserved in the sixth-century book *De ostentis* by Johannes Lydus. Lydus offers a "word for word" Greek translation of the work by the Roman Figulus from the sayings of Tages. At the end of the translation, Lydus states: "This brontoscopic almanac Nigidius claimed was not universal, but was only for Rome." Hence, the first translator, from Etruscan into Latin, was P. Nigidius Figulus, the contemporary and friend of Cicero. In her introduction, the author presents what we know about Tages, Nigidius Figulus and Johannes Lydus, about parallel sources on Etruscan religion, as well as about the Roman interest in Etruscan divination and the transmission of the text.

The *Calendar*, in modern printing 13 pages, has 360 daily entries, from June to May, all starting "If it thunders", and then giving the soothsaying, like "the people will be of marvelously good cheer" (October, 23), or "it threatens for the people, bad conditions and spotted diseases" (the day before, October, 22). The author gives the Greek text and the English translation (published before in N. Thomson de Grummond – E. Simon (eds.), *The Religion of the Etruscans*, Austin 2006).

In the thematic analysis of the *Calendar*, the author has the opportunity to present various sides of the Etruscan life and culture, as far as the predictions touch them. She has arranged the discussion under the themes "weather, fauna, agriculture, pests", "health and disease", and "society", but the scope is clearly wider and presents the author's many-sided erudition and skills. There is not much new, but her knowledge is up-to-date. The few errors I have noted concern Etruscan epigraphy

and names; e.g., the bilingual inscription of Pesaro in p. 48: why *cafates*, but *Lr.*; *trutnvt*, not *trvtnvt*; *l(a)r(is) l(a)r(isal)*, not *l[a]r[th] l[a]r[is]*.

The author does, however, present much that is new in her search for Mesopotamian influences and Near Eastern predecessors of the *Calendar*. Even though exactly the same format is not found, Turfa convinces the reader that the roots of Etruscan brontoscopy, and even more those of the Etruscan *haruspicina*, are in the east.

The underlying hypothesis of the author is that the original Etruscan text that Nigidius Figulus translated was composed – and received a written form – "early in the seventh century BC, if not slightly before". Hence, it would have been among the first (written) literary works known to us from antiquity. She uses much of her analyses to prove that this is not only possible, but also likely. Somehow, however, I am not convinced. In this case, I think that a better method would have been to study which phase of the Etruscan history, as we know it, best corresponds to the picture reflected in the predictions of the *Calendar*. I also consider it unlikely that an old text of *disciplina Etrusca*, if that was the origins of the *Calendar*, would have remained unchanged, delivered from generation to generation through six or seven centuries. If the original text was so old, there have probably been later layers and local variants – and Nigidius Figulus himself emphasizes that this version only concerned Rome.

Some reasons for my scepticism are that even though the title of Lydus' translation tells us that the calendar is arranged according to the lunar month, it actually uses a calendar with twelve months, each of 30 days. Turfa considers that this is in accordance with the calendar renewal attributed to Numa Pompilius, but most scholars argue that the introduction of January and February is not earlier than the end of the seventh century.

One of the most common predictions of the *Calendar* deals with social unrest, scattered throughout the year. For instance, slave revolt is the consequence of a thunder in January 7, as it is in January 15 as well as January 25. There have naturally been slaves in the Etruria of the Orientalizing period, but, in my view, such a threat of slave revolts better corresponds the conditions in the Etruscan society around 300 B.C., or possibly 500 B.C.

The work of Jean MacIntosh Turfa is fundamental for our knowledge of the Etruscan divination and its important source, the *Brontoscopic Calendar*, but it also has a wider perspective for all readers interested in the Etruscan culture.

Jorma Kaimio

CAROLINE VOUT: *The Hills of Rome. Signature of an Eternal City*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2012. ISBN 978-1-107-02597-4. XVII, 284 pp. GBP 60, USD 99.

"Can Queen Victoria eat cold apple pie?" The initials of the names of the iconic Seven Hills of Rome are hidden in that mnemonic aid: Capitolinus, Quirinalis, Viminalis, Esquilinus, Caelius, Aventinus, and Palatinus. The list is familiar to classical scholars, but the members of that prestigious list have varied over time as can be seen in Caroline Vout's examination of how the myth of the seven hills was born and how it developed and changed over time – how did Rome become a city of seven hills? The materials Vout uses are literature from ancient times to the modern period and images depicting

different aspects of Rome – the latter are usually fairly recent as there are very few ancient images of cities, even of Rome.

The book consists of seven (naturally!) chapters, which include a brief introduction outlining the scope of the study. Chapter 2 explores the birth and development of the concept of seven hills chronologically from the Roman Republican Era to the twentieth century while the next chapter considers the importance and significance of the number seven. In Chapter 4, the main topic is how the image of the seven hills was used in literature during the Roman Empire from the height of the empire to its fall in Late Antiquity. The next chapter, on representations of the seven hills, concentrates on Renaissance and later images due to the lack of earlier materials. Chapter 6 continues mainly with images old and new as it discusses viewing Rome and its hills from a variety of locations – literary descriptions are also considered in many instances. The last chapter is a fairly brief summary, also offering some concluding ideas. The text and images work well together and although some of the black and white images are hard to read, the most important ones have been reproduced in color making them more easily accessible.

Vout traces the birth of the myth to late Republican and/or Augustan times, although the seven hills could already have been a recognized concept in earlier times. It seems to have been an "invented tradition", something that tries to create a fictitious connection with a historic past that does not exist in reality. Varro writes of *Septimontium* as the name of the place where Rome was established in a way that suggests he is transmitting a "living memory" from the earliest phases preceding the establishment of the current city. The iconic collection of the seven hills referred to by Queen Victoria and apple pie is also a later feature and the list has changed to also include the hills on the right bank of the Tiber, most importantly the Janiculum. Seven was established as a significant number by a long tradition before the first century BCE when Varro was active – all sorts of canons of seven were known (for example, the seven sages or the seven wonders of the world) and their membership was also often a contested matter. The image of the hills of Rome was used by Roman poets and authors to emphasize the power of Rome and its empire in its glory – the heights of hills are a prominent image used particularly in Flavian poetry. Later, during the troubled times of Late Antiquity, the hills and the population living on and around them become a problem. The importance of the hills remained even though Rome lost its position as a capital of the empire.

It is also interesting to note that the hills of Rome have rarely been personified in the same way as many other natural and even man-made geographical entities such as mountains, rivers, and provinces were. The concept of the seven hills was perhaps sometimes represented by seven boulders, but this was not a very widespread convention. During the Renaissance and later periods, the changed appearance of the lofty hills described in ancient literature caused problems – their height was diminished by centuries of accumulated soil and debris between them – and visual reconstructions of what was visible in the past were made. Panoramic views became fashionable in the 18th century and Rome with its ruins was an optimal topic for Grand Tour travelers and many others. The hills, particularly perhaps the Janiculum and Capitolinus afforded some of the most popular views over the city and its whole history.

The concrete physical setting of the hills is not of great importance in this discussion of literature and artistic reproductions, but it is, after all, also an active agent in the formation of the myth. The view from the Janiculum indeed covers the entire city and reaches all the way to the Alban Hills and the first slopes of the Apennine mountain range lining the plateau surrounding the city. The

connection to the Latin area is also a visual one. Looking at Rome and beyond towards the west is not as easy because the Janiculum and Monte Mario block the view in that direction.

One also wonders why the hills were chosen as the main attribute of Rome. The river Tiber is an equally important part of the city and it even received a personification of its own. The importance of heights and their connection with temples of gods in central Italy is also something that appears in Roman literature often and could perhaps have been discussed more prominently. Vout's book is a fascinating analysis of what is today still perceived as the essence of Rome, but also evokes other questions concerning all the attributes of the Eternal City.

Eeva-Maria Viitanen

TIMOTHY J. MOORE: *Music in Roman Comedy*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2012. ISBN 978-1-107-00648-5. XVI, 452 pp. EUR 65, USD 110.

It does not appear an easy task to write an entire book about the music in Roman comedy, as not a single fragment of this music has been preserved to our times. Nor does it make the endeavour seem any more feasible when we consider that Roman literature offers scarcely any direct information about the characteristics of music in Roman comedy. Thus, Timothy J. Moore's (Professor of Classics and Comparative Literature at the University of Texas, Austin) latest contribution to the field is certainly of great interest.

In his book, the author focuses on the plays of two masters of *fabula palliata*, Plautus and Terence, which is, naturally, rather a necessity than the author's own choice because there are no extant plays from other writers of Roman comedy. As the actual musical compositions of their plays are not known, the author concentrates primarily on the nature and effect of music in Roman comedy. He sheds some more light on his aims by stating that he hopes in his book "to bring to life some part of Roman comedy's lost music, and to evaluate what that music contributed to the plays" (p. 3).

The bits and pieces of information that the author has utilized in his attempt to bring alive the musical essence of comedy in the third and second century BC come mainly from ancient authors (evidence from the plays of Plautus and Terence themselves, *didascaliae* [i.e. production notices that are included in the manuscripts of two of Plautus' and five of Terence's plays], Donatus, Diomedes, Cicero, Horace, and Greek sources), extant melodies from the Greco-Roman world, manuscript notation (not the actual musical one, but, e.g., the instances where it is indicated in the manuscripts that the text passage in question is performed with musical accompaniment), archaeological and epigraphical evidence (e.g., artistic portrayals of theatrical performances and inscriptions with references to Roman musical performers), and comparative evidence from other musical and theatrical traditions.

The bulk of the book is dedicated to analysis of metrical and rhythmical substance in Roman comedies. The hypothesis is that a metrical change in the text is also a musical one, and thus it is possible to estimate from the metrical structure what kind of musical accompaniment was involved in each passage. The author contemplates the musical rhythm in Plautus' and Terence's plays by focusing on how they arranged verses and variation within the verses. He also discusses, e.g., the musical effect that arises from the alternation between musical and non-musical parts of plays. The

sections that did not involve musical accompaniment can easily be identified by means of metrics because the verses written in iambic senarius were almost always unaccompanied. Moreover, the author takes a closer look at polymetric songs, in which there is a frequent change of meter, and classifies six different types of polymetric passages. He has chosen two plays, Plautus' *Pseudolus* and Terence's *Adelphoe*, as the objects of his more thorough examination on musical structures and the workings of individual passages and meters.

Besides the metrical analysis, the author examines some essential themes that shed more light on the musical accompaniment and performance practices in Roman comedy. The primal instrument used for accompaniment in theatrical performances, the *tibia* (i.e. *aulos*), and its players are honoured with a chapter devoted to, e.g., various types of *tibiae* and their tunings, playing styles, and tone. Two chapters are dedicated to the actor's role in the music of the plays. They concentrate on vocal contributions and dancing (including gestures), and are surely illustrative as they bring the essence of Roman comedy's performance practice to life. Moreover, the author speculates about the possible characteristics of melodies and the rhythm provided by actors and instrumentalists.

In general, it is admirable how much information the author has succeeded in dredging up about the role of music in Roman comedy when only a few direct references are available. He definitely refrains from suggesting overblown theories, but, still, it seems that on some occasions he is even overly sceptical about the material offered by Greek and Roman sources. Thus, he ignores some interesting topics that would certainly have given a more vivid impression about the possible musical effects that could have been used in Roman comedy. For example, it would have been relevant to speculate on the possible role of different musical modes in plays because their emotional effects still have an essential role in modern theatrical plays, movies, etc. as they are used for setting moods and atmospheres. The reason why the author leaves aside the possible utilization of musical modes is evident from his disparaging comment concerning the "[...] naïve assumptions about the ethical effects of musical patterns" (p. 171). While he also discards the ancient theories about metrical ethos, he nevertheless approves of (and makes his own contribution to) modern interpretations that point out that certain kind of meters were conventionally used for expressing certain kinds of emotional contexts (e.g., iambic septenarius is associated with love [p. 185], anapaests are used in excited moments [p. 201], etc.; see also pp. 171–209). However, if we take into account that nowadays even those people without proper musical education are familiar with the "ethical characters" of the two main musical scales of modern western music (i.e. the minor scale has a sad character whereas the major sounds happy), it feels justified to have a closer look at the ancient *ethos*-theory as well. Moreover, sometimes the author's dismissive attitude towards the *ethos*-theory makes some of his conclusions inadequate. For example, this occurs in the passage where he deals with the famous anecdote about the drunken adolescent of Taormina who was incited by the *aulos* playing (in Phrygian *harmonia* as mentioned in Boeth. *Mus.* 1,1,184–185; see also Sex. Emp. *Adv. Math.* 6,7; Mart. Cap. 9,926; Quint. *Inst.* 1,10,32) and was calmed down when the *auletes* – following the advice of Pythagoras – started to play in another mode (probably in Dorian, which was considered a calming *harmonia*). It seems evident that the whole story is about the ethical effects of musical modes (and possibly also meters [see, e.g., Boeth. *Mus.* 1,1,184–185]), but still the author comes to the simple conclusion that "[t]he same *aulos* thus both excites and calms" (p. 55). It is true that it is possible to play the same *aulos* in both a calming and exciting manner, but the instrument could as well have been, e.g., a *lyra*, because in this story the weight is clearly put on the modes used, not on

the instrument. The author's decision that the use of the emotional effects of *harmoniai* in Roman comedy can be completely put aside could, of course, be justified considering the fact that we have not a single extant document from antiquity that could tell us about the subject. However, we do have information about the use of *harmoniai* in Greek drama that justifies us in suggesting that it was strictly defined, e.g., which *harmoniai* were suitable for each context of the play (e.g., Ps.-Ar. *Pr.* 19,48). This makes it reasonable to argue that the effects of *harmoniai* could also have been used in comedy because the spectators were presumably familiar with their use in tragedy (at least by habit). Thus, e.g., some jokingly played, deeply emotional melody (e.g., in Mixolydian *harmonia*; see Ps.-Plu. *Mus.* 16) could possibly have increased the comic effect when some tragic scene was parodied (compare with the use of crotchets for producing a comic effect when tragic heroines were parodied [p. 195]).

Along with the author's unconditional rejection of *ethos*-theory, his other astonishing choice is to ignore the fragment of Menander's play *Perikeiromene* [*P. Oxy.* 3705] that includes musical notation. It certainly would have been relevant material for considering the melodies of Plautus' comedies because he was deeply inspired by Menander's plays. However, it is true that there is great controversy over whether these four melody lines, which the fragment in question includes, were supposed to be sung or were rather to illustrate the different ways the actor could speak the same line (796) [See Pöhlmann – West, *Documents of Ancient Greek Music: The Extant Melodies and Fragments* (2001) 184–5]. Despite the uncertainty concerning its interpretation, the examination of the fragment definitely would have been an interesting topic to include in the book.

All in all, *Music in Roman Comedy* is undeniably an engrossing contribution for the study of ancient Roman theatre and Latin literature (especially metrics). Although this book does not bring back to life the actual music of Roman comedy, it still offers some inspiring points of view about the possible use of music in plays, and thus will also certainly be useful to those who are working with modern adaptations of ancient plays.

Kimmo Kovanen

JENNIFER TRIMBLE: *Women and Visual Replication in Roman Imperial Art and Culture*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2011. ISBN 978-0-521-82515-3. XI, 486 pp. GBP 75, USD 125.

As a statue type, the so-called Large Herculaneum Woman (LHW) was common in particular in the second century CE and was widely distributed in the Roman Empire. In this book, Jennifer Trimble explores the origins of this statue type, its production and replication process. Until recently, it has been supposed that the more important the Greek original was, the more Roman replicas of it were produced. Consequently, the striking sameness of the Roman statues has supported the idea of the importance of the original Greek statue. In her well-structured study, Trimble shows that this was not true in the case of the LHW.

The ideas of the original and the replica and their significance in ancient culture are explored in chapter one. Furthermore, Trimble analyses the research tradition, which has come to the conclusion that Roman art consisted of almost nothing but replicating Greek originals. In contrast to

this old viewpoint, Trimble suggests that the relationship between Greek and Roman art is a part of the analysis rather than a starting point of the research. The main purpose of her study is to explore the significance of the LHW statue type for its makers, including quarrymen, sculptors, and other artisans, as well as for customers, patrons, and the general audience.

In chapter two, Trimble analyses the neglected question of whether the marble trade and the production conditions explain the mass production of the LHW statue type. From her discussion, it becomes evident that the large production volume and the fact that the marble was prefabricated before it was shipped from the quarries distinguished Roman statue production from other Mediterranean cultures. Trimble argues convincingly that the LHW was a statue type produced for several purposes.

As a logical continuation, in chapter three Trimble follows the route of the statues after they left the quarries. Regarding this phase, she discusses the finishing process of the statues in the workshops, as well as the infrastructure that enabled the widespread replication of the statues. Favourable conditions explain why mass production was possible, and why the statues spread throughout the empire. However, the popularity of the statue type in certain areas of the empire cannot be explained merely by studying the production factors. This is why Trimble extends her study to the social meaning of the statues (in chapter four). Although, there were individual features in the statues, and the monuments were dedicated for different reasons, the same social status and shared values connected the honoured persons. In chapter five, Trimble extends her discussion to the space and the surroundings of the statues. Regarding this theme, the relationship between honoured persons, patrons, and their audiences are at the centre of the discussion. Questions regarding the power and the manifestations of the personal influence of the patrons become the focus of the discussion.

In chapter six, Trimble discusses the differences occurring when studying the LHW statues found outside the centres. In doing this, Trimble goes deeper into the topics of the sameness and the replication processes in art and culture.

While chapters 2–5 focus on discussing the reasons behind the increasing number of statue replicas during the early second century, the final chapter explores the reasons why the LHW statue type fell into disuse from the early third century onwards.

Although the timespan of the history and the production of the LHW statue type covers several centuries, Trimble succeeds in structuring her study in a coherent manner. Pictures/figures, maps, and tables are an essential part of the study. All the known statues of the LHW type are listed in the catalogue, which is elaborately structured. As Trimble points out, originally the finished statues were not marble white as they appear to us today but were painted with variable, vibrant colours, or pattern motifs. Perhaps a reconstruction of a painted and coloured statue would have been a nice addition.

Trimble's study offers an excellent opportunity to take a closer look at an aspect of Roman visual culture and consumption of art. In particular, the practices employed in honouring Roman women are at the centre of her research. Besides this main theme, Trimble succeeds in giving a voice to a number of people of the past, and the work and the contribution of quarrymen, sculptors, patrons, and the audience are noted throughout the study.

Griechische Heiligtümer als Erinnerungsorte. Von der Archais bis in den Hellenismus. Erträge einer internationaler Tagung in Münster, 20.–21. Januar 2006. Herausgegeben von MATTHIAS HAAKE – MICHAEL JUNG. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2011. ISBN 978-3-515-09875-5. 163 S, 10 s/w Abb. EUR 37.

I contributi pubblicati nel presente libro presentano i risultati di un convegno del 2006 dedicato ad analizzare i santuari greci, ricchi di miti, dediche e rituali, come *lieux de mémoire* adatti a costruire identità di gruppo attraverso varie forme di elaborazione e utilizzo della memoria collettiva del passato.

Le osservazioni di carattere metodologico fornite da Michael Jung ("Methodisches: Heiligtümer und *lieux de mémoire*") sono seguite da sette capitoli. Eccone un riassunto selettivo:

Anne Jacquemin ("Le sanctuaire de Delphes comme lieu de mémoire") dimostra, tra tante altre cose, che i monumenti votivi dedicati a Delfi in commemorazione di battaglie sono diventati luoghi di memoria soprattutto nel periodo romano.

Kai Trampedach ("Götterzeichen im Heiligtum: das Beispiel Delphi") discute alcuni monumenti ateniesi e spartani, che avevano sofferto danni rispettivamente prima della spedizione siciliana del 415 a.C. e prima della battaglia di Leuttra del 371 a.C. Il danneggiamento di questi monumenti, che oltre a manifestare i segni della presenza divina a Delfi avevano anche indicato l'egemonia dei rispettivi dedicanti, avrebbe significato la fine del dominio di questi.

Elizabeth R. Gebhard ("Poseidon on the Isthmus: Between Macedon and Rome, 198–196 B.C.") illustra le memorie fisiche che dovevano contestualizzare la proclamazione di libertà da parte di Tito Flaminio nello stadio istmico nel 196 a.C.

Klaus Freitag ("Olympia als 'Erinnerungsort' in hellenistischer Zeit") sottolinea il fatto che le attività tanto cultiche quanto agonali svolte a Olimpia dovettero continuare senza rottura anche attraverso tutta l'età ellenistica, naturalmente in nuovi contesti politico-culturali.

Michael Jung ("Wanderer, kommst du nach Sparta... Die Bestattung der Perserkämpfer Leonidas und Pausanias im Heiligtum der Athena Chalkioikos") tratta delle sepolture di due notabili spartani. Pausania, prima interrato presso il Kaiadas, sarebbe stato più tardi sepolto nel (o nei pressi del) santuario di Atena Chalkioikos, secondo le istruzioni fornite dall'oracolo di Delfi, possibilmente in seguito al terremoto del 461 a.C. Anche il corpo di Leonida fu sepolto due volte, prima alle Termopili, poi a Sparta. Tale risistemazione sarebbe dovuta alla competizione tra Sparta e Atene circa le memorie della loro partecipazione alla vittoria sui Persiani. Nel caso di Leonida, il santuario di Atena sarebbe divenuto un luogo di memoria per ricordare le guerre persiane.

Gli ultimi due contributi sono dedicati a iscrizioni in contesti sacri. Matthias Haake ("Antigonos II. Gonatas und der Nemesistempel in Rhamnous. Zur Semantik göttlicher Ehren für einen hellenistischen König an einem athenischen 'lieu de mémoire'"), concentrando su un decreto di Ramnunte in onore di Antigonos Gonatas, osserva che il santuario attico di Nemesis veniva spesso considerato un *lieu de mémoire* per ricordare le note confrontazioni tra i Greci e i barbari. Gli onori offerti per Gonatas avrebbero commemorato la sua vittoria sui Galati a Lisimachia nel 277 a.C. – Su un simile ruolo assunto dal santuario di Ramnunte in tempi posteriori, vd. M. Kajava, "Livia and Nemesis", *Arctos* 34 (2000) 39–61, *passim*.

Renaud Gagné ("Une carte de mémoires: l'épigramme de Salmacis") presenta una versione elaborata di un suo articolo su un'epigrafe rinvenuta a Bodrum ("What is The Pride of Halicarnas-

sus", *ClAnt* 25 [2006] 1–33 = *SEG* LVI 1192). L'autore fa notare che tutti i miti di fondazione ricordati nell'epigramma presentano un'*aition* per un rituale locale. Il testo inoltre si occupa di diverse tradizioni concorrenti della storia etnica di Alicarnasso.

Insomma, un'utile collezione di articoli su un tema peraltro trattato in diverse pubblicazioni nel passato. Tuttavia, ci si aspettava più coerenza tra i singoli contributi, almeno una conclusione generale sarebbe stata auspicabile. Manca inoltre un qualsiasi indice.

Mika Kajava

SVEN GÜNTHER: "*Vectigalia nervos esse rei publicae*". *Die indirekten Steuern in der Römischen Kaiserzeit von Augustus bis Diokletian*. Philippika 26. Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2008. ISBN 978-3-447-05845-2. IX, 224 S. EUR 48.

Sven Günther's monograph, based on his PhD thesis, discusses the various indirect taxes of the Roman Empire. Günther summarizes the ancient evidence and research tradition in a presentation that covers all aspects of the indirect taxes to the extent that the often meagre evidence allows. The book serves well as an introduction to the evidence and discussions regarding these taxes, but it is highly specialized and as such, its use as an introductory book to Roman taxation is rather limited. The ideal reader already knows about the development of the imperial administration and needs a more detailed analysis of the workings of the indirect tax system; for others, the use of legal and administrative terminology will be a challenge.

Günther begins the book with an introduction to the sources and the research tradition, and ends the first chapter with a useful discussion on what the Romans considered to be indirect taxes. One would like to know, however, how the Roman notion of indirect taxation differs from our own today, and what precisely the concept of "*vectigal*" entails. As might be expected, the use of the word in ancient sources is not wholly consistent but depends on the context, thus contextualizing *vectigalia* in the light of other forms of taxation is required. The rest of the book is structured according to the main taxes discussed, with each tax discussed from four different viewpoints: the history and development of the tax; the administration of the tax; collection; and the later development of the tax.

The first chapter, on inheritance tax (*vicesima hereditatum*), is by far the longest in the book. The evidence regarding this tax is more extensive, and the resulting discussions, especially on the development of this particular tax, are detailed and rather complicated. In addition, the administration and collection of this tax shares many features that are relevant in the case of other taxes. This discussion is included in this chapter, and especially the practice of tax farming is fully covered. The later chapters see similar discussions on manumission tax (*vicesima libertatis vel manumissionum*), sales tax (*centesima rerum venalium*) and tax on the sale of slaves (*quinta et vicesima venalium mancipiorum*). In chapter six, Günther discusses the evidence for other indirect taxes in the tax measures of Caligula and Vespasian, which are known only in name and little else. It is telling that perhaps the most famous tax of the Roman world, the *urinae vectigal*, is only discussed in ten lines of main text and two detailed footnotes. The conclusion is that little is known about this tax, not even whether it was direct or indirect.

Günther's book is descriptive in nature. He has collected a large amount of original evidence, although the extent of the collection process remains somewhat vague. Instead, he presents the research tradition and the main interpretative schemes based on this tradition, and is very careful when presenting new interpretations of the evidence. The work contains a great deal of information on the workings of the administration, but very few indicators as to why this information might be relevant. The most interesting discussions are on the role of private contractors in tax farming, where the evidence for private activity survives from much later than the traditionally assumed 1st century AD.

This is a book by a specialist for specialist readers, and as such, it will be a useful addition to anyone's library working with the history of Roman taxation and administration. Economic historians will probably not find much of interest here, though the discussions on tax collectors might be of interest for some social historians. The only problem the reviewer can find with the book is the slightly unclear discussion of the evidence used, or to put it bluntly, whether the collection of cited original sources is the result of the systematic reading of certain source collections or not.

Harri Kiiskinen

CONSTANTINA KATSARI: *The Roman Monetary System: The Eastern Provinces from the First to the Third Century AD*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2011. ISBN 978-0-521-76946-4. X, 304 pp. GBP 67.

Constantina Katsari's book *The Roman Monetary System: The Eastern Provinces from the First to the Third Century AD* aims to reconstruct the workings of the Roman monetary system from the Augustan reforms to the monetary crises of the third century. The author uses extensive numismatic evidence based on her own work with several hoards and museum collections and integrates this evidence with other recent research on the monetary and economic history of the Roman Empire, along with some comparative evidence from China and the Mughal empire, as has become the fashion in the field of Roman economic history studies. The book offers many illuminating points, but is not wholly successful in the construction of its argument nor the new theory of money in Roman world that Katsari calls Fiscal Metallism.

The author constructs her argument around different interlocking themes, handled in separate chapters. The argumentation of the book is strangely constrained as the author seems to withhold information and discussion where it would be natural to bring them up, only to present them later in other contexts. The chapters include several repetitions, and similar arguments, and even identical sentences are brought up in different places in a way that suggests the manuscript was not quite finished, making the reader wonder if anyone actually ever read the manuscript thoroughly.

This is a pity, for there is no question about the author's knowledge of the subject matter nor of her understanding of the monetary system of the Roman Empire. It is evident that she does have a strong view of its functioning, but the book is just not able to deliver it concisely and clearly.

It does not pay to review the book chapter by chapter, for the individual chapters – although their names differ – seem to address more or less the same question, with a slightly different emphasis, resulting in the reader being somewhat at loss why the same discussions is taken up again

and again. For example, the question of the possible effects the army had on the amount of local small denomination bronze coinage is brought up several times. In some cases the army is seen as a promoter of local minting, in other cases as the origin of the coinage itself; in some cases its role is seen as very small, in other cases quite large. The practice of minting, moreover, is discussed in several places in the book, and it is hard to see what is the author's view on the role of local institutions in ensuring the supply of coinage in relation to state policies, as the discussion is touched upon in several places, but never fully articulated.

Another example is the discussion on the debasement of silver currencies, which is one of the themes that runs throughout the book. Extensive discussion on how the intrinsic value of the silver coin began to differ from the face value, which by state decree was connected with the value of gold coin, permeates the whole book, usually in the traditional context of economic crises. However, the concept of fiduciary money, the idea that there is money that by definition has its value in a state guarantee rather than the bullion value of the precious metal used in making the coin, only appears at the end of the book. Also, in chapter four, the author discusses the Quantity Theory of Money in what appears to be the core of the book and the part that is most based on the author's original work. The theory links first the amount of money in circulation, second the velocity of money, third the level of prices, and fourth the number of transactions. With several histograms based on a large amount of numismatic evidence, the author tries to assess the validity of this theory in the Roman context. Sadly, the discussion on points two, three and four of the theory are missing, as well as the whole phenomenon of credit and fractional reserve banking, the possibility of which the author admits in a later chapter but completely neglects here, in precisely the case where the amount of money in circulation is the absolute core of the argument.

Despite these critical words, the book is not without its merits. The author knows her field well, and the amount of information in the book is considerable, so anyone interested in the monetary system of the Roman Empire is bound to learn a great deal from reading this book. The author is well versed in recent research and cites relevant works often, in some cases perhaps with too much attention to what others have said and too little to what is her own stand on the matter, and especially, what effect the often incompatible interpretations have on her own argument.

The slightly unfinished impression is strengthened when one notices that, for example, the works of Chris Howgego, of which at least two are cited in the book, are missing from the bibliography.

Harri Kiiskinen

MANUEL FLECKER: *Römische Gladiatorenbilder. Studien zu den Gladiatorenreliefs der späten Republik und der Kaiserzeit aus Italien*. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Kommission zur Erforschung des antiken Städtewesens. Studien zur antiken Stadt 15. Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden 2015. ISBN 978-3-95490-097-8. 309 S. EUR 98.

Das Gladiatorenwesen erfreut sich eines zunehmenden Interesses. Besonders in der epigraphischen Forschung hat man mit der Publikation der Serie *Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell'Occidente romano* große Fortschritte erzielt. Aber auch seitens der Archäologie sind wichtige Beiträge erschienen. Der

Verfasser hat mit dem vorliegenden Werk, das aus einer Augsburger Dissertation hervorgegangen ist, eine gelungene Studie zu den Gladiatorenreliefs hervorgebracht. Die in großer Zahl aus Italien erhaltenen Reliefs zu dieser Gattung bilden den Kern der vorliegenden Arbeit. Daneben wurden z. B. pompejanische Graffiti herangezogen.

Nach einleitenden Bemerkungen zum architektonischen Kontext und zu den Grundlagen der Chronologie werden verschiedene Kampfklassen besprochen, dann wichtige Erörterungen zu Ikonographie, Bildsprache und Erzählweise der Reliefs vermittelt. Zum Schluss wird der sozial-historische Kontext der Grabreliefs diskutiert. Die Gladiatorenspiele waren schon seit der mittleren Republik eine wichtige gesellschaftliche Einrichtung, trotz der Tatsache, dass die Stiftungen der Gladiatorenkämpfe in unseren Quellen nicht besonders reichlich fließen. Dieser gesellschaftlichen Bedeutung geht der Verf. mit guten Bemerkungen nach. In Vielem wird man dem Autor beipflichten, wie etwa in der Beurteilung der Gründe, warum Grabreliefs mit Gladiatorenkampfszenen in Mittelitalien viel häufiger auftreten als in Kampanien, wo doch das Gladiatorenwesen hoch entwickelt war. Wenn ein paar Punkte zum Widerspruch reizen (etwa Gedanken zum Sitz im Leben der Urheber der Grabmonumente aufgrund der Reliefs mit Gladiatorenkämpfen), macht das dem positiven Gesamteindruck keinen Abbruch.

Ich ende mit einigen Detailbeobachtungen. S. 27, vierter Absatz, Zeile 4: Statt "sieben" schreibe "acht". – S. 61 statt *F. Ampliatus*, als sei F. ein Vorname, sei besser N. Festius Ampliatus zu schreiben. – S. 105: Der Text jetzt *Imag. Ital. Pompei* 45. – Auf S. 132 vermutet der Verf. in der bekannten Graffitozeichnung (*CIL* IV 1293) einen *pontarius*, was am wenigsten überzeugt (ganz anders Langner 57). Ebenda hat sich ein Missverständnis eingeschlichen, wenn festgestellt wird, dass (in *CIL* IV 1074d) Kämpfe zwischen *retiarri* und *secutores* als *pontarii* angekündigt werden [vielleicht handelt es sich um einen Druckfehler für "Kämpfer"]; aber *pontarius* kann nur einen Gladiator bedeuten, der auf der Brücke kämpft, und sodann ist es unsicher, ob die Figuren links überhaupt mit Gladiatoren zu tun haben (pace Junkelmann). – S. 194: Der Umbruch des Textes sieht merkwürdig aus, und die Interpunktion fehlt, und die Schreibung *innulgentia* sollte erklärt werden. – S. 198f und sonst: Der Verf. gebraucht bald moderne bald römische (z. B. A 33) Städtenamen, und vgl. nebeneinander A 18 "Blera (Bieda)" und A 19 "Bologna (Bononia)". – S. 263 A 76: Es bereitete mir keine Schwierigkeiten, das Relief aufzunehmen, das für den Verf. bei seinem Besuch in Venafro unzugänglich blieb. – S. 282 C 4: Schreibe [Δ]ελφῖνον und [Νάρκ]ισσος. – Im Literaturverzeichnis vermisste ich G. L. Gregori, *Ludi e munera: 25 anni di ricerche sugli spettacoli d'età romana*, Milano 2011.

Heikki Solin

BRENDA LONGFELLOW: *Roman Imperialism and Civic Patronage: Form, Meaning, and Ideology in Monumental Fountain Complexes*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2011. ISBN 978-0-521-19493-8. XIV, 277 pp. USD 90.

This book sets out to analyse Roman imperial power, patronage and local urban environment as reflected by monumental civic fountains or *nymphaea*. The focus is on the dialogue between the Roman emperor and provincial elites that Longfellow attempts to approach by studying acts of civic

patronage. The author also states that the aim of her study is to examine monumental civic fountains as expressions of their builders', both local and imperial, sense of identity. The strengths of Longfellow's study lie in the thorough and wide-ranging analysis of the fountain complexes and in the attention to public actions of negotiating and communicating civic identity and power.

From the range of the expressions of civic euergetism, the author explains her choice of focusing specifically on *nymphaea* with their dual role as monumental fountains: they are both utilitarian in bringing fresh water for the population of cities and ideological in being meant to display in a competitive way a citizen's wealth, and in being objects of civic and state pride. It should also be stressed that a new approach is welcome in the study of fountains as monumental architecture. Formerly, the *nymphaea* have been studied individually, with the focus on typology and architecture. The author relies on earlier studies in her detailed discussion of the physical features of the fountains, but manages to offer a new and innovative approach to the study of monumental fountains.

Geographically, the study focuses mainly on the city of Rome and on the areas of Greece and Asia Minor, where most of the civic fountains with known patrons are situated. The study's main time frame reaches from the first to the third century CE and includes thirty monumental fountains associated with emperors. The book begins with a short (pp. 1–8) Introduction and then proceeds chronologically from early precedents and the Flavian dynasty to the Severan emperors in six chapters, ending in a concluding final chapter. Much emphasis, two out of the six main chapters, has been given to the Emperor Hadrian and his well-known activities in the Greek East.

The Introduction sets out the aim of the study, reviews briefly earlier studies on monumental fountains and discusses the other main focus of the book, civic patronage, in some detail. But what is not highlighted in the Introduction is the other central theme chosen for the title of the book: imperialism. In a way, one can understand this, as the term itself is complex and has been defined in a great number of ways over the last few decades. But the term 'imperialism' does to a certain extent take the thoughts of the reader to military conquest and the active extension of Roman power, and I would have hoped for some discussion of the term and its meaning, if not in the Introduction then at least in the following chapters. Instead, the reader is left to conclude that by Roman imperialism the author means the power of the Roman emperors and its display in both Rome and the provinces.

The first chapter serves as a second introduction to the subject of monumental fountains. It discusses Greek, Republican, Augustan and early imperial fountains as precedents for the following chapters. Much emphasis is given to the fountain projects of Augustus and especially to the Meta Sudans in Rome, as it expressed a break in previous tradition and set a precedent for later emperors. From the domestic fountains of the later Julio-Claudian emperors, the book moves to its main analysis and the fountains of the Flavian emperors in Rome. The author explains that the Flavian emperors reintroduced monumental fountains into purely civic spaces, following the example set by Augustus, and set up their own Meta Sudans in the same spot as Augustus, conveniently in a crossroads near their amphitheatre. This, among other public policies, allowed the Flavians to tie a link to the imperial authority of the first emperor, Augustus.

The third chapter shifts the focus to the monumental fountains set up in Greece and Asia Minor that were dedicated to Domitian and Trajan, discussing the self-display of the civic elite. The fountain of Domitian in Ephesus is the first known one dedicated to an emperor, and others soon followed. Longfellow discusses these structures as architectural remains of civic patronage, but also analyses the motivations that lay behind the decisions to dedicate them to emperors. For

instance, the author observes that the Fountain of Domitian, dedicated by the proconsul Calvisius Ruso, emulates Domitian's building activity and highlights the imperial and Italian connections of the dedicator.

The following chapters move on to discuss Hadrian and the monumental fountains he sponsored in the cities of Greece, especially Athens, and in Asia Minor in the context of the emperor's philhellenism. Chapter 4 discusses the building activities of Hadrian and Chapter 5 that of local patrons who dedicated their buildings to the Emperor. The Antonine emperors who succeeded Hadrian are mentioned at the end of Chapter 4, but only briefly because they were involved in provincial building projects to a much lesser extent than Hadrian. Because the discussion of the Antonine Emperors is so limited, the leap from the fifth chapter to Chapter 6 and the *nymphaea* constructed by the Severan emperors in Rome seems striking. The monumental fountains dating to the Severan period are notable and so their inclusion in the study is well grounded. The chapter examines both the building projects of the Emperors, such as the grand Septizodium in Rome, and local euergetism, for example the *hydreion* of Aurelia Paulina at Perge.

Much like the introductory chapter, the conclusions of the study have also been kept short (pp. 205–211). Chapter 7, while repeating observations made in previous chapters, also discusses the civic importance of the monumental fountains of the city of Ephesus and how the citizens continued to maintain them well into the fourth and fifth centuries. The author concludes that monumental fountains were used for the self-representation of both Roman emperors and of their subjects, who wished to display publicly their ties with imperial power and Rome, at least partly basing their local prominence on imperial power and Rome.

Longfellow's study is a useful analysis of the discourses of imperial and local power in the Roman Empire from the first to the third century. It has a slight imbalance inasmuch as the activity of the emperors tend to receive more attention than that of the local benefactors, but this can be explained by the nature of the evidence at our disposal. To me, this book could have benefitted from a broader and more theoretically oriented introductory and concluding chapters, but as it is it does represent a noteworthy analysis of public display and power in the context of Roman imperialism.

Sanna Joska

KLAUS FITTSCHEN – PAUL ZANKER: *Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom*. Band IV: *Kinderbildnisse. Nachträge zu Band I–III. Neuzeitliche oder neuzeitlich verfälschte Bildnisse. Bildnisse an Relieffdenkmälern*. De Gruyter, Berlin 2014. ISBN 978-3-11-035362-4. Text XIV, 200 S, Tafeln VI, 204 S. EUR 159.95.

The catalogue by Klaus Fittschen and Paul Zanker constitutes the fourth and final volume in the series of Roman portraits in the Capitoline Museums and other municipal collections of the city of Rome. This already classic series began to be published in 1983; the previous volumes contain male (volume I, 1985) and female (volume III, 1983) imperial portraits and male private portraits (volume II, 2010). The fourth volume includes portraits of children, supplements to the previous three volumes as well as portraits from relief sculptures. The catalogue has been issued in two volumes: text

and tables. It is the essential final component in this monumental series and has been implemented with both care and style and the photographs are of good quality.

The catalogue includes 55 portraits of children, dating from the reign of Augustus to that of Gallienus in the third century. The authors acknowledge the difficulties when it comes to the portraiture of children. With small children, it often remains unclear whether it is the portrait of an actual child or that of a god. The line may become blurred at least in funerary or commemorative contexts. Furthermore, the writers discuss the difficulty of determining age and thus of deciding whether a portrait of a young woman or man belongs to this volume or to one of the earlier ones. As is well known, the boundaries concerning adulthood in the Roman world were different for men and women of the higher classes, and the authors admit that the estimates of age they have given for portraits of youths are especially equivocal. The catalogue of portraits of children ranges from small babies and toddlers to youths on the brink of manhood. Most of the portraits are those of boys and young men.

The section following the child portraits contains portraits supplementary to the previous volumes, with seven portraits of emperors, 19 of private men, 5 of women, and 23 portraits that have been produced or heavily altered in modern times. Each portrait is, as in the case of the child portraits, given its modern location and inventory number, measurements and description, place of origin if known, relevant literature and an interpretation by the authors.

The final section of the volume concerns portraiture in reliefs. These have been divided into five categories: architectural reliefs in buildings, votive reliefs, grave reliefs, funerary urns and altars and sarcophagi and coffins. The majority of the reliefs catalogued are from funerary contexts. When there is an inscription connected to the monument, the text is cited in the commentary. The reliefs include family groups and individual men, women and children. Among the funerary monuments, there are many beautiful examples of commemorative pieces, such as the well-known funerary altar, set up by his grieving parents, of the young poet Q. Sulpicius Maximus who died at the age of 11.

The fourth volume in the series *Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen* presents diverse portraiture from the first three centuries of the Roman Empire. It has a slightly less impressive feel than the previous volumes, for it includes mostly portraits of anonymous children and funerary monuments of otherwise unknown individuals, but even so it is also a most valuable contribution. The portraits and reliefs catalogued here represent not only beautiful examples of Roman art, but also add greatly to our knowledge of the realities and ideologies of life and death.

Sanna Joska

JASON MANDER: *Portraits of Children on Roman Funerary Monuments*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2013. ISBN 978-1-107-00102-2. XVI, 397 pp. GBP 89.99.

This is further book on the subject of ancient childhood and families. It is a significant contribution to the study of the iconography of Roman children and families in the funerary sphere as well as to the social history of Roman families. The strengths of the study lie especially in the vast catalogue that covers the imagery of children on funerary monuments from the city of Rome, Italy and the western provinces.

Funerary monuments by no means constitute new source material for the study of ancient childhood (see for instance J. Huskinson, *Roman Children's Sarcophagi*, Oxford University Press 1996 and E. Minten, *Roman Attitudes towards Children and Childhood*, University of Stockholm 2002), but as Mander's book shows, there is still much to be done. Funerary monuments allow access to the history of social groups beyond the elites and his study focuses on social groups such as freedmen, slaves and soldiers. Mander's aim is to try to understand the Romans' conceptions of childhood by looking at representations of children that were constructed by adults. His sources are funerary monuments that date from the end of the Republic to the first half of the fourth century CE, with a concentration on the first three centuries of the empire. It must, however, be noted that the author does not pay much attention to evolution in terms of change and continuity in the funerary iconography, and this must be considered a certain weakness of the book.

The book consists of two parts: an analysis of the material and a catalogue. In the analysis, the author tries to identify the patterns of commemorating children from the perspectives of age, gender and 'Romanness' (Ch. 2). The iconography of childhood is studied in detail, as the author analyses the objects the children are commonly depicted with, such as animals or fruit, as well as their clothing and the habit of presenting the child as older than their age or in connection with the divine sphere (Ch. 3). Besides childhood itself, the author pays special attention to the family and to the social setting of the child. His analysis covers both the nuclear and the extended family and adds to the understanding of the social reality of Roman children (Ch. 4–5). Mander's analysis confirms the view that parents were the most common commemorators, but proves that diverging realities in the form of the presence of non-parental adults as well as surrogate parents is also noteworthy. In his final chapter, the author attempts an analysis of the archaeological context of the monuments (Ch. 6). The discussion of the original setting and visibility of the monuments is, however, left quite short, mostly because of a situation familiar to all those studying ancient monuments: the material has simply too often lost its original context.

The catalogue consists of 881 monuments and takes up more than half the book. For each monument Mander records its provenance, current location, type, state of preservation, inscription with translation, sculptural ornaments, bibliography and date as far as these aspects can be determined. Some of the monuments in the catalogue are quite damaged and offer little information, but the amount of work done by the author in order to collect the material for the catalogue must have been considerable. The catalogue is followed by an epigraphic index and by indexes of *nomina* and *cognomina*. No images of the monuments are provided, except for those chosen to illustrate the exposition in the first part of the book.

The book is above all a study of the iconography of childhood in Italy and the northern Latin West. In my opinion, this emphasis could have been reflected in the title of the book. Excluded are funerary monuments not only originating in the Greek East, but also those from North Africa. The author does, however, acknowledge the geographical limits of his study and discusses the notion of 'Romanness' and what it means to be a Roman child in the light of his material. However, it must be noted at the same time that the author does point out that his material also presents local features and preferences.

Despite the somewhat misleading title, Mander's book is a thorough study of childhood as reflected by funerary monuments, also taking into account previous research and theoretical approaches. Mander acknowledges the limits of iconographic material for the study of the Roman

child and family relations but he manages nonetheless to convince the reader with his detailed analysis of representational patterns and social realities. The analysis does, after all, include a large geographic area and a vast amount of funerary monuments and in doing this it contributes to our understanding of ancient childhood and families.

Sanna Joska

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